

THE DISCOVERIES IN CRETE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

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It is my purpose in the present paper to sketch for the members of the Society the results of the recent archaeological discoveries in Crete, and to indicate the chief ways in which they have affected our knowledge of the history of Egypt and Palestine, and the degree to which this older knowledge has enabled us to gain a correct conception of the historical position of the newly-discovered Cretan civilization. I intend to mention only the salient facts, omitting many minor pieces of evidence. In the course of the paper I hope to submit some new points to the Society. The references in the footnotes are not exhaustive, various views which are "in the air" and many facts of common knowledge needing none. A useful bibliography of the subject is given by Prof. BURROWS in his recent work *The Discoveries in Crete*.

We all know, of course, that Dr. ARTHUR EVANS, at Knossos, and Professors HALBHERR and PERNIER, at Phaestos and Agia Triada, have practically doubled our knowledge of the prehistoric civilization of Greece. SCHLIEMANN revealed the wonders of the Mycenaean shaft-graves, but, though we knew that the objects found in them were pre-historic and pre-Hellenic, and must date back well into the second millennium B.C., we had no means of placing them accurately in a chronological scheme of Mycenaean development. And so with the other discoveries, at Menidi, Vaphio, and elsewhere. A good conception of the extent of our knowledge of Mycenaean civilization before the Cretan discoveries may be derived from a perusal of the *Mycenaean Age* of Messrs. TSOUNTAS and MANATT, published in 1897. What a difference the Cretan work has wrought may be seen from a comparison of this book with Professor BURROWS's *Discoveries in Crete*, which appeared in 1907.

We now see that before Mycenæ reached her zenith of power, the political centre of Greece was ancient Knossos in Crete, the city where, according to legend, the mighty Minos had once sat upon his kingly throne and given laws to mankind, and whence he had ruled the seas and neighbouring islands with despotic, yet just, power. Phaestos, in the south, is in one legend a colony of Knossos : there is no doubt that Knossos was the chief city in the island in pre-historic times.¹ It is evident that Crete was the original centre of inspiration, the energizing force, of the whole Bronze Age civilization of Greece almost from beginning to end. At the beginning we find the Cyclades perhaps more developed in civilization than Crete, and at the end we see that the centre of political power passed from Knossos to Mycenæ after the destruction of the former city—probably by the Mycenæans. But Crete was the mainspring of the whole development, and when she was broken, degeneration and decadence in art, and in civilization generally, followed, and Greece plunged into a Dark Age of barbarism from which she only emerged in the seventh century. The Mycenæan Age, properly so-called, is but the first phase of this period of decadence. For the earlier time—the great epoch of civilization which has been revealed to us chiefly by Dr. EVANS's discoveries at Knossos, and to which we now see the contents of the shaft-graves at Mycenæ belong—another name must be used, and that a Cretan one. Dr. EVANS uses the very appropriate term "Minoan." The contemporary and closely related culture of the Cyclades may be called, with Prof. MYRES and Dr. MACKENZIE, "Cycladic."

Now, very many sites besides Knossos, Phaestos, and Agia Triada have been excavated in Crete. We may mention Zakro and Palaikastro, at the Eastern end of the island, excavated by Mr. D. G. HOGARTH and the British School at Athens (under Messrs. BOSANQUET and DAWKINS); the little Minoan city of Gournià, a small Pompeii, and the interesting islands of Pseira and Moklos, excavated by the American Exploration Society (under Mrs. BOYD-HAWES and Mr. R. B. SEAGER); the tombs of Koumâsa, dug for the Cretan Government by the ephor Mr. STEPHANOS XANTHOUDIDES; and others. And the results from all these diggings enable us to agree

¹ According to another legend, quoted on p. 147, the foundation of Phaestos seems to be ascribed to an earlier period than that of Knossos. This legend represents the idea that the first Cretans came from the South, while that quoted above envisages the political dependence of Phaestos on Knossos.

upon a very complete scheme, proposed by Dr. EVANS, of the chronological development of the whole Bronze Age civilization of Crete and the Cyclades from beginning to end. This scheme agrees with itself and with the Egyptian evidence as to date, on which it largely rests.

Dr. EVANS divides the scheme into three successive periods, each of which similarly is divided into three.² Certainly there do seem to have been nine successive epochs of development between the Stone Age and that of Iron; but it is by no means certain that we ought not to amend the scheme by abolishing "Early Minoan I," which seems to have little or no content, and add a "Late Minoan IV," about the time of the introduction of iron. But this would spoil the symmetry of the scheme, and there certainly was an "Early Cycladic I," to which an "Early Minoan I" ought to correspond.

The "Early Minoan" and "Early Cycladic" periods saw the beginnings of the age of metal in Greece. There is little or no doubt that copper first reached Greece from the East and not from Central Europe, the theories of several patriotic Europeans to the contrary notwithstanding. In Cyprus, copper was probably used from the first. There are no traces there of any Stone Age at all. In Crete, however, a long Neolithic period preceded the earliest "Minoan" development. In the Cyclades we find no traces of a Neolithic period: at Troy we do: in Northern Greece stone was used for centuries after the Aegeans had adopted bronze. At Troy bronze seems to have come into use at once³; there was no "Copper Age" there. And the same may well be true of the Aegean.

The "Early Minoan" period was characterized by at first a degeneration and then a considerable development of the ceramic art. I would draw attention to the fact that this degeneration of pottery at the time of the introduction of metal is noticeable elsewhere: at Troy, for instance, and in archaic Egypt. Probably the skilled men who made the splendid Neolithic pottery now turned their brains towards the devising of metal vessels, and left the potter's art to inferior workers. The development is marked by the introduction of the use of paint in pottery. Wishing to imitate the dark

² *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation Minoenne* (London, Quaritch, 1906). Miss E. H. HALL has published a useful illustrated *resumé* of the characteristics of the periods of Minoan art in *The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age* (Philadelphia, 1907).

³ DÖRFFELD-SCHMIDT, *Troja und Ilion*, p. 367.

burnished surface of the fine old Neolithic pottery, with its incised designs filled in with white, the early Minoan potter covered his vase with a dark slip of colour, on which he traced a design in white paint. Conversely, he used a light slip with a dark design. The lustrous paint, to imitate the old hand-burnishing, had been invented, and thus Greek painted pottery began.⁴

The parallel inventions of the potter's wheel and furnace now make their appearance,⁵ and the result on the pots is evident. That the wheel came before the furnace in Crete is shewn by a peculiar ware, usually wheel-made, of the second or third Early Minoan period, from Vasiliki, in Crete,⁶ which has curious black markings on the red-coloured surface of the vase. These black markings are due to the charcoal amid which the vase was burnt; evidently, in a very curious way, the "coals" of the open fire were so arranged as to mark a regular black pattern on the vase. The result is not unlike some of the neolithic red and black vases from Egypt, though these, of course, were made by hand.

The development of pottery in the succeeding Middle Minoan period which followed is remarkable. Polychromy came into fashion; red, blue, yellow, and white designs on a brilliant black background.⁷ Forms were copied from those of metal vases, of which we have but few specimens,⁸ though it is evident that the Minoan metal-workers had already reached a high pitch of excellence. In the next age they take their place among the greatest toreutic artists that have ever existed. Even a Benvenuto Cellini is rivalled by the unknown maker of the Vaphio cups.

The polychrome phase passed off, and during the third Middle Minoan period a new style of pottery decoration, with purely naturalistic designs, first of plants, then, in the first Late Minoan age, of sea-animals, rocks, and seaweed, came into fashion, executed

⁴ MACKENZIE, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIII. For a summary of the history of early Cretan pottery see BURROWS, *Discoveries in Crete*, ch. III.

⁵ DÖRPFELD-SCHMIDT, *Troja und Ilion*, p. 253.

⁶ Also found at Palaikastro, where it certainly is of the third Early Minoan period. Mr. SEAGER, its discoverer at Vasiliki, attributes it there to the second period. At Palaikastro the vases are always wheel-made, at Vasiliki not always.

⁷ See coloured plates *J.H.S.*, XXVII, pls. v, vi; XXVI, pl. viii.

⁸ This point is admirably illustrated by pl. C of Mrs. BOYD-HAWES's exhaustive work on *Gournià* (Philadelphia, 1908), where we see polychrome Middle Minoan pots of shapes evidently imitated from metallic originals, side by side with a silver vase of closely similar form.

in strictly conventional dark colour on a light background.⁹ This convention remained constant henceforth until well on in the Iron Age. The second Late Minoan period saw a certain falling off in design, which, though more grandiose, is less inspired than in the earlier period.¹⁰ And Late Minoan III is merely the decadence that follows the catastrophe of Knossos, when the palace was overthrown by a foreign enemy, and the "Great Palace Period" came to an end.

Middle Minoan II to Late Minoan II is the period when the great Cretan palaces were built. It is unnecessary to refer here to the remarkable triumphs of Minoan architecture that have been revealed at Knossos, Phaestos, and Agia Triada. The sanitary arrangements of the palaces are extraordinary, and were never paralleled, so far as we know, in the world till the middle of the nineteenth century in England.¹¹

Knossos dates almost entirely from Late Minoan I and II, but there was an earlier palace there,¹² and at Phaestos an important part of the palace, the great "Theatral Area," entrance steps, and landing, date from the second Middle Minoan age.¹³ The masonry of this Middle Minoan palace is very fine. This being so, it is probable that we must put back the much ruder Cyclopean masonry of Tiryns and Mycenae, originally Cretan settlements without doubt,¹⁴ to a yet

⁹ MACKENZIE, *J.H.S.*, XXVI.

¹⁰ For specimens see EVANS, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (London, 1906).

¹¹ See BURROWS, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 9, 104. Doubtless the Babylonians constructed drains at an earlier period, but we cannot draw any parallel between the simple *cloacae* of Nippur, discovered by HAYNES (see HILPRECHT, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 397, *et passim*), and the far more highly-developed sanitary drainage system of Knossos which would point to any connection between them. We cannot assume that the Knossians derived their knowledge of sanitary "engineering" from Babylonia.

¹² *Ib.*, pp. 58, 59.

¹³ MACKENZIE, *Cretan Palaces*, *J.H.S.*, XI, p. 185.

¹⁴ The contents of the shaft-graves, excavated by SCHLIEMANN at Mycenae, show that Cretan civilization was fully acclimatized in the Peloponnese in the first Late Minoan period, and the architecture of Tiryns and Mycenae is so much more primitive than the Cretan architecture of that time, while still Minoan in character, that we must refer the building of these two fortresses to the early period indicated above. All tradition makes Tiryns older than Mycenae, and built by people who came from the sea, the "Cyclopes" employed by the native king Proetus for the purpose. These Cyclopes are called Lycians. The Lycians and Carians were closely connected with the Cretans in legend (*e.g.*, that of Sarpedon), and their geographical contiguity makes it very probable that all three peoples were racially related. So that the builders of the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns may well have been Cretans. Legend thus confirms the indications of archaeology.

earlier age, at least to Middle Minoan I, to which period I see no reason to doubt that the sculpture of the Lion Gate may quite well belong. The Cretans had then already extended the Minoan hegemony over the Cyclades to Argolis at an early period. The great *tholos* tomb at Orchomenos in Boeotia, and the similar tombs at Mycenae, must belong to Late Minoan II at latest, perhaps to Late Minoan I. There are also *tholoi* in Thessaly. The walls of the fortress of Gha (Arne?), in the midst of Lake Kopais, seem older. So that it was probably in the Middle Minoan period that the Cretans reached the Saronic Gulf, the Euripus, and the Pagasaeon Gulf, and settled as the civilizing Minyae among the stone-using native population, whose polychrome ceramic has lately been discovered at Dimini, Sesklo, and Zerelia in Thessaly,¹⁵ at Drachmani in Phokis, and at Chaironeia in Boeotia.¹⁶

What is the date of these periods and events? Here Egypt comes upon the scene with decisive effect: "Middle Minoan II" was contemporary with the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties, while the end of Late Minoan I, the whole of the Late Minoan II, and the beginning of Late Minoan III, were contemporary with the XVIIIth dynasty. These synchronisms are certain. The Cretan polychrome pottery of Middle Minoan II, often known as "Kamáres" ware, from the cave above the village of that name in which it was first found, has been discovered with objects of the late XIIth dynasty at Kahun, and now the decisive discovery has been made of a splendid "Kamáres" pot in an untouched XIIth dynasty tomb at Abydos.¹⁷ Late Minoan I and II is shown to be contemporary with the XVIIIth dynasty by the famous wall-paintings of Cretan ambassadors, the "Great Men of Keftiu and of the Isles," in the tombs of Senmut and Rekhmārā at Thebes (Plate XVI), which belong to the reigns of Hatshepset and Thothmes III, respectively.¹⁸ Senmut and Rekhmārā are the well-known officials of these monarchs.

¹⁵ TSOUNTAS, *Προϊστορικοί ἀκροπόλεϊς Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου* (Athens, 1908); WACE, DROOP, and THOMPSON, *Annual of the British School at Athens* (B.S.A.), XIV, (1909); *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, I, 4, p. 118 ff.

¹⁶ SOTIRIADIS, in *Ἐφημέρις Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1908, p. 63 ff.

¹⁷ By Prof. GARSTANG in 1907. In the Ashmolean Museum. This important discovery has cut much of the ground away from under v. BISSING's argument in his interesting article *Zur Datierung der "aegaeischen" Vasen in den Schutthügeln von Kahun*, in *Strena Helbigiana* (1900), in which he endeavoured to prove that the Kahun deposits were of later date than the XIIth dynasty.

¹⁸ HALL, *Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea*, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII.



“The Great Men of Keftiu and of the Isles.”

From the Tomb of Sennut, Thebes.

The great metal vases brought by the Keftian ambassadors to Egypt are typical products of the art of Late Minoan I and II, and that the people who brought them were Cretans of this age is shown by their costume, which is identical with that of the "Cupbearer" and other Minoans in the wall-paintings of Knossos and on the steatite vases of Agia Triada. That Late Minoan I was partially contemporary with the XVIIIth dynasty is shown by the fact that in the "Maket-tomb" at Gurob, which is of the time of Thothmes III,¹⁹ a "Late Minoan I" vase was found with a naturalistic ivy-leaf design, which is characteristic of that period of Cretan art, and is identical with the design of Late Minoan I vases found by Mr. HOGARTH at Zakro.²⁰ That Late Minoan III began before the XVIIIth dynasty ended is shown by the fact that the Greek sherds found at Tell el-Amarna are exclusively of this period.²¹ Further discovery has thus shown that the scarabs of Amenhetep III and Tii, found at Ialysos and Mycenae with Late Minoan III pottery,²² are in their proper *milieu*, and are not heirlooms buried in later days. All this evidence hangs together, is cumulative, and fits in accurately. The only apparent contradiction hitherto found is the "Hagios Onouphrios deposit," a collection of Early Minoan objects said to have been found with XIIth dynasty scarabs at a place called Hagios Onouphrios in Crete.²³ The scarabs, however, seem to be later in date than the XIIth dynasty,²⁴ while the Cretan objects are of various dates from Early Minoan II to Middle Minoan I.²⁵ There is evidently some confusion in this "deposit," and in view of the certain evidence from Abydos it is clear that that of Hagios Onouphrios is no longer to be relied upon.²⁶ The Early Minoan stone vases are much earlier than the time of the XIIth dynasty, and the scarabs are later.

