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978-1-107-43460-8 - The Early Age of Greece: Volume II

Sir William Ridgeway, Edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. S. Robertson

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THE EARLY AGE
OF
GREECE

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

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Photo by J. Palmer Clarke.

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THE EARLY AGE OF GREECE

By

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VOLUME II

Edited by

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Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE first volume of *The Early Age of Greece*, which was published in 1901, contained in its preface the statement that a second volume was then in the press and would shortly be issued. In this the thesis advanced in vol. I principally upon ethnological grounds was to be supported by an examination of the institutions and religion of Greece. A chapter on Greek religion had been included in the original plan of vol. I but had been omitted for lack of space, though one of its illustrations appeared enigmatically upon the cover. Of this chapter a page or two was already in type; of those here printed, the first three, in their earliest form, were sent to press in 1901, the fourth in the following year. It may be, therefore, that these four chapters, like that on Religion, had once formed part of the design for a single volume; it is at any rate certain that they had been conceived in outline before the publication of vol. I. Between that date and Ridgeway's death on Aug. 12, 1926, twenty-five years had elapsed, and the reader must needs enquire why the author so long withheld these arguments in support of his views.

It is, indeed, to be regretted that he did so. But as soon as it became apparent that there must be a second volume to the *Early Age*, there was a cogent reason for delaying its publication. In 1901 Sir Arthur Evans's epoch-making discoveries in Crete had only lately begun, and it was essential for Ridgeway to form some estimate of their bearing upon his theory before committing himself further. We have seen two fragments of draft prefaces for vol. II, and it is plain from them that Ridgeway would have excused his delay on that ground. But in the interval made necessary by the discovery of a new civilisation in

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Crete other causes arose to delay the publication of the volume. Archaeologists were busy in other places besides Crete, and facts were accumulating which bore upon the volume already published. Ridgeway projected an introduction to vol. II in which the first volume was to be surveyed chapter by chapter and its conclusions supplemented, partly by new archaeological material, partly by discussion of criticisms and rival theories which had been advanced in the interval. But the years passed by, the flood of archaeological evidence bearing on the subject increased, and the materials for such a chapter as the author contemplated became by imperceptible degrees unmanageable. Moreover Ridgeway's own ideas were expanding, and what had once been reasonably called *The Early Age of Greece* was growing into an *Early Age of Europe*. The extension to Italy was already foreshadowed in vol. I; a large section of vol. II is devoted to the early history and literature of Ireland. As the motto chosen for vol. I had said, ὅπη ἂν ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ πνεῦμα φέρη, ταύτη ἰτέον.

Circumstances thus conspired to delay the publication of this volume, but in the meantime the author was not standing still. Three considerable books, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (1905), *The Origin of Tragedy* (1910), and *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), may well have grown out of enquiries undertaken in search of further evidence for the duality of Greek civilisation. Work upon *The Early Age* itself also went on, though not continuously; but the book was rather expanding than advancing. From time to time, notably about the year 1912 and again shortly before his death, Ridgeway was busy with the proofs, enormously increasing the bulk of the chapters already in print but leaving them as unfinished as before. During these spells of work he would talk of getting the volume into shape for publication, but his friends had ceased to expect that he would ever do so, and it may be that he had ceased really to believe it himself. Of the

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four chapters here printed three are incomplete, and much that the book was intended to contain was never written at all. There were to have been chapters or sections on the Greek gods, on Πόλις and Κώμη, on the houses, horses, and dogs of the Greeks, the long introduction already mentioned, and an appendix on Caesar's invasion of Britain. Of the chapter on the gods a few pages were, as has been said, in proof in 1901, but the rest, though it served for Ridgeway's Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen in 1909–11, seems not to have been committed to paper¹; the others, except for stray notes and collections of material, remained projects². We have found also evidence that for a period he was contemplating a third volume, but how much of this material was designed for inclusion in it, and what else he may have intended to put there, we do not know.

