

# MINOS THE DESTROYER RATHER THAN THE CREATOR OF THE SO-CALLED 'MINOAN' CULTURE OF CNOSSUS

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IN 1896 the present writer ventured to suggest that Cnossus would eventually prove to be a great seat of the Aegean culture because of its extraordinary prominence in legendary history as the seat of Minos and from the fact that already on the spot were known the ruins of a prehistoric palace, and that pottery and gems of a style similar to those found at Mycenae had also been found on the site. The old school of Greek archaeologists and historians laughed at him for his credulity in believing that any such person as Minos had ever existed. But notwithstanding this, in 1901 he repeated the same belief—that Cnossus would prove to be one of the chief *foci* of the Aegean culture. Before his book was printed off, Dr. A. J. Evans had already made the first of those memorable discoveries which will always be associated with his name. Since then Minos has rapidly grown in popularity. Dr. Evans found a great hall with a very remarkable chair at one end. This great chamber with its stately throne he considers to be the hall and throne where the real Minos sat in judgement, and he holds that owing to the fame of this great presence-chamber and its chair Minos is represented in the *Odyssey* as judge of the Dead. So far all was well.

But Dr. Evans, not unnaturally, was carried away by the splendid discoveries which had rewarded his perseverance and sagacity. Unfortunately he was not content to describe the site and remains at Cnossus by a colourless scientific nomenclature and without any question-begging epithet. He applied the term Minoan not only to the culture found at Cnossus and to similar remains found elsewhere

in Crete, but he even desired to extend it to the whole of the Bronze Age culture of the Aegean. In this he was immediately followed by almost all other British Archaeologists, and also by the Americans and Italians. At the Cambridge meeting of the British Association in 1904, I protested against the use of the term 'Minoan' by my brilliant friend, and other scholars have since argued against its employment. But protest was in vain. Professor J. L. Myres, Professor Burrows, and others of the same school, not only persisted in applying the term to the Aegean culture, but have extended its use to a greater degree than Dr. Evans himself has ever done. Thus they not only now speak of the 'Minoan language' when treating of the pictographic and linear writings found at Cnossus, but they have even gone the length of making it into an ethnic, speaking of the whole population of Crete and the Greek islands as 'Minoans'. They avowedly wish to supplant by this term the historical names of Pelasgians and Achaeans, whilst Professor Burrows would fain wipe out the Eteocretans from the early history of Crete and apparently would erase the Carians from the annals of the Aegean. Professor Burrows, when writing of Pelasgians and Achaeans, maintains 'that what we want at the present moment is to clear the air of them: There is a danger that facts are being obscured by names',<sup>1</sup> and he adds a threat that 'those who do not adopt the term "Minoan" will find that they have dropped behind'. With his remark that 'facts are being obscured by names', I am in hearty accord, but it never occurred to Professor Burrows that it was by the use of the name 'Minoan' that the facts of early Aegean history are at the present time being not only obscured but distorted. Professor J. L. Myres<sup>2</sup> has taken up much the same position as Professor Burrows.<sup>3</sup> Yet these gentlemen are not very consistent, as one might cite various passages from their writings where they relapse into the ancient nomenclature. Thus, although it is said to be foolish for me to speak of the Achaeans as a real people and undoubted factors in early Greek ethnology, yet Professor Burrows does not hesitate, when speaking of certain tribes called Thuirsha and Akaiuasha (or Aqayuasha) in an Egyptian inscription who appear to have invaded Egypt in the reign of Merenptah (1234-1214 B.C.), to say that the names of these invading tribes 'can with scarcely a doubt be equated with Achaeans, Teuceri, and Danai'.<sup>4</sup> There is indeed a high probability that the Akaiuasha of the Egyptian inscription were the Achaeans. But why is it probable? Is

<sup>1</sup> *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1907, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

it because an Egyptologist made a clever guess, and Professor Burrows believes that he is right? Is it not rather because the clever Egyptologist recognized in the inscription a name familiar through all Greek history? The whole strength of his suggestion lies in the historical facts, that there was a Roman province called Achaia, that this province took its name from an ancient division of Peloponnesus called Achaia, which in Macedonian times formed the famous Achaean League, that this Achaia had been so called from the time of the Dorian conquest when the remnants of a people called Achaeans, who had lived and reigned for several centuries in Argolis and Laconia, took refuge there, and that all Greek tradition tells us that these were the Achaeans who are represented in the Homeric poems as the lords of Thessaly, Argolis, Laconia, Elis, and the overlords of the rest of Greece, as having settlements in Crete, and making descents upon Egypt from that island. But this is the very evidence of which Professor Burrows wants to 'clear the air', and thus our only reason for believing in Homer's Achaeans for the future must be founded on the resemblance of the word Akaiuasha in the Egyptian inscription to Achaioi—not a very solid basis for an historical belief.

But it is typical of the school to which Professor Burrows and Professor Myres belong to invent new ethnics, when by their unscientific speculations they have involved themselves in inextricable difficulties. Thus Professor Burrows is an ardent believer in the 'Celticans', who have been invented in order to defend the untenable position that the aboriginal people of the British Isles were non-Aryans. These aborigines had to be changed miraculously in a couple of centuries into a Gaelic people, not only using an Aryan vocabulary, but with an accurate use of the Aryan tense system. I have dealt with the 'Celticans' in another publication of the *Academy*,<sup>1</sup> and I now propose to show that the 'Minoans' had as little reality in fact and history as the 'Celticans'.

Let us listen to history and tradition and hear what they have to tell us. Their voices may sometimes be thin and piping through extreme old age, but yet year after year the confirmation of their truthfulness rises up out of the very ground. Quite recently Professor Lecoq has shown that the tradition of Ptolemy the geographer respecting certain peoples in Eastern Turkestan is amply substantiated, not only by paintings, but by records written in a language of the West European type.

In our present investigation we shall commence with the archaeo-

<sup>1</sup> 'Who were the Romans?'

logical evidence and then compare it with the literary traditions. Let us turn to Dr. Evans's splendid discoveries at Cnossus.

**The Neolithic Remains.** The earliest evidence of human occupation is a large deposit of Neolithic age. From its thickness Dr. Evans computed that the Stone Age people must have dwelt on the site for over 10,000 years. But, as geologists well know, all computations of time based on such data are precarious, whilst a later discovery made by Dr. Evans himself proves that we must be cautious in assuming that the thickness of the Neolithic deposit is wholly due to gradual accumulation in the Neolithic period. Dr. Evans originally believed that the ground under the 'Grand staircase' was a solid accumulation during a long period, but his investigations in 1907 convinced him that this great mass really consisted of made-up earth. If, therefore, at one place under the palace the Neolithic stratum is not the result altogether of slow accretion, but consists of materials brought together by some builder of a later date, we must suspend our judgement respecting the length of the period during which the site was inhabited by men of the Stone Age, although no one can doubt that this may have been for a very long period.

**The Minoan Periods.** All the strata above the purely Neolithic Dr. Evans terms *Minoan*. Of this Minoan period, which he believes to have extended over several thousand years, he makes three main divisions:—*Early Minoan*, *Middle Minoan*, and *Late Minoan*. Each of these he again subdivides into three periods, thus making nine in all in fanciful adjustment to the nine years which Minos had attained when he became king.

By the simple substitution of *Cnossus* for *Minoan* Dr. Evans's chronology can be retained and at the same time made scientific in nomenclature. But for the present I shall retain his own terminology in summarizing the characteristics of the various periods.

**Early Minoan I.** This deposit reaches a depth of 17 feet. In it continues the black hand-polished pottery of the Neolithic Age, though the effect produced in that period by incised lines with a white filling is now obtained by paint laid on the flat. Dr. Evans proposes to synchronise this period with the first four Egyptian dynasties for reasons soon to be stated. But at present it is impossible to date with any accuracy the early period of Egyptian history. Lepsius placed the beginning of the First Dynasty at 3892 B.C., and this Evans has adopted; Professor Meyer brings the date down to 3315 B.C.; Professor Petrie formerly placed it at 4777 B.C., but now has pushed it back to 5510 B.C., and sets the

beginning of the Fourth Dynasty at 4731 B. C. For the synchronism of Early Minoan I with the early Egyptian period Evans relies on the following evidence:—(1) Petrie<sup>1</sup> thinks that the black hand-burnished pottery is 'indistinguishable in colour, burnish, and general appearance' from certain pottery found by himself in the tombs of Dynasty I at Abydos, and he suggests that this pottery may have been imported from Crete. (2) There are three stone vessels—syenite, diorite, and liparite—which are like well-known Egyptian types, and are therefore held to be either importations from Egypt to Crete, or copies from early Egyptian prototypes. But it has been pointed out<sup>2</sup> that there is no direct evidence that these three stone vessels were found in Early Minoan deposits at all. The syenite vase is placed by Dr. Mackenzie, Dr. Evans's assistant, in Middle Minoan I; the diorite vessel was found (1902) 'among some débris from the south wall' of a store closet that contained a number of vases of Middle Minoan III.<sup>3</sup> The liparite bowl was found the same year in 'disturbed earth' on the east slope near some store-rooms containing Middle Minoan pottery.<sup>4</sup> It is further held that (a) vessels of these kinds may have continued to be manufactured in Egypt for a very long time, and (b) that even if the examples were certainly of the earliest Egyptian period, owing to their durability they might very well be found in deposits very many centuries later than the date of their own manufacture.

