

THE  
PREHISTORIC TOMBS OF KNOSSOS.

- I. THE CEMETERY OF ZAFER PAPOURA.  
II. THE ROYAL TOMB OF ISOPATA.

BY

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WITH 13 PLATES AND 147 FIGURES IN THE TEXT.



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*The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos.* By ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., Litt.D.,  
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I.—THE CEMETERY OF ZAFER PAPOURA: WITH A COMPARATIVE NOTE ON A  
CHAMBER-TOMB AT MILATOS.

§ 1. *The Types of Sepulture.*

ABOUT 600 metres due north of the prehistoric Palace of Knossos begins the rise of a flat-topped hill, here traversed by a long line of Roman walling, from which the neighbouring hamlet, sole survivor of the ancient city, gains its name of Makryteichos. The hill itself is known as Zafer Papoura (Τοῦ Ζαφὲρ ἡ παπούρα) and on its lower slope there had already been brought to light remains of houses belonging to the extensive Minoan town, the "Wide Knossos" of Homeric tradition, which seems to have extended on every side of the Palace.

That this hill might contain a Minoan cemetery was rendered the more probable by Mr. Hogarth's discovery in 1900 of eight isolated tombs along a low cliff-edge on its further side.<sup>a</sup> Seven of these tombs contained Geometric interments, but their chamber shape and rock-cut entrance passage or *dromos* showed that they had originally belonged to an earlier period. Some scattered relics of their original contents were in fact found, such as bronze knife-blades<sup>b</sup> and a

<sup>a</sup> *Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. vi. p. 82, *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> From Tomb 4.

bronze tripod,<sup>a</sup> of a form identical with one found at Enkomi in Cyprus, in a Late Mycenæan connexion. The remaining tomb,<sup>b</sup> a vaulted chamber 8 feet square, approached by a *dromos* 16 feet long, contained disturbed remains of its original Minoan contents, without any Geometrical admixture. Parts of a male skeleton were scattered on the floor just within the tomb. Fragments of five painted Mycenæan vases, including a large squat *aryballos* in greenish ware with black spiralforn ornament, were found in the tomb, and parts of two bronze depilatory tweezers. Hardly covered by the earth, just outside the entrance to the *dromos*, lay another skeleton accompanied by a bronze mirror and a small object in blue paste with rosettes in relief.

Mr. Hogarth searched in vain for more Minoan tombs along the cliff face to the south,<sup>c</sup> and these indications of early interments remained isolated till in 1904 the renewed explorations, made under my direction in quest of a burial place in connexion with the prehistoric town, led to the discovery of an extensive cemetery on the eastern slope of the hill. The credit of finding the first tombs here was due to my mender Joannes Papadakis, and the successful tracing out of the ramifications of the necropolis was mainly owing to the extraordinary *flair* of the foreman Antonios Gregoriou, who had also worked here for Mr. Hogarth, and whose life-long application to this congenial pursuit on early Cypriote sites has made him probably the most expert tomb-hunter of the Levant.

I was fortunate both here and on the site of the Royal Tomb subsequently explored in having the expert assistance of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie in directing the works, and have also had at my disposal his daybooks of the excavations. The objects illustrated below were for the most part drawn by the Danish artist Mr. Halvor Bagge.

The eastern slope of the hill along which the cemetery extends is composed of soft rock, a kind of rotten limestone, locally known as *kouskouras*, in most places covered with a very shallow deposit of surface soil. Wherever there had been an ancient shaft or the cutting of a tomb-passage this deposit was naturally deeper, and it was thus possible in many cases to locate the graves from the occurrence of certain herbs with exceptionally long roots.

In all a hundred tombs were opened. Of these a small proportion may be

<sup>a</sup> From Tomb 3.

<sup>b</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 82, No. 1. The tomb had been originally closed by a door of dry walling.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Hogarth concludes (*op. cit.* p. 85): "The native diggers seem never to have found graves earlier than Geometric; and after a two months' search I fear I leave the solution of the Knossian cemetery problem but little advanced."

brought within the limits of the period when the great neighbouring Palace still existed as a royal abode and was exercising a dominant influence. But the bulk of the tombs unquestionably belong to the age immediately succeeding this, when the Palace itself was in ruins or was at most partially inhabited. In the main therefore the remains here brought to light illustrate what I have elsewhere found it convenient to define as the Third Late-Minoan Period, though, as will be pointed out below, they do not seem to reach its lower limit.

The tombs, which in this cemetery all contained skeleton interments, were of three main classes: (a) *Chamber-Tombs* excavated in the soft rock with a passage or *dromos* leading down to them; (b) *Shaft-Graves*, each with a lesser cavity below, roofed over with stone slabs and containing the extended skeleton; and (c) *Pit-caves* or oblong pits giving access to a walled cavity in one of their larger sides below, within which was the interment. From the character of their contents it appears that all these three forms of sepulture were in use contemporaneously.

(a) *The Chamber-Tombs.*

Rock-cut tombs of this class, approached by a *dromos*, are sufficiently well known both in Crete and in Mainland Greece. In contrast to some previously known Cretan tombs of this type that exhibit a round,<sup>a</sup> horse-shoe,<sup>b</sup> or oval ground plan, the shape of these generally showed below an approach to a square outline, the upper part forming a low cupola or arch. This square form, which was prevalent in the contemporary cemeteries of Mainland Greece,<sup>c</sup> is also well authenticated on other Cretan sites.

It is found in the case of built tombs at Praesos,<sup>d</sup> and at least one example of a square rock-cut chamber occurred at Phaestos.<sup>e</sup> In 1899 I already had the opportunity of exploring a chamber-tomb of rectangular outline at Milatos in

<sup>a</sup> *E.g.* the chamber-tomb of Anoja Messaritika described by Orsi (*Mon. Ant.* i. (1890), 6).

<sup>b</sup> At Prinies, A. Taramelli, *Ricerche archeologiche Cretesi: Mon. Ant.* ix. (1899), 49; Palaikastro, Bosanquet, *B. S. A.* viii. 304; Milatos, Orsi, *op. cit.* 10; Praesos, Bosanquet, *B. S. A.* viii. 251, 252.

<sup>c</sup> Those, for instance, of the Lower Town at Mycenae, cf. Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, p. 121 *seqq.*; *οι θάλαμοι είναι εις τὸ πλεῖστον τετράγωνοι* (p. 128). Cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1891, p. 2 *seqq.* The round form is, however, also found. See Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenæan Age*, 135.

<sup>d</sup> Bosanquet, *B. S. A.* viii. 245, 246.

<sup>e</sup> Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 31, fig. 17. This tomb was, however, of an exceptional character, since it included a second chamber of pentagonal form.

Crete, the plan and arrangement of which is given below for purposes of comparison.<sup>a</sup>

It is true that in many cases the corners of the chambers are rounded, and in some of the smaller tombs a more circular outline is observable.<sup>b</sup> That the round or elliptical form of chamber-tomb is typologically the earlier must be regarded as certain. It is the natural form of the artificial cave dwellings of a far more primitive age, of which these sepulchral abodes are simply the survival. Large, built *tholi* of this class, constructed of rough stones, were, as we now know, used as ossuaries in Crete at a much earlier period.<sup>c</sup>

In the case of the built tombs or *tholi* of Mycenæan Greece, the rounded form is still generally adhered to. In Crete, however, the square outline is found, as at Praesos, also in the built sepulchral chambers, and a still more striking example from the neighbourhood of Knossos will be described below.

The chambers of the tombs of Zafer Papoura were in each case entered by a doorway, generally blocked by a double or threefold walling of rough stones. This door was approached by a rock-hewn *dromos* or passage somewhat wider than the doorway, and sloping down to it with steps at intervals. (See figs. 1 *a, b, c*, Grave No. 92.) The *dromos* was continued below in many cases as a tunnel, and its walls sloped inwards so as to form a section like the galleries in the walls of Tiryns. The sides of the doors were also slightly battered in the same way. Fig. 2 gives a view of the entrance passage of Tomb 92, the open door of which was immediately approached by steps. These lie beyond the end of the slope visible in the illustration.

The entrance to the *dromos* was in almost all cases from the east, but this orientation was practically necessitated by the fact that the slope of the hill was here throughout in an easterly direction. The tombs found on the other side of the hill opened, as naturally, on the west. Neither can it be said that there was any fixed arrangement as to the interments within the chambers. The

<sup>a</sup> See below, figs. 104*a* and 104*b*.

<sup>b</sup> See below, fig. 84.

<sup>c</sup> One of these was excavated by Professor Halbherr at Hagia Triada in 1904. See *Memorie del r. Istituto Lombardo*, 1905. Others have now been brought to light by the Cretan Ephor of Antiquities, Dr. Stephanos Xanthoudides, at Kumasa. The objects contained in these primitive *tholi* belong to what I have elsewhere defined as the Second and Third Early-Minoan Periods, which precede the great age of the Cretan Palaces. There can be no doubt that the Hagios Onouphrios deposit (*Cretan Pictographs, etc.*, Quaritch, London, 1905, p. 105 *seqq.*) represents the contents of an ossuary *tholos* of this early class.



skeletons found on the floors, in a more or less extended position, sometimes had

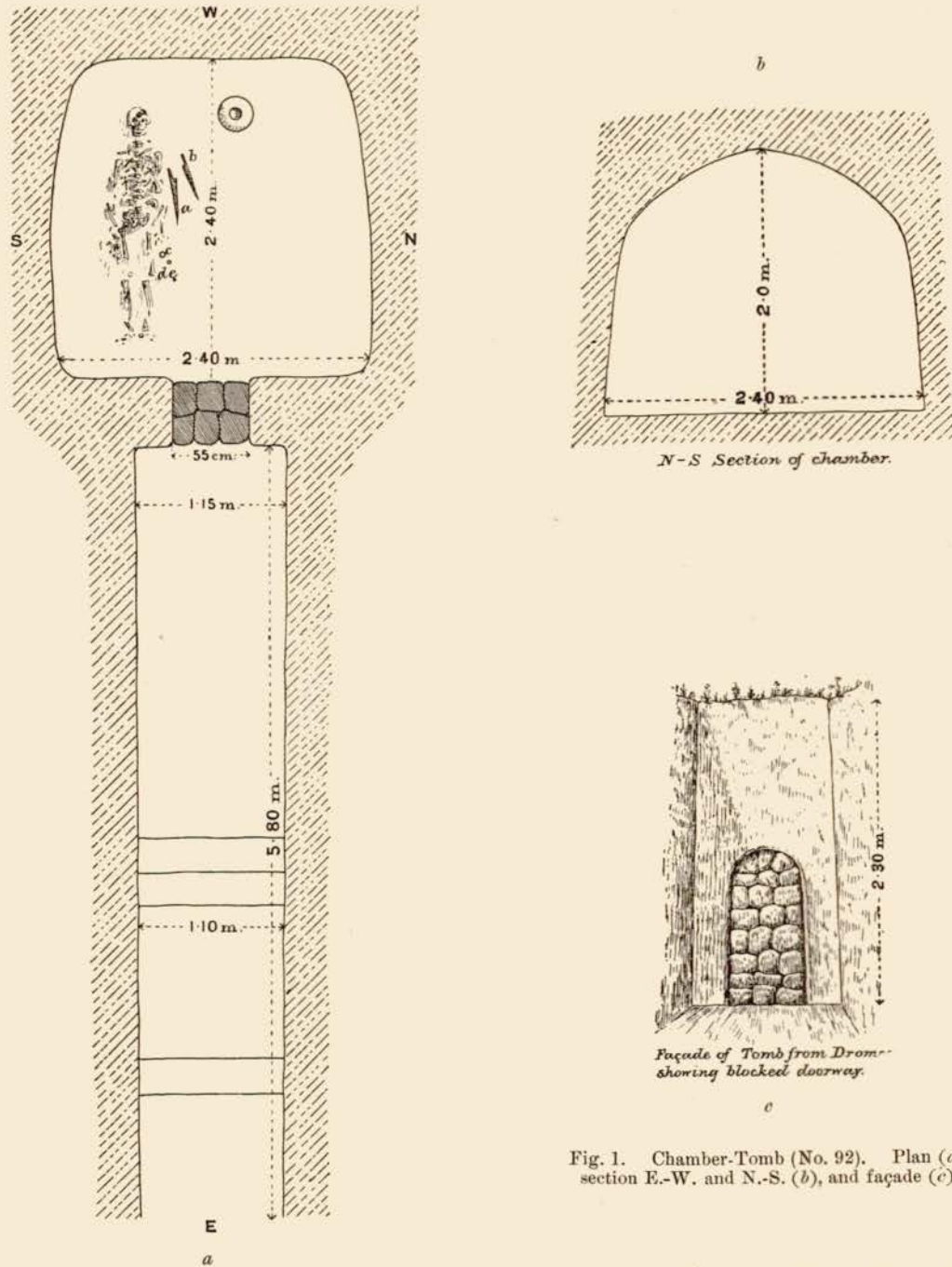


Fig. 1. Chamber-Tomb (No. 92). Plan (a), section E.-W. and N.-S. (b), and façade (c).

their heads near the inmost wall, sometimes towards the door, while at times they lay at right angles to the entrance.

From one to three skeletons lay on the floors of these chamber-tombs. In other cases, according to the well-known Cretan practice, the bones were con-

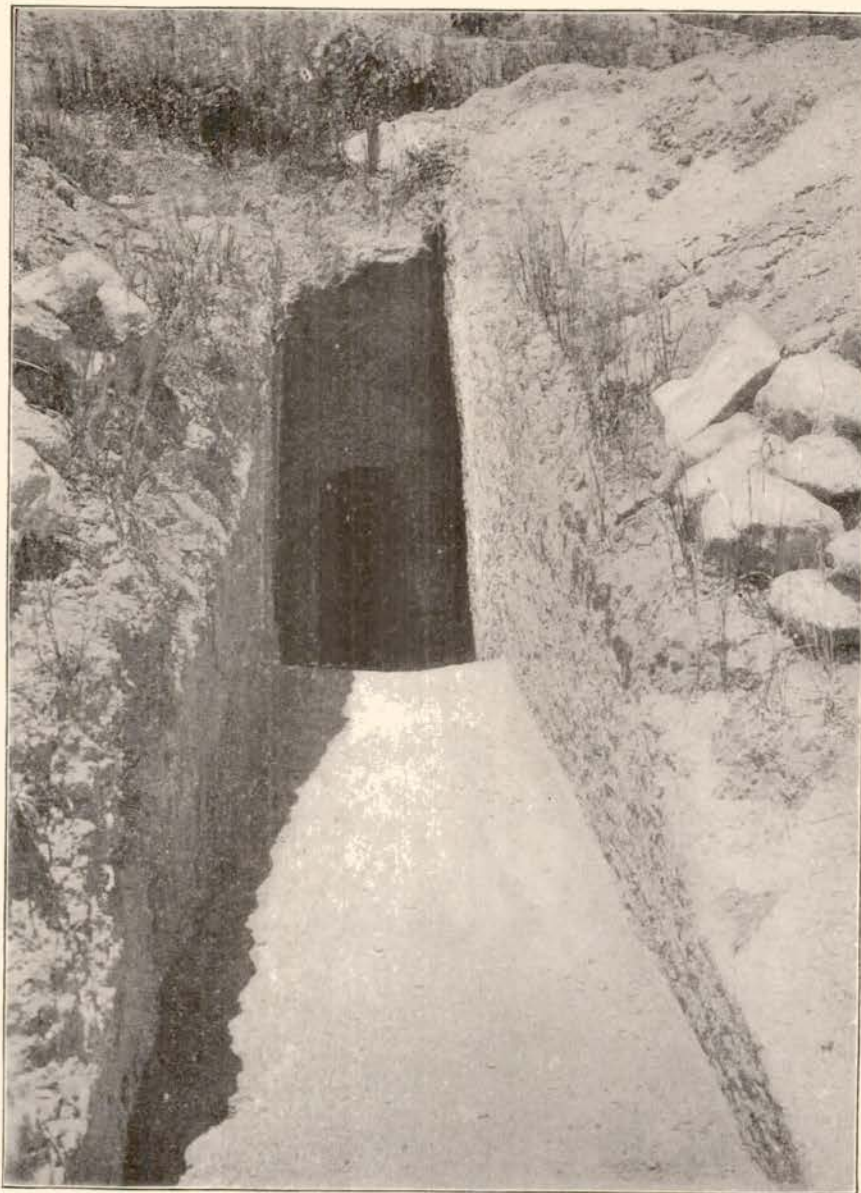


Fig. 2. Entrance passage of Tomb 92.

tained in terra-cotta chests, known as *larnakes*.<sup>a</sup> Fig. 3a shows one of these in

<sup>a</sup> These sepulchral chests were first described by Paolo Orsi (from materials supplied by Federico Halbherr) in his *Urne Funebri Cretesi* (*Mon. Ant.* i. 1890).

position, through a broken doorway of Tomb 93. A fuller view of this *larnax* is given in fig. 3*b*.

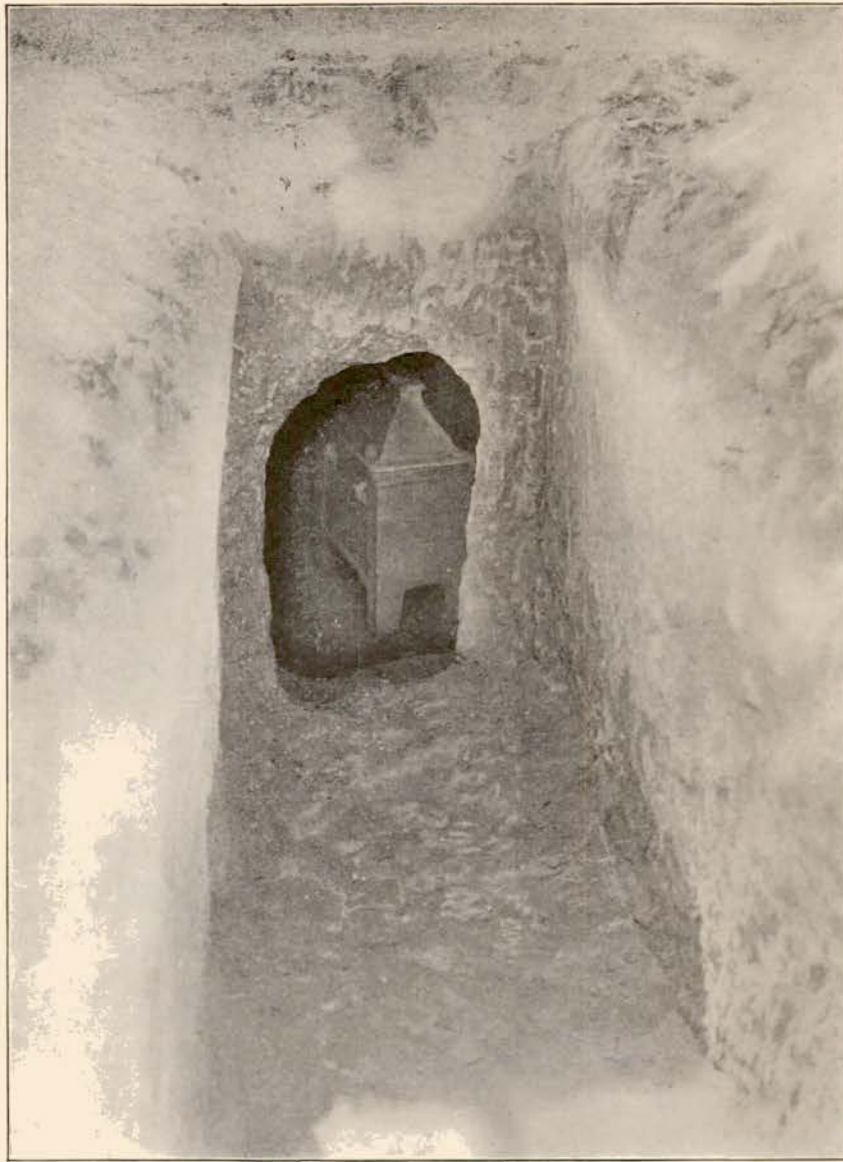


Fig. 3*a*. *Larnax* or clay sarcophagus seen in position through the broken doorway of Tomb 93.

At times, again, the two usages of the simple deposition of the body on the floor of the tomb and of its enclosure in a clay chest had been practised side by

side. In one instance (the large tomb No. 14) the bones had been placed in a shallow pit dug in the floor of the chamber.

The *larnakes* of these Late-Minoan graves, like the alternative clay baths<sup>a</sup>

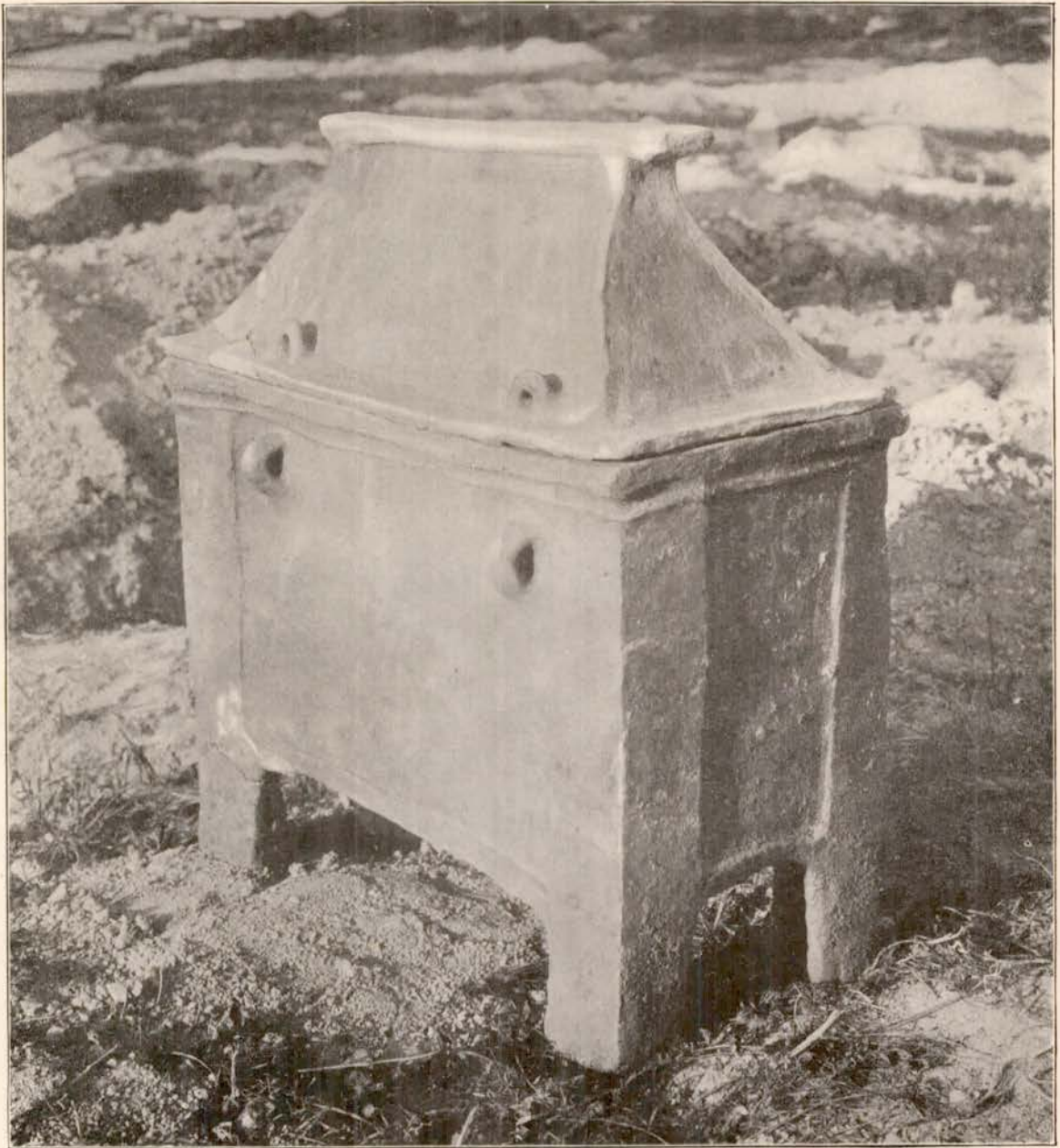


Fig. 3b. Clay sarcophagus or *larnax* from Tomb 93.

<sup>a</sup> Orsi, *Urne Funebri Cretesi*, Tav. ii. and p. 11.

or store jars,<sup>a</sup> also used as receptacles for the corpse, reproduce the ordinary chests of household furniture,<sup>b</sup> and were not, as has been suggested, miniature copies of primitive houses.<sup>c</sup> They are in fact, as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>d</sup> little more than translations into painted clay of the wooden chests that played an important part in the furniture of contemporary Egyptian houses, and which also



Fig. 4. Remains of crouched skeleton in *larnax* from Tomb 80.

at times served a funereal purpose. The painted designs of the Cretan sarcophagi very frequently stand themselves in a filial relation to those seen on Egyptian chests, ceilings, or wall paintings. Thus we find on the painted *larnax* of Grave No. 100 the conventionalised papyrus tufts and linked spirals alternating with

<sup>a</sup> Mariani, *Antichità Cretesi* (*Mon. Ant.* vi. 203). Cf. too *American Journal of Archaeology*, v. (1901), 304.

<sup>b</sup> S. Xanthoudides, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, p. 12 *seqq.*, has rightly insisted on this fact. That some were made specially for sepulchral purposes is, however, shown by the holes below for drainage.

<sup>c</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1891, p. 7 *seqq.*; Perrot, *Grèce Primitive*, p. 678 *seqq.*

<sup>d</sup> *The Palace of Knossos in its Egyptian Relations* (Arch. Report of Egypt Expl. Fund, 1901), 3.

flowers according to the Egyptian fashion. On a clay sarcophagus from Ligortino<sup>a</sup> we recognise the typical Nilotic motive of waterfowl chasing butterflies among marsh plants; and the sacred griffin, also seen on Egyptian chests, reappears on the *larnax* of Palaikastro,<sup>b</sup> with a derivative Nile plant rising in front of him.

The narrow capacity of these clay chests has given rise to the idea that they were simple ossuaries, and that the bones had been placed in them after the decomposition of the flesh. Where, as is sometimes the case, more than one skull occurs inside the chest, there may be some warrant to this idea, but evidence like that afforded by the *larnax* found in Grave No. 80 below, shows that the body of the deceased was actually stowed away in the clay receptacle.

Fig. 4, which reproduces a photograph of the interior of this chest immediately after its extraction from the sepulchral vault, shows that the body had been originally laid on its back, with the knees drawn up.

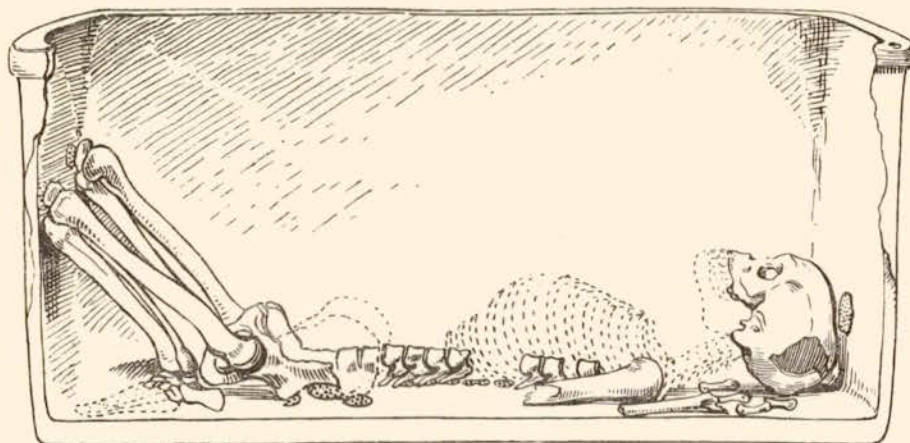


Fig. 5. Section of *larnax* from Artsà, showing position of skeleton.

This is still more clearly demonstrated by a *larnax* found by Dr. Xanthoudides at Artsà,<sup>c</sup> a Cretan village about two hours distant from the site of Knossos. In this exceptionally well-preserved burial the skeleton was found lying on its back as in the above instance, and with the knees still resting against the end wall of the clay chest, as shown in fig. 5.

<sup>a</sup> *The Palace of Knossos in its Egyptian Relations* (Arch. Report of Egypt Expl. Fund, 1901), 3.

<sup>b</sup> Bosanquet, *B. S. A.* viii. 297 *seqq.* and pl. xviii. The introduction of these Egyptian elements does not, however, detract from the religious significance of the indigenous features, such as the sacral horns and double axes, of this sarcophagus. Minoan religious art was accretive, and in Crete, as in contemporary Syria, such hieratic forms, taken over from the land of fixed and immemorial religious tradition, became part of its common stock.

<sup>c</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. p. 6 *seqq.* and fig. 1 (reproduced in fig. 5 above).

(b) *The Shaft-Graves.*

This type of tomb, of which twenty-eight examples were found, recalls in its general plan the shaft-graves of the Akropolis enclosure at Mycenae. In both cases the access is by means of a shaft or pit leading down to the slabbed covering of the actual sepulchral cell. The cell here, however, is a simple cavity in the rock made somewhat narrower than the shaft above so as to leave a ledge for the support of the covering slabs. In the royal shaft-graves of Mycenae this ledge

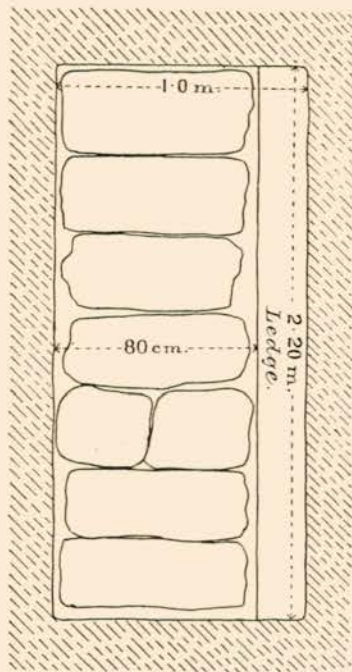


Fig. 6. Plan of Grave No. 27, showing covering slabs and ledge at side.

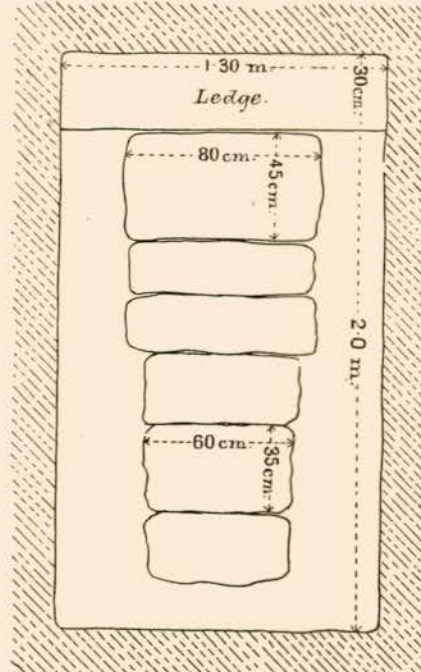


Fig. 7. Plan of Grave No. 26, showing covering slabs and ledge at end.

was supplied by means of an artificial walling, and the slabs themselves rested on substantial beams. In its simplest form, a pit leading to a grave covered with rough stones, this type is already found in the early Copper Age cemeteries of Cyprus.

The depth of the shaft proper, in the graves of Zafer Papoura, when the surface was not denuded, ranged from about 2 metres to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres. The sepulchral cells went down about a metre below this depth, and were made just large enough to contain the extended body. In many cases a ledge was cut in the side or end of the shaft to aid in the descent below. The covering blocks varied in character. (See figs. 6 and 8b). Sometimes they were quite rough stones; in other cases they

were carefully hewn and squared. The best executed slabs were found in Grave

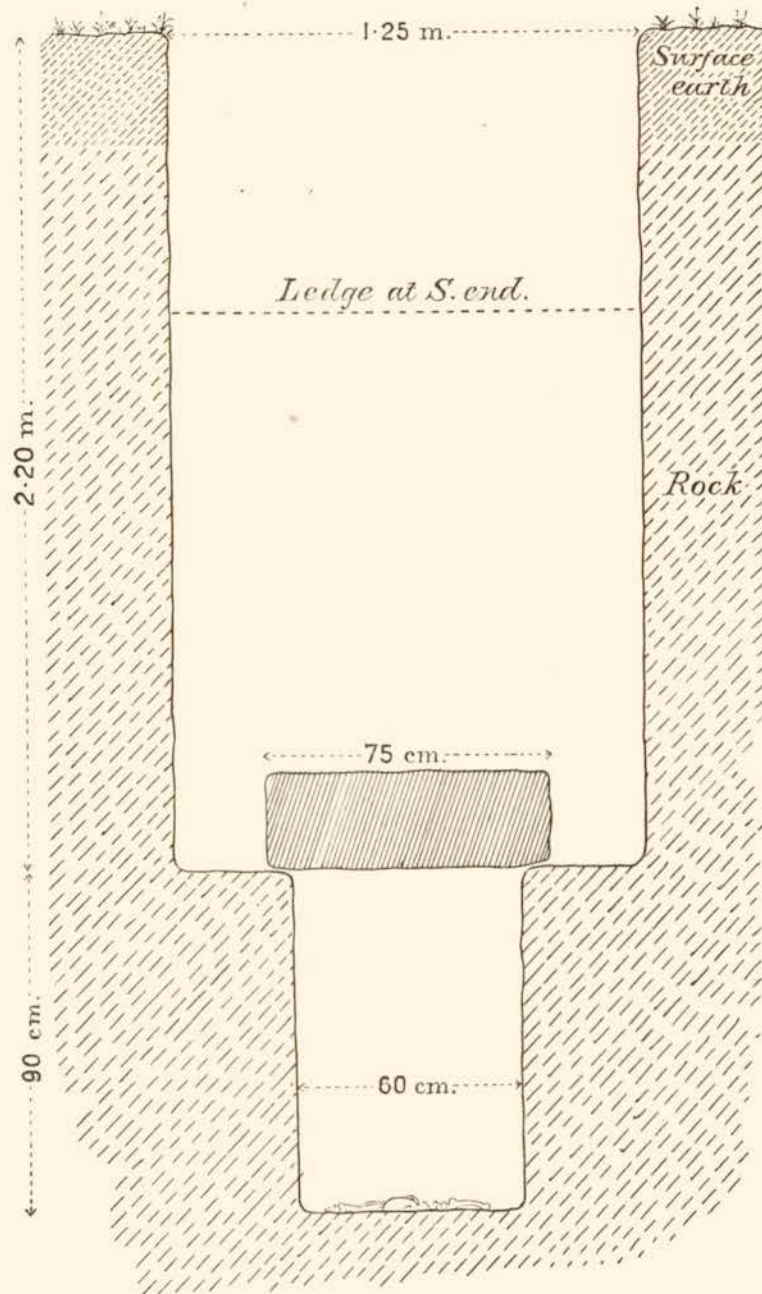


Fig. 8a. Section of Shaft-Grave (No. 33)

No. 44, which contained two fine swords. There were four of these slabs in this



tomb, identical in size and thickness to a few centimetres.<sup>a</sup> The plan and section of a typical shaft-grave, the Carpenter's Grave, No. 33, is given in fig. 8a, b.

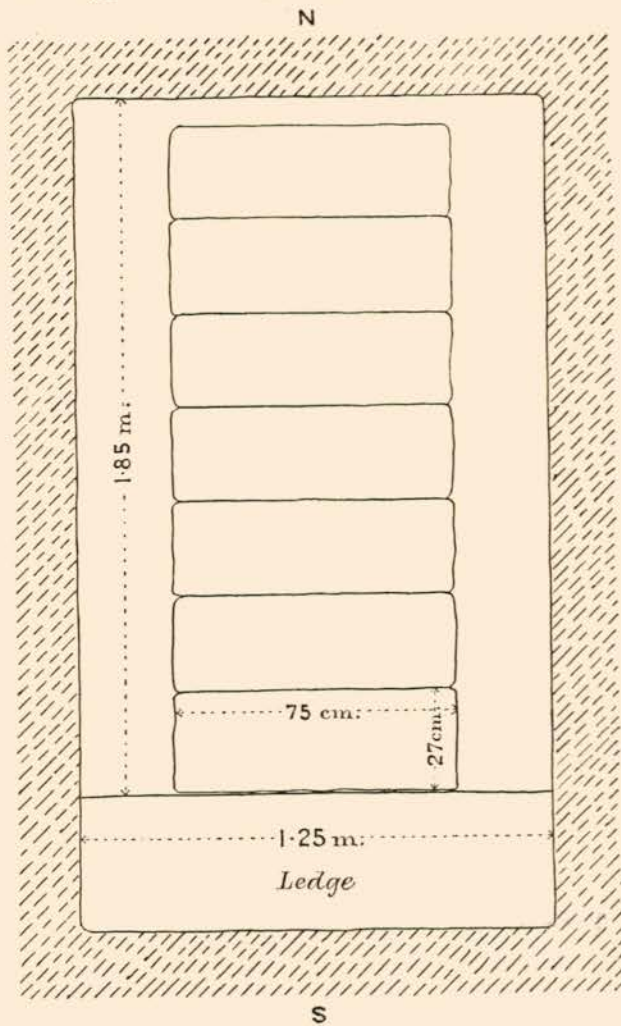


Fig. 8b. Plan of Shaft-Grave (No. 33).

It is, however, highly probable that had such existed they would, from their superficial position, have been removed or broken up.

<sup>a</sup> The dimensions of these were: No. 1, 1.35 long by .57 wide by 27 thick; No. 2, 1.20 long by .55 wide by 27 thick; No. 3, 1.27 long by .56 wide by 27 thick; No. 4, 1.19 long by .50 wide by 33 thick.

<sup>b</sup> They belong to a class of signs which in the later Palace are seen only on re-used blocks, They are also found at Phaestos. (L. Pernier, *Scavi della Missione Italiana a Phaestos*, 1900-1901. p. 90, Nos. 9 and 15). No. 1 also occurs in the pictographic script.

Blocks had been occasionally taken for this purpose from older constructions. This appears from a slab found in Grave No. 25, containing a late stirrup-vase, upon the upper surface of which were the deeply cut signs shown in fig. 9. These signs might easily be taken by those not intimately acquainted with the history of such marks in Crete as characters of the Minoan script, giving the name of the person here interred.

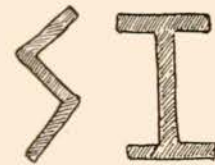


Fig. 9. Incised signs on slab of Grave No. 25.

As a matter of fact the two signs in question belong to the regular series of marks on blocks from the earlier Palace at Knossos,<sup>b</sup> and to a period therefore long anterior to that of the grave which the block had helped to cover.

At times the pit above the slab was found partly filled with large stones, but nothing resembling a gravestone was discovered above.

The exceptionally rich Shaft-Grave No. 36 presented the peculiarity of having part of the funeral furniture above the slabs. The remains of the skeleton,

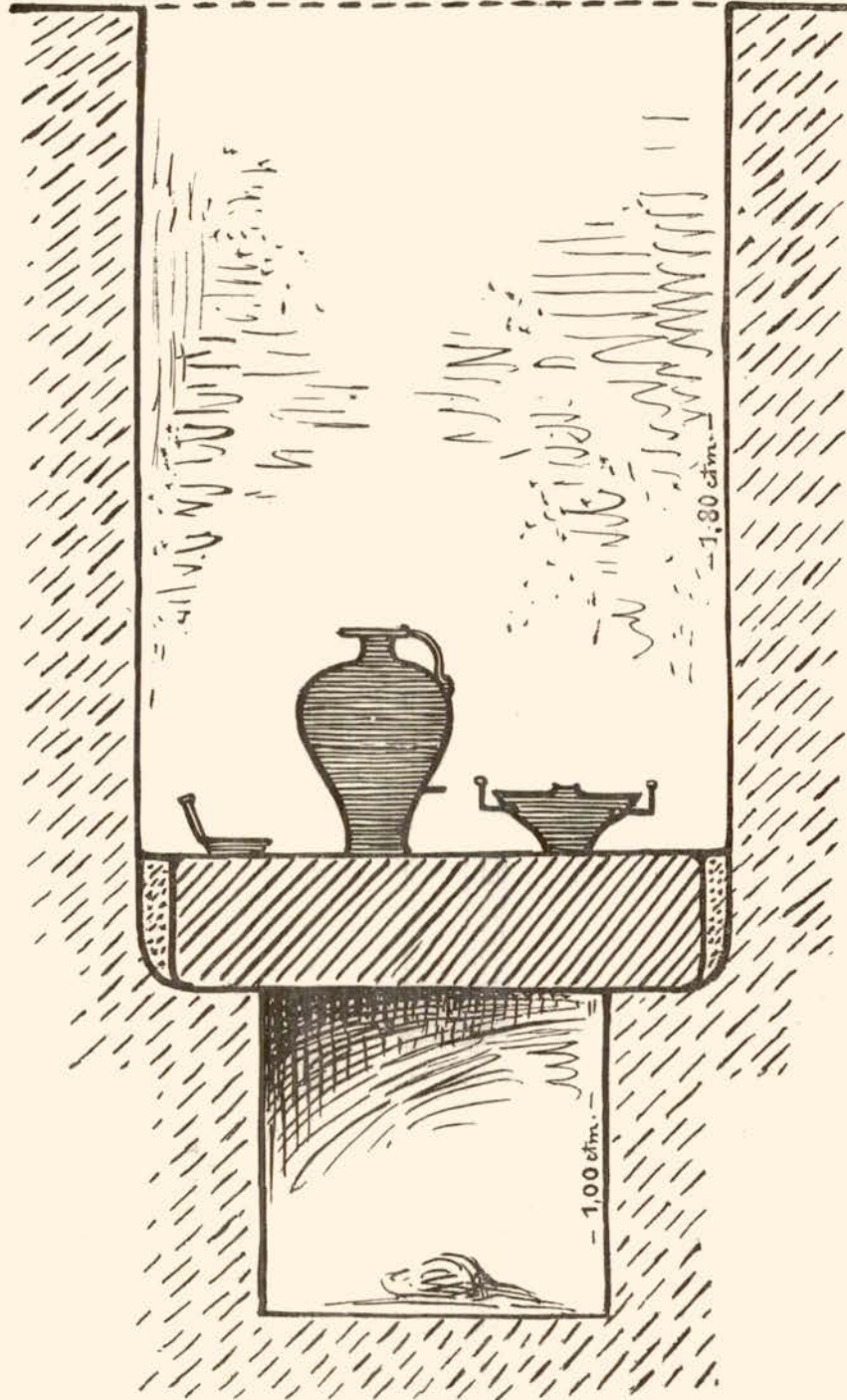


Fig. 10. Section of Shaft-Grave (No. 36)

with personal ornaments and two swords, one of them gold-mounted, lay in the sepulchral cell below, while above the roof-slabs had been placed three bronze vessels, a mirror, and two spear-heads. The reason of this exceptional arrangement was probably the impossibility of fitting all these belongings into the receptacle below. A section of this tomb is given in fig. 10.

Another abnormal variety of this class of interment is supplied by No. 34. In this case there was the usual pit with the slabs below covering the sepulchral cell, but immediately below them was a plain clay *larnax*, which formed the actual receptacle of the bones.

(c) *The Pit-Caves.*

The graves of this class consist of a pit provided with ledges to facilitate descent, at the bottom of which is a low walled-up arch giving access to the sepulchral cell. This inner cave-like receptacle was generally secured by a double walling of rough blocks, and was just long enough to contain an extended skeleton. Although thus approached on a different principle, the inner cell in ground plan resembles that of the shaft-graves.

A typical example of a pit-cave will be seen in figs. 11*a*, 11*b*, and 11*c*, representing the ground plan and sections of Grave No. 66.

The depth of the pit leading down to the walled cavity varied from about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  metres to nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  metres. Owing to the greater difficulty of access to the sepulchral cell, as compared with the simple shaft-grave, the system of ledges along the pit sides was much more developed in this class of tomb. A shallower form of the same class (No. 7) is shown in figs. 12*a* and 12*b*.

Although built *tholos* tombs approached by a circular pit or well, of very late Minoan date, are seen in the cemetery of Courtes,<sup>a</sup> the present type of pit-cave is altogether new among contemporary sepultures either in Crete or in Mycenaean Greece.

There is, however, sufficient evidence of its high antiquity in the Mediterranean area. Under a more primitive aspect sepulchral cavities approached by a pit are seen in the early cemeteries of Cyprus,<sup>b</sup> such as Hagia Paraskevê, and

<sup>a</sup> A Taramelli, *Notes on the Necropolis of Courtes* (American Journal of Archaeology, v. (1901), 294 *seqq.* and 297, 298 (figs. 1 and 2).

<sup>b</sup> These early Cypriote pit-caves were first described by Dümmler, *Mitth. d. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1880, p. 210 *seqq.* For numerous examples see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, etc.* pl. clxvii-clxxv.

they recur on the Syrian mainland. Tombs of this class, described as Punic, are

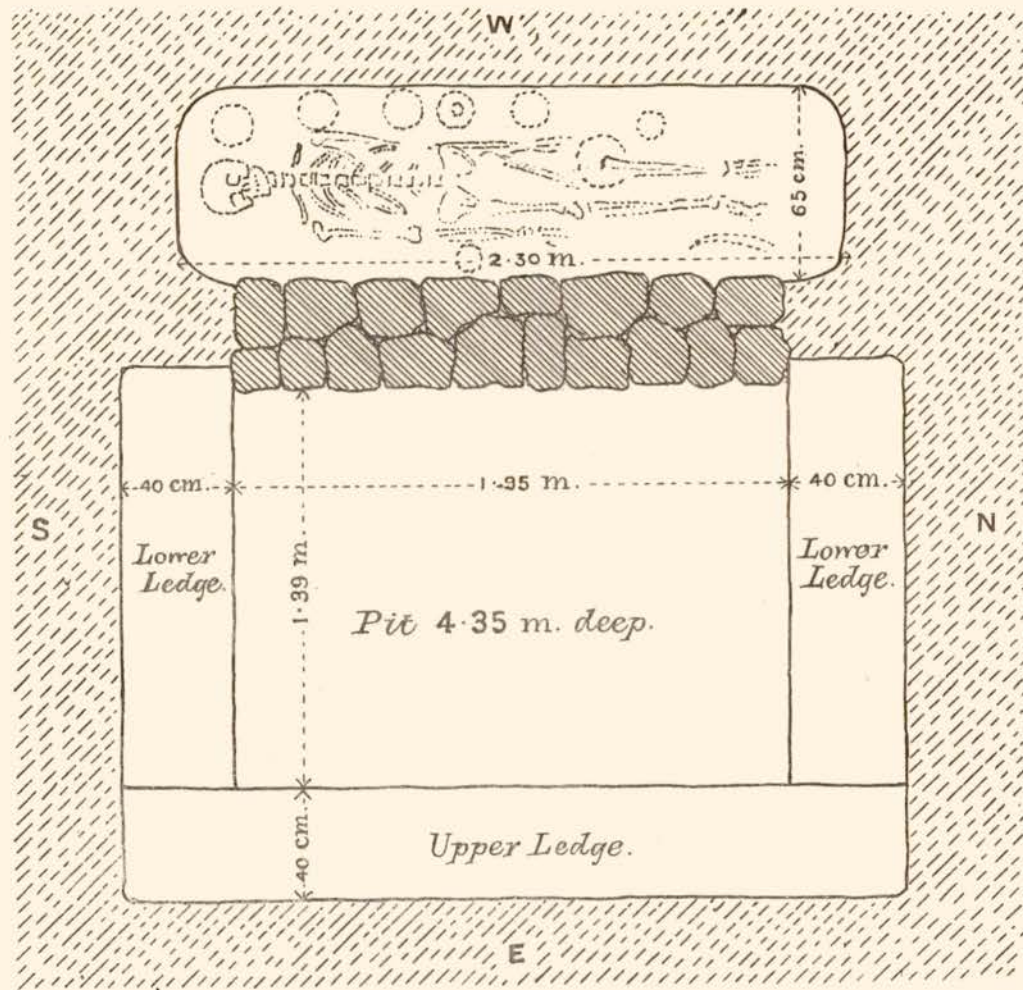


Fig. 11a. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 66).

also found in Tunisia.<sup>a</sup> An allied type is well represented in south-western Sicily<sup>b</sup> and in the neighbourhood of Palermo.<sup>c</sup> In this case the pit is circular

<sup>a</sup> I have seen tombs of this class near Beja (Vacca). The pits were square, the side cavities had in several cases been enlarged for later uses. Some of these tombs were excavated by Captain Vincent (*Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hyppone*, xvii.).

<sup>b</sup> See especially L. Mauceri, *Annali, etc.* 1880, 1 *seqq.* (Districts of Licata and Canicatti). For the identity of the early ceramic types of south-western Sicily with those of the south-east, see Orsi, *Bull. di Paletnologia*, 1895, p. 80 *seqq.* and cf. 1897, p. 1 *seqq.*

<sup>c</sup> Salinas, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, p. 357, and tav. x. These tombs were on the extensive plain of Ciachia, and as Colini (*Bull. di Paletn.* 1904, p. 176) points out, the well form of access was here conditioned by the flat character of the surface.

and there are at times two or even three side cavities. The ceramic contents of these tombs belong to Orsi's First Sikel Period. Well-caves of this kind also frequently occur in the district of Syracuse during the succeeding Second Sikel

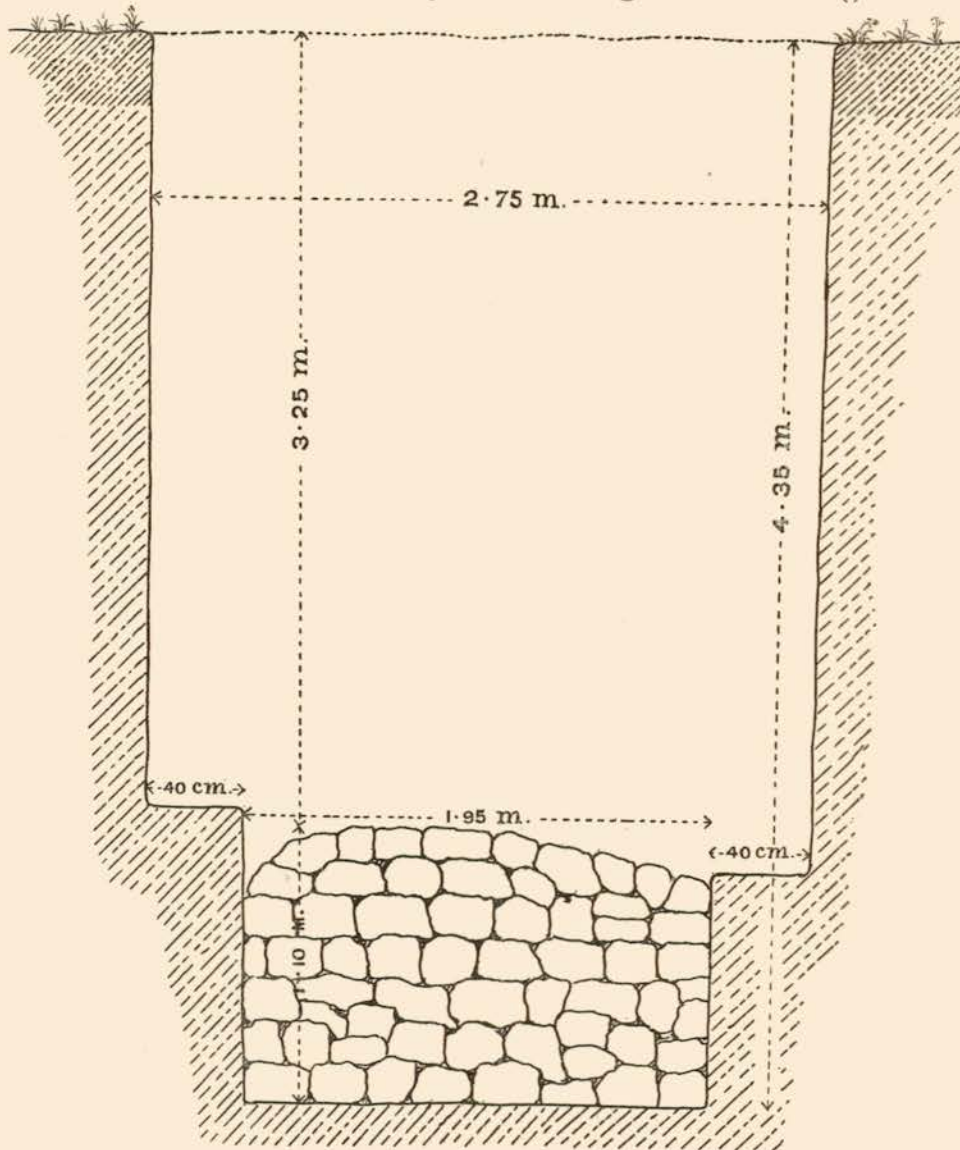


Fig. 11*b*. Longitudinal section of Pit-Cave (No. 66).

Period,<sup>a</sup> contemporary with the Late Minoan, and reappear in Apulia among what may well have been a population of the same Sikel stock.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Colini, *loc. cit.*

<sup>b</sup> See G. Patroni, *Un villaggio siculo a Matera nell'antica Apulia* (*Mon. Ant.* 1898, p. 417 *seqq.*; cf. figs. 24, 25).

In localities presenting natural cliffs or steep slopes the simpler kind of artificial cave with an entrance passage more or less on the same level was the natural type for the dwellings of primitive troglodytes, as later for the abodes of

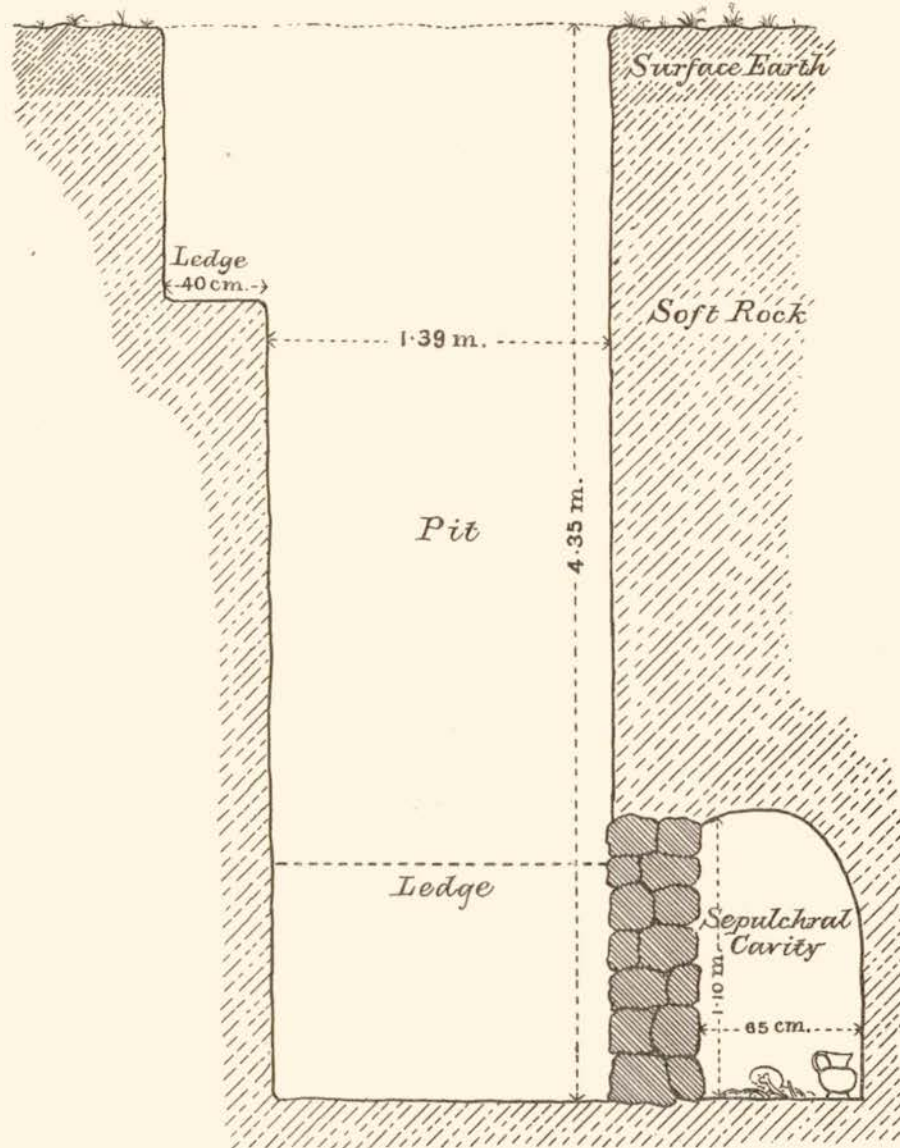


Fig. 11*e*. Transverse section of Pit-Cave (No. 66).

death. It is this type that we have represented in the chamber-tombs described above. But on more level sites a similar result was attained by the more laborious process of first digging a pit and then excavating a small chamber in its side.

The present class of tomb originates therefore in the same troglodytic instinct that produced the chamber tombs and *tholoi*, and the pit here is the equivalent of the *dromos*. The cavity itself, being less easily accessible, would tend from the first

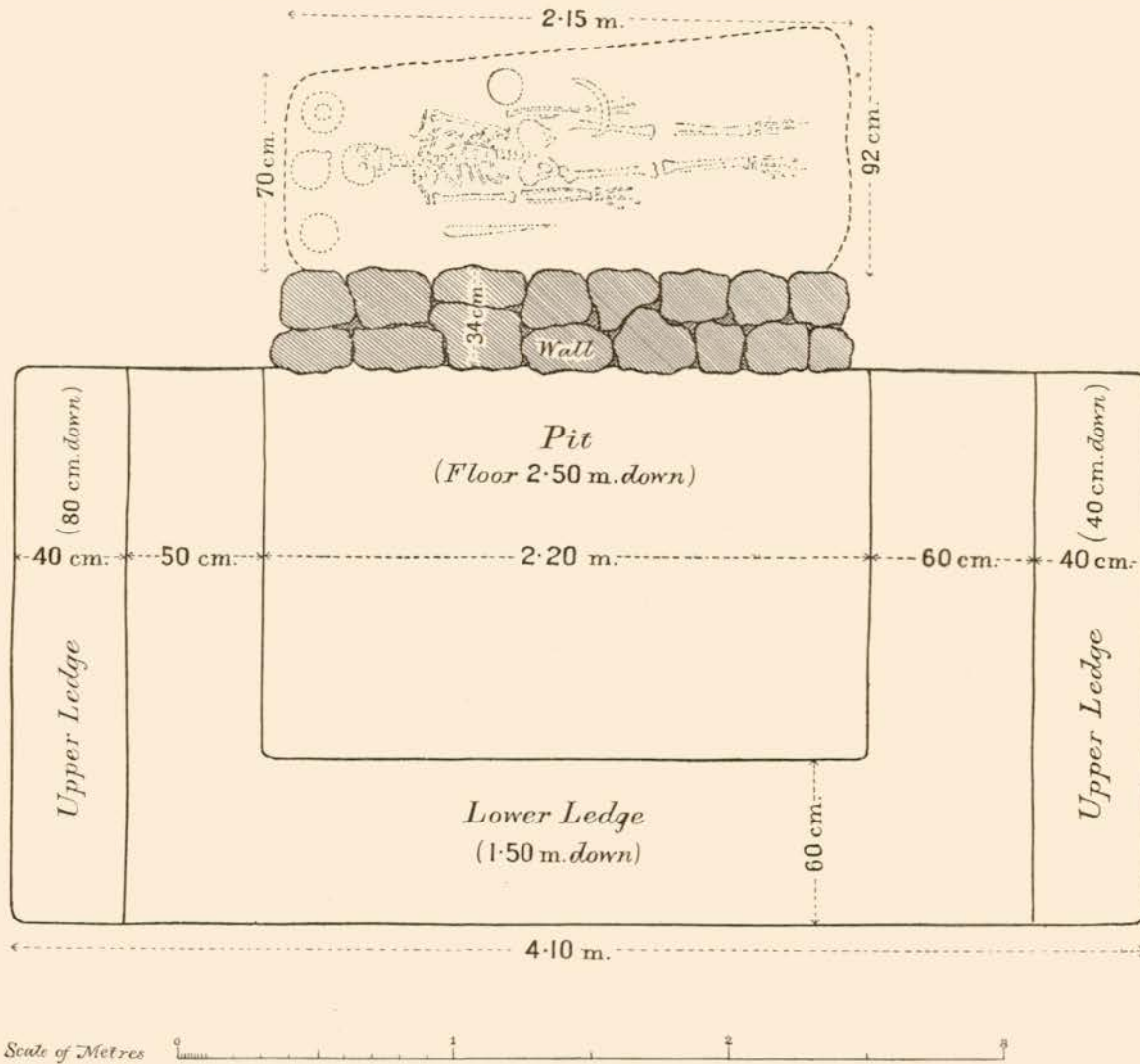


Fig. 12a. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 7).

to be smaller than that of the other class, and in the present sepulchral type it is reduced to a mere cell.

Considerations like the above lead to the conclusion that the differences of sepulchral type visible at Zafer Papoura are ultimately due to topographical causes. It must at the same time be observed that the three distinct forms of

graves that we see here represent fixed and thoroughly developed types that must have had a long independent history, and are not merely slight modifications of a single prevalent form, due to local convenience. As a matter of fact the character of the ground at Zafer Papoura does not vary sufficiently to explain the divergence in the types of graves. It is true that the tombs of the different classes are to a certain extent distributed in groups, the south-east part of the area being for instance exclusively occupied by chamber-tombs, while some

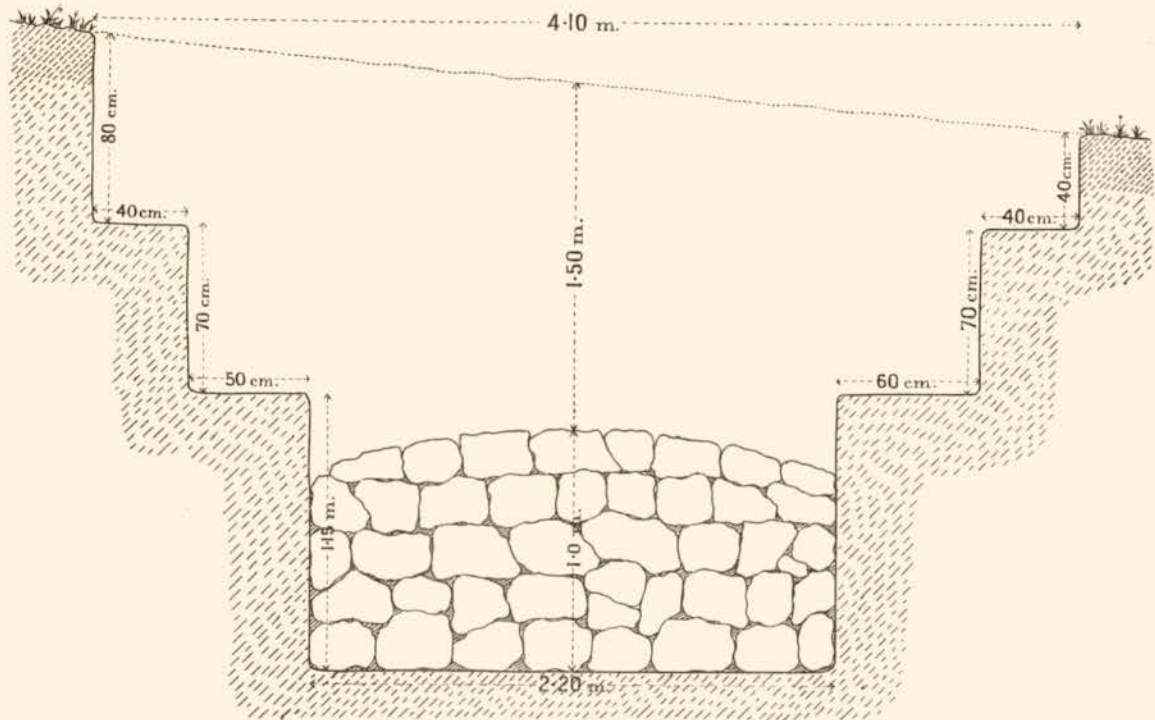


Fig. 12*b*. Longitudinal section of Pit-Cave (No. 7).

clusters of shaft-graves and pit-caves occur together in the northern section. (See plan, fig. 108.) In this latter area, however, chamber-tombs are also found, and in one case a shaft-grave has been dug above and partly into a slightly earlier chamber-tomb, while chamber-tombs of somewhat later date have in two instances invaded pit-caves.

There was then no inherent reason for this divergence of type to have produced itself on the present site. We must rather suppose that we have here to deal with three principal groups of families or clans who in the course of their past history had had to deal with different topographical conditions. Some, it



appears, must have come from a flatter country. Whether their different antecedents ultimately imply in one or the other case an immigration from over sea is a question impossible to answer with our present data. It is certain, as will be shown in detail below, that all three types of interment were practised at Zafer Papoura contemporaneously, and that the culture presented by the contents of graves of the different kinds is of an uniform and purely Minoan stamp.

