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Goulàs: The City of Zeus

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GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS. BY ARTHUR J. EVANS.

With a General Plan by John L. Myres. (PLATE V.)

It may safely be said that of no prehistoric city on Hellenic soil are such extensive remains extant above ground as of the Cretan Goulàs. The walls, indeed, are not so massive as those of Tiryns, there is no single monument to fix the attention like the Lions' Gate at Mycenæ, nor has excavation as yet done anything to add to what meets the eye on the surface of the earth. But for the mass of primeval ruins, the still-standing remains of individual dwelling-houses, the number of distinct quarters within the walls and the area they occupy, Goulàs is without a rival. Its site, moreover, with its twin citadel peaks—the northern one looking down over a thousand feet sheer to the valley below—is more commanding than that of any sister city.

The existence of considerable ruins on this site, which lies in the ancient Dictæan region of Crete and the present province of Mirabello, was first made known by Spratt, who published some account of it* in his "Travels." Owing to a fancied resemblance of name, Spratt identifies Goulàs with the ancient Olous,† the name of which is really preserved in that of the village of Eluda, or Elunta, on the lagoon of Spinalonga. More recently the remains have been observed by Professor Halbherr,‡ and, following him, Dr. Lucio Mariani and Dr. Antonio Taramelli. In the *Antichità Cretesi*, published by Dr. Mariani in 1896, is inserted§ a detailed account of the remains of Goulàs by Dr. Taramelli, containing many valuable details and illustrated by some very good reproductions of photographs.

My own observations of the site of Goulàs have been the result of three successive visits in 1894|| and the two following years, and on each occasion I was able to spend several days in exploring this almost inexhaustible maze of ruins. The principal discovery made by me on my first visit was the existence, in addition to the citadel

* *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. i. p. 129 *seqq.*

† Spratt also identified it with Olerus (Messeleri).

‡ See his *Researches in Crete*, No. VI., *Antiquary*, 1893, p. 198.

§ P. 106 *seqq.*

|| "Archæological Discoveries in Crete," *Times*, August 29, 1894; *Cretan Pictographs, &c.*, 1895, p. 8 [277].

height to the north mentioned by Spratt, of a second Akropolis to the South of the intervening hollow, and on the summit the remains of a very interesting building with a *megaron* recalling some of those of the Sixth or Mycenæan City of Troy. In my next visit (1895), I was accompanied by Mr. J. L. Myres, and in the general plan opposite p. 194, which gives the first detailed view of Goulàs as a whole, he has embodied the result of our joint labours.* It must here be said that, from the vast masses of limestone blocks which encumber the ground, the tangled growth of brush-wood in their crevices, and the steepness of part of the site, the planning and measurement of the remains is a work of extraordinary difficulty, nor can anything more than approximate accuracy be claimed for the general result.†

Professor Halbherr,‡ and following him Dr. Lucio Mariani, identified the ancient city with the "inland Latô," *Λατὸ μέσoγγελος*, as opposed to the *Λατὸ πρὸς Καμάρα*, which is unquestionably the neighbouring seaport of Hagios Nikolaos. During my last visit to Goulàs I traced an ancient causeway in the direction of this port, which may safely be said to have been the haven of the prehistoric city. The only difficulty, indeed, in identifying Goulàs with the "inland Latô" of classical times is the almost total absence on the site of any relics of the historic period. The very extent to which the primitive walls and houses have been preserved indicates an early desertion of the site. Such later relics as have been found, such as a deposit of terra-cotta figures near the Mirabello road, have almost exclusively occurred outside the ancient walls. Some later Greek fragments, including part of an archaic terra-cotta male figure, have also come to light

* Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. i. p. 129, gives what professes to be a general plan of Goulàs on a small scale, and with only a few indications of the walls and buildings. He has, however, fallen into a curious error, having apparently put in part of his details with the map turned one way up and part the other way, so that what he calls the "Temple of Britomartis" is placed under the wrong akropolis, and the road to Kritsà shifted from S.W. to N.E., and the plain of Lakonia *vice versa*!

† The lower terraces of the North Akropolis, and the remains in the hollow and about the Port gate, were almost exclusively Mr. Myres' work. For the approach to the North Akropolis, its entrance quarter, of which a separate plan is given in Fig. 2, the "Agora," and the uppermost terraces of this Akropolis, I am mainly responsible. For the rest of the work, as, for instance, the South Akropolis, the responsibility must be shared. The different sections were put together by Mr. Myres. The separate plans given in the text are my work.

‡ *Antiquary*, 1893, p. 198. Professor Halbherr, however, admits that he saw scarcely any remains at Goulàs later than prehistoric times, and adds, "Probably the site was abandoned in favour of lower ground."

