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The Palace of Knossos: Provisional Report for the Year 1903

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# THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS

*Provisional Report for the Year 1903.*

(PLATES I.—III.)

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## § I.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1903.

WHEN operations opened at Knossos, on February 23, 1903, it seemed to me at first sight probable that a comparatively short Campaign would exhaust the resources of the Palace Site, although the work entailed by the search for the tombs might itself be of gradual execution and uncertain quantity. But the site itself proved still inexhaustible, especially in its lower strata. The region of which the exploration had still to be completed on the South-East was supplemented by an unexpected extension of the site on the North-West, including the Theatral Area. Annexes, like a neighbouring building in the same quarter, proved of interminable extent and rich in contents, including a hoard of magnificent bronze vessels. What is practically an important dépendance of the Palace, described in this Report as the 'Royal Villa,' opened out to the North-East, and in addition to this, lower floor-levels, comprising deposits of extraordinary interest, were struck at a great number of points within the already excavated area of the Later Palace. Deep basement rooms were unearthed and a whole additional system of walled pits belonging to an earlier building. The Kaselles, already partially explored in the West Magazines, were traced beneath the later pavement of the Long Gallery, while the discovery of the Temple Repositories in the neighbouring region about the Pillar Rooms, made towards the close of the season's work, represents in many respects the culminating point of interest in the whole four years' excavation of the Palace Site. The great variety of objects contained by these

Repositories, including the faience figures of the Snake Goddess and her Votaries, and the exquisite series of relics in the same material, throws an entirely new light on the art and religion of the Later Palace at what seems to have been its most brilliant epoch, as well as on the system of writing then employed.

From the point of view of the stratification of the various historic layers of the site, the results of the last season's work have been extremely satisfactory. Not only have the earlier Neolithic strata been further explored, but many new data have been acquired as to the stages of culture that intervened between the close of the local Stone Age and the foundation of the Later Palace. A remarkable deposit to be described in the present Report throws the first real light on the transitional form of culture belonging to what I have ventured to term the 'Early Minōan Period.' The Ceramic and other illustrations of the succeeding 'Middle Minōan' have also been of the most remarkable kind, including vases of the polychrome style which for beauty of form and decorative design are as yet unrivalled among objects of this class.

These various developments necessarily enlarged the scope of the excavations, and the 50 men with which the work began had been progressively raised to about 200 by the end of April. Throughout the earlier part of the campaign the work was much hampered by the continual rains. There had been about forty days' almost incessant rain before the operations began, and the downpour continued with little break for an equal space of time after the work had been set going. The earth was thus completely sodden, and the pits continually filled with water, so that the labour of extracting every spadeful of earth was more than doubled. The weather did not definitely improve till the latter part of April, and the operations which had thus been seriously retarded were continued to the end of the first week in June.

I again had throughout the valued assistance of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie in directing the works, and, in drawing up the present Report, I have constantly consulted the careful records kept by him in his Day Books. Mr. Theodore Fyfe was also happily able to come out for part of the time to execute the architectural plans and drawings. A series of very careful drawings of some of the most important finds was also made, under my supervision, by the Danish artist, Mr. Halvor Bagge.

The veteran services of Gregorios Antoniou were once more secured

in the capacity of foreman, and Kyrios Papadakis again acted as mender and *formatore*.

A great deal of labour and material was again expended on works of conservation, such as supporting the remains of upper storeys and staircases, especially in the Royal Villa, the whole superincumbent earth behind which had to be buttressed up by a high wall. Another large undertaking of the kind was the rebuilding of the upper part of the Northern wall of the Theatre and restoring the adjoining tiers of stone seats, without which the whole of these interesting remains would have been rapidly disintegrated. The central strip of the pavement of the Long Gallery, which had to be removed to explore the cists below, was afterwards restored by means of gypsum slabs cut for the purpose. A watch tower, the upper framework of which is of wood, was also built in the Central Court in order to secure a general panorama of the Palace.

A great many supplementary observations were also carried out within the Palace limits, and the researches of Dr. Mackenzie were specially successful in discovering several window openings, the presence of which had not been hitherto detected. The most important of these opened in the wall to the North of the Light well of the Queen's Megaron, giving light to the Private Staircase.

In pursuit of the search for tombs a large area was methodically explored, extending over a quarter of a mile to the North of the Palace, but, though a good many graves were found, they had all been rifled in antiquity, and none of them could ever have been of great importance. One result of these explorations was that a large number of houses, going back to Early Minōan times, were traced over the whole of this area and to the East as far as the rocky steep that there overhangs the stream.

## § 2.—THE SOUTH-EAST HOUSE.

Already towards the close of the preceding Season parts of a staircase, passage, and adjacent rooms were unearthed at the South-East angle of the Palace area. The excavation now completed on this side has brought out an exceptionally perfect house-plan, which will be seen in Fig. I. The building itself may be regarded as an inner dépendance of the Palace, not improbably an official residence. Although, owing to the declivity on this side, the whole is set at a slightly different angle from the main

building, it stands in most intimate relation with it, and its main entrance was evidently from a line of terrace which extends Northwards to the Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes.

To this terrace level, indeed, it stands in the same relation as the 'Domestic Quarter' of the Palace, with its stately Halls of the Colonnades and of the Double Axes, to the Central Court. As there the quadruple staircase from the Court above afforded the main entrance to the lower as well as the upper floors, so in this case, too, the stairway down from the upper terrace was evidently the chief means of entering the lower rooms. Like the Domestic Quarter, too, lower rooms of this South-East House are constructed in a cutting in the side of the slope, partly at the expense of earlier human strata, partly hewn out of the soft virgin rock. Thus immediately to the North of these chambers, which, as will be seen, belong to the Later Palace Period, are Magazines at a slightly higher level belonging to the Early Minōan Age.

The remarkable 'Royal Villa' excavated this season to the North-East of the Palace and described below<sup>1</sup> displays identical features. There too the main entrance was by a flight of stairs descending from an upper terrace, and there too the lower rooms were built into a cutting in the side of the hill.

The South-East House, like the Villa to be described below, presents an excellent example of what may be called the Miniature Palace Style of building (see plan, Fig. 1). All the familiar features, such as the stairs, with their great angle blocks, the corridors, the gypsum lining slabs, the door jambs with their reveals, the porticoes, and the pillar rooms are repeated on a smaller scale. Nor in the artistic character of the contents is there any falling off. In the case of the South-East House the relics found evince the highest level of taste on the part of the owner.

Of the stairs the whole lower flight consisting of nine gypsum steps<sup>2</sup> was preserved, but of the upper flight only parts of two, adjoining the square block at the first landing. The upper stair-block which, like the other, has the usual four dowel holes for wooden construction, was found slightly displaced. About the same level were also found door jambs belonging to the upper storey of the house. It seems probable that the middle landing of the staircase was lit by a window in its North wall.

<sup>1</sup> § 20, p. 130 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> 1·39 m. wide, 0·38 deep with a tread of 0·13.

Immediately to the left of the foot of the lowest flight of steps opens a corridor (A 1 in plan) about a metre wide and 7·45 metres in length. On the paved floor of this, which lay about 2·50 metres below the surface, were found fragments of vases in the fine Later Palace style and painted plaster which seems to have been derived from the walls of this and probably of another similar corridor above. These fragments of wall-painting showed lilies, olive sprays, and grasses, of singular fidelity and beauty.<sup>1</sup> A group

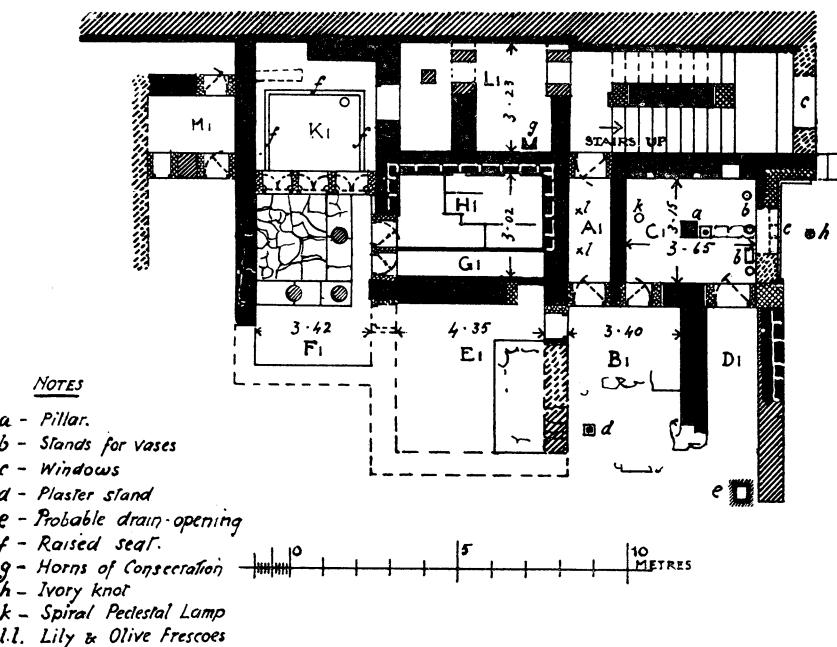


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF SOUTH-EAST HOUSE.

of lilies suggests one of Morris's fine wall-paper designs, but there is a touch of nature here which goes beyond modern decorative art—the petals of the flowers being in some cases delineated as half detached by the passing breeze.

It is a characteristic feature of this short corridor that there were doors at both ends of it, which, as is shown by their sockets and the position of the reveals of the door-jambs, opened inwards. The passage led at its

<sup>1</sup> See *Report*, 1902, p. 110.

further end to a room (B) with remains of pavement, the East wall of which was lost owing to the downward slope of the hill. Here at D was found a curious object of painted plaster having six legs and an oval aperture surrounded by a rim.<sup>1</sup> This stand or table, which has a ritual aspect, shows a coloured decoration of cream-white rosettes on a dark red ground. In style it seems to represent a surviving tradition of the Middle

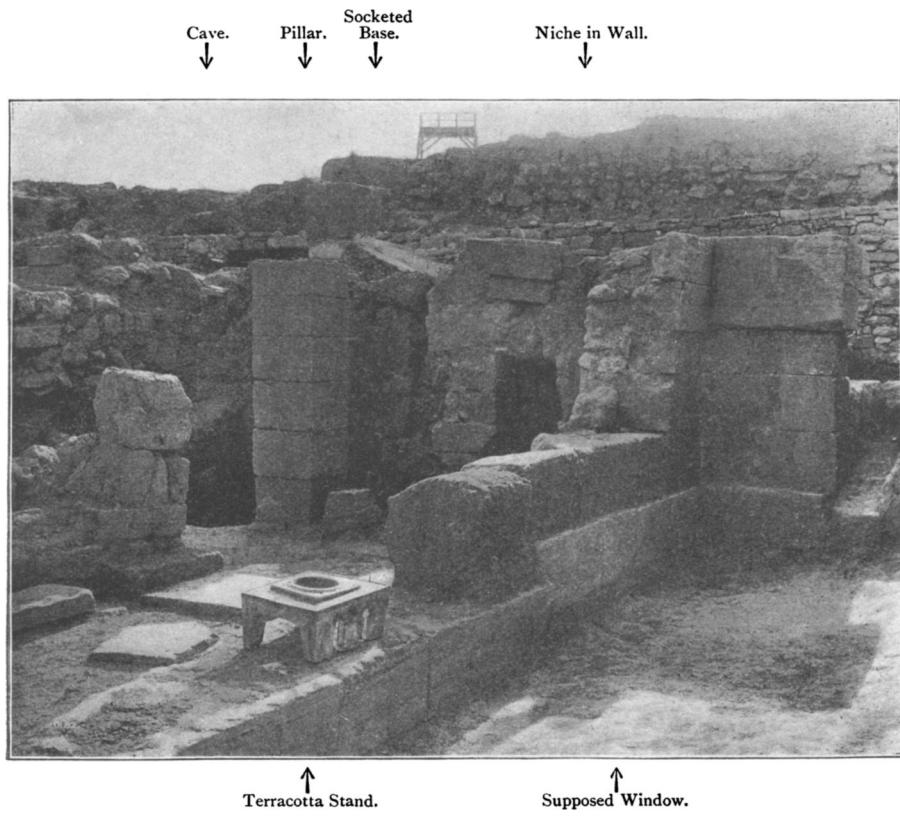


FIG. 2.—PILLAR ROOM AND EXTERIOR SOUTH WALL; SOUTH-EAST HOUSE.

Minōan ceramic decoration, and its colouring recalls that of the small terracotta Sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

A second doorway in the West wall of the room with the plaster stand, leads to a nearly square chamber, the distinguishing feature of which is a

<sup>1</sup> It is shown out of its place on the top of the wall of D 1, in the view given in Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1902, p. 28, *seqq.*

square stone pillar. The pillar rests on a rough foundation block of limestone, and in its present state consists of six blocks, the lowest of them gypsum, rising to a height of 1·87 metre (see Fig. 2). Against this on the North side was a gypsum block in the shape of a truncated pyramid,<sup>1</sup> showing traces of a horizontal ribbed moulding, and provided with a socket above. This object belongs to a class found in the Palace Magazines and elsewhere, and which seem in many cases to have served as torch holders. It is interesting to note, however, that on the painted designs of the Palaikastro *larnax*<sup>2</sup> and the remarkable sarcophagus found by the Italian Mission at Hagia Triada,<sup>3</sup> stepped bases of a similar kind appear as the stands for the sacred Double Axes.<sup>4</sup> The possibility that the present base served a similar religious function cannot therefore be excluded.

It seems at any rate clear that there were other means of lighting this Pillar Room, since near its South wall was found a stone shaft, adorned with spiral bands and flutings, which had evidently formed part of the pedestal of a tall lamp (Fig. 3). The material is a purple gypsum, resembling porphyry, and the spiral bands bear decorative reliefs of a Late Minōan character.<sup>5</sup> This pedestal exceeds in richness of design any other object of the kind found within the Palace, and tends to show that considerable importance was attached to this small Chamber.

From the foot of the pillar a rough foundation runs to the North wall of the room. Along this wall are ranged a series of stone bases, circular and oblong, for the support of vessels, and near the outside of the wall were found fragments of vases in the Later Palace style. About a metre north of this spot, but in a stratum which also contained some vase fragments with a black ground, there came to light an ivory object in the shape of a knot with a fringed border (Fig. 4). This object exactly resembles the two alabaster knots found in the Fourth Acropolis Grave at Mycenae.<sup>6</sup> The connexions in which it is elsewhere found show that it had

<sup>1</sup> It is 23 cm. high and 30 square at the base.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* vol. viii, p. 299 and Pl. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> A summary account of this is given by Dr. R. Paribeni, *Lavori Eseguiti, &c.*, 1903, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> A small steatite base of the kind, obtained from a peasant at Palaikastro, has been connected with this usage by Mr. Bosanquet (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 300).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the design on a painted vase from Phaestos, L. Pernier, 'Scavi della Missione Italiana a Phaestos, 1900-1901.' Rapporto preliminare (*Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xii.) Tav. VIII. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 242, Fig. 352.

a sacral significance. On a gold signet ring from Mycenae<sup>1</sup> two knots of the same kind are seen suspended from the entablature of a sacred pillar between two lion guardians, while on a seal impression from the Palace of Knossos they are suspended from a sacred tree. On a lentoid gem from



FIG. 3.—PEDESTAL OF PURPLE GYPSUM  
(ABOUT  $\frac{3}{4}$ ).



FIG. 4.—SACRAL KNOT OF  
IVORY ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

the Heraeum<sup>2</sup> two similar knots are seen on either side of a bull's head surmounted by the Double Axe. Again, on a lentoid gem found in the

<sup>1</sup> *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 61, Fig. 39 and p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 362, Fig. 541; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. II. 42.

Palace of Knossos a Goddess appears holding the same fetish weapon over one shoulder, while on the other she bears a very large example of a similar fringed knot.<sup>1</sup>

The Pillar Room itself recalls a characteristic feature of Minōan buildings well illustrated in the Palace itself by those chambers the pillars of which are so conspicuously marked by the Double Axe symbol. In the Royal Villa to be described below we meet with a similar chamber. It recurs in the case of certain private houses at Knossos and elsewhere in Crete and again at Phylakopi in Melos. It is moreover noteworthy that while in the case of the Pillar Rooms of the Western Palace wing the pillars may have incidentally served a structural purpose in supporting upper storey columns, in the generality of instances, placed as they are in the centre of small square rooms, they possess no apparent practical utility. On the other hand, the small votive cups ranged around the pillar in the house excavated by Mr. Hogarth at Knossos, on the opposite hill of Gypsádes,<sup>2</sup> and the libation vessels found in those of Phylakopi certainly point to a ritual usage. The original conclusions suggested to me by the Double Axes cut on the pillars of the two Palace rooms<sup>3</sup> have now moreover been confirmed by the discovery of relics of an important sanctuary in their immediate vicinity. In the case of the pillar room of the South-East House we may therefore with great probability also recognise a domestic sanctuary connected with the cult of the divine pair whose fetish forms are constantly reappearing in the shape of Double Axes. Whether or not the socketed pyramidal base here by the pillar actually, as in the case of other similar bases, served to support the shaft of the sacred weapon, we can certainly trace a reference to the prevailing Palace cult in the ivory knot discovered hard by.

In the West wall of the pillar room is a well defined niche which may have served for a cupboard. On removing a stone in its South-West corner a hole was found, widening below into a cave artificially cut out of the soft rock. It was largely filled with earth that had apparently filtered into it, but, except for a few fragments of late Minōan and Neolithic pottery, nothing was found in it. It had possibly served as a tomb in a very early period. It is even conceivable that some religious tradition connected with it may have rendered its preservation appropriate

<sup>1</sup> Knossos Report, 1902, p. 102, Fig. 59.

<sup>2</sup> B.S.A. vi, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, p. 12 seqq.

in connexion with the later sanctuary represented by the pillar room. It does not seem to have been deliberately filled in, though as walls ran partly above it this might have been thought advisable.

A second doorway on the East side of the pillar room led to what looks like a store-chamber of the usual elongated form. Within it was a stone slab showing the circular hollows where vessels had stood. At the further end was what appears to have been a sink or drain opening covered by a slab.

The wall which forms the Northern side both of the storeroom, D 1, and the pillar room is at the same time the exterior wall of the house in this direction. Its structure, which displays remarkable features, is best preserved at the corner near the staircase landing (see Fig. 2). It is there seen to consist externally<sup>1</sup> of a layer of fine limestone blocks, resting on a plinth of the same material, followed above by three courses of gypsum blocks, and these again by two more of limestone. At a point nearly opposite the pillar the upper courses of the masonry suddenly break off, and a strong presumption arises that there was at this point a window opening as shown in the plan.

Returning now to the Eastern opening of the corridor A 1, and turning South, we enter a suite of chambers which seem to have been the chief living rooms of the house.

E 1, the first of these thus approached, shows on its North side remains of a low stone platform which suggests the place of a couch. The South door of this room, one jamb of which alone was preserved, opens on what was undoubtedly a light area bordering two faces of a small portico belonging to the principal Megaron of the household (Fig. 5). The outer porch of this was supported by three pillars, the bases<sup>2</sup> of which are visible, resting on a low limestone stylobate which encloses a small square, paved with irregular slabs of dark grey ironstone. From this again a triple opening<sup>3</sup> between pillar bases leads to the little inner hall. We have thus in miniature an arrangement very similar to that of the Portico and Hall of the Double Axes. The sockets, moreover, visible in the angles of the reveals of the pillar bases, show that in this case too the openings were provided with double doors folding back against the pillars. When thus opened the doors were made as it were an

<sup>1</sup> There was, as usual, an inner backing of rubble masonry.

<sup>2</sup> About 38 cm. in diameter.

<sup>3</sup> In each case 90 cm.

integral part of the pillars, and presented no obstacle to free passage between what thus became the inner and outer sections of a single hall. On the other hand, the inner section could at any time either for warmth or security be entirely shut off from the outer portico. This ingenious system gives a wonderful elasticity to the interior arrangement of the Minōan houses.

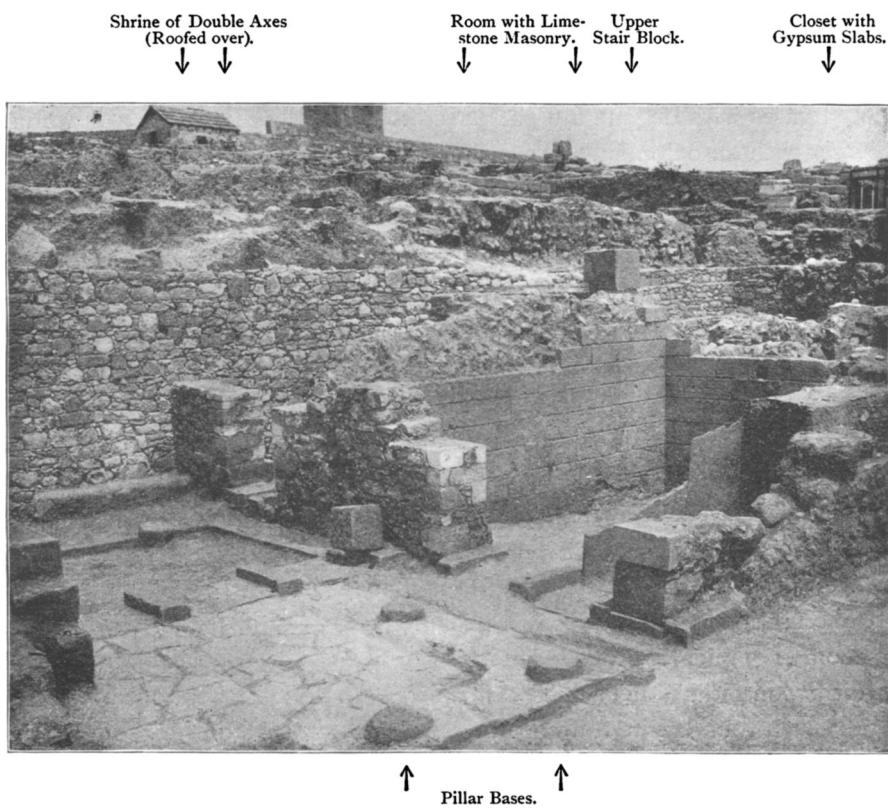


FIG. 5.—MEGARON OF SOUTH-EAST HOUSE AND ADJOINING ROOM.

The inner section of this small Megaron formed a small room only 3·60 metres North-South by 2·50 East-West. There are traces of a lining of gypsum slabs on the walls and a very low stone bench is seen running along its three inner sides.<sup>1</sup> Its top is formed of gypsum

It is only 9 cm. high ; about 35–40 deep, and is edged with gypsum strips 14 cm. thick.

slabs on a bedding of terracotta coloured clay. The same clay seems to have formed the original floor, for there were no signs of any paving. The back wall of this chamber is built against the soft face of the virgin rock here cut out for it; and there seems to have been a kind of bay or closet in the South-West corner.

It appears that this inner section of the Megaron (K 1) and a small adjacent area, unlike the rest of the house, had continued to be occupied during the period that succeeded the destruction of the Palace. There was here traceable a later clay floor level, about 15 centimetres above the earlier floor, upon which were found the remains of several late Mycenaean painted vases with degenerate patterns, including fragments of a store-jar or *pithos* with an octopus design. Here too was a circular gypsum jar-rest at the same level with a late, painted jug upon it. In the small passage rooms immediately to the North, which seem to have served as a more direct means of communication between the Megaron and the entrance stairs, this later occupation had left more serious traces. These rooms seem to have been entirely remodelled and in place of the regular Miñōan door jambs with reveals preserved throughout the rest of the building, there were here found mere oblong blocks of gypsum—a visible sign of architectural degeneration. One only of the earlier jambs had been re-used in the South doorway. Here too the floor had risen to the later level, strewn with remains of a 'Stirrup Vase' showing the usual octopus design of degraded style. The most interesting relic, however, of this period, was a limestone cult object in the shape of 'Horns of Consecration'.<sup>1</sup> This piece of ritual furniture lay near the East wall of the room (L 1) nearest the staircase, where it had been placed on a small platform consisting of earthenware sherds that had the appearance of having been rounded in running water. It looks therefore as if during the later Period of Partial Occupation this small chamber had fulfilled the function of a domestic sanctuary for which in the earlier period the pillar room, C 1, seems to have served.

The very centre of the house was occupied by a paved oblong chamber (H 1),<sup>2</sup> exceptionally well built, and to which access was obtained by a door opening inwards from the portico of the Megaron (see Fig. 5). Its South,

<sup>1</sup> There was not in this case any socket between the horns as in case of those of the Shrine of the Double Axes. The horned object is 20 cm. wide and 19 high.

<sup>2</sup> Its measurements are 4·37 m. from N. to S. by 2·20 from E. to W.

West, and North walls were composed of small well cut limestone blocks, of which at the North-West corner as many as nine courses were visible. These walls were backed by rubble masonry, while their faces towards the room itself had been covered with gypsum slabs. The neatly finished somewhat small masonry here exhibited is characteristic of some of the latest work in the Palace, as for instance the outer staircase wall of the East Bastion. In these cases the blocks are associated with a particular class of finely incised marks which belong to the latest Palace period. It is therefore interesting to note that signs of this class, notably the eight rayed stars, appear on the blocks of the present chamber.

Inner spaces, other than light wells, with good masonry are rare in the Palace. It seems therefore probable that the room H 1 must have fulfilled some important function. From its central position it could hardly have been lighted except through the doorway, and it seems possible that we have here the bedroom of the master of the household.

A curious feature of this room is the remaining wall, on the East side, which is simply a thin partition consisting of gypsum slabs. This partition separates the room from what appears to have been a long narrow closet which, like room H 1 itself, was also entered by a door opening from the portico of the Megaron.<sup>1</sup> The gypsum partition slabs must naturally have been supported by some kind of wooden framework inside this closet, but of this there were no remaining traces. The fact that the door shut from within makes it probable that the closet too served as a small bedroom.<sup>2</sup>

South of the Megaron are remains of another section of building, the Southern limit of which is lost owing to the falling away of the ground. Its most complete existing member is the room M 1, entered by two doors with a pillar between, a recurring feature of the façades of small faience houses in the 'Town Mosaic,'<sup>3</sup> exemplified on a larger scale by the Great Megaron at Phaestos and apparently by that of the Western wing of the Palace at Knossos.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The existence of a recess in the wall at the North-West corner of Room E 1 gave rise to the supposition that there was actually an aperture into this elongated space E 1 at that point, and that it was therefore a passage. But (1) there is no evidence that there was any opening at this point, though the wall was thinner. (2) There is no trace of door-jambs, such as in that case would almost certainly have existed. (3) Room E 1 having already a doorway leading into the portico, such a passage way would have been superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> This is Dr. Mackenzie's opinion.

<sup>3</sup> Knossos, &c., *Report*, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> On this feature of the Cretan House and its architectural consequences, see F. Noack, *Homerische Paläste*, p. 17 *seqq.*

### § 3.—NOTES ON THE OPENING OF DOORS.

The heavy rains of this season first brought clearly out the scorings on the thresholds caused by the opening and shutting of the doors. This was first noticed in the Hall of the Double Axes and adjoining Hall of the Colonnades, but afterwards clear traces were observed in various parts of the Palace and its dependencies. In the ‘Royal Villa’ to be described below it was specially perceptible. This phenomenon coupled with the appearance of the hinge sockets and many bolt-holes makes it possible to understand a great deal more about the interior arrangements of the building. The doors, as Dr. Mackenzie has justly noted, were controlled on the side towards which they opened, and the private rooms and passages are in this way found to command the more public quarters.

Mr. Fyfe has prepared a plan of some characteristic examples of these door openings (Fig. 6) and has supplied the following descriptive note :

Four of the examples illustrated (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4), show unmistakable marks in the floor-slabs of the doorways, caused by the friction of the doors, moving on their hinges.

#### I.—*Double, or ‘Two Leaf’ Doors.*

All the examples given (except No. 1, and No. 6 which is too large a door to come into the argument) confirm the supposition that double doors were the rule where the door-jambs have double ‘reveals.’ Each leaf folded back into the recess of the gypsum jamb (which formed a base for a similar recess in the woodwork above), after the manner of a modern folding door, or a shutter in its shutter-boxing. Double doors are found in doorways communicating between the various rooms and corridors of a system, in house or palace.

#### II.—*Single, or ‘One Leaf’ Doors.*

Single doors were evidently the rule where the door-jambs have only one reveal (see Nos. 3 and 4). They occur more particularly where the end of a system is reached, as is apparently the case in No. 4, where the private quarter of the Women’s Apartments and Royal Stores is shut off from the ‘Hall of Colonnades’—a partly open colonnaded court looking on to the main staircase and corridor giving access to the East Slope Halls.

To take these doors in detail, in their order of illustration :—

No. 1, from the Pillar Room of the Royal Villa (marked ‘North door of N.E House’ on Plan) shows a rather puzzling double door, in which the leaves do not appear to have met. It is impossible to account for this except by the supposition that one leaf of the door was generally kept closed, and fastened by a bolt running into the rectangular socket in the floor slab; the other, and

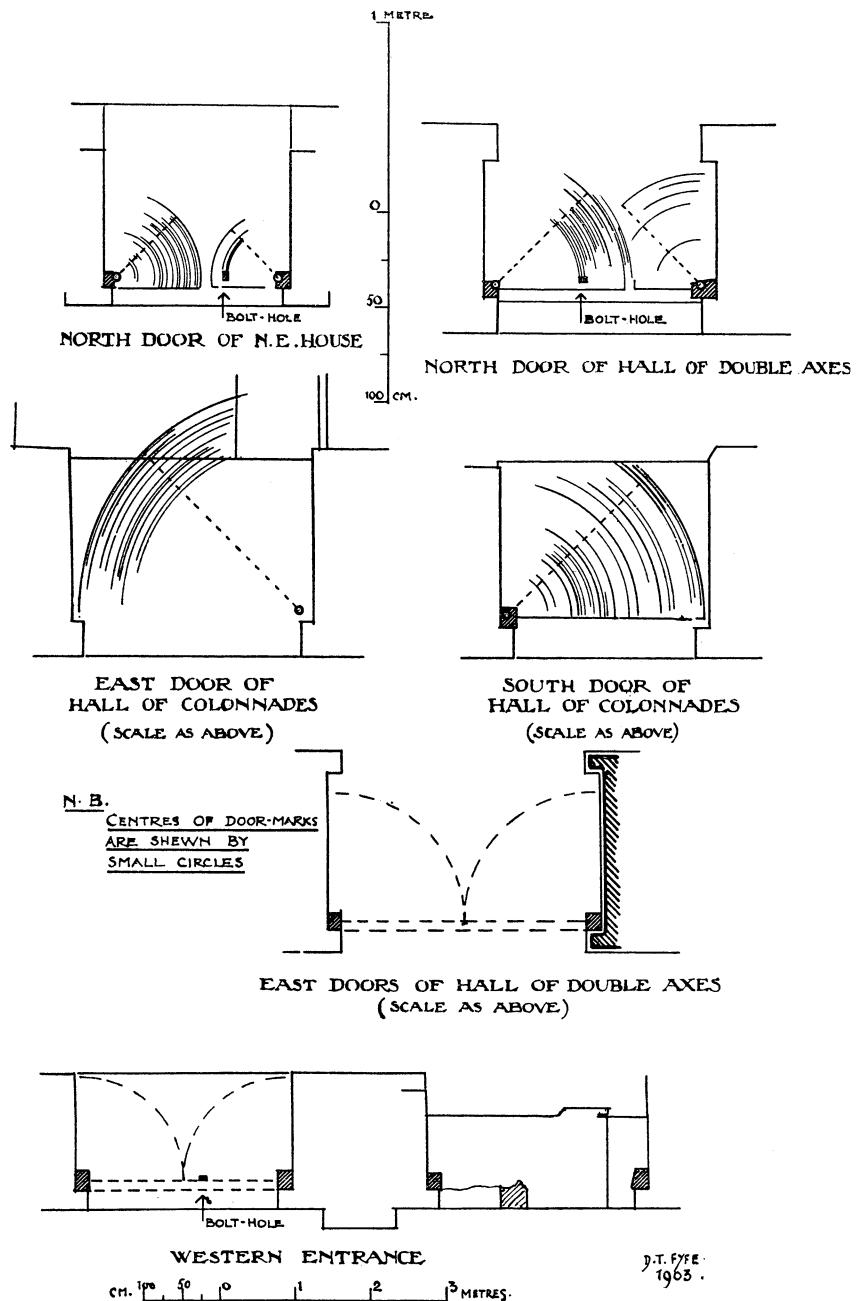


FIG. 6.—PLAN SHOWING SOCKETS FOR HINGES AND BOLTS AND SCORINGS CAUSED BY SWING OF DOORS.

larger leaf (which shows evidence of having been used more), being allowed to swing free.

It is, however, possible that the right-hand leaf was larger than is represented by the present limit-mark; and that this was a double door, of two equal leaves, meeting or slightly overlapping, in the ordinary manner.

The threshold line, crossing from jamb to jamb, is more clearly marked in the case of the left-hand leaf than in the right.

In No. 2 (North door of Hall of Double Axes), it is fairly clear that the two leaves of a double door overlapped, but the left-hand leaf must have scraped the centre of the floor-slab more than the right-hand leaf.

A bolt-socket in the floor also exists in this doorway, which from its position seems to show that the bolt probably fastened the end of the right leaf, after the left leaf had been closed. The lines on the threshold crossing from one reveal to the other are really slight sinkings. The front one is probably a little in advance of the actual front of the door when closed, and the other one may represent the common line of both leaves, when closed.

No. 3, from the East door of the 'Hall of Colonnades,' is an example of a large single door opening into the corridor which led to the (perhaps) more private 'Hall of Double Axes.' The floor-marks indicate the direction of the door-swing, and the outer limit of the swing is very clearly defined, showing a clearance of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches with the 'cheek' of the jamb. There is no definite hole cut in the floor slab for the hingeing apparatus.

No. 4, also from the 'Hall of Colonnades' (South door), has already been quoted. It shows more clearly than any other example the mechanism of a single door.

The front face of the door, when closed, is clearly represented by a line—the meeting of the back, and slightly higher front, of the threshold.

The position of this line is significant, as it shows that some of the doors, at least in the Palace, did not fit hard up to the reveals of their door-jambs; and that wooden door-frames may have been used. These door-frames, if they existed, were not necessarily 'housed' into the floor slabs, as in this case only one rectangular opening is cut in the floor, and it is at the hingeing end; obviously, therefore, chiefly for the hingeing apparatus.

In the case of a double door (see Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6), the *two* rectangular openings in the floor are obviously for the hingeing apparatus of each leaf; so that the existence of wooden door-frames on which doors were hung is not proved except by the scant evidence already given in discussing No. 4.

The whole question of door-fixings, however, is obscure, as there is evidence to show that the Palace builders were familiar with metal pivot-hinges, sunk into holes in the floor, ground out by the drill; and the large holes shown in the illustrated examples (see especially right side of No. 2), almost suggest door-frames.

Nos. 5 and 6 (East doors of Hall of Double Axes, and Western entrance of Palace) call for no particular remark; except that the former has on the right-hand side a clearly defined black line which shows the place of the woodwork jamb above the gypsum base; and the left half of No. 6—the great west door giving access to the Palace through the 'Procession' corridor—has a bolt-socket in the floor,  $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

## § 4.—EARLY MINĀN BASEMENT WITH MONOLITHIC PILLARS.

About fourteen metres North of the South-East House, excavations completed this season have brought to light some very early basements with bays and pillars belonging to an extremely early period of the Minān civilisation. Already in 1900 a trial pit sunk here to a depth of about 4·60 metres below the surface level had shown the existence of early walls to this depth and had been productive throughout the lowest two metres of early polychrome ware, including a curious vase in the form of a dove.

The walls, which at this spot began about 50 centimetres below the original surface of the ground, show a triple stratification, answering to three different periods. Of the walls of the highest stratum a height of about 1·30 metre is preserved. On a floor level answering to this layer rested a 'streaked' *pithos*, apparently belonging to the Latest Palace Period. In this stratum were also found fragments of good painted pottery of the 'Palace Style' and the two cups with ink-written inscriptions described in the preceding Report.

Another wall-layer, 65 centimetres in depth, leads down to the earliest and best preserved remains (see Fig. 7). These form what seems to have been a basement chamber, the roof of which was supported by two squared monolithic pillars of limestone resting on broad bases of the same material. The Western of these is 2·02 metres in height, the other, slightly broken at top, 1·90. The North Wall of the chamber has three projecting walls forming, with the side walls of the room, four bays or niches. Near the South Wall, opposite the space between the two pillars, was a shallow circular pit, about half a metre in depth and 1·30 metre in diameter. The walls where best preserved go up 2·10 metres. The small rough masonry and the deep character of the chamber much recall the deep walled pits of the North Quarter of the Palace. Pillars made out of a single block are not found in the Later Palace, though the Northern Pillar Hall shows a return to a similar system. There is no trace of a doorway, and it is probable that access to this basement was by means of a trap-door and ladder.

From its upper wall level downwards the pottery found in this chamber was of the early kind with polychrome decoration on a dark

ground, together with some contemporary pottery with a light ground. The Dove Vase itself was found here at a depth of about 4 metres below the surface of the ground. Various clay sealings of the Middle Minōan Period including some with pictographic characters<sup>1</sup> also occurred. A certain proportion of the polychrome pottery was of the fine egg-shell class so well represented among the contents of the East Magazines,<sup>2</sup> but there was here a larger proportion of coarser wares. It was also clear that some of these belonged to an earlier period than any

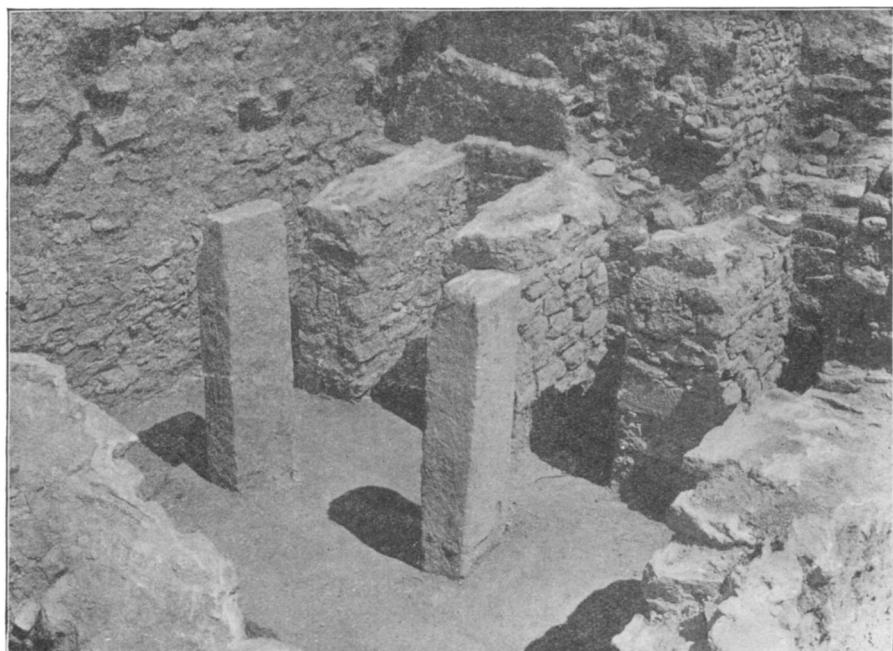


FIG. 7.—EARLY MINŌAN BASEMENT WITH MONOLITHIC PILLARS.

of the vases of the East Magazines. A noteworthy feature here was the presence of polychrome fragments with plain angular decoration, such as chevrons and lozenges accompanied with dots, on a dark ground. These must be regarded as direct painted imitations of the more primitive hand-polished black ware with incised and punctuated patterns of the same character, filled in with pounded gypsum and occasionally also with red

<sup>1</sup> See *Report*, 1902, pp. 106, 107, Fig. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1902, pp. 118–120, and Figs. 70, 71.

ochre. This class of plain geometric painted decoration, whether on a dark or a light ground, precedes the curvilinear on the Cretan pottery, and it is best to assign this special class to the Early as opposed to the Middle Minōan Period when the decorative designs show a greater variety and complication. The fact that this class of ware was well represented in the basement chamber must be taken to carry back the date of its construction to an extremely early period.

This is corroborated by the further discovery of fragments of vases showing a geometrical pattern in reddish-brown on a pale buff ground belonging to the early class of painted ware found in the deposit described in Section 16. The pattern was of the same form—two hatched obtuse triangles joined at the apex—as those of the other deposit, where they were found side by side with their incised prototypes.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 5.—MIDDLE MINĀN VASES AND SEALINGS FROM EARLIER PALACE FLOOR-LEVEL BENEATH ROOM OF OLIVE PRESS.

Already in 1902 the North-East corner of the Room of the Olive Press had been excavated to the Earlier Palace level, and in part to the Neolithic stratum below it. This work was now continued and the whole Eastern section of the room dug out to the Earlier Palace floor-level which lies about 3·20 metres beneath that of the Olive Press Room itself. Immediately above this earlier level, from about three metres below the later pavement, were found abundant remains of the fine polychrome ware that characterises the Middle Minōan Period. In elegance of form some of these vases may be thought to surpass any known examples of this exquisite class of ceramic fabric. Especially remarkable is a type, found here for the first time, showing a crinkled quatrefoil outline with two delicately modelled handles. An almost perfect specimen of one of these vessels is seen in Pl. II. Fig. 2a-b. The ground colouring is here a pale buff with festoons and other designs in black, white, and deep red. An extraordinarily beautiful feature is the introduction into the design of bosses of deep red colour imitating the thorns of a briar rose.

Other more fragmentary specimens show modifications of the same thorn-bossed type of vessel. A good many fragments also exhibit poly-

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 96–98, and Fig. 66.

chrome designs of flowering plants and foliage on a lustrous black ground, representing a stage antecedent to the more naturalistic vegetable designs

of the succeeding period. A class of ware with a brilliant metallic lustre may compare with the ceramic imitations of silver plate, so characteristic of the age immediately succeeding the Dionysian Empire in Magna Graecia and Sicily. A fragmentary cup, completed in Pl. II. Fig. 1, from the same deposit, illustrates the reproduction in colour of what was obviously the repoussé decoration of an original in precious metal. It may well in turn serve a modern goldsmith as an artistic model.

The inner design (Fig. 8) seems

to represent a graffito pattern in the metallic original.

In the same deposit there also occurred clay sealings in some cases impressed with characters belonging to the pictographic script. This, with other evidence such as that supplied by the occurrence of similar inscriptions in the early basement rooms described in Section 4, has now made it clear that the pictographic form of Cretan writing is not only typologically but chronologically earlier than the linear system of the Later Palace. The evidence supplied by the original finds of such clay sealings in the walled space behind the staircase of the Long Gallery<sup>1</sup> was in itself misleading. The sealings, discovered there and in the immediate neighbourhood in a scattered state, may possibly have found their way into the walled space in question owing to its having been filled in from a deposit belonging to the latest period of the Earlier Palace. Or, if—as it still seems preferable to believe—they really belong to the Later Palace, they

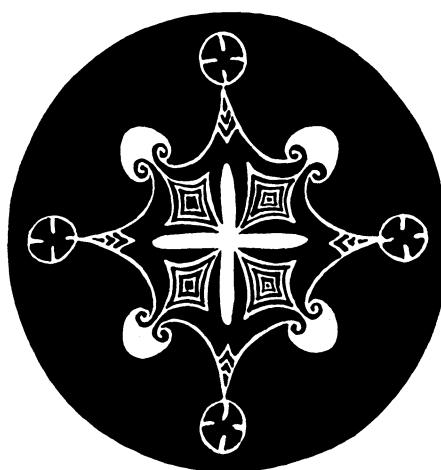


FIG. 8.—INNER DESIGN OF CUP  
(REDUCED).



FIG. 9.—MIDDLE MINOAN  
SEAL IMPRESSION : WILD  
GOAT AND PLANT (§).

<sup>1</sup> *Report, &c.*, 1900, pp. 25 and 59 *seqq.*

must in any case be referred to a time closely following its foundation.<sup>1</sup> Their ceramic associations as we see are frankly Middle Minōan, though they may perhaps be more exactly expressed as 'Middle Minōan II.'

Another interesting consequence of this conclusion is that already by the close of the Middle Minōan Period the gem engraver's art had attained a very high degree of naturalism. This is shown by the occurrence in

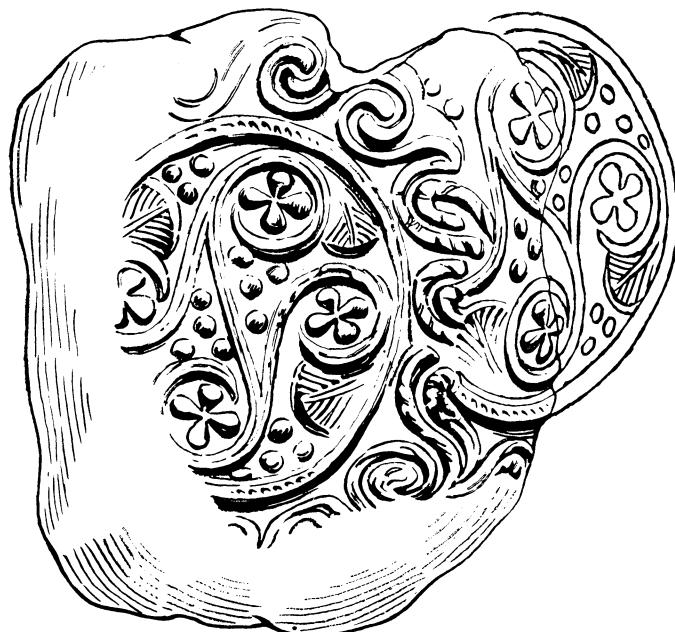


FIG. 10.—CLAY SEALING WITH DECORATIVE SCROLLS : MIDDLE MINÖAN (2).