**Early Minoan II.** To this period Evans assigns vases, which are characterized by a great freedom of design and variety of shape. In addition to straight lines simple curves are now used in decoration, and vessels with long horizontal spouts or 'beaks' are coming into use.

**Early Minoan III.** It is in this period that the Cyclades seem first to come into close connexion with Crete. Hitherto the Cycladic culture was apparently ahead of that of Cnossus and the rest of Crete. Representations of the human form of a type even more rude than the marble figurines of Amorgos have been found in Crete in the *tholos* at Hagia Triada along with very short triangular copper daggers, vases of the incised ware of the Neolithic period, and seals of a conical or cylinder shape. But it is in this period that marble figurines of the regular flat technique, so common in Melos, Amorgos, Paros, and other islands, make their appearance in Crete. With this epoch also are contemporary the beginnings of the First City at

<sup>1</sup> *Method and Aims of Archaeology*, p. 166, Fig. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Burrows, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. viii, pp. 88-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123, Fig. 74.

Phylakopi in Melos, and the Second City at Troy (though it may have begun earlier and lasted longer).<sup>1</sup>

It is also in this period that Egyptian influence begins to be strongly felt in Crete, for the Cretan seals now show primitive pictographs which are supposed to be derived from the so-called 'button' seals of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> These became common in Egypt under Dynasty VI, the beginning of which is placed by Petrie<sup>3</sup> in 4206 B.C., and by Meyer<sup>4</sup> in 2540 B.C.

Evans places the end of Early Minoan III at about 3000 B.C., and to this period he assigns the beginning of polychrome painting.<sup>5</sup> But here arise doubts. Dr. Mackenzie<sup>6</sup> holds that the beginning of polychrome decoration and the development of a true spiral system cannot be assigned to any period earlier than Middle Minoan I, and to this later epoch he assigns three important early deposits of the palace at Knossos, which Dr. Evans regarded (1904) as the 'best evidence' for the culture of Early Minoan III.<sup>7</sup> Incised pottery of the Neolithic type is found in Early Minoan II and III, either as a survival or a revival, more probably the former.

**Middle Minoan I.** To this period, as we have just seen, Dr. Mackenzie assigns the beginnings of polychrome painting and the development of the true spiral. At Knossos, side by side with monochrome vases with the design in lustrous black varnish on buff clay slip, occurs lustrous polychrome decoration in white, yellow, orange, red, and crimson, on a lustrous black varnished ground.<sup>8</sup>

Along with the spiral decoration a naturalistic tendency now appears; a fragment of pottery shows three Cretan wild goats and behind them an object like a beetle. A pictographic script likewise distinguishes this period. Although of course there must have been habitations of some kind on the site of Knossos during this and the previous periods, no traces of such have as yet been discovered. The most that can be said is that there are some pits, which may

<sup>1</sup> Dawkins, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, p. 195; Tod, *ibid.*, ix, p. 342; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation Minoïenne*, p. 7; *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, viii, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Sinai* (1906), p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Abhandl. d. Königl. Preuss. Akademie*, 1904, p. 178.

<sup>5</sup> *Essai de Classification*, &c., p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 244-6.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. x, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. xi, Plate I; *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxvi, Plates VII, IX, X, XI.

have belonged to some large dwelling. There are distinct signs that this period was brought to a close by a general catastrophe.

**Middle Minoan II.** In this period there are undoubted traces of what may be called the early palace. From the pits and the basement, which are assigned to this period, it would appear that the walls were of small rough masonry unlike the splendid and regular buildings of later days.<sup>1</sup> Though there are remains, the character of its plan and construction have to be inferred from the remains of the splendid palace at Phaestus, which from the evidence of vases is proved to be contemporary. It is from the floor-deposits occurring in almost all parts of the site that we infer that Cnossus at this time was not inferior to its sister city. In the pottery polychrome is now the rule, monochrome being only found in the common ware. This is the period of the Kamares ware in its highest development, with its thin fabric, elegant designs, and delicate colouring, exemplified in its cups and bowls.<sup>2</sup> Some of these have designs stamped in low relief.<sup>3</sup> The patterns are usually geometric with zigzags, crosses, spirals, concentric and semi-circles, whilst large surfaces are covered with plain dots. Designs from plants are rare, and when they do occur they are very conventional. This period, like Middle Minoan I, came to an end with a general catastrophe. In several parts of the palace large numbers of vases of the best polychrome style were found lying together on a floor in position and practically undamaged. Between them and the remains of the next period intervene a considerable depth of earth.<sup>4</sup>

**Middle Minoan III.** To this period belongs the main plan of the palace, as it now survives, especially its western portion, though changes in and additions to this part were made even in a later period. The temple Repositories west of the Central Court and a number of apartments on its north-east side were built in Middle Minoan III, but were covered up in the next period. The vases display a beautiful naturalism, as evidenced by a little boy painted in blue, gathering white crocuses in a field, and arranging them in a vase. Even his flesh is painted blue.<sup>5</sup> There are also delicate lily patterns in white on lilac or mauve ground, but polychrome is being

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. ix, p. 17; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii (1901-2), p. 120, Figs. 70-1; *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxiii, Plates V, VI; vol. xxvi, Plate VIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. viii, p. 118; Hogarth and Welch, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxi, pp. 81-3; Mackenzie, *ibid.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 172-4; xxvi, pp. 254-7; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. x, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Evans, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. vi, p. 45; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

superseded by a naturalism. In the temple Repositories vases imitating prototypes of a different material occur. These vessels were imports from Melos, which from this time onwards shows a close contact with Cnossus. These vessels are reminiscent of skin prototypes.<sup>1</sup> There are also vessels of native manufacture in serpentine imitating leather or wicker-work<sup>2</sup> and also knobbed and roped jars of large size, the decoration of which represented the cording used in their transport.<sup>3</sup>

In this epoch reigned the potentate who built for himself the fine tomb at Isopata on the hill that looks upon the sea. Middle Minoan III, like its predecessors, ended in a general catastrophe.

**Late Minoan I.** This is the period of many masterpieces of art. The royal draught-board found in the palace probably belongs to this age. Bronze swords now succeed to the daggers (probably of copper), the blades of which have been gradually lengthening during the Middle Minoan period.<sup>4</sup> Naturalism still prevails in the pottery in flower and shell designs. The white on dark of the last period has now yielded to a dark on light and brown or red designs on a ground varying from buff to a yellowish pink. The linear writing of Class A is now in general use. To this period belongs the villa at Hagia Triada, with steatite vases, the fresco with a cat and bird, and the sarcophagus with a sacrificial procession. Zakro also supplies some good examples of the pottery of this period.<sup>5</sup> There are designs of reeds or grasses, such as are found on graceful pots from Phylakopi in Melos.<sup>6</sup> Phylakopi shows other close connexions with the art of this epoch as it did with that of the previous period, and the latest elements in its second city are contemporary. The Shaft-graves at Mycenae apparently begin in this period and continue into the next.

**Late Minoan II.** This is the great architectural period of Cnossus. To it belongs the Throne Room and the Basilica Hall of the Royal Villa, and the great fresco wall paintings, the most notable of which are the Cupbearer and the groups of spectators watching the games. In this period also there was a lavish decoration by means of stone carvings or painted plaster. The plaster work presents high reliefs,

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. ix, Fig. 2, p. 50, Fig. 25; *Phylakopi*, nos. 1-5, Edgar, pp. 119, 120, 135; Mackenzie, pp. 259-63, Plate XXI, nos. 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 666.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 11, Fig. 5; ix, p. 27; x, p. 12, Fig. 3; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Evans, *Essai*, &c., p. 9; *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxii, Plate XII, no. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Phylakopi*, Plate XIX, nos. 9, 10; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

such as that of the Bull's Head, and low reliefs, as seen in the king with plumes, as well as the ordinary flat painted surfaces. The frescoes were framed with elaborate designs—zigzags, lozenge, fish-scale rosettes, and spirals. The decoration of the contemporary pottery reflects the ornament of the architecture. The naturalism of the vases coincides with the same feature in the architectural designs. All traces of polychrome painting or of monochrome light design on a dark ground have now departed. The fine 'Mycenaeen' of dark upon light now dominates. The design being painted in a lustrous glaze ranging from red brown to black, the ground being a hand-polished buff slip on the terra-cotta body of the vase.<sup>1</sup> Links between Crete and the Greek mainland now appear, as in a fine vase some two feet high with a conventional flower design.<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. H. Marshall,<sup>3</sup> now Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, by piecing together fragments of vessels found in chamber tombs at Mycenae and Vaphio cleverly pointed out a common origin for them and the Cnossian vase. The weapons also show a point of contact. Thus a sword-hilt with a pommel of white faience<sup>4</sup> seems to belong to the same type of sword as the fragment of a crystal hilt found in the Palace at Cnossus, and the splendid ivory and agate pommels found in some of the earliest tombs in the Zafer Papoura cemetery.<sup>5</sup>

The well-known false-necked amphorae, so characteristic of 'Mycenaeen' sites both on the mainland and elsewhere, and which have been found in early strata both at Gournia and Hagia Triada in Crete have not been found in the Palace at Cnossus, save for a few fragments and one whole vase from the Royal Villa.<sup>6</sup> Yet in the next period it suddenly becomes the prevailing type at Cnossus. These vases, however, appear on the clay tablets, supposed to be inventories, found within the Palace, whilst some fine examples of the vases themselves have been found in the earliest tombs at Zafer Papoura. Their decoration seems copied from metal-work and resembles that of bronze vessels of the same period.<sup>7</sup> In order to explain the absence of the false-necked amphorae in the Palace it is

<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xxiii, p. 194; Evans, *Preh. Tombs*, p. 156, Fig. 144; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158, Fig. 148, Plate CI.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xxiv, Plates XIII, XXIII, p. 192, Fig. 10; *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vii, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Bosanquet, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 322-4.