Now, as to definite dates. We are certain of the date of the

¹⁹ PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 21 ff, pl. xxvi, 44. The date given in this volume was corrected later.

²⁰ *J.H.S.*, XXII.

²¹ BURROWS, p. 95.

²² HALL, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, pp. 49, 50. At Mycenae has also been found a blue glass-paste figure of an ape, with the prenomen of Amenhetep II (Aa-kheperu-Râ) on one shoulder. This is the most ancient Egyptian object found in Continental Greece. See HALL, *B.S.A.*, VIII, p. 188.

²³ EVANS, *Cretan Pictographs*, pp. 105, 106.

²⁴ BISSING, in *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 27.

²⁵ BURROWS, p. 75.

²⁶ Cf. HALL, *J.H.S.*, XXV, p. 321, n. 2.

XVIIIth dynasty to within fifty years. Thothmes III began to reign not earlier than 1550 B.C., and ceased to reign not later than 1450 B.C. The vase found at Gurob may have been a century older than the date of burial of the lady Maket, but it is improbable that it is still older. So that "Late Minoan I" cannot have come to an end before about 1600 B.C., at the earliest. Similarly, "Late Minoan III" cannot have begun after 1400 B.C., on account of the contemporaneity of its earlier stage with the reign of Khuenaten. So that "Late Minoan II," the period of the great buildings of Knossos, must be dated between these two outside dates. Probably it covered a period of much less duration than two centuries; perhaps really only a century (1550-1450). But, roughly, the two centuries (1600-1400) may be assigned to it. The great catastrophe of Knossos and Phaestos, which brought the civilization of Crete to a premature end, may be dated about 1400 B.C., at latest.

For the XIIth dynasty, and so the date of "Middle Minoan II," we have lately been bidden to abandon the old provisional date of BRUGSCH, reached by dead-reckoning from the fragmentary Egyptian sources, for a choice between two widely differing dates, that advocated by Prof. EDUARD MEYER (2000-1788 B.C.)²⁷ and that of Prof. PETRIE,²⁸ nearly fifteen hundred years earlier! It is well known that these two dates differ by a full Sothic period of fourteen hundred and sixty years. The one seems somewhat too late, the other far too early, as Dr. BUDGE has lately shown.²⁹ There is no doubt that Prof. PETRIE's date is impossibly early, and not least among the considerations which show this is the evidence from Crete. We can now quite possibly bring the Cretan evidence to bear *en revanche* upon the question of Egyptian chronology. It is quite inconceivable that "Middle Minoan II" is fifteen hundred years older than "Late Minoan II," that the Theatral Area and Grand Entrance of Phaestos is fifteen hundred years older than the Theatral Area and North Gate of Knossos. "Middle Minoan III" and "Late Minoan I" will not by any conceivable possibility cover this enormous gap, especially since the succeeding "Late Minoan II" period covers only two centuries and a half at the very utmost, and probably really

²⁷ *Ägyptische Chronologie* (Abhandl. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1904).

²⁸ *Researches in Sinai* (1906), pp. 163-175.

²⁹ Cf. BUDGE, *The Book of the Kings* (London, Kegan Paul, 1908), p. lvii.

a much less space of time. Why should one period be so short, the two preceding so long? We must retain BRUGSCH's date as the earliest possible for the XIIth dynasty and "Middle Minoan II," and MEYER's as the latest possible. This is assuming that a choice is possible: that the astronomical evidence from the Kahun "Temple-book"³⁰ is not yet to be regarded as cogent, and that we are not necessarily given the choice only between the dates of PETRIE and of MEYER. Many high Egyptological authorities still maintain that this choice is not yet incumbent upon us.³¹ But if the astronomical evidence were to be regarded as certain, there is no doubt which system would have to be chosen, despite the difficulty of forcing the whole of the XIIIth dynasty and the Hyksos period into two hundred years. From the Cretan evidence alone one would say that MEYER's date is too late, and that we cannot get "Middle Minoan III" and "Late Minoan I" into two centuries, either. A date in the latter half of the third millennium B.C. is thus indicated for the XIIth dynasty and the contemporary "Middle Minoan II."

The Middle Minoan period thus corresponds to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, and the Late Minoan period to the New Kingdom, very closely. For, though it came to an end earlier in Greece, "Late Minoan III" probably lasted in Cyprus almost as long as did the "New Kingdom" in Egypt, perhaps as late as the tenth century. While certain "Late Minoan III" remains at Enkomi seem to be, like those of this period in Greece, contemporary with the XIXth and XXth dynasties,³² others seem much later, as they include objects which can only be compared with antiquities found at Ephesus³³ and at Kameiros in Rhodes. "Late Minoan III" lasted long in Cyprus, which was always a backwater of Greek culture, and to which the "Geometric" culture of the Dorians(?), which overthrew "Late Minoan III" in Greece, never penetrated.³⁴

³⁰ See BURROWS, ch. V, p. 67 ff.

³¹ E.g., MASPERO, *Guide to the Cairo Museum* (1908), p. 2, besides BUDGE, *loc. cit.*, ch. II.

³² E.g., the long lecythi and round-bellied bottles of polished red ware (considered by BISSING to be Syrian), well represented in Tomb 84 at Enkomi (MURRAY, *Excavations in Cyprus*, fig. 66).

³³ HOGARTH, *Excavations at Ephesus* (1908), p. 242.

³⁴ That the Late Minoan III pottery from Cyprus is later in date than that of the same period from Ialysos and the ware imported into Egypt in Khuenaten's time, is, I would point out, indicated by the constant presence on the Cypriote pottery of representations of the human form, which hardly occur at all in the whole previous history of Minoan vase-painting in Greece. (The lamp-stand

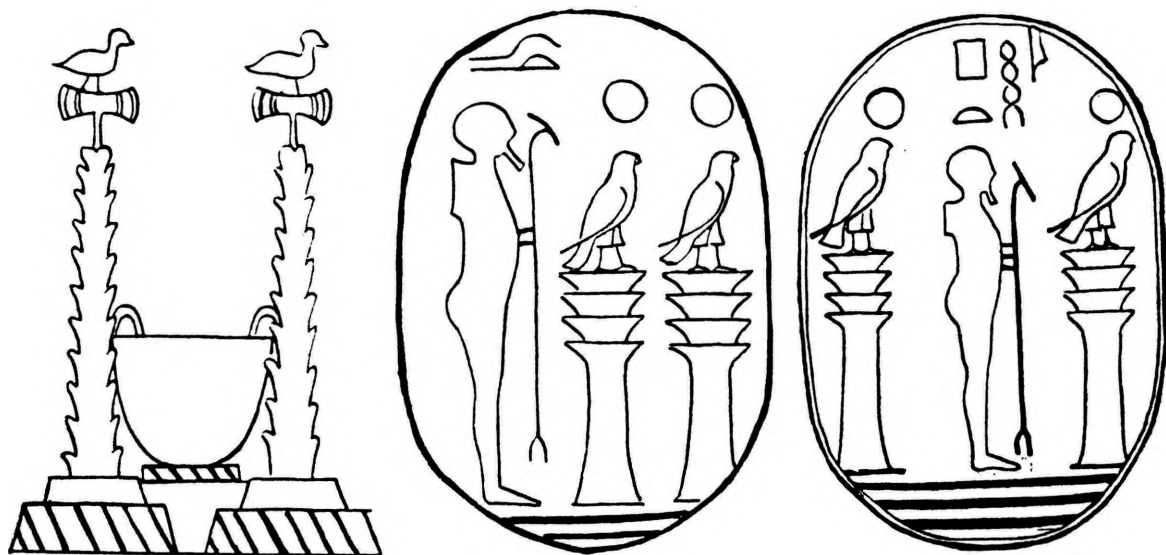
Similarly, the Early Minoan period equates itself with the Egyptian Old Kingdom. And thus we are brought back for the Cretan Neolithic period to a date very conceivably contemporary with that of the Neolithic period in Egypt. As has been pointed out by Dr. EVANS, the early Cretan pots, and more especially the Cretan stone vases, are very like the early pottery and stone vases of Egypt, and at Koumása, in the Messara, Mr. XANTHOUIDES has found stone figurines which are almost exactly like the prehistoric clay figurines, with their characteristic hatchet-faced heads and inlaid eyes of shell, of predynastic Egypt.³⁵ The possibility of an ultimate early connection between Crete and Egypt is thus brought very near the bounds of probability. And it may be that, far back in the Age of Stone, the earliest inhabitants of Crete and the Cyclades had migrated from the Nile-Delta, so that the main elements of the Minoan civilization and of that of Egypt may have had a common origin. The primeval beginnings of Greek civilization may be of Egyptian origin after all.

Evidence has lately been brought forward which seems to point to an early connection between Egyptian and Cretan religious ideas.³⁶ Whatever the value of these speculations, they are interesting, and I may be permitted to add one or two more instances of similarity of religious representations, which are certainly very ancient in both countries, and may well go back to the beginning of things. Prof. NEWBERRY has pointed out the similarity of the bull-gods of the Delta to the Cretan bull, and has even thought that he has found the "Horns of Consecration" and the "Double Axe," so characteristic of Minoan religion, associated with the sacred bull in the Delta. These two discoveries seem doubtful. He also notes the resemblance of the shield of the goddess Neith to the typical Mycenaean 8-shaped shield. I would add the fact that the bucranium—the bull's head—was regarded as a sacred object in Crete and in Egypt from the beginning. The constant occurrence of the

from Melos with its procession of fishermen (*Phylakopi*, pl. xxii) is not a vase.) The shape, also, of many of the Cypriote pots dates them to the very end of the Bronze Age, contemporary with the pottery from Milatos in Crete, published by EVANS, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, pp. 96, 97.


³⁵ Illustrated by DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, II, p. 52.

³⁶ NEWBERRY, *P.S.B.A.*, XXVIII (1906), p. 73; *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, I, p. 24 ff.



Sacred birds on pillars from the Sarcophagus discovered at Agia Triada, in Crete, compared with Egyptian hawks on
Tat pillars, from scarabs.

bucranium in Cretan representations is well known. In Egypt it occurs represented as a sacred emblem over a building, on a carved tusk of the time of Narmer (beginning of the 1st dynasty) found at Hierakonpolis,³⁷ and in later times is often seen placed above a holy casket or box, as in the illustration (Plate XVIII, Fig. 2), which shows the sacred hawk in a shrine surmounted by a bucranium. This is a relief in the Seti temple at Abydos.³⁸ Similar representations of earlier date are known.³⁹ The bucranium was evidently a symbol of divinity in Egypt as much as in Crete.

Another comparison which I would make is between the Cretan representations of sacred birds perched upon pillars and Egyptian representations of hawks similarly perched upon the *Taf*, , the emblem of stability. On the lately published sarcophagus from Agia Triada (Late Minoan II to III),⁴⁰ we see a priest pouring a libation into a large vase placed between two trees, or more probably, notched tree-trunks on which are perched two birds (Plate XVII). Now the *Taf* is possibly as much a notched tree-trunk as a pillar, and on Egyptian scarabs of the XIXth dynasty we often see represented a figure of the Northern god Ptah standing before two *Tafs*, on each of which is a hawk (Plate XVII). The parallel is very close, and I believe that we have in this association of the divine bird with the tree or pillar in Crete and in the Egyptian Delta⁴¹ another very

³⁷ QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, I. Pl. XIV.

³⁸ The photograph was kindly taken for me by Mr. H. L. CHRISTIE. Cf. his drawing in CAULFEILD, *The Temple of the Kings*, Pl. VII.

³⁹ E.g., on a slab with the titles of Amenemhat III, from Hawâra, in the British Museum (No. 1072: BUDGE, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, No. 171).

⁴⁰ PARIBENI, *Il Sarcophago dipinto di Haghia Triadha* (*Mon. Ant.*, 1908).

⁴¹ In Crete we find the bird associated with the pillar (baetyl), as distinct from the tree, in the small pottery group of two pillars with birds, from Knossos (*B.S.A.*, VIII, p. 29). The tree and the pillar were closely connected in the early religion of the Levant, as Dr. EVANS has sufficiently shown (*Mycenaean Tree and Pillar-Cult*, *J.H.S.*, XXI). No doubt rightly, he regards the *masseboth* and *ashereth* of the Canaanites as neither borrowed from the Semites nor lent to them by the Aegeans, but as the product of the "Mediterranean" ethnic element common to Greece and Palestine, as also to Asia Minor and Egypt. No doubt there were Mediterraneans in Palestine before the Semites appeared there. The prevalence of the bird on a pillar, or *pole*, as a religious emblem in Asia Minor has been pointed out recently by Mr. HOGARTH (*Ionia and the East*, p. 63). In Egypt both tree and pillar occur as religious emblems, and in the *Taf* we may see a confusion of the two, which in this case would be easy, since if the *Taf* was primarily a pillar, it was certainly a wooden, not a stone one. For later examples

ancient similarity of religious ideas which may well be due to an original identity of beliefs.

A further parallel in religious iconography may be drawn between the usual Egyptian representation of the Hathor-cow, with star-shaped spots, and a Mycenaean (Late Minoan III) picture of a bull on a vase from Enkomi in Cyprus, which is represented with precisely similar markings.⁴² As an example of the Egyptian representation of the sacred animal with these markings I give a sketch of the well-known figure of the cow of Hathor found by Prof. NAVILLE, at Deir el-Bahari, in 1906 (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1). But the Mycenaean representation *may* have been inspired by Egyptian ones of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasties, so that it would be impossible to regard this resemblance as any proof of early religious connection, were it not for the other resemblances I have mentioned, of which that which I have here pointed out between the birds and pillars of Agia Triada and the hawks on the Memphite *Taf* seems to me eminently suggestive of an early connection between Cretan and Egyptian religion. In this there is no copying, as might be the case with the stars on the bull's hide. The two representations differ just so much as we should expect two diverging forms of the same original idea to differ.

Now Prof. NEWBERRY seems to believe that the resemblances he has noted point to Cretan colonization of the Delta in early times. Here I disagree entirely. It seems to me that these resemblances, and those I have added to his list, point to the reverse process, to a Nilotic colonization of Crete. I would bring the Neolithic Aegeans from Africa, in agreement with Dr. DUNCAN MACKENZIE, who has rightly insisted upon the convincing importance of the fact that the Minoans all wore nothing but a waistcloth, just as the Egyptians did: the simple waistcloth is a Southern, an African garment: the Greeks who wore it came from the South, over sea.⁴³

of the association of the sacred bird with the pillar, *see* Miss JANE HARRISON's article in the *Proceedings of the International Congress of Religions* (Oxford, 1908).

⁴² MURRAY, *Excavations in Cyprus*, fig. 70 (Tomb 91, no. 1269); exhibited in the First Vase Room of the British Museum.

