

Pottery as Evidence for Trade and Colonisation in the Aegean Bronze Age

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Mit 4 Tafeln

The historical value of Greek archaeology especially in the prehistoric and archaic periods is universally recognised, but it is essential that the archaeological evidence from which historical conclusions are deduced should be as accurate as possible¹). Sometimes the archaeological knowledge of the historians is incomplete or else they are too eager to build too much on too little. A bead or a sword or a pot shape may be used as evidence in support of hypothetical empires or migrations or trade routes. Thus some have established Trojan colonies in Bohemia or led Trojan trade via the Isthmus of Corinth to Sicily and Spain. Such reconstructions of prehistory though fascinating and plausible are regarded with suspicion by the archaeologist who knows the material, because he realises the unsoundness of the "scientific" evidence upon which they are said to be based. The archaeologist is or should be cautious, prefers to state the facts as he knows them quite frankly, and as for anything further would declare he does not know rather than indulge in free reconstructions of pre-history for which he sees little or no real evidence. In fact "there lives more faith in honest doubt".

In recent years careful and minute study of the Geometric and Orientalising Periods in Greece has permitted the recognition of a great many local varieties showing that in those periods the manufacture of pottery was carried on in each region for its own local use in its own local style. These investigations have been of the greatest value for understanding the development of Greek

¹) We are most grateful to the many scholars who have read this paper in manuscript. It has been much improved by their suggestions and corrections, but the responsibility for the views expressed is of course entirely our own. We wish also to thank most warmly the excavators who have courteously allowed us to illustrate or quote unpublished material, Dr. Claude Schaeffer, the late Mr. J. L. Starkey, Sir Leonard Woolley, Mr. R. J. Braidwood, and Dr. B. H. Hill, and for photographs Professor Ashmole, Mr. R. M. Cook, and the Brooklyn Museum.

civilisation, commerce, and colonisation during those periods. Thus the determination of the differences in fabric and style among the many local varieties of Geometric pottery has made much clearer the commercial and historical importance of the various centres of the Early Iron Age. The political and commercial influence of a city during the archaic period can be more easily estimated by the differentiation of the various fabrics of orientalisising pottery, as for instance the localisation of "Cyrenaic" in Laconia and of "Naucratis" in Chios. The tracing of Corinthian pottery in the west is another case in point. The proportions of the various kinds of pottery found at Naucratis too indicate the relative share which the various Greek states concerned took in the trade with Egypt.

It seems to us therefore not untimely to suggest that the same kind of patient and minute study be extended to the various periods of the pre-classical Bronze Age¹⁾ since we feel that much useful information will be forthcoming. That local varieties will appear in the Bronze Age pottery is exceedingly likely because already in the Neolithic wares of the Mainland a great number of local categories have been established. The Neolithic pottery on the Mainland is definitely and decisively distinct from the Neolithic pottery of Crete. The Neolithic wares once thought to be peculiar to Central and Northern Greece²⁾ from Corinth to the marches of Macedonia are now being found at large in the Morea and Western Greece always with marked local variations³⁾. Future explorations will doubtless establish the characteristics and extent of these wares in greater detail and probably mark off more clearly the lack of any definite connection between them and the pottery of the Black Earth Region, the so-called Tripolje-Cucuteni culture⁴⁾.

The Early Helladic culture of Greece with which the Bronze Age opens was divided by Kunze⁵⁾ in 1934 into two groups ac-

¹⁾ The Early Period at least of the Bronze Age is of course strictly speaking a Copper Age.

²⁾ See Τσουράς, *Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις*; Wace-Thompson, *Pre-historic Thessaly*; Hansen, *Early Civilization in Thessaly*.

³⁾ For instance Aegina (Arch. Anz. 1937, p. 20ff.), Gonia (Met. Mus. Studies III, p. 55ff.) Argive Heraeum (Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 22ff.), Nemea (AJA. 1927, p. 437ff.), Asea and Hagigeorgitika (JHS. 1937, p. 127; AJA. 1928, p. 533; finds in Tegea Museum), Leukas (Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka*, Beil. 88, 89), Astakos (BSA. XXXII, p. 244), Corinth (Weinberg, *Hesperia* VI, p. 487ff.).

⁴⁾ ESA. I X, p. 123ff. The contrary view is still maintained by Grundmann, AM. 1932, p. 102ff., 1934, p. 123ff., and Matz, ZfE. LXVI, p. 425.

⁵⁾ Orchomenos III, p. 92.

cording to the character of the pottery which he calls Peloponnesian and Central Greek. Twenty two years before¹⁾ this differentiation of two groups, then called Northern and Southern, had already been made. Since then a mass of new material has been brought to light. Similar or related ware has been found as far north as Macedonia and as far west as Leukas²⁾, Ithaca³⁾ and Cephalonia⁴⁾ and it has now been recognised in Attica⁵⁾, in Aegina⁶⁾ and all over the Peloponnese⁷⁾. In the Northern Group there are local differences to be observed at Orchomenos, Eutresis and Lianokladi⁸⁾. The examples from Thessaly, e. g. Tsani Magula, are again different and the Macedonian class is also separate⁹⁾. In the Southern Group the varieties from the several regions of the Peloponnese apparently show local characteristics and between the two main groups lie the important classes found in Attica and Aegina while the fabrics of the Ionian Islands will probably add further local categories.

