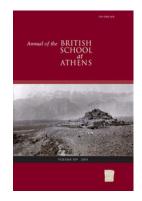
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## The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland

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## THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND.

(PLATES VI.-XI.)

ALTHOUGH as long ago as 1876 Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae revealed to us the prehistoric civilisation of the Peloponnese, it is only comparatively recently that its pre-Mycenaean culture has become known. For Crete the epoch-making excavations of Sir Arthur Evans have made clear to us the long pottery sequence which illustrates the development of prehistoric civilisation in that island from the end of neolithic times, through the great age of the palace of Knossos, to its decline and fall in the Third Late Minoan period. For the Cyclades the pottery sequence from Phylakopi, with other finds, provides us with a series parallel to the Cretan; and for Thessaly, too, a provisional series has been established. But for the history of civilisation in the Peloponnese and East-Central Greece during the long prehistoric age the only evidence we had was that from Mycenae, Tiryns, and one or two other small sites, all of which illustrate the last phases only.

Recently much fresh evidence has accumulated from Furtwaengler's excavations at Orchomenos<sup>1</sup> and Aegina, from Vollgraff's exploration of Argos,<sup>2</sup> from the German excavations at Tiryns,<sup>3</sup> from Soteriades' discoveries in Phocis,<sup>4</sup> and last but not least from the American excavations of prehistoric sites round Corinth. The combined results of these discoveries, especially of the last, where a complete pottery sequence from

<sup>1</sup> Bulle, Orchomenos, i.

<sup>2</sup> B.C.H. 1906, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Karo, Fuehrer d. die Ruinen v. Tiryns ; K. Müller, Ath. Mitt. 1913, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. d. Études Grecques, 1912, pp. 253 ff.; Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, pp. 197 ff.

the early Bronze Age to the Third Late Minoan period has been found, now provide us with material for attempting to set out a chronological series, parallel to those of Phylakopi and Knossos, to illustrate the development of civilisation in the Peloponnesus and East-Central Greece during this long period. The object of the present paper is to endeavour to construct such a sequence, and to describe briefly its three main kinds of pottery. We have studied together the finds from Phocis, Orchomenos, Phylakopi, Argos, and Tiryns, as well as those from the American excavations at Corinth, which have been directed by the American collaborator. The finds from Furtwaengler's excavations in Aegina, which are not yet published, are unfortunately not easily accessible. In any case, the conclusions here set out are mainly the result of careful observation of the stratification of the Corinthian excavations which we have. followed together, and are recorded in order to facilitate a better chronological arrangement of the prehistoric wares of the Peloponnese. Any future students or excavators who use this as their guide will, it is hoped, correct and supply its many shortcomings.

The three kinds of pottery referred to are the wares hitherto known as Urfirnis, Minyan, and Mattmalerei. The first we propose to rechristen 'Early Helladic' Ware, because the name 'Urfirnis,' first applied to it by Furtwaengler at Orchomenos, describes practically only one variety and is even misleading, for a descriptive name should be comprehensive enough to include all varieties of the ware. Thus it seems best to abandon the name 'Urfirnis' and, with Sir Arthur Evans,<sup>1</sup> adopt the name 'Early Helladic,' which is an arbitrary label. Then 'Middle Helladic' could be used to cover the period of the Minyan and Mattpaint Wares, and 'Late Helladic' that characterised by Mycenaean Ware. 'Mattmalerei' ware we shall call throughout Mattpainted Ware.

## I.—EARLY HELLADIC PERIOD.

Early Helladic ware can be divided into the following groups:---

#### Group 1.

(a) Polished monochrome ware, brick-red, pale buff, or black in colour. This is hand-made and polished and of not well refined clay. Some

<sup>1</sup> In his forthcoming work The Palace of Minos.

specimens<sup>1</sup> are decorated with incised patterns and thus resemble the early incised wares of the Cyclades—as, for instance, those from Pelos.<sup>2</sup> This group is early, and the vases as a rule have no raised base. Apart from shallow open bowls no other shape can yet be determined.

(b) Slipped monochrome ware. Hand-made and polished vases covered with a thin slip varying considerably in colour, for brick-red, red-brown, buff, and greyish are all known. The vases are usually well made, and often have raised bases. The most usual shapes are jugs, small open bowls, askoi (Pl. VI. 1, 2), and sauceboats (cf. Pl. VI. 3).

## Group II.

Glazed ware, comprising hand-made vases that can be divided into the two following classes :---

(a) Vases only partially covered with glaze-like paint: the usual shape is a shallow open bowl, with incurving rim round which is a brush band of paint, most often dull brown in colour—e.g. *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXIII. Nos. I and 2. Deeper small bowls and sauceboats also occur: compare Karo, *Fuehrer durch die Ruinen von Tiryns*, p. 10, Fig. 3.

