

T.P.O.618



THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS.

Provisional Report of the Excavations for the Year 1901.

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§ 1.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1901.

THE work of excavation on the Palace site at Knossos was re-opened on February 27, 1901, and continued till June 17. Various supplementary operations connected with the shoring up and underpinning of the walls of large halls brought to light on the south-east of the site, the completion of the roofing-in of the Throne Room, and similar works of conservation entailed the continued employment of a large number of workmen till the beginning of July. Throughout the excavations I again secured the valuable services of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie as my assistant in directing the works, and of Mr. D. T. Fyfe, formerly architect of the British School, in preparing architectural plans and drawings.

The building itself, as will be seen from the present Summary Report, took an even vaster development than it was possible to foresee, and as, for the purpose of delimitation, it was necessary besides to make a thorough exploration of the surrounding zone on its western, northern and eastern borders the work necessitated the employment of a large number of men. Throughout a great part of the season as many as two hundred workmen were constantly employed.

Besides the opening out of new quarters of the Palace, a good deal of attention was directed towards the more exhaustive exploration of certain parts of the building already partially excavated in 1900, and at the same time towards the solution of some of the problems suggested by the work already executed. Considerable labour was devoted to the thorough examination of the south-west angle of the building, the continuation of

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the Corridor of the Procession and its relation to the Southern Terrace and Propylaeum. North of the Propylaeum, again, the walls of a series of chambers were tested and re-examined with a view to defining the outline of the upper halls or "Megara" that once undoubtedly rose above them. A series of the "Kasselles" beneath the floors of the Magazines were opened and their contents thoroughly sifted. A large number of additional shafts were also sunk both within and without the walls of the Palace in order further to explore the underlying Neolithic settlement.¹

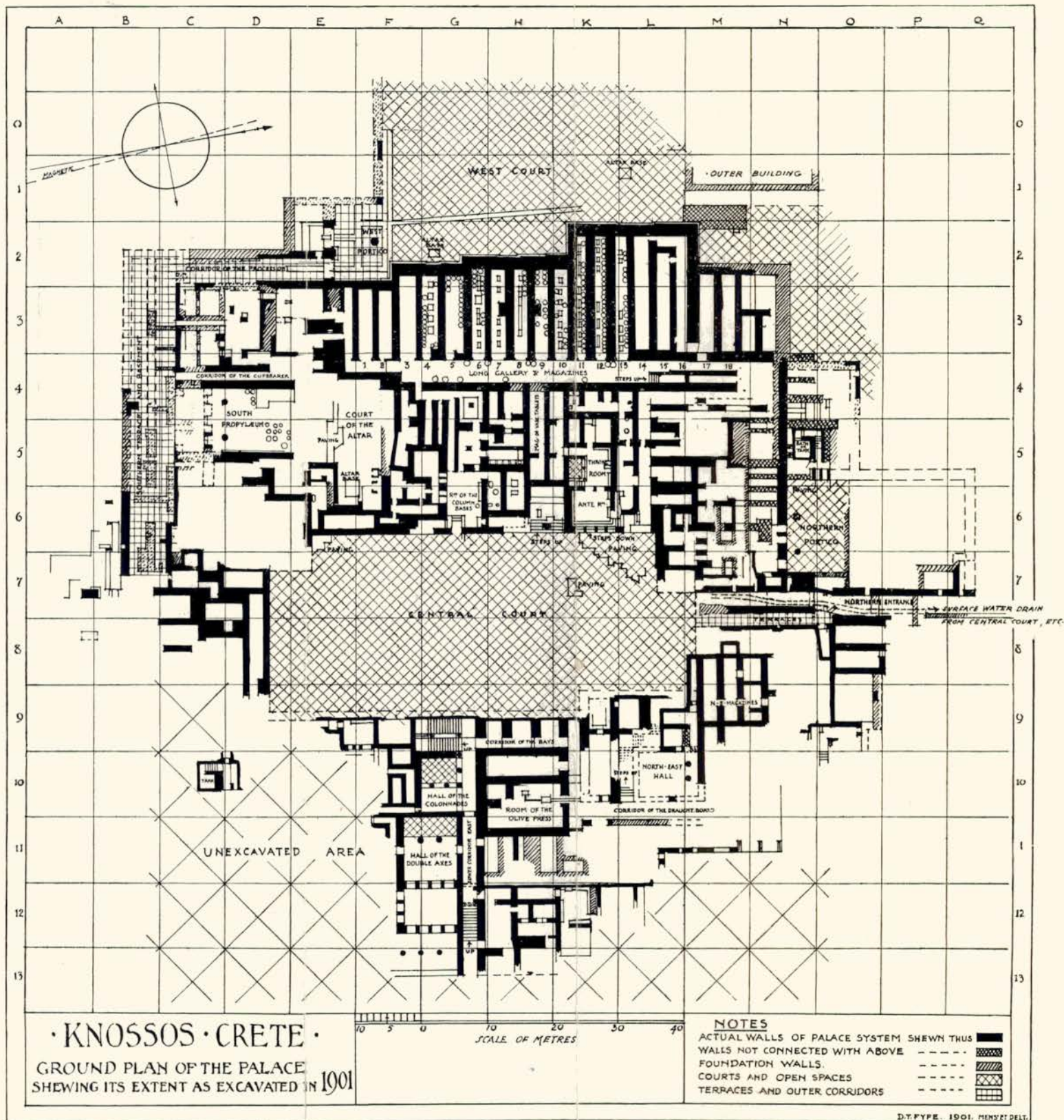
Of the works of conservation undertaken the most important was the enclosing and roofing-in of the Throne Room—a work rendered urgent by the effect which exposure to the weather was already beginning to produce both on the throne itself and the seats and parapet. In order to support the roof it was necessary to place some kind of pillars in the position formerly occupied by the Mycenaean columns, the burnt remains of which were found fixed in the sockets of the stone bench opposite the throne. This necessity and the desire to avoid the introduction of any incongruous elements amid such surroundings determined me to reproduce the form of the original Mycenaean columns. An exact model both for the shape and colouring was happily at hand in the small fresco of the temple façade, and the work was successfully executed under Mr. Fyfe's superintendence.

In order to protect the room from wanton damage we were further reluctantly obliged to place a substantial iron railing and door across the entrance. For this, unfortunately, no Knossian model was forthcoming, and the best that could be done was to get a native smith of Candia to make a scroll-work railing of wrought iron of the kind that it is usual here to place before Mahometan shrines, the spiral designs of which at least are curiously in harmony with Mycenaean patterns. About the middle of the opening in order to give support to this barrier a stone pillar was set up in a socket of the pavement where a wooden one had once stood.

§ 2.—THE WESTERN COURT, PORTICO, AND ENTRANCE.

One of the leading features of the excavation was the great increase of area gained by the Western Court. The whole line of the West Wall of

¹ A short report of the results of the exploration of this Neolithic Settlement was made by me to the Anthropological Section of the British Association (Glasgow Meeting, September 1901). An abstract of this is printed in the Annual Report of the Association, and in *Man*, December 1901 (No. 146)



GROUND PLAN OF THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS, SHOWING ITS EXTENT AS EXCAVATED IN 1901.

the Palace was now brought to light to a point nearly twice as far to the north of the West Portico as the portion excavated in 1900. As before, this wall formed for the most part the backing of a series of Magazines, six of them longer than any yet uncovered. At this point the course of the West Wall is again marked by one of the shallow recesses already noted in the earlier excavated part, which also recur in the outer wall of the Palace at Phaestos. After passing these Magazines, where the outer wall attains its greatest projection west, it again took a rectangular turn back and reached

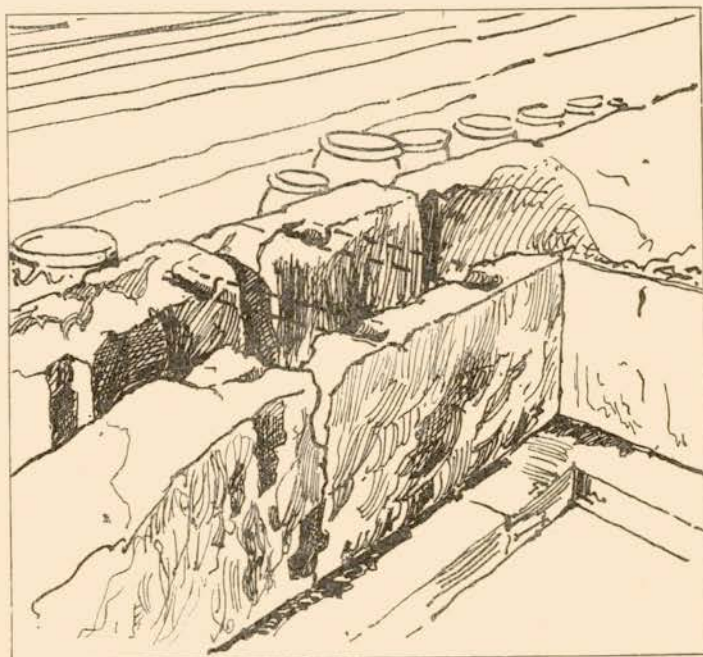


FIG. 1.—ANGLE OF WEST WALL, SHOWING SOCKETS OF WOODEN STRUTS.

the extreme north-west angle of the building in a line with its starting point outside the West Portico.

Behind the Long Magazines the method followed in the construction of this Western Wall was very perceptible and revealed that curious economy of material so characteristic of the builders of the Palace. The great gypsum slabs visible both in the outer and inner face of this wall were not in fact continuous. The actual thickness of these did not exceed 50 centimetres, and between them there was a space of about a metre filled

with clay and rubble. At the same time, to give compactness to the whole, wooden struts were set between them, the sockets of which were to be seen on the inner sides of the great slabs (see Fig. 1).

The extreme northern end of the West Wall could only be traced by means of the foundations, hereabouts about a metre and a half deep and consisting of a dry walling of smaller limestone blocks resting on a plinth.

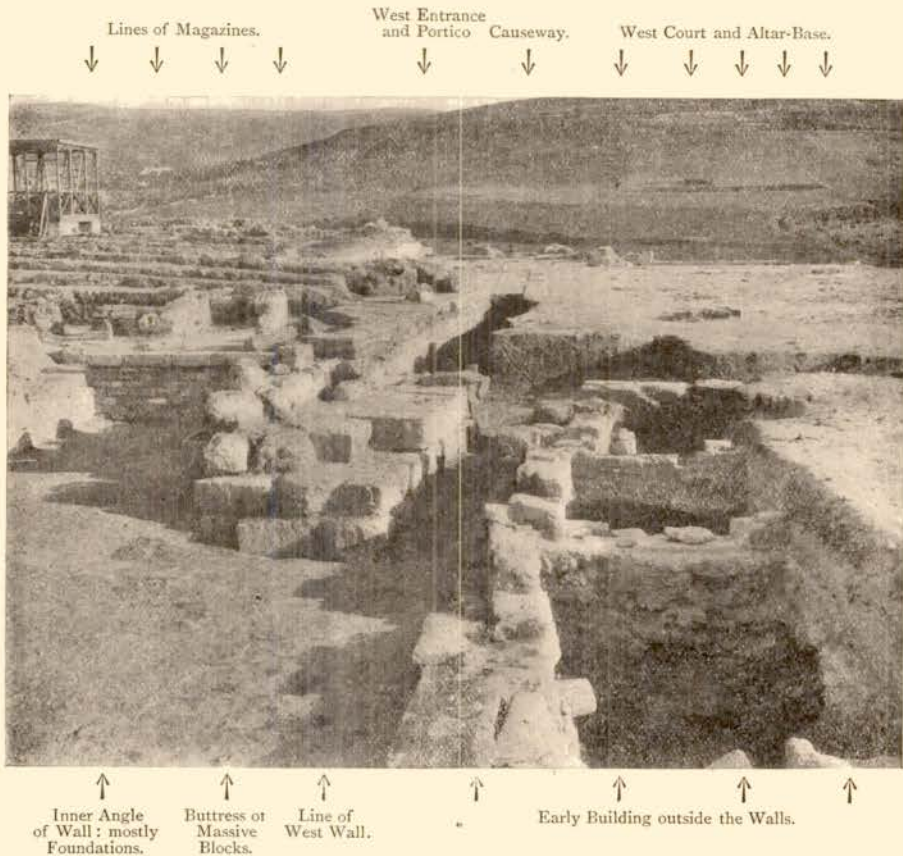


FIG. 2.—VIEW LOOKING SOUTH TOWARDS THE FIRST NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF PALACE.

The angles of this, as may be seen from Plate II. and Fig. 2, were very finely preserved. Proceeding southwards the depth of these foundations gradually decreased with the rise of the ground.

Against the north-west angle of the wall, outside the Long Magazines,

had been set an oblong structure of large limestone blocks which had the appearance of very primitive build (see Fig. 2). It is probable, however, from its position against the corner of the wall, that this massive platform was really a later structure carried out with the object of supporting the foundations of the building at this angle, where, as is shown from the remains of frescoes, a stone frieze and other architectural fragments, there was evidently an important superstructure.

Separated from this massive buttress by about a metre's space were the foundations and lower part of the walls of an elongated rectangular building divided into three main compartments, the south end of which forms a limit to the Western Court on this side. The upper floors here were of Mycenaean date, but in the lower part of the chambers were found abundant fragments of pottery of the pure Kamáres Period, including specimens of the fine embossed "egg-shell" ware which represents the highest ceramic product of pre-Mycenaean Crete, and was evidently copied from prototypes of repoussé metal-work.

The relics of the best Kamáres Period are conspicuous by their absence in the chambers of the Palace itself, and the preservation of this building in such immediate proximity to the wall and actually abutting on the great West Court may possibly indicate that it served some religious purpose. It is noteworthy in this connexion that a double axe was painted on one of the fragments, the bottom of a vase, recalling a similar symbol on a vase found in a house to the west of this spot.¹ The double axe in a specially votive form reappears as on the Mycenaean pottery of the "Palace style."²

In the Western Court, opposite the south end of this building and 6.60 metres distant from the shallow recess already described in the wall behind the Long Magazines, was unearthed a second altar-base of limestone blocks 1.90 m. x 1.72 in dimensions,³ closely resembling that already noted nearer the West Portico. Starting from the centre of the western wing of this Portico and running somewhat diagonally north-westwards so as to avoid the great angle of the West Wall is a curious narrow causeway more carefully paved than the rest of the Court and slightly raised above its level. Its appearance at first sight suggests the base of an earlier wall, but that it is in fact a causeway is now placed beyond a doubt by the remarkable parallel discovered at Phaestos. There, running in the same diagonal

¹ D. G. Hogarth, *B. S. Annual*, 1900, pp. 79, 80; *J. H. S.* 1900, p. 87.

² See below p. 53.

³ Somewhat defective on north-west side.

fashion across the Court that lies outside the western wall of the Palace, is a precisely similar causeway leading to a step-way that ascends the tiers of seats that command the northern end of the Court. Thus at Phaestos we see a similar causeway, leading presumably from a gate of the Palace, serving as an avenue of approach to what seems to have been a prehistoric theatre—arranged like a grand stand—overlooking a very ancient altar. Whether any structure analogous to this archaic theatre existed at Knossos it is impossible now to say, but the parallelism of altars and causeways is very suggestive.

There can at least be little doubt that this Western Court outside the Palace Walls must have formed the great gathering-place, or *Agora*, for the citizens of Mycenaean Knossos. From north to south it extends some 50 metres, but on the western side no definite line of delimitation exists, and it seems to have an almost unlimited extension. The rough paving may possibly have been originally covered with a kind of cement, as was certainly the case with the area beneath the Portico. Where a test pit was dug into it, at a point about 30 metres west of the first-discovered altar-base, it was found immediately to overlay a stratum containing first Mycenaean and then Kamáres sherds. Nearer the West Wall, however, Kamáres sherds were found immediately below the pavement and went down about 2 metres to the Neolithic stratum. This seems to indicate that the Agora had been many centuries in use, during which its level had gradually risen, the stone pavement, however, for the most part dating from the earliest period of the building.¹ This Court has a distinct Western slope.

Whether or not the Agora was overlooked originally by raised seats like the Western Court at Phaestos, the long plinth at the base of the West Wall, also paralleled at Phaestos, must at all times have afforded an admirable sitting place for a large number of persons, and indeed was frequently used for this purpose by my Cretan workmen. It does not require a great stretch of imagination to see the Elders of a Mycenaean Assembly seated in the same place, while the King himself sate at the gate on the Seat of Judgment in the stately Portico beyond.

It will be remembered that this Portico gave access to a double entrance, one doorway leading directly to the Corridor of the Procession, while the other opened on a separate chamber. A re-investigation of the founda-

¹ In some places, however, the Kamáres deposit began immediately beneath the pavement.

tions has made it clear that the side chamber, which communicated with the Corridor by means of a small lateral doorway, was of somewhat larger dimensions than had been at first made out. This chamber was surely something more than a mere "Porter's Lodge." It is at least a probable conjecture that this room with its stately portal facing the great Western Court was on such occasions specially reserved for the royal use.

The Portico itself must have been an imposing structure. The column-base in the centre of its opening has a diameter of 1.25 metres, and taking as a guide the proportions of the pillars depicted in the "Temple" fresco, the wooden column which rose above it and supported the architrave would have attained a height of 5 metres or over sixteen feet. The architrave must also have been supported by substantial piers on either side. On the east side indeed the solid gypsum block which formed the base of this is visible with a dowel hole for an upright wooden beam. The pavement within the Portico, as will be seen from the plan (Pl. I.), is divided into square and oblong spaces, formerly coated with red-coloured cement, by lines of slab pathway, one branch of which finds its continuation in the causeway already described, and in another similar gangway which starts from the latter at right angles in a westerly direction. Two other branches of the pathways within the Portico lead through the middle of the doorways, one of these prolonging itself in the central line of slabs that run along the Corridor of the Procession.

§ 3.—THE CORRIDOR OF THE PROCESSION TRACED TO THE S.W. CORNER AND PROLONGED, FROM INDICATIONS, ALONG THE SOUTHERN TERRACE.

The rapid fall of the ground beyond the south-western angle of the Palace had entailed ^{entirely} the almost complete denudation of the upper part of the neighbouring structure. It was, therefore, the more necessary to make a very careful exploration of the remains of foundations hereabouts, as a guide for reconstructing the upper lines. Happily, by very reason of the slope of the ground, the builders had here laid the foundations of exceptionally massive blocks, and the line of a thick outer wall forming the continuation of the west wall of the Corridor of the Procession was clearly indicated. West of these foundations were others of a less important character which evidently had belonged to private houses built here close

up against the Palace wall, while a little beyond was the better preserved house with gypsum pillars excavated by Mr. Hogarth in 1900.¹

In my previous Report the conjectural view had been already advanced that the Corridor of the Procession, after continuing to the south-west corner of the Palace above the lower part of the Southern Terrace, "took a turn at right angles, and following the top of the Terrace wall afforded access to the Southern Propylaeum." A valuable corroboration and amplification of this view is now afforded, not only by the existence of foundations clearly marking the prolongation of the stately entrance Corridor to the south-west angle of the Southern Terrace, but by other circumstances. Below the point where the Corridor must have abutted on the Terrace occurred a fresco fragment consisting of the foot and the corner of the robe of a male figure similar to those of the "Procession" found on the walls of the Corridor nearer the Western Entrance. Near the same spot were also found pieces of the characteristic blue slate slabs that form the border of the Corridor pavement, and many other examples of the same occurred at various spots above the floor level of the Southern Terrace—a striking indication of the continuation of the Corridor along its upper floor. A supporting wall, which seems originally to have run with small interruption along the middle of the basement of the Southern Terrace, was apparently built with the special object of supplying a base to an upper wall or colonnade which would be the continuation of the outer wall of the Corridor. It is probable that the outer face of the Corridor above this supporting wall formed a long colonnade opening on a flat terrace representing the roof of the outer division of the basement. Opposite the centre of this Colonnade was the broad opening that gave access to the Southern Propylaeum, and thus to upper *Megara* beyond, the existence of which can now be ascertained with sufficient certainty. That a similar system of wall decoration was common to all this avenue of approach from the Western Entrance is indicated by the finding of the Cup-Bearer fresco, a figure analogous to those of the Corridor of the Procession, at the back of the Southern Propylaeum in a position which showed that it had fallen backwards from its inner wall.

There can be little doubt that the Corridor and Colonnade continued east past the approach to the Propylaeum, and afforded a direct access to the Central Court and perhaps to the important *Megara* beyond it. Similar

¹ *B.S. Annual*, 1900, II. 79.

remains of blue slate paving, found above the floor levels below, marked a part at least of this continuation.

§ 4.—THE SOUTH TERRACE BASEMENT AND ADJOINING ROOMS AND GALLERIES.

Reason has been given above for supposing that the upper part of the South Terrace consisted of a long Gallery or Verandah which formed in fact the continuation of the Corridor of the Procession and opened south, perhaps by a wooden colonnade, on a flat stretch of roof. Below all this were basement rooms and galleries, a part of which had been explored at the beginning of the season of 1900. The outer limit below is formed by a long line of fine gypsum blocks resting on a slightly projecting plinth of limestone slabs, which the renewed exploration of this front made it possible to follow in the direction of the south-west corner of the Palace. The fact that this wall showed very little traces of foundations strongly corroborates the view already expressed that, above, it merely supported an outer line of terrace roof.

Between this and the innermost supporting wall of the Terrace were, as already noted, remains of a central construction parallel to the inner and outer lines, apparently intended to support the colonnade of the verandah above. The main terrace wall, within this, though a good deal reconstructed in places, showed near its base layers of fine limestone blocks, the prevailing double axe symbol on which marked them as belonging to the earliest period of the building. This wall had at later times been buttressed up in several places by masses of very poor rubble masonry; as however the superincumbent structures which this had once helped to support no longer existed it was possible to remove this later work and expose the original surface of the inner terrace wall.

Already when the excavations were first begun there were visible in the face of this wall two narrow openings leading to small inner galleries. The removal of the later rubble coating now brought into view three more such galleries, one on the extreme east and two to the west of those already visible. It was clear that the two more westerly of these, one of which ran immediately under the Corridor of the Cupbearer, had given access to inner basement rooms which had apparently served as cellars. In contiguity to the most westerly of these there were now

opened out two small chambers of this class with which it had probably had communication. The floor level of these chambers, though somewhat over two metres below the upper Palace level at this spot, was at least a metre higher than that of the basement area of the South Terrace proper, and we must therefore suppose that there were originally steps up from the subterranean passage.

In the innermost of these chambers was found a group of plain clay vases, one of which was of exceptional interest from the fact that it bore on its shoulders an inscription which had been incised while the clay was still wet. The inscription, the first found here on a vase, is written in the ordinary linear script of the Palace—a slight variation being noteworthy in the third letter, here reversed and written like an S. In Figure 3 it will be found compared with typical forms as seen on tablets of Mycenaean date.

The vase itself on which this graffito inscription appeared was of a tall

GRAFFITO INSCRIPTION
ON VASE.

NORMAL LINEAR CHARACTERS
ON KNOSSIAN TABLETS OF THE
MYCENAEAN PERIOD.

FIG. 3.—LINEAR CHARACTERS ON VASE
AND CLAY TABLETS COMPARED.

elongated form, except for its two handles recalling the shape of a Chinese jar. With it was found another similar vase (Fig. 4) and several other vessels. They were all of the same rough light-coloured clay and uncoloured, except that one two-handled jar was broadly streaked with a kind of triple spray of brown. At the bottom of a barrel-shaped vessel with tripod base, a type of which there were two or three examples, was found a grey deposit with fishes' vertebrae, showing that it had been used to store

food. In this connexion it may be mentioned that an intaglio found on the site of Knossos shows a fisherman holding in either hand a fish and a polyp. In Crete, at least, fish formed a regular part of the Mycenaean dietary.

The types of the "rustic" vases found in this chamber derive great interest from the fact that they one and all represent a degenerate "Kamáres" tradition, although, as the character of the inscription shows, belonging to a good Mycenaean period. In this respect the Amphoras with double spout and mouth of oval section, the barrel-shaped vases with a

tripod base, and a two-handled spouted bowl, are very characteristic. The cups exhibit transitional forms between the higher, often brilliantly painted, Kamáres type and the somewhat shallow receptacles of plain clay of which such vast heaps are found in the votive deposits of Mycenaean date in the Dictaeon Cave and elsewhere. It will be seen that large deposits of vessels of the same transitional class were found in the chambers and magazines of the east slope, and this "rustic" fabric may with great probability be regarded as the work of slaves and handicraftsmen of the old indigenous stock who lived within the Palace walls under

Vase with
Rough Painting.



Type of Inscribed Vase.



FIG. 4.—"RUSTIC" VASES SHOWING KAMÁRES TRADITION, FROM BASEMENT ROOM OF SOUTH TERRACE.

the Mycenaean lords. The appearance of a linear inscription on a pot of this class suggests many interesting questions. It must at least be taken as a proof of a considerable diffusion of the art of writing.

The comparatively early Mycenaean date of the contents of this store-room is shown not only by the Kamáres tradition in the forms of the vases but by certain structural phenomena. The vases lay in a layer of burnt wood pointing to the effect of a fire in this part of the Palace, and a little above the floor level on which they lay were the foundations of rubble walls belonging to the latest period of occupation. It is also to be observed that the gallery by which this chamber had been

originally reached from the basement of the South Terrace had had its mouth blocked at this same period by a rubble supporting wall.

Very different from this are the contents of the basement rooms and passages of the Southern Terrace itself. There the rubble walls inserted at a late period to buttress up the main south wall, together with certain contemporary chambers of the same poor construction as these buttress walls and partly built on to them, serve to bring out a very definite line in the archaeological stratification of the site. Along the foot of these later walls and in the small chambers, of which four were brought to light in the western half of the basement, were found a series of Mycenaean vases of a decidedly more recent type than those of the fine Palace style. In a room to the left of the entrance of the basement passage which runs immediately under the Corridor of the Cup-bearer sixteen Mycenaean vases were found in a more or less perfect condition, just as they were left at the latest moment of the occupation of this part of the site. The larger of these were placed on stone slabs, the smaller on pebbles. Other similar vases were found in the chamber adjoining this on the west. Among the classes represented, besides plain bowls and some rather coarse jars with flowing streak decoration, were the usual two-handled pedestalled cups of the champagne-glass form, single-handled jugs with waved and spiral pattern, and several "stirrup vases" (Bügelkannen) of high oval form and somewhat heavy fabric, with octopus designs, and large single-handled mugs with incurving sides of a type very characteristic of the tombs of Ialysos.¹ It may be remembered that among the vases of similar ceramic style found in the passage of the same basement, a little farther east, was a three-handled pyxis, in form and ornament almost identical with one from the same Rhodian cemetery.² More than this, the character of the decoration on the vases from these basement chambers, and others of similar character found elsewhere on the site, closely corresponds with that of the Mycenaean vase fragments from Tell-el-Amarna, among which, however, the octopus design seems to be wanting.

The trend of this evidence is to take us to the Fourteenth century B.C. for these latest ceramic products of the site. There was no trace

¹ Furtwängler und Löschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Pl. ix. (56, xxxv.). Two examples of similar types from Ialysos are in the Ashmolean Museum. Another vase of this form from Nauplia is given, *op. cit.* Pl. xxi. 150.

² *B. S. Annual*, 1900, p. 8. Furtw. u. Löschke, *op. cit.* Pl. ix. (55, xxxii).

in the later chambers and passages of the Southern Terrace basement of any example of the finer Palace style. It will be seen, too, that the room of the Stirrup Vases (Bügelkannen), to the north of the building where similar ceramic types occurred, is now shown to overlay an earlier Mycenaean floor-level. Their sporadic occurrence indeed and proved posteriority make it more and more probable that at the time when these vessels were in use only a fraction of the site was still inhabited, and that the larger part of the Palace, together with the monuments of its most flourishing artistic period, was already in ruins.

On removing the later wall which blocked the entrance of the subterranean gallery that ran beneath that in which the Cup-Bearer fresco lay, an interesting find was made on the old floor level below. This was a haematite weight, with a flattened surface below, of the somewhat spindle-shaped form shown in Fig. 5. Its interest lies in the fact that it corresponds both in form and material with a class of early weights found both in Palestine and Egypt. An example from Samaria in the Ashmolean Museum and dating from the seventh or eighth century B.C., bears a Semitic inscription showing that it was a quarter *usf*,¹ a kind of weight which recurs elsewhere in Palestine, but the name of which does not seem to be capable of a Hebrew derivation. It weighs 2.540 grammes (39.2 grains), so that the unit of which it is a quarter would have scaled 10.16

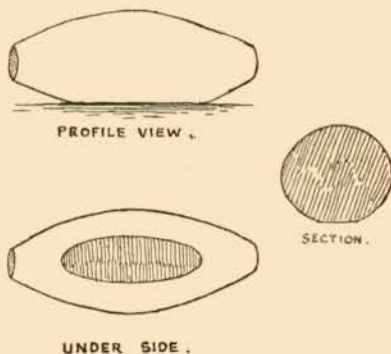


FIG. 5.—HAEMATITE WEIGHT.

grammes (c. 157 grains), an amount which bears no obvious relation either to the Babylonian or the Egyptian standards. A haematite weight, however, of the same type from Egypt weighing 46.6 grammes (about 704 grains), fits well with the Egyptian series and may be regarded as the equivalent of half an "Uten" of the lighter class, or five "Kats." The Knossian example on the other hand, which is 12.6 grammes (195 grains),

¹ For the earlier readings of this weight, see *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1894, pp. 220-231 and 284-287. Dr. M. Lidzbarski, whose reading is adopted in the text, has now clearly demonstrated that the hitherto doubtful inscription on one side of the weight is simply a blundered and subsequently erased version of what appears on the other side (*Ephem. für Semitische Epigraphik*, I. pp. 13, 14).

does not seem to belong to any of the above systems, though it almost exactly corresponds with the weight of the Aeginetan silver staters.¹

§ 5.—THE SOUTHERN WING, AND ITS PAINTED RELIEFS.

To the east of the Southern Terrace basement three shallow steps appear leading up to what in some respects is a continuation of the same system, but which is here described as the Southern Wing of the Palace. This southern wing forms the end on this side of the great Central Court, formerly described as the East Court, and it is natural to suppose that it had some direct means of access from its southern as from its northern side. These steps are in fact in line with two short basement galleries or elongated chambers, with an intervening block, which suggest the further course of an upper passage-way leading to the Court. The Corridor that apparently ran along the Southern Terrace, and which formed, as we have seen, the continuation of the entrance Corridor from the west, would have naturally opened into this passage leading from the Southern Step-way. A direct corroboration of this view is indeed supplied by the fact that above the floor level of the basement space, over which the joint course of these two passages would have run, were found numerous fragments of blue slate slabs like those along the borders of the "Corridor of the Procession."

That there was thus direct communication both from the Western and Southern Entrances with this Central Court can hardly be doubted when the leading part played by this Court in the Palace economy is fully realised. The result of the most recent exploration has been to show conclusively that this great paved area was the real focus of the inner Palace life, just as the West Court represents the meeting point between Palace and City. It will be seen from the succeeding sections that the principal halls of the building lay on the eastern side of this Central Court. It may be further assumed indeed that a prolongation of the continued southern and western entrance ways ran along its south border and gave covered communication with the important *Megara* of the eastern quarter. The chambers actually un-

¹ Their full weight is given as 194 grains by Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 332). The value of the comparison is of course diminished by the great interval of time between the date when the weight was used and the first issue of Aeginetan staters. Another similar haematite weight found in Egypt, weighing 3 grammes (46·3 grains) may, however, be regarded as a fourth of the same unit as that represented by the Knossian example. Three leaden disks were found in the Palace which also appear to be weights. They weigh respectively 8·45 grammes (c. 131½ grains), 22·05 grammes (c. 340 grains) and 42·7 grammes (c. 680 grains).

covered in the Southern Wing are merely basements, some of them of rough construction, but the longest of these, running from west to east along the borders of the Court, certainly suggests the former existence of a gallery above.

The architectural importance of the buildings that once overlooked the Central Court on the south side is indicated by decorated remains found in the western basement space on this side. Above the floor level of this room near its east wall, from about a metre below the surface, were uncovered a series of fragments of bas-reliefs in *gesso duro* representing male subjects. Like the bull-reliefs found in 1900, these plaster fragments were coloured. The first important piece brought to light showed the back and ear of a male head wearing a crown, the upper part of which consisted of a row of sloping *fleurs-de-lys* with a taller upright one in the centre. Of the others all had a forward slant except the hindmost, which was sloped in the other direction. The colours of the diadem itself and its offshoots were evidently intended to represent inlaid metal-work. The *fleur-de-lys* ornament recurred in the shape of a collar formed of links of this shape round the neck of a male torso found near the relief of the crown. The ornament itself is typically Mycenaean, and its derivation from the pure lily type with the stamens attached may be traced on the gold-plated inlaid dagger¹ from the Fifth Akropolis Grave.

Of the natural lily as a Mycenaean hair ornament we have an example in the coiffure of the Goddess and her attendant handmaidens on the great signet from Mycenae, who wear this flower in the front of their hair. A natural wreath of this kind no doubt served as the prototype of the crown before us. But was the personage who wears it in this case royal or divine? The processional frescoes, with their apparently tribute-bearing youths, and the analogy that they present to contemporary Egyptian monuments in which the representatives of various races bear tribute to Thothmes III., suggest that in these reliefs, which may well be a more elaborate continuation of the same class of subject as those of the Corridor of the Procession, we have also to do with human personages. Among the frescoes in high relief found in a chamber on the eastern slope is an arm holding a pointed cup like that borne by the Cup-bearer of the fresco,² a fact which strongly supports this view. These analogies afford a real presumption that in this crowned head we see before us a Mycenaean King.

¹ Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vi. Pl. xix.

² See below, p. 89, Fig. 29.

It is probable that a part of a relief of a blue mantle with curving folds, crossed by fine wavy incised lines, which was found near it, belonged to the same figure.

