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THE ANNUAL  
OF THE  
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. IV.-6

SESSION 1897-8

London

KRAUS REPRINT

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1978

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THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHEOLOGY AT ATHENS, London

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Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1978

Printed in The Netherlands

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. Excavations in Melos, 1898 (Plates I., II., III.)—	
D. G. HOGARTH. I. The Season's Work. . . . .	1
D. MACKENZIE. II. The Successive Settlements. . . . .	17
C. C. EDGAR. III. The Pottery. . . . .	37
2. J. G. C. ANDERSON. Exploration in Asia Minor during 1898: First Report (Plate IV.) . . . . .	49
3. J. W. CROWFOOT. Notes upon late Anatolian Art . . . . .	79
4. DUNCAN MACKENZIE. Kos Astypalaia . . . . .	95
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	
Annual Meeting of Subscribers . . . . .	101
Income and Expenditure 1897-8 . . . . .	109
Donations and Subscriptions 1897-8 . . . . .	111
List of Subscribers . . . . .	113
Lists of Directors and Students . . . . .	118
Associates of the School . . . . .	122
Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens . . . . .	123



## LIST OF PLATES.

---

- I. Phylákopi; General Plan of Foundations; drawn by E. B. Hoare.
- II. The "Fishermen Vase," Phylákopi.
- III. Fresco representing Flying Fish, Phylákopi.
- IV. Map of Galatia Cis Halym.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

	PAGE
“ Aegean ” Signs . . . . .	12
Series of Melian Bowls . . . . .	36
Diagram of the Three Main Classes of Pottery. . . . .	48
Sketch Map of the Country between Murad Dagh and Aizanoi . . . . .	53
Distant view of the Steunos Cave . . . . .	56
Section of the Throne (roughly drawn by eye) . . . . .	57
The Southern Circular Building above the Cave . . . . .	58
Example of border from Yalynyz Serai. . . . .	81
Example of conventional border . . . . .	82
Example of decorative border . . . . .	83
Stone coiffure of a woman . . . . .	84
Plan and Elevation of the Church at Yürme. . . . .	88
Monogram of Eudoxia with Christ-symbol . . . . .	90
Architectural fragments from Yassi-euren . . . . .	93

# EXCAVATIONS IN MELOS, 1898.

(PLATES I., II., III.)

## I.

### THE SEASON'S WORK.

BY D. G. HOGARTH.

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THE initial stages of the excavation of the prehistoric city near the hamlet of Phylákopi in north-west Melos have been reported in previous issues of the *Annual* (II. and III.). The development of this exploration in its second season (1897) made it imperative that its continuation should be the principal, indeed the sole, objective of the next campaign of the School; and to that end accordingly our funds and energies were exclusively directed in the spring of 1898.

After Mr. Cecil Smith's description (*Ann.* III. pp. 6 ff.), it is unnecessary for the present to say anything more about the surroundings of Phylákopi. The results of his second campaign demonstrated that we had to do with a site of an importance little suspected previously,—with a site, in fact, which has no equal as yet known in the Greek islands, and rivals the great prehistoric towns on the mainland. The Phylákopi ruins represent the earliest capital of the island of Melos, which once commanded a shallow, sheltered port of considerable size, now become dry land, and was of great natural and artificial strength, being united to the mainland by a narrow neck, across which was carried, at the epoch of the city's greatest prosperity, an immensely massive fortification. It appears that a main source of its early wealth (and perhaps the determining cause of its original foundation) was the manufacture and export of implements of obsidian, a volcanic product of which in its more highly vitrified state

Melos has, so far as we know at present, the monopoly within the Levantine area. In the other parts of the eruptive belt which stretches from the peninsula of Methana in a half-moon through Melos, Kimolos and Santorin to Nisyros, this material in a high state of vitrification has not been observed. There is no evidence and little likelihood that it exists in Crete, and in fact its nearest occurrences are reported to be in Mount Alageuz in Russian Armenia,<sup>1</sup> and in the prolongation of the volcanic system of Sinai along the north-western coast of the Red Sea. Melos must therefore have exported through Phylákopi to all the surrounding islands and coasts from the earliest times throughout the bronze age, until the age of iron was fairly established. For bronze alone does not appear to succeed in ousting stone from domestic use. Obsidian arrow-heads, for example, appear among the bronze finds of the Circle graves at Mycenae; and for rough cutting purposes it has been observed (*e.g.* in Egypt) that cheap stone implements have often long co-existed even with iron.

The existence of this important commerce at Phylákopi rendered it probable *a priori* that the site would show traces of foreign products and influences among the local remains; and such, as will be seen later, has proved actually to be the case. The other Cyclad islands, Crete, and the Greek mainland, have all contributed at the same epoch or at different epochs; and this fact adds greatly to the importance of the exploration of Phylákopi. There is probably no spot more favourably circumstanced for the study not only of the part played by the islands in the evolution of Aegean prehistoric civilization, but of the force and direction of the influences that worked upon it from without.

For our present purpose of presenting an interim Report of the progress of this exploration in the season of 1898, we must take up the narration where we took up the work, namely, at the point where it was left in the season preceding. As an excavation progresses, it goes without saying that much modification is bound to be introduced into views and interpretations. In the sequel we shall refer to certain points, in which other eyes, or the widened experience of 1898, have served to correct statements made in the Report of 1897; but in no other respect shall we go over the ground of that Report again, until the time comes for full and final publication of the whole body of results.

<sup>1</sup> v. J. de Morgan, *Mission au Caucase*, i. p. 31. The Levantine obsidian is there wrongly ascribed to Crete.



The contract entered into by Mr. Cecil Smith with the proprietor of the western portion of the site still held good for the season of 1898, and guaranteed us a considerable area not completely or not at all excavated. But with the widow who owned the eastern and lower part of the site, and had refused all offers in 1897 (cp. *Ann.* III. p. 11), we had come to no satisfactory arrangement, when already it was time to think of resuming the excavation. Having failed by all independent means, after months of negotiation, to obtain from her such a contract as the Ephorate required, I appealed finally to the Ephor-General himself with fortunate results. Through his good offices with M. Tatarákis, late Deputy for Melos, an agreement was at last made with the widow, in virtue of which she resigned the digging rights on the uncultivated part of her Phylákopi property to the State, and furthermore gave to the latter a right of subsequent pre-emption of the fee-simple. A question was raised later as to what part of the property was to be considered uncultivated—a mere lawyer's quibble, for no part of the Phylákopi hillock has been ploughed within the memory of man. The contract was signed at last on April 12th.

We had already organized matters for opening the work, and, in fact, began to dig the day before the contract was signed. Mr. Mackenzie had brought from Athens such tools, wheelbarrows, etc., as we possessed. We employed one overseer only, Philippas Oekonómou, the most intelligent of the workmen of the preceding year, but more as a handy and trusted supernumerary, indeed, than as an overseer. The Government was represented by M. Kourouniôtes, who resided in Pláka. Unfortunately he suffered from ill health all the season, and one of the Museum watchmen, M. Grimánes, had to be sent out to assist him. There was also a native Melian employed as Government *epistátes*. All co-operated cordially with us, and rendered valuable assistance in watching the men and seeing to the transport of the finds to Athens at the close of the dig. The workmen were all native Melians, a singularly honest and industrious lot as compared with many that I have had to do with in excavation work, but possessing little experience and not conspicuous intelligence. Consequently, while they were little likely to steal, they needed constant watching and directing; and I found it not advisable to introduce among them methods that, following Mr. Petrie, I had used from time to time in Egypt, under which the men are left very much to themselves. For instance, payment by cubic metre of earth excavated, which I had contemplated introducing in

order not to have to "drive" the gangs, proved not feasible in view of the large quantity of valuable pottery which the soil everywhere contained. It would have been necessary to counteract the tendency to haste, which all metre work induces, by paying a price for countless sherds which up to then had had no money value in the island. Both the disbursement would have been too great for our funds, and an unfortunate precedent would have been introduced to disturb the Arcadian simplicity of the Melians. So we proceeded by the simple method of personal supervision, in which Mr. Mackenzie did yeoman service. The men were soon taught to respect all potsherds and constructions, and to note and keep a record of the levels at which they found them. Less easy was it to keep their eyes open to rarer objects, occurring occasionally and unexpectedly, such as stone implements or bronze. The extreme hardness of the earth, caked by sea spray to a depth sometimes of a metre below the surface, and the frequent presence of large stones, rendered the use of the large pick—that most undesirable tool—always unavoidable, but the smallness of the rooms, which we dug to depths of from four to six metres, rendered long-handled spades useless. I supplemented the baskets by half-a-dozen barrows, partly hired in the island, and ultimately employed a large number of boys as carriers, a plan which proved a great saving in expense, but was apparently a novelty in Melos. A flying steel rope basket line, however, would supply the best method of "dumping" on this site, as on so many others, where earth cannot simply be turned over and thrown back into the ground just excavated. Wages run high in Melos owing to the presence of mining works. The men had to be paid 3 drachmas, if a picked lot was to be secured and retained, and the boys from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  down to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  according to strength and size. In order to wash the potsherds and render it possible to sort them at once, we employed a small number of girls at boys' wages. They did more in the day than any but a very few men; but the punctilious proprieties of Melian life exact the complete separation of girls from male workpeople, and it will therefore never be possible to employ them except on odds and ends of work. With half-a-dozen exceptions the men came from the group of villages about the harbour, two hours away; and they were forced therefore to camp out in shelters and caves between Sundays, or the too frequent feast-days that vex the soul of European masters of labour in Greek lands. This, however, they gladly did. We had no difficulty in getting as many of them as we wanted, and threat of

dismissal was sufficient to stop any irregularity. They did the longest, if not the hardest<sup>1</sup> day's work I have ever known in excavation, latterly from 5 A.M. to 7 P.M., with 2½ hours interval.

When we opened the campaign on Monday, April 11th, the work before us was to explore in some sense all the hillock of Phylákopi, except the south-western horn, and about half of the great fortification. The diggers of the year before had advanced inwards from the Strong Wall and the west cliff at several points towards the main part of the site; but in the former case only by trenches which time had not allowed of their carrying down to rock, and in the latter by taking off just the surface layer and laying bare the well-preserved ground plan of a house or houses of the latest settlement. Where the diggers of 1897 had cleared the site completely, *i.e.* on the south-west horn, they had shown at different points walls of three successive settlements.

One or two architectural statements made in the Report of 1897 must be corrected ere we go farther. The evidence of three settlements, mentioned above as visible in structures on this south-western part of the site, may be obtained (1) from walls which run under the Strong Wall and existed before it. These belong to the *second* settlement, the first of which we have structural remains. (2) From the main mass of the Strong Wall, which is *from the foundation up* of the *third* settlement. No traces of an earlier period occur in it (cf. *Ann.* III. p. 13). The "ledge" of inferior construction which exists at one point under the main mass of this wall, is simply its contemporary foundation, never intended to be seen.<sup>2</sup> The pottery underlying this is of the second not the first period. The Strong Wall, therefore, has nothing to do with the primitive second settlement, but was built over and irrespective of it. The only other period of which it contains evidence is the *fourth* or "Mycenaean," during which it was added to and repaired. (3) From the surface rooms in Region III. (*Ann.* III. p. 18) which are the best surviving structures of the *fourth* period.

The so-called "chambers" within the thickness of the Strong Wall (*Ann.* III. p. 14) are probably not strictly chambers at all, but spaces

<sup>1</sup> For instance the result of their day was not nearly equal to that attained by an R.E. working party, that was once placed at my disposal in Alexandria. Nor were they equal to Mr. Petrie's picked *jellahin* from the Fayûm.

<sup>2</sup> Our own observation on this point was fully confirmed by Dr. Dörpfeld when he visited the site.

formerly filled in with rubble so as to be solid. This cheap and expeditious method of constructing a thick wall has been in vogue in all ages. It explains many walls on the Phylákopi site which are faced outwardly only. The lower or eastern part of the Strong Wall we found to be made up of similarly filled in "chambers." The statement on p. 17 of *Ann.* III. that "masses of *burnt brick*" were largely employed by the builders of the second settlement is misleading. There is, so far as I know, no genuine burnt brick on the site: the nearest thing to it is a baked composition occasionally used for flooring.

The small number also of sherds and other objects brought away in 1897 had raised problems rather than settled them. Especially the stratification of the pottery had been called in question by more than one archaeologist who had looked over the bags deposited at Athens; and it was evident that in 1898 we must pay closer attention to stratification, and preserve every scrap of ware, until it could be cleaned and examined.<sup>1</sup>

Looking over the large unexcavated area I had determined to transfer the work from the south-west, where the neighbourhood of the fortification rendered it unlikely that we should hit upon good house remains, to that region on the northern cliff, which represented evidently as much of the central high part of the town as the sea had spared. Here there existed ample signs on the surface that house remains of at least the latest settlement were present. But two preliminary tasks were imperative; first to establish, by trenches which would admit of a mechanical record, the stratification of the potsherds at different points of the site where disturbance was not likely to have taken place; and secondly, to determine, if possible, both the further direction of the great south fortification towards the east, and its possible return northwards to the sea—in other words to get the outer limits of the town. The first named object was attained by carrying trenches down by successive half metres to virgin rock in squares E 3 and J 1 (*v.* plan, Plate I.), where the floor level of the uppermost layer

<sup>1</sup> This confusion was not due to any carelessness or omission on the part of those responsible in 1896. The breaking away of the cliff up to within a very few feet of the Strong Wall on the north, as Mr. Mackenzie points out, had caused the accumulation of earth over and beside that structure to slide so steeply in the course of ages that at the cliff edge the latest potsherds occurred actually on the rock itself. A record, therefore, based on levels taken uniformly over the site would prove illusory for the region on which most of the work of 1897 was done. Furthermore, account must be taken of the fact that in laying the foundations of, and building so immense a structure as, the Strong Wall, unusual disturbance of the natural stratification of earlier remains must have taken place.

happened to be well preserved. The pottery from each successive half metre was kept apart and put in separate bags for future reference. In the first case the rock was found at 4 metres below the surface (=  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres below latest floor level); in the second at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  metres, the rock surface being uneven: the late floor level at this point only averaged .25 below the absolute surface.

The second object was never satisfactorily attained. The Strong Wall was indeed found to continue without a break eastwards, being contained in the steep *talus* which confronts the visitor approaching from the south. The wall, however, though constructed on the same system (cf. *Ann.* III. pp. 11 ff. and *supra*, p. 6) as is the case further west, is not of anything like the same massiveness, or architectural pretension: and, so far as we could discover, it fades away without any return northwards into the low cultivated ground, which fringes the hillock south and east, and is not included in our concession. A great number of trenches driven in all directions by Mr. Mackenzie (I myself had returned before Easter to Athens to attend the Jubilee of the French School) on the lower parts of the hillock within the wall resulted uniformly in the discovery of house-walls of the latest settlement, themselves running down into the cultivation. Nothing that could be recognised as a return of the fortification was hit upon anywhere.

Our failure to find a strong wall on the eastern slope until ground is reached, which is almost on sea level and so moist that corn will not ripen upon it until a fortnight later than on any other land in the neighbourhood, suggested to Mr. Mackenzie what I believe to be a true conjecture, viz. that these low marshy fields were themselves once a sufficient protection to the city on the east, *i.e.* that they were covered by a marine lagoon or even fairly deep sea. At that time the city stood on a peninsula, linked to the mainland at the south-west corner only by a rocky ledge, across which a strong wall was thrown and continued at a later period in a less solid form eastward along the edge of the fast drying lagoon. An examination of the coast about Phylákopi will show how the natural change has been effected: in fact the same agency still does the same work. The sea eats steadily into the face of the rocks on which the ancient city stands and also into the basalt hill facing it, and with the rounded spoils of these cliffs banks up a great bar of boulders in the centre of the bay. The bases of the hills all round the little plain of Phylakopi are full of waterworn caves, and it is evident that

once they fringed a sea running much further inland than at present. This bay is now represented by the fields east and south-east of the ancient site. Furthermore on this supposition only can a port be imagined good enough to explain the presence of an ancient city on this north-west coast at all, and especially its position as the great place of fabric and export for the obsidian of the island, none of which is actually found within several miles of the place. Phylákopi nowadays has simply an exposed bay into which no boats will venture except in the calmest weather. The conditions must have been in some way very different in the third and second millennia before our era ; and the most likely change that can be imagined is the drying up of a shallow port suitable for the small craft of early days and once sheltered from the west and north under the south slope of the Phylákopi hillock.

The opening up of the South Wall and the trenching of the low part of the hillock to the East occupied nine days, the progress of work being impeded in the one case by quantities of large fallen stones for which place could hardly be found except in the crofts below (where we had engaged not to put them), and in the other by the excessive hardness of the surface soil. I returned from Athens, after a vexatious delay *en route*, on April 26th, and by that time it had become clear that we should find no fortification on the east by surface trenching. Therefore on April 27th I took the men out of the maze of the little late houses in which they were working on the south and east of the site, and gradually concentrated them on to the north cliff. For the present, however, a gang was left to continue clearing in and round an insulated structure discovered in square J 3, which bore some resemblance to a quadrangular tower with two chambers, entered by a good doorway with squared posts. As the character of its walls and all the pottery found hereabouts attest, it and all the structures near it belong to the latest settlement. When the "tower" was clear, we continued to cut north and west of it without going lower than 1.75m. and soon were convinced that it had no fortification character but was just an insulated house. Immediately to west of it we struck a passage, with covered water-conduit running down its axis at a depth of .75, and following it up for some way westwards, we opened out to the south another house with well-built walls, the largest of whose stones measured 1m. by 40 cm. Afterwards we contented ourselves with probing for the conduit at intervals, finding at one point of its

channel (west edge of H 3) quantities of broken vessels of Mycenaean period evidently brought down by the water from the higher part of the site. Finally, as the channel was not different to others in the upper town and was not likely to lead to any gate or point of importance, we desisted from its further exploration on May 10th. All this central part of the lower site is crossed at intervals by long straight walls of small stones bonded with clay with no face on the upper (west) side. Their upper courses are flush with the surface, and they cease at a depth of about .75, resting on no foundation. They have no connection with the fourth settlement passage and watercourse just described, which indeed are crossed by two of them obliquely. There can be no doubt, then, that these walls are the latest constructions on the site, and it seems probable that they have served to bank up the soil in terraces for cultivation plots. But except that they are later than what we regard as the uppermost "Mycenaean" settlement, they must remain of uncertain date, their structural character being equally that of modern Melian terrace walls and of late "Mycenaean." From all this low part of the site nothing more than broken pottery of the later Mycenaean period and rough stone utensils was obtained, excepting some steatite vessels and fragments, found outside the north wall of the insulated house at a depth of 1.50 m.

We may turn with relief—as indeed we did turn on April 27th—to the part of the site on which our more thoroughgoing work of the season was to be done, namely to the north cliff. A beginning had already been made there with the second "trial trench," in sinking which a complete fourth settlement house had been laid bare in squares J 1, 2: under it were found walls of both the third and second settlements and a layer of pottery, underlying all the constructions. Here at any rate we were on a part of the site which had been settled from the earliest time. The floor level of the latest town lay hardly more than .30 below the surface: the less important partition walls had no deeper foundation, but the more important were found to be carried down about 1 metre and to rest on either a course of large boulders from the beach, or a bed of small sea-shingle and sand, or occasionally the top of earlier walls. The latter, the well-built remains of the third settlement town, were thus reached usually in this part of the site at from 1.50 to 2 m. below the surface; and with their foundation courses they went down till either rock or walls of the

second settlement appeared. In the deepest place under the house in question the foundations of the third settlement lay at 4.50 on a bed of sand and pebbles. Then after a belt of earth 1 m. thick containing hardly any sherds, scanty remains of more walls came to view, resting again on earth mixed with sherds. The rock was found at 6.50.

The distinctive character of the three settlements of which we have found structural remains never leaves room for doubt on any part of the site.<sup>1</sup> The earliest (*i.e.* the *second* settlement) appears to have been much the least extensive; and probably, like other settlements of the same primitive period in the islands, it was not fortified. If we may judge from the intervals, at which our deep trenches revealed its constructions under those of the third settlement, its habitations were few and widely spaced. The occurrence in several places of a belt of earth, hardly containing any sherds, argues that, after a catastrophe, the site lay for a long time desolate, left to the action of natural silt. The accumulation of this must have been very slow; for the site is arid, and the prevailing current of air comes off the sea, bringing spray not dust. In fact in the case of the latest settlement we find that at least two and a half millennia have overlaid it with less than half a metre of deposit. The city of the third settlement when it came into being, was of a very different type, a city of fortress-builders, able to lay out their constructions at right angles, to square and to fit their materials accurately, to build their walls plumb, and to engineer a water system. The great fortification was the work of these men, and it marks the most flourishing period of Phylákopi. But between the first settlement of these fortress-builders and the change which led once more to the founding of a new settlement above theirs, a long succession of years must again be supposed: for the contents of the houses represent many stages of development. The characteristics of this and the other settlements and of their pottery will be treated more in detail in the subsequent papers. Sufficient to point out here that since our second and third settlements at Phylákopi, in both methods of construction and contents, correspond closely with certain prehistoric dwellings found in Aegina and Thorikos and described by M. Staes in *Ephemeris Archaeologiké*, 1895, pp. 227 ff., they belong probably to a people or peoples who had widespread relations in the Aegean before the great epoch of Mycenae. Contemporary with the last-named period are the scanty remains of our fourth and latest City, between which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Mr. Mackenzie's paper *infra*, pp. 17 *sqq.*



and the third settlement there was interposed a catastrophe, but apparently no long interval of time. In its turn this latest city was destroyed and most of its materials were removed; and, except for cultivation at some period (v. *supra*, p. 9), the Phylákopi site has lain desolate ever since. The port became choked: obsidian had long ceased to be of value; and in consequence the centre of the island was shifted westwards to one point or another on the shore of the great inlet five miles away, where through the Hellenic, Roman, Byzantine and Italian eras it has remained to our own day.

By April 28th we had finished with squares J 1, J 2 and were proceeding with our gangs increased to just short of a hundred men westwards along the cliff top, opening out the chambers from the sea face inwards. This direction of progress was rendered natural both by the facility for "dumping" and by the fact that some sort of street, into which doors opened, ran more or less closely along the existing brink of the cliff. The few chambers opened to the east of the "Mycenaean house" proved ruinous, shallow, and productive of hardly anything but the little plain wheel-made cups of which we were afterwards to get many hundreds: and for some little distance westwards also houses of good character did not appear. But thereafter began that plethora of potsherds, which is characteristic of this site as of all others of a similar period. (In two days we obtained more than was carried to Athens in all the previous season,—a circumstance due in some measure to the fact that we allowed nothing to be thrown away before being washed.) Among the sherds were many with finely painted marine motives, but no whole vases appeared except the plain cups.

As we proceeded westwards the remains of the latest city became deeper, the floors of hammered mud (occasionally also of slabs of schist) averaging 75 below the surface. Good painted ware became common from the uppermost or fourth settlement, and by the beginning of the succeeding week (May 2nd), we had opened out deep well preserved chambers of the third settlement city in H 1, which, however, had been dug into before our time: for there was a clean-cut trench in the earth deposit, filled loosely with rubbish. On Tuesday, May 3rd, we came upon our first considerable find of complete vessels, all on the latest floor-level of two small rooms—in the one a large painted bath-shaped urn, recalling a Cretan "larnax," which broke only when the supporting earth was removed; and in the other a number of painted vases and lamps, protected under the bulge of a wall. The yield of potsherds had come to

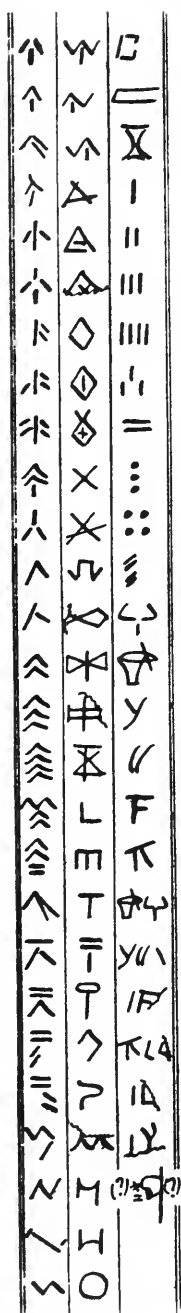


FIG. 1.

average about forty baskets a day, specimens inscribed with "Aegean" signs<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1), scratched while the clay was wet, being frequent; and rude stone mortars, saddle-querns, &c., were of hourly occurrence. Broken vessels containing remains of bronze-smelting; clay lamps with blackened spouts; broken stone vessels, and a very few idols, remain to be added to the countless potsherds. At the end of the week we had cleared all the slope up to the cliff top, finding rock at from 3.50 to 4 m.; and had begun to make sinkings into the chambers on the more or less level terraces, which have been banked up in later times on the west of the hillock for purposes of cultivation. We cleared first the highest and westernmost of these terraces, on the west half of which remains of the latest settlement had been laid bare in the previous year, and we at an earlier period had sunk our first "trial trench." We found the walls and floors of the uppermost chambers less complete on the eastern half; but on the other hand, on May 10th, we hit upon a typical column-base of the Tiryns type, apparently *in situ* at a depth of only .50, and later began to open out both an extensive drain system and the eastern entrance to this high-lying house. Very little pottery resulted from this superficial earth, and for two or three days we got little spoil, except from one chamber on the lower terrace, where a layer of vases, mostly with incised ornament, lay within six inches of the rock. On May 11th, Dr. Dörpfeld and his party visited us in the course of their *Inselreise*, and the former represented the danger of leaving so many primitive walls bared to foundation level. Accordingly, as soon as Mr. E. B. Hoare, who had suffered from persistent ill-health, was well enough to plot in all that had been uncovered up to that time, we filled in again many chambers that had been dug to the rock. For nearly a week now, during part of which I was absent in Athens our efforts were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. table annexed, which gives all the distinct forms but is not a *catalogue raisonné*.

directed mainly to opening out the banks east and south of the upper terrace. That on the east proved to contain an entrance to the upper building with flanking chambers; a long narrow passage running south from the cliff edge served both as approach and drain; and on the other side of the strong supporting wall of boulders which bounded this on the east was another group of chambers which we were to open later with signal results. The south bank also contained a narrow passage but was found to be more steeply terraced, and immediately below it began a series of chambers of which we had only time to dig out two. From their not remarkable contents, among which were some two hundred plain cups found lying in *rouleaux* one within the other, they seem to belong to the latest settlement. From two points in the south bank we ran trenches across to the fortification wall on the south in order to determine the character of this part of the site. It was found to be, like the low part on the east, full of house remains of the late period, the substructures often alone remaining. We cut down a long passage running south, and up a passage with drain falling to the south-east, and round an *insula* very like that in the east centre (*v. supra*), but obtained nothing but potsherds. This part of the site has been at some period carefully levelled for cultivation. Stones have been gathered off its surface and walls destroyed. The earth is hard and very deep. In another season it might be probed more thoroughly in order to determine whether remains of the third and earlier settlements underlie the later here, but judging from the character of the southern fortification at this point, all the lowest part of the town is a late extension, and will not equal the upper part either in interest or in the number and value of the objects found.

As the last week arrived, for which our funds would hold out, I determined to concentrate labour on the two high terraces, the northern and southern edges of which had been already explored. Here was our best chance of finding characteristic objects belonging to all the settlements. From the upper terrace the superficial layer had already been removed, and on the 18th gangs were set to sink shafts in several places through the remains of the third settlement city, whose existence in this region we had already established, down to the rock. The second layer (third settlement) proved at once remunerative: vase fragments painted with birds and fishes, bronze tools, several complete strainers and other vessels rewarded us; and as we approached the rock (here uniformly at 4 metres below the

surface) we obtained good incised vases. But the most remarkable finds were to come from the lower terrace. We had hardly concentrated the men upon it when early on the 19th, on the mud floor of a late settlement house, at a depth of '80, was found the "Fishermen Vase" (Plate II.). The lowest stratum (4 m.) of other chambers near at hand had been yielding good incised ware for two days past, and from the lower levels of the third settlement city had been emerging many flat painted bowls, a fine steatite lamp, and other good vessels. The surface earth yielded painted fragments in profusion, and, for the first time, some saw-toothed flint knives. Half way across the terrace, digging to the southward, we struck an axial passage, and on the 21st began on a fresh group of chambers beyond it.

As we were digging this part of the site rather for the chance of vases and other objects than for the plan, we had gone down to the rock only where the spaces left between walls of various epochs rendered sinking easy, and after a little experience did not descend lower than the foundations of the third settlement city wherever these rested on a bed of shingle. For in no such case did we find anything below until rock was reached. But in every chamber, except the small room where the "Fishermen Vase" was found, we dug out thoroughly the remains of the third settlement, and in four or five places penetrated to the second settlement. In fact unless walls are to be destroyed wholesale, this is the only method of exploration possible on those parts of the site where the three (or four) settlements are superimposed one on the other. To get a complete plan of the two uppermost is easy: to get a complete plan of the two lower strata is all but impossible, but their character and that of the objects in them can be amply established by occasional shafts.

With only three or at most four days work still before us we began on the new chambers south of the axial passage on Saturday the 21st. Here the latest city has left but very shallow remains, and the top of the walls of the third settlement emerge at less than a metre below the surface. Almost at once the finding of a piece of fine stucco, painted with marine growths on a white slip, warned us that we had opened a room of better quality than any found hitherto, for though this was not the first stucco we had noted in the third settlement city, it was the first with design. The whole of our now reduced staff of workmen was accordingly employed until the close of the excavation on Thursday, May 26th, in

clearing as many of these chambers as possible down to the floor level of the third settlement, which lies at about 2 metres. In two cases the men were able to descend to the rock, which here lies only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres below the surface, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metres below the floor of the third settlement. The remains of the uppermost settlement, almost on the surface, included two small built up water tanks, which were left *in situ*, as were also all the walls. But cutting through the mud floors we descended into the rooms of the third settlement, three of which had been stuccoed. Of these one contained only a few fragments of strong, stout plaster, painted in broad bands of plain colours, red and black; but the two other rooms, of which the one led into the other, had more elaborate designs. The first yielded dark crimson stucco, on which appeared a design of white lilies with yellow pistils and stamina: the other, in which by far the largest amount of stucco was found, gave us remains of broad bands of plain colours, blue, green, black and red, relieved by stripes and pricked lines. But also there were remains of a band of design, flying fish represented among marine growths such as sponges in a sea indicated by the presence of blue bubbles. A human figure, of which we found only the outlined hands and part of the braceleted arms to the shoulder, seems to hold a net, but not in the same band of design.<sup>1</sup> All this crumbling material was lying among the earth in the chamber, mostly face upwards, at different levels varying over nearly a metre, having fallen gradually from its place. No single piece still adhered to any wall. The earth being packed hard, it was impossible to get out the stucco except in small fragments, work as slowly and carefully as we might. The fragments vary much in thickness from 8 cm. to 16 cm., having been fitted to the inequalities of the rough backing. This chamber had the further distinction of possessing a square pillar, standing free on a roughly-rounded base in the centre of the east end of the room. What is left of it is built of two poros stones, '60 square and respectively '66 and '57 high. Before the end of the work we found an exactly similar pillar in the east end of the large chamber at the north-west corner of this group. This pillar is beautifully squared—the best bit of masonry in fact yet found at Phylákopi. It is preserved to a height of '93 and is '45 square. Not far from it in the same room was found a round base of the ordinary Tiryns type, but not *in situ*; and

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 26, 27, *infra* for fuller description.

in a third chamber adjoining are remains of a ruder specimen of these bases, but this time probably as originally placed. Very little pottery was found in any of these rooms, but such as there was belonged to the later period of the third settlement. Time did not permit of these chambers with their novel and singular features being finished. It remains to dig deeper in all but two, and to begin from the surface on the southern half of this block of buildings. That done, it will have to be considered to what extent the lower parts of the site, south and east, shall be cleared.

## II.

## THE SUCCESSIVE SETTLEMENTS.

BY D. MACKENZIE.

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When we began excavation at Phylákopi in 1896 we did so with the great advantage of knowing from what was visible on the surface that nothing would be found on the site that was later than Mycenaean. This fact simplified vastly the problem of excavation as compared with that offered by sites like Mycenae and Troy. The evidence we were in search of was presented from the surface downwards without any later admixture. Thus we had our attention directed exclusively to prior questions in which the problem of the Mycenaean civilization would present a final stage.

Already in 1896 a distinct stratification in deposit and wall had been observed at the west end of the site, though the breaking away of the rock at this part through the action of the sea had so much disturbed the natural formation of the deposit that hardly any of the finds from that region could safely be coordinated with the evidence from the stratification of walls, except such objects as were found near the fortifications, or deep down in those chambers that had walls fairly well preserved (*Annual*, III. p. 9).

In 1897 the evidence forthcoming was of a much more definite and reliable nature, and the excavation of the undisturbed region outside the fortification wall at the west end of the site (*Ibid.* plan A—D 5), and the clearing up of some points inside the fortress, led to the recognition of at least three distinct strata of wall and deposit at this part (*Ibid.* p. 13). The formidable task of clearing the undisturbed exterior of the strong wall at A—D 5 brought us reward in the knowledge of its gradual construction, which has not been increased by subsequent examination of the less well preserved continuation further east. The actual finds on the other

hand were not of the same value or abundance as those made in the succeeding season deep down in the rooms within the citadel; for not only was nothing whole to be expected, but the evidence supplied elsewhere by housewalls and definite floor levels was naturally lacking outside the fortress. As the too short excavation season of 1897 was drawing to a close, and we found that we must aim at such a surface plan as would give a fair conception of the whole further space at our disposal for excavation, we had to content ourselves with surface results, that could throw little light on the question of stratification, and only at one or two points were we able to penetrate beneath the Mycenaean level (*Ibid.*, p. 18, plan D 3, 12 and C 5).

From this point of view it is fortunate that we can now supplement the evidence from the excavations of 1896-7 by a study of the much richer finds of 1898, made at different levels on those much better preserved parts of the site further east, which were not open to excavation in 1897.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Different Wall-strata and their Deposits.*

In considering the evidence for different stratifications of deposit and wall at Phylákopi it will be convenient in a preliminary survey, to follow the order in which such evidence was brought to light, and to work from the surface downwards. After this evidence, however, has been briefly reviewed, and when the objects found have to be exhibited in their general connection with the sequence of strata, regarded now only from the point of view of successive settlement, the natural order of development must be pursued, beginning with the earliest deposit on the rock and ending with the latest stratum below the surface.

1. The Mycenaean deposit next the surface is a uniform fact all over the site, requiring no further verification in a preliminary report, and accordingly we have here only to note such characteristics as were not prominent at the west end of the site. One such characteristic is afforded by the existence in the lower east half of the site of isolated houses, by which this quarter is distinguished from the upper citadel of the west end with its large complex of connected apartments (plan, A—F).

<sup>1</sup> The huge disproportion between the rich finds of 1898 and the comparatively poor ones of 1896-7 is easily understood when we remember that the well-preserved houses of the east half of the site (F—M) are only matched by the exterior of the strong wall at the west end.



Here has to be mentioned the Mycenaean house of several apartments, with well preserved cement floorings brought to light at J 1—2, at from 25 to 50 centimetres from the surface. At K 3 a much smaller house of only two rooms was characterised by the finds as also Mycenaean.

2. The rooms at the north end of the Mycenaean house at J 1—2 had no cement flooring, but at the same level as the cement flooring of the other rooms the soil was found to be very tough, as if much trodden, and when this was removed a new set of walls began to appear, having no connection and no correspondence with those above them. At G 3, 1—3, is a third Mycenaean house of three rooms; and below it, with a similar though not exactly coinciding system of walls, appears what must be regarded as the most important architectural discovery, up till now, in this second stratum—a complete house with important wall-stucco matching the houses of the first or Mycenaean stratum. At H 1, 1—5, again, very near the shore, appears a house of the second stratum which, with its low arched doorway between rooms 3 and 4, is much better preserved than the building of which there are traces in the Mycenaean stratum above it. This second stratum was afterwards gradually verified everywhere to the west of the house at J 1—2, but to the east of it the ground has not been tested below the Mycenaean level.

3. On the complete excavation of any space characterised as belonging to this second stratum it was found that, sometimes after an interval of deposit, sometimes not, a still earlier system of walls always came into view, having no direct connection with the system above it. A typical case had already occurred the previous year at B 5 (*Annual*, III. p. 17) having a capital importance, as we shall afterwards see, through the coincidence with it of the great obsidian deposit at B 5, 3. An important addition to our knowledge of this third stratum was made in 1898 in a series of rooms in G 2. Here in space 1 there is only one wall belonging to the first stratum, that bounding the space on the west side, which goes down 1·30. Below this on all four sides of the space appeared a lower set of walls with traces of plaster, going down to a depth of 2·60 from the surface, the north wall having a door-way which had afterwards been built up. Then came an interval of deposit 35 centimetres deep, below which began a third set of walls going down 65 centimetres to the rock. The pottery from this third stratum of walls, the most typical specimens of which had large geometrical patterns in lustreless black paint on a pale

slip, has to be co-ordinated with the fine incised hand-polished ware from the corresponding stratum in the neighbouring spaces 2 and 3, and this again with the incised fragments found the previous year at D 3, 12.

4. Up to this stage of our enquiry we had been accustomed to expect the virgin rock after the appearance of a third stratum of walls like the above. At the Mycenaean house at J 1-2, however, the third stratum of walls whose foundations were at a depth of 4.90 from the surface did not as elsewhere rest upon the rock, but upon what turned out to be a still earlier deposit which went down without any walls at all to the rock at a depth of 6.50 from the surface.

Having recorded typical evidence for this wall stratification, and having at the above point come upon an earlier deposit than has yet been discovered at any other part of the site, it will be convenient to pass in review the pottery and other objects found at different levels here and elsewhere in reference to this stratification, and in the natural order from the lowest to the highest stratum. In this connection it has to be remembered that the lowest or fourth stratum in the order of discovery is the first in the order of settlement, and that the first stratum in the order of excavation has been the last inhabited.

### I.—THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT.

The earliest deposit at Phylákopi affords evidence of human habitation (fragments of earthenware cooking utensils) without as yet any corresponding traces of walls, and though, when we consider how small a space has yet been excavated, it is possible that such evidence may yet be forthcoming, it is worth while to observe (1) that the early cist-tomb cemeteries hitherto excavated (Oliaros, Amorgos, Pelós) have shown no trace of corresponding habitation near them, and (2) that no primitive settlement hitherto excavated has shown any stratum that could definitely be assigned to the people of the early cist tombs.

What kind of dwellings the people of the earliest cist tombs inhabited has not as yet been made out, but the analogy of the hut-dwellings of Apulia<sup>1</sup> and the cave and hut-dwellings of Sicily<sup>2</sup> does not lead us to expect much in the way of permanent stone structure such as would

<sup>1</sup> Patroni, *Mon. dei Lincei*, viii. p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Orsi, *Bulletino di Paletologia italiana*, 1890, p. 177; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1898, p. 35.

leave prominent traces of itself under the massive later superstructures of a citadel like Phylákopi. Indeed, Orsi's investigations go to show that the very primitive settlement at Stentinello, with a rich deposit of potsherds<sup>1</sup> bearing the closest resemblance to the incised ware of the earliest stratum at Phylákopi, was equally lacking in any apparent structural traces of the actual habitations themselves.

In one case known to me, however, at Kastraki, in south-west Naxos, an extensive necropolis of cist tombs has adjacent to it considerable remains of prehistoric human habitation. The settlement here is so close to the shore that part of it has been washed away by the action of the waves, the result being a complete section of the deposit at one part. Some of the pottery corresponded to what was to be expected from the type of tombs in the vicinity, while some again resembled what at Phylákopi belongs to a distinctly later date. If the settlement at Kastraki is ever excavated, it is probable that deep down in it will be found a distinct stratum of deposit answering to the contents of the earliest tombs of the neighbouring necropolis, and in that case a sharp look-out will have to be kept for any traces of hut walls. A glance at Patroni's plan of the prehistoric hut-village previously referred to, will suffice to show how easily such obscure evidence can be overlooked or lost, and in that case it is almost inevitable that the corresponding deposit of broken pottery should come to have its separate identity also overlooked in the mass of richer finds from the more clearly marked strata above.

From the analogy of the cist-tombs, objects in marble are those which one would most naturally expect along with the pottery of this earliest era. Such objects are, however, extremely rare at Phylákopi, while at Pelós they do not occur at all. This might perhaps be expected to be the case, in an island like Melos, possessing no marble, just as, on the other hand, one need not be surprised that in Paros and Naxos, with their rich marble quarries, prehistoric vases in marble should predominate over the earlier clay vessels they imitate. Yet even at Phylákopi, the marble vessel is not unrepresented, for in this deposit appeared the marble fragment of what might have been a basin or large bowl simultaneously with a fragment of some implement in hard black stone. At the same level were discovered several obsidian knives, a find which has its importance when

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* tav. vi.

taken in relation with the parallel discovery of obsidian implements in the tombs of Pelós.

We have thus confronting one another in this earliest settlement the rarest and the most common materials which Phylákopi has to show. And though, notwithstanding the identity of race which has been already proved between the earliest people at Phylákopi and those of the neighbouring islands, it is not so easy with very primitive finds to verify actual importation and exportation, we can, nevertheless, have no doubt that the marble (which does not exist in Melos) was imported, and the obsidian (of which Melos among all the islands of the Aegean seems to have the monopoly<sup>1</sup>) was exported, already at this early age, and that the latter accounts for the obsidian implements in the cist-tombs of the neighbouring islands.

## II.—THE SECOND SETTLEMENT.

The extensive wall remains of what we must call the second settlement at Phylákopi, in evidence everywhere from the region J 1-2 to the west end of the site, is in marked contrast to the obscure evidence of habitation characteristic of the earliest deposit. Now, the walls belonging to this settlement at the west end of the site are seen to be in no connection with any existing part of the strong wall, which after an interval of earlier deposit goes right over these earlier walls (*Annual*, p. 17, and Plan A, 5, 4). The natural conclusion is that while no longer a collection of detached huts of more or less perishable or effaceable material, such as on the negative evidence from the site itself we have for the present to assume for the first settlement, the second settlement at Phylákopi was not yet a fortified town.

An analogy for this is to be found in Melos itself in the prehistoric site of Samari discovered by me in 1896 (*Annual*, III. p. 86), which presents a complex system of straight house-walls without any trace of fortification and I have in repeated visits found nothing on that site to contradict the conjecture that it belongs to the same era as the second town of Phylákopi. The discovery of a similarly unfortified settlement at Akrotiri in S.W. Paros, with ceramic forms identical with many which at Phylákopi are typical of the earliest strata, is confirmatory evidence.<sup>2</sup> As,

<sup>1</sup> *v. supra*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Since this was written Tsountas has published the results of an excavation made in this neighbourhood, s. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1898, pp. 168 ff.

however, I was able to discover no traces of burial near either of these two settlements, it was fortunate that afterwards at Kastraki in S.W. Naxos I came upon the prehistoric settlement with adjoining necropolis mentioned above. This settlement had in common with the one at Akrotiri in Paros, and the one at Samari in Melos, as well as with the second town at Phylákopi, the very characteristic feature that it also was, as far as I could judge, unfortified. The identity between typical ceramic forms at Kastraki and Akrotiri was very noticeable. In the absence of the relative evidence it is not so easy fully to establish the connection between the Akrotiri and Samari settlements, and the people of the cist-tombs. In the case of the Naxos settlement, however, we have the rare coincidence of cist-tomb necropolis with corresponding settlement, the analogies of the cist-tombs being more with the earliest Phylákopi deposit, while the open unfortified settlement of straight-walled houses has more analogy with the second town at Phylákopi.

The probable explanation is that the cist-tomb necropolis and the adjacent unfortified settlement at Kastraki cover the same period as the earliest deposit and the second, unfortified, settlement at Phylákopi. At the Naxos site, as at Phylákopi, to a primitive period leaving no apparent vestige in the way of wall remains, succeeded a more advanced era when the inhabitants of both sites lived in open unfortified towns.

The only site in Greece hitherto investigated that affords a close analogy to the houses of our second settlement is the prehistoric, unfortified dwelling excavated by Mr. Stais in Aegina (Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 243) and Mr. Edgar (p. 42) cites the painted geometric vases discovered there (*ibid.* Pl. X. especially 1-4) as having the greatest affinity with some typical finds of the second settlement at Phylákopi.

In terms then of what the wall-remains record, the progress from the first era at Phylákopi to the second is one in which habitation in a collection of rudely built one-roomed huts that have left no apparent traces of themselves, is succeeded by habitation in straight-walled houses of one, two, and more apartments. These houses are regularly provided with stone thresholds, and all corners have greater security given to them through a careful finish with well-squared poros blocks usually of moderate size. The appearance of plaster lining the rooms, already mentioned, in G 2 and the rooms at A 5, 4 is assurance that we have here already to do with regular house-walls of stone, no longer the mere substructures of

more perishable constructions above them, though, on the other hand, there is nothing to show that all roofs were not of thatch-covered wood.

We arrive at an important landmark in the history of Phylákopi, when we put the great obsidian workshop at B 5, at the west end of the site, (*Annual*, III., Plan), in connection with the second settlement. By this, however, it is not meant that the working of obsidian at Phylákopi began now for the first time, for as we have seen obsidian implements were found in the earliest deposit here as well as in the tombs of Pelós. We find the true relation between earlier and later, when we consider that a large industry, with export trade, such as is presupposed in the vast obsidian deposit of the second settlement, could not have been developed all at once after the first landing at Phylákopi. One might be tempted to regard it as characteristic that the settlement which affords us the greatest evidence of the working of obsidian should no more than the earliest deposit give any indication of a knowledge of bronze. In the case, however, of spaces so limited as those in which we were able to examine the deposit even of the second settlement a negative argument must not be founded on lack of evidence which perhaps was accidental; the presence, however, of even one specimen of an object or material, related to parallel evidence from other sites, would be enough to justify a positive conclusion.

What Mr. Edgar calls a geometric period in the pottery of prehistoric Phylákopi reaches its prime in the second settlement. A very distinct transition is apparent in the fact that the primitive incised ware of the earliest deposit, with its crude herring-bone pattern dispersed over the whole surface, never occurs within any part of the wall-region of the second settlement, while, on the other hand, the finely incised and hand-polished ware of the second settlement with its grouping and distribution of the geometric ornament never occurs in the earliest deposit. And it is an equal sign of progress when the ware with geometric ornament in lustreless black paint on a white slip (see p. 41), which is equally typical in the second settlement, shows a similar sense of grouping and distribution of the ornament which has nothing parallel to it among the incised fragments of the earliest class. Two typical examples of the large jar-like vessels with suspension holes compared by Mr. Edgar to the Aeginetan vases figured 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, Pl. X., and two specimens of the beaked jug cited

also on p. 42, were found at G 2, 1, at a depth of m. 3'50-80, contiguous to clearly marked walls of the second settlement.

Yet the affinity with the ware of the earliest deposit has to be as strongly emphasised. The fine incised geometric variety cited above as found alongside of the new painted geometric species is only a survival of the primitive incised ware of the earliest deposit. The actual specimens, however, two incised geometric vases of the duck-form cited on p. 40 as well as a curious vase of the same class in the form of an ox, were found within distinct wall-areas of the second settlement. The use of "Aegean" linear signs like those figured on p. 12, appears fully inaugurated with the era of our second town, and their level of maximum prevalence, as Mr. Edgar observes on p. 41, coincides with that of the painted geometric ware.

### III. THE THIRD SETTLEMENT.

In the third settlement we have not an open town but a walled city with imposing fortifications, and this is the characteristic feature which distinguishes this settlement from anything that preceded it at Phylákopi. The excavations of 1898, it has been already remarked (p. 17), have not added anything to our knowledge of earlier parts of the strong wall in its continuation eastward, but we have fortunately already ample evidence at the west end of the site. Here the splendid earlier part of the fortifications at A 5, B 5, C 5 (*Annual*, III., p. 13 and Plan), that is, all the lower part of it which shows the small returns in the middle of the deep trench at A 5 and in the east angle of the projecting bastion at B 5, has to be assigned to the third settlement at Phylákopi. On the other hand, this projecting bastion itself (*ibid.* p. 14) and the upper courses of the strong wall, which ignore the small returns characteristic of the lower courses, have to be regarded as of later date.

Once the particular mode of building which we found to be characteristic of the second settlement became traditional there is no evidence to show that it did not survive in a perfected form in the third city and in an after life of decline in the latest settlement of which we have any record at Phylákopi. Here as in the second settlement the straight stone-built

house-walls are rendered more stable by the use of mud plaster, the sides of doors (and windows) being finished off with the same well-squared poros blocks.

Important advances are, however, noticeable. 1. There is a greater tendency to observe the distinction between different courses in the building. A very good example of this is a house-wall in H 1, where basaltic blocks and iron-stone slabs alternate in a way that recalls the "header and stretcher" system of bricklaying. This advanced mode of construction is only matched by the splendid corresponding parts of the strong wall at the west end of the site. 2. An advance in symmetry is noticeable in the relation of the different buildings towards each other which is determined by the orientation of the walls east and west, north and south, in relation to the strong wall. Compare the different directions taken by the earlier walls at B 5 and C 5.

Yet even these advances did not prepare us for the surprises that met us in the way of internal decoration. The example of later times serves, however, to show us that useful traditional forms of common household building are not so susceptible to daring changes as those internal appointments and decorations which give a freer play to the creative artistic impulse. And it is from this point of view that the acme of the different phases of prehistoric civilization at Phylákopi is undoubtedly to be found in this third settlement. Here must be mentioned important finds in wall-stucco painting which were made at the close of the excavation season of 1898, at G 3, in two rooms forming part of the house of the third settlement already (p. 19) mentioned as having a Mycenaean superstructure above it, the later walls having the same plan as, but not exactly coinciding with, the earlier ones. The wall-stucco which was found in rooms 1 and 2 of this house looked astonishingly modern in its fineness and whiteness. The surface, which had been made extraordinarily even, was in the case of room 1 a pure white, in the case of room 2 a fine crimson. On the rich crimson ground of room 2 were painted conventional plant and flower patterns in white and yellow, but nothing turned up of a more exceptional nature. In the deposit of room 1 some very important fragments (Pl. III.) were discovered with lively groups of the brilliantly coloured little flying fish which are common in the Aegean.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. glass-paste ornaments from Spata. *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* ii. Pl. 16. 1, 2.



The variegated colours of the fish were rendered in blue, yellow, and black paint on the pale ground. The basis to the marine landscape was formed by indications of sea-rocks with overgrowth of seaweeds and sponges. The lively naturalistic rendering of the forms and motions of the fishes, combined with what seemed to be a decided feeling for what was typical, prepared one for a greater surprise in the shape of fragments of a human figure in the same technique and scheme of colours, holding some kind of garment or net. Put into connection with the flying fish and suggestions of the sea the figure may have been meant to represent a bather or fisherman, but it seems not to have been in the same band of design. Here as in the pottery of the same period we have got quite beyond the restricted geometric conventions of the previous age, and the lively flying-fishes teach us that there is stiffness now only where there have been special difficulties to cope with. If we may judge from the position in which these fragments were found, usually at some distance away from the foot of the room walls, and from the fact that the surface of the fresco is easily obliterated by rubbing, they must have formed part of a fresco going round the top of the walls well out of reach, and on putting several fragments together we found that a border above and below gave the whole fish-composition the character of a fresco-band: the rest of the wall must have been designed in a plainer manner. Towards the east end of room 1 stood a square pillar well constructed with squared stones whose base, with which also the threshold of the door corresponded, could be taken as marking the floor-level of the room, and it was quite noticeable that when this floor-level was reached the supply of stucco-fragments in both rooms suddenly came to an end.

It has been already said that negative conclusions cannot be hastily founded on the non-appearance as yet of any trace of metals in our second settlement. On the other hand, we can certainly attribute a knowledge of at least lead and bronze to the inhabitants of the third settlement. The fragment of a lead vessel, with incised lines marking the rim, cited by Mr. Cecil Smith, *Annual*, III. p. 12, was found outside the strong wall in deposit of the third town. Nothing it is true was found in bronze more important than a few pins, but such discoveries were made often enough to prove beyond doubt a knowledge of bronze by the people inhabiting this settlement. The ease with which small objects become lost on earthen floors, of itself explains their constant

appearance all over the site, but does not argue that larger and more important objects in bronze, not so easily lost, were not made at this era and would not be found in unopened tombs of the same period.

Household stone utensils, such as rubbers, mortars, pestles, saddle-querns, are objects that one does not expect to find in tombs, but they are the surest index that an inhabited site as a whole is prehistoric. On the other hand, there is no evidence that is more indefinite when we come to particulars, and it is distinctly curious that the greatest quantities of such stone implements at Phylákopi should turn up in the third and fourth settlements. We have not as yet verified their existence in the two earliest deposits, but it would be rash on that account to conclude that utensils of so primitive a nature were not known to the very earliest inhabitants at Phylákopi.

In the pottery the transition from and the continuity with the previous period are equally well marked in this stratum (*v.* pp. 43-4).

We have seen that the particular kinds of pottery characteristic of the earliest deposit at Phylákopi never occur within wall areas belonging to the second settlement, and yet the fine incised ware of the second settlement is only a perfected survival of the simpler geometric manner of the primitive herring-bone incisions of the earliest period.

Again the more advanced painted geometric ware of the third town, with its ever-growing tendency towards curvilinear schemes (*v.* p. 44), is only the finished outcome of the simpler painted geometric technique which goes along with the fine, incised geometric ware of the second settlement.

The favourite fine incised geometric ware of the second settlement tends to be exceeded in quantity even in the same deposit by a geometric ware decorated with a lustreless black paint on a pale slip (p. 41), which appears here for the first time.

In the third settlement the victory is complete, and incised ware only survives in coarser household varieties that have no further significant history. Once, however, the now fully inaugurated medium of paint has come to be dominant, all further transformations take place in it alone, and accordingly we have within the third settlement itself, further, only to observe the transition from (1), an earlier phase which is prevaillingly geometrical, to (2), a later period in which there is the marked tendency to transcend geometrical schemes entirely, and (3), to pass over to a naturalistic manner that quite prepares us for the advanced art of the wall-paintings.

1. At the beginning of this series, as an example of continuity with the previous period, stands the type of hand-polished flat bowl with geometric pattern in lustreless black on a pale slip, cited on p. 43. Most probably the type originated in the second settlement but some of the whole specimens have turned up in the third settlement.

A similar continuity is evinced by the ware in which we have geometric pattern in lustreless black paint on a white slip covering the whole surface. The most typical whole specimens were the cups found deep down in the deposit of the third town in the house, already mentioned, at H 1 room 3.

2. The ware (p. 44) with partly geometric-curvilinear and partly organic schemes of ornament in lustreless black on pale yellow clay or slip, of which sherds have turned up in such vast numbers and which is the dominant ware of this period has, owing probably to its delicacy and thinness, not been preserved in whole specimens. It is quite certain, however, that it never occurs earlier than in the deposit of the third settlement.

3. The more advanced class cited p. 45, in which a red pigment is combined with dim black on what is now a pale ochre ground, belongs with its dominance of organic forms undoubtedly to the same ripe period as the wall-paintings. A filler with complex spiral pattern, in red and black on the ochre ground, was found at the top of this stratum at G 1. The bell-like vessel with a sunflower corona of petals alternately red and black on the warm ochre ground of the interior was also found high up in the same deposit at F 2, 1. At G 3, 1, in the second room to the west of the rooms with the wall-stucco, at the foot of a square monolithic pillar similar to that in G 3, 1, were found at the same high level as many as three specimens of this bell-like object of a very much larger size and with a large spiral meander in red instead of the corona. Belonging to the same class as the latter as regards ware and technique is a very large kind of oval terracotta bath with the same ochre slip and the same system of large spiral meanders painted in broad red bands on the inside of the vessel, while lower down appears a characteristic motive in the form of plant stems, in the same red paint, going up from the base all round. It is characteristic, however, of the way in which one settlement at Phylákopi is superimposed upon the other without any violent break of continuity, that the most complete example of this kind of "bath" was found at F 2

at a depth of only 30 centimetres from the surface. Similar vessels are known from other sites, and the fragment of a bath with a wave-line in red on the outside, cited *Troja*, p. 101, as Mycenaean, probably belongs to the same high level as ours.

#### IV.—THE FOURTH OR MYCENAEAN SETTLEMENT.

The fourth settlement at Phylákopi was, like the third, a walled city. We have the same orientation of buildings east and west, in harmony with the general direction of the Strong Wall, and for a considerable part of the site the same area is covered.

A similar method of architecture continues in vogue, and over a large area in G 1-2 and H 1 the latter walls actually follow more or less the lines of the earlier ones. In one case, indeed, the house with the wall-paintings, a dwelling of the latest settlement, has, as we have noticed already, the same plan as the earlier one, though the two sets of walls do not exactly coincide with each other.

Here we have to record a certain hurry and carelessness of building as compared with the more careful construction of the earlier walled city. Though the chief reason for following older walls must have been to secure more stable foundations, the builders of the late house at G 3 did not take the trouble to follow the old lines of wall exactly, though the fact that they in general follow the same plan, shows that at the time of building they must at the very least have been aware of the existence of the earlier much better constructed house. Repeatedly over the site, where a later wall follows the line of an earlier one, it is found to project on one side or the other. We must, however, discount the fact that where the later plan is entirely different from the earlier one, a wall without an older sub-structure is sometimes seen to have rough foundations, often constructed of large sea-washed boulders. Yet, even if we leave this rough foundation work out of account, we find that we have nothing to compare with the fine construction of alternate layers of basalt blocks and ironstone slabs which characterized the earlier walled city, especially at H 1, nothing so good as the careful finishing of corners and the sides of doors which we found inaugurated even in the second town. We have nothing more than a careless reminiscence now and then of the basalt-block-and-slab work,

while the unstable sea-pebbles are made use of in wall construction, as distinguished from foundation work.

That the general plan was on the whole similar to that of the earlier city appears from the instances of detached houses at J-K 3, at J 1 and at G 3, indicating the lower town, and of large complexes of buildings at E 3 and F 2-3, which must be connected with the more important upper town at the west end. The fortifications of this latest city have, in 1898, been traced out all the way to the east end of the site,<sup>1</sup> and though here it has not as yet been ascertained whether they follow the general course of the earlier fortifications, it was already in 1897 made out for the west end of the site that the later superstructures, that is to say, all those upper courses which neglect the small returns in A 5 and in the east angle of the bastion at B 5 as well as this bastion itself, are hardly more than repairs of the earlier wall.

The contrast in this respect to Troy is very marked, for there (*Troja*, 1893, plans I. II.) no part of the Mycenaean city corresponds in plan with the earlier walled town, and three village-like prehistoric settlements intervene to break the continuity between the earlier and the later city. Yet even at Phylákopi, though there seems in each successive settlement to be a closer reminiscence of what has preceded, it is hardly possible that later walls which follow the course of earlier ones without exactly coinciding with them, could have been built at a time when the earlier walls were as yet free of deposit. This is particularly true of the fourth settlement, and especially of the Mycenaean superstructures above the house with the wall-stucco at G 3 and above other houses in the same neighbourhood. Actual restoration on a large scale is noticeable only at the west end of the Strong Wall. The Mycenaean people of Thorikos, according to Stais (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1895, p. 230), seem simply to have repaired and reoccupied a pre-existing fortress corresponding on a very small scale to our third city.

The later parts of the Strong Wall tell the same tale as the house walls within the citadel: no part laid bare in 1898 at all equalled the solid construction of the earlier fortifications at A-C 5. As regards internal plan and arrangement, however, there are certain marked improvements, and the Mycenaean house at J 1-2 is an advance on anything we have as yet

noticed in the earlier walled town. Like the house with the wall-paintings it also looks south, but it has several advantages over the earlier house. (1) It has, on the left, a separate corridor going along the whole length of the house to the back-rooms at the north end. (2) It has its doors alternating right and left from room to room. (3) It has an open court in front such as has not yet been made out in the earlier walled town. (4) The well-preserved cement floorings of the house at J 1-2 have nothing to equal them in any trace of flooring we have as yet come upon in the earlier city. The people who built the later house at G 3 simply repeated the plan of the earlier house with the wall-paintings. Those who built at J 1-2 disregarded all earlier plans and so left themselves scope for the improvements we have noticed. The column base found *in situ* at E 3 is a suggestive complement to the extensive suite of paved apartments which came to light in 1897 at D 2-3, E 2-3.

When, however, we come to decoration we have to prepare ourselves for disappointment, for the extensive researches already made at this level go to show that the latest settlement at Phylákopi is uniformly too near the surface for us to expect any very extensive preservation of house-walls. Here we have to content ourselves with the hope of isolated finds, and in this respect, not to speak of the bronze statuette of 1897 (*Annual*, III., p. 26), we have had in 1898 in the discovery of the "Fishermen" vase at least one signal success that fairly rivals in interest the discovery of the wall-paintings of the third town.

The highest stratum of all at Phylákopi is characterised by a survival of the principal species of pottery we have found to be typical of the third settlement alongside of other varieties that appear for the first time, and indeed increasingly in conjunction with imported, and as a rule mature and even late, Mycenaean wares which never appear in the third settlement. For this reason it is more convenient when dealing with a site of this nature, to restrict the name Mycenaean; and at Phylákopi we limit it to the fourth settlement, and to the objects found in the well-marked stratum of walls next the surface in conjunction with wares that can be recognised as imported Mycenaean (s. p. 47). In this sense also the pottery from the deposit of the third town is still pre-Mycenaean.

Two moments have to be distinguished in this fourth epoch. 1. The earlier period of apparently continued prosperity in which the native wares predominate, and still on the whole preserve the high level they had

reached in the third settlement. The continuity with the third settlement is apparent in the fact that some of the most mature types in Mr. Edgar's third class (pp. 44-7) really occur in the deposit of the Mycenaean city. So notably several whole examples of the later deepened form of pouring bowl, with geometric pattern on the rim, but now without hand polish. Again in the second half-metre of the trial trench at E 3 was found the lower part of a vase of the pale yellow Melian variety on which below the break, painted on the pale yellow ground in polished red, outlined with lustreless black paint, appeared two feet in profile, wide apart, which had evidently been part of the figure of a man striding to the left. The stem of a tree in the same technique was also discernible in the free space on the other side. The interesting "Fishermen" vase (cited p. 46) was discovered at G 2, room 4, at a depth of only 80 centimetres, and immediately above a well-marked flooring, with a door threshold corresponding, which completely separated the deposit here from the stratum next below it, belonging to the earlier town. Though, however, its provenance assigns it so decisively to the Mycenaean level, it is more important to note the fact that the characteristic pale yellow clay marks out this vase as native Melian work, and that it accordingly still belongs to the local wares of Mr. Edgar's third class. Taking this class as represented, not in the deposit of the third city but at the Mycenaean level, what we find is, that it is a later phase of the same technical skill as was evidenced in the wall-paintings of the third settlement that, in such splendid instances as the "Fishermen" vase, still survives at this higher level before the influx of the Mycenaean wave of civilization finally put an end to all native artistic endeavour at Phylákopi.

2. We have now the era of decline, in which native fabrics tend to disappear, and Mycenaean importations tend more and more to predominate until at last they hold almost exclusive sway. Here we need not expect any direct continuity with what has preceded in our earlier stratum, nor even with what is native at the same level. Accordingly with Mr. Edgar's fourth class of wares (pp. 47-8) we do not usher in the civilization of the fourth city, but present the record of its decline.

The only transitional forms we need look for are those in which an imported object is imitated in native material. We may take as

illustrative, a double-wicked Mycenaean lamp, of a type that never occurs in the earlier settlements, though in its brown hand-polish we have a technique that, with a curious adaptability to new circumstances, has a continuous history from the earliest epoch at Phylákopi. The lamp in question was found at the close of the excavation season of 1897 at E 3, at a depth of only 25 centimetres from the surface. The type is familiar from other sites, and several very similar specimens are to be found in the Mycenaean room of the Museum at Athens.

With the discovery in 1898 of two specimens in stone, we come unexpectedly upon new data. The one which was of a soft pinkish, possibly native, volcanic stone, had such a low basis that it looked almost like a bowl. The other, found at G 3, at a depth of m. 1.10, was in bluish-black steatite, with a much taller foot, which gave the whole a bell-like appearance. With the steatite lamp we come once more almost undoubtedly into the class of imported objects, and the hand-polish of the earthenware lamp may have been in imitation of the polished surface of such steatite importations. Steatite is not known to exist at all in Melos or in any islands nearer than Tenos, and since both steatite of this particular blue-black variety exists, and articles in it are very common in Crete, it is a natural surmise that such objects at Phylákopi were probably imported into Melos from Crete. A number of fragments of bowls have also been found in this material, and two have exactly the same blossom-like form as the one from Crete published by Mr. Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 123, Fig. 123. One specimen which is entire diverges only in the kind of spiral fluting which it has on the outside. All these stone bowls are very thick in section and hollowed out in such a way as to hold no more than a cup. But this is their only analogy with the prehistoric marble vases so common in Paros and elsewhere. These marble vases are exact reproductions of a typical form of earthenware vase which, as we have seen, at Phylákopi only occurs in the very earliest stratum, while at Paros the earthenware vase and the marble imitation occur together. The steatite bowls of Phylákopi, on the other hand, never occur except in the latest deposit of all. The fact that they, with the steatite lamp, were all found at the level of imported Mycenaean ware points to importation, and their material connects them with Crete, so that in turn one is led to conclude that the other imported Mycenaean ware found simultaneously with them must also have been derived chiefly from Crete. The



“Kamarais” were cited p. 47 affords indication of such importation even at an earlier date.

We have thus the possibility of an hypothesis as to what one of the principal influences was, which may have combined with other causes to dominate and finally to submerge the earlier native civilization, which, judging from the richness of the finds marking the transition from the third to the fourth settlement, must have been at its prime just as those exotic influences began to make themselves felt.

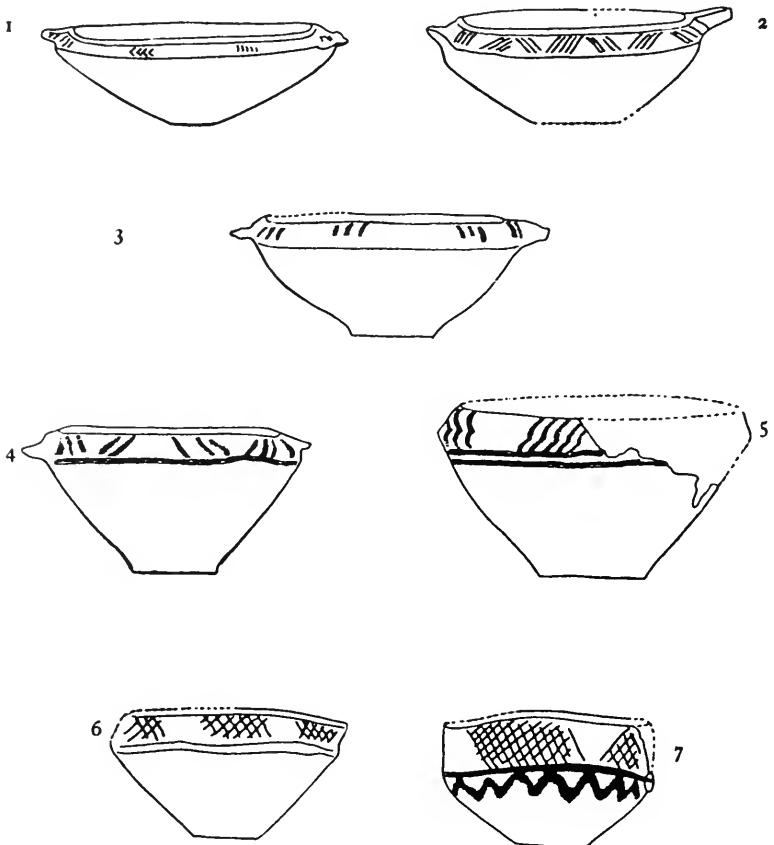
The early legend which extended the sea-empire of Minos until its power and terror were even felt at Athens has to be connected with the existence in Crete of such Mycenaean strongholds as Knossos and Goulás, and such a Mycenaean Empire of the Aegean sea would hardly have been without its dominating influence on neighbouring settlements like that of prehistoric Melos.

The chief source of prosperity at Phylákopi must have been the large industry in obsidian implements, depending as it did on such vast natural supplies as those at Komia and Adamanta.<sup>1</sup> None of the neighbouring islands possess obsidian in the natural state, and not even Crete has as yet been shown to be an exception. Accordingly we may ascribe to Melos a large export trade in obsidian, at least to all those neighbouring islands and probably even to Crete, in the prehistoric eras of the second and third settlements when the working of obsidian was at its prime.

We have seen that even the third settlement yielded surprisingly little evidence of so wide a use of bronze as would already dispense with the continued employment of obsidian implements of such excellence as those found in the corresponding necropolis, but a great advance in the bronze industry has to be pre-supposed before we get into the later epoch of the fourth settlement. The production of such weapons as the chisels, three in number, found in 1898 in the Mycenaean deposit at F 3<sup>1</sup> would be sure in the end to interfere with the continued use on a large scale of obsidian implements, for with such finds we are brought at once into touch with the rich industry in bronze weapons evidenced by such discoveries as those made at Mycenae. With the failure of the obsidian export trade at Phylákopi would disappear the internal prosperity of the settlement, with a consequent failure in native energy which is very exactly reflected in the decline of all other native industries before the advancing

<sup>1</sup> For some account of the obsidian quarries of Melos, see *Annual*, III., p. 77.

tide of Mycenaean importation. The end had come at Phylákopi when it no longer had anything to export, but all to import; and consequently it is no surprise to find the exclusively late Mycenaean wares at the surface giving evidence of a decrepitude and decay to which no later renewal of life was ever destined to succeed.



Scale about 1 : 5.

FIG. 2.—SERIES OF MELIAN BOWLS.

No. 1 is a good specimen of the type described on p. 43, the shape very flat, the rim nearly horizontal, the surface-colour a lustrous red. No. 2 presents the same type with a different pattern. No. 3 is a slightly degraded example; it stands higher, the pattern is coarse, the surface rough. Nos. 4-7 are all made of the light-coloured clay of the later period, are wheel-turned, and illustrate the gradual deterioration of the type. The apparent suspension handle in 4 is not really pierced, in 7 it has diminished to the size of a crushed pea. Nos. 5 and 7 have a coat of reddish paint inside. The design on the exterior is in every case painted in lustreless black.

## III.

## THE POTTERY.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

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Perhaps the main interest of the prehistoric deposit at Phylákopi consists in the fact that of sites hitherto excavated it alone covers the centuries which separate the Mycenaean age from the earliest culture known to us on Greek soil. To discover a few landmarks between those two limits and provide as far as possible a scale of comparison by which to determine the relative date of more isolated finds has been one leading aim of the excavation. For such a purpose no other material is so important as pottery, merely because no other material is so plentiful; in houses and tombs alike it is the one thing that is never lacking.

Like all other sites of the same character Phylákopi has yielded an immense harvest of pottery. It is true as usual that for one vase whole there were a thousand in shivers, and that for every fragment of any individual interest there were many hundreds of none. But as an accurate history of the pottery was aimed at, it was made a rule that every sherd should be preserved for the time being. Each day's yield of some forty or fifty basketfuls was washed the following day, fragment by fragment. The cleaned heaps, kept separate according to the depth at which each was found, were then looked through, a liberal selection was made for further study, and a rough record kept of what was then thrown aside.

By this process of sorting we gained a fair idea of the chronological order in which the various kinds of pottery stood relatively to each other. The general rule that a difference in depth means a difference in age did not indeed always hold good. On the north side of the site, for instance, the débris of two or three settlements was worn by sea, wind and rain into a slope of varying steepness and the relics of very different ages lay equally close to the actual surface. But over the greater part of the site the conditions were

favourable, that is the deposit was undisturbed and the data were innumerable. For the sake of stricter accuracy we sank two trial trenches at some distance from each other, at E 3 and J 1-2, removing the earth carefully layer by layer half a metre at a time; the pots sherds from each layer were then classified and counted. The purpose of the present paper is to give a short outline of the results arrived at by this test and confirmed by observation of the daily yield.

## (1)

The range of pottery represented at Phylákopi is sharply defined. A lamp and two or three sherds of the classical age were picked up near the surface, but with this accidental exception there is nothing later than Mycenaean, not a fragment for instance of Dipylon ware or proto-Corinthian. In one respect this fact is remarkable, because nowhere in Greece is the survival of Mycenaean art more conspicuous than in Melos; thus, to take the most striking instance, the well-known "Island gems," of which Melos is the main source, must date from a time when the chief Mycenaean centre in the island was already a ruin.

(It may be well to insert a word in advance concerning the use of the term 'Mycenaean' as regards pottery. In the pages of Furtwaengler and Loeschke it covers several very different fabrics, being applied to every kind of prehistoric ware represented in the finds from Mycenae. Thus on the strength of a fragment or two (e.g. *Myk. Vas.* xxiii. 170), it would include all the pottery from Aegina lately discovered by Mr. Staes and described by him with good reason as pre-Mycenaean ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1895). On the other hand it does not, as might have been expected, include the early pottery of Thera so intimately related to a group of vases from the shaft-graves. In short F. and L.'s division, if strictly interpreted, is a little arbitrary, and as a matter of fact is not strictly adhered to by other writers.

Suitable names for the various kinds of prehistoric Greek vases will no doubt be settled upon in time. But merely for present convenience and clearness I have thought it best to restrict the term Mycenaean in the following pages to what was by far the most abundant and characteristic kind of pottery found at Mycenae, *i.e.*, Classes III. and IV. of F. and L.'s *Firnis-malerei*.)

The latest class of pottery represented at Phylákopi is then the Mycenaean in this limited sense of the term: the earliest (likewise, though less, familiar) is that primitive unpainted ware, hand-made and hand-polished, which is found in the early cist-tombs of the Cyclades, together with marble vases and idols, and which is the only kind of earthenware that has been found in them hitherto. The trial trench sunk at J 1-2 reached the rock at a depth of six and a half metres or thirteen layers, and the pottery found in the lowest layer, several hundred fragments, belonged exclusively to this primitive class. Traces of the same civilisation had already been discovered in Melos, see an account of several tombs opened last year in the district called Pelós (*Annual* III. p. 35). The earliest pottery at Phylákopi is of the same general character as that from Pelós, being made of very coarse dark clay with a burnished red or brown surface. Although no whole vase could be recovered from the badly shattered fragments, yet most of the types represented are recognizable. The characteristic shapes (*l. c.* figs. 10, 13, 14), occur, though they are comparatively less common. There is part of a pyxis-lid (*l. c.* fig. 16) with an incised pattern of hatched triangles. Some difference was of course to be expected between the furniture of a tomb and that of a dwelling-place. Thus most of the fragments at Phylákopi belong to cooking-pots with sides slightly convex, and to polished plates, some of great size, with a turned-in lip. Many fragments are pierced by a pair of holes close under the rim; others have the usual tubular projections, vertical or horizontal. There are a few incised patterns of the usual kind.

It should be remarked that on the higher parts of the site, with the exception of isolated articles, we found nothing to correspond with this primitive débris, nothing as a whole so early. Here apparently lay the original settlement; later it extended up the cliff side. This evidence that the place was inhabited since the days of the early cist-tomb civilisation till well on in the Mycenaean age is itself interesting, as it bears on a contested point in the Mycenaean problem. Thus Blinkenberg argues that there is a racial break, a gulf of centuries, between the primitive culture sometimes called the "Amorgos" period, and the Theraean or proto-Mycenaean period, while Dümmler sought to prove that the former merged in the latter without any abrupt transition. It may be admitted that Dümmler's premisses were wrong; the links by which he connects his Amorgine finds with the Theraean remains will scarcely hold. Yet his general

conclusion is probably right, as several things in the present sketch may help to indicate. But for fuller information concerning the "Amorgos" civilisation we must wait till Dr. Tsountas publishes the plentiful results of his researches among the islands.

The coarse primitive pottery which was the sole kind contained in the lowest layer, predominates throughout the next three layers also. The sherds that are identical in fabric with the pottery of Pelós and several other cist-cemeteries, belong almost without exception to the types already described. But from other parts of the site we obtained many isolated specimens of what may be called a more advanced stage of the same early class, conical pyxis-lids, vases of the duck form (*e.g.*, *Ath. Mitth.* xi., *Beil.* 2, 1) and incised pyxides similar in shape to one from Seriphos, published by Blinkenberg. The Theraean vase figured in Dumont and Chaplain. Pl. I. 5, may be a survival of this type, the projections under the rim being a reminiscence (of very frequent occurrence at Phylákopi) of the discarded suspension-holes. A ring-stand, intended to support a round-bottomed vessel, is something new as regards primitive vase-forms in Greece, though such supports are common in Egyptian pottery. Two vase-bottoms, bearing on the exterior the impression of a reed-mat, were found among the fragments from the twelfth layer—a potter's device which has already been remarked among finds from the cist-tombs (*Annual*, III., p. 62); as will appear later on, the same device is still more characteristic of the succeeding period. Finally it is worth remarking that many of the incised designs at Phylákopi have a filling of white, a familiar mode of ornamentation in Cyprus, Central Europe, &c., but less characteristic of the Cyclades; it does not occur for instance on any published pottery from the cist-cemeteries.

In the same layers, 12-9, were found some finer varieties of unpainted, usually hand-polished ware, both large and small, which may be distinguished from the coarser pottery representative of the Pelós tombs. That which is most in contrast with the latter is a class of thin bowls and saucers made of perfectly levigated clay.

Fragments of painted pottery with simple geometric patterns begin to appear as early as the 12th layer, the proportion (at first one in a hundred) becoming steadily larger. A surprising thing is that on several of these early fragments the paint is lustrous (*Firnissfarbe*), one of the best examples of this being the upper part of a small beaked jug (*Schnabelkanne*).

There is however other reason for believing that the use of glaze in the Aegean area goes back far beyond the Mycenaean period (*J.H.S.*, xi, p. 276).

## (2)

The gap which used to exist between the remains of the "Amorgos" age and the "Theraean" has been partially filled up by recent finds at Aphidna, Aegina, and other places. At Phylákopi, the three general periods of pre-Mycenaean pottery, the primitive, the intermediate, and the Theraean, are represented in one continuous series of vase-fragments. The middle period is mainly characterised by painted pottery with geometric designs. This is much in keeping with what has been noted elsewhere, and it may be concluded that there was a pre-Mycenaean geometric period when the same general style with many local varieties prevailed in the islands, and probably the mainland of Greece. A few fragments with painted geometric designs from Tell-el-Hesy have been assigned with great probability to the Aegean, and it is noteworthy that they were found in a lower stratum than that in which Mycenaean pottery and Cypriote bowls of the white-slip fabric were met with. In the Troad, on the other hand, as is well-known, there are no traces of painted pottery until the days of Mycenaean importation. The early painted ware of Sicily, of which Orsi has pointed out the many Trojan affinities, is certainly related in some way to the Aegean class under discussion. Orsi has been criticised for assigning to the bulk of this Sicilian ware a pre-Mycenaean date (*Röm. Mitth.* xiii. 190), but his view appears to be perfectly correct. Further, the numerous linear signs<sup>1</sup> found at Phylákopi, probably potters' trade marks, are almost entirely confined to the pottery of this period, and so form an important link, which may have some chronological value, between the pre-Mycenaean Cyclades and the south-east corner of the Mediterranean.

The Melian pottery of this class is doubtless of local make. The clay is usually granular and varies in colour between grey and red according to the amount of firing it has undergone; as a rule it is grey in the core and red towards the edges. The design is painted in lustreless black on a white slip, the black turning to red if overfired. As regards the method of manufacture there are no traces of *rapid* turning on the wares of this period, such as would imply the use of the wheel. Many of the larger vessels, and some

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 1, p. 12.

smaller ones also, bear on the base the impression of a reed-mat on which they must have been planted while the clay was still damp: whatever the purpose may have been, some of the impressions furnish very pretty examples of plaiting as practised by the primitive Islanders. Very characteristic of this period is the shape of the base which is merely flattened and never provided with a ring or profiled foot.

Many of the designs on this painted ware are identical with the incised designs on the unpainted ware of Phylákopi and other places. Although of course the latter are not all of them necessarily earlier than the former, it is still pretty certain that the painted designs as a whole are primarily a development of the incised patterns of the "Amorgos" period. Without illustrations it is needless to attempt more than the briefest description of the designs in question. The greater part of them are rectilinear and angular in character, herring-bone, zig-zags, cross-hatchings, hatched triangles being some of the more common elements; this class may be regarded as purely native in origin. There is again a smaller section of the same fabric in which the character of the design is derived not from the straight line and the angle, but from the curved line, particularly the spiral; in this case the impulse comes indirectly from Egyptian art. The circle occurs frequently, some of the great *pithoi* of this period being adorned with four large sets of concentric circles.

One or two of the more typical forms may be mentioned. The *kernoï*, described by Mr. Bosanquet (*Annual*, III., p. 57), belong to this class, although no example has been found on the site itself; it is unlikely indeed that they were ever intended for household use. The cups of those *kernoï* (*Annual*, III., pl. 4) are elongated examples of the (one-handed) cup which is characteristic of this period at Phylákopi, and which may be regarded as one variety of an early type met with as far apart as Hissarlik and Sicily. We find also large vessels, with suspension holes similar in shape, as in age, to the large Aeginetan vases published by Staes (*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1895, pl. X). But the most characteristic form of this period is the beaked jug, best known by the German name of *Schnabelkanne*. It is a form that can be traced back to a very early age in the Aegean; not to speak of Hissarlik, primitive vases from Antiparos, Amorgos, and Crete show the general type or a close approach to it. The painted beaked jugs of this age from Phylákopi have a wide circumference and a flattened base; the lower end of the handle is stuck through a prepared hole in the wall of the



vase, and protrudes on the interior, the universal mode of junction in vases of this period that are not intended to be seen inside; the handle itself frequently bears a linear symbol. A vase in the Louvre (Pottier Cat., pl. 29, D5) is a fairly good instance of this somewhat squat type, and ought to be contrasted with the later Theraean type (*e.g.*, Dum. and Chapl., pl. I 3).

The older technique still survives throughout this period, and we find several types of bowls and other vessels with a burnished surface, red or black. Further, the two methods of decoration, the painted pattern, and the surface sheen, are combined in two ways:—

(1) The design is painted in white, more rarely in black, over the polished slip. The technique and many of the designs recall a class of Early Egyptian or Libyan pottery (see Petrie and Quibell, *Ballas and Naqada*). As regards form and ornamentation the vases of this species are to be classed with the ware just described, in which the pattern is painted in black on a white ground. Most of them show the same rectilinear and angular patterns, while on other fragments we find the usual curvilinear schemes. This fabric merges into class I of F. and L.'s "*Firnissmalerei*" which is distinguished by white designs on a red and black glaze. Two interesting fragments, which properly fall within the following period, bear representations of a human figure that closely resemble a contemporary painting (also in white upon red glaze), from Kamarais in Crete: the angular arms and triangular chests reproduce an early conventional scheme, and at the same time distinctly anticipate the "Dipylon" manner.

(2) The vase is covered partly with the usual shining coat, partly with a white slip on which a design is painted in black. The most characteristic example of this technique is a flat bowl with a sharply recurved rim, a short spout at one side, and a suspension hole at the opposite: the rim is smeared with white on the outside and bears a simple pattern which most frequently consists of alternate groups of straight lines and zigzags; the rest of the surface is a shining red or brown, not hand-polished (see pl., *Ath. Mitth.*, xi, p. 31, *Annual*, III. p. 21). The technique is peculiar, but the shape of the vase is by no means a local invention: compare the large pre-Mycenacan bowls from Aphidna (*Ath. Mitth.*, xxi, pl. XV); larger examples of the same type, covered all over with a white ground, were fairly common at Phylákopi also. The form is in fact derived from a

primitive Aegean type and is one link in an interesting series which can be traced into Mycenaean times (see *post*, p. 45).

## (3)

A reference to Fig. 3 (p. 48), will show the comparative duration of the fabrics just described. We take leave of them on the threshold of the early Mycenaean age. A survey of the pottery which next becomes prevalent and which may be best described for the moment as a parallel fabric to the prehistoric pottery of Thera does not incline us to suppose that there was any violent break between the two periods; amid much that is fresh we find older shapes and schemes of ornamentation still surviving and developing. Another fact may be mentioned which points to the same conclusion; the rock-cut chamber-tombs at Phylákopi many of which contain pottery of the early geometric class are essentially similar to the Mycenaean tombs at Nauplia and other places. In fact the hypothesis of a "proto-Mycenaean" immigration from the mainland of Greece to the islands is as yet unsupported by any evidence.

The occurrence of curvilinear designs in the earlier strata has already been mentioned. The spiral was of course known as a decorative element in the "Amorgos" period (*e.g.*, *Ath. Mitth.* xi., *Beil* i. A 4) and was doubtless in continuous use throughout the Cyclades down to historic times. But there is perhaps sufficient ground for assuming that the curvilinear schemes were as a whole a later phase in the first period of painted ware in Melos and were tending latterly to replace the strictly rectilinear schemes. In the next general period the tendency is fulfilled and the ornamentation is half curvilinear and half naturalistic. A theory has been put forward to the effect that the later geometric style, represented in the "Dipylon" and other fabrics, is derived from an earlier geometric style (of which the Melian is one local branch) which lived on through the Mycenaean interval among the humbler native population (see especially *Ath. Mitth.* xxi. 403 ff.). Whether or not there is any degree of truth in this theory as regards the mainland of Greece, in Melos at any rate the course of things was otherwise; the local geometric fabric gradually changed into an *equally popular and local* fabric thoroughly "Mycenaean" in character.

It is in this period that the use of the wheel becomes general, though many of the earlier vases under consideration show no trace of it. The

clay is light red or light yellow and, as compared with Mycenaean paste, soft and porous; a whitish slip is usually employed. The most characteristic colours are first a lustreless black, secondly a red (sometimes brown) pigment with or without sheen, the sheen being in a few cases produced by burnishing.<sup>1</sup> These two colours are frequently combined, the red being originally the subsidiary and latterly the dominant colour. White is a frequent accessory.

All this class of pottery is very closely related to the vases of Thera and the unglazed ware from the shaft-graves at Mycenae. Thus the type of globular jug associated with Mycenae (F. and L. *Myk. Vas.* xlv, 5, 6) is very common at Phylákopi, while the Theraean type with breasts and elongated neck (Dum. and Chapl. Pl. I, 3) is almost equally well represented. Nos. I, 4, II, 6, 8, 10, 12 in Dum. and Chapl. are also of frequent occurrence in Melos. A vase from Therasia figured in F. and L. *Myk. Vas.* p. 21 fig. 7 is a good example of a type of which we found hundreds of (unfortunately shattered) specimens, some of them with a handle and spout, but all decorated with the same design, a band of spirals round the body of the vase and a broad cross on the base. Jugs with a raised ring or collar round the shoulder, somewhat like the Marseilles vase (*Arch. Anz.* 1893 p. 9) but far less refined in form, were not uncommon. There were numerous varieties of drinking cups, the simplest type of this age (*e.g.*, Sch. Tiryns p. 70) being particularly abundant; we came on several stores of such cups piled one on the top of another as Mr. Evans found them stored in the Psychro cave in Crete (*J.H.S.* vol. xvii. p. 355); another variety, probably imitated from a metal type, exactly reproduces the form of several gold-cups from the shaft-graves at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, Eng. Tr., fig. 238); the most characteristic type of all was one with a short foot, a flat handle, and a painted panel on one side,—the prototype in fact of the long-footed Mycenaean goblet (cf F. and L. *Myk. V.* xxiv, 176, 177).

The above list, though it is far from exhaustive, will be sufficient to give a general idea of the character of the fabric and its place in history. One other type, one of the most common, may be pointed out as an interesting example of evolution from an older form: in the series on p. 36 (Fig. 2), Nos. 4-7 belong to this period; in many instances the disused suspension-

<sup>1</sup> Part of the pottery of this period corresponds to F. and L.'s *Mattmalerei*, part to the *Firnissmalerei*, Style II. But for the present purpose it is more convenient to treat the native ware as a whole.

hole is replaced by a small purposeless knob and the spout by a slightly pinched lip.

In ornamentation as well as in form we obtain the closest parallels among the finds from Thera and the shaft-tombs. The spiral is now the most characteristic element of design. Another favourite device consists in rows of ragged lines like those on the Theraean filler Dum. and Chap. i. 4. But what chiefly marks the ornamentation of this period as an advance on that of the preceding is the appearance and prevalence of vegetable motives. The branching blades of grass which are a feature of several Theraean vases (*e.g.* Dum. and Chap. ii. 20) occur repeatedly at Phylakopi. We find also a branch with broad leaves like that on a Mycenaean gold-cup (Schuch. Eng. Tr. Fig. 348). The more formal row of leaves (or petals) (*e.g.* D. and Ch. ii. 22) which is of common occurrence in early Mycenaean pottery (cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 18) is an extremely familiar scheme in Melos. Among the more naturalistic representations we find trees, with large red fruit hanging from the boughs: the form of the fruit suggests the pomegranate. Several of the finest vases are adorned with pictures of birds and fishes: the birds, painted in black and red, resemble the birds on the shaft-tomb vases though somewhat differently conventionalised: the fishes are much in the style of those on a small pseudamphora from Crete (F. and L. *Myk. V.*, xiv. 87). One realistic vessel was in the form of a cow with her tail switched round her flank, while another small vase represented an ox-head. But the most interesting find of all was the picture (on what is probably the pedestal of a lamp) reproduced in Pl. II.,—a scene comparable in character with the procession of warriors on the well-known Mycenaean vase.<sup>1</sup>

The fabric above described appears to have been fairly started before the stream of Mycenaean import touched Melos. The best phase of the local fabric, *i.e.* the group of vases which is characterised by realistic representations of birds and flowers, is relatively early. Later on we come across some apparently direct imitations of Mycenaean pottery, *e.g.* the scale pattern (F. and L. *Myk. V.*, x. 62) and several fragments of local pseudamphorae.<sup>2</sup> But on the whole the Melian fabric is to be regarded as one

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations on Pl. II. are from photographs or paintings by Miss Hogarth, which we hope to have reproduced in colour in the publication of the Phylakopi finds. One curious detail that is not apparent in the Plate is the lock of hair on the forehead of each fisherman, conventionalised exactly like the forelocks of the Kefti on the Egyptian tomb-painting.

<sup>2</sup> For local pseudamphorae in Thera, see Dum. and Chapl. p. 26, No. 56, 57.

branch of a wide-spread style of which the vases of Thera and the unglazed vases of the shaft-tombs are separate products and from which the Mycenaean fabric is itself largely derived.

Of the lately published Kamarais ware which belongs to this Aegean style in virtue of ornamentation and form, a fair quantity was discovered at Phylákopi, an interesting supplement to the material already known. The company in which most of it was found marked it as decidedly prior, in origin at least, to the Mycenaean ware proper. For other indications of commerce between Crete and Melos, see p. 35.

## (4)

Of the imported Mycenaean pottery found at Phylákopi there remains little of a general nature to be said. We obtained a large and representative collection of fragments, including some good specimens of that early variety which is characterised by fantastic groups of seaweed, cuttle-fish, etc. But on the whole it was mainly important as historical evidence, as giving an approximate date. The diagram shows its range and progress in relation to the local ware, the finer varieties of which it appears towards the end to have fairly swamped. Its final predominance, it may be remarked, is not exaggerated in the diagram. Here for instance are the contents (selected from my diary) of two basketfuls of fragments from other parts of the site:—

*Square q, to the depth of 1 metre,*

3-400 fragments of Mycenaean ware, ordinary types and ornamentation.

20 fragments of local ware, chiefly from *pithos* with impressed bands in relief.

*Square f-g, 1 metre,*

400 Mycenaean fragments, including many long-footed kylikes.

9 fragments of painted local ware.

A few plain cups and 100 coarse fragments from *pithoi* with impressed bands, tripod pots, etc.

The accompanying diagram (Fig. 3) is intended to illustrate the stratification of the three main classes of pottery in the trial trench in J 1-2 (see p. 38 ff.).

Column I. represents the imported Mycenaean pottery described in Sect. 4 ; II. stands for the native pottery described in Sect. 3, the dark portion representing the painted ware and the hatched portion the coarse unpainted ware ; III. is the earlier geometric class of Sect. 2. The lower layers were occupied by the primitive fabrics mentioned in Sect. 1. The numbers 1 to 13, arranged vertically, represent the superimposed layers of soil, roughly half a metre each

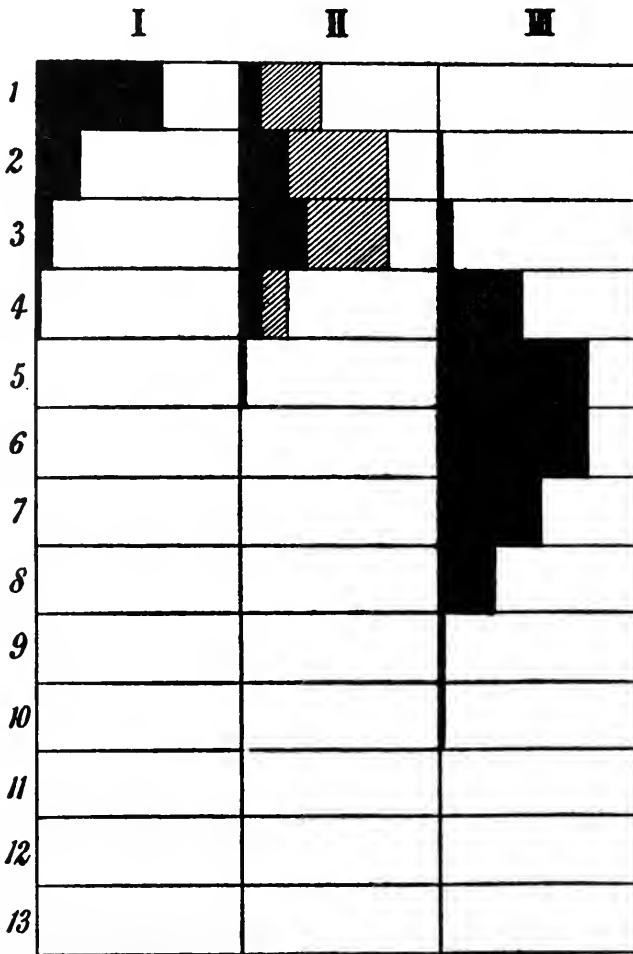


FIG. 3.

# EXPLORATION IN ASIA MINOR DURING 1898 : FIRST REPORT.

BY J. G. C. ANDERSON.

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A SCHEME of exploration in the central and eastern parts of Asia Minor was inaugurated last year by a series of journeys in Phrygia, the main results of which have been published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (for 1897 and 1898). During the present season I had the good fortune to be accompanied by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, to whom the opportunity was afforded by the liberality of the supporters of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, and our energies were devoted chiefly to the exploration of Galatia, a country which has received but scant attention from archaeological or other travellers. But on our way thither, we did a piece of preliminary work in the shape of re-examining two difficult inscriptions which I had copied last year and visiting an unknown corner of Phrygia on the north of Mt. Dindymos (Murad Dagh). In the following paper we propose to give a full account of this preliminary excursion, and a brief sketch of our work in Galatia which will indicate in detail the routes we followed, and so impart a good deal of information that will be of use to future travellers, but cannot be conveniently repeated in our detailed discussion of the district.

## PART I.

### § 1.—*In the Plain of Afion Kara Hisar.*

Towards the middle of May (after a fruitless attempt to obtain official permits from the Turkish Government<sup>1</sup>) we left Smyrna and travelled by the Ottoman Railway to Dinêr (APAMEIA). There we provided ourselves with servants and horses, and set out along the road leading to Tchar in

<sup>1</sup> We are glad, however, to be able to say that by walking warily and using all tact, and especially by the assistance of H.B.M. Consul at Angora (Mr. H. S. Shipley), we met with uniform courtesy from the local governors. Perhaps also we owed something to the political mood of the Turks, which is very variable; but a great deal always depends on the temper of the Vali l'asha and his individual subordinates in the provinces.

order to examine the two inscriptions for the sake of which we had made this long circuit.<sup>1</sup> This done, we made direct for Afion Kara Hissar (Akroënos). All this country has been so frequently traversed by archaeologists that we felt but a languid interest in it, and our chief thought was of the shortest possible route to our destination. We therefore cut across the apex of the triangular ridge of hills which separates Karamyk Ova from the great plain that stretches in front of Tchai and Kara Hissar, and descended beside a Devrent (guard-house) on the old post-road from Constantinople to Konia, a short distance south of the hot springs (*Ilidja*). It was now late in the afternoon and, as it was impossible to reach Kara Hissar that evening, we decided to pass the night at Böyük Tchobanlar, a village on the north side of the sluggish Akkar Tchai (Kaystros).<sup>2</sup> To this circumstance we owe a most welcome and important discovery, which proves in a striking way how little any traveller or any number of successive travellers can claim to have exhausted the possibilities of a district and how much of his success the explorer often owes to chance.

The path to Tchobanlar diverges from the *chaussée* almost opposite to the village Kumral<sup>3</sup> and, passing near a *Tepe* indicated on the large-scale maps, crosses the Akkar Tchai by a stone bridge of several arches. Standing loosely on the parapet of this bridge we found a marble block with the following inscription :

/// Α Θ ///  
 // Ο Ν Γ Η Σ Ι //  
 ∟ Ι Ι > Δ Ρ Σ Π //  
 Α Υ Τ / Κ Λ Ι Ξ Λ Ι //  
 Μ Α Ρ Ι - Α Υ Ρ Σ Λ //  
 Σ Ε Β ; Α Ν Τ Ω Ν Ε Ι //  
 Ο Δ Η Μ Ο Σ Ε Υ Λ Α //  
 Π Α Σ Α Ν Π Ρ Ο Ν Ο //  
 Κ Α Ι Ε Π Ι Μ Ε Λ Ι Α Ι //  
 Π Ο Ι Η Σ Α Μ Ε Ν //  
 Χ Ρ Η Σ Τ Ο Υ Α Π Ε Λ //  
 Τ Α Β Λ Α Ρ Ι Ο Υ

Ἄγ]αθ[ῆ Τύχη.  
 Τ]ὸν γῆς [καὶ θαλάσ-  
 σ]ῆς δεσπ[ότην  
 Ἀντ(οκράτορα) Καίσα[ρα  
 5 Μάρκ(ον) Ἀνρ(ήλιον) Σ[εβ(αστὸν)  
 Σεβ(αστοῦ) Ἄντωνεῖ[νου υἱὸν  
 ὁ δῆμος Εὐλα[νδρέων,  
 πᾶσαν πρόνοιαν  
 καὶ ἐπιμέλια[ν  
 10 ποιησαμέν[ου  
 Χρήστου Ἄπελ[λᾶ  
 ταβλαρίου.

<sup>1</sup> They are published in *J.H.S.* 1898, Pt. ii. p. 342 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Even in the recent map published by Major von Diest in Petermann's *Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, No. 125, this village is still placed on the south of the river. It is strange that such a mistake should be made when the survey of the *Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie* was used by the compiler of the map. (Probably the survey is not very careful.)

<sup>3</sup> So named on Von Diest's map.



We at once recognised in l. 7 the name of the bishopric EULANDRA, which was represented at the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.). The form of the name is quite clear from the signatures of the bishop, Μείρος Εὐλάνδρων,<sup>1</sup> *Mirus Eulandrensis*,<sup>2</sup> Μίρος ἐπίσκ. τῆς κατὰ Εὐλάνδραν ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας.<sup>3</sup> In one entry he is given as *Miros Bilandensis* in the province Phrygia Salutaris,<sup>4</sup> and as the name is not found in the *Notitiae* and was otherwise unknown, it was supposed by Prof. Ramsay to be a corruption of *Beudensis*,<sup>5</sup> a suggestion which he afterwards gave up for [*Si*]bidandensis.<sup>6</sup> The reason for its disappearance is now patent. The present position of the stone and the fact that its erection was superintended by a *tabularius*<sup>7</sup> show that Eulandra was the earlier name of the Θεία κώμη (i.e. *vicus Caesaris*) which from the middle of the sixth century onwards appears under the name of Augustopolis (cf. *Hist. Geog.* pp. 178, 143).

So even yet the last word has not been said on the march of Manlius! Our inscription renders untenable the view of Dr. Körte that the older name of Augustopolis was Anaboura, the second station after Synnada on Manlius' route (*Athen. Mitth.* 1897, p. 7). Anaboura must be sought elsewhere, and in the present state of the evidence M. Radet's suggestion to place it at Mukhaïl seems the best. There are remains there, and it is quite possible that the modern name, which perpetuates an old religious fact, the worship of St. Michael, points to a local cult and is not directly drawn from Prynnessos (where the worship of the Saint is attested by an inscription, *CB.* II. no. 678).

## § 2.—An Ancient Cemetery in the Tembrogios Valley.

On our arrival at Kara Hissar, we were told that many stones were being dug up by the Circassians of Ai-kürük (Tcherkes keui) a village about an hour north-west of Altyn Tash, on the post-road to Kutäya (Kotiaïon), which I had visited in 1897; and we therefore made a circuit by the

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Sacr. concil. nova coll.* vi. pp. 57, 94, 1085; vii. pp. 41, 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* vi. p. 1172; vii. p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* vii. p. 437.

<sup>4</sup> vii. p. 407.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Geog.* p. 143, No. 75; *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 492.

<sup>6</sup> *CB.* ii. p. 753. I use the abbreviation *CB* to denote Prof. Ramsay's work, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford, 1895-7).

<sup>7</sup> On the office of *tabularius* (or accountant) which existed side by side with that of *dispensator* in the various bureaux for the administration of the Imperial *patrimonium (res privata)*, compare M. Rostowzew in *Römische Mittheil.* 1898, p. 111 ff.

village on our way to Murad Dagh. We found that the peasants, in searching for stones to build a new mosque, had lighted on an ancient cemetery and were turning up a quantity of inscriptions. We copied all that were uncovered and left the villagers still busily engaged in their excavations. They will be published (together with those which I copied last year in the Praipennisais district) in the third volume of Prof. Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, and we need only indicate here the facts which they establish. In general they confirm the views put forward by Prof. Ramsay with subtle historical insight in regard to the early history and diffusion of Christianity. They supply definite proof of the Christian character of the curious formula against violation of the tomb, *σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσεις τὸν θεόν*, which frequently occurs on the tombstones of this valley, irregularly engraved in odd corners, and which Prof. Ramsay rightly regarded as in all probability a Christian expression, though "it is neither so obviously Christian as the second formula [*δώσει θεῷ λόγον*] nor capable of being certainly demonstrated by its varieties and accompaniments to be Christian, like the first" [*ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*].<sup>1</sup> By thus providing us with another criterion of Christian epitaphs, they serve to strengthen the evidence which goes to prove that this district was one of the earliest to be thoroughly Christianized; and they supply fresh examples of the peculiar type of Christianity which prevailed here and differed from the ordinary attitude of the Phrygian Christians during the first three centuries in its open<sup>2</sup> profession of the new religion and its bold proclamation on the tombstone that the monument is erected by "Christians to Christians."

### § 3.—*The Country between Murad Dagh and Aizanoi.*

The triangular corner of hill-country between Abia (Apia), Murad Dagh (M. Dindymos), and Tchavdir Hissar (Aizanoi) has been curiously overlooked by travellers and is consequently almost a blank on the maps. We shall therefore describe it with some detail.<sup>3</sup> The only road by which

<sup>1</sup> *CB.* ii. p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> This cemetery stands by the side of the great road from East Phrygia to Kotiaion and the coast.

<sup>3</sup> The higher slopes of Murad Dagh, along which passes the direct road from Kara Hissar to Gediz (Kadoi), were explored by W. von Diest in 1886 (see Petermann's *Mittheil.*, *Ergänzungsheft*, No. 94); and we did not visit this district again.

wheeled traffic can enter this district from the Tembrogios valley passes the village Girei Tchall-keui and follows the course of a stream which comes down from Murad Dagħ and flows through the village to join the Tembrogios (Porsuk Su). Immediately above the village there is a little cultivated land, but presently we enter the hills and the valley of the stream becomes a narrow glen with barren, rocky sides. Up on the hills ten minutes to the right (west) of the road (45 minutes from Tchall-keui) lies the village Bazirgianli, and a little further up on the east is a village



SKETCH MAP OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN MURAD DAGħ AND AIZANOI.

Yaghdjilar. The road then runs along the stream, passing several mills, for nearly two hours, when the valley widens, the hills become lower and are covered with low shrubs, while other small streams come down from both sides to join the first, and presently the *dere* opens out into a small *ova* containing the villages Ören-keui (400 ft. above Tchall-keui and 3823 ft. above sea-level)<sup>1</sup> and Tokur. Ören-keui marks the site of a

<sup>1</sup> The altitudes in this district are reckoned by aneroid, which we compared at Tchigurler with the altitude assigned by the Railway survey. They are not likely, therefore, to be far wrong.

Roman or Byzantine village ; there are a few remains (including two or three inscriptions), and the villagers told us they had dug up pottery and old stones beside the village. In the fountain, which is entirely built of ancient blocks, there is a *stele* with Byzantine mouldings and the relief of a deer feeding, while on the upper margin runs the much worn legend,

1. + Ἑπὲρ εὐχῆς Τροφίμο[υ] Ψόλωνος κῆ τῆς συ[ν]βίου αὐτοῦ  
Εὐδοξία[s,

For the name Ψόλων, *C.I.G.* IV., 8458. Deer are still plentiful on the higher slopes of Murad Dagh.

2. Stone shaped like a capital, with the legend

ΟΥΠΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΙ

Underneath there are two bands of ornament, each representing two mares facing (with the addition, in the upper panel, of sucking foals).

3. A fragment

. . . τῆ]ς συνβίου [αὐτοῦ . . .

The *ova* in which this village is situated is reckoned part of Gireñ Ova and goes by the same name. On south and west it is bounded by the hills, on the east by a level plateau, at whose northern edge lies the village Arslanlar. This plateau sinks again (on its eastern side) into another small *ova*, of about the same general level as the other, well-watered and extremely fertile ; it contains two villages, Ishekler on the south edge (3923 ft.), and Alandjik on the opposite side, neither of which shows any signs of antiquity. From Ishekler a road turns south through another narrow, but rich valley watered by a stream from the southern slopes of the mountain, and gradually widening in a south-west direction towards Seraidjik (4223 ft.), which is reached in an hour and a quarter. Here there are so many columns and other worked stones of the Byzantine period that we must regard it as another ancient site ; but no evidence was found to tell us anything about it. In order to return to the plain about Örenkeui, we ascended a high pass in a north-west direction, reaching the summit (550 ft. above Seraidjik) in half an hour, and then descended for about an hour to Tokur, a well-watered village south-west of Örenkeui. The country around is very pretty ; the slopes of the hills

(especially towards the south) are well-wooded chiefly with pine trees, and consequently the villages are built of unsawn logs instead of the usual mud or small stones, and roofed with planks. On the undulating hill-slopes on the west side there are two villages, Tawa, one hour from Tokur (towards the north, 4073 ft.) and Tchanaldik, more than half an hour north-west of Tawa. At the former village there are several Byzantine columns in the cemetery and a capital ornamented with two bunches of grapes coming out of a vase, as well as a few old stones built into the houses; these have probably been carried. From here we followed a horsepath<sup>1</sup> over the *col* on the south-west (500 ft. above Tawa) and descended through thick woods to the valley of a limpid stream (a tributary of the Rhyndakos), down which runs the road to Yagmurlar (2½ hours). Leaving Yagmurlar we followed the course of the stream for some distance, passing in half an hour a small village Yeniler, and then struck across the hilly country in a northerly direction to Tchavdir Hissar (3323 ft.) the site of AIZANOI. The object of our visit to Aizanoi was to search for the holy cave STEUNOS, sacred to Kybele, whose existence is known from two passages of Pausanias, in which he tells us that "the Phrygians who dwell by the river Penkalas, and who originally came to this district from Azania in Arcadia, point out a cave called Steunos, of circular form and of a goodly height. It is sacred to the Mother [of the gods], of whom a statue has been made";<sup>2</sup> and again, "they say that the people who dwell about the cave in Phrygia called Steunos and the river Penkalas are a colony from Azania."<sup>3</sup> These notices acquire fresh interest from an inscription found at Gediz (Kadoi) by the late Dr. Buresch in 1895,<sup>4</sup> Δὴ καὶ Μητρὶ θεῶν Στευννηῆ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δημητρίου Αἰζανέιτης ἱερεὺς κτίστης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν.