The culture of the Middle Helladic Period is characterized by two types of pottery, Matt-painted Ware and Minyan Ware. The parallel existence of these two types has given rise to some misunderstandings. It has been suggested for instance that Matt-painted ware is a Cycladic import, and some inaccuracies about Minyan ware are in circulation. "The Minyan and Matt-painted vessels came from centres where they were produced on a large scale¹⁰⁾". This quotation and the map in J. L. Myres' *Who were the Greeks?* (p. 258) represent a view once widely held¹¹⁾ that Minyan Ware, the mysterious grey ware which distinguishes the Middle Helladic Period, was manufactured at one central point from which its distribution radiated. It was long ago pointed out¹²⁾ that more than one variety of Minyan Ware could be recognised even then with the small amount of material available. Now

¹⁾ Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 21.

²⁾ Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka*, Beil. 64, 65.

³⁾ BSA. XXXV, p. 1ff. ⁴⁾ BSA. XXXII, p. 224ff.

⁵⁾ AJA. 1934, p. 258ff.

⁶⁾ In the Aegina Museum, unpublished.

⁷⁾ E. g. in Arcadia (JHS. 1937, p. 127), Laconia (Amyclae, AM. 1927, p. 7; and elsewhere), and Messenia (Valmin, Bull. Soc. R. Lettres Lund, 1939—35, p. 37). Its presence in Corinthia and Argolis is well known.

⁸⁾ See Kunze, *Orchomenos III*.

⁹⁾ See Heurtley's forthcoming *Prehistoric Macedonia*.

¹⁰⁾ Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 175.

¹¹⁾ E. g. Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 21, where it was suggested that Orchomenos was the home of Minyan Ware, though two main groups a northern and a southern were recognised.

¹²⁾ Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 21.

a great amount of material has accumulated from many sites scattered all over Mainland Greece. It has not yet been so closely studied as it deserves, but careful scrutiny reveals that in practically every case the Minyan Ware from any given site has a clay and appearance characteristic of that site, differing from those of other sites and should almost surely be regarded as of local manufacture. The Minyan Ware from Eastern Thessaly for example is often made of a clay containing numerous particles of silvery mica. That from Boeotia generally has little or no mica, that from Attica sometimes has golden mica, and that from Argolis and Corinthia usually has no mica and is frequently a lighter grey in colour. The varieties in Laconia¹⁾ at Geraki and the Amyclaeum and from Messenia²⁾ apparently likewise show local characteristics. The Minyan Wares from Aetolia³⁾ and the west⁴⁾ have also peculiarities which seem to separate them from those of other regions.

In the Mattpainted Ware local differences are also to be observed and on careful study will become more distinct. The Mattpainted pottery of Central Greece as for instance that of Eutresis appears to differ from that of Argolis and Corinthia, the latter again from that of Laconia. At Lianokladi there is a marked local variety with matt black paint on a red ground⁵⁾. It is practically certain that the characters of these and of yet other local varieties would reveal themselves if a close scrutiny of the available material were undertaken.

The Late Helladic pottery of the last period of the Bronze Age is also in urgent need of similar careful scrutiny to determine the character and extent of the local groups. We read: "A late Mycenaean vase is much the same in Crete or Athens or even Sicily. In the Geometric period we find that multiplicity of local styles which remained so marked a feature of Hellenic art⁶⁾" and 'Levanto-Helladic' (that is to say 'Late Minoan III') Vases⁷⁾."

These passages show that historians and archaeologists have not yet fully recognised the possibilities and the importance of determining the character and the sources of the local classes of Late Helladic pottery. In the early days of Cretan exploration at the beginning of the century all Late Bronze Age pottery in

¹⁾ BSA. XVI, p. 72; AM. 1927, p. 4ff.

²⁾ Valmin, op. cit., p. 38.

³⁾ *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον* I, p. 256ff.

⁴⁾ BSA. XXXII, p. 222ff.; Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka*, Beil. 72, 73.

⁵⁾ This ($\Delta\iota\beta$) was wrongly attributed to the Early Iron Age by Wace and Thompson in *Prehistoric Thessaly* pp. 20, 180. This incorrect attribution has misled many even in recent times.

⁶⁾ CAH. II, p. 521.

⁷⁾ JHS. 1935, p. 239.

Crete was called Mycenaean. With the adoption of the Minoan terminology it became fashionable to call all Mycenaean pottery wherever found and of any kind of fabric Late Minoan. This is of course misleading both archaeologically and historically, for it tacitly assumes that Crete was dominant throughout the whole of that period and that all the pottery was either made in Crete or depended on Crete. With increased knowledge of the Late Helladic wares of the Mainland it has been possible to distinguish at Phylakopi in Melos between pottery imported thither from Crete and pottery imported from the Mainland. Long ago Kurt Müller¹⁾ pointed out that the vases of Kakovatos (Old Pylos) were not of Cretan, but, like those of similar style from the Vaphio tomb, of local manufacture. Mr. Pendlebury²⁾ has begun to differentiate the Minoan from the Helladic vases in Egypt. Dr. Gjerstad³⁾ and the Swedish expedition in Cyprus have put forward the name Levanto-Helladic to denote the Late Bronze Age pottery of Mycenaean style found in Cyprus and its neighbourhood. Dr. Schaeffer⁴⁾ has called attention to the likeness between the Mycenaean pottery of Ras Shamra and that of Rhodes. The discovery of kilns by Persson at Berbati proves conclusively that L. H. pottery was manufactured in the immediate neighbourhood of Mycenae⁵⁾. Another kiln has been found at Tiryns⁶⁾ itself. Indeed it is now becoming possible to recognise at any given site where "Mycenaean" pottery is found what is definitely Cretan, what is from the Mainland or from elsewhere. Certain vase shapes the stirrup vase, the low alabastron, a particular form of squat jug, and the kylix, though the first at least originated in Crete, are far more popular on the Mainland side⁷⁾ and certain patterns, the ogival canopy⁸⁾ for instance, are practically unknown on vases of undoubted Cretan manufacture. The pilgrim flask⁹⁾ on the other hand, which is rare on the Mainland as well as in Crete, is common in Cyprus and Rhodes, along the Syrian and Palestinian littoral, and at Tell el Amarna¹⁰⁾. It would appear to be a Near

¹⁾ AM. 1909, p. 318f. ²⁾ Aegyptiaca, pp. 112, 113.

