

THE MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN ELEMENT IN HELLENIC LIFE.¹

IN his concluding Address to this Society our late President remarked that he cared more for the products of the full maturity of the Greek spirit than for its immature struggles, and this preference for fruits over roots is likely to be shared by most classical scholars. The prehistoric civilization of the land which afterwards became Hellas might indeed seem far removed from the central interests of Greek culture, and it was only with considerable hesitation that I accepted, even for a while, the position in which the Society has placed me. Yet I imagine that my presence in this Chair is due to a feeling on its part that what may be called the embryological department has its place among our studies.

Therefore I intend to take advantage of my position here to-day to say something in favour of roots, and even of germs. These are the days of origins, and what is true of the higher forms of animal life and functional activities is equally true of many of the vital principles that inspired the mature civilization of Greece—they cannot be adequately studied without constant reference to their anterior stages of evolution. Such knowledge can alone supply the key to the root significance of many later phenomena, especially in the domain of Art and Religion. It alone can indicate the right direction along many paths of classical research. Amidst the labyrinth of conjecture we have here an Ariadnê to supply the clue. And who, indeed, was Ariadnê herself but the Great Goddess of Minoan Crete in her Greek adoptive form qualified as the Most Holy?

'The chasm,' remarks Professor Gardner, 'dividing prehistoric from historic Greece is growing wider and deeper.'² In some respects perhaps—but, looking at the relations of the two as a whole, I venture to believe that the scientific study of Greek civilization is becoming less and less possible without taking into constant account that of the Minoan and Mycenaean world that went before it.

The truth is that the old view of Greek civilization as a kind of 'enfant de miracle' can no longer be maintained. Whether they like it or not, classical students must consider origins. One after another the 'inventions' attributed by its writers to the later Hellas are seen to have been anticipated on Greek soil at least a thousand years earlier. Take a few almost at random: the Aeginetan claim to have invented sailing vessels, when

¹ From the Address of the President delivered to the Hellenic Society, June 1912.

² *J.H.S.* xxxi. (1911), p. lix.

such already ploughed the Aegean and the Libyan seas at the dawn of the Minoan Age; the attribution of the great improvement in music, marked by the seven-stringed lyre, to Terpander of Lesbos in the middle of the seventh century B.C.—an instrument played by the long-robed Cretan priests of Hagia Triada some ten centuries before, and, indeed, of far earlier Minoan use. At least the antecedent stage of coinage was reached long before the time of Pheidôn, and the weight standards of Greece were known ages before they received their later names.

Let us admit that there may have been re-inventions of lost arts. Let us not blink the fact that over a large part of Greece darkness for a time prevailed. Let it be assumed that the Greeks themselves were an intrusive people and that they finally imposed their language on an old Mediterranean race. But if, as I believe, that view is to be maintained it must yet be acknowledged that from the ethnic point of view the older elements largely absorbed the later. The people whom we discern in the new dawn are not the pale-skinned northerners—the ‘yellow-haired Achaeans’ and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned race, the *Φόινικες* or ‘Red Men’ of later tradition, of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings. The high artistic capacities that distinguish this race are in absolute contrast to the pronounced lack of such a quality among the neolithic inhabitants of those more central and northern European regions, whence *ex hypothesi* the invaders came. But can it be doubted that the artistic genius of the later Hellenes was largely the continuous outcome of that inherent in the earlier race in which they had been merged? Of that earlier ‘Greece before the Greeks’ it may be said, as of the later Greece, *capta ferum victorem cepit*.

It is true that the problem would be much simplified if we could accept the conclusion that the representatives of the earlier Minoan civilization in Crete and of its Mycenaean outgrowth on the mainland were themselves of Hellenic stock. In face of the now ascertained evidence that representatives of the Aryan-speaking race had already reached the Euphrates by the fourteenth century B.C. there is no *a priori* objection to the view that other members of the same linguistic group had reached the Aegean coasts and islands at an even earlier date. If such a primitive occupation is not proved it certainly will not be owing to want of ingenuity on the part of interpreters of the Minoan or connected scripts. The earliest of the Cretan hieroglyphs were hailed as Greek on the banks of the Mulde. Investigators of the Phaestos Disk on both sides of the Atlantic have found a Hellenic key, though the key proves not to be the same, and as regards the linguistic forms unlocked it must be said that many of them neither represent historic Greek, nor any antecedent stage of it reconcilable with existing views as to the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages.³

³ I especially refer to some of the strange linguistic freaks of Dr. Hempl. Prof. A. Cuny has faithfully dealt with some of these in the *Revue*

des Études Anciennes T. xiv. (1912), pp. 95, 96. The more plausible attempt of Miss Stawell leaves me entirely unconvinced.

The Phaestos Disk indeed, if my own conclusions be correct, belongs rather to the Eastern Aegean coastlands than to prehistoric Crete. As to the Minoan Script proper in its most advanced types—the successive Linear types A and B—my own chief endeavour at the present moment is to set out the whole of the really vast material in a clear and collective form. Even then it may well seem presumptuous to expect that anything more than the threshold of systematic investigation will have been reached. Yet, if rumour speaks truly, the stray specimens of the script that have as yet seen the light have been amply sufficient to provide ingenious minds with a Greek—it is even whispered, an Attic—interpretation. For that it is not even necessary to wait for a complete signary of either of the scripts!

For myself I cannot say that I am confident of any such solution. To me at least the view that the Eteocretan population, who preserved their own language down to the third century before our era, spoke Greek in a remote prehistoric age is repugnant to the plainest dictates of common sense. What certain traces we have of the early race and language lead us in a quite different direction. It is not easy to recognize in this dark Mediterranean people, whose physical characteristics can be now carried back at least to the beginning of the second millennium before our era, a youthful member of the Aryan-speaking family. It is impossible to ignore the evidence supplied by a long series of local names which link on the original speech of Crete and of a large part of mainland Greece to that of the primitive Anatolian stock, of whom the Carians stand forth as, perhaps, the purest representatives. The name of Knossos itself, for instance, is distinctively Anatolian; the earlier name of Lyttos,—Karnessopolis—contains the same element as Halikarnassos. But it is useless to multiply examples since the comparison has been well worked out by Fick and Kretschmer and other comparative philologists.

When we come to the religious elements the same Asianic relationship is equally well marked. The Great Goddess of Minoan Crete had sisters East of the Aegean, even more long-lived than herself. The Korybantes and their divine Child range in the same direction, and the fetish cult of the Double Axe is inseparable from that of the Carian *labrys* which survived in the worship of the Zeus of Labraunda.

Some of the most characteristic religious scenes on Minoan signets are most intelligible in the light supplied by cults that survived to historic times in the lands East of the Aegean. Throughout those regions we are confronted by a perpetually recurrent figure of a Goddess and her youthful satellite—son or paramour, martial or effeminate by turns, but always mortal, and mourned in various forms. Attis, Adonis or Thammuz, we may add the Ilian Anchises,⁴ all had tombs within her temple walls. Not least, the Cretan Zeus himself knew death, and the fabled site of his monument on Mount Juktas proves to coincide with a votive shrine over which the Goddess

⁴ 'Tombs' of Anchises—the baetylic pillar may also be regarded as sepulchral—were erected

in many places, from the Phrygian Ida to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Eryx.

rather than the God originally presided. So too, on the Minoan and Mycenaean signets we see the warrior youth before the seated Goddess, and in one case actually seem to have a glimpse of the 'tomb' within its temenos. Beside it is hung up the little body-shield, a mourning votary is bowed towards it, the sacred tree and pillar shrine of the Goddess are hard by.⁵ In another parallel scene the female mourner lies prone above the shield itself, the divine connexion of which is shown by the sacred emblems seen above, which combine the double axe and life symbol.⁶

Doubtless some of these elements, notably in Crete, were absorbed by later Greek cult, but their characteristic form has nothing to do with the traditions of primitive Aryan religion. They are essentially non-Hellenic.

