OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION.[1]

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Archæology, as it is now understood, or the study of the Monuments and relics of bygone ages, was never pursued with greater ardour than in the present day. During the last century, and in the beginning of the present, classical antiquity was the object of careful study, and many admirable works, some remarkable for their colossal learning and exhaustive research, were published by the scholars of Europe, in illustration of the history, laws. customs, and remains of classical antiquity. Great and important, however, as were these works, which will ever be regarded as a monument of the industry, culture, and intelligence of their authors, they were based on a study of mere books and records, and on such inductions as might be drawn from a knowledge of the present, for the unravelling and unfolding to us the history of the past. It is only, to speak roughly, within the last quarter of a century, that excavations have been conducted on a large scale, and that the wrecks and still surviving monuments of antiquity have been investigated and studied on the spot. The value of the information derived from actual contact with the tangible remains of the past, the sureness of touch gained by familiarity with visible structures, the light shed on the dark regions of antiquity by this new method of practical experience, cannot be too highly estimated. It is needless to say how by the aid of the decisive test of actual measurement, of ocular inspection, and of present personal discovery, surmises were found to be suddenly changed

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into facts, theories erected on insufficient grounds were scattered to the wind, and many a cherished hypothesis, based merely on induction from the present, was banished for ever from the domain of science.

Suffice it to recall the discoveries made in Assyria, Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and Cyprus, to give an idea of the extent and completeness of the information now gained. The names alone of Nineveh, the Troad, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Ephesus, Olympia, Epidaurus, Eleusis, Athens, Pompeii and Rome, are enough to assure us of that re-birth of the knowledge of antiquity, and of that return of taste for and interest in the history of the past, which is so striking a characteristic of the present generation. Nay, it may be said, that we are but at the threshold of great revelations, and the awakened interest in antiquity of the cultured and educated classes of our age and country, gives every promise of rising to the importance of the occasion, and of girding itself to make still further efforts to win the prize within its reach, which is nothing less than that of bringing the peoples and places of ancient times within the field almost of actual observation. The Societies recently founded for exploration in Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus, the Society of Biblical Archæology, the Hellenic Society, and that of the British School at Athens, are proof enough of this encouraging hope. Egypt and Palestine alone, we may say, give every sign of bearing in their womb vast surprises for us. It is quite evident that the knowledge we have of these two countries, or rather of the two phases of ancient civilization represented by these names, is as yet in its infancy; and that we are on the eve of making, on this almost unexplored ground, discoveries which will confirm the Bible records, and throw new light upon its teachings. I am told by a great authority in Egyptology, that in spite of our many discoveries concerning the dynasties and history of ancient Egypt, we have as yet found no record or distinct mention in hieroglyphics of Moses, Jacob, Joseph, or Jeremiah. But we must remember, that it is only in this present century that we have begun slowly and painfully to spell out, as it were, the pictorial language of ancient Egypt; that the number of hieroglyphic records brought under our notice is as yet but small; that an immense number of papyri

and inscriptions are yet waiting to be examined; so that sooner or later amongst the countless records of ancient Egypt we are almost sure eventually to find all that we want. Nay, cannot we even now triumphantly say that these hallowed names have, during the last few months, from Egyptian sources been swimming into our view, thanks to the timely aid and to the efforts with pick and spade of some of our own members?

The last half century has seen revealed to us another ancient language, that of Assyria, and we are only now putting together the broken and scattered fragments of its cuneiform tablets, and of its cylinders, which carry us back, in the information they give us, to a period of the world's history long anterior to that of Egypt itself. Many other languages of the ancient peoples, which occupied the countries round about the Mediterranean, are still as sealed books to us and utterly unknown. When the long lost languages of Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Carthage, Iberia, and Etruria, shall have become known to us, and their inscriptions and records have been read, how much information shall we not receive? From this rapid survey it is evident to what direction the attention of our fellow workers throughout the world is now chiefly turned. Indeed, the field of Archæological study seems suddenly to have shifted ground, and to have reached deeper, wider, richer, and more fruitful strata. Our minds seem to have been lifted out of the narrow sphere of home concerns, and of the contracted region of our own country, and to have been almost wholly transported to those vaster fields occupied by the nations of antiquity. The study of the monuments and customs of our own country will ever be of immense importance for the illustration of our own national history. But we must remember that we are only one of many nations, and there is far away in the dim regions of the past, and calling for attention at our hands, an aboriginal history, of universal, or, as I may say, of *humanitarian* interest, which equally concerns us all. Knit as we all are in one lasting brotherhood, we cannot but feel attracted to the origins of our race, which, moreover, contain within themselves, in some way or other, the germs of all future, separate, distinctive and national

development throughout the many lands of East and West. The names of Leland, the prince of antiquaries; of Camden, Gale, Stukeley and Horsley, and of our great county historians, will ever be held in honour, and their labours highly appreciated by us; but they themselves would have been the first to acknowledge, had the regions that are now being explored, been known to them, and could the cities and monuments that have now been unearthed have been visited and inspected by them, that these visible records of the past contained within them secrets of the utmost value which were more worthy of their attention. For in the far past are the seeds of the future, and it is only by investigating the first efforts of man in art and handicraft, that we can thoroughly understand the after developments of Roman and mediæval times, and indeed judge and estimate in a proper manner the results we have attained to at the present day. It is in the intimate study of the monuments and remains of the Ancient World, when man was feebly beginning to shape the records of his history on the native rock, on hewn blocks of granite, or on polished marble, and to trace the glowing fancies of his mind on moulded or on painted clay, that we see those germs of light and beauty which were afterwards to dazzle us with their finished splendour, and to charm us with their incomparable grace, on the Acropolis of Athens or in the baths and palaces of Rome.