Shortly before his death Ridgeway expressed the desire that we should act as his literary executors, and in compliance with this wish his daughter, Mrs J. A. Venn, handed over to us all the materials connected with *The Early Age*. They comprised many sets of proof-sheets of various dates, some with corrections, some blank, and numerous boxes containing offprints from periodicals, photographs, correspondence, typescript summaries of books and articles, collections of facts and references, notes of subjects to be dealt with, and skeleton drafts for passages of the book. These papers were in great disorder. On sorting and examining them, we found nothing in any way fit for publication and almost nothing to help us in the preparation of this volume; and since it seemed plain that they could be of no use to anyone except their author, they have been destroyed.

There remained the proofs, of which pp. 1—80 were in page,

¹ Short summaries of the Gifford Lectures appeared in the *Aberdeen Free Press* and the *Aberdeen Journal* at the time. Chapter III of this volume is an expanded form of the introduction to them.

² A lecture on *The Northern Element in Greek Architecture and Sculpture* was summarised in the *Cambridge Review* for Jan. 16, 1908, pp. 164 *sqq.*, and in the *Athenaeum*, 1908, July-Dec., pp. 652 *sq.*

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the rest in slip. After careful consideration, and, as regards chapter iv, a good deal of hesitation, we decided that we should best comply with the author's wishes by publishing them, notwithstanding that three of the four chapters are incomplete and that chapter iv, in its present state, must necessarily seem somewhat out of scale in an *Early Age of Greece*. We have incorporated in the text such additions and corrections as the author had made on various sets of proofs, but the reader must understand that with that exception Ridgeway had seen the whole contents of the volume in type, and that it includes all that he had so seen except the above-mentioned fragment of the chapter on the gods of Greece, which was too slight for inclusion.

In preparing this material for the press our aim throughout has been to make as little change as possible and, where change was necessary, to make only such changes as the author's corrections elsewhere showed to be consistent with his own practice. Accordingly we have modified the tone in one or two passages of controversy with opponents who have died since the words were written; and where the English of a passage, by reason of some slip or oversight, evidently required correction, we have set it straight. But we have altered nothing merely on the ground that it was not as we ourselves should have written it. We have deliberately omitted also one type of change which the author would certainly have made. Where persons mentioned in the book have since died or have acquired knighthoods, professorships or other honours, Ridgeway would have added 'the late' or changed the title; on a few slips indeed he had already made such changes. We have thought it better to leave the older style, as a mark of date and a reminder to the reader that much of this volume was written thirty years ago. For the same reason, where a collection has changed hands, or a museum its name, we have made no correction. Nor have we deliberately altered Ridgeway's references from an earlier to a

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later edition of the book cited. Here however consistency seemed of little moment, and since we frequently had no indication of the edition used, it is probable that we have unwittingly introduced some anachronisms. For the rest, we have given chapter IV a title for which we have not the author's warrant, and we have occasionally been compelled to add a comment in a footnote. Such comments are enclosed in square brackets, and we have tried to keep their number as low as possible.

Nearly five years have now gone by since Ridgeway's death, and as these pages were already in print, it may be asked why their publication has been so long delayed. It has been impossible for either of us, in the midst of other work, to devote as much time to the book as we could have wished. It took long to sort, read and consider the materials placed in our hands, and when we had decided to publish what was already in proof, the labour of identifying the references and verifying the quotations proved very heavy. The author himself had, in this respect, done little or no revision of the proofs; in many places his references were found to be wrong, in many more the reference was left blank, and in a considerable number we had no clue even to the title of the book or to the author whose words were quoted in the text. Our difficulties were much increased by the fact that large portions of the book deal with subjects of which we have no special knowledge.

In these circumstances we have frequently been driven to ask the advice of other scholars. Among the many to whom we are gratefully indebted we should wish especially to thank Miss E. S. Fegan, Mr R. Flower, Miss Eleanor Hull, and Dame Bertha Phillpotts for the ready generosity with which they came to our assistance in dealing with Irish and Scandinavian antiquities. We are particularly indebted also to Mr A. J. B. Wace for consenting to write the introductory chapter which seemed, after so many years, essential to the book; and to Mr E. Harrison for his most welcome and valuable assistance with the proofs.

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The index to the two volumes has been prepared by Mr W. E. C. Browne of the University Press. The photograph which we have prefixed to the second was taken in the year 1907 and served as frontispiece to the volume of *Essays and Studies* presented to the author on his sixtieth birthday.