<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind that the evidence as to the exact stage of culture existent at the time of the foundation of the Later Palace is not so clear as that which illustrates the close of its First Period. The ceramic and other relics found immediately below the remodelled floors belonging to the Second Period of this Palace sufficiently declare the character of its culture in the middle stage of its history—at the close, that is, of its First Period. We see there a more or less transitional phase which may conveniently be termed Late Minōan I. On the other hand immediately below the original floors of the first Palace we find, as under the Olive Press Room, the finest products of the 'Middle Minōan' Ceramic Style. It seems probable that this phase was still existent at the time of the foundation of the Later Palace. It even appears that the pictographic characters of seal impressions found in the deposits below the original floors of the Later Palace are somewhat more archaic than those of the Magazine containing the clay documents of this class. This fact seems to weigh in favour of the second hypothesis mentioned in the text, that this pictographic deposit, namely, was covered in owing to some alteration of structure that took place soon after the foundation of the Later Palace. It may be possible to describe the last phase of the culture of the Earlier Palace as 'Middle Minōan I.' and the first of the Later Palace as 'Middle Minōan II.'

the deposit above referred to of impressions of lentoid gems presenting curiously picturesque designs.<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Minōan stratum beneath the Olive Press Rooms the beginnings of this naturalistic style of engraving (see Fig. 9) are already perceptible, though no example was there discovered so advanced in character as some of those from the other deposit.

Side by side with these there also came to light other decorative sealings impressed from exceptionally large matrices. An example of one of these is given in Fig. 10. These very broad signets seem to have been characteristic of this period of Minōan art. Specimens of the same kind also occurred in the early basement of the South-East Quarter.

#### § 6.—THE DEEP WALLED CELLS AND THE STRATIFICATION OF THE NORTH-WEST PALACE QUARTER.

Further exploration of lower levels in the North-West Quarter of the Palace have led to very important stratigraphical results. The deep walled pits or cells, two of which were partially excavated in 1901,<sup>2</sup> have been more completely investigated, and six of these dungeon-like chambers have now been brought to light and to a great extent cleared out. From the plan of these, as will be seen from Fig. 11, it has now become clear that these structures have no systematic connexion with the Later Palace. Their main axes for the most part run directly athwart those of the later building, and the presence of these walled pits, going down in each case nearly twenty-five feet, had evidently caused considerable trouble to those who carried out the new constructions. In order to obtain secure support for the walls now drawn across the earlier lines, it was found necessary to carry down their foundations in many cases to the original floor-level of these deep cells.

Of these cells No. 1 has now been completely cleared out, and, to render this clearance possible without destroying the history of the building by removing the later walls, I resorted to the expedient of removing only their rubble foundations and supporting their upper structure by means of arches thrown across the earlier cells. The general aspect of the

<sup>1</sup> *Report, &c.*, 1902, pp. 62, 63; *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 31, Fig. 17. See too below, p. 88, Fig. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1901, p. 35 *seqq.*

chamber thus cleared may be gathered from Fig. 12, and it will be seen that the rough masonry of which the walls are constructed bears a considerable resemblance to that of the early basement room shown in Fig. 7 above.

That these deep cells go back to a very early period is shown by several pieces of evidence. The earth with which the pits had been filled

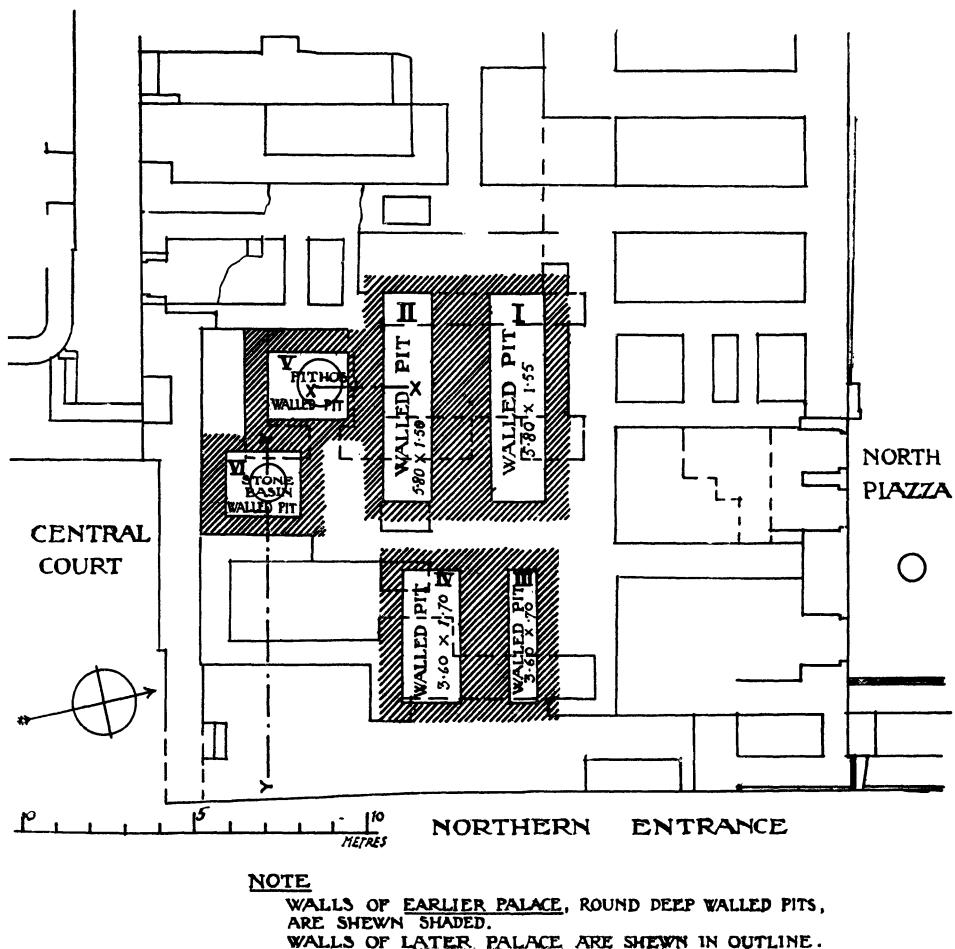


FIG. II.—PLAN SHOWING DEEP WALLED CELLS OF EARLIER PALACE.

up, though generally devoid of relics with the exception of fragments of smooth red-faced plaster, contained some Middle Minōan pot-sherds. The whole system of these structures is, as shown above, quite independent of

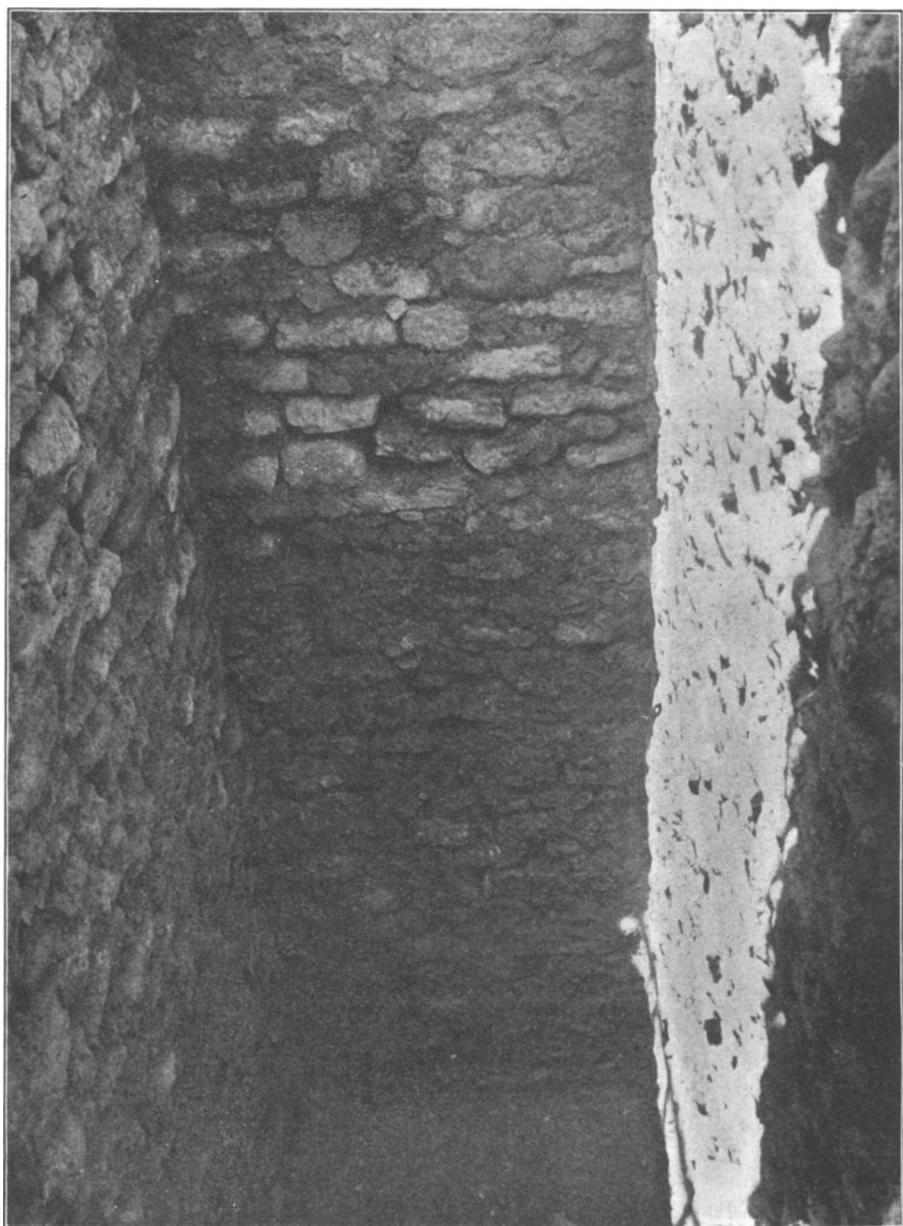


FIG. 12.—DEEP WALLED CELL OF EARLIER PALACE.

those on the higher level. Finally, the floor-levels above are proved by their contents to belong to three distinct periods, the earliest of these apparently answering to the first period of the Later Palace.

Very interesting data for the stratigraphy of the later structures was afforded by the area about the Room of the Lotus Lamp excavated in 1900. Throughout all this region two Later Palace floor-levels corresponding with its first and second periods are traceable, and in places again above these, as in the case of the Room of the 'Stirrup-Vases,' a slightly higher floor belonging to the period of partial habitation.

During the first year's excavation only the two upper of these floor-levels were laid bare. Further investigation has now shown the existence of a lower floor-level dating from the first period of the Later Palace, and below that again two deep walled pits of the earlier building.

The succession of periods is indicated by the section (X—X on plan) given in Fig. 13. Here wall A dating from the foundation of the Later Palace rests on wall B, which acts as a partition between two deep walled cells of the earlier period. On either side of wall A are three floor-levels answering respectively to the first and second period of the Later Palace and to the decadent 'Mycenaean' period when the site was only partially occupied.

This latest period of occupation is well represented by the floor-level on the left. Here on a clay floor about 80 centimetres below the surface of the ground, which was in this area a threshing-floor, stood 'Stirrup-Vases,' plain clay amphoras, and other late types of vessel. Beneath a clayey deposit, at a depth of about 20 centimetres below the later level, was another floor, of plaster and clay, which finds its corresponding section to the right of wall A. Upon this floor-level, which answers to the second period of the Later Palace, were found, to the left of the dividing wall, clay tablets with advanced linear script, and, to the right, near an opening between later walls resting on this floor, fragments of stucco with painted designs in the miniature style and belonging to the same cycle as that delineating the pillar shrine.

Beneath this second flooring, which had a thickness of about 10 centimetres, was an earlier stratum 60 centimetres deep, the character of which was clearly defined by the ceramic relics found immediately above its floor, in an earth layer full of carbonised remains. On the floor itself, which was composed of rough stones, stood the lower part of a

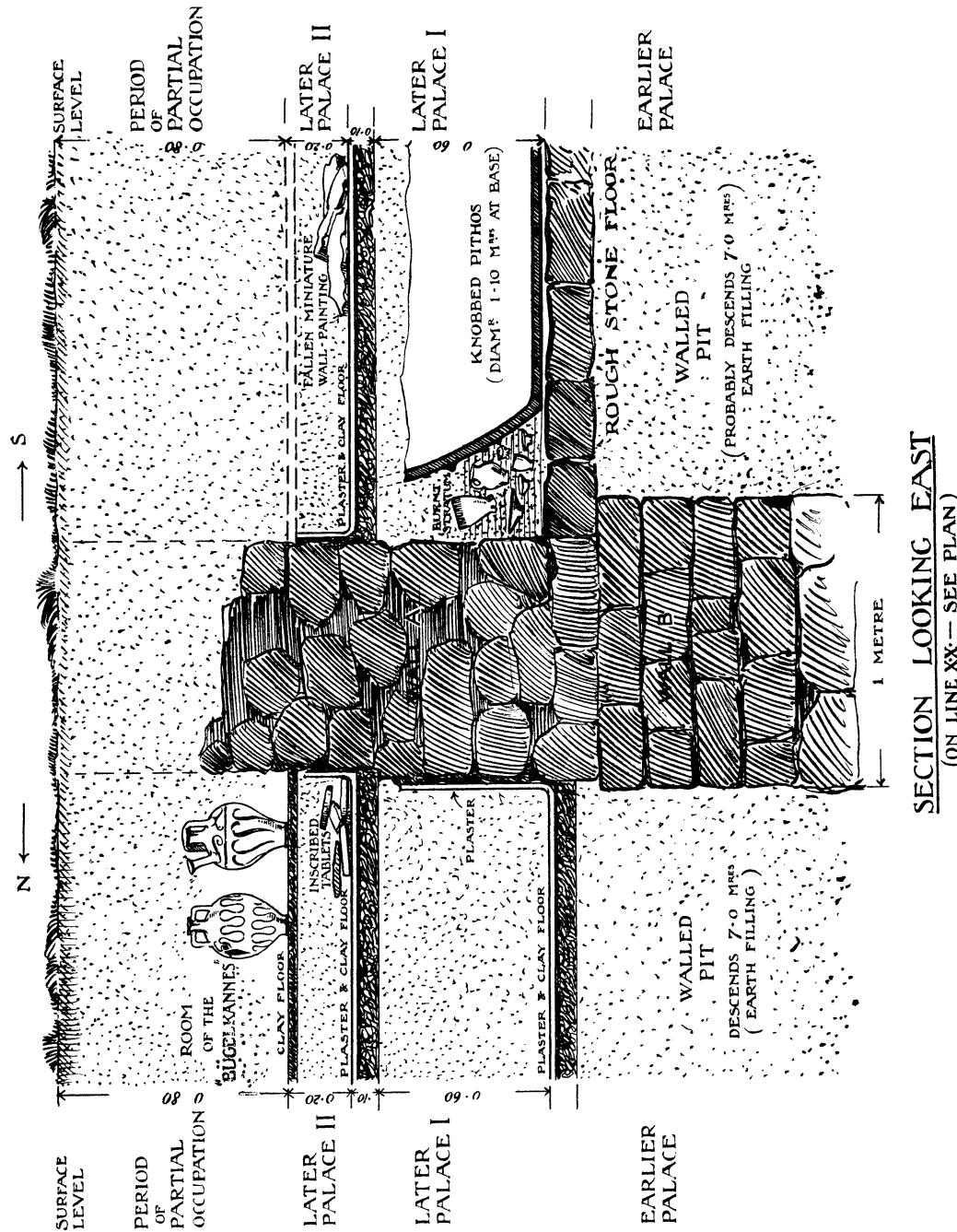


FIG. 13.—SECTION ABOVE DEEP WALLED CELLS SHOWING LATER FLOOR-LEVELS.

KNOSSOS EXCAVATIONS, 1903.

great *pithos*—1·10 metre in diameter—of the same early class as those of the Eastern Magazines and displaying a similar knobbed decoration. Its rim has been deliberately broken away during the levelling process which preceded the laying down of the later pavement above. Beside the remaining part of this huge *pithos*, in the same carbonised stratum, lay several small vessels of somewhat rude fabric. Amongst these was the fragment of the rim of a large jar showing white spirals on a black or reddish-brown ground and recalling the typical decoration and contour of certain vessels from the Plaster Closet<sup>1</sup> belonging to the penultimate period of the Palace, as well as of others from the Repositories of the early shrine to be described below.<sup>2</sup> A cup with a 'matt' brown band on buff slip and some small crucible-like vessels with three feet, showed close approximation to types of the preceding Middle Minōan Period.

Below the rough stone flooring on which the *pithos* and the other remains rested lay the earth filling of another deep-walled pit, probably like that on the other side of wall B, descending about seven metres.

The section (Y—Y on plan Fig. 14) of the neighbouring area, drawn from East to West, affords an instructive comparison with that shown in Fig. 13 above. The stratification is essentially the same, except that there is here no floor-level

<sup>1</sup> *Knossos, Report, 1902*, p. 87 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 49 seqq. and Fig. 26.

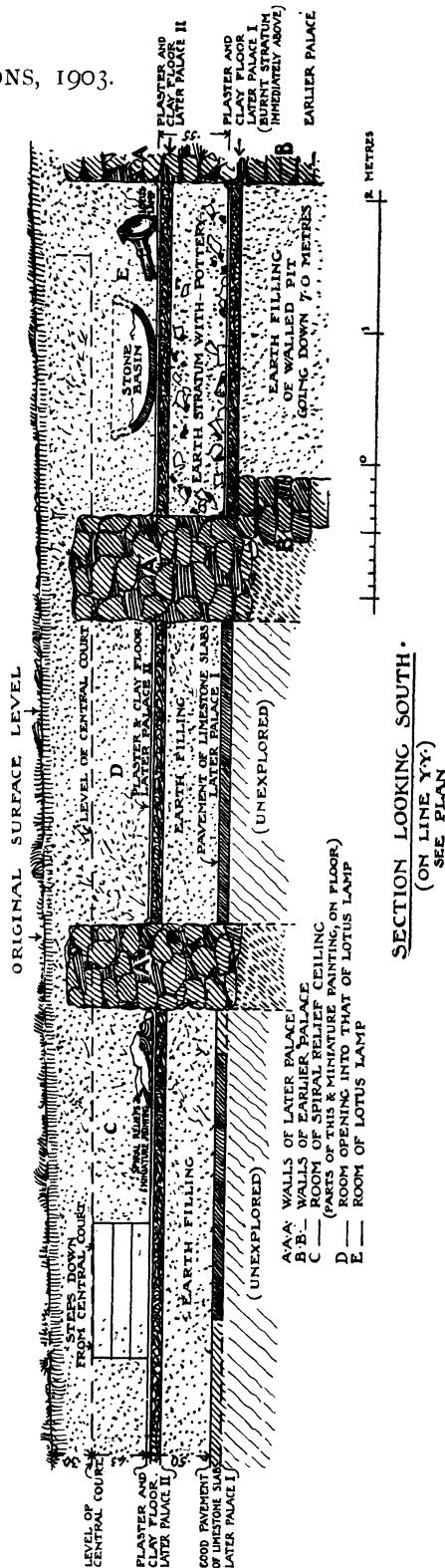


FIG. 14.—SECTION SHOWING FLOOR-LEVELS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS : NORTH QUARTER OF PALACE.

corresponding to the later period of partial occupation, represented in the other section by the Room of the 'Stirrup-Vases.' This is one of many indications of the sporadic character of that occupation.

The uppermost floor-levels here, in all cases of clay or rough cement and plaster, belong to the second period of the Later Palace. That of Room C, indeed, bore upon it some of the most distinctive artistic products of the last great age of Knossos in the shape of the remains of the painted stucco ceiling with spiral relief, and of the miniature wall-paintings. The floors of this Later Palace period, as seen in C, D, and E, are all practically of the same level, about 40 centimetres below the paving of the Central Court, from which, in the case of Room C, access was afforded by means of three descending steps.

In this Section too we see a lower and original floor-level of the Later Palace with an intermediate stratum between it and the more recent floor-level, somewhat less in thickness (50 as against 60 centimetres), than that which occupies a corresponding position in Fig. 13. This flooring in the spaces below C and D is composed of good limestone slabs. In E, on the other hand, it is composed of plaster and a kind of clay cement with a burnt stratum immediately above it containing small rough vases like those associated with the large *pithos* in Fig. 13. Below this layer in turn there is in this case too a deep walled pit belonging to a still earlier Palace.

#### § 7.—'KASELLES' OF THE WEST MAGAZINES AND DISCOVERY OF THOSE OF THE LONG GALLERY.

The supplementary exploration carried out in 1901 of the 'Kaselles' (*Κασέλλαις*) or Stone Cists along and under the paved floors of the Western Magazines had already supplied evidence of the partial or entire closing of these in the course of the history of the Later Palace.<sup>1</sup> In some cases the original depth of the cist has been reduced by the construction of a new bottom at a higher level. These upper receptacles were as a rule found open, having been apparently provided at most with a wooden cover. From the blackening of their walls and of the surrounding part of the Magazines it is clear that they had served in many cases as oil-vats. The remains associated with these upper receptacles, such as fragments of

<sup>1</sup> *Report, &c., 1901*, p. 44 seqq.

pottery in the advanced Palace style, show that they were in use during the latest Period of the building. In the Eighth Magazine alone even the uppermost of the two receptacles was entirely closed in by a pavement which showed no superficial cists.

The closed lower section of several of these receptacles contained in certain cases pottery with white spiraliform designs on a dark ground, of a type which we now know to be characteristic of the close of the first period of the Later Palace. A broken fragment of masonry found with pottery of this character in the lower part of a cist in the Fourth Magazine was incised with a Double Axe sign<sup>1</sup> of the same calibre as those seen on various blocks of this and other Palace regions; an indication that the masonry thus marked also belongs to the First Period of the Later Palace.

This latter piece of evidence has a special value in relation to a discovery of the present season. In Magazines Nos. 7 and 9, projecting respectively from their North and South walls, are two square buttresses constructed of rather small blocks of good limestone masonry. It was now made clear that both of these buttress-like blocks of masonry, which seem to have been made in order to support the pillars of an upper hall, were additions to the original plan of this part of the building, dating from a comparatively late period in its history. Both of these piers were built into and over Kaselles belonging to the original structure, the lower part of which had been filled in with compact masses of foundation blocks. In Magazine 7, above these foundations, in the earth-filling between the walls of one of these cists and the lower part of the pier, was found part of a vase in the late 'Palace Style.' The pier of Magazine 9 showed on one of its blocks a small and finely cut asterisk or eight-rayed star sign, of a character strongly contrasting with the larger and more deeply incised signs of the earlier period, such as the Double Axe mentioned above. We have here another interesting indication of the chronological value of the different classes of signs found on the Knossian Palace blocks.<sup>2</sup> As doubtless is the case with most of these signs, the asterisk was not intended to be visible, for there were traces of painted stucco adhering to the surface of the stone pier.

The contents of the closed lower section of several Kaselles in the Western Magazines opened this season supplemented the evidence already obtained from the same source. Here, together with the usual filling

<sup>1</sup> See *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 13.

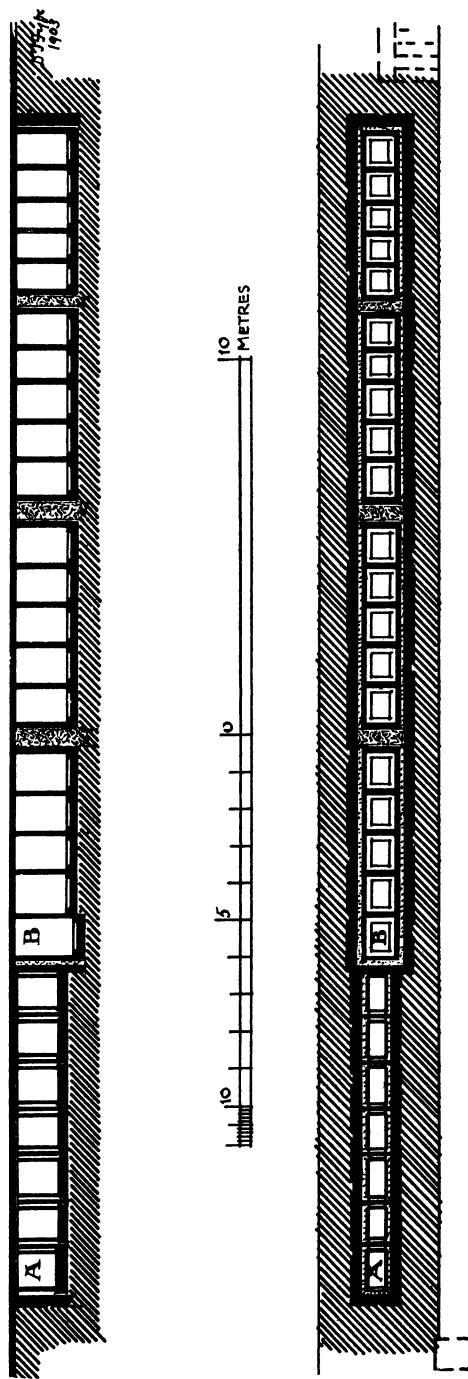


FIG. 15.—PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF 'KASELLES' IN LONG GALLERY.

material of earth and rubble, were found numerous pieces of gold foil, pointing to the deposit of precious objects in these cists at the time of their original construction. Fragments of inlays composed of a native faïence also occurred, and in two cases bronze handles like that shown in Fig. 24 below. Finds of this character were shortly to receive some more striking illustrations.

The fact that in the Eighth Magazine the Kaselles had been entirely concealed by a well compacted pavement, made it seem desirable to remove some of the paving-slabs of the Long Gallery in order to ascertain if the same system extended on that side.

This examination led to the surprising result indicated by the plan and section in Fig. 15. It turned out that the greater part of the Long Gallery was underlaid by a continuous series of deep stone cists. These cists, which differed from those of the Magazines in that they consisted in every case of a single chamber, are twenty-seven in number and belong to two main classes—marked A and B in the plans and sections.

Type A, of which there is a series of seven, shows a narrower cell than the other, and at the same time a more elaborate design (see Fig. 16). This group, except for the absence of a horizontal slab, halfway down, dividing the Kasella into an upper and lower compartment, is identical with the cists of the Magazines. We see here the same elongated rectangular plan, and similar details of construction, such as the groove in the bottom slab into which the side slabs are fitted. There were also here found traces of the same lead lining. A remarkable feature of these cists is the systematic way in which their slabs are surrounded externally by a bed of red earth which, to a thickness of about 12 centimetres, intervenes between them and the retaining walls of masonry on either side, and to a lesser thickness between them and the more massive gypsum slabs that divide the Kaselles from one another. This red earth seems to have had particularly absorbent qualities and to have been placed round the slabs as a means of keeping off the damp. More rarely a backing of wood was found.

The Kaselles of Series A contained a good deal of carbonised wood and the usual remains of gold foil. In the cist opposite to the pier between Magazines 6 and 7 there occurred, in addition to this, some round and crescent-shaped plaques of the native faïence and others of bone for inlaying. In the cist opposite the door-opening of Magazine 6, more abundant remains of the same class were brought to light. Here was found a heap

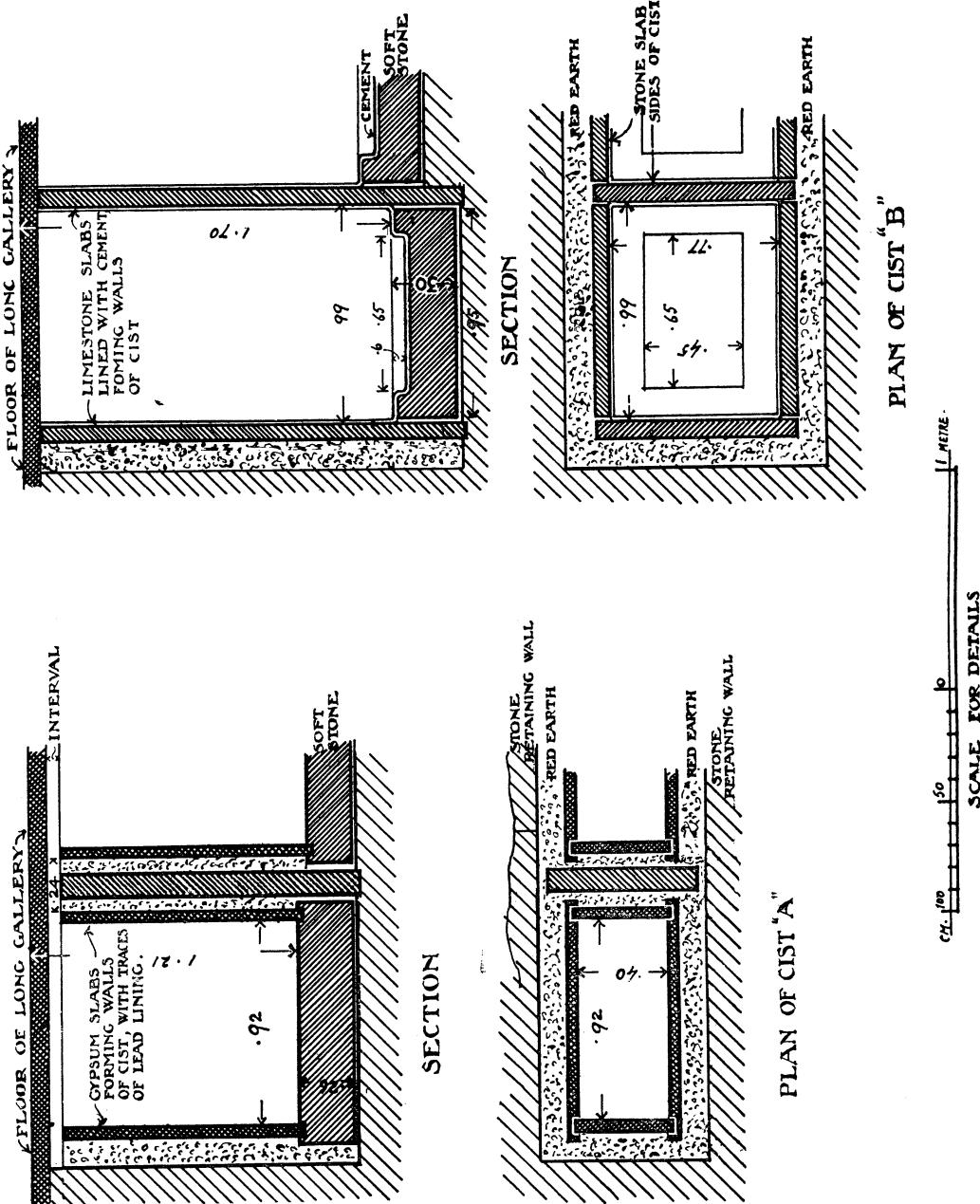


FIG. 16.—SECTIONS AND PLANS OF 'KASSELLES' OF LONG GALLERY.

of carbonised wood, apparently parts of a chest, together with a large looped handle of bronze, numerous plaques of native faience and crystal with which the chest had evidently been encrusted, and quantities of the usual gold foil. The crystal plaques had been much splintered by the action of fire, but the faience inlays were better preserved. They were mostly of a purplish hue, some narrower pieces (Fig. 17), however, showing stripes of this colour on a greenish, white ground. The shape of the plaques will be seen from Fig. 17. It will be noticed that the most characteristic form shows triple projections with incurving sides, suggestive of their having been arranged in some such pattern as is shown in the figure. It is, moreover, evident that they were set in a rectilinear frame, since the plaques are in several cases cut off abruptly so as to present a straight end. Patterns of analogous character, but formed of combinations of quatrefoil instead of trefoil units, appear on the embroidered robe of the Cupbearer and again in the decorative wall-paintings of the Palace. It looks as if such designs had been taken over into other branches of Minoan art from existing models in faience mosaic. An exceptionally large porcelain plaque of the quatrefoil type was in fact found near the North-East border of the Palace. In the painter's or embroiderer's art such designs are derivative : in that of the inlayer they are at home.

The gold foil here was most abundant, and it was noticeable that in several cases it was found folded over the faience plaques, as if some at least had been originally coated with it. Many plaques were also covered with minute grains of melted gold.

A fragment of a *pithos* of ordinary Late Palace character, found in the upper part of this Kasella, shows that its final closing, due to the construction of the pavement above, took place at a comparatively late period. It is probable however that the remains of the inlaid chest must be referred to the first Period of the Later Palace.

The cists of type B (Fig. 16) are squarer in plan and more capacious than those of the preceding class. They are also more numerous, being symmetrically arranged in four groups of five, each group separated from the next by an interval filled with the usual red earth.

Their depth is greater than those of the other series, being about 1·70 to 1·45 metre as against 1·21. They also exhibit certain structural differences. The side slabs which are here of limestone instead of gypsum, are not, as in the other cists, set in grooves worked in the bottom slab, but

pass outside it. A shallow rectangular cavity had in each case been cut out of the surface of the bottom slab. A similar interval had been allowed

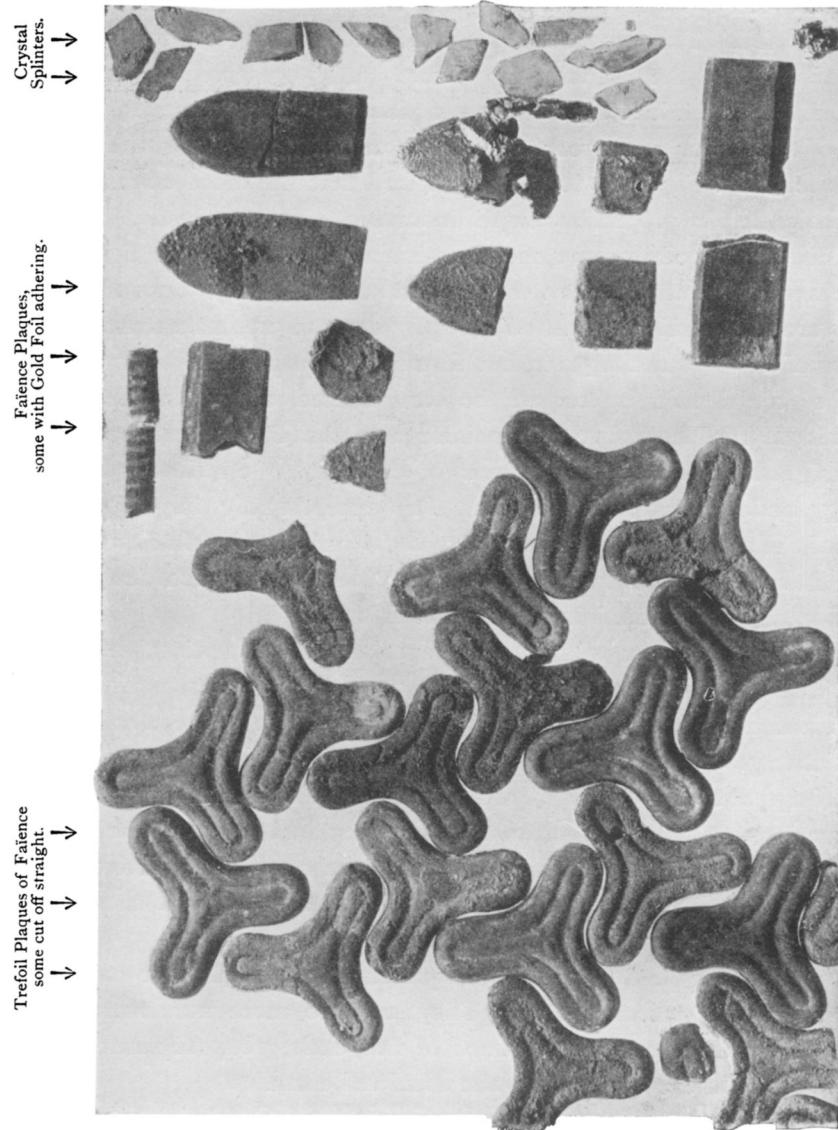


FIG. 17.—FAIENCE PLAQUES FOR INLAYING FROM 'KASELLA A.'

between the actual cist and the supporting walls around as in the case of Class A, and filled with the same red earth as a protection against damp.

On the other hand, between one cist and another, plain dividing slabs were substituted for the more elaborate arrangement seen in the other series. The cists of Class A had been originally, as in the case of those of the Magazines, provided with a lead casing. In Class B, the whole interior was coated with hard white plaster or cement, this cement lining being no doubt necessitated in the case of the cists of this class by the less compact character of their framework.

The Kaselles of type B presented indications of having remained in use to a later date than the other series.

In the case of Class A the cists were largely occupied by a deposit full of carbonised remains containing objects, such as the faïence inlays, which seem best to answer to the First Period of the Later Palace, and to bear the usual mark of the violent catastrophe and conflagration which seems to have brought it to a close. In this case the Kaselles, robbed of such precious objects as could be extracted, were apparently left choked with the earlier débris till the time when they were finally concealed by the construction of the pavement above.

But the Kaselles belonging to Class B showed much less trace of carbonised remains or of earlier relics. They contained a mere filling of white limy earth and rubble which seems to have been heaped into them at the time when the pavement was made. In this filling were found scattered fragments of pottery belonging to the Latest Palace period, and some plain bowls filled with lime. The two cists nearest the stairs at the North end of the Long Gallery were found open and contained fragments of still later pottery belonging to the Period of Partial Occupation.

#### § 8.—THE CENTRAL PALACE SANCTUARY.

Taken as a whole the West Central Palace region had afforded some special indications of a religious connexion. The unique sanctity of the Double Axe in Minōan Crete—of which the actual scene of worship depicted on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada has afforded a new and astonishingly complete illustration<sup>1</sup>—had already led me to attach a religious importance to the repetition of this sign on the two stone pillars that are

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary notice of this is given by Dr. R. Paribeni, *Lavori eseguiti &c. nel Palazzo di Haghia Triada dal 23 Febbraio al 15 Luglio 1903*; p. 30 seqq.

the leading feature of this region. The fact that at least in the latest Palace Period they also served a constructive end as 'Pillars of the House' does not, as has been shown elsewhere, militate against this view. The discoveries of analogous pillar rooms in separate houses, such as the Palace dépendances brought to light this year,<sup>1</sup> tend to confirm it. On the other hand, the exceptional distribution of the Double Axe sign on the blocks of the Western Palace wing, coupled with other circumstances, seems to mark out a certain definite area of this region as consecrated to a religious usage. The same fetish emblem is in fact the special sign of the first six Magazines, which stand in immediate connexion with the system of small chambers and passages immediately surrounding the Pillar Rooms. It is also the distinguishing sign of the gypsum slabs that form the inner lining of the section of the West Palace wall that backs this series of Magazines. It seems not improbable therefore that these Magazines served in a special way as treasuries and storehouses of a sanctuary. An indication indeed of peculiar sanctity may be taken to be supplied by the fact that an altar-base was placed close to the outer wall in this part of the Western Court, immediately against a small niche outside the end of the Fourth Magazine.

It is further to be observed that the Western-most series (A) of the Kaselles of the Long Gallery,<sup>2</sup> which certainly contained treasure, corresponds to this particular section of the Magazines. East of this section, as already shown, the character of the Cists in the Long Gallery changes, implying a different application.

To the South the Pillar Room area is immediately flanked by three small Magazines of early character where the characteristic sign is the cross pattée to which the discoveries to be described below seem to add a new significance. It is moreover shut in on this side by a small court in the centre of which is another altar-base. It should further be borne in mind that in a small square chamber near the East Pillar room was found a deposit of stone vases which seem from their material and weight better adapted for ritual or ceremonial usage than for the purposes of ordinary life. Two of these indeed by their form suggest certain typical concomitants of Minōan cult. The marble fountain spout in the shape of a lioness's head stands naturally in relation to the lion guardians of the divine pair, or of their bætylic column, as seen on the seal impressions, signets, and other monuments. The alabaster vase in the shape of a Triton shell recalls its ritual

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9 and p. 149 *segg.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 31-33.

usage by a worshipper as represented on a gem found in the Idaean Cave,<sup>1</sup> as well as the association of clay models of the same conch-shell with the remains of the little terracotta Sanctuary found in an early basement on the East side of the Palace.<sup>2</sup>

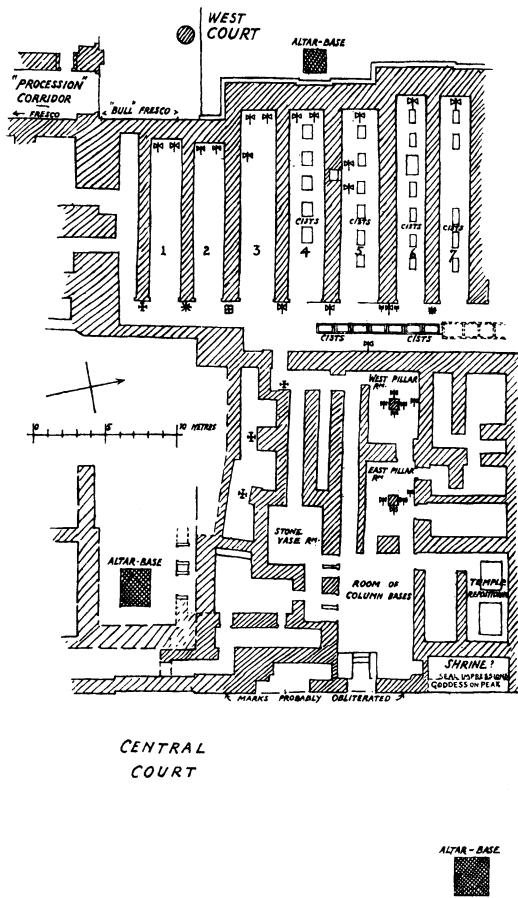


FIG. 18.—PLAN OF WEST CENTRAL SECTION OF PALACE WITH ALTAR-BASES AND SANCTUARY.

Immediately South of the Room of the Column Bases which forms the Antechamber to the Pillar Rooms is a rectangular recess facing the Central Court. In this recess was discovered in 1901 a series of seal impressions representing an armed Goddess on a rocky height guarded by lions with a worshipper in front of her and a pillar shrine behind, recalling in a somewhat

<sup>1</sup> *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 44 Fig. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Report, &c.*, 1902, p. 32.

simplified form the temple of the miniature wall-painting. I was even led to suggest that this discovery gave a clue to the actual position of the temple façade shown in the painting, since the basement blocks seen below it and the crowds in an open space in front made it probable that the original of the shrine thus depicted was reared on the side of a Court.<sup>1</sup> A further circumstance brought out by the last season's explorations has considerably enhanced the probability that there was here at least part of the façade of the most important of the Palace sanctuaries. For, in the middle of the Central Court immediately opposite this recess, there have now been brought to light parts of an altar-base apparently of larger dimensions than any yet found within the Palace Courts.

The rectangular West Central Section of the Palace, of which the Pillar Rooms form the centre and which is taken as including the Magazines with the Double Axe sign, is thus found to have an altar-base in front of it on each of its three open sides, see Plan, Fig. 18.

The accumulated evidences above referred to seemed to point to the fact that this whole section of the Palace represented according to the original plan an extensive sanctuary and its dépendances. The existence of minor shrines such as that of the Double Axes in the North-East Quarter, the religious symbols found in the North-West Building,<sup>2</sup> and the constant reference to religious themes traceable in the seal-types, miniature paintings, and terracotta models, as well as the votive double axes and other objects found within the Palace, make it more and more probable that there was a sacerdotal as well as a royal side to the Minōan dynasts of Knossos.<sup>3</sup> It would seem that there were here, as in early Anatolia, Priest-Kings; and old tradition, that made Minōs son and 'Companion' of Zeus and a Cretan Moses, is once more seen to have a basis in fact.

#### § 9.—THE GREAT STONE REPOSITORIES OF THE CENTRAL PALACE SANCTUARY.

The presumed existence in this quarter of the Palace of a considerable Palace sanctuary with its dependencies made it desirable to subject the

<sup>1</sup> *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See below § 18.

<sup>3</sup> I observe that this conclusion, which I have already insisted on elsewhere, has been advanced independently by Mr. Cook in his interesting monograph on 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak' (*Classical Review*, Nov. 1903, pp. 409, 410). Mr. Cook rightly points out the religious importance of the Lily Crown as seen in the painted relief found in the South wing of the Palace.

floors of the small chambers about the Pillar Rooms to the same searching examination as those of the Long Gallery. Might there not here too lie concealed beneath the pavements earlier repositories belonging to the Palace Shrine?