<sup>5</sup> Evans, *Preh. Tombs*, p. 110, Figs. 58-9, 66, 110, 112, pp. 56-7, 62, 106, 110.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. ix, p. 173, Figs. 87a, 87b; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Evans, *Preh. Tombs*, pp. 121-2, Figs. 115-16.

suggested that from Middle Minoan III to Late Minoan II 'false-necked vases may at Knossos have been almost confined to metal-work, and their absence therefore may be due to the looting that has caused the disappearance of practically all metal objects from the Palace'.<sup>1</sup>

The conventional element seen in the designs of the 'Palace Style' distinguishes also the contemporary products in bronze and stone work. One splendid bronze vessel bears a close resemblance to a metal ewer depicted on the tomb of Sen-Mut, an important Egyptian who lived in the XVIIIth Dynasty (*infra* p. 11), and, what is of special interest, it is presented by a Keftian.<sup>2</sup> The stone work of this period is especially striking, huge amphorae of veined limestone, a triton-shell carved out of alabaster, the head of a lioness with jasper eyes, a large weight of purple gypsum (64 pounds) carved with the tentacles of an octopus, and a tall lamp pedestal with ornaments of palmettes and lotus-buds are amongst the most important. The linear script of this period, termed Class B by Dr. Evans, shows an advance on that in use in the previous epoch. 'It was a civilization which was still growing and developing that was given a sudden and crushing blow by the sack of Knossos.' There is no sign of decadence to be seen in this great epoch. It is suddenly cut short by a grand catastrophe.

What, then, is the date of this sudden disaster? The date of the next period (Late Minoan III) can be ascertained with a high degree of probability from the collateral Egyptian evidence. Evans places Late Minoan I between 1800 B.C. and 1600 B.C., but Professor Burrows<sup>3</sup> argues in favour of a slightly later date at both ends, holding that it is unlikely that Late Minoan I 'ended till the XVIIIth Dynasty had already well begun'.

'This would suit excellently,' argues he, 'for the beginning of Late Minoan II.'

Egypt affords us the means of a good general date for Late Minoan II, for that period almost certainly synchronizes with the frescoes on two well-known tombs at Thebes—those of Sen-Mut and Rekhmara. In the paintings on these monuments the 'Keftians' and the men 'of the isles in the midst of the sea' are represented as bringing gifts or tribute to the Egyptian king.<sup>4</sup> There seems to be a high probability that the Keftiu represent the Bronze Age people of Crete and

<sup>1</sup> Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 90, who cites various references.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, &c., vol. ii, p. 295, no. 761.

other parts of the Aegean. (1) Their physical appearance and dress differs essentially from that of the other tribute-bringers—Egyptians, Semites, and other Asiatics—whilst they correspond very well to the physique and costume of the people depicted on works of art at Cnossus.<sup>1</sup> (2) The vessels also which they bear, in shape and style, resemble those of the great Palace period of Cnossus. (3) Moreover, the ox-heads and metal ingots which they are supposed to carry seem to fall in well with the supposed monetary system of Cnossus.<sup>2</sup>

What are the dates of the two Egyptian tombs? Sen-Mut was the architect of queen Hatshepsut, daughter of Thothmes I, and wife of at least one of his successors. Rekhmara was the prime minister of Thothmes III, and is now known to have been still living in the reign of Amenhotep II. All now turns on the date of Thothmes III, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III. Dr. Budge places the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep II at about 1500 B. C. But Petrie, Breasted, and the Berlin Egyptologists all place the reign of Thothmes III somewhere about 1500 B. C. to 1450 B. C., and accordingly they place the accession of Amenhotep II in the later year, thus making him live fifty years later than Dr. Budge's date. Petrie and the others make Amenhotep III succeed in 1414 B. C. or in 1411 B. C. The family history of Thothmes I, Thothmes II, Thothmes III, and Hatshepsut is still obscure, but it is held unlikely that she died more than thirty years before the accession of Amenhotep II. If that was in about 1450 B. C., which seems the most likely date, Hatshepsut can hardly have died before 1480 B. C. But as there is no reason for supposing that her architect died before her, Sen-Mut's tomb may very well be considerably later than that date, whilst on the other system it can hardly be earlier than 1530 B. C.

As Rekhmara survived into the reign of Amenhotep II, on Dr. Budge's system, his tomb must be later at least than 1500 B. C., and by the other and more probable chronology later than 1450 B. C. The balance of probabilities is therefore in favour of placing the two tombs between 1500 B. C. and 1440 B. C., that of Rekhmara certainly not being earlier than 1495 B. C. The picture of the Keftians on his tomb must be not earlier than 1495 B. C., and probably not earlier than 1445 B. C. The grand Palace Style was therefore still in full force at this epoch. But Professor Burrows rightly points out that it would be rash to take 1450 B. C. as the lowest limit for the destruction of the Palace of Cnossus. It is argued that the 'Mycenaean'

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Hall, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, viii, pp. 162-7; x, pp. 154-7.

<sup>2</sup> Dawkins, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, x, p. 212; H. R. Hall, *ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 171, Fig. 2; x, pp. 154, 156, Figs. 1, 2; Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

pottery found at Tel-el-Amarna, which belongs to the reign of Amenhotep III (1414 B.C. or 1411 B.C. to 1383 B.C. or 1380 B.C.) and his successor Akhenaten, which belongs therefore to the first half of the fourteenth century (1400 B.C.—1350), shows a marked inferiority to that of Late Minoan II, and accordingly it is urged that an interval must be left for decadence. To this Professor Burrows<sup>1</sup> replies that 'if we agree that the sack of Knossos occurred rather before than after 1400 B.C., we have allowed ample time', and he concludes from these general considerations 'that the great Palace period probably closed before the reign of Amenhotep III had far advanced from its beginning in 1414 or 1411, and certainly closed before Akhenaten came to the throne in 1383 B.C. or 1380 B.C.' This conclusion is really not at variance with that of Dr. Evans<sup>2</sup> himself—that the Palace period 'can hardly be brought down later than the close of the fifteenth century'.

To all the eight periods which succeed the Neolithic deposit Dr. Evans has given the name *Minoan*, as well as to the succeeding epoch, 'Late Minoan III.' Yet there is not the slightest evidence, as we shall soon see, for the existence of a personage named Minos at Cnossus or elsewhere until about 1400 B.C., that is at the close of 'Late Minoan II' and the beginning of 'Late Minoan III'. It is therefore very unhistorical to apply the term *Minoan* to periods which, according to Dr. Evans, go back several thousand years before 'Late Minoan III'. We might just as well apply the term *Victorian* to all English history from the beginning of the Bronze Age down to the present day, describing the period from the end of the Stone Age down to the Norman Conquest as 'Early Victorian', with several subdivisions, the Bronze Age being 'Early Victorian I', the Early Iron Age and Roman period 'Early Victorian II', and the Saxon period 'Early Victorian III'; 'Middle Victorian' would cover the period from the Conquest to Elizabeth, with appropriate subdivisions, whilst 'Late Victorian', with its subdivisions, would comprise the period from Elizabeth to the present time.

Again, though the name of Priam may well be associated with the Sixth City at Troy, no one would dream of describing the earlier strata at Troy as 'Priamean I', 'Priamean II', &c., whilst it would be just as unscientific to apply the term '*Proetean* I', II, or III, &c., to the various strata lately brought to light by the German excavations at Tiryns, because we know from tradition that Proetus was a powerful chieftain at Tiryns towards the close of the Bronze Age. Dr. Evans, in giving the name *Minoan* to the culture revealed at

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Preh. Tombs*, p. 131.

Cnossus and elsewhere in Crete in consequence of the close relations between Minos and Cnossus in Greek legend, has committed the same mistake as that made by Dr. Schliemann in assigning to the Homeric period the Bronze Age culture which he found at Mycenae, because in Greek story Agamemnon was the grand name associated with Mycenae. Fortunately, however, Schliemann did not term the culture which he first unveiled *Agamemnonian*, but was content to term it *Mycenaeae*, from the name of the site. It is, therefore, to be hoped that Dr. Evans will eventually adopt *Cnossian*, and abandon *Minoan*. By the use of a topographical rather than a personal term we may speak of 'Early Cnossus' (or Cnossian), 'Middle Cnossus', and 'Late Cnossus', just as we now do of 'Troy I', II, III, &c., and 'Phylakopi I', II, III.