It is not for me to dwell on the refining and ennobling influence which a disinterested study of the past has upon the human mind. There is something in the contemplation of the past which lifts us above our present interests, and the lower atmosphere of our daily life, and transports us into a realm, where, divested of all thought of ourselves, and without any reference to the strife on many battle-fields that is going on around us, we can study and investigate the monuments of antiquity simply for their own sakes. In this serene atmosphere, in this unclouded sky, in this all-inspiring field of the labours of our fathers in human history, and of the makers of what we are, we can spatiate at peace and gather in a rich harvest of useful information, of novel interest, and of unceasing charm, without any disturbing thought, or any lurking ulterior view. Not, however, that the study of the past is without

all bearing on the present ; for so great are the lessons and examples of former times, that far from blinding or blunting our energies in the present, they give us still greater zest and interest when we return therefrom to our daily avocations. Enough for me to recall to your recollection in this place the words of the great moralist of our English Midlands—"Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses—whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."[1] But the study of archæology has far more important issues in the domain of science than to afford a pleasurable pastime, or to have merely an indirect bearing on the culture and improvement of our minds. Of archæology, we may say what Quinctilian said of the study of language —*Plus habet in recessu quam in fronte promittit.*

In all sciences it is the origins of things that require our first attention, and the case is not different in archæology. It is in order to illustrate this truth that I wish this evening, however briefly, to draw your attention to that distant and hazy period when man's yearning and attempts after artistic expression were in a state, we may say, of involution and potentiality, rather than of actual exercise and execution. It is by peering thus into a time when things were at their beginning, when ideas were assuming form, and forms were settling into outward shape, that we can come to assist, as it were, at the genesis of art, and by seeing from what it has come, discern also after what it is striving, and whither it tends. A mere dilettante acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity, with ruins, and sculptures, and heirlooms from the battle-field, or from the chance survivals of the ancient household, is not enough to satisfy the thirst for knowledge which is characteristic of the modern mind. We live in an age of exact definitions and of scrupulous adherence to facts ; when everything concerning man's actual physical existence upon earth must be brought to the test of accurate observation, and of strict, logical induction therefrom. If we would claim for archæology a place amongst the sciences, it must be on this condition : that it is studied in a proper and scientific manner within

[1] Dr. Johnson

the range of the facts with which it deals. The rank of a science can be claimed by us for archæology only on the condition that we take things at their origin, watch over their progress, and follow their development, and thus become enabled to assign to every effort of the mind of man resulting in a fresh direction imparted to architecture, to sculpture, and to painting, to the growths and differences apparent in art, in warfare, and in domestic manners, its proper place in the world's list of failures or in its muster-roll of victories.

And here I must say a word on another advantage to be derived from the study of archæology, viz., its relation to history. I am about to introduce you to a period of time in the world, and to a scene of man's activity in Europe, dating from before the age when history proper began to be written. For the office of the antiquary precedes that of the historian. Long before the first literary effort of the historian, there were tools, arms, buildings, and monuments. The period of which we have here hung on the wall some genuine specimens in these beautiful votive shields, that have just been discovered in Crete, belongs to the eighth century before Christ, a period which, to accurately discriminate from the *pre-historic*, of which there are no records or inscriptions whatever, and the *historic*, when the first literary record began, we had best perhaps style *proto-historic*.[1] An artistic culture flourished on the Island of Crete long before the time of Homer. There is no book, we may say, of the Iliad or of the Odyssey, where there is not mention of Crete. For its laws it is celebrated by Plato and by Aristotle. In Crete Plato lays the scene of his dialogue on laws. From Crete come the first artists into Greece. But we know that in Crete there were, before the Greeks, Phœnician Colonies, and these were nothing else than so many emporiums or factories, whence the merchandize of the East was carried and spread abroad over the whole country. History tells us nothing of the actual period of which we speak.

[1] Historical records, properly so-called, says Grote, do not begin until long after the date of the first recorded Olympiad, or 776 B.C.; and the paucity of attested facts for two centuries after that date is extreme (History of Greece, Preface). He elsewhere sets down the Theogony of Hesiod to the half century preceding 700 B.C., and he notices its distinct bearing, in the portion which respects Hekate, upon present life and customs, as traced in the allusions to Crete and Delphi. (Ch. I, note).

Whatever we know about this very ancient phase of Cretan civilisation, and of the relations of this island with the East, and especially with Phrygia and Phœnicia, is the outcome of a number of notices and incidents scattered in classical authors, which have to be tested by the discoveries of Archæology.[1] These deductions from the evidence of visible remains, whether in sculpture or in colour, together with the conclusions we can draw from a naturalistic or ethnological explanation of the most ancient myths, is all the information that can be gathered about those primitive times. Hence the historian can now no longer dispense with the archæologist,[2] and Archæology is absolutely necessary for this archaic, non-historic, or ante-historical, because unrecorded period, in order to show forth the relations which the different peoples of the earth had then with one another, and to illustrate the high significance which all artistic productions of that age have for the history of religion and the development of human thought.

About the year 625 before the Christian era, there suddenly sank beneath the horizon, and disappeared from the face of the known world, a city which had filled a great place in history, a city with the name of which we have all been familiar from childhood—Nineveh, the city of Sennacherib, where Jonah had preached, whence Holofernes had marched, where Tobias had lived in bondage. One might think that it had been engulfed like Sybaris, swallowed up by some catastrophe like Sodom and Gomorrah, or buried in its own ruins by an earthquake, so that not a vestige of it remained. Xenophon passed by the site where it had upreared itself in magnificence, and he had not heard even of its name; Alexander the Great never suspected, when he led his

[1] "Hoeckh," says Grote, "in his learned work Krêta, has collected all the information attainable, respecting the early influence of Phrygia, and Asia Minor upon Krête: nothing seems ascertainable, except the general fact; all the particular evidences are lamentably vague." (History, vol. ii, p. 16.)

[2] The canal dug by order of Xerxes across the promontory of Mount Athos, and the sailing of the Persian fleet through it, are feats in themselves so very improbable, that they are singled out by Juvenal, as a glaring example of Grecian mendacity:

Creditur olim
Velificatus Athos et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia. (Sat. x, 173-75.)