Many years ago Prof. Ramsay heard of a cave near Aizanoi called *Kessik Magara*, i.e. "the cut cave," a name which promised well but might merely denote a rock-cut tomb or chamber. But as he only received this

<sup>1</sup> There is a longer road, to S. of this path, just practicable for an *araba*.

<sup>2</sup> x. 32, 3.

<sup>3</sup> viii. 4, 3. The older and more strictly correct form of the name of the Phrygian city was doubtless, as Buresch remarks, Ἀζανοί, which is used by Strabo, Ptolemy, Hermogenes *apud* Steph. Byz., Hierocles, and the episcopal lists. The explanation of the name quoted by Steph. (see *Hist. Geog.* p. 147) looks like a piece of popular etymology, and the story doubtless originated with the priest-kings who in early times ruled the city and perhaps bore the name Euphorbidai, like the Ἀνθεάδαι at Halicarnassus, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Aus Lydien*, p. 159.

information when he was well on his way eastwards, he was unable to examine it; the name, however, was indicated in accordance with his report on Kiepert's map, in the hope of attracting the attention of future travellers. An examination of Kessik Magara showed that here beyond all doubt was the sanctuary of Kybele. About twenty minutes south-west of Aizanoi, high up on the ridge that forms the left bank of that arm of



the Rhyndakos on which the city lay—and which was therefore called the Penkalas<sup>1</sup>—there is a large cave with no trace of artificial cutting, running underneath a heavy mass of overhanging rock, circular in form and of a fair height (as Pausanias has it). There are two entrances separated by the natural rock, on the outside of which there are six niches for votive

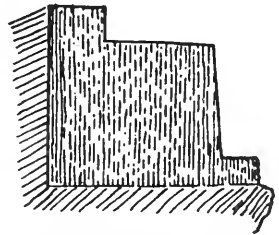
<sup>1</sup> The stream which appears in the photograph is merely a mill-stream.

reliefs, and a larger one below which is so shaped as to contain two figures, one of full size—evidently the statue of Kybele—and the other quite small, on the left of the former; while underneath (at the bottom of the rock) there is a hewn stone with two oblong socket-holes for the reception of the cultus figures. High up on the rock, near the main entrance (which is on the spectator's right), and commanding a view of the city and the plain below, is carved the throne of the goddess, which reminds us of the 'Throne of Pelops' on Mt. Sipylos or the double throne of Zeus and Hekate on the acropolis of Chalke, an island off the west coast of Rhodes, which is more nearly similar in form.<sup>1</sup>

On the top of the ridge, above the cave, are two circular buildings (or enclosures) a short distance apart, built of huge squared blocks, with a projecting course above forming a coping. The better preserved southern one measures in interior diameter 3·80 m.; the blocks are 1·20 m. high, 0·70 m. thick, and of a varying breadth. In the wall are three doorways, 1·20 m. × 0·50 m<sup>2</sup>.

Several stones now fallen over the cliff belonged originally to these buildings. The inside of both enclosures is now partially filled up with earth; but excavation would be very easy and would probably repay the trouble. Were they *tumuli* or places for sacrifice? Without excavation it is hardly possible to determine their purpose.

From Aizanoi we proceeded to visit the hilly country through which the road to Kutāya (Kotiaion) passes, after leaving the plain of Tchavdir Hissar; but here we found no remains of antiquity save one inscription at the *tchiftlik* Bazardjik which was copied long ago (*C.I.G.* 3857) and has suffered in the meantime, and a few others at Ortadje and Yaliniz Seraï in the north-west extremity of Gireï Ova.



SECTION OF THE THRONE  
(ROUGHLY DRAWN BY EYE).

<sup>1</sup> *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Österreich.* xviii. (1895) p. 3. The rock-'altars' (as they have generally been called) on the acropolis of the Midas-city seem to me quite different, and I cannot agree with Dr. Körte's views about them (*Es sind Throne für die unsichtbare Gottheit, Athen. Mitth.* 1898, p. 119). Whether the altar grew out of the throne is a different question.

<sup>2</sup> The other has no doorway (if my memory serves me rightly)

## PART II.

§ 1.—*The Country S.E. and E. of Amorion.*

Returning to Kara Hissar, we set out to begin our work in Galatia. Our plan was to commence with the unknown region lying on the north of the long ridge of hills which runs down from Emir Dagh and forms the



THE SOUTHERN CIRCULAR BUILDING ABOVE THE CAVE.

northern boundary of Phrygia Paroreios. This district is practically a complete blank in the maps and many parts of it have never been trodden by any traveller, so that we take the chance of describing our routes here



in detail. The easiest way of reaching the district is to take the road from Ak Sheher (PHILOMELION) along the east side of the Lake (passing west of the village Apsare), whence a direct and easy path crosses the ridge and descends by a *dere* into the plain of Durgut. This was the route we followed.<sup>1</sup> When the traveller has passed the summit of the ridge and begun the descent, an extensive view opens out before him. His eye wanders over a vast plain which stretches away towards the distant peak of Gunusu Dagh and the rolling Haïmane<sup>2</sup> on the north, and up to the prominent ridge of Ala Dagh on the east (reckoned nine hours from the edge of the plain beneath); while on the west the view is closed in by the neighbouring mass of Bayad Kolu (*kol*="arm") which screens from sight the plain of Tcheltik and Amorion. In the dim light of evening it looks a promising country, but when the traveller begins to wander over it, he meets with an unpleasant surprise. He finds it is sparsely inhabited: the villages are few and far between: the soil is dry, sandy and bare, and the patches of cultivated land which he sees here and there yield but a poor increase. Then he realises that he is already on the edge of that great barren, treeless waste which fills the centre of the peninsula and has from all time merited the name of AXYLOS. The character of this vast tract of country is very inadequately described by such vague expressions as "Salt Desert," "Great Salt Plains," and so forth. Few parts of it are absolutely desert, for villages are to be found all over it at intervals, where any fair water supply is available; and except on the south and south-east the proportion of level plain is by no means above the average. On the contrary, the landscape is ever varied by gently undulating ground, rolling country, hill, and mountain; but all alas! are equally bare, equally dreary and forbidding. The conditions of travel are not easy or pleasant here, and the explorer has always shirked it.

Descending from the hills we entered the Ova of Durgut, narrowed on the south by the hills but widening out towards the north-east into a

<sup>1</sup> The west side of the Lake is too marshy for a road to pass over it.

Route from Ak Sheher to Durgut Ova:—Melles keui (1½ h.), Kurd keui (¾ h.), Tuzlukjü (1 h. 55 m.); before this village the road to Piribeyli diverges, foot of the hills (1 h. 45 m.), summit (1 h. 15 m.), foot of Bagirsak dere (1½ h.), Khursunlu (ca. 1 h). The time-distances added after a place are always reckoned from the previous station; square brackets denote a *détour* and return to previous station. "H." signifies hour, and "m." minutes. Ak Sheher Lake is made too large in recent maps; our route did not pass near it.

<sup>2</sup> Haïmane (*i.e.* Waste) is the name of the whole country S. and S.W. of Angora (ANKYRA) between the Sangarios and the vicinity of the Halys.

limitless stretch of almost uninhabited desert. At Khursunlu we found a boundary stone marking the limits of two towns or villages MISKAMOS and HARRA (or ARRA), and we afterwards found two old sites in the plain: one beside an old fortress twenty minutes from Khursunlu and a quarter of an hour from Harranlar, a *yaila* of Durgut, and the other at the last-named village where numerous remains and inscriptions attest an ancient town. It seems probable that the village Harran-lar retains the ancient name, and in that case the town at Durgut will be Miskamos. Our route thence lay along the base of the Durgut ridge which runs north-north-west for an hour and then turns to west: here we entered a small plain called Eshme Ova, bounded on the north by Kurshunlu Dagh and Bayad Kolu, and in half an hour more reached the village Geuz Ören. Here was an ancient town called SELMEA, according to the evidence of two votive inscriptions, one of which reads:—

Ἀνρ. Παπᾶς Γαίου κὲ Γάιος Παπᾶς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπέ[ρ τ]ῆς ἑαντῶν  
σω[τηρι]ᾶς Μηνὶ Σελημενην[ῶ] εὐχῆν.

At Yunak, a Kurdish village on the slopes of Bayad Kolu, just above the road from Ak Sheher by Ak Giöl to Angora, we had our first experience of the inconvenience caused to the traveller by the Kurdish custom of deserting the village in summer and removing households, flocks, and herds to some quarter (*yaila*) where better pasturage and a cooler atmosphere may be found. The *oda* (guest-room) was shut up, and nobody was to be found in the village but some women of the poorer class not possessed of enough of this world's goods to go with the others to the *yaila*. It was an amusing scene when our good *zaptieh*, a friend of last year, a humourist, and altogether a most serviceable man, mounted on a wall and announced to the throng of women a list of our necessities in the simplest Turkish he could command<sup>1</sup>: when thereafter the circle gradually began to form around us, with children in arms or distaff in hand, and to examine us and our dress and effects with the curiosity and envy of simplicity, while our servants exerted themselves—in vain!—to effect a reasonable bargain for the horses' fodder.

Leaving Yunak, we passed over the higher slopes of Bayad Kolu,

<sup>1</sup> The men know Turkish, but Kurdish is the language of domestic life. So the ancient Galatians spoke Celtic in their own homes, using Greek only as a medium of intercourse with the outside world, until Christianity enforced its language.

reaching an altitude of 800 ft. above the village, and came down beside Upper Agz<sup>1</sup> Atchik, "Open-mouth," an appropriate name for a village lying near the mouth of a narrow *boghaz* through which passes one of the roads from Ak Sheher to Piribeyli. Near the other end of this pass lies the lower village, at the head of an *ova* crossed by the roads from Ak Sheher. From this point we turned northwards again through a glen with low hills on either side, watered by a stream which flows through Ashagha Piribeyli towards the Sangarios.<sup>2</sup> Ashagha Piribeyli is an extensive ancient site lying under the western corner of the long ridge Seifi Ören-i,<sup>3</sup> which interposes a barrier between the lower slopes of Bayad Kolu and the plain below. It is unfortunate that none of the numerous inscriptions give the name. Prof. Ramsay has proposed to identify it with PISSIA (*Hist. Geog.* p. 233), but certainty is as yet unattainable. Our route thence passed along the lower slopes of Bayad Kolu and down to Tcheltik. At Tcheltik there are no remains to be seen except those which have been used up in building and, recently, in repairing the elaborate domed mosque; but an hour and a half to the north there is an important site with a necropolis of enormous extent further west (50 m. north of the village). This is no doubt one of the towns mentioned by Livy on the march of Manlius (? ALYATTI), and is perhaps to be identified with the Tolistobogian town TOLISTOKHORA.

We now proceeded to visit the country round Ak Giöl, a long narrow lake, overgrown with tall reeds, and stretching for several miles in a southerly and easterly direction.<sup>4</sup> Fifty minutes south-south-west of Kutchuk Hassan there is a small site called Seifi Öreni on the lower slope of the long ridge to which it gives its name, whence is said to have come a quaint inscription recording a dedication *Μητρὶ Τετρ[απρο]σώπῳ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων κὲ τετραπόδων*.

<sup>1</sup> Italicised *g* is used to denote that the letter is softened down in pronunciation so as to become almost silent.

<sup>2</sup> Details of route from Durgut Ova to Piribeyli:—[From Khursunlu to] Kale (20 m.), Harranlar (15 m.), Durgut (1 h. 20 m.), Geuz Ören (2 h.), Kizil Kuyu Yaila (deserted village at W. extremity of *Ova*), Yunak (2 h.), Agz Atchik Yokaru (1 h. 45 m.), Agz Atchik Ashagha (55 m.), Ören keui (1 h. 15 m., N.W.), Ashagha Piribeyli (1½ h.).

<sup>3</sup> So called from a small *Ruinenstätte* on its slopes further East (*infra*).

<sup>4</sup> Route from Piribeyli to Ak Giöl:—By Yokaru Piribeyli to Kurdushan: thence Tcheltik (3 h.), Kutchuk Hassan (1 h. 25 m.), Oda-bashi (50 m.), over undulating country to Hadji Fakir (1 h. 35 m.); thence through villages near E. end of Ak Giöl: Imam Oglu (20 m.), Serai k. (10 m.), and across the lake to Sakushagh (1 h. 5 m.).

§ 2.—*From Ak Giöl to Angora.*

We were now compelled by circumstances—which so frequently intervene to interrupt the natural course of the traveller's exploration—to take a more or less direct route to Angöra. Our Consul there, who was on the eve of leaving for a holiday, had suggested to us that it would be wise to try and reach Angora before his departure and be introduced by him to the Vali Pasha, who would (he hoped) furnish us with letters for the governors of the districts we were likely to visit this year. We agreed with his view, and as the time was now short, we had to curtail our original scheme and not wander far afield. Leaving Ak Giöl, therefore, we entered the rolling country of the Haïmane and travelled north-east to Yuzuk-bashi, a picturesque village lying in a round depression at the head of a *dere* (whence its name "Ring-head") and well-watered by copious springs which form a marsh at the lower end of the village and issue in a stream which flows away to join the Sangarios, ten minutes or so north of Tchakmak.<sup>1</sup> Our route thence followed the usual road to Turk Takajir and Kabak, but instead of taking the direct road to Angora *viâ* Ilidja<sup>2</sup> and Hammam we diverged eastwards up the valley of a small affluent of the Sangarios and over the arid, treeless wastes of an undulating plateau to Katrandji Inler, "Caves of Katrandji," a name derived from the numerous rock-cut tombs and chambers which line both banks of the stream below the village. There are many other remains of ancient life in and near the village (including a fragmentary inscription with some symbols that may possibly be "Hittite," copied by Prof. Ramsay in 1883, but not seen by us), which have come from a *trümmerfeld*, fifty-five minutes to the south-east. Thence we followed the course of the Ilidja Su past Kizil Hissar (or Kale), the Byzantine fortress ΑΠΗΡΑΖΕΙΑ (*Hist. Geog.* pp. 227, 218), to Yamak at the head of the valley, whence we crossed Ardidj Dagh to Hammam by a

<sup>1</sup> At Geuk Bunar W.S.W. rises another stream which passes Renkoglu [derived from routes of Prof. Ramsay] and pours a large volume of water into the Sangarios just below (North of) Elles Pasha, 3 hrs. from Tehelik. We found it impossible to ford this river an hour above its mouth (July 28).

<sup>2</sup> The road turns up the valley of the Ilidja Su, which comes down from the east of Hammam and falls into the Sangarios about  $\frac{1}{4}$  hour below Kabak.

road practicable for wheeled traffic, which reaches an altitude of 900 feet above Yamak.<sup>1</sup>

Yapan Hammam is an entirely modern town. It was made a *kaimmakamlık* about seventeen years ago—hence it is called *Merkez*, i.e. the governmental centre, of the Haïmane—, and it owes its importance largely to its healthy situation and its hot springs, in old time the *Therma* of the Myrikenoi (*Hist. Geog.* p. 226). The city MYRIKA, however, probably lay beside Kadi keui, about three miles down in the fertile valley, where there are numerous ruins belonging to the Christian period. Our route thence to Angora does not require special description. We paid a visit to Giaour Kalé-si, the splendid prehistoric fortress with “Hittite” sculptures (twenty minutes north-west of Dere keui), discovered by M. Perrot in 1861, and found another *Kalé*, doubtless a sort of outpost of Giaour Kalési, six minutes from Dere keui on the opposite side of the stream, commanding an alternative road to Angora. The road thence leads past Oyadja and over a plateau, slightly sloping towards the south and bounded by a high ridge on the east, whence the traveller gets his first view of the blue waters of Mohan Giöl and presently descends to Topakli, a village lying down in a hollow with rolling ground beyond. Topakli is the site of an ancient town ANDRONA, according to the evidence of a votive inscription

Μηνὶ Ἀνδρωνηυῶ Τρόπος καὶ Βέλλα εὐχίην.

Our only other important discovery on this road was made at Yalandjak, a village under the brow of the hills looking down on Angora, whence the traveller gets a fine view of the city with its gleaming minarets and its buttressed walls crowning the acropolis hill. Built into the fountain of this village is a large trachyte (?) *stèle* with a lion sculptured in low relief

<sup>1</sup> Route from Sakushagh to Angora:—Yuzuk-bashi (2 h. 5 m.), Siman (1 h. 20 m.), Toprak Bunar on edge of marshy valley running towards Sakaria (10 m.), Turk Tahajir at foot of Sakaria cañon (fully 2 h.), opposite Kabak (45 m.), turn E. up a *dere* for  $\frac{1}{2}$  h. and over plateau down to Katrandji Inler in about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours more, thence Kizil Hissar (1 $\frac{1}{2}$  h.), [Tabur-oglu ( $\frac{3}{4}$  hr. to left)], opposite Kiraz-oglu on right (1 h. 50 m.), opposite Baghtchejik lying 20 m. up hill side on left (42 m.), go N.N.E. in direction of 30° for 1 h. 12 m., thence due E. for 25 m., whence Katrandji keui reads 150° (24 m.). Thence to Yamak (reading 330°) on opposite side of the valley (1 h. 10 m.), and over hills to Hammam (ca. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  h.), Kadi keui (50 m.), Erif (1 h.), Hüyük (55 m.), Gerrim (20 m.), Sari-giöl (ca. 1 h.), Mandra keui (29 m.), Giaour Kalesi (37 m.), Dere keui (20 m.), Oyadja (40 m.), Topakli (1 h. 40 m.), Hadji Muradli  $\frac{1}{4}$  h. to left of road (57 m.), opposite Yawrudjik [Perrot's “Giaurtejik”] (28 m.), opposite Deli Hümmetli which lies ca. 1 h. up hills on left (17 m.), junction of alternative road by Giaour Kalesi with ours (48 m.), Hadjilar (27 m.), brow of hills on south of Angora (1 h. 15 m.), thence by Yalandjak, Balghat, etc. to Angora.

(broken at the head), exactly similar in size and technique to that found by M. Perrot at Kalaba on the opposite side of the valley and described in his *Exploration de la Galatie* (pp. 226, 320, Pl. 32). A third replica, excellently preserved, was afterwards found by us at Amaksiz, a ruined village by the railway, a few hours down the valley of the Angora river (Engüri Su). These *stelai* have probably been carried from Ancyra.

### § 3.—*The line of the Pilgrims' Route to Juliopolis.*

At Angora we came once more into touch with civilisation, and the kindly hospitality of our genial Consul Mr. H. S. Shipley, made our visit a very pleasant one. Through his good offices we were furnished with letters of recommendation from the Vali Pasha to the district governors; and, thus fortified, we set out on a five weeks' expedition through the country to the west and south-west. The country west of Angora is now well known; and its character may be readily understood from the accompanying map, so that the reader may be spared the tedium of wading through minute details about our routes there.

Our first task was to determine the line of the Pilgrims' Route as far as Juliopolis and endeavour to fix the situation of the towns on it. Historically, this is one of the most interesting roads in Asia Minor; but, archaeologically, it is one of the most thankless that the explorer can find. The sites to be determined are the following: *Cenaxis palus*, *Prasmon*, *Mnizos* (bishopric), *Petobriga*, *Lagania-Anastasiopolis* (bish.), *Sykeon* (on the *Siberis*) and *Iuliopolis* (bish.). The first two are omitted by the Antonine Itinerary and in their place is given a town *Manegordos*, twenty-four miles from Angora and twenty-eight from Mnizos, which obviously cannot be on this road (for the distance is twice too great), but in all probability is to be sought in the plain called Murtad Ova ("Apostate plain"), drained by a river which joins the Engüri Su below Istanos.<sup>1</sup> We therefore began by examining the triangle of hill-country between Angora and this plain, then explored the plain itself, and proceeded westwards along the only possible line for the Pilgrims' Route (viz. by Ayash

<sup>1</sup> In precisely the same way Bolegasgos is given on the direct road from Angora to Tavium, whereas it is in Tchibuk Ova (Balikassat keui), north-east of Angora.

and the valley of the Ayash stream and the Ilkhan Tchai).<sup>1</sup> CENAXIS PALUS is to be identified with Kebir Giöl, a small lake dry in summer, lying about one and a quarter miles north-west of Emir Yaman (which is reckoned four hours from Angora). Beside the *palus* on the north side is a small old site, the *mutatio* of the Jerusalem Itinerary, and between this site and the lake runs the modern *chaussée*, following the line of the ancient road. At Emir Yaman we found a milestone of Hadrian erected by A. Larcus Macedo, but the number is obliterated. There are some remains at Meranos, which lies on the higher slopes of the hills that bound Murtag Ova on the east. Probably there was an ancient village there, and Meranos looks as if it were actually the ancient name. But the important sites are at Yassi Ören and Karalar, not much more than an hour apart. The remains at the former village are numerous, but late in character (see Mr. Crowfoot's paper in this number of the *Annual*); those now at Karalar are mostly squared blocks of trachyte (?), but a quarter of an hour to the north-west there are the ruins of a fine old fortress (*Assar*) which reminds us irresistibly of those in the Phrygian monument country. Now there are two names in this district waiting for a habitation,—Manegordos<sup>2</sup> and Crentius,<sup>3</sup> both given in *Itin. Anton.* as twenty-four MP from Angora, the latter being on the road to Krateia-Flavio-polis. Surely the fine old Phrygian name Manegordos belongs to the old fortified city at Karalar. Yet it is Karalar which is on the road to Krateia (Gerede). The solution doubtless is that the old city at Karalar had dwindled to a mere village, destroyed perhaps like Gordion by the Gauls, while the later city at Yassi Ören, a little off the road, was the important place in later times. The village Girindos or Kirindos, some distance to the south-west, *perhaps* retains the name Krentios (as suggested by Prof. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 20); if so, its appropriation of the name must be explained by supposing that it is one of the oldest villages in the plain. It is not itself an old site. The inscription copied here by

<sup>1</sup> Route from Angora to Istanos:—Evedik (1½ hr.), Yuva (1 hr.), Tchakirlar tchiftlik (57 m.), Emir Yaman (1 hr.), Kebir Giöl (1½ mile), Serai k. (ca. 2 hrs.), by Teshrek (Circassian) to Meranos (ca. 3 miles), foot of *dere* (1 hr.), Aidin (40 m.), Mekhti (15 m.), Halkali (10 m., across river), Yassi ören (1 hr.), Soguljak (30 m., N.W.), Karalar (1 hr.), Shimshit (3 miles), Emir Ghazi (9 m.), Bitdik (37 m.), Girindos (50 m.), Mülk, Il-agut (*pronounced* Ilaüt), Akja ören (ca. 20 m.), Istanos (1½ hr.).

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Geog.* p. 242

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

Mordtmann, *C.I.L.* III 282, has perished. We found also at Karalar a fragment of very early pottery.

The line followed by the Pilgrims' Route westwards from *Cenaxis palus* is quite clear. It passed along the lower end of the Murtađ Ova, above the mouth of the gorge in which Istanos lies, and ascended the ridge called Ayash Bel by way of Irkek-su tchiftlik, where we found a milestone of Diocletian and Maximian, apparently in its original position by the side of a quaint cemetery belonging to an ancient town or village, which we would identify with PRASMON. The road descends again by the head waters of the stream that passes Ayash and clothes the ravine in which the town lies with a welcome band of verdure. Ayash was long ago identified by Kiepert with the bishopric MNIZOS, the next station on the route, and Perrot thinks he is right, for (amongst other reasons) a sufficiently large number of blocks which should go back to antiquity were to be seen in the walls of the houses; and, according to Tournefort, ancient marbles were to be found there in his time. We came to a different conclusion; most of these squared blocks seemed to us to be of distinctly modern work: few at least could be certainly called ancient. Moreover, this position is irreconcilable with the distances given by the Jerusalem Itinerary; but we need not go into details here. Suffice it to say that, being dissatisfied, we proceeded to search up and down the toilsome hillsides for a more suitable site, and that we think we have found it twenty minutes or so below Tchagha keui,<sup>1</sup> a village north-west of Ayash, about an hour and thirty minutes distant from the *chaussée*, which follows the line of the ancient road as far as the *Devrent* (guard-house) on the Kirmir Tchai, a short distance below its junction with the Ilkhan stream. At Bairam keui we found another very massive milestone of Diocletian, which has been carried up from the valley.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name sounded like Tchai or Tchaj; but when I asked the people to pronounce it slowly, it seemed to be Tchagha.

<sup>2</sup> Route from Istanos to the R. Siberis:—Kaye [not Kaya] keui (ca. 1 h.), Irkek-su *tchiftlik* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  h.), over Ayash Bel, joining *chaussée* east of Bash Ayash (1 h. 8 m.), Ayash (57 m.), [Mr. Crowfoot went by the *chaussée* and visited Bash Ayash.], Kassaba (55 m.), Bairam (2 h.), Tizke (1 mile N.N.W.), back to Bairam, Ilidja keui (1 h., W.); Mallal (2 h. 5 m., ca.  $\frac{1}{2}$  h. N. of Tizke), Ilkhan keui (2 h. S.W., on right bank of river which joins Ayash water; 1 h. from Ilidja), Geunidje *tchiftlik* (1 $\frac{1}{4}$  h.), Tchagha (? Tchai) keui (1 h. 20 m.); Ak kaya (1 h.), Kale (*i.e.* Petobriga, 1 h. 20 m.), cross Kirmir Tchai and up left bank to Ada ören (1 h. 20 m.), Indje Pellit ( $\frac{1}{2}$  h. in air-line), Oyun Pellit (1 h.; N.W. of Ada ören), Kizil Sogut ("red willow,"  $\frac{3}{4}$  h. S.W.), Bey-bazâr (1 $\frac{3}{4}$  h.).



While it is unfortunate that there is no epigraphic evidence to settle beyond dispute the position of towns on this road, I do not think there can be any doubt as to the identification of PETOBRIGA with a strong fortress overhanging the deep cañon of the Kirmir Tchai, about a mile and a half above its junction with the Ilkhan water, and occupying a sort of isolated hill round which the river makes a sharp bend in the shape of an  $\Omega$ . *Briga* in Celtic means "hill" or "castle" and belongs to a widely-extended group of words *Bria*, *Berga* or *Perga*, *πύργος*, *burg*, etc.,<sup>1</sup> which easily come to denote "fortress" or "fortified town"; and *Peton*, which actually occurs in the *Life of St. Theodore* (Latin translation, p. 55, Πέων of the Greek text<sup>2</sup> being evidently a misprint), is clearly to be regarded as a shorter form of the name.

The next station LAGANIA (afterwards the bishopric Anastasiopolis) has sometimes been placed at Bey-bazâr, the chief town of the district at the present day, occupying a beautiful position on three hills at the mouth of a gorge filled with gardens and vineyards and watered by a tributary of the Kirmir Tchai. But Bey-bazâr seems to be a Turkish foundation, and its position is of a characteristically Turkish type. There is an old *khan* in the town, but the only remains of an older date are the numerous rock-hewn chambers on both sides of the gorge, which were probably (as M. Perrot thinks) Troglodyte dwellings. It seems unlikely that the ancient road made the *détour* by Bey-bazâr; it probably kept along the valley of the Kirmir Tchai, and the site of Lagania was perhaps at Mal Tepe ("Treasure hillock"), ten minutes south-east of Fazil Tchiftlik, beside which are the ruins of a village that used to be the *yaila* of Bey-bazâr. Here also there are numerous rock-chambers, and we picked up on the *tepe* a large fragment of Samian ware (*terra sigillata*).

The road hence turned towards north-west, coincided for some distance with the modern *chaussée*, and then turned south-west towards the junction of the River Siberis (Ala Dagh Su) with the Sangarios. SYKEON, famous as the birthplace of St. Theodore, bishop of Anastasiopolis (Lagania) in

Back to Devrent on Kirmir Tchai (time forgotten: 3 h. Perrot), along Kirmir Tchai by *tchiftlik* I. (1 h. 20 m.), *tchiftlik* II. (20 m.), Bey-bazâr stream (1 h. 10 m.) to Fazil *tchiftlik*; Mal Tepe (10 m.), Mukhalitch Keuprü (3 h. 15 m., very fast riding), down Sakaria to Yardibi *tchiftlik* (1 h.), Eski-sheher (=Sykeon) and Bridge on Ala Dagh Su (=Siberis, 10 m.).

<sup>1</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, s.v.; Ramsay, *CB*. ii. p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek original is published in Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικὰ ἐκδιδόμενα ὑπὸ Θεοφίλου Ἰωάννου (BENETIAI, 1884).

the sixth century, was situated at the crossing of the Siberis, over which Justinian built the great bridge described by Procopios (*De aedif.* v. 4). It has hitherto been identified with Tchaïr-khan on the modern carriage-road to Nalli-khan; but this is a mistake. The site, which is now called *Eski-sheher* ("ancient city"), lies on the left (east) bank of the river not far from its junction with the Sangarios, and beside it still stand the seven piers of Justinian's fine bridge, bound round with logs of wood as a buttress against the winter floods, and used to support the wooden bridge which carries the modern road over the river.

A little beyond the bridge, close to the village Sarilar, is a mound representing a very primitive site, whence a peasant lately dug up an idol of the well-known "Island Class," and a pot of the beak-spout type, of a brilliant red colour, with string-holes (presented to the Ashmolean Museum) along with a round green machead and a piece of copper. These finds, together with the numerous fragments of pottery which we collected from various sites, furnish important and much-desired evidence as to the wide range of the early civilisation of the Aegaeon lands and in particular prove that these inland parts were in communication with Cyprus and Egypt (*vid* the Cilician Gates) in the most primitive times.

The road now follows the course of the Sangarios as far as Baluk keuprü (1 h. 50 m.) and, ascending the ridge on the right (north), passes over a slightly undulating plateau to JULIOPOLIS (ca. 2½ h.), the site of which was rightly identified in 1865 by M. Lejean with the ruins half an hour to the north of Emrem Sultan, on the right bank of a stream (the SKOPAS) which flows into the Sangarios a quarter of an hour below the village.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4.—*The district of Mukhalitch.*

The district of mountainous country called Mukhalitchjik, bounded on north and east by the Sangarios and on south by the Tembrogios (Porsuk Su) and now placed under the *kaimmakalik* Mukhalitch ("city of St. Michael"),<sup>2</sup> next claimed our attention. Starting from Baluk

<sup>1</sup> Route from Bridge on Siberis to Juliopolis:—Sarilar (under ¼ h.), Ak Yar *tchift.* (¼ h.), small *cyuk* (20 m.), Gemi Bashi *tchift.* beside Baluk keuprü (¼ h.), turn N.W. and W. to Aiman kish (1 h. 58 m.), Emrem Sultan (22 m.), JULIOPOLIS (¼ h.). Direct road from Juliopolis to Aiman bashi is 35 m. (travelled by servant). From Aiman bashi we returned to Baluk keuprü.

<sup>2</sup> Called also Kuyudjak, but not in common parlance. It is a poor village and apparently not very old.

keuprü,<sup>1</sup> we ascended the ridge Arab Beli which rises to the height of 800 feet above the Sangarios and then traced the course of the Baluk (or Indje) Dere to the village Iki Kilisse ("Two Churches"), 1450 ft. above the channel of the Sakaria (2 hours 5 min.). This village, consisting of three *mahallas*, is the site of an ancient town, which fortunately is not nameless. Amongst the inscriptions which we found here, there is a *stele* recording a dedication by a family of hereditary priests to Zeus of AKREINA (Δὴ Ἀκρεινηνῶ εὐχῆν). Akreina is mentioned in the *Life of St. Theodore* as possessing an oratory of the Archangel.<sup>2</sup> The worship of St. Michael was widely spread all over this part of the country.<sup>3</sup>

At Tchardak (one hour south-west) there was another ancient village. Several massive and elaborately moulded tombstones still lie in their original position in the old cemetery; but only one inscription is exposed to view. While I visited Tchardak, Mr. Crowfoot made a *détour* by Bey keui where he copied two Latin inscriptions and rejoined me at Mukhalitch. Below Iki Kilisse and Tchardak stretches the long ridge of Kartal Dagħ, which reaches an altitude of 1,900 ft. above the former village and 625 ft. above Mukhalitch at the point where the Tchardak road crosses it. Mukhalitch lies on an upland between this ridge and another stretching from east to west on the south side of the town. On the south-east this ridge slopes down to the Tembrogios, a little cultivated and thinly populated waste; but on the south-west there is a long fertile valley, which, at the present day, forms part of an Imperial Estate, possibly a royal inheritance from ancient times.<sup>4</sup> Here there are numerous remains of ancient life. One of the old centres was called NARA according to two dedications, which

<sup>1</sup> Routes in Mukhalitch district:—From Baluk keuprü to Iki Kilisse (2 h. 5 m.) [whence we visited Gozlu, on top of ridge just over the stream]; Tchardak (1 h., S.W.), Mukhalitch (2 h. S.S.E.). [Mr. Crowfoot went by Bey keui, etc.] Thence to Kayc (*mudurluk*, 1 h.), village ten minutes to right (57 m.), Geudje (18 m.), Kizil Böyükli (or ? Beyikli, 43 m.), back to Geudje, whence Kara Geyikler (30 m.), Tut-agatch (30 m.), Doghan-oglu (40 m.), eastward again to Mohajir keui (20 m.), Igde agatch yokaru (1½ h.) [ashagha (¾ h.)], Geuktche aiva (or ? Geuktchai) (over ½ h., but ca. 20 m. in air-line), *Yaila* (1 h. 15 m.), Yarikdji (2 h. 40 m.). Hence I went to Sari keui and by rail to Angora, returning to Bitcher; while Mr. C. visited some villages in the hilly country E. and N.E. of Mukhalitch, rejoining me at Bitcher.

<sup>2</sup> *Μνημεία Ἀγιολογικά*, p. 434. The Latin translation in *Acta Sanctorum* wrongly gives it as Ambrena (*Hist. Geog.* p. 246).

<sup>3</sup> On 'Michael' in modern Turkish names, see *CB.* i. p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> For ancient royal estates still remaining as such in Byzantine and Turkish times, cf. *CB.* I p. 10-11 etc.

we found at Mukhalitch (carried from Tut-agatch) and at Yarikdji, to Ζεὺς Ναρηῖός. The town was situated near Tut-agatch.

§ 5.—By COLONIA GERMA to AMORION and back by the Sangarios to Angora.

The valley of the Porsuk Su from Igde Agatch to its junction with the Sangarios near GORDION<sup>1</sup> is mainly either marsh or waste. On the south it is bounded by a ridge of hills, high in the centre where the river makes a bend to the north (from Bitcher to below Sari keui) and gradually sinking on either side, especially on the east where they merge into the slightly undulating, waste table-land, which fills the corner between the two rivers. The southern slopes of this ridge roll down to a long valley (running roughly westwards from Mülk), which rises more sharply up to the slopes of Gunusu Dagh. Along this valley ran the Roman road from Dorylaion [Eski Sheher] to Angora, passing by Mülk (where Hamilton copied a milestone of Titus) and crossing the Sangarios near Beylik Keuprü. The course of the road has at last been finally settled by the discovery of the long-sought site of the Roman colony GERMA, which closes a great controversy.<sup>2</sup> The Latin inscriptions naming the *colonia* (C.I.L. iii. 284-5) were copied at Masut keui in 1554 A.D. by the members of the embassy sent by the Emperor Charles V. to the Sultan Suleiman I. who at the time had his court at Amasia. But the accounts of the route followed were vague: where was Masut keui? In 1863 Prof. Kiepert, at Prof. Mommsen's request, examined the narrative and placed the village on the west of the Sangarios, not so very far from its real position. But recently he came to think that the route of the ambassadors was along the Porsuk Tchai valley,<sup>3</sup> and accordingly in his map of 1890 he places the village north-west of Bitcher. It is in reality identical with Perrot's "Massik keui," and lies two hours north of Sivri Hissar and a little over half an hour south-east of Dumrek. The actual site of Colonia Germa is fifteen minutes east-south-east of Dumrek, and Soman Hissar is the Byzantine fortress corresponding to it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Körte's identification with Pebi is probably correct (*Athen. Mittheil.* 1897, p. 19 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Geog.* pp. 224, 237.

<sup>3</sup> In a paper published in *Globus*, vol. lii. (1887).

<sup>4</sup> Route as far as Pessinus:—From Bitcher to Karadat (1¼ h., in S. direction except for the last ¼ h. when we turned sharply W.), Idedjik (55 m.), Soman Hissar (19 m.) [Karadja Kaya (10

The village MOUSGA (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 225) is clearly to be identified with the ruins called Arslanli, which were visited by Hamilton in 1836 and are placed by him about four miles south-east of Hortu. We crossed over the hills from Siliba to examine them; from that village they are distant two hours and ten minutes. About a mile to the east are some fine hot springs, which gave to this spot the sanctity it still possessed in the sixth century of our era.

After a visit to Pessinus, we proceeded to examine the country to the south near the Sangarios. Thirty-five minutes west of Hadji-Ali-Oglu, a village on the river almost due south of Sivri Hissar, there is an old site called *Veledler*, i.e. "the sons," a name derived (so runs the tale) from two sons of a Pasha of Ak Hissar<sup>1</sup> (Amorion) who had been sent thither by their father to superintend his property, and died (or were killed) there. Perhaps it is Ptolemy's Abrostola<sup>2</sup> in the province of Asia, mentioned also by the Peutinger Table, in which a succession of parting ways gets entirely jumbled up. But certainty can only be attained by the discovery of an inscription with the name. From hence we followed the course of the Sangarios to its junction with the Bunar-bashi stream. Just below the junction the road to Amorion crosses the latter stream by a stone bridge called Ak Keuprü, and keeps along the left bank as far as Abeddin *tchiftlik* (half an hour before reaching Waïsal), where it re-crosses to the right bank. Below Waïsal there are two cemeteries full of remains carried from Amorion; but the stones are much weather-worn and no inscriptions were to be seen.<sup>3</sup>

m.), Dumrek (32 m.), Masud keui (over  $\frac{1}{2}$  h.), Baladat ( $\frac{1}{2}$  h., E.); back to Masud, whence Eldjik ( $\frac{1}{2}$  h.), Sivri Hissar (1 h. 35 m.), Tek ören (1 $\frac{1}{4}$  h.), Siliba (30 m. ?), over the hills to Arslanli (2 h. 9 m.), Kotehash (23 m. S.E.), Kadynjik ( $\frac{1}{2}$  h. S.S.W.), back over the hills to Bala-hissar (Pessinus, 2 h. 27 m.).

<sup>1</sup> We several times heard this name applied to the ruins. Hamilton's "Hergan Kale" is unknown. Is it not a misunderstanding of "Djirgin Kale" (Djirgin being the former name of Azizie, the principal town of the district, re-named after Abd-ul-Aziz)?

<sup>2</sup> On Abrostola, *Hist. Geog.* p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Route from Pessinus back to Angora:—Fet-oglu (2 h. 27 m.), Hadji-Ali-oglu (39 m.), *Veledler* (35 m.), Bostanlar (15 m., just over the Sakaria, where it bends to S.), Ak Keuprü just below junction of Bunarbashi Su with Sakaria (45 m.), Kutchuk Buzludja (37 m.), Böyük Buzl. (18 m.), Ab-ed-din *tchiftlik* (43 m.), Waïsal (28 m.), *Bunarbashi* (1 h. 35 m.), Hamza Hadji (20 m.), AMORION (25 m.), by Bunarbashi to Zonk (53 m.), Yeni keui (1 h. 55 m.), Lower Tuluk (15 m.), Kaldirim (55 m.), Geuk Tepe (55 m.), Elles Pasha (1 h. 49 m.), Topalli on Sangarios [ca. 1 h.; we made circuit by Bolat Hissar (1 h.) to Topalli (63 m.)], Tchakmak (1 h. 45 m.), Kabak (2 h. 56 m.), Bash-keuprü keui (1 h.), Etrek (1 h.), Kavundji keuprü (1 h. 20 m.), Yarre (1 h. 25 m.), Merdjan (31 m.), Bedin (13 m.), Aïwalli (7 m.), Yürme (28 m.). Back to Kav. Keuprü, whence Tchanak-

From Amorion we went east-north-east to the Sangarios, which we struck at Elles Pasha, and followed as far as the bridge called Kavundji Keuprü, whence we diverged to Yürme (EUDOXIAS) in order to examine the fine church there. It is described by Mr. Crowfoot in the present number of the *Annual*. On our way back we stayed the night at Yarre, a village rather less than an hour and a half from the bridge, and found a very interesting "Hittite" relief, which had been dug up from a *tepe* beside the village. Our next task was to find VINDIA, a town of the Tolistobogioi (according to Ptolemy), lying on the great road from Dorylaion to Angora. There is little doubt that it is to be placed at Kara-cyuk ("Black Mound") where a great mound of at least a mile in circumference marks the site of an important city. PAPIRA is to be identified with an early site immediately behind Balik-koyundji, where we found fragments of red-faced Cypriote pottery. In a cemetery a few minutes west of the village we copied a milestone of Hadrian, numbered xxiv. The eighth milestone is now at Aladja-atli, a village three hours south-west of Angora. These identifications necessitate some alteration in the numbers given by the Antonine Itinerary.

### § 6.—From Angora to the Halys.

From Angora this road continues eastwards to Tavium and we followed it as far as Eccobriga. A description of the route may be found in Sir C. W. Wilson's "Handbook to Asia Minor" pp. 19—20; and we need not do more than indicate the conclusions we reached. SARMALIA<sup>1</sup> (Ptol. V. 4, 8) is perhaps to be placed at a site called Süngür, half an hour south-west of Assi Yuzgat. The ruins there are entirely characterless, but the village contains a considerable number of remains (including one inscription). ECCOBRIGA<sup>2</sup> we should identify with a very ancient site on an isolated, conical hill, an hour east of Yakshi Khan. The fragments of pottery here are exceedingly numerous and varied: unpainted yellowish ware, early painted fragments including pieces of Mykenaeen style and of

djik (1½ h.), Bolatli station (3 h.), Basra (½ h.), Beyjaz (55 m.), Kara-cyuk (1¼ h.), Hadji Toghru (½ h. in direction 325°), Tekke on hills (40 m.), thence straight to Ala Geuz S.E. of Malli keui (4 h. 15 m. fast riding, about 18 miles); Assarli kaya (1 h.), Assarli kaya keui (ca. 7 m.), Balik-koyundji (1 h.), Aladja-atli (2 h. 20 m.), Angora (2 h. 58 m.).

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Geog.* pp. 257, 260.

<sup>2</sup> *H.G. II. cc.*

"Lydian" fabric, and ware similar to some found by M. Chantre at Kara Eyuk (*En Cappadoce* p. 85 &c.) and to a Cretan fragment described by Taramelli (*Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1898 p. 294).<sup>1</sup>

§ 7.—*The country south of Angora and round Lake Tatta.*

The country south and south-east of Angora and round the great Salt Lake occupied the remainder of our time. A great part of this region has hitherto been known only from a journey made by W. F. Ainsworth in 1839 and is almost a blank on the maps. In 1895 Dr. F. Sarre made a short journey through the country on the south-west of the lake and improved that corner of the map. We can only indicate briefly the results of our journey, for the present article is already exceeding all due bounds.<sup>2</sup> From south and south-east a great number of important roads converge on Angora and all coincide beside Tchakal keui,—the Roman roads by Parnassos to Caesarcia and to Colonia Archelais (the latter coinciding with the Pilgrims' Route), and a road down by the west side of Lake Tatta to Konia, while the Byzantine military road passes a little to the south. Tchakal keui is thus a most important point both in ancient and in modern times, and at or near it lay GORBEOUS,<sup>3</sup> the royal seat of Kastor, prince of the Tektosages, who was slain by Deiotarus (Strabo, p. 568). Between Gorbeous and Angora was a station DILIMNIA, which was probably beside Örendjik

<sup>1</sup> Route from Angora to Tcheshnir keuprü:—Kayash (40 m.), opposite Kizildja keui ten minutes to left (45 m.), Orta keui (25 m.), ruined Khan (1 h. 45 m.), small tumulus *Tashli ören* [Hassan-oglu (52 m.)], *Tash Bunar* beside the direct road from Hassan-oglu to Kaledjik (1 h.; reckoned 1 h. from Hassan), Yenishan (35 m.) in same dere as Assi Yuzgat (5 m.). Cross watershed of Sakaria and Halys to Kilidjar (1 h. 56 m.), along right bank of Tabanlı Su for 35 m., then turn up *dere* and over hills and across the Halys by a ford to Yakshi Khan (3 h.); [Kürüghin Kale (Eccobriga, 55 m.)], along Halys by Haidarlar (2 h. 20 m.), Kara Ahmedli (1 h. 20 m.), Tcheshnir keuprü (1 h. 30 m.).

<sup>2</sup> Route from Tcheshnir Keuprü as far as Shedit Hüyük:—Karaketchili (39 m.), Utchenli (2 h. 48 m. = Alibey k.), Kartal (*kaimmakamlık*, 1 h. 45 m.), Tol (1½ h.), Beinam (under 3 h.), Tchakal (ca. 1 h.), Kara-oglan (55 m.), Örendjik (53 m.), Dikmen k. (1 h. 55 m.) and back by Roman road to Örendjik; along the post-road to Tchakal (2 h. 35 m.), Aghaboz (1 h. 33 m.), Hadji Izzet Bey *tchiftlik* (2 h. 14 m.), [*hüyük* (19 m. N.W.), Karali (56 m.)], Abbasli (1 h. 3 m.), over hilly country to Tchidemli in a *dere* (2 h. 15 m.; Baghtche Karadallar is beyond ridge on left); S.W. to Adji öz stream (1 h. 44 m.) on direct road from Abbasli, Avshar (37 m.), S.E. again to Adji öz stream (2 h. 5 m.), Karaburun (20 m.), Shedit Hüyük (1 h. 40 m.).

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay places it near Beinam, a village about an hour east (*Hist. Geog.* p. 256, etc.), which comes to the same thing.

keui near the head of Mohan Giöl. Twelve minutes east of Tchakal where there are now three milestones (one of Domitian set up by Caesennius Gallus and bearing some number between XV and XVIII, one of Hadrian erected by Larcus Macedo numbered XXV ΚΕ, and one of Aurelian), the Roman road diverges southwards to Aghaboz. For forty-five minutes eastward from this village the *agger* can be traced with the greatest ease, and for some distance the confining lateral blocks (*margines*) still remain. ORSOLOGIA (Ὀροσολογία, Ptol. V. 4, 8) lies near Hadji Izzet Bey *tchiftlik* (2 hours 15 min. from Aghaboz, on the north side of the Tabanlı Su valley). Its side is marked by one of those *hiyyüks* which throughout all the country to the south are as the sands of the sea-shore for multitude; we picked up here specimens of red Cypriote ware and early painted pieces. At Karali, a village on the slope of the hills to north-west, I copied two milestones, one numbered XXXIII ΛΔ recording the restoration of the road by [Antoninus Pius and] M. Aurelius in 161 A.D., the other the XXXVIIIth. milestone of Diocletian. The road then passes below Abbasli and down a glen by the Tatar village Karaburun ("Black-nose") to Shedit Hüyük, the site of the bishopric ASPONA. In the cemetery of the village is the 65th milestone of Constantine and [Licinius] (307-323). The inscription is engraved on a pillar, which had been carried all the way from Angora for the purpose; for on the other side there is an inscription recording its erection by ἡ μητρ(όπολις) τῆς Γαλατίας β' νεωκ(όρος) Ἀγκυρα in honour of Cornelia Salonina, μητέρα κύστρων, γυναῖκα τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) Γαλληνοῦ.

From Shedit Hüyük the road crosses the lower spurs of Pasha Dagħ and passes over undulating ground by Mulkus Obasi keui, on either side of which the *agger* is still visible, to Parlassán (reckoned two hours distant from the Halys), which bears the name and occupies part of the site of the important city PARNASSOS. There is a large *hiyyük* here and numerous remains both in the village and in the cemetery, including an unnumbered milestone of Constantine, etc., which bears a fragment of a Latin inscription on the back. Parlassan lies near the head of a narrow, but fertile and well-watered valley, bounded on the east by the ridge of Kara Sengir Dagħ and separated by low hills from Kotch Hissar (about two and a half hours distant). The copious water-supply clothes the valley with verdure, a grateful sight to the traveller who for many days has seen nothing but bare and dreary hills and undulations! But the whole strip of country between



the lake and the river is a smiling land compared with the dreary stretches on the north and west and south.

At Parlassan the roads to Caesareia and Archelais fork. The former runs over undulating ground past Obasi Yeni Yapan (near which is the site of a Byzantine village), Demirdji keui, and Boghaz keui to Bazirgian Hüyük (about one and a half hours from the Halys), which seems to be the site of NYSSA<sup>1</sup> (over six hours from Parlassan; xxiiii M P from Parnassos according to *Itin. Anton.*, which is seldom right in its numbers). There are remains enough in the neighbourhood to stock a large site. From thence the modern road runs parallel to the river, between the ridges of Ekedjik and Sarykaraman Dagħ; but the ancient road ran along the riverside as far as Yarapison (ZOROPASSOS), if we may assume that Gregory of Nyssa, returning to his see probably from Caesareia, travelled by the ordinary road (*ἡ ὁδὸς πᾶσα ἐπιποτάμιος ἦν*, *Ep.* vi. ed. Migne). We were unable to explore farther than Muradli Hüyük, a small ancient site to the south-east (see the map).

The line of the road to Archelais could be followed by the eye for miles, running south-south-east between the ridge that bounds the lake and Ekedjik Dagħ, but our time was too short to explore it. We heard of ruins at Yagmur Hüyük, ten hours from Parlassan and five from Devekowan, a village on the line of the road which we passed on our way to Kotch Hissar.<sup>2</sup>

In 1885 Prof. A. von Domaszewski published (from a bad copy by a certain Leonardi, an apothecary at Angora) an inscription which was said to have been found at Akardja, "*in der Nähe des Salzsees, an einem Brunnen*," and ends thus:—

. . . NHHWNAP  
XONCONOYΛHΔH  
Ϝ MOC Ϝ

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Geog.* p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Route from Shedit Hüyük to Kotch Hissar: Over low slopes of Pasha Dagħ and rolling country to Hadji Tahir k., E. of direct road (3 h. 18 m.), Fezulagh *tehiŧlik* on direct road (2½ h.), junction of roads from Tehikin-agil and Parlassan (35 m.), Mulkus Obasi (45 m.), Parlassan (48 m.), Palas (25 m.), Ishekli (37 m.), Haidarli (15 m.), Deliler (23 m.), Obasi Yeni Yapan (1 h. 8 m.), Demirji (20 m.), Hüyük below Tehikin-agil (1 h. 35 m.), return to Demirji, whence Boghaz keui at foot of the plateau (2 h.), *Bazirgian Hüyük* (fully 1 h.), [Harmandal (35 m.)], Deve-dami (1 h. 15 m.), *Muradli hüyük* (45 m.), *Tchaili hüyük* (55 m.), back to Harmandal, whence we go towards the lake by Kutukli k. (23 m.), Shalanli (1 h. 3 m.), Albali (1 h. 10 m.), M.amali (45 m.), Devekowan (1 h. 5 m.) on road from Parlassan to Ak Serai, reported 5 h. from former; whence by circuit over hills to Kotch Hissar (3 h.).

(*Arch.-Epigr. Mitth. aus Österr.* 1885, p. 131). In a letter written to me at Afion Kara Hissar in Aug. 1897, Prof. Ramsay recalled this inscription to my memory, and suggested that the ethnic preceding ἄρχον[τες βουλῆ δῆμος] was very probably [Κιν]νηνῶν.<sup>1</sup> We made enquiries about this village Akardja and found it near the head of the lake (see the map). The inscription is still extant and reads

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη· Μ. Ἀντώνιον Γορδιανὸν τὸν θειότατον αὐτ(ο)κρίτορα τὸν ἐκ θεῶν [Κιν]νηνῶν ἄρχοντες βουλῆ δῆμος.

There can be no doubt about the restoration; but the stone has long been built into a foundation and has been carried thither nobody knows whence. There is a small site not far off at Böyük Kishla; but KINNA was an important city (a bishopric), and was probably situated at Yarashli, a village with extensive ruins and a rather remarkable *kalé*, beneath the highest peak of Karadja Dagh, three hours north-west of Kulu keui (which is over two and a quarter hours from Akardja).<sup>2</sup>

There is another important site at Kozanli, south-south-west of Yarashli, on the direct road from Angora to Konia. The cemetery of the village as well as other cemeteries not far off are packed with inscribed and uninscribed stones. Unfortunately the inscriptions give no clue to the ancient name, but its identification with PITNISSOS (or PETINESSOS)<sup>3</sup> seems fairly certain and suits well Strabo's words ἡ τε δὴ Τάττα [τοιούτη] ἐστί, καὶ τὰ περὶ Ὀρκαόρκους καὶ Πιτνισσὸν καὶ τὰ τῶν Λυκαόνων ὀροπέδια ψυχρὰ καὶ ψιλὰ καὶ ὀναγρόβωτα, ὑδάτων δὲ σπάνις πολλή (p. 568).

<sup>1</sup> See his own account in a paper entitled "Asiana" which has just appeared in the last number of the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* pp. 234-5.

<sup>2</sup> Route from Kotch Hissar to Konia:—*K'hündil hüyük* near Lake (45 m.), Bash Khan (3 h. 17 m. very fast, reckoned 6 h. from Kotch Hissar), head of Lake (25 m.), *Ak-in hüyük* (45 m.), Akardja (1 h. 10 m.), [Böyük Kishla (37 m.)], Shekerii keui (Tatar, 25 m.), Kulu keui (2 h.), Mandra k. (1 h. 40 m.), Yarashli (1 h. 5 m., reckoned 3 h. from Kulu), Kostangil (35 m.), Arsindji (30 m.), Kozanli (1 h. 35 m.), [visit various old cemeteries]; At-Kafasi (reckoned ca. 2 hrs.; we lose the way), opposite Böyük Beshkavak (1 h. 39 m.), Kutchuk Beshkavak (35 m.) at foot of Kara Dagh, *détour* to Kutchuk (or ? Kutuk) Ushak (1 h. 35 m.), Yenidjoba (1½ h., but reckoned 2 h.), Kushdjali or Hadjilar (1 h. 52 m.), southwards to Bunarbashi (1 h. 40 m.), Bunarb. keui (6 m.), Tcheshmeli Zebir k. (2 h. 50 m.), Kuyuli Zebir k. (35 m. fast), [Lek k. (1½ h. fast)], Insuyu (3½ h., reckoned 4), *Tchorgia hüyük* (2 h. 53 m.), *Kara Tepe* (1½ h.), Inevi (1 h.), Herkenli or Dongdurma (4 h. 10 m. going 4 miles per hour), Eski-il (4 h. 15 m.), *Tuzun hüyük* (reckoned 1 h.), Tash Bunar (2 h. 15 m.), Hadji Bey Yailasi (2½ h.), *Töprak kale* (32 m.), Tekir k. (1 h. 20 m.), Hoidus Yaila (1 h. 25 m.), Suwarek (1½ h.), Yaila (3 h. fast, reckoned 4), Kayadjik yaila (3½ h. very fast), Konia (2 h.).

<sup>3</sup> See *Hist. Geog.* p. 227.

In the country bordering the east side of the lake the number of ancient sites is a positive embarrassment to the geographer (for none of them yields up its name) and a source of astonishment to the historian who wanders over these desolate plains which produce nothing but pasture for great flocks of sheep and goats. Karanli Kale, a commodious fortress well-built of squared blocks, less than two hours west of Yenijoba, no doubt represents EUDOKIAS,<sup>1</sup> which appears in three of the later *Notitiæ* in place of GLAVAMA,<sup>2</sup> situated apparently at Tchorgia Hüyük,<sup>3</sup> which like Kara Tepe (one and a half hours south-east) has been denuded of its remains to supply the needs of the villagers at Insuyu and Inevi (a *murdluk*). PSIBELA-VERINOPOLIS<sup>4</sup> is fairly certain at Herkenli (Dongdurma) and PERTA at Tuzun Hüyük ("Salt Mound") or perhaps at Eski-il ("Old Tribe") which is an ancient site, in spite of Dr. Sarre's disclaimer,<sup>5</sup> and has appropriated most of the remains of the old cities in the vicinity to fill its enormous cemeteries. Another ancient town of considerable size, Toprak Kale ("Earth Castle"), thirty-two minutes from Hadji Bey Yailasi, may be KONGOUSTOS. There were two small towns (or two quarters of one town) at Tcheshmeli and Kuyuli Zebir on the direct road from Angora to Konia, but the inscriptions found there are silent as to the name or names. Finally SOATRA or SAVATRA has been rightly placed by Prof. Ramsay at Ak Ören,<sup>6</sup> reported to be five hours west-south-west of Eski-il and about two and a half hours (in the direction of about 150°) from the *yaila* near Toprak Kale. The ruins here must formerly have been very conspicuous (Prof. Ramsay says only "extensive"; we did not visit them, knowing he had examined the site), for the fame of them is still noised abroad through all the country on the North. Weeks before we arrived in this neighbourhood, we were told over and over again, "If it is ruins you want, go to Ak Ören"! The ancient name

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Geog.* p. 344.

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

<sup>3</sup> Fragments of early painted pottery, ornamented merely with lines, were found here.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* 1896, p. 33: *Hier fanden wir keine Spuren einer antiken Ansiedlung.* But in his volume "Reise in Kleinasien" (p. 98 f.), he says that Perta is perhaps to be sought here. *Die kolossale Ausdehnung des Gräberfeldes zeugte von der Grösse dieser Ansiedlung, die, wie aus den vorhandenen spätrömischen oder byzantinischen Skulpturfragmenten hervorgeht, in frühe Zeit zurückreicht.*

<sup>6</sup> It cannot, however, lie so far to the south as he puts it ("4 hours S.W. from Eskil," p. 343); it is more west than south of Eski-il. He does not name the site, but the identity is certain.

is apparently retained as Suwarek (see map), a village to west-north-west, whither a great number of the ruins have been transported.

Those who care to study our routes will see that this country has not yet been exhausted. The very centre of the Axylos, in particular, still remains a hidden land ; but it contains very few villages and it is avoided by the lines of communication between the lake and the west, which keep more towards the north (passing below Katrandji Inler) or more towards the south (running over the plateau above Insuyu). Their importance at the present day depends on the great salt trade : and in ancient times it was doubtless much the same.

## NOTES UPON LATE ANATOLIAN ART.<sup>1</sup>

BY J. W. CROWFOOT.

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Beginnt nicht schon mit der byzantinischen Kunst etwas völlig Neues? . . . Dies hat allerdings seine zwar auch nur bedingte-Richtigkeit, wenn man unter Antike die griechische Kunst des Phidias und Iktinos versteht. . . . Es gab einen Entwicklungsgang in der antiken Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit, und zwar auch einen aufsteigendem, nicht bloss einen Niedergang, wie man allenthalben glauben machen will. . . . Die byzantinische Kunst ist zunächst nichts Anderes als die spätantike Kunst in oströmischen Reiche.—ALOIS RIEGL, *Stilfragen*, pp. 272-273.

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### I.—ORNAMENT ON PHRYGIAN STELAE.

PHRYGIA is remarkable for the variety (and number) of its funeral monuments: in one place the sarcophagus, in another the altar, in a third the stele. The last named was fashionable in the land of the Praipenissians, whose ancient centre was Soa in the neighbourhood of Altyn Tash. The Phrygian stele was often of considerable size, six feet or more in height, and fixed upright in the ground or in a socket by a wedge-like tongue, which still remains in some cases.

The central field is filled sometimes by figures of the deceased, often more than life-size, never by ridiculous little dolls such as are found further east. The place of the figures is sometimes taken by a door: in this case the busts of the departed are occasionally sculptured in an arch-shaped pediment above (cf. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, Pls. 38, 51). Otherwise the pediment is filled by various symbolic or decorative subjects—two lions with a prostrate bull or merely its head between them, an eagle with wings “displayed,” dolphins with small fishes in their mouths, and in one case Herakles and Cerberus. All round the

<sup>1</sup> For the place and description of the various sites mentioned here I must refer readers to the preceding paper and the map, which accompanies it.

central field runs a border some inches broad and filled with decorative designs : the empty spaces still remaining, between the heads for instance of the persons represented, are covered with various emblems, distaffs, toilet boxes, mirrors, combs, cosmetic bottles for the women ; tablets, ploughs, pruning knives, and other trade signs for the men. The representation of these objects may be traced perhaps to the same feeling which prompted primitive man to bury certain things with the deceased, or it may be only a sign of sex and occupation. Finally, small birds seated upon baskets are of frequent occurrence : they meet us also in the Roman catacombs and are probably symbolical of the departed soul.<sup>1</sup>

The workmanship is very lax and careless, with the fatal fluency of Cypriote or Palmyrene art. These stones in fact were carved to order by a firm or guild of masons in a district where, as Mr. Anderson reminds me, stone was very cheap : often in different villages we find slabs identical in every detail, differing only in the inscription : clearly the firm or guild had a number of stock samples, which it varied only slightly to suit the more fastidious customers (cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 627). The fidelity, grace, and pathos of Roman stelai have vanished as utterly as the spiritual grandeur of the Kerameikos : the display of every article of feminine toilet is like a parody of the latter. In the accessories a curious symbolism, precursor as it were of mediaeval heraldry, seems to have found an early expression. But the vulgar pretentiousness of the work and the *banalité* of the inscriptions make us hesitate before comparing such slabs with those brass effigies of the later middle ages, which revive in some measure the same scheme. I have emphasized the badness of these bourgeois provincial monuments, because it is just this badness, this facility, which makes them such useful witnesses of the past : in the work of these masons we need make no personal equation, we may be sure that each changing fashion would be blindly and faithfully mirrored ; we can trace a

<sup>1</sup> The door-slabs have been discussed at some length, by Noack (*Athenische Mittheilungen*, xix. p. 326) : he describes all the utensils represented upon their panels with extreme minuteness. Rightly he rejects a fanciful suggestion of Joubin (*Revue Archéologique*, xxiv. p. 183) that each of these panels is to be regarded as a room after the fashion of Egyptian monuments. The recurrence of the same objects upon figure stones is decisive against this, as also are the door-handles, etc., which are often carved. Noack himself suggests that their origin is to be found in the façades of Phrygian rock monuments, on which Anderson asks :—"But is the door a prominent feature there? Ramsay seems right in taking the door as indication of the temple (part for whole) [*e.g.* *CB.* i. p. 99, ii. p. 367, &c.]. Importance of idea of 'door' shown by the word being inscribed on other kinds of monuments (altars, &c.)."

natural development undisturbed by the intrusion of great original workers. But, at the same time, we must not forget that this district was backward even in antiquity, and therefore that the works here found can be used to illustrate the character only, not the execution, of the artistic epochs to which they belong—epochs in which as it seems to me ornament is of the first importance.

A decorative margin, as I have already said, usually runs round both "figure slabs" and "door slabs": it also runs round smaller stones, the field of which is entirely occupied by inscriptions or symbols, and thus has a tolerably wide extension in Asia Minor. This is the one purely ornamental object in stelai of this class, and it is upon this which I wish to dwell.

A wavy band of leaves or flowers, or fruit, is the common subject of this border, but there are two distinct methods of treatment—conventional and natural.

In the former, a well-modelled stem rises from one side of the foot of the border: it curves to the opposite side and there forms a cup, from which depends a flower of some kind, while a second stem also shoots upward from the same calix and repeats the same process. This scheme is modified in many details, but the essential qualities all appear in an example from Yalynyz Serai (Fig. 1). This is a simplification of such a



FIG. 1.

pattern as that figured in Lebas and Reinach's *Voyage Archéologique—Asie Mineure*, Archit. Plate 34. There is a more striking variant at Aikürük, on which I noted a rose, grapes, two pomegranates, a violet (?) and another nondescript flower, between each of which was the calix suggesting a continuous growth! The appearance of the grapes leads us on to another development.

The second method follows the natural order more closely. A good example of this comes from the Circassian village just named—Aikürük, about an hour north of Altyn Tash. Two figures fill the field, and in the centre of the horizontal border above them rises a vine-stock, spreading on

both sides in wavy stems, from which grow alternately bunches of grapes and veined vine leaves (Fig. 2): down the side of the monument is a variant, also natural—unveined vine or ivy (?) leaves springing from a wavy stem (cf. Radet, *En Phrygie*, 1895, Pl. VI. for the latter).

These two types of decoration are so clearly distinct that one is tempted to ask whether they may not be referred to different periods. Fortunately there is some unimpeachable evidence to assist us.

The conventional border, with its multitude of diverse blossoms, can be traced further back: the calices have well-known artistic "connexions." At Ankyra, for instance, on the door-posts and lintel of the temple of Augustus a similar combination of impossible flowers occurs: the ruins of Aizanoi, just west of this district, are full of similar motives (for the former see Perrot, *Exploration de la Galatie*, Pl. 15-31; for the latter, Texier, *op. cit.* Pl. 23-33). The examples given in Riegl's *Stilfragen* (pp. 249, 250) show the elements from which this calix has been evolved. The sweeping curves and delicate craftsmanship of the first century have disappeared:



FIG. 2.

the makers of our gravestones are either later in date or clumsy country masons, perhaps both. But in Anatolia corruption is not followed by a sudden death: for this style we might suppose a lingering death of centuries were it not for more conclusive evidence.

A few of these stones bear an actual date: in the inscriptions upon others the names and the phrases give us a clue as to their approximate period, and in figured stones the fashions of wearing beard and hair are an additional help: in many of the doors of course, in those figured by Texier for instance from Pessinus (Pl. 51), there is no guiding thread whatever, and epigraphy in our present state of knowledge is of very little service. The examples which follow are all taken from notes collected during a short journey in this district; it was only after I had left this part, that on looking through these notes I thought it possible that some chronological data might be obtained. I was unable consequently to test any theory upon a larger field, and can therefore only put forward the present arrangement as a tentative suggestion.



I saw only two dated stones in this district. At Yalynyz Serai there is a doorslab of the year 175: the decoration consisted merely of a degenerate variant of that figured above (Fig. 1). The other is at Ghirei Tchalkuei, of the year 208: it represents a woman lifesize: the small pilasters by her side are covered with the latest development of the conventional border—the curves have lost all their freedom, the leaves, which are all the same, ivy or vine, grow sometimes from the centre, sometimes from the extremity of the calix. This certainly looks like a transition work. The names (Gaios and Granianos) which I have seen upon two other stones, where the conventional type is better treated, might well belong to an earlier period.

From stones which display the natural type I have obtained the following results.

(1) At Aikürük a small slab with semicircular pediment containing a cross in a circle: the last line of the inscription which fills the field runs—*Χριστιανὸς Χριστιανῶ*. The decorative border is occupied by a branch covered with grapes and almost without a leaf, carved in a very careless manner. There is a replica of this stone at a neighbouring village Doghanlar, which is also Christian. (Fig. 3). In Phrygia this bold



FIG. 3.

profession of faith appears on monuments earlier than elsewhere: a dated example occurs near Ushak, *anno* 278, and the whole series is probably Montanist in character. (For a similar formula in another district *v. de* Vogüé—*Architecture dans la Syrie Centrale*, Plate 96—the tomb of Eusebius Christian, dated Aug. 27, 369.)

(2) Also at Aikürük: a large stele representing two thin elongated figures in very low relief. The man is clean shaven and of a heavy post-Constantinian type; the woman's fingers are very thin and long: both these characteristics and the general flatness of the work point to a still later date for this. In the decoration here again all natural grace has departed nor is there any relic of the calix: the margin is made up of extremely stylized ivy leaves. *Artem expellas furca, tamen usque recurret!*

(3) Also in Aikürük, the stone mentioned above (Fig. 2). The coiffure of the woman, which is one of those used by the successors of Julia Domna (Fig. 4), the double repetition of the name Domna, and the short beard and full hair of the man, all point to the third century. A second stone with the same decoration and the same characteristics also occurs in this village.



FIG. 4.

(4) At Azishekler, near Piribeyli and consequently far removed from this district, a stone with a long metrical inscription containing the name Aurelius Karikos. The name Aurelius became common after the time of Caracalla, so that we may refer this stone also, with its free margin of alternate grapes and leaves, to the third century.

Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. 2, p. 368) publishes a doorstone from Akmonia, which shows both forms used in combination: there is no inscription, nor evidence of date whatever. However, such an example would not interfere with the order of evolution which the cases above quoted seem to establish—the decline in Phrygia of the traditional type of decoration about the year 200, and the consequent development of a naturalistic style.

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But when we leave Phrygia, the question becomes more complicated.

Vine-leaves and grapes are models always of course before the Southern's eye, and a craftsman with sufficient dexterity to copy a conventional acanthus could reproduce them as easily. From the earliest periods of ancient art we could find, as in Gothic art, sporadic examples of naturalistic work, but an isolated instance is so easily intelligible, so capricious, as to lose its historic importance. The artistic movements in the first century A.D., so brilliantly expounded by Wickhoff, might seem more to our purpose (*see* von Hartel und Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, p. 21, *fol.*). Wickhoff has here shown what a great advance upon earlier Hellenistic work the Augustan sculptors made in this very branch: they were the first to achieve a perfectly natural style. The Flavian craftsmen went further: for careful naturalism they substituted a free style of decoration, which the writer can only parallel with modern impressionist and Japanese works: in the relief sculptures a century later on the arch of Septimius he notes the disappearance of this school (*ib.* p. 39). The decoration of the first century

door-jambs at Siah (de Vogüé, *op. cit.* Pl. 2, 3), weak as it is, proves that the Augustan movement reached Syria; but the delicate Italian works published by Wickhoff find on the whole few worthy counterparts in Asia Minor. The bondage of popular baroque Hellenism lay too heavy upon the land to permit the wide reception of a style so subtle and so new as the Flavian: hence those wearisome rows of palmette and acanthus from theatres, temples, and tombs innumerable. The best decoration occurs upon the most Roman works—the temple at Aizanoi and that of Augustus at Ankyra (and here I think the stiff oak-leaves may be only an allusion to the civic crown, with which the Emperor was often represented): and a new symmetrical combination of conventional with natural, already described, was the best result of this Italian infusion. The difference between the temple at Aizanoi and that at Ankyra is just such as might have been expected between buildings before and after the Flavian movement: the little vases upon the fluting of the columns are charming indications of the new spirit. Now this temple has just been assigned, on historical not stylistic grounds, to the time of Hadrian, 125–127 A.D. (Körte, *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, 1898, p. 209–214). But the natural ornaments, which I have discussed, come from a different century and stand upon a different level, that of the lower handicrafts. From the paintings at Pompeii to the mosaics of Ravenna, in each of the first five centuries, we find the vine represented in all its natural freedom, as the covering of a wall or panel: the fact that these decorators chose the vine, rather than an arabesque like the Saracen, or an intricate development of the acanthus like the Greek, is of the first importance in our eyes. For by an easy transition from this, the vine or the ivy may be pressed into a narrow architectural border, and made to serve a subordinate decorative purpose.

In Adam's plates of the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro there is only one (46) which shows much analogy to our types, but examples recur on later works; in the church at Koja Kalessi for instance (Headlam, *Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria*, p. 13, *J.H.S.* supplement) the doorposts and lintel are ornamented with grapes, vine-leaves and birds; and in a church at Adalia there is a pilaster capital with grapes and a vase (Lanckorowski, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, I. p. 27, Pl. XI. c.). And again the ivory panels of the throne of Maximianus at Ravenna of the sixth century are similarly decorated.

On the other hand, the churches of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries in Syria, published by de Vogüé, show nothing of the kind—orientalism (?) has triumphed over naturalism. And so, too, upon later gravestones in the cemeteries of Phrygia and Galatia I have seen frequent examples of this "oriental" tendency—rosettes of various kinds, trellis work, geometrical patterns, zigzags, diamonds, which may be partly attributed to the prosperity and consequent influence of the Sassanids.

In Byzantine art of the sixth century we may distinguish three elements which supply its decorative needs—the oriental, the natural, and the classical. It gathered, that is to say, all previous styles together. But, just as in Italy architects even in the Gothic period never freed themselves entirely from their Roman models, so in Byzantine art the Hellenic element gradually preponderated: Riegl<sup>1</sup> has acutely noted this archaistic character of the Byzantine empire and perhaps even exaggerates it. The naturalistic element however remains as certainly in some places as does the oriental, and this makes one anxious to localize its earlier developments so far as possible.

## II.—THE CHURCH AT YÜRME.

Of all the churches throughout ancient Galatia, scarcely one stone is left standing upon another: only at Angora and at Yürme are there exceptions to this rule.

The church at Yürme has been mentioned by several travellers (Humann, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 32, Ramsay, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* VII. 1883, p. 23, Murray's *Guidebook*, *ad loc.*), but it has been dismissed by each in a single line, and that has not been always free from mistakes. The following notes may serve as the beginning for a study: more than this I cannot attempt. Yürme lay some distance off the route which we had intended to adopt, and we were only in the church for two hours on one of the hottest days towards the end of July. We started without knowing in the least what to expect, and so were not able to do all that might have been done even in so short a time by others better prepared. These notes may suggest problems to a future traveller and so simplify his task.

There are several difficulties to be overcome by anyone who wishes to

<sup>1</sup> *Stilfragen*, p. 273 and foll. Others have noted this too, Bayet and Diehl for example.

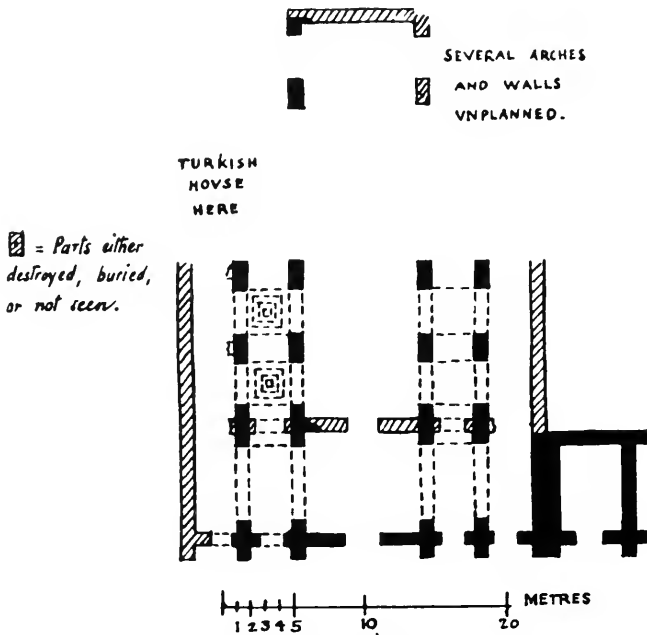
study this building. The church is now a complete ruin, merely a broken shell: the floor of the nave is several feet below the surface of the ground which makes excavation necessary before certainty upon all points can be reached. Further the east end of the north aisle is now part of a private dwelling: the west end of both aisles, where the roofs are preserved, was filled with firewood and hay when we were there, so that it was impossible to take all the measurements we wanted. Humann describes the village as one of the dirtiest and greediest that he had seen: but the people were civil to us, and I should think any one staying there a night or two could with diplomacy obtain entrance to the houses and have the aisles emptied. As it was, there were so many women about that I could only look at the east end in a very perfunctory manner.

At a distance perhaps of twenty metres from the west front and at a much lower level than the ground now heaped up within the church, is a large fragment of pavement with a corner turning towards the building. This must I think be a relic of the former atrium, and probably gives the approximate level of the church. The façade of the west front to which this led is still an imposing mass. Originally there was a central doorway (2.45 m. wide), flanked by two smaller doors on each side (1.94 m. and 1.75 m. respectively): between each door and at both ends of the façade were buttresses, six in all, that is to say, measuring at the base about 1 m.  $\times$  1 m. and rising to the roof. Now, however, there is no trace of the second door at the north side above ground, though the state of the wall still remaining makes us certain of its former existence: and upon the south side there is now a third doorway, but this clearly belongs to a later addition, for the masonry is less evenly faced and it is not "bonded" with the end wall of the original church.<sup>1</sup>

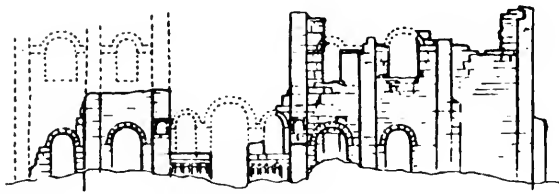
At first these five doors opened into the narthex, the whole church being more than twenty metres from north to south. In front of the doors and still more inside the central entrance, the ground has risen considerably in consequence of the débris fallen from walls and roof. There is no sign of the lintel over the central door, which is perhaps more than half buried. In the direction of the nave the line of a wall is just traceable 7.30 m. from the inside of the western wall: this gives the limit of the narthex. The parts of it opposite the nearer side doors are

<sup>1</sup> This latter addition may have included a xenodocheion or a home for the priests, such as we find in some places, or it may have been simply a belfry.

better preserved: the vaulting still remains constructed of large stones laid in parallel courses: it consists, that is, of a series of independent arches simply set side by side.



PLAN OF CHVRCH



SKETCH ELEVATION OF WEST FRONT.

FIG. 5.—PLAN<sup>1</sup> AND ELEVATION.

<sup>1</sup> The plan of the west front is, I think, quite accurate; except for the measurements quoted in the text I cannot guarantee more than approximate correctness for the rest. For the drawing of the elevation I am indebted to my friend Mr. Charles Clark, but I am myself responsible for the few restorations therein suggested. Mr. Clark has, however, represented more of the north door than really exists.

The door leading from the narthex to the nave is now completely underground, but we can follow with ease two bays extending 11.73 m.: then it becomes very difficult to trace the rest, as we have by this time reached the Turkish house upon the north side and the walls have been considerably destroyed or rebuilt. But upon the south side there is at this point a well marked corner, which suggests that the western bays built upon pillars (seen from the aisles) and containing the women's gallery ended here, giving place to some other construction, perhaps with columns or possibly a dome or tower. This change after two bays would bring the ground plan of the church into close connexion with that at Kojá Kalessi (Headlam, "Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria," supplement to the *Hellenic Journal*). Still further east I saw upon the north two smaller arches in the line of the aisle, and upon the south a very complex building, which seemed to belong to the later additions. The last trace of masonry which I found in this direction was nearly thirty m. from the narthex.

The inner aisles as I have said were better preserved: the vaulting remains for at least two bays upon both sides. Here too it is of stone, but not laid as in the narthex: it rises from four arches in four lines parallel to the arches which they leave, terminating in a rectangular keystone: this unribbed quadripartite method is explained by M. Choisy (*L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, p. 49, fig. 53) as formed by the crossing of two barrel vaults.

The external masonry is very regular, the stones being dressed apparently with a fine comb-pick. In the spring of the westerly arches upon the north aisle bricks are used, laid in very thick beds of mortar. The walls here are very thick to support the weight of the stone vaulting: but the masonry is not so careful as that upon the west front, and it is possible that there were five aisles the whole length of the church. Otherwise the outermost doors of the narthex might have served as entrances to the gallery. From the façade of the church it would appear as if the aisles were externally of the same height as the nave, a peculiarity which is paralleled only (v. Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlicher Kunst*, 1, p. 288) by two Syrian churches at Chakka and Tafkha (de Vogüé, Pl. 15-17).

If by its plan and construction, this church recalls others in Syria and elsewhere, in decorative elements it is in its present state barer than any of these. There are no richly-carved doorposts or lintels, like those at Kojá

Kalessi, and the mouldings which remain in their stead and round the windows are coarse and heavy, but it must be remembered that the door of the nave is still invisible and may have been richer than that of the narthex. In fact the only ornaments now remaining are a row of small round arches in low relief upon the west front, about on a level with the original top of the door, and beneath brackets upon the two central buttresses two arches ornamented with zigzags, a combination which of course suggests Romanesque parallels: this decoration recurs, too, in the Phrygian monument country at Ayazin (v. Reber, *Die Phrygischen Felsendenkmäler*, p. 65), and frequently upon late stelai. The spandrils of these arches are filled by small crosses, placed upon little columns in relief. There is one capital in the village bearing a monogram, to which I shall

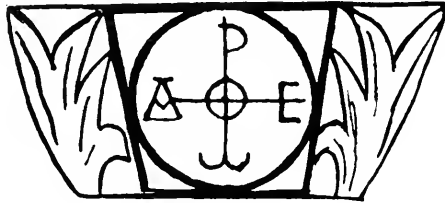




FIG. 6.

refer later: Professor Ramsay tells me that he saw another, and there may be decorated fragments in the cemetery, which we had no time to visit.

Ramsay has brought together most cogent arguments proving, I think decisively, that Yürme is built upon the ancient site of Eudoxias (*Hist. Geog.* p. 225). From the name alone we might conclude that the town had received some favour from Eudoxia, either the mother or daughter of Theodosius II. Eudokia, his wife, is, I think, out of the question: for had she been the eponymous "heroine" of the town, it would have been called Eudokias, whereas the other form is invariably used (v. *Notitiae, Councils, etc.* collected by Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 222, also *Life of St. Theodore*, in Greek text of Theophilos Ioannou, Venice, 1884, p. 424, ch. 71).

The first mention of the place is apparently at the Council of 451, which would suit either of the Empresses of this name, but there is a further



reason which makes the earlier Empress the more probable. "The revolt," [of the German faction] writes Bury (*Hist. of Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 82), "broke out in spring [399 A.D.] as Arcadius and his court were preparing to start for Ancyra in Galatia, whither the Emperor was fond of resorting in summer on account of its pleasant and salubrious climate. The barbarians, recruited by runaway slaves, spread destruction through many provinces, Galatia and Pisidia and Bithynia." What is more natural than to suppose that Eudoxia restored somewhat of the damage wrought in a province thus favoured by the court, and that the people in recognition should have named their city after her? In the building of this church I believe we see the service which thus won the gratitude of the Galatians in this district. If my interpretation of the monogram mentioned above be correct, we have indeed material evidence to prove that this was the case: I propose, that is, to read in the monogram a combination of the common Christ-symbol  with the name of Eudoxia. The letters E. D. O. I. A. are clear enough: the central stroke of the E is larger than the others, this can hardly be merely to preserve a symmetry which is elsewhere disregarded, it must represent the letter  $\Xi$ : at the bottom of the upright shaft of the cross we see a letter which looks like an  $\omega$  rather stunted, but may we not read it also as an inverted  $\Upsilon$ , which gives the last letter required and enables us to read the whole name in a tolerably intelligible system? At the same time I must confess that I have found no other example of an inverted  $\Upsilon$ , and if anyone can suggest some other name which suits the monogram better, I am quite ready to withdraw this interpretation. Upon the other side of the same capital there was a second monogram, wilfully defaced:  was all we could make out.

The church at Yürme then is probably to be referred to the first decade of the fifth century. Syrian parallels have already been quoted, but there is perhaps hardly evidence enough to allow us to speak of Syrian influence. Gunusu Dagh, the great mountain south-west of Yürme, is treeless now: it was probably treeless in antiquity. This accounts for one parallelism—the stone vaulting of the aisles. Another parallelism, which separates both from the Roman basilicas, is the substitution of pillars for columns—also due to a material condition, the want of monoliths. But, on the contrary, the use of external buttresses, which gives our façade almost

the appearance of a Greek temple, distinguishes this church, so far as I know, both from Syrian and from Greek Byzantine building. Similar buttresses occur at Perga in the "palaestra of Cornutus" of the first century A.D. (Lanckorowski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i. p. 41-44), and again later, though still more sparingly, upon some Seljuk buildings, for instance Lalla Khan, a few hours east of Angora, and Sultan Khan, between Konia and Akserai (for the latter see Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 77, Pl. XXXI.): but they are rare and opposed to the spirit of the Byzantine builders. "La seule tendance commune [to east and west] que j'arrive à saisir est celle-ci: on veut des deux côtés s'affranchir de la sujétion des ouvrages auxiliaires et des installations provisoires." (Choisy, *L'Art de Bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Preface.) As it stands now, the church is bare, cold, unattractive: this too is what one feels in looking through de Vogüé's illustrations. But if we stripped such a gem of fifth century work as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna of its mosaic decoration, we should have just such an unattractive husk. Already in the early part of this century, as Strzygowski has pointed out, the character of Byzantine architecture was in rapid process of formation: the flat ornament was being substituted for the plastic, the arch for the horizontal entablature. And this we see revealed in the church now before us.

Many buildings once assigned to the sixth century or even later have recently been carried back to the fifth (*v. Lethaby and Swainson, St. Sophia*, p. 198-204), but not one of these offers so close an analogy to our subject in its plainness and utilitarian niggardliness as the church recently excavated above the pool of Siloam and attributed by its discoverers to the Empress Eudokia (Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 181 and foll.). Ingenious in design and rational we may call it, but neither at Siloam nor at Yürme are our eyes charmed by anything which is beautiful or brilliant. Yet be it always remembered that the builders of these works solved problems of which Iktinos had not even dreamed, and for this reason, if for no other, deserve our grateful record.

### III.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FROM YASSI-EUREN.

At the village of Yassieuren and in the neighbouring villages there are extensive remains of a site which we have seen reason to identify with "Crentius" of the Itineraries. Among these are several columns, base-

mouldings, etc., many of them evidently coming from the same building—a church. I made a rough sketch of a capital and dossier lying in a dark passage in Yassieuren itself.<sup>1</sup> (1) In the next village of Soghuljik I found a second dossier having the same measurements, 0·85 × 0·70 (2) and a third at Emir Ghazi (3), and two others built into a house at the last named and into the mosque at Bitdik of which only the tops were visible. Of the same material—a yellow limestone (?)—were several columns of suitable size for the capitals, and several pieces of moulding. (4) If we may judge from the other dressed stones lying about, the walls of the church were built of trachyte, giving a combination of colour which is not unpleasant, and seems to foreshadow later Seljuk developments. Capitals and dossiers of this kind are characteristic of the 5th century, before the “Kämpfer” capital of Justinian made a dossier no longer necessary, as it had been when

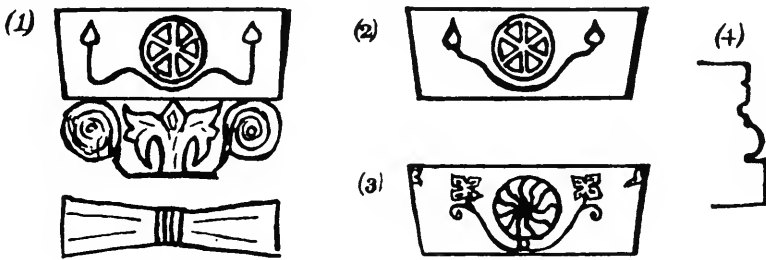


FIG. 7.

the arches pressed with all their weight upon the classical capital with its deep undercutting. (v. Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Die Byzantinischen Wasser-behälter von Konstantinopel*, p. 208, foll.) But this form also became popular again in the Macedonian period (*op. cit.* p. 227, and the illustrations there referred to): the condition of the country would perhaps favour the earlier date, but the later is not I think historically impossible. As to which of these dates suits these examples best, those who are skilled in these matters must pronounce: Mr. Rodeck tells me that he regards these as certainly belonging to the earlier group. Crentius does not seem to have been a bishopric, but the ruins there were more extensive than those on many more famous sites: indeed if the ground plan of the church were recovered, it would almost be possible to rebuild the whole from the “disjecta membra” now scattered about.

<sup>1</sup> My drawing is so blurred that I cannot be sure of the character of the ends of the volutes.

In this neighbourhood I also saw a type of capital which is common elsewhere, at Kadikeui (Myrika) for example: it is derived apparently from a capital common on Pergamenian buildings, such as the Attalos and Eumenes *Stoas* at Athens and the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, formed by the continuation of the shaft flutings into the capital, where they are simply curved outwards and down. (Cf. R. Bohn, *Die Stoa des Attalos* II. 1882. Taf. II. Mittelsäule). In the Phrygian monument country there is an example at Ayazin, published by Prof. von Reber (*Die Phrygischen Felsendenkmäler*, München, 1897, Pl. XII. p. 64), and there compared with rush-leaves—"das Kapital mit den Schilfblattkerben auf dem Kelch." In this district of Asia Minor it generally appears surmounting a double column, or rather two half columns joined together by a square shaft. Near Crentius also there is a large font, and many carved fragments from a marble Ikonostasis(?) including the common subject of a vase between two birds. The place would in fact repay a prolonged visit.

## KOS ASTYPALAI A.

BY DUNCAN MACKENZIE.

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FROM the modern town of Kos, on the site of the ancient capital at the north-east extremity of the island, to the village of Kephalos at the south-west end is a ride of eight hours.

The village<sup>1</sup> stands on a chalky plateau which beyond the isthmus marks the beginning of the mountain district of south-west Kos. This in turn is a repetition on a smaller scale of the mountain region, at the other end of the island, which forms the lofty termination to the long central tableland. The highest points of the mountain district are towards the south-east where the fall to the sea is very rapid. The highest neighbouring peak, Mount Zini, is about an hour distant from the village in a south-easterly direction, while all that lies to the north-west of the main range is high pastoral country with many torrent beds. The whole interval between the village and the steep north slopes of Mount Zini has to be conceived as a vast amphitheatre with steep auditorium overlooking Kamara Bay to the east. The village and the mountain are as side supporting-walls left and right and the projection into the amphitheatre formed by the small plateau, on which stands the little church of Panagia Palatiani, divides the larger auditorium-like hollow into two smaller amphitheatres with a structure of soft yielding chalk and sandstone rock worn down through the action of winter floods into innumerable little ravines.

The spectacle on which one looks from this amphitheatre is one of rare loveliness and interest. Away to eastward are the Knidian Chersonese, the Triopian Promontory, and the site of Ancient Knidos, to the left is the Ceramic Gulf and the high sea-way to Halikarnassos and the north, while

on the right stretches the chain of islands that form the stepping-stones to Rhodes.

The way from the village passing along the edge of the chalk cliffs over a district of Hellenic chamber tombs curves round into what we may imagine as the upmost tiers of the amphitheatre. Just before one comes, on the left, to the small plateau, which was mentioned above as dividing the amphitheatre-like hollow into two parts, one sees a torso over life-size and without head, of a veiled, draped, and seated female figure half lying on its right side on the left hand side of the road. The round hollow in the bust shows that the head and neck were a separate piece. The type is that of Rhea-Kybele as finally fixed for later times by Pheidias<sup>1</sup> and a ritual inscription from the neighbourhood in the British Museum shows that the *θεῶν μήτηρ* (Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Kos*, 402, 6) must have had a cult upon our site.<sup>2</sup> The late date, however, admits the possibility that we have here a dedicatory statue of Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, in the type of the goddess (*ibid.*, inscription 119, 6, and note).

The statue had fallen down from a higher position in a steep hollow above the road to the right. We visited the spot, and this led us into a détour out of the amphitheatre region on to the heights above. Here the villagers in digging ground covered with low scrub during the leisure of winter have occasionally come upon objects that were described as earthenware figures of men and horses, but were probably fragments of stamped archaic reliefs of the 6th century. Further southward, covering broken ground with sandstone rock protruding here and there, were remains of cemented walls covering a large era. These (probably Roman) remains continued on rising ground, beyond some cultivated fields, and here we noticed two ancient olive presses, the one simple, the other double, exactly like one in the Greek fortress above Emporió in Kalymnos.<sup>3</sup>

Higher up to the south-east, on the hill of Skourdoulariés, some late Hellenic tombs lined with sandstone blocks were opened by the proprietor in his field. In the field adjoining to the south, where tombs were also

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Arch. Ztg.* 38, *Taf.* 1, the Kybele-statue of the Mus. Pio Clementino and, with a close resemblance to ours, the headless statue of Rhea in the precinct of the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> An archaic terracotta I saw in private possession at Kephalos probably represented a seated Rhea.

<sup>3</sup> The Kalymnos oilpress, together with a plan of the Greek fortress at Emporio, has since been published by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 212, fig. 4, and p. 213, fig. 5.

reported, fragments of archaic Greek pottery were to be found lying about. The tomb-region apparently continued for a considerable distance along the pathway, which we had found again, especially on the right-hand side where some opened Greek tombs with some of the slabs still in position were pointed out on this side of some rocky boulders which form a prominent feature in the district.

We returned along the pathway and descended once more into the amphitheatre-like region, now from the south wing. On our way just before we came upon the plateau of Panagia Palatianí we halted at a large fountain, to the right of the pathway, flowing out of the right hand wall of a small quadrangle, open towards the north, into a long trough running along the foot of the other two walls. The quadrangle, with the trough, was constructed out of miscellaneous blocks from some ancient buildings. Noticeable in the middle wall was a large block of grey trachyte of rough grain with an empty metope space between two triglyphs. Most of the other stones looked like blocks from some Greek supporting, or fortification, wall. The fountain square with its northern aspect looks towards the little plateau on which, as already mentioned, is built in the south-east corner the church of the Panagia Palatianí whither we now proceeded.

In the court of the church to the right of the door we noticed the marble block with the inscription, 404, published by Paton and Hicks. The church and the court contain a great many stones from ancient buildings, notably a triglyph like the one at the fountain and an architrave block in the same grey stone. These latter remains point distinctly to some monumental building, probably a temple on the site of which the little church may have been built.

Passing beyond the church to the east we came to the verge of the plateau and saw below us all round a series of terraced plots at different levels. Descending into the first of these plots and turning round in the direction we had come we noticed a strong fortification wall of Hellenistic date running north and south and having corners preserved at the north and south ends. Remains of some building with cement against the outside of this wall could be seen at once to be of much later date. By the discovery of this fortification wall the plateau was defined at once as a kind of acropolis and it was natural to expect continuations. After a few metres the wall that runs westward from the north angle above referred to disappears and after an interval of some more metres there appears, fairly

in line with it, a much older wall of polygonal masonry belonging probably to the 7th or 6th century B.C. Below this wall is a level terrace below which again is a declivity with soft rock appearing. Projecting from this declivity in a northerly direction is a piece of wall which is almost certainly early 5th century masonry. This wall does not have the corner preserved, but further west after a short interval appears above the rock declivity a wall with the same masonry, which may be the continuation in a westerly direction of the projecting wall. Still further to the west we noticed a piece of Greek wall of a similar character with a slight change of direction towards the south-west. We have thus encircling the plateau on the east and north sides important looking walls representing at least three periods of construction. The south side of this acropolis is not so well preserved but as the structure of the declivity on this side is more yielding it is probable that much of the wall is hidden under fallen soil. In this direction also many blocks from the acropolis walls were to be seen in the dykes of the cultivated plots below, which were plentifully strewn with pot-sherds of all periods, while the walls of the fountain square almost as certainly tell a similar tale.

On one of the terraces below the plateau to the south-east stands the church of H. Demetrius with many blocks both built into it and lying about it, including the fluted drum of a column in the already mentioned grey trachyte and these may have come from some building on the spot or have been derived from the building indicated on the acropolis itself by the stones of the church there.

There was ample evidence of settlement on the terraces in the amphitheatre-like hollow in the midst of which this acropolis stands; and these continued all the way down to the harbour about a quarter of an hour distant below, where were clear traces of the Roman town and of an ancient mole protecting the harbour on the left against the northern winds that sweep across the low sandy isthmus and the long central plateau.

The tomb-region we had previously visited was now seen to form a wide semicircle inland from the acropolis and town in a way that recalled the much more imposing cemeteries of Kamiros in Rhodes. The fact that the Kybele-statue was found in such close contiguity to the necropolis suggests the further possibility that the goddess may here have been represented as guardian of tombs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xiii. p. 558.



With such evidence of an important Greek town on this site we have now to consider the question of identification.

Captain Graves and his officers at the beginning of the forties seem to have noticed the walls of the plateau, as well as the later ruins at the harbour, though he identifies our acropolis with that of Halisarna. Ross, who touched at Kos in 1841,<sup>1</sup> was, through a quarantine imposed by the Turkish officials, prevented from landing, but on having been shown the original drawing of Captain Graves' chart of Kos, he expressed the opinion that Astypalaia should be substituted for the lower town of Halisarna. On a later visit to Kos in 1843 Ross (*ibid.* iii. 136) was, much to his indignation, prevented by the Turkish authorities from visiting this part of the island, and thus, on the basis of the Kephalos inscriptions, is only able to add to his previous conjecture the new one, identifying our acropolis with a town of Isthmos, which would thus be only a few minutes' walk from Astypalaia on the shore. In 1844 Ross at last was able to visit Kephalos, and in identifying the whole of our site with that of Isthmos, no longer finds any room for the Astypalaia which he had previously conjectured near the shore,<sup>2</sup> and he makes only this attempt to get out of the difficulty, that he now places conjecturally the earlier capital of Kos somewhere near the remains of an ancient roadway and harbour westward from Cape Mastikaris, on the north-west coast of Kos. As these remote parts of the island seem to have been but little visited since those days, these conjectures have been left undisputed and unverified; and it only amounts to a further conjectural amendment of Ross when Paton and Hicks (*Inscriptions of Kos*, p. xix.), being probably uneasy about a topography which places Astypalaia at so great a distance as Cape Mastikaris, suppose the earlier capital of Kos to have stood nearer hand at the Isthmos to the west, near Cape Drekanon (Cape Daphni on Paton and Hicks' map).

The following difficulties have to be kept in view :—

1. The existence of the old place-name Stympalia (Στυμπάλαια Ἀστυπάλαια) for at least part of our site requires explanation.
2. Ross himself admits that the name Isthmos for a town of Kos has no warrant outside of the formula ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἴσθμιωτᾶν in the inscriptions.
3. The Kos Astypalaia mentioned by Strabo (p. 657) does not occur in the inscriptions.

The solution which will vindicate the tradition on which the name

<sup>1</sup> *Reisen*, ii. p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 23-4.

Stympalia is based, is this: that Isthmos and Astypalaia are one and the same place, and that the people who inhabited the older capital of Kos did not in the inscriptions call themselves by the name of their town but *ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἴσθμιωτᾶν* (Paton and Hicks, *passim*). We have thus an acropolis with Greek and Roman towns going down to the harbour below it, all of which are parts of one Astypalaia. Besides this a separate town of Isthmos never existed at all. Inscriptions of the Isthmus are thus inscriptions of Kos Astypalaia and the occasional discovery still of inscriptions from our site confirms the testimony of the villagers that those already known are from the same locality, whereas inscriptions telling of an Astypalaia near Cape Drekanon or elsewhere are as unknown in Kos as in Paton and Hicks' own pages.

Thus all the evidence furnished in the *Inscriptions of Kos* is in favour of our amended topography; while the authors themselves acknowledge that for the capital to have looked westward from near Cape Drekanon would have been singular: "for the island by nature faces eastward, and for it thus to turn its back on Asia" would certainly have been "to forgo all share in general history." But if the old capital was not on the west coast facing the smaller islands of the southern Cyclades but on the east coast where we place it, facing the Ceramic Gulf and Knidos, then Kos did not forgo all share in general history, and the old capital, like the island itself, lay "on the high road of all maritime traffic between the Dardanelles and Cyprus." It has to be remembered that it was this Kos Astypalaia and not the Kos Meropis at the north-east end of the island, later the capital, that was important enough to be a member of the famous Doric League of the Hexapolis. It would have had a far less chance of holding this position had it faced westward towards the distant Cyclades and turned its back on Asia and the great sister-city on the Triopian Promontory.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on October 20th, 1898, the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON in the Chair. The following Report was read by the Hon. Secretary (Mr WILLIAM LORING) on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

The Committee have to report a Session whose results, though less varied in character than those of some of its predecessors, will probably be found to compare favourably in scientific value with any that the School has hitherto obtained. The excavation of the prehistoric site at Phylákopi, in the island of Melos, which is the principal event of the year, has led to the discovery of a vast quantity of pottery (painted and unpainted), as well as many stone implements and such other objects as are usually found on early Greek sites. That the Phylákopi site would prove an important one had been foretold by the late Director, Mr. Cecil Smith, under whose care the excavation was begun in the spring of 1896 and continued in that of 1897. But neither he nor the present Director, Mr. Hogarth, was prepared for the mass of material which the spade has this year brought to light. What makes the site especially important from the scientific point of view is the existence of three clearly-defined settlements of different epochs, represented by superincumbent layers, the proceeds of which have, needless to say, been scrupulously kept apart for purposes of study and comparison.

Mr. Hogarth will give some account of the work at Phylákopi and its results, so far as these can be gauged at present. But a considerable time must necessarily elapse before the mass of pottery now in the National Museum at Athens can be completely examined and adequately published; and even then the interest in Phylákopi will be by no means exhausted, for there appears to be abundant material on the site itself for another season's excavations, which the Committee has already decided to undertake. The Director will be able this afternoon to describe and to exhibit paintings of some characteristic examples of the Phylákopi pottery,

and a remarkable early fresco, of which the colours as well as the design (representing flying-fish) are still well preserved. Some specimens of what may be an early script, though undecipherable with our present knowledge, will also doubtless arouse a special interest in view of Mr. Arthur Evans's recent discoveries of a similar nature in Crete.

The number of students during the past session was seven. Of these, Mr. A. E. Henderson (Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy) has been wholly occupied in drawing and painting details of Byzantine buildings in Constantinople; and, though unable to fulfil his intention of proceeding thence to Greece for similar work, he has reported to the Committee from time to time, and has derived some practical advantages from his connexion with the School. Of the remaining six students, four are graduates of Oxford and two of Edinburgh, one of the latter (Mr. Mackenzie) having also a Vienna degree. The fact that none of the students were Cambridge men is a purely accidental and (it may be added) a very unusual occurrence. That it betokens no slackening of interest at Cambridge in the work of the School is proved by the facts, that the Senate has this year renewed its grant of £100 from the Worts Fund for a further period of three years, and that both the recently elected Travelling Students of the University (the Craven and Prendergast Students) have been admitted to membership of the School for the coming session, and have already proceeded to Athens.

The re-admission of well-qualified students in successive years, which is becoming very common, may be regarded as one sign of the School's vitality; for students of the second or third year are naturally in a position to derive more profit from their own studies, and to render more assistance in the organized researches of the School, than those admitted for the first time. Of the seven students of last session, two (Mr. Duncan Mackenzie and Mr. C. C. Edgar) were admitted for the third time, and one (Mr. J. W. Crowfoot) for the second time. The first of these (Mr. Mackenzie) had spent the summer of 1897 in a journey among the Cyclades, which, owing to his sympathy with native life, proved fruitful in new archæological results, especially of the prehistoric period. These results his illness prevented him from working up after his return to Athens in January; but in March he began to mend, and in April he was able to proceed to Melos, and to render excellent service in the excavation of Phylákopi, in the previous exploration of which site, under Mr. Cecil Smith's direction, he had taken an important part. The Committee have secured his services for yet another Session by a grant of £50, without which his continuance in Greek lands would have been impossible. The second (Mr. Edgar, formerly Oxford Craven Fellow), who came on from Rome early in January, devoted himself to the study of early Ceramics, and was thus enabled to render invaluable service later on in sorting and preparing for publication the pottery from Phylákopi. The special knowledge he has thus acquired is felt by the Director to be of so much importance to the School in connexion with the excavation that the Committee has promised him, in the event of his being able to return to Greece for the coming Session, a grant similar to Mr. Mackenzie's. The third re-admitted Student (Mr. Crowfoot, Hulmean Exhibitioner of Brasenose College) came also

from Rome in the middle of January. Being under arrangement to accompany Mr. J. G. Anderson to Asia Minor in April, he spent his time largely in preparation for that journey. But he was able to do some surveying on the island of Sphacteria; and at the end of March to proceed to Cyprus in order to supervise, on behalf of the British Museum, the excavation of a cemetery near Larnaka. Late in April he went to Smyrna, and in May started with Mr. Anderson for the interior of Asia Minor.

The three new students of whom no account has yet been given, are Mr. W. A. Curtis (Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University), Mr. A. J. Spilbury (of Queen's College, Oxford), and Mr. E. B. Hoare (of Magdalen College, Oxford). Mr. Curtis came out in November, and remained in Greece until June, working at first in the Library and the Museums with special reference to ancient Greek dress. Later he travelled in Greece, and finally he attended the excavations at Phylákopi, where he did most of the photographing, and assisted both in supervision and in sorting pottery. Mr. Spilbury was elected to the Studentship offered to Oxford by the Committee of the School, and came out late in January for three months only. These he spent in studying monuments and travelling in Greece. Mr. Hoare was sent out in April, as Architectural Student, to draw plans, &c., for the excavation in Melos. He both drew the plans, and copied in colours certain of the finds with great care and diligence, in spite of ill health; and he remained at Phylákopi until the close of the work. Thereafter he spent ten days in Athens, and returned to England in the middle of June to work up his drawings. These are now complete.

Besides these gentlemen, Mr. J. G. Anderson, formerly a Student of the School, has been exploring Asia Minor, and Messrs. Arthur Evans and J. L. Myres, Associates, have been exploring Crete. Professor E. A. Gardner, formerly Director, went out in April as an Associate, bringing with him a body of visitors, at whose disposal the library and the services of the staff were placed; and Mr. F. C. Penrose, formerly Director, went in May to advise the Greek Government with regard to the consolidation of the Parthenon. Reference may also be made to Mr. J. G. Frazer's monumental edition of Pausanias, part of the material for which was collected by him as a student of the School. Another old student, Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, has written an important monograph on Aetolia.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth's appointment to the Directorship of the School was mentioned in the last Annual Report. His long-standing acquaintance with the modern Greek language and people gave him exceptional advantages at starting; and the appointment of a Director possessing a wide experience of excavation, when the important site of Phylákopi was on hand, has proved most fortunate. Mr. G. C. Richards, formerly a Student of the School, afterwards Professor of Greek at Cardiff, and now Tutor of Oriel, was appointed for four months to the temporary post of Assistant-Director, and delivered lectures in the museums to students and (at Easter-time) to visitors.

The fabric of the new Students' Hostel, which, by a vote of March 31st last, is to be known in future as the "Macmillan Hostel," was completed before the opening of the Session. It is now almost entirely furnished, and has been in use throughout the year. It is open to all Students and Associates of the School, Students being

required to reside in it except with the special leave of the Committee. The Director has now been authorised to admit other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, at his discretion. The Committee hope that under these liberal conditions the Hostel may materially promote the objects of the School by making it, even more than hitherto, the meeting ground of scholars and archæologists; and that at the same time it may become, through the weekly payments of the residents, more nearly self-supporting.

The Hostel appears to have been popular with the Students during the past session; it is well built and comfortably furnished, and its proximity to the Library and to the Director's residence is, of course, a great convenience. Some expenditure upon the surroundings of the Hostel—gates, grounds, &c.—is still required; and a verandah, and possibly additional rooms, may be added in course of time.

The Library, which has grown rapidly during the past few years, has again received large additions; and some 250 volumes have been bound during the year. The catalogue, left in proof by Mr. Cecil Smith, has been revised and brought up to date; and it is again in the printer's hands. The library of the late Mr. Finlay, the historian of Greece, a part of which the Committee hoped, last year, to acquire for the School, was found to be of considerably less pecuniary value than had been currently supposed, and the Committee felt obliged to decline it at the price named by Mr. Finlay's representatives. A lower offer, recently made by the Committee, has not as yet been accepted. The Committee gratefully acknowledge gifts of books from the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, from members of the Oxford University Press Delegacy, from the Trustees of the British Museum, and from Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

The third number of the "Annual," that for the session 1896-7, has been issued within the last few days. It should be noted that the Phylákopi excavations described in it are those of the year 1897, and not those referred to at the beginning of this report. Several causes have conspired to delay the issue of the third number, and it is hoped that future numbers may be produced more promptly. A preliminary account of the later discoveries at Phylákopi will appear in No. IV., which will (it is hoped) be ready within the next few months.

No. I. of the "Annual," which was originally issued in a slightly different form from later numbers, and only for subscribers, has been reprinted, with the omission of some preliminary matter of little or no interest to the general public, and is now published in a form precisely similar to Nos. II. and III. Thus complete and uniform sets are for the first time obtainable, and the "Annual" may be expected in future to command a ready sale.

The number of members of the Managing Committee to be elected by the subscribers has, by a recent alteration in the rules, been raised from nine to twelve. Professor Percy Gardner and Mr. Arthur Evans, the two leading representatives of archaeology at Oxford, have consented to fill two of the vacant places, if elected for that purpose; and Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, a recent distinguished Student of the School, is nominated for election to the remaining vacancy.

