ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus.*

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Read 30th March, 1905.

IN the early summer of 1902 a large and important discovery of Byzantine silver plate and gold jewellery was made at Karavás, a village close to the ancient Lapithos, about six miles west of Kyrenia on the north coast of Cyprus. The spot was not far from the monastery of Acheiropoietos, close to which another find of silver of a similar period had been made a few years previously, the objects being acquired by the British Museum and described in *Archaeologia*.^a

The history of the second find, with part of which we are here concerned, is now sufficiently well known, and need only be summarised here. In order to evade the Cypriote law regulating the disposal of excavated antiquities, according to which all objects must be notified and one-third ceded to the Government, the peasants who made the discovery took the common course of concealing their treasure and entering into negotiations with private purchasers, in the present case certain dealers in works of art carrying on business in Paris. But news about buried treasure invariably leaks out, and before long the Government received information of what was going on. Through the energetic action of Mr. Ernest McDonald, then Acting Commissioner of Kyrenia, the houses of the suspects were suddenly surrounded and searched by the police, the result being the seizure of the objects described in the present paper. But the larger and more important part of the find could not be found. It had been placed somewhere beyond the reach of the official arm, if it had not already been smuggled out of the island, and ultimately arrived without let or hindrance at its destination in Paris. There it has been seen by the curators of several continental museums and by numerous private collectors, but so formidable is the price demanded (a sum running into five figures), that as late as the winter of 1905 it

^a Vol. lvii. 159 ff.

was still without a purchaser. Although the Government of Cyprus had communicated the facts to the home authorities, it appeared that the dealer was in a position of complete security. It was, of course, perfectly well known that a third of the objects in his possession were claimed by the Cyprus Government; but as it could not be legally proved that he knew they were the result of excavations, and as he was neither a British nor a French subject, the efforts of the Colonial Office and the British Embassy in Paris were unavailing. Meanwhile the peasant discoverers and their friends had brought an action against the Government of Cyprus for illegal detention of the part of the treasure seized by Mr. McDonald, declaring that the objects had not been excavated at all, but were family heirlooms which had been in their possession for many years! They were successful; but the Government appealed, and finally obtained a reversal of the judgment. The seized treasure thus remains in the island, and will no doubt find a home in the Nicosia Museum. Before considering it in detail I will briefly enumerate the principal objects removed to Paris. These were:

Three silver dishes, each rather more than 10 inches in diameter, ornamented with figure-subjects in relief representing scenes from the life of David (his anointing, his introduction into Saul's presence, and his equipment in the king's armour); they belong to the same series as Plate II., from which a clear idea of their style and character may be obtained.

Two smaller dishes, each 5·4 inches in diameter, also with figures in relief. One represents David killing the lion, the other David and a warrior. These two dishes are uniform with those of Fig. 4.

A very large dish, with two scenes showing the combat of David and Goliath, now perhaps with the Paris part of the treasure, but up to the summer of 1905 concealed in Cyprus pending a favourable opportunity for removal.

(All these dishes had on the back Byzantine stamps or control-marks as described below, p. 13.)

A series of sixteen gold medallions, four of very large size, with effigies and inscriptions of Maurice Tiberius (12), Justin and Justinian (3), and Theodosius (1). These medallions were furnished with loops at the sides, and had evidently been linked together to form an ornamental collar or belt.

A necklace of cylindrical plasma beads alternating with pearls. The ends terminate in two openwork gold discs with birds and scrolls, fastening by a hook and loop.

A gold necklace of flat links of open scroll-work, having in the front ten long cylindrical openwork gold beads and a gold pectoral cross chased with conventional

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

BYZANTINE SILVER DISHES IN CYPRUS. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

designs. On either side of this are ten gold pendants, eight in the form of amphoræ of different forms, two flat and pear-shaped.

A gold necklace of thin flat links in openwork scroll designs, from the middle of which hangs a chased gold pectoral cross depending from a small medallion chased with the figure of a bird. On either side of the cross is a pair of pear-shaped ornaments with openwork foliate designs, and an openwork disc or medallion, the design of which represents an amphora. At the back is an openwork disc with a floral ornament.

A pair of openwork gold bracelets, the front opening on a hinge. The designs are vine-scrolls with bunches of grapes.

A pair of gold earrings. Each has a sapphire drop hanging in the middle of a loop of gold wire; round this is a border of pearls alternating with small gold loops through which the threading wire is passed.

The share of the treasure falling to the Cyprus Government, and now to be described, also contains five silver dishes; but as two are devoid of figure subjects, the series is somewhat inferior in archæological interest. The jewellery is comparatively insignificant compared with that which has just been enumerated.

1. The largest of the silver dishes (Plate I. fig. 1) is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches (44 centimetres) in diameter, and stands upon a low foot. The rim is moulded, and in the centre is a cruciform monogram within a band ornamented with a floral scroll, both incised and filled with niello. The floral scroll is between two gilded bands, beyond which are enclosing circles turned and chased in low relief; on the bottom are the impressions of five stamps (see fig. 8 and p. 13), with monograms, names, and busts, closely resembling those upon the silver in the British Museum.^a These stamps, together with those of the same character on the four following dishes, are described in detail below (p. 14).

2. The second dish (Plate I. fig. 2) is of almost equal diameter and in the same style. Instead of a monogram it has in the centre a cross, and the surrounding scroll is of different design.^b The stamps on the back are similar in character to those of No. 1, but are not individually identical.

3. This dish (Plate II.) is $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches (27 centimetres) in diameter, and iconographically the most important, the scene upon it evidently representing the marriage of David. Before an architectural background, identical with that seen

^a See *Archæologia*, lvii. 166, and *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum*, p. 86.

