

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

Archaeology

The discovery of material remains from the recent or the ancient past has always been a source of fascination, but the development of archaeology as an academic discipline which interpreted such finds is relatively recent. It was the work of Winckelmann at Pompeii in the 1760s which first revealed the potential of systematic excavation to scholars and the wider public. Pioneering figures of the nineteenth century such as Schliemann, Layard and Petrie transformed archaeology from a search for ancient artifacts, by means as crude as using gunpowder to break into a tomb, to a science which drew from a wide range of disciplines - ancient languages and literature, geology, chemistry, social history - to increase our understanding of human life and society in the remote past.

The Palace of Minos

Inspired by Schliemann’s discoveries at Mycenae and Troy, Sir Arthur John Evans (1851–1941), keeper of Oxford’s Ashmolean Museum from 1884 to 1908, trustee of the British Museum and fellow of the Royal Society, used his inherited wealth to purchase land in Crete at Knossos. From 1900 he commenced excavations there in co-operation with the British School at Athens. Work continued for eight full seasons, uncovering a Bronze Age palace and bringing to light further architectural and artefactual remains of Minoan civilisation, including numerous texts in Linear A and Linear B. Evans’ speculative reconstruction of the site in reinforced concrete remains controversial, and some of his interpretations are disputed, but his pioneering work is painstakingly detailed in this highly illustrated multi-volume work, published between 1921 and 1935, with an index volume appearing in 1936. Part 1 of Volume 4 first appeared in 1935.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library and other partner libraries, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection brings back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

The Palace of Minos

*A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages
of the Early Cretan Civilization
as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos*

VOLUME 4

PART 1: EMERGENCE OF OUTER WESTERN ENCEINTE,
WITH NEW ILLUSTRATIONS, ARTISTIC AND RELIGIOUS,
OF THE MIDDLE MINOAN PHASE

ARTHUR EVANS



Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.
It furthers the University’s mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108061056

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2013

This edition first published 1935
This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-06105-6 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect
the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published
by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or
with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

The original edition of this book contains a number of colour plates,
which have been reproduced in black and white. Colour versions of these
images can be found online at www.cambridge.org/9781108061056

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

*An Index Volume to the whole work is in course
of preparation by*
Dr. JOAN EVANS, F.S.A.

FRONTISPIECE (PLATE XXVII)



CHRYSELEPHANTINE IMAGE OF GODDESS WITH MALE LOIN-CLOTHING :
‘OUR LADY OF SPORTS’

THE
PALACE OF MINOS

A COMPARATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSIVE
STAGES OF THE EARLY CRETAN CIVILIZATION
AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE DISCOVERIES

AT KNOSSOS

By SIR ARTHUR EVANS

D.LITT., ETC., F.R.S., F.B.A., ROYAL GOLD MEDALLIST R.I.B.A.
GOLD MEDALLIST SOC. ANTS. LOND.
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE R.ACAD. OF THE LINCEI, OF THE BAVARIAN, R DANISH, SWEDISH, AND ATHENS ACADS.
OF THE GÖTTINGEN SOC. OF SCIENCES, OF THE R.ACAD. OF SCIENCES, AMSTERDAM, OF THE GERMAN, AUSTRIAN
AND AMERICAN ARCH. INSTS. AND THE ARCH. SOC. OF ATHENS: CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE
HONORARY KEEPER AND PERPETUAL VISITOR OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD: HON. FELLOW
OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE

VOLUME IV : PART I

EMERGENCE OF OUTER WESTERN ENCEINTE, WITH
NEW ILLUSTRATIONS, ARTISTIC AND RELIGIOUS, OF
THE MIDDLE MINOAN PHASE : CHRYSELEPHANTINE
'LADY OF SPORTS', 'SNAKE ROOM' AND FULL STORY
OF THE CULT : LATE MINOAN CERAMIC EVOLUTION
AND 'PALACE STYLE'

*WITH FIGURES 1-315 IN THE TEXT, PLANS, AND
COLOURED AND SUPPLEMENTARY PLATES*

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1935

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

COPYRIGHT

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

TO THE MEMORY
OF
FEDERICO HALBHERR
THE FIRST ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORER
OF ANCIENT CRETE
AND DISCOVERER OF THE
GREAT INSCRIPTION OF GORTYNA
TRUE FRIEND AND HELPER
IN THE VERY BEGINNINGS OF MY OWN RESEARCHES
IN THE LAND OF MINOS
THE LAST VOLUME OF THIS WORK
IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase
Arthur Evans
Frontmatter
[More information](#)



THE EXCAVATOR AT THE NORTHERN ENTRANCE OF THE PALACE, KNOSSOS
From a photograph by Colonel Raymond ffennell.

P R E F A C E

I

JUST forty years from the beginning of my first exploration of the site of Knossos it has been given me to complete this final Volume of the ‘Palace of Minos’.

The broad treatment necessary for the interpretation of the varied evidence has indeed entailed a survey extending far beyond the Aegean and even the Libyan Sea, and constant reference has been found necessary to contemporary and still earlier civilizations from the Nile Valley to the Euphrates. Such conditions, indeed, transcend the limits of individual capacity, and in the small measure in which it may have been possible to fulfil them the notes appended to these Volumes record my repeated acknowledgements to the work of fellow explorers in this wide area.

This broad survey and the explanatory materials thus included may give the successive Volumes of this Work—though always centring round the Great Palace—some title to be regarded as an Encyclopaedia of Minoan cultural features, of its Art, and of its Religion. The Index Volume to the whole work, kindly undertaken by my sister, Dr. Joan Evans, and already well advanced, will greatly help to make it generally serviceable.