Unfortunately the character of the soil has left little material for craniological observations. The bones were mostly in a very decayed state, and it was often with the greatest difficulty that sufficient data could be made out even to determine the sex of the skeletons.<sup>a</sup> Even in cases where the bones had been placed in clay sarcophagi these had been generally so broken and choked by the falling of the rotten *kouskouras* rock that very little remained in a sufficient state of preservation for comparative purposes.<sup>b</sup>

§ 2. *The Graves of Zafer Papoura and their contents.*

No. 1.—This grave was of abnormal form, and seems to have been a double shaft-grave. It is situated on a steep bank, and much of the original deposit above it had probably disappeared. There are two compartments, divided by a dry walling. The bottom of that to the west was 60 centimetres higher than the other, but owing to the slope it lay at about the same distance, 1.65 meters below the surface. This compartment (A in plan, fig. 13) was found completely empty. B, however, had its original covering of rough slabs, sloping up west towards the companion grave. Beneath these lay the much-decayed remains of an extended skeleton, with its head to the south. By the head were the two vases *a* (see fig. 118, 1*a*) and *b*, and near the left forearm and hand two bronze knives and a stone hone.

1*a*. Plain ewer : height 25 centimetres. (See fig. 118, 1*a*.)

<sup>a</sup> Some of the legs for instance may have been more bent than is shown in the rough indications of skeletons in the plans of tombs given below. These indications, it should be observed, are only intended to have a diagrammatic value, the skeletons being in almost all cases reduced to too pulverised a condition to admit of any exact delineation.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. C. H. Hawes, who has been carrying out extensive craniological observations in Crete on behalf of the British Association, has kindly consented to examine the skulls from this cemetery and from the Royal Tomb.

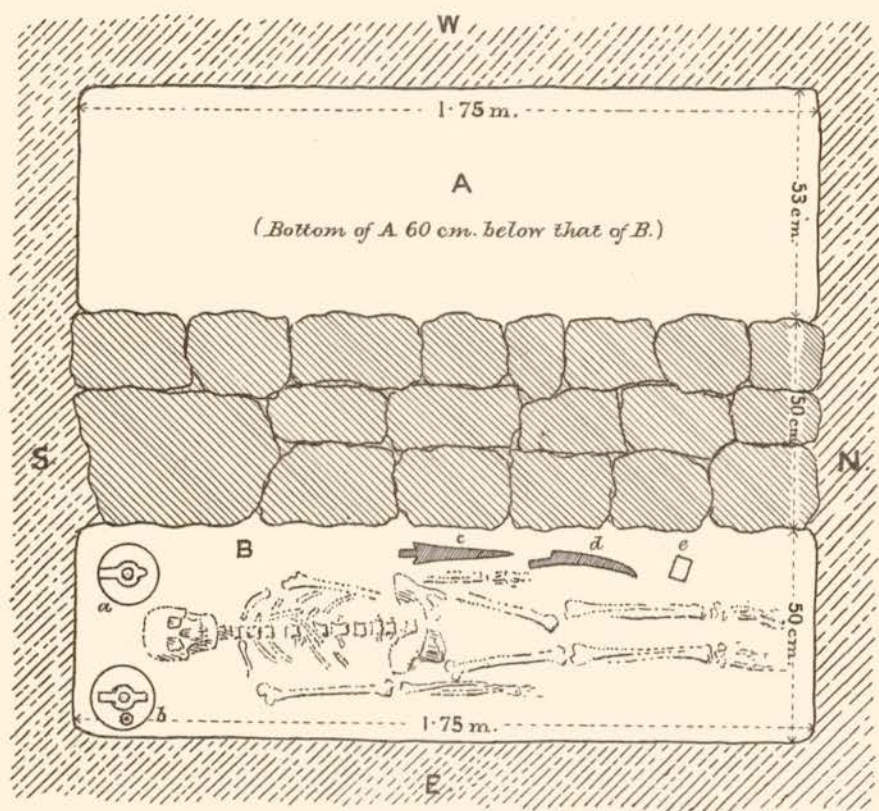


Fig. 13. Plan of double Shaft-Grave (No. 1).



Fig. 14. Painted stirrup-vase from Grave No. 1.

1b. Stirrup-vase: height 19 centimetres; brown decoration on pale buff (Fig. 14.)

1c. Bronze knife: length 12 centimetres. (As 51f, fig. 113.)

1d. Bronze knife: length 11.8 centimetres, with undulating edge. (Fig. 15.)

1e. Flat oblong hone of gray stone.

No. 2. Small *Shaft-Grave*, with covering slabs.—Scanty remains of bones; head, east. About the middle, near the position of the right hand, was a small gold ring, glass and clay beads, and small serpentine pendant.



Fig. 15. Bronze knife from Grave No. 1.

- 2a. Gold ring, the bezel broken.
- 2b. Bead of yellow translucent glass, with rounded section and large central perforation.
- 2c. Globular ribbed bead of blue paste (kyanos).
- 2d. Plain globular beads of clay.
- 2e. Green serpentine pendant of globular form, with perforated stem.

No. 3. *Shaft-Grave*.—Rectangular pit, 1·25 metres wide and about 1·90 metres long, in which at a depth of about 2·15 metres is the actual grave, with a roofing of rough limestone slabs.

The grave (1·60 metres long, 60 centimetres wide, and 55 centimetres deep) contained remains of a skeleton with the head to the south. At the feet were a bronze knife and a razor.

- 3a. Bronze knife (29·5 centimetres long). For type see fig. 113, 64c.
- 3b. Bronze razor (19 centimetres long, 5·5 centimetres broad at end).

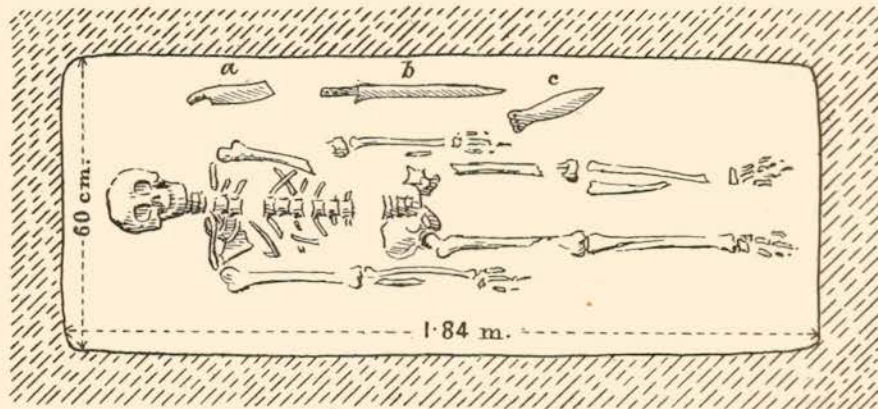


Fig. 16. Plan of Shaft-Grave (No. 4).

No. 4. *Shaft-Grave*.—Mean depth from the surface of the shaft to the bottom of the grave 3·70 metres. The depth of the actual grave beneath the covering slab was 45 centimetres. The edges of the covering slabs were carefully squared.

The grave (length 1·84 metres, width 60 centimetres) contained remains of a much decomposed skeleton, with the head to the east. By the left side of the body were two razors of different types and a knife. (See plan, fig. 16.)

- 4a. Bronze razor: 20 centimetres long, 5·3 centimetres broad at end. (Cf. fig. 33.)
- 4b. Bronze knife: 36 centimetres long. (Cf. fig. 113, 4b.)
- 4c. Leaf-shaped razor of bronze. (Cf. fig. 113, 64c.)

No. 5. *Shaft-Grave*.—Depth from surface 3·40 metres. The grave (1·40 metres long, 55 centimetres broad), covered with roughly-hewn slabs, contained remains of a skeleton with its head to the east. By the head was a small painted vase (*a*), and near the right hand a plain cornelian bead.

5*a*. Small two-handled beaked jug (9·5 centimetres high), with painted decoration dark brown on buff. (See fig. 117, 5*a*.)

5*b*. Plain cornelian bead of sub-cylindrical form.

No. 6. *Pit-Cave*.—The tomb had been disturbed and the bones were much pulverised, but their remains seemed to indicate that the head had been south.

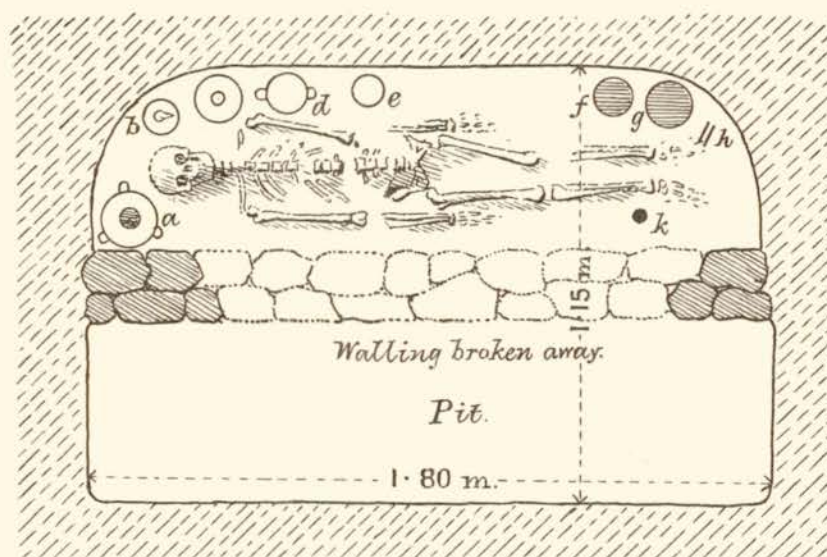


Fig. 17. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 6).

The depth of the pit from the surface was 2·50 metres, and a ledge to facilitate descent had been made on its east side.

It seems as if any weapons or implements of bronze that may have been placed in the tomb had been carried off by those who broke into it. The arrangement of the existing contents of the grave is shown in fig. 17.

6*a*. Three handled vase with painted designs. Height about 28 centimetres. Upper part broken. (Fig. 117, 6*a*.)

6*b*. Small beaked vase with one handle, 7·5 centimetres high. (Fig. 117, 6*b*.)

6*c*. Plain clay bowl.

6*d*. Two-handled bowl.

- 6e. Plain clay cup.
- 6f. Small bronze mirror with two holes for fixing handles (diameter 12·3 centimetres).
- 6g. Large bronze mirror as the last (diameter 17 centimetres), much broken.
- 6h. Bronze pins.
- 6j. Two stone spindle-whorls.
- 6k. Much abraded lentoid bead of steatite, with traces of intaglio representing an animal.

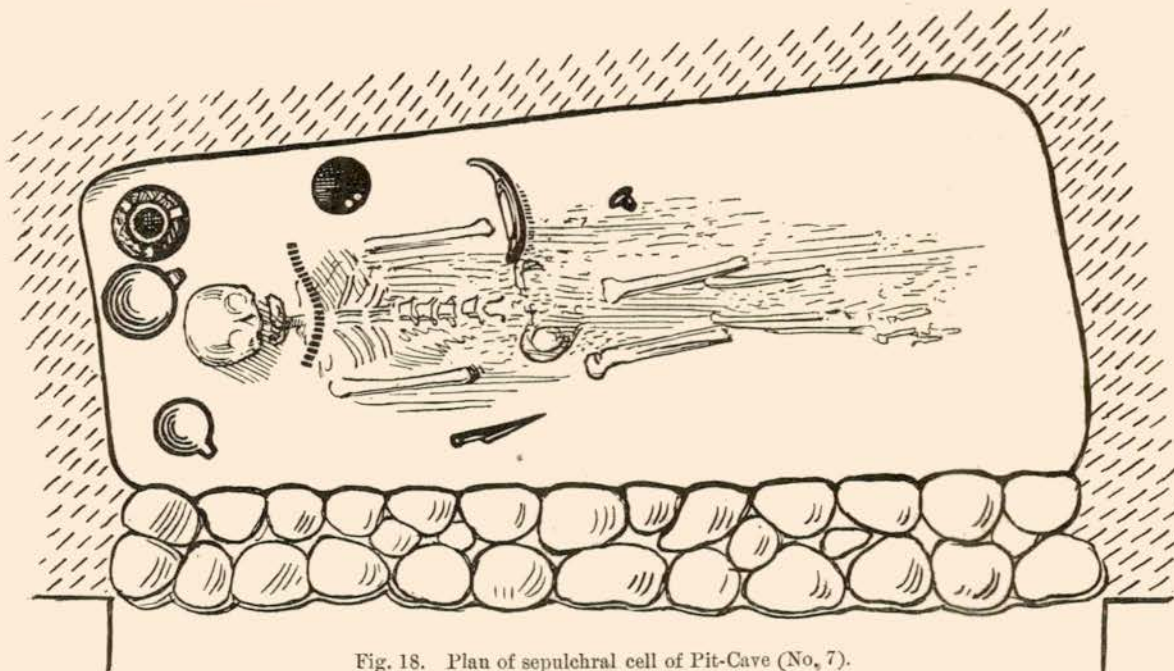


Fig. 18. Plan of sepulchral cell of Pit-Cave (No. 7).

No. 7. *Pit-Cave* (for plan, see figs. 12a, 12b).—Skeleton, much decayed, head to west. About the neck was a necklace of embossed gold beads (*c*). Near the middle was found a gold-plated ring (*d*), the device of which was a Sphinx. Near the right arm was a bronze knife (*a*), and by the left shoulder a bronze mirror (*b*).



Fig. 19. Bronze knife with solid handle, from Pit-Cave (No. 7).

Lower down the left arm was an ivory boat (*e*) and a three-handled vase, and two pedestalled cups were ranged along the south margin of the grave near the head (*f*, *g*, *h*).

7a. Bronze knife with solid handle, length 19 centimetres. (Fig. 19.)

*d*

7b. Bronze mirror (diameter 13 centimetres) with two perforations for attaching handle.

7c. Gold necklace of forty beads with triple perforation, showing double argonaut design in *repoussé* work (fig. 20, and fig. 119, 7c). Another similar necklace was found in



Fig. 20. Gold beads of a necklace from Pit-Cave (No. 7). ( $\frac{3}{4}$ .)

Grave 36. Similar gold necklaces were found in the chamber-tombs near Phaestos (Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, p. 99, fig. 58), and others were obtained at Mycenae from the tombs of the lower town (Tsountas, 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1888, pl. ix. 4), in some cases showing eight tentacles instead of six (Karo in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, art. Monile, fig. 5125,

and Savignoni *loc. cit.*). Another from a contemporary tomb at Argos is published by Vollgraff (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* 1904, p. 383, fig. 15). A mould for a similar bead, said to have been found in Asia Minor, is in the Berlin Museum (Furtw. u. Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 34, fig. 22). The design has frequently been misunderstood by those who have described it.<sup>a</sup> As stated above, it is essentially a duplicated argonaut (*argo argonauta*), though it has been crossed by the octopus idea, and in some varieties the number of the tentacles is, in consequence of this, raised from six to eight. The argonaut by itself, representing the half of the present design, with three tentacles, occurs on gold plates and glass paste beads from Mycenae (J. H. S. xxiv. 324, fig. 1a; and 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1887, pl. xiii. 2, 3), and also on the mould found by Schliemann (*Mycenae*, p. 107, fig. 162).

The argonaut, which at Knossos is a favourite motive of the beautiful faience fabric of the close of the Third Middle-Minoan Period, was taken over, probably from this source, together with similar rockwork on to the painted ware of the succeeding Palace Style. It also appears on wall-paintings, *e.g.* in those of the room by the Megaron at Mycenae.

7d. Gold-plated ring with bronze core. On the bezel is a *repoussé* design of a winged Sphinx to left (fig. 21, and fig. 119, 7d). Diameter of hoop of ring 22 millimetres.



Fig. 21. Gold-plated ring showing Sphinx, from Pit-Cave (No. 7).

7e. Ivory boat: original length about 25 centimetres (fig. 22). The upturned end recalls the Minoan boat on a seal-impression from the Temple Repository of the Palace at Knossos (*Report*, p. 58, fig. 36). The two holes at either end of the hollow part of the boat possibly served for a lid, and the flat surface of the raised rim corroborates this view. In this case we have here a casket similar to the well-known duck-shaped boxes of Egypt.

7f. Pedestalled cup with two handles. Height 16.5 centimetres, diameter of cup 15 centimetres (see fig. 118, 7f). It is of plain clay originally covered with a kind of black varnish which seems, however, to have been imperfectly fixed.

<sup>a</sup> Vollgraff, however, *loc. cit.* has recognised its true signification.

7g. Pedestalled cup with one handle, of plain clay. Height 12 centimetres, diameter of cup 11·8 centimetres.

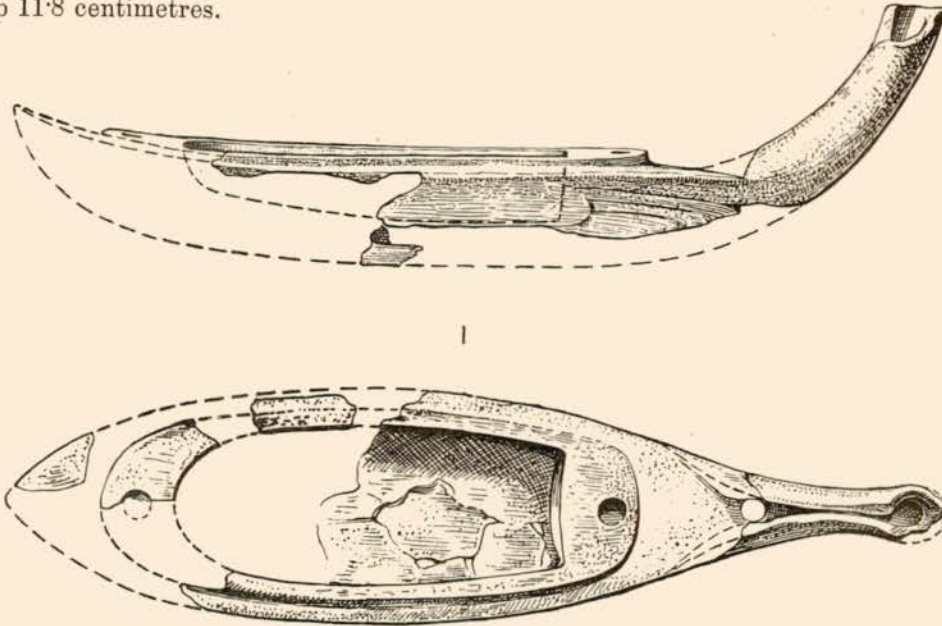


Fig. 22. Ivory boat, perhaps a casket, from Pit-Cave (No. 7).

7h. Painted "amphora" with three handles, brown design on pale buff. Height 29 centimetres. (Fig. 23.) For the upper band compare the amphora from Argos (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* 1904, pl. xiv.).

No. 8. *Chamber-Tomb*, approached to east by a *dromos* with steps and a sloping descent. The door had been broken in, and the remains of a *larnax* and a Roman pot were found in the *dromos*, an indication that the tomb had been robbed in Roman times. The chamber contained the remains of four plain *larnakes*, all robbed, two of them on the floor and the others arranged crosswise above. From the position of the two lower chests it is evident that the *larnax* that had been taken out had originally been laid beside them as shown in dotted lines on the plan, fig. 24. *Larnakes* were found arranged in a similar way in double tiers in chamber-tombs at Ligortino and Phaestos.



Fig. 23. Painted "amphora" from Pit Cave (No. 7).

No. 9. Chamber-Tomb, with stepped *dromos* about 5 metres long, slightly increasing in width, from 80 centimetres to 1 metre, as it approaches the door.

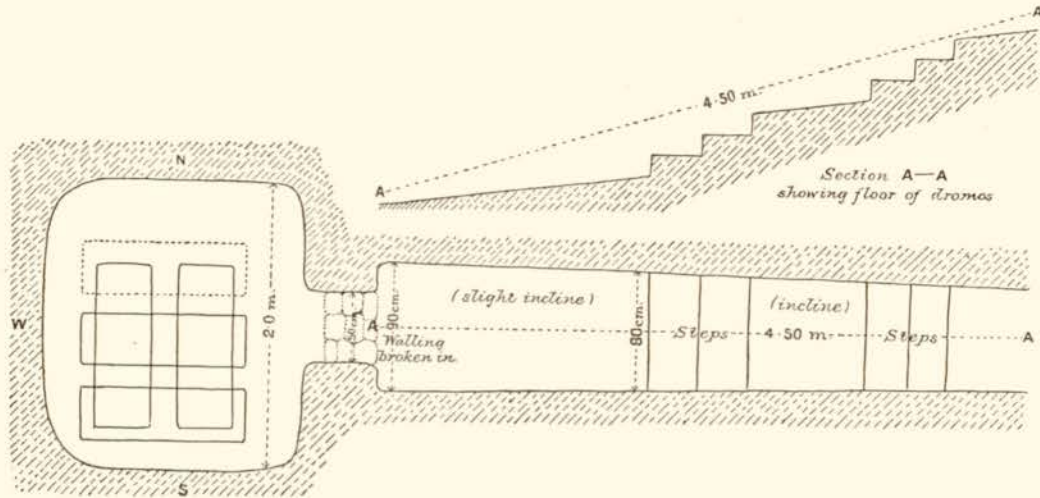


Fig. 24. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 8), with section of entrance passage.

(See plan and sections, figs. 25a, 25b, 25c.) The walling of the entrance had been broken open and parts of a *larnax*, a charcoal holder (cf. fig. 46), and a plain-handled vase were found outside.

Inside the chamber to the left was another *larnax*, which, however, had been

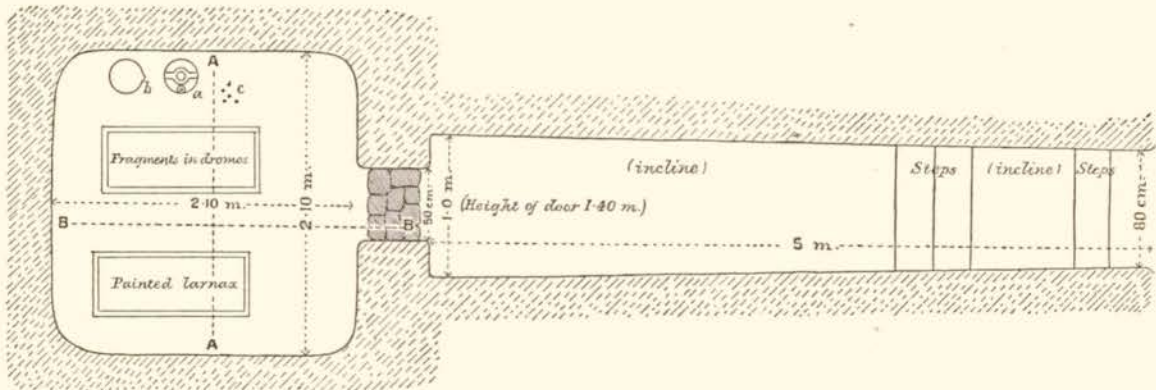
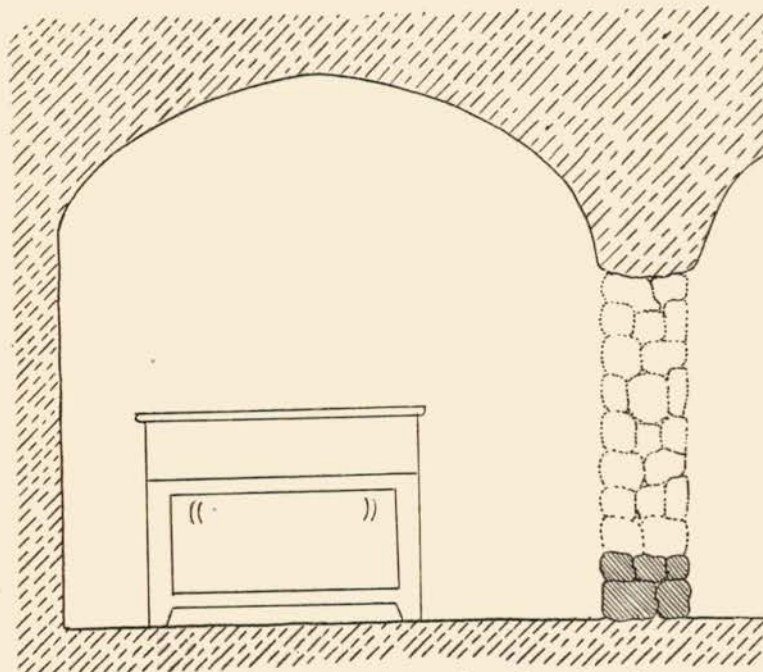


Fig. 25a. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 9).

broken into, the lid being smashed, and near the right wall of the chamber was a small painted stirrup vase (*a*) (see fig. 114, 9a) 9 centimetres high and 12 centimetres in diameter, and a plain spouted bowl (*b*) (fig. 118, 9b), with a round flat knob on either side. Some stone spindle-whorls were also found.

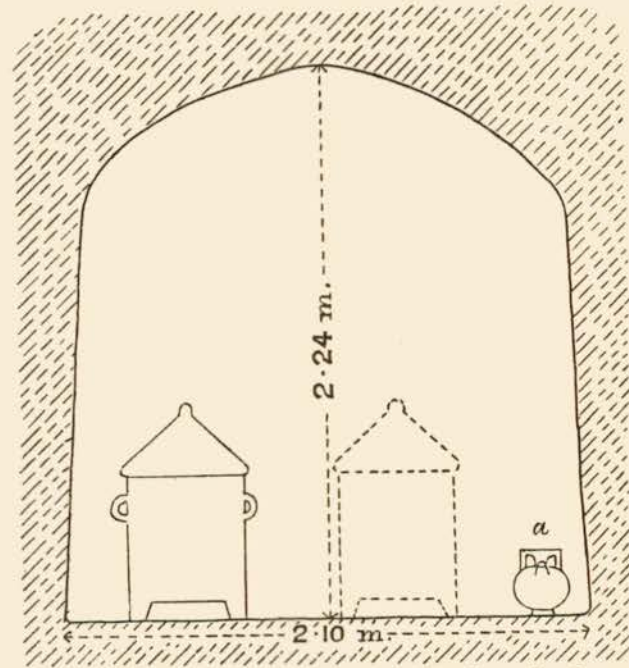


The *larnax* (fig. 26a) exhibited the peculiarity of being divided into panels, that at one end provided with cross pieces, clearly indicative of a woodwork model and recalling the sides of the gypsum throne found in the Palace of Knossos. On carefully cleaning the chest faint traces of painted designs appeared on the two principal faces and at one end. At the end are simple waved lines, but on either face are traces of more elaborate designs in red. On one side nothing can be made out but the four-spoked wheel and part of the frame of a chariot, going left, in



Longitudinal section of Chamber B-B  
(Upper part of walling restored.)

Fig. 25b. Chamber-Tomb (No. 9).



Transverse section of Chamber A-A

Fig 25c. Chamber-Tomb (No. 9).

the panel nearest to the left end of this face. The left panel of the other side shows traces of a beardless man throwing a lasso which twists round the curved horns of a Cretan wild goat. His other hand seems to seize the goat's hind quarters, and in front of the animal is another man, the upper part much effaced, who apparently grasps its neck. The horns of another "agrimi" are visible behind the first. On the partition between this and the next panel are palm trees. The subject of the panel to the right is quite obliterated. Below, along the whole length of the *larnax*, runs a series of egg patterns, perhaps conventional indications of rocks. The drawing is altogether of the rudest kind.

No. 10. *Pit-Cave* ("The Hunters' Grave").—The shaft of this had been subsequently cut into by a chamber-tomb (No. 10, *b*). This later tomb, which was approached on the east by a *dromos* 3 metres long, had been broken into. The

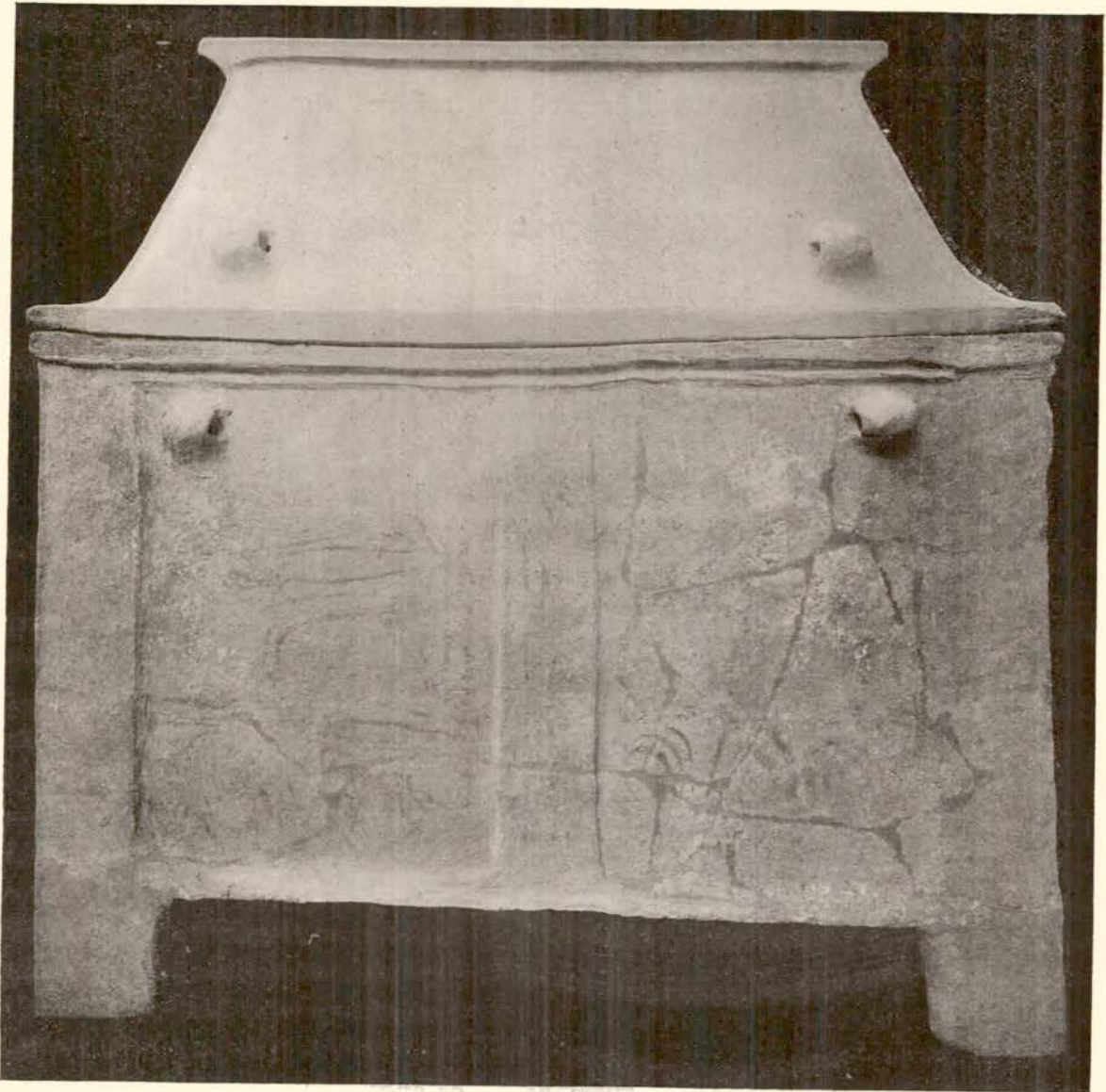


Fig. 267. Painted *larnax* or clay sarcophagus from Chamber-Tomb (No. 9).

walling of its entrance had been removed and parts of a *larnax* lay outside in the *dromos*. Inside the chamber to the left lay another plain *larnax* with a broken

cover containing a fairly preserved skeleton, the skull of which was at its western end. To the right was a fragmentary stirrup-vase with a pattern resembling that of fig. 117, 21*a*, and a plain spouted bowl.

The walling of the sepulchral recess belonging to the pit-cave, into the shaft of which this chamber had cut, was found intact. A much decayed skeleton lay within with its head north. The skull was exceptionally thick, and seemed to be that of a man. A bronze razor (*a*) and knife (*b*), of the ordinary types, had been placed near the feet, and a small spouted vase (*c*) by the head. On the inner margin of the grave, beyond the leg bones, but at a higher level (40 to 60 centimetres above the floor), were fifteen small bronze arrow-heads of two types, (*d*) and (*e*) (see fig. 28). These arrow-heads are from 4.5 to 4.7 centimetres long, and are identical with those more recently found in a magazine west of the Palace.<sup>a</sup> From their small size they may most probably be regarded as arrows of the chase. We have here a hunter's grave. (See fig. 27.)

10*a*. Bronze razor with remains of its wooden handle; blade 20 centimetres long (cf. fig. 63).

10*b*. Bronze knife, 23 centimetres long (cf. fig. 113, 51*c*).

10*c*. Small painted vase with high beak,

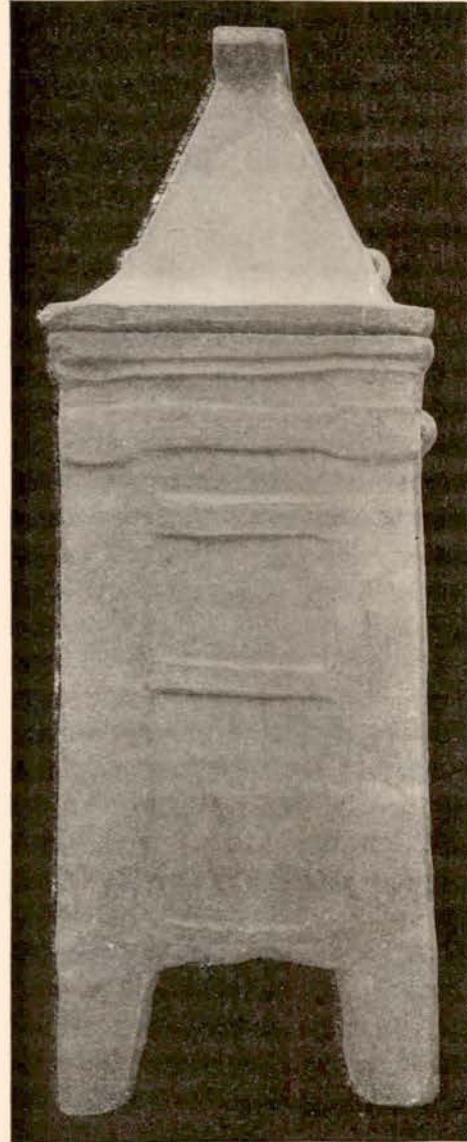


Fig. 26*b*. End of a painted larnax from Chamber-Tomb (No. 9).

<sup>a</sup> *Knossos: Report*, 1904. *B. S. A.* x. 61. Eight similar arrow-heads, varying in length from 3.8 centimetres to 1.8 centimetre, were found in a tomb at Phaestos (Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 41, fig. 21). In a tomb of the Lower Town at Mycenae, Dr. Triountas found twenty similar arrow-heads in two bundles of ten each (*Mycenaean Age*, 206).

about 8 centimetres high. (For shape see fig. 117, 6b.) It presents a wave-like decoration round the upper part of its body.

10d, e, f. Bronze arrow-heads. (Fig. 28.)

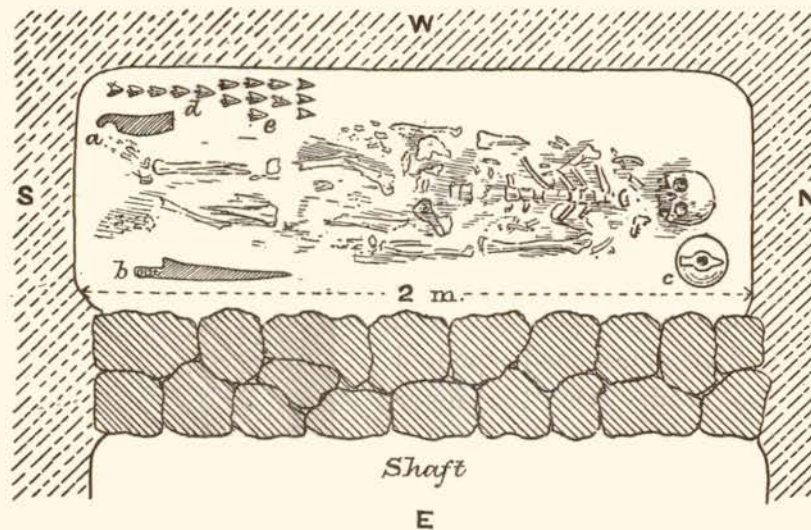


Fig. 27. Plan of the Hunter's Grave (No. 10).

No. 11. *Small Chamber-Tomb*.—The door of this tomb was found intact, approached by a short descending *dromos*. The chamber, however, seems to have

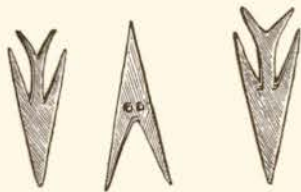


Fig. 28. Bronze arrow-heads from the Hunter's Grave (No. 10).

been plundered by means of a hole through its vault, since no small objects were found inside. The arrangement within was, however, interesting. To the right of the entrance was a plain *larnax* with a gabled cover a good deal broken, but containing remains of a skeleton with the legs drawn up and the shin bones being in a nearly upright position. Other examples of this crouched attitude will be described below. The head was at the eastern end of the clay sarcophagus. To the left of the *larnax* was a heap of bones simply laid on the floor of the tomb. They were much decayed, but part of a skull, apparently a woman's, was preserved. We have here therefore a combination of the simpler form of burial with that within a sarcophagus. (See plan, fig. 29.)

No. 12. *Chamber-Tomb*.—The entrance to this tomb, approached by a *dromos*  $4\frac{1}{2}$  metres long, was found with its original double walling intact. The doorway was 1.33 metre in height, in width below 52 centimetres, gradually

narrowing towards the top. The chamber itself was undisturbed. Upon the floor were the remains of two skeletons with their feet pointing east, towards the doorway. Between the heads of the two skeletons lay a painted vase (a), a

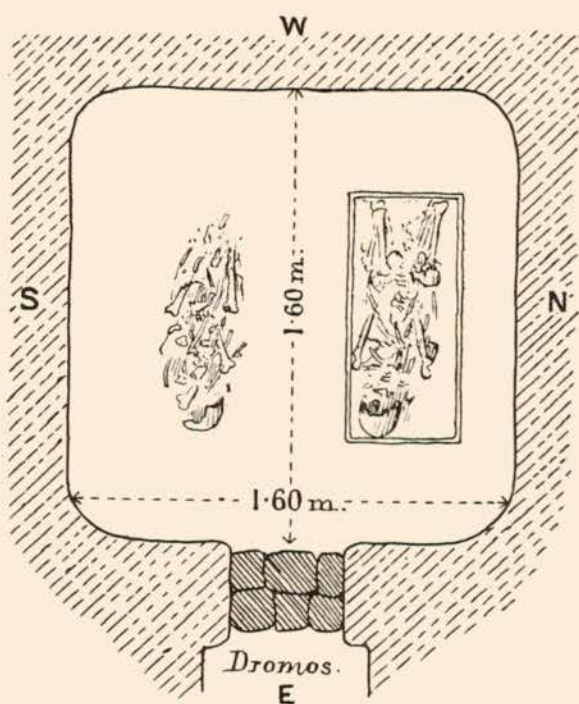


Fig. 29. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 11).

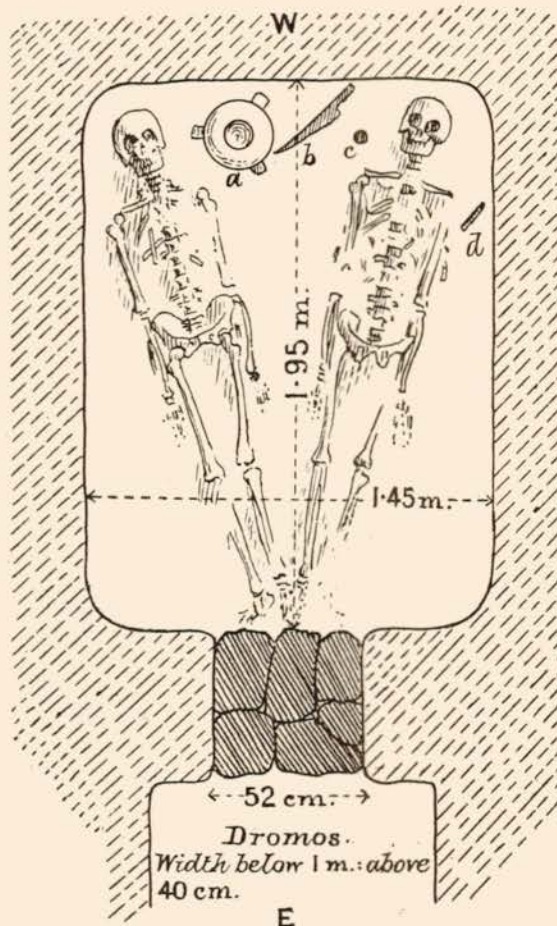


Fig. 30. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 12.)

small bronze knife (b), and a whorl (c), and by the left shoulder of the skeleton on the left was a bronze pin (d). (See plan, fig. 30.)

12a. Three-handled "amphora," height 20 centimetres (fig. 117, 12a). The rayed band round the upper part of its body seems to be a degeneration of the fine foliate decoration of 68b (fig. 83).

12b. Small bronze knife, 12.3 centimetres long. For type see 51c (fig. 71).

12d. Steatite whorl.

12e. Bronze pin: broken.

No. 13. *Chamber-Tomb*.—This tomb, approached on the east by a *dromos* incompletely excavated, had been plundered, and a good deal ruined by the falling in of the rock above. Its interior arrangement resembled that of No. 11. On the north side of the tomb to the left of the entrance was a plain *larnax*, 1·20 metre in length, 47 centimetres in breadth, 78 centimetres in height. It contained remains of bones and a skull at the west end. On the opposite or southern side was a decayed skeleton with the head west, near the right shoulder of which were two knives, *a* and *b*.

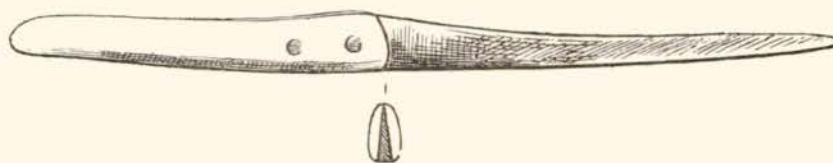


Fig. 31. Bronze knife with ivory handle from Grave No. 13.

13a. Bronze knife with ivory handle. (See fig. 31.)

13b. Small bronze knife, without handle, of ordinary type.

No. 14. *Chamber-Tomb*.—This “Tomb of the Tripod Hearth” was in its size and in the abundance of bronze vessels that it contained the most important grave opened in this cemetery. It was approached to the east by a *dromos* 14½ metres (about 48 feet) in length, the width of which very gradually increased from 1·30 metre at the entrance to 1·55 metre by the chamber door. This passage descended very rapidly, with steps at intervals, to a depth of 6·8 metres below the level of its entrance. The greater part of it thus formed a tunnel, about 2 metres high, in the soft limestone rock, the sides of which had, as usual, a slight inward slope.

The excavation of this considerable tunnel was a slow and difficult task, owing to the constant need of propping up the roof with wooden supports. It was therefore with a sense of great disappointment when, after over a fortnight's work, we reached the doorway of the actual tomb to find it open. It was not here, moreover, a case of an original walling broken into by later plunderers. No trace of any blocking could be found, the usual *débris* of such being altogether wanting. The door-opening itself, on the other hand, was made with more elaboration than that of any other chamber-tomb of this cemetery. On either side of it a groove, 2·5 centimetres deep and 10 centimetres broad, had been cut

out of the rock façade, suggesting the original insertion of some other material. The elevation is shown in fig. 32.

On clearing out the entrance it was found that large masses of rock had fallen within, and the whole chamber was choked with rubbish. As it was unsafe to clear it out from within, it became necessary to dig down a large shaft from the

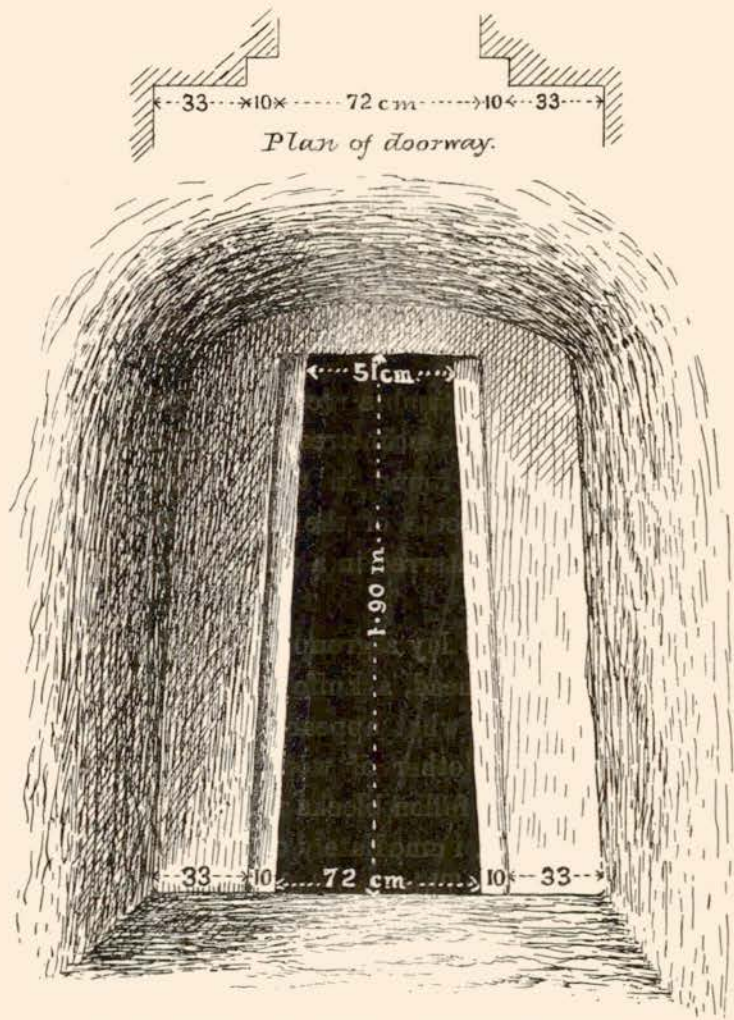


Fig. 32. Doorway of the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

surface of the ground above, at this point 7.50 metres above the floor of the chamber. The chamber when cleared proved to be of oblong form, 2.80 metres from east to west by 3.70 from north to south.

The area of the tomb immediately opposite the entrance was devoid of

objects. A little to the left, however, stood a tripod stand of plaster,<sup>a</sup> forming a moveable hearth, the hollow upper surface of which contained a heap of charcoal. (See fig. 33, Plate LXXXIX.) The dead within were cold, and live coals taken, we may believe, from the house fire had been placed here for their comfort. The same usage was exemplified in the royal tomb at Isopata,<sup>b</sup> and in several of the smaller graves of the present cemetery<sup>c</sup> clay chafing pans filled with charcoal had been placed as a substitute for the actual hearth.

Beyond this the whole south-west area of the tomb was covered with a magnificent group of fourteen bronze vessels, including a large three-legged cauldron, forerunner of the later tripod *lebes*, bowls and basons of new types, cups and ewers, and a lamp with a moveable attachment for its trimmer. The group is reproduced in fig. 33 (Plate LXXXIX.), showing the position occupied by each object when uncovered. Several of the larger vessels had been a good deal distorted by the superincumbent *débris*, and in these cases their original contours are restored in the drawing.

In the north-west corner of the tomb a rectangular cavity had been excavated in the floor, 1 metre in length by 40 centimetres in width and 45 centimetres deep. Much decayed human bones were found in this. From its dimensions, which correspond with those of the recipients of the clay sarcophagi, it seems probable that a dead person had been here interred in a crouching position. There was no cover to this cavity.

About a metre east of this cist lay a group of objects consisting of a bronze dirk with an ivory handle, a lance-head, a knife and two triangular razors, a pair of bronze mirrors, and remains of what appeared to have been two caskets, one with an ivory-mounted cover, the other of wood with bone inlays, but both of them much crushed and broken by fallen blocks from the roof of the chamber.

The central area of the tomb, immediately opposite the entrance, was totally devoid both of bones and relics. This, coupled with the fact that the doorway itself was found open, suggests more than one problem. It is in itself difficult to believe that the small coverless pit in the corner of the chamber contained the personage for whom this important tomb had been wrought. Rather we should suppose it to have been made for some slave or attendant, or at any rate for a

<sup>a</sup> Similar plaster tripods were found in the Palace at Knossos, one in the Shrine of the Double Axes, perhaps used as a stand for offerings of food.

<sup>b</sup> See *post.*

<sup>c</sup> Nos. 9, 32, 95, 97. See fig. 46.





Fig. 33. Tripod Plaster Hearth and group of Bronze Vessels found in south-west corner of Chamber-Tomb (No. 14).

secondary member of the family of the great departed. On the other hand, when it is borne in mind that other much less elaborate graves of this cemetery contained jewelry and gold-mounted weapons, how are we to account for the fact that

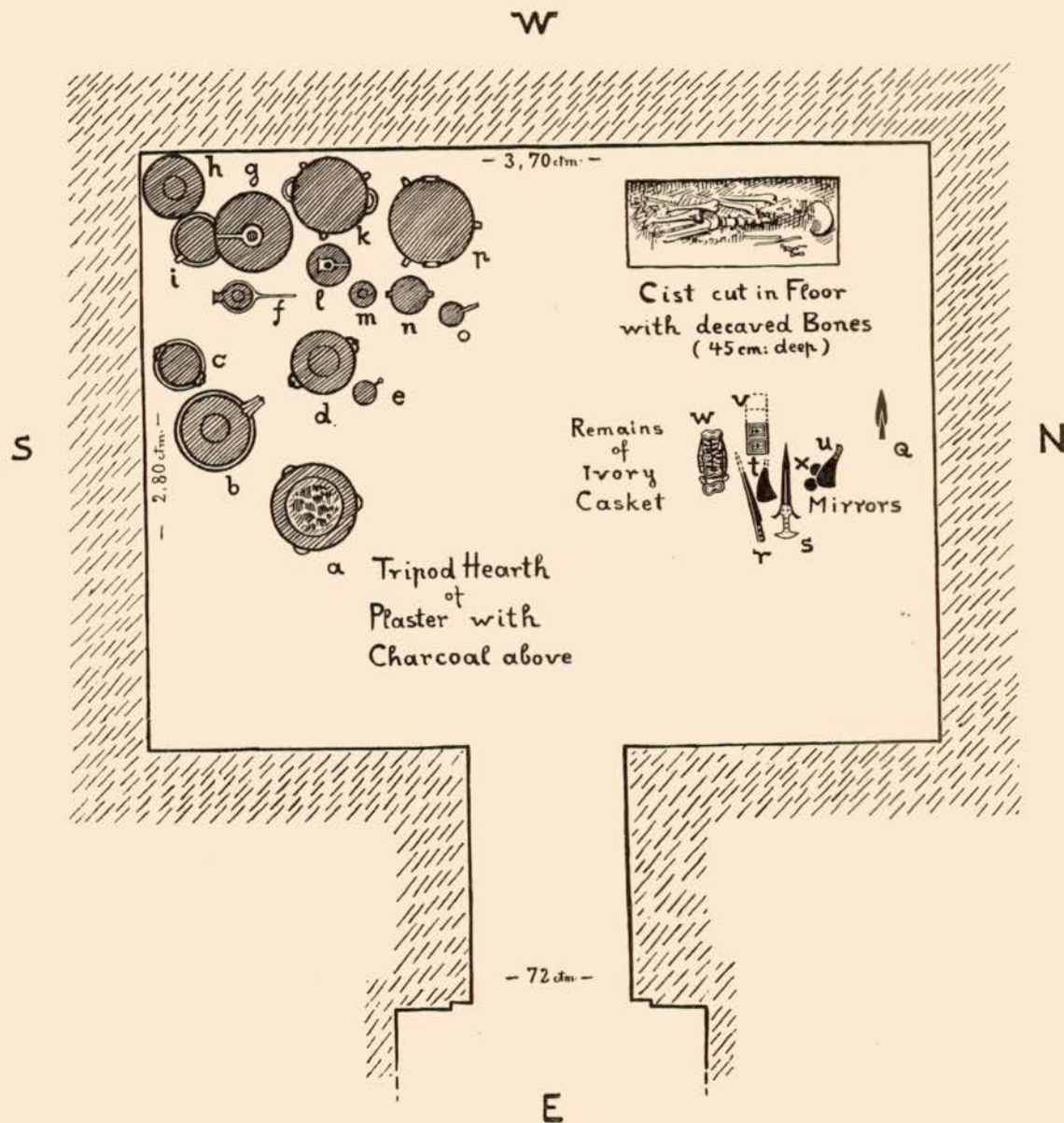


Fig. 34. Plan of chamber, Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

in this imposing sepulchral vault not a scrap of anything in the shape of precious metals was discovered?

Such an explanation as that the tomb was plundered after its definite closing is excluded by the fact that in this case the entrance seems never to have been walled up. There was, moreover, no trace of such disturbance within the vault as is usually the result of such violation. The caskets may have been tampered with, but as far as could be judged the bronze vessels and other objects stood in their original places. Again, a robber, though he might have singled out the gold and jewelry for abstraction, would certainly not have taken the body or bodies which *ex hypothesi* should have occupied the middle of the tomb. Even had he done so, some isolated gold bead or intaglio, some inconspicuous pin or scrap of gold leaf would surely have been overlooked in the course of any such hurried removal, carried out in the half-light supplied by lamp or torch.

Are we then to suppose that the central interment was never made? Such a theory is again beset by almost insurmountable difficulties. The elaborate service of bronze vessels, containing, we may suppose, the offerings of food and drink, would most probably have been set in place after the deposition of the body of the departed. The live coals from the house fire would hardly have been brought into a tenantless vault. The traditions of sepulchral practice as a whole weigh against the supposition that the *peculium* of the dead should have been laid in the tomb before the dead himself.

The phenomena with which we are confronted may most probably stand in connection with the specially rotten composition of the soft limestone rock, the Cretan *kouskouras*, above and about this tomb. It may be assumed that the interment actually took place, and the absence of relics such as gold-mounted swords, engraved gems or jewelry, and other objects in the precious metals tends to show that these, together with the corpse itself, were included in a sarcophagus answering in form to the *larnakes* found in other graves. It may be suspected that in this case the funeral chest was of a more magnificent character, coated with bronze plates, perhaps even with a plating of gold or silver.<sup>a</sup> This sarcophagus would have been placed in line with the major axis of the tomb, facing the entrance, in the gap between the two groups of objects that were actually found.

If we now imagine that shortly after the deposition of the sarcophagus and before the projected walling in of the doorway a fall of rock from the roof threatened the destruction of the whole, nothing is more reasonable than to believe that the coffin itself, with its precious contents, was hastily extracted from the *débris* to be eventually placed in a securer resting-place. At the same

<sup>a</sup> Compare the silver chest of Vetulonia (Falchi, *Vetulonia*, Tav. xii.).

time the increasing danger from the falling vault, coupled with the minor value of the bronzes and other objects, may have resulted in their being left in their original positions. The great chamber closed itself, and the collapse of the entrance would no doubt have followed had not this and the *dromos* been refilled with earth. The doorway of the tomb, when opened out again, at once threatened ruin, and had to be shored up with a substantial wooden framework.

14a. Tripod hearth of plaster, diameter 45 centimetres, with charcoal above. (See Plate LXXXIX.)

14b. Shallow one-handed bason of bronze (diameter 35 centimetres). The border and handle (attached by three rivets) are decorated with a raised reticulated pattern, recalling turner's work, which is shown in more detail on the lamp (*f*). (See Plate LXXXIX.) Except for its shallower form this vessel recalls those found in the building west of the Palace at Knossos, and another, of which the rim only was preserved, from the cemetery at Phaestos.<sup>a</sup> The decoration in the present case, however, is of a more mechanical character.

14c. Two-handed bronze pan with upward curving sides (12 centimetres high). (See

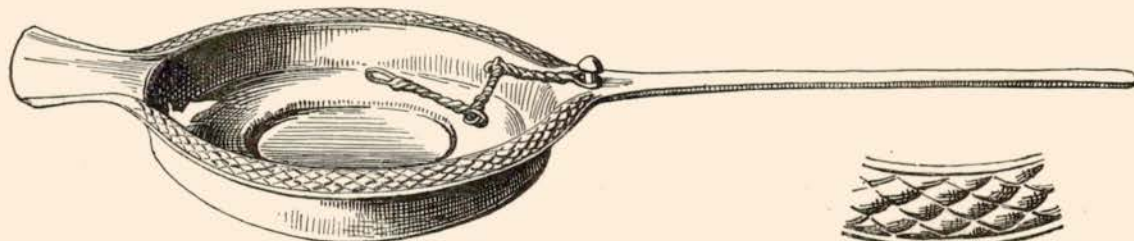


Fig. 35a. Bronze lamp (14*f*), with chain for trimmer, from the Tomb of the Plaster Hearth (No. 14).

Fig. 35b. Ornament of rim of bronze lamp.

fig. 33.) Its greatest diameter is about 22 centimetres. The knobbed upright projection on each of the horizontal handles recurs in 14*d*. This is a common feature of Minoan bronze bowls, the knobbed projection being perhaps found useful for winding stuff round when lifting the heated vessel. This is probably a cooking pot.

14*d*. Two-handed bronze pan, diameter c. 25 centimetres. The handles, each attached by four rivets, are of the same type with upright projections. (See Plate LXXXIX.)

14*e*. Small bronze pan (diameter 10 centimetres) with solid handle (11 centimetres long) sloping upwards, having a knob at the top. The knob served doubtless the same purpose as that described under 14*c*. A similar vessel was found in Tomb 36 below, another in the necropolis of Phaestos,<sup>b</sup> and a third in a tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae.<sup>c</sup> These must be regarded as small frying pans.

<sup>a</sup> Savignoni, *op. cit.* 50, fig. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Savignoni, *op. cit.* 47, fig. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Tsountas, *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1888, pl. ix. 24, and p. 137. From Tomb 2.

14f. Bronze lamp, inner diameter of bowl 19 centimetres. (Fig. 35a.) Its border shows a hatched decoration (see fig. 35b) like that of the basin (14b). It is provided with a long handle with a tapering end convenient for insertion into the chinks of walls. Its most remarkable feature, however, is a chain attached to a knob at the base of the handle, consisting of three long links ending in a loop, from which doubtless hung some kind of trimmer for the wick. The lamp is quite unique.

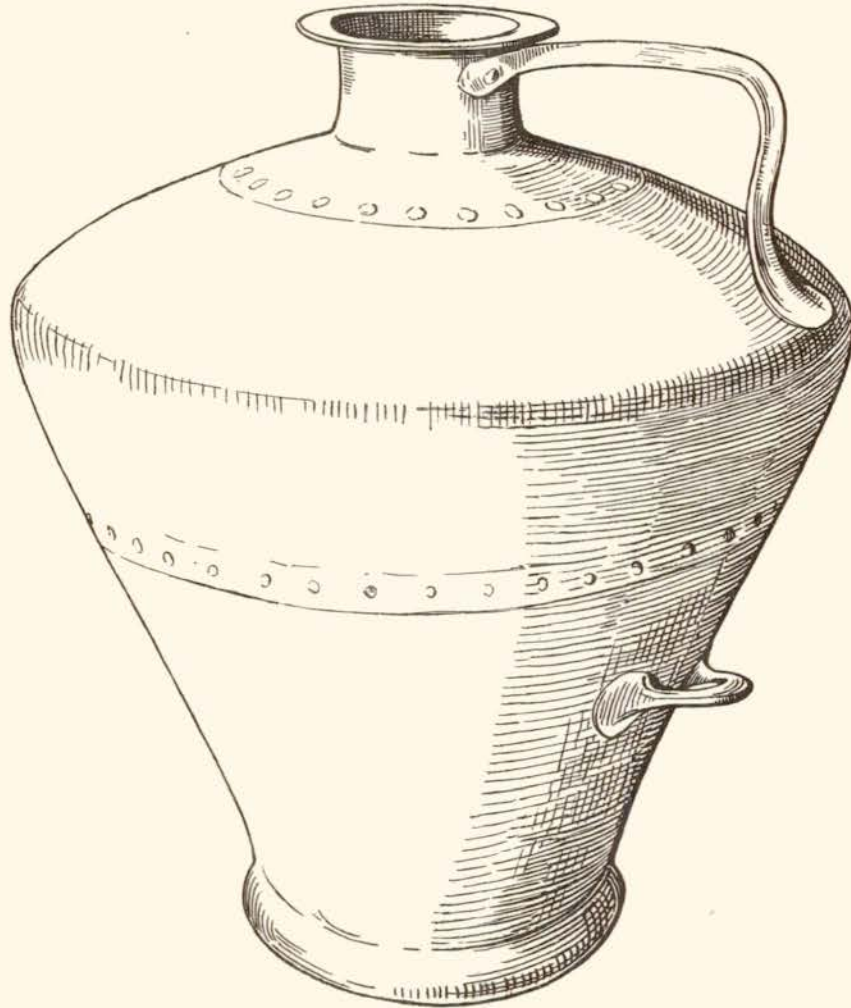


Fig. 36. Large bronze jug (14g) from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

14g. Large bronze jug, 35 centimetres high and 35 centimetres in diameter, with two handles, one attached to neck and shoulders, the other to its lowest section. (Fig. 36) It is a type of which examples have also occurred at Palaikastro,<sup>a</sup> in the Palace of Hagia

<sup>a</sup> 55 centimetres high, R. M. Dawkins, *B. S. A.* x. 208.

Triada,<sup>a</sup> and, of identical height, in a tomb at Phaestos.<sup>b</sup> Apart from the mouth and base this vase is built up of three separate overlapping sections joined together by means of small rivets. In its general form it answers to the copper jugs found in the fourth shaft-



Fig. 37. Bronze ewer (14*l*) from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

grave at Mycenae, but thanks to the greater malleability of the metal the sides of these latter were made in one piece.

14*h*. Bronze handle-less bason, in part decayed, diameter c. 30 centimetres. (See fig. 33.)

<sup>a</sup> Halbherr, *Mon. Ant.* 1903, 10.

<sup>b</sup> Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 44, fig. 25.

14j. Capacious bronze pot with two upright handles, diameter 20 centimetres. (See Plate LXXXIX.)

14k. Two-handled bronze cauldron with three short feet and nearly upright sides,



Fig. 38. Bronze tripod cauldron (14*p*) from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

diameter 42 centimetres, height of bowl 15.5 centimetres. The handles are attached horizontally. (See fig. 33.)

14l. Bronze spouted ewer of elegant form (fig. 37), height 40 centimetres, diameter 35 centimetres. Its high curved handle is attached to the rim by four rivets. The decoration round the shoulders somewhat recalls that of the lamp 14f, and bason 14b. Round

the neck is a raised ring, which is a common feature in Minoan clay vessels. It originates, however, in metal technique, its function being to cover the junction of the collar and shoulder of vases.

14m. Plain bronze cup with flat bottom, diameter at rim 14 centimetres. (See Plate LXXXIX.)

14n. Bronze pedestalled cup with two handles, height 18 centimetres, diameter at rim 18 centimetres. (See Plate LXXXIX.) This is interesting as supplying an example of the metal prototype of a form of

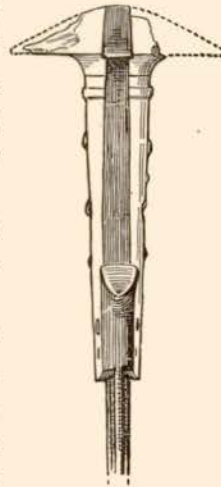


Fig. 39b. Side view of ivory mounted dagger-hilt.

in clay during the latest Minoan Period. (Cf. fig. 118, 7f).

14o. Bronze ladle, consisting of a shallow cup with a high looped handle. (See Plate LXXXIX.) Similar types of ladle are already found in clay from the Third Middle-Minoan Period onwards.

14p. Bronze tripod cauldron with two upright ring handles. (Fig. 38.) The height of the whole is 47 centimetres, and the diameter of the bason is 41 centimetres. A metal ring to which the handles are attached is riveted to the rim of the cauldron. The legs, which spring from the shoulders, are 33 centimetres in length.

14q. Bronze lance-head with flat leaf-shaped blade (length 25 centimetres, breadth of blade 4.8 centimetres). (Fig. 113, 14q, Plate XCI.)

14r. Bronze knife of the ordinary form, the point wanting. Three perforations for rivets in handle.

14s. Bronze dirk or dagger with finely-preserved ivory plates and pommel on the hilt (length 42 centimetres). From the upper end of the blade project two horns forming a guard. (Figs. 39a and 39b, and 109, 14r, Plate XCI.)