An endeavour has been made, and has been recently repeated, to get over the difficulty thus presented by supposing that the culture exemplified by the Minoan Palaces of Crete belongs to two stages, to which the names of 'Carian' and 'Achaean' have been given. Rough and ready lines of division between 'older' and 'later' Palaces have been laid down to suit this ethnographic system. It may be confidently stated that a fuller acquaintance with the archaeological evidence is absolutely fatal to theories such as these.

The more the stratigraphical materials are studied, and it is these that form our main scientific basis, the more manifest it appears that while on the one hand the history of the great Minoan structures is more complicated than was at first realised, on the other hand the unity of that history, from their first foundation to their final overthrow, asserts itself with ever-increasing emphasis. The periods of destruction and renovation in the different Palaces do not wholly correspond. Both at Knossos and at Phaestos, where the original buildings go back well nigh to the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, there was a considerable overthrow at the close of the Second Middle Minoan Period. Another catastrophe followed at Knossos at the end of the Third Middle Minoan Period. At Phaestos, on the other hand, the second, and in that case the final destruction took place in the First Late Minoan Period. The little Palace of Hagia Triada, the beginnings of which perhaps synchronize with those of the Second Palace of Phaestos, was overthrown at the same time. But the Minoan sovereigns who dwelt in the Later Palace of Knossos seem to have thriven at the expense of their neighbours. Early in the Second Late Minoan Period, when the rival seats were in ruins, the Knossian Palace was embellished by the addition of a new façade on the Central Court of which the Room of the Throne is a marvellous surviving record. At the close of this Second Late Minoan Age the Palace of Knossos was finally destroyed. But the tombs of Zafer Papoura show that even this blow did not seriously break the continuity of local culture, and the evidence of a purely Minoan revival in the Third Late Minoan Age is still stronger in the new settlement of Hagia Triada, which may claim the famous sarco-

⁵ See my 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar-Cult' (*J.H.S.* 1901), pp. 81, 83, and p. 79, Fig. 53.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 78, Fig. 52.

phagus as its chief glory. There is no room for foreign settlement as yet in Crete,⁷ though the reaction of Mainland Mycenaean influences made itself perceptible in the island⁸ towards the close of the Third Late Minoan Period.

Here then we have a story of ups and downs of insular life, and of internecine struggles like those that ruined the later cities of Crete, but with no general line of cleavage such as might have resulted from a foreign invasion. The epochs of destruction and renovation by no means synchronize in different Minoan centres. But when we come to regard the remains themselves as stratified by the various catastrophes it becomes evident that they are the results of a gradual evolution. There is no break. Alike in the architectural remains and the internal decorations, in every branch of art the development is continuous and, though the division into distinct periods stratigraphically delimited is useful for purposes of classification, the style of one phase of Minoan culture shades off into that of another by imperceptible gradations. The same is true of the remains of the Early Minoan Periods that lie behind the Age of Palaces, and the unity of the whole civilization is such as almost to impose the conclusion that there was a continuity of race. If the inhabitants of the latest Palace structures are to be regarded as 'Achaeans' the Greek occupation of Crete must, on this showing, be carried back to Neolithic times. A consequence of this conclusion—improbable in itself,—would be that these hypothetical Greeks approached their mainland seats from the South instead of the North.

Who would defend such a view? Much new light has recently been thrown on the history of the mainland branch of the Minoan culture at Mycenae by the supplementary researches made under the auspices of the German Institute at Athens, at Tiryns and Mycenae. It is now clear that the beginnings of this mainland plantation hardly go back beyond the beginning of the First Late Minoan Period—in other words long ages of civilized life in Minoan Crete had preceded

⁷ There is no foundation for the view that the later oblong structure at Hagia Triada is a megaron of Mainland type. The mistake, as was pointed out by Noack (*Ovalhaus und Palast in Kreta*, p. 27, n. 24), and as I had independently ascertained, was due to the omission of one of the three cross-walls on the Italian plan. By the close of the Minoan Age in Crete (L.M. III. *b*) the Mainland type of house seems to have been making its way in Crete. An example has been pointed out by Dr. Oelmann (*Ein Achäisches Herrenhaus auf Kreta, Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* xxvii. (1912), p. 38, *seqq.*) in a house of the Re-Occupation Period at Gournià, though there is no sufficient warrant for calling it 'Achaean.' It is also worth observing that one of the small rooms into

which the large 'megaron' of the 'Little Palace' at Knossos was broken up in the Re-Occupation Period has a stone-built oven or fire-place set up in one corner. This seems to represent a Mainland innovation.

⁸ This concluding and very distinctive phase may be described as Late Minoan III. *b*. (see preceding note) and answers at Knossos to the Period of Re-Occupation, L.M. III. *a* being represented there by the cemetery of Zafer Papoura, which fills a hiatus on the Palace site. Judging from figures on very late lentoid bead-seals in soft material (stactite) the long tunic of Mainland fashions was coming in at the very close of the Minoan Age in Crete.

the first appearances of this high early culture on the Northern shores of the Aegean. From the first there seems to have been a tendency among the newcomers to adapt themselves to the somewhat rougher climatic conditions and, no doubt in this connexion, to adopt to a certain extent customs already prevalent among the indigenous population. Thus we see the halls erected with a narrower front and a fixed hearth, and there is a tendency to wear long-sleeved tunics reaching almost to the knees. An invaluable record of the characteristic fashions of this Mycenaean branch has been supplied by the fresco fragments discovered at Tiryns from which, after long and patient study Dr. Rodenwaldt has succeeded in reconstructing a series of designs.⁹

These frescoes are not only valuable as illustrations of Mycenaean dress but they exhibit certain forms of sport of which as yet we have no record in Minoan Crete but which seem to have had a vogue on the mainland side. The remains of an elaborate composition representing a boar hunt is the most remarkable of these, and though belonging to the later Palace and to a date parallel with the Third Late Minoan Period shows extraordinary vigour and variety. Certainly one of the most interesting features in this composition—thoroughly Minoan in spirit—is the fact that ladies take part in the hunt. They are seen driving to the meet in their chariots, and following the quarry with their dogs. Atalanta has her Mycenaean predecessors and the Kalydonian boar-hunt itself may well represent the same tradition as these Tirynthian wall-paintings.

