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Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilization. III

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CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION. III.

IF we summarize the ethnological evidence from excavation set forth in the previous paper it is to the following effect :—Notwithstanding all the local deviations that appear on the surface, there is no essential distinction of race underlying the civilization reflected by the remains at Tiryns and Mycenæ, and that in Crete in the latter part of the Late Minoan Age. This period is represented by the remains of partial occupation of the royal buildings and by the finds from the cemeteries of the same period at Knossos, Phaestos and elsewhere in Crete. On contemplation of the finds belonging to this period, nothing is more striking than the uniform fact that there is in the regular sequence of development no real break as yet with what preceded. This is true, notwithstanding the inevitable processes of decadence that had now set in.

The evidence for this continuity has been brought together so convincingly by Dr. Arthur Evans in his publication of the Knossian tombs of this period that there is no reason here to do more than summarize the results.¹ Dr. Evans adduces as a positive phenomenon the continuity with the culture of the Later Palace Period. This is revealed in the vase-forms in clay and bronze and their decoration. It comes out further in a striking manner in the bronze sword-types. The negative phenomena are of quite as startling a character. There is an entire absence of (*a*) cremation, (*b*) the fibula and (*c*) iron. There are further no continental types of (*a*) vases, (*b*) swords. There is in the third place the complete non-existence

¹ See 'The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos,' *Archæologia*, 1905, 1-172. [Separately : B. Quaritch.]

of any known type of bronze body-armour, such as (a) breast-plates, (b) greaves, (c) shields. This means, *ipso facto*, the entire absence of the continental types of bronze body-armour associated with Achaeans and other peoples of Hellenic race. We have in conclusion the general fact that all these phenomena, which are negative for the latter part of the Late Minoan Age, begin suddenly to become positive in the post-Minoan era.

People of Mycenaean Race in Crete.

If now we compare this evidence with that derived from the mainland of Greece, we shall find a parallel phenomenon there. This is a fact of very great importance towards an understanding of the probable trend of events after the destruction of the Palace at Knossos in that wider context of Aegean history which takes in the mainland of Greece as well as Crete. In order to understand these events we must study certain causes which lie outside the general context of Mycenaean-Aegean history itself. These causes are to be connected with the migrations from the north of peoples of Hellenic race. The Achaean people, who appear in story as the earliest of these Hellenic tribes to enter the Peloponnesus, might very well already be not far from the gates of Tiryns and Mycenae at the time of which we speak. A necessary consequence of these movements southwards was a concomitant emigration of the earlier prehistoric inhabitants of the land to the islands of the Aegean; since the persistent and continuous action of those migratory incursions from the north must have forced them from their homes on the mainland. It is in this way that we can best explain the mainland Mycenaean type of the late palace at Phylakopi, to which reference has already been made in this connection.¹ The late Mycenaean megaron again, discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada in Crete itself (as has been already suggested), fits in so well, not only in period, but in its Mycenaean type of construction, with that which was previously discovered at Phylakopi, that there can now be no further doubt as to the common source whence both were derived.²

A curious concomitant phenomenon of the time, observable at Melos as at Knossos, may here serve to confirm the probability that the same causes were operative at the destruction of the Minoan palace of Knossos

¹ *B.S.A.* xi. 220, 221, Fig. 4.

² *Ibid.* 220, and note 3. *Mem. r. Ist. Lomb.* vol. xxi. Fasc. v. 238-40.

and at the building of the Mycenaean palace of Phylakopi.¹ The pottery found in the Melian palace is not distinguishable from that of the same period that occurred in the cemeteries of Knossos belonging to the latter part of the Late Minoan Age succeeding the destruction of the Cretan palaces. The Phylakopi pottery is clearly not of the native Melian fabric; and the origin of its manufacture is conclusively proved to us by the Mycenaean character of the palace on the floors of which some of it was found. In strong contrast with this later phenomenon is the equally undoubted fact that the imported pottery of a previous era proved quite as clearly to originate for the most part in Crete. The influence, however, of Crete was now at an end, and the same Mycenaean movement into the Aegean which accounts for the palace at Phylakopi, explains at the same time the destruction of the palaces at Knossos and at Phaestos, and the cessation of political relations between Melos and Crete. No doubt the primary motive which led these people of Mycenaean race in the direction of the Archipelago and Crete in the first instance, was their natural feeling of kinship with the people of the Aegean and their expectation as emigrants to find among them a new home. They apparently met with resistance in Crete as in Melos; otherwise the destruction of the Palace of Knossos and the sack of Phylakopi at this time would probably not have occurred. When once they succeeded in removing the ruling dynasties, they seem to have settled down among the people of Crete in the period of decadence that followed, fraternizing with them readily, as with people of their own kin. What happened in Melos and in Crete is symptomatic of what must have been the general trend of events in different parts of the Aegean as far as the Anatolian littoral from Rhodes to the Dardanelles, at a time when Pelasgian emigration on a large scale was the order of the day. It is thus we can best explain the curious phenomenon of an apparently absolute dead-level of uniformity in the archaeological finds of the time, especially the pottery, in centres so far apart as Crete and Rhodes or Melos and the Argolid. But this is a phenomenon that is sure to present itself at a period of emigration on the part of peoples that have passed the zenith of their creative powers in the arts. These arts, in the new centres of life in such circumstances, and apart from the stimulus to change which external influences provide,

¹ See now Dr. Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, 48-9. Dr. Evans has kindly allowed me to peruse the paged proofs of this work.

are sure to exhibit in a gradually intensifying form all that tendency to a stereotyped dead-level of efficiency which had already been thoroughly learned in the old centres of their life. With the inability to create new ideas of art and life is coupled the slavish adherence to inherited tradition and custom in both. Nothing new is produced and nothing old is changed!