A. S. F. G.

D. S. R.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

December 1930

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An inevitable result of the great increase in our knowledge of prehistoric Greece, which has rapidly accumulated since 1901, when Ridgeway published the first volume of the *Early Age of Greece*, is that it is now difficult to form a satisfactory idea of the opinions then current or to understand Ridgeway's paper "What People Produced the Objects called Mycenaean?" which appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1896. This paper contained the first detailed account of his theory that the Mycenaean civilisation, as it was then called, was not imported into the Aegean by the Achaeans, but had been developed in that area by an indigenous race whom he identified with the Pelasgians. He held further that the Pelasgians spoke Greek and were conquered by Achaeans, an Aryan race from the north who entered Greece about a century before the Trojan War, a view still advocated by many². These Achaeans he wished to identify with the Celts. Later they were in turn partly overrun by the Dorians, who were a Thraco-Illyrian tribe from the north-west. To realize the character of the main postulate, at which Ridgeway had arrived by the inductive method from a study of the archaeological evidence available, a brief survey of the then state of knowledge is necessary.

In 1896 the announcement of Evans' discovery of the Cretan pictographic script was only two years old and Cnossus had not been touched, except by the tentative work of Kalokairinos in 1878. By 1901 Evans had just finished his second season's work on the excavations of the Palace of Minos. Tsountas' *Μυκῆναι καὶ Μυκηναῖος Πολιτισμὸς* was published in 1893, though an English version by himself and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, did not appear till 1897. The excavations at Phylakopi in Melos took place between 1895 and 1897 and they confirmed Ridgeway

¹ In writing this Introduction I have received much kind and constructive help from Professor J. L. Myres, but the responsibility for the opinions expressed is my own.

² Childe, *Aryans*, pp. 50 ff.; Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 249.

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in his views on the development of the Aegean culture¹. The pottery from the Kamares Cave had been published by Myres and by Mariani in 1895, but the full importance of that had not been realized by the world at large. Staes had excavated at Thoricus and Wide at Aphidna between 1890 and 1896, but the Minyan pottery from these excavations, now clearly recognised as Middle Helladic like the corresponding pottery from Schliemann's work at Orchomenos in the eighties, failed to attract attention except as being primitive like the island wares which were already well known, thanks to the work of Dümmler and Bent. Likewise the tombs found by the Americans at Corinth in 1896, which even now are the most characteristic Early Helladic tombs yet discovered, escaped notice. So little was known that the idea voiced by Schuchhardt that the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae was the latest because its pottery was so degenerate in character obtained surprising currency.

According to general opinion the Mycenaean civilisation was that of the Homeric Achaeans who were usually regarded as the first Aryan invaders of Greece. This view was orthodox. It was put forward in England by Percy Gardner in his *New Chapters of Greek History* published in 1892 and by Schuchhardt in his account of Schliemann's excavations published in German in 1889. Perrot and Chipiez, in their volume on Mycenaean Greece, *La Grèce Primitive*, which appeared in 1894, did not advance any different view. Previously of course the origin of the Mycenaean culture had been attributed to the Phoenicians. Though Salomon Reinach² in his paper on the *Mirage Oriental* in 1893 had challenged this, it was restated by Pottier in 1894 and by Helbig in 1896. Busolt who in the first edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* had put forward a Dorian origin, in his second edition³ in 1893 placed the home of the Mycenaean culture in northern Syria as an alternative to Phoenicia.

The idea, however, that it had originated and developed in the Aegean was already in the air as shown by Reinach. E. Meyer in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*⁴ in 1893 had believed that the Mycenaean culture evolved from the

¹ *Early Age*, I, p. vii.² *Anthropologie*, 1893, pp. 539 ff., 699 ff.³ p. 98.⁴ p. 132.

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Trojan. Leaf, who in his preface to the English translation of Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations* in 1891 had called the Mycenaean culture Achaean, suggested in his *Companion to the Iliad* in 1892 that the Achaeans had combined with their own the culture they found in the Aegean. Myres was working on the connection between the so-called island culture and the Mycenaean¹. Evans in his address to the British Association in 1896 declared that the roots of Mycenaean art were deeply set in Aegean soil. It was at this same meeting of the British Association that Ridgeway read the paper subsequently published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* giving the results of his independent research. It is interesting that Ridgeway, though he had been working in the study rather than in the field, arrived at an idea of the Mycenaean culture which was not much dissimilar from those of the latest excavators and explorers.