Historians have now no doubt of the occurrence and the Daric discovered in the soil during the present year, affords archæological confirmation of our historic certitude.

victorious army into that very land, that a great city once flourished on the banks of the Tigris, before which had trembled more than once the proud capital seated on the rival Euphrates, that Babylon which he himself wished to make the capital of his vast empire. Rome established on the spot one of her military colonies; but no son of Rome ever thought of the warlike memories buried beneath the soil which the Roman legionaries delved and trod:

Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

A few years ago we were ignorant not only of its site but of almost everything about Nineveh. The Bible alone had preserved the record of events contemporaneous with the various Assyrian Empires; for other ancient historians gave but scant and broken indications of any knowledge of Nineveh, and held an almost inexplicable silence concerning its checkered fortunes. A history of Assyria by Herodotus, if ever written, has not come down to us. All information about the manners, arts, sciences, works, and even the type and character of the Assyrian, were involved in the same uncertainty. We were ignorant alike of the costume he wore, of the arms he bore, of the tools he worked with, of the language he spoke, of his writing, and of his physiognomy. We could represent to ourselves with tolerable exactness an ancient Egyptian, a Greek, or a Roman; we could not seize with accuracy and fulness the outward semblance of an Assyrian, and reproduce him as a living being before our eyes.[1]

For two thousand four hundred years Nineveh lay lost to view, and after this immense lapse of time the knowledge of Nineveh was restored to us by the labours and discoveries of Botta and of Layard. The people of the country had neither pens nor ink nor paper; they had no papyrus like the Egyptians, nor prepared skins like the inhabitants of Pergamus, Greece or Rome; but they had soft clay in abundance, a substance which when hardened is proof against both fire and water; and on this they wrote their records in a manner more lasting and imperishable than either papyrus or parchment afforded. Thus within the last few years, in addition to the palaces and the human-

headed winged animals revealed to us by excavation, which by the way throw such light on the sculptures of the Tabernacle, and on the ordinances of the Mosaic ritual, we have been thrilled with surprise by the discovery of vast subterranean libraries full of inscribed tablets, which have given us unexpected confirmation of the traditional story of the Creation, of the Fall, of the Flood, and of the Dispersion of mankind.

Thus was restored to life, we may say, a great and populous city, possessing palaces which displayed a barbaric magnificence, at once colossal, rich, elaborate, and artistic, which no ancient or modern edifice has probably ever surpassed—the splendid capital of an empire which extended roughly from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean and to Cyprus, and from the Euxine to the Persian Gulf.

But what has Assyria to do with Crete? A number of bronzes bearing representations of an Assyrian character, and decorative motives of Assyrianising tendency, or evidently in imitation of Assyrian ornamentation, have just been found buried under the earth in a cave sacred to Jupiter in Crete. In the whole world there is nothing like them. No bronzes have as yet been found of so rich and advanced a character bearing so early a date; shields so ancient have never before been found in Europe and perhaps not in Asia. The question arises how Assyrian work of the eighth century before Christ should be found in Crete. We interrogate history, but history gives no answer. This is evidently a question for the archæologist not for the historian. If, then, we inquire how these bronzes of an Assyrian character could have come to Crete in this so-called proto-historic age, we shall find that the sea-faring Phœnician merchants must have been the intermediaries between Crete and Asia. Now the Phœnicians had warehouses in the bazaars of ancient Babylon, and there they would naturally learn to imitate the decorative system of the country, and after applying it to the metal work of their own forges, afterwards carry these trophies of their skill with them in their ships and

[1] As an old pupil of S. Sulpice I have allowed myself to adapt this passage about Nineveh from the work of one of its most learned professors, the Abbé Vigouroux. See his *La Bible et les decouvertes modernes*, vol. I, pp. 152, 180.

scatter them over the whole world. Written records for this period are wholly wanting, but the precious and telling crumbs of knowledge, history's χειμήλια as we may call them, that we gather up by archæological research, enable us to re-construct and picture for ourselves a most important page of man's life and labours on earth in the twilight of time, when nations were in their infancy.

The island of Crete, therefore, holds a very important place in the history of art development. In the centre of the great Mediterranean[1] on the highway of the seas, situated mid-way between Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece and Italy, it served as a connecting link between East and West. On mount Ida, where Cretans, Phœnicians, and Greeks met for common worship, lived in the most distant times the first inhabitants of the island, the fabled inventors of the use of fire, of smelting copper and iron, and of the working of these metals into tools and weapons; the first, according to Diodorus Siculus, to use the bow, the sword and the helmet in warfare, and the first to establish military games; the reputed anthors of poetry, music and religious rites. Here lived Minos who first gave laws to men, the first amongst mortals to build a

[1] Perhaps it would be more conformable to the mode of speaking of the ancients to describe Crete as in the Adriatic Sea. Certainly Solinus (flor. circa 238 A.D.) confesses to a difficulty as to what name he should give the sea in which Crete is situate. *Pronius est Cretam dicere, quam absolvere in quo mari jaceat: ita enim circumflui illius nomina Graeci permiscuerunt, ut dum aliis alia inferunt, pene oblimaverint universa.....ab austro libycis undis perfunditur et Aegyptiis.* (II, 8.) Now what is here called by Solinus *Mare Libycum*, was according to Orosius also called the Adriatic: *Insula Creta finitur oriente Carpathio mari, ab occasu et septentrione mari Cretico, a meridie Libyco, quod et Hadriaticum vocant.* (I, 2, § 97.) Ptolemy however calls by the name of Adriatic the sea touching Crete upon the west: Ἡ Κρῆτη περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μεν δυσμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριατικου πελάγους (iii, 17, 1; *cf.* iii, 15, 1 & 2; viii, 9, 2, etc.). My venerated friend and early instructor, Prof. De. Vit, from whose learned monograph in two 8vo. volumes, of some 800 pages, on Adria, just published at Florence by Cellini, I have taken these quotations, adduces also the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus for making the Adriatic stretch from the coasts of Syria to the straits of Gibraltar (1, 2), also Pomponius Mela (ii, 2, 2), Martianus Capella (VI, 657), Jordanes Romanus, who says: *Rodus insula dicitur totius Atriae insularum metropolis* (§. 223, M; *cf.* §. 151 *ib.*; and *Get.* §. 156), and Orosius who affirms that Tripoli is washed on the North and Sicily on the east by the Adriatic: *Trypolitana provincia habet a septentrione mare Siculum vel potius Hadriaticum. Sicilia ab oriente cingitur mari Hadriatico* (I, 2, § 90, *cf.* §. 100). I have given these authorities as they are in addition to those mentioned by Dean Howson where he proves St. Paul landed in Malta after St. Luke had said: *navigantibus nobis in Adria.* Mommsen, in his re-integration of the monument of Ancyra (Berlin, 1883), furnishes a proof that in the Age of Augustus the Adriatic was considered synonymous with our Mediterranean. *Vide* also De Vit, ONOMASTICON, *sub voce* Adria.