But the point to which I desire to call your special attention is this: in spite of slight local divergences in the domestic arrangements or costume, the 'Mycenaean' is only a provincial variant of the same 'Minoan' civilization. The house-planning may be slightly different, but the architectural elements down to the smallest details are practically the same, though certain motives of decoration may be preferred in one or the other area. The physical types shown in the wall-paintings are indistinguishable. The religion is the same. We see the same Nature Goddess with her doves and pillar shrines; the same baetylic worship of the double axes; the same sacral horns; features which, as we now know, in Crete may be traced to the Early Minoan Age. The Mainland script of which the painted sherds of Tiryns have now provided a series of new examples, is merely an offshoot of the earlier type of the Linear script of Crete, and seems to indicate a dialect of the same language.

In the Palace history of Tiryns and Mycenae we have evidence of the same kind of destruction and restoration that we see in the case of those of Minoan Crete. But here too there is no break whatever in the continuity of tradition, no trace of the intrusion of any alien element. It is a slow, continuous process of decay, and while at Tiryns the frescoes of the original building were replaced in the Second Palace by others in a slightly inferior

⁹ In course of publication.

style, those of the Palace of Mycenae, to a certain extent at least, as Dr. Rodenwaldt has pointed out, survived its later remodelling, and were preserved on its walls to the moment of its destruction.

The evidence as a whole must be regarded as conclusive for the fact that the original Minoan element, the monuments of which extend from the Argolid to Thebes, Orchomenos and Volo, held its own in Mainland Greece till the close of the period answering to the Third Late Minoan in Crete. At this period no doubt the centre of gravity of the whole civilization had shifted to the Mainland side, and was now reacting on Crete and the islands—where, as in Melos, the distinctive ‘Mycenaeen’ megaron makes its appearance. But the return wave of influence cannot, in the light of our present knowledge, be taken to mark the course of invading hordes of Greeks.

Observe, too, that in the Late Minoan expansion which takes place about this time on the coasts of Canaan the dominant element still seems to have belonged to the old Aegean stock. The settlement of Gaza is ‘Minoan.’ Its later cult was still that of the indigenous Cretan God. In Cyprus, again, the first Aegean colonists brought with them a form of the Minoan Linear script, and a civilization which sufficiently proclaims their identity with the older stock.

We must clearly recognize that down to at least the twelfth century before our era the dominant factor both in Mainland Greece and in the Aegean world was still non-Hellenic, and must still unquestionably be identified with one or other branch of the old Minoan race. But this is far from saying that even at the time of the first appearance of the Minoan conquerors in the Peloponnese, or approximately speaking the sixteenth century B.C., they may not have found settlers of Hellenic stock already in the land. That there were hostile elements always at hand is clearly shown by the great pains taken by the newcomers at Tiryns, Mycenae, and elsewhere to fortify their citadels, a precaution which stands out in abrupt contrast to the open cities and palaces of Crete. In the succeeding period, that of the later Palace of Tiryns, we find on the frescoes representing the boar hunting scene—dating perhaps from the thirteenth century B.C.—the first definite evidence of the existence of men of another and presumably subject race existing side by side with the Mycenaeen. An attendant in a menial position, apparently helping to carry a dead boar, is there depicted with a yellow skin in place of the conventional red, which otherwise indicates the male sex. Is it possible that the paler colour was here chosen to indicate a man of northern race?

That there was in fact in the Peloponnese a subject race of Hellenic stock during the whole, or a large part of the period of Mycenaeen domination, is made highly probable by certain phenomena connected with the most primitive of the Greek tribes, namely the Arcadians, whose religion and mythology show peculiar affinities with those of Minoan Crete. Shortly after the break up of the Mycenaeen society, during the period of invasion and confusion that seems to have set in about the eleventh century B.C., men of Arcadian speech (who must then have been in possession of the Laconian

coast-lands) appear in Cyprus in the wake of their former masters, and this Cypriote offshoot affords the best evidence of the extent to which this primitive Greek population had been penetrated with Minoan influences. The very remote date of this settlement is established by the important negative fact that the colonists had left their Mainland homes before the use of the Phoenician alphabet was known in Greece. Considering the very early forms of that alphabet at the time when it was first taken over by the Greeks, this negative phenomenon may be taken to show that the Arcadian colonization of Cyprus took place before 900 B.C. The positive evidence seems to indicate a still higher date. Thus the fibulae and vases of the early tombs of the Kuklia Cemetery at Paphos show a distinct parallelism with the Sub-Mycenaean types from those of the Greek Salamis, and point to an impact on Cyprus from the Mainland side about the eleventh century before our era, which may well have been due to the advent of the Prae-Dorian colonists from the Laconian shores. These, as we know from inscriptions, brought with them local cults such as that of Amyklæ; but what is especially interesting to observe is the whole-hearted way in which they are seen to have taken over the leading features of the Minoan cult. Fanassa, the Queen, the Lady of the Dove, as we see her at Paphos, Idalion or Golgoi, is the great Minoan Goddess. The Paphian temple to the end of the chapter is the Minoan pillar-shrine. Were all these Minoan features taken over in Cyprus itself? May we not rather infer that, as the colonists arrived, with at least a Sub-Mycenaean element in culture, so too they had already taken over many of the religious ideas of the older race in their mainland home? In the epithet "Ariadnê" itself, applied to the Goddess both in Crete and Cyprus, we may perhaps see an inheritance from a præ-Colonial stage.

In Crete, where Hellenic colonization had also effected itself in præ-Homeric times, the survival of Minoan religion was exceptionally great. The Nature Goddess there lived on under the indigenous names of Diktynna and Britomartis. A remarkable example of the continuity of cult forms has been brought to light by the Italian excavation of a seventh century temple at Prinià, containing clay images of the Goddess with snakes coiled round her arms, showing a direct derivation from similar images in the late Minoan shrine of Gournià and the fine faience figures of considerably earlier date found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos. At Hagia Triada the earlier sanctuary was surmounted by one of Hellenic date, in which, however, the male divinity had now attained prominence as the youthful Zeus Velchanos. As Zeus Kretagenes, he was the object of what was regarded in other parts of the Greek world as a heterodox cult. But in spite of the jeers of Kallimachos at the 'Cretan liars' who spoke of Zeus as mortal, the worship persisted to late classical times, and points of affinity with the Christian point of view were too obvious to be lost. It is at least a highly suggestive fact that on the ridge of Juktas, where the tomb of Zeus was pointed out to Byzantine times, and on a height above his birth-cave little shrines have been raised in honour of *Ἀθηνῆς Χριστός*—Christ the Lord.

In view of the legendary connexion of Crete and Delphi, illustrated by the myth of the Delphinian Apollo, the discovery there by the French excavators of part of a Minoan ritual vessel has a quite special significance. This object, to which M. Perdrizet first called attention, forms part of a marble *rhyton* in the form of a lioness's head of the same type, fabric and material as those found with other sacred vessels in a chamber adjoining the central shrine of Knossos. It clearly proves that at Delphi, too, the religion of the spot goes back to Minoan times and stands in close connexion with a Cretan settlement.