⁴³ *B.S.A.*, XII, p. 233 ff. On p. 220, Dr. MACKENZIE supposes that because I have spoken of the prae-Aryan population of the Aegean as "*kleinasiatisch*" and "*Asianic*," on account of the probable relation of their language or languages to the "*kleinasiatisch*" or "*Asianic*" (non-Aryan) tongues of Lycia and Caria (*see* KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 372 ff.), this "would seem to indicate an underlying belief on Mr. HALL's

The first comers to Crete no doubt reached the island in the bay of the Messará, whence they would spread over the marshy plain and then Northwards across the low divide into the fertile land between Ida and Lasithi, afterwards, and now still, the real heart of Crete. According to one legend, Europa and Kadmos first reach Crete from the East on the Southern coast, and Gortyna (for which we must understand Phaestos) was founded by them long before Minos transferred his royal seat to Knossos, on the Northern coast, which, like the neighbouring Candia now, was certainly in the best position for the metropolis.

Such a legend may well be a far away echo of the first coming. The new-comers would naturally settle first in the low-lying lands, where the agricultural art which they had brought with them from Egypt could be carried on easily. So also in Cyprus the first immigrants from the South (for they possibly came from the Nile-land also) settled only in the lower lands East of Troödos and in the Mesaorea, where agriculture was possible. It is very probable that the race of domestic cattle was brought to Crete and the Aegean—naturally the home of the goat rather than of the cow—from the Egyptian Delta, a natural first breeding-place for cattle;⁴⁴ so that the Greek bull-worship finds its natural origin in the Nile Valley, and we have another plausible argument for an original connection.

During the period of the Egyptian Old Kingdom we have only one or two echoes of relations, not always of a peaceable nature, between Egypt and the Northerners, who evidently kept up some

part that the primary movement of the Aegeo-Pelasgian people was from an initial centre somewhere in Asia." But I have never held this belief. On the contrary, in *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (of which the first edition was published in America in 1905), I expressed a view identical with Dr. MACKENZIE'S: ". . . . we are gradually being led to perceive the possibility that the Minoan culture of Greece was, in its origin, an offshoot from that of primeval Egypt, probably in early Neolithic times. That is to say, the Neolithic Greeks and Neolithic Egyptians were both members of the same 'Mediterranean' stock, which quite possibly may have had its origin in Africa, and a portion of which may have crossed the sea to Europe in very early times, taking with it the seeds of culture which in Egypt developed in the Egyptian way: in Greece in the Greek way" (p. 128). So I may with justice disclaim belief in an Asiatic origin for the Aegeans. I think one can still speak of the Aegeans as "Asiatic," if one regards the "Asiatic" peoples and their "*kleinasiatisch*" languages as of Mediterranean, and so ultimately of North-African, origin. If the Cretans were originally Nilotes, so must the related Lycians and Carians also have been.

⁴⁴ I owe this suggestion to my friend Mr. J. U. POWELL.

sort of connection with their ancient habitat.⁴⁵ The "Fenmen" or *Haau* of the Delta, who are referred to in no friendly way in rubrics of the *Book of the Dead* which must be very ancient, were certainly identical in the minds of the Egyptians with the Aegeans, for these later on were called *Hanebu* (a misunderstood reading of *Haau*), and in Ptolemaic times *Hanebu* meant Greeks.⁴⁶ Some kind of connection there certainly was, and we find remarkable proof of it in the adoption by the Egyptians from the Aegeans of the spiral motive of decoration, and by the Aegeans from the Egyptians of the art of making glazed faience.

⁴⁵ Prof. PETRIE has supposed that the primitive Egyptians possessed large sea-going ships, by means of which this connection was maintained. But it can hardly be supposed that the boats represented on the Neolithic Egyptian red and buff pottery were anything more than ordinary Nile *felthas* and *gyassas* (see KING and HALL, *Egypt and Western Asia, etc.*, p. 129), while the large vessels commemorated on the Palermo stele as built in Sneferu's time need not have been more than great barges for the transport of granite from Aswân to be used in the building of the pyramids at Memphis. The early Mediterranean vessels belonged more probably to the Islanders than to the Egyptians. The connection is undoubted, and, this being so, the black and reddish-black vases found by PETRIE in royal tombs of the 1st dynasty at Abydos (*Royal Tombs*, II, p. 46, Pl. LIV; *Abydos*, I, p. 6, Pl. VIII) may be Aegean, though their form is not like anything yet discovered in Greece. The Egyptian diorite vase-fragments found at Knossos by Dr. EVANS (*Essai de Classification*, p. 5) are much better evidence. They certainly date from the time of the IIIrd-IVth dynasties, and are not likely to have been imported in later times (see *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 128). The red painted vases, with zigzag-and-dot designs, found at Abydos, and considered by PETRIE to belong to the time of the 1st dynasty (*Royal Tombs*, II, *ibid.*), must, if Aegean, surely be of some unplaced "sub-Mycenaean" (Late Minoan III) fabric: they must be relics of later offerings (XIXth-XXth dynasties?). The identity of the small black pots also found in the royal tombs in ware, burnishing, etc., with Cretan Neolithic ware (*Abydos*, II, pp. 28, 38, 48; Pl. XLII), I should, with diffidence, be inclined to put down to the original relationship of Cretan and Egyptian pottery rather than to later connection: on this view they will be of Egyptian make, not Cretan importations. The striking similarity of the bowls with hollow sub-conical bases, found in this pottery both in Crete and in Egypt (EVANS, *B.S.A.*, X, pp. 23-4, Fig. 8), hardly proves that those from Egypt were imported from Crete.

⁴⁶ *O.C.G.*, pp. 158-160.

(To be continued.)

THE DISCOVERIES IN CRETE AND THEIR RELATION
TO THE HISTORY OF EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

(Continued from page 148.)

The view that it was the Egyptians who borrowed the spiral from the North is a reversal of the usually accepted theory. When Dr. EVANS first compared the spiral designs of the Cretan seal-stones with the spiral designs of Egyptian XIIth dynasty scarabs, he naturally assumed that the Cretan designs were borrowed from the Egyptian.⁴⁷ That was when he supposed that the Cretans, contemporaneous with the XIIth dynasty, were the semi-barbarians who appeared to be revealed by the Hagios Onouphrios deposit. Now, however, that we know that the "second Middle Minoans" were as highly civilized as the XIIth dynasty Egyptians: could build, as at Phaestos, to vie with the most splendid Egyptian architecture of the time: and could produce work in metal as good in its way as the finest Egyptian metal-work, we can see that it is by no means impossible that the reverse process was that which really took place, and that the Egyptians got their beautiful spiral designs from the Aegeans. And the possibility becomes probability when we note that the spiral appears suddenly in Egypt as a new and unprecedented thing about the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Though rude spirals occur on pre-dynastic vases, the spiral motive

⁴⁷ *Cretan Pictographs*; *J.H.S.*, XIV, p. 328.

was unknown to the developed Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom.⁴⁸ But in Greece we can trace it back to "Early Minoan III" and even earlier still if "Priam's Treasure" is to be regarded, which seems probable enough, as being contemporary with "Early Minoan II." There we see the spiral⁴⁹ in perhaps its original form in the Aegean—the twist of gold wire—from which the whole system of spiral decoration in the Mediterranean countries may have developed.⁵⁰

It would seem very probable that this decidedly foreign decoration-motive was adopted by the Egyptians from the Aegeans about the end of the Old Kingdom (= "Early Minoan III"), so that the Egyptian seal designs are copied from those of the Cretan seal-stones, rather than the reverse.⁵¹ Egyptian designs were very ancient, and had the spiral been Egyptian we should have found it in the art of the Old Kingdom. It was a foreign importation, and its place of origin is evident.

In revenge, the art of glazing pottery must have been borrowed

⁴⁸ The pre-dynastic spirals occur on the round vases, imitating stone-shapes, of which Brit. Mus., Nos. 26444, 26645, 30908 are good examples. They are obviously, as has often been pointed out, imitations of the nummulites on the limestone vases. As spirals they are of the rudest description, and are mere isolated volutes, which were never combined to form a decorative scheme of any kind. The spiral was unknown in the Egyptian archaic (proto-dynastic) period and throughout the whole period of the Old Kingdom, appearing at its close in combinations identical with those of the Aegean.

⁴⁹ SCHUCHHARDT, *Schliemann*, Figs. 57, 58.


⁵⁰ WILKE (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XXXVIII (1906), p. 1 ff.) regards the spiral as having come to the Mediterranean from the North (i.e., from Central Europe) and is followed by Mrs. BOYD-HAWES, *Gourniâ*, p. 10, note 50. But the Aegean has at least as good a claim to be regarded as the place of its invention. It must be remembered that the fact that the Central European spirals are neolithic does not necessarily mean that they are earlier in date than the spirals of the Aegean: the new discoveries in Thessaly have shown that North Greece remained "Neolithic" till nearly the close of the Aegean Bronze Age. So that Neolithic Central Europe may well have received the spiral from the Bronze Age Aegean. Dr. WILKE gives no reasons from Egypt for his implied rejection of the theory of Egyptian origin, which he does not even discuss, assuming as a matter of course that the spiral either came to Egypt from the "Donaugebiet" or was invented independently in Egypt, as it was in Peru. The reasons from Egypt which I have adduced here will serve to support either his theory of Northern (Central European) origin or the view which I should prefer myself, that of Aegean origin for the spiral.

⁵¹ The Egyptians, however, soon added an idea of their own to the Aegean design, in the shape of the lily-flower, which they placed at the angle of the spaces between the volutes of a spiral design. This, again, was taken over by the Aegeans, as we see it on a Middle Minoan vase from Phaestos.

by the Cretans from Egypt, where we find it in full use as early as the beginning of the Ist dynasty. The best Cretan examples belong to Middle Minoan III; they are the well known figurines of the snake-goddess and her votaries, the relief of the goat and her young, the vases with the wild rose in relief on the lip, the fish and cockle-shells, found at Knossos.⁵² These objects must then be dated about 1800 B.C. The manner of glazing is obviously directly borrowed from the Egyptian, but there is a certain difference in appearance, as might have been expected. The influence of the polychrome native-style ware is obvious, for the Cretan glazed faïence is also polychrome, whereas the contemporary Egyptian faïence was not, confining itself to conventional black design on blue. But towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty we find polychromy introduced in Egyptian faïence, and splendid hues of chocolate, purple, violet, yellow, apple-green, and red were commonly used in the times of Amenhetep III and Khuenaten. The origin of this Egyptian impulse to polychrome glaze is obviously to be found in Crete. So the Keftians again had their revenge. They borrowed the art of glazing from Egypt, but sent it back thither with the new idea of variegated colour. It is true that this Egyptian polychromy in glaze started two or three centuries after the Cretans had abandoned polychromy for ordinary unglazed pottery, but it is equally certain that in glazed ware polychromy was retained by the Minoans until some time after the Egyptians had adopted the idea from them. We see this from the splendid polychrome glazed faïence rhytons in the shape of the heads of women, horses, and rams, found at Enkomi in Cyprus.⁵³ These are as much examples of Minoan glaze as are the earlier objects from Knossos.⁵⁴

Curiously, in Egypt, polychrome glazed pottery lasted little longer than polychrome ordinary ware had lasted in Crete. The fashion went out in the reign of Rameses II, a century after its adoption in the reign of Amenhetep III.

During "Middle Minoan III" we find relics of connection with Egypt in the statuette of "Ābnub's child, Sebek-user, deceased"

(*Ābnub-mes Sebek-user maūt-kheru*), 

⁵² *B.S.A.*, IX, Pl. III, Figs. 45 ff.


⁵³ MURRAY, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. III.



⁵⁴ The Knossian examples date to "Middle Minoan III," while the Cyprian were presumably contemporary with the later phase of "Late Minoan III," to which the Enkomi pottery belongs.


born of the lady Sat-hathor,⁵⁵ and the alabastron-lid of the Hyksos king Khian.⁵⁶ Who Sebek-user was, and how his statuette got to Crete, we have no means of knowing; but he is, from his name and the style of his statuette, obviously a person who lived towards the end of the Middle Kingdom. The finding of an object bearing the name of Khian at Knossos, in Crete, is a curious parallel to the discovery of a small lion bearing his name at Baghdad in Babylonia. But it is merely a coincidence that relics of this king have been found so far from Egypt, and we cannot deduce from them a hegemony of the Hyksos over Babylonia or Crete, even though the king did call himself *ank adebu*, "embracing territories." Still less can we, on the strength of the Knossian alabastron-lid, bring the Hyksos into close connection with the Cretans, and find some sense after all in the reference to "Hellenic Shepherd-Kings."

The statuette of Abnub was not found in a definitely "Middle Minoan III" stratum: ⁵⁷ we only know that it, and the alabastron-lid of Khian, must belong to this age on account of their Egyptian date, since the XIIth dynasty = "Middle Minoan II" and the XVIIIth = "Late Minoan I-III."

If "Middle Minoan III" is the age of Khian, it is also the age of Khammurabi. It would be interesting to find traces of communication between Mesopotamia and the Aegean at this time or an earlier period. We know that the use of the clay tablet and of the

⁵⁵ EVANS, in the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund for 1899-1900*, p. 65. The name was then read by Mr. GRIFFITH as *Ab-nub-mes-wa-el-(?)user*, , the sign of the Aphroditopolite nome being read instead of

, the crocodile of Sebek on a nome-standard, which, however unusually it may be written, is, as I have satisfied myself after personally examining the statuette more than once, the true reading. Sebek-user is the name of the dedicator, and Ab-nub that of his father, the sign  *mes* being used exceptionally

after the father's name instead of the usual , *sa*, which, under the Middle Kingdom, commonly occurs in this position, as in the case of "Nehera-sa Khnemhetep," Khnemhetep Nehera's son, at Benihasan. *Mes* is often used at this period after the name of a divine father, and forms an appellation, e.g., Minmes, Kames, Aahmes (literally "Min-hath-begotten-[him]," etc.), and it is not impossible that a man might be spoken of as the *Abnub-mes Sebekuser*, "the Sebekuser whom Abnub begat," instead of *Abnub-sa S.*, plain "Abnub's son."

⁵⁶ *B.S.A.*, VI, Fig. 21.