The accounts presented to-day show that the small accumulated capital of the

School has been reduced during the year by about £360. This is due to three items, which may fairly be classed under the head of extraordinary expenditure, viz., the completion of the Hostel building, which exceeded by nearly £200 the special building fund raised last year; the cost of furniture £330; and the reprinting of the first number of the "Annual," referred to above. Against these items must be set an extraordinary receipt amounting to £29, since the postponement of the annual meeting to October, and the consequent extension of the period covered by the accounts, have brought in an additional half-year's income from the invested capital. The Committee are anxious to replace from income as quickly as possible the £360 thus taken, in order that they may have a reserve in hand to meet any similar necessary outlay in the future without having to draw upon their invested capital; and they must therefore press once more the need of further annual subscriptions if the work of the School is not to be curtailed. They must also remind their subscribers that several most important subscriptions were promised for five years only from 1895, and have therefore but two more years to run. They feel that no effort must be spared to maintain the ground which has been won and successfully utilized in the last three years, and confidently appeal to the meeting for their support in this endeavour.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the report, said that it told a story of very considerable work accomplished, and work which carried with it great promise for the future. It would be easy for him simply to move its adoption, but he found on the agenda paper that he was to deliver an address. To give an address on such an occasion was a difficult thing, as he was speaking among experts and had no claim to be considered an expert himself. He would rather address himself to the non-experts who were present. It was for non-experts, it had been said, that public meetings were called, as they gave opportunities for enlisting their sympathy in that most profitable form of all, subscriptions.

He felt that the great importance of the British School at Athens lay in the fact that it was the most conspicuous institution which recognised the study of archaeology—the one of our institutions, in fact, which was engaged in training archaeologists. There was nothing more remarkable in modern study than the place which archaeology was taking in supplying gaps in our knowledge. We had become familiar with the conception of human development; and archaeology was one form of recognition of the fact that man's activities and energies in the past were to be tracked in every sphere, however remote, and to be found in every region. The careful collection of materials for comparative study produced results of immense importance in filling up the hitherto void spaces of human records. Discovery in the present day had filled up the map of the world in a manner which would have surprised our ancestors. In like manner archaeology was engaged in filling up the records of remote ages with astonishing rapidity. It was, therefore, a matter of great moment that those who were engaged in this process should be properly trained. That aim was being fulfilled by the British School at Athens, which was established to supply such training in the place where it could best be

obtained. The work of archaeology was really to abolish the difference between historic and pre-historic times, and the area which lay between them was being swiftly bridged over.

He had recently been reading a writer who, moralising on the trite theme of the futility of human aspirations, asked what reputation survived 100 years. If it did, said this writer, it was simply to become the vehicle of some historian's theories. There was much truth in the observation. Great names too often survived simply to become pegs upon which the historian hung his generalisations; as the perspective changed, human reputations changed, and the records did not afford much help. No doubt we read into the records of the past the prepossessions of the present. But the archaeologist interpreted the record of man's activities in the stones which had survived from past ages. The process went on with marvellous vigour. The collection of materials, the piecing of them together into an intelligible whole, required training in methods of comparison; and the great centre where that training could be accomplished was undoubtedly Greece, where lay the key of the beginning of almost all knowledge, whence was transmitted to us the thoughts of the East, and where those thoughts received definite outline and form. Greece was the starting point not only of our thought, but in large measure of our commerce and enterprise. It was the meeting point between the East and the West, and the place where prehistoric and barbarous things could be seen in the process of moulding into forms common to all civilization. In Greece, therefore, each discovery of archaeology added to our knowledge, and nowhere else could the wonderful course of development in the past be so advantageously studied. The excavations and explorations which had been effected were systematised by archaeology, and in that labour the British School, in common with those of every European nation, was bearing its share.

It was especially gratifying that in connexion with the School there should be such an institution as the Hostel, where students could be housed, thus forming, with the School itself, a centre where even the unlearned traveller might be enabled to make the best use of his visit to Athens. It was our habit to do these things independently of Governments, of which we had a wholesome dread. Private enterprise awakened energy and zeal in a way which was impossible to a mere Government department. We were sometimes apt to grieve that we did not receive so much encouragement from Government as our Continental neighbours. But there was probably on that very account more vitality in the work and a deeper impression on the public mind. Englishmen did things thoroughly, even when they did them by mistake. In the museum at Spalato was a book published by Adams in 1764. Adams was an architect engaged in the study of classical buildings, and desired to examine Diocletian's palace. The result was that he produced a monumental work, whose value had not been impaired by age, yet it was not clear that his own work was made the better by his investigations. Englishmen in a word were like Saul, the son of Kish, who went out to look for his father's asses and found a kingdom.

The motion for the adoption of the Report was seconded by Mr. PENROSE, and carried *nem. con.*



The Director, Mr. HOGARTH, then read his report, in the course of which he expressed the obligations of the School to the Government of his Majesty the King of the Hellenes for the great courtesy shewn by them in the past season, and especially for the generous aid afforded towards a settlement of the difficult negotiation for the Phylákopi site in Melos; to the French School for their sympathetic invitation to the Jubilee *fêtes* held last Easter; and to the directors of the German and American Schools for all kinds of help and advice freely given on many points. He also offered cordial congratulations to the new Austrian School on its birth and prospects.

The relations of the British School with all its neighbours left, he said, nothing to be desired. As to the work of the School, it would be best to define clearly its functions. These were two-fold—education and research. The first divided itself into education in æsthetics and education for research. As a matter of fact the functions of the School were limited—first by its small staff. If the British School was to be an efficient teaching institution it must provide itself with such an organisation as the German School had. It should also be remembered that few men could afford such a luxury as education in Athens. The supply of such students would always be small. The second function, research, was the one which both in theory and practice the school performed best. In fact last year a large majority of the students represented this side. The research might be:—(a) Individual, for which the School provided trained advice, a library, and all possible facilities; but the researchers, mostly graduates of full age, took their salvation into their own hands. Again, their numbers could never be large, owing to want of endowment for long terms of residence abroad—English students not being supported by their Government—and to want of endowments at home for professional chairs, museums, and the like. The School had only a very small and uncertain nucleus of men working at archaeology as a profession. On the increase of this would depend its international reputation. (b) Collective, undertaken by the School as such. This generally took the form of excavation. The scene of action during the past season had been the important prehistoric capital of the island of Melos, discovered at Phylákopi, on the north-east coast, by Ross, and reported on by Dümmler. The School began to excavate it in 1896, little suspecting its great importance. It was proving a second Hissarlik, an undisturbed repository of the products of the primitive civilisation of the Aegean from the “Mycenaean” age back to the Neolithic period. Much had been eaten away by the sea, but what was left was equal in extent to Tiryns. Mr. Hogarth had picked up the work where Mr. Cecil Smith left it, and after determining the limits of the city on south and east, and digging test trenches to obtain a relative chronology of the potsherds in which the site was marvellously rich, proceeded to open out the great barrack-like structures on the north and west. Here were remains of three settlements, divided by layers of *débris*, the middle and lower ones being singularly well preserved. The best rooms were on the higher ground to the west. The blocks were divided by narrow lanes with covered drains down the centre. The depth varied from seven metres to three metres. In the two lower settlements was found a mass

of pottery, and almost as many vessels, complete or but little broken, as in a large cemetery. These covered the whole development of the potters' art up to the fine Mycenaean work. Fabrics, shapes, and decoration were in many cases new. The most notable vase was pipe-shaped and decorated with four scantily-clad figures, bearing fish in either hand. This was about the most interesting primitive Aegean vase in existence. In several rooms painted fresco was found; in one case white and gold lilies on a red ground, in another a beautiful scene of the sea with flying fish and marine growths and a man working a casting net. Of the primitive symbols now attracting so much attention on Cretan stones, &c., over fifty distinct examples were found scratched in clay before baking. Many fine steatite vases, clay lamps (unknown previously on early sites), and other stone utensils and implements came to light. There was a little bronze and bone, but no gold or silver. The site was to be continued next spring and its cemeteries examined. When finished it would rank with Hissarlik, Tiryns, and Mycenae.

The following Resolution was next moved by Sir JOHN EVANS, seconded by Mr. F. W. PERCIVAL, and carried *nem. con.* :—

“That Prof. PELHAM, Dr. WALDSTEIN, and Prof. ERNEST GARDNER be re-elected, and that Prof. PERCY GARDNER, Mr. ARTHUR J. EVANS, and Mr. R. CARR BOSANQUET be elected, Members of the Managing Committee; and that Dr. LEAF be re-elected Hon. Treasurer, Mr. LORING Hon. Secretary, Lord LINGEN and Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK Auditors.”

A Vote of Thanks to the Auditors (moved by Mr. MACMILLAN, and seconded by Prof. LEWIS CAMPBELL), and a Vote of Thanks to the Chairman (moved by the Provost of Oriel, and seconded by Lord LINGEN), brought the proceedings to a close.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE 4TH JULY, 1897, TO 4TH OCTOBER, 1898.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions as per list	873	14	0				Director's salary	500	0	0			
Less not yet paid	1	1	0				Assistant Director's salary	150	0	0			
	<hr/>			872	13	0	Studentship, Mr. Spilsbury	50	0	0			
Subscriptions for 1896-7				11	11	0	Mr. Mackenzie	50	0	0			
,,    ,, 1898-9, paid in advance				20	0	0	Mr. Hoare	60	0	0			
Government Grant				500	0	0	House maintenance				54	4	4
Interest on Investment (1½ year)				72	10	0	Hostel maintenance	35	3	3			
,,    Deposit				1	3	1	Less paid by residents	21	5	6			
				<hr/>							13	17	9
				£1,477	17	1	Excavations at Melos				215	15	0
				<hr/>									
							Publication of Annual No. III. (authorized amount)				100	0	0
							(Already paid £30 17 4)						
							Reprint of Annual No. I. (authorized)	30	0	0			
							Printing and postage				16	10	10
							Sundries				12	10	6
							Subscription paid in advance (to Balance Account)				20	0	0
							Balance of Income				204	18	8
											<hr/>		
											£1,477	17	1
											<hr/>		

BYZANTINE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last account	117	14	5	Mr. Schultz, expenses	89	17	9
Lord Bute, for drawing	28	0	0	Insurance of Drawings	0	7	6
	<hr/>			Balance down	55	9	2
	£145	14	5		<hr/>		
	<hr/>				£145	14	5
					<hr/>		

## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

<i>£ s. d.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>	
Balance from last account . . . . .	2,676 9 8	Library . . . . .	82 19 11
Donations . . . . .	22 2 0	Hostel, balance of building account . . . . .	192 7 6
Balance of Income . . . . .	204 18 8	„ furnishing . . . . .	330 4 10
		Balance down . . . . .	2,297 18 1
	<u>£2,903 10 4</u>		<u>£2,903 10 4</u>

## BALANCE ACCOUNT.

<i>£ s. d.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>	
Balance of Capital . . . . .	2,297 18 1	Balance at Bank . . . . .	472 9 11
Byzantine Fund . . . . .	55 9 2	India 3% Stock, at par . . . . .	2,000 0 0
Subscription paid in advance . . . . .	20 0 0		
Balance (authorized) owing on annual publication and reprint . . . . .	99 2 8		
	<u>£2,472 9 11</u>		<u>£2,472 9 11</u>

*Examined and found correct, December 19th, 1898.*

LINGEN,  
F. POLLOCK.

## DONATIONS—1897-8.

	£	s.	d.
Bosanquet, C. P. B. . . . .	5	0	0
Egerton, Sir E. . . . .	5	0	0
Johnston, C. E. . . . .	10	0	0
Bishop of Richmond . . . . .	2	0	0
	<u>£22</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1897-8.

	£	s.	d.
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES . . . . .	25	0	0
The University of Oxford . . . . .	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge . . . . .	100	0	0
McGill University, Montreal . . . . .	5	5	0
The Hellenic Society . . . . .	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries . . . . .	5	5	0
Brasenose College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0
Corpus Christi, College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
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Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Agnew, Sir W. . . . .	2	2	0
Allbutt, Professor T. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, E. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Awdry, H. . . . .	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C. . . . .	5	0	0
Barlow, Dr. T. . . . .	1	1	0
Bosanquet, R. C. . . . .	1	0	0
Brinton, H. . . . .	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford . . . . .	1	1	0
Butcher, Prof. . . . .	2	2	0
Butler, Dr. . . . .	2	0	0
Buxton, H. E. . . . .	1	0	0
Bury, Prof. J. B. . . . .	1	1	0
Campbell, Prof. L. . . . .	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A. . . . .	1	1	0
Chawner, W. . . . .	2	2	0
Colchester, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0
Cole, A. C. . . . .	2	2	0
Cust, Miss M. A. . . . .	1	0	0
Dabis, Miss . . . . .	2	0	0
Davey, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0
Davidson, H. O. D. . . . .	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A. . . . .	1	1	0
Earl, A. G. . . . .	1	1	0
Egerton, Earl . . . . .	10	10	0
Elliott, Rev. F. . . . .	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N. . . . .	1	1	0
Evans, A. J. . . . .	10	0	0
Evans, Sir J., K.C.B. . . . .	5	0	0
Ewart, Miss . . . . .	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Fletcher, H. M. . . . .	1	1	0
Fort, J. A. . . . .	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W. . . . .	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W. . . . .	10	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy . . . . .	2	2	0
Haigh, A. E. . . . .	1	0	0
Hawes, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Hay, C. A. . . . .	5	5	0
Heberden, C. B. . . . .	2	2	0
Hereford, Bishop of . . . . .	1	1	0
Herschell, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0
Hill, G. F. . . . .	1	1	0
Hillingdon, Lord . . . . .	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G. . . . .	2	0	0
Howard de Walden, Lady . . . . .	20	0	0
Jones, H. Stuart . . . . .	1	1	0
L. J. E. . . . .	1	0	0
Lawson, Sir E. . . . .	5	0	0
Leaf, Mrs. C. J. . . . .	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter . . . . .	20	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S. . . . .	2	2	0
Lingen, Lord . . . . .	2	2	0
Loring, W. . . . .	5	0	0
Loring, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Lucas, Sir T. . . . .	10	10	0
Lynch, H. F. . . . .	2	2	0
Macan, R. W. . . . .	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A. . . . .	10	10	0

Carried forward . 593 12 0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1897-8 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward . . . . .	593	12	0	Seaman, Owen . . . . .	1	1	0
Macmillan & Co. . . . .	20	0	0	Searle, G. von U. . . . .	1	0	0
MacLehose, James J. . . . .	1	1	0	Smith, R. A. H. Bickford . . . . .	2	2	0
Mitchell, C. W. . . . .	10	0	0	Stannus, Hugh . . . . .	1	1	0
Mocatta, F. D. . . . .	5	0	0	Stevenson, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Mond, Ludwig . . . . .	100	0	0	Swanwick, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Morley, Lord . . . . .	1	1	0	Tadema, L. Alma, R.A. . . . .	20	0	0
Monro, D. B. . . . .	3	3	0	Tancock, Rev. C. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Morshead, E. D. A. . . . .	1	0	0	Teale, J. Pridgin, F.R.S. . . . .	1	1	0
Myers, E. . . . .	1	1	0	Thompson, Sir E. M., K.C.B. . . . .	3	3	0
Morley, Rt. Hon. J. . . . .	2	0	0	Thompson, Sir H. . . . .	5	0	0
Newman, W. L. . . . .	2	2	0	Thursfield, J. R. . . . .	1	1	0
Pelham, Hon. Mrs. A. . . . .	1	1	0	Tozer, Rev. H. F. . . . .	10	0	0
Perry, Dr. W. C. . . . .	1	1	0	Tuckett, F. F. . . . .	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F. . . . .	1	1	0	Vardy, Rev. A. R. . . . .	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J. . . . .	5	0	0	Vaughan, E. L. . . . .	1	0	0
Radford, Dr. . . . .	1	1	0	Verrall, Dr. . . . .	1	1	0
Rawlinson, W. G. . . . .	1	1	0	Warr, Prof. G. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Reid, Dr. . . . .	1	1	0	Warre, Rev. Dr. . . . .	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr. G. H. . . . .	1	1	0	Warren, T. H. . . . .	1	1	0
Richards, H. P. . . . .	1	1	0	Wayte, Rev. W. . . . .	1	1	0
Robb, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0	Wedgewood, G. . . . .	2	2	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys. . . . .	1	1	0	Wells, J. . . . .	1	1	0
Romanes, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0	Woodhouse, H. J. . . . .	1	1	0
Rothschild, Baron F. de . . . . .	50	0	0				
Sandwith, T. B. . . . .	1	1	0				
Sandys, Dr. . . . .	5	0	0				

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£873 14 0

# LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

NOTE. Under No. V. of the Rules and Regulations, "the following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

- (1) Donors of £10 and upwards.
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- Rupert Clarke, Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted 1886—87.
- F. H. H. Guilleminard, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
- Montague R. James, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.
- R. Elsey Smith, Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects. Architect to excavations at Paphos, in Cyprus, 1887—88.
- Robert Weir Schultz, Admitted as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90. Worked on Greek mouldings and on Byzantine architecture. Made the architectural report on the excavations at Megalopolis.
- Sidney H. Barnsley, Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91. Worked on Greek mouldings and Byzantine architecture.
- J. A. R. Munro, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.

- H. Arnold Tubbs, Pembroke College, Oxford; Craven University Fellow. Now Professor of Classics in the University of Auckland. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
- James G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.
- William Loring, Examiner in the Education Department and late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked at Peloponnesian topography.
- W. J. Woodhouse, Queen's College, Oxford. Appointed to Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked at topography, especially that of Ætolia.
- G. C. Richards, Lecturer at Oriel College, Oxford; formerly Fellow of Hertford College; and late Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked in Athenian Museums.
- O. H. Parry, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90. Worked in Athenian Museums.
- J. R. Stainer, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90. Worked in Athenian Museums.
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- E. E. Sikes, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship given by the Managing Committee out of the Newton Testimonial Fund, 1890—91. Worked in Athenian Museums.
- . G. Milne, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Education Department. Appointed to Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee out of the Newton Testimonial Fund, 1890—91. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis.
- H. Stuart Jones, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93. Worked, chiefly on Greek vases, in Athenian Museums.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers, Admitted 1890—91. Worked in Athenian Museums. Translated and edited (1895) Furtwängler's "Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik."
- F. B. Baker, Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92, with grant from the Craven Fund at Cambridge. Studied coins in the Museum at Athens.

- C. C. Inge, Magdalen College, Oxford. Appointed 1891-92 to the Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee. Assisted in the excavations at Megalopolis.
- E. F. Benson, King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891-92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892-93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship given by the Managing Committee; 1893-94 as Craven Student; and 1894-95 as Prendergast Student. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis and Aegosthena, worked at the plan of the Asclepieion, and took part in the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Alexandria.
- J. G. Smith, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891-92. Re-admitted 1895-96. Assisted in collection of topographical passages.
- V. W. Yorke, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892-93, re-admitted 1893-94. Worked at the Niké bastion, and assisted in excavations at Kyprisia and Abae.
- J. L. Myres, Student of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94, and 1894-95 as Craven Fellow. Worked in Athenian Museums, excavated tumuli near Kará, and travelled in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Crete. Compiled a catalogue of the Cyprus Museum.
- R. J. G. Mayor, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Department. Admitted 1892-93. Worked in Athenian Museums, and assisted in excavations at Aegosthena.
- R. Carr Bosanquet, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894-95, 1895-96, and 1896-97. Worked in Athenian Museums, and assisted in excavations at Aegosthena, Athens, and Melos.
- J. M. Cheetham, Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, given by the Managing Committee, 1892-93, but after a month's residence was obliged, for private reasons, to resign the studentship and return to England.
- E. R. Bevan, New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893-94. Worked in Athenian Museums. Re-admitted 1894-95, and took part in the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Alexandria.
- A. F. Findlay, Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894-95. Worked at *N.T.* criticism and antiquities, and Modern Greek; attended the University; made a special study of the question of St. Paul and the Areopagus.
- T. Duncan, Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894-95. Worked at Modern Greek and Egyptian antiquities. Afterwards joined Prof. Flinders Petrie in Egypt, and thence proceeded to Palestine.
- J. E. Brooks, St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894-95. Re-admitted as associate 1896-97. Worked at antiquities and Modern Greek.
- H. Awdry, New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington

- College. Admitted 1894—95. Studied antiquities with a view to school work ; and made special studies of military topography.
- Duncan Mackenzie, Of the University of Edinburgh, where he formerly held a Travelling Studentship ; Graduate of the University of Vienna. Admitted 1895—96. Re-admitted 1896—97 and 1897—98. Assisted in the excavations in Athens and Melos, travelled and explored among the Cyclades, and worked in Athenian Museums and at the collection of topographical passages.
- Archibald Paterson, Of the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96. Worked at Christian antiquities and attended the University.
- Charles R. R. Clark, Appointed (1895—96), and re-appointed 1896—97 by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship, in order to take part in all excavations conducted by the School. Prepared plans and drawings of the excavations in Athens and Melos, and assisted in supervising the building of the Hostel.
- C. C. Edgar, Oriol College, Oxford. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), and 1897—98. Worked at Greek sculpture and vase-painting, and assisted in the excavations in Athens and Melos. Assisted in the reorganisation of the Library, and the preparation of the Library Catalogue, and in the collection of topographical passages.
- F. R. Earp, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97. Studied Greek Painting at Pompeii and Naples ; was prevented by ill-health from proceeding to Athens.
- F. A. C. Morrison, Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97. Worked in Athenian Museums.
- H. H. West, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97. Worked at collection of topographical passages, and assisted in excavations at Athens and Melos.
- Miss C. A. Hutton, Of Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97. Worked (principally at terra-cottas) in Athenian Museums, and in the collection of topographical passages.
- Pieter Rodeck, Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy. Worked at Ionic and Byzantine Architecture, and assisted in the excavations at Athens and Melos, and in supervising the building of the Hostel.
- J. G. C. Anderson, Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97. Worked at epigraphy, assisted in the excavations in Athens, and travelled in Asia Minor.
- J. W. Crowfoot, Hulmean Exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98. Worked at Greek Portraiture, assisted in the excavations in Athens and Melos, supervised British Museum excavations in Cyprus, and travelled in Asia Minor.
- W. W. Reid, Of the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97. Worked at Modern Greek, and proceeded to Asia Minor and Cyprus. Assisted in the excavations at Athens.

- A. E. Henderson, Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1897-98. Was occupied throughout the Session in making drawings and paintings of Byzantine buildings in Constantinople.
- W. A. Curtis, Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897-98. Studied in the Athenian Museums, and assisted in the excavations in Melos.
- A. J. Spilsbury, Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897-98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee. Studied and travelled in Greece.
- E. B. Hoare, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897-98, as Architectural Student. Made plans and drawings in connection with the excavations in Melos.

## ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

1895-1896.

- Professor J. B. Bury, Trinity College, Dublin.
- Rev. A. H. Cruickshank, The College, Winchester.
- Arthur J. Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

1896-1897.

- Ambrose Poynter, Worked at subject of Mosaic.
- J. E. Brooks, A former Student of the School.
- J. L. Myres, Student of Christ Church, Oxford; a former Student of the School.

1897-1898.

- Professor E. A. Gardner, Formerly Director of the School.
- Arthur J. Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- J. L. Myres, Student of Christ Church, Oxford; a former Student of the School.



# RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

---

### OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archæology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archæology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archæological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

### THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

(3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time or £5 annually.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

### THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

### THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Article VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary or Treasurer may, with the approval of two members of the Committee, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by 2 summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

#### STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

No person shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands.

XX. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies; and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXI. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXII. The Managing Committee may elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands; and may also elect as honorary members such persons as they may from time to time think desirable.

XXIII. Students, Associates, and honorary members, shall have a right to use the Library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXIV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

#### THE DIRECTOR.

XXV. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVI. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house; but Students of the School shall have a right to the use of the Library at all reasonable times.

XXVII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XX., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXVIII. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXIX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXX. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXI. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

## RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIII. The Hostel shall be managed by the Students for the time being, subject to the control of the Director.

XXXIV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct ; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXV. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of 15 drachmas (paper) a week for their rooms, this payment to include fire and lighting.

XXXVI. Associates of the School, members of the Committee, and ex-directors, may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be 30 drachmas (paper) until further notice.

XXXVIII. The Committee shall provide a butler (who can act as caretaker while the School is closed), the residents providing such further service as may be necessary.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

## RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

## PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

## THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salary of the Director, as arranged between him and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report ; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

*Revised to December, 1898.*

## MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1898—1899.

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PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.

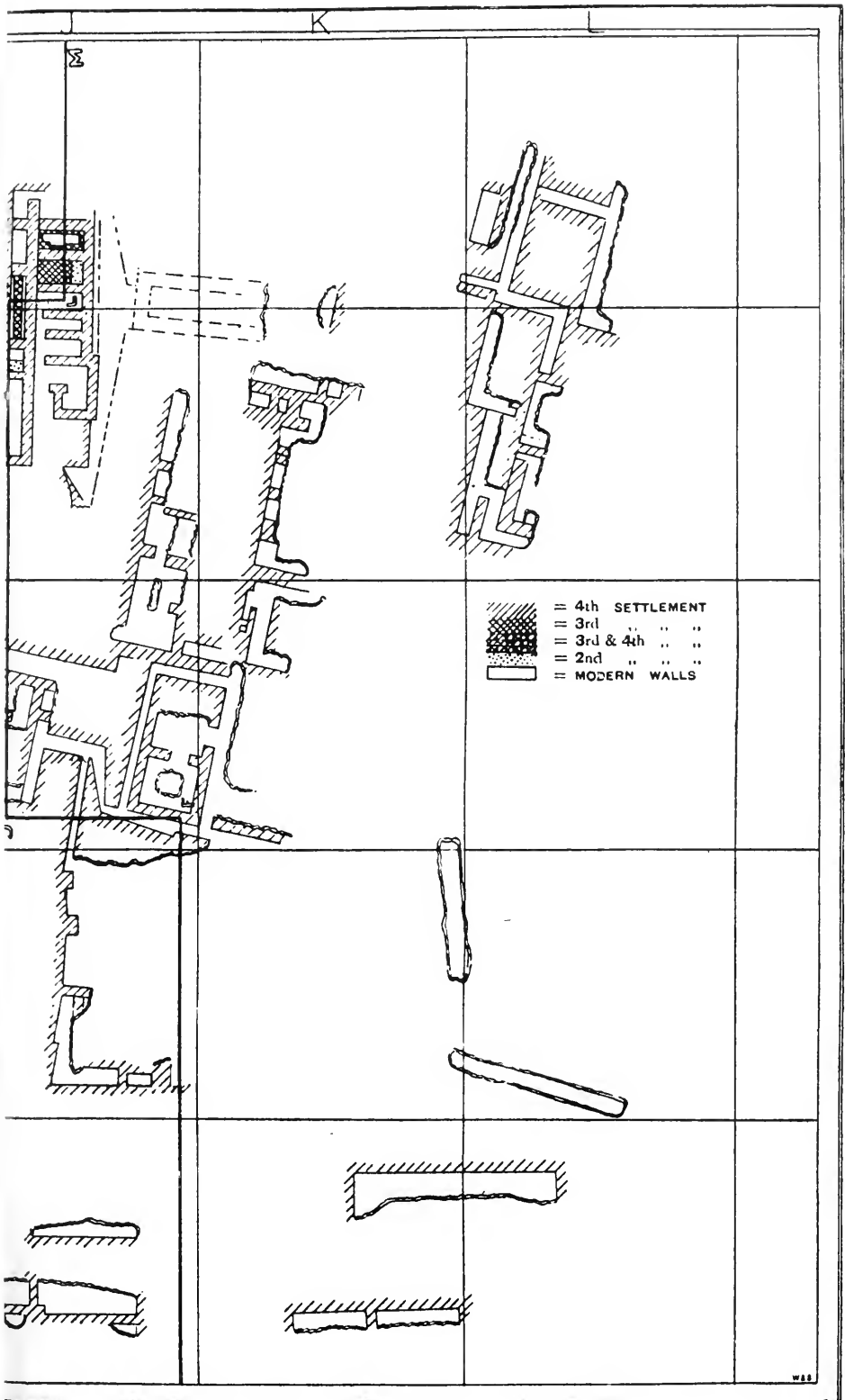
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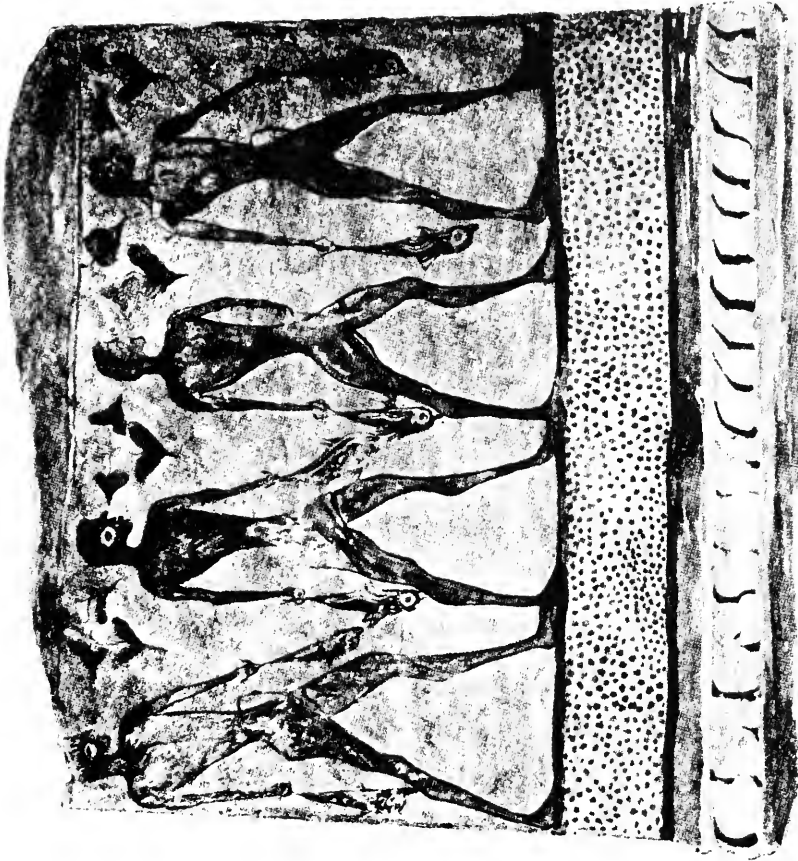










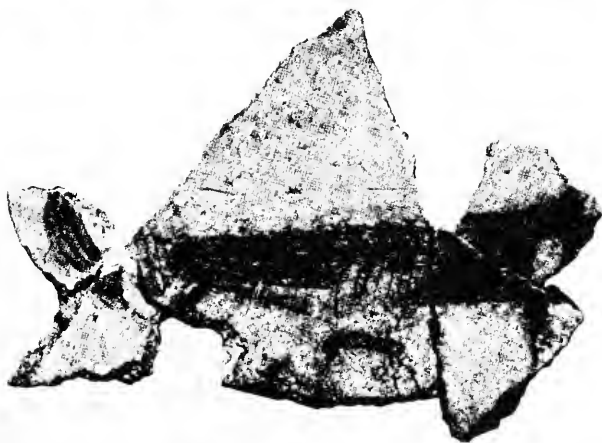


THE "FISHERMEN VASE," PHYLAKOPI.  
Scale about 1:2.



THE "FISHERMEN VASE," PHYLAKOPI.  
Scale about 1:2.





FRESKO REPRESENTING FLYING FISH. PHYLAKOPI.



# GALATIA CIS HALYM.

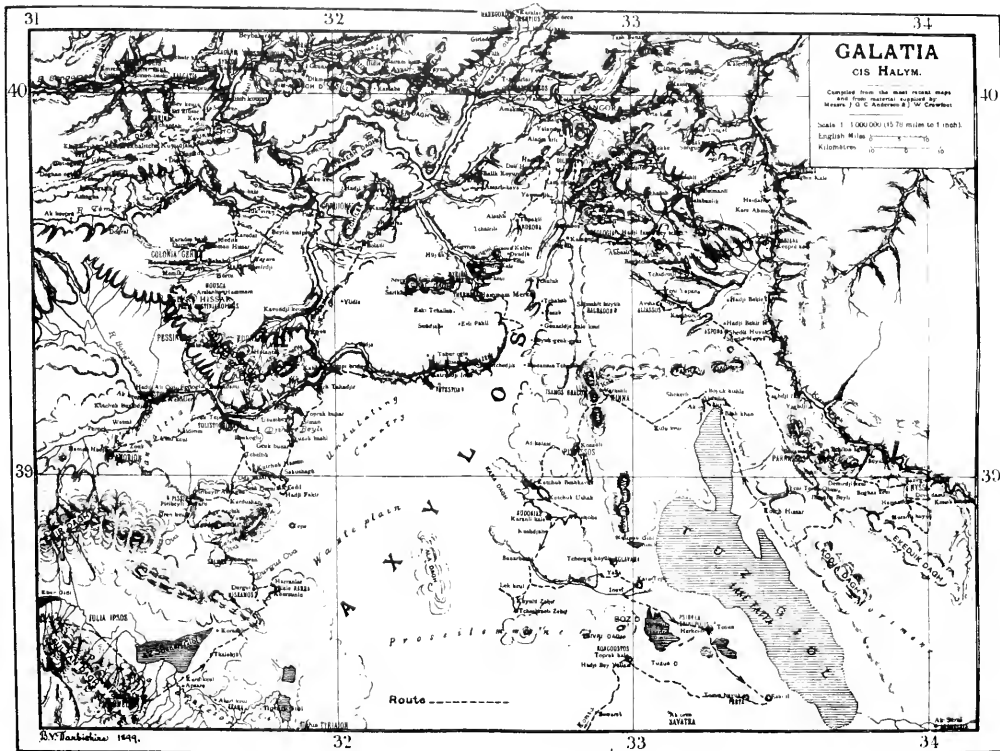
Compiled from the most recent maps  
and from material supplied by  
Messrs. J. G. C. Anderson & J. W. Crowfoot.

Scale 1 : 1 000 000 (15 75 miles to 1 inch).

English Miles 0 5 10

Kilomètres 10 0 10





THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. V.

SESSION 1898—9

London

KRAUS REPRINT

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1978

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WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D., *Hon. Treasurer*, 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

WILLIAM LORING, ESQ., M.A., *Hon Secretary*, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.

DIRECTOR 1897—1898.

DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford.

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THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHEOLOGY AT ATHENS, London

KRAUS REPRINT

A Division of  
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED  
Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1978

Printed in The Netherlands



# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
1. Excavations in Melos, 1899 (Plate I.)—	
D. MACKENZIE. <i>A.</i> The Season's Work . . . . .	3
T. D. ATKINSON. <i>B.</i> The Structures . . . . .	10
C. C. EDGAR. <i>C.</i> The Pottery . . . . .	14
2. C. D. EDMONDS. Some Doubtful Points of Thessalian Topography . . . . .	20
3. D. G. HOGARTH. Excavations at Naukratis (Plates II.—XIV.)—	
D. G. HOGARTH. <i>A.</i> Site and Buildings . . . . .	26
C. C. EDGAR. <i>B.</i> The Inscribed and Painted Pottery . . . . .	47
C. C. EDGAR. <i>C.</i> A Relief. (Plate IX.) . . . . .	65
C. GUTCH. <i>D.</i> The Terracottas . . . . .	67

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Annual Meeting of Subscribers . . . . .	99
Income and Expenditure 1898-9 . . . . .	108
Donations and Subscriptions 1898-9 . . . . .	110
List of Subscribers . . . . .	112
Lists of Directors and Students . . . . .	117
Associates of the School . . . . .	120
Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens . . . . .	121



## LIST OF PLATES.

---

- I. Phylákopi; Plan of Excavations; drawn by T. D. Atkinson.
- II. Kum Ga'if Naukratis.
- III. Kum Ga'if Naukratis. Remains at Extreme North.
- IV. Naukratis. Vase Inscriptions. (Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .)
- V. Naukratis. Vase Inscriptions. (Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .)
- VI. Naukratis. Painted Pottery. (Scale about  $\frac{2}{3}$ .)
- VII. Naukratis. Painted Pottery. (Scale about  $\frac{2}{3}$ .)
- VIII. Naukratis. Painted Pottery. (Scale about  $\frac{2}{3}$ .)
- IX. Naukratis. Warrior Relief. (Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .)
- X. Naukratis. Terracottas. (Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)
- XI. Naukratis. Terracottas. (Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)
- XII. Naukratis. Terracottas. (Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)
- XIII. Naukratis. Terracottas. (Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)
- XIV. Naukratis. Stone Objects. (Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



## EDITOR'S NOTE.

IT has been decided by the Managing Committee that the excavations of the British School in Melos, which have been proceeding for four seasons, shall be intermitted in order that the favourable opportunity now offered in Crete may be utilised : and a complete publication of Phylakopi up to date is to appear shortly in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. In view of this project the report on Melos in this issue of the *Annual* has been limited to a very brief statement. The Report on the Naukratis exploration, however, is final as far as it goes, and will not be supplemented elsewhere by us except in the event of another and last campaign being undertaken a year or two hence on the site. It will be seen, therefore, that the disproportion in the scale of the two reports has no necessary relation to the importance of the explorations to which they respectively refer.

D. G. HOGARTH



# EXCAVATIONS IN MELOS, 1899.

## A.

### THE SEASON'S WORK.

BY D. MACKENZIE.

---

§ 1.—THE interest of the excavation at Phylakopi in 1898 reached its climax just at the close of the season with the discovery in a small room in G 2 of the "Fishermen Vase" (lamp-stand), and with the equally interesting find in a house in G 3 of part of a wall-painting of flying fish (*B.S.A.* 1897-8, pp. 26-7). The south part of this region had to be left unfinished when excavation came to an end last year and it was desirable that, before we proceeded to any other undertaking, this piece of work should be completed.

On reference to the plan, it will be seen that the N.E. part of G 3 is taken up with an apparently domestic building containing a room with a square pillar near its east wall. This house was the one in which last year were discovered, in the room with the pillar, the fresco-fragments with flying fish. It was said in the report of last year's excavation (*B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 37) that, on our coming to the base of the pillar and to the level of the threshold, the supply of stucco fragments came suddenly to an end. Nothing could more clearly mark the existence of a well-defined floor level on which the stucco must have fallen when the house to which it belonged had been abandoned and fallen into decay, than the fact that this year no single fragment of the stucco was found on our digging down below the level of the base of the square pillar. Apart from the existence of a cross-wall belonging to an earlier system going east and west, below the level of the base of the pillar,

and carried down to the rock, there was nothing further of interest to record.

To the W. of the house with the wall-stucco is another house, or part of a house, having a square pillar in one of its rooms, the pillar being in this case monolithic. This room had been dug the previous year down to the base of the pillar. Further excavation now only brought to light the usual earlier walls, one of which in particular crossed from E. to W. under the base of the pillar to reappear in the next space to the W. In the deposit contiguous to this early wall (*i.e.* 2 m. down) in the room with the monolithic pillar were found two pouring-saucers of the usual Melian type (cited *B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 43), with geometric pattern on the rim in lustreless black on a white slip. The discovery of these specimens in pre-Theraean deposit confirms the view of last year that a type of vase, which henceforth has a continuous development at Phylakopi, is akin to the early geometric ware of the second period.

Apart from isolated finds the region in G 3 to the S. of the houses with the pillars presented no features of special interest. Here were found (m. 1.10 down) a fragment of a double-spouted terra-cotta Mycenaean lamp, the bust of a Mycenaean terra-cotta idol of the usual type, and a rather shallow cup with meander on the rim and double spirals on the body in lustreless black on a pale slip on thin red clay. This kind of cup, either small and shallow or large and deep, the latter variety having usually a flower- or bird-panel on the side away from the holder, is quite characteristic of what we have called the Theraean period at Phylakopi and never occurs earlier. The best specimen of the deeper variety was found afterwards at E 3, and had on the usual panel a bird with flapping wings in profile to the right.

The room in G 2, in which last year had been found the important lamp-stand with "Fishermen," had only been excavated down to the level of the tough flooring immediately above which the find in question had been made. This and the adjoining space to the W. were now completely excavated. In this latter space, at a depth of 2.70 and in deposit which elsewhere on the site always characterised the second settlement, were found fragments of a type of vase which, with the exception of one solitary fragment, had been up till then unrepresented at Phylakopi. These were parts of a *kernos* with broad vertical bands in dull black on a pale



slip. One vase of the *kernos* was found whole ; fragments of three more were found in the same deposit. Quite appropriately fragments of an incised and hand-polished vase of the duck form were found in the same environment, and this is the kind of ware that has hitherto at Phylakopi been most closely associated with the painted geometric ware which the *kernos* type most closely resembles in its clay and ornamentation. For some account of *kernois*, probably derived from Melos see *B.S.A.* III, pp. 57-61.

In the next space to the N. of the one which yielded the *kernos* fragments, were found, at a depth of 3 m., fragments of a curious vase pierced all over its body with holes. The vessel, which had an elongated neck, sealed at the top and surmounted by a basket-handle, was of porous red clay covered on the outside with a pale slip on which in lustreless black were painted rings encircling the holes. Circles are a not unusual ornamentation in the geometric period though here they are really motivated by the holes they surround, and the ware, slip and paint are quite in keeping with the deposit in which the fragments were found.

In F 2 is a space which last year had been cleared down to a tough Mycenaean flooring. The room had a door with threshold at its S.W. corner opening into an outside passage. At the end of the passage eastward is a door-like space in the continuation southward of the E. wall of the room, and here excavation brought into view a drain-end going through the door-like space, and evidently meant to empty water into the Mycenaean drain which runs N. outside the E. wall of the room, and then turns W. outside the N. wall of the same room on its way towards the edge of the cliff. Below the level of this flooring nothing of interest turned up until the deposit underlying a second floor-level was reached ; but here was found entire a large open jug, widening towards the rim, and having a spout opposite the handle. On it were painted broad bands forming a trellis-like pattern in lustreless black on a white slip. Fragments of a second jug of the same unique class were found later on in the same deposit. To the same company belong two pouring-saucers of the usual type, with geometric pattern in lustreless black on a pale slip round the rim. Here also was found one member of what must have been coupled vases, a simple form of *kernos*. On the red clay is a pale slip, on which are painted round the shoulder large dots in lustreless black. On one side was the break on the surface, which marked the attachment of the

other vase. Later at H 2 was found in similar deposit a complete specimen.

The outcome of excavation on the unfinished parts of G 2, 3, only went once more to confirm our constant experience that spaces of apparently no architectural interest often yield important finds in pottery. Thus it always happens that a space which has been sufficiently excavated for the general purposes of a plan has to be cleared to the foundation if we are to be sure that we have not missed some unique find which may be of much more intrinsic importance than the mere plan of a simple room like that in which was found, for example, the lampstand with fishermen.

§ 2. Before the excavation of G 3 was completed, work was begun on Wednesday, 20th April, in the region contiguous to the "Mycenaean house," referred to in the report of last year, *B.S.A.*, 1897-8, pp. 31-2. This "house" itself formed the most individual feature in this whole region, and a special interest was attached to it, because deep down in a trial trench sunk here in 1898 were found specimens of a more primitive class of pottery than had as yet been discovered at Phylakopi (*see B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 20). One special object of excavation in this region was to find out, if possible, over what area this evidence of the earliest settlement at Phylakopi extended. It is an instance showing how very provisional plans of excavation must always be that what we really discovered was not further evidence of this earliest settlement, but the "Mycenaean Palace" or *Megaron* of Phylakopi. This important discovery, the central interest of the excavation of 1899, was a surprise to everybody, especially as on the analogy of other similar sites it was natural to assume that such a palace must have been somewhere on the higher ground at the W. end of the site, possibly even on some part of the region which has been destroyed through the action of the sea. One result of excavation has thus been gradually to shift the centre of interest from the high ground at the W. end to the lower neighbourhood of the palace and the harbour at the E. end of the site. In this respect the analogy of an inland citadel like Tiryns no longer holds for Phylakopi.

It has been mentioned in the report (*B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 32), that along the W. side of the "Mycenaean house" in J 1, 2, runs a long corridor from S. to N. It was the excavation of the region W. of this corridor that led to the discovery of the Mycenaean palace above referred to. The first hint

of anything extraordinary was the appearance, in line running W. from the S. end of the corridor, of two huge blocks of stone of a size and character quite unique on the site. The surfaces of the blocks were cleared W., and bounding them in that direction was found a large well-squared *poros* block (*see* plan, H 2). The long blocks were now seen to have formed a wide double threshold, and the square *poros* block was probably the base of a wooden *anta*. If this last supposition be true, there must have been originally a similar block bounding the threshold on the E. and since removed; and our conjecture is supported by the fact that the wall running S., in line with which such a block was to be expected, is broken away at the part where the block should have come.<sup>1</sup> The preserved block was found to have its surface, for a depth of about a foot, covered with charred wood, and among the wood cinders was found, much corroded, a bronze object, like three nails stuck together. It seems probable that the wood cinders were due to some wooden construction like an *anta* surmounting the stone basis. The space immediately to the N. of the threshold was then cleared (*cf. infra*, p. 13) and under the Antechamber, which had no cement flooring, we went down to the rock. Thus we were able to see that the foundations of the Palace were laid much deeper than is usual with Mycenaean structures on this site. Two early walls run N. and S. below the floor-level of the Antechamber, and it was found that these had been broken across when the wall in which the threshold of the *Megaron* occurs was built. From this circumstance it will be likewise at once apparent that the Mycenaean Palace, unlike the Mycenaean buildings in G 3 (cited *B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 26) in no sense repeats the plan of the earlier system. Under this system itself again still earlier walls, of the second settlement, made their appearance, resting on the rock, which is here at a depth of 3·80 from the surface. In the deposit, contiguous to the early walls which underlie the *Megaron*, were found several vases, which are to be definitely assigned to the geometric class (*B.S.A.*, 1897-8, pp. 42-3). To be cited are two cups with geometric pattern in lustreless black on a pale slip on red clay, the couple-vase mentioned, p. 6, as well as one member of two other couple-vases, a very handsome pouring-saucer of the usual Melian type, and a deeper shape of saucer of an allied type, covered all over the surface with a thin white wash. Here, however,

<sup>1</sup> Two similar *anta*-bases are a characteristic feature of the palace portico at Tiryns.

no fragment of the primitive pottery of the earliest class was found for which we were on the look-out; and we are now in a position to affirm that such pottery exists nowhere at Phylakopi to the west of the corridor separating the public from the private apartments of the palace. It was stated in the report of the excavation of 1898 (*B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 20), that the only place where such pottery had been discovered on the site was in the trial trench sunk at the "Mycenaean house" in J 1, 2, and it began to look now as if this earliest settlement would have to be given up entirely.

§ 3.—We expected that the region S. of the palace, on the analogy of other similar sites, would prove to be some open court-yard, and on proceeding now, as our next task, to the excavation of this whole space we found no Mycenaean walls at all until as far S. as the street with drain, which had been partially excavated here in 1898. Nowhere else on the site did there happen to be so large a space free of Mycenaean walls, and since there was no impediment in the shape of causeway or pavement of any interest, there seemed here a good opportunity for clearing with greater ease than elsewhere the plan of structures belonging to the third settlement. It turned out that we discovered better examples of architecture of the third settlement elsewhere, and what really proved of interest here was the discovery, in the courtyard, of the palace well at a point almost due S. of the anta-basis mentioned on p. 7 (see plan, H 3, a, *cf. infra*, pp. 13, 14). The sherds found in clearing this well were exclusively Mycenaean.

We shall conclude what we have to say at this point about the Mycenaean palace by mentioning that the space to the N. of the *Megaron*, between its N. wall and the edge of the cliff, was excavated towards the close of the season, and that the Mycenaean structures in it were found to belong to the system of the palace, and more probably to the private than to the public apartments. The large room marked on the plan H J 1, 1, in view of its size and the importance of the long corridor, which leads towards it, may possibly have been the *Megaron* of the women.

The next region to be tried was that lying between the spot where the primitive pottery of the previous year had been found and the shore to the N. The rock surface falls very rapidly in this region, and it will be recollected that in the trial trench in J 1-2, where the earliest Phylakopi pottery was found, the rock was at a depth of 6.50 from the surface (*B.S.A.*,

1897-8, p. 20). The wall constructions in this region next the shore have been much washed away through the action of the surge, so that they present a steep section of all the different deposits at one view. It was possible to excavate here at once on the rock surface, and no sooner was a trial made than the primitive pottery began to make its appearance. Thus, although the existence of our earliest settlement cannot be proved anywhere W. of the palace corridor, there can be no longer any doubt of it in the region between the trial trench in J 1 and the shore in K 1. It still remains to be seen how far the settlement extended eastward.<sup>1</sup>

The courtyard of the palace is bounded on the S. by a narrow street with a drain running eastward down the middle of it, the drain being covered in with ironstone slates, which must in turn have been overlaid with earth, for they show no marks of wearing. The region S. of this street in H 3, J 3, was explored as far S. as the S. wall of a Mycenaean passage-way, which, with doors right and left, runs E. and W. in the S. part of this region. The complication of walls, however, rendered excavation extremely difficult, and with the exception of the passage-way, nothing of exceptional interest is to be reported. Excavation further E. or S. was not deemed advisable for the time being, for there still remained unexcavated the interval, in H 2, H 3, between the region G 2, G 3, containing the fresco-house on the one hand, and the Mycenaean palace with its courtyard on the other.

The results of the explorations in this quarter are stated *infra* pp. 11-14, but I may mention here that in a room (H 2, 8) at 2 m. down was made the singular discovery of an ivory Mycenaean ring, with a perfectly preserved representation of a woman in profile to the right, engaged in some ritual celebration before an altar-like object.

At the end of the season we tested the unexcavated regions S. and E. of the Mycenaean palace. In H 4, S. of the palace, a trial trench brought into view the usual threefold stratification with particularly good walls of the Mycenaean period underlying soil m. 1 deep.

In the test trench in L 4 at the E. end of the site we came upon an unexpected hindrance in the shape of the continuation eastward of the Mycenaean drain in the street bounding the palace court to the S. The

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of traces of the earliest settlement on ground partly covered by the palace may point to a continuity of tradition always connecting the centre of gravity at Phylakopi with the harbour at the E. end of the site.

discovery afforded evidence in favour of the hypothesis (*B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 8), that the sea originally stretched much further inland than at present, and that this drain flowed eastward into it.

*B.*

THE STRUCTURES

BY T. D. ATKINSON.

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The excavations this year proved to be of considerable interest, so far as the architecture was concerned. Besides the Palace several complete private houses were found, and the streets were followed up far enough to enable us to guess at the system on which the town had been laid out. Several houses of the third settlement can be made out, but there are only slight indications of its streets. So far as they can be traced, however, they seem to coincide roughly with those of the fourth settlement. With the fourth settlement itself the opposite is the case—the streets can be traced, but there are not quite so many complete houses as in the third settlement. In a few cases, perhaps, a street or house of the earlier period continued in use in the later; but generally speaking this is not the case, and where a later wall is built on the top of an earlier one, it was probably in order to obtain a more solid foundation.

SECOND SETTLEMENT.

A good many fragments of walls were exposed; they are distributed over the whole site. The buildings appear to have been at a fair distance from one another, and not huddled together as they were in the two later periods. What may, perhaps, be considered a complete house, consisting of a single room, is seen at J 2, 8. The building is a plain parallelogram, measuring inside about 3·40 metres by 1·90 metres. The walls are 60 metres thick, and are built upon the rock. They stand to a height of about 1·15 metres. There is no door visible now; it is, perhaps, obscured

by later work. There are slight remains of another building at J 2, d, which are also interesting.

The work of this period is all built upon the rock. The remains are so scanty that it would be rash to attempt any generalisations as to the methods of construction. The walls are built chiefly of small stones, and are covered with a sort of earthy plaster. One of the walls of the room, H 2, 4, is faced with thin slabs of stone of irregular shape stuck up against it, and the floor of the room is of the same character.

### THIRD SETTLEMENT.

Several houses of this period were uncovered, so that, with those found last year, we have about ten which appear to be complete so far as the plans are concerned. The most perfect of these is the building J 2, 9, and J 3, 2-4. Assuming that this building is all one house, it may be said to consist of an outer room or porch (3) about 2.75 metres by 1.50 metres leading to an inner room (2) 3.35 metres by 2.25 metres with a passage (4) along the east side leading to two small rooms (9) at the back. In general arrangement, therefore, it resembles the Palace of the Fourth Settlement, to be presently described, though no inference must be drawn from this fact, for the rooms are, if anything, rather smaller than most rooms of the Third Settlement. The walls remain standing to an average height of 3.30 metres (about seven feet 6 inches), and show no traces of windows. They average .70 metre thick.

A few yards to the west of this is another house, not dissimilar in plan (H 2, 17; H 3, 5-7). There is no porch in this instance, but there is the room at the back (H 2, 17), and the broken wall which divides it from the front room (H 3, 5) may have contained a doorway. There are two very narrow rooms (6, 7) on the east side; one of these (6) has no doorway at all, and the other does not communicate directly with the rooms already mentioned.

The building in H 1, numbered 1-5, presents a different type. It appears to be a pair of semi-detached houses. Both are entered from a corridor or vestibule (H 2, 1) common to the two, which has a single doorway leading to the street (2). Each house appears to have originally consisted of a single room, which was afterwards divided into two by a cross wall (a, b). The wall which separated the two houses is pierced by a doorway

but it does not appear whether this was the original arrangement or an afterthought. The group J 2, 4-7 shows an exactly similar arrangement, except that the common vestibule is omitted. H 2, 15 ; H 3, 3, 4, 8, seems to be intermediate between this type and that first described.

The methods of construction employed do not become very clear till the walls have been washed by a winter's rain. It would seem, however, that they vary a good deal in different buildings. The walls are well built and average '75 metre in thickness. In some cases quoins are not used at the angles, which are built instead of small stones and slightly rounded. Mortar is not used, but the walls are sometimes covered with an earthy plaster like that of the Second Period, and in one place there seems to have been a very thin finishing coat of lime plaster.

Three perfect doorways remain—that is, doorways existing to their full height, and with the wall carried over them ; of all other doors shown on the plan only the jambs, to a greater or less height, remain. These three doorways are respectively '45 metre, '60 metre, and '65 metre wide, and 1'25 metre, 1'70 metre, and 1'40 metre high. In each case some stones have fallen from the head of the doorway, leaving it of an irregular arched form. But no arch-construction was used, nor any lintel, nor, I think, was the walling even gradually “gathered over” to support itself over the opening. I imagine that the masonry was simply built round and over a stout timber door-frame, though of course there are now no vestiges of this.

It will be noticed that while most of the walls are of nearly the same thickness, namely about '65, some few are just double as thick. These thick walls are probably in every case two walls built side by side, dividing different tenements. It seems to have been the custom, where two houses adjoined, to build, not a “party-wall,” which would serve for both, but a separate wall for each. This method sometimes assists us in dividing the somewhat confused mass of buildings into separate houses. In some cases the walls are quite distinct, and a space of a few inches is left between. These remarks apply also to buildings of the Fourth Period.

#### FOURTH SETTLEMENT.

The town of the latest period, so far as it has been exposed, was divided by streets parallel to one another running east and west, connected by others at right angles to them. (G 2, a ; G 3, 1 ; H 2, 2, 10 ; H 3, 9, 10 ;



J 2, f; J 3, 6.) These streets average from 1 metre to 1·50 metre wide. Some alleys do not exceed 75 metre, but these were probably constructed for purposes of drainage only, and had an open space on one or both sides. Drains (shown by dotted lines in the plan) were found in several places; they were formed by flat slabs of stone resting on two rows of stonework, thus forming a rough square conduit, varying from 18 metre to 35 metre (six to twelve inches) square. The sudden changes of level in some streets probably indicate the positions of flights of steps; retaining walls found in connexion with them also indicate that the ground was formed into terraces. Analogous arrangements in modern towns are numerous.

The houses were, no doubt, somewhat tightly packed, but they were probably not crowded together quite so closely as the plan would at first suggest. Probably many of the enclosed spaces, which now have the appearance of rooms, were, in reality, open courts.

The most interesting architectural find of this year was the Palace (H 1, H 2, J 1, J 2). This building stands on the north side of a courtyard about 15 metres square.<sup>1</sup> It consists of a hall (J 2, 1,) with a portico (J 2, 3,) at the south end; a series of small rooms (J 1, 2; J 2, 2) on the east side with a passage (d) between them and the hall; another room (J 1, 1) at the north end; and a passage (H 2, 3) along the west side. The side walls of the portico remain, and at the end of one of them there is a large block of stone,—the base, presumably, of the *anta*. The outer step (J 2, c,) also remains, but there are no indications of columns. From the portico the hall is entered by a doorway (J 2, b,) 2·25 metres wide with the threshold still *in situ*. The hall (J 2, 1,) is 8·50 metres long by 6 metres wide. The floor is formed of a layer of concrete not more than one inch thick. In the middle of the room there is a rectangular space (a) not covered with concrete but with hardened clay; this without doubt indicates the position and size of the hearth. The walls, which stand to a height of 25 metre above the floor, contain no traces of any other doorway besides that already mentioned. Some of the small rooms on the east side have floors like that of the hall.

On the west side of the courtyard there is a well sunk through the rock. The rubbish which filled it was cleared out to a depth of 9 metres, but thereupon the water came in so fast that the work had to be given up.

<sup>1</sup> The courtyard extended over the space formerly occupied by the buildings of the Third Period, numbered H 2, 17; H 3, 5-7; J 2, 8; J 3, 1, 5.

But the interesting feature about the well was the remains of a lining of earthenware cylinders. These measured 75 metre in diameter and 1 metre high. One rim of each pipe was shaped into a socket, so that the lengths would fit into one another. In the sides there were "hand-holes," so that a man could climb down when necessary to clean out the well, or for other purposes.

The other buildings of the Fourth Period which were found this year were not of special interest. What appears to have been a row of small houses was uncovered (H 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14; H 3, 1, 2). Several parts left incompletely excavated in former years were finished, so that what had appeared to be sheer confusion became quite plain.

### C.

## THE POTTERY.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

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In a report which appeared in the last number of the *British School Annual* I gave a short description, in chronological order, of the main classes of pottery found at Phylakopi, and tried to indicate their place in the history of Aegean art. I shall not attempt in the present paper to write a fuller and more accurate account on the same lines. The proper place for that will be in the final publication. All I propose to do now is to make a few desultory notes of a general character on the finds of this last season.

The supply of pottery was as abundant this year as ever. To give an idea of how closely the soil is packed with it, I find on a rough calculation that an average day's work yielded somewhere between ten thousand and twenty thousand fragments. The experience gained in the preceding season made this large daily harvest much more easy to deal with. Owing to the continual recurrence of the same forms and the same designs, it was a very small proportion of the whole amount that required to be picked out and preserved. Unfortunately the site (which is known in the neigh

bourhood as 'σπὸν καπνόν because of the white spray that blows over it whenever there is a strong north wind) is permeated with salt, and the action of the salt has of course had a ruinous effect on much of the painted pottery. Thus scarcely a fragment of the delicate Kamarais ware retains any of its original brightness.

As was shown in last year's report, the Phylakopi pottery falls apart most naturally into four main divisions, which it may be convenient to recapitulate here :—

1. Primitive pottery of the same kind as that which is found in the cist-tombs of the other Cyclades, hand-polished, sometimes incised, but not painted.
2. Painted pottery with geometric designs.
3. Painted pottery with spiral, floral, and naturalistic designs, corresponding in many respects with the prehistoric pottery found in Thera.
4. Imported Mycenaean pottery of the third and fourth styles according to Furtwaengler and Loeschke's division.

Such are the main distinguishable periods. It may be as well to add that a vertical section through the mound would not disclose four distinct strata of potsherds cleanly divided each from the other. The diagram in *B.S.A.* iv. p. 48, shows how the divisions overlap in such a section. Nor again can we draw a sharp line between the deposits of two successive settlements. Even where we have two distinct floor-levels, the one perhaps ten ft. above the other, we cannot tell precisely how the intervening débris has accumulated. But as to the relative sequence of the main fabrics there is neither doubt nor difficulty.

As regards the primitive pottery of the cist-tomb type there is nothing for me to remark except that it was again discovered to be fairly plentiful within a limited area of the site (cf. p. 9) and that it lay at a lower level than any other kind.

For the ensuing period some new and interesting material came to light this season. Among the strictly geometric patterns a number of fragments were found with representations of birds, fishes, quadrupeds (of no very distinct species), human beings and even ships. They are all painted in dull black on a dead white ground; the forms on which they occur, *e.g.* the beaked jug with the end of the handle stuck through the side, are characteristic of the geometric period; in short they belong to one of the earlier Melian fabrics. The drawing is thoroughly "geometric" in character, as

unlike as could be to the free style of the following stage of art. Thus the trunk of a man is represented by an isosceles triangle with its base uppermost. The bodies of birds and men are filled in with cross-hatched lines like lattice-work,—a convention which reappears in the archaic period of Greek pottery (*e.g.* Pottier, *Vases ant. du Louvre*, pl. 11, A 290). It is not at all probable that this small class of animal representations is merely a local phenomenon; they have all the appearance of being drawn from well-established conventional types. A carelessly executed fragment from the Kamarais cave in Crete is a late offspring of the same style. And I have little doubt that both in Crete and Greece there is much material of a similar character underneath the soil.

The geometric class to which the fragments in question belong is as a whole pre-Mycenaean. But the resemblance between the animal representations on these and the animal representations on the post-Mycenaean geometric fabrics is unmistakable and suggestive. It certainly adds a further degree of probability to the growing belief that the latter are of native origin and were not brought down ready-made from the north. As regards Melos itself I think there are sufficient indications that the primitive geometric pottery was entirely superseded and did not develop into a later style parallel to the so-called "Dipylon" ware.<sup>1</sup> But there remains a great likelihood that similar pre-Mycenaean fabrics in other parts of Greece have left their mark on the "Dipylon" and the other geometric styles of the later period. Even such "Füllornamente" as the star and the short zigzag line are anticipated on the Melian vases.

On the other hand it must not be supposed that the early geometric pottery had no connection with, or influence on, the fabrics which immediately succeed it. On the contrary many of its shapes and much of its ornamentation still survived in a more or less modified form. It is unnecessary to point out the many obvious instances of this: to take a single, more recondite example, the far-fetched pattern in *Myk. Vas.* pl. xxxv. 360, 1, may be partly traced back to a row of geometric birds as represented on one of our Phylakopi fragments.

The "letters" or potters' marks, of which a large number were published last year (*B.S.A.* iv. p. 12), were again found in abundance. It should be

<sup>1</sup> There is not enough of material to show whether or not in the later period Melos had a distinctive geometric fabric of its own. Much of the geometric pottery discovered there was certainly imported. Even Boeotian ware has been found in some of the tombs.

noted that they are never to be seen on any of the later types of pottery. The same is true of the mat-impressions on vase-bottoms, scores of which were again obtained. The most natural explanation is that the mats were used for drying the vases on before baking; but Mr. Myres has suggested that the heavier vessels may have been *turned* on them. We do not need to assume that they were not used in more than one way. In several instances I observed traces of a mat-impression inside the hollow foot of a pot, which shows that the body of the vessel had been in contact with the mat before the foot was made. It is noticeable that the impressions occur on the plainer ware only: the finer, painted vases of the same period have invariably a flat, smoothed base. The mats were plaited in various ways; sometimes the reeds are interlaced at right angles to each other; sometimes the warp is laid like the spokes of a wheel and the woof is woven through it circularly. When the mat was of the latter form the vase was always placed with the centre of its base on the centre of the mat.

The pottery of the third period can be divided into several classes on the ground of differences in clay, paint, and shapes. Thus the vases on which the design is painted in dull black only belong as a rule to an earlier stage, although this by itself is not a sufficient criterion. But it would be a waste of labour to enter on these distinctions here. The general characteristics of the art of this period have been touched upon in a former report (*B.S.A.* iv. pp. 41 ff.). The naturalism and life of the representations—particularly the bright flowers and the hovering birds—are in sharp contrast with the stiff geometric schemes on the one hand and on the other hand with the fully developed Mycenaean style in which ornamentation has run to seed.

This Melian pottery forms one branch, and much the finest branch as yet known, of a style which is elder cousin to the Mycenaean style proper. Farther study, too, of this cognate style prevalent in Melos, Thera, and other places will in all likelihood make it still more apparent how much of archaic Greek ornamentation is an inheritance from the prehistoric art that flourished in Greek lands. Thus, to take a question which has been lately raised and correctly discussed by Boehlau (*Ion. v. Ital. Nekr.* p. 65), the derivation of the crescent pattern so characteristic of the "Fikellura" vases is placed beyond doubt when we find it to be one of the most common devices on the Melian pottery of this period—although, perhaps

by a mere chance, it has not been found on any fragment of the widely exported Mycenaean ware.

As was to be expected, there are evident traces of Egyptian influence on the decorative art of this age. Perhaps the most striking example is a pattern which consists of two horizontal and parallel lines of spirals with the space between each opposite pair of spirals filled by a spreading flower (cf. Petrie, *Eg. Dec. Art.* p. 30). This indeed is the prototype of certain designs on archaic Greek pottery and bronzes (e.g. Furtw. *Bronzefunde* pl. I. 8 and p. 44), all of which are less distinctively Egyptian. The flower is not a mere copy of the lotos but is almost certainly evolved out of it. There are a few striking details of this kind in Aegean art which are acknowledged to be direct imitations of Egyptian designs; but how much more is indirectly due to the same influence?

The fourth stage in the history of pottery at Phylakopi is characterised by the ascendancy of the imported Mycenaean ware. The contents of the well in the courtyard of the palace (*see* p. 8) show better than any other test how complete this ascendancy had finally become: only three painted pieces of native pottery were found in it: all the rest was Mycenaean.

It may be asked on what grounds we distinguish so confidently between native and imported pottery. A chemical analysis would be decisive on this point, if such definite results as were obtained by M. Fouqué in Santorin could again be arrived at. But that was a very exceptional case; and I think that even without the verdict of analysis there is little room for doubt. It would be quite unreasonable to suppose that a well-populated island like Melos, full of excellent beds of clay, should have manufactured no pottery of its own. The ordinary household ware, the heavy *pithoi*, for instance, standing four or five feet high, and the little cups which lay scattered about the site in thousands—that all this was imported is almost as improbable as that the stones of which the houses are made were not quarried in Melos itself. And if the ordinary unornamented pottery is home-made, the great mass of the painted pottery must also be home-made, because it is composed of exactly the same kind of clay. The Mycenaean ware, on the other hand, is of an unmistakably different fabric, as one could tell by touch alone. Further, a comparison between the forms and ornamentation of the two wares shows plainly that there is no *immediate* connection between the two; the Melian style is not the

mother of the Mycenaean, but only a near relation—one of its aunts, so to say.

The Mycenaean, however, was by no means the only kind of imported pottery found at Phylakopi. Numerous other fabrics were represented, both known and unknown. The Kamarais ware has been already spoken of. Goblets of dark grey clay, of a class which is found on many prehistoric sites in the Aegean, and which is very similar in fabric to the later "Lesbian" ware discovered at Naukratis, were very common at Phylakopi. A few fragments of a semi-spherical white-slip bowl were the only indication of commerce with Cyprus. We also came upon pottery of the same class as some that was found in the shaft-tombs at Mycenae, the best specimen being a globular jug adorned with a band of painted birds, almost a replica of F. and L., *Myk. Th.* pl. IX. 44. The painted pottery found along with this jug was almost all Melian of the later type; there was also a piece of Kamarais ware, the fragments of the Cypriote bowl just mentioned, and a fragment or two of Mycenaean fabric.

## SOME DOUBTFUL POINTS OF THESSALIAN TOPOGRAPHY.

BY C. D. EDMONDS.

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THE object of this paper is to endeavour to attach their right names to the ancient sites which lie close to the Peneios on either side of the river in its course from Trikkala to Larissa.

The first site which we reach in travelling down stream is that of Palaeo-Gardiki, halfway between Trikkala and Zarkos, close to the high road, on the left bank of the river, which is here some six kilometres distant. On a small spur of the mountains, with which it is only connected by a narrow neck or spur which slopes down to the plain, lie the remains of an ancient acropolis with walls built of both polygonal and ashlar masonry. In front of the acropolis in the plain the remains of a city of no small extent are visible. The walls of ashlar masonry remain to a height of four or five courses, and the foundations of houses and public buildings are clearly marked. The name Palaeo-Gardiki comes from a Byzantine village, Gardiki, which once stood upon the acropolis, but of which no traces now remain except the ruined church. In front of the city lies a marsh, which, combined with the mountain behind, makes the position very strong.

Six kilometres further down stream on the left bank, within one kilometre of the river, rises a long double-peaked rock, from 170 to 200 metres high, immediately above the village of Klokoto. On the western and smaller peak is an ancient acropolis, from which a wall runs eastward along the ridge joining the peaks until the ground begins to rise for the other summit, where the wall turns and goes down southward into the plain. The masonry is ashlar, except in some later remains of Byzantine



date. Though no traces of buildings are now visible it is certain from the shape of the wall that a city must have lain in the plain to the south of the acropolis and wall, stretching probably down to the river.

Almost immediately opposite, across the river, four or five kilometres distant, lies another long rock near the village of Kortiki. The northern end is low; the other rises to a height of about 250 metres, and upon it is a small ancient acropolis of rough polygonal masonry upon which is superimposed some later work. No traces of buildings are visible outside the fortress upon the hill, nor signs of any levelling or cutting of the rock which would be a necessary preliminary to construction. Nor are there any remains in the plain beneath; indeed, the existence of such remains would be impossible, for the country round is in winter one vast marsh, except where Kortiki stands two kilometres distant, and separated from the hill by the swamps.

Four kilometres away to the south-east, on the left bank of the ancient Apidanus, and near the village of Vlokho, a curious semispherical rocky hill rises to a height of about 280 metres, a conspicuous object from all points of the western Thessalian plain. Upon the top of this is a large acropolis of rough polygonal masonry with subsidiary protecting walls, and a zig-zag roadway cut in the face of the hillside, though this perhaps is of later date. At the foot of this, where the ground is firm by the river on the site of Vlokho, there probably existed a town, whence come the Doric drums and other ancient fragments to be found in the neighbouring villages.

A fifth site is at Zarkos, three kilometres to the north of the river Peneios, where it enters the Kalamaki defile. Above the village lies a small height separated from the mountain behind. The top, where now stands a church of St. Elias, is encircled by a wall of accurately jointed polygonal masonry. To the south of this acropolis, close under the perpendicular cliffs of the mountain, are foundations of Hellenic buildings covering a considerable extent of ground.

Six kilometres further down stream, where a break in the defile leads out into the Larissaeon plain, is another ancient site upon a spur of the mountain which runs down to the right bank of the river. The site is known as the Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka, from the village of that name close by. Upon the sloping spur are the upper city and acropolis with walls of polygonal masonry, rough in parts, in other places carefully jointed. In the

plain on either side of the spur lie the foundations of the walls and buildings of the lower city. The remains of Byzantine walls also are mixed with the Hellenic masonry.

A good way further down the stream at the point where the river finally issues from the defile into the plain, on the left bank, opposite the village of Gunitza, is yet another ancient site called Sidhero-Peliko. The remains, though inconsiderable, are extensive and are evidently those of a Hellenic city; for in the plain and on the slope of the hill are numerous squared stones and fragments of pottery and the foundations of a wall, and on the summit above, an extremely strong position by nature, are the remains of another wall.

Let us return once more to the site of Palaeo-Gardiki. Leake, Bursian, Heuzey and Daumet, and Lolling, agree in considering this to be the site of Pelinna, while Kiepert, followed by Philippson, puts Limnaeon here and Pelinna at Kortiki, and Ussing again and Georgiades place Pelinna at Klokoto. With regard to the site of Pelinna we have the following evidence from ancient writers. Strabo, 437, says that Ithome is in a quadrilateral formed by Tricca, Metropolis, Pelinna and Gomphi, and in the next chapter he says that the Peneios leaves on the left Tricca, Pelinna and Pharcadon and is borne past Atrax and Larissa down to Tempe and the sea. From Livy, xxxvi. 13, we learn that Baebius and Philip after attacking Gomphi and Tricca in the west besiege Pelinna, whence Philip goes on to attack Limnaeon. In the next chapter we hear that Acilius coming from Larissa first joins Philip beneath Limnaeon and that they go on together from there to Pelinna. Now those who place Pelinna at Kortiki disregard Strabo's direct statement that the city lay on the left bank of the river, and give as their reason for doing so that such a position for Pelinna makes a prettier and more symmetrical figure within which to enclose Ithome. Moreover we also gather from Strabo that Pelinna was the first city after leaving Tricca, and the passages of Livy prove that it lay west of Limnaeon. We know that Pelinna was a city of importance, for it was the seat of a branch of the family of the Aleuadae, is frequently mentioned by ancient writers, and is shown by its coins to have been a member of the league of great Thessalian towns. Limnaeon on the other hand is only mentioned in the above-quoted passage of Livy, and no coins even of it are known. Limnaeon also, as its name implies, was

situated in the middle of the marshes, a description which suits Kortiki but not Palaeo-Gardiki. We are urged then to put Limnaeon at Kortiki among the marshes; for it was probably, and the extant remains agree with this view, merely an acropolis for the neighbouring villagers of the swamp, a refuge in flood time and in war. If this be so we can understand why no coins exist of such a place. Pelinna, on the other hand, lying west of Limnaeon and north of the river, we shall place at Palaeo-Gardiki, a site with remains of an important city and fulfilling all the required conditions.

With regard to the site at Vlokho there can be little doubt. All the topographers are agreed that this represents the ancient Asterion or Peiresiae. Apollonius Rhodius. i. 36, says Asterion came from Peiresiae near Mount Phylleum at the junction of the Enipeus and Apidanus. Stephanus Byzantinus informs us that Asterion was a town of Thessalotis later called Peiresiae and that it was so named from its shining appearance when seen from afar lying upon a high mountain. The poet in the *Iliad* ii. 734, says Eurypylus led those from Asterion and the white peaks of Titanos. Now these passages accurately describe the site at Vlokho; for the ruins are perched on a high and conspicuous hill of peculiar shape, whose rocks are of a white crystalline limestone, a hill which is close to the confluence of the two rivers. Let us now turn our attention to the ruins at Klokoto. Bursian, Philippon, Kiepert, and Lolling mark this as the site of Pharcadon; Leake considers it to be only a frontier fortress; Heuzey and Daumet place Phaestus here; while Ussing and Georgiades consider the site to be that of Pelinna. Leake's wonderful power of guessing sites correctly is at fault here for once because he had not sufficiently examined the spot. Had he done so he would have seen that there was a city here as well as a fortress. Strabo, 438, mentions Pharcadon after Pelinna as towns on the left bank of the Peneios between Tricca and Atrax, and also says the river flows through Pharcadon. Livy, xxxi. 41, says that the Aetolians coming down from Cyretiae in the mountains of the Perrhaebians poured over the plains near Pharcadon. Now Klokoto is in the plains at the mouth of the valley which leads up into the mountains. It is on the left bank of the Peneios, which may be described as flowing through it. It is the next site to Pelinna at Palaeo-Gardiki. Klokoto in fact, and no other, suits all the requirements of these passages and may safely be assumed to be the site of Pharcadon.

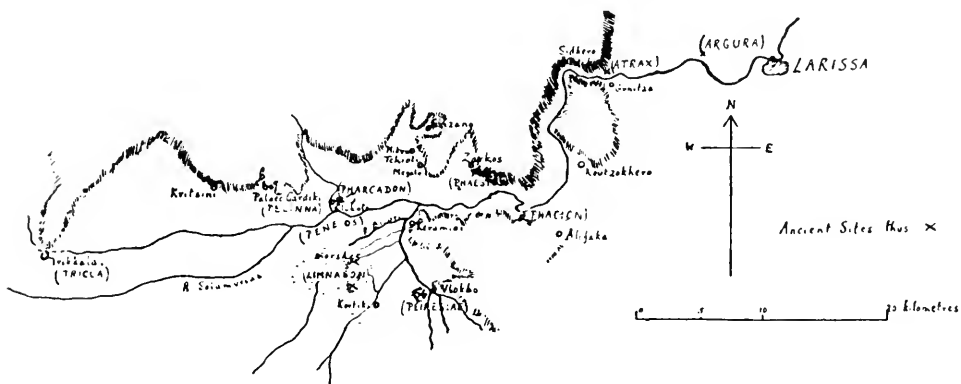
Of the three sites which still remain to be considered, it will be most

convenient to treat of that of Sidhero-Peliko first. Leake, Bursian, and Georgiades place Atrax here, while Kiepert and Lolling put it at the Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka. With regard to Atrax, Strabo, 440, says it lies near the river, 40 stadia above Argura, (the latter being universally placed at a site on the left bank of the river five kilometres above Larissa). But, as quoted above, he says that the Peneios after Pharcadon flows past Atrax and Larissa, and he, 441, states that it lies in the plain. Livy, xxxii. 15, tells us that Flaminius attacked Atrax, a Perrhaebian town on the Peneios, ten miles from Larissa. This evidence points conclusively to Sidhero-Peliko as the site of Atrax, for it is in the plain near the river about fifteen kilometres above Larissa, while Alifaka, the other suggested site, is twenty-two kilometres from Larissa by road, and even more by river. Atrax, moreover, being a Perrhaebian town, must have been on the north side of the river, which was the boundary between the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. (It is useless to attempt to locate Atrax by the situation of the quarries of "verde antico," a variety of green breccia known to the Romans as "marble of Atrax," for these quarries lie at the foot of Mount Ossa, at a spot which cannot possibly agree with the above passages. At this point I may, perhaps, remark that comparatively little help is given to the topographer by coins in Thessaly. In the first place, the number of coins found is not large, because most of Thessaly is still pasture land, whereas coins are generally turned up by the plough. And, secondly, the existence of a league type among the Thessalian towns enabled the coins of any one town to pass current in the others. Consequently, coins of more than one city are found in most spots, and inference from them is dangerous.)

The Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka is considered by Leake, Bursian, and Georgiades to be the site of Phacion. Kiepert and Lolling, however, place Atrax here. We know from Stephanus Byzantinus that both Phaestus and Phacion were Thessalian towns, and so were in the plains; and from Livy, xxxvi. 13, we know that they were in this neighbourhood. The only other passage giving us a clue as to the site of Phacion is Thucydides, iv. 78, where the writer says that Brasidas, on his march through Thessaly, first encamped near Melitaea, near Pharsalus the next night, and then by a forced march reached Phacion, and so came to the Perrhaebians, by whom he was conducted, probably over the Melouna Pass, to Dium in Macedonia. Now Larissa would have been the most natural stopping place, but Brasidas

evidently avoided it purposely, fearing the hostility of the Thessalians, and kept more to the west. Reaching the Perrhaebia is then by a route west of Larissa, Brasidas must have gone to Alifaka, for this is the only site bordering upon Perrhaebia, and yet within a forced march of Pharsalus.

The only other site remaining to be dealt with is that of Zarkos. Georgiades puts Pharcadon here, but Lolling is undoubtedly right in attributing the remains to Phaestus. We know, from the passages just quoted above, that Phaestus was in this district, and so it must be placed at the only vacant site, namely Zarkos. Phaestus is not mentioned elsewhere in ancient literature, but there is an inscription extant, (Mittheil. viii. p. 126), which was found in the Church of St. Nikolaos at Zarkos, bearing the words *ἡ πόλις Φανττίων*, a Thessalian dialectical name concealing probably the Phaestus of Livy.



# EXCAVATIONS AT NAUKRATIS.

A.

## SITE AND BUILDINGS.

BY D. G. HOGARTH.

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MR. ERNEST GARDNER, summing up in 1889 the results of the excavations at Naukratis which Mr. Flinders Petrie had begun in 1884, was of opinion that something still remained to be done on the site.<sup>1</sup> This opinion was shared by Mr. Petrie and has been expressed by him more than once, when Greek remains in Egypt were under discussion. A further campaign, therefore, has long been contemplated; and when I heard late in 1898 that very serious encroachments were being made upon the mounds of Gaif, it seemed that it was time to act.<sup>2</sup> Paying a flying visit to the place in December, I found that, compared with Mr. Petrie's map of fourteen years before, the Mounds showed a greatly changed appearance. The "Great Temenos" at the south end had become a cornfield: the "Arab village" shown in the map on the north-east edge of the mound was now divided from the uncultivated land by a broad belt of green, which in the east centre had been pushed far out into the hollow heart of the site by an artificial embankment twelve to fifteen feet high. Hundreds of natives were employed daily in digging *sebakh* (*i.e.* virgin earth for top-dressing the

<sup>1</sup> *Naukratis*, ii., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> I had already been informed that the Egypt Exploration Fund was not prepared, in view of its heavy obligations elsewhere, to come to the rescue; and that neither Mr. Petrie nor Mr. Gardner in their private capacity wished to resume the work.

cotton-fields) all over the mounds ; and it was obvious, even without their direct testimony, that large tracts, which in Mr. Petrie's time had stood high above the cultivation, were now level with or below it. I noticed particularly the region lying just east of the farthest northern limits of the great central hollow (which the natives said was due to Mr. Petrie's work) and where he had placed in order the 'Palaestra' and the *temené* of Apollo and the Dioscuri. A broken granite door-jamb, lying some distance to the east of the last-named temenos, witnessed to some large building, in all probability a temple, having stood in this neighbourhood ; and to the north were walls and layers of stone chips, seen in section one under the other in the cuttings made by the *sebakh*-diggers. The whole site seemed very wet, much wetter, in fact, than Mr. Petrie or Mr. Gardner had implied in their published accounts ; and later we obtained ample evidence that the dampness had greatly increased since the encroachment began and is still increasing. I came away from the Gaif mounds, convinced that it was worth while to resume their exploration and that no time ought to be lost.

The Committee of the British School at Athens was enabled by the Society of Dilettanti to respond promptly to my appeal for funds ; and as soon as the Bairam of 1899 was over I was able to open a third campaign at Naukratis. I was joined there by Messrs. C. C. Edgar and C. D. Edmonds, students of the School, and work was begun on Sunday, February 19th. The excavation was organized on Mr. Petrie's principles of dispensing with a regular *reis* and paying full local value for all objects found. With the help of the Government overseer, Hassan Abu Se'mi, guard of the mounds of Sa-el-Hagar (Sais), and of several of Mr. Petrie's old workmen, the undertaking was soon got into working order.

With the women, girls and boys who carried baskets, the total number employed for most of the time amounted to a little over a hundred. Like Messrs Petrie and Gardner we also had a miscellaneous crowd of *sebakh*-diggers for irregular scouts. From them we bought from fifty to a hundred small objects daily, and on their work some of our own intermediate and final conclusions have been based. The native diggers affected almost exclusively the extreme north and the extreme south of the mounds. The centre was left alone partly because it has largely been dug out already to or below the basal mud, partly because it lies off the main lines of communication with the surrounding villages.

We began with a certain amount of experimental trenching in the

north-eastern region and at various times tapped other parts of the mound; but since the lion's share of our work was done in the north-east, it will be best to treat excavation there as apart and continuous, and to reserve the account of the exploration, mainly experimental, undertaken in all other regions, to the second section of this Report.

### I.—THE NORTH-EASTERN AREA.

As has already been stated, we found, on arrival at the mounds, a considerable area in the extreme north, which had not been touched by the previous excavators, already reduced by the labours of the *sebakh*-diggers to a manageable depth, the deposit upon the basal mud (as afterwards proved) averaging between six and two feet in thickness. This northern area, roughly 450 ft. north to south by 250 ft. east to west (cp. accompanying map I., II., III. *c*, *d*), was bounded on the east by mounds, still not greatly reduced, in which appeared late walls; on the north by the cultivation, on the fringe of which the ground rose to a height of some 8-10 feet above the general level and ran into the hillock to the north-west, on which is built the village in which we lived; on the west and south by the deep hollow, excavated to, and even below, the level of the basal mud by Messrs. Petrie and Gardner and subsequent *sebakh*-diggers. As pretty nearly all Mr. Petrie's landmarks had disappeared and his walls could no longer be traced,<sup>1</sup> we never arrived at absolute certainty about the location of his *Temené*; but, roughly speaking, our "North-eastern area" marched with the eastern edge of his combined Dioscuri and Apollo enclosures, and of about half the area which he called the "Palaestra" and Mr. Gardner re-named the "Temenos of Hera." Our attention was drawn to and fixed upon this area not only by the surface indications, mentioned already, but by the fact that, with two exceptions, all the fragments of vessels inscribed with dedications that were brought to us for sale in the first days of our stay, came from the rubbish heaps in this region, mostly those round the well marked 35 on the plans. The proximity of Mr. Petrie's *temené* was a positive recommendation, and the fact that up to that moment the *sebakh*-diggers had furnished us with no such significant

<sup>1</sup> We lived in hope of a visit from Mr. Petrie, during which we could have verified many topographical points: but illness prevented his coming.



finds from any other part of the mounds, supplied an equally cogent negative argument in its favour.

The first trench 50 ft. long (lengthened later to 70 ft.) was sunk in the north-western half of II. *c*, and proceeding westwards, we turned over the deposit, averaging 3 ft. in depth, as far as a line drawn through the points 35 and 6 on the plan: then the men were turned with their faces north and made to work steadily through the remains of buildings 3, 4 and 5, up to and over the long wall to the north of these, and through the line of chambers 10-21. At the same time an attack was made on the high ground to the north and chambers 27, 26, 25 and 24 were tested down to water level, but only 26 was at all completely cleared. In all these last-named chambers we were stopped by water before reaching the lowest and most remunerative stratum. Meanwhile the top rubbish was removed from above chambers 12, 13, 22, 30, 31, 32 and they were cleared as completely as water would permit. A shaft was sunk also at 33, but nothing was found above the water. Wide trenches were made to the east of the long east and west wall, resulting in the discovery of the wall fragments in I. *c*, but here mud and water stopped progress. At an earlier period shafts had been sunk to the mud (5 ft.) in the building numbered 37, but it was found to have been already dug out.

As soon as we could no longer reach the basal mud at the north for the rising water, work was transferred to the south of the area. Pits and trenches were sunk all along its west edge and pushed eastwards nearly to the parallel dividing *c* and *d*. Here an area was reached, in which the basal mud was already exposed, and nothing was to be learned. Wide and deep trenches were accordingly sunk in the higher ground to the south-east (40-42), which was bounded by two visible walls. That done, the only part of the area left untried was its centre, west of the well 35, and this was turned over thoroughly in the last days of our stay, while trials were made in the high ground to the east of the whole region, which must be thoroughly searched hereafter as soon as the *sebakh*-diggers shall have lowered it sufficiently. Wells 35 and 36 were cleared out meanwhile.

This is the chronology of the excavation. But in describing the finds made, and the conditions under which they came to light, it will be best to ignore this order, and to go over the whole area from south to north.

Thereafter the nature and character of the area and of the buildings, whose traces it was found to contain, may be discussed in the light of the evidence.

As is seen on the accompanying map, the area is bounded on the south-east and south by thin walls, that on the south not continuing far west but apparently returning north in the east half of III. d. West of the return are only faint traces of unimportant structures: but north of it is the line of a very large wall running nearly due east until lost in the denuded hollow in the centre of the area. Outside (*i.e.* south of) this great wall in the south-easternmost part of the area (40-42), we found neither constructions of any kind nor any significant objects. The deposit upon the basal mud was as much as 8 ft. deep at the extreme south under the bounding wall, and a pit was sunk 2 ft. lower still, at 42, and reached water. Just under the surface at that point was much coarse pottery and ashes mixed with late black glazed ware: and at 4½ ft. appeared sherds of local fabrics lying on the basal mud. But no inscribed fragments were found here. In this region, as is the case generally at Naukratis, a very unproductive belt of muddy sand, about 4 ft. thick, intervenes between remains of the later Ptolemaic period and those of the fifth century and earlier.

East of this point (43), and beyond the cross wall (III. d. top) the deposit was thinner, the local sherds beginning at 3 ft. down. But only close to the great E.-W. wall (39) was anything important found. Here were slight remains of a foundation made of small chips of rough limestone laid in two layers, the whole only 7 cm. thick; but it was not laid actually on the basal mud, there being a thin interval of sand containing early sherds, one inscribed with part of a dedication to Herakles (*cp. inscr. no. 3*). Immediately west of the straight edge of this foundation were two large vessels of coarse red clay imbedded in their original positions in the mud. A similar vessel was found also in the northern part of the area, in a similar relation to a stone foundation (18, 17). Immediately to the south of this point, but at a slightly higher level than the chips or vessels were scanty remains of a concrete pavement above which were found inscribed sherds, while just outside it, but so nearly at its level that it is impossible to say whether just above or just below, lay the Aphrodite Pandemos dedication (No. 107).

North of the great wall (which could not be traced much east of 39) the deposit was at first very thin, and in the corner II. c. and d., the basal mud was already exposed. But for some distance south of the line 34-1, the deposit averaged three ft, and contained (57) some faint traces of brick construction. The first point at which any considerable find of inscriptions was made, was at 34, where in the corner of a small chamber abutting west on the great enclosure wall, which runs north, a number of dedications to the Dioscuri were discovered about 2 ft. above the mud. Just south of the southern wall of this small chamber and at a similar level occurred the lamp with Dioscuri dedication (No. 57); and south again of this, up to the line of the E.-W. enclosure wall, were found (scattered partly on the surface in *sebakh*-diggers' and rubbish heaps, partly a foot or two above the mud) a few dedications to Herakles (Nos. 33, 84), mixed with stray sherds of Apollo (No. 52), Artemis? (No. 65), and others not to be identified, including the inscribed stone horse (No. 58), which like two other horses found by the *sebakh*-diggers close to this same point, lay in untouched earth almost immediately upon the mud. Good fragments of early painted pottery, mostly Naukratic, were both found by us all along this west edge of the area and brought to us by *sebakh*-diggers working close by.

To the north of the "Dioscuri chamber" between the line of its south wall, carried on to the east limit of the area, and the beginning of the constructions, marked 6, 5, 4, 3 and 8 on the plans, the deposit was very thin, having been in many places dug out almost to the basal mud. Two terra-cotta heads (Nos. 1, 21), and some early sherds were found at 18 inches above the mud. A great red granite door-jamb (1), broken in two pieces, lay on the surface, having been lowered by previous diggers from a higher level. The whole, when unbroken, would have measured 117 inches  $\times$  39½  $\times$  17½. A side has been left rough, and on the broad smoothed face are two oblong dowel or bolt holes, each 5 deep. We lowered the jamb three feet more and left it on the mud.

Immediately to the south of it was a fragment of thin wall, and traces existed of three more thin walls based on the mud a little to the north-west. But no returns appeared and, as the walls were mere cores without faces, even their direction is uncertain. Their tops were below the level of some fragments of concrete paving laid on a chip bedding at 28 inches above the mud (marked 2, 2, 2 on the plan); but under the westernmost fragment of this pavement were faint remains of a lower chip bed, only one foot above the basal mud, and separated from the upper bed by an interval of 16 inches of earth mixed with black-figure and Naukratis sherds. Below was a thin layer of burnt stuff resting on the mud. In all this region inscribed sherds turned up but rarely, and though there were obviously fragments of dedicated vessels, none found about here had preserved the name of any divinity which could be read or restored with certainty. The inscribed sherds occurred either (black-glaze fragments) in the surface rubbish or at an average of 16 to 20 inches above the mud, which is covered immediately by a patchy layer of ashes.<sup>1</sup> But the Bedawi boys who searched the rubbish heaps farther west on their own account (north and west of the well 35) brought us at one time or another many inscribed fragments of fifth, fourth and third century vessels dedicated to Aphrodite (No. 87), to "Gods of the Hellenes" (Nos. 76, 71, 77, 80, 78, 75, 81), and (one only) to Poseidon (?) (No. 62). The last named, it is worth noting, came from almost the same spot as the stone horses mentioned above (close to well 35). The well, marked 35, which was cleared in the last days of our stay, had a diameter of 3½ feet at the top. It was lined with tiles fitted in rings one within the other.<sup>2</sup> At a depth of 12 feet we began to find early sherds in the mud, but the bottom was not reached till 19 feet. On the basal sand lay rotten fragments of wood and in the last two feet of mud was found an almost perfect late black-figured Attic vase and a number of coarser jars. No inscribed sherds were obtained in this well. A great wall 27 feet thick bounds the area on the west. Immediately below the well we were successful in finding both its western and eastern face intact, but to north and south only traces remained. On the north it runs into the hillock east of the village: on the south it returns east in the great E.-W. wall described above. No such well-marked boundary limits the area on the east. The line of a passage or street is evident just west of the well-preserved structure marked 37, but its walls are thin. In all probability this passage and the structure 37 are within the great enclosure wall whose return north must be looked for in the high mounds, still unexplored to the east. Up to this point no structures had been uncovered by us from which (with the exception of the great enclosure walls) any plan could be reconstructed. It is impossible to say, however, that no traces of structures existed in this area other than these that we found and have marked on the plans. The difficulty of detecting and following brick walls in the saturated clay of Naukratis is far greater than I have experienced anywhere else, and fully bears out the words of Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gardner.<sup>3</sup> We used all possible care in the search, and now record faithfully just what we found: we can do no more.

As will be seen, however, on the plan, the extreme north of the area was found to contain more significant structures. Firstly, as we turned over the earth northwards, we came upon remains either of a platform or a foundation, or less probably of a primitive enclosure wall of brick 37 feet across north to south (8). West of this and abutting on it was a chamber (3) of which all four walls were preserved to an average height of 18 in. above the basal soil. Its bricks were in condition to be measured and were uniformly 16 in. × 4 in. They would correspond, therefore, in date (according to Mr. Petrie's canon)<sup>4</sup> with the bricks in the Great Temenos, and should be referred to the earlier half of the sixth century B.C. Inside the chamber was a layer of hammered mud 10 in. thick resting on the basal soil. The whole structure, as we found it, was below the level of the fragment of concrete pavement immediately south. Inside this chamber were found the dedication to Apollo (No. 51) and numerous fragments. Also on the mud just outside its north-west and south walls appeared many fragments of dedicated vessels, of which all that bore a divine name,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petrie in *Academy* July 16, 1887 for this earliest layer, and cf. *infra* p. 36.

Cf. *Nauk.* ii. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 9, ii. p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauk.*, i. p. 89.

which can still be read, were to the honour of Aphrodite (Nos. 54, 88, 91, 92, 93). The north wall continued a little way west of this chamber and was then lost; but after a short interval was a larger chamber (5), in which appeared a rectangular patch of fine sand inserted into the basal mud (6); the patch was 5 in. thick and 78 in. N. to S. by 66 in. E. to W. We cleared it very carefully in hope of a foundation deposit, but found only the hard mud beneath. It must have been laid under some small structure, perhaps an altar, belonging to the earliest temple in this area: the earth above and about showed signs of much disturbance, late sherds having fallen to within a few inches of the mud—a result of the extraction of the stone superstructure by the Arabs.<sup>1</sup> At the north end of this chamber occurred fragments of fifth century terracotta figurines, at an average of 10 in. above the mud level. The walls of this chamber, mere cores of mud and probably only foundation courses, were preserved only to a height of about 2 ft. As in the small chamber (3) there were remains of a floor of hammered mud. Nothing of importance was found in the very shallow layer of deposit between this chamber and the west enclosure wall.

On being pushed northwards, however, the trenches soon revealed the existence of a wall running due N. to S. along their whole length. A few inscribed fragments (Aphrodite No. 86) were found in the process of approaching it, and half the inscribed base of a limestone statuette with the feet preserved. The other half was recovered later on the north side of the long wall, and the whole proved to bear a dedication to Herakles and a new sculptor's signature, Sikon of Cyprus.

(a)

ΣΙΚΩΝ 'ΙΟΙΗΣΕ ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ  
 ΣΕΚΥΤΟΣ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ 'ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ

Σίκω[ν ἐπ]οίησε Κύπ[ριος]. Ἀριστίων Ἡρακλεῖ.

Both halves lay within a very few inches of the mud. As so often has happened to Naukratite excavators, we were forced to hack for some distance into the face of the long N. to S. wall before being assured of its being a wall at all, and thus we came to lay bare (7) three stones *in situ*, which later we found to be continued northwards by a patch of massive stone work (17) corresponding to another patch still more massive, a little to the east (16). Both these sandstone patches rest on a thin layer of earth and chips, laid on the mud. The three stones, first found, averaged 5 in. thick, and were of varying sizes, the largest 31 in. by 15 in. Their orientation was very exact, as was that of the continuations to the north, whose stones were of the same thickness. Those in the east patch (16), however, averaged 8 in. in thickness and were disposed in two courses, the uppermost course being bevelled along its straight western face. The occurrence of a large clay vessel (18) fixed in the mud within the line of the stones (17), which had been interrupted to allow it place, has been already alluded to above. A single stone and a fragment of tile apparently *in situ*, used as paving, were found much farther east at the same level, also similarly under the south face of the long wall (9).

<sup>1</sup> There were traces of disturbance in one or two other spots about here. Mr. Gardner tells me that he made some trial trenches in this region, and perhaps these disturbed spots are a result of them.

The long wall was no more than a mud core, left standing to an average height of four feet above the basal soil, on which, however, it did not rest. A thin layer of muddy sand, in which sherds and other things occurred, intervened. The same is true of the transverse walls which returned north from it. The chambers included by these, were dug out by us to the basal soil at all points from 20 to 10 (v. map). The westernmost region (21 and 32) was found to have been already dug, and to be full of loose blown sand, on the top of which the rubbish, that had been heaped by the *sebakh*-diggers, yielded some late terra-cotta fragments and one inscribed sherd (No. 50). In the next room to the east (20) was found at 12 in. above the mud a floor of hammered earth overlaid with fine plaster, part plain crimson, part crimson and white stripe, and part blue and white stripe. Only small fragments of the coloured surface were preserved, and those in terrible condition, owing to the dampness which was now increasing rapidly as we proceeded north. The earth below this flooring and above it up to the surface (4 ft.) was singularly empty of remains, and the few sherds were not earlier than fourth century.

In the next chamber (19) occurred a similar floor in a similar state, but this time overlaid with yellow and red stripe plaster. The stone foundation and the large vessel in the south east corner have already been mentioned. A notable find was made in clearing the earth out of the latter, viz. the early Warrior Relief (Pl. IX., cf. p. 65). Together with the vessel and the stones, it lay just below the level of the plaster floor. Indeed the bottom of the vessel penetrated several inches into the basal mud; but no early pottery was found in this chamber.

The next room (15) was empty of everything except the massive sand-stone foundation (16), which ran away both N. and S. under the enclosing walls. Its lower course was let down into the basal mud, and, when prized out, it left a sharply defined pit. We removed all the stones, to the number of seventeen, which were not too firmly embedded under the walls, in order to be sure that no foundation deposits underlay them. But there was no sign of anything but the uniform bed of black mud.

Room 14, however, proved the richest of all our find-spots, for in its south-east corner, immediately on the mud and partly under both walls was found a layer of fine broken terra-cottas (cf. *infra* p. 69). They were happened upon late on March 2nd, and proved very difficult to extract, being penetrated by the wet. We worked into the dark, and got out eleven heads, three only being complete, and numerous other fragments, on which blue and red pigment was for the moment very evident. The spot was guarded through the night and two more heads and a few fragments came to light next day, together with the missing half of the Sikon basis (*supra* p. 32). Remains of a conduit made of earthen pipes from 4½ to 6 in. diameter lay at a slightly higher level than the terra-cottas. The layer of terra-cottas continued spasmodically over the west end of the next chamber to the east (11), mixed with fragments of brilliant blue stucco, a few late black figure sherds and a very few inscribed bits. The later pavement was here a little higher (23 in.) above the mud than at the west and consisted of a thin layer of concrete 1½ in. thick. In this chamber we were stopped by the water, for as we proceeded north and east, approaching the line of cultivation, we soon found ourselves in sheer slime, in which lay terra-cotta fragments, now of the same lamentable consistency as the stuff in which they were embedded. The same conditions impeded us to the south-east: walls were almost indistinguishable and terra-cottas were reduced to pulp. But potsherds, of course, were not so seriously affected and it is remarkable that we found no more early ware at the eastern end of this long wall than at the western. Two terra-cotta heads of greater solidity than usual were our only significant finds beyond the point marked 9 on the plan, if we except three inscribed sherds found in the surface rubbish beyond 54, one dedicated to Apollo (No. 52), one to Aphrodite, and one bearing three characters of the Cypriote script (No. 114).<sup>1</sup>

With the line of wall, which bounds this row of chambers on the north, we reached the limit of the deeper clearance made by the *sebakh*-diggers. In front of us rose a bank of débris averaging 16 ft. in height from the basal soil. The stratification of it (just north of 14) was on this wise. In the first foot of slime above the mud were remains of terra-cottas, red-figure and other late fifth century sherds; above this was the line of a flooring laid on fragments of coarse plaster; above this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nauk.* I. p. 36 for Cypriote influence on this site.

lay 7 ft. of packed sand containing no remains whatever : above this appeared in section on the face of the cutting a stratum of limestone chips : 2 feet above this on the western part of the face (30) a second and thinner stratum of chips, but on the eastern face nothing but sand, mixed with a few sherds and terra-cotta fragments, until at 14½ ft. above the mud appeared a thick stratum of concrete laid on chips, 7 in. thick, which was not, like the other chip layers, partial only, but seems to have extended all over the northernmost part of the site : lastly above this were from one to three feet of rubbish, mostly an accumulation of sherds, terra-cotta fragments &c., thrown away by the *sebakh*-diggers, and almost all of Roman period. The same diggers had driven some headings into this mass, and in particular had opened a long passage leading due north between two fairly well-preserved walls (28). We found returning walls to the east of this, also well-preserved, at a height of 14 ft. above the mud level, and proceeded to make sinkings into the chambers that they enclosed, while at the same time we were working from the south also into the face. In the northernmost chamber (27) the water filtering in from the field close by soon stopped us, after we had cleared about 10 ft. from the west wall to a depth of 8 ft. or thereabouts. A little hollow Bes figure in thin beaten gold was found among the surface rubbish here, but nothing else beyond amphora handles, coarse sherds, and fragments of unimportant terra-cottas of Roman date. No pavement was met with. In the larger room to the south (26) we were able to clear the whole to a certain depth. Here was no pavement and the walls did not go down below a point about 8 ft. above the basal level. On the surface lay the usual Roman rubbish : then nothing but sand, until at 7 ft. above the basal level late Greek sherds appeared, one or two bearing inscriptions. Two feet lower we were in the water and had to desist. The next chamber to the south (25) was very small : here we came on the concrete pavement, 7 in. thick, seen on the south face of the cutting at 8 ft. above the mud. In the region to the east of these chambers (23) we made no attempt to get down, knowing that water would stop us long before we could approach the basal mud.

On the south face, however, we were still able to work our way inwards on the basal mud level or some little distance north of the northern wall of the first row of chambers. At the west end of the cutting (31, 30) we found by so doing absolutely nothing of significance, and not a single early sherd. But farther east we were better rewarded, though the lowest stratum was no better than slime. In the space marked 14*a*, between which and the chamber 14, we never satisfactorily established the existence of any wall, the layer of Vth century terra-cotta fragments continued just above the level of plaster bedding mentioned above. With the fragments were also found, in 14*a*, many pieces of a very fine late red-figured Attic vase.

Into the adjoining chamber to the east (12) the terra-cotta stratum continued till it perished in slime and water. We were not able to recover anything from this latter chamber in sufficiently good preservation to be of any use ; and the same must be said of the next two chambers to the north (22, 13) divided from 14 and 12 and from each other by walls not going down within 7 ft. of the mud. From the westernmost (22), when already in standing water, we dredged up one fine bit of early Naukratite painted ware ; but a whole day's further dredging resulted in no further discovery.

It was now obvious that we could do no more good with the very little that was left of the mounds to the north. The cultivated land just beyond them was, during all our stay, in a condition of perpetual inundation, the waste water from a large area collecting here and forming a small marsh. To this fact and the circumstance that the walls in this part of the mound do not go down to hard mud, but leave an interval through which the water permeates readily, is owed the excessive dampness. As only the lowest strata were at all productive we did not trouble to clear the upper any more than has already been described.

Nothing more remains to be related concerning the exploration of this "North-eastern Area" except the clearing of a large well (36) immediately west of it, on the eastern edge of the hollow region already cleared to and even below the basal mud by the previous excavators. This well had a diameter of 71 inches inside measurement, and was found to have perfectly straight walls lined with large tiles nearly 4 inches thick, not laid in rings as is the usual case with Naukratite wells, but flush. There were no footholds in the sides. We cleared it of its slime, finding the bottom at 24 ft. which would be equivalent to 22 ft. below the basal mud level. The results were disappointing : neither good inscribed nor painted pottery was found in this well, but several coarse jugs and

amphorae (one with  $\Sigma\Phi\Omega$  painted on its side) lay at the bottom, together with a boar's skull, early local sherds, fragments of two Isis terra-cottas (v. infra. p. 85 and pl. XII. No. 127) part of a heavy iron collar, and some stone weights.

It is obvious that we have to do in this "North-eastern Area" with remains of more than one structure and more than one epoch. The important part is evidently that contained within the great enclosure of which we found the broken west and south sides. The rest of the area, *i.e.* the extension of it south of that enclosure, contained no remains of any significance: the walls found there were such as are appropriate to houses; and the inscribed sherds were so few and various as to warrant no other inference than that they were stragglers from the enclosures to the north and south-west.

With regard to the main part of the Area it must first be remarked that it was obviously a single enclosure from the earliest times. No wall of sufficient size to be that of a temenos, other than those described above, has left any traces of itself. The Enclosure walls west and south are based actually on the mud with (so far as we could see) no underlying rubbish at all; but immediately within them occur the earliest sherds. Yet the Enclosure walls also agree so well with the late structure to the north that it would appear that the latter was built with reference to them.

In the south-western corner of this Enclosure we found scanty remains of a structure, shown by the bricks of one of its chambers to belong to the earlier half of the sixth century. Together with the Enclosure wall it is probably contemporary with the first settlement of Greeks at Naukratis. The traces of a large brick platform, noted at 8 (map), seem to belong to the same structure, as does probably also the granite jamb (1). To the same period, though it is impossible to say if to the same structure, must be referred the sandstone patches at 7, 17, 16 and the earthen vessel (18) which contained the sandstone Warrior relief. Here we have remains of an important stone structure, accurately orientated, and uniform with the great enclosure wall.

Immediately above the level of the ruined wall-tops of this period in the south of the enclosure we found remains of a pavement resting on early local and black-figured sherds. This must have been laid down in the fifth century. Close by on the north we find the long east-west wall which rests on a thin layer of rubbish, referable at latest to the middle of

the same century, and bounds chambers, whose pavements over-lie early remains, but have above them terra-cottas and red-figure sherds of the later fifth century. It is natural therefore to connect this structure with the concrete fragments to the south, and to see in it remains of a mud-brick building which in the fifth century was superimposed on a pre-existing sandstone structure.

To the north, however, of this as well as at a point to the south-east (37) we have considerable remains at an altogether higher level. They over-lie the thick belt of unproductive sand which seems to cover the earlier strata at many points on the site.<sup>1</sup> This belt of empty sand is a very curious feature, and can be due to one of two agencies only, either drift acting during a long period of desolation, or artificial human labour. It is hard to credit the first alternative. At what period after the middle or end of the fifth century is it possible that Naukratis could have lain for a long term of years desolate or nearly so?<sup>2</sup> We know that Cleomenes, the governor left in Egypt by Alexander in 331 B.C., was born at Naukratis. Put his birth about 360 at latest and no sufficient interval for such accumulation can be said to divide that date from the period at which Herodotus visited the place. It is possible, indeed probable, that Naukratis declined greatly after 331, which year saw the foundation of the new Greek emporium, Alexandria; but Mr. Petrie established the fact that Naukratis was issuing an autonomous coinage under the first Ptolemy,<sup>3</sup> while the foundation deposits found in the "Great Temenos" belong to the second king of that name. The historical probabilities are all against any great break in the continuity of Naukratite prosperity.

Nor is the second alternative a very easy one to credit, but it is easier than the first. To find a motive for a great artificial heaping of sand over the remains of early buildings we must remember that the level of the Delta cultivation, and therefore of the water, steadily rises. Both are now about 10 ft. (at the least) higher than when the Greeks came to Naukratis.<sup>4</sup> The deposit on those parts of the mounds, that were covered by houses, might

<sup>1</sup> We established its existence also at the S. of our "north area" 39-42-40 where the *sebakh*-diggers had not worked so low as in the centre. It appeared everywhere to the N.E. and was present also in the region 46-49 on the west.

<sup>2</sup> The argument as to the great decline or even temporary abandonment of the site in the late fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. based by Mr. Petrie on the fact that he did not find red-figured ware, has been disposed of this season by our finding plenty of red-figured sherds of all periods.

