Kraków 2008

Zdzisław J. Kapera Kraków – Mogilany

SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGINS AND THE HISTORY OF THE GOLD PLAQUES FROM AMATHUS

At the beginning of the last decade of the 19th century a few very important European collections acquired an interesting group of Cypriot antiquities¹. Four gold plaques were purchased in 1890 by the Berlin Antiquarium and were published by A. Furtwängler. Four other objects of the same series were bought by A. S. Murray for the British Museum before July 7th, 1891. Descriptions and drawings of the antiquities appeared in 1911 in the catalogue of the ancient jewellery of the British Museum. At a sale on June 15 and 16, 1891 in Paris four additional gold plaques were displayed. They were probably from the same group as the Berlin and London objects. And they became the nucleus of the most important set of eleven gold plaques which found its home in the Gołuchów castle near Poznań, in Great Poland (owned by Princess Izabella Działyńska)². W. Froehner (1834 – 1925), an eminent French ar-

It is a great honour for me to contribute to the volume in memory of Professor Maria Ludwika Bernhard (1908 – 1998), who introduced me in the field of Mediterranean archaeology and in 1964 supervised my M.A. thesis on the Cypriot antiquities in the collection of the Jagiellonian University. Thanks to her I became involved in research on several Polish collections of antiquities from Cyprus.

¹ I have already treated the subject in a preliminary way in a brief article titled: *Concerning the Origins of Some Gold Plaques from the Old Goluchów Collection*, "Recherches Archéologiques de 1980" (Kraków 1982), pp. 84-88. I published the gold objects from Goluchów we are dealing with here in the article: *The Amathus Gold Plaques from the Old Goluchów Collection*, "Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus" 1981, pp. 106-114, pls. XIV-XV.

² Princess Izabella Działyńska, the daughter of Prince Adam Czartoryski, an "uncrowned" Polish king in exile, together with her brother, Władysław Czartoryski, collected an enor-

chaeologist and antiquary³, described the antiquities and published very good colour reproductions in 1897 in the catalogue of jewellery of the Gołuchów collection.

The three groups of objects are listed below, but as the article deals mainly with the origins and history of the Amathus gold plaques I supply here only the most important data about the parallel Berlin, London and Gołuchów antiquities.

The Berlin Group

Objects purchased in 1890 for the Berlin Antiquarium. No additional information available concerning the acquisition. Now in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, Berlin. Previously probably in the Lanitis collection⁴. From Amathus.

No. 1. Plague with a chariot scene.

Inv. no. GI. 356 (Misc. 8129). Previously in the Lanitis collection.

Published: A. Furtwängler, Erwerbungen der Antikensammlungen in Deutschland. I. Berlin 1890, "Archäologischer Anzeiger" 1891, p. 126, & V.1, fig. 1a; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros the Bible and Homer, London 1983, p. 359, pls. XXV, 10 (= CI,5; CXXXVIII,8); A. Greifenhagen, Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, Band I. Fundgruppen, Berlin 1970, p. 31, fig. 4, pl. XI,4. Cf. also: R. D. Barnett, A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with other examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum, London 1957, p. 105, fig. 43; V. Karageorghis, A Gold Ornament with a Representation of an "Astarte", "Rivista di Studi Fenici" 3 (1975), p. 32f; W. Culican, The Case for the Baurat Schiller Crowns, "The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery" 33, 1977, p. 23; Z. J. Kapera, The Amathus Gold Plaques from the Old Goluchów Collection, "Re-

mous number of Classical and European antiquities in the second half of the 19th century. After the Paris revolution of 1871 the Czartoryskis decided to transfer their large and beautiful collections to Poland. Prince W. Czartoryski created the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków and Princess Izabella Działyńska renovated the old Renaissance castle at Gołuchów (Great Poland) for the same purpose. The history of antiquities from the Gołuchów museum is not yet scientifically described. However, cf. my following publications: *Cypriot Antiquities in the Polish Collections at the End of the XIX C.*, "Folia Orientalia" 20, 1979, pp. 143-163; *Cypriot Antiquities in the Gołuchów Paradis Terrestre* [in:] Acts of the IV International Cyprological Congress (2008), vol.1 (in preparation).

³ Cf. O. Masson, Correspondences chypriotes: lettres des fréres Colonna-Ceccaldi et de L. Palma di Cesnola à W. Froehner, "Centre d'Études Chypriotes. Cahier" 14, 1990, pp. 29-44, here p. 29.