This new idea was of course opposed to the preexisting opinion, mentioned above, dating from the time of Gladstone's introduction to Schliemann's account of his excavations at Mycenae, which first revealed that a great Bronze Age culture had preceded the brilliance of classical Hellas, that the Mycenaean civilisation agreed with that of the Homeric poems and consequently must be that of the Achaeans. As a sequel to Bulwer Lytton's *Zanoni* and the philological attempts of Max Müller and his school to find the *Urheimat* of the Aryans, it was assumed that Homer's Achaeans were the first Indo-Europeans to enter Greece, which till their time had been a slough of barbarism. A. S. Murray of the British Museum even believed that no Mycenaean objects could be older than about the time of the first Olympiad. Many Hellenists, too, held the opinion voiced as late as 1911 by Percy Gardner in an address to the Hellenic Society². "Students have dug through successive strata of Greek custom and belief, as they have dug through the successive strata of remains buried in the soil; it would almost seem in the hope of tracing the very first germination of Greek ideas. The pursuit of what is primitive has led them on from point to point, until

¹ *Science Progress*, Oct. 1896, Jan. 1898, July 1898.

² *J. H. S.* 1911, p. lix.

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they are inclined perhaps somewhat to overvalue mere antiquity, to care more for the root than for the leaves and the fruit." This "fundamentalist" attitude is in direct contrast to the evolutionary methods of Ridgeway, with his strong anthropological inclinations. In his lectures he would constantly urge his pupils to "strip off the layers" and see how the structure had been built up and thus by understanding the sequence and origin of its component parts to form a sounder comprehensive idea of the whole. This object underlay the whole of his work on the *Early Age of Greece*. To appreciate properly the Greek genius in all its aspects it is necessary to understand its composition and its composition cannot be understood without an ethnological investigation into the origin of the Greek race. Ridgeway would have said (for he loved to draw comparisons from the history and anthropology of the British Isles) that to understand the Englishman it is essential to know what ethnological factors have contributed to his formation, Briton, Celt, Saxon, Dane, Norman, Fleming, and Huguenot.

When Ridgeway offered his paper to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for publication in its Journal it was at first rejected. It was only with difficulty that it was ultimately published in 1896, the same year in which Evans had read his stimulating address to the British Association also advocating the indigenous origin of the Mycenaean culture. In the next year, 1897, appeared Tsountas and Manatt's *Mycenaean Age*. They declared¹, "Mycenaean art was no exotic, transplanted full grown into Greece, but rather a native growth... influenced though it was by the earlier civilisations of the Cyclades and the East. This indigenous art, distinct and homogeneous in character, no matter whence came its germs and rudiments, must have been wrought out by a strong and gifted race." They added in a footnote, "Since this chapter was in type the British Association has heard Professor Ridgeway stoutly reasserting the prior title of the Pelasgian." Tsountas and Manatt held that the Mycenaean civilisation had developed within the Aegean area, although they wished to associate with it Danaans and Achaeans, and believed that the people

¹ p. 326.

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responsible for it had always spoken Greek. This is really not so different from Ridgeway's view, apart from the ethnical names given to the developers of the Mycenaean culture. He held that it had been evolved within the Aegean area and that one of its main foci had lain in Crete and another at Mycenae and that the people who according to all Greek tradition were the oldest inhabitants of the land originated and developed it, the Pelasgians.

Ridgeway's investigations were directed to separating out by a close examination of the evidence, material, linguistic, and anthropological, the various strata of the early inhabitants of Greece, dividing divergent customs, objects, and manners between Pelasgian and Achaean. The Pelasgian was the dark Mediterranean man, artistic, but with the old southern vices. The Achaean was the conquering northerner of a higher moral standard, fair, but less artistic. So in the *Early Age of Greece* we first examine the remains and their distribution and pass on to consider who made them, reviewing in turn the claims of Pelasgian, Achaean, and Dorian, the three main traditional layers. As the evidence seems to favour the Pelasgians, attention is then turned to the Achaeans to discover who they were and whence they came and to see how their customs and beliefs could be differentiated from the Pelasgians' and further how far their original home could be located by the light of the objects and manners thus determined to be peculiar to them. With this object in the first volume, Ridgeway sifted the archaeological and linguistic evidence then available for the Homeric Age, the Early Iron Age, the Round Shield, Inhumation and Cremation, the Brooch, Iron, and the Homeric Dialect.