**Late Minoan III.** The destruction of Cnossus, and not improbably of Phaestus and Hagia Triada also at the same time, and the change to a new culture, a change not merely temporary but permanent, which characterizes Late Minoan III, point unequivocally to some political upheaval of more than ordinary importance. It is difficult to conceive that the great lord of the splendid palace at Cnossus in Late Minoan II had been overthrown merely by some petty revolt or combination of his vassal cities. Such a mishap would not have altered for ever the essential character of the culture not only at Cnossus but practically all over Crete. The sack of Cnossus at this epoch left indelible marks, for it heralds the advent of the Early Iron Age, and with iron the coming of the other typical features of that culture which had made its way down into Greece from Central Europe. These comprise the style of decoration known as Geometric, the use of broches for fastening the garments, the round shield, and the practice of cremating the dead. Was there any great potentate whose shadowy form still looms large in written tradition and whose name and fame still echo down the long aisles of time who might have been the cause of this great political upheaval? But it is not enough merely to find a great name, for in order to solve our riddle the date when such a person flourished must synchronize with the period within which falls the sack of Cnossus, that is, some time a little before 1400 B. C. Moreover, in view of the revolution effected in the culture not only of Cnossus, but of all Crete, such a conqueror ought to have come from some foreign land, and not have been merely a native prince, for if the conqueror had himself been a Cretan, there would have been no reason for the transition to an essentially new form of culture.

Let us turn to Minos, the very monarch whose name has been

given to all the eight periods which preceded the sack of the great Palace. The Parian Chronicle<sup>1</sup> gives two sovereigns of this name, as also do Diodorus<sup>2</sup> and Plutarch.<sup>3</sup> According to the Chronicle Minos I flourished 1406 B.C. He was the son of Zeus and Europa, and he married Ithonae, by whom he had a son Lycastes, who by one account was the father of Minos II. Minos II married Pasiphae, daughter of Helios and Perseis, by whom he had Glaucus, Deucalion, Phaedra, and Ariadne. Daedalus the Athenian artist worked for him at Cnossus, and when he fled to Sicily Minos pursued him and was himself killed there by Cocalus or the daughter of that king thirty-five years before the Trojan war. But we naturally turn to the Homeric poems for the oldest traditions respecting the name of Minos. If I am not mistaken, we shall find here also distinct evidence for two kings of the same name. In *Iliad*, xiv. 321-2 Zeus recounts how he 'loved Europa, the famed daughter of Phoenix, who bore me Minos and godlike Radamanthus'. This is plainly Minos I of the Parian Chronicle. But there are also very clear allusions to Minos II. Thus in *Od.* xi. 322 Minos is mentioned as father of Phaedra and Ariadne, and he is termed 'baleful-hearted' (*δολόφρων*), whilst the same Minos is indirectly referred to in *Il.* xviii. 592, where we are told that Daedalus made a dancing-place (*χορός*) for Ariadne at Cnossus. But we hear most of him from the well-known passage, *Od.* xix. 169, where the disguised Odysseus tells his feigned history to Penelope.

He gives us there that account of the early ethnology of Crete which is of such great importance. 'A fair land and rich, begirt with water, and therein are many men innumerable, and ninety cities. And all have not the same speech, but there is a mixed tongue. There dwell Achaeans, and there too true Cretans and Cydonians, and Dorians and divine Pelasgians. Among these cities is the mighty city Cnossus, wherein Minos, when he was nine years old, began to reign, he who held converse with great Zeus, and was the father of my father, even of Deucalion; Deucalion begat me and Idomeneus the prince. Howbeit he had gone in his ships up into Ilios with the sons of Atreus, but my famed name is Aethon, being the younger of the twain, and he was the first-born and the better man. He told thus many a false tale in the guise of truth.' But feigned though the story was, the geographical and ethnological evidence is sound.

The Minos here mentioned cannot be Minos I of the Parian Chronicle. For (1) he is represented as having lived but a short time before the Trojan War, as his grandson Idomeneus took part in it,

<sup>1</sup> ii. 19, F. Jacoby (1904).<sup>2</sup> iv. 60.<sup>3</sup> *Theseus*, 18.

and accordingly he is the Minos II who is said to have lived thirty-five years before the Trojan War, i. e. about 1229 B. C. (2) He is not described in the *Odyssey* as the son of Zeus, as he would most likely have been had he been so regarded by the poet, but simply as he that held converse with Zeus. This again shows that he is not Minos I, son of Zeus and Europa. On the other hand, he is described in the pedigree put into the mouth of Idomeneus in the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> as the son of Zeus. This shows that there was another version of the story, in which he was said to be not merely the friend but also the son of Zeus, as was his great ancestor and namesake. Similarly, in one version Theseus is the son of Aegeus, a descendant of Poseidon, in another he is made to be the actual son of that god. (3) As Homer knows the story of Theseus carrying off Ariadne, and as the later legend makes Theseus, husband of Phaedra, another daughter of Minos, the Minos of this passage, father of Deucalion, must be the Minos II, for Theseus is always regarded as living in the generation before the Trojan War. Minos II is therefore that Minos who in *Od.* xi. 221-2 is described as father of Phaedra and Ariadne, and moreover termed the 'baleful-hearted'.

But this Minos of evil repute cannot have been he who for his great justice was made judge of the departed. Moreover, the latter is termed in the *Odyssey* 'the glorious son of Zeus', whereas the *Odyssey*, as we have just seen, regards Minos, 'the baleful-hearted,' not so much as the actual offspring, but as the privileged friend of Zeus. It was then Minos I that Odysseus saw in the land of the departed in the West by the Ocean stream dealing forth sentence to the dead: 'There saw I Minos, glorious son of Zeus, wielding a golden sceptre, giving sentence from his throne to the dead, while they sat and stood around the prince, asking his doom through the wide-gated house of Hades.'<sup>2</sup>

Thus, then, the Homeric poems completely confirm the Parian Chronicle, and the statements of Diodorus and Plutarch, by giving us two kings called Minos.

As this Minos comes nearer to the Classical period than Minos I, there was a tendency to ascribe to a single Minos the great thalassocracy, the earliest of which the Greeks had any tradition. Thus Herodotus makes but a single Minos, combining the parentage of Minos I with the history and death of Minos II. He writes: 'Polycrates of Samos was the first of the Greeks of whom we know except Minos the Cnossian, and any one else who reigned before him who aimed at a thalassocracy.'<sup>3</sup> But this Minos he holds to be the son

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xiii. 449.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* xi. 568 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *iii.* 122.

of Europa, for he again writes: 'when the sons of Europa strove for the sovereignty of Crete Sarpedon and Minos got the better, and Sarpedon departed with settlers who became the Lycians on the mainland.'<sup>1</sup> Again, when treating of the Carians he says that 'in ancient times being subjects of Minos and being called Leleges they held the islands not paying any tribute, as far as I can get back in tradition, but they used to man his ships whenever Minos required them; but inasmuch as Minos reduced a great extent of territory the Carians at the same time became a most warlike people'.<sup>2</sup> Finally, he briefly gives us the story of the death of Minos, telling us that he made an expedition to Sicily in search of Daedalus and there met a violent death.<sup>3</sup>

Thucydides likewise thinks only of a single Minos. 'Minos is the most ancient personage of whom we have knowledge who acquired a navy. He made himself master of a very large part of what is now the Hellenic Sea, and he both ruled over the Cyclades and became the occist of most of them by driving out the Carians and by setting up in them his own sons as chieftains, and he cleared the sea from piracy in order that his revenues might come in the more freely'.<sup>4</sup> In another familiar passage he states that the island population, who were Carians and Phoenicians, were especially addicted to piracy, for these had settled most of the islands, and he proceeds to make the earliest application of archaeology to history by giving as a proof of his statement that when in the course of the Peloponnesian War the Athenians (425 B. C.) 'carried out the purification of Delos by the removal of those there buried, more than half the interments proved to be Carian, as was clear from the fashion of the arms and because the method of burial was the same as that then being practised by the Carians on the mainland'. But when Minos established his navy navigation became more secure, for he removed the miscreants from the islands when he was engaged in settling them himself.<sup>5</sup> At first sight there seems to be some contradiction between Herodotus and Thucydides respecting the Carians, as the former represents Minos as employing them for his navy, whilst Thucydides represents the king as banishing them from the islands. But a closer examination of the words of Thucydides shows that there is no discrepancy between the two statements. The later historian states that Minos drove out the miscreants (*κακοῦργοι*) and made his own sons the chiefs of the islands. This clearly means that he did not sweep out the population but only their leading men, and that his own sons

<sup>1</sup> i. 173.<sup>2</sup> i. 171.<sup>3</sup> vii. 169.<sup>4</sup> i. 4.<sup>5</sup> i. 8.

took the place of the banished Carian chiefs who led their people on piratical expeditions.