³⁾ Swedish Cyprus Expedition I, p. 477ff.

⁴⁾ Syria XIV (1933), p. 101.

⁵⁾ JHS. 1937, p. 127.

⁶⁾ AM. 1913, p. 336ff.

⁷⁾ Blegen, Prosymna, pp. 389ff., 445ff.; Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, pp. 150, 157, 170, 171ff.

⁸⁾ Blegen, op. cit. p. 401; Wace, op. cit. pp. 153, 159.

⁹⁾ Blegen, op. cit. p. 442.

¹⁰⁾ B. M. Cat. I 1, A 886—9, A 998, I 2, C 561—574; Annuario VI—VII, p. 212, fig. 135, XIII—XIV, p. 267, fig. 13; Grant, Beth Shemesh, p. 189, 510; Fitzgerald, Bethshan, II 2, p. 4, pl. XLIII 14, 15.

Eastern (Syria, Palestine, or Anatolia) shape¹) which was taken over into the local „Mycenaean” ware. In Rhodes a peculiar type of brazier seems characteristic²). Attica seems to fancy a special form of pyxis³). The vases of the Vaphio tomb are of the same rather soft pinkish buff clay which distinguishes Laconian orientalisising ware and is obviously different from the clay of the L. H. vases found in Attica, Boeotia, or Argolis. It has been held that the “Mycenaean” vases in Sicily indicated Cretan trade and even invasion of that western island. Peet⁴) long ago was not sure that the vases were Minoan and it is probable that further study of them will prove him right. Indeed when all circumstances are considered it would be more likely that the “Mycenaean” vases found in Sicily should belong to the local style of one of the Ionian Islands such as Ithaca or Cephalonia.⁵) The historical Greek route to South Italy and Sicily always went by way of the Ionian Islands and it is reasonable to suppose that the Bronze Age route from Greece to Sicily followed the same course. If it did so then the Ionian Islands would naturally be the nearest part of the Mycenaean world to Sicily.

It is thus probable that the study which has now at last been begun of the local varieties of the Late Bronze Age pottery of Mycenaean style will bring about a modification of the quotation from the Cambridge Ancient History given above, though perhaps there is a greater uniformity of style in the Mycenaean than in the Geometric wares. So when pottery of this style is found at Troy, on the Asia Minor littoral, in Syria, Palestine, or Egypt it may well be possible in future to determine what proportion is Argive, Attic, Boeotian, Laconian, Rhodian and so on exactly as is done with the later orientalisising wares. The importance of this for the study of Greek trade and colonisation during the Late Bronze Age can hardly be over-estimated. It is already clear that

¹) Duncan, *Corpus Pal. Pottery*, 85.

²) B. M. Cat. I, A 801—11; *Annuario* VI—VII, p. 205, fig. 128, XIII—XIV, pp. 264, 271, figs. 10, 14.

³) *Hesperia* II, p. 367, fig. 39a.

⁴) Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy, p. 434ff. They have now been collected by Arias in BPI, 1936—37, p. 57ff.

⁵) Mr. Dunbabin who has carefully examined these vases agrees that they are not Cretan. On the other hand they seem to him unlike the distinctive L. H. III ware of Cephalonia and Ithaca and to resemble the wares of Argolis and Rhodes and therefore more likely to come from an Aegean centre. He calls attention to Strabo's (C 654) mention of Rhodian sailors in the west before the first Olympiad. The Mycenaean pottery at Taranto also needs examination.

the predominant influence in the L. B. III period in the Eastern Mediterranean was not Crete, but the Mainland of Greece¹). Thus to say that Levanto-Helladic Ware is Late Minoan III really misses the historical implications of the presence of such pottery in Cyprus. It was not from Crete that the L. B. III ware of Mycenaean style radiated in the Levant, but from the Mainland of Greece. Miss Goldman²) has emphasized the likeness between the "Mycenaean" ware of Tarsus and that found at Mycenae itself. The great spread of Mycenaean influence down the coasts of Syria and Palestine and to Egypt during and after the Amarna period, that is after the fall of Knossos, came from the Mainland and not from Crete and probably via Rhodes and Cyprus and the south coast of Asia Minor. There is even evidence that the Mainland was in touch with these regions before 1400 B. C. In Egypt several L.H.I and II vases have been found³) and at Mycenae and the Argive Heraeum Egyptian objects of the fifteenth century came to light⁴). From Lachish (Tell Duweir) there is an L.H. II goblet⁵) and from Gezer⁶) a possible sherd of the same date. At Ras Shamra Dr. Schaeffer has found an alabastron of L. H. II style⁷) (Pl. III 5). On the other hand two Khurrian cylinders have been found on the Mainland, at Mycenae⁸) and at Argos⁹), and the former Dr. Schaeffer tells us cannot date later than the fifteenth century, a date amply confirmed by the stratification at Mycenae. Curiously, though there are Middle Minoan objects both at Byblos¹⁰) and Ras Shamra¹¹), no certain Cretan pottery of later date has yet been found on either the Syrian or the Palestinian coast. In Egypt¹²) Late Minoan I—II pottery is very rare. In Cyprus there are some

¹) See for instance Pendlebury, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* XVI (1930), p. 86ff.