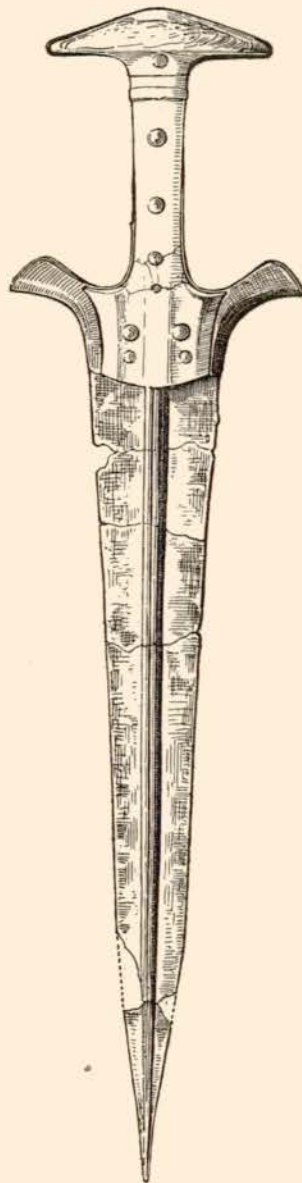


Fig. 39a. Bronze dagger (14s) with ivory hilt from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

14t, u. Bronze razors with blades exceptionally broad at the end, giving the whole a



sub-triangular outline. An instrument of the same form was found by Tsountas in a tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae.<sup>a</sup>

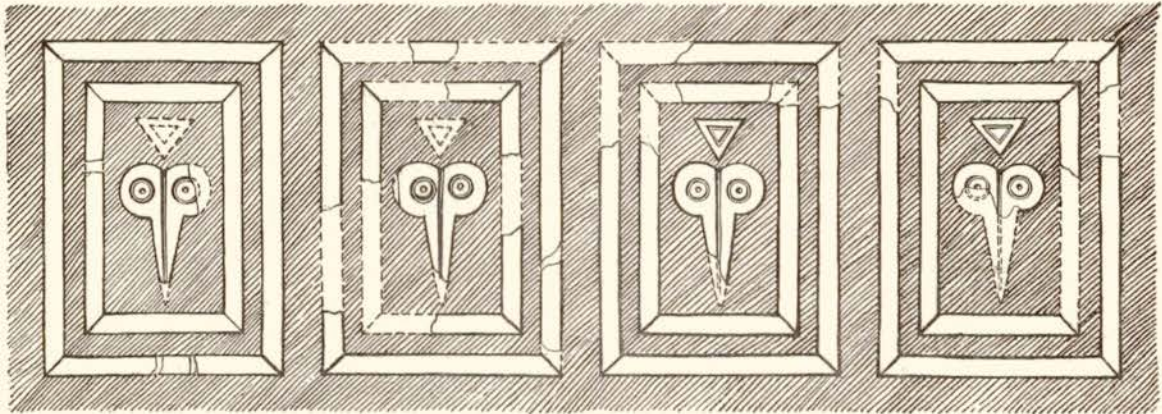


Fig. 40. Portion of a wooden box with bone inlays, from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

14c. Portion of a wooden box with bone inlays, of which it has been possible to put together four panels (length of each panel 10 centimetres, breadth 9 centimetres). (Fig. 40.)

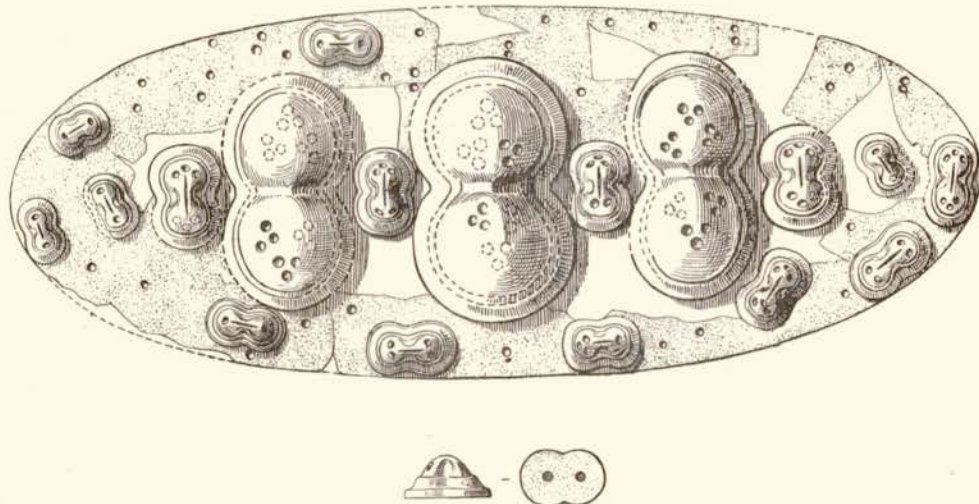


Fig. 41. Ivory lid of a casket with shield-like bosses, from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth (No. 14).

14w. Ivory lid of casket of oval form (length 39 centimetres, breadth 14·8 centimetres). (Fig. 41.) It is set with shield-like bosses fixed by means of small ivory rivets. The

<sup>a</sup> *Ep. 'Apx.* 1888, pl. ix. 17.

surface of these is pitted with small holes in groups of three for containing some kind of inlay. Similar shield-like bosses have been found in tombs at Mycenae.

Several of the bosses had become detached, but it is certain that the larger shields occupied the middle part of the lid.

No further remains of the casket, the framework of which may have been of wood, could be discovered.

No. 15. *Chamber-Tomb*, approached by a *dromos* running north. The chamber had been much ruined and disturbed. In it were found a small bronze knife (*a*), a fragment of some other bronze object, a plain ivory mirror-handle (*b*) of oblong form, and a steatite whorl.

No. 16. *Chamber-Tomb*, with *dromos* to east. The door had been broken in and the tomb plundered. A skull and disturbed remains of bones lay within on each side of the door.

No. 17. *Chamber-Tomb*, approached on the east by a stepped *dromos*. Some Late-Minoan painted fragments were found in the *dromos*, and the entrance wall had been half demolished. Immediately inside the door of the chamber lay remains of two skeletons with their heads north, and beyond these, also lying north and south, was a *larnax* without its lid. Inside the *larnax* at the north end was a fairly preserved skull, but the bones as a whole were much decayed. No other relics were found in this tomb. (See plan, fig. 42.)

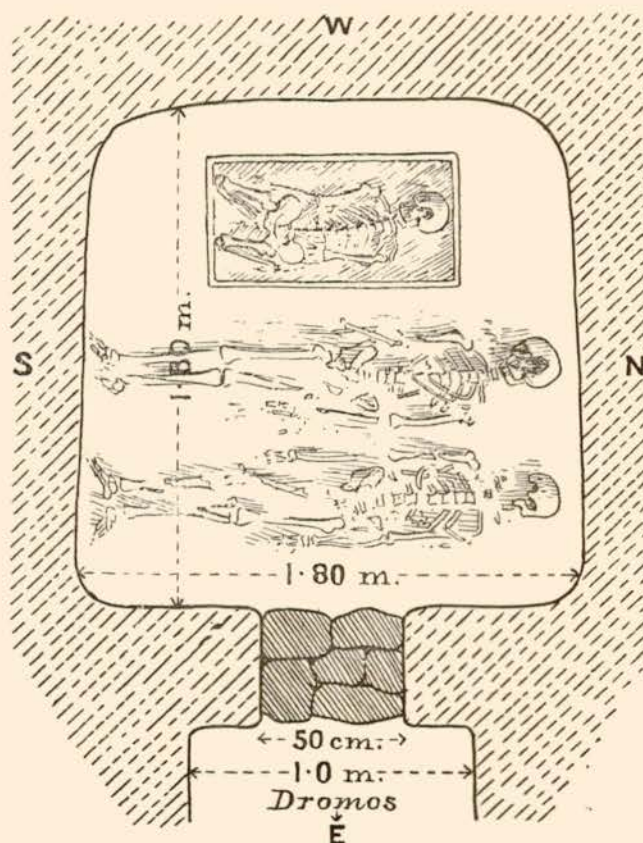


Fig. 42. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 17).

No. 18. *Chamber-Tomb*, with entrance to the east, approached by a *dromos* 3.40 metres long and 1 metre wide. The door, found closed with a stone walling, was 85 centimetres high and 60 centimetres wide below. The form of the chamber was more rounded than usual, diameter 1.73 metres east to west and 1.81 north to south. The vault had collapsed.

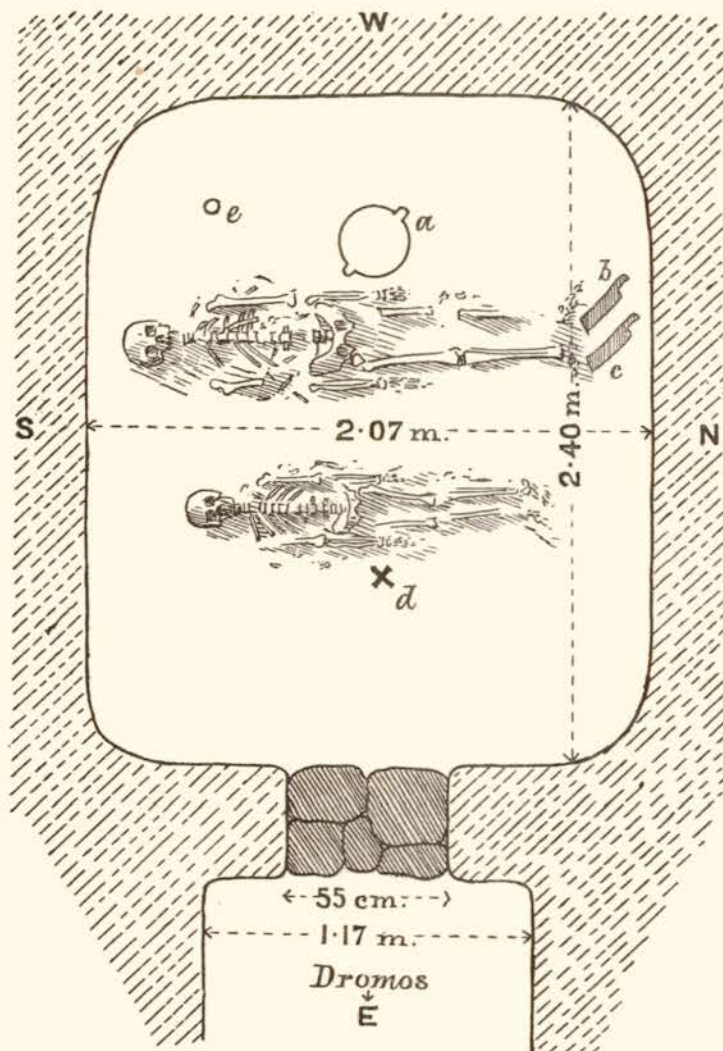


Fig. 43. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 21).

was intact, but a good deal of decomposed rock had fallen from the vault of the chamber, the original height of which was about 1.60 metres. (See plan, fig. 43.)

Remains of two skeletons lay within with the skulls to west. Between their two heads lay a pair of bronze razors of the usual type (cf. fig. 63), and near them two hones.

No. 19. *Chamber-Tomb*, with short *dromos* to east. Plundered and much destroyed.

No. 20. *Chamber-Tomb*, like the last, with *dromos* to east. The door had been broken into and the tomb plundered. The chamber had largely collapsed.

No. 21. *Chamber-Tomb*, approached to east by *dromos* 5.80 metres long, descending by a double flight of steps to a depth of about 3 metres below the surface level. The walling of the doorway (1.37 metres high)

Within were remains of an adult skeleton, much decayed and showing little of the head, which lay south, except the teeth. A little to the left, together with further remains of a skeleton, lay a very small gold ring, which could only have fitted a child's finger. It is clear, therefore, that a child's body lay by the other, though the decomposed state of the bones and the disturbance caused by the fallen rock had obscured the evidence of age. The razors (*b, c*) at the foot of the adult skeleton seem to indicate that it was that of a man. A small painted bowl and a whorl completed the contents of this poor but un-robbed tomb.

21*a*. Painted bowl with handle and spout. (Fig. 117, 21*a*). The decoration has a late character.

21*b*. Bronze razor of usual type. (Cf. fig. 63). Length 17·2 centimetres, width of blade at end 5·5 centimetres.

21*c*. Similar bronze razor. Length 17·2 centimetres, width of blade at end 6·2 centimetres.

21*d*. Small gold ring with plain bezel. (Fig. 119, 21*d*). The inner diameter of the ring is only 10 centimetres.

21*e*. Steatite whorl of pyramidal shape.

No. 22. *Chamber-Tomb*, much ruined. Fragments of *larnax* in *dromos*.

No. 23. *Shaft-Grave*, lying east and west. The covering slabs of the grave lay at the bottom of an oblong pit and 1·20 metres below the surface. The floor of the grave itself (1·68 metres long by 45 centimetres wide) was 90 centimetres below the roof stones. Nothing was found within but some bones, much decomposed.

No. 24. *Shaft-Grave* similar to the last. No contents but some decayed bones.

No. 25. *Shaft-Grave* of similar character. The covering slabs of the grave seem to have been taken from an earlier building, one of them presenting incised signs of a Middle-Minoan character. (See above, fig. 9.)

The grave below contained decayed bones and a stirrup vase (height 13·3 centimetres) with a chevron pattern. (Fig. 114, 25*a*.)

No. 26. *Shaft-Grave* of similar type, lying north to south. The grave was at the bottom of an oblong pit, about 1·20 metres wide, with ledge at the south end (see plan, fig. 7). The larger of the slabs above the actual grave measured 80 centimetres by 45 centimetres and 60 centimetres by 35 centimetres, and were respectively 16 centimetres and 10 centimetres thick. The grave itself contained nothing but much decayed bones. Remains of skull to south.

No. 27. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. Oblong pit about 2 metres long, with ledge on one side (see plan, fig. 6). The flat stones at the bottom of this, covering the grave, had mostly lost their hold on to the narrow edge along the

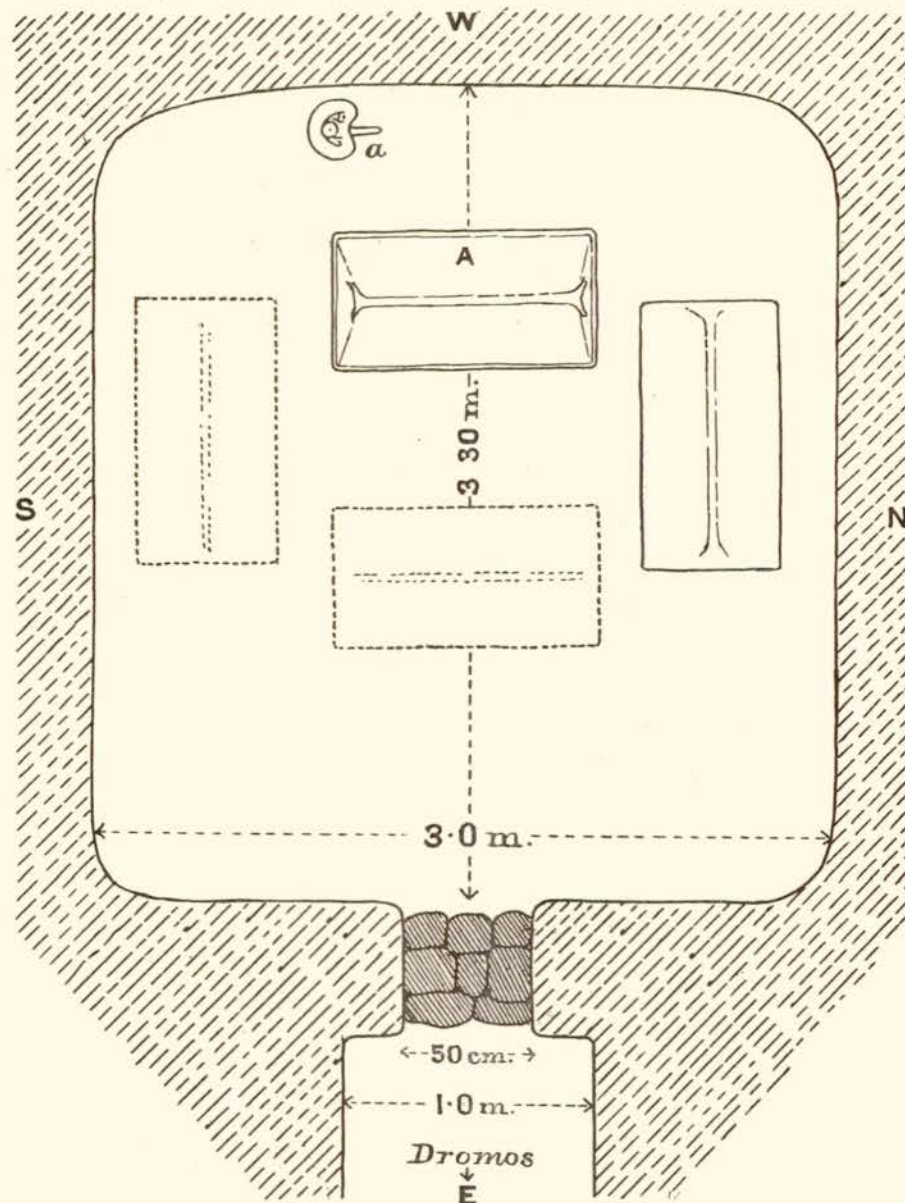


Fig. 44. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 32).

east side of the cavity, and had slipped down on that side, though retaining their order. The bones within were wholly decayed, and the only relics found were a

plain two-handled vase (cf. 118, fig. 70*b*) and a steatite whorl. These lay near the centre of the grave on the west side.

No. 28. *Shaft-Grave* similar to the last. No relics.

No. 29. *Chamber-Tomb*, much ruined. Remains of plain *larnax*.

No. 30. *Shaft-Grave* resembling No. 27. Disturbed and devoid of remains.

No. 31. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. Also disturbed and the covering stones removed. Such bones as were found were much perished. The skull seems to have been at the north end. At the south end lay a leaf-shaped bronze razor, 17 centimetres long. (Cf. Plate XCI. fig. 113, 64*c*.)

No. 32. *Chamber-Tomb*, entrance east, approached by short *dromos*. Although the entrance walling was intact the tomb seems to have been plundered from above. In the *dromos* was found a plain pedestalled cup with one handle (cf. 66*h*, fig. 118) and fragments of Late-Minoan (III.) painted pottery. In the chamber were two plain *larnakes* much broken, and the bones scattered by fallen rock. There were also remains belonging to four other sarcophagi, two of which must have rested on the lower group. For the manner in which these latter seem to have been arranged compare the plan of No. 8, fig. 24. The gable ridges of the covers of the best-preserved chest (A, fig. 44) terminated at either end in a

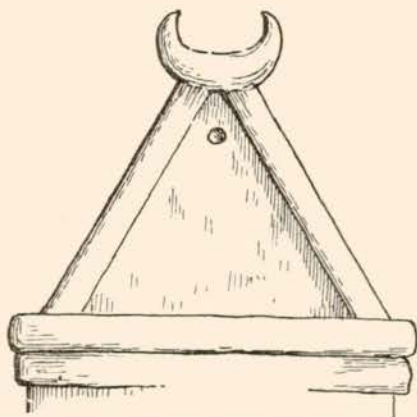


Fig. 45. Horned cover of *larnax* A, from Chamber-Tomb (No. 32).

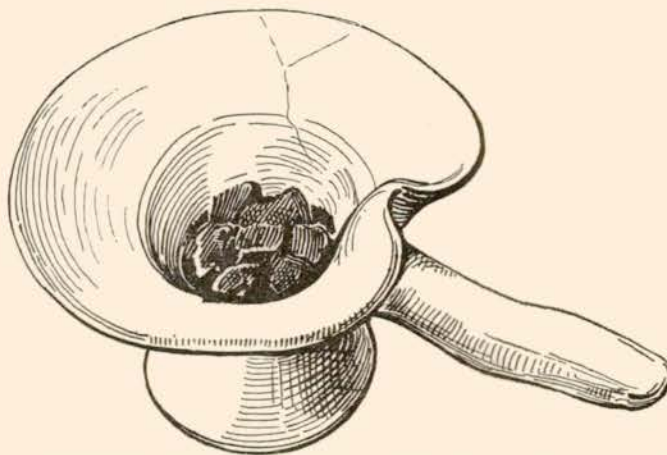


Fig. 46. Clay chafing pan with charcoal, from Chamber-Tomb (No. 32).

pair of horns (fig. 45), an interesting feature suggestive of the horns at the end of the ridge beams of the hut-urns of ancient Latium. Remembering the constant employment of sacral horns of plaster, clay, and stone, in Minoan cult, it is possible that a religious value may have been attached to the horned termination of the sarcophagus. The only objects found in the tomb were a decomposed bronze needle and paste bead found in *larnax* A, and a clay charcoal holder or

chafing pan (fig. 46 and fig. 118, 32, height 15 centimetres) containing some of the coals. It was placed behind the inmost sarcophagus.

No. 33. *Shaft-Grave*, "The Carpenter's Tomb."—Oblong pit, lying north to south, with ledge at south end. The grave itself, 2 metres below the surface level, was covered with well-cut slabs. (For plan and section see figs. 8a, 8b). The grave (1.65 metres long and 60 centimetres broad and 90 centimetres deep) contained remains of a skeleton with the head to the south. About the middle, together with a leaf-shaped razor, lay the tools of the deceased, evidently an artisan, namely an adze or chisel, and a saw. (See plan, fig. 47.)

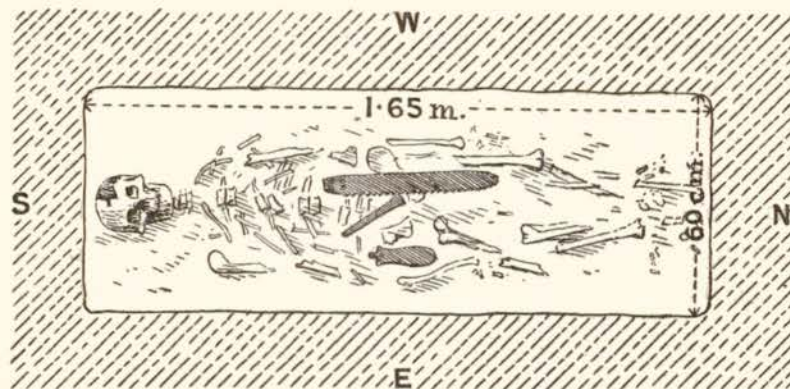


Fig. 47. Plan of the Carpenter's Tomb (No. 33).

33a. Bronze saw. Length 48 centimetres, greatest breadth 5.3 centimetres. Larger saws, perhaps in some cases for sawing out gypsum slabs, have been found at Hagia Triada and Gournia. (Fig. 48.)

33b. Bronze adze or chisel 24.4 centimetres long, width at edge 4.1 centimetres. (Fig. 49.)

33c. Bronze leaf-shaped razor. (Fig. 50.)

No. 34. *Shaft-Grave*.—Oblong pit lying east to west. The covering slabs, which occupied the middle of the bottom of the pit with a space of about 30 centimetres round, proved to have been partly broken in. On removing them the grave was found to be occupied by a *larnax*, which, however, had evidently been rifled. Nothing was found within but disturbed remains of bones, some sherds of rough pottery, and a small piece of bronze wire, perhaps part of a pin. The *larnax* itself was plain, but under one of the gable ends of its cover was cut the sign  $\Delta$ .

The combination of a shaft-grave with a clay sarcophagus is unique in this cemetery.

No. 35. *Chamber-Tomb*.—Approached on the east by a *dromos* with a steep descent. The *dromos* is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  metres in length, and its width increases from 85 centimetres at the entrance to 1·05 metre immediately outside the door of the chamber. It descends, by a double flight of steps and an incline, to a depth of 3·35 metres below the surface level. The rock-cut side walls of this passage slope in, leaving a space of only 35 centimetres open at top.

The doorway (1·40 metre high, 70 centimetres wide at bottom and 65 centimetres at top) was found blocked by a triple walling. Within the chamber were remains of three skeletons with their heads west. The relics found, including a small bronze jug and two stone bowls, lay near the north and south walls of the chamber. (See plan, fig. 51.)

35a. Small bronze jug, with handle (cf. fig. 100, *h, p*).

35b. Grey serpentine vase in shape of a calyx or flower ("blossom vase"), cf. fig. 100, *e* (diameter 17 centimetres, height 10·5 centimetres).

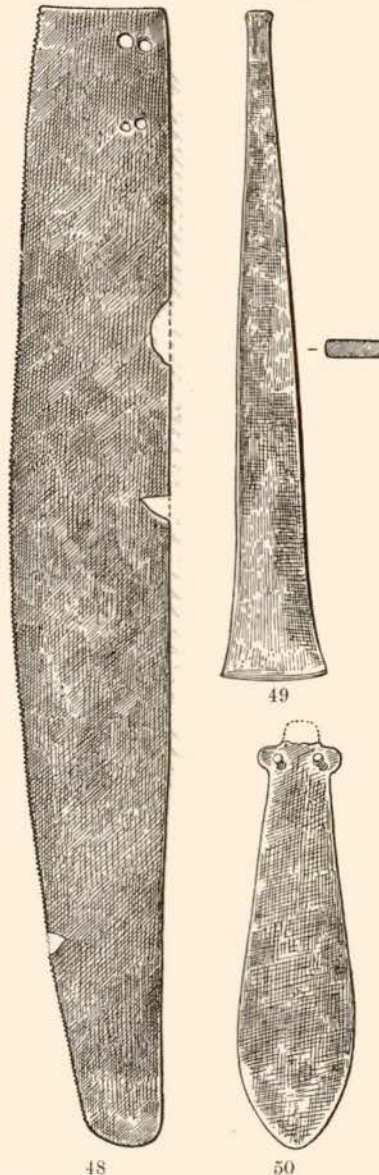
35c. Similar vase (diameter 17 centimetres, height 9·5 centimetres).

35d. Steatite whorls.

35e. Four-sided oblong head of steatite, with rows of plain circles with central dot.

35f. A natural quartz crystal.

No. 36. *Shaft-Grave*, lying east to west. "The Chieftain's Grave." This exceptionally rich interment has been already referred to as presenting the peculiarity of having part of its funeral furniture above the covering stones of the actual grave. Here were found arranged, as shown in fig. 52, a bronze ewer, saucepan, and two-handled bowl, together with a mirror, a frequent concomitant of male interments, and two spear-heads. The vessels had been a good deal crushed by the weight of the superincumbent earth.



Figs. 48, 49, 50. Bronze objects from the Carpenter's Tomb (No. 33).



In the sepulchral cell below the slabs were the remains of a skeleton with its head to the east. The beads of a gold necklace were found, partly resting on the much-flattened skull; and on the left wrist, showing the manner in which they were worn, lay three lentoid gems with intaglio designs. By the right side was

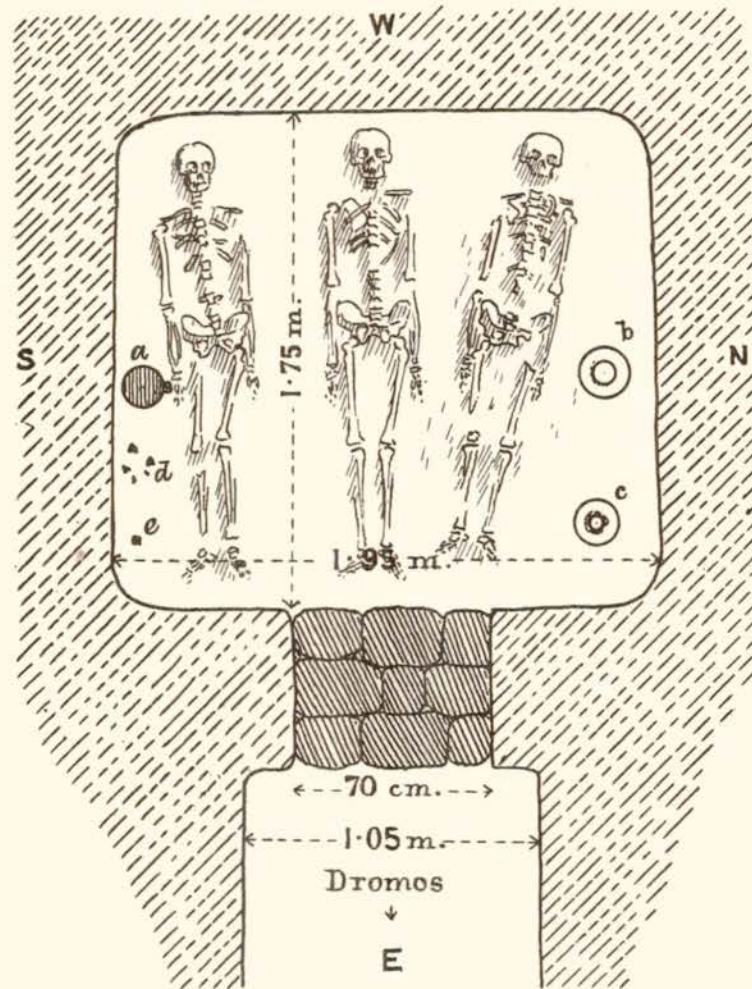


Fig. 51. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 35).

a long sword with ivory pommel and gold-plated studs; and near the position of the right hand lay a short sword or dirk with a beautiful onyx pommel and gold-plated hilt, exhibiting engraved designs of lions hunting wild goats, in a fine, free style. These are the most magnificent arms as yet found in a Minoan grave, and,



Fig. 52. Funeral offerings above the covering slabs of the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

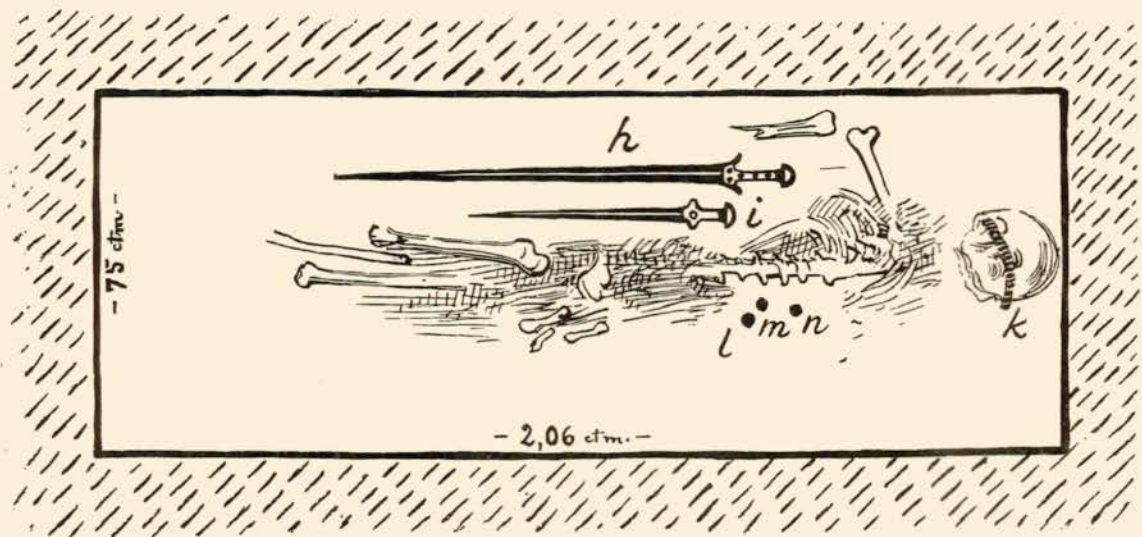


Fig. 53. Plan of the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

coupled with the gold collar, they may be thought to warrant the title of the "Chieftain's Grave." A plan of this grave is given in fig. 53. For a section of it, see fig. 10 above.

*Objects found above the Covering Slab of the Chieftain's Grave. (See Fig. 52.)*

36a. Bronze ewer. Height 50 centimetres, diameter 37 centimetres. (See fig. 52.) The collar and body of this are formed of three plates riveted together. The vessel itself, with its upright handle attached to the rim, and its horizontal handle below, resembles the bronze jug already described under No. 14g. The present vase, however, is distinguished by a decorative adjunct of great delicacy. Two cockle-shells or small scallops in relief are attached to the two extremities of the upright handle, the upper of these being much smaller than the other. (See fig. 54.) Cockles in relief, as an adornment of clay and porcelain vases, occur already in the Middle-Minoan Period. The vase had been considerably distorted by the pressure of the superincumbent earth.

36b. Bronze spouted pan, the two handles of which are provided with knobbed upright projections, like the vessels described under No. 14c, etc. This pan was a good deal crushed, but is reproduced in its original outlines in fig. 52. A bronze pan of similar type occurred in Tomb 8 at Phaestos.<sup>a</sup> Two swords were found in the same tomb.

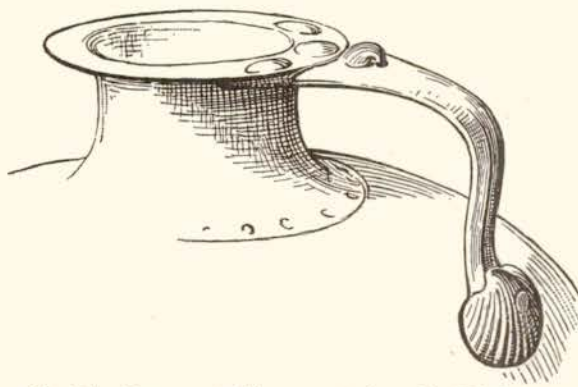


Fig. 54. Upper part of bronze ewer from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).



Fig. 55. Bronze frying-pan, and spiral ornament on rim, from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

36c. Small bronze "frying-pan." Diameter 15 centimetres, height of sides 3·8 centimetres, of handle 9 centimetres. (Fig. 55.) The upper edge of the pan has been somewhat beaten out, and a flat circular plate welded on to this, which is adorned with spiral reliefs. (See fig. 55.) A plain "frying-pan" of similar type has been already described under No. 14c, and another was found at Phaestos, also in Tomb 8.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Savignoni, *op. cit.* 28, and 47, fig. 48.

<sup>b</sup> Savignoni, *op. cit.* 28, and 47, fig. 29.

36d. Bronze mirror of usual type. Diameter 15·5 centimetres.

36e. Bronze lance-head with round prominent rib. Length 34·4 centimetres, diameter of base of socket 2 centimetres. There are two holes in the socket for rivets, and signs of a joint are visible along one side. (Fig. 56, and fig. 113, 36e.)

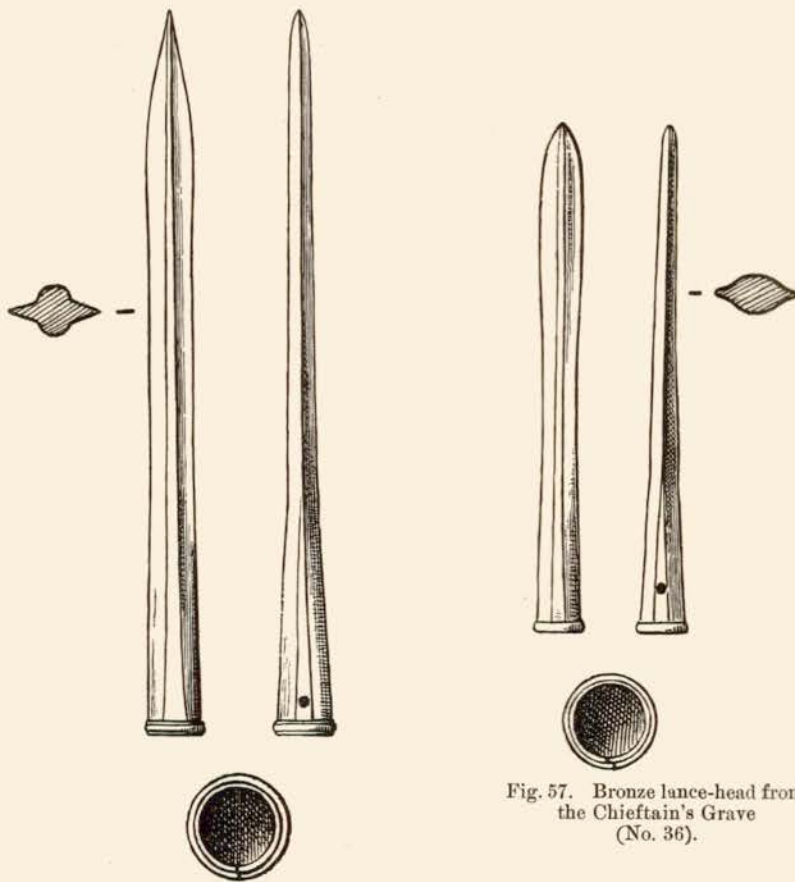


Fig. 56. Bronze lance-head from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

Fig. 57. Bronze lance-head from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

36f. Bronze lance-head (length 26 centimetres) of similar fabric, but with broader rib than preceding. (Fig. 57, and fig. 113, 36f.)

*Objects found in the Chieftain's Grave below Slabs.*

36h. Bronze sword of pointed form, for thrusting, with ivory pommel; length without pommel 94·5 centimetres, with pommel 95·5 centimetres. The ivory pommel, of which a small part was decayed, is fixed by a cross rivet of bronze, and round its base is a gold

collar. The wooden mounting of the hilt was secured on each side by five large gold-plated studs. A minute but very fine decoration, consisting of double rows of connected

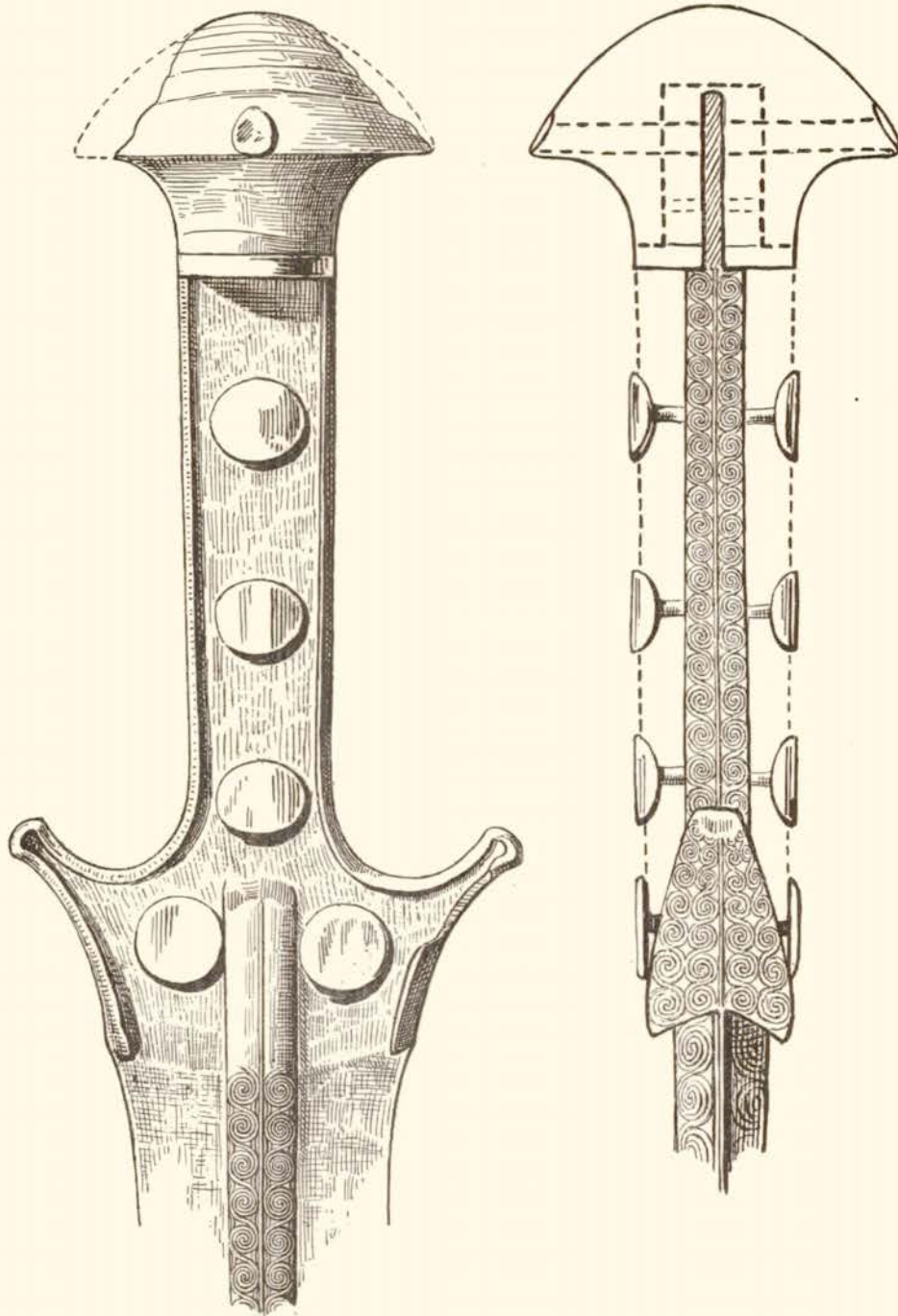


Fig. 58. Upper part and side view of a bronze sword from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

spirals in relief, runs along the sides of the hilt and the central rib of the blade. (Fig. 58, and fig. 109 36*h*.) The entire sword is shown in fig. 112*b*, below.

36*i*. Short bronze sword, also for thrusting, with agate pommel. Length with pommel 61 centimetres. The pommel, which is of beautifully banded translucent agate, is 4.4 centi-

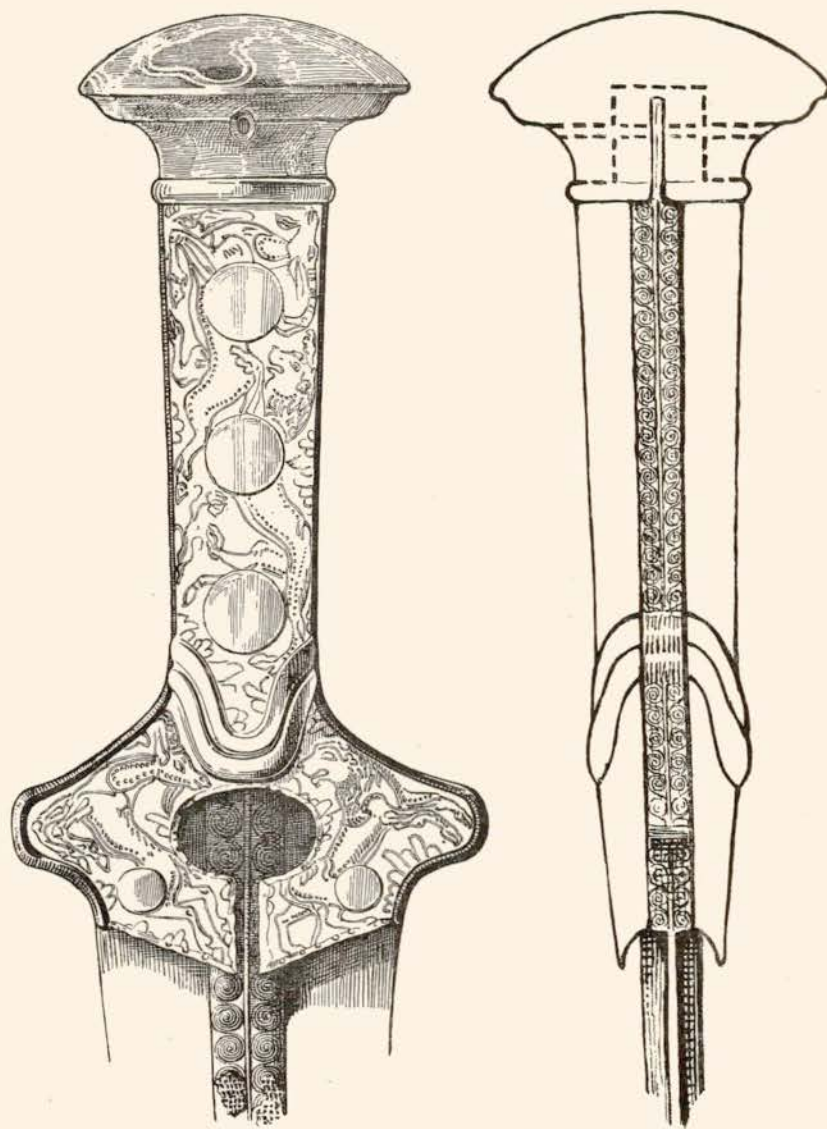


Fig. 59. Upper part and side view of a gold-plated sword from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

metres in diameter, and is perforated in order to be fixed to the hilt with a bronze rivet. Its base is surrounded by a gold collar. The hilt on both sides is covered with gold plates attached by five gold-plated rivets. These plates seem to have originally had

*h*

a thin wooden backing, and minute rivet holes for attachment to these are seen along the borders of the oval opening near the lower end of each plate.

The plates are divided by a curved moulding into an upper and lower field, each engraved with very spirited designs of lions and wild goats. (Fig. 59.) The lower field shows a lion and a Cretan wild goat or *agrimi*, looking back at each other, the *agrimi* in the act of springing, the lion as if starting in pursuit. On the borders above and below are indications of rocks. In the upper field we see the sequel to the other. The lion has gripped the hind-quarters of the he-goat with one paw, arresting its flight, while, with the other raised, he prepares to bring it finally to the ground. We have here the same rocky landscape, the rocks above represented in a downward position in accordance with the conventional method of perspective constantly employed by the Minoan artists. From the ground below the lion rises a bell-shaped flower, apparently a tulip, such as still grows wild in the Cretan valleys. The design itself, in spite of the cramped conditions under which it was composed, is of singular force and naturalism, and the unavoidable effacement of part of the outlines by the discs of the rivet holes has been dealt with in such a way as to preserve the more important features.

The sides of the hilt and the central rib of the blade are covered as in the case of the preceding sword with double rows of spirals of microscopic fineness in relief. Remains of linen tissue, probably belonging to the shroud, are seen attached to parts of the blade. (See figs. 59 and 110b.)

36k. Gold necklace, consisting of 18 beads of thin gold plate, repeating an embossed design derived from a double argonaut (*argo argonauta*). (Fig. 60 and fig. 119, 36k.) The



Fig. 60. Gold beads of necklace from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36). ( $\frac{3}{4}$ )



Fig. 61. Agate lentoid bead with intaglio, from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36). ( $\frac{3}{4}$ )

design resembles that presented by the gold necklace found in Grave No. 7, but in the present case the relief is finer. As noticed above, under No. 7, necklaces with gold beads, showing a similar pattern, were found in tombs at Phaestos and elsewhere. One such occurred in the *dromos* of a tomb (No. 8) of the Lower Town at Mycenae,<sup>a</sup> containing a fibula of the early fiddle-bow type.

<sup>a</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1888, plate ix. 4, p. 139.

36l. Agate lentoid bead with intaglio in a fine bold style showing a horned sheep, perhaps a mouflon, attached by a cord to a column with a spiral shaft. In front of it is a spray (fig. 61). The spiral column is shown on another contemporary intaglio, standing on a base with two lion supporters. It seems probable that the present device has a religious signification, and that the animal here must be regarded as sacred to a divinity.

36m. Onyx lentoid bead with intaglio of careless execution representing a lion with an arrow sticking into his shoulder.

36n. Cornelian bead of amygdaloid type, with roughly cut intaglio showing an octopus and three sprays.

No. 37. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. It had a very small sepulchral cavity (1 metre by 70 centimetres) as compared with the shaft (1.95 metre by 90 centimetres). Much decayed human bones together with a bead and whorl formed the whole contents.

No. 38. *Chamber-Tomb*, entrance to the east. The entrance, approached by a short steep *dromos*, was found closed. Outside it, in the *dromos*, was a plain clay bowl. The chamber, about 2 metres east to west and north to south, was of somewhat rounded outline. The bones were completely decayed, but near the west border of the tomb was a bronze razor of the usual type (cf. fig. 43), 12.2 centimetres long, and two hones, one square the other oblong.

No. 39. *Chamber-Tomb*.—The whole roof of this had been denuded, and what remained of the interior disturbed. The entrance, to the east, was open. Near the north wall was an empty *larnax* which presented the exceptional feature of having a flat cover.

No. 40. *Ruined Chamber-Tomb*, with *dromos* to east and remains of double walling in the entrance. No finds.

No. 41. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The pit descended to a depth of 3.10 metres. The walling of the sepulchral cavity, which lay on the west side of the shaft, was found intact, but its vault had fallen in. The grave was 2.60 metres long by 84 centimetres broad. It contained only a small fragment of bone, and near the middle fourteen plain globular beads of blue paste, a globular gold bead formed of two hemispheres of thin plate joined together, and a crystal lentoid bead.

No. 42. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to west. The shaft (1.90 metre long by 1.10 metres broad) had a ledge at the east end. The covering slabs of the grave, which were rough or very little worked, lay at a depth of 2.10 metres below the surface level, the total depth to the bottom of the grave being 3.10 metres. The



grave (see plan, fig. 62) contained remains of a skeleton with the skull east. On the right side of the skeleton lay a sword with gold-plated studs, two razors, and a hone.

42a. Bronze sword, 58.5 centimetres long. There were no remains of the pommel except the gold collar that surrounded its base. It was evidently of some perishable

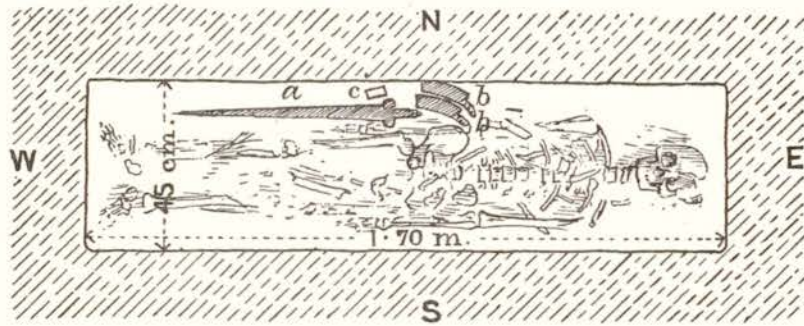


Fig. 62. Plan of Shaft-Grave (No. 42).

material, probably ivory, like that of Grave No. 36. The studs that originally attached to plates of the hilt were plated with gold. As in the other cases double lines of minute connected spirals ran along the sides of the hilt and the rib of the blade. (See below, fig. 109, 42a).

42b, b. A pair of bronze razors each 23 centimetres long. They are somewhat more curved than usual. (Fig. 63.)

42c. Oblong hone.

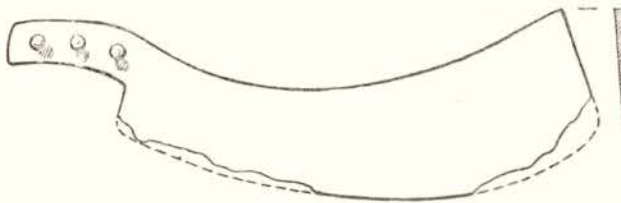


Fig. 63. Bronze razor from Shaft-Grave (No. 42).

No. 43. *Pit-Cave*.— Pit lying north to south (1.85 metres long, 95 centimetres wide, and 3 metres deep). Along the eastern side of the pit runs a ledge 45 centimetres wide and 1 metre below the surface level. The entrance

to the sepulchral cavity, which was on the west side of the pit, was 1 metre wide on the floor level, and was closed by a double walling. The roof of the cavity was found to have collapsed, causing a good deal of disturbance, and the bones were quite decayed.

Near the middle of the grave was found a short sword, a razor, and at a higher level a knife. From the position of the sword the head of the skeleton seems to have been at the southern end.

The sepulchral cavity was in this case over twice as long as the width of its

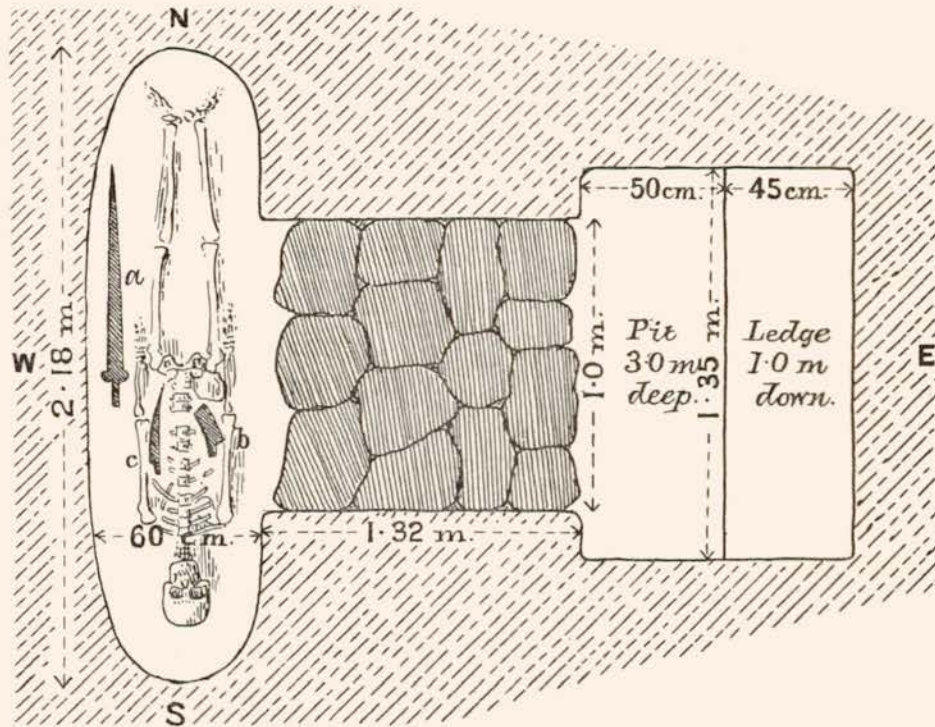


Fig. 64. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 43).

entrance: 2.18 metres, namely, as compared with 1 metre. This peculiarity gave it somewhat the appearance of a truncated chamber-tomb. (See plan, fig. 64.)

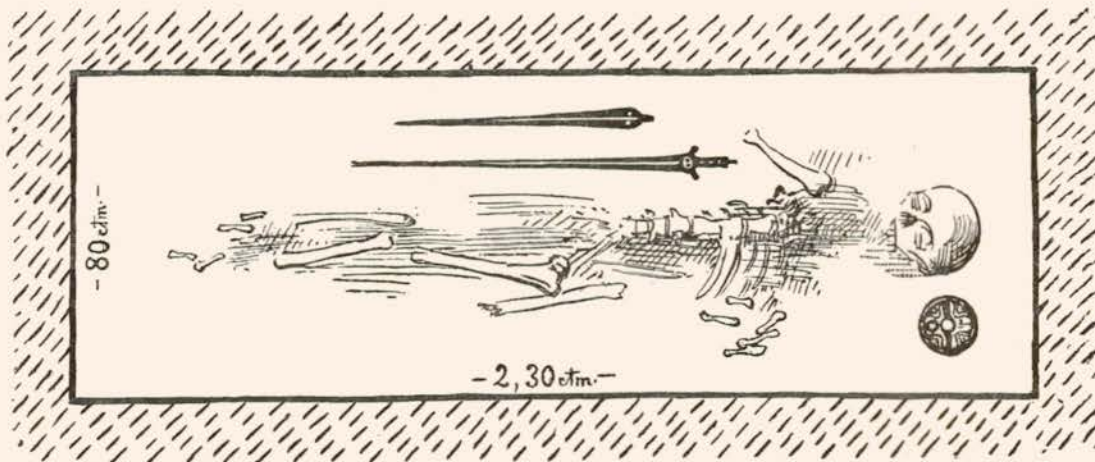


Fig. 65. Plan of Shaft-Grave (No. 44).

43a. Short bronze sword. Length 50 centimetres. (Fig. 109, 43a.) In type it closely resembles that of the sword found in Grave No. 42, but there is no trace of spiral decoration. The central rib of the blade shows minute flutings.



43b. Bronze razor of usual form, length 19 centimetres.

43c. Bronze knife of the usual type. The point is wanting, but the original length seems to have been 32 centimetres.

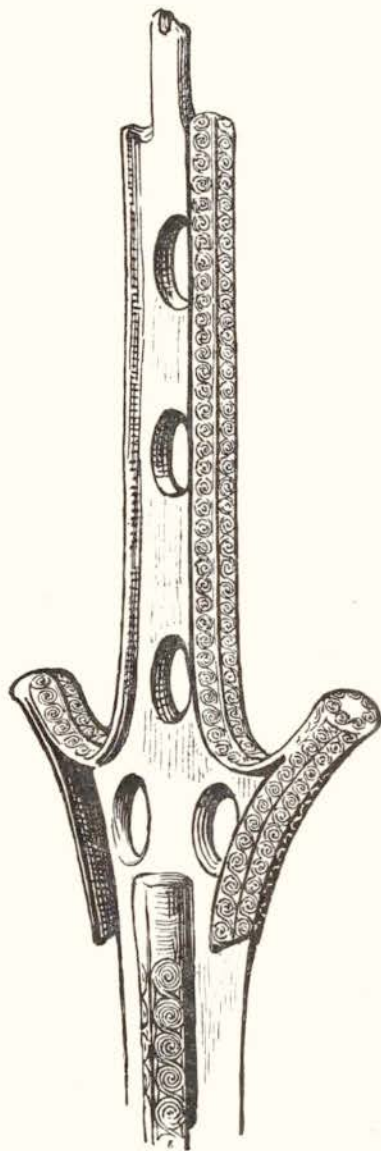


Fig. 66. Upper part of bronze sword, and one of the rivets, from Shaft-Grave (No. 44).

No. 44. *Shaft-Grave*, lying east to west. The grave itself was covered by four exceptionally well-wrought slabs, the upper faces of which lay about 2 metres from the surface. The sepulchral cell beneath them was 1.30 metres deep, its bottom being 3.55 metres beneath the surface of the ground. Near the head of the skeleton, which lay to the east, was a painted stirrup-vase, and by the right side a long and short sword. (See plan, fig. 65.)

44a. Bronze sword, 91.3 centimetres long, with double lines of minute spirals in relief on the sides of the hilt and the rib of the blade and traces of a revolving ornament on the studs. In type this sword closely resembles 36h, fig. 58. The upper part of the sword is shown in fig. 66. The fuller outline of it is given in fig. 110a below, and in Plate XCI. fig. 109. (The upper terminations of the shoulders were omitted in the photograph from which this latter figure is taken.)

44b. Bronze short sword, 53 centimetres long, fig. 66, and fig. 109, 44b. Unlike the preceding types the hilt of this sword terminates in a pointed tang in the middle of which there is a rivet to fix the pommel. Some fragments of an original ivory plating were found attaching to the hilt.

44c. Painted stirrup-vase (fig. 67). The foliate band, in a somewhat decadent style, that runs round the shoulder of the vase, resembles that of 51a (fig. 114).

No. 45. *Pit-Cave*, lying east to west. The

sepulchral cavity lay on the south side of the pit. Nothing was found within but remains of a skeleton with the head west.

Nos. 46, 47. *Ruined Chamber-Tombs*.—No relics.

No. 48. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The sepulchral cavity contained nothing but a few fragments of bone and a steatite whorl.



Fig. 67. Painted stirrup-vase from Shaft-Grave (No. 44).

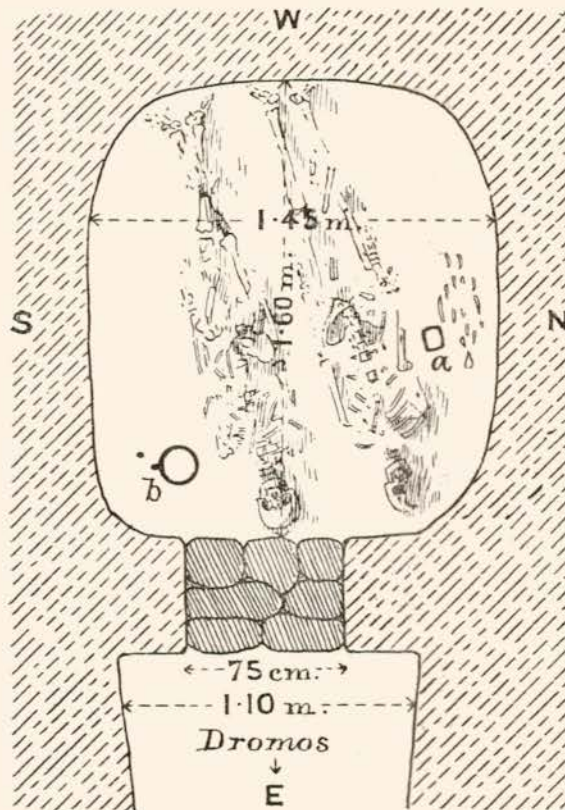


Fig. 68. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 49).

No. 49. *Chamber-Tomb*.—The entrance was to the east, approached by a short *dromos*. The double walling of the entrance was found intact, but the vault of the chamber itself had fallen in. Remains of three skeletons were found within, two of them in an extended position, but the bones of the third lay in a confused heap against the north wall. It looked as if they had been displaced to make room for later occupants. The relics found were an ivory mirror handle and a steatite cup. (See plan, fig. 68.)

49a. Ivory mirror handle, presenting on one side a sphinx in relief, and with two perforations for rivets. No traces of the mirror itself were found. (Fig. 69.)

49b. Cup of grey steatite with round upright handle. Diameter 4·5 centimetres, height 2·5 centimetres.



Fig. 69. Ivory mirror-handle from Chamber-Tomb (No. 49). (1.)

It presented the peculiarity of having been cut into on its east side by a later *tholos*, No. 52. The sepulchral cavity on the west side of the pit was blocked by a double walling 1·80 metres high in centre and 1·70 metres wide. The grave inside contained remains of a skeleton with its head north. By the head was a stirrup-vase, and a smaller one, together with three knives and a leaf-shaped razor, lay near the middle of the body. (See plan, fig. 70.)

51a. Stirrup-vase, 26 centimetres high. (Fig. 114, 51a). Spiral and other decoration above and foliated band round the body. It much resembles 55d.

51b. Small stirrup-vase (fragmentary). It has a scale pattern above.

51c. Bronze knife, ordinary type, 22·8 centimetres long. (Fig. 71.)

51d. Similar bronze knife broken.

51e. Bronze leaf-shaped razor with three rivet holes for handle, 17·5 centimetres long. It resembles fig. 78.

51f. Smaller bronze knife, 16·3 centimetres long. (Fig. 71.)

No. 52. *Chamber-Tomb*.—The chamber of this tomb was entered from the pit of the preceding grave into which the upper part of the vault had slightly cut. The entrance was on the east side and the walling seemed to be intact. Nothing, however, was found within beyond remains of a skeleton with the head east.

No. 53. *Small Chamber-Tomb*, with closed entrance to east but without

No. 50. *Ruined Chamber-Tomb*.—Entrance to east broken open. Inside the chamber were remains of two broken *larnakes* to right and left of the entrance. That to the right contained bones and remains of two skulls, apparently indicating that a second sepulture had taken place in it, when the body originally deposited within was reduced to a skeleton. A plain clay cup was also found in it. In the *larnax* to the left there were some bones and remains of a skull.

No. 51. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The pit descended 2·70 metres with a ledge at south end about 1 metre from bottom.

relics. Remains of a skeleton were found, lying diagonally, with the head in the south-west corner and the feet to the north-east.

No. 54. *Chamber-Tomb*.—This was much ruined and had been entered from above. The entrance was to the east, and on the north side of the chamber was a plain *larnax* without lid or contents and a small unpainted vase beside it. On the south side lay a heap of bones, which had apparently been thrown out of the

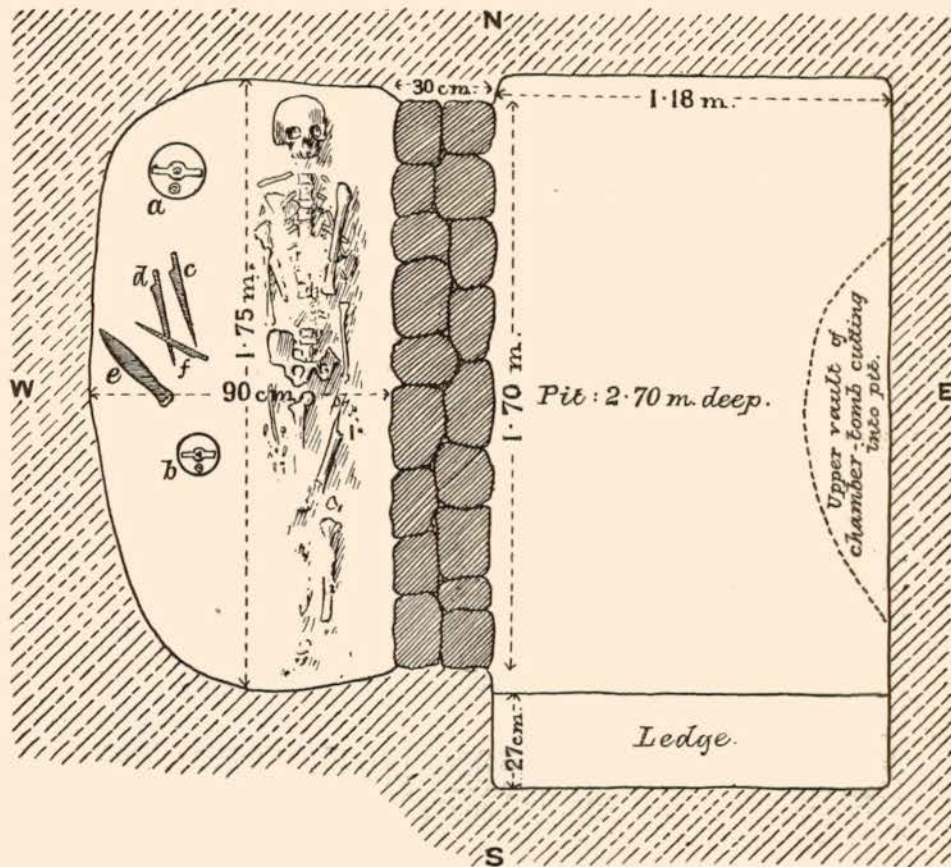


Fig. 70. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 51).

sarcophagus, together with a perfect stirrup-vase (*a*) and small two-handled vessel (*b*).