The male torso with the lily collar (Fig. 6) belongs to another figure. It is executed in the same low relief, and in spite of certain conventional peculiarities, such as the narrow waist and over-elongated thumb, shows an extraordinarily advanced style of modelling. The pectoral, deltoid and biceps muscles and others of the fore-arm are very accurately rendered. In addition to other minor fragments the thigh and the greater part of the leg of another figure were also found near the torso. The buttock is but slightly prominent, but great stress is again laid on the muscular development, recalling the Kampos statuette on a larger scale. The reliefs are all life-size, and the skin was originally coloured a reddish brown like that of the men in the frescoes, though this has much faded. In the case of the male torso (Fig. 6) the lilies of the collar seem to have been attached in separate pieces coloured to represent metal work. This applied decoration has, however, become detached leaving the surface below printed, as it were, in its original ruddy hue against the faded surface of the rest of the torso. The attitude and clenched hand may suggest a boxer.

§ 6.—ROOMS OF THE CLAY SEALS AND "PRIEST FRESCO."

Among the basement spaces behind the southern steps already noted was a small room containing a large number of broken impressions of clay seals. As these occurred at various levels it is probable that they were originally derived from a room above this basement. No inscribed tablets were found with these, so that they do not seem to have been used here, as in other cases, for sealing up chests containing such clay documents. The numbers of these seal impressions, on the other hand, and the frequent repetition of certain types seem to show that correspondence on non-perishable material, such as the palm-leaves said to have been used in Crete as writing material, was here both sealed and opened. Nodules of clay were found with the impressions which had evidently been prepared to supply the material for the sealings, and some small bits with partial impressions of intaglios were probably due to the preliminary and tentative use of the signets to test the consistency of the clay. A certain number of impressions belonging to the same deposit, for they repeated several of the same subjects, occurred in two neighbouring chambers to be described as

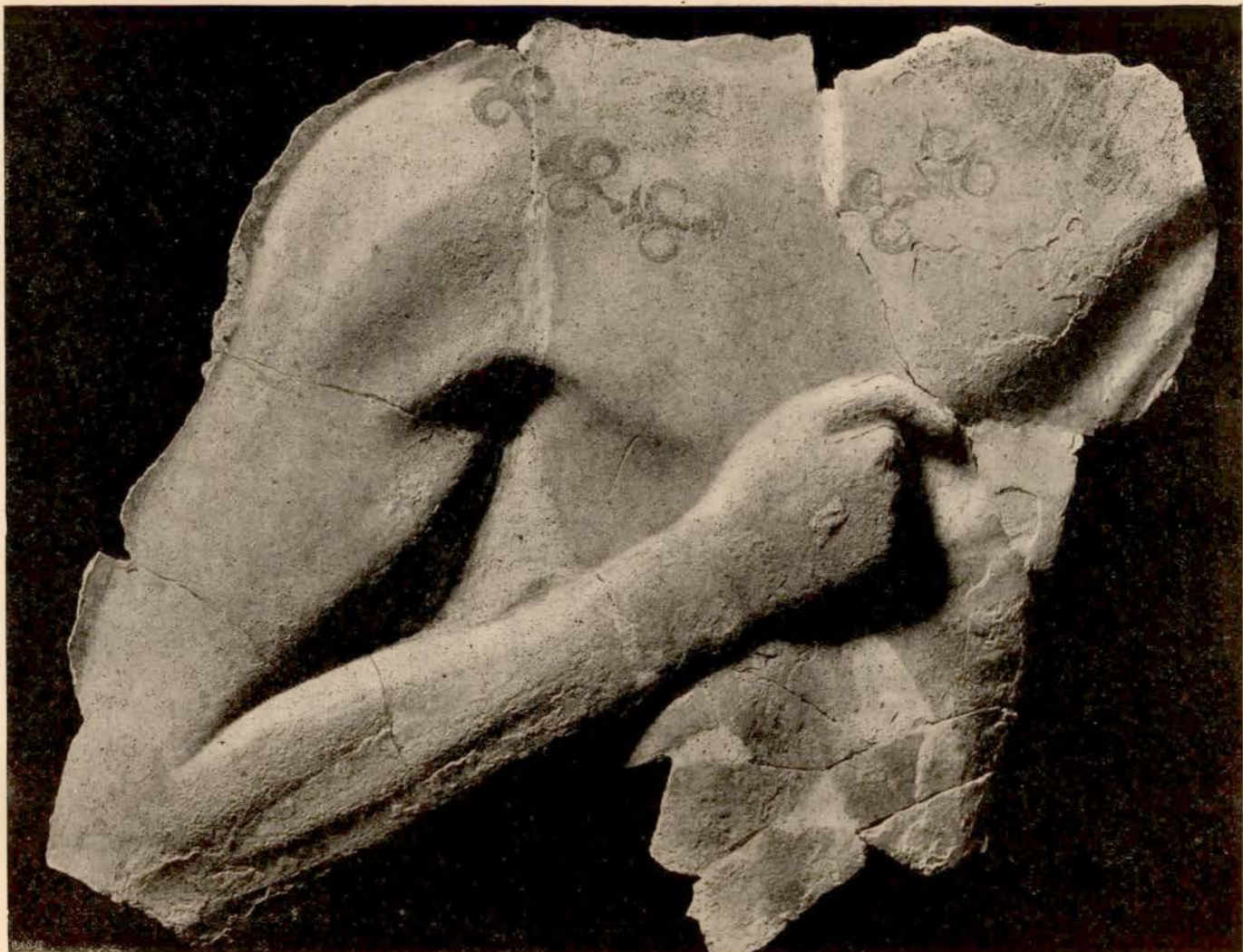


FIG. 6.—COLOURED BAS-RELIEF IN *Gesso duro* REPRESENTING MALE TORSO WITH *Fleur-de-Lis* COLLAR.

the room of the "Priest Fresco" and "The Lapidary's Workshop." In order to collect these more or less fragmentary seals, prolonged and careful work with the sieves was necessary.

The most frequent types found were animals, bulls or oxen, wild goats, rams or moufflons. A design exhibiting a couchant ox, looking back at a tree, recurred on eleven fairly preserved examples. Some of these seal impressions, as for instance one showing a dog with his head turned back looking upwards and with a collar round his neck, another with fish and polyp, another with a lion leaping on a lioness, and a fragment showing a man looking at the head of a magnificent bull, represent the highest level of Mycenaean glyptic art. To these must be added the half of an impres-

sion of an extraordinary large lentoid gem, upon which are seen waterfowl together with wavy lines indicating water, and a naturalistically drawn reed.

Some very curious examples show a flounced female figure of small dimensions holding what appears to be a string with the other end attached to a swallow, to which another swallow flies. Among religious subjects may be noted a Mycenaean Daemon holding an ewer and an impression, evidently from a gold signet of the usual type, showing a Goddess and votary. Two fragments exhibit what appears to be a man clad in a kind of cuirass, with his body bent towards a monster seated on a cross-legged seat, with the legs of a man, but the head, fore-legs and the upper part of the body, including the tail, of an animal resembling a calf (Fig. 7*a*). This approach to a Minotaur



FIG. 7*a*.—CLAY SEAL-IMPRESSION WITH MINOTAUR (†).

derives additional significance from the fact that several gems have been discovered in Crete—two from the site of Knossos—with the legs of a man and the head and fore-legs of a bull (Fig. 7*b, c*). The type of the Minotaur already existed in Mycenaean Crete, where it was one of a series of similar monstrous forms, such as the man-stag, the man-goat, the man-lion, and the eagle-woman.¹

¹ Gems with these types are known to me from various parts of Crete. Much new light has been thrown on these monstrous forms by Mr. Hogarth's discovery of Mycenaean seal impressions at Zakro (see below).

Besides the actual seal impressions from this deposit there came to light¹ a clay object of a somewhat different class which strongly suggests a more seamy side of the high civilisation here represented. This was a clay matrix formed by making a stamp from the impression of an actual seal, and which could thus be itself used as a signet for making counterfeit impressions of the same kind. The original of this was evidently a large gold signet-ring of a kind resembling, both in its form and the character of its subject, that found in the Akropolis Treasure of Mycenae. That this, like the other, was a royal signet is highly probable, and what adds to the interest of the matrix is that several clay impressions taken from the original ring were subsequently found in association with a very important deposit of inscribed clay tablets in the East-West Corridor on the eastern slope. These various examples allow of the complete reproduction of the design, which displays a Goddess seated in an attitude closely recalling the Goddess on the ring from Mycenae, while a female votary holds out a two-handled cup to her, immediately above which is an orb evidently representing the sun. Behind this female figure is another—half turned away—apparently performing an orgiastic dance. The group is placed on a kind of terrace amidst rock-scenery. It would seem that the clay matrix was actually used for forging the royal signature.



FIG. 7*b* AND 7*c*.—GEMS FROM KNOSSOS SHOWING MINOTAUR (†).

In the room where this matrix was found, east of that of the seal impressions, were two floor levels. Beneath the uppermost of these, fragments of painted stucco came to light, including a fresco fragment of great

¹ The clay matrix was found in the "Room of the Priest Fresco."

interest. It showed the heads and upper part of the body of two small male figures, each of whom was clad in a kind of white stole, with a broad band running down from the shoulder. In front of them was the upper part of a Mycenaean column, with a very prominent torus to its capital. The column was coloured yellow, perhaps intended to represent gilding.

The stoles of the two figures, very different from the ordinary Mycenaean garb, convey to the modern mind a sacerdotal association. They may be compared with the long robes worn by a certain class of male figures seen on Mycenaean signets, of which several examples have been found in Crete, including an impression of one found in the Palace itself.¹ On the latter, as in some other examples²—one from Knossos itself—the figure carries a single edged axe of the Egyptianising and also "Hittite" type found in the Vapheio Tomb.³ On another Knossian gem⁴ he holds a bird, apparently a duck—having possibly a votive significance. On one of the finest of the Vapheio gems he is seen leading a griffin. The associations here seem to be distinctly ceremonial and religious, and on the fresco fragment this element⁵ is certainly suggested by the column in front of the figures.

§ 7.—THE LAPIDARY'S WORKSHOP.

In an adjoining basement room to the south of the room of the "Priest Fresco" were a variety of objects showing that it had been used as a workshop or workman's store. These relics also partly extended over the neighbouring basement spaces. Here were found a number of peg-like objects, mostly with a groove round the top, of marble, bone and steatite, jasper and steatite studs, shell beads, low, cylindrical stone objects which had the appearance of draughtsmen, and bone pieces, apparently also connected with a game. Many of the objects were in an unfinished state, and the materials for making others were present in a more or less rough or purely natural state, as, for instance, a flat oblong piece of jasper chipped round at the edges, and crystals resembling beryl.

In the more southerly of these two workrooms was found a small *pithos* filled with small burnt beans. These were at once recognised by the workmen as *κνκιά Μισιριωτικά*—Egyptian beans—a dwarf kind at

¹ Beneath the doorway of the Room of the Stone Drum (described below p. 32).

² In the Candia Museum.

³ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, Pl. viii. 1.

⁴ In my own collection, acquired in 1894.

⁵ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, Pl. x. 32.

present imported into Crete from Alexandria, and of which there is an abundant supply in the Candia market. Remains of another pot were also found with carbonised seeds of a smaller kind. The northern part of the other workroom had also been used as a store for grain. It was covered at a depth of 2.60 m. from the surface with large quantities of a carbonised cereal, apparently wheat, extending in a thin stratum. The wheat had probably been heaped on the floor of this room, as there was no trace here of a special recipient.

§ 8.—RESTORED PLAN OF A WESTERN UPPER MEGARON, AND OF THE HALL OF THE JEWEL FRESCO.

That the Southern Propylaeum, standing as it evidently does in direct connexion with the noble entrance Corridor from the west, should have formed the avenue of approach to some important *Megaron*, is on the face of it extremely probable. Unfortunately, last year's excavations showed that the area immediately beyond it had been much denuded, and its relation to the quarter of the building to the north of this remained obscure. From the exposure of a good deal of the primitive clay deposit of the Neolithic settlement in the intervening space, the name of "Central Clay Area" was provisionally applied to this plot in last year's Report.

But subsequent observations have led me to modify this conclusion. On the eastern margin of the area there are visible in position slabs of good paving, which seem to indicate that the whole of the area immediately bordering on the Propylaeum had originally been paved. That the slabs should have been removed over the greater part of the space in question agrees with what is now seen to have occurred on a larger scale in the great Central Court, ready-made paving slabs affording an obvious temptation to later owners of the soil. It has, therefore, been thought better to substitute for the area the name of "Court of the Altar" from what appears to be an altar-base visible in its eastern bay.

Dr. Dörpfeld, on visiting the remains of the Palace, was much impressed with the view that the Southern Propylaeum must have formed the direct avenue of approach to important halls to the north, and suggested that part of the denudation visible in the "Court of the Altar" was due to the removal of a ramp or step-way leading to a first-floor storey beyond. Of the two alternatives the former existence of a broad flight of steps is much

more in accordance with the practice of the "Minoan" architects of Crete, as is now conspicuously shown by the noble flights of the Phaestos Palace. It is also highly probable that the same agencies that were instrumental in removing so many of the paving slabs may account for the disappearance of a flight of stone steps.

It was already pointed out in my former Report that the flight of steps with a central column base running upwards from the Central Court, in juxtaposition with the downward steps of the Throne Room Antechamber, must have led to an upper hall or Megaron. Of the existence of a long upper hall at this point new evidence was, in fact, brought to light by this season's excavations. The further question now arose: Was not this again in connexion with a second upper Megaron to the south of it,—a Megaron in turn communicating with the Court of the Altar and the Southern Propylaeum by means of the broad flight of steps which *ex hypothesi* existed on that side?

Of the existence of an upper storey in this part of the Palace there has never been any doubt. At various points along the upper part of the basement walls were blocks and slabs belonging to the lower course of the upper walls or the pavement of its chambers. This year, after a heavy shower of rain, I noticed a flat block in this position with the impress, clearly brought out in black by the moisture, of two round columns side by side, about 45 centimetres in diameter, that had rested on it, the black colour being probably due to the burning of the wood of which the columns were composed.

That a columnar hall had existed on this upper level was made probable by two other circumstances. The two square pillars marked with the double axes would find their most natural structural function in the support of corresponding columns on the upper storey,¹ while a pier halfway

¹ The function of supporting does not necessarily conflict with the view that pillars of the double axes were of a consecrated nature. It coincides in fact with an aspect of the ancient cult treated of in my monograph on *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, § 17, "The Pillar of the House." The criticism made by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 273), that there are other signs besides the double axe, and that therefore undue stress should not be laid on this, is answered by the exceptional position which the double axe holds among the Palace signs, of which the most recent excavations afford fresh corroboration—witness the Megaron of the Double Axes—(see p. 112 below), by the occurrence of the double axe in its votive form as a vase ornament of the "Palace Style" (see p. 53 below), and by the fact that several of the most constantly recurring among these signs, such as the star, the trident, the branch, the cross, and the sistrum (?), are also traditionally associated with various divinities. It is probable that some of these signs grouped together on the hieroglyphic seals represent invocations of a religious kind. The recurrence of the Double

KNOSSOS · PLAN SHEWING RESTORATION OF UPPER MEGARON, ETC

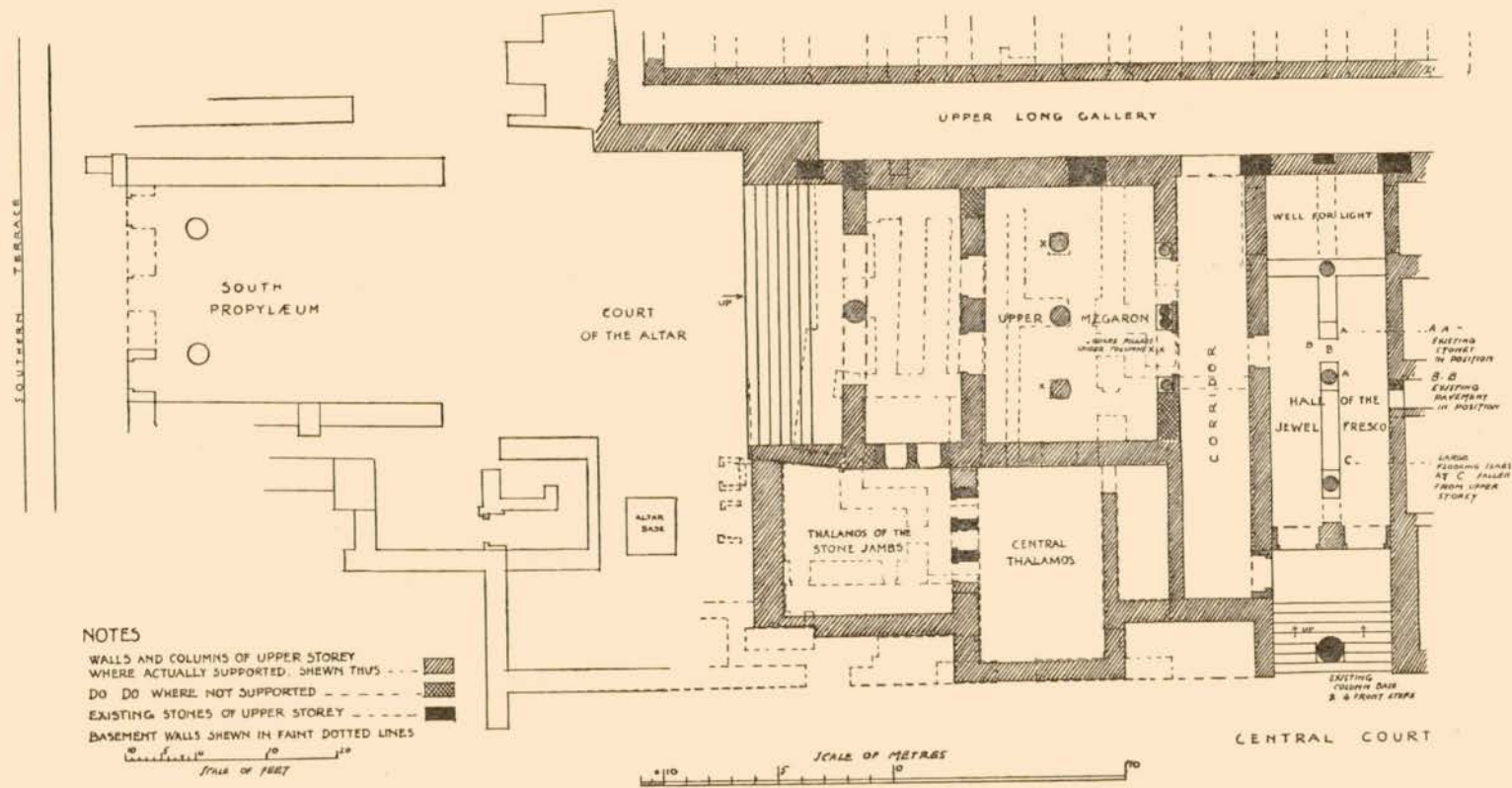


FIG. 8.—RESTORED PLAN OF WESTERN UPPER MEGARON AND THE HALL OF THE JEWEL FRESCO.

between them seems to have been devised for the support of a third column or pillar above. More than this, two column bases were actually found above the floor level of the adjoining room named from them, which in all probability had once been *in situ* above these neighbouring supports.

Taken in connexion with the lines of the surrounding basement walls, and the blocks of upper walling still visible on them, this triple line of columns gives the key to a very probable restoration of the plan of an upper Megaron opening on the hypothetical steps to the south as shown in Fig. 8. Its front almost centres on the opening of the Propylaeum beyond.

It will be seen that my restored plan does not correspond with that of the type of Megaron with which we are familiar at Tiryns and Mycenae, with its quadruple group of columns clustering round the hearth. But it exactly answers to the "Minoan" halls of Crete as seen in the Palace of Phaestos, and represented at Knossos itself in the halls now excavated on the eastern slope. The method of construction answers to a more southern type, in which the hearth no longer forms the fixed centre of the Megaron, warmth being probably supplied when necessary by some movable brazier like the modern Greek *θερμάστρα*. A central roof-opening, which could also serve as an outlet for smoke, being thus unnecessary, it was found more convenient to have the opening, which was still necessary for light, at the further end of the hall. This broad well for light was probably provided above with a kind of lantern or clear-storey as a partial shelter from rain.

A comparison of the restored plan on Fig. 8 with the great Megaron at Phaestos shows how nearly the outline of the Knossian hall, as suggested by the piers for the columns and the basement wall-lines, corresponds with the other.

A further parallelism with the Phaestian plan is supplied by the fact that along its right-hand wall, entering from the front, are some smaller rooms or *θάλαμοι* in communication with it. These rooms are apparently three in number, namely, a central chamber over the Room of the Column Bases, with a small annexe to the north, and another fair-sized chamber over the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The access to this suite of

Axe and other similar signs at Phaestos does not weigh against this view. The "Houses of the Double Axe" were probably many, and the name of Labyrinth may itself have recurred,—in fact, Gortyna as well as Knossos claimed one. The various cults associated with the Minoan dominion at Knossos would be largely common to the other princely centres throughout the island. I have purposely reserved a fuller discussion of the signs on the Knossian blocks till the evidence is complete.

θάλαμοι from the upper Megaron seems to have been by means of a door opening on the central of these chambers. The remains of the upper floor, with the jambs of a double doorway leading from this central *thamos* to the room to the north of it, were still preserved *in situ*. Owing to this it has been named on the plan "Thamos of the Stone Jambs."

The most uncertain detail is the bi-columnar arrangement shown on the slab already described. This slab stands exactly on the middle line of the Megaron, and it seems safest to suppose that there was here a double doorway in its back wall, each of the two columns of its central division answering to another on the other side of the respective doorways. The doorways thus indicated open on what from the basement wall-lines seems to have been a cross-corridor running from the portico of the elongated Hall beyond to another passage forming an upper gallery of the Long Gallery of the Magazines. In this abutment of the back of the Megaron on two galleries running at right angles to one another, we find again a certain correspondence with the arrangement of the great Megaron at Phaestos.

The Corridor on which the upper Megaron of Knossos opened at its inner end was bounded on its northern side by the long Hall already mentioned. The width of this hall is clearly marked by that of the steps at its eastern end leading down to the Central Court, and its northern boundary thus rests on the south wall of the Throne Room and the rooms in connexion with it. Along the centre of the oblong space thus defined, in a line with the column base on the steps, is another basement wall which afforded the necessary support for piers and columns running along the middle of the long upper chamber. More than this, on the top of this wall several blocks and slabs of the upper structure are still preserved *in situ*, which seem to represent the remains of a raised stylobate with a paved passage-way across it. To the borders of this some remains of the original gypsum paving slabs of the body of the hall also clung, clearly showing the original floor-level. In the basement chamber immediately behind the impluvium of the Throne Room, some fine black slabs were also found in a half fallen position. This is the finest paving that has come to light anywhere in the Palace.

The inner line of the portico, which must have had a double opening, is indicated by a cross line of basement wall, and the western termination of the stylobate by another. At this point no doubt began a light opening of

the kind already referred to in the case of the upper Megaron. Analogy and the elongated shape of the covered part of the chamber make it reasonable to assume that the stylobate supported three wooden columns. It is to be observed that the paved opening noticed in this as probably a passage-way centres with the eastern of the two back entrances of the upper Megaron and a line of doors and openings beyond. This circumstance makes it probable that the doorway by which this hall communicated with the Corridor running along its southern border would have opened opposite this, and thus have centred with the Megaron door in the opposite wall of the Corridor.

Of the brilliant and beautiful decorative designs that once adorned the walls of this upper hall some traces came to light in the shape of numerous painted stucco fragments found above the floor level of a basement magazine situated beneath its central part, to be described below as the Magazine of the Vase Tablets. Among the fresco designs painted on the flat were pieces apparently belonging to a border, including a not infrequent wave and wavelet pattern, and a very beautiful design of an olive or myrtle spray with dark brown and reddish foliage. Another fragment is still more remarkable. It represents the thumb and forefingers of a man, beautifully modelled in high relief, and of the conventional reddish colour with a white nail, holding the corner of a blue robe and the end of a beaded chain, which from its yellow hue is evidently intended to be of gold. Unlike the fingers, these are painted on a flat surface. The jewels consist of round beads with pendants in the shape of little negroes' heads, of the same yellow hue but with curly hair outlined in black, and with large rings linked in each other and coloured red hanging from their ears. The gold ornament appears to be attached to the corner of the blue robe. A dark object in connexion with it may possibly represent a lock of human hair, and the coloured fragment seems to be part of a life-sized relief of a man fastening a robe by means of the gold agrafe about the shoulders of a personage of distinction. The hand and jewels present a striking analogy to a fresco fragment found near the north portico, showing the very graceful fingers of a woman holding the end of a necklace of dark, round beads. In the present case the golden material of the necklace, coupled with the negroes' heads, seems to point to Nubia—the Egyptian "Eldorado"—as the source of the precious metal.

This interesting fragment suggests that the walls of the long Hall

from which it was undoubtedly derived, and to which the name of the Hall of the Jewel Fresco may be conveniently given, was once adorned with a series of figures like those of the western Corridor, but in this case, as in the South Gallery described above, executed in fine relief.

§ 9.—SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS IN THE REGION ABOUT THE ROOMS OF THE COLUMN BASES AND OF THE PILLARS.

This season's work brought with it certain modifications and additions to the plan of the part of the building of which the "Room of the Column Bases" forms the central point. This Room stands to this part of the Palace in much the same relation as the antechamber of the Throne-Room to the adjoining area. It serves as a kind of forehall to the rooms behind and beside it, and the analogy is strengthened by the fact that here too the access to the Central Court was by means of a short flight of steps, and that on the north wall of the room was a stone bench of the same kind as those flanking the Antechamber of the Throne Room.

The "Room of the Great Pithos," to which that of the "Column Bases" gave access on the north, was found to open on a second well-paved store chamber¹ in the centre of which were two sunken cists, resembling the "Kasselles" of the Magazines but without a second recipient below. The white-faced stucco on the south wall of this room showed stripes of red below and above, forming a kind of dado and cornice band similar to that of the Magazines and Long Corridor. This basement chamber may be called for distinction the "Room of the Two Cists."

On the west side of the "Room of the Column Bases," two interesting developments took place. What had seemed to be a blind alley opening on the south-west corner of the hall proved to be in reality continuous and to supply a thoroughfare to the Long Gallery by the passage called in the preceding Report the Corridor of the House Tablets which is in fact a section of the same gangway. This circumstance refutes the view² that communication between this part of the Palace and the Long Gallery was at any time interrupted.

It further turned out that the doorway leading from the Hall of the Column Bases to the East Pillar Room was flanked by a second. The

¹ The floor level here was 2.10 m. below the surface. At 1.30 m. down was a deposit of burnt wood.

² Suggested in my previous Report, p. 26.

double entrance adds to the importance of this inner room and certainly enhances the probability that the pillars so significantly marked by the double axe had sacred associations. In this connexion moreover two additional facts are to be noted. On either side of the East Pillar is an oblong receptacle, too shallow to have been a store place like the "Kasselles" but well adapted for offerings or libations. On the other hand the floor round the West Pillar showed a regular border and central square like that of the Throne Room and indicating that in this case as in the other it had been adorned with varied colouring.

§ 10.—RECESS OFF CENTRAL COURT WITH SEAL-IMPRESSIONS
SHOWING LION-GUARDED GODDESS AND HER SHRINE.

On the front line of the Central Court between the "Room of the Column Bases" and the steps of the "Hall of the Jewel Fresco" is a curious oblong recess with a side niche having a cement floor at its south end. Its depth is too shallow for it to have been an ordinary room. On the other hand the finely cut limestone blocks by which it is flanked and partly faced, as well as its conspicuous position in the great Court, indicate that there was here an important structure.

The upper surface had been only partly excavated at this point during the campaign of 1900 owing to the need of leaving a passage way for barrows. On removing the superincumbent earth early in the present season, a floor level came to light about 70 centimetres below the surface covered with a deposit of burnt wood. In this layer, by means of careful sifting, was found a series of fragments of seal impressions.¹ At first sight they appeared to represent more than one sphragistic type, but a careful examination revealed the fact that though the fragments belonged to a series of clay sealings, they had all been impressed by the same signet. Although these various impressions existed only in a fragmentary state it was thus possible to complete one by another, and by means of the overlapping pieces to recover the original design in its entirety.

The seal type thus restored in all its details (Fig. 9),² presents a

¹ Two or three scattered fragments belonging to the same deposit were also found within a radius of a few feet; one in the chamber immediately to the west, another on the top of a wall on the north side.

² The figure is from M. Gilliéron's careful drawing of the overlapping fragment as arranged according to a key sketch of my own.

religious subject of great interest. The design, as is usual with such religious compositions, had evidently been engraved on the besil of a gold signet ring of the same kind as that counterfeited by the clay matrix described above.

The central figure of this design is a female Goddess in the usual Mycenaean garb, standing on her sacred rock or mountain peak, which represents, in fact, her aniconic shape, and upon which her two lion guardians and supporters rest their fore-feet on either side. In her hand she seems to hold out a kind of weapon, and in front of her stands a male votary in the act of adoration. Behind her is her shrine with sacred columns, in



FIG. 9.—IMPRESSION OF SIGNET-RING, SHOWING LION-GUARDED GODDESS AND SHRINE (†).

front of which, and again on the entablature above, the "horns of consecration" are clearly visible.

To myself this discovery was of special interest, inasmuch as it completes and amplifies the evidence I had collected of a series of Mycenaean seal-types referring to a Goddess,—the prototype of the later Kybelê and Rhea,—with lion guardians, sometimes standing herself between them, sometimes represented by her aniconic image in the shape of a column or base.¹ A seal impression found in a chamber in the eastern quarter of the Palace shows the simple type of the Goddess between two lions. In the present case we see her,—and it must be

¹ Mycenaean *Tree and Pillar Cult* § 22.

remembered that, in Crete too, there was an "Idaean Mother,"—standing on her sacred peak. The "horns of consecration," on the other hand, placed before the columns on the shrine behind her and again on its entablature show that the columns here represent the artificial pillar forms of the cult object as opposed to the holy mountain itself on which the Goddess stands.

We have here, in fact, examples of both the handmade and the natural objects of the divine possession. Either the pillar or the sacred peak itself could be equally worshipped.

The shrine itself has a special importance from the parallel it presents to that shown on the small fresco found in the Palace in 1900. In this case, indeed, we have naturally to take into account that artistic "shorthand" which characterises the gem engraver's craft. The shrine here is reduced to an entablature with columnar supports, and the lateral wings are omitted. But the basement storey below and the twin columns with the sacral horns in front of them are features of correspondence which show that we have to do with essentially the same type. It is probable that if the roof of the shrine on the fresco had been completed we should have seen additional "horns of consecration" resting upon it as in the case of the shrine on the signet. This feature, in fact, recurs on the wall-top of a fragmentary fresco apparently depicting another sanctuary.

These correspondences, and the further proofs of the cult of a similar Goddess supplied by other seal impressions found in the building, establish a real presumption that the shrine on the wall-painting was in part at least dedicated to the cult of the same Mycenaean divinity. It is, indeed, by no means improbable that the deposit of seal impressions relating to this cult in this small chamber at a prominent point of the front of the great Central Court may give a clue to the actual site of the miniature temple depicted on the fresco. It is clear indeed from the basement blocks visible below it, and the crowds in the open space in front of it, that the original of that shrine was reared on the side of a Court.

In this connexion it is interesting to recall that the tradition of a very old cult of Rhea survived at Knossos to quite late times. Diodoros records that in his day, there were still visible on Knossian soil (once, as he tells us, inhabited by Titans), the site and foundations of the House of Rhea and a very ancient Cypress Grove.¹

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. 66.

§ II.—SUITE OF SMALL ROOMS BELONGING TO THE WOMEN'S
QUARTER.

Owing to the necessity of keeping open passage-ways above, a zone immediately to the north and west of the Room of the Throne and its annexes had been left almost completely undisturbed during the first season's work. The excavation of this area has now brought to light a series of small rooms in communication with one another and presenting certain common features.

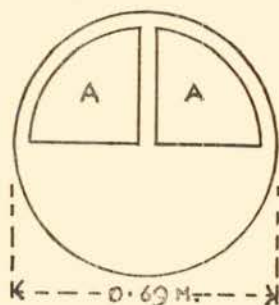
The first of this suite of small chambers is the room already opened in 1900, approached by a doorway leading from the Corridor of the Stone Basin and to which the name of "Room of the Cupboard" was given from what appeared to be a small closet in its western wall. This cupboard, however, turned out on closer examination to be a blocked doorway leading to the rooms beyond. It will be remembered that the limestone slab of a seat was found on the floor of this room, hollowed out to the form of the body, like the throne, but which from its ampler dimensions I had already been inclined to regard as a woman's seat.¹ This conclusion has, as will be seen, found a striking corroboration from the discovery in another compartment of the same suite of rooms of a seat of similar proportions fixed on the floor, and therefore belonging to a person of the female sex, the Mycenaean women, as distinguished from the men, being often depicted in a more or less squatting attitude.² It may be useful, therefore, as the name of "the Cupboard" no longer applies, to distinguish this small chamber as the "Room of the Lady's Seat."

The charred woodwork of the blocked doorway between this and the room immediately to the west was well preserved and had contributed to give its shallow recess the aspect of a cupboard. Under the rubble partition with which it was blocked were found some fragmentary remains of linear tablets which showed that the blocking had taken place at some period after the time when these clay documents had come into use. The small room thus entered had along its northern wall a low stone bench

¹ *B. S. Annual*, 1900, pp. 38, 42.

² Compare, for instance, many of the miniature frescoes of the Palace, and the representations of Goddesses on the signets. The Minotaur-like monster, on the other hand, seen on the seal impression already described, is seated on a kind of throne. The "Chariot tablets" of Knossos often show a high seat in the car, recalling the throne in outline.