⁵⁷ See BURROWS, *Excavations in Crete*, p. 66.

cuneiform script had penetrated westward beyond the Taurus at this time, and it is evident that the Minoan method of writing with the stylus on a clay tablet came from Babylonia. The Minoan hieroglyphs—related on one side no doubt to those of Egypt, on the other to those of the Hittites—were apparently in their original form mere personal signs: ideographs which were used as private marks on the seals of ivory and steatite which are such characteristic relics of “Early Minoan II.”⁵⁸ The ideographs on seals grew more complicated and increased in number, but still the only use for them was to engrave them on seals, till, probably at the beginning of the Middle Minoan period, the Cretans became acquainted with the clay tablet and stylus of Babylonia, no doubt through the medium of the Anatolians, Boghaz Kyöi, and the “Royal Road.” The introduction of this invention must very soon have brought about a simplification and modification of the Cretan hieroglyphic characters, which had to be imitated summarily on the clay. So we find in the third Middle and Late Minoan periods a linear style of writing which bears much the same relation to the older seal style that Egyptian hieratic does to hieroglyphic. And naturally it looks very like hieratic,⁵⁹ especially when, as we see occasionally happened, the Egyptian custom of writing with ink and a pen was used by the Cretan, and the Cretan “hieratic” appears written on the side of a pot.⁶⁰

As is well known, we cannot yet read “Minoan.” It seems to have been written, like Egyptian, indifferently from left to right or right to left.⁶¹ Dr. EVANS has made out certain determinative signs and the symbols for numerals: but the rest seems to defy analysis at present, though the impatiently awaited *Scripta Minoa*, for which we believe Cretan types have been cast by the Oxford University Press, will give us the discoverer’s latest views on the subject. Unluckily, no bilingual Egyptian-Cretan inscription has yet been found which could give the key to the secret; nor have any tablets inscribed in cuneiform, which we could read to some extent even if in the unknown Minoan language,⁶² been discovered. Crete was beyond the reach of the Semitic *lingua franca* which was used by the

⁵⁸ BURROWS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29, 50.

⁵⁹ Cf. *B.S.A.*, VI, Pl. II.

⁶⁰ *Ib.*, VIII, Fig. 66.

⁶¹ HALL, *Class. Rev.*, XIX, p. 80; EVANS, *ib.*, p. 187.

⁶² As the unknown Hittite of the Boghaz Kyöi tablets has been read partially by WINCKLER, owing to its being written in cuneiform.

Egyptians, Babylonians, Palestinians, and Anatolians in their diplomatic correspondence at this time (Late Minoan period = XVIIIth dynasty) and cuneiform was never used in Greece. The custom of writing on the clay tablet persisted, however, till, at a date which cannot be fixed with any certainty, wax was substituted for the less manageable clay, and the waxen tablets and stilus of the Greeks and Romans were evolved, direct descendants, *vid.* Crete, of the clay tablets of Babylonia.⁶³ We cannot say whether the *σήματα λυγρὰ* which Proetus gave to Bellerophon to effect his secret undoing were conceived by the poet as written on clay or already on wax. One need not doubt that the *σήματα* themselves were recollections of the old Cretan hieroglyphs, not Phoenician alphabetic signs, which were probably not yet known in Greece. On the vexed question of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet the new discoveries have thrown little light; a Cretan claim to the honour of originating it would seem very doubtful. But the Cypriote syllabary was no doubt an offshoot of the old Cretan writing, and not of Semitic or Egyptian origin.

Other traces of Oriental influence beyond the striking adoption of the clay tablet for writing are few. It was with related Egypt in the South rather than with the foreign Orient that Crete forgathered. Cyprus, owing to her geographical position, was necessarily from an early period more subject to Oriental influences. But we need not believe that "Sargon of Agade" (a half-mythical figure⁶⁴ like the Egyptian Menes⁶⁵ or our King Arthur) ever invaded Cyprus, though one of his originals, Shargâni-Sharri, king of Akkad, conquered Amurru (Syria) and may therefore have seen the Mediterranean. But the sea which was "traversed" by the legendary Sargon was the Sea of the East, the Persian Gulf, not the Sea of the West, as used to be thought.⁶⁶ Nor was the seal-cylinder mentioning the deified Narâm-Sin (who in legend is the son of Sargon), which was supposed by DI CESNOLA to have been found at Curium in Cyprus,⁶⁷ necessarily imported into Cyprus in Narâm-Sin's time, even if it is contemporary

⁶³ BURROWS, p. 149.

⁶⁴ As has been shewn by KING, *P.S.B.A.*, XXX (1908), p. 238 ff.

⁶⁵ Like "Sargon of Agade," "Menes" was a "conflate" personage of tradition, a combination of two, if not three, early Egyptian kings (see HALL, in *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 75 ff.).

⁶⁶ KING, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, I, p. 36 ff.

⁶⁷ SAYCE, *T.S.B.A.*, 1877, p. 442. It was probably found in Cyprus, and possibly at Curium.

with that king at all, which is doubtful. We have then no right to suppose connection between Cyprus and Mesopotamia in the "Sargonic" age. But we have genuine evidence of comparatively early connection with Mesopotamia in another seal-cylinder, found in an early Bronze Age deposit at Agia Paraskevi in Cyprus.⁶⁸ This cylinder was erroneously dated by Dr. BEZOLD some years ago⁶⁹ to the time of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad III, about the ninth century B.C. I am informed by Mr. L. W. KING that the cylinder undoubtedly is far older, dating to about the time of the Ist dynasty of Babylon, *circa* 2000 B.C.⁷⁰ This would make the early Bronze Age deposits of Agia Paraskevi, Kalopsida, and elsewhere contemporary with the Middle Minoan period in Crete. Such a date is quite possible from the Aegean point of view. At this time Cyprus was not yet included in the circle of the Minoan civilization. It was not till the Cretan culture had passed its zenith and was already decadent that it reached Cyprus. There is no trace of any Minoan art in the island before that of the third Late period, the "Mycenaean" properly so-called. "Late Minoan III" appears in Cyprus suddenly, without any preparation. Hitherto the island had pursued the way of its own native civilization, with an art, as revealed to us by its pottery,⁷¹ of different and much less developed type than the Cretan, connecting by way of Asia Minor with the crude art of Troy. Of foreign influence we can see little trace, though a trade-connection with Babylonia is certain, and a political connection with Egypt began in the reign of Thothmes III, when the island, known to the Egyptians probably as *Yantinai*⁷² (the same name as *Yatnan*, by which the Assyrians knew it), sent tribute. At this time, as there is no trace of "Late Minoan II" in the island, the Minoans cannot yet have settled there, so that none of the Keftians who brought tribute to Hatshepsu and Thothmes III can have come thence: they must all have been Cretans.

⁶⁸ MYRES-RICHTER, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, pp. 15, 134; No. 4501.

⁶⁹ *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II (1885), 191-193.

⁷⁰ Mr. KING notes at the same time that the art of this cylinder is not pure Babylonian, but has a West-Asiatic character. As a matter of fact, it was made for a certain Nudubtum, who is called in the inscription "servant of Martu," the god who personified the West in Babylonian religion. Nudubtum was then very probably not a Babylonian, but a Syrian, and his cylinder is a product of Syro-Babylonian art, about 2000 B.C.

⁷¹ MYRES-RICHTER, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, pp. 36-39.

⁷² HALL, *O.C.G.*, p. 163, note.

We have further mention of Cyprus in the reigns of Thothmes III and Amenhetep III, if the (*Asi* or more correctly *A'seya*) of the Karnak inscriptions, the *Alasa* of others, and the *Alashiya* of the Tell el-Amarna letters (the Biblical *Elishah*) was really Cyprus.⁷³ This, however, seems for various reasons uncertain. *Asi* or *Alashiya* may really have been on the Cilician coast, the Aleian plain, where lay the cities of Mallos and Tarsus, as was formerly thought by Prof. SAYCE,⁷⁴ rather than in Cyprus, in spite of the name Ἀλασιώτις as the epithet of a god in Cyprus. No traces of the use of cuneiform have been found in Cyprus as we should have expected were it *Alashiya*, from which so many letters in Babylonian came to Egypt in Akhunaten's time. More Babylonian influence is apparent in Cyprus than in Crete, naturally enough, but it had no real effect on the culture of the island, which, the excavations show, was never semitized at this period.

The Minoan culture must have been introduced into Cyprus suddenly at some period after 1400 B.C. That much is certain. Invasion and conquest by Aegeans are definitely indicated. It is surely not going beyond the bounds of probability if we connect the conquest of Cyprus with the overthrow of Knossos, and ascribe both to the same cause, the forcible extension of the mainland Mycenaean ("Late Minoan III") culture over the Levantine world at the end of the fifteenth century B.C. But are we to regard the invaders of Cyprus as men, Achaians or not, from the Greek mainland, who had come by way of Crete, or were they expelled Cretans, Minoans forced to find a new home after the destruction of Knossos? The fact that they brought with them the third Late Minoan or Mycenaean style of art would be no bar to our acceptance of the second alternative, as we see that in Crete after the fall of Knossos the great style of art ("Late Minoan II") came immediately to an end, and the inferior derived ceramic style of the mainland invaders ("Late Minoan III") at once supplanted it among the Cretans, as it supplanted all other local styles of art in the Aegean. Possibly the colonists of Cyprus were a mixture of invaders and invaded—of expelling mainlanders (Achaians?) and expelled Aegeans. Tradition brings some of them from the mainland, and some from Ionia and

⁷³ Its identity with Cyprus has been accepted for some years, and is stated without question in the latest books, as by BREASTED in his *History of Egypt*.

⁷⁴ See RAMSAY, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 118 and note 13.

the islands.⁷⁵ It is possible that among the mainlanders may have been the first Greek-speakers to reach Cyprus. According to tradition the Paphians were of Arcadian origin, and the Cypriote dialect retained a resemblance to that of Arcadia in historic times. It is by no means impossible that there were already Indo-European Greeks among the mainland warriors who conquered Crete, and that some of them may have pressed on with the "dispersed" islanders to seek new homes in Cyprus.

Henceforward, Cyprus was a Greek land.⁷⁶ Greek civilization, whether first implanted by Greek-speakers or not (probably not), maintained itself, the Aryan Greek language arrived (when, we do not know), and in spite of the successive efforts at its absorption by Phoenicians and Persians, Turks and Franks, its nationality was always Greek and remains Greek to this day. We therefore cannot suppose that the aboriginal population was very different racially from the Aegeans, who evidently, when they came in the third Late Minoan period, mixed readily with the Cyprians, as, indeed, is indicated clearly enough by the archaeological evidence: the native pottery continued to be used along with the new style of the invaders.⁷⁷

With the Aegean or Greek conquest of Cyprus we may fairly connect those earliest settlements of Greeks on the Southern coast of Asia Minor which are commemorated in the legends of the coming of the Pamphylians: the mixed people of many tribes "descended from those who, on their return from Troy, were dispersed with Amphilochos and Calchas,"⁷⁸ and of the followers of Mopsos, who founded or rather re-founded the city of Tarsus in Cilicia.⁷⁹ In this

⁷⁵ See HALL, *O.C.G.*, pp. 129, 130.

⁷⁶ The Greek cities of Cyprus, which first appear in Assyrian history in the seventh century, are apparently already mentioned by the Egyptians in the thirteenth, about a century after the Conquest, if the view proposed above is correct. They occur in an inscription of Rameses III (DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, Pls. XI, XII) as *Salameski* (Salamis), *Katian* or *Katimu* (Kition), *Atal* or *Atile* (Idalion), and *Aimar* (Marion?). The identification was made by BRUGSCH, in SCHLIEMANN, *Ilios*, p. 749. I drew attention to it in *O.C.G.*, p. 169, where the hieroglyphic forms are given. The *-ki* at the end of the name of Salamis is interesting, as it shows that the Egyptian scribe was transliterating from an original text, probably of Phoenician origin, in cuneiform, and that he had inadvertently transliterated the cuneiform city-sign *-ki*, which he ought not to have done, after the name of Salamis.

⁷⁷ This was clearly shown by the British Museum excavations at Enkomi and elsewhere.

⁷⁸ HERODOTUS, VII, 91.

⁷⁹ For Mopsos, see RAMSAY, *op. cit.*, p. 116 ff.

connection it is to be noted that the *Danuna*, whose name is certainly the same as that of the Daanau or Danauna of later Egyptian records, who were apparently the Danaoi of Greek legend, already appear on the coast of Palestine at the time of the Tell el-Amarna letters,⁸⁰ not long after the date of the fall of Knossos. At the same time are mentioned piratical raids of the *Lukki*, or Lycians, on the coast of Alashiya,⁸¹ which we may well connect with probable attempts at this time of dispossessed Cretans to settle in Caria and Lycia, where now or later a debased Minoan culture seems to have been established.⁸² The legend of Sarpedon possibly refers to these events. Further westward, on the Asiatic coast of the Aegean, no attempts were now, or had ever been made by Aegeans or mainland Greeks to settle. Mr. HOGARTH has recently shewn⁸³ that this may with great probability be ascribed to the fact that during the whole of the Late Minoan period, and probably during the Middle Minoan period too, the West coast of Asia Minor was dominated by the Anatolian empire and culture of the Khatti, Kheta, or Hittites, of which the centre was at Boghaz Kyöi, beyond the Halys. The kings of Khatti carried their arms from the central plateau down the river valleys to the Aegean, and put up the well-known memorials of their victories on the heights of Sipylus and Tmolus. They may well have pressed further West into Greece itself: who can say that the legend of Pelops, the Anatolian foreigner who founded a dynasty at Mycenae to rule the Achaeans, and of Myrtilus his charioteer, does not possibly refer to an Anatolian invasion of Greece, which may have had more than we think to do with the wars of Knossos and of Troy?⁸⁴ Dr. WINCKLER's discoveries at Boghaz Kyöi⁸⁵ have told us the names of the kings who ruled the Khatti empire in

⁸⁰ No. 151 (London 30).

⁸¹ On the certain identification of the *Lukki* with the Lycians, see HALL, *B.S.A.*, VIII, p. 176. We need not suppose that the name of these Lycians (they called themselves in their own tongue *Ἰλμυλῖ*, *Ἰερμυλῖ*) reached the Palestinians and Egyptians through a Greek-speaking medium, which called them *Αυκτοί*: they may very well have been known as *Lukki* to the other East-Mediterranean peoples, and this name would easily be explained later by the Greeks as meaning "Wolf-folk," and an eponymous hero, *Lykos*, be invented for them.

⁸² PATON and MYRES, *J.H.S.*, XVI, pp. 264-267 (Excavations at Assarlik in Caria).

⁸³ In *Ionia and the East*, p. 47 ff., p. 75.

⁸⁴ HALL, *Mursil and Myrtilus*, in *J.H.S.* XXIX (1909).

⁸⁵ Published in the *Mitteilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, Dec., 1907.

the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries ; Shubbiluliuma (who is the Sapparuru, or Seplel, of the Egyptians), Aranda, Mursil or Mursilis (Maurasar), Mutallu (Mautenro), Khattusil (Khetasar), Dudhâlia, and Arnuinta, with whom, at the end of the twelfth century, our knowledge ceases. These were most powerful monarchs, able to dispute the sovereignty of Western Asia successfully with the Egyptian Pharaohs, and it is very probable that, as Mr. HOGARTH holds, they, and the culture which they represented, exercised so strong a domination on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor at this time, that no settlement, whether of Greek mainlanders or of islanders, of Achæians or Cretans, was yet possible there. The colonization of Ionia only became possible when, probably after the time of Arnuinta, the power of Khatti was shaken to its foundations by the great invasion of the Greek tribes, among whom Cretans largely figured, which poured by the land as well as the sea over all Western Asia till finally checked on the borders of Egypt by the generalship of the Egyptian king Rameses III (about 1180 B.C.). This was the last of the successions of convulsions in the Aegean world which had begun with the destruction of Knossos about 1400 B.C.

