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## ADDRESS

TO THE

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION.

BY

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*'The Eastern Question' in Anthropology.*

TRAVELLERS have ceased to seek for the 'Terrestrial Paradise,' but, in a broader sense, the area in which lay the cradle of civilised mankind is becoming generally recognised. The plateaux of Central Asia have receded from our view. Anthropological researches may be said to have established the fact that the White Race, in the widest acceptation of the term, including, that is, the darker-complexioned section of the South and West, is the true product of the region in which the earliest historic records find it concentrated. Its 'Area of Characterisation' is coterminous, in fact, with certain vast physical barriers due to the distribution of sea and land in the latest geological period. The continent in which it rose, shut in between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, between the Libyan Desert, and what is now Sahara, and an icier Baltic stretching its vast arms to the Ponto-Caspian basin, embraced, together with a part of anterior Asia, the greater part of Europe, and the whole of Northern Africa. The Mediterranean itself—divided into smaller separate basins, with land bridges at the Straits of Gibraltar, and from Sicily and Malta to Tunis—did not seriously break the continuity of the whole. The English Channel, as we know, did not exist, and the old sea-coast of what are now the British Islands, stretching far to the west, is, as Professor Boyd Dawkins has shown, approximately represented by the hundred-fathom line. To this great continent Dr. Brinton, who has so ably illustrated the predominant part played by it in isolating the white from the African black and the yellow races of mankind, has proposed to give the useful and appropriate name of 'Eurafrica.' In 'Eurafrica,' in its widest sense, we find the birthplace of the highest civilisations that the world has yet produced, and the mother country of its dominant peoples.

It is true that later geological changes have made this continental division no longer applicable. The vast land area has been opened to the east, as if to invite the Mongolian nomads of the Steppes and Tundras to mingle with the European population; the Mediterranean bridges, on the other hand, have been swept away. Asia has advanced, Africa has receded. Yet the old underlying connexion of the peoples to the north and south of the Mediterranean basin seems never to have been entirely broken. Their inter-relations affect many of the most interesting phenomena of archæology and ancient history, and the old geographical unity of 'Eurafrica' was throughout a great extent of its area revived in the great political system which still forms the basis of civilised society, the Roman Empire. The Mediterranean was a Roman lake. A single fact brings home to us the extent to

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which the earlier continuity of Europe and North Africa asserted itself in the imperial economy. At one time, what is now Morocco and what is now Northumberland, with all that lay between them on both sides of the Pyrenees, found their administrative centre on the Mosel.

It is not for me to dwell on the many important questions affecting the physiological sides of ethnography that are bound up with these old geographical relations. I will, however, at least call attention to the interesting, and in many ways original, theory put forward by Professor Sergi in his recent work on the 'Mediterranean Race.'

Professor Sergi is not content with the ordinary use of the term 'White Race.' He distinguishes a distinct 'brown' or 'brunette' branch, whose swarthier complexion, however, and dark hair bear no negroid affinities, and are not due to any intermixture on that side. This race, with dolichocephalic skulls, amongst which certain clearly defined types constantly repeat themselves, he traces throughout the Mediterranean basin, from Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, through a large part of Southern Europe, including Greece, Italy, and the Iberic peninsula, to the British islands. It is distributed along the whole of North Africa, and, according to the theory propounded, finds its original centre of diffusion somewhere in the parts of Somaliland.

It may be said at once that this grouping together into a consistent system of ethnic factors spread over this vast yet inter-related area—the heart of 'Eurafrica'—presents many attractive aspects. The ancient Greek might not have accepted kinship even with 'the blameless Ethiopian,' but those of us who may happen to combine a British origin with a Mediterranean complexion may derive a certain ancestral pride from remote consanguinity with Pharaoh. They may even be willing to admit that 'the Ethiopian' in the course of his migrations has done much to 'change his skin.'

In part, at least, the new theory is little more than a re-statement of an ethnographic grouping that commands a general consensus of opinion. From Thurnam's time onwards we have been accustomed to regard the dolichocephalic type found in the early Long Barrows, and what seem to have been the later survivals of the same stock in our islands, as fitting on to the Iberian element in South-western Europe. The extensive new materials accumulated by Dr. Garson have only served to corroborate these views, while further researches have shown that the characteristic features of the skeletons found in the Ligurian caves, at Cro Magnon and elsewhere in France, are common to those of a large part of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, and extend not only to the Iberic group, but to the Guanche interments of the Canary Islands.

The newly correlated data unquestionably extend the field of comparison; but the theories as to the original home of this 'Mediterranean race' and the course of its diffusion may be thought to be still somewhat lacking in documentary evidence. They remind us rather too closely of the old 'Aryan' hypothesis, in which we were almost instructed as to the halting places of the different detachments as they passed on their way from their Central Asian cradle to rearrange themselves with military precision, and exactly in the order of their relationship, in their distant European homes. The existing geological conditions are made the basis of this migratory expansion from Ethiopia to Ireland; parallel streams move through North Africa and from Anatolia to Southern Europe. One cardinal fact has certainly not received attention, and that is, that the existing evidence of this Mediterranean type dates much further back on European soil than even in ancient Egypt.

Professor Sergi himself has recognised the extraordinary continuity of the cranial type of the Ligurian caves among the modern population of that coast.

But this continuity involves an extreme antiquity for the settlement of the 'Mediterranean Race' in North-western Italy and Southern France. The cave interments, such as those of the Finalese, carry back the type well into Neolithic times. But the skeletons of the Baoussé Roussé caves, between Mentone and Ventimiglia, which reproduce the same characteristic forms, take us back far behind any stage of culture to which the name of Neolithic can be properly applied.

The importance of this series of interments is so unique, and the fulness of the evidence so far surpasses any other records immediately associated with the earliest remains of man, that even in this brief survey they seem to demand more than a passing notice.

So much, at least, must be admitted on all hands: an earlier stage of culture is exhibited in these deposits than that which has hitherto been regarded as the minimum equipment of the men of the later Stone Age. The complete absence of pottery, of polished implements, of domesticated animals—all the more striking from the absolute contrast presented by the rich Neolithic cave burials a little further up the same coast—how is it to be explained? The long flint knives, the bone and shell ornaments, might, indeed, find partial parallels among Neolithic remains; but does not, after all, the balance of comparison incline to that more ancient group belonging to the 'Reindeer Period' in the South of France, as illustrated by the caves of La Madeleine, Les Eyzies and Solutré?

It is true that, in an account of the interments found in 1892 in the Barma Grande Cave, given by me to the Anthropological Institute, I was myself so prepossessed by the still dominant doctrine that the usage of burial was unknown to Palæolithic man, and so overpowered by the vision of the yawning hiatus between him and his Neolithic successor, that I failed to realise the full import of the evidence. On that occasion I took refuge in the suggestion that we had here to deal with an earlier Neolithic stratum than any hitherto recorded. 'Neolithic,' that is, without the Neolithic.

But the accumulation of fresh data, and especially the critical observations of M. d'Acy and Professor Issel, have convinced me that this intermediate position is untenable. From the great depth below the original surface, of what in all cases seem to have been homogeneous quaternary deposits, at which the human remains were found, it is necessary to suppose, if the interments took place at a later period, that pits in many cases from 30 to 40 feet deep must have been excavated in the cave earth. But nothing of the kind has been detected, nor any intrusion of extraneous materials. On the other hand, the gnawed or defective condition of the extremities in several cases points clearly to superficial and imperfect interment of the body; and in one case parts of the same core from which flints found with the skeleton had been chipped were found some metres distant on the same floor level. Are we, then, to imagine that another pit was expressly dug to bury these?