²) *AJA.* 1937, p. 281ff.

³) See Appendix.

⁴) Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 55—59.

⁵) *ILN Oct.* 3rd 1936, p. 572, fig. 7.

⁶) Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 98, fig. 83.

⁷) It was found in a ruined tomb with a cup like Syria 1933, p. 98, fig. 3 (8), a bottle like *ibid.* fig. 3 (2) and a bilbil like *ibid.* fig. 3 (7). The "Mycenaean pottery of L. M. II date" from Atchana (*Ant. Journal* 1938, p. 8) is of Gjerstad's Levanto-Helladic class, of L. B. III date, and not earlier than the 14th century B. C.

⁸) Wace, *Chamber Tombs*, p. 72, no. 32, fig. 28, p. 197.

⁹) *BCH.* 1937, p. 1ff.

¹⁰) Evans, *P. of M. II*, pp. 654f.; 825.

¹¹) Syria 1937, pp. 144, 151, fig. 16.

¹²) Only two vases are known, a tall alabastron from Sedment (Evans, *P. of M. IV*, p. 270, fig. 200) and the Marseilles ewer (Evans, *ibid.*, p. 277, fig. 210) the Egyptian provenance of which is not certain.

Middle Minoan vases¹⁾ but late Minoan pottery²⁾ is extremely rare in comparison with the very plentiful Late Helladic and Levanto-Helladic wares³⁾.

The presence at Ras Shamra⁴⁾, Tell Abu Hawam⁵⁾, and Lachish⁶⁾ (Tell Duweir) of characteristic sherds of the incised grey ware of Troy VII a, the Troy of Homer and the Troy of the close of the Bronze Age, in company with "Mycenaean" ware confirms the date and helps also to suggest that the general trend of influence came from the Mainland and not from Crete. Similarly in North-western Asia Minor in layers of Troy VI and VII a Mycenaean pottery, Late Helladic I—III, is fairly common, but not a single sherd of Minoan Ware has yet been recognized. Cypriot pottery was also imported in the time of Troy VI and VII a.

The theory of a Cretan conquest or colonisation of the Mainland has been taken too much for granted. There is no greater Cretan influence in the Peloponnese than there is Greek in Etruria and the Greeks never conquered or occupied Etruria. In L. H. I. and II the vases of undoubted Cretan manufacture found on the Mainland are extremely few⁷⁾, though it is true that Cretan shapes and patterns were widely imitated on the Mainland just as Greek models were copied and adapted by the Etruscans. Further there are signs of Mainland reaction on Crete. Professor Snijder has suggested⁸⁾ that the big "Palace Style" amphorae which in Crete seem to have been made only at Knossos, but on the Mainland occur almost everywhere, Mycenae, Kakovatos, Vaphio, Argive Heraeum, Berbati, Thorikos, really have their origin on the Mainland. The Ephyraean goblets of the Mainland are imitated in Crete in L. M. II in a conventionalized manner⁹⁾. The differences

¹⁾ B. M. Cat. I, A 568 and a M. M. I a vase lately found in a tomb at Lapithos by Dr. B. H. Hill.

²⁾ The most certain pieces are B. M. Cat. I, 1 A 705. Other pieces such as B. M. Cat. I, 1, A 635, A 706, *ibid.* I, 2, C 678, C 685 seem Helladic rather than Minoan in character.

³⁾ See for instance Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, p. 210ff.

⁴⁾ From Tomb VI, Syria 1933, p. 105, fig. 8.

⁵⁾ Quarterly Dept. Ant. Palestine IV, pl. xxii a—d.

⁶⁾ We owe our knowledge of these to the kindness of the late Mr. J. L. Starkey. They occurred in the same burnt stratum as the inscribed Egyptian bowl dated to the reign of Merneptah 1229—1215 B. C. (*ILN.* Nov. 27th. 1937, p. 944; Quarterly Dept. Ant. Palestine VII, p. 53).

⁷⁾ The vases from Aegina said to be Cretan are not yet published, *Arch. Anz.* 1937, p. 24f. Those illustrated by Welter, *Aigina*, p. 22ff. seem to be Helladic and not Minoan.

⁸⁾ *Kretische Kunst*, p. 123f.

⁹⁾ Evans, *P. of M.* IV, pp. 362, 366, figs. 302, 306.



Abb. 1.



Abb. 2.



Abb. 3.

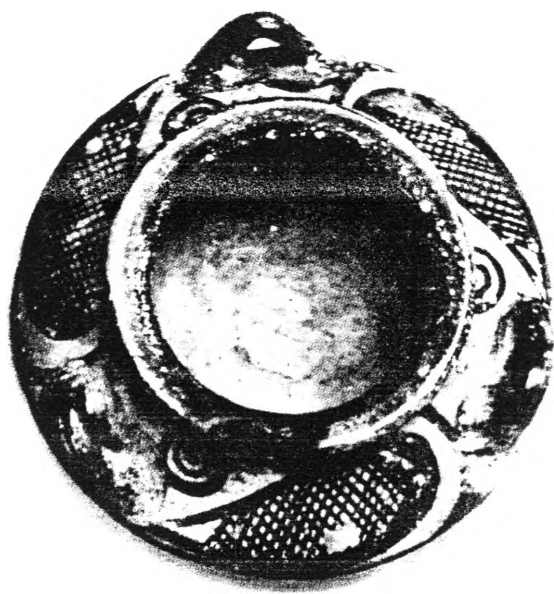


Abb. 4.