54*a*. Stirrup-vase. Height 13 centimetres, diameter 16 centimetres. It is decorated above with painted sprays in a decadent style. (Fig. 114, 54*a*.)

54*b*. Small two-handled pot, 6.5 centimetres high, with painted spiral pattern. (Fig. 117, 54*b*.)

54*c*. Small one-handled vase, with spout 6 centimetres high, covered with plain buff slip. (Fig. 117, 54*c*.)

No. 55. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The wall of the sepulchral cavity, approached by a pit 4·20 metres deep, was found intact except where slightly disturbed at top by the falling in of part of the vault. The original height seems to have been about 1·50 metres. A decayed skeleton lay within with the head north. A sword, spear-head, and knife lay on the right side, and at the feet was a large stirrup-vase and perforated boar's teeth, apparently belonging to a leather helmet. (See plan, fig. 72.)



Fig. 71. Bronze knife from Pit-Cave (No. 51).

55a. Bronze sword, 63 centimetres long. Its hilt shows remains of ivory mounting. The blade is strengthened by a broad central stem, and showed traces of engraved lines running parallel to the edges. (Plate XCI. fig. 109, 55a.)

55b. Bronze knife of usual type.

55c. Bronze spear-head, 24·4 centimetres long. Diameter of socket 2·5 centimetres. It has an exceptionally flat blade. (Plate XCI. fig. 113, 55c.)

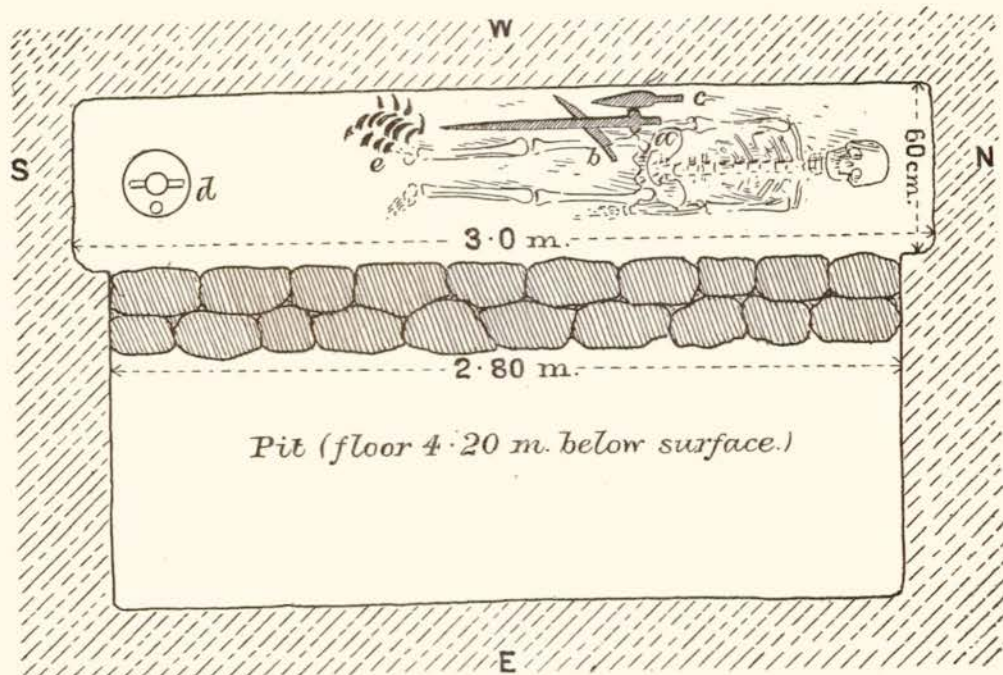


Fig. 72. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 55).

55*d*. Painted stirrup-vase, 34 centimetres high. It shows spiral sprays above, and round the shoulder a slightly decadent foliate band. (Fig. 73 and fig. 114, 55*d*.)

55*e*. A quantity of boars' tusks cut and perforated for attachment to some object. These recall those found by Dr. Schliemann in the fourth shaft-grave at Mycenae. From the ivory head found by Tsountas in a tomb of the Lower Town at Mycenae<sup>a</sup> there can be little doubt that these objects formed the mountings of a leather helmet.

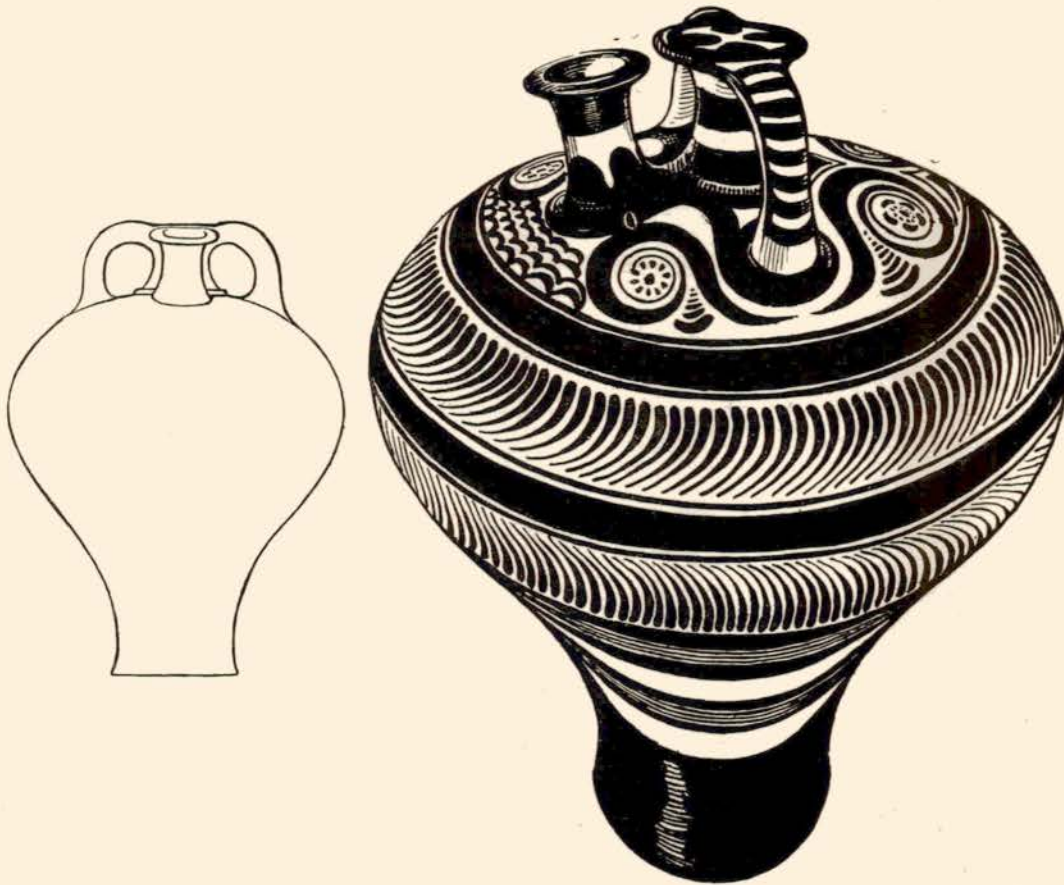


Fig. 73. Painted stirrup-vase from Pit-Cave (No. 55) and outline of contour of same.

No. 56 *Chamber-Tomb*, found open and with the entrance (on the east) much ruined. Within, on the right side, stood a *larnax*, partly broken, containing bones. At the west end of this, by the remains of the skull, stood a small stirrup vase (*a*), and on the opposite or south side of the chamber a small fragment of a clay sealing showing part of an animal was discovered. A large number of such

<sup>a</sup> 'Εφ 'Αρχ. 1888, pl. viii. 12, and cf. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, p. 120 seqq.



sealings were found in the royal tomb at Isopata to be described below, and it is probable that here as there they were used for securing a casket containing valuables.

No. 57. *Shaft-Grave*.—The slabs of this were apparently undisturbed, but nothing was found in it.

Nos. 58, 59. *Disturbed Shaft-Graves*, without relics. The head in No. 59 to the north.

No. 60. *Exceptionally small Chamber-Tomb*.—Only just large enough to contain a *larnax*. It was approached on the south by a short *dromos* with three steps. The tomb had been plundered and the lid of the *larnax* broken.

No. 61. *Shaft-Grave*.—Disturbed. In the pit was found a fragment of a painted vessel showing a foliated band, in a somewhat decadent style.

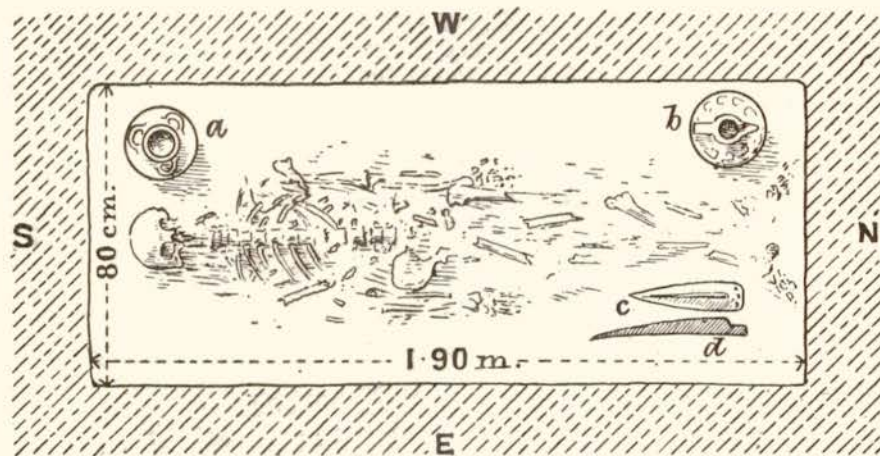


Fig. 74. Plan of Shaft-Grave (No. 62).

No. 62. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. The shaft had a ledge at its north end. The grave was covered by five slabs and its floor lay 2.25 metres beneath the surface. Within was a skeleton with its head south. By the head was a three-handled amphora, and a painted jug, a dagger, and a knife had been placed at the feet. (See plan, fig. 74.)

62a. Three-handled "amphora" of type resembling fig. 117, 12a, but much broken.

62b. One-handed painted jug, with raised ring round the attachment of the neck. (Fig. 75 and fig. 117, 62b.) The pattern round the shoulder approaches that on 55d.

62c. Bronze dagger, 19.2 centimetres long and 5 centimetres broad at the hilt, which has three rivet holes. (Fig. 76.)

62d. Bronze knife of the usual type, 22.3 centimetres long.

No. 63. *Shaft-Grave*.—No relics.

No. 64. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The access to the grave was by a shaft 2.50 metres by 1.50 metre at its opening, stepping down in ledges to a depth of about 4 metres. The entrance arch of the sepulchral cavity had somewhat collapsed at the top, but its original height was over 2 metres, and the walling had not been broken into. Within were remains of a skeleton with the

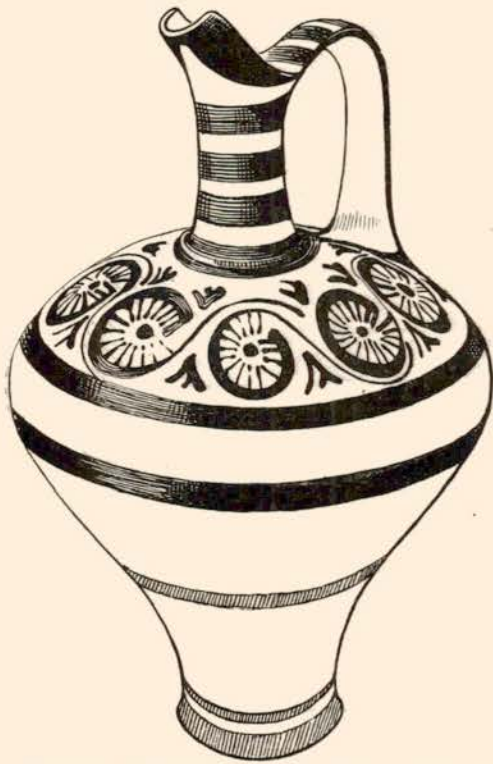


Fig. 75. Painted vase from Shaft-Grave (No. 62).

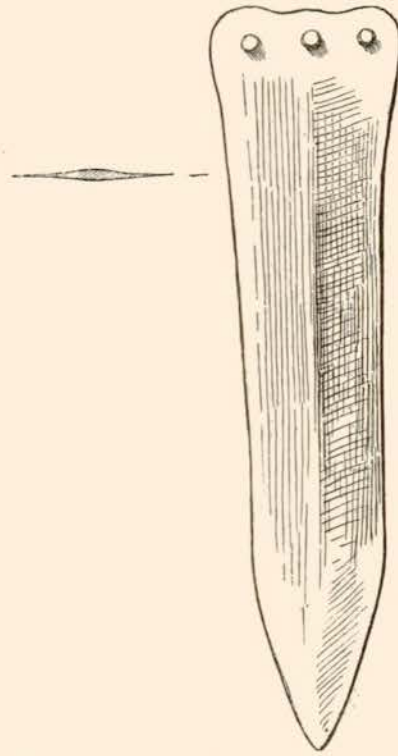


Fig. 76. Bronze dagger from Shaft-Grave (No. 62).

head south. Two knives and a leaf-shaped razor had been placed by the right side, and two clay vases lay at the feet. (See plan, fig. 77.)

64a. Painted clay vase with a single handle and a slightly raised ring at the spring of the neck. The striation round the shoulders seems to be a decadent derivative of a band of foliage. Height 29 centimetres. (Fig. 117, 64a.)

64b. Stirrup-vase, much broken, with sprays of late character. (Fig. 114, 64b.)

64c. Exceptionally elongated bronze knife with a slight flange to the hilt and three rivets. Length 34 centimetres. (Plate XCI. fig. 113, 64c.)

64d. Bronze knife of usual type, 20.7 centimetres long.

64e. Leaf-shaped bronze razor, 19 centimetres long, greatest width of blade 5 centimetres. (Fig. 78.)

No. 65. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The pit was 2 metres north to south by 1.10 metre east to west. It had a ledge 30 centimetres wide on its eastern side, lying 1.80 metre from the surface. The floor of the pit was 2.50

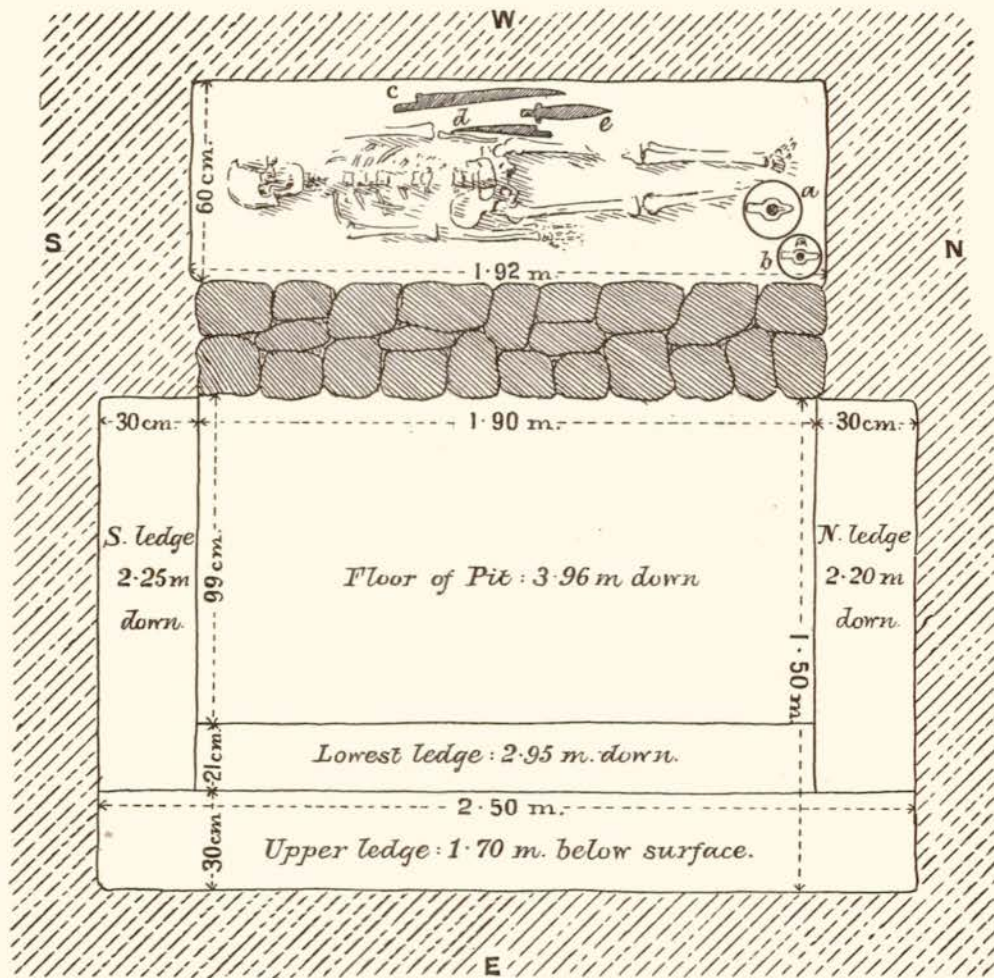


Fig. 77. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 64).

metres down, and the cave opening, with wall intact, was 1.70 metre long and 1.35 metre high. Though the bones within had entirely decayed, the head was probably to the north. About the middle of the sepulchral cell (1.70 metre by 85 centimetres) lay a bronze knife of the usual type (16 centimetres long) and a small spouted vase, in shape similar to 6b and 66p.

No. 66. *Pit-Cave*.—The general plan and section of this tomb are given above, figs. 11a, 11b, 11c. The sepulchral cavity contained remains of a skeleton with its

head south. A necklace of gold beads lay about the neck and breast, and remains of two other chains of beads of glass and glazed paste respectively on either side of the legs. Near the position of the right hand was a small gold ring, and lower down a cylinder of Egyptian porcelain. A row of small clay vessels ran along the left border of the grave, and on the right side was a small glass bottle unfortunately much decayed. By

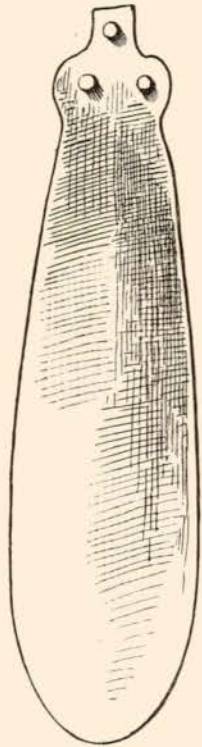


Fig. 78. Bronze leaf-shaped razor from Pit-Cave (No. 64).

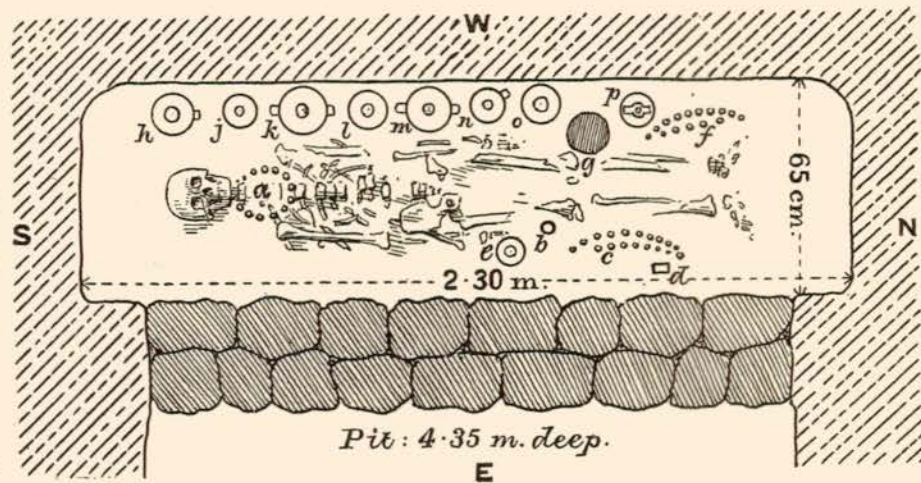


Fig. 79. Plan of sepulchral cell, Pit-Cave (No. 66).

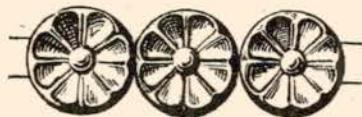


Fig. 80. Gold beads of necklace, from Pit-Cave (No. 66) (3/4).



Fig. 81a. Glazed paste bead from Pit-Cave (No. 66) (1/4).



the left hand was a bronze mirror. (See plan, fig. 79.)

66a. Necklace of 46 gold beads with rosette ornament and double perforation for threads (fig. 80 and fig. 119, 66a). Similar gold beads were found in a tomb at Phaestos (Savignoni, *op. cit.* p. 103, fig. 62).

66b. Small gold ring with plait-work ornament. (Fig. 119, 66b.)

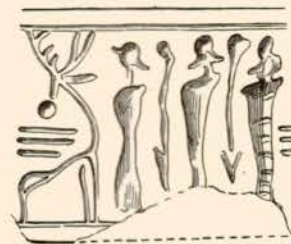


Fig. 81b. Faience cylinder from Pit-Cave (No. 66).



66c. Chain of beads (thread decayed) of glazed paste with ribbed decoration. (Fig. 81a.)

66d. Cylinder of faience or Egyptian porcelain (2.4 centimetres high, diameter 1.1 centimetre). It is of a yellowish hue and is incised with rude representations of standing figures, spear-like objects, and a stag. (Fig. 81b.) Cylinders of analogous type are found in Lower Egypt, some of them showing ibexes with their heads looking backwards, in a very similar style. The stag, however, is not an Egyptian animal, and faience cylinders of a similar type are also found in Palestine. One of these from Lachish<sup>a</sup> shows what appear to be three stags in a similar position, and it seems probable that we must look to that region for the source of the present cylinder.

66e. Globular bottle of amber-coloured glass, unfortunately much decayed. About 6.5 centimetres high.

66f. Globular glass beads of ambery hue, also much decayed.

66g. Bronze mirror.

66h. Pedestalled clay cup with one handle, height 10.3 centimetres (fig. 118, 66h). It bears traces over its pale buff slip of a coating of a kind of black, imperfectly fixed, varnish.

66j. Cup, 5.5 centimetres high (fig. 118, 66j). It bears traces of a wash of red and blue colour over its buff slip, not apparently of a permanent nature.

66k. Two-handled bowl, diameter 14.6 centimetres (fig. 118, 66k). This bears traces of having been painted over with crimson, red, and azure blue in the same way as the preceding. These brilliant hues, superadded to the original plain wash of the vessel, and imperfectly fixed, may have served the purposes of funereal show.

66l. Plain bowl, much broken.

66m. Two-handled bowl resembling *k*, and coloured in a similar way.

66n. Pedestalled clay cup, like *h*, but broken.

66o. Fragmentary bowl, as *l*.

66p. Small spouted vase (height 5.60 centimetres), with glazed painted decoration, brown on buff of the usual Mycenæan character. It presents a chevron band with sprays. (Fig. 117, 66p.)

No. 67. *Pit-Cave*.—The shaft of this grave, with a ledge on its west side (see plan, fig. 82), had been cut in the soft rock with exceptional neatness. The cave opening, with the wall intact (1.70 metres high), was on the east side of the pit. Within were scanty remains of a skeleton, the head north, with four clay vessels on its right side, and on the left a bronze mirror and two paste beads. The mirror lay considerably above the floor level. The beads and vases corresponded in character to specimens found in the preceding Pit-Cave, No. 66.

67a. Two-handled clay bowl, diameter 18 centimetres. It bore traces over its pale ochreous wash of a coating of black varnish, like 66h. The form of this bowl corresponds with 66k and *m*.

<sup>a</sup> Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 79, figs. 126, 127.

67b. Pedestalled clay cup, with a single handle. Height 13 centimetres. This cup exactly resembles 66h, and, like it, had been coated with a black varnish.

67c. Pedestalled clay cup, as b.

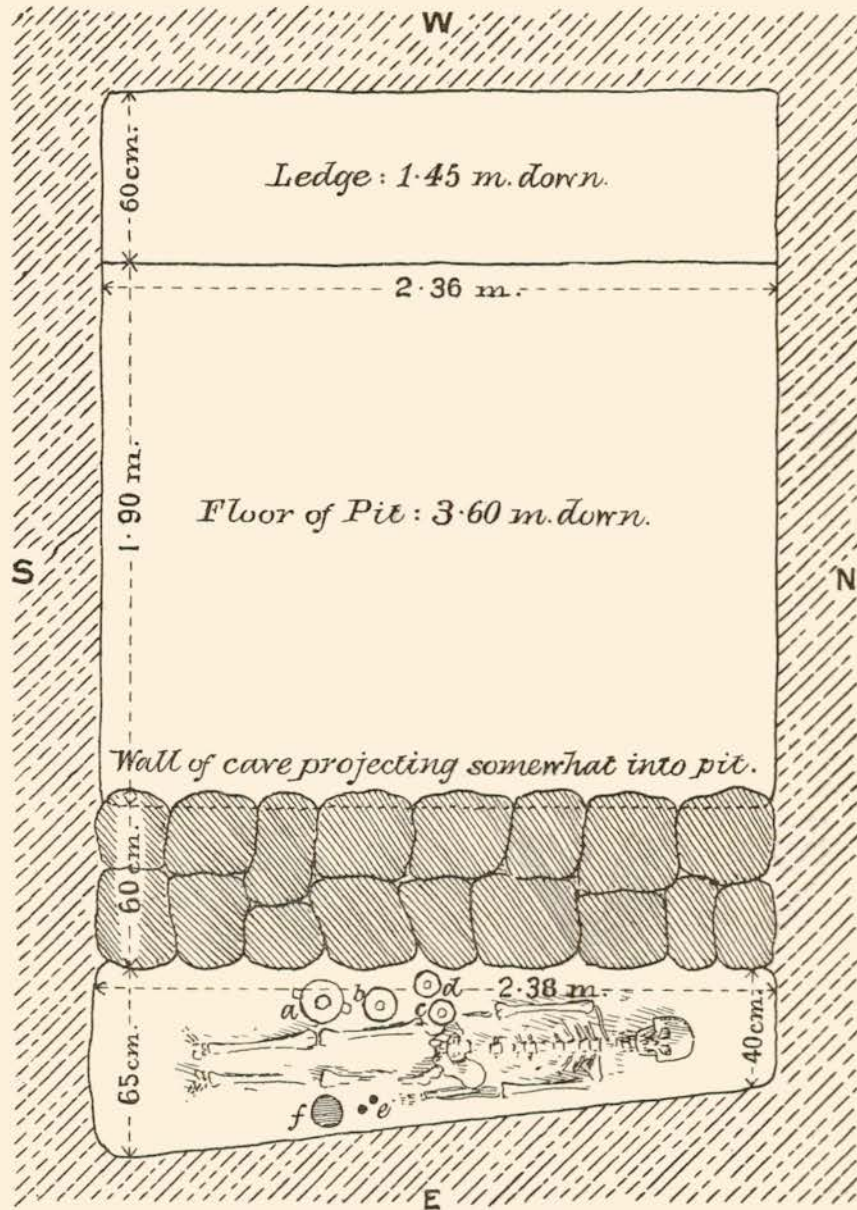


Fig. 82. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 67).

67d. Small plain cup, as 66j.

67e. Two paste beads, with ribbed decoration, as 66c.

67f. Bronze mirror of the usual type.

k

No. 68. *Shaft-Grave*, lying east to west. The area about this spot had been evidently somewhat denuded, and the covering slabs of the tomb lay almost on the surface level. The bottom of the grave was 85 centimetres beneath the surface. It was found to overlie the entrance and part of the vault of a chamber-tomb (No. 69 below), the floor of which was 1.70 metre under that of the shaft-grave. This leads to the inference that the shaft-grave here, though containing a stirrup-vase (*c*) of a very good period, was later than the chamber-tomb.

The bones in this grave had been absolutely reduced to dust, so that the position of the skeleton remains uncertain. The vases *b* and *f* and bone stud *c* were found near the east end of the grave a little on the north side. The mirror lay near the centre of the grave on the south side, and the other bronzes near the west end.



Fig. 83. Painted stirrup-vase from Shaft-Grave (No. 68).

the shoulders of a magnificent amphora of the Palace Style, from the Royal Tomb

68*a*. A leaf-shaped razor of bronze, as fig. 78, length 15.5 centimetres.

68*b*. Painted stirrup-vase, 35 centimetres high. (Fig. 83 and fig. 114, 68*b*.) This vase is remarkable from its fine style of decoration. On the upper surface is a raised decoration like a Mycenæan shield, and rosettes recalling those in a similar position on the large stirrup-vase from the Royal Villa.<sup>a</sup> The beautiful foliation round the shoulders, with its many times reduplicated edging, is a ceramic adaptation from the foliated chasing of bronze vessels, such as the bowl from the North-West Building at Knossos.<sup>b</sup> The same reduplication accompanies the foliate band round

<sup>a</sup> Knossos, *Report*, 1903, p. 137, fig. 87*a*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124, 125, figs. 77, 78. The parallel, however, is much closer than can be made out from these figures.

described below. The trefoils of the lower part of the vase are also frequently found on vases of the Palace Style. These comparisons may be taken to show that the fabric of the fine vase with which we are dealing must be referred to the latest Palace Period of Knossos. The style belongs to Late Minoan II.

68c. Bone stud with hemispherical knob.

68d. Bronze tweezers with broad end.

68e. Exceptionally thin bronze mirror, diameter 16.5 centimetres.

68f. Small spouted vase with one handle, 10 centimetres high. It is quite plain and resembles the type 6b.

No. 69. *Chamber-Tomb*, with entrance to the east. The shaft-grave (No. 68) lay above the entrance and part of the vault of this. As the floor of the chamber was only 2.55 metres below the surface, it is fairly evident that the shaft-grave was of later construction, and must in fact have pierced its vault. The *dromos* was about a metre wide and was traced east for a distance of 5.75 metres from the entrance of the tomb. The walling of the door, 70 centimetres wide, was found in a ruinous condition. The chamber itself was roughly square, 2.43 metres north to south, 2.20 metres east to west, and contained decayed traces of a skeleton with its head south. About the middle of the body were four bronze rings, remains of a bone comb, some beads, and fragment of a two-handled bowl.

No. 70. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south, with exceptionally small sepulchral cell, closed by a single large stone. This may have been a child's grave, but no bones were preserved. Three vases were found within.

70a. Two-handled clay jug, with traces of painted decoration round shoulder. Height 14.5 centimetres (broken).

70b. Clay jug of similar form but plain. Height 12.8 centimetres. (Fig. 118, 70b.)

70c. Spouted vessel with handle above, showing painted decoration (scale pattern) round the shoulder. Height 14.4 centimetres. (Fig. 117, 70c.)

No. 71. *Pit-Cave*, lying north to south. The pit was 1.81 metres long by 90 centimetres wide, and went down 1.40 metres. The walling of the small sepulchral cavity, 1.24 metres by 60 centimetres, was intact, but within there were only traces of decayed bones and a plain jug about the middle of the grave.

71a. Plain one-handled clay jug, 28 centimetres high, with slight ring round neck. It exactly resembles fig. 118, 1a.

No. 72. *Chamber-Tomb*, entrance to east. The doors had been broken in, but



within the chamber the lower parts of two *larnakes*, A and B., remained in position. (See plan, fig. 84.) Both contained decayed bones, the skull in each case being

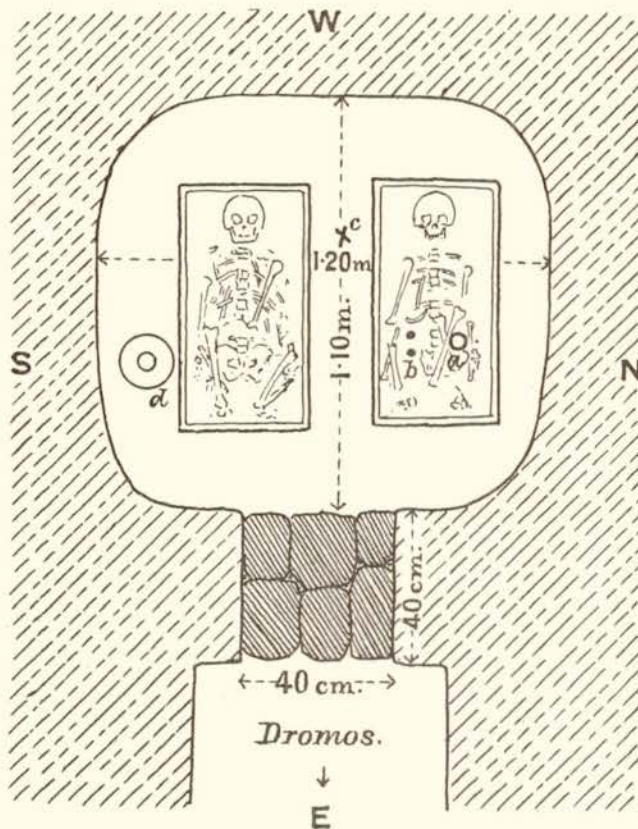


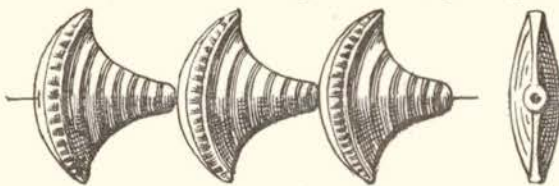
Fig. 84. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 72).

at the west end of the sarcophagus. In A was a bronze finger-ring (*a*) and two decayed paste beads (*b*). Between the two chests was found a bronze needle (*c*), and by the south wall a steatite cup of the calyx shape (*d*), similar to Plate XC. fig. 100 (*e*).

Nos. 73, 74. *Disturbed Shaft-Graves*. No relics.

No. 75. *Shaft-Grave*. The covering slabs were very near the surface, which must here have been denuded. The floor of the grave lay 1.50 metres beneath the slabs. The bones were much decayed, but the place of the head (to the south) was marked by a gold necklace, and that of the right hand by a small gold ring, while by the right side lay a spear-head, knife, and razor.

75a. Necklace of 18 gold beads, perhaps representing shells. (Fig. 85 and fig. 119, 75a.)



Gold beads of similar type have been found in a grave of the contemporary cemetery at Phaestos,<sup>a</sup> and at Mycenae and Argos.<sup>b</sup> A mould for similar beads was found by Schliemann.<sup>c</sup>

75b. Small gold ring, plain.

Fig. 85. Gold beads of necklace from Shaft-Grave (No. 75). (3.)

<sup>a</sup> Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 100-102.

<sup>b</sup> Vollgraff, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* 1904, p. 383 seqq, fig. 15.

<sup>c</sup> *Mycenae*, 107, fig. 162.

75c. Bronze razor of the usual type.

75d. Bronze knife of exceptional length; 27 centimetres. It has three rivets to the handle. (Fig. 113, 75d.)

75e. Bronze spear-head (length 26.5 centimetres, greatest breadth of blade 3.4 centimetres). The plate of the socket is folded over and is secured by a collar. The type is unusual, the edge of the blade descending almost to the opening of the socket. The stem of the blade, corresponding to the continuation of the socket within, is ribbed. (Fig. 75e.)

No. 76. *Pit-Cave*. In digging the pit for this grave a larger and a smaller block of gypsum, such as occur sporadically in the rock, had been encountered and

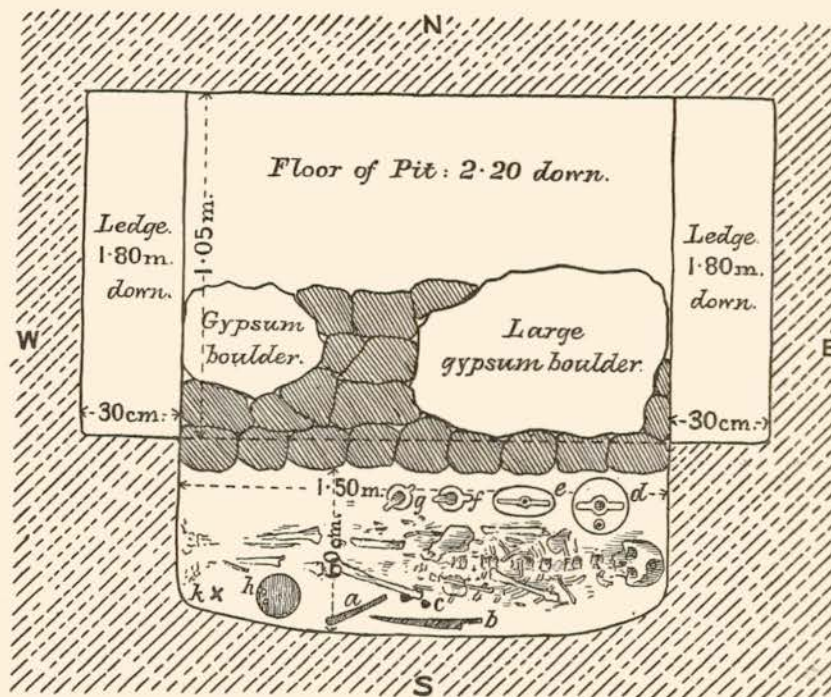


Fig. 86. Plan of Pit-Cave (No. 76).

were made use of for the foundations of the wall of the cave. The walling for this reason was exceptionally thick, in one place nearly a metre, and projected below into the middle of the pit. The pit lay east to west with the opening of the sepulchral cavity to the south of it. The vault of this had collapsed, but the interment was otherwise intact. The skeleton lay with the head to the east. A group of vases had been placed on the right side, on the left were a bronze chisel and knife, two whorls near the left hand, and a mirror and bronze pin near the feet. (See plan, fig. 86.)

76a. Bronze chisel (length, 7·4 centimetres); the upper part square in section, very slightly widening to an edge.

76b. Bronze knife; the point slightly broken; original length about 21 centimetres.

76c. Two whorls, one of bone the other of paste.

76d. Painted stirrup-vase, height 26 centimetres. (Fig. 114, 76d.) It has a diamond pattern round the sides and a wave-and-dot border round the base. The top of the false opening is decorated with a trefoil design.

76e. Two-handed painted flask. (Fig. 117, 76e.) Round the neck is a slight raised ring. The faces of the flask show concentric circles, and on either side is a vertical line of triangles, the base of one resting on the apex of another. These clay flasks are rare in Crete, but are of frequent occurrence in Cypro-Mycenæan interments, e.g. Enkomi, Tomb 45; Kurion, etc.<sup>a</sup> Faience flasks of similar shape were made in Egypt (an example was found in the Enkomi tomb referred to above).

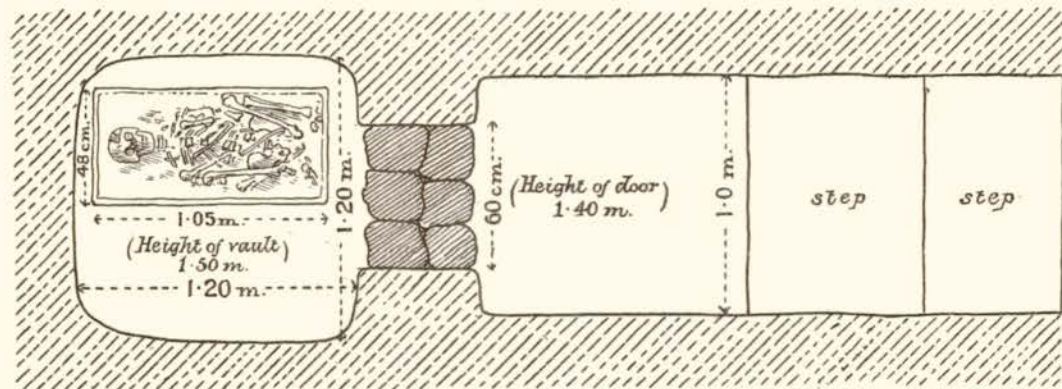


Fig. 87. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 80).

The decoration of concentric circles recurs on the Cypriote specimens, and as the superposed triangles are also a Cypriote detail, it seems probable that the present flask was imported from Cyprus.

76f. Small painted one-handed jug with projecting spout (height 6 centimetres). Round the shoulders is a band of curving lines derived from foliage. (Fig. 117, 76f.)

76g. Small painted jug with a single handle and slightly raised spout (height, 6·5 centimetres). Round its shoulders runs a band of chevrons. (Fig. 117, 76g.)

76h. Bronze mirror, diameter 13 centimetres.

No. 77. *Disturbed Pit-Cave*, lying north to south.

No. 78. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. The total depth from the surface was 2 metres, the floor of the grave itself lying 1 metre beneath the

<sup>a</sup> Myres, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 970.

covering slabs. The shaft was 2.40 metres by 1.30 metre, the sepulchral cell 1.90 metre by 75 centimetres. The head seems to have been at the south end. Near the middle of the grave on the west side was a fragmentary bronze razor.

No. 79. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. It contained only traces of bones of a person of small stature, probably a child; the head north. By the upper part of the body was found a lozenge-shaped cornelian bead.

No. 80. *Chamber-Tomb*. The entrance on the east. It was approached by a short *dromos* with three steps. The walling of the doorway was found intact, and the small chamber within contained a single *larnax* on its north side. (See plan, fig. 87.)

The *larnax* (see fig. 4e above) had an incised  $\Lambda$  at the east end of the lid, repeated in the lower part immediately below. It was absolutely intact, and when opened showed a skeleton in a crouched position with the knees drawn up; the left hand resting on the thigh. At the feet were two knives with their original handles and a pointed instrument. The inner dimensions of the clay receptacle were 96 centimetres in length, 35 centimetres in breadth, and 45 centimetres in depth. The height of the *larnax* with the cover on was 87 centimetres. Fig. 4 above gives an inner view of the sarcophagus from a photograph taken immediately after its extraction from the tomb. Fig. 88, from

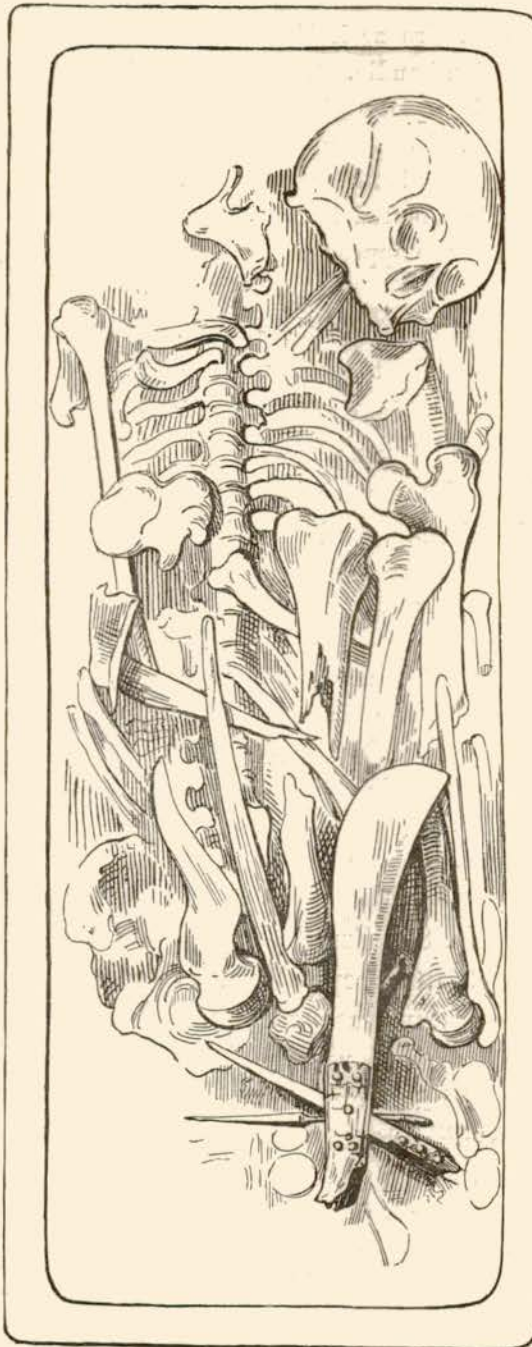


Fig. 88. View of interior of *larnax* from Tomb No. 87, with skeleton in contracted position.

a sketch taken by Mr. Halvor Bagge when the *larnax* was still *in situ*, gives some of the details more clearly.

80a. Bronze knife with broad curving blade attached by seven rivets to its original wooden handle. The handle, which seems to be of wild olive wood, is 10 centimetres long, and is wonderfully well preserved. The length of the blade is 32 centimetres.

80b. Bronze knife of the usual type with remains of its wooden handle. The length of the whole is 20·4 centimetres.

80c. Pointed instrument with stem presenting a square section, length 21 centimetres. It has the appearance of a javelin head, but seems to be too slender for such an use.

No. 81. *Chamber-Tomb*. The entrance (70 centimetres wide, 1·30 metres high), with its wall untouched, lay to the east. It was approached by a *dromos* 1 metre wide, descending 2·70 metres beneath the surface. The chamber itself contained three plain *larnakes* lying east and west, each of which contained remains of a skeleton with its head at the west end. No relics were found, beyond a small knife, beads, and whorls in the north *larnax* about the middle. The chamber, nearly square in plan, was 1·60 metres north to south, 1·40 east to west, and 1·30 in height.

81a. Bronze knife of usual type, 15 centimetres long.

81b. Paste bead.

81c. Amethyst bead-seal of circular form, like a lentoid with flattened edges. It bears a very simple engraving consisting of a cross with hatchings between the limbs.

81d. Alabaster whorl.

81e. Steatite whorl.

No. 82. *Small Chamber-Tomb*, the *dromos* of which (to the east) was little more than a stepped pit, 1·70 metres long. It had been plundered, and fragments of a stirrup-vase was found outside the entrance. The chamber itself was very small, a mere recess, 60 centimetres wide and 40 centimetres deep. Two small crystal beads and one of paste were found within. The sides of the low doorway were much battered.

Nos. 83, 84.—We have here an example of a double tomb. (See plan, fig. 89.) A stepped pit led directly to an arched recess containing remains of a *larnax*, while to the left of this cavity a short *dromos* led to a chamber with the entrance walling preserved, containing three *larnakes*. One of these (c) had evidently been superposed on the two others, but had been much ruined by the collapse of the roof. The remains of a bone comb probably belonged to this or the clay

chests A and B below. Between A and B were found some fragmentary remains of a small stirrup-vase (e). B was much broken up, but the lower part of A was fairly preserved; it presented the interesting peculiarity of containing remains of two skeletons with their heads at opposite ends of the recipient. About

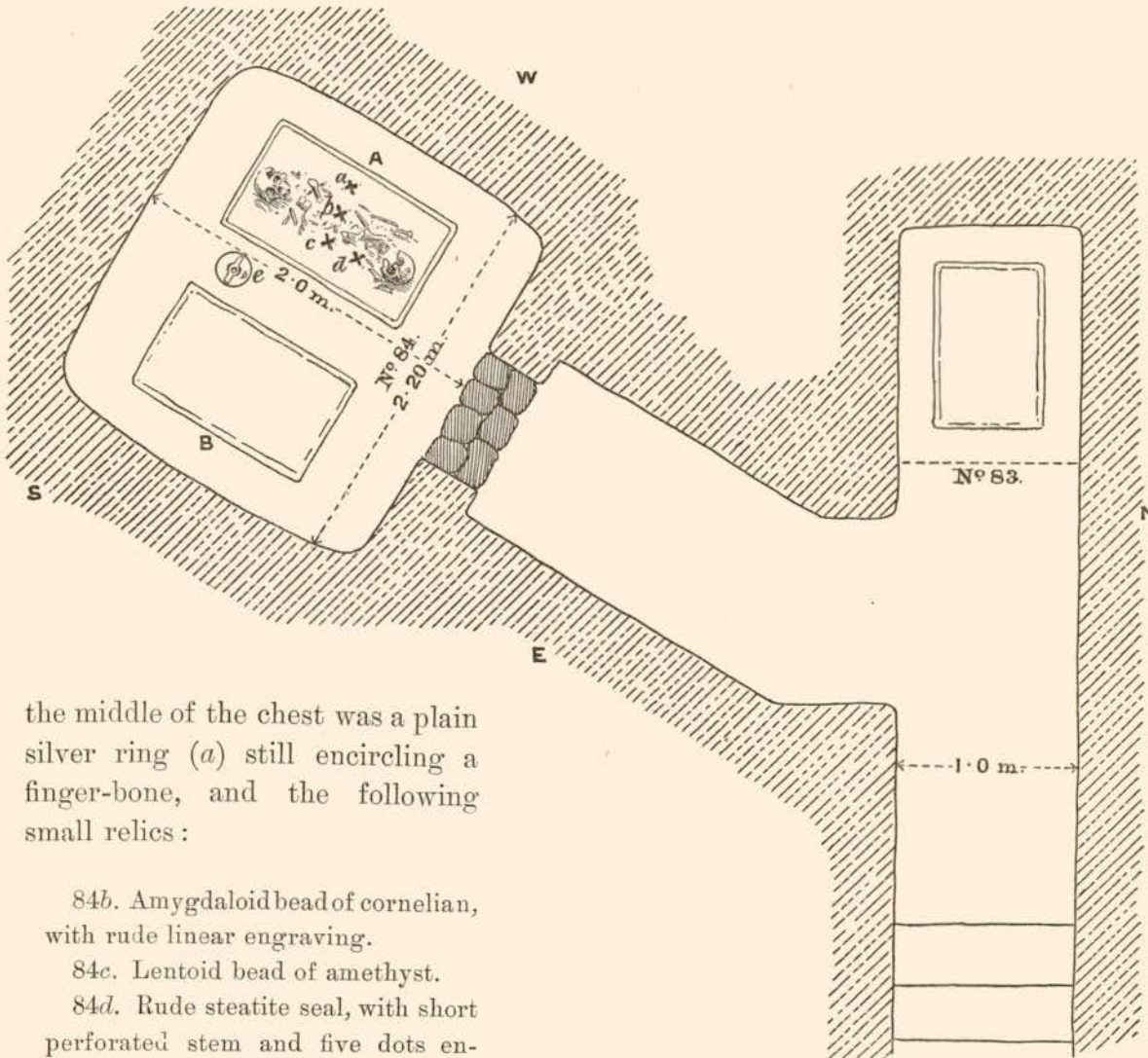


Fig. 89. Plan of double tomb (Nos. 83, 84).

the middle of the chest was a plain silver ring (a) still encircling a finger-bone, and the following small relics :

84b. Amygdaloid bead of cornelian, with rude linear engraving.

84c. Lentoid bead of amethyst.

84d. Rude steatite seal, with short perforated stem and five dots engraved on its face.

No. 85. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance to east. Plundered, no relics found.

No. 86. *Chamber-Tomb*. Plundered and much ruined, the bones in disorder, no measurements possible. To the northern half lay a bronze dagger with its point east. Three whorls were also found.

86a. Bronze dagger, 23 centimetres long. The blade is grooved and the handle has curving flanges and a rivet at base. (Fig. 90.)

No. 87. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. Remains of a skeleton were found with the head north, but no relics.

No. 88. *Shaft-Grave*, lying east to west. No remains.

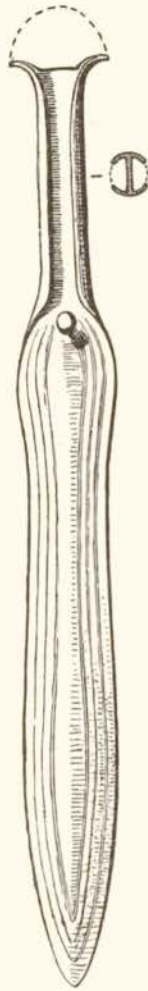


Fig. 90. Bronze dagger from Chamber-Tomb (No. 86).

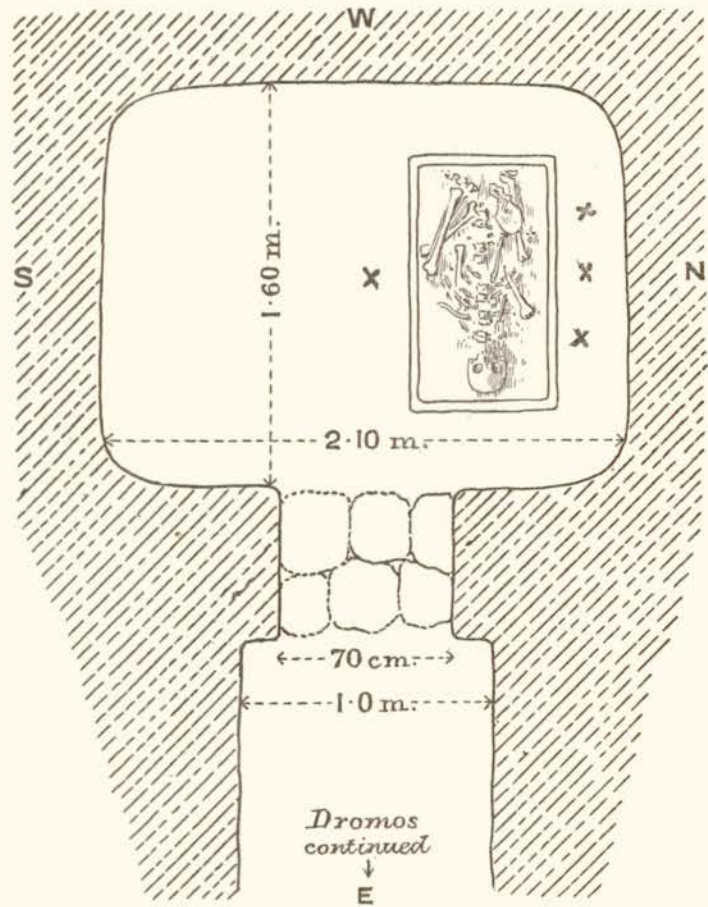


Fig. 91. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 93).

No. 89. *Chamber-Tomb*, with entrance on the east. The dimensions of the chamber were small, east to west 1.28 metres, north to south 1.10 metres. On the south side lay a skeleton with the head west, and near it a small bronze knife of the usual form. The door of the chamber, 60 centimetres wide, 70 centimetres

high, had been broken in and the tomb plundered. The *dromos* was 80 centimetres wide, and descended 1.40 metres beneath the surface level.

No. 90. Small *Chamber-Tomb*, with entrance to east. Contained a broken *larnax*, lying north to south, which shows traces of colouring. In the *larnax* were remains of a skeleton with head north, and one whorl.

No. 91. *Shaft-Grave*, lying north to south. Within was a much-decayed skeleton, the head south, and by the neck some small paste beads.

No. 92. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. The doorway was exceptionally rounded at top. (See fig. 1c). The walling was intact and within were remains of a skeleton with the head west. Near the place of the left hand were a plain gold ring (*c*) and two whorls (*d* and *e*), and by the left shoulder a larger and smaller bronze knife (*a* and *b*) and a plain bowl. The plan and section of the tomb are shown in fig. 1a, b.

No. 93. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. The door was broken open. (See fig. 3a.) In the north part of the chamber was a plain *larnax* with the lid on, length 1.5 metres, outer width 40 centimetres, height 1 metre. (Fig. 3b.) The bones had been left intact and showed that the body had been buried with the legs doubled up. The skull (much decayed) was at the east end of the chest. No relics were found inside, but, beside the *larnax*, probably thrown out by plunderers, were three steatite whorls and decayed remains of a glass bead (xxx and x on plan, fig. 91).

No. 94. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. The chamber, about 2.50 metres square, was much ruined, and had evidently been entered from above. Near the south-west corner were some decayed bones, apparently of a child, and in the south-east corner a plain clay bowl with solid projecting handle. The walling of the entrance was intact and the doorway was well cut. (See elevation, fig. 92.)

No. 95. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. The walling of the doorway (1.30 metres high) was found intact. In the chamber were the much-decayed remains of two skeletons with the heads west. At the feet of either skeleton lay a mirror and near the entrance was a stirrup-vase. (See plan, fig. 93.)

A short sword or dagger apparently belonging to the second interment lay near the centre of the tomb. On the other side of the same skeleton together

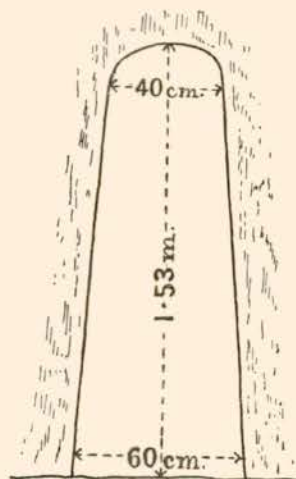


Fig. 92. Doorway of Chamber-Tomb (No. 91).



with other relics was a clay chafing-pan for containing embers. The falling in of the vault of the tomb had much damaged some of the relics.

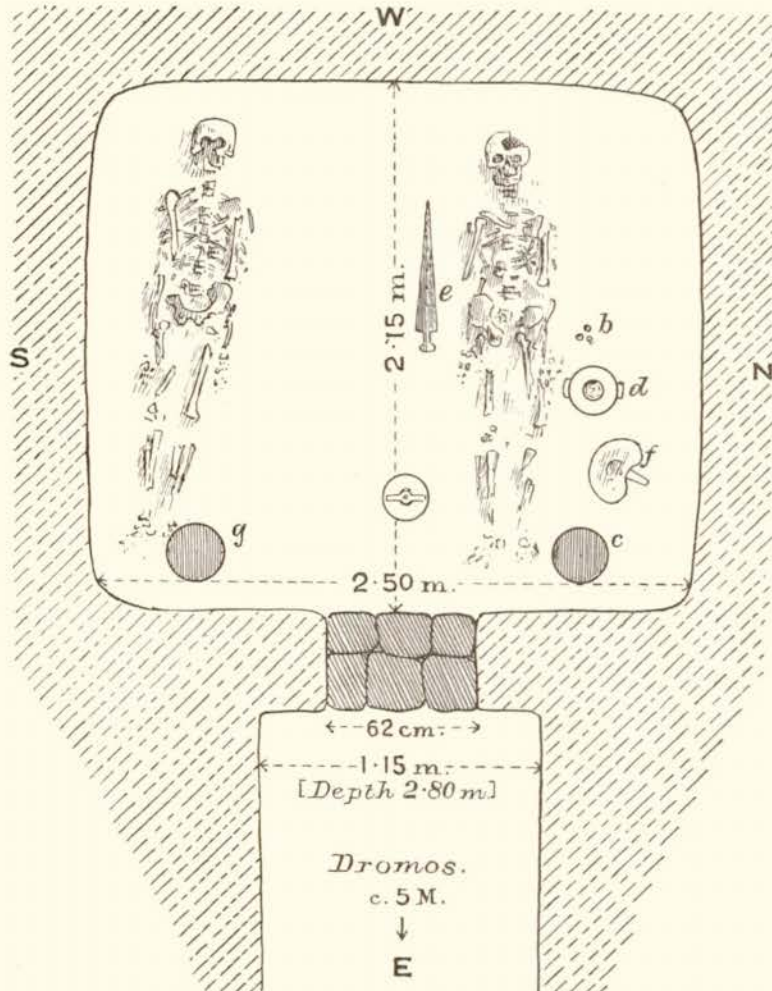


Fig. 93. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 95).

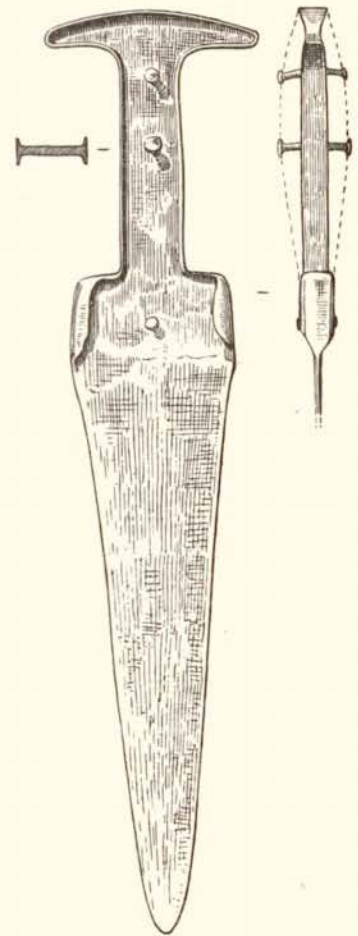


Fig. 94. Bronze short sword from Chamber-Tomb (No. 95).

95a. Small stirrup-vase, 8 centimetres high, with a single foliate band round the shoulder, resembling the double one of 51a. (Fig. 114, 95a.)

95b. Two whorls of black steatite.

95c. Bronze mirror, diameter 13.3 centimetres.

95d. Two-handled clay cup of champagne glass type (height 12 centimetres), with handles set horizontally. (Cf. fig. 114, 7f.)

95e. Bronze dagger or short sword, length 37 centimetres, greatest breadth of blade 6.2 centimetres. (Fig. 94.) The hilt, in which are fixed three rivets, is bordered by a

raised flange. The type is identical with that of a dagger found with a small hoard of other bronze weapons and implements on the Acropolis at Athens.<sup>a</sup>

95*f*. Clay chafing-pan, resembling fig. 32 (broken).

95*g*. Bronze mirror, diameter 18 centimetres.

No. 96. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance to east. This tomb had been broken into and plundered. There were remains of two skeletons with their heads east, and in the north-west corner a small hollow containing two skulls and bones; these also a good deal decayed. Near the north skeleton were two whorls, and by that on the south border of the chamber the following relics:

96*a*. Plain bracelet of bronze wire, diameter 7·8 centimetres.

96*b*. Fragmentary remains of small spouted clay vase.

96*c*. Plain clay bowl with two handles rising from rim, diameter 15·5 centimetres. (Fig. 114, 96*c*.)

No. 97. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. Approached by a *dromos* 1 metre wide and 3·50 metres long. The door, 60 centimetres wide and 1·10 centimetres high, had been broken in, and the roof of the chamber, which was 1·84 metres square, has collapsed. Remains of a skeleton were found with the head west, and near the north wall were found two crystal pendants, a bead, and a steatite figure apparently used as an amulet.



Fig. 95. Steatite pendant in form of a female figure, from Chamber-Tomb (No. 97). (1/2)

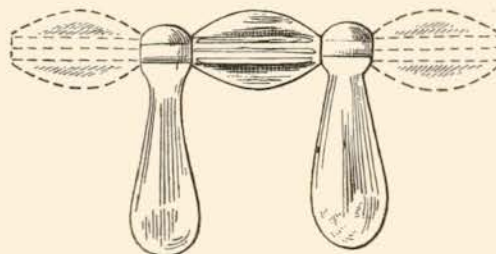


Fig. 96. Drop-shaped pendants and bead of crystal, from Chamber-Tomb (No. 97). (1/2)

97*a*. Female figure of black steatite perforated through the shoulders for suspension. It has the usual Late Minoan (Mycenæan) flounces, and cross grooves on the upper part of the body. (Fig. 95.) This figure seems to be of the nature of an amulet, and may be taken to represent the great Goddess of Minoan Crete, later known as Rhea. Other small steatite figures of the same kind, perforated for suspension, have been found in Crete.<sup>b</sup> Another similar amulet of dark steatite, now in the Ashmolean Museum, is said to have been found in the Lebanon.

<sup>a</sup> Montelius, *Ett fynd från Athens akropolis*, 4, fig. 3

<sup>b</sup> One is in the Ashmolean Museum.

97b. Two drop-shaped pendants of rock crystal. (Fig. 96.)

97c. Crystal bead (fig. 96) apparently belonging to the same necklace as the crystal pendants.