It is in view, then, of such a general movement of Pelasgian emigration that we can best explain the otherwise inexplicable references in ancient writers, from Herodotus to Strabo, to the presence of Pelasgians in different parts of the Archipelago, including Crete and Rhodes, as well as on the coasts of Asia Minor. The archaeological evidence for this Pelasgian invasion of the Aegean and of Crete provides moreover the best solution of one of the puzzles in the often cited passage in the *Odyssey*¹ referring to Pelasgians among the other inhabitants of Crete.² The objection that the passage in question is a late one, since it also mentions Dorians as well as Achaeans in Crete, does not touch this interpretation, while it explains the mention of Pelasgians alongside of Eteocretans and Cydonians, which otherwise remains inexplicable. The conclusions of philological investigation tend similarly towards confirming the independent results of archaeological research. These conclusions are to the effect that an immigration of Pelasgians into Crete preceded that of any occupation of the land by Achaeans and Dorians. In this connection must be mentioned the important researches on the philological side of the problem that are now being carried on with such interesting results by Dr. Richard Meister.³ And Dr. Meister promises, in a later instalment of his investigations, a weighty argument in support of the tradition that the earliest immigrants from the continent into Crete were Pelasgians.⁴

¹ τ, 170 ff.

² Probably this is partly the reason why Prof. Ridgeway in 1895 (*J.H.S.* xvi. 84-5) formed the opinion that the Eteocretans must not be held responsible for the Minoan Civilization. In *The Early Age of Greece*, 87-8, 202-3, the same authority, writing in 1901, gives the Eteocretans a part of their due while still keeping the prime of the Minoan Culture in reserve for the Pelasgians. These are thus, however, made to appear on the scene much too early to square with the archaeological facts.

³ See 'Dorer und Achäer' von Richard Meister, *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Band xxiv. No. iii. 64. See now also Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 205.

⁴ It may interest Prof. Ridgeway to know that these researches find linguistic support for the tradition preserved in Strabo 10. 4. 6 and Diodorus 5. 64. 1; 80. 1, to the effect that the original Cydonians of West Crete, in contrast with the immigrating Greeks of a later time, were autoch-

I have already spoken of the people represented on the Warrior Vase and on the painted stele of Mycenae as being very probably of Achaeon race.¹ They wear, as we have seen, a costume which comes definitely into the general category of early Hellenic dress. And it does that in the one respect in which, through the absence of the loin-cloth, the early costume of the Greeks appears in contrast with that of the true people of Aegeo-Pelasgic stock, wherever these are represented. The assumption underlying the opposed view apparently is that the Achaeans imbibed, even to the details of dress, all the salient features of Mycenaean culture. That is to say, they gave up the most necessary parts of their own northern costume in favour of the southern loin-cloth of African origin of the prehistoric people. One can put the supposition in another form and say that the conquering people from the north adopted all of a sudden the dress of the conquered people from the south. The situation is grotesque. Yet the supposition in question, strange as it may appear, is just what the supporters of the Achaeon hypothesis not only demand but require, if they are to make people of Achaeon race the builders and decorators of the later palaces in Crete. Otherwise, though there is not, and could not be, a scrap of evidence in support of such an idea, we have to suppose that these good Achaeans chose to dress themselves in one kind of costume, while they represented themselves on the walls of Cretan palaces in another. The hypothesis in question, however, demands not a mere practical joke of this kind, but a complete and sudden transformation of those Achaeans from the north into persons who in dress and manners of life cannot be distinguished in the smallest way from the real people of the land. This only goes to strengthen the view of those who maintain the following thesis: viz. that when people from the mainland of Greece appear for the first time (before the end of the Late Minoan Age) on the

thonic in Crete. They were, therefore, on this view not Arcadian settlers of Pelasgian race, as Prof. Ridgeway (*op. cit.* 202) would have them, but natives of the land like the Eteocretans of the east end of the island.

¹ Tsountas (*loc. cit.* 11) considers, without deciding either way, the possibility that the great similarity between the procession of warriors on the vase and that on the stele may have been due to their having been both copied from an older painting. After the publication of this stele and the vases found along with it, it is a disappointment to find Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. 298, still believing, as regards the Warrior Vase, in Pottier's supposed 'good grounds for showing that it also is to be reckoned as Proto-Attic.' The good grounds lie more with Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 313-15, who, working from the ethnological side, has yet managed to hit the mark as regards the general context to which the vase ought to be assigned.

stage of Aegean history, these people differ from those of the islands only to the same extent as the Mycenaean palaces at Phylakopi and at Hagia Triada differ from the Late Minoan palaces of Knossos and of Phaestos. They differ, however, not nearly so much in dress and habits of life from the peoples of the islands as the Achaeans of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae differ from the Cretan Harvesters of Hagia Triada or the Melian Fishermen of Phylakopi. This is the true reason why the Pelasgian influence, which is so apparent in the type of late Mycenaean palaces in the Aegean, is so little marked as a real contrast in relation to what went before it in those more industrial arts of daily life, of which we have the remains in the finds of the period. The continuity of Minoan culture appears as surviving into the era of decadence which followed the destruction of the Cretan palaces; this was only natural, because, in the era immediately preceding the Pelasgian migrations into the Aegean, the Mycenaean civilization of the mainland of Greece in its general aspects was one with the Minoan culture of Crete.¹ This happened, not merely because Mycenae stood under the dominating influence of Crete at an earlier age, but because the Aegeo-Pelasgian civilization rested upon more intimate relations of kinship, going back in the last instance to a common origin of race. We may in this way expect as a matter of course a continuity of development in the era of decadence; but it would be inexplicable on the hypothesis of an invasion by people of Achaean race at this period.

Achaeans in Crete.