⁴ This view was rejected as "hardly likely" by A. Greifenhagen, but he accepted Amathus provenance. Cf. R. Laffineur, *Amathonte III. Testimonia 3. L'Orfèvrerie*, Paris 1986, p. 15.





port of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus" 1981, pp. 110-111; R. Laffineur, *Amathonte III. Testimonia 3. L'Orfèvrerie*, Paris 1986, p. 15, no. 6, fig. 4.

No. 2. Nude goddess between two small trees.

Inv. no. GI 355 (Misc. 8128). Previously in the Lanitis collection.

Published: Furtwängler, *l. cit.*, fig. 1b; Ohnefalsch-Richter, KHB, p. 360, pl. XXV,12 (= C,3 and CXXXVIII, 9); Greifenhagen, *l. cit.*, pl. XI, 3; V. Karageorghis, Ornament, p. 32, pl. X, 3; J. Karageorghis, *La Grande Déesse de Chypre et son culte*, p. 157, & D 2; Culican, *Crowns*, p. 25, fig. 7f; Kapera, AGP, pp. 111-112, Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 15, no. fig. 3.

No. 3. Nude goddess with uplifted arms.

Previously in the Lanitis collection. Inv. no. ? Not included in Greifenhagen's catalogue. Object disappeared during the second world war?

Published: Furtwängler, *l. cit.*, fig. 1c; Ohnefalsch-Richter, KBH, p. 360, pl. XXV, 13:4; CXXXVIII, 7. Cf. J. Karageorghis, *Déesse*, Lyon – Paris 1977, p. 158, & A 3; Greifenhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Kapera, AGP, pp. 107-108; Laffineur, op. cit., 15, no. 7.

No. 4. Bust of a nude goddess.

Inv. no. GI 358 (Misc. 8313). The plaque disappeared during the last war? Mentioned only by Furtwängler, *l. cit.*; Greifenhagen, *l. cit.*; Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 15, no. 8.

The London Group

Objects acquired by A. S. Murray, keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, for £ 12.10.0 from Mr. R. B. Seager. Originally, some time before this purchase, they had been bought from an unknown vendor through an intermediary, Mr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter⁵. The plaques were found at Amathus and came from the Lanitis collection, as Mr. Ohnefalsch-Richter testified. He also mentioned the antiquities for the first time as being in the British Museum⁶. They are at present in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

I think it will be useful to quote here the text of a short letter of Mr. R.

⁵ Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (1850 – 1917), a German archaeologist and collector active in Cyprus from 1878. Cf. F. Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, Edinburgh 1988, pp. 18 ff; H.-G. Buchholz, *Max Ohnefalsch-Richter als Archäologe auf Zypern*, "Centre d'Études Chypriotes. Cahier" 11/12, 1989, pp. 3-28 and L. Fivel, *Ohnefalsch-Richter* (1950-1917), essai de bibliographie, on pp. 35-40; M. Bronner, The Max Ohnefalsch-Richter Collection in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin [in:] V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD. Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, Oxford 2001, pp. 198-206.

⁶ J.L. Myres, M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Oxford 1899, s. 34.

B. Seager⁷ to A. S. Murray. The letter is preserved in the British Museum. I should like to thank Mr. Donald Bailey of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, who pointed out the existence of the letter to me. I am also very much obliged to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote the letter in full⁸. The letter is dated "Nicosia, Cyprus, 7th July 1891" and was addressed to "Professor A. S. Murray, British Museum". The text is as follows [page 1]:

"Dear Sir,

By the mail wh[ich] brought your letter I received the order for £ 12.10.0 from the Paymaster General – I thank you for it. The circumstances under wh[ich] the Laminae came into my possession are these: a long time ago Mr. M. O. Richter being at Limassol telegraphed to me that he had found a person there with a number of antiquities that he advised me to buy – a high sum was asked. I sent the money and Mr. Richter brought me back 17 pieces of stone and these 4 laminae – Say they were all found at Amathus – a village in the Limassol district – I know nothing more than [page 2:] what I gathered from Mr. Richter – I am told Mr Richter will be in London this autumn – it may be he will call at the British Museum – he w[oul]d be able to tell you, perhaps more than I can. Yours truly R. B. Seager".

No. 5. Plaque with a chariot scene.

Inv. no. 1891. 6-30. 1.

Published: Marshall, *BMC Jewellery*, no. 1485, p. 150f, fig. 41; Gjerstad, SCE IV:2, p. 398, fig. 36:20 (2c); J. Karageorghis, *Déesse*, p. 158f; Culican, *Crowns*, pp. 23-25, fig. 6. Mentioned: D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, Harmondsworth 1971, p. 203; Kapera, AGP, pp. 110-111, pl. XV, 1; Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 11.