How profoundly the traditions of Minoan and Mycenaean religion influenced the early cult of Greece has been nowhere illustrated more clearly than by the excavations of the British School at Sparta. A whole series of the types of ivory figurines there found are simply derivatives of the scheme of the Minoan Goddess with her associated birds and animals. It was the

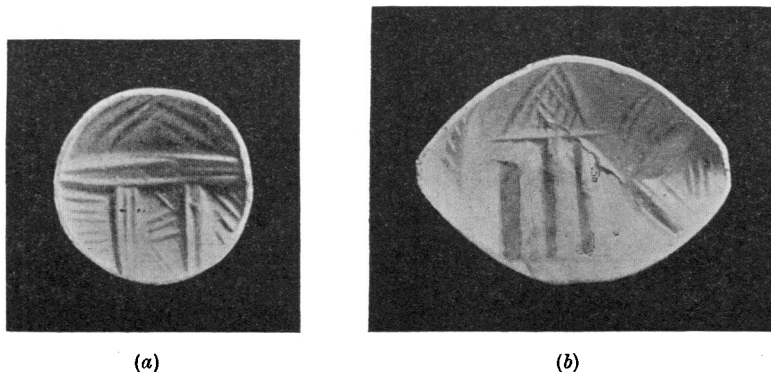


FIG. 1—GABLED BUILDINGS ON CRETAN INTAGLIOS (½).

same in Ionia. The Ephesian Artemis has the same associations as the Lion Goddess of Knossos, and among the jewels found by Mr. Hogarth in the Temple Treasure occur miniature representations of her Double Axe.

I will venture to point out another feature which the advanced religious art of Greece inherited from Minoan prototypes, such as those which influenced the Spartan ivories. The Lions' Gate Scheme, appropriate to its position in a tympanum, is only one of a series of Late Minoan schemes of the same kind in which the central figure—either the divinity itself or (as in the above case) a sacred column, which, as the Pillar of the House, stands as the epitome of the temple—is set between two heraldically opposed animals.

Seal impressions from the Palace shrine of Knossos show the Minoan Goddess in this guise standing on her peak between her lion supporters. The same idea is carried out in a variety of ways on Minoan gems and signets.

The Mycenaean element in Doric architecture itself is generally recognized, but I do not think that it has been realized that even the primitive arrangement of the pediment sculptures goes back to a prehistoric

model. That the gabled or pedimental front was itself known in Minoan times may be gathered from the designs of buildings on some intaglios of that date acquired by me in Crete (Fig. 1 *a, b*).¹⁰ When we realise that the pediment is in fact the functional equivalent of the tympanum on a larger scale, it is

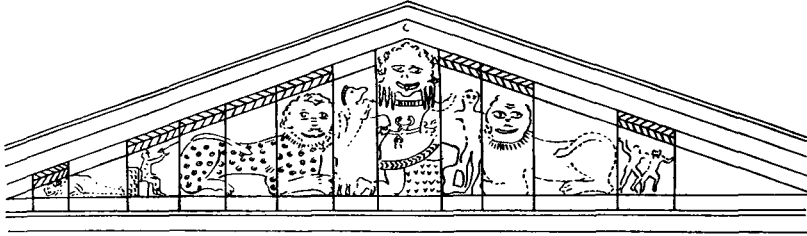


FIG. 2.—PEDIMENT OF TEMPLE AT PALAEOPOLIS, CORFÙ.

natural that an arrangement of sculpture appropriate to the one should have been adapted to the other.

In recently examining the remains of the pedimental sculptures from the early temple excavated by Dr. Dörpfeld at Palaepolis in Corfù, which have now been arranged by him in the local Museum (Fig. 2),¹¹ the observation was forced upon me that the essential features of the whole scheme were simply those of the Mycenaean tympanum. The central divinity is here represented by the Gorgon, but on either side are the animal guardians, in this case apparently pards, heraldically posed. Everything else is secondary, and the scale of the other figures is so small that at a moderate distance all, including Zeus himself, disappear from view. The essentials of the architectural design were fulfilled by the traditional Minoan group. The rest was a work of supererogation.

The fragment of a sculptured lion found in front of the early sixth century temple at Sparta was clearly part of a pedimental scheme of the same traditional class.

The extent to which the Minoans and Mycenaean, while still in a dominant position, impressed their ideas and arts on the primitive Greek population itself argues a long juxtaposition of the two elements. The intensive absorption of Minoan religious practices by the proto-Arcadians previous to their colonization of Cyprus, which itself can hardly be later than the eleventh century B.C., is a crucial instance of this, and the contact of the two elements thus involved itself implies a certain linguistic communion. When, reinforced by fresh swarms of immigrants from the North-West, the Greeks began to get the upper hand, the position was reversed, but the long previous interrelation of the two races must have facilitated the work of

¹⁰ The gem Fig. 1*a* is from Central Crete (steatite). 1*b* is from Siteia (cornelian).

¹¹ Fig. 2 is taken from a diagrammatic sketch

kindly supplied me by Mr. J. D. Bourchier, which accompanied his account of these discoveries in the *Times*.

fusion. In the end, though the language was Greek, the physical characteristics of the later Hellenes prove that the old Mediterranean element showed the greater vitality. But there is one aspect of the fusion which has a special bearing on the present subject—an aspect very familiar to those who, like myself, have had experience of lands where nationalities overlap. A large part of its early population must have passed through a bilingual stage. In the Eastern parts of Crete indeed this condition long survived. As late as the fourth century before our era the inhabitants still clung to their Eteocretan language, but we know from Herodotos that already in his day they were able to converse in Greek and to hand on their traditions in a translated form. It cannot be doubted that at the dawn of history the same was true of the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece. This consideration does not seem to have been sufficiently realised by classical students, but it may involve results of a most far-reaching kind.

The age when the Homeric poems took their characteristic shape is the transitional epoch when the use of bronze was giving place to that of iron. As Mr. Andrew Lang well pointed out, they belong to a particular phase of this transition when bronze was still in use for weapons and armour, but iron was already employed for tools and implements. In other words the age of Homer is more recent than the latest stage of anything that can be called Minoan or Mycenaean. It is at most 'Sub-Mycenaean.' It lies on the borders of the Geometrical period, and though the archaeological stratum with which it is associated contains elements that may be called 'Sub-Mycenaean,' it is artistically speaking a period of barbarism and degradation—a period when the great cities of whose rulers the poet sang had for some two centuries been heaps of ruins. The old art had passed away. The new was yet unborn.

'Homer' lies too high up in time for it to be admissible to seek for illustration among the works of renaissance art in Greece, or the more or less contemporary importations, such as Cypro-Phoenician bowls of the seventh or sixth centuries B.C., once so largely drawn on for comparisons. On the other hand, the masterpieces of Minoan and Mycenaean craftsmen were already things of the past in the days in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* took their organic form. Even the contents of the latest Mycenaean graves have nothing to do with a culture in which iron was already in use for cutting purposes and cremation practised.

How is it then that Homer, though professedly commemorating the deeds of Achaean heroes, is able to picture them among surroundings, which, in view of the absolute continuity of Minoan and Mycenaean history, we may now definitely set down as non-Hellenic? How explain the modes of combat borrowed from an earlier age and associated with huge body-shields that had long been obsolete? Whence this familiarity with the Court of Mycenae, and the domestic arrangements of Palaces that were no more?

I venture to believe that there is only one solution of these grave difficulties, and that this is to be found in the bilingual conditions which in

the Peloponnese at least may have existed for a very considerable period. The Arcadian-speaking Greek population of that area, which apparently at least as early as the eleventh century before our era sent forth its colonists to Cyprus, had, as pointed out, been already penetrated with Minoan ideas to an extent which involves a long previous juxtaposition with the element that formerly dominated the country. They had assimilated a form of Minoan worship, and the hymns and invocations to the Lady of the Dove can hardly have been other than adaptations of those in use in the Mycenaean ritual—in the same way as the Greek hymn of the Dictaeon Temple must be taken to reflect an original handed down by Eteocretan choirs.