No. 98. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. The upper part of the door had been broken in. The chamber presented the peculiarity of having a raised ledge

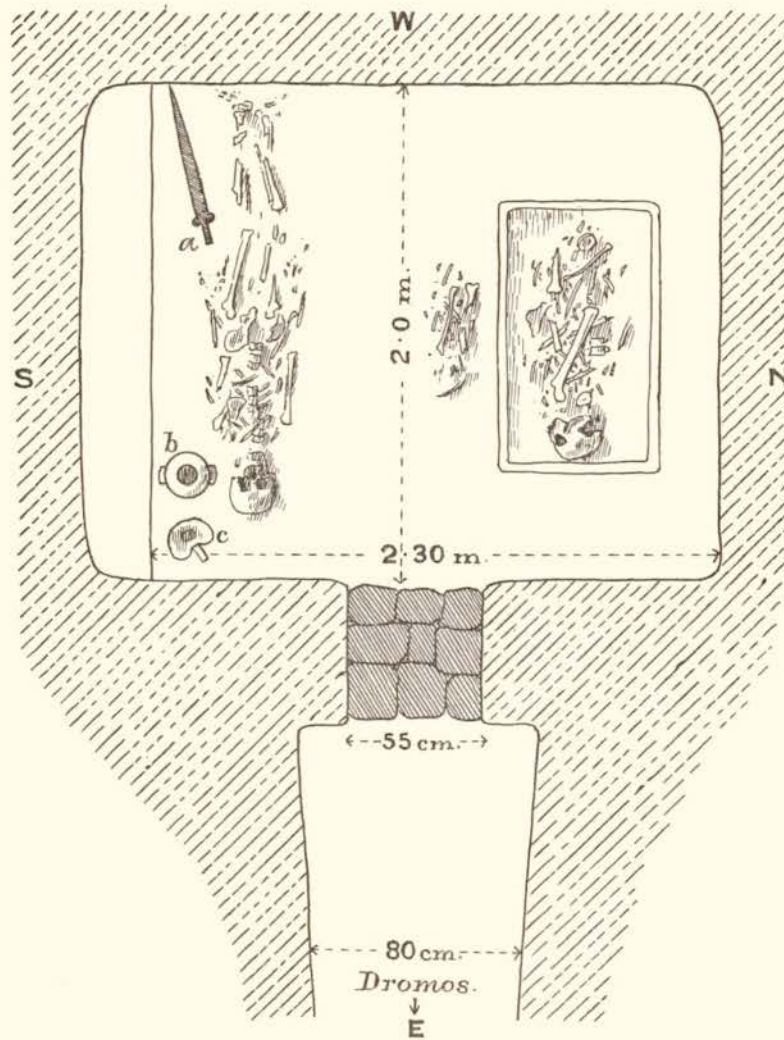


Fig. 97. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 98).

along its south wall, about 45 centimetres above the original floor of the tomb. It contained two interments, one belonging to a time when the floor had been slightly raised (about 15 centimetres). This latter was represented by a *larnax*

which showed faint traces of colours. The lower part of this was intact, but the lid had been broken and part of the bones that the clay chest originally contained lay on the floor beside it. Remains of the skull were found at the east end of the *larnax*, but there were no associated relics either inside or outside of it. It is evident that the later deposit had been plundered, but the accumulation of soil had apparently concealed the earlier interment which lay along the south side of the tomb. This consisted of a skeleton with the head east. By the head was a charcoal holder and stone vase, and at the feet, partly resting against the corner of the tomb, so that its point was turned upwards, a bronze sword. By this was also a bronze razor. (See plan, fig. 97.)

98a. Bronze sword, length 61 centimetres. (Plate XCI. fig. 109, 97a). The midrib of the blade is flattish and slightly rounded. The hilt showed some of the wooden handle adhering and has two rivets. In its general type the sword answers to 42a, 43a, 55a, and 36i, but there seems to have been no tang at the extremity of the hilt.

98b. Stone vase showing a terra-cotta ground mottled with grey. Height 10.5 centimetres, diameter 16 centimetres. It has ledge handles and the body is somewhat globular.

98c. Clay chafing-pan or charcoal holder found broken, but with remains of charcoal in the lower part of the holder. It has a solid projecting handle. Height 13.3 centimetres, width of rim 22 centimetres. (Fig. 114, 98c). It much resembles the charcoal holder of Grave 32.

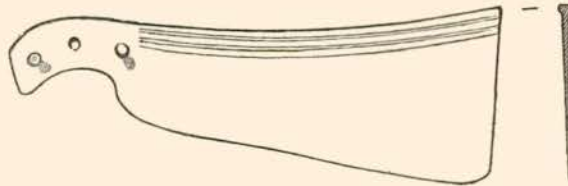


Fig. 98. Bronze razor from Chamber-Tomb (No. 98).

98d. Bronze razor. (Fig. 98.)

No. 99. *Chamber-Tomb*. Entrance east. The vault of the chamber had collapsed but the walling of the doorway was intact. The ground plan of the chamber itself (fig. 99) formed an almost perfect square, 2.20 metres in each direction. In the south section of this were remains of two skeletons with their heads west, one of a child, several very small clay vases lying between the two heads. By the left hand of the adult skeleton was a spiral gold ring (*c*), and to the right of its head a blossom vase of steatite (*e*). The north section of the tomb contains another adult skeleton, also with the head west, and accompanied by a richer *peculium* than the other. On the breast were remains of a necklace consisting of a scarab, engraved gems, and various beads; by the left hand two gold rings like the others; a very elegant stone vase lay near the head, and towards the feet a bowl, goblet, and mirror of bronze. The bones were much decayed, but from the

fact that the gold rings of the more important burial were of greater diameter than the other, it looks as if in the one case we had to deal with a man and in the other with a woman.

A group of objects from this tomb is shown in fig. 100, Plate XC. The

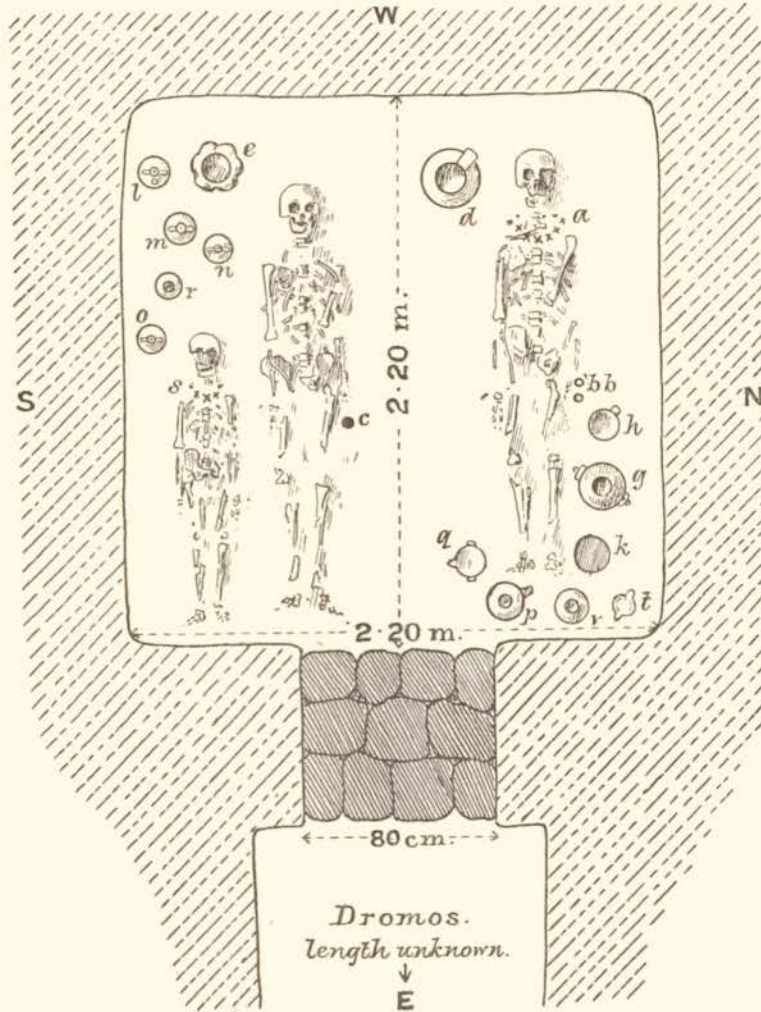


Fig. 99. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 99).

absence of arms or implements is noteworthy. Assuming that the burial on the north side was that of a man and those opposite his wife or child, we may perhaps infer that the latter were buried later, and that the arms which must surely have been originally placed with the rich interment were on that occasion abstracted. The theft was perhaps masked by the placing on that side of some

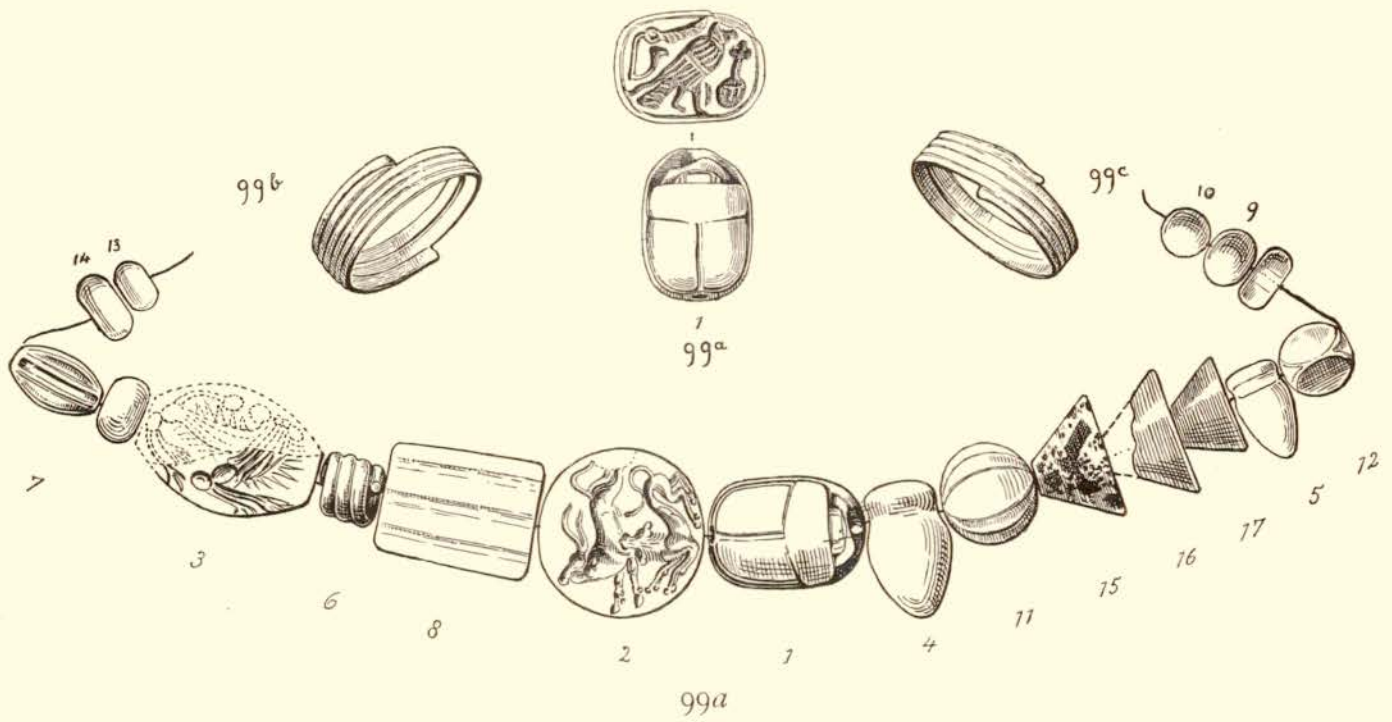


Fig. 101. Objects belonging to a necklace and gold rings from Chamber-Tomb (No. 99).

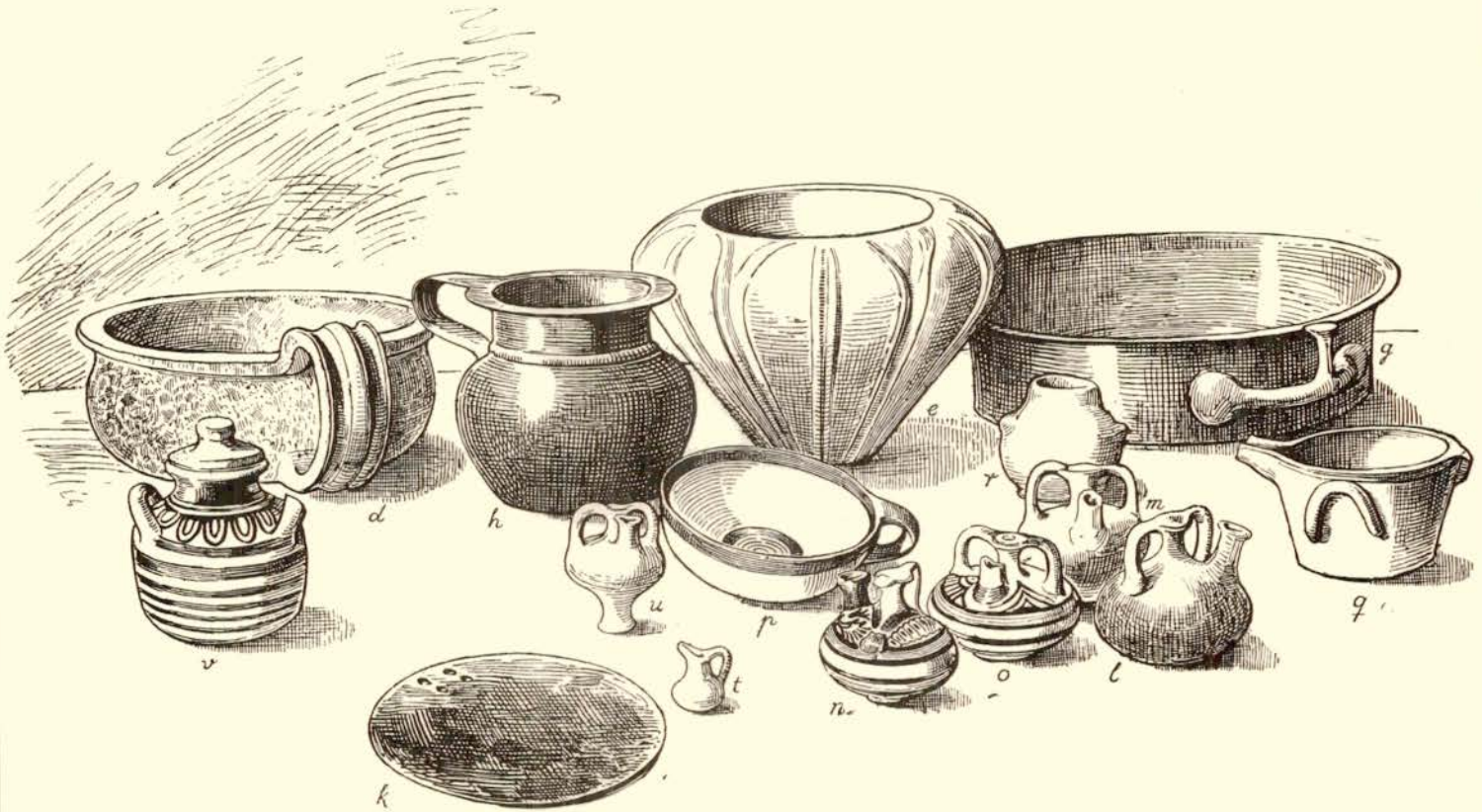


Fig. 100. Group of objects from Chamber-Tomb (No. 99).

ANTIQUITIES FROM THE CEMETERY OF ZAFER PAPOURA.

of the miniature vessels more naturally intended for the child. It is probable that many such abstractions had taken place in this cemetery.

99a. Objects belonging to a necklace. (Fig. 101, Plate XC.)

1. Egyptian scarab of white steatite. The sacred hawk, *nefer*, and winged *uræus* signs on this scarab seem to have an amuletic intention. The character of this group of signs, and the one-winged *uræus*, answer to scarab types in vogue about the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A close parallel is afforded by a scarab from Tell-el-Amarna. (Petrie, pl. xv. 145.)
2. Lentoid cornelian bead seal, engraved with design of a lion seizing a bull.
3. Part of an amygdaloid cornelian bead seal, showing the lower part of what appears to have been a roughly executed design of a lion.
- 4, 5. Two crystal pendants of a type perhaps derived from arrow-heads. Miniature arrow-heads of red cornelian, perforated in a similar manner, are still worn as charms by the Arabs and Turks.
6. Bronze spiral bead.
7. Bead of gold plate.
8. Tabloid bead of ivory, the surface much corroded.
9. Crystal bead forming flattened sphere.
10. Globular bead of crystal.
11. Crystal bead which in section is of trefoil outline.
12. Three-sided bead of crystal.
- 13, 14. Cornelian beads.
15. Whorl of white stone variegated with black.
- 16, 17. Brown steatite whorl.

99b. Gold finger ring of spiral wire. Inner diameter 2 centimetres.

99c. Gold finger ring as 99b, but smaller. Inner diameter 1·8 centimetre.

99d. Grey stone bason with round handles, evidently in imitation of a metal prototype like the bronze bason 14b. Diameter 19 centimetres, height of bowl 7·4 centimetres, of handle 9·8 centimetres. (For this and the following see fig. 100, Plate XC.)

99e. Blossom vase of steatite. Vases of this type were also found in Tomb No. 72. Diameter 21 centimetres, height 13 centimetres.

99g. Two-handled bronze bowl, with horizontal handles provided with knobbed vertical offshoots. A good deal broken. The type of vessel closely approaches 14c.

99h. Globular bronze vase of bronze with a single handle attached by two rivets above to the rim and below to the body. Height 9·5 centimetres, diameter 11 centimetres. A similar vessel was found in a tomb at Phaestos. Savignoni<sup>a</sup> compares it with an Egyptian

<sup>a</sup> *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 47, fig. 26.

bronze vessel,<sup>a</sup> but the upper part of the handle of the latter with its engraved lotus has a different shape. The ring at the junction of the collar and body of these Cretan bronze vessels is also a non-Egyptian feature.

99k. Bronze mirror, 12·7 centimetres in diameter.

99l. Small plain stirrup-vase (height 6·3 centimetres), covered with a kind of black varnish. Cf. above, the vases in Graves 66, 67.

99m. Similar stirrup-vase, with varnish. Height 6 centimetres.

99n. Small painted stirrup-vase, with conventionalised sprays. Height 6 centimetres.

99o. Small painted stirrup-vase, height 6·2 centimetres, with conventionalised sprays.

99p. Painted one-handled cup, with brown bands on a buff ground. Diameter 11 centimetres.

99q. Plain red-faced vessel, with spout and two upright horizontal handles. Height 5·4 centimetres, diameter of rim 9·5 centimetres.

99r. Plain clay pot, height 5·8 centimetres, with knobs in place of handles.

99s. Small paste beads.

99t. Miniature vessel of plain clay with handle and raised spout. Height 2·7 centimetres.

99u. Small plain stirrup-vase. Height 6·5 centimetres.

99v. Low painted jar with three upright horizontal handles. A lid found near apparently belongs to it. It has a band with a pattern resembling the architectural egg ornament. Height 7·8 centimetres.

No. 100. *Chamber-Tomb*.—Entrance to east. Most of the vault and the upper part of the doorway had fallen in. The chamber, which was exceptionally wide in proportion to its depth, contained remains of three *larnakes* (*a*, *b*, and *c* in plan, fig. 103). The upper parts of these were much broken, especially in the case of *b* and *c*, though decayed remains of skeletons were found in all, the heads in *b* and *c* being west, in *a* east. The lid of *a* was wanting, but the receptacle was well preserved and proved to be painted with various decorative motives. (See figs. 102*a* and *b*.) One of the two faces shows a design of linked spirals enclosing small flowers of from three to six petals. This linked spiraliform pattern is akin to similar designs on painted funereal chests and the walls of tombs of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty date. The work was executed with a free hand without any aid from a template or skeleton squares, and considering the elaborate character of the pattern displays considerable skill. The other face shows a decorative class of papyrus sprays, and another of these appears at one of the small ends of the chest. The other end is decorated with a kind of scale pattern.

<sup>a</sup> Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*, 306, figs. 276, 277.



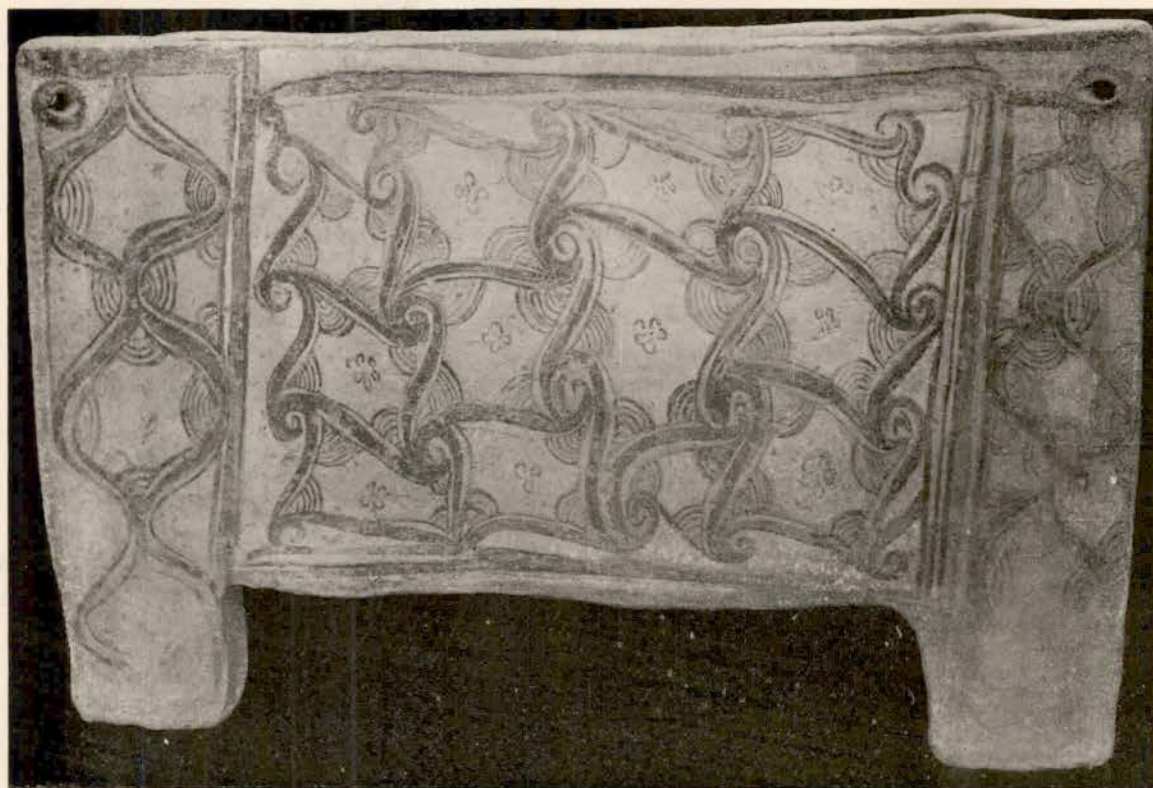


Fig. 102a. Painted *larnax* (a) from Chamber-Tomb (No. 100).

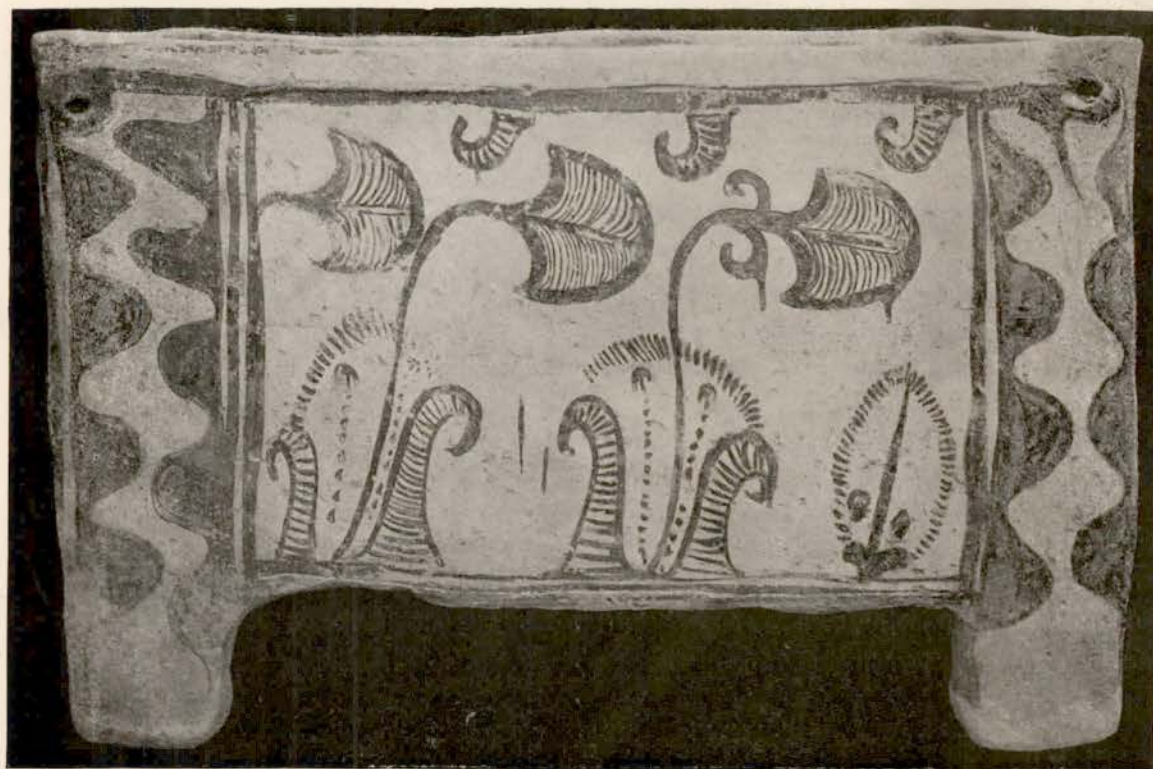


Fig. 102b. Painted *larnax* (a) from Chamber-Tomb (No. 100).

This *larnax* contained, besides the bones, a bronze ring and bracelet and three paste beads, and a steatite whorl and clay cup were found on the floor of the chamber. The tomb contained no other relics.

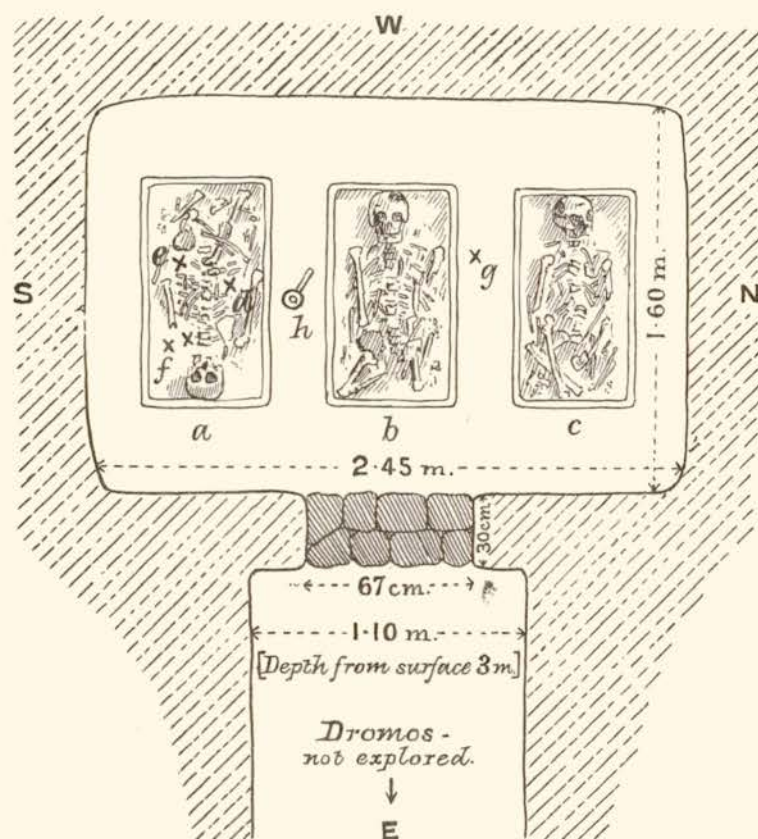


Fig. 103. Plan of Chamber-Tomb (No. 100).

- 100*d*. Bronze ring, plain hoop.
- 100*e*. Bronze bracelet, plain hoop.
- 100*f*. Beads: (1) amethyst, globular; (2) cornelian, flattened sphere; (3) paste, globular.
- 100*g*. Steatite whorl.
- 100*h*. Plain clay cup or ladle with raised loop handle. Height with handle 8 centimetres.

§ 3. *Comparative Note on a Chamber-Tomb at Milatos.*

Interesting comparisons with the chamber-tombs of Zafer Papoura are supplied by that of Milatos, already referred to as having been explored by me in 1899. The objects found in this tomb show that it belongs to a somewhat later date than the latest interments of the Knossian Cemetery, and as neither the tomb itself nor its contents, with the exception of a painted ossuary, have as yet been published, a summary account of this discovery will be found useful in the present connexion.

The modern village of Milatos lies on the north coast of Crete, about 25 miles east of Candia and of the site of Knossos. It derives special interest from the fact that it still preserves, under its Doric form, the name of the Cretan Miletos, the mother city of the more famous civic foundation on what was later the Ionian Coast.<sup>a</sup> That it had itself some importance at a very early date may also be gathered from its mention in the Homeric Catalogue.<sup>b</sup>

A little south-west of the village rises what was probably the Acropolis hill of ancient Milatos, still crowned by the remains of a Venetian stronghold known as Kasteli. An earlier discovery of a chamber-tomb had been made on the east side of this hill, containing the painted clay sarcophagus in the form of a bath described by Orsi in 1890.<sup>c</sup> The western face of the hill-top where the present find was made was formed by a low cliff running above the upper margin of a vine-clad terrace, and it was while working here in his vineyard that the peasant owner broke a small hole into the side of a vault. Finding that it was a tomb, the proprietor of the vineyard obligingly sent word to me of the discovery, and meanwhile closed the opening.

On my arrival this aperture was reopened, and I descended into the sepulchral chamber, the interior of which showed an absolutely intact arrangement. The infiltrations of the soil had been slight, and only covered the lower parts of some of the vases, which stood in groups on the floor, while the two clay chests containing the bones stood against the walls regularly disposed in their original positions like parts of the furniture of a room.

<sup>a</sup> Strabo xii. 8 (5), and xiv. 1 (6), who cites Ephorus. Sarpedon was said to have led the Cretan colonists.

<sup>b</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 647.

<sup>c</sup> *Urne funebri Cretesi* (*Mon. Ant.* 1890), 10, 11, and Tav. ii. 1 and 2.

The vault itself was entered on the west by a doorway about 0.75 metre wide and 1.20 metre high, blocked by a dry walling and leading to a short *dromos*. This entrance, however, did not open into the middle of the chamber, a circumstance explained by a fact, which a further examination of the interior made evident,

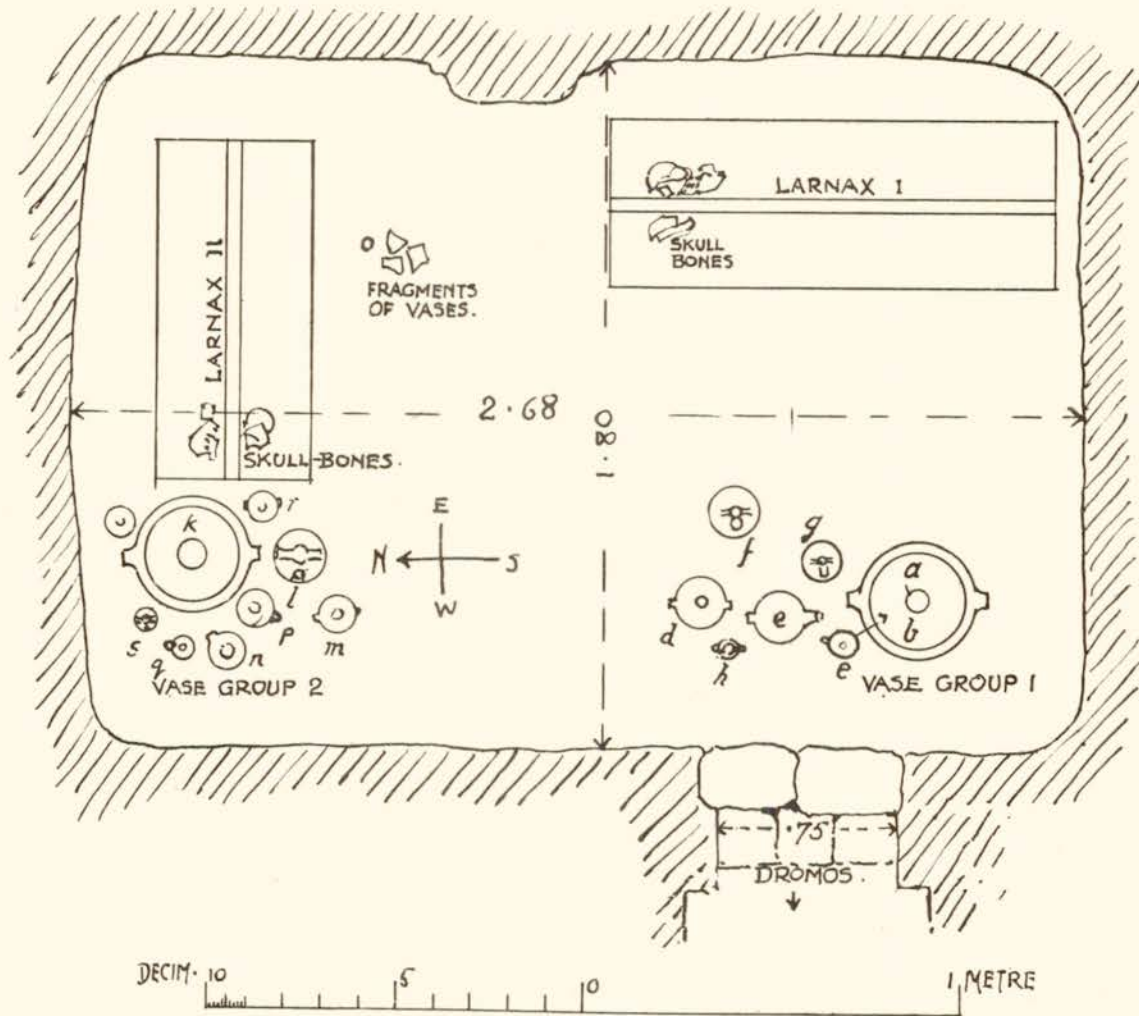


Fig. 104a Plan of Chamber-Tomb at Milatos.

that the original tomb had been enlarged by a subsequent extension to the left of the entrance. This is clearly shown by the annexed ground plan. (Fig. 104a.)

The ossuary chests stood one in each half of the chamber, the length and breadth of which was about 2.68 metres by 1.80 metre, while its height was about 1.40 metre, the roof being nearly flat. (See section, fig. 104b.)

The vases were disposed in two principal groups (1 and 2). Group 1 (fig. 105) lay in what has been described as the original part of the vault, immediately in front of the doorway, and was arranged in front of the painted chest which occupied the inner side of the rock-wall. Besides the perfect vases there were here some fragments, probably due to the disturbance caused by the subsequent enlargement of the chamber. Group 2 (fig. 106) lay in what may be called the annexe, near the western end of the second chest. Further back in this

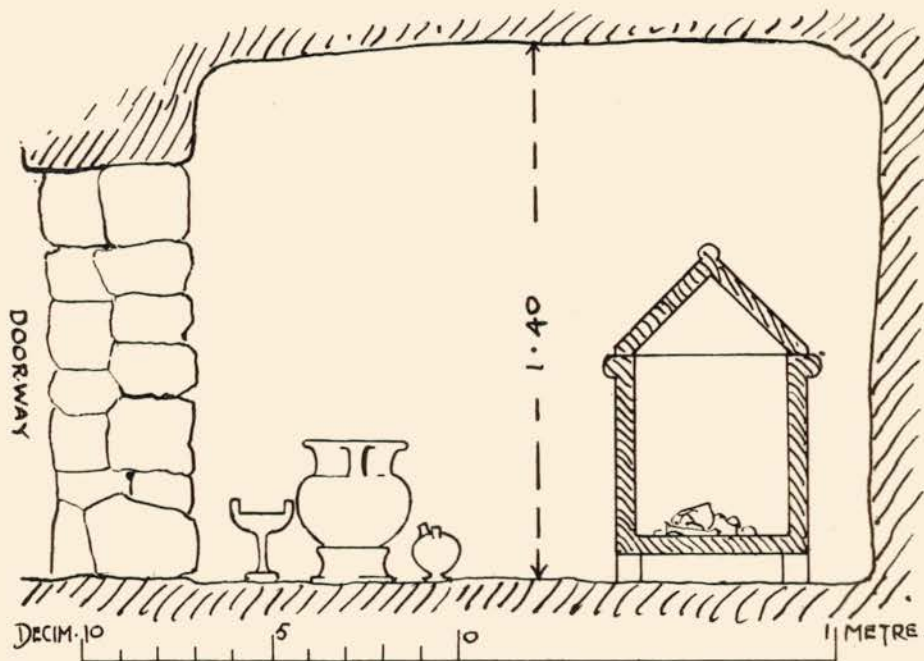


Fig. 104b. Section of Chamber-Tomb at Milatos.

chamber, along the outer side of the chest, were some other fragments of vases, the presence of which seemed to connect itself with an earlier interment which had taken place at this spot; for, partly beneath these fragments, partly under the feet of the Chest No. II. itself, were remains of a third clay ossuary or *larnax* that had at some time or other been destroyed, and one side of which helped to serve as a kind of base for the chest that had here replaced it. On the floor, near the middle of the chamber, was found a broken bead of blue glass with a double perforation, and exhibiting a rosette ornament in relief.

*Vase-Group 1* (fig. 105):

- a. Large two-handled amphora, height 41.5 centimetres, diameter 40 centimetres,

standing on open-work base (B) and containing the small cup (C). The amphora bears a conventionalised octopus design, dark brown on warm buff, with supplementary coils. A somewhat smaller vase of the same form and decoration has been found at Tsarkon, in the Cretan district of Malevisi.

The practice of setting large vases in tombs on open-work bases is illustrated from the contents of a *tholos* tomb at Ligortino.



Fig. 105. Group 1 of vases found in a Chamber-Tomb at Milatos.

D. Two-handled pedestalled cup of champagne-glass type, with dark brown and red decoration on pale buff ground. The lyre-like motive in the decoration recurs on the base (B). Height to rim 16.5 centimetres, diameter of bowl 17.3 centimetres.

E. Elegant spouted bowl, with orange red decoration on buff ground. Height 8 centimetres, width of bowl 17 centimetres.

F. Stirrup-vase (*Bügelkanne*) with geometrical design of brilliant red and brown on pale buff and fine glaze.

g. Stirrup-vase, somewhat smaller, height about 10·5 centimetres, with similar bright colouring and glaze.

н. Small high-beaked vase with bright reddish brown decoration on a warm buff ground. Height 5 centimetres.

*Vase-Group 2* (fig. 106) :

J. Large two-handed amphora, like A, height 47 centimetres, diameter 38 centimetres, with dark brown decoration on pale buff, the principal motive being a late and



Fig. 106. Group 2 of vases found in a Chamber-Tomb at Milatos.

conventionalised derivative of the triton shell design on vases belonging to the Palace Style of Knossos.

κ. Small high-spouted vase, height 6 centimetres, diameter 4 centimetres. Wreath ornament, dark brown on warm buff.

L. Stirrup-vase of somewhat coarse fabric, surface a good deal decayed, height 30 centimetres, diameter 20 centimetres. Dark brown decoration on buff.

M. Two-handled pedestalled cup like D, base wanting. Dotted disc ornament, pale red on buff ground. These are perhaps reminiscences of the rosettes on metal vases of

analogous types.<sup>a</sup> The disc with a dotted circle has, however, a very ancient pedigree on the early polychrome pottery of Crete (Middle Minoan).

n. Two-handled bowl, diameter 14 centimetres, height 10 centimetres. Arched design, red brown on buff ground.

o. Part of bowl, with geometrical design, vermilion red and brown on a buff ground. (Found beside *Larnax* II.)

p. Plain one-handled pedestalled cup, buff surface.

q. Plain one-handled cup, reddish brown.

r. Two-handled bowl, with curved designs, red-brown on buff, like the half-opened fronds of a young fern. Height 5·7 centimetres, diameter 7 centimetres.

s. Small stirrup-vase, height 6·5 centimetres, diameter 7 centimetres. Scale ornament, dark brown on buff.

#### *The Clay Chests (Larnakes) :*

Of the two clay chests or *larnakes* found in the tomb it may be convenient to describe the smaller and undecorated one (II.) first. Its height to the ridge of its cover was 0·86 metre, its length 0·88 metre, its breadth and the internal depth of the recipient 0·39 metres. The lower part has two handles on each of the sides and one at each end. The gabled cover has only one such at each end. These handles were doubtless made for the cords which secured the fastening of the chest to pass through. In this case it seems as if the cords of the side handles passed over to the top of the gabled roof of the cover. The whole was coated with a plain white wash.

The floor of the chest was perforated by eighteen holes arranged thus . . . . . for draining off the moisture from the enclosed remains.

Upon it lay the bones of a single individual, the remains of the skull being near the western end. The bones were in a much disintegrated condition, but from what remained seemed to be those of a woman. They show no traces of burning.

The painted *larnax* (I.) is larger than the other. Its height to the ridge of the cover is 0·83 metre, its length 1·15 metre, its breadth 0·51 metre,<sup>b</sup> and internal depth the same. This chest differs from the others in the arrangement of its handles. The lower part or receptacle has, like the other two, handles on each of the long sides, but it has none at the ends. The lid, on the other hand, though imperfect now at one extremity, certainly had a handle at both ends, like that of the other *larnax*, but in this case it is also provided with two on each side, answering to those on the sides of the recipient. As in the former case the central ridge of the cover projects like a roof-beam at the end of the gable.

The floor of the *larnax* is perforated with six holes arranged down the middle . . . . . Upon it lay unburnt bones of a single person in the same disintegrated condition as those

<sup>a</sup> Compare the one-handled gold cup, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 234, fig. 249.

<sup>b</sup> Length and breadth measurements were taken along the cornice in the case of both *larnakes*.



in the other chest, the remains of the skull bones towards the northern end. They seem to be those of a man.

The red clay of this chest is coated with a pale buff wash upon which the decorations are painted in a bright reddish brown. Upon one of the sides is an irregular design of loops and curves with cross strokes, perhaps of vegetable derivation, in the middle of which is a large fish with a very small one by its side. Beneath the fish are waving lines presumably indicative of water. The other side and one end present variant decorative designs of the same character, but without the fish.

The representation at the north end of the *larnax*, though like the rest of the decoration of rude execution, is of the greatest interest. The upper part of the field is occupied by an apparently nude male figure, with his right arm raised open-palmed and holding out with his left what appears to be a large body shield<sup>a</sup> by its upper margin. The figure is turning to the right according to the usual Minoan and, it may be added, Egyptian perspective, with his head, the profile of which is very rude, and feet pointing in the side direction, but his body full-facing.

A remarkable feature of the design is the appearance on either side of the head, and as if proceeding from the neck, of a pair of sinuous projections. Those to the left have a good deal suffered from the effects of the removal of the chest to Candia, its surface being inclined to peel off. They are, however, seen in fig.

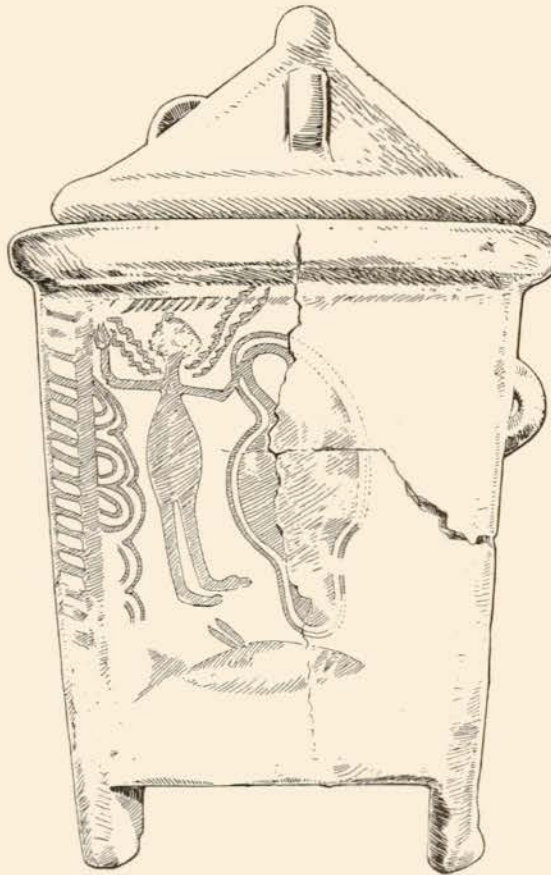


Fig. 107. End of painted *larnax* (No. I.), from a Chamber-Tomb at Milatos.

107, which is based on a photograph taken by me at the moment of excavation in

<sup>a</sup> In the illustration of this design given in my *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, 74, fig. 50, the edge of the shield is represented with a double curve as in the case of the ordinary Mycenaean shield. Further examination of the traces of painting on the *larnax* has, however, made it clear that there exists a third curve below. The design is here reproduced (fig. 107) from a corrected drawing by Mr. C. Prætorius.



their pristine condition. Beneath the figure and separated from it by a small interval is a fish of the same character as that seen on the side of the *larnax*.

The shield-bearing figure itself stands on nothing and seems to be in the air. In my monograph on *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, I had ventured to recognise in it a figure of a divinity. The curious upward curving lines on either side of the neck were there compared with the rays which are seen rising from the shoulders of the Babylonian Sun-God Samas.<sup>a</sup> A Minoan parallel was further sought by me in the subject of a gold ring found on the site of Knossos in which a male figure, evidently a god, holding out a spear, and with dotted projections on either side of his neck, is seen descending before his sacred obelisk.

In view of the more recent discovery of certain wall-paintings from the Palace of Knossos, in which the idea of rapid motion is accentuated by centrifugally flying locks of hair,<sup>b</sup> the possibility now suggests itself that in the case of the *larnax*, at any rate, we may have to do with locks of hair rather than a rayed emanation. The upward curve of the present excrescences would, according to this interpretation, simply imply descending motion.

But the original suggestion that the figure on the *larnax* represents a divinity has now acquired new force from the discovery of distinctly religious subjects on two other sarcophagi of the same class. On that from Palaikastro<sup>c</sup> we see the "horns of consecration," the sacred double axe, and attendant griffin. The more elaborately painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada<sup>d</sup> presents a succession of scenes of cult and offering in which the sacred double axe again occupies a prominent position.

If in the present design we may venture to recognise a great body-shield, we have another frequent concomitant of Minoan divinity.<sup>e</sup> The body-shield in its more usual 8-shaped form appears on gems and signets, as well as in other religious representations, as the aniconic embodiment of the God or departed hero.

Upon the great signet found by Dr. Schliemann a small figure holding a large body-shield is seen in a position which clearly indicates a Sky God. On the

<sup>a</sup> *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, 74.

<sup>b</sup> Compare especially the fresco of a female figure from the Queen's Megaron. Knossos Report, 1902. (*B. S. A.*, viii. 55, fig. 28.)

<sup>c</sup> Bosanquet, *B. S. A.*, viii. 297 seqq. and plates xviii. and xix.

<sup>d</sup> Paribeni, *Lavori eseguiti dalla Missione Archeologica italiana (Rendiconti della r. Acad. dei Lincei)*, 1903, p. 29 seqq.).

<sup>e</sup> See my *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, 24 and 81 seqq.

painted slab from Mycenae a similar divinity, covered as in the former case with his body-shield, seems to descend upon an altar between two votaries. It looks as if in all these cases we had to deal with one and the same Minoan God, while the recurrence of the great shield recalls the prominent part played by shields in the ritual dance of the Curetes or Corybantes, who act as the guardians of the infant Zeus Krêtagenês. Doubtless in the more primitive form of the religion the shield itself was the fetish habitation of the divinity, and an echo of same idea survived in the magic virtues of the Roman *ancilia*.

The evidence afforded by the contents and arrangement of this late Minoan *thalamos* is in some respects contradictory. That we have here a tomb which had remained undisturbed since late Minoan times is evident enough. The carefully walled entrance and the groups of perfect vases still standing in their places sufficiently show that from the time when the last interment was made in the vault no plundering could have taken place. On the other hand there is equally distinct evidence of a certain amount of destruction in the tomb at some period previous to the final arrangement of its contents. The presence of some broken vases and stray fragments of others is a sufficient indication of this. Quite conclusive, moreover, as to a reinterment having taken place at the expense of a former occupant was the appearance of the remains of another *larnax* in the annexe to the original chamber, partly acting as a support for that which at the time of the opening of the tomb was found standing there. Such a reinterment may either have been the cause or the effect of the destruction which had taken place.

What is less explicable, considering the generally intact appearance of the vase groups belonging to the later interments, is the total absence of arms or of personal ornaments, with the exception of a fragmentary glass bead. Yet there was no sign of any previous breaking into the sepulchral chamber, and the non-disturbance of the bulk of the vases showed that any removal of other relics must have been the work of some one well acquainted with the arrangement within. It looks as if here as in other cases there had been a sacrilegious abstraction of valuable objects from the tomb by those responsible for its final closing in ancient times.

Reasons will be given below for concluding that this Milatos tomb belongs to a somewhat later period than that covered by the Zafer Papoura cemetery. It has therefore a peculiar value in the present connection for comparative purposes. The very late developments of the triton shell and octopus motives as seen on the large amphoras A and E belong to a ceramic fashion of which there is no

example in the Knossian cemetery. The decoration of the stirrup-vase F is still more significant. It is reproduced in all its particulars on a vase of the same form found in a chamber-tomb (a) at Mulianà in East Crete<sup>a</sup> with late Mycenaean bronze swords of a type not represented in the Zafer Papoura cemetery, and a

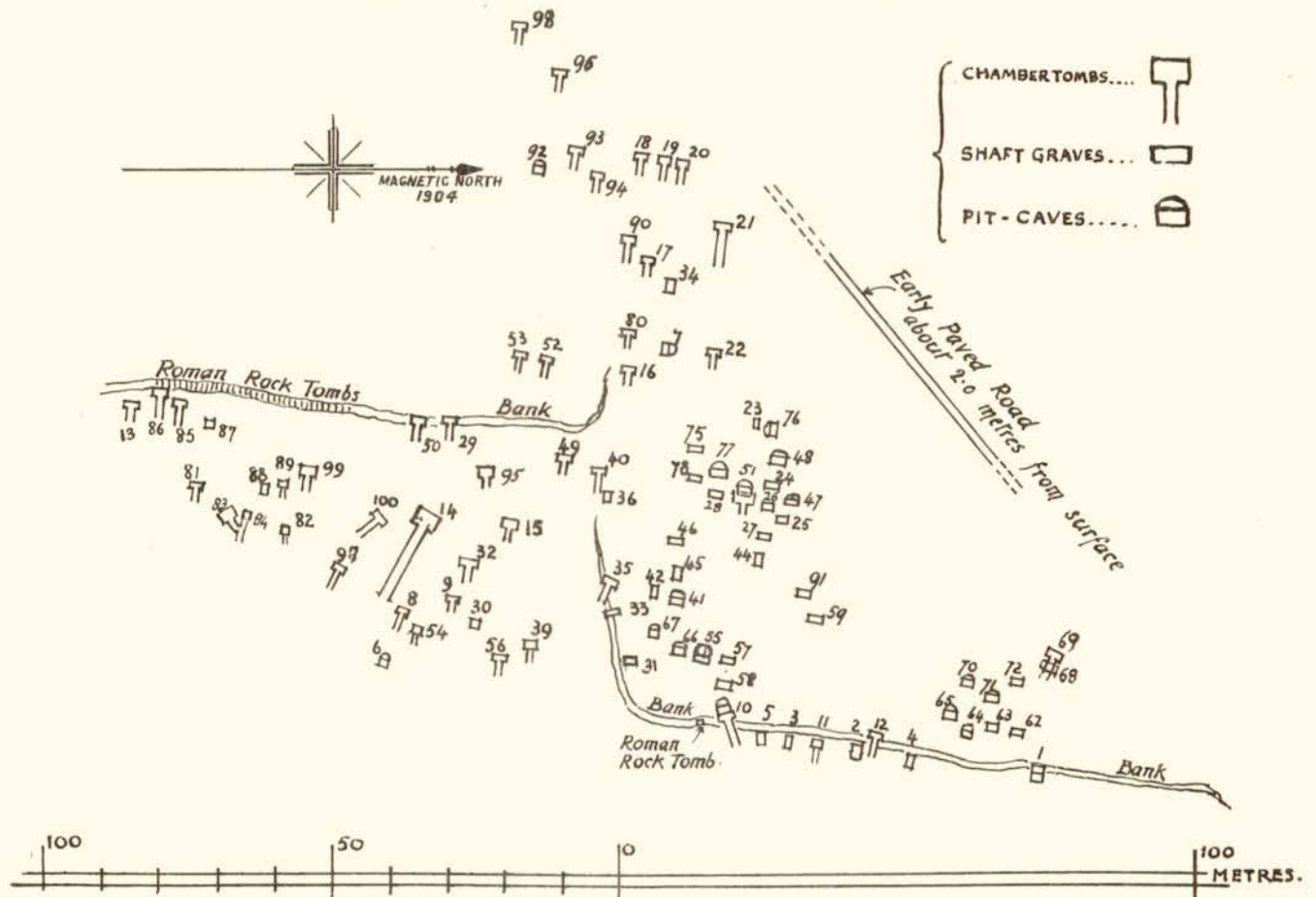


Fig. 108. General Plan of the Cemetery of Zafer Papoura.

bow fibula of a form characteristic of the transitional period when iron was coming into use for arms and implements.<sup>b</sup> A vase from the contemporary tomb (b) at Mulianà shows a late and florid development of the octopus type,<sup>c</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> S. Xanthoudides, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, p. 22 *seqq.* and p. 27, fig. 5 (the last vase but one to the right). Another stirrup-vase from the same tomb shows closely allied ornamentation.

<sup>b</sup> For the importance of these Mulianà tombs in this connection, see my remarks below.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. l.

a *larnax* from the same grave exhibits a curved ornament, like that which in the amphora A, is a decorative extension of the sepia's tentacles. The occurrence of the blue glass bead with the impressed rosette ornament in the Milatos tomb may also be regarded as a somewhat late characteristic. None was found in the cemetery of Zafer Papoura.

§ 4. *General Remarks on the Cemetery of Zafer Papoura.*

*Analysis of Graves.*—A general plan of the cemetery by Mr. Fyfe is given in fig. 108. It will be seen that the 100 graves investigated in this cemetery were distributed in the following proportions :

Chamber-tombs . . . . .	49
Shaft-graves . . . . .	33
Pit-caves . . . . .	18

Apart from the frequent signs of abstractions and disturbances on the occasion of re-interments in tombs of the chamber class, at least forty per cent. of the total number had been actually broken into and wholly or partially plundered.

When, however, we examine the proportion of robbed to intact interments in the different classes, it appears at once that it is far greater in that of the chamber-tombs than in the case of the others. Out of forty-nine chamber-tombs no less than thirty-one, or about sixty per cent., had been wholly or partially plundered. On the other hand, out of thirty-three shaft-graves only eight, or slightly under twenty-five per cent., had been robbed, and out of eighteen pit-caves only a single one, representing a proportion of under six per cent.

This result is no doubt due in a principal measure to the varying degrees of secretiveness inherent in these different systems of interment. It is obvious that the chamber-tombs with their larger area, their vaults always liable to fall in, and their entrance passages revealing an earth-filling in a rock cutting, offered exceptional facilities for discovery. Of the other two classes, the shaft-grave with an interment at the bottom of a pit, was clearly more liable to be rifled than a pit-cave where the interment was hidden in a walled recess in the side of the pit.

It is probable that the operation of these natural causes should also be taken

into account in the numerical results of the present researches. The numbers of shaft-graves and pit-caves actually existing in the cemetery may have been more nearly on a par than seems to be implied by the above tabulated list of the hundred graves opened. The negative phenomenon of the non-discovery as yet of contemporary shaft-graves and pit-caves in other parts of Crete also loses much of its importance.

The actual number of the intact tombs with which we have to deal is thus reduced to sixty, distributed as follows among the different classes :

Chamber-tombs . . . . .	18
Shaft-graves . . . . .	25
Pit-caves . . . . .	17

The shaft-graves and pit-caves were constructed for the interment of individuals, and the evidence supplied by these when intact is of a comparatively simple kind. Once closed they were intended to remain so. Chamber-tombs, on the other hand, are in the nature of family vaults. They were reopened at various times for successive interments, and their earlier deposits were therefore continually liable to disturbance. There are abundant indications here, as in the case of the similar tombs of the lower town of Mycenae,<sup>a</sup> that the *peculium* of the former dead was not always respected by those who took part in the later interments. There can be no doubt that metal objects of all sorts were especially liable to abstraction on these occasions, so that the absence of arms, metal vases, or jewelry in an interment of a chamber-tomb does not always mean that such were not originally placed within it. Sometimes we have the actual evidence of this. Thus in Tomb 49 an ivory mirror handle was discovered, but there was no trace whatever of the original metal disc which had accompanied it. The special phenomena afforded by the large Chamber-tomb No. 14 have been already dealt with above.

That a certain proportion of those interred in this cemetery were extremely poor may be gathered from the fact that in a series of undisturbed interments nothing was found beyond the actual remains of bones. Out of twenty-five intact shaft-graves eight contained no relics, and two more only a few beads besides the bones. Three very poor interments occurred among the eighteen pit-cave burials, and two of the undisturbed chamber-tombs supplied nothing beyond the decayed

<sup>a</sup> See Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenwan Age*, 147.

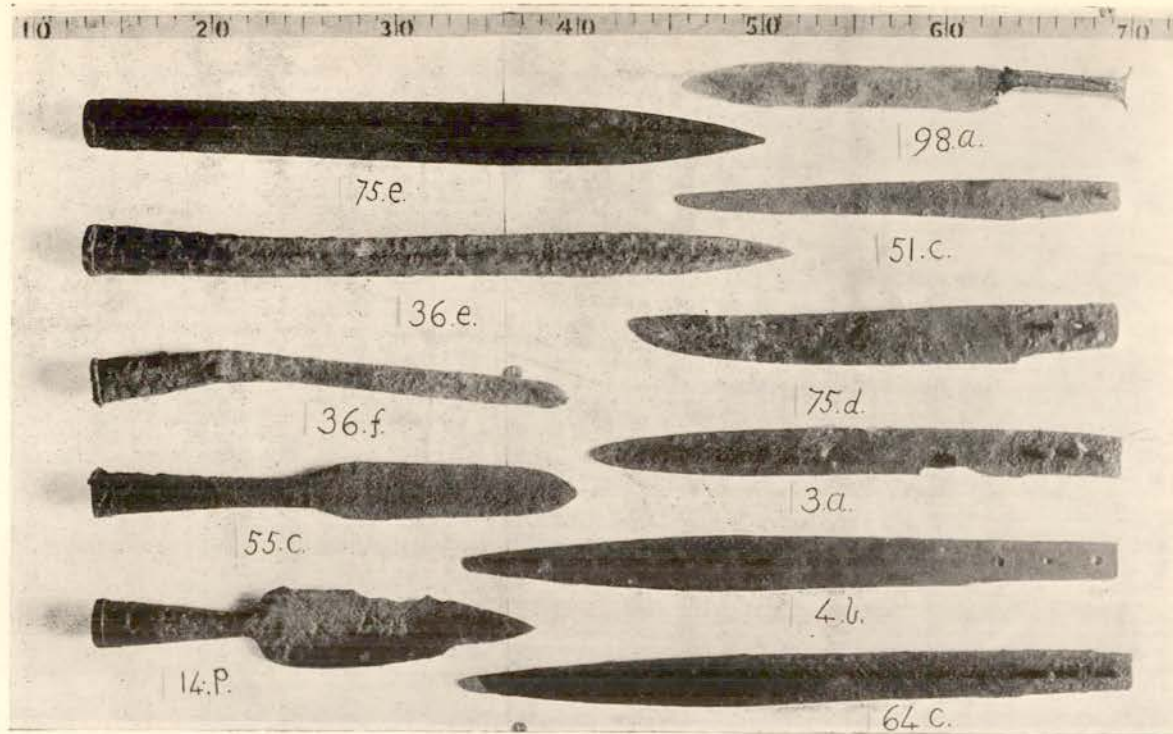


Fig. 113. Bronze Spear-heads and Knives from the Cemetery of Zafer Papoura.

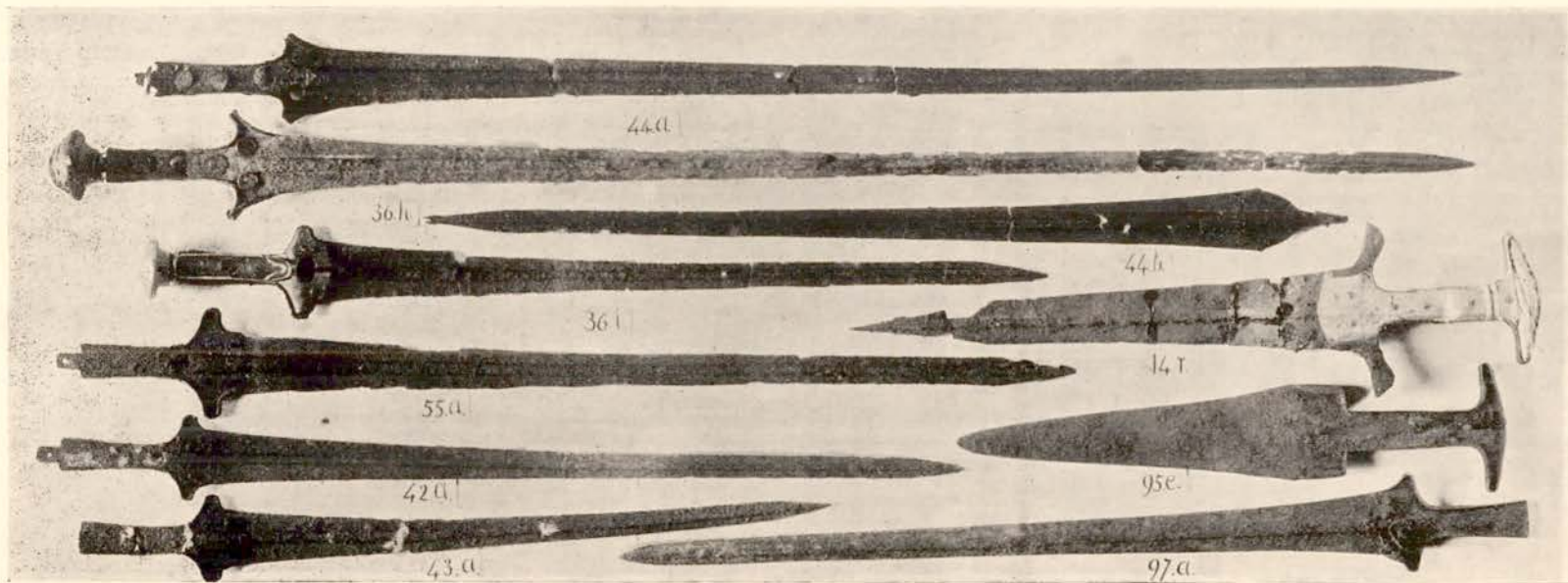


Fig. 109. Bronze Swords and Daggers from the Zafer Papoura Cemetery.

skeletons. Simple provision may have been made for the departed, even in these cases, in the shape of food and drink offerings placed in wooden bowls or vessels of some other perishable material. But the evidence tends to show that at least twenty-five per cent. of those buried in the cemetery were practically paupers.

The number of weapons found in the cemetery was proportionably considerable. Out of sixty intact interments were obtained as many as nineteen bronze weapons: five of them from chamber-tombs, nine from shaft-graves, and five from pit-caves.<sup>a</sup> They may be classified as follows:

Long swords	. . . . .	2
Short swords	. . . . .	6
Daggers	. . . . .	3
Long knives	. . . . .	3
Spear-heads	. . . . .	5

The types of swords and daggers found in this cemetery are presented in a collective form in fig. 109, Plate XCI. The detailed description of each will be found under the respective tombs.

The grandest weapons are the long swords, of which 44*a* attains a length of 91.3 centimetres, and 36*h* with its ivory pommel 95.5 centimetres. The high somewhat horn-like shoulders of the blade in these examples<sup>b</sup> represent a slight development of the somewhat square upper termination of an early type of sword found in the Acropolis graves at Mycenae.<sup>c</sup> This latter type, itself the outgrowth of a still earlier dagger form, belongs chronologically to the First Late-Minoan Period.