Immediately behind the rectangular recess where had come to light the sealings representing the lion-guarded Goddess and her pillar-shrine is a small chamber which in the state in which it was first opened out showed every characteristic of the latest period of the Palace. Its walls

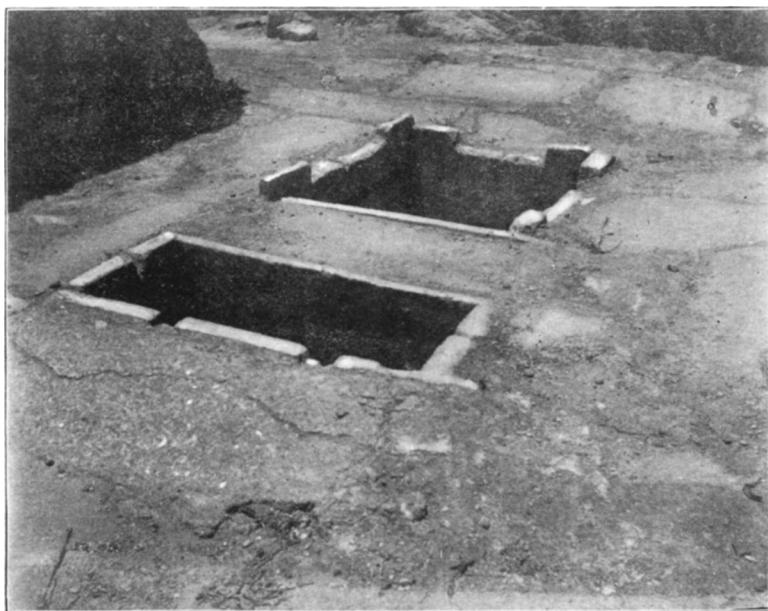


FIG. 19.—SUPERFICIAL CISTS IN PAVEMENT OF CHAMBER NEAR EAST PILLAR ROOM.

were covered with stucco painted white with red bands, forming a kind of frieze and dado in the same manner as the walls of the West Magazines and Long Gallery. From the occurrence of two shallow superficial cists or stone vats in its pavement, which were lidless and open (see Fig. 19), and the remains of some clay *pithoi* of the usual late character, it seemed to have been used during the concluding period of the building for the storage of oil.

Noticing a slight depression in the pavement in the East section of the room I had some slabs raised, and it was then discovered that instead of

reposing on the neolithic stratum, which forms the usual bed of the pavement hereabouts, they were underlaid by comparatively loose earth. Further exploration showed that we had to do here with an exceptionally capacious cist or large stone repository containing a variety of relics belonging to the conclusion of the first period of the Later Palace, and many of which for beauty and interest equalled and in some respects surpassed anything found during the whole course of the four seasons' excavations.

The contents showed a distinct stratification. The surface earth of the deposit was of a reddish terracotta colour due to the action of fire through the floor, the presence of oil in the chamber above having no doubt rendered the conflagration here intensive. Deeper down the earth was darker, with an intermixture of rubble and charred wood together with some fragments of gold foil. From the surface of the deposit downwards to a depth of about 1·10 metre, there lay closely packed together a quantity of vases, the two prevailing types being the amphora and the pitcher.

As will be shown below, those of indigenous fabric presented for the most part white spiral designs on a dark ground, and answered to vases of the kind found in the closed lower section of the Kaselles in the Fourth Magazine, and in the Plaster Closet of the South-Eastern Quarter, belonging to the end of the first period of the Later Palace. Among those of the other class, with brown decoration on a buff ground, it will be seen below that some at least were imported.

At about 1·10 metre down a change took place in the character of the deposit. The pottery ceased, and the earth grew fatter and more compact. In this stratum, which lay, to a depth of about 42 centimetres, immediately above the floor of the repository, abundant fragments of faience began to come to light together with other perfect objects of the same material. The whole, as will be shown in more detail below (see §§ 13, 14), formed a wholly unique collection of *objets d'art*, executed with extraordinary skill in this indigenous kind of porcelain, the fabric, but not the forms of which must have been learnt from Egypt. This faience series included figures of a Snake Goddess and votaries, their votive robes and girdles, cups and vases with painted designs, flowers, fruit, foliage, and shells in the round, small reliefs of cows and calves and wild goats with their kids, a variety of plaques for inlaying, and quantities of beads.

Among the other relics were an ivory handle and inlays, bone plumes of arrows, doubtless of a votive character, the usual gold foil, a clay tablet and roundels, presenting inscriptions of a linear class different from that of the later period of the Palace, numerous clay seal impressions, many of them of a religious character, and a marble cross of orthodox Greek shape.

An apparently sacrificial element was represented by some remains of stags horns, and the greasiness of the deposit, which attained its maximum immediately above the floor, was also possibly due to the presence of animal matter. The burnt corn also found in some abundance may have also had an offertory character.

Significant in the same relation was the discovery in the same stratum of a series of steatite Libation Tables (see Fig. 20*a, b, d, e*) These receptacles, which taper gradually to a small base below, show on their

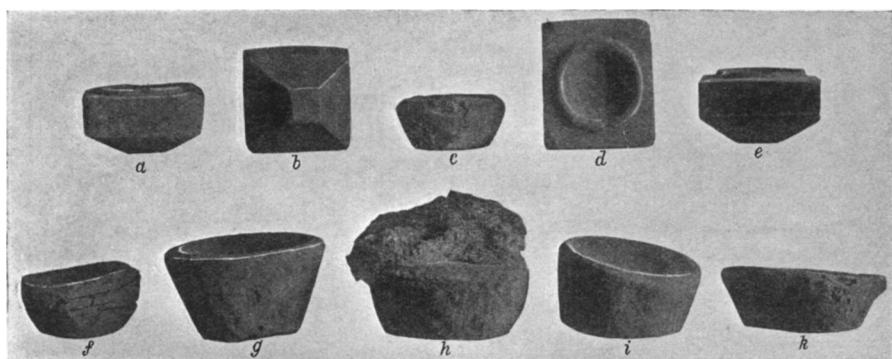


FIG. 20.—STEATITE LIBATION TABLES AND CAKE-LIKE OBJECTS<sup>1</sup> FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

square upper face a shallow cup-like hollow with a raised rim. They exactly resemble the Libation Tables with a single cup found in the votive deposit of the Dictaeon Cave.<sup>2</sup> This type represents a simpler variety of that with three receptacles, exhibiting the early linear inscription, beneath the same Cave deposit. It is interesting, moreover, to remark that the characters of the inscription on the Dictaeon Libation

<sup>1</sup> For the probable meaning and composition of these cake-like objects (*c, f, g, h, i, k*, or Fig. 20) see below, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> See Hogarth, *B.S.A.* vi. p. 114, Fig. 30 and Pl. XI. 2. A similar steatite 'Libation Table' was obtained by me from what appears to have been an early sanctuary at Arvi on the South coast of Crete (*J.H.S.* xvii. p. 357).

tables seem to belong to the same class as those seen on the clay document of the Temple repository with which we are at present dealing.

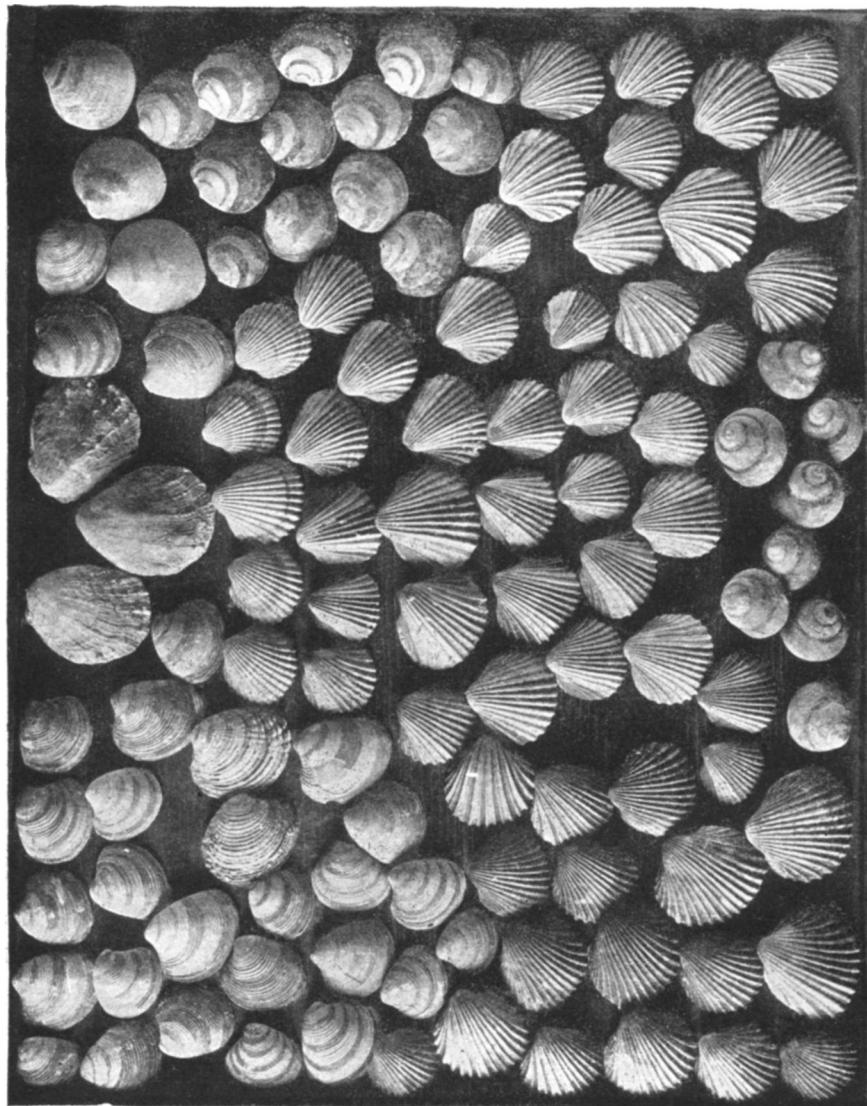


FIG. 21.—SEA-SHELLS, ARTIFICIALLY TINTED, FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

The steatite receptacles here found were distinctly smaller than those of the Cave Sanctuary, a fact which points to their having belonged to a shrine of diminutive proportions. The size of the figures of the Goddess

and her votaries would also point to a shrine only slightly larger than that of the Double Axes discovered in 1902.

In the latter case the cult objects and vessels of offering were placed on a flooring of rounded pebbles. In the small domestic shrine found in the South-East House we see waterworn sherds substituted for these. In the present case it looks as if the altar-base and floor of the Palace shrine to which the relics found in the present Repository belonged had been paved with more beautiful materials, though here, too, of aqueous origin. In addition to the objects already described, there were found an abundance of sea-shells which had been artificially streaked and banded with brilliant colours, the colouring, however, having been executed in a tasteful manner following natural lines (see Fig. 29). The colours used are vermillion and a more crimson red, orange, green, brown, and black. There is a strong presumption that the shrine had been paved with these bright tinted shells.

The shells, bushels of which were taken out, were the ordinary sea-shells of the neighbouring coast, cockles predominating. The following is a list of the varieties found<sup>1</sup> :—

- Dolium galea*
- Trochus lineatus*
- Cardium edule*
- Pectunculus glycimeris*
- Spondylus gaederopus*
- Venus verrucosa*
- Venus multilamellata* (?)
- Mactra stultorum*
- Tellina* (worn)
- Tube of Serpulid worm and piece of an Echinid.*

There were, as has been shown, two distinct strata in the Repository, the fatty layer containing the objects of art and cult, 32 centimetres in thickness, and above this the stratum 1·10 metre thick, in which the clay vases were packed. It is probable, therefore, that they were placed here at a time subsequent to the deposition of the other remains.

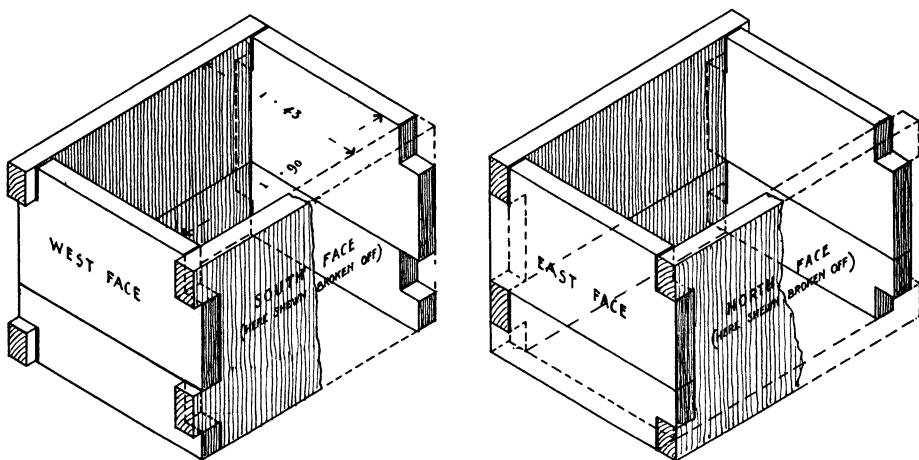
This first opened Cist (the East Cist of the plan, Figs. 22, 23) was

<sup>1</sup> The names have been kindly supplied me by Prof. W. F. R. Weldon, F.R.S., from some specimens submitted to him. The worn state of the valves in the case of one or two examples made it difficult to attach the specific name.

1.52 metre deep, 1.90 long, and 1.43 in breadth. It was composed of long slabs of hard grey limestone 16 centimetres thick, dovetailed or interlocked in the manner shown in Fig. 22.

With a constant thrust from the rubble backing behind, the framework thus put together acquired great stability. All joints were filled with cement and there were traces of a cement lining. The floor of the repository consisted of one large thick slab the upper surface of which was somewhat hollowed out.

On raising the pavement of the West Section of the room, a second large stone repository was discovered of still more massive construction



TWO DIAGRAMMATIC VIEWS OF EAST CIST,  
SHEWING INTERLOCKING JOINTS OF SLABS.

FIG. 22.

than the other. In order to explore this, the later superficial cist on that side, which had been built over it, had to be removed. The stratification here found, answered in every respect to that of the other Repository. Here too a surface layer of red burnt earth gave place to a darker bed filled with painted clay vessels of the same types as the others. Below this again was a stratum of fatty soil containing various relics. In contrast to the corresponding layer of the other cist, faience objects were here wanting, with one notable exception—a missing part namely of the figure of a Snake Goddess just below her waist and showing a triple interlacement of snakes forming her zone. This circumstance pointed to

a considerable disturbance of the contents of the other depository at some period, and was probably due to plunderers at the time of what seems to have been the first great catastrophe of the Later Palace.

The amount of gold foil found in this stratum was greater than had

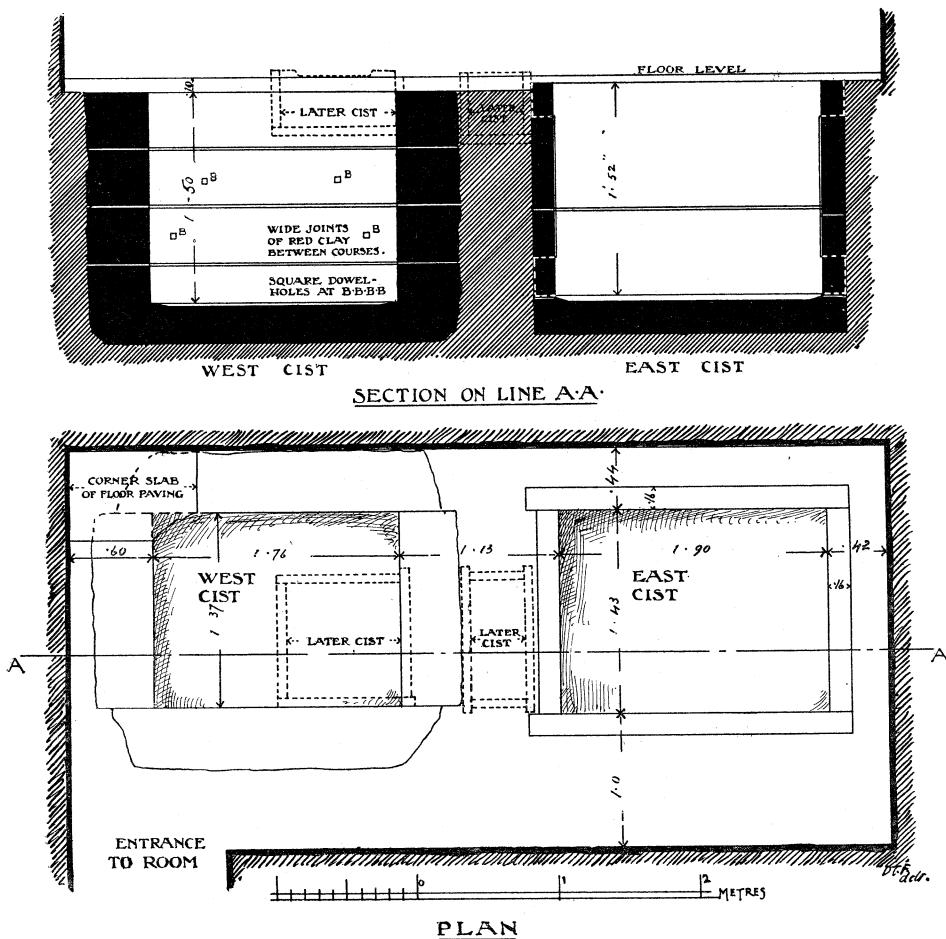


FIG. 23.—GREAT STONE CISTS : TEMPLE REPOSITORIES.

been yet found in any single spot in the Palace. It connected itself here, as in the case of the Kasella of the Long Gallery, with the carbonised remains of what seems to have been a large and very costly chest together with smaller caskets. From the fluting and traces of ornamental designs visible on some of this gold foil it was evident that it had been used

as a coating of decorative reliefs. A piece of clay partly covered with gold leaf also showed traces of an elaborate design in relief apparently of circular form and recalling some of the thin gold disks found in the

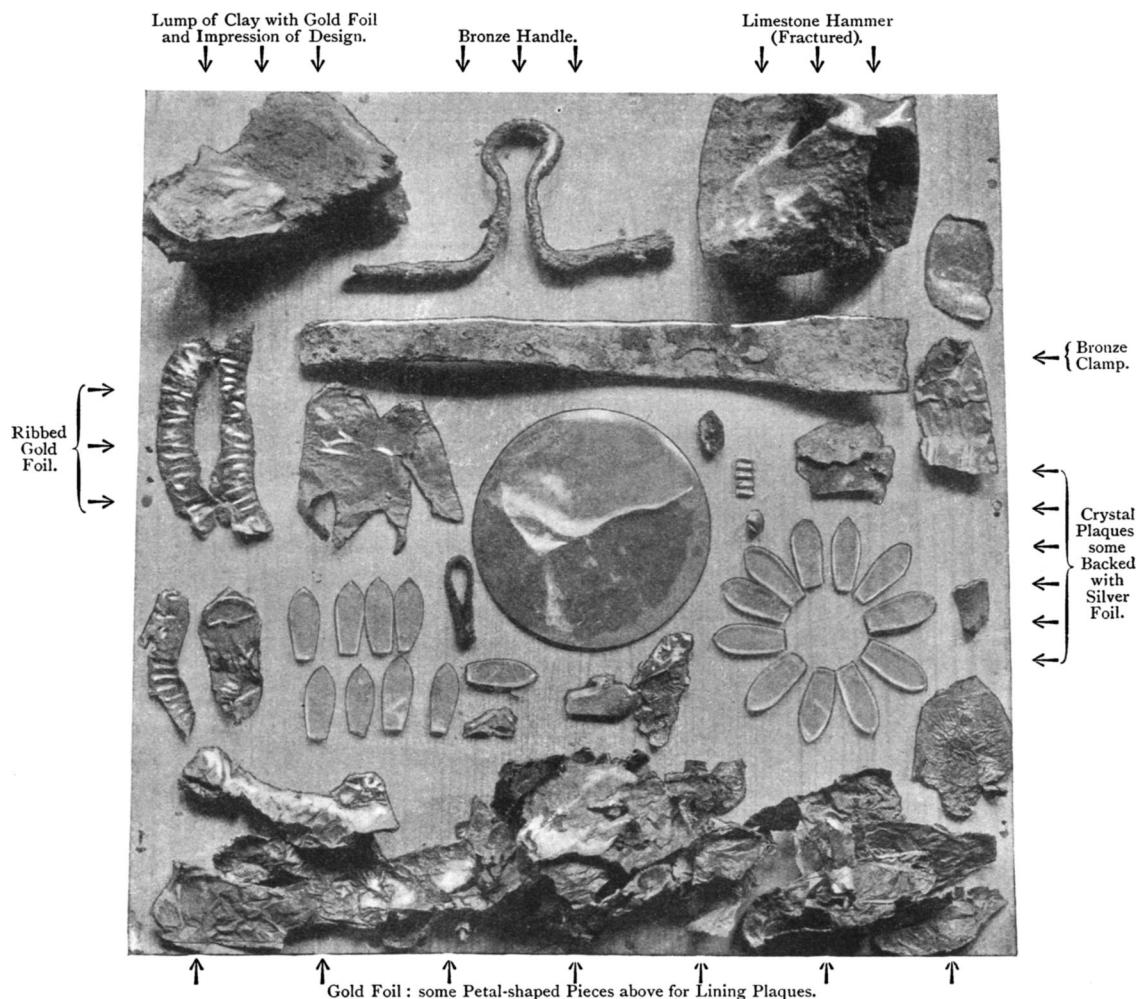


FIG. 24.—GOLD LEAF, CRYSTAL PLAQUES, BRONZE HANDLES, ETC., FRÖM WEST CIST.

Akropolis tombs at Mycenae. Other pieces of gold foil were cut out into leaf- or petal-shaped forms and seemed to have originally formed part of the setting of crystal inlays. There occurred indeed numerous petal-shaped plaques of crystal for intarsia work (see Fig. 24), perhaps origin-

ally arranged in a rosette-pattern. These crystal petals,<sup>1</sup> of which over a score came to light, were slightly hollowed out above, and in some cases they were partly enveloped with gold leaf. The under-side of one or two of them was coated with closely adhering silver foil—recalling the backing of many of the crystal inlays of the Gaming Board.<sup>2</sup> In one instance there was further attached to this a casing of gold leaf which seems to have been laid behind the silver foil to preserve it from oxidization, to which immediate contact with wood or ivory might have rendered it liable. A fine crystal disk 10·8 centimetres (over 4 inches) in diameter and slightly convex above was found, backed in the same way with silver foil. It must have belonged to an exceptionally large design, or may even have belonged to a mirror. Some of the crystal plaques were ribbed, a feature also reproduced by the Gaming Board.

There was also found here a bronze looped handle (Fig. 24) 15 centimetres broad and another of less dimensions apparently belonging to a smaller box. The bronze object (Fig. 24) with rivet-holes at its smaller end is possibly part of a clamp.<sup>3</sup>

In the same deposit, partly broken, lay a finely wrought perforated mallet of limestone. Had it perhaps been used for purposes of effraction by the plunderers of the Repository? It cannot be doubted that the inlaid and gilded chest itself had originally contained still more valuable objects in precious metal.

This Eastern Repository was built of much more massive blocks than the other, possibly because it contained gold treasure while the value of the objects in the other cist was more preponderantly artistic. In this Repository the walls are not mere slabs but consist of solid blocks of limestone masonry about 42 centimetres thick. With the exception of the uppermost course of the South wall which has two blocks, a single block goes the whole length of a side in every case. This masonry is in three courses, which rest all round on a lower course in a single piece with the bottom of the cist. As will be seen from the plan and section (Fig. 23) the interior capacity of this cist is slightly less than the other. It has an inner width and breadth of 1·76 and 1·37 metres, and is 1·50 metre deep. A remarkable feature is presented by the dowel-holes which are worked both in the sides and floor. They seem to point to a wooden frame-work.

<sup>1</sup> The crystal petals are 3·4 centimetres in length and 2·3 in breadth.

<sup>2</sup> See *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 78.

It is 27·7 centimetres in length.

There can be no doubt that these stone repositories, which far exceed in size and solidity any cists yet discovered within the Palace, must be

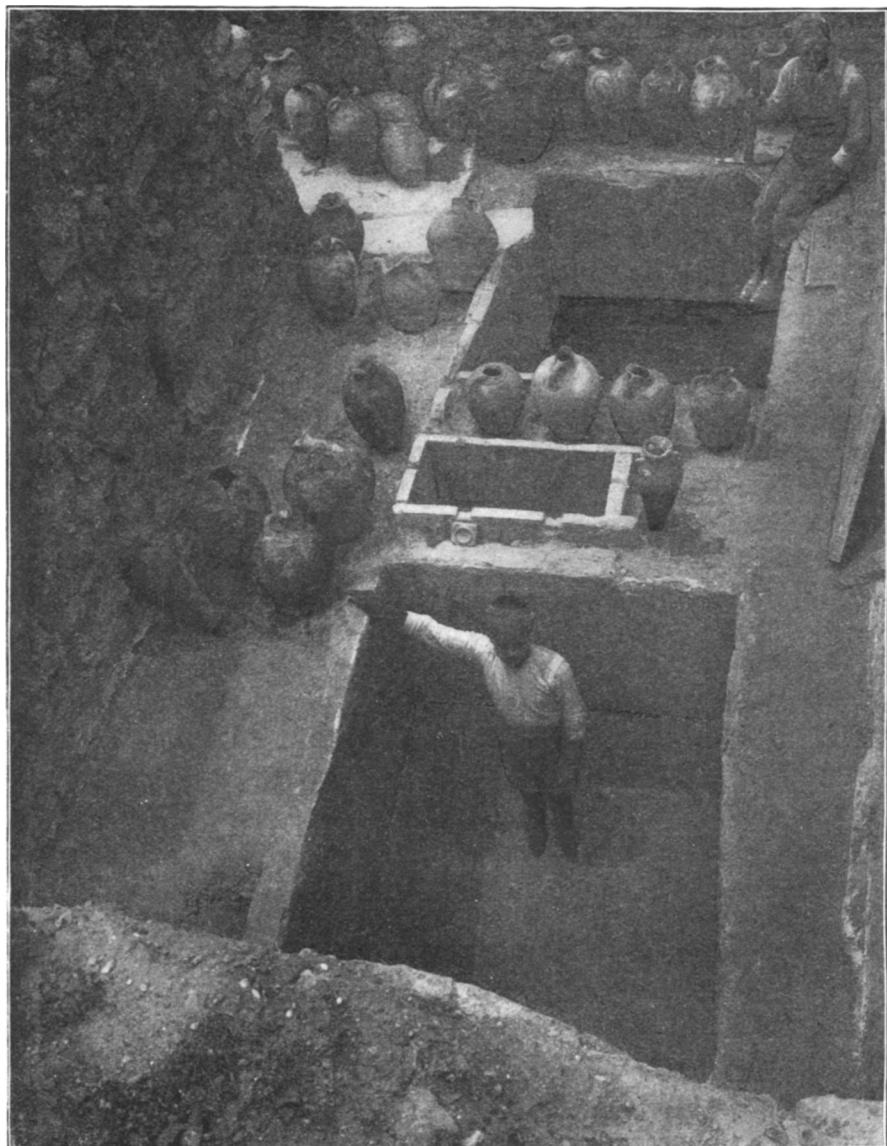


FIG. 25.—THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES AS OPENED OUT.

regarded as part of the Treasury of the Central Sanctuary defined in the

preceding section. An idea of the two Repositories, as they appeared when opened out, with a few of the vases about them, may be gained from Fig. 25. It will be seen that the smaller of the two superficial cists (see Fig. 19) belonging to the later floor was placed immediately above the partition between the two Treasure Chambers, so that it has been possible to preserve it intact.

#### § 10.—THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES: PAINTED POTTERY AND IMPORTED VESSELS FROM MELOS.

As already noticed, the vases, of which some fifty more or less perfect examples were discovered in the great Stone Repositories, completely tally, so far as the indigenous fabrics are concerned, with the vessels belonging to the close of the First Period of the Later Palace found in the Kaselles of the West Magazines, the Plaster Closet, and elsewhere. We find here the same prevailing fashion of white designs on a dark or mauve ground,—usually broad spirals or vegetable forms. Characteristic types of vessel such as the two-handled amphora (Fig. 26*a*) and the pitcher with a raised ring round the neck and a broad-lipped mouth (Fig. 26*b*) and the somewhat high-spouted types, *c* and *e* are also here repeated. A good example of the broad white spiral and band decoration will be seen in *h* of the group here reproduced, while *d* shows, white again on a dark ground, a simple plant or grass design, which was to be taken over in a reversed technique by the potters of the succeeding Palace Period—the ground in that case being light and the decoration dark.

Side by side with these vessels, of which the great mass of those found in the Repositories was composed—and which reproduce the prevalent style of the ceramic class best described as ‘Late Minōan I,’—are others showing a brown decoration on the light surface of the clay, such as *f* of Fig. 26, which may or may not be of Cretan fabric. On the other hand *g* of the same group, which presents a similar technique in a somewhat variant aspect, is of great interest as a clear example of an imported vessel.

This vase, of which two other more or less complete specimens were found, exhibits as its principal motive three birds, the colouring of which varies from brown to a brilliant red on the light buff ground of the clay surface. Its archaic form—with the mouth drawn back in reminiscence of

its derivation, through the *askos* type, from a primitive skin vessel,—would be alone sufficient to place it outside the Minōan series. It is, in fact, a typical ceramic product of Melos; and identical types of vessel with the same bird designs were found at Phylakopi associated with remains belonging to an advanced period of the Second Settlement.

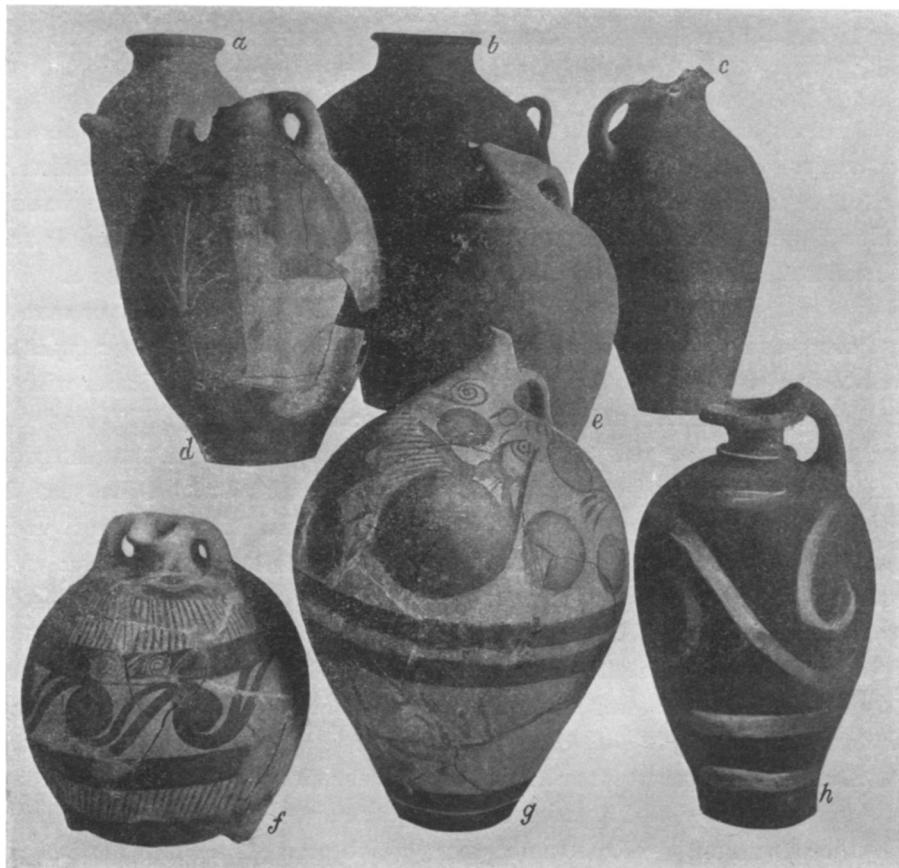


FIG. 26.—PAINTED VESSELS FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORIES.

The synchronism thus established is of great archaeological importance. These Melian ‘bird vases’ belong in fact to the same cultural stratum there as the ‘Pillar-Houses,’ which in other respects present such a marked parallelism with the Pillar Rooms of the Knossian Palace. In

Melos this ceramic type is at home, and the successive stages of its evolution from the skin-shaped prototype can be traced in the early strata of Phylakopi itself, and in the tombs of Pelos.

The course of the obsidian trade had brought Crete already in Neolithic times into intimate relations with Melos, and the occurrence in different strata of Phylakopi of imported pottery belonging to the successive stages of Minōan ceramic art, as well as of their indigenous imitations, shows how great was the Cretan influence on the smaller island.<sup>1</sup> During the special period to which the Palace Repositories belong, this influence is further illustrated by the fresco of the flying fish which, if not actually a Knossian importation, is beyond all doubt a work of the Knossian School.<sup>2</sup> There is moreover the further suggestive circumstance that the Minōan linear characters—in one case even, it would appear, a Minōan personal name,—appear incised on the contemporary Melian pottery.<sup>3</sup> The evidence of the importation of Melian vases at this time into Crete has therefore a peculiar interest as indicating that at a time of ceramic transition, marked by the close of the first period of the Knossian Palace, a counter influence from the Aegean side was making itself felt.

How far, one is tempted to ask, may this Cycladic influence have also had a political side? Were these intrusive Aegean relations in any way contributory to the Palace catastrophe that marked the close of this epoch?

### § II.—THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES: THE CLAY DOCUMENTS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS.

The lower stratum of the Eastern Repository containing the porcelain and other precious objects also yielded a large number of seal impressions and a few inscribed clay documents. These latter, consisting of a small tablet inscribed on both sides, a clay label, and two clay disks with seal impressions round their edges, have an importance as regards the history of the Cretan scripts out of all proportion to their numbers.

The characters, as will be seen from the tablet shown in Fig. 27, are of the linear class, but they differ from the ordinary linear characters as

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller exposition of this ceramic influence I must refer to Dr. Mackenzie's paper in the forthcoming work on the Excavations of the British School at Phylakopi.

<sup>2</sup> See *Report, &c.*, 1902, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> See my note on the Marks on the Melian pottery in the forthcoming publication on Phylakopi referred to above.

they appear on the clay tablets of the succeeding Palace Period. In other words they represent a distinctive form of linear writing that was in use towards the conclusion of the first Period of the Later Palace at Knossos.

The evidence derived from the present deposit would in itself have been too limited to supply a full knowledge of the system of linear script with which we have here to deal. But a comparative study of the materials discovered in other parts of the island happily enables us to make good the deficiency. The form of certain typical characters here found, the system of numeration, the shape of the tablet itself and of the sealed disks, correspond, in fact, with those of the clay archives recently discovered by

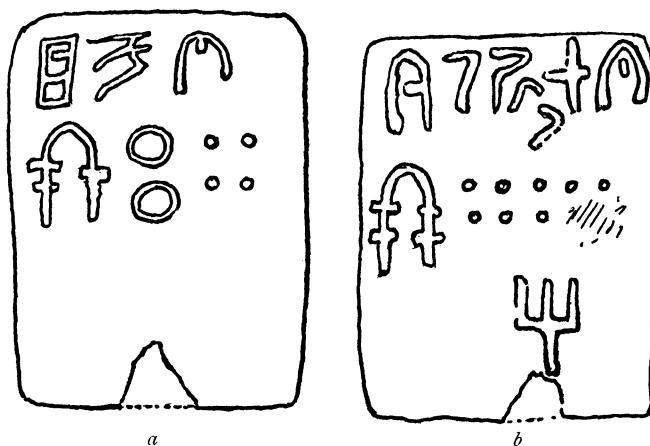


FIG. 27 *a* AND *b*.—INSCRIBED CLAY TABLET [LINEAR SCRIPT CLASS A] FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY (1).

the Italian Mission in the small Palace or Royal Villa of Hagia Triada near Phaestos.<sup>1</sup> Other more isolated discoveries further show that this early system of linear script—which may be conveniently termed Class A as opposed to Class B of the latest Palace Period at Knossos—had a wide extension in the island. An inscribed clay tablet found by the British School at Palaikastro<sup>2</sup> belongs to the same class, as also the characters on

<sup>1</sup> Federigo Halbherr, 'Resti etc. scoperti a Haghia Triada. Rapporto sulle ricerche del 1902.' (*Mon. Antichi* xiii.), p. 21 *segg.* Further discoveries of tablets presenting the same characters were made during 1903, which by the great courtesy of Professor Halbherr I have been allowed to study.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph of this has been kindly supplied me by Mr. Bosanquet, and I have also had the opportunity of studying the original at Candia.

a clay disk found by Miss Boyd at Gournià in 1903. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the signs on the Dictaeon Libation Table fit on the same system. At Knossos itself certain graffito inscriptions on pottery and those of another isolated tablet prove to belong to the same category.

The Repository of the Knossian Sanctuary has now supplied what was wanting in these other discoveries, namely, a definite chronological landmark for this form of linear script. At Knossos, at least, it is seen to belong to the close of the first Period of the Later Palace, and to have been displaced in the succeeding Minōan age by the system represented in the great mass of the Palace Archives, which may be briefly referred to as Class B.

What, then, is the relation of Class A to Class B? It must in any case be recognised that there is a large common element. Considering the later appearance of Class B in the Palace it might be thought that it stood in a more or less filial relation to the other, representing a somewhat more developed stage, though it is to be observed that a certain number of signs are peculiar to one or the other group. In some respects Class A shows a somewhat nearer relation to the earlier pictographic series of the Middle Minōan Period, as, for instance, in the occurrence of a perforated clay label, and in one feature of the numeral system—the indication of 10 by a dot. On the other hand we are confronted by the curious phenomenon that some of the forms of linear characters belonging to Class A are further advanced from their pictorial original than the corresponding linear signs of Class B—the flying bird-sign affords a good instance of this.

We are thus reduced to the conclusion that Class B, though of later appearance in the Palace, is fundamentally a parallel rather than a derivative system. It seems to be an alternative form of linear script, of more or less equal antiquity, which, owing to some political change, came to the fore during the latest Palace period at the expense of the other. At Hagia Triada there is no evidence of any such supersession of Class A. It is possible, therefore, that it continued to be in vogue there to a later date than at Knossos, though it must at the same time be remarked that the clay seal impressions with which the Hagia Triada tablets were associated very closely conform in style and character to the seal impressions from the Temple Repository at Knossos with which we are at present concerned. This is a strong indication that they too, as a whole, belong

to a period corresponding with the latter part of the first Period of the Later Palace at Knossos.

The change in the official style as seen in the archives of the Latest Palace Period at Knossos is a phenomenon which seems best to explain itself on the hypothesis of a dynastic revolution. That there was no change of race appears from various indications. The two systems of script, though divergent, show a large common element, and the resemblances are such as to permit a comparison of sign-groups belonging to the two systems. It thus appears that the language was essentially the same and in one case at least what appears to be a personal name is common to the two scripts.<sup>1</sup> There is no ethnic break, and the culture exhibited by the remains of the latest period of the Palace on the whole represents the natural outgrowth of the penultimate period of its history to which the contents of the Temple Repositories belong.

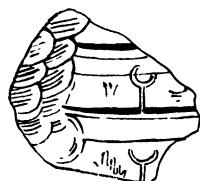
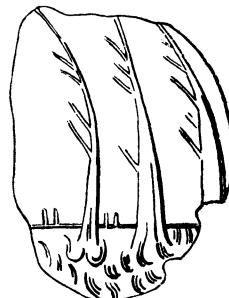
The clear evidence of the relatively early date of the deposit gives a special value to the considerable series of clay seal impressions found with the tablets. These clay sealings, of which over 160 were discovered, had evidently been attached by strings or threads that ran through them, and of which traces remained, to documents on perishable materials,—perhaps parchment, or even papyrus,—relating to the Sanctuary. Many of them bore subjects of direct or indirect religious import.

The impressions show fifty different designs, besides about a dozen in too imperfect a condition to be made out with certainty. The following list will give a general idea of the subjects :—

- 1-6.—Decorative designs with spiral and curvilinear patterns. Five varieties.
- 7.—Tripartite design with pallium-like centre (see Fig. 28).
- 8-12.—Semi-decorative designs which seem in part to represent façades and doors of buildings. A characteristic Minōan class. Four varieties.
- 13.—Quadruple pattern, apparently based on a group of four cockle-shells.
- 14.—Compound subject of enigmatic meaning (see Fig. 29). (For the cap-like object, cf. Zakro sealings).
- 15.—Uncertain subject with crescents on stands (Fig. 30).
- 16, 17.—Design apparently representing a canopy with four forked supports. Two varieties.
- 18, 19.—Flowers of aster type. Two varieties.

<sup>1</sup> In a paper read to the British Academy on Nov. 25, 1903, on 'the Pictographic and Linear Scripts of Crete and their Relations' I have already called attention to the value of the evidence supplied by the inscriptions from the Temple Repository at Knossos, and to their identity in style with those of Hagia Triada (see Summary Report, *Times*, Nov. 26).

- 20.—Tulip-like flower.
- 21.—Uncertain plant with curving foliage.
- 22.—Three tree stems apparently growing out of rocks (Fig. 31).
- 23.—Lion seizing prey.
- 24.—Convoluted design consisting of six heads of horned sheep joined by the long curving horns.
- 25.—Horned sheep standing : in the field Swastika symbol.
- 26.—Horned sheep as preceding, with trough. In field above, a Swastika (see below, Fig. 59).

FIG. 28.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).FIG. 29.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).FIG. 30.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).FIG. 31.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
TREE TRUNKS ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).

- 27.—Bovine animal seated on base, with head turned back and seen from behind.
- 28.—Cow suckling calf.
- 29.—She-goat and kid.
- 30.—Goat standing, looking back.
- 31—33.—Wild goat running. Three varieties.
- 34.—Goat seated looking back : apparently a cruciform symbol below.
- 35.—Three wolves' (or dogs') heads (see Fig. 32).
- 36.—Duck standing.
- 37.—Dove flying.
- 38.—Four owls grouped round stellar symbol with twelve rays (see Fig. 33).
- 39.—Two scorpions.

- 40.—Crab.
- 41.—Dolphin.
- 42.—Group of three fish.
- 43.—Two Triton shells (see Fig. 34).
- 44.—Columnar device.
- 45.—Cross (see below, Fig. 61).
- 46.—Armed Goddess and lion (see below, Fig. 37).
- 47.—Armed God and lioness (see below, Fig. 38).
- 48.—Scene of the *taurokathapsia*.
- 49.—Man in boat, repelling attack of sea-monster (see below, Fig. 36).
- 50.—Pugilist before column (Fig. 35).

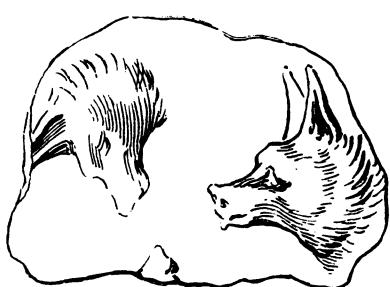


FIG. 32.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
WOLVES' OR DOGS' HEADS ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ).



FIG. 33.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
FOUR OWLS ROUND STAR ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

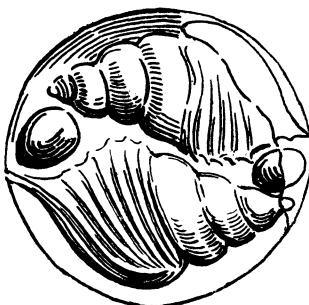


FIG. 34.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
TWO TRITON SHELLS ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

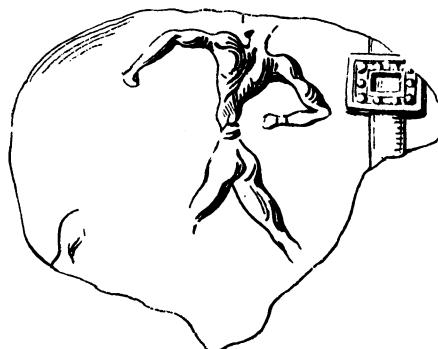


FIG. 35.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
PUGILIST ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

After what has been said as to the high degree of naturalistic perfection attained already by the Cretan engravers at the close of the preceding Middle Minōan Period,<sup>1</sup> the beauty and freedom of many of the seal-types of the present deposit cannot excite surprise. Such designs

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 2.

as the wolves' or dogs' heads (Fig. 32), the small owls (Fig. 33), and the Triton shells (Fig. 34) show a great fidelity to nature, in spite of the necessarily imperfect character of the clay impressions.

Among the animated scenes represented, one of the most interesting is the episode of the bull ring (No. 48) which curiously recalls the wall-painting of the female toreadors.<sup>1</sup> A youth is here seen turning a back somersault over the neck of a bull behind which stands another figure with one arm raised. The close parallelism between the two designs shows in how near a relation the Minōan gem-engraver's art stood to that of the painter. That the same close affinity existed between the glyptic art and that of the sculptor of small reliefs as seen on the steatite vases is brought out in a conspicuous manner by the pugilistic scene presented by No. 50. This impression (Fig. 35), though unfortunately the whole of the design has not been preserved, shows a highly athletic figure of a boxer standing before a column, with a curious rectangular impost of a kind reproduced in a building exhibited by one of the miniature wall-paintings, and again on a small steatite relief to be described below. The attitude of the pugilist himself is practically identical with that seen on the small steatite relief found in the North-East Palace region.<sup>2</sup> This comparison is now completed by the appearance on the lower zone of the magnificent steatite *rhyton* discovered by the Italian Mission at Hagia Triada, of two helmeted 'gladiators' both advancing to the left with a similar column between them.<sup>3</sup> As in the scheme before us and the other Knossian design, they hold out the left arm for defence while the right is drawn back as if about to deal a blow. These pugilists wore a kind of boxing-glove and *cestus*, and a trace of this may be detected on the right wrist of the figure in the present seal impression.