The literary tradition for two kings or a king called Minos is thoroughly confirmed by the place-names of the Aegean. The name Minoa is found all over the area once dominated by the fleets of the kings of Cnossus. There are not only two towns of this name in Crete, but there is one in Siphnos and another in Amorgus; such, too, was the old name of Paros, whilst down to the end of the classical period it was the name of the small island off Megara from which king Minos carried on his siege operations against that town. There was also a place called Minoa in Corcyra, and another place of the same name in Laconia, whilst by tradition Gaza on the coast of Palestine had once been called Minoa, a fact of special significance when we remember the connexion of Minos I with that region. Not only then do these places confirm the statements of the historians, but their existence naturally led the later Greeks to think only of a single Minos as the founder of these towns and of the first great thalassocracy. One thing, however, comes out clearly in the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides that the people who furnished the great navy that spread far and wide the dominion of the chief of Cnossus were not called 'Minoans', but were the Carians, who, in classical times, still held in their grasp certain parts of the coast of Asia Minor, and were famous as brave and daring soldiers and sailors, serving as mercenaries with the kings of Egypt. Let us by all means act upon the exhortation of Professors Myers and Burrows and 'clear the air'—not of Achaeans but of Minoans.

Next arises the question, to what race did these kings called Minos belong? Professor Burrows speaks unhesitatingly of the 'Minoan house with its blend of Pelasgian, Phoenician, and Doric elements'. Let us test this statement by the actual literary evidence.<sup>1</sup>

**The Achaeans in Crete.** The Homeric poems make it clear that in the Early Iron Age Cnossus was occupied by a great chief called Idomeneus. He was no mere luxurious sultan, but one of the bravest of those that went to Troy. He took a leading part in the many battles before that city. He was the intimate friend of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Odysseus, and took his place in the council of chieftains. He is termed 'a match for Ares', and had in his tent many spears taken from the Trojans whom he had slain. Like all the great Achaean princes he is descended from Zeus, as is shown by his pedigree recited by himself.<sup>2</sup> In it Zeus is said to have begotten Minos, father of Deucalion, the father of Idomeneus. But the most

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> xiii. 440.

important passage for our purpose is that in the Catalogue of the Ships<sup>1</sup> where the Cretan contingents are enumerated.

‘Of the Cretans Idomeneus the famous spearman was leader, even of them that possessed Cnossus and Gortys of the great walls, Lyctus and Miletus, and chalky Lycastus and Phaestus, and Rhytion, established cities all; and of all others that dwell in Crete of the hundred cities. Of these men was Idomeneus the famous spearman leader, and Meriones, peer of the man-slaying war-god. With these followed eighty black ships.’

There are several points of special interest in these lines. (1) Idomeneus is lord of Cnossus, which comes first in the recital, indicating that it was the leading state in Crete at this time. (2) He also has apparently under his direct rule Phaestus, where are the ruins of the great palace, which is thought to have been destroyed at the same time as the great palace at Cnossus of the Late Minoan II period. (3) He also rules over Miletus and Lyctus. At the former and at Erganus, near the latter, tombs with contents showing the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age have already been found. But to this we shall return later.

In the recital of the five different races which were in Crete (*Od.* xix. 169 sqq.) the Achaeans are placed first, which we may take as an indication that they were the dominant element. But as Idomeneus is the leader of all that came from Crete, and is reckoned as a leading Achacan chief, and as his capital is Cnossus, it is certain that in Homeric days Cnossus, Gortys, Phaestus, Miletus, Lyctus, and various other cities were in the hands of the Achaeans, and that the latter were the overlords of the entire island.

There can now be no doubt that Idomeneus was an Achacan, but if he was such, his father Deucalion and his grandfather Minos must have been Achaeans also. Now as one of the chief physical characteristics of the Achaeans of Homer was their long-flowing yellow hair, our belief in the Achacan origin of the family of Minos would be completely confirmed if there was any evidence that the race was blonde.

But Homer at once supplies us with this. Idomeneus himself is described as *μεσαιπόλιος*, which is commonly taken as meaning ‘turning grey’. But it may very well mean that he was ‘rather fair’, since *πολιός* is the word applied by the Greeks to the flaxen-coloured hair of the children of the Celts. But all doubt is removed by the fact that Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos I, is twice termed ‘yellow-haired’ (*ξανθός*) in the poems.<sup>2</sup> It is moreover worthy of remark that

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ii. 64 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* iv. 564; vii. 323.

Deucalion, the father of Idomeneus and the son of Minos II, bears the great name of Deucalion of Thessaly, the legendary father of Hellen and the Hellenes.

The traditional evidence has shown us that in the thirteenth century B.C. Cnossus, Phaestus, Gortys, Miletus, and Lyctus were in the hands of the Achaeans, and that they were the lords of the whole island. But of course those who wish 'to rid the air of Achaeans' may deny that there is any real evidence for the presence of that people at so early a date in the Aegean. But just here comes in the very important evidence of the famous Egyptian inscription set up by King Merenptah, the son of Rameses III. He succeeded his father in B.C. 1234 and reigned till about B.C. 1214. In the fifth year of his reign came the great invasion of the Libyans and their allies, comprising Akaiuasha, Thuirisha, Luku, Shardena, and Shakalsha. Akaiuasha has long been recognized as the Egyptian form of the name *Achaeon*, and the Leku (Luku) as the Lycians.<sup>1</sup> But as Professor Burrows and Professor Myres are both firm believers in the identification of the Akaiuasha of the Egyptian inscription with the *Achaioi*, and as that is the name of the large fair-haired men whose glories are sung in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, there can be no doubt that there were Achaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean, if not in Crete, by at least the thirteenth century B.C. Now as the Akaiuasha took part in the invasion made by the Libyans (Lebu) into Egypt from the west, there is no more likely place from which they would pass over to join the Libyans than Crete itself. But have we any early evidence for any such descents being made from Crete upon Egypt and by people termed Achaeans? Once more a remarkable passage in the *Odyssey* comes to our aid, and again it is a tale told by the disguised Odysseus.<sup>2</sup> He has reached Ithaca and found a kindly welcome in the bothy of his faithful swineherd Eumaeus, who does not recognize his master in the broken-down old wanderer seated by his hearth. He asks the vagrant who he is and whence, and thereupon Odysseus, feeling that the time has not yet come to reveal himself, tells him a feigned tale. He avows that 'in lineage he comes from wide Crete, and that he is the bastard son of a wealthy man, Hylax, who honoured the concubine's son no less than his brothers born in wedlock. When his father died, the lawfully-born sons divided the substance and gave him the bastard's portion, a very small gift and a dwelling. But he wedded by reason of his valour the daughter of men of many acres.

<sup>1</sup> Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. iii, pp. 108-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* xiv. 200 sqq.

For he was no weakling or dastard, and he became a great leader in war. But the labour of the field he never loved, nor home-keeping thrift that breeds brave children, but ever loved galleys with their oars, and wars and polished shafts and darts. Ere ever the sons of the Achaeans had set foot on Troy land he had nine times been a leader of men and of swift-faring ships against a strange people, and wealth had fallen ever into his hands. Thus he waxed dread and honourable among the Cretans. Then when the Achaeans fared to Troy, 'The people called on him and on Idomeneus to lead the ships to Ilios. There we sons of the Achaeans warred for nine whole years, and in the tenth year we sacked the city of Priam and departed homeward with our ships and the gods scattered the Achaeans. But Zeus the counsellor devised mischief against me, wretched man that I was! For one month only I abode and had joy of my children and of my gentle wife and all that I had; and thereafter my spirit bade me fit out ships in the best manner and sail to Egypt with my godlike company. Nine ships I fitted out and the host was gathered quickly. And then for six days my dear company feasted, and I gave them many victims that they might sacrifice to the gods and prepare a feast for themselves. But on the seventh day we set sail from wide Crete with a north wind fresh and fair, and lightly we ran as it were down stream, yea, and no harm came to any ship of mine, but we sat safe and hale while the wind and the pilots guided the barks. And on the fifth day we came to the fair-flowing Egyptus, and in the river Egyptus I stayed my curved ships. Then I bade my dear comrades to abide there by the ships and to guard them, and I set forth to range the points of outlook. But my men gave place to wantonness, being the fools of their own force, and soon they fell to wasting the fields of the Egyptians exceeding fair, and led away their wives and infant children and slew the men. And the cry came quickly to the city, and the people, hearing the shout, came forth at the breaking of day and all the plain was filled with footmen and horsemen and with the glitter of bronze. And Zeus, whose joy is in the thunder, sent an evil panic upon my company, and none durst stand and face the foe, for anger encompassed us on every side. There they slew many of us with the edge of the sword, and others they led up with them alive to work for them perforce. But as for me, Zeus himself put a thought into my heart; would to God that I had rather died and met my fate there in Egypt, for sorrow was still mine host! Straightway I put off my well-wrought helmet from my head, and the shield from off my shoulder, and I cast away my spear from my hands, and I came over against the horses of the

king, and clasped and kissed his knees, and he saved me and delivered me, and setting me on his own chariot, took me weeping to his home. Truly many a one made at me with their ashen spears, eager to slay me, for verily they were sore angered. But the king kept them off and had respect unto the wrath of Zeus, the god of strangers, who chiefly hath displeasure at evil deeds. So for seven whole years I abode with their king and gathered much substance amongst the Egyptians, for they all gave me gifts. But when the eighth year came in due season there arrived a Phoenician practised in deceit, a greedy knave, who had already done much mischief among men. He wrought on me with his cunning and took me with him until he came to Phoenicia, where was his house, and where his treasures lay. There I abode with him for the space of a full year. But when now the months and days were fulfilled, as the year came round and the season returned, he set me aboard a seafaring ship for Libya on a false pretence, for sooth that I was to convey a cargo with him, but his purpose was to sell me in Lybia, and get a great price.'

