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SOUTH-EASTERN ELEMENTS IN THE PRE-HISTORIC CIVILIZATION OF SERVIA.¹

THE geographical position of Servia lends great importance to its pre-historic finds, because on their correct interpretation and understanding depends the solution of many pre-historic problems.² I hope that this paper may, at any rate, prepare the way for such a solution ; its subject is the south-eastern element in the pre-historic civilization of Servia, so far as this has been established by investigation. The task has been greatly facilitated by the excavations carried out at Vinča in 1908.

THE SETTLEMENTS.

Geographical position. Character and ground-plan of dwellings.

So far only those settlements have been explored, which from their geographical position fall into two main groups, a division which is also based on the remains found therein : the first and earliest group comprises Vinča, Carsija, Mali Drum and Jablanica, all of which, with the exception of Vinča, lie in the above order, along the railway from Belgrade to Nis. The second, later group, includes fourteen Servian sites, all of which lie, like Vinča, on the right bank of the Danube and stretch to Radujevac, the most north-easterly point on the frontier of Servia. To this group also belongs Vidbol on the Danube, below Widin in Bulgaria.

The sites of Group I. are situated, for the most part, on mountain

¹ Owing to Dr. Vassits' absence from Belgrade the English translation of this paper has not been revised by him.—*Ed.*

² Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 1908, pp. 248 sq.

spurs, which, generally speaking, have a southerly trend, and therein resemble many of the Transylvanian sites and Troy.¹ The sites of Group II., on the other hand, are closely linked to the valley of the Danube.

Bothroi (Wohngruben) are found only at places belonging to Group I.; their ground plan varies, but it is never rectangular. At Vinča above the lowest *Bothros* stratum, we find broad flat floors, more or less rectangular, with supports in the interior for the roof-beams; but nevertheless, the dwellings were never built of anything but wattle plastered with clay.

This change in the form of the ground-plan took place gradually at Vinča, as other remains prove, and was merely the result of elements introduced from the south-east, where the buildings shew the same phenomena. In Servia, as we shall presently see, it took place later than the corresponding change in the south-east.

IMPLEMENTS.

Obsidian knives. Stag-horn harpoons and fish-hooks.

Stone implements have so far been found at all the sites; at Vinča they appear in the lowest as well as in the uppermost strata of the deposit. I shall not, however, discuss them now, but shall confine myself to mentioning a few typical specimens.

Flint knives are found in all the strata at Vinča, but the earliest example of *obsidian* knives is contemporary with the change in the shape of the ground plan. If we cannot yet prove that the obsidian objects found at Vinča came direct from the south-east, still—even if the stone in the rough is of Hungarian origin—all the evidence at our disposal goes to prove that, at all events, the knowledge of this substance and the habit of using it were introduced from the south-east.²

At Vinča harpoons³ made of stag-horn are contemporary with obsidian knives. In a north-westerly direction things of this kind are

¹ *Prilozi ka rešavanju trojanskih problema* (= *Beiträge zur Lösung der Trojaprobleme*), LXX. *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije Nauka*, p. 166; and D. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 253, note 2.

² Wace, Peet, Thompson, 'The Connection of the Aegean Civilization with Central Europe,' *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 236, note 2.

³ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 95, Fig. 6; *Memnon*, i. p. 178, Fig. 6.

not found until we reach Switzerland,¹ whilst to the south-east they appear as near as Bulgaria.²

Fish-hooks of stag-horn are contemporary with the harpoons at Vinča and like them must be considered as substitutes for the metal hooks and harpoons of the south-east, because the hooks are of a shape invented for metal and copied here, as elsewhere, in the less costly material.

To some such conclusion we are driven by the date of the strata referred to at Vinča which certainly belong to the Bronze Age, and therefore these stag-horn harpoons and hooks are not characteristic of the Stone but of the Bronze Age. The appearance of obsidian in the same strata at Vinča is further evidence in favour of the view advanced.³

THE PLASTIC ARTS.

Materials. Male and female statuettes; various types of statuette. *Rendering of costume.* Figurine from Kličevac; south-eastern analogies. *Bone statuettes; kourotrophoi and bicephalous figures.*

The pre-historic collection in the National Museum at Belgrade contains, at present, about one thousand statuettes from different sites. With the exception of one bird's head (serpentine asbestos) from Jablanica,⁴ and the hind-quarters of a quadruped (white limestone) from Vinča, all the figures found in Servia are manufactured of clay.

Nearly all these clay figurines represent a *female figure*. Last year one, and only one, male statuette (Fig. 1) was found, the sex of which is clearly proved by the emphatic rendering of the genital organs. It was found at Vinča at a depth of six metres. Possibly the peculiar shape⁵ of the head is due to some kind of head-covering, rather like a helmet (?).

FIG. 1.—TWO VIEWS OF MALE FIGURE.

¹ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 97; *Memnon*, Bd. i. p. 178.

² As I am informed by M. Anastos D. Čilingirov.

³ See the important statement by R. C. Bosanquet in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, pp. 232 and 233.

⁴ Miloje M. Vassits, *Die neolithische Station Jablanica*, 1902, p. 24, Fig. 61.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4, Fig. 4.

The long, straight, modelled eyes are also noteworthy. One might perhaps be justified in tracing this male figure back to the statuette from Petsofà,¹ as the Thessalian examples² are certainly doubtful. It deserves attention just because it is exceptional.

The remaining (female) clay figures may be divided into types, based on their technique and attitude; from the technical point of view they fall into two classes, (A) solid and (B) hollow figures; (A) is typical of the sites of Group I., (B) of those of Group II.; both classes have their prototypes in the south-east, and appear there in the same chronological order.