On the threshold of the doorway leading from this "Room of the Stone Bench" to that adjoining it to the west was found the clay impression with the axe-holding, priest-like figure described above.¹ This room presented a most enigmatic feature. About 1.50 metres from its west wall and 1 metre from that to the south stood the drum of a column 69 centimetres in height and the same in diameter. It rested, without a base, on the cement floor and its summit was at a depth of a metre from the surface. The eastern half of its flat top surface was cut out into two shallow quadrants, as seen in Fig. 10, the base of these running almost exactly towards the magnetic north. Against the west wall of the room near the



STONE DRUM
 HEIGHT FROM FLOOR · 0.69 METRES.
 FLAT TOP · QUADRANTS A·A· SLIGHTLY SUNK

FIG. 10.

column drum was a thin gypsum slab of semicircular form, standing about the same height as the top of the pillar with its base cemented into the wall plaster.

It is evident that the purpose of the column drum and the semicircular slab was in some way connected. They must both have been made use of by a person in a standing position. The two quadrants of the column drum and the exact correspondence between its height and diameter, might well suggest some kind of instrument. It must, however, be borne in mind that the quarter in which this curious object made its appearance was certainly one set apart for women. The analogy of another room of this series to be described below, containing a table and sideboard of culinary

¹ See p. 20.

aspect certainly suggests that here too the object in view was of a domestic kind.

The "Room of the Stone Drum" opens on its western side upon an elongated chamber or small gallery divided into three compartments by projecting buttresses. These buttresses end in good limestone pillars, the upper stone of the second of which is cut down from a larger block, bearing the window sign characteristic of the first period of the building.

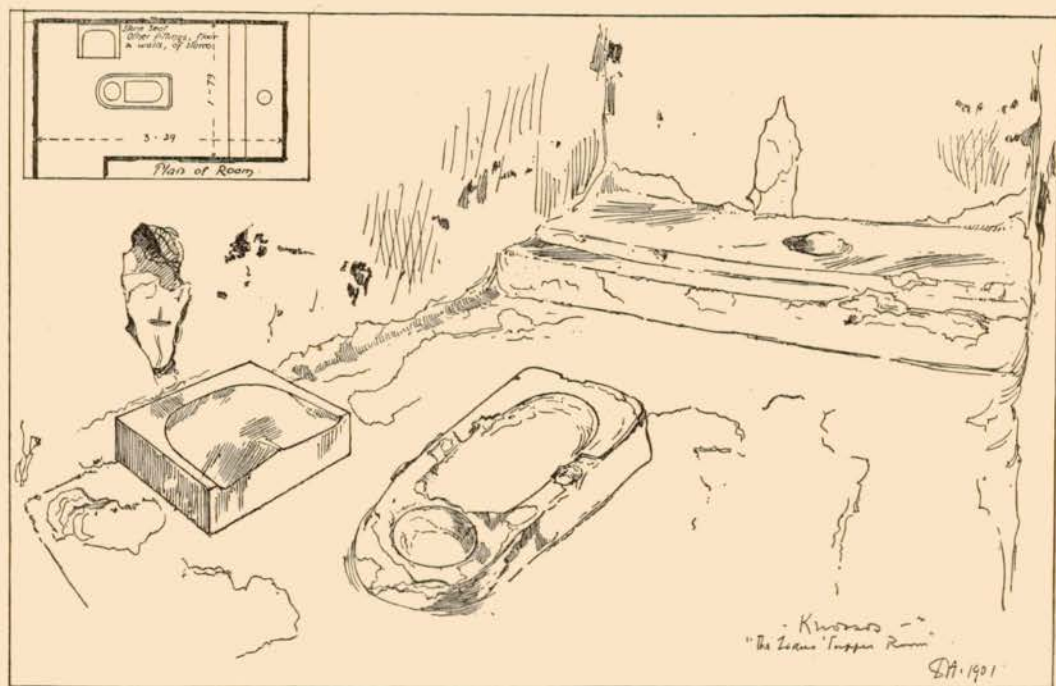


FIG. 11.—VIEW OF ROOM SHOWING PLASTER TABLE AND DAIS AND WOMAN'S SEAT.

This tripartite chamber leads to another small room of considerable interest, which forms the termination of the suite with which we are dealing. Against the wall of this chamber, opposite the door (as if for better light), is another low limestone seat of the same form and approximate dimensions as the woman's seat, noted above in the first room of the series. In this case, however, it is a fixture firmly cemented into the white plaster that forms the flooring of the room. This seat is raised only 13 centi-

metres above the floor, its width is '55 centimetres and its depth '46. These figures become very significant when set beside those of the throne, the seat of which is 58 centimetres high, 45 wide and 32 deep. As already observed, the difference in capacity is naturally accounted for by that of the physical development of the two sexes, while the discrepancy in height is owing to the methods of sitting in vogue respectively among the Mycenaean men and women.

In front and on a level with the seat was a low table rounded at one end and square at the other, the surface of which was formed of a thick coating of plaster (Fig. 11). Like the seat, its table was embedded in the cement of the flooring. At the end nearest the seat was a bowl-like hollow, the other part being occupied by a shallow elongated depression rounded at one end. There can be no doubt that this low table was designed for some kind of manual work performed by the female occupant of the stone seat. The fact that the surface of the table was formed of plaster excludes the possibility that any kind of grinding or pounding was performed here. The material employed must have been plastic or partly liquid, and it is natural to suppose that the receptacles were used for some preparation of a culinary nature.

Along the inner wall of the room ran a kind of dais rising in a double step, the surface of which was covered with the same fine hard white plaster as the table. It is possible that the lower step served as a kind of bench like that along the wall of the second room of the present suite, while the upper may have been used as a shelf or side-board. The centre of this shelf was hollowed into a bowl-like receptacle like that of the table. Remains of the same fine white plaster covered the walls of this small chamber. The room itself, to which the name of the "Room of the Plaster Table" may be given, seems to have served as a kind of small kitchen.

The distinctive seats found in the first and the last of this continuous suite of small rooms, put it beyond reasonable doubt that we have here to do with a section of the Women's Quarter of the Palace. These rooms are entirely separated from those of the Throne Room system proper, or the Megaron of the Jewel Fresco which overlooked it. They form one long "apartment," the single entrance to which is supplied by the door opening on to the "Room of the Lady's Seat" from the "Corridor of the Stone Basin." But this passage communicates on the other side with the group

of chambers, some of them now ill-defined, to one of which belongs the miniature fresco with its remarkable illustrations of Mycenaean Court ladies. It is possible that the Women's Quarter extended on this northern side of the Corridor and included an important Megaron.

A natural question arises as to the lighting of the suite of women's rooms above described. The evidence of various avocations performed in these rooms certainly tends to show that their occupants were not left in darkness. Light may have been obtained for the first two rooms of the suite either by means of a kind of clear-storey above the level of the roof of the Throne Room, which does not seem to have had any other chamber above it, or from the Corridor of the Stone Basin, which may have been partly open. But the question of the lighting of the other chambers of the series involves greater difficulties, since the adjoining rooms at the back of the Throne Room seem to have had an upper storey. It is possible that the passage way of the tripartite chamber between the Room of the Stone Drum and that of the Plaster Table was left open.

§ 12.—THE WALLED PITS: SUGGESTED PALACE DUNGEONS.

The mud-built North Wall of "the Room of the Stirrup-Vases" ("Bügelkannen") excavated last year having collapsed, a good opportunity offered of exploring the layers underneath. A few centimetres below the floor level with which this wall was connected another Mycenaean pavement came to light and some inscribed tablets resting upon it. This proof that the Room of the "Stirrup-Vases" belongs to a late Mycenaean period is interesting in connexion with the painted vases found in position in it. The "Stirrup-Vases" themselves with their rather coarse octopus designs belong to the same somewhat decadent ceramic class as the vases found in the chambers and galleries of the South Terrace basement. They are far inferior to the products of the fine "Palace Style."

Immediately below this second floor level and about 50 centimetres below that of the Room of the "Stirrup-Vases" two parallel lines of wall with an interval of 1.60 metres between them made their appearance, which continued east under the neighbouring Room of the Flower Gatherer,¹

¹ The floor of this room was also found in a partly destroyed condition. Here too are two floor levels; (1) a good white cement floor 1 metre below the surface, (2) another cement floor 40 centimetres below the first with a large slab embedded in it.

where they were connected by a cross-wall running north and south. There thus revealed itself a narrow elongated chamber extending 7 metres from the line of the west wall of the "Stirrup-Vase" Room. The walls of this chamber were of small, rather roughly faced limestone blocks much resembling those of the foundations along the West and North Wall, but descending 7 metres—(24½ feet)—a far greater depth than any foundations here discovered. The virgin soil here at last reached consisted of the red potter's earth elsewhere found at about the same depth beneath the Neolithic clay deposit. Several pieces of Neolithic pottery were found in this deep chamber, but they must have reached their position through some later filling in. The walls themselves belong to the same Early Palace period as the foundations already referred to and at various levels in the pit, but especially at the bottom, were found fragments of fine stucco, its surface painted a warm terracotta colour and backed with a clayey straw-bound plaster.

Immediately east of the long pit on the further side of the Room of the Flower Gatherer was found another of similar depth and construction, but of much smaller dimensions, 4.25 metres in length by about 1.20 metres in breadth.

With what object were these walled pits constructed? Going down nearly twenty-five feet through the solid clay, they were not mere foundations; neither were they cisterns. As store places for corn they do not seem to be well adapted. In finding a motive for such structures we have in the first place to remember the character of the building in which they were contained. The rubble walls of the Palace made them bad for custody. Where precious objects would have been placed in the secure cells of later buildings, we find them, as is seen by the "Kasselles," deposited in receptacles stowed far away beneath the pavement of the Magazines. The walled pits, indeed, belong to a different category from these stone chests, but it seems conceivable that they were also destined for custody of another kind. In the royal residence some place was necessary for the safe-keeping of captives and hostages, and such by the conditions of the structure could not be found above ground. It does not seem unreasonable to recognise in these deep-sunk walled chambers the dungeons of the Palace—the longer chamber holding several prisoners, the smaller perhaps for solitary confinement. In these deep pits with their slippery cemented sides above, the captives would be as secure as those "beneath the leads" of Venice. The

groans of these Minoan dungeons may well have found an echo in the tale of Theseus.

§ 13.—CONTINUED EXPLORATION OF THE WEST MAGAZINES.

During the preceding season's work eight Magazines had been opened on the west side of the Long Gallery; the rest of this series, ten in number, making a total of eighteen, were excavated during the present campaign.

Already in last year's Report attention was called to the numerous traces of an upper storey visible above the top of the walls and door-jambes of these Magazines.¹ In this respect Nos. 9 and 10 are of special interest as exhibiting well-preserved remains of the actual flooring above the Magazines. A section near the mouth of the Ninth Magazine showed, about 30 centimetres from the surface of the ground, a burnt clay band with the core of a cylindrical crossbeam impressed in it. This former roof-line started at the sides from a height of about 1.90 metres, but sagged down slightly towards the centre. Above it was a brownish layer, and above that again traces of a white pavement of gypsum cement, which in its better preserved fragments showed small pebbles embedded into its fine upper surface. About 15 centimetres again above this was visible in places a red layer of clay plaster representing a second and later floor-level.

A section across the mouth of the Tenth Magazine showed—at the same height as that of No. 9—a clay layer burnt like the other to brick-like consistency from contact with the original roof-beams. Embedded in this burnt clay were visible, as in other similar positions, sherds of rough pottery. About 20 centimetres above the lower level of this burnt clay layer, and apparently forming one whole with it, was a pavement of clay cement with pebbles stuck in its upper surface. This part was carefully excavated from above, the result being to uncover patches of the same pavement *in situ* at a height of 2.5 metres from the floor-level of the Magazine below.

Above the stone jamb that separates the Eighth and Ninth Magazines, at a height of 1.40 metres from the floor-level, is the usual lacuna backed by gypsum cement and originally partly filled by the wooden

¹ *B. S. Annual*, 1900, p. 20.

beams which formed the lintels of the low doorways of the Magazines. This cement layer is 45 centimetres in thickness, and above it again as in other cases, is a large limestone block forming the base of the upper storey wall. This block has the eight-rayed star sign engraved upon it, which also regularly recurs on the lower jambs of the Magazines from the Sixth onwards.

We have here an important piece of evidence that the original structure of the upper storey in this part belongs to the same early date as the lower, though the existence of more than one pavement on the upper floor-level implies subsequent internal changes.

This structural stratification leads to another interesting conclusion. In these and the neighbouring Magazines, at various levels, were found fragments of Mycenaean painted vases, and similar fragments, many of them actually belonging to the same vessels as the others, were also found just outside the adjoining Western Wall of the building, above the level of the Court. It follows that all these remains of vases, whether found inside or outside the Western Wall, must have been derived from the upper chambers which we know to have here existed above the Magazines. The pieces found inside the Magazines, many of them far above the lower floor-level, had worked down to their present position owing to the breaking in of the upper floor.

To these remarkable ceramic relics there will be occasion to return.¹ They are typical examples of what I have elsewhere described as the "Palace Style" and belong to the most brilliant period of Mycenaean Art. They also show the style that was in vogue when this part of the Palace was destroyed.

These fragments may be safely regarded as having been derived from vases existing on the latest of the upper floor-levels, at the moment of the destruction. It follows that the earlier of the upper floor-levels, as seen in the Ninth Magazine, belongs to a period anterior to the great days of Mycenae. This conclusion altogether corresponds with the indication supplied by the limestone block exhibiting the stellar sign, which, as already pointed out, belongs to the earliest elements of the existing building as illustrated by the stone jambs of the Magazines below. It will be seen from the contents of some of the Kaselles and from other evidence that this early architectural element corresponded with a ceramic

¹ See below p. 47, and cf. *B. S. Annual*, 1900, p. 25.

style of a transitional character forming an off-shoot of the Kamáres class, and to which the name of "Mycenaean" is certainly not appropriate.

In order to preserve the valuable stratigraphical evidence supplied by the Ninth Magazine, a section of earth was left unexcavated near its entrance, forming a strip about 3 metres in extent. At the entrance itself in front of this section, six well-preserved *pithoi* were brought into view, one of them overturned. Behind the unexcavated block of earth, in the back part of the Magazine, stood fifteen more *pithoi*, twelve of them whole. This Magazine, like the Seventh, was divided into two parts by a projecting buttress 2.14 metres broad and 2 metres high. It consisted of well-squared gypsum blocks and stood out a metre from the south wall, leaving a gangway between the two halves of the Magazine of about 1.25 metres. A small deposit of clay tablets was found above the floor-level at the west end of this Magazine,¹ interesting as exhibiting a pictorial sign apparently representing a granary. A chalcedony lentoid gem was also found here, showing a man grappling with a bull, on the back of which springs a dog with bristling mane.

The Tenth Magazine was comparatively narrow. At the entrance it was 1.85 metres wide but, 2.30 metres in, the north wall thickened, reducing the width to 1.60 metres. The *pithoi* here had been a good deal broken and the "Kasselles" disturbed, probably by later treasure-seekers. Near the mouth of the Magazine, however, stood an exceptionally fine store-jar of somewhat elegant contour, with a slender base. In its system of decoration it somewhat recalled the large *pithos* from the room adjoining that of the Column Bases. At intervals between the base and summit it had three tiers of perforated handles, separated by triple horizontal bands.

The next three Magazines (Nos. 11, 12 and 13) are especially long—nearly 19 metres, or 5 metres more than the preceding series—the architect having availed himself of the additional space gained by the great angle of the Western Wall of the building. On the other hand they are narrow, their average width not exceeding about 1.60 metres.

The Eleventh Magazine² proved to be very rich in *pithoi* which, to the number of twenty-two—seventeen more or less perfectly preserved,—were arranged along its Northern Wall. The place of the "Kasselles" had

¹ One of them had fallen into the second *pithos* from that end.

² The south wall of this Magazine was badly preserved, the painted stucco being visible only at its east end. At 2 metres from the entrance the south wall thickens, and the Magazine narrows to a width of about 1.40 metres.

been modified in consequence of this and instead of being as before in the middle of the gallery they were here ranged nearer the south wall. Placed thus they were accessible without disturbing the store-jars. It will be seen that this is a very different arrangement from that of Magazine No. 8, where it was only after removing the huge store-jars that the chests below the pavement could be opened. At the west end of the Eleventh Magazine, owing to the falling away of the ground the tops of the pithoi were only a few centimetres beneath the surface of the earth, or actually showed above it, but they were nevertheless for the most part intact.

A small deposit of inscribed tablets, most of them in a somewhat fragmentary condition, was found in the Eleventh Magazine from about 80 centimetres to a metre from the surface of the ground near the sixth pithos from its entrance, into which some of the pieces had fallen. Near these were the charred remains of a wooden box and, in a vertical position near the south wall, a gypsum slab, perhaps belonging to a cist of that material, in which the box had been enclosed. Here were also found two seal impressions from large lentoid gems showing two variations of the type of a bull seized by lions, and a smaller sealing with a Cretan ibex in a contorted posture. From the height—about a metre—at which this deposit occurred above the floor-level and from the discovery in the adjoining Twelfth Magazine¹ of one or two isolated tablets which from their character seem to belong to the same series, it is probable that the chest containing the tablets had originally rested on the floor above. The half of an interesting seal impression exhibiting a facing head found over the wall of the Tenth Magazine had also probably helped to secure the same batch of clay documents.

The Twelfth Magazine contained twenty store-jars of which twelve were intact. They were ranged along the north wall, except one which blocked the gangway about the middle of the Magazine. The "Kasselles" were as in the last case set near the southern wall. They had been carefully lined with cement, perhaps to enable them to contain liquids.

The doorway of the Thirteenth Magazine had been narrowed by means of gypsum slabs set on end one over the other. The pithoi, of which thirteen were distinguishable along the North Wall, had with the exception of four been reduced to a very fragmentary condition. There

¹ The tablets, two perfect, one in two pieces, lay about 80 centimetres west of its entrance and 1.40 to 1.70 metres below the surface of the ground.

was here a long row of nine Kasselles—two at the west end out of line with the others and nearer the south wall. In this Magazine was found a glazed terracotta roundel with volute quatrefoil. About 5 metres from the entrance and a metre below the surface there also came to light a few pictographic seals—apparently forming part of a small deposit independent of those found at the back of the staircase of the Long Gallery.

The succeeding Magazines, from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth inclusive, form a group by themselves distinguished from the others by the fact that they communicate with the Long Gallery by a single entrance. This single entrance, which leads first to the Seventeenth Magazine, abuts on the narrow passage which forms the continuation of the Long Gallery beyond the point where it is partly blocked by the stone staircase. This comparative isolation, moreover, was in the latest days of the Palace made complete by a small cross-wall of rubble masonry which blocked the narrower continuation of the Long Gallery just before the entrance to the Seventeenth Magazine. That this cross-wall was a later construction is shown by the uninterrupted continuance of the pavement slabs beneath it which mark the prolonged course of the Long Gallery.

The existence of a reveal on the further side of the north entrance pillar of the Thirteenth Magazine makes it probable that the Fourteenth was also originally planned to have a direct entrance from the Long Gallery. According to the existing arrangement, however, it was necessary to enter by the Seventeenth Magazine, to pass thence by a door opening to the left into the Sixteenth, to skirt round the Fifteenth Magazine and thus eventually to reach the Thirteenth Magazine by a door at its back.

The floor of the Fourteenth Magazine was of rough paving, perhaps originally covered with cement. No pithoi seem to have been stored here, and the objects that came to light in this chamber were doubtless derived from an important structure of the upper storey. Chief among these were several fragments of a fine limestone frieze with reliefs and other architectural fragments to be described below. There were also found considerable remains of burnt wooden beams¹ which probably belonged to the same superstructure. Some fragmentary tablets found here were merely stray pieces from an important deposit found in Magazine No. 15.

The Fifteenth Magazine, shorter than the last, was also entered from

¹ These charred remains lay at depths varying from 1·20 metres below the surface at the east end of the Magazine to 1 metre at the west.

the Sixteenth by a door near its west end, the carbonised remains of its wooden door-posts being well preserved. The floor here consisted of isolated and irregular paving stones which had acted as a support for a cement pavement. Like the other Magazines of this group it was devoid of store-jars.

Near the west end of this chamber was found a remarkable relic cut out of the porphyry-like limestone much used here for sculptured objects



FIG. 12.—STONE WEIGHT: Height 42 cm. (17 in.).

(Fig. 12). It was evidently a large weight and had a boring near its apex for suspension. Upon both its sub-triangular faces it showed an octopus in relief, and their tentacles were also coiled over its square-cut sides. A smaller perforated object of gypsum, presenting the same general outline but without any ornament, was found in Magazine 13,¹ but from the carelessness of its fabric this may have simply belonged to the class of loom-weights.

¹ In too decayed a condition to afford a sufficient index of its original weight.

The present carefully finished and elaborately decorated example, which is 42 centimetres in height¹ and weighs 29 kilograms² has every appearance of having been a standard weight. The device of the octopus for the ornamental reliefs may well have been dictated by the desire to secure a design which would cover the whole surface and thus protect the weight from fraudulent chipping or grinding away. In this way it would have answered the same purpose as the official stamp of a coin or the milling of its edges. It is to be observed that the weight shows a close approximation to the Babylonian mina system. Weights of 30 light minas or half talents are known, scaling approximately 15,000 grammes.³ The corresponding heavy 30 mina weight would be 30,000 grammes—a talent according to the alternative calculation. It will be seen that the Knossian weight of 29,000 grammes represents a very slight reduction on this Babylonian standard. The influence of foreign weights—so far at least as form is concerned—has been already illustrated among the Palace finds by the small haematite weight of a type common to Palestine and Egypt.⁴ In the present case, indeed, the form has nothing in common with the duck or lion weights of Babylonia, though the standard seems to correspond with the light talent or with half the heavy talent.

The Fifteenth Magazine was also noteworthy for a very important deposit of inscribed clay tablets of the linear class. These were found from about 50 centimetres beneath the surface a little to the left of the entrance. Parts of many were wanting owing to the mass of the deposit lying too near the surface earth, but it nevertheless contained some of the longest inscriptions yet discovered. Among these is one of fourteen lines in which the woman-sign is constantly repeated. Like others of this series on which this sign occurs it possibly refers to female slaves. With this hoard of tablets was found a seal impression showing a bull attacked by two dogs countermarked and countersigned in the linear script, another exceptionally large impression with two bulls and another with part of the "Lions' Gate" scheme. It is possible that this deposit had been originally placed in a room of the upper storey and had fallen through into the Magazine.

In this Magazine and the adjoining space at its back between its end

¹ It is 27 centimetres wide and 13 thick at bottom and 8 centimetres wide at top. The boring is 5-6 centimetres in diameter.

² As nearly as could be determined by local weights and measures.

³ Brandis, *Münz. Mass. u. Gewichtswesen, etc.*: Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. xxx. xxxi.

⁴ See above.

wall and the West Wall of the building were found further parts of the stone frieze and other architectural fragments. This back space, which affords passage to the entrance of the Fourteenth Magazine, is itself a continuation of the Sixteenth. Except for a stone cist against the South Wall the Sixteenth Magazine offered little of interest, and the Seventeenth was only remarkable from the fact that a line of "Kasselles" that had formerly extended along its floor had been entirely dug up at some time by treasure-hunters leaving a long square trough.

The relation of the Eighteenth Magazine to the adjoining group is not clear, as there is no visible entrance to it. In this Magazine was found a three-sided clay seal with linear inscriptions and an obsidian arrow-head of a type resembling those from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. In this connexion



FIG. 13.—STEATITE RELIEF OF ARCHER.

may be mentioned the discovery, by a large rubbish heap on the north-east corner of the site, of a small steatite relief of an archer against a background of conventional rocks (Fig. 13). He is bearded, unlike the other male figures found here, and wears a kind of bathing drawers somewhat different from the typical Mycenaean costume as seen at Knossos but identical with that of the lion-hunters on the dagger-blade from the Fourth Akropolis tomb. His attitude greatly resembles that of the naked bowmen on the silver vase fragment

from the same grave, and his bow, like theirs, is of the European and African type. It is probable that this was part of a battle scene.

The ground here sinks so that the walls are greatly denuded towards the extreme north-west angle of the Palace, which makes it difficult to ascertain the exact interior arrangement at this point. It is certain, however, that the chambers here do not form part of the regular system of the western Magazines.

§ 14.—FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE "KASSELLES" BENEATH THE FLOORS OF THE MAGAZINES.

One of the most interesting problems left by the first year's excavation was the purpose of the stone cists beneath the floors of the Magazines to

which the native name of "Kasselles" (*Κασέλλαις*) has been here applied. It has been already noted that in the Magazines 9-14, opened during the present season, fresh lines of these were exposed. In some cases the upper slabs had been already taken away, and in no instance were they so completely masked by the pavement as in the Eighth Magazine, it being possible to raise the top slab without first removing, as was there necessary,¹ the whole breadth of the pavement. In Magazines 11, 12 and 13, indeed, the Kasselles had been purposely placed in such a position that they could be opened or made use of without displacing the pithoi. From the entire absence of any sign of grain or other solid stores in the store-jars, the contents of which were all carefully examined, it is almost certain that they contained liquid stores. It is possible therefore that the upper receptacles of the cists in front of them were used as small vats into which oil or wine may have been poured from these clay butts. The liquid thus disposed of would then have been much more accessible for transference into smaller vessels, than when it lay within the high walls of the pithoi.

The entire absence of the upper lids of the Kasselles may in some cases be explained by the presumption that they had been always left open for this purpose or provided only with movable wooden lids.

Even in those cases, however, where the upper receptacle was found uncovered, the removal of its bottom slab, which formed at the same time the lid of the lower cist, was a work of great difficulty. Indeed the continued exploration of the "Kasselles" involved so much careful mason's work and so much necessary removal of the structure around and above that it was not found possible during the last season to open more than a few typical examples.

Fresh Kasselles were opened in Magazines 4, 5 and 6. In the Fifth Magazine the Kasella No. 5 from the west end of the chamber, the upper receptacle of which was found open, was further investigated. The floor of this upper receptacle was formed by a closely compacted and cemented slab which could only be lifted after its side walls had been partially removed. The lower cist was then found to be filled with earth and rubble of the character of builders' sweepings, amongst which, however, was found a largish piece of crumpled gold foil.

In Magazine 6, another cist, the fifth from the west end, and, like the former, open above, was also further explored. It was of the same con-

¹ *B. S. Annual*, 1900, p. 24.

struction as the other, the floor of the upper receptacle being solidly fixed and cemented into the surrounding masonry. On its removal the lower cist was found full of earth and fragments of a pithos, but here too a piece of gold foil came to light. In the lower cist of the first Kasella of the Seventh Magazine a piece of gold foil was also found amidst the earth and rubble.

These repeated discoveries of gold foil in the carefully closed lower cists, is a phenomenon of great significance. The gold foil would hardly have been found in such a position unless it had been the ^{les. Ho.}leavings of much more important treasure in precious metals. In other words we have here direct corroboration of the view already expressed in my last year's Report that these almost inaccessible lower repositories, the concealment of which must have been absolute when the upper cist was filled with oil or other liquid stores, were devised for the reception of treasure. These in fact are the safes of the Minoan Palace. But the bullion had been withdrawn—perhaps in all cases the framework of the Kaselles re-cemented—at a date anterior to the destruction of the building.

Of the considerable treasures in precious metals that originally existed here we have, indeed, other direct evidence. On a series of frescoes—some to be described below—tributaries or attendants are seen carrying vases, the yellow and blue colouring of which is significant of gold and silver. Not to speak of those enumerating ingots, many of the clay documents—for the most part inventories and accounts—relate to vessels the forms of which clearly indicate that they were made of precious metals. In addition to examples found last year a small deposit of tablets referring to metal vases was found during this season's work in a Magazine opening on the east side of the Long Gallery.

The second Kasella from the west end of Magazine 4 afforded some additional evidence of special interest in its chronological bearing. The lower of the two cists, which were of the same construction as those already described,¹ was found to be filled with rubble masonry and plaster probably, like that found in a lesser abundance in the preceding cists, the result of the destructive work due to the former opening of the cist at the time when what treasure it may have contained was for some reason withdrawn.

¹ The slab forming the bottom of the upper receptacle and the lid of the lower was placed at a depth of 40 centimetres below the original upper lid. The narrow bases of the upright side slabs of the upper cist overlapped the edge of the bottom slab which could not, therefore, be removed till they had been taken out. This is the regular arrangement.

Among these débris was a fragment of a block with the double-axe sign cut on it, and the remains of three clay vessels of a late Kamáres type (Fig. 14). Two of these were plain pyriform vessels with oval mouth and two handles, one of which, tinted of a purplish brown colour with faint traces of white horizontal bands, it was possible to put together. Two other fragments belonged to another round-necked jar with spirals and flourishes in white on the same ground colour. These ceramic remains

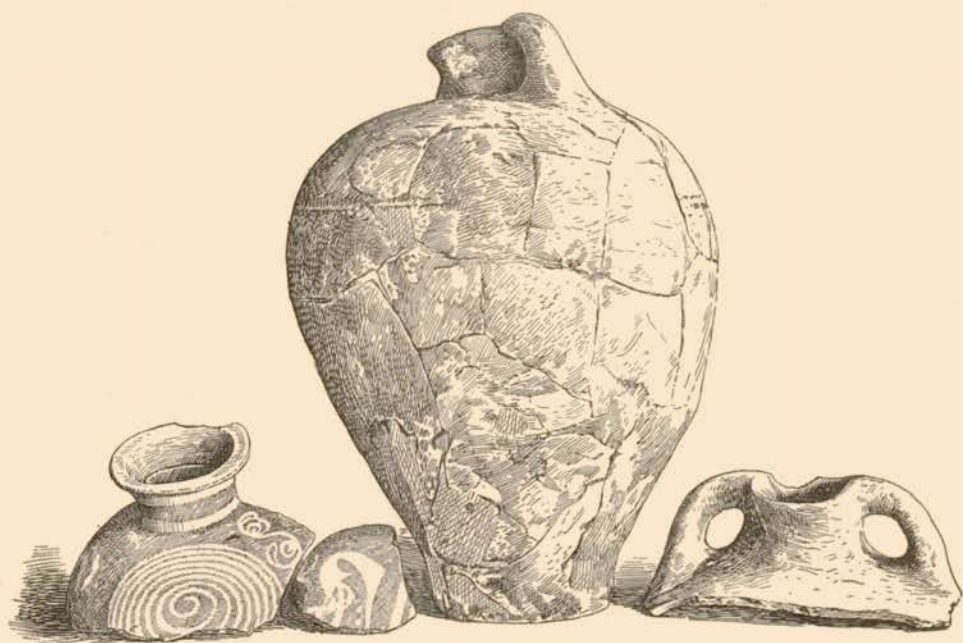


FIG. 14.—PAINTED POTTERY OF LATE KAMÁRES CLASS FROM "KASELLA."

conclusively show that at the time when this lower receptacle was finally closed, the old Cretan type of painted pottery known from the cave where it was first discovered on the southern steep of Mount Ida, as the Kamáres style—was still in vogue. The discovery of the fragmentary block with the double-axe mark further shows what was already becoming evident from a variety of indications—that the fine gypsum masonry with this and other kindred signs which mark the earliest Palace structure belong at least to the close of this Pre-Mycenaean Period.

The vases in this Kasella correspond in style with the painted jar con-

taining smaller vessels, found beneath the later floor level of the Third Magazine, a fact which confirms the view already expressed in my first Report,¹ that the jar in question was placed there after the construction of the Magazine and upon its original floor-level. A similar find was made during the present season, under the later floor-level of the First Magazine,² of a wide-mouthed Kamáres jar, broken at the rim, containing smaller vessels, among them some cups of exquisitely thin fabric.

An interesting feature of the upper receptacles of the Kaselles of the Fourth Magazine, is that their inner walls, together with the bordering slabs of the pavement and parts of the adjoining walls of the Magazine, are much blackened, evidently from the burning of some specially inflammable substance that had been contained in these receptacles. It is reasonable to suppose that this was oil.

§ 15.—THE LONG GALLERY AND THE MAGAZINES ON ITS EASTERN SIDE.

Further investigations in the Long Gallery and the adjoining area brought out several new data. Its tortuous Southern Entrance seems to have been guarded by a triple group of massive structures in a line with the western doors of the building. The access to its entrance passage is through a double gangway separated by a solid block of masonry forming an elongated oblong, and flanked by two other rectangular blocks which seem to form the bases of lateral towers. The whole must originally have formed an imposing Pylon.

The total length of the Long Gallery is about 60 metres or 200 feet. In its later as its earlier course it narrows to about half its diameter. The question arose whether the staircase at its north end and the elongated chamber behind it, where the hoard of Pictographic tablets was discovered, represented parts of the original scheme, or whether possibly the pavement of the Gallery was continued under these, in which case they would evidently be later constructions. A careful examination, however, proved that the original pavement narrowed at this point, and that the edges of the slabs corresponded to the outer boundaries of this structure. There is no reason therefore to suppose that the chamber containing this exceptional deposit of tablets and sealings was a later addition.

¹ *B. S. Annual*, 1900, p. 21.

² 1·65 metres from its west end.

An interesting indication that this Long Gallery was in the main at least lit by artificial light, was supplied by some limestone objects of which two examples were here found. These are in the form of stepped pyramids with a socket bored in their summit, and the Cretan workmen at once recognised in them "torch-holders." It appears that a similar method of fixing torches is still known in the island, and the explanation seems to be quite satisfactory.

The more recent investigations have done much to illustrate the eastern connexions of the Long Gallery. At the south-east it gave access through a low doorway, of which the carbonized posts and wooden lintel were found almost perfectly preserved, to what must be regarded as a group of slightly recessed store-rooms, consisting of bays divided by piers engraved with a cruciform sign—answering to the cross patée of heraldry.

It has been already noted that the passage to which, from the pictorial designs exhibited by them, the name of the "Gallery of the House-tablets" was provisionally given¹ affords direct access, by means of another passage that opens on to it, to the Room of the Column Bases and through it to the Central Court. The supposed isolation on this side does not exist.