In the endeavour to carry out this comprehensive task it has been my grave misfortune to have been deprived through a now lengthening space of years—owing to a mental affection that had left no avenue for hope—of the invaluable services of my friend and colleague Duncan Mackenzie. Called to my assistance at an early stage of the excavation, himself an M.A. of Edinburgh University, and at Vienna (where he graduated), a pupil of Benndorf, he had already given proof of his qualities as an excavator under the British School at Melos. What, however, no training could have produced was his original and gifted nature, his whole-hearted devotion to the work, and his subtle artistic perception. In a material way, indeed, I have still gained frequent help from the rough notes in his ‘day-books’, chronicling progress made on various lines together with neat sketches of half-exposed plans. But nothing could replace the friendly personal contact and availability for consultation on difficult points with one of such great special knowledge.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06105-6 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 4: Part 1: Emergence of Outer Western Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase

Arthur Evans

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

His Highland loyalty never failed, and the simple surroundings of his earlier years gave him an inner understanding of the native workmen and a fellow-feeling with them that was a real asset in the course of our spade-work. To them, though a master, he was ever a true comrade. The lively Cretan dances revived the 'reels' of his youth. No wedding ceremony, no baptism, no wake was complete among the villagers without the sanction of his presence, and as sponsor, godfather, or 'best man', his services were in continual request. There yet fall on my inner ear the tones of that 'still small voice' as he proposed the toast of a happy pair—with sly jocose allusions, fluently spoken in the Cretan dialect of modern Greek—but not without a trace of the soft Gaelic accent.

Even as these words return from the printers' hands there reaches me from Italy the brief announcement that, a few days earlier, on August the 25th that vexed Spirit had found release at last.

Apart from this sad stroke—all too long delayed!—the passage of the years itself has lately taken an untimely toll—even while the present Volume was in hand—of those whom I could most look to for encouragement and advice. Among them more than one of those who from the very beginning of the work had aided and given a heartening welcome to the results obtained have passed beyond mortal ken:

Zerstoben ist das freundliche Ge-ange,
Verklungen, ach! der erste Widerklang.

Already, when this Volume was well advanced, A. H. Sayce was suddenly taken from us. It is hard to realize that that perennial source of fresh enthusiasm for research and the advancement of knowledge has ceased its up-springing. Much travelled scholar and first-hand student of the monuments of Egypt and the East (while never, still, forgetting his own Celtic and Iberic West), it had been owing to his interpretative genius that the first real light was thrown on the Hittite problem, and the revelations of Minoan Crete nearly concerned him. It is much to have enjoyed an affectionate relationship with him for so many years, and to have shared that quickening influence to the end. Here it may be recalled that in the last days of his life, with faculties undimmed and the eager intellectual curiosity of youth, he discussed with me the new evidence regarding the Mainland Minoan script.

With him, too, H. R. Hall, most learned and serviceable guide,

PREFACE

ix

beyond the Aegean shores to Egypt and the Ancient East, has gone before his time. Gone, too, but in the fullness of his years, is Friedrich von Duhn, the revered German ‘old master’, whose broad sympathetic mind preserved to the last a fresh interest in the wider archaeological bearings of the discoveries at Knossos. More prematurely, again, has passed away from us, Salomon Reinach, who, out of his universal learning, first appraised their far-reaching significance, and whose stimulating interest and goodwill not even ‘Glozel’ could seriously interrupt. And, then—as the last Sections of this Work neared completion—the sad news reached me of the death of Lewis Farnell, most loyal of friends, whose great work on the *Cults of the Greek States* had done much to secure the recognition of the abiding influence of Minoan Religion.

The recent loss of Federico Halbherr, to whom the final Volume of this Work is dedicated, so intimately concerns the first beginnings of scientific research into the monuments of Ancient Crete and touches my own early efforts in that direction so nearly, that some fuller appreciation is due in this place. For he was the first in the field, the Patriarch of Cretan excavation. Already in 1884—a worthy reward of long epigraphic study—he had made his great discovery of the Inscription of the Laws of Gortyna. This was ten years earlier than the date when the urge towards exploring what lay behind the traditions of Minos and Daedalos, and of the fabled Labyrinth, together with ‘the quest of a still earlier form of writing, had led me to Knossos. There it had materialized in the acquisition of proprietary rights on the site from its then Turkish owners (since transferred to the British School at Athens). During the critical times that followed, when Turkish obstruction blocked all work on the site itself, it was largely due to Halbherr’s friendly help and advice and to his seasoned knowledge of local conditions that I was able, amidst difficulties and some dangers, to continue my explorations in quest of pre-Hellenic remains throughout the Centre and East of the Island, till finally—as the result of the Cretan Insurrection, bringing with it the arrival of Prince George of Greece, and not a little through his kind offices—it was possible to begin the excavation.

Himself an Italian of Alpine stock, austere by nature and devout, Halbherr’s apparently slight frame showed itself capable of singular endurance, and, though at times prostrated by fever, he pursued his extraordinarily successful researches under the roughest conditions of life and travel. His

x THE PALACE OF MINOS, ETC.

simple, kindly manners won all hearts, and the memory of ‘*Κύριος Φριδερεϊκος*’ still lives among the Cretan villagers. The ‘net’ in which he slept secure at night and his coal-black Arab steed that climbed the rocks ‘like a wild goat’, and on which to my knowledge he could gallop—over Turkish roads!—from Phaestos to Candia in little over five hours, have become almost legendary. His greatest satisfaction was to inspire others with his own zeal for active research and, above all things, both in Crete and in the University of Rome (which later claimed a large share of his activities) he was a master among disciples. He was the inspirer of the foundation of the Italian Mission in the Island (which in turn gave birth to the Italian School at Athens), that has done so much to recover our knowledge both of its classical and its remoter past. Halbherr himself had early recognized the importance of the Minoan element. This perception was quickened by the revelations on the site of Knossos, and it was owing to his archaeological flair that the great Palace of Phaestos, the Southern rival of Knossos, saw the light. I well remember, too, his invitation to examine the traces of Minoan antiquity on a ‘promising site’ near by. On a bank and terrace, below a little Byzantine Church, we picked up together, among rubble remains, fragments of vases and brilliant pieces of painted stucco—the earnest of an astonishingly rich harvest. For the dedication of the little Church was to the ‘Hagia Triada’.