^b It may be compared with the dish shown in *Archæologia*, lvii. plate xvi. fig. 2, and with similar dishes in the Stroganoff Collection (see the above-mentioned catalogue, p. 86, No. 397.)

BYZANTINE SILVER DISH IN CYPRUS. THE MARRIAGE OF DAVID.

(Diameter of original, 10½ inches.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

in the other dishes of the same set in Paris, stands a bearded figure with nimbus, wearing a tunic with long sleeves embroidered on the shoulder and wrist, a chlamys with embroidered *tablion* fastened by a *fibula* with pendants, and embroidered shoes. He holds his right hand over his breast and stands upon a low footstool. To his right and left, joining their right hands across his body, stand the bridegroom and the bride, both of whom have the nimbus. The former, who is beardless and with curly hair, is dressed in the same manner as the central figure; the bride, who wears a fillet in her hair, has a long girded tunic with bands of embroidery round the bottom and the wrists, embroidered stripes on the breast, and two rosettes (*calliculae*, *orbiculi*) on the lower part in front. Her long mantle is diapered with rosettes and dots in groups of three, and is fastened over the bosom with a circular brooch. In her left hand she either holds a part of her garment, or carries an object the nature of which it is difficult to determine. The central group is flanked by two beardless youths playing pipes. Each wears a short mantle with embroidered border fastened on the right shoulder, and a girded tunic with short sleeves embroidered borders and *orbiculi*. But while the figure on the right has closely-fitting trousers, diapered with ornament, and low boots, the legs of the other are bare, and he has high boots laced up the front.

In the exergue are a basket filled with fruit and two money-bags tied at the necks.

This scene represents the Christian equivalent for the ceremonial *dextrarum junctio*, which in the ancient Roman marriage preceded the nuptial sacrifice.

Fig. 1. Coin of Theodosius II.
(After Macdonald).

It is the portion of the marriage-service most popular in Roman art,^a where the central figure is usually either *Juno Pronuba*, or a married woman playing her part. But at a fairly early date, perhaps in the Antonine period, a male figure, the father or guardian of bride or groom, sometimes takes the place of the *pronuba*, and this substitution is found on a coin (fig. 1) of Theodosius II. (A.D. 437), where the Emperor, standing between Valentinian III. and Eudoxia, lays his hands upon their shoulders.^b Soon after this a coin of Marcian and

^a On the Roman marriage in art see Rossbach, *Römische Hochzeits und Ehedenkmäler* (Leipsic, 1871), and Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, vii. 41 f. On representations of Early Christian Marriages see O. Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler* (Strasburg, 1901).

^b *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xxi. pl. i. fig. 1; G. Macdonald, *Coin Types* (Glasgow, 1905), 234, and pl. ix. fig. 7.

Pulcheria^a (A.D. 450-457) in the Glasgow Museum shows us Our Lord in the central position, as we see him upon Byzantine marriage rings^b and upon a necklace figured by Garrucci.^c The central figure on the dish represents Saul, who wears royal costume and has the nimbus like other kings and prominent persons in Early Christian and Byzantine art. In another example of the marriage of David upon the ivory casket in the Kircherian Museum at Rome, an object by some assigned to the close of the ninth century,^d by others to a later period, Saul is also seen giving Michal to David, but there he stands to the left of the group, wearing the later Byzantine imperial costume: both as regards the costume and the grouping of the figures the scene upon the silver dish represents a far earlier period than that upon the casket. The marriage is apparently not included among the scenes from the life of David represented in the early Byzantine Psalters,^e and it would appear not to have been regarded as an essential part of the cycle. The two flute-players would perhaps be more in place in a representation of the *deductio* of the bride, but there are other known examples of the presence of the *tibicen* at the sacrifice.^f It may be noted that the bride does not wear the usual veil; the object in her left hand, if object it is, is not easy to determine, for it does not resemble the *volumen*, which, though commonly carried by the bridegroom, is sometimes seen in the bride's hands.^g

The basket and bags in the exergue recur in a dish in the Paris part of the treasure representing the young David introduced into Saul's presence, and therefore have in all probability no particular connection with the ceremony; perhaps they are intended to convey the general idea of largesse or regal abundance, and so are in a certain measure appropriate to the scene. On the dish representing the equipment of David with Saul's armour, the objects in the base are a shield and bow, and are thus also generally suited to the subject above them, as are

^a Macdonald, *as above*, pl ix. fig. 8; Pelka, 108.

^b British Museum *Catalogue*, *as above*, Nos. 130 and 131.

^c *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, vi. pl. 479, fig. 3.

^d G. Schlumberger, *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot)*, vol. vi. 1900; H. Graeven, *Photographs of Early Christian and Mediæval ivory-carvings*, 2nd Series, Italian collections, Nos. 57-61 (Rome, German Archæological Institute, 1900). The marriage scene is on Photo No. 61. See also *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, x. (1901), 566.

^e Enumerated by Kondakoff, *Transactions of the Moscow Archæological Society*, vii. 179. I owe this reference to M. Gabriel Millet.

^f Pelka, *as above*, 143.

^g As on the Projecta casket in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, pl. xiv.).

weapons in similar position on the votive shield of Valentinian^a at Geneva, and that of Justinian found at Kertch, and now at St. Petersburg (see p. 23). In

Fig. 2. Silver votive shield of Theodosius at Madrid.
(After Odobesco.)

the Anointing (see fig. 3), the objects in the exergue, being of sacrificial import, may have been considered not incongruous with a sacramental scene.