(b) Vases completely covered with glaze-like paint, varying in colour from clear red-brown to black. The colour indeed often varies so much on a single specimen as to produce a mottled appearance, which in some of the finer vases was apparently intentional. Some sauceboats, for instance, have a red-brown body and an irregular belt of black round the rim. Some, too, have one shade inside and another outside. The normal shapes are askoi, jugs (Pl. VI. 1, 2), sauceboats (Pl. VI. 3), shallow bowls, deep bowls, and big jars and bowls of various shapes.

## Group III.

Patterned ware, hand-made, which falls into two main classes :---

(a) Dark-on-light slipped ware, which in its turn has two subdivisions :---

(i) Vases partly covered with glaze-like paint, as Group II. (b), but round the middle of the vase or the upper part of the vase (usually small two-handled tankards or mugs) there is a simple linear pattern in narrow

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g. a vase from the early tombs at Corinth, Am. Journ. Arch. 1897, p. 321, ii. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Edgar, B.S.A. iii. pp, 35 ff.

zones. The effect of this is to give, at a hasty glance, the impression of a vase decorated in a light-on-dark style. The paint varies from red to brown-black, the red being on a buff, the brown-black on a greenish-yellow biscuit. The patterns suggest basket work. Other shapes so decorated are sauceboats (Pl. VII. 2) and askoi.

(ii) Vases of exactly the same shapes (Pl. VII. 1), colours, and style decorated only with belts of similar patterns round the middle or upper part while the rest of the surface is left unpainted. Pyxides and small cups are also found decorated in this manner.

(b) Light-on-dark ware. This consists of vases covered all over with blackish glaze paint and decorated with patterns similar to those of the last class (Group III. (a)) in dull white paint—compare Soteriades, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1912, p. 271, Fig. 12, and Childe, *J.H.S.* 1915, p. 198, Fig. 2. The principal shapes so far known are the askos and two-handled mugs and tankards. Vases of this and of the preceding group often have a crossed circle on the bottom.

## Group IV.

Plain ware. Vases of shapes common to Groups II. and III. but quite plain and undecorated.

## Group V.

Pithoi. Large store jars of this type, if decorated at all, have one or more raised belts of a plastic rope work design round the body, and these raised belts are covered with the usual brown-black glaze paint—compare the Phylakopi pithoi, *Phylakopi*, pp. 85, 86. Some pithoi have decoration like that of Group II. (a), and others have an impressed cuneiform pattern on the lip, as also in Melos, *Phylakopi*, Pl. V. 14.

Early Helladic Ware of all the above classes except Group III. (b), light-on-dark ware, is the typical ware of the lower strata at Tiryns<sup>1</sup> and Corinth. Ware like that of Group II. (b) is the original Urfirnis ware of Orchomenos II. and Lianokladi II.<sup>2</sup>

The light-on-dark ware is the variety hailed as 'Kamares' by the Bavarians in Orchomenos II., and now much better known through

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Karo, op. cit. pp. 7 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, pp. 177 ff., 194.

Soteriades' excavations at Hagia Marina,<sup>1</sup> where most of the other classes of Early Helladic Ware have also been found.

To judge by the Corinthian evidence, the earliest class is Group I. and the latest is Group III. dark-on-light ware and light-on-dark ware, which immediately precedes the first appearance of Minyan Ware in a period apparently parallel to the transition between Middle Minoan I. and Middle Minoan II. A truer chronological classification of the other varieties cannot be attempted till there is more evidence from excavations available —for instance, from the lower strata of the Corinthian sites.

In their report on the supplementary excavation at Phylakopi<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Dawkins and Droop say: 'A small quantity of the ware generally called Urfirnis was found lying on the rock. . . . It would seem to belong to the earlier part of the First City . . .' This is an understatement of the case, because only ware of Group II. (b) was then considered to be Urfirnis. Now in the light of the recent discoveries we can class a very large proportion of all the earlier pottery of Phylakopi as the Cycladic version of Early Helladic Ware. For instance the ware of Phylakopi, Section 2,3 seems to be parallel to Group I. above, that of Section 3 to Group II. (a) and (b) and Group III. (a); for example, the two bowls figured in *Phylakopi*, Plate XXXIII. Nos. 1 and 2, are splendid and typical Cycladic equivalents of Early Helladic Ware, Group II. (a); but on the other hand the incised ware of Section 4 is a Cycladic development for which no mainland or Helladic parallel has yet been found, apart from one or two possible sherds at Corinth. Similarly the early vases from other Cyclades also fall into this classification as examples of the Cycladic variety.<sup>4</sup> Of these we illustrate here samples of Group III. (a), 1 and 2, from Naxos and Chalandriane in Syra (Pls. VIII. and IX.), and Tsountas has illustrated others.<sup>5</sup>