<sup>3</sup> *Nauk.* i. pp. 8, 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 10.



have kept pace with this rise, or even exceeded it,<sup>1</sup> as is the case to this day with Egyptian villages; but the Temple areas would fall behind and become wet hollows, such as may be seen on many sites now, *e.g.* Tell Ferain *i.e.* Buto. Naukratis, it must be remembered, is, and must always have been, a very low site, little raised above the flood level. The increasing evil of dampness in the public places was probably not dealt with during the last century of Persian rule in the Delta, which was marked by a succession of great revolts; but Ptolemaic builders, on taking in hand the restoration of earlier buildings and the resuscitation of the towns, (as we know they did resuscitate them everywhere in Egypt, notably in the Fayûm), could not avoid the obligation to solve the water difficulty at Naukratis, and ere restoring the Hellenion and other temples, were obliged to provide a new and dry bed.<sup>2</sup> To those restorers therefore we may ascribe conjecturally the artificial covering of so much of the site with a layer of dry sandy earth,<sup>3</sup> upon which was erected in the great enclosure at the north of the town the building whose foundations we found 8 feet above the original basal mud, with flooring at different levels, the most general and important being 6½ feet above the base of the foundations. This building was as accurately orientated as the structure below it, and like the latter it seems to have been contained within the great enclosure of earlier date. The natural inference is that it was a Ptolemaic restoration, designed to serve the same purpose and to bear the same character as the building it superseded.

Unfortunately the *sebakhin* on the one hand and the cultivators on the other, had left us but a fragment of the whole. We found among the top rubbish here a bit of an Ionic cap with part of its volute, originally 3½ inches in diameter. This perhaps belonged to the Ptolemaic temple. The fragmentary ground plans recovered by us of these different structures are inconclusive: on such a site they could hardly be otherwise. The best that can be said for them is that they reproduce more vestiges of construction than our predecessors found in any of the neighbouring *temenê*. Probability suggests that all public structures in Naukratis faced west towards the line of the navigable canal.<sup>4</sup> In that case we have found the southern wall of a fifth century temple with a line of chambers within it and

<sup>1</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the chambers without doors or windows, found in the 'Great Temenos' by Mr. Petrie, were designed to counteract dampness rather than human foes.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Mr. Petrie's inference as to the bed of the Apollo Temple *Nauk.* i. p. 12, and Mr. Gardner's as to the artificial raising of the local Aphrodite shrine, *Nauk.* ii. p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauk.* i. 12, ii. 11.

probably a long passage to the north of them. Beyond this point we could not penetrate at the required level. Of the Ptolemaic temple on the higher level we can say nothing more than that it was perhaps of the Ionic order<sup>1</sup> and partly built of stone and that it also contained on its south side a number of small chambers disposed along a passage.

The arrangement of both structures recalls rather the Graeco-Egyptian temples of the Fayûm towns, *e.g.* Dionysias (Qasr Qerûn), Karanis (Kum Ushim) and Bacchias<sup>2</sup> (Umm el Atl), than purely Hellenic shrines.

I have assumed that we are dealing in this area with Temples. The existence of an enclosure wall; the expensive construction of certain buildings in stone; the accurate orientation; and most of all the quantity of dedicated sherds and remains of *ex-voto* terracottas—these features combine to render a sacred character not doubtful. That these were temples of Greek Gods all the objects go to prove, but of what gods? Unlike Mr. Petrie who found within one of his enclosures dedications to the Dioscuri only, and within another dedications only to Apollo, we have found within our enclosure dedications to several gods.

In the south-west was a "pocket" of dedications, of which the six, that have preserved their inscriptions, are in honour of the *Dioscuri*. Messrs. Petrie and Gardner also published six specimens from their "Dioscuri Temenos" situated immediately to the west of ours.

In and about the chamber numbered 3 on the plans we found a number of dedications to *Aphrodite*. A few stragglers from other parts of the area, of which one, the best cut of all our inscriptions, qualifies the goddess as *Pandemos*, swell the total. These can have no connection with the small and probably native Aphrodite-shrine dug by Mr. Gardner, whose site lies nearly a quarter of a mile distant. And we have not only inscribed sherds to attest the existence of a shrine of Aphrodite in the north area, but a quantity of terracottas of Aphrodite type and a pedestal shown us by an Arab as having been found in that region.

(b) Pedestal in hard blue limestone, 68 x 27 x 15 cm. Complete.

ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ  
ΤΕΡΦΗΙΟ  
ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΟΣ  
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ

Δεινόμαχος Τερφήϊο(υ) Μυτιληναῖος Ἀφροδίτη.

<sup>1</sup> Like the temple of the Milesian Apollo hard by. *Nauk.* i. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> v. forthcoming volume on the Fayûm to be issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch.

These sherds and terracottas cover a period of nearly two centuries. That there should have been at least two seats of Aphrodite worship at Naukratis is only what we should have expected from the statements of its townsman Athenaeus (xiii. 596 b., xv. 675 f.). The place was notorious for its devotion to the Goddess of light love about whom the Naukratite Polycharmos composed a book, and for the beauty of the local devotees of her cult. Perhaps the extraordinary quantity of indecent terracottas and stone images, which the site still yields, is due to the prevalence of her worship. The place must have been the Port Said of antiquity!

*Apollo* is represented by stray sherds found all through the area but especially towards the south-west. The most notable is the early dedication, no. 51, found in chamber 3.

*Herakles*, whose dedications have not been previously recognised at Naukratis, is honoured on a statuette base found south of chamber 3, and on several sherds, scattered from that point southwards to the extremity of the area.

*Zeus* has two dedications on stone (*Nauk.* ii. 12, 13, and 1, 2) previously found at Naukratis.

*Poseidon?* and *Artemis?* are represented by a very doubtful dedication apiece; but it is probable that also the early stone horses (v. *supra* p. 30 and pl. XIV. nos. 10, 11) were offered to the former.

There remain a series of dedications, found for the most part in the south-western part of the Area between chambers 3 and 34, and unique in their ascription. The formula appears to be Θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων or Ἑλληνίοις with variants. No one sherd unfortunately has preserved the whole dedication, but on one or another we have full warrant for it. Seventeen different fragmentary dedications bear some part of a word with root Ἑλλην—; and how many more, which show parts of indecisive words like ἀνέθηκεν, originally bore the same full formula it is now impossible to judge. Probably one sherd found by Mr. Petrie (*Nauk.* i. p. 62, No. 690) is to be referred to the same series.

## II.—OTHER PARTS OF THE MOUND.

As has already been stated, the centre of the Gaif mounds is a vast hollow dug out to, or even below, the level of the basal mud, and in parts

permanently flooded. This large central region (indicated on the map by a ground-tint) is finished so far as archaeological exploration goes: Messrs. Petrie and Gardner extracted from it the last evidence of its ancient character and history that will ever be recovered.

There are left, therefore, after their and our excavations (1) a thin belt of mound extending all the length of the site on the west, (2) an irregular tract at the extreme south, contained between the central hollow and the area of the "Great Temenos," now all under cultivation, (3) an isolated patch of high mound on the north-east, bounded west by our excavations and on all other sides by cultivation, and about equal in extent to what I have called the "North-eastern Area."

1. The long western strip was trenched by us, as by Messrs. Petrie, Griffith and Gardner, at various points from the edge of the village on the north to near the point marked "Roman brick-work." Mr. Petrie, whose trenches revealed nothing clear in this region, conjectured that the line of the ancient canal ran at the west edge of the Mound, and that for some distance east it was faced by a row of warehouses, shops and the like, while behind these rose the shrines in the *temené* of the different gods, situated in what is now the central hollow. So far as our equally unsatisfactory trenching went it supported this conjecture. Beginning from the north, our trenches were sunk near the points 45, 46-49, and 50 (*v.* the map). At 45 a bit of a late Ptolemaic dedication and two inscribed sherds had been found on or near the surface by *sebakh*-diggers.

(c) Fragment of marble slab, broken left;‡

ΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΘΕΟ///Σ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ

Comparing inscription (c) *infra*, I restore

Ἀνέθηκεν Ἀκρά]τητος  
τοῖς συννάοις] θεο[ί]ς·  
..... καὶ] Διονύσῳ.

For the dedicator's name cf. Pape, *s.v.*

Accordingly I had a series of pits sunk 8 feet to the hard mud north and south of the E.W. wall shown at this point in the map: but they led us to no conclusion. Between this point and 46 are signs of several thin walls. From 46-49 we sank sixteen pits and trenches. Generally we came on early sherds at from 10 to 20 inches only below the actual surface: at 15 to 20 inches further down we were in hard mud entirely empty of antiquities. The general surface in this region is well below the cultivation level, but just west and south of 48-49 rise high mounds with a straight cut face. In these could be seen a line of chips resting on sand at 5½ feet above our average surface, and above it a layer of Roman remains, burnt bricks &c. about 3 feet thick. The 5½ feet of sand under the chips seemed to be absolutely empty of sherds. Except some early sherds we found nothing significant in all this region. Two inscribed fragments (one to Hera), found at the edge of the hollow near 46, were in the surface rubbish and probably stragglers from further east.

Beyond the high ground to the south of these trenches we made trial of the deposit again, but in several pits reached water almost at once—from three to five feet down—and the lower mud was absolutely empty of antiquities. On the surface lay late sherds and fragments of poor character, and just under it a little early Naukratite ware. In one place (just west of the well 50) was a

considerable layer of burnt stuff, just below the surface, containing numerous blue paste and stone amulets,—*Bes* figurines, eyes, hawks, etc. of poor quality. The walls found were very thin and poor, and so rotten that even their direction could not be made out. The impression created by the result of all the trenching here, over an area of about 200 feet north to south, was of house and shop remains of poor quality. The well, marked 50, was cleared by us to the bottom at 26 feet from the surface. It is 50 inches in diameter and lined with tiles disposed in rings. It proved richer in pottery than the other two wells cleared by us, producing fragments of figured Naukratite vases from 12 to 14 feet down (v. *infra* p. 59 and Pl. VII. 1), and four inscribed sherds from the very bottom (No. 41 and three small fragments) as well as large coarse pots, goat and ibex horns, stone weights, and a piece of a small and interesting early stone figure.

2. South of this point both Mr. Gardner and Mr. Petrie (or Mr. Griffith, according to the Arabs), had trenched over a considerable tract: and, that passed, the southern region is reached where no one has yet found anything but Egyptian remains. Large numbers of *sebakh*-diggers were at work here daily, and we observed not a single exception during our stay to the rule that everything found by them in the pre-Roman strata south of the line dividing VII. and VIII. (v. map) would be of non-Greek character. Mr. Petrie, in writing to me, bore the same witness, "I found nothing but Egyptian south of Aphrodite" (*i.e.*, the Aphrodite temple cleared by Mr. Gardner). We were often pressed to dig hereabouts, especially in IX. X. d, (v. map) where the weekly market is held, but the inducement held out was always a story of a find of Egyptian bronzes. We bought a considerable number of such bronzes found in this part of the mound, and some inscribed objects, a sistrum handle in fine blue ware, bearing the rather rare cartouche of Psammetichus III, but none of the texts are more than fragments of conventional formulæ. To the east (VII., VIII., IX., b,) the mounds are still high, despite the daily visits of Prince Hussein's carts, and there only late Roman stuff is found. In VIII., IX, c. a considerable tract has been levelled lately, and an attempt has been made to cultivate it. In VII. d. was a little untouched earth within two walls of an early chamber (51), and, excavating it, we found a good many early sherds with inscriptions, some to Aphrodite. They are doubtless stragglers from Mr. Gardner's temple hard by. The base of these walls was in water, a proof how greatly the dampness has risen since our predecessors' time. In the surface rubbish round about lay many scarab moulds, remains of Mr. Petrie's "Scarab factory."

3. The encroachment of the cultivation from the eastward upon the centre of the site has absorbed all the eastern fringe of unexcavated deposit shown in Mr. Petrie's map (*Nauk.* i. pl. 40), except in the north-east corner. Here is at present the highest part of the Mound, rising at its outer north-eastern edge from 10 to 12 feet above the cultivated area, *i.e.*, about 20 feet on an average above the basal mud level. This mound, however, has been largely reduced, and is some 12 feet lower at the eastern limit of our excavation (54, 55, 37, 53). At a point on its southern face we found a party of *sebakh*-diggers hacking into the remains of an early house (44), with small rooms based on the mud. They found here the fragments of a fine figured Fikellura vase (cp. *infra* p. 60 and pl. VII. 2), and we, continuing their work for some little distance further into the cliff, opened out a room in two of whose corners were coarse amphoræ built into the thickness of the walls, one containing remains of bronze household utensils, and the other some stone weights. We got also from the lowest stratum hard by some bits of inscribed vases, but no certain dedications. It was not, however, worth our while to push far into a cliff, some 15 feet high and hard as iron, to get only house remains. Not far away to the east (38), at a much higher level, another party of *sebakh*-diggers came on a coarse concrete floor, upon which at different times they found terra-cotta fragments of the Ptolemaic period, and a shallow limestone trough or oblong basin,<sup>1</sup> measuring 26 in. × 18 × 4, scored in the centre with herringbone incisions (perhaps to represent corn), and roughly inscribed round two sides of the rim in lettering of the second century B.C.

#### (d) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ

The flooring may be conjectured, therefore, to be that of a Ptolemaic shrine of Demeter. The scanty sherds found hereabouts were also of the same period. Terra-cotta heads of the second and

<sup>1</sup> Left at Ghizeh.

third centuries were found by *sebakh*-diggers in this neighbourhood, and it appeared to be from the highest levels of this north-eastern region that the greater part of the late terra-cottas (largely of Tanagra type or phallic), and other Ptolemaic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman objects, sold to us during our stay, were derived.

The few remaining lapidary inscriptions are subjoined.

(ε) Syenite basis broken L.

ΝΑΚΡΑΤΗΤΟΣ

Ἀνέθηκεν Ἀκράτητος.

Cf. supra ε, which is of the same period, perhaps the same dedicator.

(ζ) Marble fragment broken all sides.

IL  
ΠΔΕΠ/

(ε) Sandstone fragment, broken all sides.

ΝΙΚ  
Σ  
ΔΥΜ

(δ) Limestone fragment broken all sides.

ΑΣ  
ΤΑΤ  
ΚΑ

(j) Small stele with pediment.

⊙////ΟΜ  
ΤΥ  
Γ

(δ) Limestone fragment broken at bottom. In the centre a design of circles between the points of a star. On the right edge ΜΟΣΑΙ////. On the left . . . ΙΗ.

(i) Fragment of soapstone, scratched on both sides. On the obverse appear ΞΕΝ - ΕΡ - ΑΜΦΙΑΤΟΣ - Η. On the reverse Μ - ΟΣΤΥΡ - Χ - ΛΙΡ.

### III.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The main fact, which our exploration has established, is the existence of a great *temenos* partly preserved in the northern part of the Mounds, to the east of the line of *temenē* explored by our predecessors, and containing remains of three successive temples in stone and brick of three periods from the sixth century to Ptolemaic. Its western enclosing wall is at least 27 feet thick; the fragment of its southern wall, now much perished, is not less massive. We have cleared the enclosed space for 350 feet in a northerly direction, and only reached the southern edge of the main buildings contained in the area. The northern limit in all probability still lies far distant under the cultivation. Of the return of the southern wall on the east we have found as yet no sign.

This temenos, therefore, is much larger than any other on the site except the great enclosure at the southern extremity, called by Mr. Petrie the "Hellenion." The largest of the other northern *temené*, the so-called "*Heraion*," is roughly 300 feet square, and its walls are 10 feet thick. On the west of the Mounds there is not room for any *temenos* at all equal to ours in extent; and, as a matter of fact, exploration has shown that probably for the most part that quarter was occupied by shops and houses. The southern region produces Egyptian remains only. The centre has been explored thoroughly and the nature of its buildings has been determined in the main. Such part of the Mounds on the North-east as is still unexcavated will contain little more than the south-eastern angle of our Temenos.

This precinct, therefore, is by far the largest and most important that has been found, or apparently can ever have existed, at the Greek end of the site. The only other enclosure of greater or equal size is Mr. Petrie's "Great Temenos" situated far from the region where Greek things are found, at the farther side of the remains of an Egyptian quarter. If that precinct were nevertheless Greek, and indeed the principal Greek precinct, it would be contrary to such reasonable expectation, as may be based on the invariable distinction of populations by race or faith into separate self-contained quarters in eastern towns. To reach the southern precinct the Greek traders, coming from the sea, would have had to sail past their compatriots' quarter and penetrate through the streets of the Egyptians. And, as a matter of fact, that southern precinct, searched from end to end by Mr. Petrie, yielded nothing Greek, but only what was Egyptian. The large structure, whose remains were explored in the southern part of the enclosure, was not only not Greek, but had not apparently any sacred character. No one who looks at its plan will fail to agree with Mr. Petrie's view that it was nothing but a fort. Everything found within the building, as well as in the whole enclosure and the tract north of it for some distance, was incontestably Egyptian, and whether it was a Saite camp of observation, designed to overawe the alien quarter to the north, or a market area, or a religious *temenos*, we may be sure that it was an Egyptian foundation, probably of Psammetichus I, restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus I.

Rather than that, then our North-eastern Temenos, ought to be the "Hellenion" of Herodotus, the "largest, most famous and most frequented"

of the *temené* in the Greek settlement of Naukratis. We have shown that our Temenos had certainly a religious character and that everything found in it is Greek, ranging from the sixth century downwards. If the words of Herodotus (ii. 178) are taken to mean<sup>1</sup> (though it is unnecessary to interpret them so) that the *Agora*, of which the nine founders of the "Hellenion" were privileged to supply the *πρόσταται*, was held within the precinct, there is ample room for it. If, however, it was held outside, then the doubtful neighbouring area called the "Heraion" would supply a not unlikely site.

Is there, however, any more positive evidence that our Area is the Hellenion? We found a large number of dedications to various Greek deities within the single Enclosure, and it would appear that certain of these deities were specially associated with particular spots; for our Aphrodite and our Dioscuri dedications occurred in distinct "pockets." It seems not improbable that here we have traces of a practice of honouring individual gods at shrines or 'Treasures' situated in a common precinct, which explains the extraordinary excess of vase fragments with dedicatory inscriptions found at Naukratis, over those found on any other Greek site. It was necessary in fact, if you would have the reward of your *ex-voto* to a particular god, to specify his name. Hence a fashion which spread to all shrines in the place, *e.g.* to the little native Aphrodite temple far off at the southern end of the Greek quarter. Our sherds nos. 57, 107, 1 and 30, inscribed before the potters' process was complete, show that vases were made to order in Naukratite shops.

But of most significance are the dedications *θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων*. It is impossible not to connect these with the *Ἑλλήνιου*. Whatever the precise significance of this unique formula of dedication or of the unique name of the greatest Greek Precinct in Naukratis, they go together; and the occurrence of so many relics of vases so dedicated within our Temenos practically completes the evidence that it is the Temenos called by Herodotus the "Hellenion."

What does the name *Hellenion* signify exactly? According to strict Greek usage it ought to be the title of a sanctuary of a certain god, or gods, qualified as *Ἑλλήνιος* or *Ἑλλήνιοι*. Mr. Edgar compares (*infra* p. 55) the oath sworn in Hdt. v. 49. and 92 by the *θεοί Ἑλλήνιοι*: and there can be no doubt that the *Hellenion* was the Precinct rather of these gods

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 209.



than of Zeus Hellenios. This epithet, applied either to a group of gods or to Zeus, is very rarely alluded to in ancient literature. In the plural it occurs only in the two passages cited above from Herodotus, which are both found in speeches in which Greeks are urged to remember a common nationality. It was appropriate enough under the circumstances of Naukratis. The dedicatory formula on our sherds must be a vulgar but not unnatural variant or corruption of *θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλληνίοις*; and perhaps some of the mutilated inscriptions should be so restored.

To the discussion of the question of the date at which Greeks first settled at Naukratis we make a destructive contribution by urging the inconclusiveness of the archaeological evidence. Mr. Edgar states our position in regard to this below (p. 47). One further point may be noticed here. We found the south of the site to have been occupied exclusively by an Egyptian town with no Greek *temené* within it. What is the date of this town? prior or posterior to the Greek settlement? No hieroglyphic text found there has given us its name, and at present the *terminus ad quem* of the cartouches on its scarabs or other objects is the reign of Psammetichus I. Some day foundation deposits may be lighted on under the angles of the 'Great Temenos' which will go far to decide the question: but for the present we can only urge the improbability that Amasis should have allowed the Greeks to settle on a site which had no Egyptian garrison. Considering his original attitude to these aliens (Hdt. ii. 169) we may fairly regard his "concession" of Naukratis as a prudent measure of concentration, almost amounting to the repression of a dangerous element, which should no longer be allowed to penetrate at will into the Delta, but be confined to one spot within easy striking distance of Sais. The "Great Temenos" of Mr. Petrie is in all likelihood what remains of the Egyptian camp of observation, designed to watch the populous northern suburb; and is at least contemporary with the beginnings of the latter. How much earlier the Egyptian town<sup>1</sup> may be, it is not possible yet to say.

The literary evidence on this matter of the foundation has been so exhaustively treated by Prof. G. Hirschfeld (*Rhein. Mus.* xlii. p. 209) that we confine ourselves to the archaeological data. It is possible, if Strabo's Inaros be taken to be some unknown individual (p. 801), to reconcile his statements with those of Herodotus, by supposing that the Milesians came

<sup>1</sup> The view of the pre-existence of an Egyptian town at Naukratis is at least as old as Smith's *Dict. of Geog.*, s.v.

alone before Amasis and founded their single Precinct of Apollo and that round that other Precincts were laid out by later settlers. But neither our spades nor those of our predecessors have turned up any relics of Greek Naukratis which in our opinion need be earlier than the date which the words of Herodotus, interpreted naturally, seem to ascribe to the first settlement of Hellenes—about 570 B.C.

The results of our trenching in the long western strip, added to the experience of our predecessors, have left us little stomach for further exploration in that shallow and unproductive region. The southern tract remains to be excavated by some one interested in the Egyptian town, which in all probability was existing before the Greek traders were allowed by Amasis to found their large suburb to the north. The north-eastern corner of the Mound, however, ought to be further explored by us with as little delay as possible. The great enclosure, in which we dug, seems to be continued eastward: the Demeter basin proves the existence of at least one shrine of later times in the area yet undug: the highest strata are very productive. It is, however, the lowest stratum that best repays expenditure at Naukratis, and this lies here, as elsewhere on the site, below a thick belt of hard sand. The *sebakh*-diggers are at work on the upper strata every day, and their labours, ere another year or two years have passed, will have greatly lessened the task that awaits the scientific excavator in this region; but they will also have diminished his gains.

In another quarter a rich return might be expected for a liberal expenditure of money. The Arab village which lies, not on the Mound, but very close to it on the north, certainly covers the site of a cemetery, other than the small Hellenistic one explored in 1884 and now destroyed. Mr. Gardner sank pits on this mound and satisfied himself that it contained burials; and there was brought to us a limestone grave-relief of not bad period and style, found by an Arab of the superjacent village below his house. Any one who will find the money to expropriate this village will in all likelihood discover beneath it tombs from the sixth century onwards and a rich treasure of broken vases and terracottas.

## B.

## THE INSCRIBED AND PAINTED POTTERY.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

§ 1.—All archæological scholars are familiar with the splendid find of Greek pottery which we owe to Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gardner, and with the incised dedications on which are preserved the handwriting and names of the early inhabitants of Naukratis. Those interested in either subject will find in the following pages some additional material selected from the results of the recent excavation.

But before proceeding to describe this material in detail I wish to say something of a more general character concerning the question to what date the early Greek remains at Naukratis are to be assigned, and whether the results of excavation confirm or disprove the well-known statements of Herodotus regarding the origin of the Greek settlement. The problem as to the age of Naukratis is of archæological as well as of historical interest, because so few Greek antiquities earlier than 550 B.C. have as yet been satisfactorily dated.

## I.

Mr. Petrie (*Naukr.* i.), supported by Mr. Gardner (*id.* i. and ii.), argued that the Greeks had settled in Naukratis and founded temples there as early at least as 630 B.C., and that, among other things, the fabric of pottery which is now known as Naukratite had been started by about 620 B.C. These conclusions, although contested at the time, appear to be generally acquiesced in. They are accepted for example by M. Joubin in a discussion of Naukratite art (*B.C.H.* 1895, p. 80 ff.), and by M. Perrot in the latest volume of his *magnum opus*, and made to serve as chronological data. If one inquires into the evidence on which this confidence is reposed, it will be found to consist almost entirely of certain careful observations made by Mr. Petrie during the excavations of 1885. Let me begin by restating them.

Near the temple of Aphrodite, not then identified, Mr. Petrie discovered a large hoard of glazed scarabs and clay moulds which he concluded to be anterior to Amasis because the name of that king is not found among them, while the names of his predecessors are more or less common. He concluded also that at least a large number of these scarabs must have been made by Greeks, because many of the hieroglyphs are blundered and many of the designs are not Egyptian, "but are distinctly done by men more familiar with Greek vase-painting than with hieroglyphics." Further, together with these scarabs was found a good deal of painted Greek pottery, most of which was of Naukratite fabric (*Naukr.* i. p. 23). "But this scarab factory is not the oldest thing in the town. Two feet beneath it—and two feet take half a century to accumulate on an average—there is a burnt stratum, which underlies all the south half of the town. Everything out of this stratum is distinctly Greek and not Egyptian, and there is no trace of Egyptian remains in the earlier parts in question."

That, I think, is the sum of what is essential. *Naukr.* i. chap. 3 contains a great many additional notes on the levels at which various kinds of pottery were found; but these do not affect the question before us. Let me record in passing the only observation of this sort that I had occasion to make at Naukratis: on a spot at the north end of the site, within a few feet of each other, were found some hundred fragments of the early Naukratite class, some black-figured ware, and several red-figured kylikes,—all within a few feet of each other, and at exactly the same level.

From Mr. Petrie's description of the burnt stratum, it follows that there was a Greek element of some sort in Naukratis in the seventh century. I cannot but think, however, that his words give an exaggerated impression as regards the *quantity* of Greek remains in the south part of the town. Among the scores of antiquities of all periods that were dug up daily all over the south end of the site during our stay, we did not obtain a single fragment of early Greek work. Almost everything was Egyptian; there were Egyptian relics of the 26th Dynasty; but not a scrap of early Greek pottery was to be found south of the temple of Aphrodite.

The Greek pottery found in the burnt stratum is described, *Naukr.* i. p. 22. It is sufficient to note that the rather insignificant list does not include any of the fine painted Naukratite ware.

As to the deposit of scarabs and glazed ware, Mr. Petrie argues, (1) that the manufacture collapsed shortly after the accession of Amasis, and that

in fact its collapse was due to that event; (2) that for some time previous to this it had been in the hands of the Greeks. The first of these conclusions appears to be well grounded, but the second is more than doubtful. It is a false assumption that everything in Naukratis that is not Egyptian must be Greek, and surely this mongrel fabric cannot be Greek. The similar glazed ware found at Kameiros has always been ascribed to the Phoenicians,<sup>1</sup> and the fact, or probability, that the home of the fabric was in Naukratis is in perfect accord with this view. That the Phoenicians had a footing in Naukratis at an early period is proved independently by the numerous *Tridacna* shells,<sup>2</sup> both wrought and unwrought, that have been discovered there.

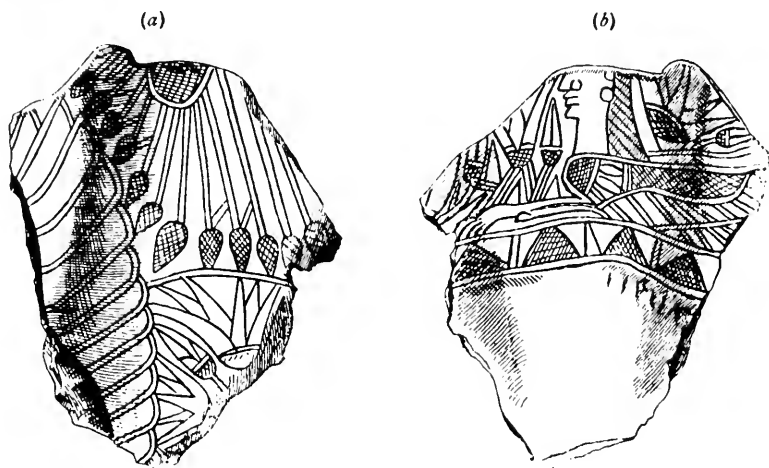


FIG. 1 (size  $\frac{3}{8}$ ).

It is quite true that we find in Naukratis a certain amount of blue glazed ware, "Egyptian porcelain," which is purely Greek in style e.g. fragments of vases with Greek figures in relief. But this is a late fabric, and has no connection with the early ware from the scarab factory. It is true also that among the non-Egyptian glazed ware found at Naukratis and Kameiros there are one or two motives which are part of the

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, vol. iii. pp. 674 ff.; Boehlau, *Ion. v. Ital. Nekr.*, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Naukr.* i. p. 35. Besides several unwrought *Tridacna* shells we obtained this year two more incised fragments, the larger of which is shown above (Fig. 1). The design in the interior (b) recurs on the specimen from Canino in the Br. Mus.; with the exterior pattern (a) cf. *Naukr.* i. Pl. XX. 16a. I cannot agree with M. Perdrizet who would assign the incised shells to an Assyrian fabric (*B.C.H.* 1896, p. 605), although it is admittedly true (as of many other Phoenician products) that most of the patterns and motives are derived from Assyrian art.

stock-in-trade of archaic Greek art, *e.g.* the seated lion and the browsing goat. But these are commonplaces in Phoenician art also, and are in fact a main element in the likeness between the figure friezes on the Kameiros "porcelain" and those on the bronze bowls of Nineveh and Cyprus.

The fact that a good deal of Naukratite pottery was found along with the scarabs is far from being a proof that the two were contemporary. It is clear that this pottery was part of the refuse from the neighbouring temple of Aphrodite discovered in the following season. One of the fragments in fact bore a dedication to Aphrodite (*Naukr.* i. pl. v. 37); and this year again, near the same spot, we found among a great number of scarab moulds several fragments of the same ware dedicated to the same goddess (Nos. 25, 26, 28, 48). It is not difficult to see how broken pottery thrown out of the temple could become intermixed with the earlier *débris* round about. The ground has to be levelled for house-building or street-making; waste heaps have to be scattered and mixed with each other; and so forth. It is unnecessary to attach the slightest weight to this particular item of evidence.

To summarize what Mr. Petrie's observations appear to me to indicate: there were foreigners in Naukratis before the accession of Amasis and there was also commerce between Naukratis and Greece. These foreigners were mainly Phoenicians. They had a market in Greece for their imitations of Egyptian faience, no doubt selling them as the real Egyptian article; and perhaps a certain amount of Greek work was brought back to Egypt. It is also probable that Greek traders were finding their way to Naukratis as early as the seventh century. On the other hand there is no proof to be obtained from the actual condition of the remains that there was a large settled Greek colony before the time of Amasis, or that until his accession there was a single Greek temple. Nor is there any *external* evidence that the fine Naukratite pottery was being manufactured as early as 620 B.C.

It appears further that shortly after the death of Apries the Phoenicians for some reason either gave up their Egyptian business or removed it elsewhere. Presumably there was no room for them under the new order.

Is any more definite conclusion attainable from the internal evidence of style and epigraphy? Not from style. One may point out, as M. Joubin and others have done, changes in technique, changes in the subjects repre-

sented, and so forth ; but to attempt to date these changes on the ground of inherent probability is merely a futile pastime. As regards epigraphy the inscriptions unfortunately have no historical import ; they are all of a private character, and no public event is mentioned in them. It is in fact a question of palaeography merely.

The dedications inscribed on the pottery which is characteristically Naukratite and part of which has been assigned to the seventh century are extremely numerous, and we may safely assume that they contain all the forms of the Ionian alphabet that were in use at Naukratis during the period over which the said fabric or fabrics extend. From the *painted* dedications on the native ware, in which it is certain that no stranger can have had a hand, we can reconstruct the alphabet of this period as follows :—

Α Γ Δ Ε Ι Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ψ Ω.

The incised dedications on the native ware exhibit the same forms with the following additions and variations (I omit minor idiosyncrasies):—  
 Ε, Ε ; ⊕ more frequently than the other form ; Ξ, Ξ ; ς ; χ. The closed *eta*, Η, occurs once or twice, but had certainly gone out of ordinary use by this period ; there is perhaps a stray example of it in Pl. IV. 7. The 3-stroke *sigma* is very rare, if not a mere slip (cf. Pl. IV. 8.). Ω is in universal use. The writing is occasionally retrograde, but in the great majority of cases it runs from left to right.

Such was the alphabet employed at Naukratis during the period (of 100 years according to Mr. Petrie) over which the local fabric extends. Nor can these dedications be divided into earlier and later groups according to the forms of the letters employed. We know that the θ in No. 2 is of an older type than the θ in No. 4, but we cannot tell which of the two dedications is actually the older.

Considering all this can any one maintain that there is anything in these inscriptions of too archaic an appearance to be assigned to the reign of Amasis? On the contrary, if we ascribe them to a period extending from about 570 to about 520, is not that most consistent with all we know of the archaic Ionian alphabet?

Thus the evidence of epigraphy, such as it is, goes to show that the painted pottery peculiar to Naukratis dates from the age of Amasis. But further, among the whole mass of inscriptions, no matter on what kind of

ware and no matter in what dialect, are there any that demand an earlier date? Considering the scanty data Prof. Hirschfeld perhaps draws too rigid a division (*Rh. Mus.* 1887, p. 209 ff.). On the evidence of the lettering alone I do not believe that a single one of the early Naukratite inscriptions could be safely dated to within fifty years. But the observations and comparisons of Hirschfeld and Kirchhoff certainly prove that none of them are *necessarily* earlier.

Mr. Gardner, it is true, has insisted that a certain small group of dedications is decidedly anterior to any of the others, and must belong to the seventh century. But so far are these half-dozen inscriptions from establishing the date of Naukratis that even if they themselves were proved on external evidence to be as early as Mr. Gardner claims, the theory on which he bases his conclusion would remain as unconvincing as ever.<sup>1</sup>

Such, it appears to me, is the gist of the archaeological evidence with regard to the settlement of the Greeks in Naukratis. By itself it is wholly insufficient to decide the question one way or the other. The simple truth is we are too ignorant of the history of the Greek arts to assert that some of the Naukratite vases and statuettes must have been made before 570 B.C., and we do not know enough about Greek palaeography to prove that none of the inscriptions can date from 600 B.C. It remains primarily a question of historical criticism,—a question whether there is any truth in the Milesian tradition recorded by Strabo, that the Milesians founded

<sup>1</sup> Let me add a few more detailed criticisms. Mr. Gardner sets apart a group of five fragmentary inscriptions, which exhibit certain abnormal forms of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and  $\sigma$ , and for four of these he claims a very early date. Let us take  $\nu$  first. No. 67 (see *Naukr.* i. Pl. XXXII.), and it alone of the five, contains a  $\nu$  which resembles a 3-stroke *sigma*. As, however, the same form occurs on several dedications which are admittedly later (Nos. 81, 135, 254), is it not the reverse of logical to claim No. 67 as a seventh-century inscription on the strength of this single peculiarity? To say nothing of the fact that to an impartial eye the abnormal form is nothing more than the ordinary form carelessly written. Nos. 1b, 3, and 305 contain an *eta* laid on its side. As 305 is acknowledged not to be early, as the same form occurs at a much later period elsewhere (*Ath. Mitt.* xv. p. 418), as it cannot be explained as an early independent form, but is satisfactorily explained as a comparatively late error (*loc. cit.*), it is plain that the said letter is no proof of an early date. Mr. Gardner discovers three instances of a  $\mu$  shaped like a  $\nu$  (Nos. 1b, 3, 4)—for my part I can only see one clear instance, *i.e.* No. 3—and explains ingeniously how the form *may* have arisen at an early period when the *sigma*-shaped  $\nu$  was in use. But as we have seen that there is not the slightest evidence that the *sigma*-shaped  $\nu$  was used (or even *misused*) in the seventh century, it follows that the possibility of the  $\nu$ -shaped  $\mu$  being a regular seventh century form and not a mere sixth-century slip is still more remote. As for the examples of an abnormal *sigma* (Nos. 1b, 3, 4, 305, five in number and four in type!) it will be time enough to discuss them when it has been settled which of them are intended for  $\sigma$  and which for  $\nu$ .



Naukratis in the reign of Psammetichos I. I am not proposing to discuss the historical evidence. My object has been merely to show the groundlessness of the prevalent impression that the discoveries made at Naukratis present an insuperable obstacle to our accepting the statements of Herodotus that it was Amasis who settled the Greeks in Naukratis (and confined them to Naukratis), and that all the *τεμένη* date from his reign.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.

Facsimiles of a large number of inscribed vase-fragments excavated this year will be found on Pls. IV. and V. They are arranged, as far as convenient, according to fabric. For their bearing on the identification of temple sites I refer to Mr. Hogarth's paper. It is unnecessary to state the provenance of each separate inscription: the only thing I need mention is that the dedications to Aphrodite, where it is not stated otherwise in the notes, come from the lately discovered shrine at the north end of the site.

Among the inscribed fragments not published are a great many base-marks of the same character as *Naukr.* i. Pl. XXXIII., XXXIV. *passim*.

Nos. 1-19 are on bowls of the same shape as *Naukr.* i. Pl. X., 11. These bowls are ornamented on the outside with bands of brown-black paint; the inside is covered with a black glaze over which a few bands of *red* are painted at intervals. The fabric is Naukratite, as is partly proved by the fact that several of the dedications are painted, e.g. No. 1. On Nos. 2-5 the dedication is incised on the outside, but as a rule it is found on the inside of these vases.

1. . . ἀνέ[θηκεν] . . . Painted in white on the black glaze.
2. θε[οῖσι] . . . ?
3. Ἡρακ[λέος].
- 4, a and b. με ἀ[νέ]θηκ[ε] . .

<sup>1</sup> The position of the *τέμενος* of Apollo, enclosed as it is at either end by other *τεμένη*, is against its having been the centre of a Milesian colony before the coming of the Samians and the other Greeks, and is more in accord with the view that the various grants of land for the building of temples were made about the same time.

As was suggested by Prof. Hirschfeld, we may draw a distinction between the temples founded and frequented by the traders who went to and fro between Naukratis and their native cities and the temples of the permanent inhabitants; although no doubt the distinction would tend to become obliterated as more people from the various Greek cities settled in Egypt. The temple of Aphrodite was certainly of the latter kind; dedications on the local pottery were wonderfully abundant here, many of them being painted, *i.e.* made to order, and the goddess is entitled "the Aphrodite of Naukratis." According to Herodotus the temple of Apollo was of the former class; and with this statement accords the fact that the god is constantly named "the Milesian Apollo," as though the temple in Naukratis were a branch office, so to say, of the great temple at home rather than the religious centre of a new colony.

5. Παντα . . . Beginning of the dedicator's name.

8. . . ος μ[ἀνέθηκε . . .

9. Similar, with punctuation.

10. . . μας ἀνέθηκε . . .

11. . . εἰ]μί.

12. 'Ο[. . ἀνέθικεν . . δ] . . ιτο(υ). The inscription almost meets round the inside of the vase.

14. θεοῖσι . . . Another fragment of the same ware has τοῖσι θεοῖσι . . .

15, 17. Similar.

18. . . Ἐλ(λ)ήνων.

19. . . ξ το(ι)σ[ι . . . ? Cf. 95.

Nos. 20-24 are inscribed on cups of the same kind as several on which has been found the name Hera painted (*Naukr.* ii. 847, 848). For the fabric see note on No. 30. The inside and the lower part of the outside are coated with a poor black glaze. The dedications are incised on the upper part of the outside.

20. Γλαῦκος μᾶνέθ[ηκε] τήρ(η, *i.e.* τῆ "Ἡρη.

21. . . αθος μᾶνέθηκε . . .

22. Part of name, *e.g.* 'Ἐρ]μαγα[θινός.

23. 'Ἐρι . . . Retrograde.

24. Διο[σκόροισι.

Nos. 25-29 are on the fine white-faced pottery characteristic of Naukratis. 25 and 26 are painted. 25, 26, and 28 were found near Mr. Gardner's temple of Aphrodite, where this class of pottery was particularly abundant.

25. Τίσανδρος . . .

26. Cf. *Naukr.* ii. no. 747, where Mr. Gardner suggests Γαληνίων.

27. Μνησι[κλής . . . The ν is a correction.

28. τῆ 'Αφ[ροδίτη.

29. . . ης μᾶνέ[θηκε . . .

Nos. 30-38 are inscribed on vases of the same form as *Naukr.* i. Pl. X. 4 etc. (cf. Boehlau, Pl. VIII. 21, 24). The outside is ornamented with broad and narrow bands of black; the inside is sometimes striped, sometimes glazed all over; the red bands of Nos. 1-19 are never found. This may be regarded as the typical Ionian kylix. It is doubtful whether any of the examples found in Naukratis were made there.

The inscriptions are incised on the outside of the vase, usually round the neck.

30. "Ἡρ[η. Painted in black on the neck. Cf. the cups, *Naukr.* ii. Nos. 847, 848. The letters . . ρη are found incised on a similar kylix, also on a fragment of b.f. ware, and on No. 99; in these cases "Ἡρη may be restored on the analogy of the painted dedications and of *Naukr.* ii. Nos. 841-5. The form of dedication—the deity's name in the nominative—is unique among the Naukratite inscriptions. The temple of Hera at Naukratis was a Samian establishment. Probably therefore the form was a customary one in Samos, and probably the kylikes and cups with these painted dedications are of Samian fabric.

31. . . ἀνέθ]ηκε τῶπ[όλλωνι.

32, a and b. ἐμ' ἀνέ[θηκε . . .]ι Τηλέστρατος.

33. 'Ἡρακλέος.

34. κ[ύλιξ ἐμ]ι[. . . The fourth letter is indistinct, but there can be no doubt about the restoration. Cf. *Εὐθυμῆς εἰμί ἢ κύλιξ*, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* iii. p. 69.

35-38.<sup>1</sup> Dedications to the Dioskouroi.

Nos. 39 and 40 are incised on that dark grey ware on which Mr. Gardner discovered a number of Lesbian dedications (*Naukr.* ii. Nos. 786-793) and which has since been known as Lesbian. No. 39 however is not in the Lesbian alphabet, which does not distinguish between ε and η.

The following inscriptions, 41-57, are on various kinds of pottery, most of which are archaic.

41. 'Ἀρ]χιτέλεος.

<sup>1</sup> No. 37 has been inserted by mistake. As it stands it is upside down. It really is 'Ἡρ[η . . .

42. Σύμφορο[s . . .  
 43. . . ευστος ἀνέθηκε. On a thick fragment of the same style as Pl. vi., 7, 8.  
 44. Φοῖνιξι.  
 45. τοῖσι Δ[ιοσκόροιςι.  
 46. . . ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδίτη. Round the central disc in the interior of a b.f. kylix, not Attic. The disc, which is left plain, is surrounded by erotic representations.  
 47. ?  
 48. Χαλκιδέως ἀνέθηκεν [Ἀφρο]δίτη. On a Naukratite fragment found near Gardner's Aphrodite temple. Χαλκιδεύς must be a personal name here.  
 49. Διοσκόρων. With a κορρα. On the foot of an early kylix, not Attic.  
 50. Ἀμικάρτου. Retrograde. A Phoenician name Hellenized, as Melkarth- = Melikertes?  
 Black-glazed Attic ware.  
 50, a, b, c. Painted on the outside of b.f. Attic kylikes. On the inside of b is part of a tongue pattern in red and black, surrounding the central disc.  
 a. Ἐργότιμος . . .  
 b. Ἐργότιμος . . .  
 c. Part of an artist's name, Ἐξακ . . . ?  
 51. δ δεῖνα δ . . . ]<sup>λ</sup><sub>ν</sub> μωνος το(ῦ) Χίου) τῷ Ἀπ(ό)λλωνι. Οἱ δῖεροι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Χίου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Μιλησίῳ? On a fragment of a large vase in the same style as Pl. VI., 7, 8; the letters run along the back and down the tail of a bull. The writer is somewhat sparing of his omegas.  
 54. Ἀφρο]δίτη Πυ . . . On foot of kylix, not Attic, with red and white bands on the black glaze.  
 55, a and b. The two fragments do not fit together so as to make δ Κλαζομένιος.  
 56. Εὔνικος. On foot of lamp, black-glazed.  
 57. . . εσιος Διοσκόροις. Incised in the wet clay, round the rim of a lamp. The lamp is unornamented and of the coarsest fabric, and has evidently seen service. It was probably therefore an offering intended for use in the temple.  
 58. On a stone horse. See Pl. XIV. 11, and pp. 30, 39. Νυμφηγέτης is found as an epithet of Apollo (e.g. Roberts, *Gr. Epig.* p. 59), but here it is probably the personal name of some mortal.  
 59. On a horse of the same kind, much defaced.  
 Nos. 60-80 are inscribed on the necks of black-glazed kylikes, presumably all Attic. The form is that of *Br. Mus. Cat.* ii. p. 5, fig. 16, the neck being slightly concave. No. 60 is on a fragment of a b.f. kylix; the others, so far as they are preserved, appear to have been glazed black all over.  
 60. δ δεῖνα δ]Χίος Ἀφροδίτη.  
 61. ἱερή (i.e. ἡ κύλιξι).  
 62. Ποσειδώνιος or Ποσειδώνι.  
 63. Ἡρακλέος. Or a personal name.  
 64. . . Ἑλλήνων Ἀθη . . .  
 65. Ἀρτεμίδ[ωρος or Ἀρτέμιδι.  
 66. Ἀπολλο]νόδωρος.  
 67. . . με. Ligature.  
 68. . . μεφ ?  
 69. . . ναξ ἀνέθηκε . . .  
 70. . . αξ τοῖσι . . .  
 71. θεοῖσι) τοῖς Ἑλλ[ήνων or possibly Ἑλλ[ηνίοις.  
 72. θεοῖσι) τοῖς Ἑλλήνων or Ἑλληνίοις.  
 73-76. Similar formula, but all certainly Ἑλλήνων.  
 77. θεῶν τῶν [Ἑλλήνων or Ἑλληνίοις.  
 78-80. Similar. There are other fragments of the same kind. With the dedications θεοῖσι τοῖς Ἑλλήνων, etc., ought to be compared the Greek oath πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων (Hdt. v. 49).

Probably the name Hellenion in Naukratis simply meant the *temenos* of the θεοὶ Ἑλλήνιοι; as the Olympieion = the temple of Zeus Olympios.

Nos. 81, 82 are on the outside of black-glazed kylikes without neck, 83, 84 on the neck of kylikes of less fine fabric, and 85 on a skyphos of similar ware.

81. . . τ]οῖς Ἑλλή[νων.

83. Δ[φιλ[ος.

84. Ἀρτέμων Ἡρακ(λ)έ[ι.

85, a, b. . . αι . . ρας Ἀρτάμι[τι. Doric.

Nos. 86-89 are inscribed inside the foot of Attic kylikes.

86. Ἀ]φροδίτης.

87. Short for Ἀφροδίτης.

88. Ἀφ]ροδίτης.

89. . . δ[κλειος.

Nos. 90-103 are on the interior of Attic kylikes. 95 and 102 are on b.f. ware; 92-94 on r.f.; as regards the others there is no indication.

91. Ἀ]φροδίτη.

92. See Pl. VIII., No. 10.

93. Ἀφρ]οδίτη δ . . Doric. H as aspirate.

95. θε[οῖ]σι τοῖ[ι]ς Ἑ[λλήνων.

96. . . αξ θεο[ῖ]σι . .

97. θε]οῖσι . .

98. Part of name.

99. See note on 30.

100. Retrograde.

104. Καλλι . . On a black-glazed fragment.

105. . . υιης οἰ . . χιης.

106. Ἑλ(λ)ήνων θε(ε)οῖσι. Round central disc in the interior of a kylix. Ci. Θότιμος, *Naukr.* ii. 781.

107. τῇ Πανδήμ[ψ]. On the rim of large r.f. vase. Two other dedications (*Naukr.* ii. 818, 821) show that this was a common title of Aphrodite at Naukratis.

108. Ἀρ]χεδίκη. On the inside of the foot of a red and black vase. There was a famous Naukratite hetaira of this name (called Ἀρχιδίκη by Herodotus ii. 135, but Ἀρχεδίκη by Aelian and Athenaeus). As she lived between the time of Rodopis and that of Herodotus, it is quite possible that this is her signature, or the offering of one of her lovers.

Nos. 109-111. On the bases of r. and b. vases.

109. . . μυκθω. Μικθώ is a possible name.

111. Ἀρτόμοτος (Ἀρτέμωνος?) τὸ κánaσθον το(ῦ)το. κánaσθον (probably a slip for κánaσθρον) must mean the vase on which the owner has written his name, and may therefore be put down as equivalent to κánaστρον, which word occurs in the pseudo-Homeric epigram describing the potter's trade,—εἶ δὲ πεπανθεῖεν κότυλοι καὶ πάντα κánaστρα. The vase in question is apparently a kylix with a ring-base (cf. *Br. Mus. Cat.* iii. p. 11, fig. 3).

112. Τέως το(ῦ) ἐστὶ ταῖστροκον (=Teos, his is the potsherd). On a black-glazed fragment. Teos is the Hellenised name of a late Egyptian king (364-361 B.C.), but the same name may have been current in Naukratis at an earlier period (cf. *Naukr.* ii. No. 78, Τεώ ἐμὶ σῆμα). The fragment, as one can see from the run of the writing, was of the same size when Teos scratched his name upon it as it is now. The inscription appears to be of about the same archaeological significance as *Pickwick*, chap. xi. "Bil Stumps, his mark."

Nos. 113-115. On the bases of black-glazed bowls with stamped patterns of palmettes, &c., inside (cf. *Beil. Cat.* p. 785 ff.)

113. Καλλικλ . .

114. Cypriote. Κα·Fa· (reading retrograde).

115.

Γοργίας φιλεῖ [Τά]μμυνη

καὶ Τάμμυνη Γοργίαν φιλεῖ.

Τόμμυνη and Τάμμυνη (see Pape-Benseler) may be renderings of the same Egyptian name, in

which case the above lines (which presumably are intended for verse) commemorate a mutual attachment between Gorgias and an Egyptian youth. Or Ταμνίς may be the feminine of the ethnic Ταμνεύς (cf. βασιλεύς—βασιλίς), although the form that is actually found is Ταμνητίς. Cf. the couplet inscribed on the base of a Rhodian kylix (*J. H. S.* 1885 p. 372):—

Φίλτῳς ἤμι τᾶς καλᾶς  
ἅ κύλιξ ἅ ποικιλᾶ.

116. . . ος εἶμι ἔδωκε δέ με Ἄ. . . Not given in facsimile. From a fragment, now lost, of the same class as Nos. 30–38. The form of the dedication is unusual.

I have only to add that the *dedications* in the above list cover a period of about a hundred years, as may be concluded from the character of the writing and the character of the pottery. The practice of dedicating vases in the temples appears to have almost died out at Naukratis before the middle of the fifth century.

## 3.

The find of painted pottery in the recent brief excavation, although it includes some interesting pieces, was very much poorer than on the two former occasions. The early local pottery was disappointingly scarce. But it is remarkable how *representative* a collection of vase-fragments can be obtained at Naukratis in the course of a few days' work. Perhaps no other site covering a similar period of years has yielded specimens of so many different fabrics.

Of the early kinds of pottery that are *not* found, the most conspicuous by its absence is the proto-Corinthian. Considering how widely it was exported, and particularly how common it is at Kameiros, its absence here cannot be accidental; it must certainly have been a forgotten fabric by the time the Greeks came to Naukratis.

Pl. VI, Nos. 1–6 are specimens (somewhat second-rate, unfortunately) of the typical Naukratite ware (*Naukr.* ii. chap. 5 A). The clay is covered inside and outside with a thick white coat. On the inside, however, the white covering is concealed by a black glaze on which various devices, chiefly floral, are painted in white and red. This technique is an old one, and had probably been in constant use in the Aegean from a very early date. It is exactly the same as that of the prehistoric pottery of Kamarais, and the two wares are remarkably alike in their general effect.

In spite of certain resemblances, I think it is going too far to assume that this technique must be an imitation of inlaid metal-work. (Boehlau *Ion. u. It. Nekr.* pp. 95 ff.) The black glaze probably originated as an

improvement upon the black polished surface of the primitive period. Thus at Phylakopi we find the primitive red hand-polished slip succeeded by a shining red surface *not polished*, i.e. a kind of glaze. Not only so, but we find designs painted in white on the primitive polished surface,—a technique which may be derived from the custom of filling the *incised* designs with white. Thus the genesis of the style, of which the Kamarais vases are a brilliant example, is sufficiently accounted for. Further, I see no reason for assuming that this prehistoric technique died out in the prehistoric age and was afterwards re-invented. Much more probably, it survived in various localities during the dark centuries which precede the Aegean renaissance. Even in the mature Mycenaean style (the 3rd style) we frequently find patterns painted in white on a broad band of dark glaze.

No. 2.—Part of helmeted head. We find on the vases of Naukratis the same two types of helmet that are characteristic of other Ionian schools (*B.C.H.* 1893, p. 429). No. 2 shows the type with a metal hook in front and with the crest erected on a stem. In the other type, of which there is a good example on a fragment in the British School at Athens, the crest is directly attached to the helmet as in Pl. VIII., No. 4.

No. 3.—Cf. the Fikellura fragment, Pl. VI., 12*a*.

On Nos. 1-3, as is usual in this class of pottery, the heads are drawn in outline and incised lines are not employed. Nos. 4 and 5 are in the black-figured style—a technique in which the Naukratite fabric is at a disadvantage, as owing to the white ground it is impossible to render the flesh of the women by white.

No. 6.—Spout of vase in form of ram's head.

No. 7.—White slip, brown-black paint with touches of applied red, incised lines. In the upper frieze, lotus ornament incised in the black glaze and painted white: the white has faded. The black band dividing the friezes shows traces of red and white stripes (horizontal). Inside plain.

No. 8.—Similar. The lotus incised on the black glaze is painted *red*. Below is part of a frieze of browsing goats, presumably without incised markings.

The mixed style illustrated by the two lower friezes of No. 8 has often been commented upon. In the present case, we have three successive friezes in the three different styles. The upper part is in the same technique as the inside of many Naukratite vases (*e.g.* *Naukr.* ii. Pl. VIII., 2; cf.

remarks on Nos. 1-3). There is also a small class of vases in which this is the sole technique employed (see Boehlau pp. 89 ff.). It is noticeable that the ornamentation of these vases has in several respects a very close resemblance to Phoenician work (*e.g.* Br. Mus. A 1003, a triangular arrangement of three bows with a palmette at each corner).

The second row in Nos. 7 and 8 is in the b.f. style. On similar fragments, we find the interstrewn ornamentation tend to degenerate into the mere blotches that disfigure the pottery of Corinth; in Nos. 7 and 8, especially No. 7, it is still distinct and varied. The subject represented on No. 7 occurs also in the technique of Nos. 1-3, *i.e.* drawn chiefly in outline without incised markings.

Naukratis was certainly one of the homes, and perhaps the chief home, of this mixed style, and Nos. 7 and 8 are presumably both Naukratite. But even among the similar fragments found at Naukratis there are some which one would hesitate to assign to a native fabric, and I prefer to accept the view of Dr. Boehlau that the style was not restricted to Naukratis and did not originate there, and that the fragments which he publishes, Pl. XII. 2, 4, 5 etc., were more probably made in Asia Minor.

Pl. VII., Nos. *a, b, c, d.* Parts of one vase, of which there are several other fragments. Found at the bottom of well 50. It has been an *oinochoe* of the same shape as *J.H.S.* vi. p. 186, *Arch. Anz.* 1886 p. 139. White slip, much faded; black paint with touches of applied red. Nos. 1-3 show the shoulder frieze. The handle stood between the pattern on No. 1 and a similar pattern facing the other way. This frieze is in the b.f. style, the birds being incised. Below are two friezes of goats in the two traditional attitudes; no incised lines. Base surrounded by pointed radii. Traces of white and red on the bands dividing the friezes.

This vase forms a companion to the *oinochoe* from Kameiros mentioned above. The interstrewn ornamentation is the same in the b.f. frieze as in the lower ones. The third frieze contains a somewhat comical makeshift; the painter has miscalculated, and finding himself left without space enough to complete his last goat has condensed its body into a round ball. Less conspicuous traces of the same difficulty may be detected on other friezes of this kind.

Pl. VI., Nos. *9, a, b, c.* From the same vase, a large *lebes*. Firm red clay, white coat on the outside, paint black (burned red in places), incised lines, applied red and white.

This has been a beautiful vase. The purely decorative animal-frieze of Ionian art is here vivified by the varied attitudes of the stags and horses. One or two fragments of the same ware have been found at Naukratis, but the fabric cannot be Naukratite; the clay is different, and the style is very different. Nor can it be Cyrenaeon, as the method of drawing the horse is sufficient to show. Its home must be sought in Asia Minor. The stags recall the fleeing stags on Caeretan *hydriae* (*B.C.H.* 1892, p. 259; *Ant. Denk.* i. Pl. 45). More close, however, is the resemblance between the horses and those on the sarcophagi of Klazomenai and the (imported) pottery found at Defenneh. The ornamental saddle-cloths and harness, the lines of white dots, the strong open jaws and the finely shaped legs prove that our fragments belong to a fabric of the same school.

No. 10. Same fabric. Male figure dancing.

Pl. VII., No. 2. From the shoulder of a "Fikellura" or Samian amphora, of which there exist many more pieces. Usual technique, applied red, no incised lines. On the other side of shoulder two similar sphinxes on each side of a complicated pattern of spirals and palmettes, almost like an anticipation of the designs on the shoulders of Attic *lekythoi*. Scale pattern on the body of the vase, crescent pattern below, and pointed radii round the foot.

Pl. VI., Nos. 12, *a, b, c*. From the body of a Samian vase. Usual technique, no incised lines, no red. (No. 13 is turned too much to one side in the Pl.)

Pl. VI., No. 11. Samian.

This fabric, which Dr. Boehlau has shown good reason for attributing to Samos, is fairly common at Naukratis. Fragments were found with the usual patterns, crescent rows, network, hare and hound, &c. The design on VI. 2 recurs on another Samian fragment from Naukratis in the British Museum. The scene on VI. 12 is very similar to that on the Altenburg vase (Boehlau, p. 57, fig. 27, 28): 12, *b* contains the additional motive of a reveller mounted on the shoulders of a comrade. The attenuated necks of the *oinochoai* in 12, *c* may be merely due to that love of fineness which is characteristic of the school.

Pl. VIII. Nos. 1-3 belong to a fabric of which a great many specimens were found at Defenneh and which is fairly common at Naukratis also. The other class of early ware that is characteristic of Defenneh, the painted *situlae*, is not found at Naukratis. These *situlae* are supposed, chiefly on



account of their Egyptian shape, to have been made in Egypt, and considering their character and their provenance, it is at least probable that they were either made *in* Egypt or *for* Egypt. In either case, it is strange that there should be no trace of them in Naukratis if Naukratis was a Greek city about 600 B.C. Nor has any Naukratite pottery been found in Defenneh. The other main class of Defenneh pottery (*e.g.* Pl. VIII. Nos. 1-3) has no connection with the *situlae* and not the least sign of Egyptian origin. It is a purely Anatolian fabric: it no doubt lasted many decades; and it was regularly exported to both the earlier and the later centre of Greek life in Egypt, *i.e.* to Defenneh and to Naukratis.

Pl. VIII. No. 1. From panel on body of vase. Brown-black paint; applied white and red; incised.

The fragment bears a representation of a nude figure holding in the right hand a cock, of which nothing but the tail remains. The object below appears to be the tail-end of another cock of much larger size; the two long tail-feathers are visible above the shoulder of the nude figure. On the fragments from Defenneh, similar white figures appear on horseback, and have been usually regarded as female: but Dr. Zahn maintains that they are intended to represent boys (*Darstellung der Barbaren*, p. 62), which certainly is more probable. Necklaces like that on VIII. 1 are worn by Satyrs on other fragments of the same ware (*Jahrb.* 1895, p. 43, Fig. 5). No one has succeeded in finding a myth or meaning in these representations, and it is much more likely that they signify nothing definite.

If the above restoration is correct, Pl. VIII, No. 1 may be compared with the fragment of a Klazomenian sarcophagus in the British Museum (*Ant. Denk.*, Pl. 46, 3), which shows a youth holding a cock in either hand with a dog and a huge cock standing on each side of him. The dogs are explained by Loeschke as evil spirits of the underworld and the cocks as apotropaic, but this interpretation is rightly rejected by Deneken (*Roscher*, i. p. 2586). Our fragment helps to show that the representation is merely one of the stock motives of the school without any funereal significance. The difference in size, on both fragments, between the bird held in the hand and the bird on the ground merely shows that the design is combined out of two decorative items and did not originate as a single realistic scene.

Pl. VIII. Nos. 2, *a* and *b*. From one large vase. Brown-black paint: incised: applied red and white. The head of the Siren in the second frieze is outlined in brown paint (*after* the application of the white): the head in the top frieze is not drawn in outline at all. The red and white

accessories have as usual been painted in after the process of incising. The Sirens wear earrings and necklaces. There is a studied variety in the shape and pose of the wings. With the second frieze compare *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi in Br. Mus.* Pl. I. The long-legged birds feeding in the bottom frieze occur on another vase of the same fabric (Br. Mus. B. 110; cf. the friezes of geese on early Attic pottery, e.g. *Ath. Mitth.* 1893, Pl. II.).

Pl. VIII., No. 3. From shoulder of large vase. Incised lines: applied red and white.

So far as I know, this is the only example on this fabric of a frieze of animals other than birds and Sirens. The ram and the panther are very common on another Anatolian fabric of the same period, the so-called Pontic vases.

Pl. VIII., No. 4. Helmeted warrior holding shield with symbol. Dark brown paint, uneven: incised lines: white dots applied after incision.

This fragment is not of the same fabric as Pl. VIII, Nos. 1-3, although allied to them in style. It belongs to a class of pottery which is usually put down as an Etruscan imitation of Greek work (*Br. Mus. Cat.*, ii. p. 37; *Röm. Mitth.* 1888, p. 174; *Ath. Mitth.* 1898, p. 65). In the clay, the paint, the white dots round the shield, there is the closest similarity between No. 4 and Br. Mus. B. 61. The finding of this isolated fragment at Naukratis does not of course afford any clue as to the seat of the fabric.

Pl. VIII., No. 5. Streaky brown paint in parts, coarse black in others; incised lines: applied white.

This fragment also recalls the quasi-Etruscan vases, both in appearance and in subject.

Pl. VIII., No. 6. Light-coloured clay. On the garment incised lines and applied red. Letters apparently .πια.

Corinthian pottery was comparatively scarce, and most of the fragments belonged to large craters, chiefly of the red-clay variety. Several crater-handles, like No. 6, were obtained, with representations of male and female heads, sirens, &c.

Pl. VIII., No. 7. Inside, a thin red band over the black glaze. Between the two figures *χαίρε καὶ [πῖε εἶδ.*

Pl. VIII., No. 8. From central disk in interior of b.f. kylix. The outline of the profile is both painted and incised.

No class of pottery is more common at Naukratis than kylikes of the 'Kleinmeister' type, although the only artist's signature that we obtained was that of Ergotimos (Pl. IV., Nos. 50 a, b). With perhaps one exception

(subject erotic: inside not glazed), all the fragments of kylikes with miniature representations were purely Attic, and there was no indication of the miniature style having been affected by the Ionian potters (see, however, Boehlau, p. 140). No. 9 contrasted with No. 1 shows most clearly the difference between the b.f. Attic and Ionian styles.

Pl. VIII., Nos. 10-13 are from the interior of r.f. kylikes. A great many similar fragments were found about the shrine of Aphrodite at the north end of the site.

Pl. VIII., No. 10. Head of *ephebos* with mantle thrown over his shoulder.

Pl. VIII., No. 13. Monster with legs ending in serpents. It is interesting to find this subject on a r.f. kylix, but unfortunately there is not enough of it left to show whether the figure is the winged "Typhoeus" of archaic art or an approach to the Hellenistic type of giant (see Roscher, i. pp. 1670 ff.). The thighs, however, are more human than in the b.f. type.

Pl. VIII., No. 11. Outside, a border pattern consisting of sets of three meanders separated by squares with cross in centre and dots at corners. Inside HO . . (ὁ παῖς καλός).

Pl. VIII., No. 12. Bracelet painted red. The figure, which is clad in a short *chiton*, is apparently stooping to put on a greave (cf. *inter alia* Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. LVIII.). The other greave is already fastened on and the end of it appears above the left knee. The spiral bracelet and the rounded limbs give a feminine air to the figure, which may be intended for an Amazon.

Fig. 2. From the inside of a r.f. kylix. Consists of two pieces, one of which was found at Naukratis in 1886 (*B. M. Cat.* iii. E 812), and the other in 1899.<sup>1</sup> There is a rivet-hole in each piece, showing that the vase had been mended in antiquity. The subject of the design is a Seilenos seizing a Maenad. The Maenad is moving towards the right and brandishing a snake and a bough, the leaves of which are painted red. She is clad in an embroidered *chiton*, the upper part of which is represented without folds. The Seilenos, whose head is shown full face, has seized her by the waist. The hair above his forehead is rendered by dots of black glaze *in relief*; the outline of his back-hair is incised. The wrinkles on his forehead are represented by lightly scored lines (not shown in Mr. Anderson's drawing).

<sup>1</sup> Several fragments from this year's excavation were recognised by Mr. C. Smith as belonging to the same vases as other fragments already in the Br. Mus. Among them was another piece of the vase representing Odysseus and the Sirens (*B. M. Cat.* ii. B 103<sub>19</sub>).

The history of the type is fully discussed in Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 75 ff. Our fragment, which is very carefully finished, differs considerably from any of the other examples.

Fig. 3. From the outside of a small r.f. kylix. Part of a scene in school. The figure to the left with the himation over his knees is holding up a manuscript roll. Opposite him is part of another figure, probably a boy seated on a stool with an open triptychon placed on his knee, in which he is writing with a pen. Apparently he is engaged in copying the contents of the roll to dictation. Above are visible the ends of various articles hanging on the wall. There is no scene quite similar to this on the Berlin kylix by Douris (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1873, Pl. 1), although the master who is giving the reading lesson there corresponds to the person on the left



FIG. 2 (full size).

in Fig. 3. As regards style, our fragment also may very well have been painted by Douris.

The words on the roll are ΣΤΕΣΙ+ΟΡΟΝ ΗΥΜΝΟΝ ΛΑΟΙΣΑΙ, *i.e.* *στησίχορον* (perhaps a natural slip on the part of the Attic draughtsman for the conventional *στασίχορον*) *ὑμνον ἄγοισαι*. They are no doubt intended for the beginning of an ode, and may be supposed to be addressed either to the Muses or to a chorus of women. The lines are written *boustrophedon* and in the Attic alphabet. The presence of an  $\omega$  in the hexameter on the Douris kylix has been taken by Kretschmer (*Vaseninschr.* p. 106) as a proof that the regular literary alphabet in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century was the Ionian; but it is surely most unlikely that at this period there was any such standing distinction

between the alphabet employed by Attic scribes and the alphabet of everyday use. At any rate, the distinction is quite ignored on Fig. 3.

It is not necessary to suppose that *στησίχορον ὕμνον* is the opening of an actual hymn; it may be merely a stock phrase in melic poetry (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 6 ἀγησιχόρων . . προοιμιῶν). Though *στησίχορος* does not occur in any extant Greek hymn, it is a familiar word in this province, being the name of the famous poet of Himera. According to Suidas, it was not his real name, but a nickname or epithet, and certainly it seems suspiciously appropriate as the personal name of a choric poet.



FIG. 3 (full size).

Pl. VIII., No. 14. From a Panathenaic vase.

R.f. pottery of the later style, though not represented in the illustrations, was plentiful and some of it of fine quality. The most interesting piece was a large cylindrical vase-stand surrounded by a representation of a libation scene. A late class of ware that was particularly common was that of black-glazed bowls with palmettes and other patterns stamped on the inside (see *Berl. Cat.*, pp. 785 ff.). Strange to say, the only kind of pottery that is known to have been regarded as a feature of the Naukratite factories, the silver-surfaced ware described by Athenaeus (XI. 480 E), has never been found at Naukratis; or it may be that the preparation has not been proof against the action of the soil.

### C.

#### A RELIEF (PL. IX.).

BY C. C. EDGAR.

The sandstone relief reproduced on Pl. IX. represents a helmeted warrior marching to the right with spear in his right hand and shield on his left

arm. It is the *inside* of the shield that is turned towards the spectator. A procession of similar figures is a very common subject in early Greek art, from the Mycenaean age onwards; *Nauk.* ii. Pl. V. 6 is a fragment of just such a scene. The tread of the warrior on our relief recalls, and is in fact the prototype of, that mincing step which is one of the mannerisms of the archaistic style (cf. Hauser, *Neu.-att. Rel.* p. 165; Émanuel, *La Danse Gr.* pp. 48 ff.).

The technique of the work is peculiar. The figure stands out from the background on one raised plane. There is no attempt at modelling except that the legs are slightly rounded at the side. I know of only one parallel to the absolute flatness of the work, and that is the *stele* of Alkias in the Museum at Athens (*Ath. Mitth.* xi. Pl. 5). The surface both of the background and of the figure is carefully finished and smoothed. As on scores of other reliefs there are deep traces of the incising of the figure in outline before the background was cut away.

It may be suggested that the work is in an unfinished state like one of the slabs of the Nereid Monument in the British Museum. I do not think so. In the first place the provenance of the relief is against that idea (see below). In the next place the arms, the eye, the helmet, everything that we should have expected to find modelled or incised, may quite well have been expressed by painted lines, the work being in short not so much a piece of sculpture as a piece of painting.

It was discovered inside a large earthenware basin embedded in the ground at the edge of a well-made pavement of sandstone slabs (see p. 33). From the dedicated pottery scattered about we were able to conclude that the pavement was part of a shrine of Aphrodite situated in the Hellenion Precinct. The basin was *in situ* and was evidently an appurtenance of the temple. The relief therefore must be either a dedicated *stele* or much more probably a fragment from the ornamentation of the temple itself. Its shape tells us nothing certain. There are traces of a projecting ledge along the top, above the head of the warrior, and of another projecting ledge at the base. The stone is broken away in both places, it is broken away at the back, and it has also suffered at each side. I think the most likely supposition is that it formed part of a frieze representing a procession of marching warriors.

The earliest dedication from this shrine of Aphrodite is No. 46; almost all the others are on r. f. Attic pottery (*eg.* Nos. 86-93). Indeed no early

pottery was found in the immediate neighbourhood and the deposit of terracottas at the other end of the shrine included nothing of a very archaic type (see pp. 69 ff.). We cannot therefore place the shrine much before 500 B.C. The relief itself is too devoid of character to be dated closely, but there is nothing in its appearance that is not consistent with the period proposed.

*D.*

THE TERRACOTTAS.

BY CLEMENT GUTCH.

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The terracottas, which were recovered during the spring of 1899 from the site of Naukratis, are both more numerous and more important than those obtained during the two previous campaigns. They number nearly four hundred, the specimens ranging in date from the sixth century B.C. to the second century of our era. A number of these are of types akin to those already known at Naukratis, and are present in such quantity as to make it possible to trace the probable development of their various peculiarities. Besides these, and thirty or forty small female heads of "Tanagra" type and other figures of comparatively late date, we have the remains of nearly a score of female heads of unusual size and beauty, which are to be ascribed chiefly to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

At Naukratis, a city of ancient foundation, which had a continuous existence as a Greek colony from the middle of the sixth century B.C. down to the second or third century A.D., and which was moreover, for the greater part of that time, a prosperous trading centre in constant communication with Greece and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, we should expect not only to find a more or less complete series of terracottas of all dates during that period, but also that these terracottas should give evidence both of the foreign trade of the place, and of the influence of the art and religion of their Egyptian neighbours on the work and worship of the Greeks themselves.

As a matter of fact, so far as the terracottas are concerned, internal evidence of an import trade of any consequence is disappointingly slight. It is possible to point only to a score or so of specimens in the whole collection as being of exoteric manufacture. This number is

surprisingly small when we consider that Naukratis stood to the Greek world in a relation not unlike that of Carthage to the Phoenicians. The possible objection, that terracotta figurines were merchandise of too brittle a nature to admit of transportation or, at any rate, to tempt it, falls to the ground in view of the large transpontine trade in pottery between the centres of production in Greece and this very place, not to mention more distant ports in Sicily and Etruria.

We are compelled then to account for the absence of the productions of foreign koroplasts, if it is to be explained at all, in some other manner. A more plausible explanation is suggested both by the comparatively early date of the imported terracottas, and by the analogy of the vase-trade of Etruria and southern Italy.

The two centuries, to which the imported terracottas, for the most part, belong, cover a time to which very few of the terracottas of Naukratite production can be allotted. On the other hand the succeeding period, to which not one of the exoteric specimens can be with certainty attributed, is rich in those of home manufacture. It seems then not unlikely that, as in Etruria, the products of foreign skill provoked imitation by native artists (cf. nos. 2 and 10 with no. 4), and that the decline of trade, consequent on the fall of Athens and the troublous times which followed, caused, if it did not necessitate, a proportionate activity on the part of native craftsmen, who learnt to produce work which supplied the place of the foreign products which it imitated.

Another probable factor in the growth of the native terracotta industry, if not in the disappearance of the imported article, was the increasing influence of the worship of Harpokrates and Khonsu-pe-khred. It is impossible to say if the cults of these two closely allied deities superseded the familiar cults of Hellenic religious belief. Such a complete subversion of the orthodox Greek divinities seems on the face of it improbable; but, if we can trust the evidence of the terracottas, their worship was thrown considerably into the background during the second century B.C., if not earlier. At any rate the newly borrowed worship seems to have enjoyed great popularity, and, inasmuch as it necessitated a type of terracotta hitherto unknown in the Hellenic world, the manufacture of that type in Greece or Asia Minor would be less convenient and less practicable than, in the presence of numerous Egyptian models, it would be at Naukratis itself.



The influence of Egyptian art and Egyptian religion is apparent in but few of the terracottas, other than those of the types to which allusion has just been made. Some specimens, however, have survived which are apparently to be connected with Isis, Bes, and possibly Sebek (*see* below). These all belong to a late date.<sup>1</sup>

Before embarking on a particular description of the terracottas, it will be convenient to discuss certain other points which a general examination of them suggests.

First as to their nature and object. The terracottas are, by the circumstances of their discovery, separable into four groups distinct in time.

1. We have in the first place two good female heads, which were unearthed together with some early sherds about eighteen inches above the basal mud (near 5 and 6 in the accompanying plan), in the neighbourhood of, and at the same level as, some brickwork, which, according to Mr. Petrie's canon,<sup>2</sup> belongs to the early years of the sixth century B.C.

2. Secondly, we have a number of heads, figures, etc., chiefly female, derived from the stratum immediately above that attributed to the sixth century, and found for the most part in buildings whose walls and pavements overlie the sixth century remains at a level about two feet or less above the mud (at 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 14A, *see* plan). These specimens and the fragments of pottery found with them belong apparently to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

3. The third group consists entirely of female heads of types allied to those rendered familiar by the tasteful figurines unearthed at Skimitari<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is ample evidence of a considerable appropriation of Egyptian religious ideas by the Greeks in the last centuries of the Pagan era. It would seem that there was no corresponding inclination on the part of the Egyptians to be influenced by the religion of the Greeks. "Only very isolated indications of Greek ideas can be found, such, *e.g.*, as the substitution of the name 'Hades' for *Dûat* (the underworld) in the texts" (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 170, 171). The fact that in districts where there was a strong Greek element, there was an apparent modification of Egyptian religious ideas, is to be attributed rather to an appropriation of Egyptian gods, and their identification with Hellenic divinities by the Greeks, than with Milne (*A History of Egypt, V, Under Roman Rule*, p. 128, etc.) to any corresponding movement on the part of Egyptian religious thought. "At the very time when the Hellenes were displaying the greatest zeal in appropriating the strange gods, simply accepting some of them, and proclaiming others as counterparts of their own deities, the Egyptian religion had renounced its former liberality and ceased to adopt foreign deities" (Wiedemann, p. 171). Mr. Percy Gardner (*New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 193), in denying that the Greeks borrowed religious cults from Egypt, cannot, I think, intend his remarks to apply to this late chapter of Hellenic history.

<sup>2</sup> *Nauk.* i. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *See* British Museum, etc., and *Terres Cuites de Tanagra coll. Camille Lecuyere*.

(Tanagra) and in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> These were recovered mostly by *sebakhin* to the east of the excavations (38) above and near a concrete flooring, which, on account of its high level and an inscription found just above it, has been ascribed to the Ptolemaic period.

4. Lastly, we reach the terracottas of the Graeco-Roman period, which form the major part of the collection. These were for the most part bought from Arab diggers, who recovered them in large quantities from the surface soil of the eastern portion of the site. Others were obtained from the rubbish heaps left by *sebakh*-diggers when removing soil from the area afterwards excavated. Similar terracottas were got from the southern portion of the Greek quarter during the excavations of Messrs. Petrie and Gardner. It appears, then, that they were distributed over the entire Greek site.

This division into four groups is one suggested by the record kept of the depth at which the various specimens were unearthed, and of the exact locality in which they were found. It must not be supposed, however, that each of these groups contains specimens only of some one particular type or attributable to some one particular object. When we come to a consideration of types a different division is necessary, and it will be found that in some cases the types of one period survive during the subsequent ones, though for the most part the temporal divisions hold good for the types as well. A consideration of the circumstances supplies us with some reason for this. We do not know for certain what event led to the overthrow of the buildings of the sixth century; probably it was the Persian invasion of Cambyses in 526 B.C.; but whatever was the cause, the effect does not seem to have been long-lived, and similar buildings appear to have been erected over the pre-existing ones after a comparatively short interval of time. It is not surprising, then, to find that the terracottas which belong to the sixth century, and those which are to be attributed to the succeeding period, present us with a similar type.

The "Tanagra" heads form a distinct group by themselves, and were found in a comparatively narrow district, which has not yet been thoroughly excavated, and so has yielded no earlier remains. As will appear later, they are probably to be connected with the worship of a particular deity, who, for some reason unknown to us, was honoured at Naukratis at a time when other divinities would appear to have lost their former popularity.

<sup>1</sup> See British Museum, etc., and Frochner, *Terracottes Cuites d'Asie*.

The terracottas of Roman date were found above a thick layer of unproductive sand, which Mr. Hogarth pronounces (*supra*, p. 37) to be the result of artificial labour, and not of drift during a long period of desolation; they consist almost entirely of heads and figures which betray the influence of Egyptian religious ideas.

There can be little doubt that the heads, figures, etc., comprised in the first three groups, if not those of the last group as well, are offerings at the shrines of various gods. The arguments which support this view are the following:—

1. They were found in or near buildings in the great enclosure which the evidence of inscriptions, etc., shows to be, in all probability, the Hellenion.

2. They were found in distinct "pockets" (cf. *supra*, p. 38).

3. Some terracottas of the second group were found in the neighbourhood of what appeared to be an altar, whilst others of that and the succeeding group were accompanied by numerous sherds bearing dedicatory inscriptions.

4. The analogy of the finds of terracottas of a sacred character on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Gela, Selinus, and elsewhere.

5. The actual types discovered (*see* below).

With regard to the fourth group no such arguments are available. It consists of heads, figures, etc., obtained from all parts of the site, and especially from the eastern portion, which was possibly beyond the limits of the great enclosure. Further, no dedicatory inscriptions accompanied the figures. At the same time some few of the specimens appear to reproduce the types of the earlier offerings, others represent the sacred or sacrificial animals of Egyptian religion, whilst the vast majority appears to be connected with the worship of Horos or Harpokrates (Har-pe-khred, Horos the child). In view, however, of their wide distribution, it would be rash to associate them with any particular shrine or shrines erected to do public honour to that god. It appears more probable that they have been derived from the dwelling houses of the later inhabitants of Naukratis, and that they are to be regarded as figures set up in each house to protect the inmates and ensure their prosperity,<sup>1</sup> or at most as offerings before private shrines in the houses themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The phallic nature of many of the specimens lends some support, I think, to this view.

Having thus arrived at the probable nature of the terracottas, it will be convenient to classify the various types presented, noting their distribution through the four groups distinguished above.

### I.—FEMALE HEADS AND FIGURES.

*a. "Aphrodite" heads, etc.*

These belong almost entirely to groups one and two, and are ascribed to Aphrodite mainly in consequence of the dedicatory inscriptions found near some of them. They were found at the points marked 9, 11, 12, 14, 14a, 35 on the plan.

*b. Child-birth dedications, and the like.*

Belonging to the second and fourth groups. These were no doubt dedicated to Aphrodite; the earlier specimens were found with the big Aphrodite heads.

*c. Cybele heads, etc.*

These belong to the second group, and are associated with Cybele in consequence of their peculiar type (*see below*). Found at 5.

*d. Heads of Demeter and Persephone.*

Forming the third group. So named because of an inscription  $\Delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\ \Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota$  found in their midst (38).

*e. An Athene figure.*

? Fourth group. Usual Athene type.

*f. Isis figures.*

Fourth group. From large well, pp. 34, 35.

*g. Baubo figures.*

Fourth group.

### II.—MALE HEADS AND FIGURES.

*a. Apollo figures.*

One found above the second group (14a).

*b. Harpokrates figures, etc.*

Fourth group.

*c. Bes figures.*

Fourth group.

*d. Asklepios head.*

Fourth group.

### III.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

*a. Gorgon heads.*

? From the cemetery. Fourth group.

*b. Masks, etc.*

Fourth group.

### IV.—ANIMALS.

Fourth group.

The question of the original provenance of the terracottas may be briefly dismissed. In the present state of our knowledge certainty in this

matter is impossible. This much, however, may be stated with considerable probability.

1. The figures and heads of coarse brown, yellow-brown, and coarse red terracotta are of native manufacture.

2. Those of a hard and light-coloured terracotta are from Cyprus. No. 290 is probably of Cypriote provenance, and Nos. 8 and 9 are perhaps to be traced to a similar origin.

3. Those of a hard and pure red terracotta are usually of Rhodian manufacture. *E.g.* Nos. 2, 10, 11, 18, etc.

4. Those of a soapy red-brown clay come from Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* No. 35, etc.

In the following pages, where the nature of the terracotta is not specially mentioned, the specimen is of the common brown Naukratite variety.

Thirdly, the question naturally arises: To what extent have moulds been employed in the production of the terracottas? On this point the evidence at our disposal is twofold, that derived from our knowledge of the practice of koroplasts elsewhere, and that obtainable from an examination of the Naukratite finds. The evidence derived from other sources shows that except in very early times the use of moulds was almost invariable in the manufacture of all but the roughest and rudest figures. Often several moulds were employed in the production of a single figure; indeed, the koroplast seems to have had a small stock of moulds, by ingenious combinations of which he was able to turn out a great variety of statuettes. Another method, which preceded the use of moulds, was to employ a stamp, which was pressed on to a solid lump of clay. The disadvantage of this method was the tendency of the solid lump of clay to warp in the firing. It seems, nevertheless, to have survived to a late date. To pass to Naukratis: two moulds from the site are now in the British Museum;<sup>2</sup> moreover the terracottas themselves show considerable evidence of the use of moulds. Apart from a general lack of sharpness in the features, which in the best work are emphasized by retouching, we have the fact that among the earlier specimens which appear to be made of Naukratite clay

<sup>1</sup> Cf. certain terracottas found at Halicarnassus and now in the British Museum; C.507a, C.508, C.508b; also some from the neighbourhood of Cyrene.

<sup>2</sup> E 181, E 182.

Nos. 6 and 7, and Nos. 12 and 13, agree so exactly both in appearance and measurements as to warrant the assumption that they are the products of the same moulds. In the case of Nos. 12 and 13 the high head-dress has been made separately (a practice which would seem to have been usual, cf. Nos. 5, 16, 17, etc.) and probably by hand, and this fact accounts for its variation in the two instances.

In later times the use of moulds seems to have been very general. There are one or two instances of mask-heads, *i.e.*, heads of which the face alone is represented (so made, perhaps, in imitation of the custom of earlier times), which a certain lack of sharpness in the modelling of the features marks out as mould-made work. However, most of the specimens before us have been made in two halves. The face or whole front of a figure has been mould-made, whilst the back has been roughly shaped by hand and then joined to the other half. This practice accounts for the variation between Nos. 236-239, which so far as the face is concerned are similar. Nos. 127 and 128, parts of twin Isis-figures, also illustrate this point. In one or two instances both back and front appear to be mould-made (*e.g.* Nos. 149, 197). A good example of this is a figure of a horse found at Naukratis, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. In this case the two halves have come apart. The suture between the two parts is generally very noticeable, and no great pains have been taken to conceal it (*see* especially Nos. 146, 152, 220-223). Curiously enough, carelessness in this respect may be actually responsible for a slight modification observable in some heads of the Harpokrates type, namely, the addition of a hood. It would be rash to assert positively that this is the case, but a careful comparison of a number of the heads has inclined me to this view (*see* below). Many specimens both of later and earlier date bear traces of the fingers which have pressed the mould-made parts into the hollows of the matrix.

In the case of the "Tanagra" heads the faces appear to be mould-made, whilst the detail of the hair can only have been rendered by the use of a tool.<sup>1</sup>

The general employment of moulds by the koroplasts of Naukratis is,

<sup>1</sup> Frochner, *Terres Cuites d'Asie*, considers the long necks of some heads similar to these (Vol. ii. Pl. 97, cf. Nos. 83, 88, etc.) to be phallic. Their *raison d'être* seems rather to have been convenience in fastening the head, which was made separately, between the back and front halves of the figure.

then, suggested by the practice of other centres of production and by the evidence of the terracottas themselves. Some few, however, appear to be stamp-made, *e.g.* Nos. 143, 269; and others, where elaborate under-cutting rendered the use of moulds difficult, seem to have been made by hand, *e.g.* No. 266.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the heads, which appear to be of foreign manufacture, it is often impossible to speak with certainty. We have, however, a fragment which corresponds closely with No. 11, and probably belonged to a head made in the same mould. Also in No. 1, the earliest of the heads, an irregular suture is apparent on the forehead, nose, lips, and chin; and this points, I think, to the making of the head in a double mould, divided, contrary to the custom which obtained in later times, down the middle of the face.

Lastly, as to the use of colour. The employment of paint on the terracottas is not by any means invariable. In the case of the earlier specimens and the "Tanagra" heads it is general, but the heads and figures of later date as a rule show no trace of it.<sup>2</sup> The usual practice seems to have been to cover the entire head or figure with white. On this foundation the dress was painted with vermilion or blue,<sup>3</sup> whilst the eyes were picked out with brown or red, the eyebrows with brown, the lips and nostrils with red, and the hair with red or yellow. The head-dress was generally blue. The flesh was, as a rule, left white, but in three cases at least it was coloured pink. In respect then of the use of colour by Greek artists the excavations at Naukratis have little new information to give. The archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens illustrate every point except the use of pink as the flesh colour in Nos. 163, 251, 291.

The Aphrodite heads admit of a convenient division into two groups, namely those which are merely masks, *i.e.* in which the back of the head is not modelled, and those which are completed behind either with or without an attempt at fidelity to nature. Of the former kind twenty are in a sufficient state of preservation to merit detailed description. In addition

<sup>1</sup> The circular or rectangular holes in the backs of some of the specimens were to assist evaporation during the firing process. Possibly they were also used for purposes of suspension.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 162, 163, 206, 209, 232, 251 are exceptional in this respect. Many of the specimens show signs of what at first appears to be white paint, but is really a hard calcareous deposit due to the nature of the soil in which they were buried.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian (*Lexiphanes*, 22) alludes to the use of these colours by koroplasts.

to these small portions of six other heads of like nature have survived. These heads were apparently intended for suspension on the walls of the shrine, as in twelve cases, where the top of the head or head-dress remains, it is pierced by one or more holes. In one head alone which is complete at the top is there no such hole. They are further distinguished from the second group, except in three instances, by their greater size: one of the heads is rather more, and one rather less than half life-size, whilst these same three exceptions alone are less than one quarter life-size.

*No. 1* (see Plate X.), which I take to be the oldest of the heads, is made of a hard and pure clay, light red in colour. The body, if it ever existed, is now entirely broken away. The top of the head is covered by a veil; before this the hair is roughly indicated by projections between nine small furrows, and in two tresses hanging down below the ears. Across the forehead runs a narrow ornamented band, possibly a string of beads. The eyes are long and slanting, and the face is too much to the side, this defect being especially marked in the case of the right eye; the nose is fat and prominent; the lips are somewhat thick, and at the ends run back into the cheeks so as to form two hollows and produce the placid smile familiarised by the archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The chin is narrow and rounded; the ears are scarcely shown, and are placed too high. What looks like a suture is traceable on the forehead, nose, lips and chin. If it is one, we have here a very early instance of the use of a mould, and one of an unusual kind with a join down the centre. The face has been painted a creamy colour, whilst the veil, the band across the forehead, the pupils of the eyes, and the hair have been treated with red.

First half of sixth century.

*No. 2* (see Plate X.) is a head about one-third life-size. The average thickness of the terracotta, which is pale red in colour, lies between  $\frac{1}{8}$  and  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch. This head, of which little more than the left half remains, marks a great step forward from the point of view of natural and artistic development. The outline of the face is round and full, and contrasts with the triangular contour of the last mentioned head; but, though the eyes, which have lost their prominence, are placed at a more natural angle, and their shape, a long pointed oval, is more in accordance with reality, there remain very distinct traces of archaism in their great length and comparative narrowness, as well as in the deep hollows at the corners of the mouth, the smile, the dimpled chin, and the "bead" treatment of the hair. This last runs all along the top of the forehead, and curving downwards over the temple passes in front of the ear. In the white paint with which the entire head is covered, the curious head-dress, and the position and shape of the ear there is a close similarity with the later and more perfect head, *No. 10* (q.v.), which enables us to arrive at a conjectural completion of the present specimen.

We should probably be right in regarding this head as a work of the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

*No. 3.* The four fragments which go to make up this head have left us sufficient indication of its artistic quality to justify its ascription to the second half of the sixth century. The hair over the forehead is wavy, the eyes of archaic shape and the lips straight. There are a few traces of white paint upon the face and of red upon the hair. The terracotta is apparently Naukratite.

*No. 4,* a head of slightly smaller dimensions than *No. 2,* is composed of a coarse brown clay of considerable weight and thickness. The shape of the face is more oval than that of *No. 2,* and is not so broad across the eyes. The eyes themselves are shorter, and the cheeks less prominent immediately below them, while the eyebrow is now simulated by two slightly incised lines. The top of the head is covered by a cloak or veil, which apparently conceals a stephane, which rises up stiffly above a fringe of roughly indicated ringlets over the forehead. The edges of this veil are visible down the front of the body, which is of a purely conventional type, parallded by many



terracottas of Rhodian provenance in the British Museum (cf. No. 10). The nose and lips have suffered considerable damage; but the absence of the deep hollows at each end of the tiny mouth, which was apparently no broader than the base of the nose, at once removes the grotesqueness of the primitive smile, and helps to supply an air of calm and dignified serenity to the features of the goddess. The ears are scarcely visible.

Date, circa 500 B.C.

*No. 5* (see Plate XI.). Here we come to the largest head of the series. Like the preceding one it is made of a thick and coarse clay, but it has been more perfectly baked, with the result that the surface is harder and redder in appearance. The surface of the face and hair has been covered with a thick coating of friable white paint, on which details have been emphasized by the use of other colours. Thus traces of vermilion are visible at the corners of the eyes, and on the edge of the head-band, the lips, and the ear-ornaments; the pupils of the eyes, the edges of the lids, and possibly the eyebrows were marked by the use of a brownish colour. There are no signs of any colour on the ground white which apparently covered the hair, but the artist probably employed red for this portion of his work, in accordance with a general tradition adhered to in the case of most of the archaic statues on the Acropolis at Athens and of more than one head of the present series.

The most striking difference between this head and the last are in the treatment of the hair, the prominence of the brows and the shape of the face. The face is broader in comparison with its length, and the chin less pointed; the brows project in a sharp and well-defined ridge, and the inner corners of the eyes, which curve more suddenly towards the nose, are sunk more deeply into the face, with the result that the head has more character about it than could be claimed for No. 4. The upper lip, which is very short, projects slightly beyond the lower one. The nose is straight from the bridge, where the prominence of the brows makes a slight break in the profile. The inclination of the forehead is not quite so marked as that of the nose. The chief divergence, however, from the type of No. 4 is in the modelling of the hair. It is covered above the centre of the forehead by a narrow band, probably representing a metal cincture, and, appearing from beneath this, is drawn back above the temples so as to conceal the band by a thick wavy mass, which also hides the top part of the ears; these last are still further obscured by two large circular ornaments. There remain signs of the former existence of a *stephane* or tiara, a form of ornament which occurs on other heads in the collection. For these two last features we can again compare the archaic statues at Athens. The conventional form of body noticed in the last instance seems to have been discarded in this case.

First half of the fifth century B.C.

*Nos. 6 and 7.* We have here two heads from the same mould. They are made of a thick brownish clay, resembling that of No. 59, etc. The faces have been painted white, and there are traces of vermilion on the lips and nostrils of No. 6. The hair, which is parted in the centre, falls in wavelets over the temples and is covered by a close-fitting head-dress or veil. The face is oval in shape, narrowing considerably towards the chin. There are slight hollows at the corners of the mouth. The shape of the eyes is not clear, but they seem to be rather longer than those of the last head.

First half of the fifth century B.C.

*No. 8* (see Plate X.) is a small head of a smooth light brown terracotta, which is without a close parallel in the present collection. No. 9 most nearly resembles it in consistency and colour. The clay is smooth almost to soapiness, but is quite hard, and for the most part only one-sixteenth to one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The artist apparently depended on his brush for detail—there are traces of white paint upon the face and of yellow on the hair—and his treatment of the eyes is therefore difficult to determine; they seem, however, to have been unnaturally long. The mouth is free from the archaic smile, but it is not guilty of any great beauty or realism. The cheeks are rounded, and the ears, as usual, invisible. The hair is represented by a series of loop-like locks projecting over the forehead, and the head is completed above by a high head-dress of unusual type.

It is difficult to allot this head to any narrow period of time, but it cannot, I think, be later than the first half of the fifth century B.C.

No. 9 (*see* Plate X.), another small head of somewhat similar clay to the last one, is covered by a veil or other head dress with a flat top of some stiff material. The hair, which is visible over the centre of the forehead and in a thick mass over the remaining temple, is only roughly worked. The eyes, so far as it is possible to judge, were of a later type than those of No. 8, and the treatment of the mouth appears to warrant its attribution to a somewhat later date, say, the middle of the fifth century B.C.

No. 10 (*see* Plate X.), which is of somewhat similar clay to No. 2, and is a later figure of the same type, is, with No. 4, of great importance for the restoration of the other heads, inasmuch as sufficient has been pieced together to show the whole original extent of the terracotta. We have here not only a head, but also a body of purely conventional form, the sides of which are formed by a continuation of the veil or head-dress (*cf.* No. 4.) There has been no attempt to indicate the shoulders, arms, or breasts. In front the body presents a flat surface relieved only by two slightly raised bands of dark colour<sup>1</sup> which seem to mark the border of the veil. Its total length from the chin downwards is about equal to that of the head. The head-dress rises up stiffly from the forehead, and appears to consist of a stephane covered by the veil; the ears, from which hang large circular ornaments, are modelled on its surface.

There are, I think, sufficient indications to warrant the restoration of Nos. 2 and 11 by the addition of bodies of a similar kind. With regard to the completion of the other heads, it would be rash to make any positive statement; nevertheless, it seems not unlikely that, when perfect, they possessed bodies either resembling that of No. 10 or else aiming at a somewhat closer imitation of nature, after the manner of No. 59 (q.v.). Certain Rhodian terracottas in the British Museum, to which allusion has already been made with reference to No. 4, in type very closely resemble the one under discussion. The clay of which they are composed, though, I believe, similar, is of much greater thickness.<sup>2</sup>

In respect of the treatment of the hair and facial features the figure before us is in distinct advance of No. 2, to which it is otherwise similar. As in that head and No. 5 the profile of forehead and nose presents a line which is but slightly curved; but the chin is no longer dimpled, and while the hollows at the corners of the mouth still exist in some degree, the lips have lost their archaic smile and are modelled with some skill. The eyes are better proportioned than was the case in the earlier example. The hair runs in a number of wavelets along the top of the forehead. I am inclined to regard this head as a work of the first half of the fifth century B.C. If we compare it with No. 5, it appears in some respects, notably in the treatment of the nose and mouth, to be distinctly in advance of that head, while on the other hand, in other features, for example the modelling of the eyes and hair, it is as far behind it. It is, then, probably a product of approximately the same time, but due to a different school of art.

No. 11 is a head of similar terracotta to the last. The principal difference lies in the head-dress, which no longer rises up in a stiff ridge along the forehead, but fits close down to the head. The hair is shown parted in the centre. The hollows at the ends of the mouth have disappeared.

Middle of the fifth century B.C.

Fragments of two similar heads have survived. One of them was perhaps from the same mould.

Nos. 12 and 13 (*see* Plate X.), two heads from the same mould, are formed of a heavy and coarse clay, which has been burnt in one case to a dull brown-red and in the other to a brick-red, and subsequently painted. The high head-dresses were added after the heads had been removed from the mould, and, in consequence, differ slightly the one from the other. The usual head-dress noticed in Nos. 2 and 10 exists below and in front of these huge frills which are probably an artistic development of the stephane made with the object of providing a background for the head. The treatment of the hair is rather bolder than was the case in Nos. 6, 7 and 11, where it is arranged in an almost similar manner. Here it is not pressed so closely to the forehead, and tresses hang down at each side of the neck so as to conceal the ears.

<sup>1</sup> The figure generally is painted white.

<sup>2</sup> A very early figure of this type is shown in Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. XII.

The general shape of the face approximates most closely to that of Nos. 6 and 7 : it is slightly more rounded. An improvement is to be noticed in the modelling of the eyes and mouth. The former, owing to the curvature of the upper lids, which rises more suddenly at the inner than at the outer end, appear to incline downwards rather than upwards at the corner further from the nose, and the appearance produced is more natural than that under the older method. A similar result is obtained in the case of the mouth by the absence of deep hollows at the corners and by the bow-like outline of the upper lip, a modification at which the artists of Nos. 10 and 11 had arrived, though with less happy effect. The date of the present heads cannot be much later than that ascribed to the two preceding ones.

*Nos. 14—17.* It would be idle to attempt any separation of these four heads in point of date. The treatment of the facial features is almost identical in each case. The eyes, whilst no longer symmetrically sided and of unnatural length, do not attain to the perfection of shape found in the head which we shall next discuss, and this is also lacking in the case of the mouth, which has, nevertheless, lost all trace of archaism. The increased boldness of the curve between lower lip and chin—especially marked in No. 14—is also to be noticed. These features point to the latter half of the fifth century as the date of the heads.

The clay of No. 14 is friable and light red in colour ; that of Nos. 15 and 17 is, I think, of the same origin as that of Nos. 6 and 7 ; whilst that of No. 16 resembles most closely that of No. 9. The modelling of the hair and the form of head-dress differ in the three cases, Nos. 15—17, where they have not been entirely broken away. In two instances, Nos. 15 and 16, there are traces of red paint upon the hair, and in Nos. 14 and 15 on the lips.

*No. 15.* The hair is arranged as in No. 11, etc., whilst the head-dress probably resembled that of Nos. 2 and 10. It would be rash, however, to assert that this similarity to the older heads proves No. 15 to be of earlier date than the three heads with which it is classed.

*No. 16* (*see* Plate X.), which was, and indeed is, a head of considerable beauty, is unfortunately much damaged. The stephane, which decorated the top of the head, has disappeared, with the exception of a small portion at the right-hand end, which is ornamented with a rosette or stud about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. In front of this the hair was just visible at either side, whilst from temple to temple it was apparently hidden by a continuation of the head-dress ornamented with three small rosettes and, above the centre of the forehead, with a bow in addition.

*No. 17* (*see* Plate X.). The coiffure is even more elaborate. The hair, except that part of it which is immediately over the forehead, is entirely concealed by a veil of crinkled material drawn under a huge tiara or stephane, and fastened above the centre of the forehead by being knotted into a large bow. A crimped edge finishes it off prettily in front, and from beneath this a certain amount of hair is allowed to escape. The general effect even now is one of great beauty, and it is a matter of great regret that, though no fewer than twelve fragments of this head have been pieced together, a large and important portion of it is irrecoverably lost.

*No. 18* (*see* Plate XI.), which appears to be the latest but two of this group of heads, is the gem of the collection. It is the best preserved of all the heads both as to form and colour. The terracotta is the same as that of No. 10, etc., but is of much greater thickness, and it is to this, probably, that it owes its preservation in its present condition. The head is topped by a stephane painted a light blue and originally ornamented with five or more rosettes. Over the top of the forehead its surface is flat, but at the end it is wavy. Below this is a thick roll of hair, which comes low over the temples and conceals the ears. This style of dressing the hair recalls the coiffure of one of the archaic female figures in the Acropolis Museum at Athens (No. 683), and gives what might to-day be termed a French air to the head. In the present case the modelling shows considerable freedom : the surface of the clay has been pitted with a stick or pointed tool in such a manner as to produce a very effective imitation of frizzed hair, and has been painted a rich red. The face is round and the features are excellently rendered : the brows are sharply cut and prominent ; the eyes well shaped and skilfully shaded by means of the emphasis given to the upper lid :—a device to give the effect of eyelashes, necessitated by the impossibility of actually representing them :—the nose is almost straight and continues the frontal line without a break ; the mouth is delicately shaped in the bow-like curve noticed in one or two of the earlier heads. The expression is almost disdainful,

an effect produced by the prominence given to the lower lip by the deep hollow or dimple beneath it. The chin is pleasantly rounded and not unduly emphasized.

The face is entirely covered with a white pigment. The lips receive an additional coat of red paint, and the iris of the eyes was painted some dark colour, either red<sup>1</sup> or brown, but the remaining traces of these pigments are very slight. It is worthy of remark that, as is the case with most heads both real and sculptured, the two sides of the face are not exactly similar: a slight difference is noticeable not only between the two eyes but also between the two sides of the nose and mouth.

This head cannot, I think, date from before the end of the fifth century B.C., and is probably considerably later.

*No. 19* is a head of almost masculine appearance. The hair, which fell down on to the shoulders in two tresses, only remains in a fragmentary condition. It betrays considerable skill in its treatment, and a greater freedom than is exhibited in the case of any of the other heads. The treatment of the eyes does not call for special comment or aid us particularly in fixing the date of the head, but the exaggerated curves of the mouth and the modelling of the hair point to a period as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C. The neck, which was ornamented with a necklace, is of unnatural size. The face generally was painted white, the necklace, lips and hair red, and the iris and lids of the eyes brown. The clay is light red in colour, and hard.

*No. 20.* We have here a head of a light yellow or yellow red clay, formerly covered with white paint. The high head-dress is of the stephane type and is covered with raised ornamentation. The mouth is of a late shape, and the eyes are badly modelled. Careless work of the last half of the fourth century or even later.

With regard to the second group of "Aphrodite" heads, it is unfortunately impossible to say with any certainty of correctness what of the remaining female heads are to be included in it. In addition to the shrine of Aphrodite, which would seem to have been of considerable importance, there apparently existed a shrine of Rhea Cybele in its immediate neighbourhood (*see* plan 7), and a shrine of Demeter at some little distance to the east (38 on the plan). Neither of these shrines, if we can trust the evidence of the terracottas which can certainly be connected with them, can boast the antiquity or the popularity of the temple of the love-goddess; and, in the presence of some undoubted Aphrodite-terracottas of late date, there is no reason for supposing that her worship ceased to attract votaries during the last 300 years before Christ. Except then in the case of the earlier figures and of those where an attribute or a significant portion of the body has survived, it is not possible to distinguish clearly between the representations of Aphrodite, Cybele, Demeter and Persephone.

The heads and figures which can be confidently associated with Aphrodite are the following:—

*No. 21* (*see* Plate X.), a head of extremely crude work of the first half of the sixth century: the brows and eyes are prominent, as also are the lips, which smile inately beneath a nose of huge

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acropolis Museum, Athens, No. 679, etc.

proportions. The hair or wreath upon the forehead is formed by a series of perpendicular ridges in the clay. This may be an exceedingly early specimen of the childbirth figures, see below, p. 82. Found between 1 and 35 (see plan) 18 in. above the basal mud.

No. 22, a head<sup>1</sup> of early date (550-500 B.C.), wearing a veil-covered stephane and smiling in archaic fashion. Found with the big heads.

No. 23, a head of rather later date, similarly dressed except that the veil comes down over the forehead. C. 500 B.C.

These two heads seem to have formed the tops of vases, unless the latter is to be restored after the manner of the Acropolis terracottas, representing Athene helmeted.

No. 24, fragment<sup>2</sup> showing a right hand holding a dove before the right breast. Two tresses of hair hang down over the shoulder and breast. Many terracottas of this type are to be seen in the Museum at Syracuse and elsewhere. C. 500 B.C.

No. 25 (see Plate X.), head with high stephane. The hair is parted in the centre and curves down over the temples concealing the ears, which are ornamented with pendants. The eyes are almond-shaped, the mouth almost straight. 500-450 B.C. From 9 (see plan) 2 ft. above the mud.

Nos. 26<sup>3</sup>-31 (see Plate XII.), six heads dating between 500 and 450 B.C. The earliest one has a stephane and veil, another a stephane alone.

No. 32, a large head, much perished, wearing a high stephane and circular ear ornaments. Date c. 450 B.C. Found with Nos. 25 and 33.

No. 33, ditto, much defaced, without ear ornaments; stephane broken away. Date as No. 32.

No. 34, head covered by veil, round face, circular ear ornaments. C. 400 B.C.

No. 35, fragment of naked female figure.<sup>4</sup>

No. 36, part of torso of semi-nude female figure.<sup>5</sup>

No. 37, upper half of semi-nude female figure.<sup>6</sup> A himation, which is wrapped round the waist, passes up over the head and down again on to the left shoulder. The right hand is raised and holds the himation away from the face. The head is inclined gracefully to the right. There are traces of red paint upon the lips; the figure generally is painted white. The back of the figure was not completed excepting behind the head. From Well 35 (see plan). Date 400-350 B.C.

No. 38, upper half of a somewhat similar figure.<sup>7</sup> In this instance the right hand apparently rested on the hip, whilst the left arm was raised from the shoulder, possibly in order to rest on the shoulder or neck of a second figure (? Eros) now missing.<sup>8</sup> From Well 35 (see plan). Date c. 350 B.C.

Nos. 39 and 40,<sup>9</sup> two female heads, dating about 400-350 B.C.

No. 41, head of Aphrodite with star-fish body. A small projection at the back of the figure's pierced for suspension.

No. 42, head wearing stephane and veil according to the old type. In spite of this peculiarity and the smile, I am drawn to consider this head as the work of an archaizing rather than of an archaic artist. The shape of the eyes and the treatment of the neck mark it as a work of late date,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Naukratis i. Pl. XV. 8. Our specimen is of friable light red clay.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, a light yellow.

<sup>3</sup> The terracotta of No. 26 is a very light red, that of No. 27 yellow-brown, that of No. 29 pale red, and that of No. 31 also pale red. In the last instance it is very friable. With No. 27 cf. Heuzey, *Figurines Antiques du Louvre*, Pl. 14 (Rhodes).

<sup>4</sup> Terracotta, pale red, soapy.

<sup>5</sup> Terracotta, pale red.

<sup>6</sup> Terracotta, as Nos. 10 or 35; cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Myrina*, pl. 5, and British Museum, C 157 (Cyprus).

<sup>7</sup> Terracotta, as Nos. 10 or 35; cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Myrina*, pl. 5, and British Museum, C 157 (Cyprus).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. No. 47, and British Museum, C 596.

<sup>9</sup> A very similar head is *Collection J. Greau*, No. 550 (Cyprus).

and a careful comparison shows the smile to lack the curve usual in the works which it imitates. 250—200 B.C.

*Nos. 43, 44 and 45*, fragments of three naked female figures apparently of similar type. The hair falls in huge tresses on each side of the head, and is surmounted by an unwieldy erection, which, from the bands which cross it, and a comparison with many of the Harpocrates figures (*see* below) would seem to be a wreath. Found not far from the surface near 26, 11 (*see* plan). Date, after 200 B.C.