Halbherr, in later years, had suffered much from the wartime devastation of his old home and family holding in the North, which had been through all his active life his one haven of refuge and repose. There in the quiet Alpine valley he now rests, according to his desire.

Among those who happily are still active among us, Professor Luigi Pernier has worthily accomplished the work entrusted to him by his Master at Phaestos itself, and the Palace there will shortly receive the fullest illustration from its excavator. At Mallia, East of Knossos, where another Palace has since emerged,¹ Monsieur Fernand Chapouthier, Monsieur Jean Charbonneaux, and their colleagues of the French School of Athens have continued to produce remarkable results. Some of these will be seen to have a special bearing on subjects treated in the present Volume, and not least the inscribed tablets that have supplied a close parallel to the earlier

¹ The first excavations at Mallia and the discovery of the existence of a considerable Palace were due to Dr. Joseph Hatzidakis, the Veteran of Cretan excavation and creator of the Museum of Candia in its original form.

PREFACE

xi

series of Knossos.¹ The extraordinarily beautiful relic in the form of a gold pendant, formed of two hornets, showing almost microscopic granulation, and going back in date to the very beginning of the Age of Palaces,² has itself opened a new chapter in the history of Minoan jewellery.

Coming to the neighbourhood of Knossos itself, the researches of Dr. Sp. Marinatos, the Cretan Ephor of Antiquities, at Amnisos, its more Easterly seaport, have made highly interesting contributions to our knowledge. His exploration of the Grotto of Eileithya on the hillside above has revealed a cult continuous from Early Minoan to the latest Classical times and, walled round within its cavern shrines, the baetylic form of the Goddess still dimly visible through the gloom, in the shape of a white stalagmitic pillar, stands, as it had been formed, in the course of long geological Ages. In the sea-port itself Dr. Marinatos has now excavated a town-house with remains of frescoes, of which, thanks to his kindness, two restorations are here given,³ with elegant groups of flowers in garden stands and hints of artificial basins, singularly illustrative of the refined artificial development of Minoan life. It is a foretaste of Versailles.

On the further shores of the East Mediterranean basin the epoch-making researches of Professor Schaefer and his colleagues of the French Mission in Syria have in the last few years brought to light, at Ras Shamra and its harbour site of Minet-el-Beida, vaulted tombs of princely aspect, containing Late Minoan vases, and reflecting not only in their general shape but in characteristic details the Royal Tomb of Isopata.⁴ A little previous to this, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mycenae, Professor Persson and the Swedish Mission had explored another tomb, in this case of the beehive type containing the untouched relics of a King and Queen, vying in beauty and value with those of the Mycenae Shaft Graves. Through the kindness of Professor Wace I have also recently received his careful and detailed publication of the contents of Late Minoan cemeteries excavated by the British School under his direction at Mycenae itself.⁵ As a welcome supplement, moreover, to all this fresh material, Dr. Karo's great work on the Shaft Graves themselves has also seen the light,⁶ the fruit of long years of expert study, rudely interrupted but again renewed. Together with its

¹ See especially, F. Chapouthier, *Les Écritures Minoennes au Palais de Mallia* (Paris, 1930).
² See Pt. I, p. 75, Fig. 48.
³ In a Supplementary Plate at end of Pt. II.
⁴ See Pt. II, p. 771 seqq.
⁵ Published in *Archaeologia*, lxxxii.
⁶ G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (Munich, 1930).

xii THE PALACE OF MINOS, ETC.

atlas, it has for the first time supplied a full and accurate account of Schliemann's discoveries.

Cordial thanks are due to him for the liberality that has placed me in possession of these magnificent volumes. But still less can I forget that, at a time when the Great War had already broken out, and national animosities were at their height, as a friend and fellow worker in the same field of research, he had found means to send me the first proofs of the text.

II

To the last the site has been fertile in surprises—the final touch being the chance finding of a royal signet-ring, leading to the discovery of the monumental Temple-Tomb of the last Priest-kings. This had been preceded by the emergence of a wholly new outer enceinte of the Palace itself, revealing what was originally the main entrance system from the West.

This additional area that thus called for intensive exploration has been the source of much new material, supplementing our knowledge of the earlier cultural stages of the Palace history. The two more 'koulouras' or circular walled pits here brought to light contained masses of painted pottery, a good deal of it representing novel types and covering the whole Middle Minoan Age. Below these, moreover, still earlier basements came to light antedating the construction of the Palace itself. Nearer the Palace wall, again—of later date, but supplying a singular illustration of the most primitive religion of the spot—was found a room entirely devoted to the tending of domestic snakes and containing the full furniture of their cult.¹ The shelter provided for these water-loving reptiles turned out to be an adaptation of a tubular section of one of the usual clay water-mains, while the 'snake tube' thus evolved became a recurring feature in Minoan shrines. It is shown to supply later the origin of a ritual object which was adapted to the use both of the Cyprian Lady of the Dove and of the Ashtoreth of Philistine Beth-Shan.