The solid female statuettes from the first, *i.e.* the older group of sites, are without exception steatopygous, and may be divided according to their attitude into two classes, (*a*) standing and (*b*) seated figures. Class (*b*) is further subdivided into figures seated (*b*¹) on a throne and (*b*²) without a throne.

The standing type (*a*) is the more common, and is found wherever such figures are found at all; as regards the seated type (*b*) the case is far otherwise. Of its two subdivisions *b*² is inferior in quality and in numbers, but as the specimens of this class are always provided with a vertically pierced hole, it is not improbable that they were worn suspended from the person as amulets.

From sites to the north-west we have at present only one foot of a seated figure from Lengyel,³ and a rough statuette from Pizzugghi near Parento in Istria,⁴ both, however, of much later date than our earlier specimens of the type. On the other hand, towards the south-east, countless specimens of it exist, in Bulgaria,⁵ Troy,⁶ and lastly in Thessaly.⁷ The Cycladic and Cretan⁸ figures of the same kind are well known.⁹

¹ *B.S.A.* ix. Pl. X.; cf. also besides examples from Knossos the vase from Hagia Triada, Burrows, *op. cit.* Pl. I. A.

² Tsountas, *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, 1908, p. 280.

³ M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bild. Kunst*, p. 522.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 521, Taf. XV. Figs. 20-22.

⁵ *B.C.H.* xxx. (1906), pp. 390 sq.

⁶ H. Schmidt, *H. Schliemann's Sammlung trojanische Altertümer*, No. 7642.

⁷ Cf. Tsountas, *op. cit.*, Taf. XXXIII. 6 and 4a-β. The latter specimen is wrongly described by Tsountas as 'φανταστικόν τι ὄν.'

⁸ *E.g.* from Petsofà, *B.S.A.* ix. Pls. XI. and XIII.

⁹ For both types also J. L. Myres, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxx. (1900), pp. 251 sq.

In class δ^1 we always find the figure and the throne made in one ;¹ whereas in the south-east separately made figures are found, intended to be placed on a separately made seat. I am not therefore inclined to agree with D. Mackenzie that those crouching south-eastern statuettes are 'hideous, half-squatting varieties.'² I think that the statuette from Sparta,³ for example, was placed on a similar throne, like, for instance, the one from Phylakopi,⁴ although no thrones have been found at Sparta, and no crouching figures at Phylakopi. In this respect the connection of our specimens with south-eastern prototypes is more than clear, and, as will be seen, is noteworthy for another reason.

A further classification of the solid clay statuettes may be based on the shapes of the head and the face, and by its help the three following types may be distinguished: (1) the earliest, (2) the developed, and (3) the decadent.

The earliest type (1) has a flat triangular face, with a wart-like nose and eyes represented by square incisions ; no other details of the head are indicated (Fig. 2).

FIG. 2. — STATUETTE OF EARLIEST TYPE.

FIG. 3.—BACK OF HEAD OF STATUETTE OF DEVELOPED TYPE.

The developed type (2) shews the following details in the face : nose, eyes either incised or added, and painted⁵ or incised⁶ designs which reproduce tattooed or painted patterns. At the back of the head is either a horizontal knob with a vertical hole in it⁷ or else an incised pattern (Fig. 3). The two variations explain each other and serve the same purpose : the holes represent hair just as they do on the heads of the ivory statuettes

from Knossos ;⁸ the incised lines also represent hair.⁹

¹ Cf. the examples given in LXX. *Glas*, pp. 175 sq. Figs. 14 sq.

² *B.S.A.* xii. p. 227.

³ *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. p. 52, Fig. 1.

⁴ *Phylakopi*, p. 206, Fig. 181.

⁵ *Starinar*, *N.S.* iii. (1908), p. 72, Fig. 1.

⁶ LXX. *Glas*, pp. 173 sq. Figs. 10 sq.

⁷ *E.g. Jablanica*, p. 12, Figs. 23 sq. etc.

⁸ *B.S.A.* viii. p. 72, Figs. 37, 38 ; *ibid.* ix. p. 279, Fig. 1 ; Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 302, Fig. 226 ; p. 214, Pl. XXIII. 6 ; *Starinar*, *N.S.* iii. p. 74.

⁹ *E.g. Tsountas, op. cit.* Pl. XXIII. 3 (painted).

The decadent type (3) is characterized by a 'bird' head and monstrous nose; it often has incised eyes and holes representing locks of hair

FIG. 4.—STATUETTE OF DECADENT TYPE.

(Fig. 4). Considerations based on the lie of the strata prove that this is an instance of a decadent type,¹ a phenomenon noted also in the south-east. The mouth is indicated only in figurines of the 'Kličevac Idol' type;² never in others.

In type (1) neither personal ornaments nor dress are indicated; they occur very rarely, and then only in a fragmentary form in type (3). In the developed type (2) on the other hand, we find that not only personal ornaments (chiefly necklaces³ and shoulder clasps⁴) but clothing are indicated.

The dress of the standing figures of the earlier (solid) class is represented as two loin-cloths, quite square in cut, hanging down from the belt;⁵ sometimes this loin-cloth is drawn sheath-like round the hips,⁶ and sometimes it is represented as a piece of stuff folded round the body with the ends hanging down in front;⁷ it is often secured to the belt by buttons, rendered by lentoid knobs moulded on the figurine.⁸ The upper part of the body seems to be nude.

On some figurines traces are to be seen of incised parallel lines, running, generally, in a horizontal direction round the shins below the knees; these lines are best explained as representing footwear; it is well known that such footwear are represented on the south-eastern prototypes.⁹

Long garments enveloping the whole of the lower part of the body are worn only by figures of 'Kličevac Idol' type, and only the ornaments

¹ LXX. *Glas*, pp. 178, 194.

² *Jablanica*, pp. 9 sq. Figs. 19 sq.