*No. 46*, a headless naked female figure with right arm raised, possibly in order to hold the himation, which is visible over the left shoulder, away from the face. The hair falls in tresses on each side of the head after the manner common in the early years of the fifth century B.C. 100 B.C.

*No. 47*, fragment of a group representing Aphrodite and Eros.<sup>1</sup> Date, ? second or first century B.C.

*No. 48 a, b, c, d, e* (*see* Plate XIII.) consists of ten fragments, which go to make up the base of a female figure. Of this the unsandalled feet and a small bit of drapery survive. The base was apparently intended to represent a wave of the sea, in which two or more dolphins disported themselves. It is much to be regretted that no more of this interesting figure has been recovered. Sufficient, however, remains to make it seem probable that we have here the relics of a terracotta statuette of the sea-born goddess treading the waves of her native element. White and blue paint; terracotta as *No. 10* etc. Found with the big heads.

We now come to a group of eight naked female figures (*Nos. 49—56*), which are probably to be regarded as offerings of women before or after childbirth.<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of Mr. Petrie they are to be considered as recumbent figures, and, if *No. 50* is rightly included in this class, his judgment receives some support from the presence of what may be two bolsters behind the head. The rounding of the back of *No. 49*, and the presence of a support for the feet in *No. 56*, incline me to the belief that the recumbent position was not invariable. In every case the arms are laid along the sides of the body. The technique of the figures is exceedingly poor; and this fact, coupled with the knowledge that, with one exception, they were unearthed at no great depth, points to a late period as the date of their manufacture.

*No. 49*, the exception alluded to, is apparently an earlier production, though probably belonging to the same class of figure. It was found at a considerable distance below the surface, and, further, the crudeness of the workmanship is of a kind more consonant with the ineffectual aspirations of the early artist than with the hopeless incapability of an unskilled craftsman of the first century before or after Christ. The features of the face are scarcely indicated. The nose and mouth are very small, the ears roughly modelled, whilst the eyes are marked by two very slight protuberances. Two double bands pass above the temples and cross over the forehead, forming part of a head-dress. The neck is of the same breadth as the head, and only slightly narrower than the trunk. The arms were added in separate pieces of clay, and were very rudely shaped; the breasts are vaguely indicated. The clay is hard and smooth, and in colour pale red.

*No. 56A* is a seated figure, probably of like intent.

*Nos. 57 and 58*<sup>3</sup> possibly served the same purpose as the figures last mentioned. In the present specimens a circular object, perhaps a flat cake, is held by both hands in front of the left breast and shoulder. The hair or head-dress is wig-like in appearance. The figures are naked, as before. Possibly it would be more correct to refer them to the class of terracotta to which we now come.

*No. 59*, which has been pieced together from nine fragments found with the large heads, and must therefore be assigned to a comparatively early date, represents the shoulders and the upper part of the body of a woman. The head is unfortunately missing. The hands are held to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 596. Terracotta, coarse red.

<sup>2</sup> See *Naukratis*, i. p. 40, and plate XIX. 7, 8 and 9 (limestone figures); British Museum, C 585; Hilton Price Collection 2055-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Monumenti Inediti*, xi. 52, Nos. 33 and 34.

breasts, which are apparently naked, though there are indications of a garment falling over each shoulder. Below, the remains of an outside edge remove all doubt as to the further extent of the figure in a downward direction. The figure is very badly proportioned, the size of the arms being too small for the great breadth of the body. The treatment of the hands, too, is primitive and inadequate. I am inclined to regard this figure as an early Naukratite imitation of Cypriote work. The British Museum possesses several Cypriote terracottas of similar type, but of great artistic superiority.<sup>1</sup>

*No. 60* is a figure with both hands raised to the left breast. It is naked, and of late date and crude workmanship.

*Nos. 61, 62 and 63*<sup>2</sup> are portions of figures which have the left hand alone raised to the left breast. Of these *No. 61* is shown by the treatment of the hair, which is like that of the archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, to be of early date. It was partially clothed, and but for the nudity of the breast and upper portion of the body, might be further compared with the statues above mentioned, which hold some attribute in a hand bent across the body. As it is it seems safer to include it in the group under consideration.

In *No. 64*, a nude figure, the left hand clasps the right breast, whilst in *No. 65*, which is partially clothed, the right hand is raised to the right breast.

*Nos. 66 and 67* (*No. 67*, see Plate XII.), which are proved by the circumstances of their discovery to be of early date (? fifth century), seem when complete to have been nothing more than a right and left arm respectively and the nearer of the breasts, which was clasped by the hand. Clothing is indicated in each case.

*Nos. 68, 69 and 70* were probably of like nature and date.

These figures and part-figures, which the inscriptions found with some of them, apart from the nature of the specimens themselves, incline one to denominate as dedications to Aphrodite, were, there is very little doubt, votive offerings made by mothers to ensure the continuance of their nutritive powers. Four objects of a like nature are figured, two for the first time, in Professor Ridgeway's new book on the Early Age of Greece. They consist of "a necklace of gold and Cornelian beads, with pendants which consist alternately of glass paste and gold plate in the form of a hand grasping a woman's breast, from which hangs a small acorn formed of an olive-green stone in a gold cup," from Aegina; a gold relief from Rhodes representing a woman with her hands held to her breasts; and two other similar gold reliefs of unknown provenance.<sup>3</sup> They were no doubt intended for personal wear as milk-charms.

*No. 71*, a fragment of a group, should perhaps be added to this class. The fragment consists of the breasts, right shoulder, and part of the left arm of a female figure, and the right arm from above the elbow downwards of a second figure, the hand of which is grasping the left breast of the extant one. This arm seems to belong to a figure considerably taller than the remaining one, and is possibly part of a representation of a goddess (? Aphrodite). The group may however have pictured the rape of Oreithuia or some similar subject.

Of the six terracottas (*Nos. 72-77*) which appear to portray the Mother of the Gods, one alone, *No. 74*, is identified with her by the existence of a not uncommon attribute, the lion. The features are usually too indistinct to merit description. Found at 5 (see plan) 10 inches above the mud.

*No. 72*.<sup>4</sup> Head of figure of fairly early date (c. 500 B.C.), with abnormally high head-dress. It is covered with white paint, and much defaced. Terracotta, brick red, friable.

*No. 73* (see Plate XII.). Upper part of clothed female figure, probably seated. The hair, which is surmounted by a high head-dress, is parted in the centre, and falls on to the shoulders, passing behind two large ear-drops. The breasts are not greatly developed. The dress apparently

<sup>1</sup> E.g. A 9, 14, 15, 16. Cf. also AI (Sardinia); Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. 6; Salzmänn, *Camiros*, Pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, A 19 (Cyprus).

<sup>3</sup> All these are now in the British Museum. My thanks are due to Professor Ridgeway for allowing me to make use of his proof-sheets.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. British Museum, B 58.

consisted of a chiton and himation; the latter is just visible on the left shoulder. The hair was painted red, the face white, and the dress and head-gear blue. 450-400 B.C.

*No. 74* (see Plate XII.). Ditto. The hair is tied in the fashion of the early years of the fifth century, though the figure is probably of later date (c. 400 B.C.). The high head-dress is ornamented with palmettes in relief. Dress as *No. 73*: the chiton is sleeved. The arms are bent at the elbows and carry a small lion,<sup>1</sup> the mane of which is clearly indicated. The mouth wears a pleasant smile. Red paint on hair; white on face and dress. Terracotta; light red.

*No. 75.* Upper part of clothed female figure. The head-dress resembles that of *No. 74*, and is ornamented with palmettes and circles, which project from a red background. The hair, which has been painted red, forms a thick roll along the forehead (cf. *No. 18*), and a tress falls on to each shoulder. The neck is too long. Dress: chiton and himation; the latter passes under the right and over the left breast. Large ear-ornaments. White paint. Terracotta; pale yellow, somewhat soapy to the touch. 300-250 B.C.

*No. 76.* Head. The head-dress is ornamented with ? olive leaves. The hair (red) retains the old arrangement. White paint. Terracotta; as last, but rather darker. C. 250 B.C.

*No. 77.* Head. The head-dress is high and passes all round the head (cf. *Naukratis*, i. Pl. XV. 5). The hair is very roughly worked in perpendicular tresses. Possibly an Isis head. After 200 B.C.

The dedications to Demeter and Persephone may be briefly dismissed. They consist of a number of heads of late date and of two upright figures of little merit, *Nos. 78* and *79* (*No. 78*, see Plate XII.). Of these last the former is grasping a torch<sup>2</sup> of large size with her right hand, and is clothed in a chiton and himation. The head is missing. The body generally is covered with a thick white deposit, and the torch is painted an orange yellow. The second figure is missing from the centre upwards. The hands, which are very badly modelled, are against the sides.

Of the heads, one alone, *No. 80* (see Plate XII.), appears to be earlier than 200 B.C. The rest were probably the work of the second century. The majority bear traces of red about the hair, and one, *No. 84*, has its eyes emphasized with black. (*Nos. 80-91.*)<sup>3</sup> (*Nos. 82, 85*, see Plate XII.)

The remaining heads and figures of this class are not easy to apportion. They consist of two pitcher-bearers (*Nos. 92* and *93*), possibly dedicated to Demeter,<sup>4</sup> and thirty heads (*Nos. 94-123*), mostly wearing wreaths. Of these *Nos. 94-97* are probably Demeter heads, and the remainder probably belong to Persephone or Aphrodite. The four heads, *Nos. 98-101* (*No. 98*, see Plate XII.), recall by the manner in which their hair is arranged certain heads of Hygieia in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>5</sup> However, it seems more probable that this style of coiffure was peculiar to a particular period (c. 200 B.C.), rather than to this particular divinity. *No. 102* is, I think, of Cypriote clay, and a work of early date.

*No. 124* is a torso of Athene wearing a snakeless aegis and gorgoneion over a χιτῶν σχιστός, with λουγὴ ἀπόπτυγμα held by a cord round the waist. This style of dress is common on the white Athenian leucuthi, but is rare on vases of greater antiquity.

*No. 125.* Female figure, seated. The head, feet, right arm and left arm from below the elbow are missing. The figure is seated in a crouching posture, with the knees drawn up almost to the chest. Tresses hang down on the shoulders. The dress bears a rough resemblance to that of the archaic female statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. A basket hangs from the left arm.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, ii. p. 269, Torlonia (503), p. 270, statuette in Louvre and figure in Munich Antiquarium (307).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pausanias, 8, 25, 7; 8, 37, 3; 10, 35, 10; and Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, p. 243 (British Museum).

<sup>3</sup> *No. 81* is not, I think, of Naukratic clay. It resembles most closely *No. 74* in this respect, but is darker in colour. The terracotta of *No. 89* is a pale yellow. With *No. 88* cf. British Museum, C 765 (Bengazi); and with *No. 86* *Collection J. Greau*, 341 (Tanagra).

<sup>4</sup> A similar figure is in the British Museum, Egyptian Room, Case M, labelled "Female figure, perhaps a Danaid, carrying jar"; cf. also British Museum, C 601.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Froehner, *Terrac Cuites d'Asie*, ii. Pl. 42.



No. 126. Lower half of standing female figure, found near 31 (*see* map).

Nos. 127 and 128<sup>1</sup> (No. 127, *see* plate XII.): (from well, *see* pp. 34, 35) parts of two similar female figures representing ?Isis dancing. The head-dress is peaked, and what seems to be a veil overhangs it so as to cover the forehead, whilst a second or part of the same veil conceals the lower part of the face,<sup>2</sup> so that the eyes and upper half of the nose are the only parts of the face exposed. The body is clothed in a chiton almost completely concealed by a himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the right hand is beneath the right breast. The modelling of this arm is poor in the extreme, and it appears too short for the height of the figure. The left arm is missing from the elbow. The legs are crossed at the knee. The dress seems to have been painted a bluish white; the shoes, red.

Nos. 129 and 130. Parts of Baubo figures.<sup>3</sup>

No. 131. Part of a winged figure, ?Eros, about to throw an apple or ball.<sup>4</sup>

No. 132. Part of a figure, with the left hand raised to the head.

No. 133. Fragment of relief, showing a girl in a short-sleeved garment holding crotali in her right hand. Date, possibly fourth century or even earlier.<sup>5</sup>

The largest and, in some respects, the most interesting group of terracottas is one which belongs to the last centuries of Naukratite history (150 B.C.—250 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> During the whole of this period the prosperity of Naukratis would seem to have been on the decline. The absorption of its trade by Alexandria, and the attraction exerted by the same centre on the devotees of literature and art, were factors which conduced in no small degree to the thinning of its population; but the Bucolic<sup>7</sup> War and the revolt of Cassius and its suppression resulted more speedily, if not more certainly, in the desolation of the older Greek emporium. Indeed during the last hundred years of its existence Naukratis appears to have been little more than a mere collection of huts.<sup>8</sup> It is probable then that but few of the terracottas which compose the present group are to be dated later than 150 A.D. The earlier date (150 B.C.) has been arrived at chiefly by a consideration of the depth at which these specimens were unearthed. They were derived in almost every case from the first few feet of surface soil,<sup>9</sup> in a stratum above that which yielded the heads of "Tanagra" type.

<sup>1</sup> For the attitude of the legs, and the dress, cf. British Museum, C 202.

<sup>2</sup> The figurines from Thebes, etc., in which the himation is drawn across the lower part of the face, are not similar.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Naukratis* i. p. 45, and a stone figure pictured on plate XIX. of the same work, also a terracotta in the Edwards' collection at University College, London, and British Museum, C 590.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a terracotta in the Edwards' collection.

<sup>5</sup> Terracotta; very pale red.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. F. Ll. Griffith has very kindly read the proof-sheets of the remainder of this article, and my thanks are due to him for some corrections in the spelling of Egyptian god-names, for a suggestion which I have embodied in note 1 on p. 89, and for one or two emendations.

<sup>7</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 9.      <sup>8</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>9</sup> In places where the ground had been disturbed they were occasionally found at a lower level.

The general style of the terracottas does not warrant their ascription to an earlier date, and it would be rash, I think, to confine the period of their production within narrower limits.

With regard to their relative positions within this period, it is not possible to arrive at any certain arrangement by a consideration of their artistic merits. The most that can be done is to attempt a classification on the lines suggested by the apparent development of the various types.

As has been already stated (p. 71), most of the heads and figures which go to compose this group are male,<sup>1</sup> and appear to be connected with the worship of Horos.

From Plutarch<sup>2</sup> as well as from other sources, it is apparent that at least two deities of the name Horos were recognised by the Egyptians. Of these one Har-uer ("Horos the elder"), called by the Greeks Ἄρουήρις, was the son of Nût and Râ, the sun god (or, according to a second account, of Isis and Osiris, who had been lovers before their birth); and the other, Har-pe-khred (Horos the child), the Greek Ἀρποκράτης, was the son of Isis and Osiris after the death of the latter. These two deities were originally entirely distinct.<sup>3</sup> The one was Horos the sun god, the other Horos the son of Isis.<sup>4</sup> "The blending of the two divinities was a subsequent development."

<sup>5</sup> "Generally speaking, the sun god may be distinguished from his namesake by the possession of certain cognomens varying with the nomes or cities in which he was worshipped. In course of time each of the different forms became an independent divinity, and we frequently find several such worshipped contemporaneously as distinct deities in the later periods of Egyptian history."

The latter part of this statement, though made by so high an authority as Wiedemann, is, I think, open to dispute, as also is the assertion of Tiele,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Huish is wrong in alluding to these figures as female (*Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, p. 180).

<sup>2</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Wiedemann, pp. 223, 4. "Horos, the son of Isis, appears in the Osirian legend, first as the child Her-pe-khred . . . , Harpocrates, with his finger in his mouth, secondly as the avenger of his father (Osiris); and finally as his father's successor on the throne of Egypt. His original nature can no longer be determined; even in prehistoric times he had already been blended with Horos the sun god, from whom there is no distinguishing him in the texts."

<sup>5</sup> Wiedemann, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Tiele's *History of the Egyptian Religion*, Ballingal, p. 52.

that the name Horos "was not so much that of a definite deity, as the common title given to a particular class of gods." The latter adduces in support of this theory facts on which, apparently, Wiedemann also founded his statement, viz., that the name of Horos is rarely used without attribute or epithet; that nearly every locality has its particular Horos, designated by a special surname; that one frequently sees several different Horos deities side by side on the monuments; that some divine beings, like the star Sirius (Harsapd), have the title Horos bestowed upon them when they are masculine; and finally that in later times, at least, the name of Horos in the plural is always used as synonymous with the *neteru*, the gods.<sup>1</sup> But, in my opinion, both he and Wiedemann lay too great stress on the existence of surnames or descriptive epithets which are usually associated with the name of Horos ('the Lord'). Surely it would be as justifiable to distinguish between the persons of Notre Dame de Bon Secours,<sup>2</sup> Notre Dame de la Haine,<sup>3</sup> and Notre Dame de Bonne Nouvelle,<sup>4</sup> as to claim a different identity for Har-bhedti at Edfu and Harsamtau at Dendera, for Har-em-akhet (*i.e.* Horos on the sun-hill) and Har-nûb (*i.e.* the Golden Horos)? The difference in name seems to denote no more than the different point of view from which the deity was regarded: as god of the light he was equally the god of the morning sun, the Golden Horos, and the Horos of the Two Horizons. It would be no more incongruous in the eyes of an Egyptian to represent the same god under his different aspects upon the same monument, than to a Roman Catholic to address the Virgin in his litanies as the Sun, Moon, Star, Lily, Rose, Ever-full Well, Sealed Fountain, etc. The Christ of County Dublin, whom forty men could scarcely hold at His scourging, is the same Saviour who "was led as a lamb to the slaughter."

We need not then in the "Horos" figures before us attribute each different type to a different god. At Naukratis, if not elsewhere, there seems to have been an amalgamation of the powers and attributes assigned to Horos in the aspects in which he was worshipped in various localities. To anticipate a little, he is apparently regarded as the son of Isis, the sun god, the god of the moon and the god of fertility. Further his type is commingled with that of Khonsupkehred, who was primarily a lunar deity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. Ll. Griffith informs me that this statement is incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> At Rouen.

<sup>3</sup> See Souvestre, *Les Derniers Bretons*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> At Paris.

<sup>5</sup> See Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 271. 2.

In only a few cases is it possible to distinguish definitely between the two deities, and it seems probable that even in those cases the distinction is unwise. It is doubtful if, at the date to which these terracottas are to be assigned, the Egyptians themselves discriminated clearly between them, for at this time,<sup>1</sup> and at an earlier date too, a pantheistic tendency had made its mark upon the religions of Egypt; and it is not likely that the Greeks of Naukratis would be careful to maintain any unimportant differentiation which may have existed in the allied worships which they borrowed. It was a time indeed of the assimilation of types and deities, when Greek, Roman and Egyptian gods became merged one in another, if any slight similarity appeared to warrant or support the identification;<sup>2</sup> and Horos did not escape the process. According to Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> Ἄρουμερις was called the elder Horos (Har-uer) by the Egyptians, and Apollo by the Greeks, but Horos seems also to have been associated with the vivifying and fertilizing powers of nature,<sup>4</sup> usurping to some extent the rôle of Dionysus, who was identified with Osiris.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the evidence of the terracottas points to the importation into his worship of some of the less desirable features of the religions of Asia Minor, unless the origin of the phallic types is to be looked for in the cult of Har-min or in the phallic side of Osiris worship.<sup>6</sup> If we add that Harpokrates was in later times regarded as the ward of Bes,<sup>7</sup> and that Horos, the sun god, was entirely confused with that deity, we have, I think, completed the list of identifications, etc., which have a bearing on the terracottas. The types which we have to discuss are not, apparently, peculiar to Naukratis. Similar terracottas are to be found in the British Museum and elsewhere, which are labelled as having come from the Fayûm.

A careful examination and comparison of the terracottas reveal a gradual and continuous development of the type of Harpokrates as known from Egyptian monuments and fayence sepulchral figures. In these he is represented as a child, often in the lap of his mother Isis, and still more

<sup>1</sup> See Wiedemann, pp. 4, 109, 136, 260, 301-6.

<sup>2</sup> Though the syncretic tendency was strong in Egypt, the Egyptians, on their part, seem to have exhibited no inclination to identify the Greek and Roman gods with their own. Wiedemann, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, 355 EF, 356 A, 375 F.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* 366 A. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* 356 B, 365 D.

<sup>6</sup> See Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, 358 B, 371 F; Diod. 1. 22, 6, 4. 6. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Wiedemann, p. 164.

frequently in conjunction with figures of Isis and Nephthys (Nebthas). He is bald save for a large lock,<sup>1</sup> which springs from the head above the right ear and falls down on to the right shoulder, and is usually, if not invariably naked. He is generally shown with the forefinger of his right hand upon his lips<sup>2</sup> and with the *pschent*, the combined crowns of upper and lower Egypt, upon his head.

The present collection of Naukratite terracottas exhibits no instance of the juxtaposition of Harpokrates and another deity, though possibly No. 155 formed part of a group of this kind. In the Fayûm two or three such groups have come to light, for example, one now in the Petrie collection representing Horos carrying Harpokrates; and Naukratis itself has yielded at least one Isis and the infant Horos.<sup>3</sup> However, in some cases he is given the general form and peculiarities which he possesses in the Egyptian figurines. Thus in No. 134 his face is that of a smiling child with the forefinger of the right hand upon his lip. A large lock of hair springing from above the right ear descends on to the shoulder. Apart from this he is bald. The double crown rises high above his head.

All variants from this, the stereotyped Egyptian form, need not necessarily be assigned to a later date; but it would not, I think, be too much to suppose that the majority of them are due to the development of the Greek conception of the deity, to an intentional omission of the essentially Egyptian attribute, the double crown, or to a purely artistic differentiation, so that their attribution to a later date, if not necessary, is at least probable.

One is struck at once by the great number of the variations. In the case of the Acropolis terracottas at Athens, and of those from Megara Hyblaea, Camarina and Echetla (?) in the museum at Syracuse, no such wide diversity of type is observable. In each of these cases we have a series of figures collected from a particular site, and connected with the worship of a particular deity; but in spite of Greek versatility any variation of the stereotyped forms is exceedingly rare: so rare indeed that, to take

<sup>1</sup> This lock is alluded to by Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 167, as the "side-lock of youth." This was its original significance, but the Greeks apparently lost sight of the idea unless we should regard Nos. 235-239, etc., in which the lock is attached to a head of elderly character, as amalgamations of incongruous types.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks, in consequence, came to regard him as the god of taciturnity. The hand pointing to his mouth was, however, with the Egyptians, the sign that he was yet an infant and could not speak. Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, C 580.

the case of the Acropolis terracottas, one is inclined to give the name of some other divinity to the seated female figures found among the standing figurines of the helmeted Athene. In them almost the only differentiation consists in the absence or presence of the aegis.

The Naukratite craftsmen on the other hand do not seem to have felt themselves bound in any way to one particular type, and, though this fact appears curious when one considers that the Harpokrates type was already fixed at the date at which the Greeks of Naukratis admitted him to their Pantheon, an explanation may perhaps be found in the very fact that he was to them a foreign and new divinity, for whose peculiar attributes they would not have the conservative respect felt by his older worshippers.

To enter into details: one of the simplest variants of the usual Egyptian type is that presented by *Nos.* 135-140 (*Nos.* 134, 6, see Plate XII.). In these instances we have before us a smiling child-face, round and chubby. The nose is undeveloped, and in the case of *Nos.* 135 and 137 the cheeks are dimpled at the corners of the mouth in a fashion that is almost archaic. In all six cases the head is apparently bald, and (if we include *No.* 138, which is broken at the right side) has a lock descending in orthodox style from above the right ear. The absence of the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt is paralleled in many Egyptian representations of the god. The chief remaining feature which is common to most of these specimens is a line or furrow running along the top of the forehead from ear to ear. (It is absent in *No.* 135.) This possibly had its origin in the suture which is observable between the front and back halves of many of the heads,<sup>1</sup> and does not, I think, mark the commencement of the hair, which, as has been already stated, is apparently unindicated. In these instances, as in the next three (*Nos.* 141-143), the absence of the finger on the lips is also to be remarked. *No.* 141<sup>2</sup> is a crudely modelled head of very similar type; the only difference is the addition of a knob of hair above the centre of the forehead.

In *No.* 142 (see Plate XII.), from which the lock has probably been broken away, we have another slight differentiation, the face being rather older than those hitherto described (cf. *Nos.* 218, 219, etc.).

*No.* 143 (see Plate XII.) is interesting as being one of the few Harpokrates figures which approach completeness. Only the front of the figure is modelled, and that in an exceedingly crude and unskilful manner. The artist has naively represented the head and trunk full-face, whilst the right leg, the only one visible, is shown in profile. He has portrayed the god in a sitting position, naked, with his right hand resting on his thigh and possibly holding some attribute, whilst the head is supported by the left hand, and the left elbow rests upon a pillar (? phallic). The head resembles those described above. The absence of the finger from the lip and of the pschent, and the possibly phallic nature of the object at the left side, coupled with the fact that the figure was not found at any great depth, incline me to regard it as the work of an incompetent artist of late date, rather than as the unskilful production of an early hand.

*No.* 144, from which the double crown is now missing, represents the god as wearing the thick wreath<sup>3</sup> which occurs in *Nos.* 164, 165, 184-7, and frequently on the Khonsupekhdred heads (see below). Hair is indicated all round the forehead, but the lock is clearly differentiated. The forefinger of the right hand is raised to the lip. For the projection on the right shoulder see note on *No.* 209, below. *No.* 145 was perhaps similar.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Nos.* 146, 152, 210, 220-3, 230, 234, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Brick-red terracotta.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly this is the "Naukratite crown" of myrtle discussed in *Athenaeus*, xv. 675 F seqq. For similar wreaths see *Odesseum Museum*, vol. i. Pl. 2 (Ollbia), Pottier and Reinach, *Myrina*, Pl. 40.

Nos. 146, 147 differ from the commonest Egyptian type, in that the child is no longer bald, and that the lock falling on to the right shoulder is only represented, if at all, by a slight thickening of the hair. The identity of the figures is established by the presence of the double crown and the finger on the lips. In the case of No. 146 the suture of the mould-made face to the hand-made back produces the appearance of the edge of a hood encircling the head and passing over the double crown.

In No. 148 (*see* Plate XII.) the lock is more clearly indicated, and the pschent is only absent through fracture. It is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to model a wreath of flowers or curly hair above the forehead and at the left side of the head.

In No. 149<sup>1</sup> (*see* Plate XII.) we have a bold divergence from the original type. There is no finger on the lip, and no double crown upon the head; the hair is indicated over the whole of the head, passing back from the forehead in a thick double plait. The artist has even duplicated the distinguishing lock, but that on the right side of the head is rather more prominent than that on the left. The remainder of the figure, which is now missing, may have given other clues to the identity of the personage portrayed. As it is, we can only be guided by the enlargement of the lock on the right of the head and by the general similarity of the features to those of undoubted heads of Harpokrates found in the same neighbourhood.

No. 150, which is much rubbed, likewise carries no distinctive marks.

No. 151 is a small figure of a naked child, with the right arm (missing) raised. The left arm encircles what is probably a jar (*see* Nos. 202, 203, 211, 209, etc., below). The left leg is bent and supports the left hand. A breakage at the top of the head has possibly robbed the figure of both pschent and lock. The head is bald.

No. 152 is remarkable in that the artist, whilst retaining the double crown and the finger on the lip, has represented the hair as falling in two equal tresses on to the shoulders and has surmounted the forehead with a thick wreath of ivy-leaves and flowers, below which a narrow band passes from temple to temple. In this way the existence of hair on the top of the head is concealed. The ivy wreath<sup>2</sup> is perhaps accounted for by a passage of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 365 E), *ἔτι τε τὸν κιττὸν, ὃν Ἕλληνές τε καθιερούσι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους λέγεται Χενόσιρις ὀνομάζεσθαι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς φασι, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος*. In the same section he tells us that Dionysus was looked upon as a son of Zeus and Isis, thus becoming a parallel deity to Harpokrates. The suture between back and front, as in the case of No. 146 above, makes it appear that the back of the head is covered by a hood.

No. 153, from which the pschent is broken away, should probably be referred to this type. It retains some traces of paint: pink upon the face and wreath, red on the lips, and black on the eyebrows and eyelids.

Nos. 154-184<sup>3</sup> are all, probably, the result of the development of the Harpokrates type. None of them, however, in their present condition, possess the features distinctive of that type as noticed above, though nearly all bear a marked resemblance to other heads in the collection, the attribution of which to Harpokrates is less uncertain. No. 155 is a plain child-figure with the right hand raised to the chest and the left to (?) a second figure, possibly of Isis, now broken away. Of the heads, Nos. 160-163 (Nos. 162-4, *see* Plate XII.), the three last of which exhibit unusually good workmanship, are noticeable for the presence of a head-dress, which probably existed also in No. 159. No. 163 is elaborately painted: the face is a deep pink, the lips vermilion, and the head-dress blue, whilst the eyeballs are painted white, and the pupils of the eyes brown. For the wreath of flowers, etc., cf. Nos. 152, 153, 166. Nos. 164, 165 show a thick wreath, in the former case curiously compressed by a transverse band. Nos. 165-168 (Nos. 166, 7, *see* Plate XII.), have a somewhat feminine type of face, which, in the case of No. 168, is emphasized by the addition of ear-ornaments. No. 170 possibly represents the child-god as playing some stringed instrument. No. 172 (*see* Plate XII.), is part of a reclining figure (cf. Nos. 174, 191, 201, 202, 209, etc.), possibly

<sup>1</sup> Terracotta; red. For the arrangement of the hair cf. *Collection J. Greau*, 1149 (Myrina).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Furtwaengler, *Sabouroff Collection*, Pl. 122 (? Dionysos).

<sup>3</sup> The terracotta of No. 171 is smooth and pale yellow in colour.

winged,<sup>1</sup> which wears a stiff head-dress of the stephane type. The body is in part covered by a garment. No. 173 is from the same mould. No. 174 (*see* Plate XII.), also part of a recumbent child-figure, is bald and partially clothed. The child's face is somewhat grotesque in appearance, probably intentionally so, and he is playing on a double flute. Nos. 175-183 (Nos. 175, 177, 181, *see* Plate XIII.) are child-heads (No. 181 is a grotesque) wearing hoods. I am inclined to trace the origin of this hood to the hood-like appearance already noticed in Nos. 146 and 162, which is produced by the suture of the mould-made face to the hand-made back of the head. (Compare also Nos. 191, 195, 223, 230 below.) No. 176 (*see* Plate XIII.) is a head of unusual size, which was found in well B. No. 184 (*see* Plate XII.) is a child-head wearing a thick wreath, and a garment covering the top of the head. This passes down behind the right ear to the front of the body. There is no indication of hair or lock, but it is to be noticed that the right ear alone is provided with an ornament. Slight traces of paint are observable on Nos. 155, 156, 160-2, 164, 168.

Nos. 185,<sup>2</sup> 186, which are apparently Harpokrates figures, represent the god with the *left* hand raised to the lips. In both cases he is wearing a large wreath, which, at any rate in No. 185, was surmounted by the *pschent*. The projections on the shoulders are also to be noticed (*see* note on No. 209, below). In No. 185 he is clothed in a short-sleeved garment, and seated with his right leg bent in front of him. The other leg was probably drawn up to support the left elbow. The unusual feature of the raising of the left hand to the lips may be accounted for by an accidental reversal, owing to a not unnatural error on the part of the mould-maker; but cf. Nos. 215-217, dealt with below.

No. 187 (*see* Plate XIII.) is a figure wearing the double crown and a wreath. Hair is indicated in two knobs above the forehead, and the lock is present. The god, who is partially clothed, is squatting with the right leg bent in front of his body, and the left knee drawn up under the left arm, which clasps a jar. Into the mouth of this the fingers of the right hand are inserted; cf. Nos. 191, 209, etc. (Phallic).

No. 188, from which the *pschent* is now missing, is the head of a man with beard and drooping moustache (cf. Nos. 244, 245). It is surmounted by a thick wreath. It probably represents Har-uer, the elder Horos.

No. 189, which bears a facial resemblance to No. 153 and other of the Harpokrates heads, is part of a female figure, probably Hart, the feminine form of Har.<sup>3</sup>

We now come to a number of figures and heads in which the presence of two horns rising from the top of the head points to an admixture of the worship of Khonsupekhdred.<sup>4</sup> Of these one alone, No. 190 (*see* Plate XIII.), has been found which combines the disk as well as the horns of Khonsu with the usual attributes of Harpokrates. We have here the usual child-head with the finger on the lip and the large lock at the right side of the head. Hair is indicated also above the forehead and below the left ear. Above is a thick wreath with broad transverse band, surmounted in turn by the two horns and disk, and by a fillet on each side of the pair of horns.

A more common portrayal (Nos. 191-208) shows the god with the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt set between the horns in the position of the disk in the terracotta last noticed. The first mentioned (No. 191, *see* Plate XIII.),<sup>5</sup> when complete, represented him reclining with his right leg extended and the left bent in front of him, as in Nos. 185, 187, etc. The left arm holds a jar to the side, and into this jar are dipped the fingers of the right hand (cf. No. 187, etc., and *see* note on No. 209). There are bracelets on both wrists. The face is coarse in type, the lock distinct, and the head otherwise bald. The body is naked. The appearance of a hood is produced by the suture of back and front; compare No. 195, and *see* note on Nos. 175-183 above.

<sup>1</sup> If this is the case, we should possibly trace a connection with Roman Cupid figures. There is a winged Harpokrates wearing the *pschent* in the Naples Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 582.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 30, describes her as "a goddess of purely grammatical origin." \*Athor was worshipped under this name at Sebennytos.

<sup>4</sup> *See* Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 271, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 584.



Of the others, Nos. 192<sup>1</sup>-195 resemble No. 191 in the absence of the finger from the lip. No. 192 wears a large wreath, and, like No. 193, shows indications of hair. No. 194 is also wreathed, but, like No. 195 (*see* Plate XIII.), is bald except for the lock. Nos. 196-200 have the finger on the lip and the usual lock, which in the two last is only noticeable by its differentiation from a lock at the left of the head. Sufficient of No. 200 (*see* Plate XIII.) remains to show that the body was not clothed; the head was encircled by a wreath. Of the remainder, Nos. 201-208,<sup>2</sup> in which the lock is not specially indicated, whilst the forefinger of the right hand is raised to the lips, the first two are particularly interesting. In them the god is shown reclining on the back of a goose,<sup>3</sup> an animal sacred to Amen Râ<sup>4</sup> and to Geb,<sup>5</sup> with a jar beside him (broken away in No. 201, *see* Plate XIII.). In both cases he is clothed. A terracotta in the British Museum resembles these and is furnished with a cornucopia. (Egyptian Room, case M).<sup>6</sup> It came from the Fayûm.

Nos. 203<sup>7</sup> and 204 (Nos. 203, *see* Plate XIII.) also show him clothed, and in the former case he is carrying a jar under his left arm. In all these cases, with the exception of No. 202, which is headless, he is represented as wearing a thick wreath of the usual type, below which hair is visible. No. 206 bears traces of red paint upon the hair and lips, and Nos. 200, 203-5, and 208 have the "shoulder-pieces" already noticed in No. 186, etc. (*see* below).

No. 209,<sup>8</sup> the head-dress of which is broken away, represents the god clothed and sitting as in Nos. 201-2, but with the right hand in the mouth of a jar (*cf.* No. 191, etc.). A second jar, a slender amphora, is beside him, and below is a pear-shaped object, possibly a fig. A "shoulder-piece" is visible above the left shoulder; the head was encircled by a thick wreath. The amphora was painted yellow, the jar and fig a dull red. It seems probable that both jar and fig<sup>9</sup> were emblematic of the fertilizing powers ascribed to Horos,<sup>10</sup> who in these figures is sometimes ithyphallic (British Museum, Egyptian Room, case M). The indication of the "shoulder-piece" upon the background of this specimen makes it appear improbable that the object of such projections was merely to strengthen the figures at the neck. It seems more likely that they are adjuncts of the wreath, possibly the two ends of the band which usually crosses it.

From these figures we pass to Nos. 210-214, a class in which the lock is present in greater or less prominence, whilst the double crown is absent from between the horns, and the hand is not raised to the lips. Among other notable features are in No. 210<sup>11</sup> (*see* Plate XIII.) the hood covering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hilton Price Collection, 3259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 583.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heuzey, *Fig. Ant. du Louvre*, Pl. 53. He traces this type to the common figures of a child playing with a goose. The reverse order of development seems more probable, as the hieratic usually precedes the genre. Cf. Mon. Ined. xi. 56. 10 (Tarentum); British Museum, C 734, 735 (Cyrenaica), C 613, etc.; Hilton Price Coll. 3251.

<sup>4</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* pp. 230-1. "Seb (Geb) was god of the earth, for which his name was used as an equivalent in expressions such as 'on the back of Seb'". . . . "His sacred animal was the goose, and sometimes he is supposed to be connected or even identical with the goose which laid the egg whence issued the world." It would, however, be fanciful to consider Khonsu-Herpekhred's position on the back of a goose symbolical of his world-wide power.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also a figure in the Naples Museum.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Egyptian Room, case M; figure from Memphis.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. C 582 and C 584. A similar specimen (phallic) is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Cf. also a fayence figure in the British Museum, marked 1243<sup>a</sup> and 11745; and H. P. Coll. 3248, 3250-2, 3255, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *op. cit.* 365 B.

<sup>10</sup> British Museum, C 604, a grotesque figure with the lock, carrying a basket, is probably similar in intention; *cf.* also B. M. C 605; and many figures in Egyptian Room, case M, where Horos is holding a cornucopia; so H. P. Coll. 3247; *cf.* 3249.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. P. Coll. 3260.

an apparently bald head (*see* Nos. 175-183), in No. 211 the jar under the left arm (*see* No. 209), the prominence of the paunch, and the right arm raised so that the hand touches the lock. Both these figures are clothed.

Nos. 215<sup>1</sup>-217 are distinguished from the above by the presence of a hand raised to the mouth, and it is remarkable that the hand so raised is the left hand. In the case of No. 215 all four fingers are laid upon the lower lip, and in the case of the other two the forefinger is placed at the extreme left corner of the mouth. Two instances of a similar and possibly intentional reversal have been already noticed (Nos. 185 and 186). Grotesqueness seems to have been aimed at, especially in the case of No. 217 (*see* Plate XII.), where the features are coarse and bloated.

Nos. 218, 219 (*see* Plate XII.) are faces of an older type, and Nos. 220, 221 are, in addition, evident grotesques. (There are traces of red paint on No. 220.) These two faces,<sup>2</sup> with their sunk foreheads, prominent brows, and partially opened lips, are quite unlike the Khonsu-Horos heads which we have as yet passed in review, and they form an important link between them and a large class of grotesques, the intention of which, without these heads, would be very difficult to divine. The connexion of Nos. 220 and 221 with the Khonsu-Horos heads is perhaps sufficiently marked by the presence of the lock and horns, but apart from this it is possible to trace with some plausibility the actual facial development in the evolution of the grotesques. No. 220, in spite of the exaggeration of its features, bears a distinct general similarity to No. 219: it is a resemblance like that which exists between caricature and portrait: and No. 219 differs from the generality of the heads already noticed only in having a slightly older type of face. Again in Nos. 220 and 221 we have the same sunken foreheads, prominent brows, and partially open lips. The chief difference between them lies in the treatment of the jaws and cheeks: in No. 220 the cheeks are fat, and the lower jaw, if anything, receding, whereas in No. 221 the cheeks are hollow, and the jaw protrudes, so as to produce a somewhat bestial type of countenance, not uncommon in Egypt, and very similar to that of many of the grotesques with which we have now to deal.

Of these Nos. 222-234,<sup>3</sup> (Nos. 230, 231, *see* Plate XII.), while lacking the distinctive lock, unless it is present in No. 234 (*see* Plate XIII.) at the left-side of the head, retain or have signs of the former existence of the two horns. Nos. 224-228 also wear a thick wreath. For the reasons stated above it seems probable that they should be regarded as heads of Khonsu-Horos. In every instance we see a debased and bestial type of face, contemporary possibly with a debasement of the borrowed Egyptian religion by the amalgamation with it of some form of phallic worship. This, at any rate, is the explanation suggested by No. 234 and other figures of a similar nature. Nos. 224 and 229-234 were apparently painted.

Nos. 235-239 (*see* Plate XII.), which bear a close resemblance in face to Nos. 225-228, and are, like them, bald, show no signs of the horns or double crown, but retain the lock. The type of face is purely Egyptian and is the same in all five instances, and a careful measurement makes it appear probable that the last four came from the same mould. The back half of the head differs in each case.

No. 240 (*see* Plate XIII.), a grotesque and bald head, in which the lock is prominently shown, presents the curious feature of a second figure crouching "on all fours" on the top of the head of the first. This latter, with its face turned to the front and arms resting on a drum-shaped object, was apparently provided with either the two horns or the double crown.

No. 241 is less grotesque, but is also an elderly head. The lock is present, and possibly the finger on the lip.

In No. 242 the horns are approximately horizontal and of peculiar shape.

Nos. 243, 244 are heads of old men, horned, and in the case of the latter supplied with long drooping moustachios (*cf.* No. 188).

No. 245, which in this respect resembles No. 244, may possibly be a representation of Bes. A

<sup>1</sup> No. 215 is of slate-coloured clay.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Furtwaengler, *Sabouroff Collection*, p. 138 (Grotesques from Smyrna); Frochner, *Terres Cuites d'Asie*, ii. Pl. 83.

<sup>3</sup> The clay of No. 228 is a dark slate colour in parts.

definite decision on this point is precluded by the incomplete state of the figure, though the shape of the fracture on the top of the head does not suggest the former presence of the plumes of Bes, but rather of the double crown, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in Bes-figures. For the attitude of the hand cf. No. 286, a Bes-figure.

I am inclined to add Nos. 246-250 to the Khonsu-Horos heads. In the case of No. 247 (cf. No. 187) the object on the right shoulder is possibly the familiar lock. A comparison of Nos. 248 and 184 with this head induces me to believe that the nature of the lock was occasionally misunderstood, so that it was regarded as forming a part of the head-dress. This would account for the form taken by the head-dresses in those instances. No. 248 bears a facial resemblance to No. 231. In the case of Nos. 249<sup>1</sup> and 250 the lock was possibly indicated. In the former the left hand is held over the left ear.

Nos. 251-267, twenty heads in all, cannot be ascribed to this series with any degree of certainty. They have none of the distinctive features of the heads of Horus or Khonsu, unless in the case of No. 266 the lock is indicated at the left side of the head. Nos. 251-256 are heads wearing a wreath, which bear a general though not a marked resemblance to heads already dealt with. The others are grotesques in which, for the most part, there is no such approximation (cf. however No. 261 with No. 229, etc.). In Nos. 263-267,<sup>2</sup> the mouth is represented as wide open. Nos. 266 and 267 are further remarkable as well for their exaggerated ugliness as for the skill and ingenuity with which it is portrayed. There are signs of paint on Nos. 251 and 267.

There remain a seated figure playing on a pipe (No. 268), which a comparison with No. 174 and the breakage at the top of the head dispose me to rank with the Khonsu-Horos figures, and two phallic figures, which the presence of the lock in the one case, and of an amphora (see No. 209) in the other, seem to place in the same category. Nos. 271-280 and a large number of indecent types, so-called drummer figures, musicians, etc., perhaps ought to be added to the list, but a discussion of their types is profitless.<sup>3</sup>

Nos. 281 and 282 are two figures mounted on horseback. A round shield is visible behind the horse's fore-legs. Both the heads are missing, but a comparison with two terracottas in the British Museum (Egyptian Room, case M), labelled "Eros on Horseback," and "Eros, or Genius, as Roman horse-soldier," the former of which has the familiar horns, and with an armoured figure in the Petrie collection, distinguished by the lock as Horus, inclines me to regard our specimens as portrayals of a warrior Harpokrates.<sup>4</sup>

Nos. 283-285 are parts of three (?) phallic figures. The first is a seated figure of crude work and light-coloured clay; the second was apparently a squatting figure, and the third a grotesque upright figure of a dwarf with bandy legs, possibly Bes. Both No. 284 and No. 285 betray considerable skill in their modelling.

Nos. 286-289A are portions of Bes figures.<sup>5</sup> The most perfect one, No. 286, shows him naked, with plumes upon his head, an uplifted sword in his right hand, and an oval shield upon his left arm. Nos. 289 and 289A resemble the head of a bronze statuette of Sepd in the Berlin Museum, pictured in Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 165.

No. 290 (see Plate XII.) is the upper half of a bearded figure in hard light-coloured clay, wearing a hooded cloak. Similar figures of similar clay have been found in Cyprus<sup>6</sup> and Phoenicia.<sup>7</sup> The details of the beard and features are sharply cut.

It is possibly intended for a priest. Date ? 6th century.

<sup>1</sup> Brick-red terracotta.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 623; also C 624-627.

<sup>3</sup> For the object in the hand of No. 271, cf. B. Vienne, Sacken XXVII. 3 Haut-relief, Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 65, a Silenus group.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hilton Price Coll. 3256, where pschent and horns are present.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 503, C 608; H. P. Coll. 3269, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Collection J. Greau*, 389.

<sup>7</sup> Heuzey, *Fig. Ant. du Louvre*, Pl. 5. He considers the type to be Phoenician; Mr. Huish, *op. cit.* p. 45, calls the style "Pseudo-Assyrian."

*Nos.* 291<sup>1</sup>-297 are parts of male figures, "Apollos" or the like. No. 291<sup>2</sup> (*see* Plate XII.) is the most perfect, and of fairly early date, say c. 300 B.C. It is a standing figure, and in the pose of head and body seems to have borrowed from the art of Praxiteles. The head is very slightly inclined, and the eyes gaze away into the distance as they do in the Hermes of Olympia. The left leg is bent at the knee, throwing the body into an easy attitude, and making the right hip project. Both arms were bent at the elbow (they are now missing below that joint), and a garment thrown over the left arm falls in folds by the side of the body. The other specimens are not very noteworthy, one, No. 295, was a seated figure, and another, No. 296, which is cleverly modelled, has the arms folded behind the back as if to support some burden. No. 297, which is inferior in workmanship, perhaps carried an offering in its left hand.

*No.* 298 is a finely-modelled head, possibly of Asklepios.

*No.* 299 is a small seated figure of Pan playing on his pipes. It is of a white friable clay.

*No.* 300 (*see* Plate XII.): a primitive figure, with the left arm resting on the hip; possibly a doll.

*No.* 301: a primitive figure seated, possibly on horseback (*cf.* No. 345). The face has been made simply by pinching the soft clay between finger and thumb, as is the case with the earliest figures from Hissarlik, and the eyes have been marked with a stick or other rough implement; possibly a toy.

*Nos.* 302, 303: two negro heads, both representing children. The former is painted red.

*Nos.* 304-311 are parts of figures mostly of very crude workmanship, representing helmeted soldiers; *Nos.* 305 and 308 have oval shields, and the former also a short sword; possibly toys.

*Nos.* 312-315 are Medusa heads, which were probably obtained from the cemetery.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Cecil Smith considers the heads recovered at the last excavation to be heads of Hypnos. The idea is a pretty one, but certainly cannot be correct in the case of No. 312, which is an undoubted gorgonion. Also one of the more beautiful heads, No. 315, exhibits "the conventional knot of snakes beneath the chin."

*Nos.* 316-318 appear to be models of tragic masks; female.

*Nos.* 319 and 320 are probably Silenus heads.

*Nos.* 321-324 are models of masks: No. 322 is tragic, the rest comic.

*Nos.* 325 and 326 are parts of figures of actors wearing comic masks.

*No.* 327 in its present state consists of a tip-tilted nose and an effective grin.

*No.* 328 is part of a figure of a boy of Egyptian type. He is holding part of a garment, but the intention of the figure is not clear.

*No.* 329: two crude figures, male and female, seated side by side.

*No.* 330: noseless male head, of heavy slate-coloured clay and poor workmanship.

*No.* 331: model of capital of Egyptian column, consisting of two heads placed back to back, Janus-fashion.

*No.* 332: a Janus-head, male and female. It was probably the stopper of a jar originally, but was worn away below and pierced for suspension. The surface is covered with a creamy paint, on which ornaments, sexual indications, and other details, are marked in black-brown.

*No.* 333: cat's head.

*No.* 334: cow's leg, in hard light red terracotta; good work.

*No.* 335: cow's head.

*No.* 336: forepart of crocodile with food in its mouth; possibly to be connected with the worship of Sebek, or that of Horos and Set.<sup>4</sup>

*No.* 337: camel's head and neck, of light-coloured clay.

*Nos.* 338 and 339: dogs.

*Nos.* 340 and 341: parts of hippopotami. The hippopotamus is connected with Set and Taúrt.<sup>5</sup>

*No.* 342: sphinx.

<sup>1</sup> The terracotta of No. 292 is reddish-brown in colour, and soapy to the touch. *Cf.* No. 362.

<sup>2</sup> From 14A (*see* Plan).

<sup>3</sup> *See Naukratis*, ii. p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *See* Wiedmann, pp. 70-4, 143-5, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *See* Wiedmann, pp. 70-4, and p. 168.

*No.* 343: lion's head.

*No.* 344: cock's head painted red, fine workmanship.

*No.* 345 (*see* Plate XII.): primitive figure of man on horseback; probably a toy (*cf.* No. 301).

*Nos.* 346-351: horses' heads, the marks of breakages at the sides of the neck in many of these specimens are probably the points at which the horseman's arms were attached, as in No. 345. Crude work.

*Nos.* 352 and 353: ? cows' heads; crude workmanship.

*No.* 354: body of an ? ibis.

*Nos.* 355<sup>1</sup> and 356 are perhaps intended for birds.

*No.* 357: three amphorae standing in front of a ? fountain.

*No.* 358: an amphora standing in front of a post.

*No.* 359: fragment of a shrine, showing an Ionic capital, part of the column below it and part of the pediment; light coloured clay.

*No.* 360: legs of a female figure, naked. *Cf.* British Museum, C 574.

*Nos.* 361 and 362: feet. The terra-cotta of No. 362 is a smooth reddish-brown, *cf.* No. 292.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. 8.



## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on October 30th, 1899, Sir WILLIAM R. ANSON, Bart., D.C.L. (Warden of All Souls' College, and M.P. for Oxford University), in the Chair. The following Report was read by the Hon. Secretary (Mr. WILLIAM LORING) on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

The past Session has been marked by successful exploration in several different fields. Excavations have been carried out at Phylakopi in Melos, at Naucratis in Egypt, and at Pherae (the modern Velestino) in Thessaly; while a member of the School was deputed, at the request of the authorities of the British Museum, to supervise the work undertaken by them in the island of Cyprus.

The Students were ten in number, of whom three were graduates of Oxford, four of Cambridge, and one of Edinburgh. One, Mr. Henderson, late Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, was entirely occupied, as in the previous Session, in the study and reproduction of Byzantine architecture in Constantinople; and one Mr. T. D. Atkinson, Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, went out as Architect to the excavations in Melos. Mr. Atkinson was of the greatest help in elucidating the complicated remains on the citadel of Phylakopi; and the definitive publication of the results of the last three seasons' work upon that site, which is now being prepared, will owe much to his experience and industry. He also found time in passing through Athens to revise, on behalf of the Hellenic Society, the drawings of the Acropolis left unpublished by the late Dr. Middleton.

Mr. Mackenzie (Edinburgh and Vienna Universities) was occupied, like Mr. Atkinson, almost entirely in Melos; sharing with Mr. Edgar the direction of the excavations there. Mr. Mackenzie has followed this undertaking without a break from its inception in 1896, and has rendered very valuable service in connexion with t.

Of the seven remaining Students, Mr. C. C. Edgar (formerly Craven Fellow) came out for the fourth time, remained throughout the Session, and has done excellent work, first in Athens in sorting and preparing for publication the pottery found in the preceding spring, and later at Naucratis and in Melos. The new Craven Fellow, Mr. F. B. Welch (Magdalen College, Oxford) assisted Mr. Edgar in Athens for a month and a half, and then left for Cyprus on the British Museum commission to which reference has already been made.

Mr. J. H. Lawson (Pembroke College, Cambridge) and Mr. C. D. Edmonds (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), Craven and Prendergast Students respectively, were already in Athens when the Session began, and remained almost to the end. The former was mainly occupied in the study of Greek folk-lore, and the latter in that of the early history of Thessaly. It was Mr. Edmonds who, as already mentioned, excavated a tumulus near Pherae, by great good fortune striking almost immediately upon the tomb-chamber, which happened in this instance to be situated in the very centre of the tumulus. In a sloping plastered pit was found the body of a sacrificed ram, and in a lower pit, closed with a painted slab, was an untouched burial, apparently of the latter part of the third century B.C. The ashes of the deceased were enclosed in a silver vase decorated with a fine moulded head of the young Herakles. There were also found gold head bands, wreaths, beads, and a little pottery. The great size and conspicuous character of the tumulus, and its relation to Pherae, had inspired hopes that it might contain the bones of one of the famous Tyrants. The contents belied this hope, but nevertheless this is an interesting and important find in a region very little explored.

Mr. Clement Gutch (Scholar of King's College, Cambridge) held the Studentship of £50 offered annually by the Committee to the University of Cambridge. He made a special study, in Athens, of ancient Greek dress. Since returning to England he has done useful work in sorting and preparing for publication the terracottas found at Naucratis. Mr. J. K. Fotheringham (Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford) held the Studentship offered annually to Oxford University; and Mr. J. H. Marshall (Scholar of King's College, Cambridge) went out on his own account, and studied general Greek archaeology in Athens.

It will have been understood from what precedes that the principal corporate undertakings of the School in the past Session were the excavations at Naucratis and at Phylakopi (Melos). The former had not been contemplated at the opening of the Session; it was taken up in the course of the winter on the suggestion of the Director, who had received news of the gradual encroachment of irrigation, with a view to cultivation, on parts of the ancient site which had been left unexplored by Messrs. Petrie and Ernest Gardner. Since all the money available for excavation, out of the ordinary funds of the School, was required for Phylakopi, a special fund was raised for Naucratis by private subscription, chiefly among members of the Committee, and when this had already reached a substantial amount, a generous and wholly unexpected contribution of £100 from the Society of Dilettanti relieved the Committee of all anxiety on the score of funds. Ultimately the whole cost of



the work at Naucratis was met by the subscription from the Society of Dilettanti, and by smaller, but most welcome, subscriptions from the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the contributions of private subscribers being transferred with their consent to the fund for Phylakopi. The Committee greatly appreciate this practical recognition on the part of the Society of Dilettanti, a body which has itself done such splendid work for archaeology in the Levant. The work at Naucratis was done in the latter part of February and the earlier part of March. The site of the great Hellenion was found, identified, and partly cleared; not at the south (where previous explorers had placed it) but at the north end of the mounds of Gaif: a quantity of dedications to "The Gods of the Greeks" and to many individual deities place the identity beyond question. Besides these a deposit of fine fifth century terra-cottas, relics of an Aphrodite cultus, was unearthed in the enclosure, and also some very interesting early sculpture and vase fragments. The plans of two successive shrines at least were partly recovered before an influx of water and the great height of the mounds to the north-east stopped the work. A large number of objects was bought from the native *sebakh* diggers; and these, together with almost everything found in the excavation itself, after being submitted to inspection at Ghizeh, were allowed to be sent to England. They were on view in this room for a short time in the summer; and they will ultimately be placed in the British, Ashmolean, and Fitzwilliam Museums.

The excavation of the prehistoric site of Phylakopi, in Melos—began in 1896 and continued in 1897 and 1898—was resumed in the middle of April by Messrs. Mackenzie, Edgar, and Atkinson, under the general supervision of the Director. The programme for this season was to clear as much of the north, centre and east, of the site as possible down to the rock, beginning with the group of productive chambers which had begun to be opened just as work ceased in the spring of 1898. The principal results of the excavation were the discovery of a very perfect *Megaron* of Mycenaean type, with surrounding court, well, etc., and very well preserved houses, both of the Mycenaean and of the successive earlier settlements. A much clearer idea was obtained of the different periods to which constructions all over the site were to be referred, and the lines of streets and watercourses and the general town plan were greatly elucidated. The yield of pottery was, as before, immense, and included some very curious and perfect pieces. The specimens of the later wares were better this season than last, but specimens of the earliest wares became rarer and less satisfactory as the lower part of the hillock was proceeded with. Stone vessels, bronze fragments, and other miscellaneous objects were also found, and especial mention is due to an ivory ring engraved with a draped female in act of adoration before an altar. About one-third of the hillock is still not at all, or very imperfectly, explored; but our trial pits show that it contains remains precisely similar to those on other parts of the site, and its complete clearance would involve an expenditure of money which the circumstances of the School do not at present justify. Phylakopi has already been laid bare to at least as great an extent as Mycenae, Tiryns, or any other site of the same description. Though it can hardly claim to vie with these in romantic interest, its archaeological importance, as an

epitome of the "Mycenaeic" and earlier periods on the coasts and islands of the Aegean, is scarcely inferior to theirs. The Committee wish to acknowledge their obligations to the Hellenic Society, who have undertaken to provide a large supplementary number of their "Journal," similar to the one containing the account of the excavations at Megalopolis, for the adequate publication of the results obtained at Phylakopi.

But a more important work than even that at Phylakopi, and one which may be expected to throw new light on much that has been found on that site, is now in prospect.

The new conditions in which Crete has recently been placed, and the final emancipation of the island from Turkish rule, have at last rendered it possible to organize a serious effort to recover the evidences of her early civilization.

How important are the results which a thoroughgoing investigation in this field holds out to archaeological science may be gathered from what has already been brought to light in far less favourable circumstances. The great inscription containing the early laws of Gortyna stands alone as a monument of Greek civic legislation. The bronzes of the Idaean cave have afforded a unique revelation of the beginnings of classical Greek art. Further researches, to which English investigation has largely contributed, have brought into relief the important part played here by the Mycenaean and still earlier civilizations; traces of what is believed to be an indigenous system of sign writing, anterior to the use of the Phoenician alphabet, have recently been found; and indications have come to light which attest an intercourse with Egypt going back to the third and, it may be, even the fourth millennium before our era.

The better to solve the many interesting problems thus opened up, a 'Cretan Exploration Fund,' has been formed, under the joint management of Mr. Arthur Evans and the Director of the School at Athens. By the efforts of Mr. Evans, acting in conjunction with the Director, a series of sites, selected for their historic importance or specially representative character, has been secured for British enterprise. Knossos, the city of Minos, and the centre of the ancient sea-power of Crete; Praesos, a chief stronghold of the original Eteocretan race; Lyttos, regarded as the model Dorian city; and the famous Diktæan cave, the legendary birthplace of Zeus, have all been reserved for the Cretan Fund; and the intention is to proceed in course of time to other sites. It is almost needless to say that England is not alone in this attractive field. Both France and Italy are already claiming their share, and others may be expected to follow suit. The Committee feel the importance of immediate action; and they think it may be found desirable to concentrate on Crete, for several years to come, all the energies and funds available for excavation.

Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, formerly a Student of the School, and for the past year a member of the School Committee, has been appointed to the post of Assistant-Director, which has been created for this year only. The principal reason for this appointment is Mr. Hogarth's strong desire to be released from the responsibility of educational work in Athens itself, and

to be able to devote the whole of his energies to excavation and research. Mr. Hogarth will be required to reside in Greek lands for six months only, the bulk of which will be spent in Crete, while Mr. Bosanquet will reside eight months, taking charge of the School and its Students in Athens. The Committee attach great importance to maintaining the more purely educational work of the School alongside of the exploratory work; and they trust that the arrangement they have made will ensure that neither side shall be neglected.

The Library has received an accession of about 200 new books and pamphlets. The catalogue, which has long been in the press, has been completed to June 1899, and printed. The Committee are prepared to supply a copy *gratis* to any subscriber to the School who may apply for it.

The fourth number of the *Annual* was published in July last. Its contents dealt mainly with the work in Melos, but Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, a former student, contributed an account of a recent journey of exploration in Asia Minor, while another old student, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, supplied some notes upon Late Anatolian Art. The total number of periodicals received by the School in exchange for the *Annual* is now sixteen, and includes such important publications as the *Bulletin* and *Mittheilungen* of the French and German Schools at Athens.

One important development of the work of the School, which has recently engaged the attention of the Committee, remains to be mentioned. It has for some time past been felt that to complete the organisation required by British students it would be necessary to establish a British School at Rome upon lines somewhat similar to those of the School at Athens, a step which has already been taken by the French, the Germans, and more recently by the Americans.

During the past few months a Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of the British School at Athens has been occupied in drafting a scheme for a sister School in Rome. This scheme has received the general approval of a Provisional Committee including more than a hundred scholars, artists, and representative men in various departments of public life, and a small Executive Committee has been appointed by them to take the necessary steps for carrying it into effect. The Committee therefore hope that in their next Annual Report they may be in a position to announce the Roman School as an accomplished fact.

In many respects the work of a British School in Italy would be similar to that of the existing School in Greece. But there are two great differences. On the one hand research in Rome offers a much wider field of enquiry, including besides Classical Archaeology such subjects as Palaeography, Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Mediaeval History, and Italian Art. On the other hand the rules of the Italian Government debar foreign Students from undertaking excavations on their own account.

It is proposed that the Schools at Athens and Rome should ultimately be placed under the management of a single Committee. Further particulars as to the Roman scheme will be given in a circular which is to be issued immediately.

The School at Athens has been unfortunate in the loss, during the past year, of several valued and important supporters. The deaths of Lord Herschell, Baron F. de Rothschild and Lady Howard de Walden, make a gap in the list of subscribers which it will be hard to fill. The liberality of the Society of Dilettanti, however, has enabled a larger sum than of late to be spent upon excavation, without encroaching on the regular income of the School, and part of the special expenditure of last year on Hostel Furniture has been replaced to Capital Account.

The Committee have to remind supporters of the School, however, that a more serious situation will have to be faced next year. Some most important subscriptions, promised in 1895 for a term of five years, will then expire, and unless either they are renewed, or an equivalent addition to the regular income of the School is obtained, future work will be most seriously cramped. It is to this object, coupled with the proposed establishment of a British School at Rome, that the Committee will have to devote their most anxious attention; and they appeal to their present supporters for all additional help, pecuniary or otherwise, which it may be in their power to give.

In moving the adoption of the report the CHAIRMAN said:

"I think that I may fairly and heartily congratulate the Managing Committee and those concerned in the conduct of the work of the School on the excellent record of work done, and not only on work done, but on the good prospect of future successful work which the report holds out to us.

"Excavations begun in previous years have been carried to a successful conclusion; new work has begun, and in the contemplated exploration of Crete it is clear that the Society has a wide and fruitful field for its labours in ensuing years.

"I notice that funds have been forthcoming for these works, in the past year, sometimes from unexpected sources, but that some anxiety is felt as to the continuance of subscriptions granted for a term of years and expiring in 1900.

"I trust that the past work of the School and the progress which it has made, not only on the lines of exploration, but of education, will ensure the continuance of these payments and an influx from new sources of revenue.

"At the same time I notice that, undeterred by the financial anxieties which are suggested in the concluding sentences of the report, the Committee are promoting a new sister school at Rome.

"The value of such a school, I might almost say the necessity of such a school, is very clearly indicated in the report. The work will obviously be very different from that of the School at Athens. It will be more that of a student and less that of an explorer; but it will, in course of time, enable the Society to work from the two great centres of that civilization which we call classical, tracing that civilization back to its origin, and following out its development and influence in mediaeval history.

"Here I would gladly bring my remarks to a close by moving the adoption of the report; but I observe on the *agenda* paper that I am to give an address, and a

study of the remarks of my predecessors in the chair on these occasions shows me that I follow a strict and unvarying precedent when I say, in respect of this address, that I am wholly incompetent for the task.

“The truth is that my school and college days were passed in the benighted period when the classics were studied as literature, with variations taking the form of excursions into the domain of philology, in which, individually, I did not take part. And this mode of regarding the classical authors as representing the sum total of what needed to be known of classical times, reacted to some extent upon the study of history, for this was valued as presenting a variety of picturesque events, of great or interesting characters, suitable for literary treatment.

“Perhaps I may be said to make too broad a generalization, and doubtless it may need in many respects to be qualified, but I think that my description does represent on the whole the way in which classical and historical study presented itself, say, to the Eton boy in the decade of the fifties.

“Now, on the other hand, classical study means a laborious compilation of detail, not merely the collation of manuscripts, but the search for and interpretation of inscriptions, the exploration of sites, the examination of early forms of architecture and art, of building materials and of articles of domestic use.

“And thus we are informed not only of the exciting events, but of the daily life, of ancient times; and parts of history hitherto unexplored are opened to us—unexplored either because they were unconnected with picturesque incident, or because they lie behind what we had hitherto regarded as the beginning of Greek History.

“But there is a question which anyone whose life is mainly spent in a University must needs ask himself. What is the educational value of these as compared with the older studies? What is their comparative influence on the character, and on the intellect?

“Mr. Jebb, in his Romanes lecture of this year, pointed out in some striking passages the part which these old classical studies played in forming the characters of the classes who, a century ago, were the leaders of the nation. The literatures of Greece and Rome entered into their lives, and recurred to them as fit exponents of their deeper feelings in after life. Perhaps the type of character so formed was wanting in patience and industry, but it is something that the material on which a man has been educated has so far become a part of himself that it affords an illustration, a resource, a consolation, in the ups and downs of an eventful career. I do not think that this particular educational quality can be claimed for classical archaeology, or that in a crisis of life, a man would find strength or consolation in reminiscences of the exploration of Mycenaean building or of the ingenious deciphering of an inscription.

“And I fear too, in respect of the modern minuteness of special study, a tendency to narrow the intellectual range. The man who knows, or aspires to know, everything about something, may not willingly admit that he knows, for working purposes, anything worth knowing about anything else; and this leads to a sort of intellectual

faintheartedness, a disinclination to move outside one special study. A man forget that he may know enough of a subject to form an opinion, and act upon it, although he may not know enough to write a monograph.

“For this reason I should like to see classical archaeology—except as to its results, made a matter of post-graduate study. I know, by experience, that to the teacher, the thing that he has last learned himself, whether it be an acquisition of new knowledge, or a method of acquiring knowledge, seems to be the one thing that everybody ought to know. But nevertheless I would suggest that to those who are *in statu pupillari* teaching can well be made *real* without being unduly special in its content, and that the results rather than the methods of archaeological study should be imparted to and required of the young.

“There is another fear which I have heard expressed, but which I do not share. It is that history will cease to be literature, and will become a laborious collection of small facts in which great characters and great events will alike be buried. We are, no doubt, by our accumulation of material, imposing a heavy burden on the historians of the future, in the way of investigation and selection, but I have no fear that history will be worse written because it is founded on wide and minute knowledge, and treated with scientific method.

“And, in history, great men and great events will take care of themselves. At the Royal Academy dinner this year I heard the Secretary of State for War apologize humorously for the way in which modern military science had brought about a decline of the picturesque in war. The events of the last week have shown us that despite all that military science can do, individual courage and endurance still stand out in bold outlines and colour in the charge up the mountain-side or the hand-to-hand struggle among the rocks.

“And so, though I deprecate a large introduction of the methods of classical archaeology into the educational course of our Schools and Universities, I have no fear that education will be anything but a gainer by the results of the modern studies. I have no fear that classical literature will be absorbed and lost, or the writing of history damaged in literary quality by the accumulation of material.

“The researches of your Society, as was said by one of my predecessors in this chair, will not only add to the stores of knowledge, but will stimulate thought.

“I will end by the expression of a sincere hope that the work of your Society may continue to grow in extent and value, and that funds may not fail for the maintenance of the two Schools in Athens and Rome.”

Mr. F. E. THOMPSON, formerly Assistant Master at Marlborough College, seconded the motion and took occasion to dwell on the important contribution made by archaeology to the subject-matter of scholastic studies. The report was unanimously adopted.

The Director of the School (Mr. D. G. HOGARTH), explained the reasons which had led him to desire the appointment of an Assistant Director, and gave some account of the excavations of the past session, and of the plans for prospective work in Crete.

The following Resolution was moved by Prof. ERNEST GARDNER, seconded by Mr. J. G. C. ANDERSON, and carried unanimously.

That Mr. PENROSE and Mr. MYRES be re-elected, and that Dr. J. S. REID and Mr. F. J. HAVERFIELD be elected, members of the Managing Committee; and that Dr. LEAF be re-elected Treasurer; Mr. LORING, Hon. Secretary; Lord LINGEN and Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Auditors for the ensuing session.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors (moved by Dr. LEAF and seconded by Mr. PENROSE) and to the Chairman (moved by Prof. PELHAM and seconded by Mr. MACMILLAN), were carried by acclamation.

After a few words of sympathy with the scheme for establishing a school at Rome from Admiral Sir ERASMUS OMMANEY, the meeting came to a close.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE 4TH OCTOBER, 1898, TO 4TH OCTOBER, 1899.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions as												
per list . . . . .	824	4	0									
Less, not yet paid . . . . .	6	1	0									
	<hr/>			818	3	0						
Subscriptions for 1897-8 . . . . .				3	1	0						
Government Grant . . . . .				500	0	0						
Excavation Fund, Naucratis . . . . .				187	4	0						
Interest on Investment . . . . .				58	0	0						
Sales of Annual, Part II. . . . .				2	19	1						
	<hr/>											
				£1,569	7	1						
	<hr/>											
Director's salary . . . . .							500	0	0			
Architect, Mr. Atkinson . . . . .							100	0	0			
Studentship, Mr. Edgar . . . . .							50	0	0			
Mr. Fotheringham . . . . .							50	0	0			
Mr. Gutch . . . . .							50	0	0			
Mr. Mackenzie . . . . .							50	0	0			
House maintenance . . . . .							52	11	7			
Hostel maintenance . . . . .							49	15	9			
Less Students' Fees . . . . .							35	19	0			
							<hr/>			13	16	9
Excavations, Melos . . . . .							206	19	0			
Naucratis . . . . .							121	8	4			
Travelling, &c. . . . .							47	15	3			
							<hr/>			376	2	7
Publication of Annual—												
Part I. balance . . . . .							4	18	9			
Part III. „ . . . .							36	14	1			
Part IV. . . . .							97	14	1			
							<hr/>			139	6	11
Printing, Postage, &c. . . . .										28	14	0
Sundries . . . . .										34	14	9
Balance . . . . .										124	0	6
							<hr/>					
										£1,569	7	1
	<hr/>									<hr/>		

## BYZANTINE FUND.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Balance from last Account . . . . .	55	9	2	Insurance of Drawings . . . . .	0	7	6
				Balance . . . . .	55	1	8
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£55	9	2		£55	9	2
	<hr/>				<hr/>		



CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

			£ s. d.					£ s. d.
Balance from last account	2,297	18	1		Library	53	4	8
Donations	73	0	0		Hostel Furniture	8	6	5
Balance, Income and Expenditure account	124	0	6		Balance	2,433	7	6
	<u>£2,494</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>					<u>£2,494 18 7</u>

BALANCE ACCOUNT.

			£ s. d.					£ s. d.
Balance of Capital	2,433	7	6		Cash at Bankers	488	9	2
„ Byzantine Fund	55	1	8		India 3% Stock, at par	2,000	0	0
	<u>£2,488</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>					<u>£2,488 9 2</u>

Examined and found correct,

LINGEN,  
F. POLLOCK.

October 24th, 1899

## DONATIONS—1898-9.

	£	s.	d.
Christie, R. C. . . . .	5	0	0
Darbshire, R. D. . . . .	20	0	0
Elliot, F. E. H. . . . .	3	0	0
Harris, A. . . . .	5	0	0
G. A. M. . . . .	9	10	0
Macmillan & Co. . . . .	20	0	0
Myres, J. L. . . . .	10	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£73	0	0

## EXCAVATION FUND—NAUCRATIS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Society of Dilettanti . . . . .	100	0	0	Loring, W. . . . .	5	0	0
Fitzwilliam Museum . . . . .	15	0	0	Macmillan, G. A. . . . .	5	0	0
Ashmolean Museum . . . . .	10	0	0	Myres, J. L. . . . .	2	2	0
Evans, A. J. . . . .	10	0	0	Penrose, F. C. . . . .	2	2	0
Freshfield, D. W. . . . .	3	0	0	Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson	5	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. . . . .	5	0	0		<hr/>		
Gardner, Prof. P. . . . .	5	0	0		£187	4	0
Johnston, C. E. . . . .	10	0	0		<hr/>		
Leaf, Walter . . . . .	10	0	0				

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES . . . . .	25	0	0	Brinton, H. . . . .	1	1	0
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The University of Cambridge . . . . .	100	0	0	Butcher, Prof. . . . .	2	2	0
McGill University, Montreal . . . . .	5	5	0	Butler, Dr. . . . .	2	0	0
The Hellenic Society . . . . .	100	0	0	Buxton, H. E. . . . .	1	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries . . . . .	5	5	0	Bury, Prof. J. B. . . . .	1	1	0
Brasenose College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0		<hr/>		
Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0		Carried forward	407	2
Corpus Christi College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0		<hr/>		
Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	10	0	0				
King's College, Cambridge . . . . .	10	0	0				
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Agnew, Sir W. . . . .	2	2	0				
Allbutt, Professor T. C. . . . .	1	1	0				
Austen Leigh, E. C. . . . .	1	1	0				
Awdry, H. . . . .	1	1	0				
Bailey, J. C. . . . .	5	0	0				
Barlow, Dr. T. . . . .	1	1	0				
Bodington, Dr. N. . . . .	1	0	0				
Bosanquet, R. C. . . . .	1	1	0				

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward . . . . .	407	2	0	Macmillan, G. A. . . . .	20	0	0
Campbell, Prof. L. . . . .	1	1	0	Macmillan & Co. . . . .	20	0	0
Carlisle, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0	MacLehose, James J. . . . .	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A. . . . .	1	1	0	Mitchell, C. W. . . . .	10	0	0
Caton, R. . . . .	1	1	0	Mocatta, F. D. . . . .	5	0	0
Chawner, W. . . . .	2	2	0	Mond, Ludwig . . . . .	100	0	0
Clarke, C. R. . . . .	1	0	0	Morley, Lord . . . . .	1	1	0
Colchester, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0	Monro, D. B. . . . .	3	3	0
Cole, A. C. . . . .	2	2	0	Morshead, E. D. A. . . . .	1	0	0
Corbett, V. . . . .	1	0	0	Myers, E. . . . .	1	1	0
Cust, Miss A. M. . . . .	1	0	0	Newman, W. L. . . . .	2	2	0
Davey, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0	Pelham, Hon. Mrs. Arthur . . . . .	1	1	0
Davidson, H. O. D. . . . .	1	1	0	Perry, Dr. W. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A. . . . .	1	1	0	Pollock, Sir F. . . . .	1	1	0
Earl, A. G. . . . .	1	1	0	Poynter, Sir E. J. . . . .	5	0	0
Egerton of Tatton, Lord . . . . .	10	10	0	Radford, Dr. . . . .	1	1	0
Elliot, Rev. F. . . . .	1	1	0	Reid, Dr. . . . .	1	1	0
Elliot, F. E. H. . . . .	1	0	0	Rendall, Rev. G. H. . . . .	1	1	0
Eumoropoulos, N. . . . .	1	1	0	Richards, H. P. . . . .	1	1	0
Evans, A. J. . . . .	10	0	0	Robb, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Evans, Sir J. . . . .	5	0	0	Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys. . . . .	1	1	0
Ewart, Miss . . . . .	5	0	0	Romanes, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M. . . . .	1	1	0	Sandys, Dr. . . . .	5	0	0
Fort, J. A. . . . .	1	0	0	Seaman, Owen . . . . .	1	1	0
Fowler, W. W. . . . .	1	1	0	Searle, G. von U. . . . .	1	0	0
Freshfield, D. W. . . . .	10	0	0	Smith, R. A. H. Bickford . . . . .	2	2	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy . . . . .	2	2	0	Stannus, Hugh . . . . .	1	1	0
Haigh, A. E. . . . .	1	0	0	Stevenson, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
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Hay, C. A. . . . .	5	5	0	Tadema, Sir L. Alma . . . . .	20	0	0
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Hereford, Bishop of . . . . .	1	1	0	Thompson, Sir E. M. . . . .	3	3	0
Herschell, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0	Thompson, Sir H. . . . .	5	0	0
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Lawson, Sir E. . . . .	5	0	0	Ward, John . . . . .	1	0	0
Leaf, Mrs. C. J. . . . .	5	5	0	Warr, Prof. G. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Leaf, Walter . . . . .	20	0	0	Warre, Rev. E. . . . .	1	1	0
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Lloyd, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0				
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- (2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.
- (3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time, or £5 annually."

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The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list.

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 Corbett, V., Esq., British Legation, Athens.  
 Cowper, The Right Hon. Earl, Panshanger, Hertford.  
 Cruddas, Miss, Haughton Castle, Humshaugh-on-Tyne, Northumberland.  
 Cust, Miss A. M., 63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.
- Dabis, Miss, Royal Holloway College, Egham.  
 Dakyns, H. G., Esq., Higher Coombe, Haslemere.  
 Darwin, Prof. G. H., F.R.S., Cambridge.  
 Davey, The Right Hon. Lord, 86, Brook Street, W.  
 Davidson, H. O. D., Esq., Harrow, N.W.  
 Deacon, W. S., Esq., Pointers, Cobham, Surrey.
- Dilke, The Right Hon. Sir C. W., Bart., M.P., 76, Sloane Street, S.W.  
 Donaldson, The Rev. S. A., Eton College.  
 Durham, The Right Hon. The Earl of, 4, Cavendish Square, W.  
 Durnford, Walter, Esq., Eton College.
- Earl, A. G., Esq., Ferox Hall, Tonbridge.  
 Egerton, Sir E. H., K.C.B., H.B.M. Minister, British Legation, Athens.  
 Egerton, The Right Hon. Earl, 7, St. James's Square, S.W.  
 Eliot, Francis E. H., Esq., British Agency, Sofia.  
 Elliott, The Rev. F. R., British Legation, Athens.  
 Emerson, W., Esq., 8, The Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.  
 Eumorfopoulo, N., Esq., 1, Kensington Park Gardens, W.  
 Evans, Arthur J., Esq., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.  
 Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.  
 Ewart, Miss, 68, Albert Hall Mansions, S.W.
- Farrer, Sir W. J., Sandhurst Lodge, Wellington College Station, Berks.  
 Fitzmaurice, Lady E., 2, Green Street, W.  
 Fletcher, H. M., Esq., 9, Stanhope Street, Hyde Park, W.  
 Fletcher, John M., Esq., 9, Stanhope Street, Hyde Park, W.  
 Fort, J. A., Esq., 27, Kingsgate Street, Winchester.  
 Fowler, W. W., Esq., Lincoln College, Oxford.  
 Freshfield, D. W., Esq., 1, Airlie Gardens, W.  
 Freshfield, Dr. Edwin, 31, Old Jewry, E.C.  
 Fry, The Right Hon. Sir E., LL.D., F.R.S., Fairfield House, Failand, near Bristol.
- Gardner, J. T. Agg., Esq., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 Gardner, Prof. Ernest, University College, Gower Street, W.C.  
 Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D., 12, Canterbury Road, Oxford.  
 George, Ernest, Esq., 18, Maddox Street, W.  
 Gibson, John, Esq., 11, Westbourne Square, W.  
 Gow, James, Esq., Litt.D., High School, Nottingham.  
 Graham, Alex., Esq., Carlton Chambers, 4, Regent Street, S.W.
- Haigh, A. E., Esq., 2, Crick Road, Oxford.  
 Hallam, G. H., Esq., The Park, Harrow.  
 Hardie, Prof. W. R., 4, Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh.  
 Hardy, Mrs., 1, Cadogan Square, S.W.  
 Harris, A., Esq., Lunefield, Kirkby Lonsdale.  
 Harrison, Miss, LL.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.  
 Hawes, Miss, 89, Oxford Terrace, W.  
 Haworth, Jesse, Esq., Woodside, Bowdon.  
 Hay, C. Anderson, Esq., 127, Harley Street, W.

- Headlam, Walter, Esq., King's College, Cambridge.
- Heberden, C. B., Esq., Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.
- Herbert, The Hon. Auberon, The Old House, Ringwood.
- Hereford, The Right Rev. The Bishop of, The Palace, Hereford.
- Hill, G. F., Esq., British Museum, W.C.
- Hogarth, D. G., Esq., Magdalen College, Oxford.
- Hornby, The Rev. Dr., Provost of Eton College, Windsor.
- Ionides, Const., Esq., 23, Second Avenue, West Brighton.
- Irving, Sir Henry, Lyceum Theatre, W.C.
- Ivagh, The Right Hon. Lord, 5, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
- James, The Rev. H. A., D.D., School House, Rugby.
- Jebb, Prof. R. C., Litt.D., M.P., Springfield, Cambridge.
- Jenner, Miss, 39, Addison Road, W.
- Johnston, C. E., Esq., 23, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.
- Jones, H. Stuart, Esq., Trinity College, Oxford.
- Kennedy, The Hon. Sir W. R., 94, Westbourne Terrace, W.
- Kenyon, F. G., Esq., Litt.D., British Museum, W.C.
- Keser, J., Esq., M.D., 11, Harley Street, W.
- King, Miss Catherine, Oxton, Birkenhead.
- Knowles, James, Esq., Queen Anne's Lodge, St. James's Park, S.W.
- L. J. E., c/o the Rev. Brooke Lambert, Greenwich.
- Lawrence, Sir Edwin, M.P., 13, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
- Lawrence, The Misses, 4, Princes Gate, S.W.
- Lawson, Sir E., Bart., *Daily Telegraph*, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Leaf, Mrs. C. J., Beechwood, Tunbridge Wells.
- Leaf, Walter, Esq., Litt.D., 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Lecky, Mrs., 38, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- Lewis, Mrs. S. S., Castle-brae, Cambridge.
- Lindley, Miss Julia, 74, Shooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.
- Lindley, W., Esq., M.Inst.C.E., 10, Kidbrook Terrace, Blackheath, S.E.
- Lingen, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.B., 13, Wetherby Gardens, S.W.
- Lister, The Right Hon. Lord, P.R.S., 12, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W.
- Llangatock, The Right Hon. Lord, The Hendre, Monmouth.
- Lloyd, Miss A. M., Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.
- Loch, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 23, Lowndes Square, S.W.
- Loring, Miss, 14, Montagu Street, Portman Square, W.
- Loring, W., Esq., 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C. F.R.S., High Elms, Farnborough R.S.O.
- Lucas, Sir Thomas, Bart., 12a, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
- Lynch, H. F., Esq., 33, Pont Street, S.W.
- Macan, R. W., Esq., University College, Oxford.
- MacLehose, James J., Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- Macmillan, G. A., Esq., St. Martins Street, W.C.
- Macmillan, Messrs. & Co., Ltd., St. Martins Street, W.C.
- Marindin, G. E., Esq., Broomfields, Farnham, Surrey.
- Markby, A., Esq., Copse Hill, Wimbledon.
- Mitchell, C. W., Esq., 195, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- Mocatta, F. D., Esq., 9, Connaught Place, Edgware Road, W.
- Mond, Ludwig, Esq., F.R.S., 20, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Monk, Miss, 4, Cadogan Square, S.W.
- Monro, D. B., Esq., Provost of Oriol College, Oxford.
- Monson, His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir E., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., British Embassy, Paris.
- Montagu, Sir S., Bart., M.P., 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, S.W.
- Montefiore, C. G., Esq., 12, Portman Square, W.
- Morley, The Right Hon. The Earl of, 31, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
- Morley, Howard, Esq., 47, Grosvenor Street, W.
- Morshead, E. D. A., Esq., Grafton Villa, Winchester.
- Mumm, A. L., Esq., 4, Hyde Park Street, W.
- Murray, Messrs. J. & H., 50, Albemarle Street, W.
- Murray, Prof. G. G. A., Barford, Churt, Farnham, Surrey.
- Myers, Ernest, Esq., Brackenside, Chislehurst.
- Mylne, Mrs., 83, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- Myres, J. L., Esq., Christchurch, Oxford.
- Neil, R. A., Esq., Pembroke College, Cambridge.
- Newman, W. L., Esq., 1, Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.
- Oswald, J. W. Gordon, Esq. (of Aigas) Beaulieu, Inverness-shire, N.B.
- Oules, W. W., Esq., R.A., 12, Bryanston Square, W.
- Paton, W. R., Esq., British Post Office, Smyrna.
- Pears, E., Esq., 2, Rue de la Banque, Constantinople.
- Pelham, Prof. H. F., President Trinity College, Oxford.
- Pelham, The Hon. Mrs. Arthur, 16, Duke Street, Manchester Square.

- Penrose, F. C., Esq., F.R.S., Colebyfield, Wimbledon, S.W.
- Perry, W. C., Esq., 7a, Manchester Square, W.
- Pitt-Rivers, Lieutenant-General, Rushmore, Salisbury.
- Plumbe, Rowland, Esq., 13, Fitzroy Square, W.
- Pollock, Sir F., Bart., 48, Great Cumberland Place, W.
- Poynter, Sir E. J., P.R.A., 28, Albert Gate, S.W.
- Radford, Dr., Sidmouth.
- Ralli, Mrs. S., 32, Park Lane, W.
- Ralli, P., Esq., 17, Belgrave Square, W.
- Ralli, Stephen, Esq., 25, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
- Rathbone, Mrs., Woodgate, Sutton-Coldfield.
- Rawlinson, W. G., Esq., 134, Cheapside, E.C.
- Reid, Prof. J. S., Litt.D., Caius College, Cambridge.
- Rendall, The Rev. G. H., Litt.D., Charterhouse, Godalming.
- Richards, H. P., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
- Richmond, The Right Rev. The Bishop of, the Rectory, Stanhope, R.S.O. Co. Durham.
- Robb, Mrs., 46, Rutland Gate, S.W.
- Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys, University College, Bangor.
- Robertson, Charles, Esq., Redfern, Colinton Road, Edinburgh.
- Romanes, Mrs., 18, Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., The Durdans, Epsom.
- Rothschild, The Right Hon. Lord, 148, Piccadilly, W.
- Rothschild, Messrs. N. M., and Sons, New Court, E.C.
- Rothschild, The Hon. Walter, 148, Piccadilly, W.
- Rumbold, His Excellency Sir Horace, Bart., G.C.B., British Embassy, Vienna.
- Salisbury, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, K.G., Arlington Street, W.
- Sandys, J. E., Esq., Litt.D., St. John's College, Cambridge.
- Saunarez, The Right Hon. Lord de, Shrubland Park, Coddendam, Suffolk.
- Scott, C. P., Esq., The Firs, Fallowfield, Manchester.
- Seaman, Owen, Esq., Tower House, Putney, S.W.
- Searle, G. von U., Esq., 30, Edith Road, W. Kensington.
- Sharkey, J. A., Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.
- Sidgwick, Prof. H., Litt.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.
- Smith, Cecil H., Esq., LL.D., British Museum, W.C.
- Smith, Mrs. C. H., 18, Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.
- Smith, J. G., Esq., 4, Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
- Smith, R. A. H. Bickford, Esq., 98, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.
- Southwell, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, Thurgarton Priory, Notts.
- Spring-Rice, S. E., C.B., Treasury, Whitehall, S.W.
- Stannus, Hugh, Esq., 61, Larkhall Rise, Clapham, S.W.
- Stanton, C. H., Esq., Field Place, Stroud.
- Steinkopff, E., Esq., 47, Berkeley Square, W.
- Stevenson, Miss E. C., 13, Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Sullivan, John, Esq., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- Tadema, L. Alma, Esq., R.A., 17, Grove End Road, N.W.
- Tancock, The Rev. C. C., The School, Tonbridge.
- Taylor, The Rev. Dr., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.
- Taylor, J. E., Esq., 20, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
- Teale, J. Pridgin, Esq., F.R.S., 38, Cookridge Street, Leeds.
- Thompson, Sir E. M., K.C.B., British Museum, W.C.
- Thompson, Sir Henry, Bart., 35, Wimpole Street, W.
- Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 26a, Bryanston Square, W.
- Thursfield, J. R., Esq., Fryth, Great Berkhamstead.
- Tozer, The Rev. H. F., 18, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
- Tuckett, F. F., Esq., Frenchay, Bristol.
- Vardy, The Rev. A. R., King Edward's School, Birmingham.
- Vaughan, H., Esq., 28, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Vaughan, E. L., Esq., Eton College.
- Verrall, A. W., Esq., Litt.D., Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
- Waldstein, Prof. Charles, Litt.D., King's College, Cambridge.
- Wandsworth, The Right Hon. Lord, 10, Great Stanhope Street, W.
- Wantage, The Lady, 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
- Ward, John, Esq., F.S.A., Lennoxvale, Belfast.
- Warr, Prof. G. C., 16, Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.
- Warre, The Rev. E., D.D., Eton College, Windsor.
- Warren, T. H., Esq., President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
- Waterhouse, Mrs. E., 13, Hyde Park Street, W.
- Weber, Dr. H., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.
- Wedgwood, G., Esq., Idle Rocks, Stone, Staff.
- Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.

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| <p>Wernher, Julius, Esq., 38a, Porchester Terrace,<br/>W.</p> <p>West, H. H., Esq., c/o R. W. West, Esq., Casa<br/>Bianca, Alassio, N. Italy.</p> <p>Westlake, Mrs., 3, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.</p> <p>Whateley, A. P., Esq., 4, Southwick Crescent,<br/>W.</p> <p>Wickham, The Very Rev. E. C., The Deanery,<br/>Lincoln.</p> <p>Wilson, R. D., Esq., 38, Upper Brook Street, W.</p> <p>Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington<br/>Street, S.W.</p> | <p>Winkworth, Mrs., Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W.</p> <p>Woodhouse, W. J., Esq., 1, Garfield Terrace,<br/>Garth Road, Bangor.</p> <p>Wroth, Warwick, Esq., British Museum, W.C.</p> <p>Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson, 43, Phillimore<br/>Gardens, W.</p> <p>Yorke, V. W., Esq., Fortnampton Court, Tewkes-<br/>bury.</p> <p>Yule, Miss A., Tarradale House, Ross-shire,<br/>Scotland.</p> |
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## DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1899.

F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.

ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.

CECIL H. SMITH, LL.D., 1895—1897.

DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., 1897—1900.

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## STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1899.

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|----------------------|---|
| Ernest A. Gardner,   | Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Admitted 1886—87, Director of the School, 1887—1895. Yates Professor of Archaeology at University College, London. |
| David G. Hogarth,    | Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven University Fellow. Director of the School since 1897. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.                   |
| Rupert Clarke,       | Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted 1886—87.   |
| F. H. H. Guillemard, | Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.   |
| Montague R. James,   | Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge; Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.   |
| R. Elsey Smith,      | Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.   |
| Robert Weir Schultz, | Admitted as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.  |
| Sidney H. Barnsley,  | Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.  |
| J. A. R. Munro,      | Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.   |

- H. Arnold Tubbs, Pembroke College, Oxford; Craven University Fellow Professor of Classics in the University of Auckland. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888-89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889-90.
- James G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.
- William Loring, Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Education Department. Secretary of the School since 1897. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890-91, 1891-92, and 1892-93.
- W. J. Woodhouse, Queen's College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrew's. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891-92 and 1892-93.
- G. C. Richards, Formerly Fellow of Hertford College; and late Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff; Lecturer at Oriel College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889-90. Re-admitted 1890-91.
- O. H. Parry, Magdalen College, Oxford. Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889-90.
- J. R. Stainer, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889-90.
- R. A. H. Bickford-Smith, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90.
- A. G. Bather, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889-90. Re-admitted 1891-92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship 1892-93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893-94, as Cambridge Student.
- E. E. Sikes, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890-91.
- J. G. Milne, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Education Department. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890-91.
- H. Stuart Jones, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890-91. Re-admitted 1892-93.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers, Admitted 1890-91. (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong.)
- F. B. Baker, Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891-92.
- C. C. Inge, Magdalen College, Oxford. Appointed 1891-92 to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. F. Benson, King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891-92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892-93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship. 1893-94 as Craven Student; and 1894-95 as Prendergast Student.
- J. G. Smith, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891-92. Re-admitted 1895-96.
- V. W. Yorke, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94.
- J. L. Myres, Student of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94, and 1894-95 as Craven Fellow.

- R. J. G. Mayor, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Department. Admitted 1892—93.
- R. Carr Bosanquet, Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95, 1895—96, and 1896—97.
- J. M. Cheetham, Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
- E. R. Bevan, New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
- A. F. Findlay, Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
- T. Duncan, Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
- J. E. Brooks, St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
- H. Awdry, New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
- Duncan Mackenzie, Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—7, 1897—8 and 1898—9.
- Archibald Paterson, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
- Charles R. R. Clark, Appointed (1895—96), and re-appointed 1896—97 by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
- C. C. Edgar, Oriel College, Oxford. English Member of the Cataloguing Committee, Ghizeh Museum. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—9.
- F. R. Earp, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- F. A. C. Morrison, Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
- H. H. West, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- Miss C. A. Hutton, Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- Pieter Rodeck, Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
- J. G. C. Anderson, Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Lecturer of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
- J. W. Crowfoot, Hulmeian Exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
- W. W. Reid, Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
- A. E. Henderson, Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—9.
- W. A. Curtis, Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.
- A. J. Spilsbury, Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. B. Hoare, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
- J. G. Lawson, Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—9.

C. D. Edmonds,	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Elstree School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—9.
J. H. Marshall,	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—9.
Clement Gutch,	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—9.
F. B. Welch,	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—9.
T. D. Atkinson,	Secretary of Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—9.
J. K. Fotheringham,	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—9.

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## ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Professor J. B. Bury,	Trinity College, Dublin. Admitted 1895—6.
Rev. A. H. Cruickshank,	The College, Winchester. Admitted 1895—6.
Arthur J. Evans,	Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Admitted 1895—6.
Ambrose Poynter,	Worked at subject of Mosaic. Admitted 1896—7.
J. E. Brooks,	A former Student of the School. Admitted 1896—7.
J. L. Myres,	Student of Christ Church, Oxford ; a former Student of the School. Admitted 1896—7.
Professor E. A. Gardner,	Formerly Director of the School. Admitted 1897—8.

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

### OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

### THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

- (1) Donors of £10 and upwards.
- (2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.
- (3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time or £5 annually.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

### THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

### THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

- (1) The Trustees of the School.
- (2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
- (3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
- (4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary or Treasurer may, with the approval of two members of the Committee, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

#### STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

No person shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands.

XX. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXI. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXII. The Managing Committee may elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands; and may also elect as honorary members such persons as they may from time to time think desirable.

XXIII. Students, Associates, and honorary members, shall have a right to use the Library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXIV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

#### THE DIRECTOR.

XXV. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVI. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house; but Students of the School shall have a right to the use of the Library at all reasonable times.

XXVII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XX., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXVIII. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXIX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXX. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXI. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIII. The Hostel shall be managed by the Students for the time being, subject to the control of the Director.

XXXIV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct ; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXV. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of 20 drachmas (paper) a week for their rooms, this payment to include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVI. Associates of the School, members of the Committee, and ex-directors, may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be 30 drachmas (paper) until further notice.

XXXVIII. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XXXIX. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XL. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLI. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIII. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLIV. The second claim shall be the salary of the Director, as arranged between him and the Managing Committee.

XLV. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report ; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

*Revised to November, 1899.*

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1899—1900.

- |   |   |
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*Assistant-Director 1899—1900.*—R. C. BOSANQUET, Esq., M.A.

## British School at Athens.

---

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archæology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is every year becoming more and more the centre of the archæological world. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of the numerous and most important discoveries which have taken place on Greek soil in the last few years has made a personal knowledge of them indispensable to a proper training; in particular, they may almost be said to hold a monopoly of the materials for the investigation of prehistoric and early archaic Art.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens—firstly, the command of an adequate library; and secondly, the advice of a trained archæologist, residing on the spot, and following the rapid advances of the science, due partly to new discovery and partly to the rearrangement of old materials.

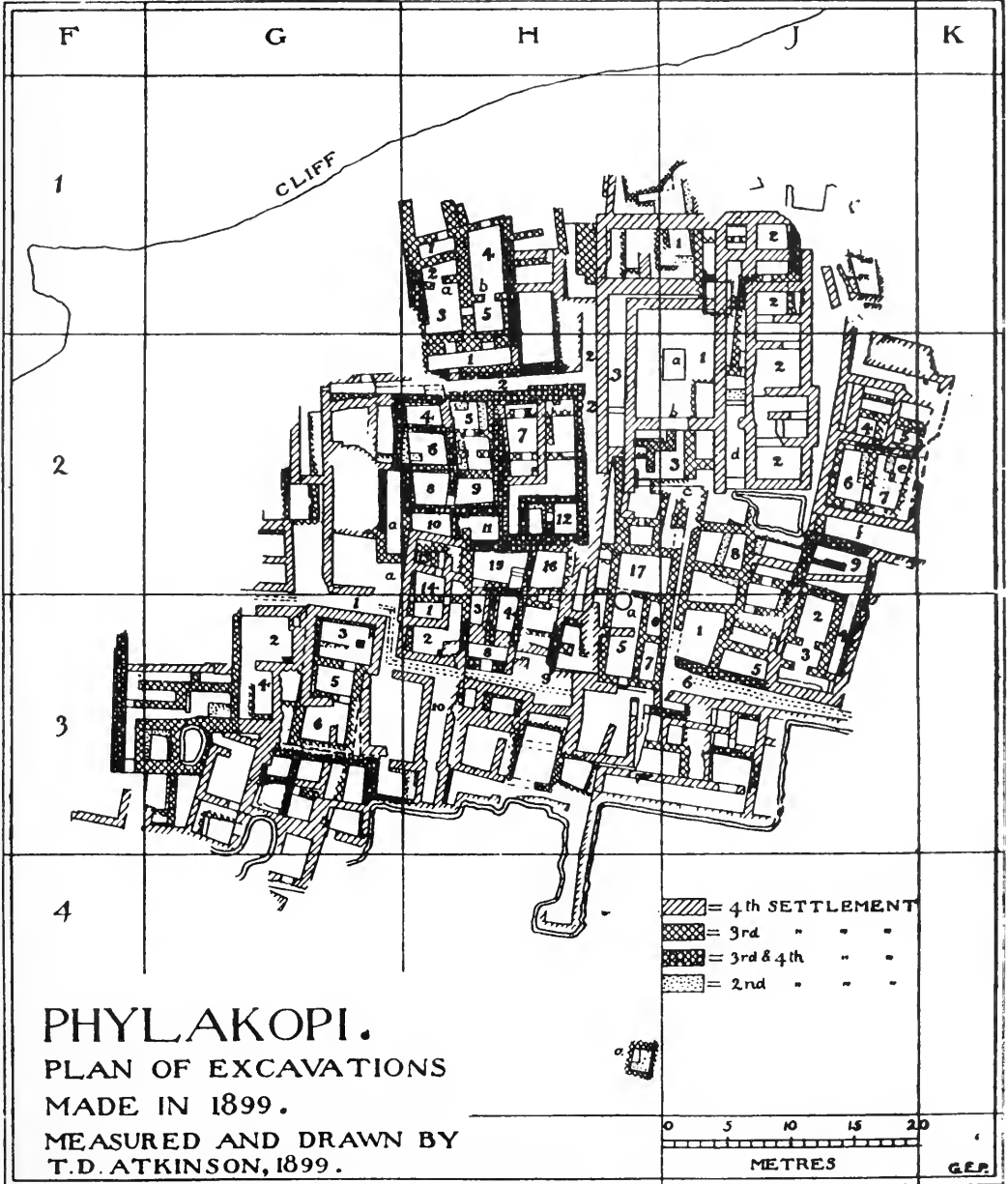
These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and English archæologists, through the Schools which they have established. It is also by means of these Schools that most excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, and in Melos by the British School during the past thirteen Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School is adequately supported.

Any persons who bring satisfactory testimonials of their qualifications are admitted as students free of charge. The principal conditions imposed are that they shall pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands, and that they shall at the end of the Session write a report of the work which they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Hon. Sec., WILLIAM LORING, Esq., 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C. Mr. LORING will also be happy to supply any further information.

The present income of the School (including the grant of £500 from the Government) is about £1,400, of which a considerable part is secured only until next year. Substantial aid is therefore needed to maintain the School in a permanent state of efficiency. Donations or annual subscriptions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, WALTER LEAF, Esq., 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.





*November, 1899.*

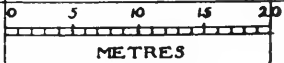




**PHYLAKOPI.**  
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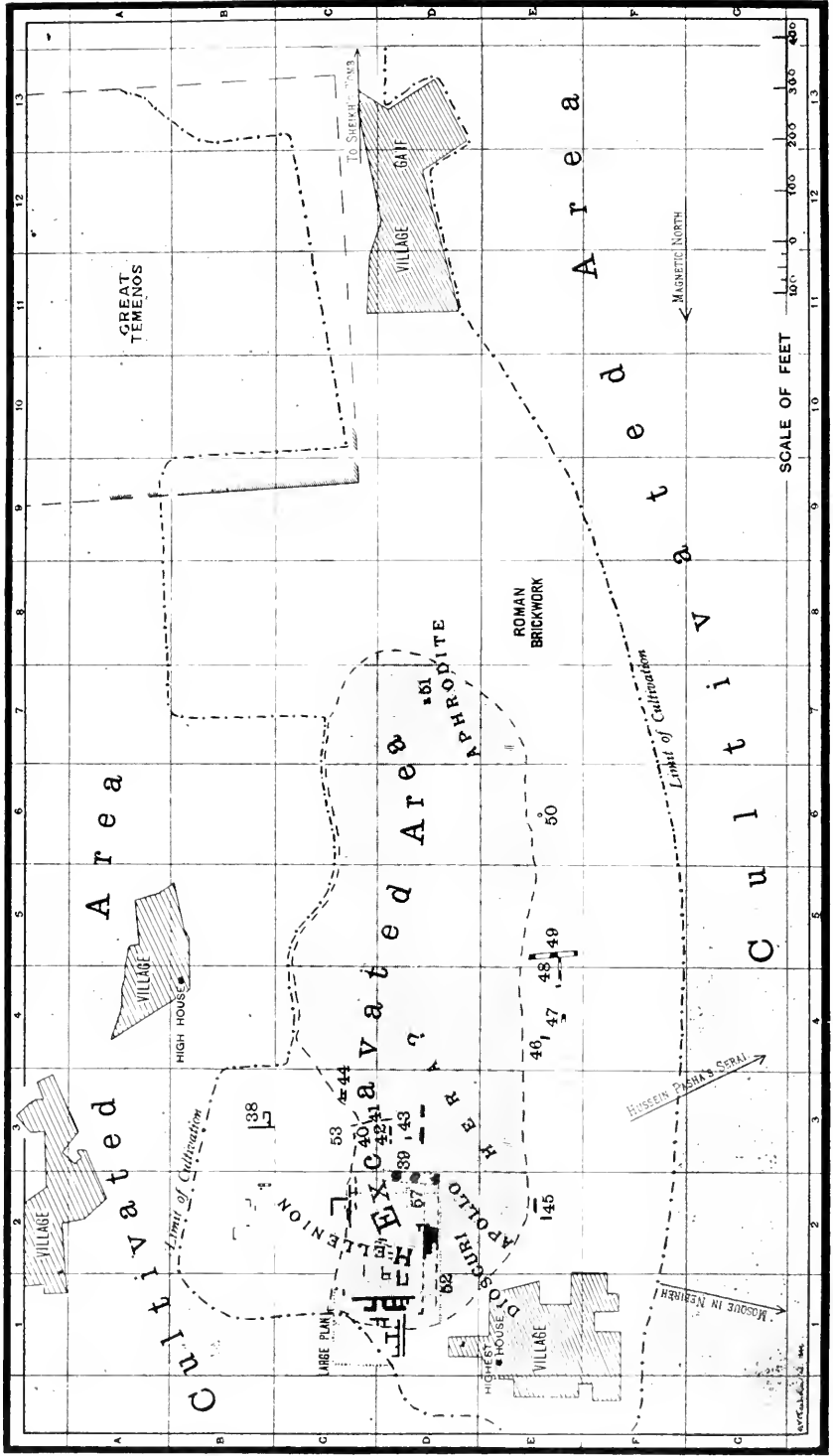
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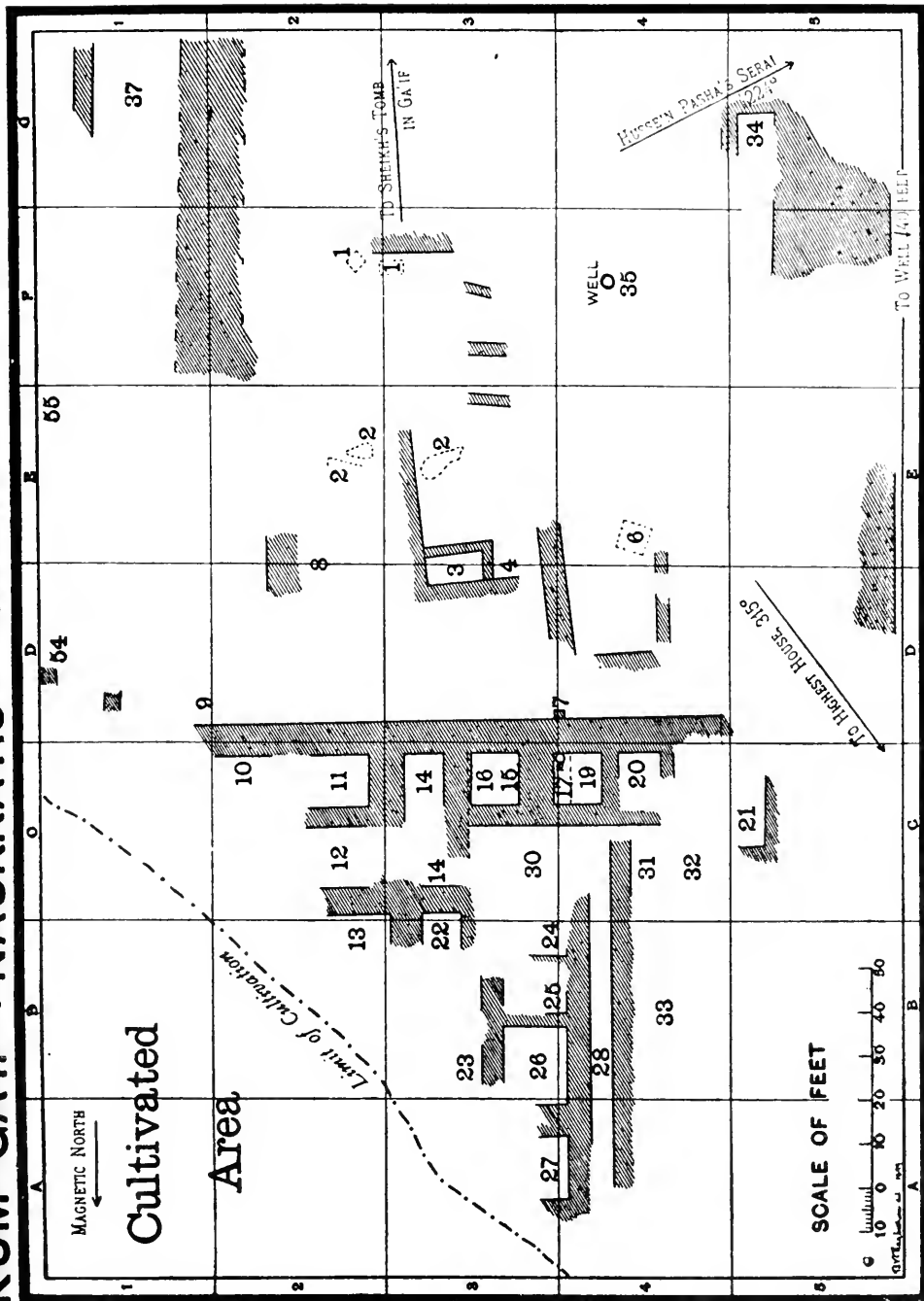
G.E.P.