The triple portico of the background, though of feeble design and without the pediment, recalls the architectural scheme on the votive shield of Theodosius^b at Madrid (fig. 2), which itself has a prototype of a purer style in the Roman silver dish in the National Library at Paris, representing the return of Briseis to Achilles.^c The Kyrenia dishes, however, are certainly of a considerably later period than the shield at Madrid, and more

nearly related to the silver dish in the Stroganoff collection, representing Ajax and Ulysses disputing the possession of the arms of Achilles, a work which may be about two centuries later than the time of Theodosius.^d

^a A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Pétroussa*, 154; convenient series of illustrations of other early silver dishes will be found in Odobesco, 148 ff, and A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, i. 493 ff.

^b Very frequently published. From a photograph, by A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana* i. 497 (Milan, 1901). From Drawings, by A. Delgado, *El gran disco di Theodosio* (Madrid, 1849); J. Arneth, *Die antiken Gold-und Silber-Monumente des K. K. Münz-und Antiken Cabinettes* (Vienna, 1850); *Beilage*, pl. iv.; J. Didron, *Annales archéologiques*, xxi. (1861), 309; Ch. Cahier, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'archéologie*, i. (Paris, 1874), pl. vii.; J. Strzygowski and E. Pokrovsky *Materials for Russian Archaeology* (continuation of the *Compte rendu* of the Imperial Archaeological Commission), No. 8 (St. Petersburg, 1892), pl. v.; A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Pétroussa*, 158, fig. 72. See also E. Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin, 1862), 213 ff.

^c Odobesco, 121.

^d *Ibid.* 149, fig. 63. The helmet on this dish is very like those of the Joshua rotulus and of the Paris portion of the Kyrenia treasure.

I am enabled to give a rough idea of one of the other dishes of the same series removed from Cyprus by fig. 3, drawn after a photographic reproduction on a pictorial postcard which has been on sale in the island. The scene there shown, the Anointing of David, was frequently represented in art. It is found for example on the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan (see p. 10), in the frescoes of Bawît (see p. 18), on the ivory casket at Rome (see p. 5), on the ivory book-cover of the Princess Melisenda in the British Museum,^a in the Paris Psalter No. 139,^b in the Pantocrator Psalter (No. 49) on Mount Athos (*Collection des Hautes Études*, Series C, No. 107), and the Psalter of Basil II. at Venice (Series C, No. 534), in the Vatican Bible of Queen Christina, which is allied to the group of Psalters represented by the Paris example, and in the Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, No. 510). Upon the silver dish, the group preserves the symmetrical and monumental character apparent in the case of the other scenes in which several figures are represented. Instead of the whole family of Jesse as we see it on the doors of St. Ambrose and in the MSS., we have only three figures, presumably Jesse and two of his sons. In the exergue are an altar and two victims, a club, and a sword, objects distinctly un-Christian in character and clearly survivals from antique tradition.

Fig. 3. Silver dish removed from Cyprus.

4. This and the following dish are of much smaller size, 5·5 inches (14·1 centimetres) in diameter. In the part of the treasure removed to Paris there are two more of these small dishes, both with episodes from the life of David.

^a Ch. Cahier, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'archéologie*, ii. 1-14 ff.; H. Graeven, *Photographs of Ivories*, Series i. Nos. 51 and 52; Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, 72; Du Sommerard, *Les arts au Moyen Age*, Album, 2nd Series, chap. v. pl. xxix.

^b Individual miniatures from this famous Psalter of the "aristocratic group" (see below, p. 19) have been frequently reproduced, among others by Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*; Ch. Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, 159, 161, and 162; H. Bordier, *Description des ornements, etc. des MSS. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 111; G. Millet in A. Michel's *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens*, 222-3.

The present scene (fig. 4*b*) is the slaying of the bear. David, in girded tunic, mantle, and boots, grasps the beast by the forelock, supporting his left knee upon its back; in his right hand he holds a short weapon which may be intended for a knife. To the left is a tree, and in the foreground were probably grass and plants as in the following number and the other dishes of the same small series, but this part is concealed by oxidation. The slaying of the bear is naturally found in Byzantine Psalters, for example the Psalter of Basil II. in the Library of St. Mark, Venice.^a (Fig. 5.) The companion picture, which is apparently more common, is the slaying of the lion; it occurs upon one of the two small dishes in the Paris series, as upon the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan, to which reference is made below.

On the bottom are five impressions of stamps (see below, p. 16).

Fig. 4. Two small silver dishes in Cyprus.

5. Small dish of the same dimensions (fig. 4*a*): The messenger from Samuel coming to David among his flocks.

To right David beardless and with the nimbus is seated upon a rock or hillock (?) wearing a long tunic with short sleeves; the borders of the garments are ornamented with bands of punched dots. In his left hand he holds a lyre, while his right is raised, the fingers being held in what became the Greek attitude of benediction; here the gesture is used in its earlier sense to signify that a con-

^a Photograph No. 535, Series C, in the Collection of the *Hautes Études*, G. Millet, *La collection Chrétienne et Byzantine des Hautes Études*, 1903, p. 45. Reproduced by Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*, 2nd ed. ii. (1873), pl. xlix.

versation is in progress. From the left approaches a youth in tunic, mantle, and boots, as worn by the flute-player to the left in the wedding scene, though here we have also the nimbus, signifying that the person represented is more than a mere subordinate. In his left hand is a staff or wand, with a knob at the top, of a kind carried by celestial messengers in early Byzantine art, notably by the Angel of the Annunciation; the right hand is extended, and the fingers form the Latin gesture of benediction, which here too is merely used as a conventional means of representing discourse. In the foreground are two sheep, one recumbent, the other grazing.