³ *Jablanica*, p. 20, Fig. 52-3, 55-56.

⁴ *Jablanica*, p. 19, Fig. 50; LXX. *Glas*, Fig. 15.

⁵ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 102, Fig. 9; *ibid.* N.S. iii, p. 77, Fig. 6. Cf. also J. L. Myres, *E.S.A.* ix. p. 366.

⁶ *Starinar*, N.S. iii. p. 78.

⁷ *Rev. Arch.* 1908, p. 205, Fig. 1.

⁸ *Jablanica*, p. 15, Fig. 31; p. 18, Figs. 46 ff.

⁹ *Starinar*, N.S. iii. p. 76, Fig. 5.

of the dress are indicated, not the dress itself, probably because it was thought to be sufficiently rendered by the shape of the body. On the 'Kličevac Idol' the loin-cloth which hangs down in front from the belt is indicated in the same way, and the upper as well as the lower part of the body appears to be clothed; it is impossible, however, to determine accurately the fashion of the garment, for both the ornamentation on it, and the personal ornaments of the idol are indicated and cannot be distinguished from each other.

The details enumerated are neither peculiar to our clay figures nor found exclusively in them, but a search for analogous types leads us not to the north-west but to the south-east, and it is there that we must seek for the prototypes of these figurines.

The earliest type of head and face may, on the strength of these analogous south-eastern types, be described as 'Cycladic' or 'Aegean,' using the terms in the sense in which J. L. Myres uses them;¹ adopting the classification of Aegean statuettes made by Lagrange,² this earlier type (1) cannot be compared with any but the Cycladic figurines, that is to say, with those of the Early Minoan III. period (E. M. III.).³ However, to judge from the rest of the finds, they are of later date, for, at Vinča this type (1) is found, as stratigraphic considerations prove, almost exclusively in the lowest *Bothros* stratum, and this position determines its relative age.

The more developed type (2) is characterized by several strongly marked features, most of which are found in the Petsofà figures⁴ which belong to an earlier stage in the Minoan period,⁵ or to adopt the terminology of other archaeologists, at the beginning of the Middle Minoan period (M. M. I.).⁶ The faces of the Cycladic marble statuettes of more developed type also shew tattooed or painted patterns.⁷ It is very characteristic of the Servian sites belonging to Group I. that this type of statuette (2) occurs in the lower strata at Vinča *with* type (1) and does not attain to undisputed sway until the middle strata of the deposit there. This, of course, serves to date it relatively.

¹ *B.S.A.* ix. p. 366.

² *La Crète ancienne*, 1908, pp. 77 ff.

³ Lagrange, *op. cit.* p. 78.

⁴ *B.S.A.* ix. pp. 360 ff. Pls. VIII.-XIII.

⁵ *B.S.A.* ix. p. 361.

⁶ D. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 233, 245; R. M. Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 53.

⁷ Cf. head from Amorgos, *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. p. 46; head from Seriphos, J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, 1908, p. 597, Fig. 230, 1.

The decadent type (3) is of less importance, as it might be derived from both the already existing types (1) and (2); it is, however, important to note that at Vinča it is a marked feature of the upper and the uppermost strata.

The 'Kličevac Idol' is no longer an isolated phenomenon in Serbia; similar statuettes have been found in almost all the sites of Group II.¹ Wide,² A. J. Evans,³ and I myself⁴ have all successively compared this 'idol' with Cretan statuettes of like type; the examples found at Knossos⁵ all belong to the last period of the Second Palace.⁶ Nevertheless, in spite of all our efforts, the origin and development of the type in Serbia have not yet been clearly established; whereby many misconceptions have arisen, and unfortunately still exist. There is, however, a good deal of information available which may throw light on the question.

All the pottery from the sites in Group II. is copied from the metal vessels of the same period⁷; this pottery, as will be seen, has many points of resemblance with the pottery of Troy VI., so that this stage of civilization in Serbia may be equally well described as 'Mycenaean' or as 'post-Mycenaean.' It is, however, at the very earliest, certainly not earlier than the end of Troy VI., and exhibits many features which are also found in Troy VII. The Kličevac 'Idol' does not depend, as H. M. Hoernes maintains⁸ 'for its shape and ornamentation entirely upon neolithic tradition and neolithic style;' but, as is proved of the pottery of the same period, has on the contrary many peculiar features which can only have existed in a corresponding metal type: the cylindrical shape of the lower limbs, the flat solid torso, and the head are all fashioned in the style and technique of the models; the ornamentation is copied from the engraved and impressed designs with which they are decorated. Lastly, the rich metal *parure* and the fully draped lower limbs testify to the accuracy of the date suggested above for this 'Idol.' Consequently we are constrained to assign the statuettes of this 'Idol' type to a later period than their Cretan prototypes: that development in Crete proceeded on the same lines as in Serbia, is proved by the pottery of the corresponding

¹ *Rev. Arch.* 1908, i. pp. 205 sq.

² *Ath. Mitt.* xxvi. p. 252, n. 5.

³ *B.S.A.* viii. p. 98, n. 1.

⁴ *Starinar*, N.S. i. pp. 28 sq.

⁵ *B.S.A.* vii. p. 99, Fig. 56.

⁶ Lagrange, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁷ *Starinar*, N.S. ii. pp. 22 sq.

⁸ 'Die neolithische Keramik in Oesterreich,' *Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission*, iii. (1905), p. 29.

period, which also shews the influence of metal technique.¹ From this an exceedingly important inference can be drawn, viz. that in Servia there exists a definite deposit which has the same main characteristics as the corresponding but older deposit in the south-east. Not less important is another fact, that particular characteristic phenomena succeed each other in those districts in the same sequence as in Servia.