fleet,[1] and to make himself feared at sea. Here we see a striking resemblance between this little isle which ruled the waves, cleared the ocean of corsairs and extended its influence over many lands, of this little isle, which already in the time of Homer was celebrated for its hundred cities, with that other isle, which in the time of the Romans could boast of a hundred townships, an isle no less famed for its metal work and its mastery of the sea, the Isle of Britain.

But Crete was principally famous, as the birthplace of Zeus and the cradle of Zeus worship. Zeus or Jupiter, the greatest of the Olympian gods, and the pivot on which turned the legends of Greek and Roman mythology, was according to the common account brought up in Crete. There was he fed by nymphs with the milk of the goat and with the honey of the mountain bee, while the Curetes clashed their weapons in a warlike dance, to drown the cries of the sacred infant entrusted to their care, and to prevent his father, Cronus from learning the place where he lay concealed. An ancient tradition, older than the memory of man, pointed to Mount Ida as at once his cradle and his tomb; for there Zeus was reputed both to have been born and to have died; and, throughout the world, Crete was esteemed the favourite isle of Jupiter, as Cyprus was of Venus, and Delos of Apollo. The priesthood of Delphi, the seat of Apollo, son of Zeus, the most famous oracle of antiquity, and styled by the Greeks, the "navel of the earth," was but an offshoot from the still more ancient fane of Crete.[2]

[1] "When the city of Kyrene was founded a century and a half after the first Olympiad (776 B.C.), it was difficult to find anywhere a Greek navigator who had ever visited the coast of Libya." (Grote, Hist. II, p. 101, cf Herod IV., 151.)

The Θαλασσοκρατία of Crete, noted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle and Strabo, is an undesigned coincidence, in point of date with what we are told by Egyptian monuments as to the various invasions of Toursha and Pelesta from over the water, which Egypt suffered during the XVth and XIVth centuries B.C., that is from the reigns of I Ramses and of his son Seti I, surnamed Minphtah (the Greek Sethos), of the XIXth dynasty, to that of Ramses III, head of the XXth dynasty. Aristotle observes how conveniently Crete is situated to exercise empire over the Ægean sea. Eusebius in his chronicle registers an invasion of Cyrenaica by the Pelasgians in 1333 B.C.

[2] Demeter, according to the Hesiodic Theogony, lived in Crete, and there by Jasion, had a son named Plutos. In the Eleusinian story, preserved in the Homeric Hymn, the past abode of Demeter in Crete is not forgotten. Crete is also the scene of the myth of Europa, or at least of its final act. It was in Crete that by Zeus Europa became the mother of Minos, and she was afterwards married to Asterion, King of Crete, who brought up for her the children whom she had had by the King of the gods.

In the summer of 1884 a shepherd, who was feeding his flocks on the slopes of Mount Ida, happened to scratch with a stick on the floor of a grotto, when he was surprised to find almost at the very surface numerous fragments of terra-cotta lamps, some pieces of very thin gold-leaf, and a few small bronzes. On the news spreading to the neighbouring village, shepherds and peasants ran up the mountain side and began without delay to break up the ground in all directions, within and without the grotto, and soon found themselves possessed of considerable booty in the shape of antique objects of different kinds.

Dr. Fabricius was at that time travelling in the island engaged on an archæological mission he had received from the German Archæological Institute. He no sooner heard the news than he betook himself to Mount Ida, where he arrived in time to be able to examine and take notes and drawings of the objects found while they were still in the hands of the conntry people. Shortly after they were all sold and irretrievably dispersed in various private collections.

Towards the end of September the Greek Syllogus of Candia[1] took steps to have the cave explored, but it was not until the melting of the snows of winter, that they were able, in the spring of 1885, to have a picket of Turkish gendarmes posted near the grotto, in order to protect its hidden treasures. The revolutionary movement, however, which took place in the island about the end of May, frustrated even this good intention, and

[1] Too much praise cannot be given to the enterprise, forethought, and enlightened zeal for the true interests of science displayed by this infant Society of the Greek inhabitants of Crete, which dates its existence only from the year 1875. A special meed of praise is due to Dr. Chatzidakis, who, since 1883, has been at the head of this literary and scientific institution. But for his personal intervention and superior learning, the discoveries which we have now to record would never perhaps have taken place, or, at least, would not have so directly and so fully come to the knowledge of the *savants* of Europe. Some idea may be gained of the rapid development of this interesting Greek Syllogus, which has already done so much to earn the gratitute of all lovers of art and students of history, from the fact that at the annual general meeting held in October, 1887, ten new members were enrolled, bringing up their number to a hundred, and subsidies were acknowledged from the Archæological Society of Athens, which granted them 4,000 francs, and from the Governor-General of Crete, who had assigned them a thousand piastres annually. The receipts of the Society during the past year had been 73,170 piastres, and the expenses in acquiring antiquities, transporting them and placing them in their newly-founded museum, amounted to 52,684 piastres.

during twenty days of anarchy, the gendarmes of Mount Ida having returned home, almost the whole village poured into the grotto, and, dividing out the whole ground round-about amongst themselves, excavated it without let or hindrance for two or three weeks. On order being re-established in the island, the gendarmes returned and the Greek Syllogus, having paid an indemnity to the villagers according to the value of their discoveries, were able on August 31st to undertake excavations on a regular plan. They were confided to the direction of Dr. Halbherr, and to G. Aeraki, one of the professors of the Greek Gymnasium of Candia.