At intervals along the Eastern Wall of the Long Gallery, beyond the point where this passage debouches on it, were visible several stone jambs or the remains of such, answering to those at the entrances of the Magazines on the western side, and with similar signs cut on them. It was clear that these had originally given access to rooms or Magazines on the eastern side of the Gallery. It thus appeared that a doorway led directly from the Long Gallery to a somewhat complicated group of small chambers north of the Pillar Rooms. The access to these from the east Pillar Room is indeed of a very narrow and doubtful kind. Immediately beyond this to the north were the well preserved jambs of another doorway in the East Wall of the Long Gallery leading to a chamber left unexcavated in 1900, but which proved, in fact, to be a long Magazine, like those opposite, divided into two compartments by a short projecting cross-wall or buttress towards its eastern end.

This Magazine has already been referred to as having contained fresco fragments fallen from the long Upper Hall above, including the painted stucco relief of the man's fingers holding the gold jewel. It also contained

¹ From the occurrence in the Ninth Magazine of tablets with pictorial representations of similar structures surmounted by ears of corn, it seems certain that they represent granaries.

a small but interesting hoard of inscribed tablets. This deposit, though somewhat scattered, centred round a small niche or "loculus" about half a metre below the surface near the east end of the chamber. From the abundance of decayed gypsum associated with the tablets in this loculus there seems to have been originally a kind of cist in the wall here. From its comparatively high position the contents of this deposit had shown a tendency to drift, and one or two pieces of tablets unquestionably belonging to the same hoard had made their way over the wall or through the entrance into the Long Gallery and even to the mouth of the Eighth Magazine opposite. Several tablets of this deposit exhibited pictorial representations of two-handled vases of forms characteristic of metal technique—one of them with an elaborate curved handle. It has hence been convenient to call this the "Magazine of the Vase Tablets."

With the deposit of inscriptions were also, as usual, found several clay seal impressions. Three of these, evidently taken from a gold signet ring, exhibited a female figure, presumably a Goddess, addressing a male votary. There were also the whole or part of three seals which had been impressed by a very fine lentoid intaglio of a dog with a collar round his neck,¹ looking back and upwards. Another, somewhat fragmentary, showing a lion springing at the neck of a lioness, is of noble naturalistic work and very finely engraved.

In this chamber was also found part of a bronze knife of a typical Mycenaean form and another curious implement of bronze the outline of which forms a *vesica piscis*. Beneath the later floor level which is here 2.50 metres below the surface were remains of a clay lamp, with a shallow recipient made for two wicks, of the same pedestalled class as the stone lamps found on this site. It belonged to the Kamáres class of pottery with red and white decoration on a dark ground. It appears, therefore, that this type of lamp goes back at Knossos to the pre-Mycenaean period.

A little east of the north end of the Long Gallery, near the staircase, was found a minute but very beautiful gold lion. It was formed of two embossed gold plates, the mane being indicated with filigree work of microscopic fineness. The limbs and body of the lion were modelled in the best Mycenaean style, and the whole is a little masterpiece of the goldsmiths' craft. It supplies an anticipation, in the same line and of unsurpassed delicacy, of the finest Etruscan jewellery.

¹ Other examples of this seal impression were found elsewhere on the site.

§ 16.—MYCENAEAN PAINTED POTTERY OF THE "PALACE STYLE."

It has been already noted that at various levels in the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Magazines, as well as in the neighbouring deposit along the outer edge of the West Wall of the building, were found numerous fragments of Mycenaean vases in a peculiarly fine "Palace Style," which had been derived from rooms formerly existing above these Magazines. It was possible to put together a sufficient part of some of these vases to complete the designs in several cases, and thus for the first time to obtain an idea of the magnificent style of vase-painting prevalent at Knossos in the great days of the Palace. Nothing among the hitherto published Mycenaean ceramic types exactly corresponds with these, but Mr. J. H. Marshall, who kindly undertook the reconstruction of the Knossian fragments, has been able to identify a large vase from a recently discovered tomb of Mycenae, and fragments of another from the Vaphio tomb (left undescribed by its discoverer) as belonging to the same fabric, and with good reason regards these and some other isolated specimens found on the mainland of Greece as of Knossian importation.

The view that this in fact represents the indigenous "Palace Style" of Knossos in its highest development is confirmed by the evident parallelism which its motives present to the decorative wall paintings of the building. The rosettes—sometimes combined with spirals—so characteristic of these designs, and certain foliated bands, are in fact taken over from the architectural frescoes and reliefs of the Palace. On the vases as in the wall-paintings occur, moreover, conventional flowers betraying reminiscences of the Egyptian papyrus.

Besides these quasi-architectonic types, characteristic of the most stately jars of the Palace chambers, there were found both here and elsewhere on the site, notably in the Room of the Bull-Hunting Fresco on the east slope, to be described below, numerous specimens of another more purely naturalistic class of vase-painting which has also a strong claim to be regarded as distinctively Cretan. Good specimens of this style were also found by Mr. Hogarth in the neighbouring houses, but the result of the present season's excavations in the Palace has been greatly to add to the material. Here again an indication of local production is afforded by the interesting parallelism exhibited between many of these designs and

the flowers and foliage seen on some of the wall-paintings. The reeds and grasses, almost Japanese in their naturalistic fidelity, the crocuses and iris-like flowers, the sprays of olive and myrtle, that decorate the vases, reappear upon the Palace walls.

Some of these fragments show marine subjects, sea-weeds, rocks of grotesque outline or Triton shells, in this case again presenting analogies with other branches of Palace decoration. The Triton shells find their reproduction in the round in the shape of an alabaster vase and in a glyptic form on seal impressions. The rocks are seen as reliefs on steatite vases and gave the suggestion for the fantastic border of a curious red limestone slab found in a chamber adjoining the Hall of the Colonnades on the eastern slope.

§ 17.—THE DOUBLE-AXE ON THE PALACE POTTERY.

Another design that appears upon a piece of one of the larger jars suggests a dedicatory intention. It is a decorative rendering of a double-axe, with a diagonal transverse band on each of its wings (Fig. 15, *a*). This transverse band and the border with which it is accompanied is not seen on the double-axes actually in use in Mycenaean times, of which so many examples have been found both in Crete and on the mainland of Greece. On the other hand it is a characteristic of some of the small votive double-axes found in the Dictaeon Cave,¹ and of certain Cretan gems presenting the "*labrys*" type of which an example was also found in the votive deposit of the same cave sanctuary. There is therefore reason to believe that the diagonal and other markings reproduced in a decorative form on the double-axe of the vase had a special religious association.

The appearance of the double-axe of the Cretan and Carian God on painted vases of the earlier Kamáres class from this site has already been noted. In my recently published monograph on "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult" I had adduced evidence in support of the view that the double-axe can itself be regarded "as the visible impersonation of the divinity,"

¹ In 1895 I obtained here a part of a votive axe of this type (restored in Fig. 15, *c* above), and others were subsequently found by Mr. Hogarth (Fig. 15, *b*). In 1896 I found a somewhat rude steatite gem in the Dictaeon Cave showing an axe with the same characteristic markings. I have also come across two other examples of the same type, one, a cornelian from Kavusi (Fig. 15, *d*), the other of the same material from Girapetra. In other cases the "*labrys*" without the diagonal bands appears as the principal type on Cretan gems.

and that apart from, and in addition to, this pillar form, the God may also have been worshipped in the actual form of the "labrys."¹ I ventured

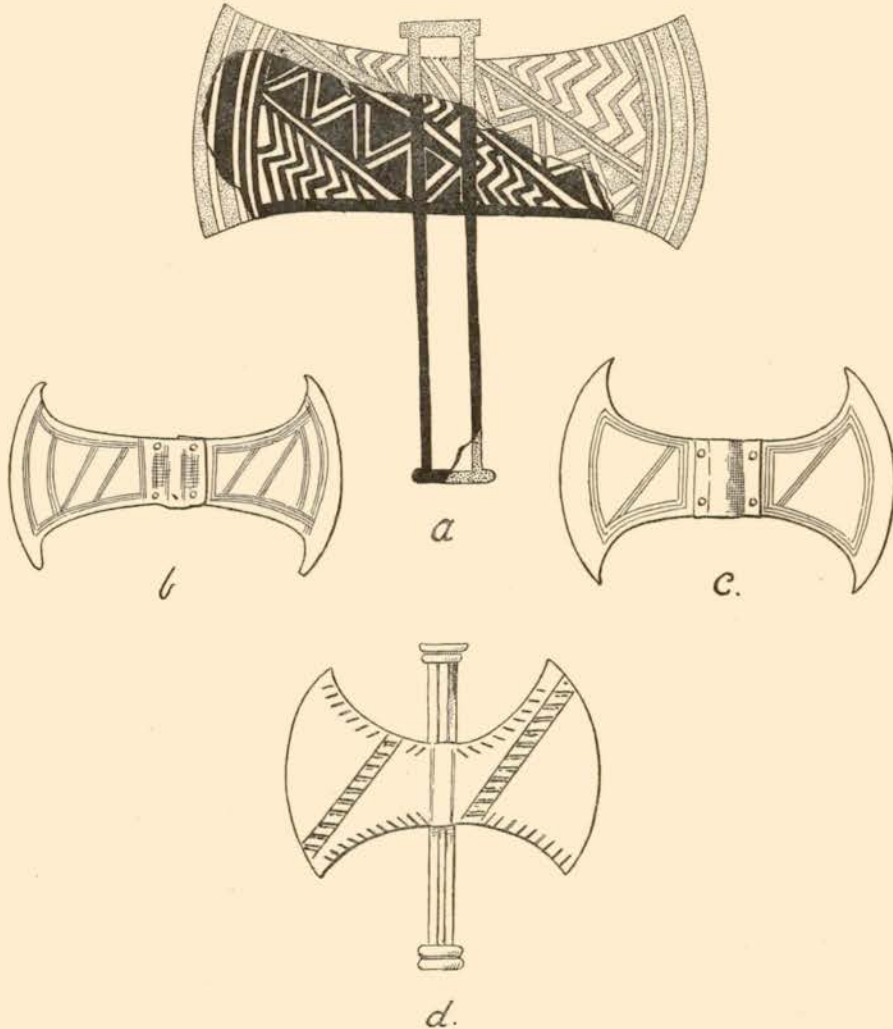


FIG. 15.

a. Double-Axe on Vase Fragment; *b.* Bronze Votive Axe from Dictaeon Cave; *c.* do. (Right Wing restored); *d.* Double-Axe on Gem (enlarged).

therefore to suggest that the derivation of Labranda and of Labyrinthos

¹*J.H.S.* 1900, pp. 106-109. In the separate publication (Macmillan and Co. 1901), pp. 8-10.

as proposed by Max Mayer and Kretschmer¹ might be taken in its most literal sense as "the place of the *labrys*." Two discoveries made this season in Eastern Crete have gone far to confirm the view that the double-axe as well as the column could be directly worshipped as a "baetylic" impersonation of the God. One is a gem impression discovered by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro, in which a female figure is seen in the act of adoration before a double-axe in an elevated position.² The other is the painted side of a Mycenaean sarcophagus discovered in Eastern Crete, in which a pillar with a slab at top forms the support of a double-axe with the "horns of consecration" before it. An adjoining panel shows a griffin and further examples of the horned cult object.³

§ 18.—FRIEZE AND FRESCO FRAGMENTS FROM STRUCTURE ABOVE
FIRST NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF THE WEST WALL.

In several of the basement spaces enclosed by what may be described as the first north-western angle of the West Wall of the building were found considerable remains of a kind of frieze or band of reliefs, of a porphyry-like limestone, together with other architectural fragments of the same material. A portion of the relief band, of which the pieces fitted together, is given in Fig. 16.

It will be seen that it belongs to the same class as the inlaid alabaster band from the vestibule of the Palace at Tiryns, and the friezes found at Mycenae, as well as that depicted on the small Temple Fresco of Knossos itself.⁴ The present arrangement, however, in which the central

¹ In the article already referred to (p. 22 note) on the "Double-Axe and the Labyrinth" (*J.H.S.* xxi. Pt. ii. p. 268, seqq.), Mr. W. H. D. Rouse betrays an obvious want of familiarity with some of the most elementary features of primitive religion, and seems incapable of imagining that Greece like other countries passed through the aniconic stage of worship. The worship of the double-axe altogether shocks his propriety. "The Greeks," he writes, "would be as likely to worship a pair of top boots.... Such exaggerated superstition was foreign to the Greek intellect"—as if the Hellenic sources of the fifth century B.C. could afford an index to the Mycenaean and still earlier Eteocretan worship of the fifteenth or the twentieth! The conclusion of the eminent philologists above cited that *Labyrinthos* is connected with *Labrys* and *Labranda*, now widely accepted among scholars, is to Mr. Rouse a mere source of merriment. "On the same principle," he writes, "Fluellen undertook to prove that Alexander was a Welshman; there is a river in Monmouth and there is a river, look you, in Macedon also."

² See below.

³ See below.

⁴ *J.H.S.* 1900, p. 192 and Plate.

band of the "triglyph" between the elongated half rosettes, is formed of a succession of spirals, finds its nearest parallel in the small glass paste relief, from the beehive tomb at Menidi. In the Temple Fresco we see a relief of this kind placed below the opening of a pillared chamber. A more detailed study of the architectural fragments found with the stone frieze may eventually throw some light on its position here.

Amongst other fragments in the same material found in this angle of the Palace Wall were parts of a huge bowl-shaped vase and the volute shaft of a small column with a spiral band running up it, the centre of which is formed by a chain of spirals like those of the "triglyphs" of the frieze.

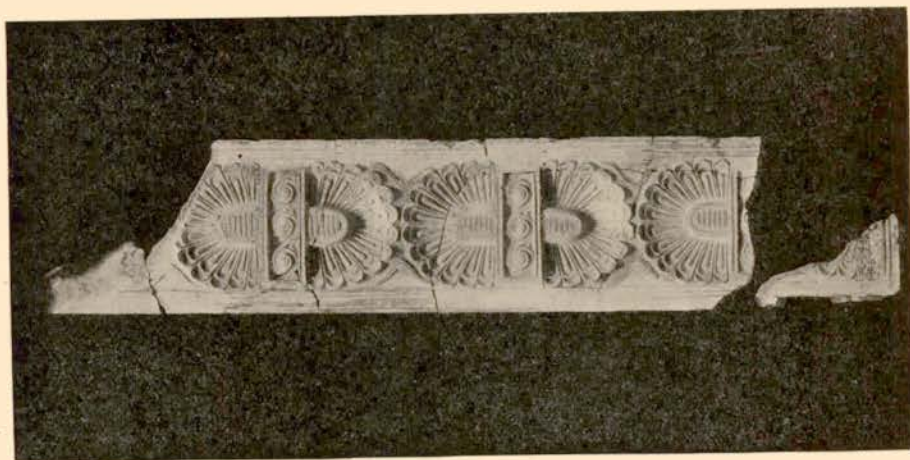


FIG. 16.—PARTS OF A FRIEZE OF PORPHYRY-LIKE STONE WITH RELIEFS.

There can be no doubt that these varied architectural and sculptural remains indicate the existence of an important structure at this angle of the Western Wall, and it is possible that it was owing to the necessity of giving additional support to this that the platform of large blocks, apparently serving the purpose of a buttress, was here set against the corner of the wall-foundations.

There is every reason for supposing that a series of painted stucco fragments found on or near the edge of the Western Wall at this point belonged to the same structure as the stone frieze and other architectural remains. The principal subject of these wall paintings were zones of

human figures which when perfect must have been about a fifth the natural height. The figures, for the most part in a very fragmentary state, were more carelessly executed than the Cup-bearer or those of the miniature frescoes. The zones in which they were arranged were bordered above by triple bands of black, red and white, and the figures themselves were set on blue and yellow fields.

Incomplete as is the information to be derived from these fragments it is interesting as supplying some quite new aspects of the costumes as worn in Mycenaean Knossos. The bust of a girl (Fig. 17) characterised by a very large eye and brilliant vermeil lips as well as by the usual curling black hair displays a high-bodied dress of quite a novel character. It is looped up at the shoulder into a bunch—blue with red and black stripes—from which the fringed ends hang down behind, while a border of the same robe adorned with what are apparently three smaller loops is carried across the bosom. Within this border the white flesh colour is shown between narrow blue and red bands, indicating that this part of the dress was diaphanous. The men, distinguished by their conventional red tint, seem to have been clad in short-sleeved tunics, blue and yellow with black stripes, which descend to their ankles. A part of a seated figure preserved has two wing-like ends of the same material falling down behind the shoulders.

Two of the fragments show goblets held in men's hands. Both of these are of the high-stemmed type presenting in outline some resemblance to a champagne glass, but with a handle on either side of the rim. The colouring of these, blue and orange respectively, implies, according to the usual convention of the Knossian artists, that the materials of which they were composed were gold and silver. Another fragmentary painting represents the lower part of what seems to be a much larger vessel in which these two precious metals are combined.

§ 19.—THE NORTH-WEST ANGLES OF THE WALL AND THE NORTHERN PALACE QUARTER.

Beyond the first north-west angle of the building, marked by the buttress platform of large blocks, its outer wall takes a turn of a little over 6 metres to the east, and then north again for 13·40 metres to a second north-west angle. From this corner¹ again it runs east for 15·20 metres

¹ Just east of this corner the foundations had been a good deal injured. They have been since repaired.



FIG. 17.—FRESCO PAINTING OF GIRL (3).

to a point in a line with the West Wall of the Long Gallery. Owing to the comparative denudation of the surface on this side the limestone plinth and large gypsum blocks that formed the base of the wall overlooking the West Court are here wanting, and all that is preserved are the smaller faced stones that characterise the foundation structure. This foundation wall went down 1.30 metres along this section.¹ A good idea of this part of the North Wall is given by the general view on Plate II.

Beyond this there is a break in the regular line of masonry, and there are clear indications that the outer wall here originally took another turn to the north, forming a prolongation of the line of the West Wall of the Long Gallery. Owing to the slope of the original surface this northern turn of the wall probably took a step down, but its course can at present only be traced by remains of later wall. These later remains (see Pl. II.) indicate that, after running north about 10.50 metres from this angle, it again turned east towards the lower part of the Northern Entrance passage.

At the same time an interior wall of different construction, but forming a continuation of the line taken by the first section of the outer North Wall, runs parallel to this second section towards the centre of the northern passage way, the doorways opening on the Northern Portico being on this line. The first part of this cross wall, which starts from opposite the north end of the Long Gallery, has for a length of 24.15 metres fine limestone blocks superposed on two somewhat irregular courses of gypsum blocks (see Pl. II.). The wall is 2.20 metres in height and seems to have formed the support of an upper terrace.

It will be seen that this Terrace Wall together with its continuation along the Northern Portico forms the southern boundary of what must have been a very distinct quarter of the building. This Northern Quarter formed a rectangular area bounded to the west and north by the original course of the outer wall and to the east by the walls and bastion that guard the Northern Entrance way on this side.

The eastern part of this area is largely occupied by the Northern Portico already partly explored last year and by the small paved piazza on which it opens. This North Piazza was found to abut on its western side on what seems to have been a large bath with accessory chambers.

¹ A puzzling circumstance was the discovery at the base of this wall of a tough flooring of clay and red potter's earth. It perhaps belonged to some outside cellar of later construction.

On the borders of the Portico, in the corner near the bath-chamber and the "Threshing-floor Area" to the south of it, were found further remains of the tumultuary heap of deposit partly excavated last year containing fragments of painted stucco. Among the more interesting pieces discovered is part of the head of a cat-like animal with a yellow ground and white brown-bordered spots. Lying near it was another fragment exhibiting the body and the underside of the wing of a gaily plumaged bird in the act of flying. It is probable that both cat and bird formed part of the same fresco design based, like the well-known representation of the dagger blade from Mycenae, on an Egyptian Nile piece showing cats hunting water-fowls. The influence of this Nilotic cycle on the engraved gems of Mycenaean Crete is also very noticeable. We not only find water-fowl amidst papyrus clumps but in one case a cat pursuing them.

Among the naturalistic subjects of these fresco fragments were grasses of red, blue and grey on a white ground and parts of olive leaf borders. Spirals, rosettes, the wave and wavelet, and quatrefoil combinations, like that of the Cupbearer's robe on a larger scale, were among the decorative designs. One fragment seemed to represent double pipes and another a part of a sphinx or griffin. Some of the pieces were in relief, including a part of a man's leg near the thigh, life-size and showing the loin cloth. But of all the moulded fragments the most beautiful were rounded bands with a polished turquoise surface broken by fine white chevrons alternating with dotted returning spirals.

Outside the north-west angle of the Palace and the western part of this Northern Quarter are remains of a paved court with good rough limestone flags. This is separated from the second section of the North Wall by an interval of about 8 metres and itself forms a strip some 6 metres broad. As the remains of later structures were cleared away between it and the Northern Wall it is possible, however, that the pavement may originally have come up to it like that of the Western Court. This northern paved area is bounded on the west by the long outside building already described as containing fine pieces of early Kamáres pottery. At a little distance from this structure came to light a very large limestone block which had evidently formed half the arch of a "Cyclopean" gateway. The extremely massive character of this block points to a very primitive construction. It is possible that it may have originally formed part of the northern gateway of the Palace. Remains of a causeway

similar to those of the Western Court were traceable running from west to east along this northern paved area. It is probable that a continuation of this formerly led down to the Northern Entrance.

§ 20.—THE NORTHERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN BATHS.

On the western side of the Piazza outside the Northern Portico, partly obscured by later walls, were the gypsum jambs of a fine double entrance leading to what must certainly be regarded as a large bath and its accessory chambers. All this bath system belongs to the original structure of the building, but this and, as we shall see, the adjoining chambers had been destroyed by some catastrophe that took place at an early period in the history of the Palace. The basin of the bath itself had been filled up and was crossed by two later walls running from north to south, and two others from east to west. The foundations of these partly rested on the upper surface of the tank-walls. On the south side of the tank, however, where its wall follows that of the Upper Terrace Wall, described in the preceding section, there was distinct evidence that the later structure had only followed at a considerable interval after the destruction of the bath. For here, a metre from the top of the Terrace Wall, were still adhering parts of the painted wall stucco and cement pavement of a later chamber separated from the top of the tank by a metre of deposit which must have accumulated after its destruction and complete filling up. Yet this later construction is itself of very early date. The wall-stucco, in fact, shows remains of fine spiral decoration belonging to the good Mycenaean period.

The later walls above the top of the tank having been removed, it was possible to recover almost the whole original construction. The gallery or chamber to which the right-hand doorway, entering from the Piazza, had once led, had completely disappeared. The other doorway on the other hand opened directly on a passage which, passing by the door jambs of a small room on the left, led down by a double flight of steps to the square basin of the bath. A parapet descending step-wise, cased by gypsum slabs,¹ followed the inner side of the stair-way and terminated below in a gypsum pillar supporting a column-base. This gypsum pillar was 72 centimetres

¹ Several of the upper slabs of these were found in a disintegrated condition, and have been replaced in order to preserve the rest of the parapet. The walling of the parapet within the slabs was of clay and rubble.

high and 57 square, and showed on its upper surface dowel holes corresponding with others in the lower surface of the column bases. The column base itself was formed of a cylindrical drum 37 centimetres in diameter on a square block rising in a double step, and it had probably supported a wooden column. The steps, only a few of which were preserved, were 90 centimetres broad, and were separated from the inner slabs of the parapet by a low plinth, 34 centimetres in width.

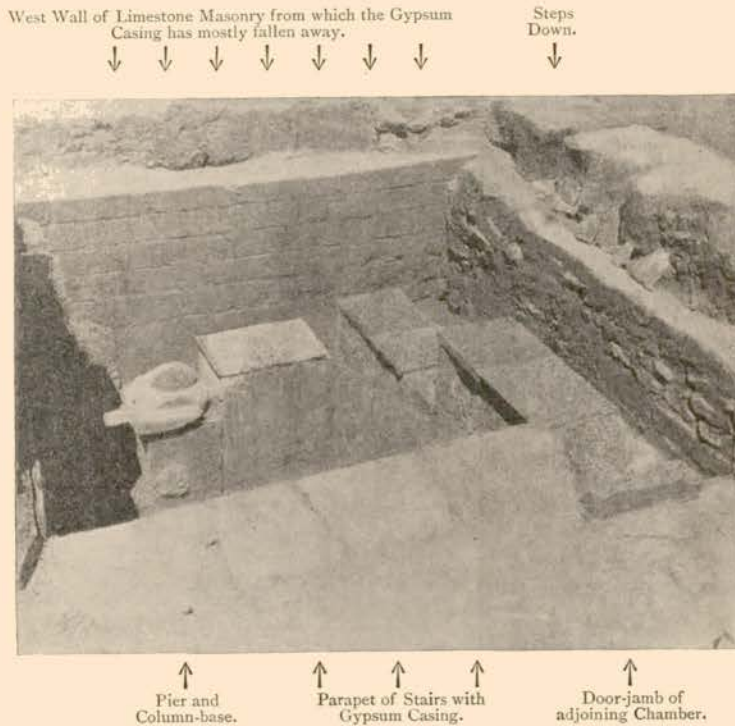


FIG. 18.—NORTHERN BATH LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

The inner basin of the bath was nearly square (2.56×2.45 metres) and 2 metres deep. The walls were composed of closely fitting rectangular limestone blocks faced with large gypsum slabs 2 metres high, and from 1 to 1.30 metres broad. On the west wall the gypsum facing had become disintegrated, thus exposing the fine ashlar masonry behind (see Fig. 18). The floor of the basin was formed of finely compacted gypsum slabs. Inside the basin were found fragments of painted plaster, with a dark

bluish green ground and reddish stripes. The sombre tones of these fresco pieces show that they belonged to the earliest style of fresco painting represented in the Palace—nearer in date to the Kamáres than the developed Mycenaean Period. It had no doubt decorated some part of the original superstructure of the bath.

It will be seen that this Northern Bath with its descending stairs, parapet and column base, and the fine gypsum lining of its walls, presents some obvious analogies to the smaller basin on the south side of the Throne Room. There is, however, an essential difference. The arrange-

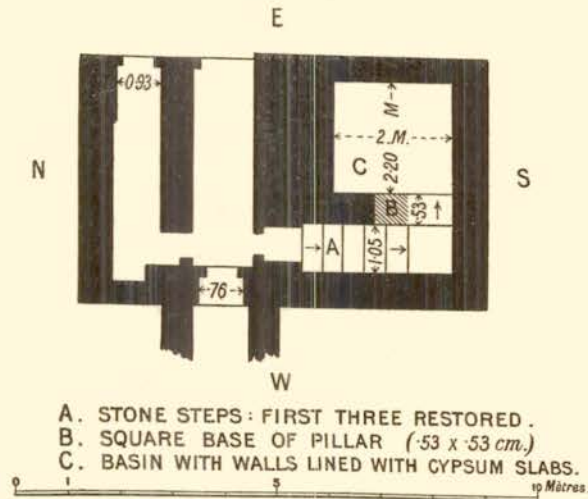


FIG. 19.—PLAN OF SOUTHERN BATH.

ment of the Throne Room with its triple columns and the light-well beyond represents the essential type of the Cretan Megaron as already noted above. In the Hall of the Colonnades to be described below we shall see on a much larger scale the same system of a parapeted staircase descending to the light-well in front of the three supporting columns of the Megaron, but the rain-water that fell into this instead of being collected made its escape through a drain. In the case of the Throne Room on the other hand the light-well has been used as an *impluvium* and the space under it is sunken so as to serve as a kind of shallow basin, perhaps for some foot-washing function. The bath here in fact—if such we may describe it—is subsidiary to the chamber. But the Northern Bath with

its much larger basin belongs to a different category. In this case the bath is evidently the principal object. The small adjoining room is quite secondary.

This type of the stone basin with descending stairs, parapet and pillar has now found other parallels. In the extreme south-eastern Palace region there was this year discovered another small bath of the same general plan, preceded by a small anteroom, or rather a double gallery, which is partly also a passage way (Fig. 19). The basin was here 2.20 metres square, lined and paved as usual with gypsum slabs. It was approached by a stepway provided with a separate door and flanked by a parapet ending in a square pillar. As there were only four steps down from the doorway the depth of the water in the basin must have been very shallow and here too was probably used in the oriental fashion for washing the feet. A small chamber of much the same construction with a doorway, four steps flanked by a parapet ending in a column base, and a shallow square basin has now been discovered by the Italian Mission in the Palace of Phaestos.¹

A common peculiarity characterises all these basins. There is no visible inlet or outlet for the water. In the case of *impluvia* like that beside the Throne Room the rain-water collected from the roof may in certain seasons of the year have provided an adequate supply. But in the hot summer climate of Crete with its long droughts, these basins could not have been permanently filled in this way. It seems probable that the water was in most cases introduced into them by means of slave labour, and that when this became foul the bath was emptied by the same agency.

§ 21.—DISCOVERY OF ALABASTER LID WITH CARTOUCHE OF HYKSÔS KING KHYAN AND LAPIS-LAZULI CYLINDER.

Bordering to the west on the later walls above the Northern Bath and forming part of one system with them were other later structures of the same rubble masonry. About 6 metres from the borders of the bath-basin on this side a wall of this kind abuts at right angles on the Upper Terrace foundations described above. This rubble wall, which runs north, shows on its western face the lower part of a painted stucco dado with blue and

¹ *Lavori eseguiti a Festos dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana. Relazione del Dott. Luigi Pernier* (Roma 1901), p. 16, No. 19 on the plan.

yellow bands, while from beneath this, at a level of 60 centimetres below the level of the top of the neighbouring Terrace Wall, jugged out parts of a cement pavement. We have here then the remains of a Mycenaean floor-level contemporary with that showing the painted stucco walling and clay pavement above the south margin of the bath-basin.

The wall-foundations went down about 30 centimetres below this

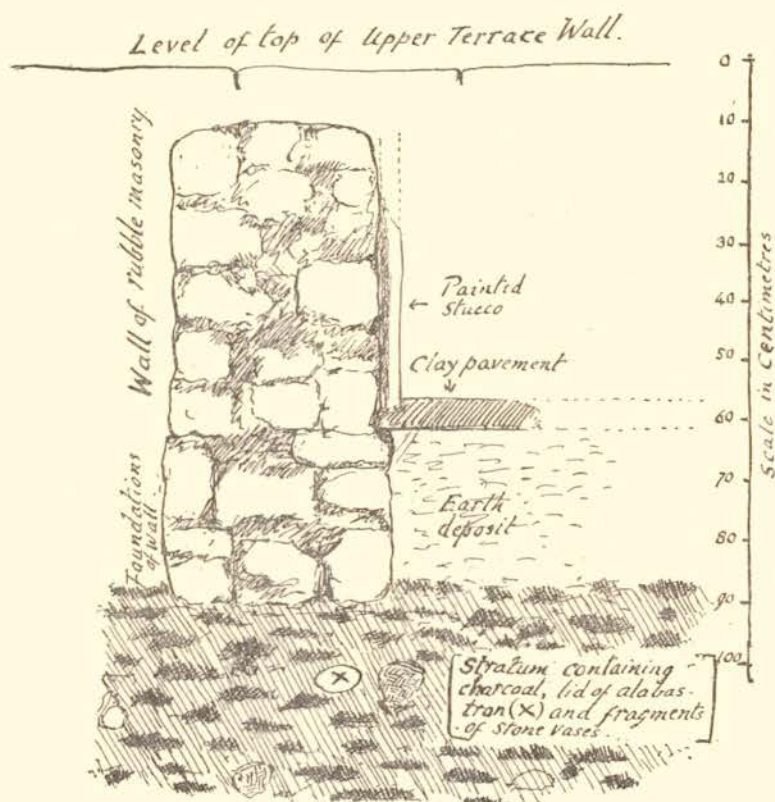


FIG. 20.—SECTION SHOWING STRATUM CONTAINING EGYPTIAN LID WITH MYCENAEAN WALL AND FLOOR LEVEL ABOVE.

floor-level, and rested on a well-marked archaeological stratum (Fig. 20) containing a large proportion of charcoal and representing the burnt remains of an earlier structure.

In this deposit immediately under the Mycenaean wall-foundations, at a depth of 40 centimetres below the later floor-level, and at a distance of 3

metres from the Terrace Wall, a remarkable discovery was made. This was the lid of an Egyptian alabastron upon the upper face of which was finely engraved a cartouche containing the name and divine titles of the Hyksôs King Khyan (Fig. 21).

The inscription, about which there is no difficulty, reads *Ntr nfr*

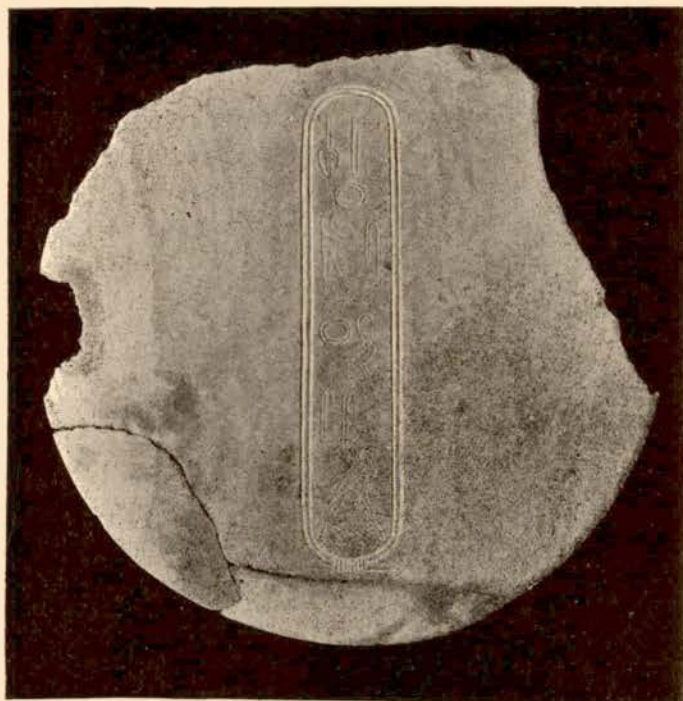


FIG. 21.—LID OF ALABASTRON WITH CARTOUCHE OF HYKSÔS KING KHYAN.

*s. wsr-n-Rⁱ, s Rⁱ, Hy'n*¹—"The good God Suserenra, son of the Sun, Khyan."