In the illuminated Byzantine Psalters of the "aristocratic" group, with which the subjects upon these dishes have evident affinities (see below, p. 19), David, seated with his lyre among his flocks, is commonly accompanied by the allegorical personification of Melody. The most conspicuous example of this is to be found in the famous Psalter (Greek, No. 139) in the National Library at Paris, of which mention has already been made (see p. 7, note ^b). But in the British Museum Psalter of A.D. 1066 (Add. MS. 19352), which belongs to the more popular "theological" group, there are miniatures (on folio 190) representing David the Shepherd being summoned by an angel,^a who has been despatched from heaven for the purpose. David is there five times represented, twice among his flocks, once on his way to be anointed, and twice in company with the prophet, who carries the horn of oil. The message is brought to him while he is in the field, where he is seen playing not the lyre but the flute, while the angel carries a wand, and has wings. This later representation of the scene interprets in a more direct manner the divine initiative suggested by the verse of the psalm: "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-

Fig. 5. David slaying the bear. From a MS. at Venice. (After Labarte.)

David is there five times represented, twice among his flocks, once on his way to be anointed, and twice in company with the prophet, who carries the horn of oil. The message is brought to him while he is in the field, where he is seen playing not the lyre but the flute, while the angel carries a wand, and has wings. This later representation of the scene interprets in a more direct manner the divine initiative suggested by the verse of the psalm: "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-

^a J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, i. 28. (Helsingfors, 1895.)

fold" (Ps. 78, v. 70); while the version upon our silver dish is more in accordance with the vague statement in the Book of Samuel: "and he sent and brought him in."^a The youthful figure of the messenger, though it has the nimbus and the wand or staff, could not have been intended to represent an angel at the time when this silver treasure was made, for angels receive wings in Christian art as early as the fourth century.^b We must rather suppose the messenger to be one of David's brothers sent to fetch him at the bidding of Samuel.

A very interesting parallel to the scene as here shown is found on the carved

Fig. 6. David receiving Samuel's message. From the carved wooden doors on the church of St. Ambrose at Milan. (After Goldschmidt.)

wooden doors of the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, now considered to date from Early Christian times.^c Here David is seen amidst his flocks, while the lion and

^a 1 Samuel xvi. 12. In the Septuagint the passage is: *καὶ ἀπέστειλε καὶ εἰσηγάγεν αὐτόν.*

^b On the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan, to which reference is made immediately below, the angel of victory is winged in the scene of the defeat of Goliath.

^c A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchenthür des heiligen Ambrosius in Mailand*. Strasburg, 1902. Professor Goldschmidt believes the door to date from the close of the fourth century, and thinks that it was made in Italy to the special order of St. Ambrose. Professor Strzygowski (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1902, xi. 666), while accepting the early date, holds the work to be more probably of Syrian origin imported into Italy perhaps at the time of the Crusades. He argues that the removal of every head in the sculptured figures points to deliberate mutilation, and suggests that the doors must have at one time been in a country under Arab domination. But to this it has been replied that a monument so mutilated would not have been thought worth transporting to the West.

the bear, tamed and subdued, are symbolically placed beneath his feet. (Fig. 6.) As in the series of silver dishes, he wears a girded tunic, a short mantle knotted or twisted about the neck, and high boots. From the left there approaches a man in a long tunic and mantle, raising his hand as if in the act of delivering a message. There can be little doubt that here too the artist wished to depict the arrival of the message summoning the young shepherd to Samuel's presence. The substitution of an angel in the later version represented by the British Museum miniature would naturally result from the more theological character of the book compared with earlier Psalters, or perhaps rather from the general tendency of thought in a later age."

The jewellery of the part of the treasure now in Cyprus is insignificant in comparison with that which was carried off to Paris. It comprised the following articles :

Four pairs of gold earrings like those shown in fig. 7, *a* and *b*, each consisting of a penannular wire with four pendent chains terminating in pearls, the type being well known from late Roman times and represented by numerous examples in museums.

A piece of gold chain having at one end a gold spatula and at the other a small loop (fig. 7 *c*). Perhaps the loop is intended to connect it with the coin of Justin II. and Tiberius II. (Constantinus) represented with it, and furnished with two similar loops on one side and one on the other. The hollow bar with three loops for attachment (fig. 7 *d*) may also have formed part of this chain.

In addition to the coin already mentioned there are four other gold coins, two of Constans II. (A.D. 642-668), one of Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 582-602), and one (probably) of Constantine IV. (Pogonatus) (A.D. 668-685). The coins and medals in the exported part of the treasure were of Maurice Tiberius, Justin and Justinian,

Fig. 7. Jewellery, remaining in Cyprus.

^a On the substitution of the angel, see J. J. Tikkanen, *as above*, i. 116.

and Theodosius II. (A.D. 408-450). The numismatic evidence thus covers a period of more than two hundred and fifty years, and seems to show that the treasure must have been deposited toward the close of the seventh century, a time when the Byzantine Emperors and the Saracens were disputing the possession of Cyprus, and the island was taken and retaken by both sides.

The Kyrenia treasure has considerably increased our knowledge of Byzantine jewellery, examples of which have hitherto been comparatively rare. The specimens in the British Museum have been published in the *Catalogue* of 1901.^a A treasure from Mersina (in Cilicia) in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, has been illustrated in a work of Professor N. Kondakoff,^b and the objects composing it bear in several details a close resemblance to ornaments in the Paris part of the Kyrenia treasure, especially in the use of openwork designs, and in the pear-shaped form of certain pendants, which seem to suggest an oriental influence. They also have affinities with another small find of gold jewels, also from Kyrenia, now at Nicosia and described in the catalogue of the Cyprus Museum.^c

There is a family likeness between gold ornaments of Byzantine origin or inspiration, and dating from the sixth-seventh centuries, found in various European countries, a very ubiquitous type being the openwork earrings with confronted birds,^d which have occurred as far apart as Egypt and Hungary, one example from Cyprus being formerly in the possession of Cesnola.^e The similarity suggests a common place of origin for all this work, and Mr. Smirnoff has pointed out that both Egypt and Cilicia may be provisionally regarded as likely centres.^f Cyprus, lying as it did between Egypt and Asia Minor, would be equally open to influences from both countries. Dr. Arthur Evans, in connection with a gold collar found at Aesica, had already noted the wide influence exercised by Græco-Egyptian jewellery through Europe.^g

^a *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, section ii.