A better idea can be obtained of the position and nature of the grotto from the two drawings which are exhibited on the wall, than from any description of mine. Suffice it to say that the newly identified Zeus cave presents the appearance of a large opening in the flank of a high vertical rock on the eastern slope of Mount Ida and is divided into two distinct compartments. The first or outer cave is twenty-five mètres wide at the mouth, and thirty-one mètres wide about the centre. It had been filled in by earth and stones that had fallen from the top of the mountain, so that the floor slopes steeply inwards for about nineteen mètres, and then becomes level at the further end, forming an almost level space nearly fifteen mètres square. At its mouth the cave is about nine-and-a-half mètres high. Advancing in a north-westerly direction we come upon a smaller and inner grotto, about twenty-two mètres long and twelve mètres wide at its opening, but only four-and-a-half mètres high, and almost quite dark. The ground of this inner cave, as also a large portion of that of the larger one, is composed of ashes, charcoal and bones of animals, amongst which are some ox skulls, the remains of ancient sacrifices.

The mouth of the principal cave bears an exact resemblance to the square stage opening or drop scene of a gigantic out-of-doors theatre, and, like the front of all Grecian temples, looks towards the East. On either side project from the mountain flank two huge masses of rock, reared like bulwarks to defend the entrance, and in the open space between them stands the imposing altar of sacrifice, which has been square-hewn out of a massive

rock, which in ages long gone by had dropped from above. The altar forms on the top a rectangular surface four-and-threequarter mètres long and nearly two wide; its height is about three feet and it is correctly oriented in the sense of its greatest length. It stands on a rocky platform one mètre and a half wide, raised about three mètres above the level of the ground. The platform, or dais, commands a view of the whole of the interior of the first grotto and of a part of the further grotto as well. Before the grotto is a level space or platform, as wide as the grotto itself and seventy-five inches long.

Round about the altar, at a depth of about two feet, were found a number of votive objects, lamps, ornaments of gold, feet and other portions of tripods, numerous fragments of terra-cotta, with many cast bronzes of a very archaic period, and of high significance. In the grotto itself, besides some few prehistoric objects, as two or three needles made of bone and a kind of two-edged knife made of obsidian (which may also be part of a necklace), were found a great number of hammered bronze articles, as shields, cups, cauldrons, etc.

The great number and variety of objects found answer well to the great veneration in which this cave was held, consecrated as it was by one of the chief myths of the religious system of the Pan-Hellenic world, and to its situation in the centre of the island, at about an equal distance from the two flourishing cities of Gortyna and Cnossos. All the objects found are either utensils directly serving in the rites of worship, as tripods, cauldrons, etc., or votive offerings of the most various kinds, such as are found in the inventories of the treasuries of the Parthenon, and of the temple of Delos, or amongst the recent discoveries of temple offerings at Olympia or at Dodona. Amongst all this variety of objects, as bronzes, beaten with the hammer or decorated in *repoussé* work, as the great cauldrons, the shields, the bowls and cups, plain or figured, etc,, and the cast bronzes, as feet of tripods, numberless handles of vases, statuettes, votive animals, decorative figures single or in groups, ornaments of gold and silver, ivory, amber, crystal, engraved stones, pseudo-Egyptian majolica, terra-cotta, arms of iron, coins, etc., what surprises us not a little is the total lack of inscrip-

tions. Only one small piece of gold has upon it a few letters, but they are well nigh illegible. Of the numerous vases and other votive objects found, not one bears a trace of the least dedicatory inscription.

The identification of this now historic and truly prolific cave on Mount Ida with the Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον τοῦ Διός, the importance of which was first pointed out by me in a letter to the *Athenæum* of Feb. 12th, of last year, was worked out by Dr. Fabricius in the Athenian issue of the German Archæological Institute, Vol. X. His reasoning is based upon a personal examination of the locality, which was evidently used for worship and the object of great concourse, and on comparison of its chief characteristics with all that can be gathered from ancient authors; to which must be added the sacred and votive nature of the objects found there. He confirms his conclusions, first, by a passage of Diodorus Siculus (V, 70), who speaks of the God's cradle-cave, of the pastures on the mountain-side, of the copper-coloured bees, and of the cold wind and snow that wreath those giddy heights. Theophrastus next is quoted, who, in his History of Plants (III, 3, 4), speaks of the votive offerings put up in the Idæan Cave, furnishing us further with a distinct local designation and distance, though the name Sauros is not now known to the mountain shepherds as one attached to any of its seven or eight water springs. Lastly, Plato's Dialogue on Laws begins with a poetical description of a pilgrimage from Cnossus to the Idæan Cave, in which the scenery of the present site is clearly discernable. The distance of the grotto from Cnossus is about a day's journey, eight or nine hours' walk. Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. IV, 1, 3) and others state expressly that the slopes of Mount Ida were covered with cypresses; though now nothing there is seen but evergreen oaks, maples, and scattered brushwood. Thus, besides the information we gain from Plato that the Zeus Cave was a well-known object of pilgrimage, such as friends might make together on a summer's day from Cnossus; the mention by him of the cypress shade through which they would wend their way, is an additional confirmation of the identity of this long-lost but now recovered site. At the time Dr. Fabricius wove this reasoning he was not aware of the confirmation that

would so shortly be brought to his argument by the actual discovery on the spot of a dedicatory inscription, which constitutes our solitary but sufficient proof in point of fact. The slab thus inscribed to the Idæan Zeus is of the Roman period.

Among the many and diverse objects found in the Idæan Cave, the most important from an artistic point of view, are some votive shields, about a dozen in all. These are all circular, with a diameter varying between twenty-two and twenty-seven inches,[1] of very thin bronze metal. These two latter characteristics show that they were not used really for defence, but only as ornamental and votive shields, like those described by Pausanias as seen by him in the gymnasium of Elis.[2] We know that in all great sanctuaries, such votive offerings were entrusted to the care of special functionaries, who were charged with making periodically the necessary repairs, or if the objects were much damaged, they could be melted down. With the exception of such repairs as have been made at a much later date than the time of their fabrication, not one of these votive shields bore any trace of soldering. They are all single disks of metal, beaten out with the hammer in repoussé work, and oftentimes finished externally with some sharp pointed instrument or the graving tool. This chiselling is especially observable in the central boss or *omphalos*, which invariably takes the form of a lion's head. The most common ornamentations in the decoration of the concentric zones, or of the band dividing zone from zone is the guilloche, that rope intertwinement, consisting of two bands or strings twisted over each other in a continued series, and (2), embossed knobs, or (3), more rarely, garlands of palm-leaves or of flower-buds, which two latter decorations however are more frequently found on the metal bowls discovered in the same place, and at the same time.