With a possible Aegean conquest of Cyprus, forming part of the same movement as that from continental Greece which overthrew Knossos and brought its great civilization and art to an end, we come to this period of war and migrations on the Eastern Mediterranean, which we may call the age of the "Peoples of the Sea." It corresponds to the third Late Minoan period in the history of the pre-historic Greek civilization and the Mycenaean thalassocracy in Greek legend. The "Peoples of the Sea" were the tribes of Danauna, Shakalsha (Shekhlah), Shardina, and Lukki, who are first mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters, sometimes as raiders, sometimes as Egyptian mercenaries,⁸⁶ and later with the addition of the Akaiuasha, Tuirsha, and the rest appear in alliance, now with the Kheta, now with Libyans, in attacks upon Egypt in the reigns of Rameses II, Menephtah, and Rameses III.⁸⁷ It is evident that the

⁸⁶ Like the *Danuna* and *Shardina*, the *Shakalsha* also are mentioned first in the Tell el-Amarna letters, if I am right in identifying with them, as I propose to do, the foreign mercenary warriors of the *Shekhlah* (*Šēḫlāli*), who were "expelled from Simyra by the rebel Abdashirta in the last years of Amenhetep III (Letter KNUDTRON 62 *passim* [p. 351 f.]).

⁸⁷ For a general discussion of the identification of these tribes see HALL, *B.S.A.*, VIII, *Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea*.

overthrow of the Knossian empire, though it may have been followed for a time by a Mycenaean dominion, was the signal for political anarchy in the Aegean. "The Isles were restless ; disturbed among themselves."⁸⁸ Probably the Achaians of Northern Greece moved South in force during the fourteenth century, causing extensive displacements of the Aegean population, which had to find homes elsewhere. Italians too probably entered the Aegean from the West. We find that in Eastern Crete a language was spoken in classical times which was not Greek but (according to Prof. CONWAY) Italo-Illyrian and akin to Venetic.⁸⁹ It has often been thought that the Shardina were Sardinians, even if the Shakalsha were not Sikels. It may be that this Western language in Crete is a relic of these Italian sea-rovers of the Mycenaean period. If so, we may still reconcile this view with the other that makes these tribes come from Asia Minor, and sees in the Shardina Sardinians and in the Shakalsha Sagalassians. The names may be connected ; there may have been settlements of these Italians in Asia Minor, not far from the coast.⁹⁰ On the other hand, if the Etruscans really came to Italy from the East, as the more modern theory seems to maintain,⁹¹ we have a contrary movement from East to West at this time. The Tuirsha may well have been these migrating Tyrrhenians. That the Shardina were not Aegeans is shown by the shape of their swords and shields (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1).⁹² The former are great broadswords, very different from the slighter Mycenaean weapons, and the latter are round like the Achaian shield in Homer, not 8-shaped like the old Minoan buckler.

Among these tribes we cannot identify any as Cretans, and possibly representatives of the old Minoans, except the *Uashasha*, the *Pulesti*, and possibly the *T'akarai*. I have identified the former with the name of the Cretan city of Axos (*Ἄξος*), of which, if we regard the *sha* termination as an ethnic suffix akin to the Lycian ethnic suffix *-aza* or *azi*, it is a perfect reproduction.⁹³ Prof. PETRIE has compared the name of the *T'akarai* with the modern place-name

⁸⁸ Inscription of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.

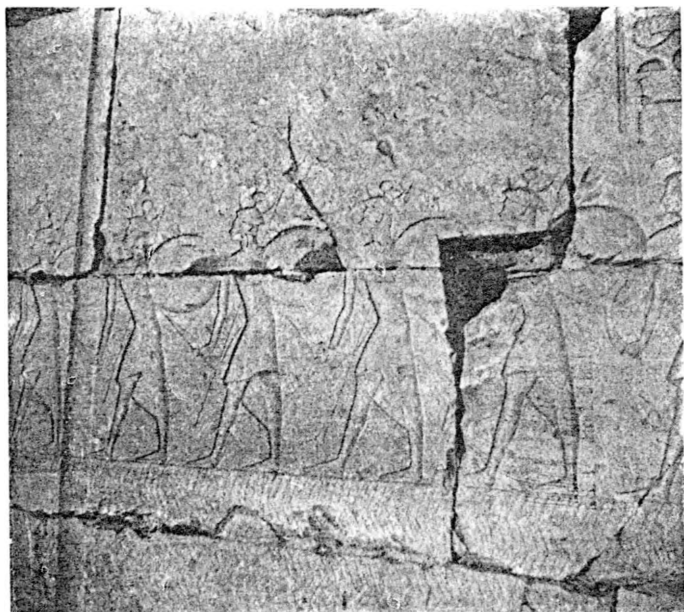
⁸⁹ CONWAY, *Prehistoric Inscriptions of Praesos*, in *B.S.A.*, VIII, pp. 125-156 ; X, pp. 115-126.

⁹⁰ HALL, in *Man*, VIII (1908), No. 48, p. 92.

⁹¹ See BURROWS, *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 109, note 3, and p. 125, note 6.

⁹² Photographs of reliefs on the outer wall of the temple of Rameses II at Abydos.

⁹³ HALL, *O.C.G.*, pp. 177, 178 ; *B.S.A.*, VIII, p. 184.



1

THE SHARDINA BODYGUARD OF RAMESES II.



2

A SHARDINA WARRIOR IN BATTLE



A PHILISTINE PRISONER *temp.* RAMESES III.

From a Relief at Medinet Habu

Zakro.⁹⁴ This comparison is of course uncertain, since we do not know how old the Zakro name is. But it is attractive. That the third tribe, the Pulesti, were Cretans, is indubitable. For they were none other than the Philistines: the uncircumcised *Pelishtim* and *Cherethim*, who dominated Southern Palestine for so many long years and as the Krethi and Plethi acted afterwards as the Varangian guard of their friend King David just as the Shardina had formed the life-guards of Rameses the Great.

I do not intend to recapitulate the grounds for this conclusion, which is now generally accepted, at length. The latest statement of them will be found in Dr. NOORDTJIJ's recent book, *De Filistijnen*.⁹⁵ It is evident that the tradition that makes the Philistines Cretans, and brings them from Kaphtor, which is plainly the Egyptian *Keftiu* (Crete), fits all the facts, whereas the idea that the Philistines must have been Semites because they lived in Palestine rests on a very insecure foundation. We now see that the population of Palestine was never purely Semitic. Before the Semites got there at all there was probably a Mediterranean population, akin to Egyptians, Cyprians, and Aegeans, from whom the worship of sacred pillars and trees (*maššeboth* and *asheroth*), so characteristic of Mediterranean religion, was communicated to the conquering Semites.⁹⁶ Later, we find that tribes of Anatolian (Hittite) and Indo-Iranian (Mitannian) origin (the latter Indo-Europeans) had penetrated far down South among the Semites, and in the Tell el-Amarna period formed an important part of the population. We all know how Hittites lived at Hebron, and we see that half the names of the condottieri and rebel leaders in the time of Amenhetep IV, even in South Palestine, were Aryan: I need only mention such a name as Shuyardata,

⁹⁴ *Hist. Eg.*, III, p. 151.

⁹⁵ *De Filistijnen: hun Afkomst en Geschiedenis*; Kampen, 1905; see also Principal MOORE's admirable article *Philistines*, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Dr. NOORDTJIJ is perhaps hardly critical enough in dealing with some of the material. For example, he accepts the anachronistic description in Gen. xx, xxvi, of the ruler of Gerar, Abimelech, as a Philistine, which Principal MOORE rightly rejects. Dr. NOORDTJIJ's uncritical acceptance of what is an obvious and quite natural mistake of a scribe as an historical statement compels him to suppose two Cretan settlements in Philistia; the first in patriarchal times! The fact that the Philistines are not mentioned in the numberless Egyptian inscriptions dealing with Southern Palestine during the wars of the XVIIIth dynasty is sufficient refutation of this unlikely proposition.

⁹⁶ This conclusion was first adumbrated by Dr. EVANS in his *Tree and Pillar-Cult* (*J.H.S.*, XXI, p. 130); see note ⁴¹ p. 145, *ante*.

which is obviously *Surya-dāta*, the "Sun-given" (= Heliodorus).⁹⁷ So that we can find nothing unexpected in an occupation of the Shephelah by Cretan warriors at the time of universal migrations and wars of the Aegean peoples which corresponds to "Late Minoan III," when Cyprus was invaded and occupied by Mycenaeans. But one cannot, without reserve, regard this occupation as an advance-guard of "Indo-Germanism," as NOORDTJIZ does,⁹⁸ true to the common belief, which he follows, that everything European must necessarily be "Indo-German." The Mitannians, not the Philistines, were the protagonists of "Indo-Germanism" in Western Asia, and they had come from the North-east probably. If the Philistines were descendants of the old Minoans, they were, as we have seen, probably not "Indo-Germans," from the North-west—from Europe—but Mediterraneans, *Vorindogermanen*.⁹⁹ The title of the five Philistine princes, the *serānim*, has been aptly compared with the Greek

⁹⁷ Tell el-Amarna Letters, WINCKLER, 167 ff. Other names of Aryan type are Biridiya (which I would identify with the later Persian Bardiya), Widya, Labaya, etc. These people are obviously Mitannians, whose kings bore definitely Aryan names, such as Artatama and Sauššatar (E. MEYER, *Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte: Sitzber. der kgl. preuss. Akad.*, 1908, p. 15).

⁹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 111; they are a "vooruitgeschoven post der Indo-Germanen."

⁹⁹ At the same time there is the possibility that they were *not* descendants of the old Minoans, the Kestians, from whom they differed considerably in costume, but people who came to Crete after the destruction of Knossos, and were in their turn expelled by others, probably the iron-using Northerners. These latter were no doubt the Indo-European Greeks, and though there may have been Northern Indo-Europeans among the conquerors of Knossos we have no right to suppose that the Philistines, even if they came then to Crete, belonged to the Aryan section of the invaders. Dr. MACKENZIE, to judge from his article dealing with the subject in *B.S.A.*, XIII (*Cretan Palaces*, III), would not admit that there were any Aryans among them at all; for him they were all continental "Pelasgi," of Aegean origin, who were driven back upon Crete by the pressure of the iron-using Aryan "Achaïans" from the North. But the question is still an open one. As regards the costume of the Pulesti, or Philistines, it can only be said that if they were lineal descendants of the Minoan "Kests" (as they are often rather slangily dubbed—one would prefer "Kestians"), they had altered their war-costume considerably in the two centuries that had elapsed since the fall of Knossos, having, to judge from the reliefs at Medinet Habu and the Biblical description of the armature of Goliath, adopted the corslet, great sword, round shield, and heavy spear, "like a weaver's beam," of the non-Aegean Shardina: whereas the Minoans had no armour and carried an 8-shaped shield. Their feather headdress is only found, in old Minoan days, worn by the archers defending a city, on the well-known fragment of a silver vessel (Late Minoan I) found at Mycenae (TSOUNTAS-MANATT, Fig. 95). This serious difficulty makes it by no means certain that they were aboriginal Cretans.

τέπαρρος. But the Philistines need not have spoken Greek. Τέπαρρος, which has not a very Indo-Germanic aspect, may well be one of those many Greek words which are of pre-Hellenic origin, and were taken over from the old Aegean speech, the language of the Knossian tablets, which, when deciphered, will probably be found to be akin to the non-Aryan Lycian and Carian.¹⁰⁰

That Aegean pottery was used by a large section of the population of the Shephelah at this very time has been shown by archaeological discoveries, especially at Tell es-Sâfi (Gath).¹⁰¹ The pottery is of the later style of "Late Minoan III," and would, if found in Greece, be dated as not earlier than about 1200 B.C., and probably later.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 373, 377.

¹⁰¹ BLISS and MACALISTER, *Excavations in Palestine 1898-1900*; p. 28 ff.

¹⁰² The pottery referred to is not simply the ordinary "L.M. III" (of which specimens were found at Tell es-Sâfi: BLISS and MACALISTER, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 34), but also includes the ware which was described by Mr. F. B. WELCH (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 347) as "of local origin," and is called by MESSRS. BLISS and MACALISTER, in the headings of Pl. 37-42 of *Excavations in Palestine*, where it is illustrated, "Palestinian Pottery: Pre-Israelite period." Pre-Israelite it is, but Palestinian only because it is Philistine, and doubtless was made in Philistia. So far it is "of local origin," but (though this was not so evident in 1900 as it is now) the character of its ornament is Aegean, and even specifically Cretan, and the style of its painting, which led Mr. WELCH to assign to it the late date of "centuries ix-vii" (*loc. cit.*, p. 349), need not belong to so late a period. Most of the patterns on the sherds shown on Pls. 37-42 of *Excavations in Palestine* (and more especially Pls. 39 (3, vi), 40, 41 (4 and 5, ii), and 42 (7)) are obviously "sub-Mycenaean," or "rather sub-Minoan" (Late Minoan III b or "IV"): the birds on many of these fragments (and especially on the large vase shown in Pl. 44) are simply debased versions of the birds on Cretan vases from Palaikastro (*B.S.A.*, IX, p. 318, Fig. 17; and X, p. 224, Fig. 7), from tombs near Phaestos (*Mon. Ant.*, XIV, Pls. 1, 2), and on a *larnax* from Anoyia-Messará (*Mon. Ant.*, I, Pl. 2): all of the third Late Minoan period, but evidently earlier in date than the sherds from Tell es-Sâfi. The vase of *Excavations in Palestine*, Pl. 44, simply shouts its Minoan origin at us: together with the bird and the spiral we find on it a peculiar Mycenaean architectonic ornament, the elongated rosette with a "rudimentary triglyph" through its centre, which was used for stone friezes, and is found applied to vases at Knossos (EVANS, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, Fig. 144). And the vases Pl. 35, Nos. 10 and 11, though also labelled "Palestinian," are ordinary late Mycenaean *skyphoi* of a type known for years from Ialysos and Kalymna. Needless to say, these resemblances (with the exception of the last) were not so easily recognisable a few years ago as they are now. We now see that most of the Pre-Israelite pottery found at Tell es-Sâfi is late Mycenaean (Late Minoan III) in style, though, no doubt, made on the spot, and its discovery by MESSRS. BLISS and MACALISTER is a brilliant confirmation of the Biblical tradition that brings the Philistines from "Caphtor and Casluhim."

Had we not the tradition that Cretans once occupied this land, and did we not know that Aegean conquerors, the Pulesti, passed through it in their attack on Egypt, we might have supposed that this pottery came to the Semitic inhabitants in trade. But knowing what we do of the foreign traits of the Philistines, and seeing their obvious identity with the Pulesti, we credit the legends, and see in the pot-fragments from Tell es-Sâfi the relics of the Cretan conquerors. So in the third Late Minoan period Philistia, as well as Cyprus, was added to the domain of Aegean culture.¹⁰³

The date of the conquest may be accurately placed in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The invaders had reached Canaan both by land and sea, and settled "in the midst of Amor" for a time until that ancient magnet, the wealth and fertility of Egypt, attracted them, and they marched South to win lands and booty from the Nilotes. After their defeat by Ramesses III (which is much more likely to have taken place at the Nile-mouths than on the Phœnician coast, where some historians¹⁰⁴ place it) they were thrown back into Canaan, and there they settled, constituting themselves a nation governed by five confederate tyrants (*serânim*), or city-rulers, each dominating an ancient Canaanite city. The Canaanite population no doubt remained, ruled, as were the Penestae and Helots in Greece by the Spartans, by their proud foreign lords, who essayed to establish their dominion over all Palestine, and for a time succeeded, in spite of the resistance of the Hebrews. That the warlike prowess of the Cretans made a deep impression on the Hebrews is shown by the tale of the fight of David (or Elhanan) with the giant Goliath of Gath, who was a "brazen man," and the double of the Cretan Talôs, the henchman of Minos, who frightened away Jason and the Argonauts from Crete.