^b *Russian Treasures*, i. 187-192, and pls. xviii. and xix.

^c *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, 1898, pp. 109-112; *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899, p. 140.

^d *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, No. 276, pl. v.

^e Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. vi. For the Hungarian examples see J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, i. 371.

^f *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society*, vol. xii.: *Transactions of the Classical, Byzantine, and W. European Section*, book v. 506-510.

^g *Archæologia*, lv. 180.

The earrings of the present treasure are very like examples found in Egypt, and it may be added that the portion taken to Paris contained a pair of bracelets of the same shape as the two in the British Museum^a and in the Château de Goluchow^b respectively; the British Museum example, formerly in the possession of Count Tyszkiewicz, is said to have been obtained in Cairo.

The stamps upon the bottom of these silver vessels are almost certainly control-marks applied by order of the official or officials responsible for maintaining the purity of the precious metals used in the industrial arts.^c Exactly who these persons were is not known; it may be that, as in the case of the control of money standards,^d they were eparchs, and that a clue may be furnished by some of the names which occasionally occur in the impressions. That the stamps relate to the quality of the metal, and not to the ownership of the objects, is shown by the fact that in two known pieces of Byzantine silver the completion of the work has damaged or distorted the impressions, and is therefore subsequent to their application. One is the censer in the British Museum,^e the other a reliquary from the Chersonese with stamps on the inside of the cover.^f

It would appear from a passage in a Byzantine text of the iconoclastic period published by Combefis,^g to which Mr. Smirnoff draws attention, that silver of the finest quality was marked with five impressions; and in fact upon most of the examples of Early Byzantine silver preserved to us we find this number. It is never exceeded, though where only a smaller number of stamps were available, the total was made up by using one or other of them more than once.

These impressions of stamps are of considerable interest on account of the

^a Catalogue, No. 279.

^b W. Fröhner, *Le Château de Goluchow; L'orfèvrerie*, pl. xvii. p. 74. Paris, 1897. The bracelet was also formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection.

^c The whole question is discussed by Mr. Smirnoff, of the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, in the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, vol. xii; *Transactions of the Section for Classical, Byzantine, and West-European Archaeology*, book v. pp. 506-510.

^d As illustrated upon the glass money-weights. *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, Nos. 660-685.

^e *Archaeologia*, lvii. pl. xvii.

^f Smirnoff, *as above*, 507.

^g *Græcolatinæ Patrum Bibliothecæ Novum Auctarium* (Paris, 1648), i. 644. The passage relates a miraculous transformation of tin into “ἀργυρον πρώτιστον τον καλούμενον πεντασφράγιστον.”

names and monograms which they contain. On three out of the five silver plates (Nos. 1, 2, and 4) five impressions are clearly visible; on the remaining two only four appear distinctly. These twenty-two impressions have been produced by twelve stamps, some of which have been used again. They are of six forms: (1) cruciform, (2) rectangular, (3) rectangular at the base and arched at the top, (4) circular, (5) oval, and (6) hexagonal. The cruciform and rectangular forms all have a cruciform monogram in the middle, and round the sides or extremities the letters of a name; the arched form has in addition a bust above the monogram; the hexagonal form has a bust and monogram with possibly a surrounding inscription; while the oval and circular types each have a bust and name without a monogram.

Fig. 8. Impressions of stamps on silver dish No. 1.
(Plate I.)

The individual impressions are seldom perfect, and to decipher the characters it is necessary to collate the examples upon different objects, a process which has been rendered more complete and satisfactory by the fact that some also occur on the silver dishes taken to Paris, so that ten dishes in all are available as material for comparison. Of the impressions on the Cyprus dishes, I possess in addition to notes, rubbings and wax impressions, though these still leave me in doubt as to one or two letters; of the Paris dishes I have notes only. The general character of the stamps are identical with those on

the Lampsacus and Kyrenia treasures in the British Museum, and on silver vessels in St. Petersburg, Vienna, and in the Stroganoff collection, all of which have been published. I therefore here illustrate in only a single case a drawing of the stamps as they actually appear (fig. 8); the rest are described and accompanied by monograms which they contain, presented in a schematized form.

I. Cruciform Type.

- (a) Monogram : (Θεοδώρου?).
Name : +KOCM(AC).

Fig. 9.

(b) Monogram : (Ἀθανασίου?).

Name : CI(CI)NNIC (Sisinnios). See Fig. 8a.

(This reading begins on the lower arm of the cross.)

Fig. 10.

(c) Monogram : (?)

Name : ———OC.

Fig. 11.

(d) Monogram : (Βασιλίου?).

Name : (CI)CIN(NIC) (Sisinnios).

Fig. 12.

II. Rectangular Type.

(e) Monogram : (Ηρακλίου?).

Name : + KOMITAC (Komitas).

Fig. 13.

(f) Monogram : Φωκα (Phocas).

Name : + ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC.

Fig. 14.

III. Arched Type.

(g) Monogram, same as in (a).

Name : + CXOAACTIKIC (on one example apparently CXOAACTIC), Scholastikos?

(h) Monogram : (Ιωάννου? or Ἀντωνίου? Cf. monogram on silver dish, Plate I.)

Name : + Ιω(ANNHC). (Fig. 8 d.)

Fig. 15.

(i) Monogram, same as in (d).

Name : *Scholastikos*, as in (g).

IV. *Oval Type.*

(*k*) Bust. An emperor (?), full face, with diadem and chlamys fastened on the right shoulder, above which rises the "tail" of a fibula or end of the garment.