There can now be no reasonable doubt that in the Early Iron Age not only were these Achaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean, as is shown by the inscription of Merenptah, but that the Achaeans were the lords of Crete, and that from it they regularly made descents upon Egypt.

But there is a further piece of evidence derived from literary tradition which is of great importance. I have pointed out elsewhere that the descent of chieftain houses from some particular god, such as that of the great Teutonic royal families from Odin and Thor, has a most weighty ethnological significance. All the great Achaean chieftains of Homer trace their descent from Zeus, whilst on the other hand the great families of the pre-Achaean period derive theirs from Poseidon, as did also the Phaeacians and the Cyclopes. It is therefore of great import that not only is Minos I, who was renowned for his justice, a son of Zeus, but that the wicked Minos II, who was the grandfather of Idomeneus, was, if not a son of Zeus, at least a descendant from that god and was said to have held converse with him. But there is much more in traditions garnered up by the mythographers and genealogists. The whole of the misfortunes which befell Minos II and his family are ascribed to his impiety in setting aside the worship of Poseidon, who, as we are told by Diodorus, was a great ancient Cretan hero-king. To him through the long ages bulls had annually been sacrificed, but Minos II upset the ancient order of things and offered to his own ancestor or father, Zeus, the bull which by immemorial custom was the due of

Poseidon. The Cretan god in wrath sent a fierce bull which wrought such havoc in Crete that its subjugation became one of the Labours of Heracles. Yet Poseidon wreaked a far worse vengeance upon Minos by instilling into his wife Pasiphae an unnatural passion for a bull, the fruit of which was the Minotaur. These legends point indubitably to a deep-seated feeling of resentment amongst the native Cretans against a great and powerful king of a foreign race who had introduced a new god and rendered to him the sacrifices which ancient usage had ordained for the great Cretan divinity.

There is then good literary proof for Minos being Achæan in origin, but where is there a scintilla of evidence for Professor Burrows's allegation that he was Dorian in pedigree?

There can be no question of the strength of the evidence derived from the literary and inscriptional sources. If we could but bring material witness to show that by at least the thirteenth century before Christ a new culture had entered Crete, and that it was overlapping and permeating that of the previous Bronze Age, we should have gone far to substantiate the traditional statements. Furthermore, if we could show that this invading culture of Crete is similar to that which is found in Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, where tradition says that the Achæans became the master race by at least 1300 B. C., and that this culture is identical with that ascribed to the Achæans in the Homeric poems, our argument would be complete, and there would be no longer any doubt that the people who introduced the new culture into Crete immediately on the fall of the great Cnossian palace of 'Late Minoan II' were the Achæans of Homer, the Akaiuasha of the inscription of Merenptah. I pointed out in my *Early Age of Greece* (p. 97) that all tradition—Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus (cited by Strabo), &c.—was unanimous in holding that the Achæans of the Homeric poems had only become masters of Peloponnesus about two generations before the Trojan war, the traditional date of which is 1194–1184 B. C. But the Achæans of Phthiotis who came with Pelops were not the first Achæans who had made their appearance in that region. There is a statement handed down by Pausanias<sup>1</sup> that in the time of Danaus (*circa* 1400 B. C.), Archandros and Architeles, sons of Achæus, came from Thessaly into Peloponnesus and married daughters of Danaus. They acquired great influence at Argos and Sparta, and gave the people the name of Achæans. This seems to be an old tradition, since Herodotus<sup>2</sup> mentions Archandros and Architeles, sons of Phthius and grandsons of Achæus, who married daughters of Danaus.

<sup>1</sup> ii. 6, 5.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 98.

Strabo, following Ephorus, says that 'the Achæan Phthiotæ, who with Pelops made an irruption into Peloponnesus, settled in Laconia, and were so much distinguished for their valour that Peloponnesus, which for a long period up to this time had the name of Argos, was called Achæan Argos; and not Peloponnesus only, but Laconia also was thus peculiarly designated. From Laconia the Achæans were driven out by the Dorians, and went and settled in what was known as Achaia properly so called, expelling the Ionians therefrom.'<sup>1</sup>

If the sceptic points with derision to the wide difference between the story of Herodotus and Pausanias and that told by Strabo, our answer is that such different stories of the first coming of the Achæans are by no means incompatible with historical truth. Who can tell when the Saxons first entered England? One version represents Hengist and Horsa as coming in to aid the British king, Vortigern, against the Picts and Scots, and settling in the south of England; but on the other hand it is not at all improbable that the earliest Saxon settlements were in Northumberland. Who can tell whether the Danes who settled in Ireland first got their footing at Dublin or Waterford? The fact is that when the tide of colonizing and conquest begins to flow, different bodies of invaders make their appearance, almost simultaneously in some cases, at different points; sometimes small parties of men seeking new homes pave the way, such as Archandros and Architeles of the Achæan legend, to be followed later on by far larger bodies of population.

The incoming of valiant strangers who marry the daughters of the old kingly houses is no mere figment of the Greek legend-mongers. History is full of such. Strongbow the Norman aided Dermot MacMorogh, and married his daughter Eva; and in more modern days Rolfe married the Indian princess Pocahontas, from whom the best families in Virginia are proud to trace their descent.

I showed that the Achæan chiefs had commonly married the heiresses of the Bronze Age dynasties. Pelops had wedded Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus, and Menelaus Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, the last king of the ancient house of Sparta. Thus Menelaus occupied the splendid palace described in Homer in virtue of this marriage, whilst Atreus had quietly obtained through his alliance with the ancient house of Mycenæ the kingship of Argolis on the death of Eurystheus. There was therefore no clean sweep of the old population. On the contrary, the great mass remained unchanged, retaining their old habits, language, armature, and arts, the ruling class alone being Achæans.

<sup>1</sup> p. 365.

I also showed that the culture of the Homeric Achaeans differed essentially in every particular from that of the older race of Greece, as seen in the Shaft graves of Mycenae at Tiryns, Phylakopi, and elsewhere; I further pointed out that their culture coincided with that of the Early Iron Age of Central Europe, and by a long series of inductions I proved that the round shield, the use of iron, the invention and use of the brooch, the practice of burning the dead, and the style of ornament called Geometric, had passed down into Greece from Central Europe, and not upward from Greece into Central Europe, as had up to that time been universally held. Furthermore, the physical appearance of the Achaeans—tall men with long, fair hair—was a characteristic only found in Aegean lands in the case of those who had come down from northern regions. But I was careful to point out that since the Achaeans formed only a ruling caste, and the great mass of the population remained unchanged, they continued to use their own customs, dress, and armature, and to practise their old arts, though now at the bidding and under the influence of their new lords. I made it a main principle that when a new culture with the use of a new metal for cutting implements appears, those made of the old metal do not at once disappear, and that consequently there is a long period of overlap and transition.

Speaking of the Homeric poems, I wrote<sup>1</sup>: ‘Of course, we naturally hear much of bronze armour, and of various other objects made of that metal. But it does not follow that with the introduction of iron for cutting implements and the purposes of the plough and herdsman bronze disappears from use, any more than it follows that as soon as copper and bronze began to be employed weapons and implements of stone and flint at once ceased to be made or used. Stone has survived for various purposes, such as millstones, pestles and mortars, and there is evidence to show that axes of stone were employed side by side with those of bronze. For instance, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there are stone axes which undoubtedly exhibit in the shape of their faces the influence of those made of metal. In all ages the poor man, who cannot afford to procure an article of the best and most costly material, must content himself with the inferior; and long after the discovery of copper and the making of bronze, those who could not afford weapons of that metal had to put up with those of stone. It would be unnecessary to call attention to so obvious a fact, were it not that this cataclysmic archaeology is both very widespread and deeply rooted.

Again, I wrote<sup>2</sup>: ‘What we have already remarked on the over-

<sup>1</sup> *Early Age*, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 304.

lapping of the Bronze and Iron Ages applies to the facts connected with the history of the early Greek sword. None of the swords found in the Acropolis graves at Mycenae have entire bronze hilts, but they are generally of wood, bone, or ivory, ending in a pommel of the same material, often mounted with gold or alabaster. . . . The latest Mycenaean swords are comparatively short, with a hilt differing but little from the earlier type, save in respect of the guard, which is occasionally found. Iron swords of the same type are met with in parts of Greece, showing that the fashion outlasted the Mycenaean Ages. To this transition type we shall return later on.

'That iron and bronze swords of the same form were in use at the same time is shown thus by the actual remains found ; this harmonizes completely with the evidence of Homer, where we learn that Euryalus, the Phaeacian, presented to Odysseus a bronze sword, though, as we have seen, the usual material for all such weapons is iron. But the Phaeacians belonged to the older race and lived in a remote island, and therefore swords of bronze may well have continued in use in such out-of-the-world places long after iron swords were in use elsewhere in Greece. The man who could not afford iron had to be satisfied with bronze.'<sup>1</sup>

In my section on the *Shield* I wrote as follows : 'As we have seen, it is quite possible that shields of the older pattern (the figure of 8 and rectangular) continued in use in Achaean times. There is also a late tradition that Proetus and Acrisius were the first to introduce the *clipeus* into Argolis. Whatever may be the value of either of these statements we can at least infer from them that there was a general feeling that the round shield was not indigenous but that it had been introduced or invented in the close of the Mycenaean period.' It is perhaps significant that in the chief passage in the *Iliad* where the great shield which extended from the neck to the ankles is mentioned, it is Periphetes the *Mycenaean* who stumbles over his own great clumsy shield and is immediately pinned to the earth by the spear of Hector.