Of striking novelty is another exciting scene (Fig. 36) in which a man, standing in a light skiff, endeavours to repel the attack of a sea-monster. It is not clear whether the boatman uses a weapon or an oar in his defence. The sea-monster's head raised from the waves is of that dog-like aspect associated from Homeric times onwards with Scylla. The

<sup>1</sup> Compare, too, the seal impression found in 1902. *Report, &c.*, 1902, p. 78, Fig. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 95, Fig. 31. A seal impression with a fuller design of the same kind was found at Hagia Triada.

<sup>3</sup> R. Paribeni, 'Lavori eseguiti dalla Missione Italiana nel Palazzo e nella necropoli di Haghia Triada, 1903.' (*Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, vol. xii. fasc. 70, p. 17). The remains of an upper zone of this *rhyton* exhibit a hunting scene of wild bulls closely resembling that of the Vapheio Cup.

monster here, it is true, has only one head, but the canine jaws, the water boiling amid the rocks :

λέβης ὡς ἐν πυρὶ πολλῷ  
Πᾶσ' ἀνεμορμύρεσκε κυκωμένη—

the onslaught on the vessel—the whole scene may be taken as an early illustration of a fabled sea-monster, perhaps already localised in the Sicilian Straits—of which the *Odyssey* retained a living tradition. The forepart of the monster, in fact, singularly recalls the *pistrix* which Gelōn placed on the coinage of Syracuse as the symbol of his sea victory over the Etruscans that gave him the mastery of the Straits.<sup>1</sup>

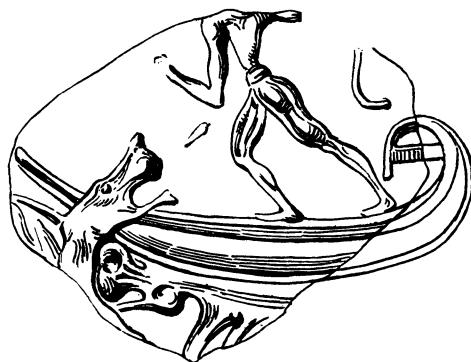


FIG. 36.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION : BOATMAN AND SEA-MONSTER (§).

It is clear that many of the above seal-types had a religious significance. The accumulated evidences of the intimate association of the bull with Minōan Cult<sup>2</sup> suggest the conclusion that the performances of the bull-ring, such as that illustrated by No. 47, were themselves connected with sacred ceremonies. Of the ritual usage of the Triton shell (No. 42) something has been already said.<sup>3</sup> The trinity of trees (No. 22) and the flying dove (No. 37) are recognised objects of the cult. The repetition of the groups of the cow and calf and wild goat and

<sup>1</sup> See Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 10, and cf. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, I. p. 572 and my 'Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics' *Num. Chron.* 1894, p. 212. The artistic tradition of similar sea-monsters goes back to the very beginnings of a later classical art : witness an amygdaloid gem of the 'Melian' class in my own collection found at Epidauros Limera and exhibiting a 'pistrix' beneath the forepart of a war galley. This gem dates from about 700 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> For a fresh illustration, see p. 114 below, Fig. 70.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 36, 37.

young on the faience reliefs of the shrine, bringing these subjects into natural connexion with the worship of a Mother Goddess,<sup>1</sup> sufficiently explains the occurrence of similar designs on the seal impressions, Nos. 28 and 29. The large horned sheep of Nos. 25 and 26 acquires, as will be shown below,<sup>2</sup> a definite religious character from the Swastika symbol inserted in the field above it. On the other hand the cross which stands as the sole type on No. 45<sup>3</sup> (see Fig. 61, p. 90 below) connects itself with what may well be regarded as the most important ritual object found in the Repository. On the importance of these cruciform symbols in connexion with the Palace cult more will be said below.



FIG. 37.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
WARRIOR GODDESS AND LION (§).



FIG. 38.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :  
ARMED GOD AND LIONESS (?) (§).

The warrior God and Goddess with their lion guardians, exhibited by Nos. 46 and 47, bring the present series into direct relation with the sealings depicting a warrior Goddess on her lion-guarded peak found in the recess immediately East of the Repositories in 1901.<sup>4</sup> The seal from which the present design of the female divinity was taken<sup>5</sup> was in this case smaller and has been simplified by the omission of the rocky peak, the pillar temple, and the votary. But it clearly represents the same

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> The cross type appears five times on the side of clay disks ; one with inscribed characters on its face. On the same disk appears impressions of a couched bovine animal on a base (No. 27) and a façade with masonry (No. 8).

<sup>4</sup> See *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 29, Fig. 9.

<sup>5</sup> There were eleven examples of this type in the Repository.

Goddess, and alike the subject, the style of the engraving, and the contiguous place of discovery show that both sealings belong to the same Sanctuary and to the same period of its history. The Goddess here (Fig. 37) wears a peaked cap and somewhat short skirt, she is holding a spear, and the lion looks back and up at her. On some seal impressions from Hagia Triada is seen apparently the same Goddess, wearing a similar peaked cap, between two attendants, each of whom holds aloft a double axe.<sup>1</sup> The God (Fig. 38)<sup>2</sup> wears a short tunic and a somewhat peaked head-piece which recalls those of some contemporary statuettes of bronze, such as that from the votive cave or rock-shelter of Patso near Sybrita<sup>3</sup> in Crete, the prominent front of which, however, is curiously 'Hittite.' He holds a spear and a shield of exceptional form. The animal at his side is apparently a lioness.<sup>4</sup> These figures of lion-guarded divinities, well represented in the sealings of this deposit, must be identified with the same divine pair of whose cult in the Minōan Palace of Knossos so many records have already come to light.

#### § 12.—TEMPLE REPOSITORIES: THE IVORY AND BONE OBJECTS.

Of inlays in ivory or bone not many have been preserved. The most elaborate were in the shape alternately of flowers and buds, apparently suggested by those of a pomegranate. The under-sides of these pieces showed incised marks in the shape of a broad H, accompanied by a varying number of dots. A fragment of another piece for inlaying presented an incised T. An ivory inlay was also found of a crescent-shaped outline similar to others of faience and crystal that have occurred elsewhere in the Palace.

The most elegant ivory object, obtained, like the other, from the Eastern Repository, was the delicately carved handle plate of some instrument, showing rivet-holes for fixing the blade, which ran at right angles to the end of the handle (Fig. 39).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Halbherr, *Resti* etc. *Rapporto*, 1902, p. 39, Fig. 33. This type is there reproduced from an imperfect example, the double axes, clear on some impressions of the seal since discovered, not appearing.

<sup>2</sup> This type was represented by eight examples.

<sup>3</sup> *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 27, Fig. 15.

<sup>4</sup> This pard-like creature may however be intended for some kind of mastiff.

<sup>5</sup> Length 6·78 centimetres. There had originally been a second handle plate of the same form, the blade being held between them. The upper and lower faces of the plate and the side view are shown in Fig. 39.

Two bone reliefs are of considerable interest. They represent the notched end and plume of an arrow, the incised decoration of the shaft

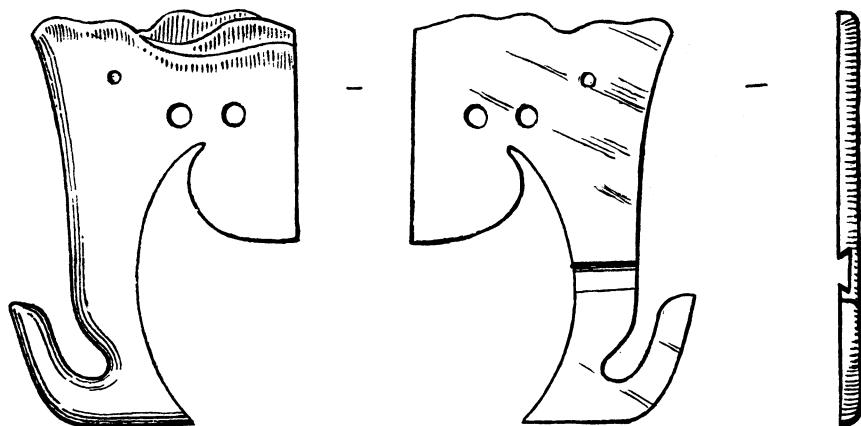


FIG. 39.—PLATE OF IVORY HANDLE OF INSTRUMENT (2/3).

showing a red inlay (Fig. 40). Both specimens are smooth below, with rivet-holes, which point to the former existence of a middle plate of metal. The

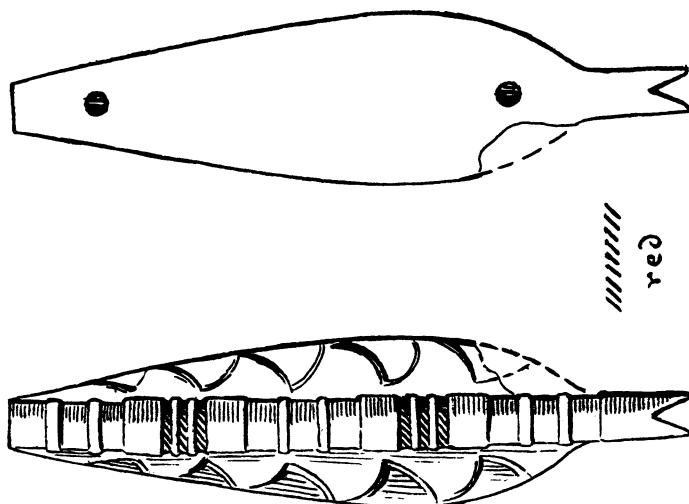


FIG. 40.—ARROW PLUME OF BONE, WITH RED INLAY (1/2).

lower ends of these objects are sawn off, and had been probably applied to a metal shaft, fixed on to or forming one piece with the metal plate between

the two bone pieces. Such an arrow could have served no practical use, and the relic may therefore be regarded as of a votive nature. We recall the Mother Goddess as she appears on a Cretan lentoid,<sup>1</sup> drawing a bow as she runs; nor should it be forgotten that in later days the Cretan Dictynna, who combines the attributes of Rhea and Artemis, sits throned among the Curetes, holding the infant Zeus on her left hand, and an arrow in her right.<sup>2</sup>

### § 13.—THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES: DECORATIVE OBJECTS OF FAÏENCE.

The most characteristic element among the contents of this Temple Treasury—except for a few scattered pieces found in the other cist, confined to the Eastern Repository—are the abundant series of objects made of a kind of faïence or native ‘porcelain.’<sup>3</sup> An isolated vase of this material, and numerous plaques for inlaying—among them those reproducing the small houses—had already occurred at various points of the excavation.<sup>4</sup> But there was nothing to prepare us for the extraordinary variety, the beauty and the technical perfection of the relics here brought to light. They constitute a new revelation of Minōan art at the highest point of its development. We seem here to have a considerable part of the decorative fittings of a small shrine, to the adornment of which the services of the most skilful craftsmen were devoted.

The fabric at Knossos of an indigenous class of faïence was not new indeed at this period. The contents of a deposit to be described below<sup>5</sup> tend to show that not only beads of the same material, but possibly also plaques for inlaying, were produced by the close of the Early Minōan period. The prevailing pale bluish tint of these, faintly tinged with green, corresponds with the characteristic faïence hue of the Early Egyptian Dynasties, and the beads, with their large perforations, suggest comparisons with those of the Sixth Dynasty. In the case of the faïence relics from the Temple Repository the paler tones are supplemented by deeper tints. The beads here, of

<sup>1</sup> Berlin Cat. No. 2; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Taf. II. 24.

<sup>2</sup> On coins of Crete *in genere* struck under Trajan, B. M. Cat. Pl. I. 9. In a specimen in my own collection the arrow is very clear.

<sup>3</sup> As shown below, it can only be called ‘porcelain’ in a loose popular sense.

<sup>4</sup> So too in the excavations of the Italian Mission at Phaestos and Hagia Triada.

<sup>5</sup> See § 16.

which whole heaps were found, vary in colour from white to a bright greenish blue. Their types are seen in Fig. 41; but by far the most abundant of these is the globular form. This fact is interesting, since this globular type of bead is very typical of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, where, too, a much brighter blue-green hue is affected than was usual in the days of the Early Empire. Except for the fact that the perforation of the Knossian beads is as a rule smaller than that of the Egyptian examples, they are almost indistinguishable from them. The bugles and the more oval type shown in Fig. 41 also find their counterparts in these Middle Empire Egyptian forms.

That this Minōan fabric of enamelled ware was introduced from Egypt there can be no manner of doubt. Its glaze, as will be seen,

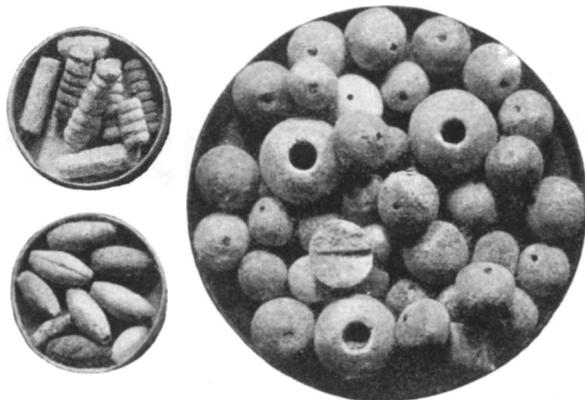


FIG. 41.—FAÏENCE BEADS FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY (SLIGHTLY REDUCED).

resembles that of the so-called ‘Egyptian porcelain.’ It is to be observed in this connexion that on many plaques for inlaying there appear impressed or relieved signs on the lower side, presenting a close parallelism with those of Egyptian plaques<sup>1</sup> of the same material. These signs in turn correspond with others belonging to still more numerous

<sup>1</sup> In this particular deposit the signs on the under-side or some of the inlays were little more than groups of notches. On the roundels from the Throne Room and faïence plaques for inlaying found elsewhere regular signs occurred analogous to those of the bone and ivory inlays from the Palace. See *Report, &c.*, 1901, pp. 119, 120, where the marks on the faïence inlays from Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh, &c., are compared. Similar signs occur on the faïence plaques found by the Italians at Phaestos and Hagia Triada.

series<sup>1</sup> used by the Cretan inlayers in bone and ivory, which seem to have been, in part at least, literally taken over from the current stock of similar signs in use among Egyptian intarsia workers and jewellers from the earlier Dynastic Period onwards.

The vitreous glaze with which this Minōan faience is enamelled appears to be of the same largely siliceous composition as is that of the 'Egyptian porcelain.'<sup>2</sup> The prevailing ground colour of this vitreous facing is usually a pale greenish or bluish-white, sometimes giving place to a pure white, sometimes taking a yellow or a lilac tinge. Occasionally the tone is deeper, such as an emerald-green, or more rarely a turquoise blue. The designs on this field are laid on in a purplish-brown or brown deepening into black—more rarely in a pure lilac colour. Exceptionally, the ground colour itself is brown.

The 'body' of this ware consists of a light porous paste of a white or yellowish-white hue mostly formed of a quartzite sand.<sup>3</sup> It would even appear that some curious and not easily explained objects found in the same deposit with the finished faience articles may possibly represent the form in which the raw material of their interior paste was conveyed to the place of fabric. These objects are thick, more or less cylindrical cakes, with a shallow, cupped depression above.<sup>4</sup> Of the local manufacture of the faience fabrics, a curious indication is moreover supplied by a steatite mould discovered in the North-West dépendance of the Palace. The

<sup>1</sup> The notches, strokes, or dots of varying numbers which either accompany these signs or appear in place of them evidently refer to the arrangement of the inlays. Here again Egyptian analogy is conclusive—witness the slanting lines, from one to nine in number, incised on the lower surface of the gold and turquoise hawks from bracelets found in the tomb of King Zer at Abydos—to mark their order in the series (Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, II. 15).

<sup>2</sup> Professor A. H. Church has kindly examined some specimens of this Palace faience. He writes 'besides silica the glaze contained lime, a little magnesia, some soda, and a larger amount of potash. The friable and rather porous "body" or paste of this glazed material contains (in the state in which it was analysed),—(a) moisture and other matters—1·22 p.c.; (b) matters soluble in strong hydrochloric acid—2·22 p.c.; (c) quartzite sand with traces of mica, felspar, and clay—96·56 p.c. (=100). (b) consists chiefly of lime and the oxides of iron, alumina, and copper. (c) consists of 97·01 p.c. of silica, 1·33 p.c. of alumina, and 0·17 p.c. of lime, with traces of lime, magnesia, copper, and alkalies. The paste when dry has received a coating of glaze, and has been fixed at a moderate heat, just sufficient to fuse the latter without softening the body.' Professor Church considers that the glaze owes its colouring mainly to copper and that it is probably nearly related to 'Egyptian Blue.' The dark browns and black however are referred by him to a ferruginous origin.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of other plaques such as those of the latest Palace Period found in the Throne Room it is of a brown colour.

<sup>4</sup> Some of these were shown in Fig. 20 above, below the Libation Tables.

four sides of this exhibit deeply incised matrices for casting small decorative objects of the same kind as those of the present deposit. The calibre and high relief of some of these show that they could not have been—as were apparently the stone matrices found at Mycenae—used for embossed metal work or for the comparatively small objects in glass paste which characterise the mature Mycenaean industry.<sup>1</sup> There can be no reasonable doubt that they were made to mould the paste for inlays and reliefs in the native faience.

The mould in question shows on one side (see Fig. 42) a group of small objects including a trochus shell,<sup>2</sup> sections of jointed trumpet shells which

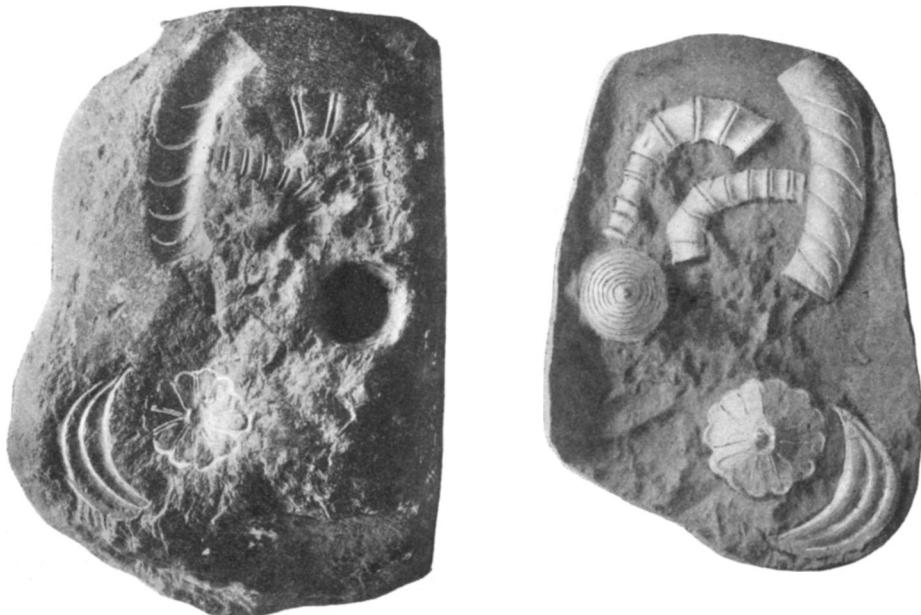


FIG. 42.—MOULD FOR FAIENCE OBJECTS FROM NORTH-WEST BUILDING, WITH  
PLASTER CAST [ABOUT  $\frac{1}{2}$ ].

rather recall specimens from the oolite or cretaceous beds<sup>3</sup> than any recent species, a part of a spiral bracelet, a semilunar plaque resembling a faience

<sup>1</sup> The lowermost matrix on the mould figured by Schliemann (*Mycenae*, p. 107, No. 162) seems to have been made for a glass paste object of a kind representing a degeneration of the console shown below, Fig. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Similar shells in glass paste have been found in tombs of the Lower Town at Mycenae.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Ptychoceras gaultinus*, a cretaceous species.

inlay from one of the Kasselés and an ivory example from the Repository with which we are dealing; and a rosette of a type of which more than one faience reproduction has been found within the Palace. The other sides of the mould exhibit respectively matrices of two very graceful consoles<sup>1</sup> (see Fig. 43) forming part of a cornice that ran perhaps along the upper border of an inlaid chest, and a clenched human hand, about half the natural size, with the little finger sticking out—possibly an amulet. The cornices when completed by the piecing together of sections such as those seen in the

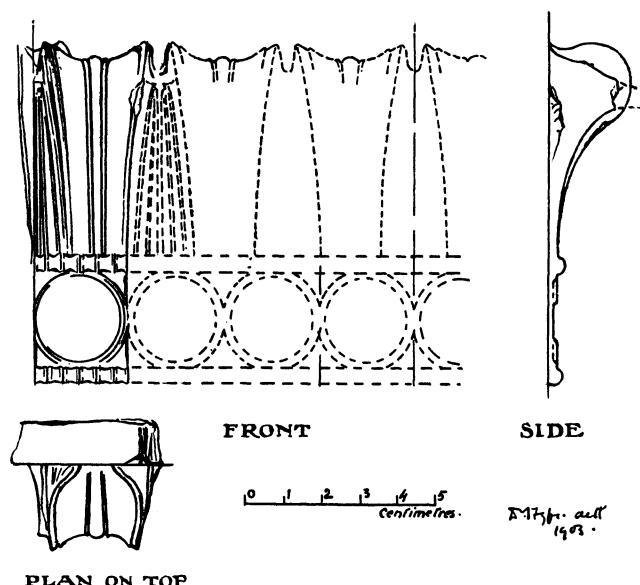


FIG. 43.—DEVELOPMENT OF FRIEZE BASED ON CONSOLE FROM MOULD (ABOUT  $\frac{1}{2}$  SCALE).

mould supply a new and extremely elegant architectonic feature which was no doubt carried out on a larger scale in Minoan buildings.

A piece of a Sacral Knot and a plaque for inlaying of similar faience ware were found in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae,<sup>2</sup> vases, from Grave II., and a fragment with a head of a warrior from Grave III. But, while these and a few other isolated examples supply the only record of this fabric on mainland sites, we see from the abundance and variety of the faience

<sup>1</sup> A plain example of such a console in native faience was found in the Palace (near the Southern Terrace). Degenerations of similar consoles in glass paste are not infrequent in 'Late' Mycenaean deposits. For the matrix of one such found at Mycenae, see above, p. 61, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, I. 241, Nos. 350, 351.

objects found at Knossos that the art was here at home.<sup>1</sup> It hardly needs the discovery of the actual moulds and apparently of the raw materials of manufacture on this site to show that a faience manufactory existed in immediate connexion with the Palace itself, and its Central Sanctuary. The Minōan Priest-Kings thus anticipated an usage followed by many modern European rulers of establishing fabrics of faience, porcelain, or majolica, in direct connexion with their palaces and castles. The faience manufactory in the Palace of Knossos is in this respect the remote predecessor of that of Vincennes and Sèvres, of Medicean Florence, of Urbino or Capodimonte, of Meissen, and of many other royal and princely fabrics of a similar kind.

The dampness of the Cretan climate as compared with that of Egypt no doubt accounts for the decay of the vitreous surface of these objects in many cases, and the inner paste where unprotected has a tendency to crumble

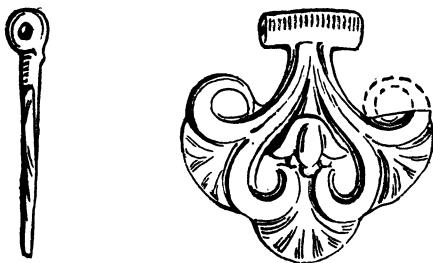


FIG. 44.—FAIENCE PENDANT.

away. A certain amount of the faience deposit was therefore found in a much perished condition and there had been a good deal of breakage of the larger objects, due probably to violent disturbance by the original treasure hunters. Happily, however, in many cases, it was possible to reconstitute these, while other relics, especially some of the marine subjects, were brilliantly preserved.

Of the minor objects such as the mosaic plaques and parts of borders of inlays, it is impossible here to speak in detail. Some decorative pieces took the form of lotus flowers and buds (Fig. 45) an interesting record of the Egyptian sources of the art. The same influence is

<sup>1</sup> In the 'Late' Mycenaean Period, answering to the 'Period of Partial Occupation' of the Palace at Knossos, Cyprus, as the excavations at Enkomi show, had become a great centre of faience fabric.

perceptible in the very elegant pendant, perhaps of a necklace, shown in Fig. 44.

Some of the flowers, however, modelled in relief, reproduce rather the native crocus or saffron, so dear to Minôan art. Still more remarkable is the naturalistic stem of a tree or plant, the surface coloured brown executed in relief, and leaves and flowers, apparently belonging to it, in the

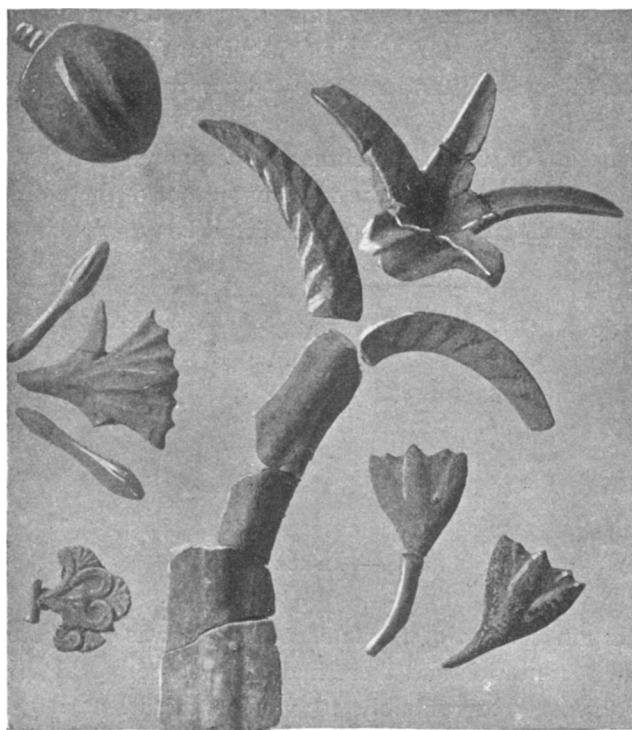


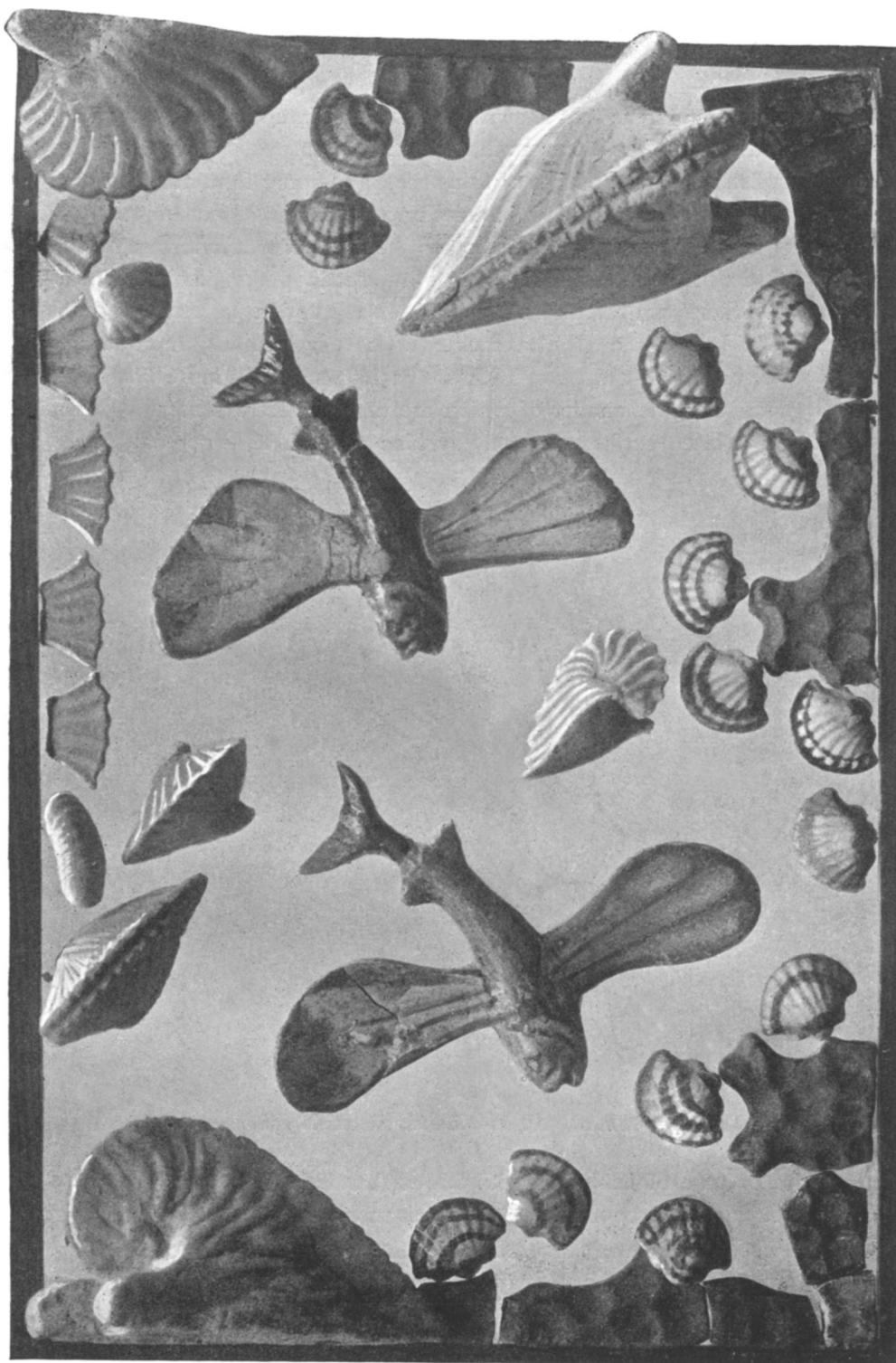
FIG. 45.—FLOWERS, FOLIAGE, AND FRUIT IN FAÏENCE (C.  $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

round, both repeating the same tints, a pale blue or bluish-green ground colour with purplish veins<sup>1</sup> (see Fig. 45). The fruit with a groove in its side, coloured above a pale brown, also shown in Fig. 45, appears to be a plum.

The marine subjects reproduced are also strikingly naturalistic. They were found scattered, but the analogies offered by parallel scenes suggest

<sup>1</sup> The calix of the flower as seen in profile is bell-shaped, patulous at the upper margin : height 4 centimetres.

FIG. 46.—MARINE SUBJECTS IN FAIENCE.



some such a grouping as that shown in Fig. 46. Materials for comparison are supplied by such sea-pieces as that of the Melian painting representing the flying fish, the great design of fish, rocks, and spray from the Queen's Megaron, and the fish and polyp in a rocky pool seen on a gem impression. The rocks, according to these examples and the subjects of certain vase paintings, would naturally have formed part of the setting ; they show a brown ground, a surface with shallow, cupped hollows, and a fantastic outline suggestive of Japanese art. The cockle-shells, very faithfully reproduced, are of white or bluish-white tint with brown bands.<sup>1</sup> Still more beautiful are the nautiluses, the smaller of which are very perfectly preserved, with a brilliantly glazed surface of a silvery lilac tint. The larger nautiluses

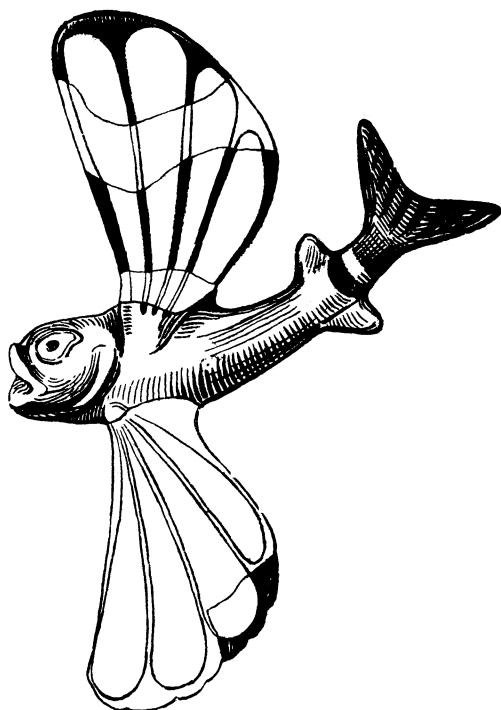


FIG. 47.—FLYING FISH IN FAÏENCE (SLIGHTLY REDUCED).

are white or pale bluish-green, with brown bands.<sup>2</sup> The central objects of the group, which was originally doubtless much more extensive, are here

<sup>1</sup> Over a dozen of these were found. Their lower surface is flat.

<sup>2</sup> The nautiluses were of four sizes, 9 centimetres  $\times$  4·3, 6·6  $\times$  3·5, and 4  $\times$  2·5, and one intermediate between the two last. They were all modelled in the round.

taken to be the flying fish. Of these, sufficient remains were found to restore two specimens : the foremost of the two, as is shown in Fig. 47, has the body and most of the upper fin preserved. Of the second example only the tail and part of a 'wing' were forthcoming, but as it was from the same mould as the other it could be completed with certainty. The ground colour of these is buff with brown markings. The fish, which are flat below, were probably set in coloured plaster imitating the sea waves. We have here, in fact, an interesting parallel to the wall-painting found in the Pillar House of Phylakopi of the flying fish darting amidst the sea spray. The 'swallow-fish' (*χελιδονόψαρι*), as it is known to the modern Greeks, is also a favourite subject of Minōan gems.

Exquisite as are these various productions of the Palace fabric of faïence it will probably be admitted that, as regards the ideal presentment of natural forms, the art reaches its highest levels in certain small reliefs exhibiting groups of cows and goats suckling their young. These scenes are in each case repeated by a series of examples taken from a single mould, and their recurrence, as well as the parallelism of the two subjects, makes it natural to detect in them a direct reference to the cult of the Mother Goddess of Minōan Crete.

Of these, the group of the cow and calf, in fact, presents essentially the same type as the Cow and Calf of Hathor and Isis. This was afterwards a favourite subject of Phoenician art, while in Classical Greece, as on the coins of Karystos, we see it attached to the service of Hera.<sup>1</sup> The animals are here exhibited as standing on a low base, divided into rectangular compartments alternately light and dark, which gives the whole an architectonic aspect. The ground colour of both cow and calf is a pale buff on which are sepia spots, and a curious feature of the plaques, repeated in the parallel type showing the wild goats, is that their upper margin follows the line of the animals' bodies. It seems probable, therefore, that they were applied to a backing of coloured plaster. What appear to have been the horns were in both cases executed in separate pieces in the round. The cow, which is of somewhat elongated proportions, turns back her head to lick the calf's hind-quarters. The suckling calf is itself delineated in a manner which reveals an extraordinary observation of nature. In beauty of modelling and in living

<sup>1</sup> It is also common on Minōan gems, and it is possible (as seems certainly the case on some of the bovine designs of the Eretrian dies) that these Karystian coin-types actually represent a revival of designs taken from 'Mycenaean' gem engravings.

interest, Egyptian, Phoenician, and, it must be added, Classical Greek renderings of this traditional group are far surpassed by the Minōan artist.<sup>1</sup>

The other class of animal reliefs exhibits a goat and young. The surface colour of the faïence is here a pale green with the same dark sepia markings. Although no perfect example of any single plaque was preserved, the fact that there were remains of several from the same mould has made it possible to complete practically the whole relief with absolute

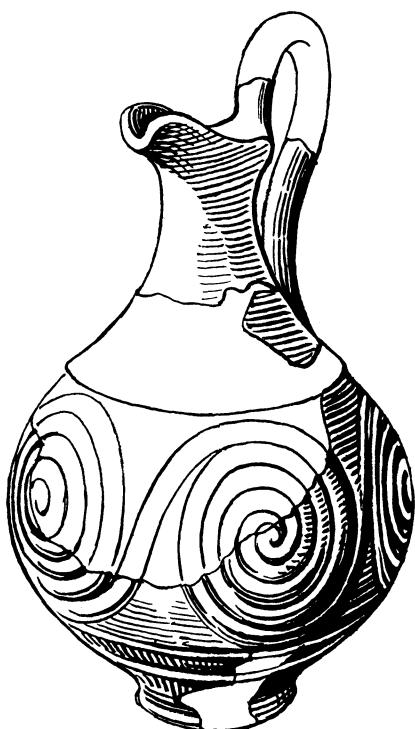


FIG. 48.—FAÏENCE VASE, RESTORED (§).

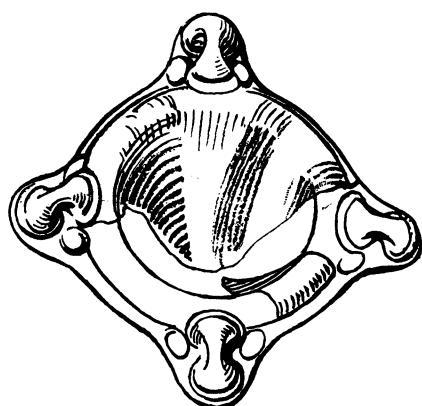


FIG. 49.—WHITE AND BROWN FAÏENCE BOWL, WITH SHIELDS (§).

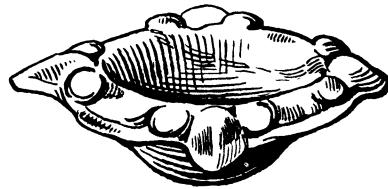


FIG. 50.—FAÏENCE BOWL : WHITE MARBLED WITH BROWN (§).

certainty. A careful drawing of the result by Mr. Halvor Bagge is reproduced in Pl. III.

The architectural base of the other series is here replaced by what, in view of other analogies, must be taken to be conventional representations

<sup>1</sup> The length of this plaque is 20·5 centimetres, the height 12·4. Besides this type, of which there were fragments belonging to several examples, there occurred parts of reliefs belonging to another similar series, the plaques of which were about  $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of the dimensions of the other. A calf belonging to this smaller series is fairly preserved.

of rocks. The scene is laid on a mountain crag of Dicta or of Ida, and the animal here is the Cretan wild goat or *Agrimi*. The suckling kid is shown in almost identically the same posture as the calf in the parallel design. In front, another kid looks up at its mother and bleats to her its desire, while the mother goat in an attitude of serene impartiality seems to chide the impatience of her offspring. This design, apart from its beauty and naturalism, is characterised by a certain ideal dignity and balance.

Among the faience vessels, that shown in Fig. 48 as restored from its fragmentary remains recalls in its shape and spiraliform decoration the gold vase found in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.

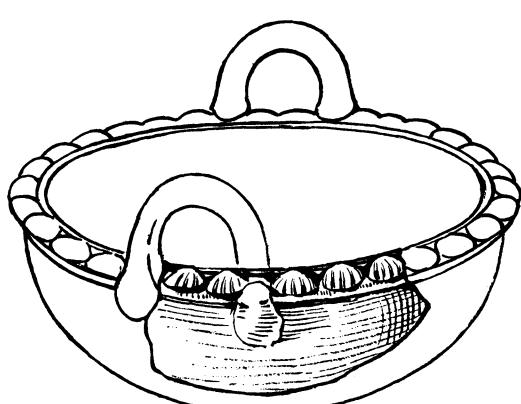


FIG. 51.—TWO-HANDED BOWL OF FAIENCE WITH COCKLE SHELL RELIEFS, RESTORED (§).

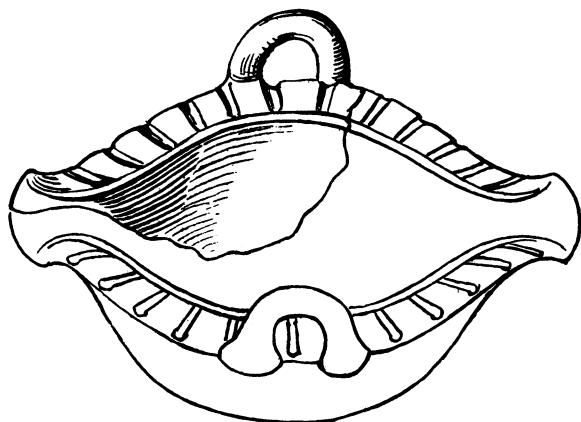


FIG. 52.—TWO-HANDED BOWL OF FAIENCE WITH TWO LIPS (RESTORED).

There were also several small vessels with decorated rims which had the appearance of miniature bowls, and perhaps possessed a specially votive character. One of these (Fig. 49) of a whitish colour with brown bands bears on its upper margin four of the 8-shaped shields otherwise associated with Minōan cult.<sup>1</sup> The somewhat analogous vessel, white marbled with brown, seen in profile in Fig. 50, also shows on its upper rim certain somewhat shield-like bosses. Unfortunately only part was recovered of the beautiful little bowl completed in Fig. 51, the upper margin of which is decorated with cockle-shells in relief. Another elegant two-handled bowl was apparently double-lipped (Fig. 52).

<sup>1</sup> See *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 78, 79, 81, and especially p. 82 (where the *Ancilia* are compared).

Two very elegant, handled cups remain to be described. They are both of the same shape, and the pale green surface of their sides is in both cases relieved by fern-like sprays of a deep brown colour. But the vase shown in Fig. 53 *a* and *b* presents a further decoration of singular beauty and originality. In this case there springs from the top of the handle another spray in relief—apparently of rose leaves—which spreads over part of the

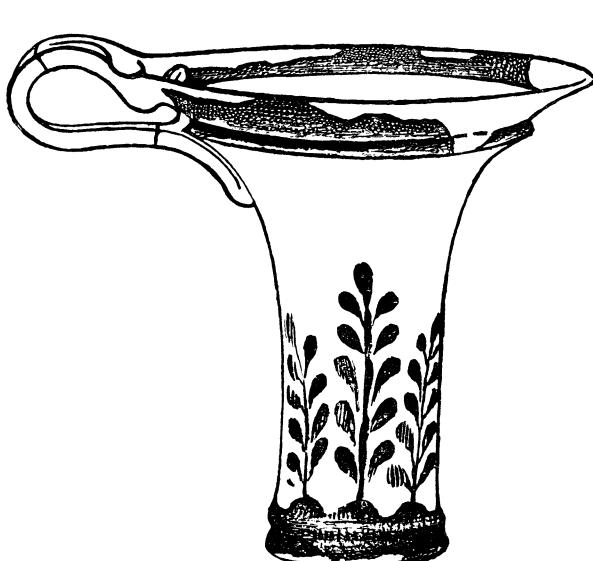


FIG. 53 *a*.—FAÏENCE CUP SHOWING FERNLIKE SPRAYS ON EXTERIOR (§).

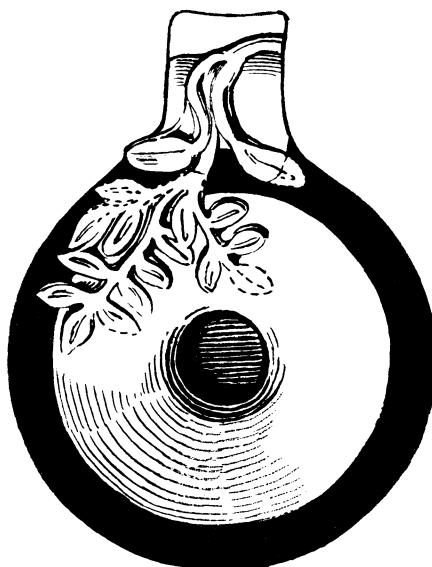


FIG. 53 *b*.—FAÏENCE CUP FROM ABOVE, SHOWING ROSE LEAVES IN RELIEF (§).

inner margin of the cup. It may be suspected from their shape and the subjects of the designs that these vessels were used to hold flowers for altar decoration.

The most remarkable of all the faience objects discovered in the Repository, the images of a Goddess and her votaries, are reserved for the succeeding Section.

#### § 14.—THE SNAKE GODDESS, VOTARIES AND VOTIVE ROBES.

The remaining faience relics of the Temple Repositories bear a still more directly religious character. Of these the most remarkable are



FIG. 54 *a* AND *b*.—FAÏENCE FIGURE OF SNAKE GODDESS (ABOUT  $\frac{1}{2}$  SCALE).



FIG. 55.—FAÏENCE FIGURE OF SNAKE GODDESS:  
BACK VIEW (ABOUT  $\frac{1}{2}$  SCALE).

figures of a Snake Goddess and an attendant or Votary, with part of another.