In the higher religious stratum to which the Minoan Goddess herself belongs as Lady of the Underworld—and bearing on the grimmer side of her worship in that Land of Earthquakes—an almost chance comparison with the markings on the native adder's back revealed the true source of her special symbol in that character. This sacred 'Adder Mark' appears

¹ See below, p. 138 seqq.

PREFACE

xiii

on the robes and altars of the Goddess, while on the painted borders of vases it survives to the end of the Minoan civilization. At Mycenae, which took it over, it composed the frieze—renewed from generation to generation—that encircled the hearth of the Royal Megaron. The full demonstration of its origin, hitherto undreamed of, is here given.

A fortunate conjunction of circumstances has further enabled me to illustrate and describe in this Volume a series of comparative examples, only lately come to light, of figurines of the Minoan Goddess herself. In one of them, executed in limestone and exceeding in stature any existing specimen, she appears as Snake Mother.¹ A chryselephantine statuette, since acquired by the Toronto Museum, in a dress consisting of gold plating, half masculine in cut, exhibits her in the very interesting character of ‘Lady of the Sports’.² To these is added a new ivory figurine of her boy consort with gold loin-clothing, and perhaps originally a biretta on his shorn crown—a little masterpiece of sculpture, unrivalled of its kind either in Egyptian or Mesopotamian Art.³

The illustration here evidently afforded of the ritual tonsure of ‘childhood’s’ locks by one preparing to enter on manhood’s estate is of great interest as supplying the explanation of certain affixes found at both Knossos and Mycenae in the shape of plaited locks.⁴ Highly suggestive, too, in this connexion are the comparisons, here invoked,⁵ with the records of hair offerings in the Carian Temple of Zeus Panamaros—himself a double of Zeus Labrandeus, God of the Double Axe.

Such detailed evidence as to a Minoan place of Cult as was never before obtained has been gained by the discovery South of the Palace, and in close connexion with the Temple Tomb referred to below, of what there is every reason to suppose was a high-priest’s house containing his private chapel. The Western section of this is very fully preserved. It was entered between columnar balustrades, with an inner shrine where stood the incurved altar-blocks, flanked by pyramidal Double Axe stands, and in front, the drain for sacrificial blood.⁶

Sculptured slabs with remains of spiraliform reliefs and of a triglyph frieze with half-rosettes were brought out by the recent explorations on the West side of the Palace. These remains, of which such near counterparts

¹ See p. 159, and Fig. 150.

² See Frontispiece to Pt. I and p. 28 seqq.

³ See Pt. II, p. 470 seqq., and Fig. 394, &c.

⁴ Pt. II, pp. 481, 482, and Figs. 404, 405.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 478, 479.

⁶ Pt. I, p. 205 seqq., and Fig. 157.

xiv THE PALACE OF MINOS, ETC.

are to be found in some of the stelae of the Mycenae Shaft Graves and the façade of the ‘Atreus’ Tomb, have called for a short re-statement of the overwhelming evidence as to the direct relationship of the earliest monuments on that site to the M. M. III phase of Cretan Art.¹ Here it need only be remarked that the strange theory still seems to be upheld in certain quarters, which not only divorces the history of the Shaft Graves from that of the Tholos Tombs, but actually refers the finest example of the latter, the so-called ‘Treasury of Atreus’ (in spite of the M. M. III relics found within it), to the last age of decadence! It is of a piece with the terminology—still in vogue among those who approach the Minoan world backwards, from the Mainland side—which describes the products of that unified culture, when found North of the Aegean, as ‘Late Helladic’.² With equal accuracy we may speak of the works of Hellenic Art in Magna Graecia as ‘Late Italic’ or ‘Late Sikel’. The Triumphal Arch of Orange is thus claimed as ‘Late Gaulish’, and the Roman Wall itself becomes ‘Late British’ with equal reason!

The concluding Sections of the first Part of this Volume are devoted to a general review of the successive classes of Late Minoan pottery, with special reference to the remains on the Palace site itself. Outstanding in this regard are the evidences here produced of the evolution from the L. M. I *b* style—itself so widely represented—of a ‘Palace Style’ that must be regarded as the creation of the last Priest-kings. A well-nigh complete series of examples of this grand ceramic class has here for the first time received full illustration. Among the permanent records of its outgrowth from various elements of L. M. I *b* series, special attention is called to a decorative ingredient in the designs, resembling three C’s, derived by gradual stages from a triple group of rocks and sea-tang belonging to the marine motives of the preceding style.³ These ‘three C’s’, as here shown, themselves survive on vases of the succeeding L. M. III *a* ceramic stage both in Mainland Greece and as far afield as Cyprus. Not less suggestive is the continued imitation down to the latest Minoan phase of a special architectonic motive—based on a Pillar Shrine—of which a fine

¹ See Pt. I, § 97.
² What makes this description still more unscientific is the undoubted fact that most of the un-Minoan remains of the ‘Mycenaeen’ Age found in Mainland Greece do not belong to the older stock to which the name ‘Helladic’ is properly applied. They are rather of intrusive, ‘Minyan’ origin.
³ See p. 314 seqq., and Fig. 250.

xv

⁴ Pt. II, p. 423 seqq., Figs. 349, 350.

religious art, the beneficent lion-headed Genii.¹ Their affiliation to the Hippopotamus Goddess, Ta-urt, is here fully established, the parallelism extending even to her astral relations. The seal-stones on which she appears as a waterer of plants are further shown to fit on to an earlier series of a simple talismanic usage, in which the ritual vessels alone appear beside sprays of vegetation. The latter were, in fact, rain-bringing charms. On the great gold signet-ring from Tiryns the Genii bear libations to the seated Goddess; elsewhere they attend the young male divinity.