[1] The exact measurement, varies generally between 0·55^{m} and 0·68^{m}, the thickness of the shields rarely surpassing $\frac{1}{4}$ of a millimètre in the middle and 1 millimètre at the edge. Only two shields depart from these proportions, one measuring in diameter 0·80^{m} and the other 0·35^{m}.

[2] *περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἀσπίδες ἀνάκεινται, Θέας ἕνεκα καὶ οὐκ ἐς ἔργον πολέμου πεποιημέναι.* (Pausanias, Descriptio Græciæ l. vi. c. xxiii, 7.)

In Perrot and Chipiez's Hist. of Art in Assyria (vol. I, page 394 of Engl. trans.,) can be seen the figure of a temple of Armenia from a bas-relief of Sargon, with its façade formed of pilasters, upon which hang votive shields or targets.

In Plate IX we see a shield with two concentric zones ornamented with figures, beaten out in relief with a hammer, sharply rounded off with a chisel, and finished with the graving tool. The outer circle contains twelve bulls stepping, divided into four groups; the inner circle contains four groups of the Ibex, or ten wild Assyrian goats, at full gallop, equally divided into four compartments, with between them bold representations of the lotus flower. The central boss forms the head of a lion with jaws open, a piece of work marvellously executed. The mane is combed, as it were, into a number of tongue-shaped tufts. The two cavities for the eyes form holes expressly hollowed out to contain pupils of some other material now lost. The illustration is two-thirds the natural size. At the side of the sheet is seen the lion's head in profile. It projects from the surface somewhat over three inches, and displays a freshness, a vigour, a beauty, and a knowledge of anatomy, more Greek than Assyrian, and superior to anything yet found in the archaic strata of Olympia.

Plate III represents another shield, two-thirds the natural size, with the *omphalos* representing also the head of a lion projecting ten centimètres, or nearly four inches from the surface. Four large figures fill the inner band, two winged sphinxes, facing each other, in the act of putting away the cup-shaped flowers of a plant placed between them, and two lionesses, tigers, or else panthers, which meet together in the upper part of the shield. These two animals are again separated by a palm, the artist having wished thus to fill in every vacant space at his disposal with a leaf, a palmette, or a flower. The skin of the sphinxes, and of the other two animals, is marked by a kind of network of square or rhomboidal scales, with in the centre of each an embossed knob or ball.

Plate V, also two-thirds of the original size, represents a shield with a decorated border filled with two figures of warriors and two figures of lions, between which latter is a winged globe, from which proceed two arms grasping some sheaf-like object. The warriors are clothed in a long coat of mail covering the whole body down to the feet, with conical helmets on their heads, the best preserved of the two figures having a round shield in his left

hand. The right hands of the two warriors meet with closed fists before an object like a fan, or flabellum, placed between them. This shield has been cleverly put together out of thirty fragments.

Plate IV, also two-thirds of the original size, represents an enormous bird in the act of taking wing, or rather a fantastic animal which combines the nature of both bird and fish. This monstrous creature occupies the upper and central portion of the shield and stretches with its extended wings beyond the outer ornamental border, almost to the edge of the shield. The back and breast are covered with thick feathers delicately finished with a graver. In the lower part of the shield is a large sphinx in motion with her feet resting on the inner border. The breast is covered with the same kind of plumage as the bird and the head is covered with a kind of tiara, somewhat like a crown of upper Egypt. Two large horned serpents occupy the rest of the field, the vacant spaces being filled in with a ram running, and with two small figures of lions. The border is composed of ornamental rosettes now coupled together, now divided by a pair of smaller rosettes, or else by an ornament like a twisted ribbon or scroll work. This magnificent shield has been put together from five large broken fragments composing the centre, and twenty-nine smaller ones for the most part belonging to the rim.[1]

But the finest specimens are Nos. I and II, both representing subjects of the highest interest. They are both like the foregoing of Phœnician workmanship, but in character and detail thoroughly Assyrian. The first of these shields represents Melkart, the Tyrian Hercules, throwing a lion into the air, with on either side winged deities beating drums.[2]

[1] Compare the disks or platters figured in Perrot and Chipiez's History of Art, in Chaldea and Assyria (London 1884, Vol. II, p. 327-334, fig. 217 from Layard), having three zones of animals, the first gazelles, the second a bull, a gazelle, an ibex and a winged griffin, and in the third zone 14 heavy crested bulls. "The idea of employing all these animals for the adornment of such a surface, is entirely in the spirit of Assyrian decoration," (*Ib.* p. 335); speaking of Assyrian *paterœ*, our authors say: "In most cases the ruling principle of the decoration is the division of the disk into three, four or five concentric circles, but in some instances the whole field, with the exception of a simple border, is occupied by one subject," (p. 329). The best of them are like our shields, beaten up into relief with the hammer, and then finished with the burin.

[2] Herakles and Aphrodite, two well-defined types of ancient Greek mythology, have each their separate range of action in legend, in worship, and in epic, lyric,

The second shield represents Astarte,[1] the Sidonian Venus, nude between two lions, whom she holds subdued, as it were by an imperious gesture, with underneath two Sphinxes, in the same face to face symmetrical arrangement. These two shields have been carefully reproduced in Plates in the Reliquary for December, and I must therefore refer to its pages for a full description of the peculiar character of their ornamentation, and for their high artistic and historic significance.