In the case of a more recently discovered and as yet unpublished interment, at the excavation of which I was so fortunate as to assist, the superficial character of the deposit struck the eye. The skeleton, with flint knife and ochre near, decked out with the usual shell and deer's tooth ornaments, lay as if in the attitude of sleep, somewhat on the left side. The middle of the body was covered with a large flat stone, with two smaller ones lying by it, while another large stone was laid over the feet. The left arm was bent under the head as if to pillow it, but the extremities of the right arm and the toes were suggestively deficient: the surface covering of big stones had not sufficiently protected them. The stones themselves seem in turn to have served as a kind of hearth, for a stratum of charred and burned bones about 45 cm. thick lay about them.

Is it reasonable to suppose that a deposit of this kind took place at the bottom of a pit over 20 feet deep, left open an indefinite time for the convenience of roasting venison at the bottom?

A rational survey of the evidence in this as in the other cases leads to the conclusion that we have to deal with surface burial, or, if that word seems too strong, with simple 'seposition'—the imperfect covering with handy stones of the dead bodies as they lay in the attitude of sleep on the then floor of the cavern. In other words, they are *in situ* in a late quaternary deposit, for which Professor Issel has proposed the name of 'Meolithic.'

But if this conclusion is to hold good, we have here on the northern coast of the Mediterranean evidence of the existence of a late Palæolithic race, the essential features of which, in the opinion of most competent osteological inquirers, reappear in the Neolithic skeletons of the same Ligurian coast, and still remain characteristic of the historical Ligurian type. In other words, the 'Mediterranean Race' finds

its first record in the West; and its diffusion, so far from having necessarily followed the lines of later geographical divisions, may well have begun at a time when the land bridges of 'Eurafrica' were still unbroken.

There is nothing, indeed, in all this to exclude the hypothesis that the original expansion took place from the East African side. That the earliest homes of primæval man lay in a warm region can hardly be doubted, and the abundant discovery by Mr. Seton Karr in Somaliland of Palæolithic implements reproducing many of the most characteristic forms of those of the grottoes of the Dordogne affords a new link of connexion between the Red Sea and the Atlantic littoral.

When we recall the spontaneous artistic qualities of the ancient race which has left its records in the carvings on bone and ivory in the caves of the 'Reindeer Period,' this evidence of at least partial continuity on the northern shores of the Mediterranean suggests speculations of the deepest interest. Overlaid with new elements, swamped in the dull, though materially higher, Neolithic civilisation, may not the old æsthetic faculties which made Europe the earliest-known home of anything that can be called human art, as opposed to mere tools and mechanical contrivances, have finally emancipated themselves once more in the Southern regions, where the old stock most survived? In the extraordinary manifestations of artistic genius to which, at widely remote periods, and under the most diverse political conditions, the later populations of Greece and Italy have given birth, may we not be allowed to trace the re-emergence, as it were, after long underground meanderings, of streams whose upper waters had seen the daylight of that earlier world?

But the vast gulf of time beyond which it is necessary to carry back our gaze in order to establish such connexions will hardly permit us to arrive at more than vague probabilities. The practical problems that concern the later culture of Europe from Neolithic times onwards connect themselves rather with its relation to that of the older civilisations on the southern and eastern Mediterranean shores.

Anthropology, too, has its 'Eternal Eastern Question.' Till within quite recent years, the glamour of the Orient pervaded all inquiries as to the genesis of European civilisation. The Biblical training of the northern nations prepared the ground. The imperfect realisation of the antiquity of European arts; on the other hand, the imposing chronology of Egypt and Babylonia; the abiding force of classical tradition, which found in the Phœnician a *deus ex machinâ* for exotic importations; finally, the 'Aryan Hypothesis,' which brought in the dominant European races as immigrant wanderers from Central Asia, with a ready-made stock of culture in their wallets—these and other causes combined to create an exaggerated estimate of the part played by the East as the illuminator of the benighted West.

More recent investigations have resulted in a natural reaction. The primitive 'Aryan' can be no longer invoked as a kind of patriarchal missionary of Central Asian culture. From d'Hallo and Latham onwards to Penka and Schrader an array of eminent names has assigned to him an European origin. The means by which a kindred tongue diffused itself among the most heterogeneous ethnic factors still remain obscure; but the stricter application of phonetic laws and the increased detection of loan-words has cut down the original 'Aryan' stock of culture to very narrow limits, and entirely stripped the members of this linguistic family of any trace of a common Pantheon.

Whatever the character of the original 'Aryan' stage, we may be very sure that it lies far back in the mists of the European Stone Age. The supposed common names for metals prove to be either a vanishing quantity or strikingly irrelevant. It may be interesting to learn on unimpeachable authority that the Celtic words for 'gold' are due to comparatively recent borrowing from the Latin; but nothing is more certain than that gold was one of the earliest metals known to the Celtic races, its knowledge going back to the limits of the pure Stone Age. We are told that the Latin 'ensis,' 'a sword,' is identical with the Sanskrit 'asi' and Iranian 'ahi,' but the gradual evolution of the sword from the dagger, only completed at a late period of the Bronze Age, is a commonplace of prehistoric archaeology. If 'ensis,' then, in historical times an iron sword, originally meant a

bronze dagger, may not the bronze dagger in its turn resolve itself into a flint knife?

The truth is that the attempts to father on a common Aryan stock the beginnings of metallurgy argue an astonishing inability to realise the vast antiquity of languages and their groups. Yet we know that, as far back as we have any written records, the leading branches of the Aryan family of speech stood almost as far apart as they do to-day, and the example of the Egyptian and Semitic groups, which Maspero and others consider to have been originally connected, leads to still more striking results. From the earliest Egyptian stela to the latest Coptic liturgy we find the main outlines of what is substantially the same language preserved for a period of some six thousand years. The Semitic languages in their characteristic shape show a continuous history almost as extensive. For the date of the diverging point of the two groups we must have recourse to a chronology more familiar to the geologist than the antiquary.

As importer of exotic arts into primitive Europe the Phœnician has met the fate of the immigrants from the Central Asian 'Arya.' The days are gone past when it could be seriously maintained that the Phœnician merchant landed on the coast of Cornwall, or built the dolmens of the North and West. A truer view of primitive trade as passing on by inter-tribal barter has superseded the idea of a direct commerce between remote localities. The science of prehistoric archæology, following the lead of the Scandinavian School, has established the existence in every province of local centres of early metallurgy, and it is no longer believed that the implements and utensils of the European Bronze Age were imported wholesale by Semites or 'Etruscans.'