The ancient Canaanite cities of the Shephelah were retained by the Philistines, who do not seem to have founded any new towns, with the possible exception of Lydda and Ziklag. Whereas Gaza, Ashkelon, and the rest, are often mentioned in the Egyptian lists of pre-Philistine days, Lydda is not, and its name may well be compared with the Cretan *Lyttos*. Ziklag, the settlement of the

¹⁰³ Even if the Philistines were not originally Aegeans, but continental Greeks who came to Crete at the time of the destruction of Knossos, their pottery, like that of the rest of the Greek world at the beginning of the twelfth century, was of Aegean style (Late Minoan III).

¹⁰⁴ E.g., BREASTED, *Hist. Eg.*, p. 480.

Cherethites, far inland in the Negeb, has a foreign-sounding name (needless to say I see no reason whatever why it should be corrupt), and may well have been a new Cretan foundation. In the ancient cities the Cretan culture, though doubtless debased by long war and migration, was imposed upon the Canaanite civilization. As in Crete, large buildings seem to have been erected. We hear of great temples at Ashdod and Ashkelon, and also of theatres in which crowds of the nobles and their retainers, besides the common people, could assemble under one roof to watch public spectacles. We are at once reminded of the "Theatral Areas" of the Cretan palaces of Knossos and Phaestos, and of the gladiatorial games that we know went on in them by the Biblical account of the exhibition of the captured Samson in the theatre of Gaza: "Now the house was full of men and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women that beheld while Samson made sport" (Judges, xvi, 27). We seem to see the lords and ladies of Knossos at the palace-sport, as they are depicted on the Knossian wall-paintings,¹⁰⁵ with crowds of faces of the men and women, of which the halls were full, and the court-ladies looking down from their balconies at the bull-leaping (*ταυροκαθίστησις*) and the boxing. So must many a Hebrew captive have been forced to make sport for the Philistines in their theatres, and the indelible memory of many such tortures is preserved for us in the last scene of the story of Samson.

The Philistine domination lasted little more than a century; in David's time they had weakened, and the Jewish king, who at first was their friend and secured his power largely with their help, after the death of the patriot leader, Saul, turned upon them and inflicted upon them the great defeat at Baal-perazim,¹⁰⁶ which put an end to their rule and marked the foundation of the Jewish kingdom. The Philistines were now more or less under the political domination of the king of Jerusalem; they were content to serve as his huscarles. It is evident that within a century of the conquest the Cretan invaders had already begun to be denationalized, and were mixing freely with the Semites around them. No doubt by the tenth century they no longer spoke Cretan, and had adopted Semitic names. The parallel to the history of the colonization of Normandy by the Northmen is

¹⁰⁵ *B.S.A.* VI, p. 46 ff.; *J.H.S.*, XXI, Pl. V.

¹⁰⁶ 2 Sam. v, 20.

exact. Within a couple of centuries of their conquest of Neustria Danish was no longer spoken or understood by them, and the Normans had become French. In Cyprus, on the contrary, the Greek nationality as we have seen, planted in more congenial soil, has persisted till the present day.

The short but splendid scene of the Philistines, stalking in their brazen mail among the foreign hills of Canaan, a terror and a horror to the Orientals, just as those other European warriors, the Crusaders, were to be two thousand years later, is the epilogue of the Minoan story. The play was now played out; the possible descendants of the Minoan thalassocrats, of the Great Men of Keftiu and of the Isles, perished as pensioners of a Jewish chief. The field of Baal-perazim was the prototype of the Horns of Hattin (1187 A.D.), and showed for the first time that Westerners, even Greeks, cannot so far acclimatize themselves as to found a stable state and retain their nationality amid an Asiatic population. And with the first assertion of this fact our summary of the connection of the pre-historic civilization of Greece with Egypt and the East closes. The *bügelkanne* of the third Late Minoan type was still used in Egypt, and was imitated by XXth dynasty potters, but by the eleventh century the increasing anarchy and growing barbarism of the Aegean world had brought all connection between Egypt and Greece to an end. The northern iron-users (Indo-Europeans and Greeks now, certainly enough!)¹⁰⁷ were pressing ever South, and their harsh geometrical art was extinguishing the last glimmer of the Old Minoan style. Debased as this was by poverty of idea and execution, due to incessant war and loss of culture, it deserved to perish; but its technique, the methods of the Minoan vase-painter, lived on. The "geometrical" potters derived their whole style of painting with lustrous glaze from the Minoans, and, we see that through them, the pedigree of the great Greek vase-painters can be traced back to the primitive artists of "Early Minoan II," contemporary with the Egyptian pyramid-builders.

¹⁰⁷ Whether they were the first "Achaïans" in Greece, as Prof. RIDGEWAY maintains, seems uncertain, in view of the probable identification of the "Akaiuasha" who attacked Egypt in Merenptah's reign with them. Others would make them the Dorians, and there may have been bronze-using Indo-European Achaïans in Greece before the iron-using people arrived. In any case, however, Prof. RIDGEWAY in his *Early Age of Greece* has, beyond question, established the original home of the iron-users on the Upper Danube, in the modern Styria and Austria, and has traced their progress southwards to Greece.

(To be continued.)

THE DISCOVERIES IN CRETE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

(Continued from page 238.)

Looking back, we see that the early Aegean civilization was as old as that of Egypt, probably, and for a time as great or greater. It is true that the Cretan artist never attained to the power of great sculpture in the round, as the Egyptian did at an early period; but, when we look at his architecture, and at his mastery of the toreutic art, we cannot deny that the pre-historic Greek was as great an artist as the Egyptian, and we see that, incontestably, it is to the Minoan—the non-Aryan—strain in his ancestry that the Greek of classical days owed that perception of beauty of form and love of imitating it, which produced Greek art. Without that strain he would have remained a barbarian, even as the Getan, the Thracian, the Macedonian, and other pure “Indo-Europeans.”

But until the welding of the two elements in the new Hellenic population was completed after centuries of war and barbarism, all connection with civilization in South or East was in abeyance. Phoenician merchants merely chaffered and stole slaves on the Greek shores: there was no intelligent intercourse with the Orient. Only in Cyprus the light of Minoan (or rather Mycenaean) art still flickered on in safe obscurity, preserved, perhaps, to re-kindle the torch of Greek art among the Ionians, in whose land the new civilization of Greece arose.

We have briefly surveyed the history of the connections with the South and East which enabled the civilization of Egypt and of Babylon—probably also the largely Babylonized Anatolian culture—

to influence that of the Aegeans, and have shown that Egypt at least was strongly influenced by the art and civilization of Crete. We have said nothing of connections between the Cretan culture and that of Phoenicia. All that can be said on the subject must be said as an epilogue to the main story. For the Phoenicians do not appear in the history of the Aegean lands till after the complete downfall of the first Greek civilization in the twelfth century, when Iron finally supplanted Bronze.

The Phoenician cities were important and flourishing long before Knossos fell in the fifteenth century,¹⁰⁸ and possessed many ships.¹⁰⁹ There is little doubt that, already, under the XVIIIth dynasty, they took their share in the carrying trade of the Mediterranean, and even that they sent ships to Crete.¹¹⁰ They were already middlemen between the Aegeans and Egypt,¹¹¹ but they were nothing more. Any attempt at settlement, even the building of a mere factory, in the Aegean at this time would have been quite impossible. This was even the case in Cyprus, which lay at their doors. We have no warrant whatever from archaeological discovery to suppose that there were any Semites in Cyprus before the eighth century. If there had been Phoenicians there before or during the Minoan age they would have been cuneiform-users, and not a tablet has been found in the island, nor any other trace of Babylonian culture beyond an occasional imported cylinder. (This, by the way, is an important argument against the identity of Cyprus with Alashiya.) Then, later on, the Minoan domination would effectually have barred the Phoenicians out. It may well be that there were no Phoenician

¹⁰⁸ As we see from the Egyptian references even as far back as the XIIth dynasty (SETHE, *Ä.Z.*, XLV (1908), p. 7 ff), Byblos was connected with Egypt very anciently. Prof. SETHE thinks it probable that large Egyptian ships sailed there under the XIIth dynasty, and were called *Ḳebnut*, "Byblos-farers" (*Ḳebn* or *Kapna* = Gublu, Byblos), a name which was transferred to all large ships, irrespective of where they went to. But we do not know that these ships were really Egyptian and manned by Egyptians. They are more likely to have been Phoenician, or other vessels in Egyptian service, and nominally commanded by Egyptian admirals, the real commanders being foreigners.

¹⁰⁹ Their ships are first mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters.

¹¹⁰ The "Kefiu-ships," mentioned by the Egyptians, like our "East Indiamen." It has been suggested by Dr. EVANS that the curiously un-Semitic love of the sea which distinguished the Phoenicians was really derived by them from the Keffians, with whom they came into contact on the Palestinian coast at an early period. Certainly the Aegeans were shipmen from the first, which no Semites were.

¹¹¹ HALL, *B.S.A.*, VIII, p. 174.

settlements in the island at all until after the decadence of its Minoan culture.

And, as far as Phoenician influence on Minoan culture is concerned, Mr. HOGARTH is no doubt fully justified in maintaining that it was the Minoan Cyprians who influenced the Phoenicians in art and culture rather than the Phoenicians who influenced the Cyprians.¹¹² The Phoenicians could teach even the decadent Minoans of Cyprus nothing, for they never possessed any art themselves. All they could do, then as later, was to make bad reproductions of the work of others.

At the same time, the part which the Phoenicians played in the world after the final fall of the Minoan culture must not be underestimated. Among the blind the one-eyed is king: and when Greece had sunk into barbarism, the peddling Sidonians appeared as bearers of culture, as the representatives of intelligence and civilization—at second hand, as we know. Mr. HOGARTH is, I think, inclined to minimize this fact somewhat.¹¹³ We cannot dismiss all the traditions of Phoenician thalassocracy, and even of actual settlement in Greece at this time, to the realms of fable. No doubt the whole Kadmos series of legends, connected with Thebes in Boeotia, has nothing whatever to do with the Semites: the Kadmeian Φοίνικες, the “Red Men,” were Aegeans, probably Cretan colonists like the Minyae. We may dismiss from history these Phoenicians at Thebes, where their position has always seemed slightly absurd. But it is otherwise with Corinth, and we can still credit the possibility that it was the Phoenicians who first saw the commercial importance of the Isthmus, and established themselves there with their worship of Melikertes (Melkarth).¹¹⁴ And other supposed traces of the Phoenicians in Greece are equally credible.¹¹⁵

In Cyprus we find, if not Phoenician “domination,” at any rate

¹¹² *Ionia and the East*, p. 91.

¹¹³ Although he fully recognizes (*op. cit.*, p. 85) the importance of the fact of the communication by the Phoenicians to the Greeks of the Alphabet, with its letter-names, and their order in the list. It is certainly unusual that the Phoenicians should have invented anything, even for commercial purposes, and it is by no means certain that they were really the inventors of the Alphabet, or not, perhaps, merely its communicators. Perhaps it was invented by other, more original, Semites: possibly by the Aramaeans or by the Israelites? The theory which finds its origin in an adaptation from Egyptian hieratic remains the most likely one, despite attempts to discredit it.

¹¹⁴ *O.C.G.*, p. 290.

¹¹⁵ *Ib.*, p. 226 ff.

Phoenician colonies at the beginning of the seventh century, when, in 673 B.C., the Phoenician Dumusi of Kartikhadasti submitted with his Greek colleagues to Esarhaddon.¹¹⁶ This colony, and no doubt others, had probably been founded long before. So that Mr. HOGARTH is hardly correct in saying¹¹⁷ that "there may have been earlier trading-settlements" before Xerxes in 479 B.C. sent to Tyre for a certain Baalmelek to found a dynasty at Kition, "but there is no good evidence to prove their existence." We have no right to assume that the Phoenician name of Kartikhadasti is a mere translation by Esarhaddon's scribes of an unknown Cypriote Neapolis; and Dumusi seems to be a Semitic name. In this instance we have good evidence of not merely a trading-settlement, but of a Phoenician state and dynasty in Cyprus two centuries before Baalmelek's time.¹¹⁸ But, as Mr. HOGARTH points out, many supposed Phoenician traces in Cyprus can now no longer be regarded as definitely Phoenician. Even the Aphrodite of Paphos is, as we now see, as much Minoan as she is Phoenician.¹¹⁹ And the Cinyrads seem neither Minoan nor Phoenician, but Anatolian.

In the seventh century the Greeks, a nation formed of the union of the Aryan Europeans with the descendants of the old Nilotic Aegeans and imbued with the civilized spirit of the latter, had begun to reassert their claim to their own seas and beyond. The Sidonians had gone back to the East, whither the Greeks followed them. What was once supposed to be proof of Phoenician settlement in Greece even as late as the seventh century, the egyptizing art of Kameiros in Rhodes, is now known to be the result of the Greek settlements in Egypt in the eighth century (which were combined at Naukratis later), and had nothing to do with the Phoenicians. And now, after a break of more than five centuries, the ancient connection between Greece and Egypt was renewed, to result, finally, in the assumption by a Greek of the crown of the Pharaohs. Then, when a Ptolemy repeated the triumphs of Thothmes and Rameses on the battlefields of Asia, the priestly archaeologists set to work to identify his tributaries with those of the ancient kings, and Greece, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and the rest appear on the temple walls and on the stelae in the guise of Hanebu, Asi,

¹¹⁶ III R. 16, col. v, 19-24.

¹¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹¹⁸ Mr. HOGARTH's view that there was no Phoenician dominance in Cyprus before Baalmelek's time (*loc. cit.*) may be correct, but seems hazardous.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Keftiu, and so forth.¹²⁰ Only, unluckily, the ancient archaeologists were often quite wrong in their identifications, and so they made Keftiu, which was Crete, into Phoenicia, and Asi (Alashiya) into Cyprus. Their mistake about Keftiu misled modern historians for years,¹²¹ till the discoveries at Knossos shewed that Keftiu was not Phoenicia, but Caphtor: Crete and only Crete,

μεσῶ ἐνὶ οἶνοπὶ ποντῶ.