The derivative form, however, as seen in fig. 109, 36*h*, and fig. 110, with its horn-shaped offshoots, already makes its appearance among the later elements of

<sup>a</sup> In Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenean Age*, 147, it is noticed that out of "sixty odd tombs" of the Lower Town no swords and only a single spear-head were obtained. This statement was published in 1897, but already by that year Dr. Tsountas had opened some thirty more tombs, the contents of which go far to make up for the paucity of weapons in the earlier explored group. Remains of eight short swords were found in these, distributed among Tombs 78, 81, 88, and 91. (Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 104 *seqq.*) Another rich tomb opened in 1899 contained a white faience sword hilt. See below.

<sup>b</sup> The shoulders of 44*a*, which had been broken off, are not shown in the photograph from which fig. 109 is taken.

<sup>c</sup> *E.g.* Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 306, No. 466, "Grave I.," and 283, No. 449, "Grave IV."



the Mycenae shaft-graves.<sup>a</sup> It may be regarded as typical of the Second Late-Minoan Age and the closing period of the Palace at Knossos.

The decorative features of these swords, and in particular the microscopically fine reliefs of linked spirals that adorn the stems of the blade and the edges of the hilts in the Knossian examples (see above, fig. 66) show that technique in metal was still at an extraordinarily high level. The wealth and high artistic merit of the objects found in the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36) are certainly worthy of the period of art that moulded the latest Palace Style. As a matter of fact a beautiful onyx cameo<sup>b</sup> was found in the Room of the Throne at Knossos, which belongs to this period, showing a sword, attached to its belt, with horned off-shoots resembling those of these long swords.

The contemporaneity of this type of horned guard with the last period of the Knossian Palace is moreover borne out by the contents of one of the richest tombs at Phaestos (No. 8). In it was found, together with a spouted vessel identical with 36*b* from the Chieftain's Grave at Knossos, a short sword with horned shoulders similar to the above.<sup>c</sup> Both the shoulders and the sides of the hilt were in this case adorned with gold plates presenting an embossed foliate decoration altogether characteristic of the late Palace Style.<sup>d</sup>

A short sword of the horned type, 61 centimetres in length, was found in Tomb 81 of the Lower Town of Mycenae, belonging, however, as some of its contents show, to the earliest and best period of that necropolis.<sup>e</sup>

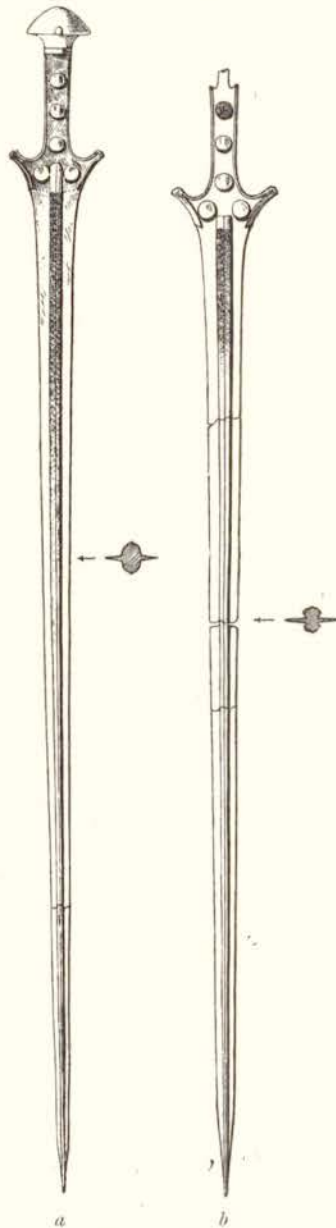


Fig. 110. Horned long-swords from Graves Nos. 44 (*a*) and 36 (*b*).

<sup>a</sup> See the sword fragment reproduced by Sophus Müller, *L'origine de l'Age de Bronze en Europe*, 9, fig. 14 (Matériaux, etc. 1886), and the dagger blade, *op. cit.* 11, fig. 17.

<sup>b</sup> It is mentioned in my Report, *Knossos*, 1900, p. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 39, figs. 20, 20*a*.

<sup>d</sup> The same characteristic foliate ornament is engraved on either side of the stem of a fragment of a sword blade from one of the Acropolis tombs at Mycenae. Sophus Müller, *op. cit.* 7, fig. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, pl. 8 (2), pp. 107-8.

The Knossian horned swords derive a new interest from the recent discovery of a bronze sword of a similar type, but without rivet holes in the hilt, by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister in a grave of the newly-discovered cemetery of Gezer in Palestine.<sup>a</sup> We have here a tangible record of Minoan connexion with the easternmost Mediterranean shores which eventually attached the Philistine name to a large part of Canaan and gave Gaza her Minoan traditions and the cult of the Cretan Zeus. In the same cemetery was found painted pottery with designs characteristic both of the later Palace period,<sup>b</sup> and of the ensuing age of incipient decline. The circumstances of its finding seem to show that the horned sword of Gezer may have been a somewhat late example of its type,<sup>c</sup> or possibly a colonial outgrowth.

A further development of this horned type is seen in the hooked guard observable in certain swords and daggers of the ensuing period. A good example of this is supplied by the fine ivory hilted dagger (fig. 109, 14*r*, and fig. 39*p*, above) found in the largest of all the chamber-tombs at Zafer Papoura (No. 14). This form of hooked guard absolutely resembles that of two swords<sup>d</sup> contained in the bronze hoard found in one of the Acropolis houses at Mycenae and belonging to a later date than the shaft-graves.

The short sword (fig. 109, 44*b*, and fig. 111) found in company with one of the two long horned swords referred to above seems to have as close a connexion with the Western enterprise of Minoan Crete as the horned type with its expansion Eastwards. In this type, which stands apart from the rest of the

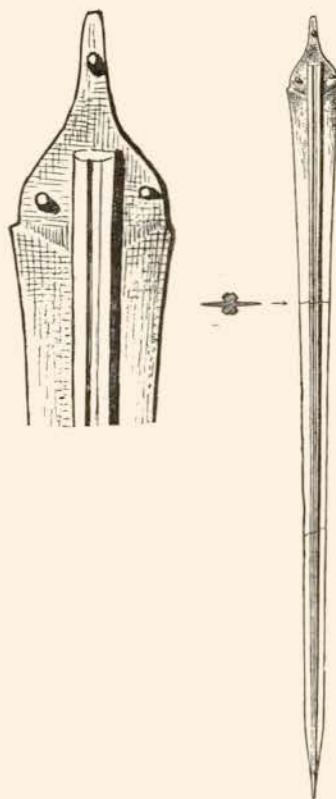


Fig. 111. Tanged round-shouldered sword from Grave No. 46.

<sup>a</sup> For a preliminary account of this cemetery, see Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1904, pp. 320 *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> *E.g.* the decadent triton shell ornament, in a stage resembling that seen on the vase from Milatos. (See above, fig. 106*r*.)

<sup>c</sup> A curved bronze sword or scimitar of Egyptian type was found in the same grave (*op. cit.* p. 335, fig. 4). Several bronze scimitars of this type are represented on the tomb of Rameses II. (1170 B.C.). But the horned sword type can hardly come down so late in Crete itself.

<sup>d</sup> Tsountas, *Ἐθ. Ἀρχ.* 1891, pl. ii. 5, and p. 25; Perrot et Chipiez, *Grèce Primitive*, 976, fig. 551. A still more decadent variety of this type is seen in a bronze sword in the British Museum (acquired in Corfu). Undset, *Die älteste Schwertformen. Z. für Ethnologie*, 1890, p. 13, fig. 20.

series, the shoulders of the blade are rounded off with a rivet on either side, and terminate above in a tang for another rivet (fig. 111). This tanged round-shouldered type is a variant or outgrowth of the commonest form of sword found in the shaft-graves of Mycenæ.<sup>a</sup> The example from Grave 44 was the only specimen of this type found in the Knossian cemetery, and its complete absence in all the other Late Minoan or advanced Mycenæan cemeteries tends to show that it had ceased to be in vogue in the Ægean world in the Third Late-Minoan Period.

This conclusion derives special interest from the reappearance of bronze swords and daggers of a closely allied type in certain Sikel tombs explored by Dr. Orsi.<sup>b</sup> Tombs of the same class also contained imported Mycenæan or Minoan pottery of very advanced character<sup>c</sup> (Late-Minoan III.), with which, as we have seen, this tanged type is never associated in the Ægean area. How then, it may be asked, can swords of such early association be found in the same Sicilian tombs? The answer seems to be quite simple. The swords or daggers of the Sikel tombs, though starting from the same Ægean type, are not absolutely identical in form either with those from the Mycenæ shaft-graves or that of the Knossian tomb, the uppermost rivet for instance coming down below the base of the tang. The section of the blade is often a simple rhomboid, and the fabric is quite inferior. Already Dr. Naue<sup>d</sup> had been led to what seems to be the right conclusion, namely,

<sup>a</sup> Undset, *L'Origine de l'Age de Bronze en Europe*, Matériaux, etc. 1886, p. 5, fig. 1, p. 7, figs. 6, 8. J. Naue, *Die vorrömischen Schwerter*, pp. 3, 4, Atlas Taf. III. 3. Schliemann's illustrations of these swords are useless for scientific purposes.

<sup>b</sup> *Necropoli sicula di Plemmirio* (Siracusa), *Bullettino di Paleologia*, 1891, Tav. xi. 4, 8, 16, pp. 121 seqq. 125, 131. *Necropoli sicula presso Siracusa*, *Monumenti Antichi*, Vol. ii. Tav. ii. 5, 13, 18, p. 25, seqq. *Thapsos*, *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. vi. pp. 121, 122, fig. 31. *Nuovi materiali siculi del territorio di Girgenti* (*Bull. di Pal.* 1897, Tav. ii. 1, 2, p. 10 seqq.).

<sup>c</sup> See, for instance, the painted "amphora" from Milocca, Orsi, *Bull. di Paleologia*, 1889, p. 206, seqq. Tav. vii. 5, 9, closely resembling types from Ialysos, and of late-Mycenæan graves in Cyprus. Other late imported vases of the same class were found in the cemetery of Thapsos (*Monumenti Antichi*, vol. vi. Tav. iv. 8, 12, Tav. v. 7, 18, 24, etc.) A two-handed cup from Cozzo Pantano (Orsi, *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. ii. Tav. i. 2, and pp. 9, 10) shows a design identical with a part of that on a cup of similar form, from a very late Mycenæan tomb at Haliki in Attica (*Myc. Vas.* Taf. xviii. 122).

<sup>d</sup> *Die vorrömischen Schwerter*, p. 9. "Wenn die mykenischen Schachtgräber-Schwerter eine hohe Vollendung bezeugen, so fehlt dieselbe den sikulischen Schwertern, inloedessen ich nicht glauben kann, dieselben seien in Mykenæe angefertigt und von dort nach Sizilien eingeführt worden; vielmehr bin ich der Ansicht dass die sikulischen Schwerter Nachbildungen jener Mykenæe-Schwerter sind." He notices the parallel fact that some of the indigenous Sikel vases were imitated or derived from Mycenæan types.

that the swords of the South Sicilian cemeteries are derived indeed from Ægean prototypes, but are of indigenous fabric. Their great interest lies in the fact that they point back to a period of intimate contact between Sicily and the Ægean world during the great days of the late Minoan civilisation, the period of the shaft-graves of Mycenæ, and of the Later Palace of Knossos.

But how was this early influence so intensive? In view of the persistent Cretan traditions which connected the fall of the Minoan Empire with a great Sicilian expedition, and even placed the tomb of Minos on Sicilian soil, the possibility of a Cretan colonising movement to the West similar to that which planted Cretan and other Ægean settlers in Canaan and Cyprus must be always borne in mind. There are even indications that, as in Cyprus, so also in Sicily there may have been colonial fabrics in the Minoan style. A painted vase found by Dr. Orsi in a Sikel tomb at Cozzo Pantano, near Syracuse, and described by him as of "late Mycenæan" fabric,<sup>a</sup> bears on it a decoration consisting of groups of reeds or grasses. But this decoration is simply a late derivative from the very characteristic grass designs seen upon the Palace pottery of Knossos.<sup>b</sup> This decorative motive was specially common during the first Late-Minoan Age,<sup>c</sup> and had practically gone out of use by the close of the Palace Period. As far as our evidence goes no local Ægean school perpetuated it, and its appearance in a later guise on Sicilian soil is curiously parallel to the survival under an indigenous guise of types of sword and dagger of the same Ægean derivation.

In view of such a phenomenon and its possible explanation in the existence of a Minoan colonial plantation on Sicilian soil, the occurrence of a nearly related sword type at Knossos in a tomb belonging to the later Palace Period has a peculiar interest. It must not be forgotten in this connexion that the Dove Goddess of Minoan Crete, whose early shrines have been lately brought to light, seems to be the elder sister of the Goddess of Eryx, alike in symbol and attributes;<sup>d</sup> and that to the last the Sicilian cult preserved the traditions of its Cretan origin.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Mon. Ant.* vol. ii. p. 10, Tav. i. 2.

<sup>b</sup> See D. Mackenzie, *The Pottery of Knossos*, 194, 195, and fig. 11. (J. H. S. xxiii.)

<sup>c</sup> Similar grass designs, but white on a dark ground, are already found on Knossian pottery of the Third Middle Minoan period.

<sup>d</sup> I have already made this comparison in my *Report on the Excavations at Knossos*, 1903, pp. 87, 89, and 93.

<sup>e</sup> *Diod.* v. 77, 5.

The other type of short sword with which a horned long sword is associated, in the present cemetery is that which among all the weapons found here is the best represented. (See Plate XCI. fig. 109, 36*i*, 42*a*, 43*a*, 55*a*, and 98*a*).<sup>a</sup>

In place of the horns of the other type we see here the upper part of the blade terminating in rounded projections, so that the whole has a somewhat cruciform aspect. (See fig. 112.)

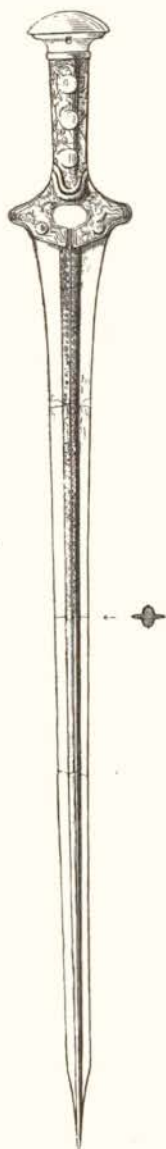


Fig. 112. Gold-mounted bronze sword of cruciform type from the Chieftain's Grave (No. 36).

The fine naturalistic design on the gold plates of the sword of this type from the Chieftain's Grave (fig. 112; see above, fig. 59), as well as the microscopically executed spirali-form reliefs on the blade of this and 42*a*, identical with those of the long-swords, may themselves be taken as sufficient indication that their fabric fell within the limits of the later Palace Period at Knossos. As a matter of fact, a small fragment of a crystal hilt analogous to the agate hilt from Mycenae, belonging to the same type of sword, actually came to light in the Palace. A similar hilt of white faience was, moreover, found in a chamber-tomb of the Lower Town at Mycenae, accompanied by magnificent painted vases of the later Palace Style. The contents of this tomb, excavated by Dr. Tsountas in 1899,<sup>b</sup> have been since described by Mr. Bosanquet,<sup>c</sup> and have a special bearing on the relation of Minoan Crete to the Mycenaean mainland.

Among the objects found were faience tablets for inlaying, bearing marks that occur on those of the latest plaques of this material produced by the Palace manufactory at Knossos,<sup>d</sup> and there can be little doubt that the white faience of the sword hilt and pommel were produced in the same royal fabric. The same tomb contained an imported Egyptian vase of alabaster of an early Eighteenth Dynasty

<sup>a</sup> Wrongly indicated on the figure as 97*a*.

<sup>b</sup> Πρακτικά, 1899, p. 102.

<sup>c</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxiv. (1904), p. 322, *seqq.* and pl. xiii. xiv.

<sup>d</sup> The  $\Lambda$  for instance. Plaques of similar character occurred in the Room of the Throne (cf. *Knossos, Report for 1900*, p. 42). For the Royal Faience Manufactory at Knossos see especially *Report, 1903*, p. 62 *seqq.*

type in style closely resembling one to be described below, from the royal tomb at Isopata.

Plates of another hilt similar to the above mentioned and cut out of single pieces of agate or onyx, the material closely recalling the pommel of the gold-mounted sword from the present cemetery, were found, together with a horned short sword, in Grave 81 of the Lower Town of Mycenae.<sup>a</sup> The plates of this had never actually been fixed, and though the discs for the rivet heads had been sunk no perforations had been made for their pins.

The Cretan wild goats engraved on the gold plates of the sword-hilt from the Chieftain's Grave and the Knossian faience of the similar example from Mycenae tend to show that during the latest Palace Period swords of this cruciform type were a characteristic product of the royal armourers. It would also appear that swords of similar form continued in use during the immediately succeeding period, here referred to as the Third Late-Minoan. A sword of the same description, but without the fine spiraliform decoration of the blade and flanges, was found in Grave 55 of the present cemetery, associated with a painted stirrup-vase showing foliate decoration of a slightly decadent character. (Fig. 73). A sword of this type was found at Ialysos,<sup>b</sup> and in a kindred form from the same Rhodian cemetery the tang for the attachment of a pommel is discarded and the hilt with its flanged border widens out at the upper end.<sup>c</sup> Here and elsewhere the associations of this latter variety indicate a somewhat late date. One of them was found in a stratum above the shaft-graves at Mycenae,<sup>d</sup> and the modification of the hilt answers to the form in vogue in the very latest Mycenaean Age.

This extension of the flange or metal band of the hilt round its upper extremity, so as to afford an additional hold for the pommel, itself represents a further development of the more primitive form of hilt with its simple tang of metal. It is therefore a noteworthy fact that among the weapons from the

<sup>a</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, pl. 8 (5) and p. 108.

<sup>b</sup> Furtw. u. Loeschke, *Myk. Vases*, Taf. D. 13.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* Taf. D. 11, and p. 8. This sword was found in Grave IV. with painted pottery in the last stage of Mycenaean degeneration (cf. *op. cit.* Atlas, Taf. iii. 19, 20.) A restoration of the hilt is shown by Naue, *Die vorrömischen Schwerter*, Atlas, T. v. 4a. The sword is also figured in Undset, *Die ältesten Schwertformen*, p. 12, fig. 16. Another example, from Corinth, is given *op. cit.* p. 13, fig. 18.

<sup>d</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 164, fig. 238.

present cemetery we see this later system adopted only in a single example, the dagger, Plate XCI. fig. 109, 95e. This specimen belongs to a class of short swords and daggers extremely characteristic of the very latest Mycenæan culture. In this class the upper part of the blade is cut square, and the blade is exceptionally flat and broad. Swords and daggers of this type have been found in the Idæan Cave, in Carpathos, at Corinth, Athens, Dodona, and elsewhere.<sup>a</sup>

But the most striking evidence of its comparatively late date is supplied by the inventory of a Mycenæan chamber-tomb at Mulianà in East Crete, described by Dr. Xanthoudides.<sup>b</sup> Two well-developed short swords of this form and part of a third were here found in association with very late Minoan pottery (see below), and a pair of bronze bow fibulas with stilted catch, a close forerunner of the geometrical types belonging to the Early Iron Age. Short swords and daggers of this Late Minoan class were the prototypes of a form of short sword or dagger widely distributed throughout Southern and Central Italy,<sup>c</sup> and coming well down into the Iron Age. The type was also perpetuated in Classical Greece, as may be seen by a sword, unquestionably of the same pedigree, depicted on a black-figured amphora signed by Amasis.

It will be seen that the swords proper, as distinct from daggers, found in the Knossian cemetery, divide themselves according to size into two groups, the long swords ranging in length from about 91 to 95 centimeters, and the short swords varying between 50 and 61 centimetres. These measurements closely correspond with the average proportions of the two classes at Mycenæ and elsewhere. From

<sup>a</sup> See Naue, *Die vorrömischen Schwerter*, p. 10, Taf. v. 3; Undset, *Die ältesten Schwertformen* (*Z. f. Ethn.* 1890, p. 14 *seqq.* fig. 24); Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, pl. 8 (4), p. 111; Dr. Naue, *loc. cit.*, describes a variant form in Professor Flinders Petrie's possession from Thebes in Egypt.

<sup>b</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, p. 22 *seqq.* The swords are reproduced on p. 29, fig. 7. They were from Tomb A, a part of which had been later occupied by a Geometrical interment. There is, however, no doubt from their form and position that the fibulas belonged to the earlier sepulture. In the blades of the swords from this tomb there is visible a slight tendency to assume the leaf-shaped form characteristic of the later class intended for cutting rather than thrust.

<sup>c</sup> Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, II<sup>me</sup> partie, pl. 348 (4), 252 (1, 2), 276 (25 and 27). See Dr. Naue's observations, *op. cit.* pp. 11, 12 (Taf. vi. 1). A good example from Cuma, together with its sheath, is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The type is also found in Sicily. (Orsi, *Ripostiglio di Modica*; Bull. di Pal. xxvi, 1899, Tav. xii. 1, 5, pp. 170, 171). It must be observed that the shape of these weapons is considerably differentiated from that of their prototypes. The shoulders of these Italian swords are rounded, and the stem of the hilt widens out at the middle. The links connecting them with the Late-Minoan type described above must be sought elsewhere, presumably in Greece.

the contents of Graves Nos. 36 and 44, it would appear that thoroughly equipped warriors possessed a sword of either size. All the swords found were for thrusting, and it is a sign of the comparatively early date of the tombs opened that no example was here discovered of the later class of sword with the blade adapted for cutting rather than thrusting.

This later type, with its rounded shoulders, its more numerous rivet-holes, and the flanges of its hilt curved outwards at the top, is specially interesting from its wide European diffusion, and from the fact that the earliest Iron Age type of Greece is simply its translation into that metal. The earliest bronze form of this class of sword with straight edges is best represented by finds from Central Italy, but it also extends to Hungary, the north-west corner of the Balkan peninsula, and more sporadically to Greece. It is also known in Crete. In Tomb B at Mulianà, the Cymbal-player's Grave, together with Late-Minoan pottery of the same date as that of Tomb A referred to above, were found two short swords of this type. They are, however, somewhat late examples of their class, as the blade shows a slight tendency to increase in breadth towards the extremity. In Crete, as in mainland Greece and in Cyprus,<sup>a</sup> the iron swords of the succeeding Geometrical Age are copied from this class. Whether the ultimate source of this type is to be sought in the Balkan lands<sup>b</sup> or in Italy,<sup>c</sup> its Southern distribution, which extends to Egypt, must be regarded as due to a wave of influence from the North-West. The absence of any example of this Continental form in the Knossian cemetery must therefore be regarded as a negative phenomenon of some importance.

Among the daggers not answering to any sword type, that from Grave 86 (fig. 90) shows a single rivet at the top of the blade and flanges curving outwards at the upper extremity of the hilt, in this respect resembling the last-mentioned swords and those of the succeeding Geometrical class. It is interesting to note that a bronze dagger of absolutely identical form and with the same groovings of

<sup>a</sup> For the distribution of this type of sword see especially J. Naue, *Die vorrömischen Schwerter*, p. 12 *seqq.* For the influence of this bronze type on the iron swords of the Geometrical Period in Cyprus see my remarks in *Mycenæan Cyprus*, etc. (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxx. 1900, p. 218 *seqq.*).

<sup>b</sup> S. Reinach, *Mirage Oriental*, p. 37 (575), and Tsountas (independently), *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1897, p. 119, have shown the fallacy of the theory put forward by Sophus Müller (*Nord. Alterthumskunde*, p. 244) and Undset (*Z. für Ethn.* xxi. 3) that this "Danubian" type of sword had reached its northern habitat through Greece from Egypt.

<sup>c</sup> This is Dr. Naue's conclusion, *op. cit.* p. 15.



the blade was found in a Sicilian tomb at Valledolmo, near Caltanissetta.<sup>a</sup> A closely parallel type with a smooth blade, of which an example occurred in the Dictæan Cave,<sup>b</sup> also came to light in a tomb of the Sikel cemetery at Pantalica,<sup>c</sup> where many imported vases of a Late-Minoan character also came to light. The type recurs not only in Central Italy,<sup>d</sup> but in prehistoric hut remains near Forlì,<sup>e</sup> the *terremare* of the Modena district,<sup>f</sup> and in the pile settlement of the Lago di Guarda.<sup>g</sup> The dagger *c* from Grave 62 of the present cemetery preserves the tradition of earlier Minoan forms.

Of the spear-heads, what appears to be the most effective weapon, the narrow form (see Plate XCI. fig. 113, 36*e* and 75*e*), in which the blade merges almost imperceptibly with socket, recurs at Ialysos.<sup>h</sup> The long knives (4*b*, 64*c*, and 80*a*), varying in length from 26.5 to 37 centimetres, are worthy to compare with the *seaaxe* of the Germanic warriors, from which the name of Saxon is said to have been derived. They were perhaps mainly used in the chase, as seems also to have been the function of the bronze arrows found in the Hunter's Grave (No. 10). It has been already suggested that the perforated sections of boars' tusk found with a sword and spear in the pit-cave No. 55 were plates of a helmet.

The smaller implements found in the Knossian cemetery answer for the most part to forms already known, illustrated by the contents of contemporary graves at Mycenæ and elsewhere. Bronze saws of the kind found in the Carpenter's Grave (No. 33), fig. 48, some of them of larger dimensions, have come to light on other Cretan sites.<sup>i</sup> The knife, with its broad rounded blade and fine olive-wood handle, found in the *larnax* of Grave 80, at the foot of the crouching figure (see above, fig. 88), resembles in outline one found in Grave 4 at Ialysos,<sup>j</sup> with

<sup>a</sup> Colini, *La civiltà del bronzo in Italia*, ii. (Bull. di Paletn. xxxi. (1905), p. 39 and fig. 148, Colini justly regarded this dagger as a Mycenaean importation.

<sup>b</sup> Hogarth, *B. S. A.* vi. p. 110, fig. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Orsi, *Pantalica e Cassibile* (Mon. Ant. ix. Tav. vii. 17).

<sup>d</sup> Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, 11<sup>me</sup> Partie, pl. 131 (25).

<sup>e</sup> "Fondi di Capanna" of Bertarina. Montelius, *op. cit.* I., Série B. pl. 23 (2) (Excavations of A. Santarelli).

<sup>f</sup> Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, I., Série B. pl. 22 (15) (Terramara di Sant' Ambrogio, Modena); Munro, *Lake Dwellings*, p. 259, fig. 85 (12) (Montale, Modena).

<sup>g</sup> Montelius, *op. cit.* I. Série B. pl. 7 (16-18); Munro, *Lake Dwellings*, p. 225, fig. 65 (13, 14).

<sup>h</sup> Furtw. and Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Taf. D. 4, 5.

<sup>i</sup> *E.g.* at Hagia Triada, and Gournia. A miniature example was procured by me among the votive bronzes of the Dictæan Cave.

<sup>j</sup> Furtw. and Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Taf. d. 17, and p. 8.

painted amphoras of degenerate type <sup>a</sup> (Late-Minoan III.). A smaller knife found in Grave 13 of the present cemetery (fig. 31 above) had also its handle preserved, in this case of ivory. A knife in Grave 7 (fig. 19) had a solid handle of bronze.

Among the articles of the toilette the most conspicuous are the bronze mirrors, which here as at Mycenae were as much part of the furniture of the men's graves as of the women's. Twelve of these were found <sup>b</sup> and the ivory handles of two others whose metal plates had probably been abstracted in ancient times. In some cases a pair of these had been placed in a grave, in No. 6 apparently with a single interment. The ivory mirror handle from Grave 49 with its fine relief of a couchant winged sphinx (see above, fig. 69), fits on very closely in style and execution to the ivory carvings of sphinxes and griffins from Mycenae, Spata, and the Acropolis at Athens.<sup>c</sup> It is noteworthy, as a rough indication of date, that among other objects found with the wing of a similar ivory sphinx in the room of a house at Mycenae was a scarab with the name of Queen Tyi the wife of Amenhotep III.,<sup>d</sup> and probably belonging to the first quarter of the fourteenth century B.C.

Mirrors are absent in the shaft-graves at Mycenae,<sup>e</sup> and it looks as if they had been first introduced about this time from Egypt. A confirmation of this view may be found in the form of the stem of the ivory handle in the present example and in those from the contemporary graves of the Lower Town of Mycenae. These will be seen to terminate above in the heads of somewhat conventionalised palm trees with their leaves curving down. But these palm leaves are simply the Minoan or Mycenaean adaptation of the recurved petals of the lotus flowers that crown the handles of the Egyptian mirrors.

Amongst other articles of toilette from the Knossian cemetery may be noticed remains of a bone comb and several bronze tweezers probably used for depilatory purposes. Bronze razors were numerous. Of these the most usual class was provided with somewhat curved blades with a single edge and in form not unlike the modern instrument (see above, figs. 63 and 98). This type was also well represented

<sup>a</sup> *Op. cit.* Atlas, Taf. iii. 19, 20.

<sup>b</sup> Their diameters varied from about 13 centimetres to 18 centimetres.

<sup>c</sup> See Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, pl. xiii. A and B, and pp. 170-173; 1888, pl. vii. 6, pl. viii. 14, pp. 145, 147; Perrot et Chipiez, *Grèce primitive*, pp. 832, 833.

<sup>d</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, p. 169, and pl. xiii. 21 (wrong way up).

<sup>e</sup> See Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, 146.

in the tombs of Phaestos,<sup>a</sup> and in those of the Lower Town at Mycenae.<sup>b</sup> These razors, which from their very thin blades needed perpetual sharpening, are often found in pairs.<sup>c</sup> The type is wanting, like the mirrors, in the royal graves of Mycenae, and its characteristic outline suggests that it is derived from an Eighteenth Dynasty type of Egyptian razor.

The absence of this type of razor in the early tombs of Mycenae might in itself be sufficiently accounted for by the fashion of wearing the hair which then prevailed on the mainland of Greece. The gold masks from the shaft-graves show, indeed, that at Mycenae some of the royal personages wore beards, and bearded men are seen among others in the siege scene of the silver vase fragment.<sup>d</sup> At Mycenae, indeed, the fashion survived to a later period, witness the bearded warriors of the frescoes of the Palace Megaron,<sup>e</sup> the heads of the gold-inlaid silver bowl<sup>f</sup> from Tomb 24 of the Lower Town, the helmeted head of ivory from Tomb 27,<sup>g</sup> and those again on the Warrior Vase. It will be seen, however, from the above examples, that in the later Mycenaean Age the moustache was shaved off.

A very early class of stone figurines found in Crete, those namely from the archaic *tholos* ossuary of Hagia Triada, give indications of a pointed beard resembling that seen on what may be legitimately regarded as their Egypto-Libyan prototypes.<sup>h</sup> But, with this exception, all the early records of Minoan Crete, including the marble "idols" which the island shares with the Cyclades, show beardless faces, and, indeed, the abundance of obsidian knives must much have facilitated the practice of shaving in this Ægean region. The male figures of the votive deposits of the succeeding Middle Minoan Period, like that of Petsofà, betray no

<sup>a</sup> Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 45 and 46, fig. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, pl. ix. 18. The more triangular form, with the exceptionally broad blade found in the large chamber-tomb No. 14 also recurs at Mycenae (*ib.* pl. ix. 17), and an example was found in a tomb at Artsà in East Crete. Xanthoudides, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, p. 19, fig. 3.

<sup>c</sup> The duplex Italian razor of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, a form also propagated throughout North-West Europe, originated in the linking together of such pairs of razors.

<sup>d</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. pl. vii. 2, and p. 159 *seq.* The moustache is shaved off and the beard well trimmed.

<sup>e</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, pl. xi.

<sup>f</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, pl. vii. 2, and p. 159.

<sup>g</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, pl. viii. 12.

<sup>h</sup> Flinders Petrie, *Naqada*, pl. lix. and compare J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, part i. pl. v. and pl. vi. 1-5. The striking points of resemblance between the two groups of figurines have been rightly insisted on by Dr. Halbherr, *Scavi eseguiti a H. Triada*, etc. (*Memorie del r. Istituto Lombardo*, 1905, p. 251, and see Tav. xi. fig. 27.)

trace of beards. The paintings, reliefs, and intaglios of the great Palace Period at Knossos, Phaestos, Hagia Triada, and elsewhere tell the same story. It is moreover a specially significant fact that the head, not improbably of a king, associated with that of his young son, on a sealing<sup>a</sup> belonging to the very earliest period of the Knossian Palace, the period that immediately precedes that of the earliest royal tombs of Mycenae, is also shown without a beard.<sup>b</sup>

In view of this concordant evidence it is reasonable to suppose that, in spite of the facilities afforded by the knives of volcanic glass, the use of metal razors began early in Minoan Crete. In addition to the well-known type described above, and which seems to have been of quite recent Egyptian derivation, I have ventured to recognise as razors certain leaf-shaped implements with very fine blades and two cutting edges (see fig. 78), of which six specimens were found in the Knossian cemetery.<sup>c</sup> That this type goes back to the earliest elements of the cemetery and comes within the limits of the Palace Period is shown by the occurrence of a razor of this form with the stirrup-vase of fine early style (fig. 83) in the shaft-grave No. 68. The type recurs at Ialysos,<sup>d</sup> and a variant form without the tang, but otherwise identical, is published by Sophus Müller,<sup>e</sup> as having been found by Schliemann at Mycenae. There seems to be good warrant for recognising in these leaf-shaped blades the earlier form of Minoan razor, and it is worth noting in this connexion that among the earliest metal instruments of pre-dynastic Egypt found in the Naqada graves was a tanged blade of copper with a rounded end and of extremely thin fabric,<sup>f</sup> which has every appearance of having been a razor. It is a curious fact that among the Bronze Age remains of the European area leaf-shaped razor blades with a tang are only found again, *longo intervallo*, in the British Islands.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> To be published in my general work on the Palace of Knossos.

<sup>b</sup> It is possible that in the very latest Minoan Period of Crete the Continental fashion may have been imitated. Some late figurines from H. Triada (Halbherr, *Mon. Ant.* xiii. 1903, p. 74, figs. 56, 57) seem to show pointed beards.

<sup>c</sup> In Grave 4 one specimen of each of the two kinds of razor was found.

<sup>d</sup> Furtw. u. Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Taf. D, 19, 19.

<sup>e</sup> *L'Origine de l'Age de Bronze en Europe*, p. 13, fig. 23, and p. 14. Sophus Müller describes it as a knife, but notices its resemblance to some early European razors.

<sup>f</sup> Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. lxx. 4.

<sup>g</sup> J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, pp. 216, 217, figs. 265, 268. That from Winterslow had already been recognised by Dr. Thurnam, who published it in *Archaeologia*, xlii.; Plate XXII. fig. 8, as a razor blade. But these British types are very divergent from the Cretan, and have no probable connexion with them. It is possible even that like other British types

None of the bronze vessels found in the graves of Zafer Papoura rises to the high artistic level of those found together in the west building of the Palace site.<sup>a</sup> This in itself is not surprising when it is remembered that in the present case we have to do not with royal treasure but with the household belongings of ordinary citizens. The purest decorative element is that presented by the bronze ewer from the Chieftain's Grave, No. 36, with its relief in the shape of cockle shells at the upper and lower attachments of the handle,<sup>b</sup> such shell reliefs appearing already on the finest pottery and faience ware of the close of the Middle Minoan Period.

The magnificent sword from the same grave, with its engraved gold plates, would alone have been sufficient to show that this interment comes within the limits of the Palace Period of Knossos. It has already been pointed out that the two other bronze vessels found in this grave, a spouted pan and a small "frying pan," answer to two very similar bronze vases found in Grave No. 8 at Phaestos in company with a gold-plated sword with an embossed foliate decoration characteristic of the late Palace Style.

The large chamber-tomb No. 14 afforded the most complete group of bronze household utensils found as yet in any Minoan or, it may be added, Mycenæan grave.<sup>c</sup> Of these the interesting lamp (*f*) with the chain for its trimmers and the shallow one-handled bowl (*b*) evidence their identity of fabric by a decoration consisting of a raised reticulated pattern of easy mechanical execution, suggestive of turner's work, and very different from the beautiful lily chains and foliage that adorn the rims of the bronze bowls of the Palace hoard referred to above. The high-spouted ewer (*l*) shows round its shoulders a decoration of a similar mechanical character.

The general resemblance in the bronze bowl (14*b*) with its curled handle to those from the Palace site (see fig. 116) nevertheless forbids us to bring it down to a much later date, and types represented by the two-handled pan (*d*) as well as the knob-handled "frying pan" (*e*) recur among the bronzes of the Chieftain's Grave, and those of a chamber-tomb at Phaestos, the archæological equations supplied by

(J. Evans, *op. cit.* 218, 219) they are simply late developments of the duplex Italian form. A tanged Sicilian type (Colini, *Bull. di Paleon.* 1905, p. 59, fig. 159), with a two-edged blade rounded at the end, preserves traces of a similar origin. It forms a double blade with a slight indentation at the end.

<sup>a</sup> B. S. A. 1903.

<sup>b</sup> See above, fig. 54.

<sup>c</sup> See above.

which, as already pointed out, take us within the limits of the Palace Period. The bronze jug (*g*) from the same tomb-group, with its upright handle at the neck and horizontal handle to the body, has been shown to belong to a widely distributed class of vessels of which the earliest representatives are the seven copper jugs found in Schliemann's Fourth Grave at Mycenae. If this may be regarded as the prototype of the classical *hydria*,<sup>a</sup> the three-legged cauldron, fig. 38, with its two upright handles seems to be the true predecessor of the tripod *lebes* of the succeeding Geometrical Period,<sup>b</sup> though in the latter case the proportions both of the legs and handles have increased.

It has already been noted that the knobbed vertical projection rising from the horizontal handles of some of these bronze vessels, paralleled by the single knobbed handles of certain smaller pans, may have been found useful for winding stuff round in order to obtain a hold of the vessel when heated. Vessels with this type of handle, unknown among the vessels from the shaft-graves at Mycenae, were widely diffused in Crete<sup>c</sup> in Late-Minoan times. It seems, moreover, as if a tablet from the Palace referring to a set of metal vessels gives a delineation of a bowl with two handles of this kind,<sup>d</sup> accompanied by another with a rolled handle, like those found in the Palace hoard.

Bronze vessels occurred in three graves only (Nos. 14, 36, and 99) of the present cemetery. The possession of such denoted a standard of wealth to which the many could not aspire, and perhaps, where they did exist, the piety of the surviving relatives may not always have risen to such a pitch as to induce them to deposit them with their owner. It must also be borne in mind that such metal objects were specially liable to abstraction in the case of later interments in the same tomb. But if the actual vases in metal could not usually be spared for the *peculium* of the dead, there was a natural tendency to supply the omission by imitative forms. The stone bason 99*d* is a very literal copy of one of the contemporary bronze basons with similar handles, like those of the Palace hoard. More usually, however, imitations were in painted clay. There can be no doubt

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Savignoni, *op. cit.* 46, 47.

<sup>b</sup> The tripod vessel of copper found at Mycenae (Schliemann, fig. 440) with its spout and three handles, two horizontal and one vertical, has no such claim.

<sup>c</sup> That from Phaestos has been mentioned above. I obtained another from a Late-Minoan chamber-tomb at Kavusi in East Crete, now in the Candia Museum.

<sup>d</sup> An illustration of what remains of this tablet is given in my Report on the excavations at Knossos in 1903 (*B. S. A.* ix, 128, fig. 84), but I had not then noticed the significance of this particular item. In its general outline the bowl approaches 14*c*.

that some of the most recurrent decorative elements that occur on the painted pottery of these Knossian tombs are derived from metal-work originals.

In some cases indeed we have good reason for presupposing prototypes in



Fig. 114. Painted clay stirrup-vases from graves of Zafer Papours.

metal of types which have not hitherto come to light. This is particularly true of the stirrup-vases or false-necked amphoras. The occurrence of early vessels of this class at Gournia and Hagia Triada, as well as fragmentary remains of such

from the earlier stratum of the Palace at Knossos, has now shown that as a ceramic type the vase with the closed spout above as well as the open one by its side goes back to the First Late-Minoan Period and even to the close of the preceding Middle Minoan Period. On the other hand, at Knossos and elsewhere during the very flourishing Palace Period that succeeds Late-Minoan II., clay vessels of this form are almost wholly wanting,<sup>a</sup> though the type itself occurs in the clay inventories of the Knossian Palace. On the other hand, in the following age of comparative decadence (Late-Minoan III.), such vessels became common.

To what then is this apparent break in continuity owing? It may be reasonably inferred that it is due to the fact that during the flourishing period in question stirrup-vases, as indeed we know from their delineations on clay tablets, existed in the Palace, but that they were of metal, and their non-appearance, therefore, is due to the same causes that have led to the general absence of metal objects among the remains found in the building.

The evidence supplied by the present cemetery must be taken to substantiate this view. In the graves of Zafer Papoura, as generally in contemporary interments, clay stirrup-vases are of frequent occurrence.

(See fig. 114.) But the finest of these, the upper part of which is shown in fig. 115, and of which a profile view is given in fig. 83 above, displays decorative features of a non-ceramic class and undoubtedly taken over from metal work. The beautiful foliate ornament round the shoulders is identical with that of the *repoussé* border of one of the bronze bowls of the Palace hoard of Knossos. (See



Fig. 115. Upper part of painted stirrup-vase from Shaft-Grave (No. 68).

<sup>a</sup> A single example of a painted clay vessel of this kind of Late Palace Style was found in the Royal Villa. *B. S. A.* 1903.



fig. 116.) In that case the borders of the foliate relief that surrounds the upper part of the rim of the vessel are repeated round the outer border in a triple layer. It becomes apparent that this exquisite repetition of the outer edge of the leaves in metal chasing like that of the bronze bowl has supplied the starting point for the painted decoration of the whole upper body of the stirrup-vase before us with its succession of wavy lines. Examples of similar decoration will be seen on the painted jars from the royal tomb at Isopata.<sup>a</sup>

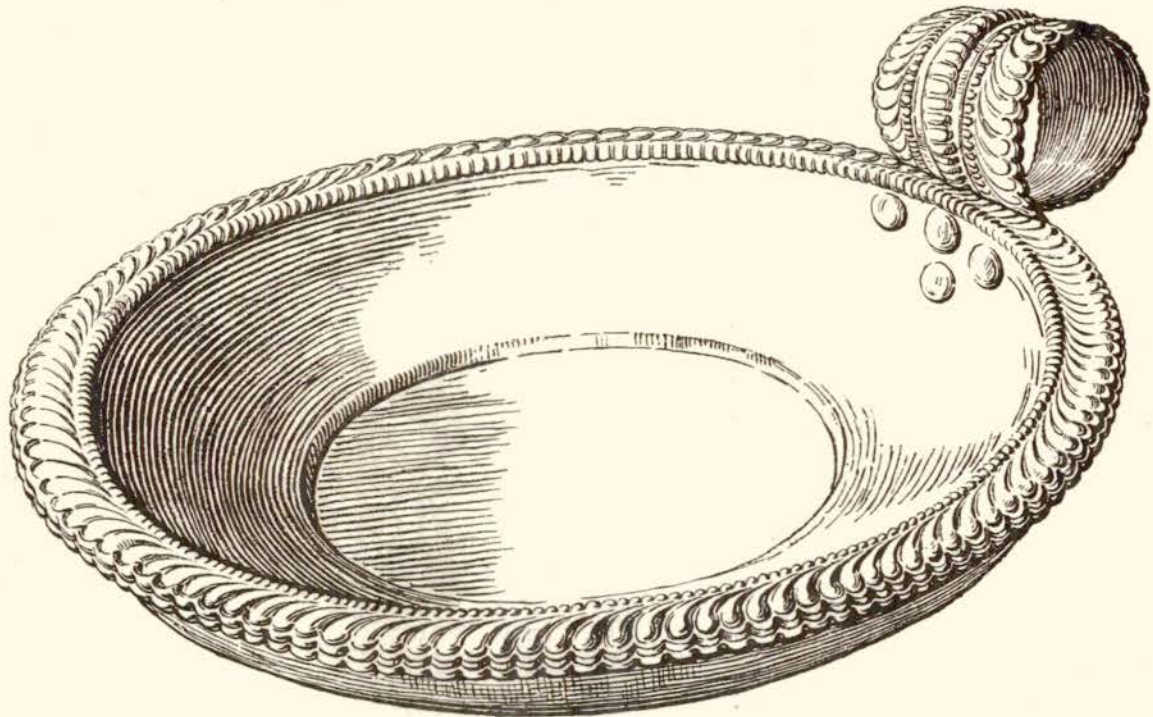


Fig. 116. Bronze basin from hoard found in the N.W. building of the Palace site at Knossos.

The small 8-shaped shield which is seen in relief on the upper field of this stirrup-vase is also appropriate to metal-work, witness that applied as a rivet-head to the fragment of the silver vessel with the siege scene from the Fourth Shaft-Grave at Mycenae.<sup>b</sup> The other decorative elements of this fine vase, such as the rosettes and trefoils, recur on painted vessels of the Palace Style.

Other stirrup-vases from the Knossian graves, such as the exceptionally large vessels 55*d* and 51*a*, show a variant form of the same foliate design, in which two lines of attenuated leaves spring from a central stem. This fuller

<sup>a</sup> See below, fig. 142.

<sup>b</sup> *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1891, pl. ii. 2, etc.

form of the design is again well represented on the handle of the bronze bason from the Palace hoard (fig. 116), as well as on the gold handle of what seems to have been a similar vessel from the Fifth Shaft-Grave at Mycenae.<sup>a</sup>



Fig. 117. Painted vessels of various forms from graves of Zafer Papoura.

Foliate bands in a more decadent stage, but none the less pointing to proto-

<sup>a</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 320, fig. 482, 483. Schliemann's Grave I.

types in metal work, are found on a series of painted vessels from the Zafer Papoura graves. (See fig. 117.) In 6a and 12a we see this motive applied to the shoulders of the common class of three-handled Minoan amphoras; in 64a to a high-beaked one-handed vase; in 76f to a small spouted jug; and other examples

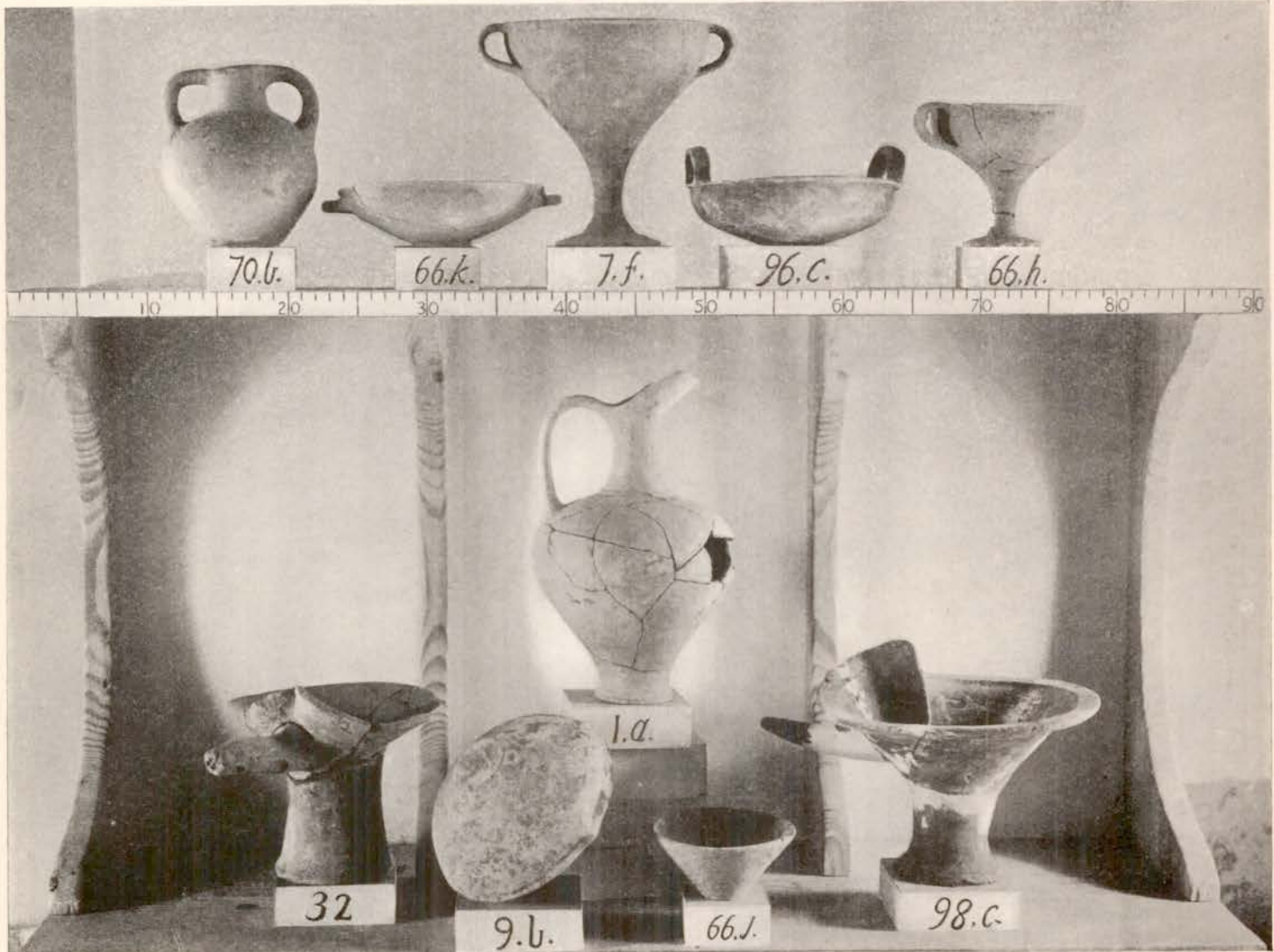


Fig. 118. Clay vessels of various forms from graves of Zafer Papoura.

might be cited. In the last stage of degeneration these significant foliate bands are reduced to mere rows of slightly curved lines, the pedigree of which, however, can still be clearly traced by means of the intermediate forms. Such decadent

types still preserve the distant echo of the great days of the Palace at Knossos, when vessels of bronze or of more precious metals were in ordinary use among its denizens.

The pedestalled cups with one or two handles, like fig. 118, 67*h* and 7*f*, which make their first appearance about this time, must also be regarded as clay substitutes for metal vessels of the same types. A bronze version of the two-handled shape has already been seen in 14*n*, and the silver cup with one handle anticipating the other variety is described below among the contents of the royal tomb at Isopata. It seems possible that the curious dark varnish with which 7*f*, 66*h*, and other cups of the same class had been coated may have been intended to produce the illusion of metal work for funereal show. The brilliant blue and red colouring on some other cups and bowls, which was not of a permanent nature, also seems to represent a striving after non-ceramic models.

Other designs on the vases from the present cemetery show the tradition of one or other motive of the Palace Style of ceramic decoration in a more or less decadent stage.<sup>a</sup> The vandyking with dotted intervals round the base of 76*d* is a debased version of what may be called the wave and star ornament, very characteristic of the vases and painted stucco of the Later Palace at Knossos.<sup>b</sup> The rosettes and tendrils of 55*d* (fig. 114), 62*b* (fig. 117), and 51*a* (fig. 114), and the other conventionalised sprays, such as 99*n*, 54*a* (fig. 114), and 64*b*, find their parallels in the same quarter. It is further observable that though the purely geometric elements so conspicuous on the present ceramic class are for the most part absent from the fine vases of the later Palace Style they already play a considerable part in the painted plaster decoration. The lozenges, zigzags, the scale and basket work motives, and other features visible in the decoration of the Zafer Papoura vessels, are all anticipated in the Palace frescoes.<sup>c</sup>

In the general character of its decoration the later class of pottery found in this cemetery much recalls a good deal of that brought to light by the excavations

<sup>a</sup> For the influence of the Palace Style of Knossos on the later pottery of Crete and the Ægean area, see especially Mackenzie, *The Pottery of Knossos*, 199, 200. (I. H. S. xxiii.)

<sup>b</sup> An example of this round the upper rim of a large painted jar from the Isopata tomb will be seen below, fig. 142*b*. For this as a fresco decoration see Theodore Fyfe, "Painted Plaster Decoration at Knossos," *Journal R. I. B. A.* x. 167, figs. 64-67, there described as "tooth ornament." It recurs on the hearth of the Megaron of Mycenae. It is also a favourite conventional way of rendering feathers on the wings of sphinxes or griffins.

<sup>c</sup> See Fyfe, *op. cit.* 129, figs. 70-80.

of the British School at Palaikastro in East Crete.<sup>a</sup> Mr. R. M. Dawkins<sup>b</sup> has rightly insisted on "the slightly mechanical scheme of decoration in which the field is parcelled out by a rigidly disposed system of lines and thickly covered with patterns, very commonly with rows of leaves set closely together." He characterises this class of ceramic decoration as the "close style." It betrays indeed many anticipations of the succeeding Geometrical class.

It must at the same time be observed that the apparent decadence observable is this "close style," as compared with the finer fabrics of the later Palace of Knossos, does not necessarily imply any great discrepancy of date. The quasi-Geometrical features here observable were, as has been pointed out, in many cases anticipated by the painted wall decoration of the Palace itself. The ceramic style that we have here to deal with in fact represents that of the period immediately succeeding the fall of Knossian Palace, and the nearest chronological equations at hand point to the close of the Eighteenth or the early part of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Thus the conventionalised papyrus sprays<sup>c</sup> and closely akin scale pattern<sup>d</sup> of some of these vessels, and of the painted *larnax* (fig. 103), show a considerable resemblance to those on the Ægean sherds from the Palace of Akhanaten at Tell-el-Amarna, dating from the beginning of the early years of the fourteenth century B.C., and to others from Kahun belonging to the close of the Eighteenth or beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. In the present cemetery examples of these conventionalised sprays, for which the papyrus of Egyptian art seems to have supplied the original suggestion, occurred on vessels from Grave No. 99, which also contained an Egyptian scarab of a class typical of the latest Eighteenth Dynasty period.

<sup>a</sup> Some of the parallels are very close. The festoon pattern of 16 may be compared with that of *B. S. A.* ix. p. 317, fig. 16 (2). It is itself of Palace origin. The combination of an attenuated foliate band with one of chevrons seen in the three-handled amphora 6a, is repeated in the Palaikastro jug *loc. cit.* fig. 16 (1).  
<sup>b</sup> *B. S. A.* ix. 316.

<sup>c</sup> *E.g.* 64b, 70c, and the end of the *larnax* from Tomb 100. Compare the types given by Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. xxvii. 33, pl. xxviii. 63, pl. xxx. 125, 126. For the rayed shoots as seen on some of the Tell-el-Amarna fragments (pl. xxvii. 35, 36, xxviii. 67) compare those on the side of the *larnax*. Certain varieties of the Tell-el-Amarna sprays do not occur in the present cemetery. On the other hand the spray on the stirrup-vase 54a is not found on the Egyptian site: the parallel here shows a certain contemporaneity, but not identity of fabric. The reserved, light on dark, sprays of some of the Tell-el-Amarna fragments (pl. xxvii. 27-34) are remarkable examples of adherence to an archaic tradition.

<sup>d</sup> *E.g.* 5a, 21a. This is really a truncated version of the former motive. Compare 5a and *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. xxviii. 59, pl. xxix. 73.

It is to be observed that the more or less contemporary Ægean vessels from these Egyptian sites, though showing many points of correspondence both in form and in decorative motives with those of the Knossian cemetery, leave certain elements practically untouched. Beneath the shadow of the Cretan palaces it was natural that the wealth in vases of bronze or more precious metals should react on the ceramic types. But the pottery of the Ægean traders or workmen in the Nile Valley would be humbler in its associations, and decorative designs like the foliate bands derived from metal work have left very little trace on the fragments found at Tell-el-Amarna<sup>a</sup> or Kahun.

One remarkable negative phenomenon indeed is common to both of these contemporary groups. At an earlier date, answering to the middle period of the Later Palace of Knossos, and the epoch of transition between the first and second Late-Minoan styles, sea creatures, notably the triton shell and the octopus, formed a very prominent feature in the painted designs of vases. The incursion of architectonic and exotic motives taken from the actual decoration of the royal halls put these marine subjects somewhat in the background in the days of the advanced Palace Style. In the next age, as we see in the vases before us, we still find traces of the Nilotic plant forms and other elements of the Palace decoration, and, side by side with these, imitations of metal shapes and chasings. But the marine repertory seems to be hardly drawn on. At any rate, on the vases of Zafer Papoura we seek in vain the trace either of sepia or conch-shell.

That these marine creatures still continued to be reproduced is nevertheless clear from their reappearance in decorative and decadent shapes at Knossos itself, as well as on other Cretan sites, in the very latest Minoan Age.

Examples of this ultimate evolution may be seen on the vases from the Milatos Tomb. The argonaut or the conch-shell have degenerated into the corkscrew-like twists of fig. 106J. On fig. 105A the octopus has become a mere symmetrical centre to a continuous series of curves. Among the remains of the later squatters on the Palace site at Knossos octopus patterns of the above class are specially conspicuous. These remote and often hardly recognisable descendants of the naturalistic delineations of marine life that mark the great Minoan Age are characteristic of the most widely diffused class of Late Mycenaean ware, and

<sup>a</sup> Only one fragment figured by Petrie in his *Tell-el-Amarna*, belonging to a globular flask (pl. xxix. no number), shows the foliate ornament in a very degenerate stage. Compare the flask from Palaikastro with similar ornament, Dawkins, *B. S. A.* ix. 306 and fig. 15, who notes the resemblance to the Tell-el-Amarna fragment.

occur outside Crete, not only on the mainland sites, but in Rhodes, Cyprus, and among the Philistine remains of the Canaanite littoral.<sup>a</sup>

At Knossos some of the intermediate stages in the downward progress both of triton shell and octopus may be observed,<sup>b</sup> but if we may judge from the contents of the Zafer Papoura cemetery, they had become almost a vanishing quantity by the date of the destruction of the Palace and during the immediately succeeding period. The same phenomenon seems to meet us at Palaikastro, at Phaestos, and again, on the Egyptian side, at Tell-el-Amarna and Kahun. It would be interesting to know to what influence the intensive reappearance of such marine motives under their developed aspect was due. What seems clear is that during the very last Minoan Age which immediately precedes the triumph of the Geometrical style and of the use of iron for arms and implements, these marine types come once more to the fore, while those derived from metal work sink into the background. In many cases, moreover, as at Milatos,<sup>c</sup> they are associated with a new form of bell-shaped amphora with two handles, which survives into the Geometrical Period. In Tomb B at Mulianà, in East Crete, occurred a stirrup-vase with a very late and florid development of the octopus design in company with bronze swords of the late Continental type, the source of which must be sought in the Balkan Peninsula or Italy.

The general conclusion, then, to which we are led by a study of the pottery of the present cemetery is that on the whole it occupies a more or less intermediate position between the latest Palace Style and that of the transitional period when iron was coming into use. A few exceptional examples like the stirrup-vase shown in fig. 115 above, with its fine suggestions of chased metal-work, may well be included within the limits of the Palace Period. But the abundance of the stirrup-vase or *pseudamphora* type must itself be regarded as a late characteristic. Another negative phenomenon is also noteworthy. No single specimen was brought to light of a characteristic type of flat vessel with three handles,<sup>d</sup> imitated apparently from examples in alabaster, such as occurred in the Room of the

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Curelly informs me that the corkscrew-like degeneration of the triton shell occurs on the painted Ægean vase-fragment from Gezer.

<sup>b</sup> For the triton, see Hogarth, *B. S. A.* vi. 74, fig. 16, and *J. H. S.* ix. 334, fig. 1b, on a Late Palace fragment, and my Report, *Knossos*, 1903, *B. S. A.* ix. p. 115, fig. 71. In the latter case the shells, perhaps rather *argo argonauta* than triton, are worked into a triple figure. Other early developments of the same shell occurred on vases from house floors at Knossos.

<sup>c</sup> Xanthoudides, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904, pl. i. pp. 43, 44.

<sup>d</sup> Compare a vase of this type from Egypt with marine decoration of the Second Late-Minoan Period. Perrot et Chipiez, *Grèce Primitive*, 925, fig. 485.

Throne.<sup>a</sup> Yet vases of this squat aryballos type, connected either by their style of decoration or their associations with Late Palace fabrics, occurred in a small chamber-tomb near the Royal Tomb at Isopata,<sup>b</sup> to be described below, and in another grave explored by Mr. Hogarth. The absence, again, of the finer and freer class of conventional plant designs on the vases from the Zafer Papoura graves is also very significant. We see them here replaced by derivative patterns which, when not absolutely decadent, show mechanical repetitions quite devoid of creative spirit.<sup>c</sup>

If we now glance at the jewelry and personal ornaments found in the Zafer Papoura graves (see fig. 119), we shall detect much the same evidence of a period of stationary well-being followed by slow decline that meets us in the case of the bronzes and pottery. Engraved gems or seal-stones are rare; specimens, like fig. 61 from Grave 36, still show a bold style of engraving, but the other intaglios found are of more careless or decadent execution, notably that of a couchant lion, shown in 99*a* (3), fig. 101. The only gold ring with an intaglio design on the bezel is that from Grave 7, but in this case the engraving was not, as in the finer class of Minoan and Mycenæan signet-rings, in the gold of the bezel, but rather in the bronze backing, into which a comparatively thin gold plating was afterwards pressed. This, too, conveys the idea of careless execution.

The general impression produced by the gold necklaces shown in fig. 119 is that of a somewhat banal and conventional prettiness when compared with the greater variety and finer style of the jewelry of the preceding age, as exemplified in the shaft-graves of Mycenæ or in the fleur-de-lys collar shown in the coloured relief of a royal personage from the Palace at Knossos.<sup>d</sup>

The stellate flowers 66*a*, the bivalve shell 75*a*, and the ornament on the necklaces from Graves 7 and 36, all belong to a class of sepulchral jewelry very widely diffused in the Ægean world in the latest Minoan and Mycenæan period. The other relics found with 36*k*, the relief of which is finer than 7*a*, imply that

<sup>a</sup> A. J. Evans, *Report, Knossos*, 1900, p. 41. The prototypes of these may be sought in a baggy form of Egyptian alabaster vases, characteristic of the Middle Empire, which survives into the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>b</sup> Two specimens occurred in this grave in a very fragmentary state. They were decorated with a kind of rockwork design, typical of the Late-Minoan II. class. Fragments of a small three-handled amphora with plant designs of the Palace Style were found in the same tomb.

<sup>c</sup> *B. S. A.* vi. 82, described as a large squat aryballos in unglazed greenish ware with black spiraliform ornament.