How these metal figures travelled to Servia may be, to a certain extent, inferred from the finding of the well-known bronze statuette at Troy²; for reasons easily understood they have not come down to us, but as we can reconstruct them from the clay copies their existence can no longer be doubted. For this reason I fail to understand how Messrs. Wace, Peet, and Thompson³ can classify the Kličevac 'Idol' as 'neolithic' and compare it with the other much earlier figurines from other localities; in so doing they simply leave out of account the earlier Servian statuettes.

FIG. 5.—BONE STATUETTE.

Before we conclude this survey of the clay statuettes a few more important instances may be cited. First to be mentioned is a fragmentary statuette of bone (Fig. 5) which, as specimens from Bulgaria,⁴ Troy,⁵ and Thessaly⁶ shew, finds its closest parallel in south-eastern districts. No bone statuettes seem to have been, as yet, discovered to the north-west of Servia. This figure was found at Vinča at a depth of 5·3 metres. Fig. 6 reproduces a new type of statuette: a female figure seated on a throne, evidently intended to represent a mother hushing her child (*kourotrophos* type), the nearest parallel to which is a figure from Thessaly⁷ with which Tsountas has already on other grounds compared it.⁸ A further parallel is provided by a figure from Mycenae.⁹ Our specimen was found at Vinča at a depth of 4·5 metres.

¹ Burrows, *op. cit.* pp. 60 and 90.

² Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vi. Figs. 349, 350. Also D. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 242.

³ *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 237.

⁴ *B.C.H.* xxx. (1906), p. 415, Fig. 57; a large number of these bone figurines were found at Sultan-Selo in Bulgaria and will be published shortly.

⁵ H. Schmidt, *Katalog*, p. 280, No. 7598 sq.

⁶ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 306, Fig. 230 δ.

⁷ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 290, Pl. XXXI. No. 2.

⁹ Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.* vi. p. 745, Fig. 338.

⁸ *Op. cit.* pp. 378 sq.

Lastly we have the bicephalous clay figures¹ for which again parallels are provided from the south-east.² The specimen here figured (Fig. 7) was found at Vinča at a depth of 4 metres.

These details concerning Servian clay figurines and their south-

FIG. 6.—STATUETTE OF KOUROTOPHOS.

FIG. 7.—BICEPHALOUS STATUETTE.

eastern parallels clearly prove that there is not only a general resemblance between the two methods of working in clay, but that their most striking peculiarities find their closest and sometimes, their only models in the south-east, not in the north-west.

RITUAL OBJECTS.

Meaning of the statuettes ; figures seated on a throne represent a divinity ; pedestals for idols. Standing figures also represent a divinity, but the majority are ἀναθήματα. Labrys ; pedestals for the labrys. Libation table.

The affinity shewn to exist between Servian and south-eastern clay statuettes does not, so far, furnish us with an answer to the question why this affinity exists and what gave rise to it. I believe that the most satisfactory answer is to be found in the theory that the Servian figures, which outwardly resemble the south-eastern types, are derived from them ; and further, that their meaning is the same as that expressed by the much

¹ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 100, Fig. 20 ; *Memnon*, vol. i. p. 180, Fig. 19.

² For examples from Cyprus cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, p. 182, Figs. 35, 36.

less ambiguous figures from that region. In another paper¹ I have tried to shew that the seated figures represent a female divinity, such as is often met with in south-eastern types, where the divinity *sits* and the worshipper *stands* in front of her.² These statuettes are also objects of worship—idols—and, as such, they are, for purposes of worship, placed upon pedestals made for them, as is proved by a specimen from Vinča,³ where the figure on its throne is made in one with the base.

In the south-eastern regions similar bases are found, often in the form of stepped pedestals, on which not only aniconic objects of worship⁴ but statuettes⁵ were placed; and, moreover, in the Palace of Knossos there are both aniconic objects and statuettes placed upon a 'raised base' before which the ritual was performed.⁶ There is therefore no real reason for doubting that the objects found with the Servian statuettes have their origin in these south-eastern types, and that they are to be explained in the same way.

These same south-eastern affinities serve to explain the standing figures: they are, like the models of cattle in the main, *ἀναθήματα*, using the word in its widest sense; at the same time it cannot be denied that a certain proportion, though a much smaller one, of these figures are to be explained as representations of a divinity.

An amulet shaped like a *labrys* was found in one urn,⁷ and justifies the statement that the worship of the divinity whose symbol it is, was known to the early dwellers at Vinča. For this reason I explain as an imitation of the *labrys* a particular form of pendant made of marble and limestone,⁸ and found at Vinča and at one site (Korbovo) from Group II. It is remarkable that objects which can be best explained as pedestals for the *labrys* and which exactly correspond to the 'stepped plinth for Double Axe' of Palaikastro,⁹ have also come to light at Vinča.¹⁰ Here we have a repetition of the statuette bases, a consideration which should strengthen the explanation offered.

¹ *Starinar*, N. S. iii. (1908), pp. 71–120. (*Prähistorische Kultobjecte, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der prähistorischen Religion in Serbien*.)

² *J.H.S.* xxi. pp. 108, 163, 175, 190, Figs. 4, 45, 51, 64; and *B.S.A.* vii. p. 18, Fig. 7a.

³ *Starinar*, N. S. iii. p. 87, Fig. 8; cp. also Fig. 9.

⁴ *J.H.S.* xxi. pp. 101, 103, 142, 158, Figs. 1, 2, 25, 36; also Figs. 37, 38; *ibid.* xxi. pp. 181 sq. § 26, especially p. 185.

⁵ H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, p. 168, Fig. 114.

⁶ *B.S.A.* viii. p. 96, Fig. 55.

⁷ *Starinar*, N. S. iii. p. 98, Fig. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 99, Fig. 11.

⁹ *B.S.A.* ix. p. 326, Fig. 26, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 102, Fig. 13.