It would seem that Periphetes, one of the native Mycenaeans, and not an Achaean, still wore the ancient shield of his race. In a short

<sup>1</sup> The reader will hardly believe that in the face of this passage, with which Professor Burrows was well acquainted, as he refers to this very page of my book and had a correspondence with me about it (see Burrows's *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 174 footnote), he had the effrontery to charge me with holding that 'the Homeric swords and spears . . . were all of iron' (*Discoveries in Crete*, p. 214), and he proceeds triumphantly to confute me by citing the evidence of the overlapping of iron and bronze swords furnished by the graves of East Crete (since my book had appeared) in complete confirmation of my views.

time we shall see that in Pelasgic Arcadia the old Mycenaean armature remained in vogue until the second century B.C. Nor need we wonder if some of the native Argives in the host led by the Achaeans should have been equipped with their own national weapons, armour, and shield. It takes some time for such changes to come about, and often a considerable period may elapse before all classes can afford to arm themselves with the newer and better panoply. In the late Chino-Japanese war men armed with bows and arrows were serving in the Chinese army at the same time as others furnished with the most modern magazine rifles.<sup>1</sup>

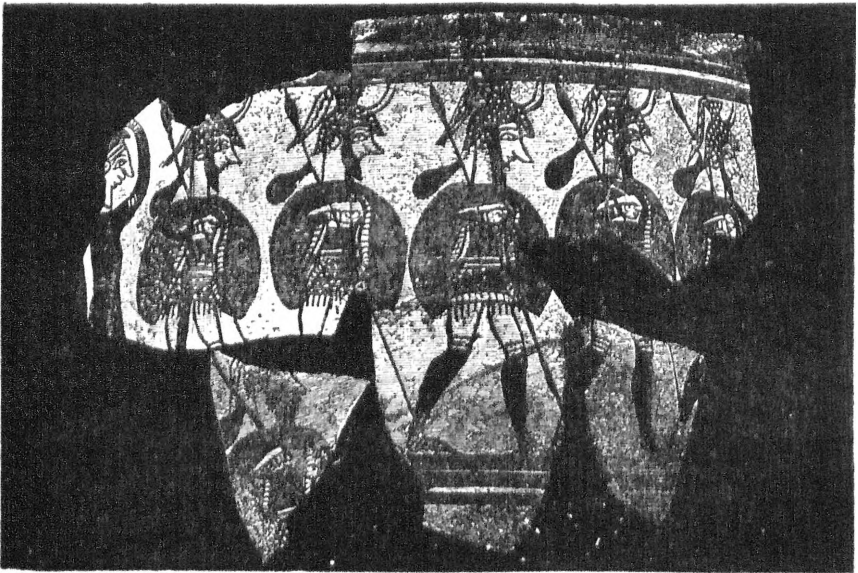


FIG. 1. THE WARRIOR VASE; MYCENAE.

So in Homer, though the Achaean warrior regularly carries a round shield with a boss, whereas the Bronze Age shield of Greece was either of figure of 8 or of rectangular form, yet there are one or two instances in the *Iliad* where warriors certainly have oblong shields of great length. Naturally the older race who had become the vassals of the Achaeans and accompanied them to war used their own style of armature.

In the case of certain objects of pottery found in the upper strata of Mycenae and Tiryns I was able to point also to evidence of the transition period.<sup>2</sup> The famous Warrior vase (fig. 1) gives us a picture

<sup>1</sup> pp. 319-21.

<sup>2</sup> p. 315.

of warriors in the true Homeric equipment, round shields with bosses, long spears, crested helmets, greaves, and fringed chitons seen protruding from under their shirts of mail.

Warriors equipped in a similar fashion have been discovered on a stele (fig. 2) found in recent years outside the Acropolis of Mycenae, not in its original position, but serving with other stones to wall up a grave hewn in the side of a circular sepulchral chamber.

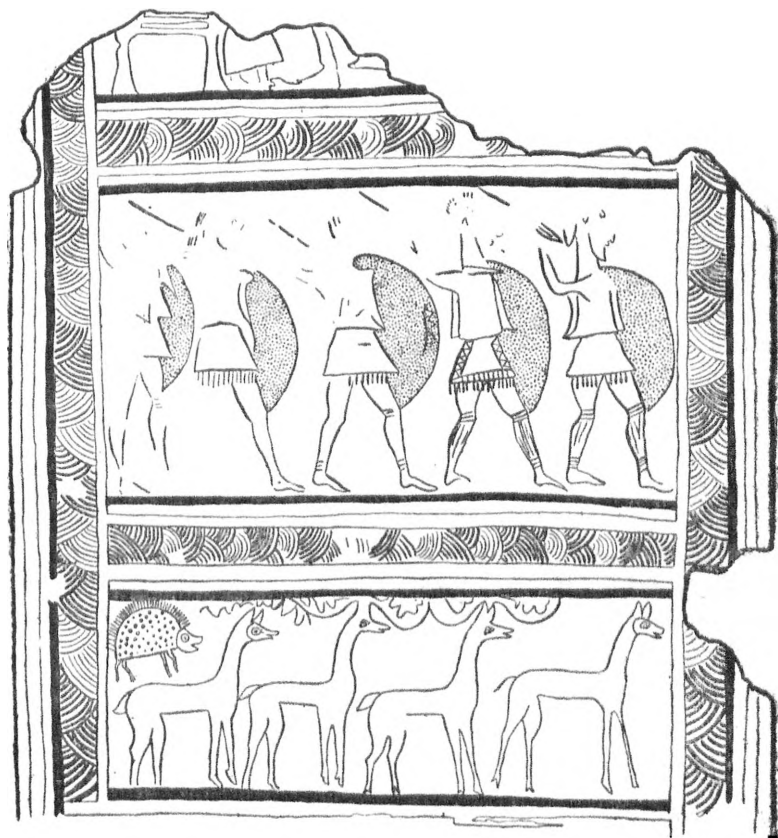


FIG. 2. THE PAINTED STELE; MYCENAE.

Originally it was a sculptured tombstone of the Mycenaean type; it was afterwards plastered over and painted in fresco. Finally at Tiryns, besides the Mycenaean and Dipylon vases, there were discovered some fragments of a style of pottery up till then not found elsewhere. They represent the transition between the Mycenaean and the Dipylon vases. These also show warriors with round shields.

But this overlap of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages is not confined to the mainland of Greece. Just before the publication of my

*Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, 1901, Miss Harriet Boyd (Mrs. Hawes) had discovered at Gournia a series of remains of great importance. They consisted of geometric vases, brooches, and iron swords of the Hallstatt type, and since then Crete has furnished ample evidence of the same character. In East Crete both bronze and iron swords have been found in the same tomb, thus demonstrating the very transitional period which I had inferred from the Homeric poems and the evidence from Mycenae and Tiryns just cited.

But this is not all. In July, 1909, Dr. Evans announced in the *Times* that he had found at Cnossus tombs containing geometric pottery, brooches, iron weapons, and cremation burials—in other words, all the characteristics of the Homeric Achaean. In his letter, however, he seemed to refer his discoveries to the Dorians, who had settled in Crete some time later than 1000 B. C. In my essay, ‘Who were the Dorians?’<sup>1</sup> I pointed out that amongst the many features which separate clearly the Dorians of the classical times ethnically from the Achaeans of Homer, and render it impossible to regard as Dorians the warriors described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, not the least in importance was the method of disposing of the dead. We have the very best evidence from ancient authorities that so far from the Dorians ever burning their dead, from first to last they always inhumed them, even under circumstances that imperatively demanded cremation. Thus, for instance, when king Agesilaus died far from home and his men had not sufficient honey in which to preserve his body for transport to Sparta, they did not resort to burning, which would have put an end to their difficulty, as the ashes could have been brought home in a vase, but they did what they could to preserve the body by melting wax over it.

Dr. Mackenzie, in ignorance of these most important facts respecting the Dorians, has also too hastily concluded that the cremation burials found at Cnossus are those of Dorian colonists.

Let us sum up the results of our investigations. The archaeological evidence shows clearly that the development of the Stone and Bronze Age culture of Crete was a long and gradual process; that in its early stages it was later in development than Melos, and that it was influenced in its fuller time by Egypt and Melos. Various stages in its evolution can be traced at Cnossus, Phaestus, Palaikastro, Praesus, Vasilike, and other places. The chronology of what is termed the ‘Late Minoan’ period can be fixed with considerable accuracy from a comparison of its monuments with those of Egypt, and finally the destruction of Cnossus at the end of ‘Late Minoan II’

<sup>1</sup> *Anthropological Essays in Honour of Prof. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907).

can be placed from monumental evidence somewhere not long before 1400 B.C., and this date is assigned not by me, but by Dr. Evans himself, and others who have made a special study of the evidence.