No. 6. Plaque with a chariot scene.

Identical with no. 5. Inv. no. 1891. 6-30.2.

Published: Marshall, op. cit., no. 1486, p. 151, without illustration. The

⁷ Despite a very suggestive proposal that R. B. Seager who wrote the letter was the eminent American archaeologist Richard Berry Seager, one of the founders of the archaeology of Crete, this identification is not plausible. In 1891 he would have been only eleven years old. Cf. V. E. G. Kenna, *Richard Berry Seager American Archaeologist 1882-1925*, "Archaeology" (New York) 23 (no. 4), Oct. 1970, pp. 322-332. According to Mrs. V. Tatton-Brown (British Museum) R. B. Seager was a Major, so we deal with a military person here. Cf. R. Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸ The permission was received already in 1981. For various reasons, I was able to finish this article only now, after so many years.

photo of the object was published for the first time in Kapera, AGP, pl. XV,2; Laffineur, *op. cit*,. p. 17, no. 12.

No. 7. Nude goddess with uplifted arms.

Inv. no. 1891. 6-30.

Published: Marshall, *op. cit.*, no. 1487, p. 151, fig. 42; Gjerstad, SCE IV:2, pp. 168 and 398, fig. 36:19 (2b); V. Karageorghis, *Ornament*, p. 32f, pl. X,1; J. Karageorghis, *Déesse*, p. 156, & C1; Culican, *Crowns*, p. 25; Kapera, AGP, p. 107, pl. XV,3; Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 13.

No. 8. Nude goddess between two small trees.

Inv. no. 1891. 6-30.

Published: Marshall, *op. cit.*, no. 1488, p. 151, fig. 43; Gjerstad, SCE IV:2, fig. 36:21 (2c); V. Karageorghis, *Ornament*, pp. 32f, pl. X, 2; J. Karageorghis, *Déesse*, p. 157, & D1; Culican, *Crowns*, p. 25; Kapera, AGP, pp. 111-112 and pl. XV,4; Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 14.

The Gołuchów Objects The Paris Sale Group

Four gold plaques were put for sale by Paul Chevalier (Commissaire-Priseur) and M. H. Hoffmann (Expert) at an auction of ancient objects of Egyptian, Phoenician, Greek and Roman origin on June 15 and 16, 1891⁹. Among a group of circa one hundred fifty Cypriot antiquities (numbers 31-147) about nineteen were gold and silver objects (nos. 31-35). Most important for the present discussion is Lot 31. The description is given here in full:

II. Envoi de Chypre, 1. Orfevrerie: "31. Quatre feuilles d'or estampée: deux d'entre elles represent un groupe de deux figures imberbes, en costume égyptien, affrontées et tenant un palmier. Sur la troisieme, on voit Astarté nue, debout et de face, entre deux fleurs." [page 4]

The auctioneers' records of the sale are fortunately preserved in the Paris Archives (Préfecture de Paris, Archives de Paris, 30, quai Henri-IV, Paris

⁹ The catalogue of the auction has two slightly different titles. On the cover is printed the following title: *Antiquités égyptiennes, phéniciennes, grecques et romaines*. On the title page the title runs as follows: *Antiquités. Verrerie, marbles, bronzes et poterie. Vente aux encheres publiques à l'Hotel des Commisaires – Priseurs, rue Druot, no. 9, Salles No. 4, Les Lundi 15 et Mardi 16 Juin 1891, Me. Paul Chevallier, Commisaire-Priseur, M. H. Hoffman, expert, Paris 1891.*

75004). Thanks to them I have established that Lot 31 was sold as the 64th of the 323 items. It took place on the first day of the sale, i.e. on 15th July 1891. Mlle Rousset paid 155 francs in gold for all four plaques. The relevant description on page [4] is given in this way:

"Rousset Mlle 31.64 Quatre feuilles or centcinquante cinq francs Rousset".

We know that Mlle Josephine Rousset, a special representative of Princess Izabella Działyńska, personally took part in every major auction in Paris in the last quarter of the 19th century¹⁰. Using both texts, i.e. the description in the quoted catalogue of the sale, and the auctioneers' notes, we can add to our list:

Nos. 9-10. Rectangular gold plaques decorated with two male figures below a tree (cf. fig. 3).

Original inv. no. unknown. Nota bene: third identical object was preserved in the Gołuchów castle.