Abb. 5.



Abb. 6.



Abb. 7.

seen by Snijder, Nilsson, Rodenwaldt, and Karo in the psychology of art, in burial customs, in architecture and in many other points between Crete and the Mainland all tell heavily against the theory of a Cretan conquest or colonisation which has been based on archaeological evidence that will not stand serious critical examination. This theory should therefore no longer be allowed to cloud the historical implications of the archaeological evidence of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean.

On the Mainland, where as Ridgeway long ago remarked the clue to the origin of the Greeks is to be sought, the sequence of peoples seems to have been as follows. The first people so far known is the Neolithic which occupied the land from Macedonia to the Peloponnese and had nothing in common with the Neolithic Cretans. They were also independent of the painted pottery folk of the Carpathian area (Tripolje-Cucuteni culture). Though the pottery of this Neolithic culture is fairly uniform all over Greece there is nevertheless a great number of local varieties¹). Thus the parochialism of the city states of classical Greece might even be held to have its roots far back in the Neolithic Age. Early in the third millennium B. C. the Bronze Age begins with the arrival on the Mainland, possibly from Southwestern Asia Minor, of the race which also spread into the Islands and Crete. The new-comers gradually amalgamated with the survivors of the Neolithic population and this Early Helladic people ultimately reached a high level of culture and seems to have been prosperous. About 2000 B. C. with the Middle Bronze Age new factors appear in the shape of new house types, small shaft graves and Minyan Ware, and to judge by the archaeological evidence the people who made them were intruders who gradually settled down among and coalesced with the pre-existing population. The skull types suggest that the inhabitants of Greece were by this time already a mixed race²). Whence came the people who made Minyan Ware is not yet known, but it was apparently not from the north of the Balkan peninsula. Archaeologically their nearest kin are the Middle Bronze Age people of Troy who like those of the Mainland continued into the Late Bronze Age.

During the Middle Bronze Age Mattpainted Ware existed side by side with Minyan Ware and if the latter represents a new strain the former might be taken as an indication of the co-existence of

¹) Contrast the bowls from Aegina (Arch. Anz. 1937, p. 22) with those from Thessaly (Tsountas, *Προϊστορικά Ἀρχαῖα*, pl. 151; Wace-Thompson, *Prehist. Thessaly*, pp. 92, 93, figs. 44b, 45.

²) Fürst, *Zur Anthropologie d. prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis*.

the earlier strain. Gradually the two came together and were united in the Late Bronze Age as exemplified in "Mycenaean" pottery. About 1600 B. C. at the dawn of the Late Bronze Age the peoples of the Mainland became infected with the Cretan culture and adopted and adapted it for their own use though at the same time they retained much of their own. This "Crétoiserie" lasted through the first two phases of the Late Bronze Age. With the third phase after the downfall of Crete about 1400 B. C. the local Mainland elements come to the front again and the so called "Late Mycenaean Style" (L. H. III) is the result. This was a prosperous period on the Mainland and to speak of it as a degenerate and impoverished age is to misunderstand the archaeological evidence from Tiryns, Mycenae, Thebes and many other sites. An age which produced the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae, and the fortifications of the same two sites together with the finest of the beehive tombs at the latter was far from decadent. This civilisation endured till the end of the Bronze Age and with the disturbances that heralded the beginning of the Iron Age gradually evolved without any marked interruption into that of the Geometric Period.

The culture of the Mainland shows a continuous archaeological development from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age till the close of the Late Bronze Age. Attempts to find breaks either at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age¹⁾ or in the middle of its third phase²⁾ seem to us to lack convincing support. The balance of probability from weighing the literary and archaeological evidence³⁾ inclines in favour of the view that there was a Greek speaking population in Greece before the end of the Bronze Age and the most obvious archaeological period for the first coming to Greece of a Greek speaking people is at the opening of the Middle Bronze Age about 2000 B. C. The Neolithic people are an unknown quantity and the Early Bronze Age people were of the same stock as the islanders and Cretans and therefore probably not Indo-Europeans⁴⁾. Thus the first Greek speakers may be identified with the makers of Minyan Ware and their archaeological kinship with Troy arouses interesting speculations. Their

¹⁾ E. g. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 69.

²⁾ E. g. Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 260ff.

³⁾ See Buck, *Classical Philology*, 1926, p. 1ff.; Myres, *Who were the Greeks?*, p. 534.

⁴⁾ Blegen-Haley, *AJA.* 1923, p. 141ff. Some philologists have recently maintained the Indo-European origin of the pre-hellenic race which used the words in *-rθ*, *-σσ*, etc.

descendants in the Late Bronze Age would also have spoken Greek and may well of course have been supplemented by fresh drafts of Greek speaking tribes. The union of these several strains in the population of the Mainland, the Neolithic painted pottery folk, the Early Helladic people, and the Middle Helladic makers of Minyan Ware, probably accounts for the essential difference between Crete and the Mainland in the Late Bronze Age, the difference between Mycenaean and Minoan, perhaps even between "Hellenic" and "non-Hellenic".