<sup>d</sup> *Report, Knossos*, 1901, p. 16, fig. 6.



this necklace goes back to within the limits of the Palace Period at Knossos. The embossed decoration of the beads forming the two latter necklaces has been shown above to originate in a duplicated version of an argonaut (*argo argonauta*) with its

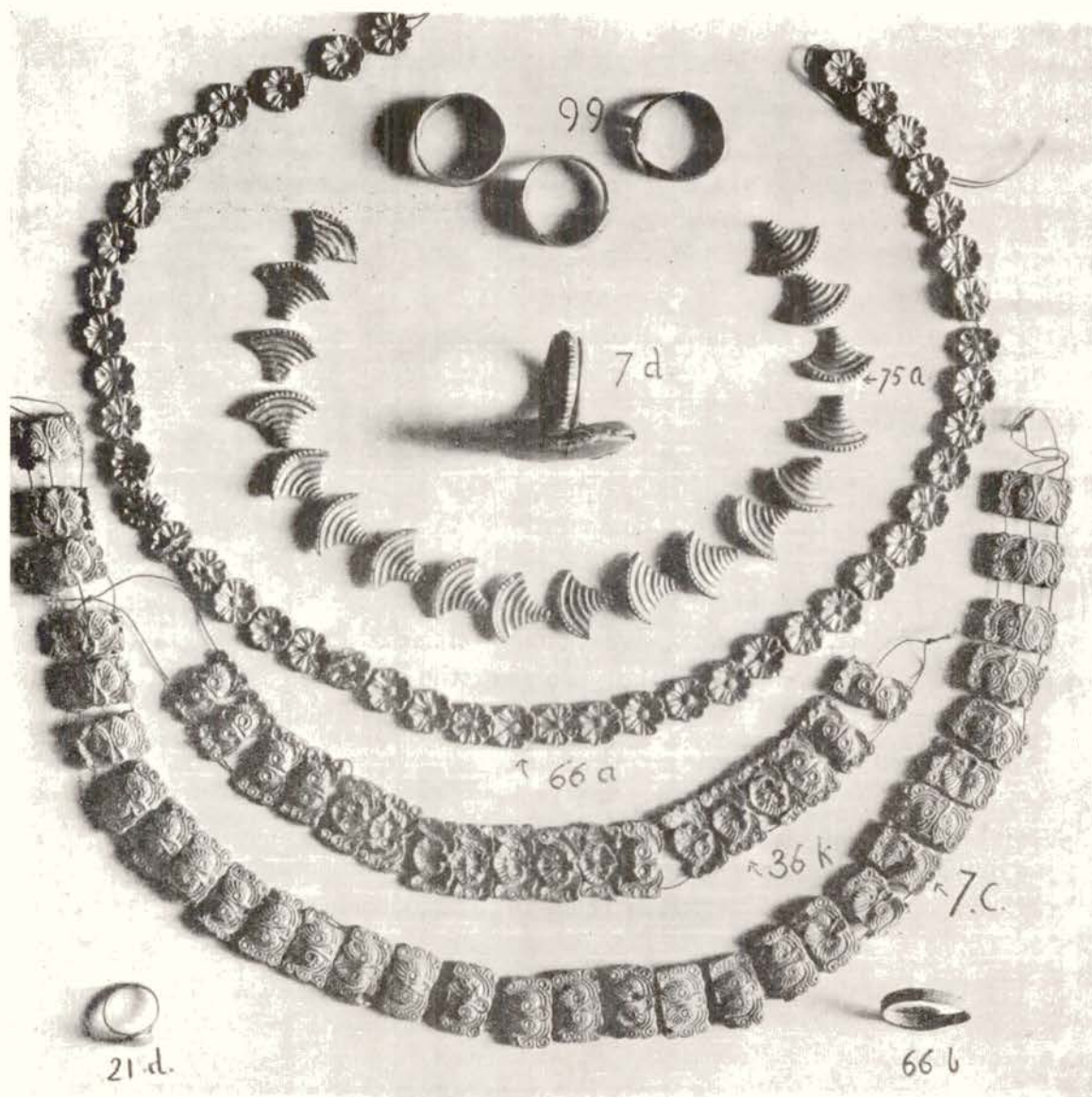


Fig. 119. Jewelry from the graves of Zafer Papoura.

characteristic tentacles, supposed to serve the purpose of a sail, a favourite subject of the earlier phase of Late Minoan Art. But the geometrically balanced pattern

that we see here, with its suggestions of octopus, cannot compare for beauty with the free naturalistic rendering of the argonaut itself as seen for instance on the small gold plates found in a tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae which contained imported Minoan vases of the finest Palace Style.<sup>a</sup>

It must nevertheless be concluded from the character of the other relics found in the same grave that the necklace 36*k* comes at least within the limits of the Palace Period at Knossos. Its embossed work indeed is of finer and bolder execution than that of 7*c*, which must belong to a somewhat later date. An interesting chronological equation, moreover, tending to carry back the date of necklaces of this period to the borders of the Second and Third Late Minoan Periods, is supplied by the contents of another tomb (No. 8) of the Lower Town of Mycenae.<sup>b</sup> Gold beads of a necklace,<sup>c</sup> closely resembling those of 7*c*, were found in this tomb in association with a bronze safety-pin<sup>d</sup> of the earliest fiddle-bow type. This earliest fibula type has not as yet been found in a Cretan grave,<sup>e</sup> but the synchronism established by the gold beads shows that it was already in use on the mainland of Greece at a time roughly corresponding with the conclusion of the Palace Period at Knossos, which can hardly be brought down later than the close of the fifteenth century B.C. It belongs to the same approximate date as the painted pottery with motives derived from metal work.

It has already been pointed out that in the very latest Minoan Bronze Age the class of ceramic decoration represented in the Zafer Papoura Cemetery was to a large extent displaced at Knossos and elsewhere by a reincursion of types derived from marine subjects. The tomb of Milatos, described above, exhibits this later ceramic style, and it is therefore important to observe that a decorative motive on a stirrup-vase from this tomb recurs in an identical form among a group of vessels belonging to the very borders of the Iron Age found at Mulianà,<sup>f</sup> in East Crete, in association with a fibula in the form of an arched bow with two knobs, one above the spring and the other above the stilt of the catch-plate,<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Bosanquet, *J. H. S.* xxiv. (1904), 324, fig. 1*a*.

<sup>b</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, pp. 138, 139, and pl. ix. 2, 4, pl. x. 2, 3, 4.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. ix. 4.

<sup>d</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. ix. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Small examples of this type have been found in the Dictæan Cave. One is published by Hogarth, *B. S. A.* vi. 112, fig. 45. Another obtained by me in 1896 is in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>f</sup> S. Xanthoudides, 'Αφ. 'Ερχ. 1904, p. 27, fig. 6 (the last vase but one to the right).

<sup>g</sup> *Op. cit.* 29, fig. 7, and p. 31. The fibula belonged to the Bronze Age interment of the tomb.

representing a later development of the fiddle-bow. This type in Crete and elsewhere marks the very close of the Minoan and Mycenæan Bronze Age,<sup>a</sup> and survives into the earliest Iron Age.<sup>b</sup>

There can be little doubt that the safety-pin reached Crete from a mainland source. The non-occurrence of the fiddle-bow type and other closely allied forms in the Knossian Cemetery when contrasted with their occasional occurrence in the contemporary graves of the Lower Town of Mycenæ is in itself a negative phenomenon of some importance. Coupled with the absence of the Northern form of sword we may find here a distinct indication that during the period covered by the Zafer Papoura graves there could as yet have been no great amount of intrusive influence from the mainland side.

The appearance in this cemetery of three distinct types of interment, the shaft-graves, the chamber-tombs, and the pit-caves, might at first sight seem an indication of the state of things described in the Homeric lines,<sup>c</sup> and be taken to imply that Crete was already a land of mingled races and tongues, where Achæans, Dorians, and Pelasgians had their seats beside the older inhabitants. The most recent craniological researches have indeed tended to show that from a very remote period, as might well be inferred *à priori* from the geographical position of the island, Anatolian and South European, perhaps even Libyan, elements had here blended. The variant forms of sepulture brought to light in the present cemetery are the natural outcome of different topographical and geological conditions, and it is always possible therefore that they may be ultimately referred to differences of ethnic extraction. But the uniform character of the great Minoan civilisation, as traceable throughout the island, had no doubt done much to weld together such heterogeneous elements as had existed *ab antiquo*. The evidence of the prehistoric script, so far as its records extend throughout Central and Eastern Crete, points to a certain unity of language. Down at least to the date of the final destruction of the Palace of Knossos there seems to be no room in Crete for warring elements of recent intrusion from mainland Greece.

<sup>a</sup> Two gold fibulas were of the same type, accompanied by a very late stirrup-vase in a tomb at Old Paphos. (*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xxx. 104.) Similar brooches are found in chamber-tombs of the Late Bronze Age or the transitional period when iron was coming into use in Sicily and Italy. (Colini, *Bull. di Pal.* 1905, pp. 45, 46, and p. 58, fig. 155.)

<sup>b</sup> A fibula much resembling this with the knobs somewhat modified was found by Miss Boyd in a tomb at Kavousi, belonging to the Latest Bronze Age of Crete. (*American Journal of Archaeology*, v. (1901), 136, fig. 2.) In a tomb at Assarlik, again, in Caria, the type occurred with Sub-Mycenæan pottery and iron weapons. *J. H. S.* viii. 74, fig. 17.

<sup>c</sup> *Od.* xix. 172 *seqq.*

That a part of the interments of the Zafer Papoura necropolis came within the limit of the last period of the Palace at Knossos has been sufficiently demonstrated. If then it could be made out that the objects which attained to the Palace level of art were all from one class of graves the other two classes of sepulture might be regarded as due to the presence of later settlers of extraneous origin. But such is by no means the case. On the contrary, the whole of the evidence at our disposal points to the fact that all three classes of interments co-existed from the earliest days of the cemetery. The same types of objects occur in fact indifferently in shaft-graves, chamber-tombs, and pit-caves alike. The finest painted vessel, the stirrup-vase namely, 68*b* (fig. 83), with decoration reproducing the purest style of metal decoration of the Later Palace, was found in a shaft-grave overlying the entrance and *dromos* of a chamber-tomb which must therefore have been anterior to it. Good examples of similar vases, 55*d* and 51*a*, occurred in graves of the pit-cave class. The great hoard of bronze vessels, some repeating Palace forms, was brought to light from the largest chamber-tomb (No. 14), while other bronze vessels of the same class and the gold-plated sword with its naturalistic engravings of wild goats and lions came from a shaft-grave (No. 36). The same parallelism runs through the whole series of interments.

In truth, the high interest of the Zafer Papoura cemetery lies in the fact that throughout its whole duration it attests a striking continuity of local traditions. To whatever circumstances was due the great overthrow of the later Palace it did not bring with it any real break in the course of the Late-Minoan culture. The models supplied by the great Palace Style of wall and vase painting, of metal work and gem engraving, continued to be followed.

A period of immobility in art is succeeded by one of gradual decadence, but the course of Minoan civilisation, whether still along the level or on the slight downward incline, was still uninterrupted in the main.

It must at the same time be remarked that in the case of the tombs explored the lower limit reached is somewhat clearly defined. It has already been noted that the ceramic style characteristic of the close of the Late Minoan Period, with its hardly recognizable degenerations of triton shells and symmetrically arranged octopus coils, is as yet non-apparent. Both the Continental type of sword, which gave rise to those so widely diffused in the Early Iron Age, and the Late Mycenaean class with the flange carried round the top of the hilt, are as yet unrepresented.<sup>a</sup> The bow fibula characteristic of the latest Bronze Age in Crete and of the transi-

<sup>a</sup> The dagger, however, 95*e*, exemplifies this type of hilt.

tional period when iron was coming into use is also absent, and, as fibulas were at that time common in the island, its absence proves more than that of the earlier fiddle-bow type. Of the beginning of the use of iron itself there is no trace in the present cemetery: arms and implements are alike of bronze. Glass, it will be seen, is found in these graves both in the vase form and as the material for beads, but the non-appearance of impressed glass ornaments such as are current in the Late Mycenaean graves elsewhere, and were present in the chamber-tomb at Milatos, must be taken as a sign of a comparatively early date. It will be remembered that such do not occur in the shaft-graves at Mycenae.

In contradistinction to the chamber-tombs explored by Mr. Hogarth on the western side of the neighbouring ridge, none of the graves of Zafer Papoura had been cleared out in order to be used again for sepulchral purposes in the Geometrical period. Neither have we here, what seems undoubtedly to have been the case with one of the chamber-tombs at Mulianà in East Crete,<sup>a</sup> any example of the continued use of a grave going down to the Earliest Iron Age. In Grave A at Mulianà the bronze swords and other relics that accompanied the earlier interments had not, as would have been natural had they met the eyes of alien intruders, been plundered or cleared out. They had been simply placed on one side in order to make room for the funeral furniture of some later scion of the same family, so that we have here the interesting spectacle of the succession of corpse burial by cremation and of iron weapons by bronze, apparently without any break in the indigenous stock. The accompanying vases, moreover, a two-handled bell-shaped amphora and a kind of *pyxis*, still represent the old tradition both in form and decoration, except that, side by side with Late-Minoan ornament, figures of a horseman and of a hunter of Cretan wild goats are introduced in a Geometrical style, recalling that of the Dipylon. We have here the clearest evidence yet brought to light of a Sub-Minoan Early Iron Age<sup>b</sup> parallel to that of

<sup>a</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, p. 22 *seqq.* For the Mulianà tombs see above.

<sup>b</sup> A close parallel to these transitional tomb-groups is also supplied by the contents of a built *tholos* tomb found at Erganos, not far from the site of Lyttos, and described by Halbherr (*American Journ. of Archaeology*, 1901, p. 271 *seqq.* and pl. vi.). In this case, side by side with the remains of crouched skeletons and late stirrup-vases closely resembling the examples described above, was a cinerary urn decorated in a style in which Late Minoan elements still preponderate, though there is some infusion of the Geometrical. No metal objects were found in this tomb, but it is safe to say that the cremated remains belong to the beginning of the Iron Age. For the abundant traces of the survival of Minoan (Mycenaean) elements even in the developed Geometrical style of Crete see especially Mariani, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, p. 305 *seqq.*; Orsi, *op. cit.* 1897, p. 252 *seqq.*;

the Sub-Mycenæan tombs of Salamis, of Assarlik in Caria, and the analogous phenomena in Cyprus.

In the graves explored at Zafer Papoura the lowest limit of the Minoan Bronze Age is not reached, and we have no trace of any such transition to a Sub-Minoan Iron Age. But the evidences of such a stage elsewhere on the site of Knossos are fast accumulating.

Wide, *Nachleben mykenischer Ornamente* (Mitth. d. k. deutschen arch. Inst. Athens, 1897, p. 234 seq.). Harriet A. Boyd, *Excavations at Kavousi in 1900* (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, p. 146 seq.). At Knossos itself, as I hope to show on another occasion, this persistence of the older elements is very well marked.

## II.—THE ROYAL TOMB OF ISOPATA.

§ 1. *Discovery and Excavation of the Tomb.*

The range of hills on the eastern slope of which the cemetery of Zafèr Papoura came to light, and of which the Palace hill itself is a southern spar, extends northwards for about two miles beyond this point. Its further promontory in this direction is surmounted by a narrow flat, locally known as 'στὰ 'σώπατα, or, in its fuller Romaic form, εἰς τὰ ἰσώπατα τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου. On the northernmost edge of this plateau, overlooking the sea about one and a half mile distant, and the walls of Candia, as the crow flies not much further away, was a pit from which for the last twenty years the peasant owner of the soil had been in the habit of quarrying large worked blocks. The existence of this pit and the possibility that some ruined tomb was to be sought here had been known to us for some time, but it was only during the campaign of 1904 that we were able to extend our investigations on that side.

Visiting the spot with Dr. Mackenzie, I found in the lower part of the pit some well-cut limestone blocks with one face splayed downwards, a characteristic feature of buildings constructed on the principle of the Cyclopean or horizontal arch. In view of this suggestive discovery recourse was at once had to exploratory excavation, which made clear the fact that we had to deal with a considerable monument of Minoan date. We were prepared to find a circular tomb of the bee-hive class, but it soon became apparent that the principal part of the present structure was a large quadrangular chamber.

Unfortunately it was not only ruined, but the greater part of the upper masonry had been carried off for building purposes. Inquiries among the peasants elicited the fact that the small church of Hagios Nikolaos on the opposite hill to the west had been largely built of materials obtained from this convenient quarry, the blocks being cut smaller for the purpose. The owner, it appeared, in the course of this clearance work had found a number of skulls and some painted pots, which he had taken to his house. House and vases alike, however, had been destroyed during the recent revolution, and though this handy quarry had helped the owner to rebuild his house the pottery was irrecoverable. It

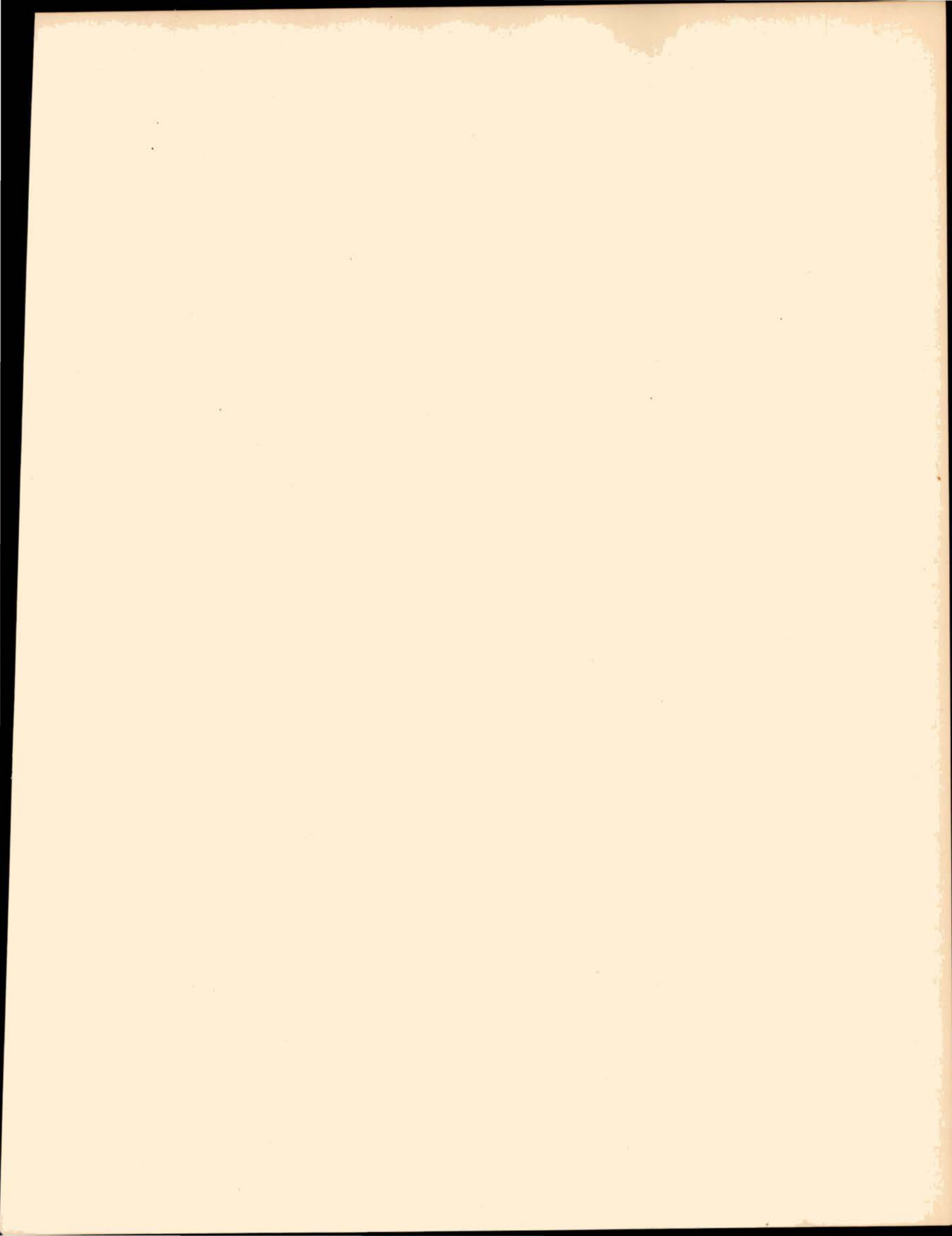






Fig. 120. VIEW OF INTERIOR OF THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA, LOOKING EAST,

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1905.

appeared, however, from his description that one at least of the vessels was a stirrup-vase. The building itself was supposed by the country people to have been a tower (*πύργος*).

Owing to the great masses of fallen blocks that still encumbered the area, and the considerable size of the monument, it took sixty men a fortnight's work to clear out the interior of the tomb and its approach. The principal chamber proved to measure on the floor level about 8 metres from east to west by 6.50 metres from north to south. The north-west corner of the walls was wanting, but the cutting in the soft rock showed the original form. The southern section of the east or front wall was the best preserved, consisting of nine courses, and rising to a height of 3.60 metres. (Fig. 120, Plate XCII. and Plate XCV. *a*.)

The front and back walls of the chamber rose perpendicularly, but, as will be seen from the cross section given in Plate XCV. *a*, the two side walls started from the floor level with a slight inward slope obtained by means of the splayed face of the flat superposed blocks. In the back wall of the chamber was a square recess or niche going back 1.23 metre to the face of the rock cutting. Only the lower part of this was preserved, but it no doubt resembled in construction two other niches of about the same size found in the fore-hall of the tomb. Like these, moreover, it seems to have been used for sepulchral purposes in the latest Minoan Period, since a skull and two small vessels, one of them according to its description a stirrup-vase, were found in the upper part by the peasants who removed its masonry.

The floor of the chamber was formed of a white indurated material, in which, near the north-east corner, subsequent researches brought out an oblong cutting 2.80 metres long by 1.27 metres wide. On clearing out this to a depth of about a third of a metre, the rough covering slabs of a sepulchral stone cist, recalling the "kaselles" of the Palace Magazines, were brought to light. The cist will be found further described below, but the rough slabs above it were evidently not its original covering.

The front wall of the chamber showed a blocked archway<sup>a</sup> constructed on the same horizontal system as the side walls of the chamber. This arch led to a narrow fore-hall 6.75 metres in length and 1.58 metre broad, built on to the main chamber at a slightly oblique angle, on either side of which was a niche

<sup>a</sup> At the base of the wall that blocked the entrance, on the inner side, was a kind of miniature niche. A similar feature occurred on the inner side of the blocking of the fore-hall. The object of these small niches is uncertain. They may have contained food offerings.

resembling in plan that at the back of the main chamber. The recesses in this case, however, were completely preserved, showing a horizontally arched vaulting

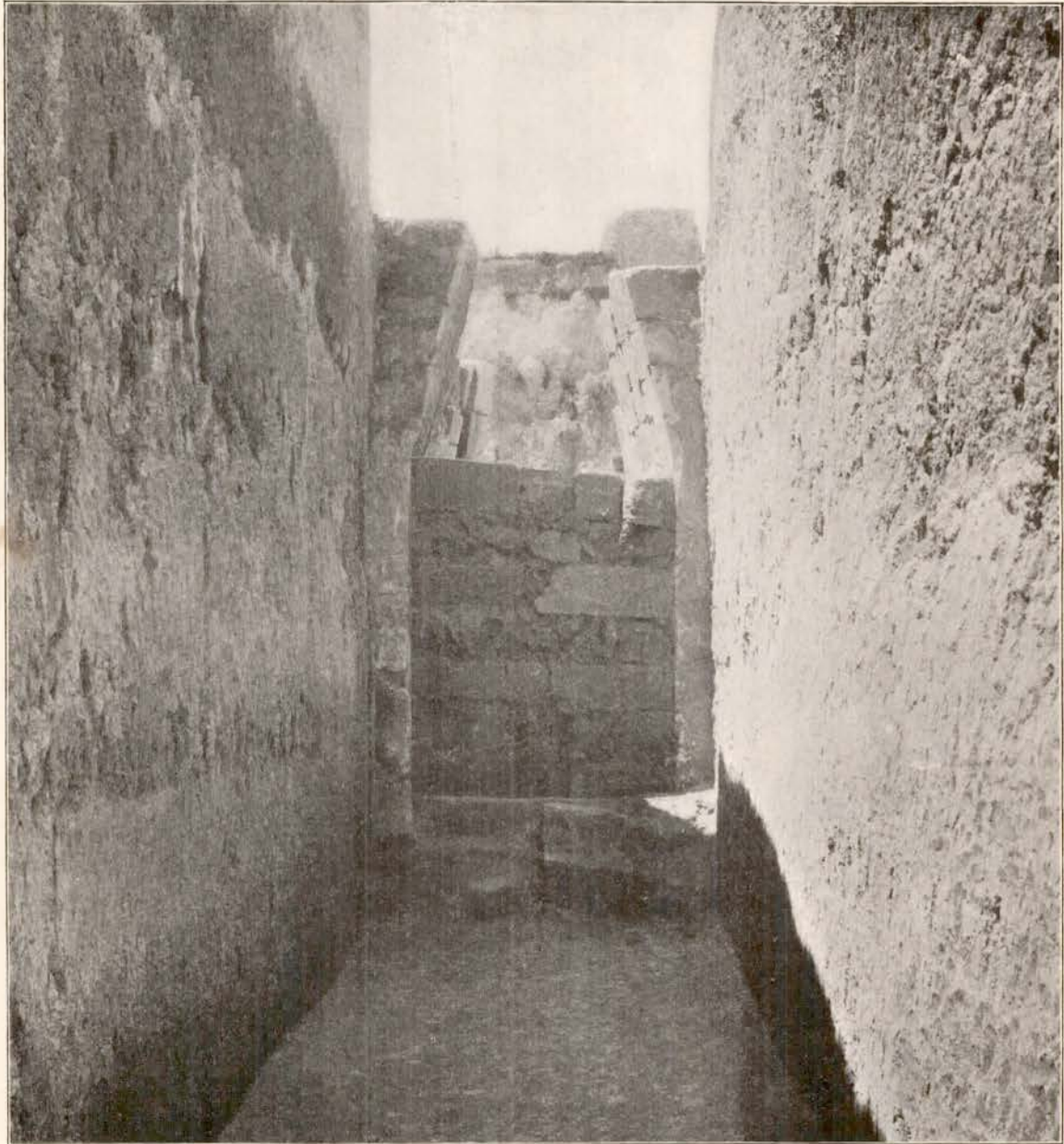
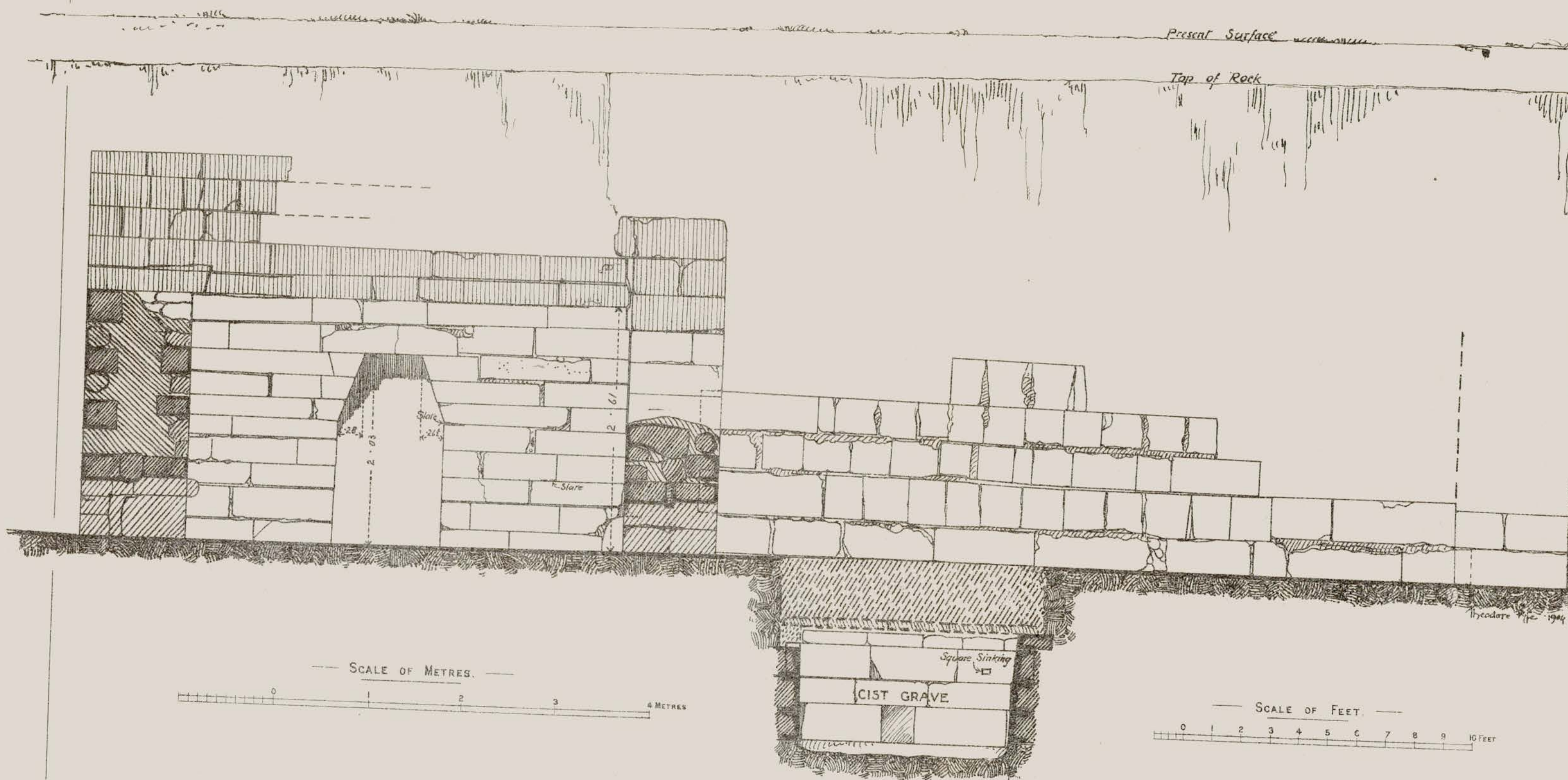


Fig. 121. View of the *dromos* looking west, towards the entrance of the fore-hall.

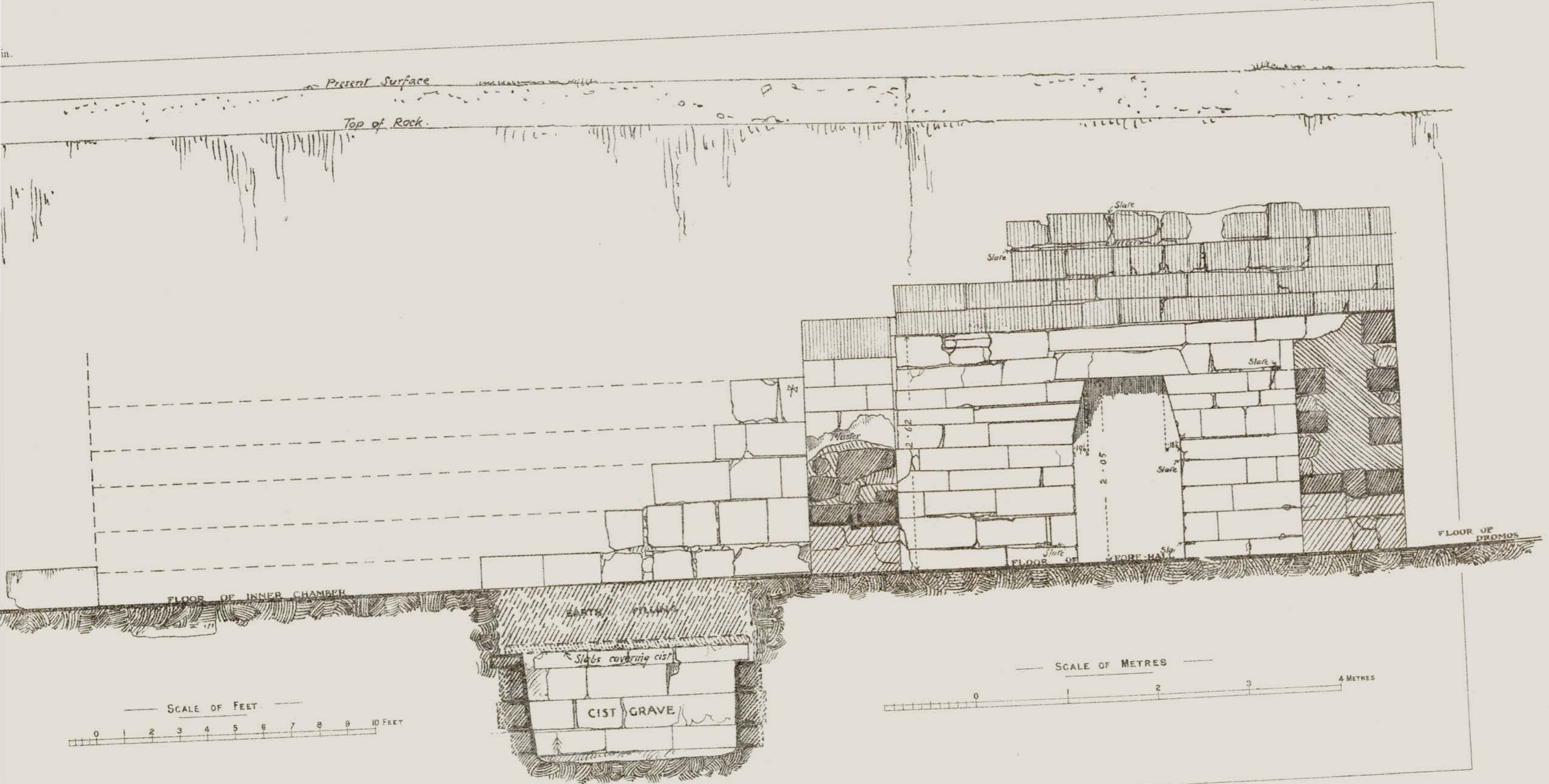
above with a flat lintel. (See Plates XCVI. XCVII.) They were, moreover, blocked by a rough walling. Two courses above the top lines of these niches the



C. F. HELL & SON, PHOTO-LITHO

THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA.—LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF INNER CHAMBER, LOOKING SOUTH.

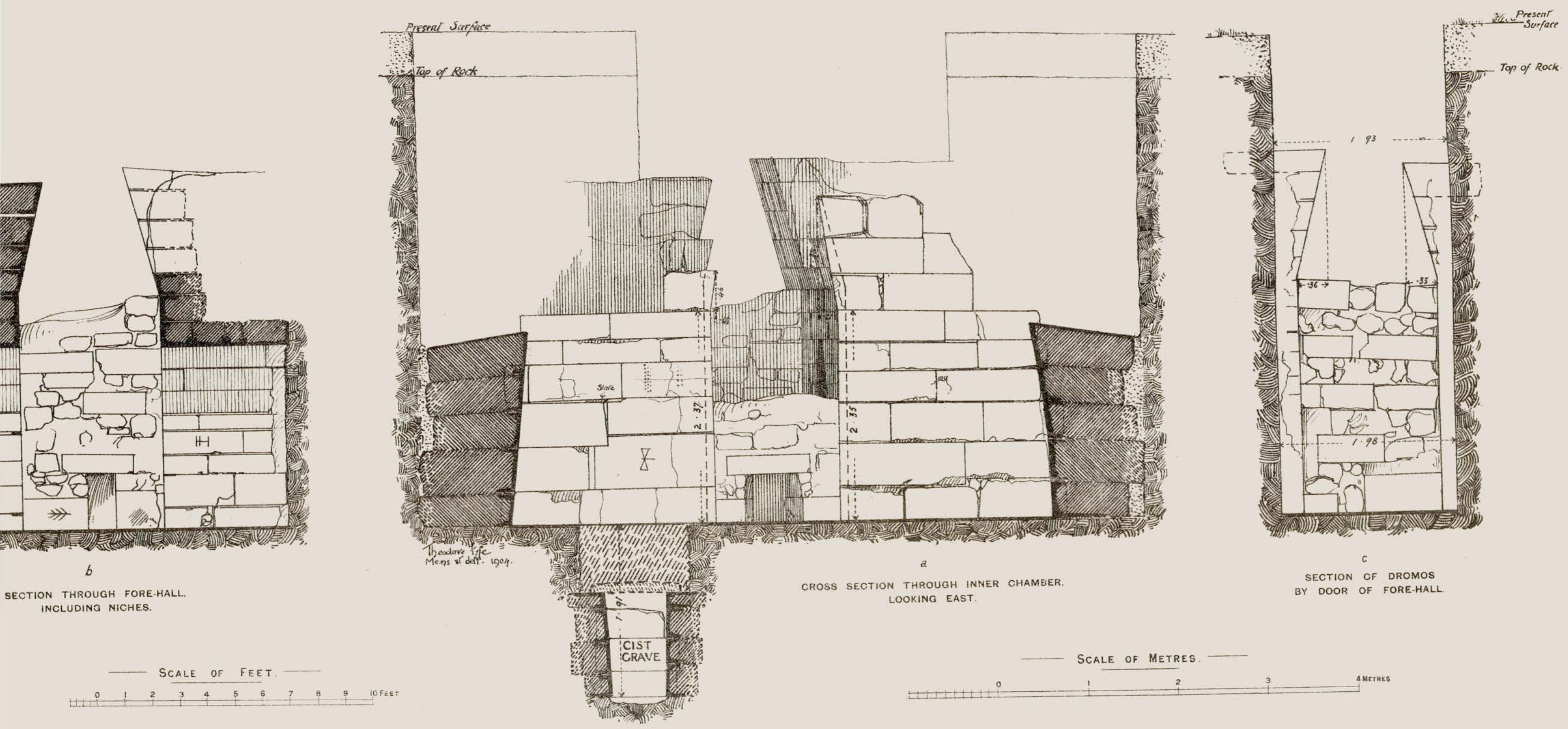
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THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA.—LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF INNER CHAMBER, LOOKING NORTH.

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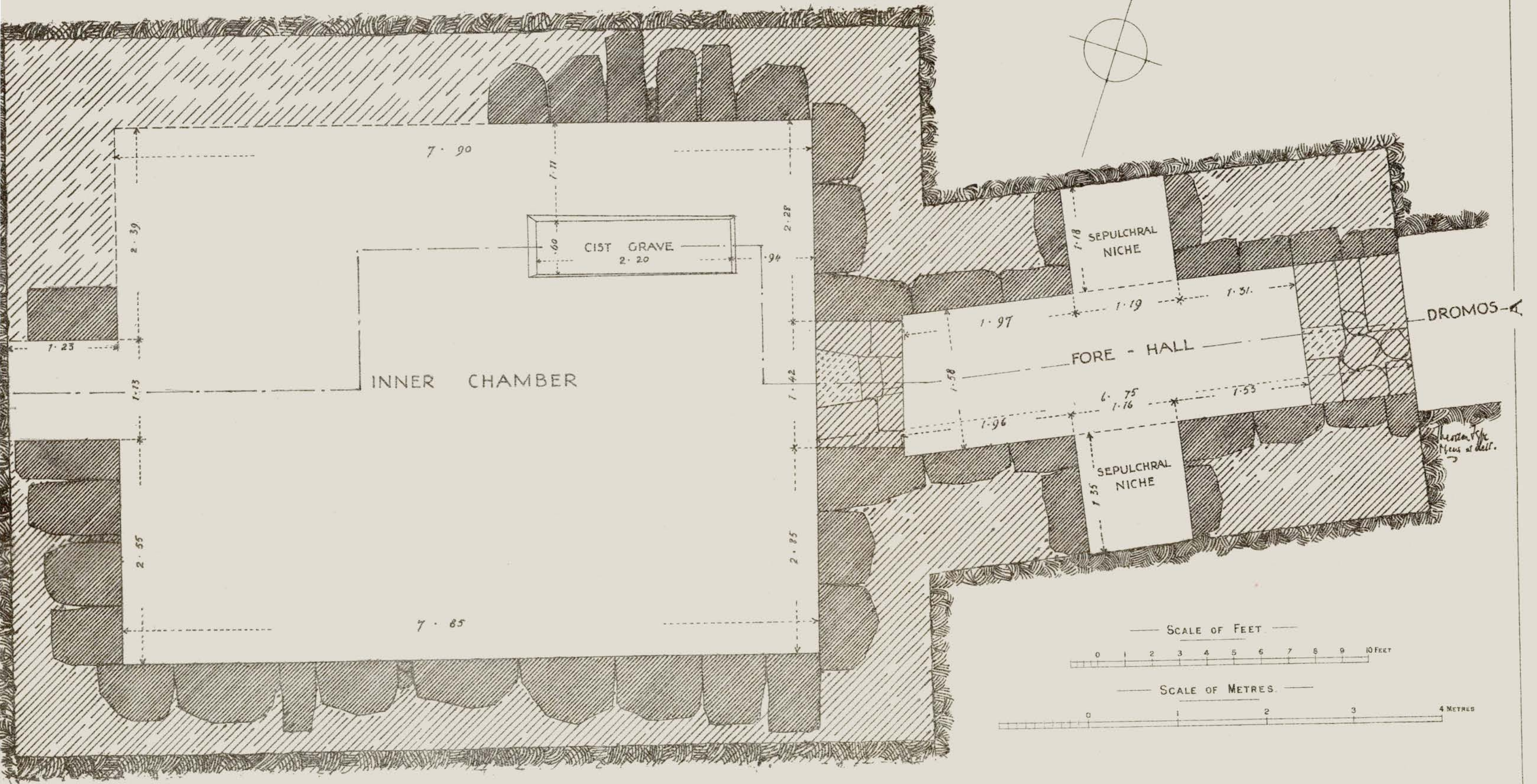
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THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA.—CROSS SECTIONS OF (a) INNER CHAMBER, (b) FORE-HALL, and (c) DROMOS.

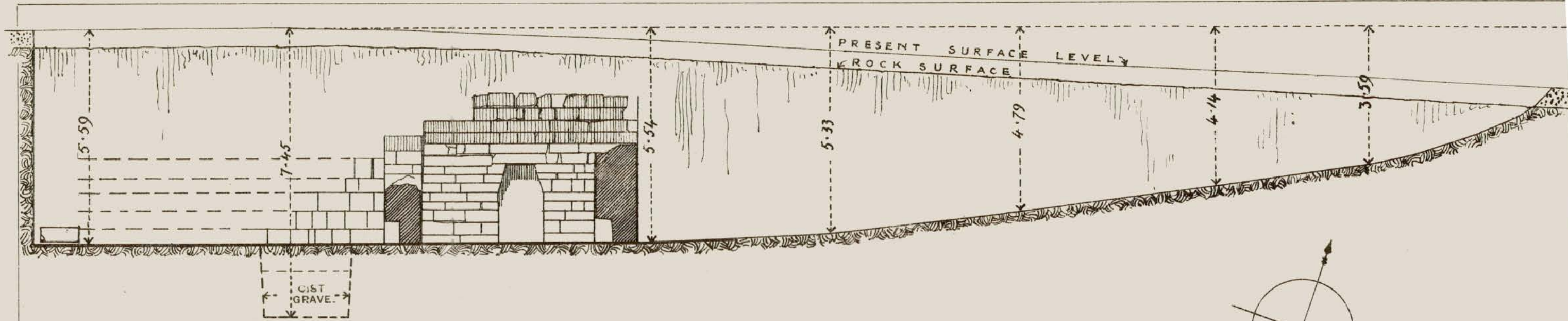
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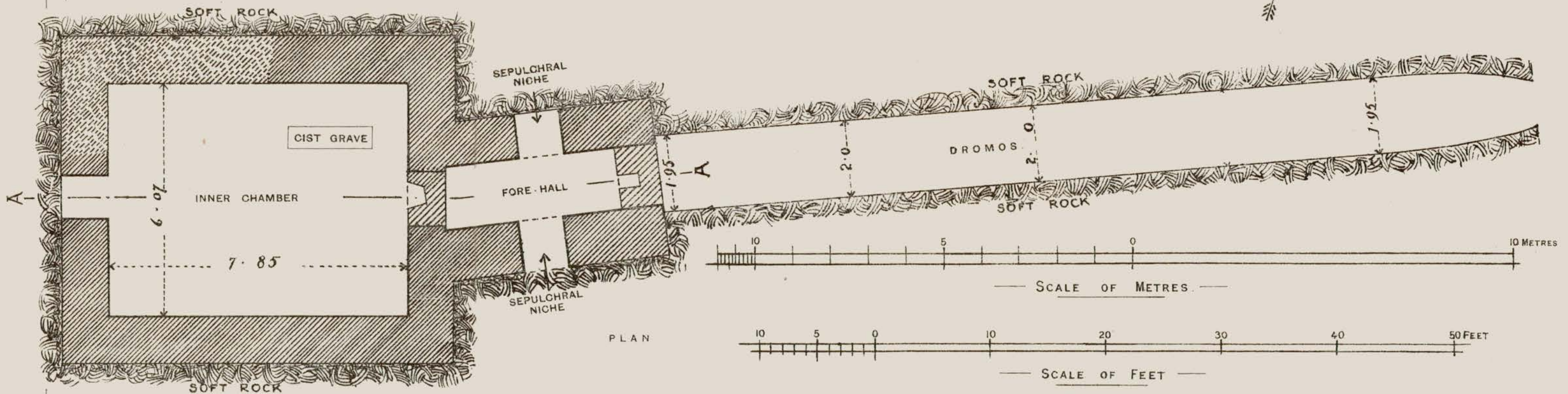


THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA.—GROUND PLAN OF INNER CHAMBER AND FORE-HALL.

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LONGITUDINAL SECTION LOOKING NORTH



PLAN

THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA - GENERAL PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION, LOOKING NORTH

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side walls of the fore-hall itself sloped inwards in the same manner as the arched doorway communicating with the principal chamber. As many as fourteen courses were preserved in position in this part.

This arched fore-hall had been blocked by a thick walling at its eastern end, beyond which was a spacious passage-way or *dromos* 24 metres in length, cut out of the soft rock. (Fig. 121.) This passage, the sides of which were nearly perpendicular, was throughout the greater part of its length 2 metres wide, but narrowed near its entrance in a gradual curve. Immediately outside the blocked arch of the fore-hall the floor level of the *dromos* was about 5 metres below the level of the surface of the rock. Throughout its course, however, there was a gradual rise, considerably accentuated near its entrance, which corresponded in level with the rock surface at this point.

From the considerable size of the monument as compared with the tombs discovered in the neighbouring cemetery, its commanding position and the importance of some of the objects found within it, it may fairly be regarded as a Royal Tomb.

For the details of this imposing monument I must refer to the careful plans and elevations prepared by Mr. Theodore Fyfe (Plates XCIII.-XCVII.), who has also supplied a note on the construction, and on the manner in which the vaulting of the principal chamber was probably completed. (See fig. 145.)

From the analogy of the best examples of rock-cut chamber-tombs, such as those of Zafer Papoura, the rule will be found to hold good that the height of the chamber approximates to one of its inner lengths.<sup>a</sup> In the same way the inner diameter and height of the great *tholos* chambers of mainland Greece will be also found roughly to correspond. In the case of the present chamber, however, the very gradual inner slope of the lowest section of the two sides, if continued, would indicate an altogether disproportionate height. There is therefore good warrant for supposing that this inward slope must have increased as the walls ascended. In his restored section Mr. Fyfe has assumed an extension of the existing curve in geometrical progression which brings the apex of the vault to a height of about 8 metres, approximately answering to the length of its sides.

The pit in which the principal chamber lay was 10.25 metres from east

<sup>a</sup> To take some instances almost at random, Grave No. 72 has a north to south length of 1.20 metre and height 1.30 metre; No. 81, east to west, 1.40 metre, height 1.30 metre; No. 93, east to west, 1.65 metre, height 1.50 metre; No. 13, north to south, 2 metres, height 2 metres; No. 56, north to south, 1.50 metre, height 1.50 metre.

to west by 7.30 metres from north to south, with more or less upright sides, descending to a mean depth of 6 metres, or about 20 feet. Of this depth the superficial earth represented only about half a metre, the remaining 5.50 metres being cut out of the solid rock. Assuming that the level of the rock surface has not appreciably altered, it thus appears that about 3 metres of the ridge of masonry forming the summit of the sepulchral chamber would have stood out above this level. If, as is probable, this in turn was covered with earth, the site of the tomb must have been marked by a considerable mound, itself perhaps crowned by some conspicuous *stela* or monument.

The previous disturbance within the area of the tomb and the great mass of *débris* made it impossible to obtain any exact idea of the original arrangement or stratification of the objects found there. It may, however, be noted that the few Geometrical sherds brought to light, which possibly indicate a certain continuity in sepulchral tradition, occurred rather in the upper levels, and that the only relics actually found on the floor of the principal chamber belonged to a good Palace Period. Scattered about in intermediate positions were numerous fragments of vases, many of them quite rough and unpainted, belonging to the latest Minoan Period. With these were scattered human bones and some forty skulls, in a more or less crushed condition. It was observable, however, that the skulls were more *en évidence* than the bones, and they may have been set apart from them. In this case the tomb as used during the latest Minoan Age, would have been an ossuary.

Not only the fore-hall but the two arched recesses on either side of it were found largely filled with *débris* similar to that of the main chamber. Some narrow blocks in position near the top of the niches showed that they had been originally walled up, but the walling had been broken in and the interior choked with this jumbled material. Fallen blocks and rubble, with here and there bones and skulls lying in no connexion with one another, and pottery, mostly in a fragmentary state, filled two-thirds of the recesses. Above this was an infiltrated clay deposit, formed by water, about half a metre thick in places, and then a short vacant interval. In the north recess were found two skulls, a thigh bone, and fragments of very late Minoan pottery, exhibiting decadent octopus designs, and including parts of a plain pedestalled cup of the champagne-glass type (cf. fig. 118, 66*h* above). In that on the south side of fore-hall were three skulls, the uppermost of these more nearly in connexion with a group of bones than had been the case elsewhere. Beside it, moreover, was a perfect stirrup-vase, with a painted octopus design of a very late character. The exceptional preservation

of these remains was no doubt due to the fact that they rested on the top of the *débris* and were only covered by the deposit of infiltrated clay.

The stirrup-vase in question (fig. 122) presents a late decorative development of the octopus, of special chronological significance. The style and details of this design in fact altogether correspond to that of a vase of the same form found in the Cymbal-player's Tomb (B) at Mulianà in East Crete belonging to the very close of the Minoan Bronze Age, and exhibiting details which recur on vessels, one with cremated remains, from an interment in the fellow tomb at the same locality belonging to the earliest Iron Age. The stirrup-vase from this niche must be referred therefore to the very close of the period above described as Late-Minoan III. Some of the other vessels of which fragments were found in the opposite recess and in the inner chamber belong to a somewhat earlier class, more nearly approaching the types found in the Zafer Papoura Cemetery. Taken as a whole, however, the pottery with which the confused mass of later interments found in the Royal Tomb was associated must all be referred to the same general period, and to a time when the Palace itself was in a ruinous and only partially occupied condition.

The first important finds belonging to earlier interments were made above the east end of the fore-hall. Here, at a depth of about 3 metres from the surface, came to light the greater part of a magnificent black porphyry bowl (fig. 123, S. 1 in Plate XCVIII. and fig. 124), the remaining fragments of which were subsequently discovered at a somewhat lower level.\* Near this came out a broken alabaster bowl (fig. 125, S. 11) with the greater part of another (fig. 125, S. 13), and some beads of *lapis lazuli*, together with a frog and an ape of the same material perforated for suspension (figs. 131*a*, 132). Scattered about in the neighbourhood of these, moreover, were a number of clay sealings, impressed by the same fine signet representing a bull (fig. 138). About 4 metres down near the doorway of the principal chamber was found a hooked pin of twisted gold (fig. 129), probably a hair pin. Although some of these relics had worked down to a somewhat lower level, the general lie of these finds was found to correspond with an old surface, formed of a watery deposit, and sloping down from the top of the ruined cross-wall at the opening



Fig. 122. Painted stirrup-vase of late character from the south niche of the fore-hall. Height: 16.5 centimetres.

\* Only one small fragment is wanting.

of the *dromos* to the somewhat lower ridge of that blocking the doorway of the principal chamber. It is evident therefore that at the time when these objects were extracted by plunderers from the inner chamber the fore-hall was already largely choked by deposit, and the upper part of the cross-walls had already been broken away by earlier violators of the tomb. Probably both earlier and later robbers were in search of precious metals, and the stone objects had not been sufficiently prized for removal, though the porphyry bowl was barbarously broken up.

The great mass of finds, belonging apparently to two earlier interments, occurred on or near the floor of the principal chamber over an area extending from its centre towards the south wall. The lower part of a vase of Late Palace

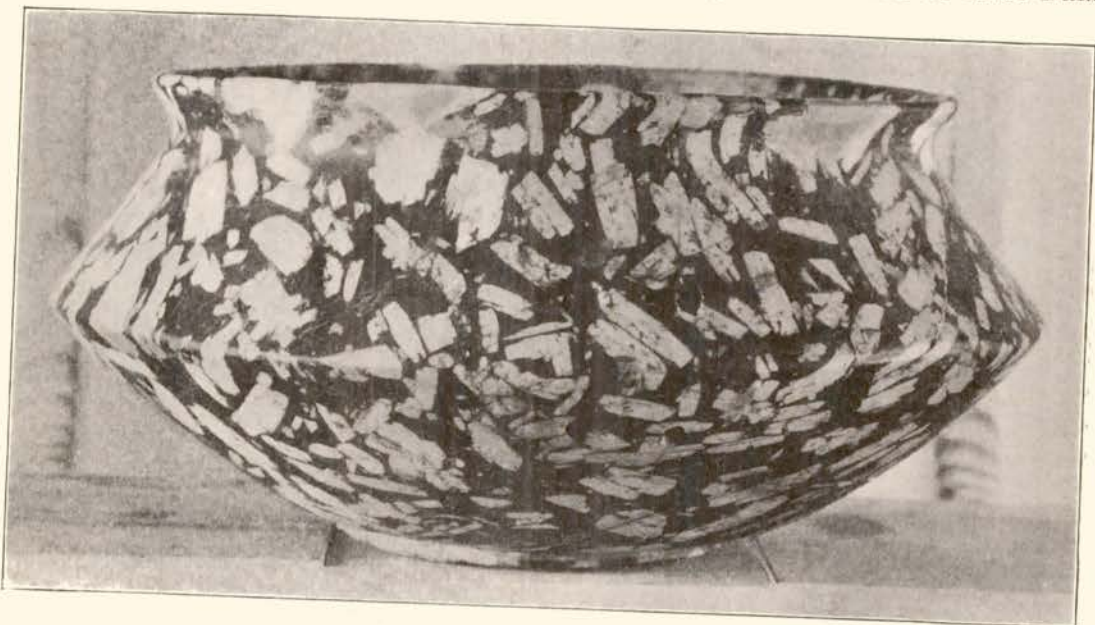


Fig. 124. Porphyry bowl from the Royal Tomb.

style (fig. 144), the other fragments of which were collected near, was here found resting on the floor, perhaps in its original position, and near it important parts of three other fine vases in the same style (figs. 141*a*, Plate C.; 142*a*, Plate CI.; and 143), of which other pieces had been found scattered among the *débris* at upper levels. Within the area indicated were also found the two stone lamps shown in figs. 126 and 127, and Plate XCVIII., fig. 123, S. 15, 16, the cylindrical limestone vessel (fig. 123, S. 14), and practically the whole group of alabaster vases illustrated in fig. 125, Plate XCIX., with the exception of the two bowls. Some

of these were more or less intact and actually in position, others tumbled over, while others again were only to be reconstructed from scattered fragments.

Near the centre of this area lay an exceptionally large bronze mirror plate (fig. 123), with traces of its ivory handle. By it was a crystal bead of exceptional size (fig. 134). Two whorls or button-like beads of the same material (figs. 135, 136) were found in the vicinity, and nearer the entrance a long oval bead of yellow translucent steatite. Close to the above group was a small crystal pommel (fig. 133) apparently belonging to a dagger with a cross perforation for a metal pin. Somewhat nearer the edge of the sepulchral pit were found the remains of two silver goblets. Of one of these only a part of the side and the attachment of the handle were preserved (fig. 139), but sufficient remains of the other existed in a crushed condition to make possible a complete restoration of its shape (fig. 140).

Near the blocked entrance of the great chamber were the crushed remains of a tripod hearth of hard plaster resembling on a somewhat larger scale the tripod hearth found in the large Chamber-Tomb No. 14, of the Zafer Papoura Cemetery. (See above, fig. 33.) By it were found some of the charcoal embers originally placed on it, actually transported thither, it may be, in this case from the hearth of a Palace hall. We have here an interesting example of the same sepulchral rite by which warmth was supplied to the dead, of which humbler illustrations are seen in the clay chafing pans found in other Minoan graves. Judging from the fragmentary remains of the portable hearths brought to light, its height was about 23 centimetres, which, if we follow the proportions of the better preserved hearth of Zafer Papoura, would give a diameter of about three-quarters of a metre.

On carefully exploring the cement floor of the chamber a series of elongated cuttings appeared along its western area, and the possibility naturally suggested itself that these were the openings of grave-pits. On clearing these out, however, they all proved to be shallow, and it became evident that they were the work of plunderers in methodical search for sepulchral cists, or other deposits of precious objects. It was only on approaching the north-east corner of the tomb that a more finely cut opening in the plaster appeared which did actually lead to the cist grave briefly referred to above.

Except that the lower part of the grave was composed of masonry instead of being simply cut out of the soft rock, the general principle observed was that of the shaft-graves of Zafer Papoura. Here as there the preliminary pit, in this case only 70 centimetres deep, led to a narrower cell, with ledges round on which to rest its covering slab. (See sections, Plates XCV.-XCVII.) The grave

ran from east to west, like the major axis of the chamber. The covering slabs when brought to light proved to be a row of rough irregular blocks not by any means comparable to the slabs of the better class of shaft-graves at Zafer Papoura. This in itself was a discouraging feature, and it was considerably heightened by the fact that at the east end, near the entrance to the chamber, a block was wanting, and a piece of the end masonry of the cist had fallen in. On the removal of these rough slabs the cist itself was brought to light, solidly constructed of limestone blocks, the inside surface of which showed traces of a stucco facing. The cell within was 2·33 metres long by 72 centimetres in width, and proved to be 1·12 metres deep, the bottom being formed by the soft virgin rock. The upper part was filled with a clayey stratified deposit, the infiltration of which into the grave was due to winter rains. This deposit contained no remains, but at the east end of the grave, where a covering slab was missing, fragments of painted pottery belonging to the group of finds on the floor of the chamber had found their way. Beneath the clay deposit there came to light two fallen blocks, a clear sign of former disturbance, and the whole grave proved to be filled with mere *débris*. Near the bottom, however, some small vestige of its former contents was discovered, in the shape of fifteen lapis lazuli beads like those found above the fore-hall, and another ape pendant of the same material. Part of a human leg bone was also brought out.

The fact that the niches of the fore-hall and principal chamber had been re-used for interment in very late Minoan times makes it probable that the cist itself may also have been used for a secondary interment during this period. This would account for the rough covering slabs, answering to sepulchral usage, but evidently not belonging to the original grave, that had been placed over it. No doubt the Royal Tomb itself had already been long since plundered.

Next came the still later plunderers, who left their traces in the discarded relics found in the upper layer of the fore-hall. These intruders evidently removed the covering slab at the east end of the cist and a block of the actual masonry, and would have begun their operations by throwing out the secondary interment. Grubbing down below this they seem to have found a few objects belonging to the original burial which earlier plunderers had left, including the bowls of porphyry and alabaster. From the way in which the porphyry bowl was smashed up, it does not seem that those who extracted these objects, at the cost of much labour and probable risk, were gratified with the results of their undertaking.

That the silver goblets of which the remains were found near the edge of

the grave, and some of the other smaller objects that were brought to light on or near the floor of the chamber, had been originally contained in the sepulchral cist is probable enough. On the other hand it is clear that the larger vessels found outside, such as the great painted jars in the Late Palace style, could never have been placed in the cist itself. We have here therefore indications of an arrangement analogous to that found in Tomb No. 36 of the cemetery, in which the bronze vessels and other objects were placed above the covering slabs, while the gold-mounted sword and jewelry lay below, beside, or on the body. The large chamber-tomb No. 14 also presents obvious points of comparison. Not only did it contain a similar portable hearth, but there seems to have been in this case a double disposition of the *peculium* of the dead recalling that of the Royal Tomb. There are reasons for supposing that the personal ornaments and other precious objects which had all been abstracted were originally contained either in the small sepulchral cist visible in the floor or in a portable funereal chest. The household utensils, however, which though in this case of bronze, had been left untouched, stood beside the hearth on the floor of the chamber.

Of the wealth in jewelry and other objects of precious metals once contained by the Royal Tomb we have little more than an indication in the gold hairpin, silver vases, and lapis lazuli beads and pendants. It is evident that on more than one occasion it was thoroughly ransacked for such objects, and even the bronze vessels, which may be supposed to have outnumbered those of painted clay, had disappeared from the floor of the funereal chamber. It is on the whole surprising that it should have been possible to obtain a record of so much, though the final results were only obtained by the careful piecing together of fragments distributed throughout the whole of the vast mass of *débris* extracted from the tomb, and the further sifting of the surface earth of a large part of the neighbouring field for fragments thrown out in the course of the previous quarrying. The porphyry bowl in particular, though unquestionably of Minoan workmanship, is worthy both in fabric and material to be set beside the most exquisite vases in hard stone found in the tombs of early Egyptian kings. The fine series of alabaster vases includes many imported Egyptian vessels, and the painted vases afford new and splendid illustrations of the Palace style of Knossos.

§ 2. *Earlier Class of Objects found in the Royal Tomb.*

1. Bowl of deep green and black porphyry with white crystals. Diameter 38 centimetres, height 13 centimetres. Fig. 124. The underside is seen on fig. 123, S.1 (Plate XCVIII.). On either side of the most prominent part of the exterior border are two small vertical perforations, perhaps originally intended for purposes of suspension, which had been carefully filled up, apparently with similar porphyry. Only one small fragment of this bowl (from the rim) is wanting.

The shape of this vase does not seem to answer to any Egyptian type. At the same time it might easily be a derivative form descended from certain types of bowls of diorite and other materials belonging to the Early Empire, examples of which occurred at El Kab. The recurved rim and carinated contour is also characteristic of this Egyptian group. Moreover, a similar dark green porphyry was also in use in Egypt as a material for vases during the early dynastic period. Rough blocks of green porphyry answering to the material of the present bowl were found in the Palace at Knossos; many of these worked into a later wall in the Domestic Quarter. The porphyry itself seems to be the *lapis Lacedæmonius*, and to have been imported into Minoan Crete for various purposes from the quarries of Mount Taygetus. In Late-Minoan times it was a common material of gems. (See Fig. 124.)

2. One-handled Egyptian vase of coarse alabaster. Height 25.3 centimetres, diameter 14 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.2, Plate XCIX.) The exterior of the handle shows perpendicular and horizontal grooves, and is prolonged in a grooved collar round the neck of the vase. A part of the rim was wanting, and has been restored in plaster. This vase, unquestionably an imported vessel, belongs to a very common Egyptian class. The present specimen greatly resembles one from an early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb group at Abydos,<sup>a</sup> now in the Ashmolean Museum. Another, of more expanded contour, but with the same characteristic handle and collar, was found in a tomb of the Lower Town at Mycenæ<sup>b</sup> which contained a fine painted amphora of the Knossian Palace style and two stone lamps,<sup>c</sup> also of Cretan fabric and material and exactly resembling those from the present tomb to be described below. This common Egyptian type recalls, in its globular body

<sup>a</sup> A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, plate I., Tomb D, 11. An interesting vase in the form of a hedgehog was found in the same grave.

<sup>b</sup> See Bosanquet, *J. H. S.* xxiv. (1904), p. 325, where various similar vases are cited. Nothing exactly answering to this very characteristic Egyptian type occurs among those illustrated in Von Bissing's *Catalogue of the Gizeh Stone Vases*.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* plate xiv. a, b. These were of grey steatite.



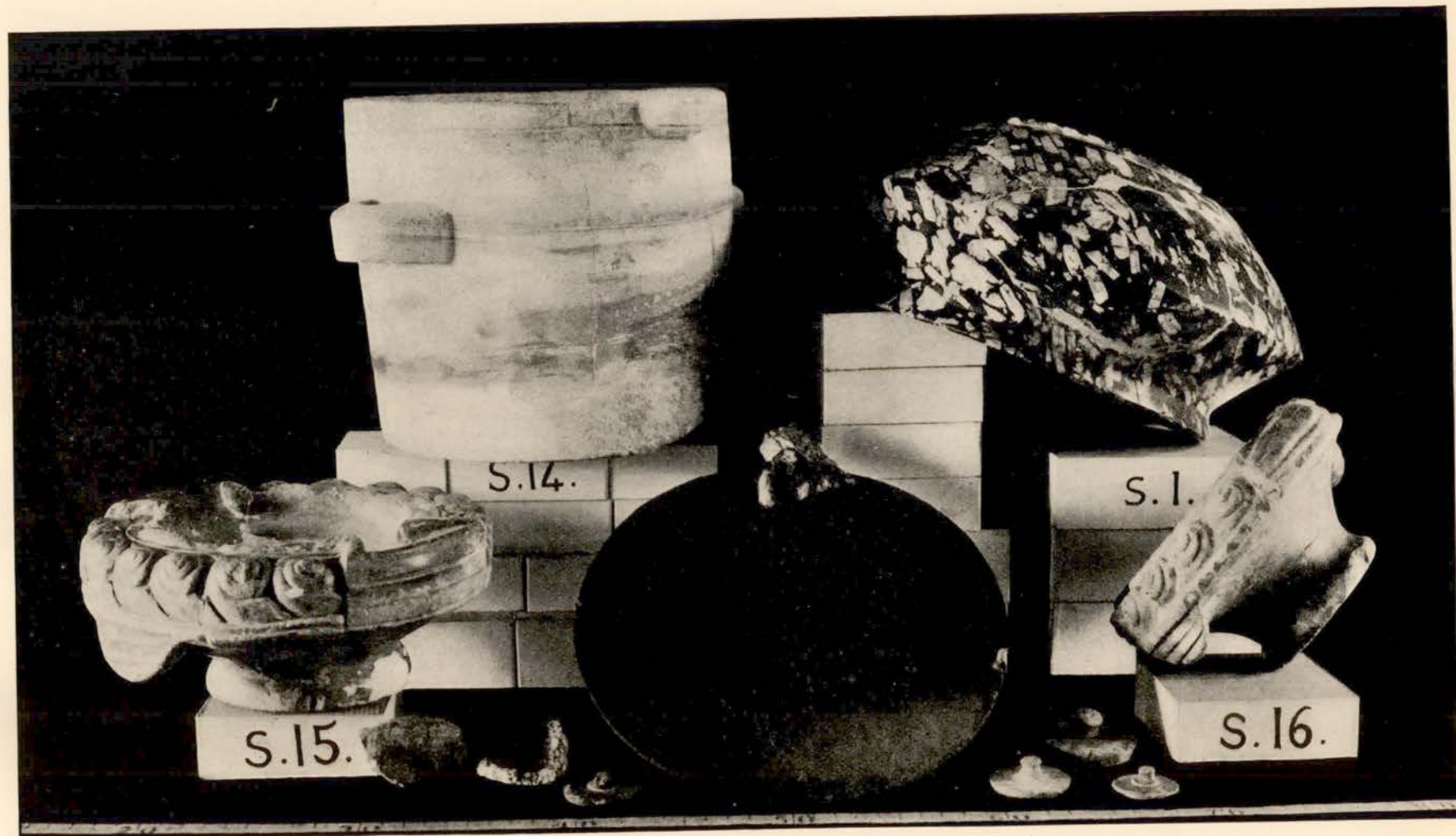


Fig. 123. Objects belonging to earlier interments.