The figure of the Goddess, as reconstituted, is 34·2 centimetres (13½ inches) in height (Figs. 54 and 55). She wears a high tiara of a purplish-brown colour with a white border, a necklace, and a dress to be more fully described below, consisting of a richly embroidered jacket with a laced bodice, and a skirt with a kind of short double apron. Her hair, seen in a fringe above her forehead, falls behind her neck and on to her shoulders; her eyes are black, as also her eyebrows, which are given in relief, and her ears are of abnormal size, possibly with a religious intention. Her breasts, which are almost entirely bare, are of matronly proportions. The ground colour of the whole, including the flesh tint, is generally a milky white, the various details being laid on in purple, purplish-brown, or black.

About the Goddess are coiled three snakes with greenish bodies spotted with purple-brown. The head of one of these she holds out in her right hand, its body follows the arm upwards, then descends behind the shoulders, and ascends again to the left arm, which held the tail.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The l. fore-arm with the tail is restored in the figure.



FIG. 56 *a* AND *b*.—FAÏENCE FIGURE OF FEMALE VOTARY (SCALE  $\frac{2}{3}$ ).

Round the hips of the Goddess, below the waist, two other snakes are interlaced. One of these, whose head appears in the centre of this serpentine girdle, is continued in a festoon down the front of the apron, and thence ascending along the edge of the jacket to the neck, coils its tail round the Goddess's right ear. Finally, a third snake, whose tail-end forms part of the plaitwork about the hips, runs up along the left fringe of the jacket over the left ear and coils up round the tiara, from the summit of which its head (restored in the figure<sup>1</sup>) originally projected.

Parts of the apron with the lower curve of the snakes that ran over them, and the greater part of the skirt, were wanting. Happily, however, a skirt of similar pattern belonging to another figure was more fully preserved, and has rendered possible its complete restoration.

The second figure, which is rather that of an attendant or Votary, (Figs. 56 *a*, *b* and 57) had unfortunately lost its head, and it is doubtful whether it was surmounted by a tiara like the Goddess. It is somewhat smaller than the other, the height to the neck being 20 centimetres. Here we see the same short jacket with a raised cord-like border and a laced bodice, a girdle, (perhaps of metal) in place of the coiling snakes that surround the Goddess's hips, a double 'apron,' also with a corded border, and a flounced skirt, parts of which are restored. The Votary's hair, which is longer than that of the other figure, falls down behind her<sup>2</sup> to her hips. Though she is altogether slimmer than the Goddess, her breasts, which are bare, are prominent. She wears a bracelet round the wrist of her right arm which holds out a small snake, tail upwards.<sup>3</sup> The left arm is wanting. The skin here is pure white, the jacket a dark orange with purplish-brown bands, and the rest of the dress shows designs of the same purplish-brown on a pale ground.

There were also remains of a third figure, with skirt and apron exactly resembling those of the Goddess. Of the skirt enough remained to admit of its full restoration, and the parts above, including the 'apron,' metal girdle, and a piece of the jacket and laced bodice were well preserved. The girdle showed the same spiral decoration as the borders of the apron. As in the case of the last figure the hair fell down in long tresses to the hips. We have here, too, to deal with a Votary or attendant rather than with an actual Goddess.

<sup>1</sup> A small fragment of the top of the tiara at the back was also wanting.

<sup>2</sup> Sections are restored in Fig. 57.

<sup>3</sup> The head part is restored in Fig. 57.

These figures, in spite of the mannerism of their fashionable attire, show considerable elegance of modelling and pose and the technical skill revealed in their fabric is little short of marvellous. The foreparts of the arms are fitted on to the rest of the figure by means of small circular rivet-holes

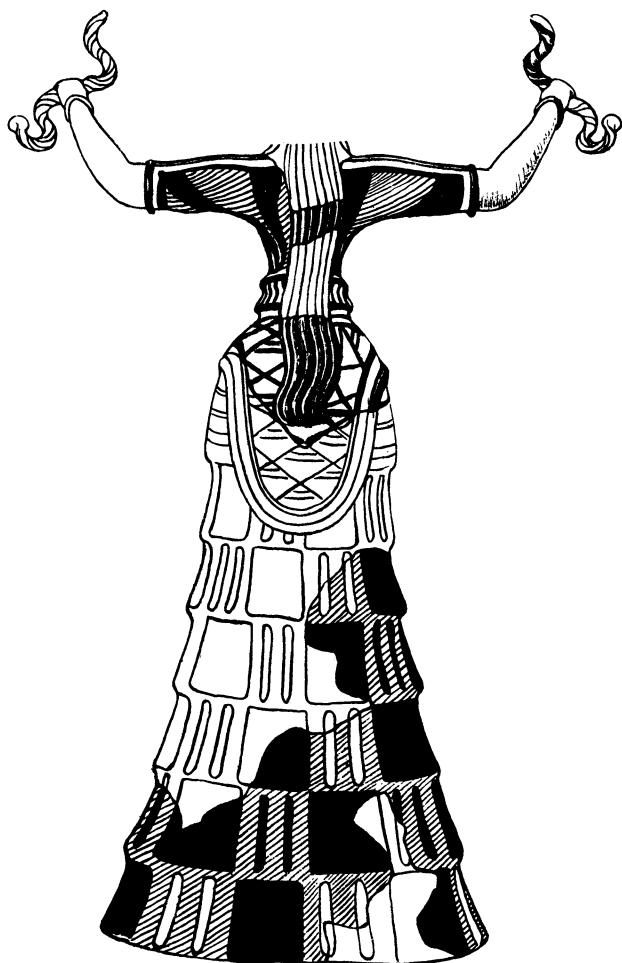


FIG. 57.—FAIENCE FIGURE OF FEMALE VOTARY : BACK VIEW (ABOUT  $\frac{1}{2}$  SCALE).

visible in their section. From the existence of some additional forearms of variant sizes and other fragments it is evident that there were originally more of these figures. The forepart of an arm belonging to one of these,

6·5 centimetres in length, has the tail section of another spotted snake curving along it. The end of this is held in the clenched hand and a bracelet is visible about the wrist. A smaller forearm, 5·3 centimetres in length, is also adorned with a bracelet: the hand here is clenched like the other but there is no snake.

The following Note on the dress of the Goddess and of the Votary (Figs. 56, 57) has been kindly supplied me by Lady Evans:

*The Snake Goddess* (Figs. 54, 55).

This figure appears to be wearing:—

(1) A skirt, made without gathers, touching the ground evenly all round, decorated with horizontal lines representing either tucks or embroidery or woven stripes in the material. The skirt is bordered with a reticulated pattern at the hem, enclosed within a double line of edging.

(2) A double apron or ‘polonaise’ made without fulness, reaching to the knee at the back and front, and rising to the hips at the sides. It is not improbably cut as an oval, and the head inserted through a hole in the middle as in the modern ‘poncho’.

It is decorated round its edge by a ‘guilloche’ pattern within plain bands. This decoration may be embroidery. The hem of this garment has the appearance of being slightly wadded or stuffed to produce a rope-like edge. The material is covered with a spotted pattern in relief.

(3) A tight-fitting jacket bodice of rich stuff, decorated, apparently, in embroidery, with a pattern formed of ‘volutes.’ The short sleeves cover the top of the shoulder and reach half-way to the elbow.

In front the bodice is cut away in a V shape from the shoulders to a point at the waist, leaving the neck and both breasts absolutely bare. From just below the breasts the edges of the jacket seem to be braided in curved patterns, and laced across from this braiding by cords. These cords are tied in bow-like knots.

The front of this jacket is edged all round by a spotted snake.

(4) A high cap or tiara, perhaps of cloth, wound round in spiral fashion.

The hair of the figure falls to the shoulders in long locks, and is arranged beneath the high cap in a ‘fringe’ of regular strands of hair.

*The Votary.* Figs. 56, 57.

The outline of this Votary’s dress is similar in general character to that of the Goddess, but offers a few variations, viz.:—

(1) The skirt consists of seven flounces fastened apparently on a ‘foundation,’ so that the hem of each flounce falls just over the head of the one below it. Vertical stripes of a darker colour, of irregular width, appear on hem. The topmost flounce shows two narrow horizontal lines on each hip, probably a ‘heading’ to finish off the flounces.

(2) Over this skirt is worn a double apron or ‘polonaise’ similar to that of the Goddess, but not falling so deeply, and not so richly ornamented.

The main surface is covered with a reticulated pattern, each reticulation being filled with horizontal lines in its upper half. The general effect is that of a check or small plaid. A triple line of decoration edges this 'polonaise.' The hem of it is thickened, perhaps by 'wadding.' Seen from the back this thick edge seems to denote a fastening on each hip. The front and side views of the right hip give this fastening (?) the appearance of a thick roll, suggestive of a snake.

(3) The bodice seems to be made of a plain material, and is cut in similar fashion to that of the Goddess, with rather longer sleeves. From the top of the shoulder down the sleeve, and continued at right angles round the arm, runs a line of lighter coloured decoration, perhaps braiding. Instead of the snake edge to the jacket, seen on the other figure, a rope-like border runs round the bodice and also round the sleeves, which terminate just above the elbow. The bodice is cut away so as to expose both breasts, as with the Goddess, and is similarly laced, though the braiding, from which the lacing springs, is not, perhaps, quite so rich.

(4) The snake girdle of the Goddess is replaced on this figure by a stiff belt.

The whole costume of both figures seems to consist of garments carefully sewn and fitted to the shape without any trace of flowing draperies.

The bodies of the figures are closely confined within their bodices, except where they open in front. The lines adopted are those considered ideal by the modern corset maker rather than those of the sculptor.

Of exceptional religious interest are certain miniature reproductions of articles of apparel in the same fine faience. These in some cases were made for suspension and had certainly a votive significance.

Among them the votive robes claim the first place. The larger of those shown in Fig. 58 is, like the other, in two pieces superposed on one another at the junction of the two curves of the double girdle. Both halves show a small perforation going right down the centre, evidently for the wire or string by which the garment was suspended. The ground colour of the dress is a greenish white, the bands and other designs with which it is decorated being of a purplish brown. The upper part seems to represent a simplification of the jacket and bodice seen on the Goddess and her attendant. The girdle is formed of a double roll which answers in position to the two twined snakes that encircle the Goddess and which perhaps symbolise similar serpentine coils. The skirt shows below a kind of arched canopy containing a clump of flowers, apparently crocuses, a row of which is also seen along the fringe below. It must, however, be remarked that though the flowers themselves seem to be of this native Cretan species—which supplied a favourite motive to the contemporary painters of decorative frescoes<sup>1</sup> and vases—the whole grouping

<sup>1</sup> The Crocus-gatherer fresco seems to belong to the First Period of the Later Palace. Crocuses are found on the vases of the same transitional period and were also a favourite subject in Melos.

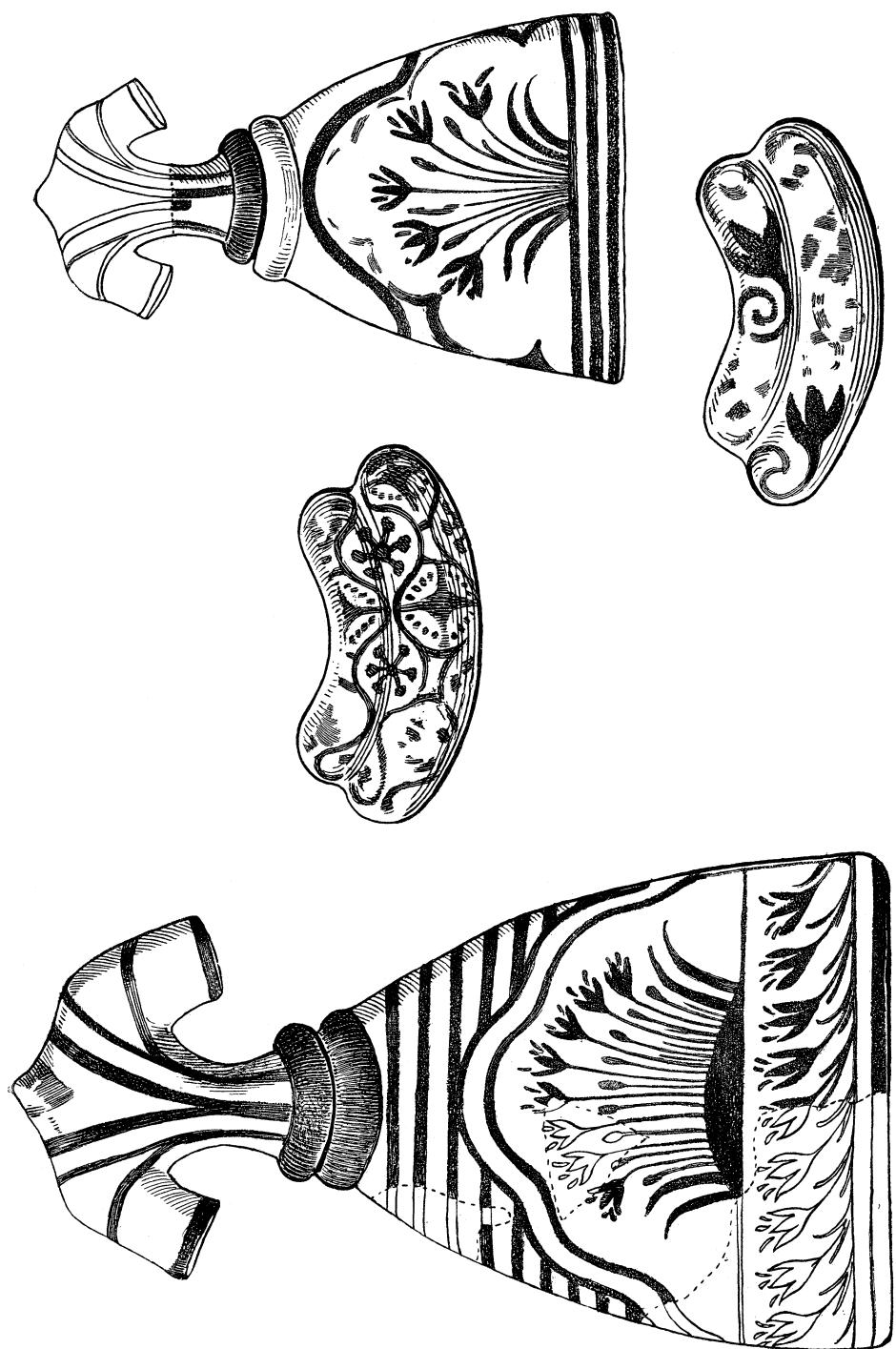


FIG. 58.—VOTIVE ROBES AND GIRDLES OF FAIENCE.

suggests the conventional lotus clumps of Egyptian religious art. We have here a clear example of the translation of a Nilotc subject into indigenous Minōan terms.

The height of the upper and lower robes together is in this case 23 centimetres (about 9½ in.). There was also found a part of a larger votive dress of the same character which when complete must have been about 30·5 centimetres in height.

The smaller robes seen in Fig. 58 were, when complete,<sup>1</sup> about 14 centimetres in height. Their general features resemble those of the first described. The skirt exhibits the same reserved decorative space analogous to the 'Watteau panel' of much later fashions. The crocus tuft is here more elegant and the cinquefoil arch above it with its four cusps presents a curiously Gothic aspect.

It may safely be said that had it not been for the light thrown on the subject by the complete sets of vestments above described the remaining articles of votive apparel illustrated in Fig. 58 might have remained a lasting enigma. As it is, they are at once seen to represent the double girdle which divides the skirt from the body of the robe. One of these votive girdles is decorated with crocus flowers like those of the 'Watteau panels' above mentioned, terminating in spirals; the other displays a design consisting of asterisks and rosettes. A third, of which only a fragment is preserved, shows a vandyke pattern.

The parallelism between these girdles in the shape of double rolls and the snakes encircling the hips of the Goddess has been already noticed. The fact that miniature reproductions of such girdles were used by themselves as votive objects seems to invest them with a special ritual significance. They are not themselves made to represent serpents, but the suspicion arises that the original rolls from which these are copied may actually have contained some form of mummied snake.

The cult of the Snake Goddess, with which we have here to deal, has been already illustrated, under a ruder aspect, indeed, on Cretan soil. In the Minōan Settlement at Gournià Miss Harriet Boyd found the remains of a small shrine containing some coarse images of a Goddess rising from a cylindrical base,<sup>2</sup> about which serpents were

<sup>1</sup> The upper part of the jacket is restored in Fig. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Dove Goddess found in the shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (*Report, &c.*, 1902, p. 98 *seqq.*).

coiled.<sup>1</sup> A still later version of the same half aniconic type of cylindrical figure with snakes was found by Professor Halbherr in the cemetery of Priniàs near Gortyna.<sup>2</sup>

The snake's head rising above the summit of the tiara in the present figure<sup>3</sup> naturally recalls the uræus as seen above the heads of Egyptian divinities and royal personages. A winged serpent or asp by itself appears as the representative of Nekhebet, identified by the Greeks with Eileithyia, the Goddess of Childbirth, and of her twin sister the 'Nurse' Uatchet or Buto. Its connexion with the Egyptian Mother Goddess Hathor derives a special importance from the fact that, as I have elsewhere shown,<sup>4</sup> the Hathoric staff with two serpents coiled round its foot supplies the prototype of the rayed pillars with similar snakes on Cypro-Mycenaean signets, in association with a Goddess whose attributes are lions and doves.<sup>5</sup>

Of the influence, at least of the formal creations, of Egyptian religious art on that of Minōan Crete there can be no doubt. The griffin and the sphinx, however transformed, were not of insular origin. That the native beast-headed demons were crossed by the Egyptian hippopotamus Goddess and other similar forms is now clear.<sup>6</sup> The *ankh* itself was adopted by Minōan symbolism. Neither can there be any hesitation in regarding the Cow and Calf reliefs found in the same Temple Repository with the Snake Goddess and her votaries as taken over from the service of Hathor. Even the clumps of native crocuses that here decorate the votive robes are, as has been already pointed out, simple adaptations of Egyptian lotus clumps.

That the cult imagery of one or other of the Egyptian Mother Goddesses may have reacted on that of a parallel divinity in Minōan Crete would thus be quite in keeping with other ascertained phenomena. But the argument can hardly be carried beyond this point. Taken as a whole neither the Snake Goddess nor her votaries present any special Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> This shrine is perhaps contemporary (as most of the remains at Gournià) with the First Period of the Later Palace at Knossos. (In my *Report*, &c., 1902, p. 105 it is referred to as later.)

<sup>2</sup> For an excellent account of these see S. Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* xxvi. pp. 247-257 and Pl. XII.

<sup>3</sup> The head of the snake, as seen in Fig. 54, is restored, but there is no doubt whatever as to its position.

<sup>4</sup> See *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the shell relief found by the Italian Mission at Phaestos (*Mon. Ant.* vol. xii. Tav. VIII. 1: *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 92, Fig. 33, on which Mr. Hogarth justly remarks, 'A glance is enough to assure any one familiar with Egyptian art that these figures are first cousins of those Nilotic divinities whose one arm is raised in exactly the same pose while the other holds the ankh.'

characteristics. As a matter of fact they are clad in the last fashions of the Knossian Court.

The pronounced matronly forms of the Goddess seem to point to her as a Great Mother, and resemble those of the female member of the divine pair whose cult is so well illustrated throughout the Palace, including the Repository in which the figure itself was found. It may be added that the sacral value of the girdle, emphasized here both by the plaited snakes that encompass the loins of the divinity and by the appearance of the girdle as a separate votive object, points to a Goddess of Maternity. The snake form of Nekhebet, the Egyptian Eileithyia, has also a comparative value in this connexion. Nor must it be forgotten that some of the oldest religious traditions of the spot that survived to Classical times refer not only to the cult of the Mother Goddess Rhea, whose grove and the ruins of whose shrine were pointed out near the later Knossos, but to Eileithyia, whose cave sanctuary opened on the side of a rocky height above its ancient haven, the mouth of the Amnisos.<sup>1</sup>

Of the special cult aspect presented by the Snake Goddess and her votaries no other hint has as yet been supplied by the Palace remains. It is possible that we have here to deal with a specially chthonic aspect of the cult of the same Mother Goddess whose worship is otherwise so well illustrated here. Or, on the other hand, the Snake Goddess may represent an associated divinity, a *σύμβωμος*, having a shrine of her own within the larger sanctuary.

In either case the snakes must by all analogy be taken to show the chthonic character of the worship here represented. It is an obvious feature of primitive cult that, just as the bird descending on the sacred object or person is the outward and visible sign of its possession by a celestial spirit, so the serpent approaching from the crevices of the earth becomes, as at Delphi, the sign of its spiritual possession from the Underworld. The two chief cult images as yet found in the Palace illustrate these alternative sources of inspiration in an interesting way. In the one case a dove is seen settled on the head of the image. In the case of the present figure the snake's head appears in the same position. The parallel, indeed, may be carried a step further if we compare the semi-aniconic images of Gournià and Priniàs with the triple columns of the terracotta sanctuary found on the East side of the Knossian Palace. In the case of the columns

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* ix, 188, 189.

the settled dove again witnesses the divine possession. In the case of the images the snakes are seen coiling up the cylindrical base, which seems to represent the earlier columnar form of the cult object.

It is hardly necessary to point out that a Mother Goddess has essentially a chthonic side. Demeter, daughter of Rhea, whose early connexion with Crete comes out in the Homeric hymn,<sup>1</sup> is herself, in her character of Erinys, a Snake Goddess. The Cretan Eileithyia is a cave divinity. It is, moreover, interesting to notice that the indigenous Nature Goddess of the island, who retained her Eteocretan names Dictynna and Britomartis to Classical times, was also identified with Hekatê.<sup>2</sup>

This indigenous Goddess, of whom Rhea as well as Artemis may often be regarded as the Hellenised equivalent, belongs to the very ancient class of Virgin Mothers. She presides over human births and fosters the young both of land and sea. Like Artemis, she combines the attributes of nurture and of the chase. On Cretan coins we see her in the place of Rhea, guarded by the Corybantes, with the infant Zeus at her bosom.<sup>3</sup>

Various elements in the present deposit seem to illustrate different sides of a similar cult. The votive arrow plumes<sup>4</sup> belong to the huntress. The sacred shield of the God and his Corybantes is repeated round the margin of the votive bowl.<sup>5</sup> The fruit and flowers, shells and fishes, and notably the cows and goats suckling their young, illustrate the cult of a Nature Goddess; while the seal-type exhibiting the flying dove may be taken as an allusion to her more amorous side. On the other hand, the repetitions on the seal impressions of the figure of a Warrior Goddess attended by lions bring us very near to Rhea; and the companion piece, showing the Warrior God, can hardly be other than an early version of the Cretan 'Zeus.'

The general associations in which the figure of the Snake Goddess and her votaries were found, are thus seen to illustrate certain broad aspects of the ancient Cretan cult, of which a living tradition survived to historical times. The last examples especially, the lion-guarded Goddess, namely, and her male satellite fit on to the typical cult of the Palace and

<sup>1</sup> *In Cer.* 123, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Τινὲς δὲ (Βριτόμαρτιν) τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῷ Ἐκάτῃ, *Schol. ad Hymn. Orph.* XXXVI. v. 12. According to another account Britomartis was daughter of Hekatê, Etymol. M. s.v. *Βριτόμαρτις*. Cf. Hoeck, *Creta* ii. p. 175. Britomartis, according to a mystic tradition, was the granddaughter of Eubulos (*Diod.* v. 76, 3).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 62 and note 2.    <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 61, Fig. 40.    <sup>5</sup> See above, p. 72, Fig. 49.

of Minōan Crete as a whole. It may therefore be preferable to regard the Snake Goddess not as a separate religious entity but rather as a chthonic version of the same matronly divinity otherwise so well represented on this and other Minōan sites. According to this view we have here the contents of a small separate shrine, forming part of the larger Sanctuary, the evidence for which has been sketched in a former Section. But the Goddess herself seems to be essentially the same as she who is elsewhere shown in the seal impressions of a neighbouring chamber of this Sanctuary, standing on her sacred peak with her pillar temple behind her. Sometimes we see a similar figure bearing a double axe, sometimes it is held aloft by her votaries, and on the great signet of Mycenae the same Mother Goddess is shown seated beneath her sacred fruit-tree, while the *labrys* emblem appears in the sky above.

In this connexion it must further be observed that the female figures found elsewhere at Gournià with snakes ascending their cylindrical bases are the ruder counterparts of the semi-anthropomorphic Goddess of the small shrine of the Double Axes found in the South-Eastern Quarter, save that in this case she stands in association with the dove in place of the serpent.

It would even appear that the lion-guarded Goddess is essentially the same as she whose emblem is the dove. The Cypro-Mycenaean cylinders, which supply an illuminating commentary on many religious types of Minōan Crete, are here specially valuable. On these the Goddess, guarded or adored by lions, is also seen at times holding a dove, while in many cases she is associated with the sacred rayed pillar—her alternative aniconic shape—round which two serpents twine. Thus the earliest records of the Lady of Paphos show that we have to do with essentially the same Nature Goddess that was worshipped in Minōan Knossos, while the Paphian temple itself, as traditionally figured, with the doves settled above its opening, seems to represent the survival of the pillar shrines of Knossos and Mycenae. Only at Knossos the records of this cult reach back far earlier than in Cyprus, and the evidence as it at present stands certainly tends to support the tradition preserved by Diodòros that it was from a Cretan source that the cult of Aphrodítē spread alike to Paphos and to the Syrian coast; to Kythera and to Eryx.<sup>1</sup> The Cretan Aphrodítē Ariadnē, as is well known, was worshipped at Amathus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Diod.* v. 77. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Paeón of Amathus, in Plut. *Thes.* c. 20. Ariadnē had there a sacred grove and grave.

§ 15.—THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES ; MARBLE CROSS AND CRUCIFORM SYMBOLS.

The two cruciform symbols found on the seal impressions from the present deposit have a high interest. One of these, the 'Swastika' or *Crux gammata*, appears in the field of a seal impression, Fig. 59, of which eighteen examples occurred, including two varieties. It is there placed over a horned sheep exactly resembling the animal seen on a seal-type found in the Pictographic deposit of the Palace, in that case performing the functions of the goat Amaltheia to an infant beneath it (see Fig. 60). If this latter design covers, as may well be inferred, an allusion to an alternative form of the legend of the nurture of the infant Zeus,<sup>1</sup> the

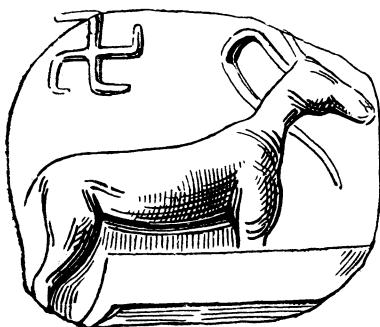


FIG. 59.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY. SWASTIKA AND HORNED SHEEP (§).

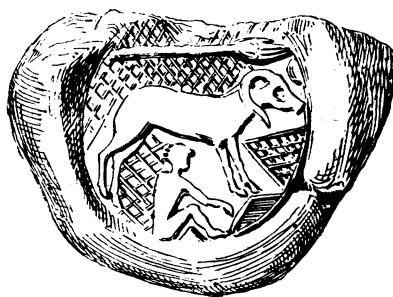


FIG. 60.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION FROM PICTOGRAPHIC DEPOSIT. INFANT AND HORNED SHEEP (§).

appearance of this religious symbol above the same animal on the seal impressions from this Temple Treasury has a high significance. The animal in any case may be naturally taken to stand in a close relation to the primitive Mother Goddess, whose cult is otherwise so well illustrated by this deposit.

The question naturally arises,—was the Swastika a special holy mark of the local Minōan cult? Such old religious emblems show great persistence. It is certain that the earliest 'Labyrinth' designs on the Knossian coins are little more than a slight development of this symbol. It may, moreover, be reasonably asked whether the recurring sign,

<sup>1</sup> See *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 31, 32.

which on the Greco-Roman coins of Minôan Gaza symbolises the cult of Zeus Krêtagenês and his Consort and which sometimes forms the principal type,<sup>1</sup> is not rather a simplified *Crux gammata* than an abnormal form of the Semitic *mem*.<sup>2</sup> If we now turn from the Easternmost to the Westernmost traditional arena of Minôan enterprise, a parallel phenomenon of great interest meets our view. In Western Sicily, where Minôs himself met with his legendary fate, his tomb was significantly marked by a shrine of that Aphrodítê<sup>3</sup> whose chief sanctuary at Eryx represented to a much later time the essential features of the worship of the Knossian Goddess in her character of Lady of the Dove. It must therefore be regarded as a highly suggestive fact that on the coins of the Cities of Elymian Sicily the Swastika is set beside the head of the Goddess or above her sacred hound as a special symbol of the cult.<sup>4</sup> In Paphos it is the *Crux ansata*.

At Eryx the Swastika symbol alternates in the same position with a star, that very universal mark of divinity. But the star-sign in the pictographic systems of primitive peoples is very generally a plain cross,<sup>5</sup> of which the *Crux gammata* itself is only a slight development. The simple 'Greek' cross as a star symbol of religious import is found in Egypt as a mark of Hathor.<sup>6</sup> At times also we see it replacing the stars above the heads of the Dioskuri.<sup>7</sup> With a longer foot it is seen as a symbol of Astartê on coins of Sidon, Berytus, and various Phoenician towns; and in connexion with Tanit throughout Punic Africa where the sacred significance of this type was afterwards to be perpetuated by Latin Christianity,

On a series of seal impressions from the present Repository a cruciform design appears as the sole type (Fig. 61). It seems natural to regard this

<sup>1</sup> Stark, *Gaza*, Plate, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Interpreted as an allusion to the Semitic epithet of the God: *Marna*, or the Lord.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod.* iv. 79, 3.

<sup>4</sup> On the obols of Eryx dating from about 450 B.C. above the dog. On the didrachms of Motya and Panormos of about the same date, beside the Goddess's head, and, again, beside the head, on the coins inscribed *Ziz*, belonging to one or other of the Elymian cities. The hound, which here is the sacred animal, appears from certain Minôan seal-types to have been early connected with the cult. Another frequently recurring religious emblem associated with the Aphrodítê of Eryx is the Triton shell (wrongly described as a 'Murex') so significant in the Minôan ritual.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, Garrick Mallery, 'Pictographs of the North American Indians' (*Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, 1882-3, pp. 238, 239).

<sup>6</sup> Thus the body of Hathor, as the Night Sky, is at times seen covered with crosses in place of stars (Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 430).

<sup>7</sup> On coins of the Syrian Tripolis. On the cruciform types of the star symbol, see especially L. Müller, *Religiøse Symboler af Stierne-, Kors-, og Cirkel-form hos Oldtidens Kulturfolk*, p. 7 *seqq.*

as a religious symbol of the same kind as the Swastika of the other seal-types, and to see in this also an adaptation of an original star-sign.<sup>1</sup> As an eight-rayed figure we find the star symbol constantly recurring in connexion with Minōan religious types above or in place of the baetylic pillar.

It has already been noticed<sup>2</sup> that a type of cross with a small base to each foot—the cross pattée—occurs as the distinguishing mark of a small

series of Magazines on the Southern border of the Palace section that seems to have contained its principal Sanctuary. On some blocks, apparently belonging to the Earlier Palace, a plain deep-cut cruciform sign with equal limbs and others x-shaped are also found, and these types recur at Phaestos.<sup>3</sup>

The Double Axe symbol cut on the Palace blocks finds its material counterpart in the fetish Double Axes of the Palace shrines. But even this analogy could hardly prepare us to bring to light from this Temple Repository, over and above the sealings with the cruciform symbols, an actual cross of fine veined marble and of orthodox Greek shape (Fig. 62). The colours

of the marble are white and dark grey. The width of the cross is about 22·2 centimetres (8½ inches), and its thickness is very slight, only 1·2 centimetres, or somewhat less than half an inch. The face was finely polished, but the under side is less finished, and there are visible on it incised lines running parallel to the ends of the limbs at somewhat uneven distances from them.<sup>4</sup> A part of one limb had been broken off, but there can be no reasonable doubt that it finished off as the others, and as it is restored in Fig. 62. It is evident from the comparatively rough back that the cross was applied to some other object.

Taken in connexion with the cruciform symbols with which it was associated on the seal impressions,—themselves probably originally attached to priestly documents,—it seems a possible conclusion that, in the small shrine to which the various objects found here *ex hypothesi* belonged, the

<sup>1</sup> A similar cruciform figure occurs as a character of the Linear Script. Compare, too, the Egyptian , the early Dynastic form of which is an equal-limbed cross.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> L. Pernier, *Scavi, etc., a Phaestos* (Roma, 1902), p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> At a distance, respectively, of 3·8, 3, and 2 centimetres from the edges of the three complete limbs.

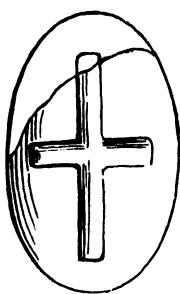


FIG. 61.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION WITH CRUCIFORM SYMBOL, FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

marble cross stood in the same position as the central aniconic object of cult as, elsewhere, the Double Axe or the pillar idol. The character of the images found with it indeed suggests a curious parallelism with those of the Shrine of the Double Axes. On the raised base of that shrine, which was found with the original arrangement intact, the Dove Goddess stood on one side of the central objects of cult,—there the Sacral Horns, whose sockets held the handles of the fetish axes,—while on the other side of the same objects a votary held out a dove towards her. In the present case we have on the

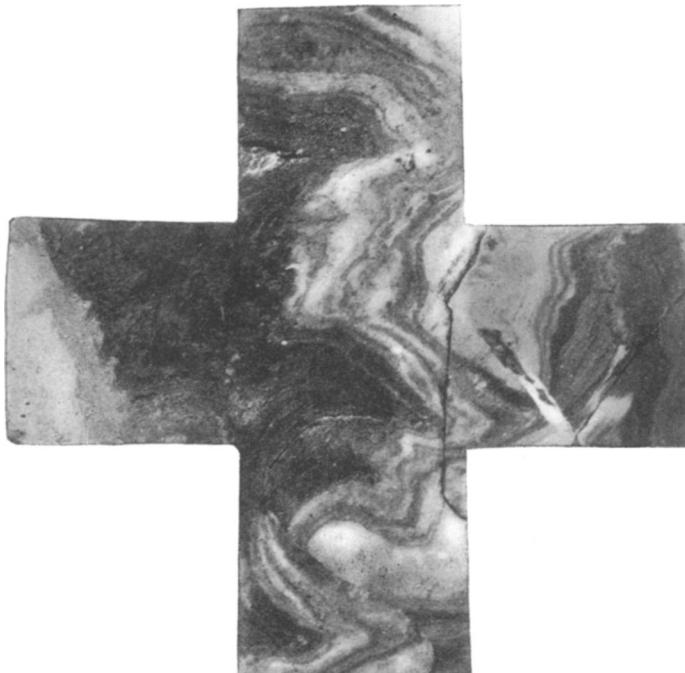


FIG. 62.—MARBLE CROSS FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

one hand a Snake Goddess, on the other a votary holding out a snake. Where, then, in this case, is the central cult object of aniconic character that, according to the exact analogy supplied, must have stood between them? May we see it in the Marble Cross?

The parallelism seems so natural that, for illustrative purposes, I have ventured to group the objects as shown in Fig. 63.<sup>1</sup> The fetish Cross is

<sup>1</sup> The exposition of the objects is necessarily very incomplete. It was, for instance, impossible to set up the faience reliefs and inlays that probably decorated the walls.

here placed in the centre. The Snake Goddess stands on one side of it and the votaries on the other, while the votive robes are suspended above, and various articles of altar decoration are distributed about. In place of the rounded pebbles that paved the other base, a few of the artificially tinted sea-shells are here placed in the foreground.

That the small Marble Cross, which, in this view, formed the central cult object in this particular shrine, was placed in an upright position, though doubtless applied to some other material, appears probable from



FIG. 63.—SHRINE OF SNAKE GODDESS WITH MARBLE CROSS AS CENTRAL CULT OBJECT. CONJECTURAL ARRANGEMENT.

another interesting piece of evidence. A pair of schist moulds found at Karydi, near Palaikastro, in East Crete, in 1899,<sup>1</sup> show a series of objects and figures illustrative of Minōan cult. There are here a figure of a Goddess holding a Double Axe in either hand; another similar figure of a Goddess holding a kind of spray in either hand and with another

<sup>1</sup> Described and illustrated by Dr. Stephanos A. Xanthudides in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1900, p. 26, *segg.*, Plates 3 and 4.

rising from her head; two small Double Axes and a miniature representation of the Sacral Horns, and two other objects which, by their association, evidently belong to the same cult. One of these is a kind of rayed wheel, an obvious solar emblem. The other is a circular disk held up by another small female figure, whose conical base serves as its pedestal. Round the borders of this disk runs a dotted circle, within which below is a crescent sign—certainly of lunar significance. Within the inner circle, and forming the central design of the whole, is a small cross with equal limbs. The associated emblems of the sun and moon show that here again we have the cross as a star-sign, which in this case appears set up as a central feature of a cult object. The rayed 'wheel,' which in this religious group represents the solar aspect of the cult, is indeed itself better described as a cross within a rayed circle. For the combination of the cross, the original star-sign, with the rayed circle as emblematic of the sun, goes back to the very beginning of pictography, and to a time when wheels in the modern sense were unknown. It may be added that a small gold object in the form of a Greek cross with a border was found in a chamber adjoining the Megaron<sup>1</sup> of the Palace of Mycenae and a somewhat larger object of purple faience was found in the Palace at Knossos in 1901 (Fig. 64). These would appear to have been amulets connected with the same cult.

This converging evidence pointing to the fact that a cross of orthodox Greek shape was not only a religious symbol of Minōan cult,<sup>2</sup> but an actual object of worship, cannot but have a profound interest in its relation to that later cult of the same emblem which still holds the Christian world. The long survival of the allied *Crux gammata* symbol, which seems to be traceable in later offshoots of the Minōan religion from Gaza to Eryx, affords some presumption that the simpler cruciform type may have also retained an abiding sanctity. The deep underlying influence of this

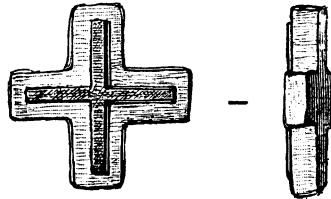


FIG. 64.—CROSS OF PURPLE FAÏENCE.

<sup>1</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1897, Pl. 13, Fig. 26, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> The cross as a symbol or amulet was also known among the Babylonians and Assyrians. It appears on cylinders (according to Professor Sayce, of the Kassite Period), in front of seated gods (cf. *Cat. De Clercq*, No. 254, 255, Pl. XXV.), apparently as a sign of divinity. As an amulet on Assyrian necklaces it is seen associated as on the Palaikastro mould with a rayed (solar) and a semi-lunar emblem—in other words it once more represents a star.

early Cretan culture in the East Mediterranean basin, the evidences of which are constantly accumulating, opens out possibilities on which it is here unnecessary to insist. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that the equal-limbed Eastern Cross retains the symbolic form of the primitive star-sign, as we see it attached to the service of the Minōan divinities.

#### § 16.—DEPOSIT WITH ‘EARLY MINŌAN’ CERAMIC TYPES.

The platform on which almost the whole of the Western wing of the Later Palace rests represents the planing off of earlier strata, including the top layers of the Neolithic deposit. The floor levels of ‘the Later Palace’ thus rest directly on the Neolithic clay, very little belonging to the earlier, intervening Minōan Age being traceable, except where such remains were found in pits or cists excavated, during that intermediate time, in the original Stone Age deposit. A small pit of this kind was found immediately under the pavement of the entrance to the ‘Room of the Stone Vats’ that opens on the North side of the East Pillar Room, the contents of which proved to have an exceptional value in illustrating the character of the Minōan culture that followed directly on the Neolithic.

The bulk of the contents of the pit, which descends to the depth of about a metre, belonged to the actual period of transition and to the beginning of the Cretan metal age, to which the name of ‘Early Minōan’ may conveniently be given. Superposed, however, on these earlier remains were a certain number of objects which come at least within the limits of the first part of the succeeding ‘Middle Minōan’ Age, when the Ceramic art was more fully developed and the fine ‘egg-shell’ ware was already coming into use.

To this later, Middle Minōan, element of the deposit unquestionably belonged :

(1) Some fragments of clay seal-impressions. One with part of a pictographic inscription (arrow sign alone clear : somewhat archaic form); another with ribbed circular border often found on ‘signets’ of the period; another with part of a pattern of the same class as others found in the Earlier Palace chamber beneath the Olive Press Room.

(2) A cup (Fig. 65 *f*) of inverted conical shape with a flat base, very slightly concave below. The outer surface of the cup is covered with a black slip on which

are narrow bands, four white and two vermillion-red, running up spirally from the stem. The cup is of fine 'egg-shell' fabric.

(3) Handled bowls (fragmentary remains of two or three of which are seen in Fig. 65), showing horizontal white lines on a dark brown and black slip. The white lines cross the handle diagonally. The walls of these bowls are extraordinarily thin; about 1 millimetre in section.

(4) A very fine flat-bottomed cup, 10·2 centimetres high, gradually expanding from the base. It shows the natural surface of the clay, red above and black towards the base. Of very fine fabric, the walls between 1 and 2 millimetres in thickness. The occurrence of this type of cup is of interest, since it is identical in shape, fabric, and even in the character of its firing, with a series of cups found in a large jar under the floor of the First Magazine. (See *Report, &c.*, for 1901, p. 48.)



FIG. 65.—VASES FROM EARLY DEPOSIT NEAR EAST PILLAR ROOM.

(5) A cover (Fig. 65 m) with perforation and white cross lines on a brown slip (9·4 centimetres in diameter).

To this later phase of the deposit also probably belong the remains of a mosaic of shell plaques and a petal-like plaque of faience. It is also possible that some vases of coarse alabaster belong to the closing period of the deposit. A lid with a stud-like knob somewhat resembles a steatite example of XIIth dynasty date from Kahun.

Among the objects that seem to represent the most archaic elements of this deposit ('Early Minōan') may be mentioned the following :—

(6) Black-faced pyxis (Fig. 65 *b*) with three short feet and triangular ornamentation of incised lines filled with a white chalky substance, perhaps pounded gypsum. Four holes round rim to fasten lid. Diameter 18 centimetres, height 9·5.

(7) Fragment of lid of another black-faced pyxis (Fig. 65 *a*), with punctuated and linear decoration showing similar white filling.

(8) Lid of black-faced pyxis (Fig. 65 *c*), with incised chevrons and vandykes, enclosing punctuations. Traces of the same white filling. Diameter 15·5 centimetres.



FIG. 66.—VASES FROM EARLY DEPOSIT NEAR E. PILLAR ROOM.

(9) Two-handled jar with round mouth, 31 centimetres high, reddish colour of the clay. On the front, incised rectangle with diagonal lines (Fig. 66 *o*).

(10) Similar jar, 29 centimetres high; a pale clay colour above black below, a red band round rim. The same incised decoration on the front (Fig. 66 *c*).

(11) Jar with four handles rising from shoulder, 15·5 centimetres high. It is covered with a polished reddish-brown slip with white bands and decoration. On the upper border, between two white bands, is a white design consisting of two obtuse triangles with interior hatching, the apices of which are united. This

design is the translation into colour of the incised pattern on Nos. 9 and 10 (Fig. 66a).

(12) Upper part, apparently, of larger jar of the same class as the preceding except that two of the handles are at a higher level than the other pair. This vase is covered with polished brown slip with white designs, including the same pattern as the preceding. In addition to this are white circles with interior hatching. Inside, the jar shows the plain pale buff colour of the clay (Fig. 65g).

(13) A series of nine vases with high spouts cut off flat at the top, varying in height from about 12 to 20 centimetres. The ground here is the pale buff colour of the clay on which are painted in dark brown slightly lustrous pigment, in addition to the usual bands, hatched 'butterfly' designs, the immediate derivatives of the double-triangles seen on the preceding (Fig. 66b, d, f).

These vases were in several cases finished off to the required tapering form below the shoulders by means of paring, with a somewhat lateral motion. This paring process is also very characteristic of the cups of the same period.<sup>1</sup>

(14) Vase of the same type as the last, but with decoration in the form of two arches consisting of dark brown curving bands on the plain buff clay (Fig. 66k).

This seems to supply the prototype for the arched decoration of an advanced polychrome vase of 'Middle Minoan' character found with XIIth dynasty remains at Kahun.<sup>2</sup>

Certain cups and other small vessels, showing the same paring of their lower circumference, must also be referred to the earlier period of this deposit. Other plain vases of somewhat rough execution are more difficult to place.

The *pyxis* and lids of this deposit, with their incised and punctuated decorations showing the white filling, are of special interest as affording a link of connexion with the earliest Metal Age of the Cyclades. Similar *pyxides* in Amorgos, Melos, Paros and elsewhere are the frequent concomitants of tomb groups further characterised by the marble figures and vases of the regular Cycladic style. The incised and punctuated decorations here shown also agree very closely with those of ceramic fabrics of this more northerly Aegean group. The ornament of the complete lid, for instance, No. 8 above (Fig. 65c), shows a decided parallelism with that on the back of a clay 'mirror' from Syra.<sup>3</sup> These correspondences point to an approximate synchronism between the transitional Early Minōan Period and that phase of Cycladic culture which is marked by the first beginnings of metal. It is however noteworthy that on the Cretan ceramic types represented in the present deposit there is no trace of the spiral decorations found in the parallel Cycladic group, at least on its more advanced products.