It is, however, the less necessary for me to trace in detail the course of this reaction against the exaggerated claims of Eastern influence that the case for the independent position of primitive Europe has been recently summed up with fresh arguments, and in his usual brilliant and incisive style, by M. Salomon Reinach, in his 'Mirage Orientale.' For many ancient prejudices as to the early relations of East and West it is the trumpet sound before the walls of Jericho. It may, indeed, be doubted whether, in the impetuosity of his attack, M. Reinach, though he has rapidly brought up his reserves in his more recent work on primitive European sculpture, has not been tempted to occupy outlying positions in the enemy's country which will hardly be found tenable in the long run. I cannot myself, for instance, be brought to believe that the rude marble 'idols' of the primitive Ægean population were copied on Chaldean cylinders. I may have occasion to point out that the oriental elements in the typical higher cultures of primitive Europe, such as those of Mycenæ, of Hallstatt, and La Tène, are more deeply rooted than M. Reinach will admit. But the very considerable extent to which the early European civilisation was of independent evolution has been nowhere so skilfully focussed into light as in these comprehensive essays of M. Reinach. It is always a great gain to have the extreme European claims so clearly formulated, but we must still remember that the 'Sick Man' is not dead.

The proofs of a highly developed metallurgic industry of home growth accumulated by prehistoric students *pari passu* over the greater part of Europe, and the considerable cultural equipment of its early population—illustrated, for example, in the Swiss Lake settlements—had already prepared the way for the more startling revelations as to the prehistoric civilisation of the Ægean world which have resulted from Dr. Schliemann's diggings at Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenæ, so admirably followed up by Dr. Tsountas.

This later civilisation, to which the general name of 'Ægean' has been given, shows several stages, marked in succession by typical groups of finds, such as those from the Second City of Troy, from the cist-graves of Amorgos, from beneath the volcanic stratum of Thera, from the shaft-graves of Mycenæ, and again from the tombs of the lower town. Roughly, it falls into two divisions, for the earlier of which the culture illustrated by the remains of Amorgos may be taken as the culminating point, while the later is inseparably connected with the name of Mycenæ.

The early 'Ægean' culture rises in the midst of a vast province extending from

Switzerland and Northern Italy through the Danubian basin and the Balkan peninsula, and continued through a large part of Anatolia, till it finally reaches Cyprus. It should never be left out of sight that, so far as the earliest historical tradition and geographical nomenclature reach back, a great tract of Asia Minor is found in the occupation of men of European race, of whom the Phrygians and their kin—closely allied to the Thracians on the other side of the Bosphorus—stand forth as the leading representatives. On the other hand, the great antiquity of the Armenoid type in Lycia and other easterly parts of Asia Minor, and its priority to the Semites in these regions, has been demonstrated by the craniological researches of Dr. von Luschan. This ethnographic connexion with the European stock, the antiquity of which is carried back by Egyptian records to the second millennium before our era, is fully borne out by the archæological evidence. Very similar examples of ceramic manufactures recur over the whole of this vast region. The resemblances extend even to minutæ of ornament, as is well shown by the examples compared by Dr. Much from the Mondsee, in Upper Austria, from the earliest stratum of Hissarlik, and from Cyprus. It is in the same Anatolo-Danubian area—as M. Reinach has well pointed out—that we find the original centre of diffusion of the 'Svastika' motive in the Old World. Copper implements, and weapons too, of primitive types, some reproducing Neolithic forms, are also a common characteristic, though it must always be remembered that the mere fact that an implement is of copper does not of itself necessitate its belonging to the earliest metal age, and that the freedom from alloy was often simply due to a temporary deficiency of tin. Cyprus, the land of copper, played, no doubt, a leading part in the dissemination of this early metallurgy, and certain typical pins and other objects found in the Alpine and Danubian regions have been traced back by Dr. Naue and others to Cypriote prototypes. The same parallelism throughout this vast area comes out again in the appearance of a class of primitive 'idols' of clay, marble, and other materials, extending from Cyprus to the Troad and the Ægean islands, and thence to the pile settlements of the Alps and the Danubian basin, while kindred forms can be traced beyond the Carpathians to a vast northern Neolithic province that stretches to the shores of Lake Ladoga.

It is from the centre of this old Anatolo-Danubian area of primitive culture, in which Asia Minor appears as a part of Europe, that the new Ægean civilisation rises from the sea. 'Life was stirring in the waters.' The notion that the maritime enterprise of the Eastern Mediterranean began on the exposed and comparatively harbourless coast of Syria and Palestine can no longer be maintained. The island world of the Ægean was the natural home of primitive navigation. The early sea-trade of the inhabitants gave them a start over their neighbours, and produced a higher form of culture, which was destined to react on that of a vast European zone—nay, even upon that of the older civilisations of Egypt and Asia.

The earlier stage of this Ægean culture culminates in what may conveniently be called the Period of Amorgos from the abundant tombs explored by Dr. Dümmler and others in that island. Here we already see the proofs of a widespread commerce. The ivory ornaments point to the South; the abundance of silver may even suggest an intercourse along the Libyan coast with the rich silver-producing region of South-eastern Spain, the very ancient exploitation of which has been so splendidly illustrated by the researches of the brothers Siret. Additional weight is lent to this presumption by the recurrence in these Spanish deposits of pots with rude indications of eyes and eyebrows, recalling Schliemann's owl-faced urns; of stone 'idols,' practically identical with those of Troy and the Ægean islands, here too associated with marble cups of the same simple forms; of triangular daggers of copper and bronze, and of bronze swords which seem to stand in a filial relation to an 'Amorgan' type of dagger. In a former communication to this Section I ventured to see in the so-called 'Cabiri' of Malta—very far removed from any Phœnician sculpture—an intermediate link between the Iberian group and that of the Ægean, and to trace on the fern-like ornaments of the altar-stone a comparison with the naturalistic motives of proto-Mycenæan art, as seen, for instance, on the early vases of Thera and Therasia.

A Chaldean influence cannot certainly be excluded from this early Ægean art. It reveals itself, for instance, in indigenous imitations of Babylonian cylinders. My own conclusion that the small marble figures of the Ægean deposits, though of indigenous European lineage, were in their more developed types influenced by Istar models from the East, has since been independently arrived at by the Danish archaeologist, Dr. Blinkenburg, in his study on præ-Mycenæan art.

More especially the returning-spiral decoration, which in the 'Amorgan Period' appears upon seals, rings, bowls, and caskets of steatite, leads us to a very interesting field of comparison. This motive, destined to play such an important part in the history of European ornament, is absent from the earlier products of the great Anatolo-Danubian province. As a European design it is first found on these insular fabrics, and it is important to observe that it first shows itself in the form of reliefs on stone. The generally accepted idea, put forward by Dr. Milchhöfer, that it originated here from applied spirals on metal work is thus seen to be bereft of historical justification. At a somewhat later date we find this spiraliform motive communicating itself to the ceramic products of the Danubian region, though from the bold relief in which it sometimes appears, a reminiscence of the earlier steatite reliefs seems still traceable. In the late Neolithic pile-station of Butmir, in Bosnia, this spiral decoration appears in great perfection on the pottery, and is here associated with clay images of very advanced fabric. At Lengyel, in Hungary, and elsewhere, we see it applied to primitive painted pottery. Finally, in the later Hungarian Bronze Age it is transferred to metal work.