Published: Froehner, *Orfevrerie*, p. 11, nos. 19-21, pl. VII,28. Simplified drawing, cf. Culican, *Crowns*, fig. 7a. Mentioned: *Antiquités égyptiennes...* vente 15-16 Juin 1891, Paris 1891, p. 4, no. 31; Culican, *Crowns*, p. 25; Kapera, AGP, pp. 109-110, pl. XIV,6; Z. J. Kapera, *Concerning the Origins of Some Gold Plaques from the Old Goluchów Collection*, "Recherches Archéologiques de 1980", Kraków 1982, p. 85 fig. 1A; Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 18.

No. 11. Gold plaque decorated with a nude female figure standing between two cypresses (cf. fig. 7).

Original inv. no. unknown. Nota bene: one more identical object was preserved in the Gołuchów castle.

Published: Froehner, *Orfèvrerie*, p. 12, nos. 23-24, pl. VII,30. Simplified drawing: cf. Culican, *Crowns*, fig. 7c. Mentioned: Marshall, *BMC Jewellery*, p. 151, no. 1488 and Culican. *Crowns*, p. 25; Kapera, AGP, pp. 111-112, pl. XIV,7; Kapera, *Concerning*, p. 85, fig. 1B; Laffineur, *op. cit.*, p. 18, no. 20.

No. 12. The fourth object is not mentioned in the Lot 31 so it can not be identified.

*

The origins of the above mentioned Gołuchów gold plaques are unknown. The archives of Princess Działyńska were most probably not used by W. Froeh-

¹⁰Cf. T. Jakimowicz, *Od kolekcji "curiosités artistiques" ku muzeum. Zbieractwo artystyczne Izabelli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej w latach 1852-1899*, "Studia Muzealne" 13, 1982, pp. 15-73 [French summary: *De la collection des "curiosités artistiques" au musée. Collections artistiques d'Izabella Działyńska née Princess Czartoryska dans les années 1852-1899*, pp. 68-73], here p. 43, note 38 and p. 69.

92 Zdzisław J. Kapera

ner when he was writing his catalogue of jewellery in the Gołuchów castle in 1897. During the Second World War, documents concerning the Gołuchów collection were partially burned in Poznań and what remained is not yet published¹¹. The Poznań archives surely contained (and perhaps still contain) the solution of the puzzle of the origin of the group, which W. Froehner called "feuilles d'or estampées, trouvées à Amathonte de Chypre"¹², From this we known that all the objects were found at Amathus. They certainly entered the collection before 1897, but when? Fortunately, it is possible to use some additional information which may throw light on this. Similar objects appeared in other collections in the early 1890s. It is interesting to mention that at the time of the Paris auction the Czartoryski family (Princess Izabella Działyńska was née Czartoryska) had a very useful contact in Cyprus in Marius Panaviotis Tano (fl. 1840 – 1906), a well known dealer who was very active in the 1890s. He established his office in Cairo, named "Tano, Antiquarian Caire, Égypte", and among others contributed to the creation of the Cyprus Museum in 1883¹³. His correspondence of the years 1891 – 1892 with the Prince Władysław Czartoryski, the brother of Princess Izabella Działyńska, was recently discovered in the Czartoryski Museum Library in Cracow by Krystyna Moczulska¹⁴. As the brother and sister closely cooperated in collecting ancient objects it cannot be excluded that some of the Gołuchów gold objects were acquired through

¹¹ T, Jakimowicz, op. cit., p. 42, note 24.

¹² Froehner, *Orfèvrerie*, pp. 10. Cf. also p. XIII.