POSTSCRIPT.—I have said nothing as to the possibilities of connection between the early Aegean culture and the apparently Neolithic “civilizations” of Asia which have been revealed by Prof. GARSTANG’s excavations at Saktjegözü¹²² on the borders of Syria and

¹²⁰ In the temple of Kom Ombo actual modern names, unknown to the ancient scribes, such as *Parsa* (Persia) and even *Hinto* (India), were mixed up with the ancient ones by the Ptolemaic inscription-writers, and I believe that the name *Keftar*, also at Kom Ombo, claimed by Prof. SAYCE (in his *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*) as the ancient true equivalent of Caphtor, really belongs to the same modern stratum, and was derived from a Jewish source. *Keftiu* is the real old equivalent of the Jewish Caphtor, which the Ptolemaic scribes copied as *Keftar*. W. M. MÜLLER pointed out in the *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Ges.* for 1900 that *Keftar* is a late form copied by the Egyptians from a Hebrew source. The place-name

𐤀𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍, also at Kom Ombo, which was read by Prof. SAYCE *Kesluhet*, and regarded by him as the Biblical Casluhim “whence went forth the Philistines” (Gen. x, 14), may just as well, as it stands, be read *Keserub*, and have nothing whatever to do with “Casluhim.” It may therefore be an entirely modern name like *Parsa* and *Hinto*. Only by supposing that it is a late transcription of an original 𐤀𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍, which is possible, can we regard it as

a Ptolemaic representative of an ancient name *Kesluhet*, which might be Casluhim. We have, however, no ancient example of it, while the ancient original of Caphtor, *Keftiu*, is constantly mentioned under the XVIIIth dynasty (see HALL, *Caphtor and Casluhim*, in *Man*, 1903, No. 92, p. 163).

¹²¹ Cf. MASPERO, *Premières Mèlès*, p. 192. The Keftians were first identified as Mycenaeans by STEINDORFF (*Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1892), and specifically with Cretans by v. BISSING (*Athenische Mittheilungen*, XXIII, p. 248, note 2) in 1898. The identification of Keftiu with Crete had been proposed by BRUGSCH forty years before, in 1858 (*Geographische Inschriften*, II, p. 88).

¹²² *Excavations at Sakje-Geuzi*, in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, I, p. 97 ff. The Neolithic ware of Saktjegözü apparently belongs to the same type of pottery as the geometrical ware of Cappadocia, published by CHANTRE, *Mission en Cappadoce*; and MYRES, *Early Pot-Fabrics of Asia Minor*, in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1903, p. 367 ff.

Cilicia, by M. DE MORGAN's at Tépé Moussian in Elam,¹²³ and by the work of the PUMPELLY Expedition at Askhabad (Anau) in Russian Turkestan (Transcaspia).¹²⁴ PÈRE LAGRANGE¹²⁵ argues in favour of a connection between Crete and Elam because we find bull's heads on Cretan and Elamite pottery and other objects, just as I argue in favour of a connection between Crete and Egypt because (among many other resemblances) bulls' heads are a common feature in Aegean and Egyptian religious art; but, after all, Crete and Egypt are close together, while Crete and Elam are far apart. We might regard Saktjegözü as an *étape* on the road—Prof. GARSTANG has discovered there fragments of pottery much resembling the late-neolithic geometric ware found by DE MORGAN at Moussian¹²⁶—if we could trace much resemblance between Aegean pottery and that of either Saktjegözü or Moussian. But we cannot: Aegean pottery was doubtless imported into Asia Minor, but the native wares no more resemble the Aegean than does the Moussian pottery, or that from Anau.¹²⁷ Neither in form nor in decoration is there much resemblance between the Moussian ware and the Aegean pottery of any age, except in ornament, a vague likeness occasionally to some of the latest "geometrizing" designs of Late Minoan III.¹²⁸ And this is only because Late Minoan III in its last stages was considerably affected by the geometric ornament of the native Cyprian wares and the Greek Iron Age vases of the Dipylon. One can see no connection whatever between either Crete and Elam, or Egypt and Elam, while Crete and Egypt were evidently closely connected.

¹²³ GAUTIER and LAMPRE, *Fouilles de Moussian*, in DE MORGAN, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, VIII (1905), p. 59 ff. The pottery is well figured, but it is a pity there is only one reproduction in colour.

¹²⁴ PUMPELLY and SCHMIDT, *Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau* (Washington, 1908). Fine illustrations in colour.

¹²⁵ *La Crète Ancienne*, p. 84.

¹²⁶ GARSTANG, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

¹²⁷ An unpainted vase from the Third "culture" (Copper Age) at Anau, South Kurgan (PUMPELLY and SCHMIDT, I, Pl. 12, No. 1) is, however, rather astonishingly like an Aegean type in shape: it has a great spout exactly like that of an Early Minoan *schnabelkanne*, and generally resembles the well-known Minoan "hole-spout vase" type, which begins in the same period.

¹²⁸ DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*, Figs. 236, 250, 251, etc. There is a "Late Minoan I" touch about a fragment (Fig. 199) with a curving wreath of blossoms, but this is evidently merely coincidence.

(To be continued.)

THE DISCOVERIES IN CRETE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

(*Continued from page 285.*)

But connections between Elam and Turkestan with Asia Minor (Saktjegözü and Cappadocia), and so with Cyprus on the one side, and with Central Europe and Northern (non-Aegean) Greece on the other, are by no means impossible, and seem to be indicated by the most recent discoveries. There are curious resemblances between the Moussian ornament and that of the native Cyprian pottery,¹²⁹ and there are rough parallels to be found with the "Dipylon" style.¹³⁰ But the most striking resemblance is between the Moussian geometric ornament, which is sometimes polychrome, and the often polychrome geometric designs of the non-Aegean sherds of the Neolithic period from Boeotia and Thessaly,¹³¹ which, again, are closely paralleled by designs on the pottery from Anau (Neolithic to "Copper Age"),¹³² and by some very interesting geometric fragments found at Kalavasò, near Maròni in Cyprus, by Mr. H. B. WALTERS, and now in the British Museum. Also the early geometric pottery of Cappadocia, published by CHANTRE and MYRES (see note 122 above), seems to be related on the one hand to the European series, on the other to the Moussian ware. Prof. MYRES published fragments of related wares found in the "Syro-Cappadocian" area, even as far east as Kouyunjik (Nineveh; Brit. Mus.), so that we have no great gap to traverse

¹²⁹ *E.g.*, DE MORGAN, Figs. 170, 286. The vase, Fig. 285, figured with No. 286, shows a style of decoration which is peculiar to Moussian, and has no parallel elsewhere.

¹³⁰ *E.g.*, Figs. 139, 143, 213.

¹³¹ *E.g.*, Figs. 148-163, 165-168. See p. 140, *ante*.

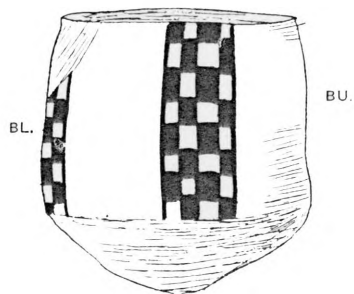
¹³² *E.g.*, PUMPELLE and SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, I, Pls. XXII and XXXII.

between the Cappadocian pottery and that of Elam. These wares vary considerably in technique. The use of a white slip, thick at Kalavasø and in the Cappadocian series, thinner in Greece, very thin at Kouyunjik, is characteristic of all, apparently (though with regard to Moussian our confirmation on this head is imperfect),¹³³ as it is of the more distantly related early wares of the Cypriote Bronze Age. In Thessaly the surface is sometimes burnished (Dimini). Coloured slips, often of the same buff or red colour as the pottery, are usual. The wares of Dimini and of Anau much resemble one another in this respect. The clays naturally vary in quality, from a rough unlevigated earth, which required a thick slip, in Cappadocia, to a fine homogeneous paste on the one hand at Dimini, and on the other at Kouyunjik and (judging from the descriptions) at Moussian and Susa.

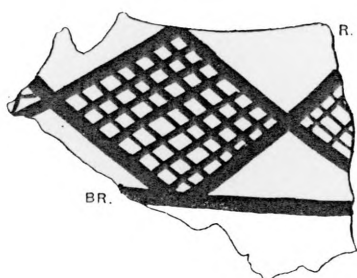
These resemblances make a theory of relationship very plausible. But we do not know how far the North-Greek and the Asiatic Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements were contemporary. The important questions of the dates of Moussian and Anau have yet to be settled. Neolithic remains in such a place as Saktjegözü ought to be very early. A similar conclusion for Moussian and Anau is maintained by their discoverers, though otherwise it would not seem absolutely necessary.¹³⁴ We have seen in the case of

¹³³ No information is given by MM. GAUTIER and LAMPRE on the important point of the existence or non-existence of a slip on the Moussian pottery: in no case are we told whether the designs are painted on a slip or on the actual clay of the vase. On the nearly-related Kouyunjik fragments the slip is very thin, and, being of the same colour as the body, is hardly noticeable. The Susian fragments, which also much resemble the Moussian pottery in appearance, seem, judging from the coloured illustrations at the end of Vol. I of DE MORGAN, *Déligation* (Pls. XIX-XXII), to have a thicker slip.

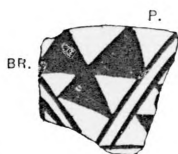
¹³⁴ It goes without saying that Mr. PUMPELLY's extremely remote dates (5200 B.C. for the end of the Neolithic period, and so 6000 or 7000 B.C. for much of the painted Neolithic pottery!) will not be accepted for a moment by any archaeologist. They are based solely on geological data, and conflict with our archaeological knowledge. Dr. SCHMIDT, the archaeological member of the expedition, does not commit himself to any precise dates in his contribution to *Anau*. M. DE MORGAN assigns the early date of 5000 (?) to 3000 (?) B.C. for the Moussian pottery, on account of the position at Susa of pottery of the Moussian type (see note 133 above) in strata underlying those of the historic period. Now that we know that Babylonian history does not extend so far back in time as used to be thought, we can see that the lower limit (3000 B.C.) assigned by him to the Moussian ware is, given the correctness of the observations at Susa, reasonable enough (see DE MORGAN, *Les Premières Civilisations*, p. 203). But



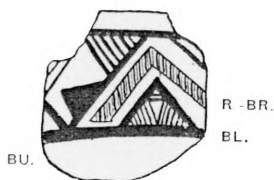
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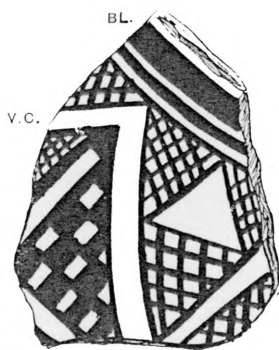
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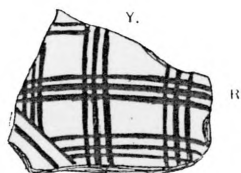
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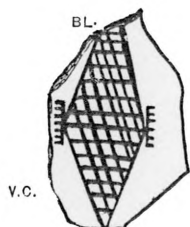
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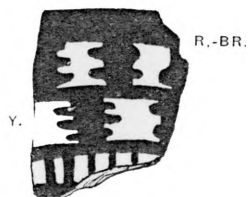
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Thessaly how a Stone Age culture could continue to exist cheek by jowl with a very highly-developed metal-using civilization.¹³⁵ The people of Moussian and Anau seem to have been in the act of passing from the Age of Stone to that of Metal—when, we do not know. The idea that all the nations necessarily adopted the use of copper or bronze, more or less at one and the same time, and later the use of iron at one and the same time, is not supported by the facts.¹³⁶ Human civilization has never developed on the orderly, even, and logical lines beloved of the too “evolutionary” historian and archaeologist.

It might be supposed that the resemblances between the patterns of these North-Greek and Asiatic ceramics are striking enough to argue, not merely homotaxy in culture, but also contemporaneity in time, more or less, so that Moussian and Anau will be contemporary with Zerelia, Dimini, and Chaironeia. But the only available evidence for the date of the Moussian pottery is that it is early, and till a flaw is found in the discoverer's reasoning, it must be taken to be early. The Anau ware, in view of the comparative proximity of the two places, probably belongs more or less to the same date (before 3000 B.C.). Between this date and the dates from Greece there is not so great a discrepancy as there would seem to be at first sight, for we do not know how *early* the Neolithic art of Northern Greece began, and it may well go back to 3000 B.C., or much earlier. We thus seem to find in Northern Greece and in Iran two closely related stone-using cultures, of which one reached the age of metal at a much earlier period than the other. It is not impossible that the Western branch of this Neolithic culture, which ended late, belonged to migrant tribes of the people of the Eastern branch.¹³⁷ If this were so, it

the question whether much of the Elamite pottery is not wheel-made (this would argue a later date; see note 137 below) makes it advisable to suspend judgment for the present on the question of its date.

¹³⁵ P. 140; p. 222, note 15, *ante*.

¹³⁶ For the case of iron, see *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 112 ff. And now the latest Greek evidence seems to show the same thing in the case of bronze.

¹³⁷ It might also be suggested that a trace of this connection or wandering is to be found in the geographical position of the Syro-Cappadocian wares midway between East and West. But there is a serious difficulty in that view, lying in the fact that Western Asia Minor, between Greece and Cappadocia, was in Late-Neolithic and Early Bronze Age times, the seat of the peculiar and distinct ceramic well known to us at Hissarlik, Yortan, and Boz Üyük, with its black-polished, red-faced, and grey fabrics, which must have formed a barrier hard to penetrate. More probably the actual line of connection passed North of the Black Sea. The

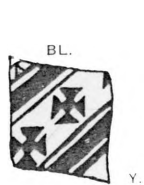
might be suggested, now that the theory of European origin for the Indo-Europeans seems doubtful and unproved, and the old idea of an Asiatic origin is again coming to the front,¹³⁸ that the geometric and often polychrome ceramic of Anau in Transcaspiæ, Moussian in Elam, Saktjegözü in Syria, Kara Üyük¹³⁹ in Cappadocia, Kalavasò in Cyprus,¹⁴⁰ Zerelia, Sesklo, and Dimini in Thessaly, and Drachmani and Chaironeia in Boeotia, with the nearly-related polychrome

Syro-Cappadocian group will then be the relic of a Southern movement of this art which did not penetrate as far West as the Aegean, finding its way barred. The Saktjegözü pottery, being Neolithic, must be at least as old as the Moussian pottery is said to be, and is probably the earliest known pottery of the type in the Southern area. The related wares from Cappadocia (at Kara Üyük and elsewhere; see note 139 below) seem later: we can trace unequivocal signs of Aegean influence in their ornament, and the fragments from Kouyunjik, mentioned above, are definitely stated to be "of Sargonid date" (seventh century B.C.) by Prof. MYRES (*loc. cit.*, p. 392). One or two of the fragments illustrated by Prof. MYRES are certainly Sargonide; but the rest (MYRES, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XLII, Figs. 40, 41, 44, 45 [Brit. Mus. Nos. S. 2236, S. 2250, 92981, S. 2413]) are judged by Mr. L. W. KING, from his knowledge of the mound and the character of the smaller objects found in its *débris*, to be quite possibly of earlier date. Of these possibly earlier fragments some seem almost identical, as to their ornament, with typical pottery from Moussian (*cf.* MYRES, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XLII, with GAUTIER and LAMPRE *passim*). They are, however, wheel-made. The only fragments from Kouyunjik not made with the wheel (Brit. Mus. S. 2383, 100697), have hitherto remained unpublished: they are illustrated here as shewing resemblances to typical patterns from Anau, Zille, and Saktjegözü, and Moussian also (*cf.* especially the peculiar pattern shown on Pl. XLIX, Fig. 13, with *Anau*, Pl. 25, Figs. 2, 4; and GAUTIER, Figs. 162, 163). Much of the Susian pottery illustrated by DE MORGAN (*Délégation*, I) looks wheel-made; and this would seem to militate against the early date assigned to it and the related Moussian ware by DE MORGAN (see note 134, above). But no doubt M. DE MORGAN would not shrink from the corollary that the potter's wheel was invented by the Neolithic Elamites, and communicated by them to the rest of the world, like their system of decoration (see note 143 below).