But this connexion—every link of which can be made out—of the lower Danubian Bronze Age decoration with the Ægean spiral system—itself much earlier in origin—has a very important bearing on the history of ornament in the North and West. The close relation of the Bronze Age culture of Scandinavia and North-western Germany with that of Hungary is clearly established, and of the many valuable contributions made by Dr. Montelius to prehistoric archaeology, none is more brilliant than his demonstration that this parallelism of culture between the North-west and South-east owes its origin to the most ancient course of the amber trade from the North Sea shores of Jutland by the valley of the Elbe and Moldau to the Danubian Basin. As Dr. Montelius has also shown, there was, besides, a western extension of this trade to our own islands. If Scandinavia and its borderlands were the source of amber, Ireland was the land of gold. The wealth of the precious metal there is illustrated by the fact that, even as late as 1796, the gold washings of County Wicklow amounted to 10,000*l*. A variety of evidence shows a direct connexion between Great Britain and Scandinavia from the end of the Stone Age onwards. Gold diadems of unquestionably British—probably Irish—fabric have been found in Seeland and Fünen, and from the analysis of early gold ornaments it clearly results that it was from Ireland rather than the Ural that Northern and Central Europe was supplied. Mr. Coffey, who has made an exhaustive study of the early Irish monuments, has recently illustrated this early connexion by other comparisons, notably the appearance of a design which he identifies with the early carvings of boats on the rocks of Scandinavia.

This prolongation of the Bronze Age trade route—already traced from the Middle Danube—from Scandinavia to Ireland, ought it to be regarded as the historic clue to the contemporary appearance of the spiral motive in the British Islands? Is it to this earlier intercourse with the land of the Vikings that we must ascribe the spiral scrolls on the slabs of the great chambered barrows of the Irish Bronze Age—best seen in the most imposing of them all, before the portal and on the inner chambers of New Grange?

The possibility of such a connexion must be admitted; the probability is great that the contemporary appearance of the spiraliform ornament in Ireland and on the Continent of Europe is due to direct derivation. It is, of course, conceivable that such a simple motive as the returning spiral may have originated independently in various parts of Europe, as it did originate in other parts of the world. But anthropology has ceased to content itself with the mere accumulation of sporadic coincidences. It has become a historic study. It is not sufficient to know how

such and such phenomena *may* have originated, but how, as a matter of fact, they *did*. Hence in the investigation of origins and evolution the special value of the European field where the evidence has been more perfectly correlated and the continuous records go further back. An isolated example of the simple volute design belonging to the 'Reindeer Period' has been found in the grotto of Arudy. But the earliest cultural strata of Europe, from the beginning of the Neolithic period onwards, betray an entire absence of the returning spiral motive. When we find it later propagating itself as a definite ornamental system in a regular chronological succession throughout an otherwise inter-related European zone, we have every right to trace it to a common source.

But it does not therefore follow that the only alternative is to believe that the spiral decoration of the Irish monuments necessarily connects itself with the ancient stream of intercourse flowing from Scandinavia.

We have to remember that the Western lands of gold and tin were the goals of other prehistoric routes. Especially must we bear in mind the early evidence of intercourse between the British Isles and the old Iberic region of the opposite shores of the Continent. The derivation of certain forms of Bronze Age types in Britain and Ireland from this side has already been demonstrated by my father, and British or Irish bronze flat axes with their characteristic ornamentation have in their turn been found in Spain as well as in Denmark. The peculiar technique of certain Irish flint arrowheads of the same period, in which chipping and grinding are combined, is also characteristic of the Iberian province, and seems to lead to very extended comparisons on the Libyan side, recurring as it does in the exquisite handiwork of the non-Egyptian race whose relics Mr. Petrie has brought to light at Nagada. In prehistoric Spanish deposits, again, are found the actual wallet-like baskets with in-curving sides, the prototypes of a class of clay food-vessels which (together with a much wider distribution) are of specially frequent occurrence in the British Isles as well as the old Iberian area.

If the spiral decoration had been also a feature of the Scandinavian rock carvings, the argument for derivation from that side would have been strong. But they are not found in them, and, on the other hand, the sculptures on the dolmens of the Morbihan equally show certain features common to the Irish stone chambers, including the primitive ship figure. The spiral itself does not appear in these; but the more the common elements between the Megalithic piles, not only of the old Iberian tract on the mainland, including Brittany, but in the islands of the West Mediterranean basin, are realised, the more probable it becomes that the impulse came from this side. The prehistoric buildings of Malta, hitherto spoken of as 'Phœnician temples,' which show in their primitive conception a great affinity to the Megalithic chambers of the earliest British barrows, bear witness on this side to the extension of the Ægean spiral system in a somewhat advanced stage, and accompanied, as at New Grange, with intermediate lozenges. In Sardinia, as I hope to show, there is evidence of the former existence of monuments of Mycænæan architecture in which the chevron, the lozenge, and the spiral might have been seen associated as in Ireland. It is on this line, rather than on the Danube and the Elbe, that we find in a continuous zone that Cyclopean tradition of domed chambers which is equally illustrated at Mycænæ and at New Grange.

These are not more than indications, but they gain additional force from the converging evidence to which attention has already been called of an ancient line of intercourse, mainly, we may believe, connected with the tin trade between the East Mediterranean basin and the Iberian West. A further corroboration of the view that an Ægean impulse propagated itself as far as our own islands from that side is perhaps afforded by a very remarkable find in a British barrow.

I refer to the Bronze Age interment excavated by Canon Greenwell on Folkton Wold, in Yorkshire, in which, beside the body of a child, were found three carved chalk objects resembling round boxes with bossed lids. On one of these lids were grouped together, with a lozenge-shaped space between them, two partly spirali-form partly concentric circular ornaments, which exhibit before our eyes the degeneration of two pairs of returning spiral ornaments. Upon the sides of two of these chalk caskets, associated with chevrons, saltires, and lozenges, were rude



indications of faces—eyes and nose of bird-like character—curiously recalling the early Ægean and Trojan types of Dr. Schliemann. These, as M. Reinach has pointed out, also find an almost exact parallel in the rude indications of the human face seen on the sculptured menhirs of the Marne and the Gard valleys. To this may be added the interesting comparisons supplied by certain clay vessels, of rounded form, somewhat resembling the chalk ‘caskets’ discovered by MM. Siret in Spanish interments of the early metal age, in which eyes and eyebrows of a primitive style are inserted, as on the British relics, in the inter-spaces of linear ornamentation. The third chalk disc exhibits, in place of the human face, a butterfly with volute antennæ, reminding us of the appearance of butterflies as a decorative motive on the gold roundels from the shaft-graves of Mycenæ, as also on early Mycenaean gems of steatite from Crete; in the latter case with the feelers curving outwards in the same way. The stellate design with central circles on the lid of one of the chalk caskets is itself not impossibly a distant degeneration of the star-flowers on the same Mycenaean plates. Putting all these separate elements of resemblance together—the returning spiral and star, the rude face and butterfly—the suggestion of Ægean reminiscence becomes strong, but the other parallels lead us for the line of its transmission towards the Iberian rather than the Scandinavian route.<sup>1</sup>

So much, at least, results from these various comparisons that, whether we find the spiral motive in the extreme West or North of Europe, everything points to the Ægean world as its first European centre. But have we any right to regard it, even there, as of indigenous evolution?

It had been long my own conviction that the Ægean spiral system must itself be regarded as an offshoot of that of ancient Egypt, which as a decorative motive on scarabs goes back, as Professor Petrie has shown, to the Fourth Dynasty. During the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, which, on general grounds, may be supposed roughly to correspond with the ‘Amorgan Period’ of Ægean culture, it attained its apogee. The spiral convolutions now often cover the whole field of the scarab, and the motive begins to spread to a class of black buccero vases the chalk inlaying of whose ornaments suggests widespread European analogies. But the important feature to observe is that here, as in the case of the early Ægean examples, the original material on which the spiral ornament appears is stone, and that, so far from being derived from an advanced type of metal work, it goes back in Egypt to a time when metal was hardly known.