# KUM GA'IF NAUKRATIS



REMAINS AT EXTREME NORTH

# KUM GA'IF - NAUKRATIS



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 4 ΒΑ 5 ΠΑΝΤΗ  
 6 ΦΗΡ 7 ΧΕΦΑ 8 ΙΖΜΙ  
 9 ΜΙ 10 ΑΣΑΗ 11 ΜΙ  
 12 ΠΤΟ 13 ΠΣΗΑΤ  
 14 ΕΥΡΩΤΗ 15 ΚΟΙΣΙ 16 ΦΩ  
 17 ΧΑΥ 18 ΕΝΑ 19 ΕΥΟΡ  
 20 ΔΥΚΟΣ 21 ΜΑΡΑ 22 ΜΑΡΑ 23 ΝΟΕ  
 24 ΔΙΙ 25 ΤΙΣΑΝ 26 ΗΝΙΣΘ  
 27 ΑΝΗΣΙ 28 (ΤΗΙΟ) 29 ΑΣΜΑΝΕΝ

30 ΗΡ 31 ΑΚΕΤΩΡΑ  
 32α ΑΤΗΕΣΤΩΤΑ 32β ΕΜΑΝΕ  
 33 ΛΑΡΑΚΝΕΟΣ  
 34 ΒΑΙΕΡ 35 ΔΙΟΣ  
 36 ΔΙΙ 37 ΙΙΔ 38 ΒΟΙΣΙ  
 39 ΗΜΙ 40 ΙΝΔ 41 ΧΟΤΡ  
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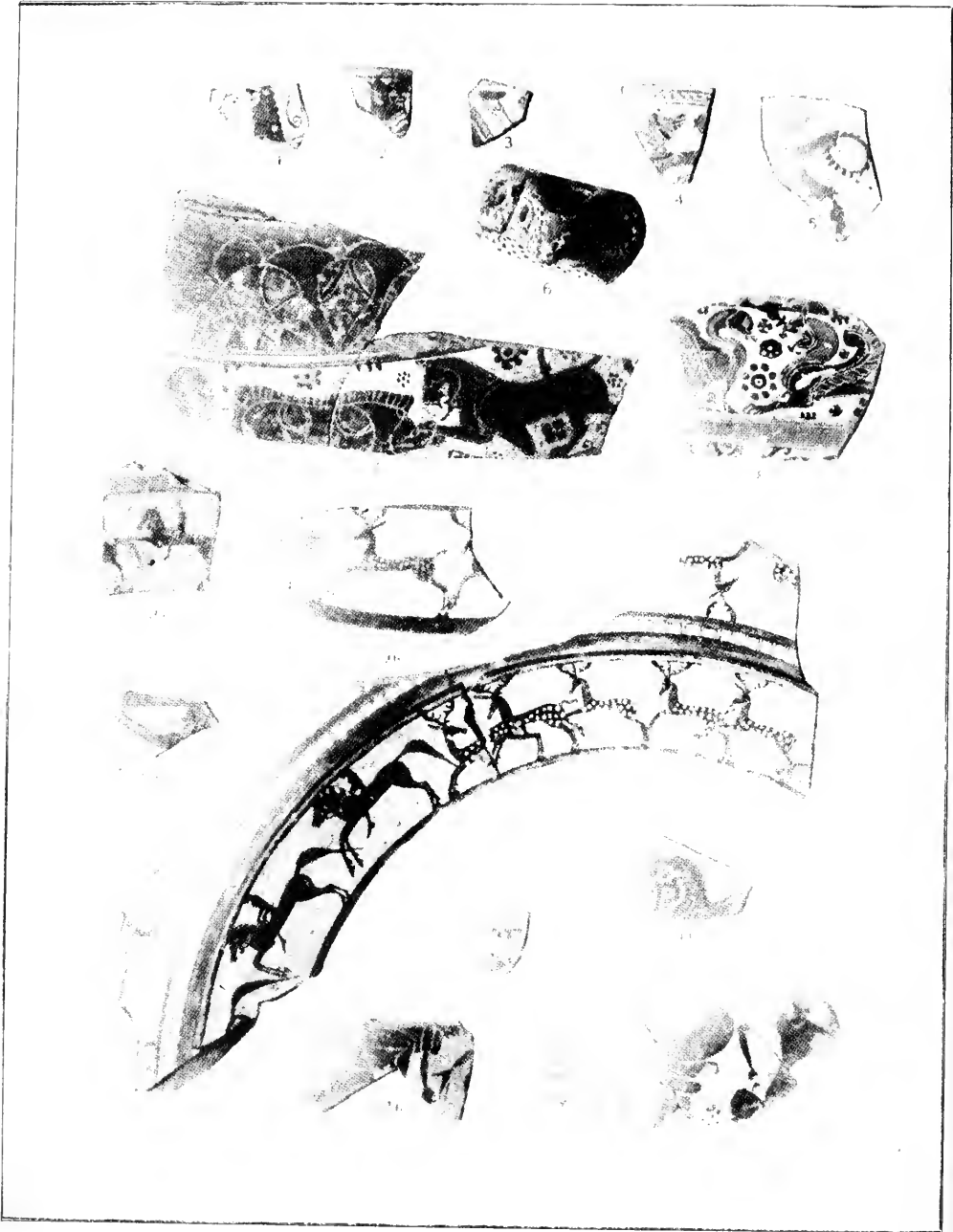
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ΑΙΟΙΣΑΘΩΙ ΙΕΡΗ ΓΟΞΕΣ 60 61 62  
 ΗΡΑΚΛΗ ΑΝΔΡΟΝ 63 64  
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙ ΧΟΟΝΡΟΙ ΧΕ 65 66 67  
 ΜΙΕΦ ΥΑΞΑΛ ΑΞΙΤΙ 68 69 70  
 ΧΟΙΞΕΝΥ ΚΟΙΞΙΤΗ 71 72  
 ΧΑΝΑΝΥ ΚΑΝΥ 73 74 75  
 ΧΗΝΣΑΝΥ ΙΕΝΤΑΝΥ 76 77  
 ΕΝΑΝΔΥ ΝΑΝΥ 78 79 80  
 ΧΙΞΕΝΗ ΣΤΡΑΙΗ ΒΙΦΙΑ 81 82 83  
 ΙΑΡΤΕΜΝΗΡΑΚΑ 84  
 ΙΑΙΙ ΑΞΑΡΤΑΜΙΙ 85a 85b

ΨΟΔΙΤΗΡ 86  
 ΑΦ 87  
 ΨΟΔΙΤΗΡ 88  
 ΨΟΔΙΤΗΡ 89  
 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΑΙΤΑΙΝΑ ΥΝΥ 90 91 92 93  
 ΘΕΛΙΤΟΣΥΡ 94  
 ΑΡΑ ΒΗ 95  
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ΧΕΔΑΙΚΗ 108  
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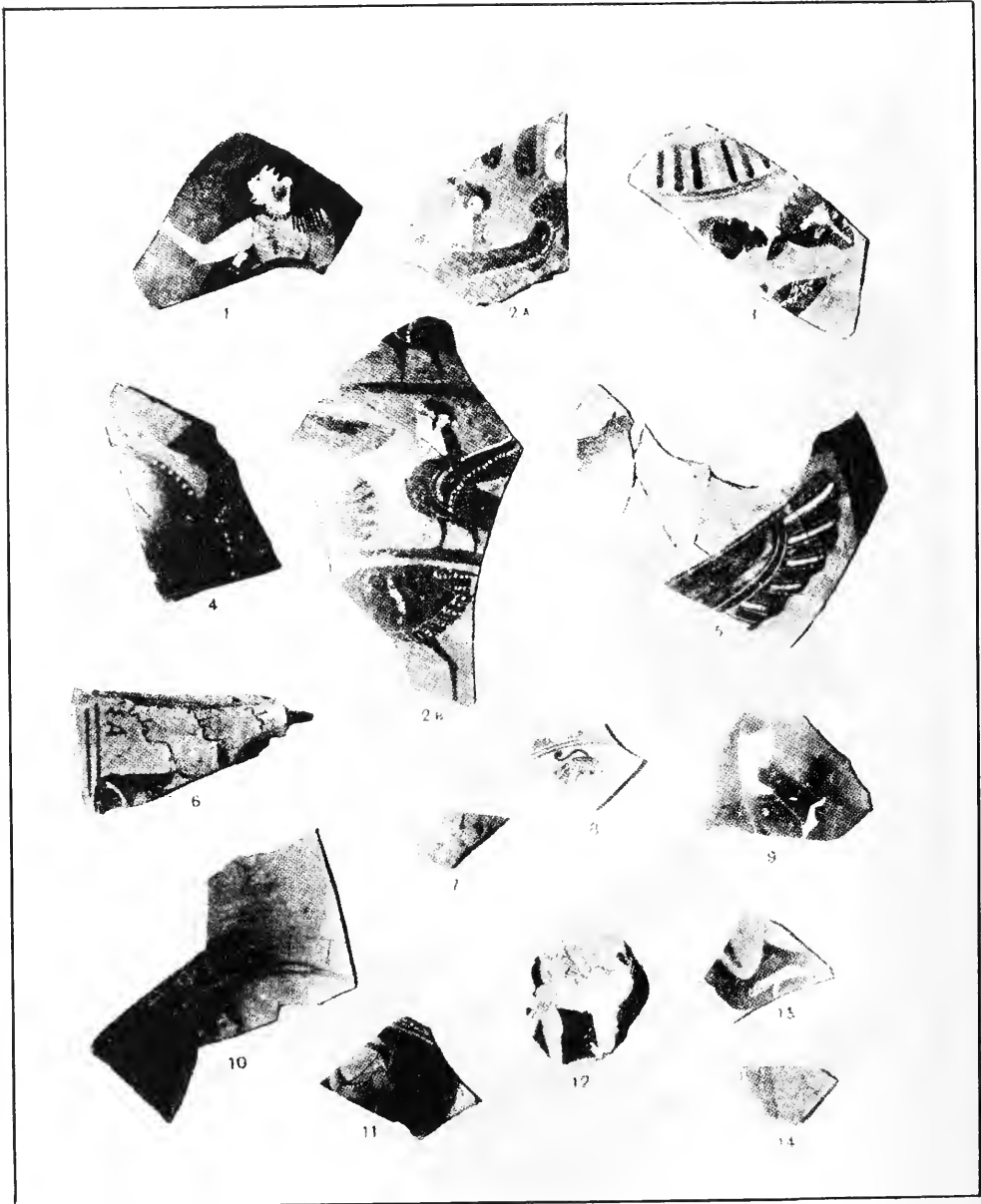
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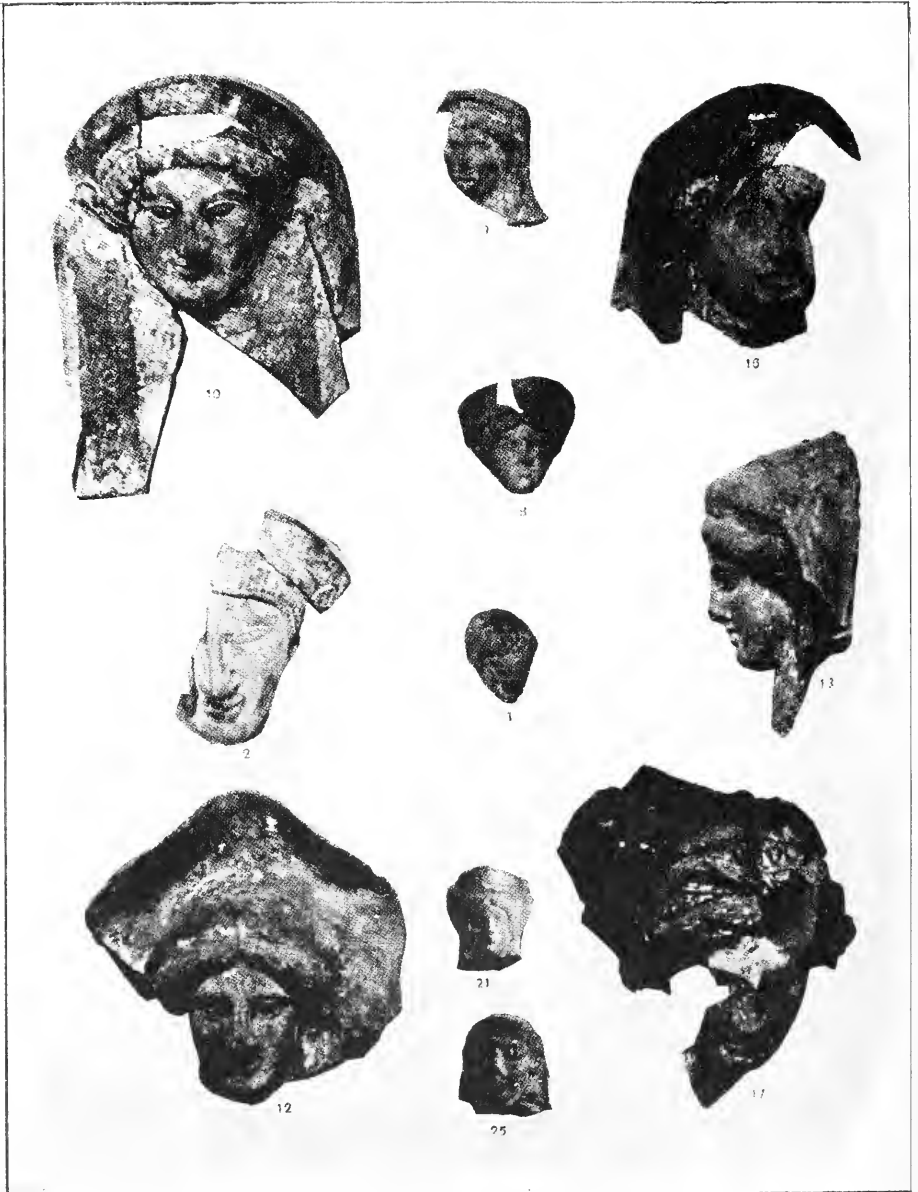


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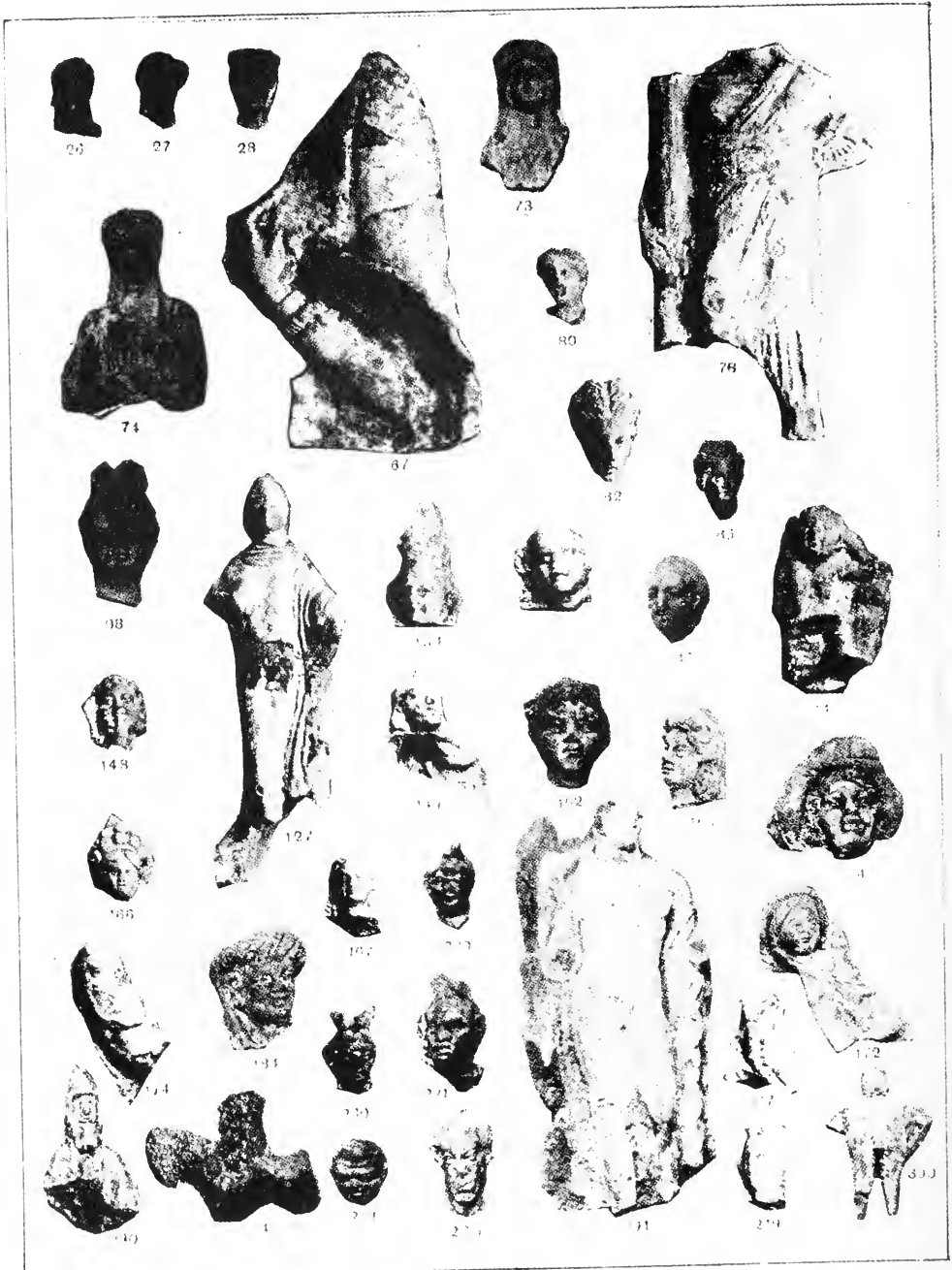
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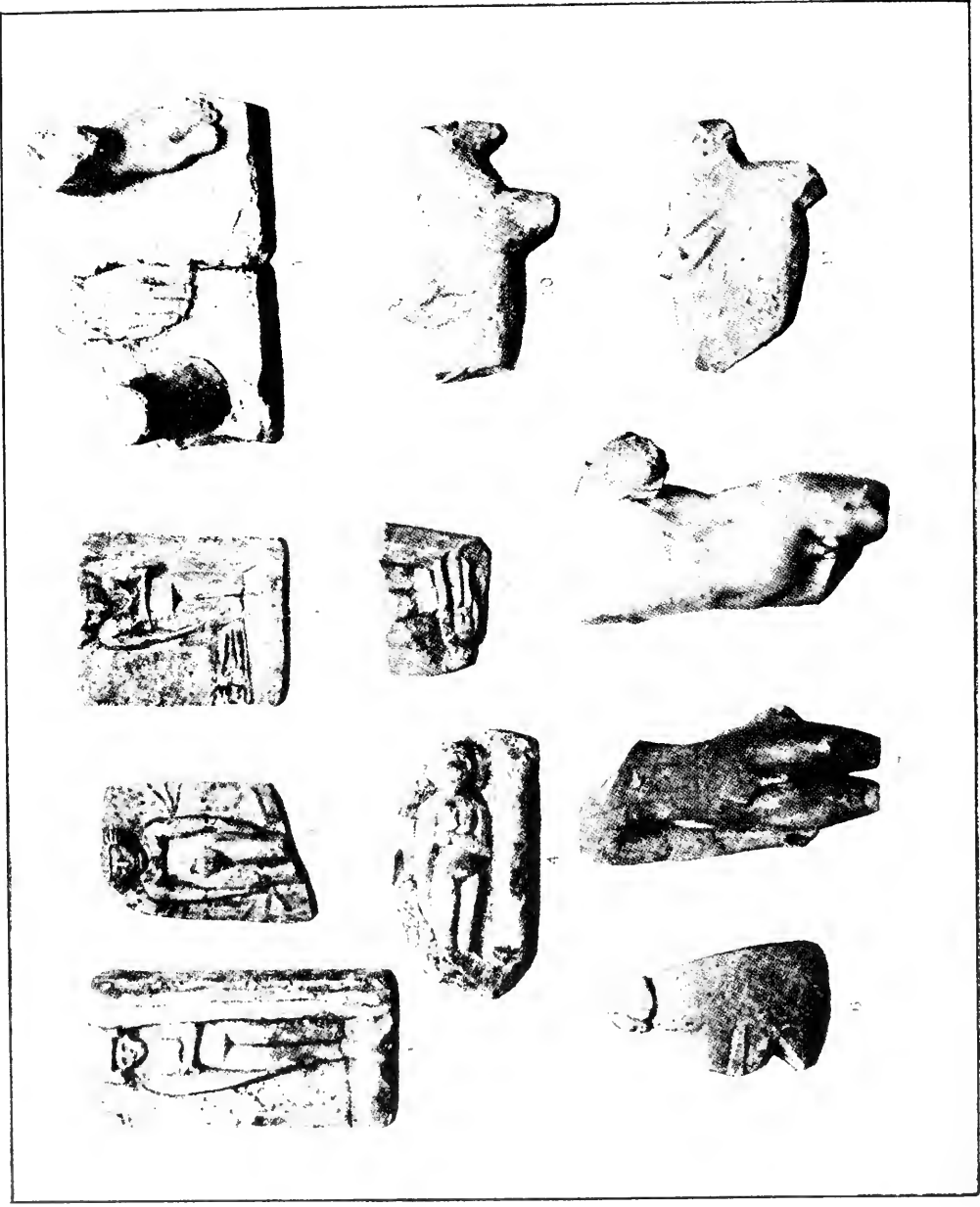


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NAUKRATIS. TERRACOTTAS (scale: about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).



1-5. "Chilbārhā" dedications (*cf. Arzāk. I, p. 49*). 6. "Drummer" figure (*ib. ib.*). 7. Achaëan made figure (clay, in sheet). 8-15. "Chilbārhā" dedications (*cf. Arzāk. I, p. 49*). 16. "Drummer" figure (*ib. ib.*). 17. Achaëan made figure (clay, in sheet).

THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. VI.

SESSION 1899—1900

LONDON

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KRAUS REPRINT  
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
1. Knossos :—	
A. J. EVANS.      I. The Palace (Plates XII. and XIII.) . . . . .	3
D. G. HOGARTH.   II. Early Town and Cemeteries (Plate XII.) . . . . .	70
F. B. WELCH.     III. Notes on the Pottery . . . . .	85
D. G. HOGARTH.   IV. A Latin Inscription . . . . .	92
2. D. G. HOGARTH.   The Dictaeon Cave . . . . .	94
3. F. B. WELCH.     The Influence of the Aegean Civilisation on South Palestine . . . . .	117
4. J. C. LAWSON.     A Beast-dance in Scyros . . . . .	125
<hr/>	
Annual Meeting of Subscribers . . . . .	129
Income and Expenditure 1899-1900 . . . . .	140
Donations and Subscriptions 1899-1900 . . . . .	142
List of Subscribers . . . . .	144
Lists of Directors and Students . . . . .	149
Associates of the School . . . . .	152
Methods of Work and Teaching . . . . .	153
Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens . . . . .	154

## LIST OF PLATES.

---

	FACING PAGE
I. Tablets with Linear Script . . . . .	18
II. Large Tablet with Linear Script . . . . .	56
III. Knossos.—House A <i>or</i> “West House” . . . . .	71
IV.           Views of Houses A and B . . . . .	72
V.            House B <i>or</i> “East House” . . . . .	74
VI. Views of Pillar Rooms, Knossos and Melos (Phylakopi) . . . . .	76
VII. Knossos.—Plan showing Relative Position of the Southern House, and other Remains . . . . .	78
VIII. The Dictaeon Cave . . . . .	96
IX. Views of Dictaeon Cave and Plain of Lasithi . . . . .	98
X. Types of Figurines in Bronze and Lead . . . . .	107
XI. Types of “Tables of Offering” . . . . .	114
XII. Knossos.—General Plan of the Site . . . . .	} <i>End of Volume.</i>
XIII.           Ground Plan of the Palace . . . . .	

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

### Knossos :—

	PAGE
Fig. 1. Western Court and Great Gypsum Wall . . . . .	9
Fig. 2. S.W. Entrance from W. Court . . . . .	11
Fig. 3. Rosette Reliefs of Frieze or Stone Border . . . . .	14
Fig. 4. The Fifth Magazine, showing Great <i>Pithoi</i> and Receptacles in the Floor . . . . .	22
Fig. 5. The Eighth Magazine, showing the Position of the Cists beneath the Pavement . . . . .	23
Fig. 6. Pillar of the Double Axes (E. Room) . . . . .	33
Fig. 7. N. Doorway of Anteroom of Throne-Room . . . . .	35
Fig. 8. Throne-Room as seen from Antechamber . . . . .	37
Fig. 9. Tank and Stone Breastwork : Throne-Room . . . . .	39
Fig. 10. Head of Bull, forming Part of life-sized Relief in painted <i>gesso duro</i> . . . . .	52
Fig. 11. Section of Door-Jamb . . . . .	55
Fig. 12. Linear Tablet referring to Chariot and Horses and, perhaps, Cuirass (Size of Original) . . . . .	58
Fig. 13. Steatite Object . . . . .	73
Figs. 14, 15. Kamares unpainted Vases . . . . .	73
Figs. 16, 17, 18, 19. Mycenaean painted Vases . . . . .	74
Fig. 20. Marble Vase . . . . .	76
Fig. 21. Fragment of Mycenaean Vase . . . . .	76
Fig. 22. Mycenaean Axe-head . . . . .	77
Fig. 23. Mycenaean painted Vase . . . . .	78
Fig. 24. Group of Kamares Vases . . . . .	80
Fig. 25. Geometric Vases (Tomb 3) . . . . .	83
Fig. 26. Geometric Vases (Tomb 6) . . . . .	84

## THE DICTAEAN CAVE:—

	PAGE
Fig. 27. Kamares Ware . . . . .	101
Figs. 28, 29, 30. Painted Mycenaean Ware . . . . .	102
Figs. 31, 32. Late Mycenaean Vase . . . . .	103
Fig. 33. Fragment of <i>Rhyton</i> . . . . .	104
Fig. 34. Fragments of Craters with Relief Ornament . . . . .	104
Fig. 35. Scoop and Lamp . . . . .	105
Fig. 36. Geometric Stamnos . . . . .	105
Fig. 37. Terracottas . . . . .	106
Fig. 38. Griffin and Hog's Hoof . . . . .	107
Fig. 39. Bronze Chariot and Animals . . . . .	108
Fig. 40. Double Axes . . . . .	109
Fig. 41. Miniature Shields (?) . . . . .	109
Fig. 42. Lance Heads and Darts . . . . .	110
Fig. 43. Knives . . . . .	110
Fig. 44. Knife with Human Head . . . . .	111
Fig. 45. Hair-pins, Needles, etc. . . . .	112
Fig. 46. Miscellaneous Bronze Objects . . . . .	112
Fig. 47. Iron Objects . . . . .	113
Fig. 48. Ivory and Bone Objects . . . . .	113
Fig. 49. Bone Fibula-plates . . . . .	113
Fig. 50. Inscribed Table of Offerings . . . . .	114

## EDITOR'S NOTE.

ALL the articles in this volume, relating to excavations in Crete, are of a preliminary character. The Palace at Knossos has not yet been more than half excavated ; the early town near it has only been probed at a few isolated points ; and although the Dictæan Cave is now completely explored, it is not advisable to deal otherwise than tentatively with the objects found in its confused strata, until the Mycenaean evidence from Knossos is all before us, and a Cretan site of the Geometric period has been examined. Fuller publication of the Knossian pottery of the pre-Mycenaean age will appear shortly in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxi. part i. and of certain other objects from Knossos in Mr. Evans' article on Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Worship in the same issue.

D. G. HOGARTH.

February 1901.

#### ADDENDUM.

In the remarks on the enamelled roundels found in the Throne-Room at Knossos an important comparison was overlooked. A plaque of identical design and colour (though the *Vesicae pisces* were there in separate pieces and the central part only was preserved) was found in the Fourth Shaft-Grave at Mycenae. In this case, too, there were incised lines on the under side. This comparison, which is very much nearer than that with the Tell-el-Yehudiyeh plaques, indicates a considerably higher date. In describing the Lioness's head the inlay of the eyes should have been described as coloured stone and not enamel.

A. J. E.

# KNOSSOS.

*Summary Report of the Excavations in 1900.*

## I.

### THE PALACE.

BY ARTHUR J. EVANS.

(PLATES XII. AND XIII.)

---

#### § 1.—THE PREHISTORIC ACROPOLIS OF KNOSSOS.

THE site of ancient Knossos, which lies near the present village of Makryteichos, about four miles inland from Candia, is shut in by higher hills in three directions. Somewhat South however of the scanty remains of the Roman City, the ground gradually rises into a rounded hill generally known as Kephala or in its fuller form τοῦ Τσελεβῆ ἢ Κεφάλια—"the Squire's Knoll," from the fact that it belonged to a local Bey or landowner whose country house stands by the stream below. This hill lies at the confluence of a tributary stream with the ancient Kairatos (now Κατσαμπᾶς), and descends somewhat steeply towards these channels on the South and East.

To the West of the hill, crossing the tributary stream by a bridge below, runs a road, the antiquity of which is shown by the rock tombs that extend along its further course. This road must in all ages of Cretan history have formed the natural line of access to the Omphalian Plain, now Pediada, and the cities that dominated the western and southern glens of the hither range of Dikta, among which Lyttos, Priansos and Biennos stood preeminent. Although overlooked by loftier heights beyond the streams and the road, the partial isolation of the hill of Kephala, and the fact that it immediately commanded this natural line of communication, must have made it in early times something of a key position. The

deepest soundings made during the recent excavations in fact show that it was covered at a remote period by an extensive Neolithic settlement.

That early remains existed on this spot had been known for some years. In 1878 a native gentleman of Candia, Mr. Minos Kalokairinos, made a small excavation on this spot and obtained some large jars (from which the site has since been known as *Ἰστὰ Πιθάρια*), as well as some fragments of Mycenaean pottery.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards the site was visited by Mr. W. J. Stillman, who noted the curious signs on some large gypsum blocks.<sup>2</sup> The remains were visited by several other archaeologists including Drs. Fabricius, Dörpfeld and Schliemann, who considered that they belonged to a Mycenaean Palace. The indefatigable Italian explorer of Cretan antiquities, Professor Federigo Halbherr, recalled the *Andreion*<sup>3</sup> in which the citizens of Crete met for their common meals or *Syssitia*. Mr. Stillman sought here the Labyrinth.

Mr. Stillman, and after him Dr. Schliemann, tried to set on foot a methodical excavation of the site. But these and subsequent attempts to come to terms with the proprietors failed. The state of the island was itself not favourable to such exploration and the interesting questions attaching to the scanty remains visible above ground remained unsolved. In 1894 when I visited the site for the first time I found the field clear. The curious signs on the gypsum blocks seemed to have a bearing on the special object of my investigations, the existence, namely, in Crete of a prehistoric system of writing. The discovery, on or near this site, of a steatite bead-seal of an early class with linear characters, and other indications pointed to the possibility of finding here the fullest evidence of what I sought. Beautifully engraved gems, a gold signet ring with a scene of unique importance in its bearing on the subject of Mycenaean religion, a fragment of a pyxis with reliefs, and other evidences that I had occasion to observe of the high artistic development of Knossos in prehistoric times, led me more and more to realise the extraordinary importance of securing the thorough exploration of the remains on Kephala. It appeared that the only effective way of attaining this result was by becoming actual owner of the land which was unfortunately held by several co-proprietors,

<sup>1</sup> See Haussoullier, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1880, pp. 124-127; Fabricius, *Ath. Mitth.* 1886, p. 139 *seqq.* and Taf. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee*, Arch. Inst. of America, 1880-1881, pp. 47-49.

<sup>3</sup> *Researches in Crete in the Antiquary*, vol. xxviii. p. 111.



native Mahometans, to whose almost inexhaustible powers of obstruction I can pay the highest tribute. The Insurrection added new difficulties. However, already in 1894 I had secured a part ownership in the site and after encountering obstacles and delays of every kind was able at the beginning of 1900 to purchase the whole, this favourable result being due in large measure to the new political circumstances of the island.

## § 2.—PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS ON S. AND E. SLOPE.

Permission having been obtained from Prince George's Government, I was able to begin the work of excavation on the ensuing March 23. I received some financial assistance from the Cretan Exploration Fund newly started by myself and Mr. Hogarth, though owing to the war in South Africa the contributions from this source fell far short of what was needed. As assistant in directing the work, I was fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, whose experiences in conducting the excavations for the British School in Melos peculiarly qualified him for the task. In the present short summary of the results of this year's work I have had the advantage of referring to the Day-Book of the excavations kept by Mr. Mackenzie. Grateful acknowledgments on my part are also due to Mr. D. T. Fyfe, the architect of the British School, for the excellent plans, sections, and drawings prepared by him. The general plan of the Palace that accompanies this Report is from Mr. Fyfe's hands.

The most favourable dumping-ground was offered by a belt of low-lying ground immediately below the steps to the South and East of the hill-top. In order to ascertain where it would be safe to throw the earth without covering important remains, a series of trial pits was dug all along this lower belt and the slopes descending to it. This preliminary work lasted a week. To the South and South-East there were practically no remains of consequence on the lower ground, though on the southern steep there came to light the scanty remains of a prehistoric house with pottery of both the Mycenaean and Kamáres styles and some fragments of painted stucco on which simple dotted rosettes formed the chief decoration. This latter find gave the promise of better things above.

On the low ground to the East of the hill were some shallow cists containing skeletons and covered with stone slabs, but these proved to belong to comparatively recent, perhaps mediaeval, times. Higher up the

slope on this side were remains of limestone walls of good and characteristic Mycenaean masonry, a drain or *hydragôgeion* of similar structure, and a deeper artificial watercourse leading to a natural swallow-hole.

### § 3.—THE NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT.

On the eastern slope, almost on the surface, occurred a deposit of pale clay containing abundant fragments of primitive *bucchero*—dark hand-made pottery with a polished surface—some of it incised with simple geometrical patterns and showing traces of a white chalky inlaying. This pottery, identical in character with that from the early strata of Hissarlik, belongs here for the most part to the later Neolithic period and was associated throughout the Kephala site with celts and perforated maces of serpentine, jadeite, haematite, and other materials, obsidian knives and the cores from which they were struck off, clay spindle-whorls, and a great variety of bone implements. With these remains, on the eastern slope, was found a primitive female image of the same incised and inlaid clay. An inner area of the Palace itself was subsequently found to consist almost entirely of the same Neolithic deposit, and an exploratory shaft showed that it here attained a depth of about 24 feet. It seems probable that this pale clay stratum was of artificial formation and represents the disintegration of the clay platforms and wattle-and-daub huts of long generations of Neolithic inhabitants. This primitive settlement extends, as was shown by Mr. Hogarth's excavations, to the western side of the hill and it therefore appears that Knossos, or to use its earlier name "Tritta," was already a thickly populated site at a remote prehistoric date.

The later elements of this early stratum come down to the transitional period when copper and other metals were first coming into use in the Aegean area. A few bits of punctuated and striated pottery show a certain approximation to the black ware found in twelfth and thirteenth Dynasty Egyptian graves as at Khataneh. The upper part of a male figure in marble recalls types from the early metal age tombs of Amorgos and other Aegean islands. A very significant fact, however, is the entire absence of the spiraliform type of ornamentation on the incised pottery—an indication that the bulk of it is anterior to the time when this spiral system was diffused in Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean world under twelfth Dynasty Egyptian impulse. The pottery in this respect presents a great contrast

to that of Butmir in Bosnia, which illustrates the influence of the spiral system of the Aegean steatite reliefs (and perhaps also metal reliefs of the early Mycenaean class) on a mainland population which had not emerged from the Neolithic stage of culture. At Knossos we see these spiraliform designs influencing the early painted pottery of the Kamáres class. But there were also found certain vase fragments with vandyke and punctuated ornaments in white and chrome, painted on a dark brown ground, which are of great interest as showing a direct translation into colour of the incised Neolithic types.

#### § 4.—THE EASTERN EDGE OF THE UPPER PLATEAU.

On the upper part of the eastern slope and on the edge of the plateau above, remains of several houses came to light. These were perhaps dependences of the Palace, for some more important fragments of painted frescoes were found within them, including parts of a fish, the head and forearm of a man in a bright blue tunic with short sleeves, and a lady swimming. In most cases below the Mycenaean level were earlier buildings with painted pottery of the Kamáres class. At a point S. of the angle of the *hydragôgeion* a pit was dug between early walls of this class, the foundations of which went down 4·20 metres. Here, from a depth of about 3 metres onwards was a considerable accumulation of this early painted pottery, including a vase in the form of a dove<sup>1</sup>, which tends to prove the early domestication of this bird in Crete. I thought it advisable however to leave the investigation of these early strata as much as possible for a later stage of the excavations. With the exception of the dove vase the best examples of this class of pottery were those obtained by Mr. Hogarth from houses to the West of the Palace and on the opposite hill of Gypsádes.

Near the E. edge of the plateau also occurred great accumulations of small clay cups of a kind very characteristic of Cretan votive deposits such as that of the Diktaean Cave. The resemblance of these to the small handle-less Turkish coffee-cups suggested to the workmen the name 'στὸ Καφελεῖον—the Café—for the spot where these heaps were found. Huge burnt beams also came to light on this side and traces of a vast conflagration. Our preliminary object, which was to know how far the

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in the paper by Messrs. Hogarth and Welch, to appear in *J.H.S.* xxi.

lower ground to the South and East could be used for dumping earth, had now however been attained, and further operations on the edge of the plateau were set aside in order to attack the central building.

§ 5.—EXCAVATION OF THE CENTRAL BUILDING: THE REGION BELOW THE SOUTHERN TERRACE.

On the southern edge of the summit of the hill parts of a terrace wall were visible, showing entrances to two narrow passages 0·70 m. and 0·60 m. in width, flanked by great blocks on some of which were cut double axes and other symbolic marks. The first objective of our operations on the side of the Central building was the region immediately in front of this Southern Terrace, including the clearance of the Terrace wall itself. *Pari passu* with this operation work also proceeded on the upper level immediately above the Terrace.

The remains below the Terrace form a distinct quarter, the exact connexion of which with the upper part of the building it has been as yet impossible to determine. Steps must have led up to the higher level perhaps to the East of the ground hitherto excavated. The Terrace wall itself had been supplemented by later buttresses of clay and rubble masonry, apparently with the view of giving it additional support. It was flanked at a distance of about 8 metres by a wall of fine gypsum blocks, running parallel to it, and between these two main lines ran cross walls and interrupted parallel blocks of masonry. The two subterranean passages, the entrances to which were visible on the face of the Terrace wall, opened, about 3 metres in, into wider chambers or galleries which could not be further explored without interfering with the Propylaeum above. The area between the Terrace wall and that to South of it was approached on the east side by steps and there were traces of a paved way leading to these from the South-West. In the passages within the elongated area enclosed between the Terrace and south wall were found, on the floor level and quite close under the walls, a series of Mycenaean vases most of them in a perfect state. Two were painted "Bügelkannes" with the familiar cuttle-fish design, and one a kind of pyxis with painted spiral ornament much resembling one from Ialysos.<sup>1</sup> Among the unpainted vessels was a double two-handled jar of a type of which a whole deposit was sub-

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler u. Löschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. ix. (55, xxxii.).

sequently found near the north end of the building. These intact Mycenaean vessels clearly mark the date when this part of the building ceased to be occupied.

### § 6.—THE GREAT WESTERN COURT OF THE PALACE.

Immediately above the southern Terrace wall and overlooking the small distinct region above described, was an important Propylaeum, which



↑                    ↑                    ↑  
Column-Base.     Altar-Base.     Pavement of W. Portico.

FIG. I.—WESTERN COURT AND GREAT GYPSUM WALL.

was the earliest excavated part of the upper level of the building. It will be better however to depart from the strictly chronological course of the explorations and to adopt a more logical order.

On the western flank of the building the lower course of a wall was brought to light, consisting of huge gypsum blocks with a kind of plinth, probably intended to serve as a seat, along its base. One of these blocks

is 1 metre high by 3·10 wide; another 1 m. by 2·50; a third 1 m. by 3 m. This wall presented frequent small angles and returns, as can be seen from Fig. 1, a very usual characteristic of Mycenaean architecture in Crete and elsewhere. The great gypsum blocks had supported a superstructure of more perishable materials, the lower part of which was still partly preserved. Like the party walls of the rooms within, this superstructure consisted for the most part of clay and rubble masonry originally contained by a timber framework and faced with gaily painted plaster.

A small fresco of a Mycenaean shrine found in a room to the North of the Palace supplies indeed a vivid record of the kind of elevation which would here have confronted the spectator. This fresco shows clearly a substructure of large white gypsum blocks, resembling in character those of the western wall, while above, not less clearly defined, are the painted plaster fields enclosed by a skeleton of wood-work. In the case of this small Temple there were, besides, three openings exhibiting pillars of the usual Mycenaean form, tapering downwards, the sanctity of which was shown by the horned cult object set before their bases. The columns themselves and their capitals were of variously tinted wood-work, and below the central opening was a carved alabaster frieze. This frieze displayed half rosettes in relief like that of the Megaron of Tiryns, with indications of the same inlaying of blue enamel—the Homeric *κῦανος*. The plaques of the frieze, however, were in this case held in their place by a wooden triglyph, whereas the Tirynthian examples were of alabaster.<sup>1</sup>

The gypsum walling, which here apparently forms the external boundary of the Palace to the West, shuts in the ends of a series of Magazines, to be presently described. Its outer face with the long stone bench at its foot looks out on a great Court or Piazza showing considerable remains of irregular paving. Near the wall, towards the centre of the excavated part of this Court, is visible an oblong base of what may with great probability be regarded as an altar. Another larger and somewhat squarer base of the same kind came to light in an inner court of the Palace, described below as the "Central Clay Area," and both suggest the substructure of an altar, like one, constructed of isodomic masonry and surmounted by

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this temple fresco, including a coloured illustration and a complete elevation, I must refer to a paper about to appear in the *Hellenic Journal* (also published separately by Messrs. Macmillan), on "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult."

the "Horns of Consecration," that is represented on a relief of a steatite pyxis found at Knossos in 1894.<sup>1</sup>

§ 7.—THE SOUTH-WESTERN PORTICO AND BULL FRESCO.

This great Western Court was faced to the South by a spacious Portico forming the entrance to the Palace on the South-West. This Portico

Opening of "Corridor of Procession."



↑  
Bull  
Fresco.

↑  
Column-  
Base.

↑  
Base of Jamb  
between the Doors.

↑  
"Porter's  
Lodge."

FIG. 2.—S.W. ENTRANCE FROM W. COURT.

the upper part of which must have consisted of wood-work and perishable materials had been supported by a massive central column, also, no doubt of wood, the stone base of which was visible in the pavement (Fig. 2).

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on the "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult" in *J.H.S.* xxi.

Of the brilliant decoration of this porch evidence still remained on its eastern wall. At this point the gypsum blocks ceased and gave place to a clay and rubble structure. But this rubble wall had been coated with fine plaster adorned in turn with fresco designs. The lower part of the field was decorated in a curiously modern manner with a succession of squares intended to represent various kinds of veined marbles and coloured alternately yellow, pink and blue. Above this dado ran a band of white and above this again were remains of three layers of plaster, each of which seems to have been adorned with a large fresco painting, the central object of which was a life-sized figure of a bull. Faint traces of the two lower painted layers remained, from which it can be gathered that the animal was spotted like the bull of Tiryns and in violent action, probably as in that case grappled with by a man. An example indeed of such a "Cow-boy" feat—so dear to the Mycenaean artist—occurred on a seal impression from the Palace itself. The uppermost layer of plaster had to a great extent peeled off, but the foot of one of the forelegs of the animal was well preserved.

That a uniform system of fresco decoration was continued on the other side of the Portico was shown by the discovery at the base of the wall, to the right of the western doorway to which it gave access, of further remains of similar squares painted to imitate variegated blocks of marble.

#### § 8.—THE S.W. ENTRANCE AND "THE CORRIDOR OF THE PROCESSION."

The great porch itself leads to a large double entrance, the bases of its jambs clearly showing the outline of the wood and plaster pillars that originally rested on them. The double doorway gave access on the right to a chamber about 3·50 metres square with a second narrower door communicating with the entrance passage to the left; this small chamber may have served as a kind of Porter's Lodge.

The doorway to the left was obviously a State entrance to the Palace. It opened on a fine corridor, 3·30 metres in width with a triply divided pavement, consisting of a central band of limestone slabs bordered on either side by bluish slate. These lateral strips had been originally covered with a bright red plaster. On the left wall were remains of a continuous fresco which originally exhibited a series of life-sized human figures. Of the greater part of these only the feet and the lower part of



the dress was preserved. At the north end were four figures in long richly bordered robes, the male sex of which, however, was indicated by the reddish brown hue of their feet. These were no doubt princely, priestly or official personages—long robes characterising certain persons of distinction on Mycenaean gems. In front of these are slightly preserved remains of a white-footed lady in flounced robes and, after a break, a more important group, the centre of which is filled by the lower part of another female figure, a Queen surely, in a richly embroidered robe. Facing her are three attendant male figures while three others, perhaps boys, follow immediately behind. Of all these the feet alone are preserved, except that, behind the last of the fronting group, the corner of a white blue-bordered robe hangs down. Beyond this connected group is a man's foot pointing away from the female figure.

These frescoes were still adhering to the lower part of the wall, while some others had collapsed in a calcined heap. Further on, however, a large piece of plaster had fallen on its face on the floor of the Corridor. It was possible by gradually strengthening the back of this with plaster of Paris to raise this fallen portion and thus to bring to light the greater part of two figures of youths preserved up to near the shoulders. Their waists were tightly circled with what, from the blue and yellow colouring, appeared to be gold and silver belts adorned with rosettes and returning spirals, and they were clad in richly embroidered loin-cloths in front of which hung down a kind of net with bead-work pendants. One of these youths bore what appears to be a fluted marble vase with a silver base. In the field behind these figures was a broad wavy band of blue in which Egyptian analogy may lead us to recognise a river—here, perhaps, "the Stream of Ocean." These cup-bearing youths, of which we shall see another example, suggest the Keft tributaries of Thothmes III. on the Rekhmara tomb—may not these, too, it may be asked, represent tributaries from over sea, bearing offerings to whomsoever ruled within the Palace halls of Knossos?

On the right side of the gallery, to which we may give the name of "The Corridor of the Procession," were some scanty traces of the feet of a similar series of human figures. Further South the remaining part of the Corridor and the south-western angle of the building, above the line of the Terrace already described, had been denuded away, but there is every reason to believe that somewhere near this corner it took a turn at right

angles and following the top of the Southern Terrace wall afforded access to the Propylaeum which here came to light (Plan, C.D. 4, 5).

### § 9. THE SOUTHERN PROPYLAEUM AND THE FRESCO OF THE CUP-BEARER.

The width of this Southern Propylaeum was about 9·25 m., with *antae*, of which that on the right side is alone preserved, projecting 1 m. beyond what seems to have originally been a line of three doorways. The door-



FIG. 3.—ROSETTE RELIEFS OF FRIEZE OR STONE BORDER.

opening and threshold to the right however alone remained. It was 1·14 m. wide, between jamb-blocks of gypsum with interior projections so placed as to show that the door opened to the South. Some idea of the decoration of the façade of this Propylaeum was given by the discovery in this neighbourhood of several pieces of brown and green grey stones with fine reliefs of rosettes which must have belonged to a border or frieze (Fig. 3). These

rosettes in their fine undercutting and execution far excel any known reliefs of the kind from Mycenae and elsewhere. They may, as in the case of the painted rosettes at the entrance of a rock-tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae, have formed a border round the doors, and this view receives a corroboration from a small but highly interesting fragment of steatite relief found in the area immediately north of the Propylaeum itself. On this is seen part of the façade of a building with a couchant bull above the entablature, while below is a doorway surrounded by a border enclosing small circles which probably represented similar rosettes.

Inside the line of doorways, 1.40 m. to the North two column-bases 0.85 m. in diameter came to light. Here again we must suppose that the columns which supported the roof of this fore-hall were of wood. That the decorative paintings on its walls harmonised with the exterior reliefs was shown by the occurrence of several fresco fragments depicting a succession of rosettes with brilliant red, white, black, and orange colouring. Other pieces showed a border of returning spirals—a motive also represented by the stone-work reliefs. But a far more interesting discovery awaited us, indicating that the inner walls of this columnar hall were decorated with human subjects supplying a close link of connexion with the wall-paintings of the "Corridor of the Procession."

Parallel with the west wall of the Propylaeum, which is of the usual clay and rubble construction, was excavated a passage, on the floor level of which came to light, face uppermost, two large pieces of fresco. These pieces together formed the greater part of a life-sized figure of a youth clad in the same close-fitting and richly embroidered loin-cloth as those of the "Corridor of the Procession" and tightly girded with a similar ornamental belt. He wears a silver necklace and earrings and an ornament of the same metal—for so we must interpret the conventional blue of the painting—in front of his ear. An interesting feature in the design is the appearance of an agate lentoid—the bands of the stone being clearly indicated—on his left wrist. This must certainly be taken to show the manner of wearing the fine lentoid seals of which so many clay impressions were found in the Palace.

The legs below the thighs were wanting but in this case the head and face were preserved, affording the first real portraiture of a Mycenaean man. The regular, almost classical features, the dark eyes and black curly hair and high brachycephalic skull present close points of resemblance to

certain types still to be found, especially in the highlands of central and western Crete. The profile rendering of the eye and the modelling of the face and limbs show an artistic advance which in historic Greece was not reached till the fifth century before our era, some eight or nine centuries later than the date of this Knossian fresco. Like one of the figures already described, the youth here depicted held in his hands a vessel—in this case a pointed cup, apparently of silver with gold mountings. Vases of the same funnel-shaped type—in precious metals—are held by the Keft chieftains on the frescoes of Thothmes III.'s time already referred to.

From the position in which the fresco lay it seemed to have fallen backwards from the inner western face of the wall of the Propylaeum, the paintings on which are thus shown to be a continuation of those of the "Corridor of the Procession." The fresco itself was removed unharmed by means of a laborious process of undercutting accompanied by the gradual plastering of its back as that was laid bare below.

The interior of the hall with the columns showed in places remains of a floor of plaster or cement, but from the numerous fragments of blue slate found, identical with the border pavement of the "Corridor of the Procession," it is probable that it was at one time paved in a similar manner. This Propylaeum indeed seems in the last days of the occupation of the building to have been somewhat diverted from its more stately original function and a part of it was occupied by large store-jars or pithoi. A piece of wall of later construction had been built on to its north-western end and in the angle thus formed were five of these large jars, one of them on its side in fragments, the others almost or entirely perfect. The highest, without the rim, was 1.10 m. in height, the others about 0.85 m. On the opposite eastern side of the hall was another group of eleven jars, some much broken owing to the shallowness of the earth above the floor level throughout all this area, it being in many parts not more than a third of a metre deep.

Among the minor finds within the hall of the Propylaeum was the half of a fine steatite bowl of a caliciform shape, with ribbed petals on the exterior, a type of vessel very characteristic of the Mycenaean deposits of Crete. On the slope between the entrance to the Propylaeum and the Southern Terrace wall were also found four small female images made of a kind of plaster with brown glaze. They wore the usual flounced costume and their hands were symmetrically laid above their breasts in the familiar

Oriental attitude. Their heads were wanting. Near the same spot was also found the end of the blade of a bronze sword.

### § 10.—THE CENTRAL CLAY AREA.

The Propylaeum above described forms the avenue of approach to an open space to which I have given the name of the "Central Clay Area," bounded to the North by the lower courses of a straight cross wall of good limestone masonry, but otherwise somewhat irregular in shape. This enclosure turned out to be entirely devoid of foundations and its floor was composed of the pale clay already noticed as being of artificial accumulation and as probably due to the disintegration of the clay platforms and wattle-and-daub huts of a very primitive settlement. It was found to be full of Neolithic relics and a shaft sunk near the N.W. corner showed that the deposit was at this point 7.50 m. in thickness. On the south side this clay deposit merges in a darker soil full of wood ashes and bones, possibly of a sacrificial nature.

The existence of this early site, untouched in the middle of the later Palace, suggests curious speculations. We have here perhaps the interior of a *temenos* preserved for religious reasons, and the square base of an altar, already noticed, in the eastern bay of the enclosure, confirms the idea of consecration. It may be that the "Palatine" of Mycenaean Knossos also had its "*Casa Romuli*"—a sacral survival of a prehistoric dwelling.

On the borders of this Clay Area, near the opening of the Propylaeum, was found a clay vessel of an interesting and hitherto unique type belonging to the intermediate Kamáres period. This was a kind of two-handed amphora, of the high pyriform outline characteristic of that period, with an open neck but provided with a spout as well. We seem to have here on Cretan soil the prototype,—still open-necked,—of the most characteristic of Mycenaean vases, the pseud-amphora or "Bügelkanne."

### § 11.—DISCOVERY OF A HOARD OF INSCRIBED CLAY TABLETS IN A BATH-SHAPED RECEPTACLE.

In the region, as yet only partially excavated, to the East of the Southern Propylaeum and the Central Clay Area are some small rooms and passages. Here near a large gypsum block was found a somewhat

corroded bronze statuette of a man with the Mycenaean girdle and loin-cloth, raising his right hand as if in the act of adoration. Here, too, close under a wall (D, E, 6 on plan) occurred a deposit of plain clay vessels. These consisted of small vases, jugs, and numerous cups, together with the remains of three clay trays. The whole set, curiously suggestive of a tea-service, was found in a slanting position on a thin layer of burnt wood, and seems to have originally stood on a shelf of which the charred fragments represented the remains. Immediately to the North of this is a doorway giving access to a small room in which a deposit of a far more interesting kind came for the first time to light.

On March 30 there was found in a superficial stratum in this vicinity a part of an elongated clay tablet with a chisel-like end, engraved with what appeared to be signs and numbers. It at once recalled a graffito fragment of the same kind that had been shown to me in Candia in 1896<sup>1</sup> and which was said to have come from the site of Knossos. The fragment was not in itself sufficient to establish the certain existence of Mycenaean writings on clay, but I had copied it and placed it to a suspense account. Four days later several more pieces of similar tablets came to light under the wall of what afterwards proved to be a Magazine (No. 2), to the N. W. of the Clay Area. On April 5, however, an entire hoard of these clay documents, many of them perfect, was discovered amidst a deposit of charred wood in a bath-shaped receptacle of terracotta set close against the southern wall of the small chamber, already mentioned, to the West of the Clay Area.<sup>2</sup> We know from the example of Tiryns that a bath-room was an essential part of a prehistoric Palace, and a small clay drain running through a neighbouring chamber makes it possible that the bath here found had been originally used for its natural purpose. The use indeed of bath-like vessels for other objects in Mycenaean Crete is shown by the occurrence of similarly shaped receptacles in the numerous *tholos* tombs of the island, there used as ossuaries, and perhaps sarcophagi, indifferently with clay imitations of the wooden chests of contemporary Egypt. Like the chests however they are in this case specially fitted with a gabled cover, and that these recipients were specially made for a mortuary

<sup>1</sup> Professor Halbherr and Dr. Joseph Hazzidakis, now Ephor of Antiquities had called my attention to this fragment which was in the possession of a chemist named Antonios Zacharakis. During the Insurrection and Massacre the house was sacked, and the fragment has disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> The specimens of tablets given on the first half of Plate I. are taken from this deposit. They are reduced to half their diameter.



[Page 4, 13.]

TABLETS WITH LINEAR SCRIPT.  
(Reduced to  $\frac{1}{2}$  diam.)





purpose is also clear from the line of small drain holes along their bottoms similar to those of the other form of clay coffin. Owing to the small depth of the soil whatever cover the bath may have had in this case was lost, and the deposit (0.40 in thickness) of charred wood in which the tablets were embedded leads to the conclusion that their immediate receptacle was a wooden box placed within the bath. The absence of the small perforations in the bottom, characteristic of the sepulchral class, is certainly an indication that it was made for the purpose which its form seems to imply.

From this time on discoveries of hoards of inscribed tablets, often associated with remains of coffers of clay, wood or gypsum, were frequent throughout the excavation. A short general account of the character of these clay archives is reserved for a later section.

### § 12.—THE LONG GALLERY AND MAGAZINES.

West of the Propylaeum and the corridor running parallel with it that contained the fresco of the Cup-bearer, came to light the lintel and the lower part of the jambs of a doorway giving access to a space divided by a very thin partition wall. This partition, which is very characteristic of the slighter parts of the building, gained its chief consistency from a series of plaster layers sandwiching a mere slip of clay. In the Palace of Knossos plaster has endured where gypsum slabs have been often entirely disintegrated.

From this group of somewhat denuded chambers and the Corridor of the Cup-bearer a passage with more than one turn leads to another well defined region of the Palace. The salient features of this region are a series of some thirteen magazines opening into a long paved gallery.

This "Long Gallery" only attains half its full width till it has passed the openings of the two first magazines. From this point however it becomes a spacious gangway about 3.40 metres in width with a finely compacted pavement, for the most part of gypsum slabs, and flanked on the western side by a succession of door-jambs consisting of large limestone blocks. Here and there some of the great store-jars or *pitthoi* of which the magazines contained such an abundance had been placed in the gallery against their entrance pillars or along the opposite eastern wall. The perspective afforded by the Long Gallery, which in its present form attains a total length of 53 metres, is the most striking in the whole building. Near the northern

end is a flight of five steps, half the width of the Gallery, leading to the upper level, and six metres beyond this point the remaining part of the passage is cut short by a cross wall. But there are reasons for believing that this cross wall, as undoubtedly another similar obstruction found between the third and fourth magazine, and perhaps the staircase also, was a later fabric. The excavations begun beyond this point show in fact what seems to have been originally a continuation of the main gallery with the same paved floor level and further magazines opening on its western side.

There are abundant signs that both the Long Gallery itself and the Magazines were roofed over and had been surmounted by an upper storey. A burnt deposit immediately above the door jambs of the Magazines, which consisted of two massive blocks superimposed, showed where the wooden lintels had rested. To secure these the upper face of each stone jamb was provided with three—in one case four—dowel-holes, 0.4 square and 0.5 deep. For about 0.30 cm. above the stone jambs is an interval of clay and rubble, together with the charcoal remains of the wooden impost, and above this level are at times visible smaller limestone blocks of an upper construction. It is probable that the gypsum jambs, which have the double axe symbol incised on them, belong to the earliest period of the building. The upper storey, though probably later, follows the old lines, and belongs at any rate to the Mycenaean period.

The beginning of this upper construction marks the roof level of the Magazines and Gallery, and in some of the walls the holes were visible in which the cross beams had rested. In the Long Gallery itself, opposite the opening of the Eighth Magazine, the round ends of the charred beams which had fallen below their original level were found embedded in a clay matrix. The side walls both of the Magazines and of the Long Gallery, except for the gypsum blocks between the doorways, were of the usual clay and rubble construction. Their surface was however coated with painted stucco. The field of this was white; below was a dado consisting of horizontal bands of red and blue or grey and rising to 0.90 cm. above the pavement, or about the average level of the top of the lower storeys; while, a little below the level of the ceiling, were further bands of the same colours.

In Magazine No. 1 were found some pieces of painted plaster probably fallen from an upper storey with designs of a more artistic nature, such as a

very beautiful fragment with what appear to be myrtle sprays, and another piece with part of a small male head. In Magazine 2 a curious marble vase was discovered with a square foot and basin, which however, is hemispherical internally and has a raised circular rim. Clay tablets, mostly more or less fragmentary, came to light sporadically in this and several other Magazines.

The Third Magazine had been partly excavated by Mr. Minos Kalokairinos in 1878 and it was here that the twelve large store-jars or *pithoi* were discovered, one of which is now in the British Museum. In some of these were found remains of burnt corn. This excavation had also embraced the part of the Long Gallery opposite the entrance of this Magazine and a small portion of an adjoining passage, to which, from the discovery in it of inscribed clay tablets with figures of houses, I have given the name of "The Corridor of the House Tablets." It is a noteworthy fact that in the mound of waste earth thrown up from this previous excavation, which was now carefully sifted, were several specimens of inscribed tablets, a circumstance which illustrates the great vigilance necessary in such exploration.

An interesting find was made immediately below the later floor level of Magazine No. 3. The makers of this had cut away the top of a tall painted jar of the earlier Kamáres period, with a white foliated decoration. Within this vessel was a smaller spouted vase, buff coloured with reddish brown stripes, a painted pedestalled cup, with red brown and buff zones, of a type very common in the early strata here, various smaller cups and vessels, clay nodules, and a core and flakes of obsidian. The older floor on which this vase stood apparently represents the original floor level of the Magazine.

The entrance to the Fourth Magazine had been narrowed and strengthened by the addition of an oblong block of masonry with a new door-jamb, reducing the opening from 2·35 m. to 1·17 m. The interior of this store-house had been untouched by the native excavator, and contained nine *pithoi* in a row along its southern wall, and remains of others on the opposite side. The central part of the pavement was marked by a peculiar feature to which we shall have occasion to return. There was here a row of six open cists, with part of the covering slab of one of them, while within them were visible pieces of lead sheeting with which they had been originally lined.

The Fifth Magazine (see Fig. 4) was specially rich in *pitthoi*, over twenty being counted within it, twelve of which are more or less perfect. A curious feature in this Magazine is a deep cupboard-like recess about two thirds along the south wall, consisting of gypsum slabs. Nothing was found within it. The floor of the Magazine, which was paved with gypsum slabs, was broken in the centre by the cavities of six open cists of the kind already described, made of gypsum slabs with remains of similar lead lining. In the first of



FIG. 4.—THE FIFTH MAGAZINE, SHOWING GREAT *Pitthoi* AND RECEPTACLES IN THE FLOOR.

these was found a plain, jug-like vase. The Sixth Magazine, which contained remains of nine store-jars somewhat crushed above, showed a somewhat different configuration of cists—namely, a larger oblong receptacle in the centre between two others of more elongated form with triple divisions. The Seventh Magazine was divided into two nearly equal portions by a block of masonry projecting half-way across the floor. Down the centre of the pavement here were five open cists, three in one division and two in the other.

The best examples of these stone chests, however, came to light in Magazine No. 8, the contents of which were also interesting in other ways. We had been previously informed that a native Mahometan, digging here for stone, had come upon some mysterious 'Κασέλλαις,' and at the bottom of a

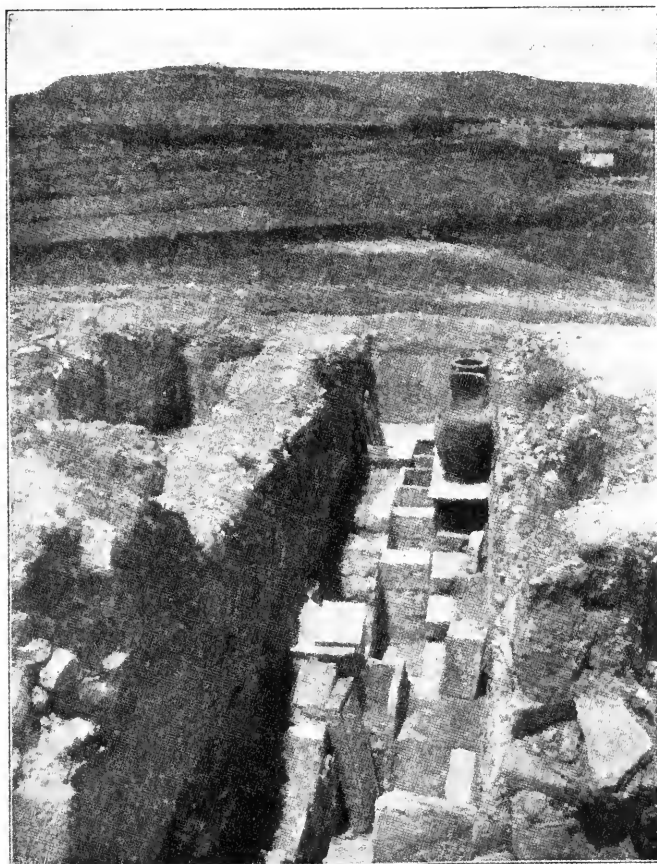


FIG. 5.—THE EIGHTH MAGAZINE, SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE CISTS BENEATH THE PAVEMENT.

hole dug here by him some remains of stone cists were visible between intervening stone pillars that lay immediately below the pavement. Further towards the inner end of the Magazine the closely compacted pavement, consisting of gypsum slabs, remained intact, and the great pithoi that

stood upon it in their original positions against the side walls, some in almost perfect condition, made it probable that the floor slabs could never have been raised since the chamber had been used as a store-house. It was at all events certain that the cists that lay presumably beneath this part had not been opened since the destruction of the Palace (Fig. 5).

These cists indeed were of so inaccessible a nature, that even the uppermost could not be fully opened without removing the whole breadth of the pavement, the lateral slabs of which overlapped the edges of the receptacle. This preliminary work having been effected, a rectangular open cist came to light, the sides of which were formed of upright slabs set in a groove that ran round the bottom slab. The whole was embedded in compact masonry, the square pillars already mentioned closing in the two ends. It was thus a matter of considerable difficulty to raise the bottom slab in order to explore what was below. This having been lifted with the aid of a mason, the interior of a second cist of the same kind was disclosed, the base of which rested on the foundation earth. Both cists had been lined with leadsheeting, and neither in these nor in another subsequently opened was there anything but a little earth. In parts this was of a tough consistency, and of a greenish yellow hue, but this may have been due to the decay of the lead sheeting. The depth of the first cist was 0·65, that of the second 0·60, and the whole depth of the two cists from the pavement to the bottom of the cavity in which they lay was 1·30 metre.

In the case of the lead-lined cists in some of the other Magazines, covered by a single easily removable slab of the pavement, it was possible to imagine that we had here stone vats for oil or other liquid matter. But the extraordinary precautions taken in the construction of the cists in Magazine 8, the artful concealment beneath a closely compacted pavement which gave standing room for the huge store-jars above, and the appearance of a second range of cists beneath the first and only accessible with great labour, sufficiently show that these lead-lined receptacles fulfilled here a more recondite purpose. It is difficult not to believe that they were intended for the concealment and safe-keeping of objects of value. The fact that those cists as yet explored were empty might either show that they had never been used or that whatever they may have contained had been quietly withdrawn at a time when the great building was still in the hands of its original possessors, and that the upper floor of the Magazine had been subsequently again covered with store-jars.

Near the S.E. corner of this Magazine on the floor level was found a deposit of inscribed tablets embedded in clay and decayed gypsum, which apparently represented the remains of a small coffer of that material. Many of these were much perished, but it was possible by means of a plaster backing to get out a series lying on their backs in a regular file as they had been originally deposited in the gypsum box. From the pictorial figures added to the linear inscriptions on these, they seem to have referred to bronze single-edged axes, and it is possible that hoards of these may have been at one time contained in some of the cists beneath the pavement.

In this Magazine there also occurred some good pieces of painted pottery with rosettes and other designs in a fine bold style, very characteristic of a class of Mycenaean ware found within the Palace but not apparently elsewhere on the site of Knossos. The rosettes have an obvious relation to those of the fresco borders and stone reliefs.

The gypsum jambs of the entrances of five more magazines were exposed between this and the staircase at the northern end of the Long Gallery. The interior of these however remains to be explored during the coming season. Beyond the stairs and the cross wall, which has already been described as probably of later construction, another small magazine was brought to light, opening into a second to the left. Opposite the entrance of this is a wall forming part of the enclosure of an elongated narrow chamber which occupies half the width of what seems to have been originally a continuation of the Long Gallery. If, as seems probable, this too is posterior in date to the Long Gallery itself and the other Magazines, the fact will be found to have an important bearing on the date of its very exceptional contents. In this small chamber—and, except for a few scattered and isolated finds, in it alone—were found the clay archives and seal impressions presenting characters in the hieroglyphic or conventionalised pictographic script of Crete, and altogether distinct from the linear style of the great mass of inscribed tablets found throughout the Palace.

### § 13.—LATER ISOLATION OF LONG GALLERY AND CENTRAL CLAY AREA FROM PART OF THE BUILDING OPENING ON THE EASTERN COURT.

On the east side of the Long Gallery the wall was only broken by a single opening communicating with the small "Corridor of the House

Tablets" already mentioned. This Corridor at present only gives access to two narrow chambers, but the end now blocked seems to have originally taken a turn at right angles to the East, thus communicating with a somewhat complicated group of chambers that lie between the end of the Long Gallery and the great Eastern Court. In the last period of the building, access to this region was entirely barred on this western side.

The isolation of this part of the building is equally complete on its southern face which abuts on the Central Clay Area. That this was not so originally is shown by the fact that towards the eastern end of the northern boundary line of this Clay Area there came to light the jambs and thresholds of a doorway facing North, with two steps down as if to afford entrance to this part of the building. A little to the East of this were two more door-jambs apparently a little out of place. But the earlier means of exit from the Central Clay Area to the region immediately North of it had been effectually barred by the construction of a wall of good limestone masonry running almost due East and West, immediately in front of these doorways [F. 4, 5, 6]. The limestone masonry of this cross wall, however, still belongs to a good Mycenaean period and shows here, as elsewhere, a characteristic conformation which has been noticed elsewhere in Mycenaean buildings. While the front view of the walls gives an impression of even rectangular fitting of the blocks, when these are viewed from above it is seen that their inner sides, instead of also coinciding, have a tendency to splay back and to leave a wedge-shaped interval.

The part of the building immediately to the North of the western half of this cross wall, here somewhat defective, shows an abnormal irregularity and a divergence from the rectangular scheme which otherwise runs through the whole ground plan. The floor level of the rooms that lie immediately to the North of the Clay Area, is about 0.90 m. lower than the level of that area as shown by a small-paved piece in the N.E. corner. Hence the necessity for the descending steps afterwards blocked by the cross wall.

#### § 14.—THE EASTERN COURT AND THE TWELFTH DYNASTY EGYPTIAN FIGURE.

The quarter of the building, thus isolated in the later period of its history from direct connexion with the Long Gallery and the Central Clay Area, seems now to have found its only access from a large paved area to



the East, to which I have given the name of "the Eastern Court." The excavation on this side is as yet incomplete, and the full extent and import of this great paved space cannot as yet be adequately set forth. The pavement, of good limestone slabs, has in many places been removed, but it seems to have been continuous along the eastern face of the excavated part of the building for a length of 52·50 metres. Upon this face opened some of the most important chambers of the building. We see in succession the entrance to the room called here the Room of the Column-Bases, and the interesting system with which it stands in connexion, the ascending steps of what appears to have been a kind of *Megaron* and the quadruple entrance and descending steps that led through an Antechamber to the Throne-Room. To the North this Court seems to have been in communication with the descending roadway with its walled enclosure and broad flight of steps that led down to the main entrance of the Palace on that side.

The paving of this great Eastern Court seems in most places to have been laid directly on the Neolithic clay stratum which underlies so much of this site. The level of the pavement varies from quite a small distance below the surface of the ground to nearly a metre, the depth decreasing with the gradual slope of the ground to the East. About 12 metres from the front of the "Megaron" steps came to light the lower part of a small Egyptian figure of diorite, which must rank among the most important finds of the excavation. It bears on three sides hieroglyphic inscriptions giving the name of a certain Ab-nub-mes-wazet-user of the Aphroditopolite Nome of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a consensus of opinion among Egyptologists based on the name, style and material that this monument belongs to the Twelfth or the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, in other words, that it cannot be of later date than about 2000 B.C.

The Egyptian figure was found 70 cm. below the surface on the edge of a small remaining patch of pavement. As the neighbouring slabs had been previously removed and the earth here disturbed, it had probably worked into the position in which it lay from the upper layer of the clay on which these slabs rested. It is observable that at other points this upper clay layer contained, superimposed on the Neolithic remains, relics of the Kamáres style which immediately preceded the Mycenaean. It appears therefore

<sup>1</sup> I have published this monument with the transcription and interpretation of Mr. F. Ll. Griffith and the opinions of himself, Professor Petrie and Dr. Budge, in the Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund for 1900.

that this Egyptian monument belonged to this same Kamáres stratum and must thus be contemporaneous with the earliest elements of the Palace.

§ 15.—ROOMS OF THE COLUMN-BASES AND OF THE GREAT PITHOS.

A doorway with a flight of steps within leads from the East Court to a room during the excavation of which two column bases were found above the floor level. These bases had evidently at some time been removed from their original position and probably belonged to the hall or Megaron that seems to have bordered this room to the North upon a higher level. Of the steps leading down to the "Room of the Column-Bases" only the two lower, of stone, remained, and it is possible that the three that must have originally existed above these were of wood. In the left-hand corner of this room as entered from the Court is a curious hearth-like structure and beyond it along the North Wall a gypsum bench with flat pilasters resembling those to be described in the Throne-Room and its Antechamber. Stone benches with similar pilasters, in this case with a kind of triglyph ornamentation, have since been found by the Italian excavators in the prehistoric Palace of Phaestos. Two broken pithoi were also visible against the walls of this room. In the N.E. corner was found an interesting deposit of inscribed clay tablets, with the remains of the gypsum chest in which it had been originally contained, and two of the clay seals with which the chest itself had been secured.

This room of the Column-Bases gave access at its N.W. corner to a kind of annexe in the shape of a Store-Room containing a huge *pithos*, the largest and at the same time the most ornamental yet discovered. This jar, which was in absolutely perfect condition, reached a height of 1.45 m. with a diameter of 0.85 at top and 0.70 at bottom. The chief external decoration was a kind of triglyph arrangement of rope mouldings alternating with circular bosses also enclosed in rope mouldings. Four zones with this ornamentation in relief alternated with rows of impressed circles divided by horizontal lines; and on either side were four handles. But a more remarkable feature,—probably devised to facilitate the transport of such a huge clay vessel, was the appearance of two handles inside its walls 0.65 beneath the rim.

In this Store-Room were remains of seven other *pithoi* of more ordinary types, a painted Bügelkanne and the stand of a Mycenaean lamp in purple

stone. Immediately in front of the great *pithos* was a rectangular stone-lined receptacle in the floor of the room. These receptacles, of which others occurred in neighbouring rooms, are of a superficial character and apparently without any cover. They must therefore be distinguished from the stone cists, such as those of the Eighth Magazine, and probably served as recipients or small vats for liquid poured from time to time from the great jars. This would obviously be a great convenience for occasionally ladling out small quantities of liquid, such as oil. In Greece small vats are still made in the floor of rooms in which vessels containing oil are stored, but the chief object of this seems to be to save the waste of oil otherwise incurred by the occasional breaking of the oil-jars.

The depth of the floor level below the surface of the earth in the two rooms above described and those contiguous to them was much greater than in the S. Propylaeum, amounting to 2·30 metres.

#### § 16.—ROOM OF THE CHARIOT TABLETS.

A double doorway in the South Wall of the Room of the Column-Bases gives access to two small chambers distinguished by their interesting contents. That to the left, with a stone bench running out on to its floor, contained several deposits of clay tablets, a series of which presented figures of chariots in addition to the inscriptions (see Fig. 12, p. 58). With these deposits were found remains of the boxes, in this case of carved wood, in which these clay archives were contained. Of these boxes there must have been four at least, since seven bronze hinges were discovered and fourteen seal-impressions, some showing remains of the string by which the boxes had been secured. The wood-work was in a charred condition; a piece of it showed traces of a foliated border and curving designs in relief. Owing to the burning of the wooden coffers the inscriptions themselves bore considerable traces of fire and many of them were in a greatly disintegrated condition. Others on the other hand, which seem to have escaped the fire, were mere sun-dried bits of clay in a very friable condition, a few of which, having been wetted owing to the effects of a nocturnal storm, were reduced to a pulpy mass. All these deposits lay on the floor level about 2 metres below the surface. Over 350 inscribed pieces were here found not counting minor fragments.

It appears that the clay documents here found, relating to the various

Royal Stores or Arsenals, were filed, according to their subjects, in different boxes. Those with the Mycenaean chariots also depicted horses' heads and apparently cuirasses or sometimes, in their place, bronze ingots. Another set of tablets from this deposit referred to swine. Another series again depicted a flower easily recognisable from its overhanging stigmas as the Saffron (*Crocus Sativus Graecus*). Its dye, so much prized by the later Phrygians and Persians, may have coloured the yellow robes of the Mycenaean ladies as seen on a series of frescoes to be described below.

The "Room of the Chariot Tablets" communicated by two narrow openings in its eastern wall with an enclosed gallery giving access again to an inner closet. In a building with such unsubstantial interior walls it is impossible to speak of a "safe" or a "strong room," but it is conceivable that some of the valuable objects to which the tablets refer, such as the ingots and vases of precious metals, may have been at least temporarily deposited in this secluded chamber.

#### § 17.—THE ROOM OF THE STONE VASES.

It is certain that the small square room immediately adjoining the "Room of the Chariot Tablets" on the side opposite to this was used as a repository for valuable objects of another class. Either within this chamber or so near to it that they might be considered a part of the same deposit occurred a series of vases of marble, alabaster, steatite and other materials, some of which can only be described as masterpieces of sculpture in this line. Among these were a number of specimens of curious funnel-shaped vases from about '30 to '37 in height with a small perforation at their bottom. The form of some of these much resembles that of the vase—apparently in that case of silver with gold mountings—held by the youth on the fresco already described. It also recalls a common type of Mycenaean vessel in painted clay of which specimens were also found on the site of Knossos. But these latter cups are wanting in the most characteristic feature, the perforation at the bottom. It seems possible that these stone vases were used as "rhytons," the tube-like hole in the base being temporarily stopped until the lips were applied to them.<sup>1</sup> The thick rim of several of them precludes the idea that they were drunk from at that end

<sup>1</sup> The boring at the base of one of these—an elegantly foliated marble vessel—had been partially plugged with a piece of some other material having a smaller hole.

neither have they any kind of lip or spout to adapt them for pouring. Some show attachments for handles made of another piece of stone or possibly of metal. The sides and upper margin of these vessels are at times elegantly fluted and foliated in a style akin to that of the rosette reliefs and to the capitals of Mycenaean columns. Certain circular stands, of black-banded alabaster and other materials, found in this chamber and elsewhere on the Palace site may have served as supports for some of these stone *rhytons*.

Among other vessels found here were large bowls of alabaster, and a cup and a globular vase of the same material showing Egyptian influence. A spouted vase of dull white and dark grey limestone has been cleverly fashioned in such a way that the dark veins appear symmetrically on its sides in the form of concentric circles. Another vessel, of alabaster, was most naturalistically carved in the form of a large Triton shell, the lips of which showed perforations, probably for a metal border. Still more interesting was a marble object in the form of a lioness's head, the eyes and nostrils inlaid with coloured enamels of which some of the red was still adhering. It was of life-size, hollowed internally, and with a circular hole at the top of the "collar" and smaller tubular perforations at the mouth. It is too big to have served as a rhyton and the hole above the neck, (as if to receive a pipe), coupled with that in the mouth, seems to indicate that we have here the outlet of a fountain. In this case the lion-headed fountains of Greece go back to Mycenaean times. The moulding of the head, especially in the lines about the corners of the mouth, shows a great advance in sculpture in the round; on the other hand certain stylistic traits are visible, such as the two small circular hollows on the brow, which recur in the case of the gold boss representing a lioness's head from the fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.

A marble hand, apparently belonging to a female figure, was also found here. No other part of this figure, which must have been about half life-size, came to light, but the fragment seems to show that sculpture in the round of the human form was already attaining a high development in Mycenaean Knossos. Another interesting find in the Stone Vase Room was a green glazed terracotta vessel with a spout and originally three handles, which does not seem to answer to any Egyptian type and may also be of indigenous manufacture.

In a kind of magazine which seems to have formed an annexe to the

Stone Vase Room were found several steatite vessels, some of extraordinarily large dimensions. A bowl of this material is .30 high and .41 in diameter; a three-handled jar with a lid is .63 high. A lamp of dark grey steatite found near, 0.34 in height, has a spirally fluted pedestal and base. Many of the vessels found were broken, but thanks to the careful sifting of the soil it was possible to recover most of the pieces, and the more important vessels were at once put together by the skillful fingers of Jannis, the official mender of the Candia Museum.

The floor of the Stone Vase Room was paved and lay at a depth of from 2.30 to 2.40 metres below the surface. The adjoining Magazine contained large pillars against its N. wall, each consisting of two gypsum blocks marked in one case with cruciform signs.

### § 18.—THE ROOMS OF THE DOUBLE-AXE PILLARS.

On the western side of the Room of the Column-Bases is an opening leading to a blocked passage originally continuous with the "Corridor of the House Tablets" and through it communicating with the Long Gallery. To the right of this passage a doorway in the same W. wall of the Room of the Column-Bases gives access to two contiguous chambers opening into each other, the salient feature of each of which is a central pillar formed of four square gypsum blocks.<sup>1</sup> These blocks are in each case incised with the double-axe symbol. Those of the W. pillar show this sign repeated on every side of every block as well as on the upper face of the topmost stone—in all seventeen times. The other pillar is marked in a similar way on three sides of every block, namely, to the North, East and South, and again on the top (Fig. 6). The double-axe sign is elsewhere observable on the principal gypsum jambs and corner stones of the building, and, though other signs are found, it largely preponderates over them. This great building might indeed be appropriately named "the House of the Double Axe."

But this phenomenon gains additional significance from the fact that the double axe is the special emblem of the Cretan Zeus and that deposits of votive double axes of bronze have come to light in cave sanctuaries of the God both on Ida and Dikta. The double axe, as is well known, is equally

<sup>1</sup> Those of the E. Pillar Room are .62 N. and S. by .56 E. and W., the height of the pillar being 1.78 m. Those of the W. Pillar were .65 by .65 and the height is 1.75 m.

the symbol of what seems to have been the Anatolian form of the same divinity, namely the Carian Zeus Labraundos. Zeus Labraundos derived his name from the Lydian or Carian name of the weapon *labrys*, and it has been already suggested that the Cretan *Λαβύρινθος* simply represents a dialectic form of a name similar to Labranda, the well-known Carian shrine of the Double Axe and its Lord. As I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the appearance of this *labrys* symbol on the great prehistoric building of



FIG. 6.—PILLAR OF THE DOUBLE AXES (E. ROOM).

Knossos, coupled with many other points in the discoveries, such as the great bulls, the harem-scenes, the long corridors and blind-ending magazines, can hardly leave any remaining doubt that we have here the original of the traditional Labyrinth. The "House of the Double Axe" was doubtless a Palace, but it was dedicated in a special way to the chief indigenous divinity. In the pillars on which this symbol is so continuously repeated,

<sup>1</sup> The subject has been more fully discussed by me in my forthcoming article on "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult."

we may even recognise the actual baetylic form of the divinity, and see here a shrine analogous to that which seems to be presented by pillar chambers of the same kind, one excavated by the British School at Phylakopê and the other in a Mycenaean building brought to light by Mr. Hogarth at Knossos itself on the opposite hill of Gypsâdes.

In the latter case the pillar was associated with a deposit of cups of the usual votive kind, laid beside it in regular rows.<sup>1</sup> In the former case early painted vases, apparently used to receive libations, were found beside it, which seem to belong to the latest Pre-Mycenaean Period. The "Pillars of the Double Axe" in the Palace itself perhaps also belong to the same early period. In the Temple Fresco already described we see a more advanced and decorative form of Pillar Worship.

Of the two Pillar-Rooms with which we are at present concerned that to the West, which was once apparently entered from the "Corridor of the House Tablets" by a now blocked doorway, seems to have been the actual shrine, since the double axe symbol appears in this case on all four sides of the pillar instead of only three. It is also observable that, while the West room was otherwise clear, the adjoining chamber to the East had been partly used as a store such as might well have existed in connexion with a sanctuary. Remains of several pithoi were found in this room and a small stone "vat,"<sup>2</sup> such as those described, was sunk in the ground on each side of the pillar. This room, moreover, gave access to a small inner magazine in which were several of these vats and remains of pithoi.

The floor of the Pillar-Rooms was 2·30 metres below the surface.

#### § 19.—STEPS AND COLUMN-BASE OF EASTERN PORTICO.

If we now return to the East Court through the Room of the Column-Bases, an as yet only partially excavated site immediately to the North displays some interesting features. Here, abutting on the Court, are the remains of a flight of four steps originally about eight metres in breadth. Upon the second and third steps rests the base of a large column, evidently one of a pair. That this represents the portico of a Megaron seems highly probable, but unfortunately in the part of its area as yet excavated nothing of its

<sup>1</sup> See p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Both are 25 cm. deep. One is 80 cm. E.W. by 47 cm. N. and S. : the other 80 cm. E. and W. by 53 cm. N. and S.



upper platform remains. Immediately behind the steps are some small chambers which from their lower level must necessarily have been cellars. Here, about 4 metres west of the top of the steps, was a rectangular space, faced on its eastern side by two vertical slabs, with a clay foundation 2·20 metres down. Above this floor level was found a high pyriform vase and other fragments of the Kamáres class.

Mt. Juktas.



↑ Steps and Fourfold Entrance from E. Court.     
 ↑ Stone Bench with Pilasters.     
 ↑ Rounded Gypsum Blocks with Incised Symbols.

FIG. 7.—N. DOORWAY OF ANTEROOM OF THRONE-ROOM.

§ 20.—THE THRONE-ROOM AND ANTECHAMBER.

The next group of chambers to the North, to which the great Eastern Court gives access, were far more perfectly preserved and of enthralling interest. At this point an earlier excavation had brought to light part of

the gypsum blocks of a large doorway in a line with which steps had also been observed (Fig. 7). This proved to be a flight of four gypsum steps divided by stone bases of the same material giving access from the Court, the pavement of which is here preserved, to a paved antechamber about six metres square. A view of these steps is given in Fig. 7, as seen through the entrance already mentioned, which gives access to a corridor on the North side of the Anteroom. The bases between the steps show the outline of pillars of more perishable material, once superimposed on them.

Along both sides of this room ran a stone bench, interrupted in the middle of the north wall by what, from the remains of charred wood-work visible, seems to have been a large fixed cabinet or wardrobe. The stone benches showed, at intervals below, the small pilasters already noted in the Room of the Column Bases. These benches were 35 cm. high and the seat projected 40 cm. from the wall. The walls, which were of the usual clay and rubble construction, had been coated with a clay plaster fixed by straw and faced with a stucco coating. This shows in places traces of colour, but it was impossible to make out the character of the decoration, the colour for the most part having entirely vanished, apparently owing to the action of fire.

The floor of this Anteroom lay at a depth of from 1.90 to 2 metres beneath the surface. The parts nearer the walls were paved with gypsum slabs, but the central part, the slabs of which were more irregular, consisted of a kind of grey iron-stone. This had been originally covered with a red plaster and traces of a white coating were visible on other parts of the floor.

The west wall of the Antechamber showed two returns (like antae), that to the left two metres in length, the other only half that amount. Between these was an opening about three metres wide, and traces of a central post, as if some kind of screen with a wooden framework had originally run across the opening. The plaster ends of the two projecting walls also showed very clearly the sockets once filled by wooden posts on their front face and at their angles on either side, together with the intervening pilasters of hard plaster (see Fig. 11, p. 55).

The chamber beyond this opening, which was as usual excavated by means of the gradual removal of the earth above in successive layers from the surface, proved to be of extraordinary interest (Fig. 8). Only a few inches

beneath the herbage—showing how untouched this part of the site must have been since the time of the destruction of the Palace—began to appear parts of walls of the usual construction with the fresco painting still adhering to them. The chamber finally laid bare was in many ways as perfect as the room of a Pompeian house, though some fourteen centuries earlier in date. On the south side opened an impluvium and steps leading



↑                    ↑                    ↑                    ↑                    ↑  
 End of Stone    Doorway            Stone Bench      Throne            Wall-projection  
 Bench in Front    of                    and Fallen        between            and  
 of Tank.            Inner                Fresco.            Stone                Door-Jamb.  
                           Room.                —                    Benches.                                   

FIG. 8.—THRONE-ROOM AS SEEN FROM ANTECHAMBER.

down to a fine stone tank, to which we shall return. Breasting this and along two other sides of the room ran gypsum benches with pilasters identical with those already noticed in the Antechamber. At the middle of the north wall was an interval between two of these stone benches, the central post of which was occupied by a gypsum throne. The throne rested on a square base and displayed a high back of undulating leaf-shaped out-

line, which was partly embedded in the plaster of the wall. Its total height is 1.06 metre and the level of the seat 0.56, or 21 centimetres above that of the stone benches. The seat itself is hollowed out to suit the form of the human body and, as it was probably also covered by a cushion, must have been a comfortable resting place. In an adjoining room to the West a less carefully executed slab of a seat was found in which the hollowed space was larger, and it seems probable that this was intended for a woman, while the seat of the throne seems better adapted for a man.

The lower face of the throne presented a curious architectural relief, consisting of a double moulded arch springing from flat, fluted pilasters, expanding upwards in the Mycenaean fashion. The upper part of this arch was traversed by a moulded band forming a counter-curve. But the most interesting feature remains to be described. The lower part of the mouldings of the arch on either side were, by a strange anticipation of later Gothic, adorned with bud-like crockets. The architectural features indeed revealed by these reliefs are in almost every respect unique in ancient art.

The simpler carving on the side of the throne and the cross bars there indicated show the influence of wood-work originals. The whole face of the gypsum had been coated with a fine white plaster wash and this again coloured in various ways. The seat showed distinct remains of a brilliant red colour. A minute examination of the back disclosed the fact that fine lines had been traced on it such as are also visible on the wall frescoes, a technical device, borrowed from Egyptian practice, for guiding the artist's hands. It would appear therefore that the back of the throne had been once decorated with an elaborate coloured design.

The pavement of the Throne-Room, which was reached about two metres below the surface, showed a border of well-cut gypsum slabs enclosing a more irregularly paved square of the same material. Both this stone floor and the benches round had been originally covered with red and white plaster. The breastwork at the back of the bench opposite the throne showed three circular openings with stone bases below and the charred remains of three cypress-wood columns to which the bases belonged. These columns had obviously supported a kind of impluvium, the drainage of which went into the tank beyond the stone breastwork. The ledge of this seems in fact to have had from the first a slight outward slope so that falling water would run off it into the stone basin (Fig. 9). The tank itself was approached by a flight of six steps, and its walls

were very carefully constructed of closely compacted gypsum slabs. Its depth from the level of the top of the wall slabs was 1·20 metres: from the level of the topmost step 70 cm., which seems to mark the possible depth of water. Apart from the staircase, its lateral dimensions were 2·90 by 2·44 metres. There was no visible outlet to this stone basin and there can be little doubt that it served as a tank rather than a bath. Tanks with fish and bordered by flowering water-plants are frequent features of Egyptian houses and palaces, and the frescoes that adorned the Throne-Room, in



↓  
Steps leading  
from E. Court.

↑  
Ante-  
Chamber.

↑  
Steps to  
Tank.

↑  
Socket for  
Wooden Column.

—  
Porphyry Basin from neighbouring Room.

FIG. 9.—TANK AND STONE BREASTWORK: THRONE-ROOM.

which both these features occur, fully harmonize with this idea. The eels of the stream below—the ancient Kairatos—are renowned, and the delineation of a fish of this kind on the opposite wall suggests that the tank may have served as a *vicarium* not unconnected with culinary purposes.

The plaster immediately round the tank is quite plain, of a brick red colour, an indication that this part of the chamber was open to the sky. On the north and east walls on the other hand is seen a long landscape composition with wavy lines indicating running water below, amidst which in one place part of an eel is visible. On the banks of the stream grow rushes and sedge-like plants with red flowers, while behind is an undulating background of hills. At one point rises a palm tree, and on the landscape continuation on the western wall a fern palm was carefully delineated. This river scenery, including as it does such exotic features, is obviously suggested by the recurring Nile pieces of contemporary Egyptian art.

In the centre of the west wall is a doorway leading into a small inner chamber and on either side of this opening were painted two couchant griffins of a curiously decorative type. That on the left side, though the plaster was much cracked and bulged, could be made out almost in its entirety. The monster is wingless, an unique peculiarity due perhaps to an approximation to the Egyptian sphinx. It bears a crest of peacock's plumes, showing that this Indian fowl was known to the East Mediterranean world long before the days of Solomon. Pendant flowers, and a volute terminating in a rosette adorn the neck, and a chain of jewels runs along its back. A remarkable and curiously modern feature is the hatching along the under-side of the body, which apparently represents shading. Beneath the monster is a kind of base.

The griffins who faced the doorway on either side, as if in the position of guardians, were backed by a landscape of the same kind as that already described, showing a stream with water-plants and palm-trees behind. This location of the griffins in a flowery landscape is characteristic of contemporary Egyptian art, as illustrated by the Theban paintings. Above the zone containing these designs is a plain upper frieze consisting of two dark red bands bordered by pairs of white lines. Enough remains to reconstruct the elevation to the ceiling level, which must have been as nearly as possible two and a half metres from the floor.

The small inner chamber to which the doorway between the guardian griffins gave access, was perhaps a place for sleep or siesta. The walls were faced with plain white stucco, a circumstance probably due to the fact that it was only lit by artificial light. A pedestalled stone lamp in fact stood within it. In the south-west corner was a kind of niche with a stone shelf supported on a high base and covered with a layer of burnt wood.

Near this point were found some gold foil and the silver core of a bracelet.

Finds of ornaments and other richly decorated objects in the Throne-Room itself showed the specially sumptuous associations of this group of chambers. In the N. E. corner, near the remains of an overturned pithos, were five alabaster vases, of a squat but elegant shape, with handles in the form of Mycenaean shields—some of them originally inlaid—and covers with spiral and rosette reliefs of great beauty. Another vase of the same type also occurred in the opposite corner. Immediately above the stone bench in the same N. E. angle of the room was a small stone-lined cavity or loculus in the wall which contained a variety of objects. Here were brilliant pieces of blue and green porcelain resembling the Egyptian, another fragment of gold foil, bits of lapis lazuli and crystal for inlaying, parts of an ivory box and a large broken mass of carved amethystine gypsum. Many similar fragments were found on the floor of the room, and a crescent-shaped ornament of crystal lay at the bottom of the tank. A marked feature in these remains were beautifully cut plaques of crystal, evidently used for inlaying caskets, and in more than one instance showing parts of coloured designs painted on their lower surface so as to be seen through the crystal. The best preserved example of this "backwork on crystal," as this art was described by seventeenth century writers, showed an exquisite miniature painting of a galloping bull on an azure ground, the forepart of which was fairly preserved. In its original condition it must have been a work of extraordinary vitality. A similar process is illustrated by the rock crystal pommel from Mycenae, and, on the Egyptian side, by a rock crystal scarab from Gurob, described by Mr. Petrie. In the Throne-Room was also found a small agate plaque presenting a relief of a dagger laid upon an artistically folded belt, which supplies an illustration of the glyptic art akin to that of the later Cameo engraving, though the veins of the stone in this case run vertically and not in the same plane with the relief.

On the pavement of the Throne-Room were found, partly scattered but for the most part in two principal groups, a large number of glazed roundels. In all cases these lay on their faces, a circumstance which makes it probable that they formed part of enamelled designs let into the beams of the ceiling. These roundels presented a design consisting of four, sometimes three *vesicae piscis* of a purplish brown colour symmetrically grouped round their circumference and enclosing an incurved quadrangle

of pale green crossed by narrow bars of the same dark colour as the exterior part of the design. In this outer border of *vesicae piscis* as well as in their general tone these disks approached the enamelled plaques from Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh, except that the central rosette was wanting. Their backs exhibited a remarkable feature in the shape of linear signs followed in many cases by dots—as for instance  $\tau :: \cdot$ —which were perhaps intended as a guide to the position they should occupy. On examining the roundels from Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh in the British Museum I observed, what had hitherto not been noticed, that these too were marked in a similar way with linear signs such as  $\chi$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\mu$ , without, however, the succeeding dots. The marks on the Knossian plaques seem to belong to a different system, and the plaques are of somewhat inferior, perhaps indigenous fabric; but the analogy is striking, and tends to show that both belong approximately to the same date. The enamelled plaques of Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh represent the style of Rameses III. and belong to the beginning of the Thirteenth Century B.C.

There is every reason to suppose that the decoration of the Throne-Room belongs to the latest period of the Palace. This room has an appearance of freshness and homogeneity that makes it improbable that at the time of the great overthrow it had long existed in its present form. That a certain remodelling of earlier arrangements had taken place within it is made evident by a feature in the wall on the inner side of the tank. Here, at a point where the otherwise fresh looking plaster had broken off, there is visible, embedded at random in the clay and rubble wall, a part of a broken gypsum block with a sign, consisting of a square divided into four quarters by cross lines, which otherwise appears on jambs belonging to the earliest period of the building.

The elaborate decoration, the stately aloofness, superior size and elevation of the gypsum seat sufficiently declare it to be a throne. At the same time the specially rich character of the relics found in the chamber itself corroborates the conclusion that a royal personage once sat here for council, or for the enjoyment of the oriental *kéif*. The smaller size of the hollowed seat itself as compared with that from the neighbouring chamber points to its occupant as a king rather than a queen.<sup>1</sup> The stone benches round may have afforded room for twenty counsellors.

<sup>1</sup> The prominence of the female sex in the Mycenaean period—as illustrated by the cult-scenes on the signet-rings—might in itself favour the view that a queen had occupied the throne here, and



§ 21.—THE ROOM SYSTEM NORTH OF THE EAST COURT AND THRONE-ROOM.

The region to the North of that described in the previous section and of the great Eastern Court presents many points of obscurity. This is due partly to the fact that a western zone of this region is as yet unexcavated, partly to the increasing shallowness of the soil and to the unfortunate circumstance that a circular threshing-floor had been constructed in the middle of this piece of ground. Nevertheless the finds made in this quarter rival in interest those from any part of the Palace.

Adjoining the Throne-Room and its Antechamber on this side was an elongated apartment in which came to light the gypsum slab of a stone seat, already described as of larger dimensions than that of the throne and better adapted for a female sitter. At the western end of this room was a recess in the wall which, from the remains of charred wood-work and the casts of it preserved by the plaster, seems to have been a kind of cupboard. I have, therefore, called this the "Room of the Cupboard."

The great rounded blocks of gypsum, already noticed in connexion with the north entrance of the Anteroom, lead into a short corridor immediately behind the "Room of the Cupboard." This corridor, which shows remains of a good gypsum paving, has received its distinctive name from a large porphyry basin found in it. At its western end are remains of a cupboard in the wall similar to that in the adjoining room to the South. Three openings on its north side with good jambs of gypsum blocks lead to rooms or passages as yet imperfectly explored; the entrance to the easternmost of these was partly blocked by an overturned *pitthos*. In the corner where this corridor abuts on the East Court was visible a drain or conduit of stucco.

The eastern border of the region with which we are immediately concerned is defined by a broad walled gangway, the main Northern Entrance to the Palace, to be described in the next section. On the edge of this boundary line some steps, of which two remain, gave access to a small

this alternative is preferred by Dr. Wolters (*Jahrbuch d. k. d. Inst.* 1900, p. 145). But it must not be forgotten that the masks on the royal tombs of Mycenae were of the male sex. The leading part played by Goddesses and female votaries in the cult-scenes may have been due to the long survival in the domain of religion of ideas attaching to the matriarchal system. This religious survival of matriarchy was, as is well known, a well-marked feature among the Phrygians at a much later period.

room containing parts of a stucco cornice consisting of rows of returning spirals in high relief, coloured blue and enclosing, in the incurved quadrangular interspaces between their rows, polychrome rosettes. Here also for the first time came to light pieces of fresco in a new and extremely remarkable miniature style of which other fragments were found in the adjoining chambers. These miniature frescoes will demand a more special notice. A piece of a fresco in a larger style with a leafy spray apparently of myrtle was also found here, and a good many fragmentary remains of inscriptions. At the north-eastern corner of the room, however, where it borders on the roadway to be presently described, a small deposit of somewhat better preserved fragments of inscribed tablets was found, together with the impression in clay of a very large Mycenaean seal representing two bulls and beneath them a capital of a column and part of two horned heads. The lentoid intaglio from which this impression was taken seems to have been about 33 millimetres in diameter. It is in the finest style of Mycenaean engraving.

Contiguous to the "Room of the Spiral Cornice" on the West is an irregular chamber in which, besides another basin of porphyry-like stone, was found the stem and upper part of a lamp of the same material, supplying a very beautiful adaptation of an Egyptian architectonic motive. Its basin, surrounded by a graceful foliated relief of a more purely Mycenaean character, is supported by a quatrefoil column with four half capitals of a form transitional between the lotus and papyrus type, but expressed with greater gracefulness than any Egyptian example.

This "Room of the Lotus Lamp" communicates on its northern side by a triple opening with another room, the further boundaries of which have been much disturbed. Here were found two more stone lamps of a purplish stone—one of them perfect—and a large black steatite bowl with spiraliform reliefs, as well as a good many scattered tablets in a much disintegrated condition. These inscribed fragments belonged to a deposit, of which the bulk was found under the further wall of a little inner chamber to the West of this. This inner chamber has received its name from the "Bügelkannes," of which two large specimens, with black bands and cuttlefish designs, were found, together with five amphoras of pale, plain clay, and a perforated vessel, perhaps used as a cheese strainer.

The floor in this part, which represents the centre of the threshing-floor area, was about a metre below the surface, and consisted of a kind of con-

crete. Above this was a layer of tough, damp clay, which seems to have had a good deal to do with the bad preservation of the tablets found hereabouts. The larger ill-defined space already mentioned, on which the "Room of the Bügelkannes" opens on the East, contained, besides the bits of inscribed tablets and the stone lamps and bowl, some more fresco fragments. A few of these were in the same Mycenaean "miniature" style as those already mentioned, but there also occurred here remains of a painting apparently belonging to an earlier artistic stage. There are eight pieces of this design, which can be put together sufficiently to show the greater part of a small figure of a boy in a field of white crocuses, some of which he is placing in an ornamental vase of "kantharos" shape. This fresco, remarkable in many ways, apparently belongs to an earlier date than any yet discovered in the Palace. The naturalistic drawing of the flowers, and the use of white dots for festoons and the surface decoration of the kantharos, are features that recall the earlier ceramic style associated with the name of Kamáres. The whole tone of the painting differs from that of the mature Mycenaean style of the Knossos frescoes, and the tint of the boy's body, here a pale blue, differs from the regular Mycenaean convention, in which male figures are painted a reddish-brown, while the women are white.

### § 22.—THE NORTHERN PORTICO.

North of the "Room of the Flower-Gatherer," there came to light a cross wall of large quadrate gypsum blocks which seem to have been re-used from a previous construction. In any case they follow an older line of wall to which belong the gypsum jambs of three small doorways, two of them side by side. These two, which are 1.16 m. wide and very little worn, are in connexion with a very narrow passage, originally provided with steps, and leading down from the quarter of the Palace about the threshing-floor area to an exterior Portico, upon which all three doorways open.

On the northern side of this Portico the pavement is well preserved, and here, opposite the interval between the doorways, is the stone base of a column. This column base was of a very decorative material—a bright, blue-grey limestone, with a distinct vertical grain showing dark streaks—which was also employed for some of the vases found in the Stone Vase Room. Between

this and the projecting wall that enclosed the Portico to the West there was probably another base, but the floor level has been here disturbed. The eastern wing of the Portico was formed by a fine bastion of rectangular limestone blocks, their two lower courses projecting. This bastion, which is of isodomic structure, forms a solid mass five metres long by three in thickness, and is the most imposing block of masonry as yet brought to light.

Above the floor level of the E. part of the Portico a great number of fresco fragments were found at various levels. These were not, as in other cases, lying on the floor or partly attached to a wall, and it seems probable that they had been thrown out with the *débris* of the walls of the neighbouring rooms on the northern border of the threshing-floor area by later disturbers of the site, who apparently had dug here in search of stone. The result of these later diggings was clear in the shape of a considerable mound of disturbed earth at this spot. The hypothesis that we have here a rubbish heap of Mycenaean date seems to be excluded by the fact that the part of the mound containing the fresco fragments lay *above* some late wall constructions. Some of these fragments were of a decorative nature, but a considerable number presented groups and crowds of human figures in the same "miniature" style as the pieces of painting found in the "Room of the Spiral Cornice."

### § 23.—THE MINIATURE FRESCOES.

The fragments of wall-painting in what has been described above as the "miniature" style, found in this part of the Palace, set before us an entirely new aspect of Mycenaean art. Although much broken up, it has been possible, thanks, largely, to the patient skill of Monsieur E. Gilliéron, to put together a certain number of pieces, while other fragments exhibiting small groups of figures are in themselves more or less self-contained.

Here are depicted most varied scenes in which both men and women figure, in groups, and sometimes in dense crowds, within the walls of the city, and in the courts and gardens or on the balconies of what may represent the Palace itself. In one case they are collected before the façade of a small but brilliantly decorated shrine that has been already referred to above as an example of combined wood-work and plaster construction.

A special characteristic of these designs is the outline drawing in fine dark lines. This outline drawing is at the same time combined with a

kind of artistic short-hand brought about by the simple process of introducing patches of reddish brown or of white on which groups belonging to one or other sex are thus delineated. In this way the respective flesh-tints of a series of men or women are given with a single sweep of the brush, their limbs and features being subsequently outlined on the background thus obtained.

The fine drawing of some of the female figures on a white ground inevitably recalls the white Athenian *lekythoi* of a much later age. But the groups on these Mycenaean frescoes are incomparably more modern, and display a vivacity and a fashionable pose quite foreign to classical art. At a glance we recognise Court ladies in elaborate toilette. They are fresh from the *coiffeur's* hands with hair *frisé* and curled about the head and shoulders and falling down the back in long separate tresses. They wear high puffed sleeves joined across the lower part of the neck by a narrow cross-band, but otherwise the bosom and the whole upper part of the body appears to be bare. Their waists are extraordinarily slender and the lower part of their bodies is clad in a flounced robe with indications of embroidered bands. In the best executed pieces these *décolletées* ladies are seated in groups with their legs half bent under them, engaged in animated conversation emphasised by expressive gesticulation. In one scene the heads of a crowd of apparently standing women are seen beside a tree with a graceful olive-like foliage coloured pale blue, while above and below is a red-brown zone packed with smaller male heads some of them evidently of children. In another design parts of two or more rows of female figures in yellow jackets and variegated skirts appear on a blue ground, standing, with a small interval between each, and raising their left arms as if in the act of salutation. On one fragment three ladies are seen looking out of a window.

The men, none of whom are bearded, are naked except for the usual loin-cloth and the foot-gear with banded gaiter-like continuations above the ankle, resembling the buskins worn by the warriors on the fresco-fragments from Mycenae.<sup>1</sup> They wear large rings round their necks, which like the loin-cloths are indicated in white, their eyes, curiously enough, being picked out with the same colour. Their hair is black and streams down beneath their shoulders, while, above, it is curled, often into a double crest, rising on the top of the head or immediately above the forehead. These curving

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, Pl. XI.

forelocks coupled with the long tresses falling beneath the armpits add another to the many points of comparison supplied by the remains of the Palace of Knossos between its inmates and the Kefts and "the Peoples of the Isles of the Sea" as seen on the Rekhmara tomb and other monuments of Thothmes III.'s time.

In one fragmentary scene we see some thirty male figures, many of them full length, crowded within a fortified enclosure of isodomic masonry and divided by a cross wall into two groups. Below and above this are parts of azure fields on the lower of which are the heads of women. Other fragments show part of a closely packed crowd of men, some of them raising their hands, beneath a kind of portico or canopy supported by pillars. Elsewhere we see a man holding a spear, which is painted yellow, and on two other pieces serried ranks of youths are hurling javelins upwards, as if against the defenders of a fenced city. The character of the latter designs recalls the siege-scene on the silver vase fragment from Mycenae and in other ways the alternating succession of subjects on these miniature frescoes, which illustrate in turn the luxurious life of peace and the excitement of battle, suggests the contrasted episodes of Achilles' shield. It may be that we have here parts of a continuous historic piece; in any case these unique representations of great crowds of men and women within the walls of towns and palaces supply a new and striking commentary on the familiar passage of Homer describing the ancient populousness of the Cretan cities.

Together with these fresco fragments containing human subjects were others of a more decorative nature with bands of spirals, scroll work, rosettes and other motives. In the interspaces between these were occasionally visible animal forms such as a bull's head, a sphinx and griffins. Some fragments showed a succession of white lilies with red stamens on a blue ground. Several of the decorative patterns display analogies with the ceiling designs of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt.