Already in the Middle Bronze Age, as shown by the finds from Phylakopi in Melos and from Paros, the people of the Mainland were in touch with the Islands¹), but the extreme scarcity of their pottery in Crete²) hints that direct relations between the Mainland and Crete were rare and not cordial. In the first two phases of the Late Bronze Age Mainland and Cretan pottery occur at Phylakopi side by side³). In the temple repositories at Knossos, where Melian vases⁴) were found, Mainland pottery is conspicuous by its absence. With the opening of Late Cycladic III in Melos the Cretan imports seem to stop and this is the very period when there is a sudden wealth of "Mycenaean" L. B. III pottery all round the eastern Mediterranean from Troy to Egypt and from Syria to Sicily. Does it mean that once the Cretan power collapsed the inhabitants of the Mainland were free to begin the first wave of Greek trade and colonisation in the Nearer East? In Egypt Middle Minoan pottery is found⁵), but recent research shows that most of the so called L. M. I pottery from Egypt is not Cretan but Helladic⁶). This to some degree parallels the discoveries in Syria and Palestine and shows that the plentiful L. H. III imports into Egypt were anticipated to a certain extent by L. H. I and II imports. The source of the L. H. I and II pottery in Egypt is not necessarily Argolis, but the local research now planned on various categories of L. H. pottery will doubtless yield valuable information on this point. It is interesting to note in this connection that the route of the orientalising trade of the Greek archaic period from Syria and Phoenicia via Cyprus and Rhodes through

¹) BSA. XVII, p. 16ff.; AM. 1917, p. 35ff.

²) There is only one fragment of Minyan Ware from Knossos. Evans, P. of M. II, p. 309.

³) For instance in BSA. XVII, pl. XI no's. 18 and 140 are probably Minoan, no's 137 and 163 Helladic.

⁴) Evans, op. cit. I, p. 557ff.

⁵) Kahun, Abydos, Harageh, Evans, op. cit. I, p. 266ff., II, pp. 212, 228.

⁶) See Appendix.

the islands to the Mainland of Greece, to Athens, Corinth and Sparta and the other cities which flourished during the next wave of Greek colonisation seems to have coincided with the Mycenaean route to the Levant. The vases of Cypriot "chariot type"¹⁾ which appear at Atchana, Ras Shamra, Tell Ajjul, Lachish (Tell Duweir), Tell Abu Hawam, and other sites in the Levant occur in Rhodes and in Argolis at Tiryns and Mycenae²⁾. Since their greatest vogue was in Cyprus they may be the offspring of an orientalising influence and so reflect an eastern style in the West. Carved ivories are found at Ras Shamra, at Megiddo, at Enkomi in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and in the L. H. III tombs at Mycenae and at Spata and Menidi in Attica and all have a certain kinship in style³⁾. A peculiar type of bead in gold or faience and shaped like a lantern is found along the same route⁴⁾. Cyprus traditionally received the earliest Greek colonies, and other regions along or near that route were also early settled by Greeks. The colony usually succeeds the "factory" and trade. The old Mycenaean route to Syria and Egypt was not only so to speak the first route of Greek colonisation eastwards but also the earliest route by which orientalising products reached Greece as distinct from Crete⁵⁾. The ivory may perhaps have been the product of the Syrian elephant. Egyptian and Assyrian texts record the existence of the elephant in Syria⁶⁾. Elephant teeth have been found at Ras Shamra, an elephant's tibia at a North Syrian site excavated by the Oriental Institute

¹⁾ See B. M. Cat. I, 2, C 333ff.; Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, pls. cxviii, cxx, cxxi; Syria 1933, p. 105, fig. 8; Quarterly Dept. Ant. Palestine IV, pl. xixff. Fragments from Atchana are in the British Museum, from Tell Ajjul in the Palestine Museum, and from Tell Duweir in the Wellcome Institute, London.

²⁾ Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen* pl. xxxviiiif.; BSA. xxiv. pl. xivd; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pls. xiv, xv, xvii, xx, xxi; *Annuario* VI—VII, p. 151, fig. 74; p. 233, fig. 149.

³⁾ Syria 1929, pl. lvi; ILN. Oct. 23rd. 1937, p. 708; Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pls. i, ii; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. C; *Annuario* VI—VII, p. 247; BCH. 1878, pls. xiii—xviii; 'Ep. 'Agx. 1888, pl. 8; BSA. XXV, pl. lix; Bossert, *Art of Ancient Crete*, figs. 50—62, 81, 82; Lolling, *Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, pls. VI—VII.

⁴⁾ Wace, *Chamber Tombs*, pp. 94 (7g), 205f., pl. ix. A faience bead of the same type has been found in Tomb 8 at Atchana and fourteen more were found in 1938. Other beads of the same type have been found by the Oriental Institute on North Syrian sites.

⁵⁾ Payne's theory (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 53) that in the archaic period orientalising trade reached Corinth and other such centres by way of Crete seems unlikely.

⁶⁾ See Contenau, *Manuel d'Archeologie Orientale* II, p. 1048.

and in palaeolithic deposits in Palestine large elephant tusks have been found¹).