We may well ask whether a far earlier heroic cycle of Minoan origin might not to a certain extent have affected the lays of the primitive Greek population. When, in a bilingual medium, the pressure of Greek conquest turned the scales finally on the Hellenic side, may not something of the epic traditions of the Mycenaean society have been taken over? Englishmen, at least, who realise how largely Celtic and Romance elements bulk in their national poetry should be the last to deny such a possibility. Have we not indeed the proof of it in many of the themes of the Homeric lays, as already pointed out? They largely postulate a state of things which on the mainland of Greece existed only in the great days of Mycenae.

In other words, many of the difficulties with which we have to deal, are removed if we accept the view that a considerable element in the Homeric poems represents the materials of an earlier Minoan epic taken over into Greek. The moulding of such inherited materials into the new language and the adapting of them to the glories of the new race was no doubt a gradual process, though we may still regard the work in its final form as bearing the stamp of individual genius. To take a comparison from another field—the Arch of Constantine is still a fine architectural monument, though its dignity be largely due to the harmonious incorporation of earlier sculptures. Not less does Homer personify for us a great literary achievement, though the materials that have been brought together belong to more than one age. There is nothing profane in the idea that actual translation, perhaps of a very literal kind, from an older Minoan epic to the new Achaean, played a considerable part in this assimilative process. The seven-stringed lyre itself was an heirloom from the older race—is it then unreasonable to believe that the lays by which it was accompanied were inspired from the same quarter?

And here we are brought up before an aspect of Minoan Art which may well stand in relation to the contemporary oral or literary compositions covering part of the Homeric ground. The Homeric aspect of some of its masterpieces has indeed been so often observed as to have become a commonplace. In some cases parts of pictorial scenes are preserved, such as primitive bards delight to describe in connexion with works of art. The fragment of the silver vase with the siege scene from Mycenae affords a well-known instance of this. A similar topic is discernible in the Shield of Achilles, but in this case a still nearer parallel is supplied by the combat on the Shield of Heraklēs, described by Hesiod. Here the coincidence of subject extends

even to particular details, such as the women on the towers shouting with shrill voices and tearing their cheeks and the old men assembled outside the gates,¹² holding out their hands, in fear for their children fighting before the walls. The dramatic moment, the fate of battle still hanging in the balance—so alien to Oriental art—is equally brought out by the Mycenaean relief and by the Epic description of the scene on the shield, and the parallelism is of special value, since it may be said to present itself *in pari materia*—artistic composition on metal work.

So too at Knossos there came to light parts of a mosaic composition formed of faience plaques, and belonging to the latter part of the Middle Minoan Age. Parts of the composition, of which we have a fragmentary record, represent warriors and a city, like the siege scene on the silver cup. But we also have glimpses of civic life within the walls, of goats and oxen without, of fruit trees and running water suggesting a literal comparison with the Homeric description of the scenes of peace and war as illustrated on the shield of Achilles. These *tours de force* of Minoan artists were executed some five centuries before the Homeric poems took shape. They may either have inspired or illustrated contemporary epic. But if Greeks existed in the Peloponnese at the relatively early epoch, the close of the Middle Minoan Age or the very beginning of the Late Minoan, to which these masterpieces belong, they must still have been very much in the background. They did not surely come within that inner Palace circle of Tiryns and Mycenae, where such works were handled and admired in the spirit (with which we must credit their possessors) of cultivated connoisseurs. Still less is it possible to suppose that any Achaean bard at the time when the Homeric poems crystallized into their permanent shape had such life-like compositions before his eye or could have appreciated them in the spirit of their creation.

Again, we have the remarkable series of scenes of heroic combat best exemplified by the gold signets and engraved beads of the Shaft-Graves of Mycenae—themselves no doubt, as in like cases, belonging to an artistic cycle exhibiting similar scenes on a more ample scale, such as may some day be discovered in wall-paintings or larger reliefs on metal or other materials. Schliemann,¹³ whose views on Homeric subjects were not perturbed by chronological or ethnographic discrepancies, had no difficulty in recognizing among the personages depicted on these intaglios Achilles, or 'Hector of the dancing helmet-crest,' and could quote the Homeric passages that they illustrated. 'The Author of the Iliad and Odyssey' he exclaims, 'cannot but have been born and educated

¹² 'Ασπίς, vv. 237 seqq. cf. Tsuntas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1891, pp. 20, 21, and Μυκῆναι, p. 94; (Tsuntas and Manatt, *Myc. Age*, pp. 214, 215).

¹³ In the same way epitomized versions of the scenes on the Vapheio Cups are found in a series of ancient gems. The *taurokathapsia* of the

Knossos frescoes also reappears in intaglios and there are many other similar hints of the indebtedness of the minor to the greater art, of which the 'Skylla' mentioned below is probably an example.

amidst a civilization which was able to produce such works as these.' Destructive criticism has since endeavoured to set aside the cogency of these comparisons by pointing out that, whereas the Homeric heroes wore heavy bronze armour, the figures on the signet are almost as bare as were, for instance, the ancient Gaulish warriors. But an essential consideration has been overlooked. The signets and intaglios of the Shaft-Graves of Mycenae belong to the transitional epoch that marks the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period, and the very beginning of the Late Minoan Age.¹⁴ The fashion in signets seems to have subsequently undergone a change, and the later class is occupied with religious subjects. But in the later days of the Palace of Knossos at all events, a series of clay documents attests the fact that a bronze cuirass, with shoulder-pieces and a succession of plates, was a regular part of the equipment of a Minoan knight. Sometimes he received the equivalent in the shape of a bronze ingot or talent—a good suggestion of its weight. On the somewhat later Cypro-Mycenaean ivory relief from Enkomi (where bronze greaves were also found) we see a similar cuirass.¹⁵ This comparison has special pertinence when we remember that in the *Iliad* the breastplate of Agamemnon was the gift of the Cypriote Kinyras.

A close correspondence can moreover be traced between the Mycenaean and Homeric methods and incidents of combat due to the use of the tall body-shield—which itself had long gone out of use at the time when the *Iliad* was put together. One result of this was the practice of striking at the adversary's throat as Achilles did at Hector's—an action illustrated by the gold intaglio from the Third Shaft-Grave. On the other hand the alternative endeavour of Epic heroes to pierce through the 'tower-like' shield itself by a mighty spear-thrust is graphically represented on the gold bezel of a Mycenaean ring found in Boeotia.¹⁶ The risk of stumbling involved by the use of these huge body-shields is exemplified in Homer by the fate of Periphêtês of Mycenae, who tripped against the rim of his shield, 'reaching to his feet,' and was pierced through the breast by Hector's spear as he fell backwards.¹⁷ A remarkable piece of evidence to which I shall presently call attention shows that this particular scene seems to have formed part of the repertory of the engravers of signets for Minoan lords, and that the Homeric episode may have played a part in Chansons de Geste as early as the date of the Akropolis tombs of Mycenae.¹⁸

¹⁴ The curious cuirass which has almost the appearance of being of basket-work seen on the Harvesters' Vase and on seal impressions from H. Triada and Zakro has been cited as shewing that the corslet was known at a very early period (M.M. III. L.M. I.). This particular type, however, has as yet been only found in connexion with religious or ceremonial scenes and not in association with arms of offence.