The appearance in this early Palace stratum at Knossos of a record of King Khyan, is of exceptional interest from the fact that another monument of his, a lion of black granite, now in the British Museum, was found as far afield as Baghdad. In Egypt itself, with the exception of some scarabs

¹ I have followed Mr. F. Ll. Griffith's transcription, *Archaeological Report of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1900-1901*, p. 37. Mr. Griffith informs me that the form of the *user* sign seen in this inscription is not found elsewhere "except occasionally in the cartouches of the clearly Hyksôs Apepi and of Rameses II., who may have imitated it."

and two cylinders, the only records of this King are the base of a statue at Bubastis, and his cartouches on a black granite block at Gebelen.¹ The *Ka* name of Khyan *anq adebu* "embracing territories"² and his further title "ruler of foreign peoples," as well as the Baghdad lion, point to extended dominions. In this latter title, *Hq-h's-wt*,—also borne by another Hyksôs prince—a plausible derivation for the name "Ἰκσῶς" itself has been found.³

The name of Khyan like that of other Hyksôs rulers appears to be Semitic. The suggestion has been made that Khyan is to be identified with the XVth Dynasty Hyksôs King *Iavias* or *Iavvas*, whose name is taken from Manetho by Josephus.⁴ In that case his date would be about 1800 B.C.⁵ In any case this is the earliest monument of a King of Egypt yet found on an Aegean site. It seems probable from the occurrence of this alabaster lid in the "pre-Mycenaean" stratum of the Palace at Knossos that its Minoan lord was in direct relations with the Hyksôs King. In the Egyptian monument found in the early stratum of the Central Court during the preceding campaign, we may see further evidence of very early Egyptian relations, if, as is the opinion of most Egyptologists, this must be referred to the period of the XIIIth Dynasty.

The well-marked deposit in which this lid occurred, contained numerous fragments of stone vases, which differed both in their form and decorative reliefs from the stone vases of developed Mycenaean style found in some of the chambers. The outer surface of these vases was covered with a very realistic plait-work in relief—in fact a complete stone imitation of basketry. One vase that it was possible to restore, presented a pear-shaped outline with a small base and a fairly wide mouth surrounded by a ring in

¹ See Petrie, *History of Egypt*, i. p. 118 seqq. Professor Petrie on the ground of his scarab style was inclined to place the date of Khyan as early as the Tenth Dynasty. But as is pointed out by Mr. Griffith, *loc. cit.*, the excavations of Mr. Mace and Mr. Garstang have now shown that this group of scarabs must be placed between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. Mr. Percy Newberry who has been collecting further materials regarding the Hyksôs scarabs informs me that he has arrived at the same conclusion. A general consensus of Egyptologists now brings down the reign of Khyan to the Hyksôs period, and it must be said that the evidence of the Knossos find confirms this conclusion.

² Petrie *op. cit.*, p. 120.

³ W. Max Müller, cited by Griffith, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Mr. Griffith remarks, however, that none of the other scarab kings can be identified with names in the Josephus list.

⁵ According to Petrie's chronological table, *History of Egypt*, i, 236, the approximate date of Iavias would be 1837 to 1787 B.C.

prominent round relief. The plait-work grows gradually smaller towards the base of the vase. It is interesting to note that stone-vases with raised plait-work ornaments are very characteristic of the earliest dynastic period of Egypt, as illustrated by Mr. Petrie's most recent excavations in the Royal Tombs of Abydos.

It has been pointed out above that, if Khyan and the Hyksôs King, Iaias of Manetho and Josephus are the same persons, the date of the alabastron must probably be referred to the latter part of the nineteenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. The minimum date to which it is possible to refer it, can in any case hardly be lower than 1700 B.C. In the absence of strong evidence to the contrary we may conclude that the alabastron bearing the name of a king, whose records are so rare in Egypt itself but whose foreign relations are known to have been so extensive, reached the Palace of Knossos during his lifetime. On the other hand, the early phase of Mycenaean civilisation represented by the chamber built above the earlier stratum in which the lid lay, shows many points of contact with the Egypt of Thothmes III. Yet this later structure, which may thus be taken to go back to the fifteenth or sixteenth century B.C., was separated by over a foot of deposit from the more ancient Palace layer. From this evidence alone we may conclude that the partial catastrophe of which we have here the traces, in all probability took place at an earlier date than the minimum time-limit above indicated. These arguments equally apply to the original upper rooms of the adjoining bath chamber, which must have been destroyed and the basin itself choked with their *débris* at the same time. The characteristic structure of that chamber, with its fine gypsum slabs, belongs therefore to a period anterior to the approximate date of 1700 B.C. This result has a very important bearing on the date of the early part of the Palace fabric as a whole, which corresponds with that of the bath-chamber.

These chronological conclusions may find support from a further discovery made in the space intervening between the deposit containing the lid and the back of the bath. Here were the remains of a solidly-cemented rectangular receptacle, apparently a cistern. It was of rubble structure, belonging to the same Mycenaean date as the later walls on either side of it, and a wall abutting on its south face showed the usual wall-stucco still clinging to it.

At the base of the western side of this cistern, about two and a half

metres from the spot where the engraved lid was found, and embedded in the rubble material, was a cylinder of lapis lazuli, mounted at each end with gold caps bearing filigree decorations. The cylinder had evidently got into its position at the base of the Mycenaean wall from an earlier deposit, perhaps not far removed in date from that containing the relic of Khyan.

The cylinder itself seems to represent the prototype of a characteristic Hittite series. It is divided into two zones, a larger below with mythological scenes and a smaller band above showing winged monsters, one of them a sphinx, and disks with or without inner radiation. The lower zone shows a beardless male figure in a long flounced robe between two groups, one of the man-bull Hea-bani and a lion crossed, the other of a lion and a bull also crossed, while the circuit is completed by Hea-bani grappling with another lion. The style of the mythological design on the lower zone fits on to the late Babylonian series and shows no trace of distinctively "Hittite" or Syro-Cappadocian elements. On the other hand the upper band with its winged monstrous forms is clearly transitional.

§ 22.—THE NORTHERN ENTRANCE WAY AND THE ADJOINING REGION
TO THE EAST OF IT.

The continued excavation of the Northern Entrance way has led to further developments which upset several of the conclusions suggested by last year's preliminary work on this part of the site. Two pieces of badly constructed wall projecting from the bastion on the west did not, as was first supposed, rest on the road level but were much later structures, built when the original passage had been covered by a thick deposit of earth. This later work having been removed the passage way was found to descend to a much lower level. The bastion itself reached down to a depth of 3.50 metres from the summit of the wall, with seven courses of good masonry. Seven courses were also uncovered of the opposite east wall which went down to the same depth. In the course of this excavation numerous fragments of Mycenaean pottery were found and some pieces of painted stucco relief including a spiral rosette forming part of the same decoration as that found last year, as well as another part of a bull's leg showing black spots on a white ground.

It had been supposed last year that the entrance way extended the

full width,—about 5 metres¹—between the western and eastern walls, and from the step-like arrangement of some blocks in the centre, it further looked as if the whole had been a step-way. Both these conclusions are now shown to be erroneous. The actual entrance way proved to be a passage along the western wall only 2·10 metres in breadth. This was bounded on the other side by a lower wall rising in steps, the well-cut western face of which, together with the plinth at its base, symmetrically corresponds with the west wall opposite. This graduated wall, which on

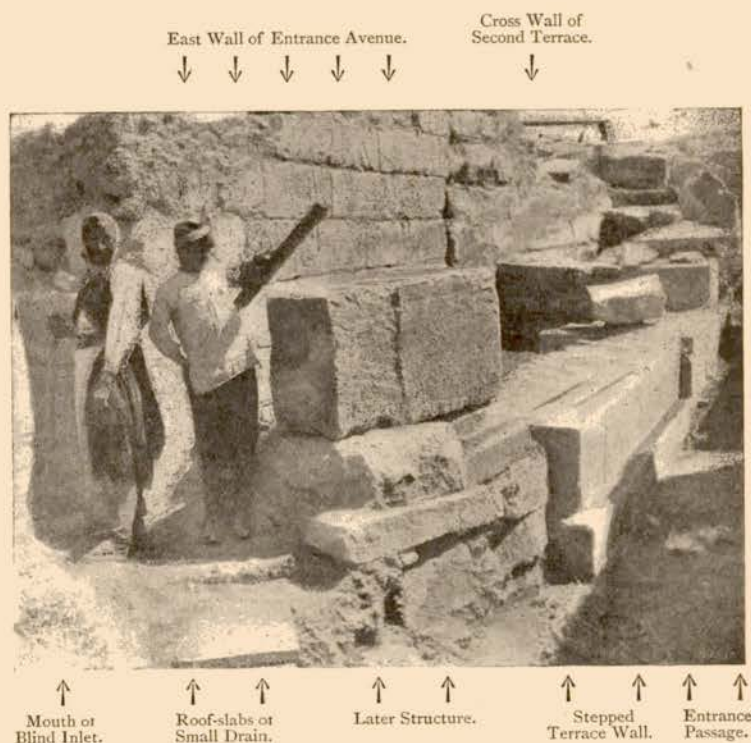


FIG. 22.—SECTION OF NORTH ENTRANCE WAY SHOWING EAST WALL AND STEPPED WALL OF TERRACES.

its east face had been left rough, proved to be the supporting wall of a series of small terraces which also rose in steps marked by cross-walls—these terraces filling the space between the entrance way and the high eastern wall to which it was originally thought to have extended. That

¹ Mr. Mackenzie gives the exact measurement as 4·95 metres.

the terraces were open above, is made probable by the discovery, at the foot of the lowermost, of a stone drain running into the larger *cloaca* which follows the course of the entrance way itself. For what did these terraces serve? It would be quite in keeping with Minoan taste as illustrated by the frescoes on the palace walls, to suppose that these earth platforms rising step-wise beside the entrance way served as small garden-plots, planted perhaps with palms and flowering shrubs.

On the west side of this entrance way are two elongated bastions, separated by a small gap which, as suggested in the preceding Report, might have been used by a sentry. The northern face of the upper of these two bastions—which is rendered visible by the gap—is seen to be provided with a plinth and to have been originally an exterior wall. It further appears that it is in line with the south wall and doorways of the North Portico—and thus with a line of wall—partly inner terrace, partly exterior—extending to the north-west angle of the building (see Fig. 23). A break corresponding with this is seen moreover, in the terrace wall on the other side of the entrance way. It therefore appears that the bastion to the north of this break and the lower continuation of the terrace walls on the other side are somewhat later additions, though still belonging to the finest part of the building. The second, or northern bastion, one of the best pieces of construction uncovered on the site, was built against and partly over a rougher wall running from south to north, which seems to have been the original supporting wall of the Northern Piazza on this side.

Beyond the Northern Bastion the architectural evidence becomes very complicated. (See Plan: Fig. 23.) An opening here appears in the west wall line of the Entrance Way opposite the blind inlet on the eastern side, and perhaps like it intended to serve as a place for guards to sally out from upon hostile intruders. Its mouth had been blocked by a later wall. On the northern side of this opening a door jamb is visible, and on the opposite side of the Entrance Way is another answering to it, somewhat out of place.

Beyond this opening a further section of the west wall, of good construction, extends 5 metres to another smaller break, perhaps originally giving access by means of stairs to the Northern Piazza. At this point the Northern Entrance Way was found to be entirely barred by a cross-wall. Since however this is not so well built as the western side wall on which it abuts, and since the further course of the Entrance Way and of

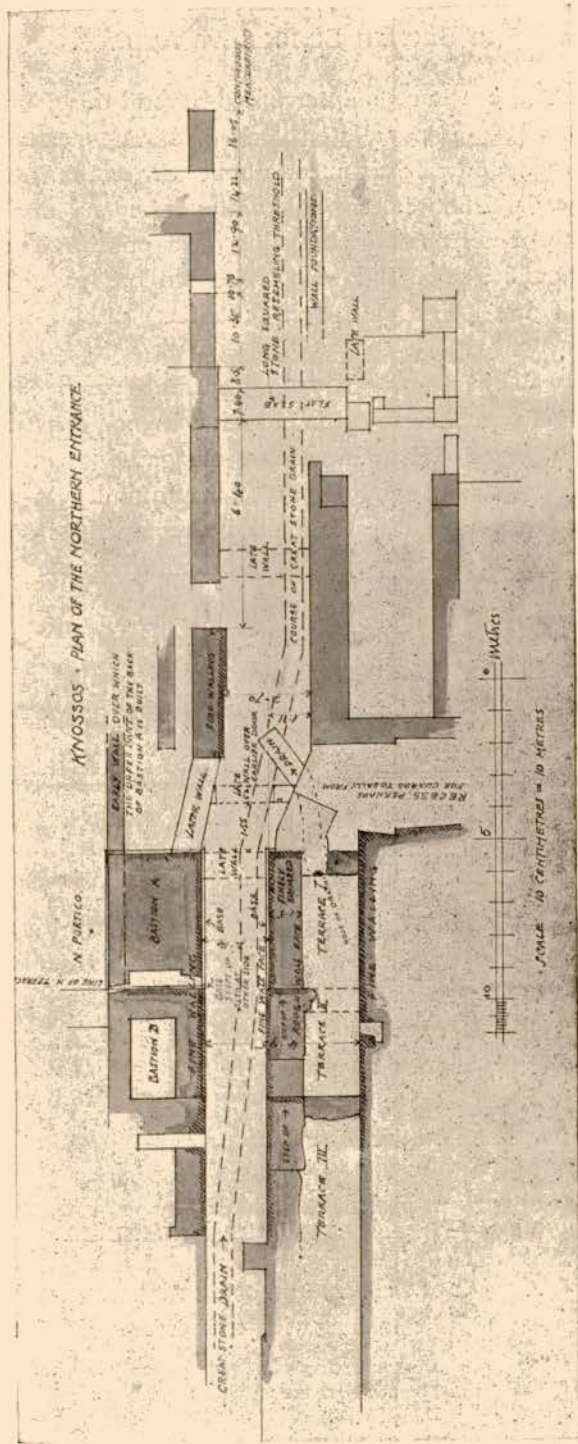


FIG. 23.—PLAN OF THE NORTHERN ENTRANCE.

the drain beneath it continues uninterrupted beyond this point, it is obvious that this cross-wall represents a later block. About 5 metres north of this a flat slab, the object of which is uncertain, lies across the entrance passage from wall to wall. The western wall continues beyond this point and is composed of good limestone blocks resting on a plinth. The great stone drain or *cloaca*, which here follows the eastern border of the Entrance Way, loses itself at a point 36 metres (120 feet) distant from its upper opening.

The eastern wall of the lower part of the entrance passage from the blind inlet onwards is also preserved, but is not of such good construction as that on the west side. East of it again are two elongated chambers that have the appearance of Magazines. From their proximity to the Northern Entrance it is possible that these should be regarded as stables for the horses and chariots which occupy such a prominent place in the Palace archives.

Eastwards again a line of wall which forms the back-wall of these elongated chambers is continued to another projecting bastion with a narrow door opening. This doorway leads into what appears to have been a short gallery, the west wall of which is constructed of good limestone blocks. It seems to have led to two flights of steps, one directly facing, of which traces only are preserved, ascending south, the other, of which four steps remain,¹ approached by a turn to the east. The structure here has been a good deal dismantled, but it looks as if we had to do with a postern gate giving access to the north-east quarter of the Palace from the north.

From this point the Northern Wall becomes no longer traceable, and the investigations so far made on this side lead to the conclusion that the north-eastern angle of the building has been completely denuded. North of this point, however, there came to light a Magazine with remains of large pithoi and part of a large structure which may eventually be found to stand in direct connexion with the Palace.²

§ 23.—THE NORTH-EAST MAGAZINES.

About 9 metres south of the easternmost section of the North Wall, and within the angle which it makes with the east wall of the Entrance

¹ These steps are 1.50 metres wide, .15 high and .50 deep.

² The star and branch signs are visible on its blocks.

Passage, quantities of plain clay vases of various forms began to appear, only a few centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was found that these vases were methodically arranged within the rubble walls of a group of Magazines forming a square separate enclosure with a single entrance. These Magazines were grouped in uneven divisions on either side of a narrow gangway 90 centimetres in width—an arrangement which recalls on a much smaller scale that of the Magazines of the Palace at Phaestos, except that there the chambers on either side of the central gangway were of equal dimensions. A similar arrangement may be traced back on Egyptian soil to the earliest Dynastic Period.

Like the Magazines themselves, the vases here were of much smaller dimensions than the great pithoi of the Magazines of the western Palace border. Except for a limited class with brown streaks running down from their rim, the walls of these vessels were plain and unpainted. They were arranged along the walls in regular rows and piles, those with broad rims socketed into one another and the cups in *rouleaux*. A general idea of their prevailing types and distribution may be gathered from the accompanying sketch-plan (Fig. 24).

Except where these vessels had been cracked or crushed by the weight of the superincumbent earth, they stood piled in their places absolutely intact, as when left by their Mycenaean overseer. It is obvious from this, and from the fact that the whole lay immediately under the surface of the ground, that no excavation had ever taken place in these chambers. That there was so little earth left to remove was due to the natural process of denudation, which has gone on for the last 3500 years or so at this part of the north-east slope.

It will be seen that in their plain fabric, as well as in some of their typical forms, these vessels correspond with those found in the chamber near the south-west corner of the Palace, upon one of which was found the graffito inscription in linear characters. Here as there too the survival of the older Kamáres types is perceptible, but in a somewhat degenerate form and bereft of the beautiful painted decoration which characterises the vases of the Kasselles.

In the case of the chamber on the south-west corner an indication of the Mycenaean date of this rustic ware was given by the inscription in advanced linear characters, identical with those associated elsewhere with Mycenaean gem impressions found in the Palace. In the present instance

the same indication is supplied by the contents of the small inner chamber, 5 in the sketch plan, opening from the back of Magazine No. 4.

In this inner chamber was found, 70 centimetres beneath the surface, a

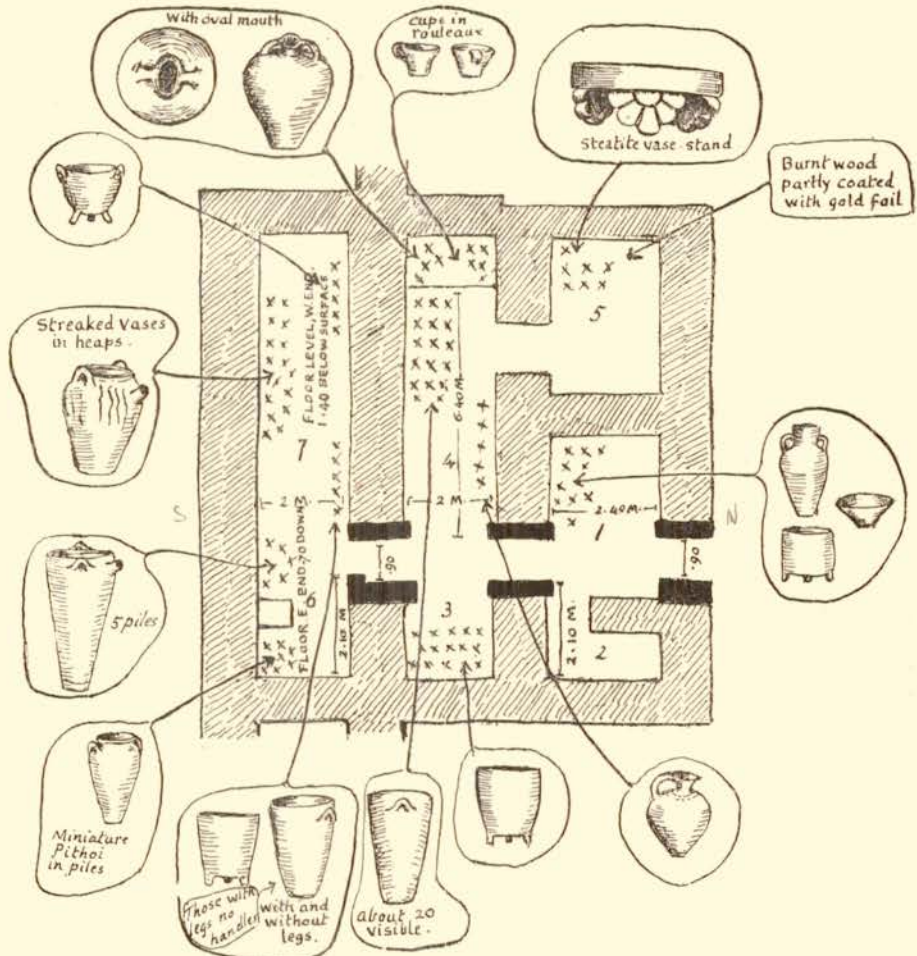


FIG. 24.—THE NORTH-EAST MAGAZINES AND CONTENTS.

very beautiful tripod-stand of dark steatite, the legs of which¹ were designed in the form of palmettes or half rosettes of the Mycenaean type. Below this were remains of charred wood coated with gold foil.

¹ Two of the legs were damaged.

It is obvious that the tripod-stand was designed as a support for some vase of stone or metal of a very different class from the rustic pots in the adjoining Magazines. The one deposit speaks of wealth and luxury, the other connects itself with the needs of a quite lowly condition. We know, besides, what magnificent painted ware was at this time in use among the Knossian lords. It looks as if these stores of rustic vessels, representing the survival of the indigenous potters' style, were kept to supply the wants of a numerous colony of handicraftsmen, and perhaps of slaves, living within the Palace walls. Whatever new elements may have intruded themselves among the dominant caste, these humbler denizens, as the traditional types of their pottery show, belonged to the old Eteocretan stock.

East of these Magazines, and between them and the Eastern Terrace Wall, to be described below, was a great heap of sherds and small pots, for the most part of plain earthenware, probably belonging to the same, more or less servile class. From the abundance of small clay cups of the usual type found in Cretan deposits of advanced Mycenaean character, it is probable that this waste heap belonged, in part at least, to a somewhat later period than the contents of the Magazines. Near it was found the small steatite relief exhibiting an archer.

§ 24.—THE NORTH-EAST HALL AND CONNECTED ROOM SYSTEM.

South of the small Magazines described in the preceding section, for over sixty metres, stretches a continuous line of galleries and chambers, the western limits of which mark the original line of the Central Court on this side.

Immediately bordering on the Magazines is a group of rooms forming parts of a single connected system. The eastern member of this group is a rectangular hall, of the east and south walls of which only indications remain. The original interior dimensions of this north-east hall were about 9 by 6.50 metres, and at a distance of 1.10 metres from its north wall are two column bases 70 centimetres in diameter.¹ Near these, at the north end of the hall, opens one of the usual double doorways,² with gypsum jambs,

¹ The column bases are 1.40 metres apart.

² The south door jamb and a central one with a double reveal had been preserved. The northern door jamb, however, and the small adjoining return of the wall, had disappeared. The width of the south doorway was 82 centimetres.

leading to a smaller inner chamber of oblong shape. The pavement of the North-East Hall is of gypsum cement, and near the floor level were found one or two Mycenaean vases. One of these is a somewhat low "Stirrup" vase with a design of a fish, and of much better fabric than those described above exhibiting octopus designs. Another vessel is a cup which presents the early characteristic of having decorative bands of white as well as brown.

The small room to which the double doorway gave access had been somewhat obstructed by a later cross-wall running east and west, the base of which was 30 centimetres above the floor-level. In its original form however, the room had been of an elegant character, the lower part of the walls being covered with a dado of fine gypsum slabs about 95 centimetres in height, and the floor paved with the same material. This "Room of the Gypsum Dado" was 5.08 metres by 2.65 in dimensions. Near its north wall were found the remains of two steatite lamps of the ordinary kind with high columnar stands. An opening at the north end of the west wall of this room gave access, in front and to the left respectively, to two small Magazines or store-rooms. That to the left contained the remains of a small pithos, some two-handled jars of rustic fabric, resembling types found in the neighbouring North-East Magazines a small plaster seat and a tripod stand of the same material. The elongated store-room in front contained other rough pots representing the same Kamáres tradition as those of the small Magazines together with a vase belonging to an early Mycenaean class.

This arrangement of a room with small magazines opening from it is one that has been already met with in the western quarter of the Palace in the case of the Rooms of the Chariot Tablets, of the Column Bases and the Throne Room itself. Additional examples of the same arrangement will be seen in the "School Room" and other chambers of the eastern slope to be described below.

The North-East Hall apparently had its entrance on its eastern side, where it seems to have been flanked by a corridor running north and south. Near the south end of this, and at the south-east extremity of the hall, are visible four low steps ascending west, and indications of a passage leading hence round the outer walls of the group of rooms described above to the Central Court. Some five metres above the four steps preserved are traces of others turning north between passage walls of good limestone

construction. About the same distance further on the same passage takes another turn west, past a massive bastion, and thence by another angle seems to have found its way to a point near the upper opening of the Northern Entrance Way.

§ 25.—THE ROYAL GAMING BOARD.

Nearly opposite the lower opening of the North-East Stairs described above, against the east wall of the Corridor on which it abuts, and of which only remains of the lower courses exist, was made a very interesting discovery. Here, at a depth of 70 centimetres below the surface, some fragments of crystal and ivory were thrown up by the workmen from the earthy deposit. On careful examination these were found to belong to the end of a kind of inlaid board, the component parts of which were still largely in position.

The board lay somewhat unevenly near the paved surface of the Corridor, separated from it by a shallow earthen layer, into which, however, some fragmentary slabs had intruded. To raise these highly friable remains, embedded in the crumbly earth, from this irregular backing without breaking up the framework was a matter of extraordinary difficulty, there being no room in this case for the ordinary under-plastering that had been so effective in getting out the Cup-bearer fresco. As a preliminary measure it was found necessary first to surround the outer margin with a wooden framing, filling up the interstices with plaster. This having been successfully executed, and the edges of the board thus secured, wooden strips with plaster over them were gradually introduced below, as the irregularities of the broken slabs permitted. This part of the process was extremely difficult, and it was only after three days' work, and mainly owing to the skill and patience of my trained *formatore*, Kyrios Papadakis, that the whole was finally raised with the inlaid designs in the position in which they had been uncovered.

The framework had already suffered especially round the borders and at what may be called the upper end of the board, where the pick had originally disturbed it. Enough, however, remains of the original design to supply a correct idea of the whole arrangement of its essential parts.

In Fig. 25¹ the existing parts in position are given in a darker tone,

¹ From a coloured drawing carefully executed by Mr. Fyfe, who has completed the disintegrated and missing parts of the design in accordance with my suggestions.

but it must also be borne in mind that a great deal of the rest was found, though in a more or less disintegrated state. The outer zone, with the marguerites, had been entirely broken off; their fragmentary remains, however, were abundant, and as reconstituted above, form a natural frame to the design. The remaining parts of the nautilus were also found detached, but their dimensions so exactly correspond with the vacant rectangular spaces on either side of the square containing the uppermost medallion, that their position may be taken as ascertained. The restoration of the interior of the smaller circles of the lower half of the board rests on more conjectural grounds. The board as completed is 0.965 metre in length and 0.553 wide, and it is to be noted that several of the component parts are exact multiples of the whole. Thus the diameter of the larger medallions answers to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the length, that of the smaller medallions to $\frac{1}{11}$, that of the marguerites to $\frac{1}{24}$.

The framework of the board consists of pieces of ivory set and originally entirely covered with thin gold plate. A good deal of this gold foil is visible in the interstices and here and there are ragged pieces partly overlapping the face of the ivory plaques. It is possible that the gold had been worn away by use or it may be that at the time of the destruction of the Palace the superficial metal had been hastily and imperfectly scraped from the board. This chryselephantine framework contains a further mosaic of strips and disks of rock crystal, the crystal in turn being alternately backed with silver plaques and a blue paste formed of pounded lapis-lazuli-like glass, the Homeric *kyanos*, and both this and the silver plaques are underlaid with gypsum plaster. It is probable that for the support of the ivory framework there was also a wooden panel below, but the traces of this had entirely disappeared. Some pieces of ivory reliefs, including smaller nautilus for which there is no place on the board itself, point to the probability of there having been ornamental sides below; the analogy moreover of Egyptian draught-boards and of the Mycenaean specimen found at Enkomi in Cyprus suggests that the board itself may have also served as the top of a box that once contained the pieces of the game.

The daisies or marguerites of the outer border had central bosses consisting of convex disks of rock crystal, set probably on a blue paste background. Within this border round the central and lower part of the board was a second band of plaster coated with blue paste or *kyanos*, some

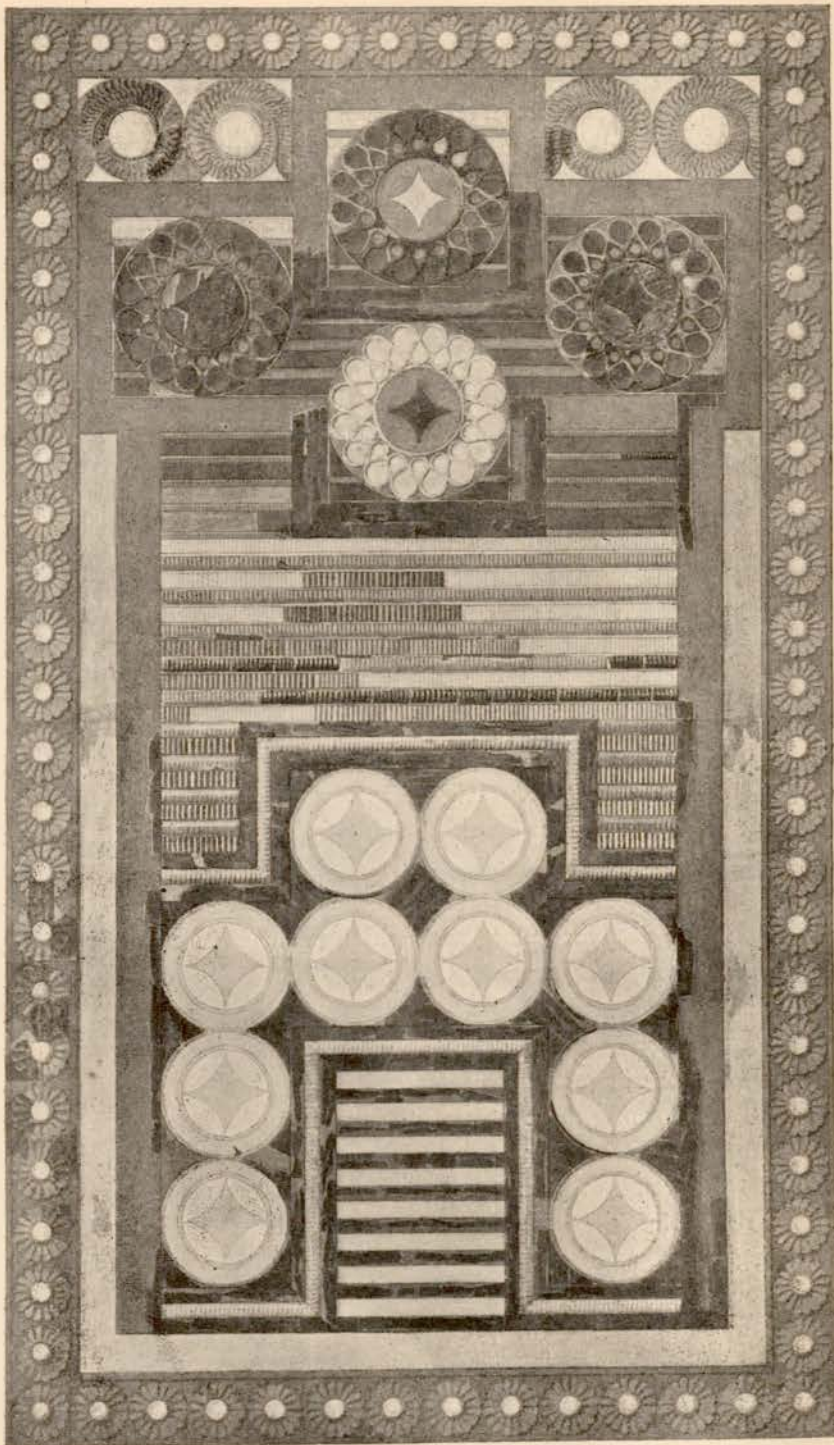


FIG. 25.—THE ROYAL GAMING BOARD.

sections of which were preserved in position. There can be little doubt that these had been covered with crystal plaques that had been removed.

Beginning now at the top of the board, the angles of the beautiful nautilus reliefs were set round with crystal plaques, one of which was found with traces of its original *kyanos* backing. Like the marguerites the nautiluses had also been adorned with a central boss of crystal. There next follows a very beautiful group of four large medallions inserted among crystal bars backed with silver plates. The curving cloisons of these medallions are formed of ribbed ivory to the surface of which the original coating of thin gold plate was still partly adhering. The sockets thus formed are set with petal-shaped plaques of crystal, the outer row entirely lined with silver plates, the inner with blue eyes of *kyanos* inserted in the silver. The inner circle of these medallions encloses a design—borrowed from contemporary Egypt—composed of *vesicae piscis* of ivory surrounding a central plate of silver-lined crystal with incurved sides. Then follow eleven alternating bars of ribbed crystal and ivory. The crystal bars, which are flat, are backed with silver, the ivory are bossed and are set and partly covered with thin gold plate which originally adorned their whole surface. Eight shorter bars of crystal but with a *kyanos* lining fill the spaces on either side of the topmost section of the lower division of the board.

The principal feature of this lower division of the board is a two-winged compartment, the flat ivory plaques of which enclose ten circular openings. The medallions originally held by these had been broken out, though here and there traces of their original plaster backing were visible. In the centre of one, however, the uppermost on the left wing, were remains of silver oxide, which suggested the former existence of a plate with incurved sides like those forming the centre of the upper medallions. It is possible that the *vesicae piscis* round this were of *kyanos*. The central parts of these medallions, the design of which, except for the blue compartments, would thus have resembled those above, seem to have been covered with crystal disks, though a fragment only of one of these is preserved. It looks as if the disappearance of these medallions was due to the desire of some plunderer at the time of the great catastrophe of the Palace to secure these crystal disks. The ivory plaques enclosing the lower medallions are bordered above and below by bossed and ribbed crystal bars overlaid

on *kyanos*. The remaining space of the lower division of the board is filled with alternating flat bars of ivory, once gold-plated, and of crystal backed with the same blue vitreous paste.