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near the little church of Hagios Andonis (Antonios, with a touch of Adonis), which lies just on the north-western outskirts of the pre-historic town. The small copper coins of Latô, abundant in some of the neighbouring valleys, seem to be totally absent on the Goulàs heights.

Goulàs, then, was deserted in the days when the historic Latô flourished, and had it shared its name with the harbour town it would surely at least have been referred to as Old Latô. But, as a matter of fact, the inland Latô of classical times seems to have been a centre of habitation not inferior in importance to the harbour town. Both appear as equal parties in a treaty with Teos, and both transact common business in a temple of Eilevthya, which must have lain between the two. With the evidence before us it seems impossible to identify the "Cyclopean" ruin-field of Goulàs with a city still flourishing as late at least as the third century before our era.

On the other hand, considering the vast mass of primeval ruins which here confront us, as well as its contiguity to the main line of communication which binds Diktæan and Central Crete, it seems to me that an actual reference to this ancient city may be traced in a record preserved by Diodôros. Diodôros, who follows a native Cretan authority, relates the tradition that Zeus, "being grown to man's estate, built a city on Dikta, in which, according to the legend, was also his birthplace. In later times this was deserted, but the ruins of the foundations remain to this day." *

It is to be observed that the mythical tradition is here distinguished from the basis of solid fact upon which, in the opinion of Diodôros' informant, it rested—existing traces, namely, of a mighty prehistoric city which took its name from the mountain. This record is well explained by the imposing ruins of Goulàs rising on what may be described as an outlying spur of Dikta. From their position near a main line of communication, these "Cyclopean" walls may well have impressed the minds of ancient travellers. A direct connexion, moreover, with the legendary birth-place of Zeus is, as we shall see, supplied by the line of a fortified road of Mycenæan date

* Diod. lib. v. c. 70, 6: 'Ανδρωθέντα δ' αὐτόν φασι πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν. ἥς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων.

leading from the neighbourhood of Goulàs across the intervening range to the upland plain; immediately above which, by the village of Psychrò, opens the great Diktæan Cave, with the rich votive deposits left by its votaries.

The commanding position of the site and the part fulfilled by this fenced city of the twin peaks in the economy of "Minoan" Crete is easily realised from the north Akropolis height. To the west and south-west rise the snowy crests of Lasethi, the culminating points of the ancient Dikta, and along the steep below, which faces their nearer flanks, runs the main high-road which threads the province of Mirabello, and forms the inevitable line of communication, on the whole northern side of the island, between Eastern and Central Crete. This road in the main corresponds with a very ancient way, the "Cyclopean" supporting walls of which and flanking strongholds are very visible at the col of Pepóni Khani, about an hour farther on the Mirabello road. Similar fortified ways traverse the heights to the upland plains of Katharo and Lasethi, and to Kroustas, making for more distant Mycenæan strongholds in the heart of Dikta; and above the glen which debouches on the rich valley of Kritsà is seen a distant glimpse of the rock-set "Cyclopean" watch-station on the ancient Lasethi road-line now known as Katzouli Tzi Kisterna, the Kitten's Cistern. The general outline of the surrounding country will be best seen from the accompanying panoramic sketch by Mr. Myres (Fig. 1).

The nearest inhabited centre in the neighbourhood of Goulàs is the village of Kritsà, said to be the largest in Crete, which lies beneath a line of limestone cliffs (see Panorama) looking due east over its well-watered valley. The occurrence here of some foundations older than the shells of its Venetian houses or its Byzantine churches, and the existence of two late Greek sepulchral inscriptions outside the monastic church of Hagio Pnevma, afford some grounds for believing that the village occupies the site of a more ancient settlement. The frequent discovery in the fields about of coins of Latò suggest the possibility that the inland town of that name occupied this site.

Approaching Goulàs from Kritsà by the Mirabello (Neapolis) road, about twenty minutes distant from the village, an ancient causeway is struck which leads transversely up the slope of the hill to a point

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FIG. 1.

between the two peaks which form the two citadels of the ancient city. The old causeway, like so many of the ancient roads, forms a kind of terrace on the hillside, being supported below by large roughly polygonal blocks, while, in places, it was commanded by a similar wall above.

Before reaching the gap between the two peaks the road already passes through a small quarter of the town, from the lower part of which rock-cut stairs are traceable, abutting on the road a little before the main city gate on this side. This gate, the opening of which is 1.73 m. (about 6 ft. 1 in.) wide, shows just within it on the right two small oblong compartments, which seem to correspond with the two sentry boxes within the Lions' Gate at Mycenæ, though the arrangement is here different.

We thus enter what may be described as the western outer ward of the Northern Acropolis (A in General Plan), itself divided by a partition wall from an adjoining enclosure (B), which communicates with the road that leads to the port, as this with the inland line. (See special plan, Fig. 2.)