Name : + A I " /// EPIC. (Fig. 8 *c*.)

V. *Circular Type.*

(*l*) Bust. An emperor, beardless, wearing a chlamys. Fibula with three pendants on the right shoulder. No nimbus.

Name : + ΘEOXAPICTOC.

VI. *Hexagonal Type.*

(*m*) Bust with nimbus (details not clear).

Monogram : as in (*f*) (Phocas). (Fig. 8 *b*.)

As to the distribution of the stamps among the five dishes, we find that :

Dish No. 1 has *b, f, h, k*, and *m*, all the impressions being different.

„ „ 2 „ *d* (twice), *i, e* (twice?).

„ „ 3 „ *c, e, g, l*.

„ „ 4 „ *a* (twice), *g* (twice) (part of another stamp indeterminate).

„ „ 5 „ *a, b, e, g*.

On the Paris part of the treasure, so far as I am aware, *b c d f h i k* and *m* are not found, the stamps there represented being *a e g* and *l* only.

Of the names given in full, Theocharistos, Kosmas, Theodoros, John, Sisinnios, Komitas, and Scholastikos may perhaps be regarded as certain. But it is to be feared that they furnish no useful historical evidence. Theocharistos is found in inscriptions,^a the next four names are of too frequent occurrence to furnish a definite clue, though it may be noted that John and Sisinnius are found on the earlier Kyrenia treasure in the British Museum.^b A Komitas, according to Pape-Benseler, is mentioned by Menander Protector as an ambassador to the Emperor Justin. A Scholastikos was a Comes in A.D. 422; another was a general of Justinian. The name also occurs in stamps impressed upon silver dishes found

^a C. I. G. IV. 8644, 10; 9374. The first inscription is possibly as early as Justinian.

^b See the catalogue previously referred to, where several references to Byzantine stamps will be found.

in Perm, and is probable in the case of a stamp on a silver vessel from Bukowina, now in Vienna. It is further found in an inscription.^a

Among the monograms, Phocas is certain for *f* and *m*, (Plate I.); John is probable for *h*, and Theodore for *a*.

It will be noticed that the names Theodore and John seem to occur both in extended and monogrammatic form, the former accompanying the monogram of Phocas, the latter its own monogram. I do not feel confident that the monogram of *c* is correct, on account of the apparent duplication of the letter *ϕ*. Unfortunately the wax impression is damaged.

If from the technical point of view this silver work from Kyrenia has little that is new to teach us, being similar to other Byzantine plate already mentioned or described, its iconographical importance is perhaps greater than that of any other Byzantine treasure. Viewed on the one hand in relation to the doors of St. Ambrose, and on the other to the illuminated Psalters of the ninth to the twelfth centuries, especially to the "aristocratic" group (see below), with which it has obvious affinities, it confirms the belief that these Psalters owe their classical character less to a sudden renaissance in the ninth century than to the steady persistence of older artistic traditions. The fact that the same composition is used to illustrate the same subject in more than one of these manuscripts had already suggested that they may all have drawn upon an inherited scheme of illustration; but hitherto there had been wanting the visible link which should directly connect them across the intervening age of Justinian with Early Christian times. Now that the treasure has proved that in the sixth century there were in circulation pictures of the story of David closely similar in conception to those in favour in the tenth and eleventh centuries, we are brought a step nearer to the lost early Psalters of the fifth and fourth, the existence of which more than one circumstance had led us to infer.^b

^a For the stamps, see *Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1878, pp. 148 and 157; L. Stephani, *Die Schlangenfütterung*, etc. p. 6, no. 17; J. Arneth, *Die antiken Gold-und Silber-Monumente*, etc. Vienna, 1850, *Beilage* pl. iv.; and *Archaeologia*, lvii. 166. For the inscription, C. I. G. IV. 8901.

^b The classical book on Byzantine illuminated MSS. is Professor Kondakoff's *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris, 1886); but the most succinct account is to be found in the chapters on Byzantine art by M. Gabriel Millet in the new *Histoire générale de l'art*, edited by M. André Michel (see especially vol. i. pp. 207 ff.). Here due stress is laid upon the enduring influence exerted by the early illuminated MSS. in the form of rolls, which must have been in existence as early as the fourth century.

For though in the Catacombs, on early sarcophagi at Rheims and Marseilles, and on the fourth-century ivory casket at Brescia, we have only two Orpheus-like figures (which may or may not be intended for David), and the scene of the fight with Goliath in whole or in part,^a yet on the threshold of the fifth century the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan^b present a connected series of episodes; and as six of the nine subjects there chosen correspond with the series in the silver dishes, it would appear that a regular David cycle must have been already in use. That soon after this period the Psalms furnished matter for pictorial illustration we may gather from the choice of the psalm *Laudate dominum de coelis* for mural decoration by Bishop Neon of Ravenna.^c In the interesting series of frescoes at Bawît in Egypt^d there is also an extensive correspondence of subjects both to those on the doors and to those on the treasure; while in the case of the ivory casket in the Kircherian Museum at Rome,^e the number of scenes has considerably increased, and the influence of later Byzantine iconography has become apparent. The six scenes on the ivory book cover of the Princess Melisenda in the British Museum (see above, p. 7) introduce yet further variations.

Arguing from these monuments, some of which are of such remarkable antiquity, we may fairly assume that the same subjects were also reproduced by the earliest Christian illuminators; for manuscripts, from their portability, have at all times inspired other branches of art, and are as likely to have led the way as to have followed in it. There appear therefore to be good grounds for assuming the existence of illuminated Psalters as early as the fourth century,^f and

^a A. Goldschmidt, *as above*, 20; F. X. Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der altchristlichen Kunst* s. v. David. For the sarcophagi see Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, v. pl. 307, figs. 3 and 4, and pl. 341, figs. 1 and 4. For the Brescia casket see H. Graeven's series of photographs, *Italian series*, No. 14, Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana*, i. 290, and Garrucci, *as above*, vi. pl. 442.