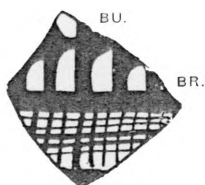
¹³⁸ See MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, I, ii (second edition, 1909), p. 184 ff.

¹³⁹ Kara Üyük was the site explored by CHANTRE, who also found pottery of much the same type at Boghaz Kyöi. The most important other examples of this ware from Anatolia were some found by Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT at Küriük Kale (Eccobriga) in Galatia (see *J.H.S.*, XIX, p. 38), and some which came from Zille, near Amasia (MYRES, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XL, 1 and 7); these are in the British Museum.

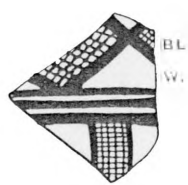
¹⁴⁰ Are we to ascribe the Kalavasò fragments to some Indo-European invaders of Cyprus from Northern Greece, towards the end of the Minoan age, or did they come from Asia Minor, a prolongation of the Southern movement to Saktjegözü? The latter hypothesis is the more probable of the two, for the Kalavasò ware, with its thick slip, resembles the Cappadocian much more than the North-Greek pottery. There is no proof that the Kalavasò people were stone-users, and no stone weapons have been found in Cyprus.



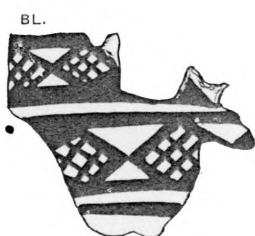
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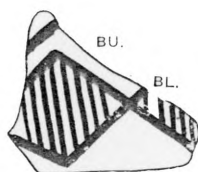
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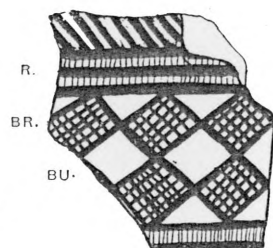
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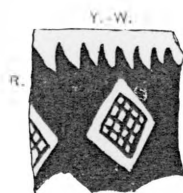


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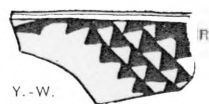
GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ASIA.



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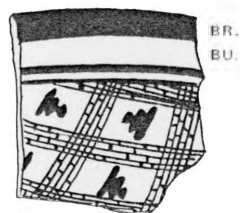
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GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM NORTH GREECE.

ceramic of Galicia and South Russia,¹⁴¹ represents the oldest art of the Indo-Europeans, as opposed to the "Aegean" ceramic of the Southern art-circle of the non-Aryan "Mediterraneans" (which *ex hypothesi* was ultimately co-originate with the Egyptian art-circle). The North-Greek pottery will then be the ancestor of the geometric ware of the "Dipylon," as its producers were the ancestors of the Aryan Greeks, Achaians or Dorians.

However this may be, the possibility of a Southern origin for the people who made the North-Greek Neolithic pottery is rendered less probable by the Asiatic discoveries. But the possibility that the development of the whole Northern art was only effected under the influence of the Southern "Aegean" art still remains probable if the Asiatic pottery is contemporary with that of Thessaly, which, as we have seen, comes down to a period well contemporary with the Middle, almost the Late, Bronze Age of the Aegeans. That is to say, the Aryan North probably owed its artistic and cultural development to the influence of the great art and civilization of the non-Aryan South.¹⁴²

In the plates which illustrate this Postscript I have collected typical specimens of the Northern style of ceramic decoration, from Anau, Moussian, Kouyunjik, Saktjegözü, Kara Üyük in Cappadocia, and from the Boeotian and Thessalian sites, drawn after the publications of DE MORGAN, PUMPELLE, GARSTANG, TSOUNTAS, WACE, and SOTIRIADIS. From these a just idea of the resemblances which I have here pointed out may be gathered, and the common contrast which all afford to the decoration of Aegean pottery noted.¹⁴³ The

¹⁴¹ Described by BURROWS, *Discoveries in Crete*, ch. XI.

¹⁴² Probably during the Middle Minoan period, which marked in many respects the apogee of Aegean civilization and art. We see unmistakable traces of the Minoan or Aegean influence in the pottery of Dimini, where the Aegean spiral is combined with the Northern geometric decoration (TSOUNTAS, *loc. cit.*, Pls. XXV ff). During the Late Minoan age, when the use of bronze was becoming known in Northern Greece, we see a steady degeneration of the local ceramic styles analogous to that which we observed in Crete a thousand years earlier or more (see p. 137). But the tradition of the native Northern styles survived, and we may perhaps see in the decoration of the pottery of Dimini, Sesklo, and Chaironeia the parent of the geometric style of the "Dipylon," which supplanted the Old Minoan styles. The introduction of this style is usually ascribed to the Dorians, the most "Indo-European" of the Greeks, but this will remain uncertain so long as the historical position of the Achaians is still unsettled (see RIDGEWAY, *Early Age of Greece*; and MACKENZIE, *Cretan Palaces* (B.S.A., XIII), for widely differing conclusions).

¹⁴³ The contrast is still more marked in the case of the Moussian pottery with

Moussian ware is usually violet-black or red-brown on buff, or greenish-yellow ("vert clair") or grey; the Anau ware has the same colours with a brighter red and a chocolate colour, sometimes on a red or violet ground; the Saktjegözü ware is black on buff or yellow; the Thessalian ware is, in its first stage, red on yellow or white, in its later stage black or chocolate-brown on buff; the Boeotian is red or chocolate on buff. The Kalavasò ware, which probably will be published soon by Mr. WALTERS, is red on buff. As has already been said, the ground is usually a slip; the actual clay of the vases is of varying consistency and colour. Some of the pottery from Moussian and Anau is wheel-made; all the Greek ware is hand-made.

I ought not to close this postscript without a reference to the views of Dr. WINCKLER on the subject of an early connection between Greece and Babylonia. I did not refer to his recent pamphlet in the "Alter Orient" series (*Die Euphratländer und das Mittelmeer*) in the main body of my paper because, frankly, it did not seem to me that Dr. WINCKLER had made any important contribution to our knowledge of the subject. He writes from a "Panbabylonian" standpoint, and for him the Minoan culture seems to be more or less of Euphratean origin. His acceptance of the historical character of the supposed conquest of Cyprus by "Sargon of Agade" (which I deny), leads him to suppose still further Western conquests by his Babylonian hero, as far as "Crete, the islands (*sic*) of Rhodes, and finally the Greek continent" (p. 10). This seems wild enough, but next we are told that "Sargon" probably set up monumental stelae commemorating his victories (presumably in Greece), like that of Narâm-Sin at Amid which commemorates the conquest of Elam. "These (stelae like that of Narâm-Sin) may serve for us as specimens of the monuments [of Sargon], as 'the West' saw them in those days and as they may well have been stared at with astonishment by a population, which came after the one which received its laws from Babylon [*sic*], of new immigrants into that

representations of animals, which I have not shown, as nothing analogous has been found either at Anau or at the Greek sites. I am unable to see the resemblance which M. DE MORGAN thinks he can trace between these representations and the figures of men and animals on the Egyptian predynastic pottery, and am far from believing with him that the Egyptian painted ware owed its origin to an inspiration from Babylonia and Elam (*Premières Civilisations*, p. 203). For M. DE MORGAN the Elamite ware is apparently the source of all ceramic decoration throughout the Near East.

territory, by whom the great centre of intelligence on the Euphrates was again pushed into the far distance."¹⁴⁴ This is rather difficult to follow; and is Dr. WINCKLER hinting at a derivation of the laws of Minos from those of Khammurabi? He has no right to do so. Certainly he does hint that Minoan art was largely derived from a contemplation of these mythical monuments of the Sesostis-like Sargon of his theory; and a proof of this derivation is supplied in the well-known fragment of a silver cup with the relief representation of the slingers and archers defending a city, found at Mycenae. True, "the Mycenaean piece" cannot be so old as the time of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, "but the inner spiritual relation is present without doubt" (p. 12). All this seems mere moonshine. A cautious observer will not be able to see any certain traces of Babylonian influence on the Minoan culture except the use of the clay tablet for writing. The use of the cylinder-seal by the Minoans might almost as well have been derived from Egypt as from Babylon.¹⁴⁵ A vague breath of culture-influence may well have been transmitted through Anatolia from Babylon to Greece, but that it was weak and intermittent is obvious from the fact that it left only one certain trace of its existence, while the Egyptian influence in the Aegean, and the Aegean influence in Egypt, left many and ineffaceable marks upon the art and civilization of both countries.

The whole question of early Babylonian influence in the West will be treated by Mr. L. W. KING in his forthcoming *History of Sumer and Akkad*.

CORRIGENDUM: on p. 223, l. 31, for "in the reign of Rameses II, a century after its adoption," read "in the reign of Rameses III, two centuries after its adoption." The polychrome pottery tile-decoration of the palace of Rameses III at Tell el-Yahudiya was the swan-song of polychrome faïence in Egypt; for vases polychromy had been abandoned earlier, about the time of Rameses II.

¹⁴⁴ "Diese können uns also als Proben der Denkmäler gelten, wie sie damals 'der Westen' zu sehen bekam und wie sie dort noch lange angestarrt worden sein mögen von einer Bevölkerung, welche nach der kam, die ihre Gesetze von Babylon empfing, von neuen Einwanderern in jenem Gebiete, denen der grosse Geistesmittelpunkt am Euphrat wieder in weite Ferne gerückt war" (p. 11).

¹⁴⁵ Though, on the face of it, a Babylonian origin is more probable. The few cylinder-seals found in Greece outside Cyprus are usually of Minoan workmanship, and bear purely Minoan designs (e.g., one from Palaikastro in Crete, *B.S.A.*, VIII, p. 302).

THE PLATES.

The letters attached to the figures indicate the colours :—BL. = Black. BR. = Brown. BU. = Buff. P. = Pink. R. = Red. W. = White. Y.-W. = Yellow-White. Y. = Yellow. V.C. = "*Vert clair*."

PLATE XLVIII.

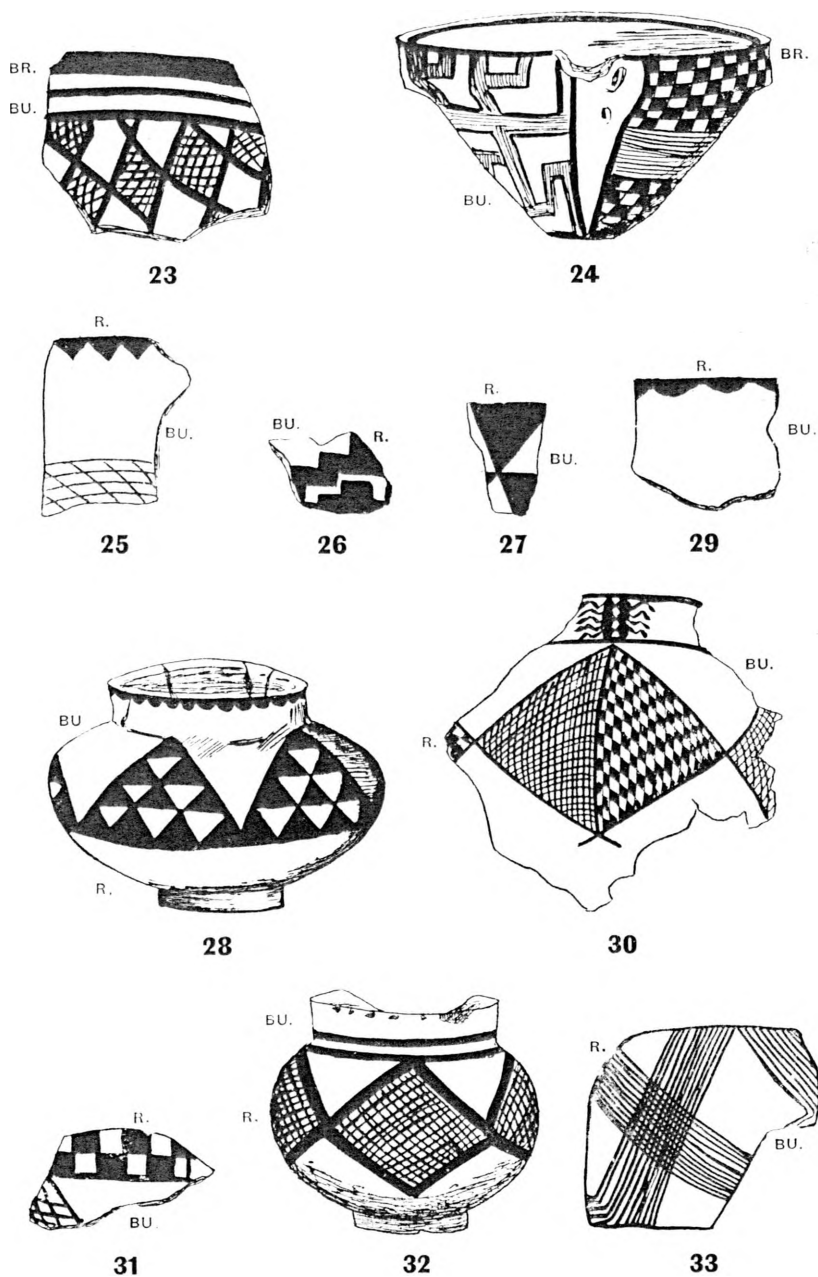
Nos. 1-4.	Anau, N. Kurgan	...	...	(After PUMPELLY.)
„ 5.	„ S. Kurgan	...	...	„ „
„ 6-11.	Tépe Moussian	...	...	(After DE MORGAN.)

PLATE XLIX.

No. 12.	Tépe Moussain	...	...	(After DE MORGAN.)
„ 13, 14.	Kuyunjik	...	...	(B.M. No. S. 2383 and 100697.) (<i>Not previously published.</i>)
„ 15, 16.	Saktjegözü	...	...	(After GARSTANG.)
„ 17.	Kara Üyük	...	...	(After CHANTRE.)
„ 18-21.	Sesklo, and Dimini first style	...	...	(After TSOUNTAS.)
„ 22.	Dimini second style	...	...	„ „

PLATE L.

No. 23, 24.	Dimini second style	(After TSOUNTAS.)
„ 25, 26.	Zerelia	(After WACE.)
„ 27-33.	Chaironcia	(After SOTIRIADIS.)



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