Finally one can consider that the dark-on-light and light-on-dark Early Minoan Wares<sup>6</sup> of Crete are the Cretan version, and naturally a much more advanced version, of Early Helladic Ware, Group III. (a)and (b), which may in all probability have been produced through some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bulle, Orchomenos, i. p. 16; Rev. Études Grecques, 1912, loc. cit.

<sup>\*</sup> B.S.A. xvii. p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Fhylakopi, pp. 82 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tsountas, 'Eq. 'Apx. 1898, Pl. IX.; 1899, Pl. IX., especially Nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 13, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1899, Pl. VIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Boyd-Hawes, Gournia, Pls. XII. and A 3.

suggestive sympathy with Crete. The well-known mottled ware <sup>1</sup> of Crete is again the southern counterpart of the mottled Early Helladic vases of Group II. (b).

Further exploration<sup>2</sup> and study will probably show that these three divisions, Early Helladic, Early Cycladic and Cretan Early Minoan Ware are all branches of one great parent stock which pursued parallel, but more or less independent, courses, till the Cretan branch, impelled by Egyptian influence to a much higher artistic development, dominated the other two.

## II.-MIDDLE AND LATE HELLADIC PERIODS.

#### I.---MINYAN WARE.

This ware has been so thoroughly discussed in the two recent papers of Forsdyke<sup>3</sup> and Childe<sup>4</sup> that it might seem unnecessary to say more on the subject for the present; but detailed notes of the stratification of the excavations at Corinth have made its history far clearer and shown that it plays a most important part in the development of mainland Mycenaean fabrics. It falls into the following groups :—

## Group I.— True Minyan.

(a) The well-known wheel-made grey ware that has been found at so many sites, even apparently as far afield as Thermon.<sup>5</sup> The principal shapes of this group and their metallic characteristics have been fully described by Forsdyke and Childe, so that it is necessary only to remark that the bases of the ring-stemmed goblets of Argolis and the south differ often, but not always, from those of Orchomenos and the north : in general the latter have many well-defined rings and the former fewer and often rather formless rings; contrast Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, Fig. 135, p. 187, with Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Fig. 230, p. 154. Another

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Boyd-Hawes, Gournia, Pls. XII. and B 1 and 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Early Helladic Ware has recently been found at Aulis ('A $\rho\chi$ .  $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\tau$ *iov*, 1915, i., Παράρτημα, p. 55) underlying a layer of Minyan Ware, and has also lately been identified, together with Minyan, on the Acropolis at Athens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J.H.S. 1914, pp. 126 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> J.H.S. 1915, pp. 196 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Romaios, 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, 1915, pp. 256 ft.

point of difference is that the Argolic variety is sometimes incised,<sup>1</sup> a feature that recurs at Corinth.

(b) Ware exactly similar to the last, but yellow-brown in colour; otherwise there is no difference between it and the main class just described. This variety is known at Orchomenos, Zerelia, Corinth and elsewhere.

## Group II.—Argive Minyan.

A fabric peculiar apparently to Argolis<sup>2</sup> and neighbouring districts such as Corinth. This is to all appearance a local imitation of the shapes of Group I., but is hand-made and of thick, coarse fabric with a red biscuit and a hard black or yellow-brown surface. Some specimens are decorated with incisions. Similar imitations have been recognised in Thessaly, in Phocis and Boeotia and at Phylakopi.<sup>3</sup>

A Melian counterpart to this is to be recognised in the red burnished ware from Phylakopi which so often imitates Minyan shapes.<sup>4</sup>