"Culture, tradition, physical anthropology, and religion, thus all declare for the existence from the earliest days in the Mediterranean of that race, whose descendants still form the main element in its population¹."

"If we find on comparison that the metals, weapons, armour, dress, funeral customs and the like coincide, then we shall have to modify our conclusions already arrived at, — that the Achaeans were not the authors of the Mycenaean civilisation²."

In the second volume he summarises the arguments in a passage on page 131, which can be supplemented by another on page 405.

¹ *Early Age*, I, p. 291.

² *Ibid.* p. 293.

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Moreover he upheld the views that the use of bronze was discovered in the copper-and-tin bearing area of Hungary and Bohemia, and that the culture depicted in Homer did not coincide in all details with the Mycenaean and that it belonged to the Early Iron Age. He thus concluded that the Achaeans whom Homer represents as the possessors of the Homeric culture could not be the same as the people who created and enjoyed the Mycenaean civilisation. The first volume he devoted principally to the archaeological and linguistic evidence and in the second passes on to consider arguments based on social anthropology. He first examines the great question of kinship and marriage and concludes that the Pelasgians practised matriarchy and the Achaeans patriarchy. He then proceeds to differentiate Pelasgian and Achaean practice as regards the punishment of homicide. Next comes religion and as a beginning of the subject he conducts an enquiry to see whether the Homeric Achaeans and the Greeks of the classical period differed in regard to animism generally and goes on to consider the question of fetish, totem, and ancestor worship. His conclusions on this point are summarised on page 421.

Lastly he discusses at considerable length the archaeology and ethnology of the British Isles, in order to separate the invading Celts from the earlier population and to show how the manners and customs of the Celts agree with those of the Achaeans. This is part of his programme to isolate, so to speak, the Achaean culture and identify its home and range. Thus with all its digressions and truly Herodotean discursiveness, Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* is built up on the central theme, the "stripping off the layers," Dorian, Achaean, Pelasgian, and the identification of them with definite archaeological strata. Throughout he fortifies his results by frequent reference to anthropology and natural history, which lead to various supplementary discussions and polemics. When the layers are stripped off, the final kernel of his conclusions is that the Pelasgians, a Greek-speaking race, had lived from time immemorial in Greece and had developed the Mycenaean civilisation, which had therefore not been imported ready made by Achaean invaders just before the Homeric Age and thus imposed

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on a low, barbarous, and primitive race, Pelasgian, Lelegian, or what you will, the alleged aboriginal inhabitants of Greece.

If it is difficult to picture now what was the general state of knowledge about prehistoric Greece between 1896, when Ridgeway published his paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* on "What People Produced the Objects called Mycenaean?" and 1901, when the first volume of *The Early Age* was issued, it is still hardly possible to attempt to assess what is the permanent value of Ridgeway's contribution to this branch of research. No one can deny the tremendous influence that Ridgeway's personality and methods exercised on his pupils and on students of all kinds who came in contact with him. He taught them not to be satisfied with superficial conclusions, but to probe deeply into the matter in hand and strip off the layers to reveal the kernel of truth within. They learnt never to be content with what anyone else had written on a subject, but to go back as far as possible to the first authority. They were told that method, attention to detail, thoroughness, and accuracy are the hall-marks of the true scholar, especially one who has been properly drilled in Latin and Greek. They learnt further the use of anthropological parallels, the value of self-criticism, detestation of humbug, caution against plausible theories, and the necessity of first collecting the evidence and then determining what conclusions can logically be drawn from it. Finally, if controversy were to arise, they were counselled to reserve a few shots in the locker, so as to complete the discomfiture of the adversary if he were rash enough to reply. Ridgeway admittedly did not always follow all his own excellent counsel, but he himself would have laid no claim to infallibility. Further, not a few of Ridgeway's pupils have by their own researches contributed something towards the solution of the problems to which he devoted himself.