In the period which immediately succeeds the destruction of the Minoan palaces of Crete there is no real break in the continuity of historical development: this interruption, as we have seen, is proved by excavation to have taken place at the end, rather than at the beginning of that period. On the other hand, Phylakopi in Melos and Hagia Triada in Crete show that people of Pelasgian race were then present in the Aegean, and equally clearly that people of Achaean stock did not appear at this stage on the scene of Cretan history. If, as against this evidence, it is affirmed that our supposed Pelasgian immigration into the Aegean was really an Achaean invasion of Crete attributable to this period, such an invasion

¹ Dr. Evans's comparative study of the finds from the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos, already referred to, has brought out results that are all in the direction of this general conclusion.

would still be too late to account for the Achæan construction of the later palaces in Crete. At the same time, any attempt to assign to a still earlier period that Pelasgian immigration into the Aegean involves the further difficulty, that this must in any case be regarded as having preceded the Achæan invasion of Crete. Nothing results more clearly from the data than that the doings of Pelasgians in the Aegean and in Crete must be kept altogether distinct from those of the Achæans, whether the evidence considered be archaeological or philological. And when these doings are so kept distinct, the historical sequence is inevitable, that it was the Pelasgians who first appeared upon the scene, and that after them came the Achæan people as the first pioneers of Hellenic settlement in Crete.¹

The continuity observable in the post-palace finds from the necropolis at Knossos with what went before it at an earlier era has been already remarked upon. In glaring contrast with this continuity is the sudden incursion of un-Cretan and continental types in different industrial arts so noticeable in the finds from the tombs of the immediately succeeding era. If now our view is right regarding the racial affinities of the people who appear on the Warrior Vase of Mycenæ, it can hardly be an accident that a continental type of vase which has no previous history in Crete itself should begin to occur all at once in its fully developed form in the tombs of this period to which we refer. This phenomenon is all the more remarkable for the following reason. The tomb-types and some of the burial customs still show a remarkable continuity with the past. On the other hand, something new in burial ritual is found to have supervened which marks an absolutely new beginning in funeral custom in Crete. This is the practice of cremation. This rite on the mainland of Greece we know as emerging for the first time with the first appearance of people of Aryan race in the land. In Crete again the practice of cremation was absolutely foreign to Minoan burial ritual, and, as Dr. Arthur Evans has pointed out, no instance of it occurred in the post-palace necropolis at Knossos. The occurrence of the practice in the later era to which we now refer is all the more striking when taken in conjunction with the appearance of the continental-looking objects, inclusively of the amphoræ of the type of the Warrior Vase. The coincidence moreover only gains in significance through the verified fact of the intrusion of such objects and customs into the same tomb with other burials that still preserve Minoan

¹ See *Scripta Minoa*, 54-5.

tradition into post-Minoan days. The fact of a very significant coalescence of two racial strata, an earlier, Minoan, and a later, Hellenic, is thus proved to demonstration. The earlier and Minoan strata represent the element of racial continuity into a later time, in contrast with which the later Hellenic element (represented by the practice of cremation) is seen supervening as something absolutely new.

In this connection very great importance attaches to the group of two tombs discovered by peasants at Moulianà in East Crete, and published by Dr. Stephanos Xanthoudides, Ephor at the Museum of Candia.¹ Dr. Xanthoudides himself draws attention, in the case of one of these tombs (A), to the significant coincidence of inhumation with cremation. This in the circumstances could only mean a coalescence of racial influences in a sequence in which the later practice of cremation is seen supervening on the earlier custom of inhumation through the intrusion of a foreign element which could only be Hellenic.² The finds show the same coalescence of racial influence. Thus the stirrup-vase, which is so characteristic of the Late Minoan Age in Crete, and was so frequent in the necropolis of Knossos, occurs here in a late degraded form in the same general context with kraters of the mainland type of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae.³ This ceramic contrast becomes still more significant, when we learn that in Tomb A at Moulianà a krater of this type was found to contain the cremated remains of the 'Geometrical' burial. In contrast with true Minoan and Mycenaean tradition in ceramic art, the krater in question shares, in common with the Warrior Vase, the peculiarity of introducing human beings into its representations. And here the crude un-Minoan character of the drawing does not conceal the fact that these men are as little Mycenaean in their aspect and equipment as the men of the Warrior Vase themselves.

Once, however, we have got thus far, we need not be surprised to learn that fibulae and continental types of swords in bronze are found in those tombs; nor that the remains of a sword and a dagger in iron occurred in

¹ See 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική, 1904, 21-50.

² As Dr. Xanthoudides says: *ἡ μεγαλύτερα σημασία τοῦ τάφου τούτου ἔγκειται εἰς τοῦτο, ὅτι παρατηρήθησαν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ δύο συστήματα τῆς ταφῆς δηλ. καὶ ἡ καῦσις καὶ ὁ ἐνταφιασμός. καὶ τὰ κτερίσματα δὲ τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἀνήκουσιν εἰς δύο πλησιαζούσας μὲν χρονολογικῶς καὶ διασταυρουμένas ἐν μέρει ἀλλὰ διακεκριμένas ἐποχάς, ἥτοι τὴν τελευταίαν μυκηναϊκὴν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν.*

³ See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. Fig. 6, Plate III. 1.

connection with the cremated remains of Tomb A, and that a fragment of iron from some similar object was found in Tomb B.¹

The phenomena of survival which at first sight seem so misleading tell a similar story. A very good illustration is furnished by the chamber-tomb at Milatos recently published by Dr. Arthur Evans.² In discussing this tomb Dr. Evans remarks upon the significance of the presence in it of a 'new form of bell-shaped amphora with two handles which survives into the Geometrical Period.' On some of these vases we have a recrudescence of marine decorative motives that seem to bring one back once more to Minoan times, did one not consider the general context in which the marine motives occur. Most of the vessels, such as the stirrup-vases and the pedestalled cups, are very late Mycenaean, and the cylinder-necked amphorae, with their foreign build and un-Cretan make and set of handle, though probably of local fabric, fall outside the genuine Minoan sequence. They belong to a series whose immediate antecedents are to be sought on the Mycenaean continent of Greece. The class of amphora in question is indeed rather what may be called 'sub-Mycenaean' than Mycenaean. On such a type of vase the motives based on the octopus and triton-shell are themselves only an unintelligent echo of similar designs on the latest Minoan pottery, as represented by the finds of the period of partial occupation at the Palace of Knossos.³

An essential moment in the process of survival appears in the fact that these motives pass over into the new period with those types of vessels that have themselves survived from an earlier era.