¹⁵ I may refer to my remarks on this in 'Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated by the British

Museum Excavations' (*Journal of the Anthr. Inst.* vol. xxx. 1900, pp. 209, *seqq.* and see esp. p. 213). The round targe was now beginning.

¹⁶ In the Ashmolean Museum; as yet unpublished.

¹⁷ *Il.* xv. 645 *seqq.*

¹⁸ I note that Professor Gilbert Murray, who seems to regard the cuirass as a late element, still sums up his views regarding the armour and tactics of the Homeric poems as follows:

Can it indeed be believed that these scenes of knightly prowess on the Mycenaean signets, belonging to the very house of Agamemnon, have no connexion with the epic that glorified him in later days? Much may be allowed for variation in the details of individual episodes, but who shall deny that Schliemann's persuasion of their essential correspondence was not largely justified? Take the celebrated design on the signet-ring from the Fourth Shaft-Grave—in which a hero, apparently in defence of a fallen warrior, strikes down his assailant, whose half-retreating comrade, covered behind by a large body-shield, aims his spear apparently without effect at the victorious champion. Save that in the case of the protagonist a spear is substituted for a thrusting sword, and that the fallen figure behind the champion is that of a wounded man who still has strength to raise himself on one arm, the scene curiously recalls, even in its details, an episode of the Seventeenth Book of the *Iliad*. There the Telamonian Ajax, standing before Patroklos' body, strikes down Hippothoos, while Hector behind hurls his spear at Ajax, but just misses his aim.

Much might be added about these pre-Homeric illustrations of Homer, but I will confine myself here to one more example. In the Temple Repositories of the Palace of Knossos, dating from about 1600 B.C., was found a clay seal-impression exhibiting a sea-monster with a dog-like head rising amidst the waves, attacking a boat on which is seen a man beating it off with an oar (Fig. 3).¹⁹ But this sea-monster is a prototype of *Skylla*, and though her dogs' heads were multiplied by Homer's time, we have here, in the epitomized manner of gem engraving, the essentials of Ulysses' adventure depicted half a millennium at least before the age of the Greek Epic. It would appear, moreover, that the same episode was made the subject of illustration in larger works of Minoan art, accompanied, we may suppose, with further details. A fragment of a wall-painting found at Mycenae shews part of a monster's head in front of a curving object recalling the stern of the vessel on the seal-impression, and Dr. Studniczka has with great probability recognized in this a pictorial version of the same design.

But, over and above such correspondence in the individual episodes and

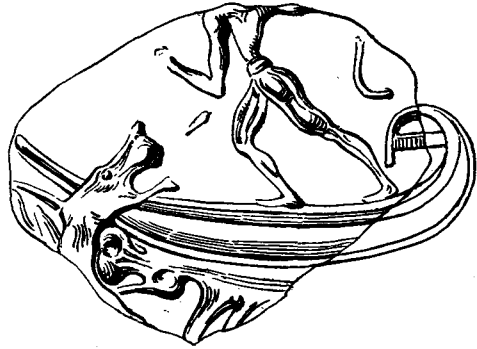


FIG. 3.—CLAY SEALING FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORIES, KNOSSOS (‡) (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 50, Fig. 36).

'The surface speaks of the Late Ionian fighting, the heart of the fighting is Mycenaean' (*The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 140). This latter point is the gist of the whole matter. But it is difficult to accept the view that the cultural phase represented by the Homeric poems in

their characteristic shape is 'Late Ionian.' The 'Late Ionians' no longer used bronze for their weapons. Moreover they were well acquainted with writing and wore signet-rings.

¹⁹ See my Report, *B.S.A.* No. ix. p. 58.

the detailed acquaintance with the material equipment of Minoan civilization, the Homeric poems themselves show a deep community with the naturalistic spirit that pervades the whole of the best Minoan art. It is a commonplace observation that the Homeric similes relating to animals recall the representations on the masterpieces of Minoan art. In both cases we have the faithful record of eyewitnesses, and when in the *Iliad* we are presented with a life-like picture of a lion fastening on to the neck of a steer or roused to fury by a hunter's spear we turn for its most vivid illustration to Minoan gems.

In the transitional epoch that marks the close of the Age of Bronze in Greece and the Aegean lands the true art of gem-engraving was non-existent;²⁰ and so, too, in the Homeric poems there is no mention either of intaglios or signet-rings. Yet in the *Odyssey* just such a scene of animal prowess as formed the theme of so many Minoan gems, a hound holding with teeth and fore-paws a struggling fawn, is described as the ornament of Ulysses' golden brooch. The anachronism here involved has been met by no Homeric commentator. For we now know the fibula-types of the Aegean 'Chalco-sideric Age'—if I may coin such a word—to which the poems belong—with their inartistic bows and stilts and knobs. It is inconceivable—even did their typical forms admit of it—that any one of these could have been equipped with a naturalistic adjunct of such a kind. The suggested parallels have in fact been painfully sought out amongst the fashions in vogue three or four centuries later than the archaeological epoch marked by the Homeric poems!²¹ As if such naturalistic compositions had anything in common with the stylized mannerisms of the later Ionian art—with its Sphinxes and winged monsters and mechanically balanced schemes!

Must we not rather suppose that the decorative motive here applied to Ulysses' brooch was taken over from what had been the principal personal ornaments of an earlier age, when in Greece at least *fibulae* were practically unknown,²² namely, the perforated intaglios, worn generally as periapts about

²⁰ Rudely scratched seal-stones of Early Geometric date exist, but they are of soft materials.

²¹ Helbig for instance (*Hom. Epos*, p. 277) finds a comparison in a type of gold fibulae, with double pins and surmounted by rows of gold Sphinxes, from seventh- or sixth-century graves of Caere and Praeneste. Ridgeway (*The Early Age of Greece*, i. 446) cites in the same connexion 'brooches in the form of dogs and horses found at Hallstatt.' The best representative of the 'dog' brooches of this class seem to be those from the cemetery of S. Lucia in Carniola (Marchisetti, *Necropoli di S. Lucia, presso Tolmino*, Tav. xv. Figs. 9, 10), where in each case a small bird is seen in front of the hound. A somewhat more naturalistic example gives the key to this: the original of the dog is a cat-like animal (*Op. cit.* Tav. xx. Fig. 12). We have here in fact a subject ultimately derived from the Nilotic scenes in which

ichneumons are seen hunting ducks. The same motive is very literally reproduced on the inlaid dagger blade from Mycenae and recurs in variant forms in Minoan Art. The Late Hallstatt fibulae of this class are obviously the derivatives of classical prototypes belonging to the seventh century B.C. (In one case a winged Sphinx takes the place of the cat, or pard, before the bird.) These derivatives date themselves from the sixth and even the fifth century B.C., since the last named example was found together with a fibula of the 'Certosa' class. The S. Lucia cemetery itself according to its explorer (*op. cit.* p. 313) dates only from about 600 B.C. It will be seen from this how little these Late Hallstatt 'dog' fibulae have to do with the design of Ulysses' brooch.