For our enlightenment not only as to Minoan Art and Religion, but as to the most varied aspects of life, the seal-stones, together with the signet-rings, are of the first importance. In this department, as the result of specimens collected over a space of forty years, and especially to acquisitions made under the favourable circumstances attending his earlier researches in Central and Eastern Crete, the Author has been enabled for the first time to arrange the material on a chronological basis. Much relating to the more primitive classes has already appeared in the earlier part of the present Work,² and the clay seal impressions found in the 'Temple Repositories', as well as the closely allied hoards from Zakro and Hagia Triada, have called, above, for comparisons with the contemporary works of greater Art.³ In the Second part of the present Volume it has now been possible to put together a fully classified type series covering the whole period from the closing phase of M. M. III to the last Palatial epoch and supplemented by the late hoards of seal impressions found in the Palace.⁴

Complete in themselves, these little intaglio types often serve as an epitome of more fully elaborated works of the greater Art, whether in relief or painting, of which too often, only fragmentary remains have been preserved. They open glimpses to us of whole ranges of such Minoan designs, of which all traces have now vanished, while suggesting at the same time many novel versions of subjects already known to us. In the case, indeed, of the engravings on signet-rings, or the special class of large gold beads illustrated by the Thisbê triplet,⁵ we recover essential details of entire pictorial scenes. The translation back of the designs on the 'Ring of Nestor' into a 'Minature Fresco' panel might well be followed by the

¹ Pt. II, § 103.	³ Vol. i, § 31, p. 669 seqq.
² See vol. i, p. 123 seqq., and § 13, p. 271 seqq. Compare to <i>Scripta Minoa</i> , i, <i>passim</i> , in relation to the Hieroglyphic Script.	⁴ Pt. II, §§ 105-7 (pp. 484-590).
	⁵ See p. 513 seqq., and Figs. 457 <i>a</i> , <i>b</i> , 458, and 459.

PREFACE xvii

enlarged reproduction in colours on similar lines of the threefold subject—equally minute in its varied details—of the ‘Ring of Minos’, which led to the discovery of the Temple Tomb.¹

Many of the ordinary seal-types themselves also suggest the same dependence on original designs, perhaps at the time enjoying a wide vogue, in which the subject was completely developed. A series of intaglio types, depicting episodes of the circus sports and other bull-grappling scenes, have been already shown to stand in this relationship, and a remarkable instance is here supplied of a gem presenting an excerpt from a composition closely akin to that displaying the lion-hunt engrailed in coloured metal-work on the Mycenae dagger-blade.²

Within these narrow fields, the gem engravers, with selective felicity, continually reflect the skill of artists working on a larger scale. A good example of this is given by the instantaneous sketch, on a lentoid from Mirabello,³ of a group of water-birds, one asleep, one plunging its head into the water for food, and the other opening its wings for flight. An actual illustration of ancient fable may be recognized in the delightful sketch, on a flat cylinder from Arkhanes—an important Minoan settlement inland from Knossos—of a wild-goat perched on a rock just out of reach, mocking the dog who had pursued him across the level. Another finely engraved blue chalcedony gem of the same class, found on a knoll North of the Palace site, bears a design of two tumblers⁴—in Minoan men’s attire, but with Libyan plumes—symmetrically grouped in attitudes which link them to early Nilotic prototypes. *Per contra*—thanks to the chronological sequence that it has been possible to establish from these full materials—it can be shown that the type of the lion leaping on his prey—so much affected by early Greek Art and often regarded as the very symbol of the East—represents the Minoan version,⁵ clearly distinguishable from the Oriental scheme (also not unknown in Crete), where the lion’s hind-legs rest on the ground—itself of old Sumerian tradition.

The naturalistic spirit of the Minoan animal forms is no new theme in this Work. This is strongest in the great Transitional Age M. M. III–L. M. I *a*, some intaglios of which are here included, such as the remarkable

¹ See Pt. II, § 117 : Epilogue.

² See *Ib.*, p. 575 and cf. vol. iii, p. 118 seqq., and Fig. 71.

³ *Ib.*, p. 492.

IV.

⁴ Pt. II, p. 500 seqq., Fig. 443, and cf. Figs. 444–9.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 527 seqq.

b

xviii THE PALACE OF MINOS, ETC.

seal impression depicting a flying dove,¹ the perspective rendering of the parrot wrasse,² or the flying-fish that might have been taken from the Phylakopi fresco. One of the most strange examples is the calf's head as dressed for the table.³ A long Cretan pedigree may be traced for many of the types here collected, going back in cases, as in the trophies of the chase slung on poles, to Early Minoan models. Among such motives is the wounded quarry, which later takes the sensational form of the animal vainly endeavouring to extract the lethal shaft, so finely exemplified by the gold bead-seal from the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae. On a gem here illustrated it is applied to a painfully realistic figure of a calf.⁴ Finally, as in the case of a seated lion, the attitude of the wounded animal is preserved, but the shaft omitted. Special attention is also called to a series of designs, such as the cow licking her calf or her own hind foot, scratching her nose or biting at a fly on her flank—in their character pure *genre*—which are literally copied as Greek coin-types.⁵

A group of deposits, here described,⁶ of clay seal impressions found in association with the latest remains of the Palace has now supplied a secure chronological basis (L. M. II) for a whole series of intaglio types—just as those from the Temple Repositories and allied sources had made it possible to assign an earlier series to the closing M. M. III phase. One recurring feature of the later class is the greater adaptation of the design to the face of the stone—at times at the expense of a certain contortion of the animal figures—and the frequent occurrence of outgrowths of the 'antithetic' scheme, such as single-headed monsters, crossed and double-bodied. As a cultural symptom there is a marked prominence of bucolic motives, among them a boy milking a cow, another leading the animal, and a part of what really looks like a spectator leaning over a fence to survey a prize ox.⁷ Among the impressions of gold signets from these hoards the types of the lion-guarded Goddess, and the indications of a free-standing sculptural group of the lions with their fore-feet on a pyramidal cairn, are of special religious interest.⁸

¹ Pt. II., p. 490, Fig. 424; from H. Triada. Cf. D. Levi, *Le Cretule di Hagia Triada, &c.*, p. 27, Fig. 52.