As a typical instance we may take the well-known survival of the stirrup-vase into an era so Hellenic as to be separated by centuries from the earlier Minoan development. The survival in question took place alongside of the survival into the new era of the old race itself. This is well illustrated by the history of the tombs at Moulianà and at Milatos, to which reference has been made. Thus the recurrence of the octopus-design on a stirrup-vase from Tomb B at Moulianà in company, as Dr. Evans has pointed out, with bronze swords of the late continental type, shows us the process of survival already fully accomplished. Once that end of

¹ *Ibid.* 29-31, Fig. 7; 47-9, Fig. 11. For the iron, 38, 49.

² *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 93-103, Figs. 104a, 104b; and for the pottery, Figs. 105, 106.

³ *Ibid.* Figs. 105 A, 106 J.

development has been attained, it no longer matters, in the continentally modified environment of the later time, what such motives really mean, or on what kind of vessel, native or foreign, they now appear. It is hard indeed to say whether the artist who painted the foreign-looking Milatos amphorae knew in the least that he was really painting octopus and triton-shell. The checker pattern again, which is substituted for the head of the octopus on the larnax from Tomb B at Moulia, is so far removed from nature that we see at once that the painter in this case could not have had the remotest idea what he was doing.

The occurrence of this checker pattern itself, however, in a context so early as that of the Moulia tombs is of very great importance. Taken in connection with the general context in which it occurs, it disposes at once of a favourite theory of Dümmler's. This theory is to the effect that the appearance of such Geometric motives on 'Mycenaean' pottery tends to show that, before the end of the Mycenaean Age, the pottery of the period had come under the influence of the Dipylon style!¹ He cites as instances in point the motives in Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, x. 63 A, B; xxxviii., xv. 96; xxx., xxxiv. 340, 341. Now the checker pattern of 341 is only distinguishable from that of the Cretan larnax by the fact that it lacks the crescents on the light-ground checkers which characterize the latter. That the crescents do not constitute an essential distinction is shown by the fact that a one-handled spouted mug from the Cave of Dikte has a checker pattern which answers exactly to that of the Mycenae fragment.² Yet the mug from Dikte is probably of earlier date. Later than all these examples is a krater from the Geometric cemeteries of Knossos with an exactly similar checker panel.³ This vase itself, derived as it is from the type of the Warrior Vase, stands very early in the Geometric series. On the other hand it would be difficult to assign to it so early a date as would bring the class to which it belongs into direct contact with pottery of the same series as that to which the larnax from Moulia belongs. We can never bring it so far back as to put the checker pattern of the Moulia pottery, not to speak of the checker pattern from Dikte, into a derivative relation to that on the Geometric vases. The occurrence, moreover, of a vase with a similar checker panel in the late Minoan III. cemetery of Phaistos removes all

¹ 'Zum ältesten Kunsthandwerk,' *Ath. Mitt.* xiii. 288-94.

² *B.S.A.* vi. Fig. 31.

³ *Ibid.* p. 84, Fig. 26.

remaining doubt as to the priority of the motive to any possible Geometric influence.¹

The evidence then from Moulianà, supported by that from other sites, enables us to say that most, if not all of the examples brought forward by Dümmler to support his theory inherit direct the traditions of the Mycenaean repertory of ornament. And when in course of time these traditions come under foreign influence, this is not in the first instance Geometric and Dorian, but only quasi-Geometric post-Mycenaean, and yet pre-Dorian. In a word, it shows Mycenaean ornament under Achaean influence.

Dümmler, however, was not content with general conjectures as to the supposed derivative character of much of the latest Mycenaean ornament. It will only be doing justice to the rare speculative insight of an archaeologist all too early lost to science, to emphasize the fact that he was on the right track in one important respect. His views tended towards the conclusion that the purely Mycenaean character of much of the pottery belonging to Furtwängler and Loeschcke's 4th Class could not be maintained. It is in respect of his particular views as to the immediate Geometric character of all pottery that is no longer Mycenaean, that reservations must be made. Thus, for example, in respect of the Warrior Vase itself, he does not hesitate to attribute to Geometric derivation the peculiar type of double-handle with the conjunction between in the form of a horned beast's head in relief. This vase, however, on the contrary, only affords evidence that the type of double-handle in question had a much earlier history, which is probably to be connected genetically with traditions of bronze work going back to the Mycenaean Age. The double-handles still preserve a reminiscence of twisted horns in bronze; and the original signification is not altogether disguised by the fact that the potter in his treatment of the features seems hardly conscious any longer that he is rendering the head of a horned animal.

The finds from the tombs of Moulianà have, however, a generic importance, in so far as they now enable us to bring into its true context the very late pottery that has recently been accumulating, as a result especially of the excavations of the British School in East Crete.² One

¹ See *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiv. Tav. XXXVII. 1.

² For this pottery see *B.S.A.* viii. 289, Fig. 2; 303, Fig. 19, with cogent appreciations by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet in the relative text. Further, ix. 317-20, Figs. 17-19.

very significant outcome of the study of these finds, notably by Mr. R. M. Dawkins, has been to separate off from the category of what has been called Late Minoan III. at Knossos a still later class designated as Late Minoan III. *b*. Now it is rather enlightening to find that this later class in East Crete has characteristics which enable us at once to bring it into one general context with pottery that is already post-Minoan at Knossos. Thus, for example, of the vase shown *B.S.A.* ix. 319, Fig. 19, and the similar type in the *B.S.A.* viii. 289, Fig. 2 Mr. Dawkins very aptly notes 'that the shape of these two bowls is in fact almost the same as that of the big geometric vases that have been found containing burnt bones.'¹ It is thus all the more interesting to find a similar shape in Tomb A at Moulianà, together with an analogous vase of the big type, not yet Geometric, which was referred to above as containing the remains of the cremation burial of the same tomb.² To summarize then the results obtained from the study of this pottery, the following facts come out. Firstly we have the very significant negative phenomenon, that the pottery in question does not occur in the Late Minoan III. cemetery of Zafer Papoura at Knossos, nor is it found in the necropolis of the same period at Phaestos.³ In the next place there is the significant positive phenomenon supplied by the fact that it recurs in deposits of the same period as the finds of the Moulianà tombs. Lastly we have the equally significant fact that, in a wider context, this late pottery turns out to be of the same general character as Furtwängler and Loeschcke's 4th 'Mycenaean' style.