This inland road, after entering the Western Ward, passes, almost opposite the gate, a smaller door, and turning sharply to the right past a massive tower of oblong section and a series of magazines or guardhouses, enters the Northern Acropolis itself by a second gate 1.68 m. (5 ft. 6 in.) in width. From the remains of a massive lintel (6 ft. 3 in. in length) and a sub-triangular block, this gate seems to have been provided with a tympanum of the usual Mycenæan style, but there was no trace of sculpture.

The parallel enclosure (B in General Plan) to the west of the entrance ward described is on a slightly higher platform of rock, and exhibits very different features from the other. It opens at its south-eastern corner on to the Port Road, and near its entrance I observed another sub-triangular slab (3 ft. 2 in. high by 2 ft. 8 in. wide), which also seems to have been derived from a Mycenæan tympanum. This, however, was not a city gate in the same sense as that of the Western Ward, since the Port Road itself (D D D on General Plan) has already passed through a whole quarter of the city before reaching this point, and the true Sea Gate is to be found much farther to the south-east.

This eastern enclosure, in which the traveller arriving from the port

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FIG. 2.

thus found himself, is on three sides rectangular, but the wall at its southern end follows the irregular outline of a reef of limestone rocks. The size of the enclosure it is true is not large, being no more than about 30 by 20 metres, or 100 by 66 feet; yet it is one of the few fairly level places in the whole of Goulàs, and seems to have been a principal centre of the civic life and cult. It is the middle point of the city, and the pivot, as it were, on which the whole turns. It forms a kind of neutral ground between the three chief quarters into which the town was divided. It seems, as we shall see, to have centred in a shrine, and as such might be regarded as a *temenos*; but it is at the same time so obviously the central gathering point of the city, that I do not hesitate to give it, at least provisionally, the name of *Agora*. Above the two massive towers which crown its upper end mounts the ridge of the Northern Akropolis. Beneath its eastern flank opens out a crater-like hollow containing many ancient foundations, which also formed a distinct quarter; while to the south rise the precipitous heights of another citadel. Below these heights and immediately overlooking the central enclosure in which we now are, is a terrace wall of roughly horizontal structure, the uppermost layer of which projects so as to form a kind of parapet.*

This terrace-wall supports the emplacement of a building (C on general plan) constructed with exceptionally square-cut blocks, showing on its inner walls a cemented surface, originally coated with painted stucco, some blue-coloured fragments of which are still adhering. This seems to be the building which Spratt, who identified Goulàs with Olous, took to be the Temple of Britomartis. It consists of an oblong foundation with two unequal chambers and connected with this a long narrow compartment, and in its general plan shows analogies to many dwelling-houses scattered about the ancient city. It must probably be regarded as a house rather than a temple—and, in that case, would have belonged to some person of importance.

On entering the "Agora" just below this "temple" terrace, by the entrance from the Port Road already described, there are visible to the left the remains of a recessed stone seat or *exedra*, about 9 m. in breadth. Its farther side is cut out of the rock and shows a small semi-circular niche. Beyond this the eastern border of the enclosure is

* This is seen in the background of the sketch of the hypæthral shrine. Fig. 3, p. 177.

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occupied by what originally seems to have been a long hall or portico, 20 m. by 6.50 m., overlooked at its northern end by a massive square tower.

FIG. 3.

But the central object of interest within the Agora is a small oblong building, 8.10 by 4.50 m. in external measurement, with walls which seem to have been never more than breast-high, consisting of two tiers of large blocks, the upper of which shows externally a projecting border, thus recalling on a smaller scale the parapet of the terrace wall. The entrance of this small enclosure has mortised slabs for the insertion of jambs on either side, and must have consisted of a doorway higher than the walls themselves,* which may, therefore, have served some sacral purpose. Immediately in front of this is a large cistern or

* There also lies just outside the west wall of the building a stone with the usual border continued three-quarters of its face, and on its upper surface (3 ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$) a mortise hole. (See sketch in Fig. 3.) It seems possible that this was originally to the right of the doorway, and that at this point, besides the jambs of the doorway itself, there were two other upright shafts fixed into the upper surface or the low surrounding wall.

reservoir cut out of the rock, and originally, no doubt, like other cisterns of Goulàs, roofed in with the aid of limestone beams.

The appearance of this small low-walled building in so conspicuous a position, with the large reservoir in front of it, had greatly excited my curiosity during successive visits to this site. Certain religious representations on some recently discovered rings and intaglios of Mycenæan date seem to throw fresh light on the matter. All these agree in exhibiting a votary or *adorante* before a hypæthral shrine containing one or more sacred trees—in some cases associated with “bætyls” or pillars of stone, one of which, on a ring from Knôsos, stands in the doorway of the enclosure, and takes the characteristic shape of the Aphroditê of Paphos. In the low-walled hypæthral building of Goulàs, with its loftier doorway and adjacent tank, one is tempted to see a Mycenæan shrine of the same class—it may be, of greater antiquity than the Cypriote sanctuary.