The destruction which at this time befell Cnossus, and probably Phaestus and Hagia Triada, was not like those catastrophes which had ended other periods in its history, for this last heralded the incoming of a new phase of culture. But at this very date the traditional chronology places the advent from Palestine of Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, whose name has left such an indelible impress on the Greek mind. A great kingdom was set up by him and he got the command of the Aegean with his navy. This thalassocracy was continued and widened under his descendant and namesake Minos II, who made expeditions far and wide, and in one of these met his death in Sicily about 1219 B.C. But it is just at this very time that, according to the Homeric tradition, the Achaeans are settled in Cnossus and are making descents upon Egypt, whilst an Egyptian inscription of the reign of Merenptah (1234-1214 B.C.) states that in the fifth year of that monarch Egypt was invaded by a combination of various peoples, amongst whom were the Akaiuasha, a name long identified with the Greek *Achaioi*. Now as it was just at this very time that, according to the traditional chronology, Minos II was harrying the coasts of the Aegean and making expeditions in all directions, it is not improbable that the invasion of Egypt in 1229 B.C. was one of his enterprises.

According to Homer, this Minos II who perished in 1219 B.C. was the grandfather of Idomeneus, the great Achaean chief whose capital was Cnossus and who led not only the men of Phaestus, but the entire Cretan contingent to Troy. In other words he was the paramount chief of Crete. But this is not the only evidence that the family of Minos was Achaean. Corroboration is at hand in the statement twice repeated that Radamanthus, the brother of Minos I, was 'yellow-haired', also in the fact that the house of Minos traced its descent from Zeus (as do all the Achaean chiefs in Homer), and that Minos introduced into Cnossus and probably into all Crete the worship of that god, thereby incurring the wrath of Poseidon, the great indigenous divinity.

Minos I had passed into Crete from Palestine at the close of the fifteenth century B.C. But it may be asked, why would a fair-haired Achaean have come to Crete from such a region? In my *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, I pointed out that in the time of Saul and David (circa 900 B.C.) there were in Palestine uncircumcised men of large stature called Philistines whose armature, as in the case of Goliath,

is very like that of the Homeric Achaeans; and that, still earlier, in the fourteenth century B.C. there were also men of great stature in the same region who were using chariots fitted with iron. Their objection to circumcision, as also their large stature, proves that they were not Semites, whilst the last feature, as well as the use of iron and the character of their weapons, points to a European origin.

It is not without significance that the great advance from Palestine made upon Egypt by the Kheta or Hittites in the fourteenth century B.C. took place shortly after the very time when Minos I is said to have crossed into Crete from Palestine. It may well be therefore that Minos I was one of the tall fair-haired northern invaders who had made their way into Palestine either from Greece and Crete, or had come round across the Hellespont and so into Syria. The excavations at Gezer and elsewhere in Palestine show a connexion between that country and Crete, though it is not yet clear which way the influence spread. The story of Pelops shows that some of the Achaeans had passed into Asia Minor, and that a portion of these had later swung back into Europe and down into Greece. So with the Gauls in later centuries, some of them passed across into Asia Minor and advanced as far as Syria with the intention of making their way into Egypt, but were deterred by the envoys of Ptolemy; others of them settled in that region later known from them as Galatia; others again passed back across the Hellespont and settled in Thrace; whilst yet others passed down directly into Greece. Minos I, therefore, may well have been one of these northern invaders who had crossed into Asia, and who from that side entered the Aegean. It is worth pointing out that his traditional date coincides exactly with that assigned to the first appearance of the Achaeans in Argolis in the persons of Archandros and Architeles (*circa* 1400 B.C.).

A dispassionate survey of the evidence will convince the reader that neither this Minos I nor his descendant Minos II had anything to do with the gradual evolution of Cretan culture as seen in the first eight periods of Dr. Evans's classification: on the contrary, Minos I dealt it a fatal blow at the end of 'Late Minoan II'.

Accordingly, the historical evidence compels us to reject the name 'Minoan' for this Cretan culture. But there is still a more imperative need for its abandonment. As it is now being used by Dr. Evans and his followers, it deliberately assumes that all the Bronze Age culture of the Aegean radiated from Cnossus. Yet this is not true either in 'Early Minoan' when, as we saw, Melos was admittedly ahead of Crete, nor in the 'Middle Minoan' period when Cnossus is found importing and copying certain wares from Melos, nor again is

it true in 'Late Minoan' time, for, according to tradition, Minos II brought to Cnossus from Athens the great artificer Daedalus.

It has been assumed that because Cnossus is by far the richest and largest site of the Bronze Age culture, its people must have been the greatest artists in the Aegean. But the story of Daedalus seems to give us the true view, a view not only true of Cnossus but of other great centres of art in various times and places. It by no means follows that because some particular place, whether it be Cnossus, Athens, Syracuse, Rome, or Florence, is especially rich in works of art, the inhabitants of the particular city must necessarily be regarded as the authors of these works of art which adorn their town. Art is a luxury, and the artist, in order to live, must seek wealthy patrons, whether great potentates, such as kings and despots, rich civic communities, or financial and commercial plutocrats. Yet it would not follow that because in time to come the sites of the British and South Kensington Museums in London and of the Central Museum in New York showed an extraordinary wealth of magnificent and costly works of art, that the natives of London and New York had been the creators of the cultures to which these splendid remains belonged. In ancient, mediæval, and modern times, great monarchs who had or have the control of unlimited wealth were and are especially the patrons of the arts. Minos II seems to have been one of this class, as is shown by the story of Daedalus. The despots of Syracuse and other Sicilian cities in the fifth century B.C. are familiar examples of the same type. Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides, nay even Aeschylus himself and doubtless many other artists, flocked to the court of Syracuse. When Athens became the head of the Confederacy of Delos and Pericles used for her adornment the tributes of the allies, though she had great artists of her own, the best of the rest of Greece gathered within her walls. The great painter Polygnotus, whose works were amongst the wonders of Athens, was not an Athenian, but a native of the remote island of Thasos. No better example, however, can be found than those brilliant artists whom Alexander the Great attached to his court, for Apelles came from Cos (or Colophon) whilst Lysippus was a native of Sicyon. The same holds good for Rome in the days of Augustus. It was not a native Roman, but Dioscorides a Greek, that engraved the portrait-head of the emperor, and there can be little doubt that all the best art-products of Rome at this period were the work of Greek artists. Even the Florence of the fifteenth century tells the same tale, for Lorenzo the Magnificent attracted thither the best intellects of Italy. Finally, it was not a native Roman, but Michel Angelo Buonarrotti the Florentine, that adorned the Sistine

Chapel with its wonderful paintings. In the face of the teaching of history, it will scarcely be maintained any longer that because Cnossus was the capital of a most powerful dynasty who held the Aegean with their fleets and who were ready to lavish on artificers from all lands, such as Daedalus, the wealth that flowed into their coffers from many a tributary, that Cnossus and the Cnossians were the sole authors and disseminators of the Bronze Age culture of the Aegean. We may even go further and point out that in the great fortifications of Tiryns and Mycenae we have a phase of architecture which certainly was not copied from any Cretan prototype. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Crete and Cnossus were one of the chief *foci* of that Aegean basin wherein the dark aboriginal race of Greece, Italy, and Spain, gifted in artistic powers beyond all others, reached its zenith in the products of the sculptor. But all round the Aegean and in its isles from the Stone Age onwards there had been a gradual development of culture, and in the fullness of times this goodly plant, when it met with especially favourable environment, be it in Melos, Crete, Argolis, or Attica, blossomed out into peculiar beauty. But the art-products of its various *foci* were never limited to the work of the actual natives of the spot, for any specially gifted craftsman inevitably gravitated towards one of these centres. We may well believe that so it was with Cnossus, and therefore we must not admit, as the name 'Minoan' implies, that all the art of the Aegean world emanated from Cnossus or from Crete.

There is little ground for Professor Burrows's view that there are few things which suggest more certainly the Cretan artists than the Bull-baiting fresco at Tiryns and the Flying-fish fresco in Melos, and that 'there would be Cretans at work all over the Aegean'.<sup>1</sup>

Minos is certainly the greatest of all names connected with Crete, and accordingly Dr. Evans too hastily attributed the Bronze Age culture to him, though it seems highly probable that it was the family of Minos that brought in the new culture of the Early Iron Age. Just as at Mycenae and Tiryns we find evidence of the indigenous craftsmen working for but influenced by the tastes of their new masters, so at Cnossus the artists of the old race continued to work under their Achaean lords. Though the latter had but a poor art of their own, they were not barbarians who destroyed everything that was not according to their own taste. The same race in after-times showed a like tolerant and appreciative attitude towards the arts of conquered lands, such as Italy and Spain. The Goths, and Lombards, and Normans were not an artistic race as compared with their

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 179.

subjects, but there were never greater patrons of art than the Normans. But in all cases, though they admired the native technique, they gradually impressed their own ideals upon the native workmen, and out of the Roman basilica with its round arch arose the Gothic cathedral with its pointed arch and clustered column. So in the products of the Early Iron Age in Greece, such as the Warrior vase, we find the native technique so utilized for the foreign ideal. The great Bronze Age style is decadent, but just as it took centuries to develop mediaeval art out of the Roman, so it took a long period before the old Bronze Age style sank down into the Geometric brought down into Greece by her invaders.