One object found at Vinča¹ is to be explained as a 'libation-table, and is like those found not only in Bulgaria but at Knossos.² From Vinča we also have a fragment of marble,³ which certainly formed part of a 'libation-table,' and we can now explain as such 'tables' a number of three- or four-legged objects which have hitherto been described as 'small altars.'

The above is a brief summary of the paper referred to ; the conclusions arrived at are calculated to explain many points which have not hitherto been understood. Only a few main points are here touched on, but if the conclusions drawn are accepted, it follows that the former pre-historic inhabitants of Servia drew their inspiration not only from the material, but from the spiritual side of south-eastern civilization. This inspiration, as is natural, is most clearly reflected in the religious practices of the early inhabitants of Servia as known from the ritual objects which have come down to us. The statuettes are ritual objects: the points of agreement between them and the south-eastern figures are simply the result of similar religious rites practised in both places ; religious conservatism maintained them in the same shape and form throughout the duration of the civilization borrowed from the south-east. Finally, with regard to the question whether the movements of one race can account for the spread of the Aegean civilization in a north-westerly direction, I am convinced that the details given justify an answer in the affirmative, quite as much as one in the negative.

THE POTTERY.

Globular and bowl-shaped vases. Vases on stands ; anthropomorphic vases ; vases a doppio cono. Methods of ornamentation: impressed ornament ; black highly polished patterns and greyish-white slip ; red slip ; red matt-paint ; bichrome matt-paint. Incised patterns on vases from Group II. Designs: square spiral, true spiral, maeander, naturalistic elements ; decoration in relief. Pictographic signs.

The method of preparing the clay depends on the shape and size of the vase: for the larger and simpler vases, it is coarse ; for the smaller and better ones it is more carefully kneaded. The firing varies ; the colour of the

¹ *Starinar*, N.S. iii. p. 105, Fig. 14.

² *B.S.A.* ix. p. 6, Fig. 2 ('Terracotta Stand').

³ *Starinar*, N.S. iii. p. 107, Fig. 15.

surface ranges from deep black and grey of many shades to brick-red; shades of chestnut-brown are not rare. In the deeper strata the surface of the vases is almost always hand-polished without traces of glaze; in the upper strata there are vases the surface of which is coated with fine clay thinned with water.

Among the typical shapes the following may be mentioned. Leaving out vases with a low hollow foot which are found in the lowest *Bothros* stratum and appear even at Troy I.¹, we may mention the globular vases fixed on a high hollow foot,² found both at Carsija³ and at Vinča⁴; with this shape the bowl with a solid foot (Fig. 8) is closely connected. Our bowl

FIG. 8.—TYPES OF FOOT OF BOWLS.

is a variation of the well-known shape,⁵ and is found in Bulgaria⁶ in the same form as in Servia. It appears typically in the lower half of the Vinča deposit, and is specially common in the deepest parts of the *Bothros* stratum.

Of much greater importance is the presence at Vinča in the deepest parts of the *Bothros* stratum, of anthropomorphic vases of both kinds, *i.e.* with the face on the lid (*a*),⁷ and (*b*) on the neck.⁸ Similar faces on the vase lid are found at Tordos,⁹ and I agree with Dr. Hubert Schmidt that

¹ H. Schmidt, *Katalog*, p. 3, Nos. 97-104.

² H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 655, Figs. 30-34.

³ LXX. *Glas*, p. 262, Fig. 59.

⁴ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 119, Fig. 36; *Memnon*, i. p. 185, Fig. 35; my previous explanation of this shape was incorrect.

⁵ H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, pp. 654 sq. Figs. 26 sq.; *B.S.A.* x. p. 23, and J. Déchelette, *Rev. Arch.* 1908, ii. pp. 250 sq.; Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 222, Taf. X.

⁶ At Topra-Asar, *Periodicesko Spisakie*, 1908, Sophia, p. 380, Fig. 20.

⁷ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 113, Figs. 26 sq.; *Memnon*, i. p. 183, Figs. 25 sq.

⁸ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 117, Fig. 34; *Memnon*, i. p. 184, Fig. 33.

⁹ H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 455, Fig. 35.

the Tordos specimens cannot be the original models of the Trojan vases;¹ I maintain the exact contrary, and the more so because, as Mr. An. D. Čilingirov kindly informs me, similar anthropomorphic vases are found (as was to be expected) in Bulgaria.

The vase *a doppio cono* is typical of the sites of Group II. So far it has been found at almost all the sites in the Danube valley² and in Bulgaria,³ and has also been discovered in Thessaly.⁴ The Thessalian specimen is in many respects remarkable, especially so, if compared with the same vase shape in Italy. As far as this shape is concerned we cannot establish any north-westerly connection between the Danube valley and Italy, nor should we perhaps expect to find one. At any rate it would be interesting to connect the appearance of this vase in Italy with other signs⁵ which point to a link between the Aegean shores and Italy: this would furnish an easy explanation of the presence of this form of vase both in Italy and in the Danube valley. The Thessalian specimen is also of importance in dating a part of the Thessalian finds, and all the more so because this form of vase in Italy, in Bulgaria and in the Danube valley is one of the characteristic features of the Early Iron Age in the localities mentioned.⁶ This fact is the more important because there are other indications that the date suggested by Tsountas for the Thessalian finds is unduly early and based on insufficient grounds. Mr. A. J. B. Wace is quite right in saying⁷ that 'the chronology of pre-historic Thessaly needs careful revision in this direction.'

In addition to the usual incised ornament, there are two other methods of decoration which are of great importance to the question under discussion: the first is decoration by impression (Fig. 9),⁸ the earliest examples of which appear in the lowest Neolithic stratum at Knossos;⁹ it is also found on Neolithic ware from Phaestos and Orchomenos, and lastly on the oldest Thessalian pottery¹⁰ as well as that of the Metal Age.¹¹ Bulgaria also furnishes specimens of it,

¹ *Ibid. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 456.