The absence of the kind of pottery referred to in the two crucial instances of the Late Minoan III. cemeteries at Knossos and Phaestos is a phenomenon of very grave significance. Taken in connection with many other indications of ethnic disturbance of a serious character at the end of the Late Minoan Age, it indicates a break in the continuity of development in which a racial displacement is seen standing in a causative relation to corresponding displacements in the social organisation of human institutions. One of the concomitant phenomena was the abandonment of

¹ *B.S.A.* ix. 320.

² 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, Fig. 6, No. 4, and Pl. III. 1. This vase has a pale powdery wash instead of the hand-polished buff clay slip of Minoan and Mycenaean ceramics. The cremation krater with checker panel, already referred to, from the Geometric cemeteries at Knossos (*B.S.A.* vi. 84, Fig. 26), exhibits a still later, now Geometric, phase in development.

³ *Mon. Ant.* xiv. 557-65, Figs. 42-7.

old burying grounds for new ones. The contrast with this break in continuity is all the more striking when it is remembered that both of these cemeteries themselves, though already laid out before the destruction of the Cretan palaces, continued still in use to the end of the Late Minoan Age. Far, however, from there being any sign of discontinuity at this time with the phenomena of earlier development, the remains throughout the whole area of the Aegean sphere of influence show that the era of the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Crete is the period of the widest distribution of Mycenaean-Aegean art. In complete harmony with this phenomenon again is the significant fact that in the test-case of Egypt, pottery of the Late Minoan III. class is no less conspicuous by its presence than that of the following era is by its absence. Furtwängler and Loeschcke's 4th 'Mycenaean' style is entirely lacking in Egypt. This phenomenon again can only mean that the orderly trade-relations of the Aegean with the great outer world of Egypt and the East were now at an end. The displacements, which the very peculiar circumstances of discovery enable us to conjecture in the internal social and political affairs of the Aegean, have their necessary consequences in the arrest of all commercial intercourse with the world at large. The primal originative cause of all these connected phenomena, it is now very clear, can only be sought in a profound change of current in the general trend of events: so very marked a change can hardly have been caused by anything less significant than the appearance for the first time of people of Achaeo-Hellenic race on the stage of Aegean history.

The phenomena of change in the Mycenaean-Aegean world outside Crete receive an illustration from the finds hardly less significant. The bearing in this connection of Furtwängler and Loeschcke's pottery of the 4th style, to which the Warrior Vase also belongs, has already been touched upon. This bearing is still further confirmed by the corresponding character of the pottery found in the same tomb with the Warrior Stele of Mycenae, which itself is contemporary with the Vase.¹ This pottery again, with its decadent reminiscences in ornament and style of the Mycenaean of the previous period, is of the same kind as that found

¹ For this pottery see 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1896, Pl. II. 6, 7, 8. The type of vase 8, however, is un-Mycenaean in origin. It recurs as far afield as Enkomi and Curium in Cyprus in a context which is no longer Mycenaean. See *Excavations in Cyprus*, 34, Fig. 66, 1222, 1246; 72, Fig. 124, 31. This vase is referred to again on page 79, Tomb 31, 'two-handled lekythos (sub-Mycenaean)'. The type-affinity with the Cypriote 'Pilgerflasche' is very apparent.

elsewhere, notably in Crete, in tombs containing the earliest instances of cremation, of the fibula and of the use of iron.¹ The occurrence of the fibula in the latest tombs of the Lower Town of Mycenae to which the Warrior Stele also belongs is a corresponding phenomenon in a very early phase. The fibulae of Mycenae are of the most primitive fiddle-bow type, whereas those of Moulianà have already got arched bows. The only sense of sequence which can be conjectured in the phenomena is the natural one which would make the fall of Mycenae somewhat anterior to that of Knossos. Once, however, we pass away from the great centres of Mycenaean-Aegean culture, the contemporaneity of events on the large scale can only be established in a general sense which does not include the proof of every sequence in detail. Thus, for example, if we take the necropolis at Salamis excavated by Kavvadias, without a detailed publication before us it is difficult to say whether the finds as a whole are earlier or later than those of Moulianà in Crete. The provisional report of late stirrup-vases coincident with the practice of cremation and the presence of fibulae with arched bows like those of Moulianà would seem, however, to establish the general fact of contemporaneity in the two sets of phenomena. And Kavvadias is probably not very far from the truth in his general conclusion 'that the cemetery of Salamis belongs to a transition stage between the Mycenaean and the Homeric epochs.'² Deposits, however, like those belonging to the lower town of Mycenae explored by Tsountas, in which occurred the fiddle-bow type of fibula, must be put distinctly earlier than those of Salamis and of Moulianà.³ In these the type of fibula with arched bow already occurs, and this is typologically later than the other.

Reference has already been made to a ceramic series from East Crete which was assigned by the excavators to a sub-class succeeding the Late Minoan III. pottery of Knossos. This series, as we saw, it is now possible

¹ See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, 119-180, Pl. IX. 1, 2. The true sequence in the phenomenon of the first appearance of such fibulae is probably brought out by the fact of the occurrence of one of these two examples (No. 1) in the dromos of one of the tombs. *Ibid.* 148, Tomb 29. There is a curious indirect parallel to this phenomenon in the occurrence in one of the niches of the Isopata Tomb at Knossos of a stirrup-vase of the same post-Minoan character as those from Tomb A at Moulianà. See *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 141, Fig. 122, and compare with 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, 27, Fig. 6, 2 and 3. Tomb A at Moulianà was the one which contained the cremation krater, the fibulae with arched bows and the fragments of an iron sword and knife.

² Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 388. For the Salamis fibulae see page 164.