The prevalence of the spiral ornamentation on stone work in the Ægean islands and contemporary Egypt, was it merely to be regarded as a coincidence? To turn one’s eyes to the Nile Valley, was it simply another instance of the ‘*Mirage Orientale*’? For my own part, I ventured to believe that, as in the case of Northern Europe, the spread of this system was connected with many collateral symptoms of commercial inter-connexion, so here, too, the appearance of this early Ægean ornament would be found to lead to the demonstration of a direct intercourse between the Greek islands and Egypt at least a thousand years earlier than any that had hitherto been allowed.

One’s thoughts naturally turned to Crete, the central island, with one face on the Libyan Sea—the natural source and seminary of Ægean culture—where fresh light was already being thrown on the Mycenaean civilisation by the researches of Professor Halbherr, but the earlier prehistoric remains of which were still unexplored. Nor were these expectations unfounded. As the result of three expeditions—undertaken in three successive years, from the last of which I returned three months since—it has been my fortune to collect a series of evidences of a very early and intimate contact with Egypt, going back at least to the Twelfth

<sup>1</sup> A further piece of evidence pointing in this direction is supplied by one of the chalk ‘caskets.’ On the upper disc of this, in the place corresponding with the double-spirals on the other example, appears a degeneration of the same motive in a more compressed form, resembling two sets of concentric horseshoes united at their bases. This recurs at New Grange, and single sets of concentric horseshoes, or semi-circles, are found both there and at Gavrinis. The degeneration of the returning spiral motive extends therefore to Brittany.

Dynasty, and to the earlier half of the third millennium before our era. It is not only that in primitive deposits, like that of Hagios Onuphrios, scarabs, acknowledged by competent archaeologists to be of Twelfth Dynasty date, occurred in association with steatite seals presenting the Ægean spiral ornamentation, and with early pottery answering to that of Amorgos and the second city of Troy. This by itself might be regarded by many as convincing. But,—what from the point of view of intercourse and chronology is even more important,—in the same deposit and elsewhere occurred early button-shaped and triangular seals of steatite with undoubted indigenous copies of Egyptian lotos designs characteristic of the same period, while in the case of the three-sided bead-seals it was possible to trace a regular evolution leading down to Mycenaean times. Nor was this all. Throughout the whole of the island there came to light a great variety of primitive stone vases, mostly of steatite, a large proportion of which reproduced the characteristic forms of Egyptian stone vases, in harder materials, going far back into the Ancient Empire. The returning spiral motive is also associated with these, as may be seen from a specimen now in the collection of Dr. Naue, of Munich.

A geological phenomenon which I was able to ascertain in the course of my recent exploration of the eastern part of the island goes far to explain the great importance which these steatite or 'soapstone' fabrics played in the primitive culture of Crete and the Ægean islands. In the valley of the Sarakina stream I came upon vast deposits of this material, the diffusion of which could be further traced along a considerable tract of the southern coast. The abundant presence of this attractive and, at the same time, easily workable stone—then incomparably more valuable, owing to the imperfection of the potter's art—goes far to explain the extent to which these ancient Egyptian forms were imitated, and the consequent spread of the returning spiral motive throughout the Ægean.

In the matter of the spiral motive, Crete may thus be said to be the missing link between prehistoric Ireland and Scandinavia and the Egypt of the Ancient Empire. But the early remains of the island illustrate in many other ways the comparatively high level of culture already reached by the Ægean population in pre-Mycenaean times. Especially are they valuable in supplying the antecedent stages to many characteristic elements of the succeeding Mycenaean civilisation.

This ancestral relationship is nowhere more clearly traceable than in a class of relics which bear out the ancient claim of the islanders that they themselves had invented a system of writing to which the Phœnicians did not do more than add the finishing touches. Already, at the Oxford meeting of the Association, I was able to call attention to the evidence of the existence of a prehistoric Cretan script evolved by gradual simplification and selection from an earlier picture writing. This earlier stage is, roughly speaking, illustrated by a series of primitive seals belonging to the 'Period of Amorgos.' In the succeeding Mycenaean age the script is more conventionalised, often linear, and though developments of the earlier forms of seals are frequently found, they are usually of harder materials, and the system is applied to other objects. As the result of my most recent investigations, I am now able to announce the discovery of an inscribed prehistoric relic, which surpasses in interest and importance all hitherto known objects of this class. It consists of a fragment of what may be described as a steatite 'Table of Offerings,' bearing part of what appears to be a dedication of nine letters of probably syllabic values, answering to the same early Cretan script that is seen on the seals, and with two punctuations. It was obtained from the lowest level of a Mycenaean stratum, containing numerous votive objects, in the great cave of Mount Dikta, which, according to the Greek legend, was the birthplace of Zeus.

This early Cretan script, which precedes by centuries the most ancient records of Phœnician writing, and supplies, at any rate, very close analogies to what may be supposed to have been the pictorial prototypes of several of the Phœnician letters, stands in a direct relation to the syllabic characters used at a later date by the Greeks of Cyprus. The great step in the history of writing implied by the evolution of symbols of phonetic value from primitive pictographs is thus shown to have effected itself on European soil.

In many other ways the culture of Mycenaë—that extraordinary revelation from

the soil of prehistoric Greece—can be shown to be rooted in this earlier Ægean stratum. The spiral system, still seen in much of its pure original form on the gold vessels and ornaments from the earlier shaft-graves of Mycenæ, is simply the translation into metal of the pre-existing steatite decoration.<sup>1</sup>

The Mycenaean repoussé work in its most developed stage as applied to human and animal subjects has probably the same origin in stone work. Cretan examples, indeed, give the actual transition in which an intaglio in dark steatite is coated with a thin gold plate impressed into the design. On the other hand, the noblest of all creations of the Mycenaean goldsmith's art, the Vaphio cups, with their bold reliefs, illustrating the hunting and capture of wild bulls, find their nearest analogy in a fragment of a cup, procured by me from Knósos, of black Cretan steatite, with naturalistic reliefs, exhibiting a fig-tree in a sacred enclosure, an altar, and men in high action, which in all probability was originally coated, like the intaglio, with thin plates of gold.

In view of some still prevalent theories as to the origin of Mycenaean art, it is important to bear in mind these analogies and connexions, which show how deeply set its roots are in Ægean soil. The Vaphio cups, especially, from their superior art, have been widely regarded as of exotic fabric. That the art of an European population in prehistoric times should have risen above that of contemporary Egypt and Babylonia was something beyond the comprehension of the traditional school. These most characteristic products of indigenous skill, with their spirited representations of a sport the traditional home of which in later times was the Thessalian plains, have been, therefore, brought from 'Northern Syria'! Yet a whole series of Mycenaean gems exists executed in the same bold naturalistic style, and of local materials, such as lapis Lacedæmonius, the subjects of which are drawn from the same artistic cycle as those of the cups, and not one of these has as yet been found on the Eastern Mediterranean shores. Like the other kindred intaglios, they all come from the Peloponnese, from Crete, from the shores and islands of the Ægean, from the area, that is, where their materials were procured. Their lentoid and almond-shaped forms are altogether foreign to Semitic usage, which clung to the cylinder and cone. The finer products of the Mycenaean glyptic art on harder materials were, in fact, the outcome of long apprentice studies of the earlier Ægean population, of which we have now the record in the primitive Cretan seals, and the explanation in the vast beds of such an easily worked material as steatite.