Thus a survey of the archaeological material as represented by the pottery in particular suggests that a strong Helladic influence permeated the islands, Cyprus, and the Syrian and Palestinian coasts down to Egypt in the third phase of the Late Bronze Age. Even in the first two phases of that period the Helladic pottery imported into Egypt seems to be more plentiful than the Minoan²). There are signs too, as shown above, that Helladic influence had reached Cyprus and the Syro-Palestinian littoral at least as early as the fifteenth century. All this suggests a historical reality underlying the epic tradition of Agamemnon's empire and the possibility of an Aegean war the effects of which reached even to Cyprus³) and "made the Isles restless". In the last stage of the Late Bronze Age the "Mycenaean" pottery found in the regions just mentioned, when subjected to analysis as to its origin, indicates that by that time the first wave of Greek colonisation and of Greek trade with the Orient had begun. This oriental trade was repeated or rather continued in the archaic period which has hitherto been regarded as the first period of orientalisation in Greece.

These explanations are put forward with all reserve, but seem at the moment to be those which best fit the material. Further discoveries and the differentiating study of L. H. III pottery on the Mainland now at last begun⁴) will undoubtedly clarify our ideas. The prehistoric exploration of the Mainland of Greece is still very incomplete and the Syrian, Anatolian, Cypriote, Palestinian, and Egyptian evidence still imperfectly known, and it is better to suspend judgment till more scientific archaeological material is to hand. So far as terminology is concerned it would be better to confine the term Late Minoan to objects found in Crete or of undoubted Cretan manufacture and the terms Cycladic and Helladic should be similarly used. For dating purposes the non-committal L. B. I, II, and III etc. could be used. For pottery of Mycenaean style found in Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (e. g. Tell-el-Amarna) Dr. Gjerstad's Levanto-Helladic, though clumsy, is at least expressive and indicates the probable connections of the pottery. It is, however, to be hoped that future publications of the "Mycenaean" pottery found at Syrian, Trojan, Palestinian, Anatolian, and Egyptian sites will be able to distinguish between Attic, Rhodian, Laconian, Argive and other varieties

¹) AJA. 1938, p. 106; Quarterly Dept. Ant. Palestine VII, p. 45.

²) See Appendix.

³) Homer, Iliad XI, 21 ff.

⁴) Attica by Mr. F. Stubbings, and Laconia by Miss H. Thomas.

of L. H. III ware¹⁾ just as the pottery found at Naucratis is sorted out into Rhodian, Attic, Laconian, Samian, Clazomenian, Chiot, and Corinthian. Apparently it was only late in the history of Greek pottery that manufacture developed into mass production at a few great centres as when Corinthian and Attic products flooded the markets and almost drove all other fabrics out of the trade. Before that each region produced an adequate supply and was for the most part content with its own local wares. Nevertheless even in the earliest periods there was undoubtedly a certain amount of interchange of pottery among the various local centres, for at almost every excavated site a less or a greater amount of pottery is found which must have been brought in from elsewhere. How this interchange of pottery was effected is a problem which has been considerably discussed. One suggestion is that this was due to some kind of trade, another that it was the result of plunder. Still when it is realised that the pottery so found is not of the best quality and indeed is often of very poor fabric, one must recognise that such vases neither could be commercial objects of sufficient importance to run the risks of travel in early days in view of their fragility nor would be in the least likely to attract looters. They thus were presumably imported for the sake of their contents or were casual imports, part of the movables of travellers, visitors, or perhaps merchants. However the importation was brought about it is obvious that the real significance of the presence of such imported pottery at any site can only be fully understood if the provenance of the imports or pottery in question can be determined with fair accuracy. When Early Helladic pottery, which is found imported in considerable quantity at Troy over a long period from Troy I to Troy V, is recognised merely as Early Helladic pottery then only general comments can be made about the significance of its presence at Troy. On the other hand if by detailed study of the various local fabrics of Early Helladic ware we could state definitely that it was imported from this or that region of the Greek Mainland then far more specific statements could be made about Troy and its relations commercial or otherwise with Greece. Also if in the Middle Helladic period the source of the Grey Minyan ware found in the Cyclades could be more specifically localised far more definite conclusions could be drawn regarding the movements of trade and population in that period. Similarly in the Late Bronze Age if the widespread distribution

¹⁾ Compare Edgar's remark "It is much to be hoped that the later Mycenaean fabrics will some day be differentiated with as much precision as the sixth century wares of Greece and Ionia", *Phylakopi*, p. 148.

of late Mycenaean pottery could be traced to a specific source or sources we should have most valuable information for any attempted reconstruction of the history of that period, especially as regards the trend of early Greek trade and colonisation eastwards. Several students are now working on the Late Bronze Age with these objects in view, and we hope that other students will be inspired to undertake similar research on Early and Middle Helladic pottery. We feel that a detailed study such as we have suggested of all periods of the Bronze Age would much enlarge our knowledge of the periods themselves and at the same time serve to correct many misunderstandings that have appeared in recent publications. Such misconceptions do much to neutralize the good that would otherwise accrue from the historical conclusions based on archaeological materials.

Appendix

The following is a list of the Late Helladic I and II vases known to us which have been found in Egypt.