² *Starinar*, N.S. i. pp. 124 sq.; *Memnon*, i. p. 186 = *Starinar*, N.S. ii. p. 19, Fig. 29.

³ Seure and Degrand, *B.C.H.* 1906, p. 432, Fig. 72. ⁴ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 275, Fig. 200.

⁵ G. Karo, 'Die "tyrsenische" Stele von Lemnos,' *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. (1908) pp. 65 sq. and especially p. 74.

⁶ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 125; *Memnon*, i. p. 186.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. (1908), p. 290.

⁸ LXX. *Glas*, pp. 211 sq., Figs. 38 sq.

⁹ D. Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 160; H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 653.

¹⁰ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 161.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 240 sq., p. 372.

and we are therefore justified in speaking of an unbroken series of sites through which, in the course of time, this method of decoration was transmitted from Crete to Servia. The relative position of the Servian and the south-eastern sites is clearly indicated by the fact that in the latter, only very flat grooves and flutings, generally arranged horizontally, are employed in this technique, while in Servia there are quite distinct patterns even on the earliest specimens of it; spirals are used in the middle strata at Vinča.¹ In deciding its place of origin it is important to remember that, so far, it has only been found in a few Hungarian sites,²

FIG. 9.—VASE SHERDS WITH IMPRESSED DESIGNS.

while all the districts in a south-easterly direction have yielded it. It is typical of the earlier Servian sites and is met with at Vinča in every stratum of the deposit.

The other style of decoration is quite as typical of Group I.: here highly polished black designs are applied to the surface of the vase on the greyish-white slip (Fig. 10).³ According to information kindly supplied by Dr. H. Schmidt the same technique appears on vases found at Besika-

¹ LXX. *Glas*, p. 219, Fig. 42.

² *Ibid.* pp. 222 sq.

³ LXX. *Glas*, pp. 244 sq. Figs. 52 sq.

Tepeh at Troy.¹ Tsountas has proved its existence in Thessaly² in deposits of the Bronze Age³ which correspond to those at Besika-Tepeh, and we find it again in Bulgaria.⁴ At Vinča it occurs throughout all strata of the deposit, and is also a feature of the finds from all the other sites in Group I. Its existence further north-west than Servia has not yet been proved.⁵

With the footed bowls described, there is closely connected the use of a red slip, which is always used on the foot and in two different ways: (a) the red slip is hand-polished, (b) it is laid on with a kind of brush, the

FIG. 10.—VASE SHERDS WITH PAINTED DESIGNS.

brush marks shewing plainly. It is abundantly clear that in (b) we have before us monochrome painting in red, while (a) is paralleled (as Dr. H. Schmidt kindly informs me) by both vases from Troy I.⁶ In many cases the red hand-polished surface is like that of the footed bowls from Thessaly,⁷ so that we are justified in concluding that not only the shape, but the method of decorating it, was borrowed from the south-east.

It is significant and certainly not without importance, that when the

¹ W. Dörpfeld. *Troja und Ilion*, p. 546. ² *Op. cit.* pp. 239 sq., p. 370.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 242. ⁴ *Starinar*, N.S. i., Dodatak, p. 8, Fig. 3; also pp. 19 sq.

⁵ LXX. *Glas*, pp. 239 sq. ⁶ H. Schmidt, *Katalog*, Nos. 162, 163.

⁷ Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. X.

footed bowls with red slip come to an end at Vinča, red matt-painting makes its appearance, and so far as can be judged from the reproductions, is like the same technique in Thessaly.¹ The patterns are just the same as those noted in Bulgaria, where we find the same kind of vase—a bowl with a perpendicular rim. This red matt-paint technique is of secondary importance and certainly of somewhat later date in the sites of Group I. It appears regularly on those vases which, at an earlier date, were decorated with impressed ornament or with shiny black polished designs. At Vinča sherds so decorated are found at a depth of from 7-4.6 m. below the surface.

Bichrome matt-painting is, so far, represented in Servia by only one specimen shewing matt red-brown decoration on a matt yellowish slip

FIG. II.—THREE-LEGGED 'ALTAR' SHEWING BICHROME MATT-PAINTING.

(Fig. II.). The closest parallel to this technique is found in Thessaly,² and the shape of our specimen, though it does not necessarily imply direct connection between Thessaly and Vinča, is of significance in tracing the origin of the technique; it is a three-legged 'altar' with moulded ox-heads above each leg, and was found at Vinča in the stratum 5.6 m. deep, which lies immediately above the lowest *Bothros* stratum.

Incised ornament is common to both groups of sites. In the earliest strata at Vinča the designs are never filled in with white,³ as is always the

¹ *Ibid.* Pl. XII.

² Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 177 sq. Pl. VII. Nos. 2, 3.

³ Cp. also LXX. *Glas*, Fig. 50.

case in the middle and upper strata, both there and in the sites of Group II. At the latter the white filling causes a change in the character of the incised technique, which can then be called 'Furchenstich' or 'Stichkanal' technique.¹ To describe it, as has been done, as 'Neolithic' is quite inadmissible;² its appearance among the finds from Group II. is in complete accordance with the main characteristics of the pottery from there, which, as has been shewn,³ is derived from metal originals.

In shape, style of ornamentation, and even design the vases from the second group of sites resemble some of the finds from the Macedonian tumuli⁴ and from Thessaly.⁵ It is another of the reasons on which I base my opinion that the date assumed for the Macedonian and Thessalian finds is too early.