The upper end of the “Agora” is dominated by two massive towers, one 6.50 m. square externally, the other of more irregular outline, with a connecting wall between. These towers and the cross-wall are of more advanced construction than most of the masonry, but there can be no doubt of their Mycenæan character. Just by the eastern tower there is a gap in the connecting wall through which a road may have approached the ridge of the Northern Akropolis. It is hard, indeed, to see how any one coming from the Port entrance of the town could have approached it otherwise.

But the main entrance to this Northern Citadel seems to have been through the Ward to the West of the “Agora” already described. The lower course of the road cannot be clearly made out, owing to the vast masses of ruined masonry which encumber the hill-side, but there are some curious foundations just below the actual peak, which seem to show that there was here a final and inmost gateway (E in general plan). The arrangement of this is indicated by the accompanying rough sketch (Fig. 4) and plan (Fig. 5), from which it will be seen that there was a main passage, 7 ft. 8½ in. wide, flanked to the left by the remains of a massive wall about 6½ feet thick, beyond which is a second narrower opening 3½ ft. wide. On each side of these and between are four square pillars, which must have originally supplied an architectural unity to the double entrance.

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We have here apparently a foot-way and a chariot-way separated by a massive wall, recalling the arrangement of the Sea-Gate at Pompeii. As to the further course of any road-way there is no evidence,

INMOST GATE OF N. AKROPOLIS.

FIG. 4.

though opposite the wider entrance an angle has been cut out of the rock suggestive of a sudden turn of the road to the right preparatory to a final ascent to the round tower about 25 ft. above this at the summit of the peak. It is possible, however, that the enclosure—of exception-

SKETCH PLAN OF INNER GATE OF NORTHERN AKROPOLIS GOULAS

FIG. 5.

ally massive construction—entered by this inner gate, may be an outer court of the Akropolis castle, or palace, and that no further ascent from this point was made on wheels.

The court contains a polygonal cistern in its North-West corner, and beneath the terrace wall opposite a series of rock-cut magazines. The wall of the enclosure on this side is about 2 yards thick.

Just beyond the angle of cut rock already mentioned is a square recess of a chamber, at the side of which (G in general plan) are massive rock-cut steps, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. These afforded access to the crest of the peak, at a point from which a short gradual slope leads to the round tower on its summit platform. The round tower (F in general plan) is the culminating feature in the fortifications of the North Akropolis. It is 27 feet in diameter, of large blocks, the lower layers of which, arranged in a roughly horizontal fashion, are alone preserved. By it is a large semicircular cistern, and a little above, on the North-West spur of the summit, the foundations of a small oblong chamber. A spur of wall running down the steep below the tower brings it into relation with the court of the double gateway below, and this fact, as well as the rock-cut stairs leading up to it from a dependency of the same court on the other side, confirms the conclusion, already suggested, that both court and tower are integral parts of the same peak castle—perhaps the fortified palace of the Mycenæan prince who held sway in Goulàs. On the wall of the tower the Italian explorer, Dr. Taramelli,* recently noticed a rounded limestone block tapering somewhat to a flat top. It is undoubtedly a Mycenæan base, of the regular type, and gives a clue to the date of the building. Dr. Taramelli's photographic view of the tower and base is reproduced, with his kind permission, in Fig. 6.

It is within the limits of the Northern Akropolis in its widest extent that the most important dwelling-houses are collected. The whole eastern side of the hill has been cut with a series of terraces, each supported by a massive wall of the usual roughly horizontal structure, and each of which may be regarded as an additional inner line of defence of the ancient city. Between the summit platform and the little Church of St. Andonis (K in general plan) there are eight principal terraces, with supporting walls of ten or more feet in height, besides lesser tiers.

The lowest of these is of very massive construction, and clearly the outer Akropolis wall rather than a mere supporting wall of a terrace.

* See Meiani, *Antichità Cretesi*, pp. 118, 119, and Fig. 73, where it is seen on a part of the foundations of the round tower.

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It is about five feet broad, and in places still a dozen feet high, and may be traced in a long sweep, following the outline of the hill, from the land gate of the North Akropolis for a space of about 250 yards, till it finally abuts on the precipitous northern rocks. Seen from below this, the view of the massive ruins of this Akropolis is stupendous, the Cyclopæan walls rising tier above tier up the rocky steep, each terrace

FIG. 6.—CIRCULAR TOWER, ON THE NORTHERN ACROPOLIS.

Reproduced, by permission, from a photograph of D. Antonio Taramelli.

supporting, amidst great masses of débris, a labyrinth of ancient houses, the lower walls of which are still preserved.