One point already referred to in the theme of *The Early Age of Greece* is of great permanent value towards the study of prehistoric Greece and marks a stage in the progress of thought and knowledge. Ridgeway reached independently the view, also proposed about the same time by Reinach, Evans, Myres, and others, that the Aegean civilisation had originated

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and developed in the Aegean area and had not been superimposed on an aboriginal population by Achaean invaders. Tsountas advanced a similar idea some three years earlier and Ridgeway agreed with him in thinking that the originators of that civilisation were Greeks by speech. The results of the excavations at Phylakopi in Melos and the brilliant discoveries of Evans at Knossos closely followed by those of Halbherr and his colleagues at Phaestus all gave convincing evidence that this thesis was fundamentally sound. Milchhöfer's far sighted work, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, published in 1883, had already pointed in this direction. Schliemann¹ had long before planned to turn his "attention to Crete, where I hoped to discover the original home of the Mycenaean civilisation" and Evans' researches in that island had already borne their first fruit in his discovery of the pictographic script in 1894. Tsountas in Greece as a result of his work at Mycenae and in the islands had come to the conclusion that the Mycenaean civilisation had originated and developed in the Aegean area, but it was Ridgeway who attracted against himself the counter-attacks of the "old guard". In 1901 Hall published his *Oldest Civilization of Greece* and treated almost as a commonplace the belief that the Mycenaean civilisation (it was not yet metamorphosed into Minoan) had been born and grown up within the Aegean area. Since then it may be said that no writer of any reputation who has written or contributed anything to Greek prehistory has ventured to put forward any other fundamental idea than that so stoutly maintained by Ridgeway that the genesis and evolution of the Aegean civilisation took place in Greek lands. One of the principal differences between Ridgeway and Hall was over the question of the language of the authors of the Mycenaean civilisation. Ridgeway held it to be Greek. Hall² thought it was non-Greek and maintained the current opinion that the Achaean invaders who appeared before the close of the Mycenaean period were the first Greek-speaking people to enter Hellas.

After the first publication of his theories and the general

¹ Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 323, cf. p. 16, note.

² Even in his last book *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* (1928), pp. 247 ff.

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recognition that the Mycenaean civilisation grew up in the Aegean and was not imported, the virtue of Ridgeway's work has often been overlooked by later writers. They have argued instead whether the aborigines of Greece could be Pelasgians and whether the Achaeans were Celts. Controversy too has raged round Iron, the Round Shield, and the Brooch, and though it is extremely unlikely that Ridgeway's views on these topics will be adopted in their entirety, no impartial reader can deny that his chapters on the last two subjects in particular and on the importance of Noricum as a secondary centre in the distribution of iron earlier than had been admitted previously have done much towards the collection of evidence and the clarification of thought. Similarly his chapter on Inhumation, Cremation, and the Soul is a stimulating piece of writing. So, though critics must reject much of Ridgeway's work, especially his early dating for the Iron Age which gave far too early a date for Hallstatt, they surely must acknowledge the clear vision with which he like others saw from the archaeological evidence, even before Evans' great excavations at Cnossus, the central fact, now self-evident in the light of all later discoveries, that the Aegean civilisation was autochthonous in that region. They must recognise that his method of "stripping off the layers" was the right one. Though the layers as he determined them are not now acceptable in the light of the latest archaeological evidence and the ethnological names which he wished to assign to them cannot be maintained, yet his pioneer work has done far more than blaze the trail for his successors. Huxley once wrote: "There is nothing in the world of science half so good as an earthquake hypothesis if it only serves to show the firmness of the foundations on which we build."

In *The Early Age*¹, while admitting the importance of Crete, he laid special stress on the value of the Mainland and Mycenae for the ultimate solution, if it is ever attained, of the ethnological problem of the Greeks. This in the light of present knowledge is remarkable. He wrote this long before the recent American, British, German, and Swedish excavations on the Mainland gave rise to a different problem not yet solved, a problem too which

¹ I, p. 292.

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only assumed its present importance shortly before Ridgeway's death.