As illustrating the evolution of the primitive geometrical painted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mackenzie, 'The Pottery of Knossos,' *J.H.S.*, xxiii., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, 'Egyptian Bases of Greek History,' *J.H.S.*, xi., Pl. XIV., Fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Tsountas, *Κυκλαδικά* II., Pl. 9, 4.

designs from the earlier incised patterns, this deposit has a quite unique value. The incised rectangle with diagonal lines, forming an  $\times$  within it, seen on Nos. 9 and 10, is transformed before our eyes into the double triangle of the painted jars Nos. 11 and 12, and again into the similar 'butterfly' pattern of the vases grouped under No. 13. This painted double triangle or 'butterfly' design recurs on fragments of vases found low down in the early basement described in Section 3: an interesting proof, as already noted, that its construction goes back to the 'Early Minôan Period.'

Amongst other objects found in this deposit were some much oxidized pieces of copper or bronze, an obsidian block, containing nests of crystals, obsidian knives, a fragmentary crystal relic, like a solid thimble,<sup>1</sup> a small piece of gold plate and a quantity of beads of faïence or native porcelain. The smallest of these are of a deep cobalt blue. The other



FIG. 67 *a* AND *b*.—EARLY DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN VASE OF SYENITE, FROM PALACE.

bugles and globular beads with a very large perforation are of a pale bluish or greenish hue resembling the Egyptian faïence of the Early Dynasties. These beads are absolutely distinct from those found in the Temple Repository, and the nearest Egyptian parallels seem to date from the Sixth Dynasty.

Of the early connexions of the Knossian site with Egypt another significant proof has been made out this season. In the same Palace region, on the border of what was at first known as the 'Central Clay Area,' there had been found in 1900 a stone vessel (Fig. 67) which was at first set down as one of the Cretan imitations of Egyptian forms. Prof. Petrie, however, who had an opportunity of inspecting it last spring in the Museum at Candia, at once recognised that it was formed of Egyptian syenite and

<sup>1</sup> Diameter at top 1·8 centimetre.

that it represented an actual article of import belonging to the period of the first Four Dynasties.

#### § 17.—THE STEPPED THEATRAL AREA.

A little North of the North-West angle of the Palace an irregular paved area had been brought to light in 1901. This area was traversed by a section of a paved path or causeway running from West to East towards the Northern entrance of the Palace, and from which a branch causeway, somewhat narrower than the other, starts in a North-Easterly direction towards the Pillar Hall that immediately faces the Northern entrance passage. Near the point where these two causeways bifurcate, at a distance of about 14 metres North of the North-West Palace angle, a corner of low walling had been exposed to view which was flanked by a part of the irregular paved area above described, and at the same time very closely bordered by the broader causeway coming up from the West.

This low wall of limestone blocks with its well preserved corner to the South-East invited investigation and proved to belong to an approximately square construction about 5·2 metres by 5, which it was at first thought might represent the base of a large altar.

Trial pits sunk a little to the North of the first discovered angle of this construction produced only negative results. A pit dug about 10 metres to the North-West however exposed to view at a depth of 2·30 metres what appeared to be two strips of paving. Further enlargement of the pit proved that in fact we had here to do with lines of steps, entailing a comprehensive exploration, the final results of which were as new and surprising as any as yet produced by the Palace site.

Section by section a large stepped area was brought to light, the plan of which is shown in Fig. 68. It will be seen that the general plan consists of a paved area bisected by another causeway, and overlooked on two sides by tiers of stone steps, between which the square block already mentioned, and which proved to have been paved above, stands as an intervening point of vantage.

Of the two flights of steps or seats that to the East was the higher, consisting of eighteen tiers. The Southern flight appears to have been originally broader but the greatest number of steps here is six, decreasing on the Western side to three. The reason of this decrease is to be found

in the paved causeway first mentioned, which in its Westward descent cuts this flight of steps diagonally. A central entrance way communicating with a broad causeway running due South further breaks this Southern flight into two divisions. The section East of this entrance for the greater part of its extent shows six tiers of low seats or steps ; that to the West, so far as it is preserved, only three. A remarkable feature of the Western section is a barrier along its top border, consisting of low tiers with narrow openings between them separating it from the upward course of the causeway beyond.<sup>1</sup> Another feature of this Eastern section was the gradual decrease of the depth of the tiers of steps or low seats as they ascended. The lowest was 80 centimetres, and the depth of the other five follows in decreasing order, 70, 63, 56, and 45. The top row may have been reserved for children. The mean height or tread of the steps is 18 centimetres ; higher by almost a third than the steps of the Eastern flight.

At the central entrance, in place of the two uppermost tiers of steps, there are substituted slabs of limestone with a slight incline, while four lower gradations are preserved. West of this entrance, as already noticed, only the three lowermost tiers are continued. These were traceable in this direction for a distance of nearly four metres, but beyond this point had been completely destroyed by later structures.

How far did they originally extend ? A clue to the answer is given by the fact that the outside causeway in its Westward descent would have cut into the uppermost of the three tiers at a point about 6 metres West of the entrance, a distance which approximately squares with the width of the Eastern section of the steps. At this point moreover the line which would have been reached by the Western section thus prolonged is crossed by a line of wall. That the upper part of the wall in its existing state is of somewhat later construction is clear from the fact that it was carried over the paved causeway. But there is distinct evidence that this wall was partly built on an older foundation, and its North end, in fact, terminates in a gypsum pier of good masonry which seems to have

<sup>1</sup> The system consists of blocks of limestone alternating high and low. The best preserved of the higher blocks is that against the bastion, the other being much weathered and worn away. The thickness of the construction is only 36-40 centimetres. The first 'pier' is 60 centimetres in length : then follows a lower block 67 centimetres long ; then two higher blocks 70 and 72 centimetres in length respectively with an interval of 45 between them which seems to have been originally filled. Beyond this, apparently there was another lower interval followed by a similar longer 'pier.' The higher blocks were at most 37 centimetres high and the lower 12 centimetres.

represented one pillar of a central entrance to the area itself on the West side. The paved path which leads to this area from the West and, as will be seen, symmetrically divides its rectangle into two equal parts, enters it immediately in front of this pier.

These combined indications make it reasonable to assume that the Western section of the South steps ended at this point and was symmetrical in width with the section East of the Central entrance on that side. It would thus appear that the original breadth of the three lowest tiers<sup>1</sup> was about 16·50 metres; that of the fourth step—which was continued to the Western limit of the entrance passage—about 9·50 metres; and that of the fifth and sixth, 6 metres.

The square bastion which has been already mentioned as occupying the angle between the Southern and Eastern flights of steps is faced on its West side by a lower ledge of masonry which steps down Northwards. The bastion itself is built of good limestone masonry, four courses of which are preserved at its North-West angle. Upon blocks of its Southern side are cut two signs, the Double Axe and the branch, in the style of the first period of the Later Palace.<sup>2</sup> The upper surface of the bastion showed remains of good paving, on a level with the topmost step of the East flight, and near here were found some fragments of painted stucco. It looks as if this raised platform may have been surmounted by a decorated canopy. From its commanding central position it was the point best adapted for surveying any shows that may have taken place in the area below, and we may perhaps regard it as having served as a kind of Royal Box.

From the North-Eastern corner of this bastion, which corresponds with the sixteenth step of the Eastern flight, a stone runnel, altogether similar in construction to that of the Eastern Bastion of the Palace,<sup>3</sup> follows the edge of the descending steps in a series of parabolas.<sup>4</sup> At the

<sup>1</sup> Excepting a small strip cut out of the first step by the keying in of the lower steps of the Eastern flight.

<sup>2</sup> They are somewhat finely cut, but of the usual calibre. The axe is 20 centimetres in width. In the neighbouring Palace area were also found broken blocks belonging to earlier constructions with a Double Axe of archaic form, a deep-cut ‘star’ sign 26 centimetres in diameter and a ‘zigzag’ sign also deeply cut, 26 centimetres by 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *Report*, &c., 1902, p. 111 *segg.* and Figs. 67, 68. Another similar runnel was found this year by the remains of a staircase in the South-East quarter, below the ‘Court of the Sanctuary.’

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Mackenzie observes that ‘the highest point of the parabolic curve comes at the transition from one step to another.’

lower corner of the bastion, by the sixth step, the runnel takes a turn South and is joined by a smaller tributary channel of the same kind which runs beside the West face of the bastion, following the descent of the Southern flight of steps.

A remarkable feature of the present structure is the manner in which the lower steps of the East flight overlap the lower corner of the bastion and are keyed into those going up South. Something analogous to this is visible in the Palace at Phaestos, where the two lowermost steps of the broad flight leading up to the great upper Megaron are brought forward beyond the angle of the side wall and intrude on the line of the flight of steps leading up North.<sup>1</sup> In the present case it looks as if the architect had been fumbling about for the idea of seats carried round in a continuous semi-circle but had not hit upon it. In this respect there is no approach to the later theatrical plan.

Of the broad Eastern flight of steps only the lowermost—a good deal warped at its North end—has been preserved to what appears to have been its original breadth of 10 metres. The second and third reach nearly to the same extent. But from this point,—forming a roughly diagonal line,—the steps throughout the whole of the North-East section were either hopelessly disintegrated or had been entirely denuded away. Thus as the steps ascend their extent was found to be a continually diminishing quantity till of the topmost only a small piece was left at its Southern end.

Nor was the cause of this destruction far to seek. It obviously lay in the fact that originally, as it does now, the ground here sloped away in a Northerly direction. The result of this was that, while a part of the Southern section of the steps practically rested on the solid ground, an artificial bed, held up by a supporting wall on the North, had to be made for the construction of the remaining section. In process of time this made earth sank, the supporting wall gave way, and the stone slabs of which the steps were composed were either carried away or disintegrated by the natural process of denudation, while others sank below their original level. It was found that the present surface level at the point where the uppermost tier had originally rested at its Northern extremity was a metre and a half below the level of the remaining fragment of its Southern end.

Happily the evidence as to the original extension Northwards of the

<sup>1</sup> This is not adequately brought out in the plan, *Mon. Ant.* xii. Tav. II.

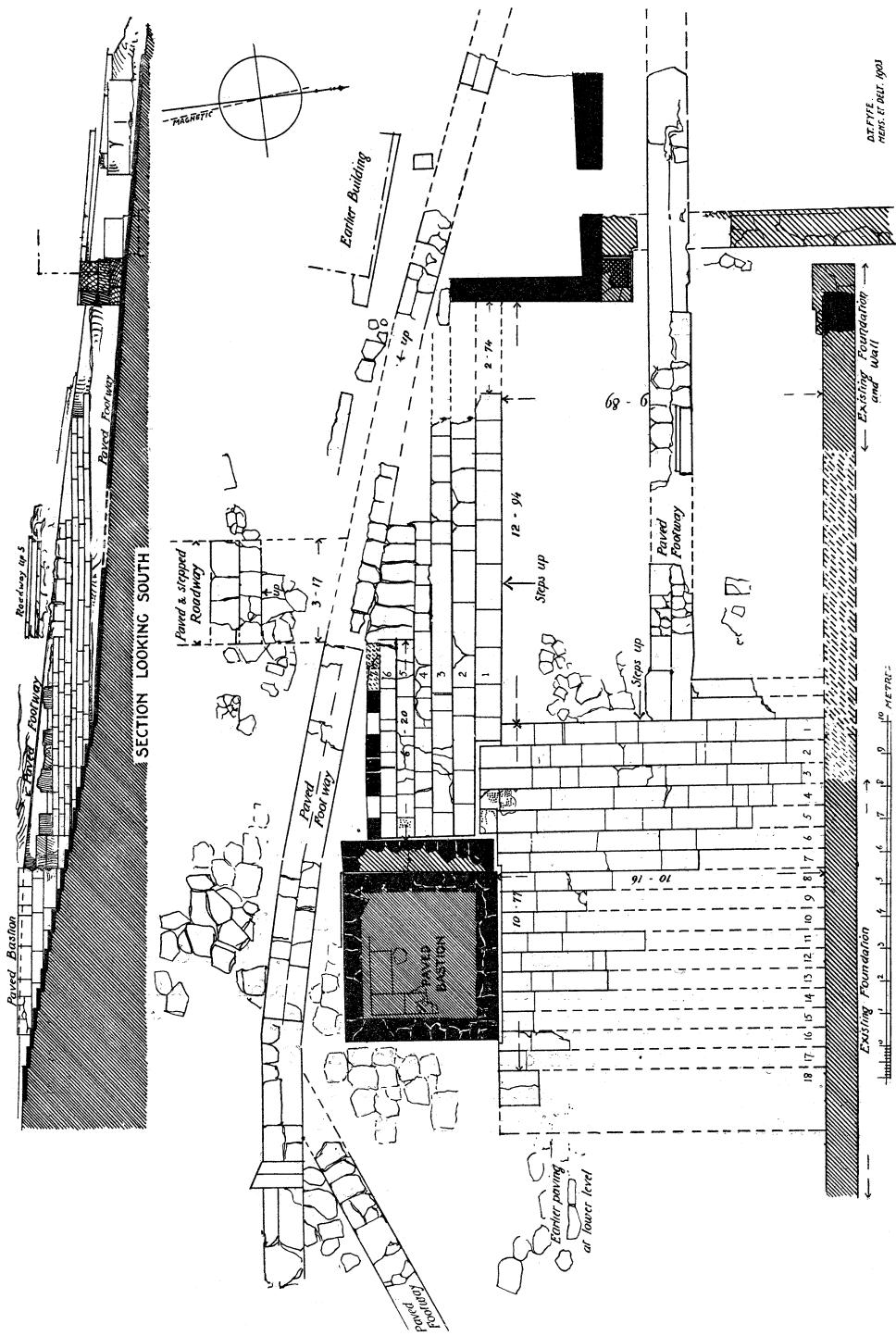


FIG. 68.—PLAN OF STEPPED THEATRAL AREA.

Eastern flight was of the most satisfactory nature. The extent preserved of the lowermost step was in fact found to correspond with a line of wall of which the foundation courses were visible for a considerable extent, answering to the original supporting wall on the North. From this it appeared that the distance of 10 metres for which the lowermost step was preserved really answered to its original extent and gave the width of the whole flight. A continuation moreover of the lower courses of the supporting wall was found running Westward and forming the original boundary of the paved area on that side.<sup>1</sup> It ran exactly where theoretically it should have been looked for, parallel to the paved path that traverses this area from West to East, and at a distance to the North of it equal to that which on the other side separates this path from the Southern flight of steps. The symmetry of the whole construction thus thoroughly asserts itself and the paved path from the West is seen to run to the very centre of the Eastern flight of steps.

In the circumstances I did not hesitate to secure the remains of this unique monument of the Minōan world from further collapse and disintegration by undertaking the considerable task of rebuilding the North supporting wall to what was probably its original height and by restoring the missing slabs of the North-East section of the Southern flight of steps. Several of the sunken slabs were also partially raised and the remaining parts were carefully preserved in their original context. The result as will be seen from Fig. 69 has been to a considerable extent to reproduce what may have been the original effect of this part of the building.<sup>2</sup>

The eighteen steps of the Southern flight, as originally constituted, occupied a rectangle 10 metres broad by 11·40 deep. The depth of the steps varies. In the first eleven steps it is 67 centimetres, but from the twelfth step onwards it is reduced to 57, the tread of the steps being correspondingly lowered from 12 centimetres to 10. That these steps were not simply the approach to some large *Megaron* is shown not only by the absence, beyond, of any remains of such, but by the fact that the branch line of paved path which starts from the other near the South-East corner of the bastion, proceeding in the direction of the North Pillar Hall,

<sup>1</sup> The Eastern section of the part preserved of this supporting wall is 6 metres in length; there is then a gap of about 10 metres, after which from a point under the fourth step it is continued for another 13 metres.

<sup>2</sup> The restored parts are indicated by dotted lines in Mr. Fyfe's plan (Fig. 68).

Steps at N.E. Angle restored.  
Bastion.  
Main Entrance to Area.

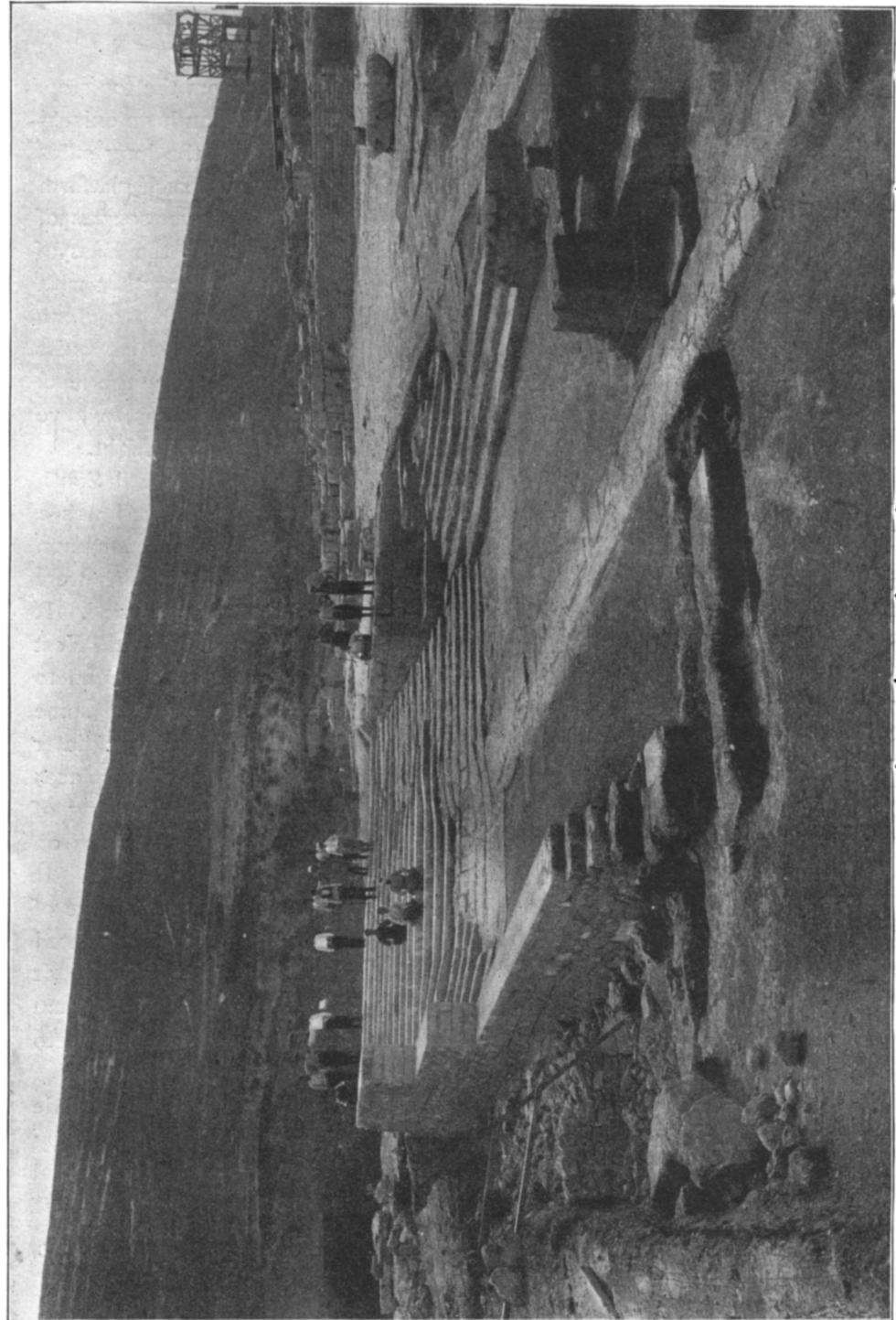


FIG. 69.—STEPPED THEATRAL AREA, FROM NORTH-WEST.

Upper  
Part of  
Supporting  
Wall  
restored.

would, at the distance of between eight and nine metres from the top step, have cut off the corner of any such hall. The most that can have existed must have been a paved platform analogous to that above the long steps at Phaestos, backed perhaps by a shallow *Stoa*. That some such platform existed is indeed rendered probable by the fact that the lower courses of the North supporting wall are continued about four metres to the East of the edge of the topmost step. The upper face of this step together with the presumptive platform on which it abuts is on a level with the stone paving on the top of the bastion. It is remarkable that there exist remains of an earlier pavement (see plan) about a metre below the level of the top step, and with a slope towards the West, which seems to have run beneath the Southern section of the uppermost tiers of this flight.

The clearing of the rectangular area enclosed by the East and South flights of steps and the continuation of the North supporting wall was a work of extraordinary difficulty. It has been a remarkable phenomenon that throughout the whole area of the Palace hardly any remains were brought to light later than at most the decadent 'Mycenaean' Period. It was only beyond the Northern Entrance passage and the North-West Palace angle that appreciable traces of more recent occupation began to appear. In this region occurred a little 'geometrical' pottery and some Hellenic and Roman remains. The most solid record however of later settlement yet encountered was in this theatrical area where, in some places at a depth of only 20 centimetres below the surface, a huge flooring of Roman cement was struck, 65 centimetres in thickness and intruding on the area to be excavated to the extent of some sixty square metres. It could only be removed by a long process of blasting, and the existence of this pavement as well as of substructions in connexion with it accounted for the total disappearance of a section of the North supporting wall. It may also explain the fact that no remains of a West enclosing wall were found in the North section of the area, answering to that which seems to have shut in the South section on this side.<sup>1</sup>

As to the original dimensions of this area there can however be little doubt. It formed a rectangle about 10 metres from North to South, by 13 from East to West. It was, as already noticed, divided into two equal sections by a central paved path running to the middle of the lowermost

<sup>1</sup> Traces of an earlier wall line were found (as shown in the plan) a little West of this, which was cut through when the paved path was made.

step of the East flight. This path was 1·50 metre wide at its East end, slightly diminishing (to 1·30) in width in its Westward course, which could be traced for 20 metres. It is evident that further on it joined the other paved causeway that runs West from above the South steps.

At the point where this raised pathway reaches the lowest step of the Eastern flight a section of another similar path with good paving follows the step Northwards. It may originally have communicated with a small passage way going out of the area in this direction, but all traces of such a pathway running further North have disappeared.

The enclosed area itself on either side of the central path shows remains of rough paving and there can be little doubt that in this as in other similar cases this paving was covered with coloured cement or hard plaster. The whole area at present slopes considerably to the North-West and there may have been a slight original incline that way, partly for purposes of drainage. It is probable however that the fall is now a good deal greater owing to the subsidence of made earth on that side. The walls that seem originally to have shut in this area on the West must have been of considerable height in order to secure protection from the sun.

An examination of the deposit immediately beneath an intact part of the pavement, near the centre of the area, established the fact that it contained sherds belonging to the period of the earlier Palace. Both this fact and the occurrence on blocks of the bastion of signs of a type usual in the earlier constructions of the Later Palace are in themselves distinct indications that this Stepped Area dates from the same time as these latter.

But the evidence goes much further than this. This Stepped Area is in fact an integral part of the Later Palace system. It is brought into direct connexion with the two main entrances of the building by lines of paved way. That leading Westward from the Northern Entrance with the tributary line from the Pillar House has been already mentioned. But the principal avenue of approach was the broader causeway, running directly South from the centre of the Southern flight of steps, which was evidently the main entrance of this Theatral Area. This paved causeway, which just by the entrance is crossed diagonally by the other, is 3·75 metres in width and ascends the rise immediately to the South, partly by means of low steps, of which two are preserved.<sup>1</sup> Its further progress is broken off above the upper of these, but its direct course would have taken it above the large foundation

<sup>1</sup> The lower of these is '74 centimetres deep, the other '85; the tread is '12 centimetres.

boulders of the North-West Palace angle and so to the West Court. Here the traces again become clear, but in place of the single broad causeway there are now two narrower branches. One of these leads diagonally across the West Court in a South-West direction. But the other, which represents the unbroken prolongation of the original line, goes straight to the Western Palace Portico. In other words this approach to the Stepped Area is a direct line of access from the State Entrance of the Palace. Practically the 'Corridor of the Procession' is itself a continuation of this causeway.

Thus, including the paved pathway from the West, this Stepped Area was the converging point of five different causeways, bringing it into intimate relation with the most important points of the Palace and its surroundings. But, as has been shown, it was itself in no sense a thoroughfare. The Southern flight of steps on the East side of the entrance passage is actually backed by a barrier and was probably blocked in the same way also in its Western section, though the evidence is there deficient. We have already seen that the Eastern flight could in no case have been the approach to anything more than a comparatively narrow platform. So little is it an approach that the causeway leading to the Northern entrance from the West is somewhat diverted from its course and passes outside the Stepped Area, while its branch leading towards the Pillar House is still more deflected from a straight Western course.

It follows that the Stepped Area itself fulfilled an isolated and independent function in connexion with the Palace. Its low gradations were not steps up towards some outside object but were tiers to supply sitting or possibly standing room for spectators or hearers. The paved area was devised for show or ceremony. We have here in fact a primitive Theatre, and the direct relation into which it was brought with the state entrance of the Palace lends weight to the suggestion that the central bastion supported the canopy of a 'Royal Box.' Including the 'Gallery' or platform above the Southern flight there may have been accommodation in this Minōan Court Theatre for between four and five hundred spectators.

The Palace of Phaestos to a certain extent supplies a parallel. In that case, facing the original West Court, rises a broad flight of nine steps approached diagonally by a causeway, (one of two converging lines), in connexion with an early West Portico. The steps in this case are surmounted by a long paved platform, originally backed by a massive wall

supporting an upper terrace.<sup>1</sup> Backed as they were in this way, the steps could not have been an approach to any hall beyond, and, as was justly observed by the Italian explorers, they no doubt served as seats for numerous spectators, who could thence look on at sports or religious functions in the area below.<sup>2</sup> The long steps of Phaestos, indeed, together with the causeway and the area in front of them, seem to be of somewhat earlier date than the Theatral Area of Knossos. A good deal of the pottery found immediately above the surface of the Court, in fact, goes well back into the early part of the 'Middle Minōan Age' and throws back the date of these constructions to a period covered by the Earlier Palace at Knossos.<sup>3</sup> The steps themselves are higher, the causeways more massive, and the whole has no direct relation to the steps leading to the great Upper Megaron and neighbouring flight ascending North which belong to a later date.<sup>4</sup> What we see at Phaestos is simpler and more rudimentary, as befits an earlier age. The Stepped Area on the other hand, now brought to light at Knossos, shows a greater systematisation. It is already a specialised form of building devoted to a definite purpose. A suggestion, doubtless taken from the great stairs and stepped approaches of the Minōan Palaces, has here developed into a structure which itself is no kind of approach, but the earliest existing example of a veritable theatre.

It must at the same time be observed that it was constructed on quite different lines from the Greek Theatre, just as its orientation is also reversed. The orchestra is here square, and there is no evidence either of stage or *θυμέλη*, unless, indeed, the central bastion served as the base for such an altar. The *θέατρον* proper fills two sides of a rectangle. It is indeed remarkable that, in an age which produced such admirable round buildings of stone as some of the great *tholos* tombs, the idea of circular construction should never have been reached for a purpose like the present.

<sup>1</sup> Remains of the original 'Middle Minōan' wall have been lately found behind a wall belonging to the later Period of the Phaeonian Palace, now restored by the Italian Mission (L. Pernier, *Lavori eseguiti nel Palazzo di Phaestos*: Marzo-Luglio, 1903.)

<sup>2</sup> Luigi Pernier, 'Scavi della Missione Italiana a Phaestos' (*Mon. Ant.* xii., 1902, pp. 33, 34).

<sup>3</sup> As noticed above, p. 21, note, the later Palace at Knossos itself probably goes back to the close of the Middle Minōan Period. But many fragments of polychrome pottery found above the level of the West court at Phaestos and in the neighbouring house (the so-called 'Altar')—such as some of those imitating metal work and others with plain geometrical designs—correspond with wares actually found below the early floor levels of the later Palace at Knossos.

<sup>4</sup> One feature of the Phaeonian arrangement not observable in the Theatral Area at Knossos is the continuation of the causeway in a line of steps ascending the long stone seats in the manner of a *diazoma*.

The only example of round masonry in the Palace itself is afforded by the great blocks<sup>1</sup> forming the corner of the passage way outside the Antichamber to the Throne Room.

What performances, it may be asked, are likely to have been given in the paved area? The favourite Minōan sport is ruled out, since the enclosure was in no wise adapted for a bull ring. Shows of pugilists, on the other hand, of which we have both at Knossos and at Hagia Triada several illustrations on steatite reliefs and the impressions of seals<sup>2</sup> may well have taken place here. In spite of its rectangular shape, when more level than at present and coated with cement, the area would have been also well adapted for dances, possibly of a ceremonial kind like those of the original Theatre in classical Greece.

Of the performance of religious dances in connexion with the great Minōan Goddess several records have come to light. On the 'Royal Signet,' of which the forged clay matrix was found,<sup>3</sup> a female figure is seen on a terrace of masonry, before the Seated Goddess and her attendant, engaged in an orgiastic dance, and in glyptic scenes one person often stands for many. So too a single figure of a dancing girl appears on one of the Vapheio Gems,<sup>4</sup> while on a seal-impression from Hagia Triada the Goddess herself appears to be dancing between two votaries each of whom holds above her a Double Axe.<sup>5</sup> Still fuller evidence however is afforded by the remains of the Miniature Frescoes found in the neighbouring North West Palace Quarter. Among the scenes depicted on these fragments, the central design of which seems to have been the Pillar Shrine of the Goddess, a group of brilliantly attired women are seen in two rows, executing an animated dance in what looks like a walled enclosure, thronged with male spectators.

But, as has already been pointed out,<sup>6</sup> the great Goddess of the spot—in many of her aspects a Lady of the Dove—was, on one side at least of her mythical being, perpetuated in the Greek Aphroditē. And it is important to remember that to this Goddess in Crete was attached the

<sup>1</sup> Recent investigations point to the fact that the wall above these may have enclosed a rounded bit of staircase.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> See *Report*, &c., 1902.

<sup>4</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889, Pl. X. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Halbherr, *Resti*, &c., *scoperti ad Hagia Triada* (*Mon. Ant.*, vol. xiii., Roma, 1903), p. 39, Fig. 33. The heads of the double axes are visible on a more recently discovered impression from the same seal.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 87.

native dialectic epithet of 'the Exceeding Holy One'—Ariadnê<sup>1</sup>—under which she has become the heroine of separate romance.

We see then here a theatrical building—a central point of interest, as the converging lines of causeway show, of the whole Palace and its surroundings,—containing what seems to have been an orchestra. On the other hand we possess independent evidence of ceremonial dances in honour of the great native Goddess of whom Aphroditê Ariadnê is a later transformation. In view of these facts it is difficult to refuse the conclusion that this first of theatres, the Stepped Area with its dancing ground, supplies a material foundation for the Homeric tradition of the famous 'choros':

*οἶν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρεῖη  
Δαιδαλος ἥσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμφ' Αριάδνῃ.<sup>2</sup>*

It is symptomatic of the increased importance attached to male divinities in the later religion of Greece that 'choros' and theatre should pass from the Goddess to the God. In the more recent cult the 'choros' of Ariadnê is superseded by that of her Consort Dionysos.

Of the painted stucco,—perhaps the most striking feature of the Daedalean art,—that would have decorated the background and canopy of this Theatral Area, only small fragments were recovered, owing to the great amount of surface denudation. The surface of the *orchestra* itself, once probably coated with hard plaster displaying the brilliant red and white decoration of the Knossian pavements, is now comparatively rough and uneven. But, as has been shown above, the shell of the whole monument remains; the area itself, the stepped tiers for the spectators, the central bastion, an indication of a gallery behind. The annual visit of Dr. Dörpfeld and his party on the 'Inselreise' seemed moreover a fitting occasion for once more trying the capabilities of the ancient *orchestra* before an appreciative 'house.' A dance of our Cretan workmen and their womanfolk was accordingly here organised—a dance, may be, as ancient in its origin as the building in which it took place. This was the *πηδικτὸς χορὸς*, so called from the saltations performed by its leaders; and, alternating with it, the quieter *σιγανὸς*,—both forms being prevalent throughout Central and Eastern Crete.<sup>3</sup> The sinuous, maeander-

<sup>1</sup> The close connexion of the great Knossian Goddess with Ariadnê, as to which I had been independently impressed, has been rightly insisted on by F. Noack, *Homerische Paläste*, p. 86 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xviii. 591 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> West of Ida the *πεντοζάλης* prevails and in Sphakia the *σούστρα*.

ing course of the dancers, as they were led hand in hand by the chief performers in each set, was curiously appropriate to the ancient traditions of the spot. Of such a kind, we are told,<sup>1</sup> was the *geranos* dance, mimicking the mazy turns of the Labyrinth, by Theseus instituted at Delos before the image of Aphroditê ‘that he had received from Ariadnê,’ and which was in fact Ariadnê herself in her cult aspect.

#### § 18.—THE NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

Already in 1901 there had been brought to light part of a building bordering on the North-East of the West Court, and only about four metres distant from the Western Palace Wall, where the great foundation buttress juts out from it. Except, therefore, for the small interval thus left—through which, as we now know, ran the Causeway leading from the West Entrance to the Theatral Area—this building lay as a block between the West Court and the paved area to the North-West of the Palace.

This ‘North-West House,’—as it was called at the time of its first finding,—revealed in its basement cavities remains of earlier walls, belonging in part at least to a different system, together with abundant fragments of the finest polychrome and ‘egg-shell’ ware of the Middle Minōan Period. On the other hand, above what remains of the upper floor-levels, nothing was found of earlier date than decadent ‘Mycenaean’ wares belonging to the Period of Partial Occupation. It therefore appeared probable that during the intervening period, which would include the whole duration of the Later Palace, the site had been left bare ; and, so far as the three chambers constituting the ‘North-West House’ are concerned, this conclusion may still, perhaps, be valid.

Trial pits dug at the end of the season of 1902 in the area immediately to the West of this, followed by methodical excavations during the present season, have, however, been conclusive in showing that the later constructions known as the ‘North-West House’ were built up against the East face of a building, or possibly a conglomeration of buildings, that must have

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Theseus*, xxi. (on the authority of Dicaearchus) άναθεις τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, δι παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡμέων χορεάν, ἦν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Δαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξιδων ἐν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην. The Κερατών altar about which the dance took place has been aptly brought into relation with the ‘sacral horns’ of the Minōan altars by F. Noack (*Homerische Paläste*, p. 87).

been existent throughout the Later Palace Period. These extremely complex constructions find an as yet indefinite extension Westwards.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that the Palace throughout its existence was flanked at a distance of about ten metres from the Northern section of its Western Wall, if not nearer, by a block of buildings intervening between its Western Court and the paved area and primitive Theatre to the North.

Such a block of constructions, allowed to persist in immediate contiguity to the Palace walls and wedged in between its Court, was necessarily of the nature of a dependency. But of what kind? Careful as have been the recent explorations in this area, the solution of the problem still presents elements of uncertainty. The whole mass of buildings is a medley of small walled spaces affording none of the architectural clues as to their object and interrelation supplied by the other structures on the Palace site. There are none of the usual stone door-jambs; there are not even door-openings: there are no visible corridors, or light-wells, or windows. There are no stairs, at least belonging to the Palace Period. Only in one single chamber appears a column base. A diagonal wall line crossing part of the centre of the block suggests some kind of division, perhaps of later construction, but, whereas the Minōan houses found in the neighbourhood of the Palace always show some free space, however narrow, around them, it is impossible here to extract any separate entity. The whole is one structural conglomeration.

The question naturally arises—why when the Later Palace was laid out, should such a building as this, standing in immediate contiguity to it and almost blocking the access from one Court to another, have been allowed to persist? That a great remodelling here took place during the later period of the Palace is clear, but it was largely on older lines. The earlier maze of constructions on this area was much pulled about, but they were not, as throughout so large a part of the Western Palace Wing, completely levelled away. One building succeeded another, and the obstructive block was allowed to remain.

It looks as if some religious considerations must have underlain this apparent anomaly. Did the site, perhaps, belong to a local sanctuary?

It is certain that not only the extraordinary fineness of some of the relics found in the cells and small chambers of the building, but other more direct evidence supplied by the finds points to such a conclusion. A

<sup>1</sup> It has been traced uninterruptedly in this direction over 40 metres.

Double Axe of archaic form appears painted on the bottom of a fragmentary vase belonging to the Middle Minōan Period found in one of the lowermost deposits of the building. Pieces of large painted Amphoras of the later 'Palace Style' show more advanced delineations of the same sacred object,<sup>1</sup> and an agate intaglio of the same date, of which the essential part is preserved, presents the fuller religious type of the 'labrys' rising from the bull's head (Fig. 70). This design, though already known,<sup>2</sup>

derives peculiar suggestiveness from its occurring thus in a Minōan deposit by the legendary site of the Labyrinth. A pair of miniature 'Horns of Consecration' of bronze plate found in the same 'Late Palace' stratum is also of religious significance.

The Double Axe, moreover, rising between the Sacral Horns and with a leafy shaft, recalling those of the Hagia Triada cult scene, appears here on vase fragments of the more decadent 'Mycenaean' style derived from a superficial layer of this same deposit. In the example given in

Fig. 71, we see it flanked in other compartments by a fish and by a scroll derived from a group of three Triton shells. From the occurrence thus of the same sacred symbol in the upper levels of this building and in a stratum belonging to the Re-occupation Period, it is evident that the religious tradition of the spot was of a very persistent nature.

These repeated references to the prevailing Palace Cult make it reasonable to suppose that the North-West Building if not itself a sanctuary must at least be regarded as a dependency of such. What we have to deal with seems to be a series of small basement chambers belonging to some kind of storehouse in connexion with the Central Palace shrine. Reasons have indeed already been given in a preceding Section (§ 8) for believing that at least a considerable section of the Western Wing of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the examples given, *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 53, Fig. 15, and by D. Mackenzie, 'The Pottery of Knossos' (*J.H.S.*, xxiii. 1903, p. 204). Dr. Mackenzie rightly insists on the fact that the Double Axe is foreign to the ordinary decorative repertory of the Minōan vase painters, and that its introduction must be due to a special religious motive.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the gold figures from Mycenae, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 218, Nos. 329, 330, and the lenticular gem from the Heraeum at Argos, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 362, No. 541; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. II. 42. The design also occurs on a vase from Old Salamis (see *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 9 seqq.).

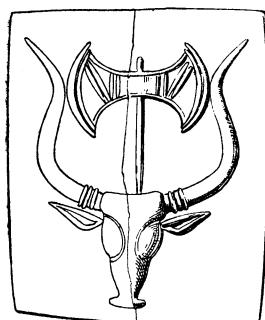


FIG. 70.—AGATE INTAGLIO  
(COMPLETED) [§].

Palace, extending to the borders of the Western Court, stood in a special relation to an important shrine the face of which overlooked the Central Court. It looks as if the North-West Building had served as a further dependency of this, and it may be noted in corroboration of this view



FIG. 71.—PAINTED VASE FRAGMENT SHOWING DOUBLE AXES (§).

that an altar-base stands in close proximity to this building at the North end of the Western Court.

There were throughout the remains of these constructions traces of a regular stratification. In the superficial layer were found vase-fragments of the decadent style characteristic of the period of Partial Occupation.

Below this, at a depth of about 2 metres below the surface, was preserved a certain amount of clay flooring belonging to the latest Palace Period and upon which stood vases such as the Amphoras referred to above. The penultimate Palace Period was represented by a much disturbed deposit, but, at a depth of about a metre below the last mentioned floor-level, there were traces of an earlier clay floor with vases of the finest Middle Minōan style. This was especially the case in the more Westerly chambers where the slope of the ground had diminished the effects of later levelling away. Here too was a pit, going down 6 metres, filled with plain pottery of that period including a number of elegant red-coloured cups. The 'Middle Minōan' remains and floor-levels were immediately superposed on the Neolithic. There was no stratum here of that transitional Early Metal Age type to which the name of 'Early Minōan' has been applied.

Among the ceramic relics here found illustrating the Latest Palace Period are remains of very fine Amphoras in the noble 'Architectonic' style then in vogue. One of these, the whole of which was preserved, though it came to light in a collapsed condition, exhibits an exceptionally fine decorative design in which the suggestion of the Egyptian papyrus can be clearly traced. It is 75·5 centimetres in height, by no means of the largest calibre here represented. Another Amphora shows an octopus, the naturalistic rendering of which offers a strong contrast to the conventional polyps that repeat themselves without end on the pottery of the succeeding age of decadence—the period of Partial Occupation. The naturalistic element of the Latest Palace Style was also illustrated by many examples including a cup wreathed with flowering sprays of olives. Very remarkable in this connexion are the fragmentary remains of a huge thick-walled vessel, the form of which unfortunately cannot be completed. It displays zones decorated with peas or large vetches, a favourite subject with the ceramic artists of this period. Some idea of the beauty of this design may be gained from the completed drawing of a group of these fragments given in Fig. 72.<sup>1</sup>

The magnificent hoard of bronze vessels found in this building, also belonging to the Latest Palace Period, will be described in the succeeding Section. Another find, made in a superficial deposit of a chamber in the

<sup>1</sup> The drawing is by Mr. Halvor Bagge. The use of white in the decoration of the original may be noted as a survival of the earlier style.

extreme North-East of these constructions and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Theatral Area, points to a more finished style of interior



FIG. 72.—FRAGMENT OF LARGE PAINTED VESSEL WITH PEA DESIGN.

decoration than is elsewhere traceable in this building. It is a piece of a wall-painting, exhibiting in the foreground a plant which seems at first

sight intended to be of the natural size, while in the background are seen, on a comparatively small scale, the forelegs of a hooved animal, apparently a bull in the act of galloping. Above are suspended portions of what seem to be locks of human hair, so that the whole probably formed part of a bull-hunting scene like that of the Vapheio Vases. The apparent difference of scale between the plant and the animal provokes the question—is there really to be found here an attempt at perspective? The plant itself in its general growth, the appearance of lanceolate leaves and the ruddy stem merging into green, at once suggests an oleander. But, on looking more closely into the design, it is seen that the apparent veining of the leaves, which

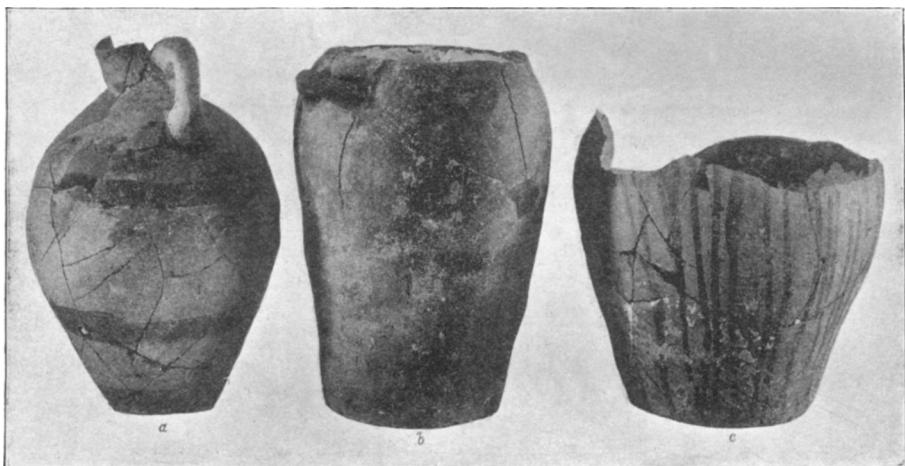


FIG. 73.—PLAIN MIDDLE MINÖAN VESSELS, NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

does not in any way correspond with that of the oleander, is really the rendering of small foliage. In other words, according to an Egyptian convention, borrowed in other cases by the Minōan artists, a mass of foliage, though separately delineated, is contained within a single outline the whole interior of which is covered with a green body colour. In this case the lanceolate outline of the branches gives them a misleading appearance of single leaves.

If it is allowable to believe that this piece of wall-painting, out of place apparently where it actually lay, had found its way hither from a back wall of the neighbouring 'Theatre'—the Choros of Ariadnē—its interest would be greatly enhanced.