## Group III .--- Yellow Minyan.

This is a fine ware, as a rule wheel-made and with the same range of shapes as Group I., but of a clear yellow-buff in colour with a surface more or less polished. It has at first sight the appearance of unpainted Mycenaean Ware, but close examination reveals that it is Minyan Ware as regards the well-known metallic character of the vase forms and their indefinable style—partly translated into the Mycenaean technique by the adoption of this monochrome yellow-buff colour. Goblets of this variety, if they have ringed stems, take the Argolic form, and in general the goblets are deeper and less broad than those of Grey Minyan Ware. This class has been found at Orchomenos, Corinth, Tiryns and Mycenae,<sup>5</sup> and now that it is clearly recognised as Minyan will probably be noticed at other sites,<sup>6</sup> for its importance as a link between Minyan and Mycenaean Wares should not be underestimated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 54. The incised and monochrome ware from Aphidna (*Ath. Mitt.* 1896, pp. 389 ff.) which is grey, is, in our opinion, a similar variety of Minyan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mycenae, Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 54; Argos, Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dawkins and Droop, B.S.A. xvii. p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins and Droop, B.S.A. xvii. pp. 17, 19, Pl. VII. Nos. 4, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> E.g. in the Fourth Shaft Grave, Furtwängler and Loeschcke, Myk. Thongefässe, Pl. V. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Romaios' remarks on the Thermon pottery, 'Apχ. Δελτίον, 1915, pp. 256 ff.

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## Group IV.—Ephyraean Ware.

This is a late phase (apparently confined to the end of Late Minoan I. and to Late Minoan II.) of Yellow Minyan, and so far only one shape is known, which is a two-handled goblet on a high foot similar to the typical Minyan goblet, but without a ringed stem, deeper and not so broad (Pl. X. 2). The vases, too, are smaller, wheel-made and of a very fine fabric with a yellow-buff slip usually polished. Their distinguishing feature is that they are decorated with graceful floral or marine patterns—iris, crocus, nautilus, etc.—imitated from Cretan vases of the First Late Minoan period. This class is known at Corinth, which as the scene of its first discovery gives it its name, Tiryns,<sup>1</sup> Mycenae,<sup>2</sup> Phylakopi<sup>3</sup> and the Argive Heraeum,<sup>4</sup> and is, so far as the Cretan ancestry of its decoration is concerned, the mainland or Helladic equivalent for the flower vases of Melos.<sup>5</sup> The paint, which is always lustrous, varies in colour from red and red-brown to purple-brown and black.

The chronological order of these different groups of Minyan Ware has been made much clearer by the Corinthian excavations. As known already, Grey Minyan first appears at Phylakopi with Kamares Ware, Middle Minoan I. and II. pottery,<sup>6</sup> but still continued in use till Late Minoan II.,<sup>7</sup> though in lessening quantities. At Corinth the great bulk of Grey Minyan appears in strata of Middle Minoan II. date, but, as at Phylakopi, persists, though in continually diminishing quantities, throughout the succeeding strata till Late Minoan II.

Yellow Minyan begins when Grey Minyan first shows signs of decline, according to the evidence of pottery found in the same strata, in Middle Minoan III. This was its first flourishing period, for it decreases slightly in Late Minoan I., but revives again in Late Minoan II. In this latter period it has become to all intents and purposes Mycenaean in character, and henceforward its translation from Minyan into Mycenaean is complete.

As to the other two groups, Ephyraean Ware (Group IV.), as already

<sup>6</sup> Sir Arthur Evans brings out this point in his forthcoming book, *The Palace of Minos*, i., of which he has generously allowed us to read some of the proofs.

<sup>7</sup> Dawkins and Droop, B.S.A. xvii. pp. 16 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Found in the last and still unpublished German excavations of 1916.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sherds from Schliemann's excavations in the National Museum, Athens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sherds from the first excavation in the National Museum, Athens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Waldstein, Argive Heraeum, ii. Pl. LII. Nos. 6, 12, 15, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Phylakopi, pp. 125 ff.

stated above, covers the end of Late Minoan I. and Late Minoan II.; and Argive Minyan (Group II.) seems, so far as we can tell at present, like its Cycladic red burnished counterpart, to date from the Second Middle Minoan period.

## 2.—MATTPAINTED WARE.

Ever since Furtwaengler and Loeschcke first distinguished this class, it has been more productive of confusion than any other early style of pottery, The later discoveries at Aegina,<sup>1</sup> Argos,<sup>2</sup> Orchomenos,<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere have not, up to the present, helped to make the history and relations of this ware clearer. A study, however, of the whole question in the light of the stratification of the American excavations at Corinth has encouraged us to regard this as the mainland or Helladic equivalent of the Middle Cycladic Wares in matt paint and to define provisionally the three following groups :—

## Group I.

Hand-made ware decorated with matt brown or black geometric designs on a buff or greenish-yellow surface, probably formed by the application of some kind of slip. The colour on a single specimen is not always uniform owing to irregular firing or other accidents.