The line of massive wall described does not indeed represent the final extent of the town on this side, as there are many terraces with foundations of houses beyond it, and a row of rock-cut magazines may be seen at its foot in the neighbourhood of the Church of St. Anthonis, where is also a well-preserved primæval cistern still in use (Fig 11).

The long narrow spaces on which the houses are built have reacted on their general plan, which is, as a rule, much elongated. They are of great variety, from those forming a single chamber to houses with four or five rooms, and often with an outer court as well, and a rock-cut cistern near. The single chambered are the most numerous, and the larger houses are in fact nothing more than multiplications of this simplest type. They are generally, on the narrow terraces at least, of oblong outline, and their doorways are flanked by two massive up-

FIG. 7.—PART OF THE FRONT WALL OF HOUSE H (FIG. 8).

right blocks or stone door-posts, rudely hewn. The walls of the houses, of which an example taken near St. Andonis will be seen in Fig. 7,* are generally formed of large roughly polygonal blocks, the interstices of which are filled with smaller pieces of stone, and there is often an attempt at horizontality in the layers, as in the better built of the terrace walls.

In Figs. 8 and 9 are given plans of two of the larger houses of the

* From a photograph by Mr. J. L. Myres : cf. ground-plan, Fig. 8.

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Northern Akropolis. Fig. 8 (H in general plan) shows a plan of a house with four compartments, the first, of irregular outline, being a

PLAN OF HOUSE
WITH FOUR CHAMBERS.
H. IN PLAN

FIG. 8.

separate construction from the others. A fragment of Mycenæan pottery was found by me in the wall of the second chamber.

The other house (Fig. 9), (J in general plan) has five rooms, as well as an entrance court; access could only have been gained to it by

PLAN OF HOUSE
WITH FIVE CHAMBERS
J. IN PLAN.

FIG. 9.

steps up the rock from a small court containing a cistern on the terrace below. Three of the rooms of the house had their stone door-posts

standing. The inner wall of the house was simply hewn out of the rock.

Between the Northern and Southern Citadel heights of Goulàs is a remarkable crater-like hollow, the formation of which is mainly due to two causes, the decomposition of the limestone rock by the action of the carbonic acid in the rain-water, and the removal of the absorbed elements by subterranean channels.* The crater thus formed contained a distinct quarter of the ancient city, and shows many ancient foundations, while others may have been covered by an alluvial deposit which has collected in its bottom. Many large cisterns are observable in this quarter.

This hollow town is flanked by the terraces of the road (D D D in general plan) which leads along the foot of South Akropolis heights to the remains of what may be called the Port Gate (P in general plan). Towards its western end the crater slightly narrows, and is shut in by a more or less straight ridge protected externally by a cross wall which links to fortified outworks of the Port Gate, with a precipitous spur of the North Akropolis.

The northern section of the cross-wall, though it has an external tower, has been screened later by a second wall with a curving outline, the two forming together a kind of elongated enclosure (N in general plan) with a gate at the lower end. For an enemy, however, to have approached on this side would seem almost impossible, since the cross ridge at the end of the crater on which these fortifications stand is sufficiently defended below by a precipitous steep towering over the watery plain of Lakonia. At certain seasons of the year the greater part of this plain is completely inundated, and in ancient times, when the rainfall was probably greater, it must have formed a shallow lake.

What then was the purpose of the narrow fortified enclosure approached through a regular gate on the top of the ridge? There can, I think, be little doubt that it closed the lower end of a rock stair-

* By a strange error in Dr. Mariani's small general plan of Goulàs, a stream with many tributaries is seen running out from this hollow, the western end of which is removed for the purpose. A geological explanation of the action of this imaginary stream is even appended. All signs of the fortifications beyond, or of the quarter about the Port Gate are omitted. The field for exploration here, however, is so vast that I can only suspect that future travellers will find equal lacunae in my own work.

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case, leading to the peak castle of the Northern Akropolis, and formed an avenue of approach to it from the Port Road. There are indeed indications that a roadway led along the ridge from its southern extremity where it must have communicated with the main road to the harbour, which at this point enters the town through a somewhat complicated outwork. Beyond this point I succeeded in tracing the Port Road for some distance, winding along the flanks of the hills in the direction of the haven, in classical times known as *Latò pros Kamara*, now *Hagios Nikolaos*.

From this quarter above described, near the Port Gate, rock-cut steps imperfectly preserved indicate the direction of an ancient road to the Southern Akropolis. On the side of the Hollow Town or Crater this second citadel is protected by precipitous rocks, and its most convenient access is to the east from the inland road, about one hundred yards before reaching the gate of the Northern Akropolis. The ruins on the side of the hill are here very badly preserved, but about half-way up are traces of an ancient road, and towards the summit well-defined architectural lines again become visible.

Following the summit ridge of the S. Akropolis from the west we pass a two-chambered house and two square buildings, perhaps originally watch-towers, the second of which is coated internally with red-painted plaster.