A. Alabastron, low.

1. From Armant, British Museum A 651, B. M. Cat. I 1, pl. viii.
2. From Gurob, Cairo 47079, Brunton-Engelbach, Gurob, pl. xiii, p. 13; Petrie-Brunton, Sedment II, pl. xlviii, p. 23; Evans, P. of M. IV, p. 267, fig. 197.
3. From Saqqara, Cairo 47772, Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pl. xlii, p. 69f.; Evans, op. cit. II. p. 498, fig. 304.
4. Cairo 26125, AM. 1898, pl. viii 3; Evans, op. cit IV, p. 272, fig. 202.
5. Cairo 26126, AM., 1898, pl. viii 1.
6. From Tell el Amarna (?), Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour Collection. Pl. IV. On base wheel pattern, Wace, Chamber Tombs, pl. xlviii 8—10.
7. University College, London. Petrie Collection. Pl. I 1. On base wheel pattern, Wace, Chamber Tombs, pl. xlviii 8—10.
8. Manchester Museum, Sharp Ogden Collection. Pl. II 3, 4.
9. From Gurob, Murray-Loat, Saqqara Mastabas and Gurob, pl. xvii 5.
10. From Saqqara, Berlin, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, Myk. Vasen, pl. xxii 159, 159a. On base wavy cross pattern, cf. Pl. II 3.
11. Boston, 72, 1484, Hay Collection. On base wavy cross pattern, cf. Pl. II 3.

B. Amphora.

1. From Thebes, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Davis, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. xli; Evans, *op. cit.* IV, p. 275, fig. 208.

C. Cup.

1. From Abusir, Cairo 26124, *Arch. Anz.* 1899, p. 57.

D. Jug, spouted.

1. New York Historical Society, Abbott Collection, now in Brooklyn Museum, *AJA.* VI, p. 437ff. pl. xxii; *Bull. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* XII, p. 125ff.; Dussaud, *Civ. Pré-helléniques*, p. 114, fig. 85.

E. Jug, squat.

1. From Lahun, Tomb of Maket, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. xxvi; Evans, *op. cit.* II, p. 512, Fig. 315d.
2. University College, London, Petrie Collection. Pl. I 2.
3. University College, London, Petrie Collection. Pl. III 6.
4. Boston, 72, 1485, Hay Collection.

F. Saucer.

1. From Saqqara, Cairo 47773, Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. xlii; Evans, *op. cit.* II, p. 498, fig. 304.

The low alabastron is a characteristic Helladic shape from L. H. I onwards and it is often found on the Mainland¹). Apparently only eight examples have been found at Knossos²) of which four are L. M. III and only four L. M. I or II. This shape therefore was commoner in Egypt in the 16th and 15th centuries than it was at Knossos, a circumstance which confirms its non-Cretan character in view of the fact that a single L. H. II tomb on the Mainland will often contain half a dozen or more. The alabastron in Manchester A 8 is not certainly of Egyptian provenance, but its unbroken condition and its appearance both suggest that it came from that country. Of these alabastra A 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, all have on the base the wavy cross pattern which is known in Boeotia on vases found at Thebes³). It is just possible therefore that these vases from Egypt are of Boeotian fabric. The pattern too of a Boeotian alabastron⁴) resembles that of the Saqqara example

¹) Wace, *Chamber Tombs*, pp. 150, 157; Blegen, *Prosymna*, pp. 391, 403, 418.

²) Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, pp. 16, 20, 25, 50, 87, figs. 30, 35, 67, 93, pl. II; Id., *P. of M.* IV, p. 1009, fig. 960f.; BSA. XXVIII, p. 258, fig. 11.

³) *'Aex. Δελτ.* III, p. 152, fig. 113, 1; *'Eφ. 'Aex.* 1910, pl. 7, 2a.

⁴) *'Eφ. 'Aex.* 1910, p. 227, fig. 18b; *'Aex. Δελτ.* III, p. 153, no. 13.

A 3. The British Museum alabastron A 1 has on stylistic grounds been attributed to the same hand as the Abbott spouted jug D 1. Akin to them is an alabastron from Phylakopi¹⁾ the base pattern of which is similar to that of the Cairo alabastron A 5 and occurs also on examples from Tomb 518 at Mycenae, from Palaiochori, and from Thebes²⁾.

The tea-cup C 1 is almost exactly like one from Tomb 529 at Mycenae³⁾ and the Saqqara saucer finds many Mainland parallels⁴⁾. The Theban amphora B 1 in the Ashmolean Museum has been shown by Evans⁵⁾ to be strikingly like a fragment from Mycenae and its design has many parallels on the Mainland⁶⁾.

There are only two certain Cretan vases from Egypt, the Marseilles ewer, if it is indeed from Egypt, and a tall alabastron from Sedment⁷⁾. Thus, even if the Manchester alabastron be omitted and Crete be given the benefit of the Marseilles ewer, more than eight times as many Mainland (Helladic) as Cretan (Minoan) vases from Egypt in the period L. B. I and II, the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B. C., are now known.

Cambridge.

¹⁾ BSA. XVII, pl. xi, 137, where it is described as Minoan.

²⁾ Wace, op. cit., pl. xxxix, 19; 'Αρχ. Δελτ. III, p. 200, fig. 144, 2. no. 26; *ibid.* IX Παράρτημα, p. 19, fig. 2.

³⁾ Wace, op. cit., pl. i 1, pl. xxxiv, 11.

⁴⁾ Wace, op. cit., pls. ii, xxxiii 12, xlv 41; Blegen, Prosymna, figs. 70, 105, 281, 333, 658, 678, 679; pp. 394, 412ff.

⁵⁾ P. of M. IV, p. 275, figs. 208, 209.

⁶⁾ E. g. Blegen, op. cit., figs. 372, 374, 472, 705.

⁷⁾ Evans, P. of M. IV, pp. 270, 277, figs. 200a, 210.

Additional Notes:

p. 142. For the Syrian elephant and Syrian ivory see Barnett, *Pal. Ex. Fund Quarterly* 1939, p. 4ff.

p. 146. For the latest list of L. M. I and II alabastra see Pendlebury, *Arch. of Crete*, p. 223.