The patterns are nearly always of a simple linear or geometric character, and include hatched crosses and triangles and crossed circles. Common shapes are spouted bowls, ordinary shallow bowls, large jugs and pithoi similar to those from Aegina,<sup>4</sup> Argos,<sup>5</sup> and Aphidna.<sup>6</sup>

This group is the mainland or Helladic equivalent for Cycladic pottery such as the second class of early geometric ware from Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, Section 7, pp. 102 ff.); for instance, cups and bowls such as *Phylakopi*, Pl. XI. Nos. 13, 14 and 16 are represented on the mainland; and fragments like those figured in *Phylakopi*, Pls. XII. and XIII. Nos. 1-8, could be easily paralleled from Aegina, Corinth, and other mainland sites.

Since at Corinth these vases are found together with Grey Minyan Ware at its most flourishing period, we could on this evidence alone date this group to the period comprised between the end of Middle Minoan I.

- <sup>3</sup> Bulle, Orchomenos, i. p. 9, etc.
- <sup>2</sup> Vollgraff, B.C.H. 1906, pp. 19 ff.
- <sup>4</sup> Staes, op. cit. Pl. X.
- <sup>5</sup> Vollgraff, op. cit. Figs. 23 ff,
- 6 Wide, Ath. Mitt. 1896, Pl. XV. 4-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Staes, Έφ. Άρχ. 1895, pp. 193 ff.

and the first half of Middle Minoan III. This dating is confirmed by other evidence; at Argos this style of Mattpainted Ware appeared with Grey Minyah;<sup>1</sup> and the same may be said of Aphidna,<sup>2</sup> where the vases of monochrome technique are akin to Grey Minyan and Argive Minyan. Finally the Melian class which corresponds to this group is that with which Kamares Ware and Grey Minyan Ware were found.<sup>3</sup> The chain of evidence being thus complete, we may safely assign this first group of Mattpainted Ware to the period just indicated.

## Group II.

Ware sometimes wheel-made with curvilinear and occasionally floral or animal designs (Pl. XI.) in matt brown or black on a buff or greenishyellow ground, which is usually slipped to receive the paint. Here again, owing to accidents of firing and manufacture, the colour of the pattern and ground is not always uniform.

This group is a development of the preceding, probably under Minoan influence, but no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between the two. In this respect it resembles its Cycladic equivalent, the so-called Early Mycenaean Ware of Phylakopi into which the earlier matt geometric class merges.<sup>4</sup>

So far as can be determined at present, the two typical shapes of this group on the mainland are panelled cups similar to those from Melos (compare, for instance, *Phylakopi*, p. 115, Fig. 88, and Pls. XVI. and XVII. with Furtwaengler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Pl. XXIV. Nos. 176-178) and beaked jugs of a type akin to those of Phylakopi but clearly differentiated from them. No complete specimens of the latter are yet known, but, except that they are taller and less globular, they seem in shape not unlike the beaked jugs of the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.<sup>5</sup> Other shapes known at Corinth are cups of the Vaphio type (cf. Pl. X. 1) and shallow saucers.

Since this group gradually emerges from the preceding, it must succeed it in date, and consequently its beginning should be assigned to the earlier part of Middle Minoan III. Its lower limit is hard to fix, but at Corinth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vollgraff, op. cit. p. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ath. Mitt. 1896, pp. 389 ff.: there is also considerable resemblance between the graves at Aphidna and those at Orchomenos (Bulle, op. cit. pp. 61 ff.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Phylakopi, p. 148; Dawkins and Droop, B.S.A. xvii. pp. 10, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Phylakopi, p. 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Furtwängler and Loeschcke, Myk. Thongefässe, Pls. IX. 44, X. 46.

it occurs also with Late Minoan I. Ware, and from Mycenae there are specimens from the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Shaft Graves,<sup>1</sup> and other fragments found in the deeper strata round the Shaft Graves. We may thus tentatively suggest as its lower limit the latter part of Late Minoan I., which would agree well with the evidence derived from its Phylakopi counterpart.

In general it is to be observed that the vases of Group I. are large and rather coarse, while those of Group II. are finer and smaller.<sup>2</sup> Since Group I. dates from the time when Grey Minyan Ware was at its height, the latter was probably used for finer and smaller vases, the Mattpainted Ware being confined to big domestic vessels only. Later, when Group II. emerged, Grey Minyan Ware was in its decline,<sup>3</sup> and consequently the typical vases of the second group are small and fine, but it must not be forgotten that there are Mattpainted vases of the large domestic class belonging to the second group, though their patterns are nearly all curvilinear and more widely spaced than on the corresponding vases of the first group.