Beyond this is the most important building of this Akropolis, and in many respects of the whole of Goulàs, which I had the good fortune to discover in the spring of 1894 (M in general plan). Its arrangement will be best understood from the accompanying plan and sketch. It has been since visited and described by the Italian archæologist, my friend, A. Taramelli, to whom I had communicated my discovery.*

The most salient feature of the whole is an oblong chamber with projecting lateral walls outside its entrance, from the ends of which on both sides two steps, the upper apparently intended as a bench,

* L. Mariani, *Antichità Cretesi*, p. 119 *seqq.*, where Dr. Taramelli's supplementary account of Goulàs is given. I cannot, however, agree with the following remark of Dr. Mariani: "Il solo edificio che con qualche probabilità si può far discendere ai tempi storici è il tempio scoperto dall' Evans, ed esaminato dal mio collega, sul' Akropoli sud, benchè la sua costruzione arcaicissima, rilevata dallo stesso Taramelli possa rimontare ai *preludi* della architettura propriamente detta Greca." I have given reasons below for believing that this building dates from the most flourishing Mycenæan period, perhaps the fourteenth century B.C. Neither can I share the opinion of the Italian archæologists that it is a temple.

run as far as the doorway.* The doorway itself is flanked by two upright blocks forming the lower part of the original door-posts,† and on the upper step immediately to the left of the door is seen an oblong mortice-hole, which must have served some purpose in connexion with it. On the corresponding slab to the right there is no mortice.

In front of this chamber, which is of specially massive construction, combining both rough polygonal and partially squared blocks, is another rectangular enclosure, which, from the way it fits on to the lateral projections already described, is evidently a later addition.‡ From the comparative absence of *débris* within the area it appears to have been a court rather than an actual chamber, though its entrance face is flanked, like the other, by two projecting walls, without, however, the accompanying steps. Between the ends of these projecting walls, traversing the whole width of the façade, is a descent of a single step—a feature which recalls the steps in a similar position outside the *megara* of Tiryns and Mycenæ.

These two rectangular enclosures described lie nearly east and west, the first of the two doors being at the western end. Flanking the first enclosure, or court, is a further rectangular compartment, with remains of a wall beyond, and these now imperfect foundations show that what seems to have been the original chamber with the stone seats beside its doorway, eventually formed part of a more complex building.

These circumstances point to the fact that we have here rather to do with an important dwelling-house—perhaps the seat of the prince or chieftain who had charge of the Southern Akropolis—than with a temple. The great masses of fallen stone which choke the principal chamber tend to show that it was originally roofed over, but the evidence at our disposal inclines to the view that the true Mycenæan sanctuary was hypæthral—indeed, in the small, low-walled enclosure of the Agora I have already ventured to recognise such a shrine.

The comparison which naturally suggests itself between the ground

* In a section of these, given by Dr. Taramelli (Mariani, *op. cit.* p. 124, Fig. 78), the steps are, by some unaccountable error, shown on both sides of the projecting side wall. In his general plan of the building (Fig. 76) they appear correctly.

† One of these, which had been overturned, is restored to its position in the sketch (Fig. 10).

‡ In Dr. Taramelli's plan (*op. cit.* p. 123, Fig. 76) the front enclosure is much wider than the other, and with thicker walls. My own measurements make the width practically identical, 20 ft. 5 in. for the external width of the front enclosure, and 20 ft. 6 in. for that of the inner chamber or *megaron*.

BUILDING WITH
MEGARON
SOUTHERN AKROPOLIS
GOULAS.

A. J. EVANS FECIT. MARCH. 1894.

FIG. 10.

plan of this chamber with its projecting lateral walls and a simple form of Greek temple—*ναός ἐν παραστάσιν*—proves no more than that the temple form preserves that of a primitive dwelling. As a matter of fact—except that there are here no traces of *antæ* or *parastades*, the ground plan without the steps strongly recalls that of the Palace of prehistoric Troy.* It is practically identical with that of the ordinary type of house both in the Second and the Sixth, or Mycenæan city of Hissarlik.† The type, it will be seen, is of great antiquity in the Ægean lands, but the Trojan comparisons show that the proportions of the projecting side-walls agree far better with the work of the Mycenæan period than with that of the more primitive stratum. In the buildings of the Second City they stand out as much as the whole breadth of the building. In the Sixth City their proportional length is considerably reduced, and in some cases‡ approaches very nearly to that of the Goulàs chamber. In the *megaron* of the Palace at Mycenæ we find nearly the same ratio. There can be little doubt that we have here the *megaron* of a large dwelling-house of Mycenæan date, which, like those of the Palaces of Tiryns and Mycenæ, was approached by a fore-court and flanked by other subsidiary chambers, which probably formed the “haremlik.”