³ For the Moulianà fibulae see 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. *loc. cit.* 30, Fig. 7.

to relegate to the same general post-Minoan period to which belong the finds from the tombs of Moulianà. Now, as it happens, this series includes an amphora¹ which is of the same type as the Cypriote amphorae with human representations. On the other hand its garbled decoration is much less Minoan than that of the similar octopus amphorae from the Milatos tomb. That the Cypriote amphorae again could on occasion be as quasi-Mycenaean as the earliest post-Minoan Cretan ones is shown by many examples that have come out in the excavations in Cyprus.²

There is an interesting phenomenon of repeated occurrence that emerges on consideration of the class of pottery to which belongs the Warrior Vase of Mycenae. This is the appearance of human representations in vase-painting for the first time, as contrasted with the true ceramic usage of the Aegeo-Mycenaean Age. Such representations are absolutely unknown in any pottery of the late Minoan Period in Crete, down to the close of the era represented by the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Knossos and Phaestos. This phenomenon makes the sudden emergence of such themes in the immediately succeeding era all the more remarkable. Of this the cremation krater of Moulianà is no less striking an illustration than the Warrior Vase of Mycenae itself. The representation of such subjects may be regarded as all the more significant if it be allowed that the Warrior Vase, as well as the painted stele of Mycenae, goes back to a common original in wall painting. That would clearly mean that there was a new influence at work in breaking with the earlier tradition. In the true Mycenaean era no such representation in ceramic art is known, though such models as those afforded by wall-painting on the grand scale were quite as readily available as in the later time.

The models at hand were, however, not confined merely to wall-painting, since the gold cups of Vaphio and the steatite vases of Crete, such as those with the Harvesters and with Gymnastic and Bull-fighting scenes discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada, exist to show that there were more direct examples for imitation. Yet these afforded no impulse

¹ *B.S.A.* ix. 319, Fig. 18.

² For specimens see *Excavations in Cyprus*, 37, Fig. 65, 1088; 40, Fig. 69, 876; 48, Fig. 74, 1147, 1149. The fibulae of the fiddle-bow type found at Enkomi in Cyprus seem to be a little later than those from the tombs of the lower town of Mycenae. See A. J. Evans, 'Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated in the British Museum Excavations,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxx. 204, and Fig. 3.

whatever, even to mere copying on the part of the potters of the time.¹

The contrast in this respect with the practice of a later time comes out with all the greater impressiveness, since at first sight it would seem that it was otherwise in one well-known instance, that of Cyprus. The exception in this case, however, is more apparent than real. The well-known kraters and amphorae with human representations that excavations in Cyprus have so constantly yielded from the time of Cesnola onwards, can hardly now, in the light especially of Cretan discovery, be assigned to a date so very much earlier than the cremation-krater of Moulianà and the Warrior Vase of Mycenae as would put them into the true Mycenaean series. The wonder only is that the contradiction in which some of the finds appear with the real characteristics of the era to which they were supposed to belong did not become at once patent to the more recent excavators in Cyprus themselves. Now, however, that we have got the very definite results afforded by the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Crete, there can scarcely be any further doubt that the objects found with such amphorae and kraters, of whatever kind, belong more to the era of the Moulianà tombs, than to that of the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos. The type of both the amphora and the krater in question are as conspicuous by their absence from the Late Minoan III. cemeteries as they are by their presence in the burials of the immediately succeeding era. The amphorae of Milatos, and cremation-kraters like that of Moulianà, answer completely in shape to the amphorae and kraters with human representations from Cyprus. The krater from Moulianà, the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, and the Cypriote kraters with human representations, while agreeing completely in type, are in entire correspondence with one another in the one characteristic of human representation; and herein they appear in complete contrast with the ceramic usage that was found to occur in the case of the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Crete. It is true that all the Cypriote pottery found in the same context as the fiddle-bow type of fibula is earlier than the deposits of pottery in Crete and elsewhere, which went along with the fibula with arched bow. That observation, however, only shows that it is already possible to detect a sequence in the later develop-

¹ The Fishermen Vase of Phylakopi is a rare exception which, however, probably owes its uniqueness to the fact that it is not really a vase at all, but a lamp-stand which possibly imitated a prototype in some more precious material. See *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 123.

ment.¹ But it affords no justification whatever for regarding the earlier pottery as still really Mycenaean and the fiddle-bow fibula as a mere early importation affected as a modish curiosity of attire by a people not accustomed to its use.

The vase from Curium, *Excavations in Cyprus*, 73, Fig. 127, has a representation with women in Mycenaean dress which is unique. In this case it is not possible to say whether the representation imitates an older wall-painting or is an illustration of contemporary daily life when the prehistoric race of Greece although already under Achaean influence was still in the majority and Mycenaean costume was still in vogue.²

Into the same post-Mycenaean period as the tombs of Mouliaṇà come most of the finds from the burying-place of Thunder Hill at Kavousi in East Crete excavated by Mrs. Harriet Boyd Hawes.³ The excavator herself observes of the decoration of the pottery that 'curved lines are still preferred to straight, indicating a time not long subsequent to the Mycenaean.'⁴ The fibulae are of the same arched bow type as those from Tomb A at Mouliaṇà.⁵ The iron sword from the house-settlement of the same locality probably affords a clue to the type of that indicated by the iron fragments from the Mouliaṇà tomb.⁶ It is thus impossible not to agree with Mrs. Hawes when she concludes that 'all indications justify us in assigning the house and tombs of Thunder Hill to the sub-Mycenaean epoch, transitional between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.' On the other hand a somewhat later use of the cemetery is shown by the fact that though some of the finds, as said, seem to be contemporary with those of the Mouliaṇà tombs, others again are so late as to come into the same category as those of the tombs of Courtes described by Lucio Mariani in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, pages 302-314.

It is unfortunate that no metal objects were yielded by the tombs of the necropolis of Erganos near Lyttos explored by Halbherr.⁷ Yet

¹ Many of the Cypriote vases are, it is true, of the same type and of similar decoration to the latest vases from the Late Minoan III. cemetery at Knossos, but that is only what was to have been expected at the transitional stage.

² See *J.H.S.* xxi. 111, note 3, 112, Fig. 6. Compare *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxx. 201-2. See also *Scripta Minoa*, 64, 67-71.