² *Ib.*, p. 494, Fig. 430.

³ *Ib.*, p. 491, Fig. 425.

⁴ See p. 543, Fig. 498 and cf. Fig. 499.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 558, 559, Figs. 520, 521, and pp.

560-2, Figs. 523-6, and 528.

⁶ For the catalogue, see p. 601 seqq. and for select illustrations, see pp. 608, 609, Fig. 597 A, B.

⁷ See p. 564, Figs. 532-4.

⁸ See p. 608 seqq.

PREFACE xix

These hoards of clay sealings—sometimes also signed and counter-signed—themselves stand in relation to a series of deposits of clay tablets inscribed with the linear Script of Class B. The discovery of these documents attesting the existence of an advanced system of writing in Minoan Crete—which in its earlier phase had preceded the Greek by some seven centuries—at the time excited more general interest than any other found within the Palace walls of Knossos.

But the widespread hopes of its early interpretation were not verified. No one, indeed, who understood the real conditions could expect such a speedy solution of the problem. According to every indication—such as that supplied by the local and personal names of pre-Hellenic Crete, and even the appreciable verbal survival in Greek itself—the root affinities of the original language lay on the Anatolian side. The phonetic value of the signs themselves was itself unknown, and though some light on them might be obtained from the early Cypriote syllabary, even this, as pointed out in this Volume, only exists in a limited degree. The conditions, indeed, are by no means so favourable as in the Etruscan inscriptions, where we have to deal with a known alphabet, yet in that case—after over three generations of research—how vain on the whole has been the effort at decipherment! Of the Minoan script, not only the language but the greater part of the phonetic values of its characters are both lost.

It is true that when a great earthquake of Nero's time seems actually to have laid bare a deposit of these tablets on the site of Knossos all difficulties concerning the unknown script were quickly disposed of. The versatile tyrant at once pronounced it to be Phoenician, and, further observing that the documents concerned the Trojan War, ordered his learned doctors to translate them into Greek. Placed between the devil and the deep sea, the doctors produced the work of Diktys of Knossos, the companion of Idomeneus, described by Lydgate in the first English version as the 'Auncient historie and trewe and syncere Chronicle of the Warres of the Grecians and the Trojans'.

Unfortunately no such complete and satisfying result can be here offered. All that I have been able here to attempt—after copying over 1,600 documents of which the whole or some material part had survived, and as the outcome of prolonged researches into their details and as to the various applications of the signs themselves—is at most of a preliminary nature. In this place, naturally, it is impossible to give more than a summary review

with selective illustrations. It has been possible to prepare a fairly complete signary, including the comparative examples from Class A, that preceded and partly overlapped the present, and of which a short retrospect has been supplied. In the actual method of writing we are struck by a clarity and adaptability in strong contrast to that of the early Greeks. Instead of running into one another the sign-groups are espaced and sentences punctuated. The 'type', so far from showing a dull sameness, varies in regard to the importance of the groups as much as three, or even four, times on a single tablet. The tablets themselves have been classified according to their contents, as to which a clue has in many cases been supplied by the pictorial adjuncts to the inscriptions, and at times through the ideographic information afforded by certain characters. From this evidence it appears that the documents in an overwhelming degree refer to accounts and lists of persons and possessions. The numeration itself, practically identical with Class A, is clearly decipherable, and an interesting group of tablets refers to percentages.

We have here real contemporary records of the economic history of the later Palace. The tablets where ingots and the balance sign are depicted supplement our knowledge of the methods of payment and of the mediums of currency supplied by the discovery of the standard talent weight and numerous smaller weights in the form of disks engraved with numbers. The inscriptions prefixed to illustrations of metal vases, including the 'Vapheio' type and bulls' head 'rhytons', throw a light on the contents of the Treasury attached to the Central Sanctuary. The various cereal representations and the 'Granary' tablets refer to stores both within and outside the building. The cultivation of the soil is further illustrated by documents referring to olive-groves and saffron gardens, and large classes relate to flocks and herds—horned sheep, swine, oxen, and horses.

A group depicting the wild goat's horns used in connexion with the manufacture of bows, may have been mainly connected with hunters' needs, but the military side of the last Minoan dynasty at Knossos is well to the fore. In addition to the 'sword-tablets', the large class presenting chariots or their parts may be thought to bear a more warlike character. This, indeed, is clearly marked by the cuirasses with which many of them are associated, at times erased and superseded by the 'ingot' or talent-sign, the equivalent of a 'knight's' fee. The frequent occurrence of the 'throne

and sceptre' sign on the inscriptions on the 'Chariot Tablets' is not without significance.

Of considerable interest, too, are the many documents—some of them of exceptional dimensions—containing lists marked by the ideographic determination of men or women, while a smaller number relate to children of both sexes. The 'name groups' which they contain are in some cases common to the earlier linear Class A, and certain pictographic characters that appear in these suggest wider connexions. An exceptionally large tablet, on which the 'man' sign is repeated, contains twenty-four lines, enumerating three lists of persons. The sign-groups on specimens of this class, coupled with the 'man' or 'woman' sign obviously represent the names of persons of the two sexes, and it is therefore of special interest to find at times a quasi-pictorial figure, such as a goat, among their component elements. This recalls the typical *Tarku*-names of Hittite Asia Minor.¹

The business character of the great bulk of the inscriptions is clear. What is surprising is the meticulous methods visible both in the documents themselves and in the signing and countersigning of the clay sealings that had secured them. Even the edges of the tablets are at times docketed and numbered. The distinctive formulas that marked special deposits actually served in the local Tribunal to convict a workman who had purloined specimens from a special Magazine. The bureaucratic regulation here visible is certainly in keeping with the household of Minos in his traditional character of the great law-giver.