#### § 24.—FORTIFIED ENTRANCE TO THE NORTH AND STEPPED ROADWAY.

The massive piece of masonry, already described as forming one of the wings of the Northern Portico, overlooks on its eastern side what appears to have been the main entrance to the building on the North. Here opens a broad stone gangway shut in on either side by walls and partially barred

at its lower or northern end by a wall projecting from the great limestone bastion above mentioned. The width of the roadway itself is five metres, of which about two-fifths is enclosed by the projecting spur of wall. Beyond this, however, at a later period, another cross wall had been built leaving only a passage about two metres in width. Opposite the end of this second bar opens an irregular walled inlet, running in about five metres behind the line of the east wall of the roadway, and 1·20 metre wide at its mouth. The blocks of the south wall of this recess were squared, those of the north wall rough. These features, coupled with the great Northern Bastion, which from its position recalls that outside the Lion Gate at Mycenae, present more the appearance of actual fortification than anything as yet uncovered on this site. The Lords of Knossos, unlike those of Tiryns and Mycenae, seem mainly to have relied on their "wooden walls," but although their residence would appear to have been little able to hold out against a regular siege, it was natural that measures of precaution should have been taken at its main entrances against a surprise attack by a hostile or marauding party. Here or hereabouts must have been the North Gate of the Palace and the road is probably a continuation of one leading from the port of prehistoric Knossos.

The blind inlet opposite the narrowest part of the gangway looks like a place whence Palace guards could sally out on any hostile intruders, thus taking them in flank at the most awkward part of the approach. At the bottom of this walled recess were a large number of fragments of Mycenaean pottery and other pieces of the Kamáres class, rubbish having been probably thrown here from inside the walls.

The ascending roadway was enclosed on both its eastern and western sides by solid limestone walls—the most continuous remains of masonry that had been met with in the course of the excavations. The roadway in its lower level lay over three metres below the surface of the earth, and the side walls originally consisted of over four courses of massive limestone blocks. A remarkable and enigmatic feature in these walls was the narrow openings which appeared in them at intervals. In the west wall were three such. Of these, that nearest to the entrance was 40 cm. wide, and was in communication with a small rectangular recess in the great Northern Bastion, about 1·25 m. by 0·75 m. A little higher up was a second opening 0·38 m. in diameter, and some three metres further a somewhat wider opening 0·80 across, which might have served as a narrow

gangway. It is possible that these two last openings stood in connexion with a small guard-room and the smaller may have served the purpose of a kind of embrasure behind which a sentry stood. In the opposite Eastern wall was another narrow opening splayed inwards and forming a mere recess in the wall about half a metre deep, the use of which it is difficult to determine.

The centre of the roadway showed remains of stone steps which seem, from traces visible by the side walls, to have originally reached right across it. Higher up there were also remains of a pavement with a slight incline. The road seems to have made a sudden bend opposite the wall of the Room of the Spiral Cornice and thus to have gradually reached the level of the great Eastern Court, but its connexions in this direction remain to be elucidated by further excavation. About half-way down the step-way near the western wall is the opening of a large stone drain or *Cloaca*. The passage of this, which was covered with large limestone slabs, was sufficiently roomy to enable some of the workmen to go down it a considerable distance. It followed the excavated piece of roadway to the North and continued under a field beyond, probably marking the further course of the road. An eastern branch was also ascertained to exist. Progress at a certain point was stopped by a fallen roof-block.

Along the western wall of the enclosed part of the roadway were made some finds of capital importance. Here, at a depth of from 2·30 to 3 metres, on or near the road level and immediately in front of the wall and outside the narrow openings already described, was found scattered along a length of several metres the most extensive deposit of inscribed clay tablets yet found within the Palace walls. The remains of gypsum slabs under which some of the most perfectly preserved of these lay showed that these had originally been contained in a chest of that material. Here too, again, were found some of the clay sealings with which the coffers containing these archives had originally been secured, one of them, though slightly broken, supplying the best representation of a ship yet found on a Mycenaean gem.

This deposit contained the largest specimens of tablets yet discovered. It is fairly obvious that these clay documents and the chest or chests that contained them had not been originally placed in the position by the side of the roadway in which they were found. It is possible that they were in course of removal from a neighbouring room at the time when this part of



the Palace was overwhelmed, and chariots without wheels seen on some of the tablets bring them into connexion with the small deposit found on the floor of the Spiral Cornice Room just above the roadway.

Close by this hoard of inscriptions, also near the road level, was found a large heap of double vases of pale clay. Specimens of vases of the same kind had already been found in the Room of Bügelkannes. They are mostly composed of pairs of two-handled "Amphoras," two of the handles as well as the sides of the vessels being attached, and there is also at times another handle forming an arch between the bodies of the twin vases. About forty of these coupled vases were found in this heap, a large proportion of them practically perfect.

#### § 25.—RELIEF WITH BULLS AND TREE IN COLOURED *GESSO DURO*.

Another find of unique artistic importance, made in this area, probably connects itself with an adjacent portico. At a higher level above the roadway than the deposits of tablets and double amphoras, and about 70—90 cm. below the surface level, came to light the head of a painted plaster relief of a bull. Part of the right horn was found broken away but only a little out of its position, and a foot and large pieces of the body lay near. These remains, which undoubtedly belonged to some neighbouring room or portico, were supplemented by a further discovery of other parts of the body and legs of a bull relief of the same character about six metres distant from where the head was found and a little North of the Room of the Spiral Cornice. Here was also found a fragment of another painted relief representing a tree which evidently formed part of the same subject as the bull.

The fragments found, though they give a good idea of the grandeur of the original design, are not sufficient to admit of more than partial reconstitution. They seem to be parts of two animals—the body of one presenting a pale ochreous ground colour with red spots, while the other shows bluish white spots on a reddish brown. The head, of which an illustration is given in Fig. 10 is of the latter type, with a white and blue patch on the nose. It is life-sized, or somewhat over, and modelled in high relief. The eye has an extraordinary prominence, its pupil is yellow and the iris a bright red, of which narrower bands again appear encircling the white

towards the lower circumference of the ball. The horn<sup>1</sup> is of greyish hue, and both this and the other parts of the relief are of exceptionally hard plaster answering to the Italian *gesso duro*.

Such as it is this painted relief is the most magnificent monument of Mycenaean plastic art that has come down to our time. The rendering of the bull, for which the artists of this period showed so great a predilec-



FIG. 10.—HEAD OF BULL FORMING PART OF LIFE-SIZED RELIEF IN PAINTED *Gesso Duro*.

tion, is full of life and spirit. It combines in a high degree naturalism with grandeur, and it is no exaggeration to say that no figure of a bull at once so powerful and so true was produced by later classical art. It is clear that this imposing relief must have occupied a prominent place in the Palace, and both the position in which the two groups of fragments were found as well as the line of the walls suggests that the Room of the Spiral Cornice opened to the North on a kind of portico or open gallery above the western wall of the roadway and overlooking this avenue of approach. That some kind of a portico existed hereabouts is rendered

<sup>1</sup> M. Gilliéron, who executed a careful drawing of the head, considers that this fragment does not belong to a horn, but to the lower part of the leg of man. But it was found almost in position and the peculiar ribbed surface answers to a similar ribbing at the spring of the horn from which it was broken off. A small piece of blue near the smaller end of the fragment may possibly belong to the background.

probable by the discovery, near the surface, and close to the cross wall at the further end of the great Northern Bastion, of a column-base (59 cm. in diam.) out of position.

### § 26.—MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION.

Both gypsum and limestone are used in various parts of the building. The gypsum is chiefly employed for the great blocks, already spoken of, bearing incised marks, and those of the W. wall, as also for a large number of door-jambs. Mr. D. T. Fyfe remarks as follows on this material: "In almost all cases it is so completely weathered and softened by time and exposure that practically no tool-marking is visible. The best example of the material is from the long straight wall below the Southern Terrace [B. 6. 7] which has one or two perfectly squared sharp-angled stones—(except for a slight rounding which was probably intended)—in very good condition. The material is very homogeneous, with no shell or other organic impurities. This wall is quite grey in parts as are also the pillars in the Pillar Room but most of the other stones have weathered white, with a tendency to small furrows, especially on the upper surface exposed more directly to the action of water. This furrowing resembles the water-drip channels on the side of a cave."

"The gypsum on the Palace site differs considerably from that used in the adjoining houses, which is exclusively a crystalline, micaceous, large granular material, always of a grey or greyish brown colour. This latter is also coarser and more unsuitable as a building material than that used in the Palace, with much less evidence of lime. The typical gypsum of the main site on the contrary might almost be compared with marble, except that, unlike marble, it weathers bluish white like Portland Stone."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Fyfe observes of the limestone that "it probably came from the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fyfe notes as the most important situations in which gypsum is used: (1) Great South Wall [B 6, 7], (2) Door-Jambs [C 3, 4, 5], (3) Great Wall bordering on the W. Court [F, G, H, K 2], (4) Door-Jambs in the Long Gallery and the backings at the end of the Magazines, [F, G, H, K, L 4], (5) The Great Column-Base on the steps W. of E. Court [H 6], (6) Small Door-Jambs [F, G 6], (7) The Pillars in the Pillar Rooms [G 4, 5], (8) Steps, Door-Jambs, and Seats in the Ante-Room and Throne-Room [K, L 6], (9) The Throne (or possibly a specially white specimen of limestone), (10) Rounded Wall N. of the Ante-Room, (11) The Door-Jambs by the N. Portico [M 6, 7]. The crystalline gypsum mentioned above as occurring in the neighbouring houses is only found exceptionally in the Palace, namely in the door-jambs last mentioned, on the N. edge of the irregular wall in the Central Clay Area [E 5] and in the case of a large stone with bird's-mouth angle under the great steps by the Eastern Court [H 6].

same quarries as the gypsum, since in some cases the transition between the two materials can distinctly be traced. Though it is of no great appearance—a dull sandy colour—it must be an excellent weathering stone from the very good condition it presents. The best limestone blocks have small tool-marks on their finished surface. None of the ashlar work appears to have been finely rubbed. Many of the rougher stones<sup>1</sup> have simply pick-marks, with no subsequent attempt at dressing.” The column-base of the Northern Portico is, as already noted,<sup>2</sup> of an exceptionally decorative kind of limestone, with dark striations.

The pavements were of gypsum, several varieties of limestone and a bluish-black or light blue slate.<sup>3</sup> It has been already noticed that these pavements in the principal rooms, like the Throne-Room and its antechamber and in the Corridor of the Procession, and the adjoining Western Portico were covered with cement coloured a bright red and white. In other cases, as in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the later floor at least of the South Propylaeum, and some magazines, the pavement was of cement only.

In describing the fresco painting of the small Temple, some idea has already been given of the superstructure of a large part of the building, as it must have originally existed above the level of the great basement blocks. The wooden beams and columns, the timber framework and enclosed patches of plaster-covered clay and rubble are clearly depicted

<sup>1</sup> The following are the chief positions in which the ordinary limestone is used, as noted by Mr. Fyfe. (1) The South Terrace wall, including the stones of the underground galleries, some of very large size [C 4, 5, 6], (2) The column-bases of the S. Propylaeum (really a transitional material) [C, D 4, 5], (3) A large part of the wall bordering the E. Court [E, F 6], (4) The important cross wall N. of the Central Clay Area [F 4, 5, 6], (5) The great ascending steps off the E. Court [H, K 6], (6) The walls on either side of the N. roadway [M, N, O 7, 8], (7) The column-bases in the Column-Base Room (a transitional material between limestone and gypsum) [G 6].

<sup>2</sup> See p. 45 above.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Fyfe classifies the paving materials as follows. 1. An ordinary quality of yellow limestone more or less dense, occurring throughout, and in the Long Gallery the only stone thus employed. 2. A better quality of the same, denser in grain with a finer surface but in thin layers inclined to scale off. 3. A good light blue paving, in slabs of considerable thickness. This is used where colour was intended as a finish, as in the antechamber to the Throne-Room. 4. A dark, blue-black, dense slaty material, capable of polish, used in strips in front of doorways in W. Court [E 2]. 5. A light blue silky stone resembling coarse slate with distinct longitudinal grain used for paving in the Corridor of the Procession [E 2]: all rough pieces not squared. 6. Slabs of gypsum usually of a more granular character than the wall-stone. Irregular blue black slabs were used for the flooring of the passage N. of the E. Pillar Room [II 5] and at the N. end of the Stone Vat Room [II 5].

in the façade of this shrine. In the interior of the Palace the party walls were of the same kind, but without the massive gypsum substructure which we see in its outer walls and in the case of the Temple. The places where the wooden beams of the framework had run are often marked by the extra baking of their original clay core, due to the burning out of the timber. The combination of wood-work and plaster is specially well shown in the doorways. The normal arrangement here is two round, upright, wooden posts at the angles of the door-jamb, bordering which, on its inner face, is a strip of plaster or cement, noted by Mr. Fyfe to be harder than that in ordinary use as a backing for fresco. Between these two plaster slips was a flat wooden post. The edges of the plaster pilasters

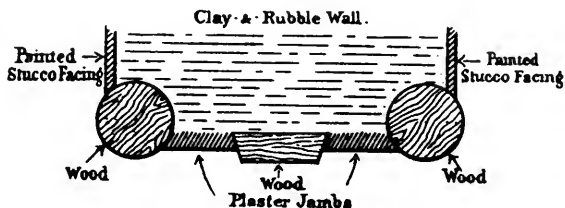


FIG. II.—SECTION OF DOOR-JAMB.

are fine and sharp, showing exactly how they fitted on to the wooden posts. A normal section of this arrangement appears in Fig. II.<sup>1</sup>

### § 27.—THE CLAY TABLETS WITH INSCRIPTIONS IN LINEAR CHARACTERS.

The discovery of various deposits of inscribed clay tablets has already been recorded in the previous sections. In addition to the larger hoards, the finding of which has been already mentioned, there were a good many scattered specimens throughout the building, but there can be little doubt that these isolated finds represent tablets or fragments of such that had been detached from the regular deposits by various disturbances of the soil. Of the clay records brought to light the vast majority of pieces, in number over nine hundred, present a linear form of script. The other hieroglyphic class was sparsely represented and practically confined to a single deposit.

<sup>1</sup> Based on a drawing by Mr. Fyfe.

Owing to the perishableness of the material—sun-baked clay—only a comparatively small proportion of the tablets were preserved in their entirety, and in all cases the greatest care was necessary in removing the inscribed pieces. In the case of some larger tablets it was necessary to back them with a coating of plaster to prevent their crumbling into a hundred fragments, and in this way it was possible, as noted above, to remove a small group in the order in which they had originally been arranged. Not only were the clay slips extremely friable but the slightest touch of moisture was liable to reduce them to pulp and a few specimens on a tray which had been wetted during a nocturnal storm, owing to a leakage in the roof of the Turkish house which served as our headquarters, became a shapeless mass of clay. The marvel is that any of these clay tablets should have resisted the natural damp of the soil, and in many cases their survival was due to the extra baking they received through the conflagration of the building. In this way fire—so fatal elsewhere to historic libraries!—has acted as a preservative of these earlier records. It is hardly necessary to add, however, that many were thus over-charred and some of the small seal impressions of clay found with the tablets were so brittle that, on drying, they broke into powder.

The presence of these seals was one of the most interesting features in the whole discovery. They had obviously been used to secure, in the ancient manner, the chests of wood, gypsum and terracotta in which these clay archives had been originally stored, and remains of the strings to which they had been attached were at times visible. The signets with which they had been impressed presented intaglios in the finest style of Mycenaean art. But legal precaution, in the City of Minôs, seems to have demanded something more than the seal impression by itself. In many cases, while the clay was still wet, the design itself was counter-marked by a controlling official, while the back of the seal was endorsed and counter-signed in the linear Knossian script.

The linear tablets are for the most part elongated slips of hand-moulded clay with wedge-shaped ends from 4.50 to about 19.50 centimetres in length and from 1.20 to 7.20 broad (see Plate I. p. 18 and Fig. 12). These have the inscription generally in one or two lines along their greatest length. Others, however, are broader, with the inscription in several lines across their lesser diameter. A fine example of this class from the deposit by the Northern Step-Way measures 18.8 cm. by 9.70 and has thirteen lines of



LARGE TABLET WITH LINEAR SCRIPT.  
(Same Size as Original.)

*(From p. 56.)*





inscription, while another large specimen (Plate II.) from the same deposit is 15 cm. by 12 with eight lines of inscription in bold characters. The larger tablets are scored with horizontal lines for the guidance of the scribe. They are generally written only on one side but some show a short endorsement and others present a full inscription on both faces.

Some distant analogy may be recognised with the tablets of Babylonia, but the letters here are of free upright "European" aspect, far more advanced in type than the cuneiform characters. They are equally ahead of Egyptian hieroglyphs, though here and there the pictorial original of some of these linear forms can still be detected. Thus we see the human head and neck, the hand, the crossed arms, a pointed cup, a bird flying, three or four-barred gates, a fence, a high-backed throne, a tree and a leaf. About seventy characters seem to have been in common use. Besides these there exists another smaller group used exclusively in connexion with numerals and apparently in some cases indicating weights and measures. A certain number of quasi-pictorial characters also occur which seem to have an ideographic or determinative meaning.

The numerals show a certain parallelism with the Egyptian. The system is decimal. The units, consisting of upright lines, are practically the same as the Egyptian. The tens are generally horizontal lines, but the curvature that they sometimes show may possibly point to a derivation from the hooped Egyptian form. The hundreds are circles, sometimes broken and with overlapping ends, suggesting a distant comparison with the Egyptian coil. The thousands are circles with four spurs.

From the frequency of ciphers on these tablets it is evident that a great number of them refer to accounts relating to the royal stores and arsenal. The general purport of the tablet, moreover, is in many cases supplied by the introduction of one or more pictorial figures. Thus on a series of tablets from the room called after them the Room of the Chariot Tablets,<sup>1</sup> occur designs of a typical Mycenaean chariot (see Fig. 12), a horse's head and what seems to be a cuirass, sometimes replaced by the outline of an ingot. Among other subjects thus represented were human figures, perhaps slaves, houses or barns, swine, ears of corn, various kinds of trees, saffron flowers, and vessels of clay of various shapes—the Bügelkanne among them—marked with linear characters no doubt referring to the liquids they con-

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 29.

tained. Besides these were other vases of metallic forms—implements such as spades, single-edged axes, and many indeterminate objects.

The ingots depicted on the tablets resembled the Mycenaean bronze ingot found at Old Salamis and others from Sardinia, and the same form occurs among the tributary offerings of the Kefts and “Peoples of the Isles of the Sea,” on Egyptian monuments of Thothmes III.’s time. They are often followed on the tablets by a figure of a balance (the Greek *τάλαντον*) accompanied by numerals apparently indicating their weight in Mycenaean gold talents. On one tablet two ox-heads are seen associated with a vase of the Vapheio type, recalling the ox-heads and vessel of similar type, both of gold,<sup>1</sup> that also occur among the Keft offerings. This identity of shape seems to indicate approximate contemporaneity and makes it probable

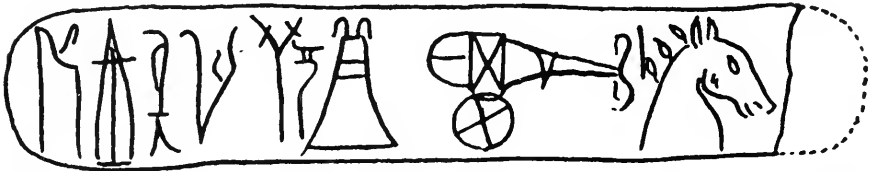


FIG. 12.—LINEAR TABLET REFERRING TO CHARIOT AND HORSES AND, PERHAPS, CUIRASS.  
(Size of original.)

that some at least of the tablets go back to the beginning of the fifteenth century B.C.

The tablets without numerals or pictorial illustrations may perhaps contain contracts or judicial decisions, official proclamations and correspondence, or even contemporary records, such as are found on the clay documents of Babylonia and Assyria. The full material has first to be collected by the thorough exploration of the as yet unexcavated portion of the Palace. It will then be possible to publish photographic reproductions of the whole, supplemented by careful copies of the inscriptions from the originals, together with complete tables of the letters, numerals and other signs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A gold cup of the Vapheio type is seen on the Tomb of Sen Mut which is of earlier date than that of Rekhmara, and belongs to the time of Queen Hatasu (Hat-shepsut) c. 1516-1481 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> I have copied over nine hundred of these tablets which I hope carefully to revise with the aid of the originals on my return to Crete. The retention of the tablets in Crete itself is naturally a hindrance to study. No effort will be spared to publish the whole collected material at the earliest possible moment. The Oxford University Press (Clarendon Press) has undertaken the publication, and has already set in hand the preliminary work, including a Mycenaean Fount.

In the present incomplete state of the material it is undesirable to go beyond a very general statement of the comparisons attainable. Among the linear characters or letters in common use—about 70 in number—10 are practically identical with signs belonging to the Cypriote syllabary and about the same number show affinities to later Greek letter-forms. On the other hand, out of about 25 distinct signs on the early pottery of Phylakopê<sup>1</sup> near parallels to about 6 occur in the Knossian linear series, and the signs for tens and units seem to be the same. The points of comparison between the linear and the hieroglyphic script of Crete are surprisingly few. Egyptian parallels are also rare, though the *ankh* and *Ka* frame are here represented. The words on the tablets are at times divided by upright lines, and from the average number of letters included between these it is probable that the signs have a syllabic value. The inscriptions are invariably written from left to right.

§ 28.—THE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THE SINGLE DEPOSIT  
IN WHICH THEY WERE FOUND.

The clay tablets with inscriptions of the hieroglyphic or "conventionalised pictographic class" are relatively few in number. They were practically confined to a single, much disturbed, deposit in a chamber already described, at the northern end of the Long Gallery. One or two isolated specimens also occurred at a few spots within a certain radius of the main deposit from which they had seemingly been carried by various disturbances of the superficial earth in this part of the site. Two isolated specimens of this class came to light in Magazine No. 5, another in Magazine No. 6, and another in the "Room of the Cupboard." Otherwise, throughout an area in which over a thousand whole or fragmentary tablets of the linear class were found, not a single other piece with hieroglyphic characters came to light. No trace of this type of writing was discovered in any of the other hoards of tablets. This entire separation of the two classes of clay archives gains additional significance from the fact that the chamber in which the small deposit of hieroglyphic inscriptions lay was itself one of the latest constructions of the Palace, apparently blocking an original continuation of the Long Gallery.<sup>2</sup> This fact will be found

<sup>1</sup> See the table given by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, *Ann. of Br. School*, No. 4 (1897-8) p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 25.

to have an important bearing on some other questions connected with the appearance of this hieroglyphic class.

To myself personally the signs on these clay documents were of special interest, inasmuch as they corresponded with those on a class of Cretan signets, the character of which I had, as early as 1893, already recognised as representing a form of prehistoric script. More recent explorations in Crete from 1894 onwards had enabled me to collect, almost exclusively in the eastern part of the island, a series of seals in hard stone, mostly three and four-sided "prisms," and others like modern signets, presenting groups of similar characters.<sup>1</sup> That this was an essentially indigenous system—Eteocretan in the truest sense—was further shown by the existence of earlier seals of the same form in soft steatite with more pictorial figures which were certainly the prototypes of this conventionalised pictographic class. The present discovery of clay bars, labels and sealings with distinct inscriptions in the same hieroglyphic characters afforded a conclusive proof that the signs on the seals really answered to a system of writing.

The "hieroglyphic" clay documents were of four well-marked classes :

1. Quadrangular, or three-sided bars with a perforation at one end. Only one was found of the triangular type.
2. Perforated "labels" in the form of bivalve shells with a hole through the projection answering to the valve.
3. Only a single example. A flat tablet or "label" rounded at one end, near which was a double perforation, but otherwise rectangular.
4. Three-sided sealings of clay of crescent-shaped outline, showing seal impressions as well as graffito writing, and with a perforation along their major axis, through which a string had run.

The graffito characters on these clay bars and labels reproduced, in a more linearised form, many of the signs already known from the engravings on the seals, thus illustrating a step in the development of writing. They also included several forms not hitherto represented on the stone signets, and these were supplemented by some of the actual seal-impressions in Class 4. The total hieroglyphic series was thus raised to over a hundred, and might be almost said to form an illustrated history of the culture of those who used them. Among the new hieroglyphs thus

<sup>1</sup> See "Cretan Pictographs," &c., *J.H.S.* 1894, and "Further Discoveries," &c., *J.H.S.* 1897.

presented may be mentioned an eight-stringed lyre, carpenters' tools, such as a kind of plane and perhaps a level, bees, a glove-like object, and sprays, perhaps of olive, besides several forms of a quasi-linear type. Some of the signs were obviously ideographic in character, thus giving a clue to the meaning of the record. Ships, and jars filled with grain may be mentioned among those which seem to belong to this category, and the occurrence of the Egyptian Palace sign is also noteworthy. In many cases the inscriptions were followed, as in the linear series, by numeral signs, showing that they related to accounts. The system of numeration, consisting in this case of curves, dots, and upright or slightly sloping lines, presents some points of obscurity.

Unlike the regular arrangement of the linear script in separate lines from right to left, these hieroglyphic characters on the clay bars and labels, as on the seals, present a much more jumbled aspect. In this, as in other respects, they show a certain affinity with the "Hittite" writings of Anatolia and Northern Syria. At times a boustrophêdon arrangement seems to be traceable. The inscription is often divided by cross lines running across the tablet, and the beginning or conclusion of words or sentences is repeatedly marked by an X.

Although a small proportion of the signs of the hieroglyphic Cretan series are common to the linear group, as a whole it contains surprisingly few common elements, and clearly represents an independent system. Many of the commonest hieroglyphic signs, such as the double axe, the bent leg, the eye, the arbelon, the branch or spray, and the cross pommée, are absent among the linear characters, and *vice versa*, many of the most frequent linear forms find no affinities among the hieroglyphs. Of the two systems, the hieroglyphic or, as I have otherwise described it, the conventionalised pictographic script, is typologically the earlier. In form and arrangement the linear script is much more advanced.

Yet we are confronted with the curious phenomenon that the hieroglyphic writing which, as has been pointed out, fits on to a still earlier pictographic system indigenous to Crete in pre-Mycenaean days, occurs only in one of the later chambers of the Palace at Knossos. Here, at least, the linear Archives go back to an earlier date.

I have elsewhere called attention to the fact that the seals on which these hieroglyphic forms occur seem to be almost wholly confined to the eastern districts of Crete, and probably represent the true Eteocretan

element which, as the Praesos inscription shows, preserved its language in that district down to at least as late a period as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. At that time the Eteocretans had adopted the Greek alphabet, but the evidence tends to show that the hieroglyphic form of writing itself may have survived in that part of the island to a comparatively late date.

Steatite seals of the earlier pictographic class have been found in central Crete, one at least on the site of Knossos itself,<sup>1</sup> and it would appear that the continuity of the older and purely Eteocretan culture had been here interrupted by the intrusion of a more cosmopolitan form of Mycenaean civilisation. The older native element is, as we shall see, probably represented in the most massive part of the construction of the Palace itself as well as by the ceramic fabrics found here of the Kamáres class. The reappearance in the latest days of the Palace of the indigenous style of writing under its more developed and conventionalised aspect, as seen in the deposit of hieroglyphic tablets, is therefore a fact of great historic interest.

The fact suggests two possible explanations. It may indicate that at this late period the Mycenaean Lords of Knossos had achieved the conquest of the Eteocretan population of Eastern Crete, in which case the clay documents in the hieroglyphic style might very well connect themselves with tribute or official accounts relating to the great cities of that part of the island, later represented by Praesos, Itanos and the ruins of Goulás.

On the other hand the phenomena before us are perhaps also compatible with the view that the more purely indigenous element, which no doubt had continued to subsist in Central Crete under the sway of more cosmopolitan rulers, had at this time gained the upper hand in the Palace itself and had imposed an Eteocretan dynast.

In any case this later "Eteocretan" civilisation, as the remains of Eastern Crete amply demonstrate, had by this time itself become only a local variety of the Mycenaean type while retaining certain idiosyncrasies in the form of its signets and its script. Some of the clay impressions of intaglios on seals and gems found in this "hieroglyphic" deposit represent in fact very fine specimens of "Mycenaean" engraving. At the same time, both in the choice of subject and design, they display certain new and interesting

<sup>1</sup> "Cretan Pictographs," &c., p. 24, Fig. 30 (*J.H.S.* xiv. p. 293).

features. For the first time portrait-heads appear, one of them, of which the impression is twice repeated, with an aquiline nose and rather prominent lips, which seems to illustrate the Eteocretan kinship with the Carians and other members of the old "proto-Armenoid" stock of Anatolia. An infant beneath a horned sheep affords a possible illustration of an early variant of the birth legend of Zeus.<sup>1</sup> In other cases we notice a picturesque style presenting an interesting anticipation of that which distinguished in a peculiar way the later coin-types of the island. Thus a grotto is seen surmounted by rugged rocks, on which appear, perched or climbing, certain monkey-like forms. A fish is depicted in a rocky inlet, naturally laid upon a polyp as if just stranded by a retiring wave. A hart is seen couched beside a water-brook in a mountain glen.

#### § 29.—THE CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS OF THE PALACE.

In spite of the complicated arrangement of some parts of the interior of the Palace, a great unity prevails throughout the main lines of its ground-plan. With few exceptions the walls of the corridors, rooms and courts are carefully laid out at right angles to one another. At the same time the Southern Terrace, the great Courts to East and West and, above all, the Long Gallery, which originally had a still further extension to the North, bring the various parts of the building into connexion as parts of a single large design.

Certain later modifications of the original plan have been noted in the preceding sections, indicative of various epochs in the history of the building. Of these the principal seem to have been the cutting off of the northern side of the Central Clay Area from the rooms and passages beyond and the blocking and partial building over of the northern end of the Long Gallery. Apart from these more or less organic changes, various evidences are at hand of the transformation or remodelling of individual chambers. In the rubble wall, for instance, at the back of the tank, off the Throne-Room, is seen a broken piece of an earlier gypsum block with a sign cut upon it, and the somewhat obscure and asymmetric arrangement of space immediately North of the Antechamber of the Throne-Room also appears to be in part

<sup>1</sup> It is figured in my forthcoming article on "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," in *J.H.S.*

a survival of earlier construction. The fine rounded wall of gypsum blocks also incised with signs seems to belong to this.

In general it is safe to suppose that these great gypsum blocks, often underlaid with projecting foundation slabs of limestone, represent the earliest elements of the Palace. Massive lower courses of this kind in many cases supported rubble walls, which, while following the old lines, may often represent more recent reconstructions.

The same large gypsum blocks were also in frequent use for door-jambs, as in the case of the Magazines adjoining the Long Gallery. The interior of the Magazines, in its present state, and the later floor levels there unquestionably belong to the Mycenaean period. But the Kamáres pottery, found in one case just below the later floor level, may indicate that these Magazines in their earliest form, and with them their great stone door-jambs, go back to the latest pre-Mycenaean period. A very close parallel to these jambs and magazines has now been found by the Italian explorers in a prehistoric Palace at Phaestos and in that case the great bulk of the associated ceramic remains belongs to the Kamáres period. It is also observable in the great Eastern Court and certain chambers that the pavement level lies immediately over the Neolithic clay stratum and therefore probably represents also the first "Palace level," in other words, that already in use at the time when the Kamáres pottery was produced. In several places pottery of this class was in fact found on the top of this Neolithic deposit and practically on the floor levels still maintained in Mycenaean times. To this stratum belongs the Egyptian diorite figure, the date of which has been approximately fixed at 2000 B.C.

The conclusion that many of these more massive constructions really date back to the "Kamáres" period is borne out by another interesting phenomenon. It is on the great gypsum blocks belonging to these constructions that are cut the curious signs first noticed by Mr. W. J. Stillman. Among these, as already observed, the double axe symbol claims a distinct preeminence. It is the special mark of corner blocks and door-jambs and recurs far more frequently than all the other signs put together. On one of the square pillars identified above with baetylic representations of the Cretan Zeus it is found in one case on three sides, in the other, on every side of every stone. But this symbol, as already shown, is the special badge of the old Cretan and Carian divinity, the God of the *labrys*, of Labranda and the Labyrinth. It is bound up in every way with the old



indigenous stock in the island, and representations of it are found on the painted Kamáres pots from the site of Knossos<sup>1</sup> as well as on the votive vessels of the Dictæan Cave. The double axe supplies one of the most frequently recurring of the hieroglyphic signs, which as we have seen belonged in a special way to this Eteocretan element. On the other hand, among the linear characters of the more purely "Mycenaean" script, the double axe is conspicuous by its absence. The cruciform and "spray" symbols peculiar to the hieroglyphic series are also repeated on the great blocks of the Palace. But this argument gains additional force from the parallelism existing at Phaestos, where a large series of similar signs have been found incised on the great blocks of the building belonging, if we may judge from the prevailing style of the associated pottery, to the Kamáres period. There are good reasons then for believing that at least so much of the massive masonry of the Palace at Knossos as bears these incised signs belongs to the same early period.

The later changes in the Palace and the arrangement and decoration of the rooms as revealed by the excavations were no doubt the work of the Mycenaean Age. Of the earlier wall decoration only some fragments, such as the Fresco of the Flower-Gatherer have come to light. We now see a new ceramic style, and on every side the evidences are forthcoming of a less naively naturalistic and more cosmopolitan tradition in art, exhibiting in a much greater degree the traces of Egyptian influence. A system of writing at the same time makes its appearance, different from that which finds its root in a still more primitive Cretan stratum. The double-axe symbol itself falls into the background for the time, and there are distinct indications of the intrusion of a new element, bringing with it in all probability new religious as well as political traditions.

Attention has already been called to the resemblances which the male figures of the frescoes and the objects, such as the ingots and vases of precious metal, seen on some of the clay tablets, display to the Kefts and Peoples of the Isles of the Sea, and their tributary offerings as depicted on Egyptian monuments of the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century B.C. The later pottery was of the mature Mycenaean class, analogous to that found at Mycenæ, Ialysos and Tell-el-Amarna, in which latter case the associations take us to the Age of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hogarth found a vase of this class with the double-axe symbol painted on it in a house on the Kephala site itself, a little below the Palace.

Akhenaten (c. 1383-1365 B.C.). The enamelled roundels of the Throne-Room, which present a close parallelism with those of Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh bring us down on the other hand to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The period thus indicated probably represents within approximate limits the date of the flourishing Mycenaean phase in the history of the building. The care with which the rooms seem to have been searched for metal objects at the time of the destruction of the Palace no doubt accounts for the rarity of such among the finds. The yellow colour of the spears in the warriors' hands as seen on the frescoes, and the discovery of the point of a bronze sword above the Southern Terrace may be taken as indications that the remains fall within the limits of the Bronze Age. Only a single piece of iron, with the exception of a nail of doubtful antiquity, was found, but this was of a significant kind. It was a finely-shaped nail, with a flat ornamental top decorated with a typical Mycenaean rosette, which was found between the Fifth and Sixth Magazines. It belongs to the class of iron objects, such as those for instance found in the later tombs of Old Salamis, which marks the period of transition between the use of bronze and iron for implements and weapons, and is characteristic of the time when iron was still regarded almost as a precious metal, and used for ornamental purposes. Such a transitional usage is already noticeable in Cyprus about the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing was more striking throughout the excavations than the absence of all remains later than the flourishing Mycenaean period. Even in the superficial earth there was hardly a scrap that could be set down to a later date. The Geometrical pottery, abundant on other parts of the site of Knossos, was here conspicuous by its absence. Even the later Mycenaean style answering to the "Warrior Vase" and the Warrior Stela from the Lower Town found no representative either in the vases or the wall-paintings brought to light. On the whole it seems difficult to bring down the period of the destruction of the Palace later than the thirteenth century B.C.

### § 30.—GENERAL REMARKS ON THE EXCAVATIONS.

The valley of the ancient Kairatos, where our headquarters were perforce established, proved to be malarious, and already towards the end

<sup>1</sup> See my article on "Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated in the British Museum Excavations," *Anthropological Institute Journal*, 1901.

of May the increasing prevalence of fever made it necessary to hasten the conclusion of the season's work. Otherwise the great difficulty with which the excavators had to contend was the "Notios" or South Wind—the familiar *Khamsîn* of Egypt—here, too, fresh from the Libyan desert. Whether owing to some peculiar electrical properties or not, it has a special affinity for dust, and, our shoot being at the southern end of the site, this wind repeatedly raised such a dust-cloud as to stop the work for days at a time.

On June 2, the excavation finally ceased for the year 1900. On the Palace site proper the work of excavation had lasted nine weeks, counting holidays and interruptions from the weather, and from 50 to about 180 workmen had been employed according to the character of the ground. It had been my practice from the beginning to employ both Mahometan and Christian workmen, so that the work at Knossos might be an earnest of the future co-operation of the two creeds under the new régime in the island. Considering that a few months earlier both parties had been shooting each other at sight, the experiment proved very successful. On a common feast-day they even danced together the Cretan "Choros" in the Western Court of the Palace :

*τῷ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ  
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.*

The Cretan workman, moreover, of both religions turned out to be not only on the whole an extremely hard worker but displayed great intelligence in the more delicate parts of the work. Women were employed to wash the pottery and other objects. The average wage per diem was 8 piastres or about 1s. 4d. of our money. Rewards were given especially for small objects found, but also as a recognition of good work in various branches. The sum awarded for the individual finds varied from about 1 to 5 piastres. A daily note of those who had thus distinguished themselves was made and the money paid with the wages at the week's end.

That in such a comparatively short space of time so much as about two acres of the Palace site should have been uncovered was largely due to the relatively small depth below the surface at which the actual remains lay. The floor level varied from about a third of a metre in the zone immediately above the Southern Terrace to somewhat over three metres in

the Northern Step-way. In removing the superficial earth iron wheelbarrows, imported from England, proved of great service.

The rooms of the Palace, as already noted, had evidently been ransacked for metal objects at the time of its destruction. The figures of ingots and metal vases and implements on the clay records, and the funnel-shaped cup of silver and gold held by the youth on the fresco, as well as the lead-lined chests concealed beneath the floors of the Magazines point to the original existence of great treasures in this royal abode. The comparative absence of clay vessels in the chambers is itself a negative indication that vases of precious metals were largely in use here. The search for valuables of this class, probably often renewed in the period immediately succeeding the destruction of the Palace, sufficiently accounts for a good deal of the disorder visible in some of the rooms. The chests containing the clay documents seem in most cases to have been broken open and the tablets thrown about on the floor. Many beautiful stone vases had been smashed, but these did not tempt the cupidity of a barbaric race of plunderers. At a later date a few neighbouring householders had grubbed here and there for stone slabs to place in their yards or threshing-floors, and the more antiquarian dig by a native Candian gentleman at one spot has already been mentioned. The grubbing for stone is probably accountable for the confused heap of earth and rubble, containing many thrown out pieces of fresco, which rose near the Northern Portico.

But, on the whole, the most striking feature of the remains, where they had not suffered (as immediately above the Southern Terrace) from natural denudation, was the very small traces of later disturbance. In the case of the Throne-Room the painted fresco appeared intact on the face of clay and rubble walls a few inches below the surface, and walls of the same apparently frail material were well preserved almost to the surface level throughout a great part of the area. Trees could never have been planted here for the last 3000 years or their roots alone would have produced a much greater ruin. Over parts of the site not even a ploughshare can have passed.

In the Magazines, the Southern Propylaeum and many of the rooms, the great jars stood intact, or no more broken than would be accounted for by the weight of the superincumbent earth and the *débris* of the upper part of the building. Perfect Bügelkannes and other lesser vases were also found on the floors of rooms and passages. The wall paintings had been pre-

served as in no other remains of ancient Greece. The tablets of sun-baked clay, of all the objects found the most perishable, were themselves in many cases unbroken.

The fact that these objects in nearly all cases rested on the floor level is itself an almost conclusive proof that what disturbance took place occurred for the most part at the time of the destruction, perhaps even before the final burning of the Palace. Had the disturbance been effected from above, the whole earth in the chambers would have been thrown upside down and the objects would have been found at all levels. But the pots, the jars, the painted vases, and other objects found, as well as the large deposits of tablets even when scattered still for the most part rested on the floor level. The earth and rubble that filled the chambers, and which was in a very unstratified condition, was no doubt largely due to the decay of the upper part of the party walls and roof and of the superstructure, wherever such existed. Many large pieces of charred beams were found in this.

Whatever may have been the cause, it is no exaggeration to say, that on no previously excavated site in the Greek lands have so many ancient relics been found within the same space at so slight a depth below the surface of the ground. Every possible precaution was taken to secure such remains as existed. The earth was removed in layers from the surface, and owing to this method some large pieces of fallen fresco which might otherwise have been ruined by the pick were preserved intact. Wherever the earth showed traces of containing small objects it was thoroughly sifted, and several large sieves set up in wooden stands were continually employed. Even after the sifting and the selection by those engaged on the task of every fragment that seemed to be of possible interest, the waste heaps from the sieve were carefully looked over by Mr. Mackenzie and myself. The earth thus went through a triple examination, namely, when it was first dug, when it was riddled, and finally the rejected heaps. Owing to this minute examination many small objects of great value were recovered which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Among these may be especially mentioned pieces of inscribed linear tablets, clay "labels" of the hieroglyphic class, and in repeated instances, clay impressions of seals, a class of object never before observed in any excavation of a Mycenaean site. That such had existed elsewhere, however, is only too probable, and the example of the native antiquary's dig on the Palace site itself, in which

fragments of inscribed clay tablets were thrown out without attracting observation, shows how necessary is a minute examination of all the earth in which finds occur.

## II.

### EARLY TOWN AND CEMETERIES.

BY D. G. HOGARTH.

PLATE XII.)

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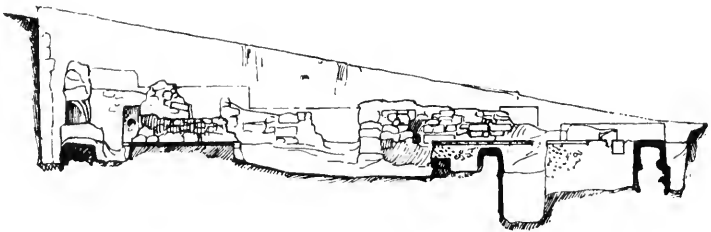
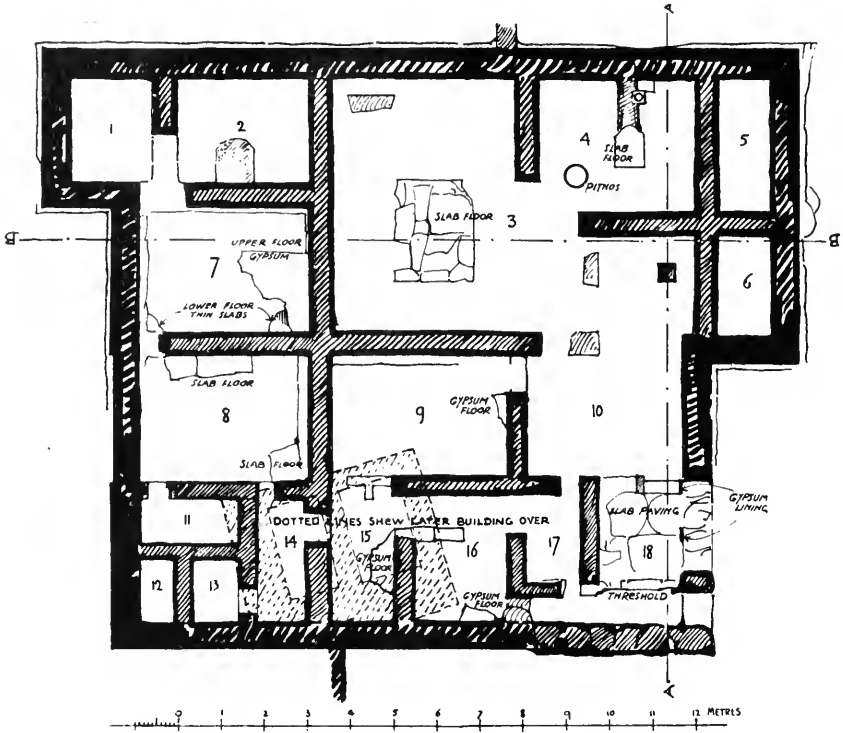
THE operations of the British School for the first two months of the excavation season of 1900 extended more or less over the whole site of Knossos the summit of the Kephala hillock excepted, which had been bought and reserved by Mr. Evans. In selecting this wide area I had for objective the cemeteries prior to the Geometric Period, the situation of which was, and I regret to say still is, unknown. In the event I found what I had not expected, namely a well-preserved early town.

I began the search on March 13th, near the crest of the gypsum slope facing Kephala on the south-west, intending to probe round the heart of the site until I hit on "Mycenaean" graves: and, though often diverted by the necessity of following up discoveries made by the way, I completed the circuit on May 7th.

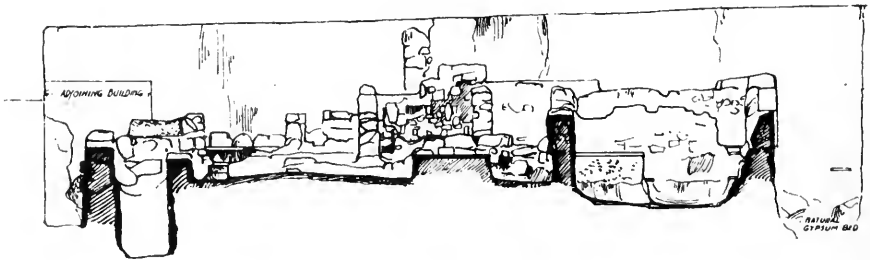
The gypsum hill to south-west was found to contain on its higher slope poor graves of the first century A.D., in which the corpses were laid in simple trenches beneath terra-cotta lids. Bronze coins were found in the skulls and rarely one or two common vessels of glass and pottery occurred. Foundations of a small *heroon* of the same period were cleared on the hill top.

Coming to the lower slope near the modern high road, where early sherds lay thick on and near the surface, I sank pits in a plot of unsown land (*v.* Map and Plate VII., CISTERN), and immediately struck a deposit of vases, of the "Kamarens" period, lying huddled together, whole and broken, on the thinly plastered floor of a ruined chamber at a depth of 1.70. Later walls appeared built over this and actually resting upon the vases themselves; and, finding large blocks of squared gypsum





SECTION A-A



SECTION B-B



*in situ* in pits close by on the south, I saw that I had to do with no cemetery, but with early house-remains, disposed on two terraces. The soil was so rich in early pottery (Kamares vases and sherds coming not only from the plastered floor, first found, but from two circular pits cut in the soft rock close by to the north-west, and Mycenaean ware being found in all the rest of the region), that I intermitted the search for tombs, and devoted three weeks to opening out completely a considerable area on each of the Terraces, where the preliminary pits had revealed the existence of well-constructed walls and pavements.

On the Upper Terrace a large house (A), contained by a gypsum wall, was cleared completely. Mr. D. T. Fyfe's Plans and Sections are appended. The whole ground scheme, as will be seen, is well-preserved, but the walls are standing to a considerable height only on the west, where they were deeply buried. On the east the fall of the ground brings the top of the first course almost to the level of the general surface of the field. The site was cleared to the bed rock, on which the foundations of the outer wall and most of the inner walls rest.

Mr. Fyfe makes the following architectural notes on his plan of this house:—

Gypsum is largely used for external work in the first and second courses above the foundation, and occasionally also as quarry-hewn blocks in the foundation itself. In internal work, thin slabs make pavings and wall linings, visible *e.g.* in rooms 18 and 16. Though quarry-hewn blocks perish quickly, well squared and dressed surfaces are found fairly intact, preserved perhaps by the filling of the pores of the stone with the white dust that results plentifully from crushed or chipped flakes. The other wall material is a close limestone, grey or yellowish. A good stratified paving-stone is used for floors, but seldom in pieces of any great size.

The outer walls are of superior character, being of large blocks well dressed with good squared joints. The front stones are often splayed back from the vertical joints. A foundation of rougher walling, in parts several courses deep, occurs throughout externally and projects a few inches from the face of the wall. There are a few large bond stones in this foundation, heading through the wall and often beyond.

The inside of the external walls is mostly rough rubble work, but in a few cases, as at the north-west corner, the large blocks of the exterior form the whole thickness of the wall. Probably in many cases, gypsum lining was used, as is seen in the fragments in Room 18.

The inner walls (Plate IV., Nos. 1, 2) are difficult to separate into distinct groups. Doubtless, however, there were at least two periods, as can be seen very well in the north wall of Room 3, which has a rough rubble mud wall below, and from the existing floor level upwards, a good squared rubble wall projecting a few inches over the lower one. A few other squared rubble walls exist, such as the north wall of Room 10, and the inside of the main outer wall in Room 16. The remaining rough walls are of larger or smaller unhewn stones and mud plaster, with here and there a piece of gypsum, but mostly of limestone.

The outer main wall opposite Room 16 has three courses of good ashlar worked limestone in large blocks, and is one of the few large faces of wall in the building which are worked to a true face.

The floors were bedded on a rough concrete of large pebbles and pottery fragments.

The building becomes clearer as a whole when the later addition above Rooms 14 and 15 is not taken into account. But except that No. 18 on the Plan undoubtedly appears to have been an entrance to the house (entering possibly from the south side where there are traces of a passage between two houses), very little can be made of the arrangement of the rooms. There are distinct traces of thresholds at the entrance and a door-jamb stone at the large opening on the south side, but also fragments of gypsum wall-lining, a rather puzzling combination. The one square column-base occurring in Room 10 does not appear, in its position, to have much connection with anything else, but though at present appearing irregular, it is not impossible to imagine this large space (Room 10) to have been a hall of some kind.

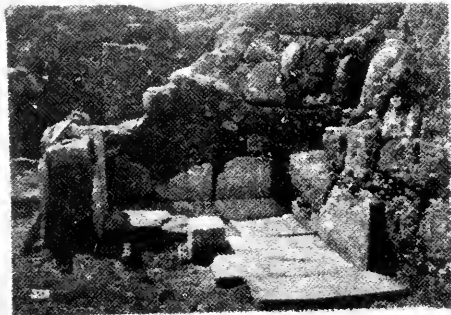
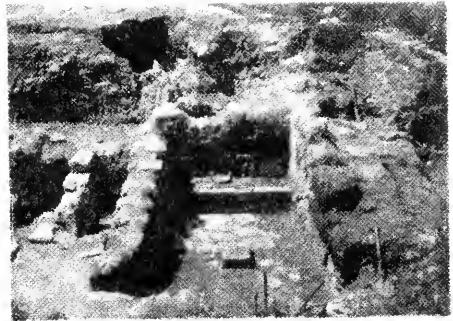
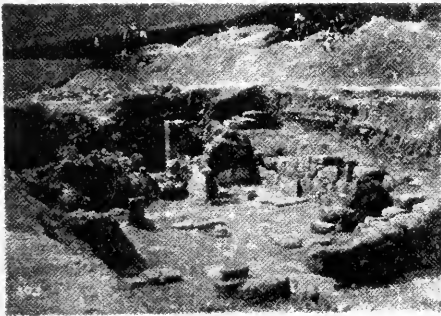
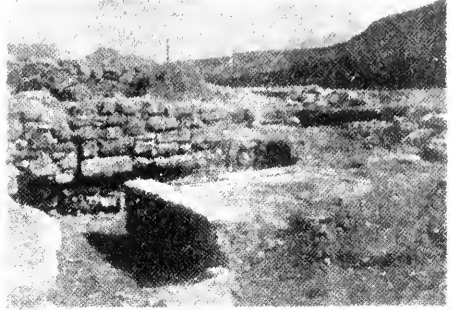
There is nothing very remarkable about the other rooms. Traces of doors and thresholds occur in Rooms 17, 15, 9 and 8, and floors in Rooms 18, 17, 16, 15, 8, 7, 2, 3 and 4 (Plate IV. 2).

Of the floors, those in Rooms 3, 4 and 7 (upper floor) are practically on the same level. That in Room 18 is slightly higher.

There are remains here of three constructions at least. First those of a poor two-roomed house of Roman date, shown by dotted lines on the plan. A lamp and some glass were found in it at a depth of only .25. The single course of its walls rested on earth. After this house had been photographed and measured, it was removed. Below that is a primitive house, probably restored by "Mycenaean" builders. Kamares sherds occurred thickly on the rock level outside it on the west, and two complete Kamares vases (Figs. 14, 15) were found under the lowest pavement level in the south-west corner of Room 15. The round pits shown to the north-west on the Plan Plate, which were found choked with ware of that period, probably were filled by the first restorers of the partly ruined house to the south, who wished to be rid of its refuse contents. I had occasion to observe later, on the slope of Kephala, that pits full of earlier pottery occur in association with later houses.<sup>1</sup> Inside the houses, however, both above the lower, and under and above the higher pavement, the sherds were of all Mycenaean varieties, but of them only. No later ware occurred until near the surface of the field; and a single primitive black sherd, with punctured decoration, found on this part of the site, must have been a straggler from the Neolithic village on Kephala.

The objects, complete or otherwise, worthy of individual mention, found in this house on the main floor level were not numerous. (1) A tiny

<sup>1</sup> It is worth suggesting that there is some connection between these pits, which are not suitable for holding either grain or water, and the (probably) baetylic shrines hard by (House B). Pits would hardly be dug expressly to contain pottery, unless there were a religious or superstitious reason for carefully hiding it. I suggest that these pits contained the remains of *dedicated* vessels, removed, when no longer needed, from risk of profanation, just as did the trench in the Apolline precinct at Naukratis (Petrie, *Nauk.* I., p. 20), and, probably, a pit found full of early ware just outside the walls of Phylakopi in Melos. (*B.S.A.*, iii. p. 19.)



KNOSSOS.—VIEWS OF HOUSES A AND B.



squatting image in rock crystal, pierced for suspension. The execution is rude, and the features and human outline are very summarily indicated.

(2) A small object in steatite (Fig. 13), apparently complete. On the flat face is a rude incised pattern of lozenges hatched and plain: on the other face a ridge with two spoon-shaped hollows in which are divers scratchings, resembling symbols of the linear Cretan script.

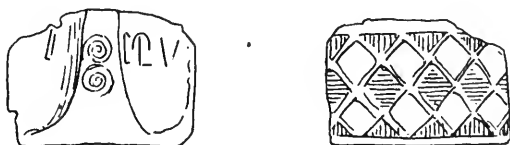


FIG. 13. (1:3)

(3) Bronze axe head (cf. Schliem. *Myc.* p. 111), found under a projecting block in the outer wall on the south-east, and a leaden tool, like a blunt strigil.

(4) Two primitive vases in coarse greyish clay with "Kamares" varnish, unpainted, referred to above as found in a corner of Room 15. Both strongly recall metal forms (Figs. 14 and 15).



FIG. 14. (1:3)

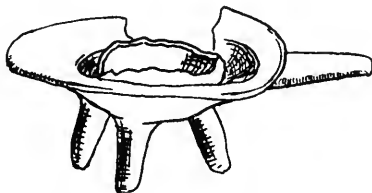


FIG. 15. (1:3)

(5) Four "Mycenaean" painted vases (Figs. 16, 17, 18 and 19). The light buff slip and paint varying from black to a dull red, according to firing, are alike in all.

Certain of the decorative motives, observed on Mycenaean sherds from this house, will be treated of later in a discussion of all the Cretan ware of that period.

The second house (B) cleared on the terrace below the first (Plate VII. shows the relative position) is of a less simple character. This complex of chambers lies within a single excavation of the soft bed rock and is contained by its cut faces as one block north, west and south. On the east the floor level runs out in the slope of the ground, and walls have



FIG. 16. (1:3)



FIG. 17. (1:3)



FIG. 18. (1:3)

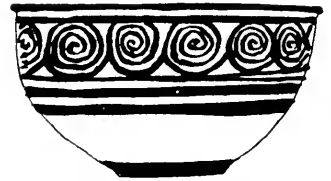
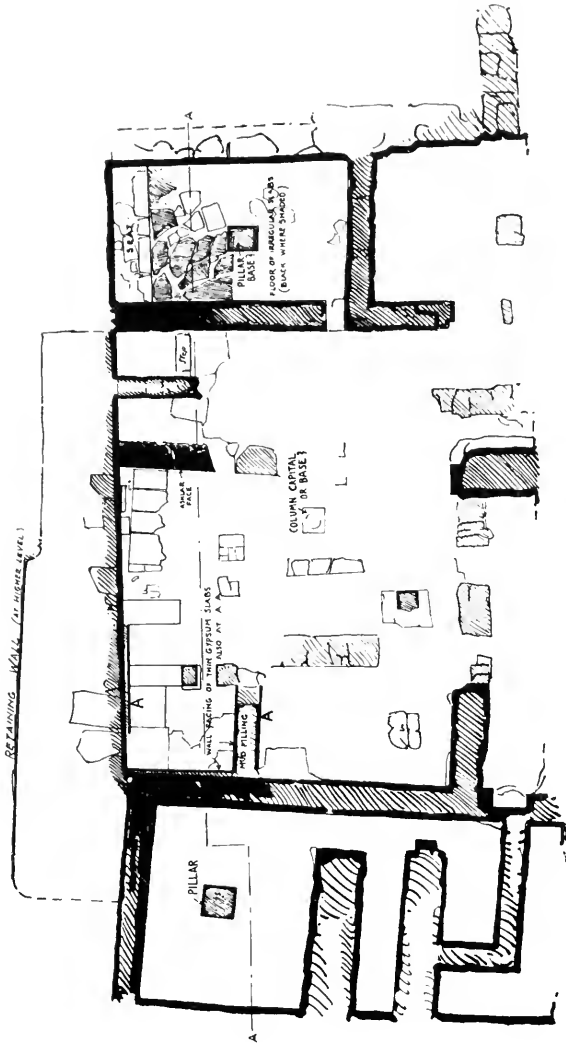


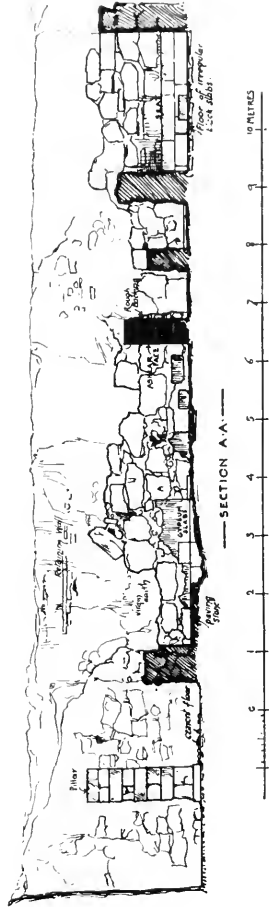
FIG. 19. (1:3)

perished. It is not impossible that the southern group of chambers represents a separate house. Mr. Fyfe's notes on the plan are the following:—

This house is much the same as the upper one already described; but there is no visible external walling. The west or best preserved side shows some good flooring slabs laid in order side by side, and heading out from the wall: the enclosing wall here (on the west side) is good, made of large blocks of rubble, some of them roughly squared: material, gypsum and limestone.



GROUND PLAN



KNOSSOS.—HOUSE B. or "EAST HOUSE."





The little cross wall of four courses, heading out from the west wall, is of limestone and good ashlar work (*v.* Plate IV., No. 6). It is not bonded into the west wall in any way, and appears to be of different date. At the south-west corner are some good vertical slabs of gypsum, evidently forming wall linings (Plate IV., No. 5). On the north side, the two cross walls north of the ashlar wall before mentioned are regular, both however being very rough. The last, or enclosing wall on this side, forms a good right-angled corner with the west] enclosing wall, and, like it, is of good character, limestone being the principal material, and squared stones being largely used.

The southern pillar-room, roughly square but containing no exact right angle, has evident indication of a plaster floor.

The Pillar is exactly square, 0·55, and is about in the centre of the room. It has eight visible courses of gypsum, of varying heights, probably dowelled together, as in the case of similar pillars on the Palace Site (Plate VI. 1). The other parts of the house do not call for any particular remark.

Generally, there is an appearance of spaciousness and simplicity about the larger part of this house, and the absence of distracting partition walls in the centre space enables the good flooring slabs and walling to be better seen than in the upper house.

There was no sign of any late structure above this house. The superjacent deposit, which on the west varied from 8 feet 9 inches to 9 feet 3 inches in depth, but fell on the east to under 3 feet, was, from one foot below the surface, empty of any remains but Mycenaean sherds and other fragments of the same period. A very little Kamares ware was found on the bed rock. From the oblique position of the southern group of chambers, corresponding roughly to the angle at which the late Mycenaean ashlar wall and adjacent paving in the north-west of the central group are placed, it would appear that an early structure represented by the north and central groups was added to on the south and to some extent also remodelled in the centre at the same time. But of so uniform a character were the objects found within all the chambers that it is certain that the original building, probably of the Kamares period, must have been cleaned out before being re-inhabited by the folk of the new order. In this respect its history is one with that of the upper house described above, and others on the Kephala hillock, to be dealt with presently.

Hardly anything approaching completeness was found in this much ruined house, except some hundreds of small plain cups, whose position is stated below. A vase in coarse blue-veined marble (Fig. 20) is remarkable for its form, clearly (as seems usually the case in Crete) derived from an earthenware original. Among the hundreds of fragments of Mycenaean ware the decoration of that represented in Fig. 21 is preeminent for the rich effect produced. The pigment is lustrous black, applied upon a pale slip. The scheme of ornament is rare, but is represented on sherds from Phylakopi in Melos and the Athenian Acropolis.

Beside the anomaly of its ground plan, to which no Mycenaean houses

found elsewhere, whether in Melos, Mycenae, Ægina or Hissarlik, offer any close parallel, and the well-preserved gypsum wall-linings in the central hall, the chief interest of this house lies in the square pillars with which three of its rooms are furnished. Outside Crete such pillars have been observed in structures of the period at Phylakopi in Melos only. The two examples there (Plate VI., Nos. 5, 6) both stand not in the centre but in the end of chambers, the one in that distinguished by the presence of the remarkable frescoes, published in *B.S.A.* IV. Pl. 3, the other in a chamber where five specimens of the peculiar type of long-footed vessel, called provisionally "fruit-stands," were found. These vessels occurred in great numbers in the Dictæan Cave round about the central altar and in the *Temenos* (v. *infra*, p. 98), and can hardly have had there any but a sacrificial use. Similar

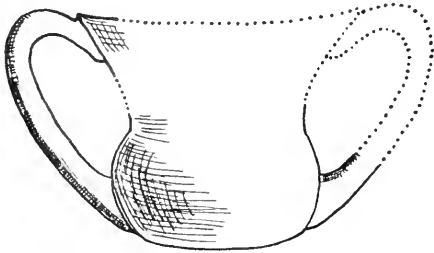


FIG. 20. (1:3)



FIG. 21. (1:3)

pillars, not monolithic, and bearing on every face several inscribed double axes, were afterwards found in the Kephala Palace (Plate VI., No. 4), in every case in very small chambers; and in a house excavated by me to the west of the Palace, two were found standing in a single room, close to its north wall (Plate VI., No. 3).

In the house, with which we are immediately concerned, the pillar in the south chamber is standing to a height of 6 feet 4 inches and is built up of alternate "header and stretcher" courses of limestone. It bears no symbols or marks, but round about it were found arranged bottom upwards in orderly rows on the floor nearly 200 small wheel-made cups, each of which, when lifted up, was seen to cover a little heap of carbonized vegetable matter (Plate VI., Nos. 1, 2). The pillar in the central group is a



VIEWS OF PILLAR ROOMS, KNOSSOS AND MELOS (PHYLAKOPI).



single block only 10 inches high, standing up from a paving block of gypsum, which is in one piece with it (Plate IV., No. 5). It is in the centre of the most elaborately constructed of the rooms. The northern pillar is also only a single block 5 inches high, cemented into the bed rock (Plate IV., No. 4).

While the rooms of which these three pillars are the centres seem too small to need such supports for their roofs, the Melian pillars do not stand in a position which suggests any structural use at all. What purpose then can the pillars have served in these narrow chambers? can they have been *bethels* or sacred stones, and can the rare chambers, where they have been found both in Crete and Melos, have been shrines devoted to stone worship? The remains of no other kind of Mycenaean shrine have been actually found, yet shrines assuredly there were in the period: and there is much positive evidence for Mycenaean stone or pillar worship.

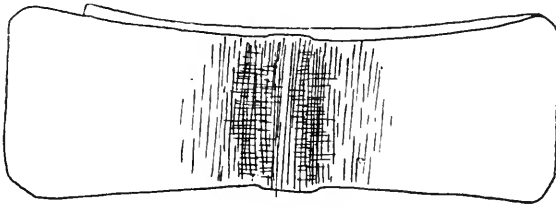


FIG. 22. (1:3)

As however this subject has been studied in detail by Mr. A. J. Evans, and his inferences from glyptic and other representations will appear very shortly in an article on "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi., I will not pursue the conjecture here.

A pit to the east of this house revealed the existence of a third group of chambers, with which, however, I did not persevere. The grave of a new-born infant was found under the flooring, but contained only bones. The sherds found were all Mycenaean, and, besides a second axe head (Fig. 22) formed of two pieces of bronze soldered together precisely as are two blades forming a dagger, found at Mycenae (Schliem. *Myc.* p. 164), we lighted on the beautiful vase represented below (Fig. 23).

Since virgin earth comes up almost to the surface about 100 metres to the south of this group of houses, and no sign of buildings appears there,

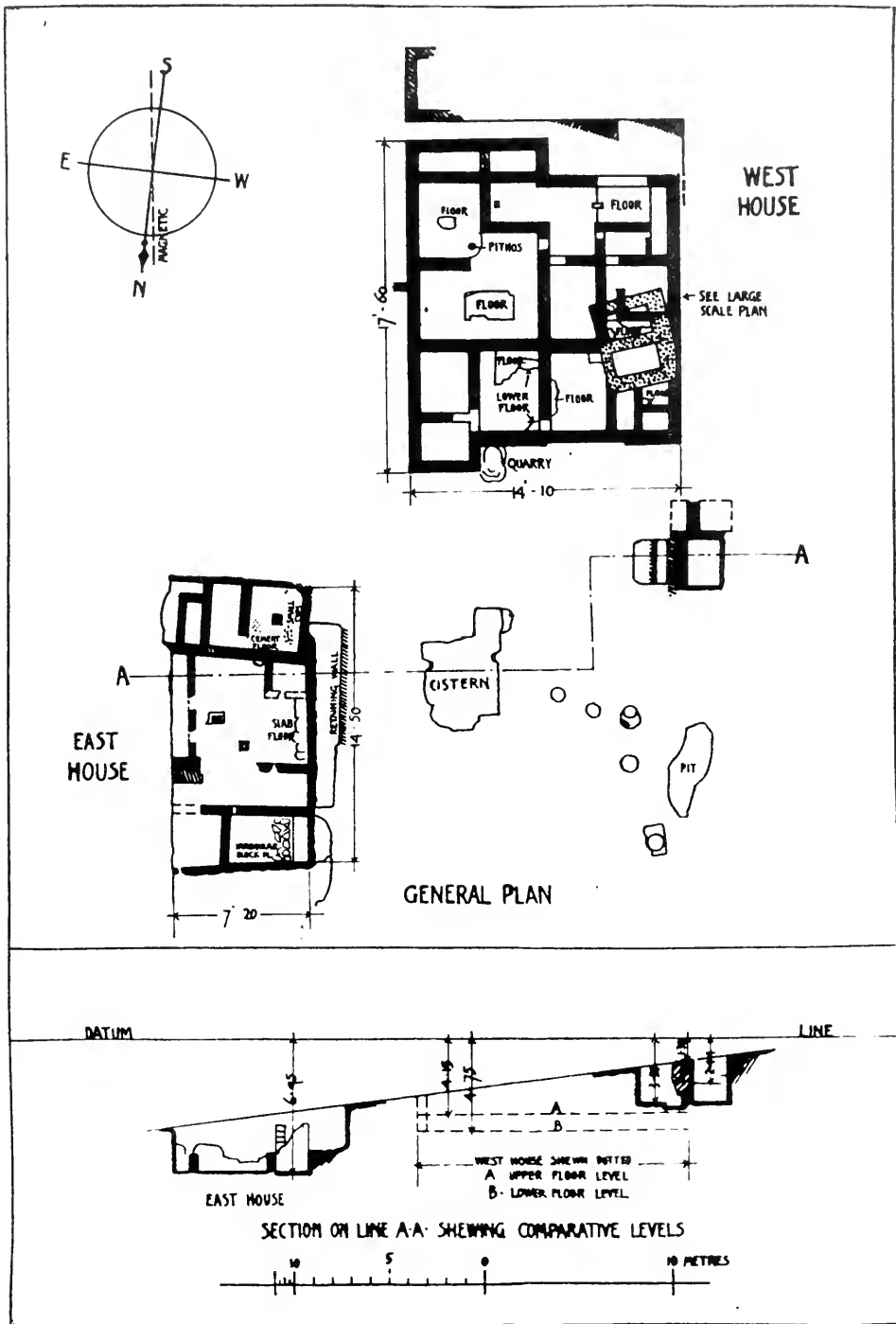
and since too in probing to west we found only late graves, it is evident that these houses stood at one extremity of the settlement of their period. Wherever I could avoid destroying growing corn, I tested to northward the lower west slope above the main road as far as the tributary brook which falls into the main river to south of the Kephala hillock; and at points 2, 4, 9 (*v. Map*) I tapped remains of houses of similar character and containing similar pottery to those on the south. But higher up, at point 13, where I was able to test very thoroughly, there appeared no house remains. On the south, therefore, of the tributary brook the Kamarean and Mycenaean settlements extended from Kephala southward in a narrow ribbon along the left bank of the main stream to about the point where I first found houses.



FIG. 23. (1:3)

On the left or north bank of the brook I established later the existence of well-preserved houses of the same period at points 10, 11, 12, lying in a half circle about the west and north of the Palace hill; but within a certain radius these rest on a stratum absent elsewhere, *viz.*, a bed of yellow clay from a few inches to many feet thick, containing much primitive hand-made and burnished pottery mixed with primitive implements in stone and bone. Here are the remains of the earliest settlement of Knossos, a small Neolithic village, probably of wattled huts, confined to the summit of the Kephala hillock (*v. supra*, p. 6).

As all the Kephala hill falls within Mr. Evans' sphere of future operations, I contented myself with establishing on its lower slopes the existence and the approximate limit of early houses, by sinking trial pits to the rock. Everywhere, within a circle indicated by points 10 to 12, I tapped such



[Face p. 78.]

KNOSSOS.—PLAN SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF THE SOUTHERN HOUSES, AND OTHER REMAINS.





remains, and Mr. Evans himself exposed similar houses on the steep south-eastern and eastern faces, descending from the Palace to the brook and the limit of the ancient river bed (*v. supra*, p. 7). Three of my pits on the western slope struck rich deposits of pre-Mycenaean pottery and were enlarged to exhaust these. At point 10 near the south-western corner of the Palace, in deposit averaging 6 feet deep on the northern side, occurred the considerable remains of a large limestone house with two chambers containing square gypsum pillars (in the larger chamber two side by side) and several smaller rooms. The door-sills and pavements are of gypsum. Just outside the thick eastern outer wall was found, at a depth of 2 feet, a heap of Kamares vessels and sherds, but no pottery of this class occurred within the house. Down to its pavement level all ware was Mycenaean. Below the pavement and also below the Kamares rubbish heap outside lay uniformly the primitive yellow clay. The inference is obvious. The house was originally a Kamares structure bedded on the primitive stratum, but was summarily cleared of all its original contents by the "Mycenaean" newcomers, and then re-inhabited.

At point 11 for the first time I found a distinct ground plan, filled in with earth mixed with Kamares sherds, underlying the Mycenaean. The rock dips here to as much as 19 feet below the present surface, and the Kamares walls and refuse pottery were perhaps covered in to some depth by silt, ere the advent of the Mycenaean. These last levelled the site at some 4 feet above the Kamares foundations, which rest on 5 feet of primitive yellow clay, and put in new foundations, instead of utilising as elsewhere an earlier structure. The latest foundation courses, of small unhewn stone, are four feet deep, supporting walls of which the most complete is preserved to a height of 5 feet.

At point 12 close to the main road were remains of four periods but none of the most primitive. At only six inches below the surface occurred thin walls resting on earth and associated with Roman tiles and glass. Immediately below these was a stratum of potsherds of the late Geometric period, and other walls of more solid character resting on a foundation course of small stones. Below these again at 4 ft. 6 in. from the surface, the tops of fine gypsum walls, carried down to the virgin earth. The deposit within these walls contained only Mycenaean stuff; but in one chamber occurred an irregular pit, excavated in the rock to a depth of three feet and full to the brim of nothing but Kamares sherds; while on

the rock immediately south-west of this chamber, and apparently without the southern containing-wall of the house, was a refuse deposit some 2 ft. 6 in. deep of Kamares vessels of all kinds, broken and unbroken, the richest collection found by me. Thus here again we have an early house, carefully cleared out to receive Mycenaean inhabitants. This lies outside the area of the Neolithic settlement.

Of two wells, cleared to the bottom, one near point 11, 32 ft. deep, contained only Geometric and Mycenaean sherds, the other at point 13, 44 ft. deep, yielded after the first 10 ft. only Kamares stuff. Both were



FIG. 24. (Circa 1 : 10)

plain circular shafts in the rock, unlined, but furnished with footholds. A third well which proved dangerous, and had to be abandoned, was lined with masonry for the first 10 feet; but since down to the lowest point, cleared by my men (22 ft.), the pottery was late, this lining is almost certainly of Roman period. Pending fuller publication in the coming issue of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* the group of Kamares vases above (Fig. 24) will be of interest. They represent the more complete vessels found at points 10 and 12, already briefly mentioned.

A group of about 25 pits sunk to east, south, and among the buildings

of the *Metochi* immediately west of Kephala (*v. map*), revealed considerable remains of houses, water-conduits and cisterns at depths varying from five to thirteen feet, but associated with Graeco-Roman sherds (late red-figure, black and red "Samian"), until the bed rock was reached. On that lay a thin and rare deposit of Mycenaean painted fragments. This region appears to lie outside the early settlements. The hill, which rises behind it, was tested by me on its north-eastern, eastern and southern slopes and its summit, by means of some sixty pits. On the north were found late surface burials in plastered cists, on the upper east slope graves with terracotta covers of the Roman imperial age, and on the lower slope, rock-cut chamber tombs with parallel *loculi* all rifled, and of a common Roman type. Fragments of bronze mirrors, glass vessels and lamps were found in those that I cleared out as specimens. The largest group of these is just below the aqueduct. Under the summit on the north-east slope has been a large Roman cistern or reservoir for the supply of the town below, and to its system the conduits, noted near the *Metochi*, probably belong.

On the lower hill, which faces southward to Kephala, a number of pits, (14, 15, 16), showed only Roman houses of poor class; but on the summit of this slope has been a larger building, perhaps a small temple (15). The upper structure is certainly Roman; but below this appeared in my trial pit, other walls and a lower pavement, the intervening space being filled with Mycenaean stuff. Below the lower pavement occurred Kamares sherds. But nothing testified to the building having any important character, and, the site being under cultivation, the trial pits were not enlarged after reaching rock at twelve feet.

Round the east and north of the city site, my search was prosecuted outside the probable line of the Roman circumvallation. I tried the right bank of the river at various points from opposite Kephala to an opened Mycenaean grave, at a mill about a mile down stream. This grave, which was a *tholus* built of small stones, contained three rudely painted chest-urns standing side by side, all rifled in antiquity. I found no other grave in all the region explored. Traces of an early settlement exist in the slope immediately facing the hamlet of Makryteichos, but its structures have been carried away to their foundations; and here and there lower down the stream are signs of farm buildings, but neither of cemeteries nor of any continuous town. The hope that the lords of the Kephala

Palace might have been buried across the water proved entirely fallacious. Nor was I much more successful on the left bank, immediately north of Makryteichos. This point is outside the limit of the early settlement, but there are no early graves. At point 17 occur groups of Roman rock-tombs shown by coins to be of the second and third centuries A.D., and all more or less thoroughly plundered. The slope on the north or left bank of a gully descending from Fortezza, which seems to mark the boundary of the Roman city, was tried without success; and the single important cemetery which exists in this region, is the late Mycenaean and early Geometric one, of which the northern end was tapped some years ago on the farm of Ali Bey Mazaraki, and the southern end was explored by me in the cliff which rises above the north-eastern angle of the Roman city (18).

Here I opened eight graves, of which seven had been rifled in antiquity. As the character of tombs of this period in Crete is not well known, these may be more particularly described. A further note on their contents will be found below in Mr. F. B. Welch's article on the Knossos pottery. All the graves are cut in soft rock.

(1) A vaulted chamber, about 8 feet square, which had been entered in antiquity by way of the roof; approached by a sloping δρόμος, 16 feet long, whose walls almost converge to form a pointed arch, as in the west cemetery of Mycenae. At one end of the δρόμος a step 2 feet 7 inches high leads to the outer air, and at the other end another step 1 foot high leads down into the tomb, originally closed at this point by a built up door, the stones of which were found lying loose in the δρόμος. The parts of a male skeleton were scattered on the floor just within the tomb. Fragments of five painted "Mycenaean" vases, including a large squat *aryballos* in unglazed greenish ware with black spiraliform ornament, were found in the tomb, and parts of two bronze depilatory tweezers. Hardly covered by the earth, just outside the entrance to the δρόμος, I found another skeleton, accompanied by a bronze mirror, and a small object in blue paste with rosettes in relief. These objects were probably thrown out of the tomb by the early robbers.

I searched in vain for more tombs of this late Mycenaean type along the cliff face to south. To northward a vineyard prevented further exploration.

(2) An oval pit, at the cliff foot, roofless, 7 feet in longest diameter, approached by a short δρόμος on the lower long side. Empty except for a

cylindrical stone, 1 foot high and 1 foot 4 inches in diameter, with a central hollow 6 inches in diameter. This appears to have been a funerary altar of the same type as the altar found before the Palace at Tiryns.

(3) An oblong pit, at the cliff foot, roofless; 9 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 10 inches. On the north side a recess 2 feet deep and 6 feet long, evidently a *loculus* for the corpse. Approached on the lower long side by a *δρόμος* 8 feet long. Though robbed in antiquity it still contained remains of about fifty Geometric vases (twenty unbroken), a bronze tripod of larger size than, but identical in form with, one found at Enkomi in



FIG. 25. (Circa 1 : 10).

Cyprus, not yet published, (cf. also the tripod from Curium published by Cesnola *Cyprus* p. 335), a fibula and a mirror, and several iron blades in very bad condition. A selection of these vases is represented above (Fig. 25).

(4) Similar tomb, beside No. 3, also robbed, containing fragments of six vases, including a late *Bügelkanne*, two bronze blades, a pair of bronze depilatory tweezers, and some fifteen stamped clay beads of a well-known Geometric type.

(5) A chamber 7 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 6 inches, approached by an inclined *δρόμος* 16 feet 6 inches long and 8 feet high, which expands from

an opening 3 feet 10 inches wide to 4 feet 8 inches at the low arched tomb-door. Inside the door is a drop of 3 feet into the tomb chamber. The door was in place and the tomb untouched. It held two skeletons laid side by side full length on the floor, heads to south, both perished by salt and damp to mere outlines of discoloration. The outer was about 5 feet 7 inches long. From the fact that a number of small bronze hairpins were found about the situation of the head of the inner corpse, it may be inferred that it was female. Four vases only accompanied the dead, two large Geometric amphorae, and two small pseud-amphorae of late type. One vase of each type was placed in the north-west and the south-east angles of the chamber.



FIG. 26. (Circa I : 10).

(6) A *tholus* chamber beside No. 5, approached by a precisely similar *δρόμος*, with built door; longest diameter 10 feet and height 5 feet 8 inches to the crown of the vault. It had been robbed in antiquity, but I still found thrown into a heap, on the north side of the tomb, twenty-three complete Geometric vases and some fragments (Fig. 26); a plain gold taenia, pierced with two holes at one end; seven bronze hairpins; and fragments of a mirror; a number of pieces of iron blades among which could be distinguished a spear head and a sword; hundreds of flattened circular beads in blue paste, and one round bead in lapis lazuli.

Not far from the mouth of this *δρόμος*, lower down the slope, three

skeletons were found lying one upon another loose in the earth close to the surface. The only object associated with them was a bronze knife-blade.

As the southern slope of the hill, in which these tombs lie, was found, when tested at various points, to contain no graves, and the Roman cemetery at point 17 lies just below it, the circle is complete. I can offer no more evidence as to the probable situation of the earlier cemeteries. If they lie within the Roman circumvallation in the northern part of the city site, which has not been explored, they must be covered by later buildings, and will probably be found entirely rifled and partly, if not wholly, destroyed. In the circular belt, explored by me, the only likely situation is near the western *Metochi*, where I found later structures and no sign of graves, but an underlying stratum of Mycenaean sherds (*supra* p. 81); but there again they could hardly have escaped destruction. Royal *tholi* may yet be found by Mr. Evans on Kephala, though no indication of their presence has been observed. The native diggers seem never to have found graves earlier than Geometric; and after a two months' search I fear I leave the solution of the Knossian cemetery problem but little advanced.

### III.

#### NOTES ON THE POTTERY.

BY F. B. WELCH.

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THE pottery found during the course of excavations this spring on the site of Knossos falls naturally into two groups, of which the larger and earlier, extending from Neolithic to Mycenaean times, came from Kephála and the houses south and south-west of the Kephála mound; while the smaller and less important group was found in tombs of Geometric date, discovered about a mile north of Kephála. Most of the finds belong to a few well-defined groups, and specimens of transitional periods are conspicuous by their absence.

Taking the pottery in chronological order, the earliest types come from

the Neolithic settlement, underlying the Mycenaean palace and the western houses on Kephála, and bear a general resemblance to the product of other Neolithic sites in south-east Europe, *e.g.* Butmir. The clay, of which the ware is formed, is very dark grey with highly polished surface of a brown or dark black colour, in which simple linear designs are incised, consisting chiefly of hatched triangles, and other geometric combinations. These incised patterns are usually filled in with white gypsum. From the fragments found, it would appear that the commonest shape was a flattish bowl from six to eight inches in diameter, with small knob-like handle, pierced horizontally, or else a handle shaped like the wishbone of a fowl. In one of the trial pits on the east slope of Kephála a small steatopygous female figure, with incised design, was found, showing a well-known Neolithic type (*v. supra* p. 6): she is represented in a sitting attitude like some of the well-known figures at Hagiar Kim in Malta. A few fragments of pottery show a stage intermediate between this primitive polished ware and the Kamáres ware, inasmuch as in these the potter has learnt to apply a slip over the clay surface, before polishing, though no use is yet made of paint, and otherwise these fragments resemble the earlier specimens.

From this early Neolithic class we pass to the Kamáres pottery, so-called after the Kamáres cave on the south of Mount Ida, whence came the first published specimens. One of the chief results of the present excavations has been to show that this was the common pre-Mycenaean ware of Crete, where it seems to have flourished exceedingly till driven out by Mycenaean fabrics of the fully developed type, which came in presumably as intruders from the islands of the Archipelago, especially perhaps Melos. The only specimen, yet found on Kephála, is a large and rather coarse jar, which appeared in a trial shaft sunk below the level of the Mycenaean palace, filled with smaller vases of the same class. The bulk of the finds came from the houses. Here the Mycenaean invaders (? of a different race), on their arrival, seem to have found the representatives of the Kamáres culture inhabiting the site in well-built houses, and using Kamáres vases. These natives the Mycenaean invaders proceeded to evict, and their pottery was thrown into large rubbish pits outside the houses, or heaped up in the corners of the rooms. Fortunately a fair proportion of specimens survived this treatment, and these far surpass any previously published vases of this class (*v. supra* fig. 24, p. 80). The technique is the same as that of already



known specimens in which a black glaze is applied, seemingly direct, on the fine reddish-coloured clay: the designs are painted in a dull powdery white or red, and frequently a thick dull creamy paint is used to cover the whole upper half or third of a vase. In addition to paint, the surface is often ornamented with ridges and moulded designs, or zones of a curious pattern, produced by dotting the surface over with finger marks, which gives it a strange blistered appearance. The shapes represented are not numerous: by far the commonest are small cups and bowls, obviously based on metallic prototypes, and reproducing their sharp angles and thin sides; on these the designs usually consist of broad and narrow bands disposed obliquely, and formed by various combinations of red and white; and often the sides and lips of cups are fluted. Several types of "Schnabelkanne" turned up, either very tall and slender on a high foot, or else short and squat: one of these has a curious moulded design, apparently representing three ears of barley, or bunches of grapes: another has the upper half divided vertically into metopes, which are ornamented alternately with the finger pattern, mentioned before, and with a zigzag device in two shades of red. This is the finest vase of this class yet found. Another very common shape is a tall thin jar with squat neck and lip pinched in between two handles, placed high up on the shoulder. Besides these shapes were found three "fruit dish" vases on tall pedestals such as occurred in a proto-Mycenaean ware at Phylakopí, and also "hole-mouth" vases with spout and two nearly vertical handles, a type already published and very common in this technique. On turning to the patterns used, we find they are comparatively few and simple: perhaps the commonest device of the painter was to cover the whole vase, or zones of it, with small white dots. A class of small squat "Schnabelkanne" has well-drawn naturalistic vegetable designs, such as are so common on proto-Mycenaean vases, but the artist chiefly took his patterns from the range of simple geometric schemes, such as triangles one inside the other, long zigzags running round the body of the vase, degenerate cable patterns, and strange systems of dots. The festoon seems to have been a favourite, but the spiral occurs comparatively rarely. Very few of these patterns were taken on by the Mycenaean potters, though a few re-appear in Geometric times.

No specimens were found which could be called degenerate Kamáres ware, though such probably exists in parts of the island less subjected to Mycenaean influence. On the other hand extremely few instances of

anything approaching the earlier stages of Mycenaean ware appeared here—a notable contrast to the products of Melos. Coarse rough specimens did of course occur at Knossos, but they seem only to be representatives of the common ware used in everyday life, such as was necessary to supplement the fine, fragile, polished ware. The only really definitely proto-Mycenaean specimens were a few fragments (one broken but complete vase was found in a tomb) formed of a fine grey-green clay, with dull surface of the same colour, on which a spiral design was carelessly painted in light brown; these vases had been wheel-made, but were of irregular shape, and closely resembled specimens of one of the proto-Mycenaean classes of Phylakopí; a few similar pieces occurred in a much thicker, coarser ware, but otherwise none of the earlier stages of Mycenaean pottery were represented. Possibly this grey-green ware was imported from elsewhere, perhaps Melos, in return for Kamáres ware, since there scarcely seems room for the development of another technique, side by side with the perfected Kamáres type. With the exception of these few fragments, nine-tenths of the finds consisted of pieces of the best Mycenaean ware, belonging to Furtwängler and Löschke's third class of *Firnissmalerei*. Unfortunately this seems to have suffered still more severely than its predecessors. The absence of anything later points to an abandonment of the site during the full bloom of the Mycenaean culture, and the second group of invaders, whether Hellenes from the mainland, or Cretan aborigines, who had regained the upper hand, treated the pottery even worse than the "Mycenaeans." Hence it now chiefly exists in the shape of small fragments, the number of whole vases being not above ten or twelve.

One of the first points to be noticed in these fragments is the existence of two or three types of vase, such as do not occur largely elsewhere, and which are probably varieties peculiar to the island, and largely influenced by the early Kamáres ware. The first type of vase, which is also one of the commonest in the Kamáres period, is a small cup with thin, straight sides, rising sharply from the flat base, and usually provided with a broad flat handle; this type is clearly based on a metallic prototype of the shape of the Vaphio gold cups, or of the cups carried by the Kefti. The second type is a flattish bowl, on which a zone is painted with narrow, parallel, oblique lines, or with horizontal, parallel, wavy lines, the remaining surface being covered with broad and narrow horizontal bands. In this class the paint seems to have been laid on the unbaked surface, since it runs from

one line into the next, giving a very effective appearance. The chief peculiarity, however, of both these classes is that the broad bands of varnish are almost invariably covered with one or more narrow lines of dull white paint, which is often laid on in very narrow grooves; occasionally these straight white lines are replaced by wavy lines. Now of these two types the cups seem to be represented elsewhere only by one or two specimens at Phylakopí, while the bowls are found nowhere outside Crete as yet; and hence we may be justified in claiming them as local varieties of Mycenaean ware, made in the island by potters strongly influenced by the older Kamáres ware, or perhaps by native potters, working out their old ideas in the new Mycenaean technique. The same abundant use of white paint is also found at Psychró, where in one case, on the black varnish of an otherwise purely Mycenaean fragment, was painted in white a very naturalistic flower or grass, exactly resembling the designs on the squat "Schnabelkanne" of the Kamáres period at Knossos. Again we find this frequent use of white paint on another shape of vase, which was transmitted from the Kamáres culture to its successor, viz. the tall jars with lip pinched in between two short handles high up on the shoulder, as before described. But this variety does not seem to be so purely local Cretan as the former two, since it occurs at least twice at Mycenae in the fourth and sixth shaft-graves, though it may be noticed that in the fourth grave was also found a piece of a vase with a zone of parallel oblique lines, such as occurs on the peculiarly Cretan bowls of our second class. The use of white paint also extends to a few other common Mycenaean shapes.

The place of manufacture of the majority of the Mycenaean fragments found at Knossos is a more doubtful question. From their shattered condition it has been impossible to recover any new shapes, but as contrasted with other finds of the same epoch from the Greek mainland and elsewhere, the Cretan fragments seem to have a very homogeneous character, which may be peculiar to the whole island, about nine-tenths of the patterns being either purely vegetable designs, or else degraded and stylized forms of the same. Very few are adopted from the Kamáres ware, and there are not many specimens of the later class of Mycenaean ware, which under incoming Geometric influence developed a system of vertical metope divisions, and similar ideas foreign to the true Mycenaean spirit. Here at Knossos the spiral is rare, in comparison with other

Mycenaean localities, while marine animals, such as the octopus and "murex," so common at Mycenae, are distinctly uncommon, though the latter, when it does appear, is represented as a real shell, and not as a meaningless form. Among the designs taken from the plant world, we find two main classes. In the first the chief element is a species of grass or grass-like plant, stalks of which are usually depicted vertically parallel to each other in a zone round the body of the vase. This type seems a direct descendant of one of the proto-Mycenaean classes of Phylakopí. The second and larger class is based on a sort of lily, which underwent a series of degradations very similar to those experienced by the lotus flower in Egypt. Usually the designs are more stylized, and less naturalistic than in the earlier class. These are the two main divisions of the patterns, though other plants frequently occur, such as the ivy, and sundry rather indefinite small plants. On one fragment we have what seems to be a lotus, judging from the fact that the flower has a central spike; if this be so, it will probably be unique in Mycenaean pottery. With this single exception, the Knossos fragments are extraordinarily free from any foreign influence, a fact which is all the more noticeable, when we consider the overpowering Egyptian influence on other parts of the finds. Seemingly Mycenaean potters had nothing to learn from Egypt, and developed in their own peculiar line. Among the designs are several, which disappear on the break up of the Mycenaean civilization in Greece, vanish for a while, and then reappear chiefly as "Fullornamente," or subsidiary decorations in orientalizing wares of early Ionia, having presumably lived on in the meanwhile in the sub-Mycenaean art of western Asia Minor to reappear later, strengthened by a fresh wave of Eastern influence.

One or two pieces may be called pseudo-Mycenaean, being imitations of the genuine ware in a reddish clay with very white opaque slip and dull red designs. Similar fragments occurred on the Acropolis at Athens. At the same time, though these may be imitations, yet the peculiar character of the genuinely Mycenaean fragments makes it probable that most of them were made in Crete itself, or perhaps in some other island not far distant; they certainly seem to come from quite different *ateliers* to the specimens found at Mycenae itself; and the many points of contact between Crete and Melos might be taken to show the existence of a local branch of Mycenaean art, embracing the southern Cyclades and Crete.

Along with this finer and more delicate ware a number of fragments

were turned up, representing a very coarse Mycenaean technique: they were chiefly pieces of large *πίθοι* and "Bügelkanne" with spiral, vegetable and octopod designs, freely drawn in poor, thin brown varnish on a reddish or buff-coloured surface. This is evidently the coarse household stuff, which existed side by side with the more delicate ware.

The bulk of this pottery came from the town site: very little was found on Kephála, and it would seem that the inhabitants of the palace had reached such a stage of luxury, that even the best Mycenaean vases were nothing accounted of in the days of Minos. Such pieces as did occur, were mostly fragments of large, rather coarse jars, of the same general type as the rest of the find.

Other objects in Mycenaean ware included a small well-moulded female bust, unfortunately broken, and a cow's head: not a single idol of the usual crescent-shaped Mycenaean type turned up.

The group of tombs, which supplied the Geometric vases found, occurred in a hill side about one mile north of Kephála, and consisted of irregularly shaped chambers with short, more or less horizontal *δρόμοι* leading to them. They were all, but one, certainly of Geometric date (v. *supra*, p. 82). The Geometric pottery was extremely poor and carelessly made, and closely resembled that found at Mílato and Kavúsi; the artistic and technical skill displayed is infinitely inferior to that of the old Kamáres or Mycenaean potters. In most cases a dull black or brown paint is applied on a poor reddish or yellowish wash, covering a coarse lumpy clay, and common Geometric shapes occurred such as kraters and amphorae. As to the designs, a few seem to be taken on from the two earlier classes of pottery, but the majority seem to be creations of local potters, and are chiefly remarkable for their grotesqueness. Two groups of these vases are shown in Figs. 25, 26. The most obvious connections, as is only natural, are with the pre-Milesian pottery of Rhodes from Kameiros. The same shapes, and the same device of covering the whole vase with dark paint, leaving only small panels for the patterns, occur in both areas, both of which likewise produce large jars with a degenerate S-shaped spiral on the shoulder. Another class represented largely in Crete consists of small vases of much better make, with globular bodies, short necks, and broad flat lips: this type commonly occurs about this date in great numbers in Syria, Palestine and Cyprus, in which island it reaches its highest development; it also appears in Rhodes, Crete and Argos, and

in a debased form in Sardinia : hence it would seem to be of Phoenician origin, being found chiefly in lands, which at this period are certainly within the Phoenician sphere of influence. Another class which occurred at Knossos, and also at Kavúsi, may be due to the same people : it consists of flattish bowls, painted in dull black, on which are drawn designs in dull white, running in concentric circles round the centre of the bowl, which is usually occupied by a rosette. The designs mostly consist of lines of dots and of the cable pattern, and it is possible that this class of vases may have been affected by the metal bowls of Phoenicia, which influenced so strongly the bowls and other metallic objects found in the Idaean cave. If we except these last two classes, which probably are not of native origin, we can say that the Geometric ware of Crete so far appears to be certainly the poorest found in any Greek lands, and to be of a peculiarly local character, as we might expect from a people who were always outside the current of ordinary Greek life and politics.

## IV.

## A LATIN INSCRIPTION.

BY D. G. HOGARTH.

I SUBJOIN here a Latin inscription of some interest, copied at Knossos. It is rather coarsely cut on a stela unearthed no one knows where some years ago, and first seen by us in the garden adjoining the house of Said Bey Barakakis. The dimensions of the stone are 99 cm. x 38 cm. x 24 cm., and the lettering varies from 5 to 3 cm. in height. The stone is much worn on the right and towards the bottom.

//////////CL//VDIV///

CAEBARAVG

GERMANICVS

AESCVLAPIOIV

GERAQVINQVE

Nero] Cl[a]udiu[s]

Caesar Aug.

Germanicus

Aesculapio ju-

5 gera quinque

DATAADIVOAV///	data a divo Au[g.]
CONFIRMATA	confirmata
ADIVOCΛ////V///	a divo Cl[aud]i[o]
RESTITVIT////////	restituit [pro?]
CINCNOS//////////	10 C(olonia) J(ulia) N(obili) Cnos[o] per
PLICINIVM////////	P. Licinium [Caeci-
N///MPROC	n[a]m? proc.

The name, Nero, has been intentionally erased in l. 1., but that of Claudius, in l. 8, may have merely weathered away. The interpretation of l. 10 I owe to Mr. F. Haverfield, who directed my attention to the local coin legend, given in the Cretan volume of *British Museum Catalogues*, p. 26. I have restored *Caecinam* in ll. 11, 12, because out of a small choice of *cognomina*, used by the Licinii, this best fits the epigraphic indications; and also because Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 53) mentions a P. Licinius Caecina as a senator in 69 A.D. "novus adhuc et nuper ascitus." That description would suit very well a man who had held the office of propraetor (with local style of proconsul) in the senatorial province of Crete and Cyrene about ten years previously, as a step in the senatorial ladder.

Knossos was already a Roman colony in the time of Strabo (x. 4, 9) and Mommsen (*Mon. Ancy.* p. 120) states grounds for believing that its constitution as such dates back to the time of Julius. Dio (49, 14) records that Augustus, when he settled his veterans at Capua, bought land at Knossos for the Campanians, which they still possessed in Dio's own time *i.e.* the close of the second century. In all probability the grant to the local Temple of Aesculapius was made at the time that the Campanians were so settled. This reservation came, however, to be violated not once but twice, for the Temple had to appeal against encroachment to Claudius and to Nero. (See *C.I.L.* x. p. 368).

## THE DICTAEAN CAVE.

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BY D. G. HOGARTH.

### *Preliminary Report.*

THE large double cavern situated to south-west of, and about 500 feet higher than Psychro, avillage of the upland Lasithi plain in Crete, has long been known to contain early votive objects (Plate IX. 1). The discovery was made by peasants about 1883, who were in the habit of housing goats and pigeons there, and in 1886 the noise of it brought to the spot Professor F. Halbherr in company with Dr. J. Hazzidakis. Their mission was to recover as many objects as possible from the peasants' hands, but also in the event they dug over about two square metres of the embanked terrace before the cave in the hope of finding remains of an altar.<sup>1</sup> After their departure the peasants continued to burrow from time to time among the boulders in the upper cave, and to find bronzes, many of which were bought by Mr. A. J. Evans in 1894. In 1895 the latter, with Mr. J. L. Myres, visited the spot, and the same explorer, returning in 1896 and finding in Psychro a piece of an inscribed libation table, made a sinking into the deposit under the north wall of the upper grot, where the table had been found, and unearthed some objects.<sup>2</sup> In 1897 came Mons. J. Demargne, of the French School at Athens, and, boring under the south-western wall, found a second piece of a libation table, uninscribed. These explorers were precluded from any thought of serious excavation, partly by the political conditions of the

<sup>1</sup> See Halbherr and Orsi in *Antichità dell'antro di Zeus Ideo*, p. 906-910 (*Museo di ant. class.* II. 3.) hereinafter referred to as HO.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii. p. 351 *sqq.*



island, partly by the encumbered state of the upper cave which was more than half filled with huge fallen blocks. But what they and the peasants had found was enough to show that the soil was rich in *ex voto* deposits and that the cave was a notable seat of cult.

The Lasithi *massif*, with its enclosed lacustrine plain, is the ancient Dicte, placed by Strabo 1000 stades east of Ida. On one spur of its north-western peak lie the ruins of Lyttos: on another, which runs out from the opposite flank, is the Psychro Cave. The mountain is peculiarly associated in legend with the Cretan Zeus and Minos. The earliest literary form of the Zeus-genesis myth which has come down to us, that stated by Hesiod (*Theog.* v. 477), represents Rhea as having carried her new-born babe to Lyttos,<sup>1</sup> and thence to a cave in Mount *Aigaion*. This must be a peculiar name for the pyramidal north-western peak of Dicte which overhangs Lyttos and hides all higher summits from view. Lucretius (ii. 633), Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 152), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* ii. 61), Agathocles of Babylon, cited by Athenaeus (ix. 4), and Apollodorus (i. 1) evidently knew a story according to which the whole childhood of Zeus was passed in a cave of Dicte. But Diodorus (v. 70) is confused by knowledge of two *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, one of which claimed the honour for a cave on Ida: and accordingly he, or his authority, attempts to reconcile the discrepancy by representing that, while the first concealment of the babe took place on Dicte, the *Idaeon* Curetes transferred him thereafter for education to Ida. Other authorities, however, (*e.g.*, Lucretius *l.c.*) regard these Curetes as Dictaeans.

Dionysius (*l.c.*) further places in the Dictaeon Cave the Moses-like Finding of the Law by Minos, who went *down* into the *ἱερὸν ἄντρον* and reappeared with the Law, saying it was from Zeus himself. This story suggests a deep and scarcely accessible cavern. Lastly Lucian locates in a cave of Dicte the union of Zeus with Europa from which Minos sprang (*Dial. Mar.* xv. 3). The Minos-Dictynna myth, though connected with the Dictaeon mountain, does not concern itself with the cave.

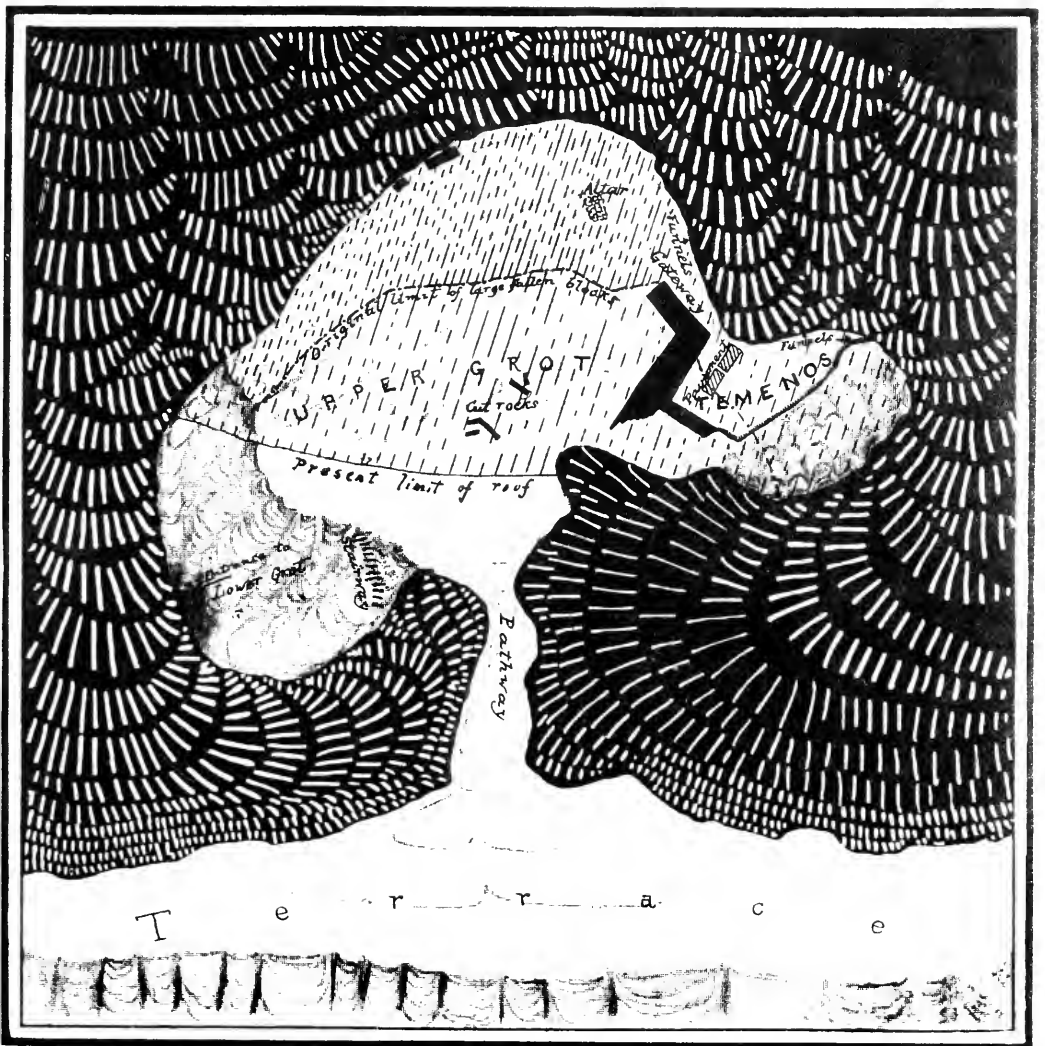
As in Ida, therefore, so in Dicte there was a very holy grotto known in the classical age. The *Idaeon* cavern has been shown to be that above the Nida plain, and little doubt remained that the Dictaeon was the prolific Psychro Cavern. For no other large natural grot exists in the Lasithi *massif*, certainly none to be compared for size and beauty.

Following MSS. against Schömann's correction *Δικτην* for *Δικτων* in l. 482.

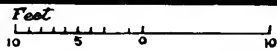
The Psychro Cave is double. Water flowing in from the east has penetrated in two directions right and left. The main flow to southward has excavated an abyss, which falls at first sheer and then slopes steeply for some 200 feet in all to an icy pool out of which rises a forest of stalactites. In this lower grot is very little earth other than what has been thrown by diggers out of the upper grot. A thin layer of mud and pebbles, crusted with lime, lies about and under the pool; but elsewhere the stalactitic floor is usually apparent.

The upper, or right-hand, grot is a much shallower pan, whose bottom slopes down evenly and gently from the line of water parting to northward for about 100 feet, and to westward for about 50. Its lowest point is in the extreme north-east corner. By the inner wall, under the surface *débris*, lies a thick sediment of yellow clay mixed in its upper layer with a little primitive *bucchero* pottery and many bones, but empty below of anything but water-worn stones. This has blocked certain funnel-shaped crevices, which descend into the heart of the hill under the north wall and probably communicate ultimately with the lower grot, whose axial direction brings it under the upper. The strata above this clay, where I began to dig, consisted of a black mould mixed with ashes, bones and pottery. In the low north-east corner this superficial deposit was as much as seven feet thick, but in the north-west about five feet on an average; and from that point it thinned, with the ascent of the rock, till to southward at the brink of the lower cave, it was reduced to two inches of dust resting on hard rock. A red vegetable mould lies under the boulders at the cave mouth, but the centre of the outer "Terrace" has from one to three feet of the black mould upon it, evidently brought out of the cave, for much of it has passed at some period through a sieve. The walls of the upper grot are as nature made them. The only traces of human shaping are on the rock of the eastern slope, which has been smoothed here and there to make descent easier, and at its foot has been cut back to make part of the wall of an enclosure. The roof is a natural vault and there are no stalactite pillars, very little incrustation, and no water beyond an occasional drip.

As far in as the limit, shown by a dotted line on the plan, a cumber of huge boulders, split from above, has lain for a long period. On the north side of the cave mouth the pile reaches to the roof, in which appears a long crack; and for fear of a farther fall, I had to leave a pillar of blocks



G. S. 1400.



THE PSYCHRO CAVE  
(The Top of the Plan faces due West magnetic).

W. G. P. 500.



standing there to the end. Beyond the dotted line the surface used to be strewn with smaller blocks (Plate IX. 2), among which the peasants had searched to varying depths ; but only near the mouth of the lower cave, and under the north wall had the lowest stratum been reached. The surface was least encumbered in the north-eastern recess, which was walled off to make a cattle-fold.

Briefly the method of my search was this. I had a path blasted through the boulders at the cave mouth and down to the comparatively unencumbered strip of mould showing under the inner wall, and there I proceeded to clear a tract of the mould down to the underlying yellow clay, into which I then sunk a pit six feet to rock. From this beginning I worked steadily, clearing to the clay or rock, at first south-eastward to the brink of the lower grot, then north-westward along the wall, sinking pits at intervals through the clay ; and finally I swung the men eastwards, as the processes of blasting and smashing with hammers exposed the mould on the higher slope. All black earth was sifted by women on the Terrace outside the cave, and all sherds (which came out uniformly black) were preserved and washed. Out of seventy workpeople not more than five broke fresh ground with pick or knife. About twenty were employed incessantly till the last day of the dig in drilling the larger boulders to receive blasting charges and in smashing up the smaller ; about twenty-five (women) sifted and washed sherds, and the remainder carried earth and stones. Although it soon became evident that there was little or no productive deposit under the huge boulders of the cave mouth, nor for a considerable distance down the slope to west and north-west, I continued to have the rocks broken up in order to admit light into the cave, to open the road, and to discover if the rock floor had been levelled in any way. But after the first clearance under the western wall I economised time and money by rolling down the results of the blasts into the cleared space, and so gradually transferred the rocks from the mouth to the back of the cave, where they now are.

The deeper deposit which filled the north-western bay of the cave consisted, wherever it had not been disturbed, of successive layers of ash and carbonised matter mixed with and divided by strata of sherds and animal bones. These alternated to a height of as much as three feet above the bottom clay ; and were covered by a uniform black mould mixed with stones and containing a few fragments of terracotta and bronze,

more of iron, and a little pottery. What ware was in the surface stratum was of the later Geometric period, with very rare representatives of still later periods. Small fragments of two black figured vases were found; none of red figured; the remains of two Roman lamps and a silver Byzantine cross.