³ *A.J.A.* 1901, 132-136, Pls. I., II.

⁴ *Ibid.* 135.

⁵ *Ibid.* 136, Fig. 2. Compare *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, note b.

⁶ *Ibid.* 137, Fig. 4. 'The iron sword (Fig. 4) is of an early pattern following close after the Mycenaean' (p. 136).

⁷ See *A.J.A.* 1901, 270-281, Figs. 5, 6, 7.

here again the general character of the pottery makes it sufficiently clear that this cemetery comes into the same category as the tombs of Milatos, Moulianà, and that to which belongs the Warrior Stele of Mycenae. Thus, for example, the stirrup-vases figured in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, Pl. VI. 1, 2, have more than an outward resemblance in type and style of decoration to the stirrup-vases from tomb A at Moulianà.¹ Again, the rows of loops on the shoulder of the stirrup-vase, *ibid.* Fig. 3, recur on a vase which was found along with the Warrior Stele of Mycenae.² The foreign character of the Erganos vase Fig. 4 is, however, quite unmistakable. The shape of the vase and the peculiar set of the handles are as un-Cretan as the general style and distribution of the ornament.³ Dr. Evans, indeed, calls attention to the ethnological significance of the occurrence of this cinerary urn in one tomb 'with the remains of crouched skeletons and late stirrup-vases. No metal objects were found in this tomb, but it is safe to say,' he adds, 'that the cremated remains belong to the beginning of the Iron Age.'⁴

If further work of the same kind as the American excavations at Kavousi be undertaken, we may expect interesting new results as to the sequence of ceramic types in the period of which we speak. At Kavousi we see a spirit which is probably Geometric supervening on a Hellenic type of culture which there and at Moulianà is not yet Dorian and yet is no longer Minoan or even Mycenaean. The human subjects which constantly recur on the pottery of this time, and which are found in regions as far apart as Mycenae, Crete and Cyprus, bespeak the marvellous new interest taken by these people in human exploits of an heroic nature; and their conditions of culture correspond with that which is represented for us in the Epics of the Homeric Cycle. The fact that there is an ethnological stratification preserved to us in the Epic is only natural when we see that there is a stratification of racial elements represented in the tombs of the period. The old prehistoric people, with their great religious and artistic tradition, and their heritage of marvellous story, do not all

¹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, 27, Fig. 6, 2, 3.

² 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1896, Pl. II. Fig. 8; compare also from Tomb B 43, Fig. 10, and the stirrup-vase from the south niche of the dromos of the Royal Tomb of Isopata at Knossos, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 141, Fig. 122.

³ This is true although, as Halbherr points out, the checker pattern on this vase has still a reminiscence of 'the floral decorations on a portion of the Mycenaean urn of Milatos' published by Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* i. 209, Pl. II. Figs. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 134, note b.

at once disappear from view on the appearance of the new folk from the mainland. If they fraternised first with people of Mycenaean race they could fraternise now with the new conquerors of Mycenae. In the modified environment of the later time the old elements of culture are transformed to new uses, and the old stories with a difference are told again in the new language of Achaean Greeks.¹

Dorians in Crete.

It is not as yet possible to indicate in more than a very general way what were the successive phases in post-Mycenaeo-Minoan ceramic development that preceded the final dominance of the Geometric style in Crete. We can only say definitely that the pottery which comes into the same context as that found with the Warrior Stele of Mycenae is as yet entirely free of the Geometric spirit. This is true of the pottery from the Milatos tomb, as well as of the Cypriote pottery from Enkomi and elsewhere. This again, through its introduction of human scenes, has affinities of its own, as we have seen, with the cremation krater of Mouliaṇà in East Crete. All this pottery is still entirely pre-Geometric. On the other hand at Thunder Hill in Kavousi we found that pottery like some of that at Mouliaṇà was found in the same burying-place with later types, which again come into the same category as the early Geometric ware of Courtes. The final stages in the pre-Geometric development we are not as yet able to define, but on the other hand we can definitely say that the pottery of Courtes is already purely Geometric in spirit.

The tombs of Courtes themselves, notwithstanding the at first sight puzzling appearance of the stirrup-vase among pottery types so essentially foreign as the generality from these tombs, clearly belong to a later age than the 'Achaean' tombs of Mouliaṇà and the early post-Minoan elements in the burying-place of Thunder Hill at Kavousi already referred to.² The foreign 'Geometric' spirit in the style of decoration now thoroughly dominates vessels so native in type as even the stirrup-vase. With this post-Achaean wave of influence, the Minoan spirit, which was still so closely echoed in the early post-Minoan tombs of Mouliaṇà,

¹ Compare *Scripta Minoa*, 54-5.

² Compare for the presence of the stirrup-vase at Courtes, Mr. J. P. Droop, 'Geometric Pottery from Crete,' in *B.S.A.* xii. 58.

Milatos and Erganos, as to give rise to a certain amount of chronological ambiguity, has now become all but obliterated.¹ It is now, perhaps, not too venturesome to conjecture that nothing but the Dorian invasion of Crete could account for so emphatic a change as this.

In this connection it is to be regretted that the researches at Courtes, owing to the opposition of the Turkish authorities at the time, had to be made under circumstances so difficult as to render quite impossible any detailed exploration of the cemetery, such as could have led to an inventory of tomb-groups. It is thus all the more fortunate that the explorations made under changed and much more favourable conditions by Mr. D. G. Hogarth at Knossos in 1900 led to the discovery of two find-groups from Geometric tombs, which enable us to put a large proportion of the finds from Courtes into their true context.