The medallions of the lower division of the board give a key to its purpose, and clearly indicate that we have here the table of some kind of game. A certain analogy is suggested by Egyptian draught-boards and by the variant type of the same presented by the Mycenaean board of beautifully carved ivory found in a tomb at Enkomi or Old Salamis.¹ In the "Lapidary's Workshop" and elsewhere on the site several objects of steatite, bone, and other materials were found, which seem to represent pieces of games, but unfortunately none occurred in juxtaposition with the board itself. Considering the comparative fewness of the circles on which to move the pieces it seems possible that dice also formed a feature of the game, but further discussion of its character must be reserved for a future occasion.

In its original condition, with its ivory bands and reliefs still plated with gold, and its crystal plaques and bosses intensifying the glint and glow of the silver foil and cerulean paste beneath them, this gaming board must have been of truly royal magnificence. The intarsia work, moreover, here found in position and applied to the scheme of a game throws a new light on more fragmentary remains of the same kind found in the Palace of Knossos itself and in the royal tombs of Mycenae. Crystal plaques of similar forms to those of the table were found on the Throne Room floor associated with roundels of enamelled terracotta, the design of which recalls the central pattern of the medallions of the gaming table.² In my former Report³ the close resemblance of these to objects in similar materials found in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae was already noticed. There can be little doubt, in the presence of this new evidence, that these belonged to boards of the same kind, and that a gaming table was such an indispensable possession of Mycenaean kings that it followed them to another world. This close resemblance between these Knossian relics and those from the Fourth Akropolis tombs at Mycenae is also,

¹ A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 12, Fig. 19, and cf. *J.H.S.* xvi. (1896) p. 288, *seqq.* where Professor Ridgeway ingeniously compares the Greek game of *Polis*.

² There were too many of these roundels for them to have been all for the board on which the game was played, but a certain number may in this case have formed part of the ornament of the sides of the box below.

³ See the supplementary note on the fly leaf at the beginning of the Report for 1900.

as already noted,¹ an interesting indication that the destruction of the Palace was approximately contemporary with this interment.

§ 26.—THE ROOM OF THE OLIVE PRESS.

The Corridor of the Gaming Table leads to a spacious room about 9 metres in length by 7 broad, the cement floor of which on its western side was about 1.40 below the surface. This room contained what appeared to be two press-beds of unequal sizes with runnels leading from them. The smaller of these was drained by a tile channel, the larger by an elongated grooved slab of limestone. The larger press-bed itself was a square limestone slab (1.10 × 1.20 metres) with a square shallow basin opening on the runnel, the groove of which was 43 centimetres wide and 10 deep. This stone channel leads through a door opening into the small area to the north of the chamber where, at a distance of 4.70 metres from the press-bed, it debouches on the remains of an elongated vat, originally lined with terracotta.

To one having a personal acquaintance with the remains of the great Roman oil fabrics of the Tripolitan district of North Africa,² of which stone press-beds and runnels accompanied by vats are a constantly recurring feature, there seemed to be little doubt that we had here to do with a Mycenaean press of the same kind. It is true that in the case of the African presses and others observed by Messrs. Paton and Myres³ in Caria and the Greek islands, the stone bed itself is simply grooved while here the whole central part is slightly sunk. But the difference has little practical importance, since a small detached slab with a free space left round it, answering to the groove in the other type as an outlet for the juice would equally serve the purpose in view. This simpler type as represented by the Knossian example is in fact also known elsewhere. An ovoid example was found by Mr. J. L. Myres and myself at Astritza⁴ a Cretan hill site a few hours to the south-east of Knossos,

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² I visited these in 1895 in company with Mr. J. L. Myres who, for the first time, explained the true meaning of the so-called "Megalithic Monuments" of Tripoli in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 1898, p. 280 *seqq.* For the North African oil-presses cf. too Tissot, *Afrique Romaine*, i. p. 294. The presses may well represent a still earlier Libyan tradition.

³ *On some Karian and Hellenic Oil-Presses*, *J.H.S.* xviii. (1898), p. 209, *seqq.*

⁴ *J.H.S. loc. cit.* p. 214, Fig. 6.

and a round Greek press-bed of the same type, with a sixth century inscription, was found by Mr. Cecil Smith at Klimatovouni in Melos.¹

In order to supply a fulcrum for the end of the wooden beam by means of which the bags of olives set above the stone bed were pressed, it was necessary to obtain a powerful support, and this may have been supplied by insertion into the west wall of the Chamber.²

Although grapes are pressed by an analogous method in large crates or baskets in parts of Greece the great volume of juice would have required a larger bed than those before us. It seems more reasonable therefore to see in these the remains of olive presses. It is evident from the numerous lamps found in the building as well as in the houses outside, that oil formed an important commodity in Mycenaean Knossos. The signs of conflagration about the upper vats in the Fourth Magazine, have been already noted as indicating a considerable storage of oil, which probably formed the contents of a large number of the pithoi discovered. The discovery recorded by Tsountas of a jar full of olive stones at Tiryns, and more isolated finds of the same at Mycenae itself had already made it certain that the culture of the olive was known on the mainland of Mycenaean Greece.³ That it was known at the same or even an earlier period in Crete is now made certain by a similar discovery of a store of olive stones in the Palace of Phaestos by the Italian explorers. At Knossos we find olive sprays appearing as a motive of decoration both for frescoes and vase paintings, and apparently also on the pictographic tablets in a commercial relation. Hehn's idea that the oil of Homeric Greece was exclusively an importation from the East has now no longer any probability in its favour.⁴

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 215, Fig. 7.

² Compare the arrangement of a press near Latmos.—*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 212.

³ Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1891, p. 15.

⁴ It would even appear that already in Mycenaean times the olive was cultivated in Sicily. In the Necropolis of Cozzo Pantano near Syracuse, the tombs of which contain so many imported Mycenaean objects, in addition to shallow high pedestalled vessels which seem to be a simple adaptation of the Mycenaean and Minoan lamps as seen at Knossos, was found a clay vessel of native fabric, the decoration of which was supplied by the impress of actual olive leaves. (Orsi, "Necropoli Sicula presso Siracusa," *Mon. Antichi*, ii. 1893, p. 21, and Tav. 11, i. 1a.)

§ 27.—THE CORRIDOR OF THE BAYS AND ITS VASE DEPOSITS.

West of the recess in which the oil-vat is situated opens a small area which, as the remains of wall-foundations show, has not been preserved in its original condition. One of perhaps a pair of doorways is still in place opening from the end of the Corridor of the Gaming Board on this side. Opposite this, immediately under the east border of the Central Court, is a small chamber with fine gypsum paving and two side walls of massive limestone blocks. These walls form part of a series of buttress-like projections running along this line, and their massive construction was no doubt expressly designed to support the, in part, artificial terrace of the Central Court on this side. Both this and a small chamber adjoining it on the north, showed the remains of a back wall, the original line of which could only be made out by the limit of the pavement in that direction. On the other hand these rooms, like the bays that succeed them on the same terrace flank to the south, were filled with a confused mass of tumbled blocks largely due to the falling in of their back walls. This phenomenon explains the need of the buttress-like structures along the line.

To the south of the above-mentioned small chamber and the adjoining bay on that side, are two doorways, one leading to an elongated well-paved room, the other to a somewhat narrow corridor—1.42 metres in width—leading south beneath the terrace of the Central Court. Four buttress-like piers such as those described, jut out on the western side of the gangway leaving three square recesses.¹ From these it has been found convenient to call this passage "the Corridor of the Bays."

The buttress piers vary in thickness from 1.42 to 1.54 metres, and jut out 2.70 metres; the southernmost, however, has been made 35 centimetres too short, and the deficiency in the masonry was made up by means of woodwork and plaster. There is, as will be seen, a great probability that these massive blocks of masonry not only served to prop up the terrace wall, but also originally acted as the supports of the pillars of a great Megaron above.

The corridor descends by two steps at the third pier, and a third at the fourth, where it opens on the end of the upper Corridor running

¹ These were roughly square but varied a little in dimensions. The first bay north was 2.70 by 2.80 metres, the second 2.70 by 2.85 while the width of the third was only 2.40.

from east to west, and at the same time on the middle landing of the main staircase to be described below.

The bays themselves had been partly used as storerooms, and on the floor of the first was found a large heap of plain pottery. Another deposit of similar vessels was also found in a kind of *loculus* or niche, in the wall opposite the third bay. This pottery was all of a "rustic" class, unpainted, and exhibited some local Cretan forms of a remarkable character. Among these were double pots set at the two ends of a flat base, their upper rims being connected again above. They are provided with perforated conical lids (see Fig. 26), and seem to be the forerunners



FIG. 26.—TWIN VASE AND OTHER VESSELS: GALLERY OF THE BAYS.

of a Mycenaean type peculiar to Crete. In another direction they present a still more striking parallelism with the twin cups set at the two ends of a similar clay base, but without the upper connexion, found in prehistoric Egyptian tombs.¹ The Libyan relations of Crete give a special interest to the parallel.

There were also single pots of the same form and similar perforated lids with double walls leaving a small circular interspace between the outer circumference of the vessel and a low inner receptacle which sometimes rises less than half-way towards the level of the outer rim of the pot (see Fig. 27). In some cases the upper part of the inner receptacle showed a row of perforations and there was also a boring at its base which went right through

¹ As for instance those of El Mahasna.

both walls of the pot. These perforations, repeated in the lid, make it probable that some material was burnt inside one or other of the cavities of

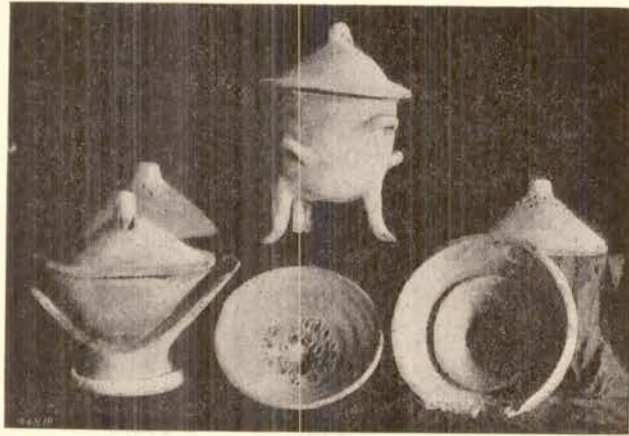


FIG. 27.—DOUBLE-WALLED POT AND OTHER VESSELS: GALLERY OF THE BAYS.

the pot, though whether the vessel was used for incense or, with charcoal, for some culinary purpose is not so clear.

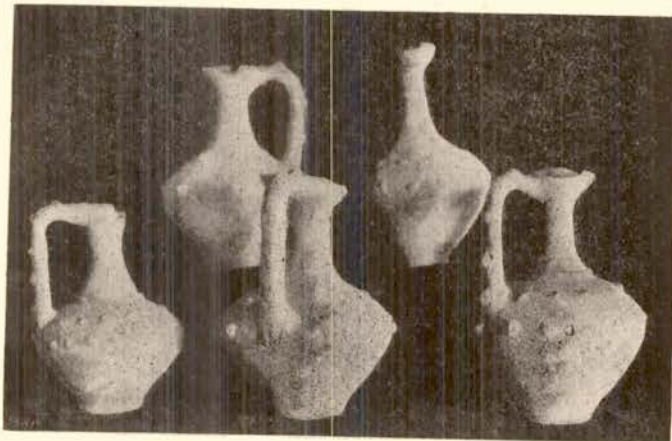


FIG. 28.—KNOBBED VASES: GALLERY OF THE BAYS.

Another interesting class of vessels found in these repositories were vases of somewhat elegant modelling, though still with a plain clay surface,

the distinctive feature of which was their adornment with small knobs (Fig. 28). They had pointed lips, sometimes raised in the early fashion, and a very distinct ring—also a primitive characteristic—round their necks. Knobs are also found, though not so systematically applied, in the earlier painted class of Kamáres ware. As seen on these vases they singularly recall the studs of metal-work, and it is probable that, as in the case of many features discernible in the Kamáres class, they show the influence of metal-work prototypes.

§ 28.—AREA OF THE SPIRAL FRESCO AND HIGH RELIEFS.

Between the east wall of the Room of the Olive Press and the end of the Corridor of the Gaming Board on one side and the southern bay of what is described below as the Eastern Terrace Wall on the other is a somewhat vague elongated space. The upper structures have almost entirely disappeared owing to the denudation of this part of the slope, and only a part of a floor level 70 centimetres below the surface, belonging to the latest Palace period, is traceable along the eastern side of the wall of the Olive Press Room. On this surface, and extending round the outer corner of the Olive Press Room, were ranged large numbers of rustic pots of the same general character as those of the North-East Magazines, the tripod types generally predominating. These lay only just below the surface of the ground.

The lower courses of the southern boundary wall of the area described are also visible, as well as a doorway flanked by massive blocks, opening on to the upper East-West Corridor. That this area, though at present so largely denuded, was once included in an important and brilliantly decorated columnar hall is evident from the remains discovered in two compartments below its original floor-level.

On the more northerly of these, from about 1·70 below the floor-level on which the tripod pots stood, were large masses of fresco exhibiting a grand spiraliform design of blue and black on a white ground, together with considerable fragments of plain red-faced stucco. Several fragments of painted bulls in stucco relief like those found near the Northern Entrance also came to light, including part of a hind leg, two hoofs, the tip of a horn, and the bushes of at least two tails. Near the wall separating this basement from the Olive Press Room, at a somewhat less depth, was found part of a

human limb in the same *gesso duro*, and a similar find accompanied by a fresco fragment was also made on the floor of the Olive Press Room near its northern wall. In the midst of the fresco remains in the basement space described there also lay two parts of column drums of a marbled grey material resembling granite.

The other compartment within this area, containing similar remains, lay under the wall separating it from the upper East-West Corridor. This compartment was not a mere basement space like the other, but lay for the most part beyond the edge of the Eastern Terrace wall, and over a small room belonging to the lower storey and characterised by fine paving slabs and a large pillar base. Above this base, marking the level of the upper floor, was a slab supporting another large block, the upper surface of which was visible above the soil before the excavation.

Here, at a depth of about a metre, were found a series of interesting fragments of painted stucco reliefs. Some of these were of a purely decorative and architectonic character, such as the top of a pilaster, and remains apparently of a ceiling design like that found near the Northern Entrance, consisting of spirals and rosettes. But the most striking objects were parts of human and other subjects in high relief, including portions of what seems to be the forepart of a Sphinx.

Among the fragments of human figures found were a right shoulder and forearm, a right hand, a left forearm holding a pointed vase, and the calf of a left leg. They seem all of them to have belonged to male figures, though the warm flesh colouring has almost entirely faded away. These "*disjecta membra*" were in considerably higher relief than those found on the south front and display an artistic perfection even beyond them. A distinctive feature of these reliefs is the great prominence given to the veins, which is carried out with an exaggerated realism that in places gives the surface of the limbs a varicose appearance. In the case of a right calf the sinuous lines of the veins seem to be somewhat conventionalised; on the other hand, on the back of a closed hand they are rendered with great fidelity to nature. Of all the fragments found, that representing the forearm of a man grasping the end of a pointed vase is the most remarkable (Fig. 29), the muscular development being rendered with extraordinary power. It will be seen that this represents a subject similar to that of the Cup-bearer fresco, and it is probable that the walls of the hall to which these stucco fragments belonged were covered with processional scenes

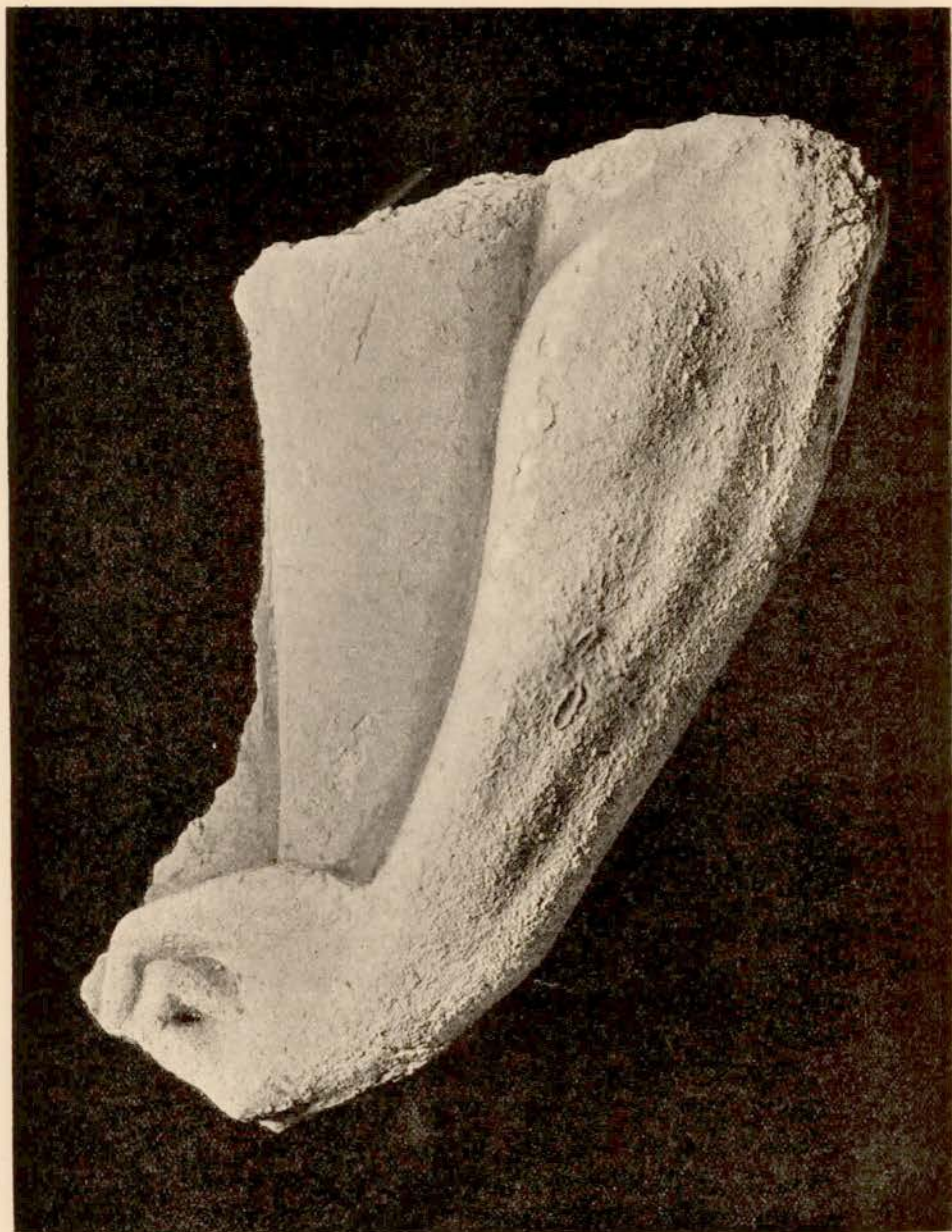


FIG. 29.—HIGH RELIEF IN PAINTED *Gesso Duro*: ARM HOLDING POINTED VASE.

analogous to those of the Western Entrance. But the wall-paintings there discovered can convey only a faint idea of the artistic perfection achieved in these coloured high-reliefs. We seem to note a crescendo scale in the scheme of decoration, which here reaches its acme.

Nor can there be much doubt as to the character of the structure to which these painted reliefs and associated frescoes belonged. The area in which they were discovered forms the east end of a rectangle of which three additional sections are supplied by the Room of the Olive Press, and the long Chamber and Gallery of the Bays beyond it. We have here, in fact, outlined section by section in the walls and piers of the lower storey, the complete plan of a large upper Megaron of the "Minoan" type illustrated by a Hall of the Double-Axes to be described below, and which must have opened to the West on a level with the Central Court. The buttresses of the "Corridor of the Bays" seem to have been, in part at least, designed to support the westernmost pillars of this hall, and in the two marble drums found with the fresco and reliefs we may actually recognise parts of the columns which bordered the "light-well" of the Megaron at its eastern end. It is probable that there stood here the great hall of the Palace, exceeding even that of Phaestos in dimensions.

§ 29.—THE STONE AMPHORAS IN THE SCULPTOR'S WORKSHOP.

Immediately to the north-east of the spot where the painted high reliefs were found was a small upper chamber with a floor level very near the surface. Here, close against the west wall of the room, at a depth of only 25 centimetres, there came to light a large stone amphora lying somewhat on its side (Fig. 30). It was composed of a kind of veined marble-like limestone, used for some other vases found on the site, and, except for the fact that a piece of the neck was broken in and one handle cracked, it was in an absolutely perfect condition, though the part of the side nearest the surface of the ground was somewhat corroded. The vase was 69 centimetres (about $27\frac{1}{4}$ inches) in height and 2.5 metres (about 6 feet $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches) in circumference. Its walls increased in thickness from 6 centimetres at the neck to 17 centimetres at the sides, and some idea of its massiveness and weight may be gathered from the fact that eleven men with ropes and poles with difficulty carried it down to the headquarters house below. The flat upper rim was decorated with a spiral band, and a similar band, with

the central coils rising up like rows of snail-shells, ran round the shoulders. The vase had three handles, decorated on their outer side in the same spiral form as the rim, and with their sides cut out into arched hollows, communicating by means of a small perforation. These recesses had evidently been



FIG. 30.—GREAT STONE AMPHORA.

intended for some metallic inlay, which, as there was no trace of oxydisation, was probably gold.

Both for size and magnificence this vase far excels any known stone vessel of the Mycenaean age. Like the chryselephantine gaming board it was truly a royal possession. One feature very noticeable in this vase

is that to see its form and decoration to advantage it must be placed on the ground. In this respect it shows an essential difference from great modern vases or from the marble urns of later Greek tombs, though even smaller types of Mycenaean vessels require the same position. The broad-bottomed gypsum vases with spiral reliefs round their flat rims, found on the floor of the Throne Room, were made to be looked down on in a similar manner.

The style of the spiraliform decoration on this large amphora is identical with that of these alabaster vases found on the floor of the Throne Room, and it must belong to the same approximate date. The latter vases had evidently been set out to be filled, probably with oil from a clay store-jar that was found beside them, laid on its side to facilitate the process, when the operation was apparently broken off by the great catastrophe of the Palace. There was a touch of Herculaneum or Pompeii about the situation in which these vessels were found, which lends a peculiar interest to a similar circumstance connected with the present colossal vase. For although apparently completed it had never been moved from the *atelier* of the artist. Close beside it, on the floor of the same small room which evidently served as a workshop, there stood, in fact, another smaller stone amphora, about 35 centimetres high, of the same general form, but with its salient features only just roughed out of the limestone block. Here, as in the other case, the catastrophe came suddenly—this vase was left unfinished as the others were left unfilled. Both the large amphora and the vases of the Throne Room evidence in their style the most perfect development of Mycenaean decorative art. From the correspondence of the crystal, ivory and porcelain remains, in the latter case scattered beside the vases, with those of the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, we know that that artistic bloom was cut short here about the time when the unknown King of the mainland city was laid to his rest.

The discovery of a sculptor's workroom in which highly artistic stone vases were actually in the course of execution, is only one of many indications that companies of skilled craftsmen and artists lived and worked within the Palace walls. The fresco paintings were naturally executed on the spot, and more than one deposit of colours shows that the materials were also kept in the building. The Lapidary's Workshop on the Southern Terrace shows that many small objects of stone and bone were manufactured on the site, and the finding of one or two unfinished

lentoid beads of steatite makes it probable that the art of gem engraving was also practised on the spot. The amount of clay documents shows that scribes must have been largely employed, and instruction in the art of writing was doubtless also given in the Palace chambers. One, to be presently described below, is in fact arranged like a school-room. Children were taught within the walls, and apprentices instructed in the arts and mysteries of their craft. The abundance of "rustic" pottery has already been referred to as an indication that colonies of slaves or artisans of humble condition were domiciled inside the building. The Palace of Knossos, like the great Indian Palaces at the present day, was a town in itself.

§ 30.—THE EASTERN TERRACE WALL.

North of the area containing the spiral fresco and high reliefs, near an angle of the Eastern Terrace Wall, two more column drums of dark steatite were found, about 30 centimetres below the upper floor-level. Here, too, about 4 metres down, was a large deposit of vases belonging to the earliest Palace period. They represent the transition from the pure Kamáres style, some of them showing brown decoration on a pale buff ground, while others present the white and powdery red bands on a dark ground which characterise the indigenous early metal age pottery of Crete. Near here are the remains of a well only partially excavated.

North of this point is a well-preserved section of what has already been described as the Eastern Terrace Wall, running north and south. It is composed almost exclusively of good limestone blocks,¹ and its only facing is on the eastern side, showing that it fulfilled the functions of a terrace wall. The walling begins about half a metre below the surface of the ground, and goes down to a projecting base or plinth about 30 centimetres high. The upper part of the wall preserved is not continuous, being broken by embrasures. Along the northernmost part where the upper structure has vanished, stone runnels or gutters are visible at intervals, crossing the upper surface of the base of the wall. It is probable that these gutters ran out originally between embrasures.

¹ A few gypsum blocks are to be found among them.

§ 31.—THE FRESCO OF THE FEMALE *TOREADORS* AND THE BOXER RELIEF.

South of the angle of the Eastern Terrace Wall, within which lay the deposit of early pottery, a solid piece of walling is preserved, consisting of five courses of well-cut limestone blocks, one of which, belonging to the fourth layer from the bottom, shows a square projecting gargoyle, devised, like later stone spouts of the kind, to protect the wall from the drip of a gutter. At this point a later Mycenaean chamber with rubble walls has been built up against the finer structure of the Terrace. It seems probable from the remarkable contents of this room that it was the basement of a more important chamber which once rose above the level of the Terrace Wall. A large number of fragments of good Mycenaean vases, including fine naturalistic designs of plants and marine objects, were found in this space from a considerable height above the floor level,¹ showing that they had belonged to an upper chamber. With them were abundant remains of wall paintings, some of a decorative character, including fine rosette ornaments, but the greater part belonging to a large composition exhibiting bull-grappling scenes.

Although the painted stucco was much broken up it was possible to put together parts of two galloping bulls, about a quarter (linear) of the natural size, and executed with extraordinary spirit. These noble animals are drawn to a relatively much larger scale than the human subjects with which they are associated, a feature also observable in some designs of the same *taurokathapsia* on Mycenaean gems. Over the back of one of these bulls a Mycenaean cow-boy is seen turning a somersault in most acrobatic guise.

But the most interesting feature in this wall painting is the appearance, beside the male performers in this dangerous sport, of female *toreadors*, distinguished by their white skin, the more varied hues of their costume, the blue and red diadems round their brows, and their somewhat curlier *coiffures*, but otherwise attired in precisely the same way as the "cow-boys," with a loin-cloth and very narrow metallic girdle and striped socks and slippers. One of these Mycenaean "cow-girls" is seen between the horns of a charging bull, which the acrobatic male figure has

¹ About 1.70 metres down, or about 1.50 metres above the floor level.

apparently failed to seize hold of. The horns, however, pass under her armpits, and she grasps them higher up with her hands.

The episode is sensational in the highest degree, but we have here nothing of the mere catching of bulls, wild or otherwise, as seen on the Vaphio Cups. The graceful forms and elegant attire of these female performers would be quite out of place in rock-set glens or woodland glades. They belong to

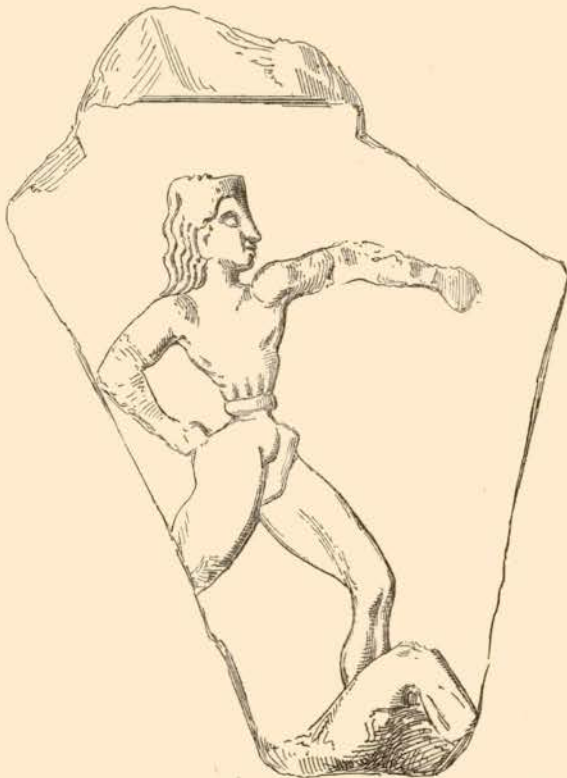


FIG. 31.—RELIEF ON PART OF STEATITE PYXIS, SHOWING BOXER (3).

the arena, and afford the clearest evidence that the lords of Mycenaean Knossos glutted their eyes with shows in which maidens as well as youths were trained to grapple with what was then regarded^r as the king of animals. The sports of the amphitheatre, which have never lost their hold on the Mediterranean world, may thus in Crete at least be traced back to prehistoric times. It may well be that, long before the days when enslaved

barbarians were "butchered to make a Roman holiday," captives, perhaps of gentle blood, shared the same fate within sight of the "House of Minos," and that the legends of Athenian prisoners devoured by the Minotaur preserve a real tradition of these cruel sports.

In the same chamber with these painted stucco fragments was also found part of a dark steatite pyxis—analogue to one found on the site of Knossos in 1894—with a relief showing an athletic contest of another kind (Fig. 31). It is apparently a part of a boxing match. A youth with clenched fists stands with his left arm extended as if in the act of warding off a blow, while his right arm is either drawn back to give greater force to a blow or momentarily rests on his hips.¹ The latter interpretation of the gesture is permissible, if in the bent knee of a prostrate figure before the pugilist we may recognise an adversary whom he has just knocked down. The figure has somewhat suffered, and is contracted by the usual metal band into a disproportionately small waist, but the limbs, notably the left leg, show beautiful modelling, in this case free from muscular exaggeration.

§ 32.—THE "SCHOOL-ROOM" AND ADJOINING CHAMBERS.

Immediately beyond the rubble construction which forms the south wall of the room containing the bull frescoes are what appear to be the lower courses of an older wall of solid masonry, running at right angles from the Eastern Terrace Wall. It is possible that this marks part of the course of an original outer wall, enclosing a small quarter of the Palace that lay between it and the inner wall which here represents the continuation of the Eastern Terrace line.

Several small rooms are enclosed within this area, the most interesting being that which occupies its north-west corner. Along the south wall of this room ran a low stone bench, at the west end of which stood a square pillar coated with stucco, the upper surface of which was hollowed into a bowl-like cavity. At the other end of the bench was another lower pillar of rough stone, perhaps originally plastered over, with a similar cavity—the one pillar being of a height to be used by a man, the other by a child. Opposite this bench and pillars, against the north wall, was another similar stone bench, and the masonry rising behind it at a somewhat higher level

¹ The attitude closely resembles that of the boxers—there armed with *halteres*—on the bronze situlas of Waatsch and Matrai.

↓ VALLEY OF ANCIENT KAERATOS.

↓ CENTRAL COURT.

↓ ROOM OF THRONE, ROOFED OVER.

↓ LONG GALLERY. MT. JUKTAS.

↓ LINES OF WEST MAGAZINES.



↑ NORTH ENTRANCE. ↑ GREAT BASTION OF NORTH ENTRANCE. ↑ NORTH PORTICO. ↑ NORTHERN PIAZZA. ↑ NORTH TERRACE WALL OF LARGE BLOCKS. (EAST SECTION.) ↑ NORTH BATH. ↑ MYCENAEAN CISTERN. ↑ NORTH TERRACE WALL OF LARGE BLOCKS. (WEST SECTION.) ↑ WEST LIMIT OF NORTH QUARTER. ↑ WESTERNMOST SECTION OF NORTH WALL: MAINLY FOUNDATIONS OF SMALL STONES. ↑ NORTH PAVED AREA: OUTSIDE THE WALLS. ↑ NORTH-WEST ANGLE. ↑ BUTTRESS AT FIRST NORTH-WEST ANGLE.

NORTHERN BORDER OF PALACE OF KNOSSOS, WEST OF NORTHERN ENTRANCE WAY.

[Face p. 96.]

gave the appearance of a second. This, however, according to the explanation adopted above, should probably be regarded as part of an early outer wall of solid masonry. There seemed moreover to be remains of a doorway through this in the north-east corner of the room.

Along the side walls of the room are two more stone benches, which have a distinct inward slope as they recede from the south wall, an arrangement which inevitably recalls that of a modern class-room. The name of "School-Room" has therefore been provisionally given to this chamber as a distinctive title. May we, perhaps, imagine that the higher and lower stucco bowls were used, by master and pupils respectively, for keeping moist the clay lumps, out of which were moulded the tablets that serve as a vehicle for the linear script, and that the art of writing was here imparted to the Palace youth? That no written documents here came to light does not greatly weigh against this possibility, since hardly any minor relics were found within the walls of this room. Near the floor level, at the north-east corner, however, a very beautiful ornament of *kyanos* or blue glass paste was unearthed, in the shape of a Mycenaean shield with engraved scrolls on its outer surface. It showed a perforated handle on its under side. The floor, of gypsum cement, lay at a depth of from three to two metres below the surface, according to the slope.

At the south-west corner of the room were the jambs of a doorway leading to an elongated chamber which seems to have been used as a store-room. At the end and along the side walls were a number of "rustic" vases of the usual character, some piled on one another. Among these was an amphora of pyriform shape, with an oval mouth resembling in form that from the Kasella given in Fig. 14,¹ but with a plain unpainted surface, tripods and two-handled jars, shallow bowls, and cups with very high looped handles, these latter of a light paste. On a paved floor level, immediately east of the "School-Room," four jars, similar in form to some of those in the inner Magazine, stood in a row, and two of these were distinguished by showing a white band on a reddish ground, another was of the same ground colour, without the band, and the fourth of plain clay. Over one was also a plain clay bowl of fine paste, like those in the neighbouring store-room. We see here represented more than one stage in the transition from the pure "Kamáres" to the "rustic" indigenous style of the Palace, which survived in it to the great days of Mycenae. In this case a piece of

¹ See p. 47 above.