Nor did the elaborate system of written records of which we have here the proof cease even with the final overthrow of the Great Palace. Thanks to the remarkable discoveries of Professor Keramopoulos in the Boeotian Thebes, and to the special kindness of the Greek Archaeological authorities, I am able to supply in the Second Part of this Volume a detailed demonstration that a series of inscriptions on vases from a cellar of the later 'House of Kadmos' actually perpetuated on Mainland soil through the succeeding epoch, with only a few local additions, the later script of the Palace of Knossos²—one might almost say, its 'Court-hand'. More imperfect finds of inscribed pottery at Tiryns and Mycenae also fall into their place as part of this same remarkable survival, the implications

¹ Pt. II, p. 713.	p. 745, Fig. 728. Out of 45 comparative forms
² Table showing the Mainland Signs compared with Class B at Knossos is given, <i>Ib.</i> ,	only two or three can be regarded as uncertain.

PREFACE xxiii

its first adequate description¹ and coloured reproductions. On the side of the Domestic Quarter it is also now shown to form part of a similar fine scheme of redecoration illustrated by the ‘Argonaut frieze’, of which a section has been now recovered.²

The end was sudden, and the evidence once more points to an earthquake as the cause, followed by a widespread conflagration and, doubtless, ensuing pillage of the ruins left. But on this occasion the catastrophe was final. Squatters, indeed, after a short interval of years, occupied the probably considerable shelter still offered by the remains of the fabric. But the Minoan augurs may have at last satisfied themselves that the Powers of the Underworld were not to be exorcized. The long experiment was given up, and there are some reasons for supposing that the residence of the Priest-kings of Knossos was, perhaps not for the first time, transferred to a Mainland site, quite probably, indeed, to Mycenae, at this time re-decorated according to the latest Knossian fashion.

That the overthrow did not seriously interrupt the course of culture at Knossos itself is indicated by the contents of tombs in neighbouring cemeteries. An epilogue now supplied by the dramatic finding of the royal signet-ring that led in turn to the discovery of the Temple-Tomb³ has confirmed the general continuity of local tradition. Not only did there come to light within its inner vault a late interment of what may have been an actual scion of the royal House, but at the entrance of the tomb and on the terrace above had been placed a series of offertory vessels dating from the immediately ensuing Age—L. M. III *a*—and witnessing the survival of a memorial cult.

III

It remains once more to express my warm acknowledgements to many fellow workers for valued assistance afforded to my work. In particular, as regards the excavation of the outer enceinte of the Palace on the West only recently brought to light, of the ‘High Priest’s House’ and Temple-Tomb, and of the relics found in all these I have been much indebted to the late Archaeological Curator of Knossos and to Mrs. John Pendlebury.

¹ See § 116, with coloured Plate of the Griffin, and the Frontispiece of Part II.
² See § 116. ³ *Ib.*

xxiv THE PALACE OF MINOS, ETC.

In executing the plans of the newly unearthed structures Mr. Piet de Jong, the Architect of the British School at Athens, has supplied further examples of his fine work, not least the remarkable isometric drawing of the ‘Temple-Tomb’ in the pocket of the concluding Part of this Volume. Monsieur E. Gilliéron, fils, has also added much to the already existing Gallery of his works in this publication—including the coloured views of the Room of the Throne as restored, and the Griffin Fresco, as well as his skilful reconstitution of a section of the ‘Argonaut’ frieze. My thanks, too, are again due to Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Keeper of the Classical Department in the British Museum, for looking over the proofs of this Volume, as well as for his ready help in matters concerning the Collections in his charge.

Throughout the whole of these Volumes—literally from *alpha* to *omega*—I have been exceptionally indebted to the services of the Oxford University Press. The inherent complexity of the subject, and the insertions and dislocations frequently needed to keep pace with the progress of discovery, have combined to beset this publication with difficulties hardly before experienced in a like degree. Not the least of these has been due to the constant effort to fit the figures—between two and three thousand in number—as far as possible into their appropriate place in the text, of which, in a work of this nature, they can only be regarded as an integral part. In all this my warmest acknowledgements are due to the Printer of the University Press and his Secretary, Mr. Philip Bennett—with whom I have constantly had direct personal relations—to the Readers and the heads of the Departments connected with the setting up of the type and the preparation of illustrative materials, not only for the patience and courtesy shown in spite of demands of an exacting nature, but for useful help freely given.

In one respect, indeed, the concluding Volume of this Work presents a typographic achievement of a novel character, but worthy of the oldest traditions of the Oxford Press. Thanks to the expert skill of the late Controller, Mr. Horace Hart, the Minoan Script has for the first time secured a fount of its own, and it has been possible here to print extracts from this most ancient of all European forms of writing in type, both of the ‘Two-line Pica’ body and of the ‘Great Primer’.