But the importation of the most characteristic Mycenaean products from 'Northern Syria' has become quite a moderate proposition beside that which we have now before us. In a recent communication to the French Academy of Inscriptions, Dr. Helbig has re-introduced to us a more familiar figure. Driven from his prehistoric haunts on the Atlantic coasts, torn from the Cassiterides, dislodged even from his Thucididean plantations in pre-Hellenic Sicily, the Phœnician has returned, tricked out as the true 'Mycenaean.'

A great part of Dr. Helbig's argument has been answered by anticipation. Regardless of the existence of a regular succession of intermediate glyptic types, such as the 'Melian' gems and the engraved seals of the geometrical deposits of the Greek mainland, like those of Olympia and of the Heræon at Argos, which link the Mycenaean with the classical series, Dr. Helbig takes a verse of Homer to hang from it a theory that seals and engraved stones were unknown to the early Greeks. On this imaginary fact he builds the astounding statement that the engraved gems and seals found with Mycenaean remains must be of foreign and, as he believes, Phœnician importation. The stray diffusion of one or two examples of Mycenaean pots to the coast of Palestine, the partial resemblance of some Hittite bronze figures, executed in a more barbarous Syrian style, to specimens of quite different fabric found at Tiryns, Mycenæ, and, it may be added, in a Cretan cave near Sybrita, the wholly unwarranted attribution to Phœnicia of a bronze vase-handle found in Cyprus, exhibiting the typical lion-headed demons of the Mycenaean—these are only a few salient examples of the

reasoning by which the whole prehistoric civilisation of the Greek world, so instinct with naturalism and individuality, is handed over to the least original member of the Semitic race. The absence in historic Greece of such arts as that of *intarsia* in metal work, of glass-making (if true) and of porcelain-making, is used as a conclusive argument against their practice by an *Ægean* population, of uncertain stock, a thousand years earlier, as if in the intervening dark ages between the primitive civilisation of the Greek lands and the Classical Renaissance no arts could have been lost!

Finally, the merchants of Keftô depicted on the Egyptian monuments are once more claimed as Phœnicians, and with them—though this is by no means a necessary conclusion, even from the premise—the precious gifts they bear, including vases of characteristic Mycenaean form and ornament. All this is diametrically opposed to the conclusions of the most careful inquirer into the origins of this mysterious people, Dr. W. Max Müller (to be distinguished from the eminent Professor), who shows that the list of countries in which Keftô occurs places them beyond the limit of Phœnicia or of any Semitic country, and connects them rather with Cilicia and with Cyprus, the scene, as we now know, of important Mycenaean plantations. It is certain that not only do the Keftiu traders bear articles of Mycenaean fabric, but their costume, which is wholly un-Semitic, their leggings and sandals, and the long double locks of hair streaming down below their armpits, identify them with the men of the frescoes of Mycenæ, and of the Vaphio and Knósian cups.

The truth is that these Syrian and Phœnician theories are largely to be traced to the inability to understand the extent to which the primitive inhabitants of the *Ægean* shores had been able to assimilate exotic arts without losing their own individuality. The precocious offspring of our Continent, first come to man's estate in the *Ægean* island world, had acquired cosmopolitan tastes, and already stretched forth his hands to pluck the fruit of knowledge from Oriental boughs. He had adopted foreign fashions of dress and ornament. His artists revelled in lion-hunts and palm-trees. His very worship was infected by the creations of foreign religions.

The great extent to which the Mycenæans had assimilated exotic arts and ideas can only be understood when it is realised that this adaptive process had begun at least a thousand years before, in the earlier period of *Ægean* culture. New impulses from Egypt and Chaldæa now succeed the old. The connexion with Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt was of so intimate a kind that it can only be explained by actual settlement from the *Ægean* side. The abundant relics of *Ægean* ceramic manufactures found by Professor Petrie on Egyptian sites fully bear out this presumption. The early marks on potsherds discovered by that explorer seem to carry the connexion back to the earlier *Ægean* period, but the painted pottery belongs to what may broadly be described as Mycenaean times. The earliest relics of this kind found in the rubbish heaps of Kahun, though it can hardly be admitted that they go quite so far back as the Twelfth Dynasty date assigned to them by Mr. Petrie (c. 2500 B.C.), yet correspond with the earliest Mycenaean classes found at Thera and Tiryns, and seem to find their nearest parallels in pottery of the same character from the cave of Kamares on the northern steep of the Cretan Ida, recently described by Mr. J. L. Myres and by Dr. Lucio Mariani. Vases of the more typical Mycenaean class have been found by Mr. Petrie in a series of deposits dated, from the associated Egyptian relics, from the reign of Thothmes III. onwards (1450 B.C.). There is nothing Phœnician about these—with their seaweeds and marine creatures they are the true products of the island world of Greece. The counterpart to these Mycenaean imports in Egypt is seen in the purely Egyptian designs which now invade the northern shores of the *Ægean*, such as the ceiling of the sepulchral chamber at Orchomenos, or the wall-paintings of the palace at Tiryns—almost exact copies of the ceilings of the Theban tombs—designs distinguished by the later Egyptian combination of the spiral and plant ornament which at this period supersedes the pure returning spiral of the earlier dynasties. The same contemporary evidence of date is seen in the scarabs and porcelain fragments with the cartouches of Queen Tyi and Amenhotep III.,

found in the Mycenaean deposits. But more than a mere commercial connexion between the Aegean seat of Mycenaean culture and Egypt seems to be indicated by some of the inlaid daggers from the Acropolis tombs. The subject of that representing the ichneumons hunting ducks amidst the lotos thickets beside a stream that can only be the Nile, as much as the intarsia technique, is so purely of Egypt that it can only have been executed by a Mycenaean artificer resident within its borders. The whole cycle of Egyptian Nile-pieces thoroughly penetrated Mycenaean art,—the duck-catcher in his Nile-boat, the water-fowl and butterflies among the river plants, the spotted cows and calves, supplied fertile motives for the Mycenaean goldsmiths and ceramic artists. The griffins of Mycenae reproduce an elegant creation of the New Empire, in which an influence from the Asiatic side is also traceable.

The assimilation of Babylonian elements was equally extensive. It, too, as we have seen, had begun in the earlier Aegean period, and the religious influence from the Semitic side, of which traces are already seen in the assimilation of the more primitive 'idols' to Eastern models, now forms a singular blend with the Egyptian, as regards, at least, the externals of cult. We see priests, in long folding robes of Asiatic cut, leading griffins, offering doves, holding axes of a type of Egyptian derivation which seems to have been common to the Syrian coast, the Hittite regions of Anatolia, and Mycenaean Greece. Female votaries in flounced Babylonian dresses stand before seated Goddesses, rays suggesting those of Shamas shoot from a Sun-God's shoulders, conjoined figures of moon and star recall the symbols of Sin and Istar, and the worship of a divine pair of male and female divinities is widely traceable, reproducing the relations of a Semitic Bel and Beltis. The cylinder subjects of Chaldaean art continually assert themselves: A Mycenaean hero steps into the place of Gilgames or Eabani, and renews their struggles with wild beasts and demons in the same conventional attitudes, of which Christian art has preserved a reminiscence in its early type of Daniel in the lions' den. The peculiar schemes resulting from, or, at least, brought into continual prominence by the special conditions of cylinder engraving, with the constant tendency to which it is liable of the two ends of the design to overlap, deeply influenced the glyptic style of Mycenae. Here, too, we see the same animals with crossed bodies, with two bodies and a single head, or simply confronted. These latter affiliations to Babylonian prototypes have a very important bearing on many later offshoots of European culture. The tradition of these heraldic groups preserved by the later Mycenaean art, and communicated by it to the so-called 'Oriental' style of Greece, finds in another direction its unbroken continuity in ornamental products of the Hallstatt province, and that of the late Celtic metal workers.