Here, then, on these shields we have the memories of many lands gathered into one. Here we have the sphinx, the palm-tree, and the lotus, borrowed from Egypt, set in the stiff, formal, heraldic, and face to face arrangement peculiar to Assyria. To Assyria, too, belongs the hybrid monster, the winged creature, the clothed human form, the love of rich decoration. Here on these shields we have pourtrayed the relation of Phœnicia with both these seats of ancient civilization, first with Egypt and afterwards with Assyria. What fresh motive in decoration or what new idea the Phœnicians engrafted on to this double stream of artistic development, it is difficult to say, for this is a portion of the history of art, which, owing to the great scarcity of materials from which to judge, is as yet in its infancy. The independent art creations of Phœnicia, are, so far as known, very few. Hence the great value of these new discoveries is abundantly apparent. In Phœnicia itself sculptured monuments are

and tragic poetry. To Herakles the Greeks assigned Athena as the constant and watchful protectress. The antipathy of Hera against Herakles was the suggesting cause of myths innumerable. "Heracles," says Grote, "was the most renowned and most ubiquitous of all the semi-divine personages worshipped by the Hellenes...He is found not only in most parts of Hellas, but throughout all the other regions then known to the Greeks, from Gades to the river Thermodon, in the Euxine, and to Scythia; overcoming all difficulties and vanquishing all opponents. Distinguished families are everywhere to be traced who bear his patronymic, and glory in the belief that they are his descendants" (vol. I, p. 92, 93).

(1) "The first image of a God which met the eyes of the Pelasgi was that of Astarte, whose worship had been so peculiarly appropriated by the Canaanite traders, that they never weighed anchor without taking an image of her with them; and wherever they founded a factory they set this up as its sacred centre...Melicertes is the same name as Melkart, adapted to the Hellenic tongue. Wherever Tyrians settled they erected sanctuaries to Melkart, their city god. The essential traits of the city Hero of the Tyrians now transferred to Heracles. The worship of these divinities, as well as that of Moloch, of which traces occur in Crete and elsewhere, may be justifiably presumed to have been brought by the Phœnicians into European Greece. These two forms of worship record at the same time the chief epochs of the Phœnician influence which followed the period of the prevailing dominion of each particular town." (Curtius, Hist. of Greece, vol. I, p. 53-5.)

few; her temples have all perished; all that remains of the architectural achievements of early days are a few cave-tombs and rock-sculptures. Harried in turn by nation after nation, nothing else has survived as evidences of art in the home of that great merchant people. But in the islands of the great Mediterranean Sea, in the tombs of Mycenæ, and in those of a host of Etruscan towns in Italy, have been preserved the decorated bowls, and shields, and swords, that these sea-rovers carried with them in their ships. Anyhow the metal work of these shields is Phœnician. On them we see the Melkart of Tyre, and the Astoreth of Sidon, the god of force and the goddess of love, the divinities of destruction and of preservation, of death and of life, those two cardinal pivots or centres of ancient mythology, which the Phœnicians thus carried in two distinct currents towards the West. Here Phœnicia, after serving as a link between Egypt and Assyria, between Africa and Asia, now serves as a connecting bond between East and West, between Assyria, Egypt, and Greece, between Africa, Asia, and Europe. The divinities seen upon these shields were first beheld by the Greeks when they themselves were fashioning into shape their first expressions in art.[1] What influence the decorative motives of Egypt and Assyria, imported by the Phœnicians, had upon the early artists of Greece, it is again, as yet, very difficult to say, and we have to glean such scanty information as we can from what exists of archaic Greek art in pre-Phœnician strata, compared with such ancient Phœnician remains as are entirely destitute of any admixture of Greek influence.[2] Such is the surpassing value of these Phœnician shields, the most ancient metal shields yet discovered. They belong to an epoch when the Greek race was in its youth, when the springs of its mind were fresh, when it was most likely to be influenced by external agents, and such objects were the first to introduce the young and aspiring Greek to the rigid, severe, monotonous, mys-

[1] According to Grote, Egypt first became opened to the Greeks, during the reign of Psammetichus, about 660 B.C.

[2] In the 4th Ed. of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie* now in course of publication, no doubt is left that "Aphrodite is wholly derived from the Syrian Phœnician and Canaanite," the Greeks worshipping "no goddess akin to Venus and to Freya before they came into contact with Oriental religion" (V. Prof. Ramsay in "Classical Review," for Nov. 1888).

sterious, and impenetrable forms of Egypt, and to the dreamy, lack-life, symbolic and ideal creations of the Assyrians. Others may be interested in tracing the motives visible on these shields to Jerusalem, where, in the Temple of Solomon, we shall find instead of the lotus the lily-work, for winged-animals the cherubim, then the palm trees, and the borders figured with lions and oxen. What light these Phœnician sculptures may throw on Scandinavian art, may be best said by others. In principle we must at least admit some connection between Scandinavian art and ancient Oriental or rather Asiatic art (that is to say, not exclusively Assyro-Babylonian), to say nothing of the influence that may have been brought to bear on the far North by Greco-Phœnician or Etruscan mediation. Such purely Asiatic influence may have reached the North by land across modern Russia, at the time of those migrations which brought into Scandinavia the use of metals.

Never before on Grecian soil have so large a number of archaic bronzes, of such high interest and of such great variety, been found. Indeed so scarce are archæological remains of this kind in this age that the lessons of these shields constitute in themselves a perfect revelation. Of this proto-historic period, when written documents are entirely wanting or are extremely scarce, our only information concerning defensive armour comes exclusively from the poems of Homer or from a few primitive vase-paintings and sculptures, while our knowledge of warlike weapons of the ancient Italic, Hellenic, and circum-Mediterranean races is not much greater. No real shields of so early a date as these before us had hitherto been found. Some twenty-one examples of ancient bronze shields have been found in Etruria, which may be safely held to be anterior to the 6th century, B.C. But none so old as these had been as yet found in Greece or in Phœnicia, and we have only two of an equally ancient date from Cyprus, one quite smooth, and therefore of little value, from Nimroud, and four from Van in Armenia. Amongst the rich archæological remains of ancient Egypt we have no specimen of a metal shield.[1] Every one knows