Mycenaean painted pottery of good period lay in the earth deposit a little above the jars.

Bordering the "School-Room" on the West was a small room representing the lower storey of that with the stone amphoras. It opened into a longer chamber from which a kind of vestibule led to what may perhaps be described as a small hall, presenting some interesting constructive features. In the walls were visible at intervals square upright grooves, which had formed the sockets of thick upright posts, the carbonised remains of which were visible within them in considerable masses. Upon the well-paved floor was a large deposit of lime, perhaps due to the calcination of gypsum slabs in the upper storey, under the great heat of the conflagration.

At the west end of this chamber, which may be called "The Room of the Wooden Posts," was a doorway 1.50 metres wide, flanked by a large stone pillar, or rather base, immediately under the great block of the upper floor level near which the relief frescoes were found, and which, from the fact that the upper surface slightly protruded above the surface of the earth, had always been somewhat of a landmark in this part of the site. This upper block rests on a flat slab which here represented the upper floor level 3.10 metres above the pavement below. Between these upper blocks and the base a strong supporting member must originally have intervened, perhaps in the shape of a square wooden pillar. The remarkable feature of the case is that the upper blocks had remained in place, owing to the accumulation of débris below, though the supporting pillar had itself decayed. We shall find many striking parallels to this phenomenon in the large halls beyond.

Between the base and original pillar that flanked the doorway below, and the north wall of the Room of the Wooden Posts, was a well-built balustrade, leaving an open space above it. This open space faced the doorway on the opposite eastern side of the room, and was no doubt devised to give light to the small finely-paved lobby to which the doorway beside the pillar gave access. This lobby formed the means of approach to another doorway at its southern end—its jamb and threshold exceptionally well preserved—leading into the Lower East-West Corridor, to be described below, and thus affording access to the great eastern halls of the Palace.

§ 33.—THE EAST-WEST CORRIDOR.

Adjoining the western border of the region described in the preceding section and on the same ground-floor level, is the opening of a passage-way, about 1·80 metres wide, running almost due east and west. About six metres from the point where the walls of this corridor are first visible, the passage-way mounts by means of a flight of stone steps. Ten of these are preserved in an unbroken series, after which there is a small gap succeeded by three more steps, the first, however, broken. The original flight consisted of fifteen steps, of which two and a portion of a third are now wanting. The cause of this break is due to the fact that whereas up to the tenth the steps rest on a solid foundation, at this point they reach the beginning of the lower East-West Corridor already referred to, into which the door from the lobby with the balustrade here opens. The roof of this end of the lower Corridor had collapsed, destroying the steps above it at this point.

Beyond this point, however, the floor of the upper Corridor has remained intact for some distance, running, as was afterwards made clear, above the lower gangway, the floor of which is about 4 metres below it.

Beyond the flight of steps the upper passage, to which the name of "East-West Corridor" *par excellence* may be given, passes on the right the doorway flanked by two massive blocks, already noticed as the southern entrance of the area containing the high reliefs and spiral fresco. Continuing east it slightly narrows into what appears to be a door opening, and follows the balustrade of the "Hall of the Colonnades," to be described below, to the important crossing point where the upper and lower staircase of this Hall and the Corridor of the Bays meet on a common landing.

The total length of the East-West Corridor is thus about 40 metres, representing the width of this section of the Palace, and it is a noteworthy fact that this distance almost exactly corresponds with that of the opposite quarter of the Palace as taken from the entrance of the Room of the Column Bases to the borders of the Western Court. This correspondence in the width of the two opposite sections of the Palace at this point gains significance from the fact that the East-West Corridor exactly centres on the line of the Pillar Rooms and their lateral passage on the other side, which with their ante-chamber, the Room of the Column Bases, forms a kind of central division to that wing of the Palace. The East-West

Corridor, in the same way, exactly divides the line of buildings on the eastern side of the Central Court, so that the two lines between them form a kind of *Decumanus* to the building. The *Cardo*, to continue the Roman simile, is supplied by the Northern Entrance-way at that end of the Central Court, and by the traces at the opposite end of the Court of a Southern Entrance passage.¹ Here, too, the principal or "Praetorian" front was to the East.

The whole result of the most recent excavations has been more and more to bring out the fact that, vast as is the area it embraces, the Palace of Knossos was originally devised on a single comprehensive plan. The ground scheme of a square building, with a central court approached at right angles by four main avenues, dividing the surrounding buildings into four quarters, is a simple conception which, as we now know, long before the days of the later Roman *Castra*, was carried out in the *Terremare* of Northern Italy. It was not otherwise that at a much later date Hippodamos laid out the plan of Thurii, and Frederic "Stupor Mundi" and our first Edward resorted to similar schemes for their civic foundations from Terranova to Winchelsea. But while these other plans dealt with separate units, in their aggregate composing a township, and easy of distribution, the Minoan architect may claim the credit of adapting the same root idea to an organic whole, and fitting it in to a complicated arrangement of halls, chambers, galleries, and magazines, forming parts of a single building.

§ 34.—EXTENSIVE DEPOSITS OF INSCRIBED TABLETS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS IN THE EAST-WEST CORRIDOR.

The whole upper course of the East-West Corridor, from the top of the steps onwards, was the scene of repeated finds of inscribed clay tablets and seal impressions. Others, again, were found within the doorway leading to the area of the High Reliefs and the Spiral Fresco, and others, again, had found their way over the edge of the neighbouring Hall of the Colonnades, into the corridor below, and even to the lower recesses of the adjoining staircase. It was obvious, however, from the character of the inscriptions and recurring *formulae*, as well as from the continuous though extended area of their diffusion, that they belonged to the same deposit, or, more

¹ See above p. 14. In the plan, which only shows here the basement spaces, an idea of the Southern Entrance Passage can hardly be given.

probably, series of deposits. The scattering that had occurred seemed in this, as in some other cases, to be due to their having reached the position in which they were found from an upper floor. These tablets had suffered in an exceptional degree from the effects of fire, and in some cases had been reduced to a condition resembling blackened pumicestone. The meaning of this, however, became clear when it was found that they originally lay in what seems to have been a third storey, contiguous to the great Palace Halls, where the final conflagration has left other signs of having been more violent than elsewhere. The tablets do not present any pictorial figures. They relate to accounts of one kind or another, on the whole to higher amounts than those of any other deposit yet brought to light—the figures in one case being over 19,000. The total sums at the end of the inscriptions are often preceded by the throne-sign.

The seal-impressions were most numerous on the staircase landing at the west end of the corridor. They show examples of the finest Mycenaean style of engraving, impressions from the same intaglio being often repeated. The subjects include,—besides the usual bulls, lions, *agrimis*, rams, moufflons, dogs seizing their quarry, flying birds and flying fish—a certain number of specially interesting types. It was here that several impressions were found from the actual signet ring delineating the seated Goddess and her attendants, the counterfeit matrix of which has been already described.¹ Two designs belonged to the same religious cycle as that showing the Goddess on her sacred peak with the lion supporters. On one of these, a flounced female figure, evidently the same divinity, lays her hands on the necks of two lions who stand back to back with their heads turned towards her. Two other varieties show a male figure between a pair of confronted lions, stretching his arms over their heads in an attitude similar to the design on a gem found near the site of Kydonia.² In another impression a lion stands before a probably "baetylic" column, and a very fine seal shows a moufflon standing before a fluted column with a Mycenaean shield in the field. A sacred tree of papyrus-like appearance rises between two symmetrically grouped wild goats, and an ox is seen laid out on a sacrificial table, as on a gem from a tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae.³ Griffins occurred both single and confronted. Two scenes refer to the *Tauroka-*

¹ See above p. 19.

² *J.H.S.* 1900, p. 163, Fig. 43.

³ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1888, Pl. x. 36. Placed wrong way up on the plate. Compare the gem in the Berlin collection, Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, &c. No. 22.

thapsia—in the first a man, who has apparently missed his grasp, is seen above a magnificent galloping bull, in the second he lies prostrate below the lower outline of another. A curious device consists of a Mycenaean shield in an upper compartment, while below is the upper part of a naturalistic design of a Triton shell. A very exceptional type, of which several examples came to light, also showed the field divided into two compartments, in the upper and lower of which are four crouching figures, apparently of men with their forearms slightly bent upwards. This device derives a special interest from the fact that seal impressions, with a type so similar that it is difficult to say whether or not they were taken from the same gem, were found by Mr. Hogarth amongst the hoard of clay sealings brought to light on the ancient site explored by him at Zakro in the extreme east of Crete—a fact which indicates a direct connexion between that early settlement and Knossos.

§ 35.—THE QUADRUPLE STAIRCASE.

The meeting-point of the East-West Corridor and that of the Bays had been originally reached by excavation from the north along the latter line, and the adjoining landing, on which so many seal impressions were found, had been naturally regarded at first as a small bay of the same Corridor. A rubble block of masonry beyond had been taken for a broader buttress of the same kind as the others that jut out along the terrace line of the Central Court, and a fifth bay seemed to have been reached beyond it.

It was at this point that the development of the excavation took an altogether dramatic turn. Hitherto, along the line of approach—in the area, that is, between the Eastern Terrace line and that of the Central Court—the ground-floor of the rooms and galleries had lain according to the slope from at most $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres to half a metre below the surface of the ground. But, as the excavation of what had been taken to be a fifth bay of the Corridor proceeded, the earth deposit was found to go down and down till a paved floor level was reached 5 metres below the surface, while a little to the east of this another cement floor was subsequently found lying 6·80 metres down, or about 8 metres below the level of the pavement of the Central Court. Steps going up and down began to appear, and it soon became clear that what had been taken to be a fourth bay of the

Corridor was the middle landing of a quadruple flight of stone stairs, while the supposed fifth bay was the landing below. The Corridor of the Bays, itself on a ground level, was seen to have emerged on the galleries and stairs of an upper storey, while the walls bounding the East-West Corridor on the north were found to represent a line along which the whole transverse section of the hill had here been cut out to a lower ground level corresponding with that beneath the Eastern Terrace. The base of the terrace wall of the Central Court, which had run from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres below the surface, now went down nearly to 7,¹ originally 8, metres, or over 25 feet.

The western section of the East-West Corridor proved to be at the same time the upper gallery of a square columnar hall, and was flanked on the side overlooking the hall by a balustrade, a coping slab of which showed the raised socket of an original wooden column. The point where the East-West Corridor and that of the Bays converge formed, as already noticed, at the same time part of the middle landing of a staircase. From this point a flight of stone steps led up along the west line of the above mentioned hall, flanked by a similar balustrade rising in three steps, each gradation terminating in a socketed slab² for a wooden column.

At the upper termination of this flight of stairs part of a large stone slab representing another landing was still in position. The middle wall between the inner and outer staircases showed a window opening to give light to the lower flight. This wall was of rubble construction, but at its upper end by the landing was a huge limestone block, the surface of which, facing the upper landing and round the corner beyond, was cut out in such a way as to leave a graduated projection. The ends of three steps were outlined over this projection, attesting the former existence of a higher flight of stairs ascending to the level of the Central Court over what afterwards proved to be the second flight from the bottom. We have here the remains of three distinct storeys, above which was probably a fourth.

Descending the stairs to the landing above which the seal impressions were found and which was much choked by large fallen blocks, another flight of twelve steps was opened out, the west wall of which was built up against the Neolithic clay deposit that forms the base of the Central Court.

¹ On the inner line of the stairs the depth, as stated above, was only 5 metres, but further south the depth was the same as that of the adjoining Hall of the Colonnades, namely 6.80 metres, representing an original depth below the level of the Central Court of about 8 metres.

² Their sockets, like that already described, had a raised ring and their inner diameter was about 58 centimetres.

This flight led to a lower landing divided into two levels, the slab immediately at the bottom of the stairs leading to another at the top of the lowest flight by a triple step.

At this point is a large limestone base, immediately under the block that flanks the upper landing. Above this base, after an interval of 13 centimetres, was a flat slab with a raised socket like those of the balustrade above, made for the insertion of a wooden column which had formed the support of the large block above. The interval between the socket and the upper block was 1.60 in height. It had become filled with a tough red earth which had kept the upper block in position. In the earth immediately under the west side of this block were seen the charred ends of a row of square cross-beams which had intervened between it and the capital of the column.

It was at first thought that a direct access existed from this lowermost landing to the hall on its eastern side. But it was found that the floor of the hall lay at a considerably lower level, and a fourth flight of twelve stairs was gradually brought to light descending north under the second flight, with a headway of about 2.70 metres in height. The excavation of this part was of extraordinary difficulty, owing to the constant danger of bringing down the stairway above. It was altogether miners' work, necessitating a constant succession of wooden arches. Two of our workmen however had worked in the Laurion mines, and after eight days' slow progress, a passage down the steps was finally cleared along the western wall of the staircase. The outer wall was found to end below in another limestone base, with a socketed slab above it for a wooden column, like that of the landing above.

The stairs emerged below on a well-paved portico, with fine gypsum slabs on its inner walls, opening on the hall already referred to, and which, from its tiers of pillars above and below, has received the name of the "Hall of the Colonnades." The quadruple flight of stairs, leading down to this from the Central Court and the corridors of the north-east Palace region, seems originally to have consisted of fifty-two stone steps, of which thirty-eight, and the indications of five more, are preserved. The steps were about 12 centimetres high and 45 deep, those of the under flights 1.80 metres wide, those of the outer about 1.25 metres. The window opening to give light to the third flight from the top has been already noted, and there seems to have been another opening of the same kind on the lowest flight

from the Hall of the Colonnades (see Fig. 32). It is possible that a stepped balustrade with columns also ran up alongside of the uppermost stair. A burnt shaft of a column of cypress wood, which had probably fallen from a neighbouring part of the balustrade, was found in a small chamber just beyond the upper landing. It had the appearance of being fluted, but this may have been due to the effects of the burning.

§ 36.—THE HALL OF THE COLONNADES.

The descending stairs, and the parapets with sockets for wooden columns on the upper margin of the "Hall of the Colonnades," at first gave the impression that we had here to deal with a large bath, like those already discovered. But though, as already pointed out,¹ the analogy to a certain extent holds good, the doorways and circular bases, subsequently found on the floor level, showed that the structure with which the above features were here connected was in fact a Columnar Hall.

The quadruple staircase described above dominated the western side of this Hall, while the portico, into which the lower flight of stairs led, formed the northern section of the Hall itself. This portico acted as the support of the parapeted gallery already mentioned as representing the continuation of the East-West Corridor, and might itself be regarded as the continuation of the passage-way referred to as "the Lower East-West Corridor," running below the other. It led into the lower Corridor proper by a doorway at its eastern end, with exceptionally well preserved wooden posts and lintel. The Portico had a gypsum paving and a dado consisting of thin slabs of the same material along its inner walls. It was filled with a fine earthy deposit into which some inscribed tablets belonging to the same deposit as those of the East-West Corridor had made their way through a breakage of the floor, and several seal impressions derived from the same source were found near the doorway. Two circular bases, about 60 centimetres in diameter, on the outer line of the Portico, showed the position of the wooden columns that had originally supported the stone breast-work—itsself about 90 centimetres in height—of the Upper Corridor. The columns must have been about 3.50 metres high, and in spite of the fact of their disappearance, the earthy deposit and débris which had made its way into the intervening space had been sufficient to keep

¹ See above p. 62.

the balustrade above in position. Unfortunately, the wooden framework, which had been first inserted to support this breastwork while the débris

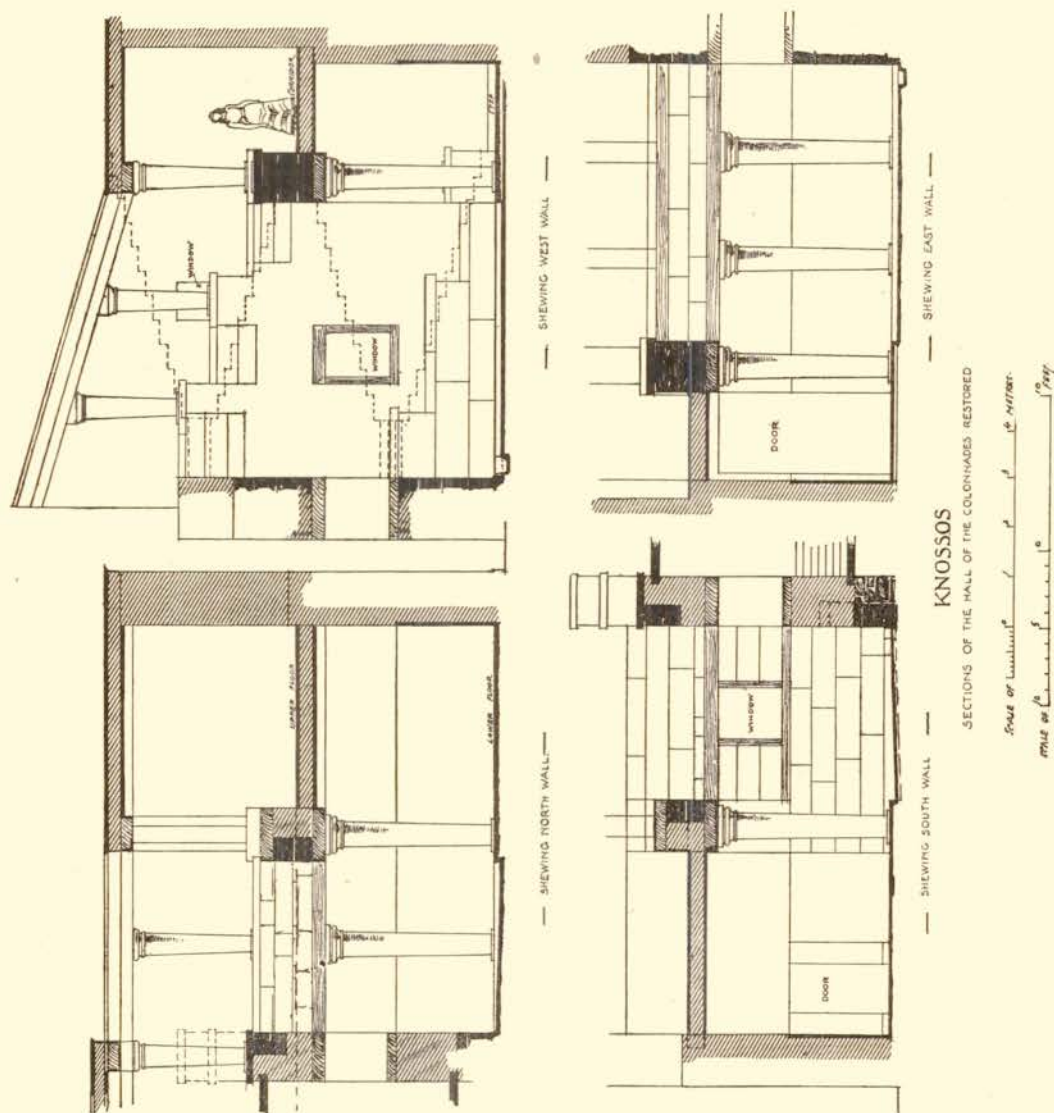


FIG. 32.—THE HALL OF THE COLONNADES: RESTORED SECTIONS.

was being cleared from below it, proved unequal to a sudden lateral strain caused by a slip of exceptionally loose earth, and a large part of it fell during the night of June 11. Owing to the presence of a heap of soft

earth below, however, the blocks did not suffer serious injury, and it was found possible to replace them in position with a stronger support.

The second column base of the portico described above forms at the same time the first of a series of similar bases¹ on a stylobate running across the Hall from north to south and dividing it into two equal spaces. The eastern half of the hall, within the column bases, had a good gypsum pavement and the lower part of the enclosing walls was covered with fine slabs of the same material, as in the case of the "portico." The western half, on the other hand, between the stylobate and the wall enclosing the staircase, had only a cement flooring, and was obviously, in part at least, hypaethral.

The three columns which originally stood on this central line had acted as supports of the front line of an upper chamber above the paved space below, the floor of which must have been on a level with that of the Upper Corridor, on which it undoubtedly opened. Curving slightly down from the borders of the gallery above the lower portico, there were visible a series of the round carbonised ends of the beams that had supported the floor of the upper chamber. Above this again were the remains of a stone breastwork, about the same height as that of the adjoining gallery, in a somewhat ruinous condition, which had doubtless originally supported some kind of wooden pillars, the openings between these affording light to the upper chamber, and at the same time a view from it into the court below. This ruinous parapet had eventually to be removed pending its replacement on a wooden scaffolding.

The comparative height of this part of the building—by the staircase, certainly three storeys—the spacious hall and the numerous wooden columns seem to have greatly intensified the effects of the conflagration. The painted stucco, which must originally have covered a large part of the walls, together with a good deal of the gypsum and limestone materials of the upper part of the building, had been reduced to a calcined mass, which greatly increased the difficulty of excavation in the upper part of the deposit within the "Hall of the Colonnades." From about $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres above the lower floor level, for a thickness of over 3 metres, a calcined stratum of pale red earth almost as hard as rock had to be cut through with the pick, and, though the lowest layer was somewhat softer, large

¹ The diameter of the central column base was 60 centimetres, that to the south 63 centimetres.

heaps of lime lay in the south-east corner of the lower room which had to be literally cut away from the pavement. Above the calcined stratum was a deposit of charred rafters.

In spite of the destructive results of the conflagration, a fortunate circumstance seems to have preserved some record of the decoration of the upper room of the hall. Into a small space immediately to the south of it, which, from its secluded position and exiguous dimensions, must have been comparatively protected from the force of the fire, there had fallen many pieces of painted stucco belonging to the decoration of a larger chamber, which were certainly derived from this area. Pieces of fresco were here found of a fine architectural character, one apparently representing a part of a façade, in which was a frieze with half rosettes of a character similar to that found near the north-west corner of the Palace.¹ Fragments of a bull in painted stucco relief were also found here.

In the same small compartment—little more than a pit in itself—about 4 metres down, together with the fragment of fresco and stucco relief, occurred a curious decorative slab of porphyry-like limestone, the border of which was cut out into a kind of grotesque rockwork outline—suggestive of Japanese or Chinese designs. There was also found here a bronze knife and a deposit of seal impressions, among which eighteen pieces repeated the same seal type containing a pair of the strange Mycenaean daemons.

Whether or not these seals had also originally found a place in the upper chamber of the Hall of the Colonnades, a very remarkable find made about on a level with its stone breastwork, near the southern wall, seems to show that some important documents had been deposited there. This was a clay tablet measuring 267 by 155 millimetres—the largest yet found—and containing twenty-four lines of inscription. The inscription showed the man-sign constantly repeated after groups of linear characters, and perhaps refers to male slaves or captives, giving the names of their owners. It is divided into three lists, prefaced by varying formulas, and with the total numbers of each list added up at the end. With this tablet were found some smaller fragments of inscriptions.

In the south wall of the lower chamber within the colonnade, at the south-east corner, was another well-preserved door way,² opening into a

¹ See above p. 53.

² Both this and the doorway at the north-east corner were 1.40 metres wide.

passage the connexions of which are not yet ascertained. The adjoining part of the south wall of the chamber, like the other interior walls, here was of rubble masonry lined with gypsum slabs. Outside the line of the stylobate, however, the character of the south wall suddenly changed. From this point onwards, as befitting a more exposed structure, it was formed of limestone blocks of good masonry, interrupted by two horizontal cement-lined grooves, which had been originally filled by wooden beams, and which in part of their length had formed the upper and lower frame-work of a window-like opening. Owing to this insertion of more perishable material the upper part of the wall had somewhat subsided towards its eastern end, though the relative position of the blocks was not affected. Near the south-west corner of the room twelve courses of masonry were preserved, in addition to the interspaces formerly filled by these cross-beams. This south wall attained a height of 5.40 metres, or about 18 feet. Upon a large number of its limestone blocks was cut a sign perhaps representing a kind of *sistrum*.

The adjoining west wall which encloses the staircase is of a more complicated structure. Above, immediately under the balustrade, are good limestone blocks, and below, again, is fine masonry resting on the ground-level, and rising in steps, following those of the breastwork of the staircase above. The intervening space, however, between these two bands of good material is now largely filled with clay and rubble, partly of a derivative nature. It appears that the upper and lower masonry must have been connected by wooden piers, and that there was a window between these giving light to the lowest flight of stairs.

The oblong space in front of this wall, and outside the line of the colonnades, was coated, as already noted, with a cement, largely consisting of pounded gypsum, in place of the stone paving which was laid down in the covered parts of the hall. A further indication that in part at least this outer area was exposed to the weather, is supplied by the fact that the floor slightly slopes towards a drain hole in the south-west corner. The upper course of this drain¹ could be traced through an adjoining chamber for some metres to the south, while eastwards its course can be followed along the whole southern wall of the Hall of the Colonnades, and across the neighbouring angle of the Hall of the Double-Axes beyond.

We have here then a Columnar Hall (see Fig. 32), about 8 metres

¹ The drain was 9 centimetres deep and 19 wide.

square, consisting of a covered space,—chamber and portico,—connected with another portico and chamber above them by a triple staircase, and the whole bordering an open space 5·40 metres long by 3·30 broad, which served as a well for lighting both storeys. It is possible that this open space may have been partly covered by a lantern above; but the drain and sloping floor, and the change of materials for pavement and walls, show that it was largely exposed to the weather. Nothing indeed in this whole structure is more remarkable than the careful adaptation of material to conditions. In the sheltered spaces were good paving, gypsum dados, and painted stucco, (of which fragments only had here been saved from the conflagration), covering inner walls of merely rubble fabric. In the exposed parts cement takes the place of the fine but perishable gypsum slabs for the flooring, and the walls change to well-cut masonry or solid wood-work. The whole structure of this hall, with its tiers of colonnades rising one above the other, and, on the west side, following in harmonious gradations the ascent of the double flight of stairs, must in some respects have anticipated the effect of the entrance court of an Italian Renaissance Palace.

§ 37.—THE MEGARON OF THE DOUBLE-AXES.

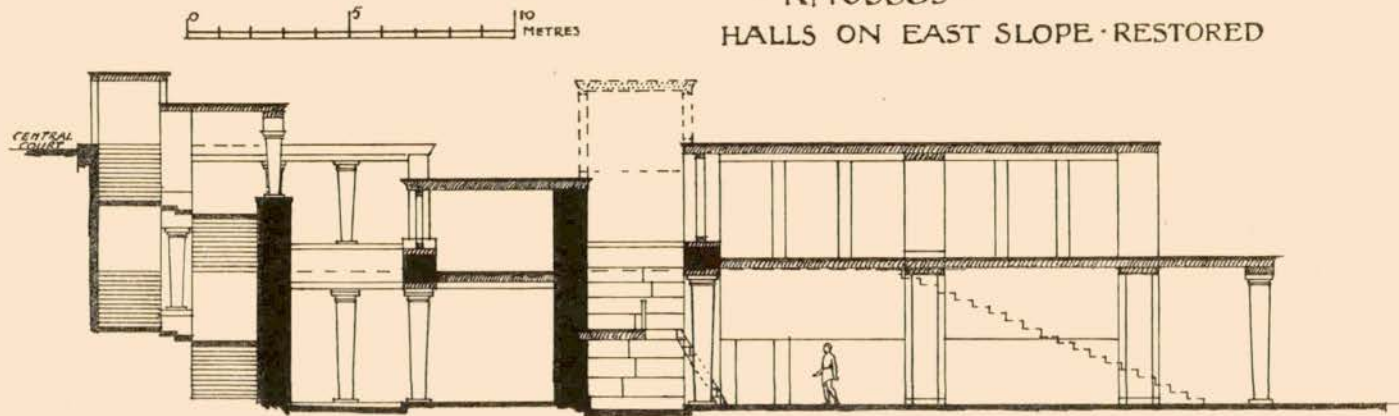
To those descending east by the quadruple staircase, either from the Central Court or from the quarter of the Palace with which the Corridor of the Bays communicates, the Hall of the Colonnades would have formed a kind of fore-hall to a larger Megaron lying immediately to the east of it.

The communication between the two halls, however, was not direct, but by means of a short section of the lower East-West Corridor entered as already described through a well-preserved doorway in the north-east corner of the Hall of the Colonnades. About four and a half metres beyond this another doorway opens in the right wall of this lower Corridor giving access to the large Megaron that bounds its southern wall.

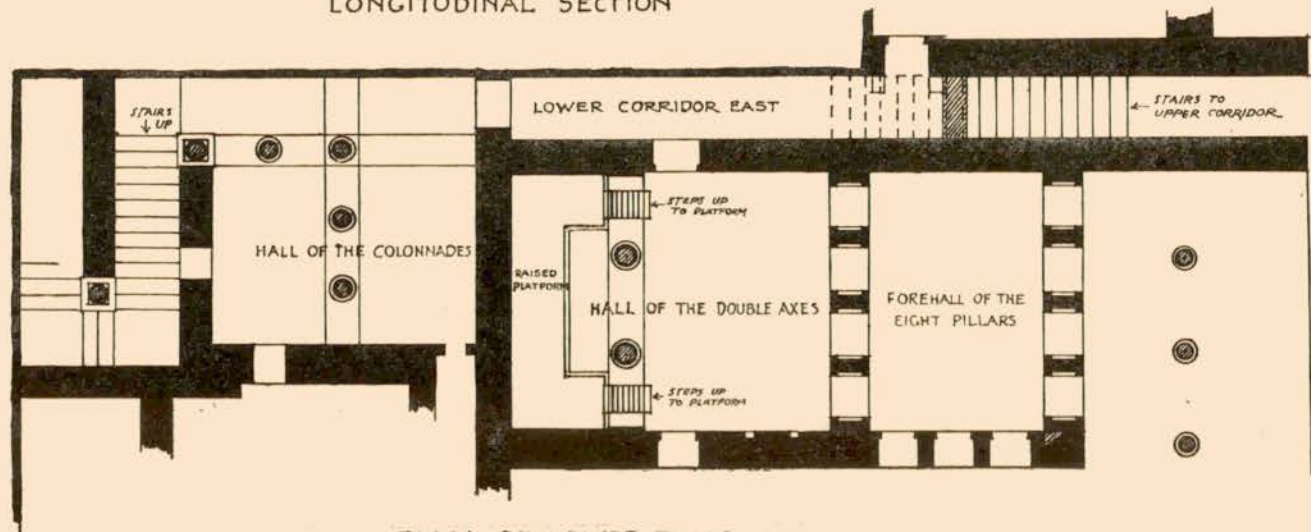
The excavation of this area to a great extent repeated the characteristics of that inside the Hall of the Colonnades. Here too were everywhere the signs of an exceptionally violent conflagration. Here too the burnt rafters of the upper layers gave place to a stratum of calcined material of a pale brick-red colour and almost as hard as the native limestone. On the floor level, moreover, below this in places, lay great masses of lime.

The structure itself in its material and arrangement recalled many

· KNOSSOS ·
HALLS ON EAST SLOPE · RESTORED



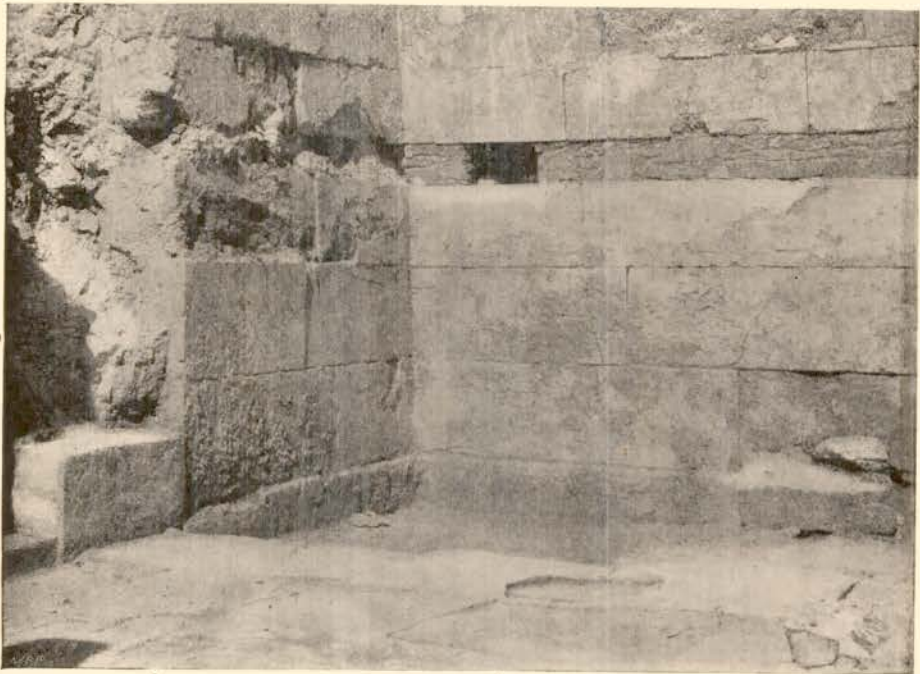
LONGITUDINAL SECTION



PLAN OF LOWER FLOOR

FIG. 33.—PLANS AND RESTORED SECTIONS OF THE QUADRUPLE STAIRCASE, THE HALL OF THE COLONNADES AND THE MEGARON OF THE DOUBLE-AXES.

leading features of that of the neighbouring hall. Here too the western end, which in this case also seems to have been comparatively exposed to the weather, was enclosed with walls of good masonry, but presented a cement-laid floor in place of the stone flags of the interior spaces. Here too, again, the covered part of the building, though well-paved, was surrounded by walls which, behind their original coating of gypsum slabs and stucco, were of merely rubble construction.