²² The early 'fiddle-bow' type is hardly found before the L.M. III. period, when the art of gem-engraving was already in its decline.

the wrist. An example of one such from Eastern Crete with a scene singularly recalling the motive of the brooch is seen in Fig. 4. It would not have required much licence on the poet's part to transfer the description of such a design to a personal ornament of later usage with which he was acquainted. But the far earlier associations of the design are as patent to the eye of the archaeologist as are those of a classical gem set in a mediaeval reliquary.

When in the days of the later Epos we recognize heroic scenes already depicted by the Minoan artists, and episodes instinct with the naturalistic spirit of that brilliant dawn of art we may well ask how, according to any received theory, such perfect glimpses into the life of that long-past age could have been preserved. The detailed nature of many of the parallels excludes the idea that we have here to do with the fortuitous working of poets' imagination. We are continually tempted to ask—Could such descriptive power in poetry go side by side with its antithesis in art?—the degraded, conventional art of the period in which the Homeric Epos took its final form.

But if a combination of such contradictory qualities seems in the highest degree improbable, how are we to explain this phenomenon? By what means could this undimmed reflection of a pure great age have been perpetuated and preserved?

Only in one way, I again repeat, could such passages, presenting the incidents and life of the great days of Mycenae and instinct with the peculiar genius of its art, have been handed down intact. They were handed down intact because they were preserved in the embalming medium of an earlier Epos—the product of that older non-Hellenic race to whom alike belong the glories of Mycenae and of Minoan Crete. Thus only could the iridescent wings of that earlier phantasy have maintained their pristine form and hues through days of darkness and decline to grace the later, Achaean, world.

Where indeed would be the fly without the amber? How could the gestes and episodes of the Minoan age have survived for incorporation in later epic lays without the embalming element supplied by a more ancient poetic cycle? But the taking over and absorption of these earlier materials would be greatly simplified by the existence of such bilingual conditions as have been above postulated. The process itself may have begun very early, and the long contact of the Arcadian branch, whose language most approaches the original speech of Greek Epic, with the dominant Mycenaean may have greatly contributed to its elaboration. Even in its original Minoan elements moreover we may expect stratification—the period for instance of the body-shield and the period of the round targe and cuirass may have both left their mark.



FIG. 4.—HAEMAIITE INTAGLIO FROM E. CRETE WITH DOG SEIZING STAG ($\frac{3}{4}$).

The Homeric poems in the form in which they finally took shape are the result of this prolonged effort to harmonize the old and the new elements. In the nature of things this result was often incompletely attained. The evidence of patchwork is frequently patent. Contradictory features are found such as could not have coexisted at any one epoch. It has been well remarked by Professor Gilbert Murray²³ that 'even the similes, the very breath of the poetry of Homer, are in many cases, indeed usually, adopted ready-made. Their vividness, their directness of observation, their air of freshness and spontaneity are all deceptive.' Many of them are misplaced, and 'were originally written to describe some quite different occasion.'

Much has still to be written on the survival of Minoan elements in almost every department of the civilized life of later Greece. Apart moreover from oral tradition we have always to reckon with the possibility of the persistence of literary records. For we now know that an advanced system of linear script was in vogue not only in Crete but on the mainland side in the latest Mycenaean period.²⁴

Besides direct tradition, however, there are traces of a process of another kind for which the early Renaissance in Italy affords a striking analogy. In later classical days some of the more enduring examples of Minoan art, such as engraved gems and signets, were actually the subjects of a revival. I venture to think that it can hardly be doubted that a series of Early Greek coin-types are taken from the designs of Minoan intaglios. Such very naturalistic designs as the cow scratching its head with its hind leg or licking its flank or the calf that it suckles, seen on the coins of Gortyna, Karystos, and Eretria seem to be directly borrowed from Minoan lentoid gems. The two overlapping swans on coins of Eion in Macedonia recall a well-established intaglio design of the same early class. The native goats which act as supporters on either side of a fig-tree on some types of the newly-discovered archaic coins of Skyros suggest the same comparisons. On the other hand a version of the Lions' Gate scheme—two lions with their fore-paws on the capital of a column, seen on an Ionian stater of about 700 B.C.,—has some claims, in view of the Phrygian parallels, to be regarded as an instance of direct survival.

A good deal more might be said as to this numismatic indebtedness, nor is it surprising that the civic badge on coins should have been taken at times from those on ancient gems and signets brought to light by the accidental opening of a tomb, together with bronze arms and mortal remains attributed, it may be, to some local hero. Of the almost literal reproduction of the designs on Minoan signet rings by a later Greek engraver I am able to set before you a really astonishing example. Three rings (Figs. 5, 6, 7) were recently obtained by me in Athens, consisting of solid silver hoops themselves

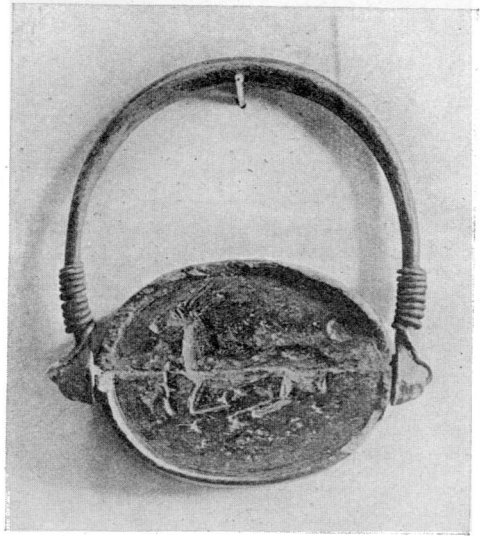
²³ *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 219. Professor Murray remarks (*op. cit.* p. 215). 'The poets of our *Iliad* scarcely need to have seen a lion. They have their stores of traditional similes taken from almost every moment

of a lion's life.'

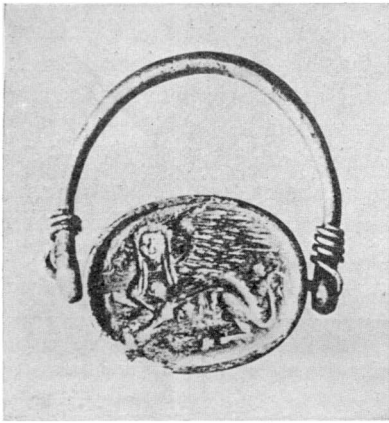
²⁴ Among recent discoveries are a whole series of Late Minoan vases from Tiryns with inscriptions representing a mainland type of the developed Linear Script of Minoan Crete.