¹³ Having his informers and helpers in Cyprus Tano several times offered Prince W. Czartoryski very important and valuable objects from his native island. They entered the collection of the Jagiellonian University and the Cracow Czartoryski Collection. Cf. K. Moczulska, La correspondance entre Władysław Czartoryski et l'antiquaire Tanos et l'achat d'antiquités chypriotes (1892-1893), "Folia Orientalia" 19, 1978, pp. 191-200 and her article [in Polish] Kontakty Władysława Czartoryskiego z antykwariuszem Mariuszem Panayiotisem Tano [Władysław Czartoryski's Relations with the Antiquaire Marius Panayiotis Tano] [in:] "Studia Archeologiczne" 1, 1981, pp. 159-168. Cf. also: Z. J. Kapera, Cypriot Antiquities in the Polish Collections, pp. 157-158. About the antiquary wrote also O. Masson, Kypriaka X-XII. Archéologues français à Chypre en 1896, "Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique" 101, 1977, pp. 313-323; S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, vol. 1, Paris 1891, p. 171; W. R. Dawson, E. P. Uphill, Who Was Who in Egyptology, London 1995, 3rd ed. (revised by M. L. Bierbrier), p. 410 and R. Merrillees, The Tano Family & Gifts from the Nile to Cyprus, Nicosia 2003 pp. 6-8. Tanos is also mentioned in the history of the 19th century digging in Cyprus by E. Goring, A Mischievous Pastime, p. 30. Tanos owned his own archaeological site in Larnaca, which he put at disposal of Ch. Fossey and P. Perdrizet in the 1890s. Cf. O. Picard, Chypre et l'École Française d'Athenes / Cyprus and the French school at Athens [in:] M. Yon, ed., Kinyras. L'Archéologie française à Chypre / French Archaeology in Cyprus, Lyon-Paris 1993, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴ Preserved letters of M. P. Tano are quoted in full in K. Moczulska, *La correspondance*, pp. 198-200.

Prince Czartoryski's agent in Cyprus, the dealer Tano. If such a possibility did exist, Princess Izabella Działyńska took advantage of it.

To sum up, all the gold plaques from Gołuchów could have been purchased at the same time as the Berlin and London groups, i.e. in the early 1890s. For a half of century they were an integral part of Gołuchów castle collection. At the beginning of the Second World War they were confiscated by the invading Germans. According to the staff of the National Museum in Warsaw, they did not come back to Poland in 1956, when a major part of the Gołuchów collection was returned from the USSR¹⁵.

What are the characteristic features of all the groups from Berlin, London, and Paris (later Gołuchów)? They appeared on the market of antiquities more or less at the same time. We can find parallel (or in fact identical) objects in the two or more groups. All the objects are from Cyprus. They (though not necessarily all of them) came to Europe from the Lanitis collection in Limassol. Most probably we can trace their origins to Amathus.

It is also worth mentioning that in one case M. Ohnefalsch-Richter served as an intermediary between an owner and R. B. Seager (who later sold his plaques to the British Museum) and that he knew something about their origin. In addition, what is very interesting, M. Ohnefalsch-Richter mentioned 'the Laniti collection' in connection with Berlin and London plaques in his "Catalogue of Cyprus Museum". We might have expected a mention of the Gołuchów group but presumably he did not know that the remaining plaques had been acquired for that collection. Even though Froehner's catalogue appeared in 1897, two years before M. Ohnefalsch-Richter's "Catalogue", it was printed in 200 copies only and for private circulation.

Who was the first owner of these gold plaques from Amathus? I think that the explanation might be found in M. Ohnefalsch-Richter's remark about 'the Laniti collection', repeated later by Marshall. Of course the "unknown" owner of the plaques could use some other intermediary (for example M. Tano) to sell the gold plaques into the European market. But it is striking that the most beautiful objects, i.e. the gold plaques with a chariot scene, a goddess between small trees and a goddess with uplifted arms, were sold to all three collections. It seems that the original collection was intentionally divided to get a better price.

There is no doubt that the Laniti(s) collection existed. One of the noble Cypriot families still preserve some ancient objects in Nicosia. Among the

¹⁵Cf. M. L. Bernhard, *Powrót zbiorów gołuchowskich* [in Polish, French summary: *Le retour des collections de Gołuchów*], "Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie" 3, 1958, pp. 319-334.

94 Zdzisław J. Kapera

members of the Lanitis family at least a few were personally engaged in the problems of Cypriot antiquities. In this context it is maybe worth mentioning that Thekla Pierides (1855-1923), the daughter of Demetrios Pierides (1811 – 1895), the founder of the most important private collection in Cyprus, was married to Nicolaus Lanitis (1852 – 1896), philologist by profession¹⁶. Next we have to mention a pamphlet written by N. Gl. Lanitis in 1899, in which he first enumerates the different efforts of the Cypriotes to preserve and keep the archaeological treasures of their island, and next expresses "the cordial wish of the Cyprus people that these objects which represent a period of prosperity and the glory should remain in the island"¹⁷. I expect that interview with members of the Lanitis family might furnish additional information about the origins of the gold plaques discussed here¹⁸.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the gold plaques in question were found at Amathus. Unfortunately, we cannot say anything as to when and where exactly they were dug up. But they surely came from the illegally opened tombs of Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods¹⁹.