The outside wall of the principal chamber or *megaron* presents on minute inspection a remarkable peculiarity. It was apparently originally coated with cement of the same kind as that used on the inner walls of the rock-cut cisterns, and in which crushed pottery seems to have been a principal ingredient. The application of this cement in the house and the terrace below, called by Spratt “the Temple of Britomartis,” shows that cement of the same character was used as a foundation for the painted stucco which in that case adorned the inner walls. The natural conclusion to be drawn from this is that the building of the Southern Akropolis, or, at least, its principal chamber, was decorated externally with painted stucco. The use, indeed, of fresco painting for outside decoration by the Mycenæans is sufficiently illustrated by the portals of some of the tombs of the lower town of Mycenæ, excavated by Dr. Tsountas.

* Schliemann, *Troja*. Plan VII. A.

† Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893, Taf. I, II D, II K., &c.

‡ E.g. Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893. Taf. II, VI. A.

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About a hundred yards to the south-east of this building the South Akropolis rises to another summit, and, on the outer side of this, part of the course a circuit wall can be followed for some distance. Below this again to the east are scattered remains of a further suburb or *proasteion*.

We have now briefly surveyed the chief quarters of the inner City of Goulàs, the Northern and Southern Akropolis, and the Hollow Town or Crater and its outworks by the Port Gate. It remains to call atten-

FIG. 11.—CISTERN NEAR HAGIOS ANDONIS.

tion to certain phenomena common, in a lesser or greater degree, to all these quarters.

A very interesting feature of the ruins is the great variety of cisterns that they exhibit, some of the principal of which are marked R.R. on the general plan. Some of these, as one near the Church of St. Andonis, Fig. 11,* and another in a small chamber outside the Port Gate, are still in use. In Fig. 11 is seen part of the pavement

* From a photograph by Mr. J. L. Myres.

with its well-opening and a large limestone basin, the interior of which shows a sub-conical section. That outside the Port Gate, of which a plan is given in Fig. 12, has an even better preserved pavement and basin, which is of limestone conglomerate and has an ear on either side (see sketch in Fig. 12). These cisterns, like the large cistern in the Agora, are of rectangular shape. Others exhibit polygonal basins like that in the court of the building given in Fig. 5 (E in general plan), which, on the terrace side, is enclosed by massive blocks. A fine example of an apsidal form is seen in Fig. 13; in this case two massive limestone beams of the original roof are seen *in situ*, spanning a width

FIG. 13.

FIG. 12.

of 10 feet, and 1 foot broad by half a foot thick. This apsidal cistern is enclosed in a square building, in the upper part of the Hollow Town near the Agora.

The cisterns are mainly excavated in the rock and coated internally with a hard cement which seems to have been largely formed of powdered pottery. Closely allied to the cisterns are the magazines, many of them tunnelled out beneath the terrace walls. There are several of these along the north-western steep of the Hollow Town, which is also specially rich in cisterns.

In the terrace and outer walls of Goulas and the principal buildings, the size of the blocks is often considerable. In the walls on either

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side of the outer gate of the North Akropolis blocks may be seen 6 feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ high. In the round tower at the summit there are blocks also very massive, ranging up to 3 feet 3 inches by 3 feet, and 2 feet 8 inches in depth.* Comparing the Goulàs measurements with those of Cyclopean constructions to be found elsewhere in Crete, they can only exceptionally be said to represent the most massive style. No wall, for instance, presents quite such a colossal aspect as a wall of one of the most primitive buildings, of what I have elsewhere described as the Town of Castles, at Omalès, where one stone attains the dimensions of 5 feet in length by 4 feet 4 inches in height. This exceptionally massive style, it may be observed, is generally associated with a roughly polygonal structure, which in its origin at least goes back to times long anterior to the great days of Mycenæ. The Mycenæans, as we know from the Tholos-tombs of Mycenæ itself, were quite capable of executing squared horizontal work, and a relief on a fragment of a steatite vase obtained by me on the site of Knôsos shows an altar with regular isodomic masonry. For the sake, however, of economy of labour, the older rough style was no doubt largely adhered to during this period, and at Goulàs, for instance, we see on either side of the outer land-gate of the North Akropolis a quasi-horizontal structure employed, but farther along the wall the blocks are less worked and fitted more roughly according to their natural shape, with smaller stones to fill up the interstices. The towers above the Agora show, as already pointed out, a somewhat advanced style of squared masonry (see Fig. 2).

The thickness of the larger walls at Goulàs is from 5 to 6 feet, which cannot compare with that of the circuit walls at Tiryns. On the other hand, they display a Tirynthian characteristic in their not infrequent short square returns, examples of which may be seen in the inner wall of the entrance ward of the North Akropolis (Fig. 2), and the terraced wall below the five-chambered house given in Fig. 9.