The decoration from the earlier group of sites is always of the usual geometric type; specially deserving of notice are the so-called 'angular' spiral and the real spiral. Careful observation of the successive layers of the deposit proves that both kinds of spiral first appear at Vinča on the line of demarcation between the lowest or *Bothros* stratum and the middle strata, and are very common in the latter. This is not the result of chance, because at Troy the oldest spiral first appears in the third period of the II.-V. deposits⁶ and is thought to be connected with the island civilization. The same thing occurs in Thessaly, where the spiral, according to Tsountas, does not appear until 'the second Neolithic Period.'⁷ His theory that it was brought to Thessaly by immigrants from the north⁸ is contradicted, as will be seen, by the date of our finds. At Knossos the spiral is not found earlier than Middle Minoan I. (M. M. I.).⁹ These parallels from Knossos, Thessaly, and Vinča disprove the theory of Hoernes that the presence of the spiral at Butmir proves that this deposit is earlier than the Neolithic stratum at Knossos.¹⁰ The exact contrary is true. The maeander is as typical of the later sites as is the spiral of the earlier group. The true maeander is a constant feature in

¹ *Starinar*, N.S. ii. pp. 29 sq.

² H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 448; cp. *Starinar*, N.S. ii. p. 30.

³ *Starinar*, N.S. ii. pp. 22 sq.

⁴ H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, pp. 91 sq.

⁵ Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 255 sq.

⁶ H. Schmidt in W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 279 sq.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 218.

⁸ *Op. cit.* pp. 398 sq.

⁹ Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 51.

¹⁰ M. Hoernes, 'Die neolithische Keramik Oesterreichs.' *Jahrbuch der k.k. Zentral-Kommission*, iii. (1905) p. 12, n. 1.

the later sites;¹ the spiral still appears, but plays a subordinate part, as it does, for instance, in the finds from the Macedonian tumuli² and the corresponding finds in Thessaly. Still more characteristic of the later sites are the designs derived from nature, among which we have a bird on the inside of a vase rim from Vinča (Fig. 12) and a flower (lily ?) reduced to its simplest elements from Vajuga³ (Fig. 13). These recent finds support my explanation of the design on the urn from Kličevac,⁴ to which (in a later paper) I ascribed a definite religious meaning,⁵ owing to its south-eastern affinities. To this I can only add that these designs are based on the metal vases which, like the Kličevac statuette type, come from nearer or farther to the south-east. This theory receives additional

FIGS. 12, 13.—VASE FRAGMENTS SHEWING DESIGNS DERIVED FROM NATURE.

support from two other vase fragments from Vinča decorated with a human figure in relief (Fig. 14 *a, b*); the nearest parallel to *a* is from Tordos.⁶ These sherds with decoration in relief representing human beings betray the influence of metal originals; and, as is proved by the Vaphio cups,⁷ metal cups so decorated do really exist in the further south-east.

Lastly, mention must be made of the so-called 'pictographic signs' or marks,⁸ which are found in all the strata at Vinča and are typical of the

¹ *Rev. Arch.* 1902, i. pp. 185 sq. Figs. 16 and 17.

² H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, p. 106.

³ *Starinar*, N.S. i. pp. 10 sq., Figs. 5, 6; cf. M. Hoernes, *Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission*, iv. (1906), p. 78.

⁴ *Rev. Arch.* 1902, i. p. 174, No. 6; p. 179, Figs. 8, 9.

⁵ *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 28.

⁶ M. Hoernes, *Die neolithische Keramik Oesterreichs*, *op. cit.* p. 23, Figs. 56, 57.

⁷ Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 33.

⁸ LXX. *Glas*, p. 274, Fig. 64.

sites of Group I.¹; they have not, so far, been met with in the later sites (Group II.), and are unknown at any site in the neighbouring districts except Tordos, but when compared with marks from the south-east shew in type and shape the same character as all the other details of civilization borrowed from there.

FIG. 14 (*a*, *b*).—VASE FRAGMENTS WITH HUMAN FIGURES IN RELIEF.

This is one of my reasons for thinking that the origin of these pictographic signs must be sought for in the south-east.

DATE OF THE SERVIAN SITES.

Character of the deposit at Vinča: its unbroken sequence. The chronological relation of the two groups to each other and to Vinča. The Bothros-stratum of Vinča the earliest deposit in Servia. Finds and traces of metal in the Vinča deposits; their relation to Troy and relative duration.

Last year's excavations at Vinča furnished valuable material for dating the Servian sites, because they shewed that there are several levels in the deposit which is, in some places, 9·5 m. thick. At no single level throughout the whole deposit does a sterile stratum appear, and we are therefore justified in stating that the site was continuously occupied throughout the

¹ H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, pp. 457 sq.; Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 149.

period necessary for the formation of this thick deposit. The varied nature of the minor finds confirms this view, for firstly, every instance of increased civilization which comes to light only enriches the stratum in which it appears, without interrupting it; and secondly, a great many such instances appear in all the levels, thus affording additional support to the view expressed.

The finds from Group II. are not only relatively, but positively, later in date than those of Group I. Their chronological relationship is demonstrated by a consideration of the lie of the strata at Vinča, which is as follows: for about 2·5 m. below the surface, objects typical of Group II. are found, above and with, those belonging to Group I. Below this limit of two-and-a-half metres, only objects typical of Group I. appear, and as such, go down to a depth of about six metres below the surface. The level at this depth forms at the same time the uppermost layer of the lowest or *Bothros* stratum of Vinča. Emphasis must, however, be laid on the point that the line of demarcation is nowhere sharply defined, because here and there isolated finds overlap boundary lines which are based on a general view of the deposit. The limits of particular finds are based on stratigraphic considerations which only concern those finds, and which we need not now take into account.

The important results to be deduced are as follows:—

(1) Types common to both groups meet together in the uppermost strata at Vinča; therefore the later period of Group I. is contemporary with the earlier period of Group II.