The lowest stratum above the clay yielded cups and bowls of Kamares fabric, and with these were found also most of the fragments of "tables of offerings," with the exception of those of trough form, which always occurred higher. Mixed with the Kamares ware, but more usually in the stratum above it, were found glazed sherds, painted in cloudy brown stripe on a creamy slip. Above this began the "Mycenaean" sherds with vegetable and marine designs. About a foot above the clay were found the first bronze things. Small wheelmade plain cups of the type familiar on all early Aegean sites, and found here by Mr. Evans in 1896<sup>1</sup> lying one within another, occurred freely in all layers but the lowest. It was, however, under the boulders to the south-east, where there was very little black deposit and no ash, that the most complete objects were found. The lower of these boulders, which rested actually on the bed rock, or penetrated deeply into the yellow clay, must have fallen before the cave became a place of human resort, and there can be no doubt that certain of the offerings were intentionally concealed by the faithful beneath them.

Squared blocks, not *in situ*, lying thickly just inside the cave mouth probably attest the former existence of an unmortared enclosure wall defining the eastern limit of the holy area; but the falls from above had shaken this wall to pieces. Two squared blocks under the western wall are apparently in their original position (*v.* Plan, Pl. VIII.); but, as there is no continuation, and no fall could have disturbed them, they perhaps represent an isolated structure, such as an altar. But the most altar-like building is that shown in the plan, standing free in the north-western bay. It was made of roughly squared stones, piled without even a mud binding, and resting on the clay. So loose was its composition that the impact of a large suspended boulder, which unfortunately fell on it when the earth to northward was being cut, completely ruined it. When first uncovered it was at highest three feet. Almost touching it on the south-west lay a table of offerings, inscribed with three symbols (*infra*, p. 114, Fig. 50), and about it lay thickest the fragments of other tables (in all about thirty), the small plain cups, the fragments of "fruit-stand" vases (*v. infra*, p. 102), and lamps and ashes. A

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S. l.c.*

Plate 98



VIEWS OF DICTAEON CAVE AND PLAIN OF LASHITH.





bit of stucco painted with black stripe on a blue ground, found lying close by this "altar," perhaps represents its outer coating. That fine stucco should have been laid over a very rough and ill built structure is not strange to anyone familiar with the Knossos Palace. Within a few inches occurred also bits of marble paving-slabs, one inch thick, the only ones found in the cave.

As the men swung round under the eastern part of the north wall, where Mr. Evans' sinking in 1896 had left us little to find, a thin Cyclopean wall emerged running roughly parallel to the side of the cave, and from this presently returned south-eastward a more massive wall of similar type, which abutted finally on the rising rock-slope (Plate IX. 4). From it again returned to north-east a few blocks fitted in to the rock and continued by the rock itself cut back to a face. These two artificial walls, combined with natural rock-walls on the other two sides, contained the innermost recess of the cave as a *Temenos*, which proved to have been roughly paved with squared blocks, laid on the clay. Its area, corresponding very nearly with the later cattle-fold, had not been disturbed in modern times. Immediately under its superficial mould, largely resultant from animal droppings, was a stratum of ashes 2 feet 3 inches thick, absent elsewhere probably because denuded away, and containing in its lower part geometric remains. From almost the surface came a proto-Corinthian *aryballos*. Under the white ashes lay a thin stratum of reddish stuff, like perished burnt brick. Under that was a thick stratum of black mould, from which came bronze weapons and implements. Then ashes again, but unproductive: then black earth containing much Mycenaean painted pottery: then more ashes and finally paving stones, the lowest levels being singularly unproductive. The total depth of this deposit was 7 feet. Some bronze knives and pins in a good state of preservation and the bronze idol, shown in Plate X., No. 4, were found in the interstices of the boulders, piled up against the cave mouth on the north side, together with two unbroken vases of the late geometric period—proof that the great fall had taken place before they found their way there. It should be particularly mentioned that, although the *Temenos* was richer in all the later kinds of pottery than any other part of the cave, no Kamares sherds occurred on its floor level; nor, although I sunk two large pits under the pavement for six feet down into the yellow clay, could I obtain there any primitive hand-burnished *bucchero*. The clay was almost empty even of bones.

To the north-east of the *Temenos* the rock, thickly encrusted with a lime deposit in whose lower levels pottery is embedded, rises steeply and is bare of earth: but "pockets" of black mould were found to occur at the cave mouth and on the "Terrace," which almost always yielded sporadic and accidental objects. I may say that, though I turned over all the earth on the Terrace, I saw no trace of an altar or any other structure.

By June 11th we had exhausted the Upper Grot and the Terrace, and seemed to be at the end of discoveries. I had always intended, however, to have the *talus* in the Lower Grot searched before leaving the place, and on the 12th put the men and women, now reduced to thirty, in all, with petroleum candles on to the steep slope below the precipice. Various bronze objects were quickly brought to light, and some bits of gold appeared in the sieves. Meanwhile a few men were sent to search the various patches of earth, carried down by water and deposited in hollows in the lowest parts of the cavern, and they found these singularly productive. Where a thin crust of stalactite had formed over the mould and pebbles, it always was worth while to break through. While engaged on this work one of the men observed a bronze knife blade in a vertical slit of a stalactite pillar beside him, and, searching, soon found more blades and pins. I immediately set others, especially women and boys, to examine the pillars systematically, and found the vertical crevices so productive that, leaving only a small gang to finish the upper earth, I concentrated all hands in the lowest depths. Some of the chinks contained as many as ten bronze objects apiece—blades, fibulae and an occasional votive double axe. These stood up edgeways in the slits and in many cases could not be extracted without smashing the stalactite, which had almost closed over them. How many more there may not be completely hidden in the pillars I cannot say, but I do not think we left an accessible niche unexamined. Nor did we leave any part of the pebbly mud at the water's edge unwashed. Thence we obtained over a dozen bronze statuettes, and half a dozen engraved gems, beside handfuls of common rings, pins, and blades, perhaps sucked by floods out of the stalactite niches. In hope of the reward, which I gave for the better objects, and in the excitement of so curious a search, which, in their earlier illicit digging, it had not occurred to them to attempt, the villagers, both men and women, worked with frantic energy, clinging singly to the pillars high above the subterranean lake, or grouping half a dozen flaring lights over a productive patch of mud at

the water's edge. It was a grotesque sight, without precedent in an archaeologist's experience. But beyond a certain point the niches proved empty, and the icy water too deep to be dredged, and by the evening of the 14th there was no more to be done; and after restoring the rude stairway down to the stalactites, I struck the tents, which had been standing for three weeks, and went down to Psychro. Four days later, I took all the bronze pieces, amounting to nearly 500, the objects in gold, hard stone, ivory, bone, and terracotta, a selection of the stone tables of offerings and of the pottery, and specimens of the skulls, horns, and bones found in the Upper Grot, to

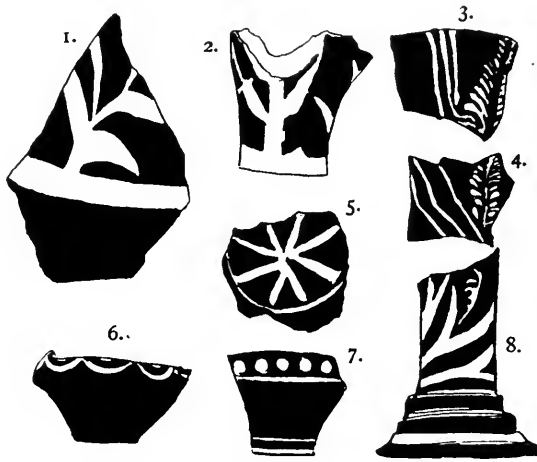


FIG. 27. (1 : 3).

Candia. What I left under the care of the village officials included no less than 550 unbroken specimens of the common type of little wheel-made plain cup, all obviously new at the time they were deposited in the cave, and a great store of bones.

I subjoin a summary description of the different classes of offerings discovered in both grot. Fuller discussion of them is postponed till the results of a second season can be compared :—

#### A.—POTTERY.

Kamares painted ware was found only in the lowest productive stratum in the north-western bay of the Upper Grot. The sherds represent without exception vases of forms suited to hold food offerings. Most common proved small two-handled bowls with rim slightly turned outwards, and single handed cups. The handles of both have flat angular forms reminiscent of metal

technique, and knobs often still represent the rivet heads. Remains of some larger bowls (Fig. 27, No. 1) in this ware were also found, having ear-handles, and of the long-stemmed type of vessel (Nos. 2, 8), provisionally called "fruit-stand," of which the Phylakopi "Fishermen Vase" (*B.S.A.* iv. Pl. II.) is a broken stem. The greyish impure clay is often fined down very thin, and always entirely coated with a body-glaze, ranging from a bistrous black to a bright pink according to the firing. On this an ornament of simple geometric or equally simple stylized



FIG. 28. (1 : 3).



FIG. 29. (1 : 3).

plant design is applied in white. The bases of the cups bear a white cross or star (No. 5), and their walls either sprays, not far removed from those incised on the primitive hand-burnished ware (Nos. 3, 4), or a line of dots above a line under the rim (No. 7). The bowls have usually spiral ornament, and a few examples display bands of moulding combined with painted decoration. But



FIG. 30. (1 : 2½).

the true "finger work" ornament, the most peculiar feature of Kamares sherds found at Knossos and on Ida, is absent at Psychro.

The Cretan Mycenaean fabric, to judge by the stratification both in this cave and at Knossos, begins with a highly glazed ware with creamy slip, most often painted in cloudy wavy lines of golden brown, on which white dots or bands are sometimes applied, evidently in reminiscence of the characteristic white spotted Kamares ware (Fig. 28). This use of applied white is particularly frequent on the cave sherds. It is employed *e.g.* to outline the leaves of a spray, as well as to divide

registers of decoration. Side by side with this, the more common and larger vessels, mostly craters, show no glaze, but painted ornament, either geometric or vegetable, applied on the plain greyish body clay (Fig. 29). The geometric and vegetable schemes predominate on the cave vases to the end of the period, marine motives only appearing rarely on the pale slip, which is characteristic of



FIG. 31. (1 : 3).

Furtwängler and Löschke's fourth style. Special attention may be drawn to certain exceptional motives (1) double axe in highly lustrous paint on creamy slip on the wall of a large crater (Fig. 30, cf. Fig. 40, 2), (2) parts of two cups, slip and paint as in F. and L. fourth style, decorated with highly stylized animal forms—sheep or goats, whose heads and tails end in tufts of vegetable appearance (Fig. 30).



FIG. 32. (1 : 3).

The vase forms show little peculiarity, familiar types being represented, until towards the close of the period, to which evidently belongs the splendid (and so far as I know unique) form represented above (Figs. 31, 32) whose ornament shows a premonition of the coming Geometric style.

The decoration is in lustreless red on a very pale slip. On the handle are traces of the paws of some crouching animal. The pieces of this vase were found under the largest boulder at the south end of the Upper Grot, resting on rock.



FIG. 33. (1 : 4).

Remains were found of more than one vase of the *rhyton* type, some taking the form of oxen and of better style than that represented in Schliem. *Myc.* p. 144. The finest, of which only the head, one horn, and half the back survive, is in very fine clay covered with pale creamy slip on which is painted ornament in brown, suggesting tufts of hair (Fig. 33). Of another in coarser clay only the rump was found: of another in similar clay I obtained only the forelegs. A set of fragments found near the cave mouth came from a vase capped with a wild goat's head, unfortunately much mutilated, in soft clay with yellowish slip and detail painted in light brown. This has an especial interest in view of the fact that lids in

the form of goats' heads characterise the Kefti tribute vases on the walls of the tomb of Rekhmara.

Parts of large coarse *πίθοι* with moulded ornament of the Knossos type were frequent; but more singular are the fragments of large craters with band of embossed decoration under the rim. On two pieces from the rim of one crater, which is of finer fabric than most, appears a row of

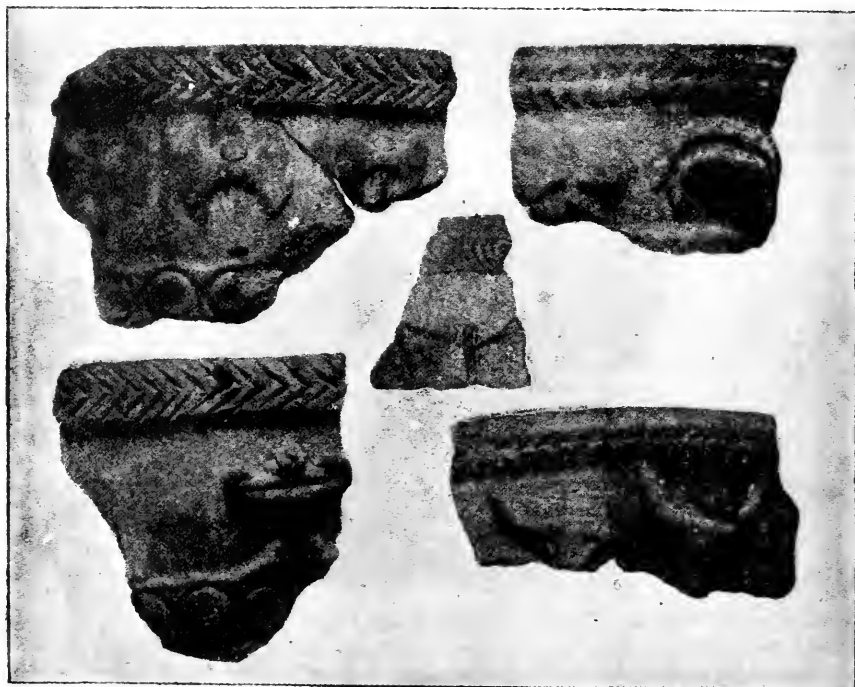


FIG. 34. (1 : 4).

double axes (Fig. 34, No. 1), and what is apparently an altar heaped with fruit offering (No. 4). On another of earlier style are a simpler form of axe and the head of a wild goat (No. 2); on another *bucrania* (with eyes of the *schneeman* type) alternating with rosettes (No. 5). Sprays in high relief and what seem to be a rudely modelled hare and a bird also occur—the last on a very coarse sherd.

Almost all these embossed fragments were found in the Temenos. Mr. Evans inclines to date the earliest to the pre-Mycenaean period (*J.H.S.* xvii. p. 356, "fragment of a dark brown vase with a goat rudely modelled in high relief"); but I do not think any stratum in the Temenos is so early. These fragments, however, were all found in the lowest layers of the deposit.

Among undecorated vessels of the period attention should be called to hand lamps in fine red clay (Fig. 35, No. 2) of a type already known at Phylakopi in Melos and at Vaphio. The same shape appears in a steatite lamp from the cave. These examples from the cave were not blackened by use, and presented the appearance of being perfectly new. Evidently they came there as offerings to the god. Several specimens of clay scoops were also found (Fig. 35, No. 1) precisely similar in form to a bronze utensil from Vaphio in Athens.

*Geometric Style.*—The large red craters continue but with incised stamped ornamentation in which concentric circles play a large part. Bands of these alternate in one example with convention-

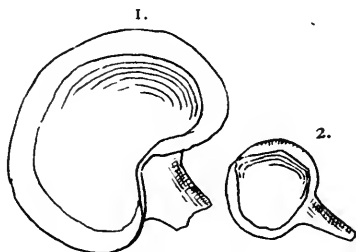


FIG. 35. (1 : 3).



FIG. 36. (1 : 3½).

alised lion masks, in another with double axes (Fig. 34, No. 3). A large amphora (left at Psychro) shows successive belts of herring-bone ornament, upright fret and looping.

Beside two small *stamni* (Fig. 36) and a larger oenochoe, found nearly intact in the upper ash stratum in the Temenos, many fragments of painted Geometric style were preserved, presenting in some cases so great a similarity to the poorer sorts of Kamarea ware as to be easily mistaken unless looked at closely. Neither the decorative motives nor the forms represented present any feature of special interest. There is no Geometric fabric so frigid and lifeless as the Cretan.

Tiny fragments of two black figure vases were found in the surface stratum near the Altar, but no red figure ware occurred. A moulded horse head, antefix of a vase, is in an archaic style suitable to the sixth century. To the same century should belong two little painted proto-Corinthian *aryballi*, both from the surface of the Temenos. Of the ware of later centuries the only examples are half a dozen well used Roman lamps, all but one found in the Lower Grot, and probably at no time offerings, but brought by guides of casual visitors long after the custom of dedicating in the cave had passed out of vogue. Mr. Evans (*J.H.S. l.c.*) found similar remains of later styles.

#### B.—TERRACOTTAS.

Of the class of terracotta reliefs, usually only too abundant on Cretan sites, two fragments were all that were found, both on the Terrace. The one in soft pale material showing a male figure posed to left, naked except for a cap with lappets, in the style of the Praesos reliefs obtained by M. Demargne, is of no particular interest: the other, hard baked, showing part of the legs of a draped

figure shod with boots of peculiar form, whose "tabs" turn over as a mediaeval jester's, excites regret that it should be so incomplete.

The series of figurines begins with two which show the characteristic Kamares blackish body glaze, with applied white pigment. They are the earliest Cretan figurines known. One, nude and left unfinished on the back, is preserved down to the waist and is probably female: the eyes are indicated by applied dabs of clay, and the left arm (the right is broken) is folded under the breast. The other, of much finer technique, is a mere torso, which shows the left breast only, and is girt with a loin-cloth, divided on the buttocks. The back is well modelled. It is probably male: the line of the flank falls straight from armpit to below the hips, and the arms were almost certainly raised to the head (Fig. 37, No. 1).

Of the figures of Mycenaean age most interest attaches to two.

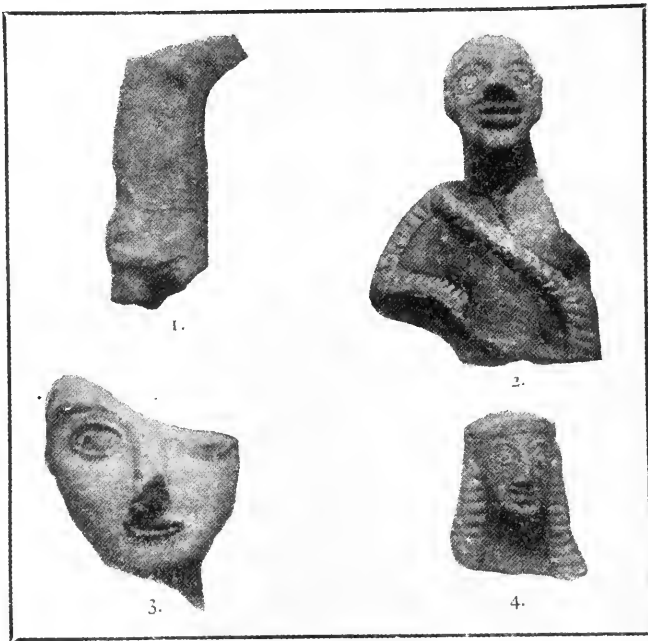


FIG. 37. (1 : 3).

(a) A fragment of a face, about half life-size, in fine yellowish clay, overlaid with a paler slip, on which details of eyelashes, eyelids and lips are painted in ochre. The type recalls forcibly the later island idol faces (Fig. 37, No. 3).

(b) A hand-polished male figure, preserved to below the breast, but with both arms absent, clothed in a toga-like robe crossing under the left arm and over the right, and leaving the left shoulder bare, gathered in by a girdle at the waist. All the features are very strongly marked, the ears, mouth, and nose being enormous and the eyeballs expressed by incised lines. A fillet encircles the head, on which no attempt is made to express hair (Fig. 37, No. 2).

Of the rest two nude figures, hands on breasts and hair coiled high on the head; two heads in Greek archaic style with full wigs falling behind the ears (Fig. 37, No. 4); and a little nude male torso of much later period but good work, need only be mentioned.







TYPES OF FIGURINES IN BRONZE AND LEAD. (1:3.)

(Face p. 107.)

Of animal terracottas, a gaping griffin head, which has a counterpart in the National Museum at Athens, found in the Idaean Cave, and the forepart and one painted hoof of a porcine animal only are of interest (Fig. 38, Nos. 1, 2). In connection with the last named objects, may be recalled Agathocles' story (Athen. ix. 4.) that a sow suckled the divine babe in the Dictaeon Cave, and drowned his whimperings with her grunting—thus filling parts usually assigned to a nanny-goat and to the Curetes. Bones of swine were found freely in the sacrificial deposits in the Upper Grot. Several objects like cotton reels, 40 mill. high in pale clay, were probably pawns of a game; and part of a round disc impressed with a sixteen-rayed star, 120 mill. diameter, seems to be a model votive shield.



FIG. 38. (1 : 4).

## C.—BRONZE OBJECTS.

The votive objects in bronze, which form by far the largest proportion of the whole find in the cave, fall into two classes (1) *simulacra* of real objects, manufactured for the use of the gods or the dead, (2) real objects, made for human use.

The first class includes figurines of men and animals, miniature double axes and round shields, and certain models *e.g.* of a chariot. The second class is made up of weapons, and implements of daily use, such as knives, pins, needles, fibulae, tweezers, rings and spindle-hooks.

I. (a) *Figurines* (Plate X.) :—

Of the human figurines, numbering nineteen in all (if one in lead, No. 3, be reckoned here with the bronze examples for convenience), all but three were extracted from the bottom mud in the Lower Grot. Two others were found on the Terrace, and only one came from the Upper Grot.

A small statuette (Nos. 1, 2), crowned with the plumes of Amen Ra (accidentally bent back), is of good early New Empire work, and may be held to have been dedicated in the cave about 900 B.C. by an anticipator of the classical identification of Zeus with the Egyptian "Ammon."

The rest of the figurines, all of very rude workmanship (with which Mr. Evans compares that of early Olympian and Italo-Hallstatt finds, cf. esp. *Olymp. Bronzes*, No. 261) are probably conventional *simulacra* of the dedicators themselves. Seven, which are fully draped, some in a close-fitting clinging garment, others in a bell skirt with girdle round the waist, are certainly female. The arms are folded on the breasts except in two examples, which raise the right hand to the head, probably in act of adoration. This attitude is observed in several of the most primitive Olympian bronzes (Nos. 241, 243-5) and is well known elsewhere (cf. S. Reinach in *Anthropologie*, 1895, p. 369, who denies, however, all significance to the attitude). An eighth figure, the sole one found in the Upper Grot (No. 4), girdled but apparently otherwise nude, is of a different type familiar among the marble island idols.

The remaining ten figures have in most cases the male sex organ represented, though they are not distinctly ithyphallic, and they seem all nude with two exceptions, one of which (No. 7) has the typical Mycenaean loin-cloth, hanging low and square behind. An example, bought in 1894 by Mr. Evans, has a very full loin-cloth, hanging low in front. In all but three cases the left hand is raised to the head, as in certain female examples described above. The leaden specimen is the largest, measuring 130 mill. to mid thigh. The smallest complete figure is 46 mill. high.

One male figure has the hair dressed in two tails on the back (No. 8). Mr. Evans had already bought one showing a similar hair fashion from the Psychro villagers. The figures found at Hissarlik (Perrot and Chip. vi. p. 755) may be compared, and also those represented on the Vaphio cups (cf. Evans *J.H.S. l.c.*).

The best modelled of these figurines is No. 9, on which the knee joints are indicated, but the head is a mere lump with a protruding beak. Some attempt to render the inward curves of the back is apparent in almost all cases, and the outline of the buttocks is shown through the drapery of the females. No one of my figurines is of as developed a type as the bearded male in H.O. or one of Mr. Evans' purchases.

The bronze animal figurines, found by me, are of better workmanship than the human examples, but Mr. Evans procured ruder specimens, more like the primitive Olympian. It is to be noted that they all come from the Upper Grot (as did several purchased by Mr. Evans), while the human figurines are almost all from the Lower; and that two out of the half-dozen are almost certainly to be connected with a model chariot—itself a more advanced bit of work than any but a very few objects found in the cave (Fig. 39). A whole series of later votive chariots and other miniature wheeled vehicles is known (cf. *e.g.* at Enkomi No. 1460, Olympia No. 253). A Cretan gem, in Mr. Evans' collection, shows two wild goats attached to a car, similar to the one here in question. In the accompanying figure the chariot is seen with animals provisionally re-attached to its pole. The ram, on the near side, has a broken wire projecting from its left shoulder: the ox, on the off side, has a hole in the right shoulder which this wire, if prolonged, would fit. Hence the inference that, though not found with the chariot, they were once associated with it and each other. The four-spoked wheels may be exactly paralleled from Mycenaean finds (v. Schliem. *Mycenae*, p. 74). The holes in the foot-plate show that it once supported some-

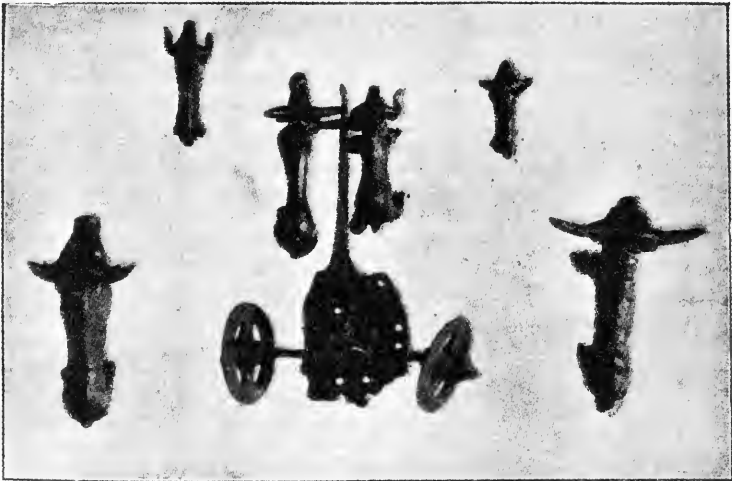


FIG. 39. (1 : 3).

thing, probably a frame (cf. *Olympia Bronzes* 253) and a figurine or figurines. Of the other unattached animals one ox has forefeet ending in spikes, showing that it once stood upon another bronze object, perhaps the handle of a vase. Both the larger oxen are of heavier, squarer style than that yoked to the chariot. A smaller bull and a ram are of poorer workmanship. All, however, probably survive from plundered and broken metal groups, the offerings of worshippers richer than the local peasants who dedicated the food offerings in plain cups and the human figurines.

(b) *Axes and Shields* :—

These are all *simulacra*, being either too small or of too thin a bronze to have served any useful purpose.

Remains of 18 undoubted double axes were recovered, all found in the Lower Grot, and in almost every case *in situ* in the stalactite niches. Two retained their shafts, and many bronze pins, found in the same region, had doubtless been attached to other axes. Two specimens

are of almost pure copper (Nos. 3, 5). The largest of all the axe heads, a perfect example 280 millimetres long (No. 2), found in a niche of a small lateral hall near the head of the subterranean pool, shows lines, drawn with a fine tool, crossing the blades obliquely. Similar oblique lines had already been observed by Mr. Evans on the axe heads represented on gems (cf. also Schliemann *Mycenae*, p. 253).

Only one specimen (No. 1) has the straight cutting edges of the Knossos stone marks. The rest show the outward curving edge which is probably a later improvement, seen on Mycenaean gems (v. S. Reinach in *Rev. Arch.* July-Aug. 1900, p. 7) in the Tiryns example (Schliemann *Tiryns*, p. 168), in early Olympian bronzes (Plate XXVI.), and on the stamped craters and painted vase from the Upper Grot (v. *supra*, Figs. 30, 34).

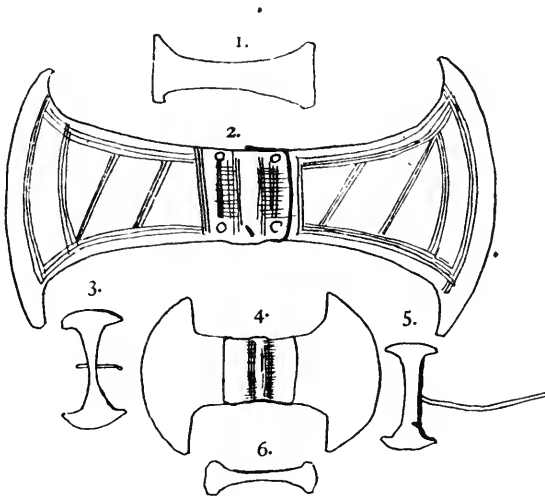


FIG. 4C. (Circa I : 4).

The chief point of variance lies in the fashion of the socket through which the shaft passes. This is formed in the two copper examples, whose heads are more solid, by drilling the thickened middle (cf. H.O. Pl. XIII. 3) : in others (e.g. No. 2) by recurving the overlapping ends of the two plates which, riveted in the middle, make the axe head : in others, made of a single plate, by a small added plate riveted on to the centre with nails (No. 4), or held in position by four tongues bent over at the back : in one case by rolling the single plate back on itself. Two examples show no sign of a socket (e.g. No. 6) ; and, seeing that several of these heads, e.g. the largest, were found probably as originally dedicated, many of the axes would appear to have been unprovided with shafts.

H.O. publish a complete axe head from this cave (*l.c.*), and they state that a large number were found at Salakano, a village on the south of Lasithi. I do not know where these are now. Mr. Evans procured two examples in 1894.

Of miniature shields (if indeed these round objects are shields at all, and not parts of large pins or clasps) there were found parts of ten, all in the Upper Grot. Only one is at all complete, 15 mill. in diam. (Fig. 41), showing four buttons surrounded by pricked dots on the flattened rim. Another has a prominent central boss. All are circular and probably belong to the Geometric rather than the Mycenaean period, being of a type already familiar from the

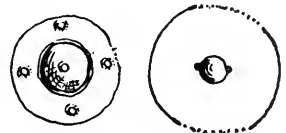


FIG. 41. (Circa I : 4).

Idaean Cave (H. O. pp. 711 ff.). Similar bucklers appear in Scandinavia (Montelius, *Les Temps Pre-hist. en Suède*, p. 92).

II.—Of the second class it is not possible to dogmatise that without exception all the objects are realities. It may be doubted if some of the very thin knife-blades could ever have been put to an ordinary use. But no objects, relegated to this class, are certainly *simulacra*.

*Lance Heads and Darts.*—Some 20 lance heads and 25 darts were found, mostly in the Upper Grot. The main varieties of form are given in Fig. 42.

Among these (top of the figure on the right) is the “quasi-triangular” form referred by Mr. Evans (*l.c.*) to the pre-Mycenaean period. The attachment by bronze pins at the base of some of these heads points also to an earlier date than can be claimed for those heads whose metal is beaten out at the base to form a socket.

*Knives.*—About 160 blades may be classed as knives, though certain types, but for their exceeding thinness, would come more fitly under the category of lance heads.

The principal forms are given in Fig. 43.

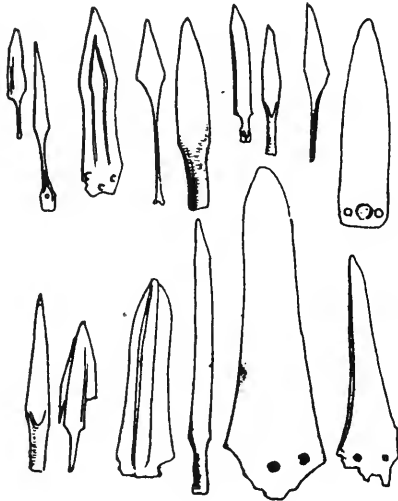


FIG. 42. (1 : 4).

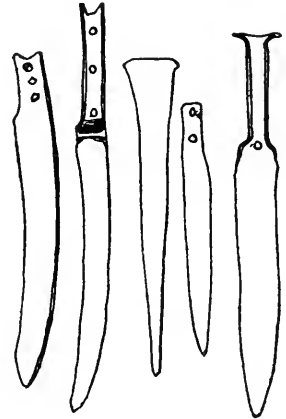


FIG. 43. (1 : 4½).

The great majority were found in the niches of the Lower Grot, blades of form 3 exclusively so. The latter are of very thin bronze and sometimes show rivet holes at the base, sometimes none. The finest specimens are of type 1, and in particular must be noted a knife found in the Upper Grot south of the Altar and about 1 foot above the clay, whose haft ends in a human head (Fig. 44).

The type of this head, which is of much finer workmanship than any figurine found in the cave, recalls somewhat the vase bearer in the Knossian fresco. No similar knife exists among Mycenaean objects, but a distant parallel may be found among Scandinavian (Montelius, *op. cit.* p. 117). These slightly curved blades are compared by Mr. Evans (*l.c.*) with several Mycenaean specimens elsewhere. The type may be seen in Schliemann's *Mycenae*, p. 75, No. 123, and it was found with pre-Mycenaean objects by M. Tsountas in Siphnos (*Eph. Arch.* 1899, Pl. 10). The termination of the hilt of Fig. 43, No. 5 recalls a Scandinavian form (Montelius, *op. cit.*, p. 95; cf. Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, Pl. 7).

Razors are represented by 5 blades shaped as the one below in Fig. 45, bottom right corner ; These were all found in the niches. Certain Scandinavian "knives" represent slightly more ornate forms of the same type (Montelius, *op. cit.* pp. 116, 133) and are doubtless really razors.

Tweezers, probably for depilatory purposes, were found also in the niches. Five pairs were found unbroken, and nearly fifty broken halves.

Fibulae were very rare. Only three specimens were found in the Lower Grot. One is of the simple early bow-form without catch-plate: a second has the wire beaten out into a flat plate (cf. Brit. Mus. *Excav. in Cyprus: Enkomi*, Fig. 27, H.O. Pl. xiii. 6, and many specimens in C. Truhelka's publication of Bosnian finds—*Wiss. Mittheil. aus Bosnien*, 1, pp. 83 ff.): and the third, on whose broadened back a pattern of five-pointed stars is engraved in *pointillé* (cf. Truhelka, *l.c.* p. 92), has the catch-plate doubled over. The two last specimens are of types contemporaneous with the Dipylon period in Greece (v. Evans, *l.c.* p. 356).

Twelve tapering blades, with their narrow end bent over in a hook, are precisely similar to the object figured in *Mitth. aus Bosnien* iii. Fig. 501, and called by Radimsky a *schiesshaken* or clasp-hook, probably for fastening garments.

Needles, with eye either bored or formed by twisting the head back on itself, were found to the number of over fifty and up to 135 mill. in length. Some thirty eyeless pins were perhaps axe-shafts.

Hair-pins totalled about fifty and have various types of head as shown below (Fig. 45).

Rings are mostly of twisted wire, rudely bent back on itself to lock the circle. Out of 57 in all, only a few were more solid hoops of flattened wire, and two had bezels, one showing traces of perished inlay of paste or glass. A thin gold hoop, and a hoop in debased silver may be mentioned also here.

Miscellanea (Fig. 46).—Five sockets ending in hooks have perhaps (as Dr. J. Hazzidakis suggested to me) terminated as many distaffs. The modern Cretan woman secures her raw wool on just such a hook (Fig. 46). A spray (cf. *Olympia Bronzes*, No. 30), an object like a vase in silhouette, a fragment of a wing, a fine chain and a little toy cauldron with rings for handles are broken parts of plundered offerings, as are also probably two objects shaped like the foot-plate of the model chariot described above. A shuttle, two ear scoops (of copper, cf. *Olympia Bronzes*, No. 1110), two punches, two small chisel-like implements with sockets to fit shafts, a little suspensory charm

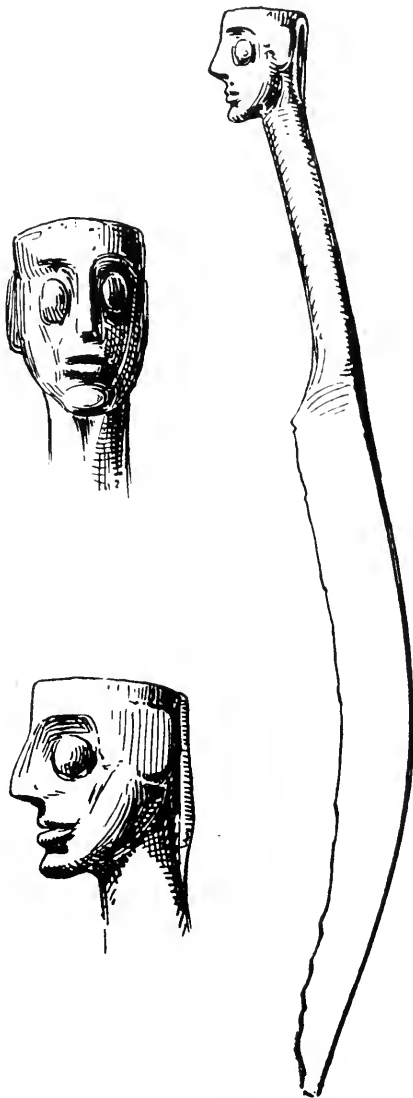


FIG. 44.<sup>1</sup> (Heads full size).

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by E. Gilliéron.

in the shape of a human foot, and a curious broken object with three recurving limbs starting from a round head have to be added. The list closes with two hasps, probably once fixed to perished caskets. The one shows a rampant lion with one paw on the head of a prostrate ox; the other a conventionalised cuttle-fish. Though at first sight the style and form appear almost Byzantine, these hasps are undoubtedly early, and probably belong to the Geometric period.

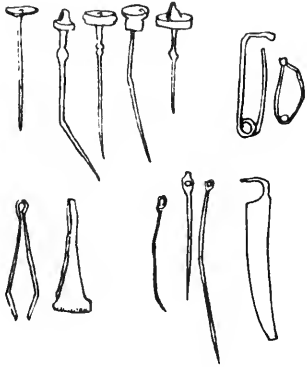


FIG. 45. (1 : 4).

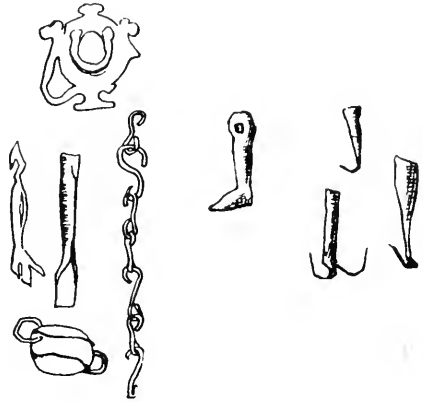


FIG. 46. (1 : 2½).

#### D.—IRON OBJECTS.

The iron objects are so much corroded that a mere list will suffice, special attention being called to the sword in Fig. 47, which without the point measures 530 mill. in length. The hilt has been inlaid with some composition or with ivory, and is of an early "Dipylon" form. Indeed the form appears earlier in bronze (cf. Tsountas in *Eph. Arch.* 1897, p. 108, *Enkomi*, No. 963 and Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 144). Besides this I found four axe heads, eight lance heads or knives, two bracelets, a ring, the hasp of a casket, several large nails, and some thirty miscellaneous fragments whose nature is unrecognisable. These were all from the uppermost strata of the Upper Grot. No iron was found in the Lower Grot.

E.—GOLD was represented only by the hoop-ring mentioned above, by two pear-shaped leaflets, by a button detached from the hilt of a knife, and by two fragments of a small lion mask, probably also a hilt ornament.

F.—GEMS were washed out of the bottom mud in the Lower Grot to the number of half-a-dozen.

(a) Circular. Bull in flight to left attacked by two lions or dogs above and below. Two arrow-like symbols in the field.

(b) Circular. Two wild goats with heads reversed supporting a column.

(c) Circular. Wild goat with head reversed.

(d) Circular. Wild goat with head turned under belly.

(e) Half an oblong. Forepart of a bull in agony. Probably a lion attacks from behind on the last half of the gem.

(f) Circular. Geometric "labyrinth" pattern.



G.—IVORY AND BONE objects were rare. A dozen articles of utility were found, including ear-scoop, shuttle, needles, prickers, hairpins (Fig. 48). Three volute-like objects figured below (Fig. 49), pierced with holes, and in two cases having a little oxidised iron adhering to the back, are closely paralleled by Bosnian fibula-plates (Truhelka *l.c.* p. 82) and seem to be derived from double spiral bronze forms such as have been found in Bosnia (*Mith.* etc. iii. Figs. 307, 482).

A fragment of a figurine in ivory only 24 mill. high was also found. The legs are broken at mid thigh and the head is gone. The hands are on the breasts. A waistband is clearly indicated, and the figure is probably intended to be closely draped.

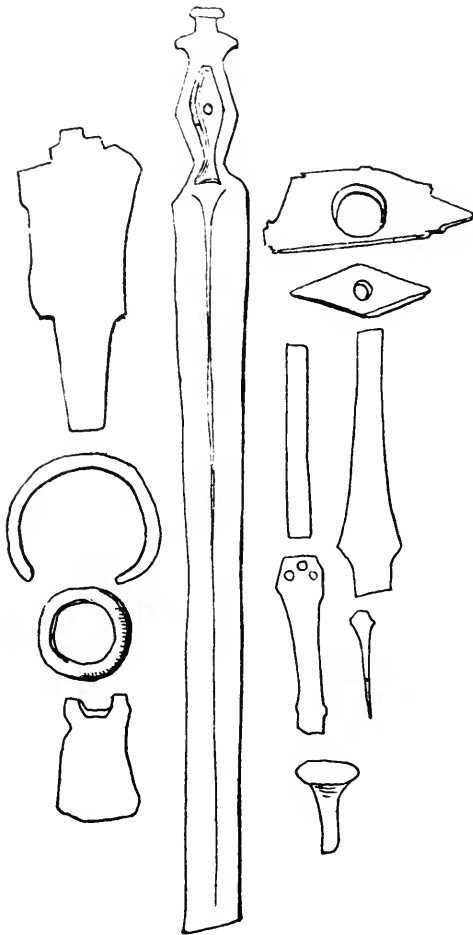


FIG. 47. (1 : 4½).

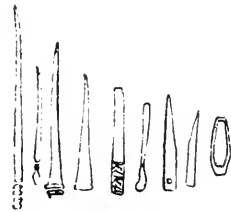


FIG. 48. (1 : 4).

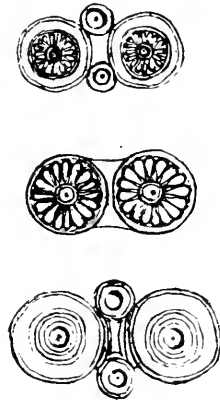


FIG. 49. (1 : 2).

H.—BEADS were seldom found even in the sieves. In hard stones a fluted amethyst, a haematite, and a carnelian bead were sifted out. In steatite a gable-shaped seal-stone and a crescent bead occurred, and in glass several much-decayed balls, which might be of almost any period. In clay a few of the hard gray beads with stamped Geometric ornament, familiar in Geometric tombs at Knossos and elsewhere, were recovered.

Z.—STONE is the material also of a few obsidian flakes, of a black steatite vase 62 mill. high, with no handle or ornament beyond two lines round the rim, and of about 30 fragments of "tables of offering," *i.e.* small altar-like objects hollowed for the reception of food or liquid and supplied with round or tetragonal bases as though intended to be placed on pillar pedestals. The principal forms are given in the appended Plate from sketches made by Mr. D. T. Fyfe. All were found in the lower strata and mostly about the Altar in the Upper Grot, excepting only the form 6, whose representatives occurred in the Geometric stratum.

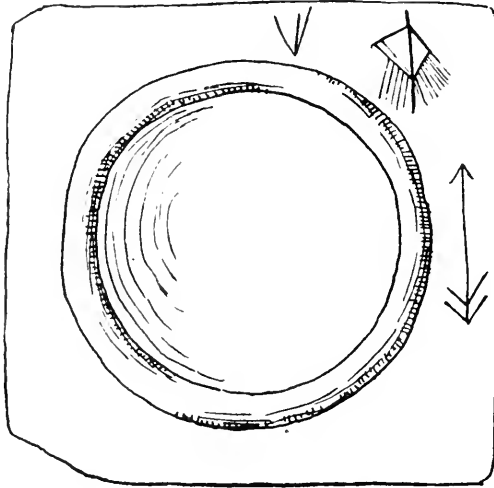


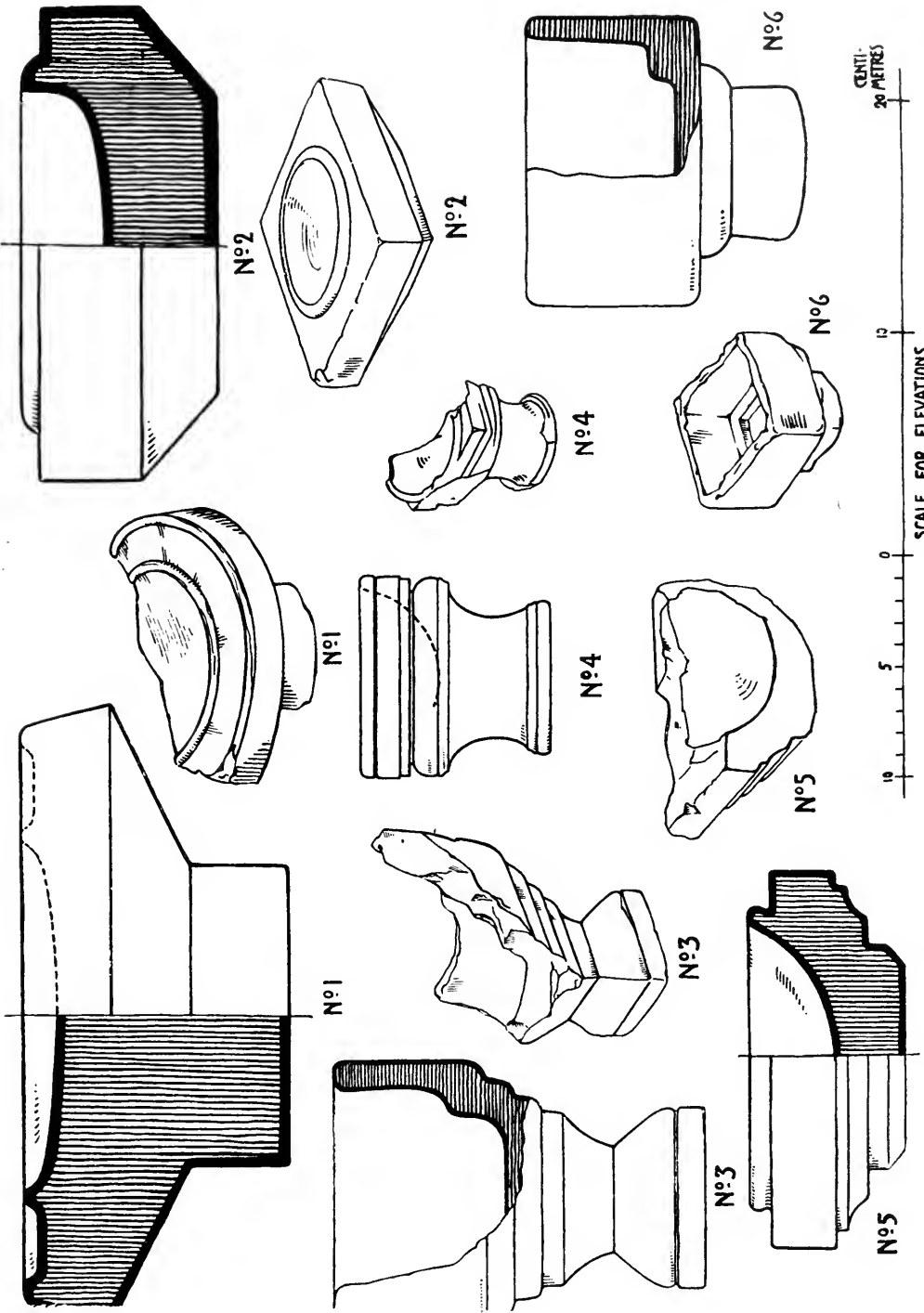
FIG. 50. (1 : 3½).

The material is either steatite (in the earlier examples), or a coarse chalky limestone (in the later). Three bore (like the example found by the villagers and bought by Mr. Evans in 1896) symbols, apparently derived from the Cretan conventionalized hieroglyphic script. The specimen above (in steatite) bears three symbols (Fig. 50).

The two other inscribed tables are of the latest form. One, much broken, shows the end of a spray-like symbol. The other had a symbol on each of three faces, but all are much broken away.

About the pre-eminently sacred character of this Cave there can remain no shadow of doubt, and the *simulacra* of axes, fashioned in bronze and moulded or painted on vases, clearly indicate Zeus of the *labrys* or Labyrinth as the deity there honoured. Nor in view of the number and variety of the offerings and the remarkable natural character of the lower grot is there any question that it was venerated as the scene of the Zeus-genesis legend, so far as that was associated with Lyttos, and of Minos' finding of the Law.

The offerings also show conclusively that, as a shrine, this cave was frequented in the earlier periods of ancient Cretan civilisation, not the later.



SCALE FOR ELEVATIONS

CENTIMETRES

[Fac. A. 114.]

TYPES OF "TABLES OF OFFERING."



The latest Psychro bronzes can be compared only with the earliest found at Olympia or in the Argive Heraeum. There is hardly a trace of that orientalising proto-Hellenic style, which characterises the chief offerings in the Idaean Cave. With very rare and sporadic exceptions, the Dictaeon antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period, *i.e.*, probably the opening of the eighth century B.C. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Idaean Cave supplanted the Dictaeon, and Diodorus (*l.c.*) reflects the confusion caused by this change in the myth. Possibly a Knossian version superseded gradually a Lyttian, whose antiquity, however, is attested not only by its being the only story known to Hesiod, but by the epithet *Dictaea*, borne by Rhea (Arat. *Phaen.* 38), and the location in Dicte of the first city founded by Zeus (Diod. *l.c.*).

The vogue of the Psychro Cave can be traced by the remains back from the Geometric Period through all the "Mycenaean" Age to the latest pre-Mycenaean epoch, but not farther. The earliest pottery, found in a votive deposit, is the small amount of Kamares ware from the lowest stratum about the altar in the north-western bay of the Upper Grot. Primitive hand-burnished *bucchero* of the Neolithic epoch occurs only in natural water-laid deposit. What significance to attach to this negative evidence we are hardly in a position to judge. But, so far as this cave goes, a natural explanation is possible. It seems to have been a swallow hole in primitive times,<sup>1</sup> and it may not have been dry in any part till the Kamares period. The north-western bay of the Upper Grot, where Kamares sherds are found, is higher than the north-eastern recess, where those are not found. In the Lower Grot no such sherds have been detected, and those offerings, of which we can be sure that they were placed there originally, *viz.*, the bronzes from the stalactite niches, seem to belong to the later and decaying period of the cave's sacred history. In that grot were found the statuettes, the axes and blades, which have closest relation to the Olympian, and none of the finer bronzes or other objects, unearthed by me or my predecessors, which belong to the acme of Mycenaean culture. For the explanation of this fact again, we must look to the water which probably rendered the lower abyss inaccessible long after part of the Upper Grot had dried, and

<sup>1</sup> This inference depends of course on the cave being lower than the lowest point of the mountain fence about the Lasithi plain, *viz.* the nick over which runs the road to Lyttos. The levels have not been taken, but, estimated by the eye, the level of the cave seems certainly lower.

become a repository of *ex voto* objects. Ere the early Geometric period, however (which is the latest to which the *tholoi* near Pláta, elevated very little above the plain, can be referred), the function of the cave as a swallow hole had ceased, and the present Lasithi plain must have been exposed to view.

# THE INFLUENCE OF THE AEGEAN CIVILISATION ON SOUTH PALESTINE.<sup>1</sup>

BY F. B. WELCH.

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THE influence of the Aegean civilisation on South Palestine can hardly be said to be appreciably felt before the latter half of the Bronze Age. At this period the Mycenaean civilisation, though already decadent, was still flourishing very vigorously in the East Mediterranean, especially in places like Rhodes and Cyprus, the latter of which chiefly concerns us here. In the case of Cyprus this is natural, since, owing to its geographical position, the island served as an intermediary between East and West, and was peopled, partly at least, by representatives of the Mycenaean civilisation—though, of course, this says nothing as to the *racial* affinities of the area in question—and here seemingly this civilisation lasted on later than in the actual Aegean area. At a later period, in the beginning of the Iron Age, when the current was reversed, and the decadent Mycenaean art gave way to the young Phoenician civilisation, and when there was little direct communication between the Levant and the Aegean, Cyprus shared with South Palestine in a practically identical culture, largely of local origin,

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by permission from the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, October 1900. The following references are used:—

Q.S. = Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund.

M.M.C. = Bliss: "Mound of Many Cities."

C.M.C. = Myres and O. Richter: "Cyprus Museum Catalogue" (Oxford, 1899).

P. and C. = Perrot and Chipiez: "Histoire de l'Art," vols. i. to vii.

F. and L. = Furtwängler and Löschke: "Mykenische Vasen" (Berlin, 1886).

B.S.A. = "Annual of the British School at Athens."

I.K.G. = Petrie: "Illahun, Kahun, Gurob" (Egypt Exploration Fund).

K.G.H. = Petrie: "Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara" (Egypt Exploration Fund).

which developed more vigorously and freely in Cyprus, probably owing to its early Mycenaean tutelage.

To begin with the earliest Palestinian civilisation yet known, that of the so-called "Amorite" period, dated by the Tell el-Hesi finds to a date earlier than B.C. 1500—we find in Palestine a very peculiar type of pottery, characterised chiefly by the large use made of polishing and burnishing, especially in the case of red ware. The style is in many ways similar to that of the pre-dynastic "New Race" of Egypt, and to Libyan pottery found in Egypt; and during this same period in Cyprus we find a large class of vases, the shapes of which, based on gourd-vessels, are no doubt usually different from the Palestinian, but whose characteristic high polish, found in its perfection in the earliest specimens, and gradually degenerating, seems to have been introduced from abroad. Exactly similar specimens have not yet turned up in Palestine, but at Tell el-Yehudieh was found a fragment of a gourd-shaped jar in a sort of debased red ware; and no other area can be put forward as a possible source of the technique, except the south-east corner of the Levant.

During this same early period Cyprus was the centre and source of the copper trade, with only the Sinaitic peninsula as a rival; and, judging from the celts of the earliest city of Tell el-Hesi, of the primitive unflanged type, springing from a neolithic prototype, Palestine fell partly within the Cypriote sphere of influence. Similar celts occur in Cyprus and Hissarlik. (From Beyrout comes a dagger with bent tang of the common leaf-shaped type of the later Cypriote Bronze Age.)

After the early red ware certain classes of pottery begin to appear in Cyprus, and become very common in the late Bronze Age, when they are found along with specimens of Mycenaean ware, though beginning in pre-Mycenaean times. Specimens of these classes likewise appear commonly in Palestine. Such are first the semi-circular "milk-bowls" with the "wish-bone" handle (C.M.C., *Bronze Age Pottery*, II, 4, Plate III., 301, 303). In Cyprus these do not appear as late as the Greco-Phoenician period, but their earliest limits go back into the third millennium B.C. (cf. their discovery at Thera, F. and L., No. 80, and at Athens, Hissarlik, Sakkara, and Tell el-Amarna). In Palestine they date to about B.C. 1400; and seem to have been locally imitated, few of the Palestinian specimens being of the high Cypriote standard, while the peculiar handle is found in a degenerate form in coarse red Jewish ware (cf. Petrie's "Tell el-Hesi," No. 221,



where it is called a "penholder"; another specimen came from Tell el-Yehudieh).

So, too, the large and small black metallic-looking jars, both of the plain and white-painted types (cf. C.M.C., *Bronze Age Pottery I*, 3, Plate II., 252 *seq.*, 271, 277), occur in Palestine at the same date, while in Egypt they were found in the Maket Tomb at Kahun (B.C. 1450), and at Illahun in degenerate forms as late as the twenty-first to the twenty-fifth dynasties (cf. I.K.G., xiii., 31; xxvij., 14-17, 19-21; K.G.H. xxiv., 14, 15). A little vase of this ware in the form of a bull comes from the surface of Blanche Garde at Tell es-Safi; the type is common in Cyprus (cf. P. and C., iii., No. 502).

The third type of vase, common to both areas, is of flaky grey clay (C.M.C., *Bronze Age Pottery I*, 5), and is common in Cyprus in pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean times. The common Cypriote type, a small jug, with narrow neck, swollen rim, and a button-like foot, has not yet been found in Palestine (a similar shape, but in coarse red burnished ware, turned up in the Amorite level of Tell el-Yehudieh); but the specimens in M.M.C., iii., 89-90, are of the same ware, though not incised, as the Cypriote specimens usually are, while in the British Museum is an incised specimen from Bethlehem. In Egypt the type has only occurred so far on twelfth to thirteenth dynasty sites (chiefly Kahun and Khataneh) of foreign origin; probably the source of origin is in South Palestine.

All the above three classes occur in Cyprus as late as Mycenaean times, *i.e.* as Mycenaean vases of Furtwängler's third variety of "Firnissmalerei," which in Greece itself would date from the fifteenth to the end of the twelfth centuries, but in Cyprus and the Levant probably descends later.

When in South Palestine we turn to actual Mycenaean imports, we find they occur usually in the form of small fragments, chiefly at Tell es-Safi. This was certainly a Philistine stronghold, a fact which is suggestive in view of the probable western or north-western origin of the Philistines. The pieces found are all of the third variety (*vide supra*), with buff or light yellow surface, and designs in a glaze, varying from red-brown to black. The shapes, as far as can be made out, are chiefly large jars, with high solid foot, ornamented with horizontal bands, shallow bowls, painted inside and out, such as are common in Cyprus, and may be of Cypriote manufacture, the top of a "bügelkanne" of the small, flat early type, with horizontal bands, and also pieces of a pyxis. The patterns are chiefly plain broad or narrow

horizontal bands, the scale pattern, and wavy lines single or in parallels. Naturally such pottery, so immensely superior to the wretched local ware, provoked imitation, as elsewhere. Several fragments of such local copies occurred, in which the colour used was hardly a glaze at all, but merely dull paint; while from Tell es-Safi came the "bügel" of a large pseud-amphora, in unpolished poor buff ware, with traces of a tree-like stylised design, painted in a dull dark brown. Exactly similar imitations occur very commonly in Cyprus and elsewhere in the transitional and early Iron Age.

The influence of Mycenaean vases is further seen in certain shapes, *e.g.*, the *στάμνος* of M.M.C., No. 179, while M.M.C., No. 183, is a common sub-Mycenaean shape in Greece and the Levant. Further, a whole class of small vases in South Palestine show the same influence; they are small cups on a very slight ring-base, with two little handles, fixed on at about half a right angle to the sides of the vase; the clay is reddish-yellow, and the surface is either left rough or in two cases covered with a greeny whitewash, on which designs are very carelessly painted in dull black or brown, consisting usually of horizontal bands, while on the handles are spots or small cross lines. Two have a design, which occurs elsewhere in South Palestine (*cf.* the sub-Mycenaean "bügelkanne," *supra*), consisting of two divergent spirals with the intermediate space filled in with parallel angular lines, the origin of which can be clearly seen in such Mycenaean vases as F. and L., Nos. 378-9, 381-2. Similar vases are common in the early Iron Age of Cyprus.

So, too, the "pilgrim-bottle" shape, which in Egypt goes back to at least the eighteenth to the nineteenth dynasties, and is not of Mycenaean origin, occurs at the same period in Greece, the Levant, and Palestine. Other vases common to Cyprus and South Palestine are figured together in M.M.C., Fig. 87. Of these the small juglets in greenish clay, trimmed below to a point with a knife, are common in Cyprus with Mycenaean ware, and the exact counterpart of M.M.C., iv. 175, with painted designs, occurs in the Mycenaean find at Enkomi, Cyprus. The pointed base is common to a large number of vases of a sub-Mycenaean date in South Palestine, where it gradually changes to the flat or rounded base of Jewish times. In the same group of vases the "cockle-shell" lamp of the early footless type, as well as the "cup-and-saucer" vases (*cf.* C.M.C., iv. 963), are both common in Cyprus, but only at a much later date, *circa* ninth to

seventh centuries, being never found with the pointed juglets ; but in South Palestine the lamp certainly occurs as early as B.C. 1400, and in Egypt at an eighteenth dynasty date, which fact, combined with its later series of developments in Palestine, may point to the latter area as the source of origin.

Mycenaean influence may also be traced in the forms of the vases (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1900, Plate II. 2-6).

If we pass to the period following the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation, when the Phoenicians were the dominant power in the East Mediterranean, the points of contact with Greece itself are very few, since there was apparently very little direct communication ; but there are so many points of resemblance now between Cyprus and Palestine, that we must infer that both shared in a similar civilisation, which had, of course, local sub-varieties, and which was largely due to Phoenician influence working on local material. We have seen above that there is a class of small cups common to both lands. We now turn to a second and larger class of later date. The characteristic shapes (C.M.C., iv. 990, 994, 1005, &c.) are small egg-shaped vases, with or without a small ring-foot : they show a small thin cylindrical neck with thick flat lip projecting horizontally, and midway up the neck a sort of ridge running round it horizontally, to which the handle or handles join ; or else the neck expands into a disproportionately wide funnel-shaped orifice (cf. C.M.C., iv. 980). The first shape passed largely into the Jewish ware (cf. M.M.C., 232, 239), and the second shape also occurs later. The surface is highly polished to a reddish or buff colour, on which paint of a dull black, and often also of a dull red-brown, is applied ; often the black is laid on before the polishing, and the brown, if added, is added later, giving the black a shining glaze-like look. The designs consist usually of rows of broad and narrow horizontal lines, often with a zone on the shoulder of sets of small concentric circles. In Cyprus, however, the range of form and design is far wider than in Palestine, and the commonest type is a dark-red ware, dating to the eighth to the sixth centuries (C.M.C., Greco-Phoenician Pottery II. 3), which seems to be rare in Palestine (a small cow's head of a brilliant dark-red with a lattice design on the forehead in dull opaque black, is probably of the same technique). One small vase from Tell el-Yehudieh slightly approaches it, and it seems to be a Cypriote local variety. In Palestine the commonest colour is a light yellow or buff, and this technique is applied to a variety of objects, e.g., a

large cylindrical object, probably the pedestal of a lamp, ribbed horizontally on the lower part, where the body colour is a highly polished buff, and the ridges are in sienna and light brown alternately, the latter applied before polishing.

This light buff variety, though common in Palestine, never approaches the high pitch of excellence shown in Cypriote specimens; usually the polishing is carelessly done, leaving very clear traces of the instrument used, and showing dull unpolished spaces between polished lines. A large strainer-spout from Tell es-Safi in buff ware, with black and white designs, has inside the spout a system of transverse lines, alternately polished and rough. This, however, very likely is due to a reminiscence of the old "Amorite" pattern-burnishing, which may in fact have largely aided the extension of this later technique; many of the later Amorite jars are polished all over the surface. Besides being common in Palestine and Cyprus, the class occurs in Sardinia in a degenerate form (British Museum A, 1680-7); also in geometric tombs in Rhodes and Crete, and hence is very probably connected with the expansion of Phoenician influence.

Another point of similarity between South Palestine and the Cypriote Iron Age is the presence of numbers of large coarse jars, with the peculiar pinched lip characteristic of this period, which appears in the Phaleric ware of Attica (cf. C.M.C., iv, 1034-86); and, further, a vase from Tell el-Hesi with broken neck has, on a polished red-brown surface, a design in dull, dark red-brown of sets of parallel curved lines, crossing and recrossing each other at various angles. This pattern occurs commonly, but on a different class of vase, in a Cypriote transitional form (C.M.C., iii, 336, 307).

When we turn to the class of native *painted* ware, as distinct from the earlier Mycenaean imports, we find it to be of rather a unique type, certainly of local origin. The pieces found are chiefly bits of large bowls with thick nearly vertical sides. There are two main classes—a finer very homogeneous class in fine grey clay, burning red, on which a dull white wash is applied; on this designs are drawn in dull black, and a dull cherry-red is used for subsidiary purposes. As a rule, the surface to be painted is divided up into metope-like sections by sets of vertical lines, often varied by wavy lines and zigzags; whilst inside the metopes so formed is drawn the main design, consisting usually of a spiral in the centre of which is a cross with the arms filled in with red, or some design into which the spiral

enters, or the degenerate tree-ornament mentioned above, or most commonly of all, a very peculiar bird with one wing raised : of this type the exact copy occurs nowhere else, though the attitude is common to birds on certain geometric vases, *e.g.*, of Cyprus. The metope-like division of spaces is a characteristic of all geometric ware, which also employs the wavy line between two verticals ; the spiral is, of course, the commonest ornament of Mycenaean pottery, though coming originally from Egypt it can quite well have reached Palestine directly, though this is doubtful, as it does not occur commonly on the earlier Palestinian ware. Similarly the device of wavy lines dropping from a row of semi-circles, and the sets of concentric semi-circles and semi-ellipses are common in later Mycenaean art, while the peculiar cross is found in several varieties of Greek geometric ware (*e.g.*, that of Thera, Crete, and Attica). And the whole technique is practically identical with that of many vases of the Greco-Phoenician epoch in Cyprus.

The second class is of much coarser make, with white or reddish-white wash, and very carelessly drawn designs in light reds and browns. The figures are not arranged symmetrically, or in metopes, but disposed simply as the artist pleased. A very common figure is an ibex or goat—usually the outline is drawn first, and then filled in in lighter paint ; in one case two goats are by a tree, one standing up on its hind legs and feeding off the branches (cf. F. and L., 412-3). Other designs are of simple linear origin. As opposed to the first class, this group seems to be of more distinctly local inspiration, *i.e.*, due to the native potters, uninfluenced by foreign imports, while the first class is more affected by external influence. Some of this native class goes back to a date earlier than any Cypriote painted ware yet found. On the edge of an "Amorite" bowl with the early finger-mouldings, lines are painted on a coarse chalky-white slip in dull cherry-red, and on one of the long early handles on a coarse yellowish-white surface is a sort of vegetable design in dull red. At Tell el-Hesi painted ware is said to occur in the second and third cities, *i.e.*, B.C. 1400 and earlier, cf. M.M.C., Figs. 106-9, where the bird is of a quite different type to the later variety, and seems equally unique, and the pieces of vases figured are all in a finer clay with harder surface. Several such have what is almost a real varnish, and such are probably influenced by the Mycenaean technique, though it seems very doubtful if they belong to the very early date ascribed to them. The later specimens (Classes 1 and 2 above) come

from Cities IV and later, *i.e.*, B.C. 1400 downwards, along with Cypriote vases of such mixed dates as the cockle-shell lamps, "cups and saucers," painted juglets, black base-ring ware, and the "milkbowls."

Now, arguing from its likeness to Greco-Phoenician wares in Cyprus, we should feel inclined to remove this painted ware of Classes 1 and 2, along with the "cups and saucers," and perhaps also the lamps, to a date certainly after B.C. 900, perhaps to centuries nine to seven. The whole facies of this pottery forbids us to assign it to Mycenaean times.

Turning from the pottery to other small objects, the alabaster vase in M.M.C., Fig. 224, said to be of Jewish date, is of common occurrence in Cyprus in Mycenaean times, or even earlier, along with the "milkbowls" and base-ring ware, and in Egypt occurs in eighteenth to nineteenth dynasty sites (cf. K.G.H., xviii, 6: I.K.G., xvii, 10; xviii, 23; xx, 8).

Both Cyprus and the Syrian and Palestinian areas have figurines of the nude Goddess of Fertility, usually holding her breasts in her hands; one from Palestine represents her as a pregnant woman, seated in a chair, with which cf. P. and C., vol. iii, Fig. 143, from Phoenicia. A small Palestinian terra-cotta head with flat crown is identical with Cypriote specimens, while numerous little cows, dogs, centaurs, &c., occur in both lands. To the same Greco-Phoenician date belong the large terra-cotta masks from the Tell es-Safi rubbish heap (cf. P. and C., iii, Figs. 130, 642-3; *B.S.A.*, vol. v, 1898-9, Plate x, 10, where they are called "Aphrodite masks," and assigned to the first half of the fifth century).

For smaller metal objects the pins from Cities II and III at Tell el-Hesy (M.M.C., p. 59, Nos. 98-100), with a loop in the shaft, correspond to a common Cypriote type (C.M.C., iii, 591, p. 54, Pins  $\gamma$ ) of Bronze Age date (cf. I.K.G., xxii, 1-3, from Gurob).

In *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1899, Plate iv, 22, is published, under the title "Vase-Handle," a broken fibula, which is of course of Western origin, though quite early introduced into the East (cf. the fibula on the priest's dress in the late Hittite figure from Ibriz, P. and C. iv, Fig. 354).

Finally, little black stone cylinders with rudely cut designs occur in Palestine, as all over the Levant, especially in North Syria and Cilicia, while the small conical North Syrian seals occur in Palestine (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1899, p. 332) and Cyprus.

## A BEAST-DANCE IN SCYROS.

BY J. C. LAWSON.

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THE strict Lenten fast of the Greek Church is preceded by a carnival of a fortnight's duration. The week from Septuagesima Sunday to Sexagesima is celebrated with feasting and merriment subject to no religious restrictions; in the second week, although similar festivities continue, heightened rather than abated, no meat may be eaten; and on the morrow of Quinquagesima (for Monday is the first day of the Greek Lent), the full regulations as to fasting come into operation, not only meat, but fish, eggs, milk, cheese and oil being almost universally prohibited. None the less a free use of wine makes the Monday the climax of the carnival. This whole period from Septuagesima to the first day of Lent, both inclusive, is popularly and loosely spoken of as *ἡ ἀπόκρεια* (*ἡμέραι*), the days of abstinence from meat, as opposed to *σαρακοστή* (the forty days of Lent) during which further abstinences are imposed and observed. Thus the week from Sexagesima to Quinquagesima has extended its proper name both to the preceding week, when as a matter of fact there is no restriction upon the use of meat, and to the first day of Lent, on which additional restrictions come into force. In popular usage *ἀπόκρεια* means "carnival."

Happening to be in Scyros during this carnival time in the spring of the present year, I was witness of a curious spectacle, enacted as a matter of course on each of the three Sundays and, by those who feel so disposed, on any of the intervening weekdays. The young men of the town array themselves in large goat-skin capes, reaching to the hips or lower, and provided with holes for the arms. Some of these capes are made with

hoods of the same material which cover the whole head and face, small holes being cut for the eyes, but none for purposes of respiration. In other cases the cape covers the shoulders only, leaving the head free, and the young man contents himself with the blue and white kerchief, which forms the usual headgear in Scyros, and a roughly-made domino, or, thanks to the steadily increasing influx of Western culture during the last few years, an "Ally Sloper" mask. A third variety of cape is provided with a hood to cover the back of the head, while the mask for the face is made of the skin of some small animal such as a weasel, of which the hind legs and tail are attached to the hood, while the head and forelegs hang down on the breast of the wearer. Eyeholes are cut in this as in the other forms of mask. This last is the most elaborate and costly dress worn for the carnival, a weasel-skin being worth two or three goat-skins. The capes, of whatever variety, are girt tightly about the waist with a stout cord or thong, from which are suspended, all round the body if possible, but in any case in lieu of a tail, a number of bronze goat-bells, of the ordinary shape but of extraordinary dimensions, measuring anything from two to ten inches for the greatest diameter. The method by which these bells are attached to the waist-belt is cleverly designed to permit a large number of bells to be worn without their being in any way muffled by contact with the cape. Each bell is fastened to the end of a curved and pliant stick of about a foot in length, and the other ends of the sticks are inserted behind the belt from above, the curve and elasticity of the stick thus allowing the bell to hang at some few inches distance from the body, free to clash and to clang with every motion of the dancer. Some sixty or seventy bells of various sizes are worn by the best-equipped, and the weight of such a number was estimated by the people of the place as approximately an hundredweight, no easy load with which to dance over steep, narrow, roughly-paved alleys where even a mule will stumble.

But such as lack either the prowess or the full accoutrements to share in the most glorious and resonant merrymaking, do not abstain altogether from the festivities. Each does his best according to his lights and his means to look like a goat. Even the small boys beg, borrow or steal a goat-bell and affix it to the hinder part of their person as a tail to tinkle cheerfully in their wake; or, at the worst, make good the caudal deficiency by the mute inglorious appendage of a branch from the nearest tree.

Thus in various grades of hirsute jingling grandeur, the young men and



boys traverse the town, stopping here and there, where the steep and tortuous paths offer a wider and more level space, to leap and to dance, or again at some friendly door, to imbibe spirituous encouragement to further efforts.

In the dancing itself there is nothing peculiar to this festival. The long swinging amble, which is the mode of progression of the more heavily equipped, is dictated by the burden of bells and the roughness of roads. The purpose of the leaping and dancing is solely to evoke as much noise as possible from the bells ; and in this the dancers attain their own highest hopes of din and tumult of sound, and painfully surpass the visitor's expectations ; for the interior of a belfry with a peal being rung would be peace and quiet after the jar and jangle of hundreds of those goat-bells, when the troupe of dancers wheel suddenly round some corner and pour past down the rugged slippery road, or at the end of the dance leap together into the air and come down together with a crash which in those narrow alleys threatens to dislodge the very houses from the great rocky pinnacle to whose abrupt sides they cling.

Of the origin of this custom, or of any idea involved in it, the island-folk offer no explanation. They regard it simply as a time-honoured and enjoyable festivity. Nor can its antiquity well be questioned. The vast quantity of special attire reserved exclusively for its celebration is a sure sign that the carnival is no modern fancy that has lightly attracted the popular mind, but a genuine old custom with a claim to observance more firmly established than its present observers are aware.

Whether this custom may be a survival of Bacchic or other orgies ; whether the season of festive fast in which it occurs has any special appropriateness, and whether the mask made of the skin of a small animal with the head hanging down to the wearer's breast bears more than an accidental resemblance to the *aegis* of Athena, are questions which I do not propose here to discuss. My intention has been simply to place on record, for the use of students of folklore, a custom which by a fortunately-timed visit to Scyros I was able to witness.



## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on October 30th, 1900, the Right Hon. H. H. ASQUITH, Q.C., M.P., in the Chair. The following Report was read by the Acting Hon. Secretary (Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN) on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

Although the number of students has been less than in some previous years, the work of the School under the direction in Crete of the Director of the School, Mr. Hogarth, and in Athens of the Assistant-Director, Mr. Bosanquet (who, as mentioned in last year's Report, was appointed to take charge of the School in Athens while the Director was absent in Crete), has been profitably carried on. There were six students in all. Of these, Mr. J. C. Lawson, now Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, came out for a second session as Craven Student ; and Mr. F. B. Welch, of Magdalen College, Oxford, came out for a second session as Craven Fellow. The four new Students were Mr. J. H. Hopkinson, of University College, Oxford, who came out with the Craven Fellowship ; Mr. S. C. Kaines-Smith, of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who held the Cambridge Studentship offered by the Managing Committee ; Miss O. C. Köhler, of Girton College, Cambridge ; and Mr. D. Theodore Fyfe, who was appointed by the Committee to the Architectural Studentship.

Mr. Lawson continued to devote his attention to the folk-lore and traditional beliefs of the Greek people. Having a thorough mastery of the language he has collected a vast amount of material from oral as well as literary sources, and his critical faculty qualifies him to make the best use of this material. It is hoped that the teaching work he has now undertaken for his College may still leave him some leisure in vacation for pursuing studies of so much interest and for ultimately publishing the results.

Mr. Welch, after completing in Athens his work on the minor antiquities found

at Phylakopi, went in February to Crete with Mr. Arthur Evans, worked in the Museum at Candia and travelled in the interior. Later, he was called to Palestine to report on the Aegean pottery found in the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund and practically established the fact that not only Cypriote but genuine Mycenaean vases were freely imported by the cities of the Philistine seaboard. In May Mr. Welch returned to Crete and watched the latter part of Mr. Hogarth's and Mr. Evans' excavations.

Mr. Hopkinson devoted his attention mainly to the history of vase-painting, but from February onwards took opportunities of travelling in the interior and in the islands.

Mr. Kaines-Smith and Miss Köhler worked chiefly in Athens, the latter attending the lectures of Dr. Dörpfeld and Dr. Wilhelm, while Mr. Kaines-Smith, after working at the relationship between certain types of engraved gems and the grave-stelae, made various expeditions in Greece with members of the British and American Schools.

Mr. Fyfe, who was appointed Architectural Student, has thoroughly justified the choice of the Committee by his admirable work in Crete, where he not only made the plans and surveys which lay within his special province, but also showed marked artistic talent in his water-colour drawings of the frescoes found by Mr. Evans.

The only excavations undertaken by the School this session were those in Crete which were prospectively referred to in last year's report. Mr. Hogarth has worked with great success on the site of the town of Knôsos, and later in the cave at Psychro which has been hitherto identified, as it now appears with reason, with the far-famed Dictaeon Cave. At Knôsos, although a careful and systematic probing of the whole surface of the hill did not, as Mr. Hogarth anticipated, reveal the earliest cemeteries, yet the discoveries made were such as to justify amply the labour and expense of the undertaking. A series of primitive houses were found which contained masses of pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean pottery. Many of the vases of the ware known as "Kamaraes" were unique in shape and ornament, and represent a great advance on previous knowledge. Further evidence of the existence of Pillar worship in the period of Mycenaean culture was also forthcoming. Good Mycenaean painted vases and objects in bronze were found in some of the chambers, and later two unripped graves in a cemetery of late Mycenaean and early Geometric period yielded many vases, as well as objects in gold, bronze, iron and paste, unlike anything previously found. The excavation of the Dictaeon cave took place in May and was rewarded by remarkable discoveries. Not only was there in the upper part of the cave abundant evidence of its sacrificial use, in the form of votive objects ranging from the late Kamaraes epoch to the later Geometric, but in the lowest depths of the cavern, where a subterranean pool extends among stalactite formations, the water-borne earth was found to be full of bronze statuettes, implements, weapons, gems, and articles of personal adornment, while even the natural niches in the stalactite formations were in many cases stocked with votive axes, blades, needles and so forth. "The frequent occurrence of the double

Carian axe" writes Mr. Hogarth "proves that we have here to do with the Cretan Zeus of the Labrys and no question remains that in the Altar and Temenos, the votive niches, the 700 bronze objects, the multitude of vases (nearly 600 unused cups of one type alone were found), the libation-tables in stone, the implements in bone and iron, we have abundant evidence as to the cult practised in one of the earliest and most holy of Cretan sanctuaries." A full preliminary account of these excavations will be published in the School Annual. The work will be continued in the coming session.

A passing reference must be made here to the brilliant discoveries made at the same time by Mr. Arthur Evans, working with the aid of the Cretan Exploration Fund, on another part of the site of Knōsos, where he was fortunate enough to light upon the remains of a great prehistoric palace which it does not seem fanciful to connect with the name of Minos. The most remarkable finds were a series of wall-paintings which are practically unique in the history of early Aegean art, and upwards of 1,000 inscribed tablets, in various forms of script, partly hieroglyphic and partly in signs of an alphabetic character, which form a most important addition to the seals previously found by Mr. Evans in other parts of the island and cannot fail, when they have been properly studied, to throw welcome light upon the early history of writing. All friends of the British School must congratulate their distinguished Associate, Mr. Evans, upon the results of his first season's work (in which he has been assisted by a former student, Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, as well as by the School Architect, Mr. Fyfe), and express the hope that another season may prove as fruitful.

The fifth volume of the School Annual appeared in the course of the spring, and contained (1) the full account by Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Edgar, and Mr. Gutch of the Excavations at Naucratis, which will not be recorded elsewhere; (2) the preliminary report of the Excavations in Melos during the season of 1899; and (3) an article by Mr. C. D. Edmonds on Doubtful Points of Thessalian Topography. The Annual has now taken a regular position among periodicals of its class and every effort will be made to maintain it efficiently.

In the course of the session, Mr. W. H. Cooke, the surviving executor of the late Mr. George Finlay, presented to the School, as a permanent memorial of the eminent historian, the library and bookshelves, together with various antiquities and portraits collected by Mr. Finlay during his long residence in Greece. The collection has been placed by itself in one of the rooms of the Macmillan Hostel, and forms a most valuable addition to the books available for students. As might be expected, the library is particularly rich in books dealing with Byzantine history and literature. The warm thanks of all friends of the School are due to Mr. Cooke for his generous gift.

The Committee is glad to be able to announce that the monograph on St. Luke's Monastery at Stiris in Phocis, which represents the first instalment of the valuable studies on Byzantine Architecture in Greece made some years ago by two students of the School, Mr. R. W. Schultz and Mr. Sidney Barnsley, will shortly be published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Although the work has been

unexpectedly delayed, it cannot be doubted that this volume, richly illustrated both with coloured plates and numerous sketches in black and white, will be welcome to all students of art and architecture. The cost of the plates has been met by a generous contribution from one of the trustees of the School, Dr. Edwin Freshfield, whose interest in and knowledge of the subject is well known. In this connexion it is only fitting to mention the serious loss sustained by the School generally and by the Byzantine side of its work in particular, through the recent death of the Marquis of Bute, who presided at one of our annual meetings and more than once made liberal contributions to the Byzantine Architecture Fund.

Mr. Hogarth, who was appointed Director of the School in 1897 for a period of three years, now retires from office and the Committee takes this opportunity of expressing their gratitude for the zeal and energy he has shown in fulfilling the duties of his office, particularly in the department of excavation, for which he was so well qualified by previous experience. He has completed the work at Phylakopi in Melos, initiated by his predecessor, Mr. Cecil Smith; and has also conducted successful excavations on the site of Naucratis and, as has already been stated in this report, on two sites in the island of Crete. In the hope that his valuable services may still be at the disposal of the School, he is to-day nominated as a member of the Committee.

Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet, a former student of the School, who has held the post of Assistant Director, with full charge of the work in Athens, during the past session, has now been appointed Director. The Committee consider themselves most fortunate in having induced Mr. Bosanquet to accept an appointment, for which his thorough training in archaeology, his long connexion with the School, and his zeal for its interests, so eminently qualify him. They are confident that under his rule the School will not only maintain but improve its already high position among the foreign institutes in Athens.

The valued Hon. Secretary of the School, Mr. William Loring, who has done such splendid service since his appointment in 1897, informed the Committee early in January that he had volunteered for service in South Africa, and he soon afterwards left the country with one of the Scottish companies of Imperial Yeomanry. Fortunately the former Hon. Secretary, Mr. Macmillan, was able to resume his old post temporarily during Mr. Loring's absence, and it is hoped that at any rate before the end of the year Mr. Loring will be back in England and will again take up the work. His re-election as Hon. Secretary for the ensuing session is accordingly proposed to-day.

Mr. Pandeli Ralli, who was a generous benefactor of the School in its early days, has resigned his position as Trustee on the ground that constant absence from London prevents him from taking any active part in the management of the School. Mr. George Macmillan, formerly Hon. Secretary of the School (and now acting-Secretary in the temporary absence of Mr. Loring), is to-day nominated by the Committee as a Trustee of the School in the place of Mr. Ralli.

In last year's Report reference was made to a project for establishing a British School at Rome. It had originally been intended to hold a public meeting in the

autumn or spring and to make a joint appeal on behalf of both Schools. The occurrence of the South African War, however, and the large demands made upon public generosity both for War Funds and for the Indian Famine Fund, seemed to be so adverse to the probable success of such an appeal that it was decided to postpone it. Considerable progress, nevertheless, was made in drafting a scheme for the School at Rome, and an attempt was made privately to raise funds to enable it to be started this autumn on however small a scale, but the effort has met with only limited success. In spite of this discouragement a very competent Director has been provisionally appointed in the person of Mr. Gordon Rushforth, of Oriel College, Oxford, who knows Rome thoroughly and has shown expert knowledge alike in the field of Latin epigraphy and of Italian art. Mr. Rushforth will probably go to Rome before Christmas, prepared to direct the studies of such students as may present themselves, and it is hoped that in the course of the next few months it may be found possible to raise, whether in the form of donations or of annual subscriptions, sufficient funds to give the experiment a fair trial. The matter is commended to the generous support of all friends of the School at Athens, the members of which would certainly derive no small advantage from the existence of a similar school in Rome.

The finances of the School have been a source of considerable anxiety to the Committee during the past year, and it is with a sense of great relief that they find themselves able to give a favourable report. At the time of the public meeting at St. James's Palace in 1895, subscriptions amounting to a very considerable amount were promised for a period of five years, and the Government grant of £500 per annum was promised at the same time for the same period. Thus the Committee were unable to depend on the continuance of about half their income beyond the present year. For reasons already given, the Committee, in place of making a public appeal, decided, while asking those subscribers whose promises were lapsing to continue them for at least two years more, at the same time to invite privately those of their supporters in the past, who were not annual subscribers, to promise annual subscriptions for a like period. They are happy to report that both appeals met with a generous response. Nearly all the expiring subscriptions have been renewed for two years certain; among these renewals the Committee have special pleasure and pride in recording that of £25 per annum generously given since 1895 by H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES. Dr. Ludwig Mond also continued in like manner his most liberal subscription of £100 per annum, which forms no inconsiderable proportion of the total income of the School.

At the same time a memorial was addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer asking formally for a renewal of the Government grant. This, too, was favourably received, and the Committee have been officially informed that the grant will be placed upon the estimates for a further period of five years. The Committee have reason to believe that this favourable decision was due not only to the excellent record which the School was able to show of work done during the last five years, but also to the state of the subscription list, which showed that the School was still able to command the generous support of private subscribers. However this may

be, Committee and Subscribers alike are indebted to the Lords of the Treasury for this continued recognition of the School as an institution deserving of help from the National Exchequer. A copy of the Chancellor's letter is appended to this Report. The School thus starts upon a fresh period of existence without any immediate apprehension of having to restrict its operations—a fortunate position which, as the Committee feel bound to add, does not in any way relieve its supporters from the obligation of working by all means in their power for yet further expansion.

Among special donations for which the warmest thanks of the Committee are due, mention must be made of assistance from the Cretan Exploration Fund towards the School excavations, which in various forms amounted to at least £150 more than the £100 formally recorded in the accounts; and also of £50 given for general purposes by Newnham College, Cambridge.

It is specially fortunate that the finances of the School should for the moment be comparatively prosperous, for the Committee regret to say that they have been called upon to face a somewhat serious expense in the repair of the School building. As it has now been standing for some sixteen years, this is hardly to be wondered at, although the defects which have been discovered in the roof, and which cannot be satisfactorily cured without its entire reconstruction, would not have occurred if the architect's plans had been properly carried out by the original builders. The matter has been thoroughly enquired into by a Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Penrose, the original architect, the Treasurer, the acting Hon. Secretary, and Mr. C. R. Clark, formerly School architect, with the advice of the present School architect, Mr. Fyfe, who has further undertaken the very necessary supervision of the work in progress. The Committee believe that the repairs decided upon will result in a thoroughly sound piece of work, which should last for many years to come. The opportunity has been taken to make sundry small improvements which should add to the comfort and convenience of the house both for Director and Students.

In conclusion, the Committee feel that they may congratulate Subscribers both on the present position and future prospects of the School. In the fifteen years which have now elapsed since its foundation it has, in spite of difficulties and discouragements, steadily gained ground. The past year has brought with it an important and quite unforeseen accession to the Library which forms so indispensable a part of its educational apparatus. This educational side of the School work will be steadily kept in view by the new Director who, in consultation with his predecessor, has already drafted some very valuable suggestions for the guidance of Students both in preparing for and turning to the best account the time they may spend in Greece. In the field of excavation, which forms so useful an adjunct to the work done in museums or in the lecture-room, the results of the past session seem to promise discoveries in Crete which may even surpass in interest those already put to the credit of the School in Greece, in Cyprus, in Melos, and at Naucratis. The relations of the School with the other foreign institutes in Athens continue to be of the most cordial character. If only the financial support hitherto



forthcoming both from public and private sources is well maintained, its friends may hope that in the new century upon which we are so soon to enter the British School at Athens may, with its sister School at Rome, before long achieve the position of a permanent national institution, to which its promoters have always looked forward with unflinching confidence.

Mr. ASQUITH, in moving the adoption of the Committee's Report, said: This is an interesting and stimulating document in many ways. It contains one announcement in particular which, I think, must have filled those who are interested in the British School at Athens with as much gratification, and, perhaps, with as much surprise, as the rarest find which has rewarded the most industrious explorer in the soil of Melos or Crete. I gather that the Institution has succeeded in extracting from the Treasury a promise of the continuance of the endowment of £500 a year for another five years. It is not a very splendid sum for the richest country in the world to contribute in support of the efforts of British scholarship to hold its own in a field in which other and poorer countries have for long put us to shame, both by the scale of their operations and by the munificence of their expenditure. But I imagine that the choice lay not between £500 a year and a larger and more adequate figure, but between £500 a year and nothing at all.

Upon that assumption, I may venture to congratulate both the Institution and the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the arrangement which has been made—the managers of the School, because it will at any rate enable them, which seems to be necessary, to keep a roof over the heads of their students; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because there will at least be one item in the Estimates for next year with which no critic on either side of the House of Commons would be disposed to quarrel.

I think I am right in saying that in this country, and until very lately, archaeology in any real sense—classical archaeology—was regarded as the exclusive province, perhaps I might say the unenvied province, of a select band of specialists. Undoubtedly it used to be the case, so long as I can remember, at Oxford and Cambridge, that for a hundred students of the classics who gave themselves to pure scholarship—to philology, philosophy, or history—there was not more than one who took up archaeology. I do not know what was the reason. Perhaps it was because it did not pay in the examinations, although that might be confounding effect with cause. At any rate, there were not a few, of whom I sadly acknowledge myself to be one, who in times gone by spent a good many hours upon the text, style, and literary and historical environment of the great writers of antiquity with the meagrest possible equipment of archaeological knowledge. I am not sure that there is not now something of a reaction towards the opposite extreme. But to those of the days of which I am speaking the value of a particle, the nuances of an enclitic, the poetical or rhetorical intentions of the occasional lapses of some of the most famous Greek writers into what in lesser people would be called bad grammar, were of as much importance as, I imagine, to their successors of to-day are the large

possibilities of truth or of error which hang on the proper classification of two or three ambiguous fragments of pre-Mycenaean pottery.

Perhaps, if a conjecture may be hazarded—I speak with the utmost diffidence—both the older and the later schools were apt to suffer from the want of a due sense of proportion. One is reminded sometimes of the dictum of an eminent Statesman of the past which was often in the mouth of a great Oxford authority of my time. He was reported to have said, “When I was young, nobody was a believer. Now I am old, everybody is a believer. They were both wrong.” The fact is, although it is a commonplace, it is perfectly true here as elsewhere, that knowledge is not one but many sided, and that in its pursuit many different avenues, starting from widely-separated points of view, ultimately converge. There is place and to spare in the ranks of scholarship for every description of soldier—for the philologist, the textual critic, the historian, the antiquarian. There is work to be done by every kind of tool or implement—by the sponge, which expurgates a false reading; by the file which gets rid of an intrusive gloss; by the spade, which excavates a neglected tumulus; and, may I not add, by the imagination which adjusts, proportions, and re-creates a misconceived or a forgotten past?

There should, therefore, be no envy or false rivalry between the workers in what is after all a common field. To get at the truth about the ancient world, to extend the boundaries of what is proved or provable, to expose and to banish impostures and illusions—that, always and everywhere, is the genuine note of research—the article of a standing or falling creed of scholarship.

Whether one looks at the past achievements or to the present position and future prospects of the British School, one is glad to recognise that it has always embraced and followed this catholic conception of the purposes for which it exists. In its hostel, its library, its association of men in a common pursuit and for a common purpose, it realises on a modest scale, and with not overflowing resources, a worthy ideal, and naturally, from the conditions of its environment, its main output—if I may use a commercial term—has been in the field of classical archaeology.

It must be sorrowfully admitted that, from the selfishly British point of view, the golden age of Hellenic exploration has gone. Never again can we hope to see our national collections enriched by such spoils as those of the Parthenon and the Mausoleum. It must make the mouth of Mr. Hogarth and his associates water to think of the days when Sir Charles Newton, with a Firman in his pocket, a Company of Royal Engineers and Sappers at his back, and a British man-of-war lying at a handy distance in a convenient bay, was able to rifle at his will the half-hidden treasures of Cnidus and Halicarnassus. These drastic proceedings belonged to the early fifties, to an era when what was called the Manchester School was in the ascendant in this country. In these later times, when, as we are told by the newspapers, we are all Imperialists, the British explorer proceeds upon his task with a humbler and more apologetic mien. There is no longer pride in his pick or defiance in his spade. If he wishes, as Mr. Hogarth and his friends have been doing, to unearth the suspected

treasures which might or might not exist in the Island of Melos, he must first conciliate the local demarch, and pay full compensation for disturbance to the peasant proprietor.

During the past year, as is shown by the Committee's Report, some of your best work has been done in the Island of Crete. Crete has always had a special interest of its own to the student of the past. It was, as the Report states, the fabled, perhaps the actual, home of Minos—an equivocal and much disputed character—and also the classical soil of Hellenic mendacity. No wonder, therefore, that the products of modern exploration of that classic island have provoked controversy among scholars. We have all heard with much interest the accounts given in the Report of the researches of Mr. Evans and Mr. Hogarth at Knôsos and the Dictæan Cave.

Here again, as is so often happening, scepticism has received an ugly blow, and legends which had become somewhat ragged and tattered have been decently re-clothed. I gather that the mountain on which Zeus was supposed to have rested from his labour, and the palace in which Minos invented the science of jurisprudence, are being brought out of the region of myth into the domain of possible reality.

Any one who looks at the volumes in which the work of the British School has been described from year to year would, I think, be doubly surprised—surprised first of all by the extent and value of the discoveries which have been made in what many people thought an almost worn-out field; and surprised next by the energy, patience, the wide range of knowledge, the rapid insight, the sobriety of judgment, and, above all, the unwearying zeal which each successive director and his staff have contributed to the work and communicated to those whom they had guided and taught.

I feel sure I am but echoing the feeling of everyone present when I say it is our best wish for the new director, Mr. Bosanquet, that these qualities may show no abatement under his rule, and that the School, recruited from time to time from the best blood of each academic generation, may continue to do honour to British scholarship, and keep its place in the forefront of those whose mission it is to explore and interpret the inexhaustible secrets of the ancient world.

Dr. R. N. CUST seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. D. G. HOGARTH, the retiring director, then gave an account of his season's labours. He said his work had been for the past season solely to conduct the excavations of the School. The audience would recall his prophecy of last year concerning Crete. It had been fulfilled beyond any hope he had held then. What had been effected by the Cretan Fund and the School, working together, amounted to a revelation of the prehistoric Aegean civilisation, more momentous than any since Schliemann opened the Royal graves at Mycenae. The discovery made twenty-five years ago that no barbarians, but possessors of a very high and individual culture—a culture which could not but have affected the Hellenic—preceded the

Hellenic period in Greece, had been developed in various ways since. It had been established that this culture had had a very long existence and development ; it covered completely a large geographical area ; it developed various local characteristics in art production which seemed to be gathered again into one by the typical art of Mycenae.

But the most important historical points remained obscure. Where was the original home of this new civilisation ; what family did the race or races belong to ; of what speech were they and what religions ; what was the history of their societies and art during their dominance, and what became of them after ? Neither mainland Greece nor the Aegean islands answered these questions. But there were two unknown quantities, Crete and Asia Minor, with Rhodes. One of these we have now attacked.

Crete by its great size and natural wealth, its position, and its mythologic fame was bound to inform us of much. It is too early to say that the questions will all be answered by Crete, but already we have much light. The discovery of written documents and of shrines has told us more than any other evidence of the origin and racial family of the "Mycenaeans." The Knôsos frescoes show us the racial type ; the Dictaeon Cave, and Knôsos houses illuminate the religion. New arts have been discovered, and the relation to Egypt and Asia are already far better understood.

It remains now to find the early tombs, and clear the lower stratum of the Palace ruins at Knôsos, to know more of the earliest Cretan race, to explore the east or "Eteocretan" end of the island, to obtain light on the language and relations to Egypt and Asia, and to investigate the "Geometric" period, which is the transition to the Hellenic.

The School is in an excellent position. In regard to British interest in Greek art and archaeology it must regard itself as in some sort a missionary centre. Until there is more interest, there will not be sufficient inducement to students. So far as research goes, the School has extorted recognition all over the scholarly world, and now occupies a leading place, in which public support must maintain it.

The following Resolution was moved by Prof. PERCY GARDNER, seconded by Dr. F. G. KENYON and carried unanimously.

"That Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN be appointed a Trustee of the School in the place of Mr. PANDELI RALLI, resigned. That Mr. ARTHUR EVANS, Miss HARRISON, and Mr. CECIL SMITH be re-elected, and Mr. D. G. HOGARTH elected, members of the Managing Committee. That Mr. WALTER LEAF be re-elected Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. WILLIAM LORING Hon. Secretary, and that LORD LINGEN and Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK be re-elected Auditors of the School for the ensuing Session."

The proceedings closed with the usual votes of thanks to the Auditors (moved by Mr. PENROSE, seconded by Mr. F. E. THOMPSON), and to the Chairman (moved by Professor WALDSTEIN, seconded by Sir WILLIAM FARRER).

TREASURY CHAMBERS,

4 August, 1900.

GENTLEMEN,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has laid before the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury your memorial on behalf of the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens.

My Lords have read the statements in that memorial as to the work done by the School, and the interest taken in it. They note in particular that the Government Grant has not been accompanied by any diminution in the private subscriptions, which on the contrary are somewhat higher in the present year than in 1895; and My Lords trust that this satisfactory state of things will continue.

In view of all the circumstances My Lords consider that the Grant of £500 per annum may properly be renewed for a second period of five years; and They are prepared to make the necessary application to Parliament for the purpose.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS MOWAT.

WALTER LEAF, ESQ.

G. A. MACMILLAN, ESQ.

c/o MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.,  
ST. MARTIN'S STREET,  
W.C.



## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Balance from last Account . . . . .	2,433 7 6		Library . . . . .	101 2 2
Donations, as per list . . . . .	90 7 0		Balance, Income and Expenditure	
			Account . . . . .	11 2 1
			Balance . . . . .	2,411 10 3
	<u>2,523 14 6</u>			<u>2,523 14 6</u>

## BALANCE ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Balance of Capital . . . . .	2,411 10 3		Cash at Bankers . . . . .	613 15 7
Subscriptions paid in advance . . . . .	27 13 0		India 3% Stock, at par . . . . .	2,000 0 0
Balance, Byzantine Fund . . . . .	55 1 8			
Do., British School at Rome . . . . .	119 10 8			
	<u>2,613 15 7</u>			<u>2,613 15 7</u>

Examined and found correct,

LINGEN,  
F. POLLOCK.

October 24th, 1900.

## DONATIONS—1899-1900.

	£	s.	d.
Newnham College . . . . .	50	0	0
Baker, H. . . . .	5	5	0
Carr, Rear-Admiral . . . . .	10	0	0
Egerton, Sir E. H. . . . .	5	0	0
Farrer, Sir W. J. . . . .	5	0	0
Miller, Rev. A. . . . .	3	0	0
Richmond, Bishop of . . . . .	2	2	0
Waterhouse, E. . . . .	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£90	7	0

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1899-1900.

	£	s.	d.
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES . . . . .	25	0	0
The University of Oxford . . . . .	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge . . . . .	100	0	0
McGill University, Montreal . . . . .	5	5	0
The Hellenic Society . . . . .	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries . . . . .	5	5	0
Brasenose College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	10	0	0
King's College, Cambridge . . . . .	10	0	0
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	£	s.	d.
Agnew, Sir W. . . . .	2	2	0
Aitchison, G. . . . .	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof. . . . .	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R. . . . .	10	0	0
Austen Leigh, E. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Awdry, H. . . . .	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C. . . . .	5	0	0
Barlow, Dr. T. . . . .	1	1	0
Bodington, Dr. N. . . . .	1	0	0
Bosanquet, C. B. P. . . . .	2	0	0
Bosanquet, R. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Brinton, H. . . . .	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford . . . . .	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W. . . . .	1	0	0
Bury, Prof. J. B. . . . .	1	1	0
Butcher, Prof. . . . .	2	2	0
Butler, Dr. . . . .	2	2	0
Buxton, H. E. . . . .	1	0	0
Campbell, Prof. L. . . . .	1	1	0
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	£	s.	d.
Carlisle, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A. . . . .	1	1	0
Caton, R. . . . .	1	1	0
Chambers, Col. O. . . . .	10	0	0
Chawner, W. . . . .	2	2	0
Clark, C. R. . . . .	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0
Cole, A. C. . . . .	2	2	0
Corbett, V. . . . .	1	0	0
Cruddas, Miss D. . . . .	5	0	0
Cust, Miss A. M. . . . .	1	1	0
Dabis, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Davey, Lord . . . . .	5	0	0
Davidson, H. O. D. . . . .	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A. . . . .	1	1	0
Earl, A. G. . . . .	1	1	0
Egerton of Tatton, Lord . . . . .	10	10	0
	<hr/>		
Carried forward . . . . .	472	8	0



ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS 1899-1900 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	472	8	0	Morley, Lord	1	1	0
Elliot, Rev. F. R.	1	1	0	Morley, H.	5	5	0
Elliot, F. E. H.	1	0	0	Morshead, E. D. A.	1	0	0
Eumorphopoulos, N.	1	1	0	Myers, E.	1	1	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0	Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Evans, Sir J.	5	0	0	Neil, R. A.	2	2	0
Ewart, Miss	5	0	0	Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0	Pelham, Mrs. Arthur	1	1	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0	Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0	Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0	Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0	Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0	Radford, Dr.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0	Rathbone, Mrs. F.	1	0	0
Haigh, A. E.	1	0	0	Rawlinson, W. G.	1	1	0
Hallam, G. H.	1	1	0	Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0	Rendall, Prof.	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0	Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0	Robb, Mrs.	1	1	0
Henderson, A. E.	1	0	0	Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys.	1	1	0
Hereford, Bishop of	1	1	0	Sandys, Dr.	5	0	0
Hill, G. F.	1	1	0	Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	2	0	0	Searle, G. von U.	1	0	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0	Smith, R. A. H. Bickford	2	2	0
Jones, H. Stuart	1	1	0	Stannus, Hugh	1	1	0
Kenyon, F. G.	1	1	0	Stanton, C. H.	2	2	0
King, Miss	5	0	0	Stevenson, Miss	1	1	0
L. J. E.	1	0	0	Tadema, Sir L. Alma	20	0	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0	Tancock, Rev. C. C.	1	1	0
Lawson, Sir E.	5	0	0	Teale, J. Pridgin	1	1	0
Leaf, Mrs. C. J.	5	5	0	Thompson, Sir E. M.	3	3	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0	Thompson, Sir H.	5	0	0
Lecky, Mrs.	3	3	0	Thonger, C. W.	1	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. S. S.	2	2	0	Thursfield, J. R.	1	1	0
Lincoln, the Dean of	3	0	0	Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Lingen, Lord	2	2	0	Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0	Vardy, Rev. A. R.	1	1	0
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- J. G. C. Anderson, Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Student of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
- J. W. Crowfoot, Hulmeian Exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford. Education Department, Cairo. Formerly Lecturer in Classics, Mason College, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
- W. W. Reid, Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
- A. E. Henderson, Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—9.
- W. A. Curtis, Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.

A. J. Spilsbury,	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare,	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson,	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—9. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds,	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Elstree School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—9.
J. H. Marshall,	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—9
Clement Gutch,	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—9.
F. B. Welch,	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—9. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson,	Secretary of Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—9.
J. K. Fotheringham,	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—9.
J. H. Hopkinson,	University College, Oxford; Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1899—1900.
S. C. Kaines-Smith,	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler,	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe,	Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.

## ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Professor J. B. Bury,	Trinity College, Dublin. Admitted 1895—6.
Rev. A. H. Cruickshank,	The College, Winchester. Admitted 1895—6.
Arthur J. Evans,	Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Admitted 1895—6.
Ambrose Poynter,	Admitted 1896—7.
J. E. Brooks,	A former Student of the School. Admitted 1896—7.
J. L. Myres,	Student of Christ Church, Oxford; a former Student of the School. Admitted 1896—7.
Professor E. A. Gardner,	Formerly Director of the School. Admitted 1897—8.

# British School at Athens.

## METHODS OF WORK AND TEACHING.

*Extracted from the present Director's last report to the Managing Committee.*

UNDER an ideal system most students would spend two, some three, seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year a man need not lose sight of his special subject, but in most cases it would pay him to adopt something like the following programme :

[August and] *September.* In Berlin (Munich, Dresden) to become familiar with spoken German and so be able to profit by some of the 3 or 4 courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of German and Austrian Institutes.

*October.* Arrive in Greece. Face the difficulties of language and travelling. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Heraeum near Argos, before the rains begin in November.

About *November 15.* Settle down in Hostel for 3 or 4 months of steady work on sites and in Museums, attending some of the half-dozen available courses of lectures, and making frequent short excursions into the country, by train, bicycle, carriage or on mule-back. A bicycle is invaluable.

This residence in the Hostel, with occasional absences for a few nights in the country, should last until the beginning or middle of March according to the season.

*March, April.* Travel, study ancient sites.

If possible join one of the island-cruises to which Professor Gardner and Professor Dörpfeld have hospitably admitted students in the past.

*May, June.* Begin to concentrate attention on special work : e.g. a man may assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control or independence in his second summer : or he may explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or group of islands : or he may work his way homewards through a number of Museums in Italy, Austria and Germany : or attend Mau's summer-course of lectures at Pompeii and afterwards spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In the latter case he will do well to attach himself to the newly founded British School at Rome ; a library is being formed in the rooms of the School in the Odescalchi Palace, and Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, the Director, is ready to aid and advise students.

For the *second year* it is impossible to formulate a definite scheme. It should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified in different ways to suit each case. There will always be men who, like most of the French students, are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. On the other hand there will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life, to visit sites and battle fields, illuminating and colouring their past reading and fitting themselves for general classical teaching : but have no time for minute archaeological studies.

It is evident that in each year the methods and matter of the teaching at the School must be adapted to the requirements of the students. Students from English universities will never have the love of formal lectures which distinguishes those from America, and where the numbers are small it will often be better to teach, as Dr. Wolters has been in the habit of doing, by means of informal visits to sites and Museums.

*February 1901.*

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

### OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period ; (ii) the study of inscriptions ; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites ; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

### THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

- (1) Donors of £10 and upwards.
- (2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription
- (3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time or £5 annually.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

### THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

### THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

- (1) The Trustees of the School.
- (2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
- (3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
- (4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months ; but the Secretary or Treasurer may, with the approval of two members of the Committee, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

#### STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

No person shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands.

XX. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXI. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXII. The Managing Committee may elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands; and may also elect as honorary members such persons as they may from time to time think desirable.

XXIII. Students, Associates, and honorary members, shall have a right to use the Library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXIV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

#### THE DIRECTOR.

XXV. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVI. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house; but Students of the School shall have a right to the use of the Library at all reasonable times.

XXVII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XX., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXVIII. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXIX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXX. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXI. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

## RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIII. The Hostel shall be managed by the Students for the time being, subject to the control of the Director.

XXXIV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct ; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXV. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of 20 drachmas (paper) a week for their rooms, this payment to include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVI. Associates of the School, members of the Committee, and ex-directors, may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be 30 drachmas (paper) until further notice.

XXXVIII. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

## RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XXXIX. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

## PUBLICATION.

XL. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

## THE FINANCES.

XLI. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIII. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLIV. The second claim shall be the salary of the Director, as arranged between him and the Managing Committee.

XLV. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report ; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

*Revised to November, 1899.*

## MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1900—1901.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.  
 PROFESSOR JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., M.P. } Trustees.  
 GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ.

D. B. MONRO, ESQ., M.A., Provost of Oriel. Appointed by the University of Oxford.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.

SIDNEY COLVIN, ESQ., M.A. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.

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PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.

} Appointed by the Subscribers.

WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D., *Hon. Treasurer*, 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

WILLIAM LORING, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.

*Director, 1900—1901.*

R. CARR BOSANQUET, ESQ., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.











## British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of numerous and most important discoveries which have taken place on Greek soil in the last few years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. Firstly, the command of an adequate library; and secondly, the advice of a trained archaeologist, residing on the spot, and following the rapid advances of the science, due partly to new discovery and partly to the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and British archaeologists, through the Schools which their nationalities have established. It is also by means of these Schools that many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos and in Crete by the British School during the past fourteen Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported.

Any persons of British nationality who can give satisfactory proof of their qualifications are admitted as students free of charge. The principal conditions imposed are that they shall pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands, and that they shall at the end of the Session write a report of the work which they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Hon. Sec., WILLIAM LORING, Esq., 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C. Mr. LORING will also be happy to supply any further information.

The present income of the School (including the grant of £500 from the Government) is about £1,400, of which a considerable part is secured only until next year. This income, however, is barely sufficient for the most pressing needs, and permits of no expansion. Donations or annual subscriptions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, WALTER LEAF, Esq., 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

*February 1901.*

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,  
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