## Group III.

Wheel-made vases, red or brick-red in colour (rarely greenish-yellow), and decorated with broad lines in two colours, brown-black and red-purple, dividing the surface, which is often polished, into panels sometimes filled by birds, griffins, etc. The colours used are matt, and are frequently supplemented by the use of white to fill in the designs, which as a rule are confined to the upper part of the vase. The two most noticeable shapes are a squat round-bodied jug with a beaked spout and a tall large twohandled jar. Both these shapes are represented in the Sixth Shaft Grave,<sup>4</sup> which also contained some other vases of a similar style but with patterns in black only.<sup>5</sup> This ware is the Mattpainted Ware of Orchomenos III., and occurs at Corinth and at Mycenae<sup>6</sup> outside the Shaft Graves. As

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler and Loeschcke, Myk. Thongefässe, Pls. II. 6, 7; IV. 13, 16, 17, 18; V. 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> The vases from Argos figured by Vollgraff, op. cit. p. 27, Figs. 43 ff., probably belong to this group : cf. also those from Geraki, B.S.A. xvi. pp. 73 ff. Figs. 3, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Both Groups I. and II. have been found associated in the 'pyres' excavated by Skias at Eleusis ('E $\phi$ . 'A $\rho\chi$ . 1898, pp. 29 ff., Figs. 6, 9, 10, 11; 1912, pp. 1 ff. Figs. 1 (Nos. 2, 3, 4), 7, and 9). The 'pyres' probably have nothing to do with burials or a cemetery, but are the carbonised débris of a prehistoric settlement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Furtwängler and Loeschcke, op. cit., Pls. VIII. 43, IX. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Furtwängler and Loeschcke, op. cit., Pls. X., XI., Nos. 46, 47, 51, 52, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Furtwängler and Loeschcke, op. cit., p. 54, § 3 a.

pointed out by Sir Arthur Evans,<sup>1</sup> the bichrome system of decoration characteristic of this group indicates a connection with the Melian 'blackand-red' ware<sup>2</sup> in which birds form a prominent feature of the decoration.

From its appearance in the Sixth Shaft Grave this ware, which has a much narrower range than the two preceding groups, can be dated more easily. The Sixth Shaft Grave, which is the earliest of the six, falls in the latter part of Middle Minoan III., so that we may assign this group to the same period, not forgetting at the same time that it probably covers also the early part of Late Minoan I.

#### III.—CHRONOLOGY.

From the above grouping of the three classes of pottery, which are, so far as known at present, the three principal pre-Mycenaean wares of South-Eastern Greece, it has been possible, as already indicated, to date them approximately in terms of the Minoan system established by Sir Arthur Evans. The synchronisms so far determined between Crete, the Cyclades, and the mainland may be set out in tabular form as follows :---

Crete.			Cyclades.	MAINLAND.
Early Minoan I.'	····	•••	Phylakopi, Sect. 2 Pelos, Amorgos, Siphnos, etc.	Early Helladic, Group I.
Early Minoan II.	••••		Phylakopi, Sects. 3, 4	Early Helladic, Groups I., II. Tombs at Corinth, Am. Journ. Arch. 1897, pp. 313 ff.
Early Minoan III.	••••		Phylakopi, Sects. 3, 4, 6 Vases from Syra (Chaland- riane) and Naxos (Spedos).	Early Helladic Glaze Wares, Group II. do. Group III. begins.
Middle Minoan I.	•••		Phylakopi, Sects. 6, 7	Early Helladic Glaze Wares, Groups II., III.

<sup>1</sup> In his forthcoming work The Palace of Minos.

<sup>2</sup> Phylakopi, Pl. XXI. A beaked jug of the Sixth Shaft Grave type was also found at Phylakopi (*op. cit.* p. 159).

CRETE.	Cyclades.	Mainland,
Middle Minoan II	Phylakopi, Sect. 7 Grey Minyan begins. Red Burnished Ware. Kamares Ware.	Middle Helladic, Grey Minyan. Mattpainted, Group I. Aphidna.
Middle Minoan III Melian Black-and-Red Vases and Mattpainted Ware, Group III., in Temple Repositories, Knossos.	Phylakopi, Sect. 9 Black-and-Red Ware.	Middle Helladic, Mattpainted, Groups II., III. Yellow Minyan. Shaft Graves begin.
Late Minoan I	Phylakopi, Red-and-Black Ware. Imitations of L. M. IA. Importation of L. M. I B.	Late Helladic, Mattpainted, Groups II., III. end. Shaft Graves end. Golden Age of Mycenae and Tiryns. Vaphio and Kakovatos Tombs (= L. M. IB. imported Cretan Wares). Ephyraean Ware begins.
Late Minoan II	Grey Minyan ends Cretan Imports cease.	Late Helladic, Grey and Yellow Minyan end. Ephyraean Ware ends. Cretan Imports cease. Golden Age of Mycenae and Tiryns ends.
Late Minoan III	Imported Mycenaean Ware	Late Helladic. Silver Age of Mycenae and Tiryns. Period of widest diffusion of Mycenaean Pottery.