That part of the constructions may be referred to a more primitive period is probable enough, but on the whole, the existing remains of the city seem to belong to the great days of the Mycenæan civilisation. Direct evidences of date are supplied by the Mycenæan base

* Dr. A. Taramelli has given the dimensions of several of these. (Mariani, *Antichità Cretesi*, pp. 116, 117.)

of the North Akropolis Tower, by the proportions of the *megaron*, with its projecting side-walls on the Southern Akropolis, and the carefully-hewn slabs of its steps or benches. Near the second gate of the North Akropolis and the Port Gate of the Agora, are triangular blocks which seem to have fitted into *tympana* of the Mycenæan type, and in the wall of a chamber of the four-roomed house (Fig. 8) was a fragment of Mycenæan pottery.

These indications agree with the general character of the smaller relics found in and about Goulàs. A few objects, such as a grey steatite bowl, figured in my account of the Hagios Onuphrios deposit,* may belong to the more primitive period. But the great majority of dateable objects discovered here are of the Mycenæan class. Among these I was able in all either to acquire or obtain impressions of fifteen Mycenæan gems, and also of a perforated cornelian cut in the shape of the typical Mycenæan shield. Among the more interesting subjects represented in the intaglios may be mentioned a group of three *agrimia*, or Cretan wild-goats, a seated lion, and a lion and sphinx; two wild-goats as supporters of a columnar palm-tree—a device much recalling the early tympanum relief at Bologna, and a flying fish, the ancient *χελιδών*, still known as *χελιδονόψαρον* to the modern Greeks, a frequent Mycenæan device in Crete. There were besides a rude design of the three-columned front of a gabled building, which, like other Cretan gem types of the kind, may represent the wooden hut of the country, a double axe, and several forms of vases with curving handles suggestive of some of those held by the Keftiu in Egyptian wall-paintings. It was in company with one of these that the terracotta ox and a vase engraved with Cretan linear characters, described in my *Pictographs*,† was found under a terrace near Hagios Andonis.

A very interesting decorative design, consisting of palm-leaves and spirals, has been fully discussed by me elsewhere,‡ and with the help of this and a template instrument found among the Cretan pictographs, a ceiling design has been reconstructed of a character resembling that of Orchomenos and of XVIIIth and XIXth

* In *Cretan Pictographs*, &c. (Quaritch, 1895), p. 120, Fig. 113.

† P. 8 [277] *seqq.*

‡ *Cretan Pictographs*, &c., p. 50 [319] *seqq.*

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Egyptian tombs. During my last visit to Goulàs I picked up a piece of Mycenæan painted pottery, the colours yellow and reddish brown, the design of which when completed (see Fig. 14) gives a spiral pattern of the same class. We have here a fresh hint of the

FIG. 14.—MYCENÆAN POTSHERD WITH SPIRAL DESIGN.

system of decoration which adorned some of the painted halls of the ancient city.

A stamped fragment exhibiting a "rosette" ornament takes us to the same field of comparisons. It should be more truly described as a daisy or marguerite, the favourite device of the Egyptian enamelled roundels which—among the relics of Akhenaten's Palace at Tell-

el-Amarne—are seen in a purely naturalistic form with their white petals and yellow eye. Another terra-cotta fragment shows a stamped medallion closely resembling some of those on the clay coffin-lids of Assarlik* found in tombs of late Mycenæan date, containing fibulæ, which supply the antecedent stage to the Dipylon types. A painted sherd obtained by Mr. Myres exhibited concentric circles of the Cretan geometrical style, but otherwise the fragments of pottery that came under my notice—for the most part bits of rough pithoi—seemed to belong to the earlier period. Of later Hellenic relics I observed no trace within the limits of the ancient citadels, though, as already noticed, such are found near the little Church of Hagios Andonis, immediately outside the eastern wall, and again at a lower level of the hill near the modern road. Near the point where the ancient causeway joins the road to Neapolis a deposit of Greek terra-cotta statuettes was found, of which I saw a fragmentary example representing a male figure naked to the waist and apparently leaning on a column. Lower down the valley there was also found a remarkable archaic terra-cotta relief of a sphinx dating from the seventh century B.C. It would seem that the Dorian invaders treated the old indigenous city as the Saxons did so many of the Roman Chesters in Britain, and made their new settlement outside the ancient walls. But there is no evidence that anything like a city grew up in the immediate neighbourhood of Goulàs in Hellenic times, and, as already pointed out, the more probable site of the inland Latô is to be sought at Kritsà.

* See W. R. Paton, *Report on Tombs from the Neighbourhood of Halicarnassus*. J. H. S. viii. p. 74 *seqq.* Compare especially Fig. 25, p. 77.

SKETCH-MAP OF GOULAS,
based on the observations of
A. J. EVANS & J. L. MYRES.

0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Scale of metres.