'But this,' exclaims a friendly critic, 'is the old heresy—the "*Mirage Orientale*" over again. Such heraldic combinations have originated independently elsewhere:—why may they not be of indigenous origin in primitive Europe?'

They certainly may be. Confronted figures occur already in the Dordogne caves. But, in a variety of instances, the historic and geographical connexion of these types with the Mycenaean, and those in turn with the Oriental, is clearly made out. That system which leaves the least call on human efforts at inventiveness seems in anthropology to be the safest.

Let us then fully acknowledge the indebtedness of early Aegean culture to the older civilisations of the East. But this indebtedness must not be allowed to obscure the fact that what was borrowed was also assimilated. On the easternmost coast of the Mediterranean, as in Egypt, it is not in a pauper's guise that the Mycenaean element makes its appearance. It is rather the invasion of a conquering and superior culture. It has already outstripped its instructors. In Cyprus, which had lagged behind the Aegean peoples in the race of progress, the Mycenaean relics make their appearance as imported objects of far superior fabric, side by side with the rude insular products. The final engrafting on Cypriote soil of what may be called a colonial plantation of Mycenae later reacts on Assyrian art, and justifies the bold theory of Professor Brunn that the sculptures of Nineveh betray Greek handiwork. The concordant Hebrew tradition that the Philistines were immigrants from the Islands of the Sea, the name 'Cherethim,' or Cretans, actually

applied to them, and the religious ties which attached 'Minoan' Gaza to the cult of the Cretan Zeus, are so many indications that the Ægean settlements, which in all probability existed in the Delta, extended to the neighbouring coast of Canaan, and that amongst other towns the great staple of the Red Sea trade had passed into the hands of these prehistoric Vikings. The influence of the Mycenaans on the later Phœnicians is abundantly illustrated in their eclectic art. The Cretan evidence tends to show that even the origins of their alphabet receive illustration from the earlier Ægean pictography. It is not the Mycenaans who are Phœnicians. It is the Phœnicians who, in many respects, acted as the depositaries of decadent Mycenaean art.

If there is one thing more characteristic than another of Phœnician art, it is its borrowed nature, and its incongruous collocation of foreign elements. Dr. Helbig himself admits that if Mycenaean art is to be regarded as the older Phœnician, the Phœnician historically known to us must have changed his nature. What the Mycenaans took they made their own. They borrowed from the designs of Babylonian cylinders, but they adapted them to gems and seals of their own fashion, and rejected the cylinders themselves. The influence of Oriental religious types is traceable on their signet rings, but the liveliness of treatment and the dramatic action introduced into the groups separate them, *toto calo*, from the conventional schematism of Babylonian cult-scenes. The older element, the sacred trees and pillars which appear as the background of these scenes—on this I hope to say more later on in this Section—there is no reason to regard here as Semitic. It belongs to a religious stage widely represented on primitive European soil, and nowhere more persistent than in the West.

Mycenaean culture was permeated by Oriental elements, but never subdued by them. This independent quality would alone be sufficient to fix its original birthplace in an area removed from immediate contiguity with that of the older civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia. The Ægean island world answers admirably to the conditions of the case. It is near, yet sufficiently removed, combining maritime access with insular security. We see the difference if we compare the civilisation of the Hittites of Anatolia and Northern Syria, in some respects so closely parallel with that of Mycenæ. The native elements were there cramped and trammelled from the beginning by the Oriental contact. No real life and freedom of expression was ever reached; the art is stiff, conventional, becoming more and more Asiatic, till finally crushed out by Assyrian conquest. It is the same with the Phœnicians. But in prehistoric Greece the indigenous element was able to hold its own, and to recast what it took from others in an original mould. Throughout its handiwork there breathes the European spirit of individuality and freedom. Professor Petrie's discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna show the contact of this Ægean element for a moment infusing naturalism and life into the time-honoured conventionalities of Egypt itself.

A variety of evidence, moreover, tends to show that during the Mycenaean period the earlier Ægean stock was reinforced by new race elements coming from north and west. The appearance of the primitive fiddle-bow-shaped *fibula* or safety-pin brings Mycenaean Greece into a suggestive relation with the Danube Valley and the Terremare of Northern Italy. Certain ceramic forms show the same affinities; and it may be noted that the peculiar 'two-storied' structure of the 'Villanova' type of urn which characterises the earliest Iron Age deposits of Italy finds already a close counterpart in a vessel from an Akropolis grave at Mycenæ—a parallelism which may point to a common Illyrian source. The painted pottery of the Mycenaans itself, with its polychrome designs, betrays Northern and Western affinities of a very early character, though the glaze and exquisite technique were doubtless elaborated in the Ægean shores. Examples of spiraliform painted designs on pottery going back to the borders of the Neolithic period have been found in Hungary and Bosnia. In the early rock-tombs of Sicily of the period anterior to that marked by imported products of the fully developed Mycenaean culture are found unglazed painted wares of considerable brilliancy, and allied classes recur in the heel of Italy and in the cave deposits of Liguria of the period transitional between the use of stone and metal. The 'household gods,'

if so we may call them, of the Mycenæans also break away from the tradition of the marble Ægean forms. We recognise the coming to the fore again of primitive European clay types in a more advanced technique. Here, too, the range of comparison takes us to the same Northern and Western area. Here, too, in Sicily and Liguria, we see the primitive art of ceramic painting already applied to these at the close of the Stone Age. A rude female clay figure found in the Arene Candide cave near Finalmarina, the upper part of the body of which, armless and rounded, is painted with brown stripes on a pale rose ground, seems to me to stand in a closer relation to the prototype of a well-known Mycenæan class than any known example. A small painted image, with punctuated cross-bands over the breast, from a sepulchral grotto at Villafraati, near Palermo, belongs to the same early family as the *bucchero* types of Butmir, in Bosnia. Unquestionable parallels to the Mycenæan class have been found in early graves in Servia, of which an example copied by me some years since in the museum at Belgrade was found near the site of that later emporium of the Balkan trade, Viminacium, together with a cup attesting the survival of the primitive Ægean spirals. These extensive Italian and Illyrian comparisons, which find, perhaps, their converging point in the North-Western corner of the Balkan peninsula, show, at least approximately, the direction from which this new European impulse reached the Ægean shores.