^b See above, p. 10.

^c Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, in Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus*, cvi. 517-8; see also F. Wickhoff in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1894.

^d Published, as M. Millet has kindly reminded me, by Jean Clédât, *Le Monastère et le nécropole de Baouît, Mémoires . . . de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, 1904, xii. pl. xii. ff. Here the Anointing, the Introduction to Saul, and the Fight with Goliath are in common with the treasure; while David and his brothers before Samuel, and David playing before Saul, are in common with the series on the doors.

^e See above, p. 5. This casket has a series of thirteen scenes, only three of which correspond to those of the Kyrenia treasure.

^f It has sometimes been assumed that because no existing illuminated Greek Psalter is earlier

it is probable that these, like several of the surviving illustrated manuscripts of slightly later date (for example, the Vienna Genesis^a and the Codex Rossanensis^b) were produced in the Syro-Egyptian or Anatolian artistic province. The influence of such lost books, which were probably in the form, not of codices, but of rolls, may be traced in later manuscripts not only of Byzantine but also of Western origin. The Ashburnham Pentateuch is held to have had an Alexandrine-Jewish model;^c the Utrecht Psalter, with its obvious inheritance of late classical forms, is supposed to descend from a lost Psalter in the style of the Joshua rotulus of the Vatican;^d the Joshua rotulus itself is thought to have had a prototype illuminated in the golden age of Early Christian art.^e Should any such early Psalter ever be recovered, it would doubtless be found to offer points of contact with the carved doors, the Coptic frescoes, and the Kyrenia treasure. Meanwhile, interesting comparisons might be made between particular figures and groups upon the silver dishes and those in the Vienna Genesis, the Joshua roll, and the mosaics of St. Maria Maggiore, all of which are probably inspired by still earlier series of pictures; though to give such resemblances their full value it would be necessary to publish the whole of the treasure, and unfortunately that cannot at present be done.

It has already been indicated that as far as existing Psalters are concerned, the affinities of the treasure lie with the so-called aristocratic group, the relationship being evident in the case of the scene of the Anointing as represented on the dish in Paris (fig. 3) and in the Psalter in the library of St. Mark at Venice. (Fig. 16.) The members of this group, the most notable example of which is

than the ninth century, the period with which the surviving series begins, therefore the illustration of the Psalms in MSS. appeared at that time as something new. Such a view surely rests too exclusively upon negative evidence. (See the review of Tikkanen's book on the Psalter, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii. (1898), 253). Moreover internal evidence derived from the illustrated Psalters themselves points, like that of the monuments above described, to the existence of an early David cycle. On this subject see Millet, *as above*, p. 225.

^a W. von Hartel and Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*. (Vienna, 1895.)

^b A. Haseloff, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis*. (Berlin.)

^c J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, 32. (Leipzig, 1901.)

^d H. Graeven, *Die Vorlage des Utrechtsalters*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxi. (1898), 31.

^e H. Graeven, *Il rotulo di Giosue in L'Arte*, i. (1898), 228. This MS. is shortly to be published in facsimile by the Vatican library.

the famous Greek MS. No. 139, in the National Library at Paris^a usually have a limited number of full page miniatures, illustrating the story of David and the "Odes" accompanying the Psalms, each forming a separate composition, and devoid of special dogmatic significance. With this first group, which was

Fig. 16. The Anointing of David. (From the same MS. as fig. 5.)

probably produced for the court and the aristocracy, and largely inspired by monumental prototypes,^b is contrasted a second, originating in the monasteries at the close of the iconoclastic period.^c Here the illustration is marginal and continuous, aiming at the elucidation of particular verses and generally didactic

^a Kindred MSS. are the Vatican Psalter (*Palat.* 381) and Barberini, iii. 39. See J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, i. 113 ff; N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, ii. 31.

^b Millet, *as above*, 228.

^c Tikkanen, *as above*, 8 ff, who describes it as the "monastic theological" illustration of the Psalms. Like Kondakoff he notes its polemical aspect, adapted to a popular propaganda, and its close connection with church history. The oldest existing Byzantine Psalter in this style is that known as the Chludoff Psalter, originally brought from Mount Athos, and now at Moscow; it has been published by Kondakoff, who assigns it to the ninth century. Others of almost equal antiquity are the Codex Pantokratoros, still on Mount Athos (Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos Klostern*, 1891, pp. 177 ff and pl. xvii.-xx.; Uspensky, *First voyage to the Monasteries of Mount Athos*, 1846. Part 2); and the Greek MS. No. 20, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

in intention. Although these theological Psalters are also clearly under late classical influence, the retrospective tendency is more conspicuous in the miniatures of the aristocratic group, where the aim of the artist was more exclusively aesthetic, and the result often so antique in character as to suggest a comparison with Pompeiian frescoes. And yet, in deriving inspiration from ancient art the men who painted them were only obeying an instinct which continued to influence Byzantine artists in all periods down to the latest years of decadence.^a The Kyrenia treasure, possessing such evident affinities with their work, affords further evidence of the continuity of classical tradition in the Eastern Empire, and must be regarded as a valuable document in the history of Byzantine art.