TABLE SHOWING SUGGESTED SYNCHRONISMS.

This tabulation is provisional and has been drawn up as a convenient summary of the chronological evidence at present available for the pre-Mycenaean history of the mainland. Thessaly we have not included, for, as foreshadowed by Childe,<sup>1</sup> it will probably be necessary to set the Thessalian series further back than was suggested originally. The two points where the Thessalian series touches the southern,<sup>2</sup> the Early Helladic Ware of Lianokladi II. and Tsani IV. and V. and the Minyan Ware of

<sup>1</sup> J.H.S. 1915, p. 200. <sup>2</sup> Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, pp. 235 ff.

Lianokladi III. and of the Fourth Thessalian Period are not sufficiently definite, though another point of contact may be noted in the rugose ware of Tsani,<sup>1</sup> which has been found at Corinth. If the Early Helladic Ware of Tsani IV. and V. is Early Minoan III. or Middle Minoan I., it hardly seems possible that the Minyan Ware of Tsani VIII. can be Middle Minoan II. in view of the long intervening period, especially when we consider that almost everywhere in Thessaly where Minyan Ware appears, it comes either just before or together with Late Minoan III. Ware. This latter circumstance may be explained by assuming some telescoping of the upper strata of the Thessalian sites. The evidence from Hagia Marina<sup>2</sup> does not make the question any clearer. It remains for future careful stratigraphic excavations at this last site, at Lianokladi and one or two southern Thessalian sites such as Iolkos, the Magoula of Sourpi<sup>3</sup> and some site near Domokos to define more clearly the relationship between Thessaly and the south. We cannot now tell even approximately where the Early Helladic sherds from Tsani and the Grey Minyan Ware of Thessaly should come in the southern pottery sequence. In any case the Thessalian series apparently must be set further back, for on one site at Corinth a ware resembling Thessalian Second Period Wares has been found with and below Early Helladic Ware of Group II. Similar ware and sherds like those of the Thessalian Third Period have been found elsewhere at Corinth, but further examination of the earlier strata must take place before their true context can be determined.

This is only one of many problems that must be left for future consideration. Our object in this paper has been to attempt to provide a convenient basis from which, when modified and amplified by the results of future excavations, there may be constructed a fuller account of the civilisation on the mainland in the times immediately preceding the erection of the palaces and citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns. The glory of Tiryns and Mycenae was the climax of prehistoric art on the mainland of Greece and, as shewn conclusively by Sir Arthur Evans in his *Palace* of Minos, is derived from Crete. Yet though Minoan in origin, the Mycenaean civilisation is not merely transplanted from Crete, but is the fruit of the cultivated Cretan graft set on the wild stock of the mainland. This mainland stock, to judge by the affinities of Early Helladic Ware,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wace and Thompson, op. cit. p. 144. <sup>2</sup> Soteriades, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, p. 10, No. 70.

seems originally to have belonged to the same species as the Cretan and Cycladic civilisations of the Early Bronze Age. The appearance of Minyan Ware in the Middle Minoan period marks, as regards the mainland at least, a break away from the earlier phase characterised by Early Helladic Ware. The period of Minyan Ware indicates the introduction of a new cultural strain, the origin of which is not yet clear, though some indications point to Phocis and others to the eastern shores of the Aegean as its home. Not so long after the culture marked by Minyan Ware had taken root on the mainland, Cretan (Minoan) influence made itself felt and profoundly modified its character by the introduction of a far higher standard of civilisation. Minyan Ware, which had supplanted the Early Helladic, then gradually merged into the mainland Mycenaean class of pottery. It is probable that divergences observed between the Late Minoan cultures of Crete and of the mainland are due to this absorption of Middle Helladic by Minoan. The underlying mainland element influenced the dominant Minoan art so as to make it Mycenaean as opposed to Cretan. It is impossible to tell how much of the Early Helladic element had been previously absorbed by Minyan Ware, though it must be admitted from the evidence at present before us, that there is a distinct break between the two, Early Helladic Ware disappearing almost completely on the advent of Minyan. Though Early Helladic Ware disappeared, it need not necessarily mean that the race that made it was extirpated, for it seems inconceivable that a race so numerous and so widespread, to judge merely by the distribution of Early Helladic Ware on the mainland, should have been obliterated.