[1] The shield discovered in 1880 by Capt. Clayton, at Toprak-Kilissa near Van, on which we read an inscription of a King of Urardha or of Armenia, by name

the difficulties that philologists and commentators have consequently encountered in determining the shape, material, composition and ornamentation of the shields of Homer. The extreme importance therefore of this discovery of actual shields, cannot be too much insisted on. To the written words of Homer and of Hesiod, to the pictures of Phœnician, Pelasgic[1] and Chalcidian vases, and to some Attic ones of very archaic style, to some Cyprian terra-cottas, and to the numerous sculptures of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian monarchies, which have hitherto been the only sources whence we could obtain any trustworthy knowledge of the ancient Greek and Eastern shield, we can now add this fine series of Cretan shields which have just been unearthed in time

Rushas, a contempary of Assourbanipal, is thus described by Perrot and Chipiez, who figure it in their Hist. of Art in Assyria, Vol. II, p. 347. "In the centre there is a rosette with many radiations; next come three circular bands separated from each other and from the central boss by a double cable ornament. The innermost and outermost zones are filled with lions passant, the one between with bulls in the same attitude." The Photographic album in the Assyrian gallery of the British Museum gives for events of Assourbanipal's bas-reliefs, the dates 668 to 650 B.C. According to Rawlinson "It has been generally supposed that Asshur-banipal died about B.C. 648 or 647.....but recent discoveries render it probable that his reign was extended to a much greater length," perhaps down to 626 B.C. ("The five great monarchies of the ancient Eastern World," Vol II, p. 219.)

[1] The Pelasgi, after having long served as a kind of scholastic *materia prima*, out of which were evolved the various populations of the Mediterranean basin, and after having long figured in introductory chapters before each separate country's local history began, have in the last few years met with such a persistent denial of any claim to a distinct nationality, that they have grown accustomed to be dismissed with a Dickens's dictum, "I don't believe there never was no such people." A re-habilitation is now sought for them with the help of Lenormant, who identified them with the Philistines, and Dr. De Vit devotes several chapters in the first volume of his recent work on Adria in support of this conclusion. He maintains with Lenormant that the Pelesta, who, with the Toursha, invaded Egypt both by sea and by land in the reign of Ramses III., of the 20th Dynasty, are identical with the Pelishtim or Philistines, who had then for some time been settled on the coasts of Palestine, and that the Pelesta and Philistines are identical with the Pelasgi. Dr. Guest, in his *Origines Celticæ*, says the Pelasgi (πελαῖοι) were the ancient Tyrrheni or tower-building Tursenor. Various ancient authorities point to Crete as peopled by the Pelasgi; and thence, according to Lenormant, came the Pelesta or Pelishtim mentioned on Egyptian monuments. Now the Philistines are called in the Bible Cerethim, and the Septuagint translate the Cerethim of the Hebrew text Cretans, whence it is concluded that the Pelasgi, Pelesta, Philistines, or Cerethim, are all one people, and came originally from Crete. For further proof see De Vit's *Onomasticon*, tom. II., *sub vocibus* Caphtorim, Cerethi, Creta. In Smith's Bible Dictionary we read, "The Egyptian Shayretana (same as the Hebrew Cherethim) of the Sea, are probably Cretans" (under *Pelethites*). Movers and Ewald both bring the Philistines into Palestine from Crete. De Vit thinks that the Venetian city Adria was founded some seventeen centuries before Christ by the Pelesta or Pelasgi, and he thus explains two names attached to the immediate neighbourhood as the *Fossiones Philistinæ*, the island *Pelestrina*, and one of a people called *Pelestini*, as known by the title given by Pliny and by Frontinus (*Agrimensor*) to Adria in Picenum.

to fill up a notable gap in our knowledge, and which show us the passage from the rich geometrical decoration of the borders, and from geometric decoration generally, to that which consists in figures, so that their study is of the greatest use in determining the various points of contact between Oriental and Italo-Greek civilization, and in illustrating the transmission of both geometric as well as animal and figurative decorated forms from East to West. It has been remarked that all the most ancient shields yet found, present a great family likeness, whether we consider their dimensions, their form their mechanical construction or the character of their ornamentation, as an example either of the rich geometric concentric borders, or of the transition from the geometric to the figured style. But the principal service, these newly discovered shields render us is that by the evidence of an actual and tangible object, they act as a trustworthy check on the imaginative creations of the poet, and on the oftentime no less free and unfaithful creations of the decoratory and representative Arts, just as the knowledge of geography, and the use of a map enable us to correct the legend of the fabulous localities visited by the Argonauts, or the notion propounded by Aristotle, that the Danube had a forked course with one mouth in the Black Sea and the other in the Adriatic.[1]

In conclusion I must express my great indebtedness to Dr. Halbherr, Professor of Greek Epigraphy at the Roman University, and to Dr. Orsi, now attached to the museum at Syracuse as Inspector of Excavations, whose joint or double monograph, the first part upon the technique and the second on the artistic and historic meaning of these shields, published at Florence by their respective authors in the *Museo di Antichità Classica* (Vol. II, Punt. III), in the spring of this year, has been my almost exclusive guide

[1] See in the Journal of the Asiatic Society (Vol. XIV, p. 653) Prof. Sayce's account of the bronze shields from the ruined temple not far from Karatash, near Vastan, south of Van, purchased by Sir A. H. Layard at Constantinople, and now in the British Museum. The inscription which runs round the shield shews it to have belonged to Rusas, son of Ermenas, the contemporary of Assurbanipal. In the summer of 1880 Mr. Rassam excavated on the same site and discovered two other bronze shields, which are ornamented with rows of lions between lines of waves, also of the time of Rusas. Compare the shields and ornamentation figured in Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," Second Series, Plate LVII to LXVIII.

and instructor in the description of these works of art. I have also to thank them both for some valuable assistance I have very courteously received from them by letter in answer to my inquiries for further information. Lastly a word of praise must be accorded to Prof. Comparetti for the excellent and munificent way in which he has illustrated the letter-press by Halbherr and Orsi with numerous wood-cuts, and by the further addition of an *Atlante* in imperial folio, containing twelve large reproductions in phototype of the chief objects found in the Idaæn Cave.