It is an alluring supposition that this North-Western infusion may connect itself with the spread of the Greek race in the Ægean islands and the Southern part of the Balkan peninsula. There seems, at least, to be a reasonable presumption in favour of this view. The Mycenæan tradition, which underlies so much of the classical Greek art, is alone sufficient to show that a Greek element was at least included in the Mycenæan area of culture. Recent criticism has found in the Mycenæan remains the best parallel to much of the early arts and industries recorded by the Homeric poems. The *megaron* of the palaces at Tiryns and Mycenæ is the hall of Odysseus; the inlaid metal work of the shield of Achilles recalls the Egypto-Mycenæan intarsia of the dagger blades; the cup of Nestor with the feeding doves, the subjects of the ornamental design—the siege-piece, the lion-hunt, the hound with its quivering quarry—all find their parallels in the works of the Mycenæan goldsmiths. The brilliant researches of Dr. Reichel may be said to have resulted in the definite identification of the Homeric body-shield with the most typical Mycenæan form, and have found in the same source the true explanation of the greaves and other arms and accoutrements of the epic heroes.

That a Greek population shared in the civilisation of Mycenæ cannot reasonably be denied, but that is far from saying that this was necessarily the only element, or even the dominant element. Archaeological comparisons, the evidence of geographical names and consistent tradition, tend to show that a kindred race, represented later by the Phrygians on the Anatolian side, the race of Pelops and Tantalos, the special votaries of Kybelé, played a leading part. In Crete a non-Hellenic element, the Eteocretes, or 'true Cretans,' the race of Minós, whose name is bound up with the earliest sea-empire of the Ægean and perhaps identical with that of the Minyans of continental Greece, preserved their own language and nationality to the borders of the classical period. The Labyrinth itself, the double-headed axe as a symbol of the divinity called Zeus by the Greek settlers, the common forms in the characters of the indigenous script, local names and historical traditions, further connect these Mycenæan aborigines of Crete with the primitive population, it, too, of European extraction, in Caria and Pisidia, and with the older elements in Lycia.

It is difficult to exaggerate the part played in this widely ramifying Mycenæan culture on later European arts from prehistoric times onwards. Beyond the limits of its original seats, primitive Greece and its islands, and the colonial plantations thrown out by it to the west coast of Asia Minor to Cyprus, and in all probability to Egypt and the Syrian coast, we can trace the direct diffusion of Mycenæan products, notably the ceramic wares, across the Danube to Transylvania and Moldavia. In the early cemeteries of the Caucasus the fibulas and other objects indicate a late Mycenæan source, though they are here blended with allied elements of a more Danubian character. The Mycenæan impress is very strong in Southern

Italy, and, to take a single instance, the prevailing sword-type of that region is of Mycenaean origin. Along the western Adriatic coast the same influence is traceable to a very late date in the sepulchral stelæ of Pesaro and the tympanum relief of Bologna, and bronze knives of the prehistoric Greek type find their way into the later Terremare. At Orvieto and elsewhere have even been discovered Mycenaean lentoid gems. In Sicily the remarkable excavations of Professor Orsi have brought to light a whole series of Mycenaean relics in the beehive rock-tombs of the south-eastern coast, associated with the later class of Sikel fabrics.

Sardinia, whose name has with great probability been connected with the Shardanas, who, with the Libyan and Ægean races, appear as the early invaders of Egypt, has already produced a Mycenaean gold ornament. An unregarded fact points further to the probability that it formed an important outpost of Mycenaean culture. In 1803 General Lamarmora first printed a MS. account of Sardinian antiquities, written in the latter years of the fifteenth century by a certain Gilj, and accompanied by drawings made in 1497 by Johan Virde, of Sassari. Amongst these latter (which include, it must be said, some gross falsifications) is a capital and part of a shaft of a Mycenaean column in a style approaching that of the façade of the 'Treasury of Atreus.' It seems to have been found at a place near the Sardinian Olbia, and Virde has attached to it the almost prophetic description, '*columna Pelasgica.*' That it is not a fabrication due to some traveller from Greece is shown by a curious detail. Between the chevrons that adorn it are seen rows of eight-rayed stars, a detail unknown to the Mycenaean architectural decoration till it occurred on the painted base of the hearth in the *megaron* of the palace at Mycenæ excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1886. In this neglected record, then, we have an indication of the former existence in Sardinia of Mycenaean monuments, perhaps of palaces and royal tombs comparable to those of Mycenæ itself.

More isolated Mycenaean relics have been found still further afield, in Spain, and even the Auvergne, where Dr. Montelius has recognised an evidence of an old trade connexion between the Rhone valley and the Eastern Mediterranean, in the occurrence of two bronze double axes of Ægean form. It is impossible to do more than indicate the influence exercised by the Mycenaean arts on those of the early Iron Age. Here it may be enough to cite the late Mycenaean parallels afforded by the Ægina Treasure to the open-work groups of bird-holding figures and the pendant ornaments of a whole series of characteristic ornaments of the Italo-Hallstatt culture.

In this connexion, what may be called a sub-Mycenaean survival in the North-Western corner of the Balkan peninsula has a special interest for the Celtic West. Among the relics obtained by the fruitful excavations conducted by the Austrian archaeologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and notably in the great prehistoric cemetery of Glasinatz, a whole series of Early Iron Age types betray distinct Mycenaean affinities. The spiral motive and its degeneration—the concentric circles grouped together with or without tangential lines of connexion—appears on bronze torques, on fibulæ of Mycenaean descent, and the typical finger-rings with the besil at right angles to the ring. On the plates of other 'spectacle fibulæ' are seen triquetral scrolls singularly recalling the gold plates of the Akropolis graves of Mycenæ. These, as well as other parallel survivals of the spiral system in the Late Bronze Age of the neighbouring Hungarian region, I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> ventured to claim as the true source from which the Alpine Celts, together with many Italo-Illyric elements from the old Venetian province at the head of the Adriatic, drew the most salient features of their later style, known on the Continent as that of La Tène. These Mycenaean survivals and Illyrian forms engrafted on the 'Hallstatt' stock were ultimately spread by the conquering Belgic tribes to our own islands, to remain the root element of the Late Celtic style in Britain—where the older spiral system had long since died a natural death—and in Ireland to live on to supply the earliest decorative motives of its Christian art.

<sup>1</sup> Rhind Lectures, 1895, 'On the Origins of Celtic Art,' summaries of which appeared in the *Scotsman*.



From a Twelfth Dynasty scarab to the book of Durrow or the font of Deerhurst is a far cry. But, as it was said of old, 'Many things may happen in a long time.' We have not to deal with direct transmission *per saltum*, but with gradual propagation through intervening media. This brief survey of 'the Eastern Question in Anthropology' will not have been made in vain if it helps to call attention to the mighty part played by the early Ægean culture as the mediator between primitive Europe and the older civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia. Adequate recognition of the Eastern background of the European origins is not the 'Oriental Mirage.' The independent European element is not affected by its power of assimilation. In the great days of Mycenæ we see it already as the equal, in many ways the superior, of its teachers, victoriously reacting on the older countries from which it had acquired so much. I may perhaps be pardoned if in these remarks, availing myself of personal investigations, I have laid some stress on the part which Crete has played in this first emancipation of the European genius. There far earlier than elsewhere we can trace the vestiges of primæval intercourse with the valley of the Nile. There more clearly than in any other area we can watch the continuous development of the germs which gave birth to the higher Ægean culture. There before the days of Phœnician contact a system of writing had already been worked out which the Semite only carried one step further. To Crete the earliest Greek tradition looks back as the home of divinely inspired legislation and the first centre of maritime dominion.

Inhabited since the days of the first Greek settlements by the same race, speaking the same language, and moved by the same independent impulses, Crete stands forth again to-day as the champion of the European spirit against the yoke of Asia.