The date of this Kyrenia treasure is evidently the same as that of the earlier treasure from the same place described in *Archaeologia*^b and mentioned more than once in the course of this paper. That find was ascribed approximately to the second half of the sixth century; and though the discovery of a coin of Constans II. in the present treasure gives the middle of the seventh century as the latest possible limit, there are many points which go to prove that the silver dishes, at any rate, must be older than this coin. There is the similarity in the disposition of the figures and of the architecture with the same features on the shield of Theodosius; there is the analogous character of the accessory objects beneath the exergual line, which suggest the treatment of silver dishes anterior to the sixth century, such as the disc or shield of Valentinian at Geneva;^c there is the Roman character of the marriage-scene, so like that of the coin of Theodosius II. (fig. 1), and so different from the later Byzantine type in which the figure of Our Lord is introduced; there is the early type of the announcement to David of Samuel's message, where the messenger is still human, and not, as in after times, transformed into an angel; and finally there is the general reminiscence of classical feeling in the treatment and grouping of the figures. An examination of details in like manner reveals analogies with monuments of a considerably earlier date than that of Constans II. The costumes are hardly to be distinguished from those of the fifth and early sixth centuries, and of this the royal costume exemplified in the figure of Saul is a fair criterion. The long chlamys has the *tablion* placed low, and not as usually

^a See the various examples of imitation quoted by Tikkanen, *Die Genesis Mosaiken in Venedig*, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, vol. xvii. p. 320.

^b Vol. lvii. 159.

^c Odobesco, 154.

in later times close to the fibula, while the fibula itself is of the type with straight "tail," which after the sixth century was replaced by the circular variety. The king wears a simple diadem or fillet not unlike that seen on the Barberini diptych and the shield from Kerteh, and without the lateral pendants formed of strings of pearls which, beginning in the reign of Justinian, became general from the time of Justin II. (A.D. 566-578). Such points would indeed count for little if the dishes presented very careful copies of early designs, but the character of the stamps or control-marks also points to the sixth century. These are identical in style with those of the treasure in the British Museum, among which there was a monogram of the rectangular outline which in general precedes the cruciform type, and seems to die out after the time of Justinian. We conclude that the silver dishes are more likely to belong to the sixth century than the seventh; and were it not for a frequent weakness and conventionality, a monotony of expression and gesture, eloquent of an art which lives by too servile an imitation of prescribed forms, we might think of the first rather than the second half of the century. But the distance which divides this work from the period of Theodosius is clearly very considerable, and perhaps it is safer to assign them to the later part of the century, in which case the gold jewellery found with the silver plate may well be contemporary. It must be confessed that within certain limits the dating of early Byzantine works in the minor arts is often little better than a process of divination.

There is nothing which absolutely proves that any of the objects were originally made for religious uses.^a Indeed the worldly character of the jewellery is obvious, and the decoration of domestic plate with biblical subjects must have been by no means unusual at a time when Christian designs loomed so large alike in the major and the minor arts. The fact that the treasure was found in the immediate neighbourhood of a religious house proves little, for secular plate was sometimes bequeathed or presented to the church; and again it is quite possible that the treasure may have been taken to the monastery in the hope of its proving a comparatively safe place in a time of danger.

^a The only early silver treasure of which this can be predicated with some certainty is that found at Luxor and now in the Cairo Museum. (*Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes: Koptische Kunst*, by J. Strzygowski, Nos. 7201 ff. (Vienna, 1904). The Lampsacus treasure in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, Nos. 376-396) may also in part at least have had a religious origin.

The place of manufacture is also uncertain, but it is on the whole more probable that work of this character was imported into Cyprus from Syria or Egypt than made upon the spot. Alexandria and Antioch were both great centres of the silversmith's art, and it has already been suggested with reference to the jewellery that one or the other may well have been the original home of the treasure. In the present state of our knowledge it would be rash to be too affirmative, but there are facts which rather incline the balance in favour of Syria. Like their neighbours in Sassanian Persia, the silversmiths of Syria were very active during the period preceding the Arab conquest,^a and the presence on a dish in the earlier Kyrenia treasure in the British Museum of a figure of St. Sergius, a saint enjoying exceptional popularity in Syria, is a small point which may not be without its bearing upon the general question. But it should be remembered that Constantinople also had its silversmiths' quarter, where the votive shield of Justinian, found at Kertch in 1891, is supposed to have been made.^b It is well known that the wealth of the imperial Vestiarium, or treasure-chamber, in plate of all kinds was almost fabulous, and the accounts given by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and others show that the splendour of fine services of silver and gold was always highly appreciated at the Court of Constantinople. It is not to be supposed that all the magnificent salvers and other objects of which we read in their pages were manufactured in the provinces and imported into a metropolis incapable of providing for its own luxurious needs. And it must be remembered that sumptuous plate was not by any means confined to the imperial palaces: all the wealthy nobles in Constantinople were supplied in a similar manner, and the accumulated treasures of the capital, rich in work of all periods from that of the early Roman Empire downwards, must have contained innumerable specimens produced on the shores of the Golden Horn.

The objects represented in fig. 17 are stated to have been found at the same time and place as the treasure. They are all of bronze, and consist of a pricket lamp-stand with two lamps, and several jugs or ewers. The lamps may be com-

^a M. Smirnoff has treated of this subject in a paper in the *Materials for Russian Archæology* (publication of the Imperial Archæological Commission of St. Petersburg, No. 22, 1899). Unfortunately for English readers the article is written in the Russian language.

^b *Materials for Russian Archæology*, No. 8, 1892, where this shield is figured and fully discussed. On the wealth of silver plate which was preserved at Constantinople see *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna, 1899): article by H. Graeven, *Ein Reliquien-Kästchen aus Pirano*.

pared with others from the Christian East in various museums,^a and are hardly likely to be later than the sixth century.

In conclusion the hope may be expressed that the ultimate possessors of the part of the treasure removed to Paris will make haste to publish a series of objects of the highest interest to the study of Christian iconography and to the history of the Byzantine minor arts.

^a British Museum, *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, Nos. 495 ff.; Cairo Museum Catalogue, as above, section *Bronze*.

Fig. 17. Bronze objects from Kyrenia. (About $\frac{1}{10}$ scale.)