I have intentionally left aside the problems of interpretation of the Gołuchów objects described here. They were recently discussed very fully by Jacqueline and Vassos Karageorghis, and by Robert Laffineur in connection with similar plaques²⁰. The Gołuchów objects, and the other plaques of the same type, were connected with the cult of Aphrodite-Astarte. The nude (or semi-nude) female figures on the plaques are representations of the most popular Cypriot goddess, and in case of the upper levels of chariot scenes, of her priestesses. The

¹⁶Cf. A. L. Coudounari, *Meikai palaiai oikogeneiai tis Kiprou* [The Noble Families of Cyprus (in Greek)], Nicosia 1972, pp. 61-62; concerning the Lanitis family, cf. pp. 61-66.

¹⁷N. Lanitis, The Question of Antiquities in Cyprus, Limassol July 1899, p. 4.

¹⁸ While visiting the new archaeological museum in Limassol in April 2008 I noticed many valuable objects which had previously been in the hands of the Lanitis family. Also many objects in the Cyprus Museum are described as coming from the Lanitis collection.

¹⁹ Some additional gold plaques in the newly discovered Amathus tombs were published in the last quarter of century. A list of tombs with the plaquettes, cf. M. Kontomichali, Les plaquettes métalliques a decor figuré et destination, "Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes" 32, 2002, p. 200.

²⁰ J. Karageorghis, *Déesse*, pp. 153-160; V. Karageorghis Ornament, pp. 33-34 and *Goddess*, pp. 26-27; R. Laffineur, *L'Orfevrerie rhodienne orientalisante*, Paris 1978, pp. 49-51 and 58-59. A few years ago Margarita Kontomichali analyzed anew the origins, iconography and destination of the plaques. In her opinion the rectangular plaques from Cyprus represent, in the first millennium B.C., a final stage of transmission and adaptation of the Syro-Palestinian Bronze Age models. The Cypriot series continues till the end of the Cypro-Archaic period. (Cf. her Ph.D. dissertation: *La bijouterie à Chypre aux époques chypro-géométrique et chypro-archaique*, Lyon 2002 [non vidi] and her article: *Plaquettes*, pp. 200-201). This agrees with my earlier proposal expressed in the quoted article of 1982 (AGP, pp. 113-114).

testimony of the ancient cult of Aphrodite at Amathus²¹ is very well confirmed by later classical sources (Tacitus, *Annales* III,62; Strabo, *Geographica* 14 and Pausanias, VIII, 24). It is perhaps worth noticing that according to Pausanias the gold necklace of Harmonia was preserved in Amathus. Was the tradition a mythical echo of the development of the jeweller's craft in the city? The group of gold plaques discussed here prove that in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. there existed at Amathus an important Cypro-Phoenician workshop or workshops²². The tradition about Phoenician influences at Amathus, even if a late one, is in this way additionally confirmed.

I hope that the above partly reconstructed history of the Amathus group of gold plaques, probably coming from illicit discoveries in some Geometric and Archaic tombs, will give an impuls for other scholars to seek additional information concerning these antiquities. It cannot even be excluded that the article will help with the identification of the Gołuchów objects now in some other collection. They disappeared during the Second World War, but this does not necessarily mean that they are lost forever. *Habent sua fata libelli*, and antiquities also have their fates. Further research in the Paris and Poznań archives might tell us from whom and where all the Gołuchów plaques were ultimately acquired.

Zdzisław J. Kapera enigma@post.pl

²¹ J. Karageorghis presented recently a very extensive documentation of the cult of Aphrodite in Amathus. Cf. her monograph: *Kypris. The Aphrodite of Cyprus. Ancient Sources and Archaeological Evidence*, Nicosia 2005, pp. 75-112 [where the Gołuchów objects are even reproduced]. Concerning the temple of Aphrodite in Amathus, see A. Hermary, *Amathonte VII. Le sanctuaire d'Aphrodite*, *des origines au début de l'époque impériale*, Paris 2007 (non vidi) and A. Hermary – M. Schmid, *Le sanctuaire d'Aphrodite* [in:] P. Aupert, ed., *Guide d'Amathonte*, Paris 1996, pp. 110-132 (cf. an abbreviated English version: *The Sanctuary of Aphrodite* [in:] P. Aupert ed., *Guide to Amathus*, Nicosia 2000, pp. 57-70).

²² P. Aupert agreed with me that his goldsmith workshop was active in Amathus at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th c. B. C., stressing that the style and motifs of the plaques produced there were under Phoenician influence. Cf. his *Guide d'Amathonte*, pp. 30-32.