A small room, about 1·60 metre square, with a clay flooring, on the West side of the excavated part of the constructions with which we are dealing, contained the most perfect collective group of vases belonging to the

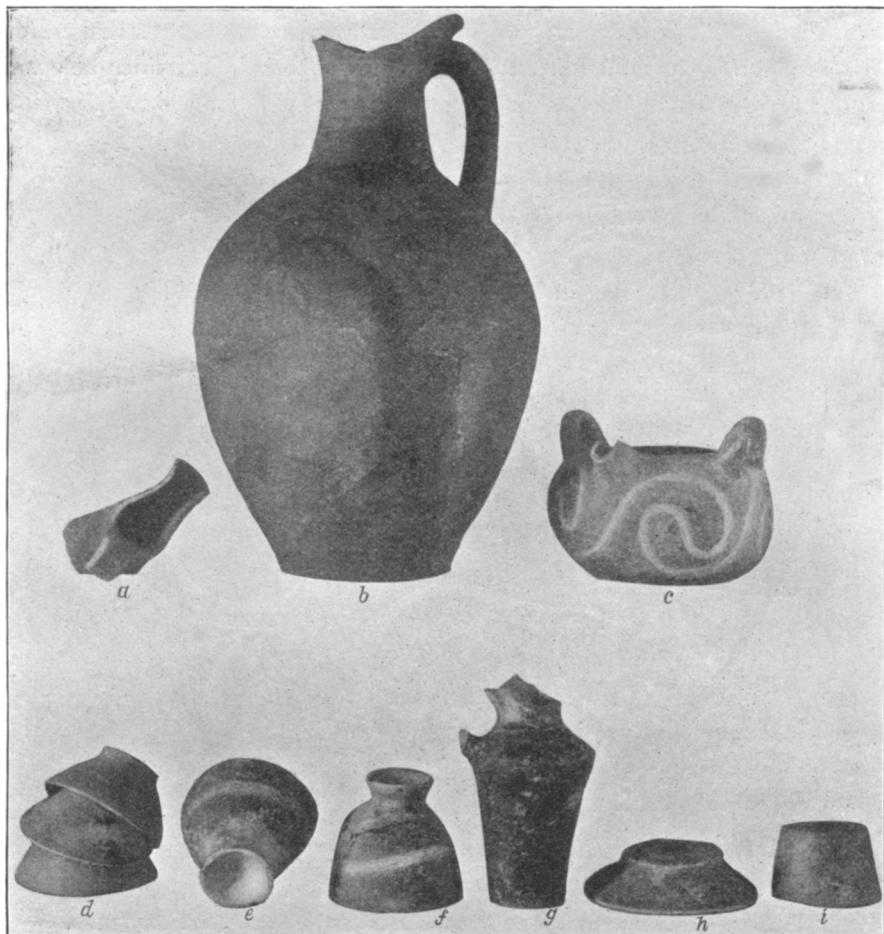


FIG. 74.—MIDDLE MINÖAN PAINTED VASES, NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

Middle Minōan Period yet discovered, including the most elaborately decorative example.

Of the plainer forms here found Fig. 73 *a* shows a pitcher with brown bands and spiral flourishes on the clay surface, the mouth of which is of oval shape. In Fig. 73 *c* we have an imperfect but interesting example of the

peculiarly Minōan type of vessel with irregular vertical streaks of brown glaze on the plain clay surface, which resemble the tricklings down the body of a pot of pitch or glue. This 'streaked' ware, as it may be called, continued through the penultimate Palace Period but the streaks are more sparse in the later examples. In its earlier and more thickly streaked form it is seen on some *pithoi* from the newly discovered Magazines below the Upper Megaron at Phaestos, belonging like the jar before us to the Middle

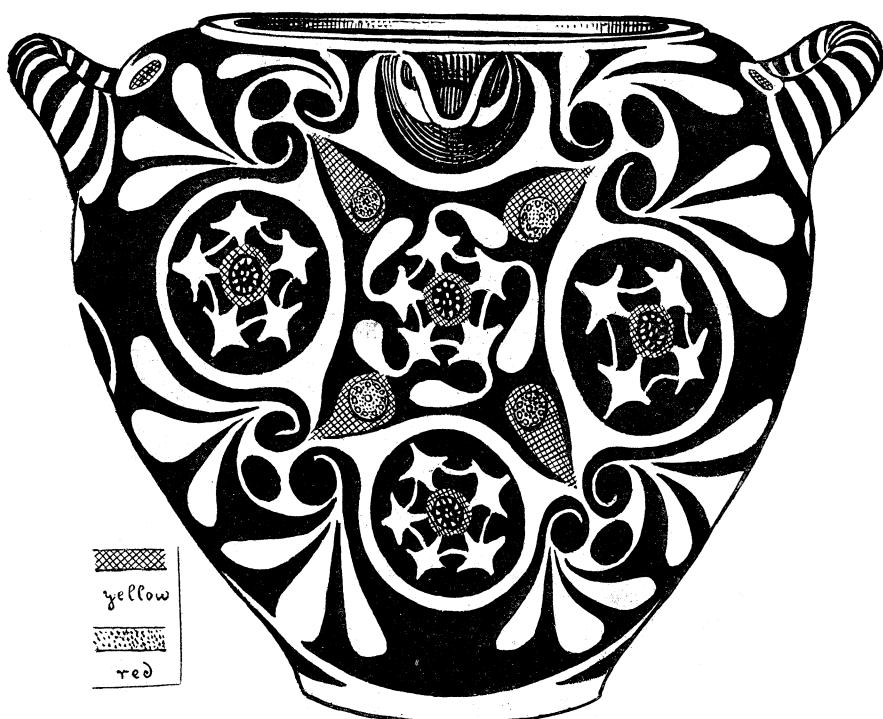


FIG. 75.—POLYCHROME VASE (MIDDLE MINĀN), NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

Minōan Period. The Phaestos jars in question are surrounded on their shoulders by six looped handles. It is therefore extremely interesting to notice that among the 'foreign' vessels discovered by Professor Petrie in a proto-dynastic tomb at Abydos<sup>1</sup> is a smaller streaked jar of the same

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The great apparent chronological gap between this and the Middle Minōan types in question has yet to be explained.

general type though with the handles lower down the body and of somewhat more archaic aspect.

Amongst the other vessels are the usual cups (Fig. 74 *e, f*) with a black ground and white and vermillion bands. A graceful two-handled vase (*c*) is also shown in Fig. 74, with a white continuous spiral on a dark ground.

A much more magnificent object is a vase with a spout and two handles like the last but of higher build. A back view of this vessel which was found in a practically intact condition is given in Fig. 75.<sup>1</sup> The black and white drawing, indeed, though it shows the design can give but a faint idea of the brilliant effect of the polychrome decoration, in which creamy white, orange and crimson are variously distributed on a lustrous black ground. The front design is the same as the back, and the sides show in each case beneath the handle a graceful fleur-de-lis pattern. Both this and part of the scroll-work on the other faces present a distinct affinity to the decorative motives of some of the finest contemporary signets, at times associated with pictographic inscriptions.

#### § 19.—HOARD OF BRONZE VESSELS AND KEFTIAN OFFERTORY SCENE.

About the centre of the area at present exposed of the North-West Building a group of small walled spaces was brought to light. In one of these, not more than 2 metres by 1½ in dimensions, some loose earth fell away in the course of the excavation and disclosed what at first sight appeared to be a set of bronze cups on their sides, ranged one above the other. On further clearing however it turned out that the supposed cups were the handles of a pile of four large bronze basins, while in an upright position beside them, stood a fine single-handled ewer, or *oenochœ*, of the same metal.

The discovery was the more interesting since,—owing no doubt to the careful search for portable treasure at the time of the great catastrophe of the Palace,—no large metal vessels had hitherto been found on the site. The bronze vessels lay at a depth of only about a metre below the surface of the ground, higher that is by the same distance than the usual level of

<sup>1</sup> It is 22 centimetres in height and its body the same in diameter.

the floors of the Later Palace Period, to which, as appears from the characteristic style of decoration, the hoard itself belonged. It is therefore probable that the vases had reached their present position by the sinking of an upper floor level.

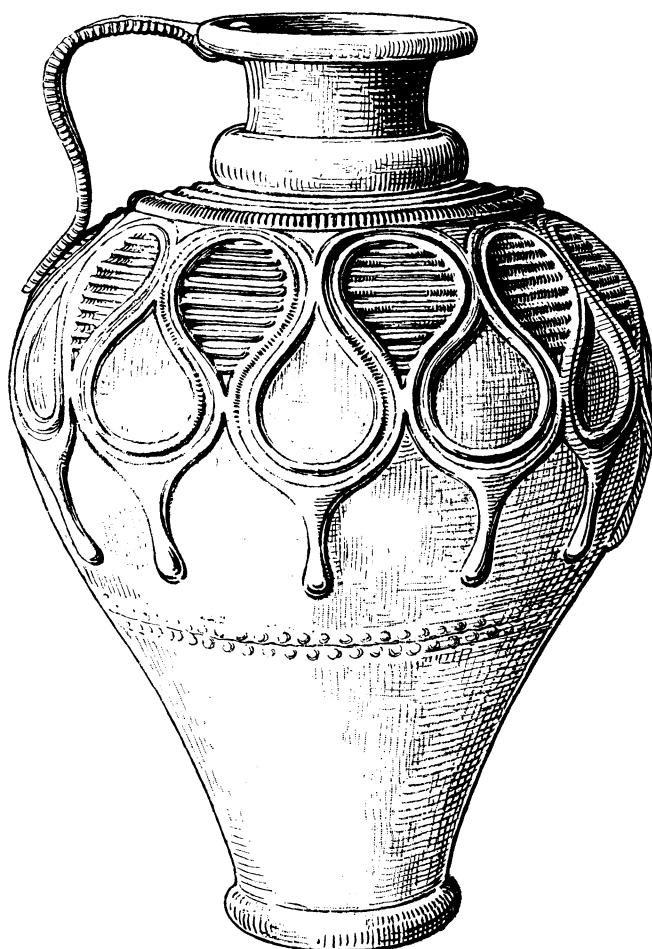


FIG. 76*a*.—BRONZE EWER.

A group showing the ewer, two of the basins, and the detached handle of another, is given in Fig. 77. The ewer, as will be seen, is a good deal crushed, but its original outline is restored in Figs. 76*a* and 76*b*. It is 34·5 centimetres in height and 27 in diameter. The body is formed of two

pieces, joined by a double row of rivets, and the neck is soldered on. The handle is attached by three nails. The alternating curves of the repoussé decoration recall a pattern that also appears on some of the painted vases of the Latest Palace Period.<sup>1</sup>

The magnificent basin which occupies the background of Fig. 77 is the largest of the series, being 39 centimetres in diameter.<sup>2</sup> Its rim is

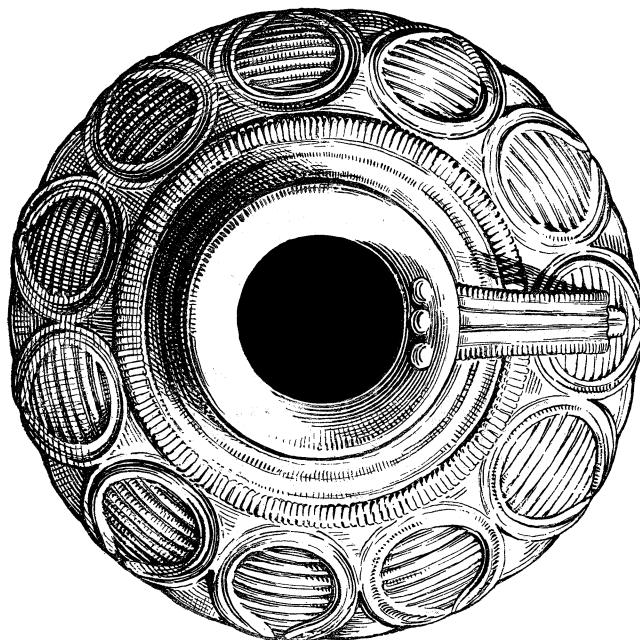


FIG. 76b.—BRONZE EWER SEEN FROM ABOVE.

hammered over outwards, the exterior margin being fashioned to represent the rounded end of leaves, and above this is attached, by means of soldering or welding, an upper rim with a beaded and foliated ornament chased in high relief. The whole margin presents the aspect of three bands of decorative foliage superposed on one another. The handle, attached by four rivets, shows a beaded stem from which on either side ramifies the same embossed leaf ornament Fig. 78. It may be observed that this foliate

<sup>1</sup> An example of this form of decoration will be seen in the vase from a Knossian house excavated by Mr. Hogarth, *B.S.A.* vi. (1899-1900), p. 76, Fig. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The height of the basin, apart from the handle, is 8 centimetres.

decoration starting from a central stem is very characteristic of Minōan Art. We see it already in the beautiful Middle Minōan polychrome vase reproduced in Pl. II, Fig. 1, where the design is evidently taken from metal-work, and, in a different technique, it persists as a ceramic ornament to the latest Period of the Palace, being especially characteristic of the large amphoras. A carbonised fragment of a chest found with the 'Chariot



FIG. 77.—GROUP OF BRONZE VESSELS.

Tablets' shows a carved relief of similar design in wood-work, and the same motive recurs as a frieze on painted plaster.<sup>1</sup> But as a motive of metal technique it seems most at home.<sup>2</sup> On the bronze basin from the present deposit this decoration is carried out with boldness and simplicity combined

<sup>1</sup> An example of this, apparently of 'Middle Minōan' date, was also found at Phaestos (L. Pernier, *Scavi, &c., a Phaestos*, 1900-1901, p. 83, Fig. 22).

<sup>2</sup> A smaller bronze bowl with a border showing a similar design was found in one of the tombs near Phaestos.

with consummate finish, surpassing any examples of the kind that have hitherto come to light either in Minōan Crete or at Mycenae. One exquisite

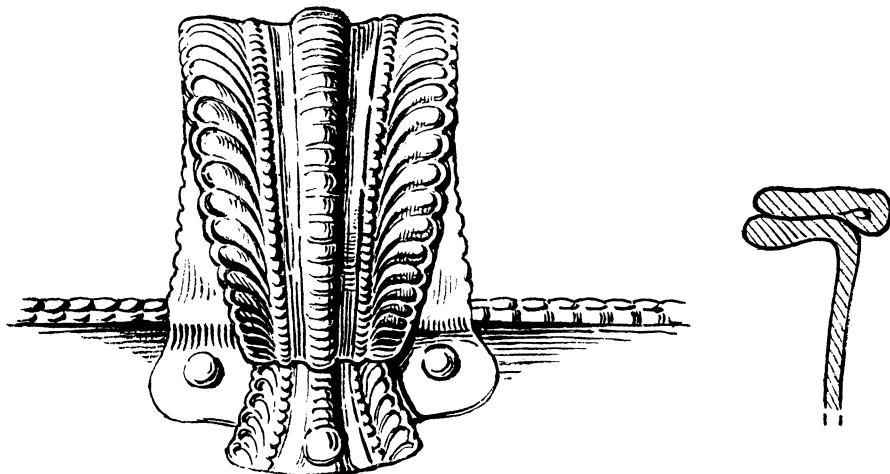


FIG. 78.—HANDLE AND SECTION OF BORDER OF BRONZE BASIN.

touch is the tapering aspect given to the handle, which as it rolls back from the rim of the basin, gradually diminishes in width, like a leaf drawing near to its stem.

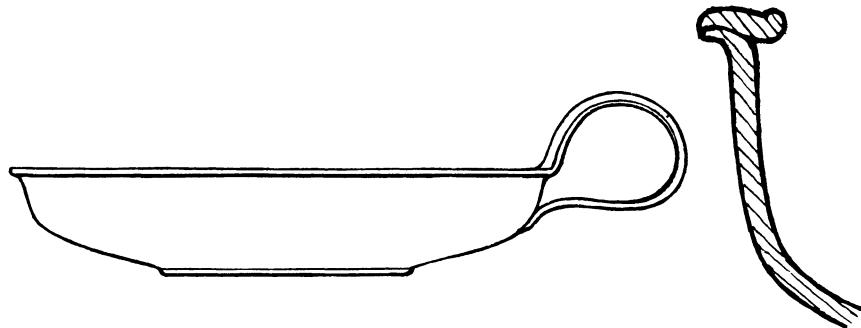


FIG. 79a.—SECTION OF BRONZE BASIN.

FIG. 79b.—SECTION OF RIM OF BRONZE BASIN.

The smaller basin, which stands in front of the other in Fig. 77, is plain and in this case both the handle and the rim are in one piece with the rest of the vessel. Another larger basin,<sup>1</sup> the section of which is given in

<sup>1</sup> Width of the basin (without the handle) 33 centimetres.

Fig. 79 *a*, shows the same unity as regards the handle, but a decorative border is in this case superimposed in another piece round the rim (Fig. 79 *b*).

This was unfortunately much oxidized, but the handle itself presents a beautiful chased design, representing an ivy spray, of which the development will be seen in Fig. 80.

A still more elaborate system of ornament is presented by the basin shown in Figs. 81, 82.<sup>1</sup> Its handle is attached, like the first described, by four rivets, but in this case the richly chased rim is simply the margin of the bowl hammered out and in one piece with it. The decorative design on this, though much oxidised in places, is visible throughout. It consists—as will be better seen from the small section of it given in Fig. 83—of an inner border of finely relieved beading from which at a somewhat oblique angle (like the pendants of a necklace) spring conventional lilies, terminating above in flamboyant sprays that stream behind them in undulating lines, like the flames of so many torches. The handle shows two similar borders divided by a central band adorned with a series of round bead-like bosses in fine relief.

The charm and originality of this design is undoubtedly, as also its brilliant execution. What, however, is perhaps still more striking is the intuitive knowledge it displays of the principles of

balance and distribution of detail controlled by unity, as shown in the treatment of the decorative motive. The boldly relieved beading, which

<sup>1</sup> The width of the basin, without the handle, is 32 centimetres.

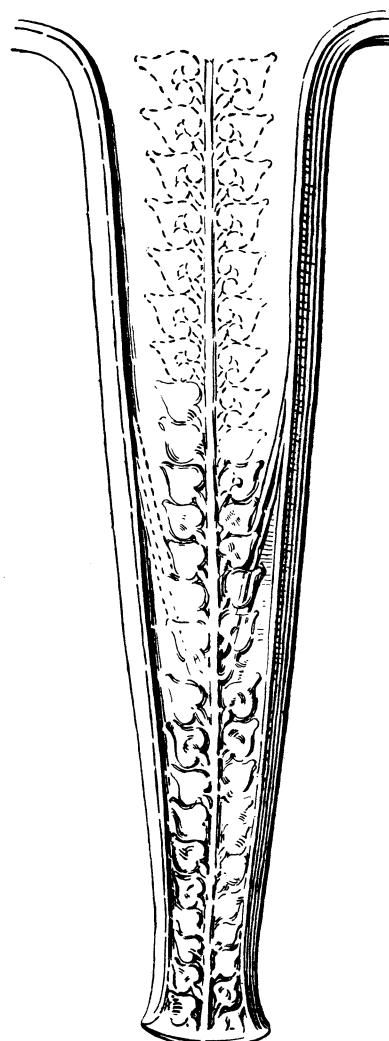


FIG. 80.—DEVELOPMENT OF HANDLE OF  
BRONZE BASIN.

forms the inner border and at the same time supplies the links of connexion for the lily chain, finds its more subdued counterpart on the outer margin in the suggestion of continuous bordering given by the flowing lines of the flame-like sprays.

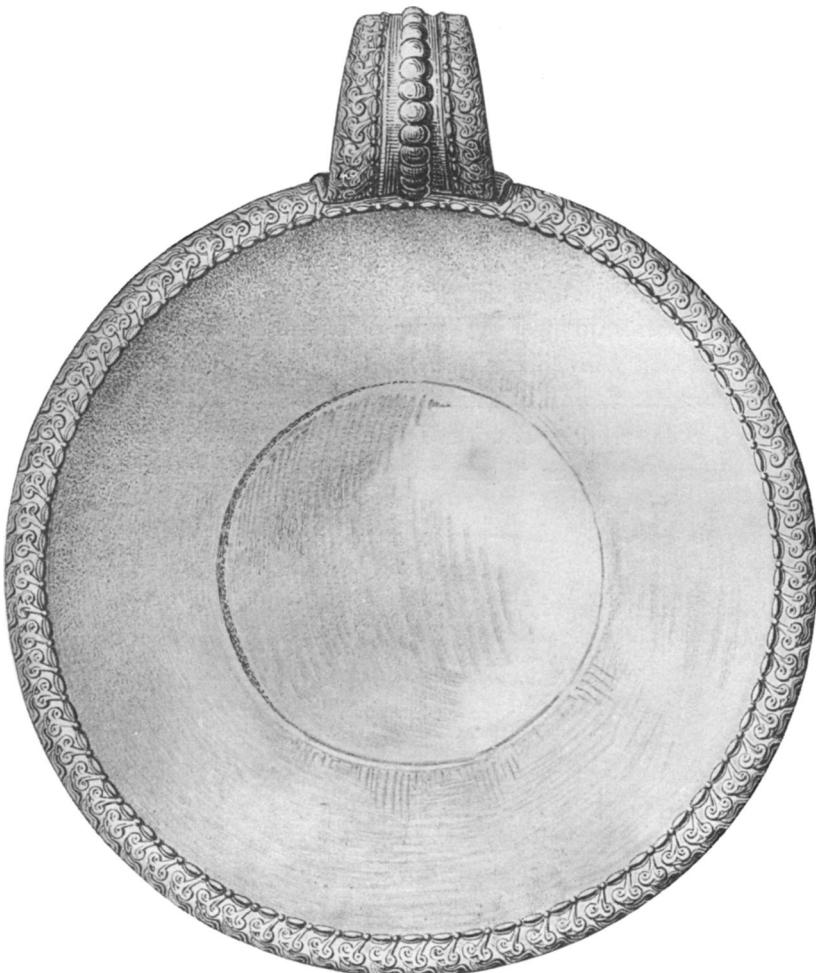


FIG. 81.—BRONZE BASIN WITH LILY BORDER.

The conventional lilies themselves, like the beading, belong to jewellery. They recall, in fact the *fleur-de-lis* collar of the *gesso duro* relief from the Palace, as well as the lily crown found with it. Gold pendants of similar

form though slightly decadent in style have been found in tombs of the Lower Town at Mycenae.<sup>1</sup> That the lily possessed a special sanctity in the Minōan religion is shown by its appearance on the head of the seated Mother Goddess and in the hand of one of her votaries, on the great

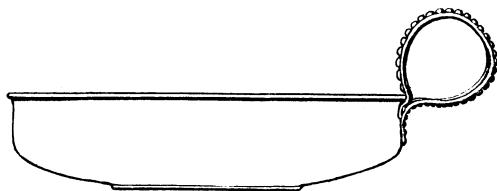


FIG. 82.—SECTION OF BASIN WITH LILY BORDER.



FIG. 83.—SECTION OF RIM OF BRONZE BASIN (†).

signet from Mycenae, as well as by its association with the Priest-Kings of Knossos.

It is a noteworthy fact that on the remaining part of a clay inventory from the 'Room of the Chariot Tablets,' undoubtedly referring to the Royal Treasures, an ewer of the same general outline as Fig. 82 is seen

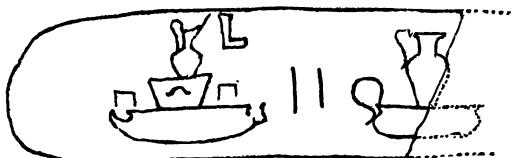


FIG. 84.—PART OF INSCRIBED CLAY TABLET.

placed in a basin with a rounded handle presenting the characteristic contour of those of the present hoard (Fig. 84).

An ewer, or *oenochoë*, of the same type as Fig. 76, with the characteristic raised ring round the base of the neck, appears amongst the offerings of the Keftian Chiefs on the tomb of Sen-mut<sup>2</sup> at Thebes, together with vases of the Vapheio type, of which we also find a record on the clay inventories of Knossos. In the magnificent group of bronze vessels before us we now see for the first time *in situ*, and in what may be legitimately

<sup>1</sup> Good examples of these are in the Ashmolean Museum. For a bone pendant of a similar kind from a room near the Men's Megaron at Mycenae see Tsountas, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. Pl. XIII. 15.

<sup>2</sup> This vase is illustrated by Mr. H. R. Hall in his article 'Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea,' B.S.A. 1902-1903, p. 173, Fig. 7.

regarded as the chief centre of their fabric and diffusion, the originals of the vases offered by the chiefs of the 'Isles of the Sea' to the officers of

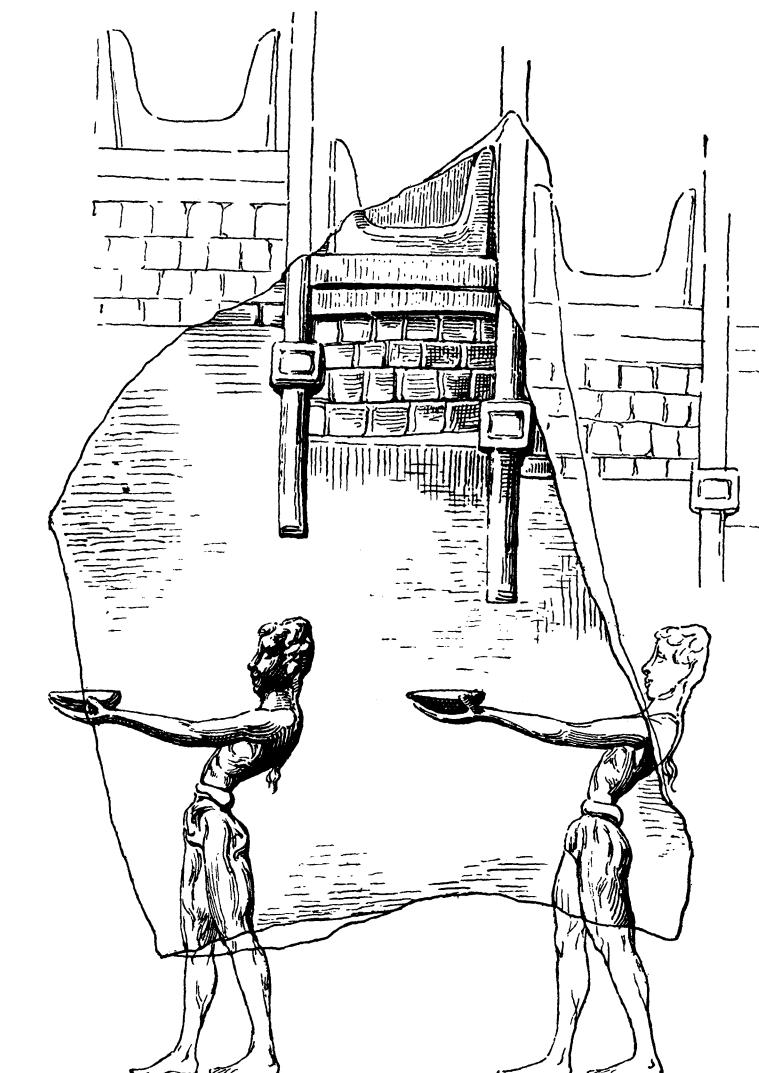


FIG. 85.—PART OF STEATITE VESSEL WITH RELIEF SHOWING OFFERTORY SCENE  
(ENLARGED).

Queen Hatshepsut and of Thothmes III, in the first half of the Sixteenth Century B.C. The extraordinary artistic skill of the Minōan metal

K

workers—of which perhaps we find a later echo in the fabled craft of the Idaean Dactyls—sufficiently explains the value set on such offerings by contemporary Pharaohs.

An analogy has already been pointed out between the cup-bearer and the vase-holding youths of the Procession Fresco and the tribute-bearing Kefts of the Theban tomb paintings. A part of a steatite vessel presenting a small relief was found this year during the work of road-making on the further side of the stream, immediately South of the Palace, which supplies a new and interesting parallel.

As will be seen from Fig. 85 the subject consists of two youths—part, no doubt, of a larger procession,—walking to the left in front of a building, each of whom holds out a bowl in his left hand. The parts of the figures preserved display the sinewy build so characteristic of Minōan art. Long tresses of hair hang down below their shoulders, and they wear a simple loin cloth and girdle. The building behind is constructed partly of isodomic masonry and partly, it may be inferred, of wood. Among the wooden constructions are posts with the curious rectangular imposts or capitals already referred to above,<sup>1</sup> which recur in the case of some buildings seen in the miniature frescoes. The posts are continued upwards, and, between them, resting on a ledge in two horizontal pieces, are the Sacral Horns. This feature which was probably repeated, as shown in the restored drawing in the adjoining sections, seems to imply a religious intention in the offertory scene below.

#### § 20.—THE ROYAL VILLA AND PRIMITIVE ‘BASILICA.’

Immediately beneath the Palace site to the East and skirting the edge of the river-flat, shaded here with secular olive trees, figs, and mulberries, is a steep bank, terraced about the middle of its slope by the mule path running North to the village of Makryteichos. Here, at a point about 120 metres East of the Northern Entrance of the Palace, four gypsum door-jambs had been observed in 1902, partly projecting from the foot of the declivity. The further investigation of these had however been, perforce, postponed.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 56, Fig. 35 and p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> According to the analogy of the remains found in the Palace the upper part here would be a gypsum slab and the lower a wooden beam.

On now clearing these jambs, we also uncovered remains of their gypsum lintels, and the full evidence was brought to light of three doorways of Minōan character, opening Westwards into some chamber covered by the steep bank, and which had been themselves controlled from that side.

The somewhat serious nature of an excavation in this direction was obvious. It involved not only the diversion of the roadway but a cutting into the declivity to the height of some seven or eight metres. In order therefore to gain some preliminary assurance as to the value of the remains with which we had to deal, it was decided first to tunnel in at the foot of the steep where the door-jambs had made their appearance.

By a happy chance the starting-point chosen for this subterranean exploration — namely the Northernmost door opening — proved to be the best that could possibly have been chosen had we had the full plan of the constructions before us. A wall of solid limestone masonry at once appeared on the right, which afforded good support for the tunnel on that side, and, at three metres' distance, there started a second wall line parallel with the first and separated from it by an interval of a metre.

We had in fact exactly struck the line of a corridor, (A 1 in plan), paved below with good gypsum slabs. At every step inwards the preservation of the walls improved, and that on the right was found to be cased with the remains of gypsum slabs. At 5·70 metres from the opening of the tunnel a double door opening with the usual gypsum jambs appeared in the North Wall, and presently a small closet on the opposite side. At about 9·80 metres from the starting-point the further course of the corridor was cut short by a back wall of fine gypsum blocks and the lower steps of a staircase became visible, running up to the left.

The tunnel was now excavated upwards in this Southerly direction and ten steps of the staircase, consisting of gypsum slabs, were laid bare, leading to what was evidently a landing. Moreover, various fragments of painted pottery, dating from the latest Palace Period, brought out in the course of the tunneling gave a chronological *terminus ad quem* to the habitation of this part of the building.

The results attained by this preliminary exploration were already sufficient to show that we had here to deal with an important construction which in fabric and material, notably in its fine gypsum masonry, rivalled

or even excelled the best preserved part of the Palace. Notwithstanding the labour and expense involved, and other attendant difficulties, it had clearly become necessary to excavate the whole area from above. A considerable cutting was accordingly made in the side of the steep, the three faces of which had eventually to be built up behind the ancient building with solid masonry, somewhat battered, rising to a height in some places of over eight metres. Along the upper level of this, moreover, a new course had to be made for the diverted roadway, which was further protected by a parapet on the side towards the stone escarpment.

The result of the complete excavation from above was to lay bare the walls and chambers of the building, the plans and elevation of which are shown in Pl. I. and Fig. 91. It is unquestionably by far the finest specimen of Minōan domestic architecture that has yet come to light.

In certain fundamental features connected with its construction and arrangement this house shows a decided parallelism with the Domestic Quarter of the Palace and the South-East House described above.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, as in these other cases the main entrance seems to have been by means of a staircase from an upper terrace level. Here, too, the lower part of the building itself is constructed in a rectangular cutting in the natural rock forming the side of the hill—in this case soft decayed limestone, known as *kouskouras*, and conglomerate. Here, too, moreover, the compact support thus given to the lower walls on three sides has had a favourable influence on the preservation of the fabric. As the walls approach the side of the hill more and more of them is preserved and those against the rock reach a height of 3·60 metres.

Here, as in the case of the Domestic Quarter, it has thus been possible to gain an almost complete idea of the construction of an upper storey.

The fact that access from the lower corridor (A 1) already described to the rooms beyond it to the East was controlled from within the corridor may itself be regarded as an indication that at any rate the main entrance to the house was not from the river-flat to the East. Direct access from the Palace was that which all *a priori* considerations would lead us to suppose was the principal aim of its occupant, and that could be obtained in the most expeditious manner by an entrance at an upper level on the

<sup>1</sup> See especially p. 4.

West or hill side. The paved causeway already described as leading towards the Northern Pillar Hall from the Theatral Area, if prolonged beyond that point, might have reached the terrace above the lower section of the present building. The best indication of the level of this original upper entrance can be gained, however, by following upwards the course of the staircase which had first been reached by means of the tunnelling.

Of the ten steps of this flight, all are of limestone except the top-most which is of gypsum. They are 85 centimetres wide,—about half the width of those of the Quadruple Staircase in its lowest flight,—with a depth of 35 centimetres and a tread of 15. The gypsum wall to the right<sup>1</sup> is one of the finest pieces of masonry yet brought to light in Knossos and is preserved to a height of nine courses.<sup>2</sup> A remarkable feature of this wall is the traces along its lower margin of a thin coating of red stucco directly applied to the masonry. This red stucco was also found adhering to the walls of the landing above.

This first flight of stairs leads to a landing of elongated form (3·8 metres East to West by 1·55 metre North to South), its great comparative length being explained by the fact that at this point the stairs branch into two heads. For this reason too there are two landing-blocks, with dowel-holes for wood construction, one on either side of the top of the first flight, instead of a single block of the kind as is usually the case.

An indication of the manner in which the landing and the flights of stairs descending and ascending from it were lighted is supplied by the wall which faces the heads of the stairs on the South side of the landing. This wall shows a low interval in the middle, 2·38 metres wide, flanked by *anta*-like wallings of limestone and gypsum rising to a greater height.<sup>3</sup> Such an opening seems naturally designed for a window. The borders of a window frame fixed in this opening would in fact correspond with the outer lines of the landing-blocks on either side of the descending staircase. That this was the case is further confirmed by the analogy of a similar broad window on a staircase landing of the small Palace excavated by the

<sup>1</sup> The wall to the left was of rougher construction, originally concealed by plaster.

<sup>2</sup> There are two narrow courses at bottom and top (the topmost 20 centimetres high) and seven between, ranging from 57 centimetres in height (the course next to bottom) to 40.

<sup>3</sup> The edges of these are bevelled off and this interval between the stone piers and the wood-work of the window frame must have been filled with plaster.

Italian Mission at Hagia Triada.<sup>1</sup> A window of this width would have served to light the flights to right and left as well as the central staircase.

Of the two heads of this flight, which both run up North, that on the East side had largely collapsed, only the first and the last three steps out of the original nine remaining in their places. The remaining fragments

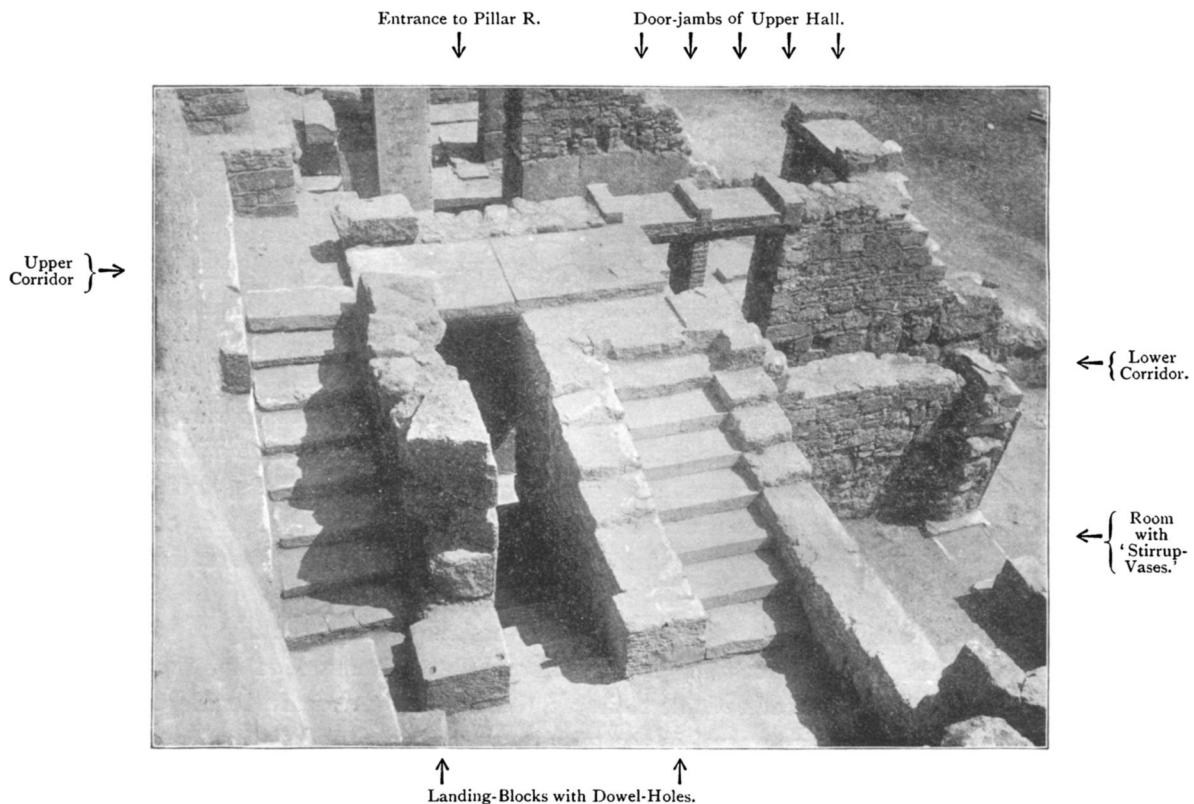


FIG. 86.—STAIRCASE WITH TWO HEADS; ROYAL VILLA.

were as far as possible recovered from the débris into which they had subsided and the whole flight restored in its original position.<sup>2</sup> A peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mackenzie to whom this observation is due observes: 'the sides of the H. Triada window are so well preserved that it is quite clear that the window was as wide as the stair and the stair *anteae* taken together. The window in that case had to light not only the stair but a corridor on either side.'

<sup>2</sup> The dimensions of these steps are the same as the others, except that the tread was slightly higher to make nine steps (including the threshold) correspond with ten in the companion flight to the West.

feature of this staircase is the appearance, where the ordinary eighth step should be, of the jamb and threshold of a small doorway. This doorway led to an upper corridor (A 2), corresponding with that below (A 1), and was controlled from it (see Fig. 86).

The ascending branch of the stairs on the West side of the first flight was, like it, in a practically intact condition, owing to the fact that neither of these,—as was the case with the Eastern branch,—was laid over sub-structures, but both rested on the solid ground. There were here ten steps as in the lowermost flight and their dimensions were the same.<sup>1</sup> This stairway has to its right the rough back of the fine gypsum wall that follows the lower stairs; the rubble plaster and stucco, which once covered it on this side, having fallen away. The opposite wall on the left or Western side of this ascending flight is of solid construction, mainly of gypsum blocks. Seven courses of this are in part preserved, the uppermost being a kind of flat coping, only 10 centimetres high. In this wall again are traces of what seems to have been another window opening.<sup>2</sup>

The top of this flight emerges, like the other to the East of it, on the end of the Upper Corridor (A 2). The West end of this Corridor also probably communicated with a terrace passage leading to the North wing of the house. What is extremely remarkable about this arrangement is that there seems to be no practical reason for this Upper Corridor to be thus approached by two flights of steps (which are in fact branches of the same staircase), emerging on it within a few feet of one another. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this arrangement of a staircase with a double head was adopted by the architect simply with an eye to symmetry and grandiose effect.

There is moreover every reason to believe that this arrangement of a flight of stairs with a double head was again repeated in a storey above this.

To the right of the flight last described, at the point where it reaches the Upper Corridor (A 2), is one of the usual limestone landing-blocks (x in Section Pl. I). On the opposite or Eastern side of this block is visible a triangular ledge such as usually occurs on such landing-blocks<sup>3</sup> for the

<sup>1</sup> Of these steps, Nos. 1, 2, 3 are of gypsum, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 of limestone, 9 of gypsum and 10 of limestone.

<sup>2</sup> This is Dr. Mackenzie's opinion. The actual interval in the wall here is broader (2·53 metres). The sill seems to have been about 1·30 above the landing floor.

<sup>3</sup> Compare especially the landing-blocks of the fourth flight of the Quadruple Staircase (*Reports*, 1902, p. 103; 1903, pp. 32, 33).

support of the first steps of a stairway when such a stairway runs above a hollow space below.<sup>1</sup> We have here then clear evidence of another flight of stairs ascending South, immediately over the first flight that leads upwards from the ground-floor Corridor. A further trace of its upward course is supplied by a slanting groove cut in a second block (T in Section Pl. I). At a somewhat higher level in the same wall, the continued line of the ascending steps is found to pass immediately over the corner of the flat slab, x in Section, which would have afforded additional support.

This upper Southward flight would thus have reached a rectangular landing corresponding with that below, and half way up to the next storey. That this second storey was itself reached by a double head of stairs running North, and corresponding with those below, seems to be demanded by considerations of symmetry and is best in accord with the structural indications below. Here, however, owing to the denudation caused by the slope of the hill, the direct evidence has been swept away.

The existence of an original cliff-face bordering the narrow terrace ledge reached by the first storey shows that the main line of approach from the Palace must have reached this Villa at a higher level. The analogy of the Quadruple Staircase would lead us to suppose that the chief entrance was at the level of the second storey. From this level a path with a very easy gradient would have brought the Villa into direct connexion with the Northern Palace entrance, the Pillar Hall, or the Theatral area beyond. It is impossible to say for certain whether there was yet another storey above this upper terrace level, giving the house four floors in all; but the analogy of the buildings surrounding the Central Court of the Palace seems to point that way.

In any case there are good grounds for supposing that from the main entrance of the Villa on this upper terrace level two double and two single flights of stairs, making six flights in all, led down to the ground-floor rooms and the principal hall.

The stateliness of this arrangement is self-evident, and some ceramic relics belonging to the upper storey have happily been preserved which show that the house itself was furnished and adorned in a princely style. A little above the floor of the lower landing, at its North-West angle, and

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mackenzie makes the just observation that these ledges are only cut in landing-blocks where there is such a hollow interval below. Where the steps rested on a solid foundation there was no such necessity. Thus in the present case no ledge has been cut in the opposite or Western side of the same landing-block, since the steps there rested on the solid ground.



FIG. 87a.—PAINTED 'STIRRUP-VASE' (FROM ABOVE).



FIG. 87b.—PAINTED 'STIRRUP-VASE.'

above the lowermost steps of the staircase thence ascending North, lay the remains of two extraordinarily fine painted vessels,—a stirrup-vase and a tall, handled jar, both in the later Palace Style, that had evidently reached the position in which they were found by falling from an upper level.

The stirrup-vase or ‘Bügelkanne,’ which it was possible to put completely together is shown in Figs. 87 *a* and *b*. The decoration is laid on in a lustrous orange brown on a paler lustred ground. The upper surface (Fig. 87 *a*) shows four rosettes, a feature taken from the faience inlays and their painted plaster imitations of the Palace Style. Over the body of the vase is a reticulated pattern and conventionalised flowers with dotted fringe, perhaps representing pistils and stamens. This design is of interest from its recurrence as the decoration of a man’s robe on a fresco fragment from the Domestic Quarter of the Palace.<sup>1</sup>

Thus both the architectonic feature supplied by the rosettes and the choice of a design taken from the embroidery of Court attire bring the present vase into the nearest relation with the artistic fashions of the latest period of the Palace. This evidence of contemporaneity has a special archaeological value from the fact that although ‘Stirrup-Vases’ are figured on one of the clay inventories, hitherto no single example of such a vessel had been brought to light in the Palace itself. Such vessels, indeed, had occurred in sufficient abundance on the site, but always of a decadent style and often exhibiting coarse octopus designs—dating from the subsequent period of Partial Habitation.

On the other hand we know from specimens found at Gournià and Hagia Triada that the form of vessel itself goes back to the age corresponding with the earliest period of the later Palace. Moreover, a rough spouted vase with two handles on each side of an *open* mouth found in the Palace at Knossos in 1901, and which seems to belong to the Middle Minōan Period, affords an indication that the typical Stirrup-Vase itself, with its closed mouth, sprang from an early Cretan prototype.

Still more magnificent was the tall painted jar found with this. Although part of the base and of one side was wanting it was possible to restore these missing fragments with certainty and to build up the whole vase as shown in Fig. 88. It is about 1·20 metre in height and repre-

<sup>1</sup> Report, &c., 1902: Fyfe, ‘Painted Plaster Decoration of Knossos,’ *Journ. R.I.B.A.*, 1902, p. 128, Fig. 69. (The figure has been placed there in a reversed position.)



FIG. 88.—PAINTED JAR WITH PAPYRUS RELIEFS FROM ROYAL VILLA.

sents a wholly new style of Late Minōan ceramic technique<sup>1</sup> in which the principal features of the design are rendered in relief. The plant here portrayed, with its triple sprays and buds, is a decorative adaptation of the papyrus. The wavy lines between the stalks may be a reminiscence of the zigzagging double lines indicating water, which in the Nilotic prototypes appear before or beside such clumps. In the intervals between the papyrus heads are raised circles enclosing rosette and aster patterns in relief and the broadest of these circles is itself impressed with similar stellate figures. The rosettes with raised ring borders, of which the largest and best examples appear on the side of the vase not shown in Fig. 88 resemble those depicted in the flat on the upper part of the companion vessel (Fig. 87).