PREFACE

xxv

IV

AIR-VIEW OF THE PALACE SITE

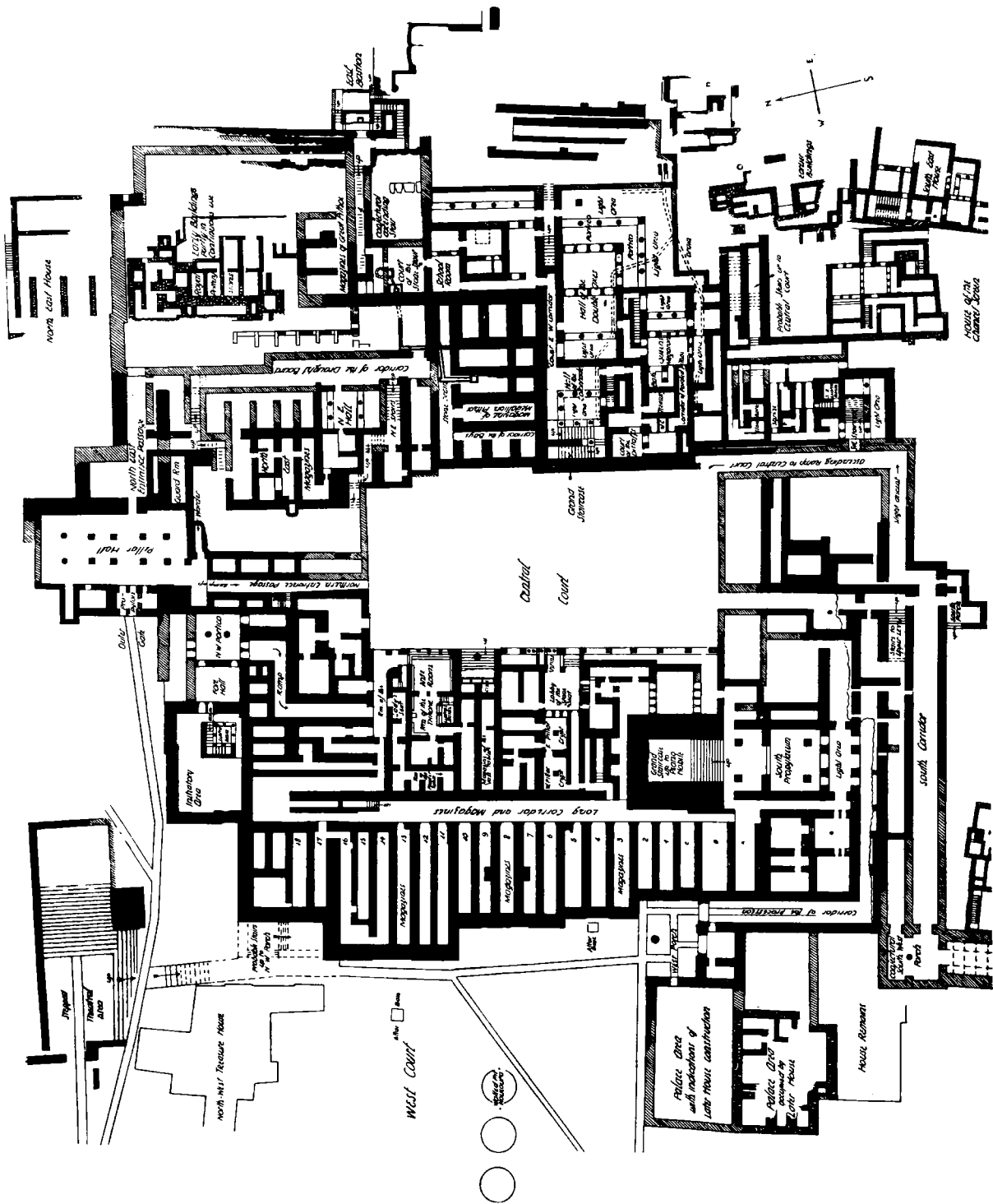
One great *desideratum* of this Work had long remained unsatisfied. Only quite lately Mr. E. G. Lumsden, then in the service of the Imperial Airways, succeeded in obtaining a successful snapshot of the site, which he has very kindly placed at my disposal. The air-view taken is here reproduced with the existing ground-plan placed opposite for comparison, and displays the whole of the Palace site, with the exception of a small piece of the much-ruined South-West angle. It includes the newly discovered enceinte on the West, with its circular-built pits, or ‘koulouras’, with the steps of the Reception area (formerly called the ‘Theatral Area’) beyond, and the starting-point of the paved *Via Sacra*, pointing to the ‘Little Palace’.

A mule path is visible leading North from the old Turkish house (not included), which had been the earliest head-quarters of the Excavation, towards the hamlet of Makryteichos, the name of which refers to the ‘Long Wall’ of Roman Knossos.

Had the Fates, indeed, allowed Daedalos, the legendary builder and adorning of the House of Minos, and Father of Aviation, to take part in this later flight, there are many features that he would have sought in vain. Gone are the long porticoes and superimposed verandahs,¹ the terraces and roof gardens, and below, perhaps, to the East, approached through the postern of the great Bastion (on the river-flat, now overgrown with secular olive-trees), other monuments of which all record has vanished—the crowded Arena of the bull-sports, and beside it, may be, the ‘Dancing Ground of Ariadnê’. But the old ground-plan of the Palace still stands four square, partially roofed over in places, as first conceived by its great architect, with its Central Court clearly defined and the main entrances to it from North and South easily discernible. (Compare Ground-plan.) The light-wells of the Grand Staircase and of the adjoining Hall of the Colonnades show clear openings amidst the repaved upper floors on that side, and the light court of the great reception room below—the ‘Hall of the

¹ For a restored drawing of a Section of the West Palace Wing facing the Central Court, by Mr. F. G. Newton, which gives the best idea of a complete portion of the building, see vol. ii, Pt. II, Fig. 532 (folding Plate opposite p. 814).

†



BASEMENT PLAN OF PALACE (ORIENTED FOR COMPARISON WITH AIR VIEW). THE NEWLY DISCOVERED WESTERN ENTRANCE SYSTEM AND ENCEINTE IS NOT HERE INCLUDED.