The importance of the elucidation of this and kindred questions lies in the light they throw on the ethnological origin and affinities of the race that inhabited historical Greece, for all recent research tends to show that archaic and, consequently, classical Greek art was a renaissance—after it had lain dormant during a dark period of invasion and disturbance—of the same artistic spirit that inspired Knossos and Phaestos, Tiryns and Mycenae.

> A. J. B. WACE. C. W. BLEGEN.

## B.S.A., Vol. XXII. (1916-18), Pl. VI.

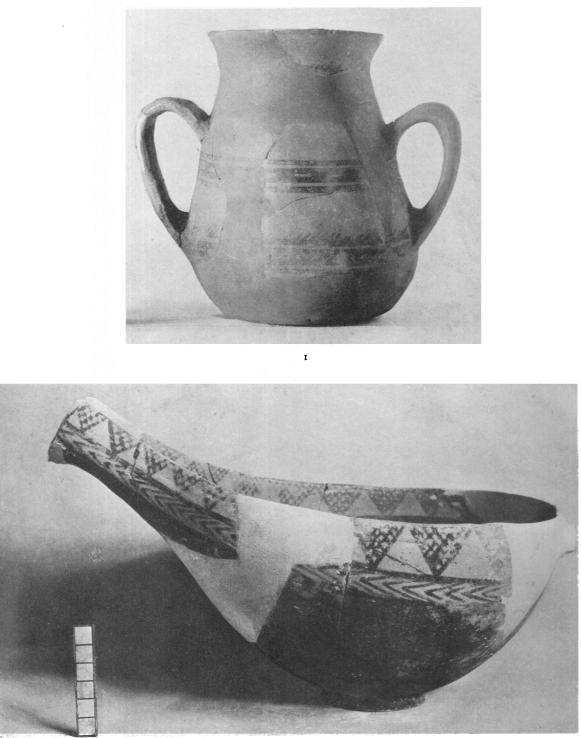
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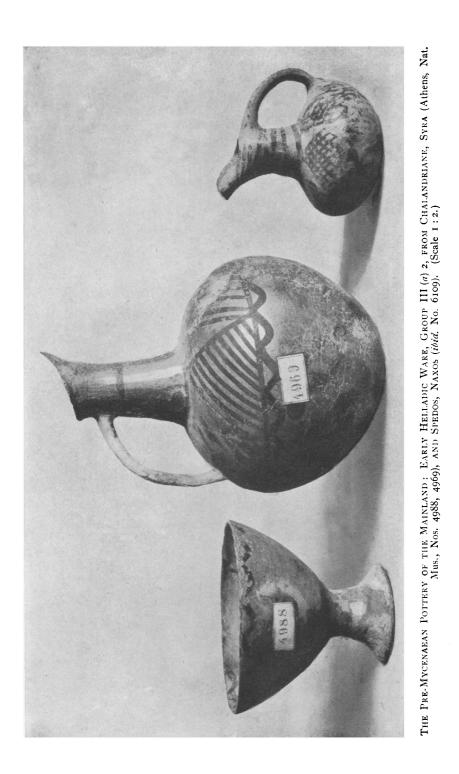
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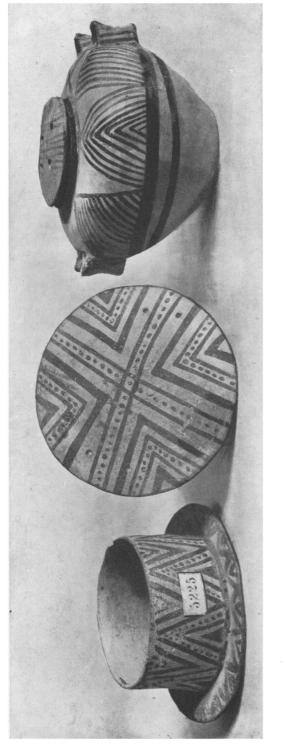
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The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland: Early Helladic Ware from Corinth. 1. Askos, Group I ( $\delta$ ). 2, 3, Jug and Sauceboat, Group II ( $\delta$ ). (Scale 1:2).



THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: EARLY HELLADIC WARE. I. TANKARD FROM CORINTH, GROUP III (a) 2. 2. SAUCEBOAT FROM SPEDOS, NAXOS, GROUP III (a) 1. (Athens, Nat. Mus., No. 6107.) (Scale 1:2.)









I



THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: I. CUP FROM CORINTH, MATTPAINTED WARE, GROUP II. 2. GOBLET FROM CORINTH, EPHYRAEAN WARE. (Scales 1:2.)