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and upright neck surrounded with a collar, certain "bucchero" vases, apparently of Syrian fabric, very frequent in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb groups.<sup>a</sup>

3. Egyptian vase of banded alabaster with a bulging contour. Height 18.5 centimetres, diameter 16 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.3, Plate XCIX.). Baggy alabaster vases, such as this and the three succeeding examples (Nos. 4, 5, and 6) are common in Twelfth Dynasty deposits. They begin indeed still earlier, since a very similar alabaster vessel was found by Professor Petrie in a Sixth Dynasty tomb at Dendera.<sup>b</sup> It is interesting to observe that this baggy type of Egyptian *alabastron* became the prototype of a series of painted clay vessels that characterise the very beginning of the Late Minoan ceramic style. Several of these were found by Miss Boyd at Gournia on floors of the First Late Minoan Period, and the wavy bands of the alabaster are in many cases reproduced in the painted decoration. From the frequency of these clay imitations at this time we must infer that the alabaster prototypes were largely imported into Crete about the time which corresponds with the date of the great remodelling of the Palace at Knossos. During the next period (Late Minoan II.) which immediately preceded the destruction of the Palace this ceramic type is no longer found.

4. Egyptian vase of banded alabaster of small dimensions (height 10.5 centimetres, diameter 9.5 centimetres), but otherwise closely resembling in its baggy contour No. 3 above. (Fig. 125, S.4, Plate XCIX.)

5. Egyptian vase of banded alabaster; one side imperfect. Height 7.8 centimetres, diameter 8.2 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.5, Plate XCIX.). This small vessel resembles the above except that the transition from the base to the sides is somewhat more abrupt. A very similar vase was found in a tomb at Abydos belonging to the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>c</sup>

6. Egyptian vase of banded alabaster of a more squat form than the preceding, but otherwise resembling them. Height 5.4 centimetres, diameter 8.5 centimetres. Parts of the rim and of one side are wanting, and have been completed in plaster. (Fig. 125, S.6, Plate XCIX.)

<sup>a</sup> See for instance J. Garstang, *El Arabah*, plates xvii. xviii. The type is also frequent in Cyprian Mycenaean tombs (Myres, *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 150, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, p. 37, and Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, figs. 62, 66, 68, 70). The term "base-ring ware" applied to this class is unsatisfactory, as these vessels rarely show anything at their base that can be called a ring. A more distinctive feature is the raised ring or collar round the neck in connection with the handle. It seems to represent the original noose of a thong handle round a neck of hard material.

<sup>b</sup> *Dendera*, plate xxi. 1 b; Von Bissing, *Cat. Gén.; Steingefässe*, plate xxi. No. 18619.

<sup>c</sup> Tomb Δ 15. The group of objects from this tomb is in the Ashmolean Museum.

A close parallel to this vase is again afforded by an *alabastron* from an early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb at Abydos.<sup>a</sup>

7. Small bowl of finely translucent alabaster. Restored from remaining portion of one side, including handle. (Fig. 125, S.7, Plate XCIX.) Original diameter, 7.5 centimetres. It had two semi-cylindrical ledge handles without perforation. An allied form of stone vase, with a flat rim on top, is of great antiquity in Egypt, going back to the pre-Dynastic period. In these vases, moreover, as in the present example, the ledge handles, though generally perforated for suspension, are not infrequently left solid. The flat rimmed form is common throughout the Early Empire, and supplies the prototype of a long series of Minoan stone vases.<sup>b</sup> Sometimes the flat rim was made in a separate piece,<sup>c</sup> and it is possible therefore that this was the case with the present vase. As, however, Egyptian ledge-handled vases with separate rims do not seem to be known after the period of the Early Empire,<sup>d</sup> it is possible that the present vase is of Cretan fabric, representing a survival of a much earlier Egyptian tradition.<sup>e</sup> Stone bowls of plain bird's-nest form, with rounded shoulders and showing neither rim nor ledges, are common among Cretan remains, going down to the late Minoan Period.

8. Egyptian vase of banded alabaster, with short foot, globular body, and cylindrical neck. Height 9.7 centimetres, diameter 8 centimetres. Parts of the rim are wanting. (Fig. 125, S.8, Plate XCIX.) This is a very typical Egyptian form,<sup>f</sup> specially common in the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. An imported vase of this type was found in a Mycenaean tomb at Enkomi.<sup>g</sup>

9. Egyptian vase of alabaster, with wavy grain. The rim was wanting and has been restored. Original height 11.4 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.9, Plate XCIX.) The type in Professor Petrie's opinion belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

10. Egyptian vase of banded alabaster, mouth wanting. Original height 9.8 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.10, Plate XCIX.) This is also an Eighteenth Dynasty type.

<sup>a</sup> Tomb E. 288. The group of objects belonging to this is also in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>b</sup> See my account of the *Hagios Onuphrios Deposit* in *Cretan Pictographs, etc.* (Quaritch, 1895), 118, figs. 111, 112, where a Fourth Dynasty vase of this type is compared with one from near Olous (Elunda), Crete.

<sup>c</sup> Ledge-handled stone vases, with a separate rim, already occur in the pre-Dynastic period, as at Nagada.

<sup>d</sup> A Fourth Dynasty example of this from El Kab is in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>e</sup> It is by no means certain that the present bowl had any detached rim.

<sup>f</sup> Compare F. von Bissing, *Steingefässe (Cat. Général des Ant. Égyptiennes au Musée de Caire)*, 18355 and 18356.

<sup>g</sup> Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 25, fig. 41 (No. 1815).



Fig. 125. Group of Alabaster Vases.

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11. Bowl of banded alabaster. Diameter 20.4 centimetres, height 8.4 centimetres (Fig. 125, S.11, Plate XCIX.) It has a flat base, with a round opening about 4 centimetres in diameter, and there is a round perforation half-way down the side. There seems to be no parallel to this type.

12. Two-handled spouted vase of veined and banded alabaster. Height 18.30 centimetres, diameter 20 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.12, Plate XCIX.) This vase answers in shape to a very representative Minoan class. As in the case of the clay vessels of this type, the spout does not fully open into the body of the vase, but is applied, as it were, to the wall of the vessel, a round hole through this supplying the means of communication.

Clay vases of this type are known in Crete by the close of the Early Minoan Age (cf. Miss E. H. Hall, *Early Painted Pottery from Gournia, Crete*, 5, 6) and are rife throughout the Middle-Minoan Period. They are still not infrequent in the immediately succeeding Age (Late-Minoan I). In the later remains of the Knossian Palace, however, characterised by the fine Palace Style of painted ware, they are no longer found. Neither did a single example occur in the cemetery of Zafer Papoura. Middle Minoan specimens are known in stone, and a spout and part of the rim of a vase of this type of banded alabaster were found in a deposit belonging to the very beginning of this period, below the later Palace floor in the region of the Pillar Rooms.

The curious spout of these vases with, as in this case, its relatively small round hole communicating with the interior, suggests an interesting comparison with a class of Egyptian vases of copper and alabaster belonging to the early Dynasties. The Egyptian form is handleless, but otherwise the parallelism is so close, that in the presence of other similar borrowings, it is fairly safe to conclude that the type is of early Egyptian derivation, the handles being added in conformity with Cretan taste. Of the alternative Egyptian types the copper form seems to be the original, the on-set of the spout being more easily reconcilable with metal than with stone technique. Fourth Dynasty examples of this type in copper and alabaster from El Kab and Mahasna are in the Ashmolean Collection.

In the case of one of these (of alabaster) and of another (of copper) in the Gizeh Museum from Mahasna,<sup>a</sup> the spout is divided into two by a partition along the centre, each division having a separate hole. Among the Middle Minoan clay vases from Gournia of the same form as the alabaster vessel from the Royal Tomb are some showing a double spout, a strong corroboration of the view expressed above that they should be regarded as derivatives of the proto-dynastic Egyptian type.

13. Bowl of banded alabaster with small flattening at base. Diameter 19 centimetres, height 10.4 centimetres. (Fig. 125, S.13, Plate XCIX.)

14. Spouted cylindrical vessel of veined limestone, with two horizontal handles having vertical openings. Height 19 centimetres, diameter 21 centimetres. This vase is some-

<sup>a</sup> Von Bissing, *Metalgefässe*, etc. 3436.

what coarsely executed and the interior irregularly hollowed out, so that the walls in places are very thin. (Fig. 123, S.14, Plate XCVIII.)

15. Lamp of purple gypsum with raised coils resembling shells on its two sides. (Fig. 126 and fig. 123, S.15, Plate XCVIII.) Height 9.2 centimetres, diameter of upper part

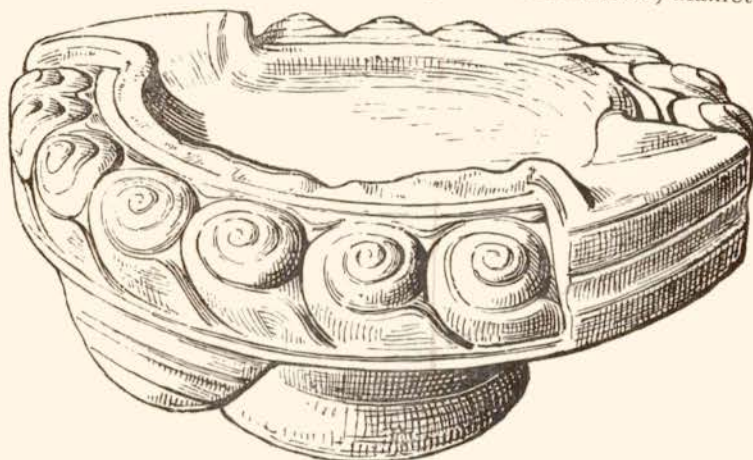


Fig. 126. Lamp of purple gypsum.

20 centimetres. This lamp is of a type and material very characteristic of the late Palace remains. A lamp with similar decoration in grey Cretan steatite was found in a chamber-tomb at Mycenae, together with remains of two fine amphorae of the Palace Style.<sup>a</sup>

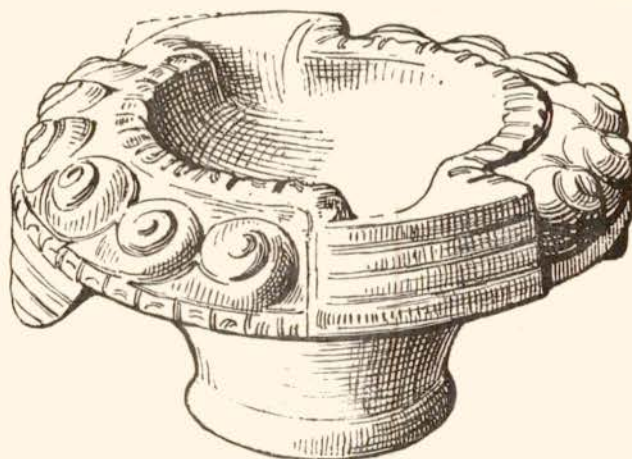


Fig. 127. Lamp of purple gypsum.

16. Lamp of purple gypsum, similar to the above, but somewhat smaller. Height 9.3 centimetres, diameter of the upper part 16.5 centimetres. (Fig. 127, and fig. 123, S.16, Plate XCVIII.)

17-20. Steatite lids with button handles. (See base of fig. 123, Plate XCVIII.) Lids

<sup>a</sup> See Bosanquet, *J. H. S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 322 *seqq.* and plate xiva.

of this class, as was pointed out in my account of the Hagios Onuphrios Deposit,<sup>a</sup> are practically identical with Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian examples. They are found associated with Cretan remains of the Middle Minoan Period.

21. Fragment of a small diorite bowl. Original diameter 11 centimetres and height 5 centimetres. The contour of this vessel, as far as it is preserved, and the characteristic moulding of the rim, resemble those of vases of serpentine alabaster and other materials from Fourth Dynasty tombs at El Kab,<sup>b</sup> now in the Ashmolean Museum. In the restored drawing (fig. 128), which is due to the kindness of Mr. C. F. Bell, the vase is shown with a flat bottom like that of the Egyptian example. Both the form and material of this bowl make it probable that we have here a part of an Egyptian vessel of early Dynastic fabric. Other examples of Old Empire Egyptian fabrics or their exact reproductions by Cretan artificers have been found on the Palace site of Knossos, and had apparently been preserved in the earlier building. Among them is a flat bowl of diorite, another of liparite, and a higher and thicker bowl of syenite.<sup>c</sup>

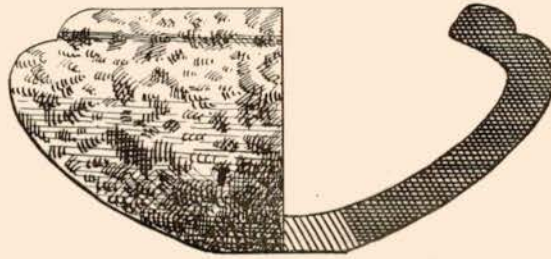


Fig. 128. Diorite bowl: restored from a fragment.

23. Small fragments of serpentine vases.

24. Hooked pin of spirally twisted gold. Length 11.5 centimetres. (Fig. 129.) It is somewhat pointed at the end and may have served as a hairpin. Bronze pins of similar type have been found on other Cretan sites.<sup>d</sup>



Fig. 129. Hooked pin of twisted gold.

25. Necklace of beads of lapis lazuli. The shapes are sufficiently shown in fig. 130. The arrangement, however, there given is conjectural. The section of the square type of the elongated beads approaches that of certain paste beads found in a chamber-tomb at Phaestos.<sup>e</sup> The lapis lazuli examples of the present necklace are, however, more elegant

<sup>a</sup> In *Cretan Pictographs*, etc. Quaritch, 1895, p. 117 *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> Quibell, *El Kab*, plate x. pp. 17, 30.

<sup>c</sup> A. J. E., *Report: Knossos*. B. S. A. viii. p. 121 *seqq.* and ix. p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Eg. Augo, Gournia, Zakro, and Palaikastro. See H. R. Hastings (*American Journal of Archaeology*, ix. 279), who also regards them as hair-pins.

<sup>e</sup> Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, 141, fig. 100 c.

in contour and obviously the work of an earlier period. The pendant beads with a quatrefoil section are also highly artistic. None of the more elaborate forms of bead here represented is known in Egypt, and there can be no doubt that the necklace is of Cretan fabric, and probably belongs to the earlier part of the Late-Minoan Age.

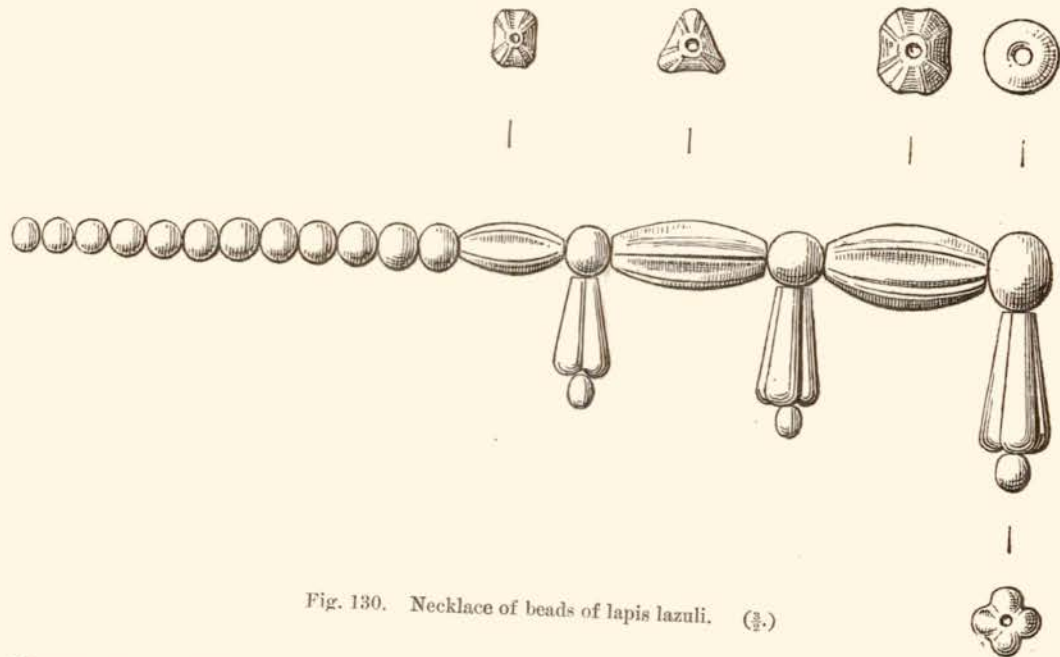


Fig. 130. Necklace of beads of lapis lazuli. ( $\frac{3}{8}$ .)

26. Pendant of lapis lazuli in the form of a monkey, with a vertical and two side perforations. Height 1.9 centimetres (fig. 131, *a*). The animal is in a squatting position raising his hands to his ears, and the tail is seen running up his back. The object

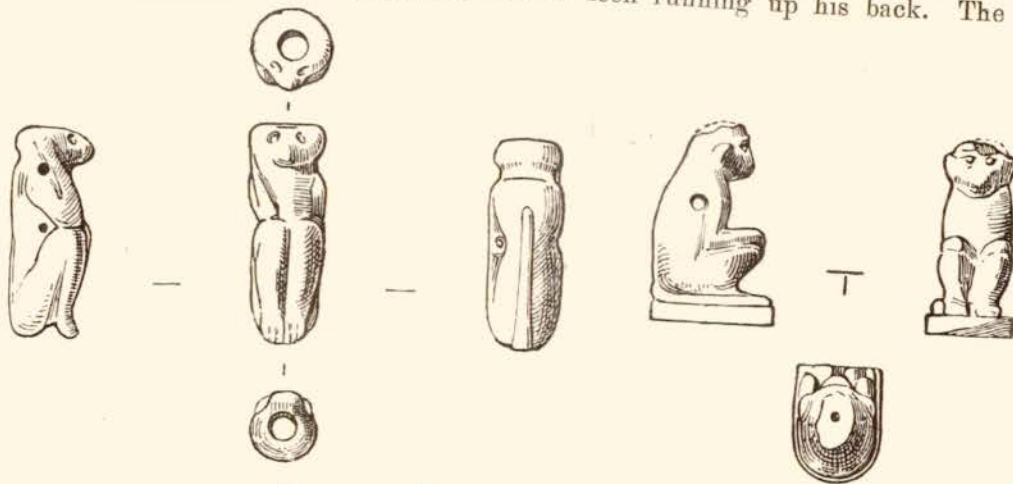


Fig. 131. Lapis lazuli pendants in form of long-tailed monkeys. ( $\frac{3}{8}$ .)



naturally suggests Egyptian parallels, the *cercopithecus* or long-tailed monkey being a favourite ornament of Egyptian necklaces (cf. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1878 edition, iii. 269). From its association with the beads described above and the identity of the material there can be little doubt that this ornament, together with the figures of another monkey and a frog described below, must be regarded rather as Cretan imitations of Egyptian pendants of the same kind than as imported objects of Egyptian fabric.

27. Pendant of lapis lazuli, also representing a long-tailed monkey. Height 1.9 centimetres (fig. 131, *b*). The monkey in this case is seated on a square base with his forearms resting on the knees while the tail curls round by his right foot.

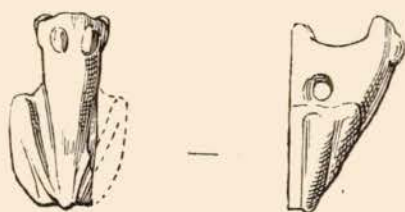


Fig. 132. Lapis lazuli pendant in form of a frog. ( $\frac{3}{4}$ .)

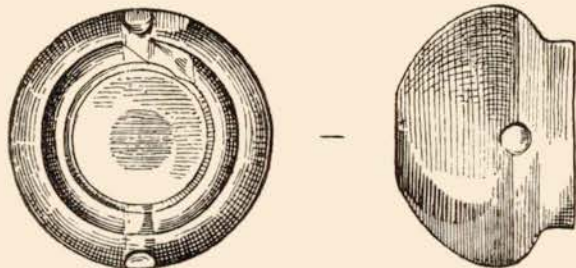
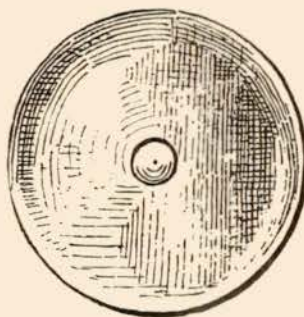


Fig. 133. Crystal pommel of a dagger. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

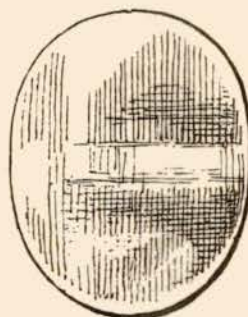


Fig. 134. Large crystal bead. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

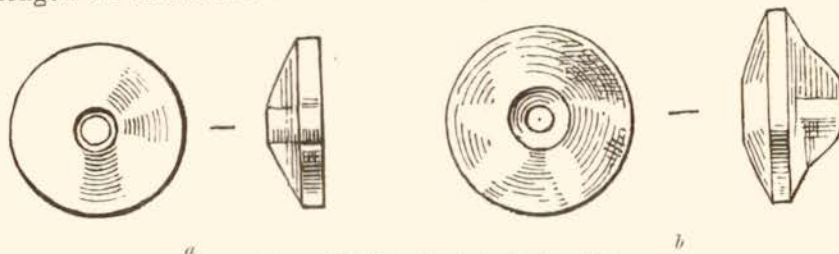
28. Bead or pendant in form of a frog perforated through the sides. A part of the hind quarters is broken off on one side. Length 1.8 centimetres (fig. 132.) The frog is also common as an Egyptian ornament. It seems to have been an emblem of Ptah (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* iii. 15 and 340).

29. Crystal pommel, probably of a dagger, with side perforation for the bronze pin of the handle. (Fig. 133.)

30. Large crystal bead. (Fig. 134.)

31, 32. Crystal whorls. (Figs. 135, 136.)

33. Large oval bead of pale lemon-coloured translucent steatite. One end broken. Original length 4.2 centimetres.



Figs. 135, 136. Crystal whorls. (↓.)

34. Uncertain alabaster object. (Fig. 137.) Length 4.8 centimetres. Both faces are hollowed out in the shape of a pointed oval gradually narrowing to a small slot of the same form.

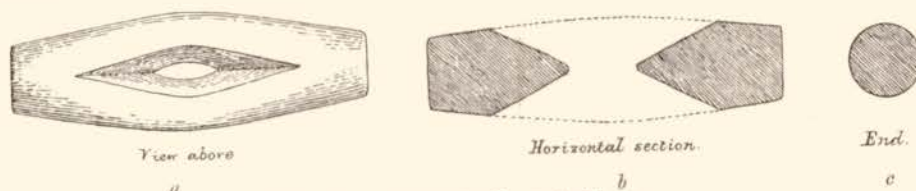


Fig. 137. Uncertain object of alabaster.

35. Clay sealing, of which about 12 examples (some fragmentary) were found. The back is pinched in so that it shows a triangular section. The major axis of these sealings

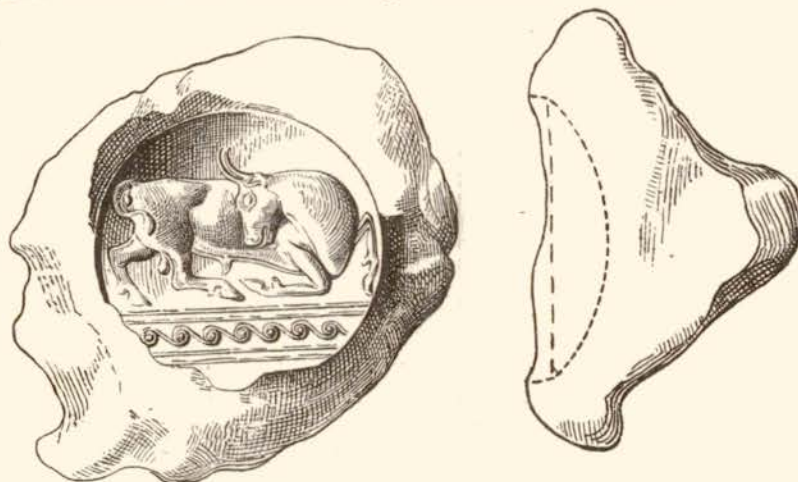


Fig. 138. Clay sealing, showing bull on architectural base. (Enlarged two diameters.)

does not, as in some cases, show any sign of a string having run through it. The face is impressed with a lentoid intaglio (diameter c. 1.5 centimetre) representing a bull in the

act of rising from a couchant position, with his head turned backwards. The animal appears above what is evidently intended to be an architectural base. It shows two horizontal lines above and below a frieze decorated with nine connected spiral coils, of which seven appear in the present impression. The engraving of the whole design is in the finest style of the Later Palace. The connected coils recall those of the two stone lamps. (Fig. 138.)

36. Large bronze mirror, 22 centimetres in diameter, with fragmentary remains of its ivory handle attaching to it. This mirror is much larger than any of those from the cemetery of Zafer Papoura. (See fig. 123, Plate XCVIII.)



Fig. 139. Silver cup (restored). (†.)

37. Silver cup with pedestal and a single handle. A part of the handle, which was fixed by three rivets, was wanting, and the cup, of which fig. 139 gives a restored drawing, was much crushed. The remains are in a highly oxydised condition, but some traces of decoration seem to be visible at the base.

38. Parts of the handle and rim of a silver cup of about the same size as the preceding and apparently of a somewhat similar form. (Fig. 140.) The handle was secured by three rivets. Its exterior attachment below terminates in an outline recalling that of the reduplicated edges of many of the double axes of Minoan cult.

39. Tripod hearth of hard plaster with white facing.

40. Large painted "amphora" with three handles, showing decorative designs of the

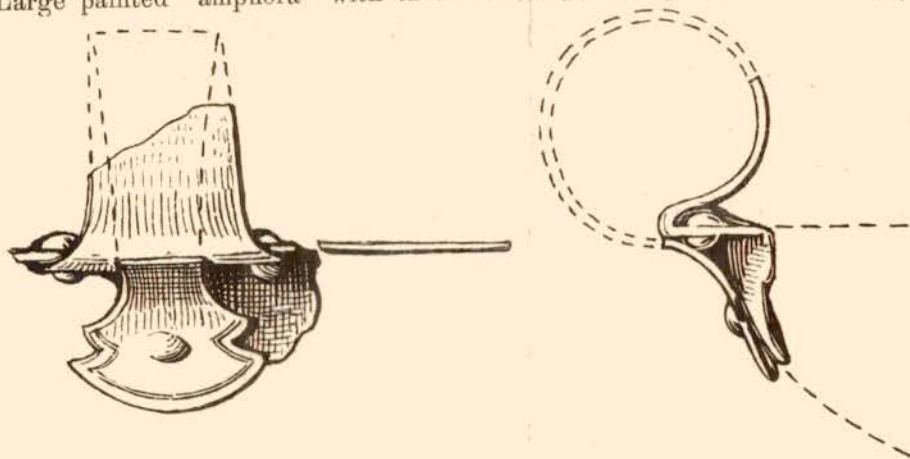


Fig. 140. Handle and part of rim of silver cup.

latest Palace Period (Late-Minoan II.). (Fig. 141*a*, Plate C.) Height 67.5 centimetres, diameter 49.5 centimetres. On one side is an octopus of a somewhat symmetrical decorative character with conventional rockwork. On the other side are seen conventional sprays



Fig. 141*b*. Part of the back of a painted "amphora."

and coils with stellate and other flowers. (Fig. 141*b*.) Round the neck is a foliate band. The vase was put together from scattered fragments, and several parts are missing, but enough remains to reconstitute most of the design.



LARGE PAINTED "AMPHORA" (fig. 141a) WITH OCTOPUS AND FLORAL DESIGNS  
FROM THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1905.



LARGE PAINTED "AMPHORA" (fig. 142a) WITH CONVENTIONALIZED PLANT DESIGNS.  
FROM THE ROYAL TOMB AT ISOPATA.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1905.

41. Large painted "amphora" with three handles of the same shape as the above. Height 63·5 centimetres, diameter 42 centimetres. This magnificent vase, like the other, was put together from scattered pieces, but a zone round the centre of the body was almost entirely wanting. Happily, however, enough remained to complete the design with certainty, and fig. 142, Plate CI., from a drawing by the Danish artist, Mr. Halvor Bagge, gives a complete restoration of the vase. Immediately below the collar is a double band of foliage, with a series of reduplicated edgings below directly suggested by chased metal work, such as that of the bronze bowl from the Palace hoard shown in fig. 116 above. The conventionalised plant ornament that surrounds the body displays a stately and quasi-architectonic style very characteristic of the mature art of the Later Palace.

The flat upper rim of this vessel is decorated with what may be termed the wave-and-star pattern very frequent on the Knossian Palace frescoes.<sup>a</sup> (Fig. 142*b*.)

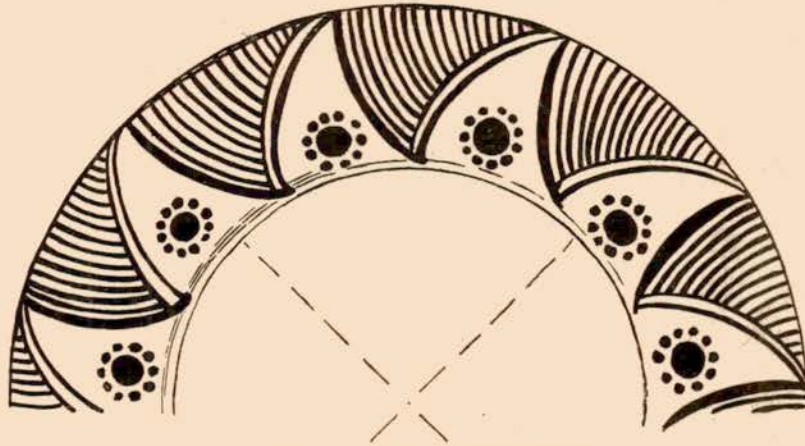


Fig. 142*b*. Rim of painted "amphora."

A variant of the same design, in which the stars are superimposed, as the waves recur in the painted decoration of the hearth in the Megaron of the Palace at Mycenae. The same pattern is also found in ivory reliefs of the period as the decoration of the wings of griffins and sphinxes.

42. Painted "amphora" with three handles, similar to the above. Height 48 centimetres, diameter 37 centimetres. (Fig. 143.) The upper part of this is fairly complete, but parts of the base are wanting. Round the neck is a single foliate band. The band of ornament that runs round the shoulders of the vase varies on the two sides, both halves, however, show spiraliform designs, probably derived from metal work. The double lines of connected spirals in particular recall the decoration of a gold cenochoë and cup from the Acropolis graves of Mycenae. The other pattern seems to be a derivative form of the simpler

<sup>a</sup> See Fyfe, "Painted Plaster Decoration at Knossos": *Journ. R. I. B. A.* x. 127, where it is referred to as "tooth ornament."

spiraliform motive on the gold breast plate from Schliemann's First Grave. (*Mycenae*, 301, fig. 458.) The field below this zone is divided into three parts by foliate sprays

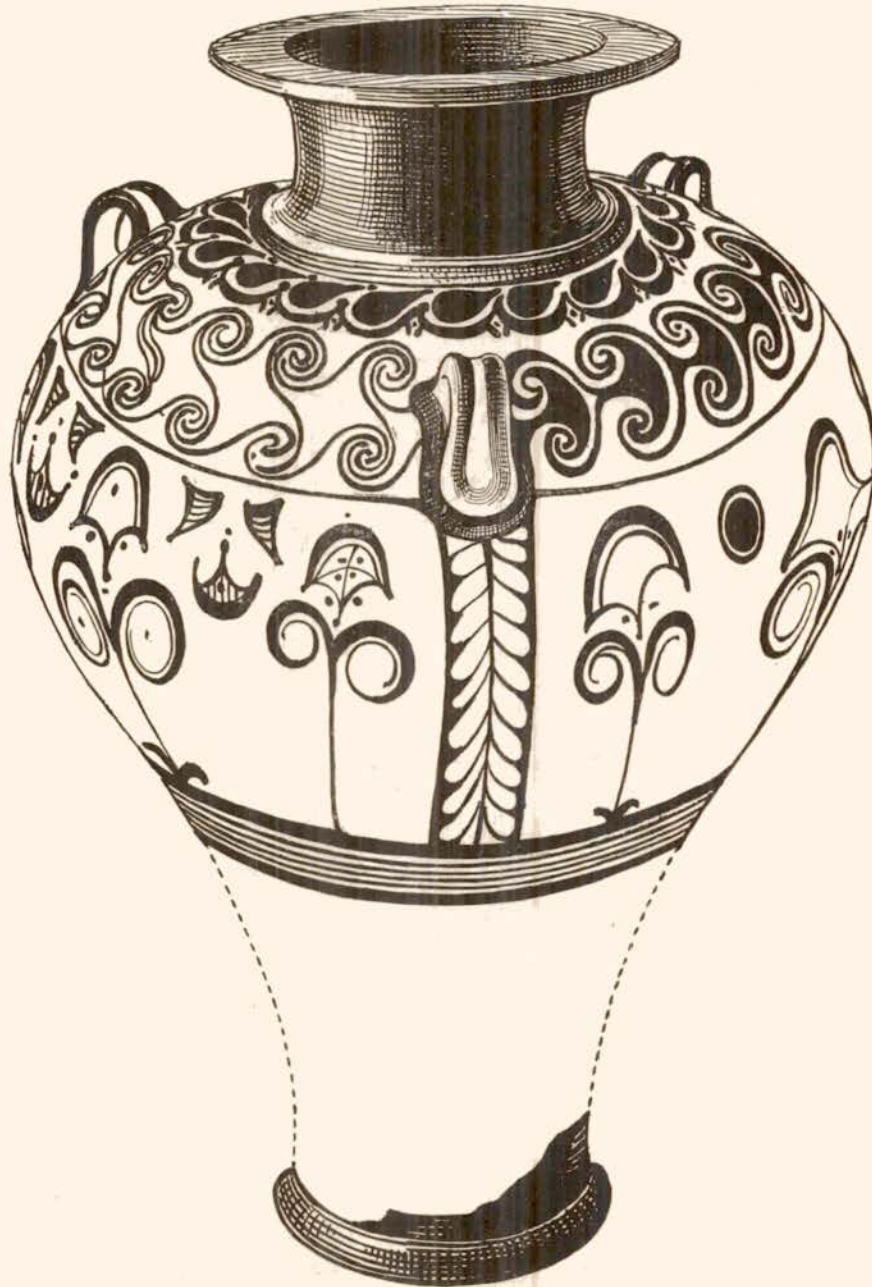


Fig. 143. Painted "amphora" with spiral patterns.

descending vertically beneath the handles. The three spaces thus divided off show an uniform decoration of very crude conventional sprays, which were evidently very hastily



finished by the painter of the vase. These have a distinctly decadent aspect, but the foliate sprays and metal-work patterns of the rest of the decoration take us well back within the limit of the Palace Period.



Fig. 144. Painted "amphora" with architectural motives.

43. Painted "amphora" with three handles, similar in form to the others. Height 50·3 centimetres, diameter 34 centimetres. (Fig. 144). The greater part of this vessel could be

put together. The shoulders of the vase are surrounded by scrolls and a foliate band, and similar foliate bands descending from beneath the handles to the base divide the whole body into three parts.

The lower spaces are decorated with plain curving sprays, but the upper part of the body is occupied with two zones of a remarkably architectonic character divided from one another horizontally by a checkered band, which recalls the black and white representations of masonry on the "miniature frescoes" of the Knossian Palace.<sup>a</sup> From this again vertical bands of the same checker work, rising like piers from the imitation masonry below, traverse the upper of the two zones in question, while others descend across the lower zone. Nor does the architectural parallel end here. The imitation masonry is associated in both zones with figures in the form of two half-ovals with an upright division in the centre. These figures obviously represent the elongated half-rosettes, with the rudimentary triglyphs between them, which characterises the Minoan and Mycenæan friezes. No one indeed can compare the miniature fresco from the Palace of Knossos, showing the façade of a shrine in which a frieze of this kind is combined with black and white checker work, indicative of masonry, without recognising the indebtedness of the present ceramic design to some such model. In some cases here we see the checker work forming the division between the two wings of the frieze ornament, a feature which also recurs in the central bar of the triglyph of the Knossian shrine. In other cases this middle division is filled with a decoration consisting of interlocked spirals, and a similar ornament again recurs in the same connexion on portions of stone friezes found at Knossos and Mycenæe.

One feature remains to be considered of special value in defining the source from which this ceramic design was derived. This is the appearance of two objects with strongly recurved edges proceeding from either side of the middle division of these designs and filling the two arched spaces left by their double borders. There can be little doubt, in view of other decorative degenerations of the same object, that these are derived from the two curving ends of the ever-recurring sacred double-axe of the Minoan cult, as seen on either side of its shaft. We are once more carried back to the same sphere of Minoan religious architecture as that illustrated by the temple fresco. The ceramic remains of the Palace of Knossos have indeed, as I have elsewhere pointed out, abundantly attested the existence of a special class of vases exhibiting the sacred double axe as their principal design. In the present case we have a closely parallel example of a religious decorative style, in which not only the sacred emblem but details taken from the shrine itself are represented. On a recently discovered fresco from the South-West Hall of the Palace at Knossos are seen parts of a shrine with checker work imitation of masonry associated with

<sup>a</sup> It must be at the same time observed that, both in the case of the architectural frescoes and the vase, this checker work design is by no means an exact representation of the isodomic courses of the best Minoan masonry. It is rather a conventional equivalent for similar construction suggested, it seems, by Egyptian painted façades, on which such checker work is frequent. Rather, indeed, it represents the appearance of a painted plaster facing than of actual structural features.

columns in which are inserted the blades of double axes,<sup>a</sup> while on the painted sarcophagus found by the Italian mission at Hagia Triada the trunk-like shafts of the axes rise from bases with similar checker work.

It is worth noting that a complete parallel to these ceramic adaptations of features of Minoan religious architecture is supplied by a vase from a Cypro-Mycenæan tomb at Enkomi. The design on this vase (as was pointed out in my *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*)<sup>b</sup> shows a two-storeyed building in which "female votaries are seen with their hands raised in the act of adoration on either side of what appear to be square columns."

The above parallel, which enables us to connect the principal designs of the present vase with details taken from religious architecture, supplies at the same time the true origin of later versions of similar motives that occur in the more decadent Minoan Age, and survive on the pottery of the Geometrical class. Checker-work panels are seen on vases of the ensuing Third Late-Minoan Period,<sup>c</sup> and the same design occupies the central field of the painted *larnax* from the Cymbal-player's tomb at Mulianà. In describing this latter example indeed ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1904, p. 40), Dr. Xanthoudides had already expressed the opinion that the checker-work ornament was copied from Minoan masonry. The same motive is very characteristic of Cretan Geometrical ware.

The other architectural feature of the present vase with its medial bar and elongated oval wings, which as we have seen is simply taken over from the reliefs of Minoan friezes, survives in a similar way in later ceramic decoration. It is found on late sherds at Mycenæ (Furtw. u. Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, taf. xxiii. 322, 327), and similar degenerations of the Double Axe are also seen on either side of the middle upright, but without the surrounding half ovals (*loc. cit.* No. 325).

### § 3. Architectural Details of the Isopata Tomb. By D. THEODORE FYFE.

Regarding details of construction, it is of greatest interest to determine, as far as possible, the exact form of roof in the inner chamber. The ends of the chamber at east and west were vertical, from the evidence of the nine existing courses of the east wall. The sides, at north and south, sloped inwards, judging from the five existing courses of each. The facework of the south wall shows a concave surface, that of the north wall a straight surface, but the lines governing the two slopes have the same inclination from the vertical.

The complete vault may easily have been formed by a series of straight faces approximating

<sup>a</sup> A. J. E. *Report: Knossos*, 1904, *B. S. A.* x. p. 41 *seqq.* and fig. 14.

<sup>b</sup> P. 13 and p. 14, fig. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Hogarth, *B. S. A.* vi. 103, fig. 31, from the Dictæan Cave. Savignoni, *Necropoli di Phaestos*, tav. 1. 2. Furtwängler u. Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Taf. xxiv. 341.

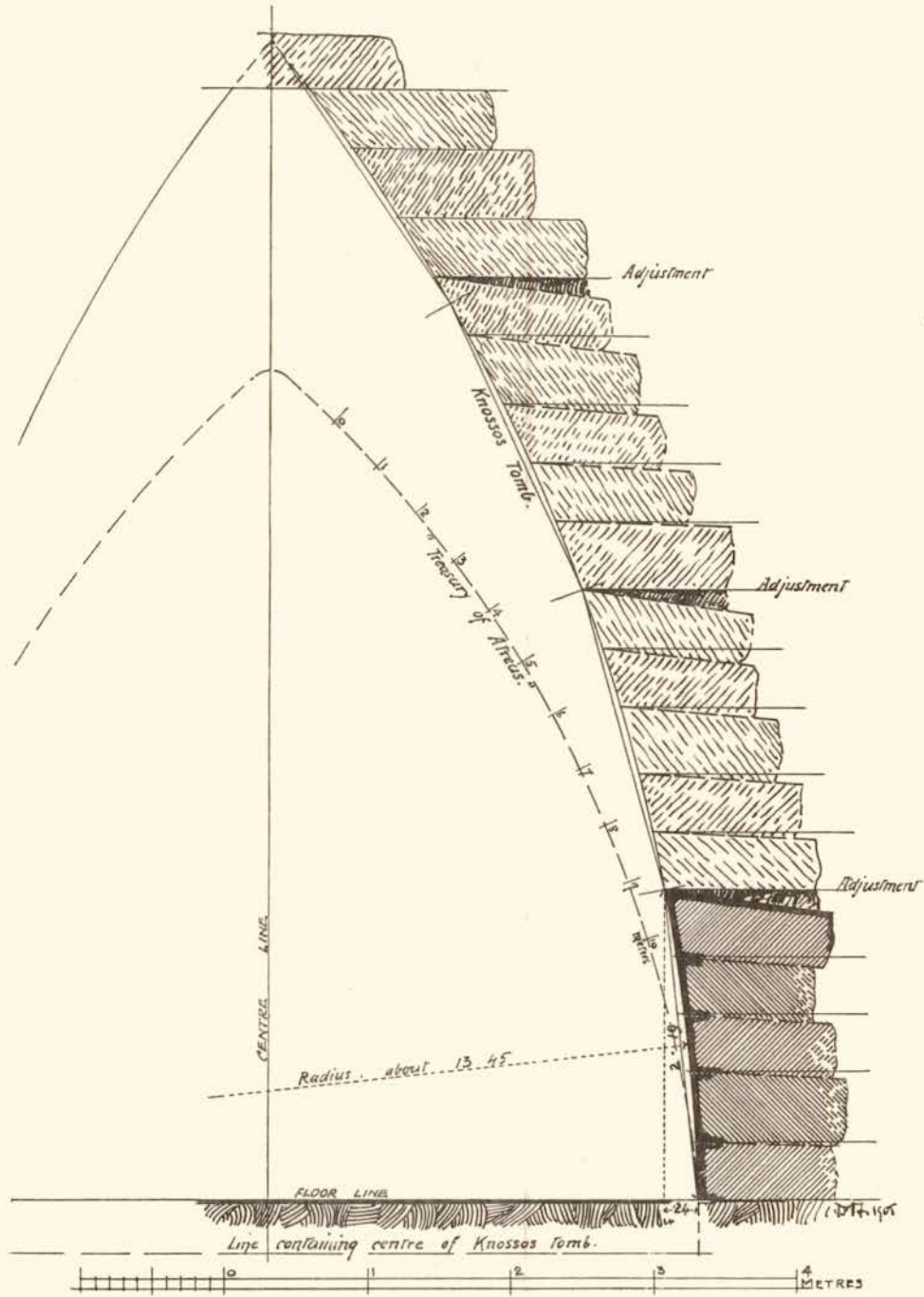


Fig. 145. Conjectural restoration of the vault of the principal chamber of the Isopata Tomb.

to a curve. By accurately working out an extension of the existing curve in geometrical progression, as far as the central axial line of the chamber from east to west, what appears to be nearly if not exactly the complete curve may be arrived at. (See fig. 145.) This curve would have a centre a little below the floor level (which is the starting point of the masonry), dependent on the fact that neither here nor in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae is there a vertically-faced course of masonry at the base. The slope begins at once. In the Treasury, the initial slope is greater, and the centre of the curve in consequence still further below the floor level.

From the working out of the aforesaid curve, the apex of the vault would be about 8 metres above the floor, so that the chamber would have approximately equal height and length. Dr. Evans suggests that this is intentional, or, in other words, given the main dimension of area, the height can be ascertained. From the evidence of the Treasury of Atreus, which is nearly as high as its diameter, it appears probable that some such rule was regarded in the construction of these chambers.

The existing stonework of the sloped sides of the chamber is built in heading courses, except the lowest course, which is mostly of stretchers. This we should expect. It is noticeable that the courses are not laid with horizontal beds, but that from below upwards the beds have a constantly increasing downward slope towards the outside. (See fig. 145.) If this principle were carried out to the crown of the vault, the topmost stones would have an impossibly acute angle. We must therefore assume that the downward slope was corrected at intervals, as indicated in the diagram. The downward slope was obviously introduced to lessen the chance of the masonry falling inwards.

The evidence of the detached stones with cut-away faces, which were found lying about, further tends to confirm the restoration shown. The sharpest angle found was  $54\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, which corresponds with the angle of the topmost course in the restoration. The structure of the vault would diminish in thickness towards the top only on account of the increased cut-away of the upper stones, as the upper beds of the stones found average about a metre in width throughout. The courses may have diminished slightly in *height* towards the top, and the vault may have been closed at the top by a layer of stone slabs, as shown in the restoration.

This tomb differs from most of the mainland ones in that the *dromos* is taken down at a steep slope in ground which is nearly level, and is not run horizontally into a hill-face. In consequence the apex of the vault of the inner chamber must have risen some 8 feet or 9 feet above the present surface level. Even so, such a horizontally built oblong structure would be stable, more so than a circular one, provided the sloped stones of the vault were prevented from falling outwards by a certain amount of earth support. The soft rock-cutting on all sides is roughly vertical, and the increasing interspaces between it and the receding walls of the structure were probably filled in with earth and stones rammed down, after the same manner in which the backing for a retaining wall is formed.

The other parts of the structure now call for brief notice. The fore-hall was probably roofed with stone slabs or lintels at the existing highest point, or at most a course higher,

after the manner of the sepulchral niches.<sup>a</sup> This roof therefore, like that of the inner chamber, was, in effect, a tunnel vault.

The masonry facing of the fore-hall is smaller than that of the inner chamber, and the stones are not in heading courses.

The cross walls blocking the entrances from *dromos* and fore-hall and from fore-hall and inner chamber, were apparently of the more temporary construction suited to their purpose, but a certain effect is obtained in the first mentioned (which is better preserved) by means of the courses in ashlar work which alternate with the rubble filling. (See Plate XCV. *b.*)

There is nothing that calls for special notice in the construction of the cist grave except the square sinking on the south side. This may have been intended for the attachment of some lining which has now perished. Some fragments of slabs were found in the *débris* of the cist, which probably belonged to the roofing slabs which must have closed the grave.

A word should be added about the stonework generally.

The method of building is in courses throughout, not, as at Orchomenos, in rubble work with ashlar dressings. More attention was paid to getting a roughly true surface than to accurate bedding of joints. Interstices in the joints are packed with small stones and sometimes with pieces of slate, set into mortar slapped on after the stones were laid, exactly as is done in Crete nowadays. It is difficult to know if the walls were plastered or left in stone.

The face of the stonework is not finely dressed or rubbed as is the finest Palace work at Knossos. Here tool marks are everywhere visible, but, on the other hand, no trace of a plaster finish is discoverable in the inner chamber, and only a small quantity in the fore-hall and *dromos*. My own impression, however, is that the tomb was finished, or intended to be finished, in some way.

#### § 4. *General Conclusions regarding the Isopata Tomb.*

A general survey of the finds from the Royal Tomb described in Section 2 leads to conclusions hardly consistent with the view that these remains all belong even approximately to the same date. The fine painted vases with their architectonic designs clearly belong to the closing period of the Later Palace and to the phase of art described as Late-Minoan II. Certain Egyptian *alabastra* like the one-handled vase, No. 2, and those described under Nos. 8, 9, and 10, must be regarded as early Eighteenth Dynasty fabrics more or less contemporary with these fine ceramic products of the Palace Style. The stone lamps and plaster

<sup>a</sup> Cf. also the roof of the smaller chamber at Orchomenos. Perrot, *L'Art, etc.* vi. 446.

hearth, the bronze mirror, the crystal pommel, the clay sealings, and probably some other relics may be referred to the same period, or roughly speaking to the fifteenth or sixteenth century before our era.

But when we come to objects such as the more baggy class of alabaster vessels of the types represented by Nos. 3 and 4, the centre of gravity of our comparisons tends at once to move up to a higher chronological level. It is true that certain offshoots of these types, as for instance Nos. 5 and 6 of the above series, are still found in early Eighteenth Dynasty deposits. But the nearest parallels to such *alabastra* as Nos. 3 and 4 occur in Egyptian tombs of the Twelfth and even the Sixth Dynasty. They are, as all Egyptologists who have seen them agree, characteristic Middle Empire forms, in other words, they belong rather to the Third than to the Second Millennium before our era, and to a period contemporary with the Middle Minoan of Crete.

There is, moreover, a remarkable proof that about the close of the period in question this particular type of baggy *alabastron* was well known in Crete. Miss Boyd's excavations at Gournia have brought to light, among floor deposits belonging to the immediately succeeding age (Late-Minoan I.), a series of painted vases, not only reproducing the characteristic shape of these Egyptian *alabastra* but even imitating in the chevron patterns on their walls the waved bands of the stone. But by the Second Late-Minoan Period, to which the painted vases from the present tomb belong, these ceramic imitations have disappeared.

It has been further shown above that the hole-spouted vase of alabaster, No. 12, has very early connexions. The form itself seems to be derived from that of a class of Egyptian vessels of copper and alabaster characteristic of the early Dynasties, and it had already taken root in Crete during the Early Minoan period. It is specially common during the Middle Minoan Age, but by the concluding epoch of the Later Palace it seems to have fallen into complete desuetude, and no vessels of this shape in the Palace Style have come to light. On the other hand, the only parallel in alabaster is a fragment of a similar vessel from an early deposit found under the Later Palace floor in the neighbourhood of the Pillar Rooms and belonging to the very beginning of the Middle Minoan Period.

The magnificent porphyry bowl (fig. 124) recalls in its material and to a certain extent in its form the vessels in similar hard stones from royal and other tombs of the early Dynasties. The fragment of a diorite bowl (No. 21) reproduces the characteristic rim and contour of Fourth Dynasty examples, and if, as seems most probable, it formed part of an imported article from Egypt, it cannot with any reasonable probability be brought down much below that early period.

Vases of these fine igneous formations are conspicuous by their absence in the considerable store of stone vessels found in the later Palace of Knossos. On the other hand they fit on to a much more ancient group represented among the remains of the earlier Palace. Among these may be mentioned a syenite pot which in Professor Petrie's opinion is an Egyptian fabric of one of the early Dynasties, and parts of two exquisite bowls of diorite and liparite, not to be distinguished from the finest fabrics of the kind discovered in the royal tombs of the first four Dynasties of Egypt. It is possible that in one or the other case we have to deal with Cretan copies of these early forms, and that such may have continued in use to a later age than the Egyptian prototypes. But the evidence from the Palace site at Knossos clearly tends to show that vases of this class did not continue to be in vogue, at least beyond the limits of the Middle Minoan Period. Even heirlooms of the kind must have had a tendency to disappear.

Indications such as the above strongly point to the conclusion that the Isopata tomb itself goes back to an earlier period than that represented by the vases in the later Palace Style. Nor do these indications, supplied by objects found within it, stand alone. A valuable piece of evidence tending in the same direction is afforded by certain signs cut on the blocks of which the tomb was constructed. A comparative study of the signs on the blocks of the earlier and later Palaces of Knossos and of the successive phases of each brings out the fact that the work of each period may be roughly distinguished by the character of these marks. Particular signs were prevalent during certain periods. The method of cutting, moreover, at least in its broad aspects, underwent a gradual modification. The signs of the earliest period are as a rule large and broadly cut, like those on the block described above from a grave at Zafer Papoura. (Fig. 9.) Those of the intermediate age show more or less transitional types, while the latest class are of smaller dimensions and finer incision.\*

Several different signs are cut on the blocks of the Royal Tomb, and the character of these corresponds with those of the intermediate class. This class

\* The question as to how far these signs are to be regarded as ordinary masons' marks or to what extent they may be held to have a religious significance is beyond the scope of the present paper. It is evident that some of the forms correspond with characters of the conventionalised pictographic script of contemporary seals and clay documents. At the same time from the manner in which they were used on the blocks of Minoan buildings it seems reasonable to conclude that they stood rather for signs than letters. It is clear that some of them, like the double-axe, had a religious value.



marks the earliest structures of the Later Palace at Knossos, which represent the closing phase of the Middle Minoan Period (M. M. III.).

In the Palace itself it is extremely rare to see more than two signs together on the same block. There is indeed a single instance of a compound figure made up of two signs being associated with another. The Royal Tomb, however, has supplied a hitherto unparalleled example of four of these signs following each other on the same stone. This interesting phenomenon occurred on a narrow block, a metre in length, and 20 centimetres high, which from the position in which it was found seemed to have originally served as the coping stone of the niche at the back of the main chamber. (Fig. 146.) Of these signs that on the extreme right exhibiting an eight-rayed star in a circle is new to the series, though the eight-rayed star itself is common enough. The other signs, namely the double axe, the branch, and the trident, are of special frequency on blocks belonging to the earlier structures of the Later Palace.

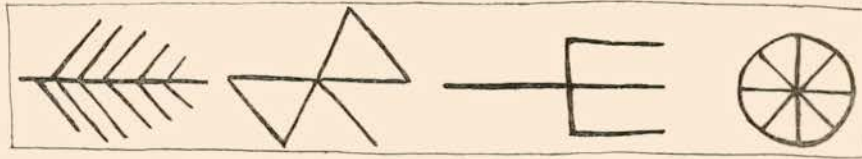


Fig. 146. Coping stone with incised signs, from niche of the Royal Tomb at Isopata.

The double-axe sign, which is the most constantly recurring of all those found in the Palace, had certainly a significance as the emblem of the principal Minoan divinities. In the Royal Tomb, too, it is in the ascendant, occurring in a conspicuous position on the wall north of the entrance of the main chamber, twice in the north niche of the fore hall, and elsewhere. The plain cross, also known on the Palace site, is also found, and two more tridents on a single block.

Thus not only the character of the incision but the choice of the signs correspond with that in vogue on the Palace blocks of the Third Middle Minoan Period.

Whether then we regard the earlier part of the contents of the tomb or the signs on its blocks, we are taken back for the date of its construction to a period long anterior to the closing days of the Later Palace. It can hardly be supposed indeed that Minoan Knossos, which to the last seems to have exercised a dominant influence on the arts of mainland Greece, was unable, during the period which is marked by the great domed chambers of Mycenae, to produce at least their architectural equivalent. The cross section of the main chamber here, with its

pointed tunnel vault, bears, it is true, some resemblance to that of the circular vault of the Treasury of Atreus, but structurally the latter represents a great advance on the former. The workmanship is finer, the area covered in the case of the Treasury is over three times as great, and the domed vaulting is in accordance both with static and dynamic principles.

Struck by these contrasts, and approaching the matter from the purely architectural standpoint, Mr. Fyfe arrived at a conclusion regarding the comparative date of the Isopata Tomb which is quite in agreement with the indications already referred to.

"From structural evidence," he writes, "we are on the whole justified in regarding the Knossos Tomb as of earlier date than any built tomb on the mainland at Mycenae or elsewhere." He notes as an early feature the absence of a lintel over the doorways as contrasted with the later work at Mycenae. He observes, however, that "it should be noticed in this connexion that the very timidity which restrained the Minoan builders from throwing a stone lintel across the full width of an opening (see entrances to sepulchral niches, Plates XCVI. XCVII.) made them adopt a door head with an attempt at an open arch, which ultimately became a more permanent form than the massive lintel with a relieving arch over it displayed at Mycenae.

It must also be borne in mind, as indicating a difference of date, that in its plan the Isopata Tomb is not a mere enlargement of that seen in the case of the chamber-tombs of the Late-Minoan Cemetery, but differs from this in some essential particulars. The fore-hall, with its side niches, and the niche at the back of the main chamber, are altogether divergent features. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that these very points show a curious conformity with the scheme of some typical Egyptian tombs belonging to the same approximate period as the earlier class of imported *alabastra* described above. An example of these from Hawara<sup>a</sup> is given in fig. 147. We see here a sloping passage approached by a well or pit, which to a certain extent recalls the abrupt ascent at the upper end of the Isopata *dromos*. This leads to an antechamber, the sepulchral chamber itself, on the floor of which the sarcophagus had stood, while behind the chamber is a square niche. The whole is in this case cut out of the rock, and the mastaba or sepulchral chapel originally rose on the ground level above the chamber.

The parallelism here presented to the arrangement of the Minoan tomb

<sup>a</sup> Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, plate vii. 9.

might suggest a suspicion that the early Egyptian influence on the sepulchral cult of prehistoric Crete went still further, and that the mound above the summit of the great chamber may have been here too crowned by some kind of *heróon* answering to the Egyptian chapel. A hint of some such sepulchral usage seems indeed to be supplied by the painted sarcophagus discovered by the Italian Mission at Hagia Triada.<sup>a</sup> Upon this various ritual scenes are depicted, including the worship of the double-axe emblems of the divine pair of Minoan religion, in presence of a figure which has been recognised as that of the deceased person, who stands at the entrance of what may well have been some such sepulchral shrine.

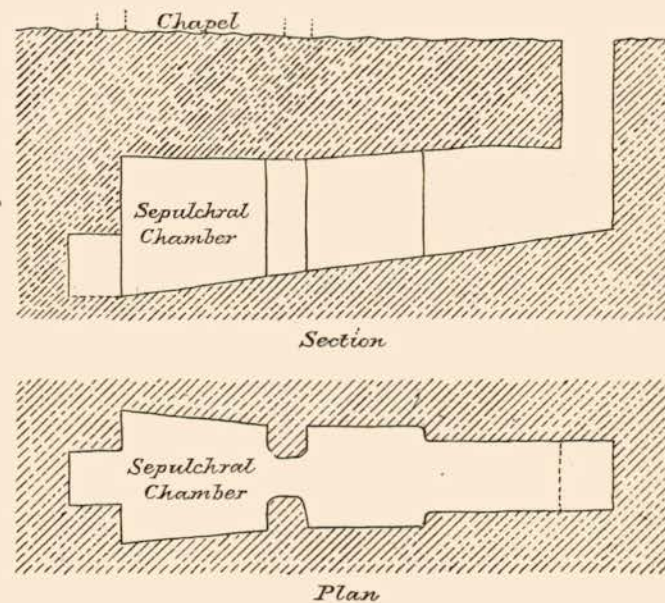


Fig. 147. Plan and section of a Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian tomb at Hawara (after Petrie).

In this connexion a special interest attaches to a passage of Diodorus, describing the traditional tomb of Minos near the Sicilian Minoa. The tomb, according to this account, was of a double nature, the actual sepulchre being below, while above it was reared a shrine of Aphrodite, for long a centre of Sicilian worship. The Aphrodite of Minos we now know. She is the Great Mother of prehistoric Knossos, lady alike of the double-axe, of the lion and of the dove, in some respects Rhea, in others the Aphrodite Ariadne of later cult.

<sup>a</sup> *Lavori eseguiti dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana, etc. (Rendiconti della r. Acad. dei Lincei, xii. Luglio 1903).*

It is also worth noting that the story of the death of Minos in Sicily at the hands of King Kokalos is identical with that of Agamemnon at the hands of Clytemnestra, according to the version preserved by Æschylus. Both were murdered in their baths. When we remember that the receptacles of the dead in the Minoan chamber-tombs were often nothing else than clay baths, we have a very probable source for the genesis of both stories.

To resume. The earlier of the sepulchral relics found, the signs on the blocks, the character of the construction itself, and the remarkable conformity to the plan with rock tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, all combine to indicate that the chamber-tomb of Isopata goes back to a period contemporary at least with the close of the Middle Empire in Egypt. In other words it was most probably built in the Third Middle Minoan Period.

The close of that period at Knossos was marked by a considerable catastrophe in the Palace, which was largely rebuilt and remodelled during the succeeding Late-Minoan Age. It looks as if towards the close of this later Palace Period the original grave cist, the contents of which had been already probably rifled and scattered about, had been once again made use of for an interment of some importance. The rough covering-slabs found certainly did not belong to the grave as first constructed, and were probably placed there after this second sepulture. To the interment of this Late-Minoan Age would naturally belong the fine painted vases in the Palace Style and the other contemporary objects enumerated.

Then came the still later violators of the grave, and the remains of the second interment were thrown about the floor of the chamber and elsewhere to mingle with the already scattered relics from the original deposit. At a still later period the whole vault was used for promiscuous sepulture, or possibly as a public ossuary.

The later history of the Royal Tomb in fact curiously reproduces that of the Palace itself and of its principal dependencies. Just as the once royal and seignorial halls were parcelled out and divided up by poorer denizens, so the spacious vault, originally we may believe constructed as a last resting-place for kings of Minoan stock, became in days of ruin and decline a common burial-pit:

*Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum.*

The size and conspicuous position of the Isopata tomb led me, when first it was opened, to make the suggestion that we might have here the legendary

resting-place of Idomeneus, the leader of the Cretan contingent of eighty ships against Troy, whose grave was pointed out near Knossos in Hellenic times together, close beside it, with that of his colleague and half-brother Meriones the son of Molos. According to Diodoros<sup>a</sup> it was marked with this epitaph:

Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὄρα τάφον. Ἄντ' ἀρ' ἐγώ τοι  
πλησίον ἰδρυμαι Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου.

Idomeneus was the grandson of Minos, which would probably make him out too late in the series for the original occupant of the Isopata tomb. The later interment may be thought to be hardly important enough for so great a prince, yet there is always a possibility that in times of decline and perhaps of pressing danger the later scion may have found a resting-place in an ancestral vault. Indeed it is hard to imagine that the grave cist of this imposing tomb was used again for one who was not of some account. In spite of exhaustive researches no trace of any like built tomb could be found in the neighbourhood. A few metres to the south, however, there came to light a chamber-tomb cut in the rock, of somewhat irregular form, but containing fragmentary remains of painted vases in the Palace Style contemporary with those of the neighbouring vault. Could this otherwise quite isolated sepulchral chamber be the traditional tomb where Meriones was laid, hard by the resting-place of his half-brother?

Such questions may never be answered, but the possible survival here of local traditions cannot be gainsaid, especially when it is remembered that the later use of the vault went on apparently into the Geometrical Period. At any rate the site would have been specially appropriate for the tomb of the Cretan prince who led the largest naval contingent of any of those who took part in Agamemnon's expedition. As a matter of fact the height on which it stands directly overlooks the extensive maritime town of Knossos, the existence of which a little east of the present town of Candia has been ascertained by the researches of the last season. It seems, too, that the tomb lay close to the ancient roadline, bringing the Palace and inland town into communication with the port.

In the days when the summit of the great chamber, itself rising some three metres above the rock surface, was capped by a mound, and that perhaps in turn surmounted by a *stela* or *herôon*, it must have been a most conspicuous landmark.

<sup>a</sup> V. 79, 4.

The panorama from the plateau of the tomb is certainly the most extensive of any in the neighbourhood of the ancient Knossos, though the Palace itself in its somewhat low-lying basin is shut off by a nearer hill. The eye ranges from the snow-clad ridge of Ida to that of Dicta, with the pyramid of the Cretan Stromboli rising to the west and that of Mount Juktas, the site of the traditional tomb of Zeus, immediately to the south. The view takes in alike the Venetian walls of Candia and the site of the Minoan port, while to the north it extends far across the Ægean waters from the near lying island of Dia, the stranding-place of Ariadne, to where on clear days Melos and the volcanic cliffs of Santorin are faintly discernible.