(2) The later period of Group I. was preceded by a longer period the remains of which are embedded in the central strata at Vinča, but as these lie at a greater stratigraphic depth these remains must be older than both those of the later period of Group I. and the earlier period of Group II.

(3) The *Bothros* stratum of Vinča is older than any other site yet found in either Group, and represents the earliest stage of civilization yet discovered in Servia.

This method of dating the Servian finds is local, and may suffice so long as investigation is restricted within local limits, but the details given shew that the civilization of the district is neither an original nor an independent development; on the contrary it is derived from the south-east. We are therefore compelled to adopt what may be called a general method of dating our deposits by measuring them by the more or less

certain standard of the south-east. If the attempt is successful, it will provide a solid basis for calculating not only their relative but, if the term is permissible, their actual date. To this end I have chosen, for reasons which will be readily understood, the classic standard provided by the discoveries at Troy; but before attempting to use it some brief account must be given of the metal finds at Vinča.

Traces of small scraps of metal (copper or bronze) have been found on no less than twenty-one occasions at a depth of 1' m.-6'3 m. below the surface, and once at a depth of 7'5 m., *i.e.* in the middle of the deepest spot in the *Bothros* stratum. Small pierced beads of metal have also been found at a depth of from 1 m.-6'1 m.¹ These scraps and objects of metal assume much greater importance, as I think, because they occur on the site where undoubtedly they were once lost, and have only come down to us because they were so small that they could not be found by their owners. The presence of metal in the deposit at Vinča only allows us to date it roughly as belonging to the Metal Age; it does not provide the material for more accurate dating, which must be sought for elsewhere. The finds themselves at Vinča shew that no date can be assigned to them until we have dated firstly, the sites of Group II., and secondly, the *Bothros* stratum, for those stages of development stand at the two opposite ends of the whole civilization of Vinča.

To the sites of Group II. a date has been assigned in a previous paper,² and subsequent finds have confirmed the view there expressed. In addition to the instances there given several fresh ones have come to light, *e.g.* concentric circles connected by tangents, impressed concentric circles, small bosses, the characteristic stirrup-handles and strap-handles with ornamental knobs. All can undoubtedly be paralleled partly from Troy VI., but mainly from Troy VII., where their appearance is ascribed by H. Schmidt to the Treri,³ whom he believes to have migrated thither somewhere about this time from the lower Danube (Bulgaria). But Vidbol, the site of the excavations in Bulgaria, belongs to Group II., and lies comparatively near the western limit of the former settlements of the Treri, so that the conclusions reached establish an undoubted connection between Vinča and Troy VII., and accordingly the correspond-

¹ Metal objects from Vinča, *Starinar*, N.S. i. p. 94, Figs. 4, 5; *Memnon*, i. p. 178, Figs. 4, 5.

² *Rev. Arch.* 1908, i. pp. 209 *sq.*

³ W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 598 *sq.*

ing phases at Vinča may be considered as more or less contemporary with Troy VII., though that does not exclude the possibility that finds in the uppermost strata at Vinča may belong both to an earlier and to a later period than finds from Troy VII.

As a means of dating the *Bothros* stratum we have among the pottery, footed bowls and anthropomorphic vases, which are undoubtedly the things best suited for the purpose. Footed bowls are found at Troy I.;¹ on the other hand the anthropomorphic vase makes its earliest appearance there in the Second Settlement; both shapes appear together simultaneously in the *Bothros* stratum. From these data there is only one conclusion to be drawn, viz. that owing to the presence of anthropomorphic vases the *Bothros* stratum cannot be earlier than Troy II., and, consequently, the whole of the important deposit at Vinča, which is 9.5 m. thick, must be dated between the beginning of Troy II. and (about) the end of Troy VI.

Further evidence in support of this date is provided by various other facts, of which only one need be mentioned here: our earliest clay figurines find their earliest analogy in the so-called 'Cycladic' type, the earliest appearance of which is contemporary with the Early Minoan III. Period (E. M. III.). Now for the reasons given above, the lowest *Bothros* stratum at Vinča cannot be earlier in date than Troy II. and we get precisely the same result from the equation Troy II. = Phylakopi I. = Knossos E. M. III.²

This being so, it is perhaps natural that many archaeologists prefer to describe the contents of the *Bothros* stratum at Vinča as 'Neolithic,' 'Sub-Neolithic,' or 'Eneolithic,' those of the middle strata as of the Bronze Age, and of the upper strata as belonging to the Early Iron Age. But as the beginning of the so-called Neolithic Period in Servia dates *after* the beginning of Troy II. it is dangerous to work with a misleading terminology; I therefore prefer to utilize the valuable results now obtained and from henceforth to arrange the various finds in Servia on the basis of the Vinča finds, the chronological relation of which to the south-eastern finds in general, and in particular, to the deposits of Troy, has now been established.

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¹ H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 654.

² Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 50.

Circumstances prevent me from entering here on the consideration of all that follows from the results obtained. This must be reserved for the forthcoming publication of the excavations at Vinča. The details given concerning the pre-historic settlements of Servia shew that they were formed under the continuous influence of a south-eastern civilization. This disposes of the 'northerly' influence in the Aegean and of the other theory of a parallel development of individual branches of one and the same race.¹

The relation of the Vinča deposits to the sites lying to the north-west does not, so far as can be seen, contradict this assumption of a south-eastern influence affecting our own land and the district to the north-west of it; however, as a measure of precaution I restrict the assumption to the sites and deposits already known. It is not impossible that the future may bring to light a civilization absolutely devoid of any trace of Aegean influence, but it is not very likely, and so long as such a civilization remains unfound our theory holds the field. There are no really convincing reasons against it and a great many in its favour.

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¹ Burrows *op. cit.* p. 194; and Wace, Peet, and Thompson, *Classical Review*, vol. xxii. p. 238.