Nothing is more striking about the Knossos find-groups than the already strongly Geometric character of the decoration of the vases, and this feature they have in common with the pottery from Courtes. Further, however, when we come to details, we find that certain characteristic types, native and foreign, belonging to the Knossos groups, recur at Courtes. Thus the stirrup-vase with Geometric pattern from the Knossos group, *B.S.A.* vi. 84, Fig. 26, 1, behind, answers to the quaint, provincial Geometric type from Courtes, *Amerian Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, Pl. VIII. 1-3. The foreign wine-decanter with trefoil lip from Knossos, Fig. 25, behind to the right, is identical in shape and decoration with Courtes, VIII. 8. The similar smaller type of oinochoë, again with trefoil lip and Geometric pattern such as hatched triangles, is equally common to the Knossos group and to Courtes. The animal vase with Geometric pattern from tomb-group, Fig. 26, at Knossos, is matched by the similar askoid vase from Courtes, *ibid.* Fig. 1, and so on.

The krater in the middle of the group in Fig. 26, from Knossos, is an interesting descendant of the type of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae, and if we were not on the watch for differences of style and context we might be tempted to put it into one group with the 'Achaean'-looking 'Hunter' krater from Moulianà; but its higher narrower shape and its strongly marked

¹ For the survival of Mycenaean-Minoan decorative motives into the Geometric period see Sam Wide, 'Nachleben Mykenischer Ornamente,' *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 233-58. Nothing but a new informing spirit, acting in a medium not itself in direct touch with the old forms of the Minoan repertory, could have imposed so strong a stamp of altered individuality on the many instances cited by Wide in this important paper.

Geometric decoration, in the environment in which it occurs, relegates it to a later era, when people of Dorian race were already in the land.¹ Nothing could make this clearer than the angular maeander decoration on the shoulder of the jar which forms the centre of the Knossian group, Fig. 25, with its thoroughly Doric character.

A comparison of the respective finds makes it apparent that the latest elements of the burying-place of Thunder Hill at Kavousi come into the same period as the Knossos groups and the earlier finds from Courtes. But this sequence and connection in the phenomena need not surprise us, since from the important Beehive Tomb of Rusty Ridge, in the same region of Kavousi, we have a group of vases in which the Geometric spirit of the Dorian colonists of Crete is seen already at its prime.²

Meanwhile, at Knossos itself, occasional discoveries of an important character in Geometric pottery have been made from time to time while we were on the look-out for Minoan tombs. These chance finds afford eloquent indication as to the rich harvest to be expected when the Geometric cemeteries shall have been systematically explored. One such find, made in our last campaign, has been described by Dr. Evans in the *Times* for July 15, 1907. This consisted of a large and interesting series of Geometric vases and other objects from two rock-cut tombs discovered about a mile to the north of the Palace. A startling peculiarity of some of the vases was their polychrome decoration in matt unfixed colours—an evident survival of the old Minoan tradition. The vases referred to were, however, entirely of the same type and decorative style as others that were in the usual dry, matter-of-fact monochrome technique in glaze paint. The polychrome vases, like the monochrome ones, were cremation-urns of the same type as the Geometric jar from Mr. D. G. Hogarth's excavations illustrated in *B.S.A.* vi. 83, Fig. 25. This coincidence of type makes it clear that the two sets of vases belong to the same stage in Geometric development. That this stage is a fairly early one is shown by the presence of the stirrup-vase in the same context as the polychrome jars referred to, and again among the vases excavated by

¹ Compare the equally 'Geometric' but probably still later krater of this type from Patéla, near Malevisi, published by Orsi, *A.J.A.* 1897, 252, Fig. 1. The same vase, *Mon. Ant.* vi. Tav. 12, 60 (Mariani, p. 343), and Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 244, Fig. 14, 14a.

² See *ibid.* 143-150, especially Pls. III., IV., for the most important vase of this tomb-group.

Mr. Hogarth.¹ Dr. Evans assigns the new finds 'to a period about 800 B.C., when a Dorian settlement of a large part of the island was already an accomplished fact.'

From this assignment it is a far cry to the period and context claimed for the vases by Prof. Ridgeway.² 'The continuity,' he says, 'of the older style of decoration, as well as of the "stirrup-cup vases," can be much better explained, if the new tomb belonged to the Achæan lords of Cnossus, who had overthrown the Minoan dynasty.' From what has gone before it will be seen that this is impossible. The Achæan people, we believe, did put an end to the Mycenaean-Minoan power, but it was not they who overthrew the Minoan dynasty at Knossos. On the other hand these Achæans, as we saw reasons to conclude, did not produce the pottery and other objects of the Geometric type found at Courtes and in the cemeteries at Knossos to which reference has been made. To them rather must be attributed the much earlier post-Mycenaean and yet pre-Geometric ware represented for us in typical examples by the tombs of Moulia. The true relation of earlier and later in the post-Mycenaean period will never be understood unless we see that there is a considerable interval between Late Minoan III. and the civilization represented in one of its earlier phases by the Geometric pottery in question. This interval becomes obliterated if we regard Geometric pottery like that from Courtes as immediately succeeding the Mycenaean style of Late Minoan III. The subjective process, however, which abolished the interval, becomes a grievous error if, with Ridgeway, we assign this Geometric pottery to the Achæan people themselves. But it is still worse, though more consistent, if the interval is then bridged over from the other side by making the destruction of the Cretan Palaces take place at the time of the Dorian migration. This is what Doerpfeld does.³ His reason for doing so is, of course, that he makes the Achæan people, not the representatives of early post-Mycenaean culture, but of the civilization represented to us in the later Cretan Palaces. The Achæan people are thus no longer available for the rôle we have assigned to them in post-Mycenaean history, and this part is accordingly played

¹ *B.S.A.* vi. 84, Fig. 26, left-hand side behind. The vases illustrated in Fig. 26, and those shown in Fig. 25, are from two different tombs, but as the same ceramic types recur in both, the pottery as a whole forms a single series.

² 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor*, 306.

³ 'Die Kretischen Paläste,' *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, 602.

by the Dorian immigrants into Crete. In the course of this process of reasoning, however, not only is the Dorian migration into Crete shifted back into a period in history with which it has nothing to do, but the destruction of the Cretan Palaces is made to take place, not at the end of Late Minoan II., but towards the close of Late Minoan III.¹

DUNCAN MACKENZIE.

ROME, *March* 1908.

¹ *Ibid.* 597, 602.

(*To be continued.*)