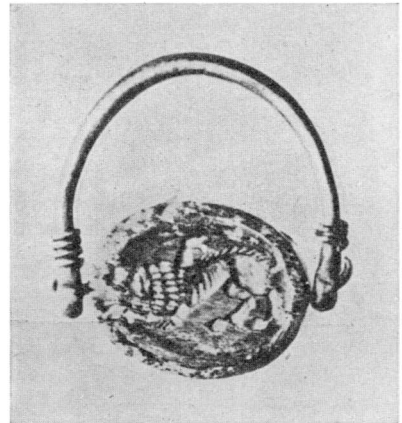
5a



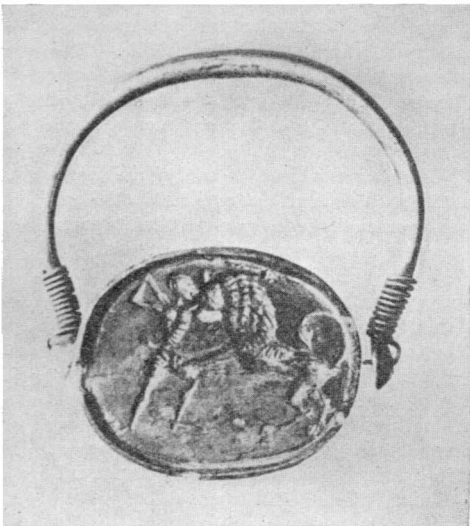
5b



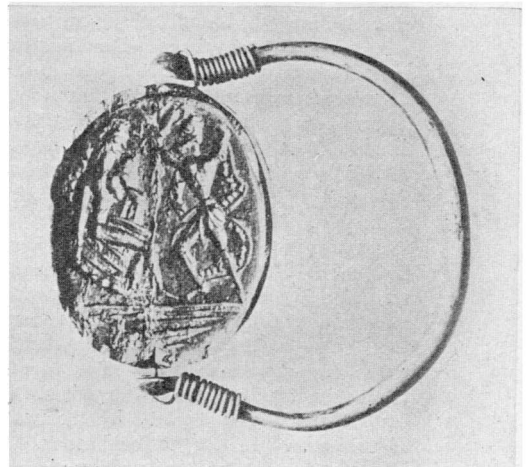
6a



6b



7a



7b

FIGS. 5-7.—GREEK SIGNET RINGS WITH SILVER HOOPS AND IVORY BEZELS FOUND IN CRETE ($\frac{2}{3}$)

penannular with rounded terminations in which swivel-fashion are set oval ivory bezels, with intaglios on either side, surrounded in each case by a high rim,—itself taken over from the prominent gold rim of Egyptian scarab mountings. These bezels are perforated, the silver wire that went through them being wound round the feet of the hoops. From particularities in the technique, the state of the metal and of the ivory, and other points of internal evidence, it is impossible to doubt the genuine antiquity of these objects.²⁵ They were said to have been found in a tomb in the Western part of Crete, reaching Athens by way of Canea, and their owner set no high value on them.²⁶ This type of ring with the wire wound round the ends of the hoop is in common use for scarabs, cylinders, and scaraboids in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and itself goes back to Minoan or Mycenaean prototypes.²⁷ From the style of engraving, however, it seems impossible to date the signet rings in question earlier than about 400 B.C.

The subjects of two of these are a Sphinx with an ibex on the reverse (Fig. 5*a, b*) and another Sphinx coupled in the same way with a Chimaera (Fig. 5*a, b*). The intaglios are executed in an advanced provincial Greek style, in which, however, certain reminiscences of artistic schemes dating from the first half of the fifth century are still perceptible.²⁸

But the designs on the two sides of the third intaglio (Fig. 7*a and b*), though obviously engraved at the same time as the others and by the same hand belong to a very different category. On one side a man in the Minoan loin clothing with a short thrusting sword in his right hand is struggling with a lion, the head of which is seen as from above. It will be recognized at once

²⁵ The exceptional character of these objects and the appearance of Mycenaean motives on one signet side by side with Classical subjects on the others made it necessary, in spite of their appearance of undoubted antiquity, to submit them to the severest *expertise*. I had them examined by a series of the best judges of such objects, but all were unanimous both as to the antiquity of the signets and as to the fact that the ivory had not been re-cut and re-engraved in later times. Examination of various parts of the surface under a strong microscope confirmed these results. In order, however, to make assurance doubly sure I decided on a crucial test. I entrusted to Mr. W. H. Young, the highly experienced *formatore* and expert in antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum, the delicate task of re-breaking two of the ivory signets along a line of earlier fracture that followed the major axis of each, and of removing all extraneous materials due to previous mendings or restoration. The results of this internal analysis were altogether conclusive. The cause of the longitudinal fracture was explained in the case of the signet, Fig. 7, by the swelling of the silver pin due to oxidization. The

whole of the metal, transmuted to the purple oxide characteristic of decayed silver, was here within. In the case of the other signet (Fig. 5) this had been replaced by a new pin in recent times, and on removing this the whole of the perforation was visible, and proved to be of the ancient character. The ivory has been attacked at both ends by a tubular drill, the two holes meeting irregularly near the middle. The modern method of drilling is of course quite different. It is done with a chisel pointed instrument and proceeds continuously from one end.

²⁶ The correspondence of one of the scenes on the third ring with a type on a gold-bead from Mycenae suggests, however, that its prototypes were taken from the Mainland side.

²⁷ An amygdaloid Late Minoan or Mycenaean gem representing a ship, set into a silver hoop of this type, found at Eretria, is in my own collection.

²⁸ As for instance in the attitude of the ibex (Fig. *b*) and in the type of the Chimaera. The facing Sphinx (Fig. *a*) is carelessly engraved and presents an abnormal aspect. Of its genuine antiquity, however, there can be no doubt. (See note 23.)

that this scheme corresponds even in details with that of the hero struggling with a lion, engraved on a gold perforated bead or ring-bezel found by Schliemann in the Third Shaft-Grave at Mycenae.²⁹ On the other side of the intaglio, we see a bearded warrior with a girdle and similar Minoan costume, wearing a helmet with zones of plates and bearing a figure-of-8 shield on his back. Owing to the defective preservation of the surface it is difficult to make out the exact character of the stroke intended or to distinguish the weapon used from the warrior's raised arms. That he is aiming a mortal blow at the figure before him is clear. The latter wears the same narrow Minoan girdle, but his helmet, which is broader, is not so well executed. He is shewn in a helpless position, falling backwards over the lower margin of a similar shield and holding a sword in his left hand, which, however, is rendered unavailable by his fall.

Here we have a scene closely analogous to that on a sardonyx lentoid from the Third Shaft-Grave at Mycenae,³⁰ except that in the present case the body-shield of the falling warrior reaches to his heels. If, as seems probable, this latter detail belongs to the original of the type, and the warrior has tripped backwards over the lower rim of his cumbrous body-shield, the scene itself would absolutely correspond with the Homeric episode of Periphêtês to which I have already referred.

στρεφθεῖς γὰρ μετόπισθεν ἐν ἀσπίδος ἀντυγι πάλτο,
τὴν αὐτὸς φορέεσκε ποδηνεκέ, ἔρκος ἀκόντων
τῇ ὃ γ' ἐνὶ βλαφθεῖς πέσεν ὑπτίος, ἀμφὶ δὲ πῆληξ
σμερδαλέον κονάβησε περὶ κροτάφοισι πεσόντος.³¹

We have here, in fact, the curious phenomenon of a pre-Homeric illustration of Homer revived by a Classical engraver.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

²⁹ *Mycenae*, p. 174, Fig. 253.

³⁰ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. II. 2, and cf. Reichel, *Homericische Waffen*, p. 7, Fig. 6. A strange and indescribably misleading

representation of this gem is given in Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 202, Fig. 313.

³¹ *Il.* xv. 645 seqq.