We have here exemplified the most characteristic elements of the late 'Palace Style'—with its conventionalised and often exotic plants and architectonic motives. In this case, however, the reinforcement of colour by relief renders this highly stylised system of ceramic decoration doubly impressive. Certainly no known vase of the later period of the Palace can compare with this in magnificence of effect. It represents indeed the acme of the grand 'Palace Style' which—as we know from the Aegean painted pottery associated with Egyptian remains of the time of Amenhotep III and IV and Queen Tyi at Tell-el-Amarna and elsewhere—was already in complete decadence by the latter half of the fifteenth century B.C. The last days of the present Villa, as of the Palace itself, fall within an earlier time-limit. It will be seen below, however, that a part of the ground floor rooms at its South-East angle were inhabited by later 'squatters' during the period of decadence.

It is obvious that a painted jar of such calibre as the above, with its quasi-architectonic decoration, was well adapted to fill a prominent position in the building. From the situation in which its remains were found it seems likely that it had originally stood together with the 'stirrup-vase' on the second landing of the staircase.

This staircase, as has been shown, like the Quadruple Staircase of the Domestic Quarter of the Palace, was the natural line of access to the lower as well as the upper rooms, the main approach to the principal halls being in both cases from above.

<sup>1</sup> An indication of this style however appears in a pithos of Magazine 9 which shows rosettes painted on slightly convex disks enclosed by raised circles.

The lowest flight of stairs, as already mentioned, debouches on the ground floor Corridor A 1, which passes immediately on the left a small stair closet 2·20 metres deep and .75 centimetre wide, with a doorway opening inwards, and at its further end a ledge of masonry .30 centimetre high and .85 deep. It was formed by the utilisation of the space beneath the upper flight of stairs to the East, and answers to the closet of which the evidence was found beneath the Wooden Stairs of the Domestic Quarter.

The Corridor, A 1, which was apparently lined on both sides with gypsum plaques showing traces of red plaster decoration, after passing the double doorway on the left, communicating as will be seen with the principal Megaron, emerges at its East end on a kind of Hall with seven doorways. The three door-openings to the East of this are those which from the partial uncovering of their jambs led to the discovery of the house itself. They led to a further enclosed space the Eastern boundary line of which has disappeared owing to the slope of the ground, though, as will be shown, its position can be determined with sufficient certainty from other considerations. On this side we may safely assume that there existed one or more door openings leading to the gardens and running waters of this favoured spot.

On its South side the Hall shows two doorways opening into two small chambers separated by a thin partition consisting of gypsum slabs with a clay filling between them. That to the East (F 1) is a mere closet. The small room<sup>1</sup> to the West of this (G 1) had a panelling of similar gypsum slabs on all its walls. Its paving was partly of gypsum, partly of grey schist, and seems to have been originally coated with hard coloured plaster or cement.

The remaining South-West doorway of the Hall leads to a larger room H 1 (3·80 metres by 2·50), the door of which was controlled from within. Its flooring is mostly of plain clay with a strip of gypsum paving 1·25 metre wide along its South wall. Owing to the fact that it is enclosed on the West and South by exceptionally solid walls of gypsum and limestone blocks, one supporting the staircase, the other forming part of the outer walling of the house and resting itself against the soft rock, this room seems to have remained practically intact at a time when the greater part of the building must have been in ruins, and it thus offered facilities for

<sup>1</sup> Its dimensions are 2 metres East to West, by 1·70 North to South.

later 'squatters.' On its clay floor (itself symptomatic of this age of decline) were found, in fact, a series of 'stirrup-vases' with degraded octopus patterns. In this quarter of the building there were also found numerous fragments of pottery of the same late character (Fig. 92, p. 153) including the upper part of a painted clay 'idol' (Fig. 92 *c*). Others show a somewhat nearer relation to the 'Palace Style,' as if this corner of the building had been re-occupied rather soon after the catastrophe.

The 'Hall of the Seven Doorways' itself (E 1) has every characteristic of a public and passage room. It is, in fact, a kind of expansion of the Corridor. The only doors controlled from it were those leading outwards to the East. The rooms opening South and West had command of the doors leading from the Hall and were private in relation to it. The door from the Corridor was also controlled from that side. The pavement of this small *atrium* shows a square border round a central rectangle, pointing to an original decoration of coloured plaster.

Re-entering the Corridor from this 'Hall of the Seven Doorways' we reach once more the double door-opening already mentioned, which proved to lead to what for many reasons must be regarded as the principal 'Megaron' of the building.

This Megaron is divided into two main sections by a line of four gypsum door-jambs with double reveals, by means of which one section could if necessary be isolated from the other. We have here another example of the elastic disposition of the Minōan halls, such as is illustrated on a larger scale by the Hall of the Double Axes. When the double doors were thrown back they fitted into the jambs and piers so that these became simple pillars admitting free intercourse between one section and the other and making the whole in fact a single hall. When they were closed the sections became two separate rooms, each in this case with a light well of its own.

That part of the Eastern section of the hall, which immediately borders on the cross-line of door-openings, consisted of a rectangular paved area (4·55 metres North to South by 2·52 East to West) the finely cut gypsum slabs of which however have disappeared in the North and North-East parts of the room.<sup>1</sup> The South Wall of this section of the

<sup>1</sup> Along the South wall of the room runs a strip of gypsum paving 25 centimetres wide, raised slightly above the level of the rest of the pavement.

hall is covered by a lining of gypsum slabs,<sup>1</sup> which in the case of the North Wall<sup>2</sup> have been lost.

The Eastern limit of this sub-section of the hall is formed by a limestone stylobate, the line of which runs a little West of that followed by the door-openings of the smaller hall immediately South of it. Two grey and white column bases, of a stone resembling granite, rise from this stylobate which is cut out so as to collar round them. The stylobate itself terminates in two flat bases in the rubble wall lines on either side, these being grooved out for the reception of gypsum blocks, of which that belonging to the Southern Wall has alone been preserved.<sup>3</sup>

Beyond this portico we should by all analogy expect one of the usual rectangular light areas with cement flooring. Owing to the falling away of the ground the actual wall lines are only traceable for a very short distance beyond the stylobate, but fortunately the existence of a diagonal outer wall belonging to a triangular enclosure immediately North of this sub-section of the hall supplies a satisfactory basis for delimitation on this side. A *terminus ad quem* is given by the point at which this converging wall line would meet that of the Northern Wall of the hall itself if produced. That there was here in fact a rectangular light-well of the usual kind is further shown by the existence, a little East of the stylobate, of the remains of a paved foundation for the cement flooring that characterises such areas,—consisting of small pieces of limestone and gypsum slabs.

Returning now from the portico and light-well to the interior section of the 'Megaron' we notice in the gypsum thresholds of the three door-openings that give access to it distinct traces of the rubbing caused by the opening and shutting of the doors. These are especially visible in the case of the middle doorway, and show that the doors, which were in each case double, opened Westward towards the inner part of the chamber, and were therefore controlled from that side.

On this inner side, again, opens a finely paved rectangular area,—in this case, 4 metres East to West by 4·55 North to South. The gypsum slabs, in places a good deal crushed by the falling in of upper chambers, here show a very neat arrangement. In the centre is a rectangular panel

<sup>1</sup> These slabs do not go down to the level of the pavement but leave an interval of 12 centimetres. Both North and South walls are of rubble construction.

<sup>2</sup> The North Wall was found to rest on a broader foundation wall which projects 20 centimetres beyond the line of its South face.

<sup>3</sup> Its height is 71 centimetres and breadth 47 centimetres.

(1.17 by 0.86 metre) surrounded at a small interval by a nearly square border of slabbing, which in turn is framed, with another small interval between, by a similar border of slabs, following the boundaries of this part of the hall. The intervals between these different sections of pavement contained a hard plaster or cement filling, which had been coloured red. We have here an indication that the whole pavement was varied with successive zones of colouring as in the case of the Throne Room.

The gypsum wainscoting is preserved on the walls of this part of the hall to a height of 1.30 metre. But the most interesting feature of this section is the system of constructions that occupy its Western end.

The square paved area above described was found to be bordered on this side by a double balustrade with three steps ascending between them. Access was thus given to an area of elongated rectangular form, backed by a wall of fine gypsum masonry. But the most remarkable feature was a square niche in the middle of this wall containing the remains of a gypsum chair or throne (see Fig 89, the section in Pl. I.).

The balustrades, as will be seen from Fig. 89, run out from *antae* in the two side walls,<sup>1</sup> and on each side of the steps they show a pilaster-like projection. Their construction is of the kind usual in such cases, with an interval to be filled with woodwork (at present replaced), between the upper and lower slabs. The pilaster-like parts are formed of solid gypsum blocks : the rest of the lower section is constructed of masonry faced with gypsum slabs. The wooden casing was backed by rubble and plaster. The upper parts of the balustrades consisted of flat gypsum slabs, 13.5 centimetres high, near the ends of which, facing the steps, was in each case a raised square base.<sup>2</sup> Of these the Northern base still showed the round mark left by one of the two wooden columns that had stood here on either side. The arrangement here recalls that of the Palace baths and of the Queen's Megaron.

The steps are of gypsum, just wide enough to admit the comfortable passage of a single person.<sup>3</sup> On the second step a tall lamp of lilac gypsum with a finely modelled pedestal<sup>4</sup> stood in position, apparently as it had been left at the time when the Villa was deserted. The part of the gypsum

<sup>1</sup> These are shown restored. They project 20 centimetres from the wall. The length of each balustrade is 1.70 metre ; the breadth 0.70, and the height 0.80.

<sup>2</sup> 34 centimetres square.

<sup>3</sup> They are 62 centimetres broad, 32 deep, and have a tread of 12 centimetres.

<sup>4</sup> The lamp is 52 centimetres high, and its receptacle above is 22 centimetres in diameter.

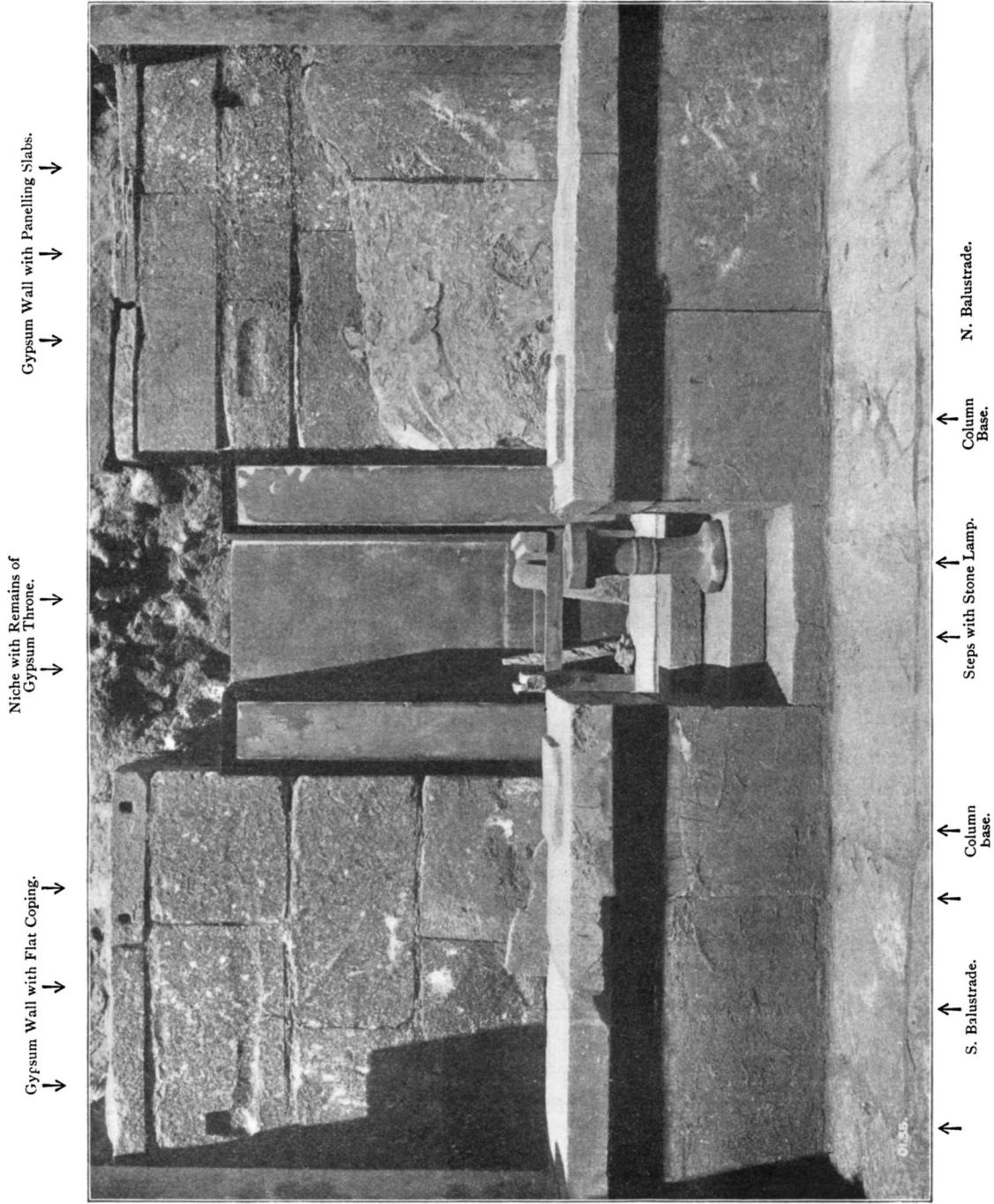


FIG. 89.—WEST END OF BASILICAN HALL SHOWING BALUSTRADE, RAISED PLATFORM, AND NICHE WITH REMAINS OF THRONE.

step covered by its base had been better preserved than the rest of the surface of the step, and in consequence of this stood out from it as a raised disk.

The long narrow platform thus approached which lies between the balustrades and the back wall is paved with good gypsum slabs. It is 4·45 metres long—answering to the width of the rest of the hall—but only 60 centimetres deep, thus affording no more than standing room.

This paved platform is backed by a fine gypsum wall rising on each side of the central niche to a height of 2·15 metres. These walls are built against the cut face of the rock and the uppermost course on either side is a coping of flat slabs. These as well as the rubble walls at each end of the platform were lined with gypsum panels.

The square niche was constructed in an interval<sup>1</sup> in the back wall of this platform. It is 62 centimetres wide and 43 deep, and its slab lining was 1·67 metre high,<sup>2</sup> the back slabs resting against the cut face of the soft sandy rock. Wooden posts with a stucco backing had stood at the outer angles of the niche, and for purposes of conservation this framing has been restored.

The gypsum chair or throne, the remains of which were found in this small square apse was unfortunately too much broken and decomposed to admit of restoration. It was clear however from the dimensions of some of the pieces that it had exactly fitted the niche. The remaining pieces were plain in character and seem to have formed the inner skeleton of the seat the construction of which was probably supplemented by wood work and decorative plaster. From the appearance of a vacant space above, it looks as if the niche itself had been covered by a wooden impost forming a canopy and also probably embellished with painted plaster.

The analogy of similar constructions in the Palace leaves little doubt that the elongated space enclosed by the balustrade and columns on one side and the back wall with the niche on the other was some form of light-well. An interesting feature about the back wall,—the massive gypsum masonry of which is well shown where its panelling of the same material has broken away—is a top course of flat slabs such as are generally associated with parapets in Minōan buildings. It seems in fact as if the

<sup>1</sup> This interval itself is 1·30 metre wide.

<sup>2</sup> It was found necessary to replace the upper parts of these slabs which were in a much decomposed condition. On the South side of the niche only the lower slab was preserved.

wall had here stepped back like that above the Southern light-well of the Queen's Megaron—the Area of the Bird Fresco—to facilitate the incidence of light. Here the steep rise of the rock behind made this device the more necessary.

But, while there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here to do with a light-well, certain differences in construction show that it could not have been one of those—like that to the East of the portico above described,—directly open to the sky above.

The regular rule with regard to such exposed spaces is that the facing of the walls is of limestone, while the area itself has a cement surface and is provided with a drain. In the present case both the masonry and its facing are of gypsum, there are paving slabs of the same material in place of cement, and so far from there being any trace of a drain it is evident that water falling into the area would pour down the steps into the hall below.

We must therefore conclude that the present light area was roofed over at a higher level and received its light by means of a clerestory looking West. The room above the Megaron must naturally have been lit by the same covered opening.<sup>1</sup>

We have here then a long hall, 4·55 metres in width and with a total length of 11·50 metres,<sup>2</sup> divided into four component parts—the raised light area with its niche, the paved space within the door openings, that contained within the portico beyond, and the originally cement-coated light-well following on to it to the East. And when we come to consider the completed plan in connexion with its most striking features,—the raised dais flanked by the balustrades and pillars and the throne in the square niche behind, commanding the whole length of the hall—it is impossible not to be struck with the parallel thus presented to the later *Basilica*.

Naturally the comparison can only be made on general lines, but we have here, overlooking the pillar-hall, a raised *tribunal* with its *cancelli* and *exedra*, in the central niche of which is the seat of honour, answering to the place of the episcopal throne in the early Christian building of the same name. The pillar hall itself contains moreover the elements of a triple division marked by the two columns of the balustrade, the central piers in

<sup>1</sup> The same evidence tends to show that the 'tank' of the Throne Room, and the Northern and South-East bath with their gypsum parapets and facings were lit in a similar manner.

<sup>2</sup> Not including the depth of the niche.

line with them and the two columns bordering the light-well to the East. The clerestory seems to have been confined to its West end.

But this comparison gains an extraordinary interest when we recall the historic origin of the *basilica* itself, Christian and Roman, from the *βασιλική* or *στοὰ βασιλέως*, of the Archôn Basileus at Athens, who stood forth as the sacral representative of an earlier King. That the pillar-hall of the Archôn Basileus must eventually be sought in the Megaron of a prehistoric Palace had already been recognised,<sup>1</sup> but at a time when comparisons were, perforce, confined to theoretic re-constructions of Homeric halls by the light of later Greek houses.

The materials for comparison now supplied by this Knossian 'Megaron' are of a very different order. It does not seem indeed an unwarrantable conclusion that we have here actually an example of a type of royal hall such as may have existed in the Cretan Palaces themselves on a more spacious scale. The present Villa must in any case be recognised as a dependency of the Palace, and has itself every claim to be regarded as a Princely abode. The exceptional scale on which it is built, with its successive storeys, distinguishes, it from the other dwelling houses about. In the solidity and stateliness of its construction, with its fine gypsum walls and flights of stone stairs with their double heads, as well as in its magnificent furniture—as evidenced by the jar with papyrus reliefs—it rivals and in some respects excels any part of the Palace itself. Lying as it does almost within a stone's throw of the Northern Entrance, on the cool side of the hill and within easy access to the stream and the gardens watered by it, the house and its surroundings seem naturally marked out as a summer pleasance. We have here a Royal Villa, and it is allowable to believe that the throne within the niche, commanding the whole length of its principal hall, was actually occupied by a King or princely scion of Minôan stock. There has here, in short, been brought to light the true historic analogue of the 'Royal pillar-hall' of later times.

The tendency of such an arrangement to survive would be all the greater if, as seems to result from the great religious element in the Palace finds, we have here to do with rulers who performed priestly as well as religious functions. It was indeed this side of the old Athenian kingship that survived in the later office of the Archôn Basileus.

<sup>1</sup> See especially K. Lange, *Haus und Halle, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Wohnhauses und der Basilika* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 60 seqq.

In this connexion it is interesting to notice that the chamber (see Fig. 90) with which this basilican hall immediately communicates to the North is an extraordinarily fine example of a Pillar Room such as those of the Palace, and which seem to have formed a principal feature of the Minōan domestic sanctuaries.<sup>1</sup>

The doorway leading to this Pillar Room opens in the North Wall of the Megaron just outside that end of the balustrade. The plan of this doorway and threshold is of special interest not only from the door marks but from the presence of a socket for the bolt as well as for each of the hinges.<sup>2</sup> The doors, which were double, opened inwards towards the Pillar Room and were therefore controlled from that side.

The room itself (D 1 in plan) is nearly square,—4'15 metres North to South by 4 metres East to West. The central pillar, composed of two gypsum blocks, is 1'82 metre high and 52 centimetres square. The paved flooring of the room, which is 20 centimetres above the level of that of the neighbouring hall, is of finely cut gypsum slabs. Immediately surrounding the pillar is a square framework of slabs, and another similar bordering follows the walls of the room. Between the inner panel of pavement and this outer border is a square channel, 47 centimetres wide and 6 deep, paved with gypsum slabs like the rest of the floor. In this channel, East and West of the pillar on either side, is a small oblong receptacle.<sup>3</sup> We have here a feature analogous on a smaller scale to the vats in a similar position in the East Pillar Room of the Palace.

Another curious feature of the room is a group of small dowel-holes in the South-East corner of the room, which may have stood in connexion with some fixed article of furniture.<sup>4</sup> As to the original contents or decoration of the rooms there was however no clue. The soil within it had all the appearance of later filling, and there can be little doubt that at some past period this Pillar Room had been methodically overhauled in search of treasure.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The plan is given in Fig. 6, p. 15. See p. 14, No. 1. It is there called 'North door of North-East house.'

<sup>3</sup> That to the West is hollowed out of a single block of gypsum, that to the East has its West side formed of a separate piece. The West 'Vat' is 44 centimetres North to South by 37 East to West and 12 centimetres deep. The East 'Vat' is 46 centimetres North to South by 35 East to West and 16 deep. The latter receptacle had been plugged by a small block.

<sup>4</sup> There is a similar dowel-hole in the North border and another in the South-West corner of the room.

The room itself is of extremely solid construction. It is built of large gypsum blocks with good faces inwards, the other side being left rough or splayed away. This rough side was, however, rendered invisible by a coating of rubble and plaster, and, on the side of the Megaron, in addition to this, by the gypsum wainscoting.

From their solidity of construction the walls of this room are in singularly good preservation (see Fig. 90). Of the East Wall, owing to the slope of the hill, only three courses are preserved, but the South Wall

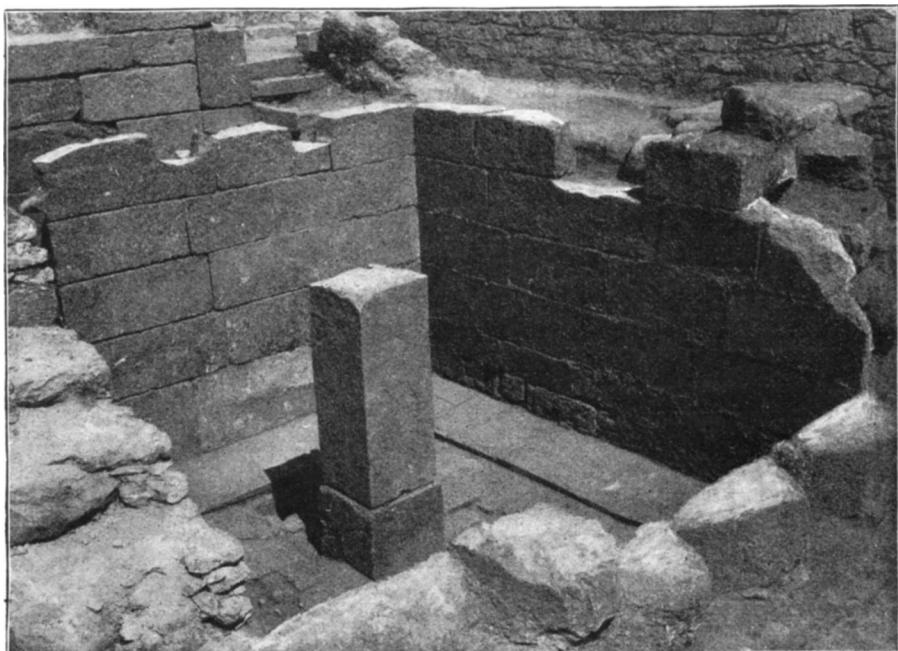


FIG. 90.—PILLAR ROOM; ROYAL VILLA.

shows five, the North six, and the West Wall seven: both of the two latter rising to a height of 2·43 metres. There is no evidence of any means of lighting this room except through the door.

The topmost course of the North and West Walls presents a most interesting feature. In the North Wall, just opposite the pillar and on a level with its summit, an opening has been left for a large square beam which rested on the pillar and formed the principal support for the roof of the room. At a somewhat higher level than this the blocks of the upper-

most course of the West Wall are cut out in a semicircular fashion to receive the round cross beams that rested on the square main beam already described (see Section, Pl. I). One of these crossed halfway between the pillar and the North Wall, the second directly over the pillar, and the third, of which only a segment of the socket is preserved, halfway again between the pillar and the South Wall. It is thus for the first time possible to reconstruct the whole arrangement of the roofing of a Minōan chamber.

The timber employed for roofing this small area was certainly of extraordinary dimensions. The main beam was 80 centimetres in breadth and about 60 high, the cross beams had a diameter of 44 centimetres. It would be difficult to find the materials for beams like these in modern Crete.

Once more we are struck with the careful precautions taken against damp in the construction of the walls nearest to the rock face of the hill. The North Wall, instead of being built directly against the cutting in the rock, is separated from it by an interval with short cross walls serving as its support. On the other hand, in accordance with a favourite device of the Minōan architects, the West Wall is kept back from the face of the soft rock by the interposition of a passage way—in this case a narrow staircase.

This staircase is entered from the South-West corner of the Pillar Room and has a width of 71 centimetres. There are ten steps, found in a considerably weathered condition, going up North.<sup>1</sup> The West Wall of the stairs is constructed of good gypsum blocks with limestone here and there: it is built up against the virgin rock and has eight courses preserved, rising to a height of 3·05 metres. The opposite or right wall is formed by the back of the West wall of the Pillar Room. At the top of the stair is a square landing, beyond which two further steps<sup>2</sup> are seen going up West, the upper of which forms another landing. On the North side of this appear the gypsum jambs of a doorway giving access to a gallery running East, in which some paving was visible.

A door-jamb found on this level shows that there was an entrance from this gallery to a room above the Pillar Room. Two jambs found in position on the opposite side of this chamber show that on the South it opened, in turn, into a room above the lower Megaron. Of this upper chamber two jambs with double reveals came to light above the two Southernmost of the line of piers below. A double doorway of this upper hall was found

<sup>1</sup> The steps are 30 centimetres deep and have a tread of 18 centimetres.

<sup>2</sup> The lower of these is of gypsum, the upper of limestone.

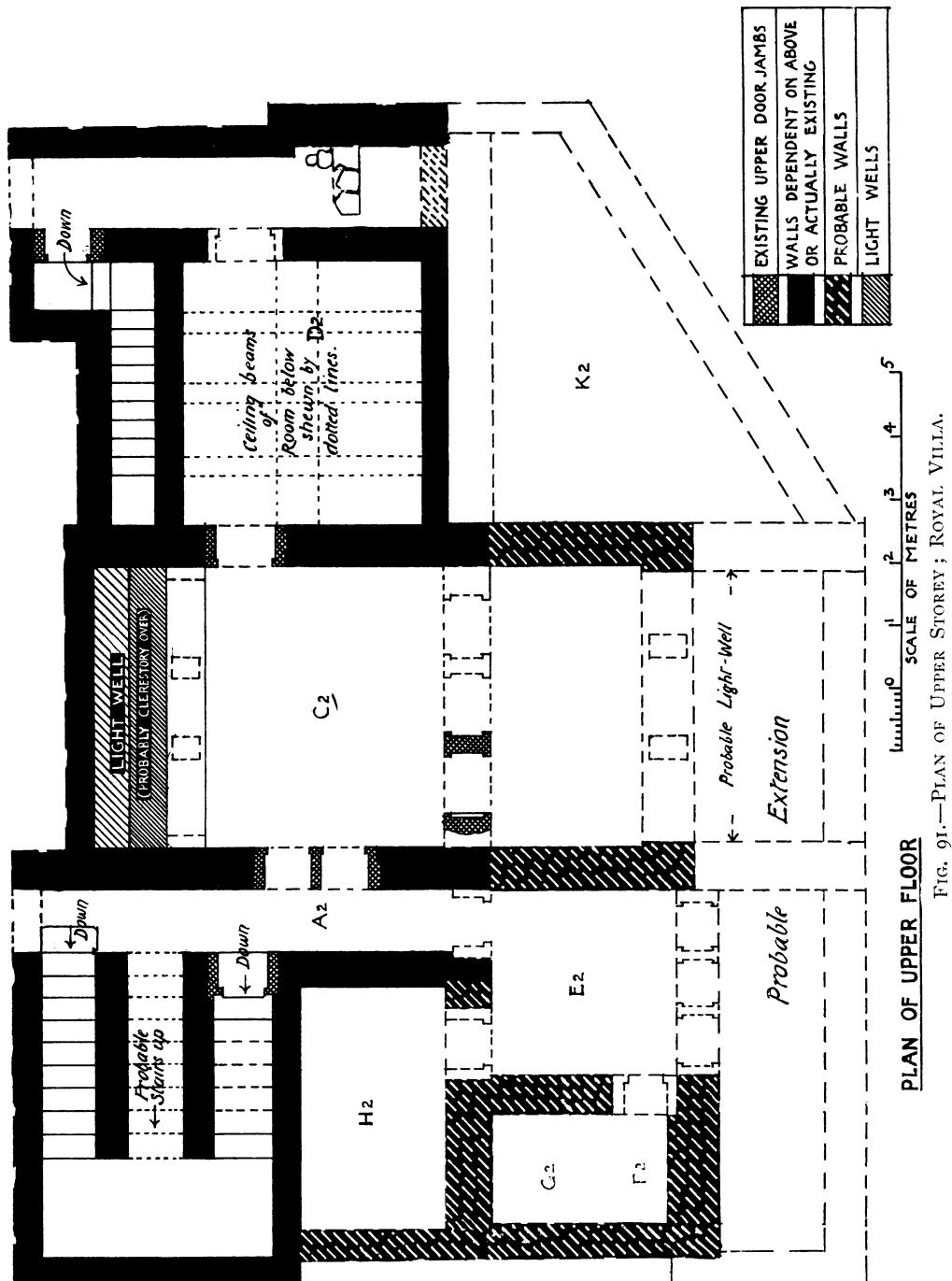


FIG. 91.—PLAN OF UPPER STOREY; ROYAL VILLA.

immediately above that of the Megaron below, leading into the upper Corridor, A 2. These upper storey-jambs, together with parts of the adjoining pavement, have been preserved in position with the help of brick piers.

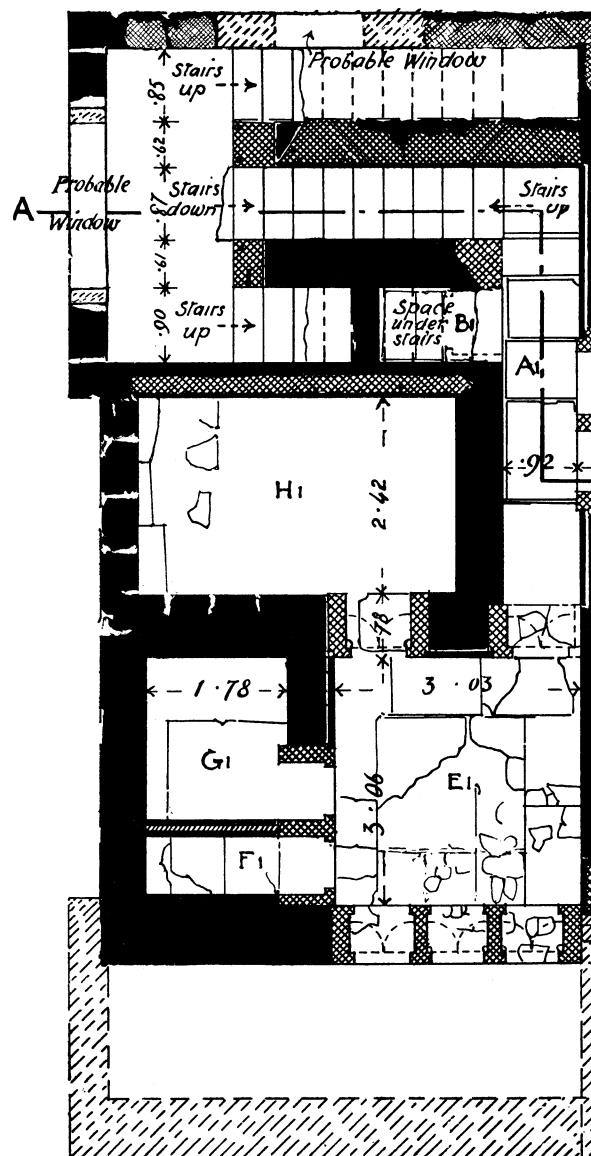
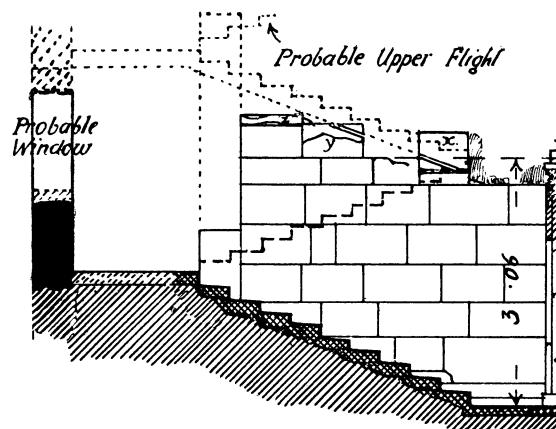
It will be seen from Fig. 91 that it has been possible, as in the case of the Domestic Quarter of the Palace, to recover practically the whole plan of the first upper storey. It appears moreover that, just as the evidence has been preserved of a large chamber with piers and columns above the Hall of the Double Axes, so here too there seems to have existed an upper hall divided into two sections by a similar line of door-jambs above the principal Megaron or 'Basilica' of the Royal Villa.

A negative phenomenon noticed throughout this building deserves mention. Unlike the generality of the Palace rooms, the remains here contained hardly a vestige of burnt wood. There is no obvious sign of destruction by fire, and the door-posts and beams which elsewhere have been preserved in consequence of their carbonisation had here left no trace beyond their empty sockets. It looks as if the Villa had been plundered and perhaps partially ruined at the time of the great catastrophe and was afterwards left to gradual decay, doubtless accelerated by flood waters and landslips from the declivity above.

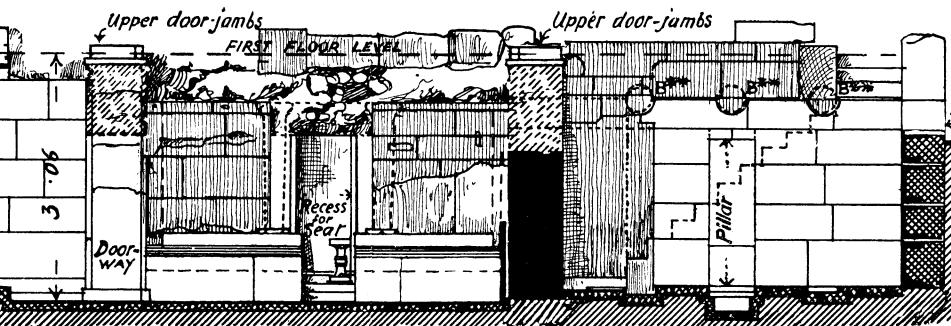
ARTHUR J. EVANS.



FIG. 92.—PAINTED POTTERY FROM ROYAL VILLA BELONGING TO THE PERIOD OF PARTIAL HABITATION.

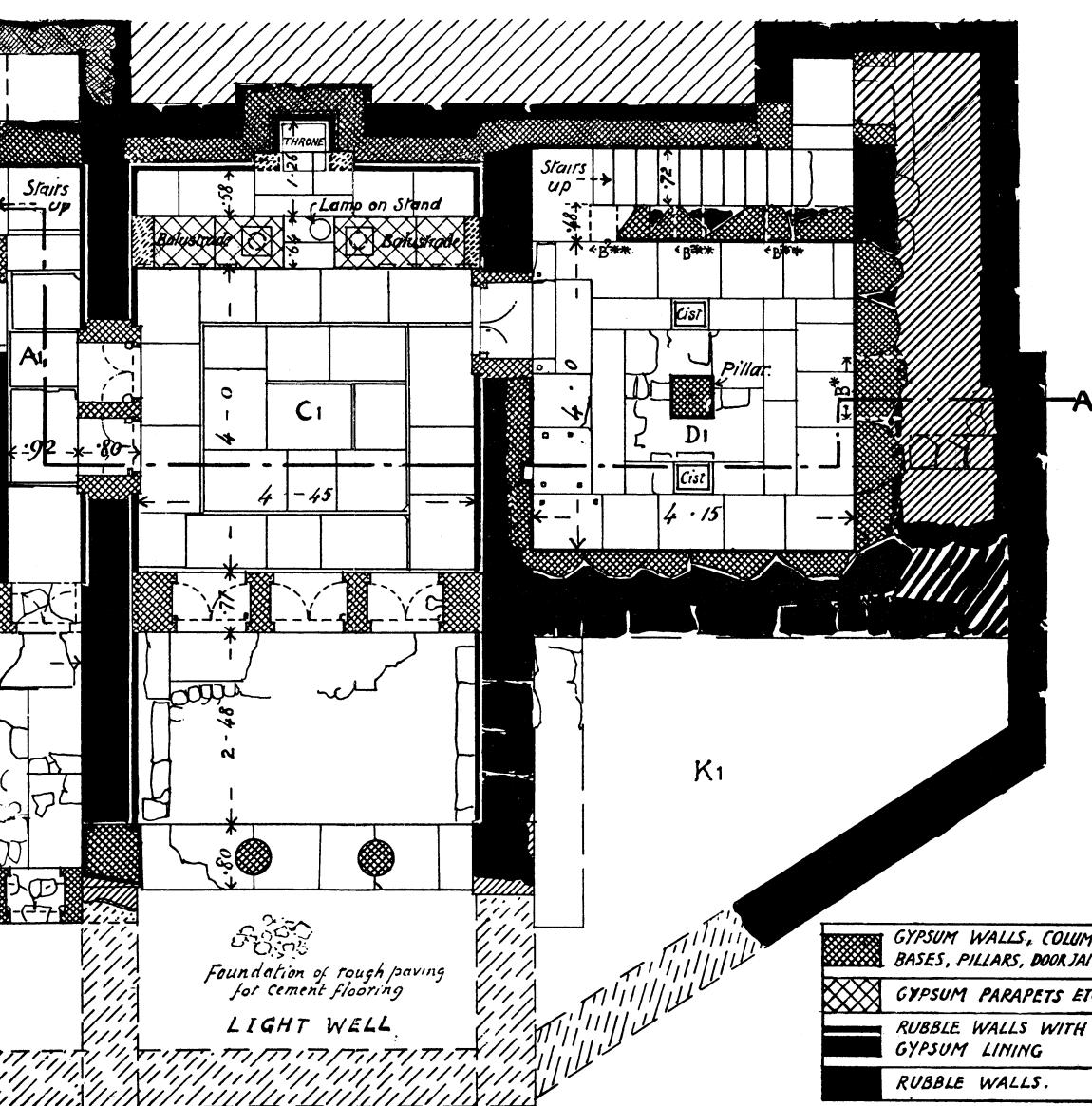


light



N.B.

B\* SHews squared hole in wall for main ceiling beam over pillar. (-80 wide)  
B\*\* shews half-round holes for cross beams resting on main beam. (-44 diam.)

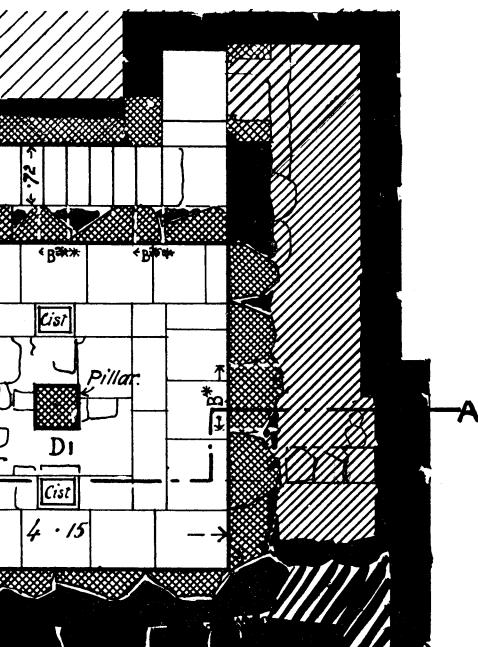
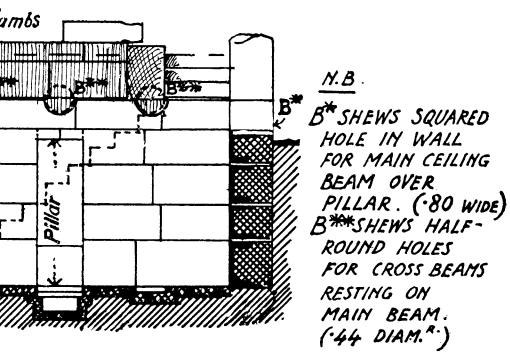


PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR

SCALE OF METRES

D.T. FYFE  
1903.

PLAN AND SECTION OF ROYAL VILLA, KNOSSOS (see p. 132).



K1

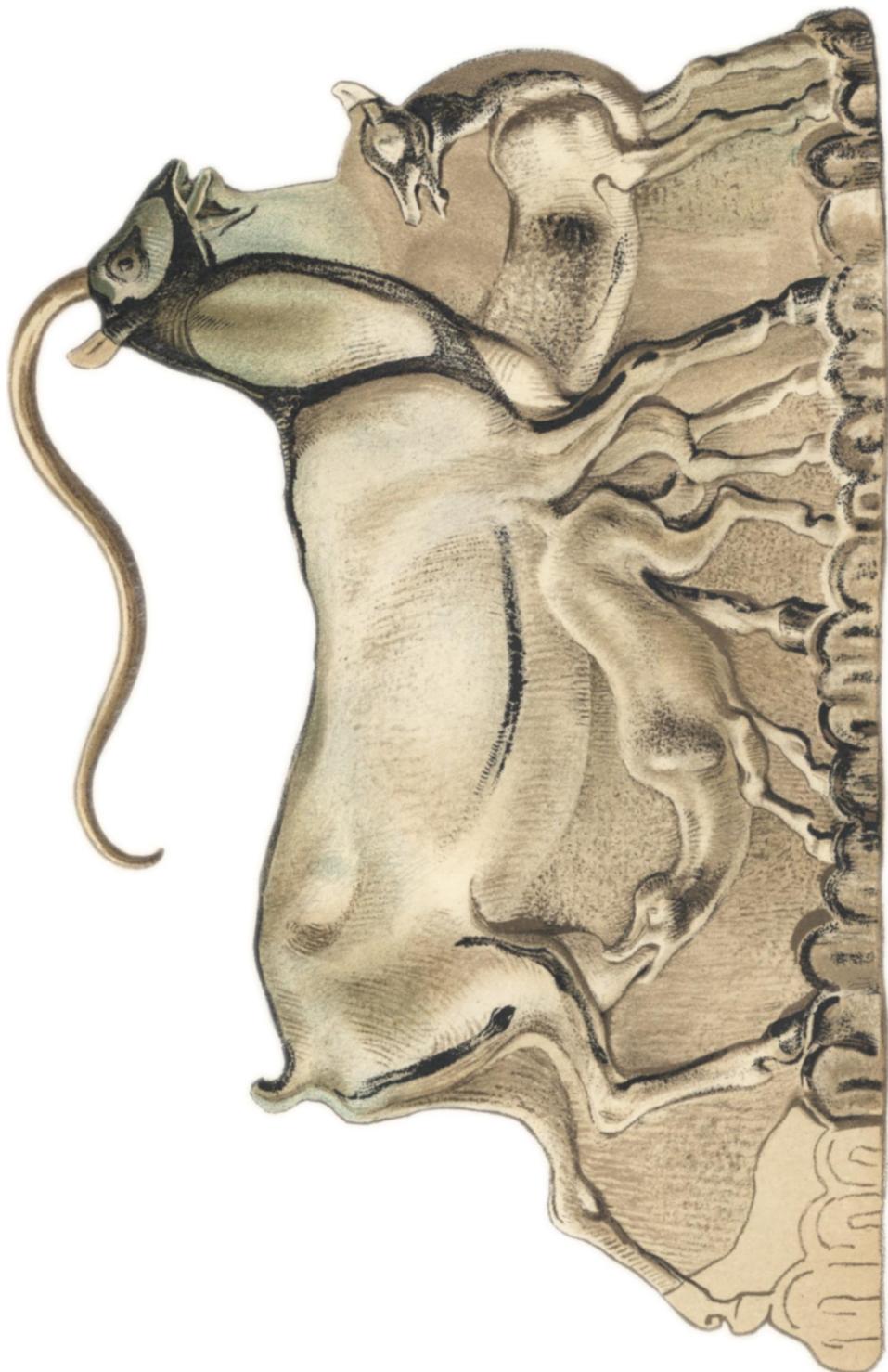
GYPSUM WALLS, COLUMN-BASES, PILLARS, DOOR-JAMBS.
GYPSUM PARAPETS ETC.
RUBBLE WALLS WITH GYPSUM LINING
RUBBLE WALLS.

0 1 2 3 4 5  
SCALE OF METRES D.T. FYFE 1903.

2).



MIDDLE MINOAN POLYCHROME POTTERY (FIRST PALACE, KNOSSOS) FROM BELOW OLIVE PRESS ROOM.



FAIENCE RELIEF: WILD GOAT AND YOUNG. FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY OF SECOND PALACE, KNOSSOS.