In Crete Evans' brilliant work has demonstrated once and for all that the Minoan civilisation had its birth there and there also, from neolithic times on to the zenith of the Bronze Age, grew to full maturity and stature. It finally decayed towards the close of the Bronze Age, after it had lost its pre-eminence to Mycenae on the fall of Cnossus about 1400 B.C..

On the Mainland there was a neolithic population which to judge by its remains differed from the contemporary people of Crete. The first account of this neolithic culture was published by Tsountas¹ in 1908 in his *Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου*. This we can call Layer One. The Bronze Age is ushered in by the appearance of a race which enjoyed a culture very similar to that then in use in the islands and Crete. This was first revealed by Furtwängler's work at Orchomenus in 1903. This Layer is the Second. The pre-historian will call it the Early Helladic Age, but Ridgeway disliked the term Helladic as much as he disliked the term Minoan. Then in the Middle Bronze Age a new element enters, the people who made the pottery called Minyan. They introduced a distinctly different type of culture which separates the Mainland from Crete and the islands. This is the Third Layer.

With the beginning of the Late Bronze Age a change occurs and here opinions diverge. One school holds that about 1600 B.C. the people of the Mainland came into contact with Crete and largely adopted and adapted its art, culture, and alphabet, just as the Etruscans at a later date adopted and adapted those of the Greeks. As a recent French writer² puts it "Mis en face de l'éclatante civilisation crétoise, ils sont gagnés par elle et en assureront la continuation et la diffusion." They succeeded to the heritage of Crete after the fall of Cnossus, and remained the dominant force in the Aegean till the close of the transition to the early Iron Age which began in the twelfth century, about the traditional date for the Dorian Invasion.

The other school, that of Evans, holds that just about the

¹ His excavations began in 1901; see Bosanquet's note in *Man*, 1902.

² M. Poëte, *Introduction à l'Urbanisme*, p. 218.

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beginning of the Late Bronze Age the Cretans conquered and colonised large areas of the Mainland and formed a Minoan colonial empire. Then, before the fall of Mycenae but after the fall of Cnossus, came Achaeans, northern invaders, Indo-Europeans, who adopted the civilisation they found with a few modifications of their own. They were subsequently overrun by the Dorians.

The first school, while expressing no opinion about the neolithic people, regards the Early Helladic people as non-Greek and probably as non-Indo-European and considers that the people who introduced Minyan Ware may well have been the first section of the Hellenic race to enter Greece, and were thus in culture, language, and race responsible for the adventurous, enquiring spirit of the classical Hellenes. Myres, too, arrives at the same general conclusions¹, although he follows Evans in his belief in a Minoan colonization of the Mainland.

The school of Evans² is ready to concede this: "That there were Greeks in Hellas before the coming of the Achaeans is quite possible. They may even have formed part of the population before the actual conquest of large Mainland tracts by the Minoan Cretans."

So both these views in fact support to a considerable extent Ridgeway's belief, so far as it went, based on linguistic grounds, that Greek was spoken in Greece before the coming of the Achaeans. Owing to failing health and eyesight, he was unable to know the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures of the Mainland or to appreciate their significance, but the composite nature of the classical Greek race which he maintained is fully proved. They were a blend of the primitive neolithic race, of the artistic and cultured islanders, and of the vigorous and creative makers of Minyan Ware of the Middle Helladic Period, whom both schools are prepared to regard as the first Greek-speaking people to arrive in Greece. That Greek in some form or other was spoken in Greece as early as 2000 B.C. finds a wide degree of support and all unite in the belief that it is now demonstrated that the Aegean culture was born and developed in and around the sea the name of which it bears. On these two cardinal points

¹ *Who were the Greeks?* pp. 531 ff.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 133, note 2.

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Ridgeway thus may be credited with having championed new ideas, basing his belief on the best form of evidence, the actual archaeological facts. The impetus he thus gave to the whole question of the origin of the Greek race and its culture should not be underestimated. Facts stand their ground for ever and only the theories that are based on them pass away or change with time or new discoveries.

*ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
φύει τ' ἀδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται·
κούκ ἔστ' ἄελπτον οὐδέν¹...*

¹ Sophocles, *Ajax*, l. 646 ff.

A. J. B. WACE

July 1931