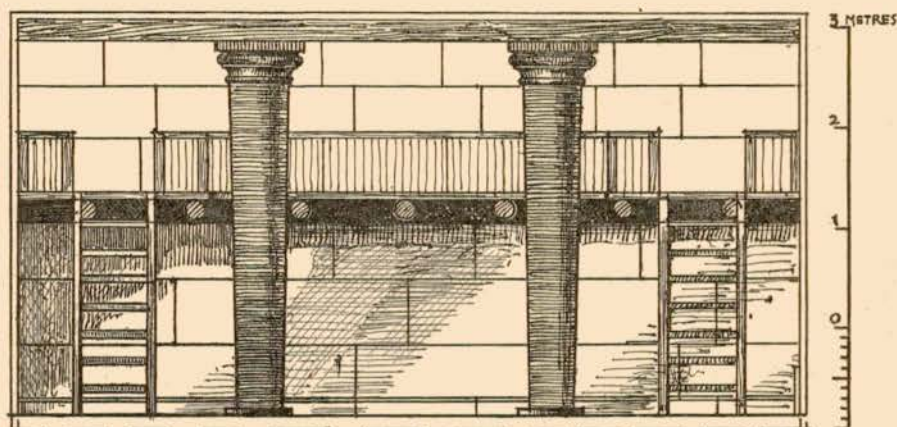
Doorway.

↑
Interstice above Fourth Course of Masonry from bottom for Ends of Wooden Beams,
refilled except at point indicated.

FIG. 34.—SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF MEGARON OF DOUBLE-AXES.

The western end of this hall was formed by a carefully constructed wall of fine limestone blocks, 8 metres wide, with two wings 4·20 metres long projecting east. The blocks here were larger than those of the other hall, and were incised with the double-axe sign which constantly recurs at the most important parts of the building, but is most in evidence in this great hall, called on that account "The Megaron of the Double-Axes."

Eight courses of this wall were preserved, rising to a height of 4.50 metres, or a little over 13 feet. Its lowest course projects so as to form a plinth, and the courses of masonry are interrupted in the middle by a horizontal cavity,¹ partly filled by coarse lime and terracotta cement, in which were visible the round hollow sockets of beams whose ends had thus been cantilevered into the wall. There were seven of these sockets along the western wall and two on each of the wings, where the same horizontal cavity continued. The only possible object of these projecting beams



·KNOSSOS· HALL OF THE DOUBLE AXES
CROSS SECTION LOOKING WEST. RESTORED

FIG. 35.—WEST END OF MEGARON OF DOUBLE-AXES RESTORED, SHOWING RAISED WOODEN PLATFORM AND STEPS.

must have been to support a raised wooden platform at the end of the hall, approached, we may suppose, by ladder steps at each end (see Fig. 34). It is possible that further wooden steps led from the platform to the *Thalamos* above the *Megaron*.

The drain already traced across the Hall of the Colonnades was found to pass under the western wall of this Megaron and to traverse its south-west corner.² No opening to it was visible here, however, as in the other case, and this circumstance, as well as the fact that a wooden platform was

¹ In order to save the upper part of the wall from the danger of subsiding, the greater part of this cavity had to be filled in.

² The dimensions of the drain were here larger, 25 centimetres deep by 45 wide, an indication that some additional surface water was supposed to reach it.

constructed at this end of the Megaron, tends to show that it was not exposed to the weather to the same extent as the open area of the Hall of the Colonnades. It is probable therefore that here at any rate the lighting space at the west end of the Hall was partly protected by a lantern above.

The limit of the inner area of the Megaron of the Double-Axes was marked, as in the neighbouring hall, by a gypsum stylobate, beyond which the whole floor level was paved with fine gypsum slabs. On this stylobate, which terminates on either side in two massive cubical blocks, were two column-bases 65 centimetres in diameter, and above them a very interesting feature was brought out by careful excavation, namely, the remains of the two columns themselves in a carbonised condition. Both of these stood with their lower extremities pointing towards their respective column bases, the upper part of the drums sloping away slightly in a south-westerly direction. They were made of cypress wood, and in the case of the more northerly of the two, which was the better preserved, it was possible to make out a length of 2.60 metres, very nearly the full height of the shaft which would have been somewhat over 3 metres. A distinct taper downwards, according to the Mycenaean canon, was moreover perceptible, the diameter of the shaft near the lower extremity in its burnt condition being about 45 centimetres.

Immediately east of the stylobate were door openings in the side walls of the Megaron—that to the north leading, as already described, into the Lower East-West Corridor, that to the south to a finely built passage, the further exploration of which must be part of next season's work. The pavement of this section of the Megaron consisted of a central rectangle of flags of somewhat unequal sizes, surrounded by a border of very fine regular slabs. This arrangement recalled that of the Room of the Throne, and it is probable that in this case too the central area was originally distinguished by a coating of brilliant red cement. The paving of the succeeding section, or "Prodomos" of the Megaron, showed the same arrangement.

At a distance of 5.60 metres from the inner line of the stylobate were three oblong bases with double reveals, and against the walls on either side two half bases of the same kind, leaving four door-like openings across the hall, and about 1.30 metre wide. In the fore-hall, or "Prodomos," in front of these, at a distance of 5.40 metres, were the same number of

similar bases, with half-bases answering to them on their flanks. On the southern side of it, moreover, were two more bases and half-bases, with reveals however only on the side towards the hall. It does not seem reasonable to suppose that this forehall had eleven doors, and the bases, at least, along the centre of the Megaron may be preferably regarded as having supported square pillars. The object of the succession of pillars seems to have been, while keeping as large as possible an open space for the Megaron below, to afford support for similar pillars on the floor above, which possibly in their turn gave support to the structure of a third storey. A line of similar bases was found directly above the first lower row, on a floor level about 3.50 metres higher than that of the Megaron below.¹ There had probably also existed a second row at this upper level, answering to the eastern line of bases in the lower Hall, but owing to the slope of the hill the surface was here denuded to a point below the upper floor level.

Beyond this eastern line of pillar-bases the north wall of the Megaron continues east for another 5.80 metres, thus forming the *anta* of a paved portico of which three column bases were brought to light. How far this portico continues to the south, and on what it opens beyond the face of the Megaron, are questions to be decided by future excavation. The portico was paved with the same fine gypsum slabs and seems to have had a series of square columns along its outer margin. Between the column bases here were found fragments of painted stucco with spiral and rosette designs. Inside the Megaron the intensity of the conflagration seems to have completely destroyed these decorative elements. On the floor-level near its west wall, however, were found several pieces of stone vessels including the upper part of a very fine vase of a mottled red and grey colour. The cutting of this vase, which belonged to the pointed class, was bolder than any of those found in the Room of the Stone Vases. It had a very pronounced ring round its neck and deep sharply edged fluting down the sides. It seems to belong to a somewhat more archaic class than the fluted vessels of the other deposit.

The "Megaron of the Double-Axes," of which a perspective sketch by Mr. Fyfe is given in Fig. 35, is by far the largest Hall as yet laid bare on the Palace site of Knossos. Its breadth—8 metres—cannot indeed

¹ All were preserved *in situ* except the half-base that must originally have stood by the south wall of the chamber.

compare with that of the Great Megaron discovered by the Italian Mission at Phaestos, which is no less than 13·70 metres broad. Its length on the other hand—reckoning from the outer edge of the Portico 24·40 metres, or nearly 51 feet—is 2·70 metres larger than the Phaestian Megaron as measured from the top of the entrance steps. The interior

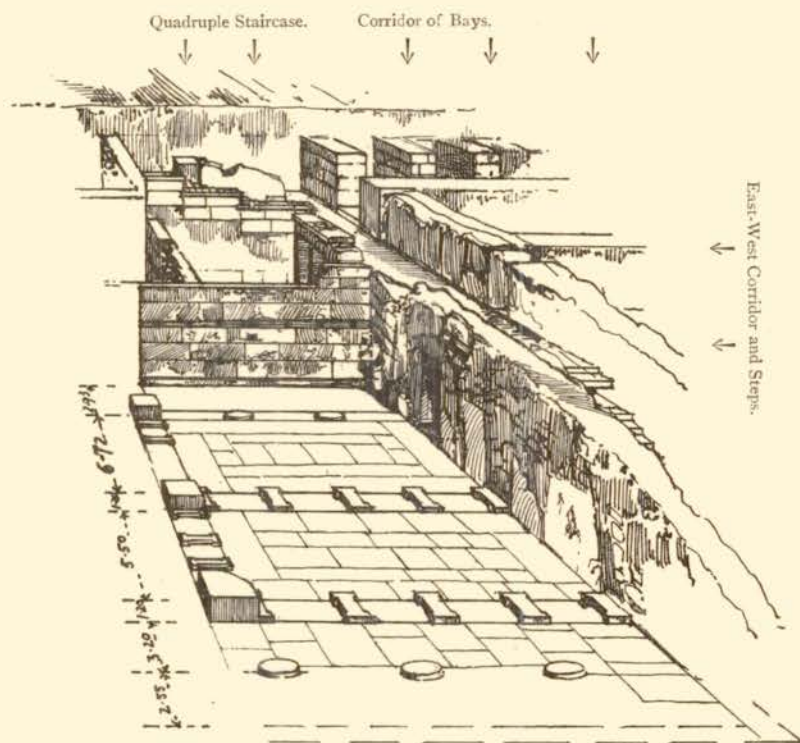


FIG. 36.—PERSPECTIVE SKETCH OF MEGARON OF DOUBLE-AXES (South Wall omitted) WITH HALL OF COLONNADES AND STAIRCASE BEYOND.

length of the inner hall with the columns,—about 10 metres,—is almost exactly the same as that at Phaestos. The great Hall which originally extended from the Corridor of the Bays to the Area of the Spiral Fresco and High Reliefs,¹ seems however to have been more extensive than either.

The upper floor seems to have consisted of a spacious room with pillars at intervals like those below, of which, as already noted, the bases of the

¹ See above p. 90.

western series remain. In the course of excavation these had to be temporarily removed but have been replaced as originally found, and at their proper level, by means of a wooden scaffolding. In the earth beneath these were embedded the carbonised remains of round beams about 40 centimetres in diameter running from east to west. A part of the rubble wall has been preserved between the eastern section of this upper chamber and the East-West Corridor, from which access had been obtained to it by means of a doorway over that leading from the Lower Corridor into the Megaron below. On this wall had been happily preserved a piece of the original painted stucco, exhibiting a design of palm-like trees, executed in a somewhat careless style and resembling one on the wall near the throne, beside which were single horn-like objects, which may have had a sacral significance. What remained of the fresco was only about 80 centimetres high, but the painted dado could be traced for about 3 metres.

Just within the eastern section of this upper chamber, near the pillar base by its northern wall, lay a large block of carbonised wood which may either have been part of a pillar or a natural trunk.

It is possible that the "Megaron of the Double-Axes" was originally approached up the eastern slope of the hill by a broad flight of steps analogous to those of Phaestos, but this point can only be decided by further investigation.

§ 38.—DISCOVERY OF PARTS OF A STONE BULL, CARVED IN THE ROUND, AND OF BONE PLAQUES INSCRIBED WITH SIGNS AND NUMBERS.

The region south of the Quadruple Staircase and the two Halls is also as yet too imperfectly explored for adequate description, though features of considerable interest have already come to light in this region. Remains of two storeys seem to have been preserved throughout the greater part of this area. In an upper chamber near the terrace of the Central Court, a stone bench and parts of the floor slabs have been preserved in position above the fine masonry of a lower room.

Two very interesting discoveries have come to light in this area, inside what appears to be a large stone drain or "cloaca" analogous to that of the Northern Entrance. It was approached by a chimney-like stone shaft, the mouth of which, closed by a slab, was partly under the

door-jamb of an upper storey floor-level, that lay 1'60 metres beneath the surface. From this point the shaft descends another 5 metres to the junction of a northern and eastern course of the conduit, which was itself spacious enough for a man to make his way along it. In the eastern passage were found pieces of a large bull, carved in the round out of a dark schist-like stone, perhaps a kind of steatite, the pieces having numerous small dowel-holes at their back so that they could be riveted together. It would appear that this comparatively soft material, which naturally commended itself to the early sculptor, could only be obtained in small lumps, so that the statue of the bull in the round had to be built up in this way. At the date when the excavations closed for the season, only a few pieces belonging to the lower part of the bull's body had been got out.

The other discovery in the same subterranean passage does not yield in interest to this. Near the remains of the bull were found quantities of bone pieces, of fish-like outline, resembling the *vesicae piscis* let into the medallions of the gaming table. With these were bits of Mycenaean porcelain, apparently for inlaying, and some crystal plaques also belonging to a similar board. There were further found segments of bone rings of various breadths, resembling bracelets, and decorated with exterior mouldings. These had been originally covered with thin gold plate, parts of which were adhering.

The upper surface of the bone "fish" was relieved with fine parallel ridges and grooves, and on their under sides were engraved a series of signs accompanied by various scores in the shape of perpendicular lines, like those which on the clay tablets with the linear script indicate units. Similar signs and figures also appeared on the inside of the bone rings. One sign only appears on each "fish," but sometimes two together on the rings.

The amount of these remains will probably be greatly added to by the continued excavation of the stone conduit. Here it must be sufficient to mention that as yet some twenty different signs have come to light, linear in type but not answering to those of the ordinary linear script of the Palace. A most remarkable phenomenon, however, is observable in the forms of these signs. Out of twenty-one varieties, ten are practically identical both in shape and position with later Greek alphabetic forms, while four more are the same though in a different position. Thus we have: Δ, Λ, Η, √, Ξ, Π, Ρ, Υ, †, and a form approaching the digamma,

as well as \exists , \uparrow , $-$, \leftarrow . Yet the Mycenaean date of these bone pieces is as well ascertained as anything found within the walls of the Palace. They are of similar type to pieces of the gaming table, and are associated with porcelain and crystal inlays answering in character to specimens found in the shaft-graves of Mycenae. They lay here beneath an untouched floor-level in a closed passage 6'60 metres, or over 21 feet, beneath the surface of the ground.

Each sign is associated on different pieces with various numbers; thus we have:

+ II, + III, + III II, + III III, + IIII IIII.

It must be observed with reference to these signs and ciphers that their appearance is analogous to that of the signs and dots that appear on the under side of the porcelain roundels and other plaques for inlaying, such as those found in the Throne Room.¹ The dots also appear among the numerical signs of the hieroglyphic tablets representing units, like the upright strokes on the tablets with the linear inscriptions. Some porcelain plaques found with the bone fish also show this dotted numeration. The marking of porcelain pieces for inlay with linear signs of a similar class is, as already pointed out, common to Egypt, and their appearance at Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh had even led to a theory of Greek restoration,—“probably of the time of the Ptolemies.”²

An interesting feature of the case is that, on the back of some of the Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh plaques, the Greek-looking signs are replaced by ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphs. Out of the linear signs found there, of which there seem to be twelve varieties, eight are almost or quite identical with types found on the Knossian bone fish. On the other hand, in Egypt, a series of linear signs of the same class occur as marks on pottery from prehistoric times down to the latest dynasties,³ and those

¹ Porcelain plaques, some making up a scale or feather design, with signs and dots, have now been found by the Italian Mission in the Palace at Phaestos.

² In pointing out the parallelism of the signs as to Knossian plaques with those of Tell-el-Yehûdiyeh, in my previous Report (p. 42), I was not aware that this suggestion had been made (Brugsch Bey, *Rec. des Travaux*, etc., 1896, p. 1 *seqq.*). Dr. Von Bissing, who kindly called my attention to this, informs me that these marks on Egyptian porcelain plaques, to which he has for years directed his attention, are extremely rare.

³ See Professor Petrie's table of these signs, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, Pt. I. (1900), p. 32.

found on the porcelain plaques may be regarded as a selection from a large existing class.

It is possible that some such selection had been adopted for purposes of arrangement by an ancient guild of Egyptian inlayers. The reappearance of similar forms in Crete must in any case be taken in connexion with the fact that they are there employed by the artisans of a similar craft, who were copying the Egyptian methods and patterns of inlaid work, whether in porcelain, bone, or ivory. The bone fish, as may be seen by comparing them with the ivory pieces of the same form fitted into the medallions of the gaming board, go with the central lozenges with incurving sides to form a disk pattern of typically Egyptian character. Porcelain disks with this design occur already under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the enamelled plaques, also presenting linear signs below, found in the Throne Room, like those of the fourth shaft-grave at Mycenae, were simply copies of these contemporary Egyptian models. It is reasonable to believe that the similar linear signs that accompany the products of this Cretan offshoot of the Egyptian inlayers' art were in many cases actually taken over from the old Egyptian series.

It is to be observed that these signs do not correspond with the character of the ordinary linear script of Knossos. They are equally distinct from the pictographic group. Neither do they agree with the signs cut on the stone blocks several of which, such as the predominant double-axe type, the trident, the star, the branch, the cross-patée and the sistrum-like character, are suggestive of religious symbolism. There is no evidence as to whether these signs on the plaques for inlaying had any phonetic values, but it is at any rate an interesting fact that forms identical with many of the later Greek letters should have been in use for technical purposes in the Aegean world centuries before the introduction of the Phoenician Alphabet. In this case, as in that of the other Cretan sign-groups, a possible survival and eventual reaction on the imported Semitic letter-forms can not be excluded.



THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS.

Provisional Report of the Excavations for the Year 1902.

(PLATES I.—III.)

§ 1.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1902.

AS far as it was possible to forecast the Campaign of 1902 on the Palace site of Knossos it promised to be one of finishing up in a limited quarter of the East Slope, with some further delimitation of already fairly ascertained boundaries. But appearances were deceptive. Not only did the work of excavating the remainder of the deep-lying rooms of the Central part of this quarter prove to be of extraordinary difficulty, owing to the masses of heavy superstructures that it was necessary to support, but the building was found to extend further down the slope than the preliminary trial pits had led us to expect. In several cases these had just missed important walls, with the result that vast masses of excavated materials had, towards the close of the previous campaign, been dumped down in places from which they had this year to be removed at the cost of much labour. It was also found that several of the chambers previously excavated along the edge of the second East Slope Terrace—notably those near the Olive Press—overlaid basement areas containing important remains, and these, in turn, the floor levels of a still earlier Palace, covered with pottery of the pure 'Kamáres' class. On the lower Terrace again were brought to light whole ranges of rooms and magazines belonging to this more primitive system and containing what are probably the finest existing specimens of the 'Middle Minóan' ceramic class.

The work began on February 12, and continued in full swing till the end of June. The extensive character of the operations may be judged from the fact that during a good deal of this time as many as 250 workmen were employed. The arduous labour of propping up walls, raising sunken blocks, supporting upper floor-levels (see Fig. 1), and reconstructing

fallen masses of pavement necessitated the constant services of over a score of carpenters and masons. The purchase and transport of the timber, brick, iron, and other materials required for this work also entailed a serious expenditure. The conservation of such unexampled remains of upper stories existing *in situ* seemed, however, to be a first duty of the excavator and it may at least be said that no labour or expense has been spared to preserve this evidence. The result has been that throughout the whole central area of the Eastern quarter of the Palace the upper rooms,

Doorway of Lower East-West Corridor.



FIG. 1.—VIEW FROM FOOT OF QUADRUPLE STAIRCASE LOOKING EAST ALONG PORTICO OF HALL OF COLONNADES.

with their door-blocks, pillar-bases, and large parts even of their pavements, have been firmly secured in their original position.

Pari passu with the opening up of new ground the work of testing and revision was continued in the parts of the site already excavated. Such re-examination has necessarily entailed a certain amount of rectification in plans and conclusions set forth in preceding Reports, a fact which may serve to emphasize the provisional character of the summary accounts given in these pages of successive season's works. In

the quarter about the Northern Entrance, particularly, further investigations and the removal of what proved to be later walls have led to altogether new developments, including the discovery of a spacious outer portico.

In directing the works I had, as before, the valued assistance of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, who is also engaged on a special study of the pottery found in the Palace.¹ I was also fortunate in again securing the services of Mr. Theodore Fyfe for the architectural plans and necessary works of conservation, and he has at my request communicated a paper on the decorative frescoes and architectural reliefs to the Royal Institute of British Architects.² The practical work, especially that of raising and supporting large blocks, was also much aided by the presence this year as foreman of the works of Gregorios Antoniou, so well known for his most capable exercise of similar functions for a succession of British excavations in Cyprus as well as for Mr. Hogarth in the Dictæan Cave and at Zakro.

§ 2.—SUPPLEMENTARY DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTHERN PALACE REGION: ENTRANCE PORTICO AND EXTERNAL PILLAR-HALL.

In the exceptionally massive square of constructions that lie to right of the Northern Entrance passage as approached from without, between the North Piazza and the Central Court, further researches and excavations did much to bring out the original lines of the building which had been greatly obscured by later walls. The plan as thus recovered was really much simpler. The double door from the North Piazza was found to give access to a kind of oblong atrium, the back part of which must have been connected to the right with an ascending stepped corridor that leads South to the Corridor of the Stone Basin. A direct and convenient line of communication would thus have been provided between the antechamber of the Throne Room and the North-West corner of the Central Court on the one side and the North Piazza and adjoining Bath system on the other. (See Sketch Plan, Pl. I.)

The square enclosed between the upper part of this connecting passage and the Northern Entrance way was divided into three elongated ground floor rooms, with floor levels a little below the level of the Central

¹ To appear in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

² 'Painted plaster decoration at Knossos,' *Journal of the R. Inst. of British Architects*, Third Series, Vol. X. (No. 4), p. 107 *seqq.* Mr. Fyfe has executed the Architectural Plans in this Report.

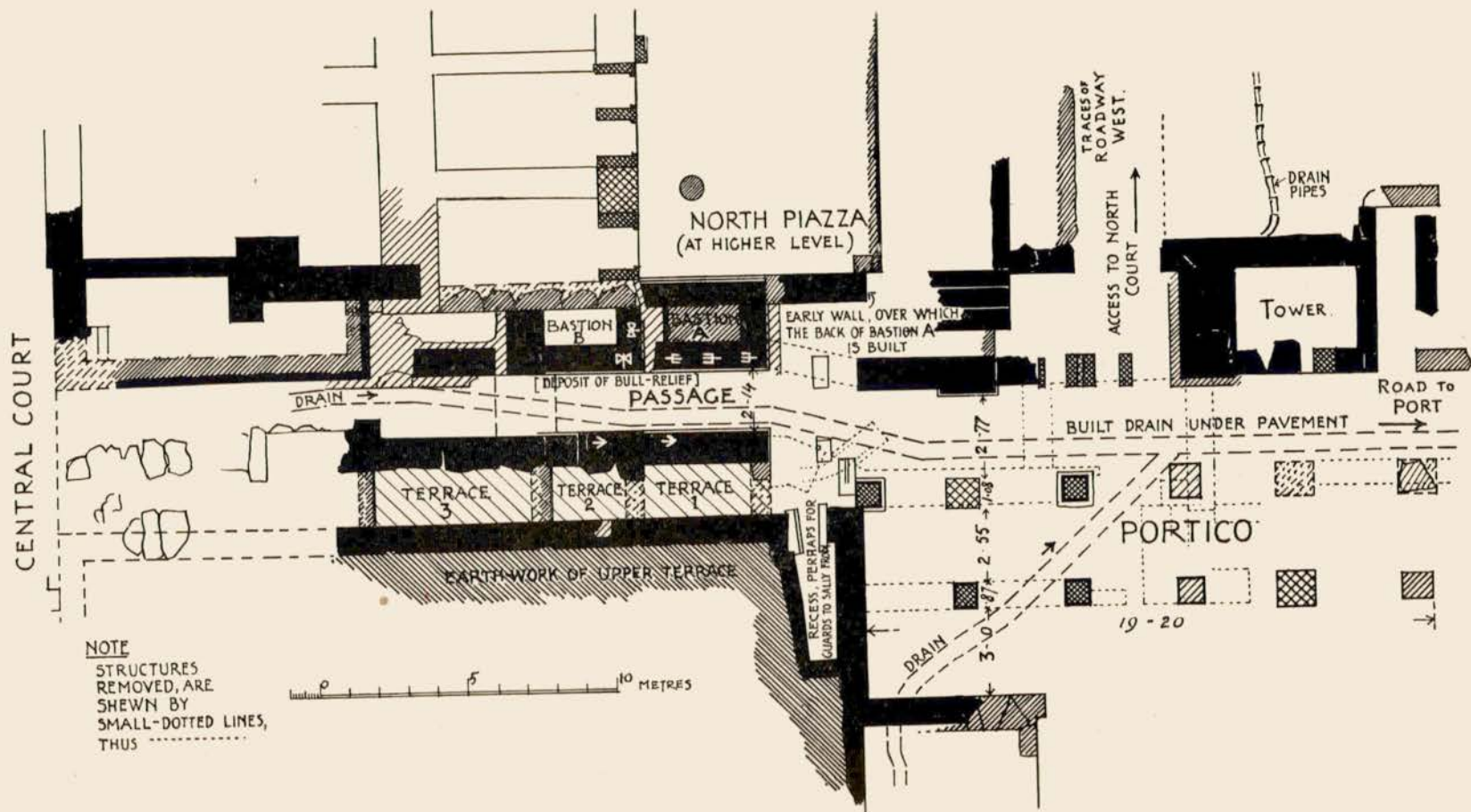
Court. These rooms, as the important remains of wall-paintings found above their floors sufficiently indicate, had originally supported a fine upper hall to which unquestionably belonged the miniature and other frescoes found here above the lower floors. The three ground-floor rooms in question had, as already shown, been subsequently re-occupied with slightly raised floor levels, during the mature Mycenaean Period, and a good deal remodelled. The Westernmost of the original three chambers had in this way been broken up into two smaller rooms belonging to this Period of Re-occupation, in one of which the stirrup-vases were found.

Each of the three elongated chambers mentioned above has at its Northern end one of the deep, walled pits described in the last Report, resembling the 'oubliettes' of a mediaeval castle, and which probably served as dungeons. This makes it probable that the chambers connected with these were occupied by guards and warders.

The removal of some later walling, consisting of older materials re-used in a promiscuous manner, on the East side of the lower part of the Northern entrance brought to light the lower blocks and bases of five massive square pillars which were seen to form part of a system. Further excavation Northwards resulted in the uncovering of several more bases and finally revealed the plan of a Portico consisting of twelve pillars. Of the South-Easternmost of these all traces had vanished and only the foundation socket was visible of the last but one to the North-West, but the arrangement and regular espacement of the pillars was otherwise quite clear. (See Plan, Fig. 2, and Fig. 3.)

This Portico, consisting thus of a double row of six pillars, flanked the roadway running North from the entrance passage for a distance of about twenty metres. At the same time its central opening faced the remains of what seems to have been a double gateway from which the traces of another paved road ran West. The Portico thus stood at the chief point of access to the Palace both from the City and the Sea-port. The square pillars as far as they were preserved consisted of gypsum blocks .85 cm. x .85 and 1.05 in height resting on larger bases and placed at intervals of 2.65 metres (Fig. 3).

Opposite the Northern part of the Portico and dominating the meeting point of the two roads are massive remains of what appears to have been a tower or guard-house, and, facing this, a massive bastion. Indeed, as already noticed in the first Report, there is every evidence that the



NOTE
 STRUCTURES
 REMOVED,
 ARE
 SHEWN BY
 SMALL-DOTTED LINES,
 THUS

FIG. 2.—PLAN OF NORTHERN ENTRANCE AND PORTICO.

Northern entrance to the Palace, which must have been the chief avenue of public access, was jealously guarded.

Further North all remains of the Palace proper cease and the roadway itself with its accompanying main-drain also breaks off. At a distance however of about twenty-five metres North of the Portico was found the basement of an important building which from its position seems to stand in some relation to the Palace. The Southern wall-line of this building lies in fact at the point at which the Northern roadway if prolonged would be intersected by the small paved causeway that runs, pointing in this direction, past the North-Westernmost angle of the Palace. The main part of this building is a room, about 5.30 by 8 metres, in which at a distance of 1.62 metre from the North wall stood two pillars consisting of tall gypsum blocks. One of these was 50 cm. square with bevelled edges and 1.52 metre in height. It was standing *in situ*, the upper part of the pillar being visible in the floor of a modern threshing-floor. The other pillar, shaped like the first, was found in a half-fallen position and proved to be 2 metres in height, though much corroded. These pillars stood on square limestone bases with an interval of 1.10 metre between them.

That this pillar-hall was a basement structure appears probable from the fact that the outer stones of the walls show a rough face. The North and East walls were of exceptionally large limestone blocks—one 1.72 m. in length by 0.64 in height. Of the South wall only a fragment remained. The West wall consists of two courses each about 50 cm. high with a plinth below. It is constructed of more finely cut blocks, like some of the best Mycenaean work of the Palace. Several fallen blocks of the same kind evidently belonging to the upper storey showed the trident mark so characteristic of the great bastion of the North Entrance of the Palace. In one case this was combined with the star.

As a whole, however, the construction of this isolated building differs from that usual in the Palace itself. That the walls should be constructed wholly of masonry was itself an exceptional phenomenon. In the door openings, on either side there were none of the regular jambs. The pillars, formed of single blocks, resembled one or two found in the earlier structures, associated with fine 'Kamáres' pottery, on the South-East slope. It may be supposed that here, as in the case of the Pillar Rooms of the Palace, these basement pillars formed the supports of a pair of columns in an upper hall.



Passage up to
Central Court.



Bastion B.



Bastion A.



Roadway running
West.



Wall
supporting
Earth Terrace. } →

← { Roadway
running
N.



Pillars of Portico.



Opening of Passage leading
up to Central Court.



Base of Pillar
of Portico.



FIG. 3.—NORTHERN PORTICO AND ENTRANCE PASSAGE.

On the floor level of this room, formed of stamped clay,¹ was a stratum of burnt wood and a good deal of rough mature Mycenaean pottery was here found, together with some fragments of Geometrical ware. About 10 metres due North of the North wall of the chamber and centering with it, a well was discovered, the bottom of which was finally reached at a depth of 15.50 metres. This well also contained throughout potsherds belonging to the same two classes. A little East of this spot were found what seemed to be the remains of an oven-shaped tomb containing broken vases of the same Geometrical class as that found in the well and Pillar Hall.

The occurrence in this area of Geometrical pottery seems to show that this Pillar Hall and its dependencies, though of earlier origin, had continued to be occupied in post-Mycenaean times. It thus presents a striking contrast to the Palace proper, where traces of the Geometrical Period have been throughout conspicuous by their absence. 'Geometrical' tombs, some of which were explored by Mr. Hogarth,² occur on the hills that overlook the later Greek and Roman town of Knossos to the North.

§ 3.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLIVE PRESS SYSTEM: THE COURT OF THE OIL SPOUT AND ADJOINING MAGAZINES OF THE KNOBBED *PITHOI*.

The further investigation of the area in the neighbourhood of the Room of the Olive Press and of the adjoining lower terrace led to a series of discoveries which bring the whole of this region into systematic relation and show that they were devoted to the manufacture and storage of oil.

Additional sections of the stone duct or runnel leading from the oilvat were brought to light, proceeding by an angular course along the adjoining wall-tops towards the curious spout of gargoyle-like aspect that had been found projecting from the outer side of the Upper East Terrace wall (Fig. 4).³ It thus appears that this stone spout was not, as had been at first supposed, connected with a rain-water gutter, but was devised as means for pouring the oil derived from the press above into tall earthenware recipients.

A completer examination of the area, here overlooked by the terrace

¹ Between the two pillars however was a deposit which does not seem to be flooring.

² See *Annual*, vi. (1899-1900), p. 83.

³ See *Annual*, 1900-1901, p. 94.

wall, showed that it was originally surrounded by good walls of limestone and gypsum such as elsewhere in the Palace from the face of small courts and light-wells and that it had therefore never had an upper storey. The deposit of wall-paintings found here with the scenes exhibiting the female toreadors must have been derived from a room or gallery above the terrace wall with the spout.

This open area, to which the name of the Court of the Oil Spout may appropriately be given, would naturally have been devoted to filling various vessels with oil. It is probable that the short break in the course of the oil-duct that is visible on the upper side of the terrace wall was



FIG. 4.—PROJECTING OIL-SPOUT IN UPPER EAST TERRACE WALL.

occupied by a settling vat or vats, where the impurities of the fluid and its coarser portion were allowed to settle on a bed of water that could be raised or lowered in the manner usual in such reservoirs. Immediately on one side of the place where such a vat would naturally have stood there are in fact remains of a well, suggestive of the need of a water supply. The oil conduit itself showed a curious variation in different parts of its course. At the point where it emerges from the press it is 43 cm. wide and 9 deep, while at the end nearer the spout it is 21 cm. in width and 14 in depth, the depth thus increasing as the width decreases. It is probable that the channel was originally lined with cement to prevent leakage at the numerous joints between the limestone blocks in which it is cut, and this

may account for the fact that its present dimensions seem unnecessarily capacious for an oil duct.

The West or Terrace Wall of the Court of the Oil Spout is formed of three courses of fine limestone blocks of an average length of 1.50 m. and height of 50, resting on a projecting plinth below. These blocks show the trident sign, sometimes two on the same block. The South Wall of the Court contains similar limestone blocks (without signs) above a plinth; it is broken by a doorway leading to the 'School Room.' The North Wall of the small Court was of gypsum, two blocks of the lower course only remaining, surmounted by another, 1.34 wide by 1.24 high. It is possible that the Court was open to the East and that the remains of limestone walling here represent another terrace edge. In the middle of the Court was a blind well with traces of a drain leading into it.

The direct relation of the Court of the Oil Spout with the Olive Press above sufficiently explained the character of the chambers found to the East and North of it. On the removal of the great shoot from the previous excavations which had obscured this part of the site a series of magazines containing *pithoi* were brought to light. The jar found in the space immediately East of the Court was of ordinary dimensions, but in the area to the North three magazines were traceable containing *pithoi* larger than any yet discovered. It seems probable that these great jars were filled with oil *in situ* by means of ducts from the oil-spout or by a branch of the stone conduit on the terrace above, of which traces have now disappeared.

Besides their exceptional size the decoration of these *pithoi* differs in several respects from that of any hitherto found. Their rims had in all cases suffered from too great proximity to the surface, but the bodies of the jars were surrounded by tiers of upright handles placed at unusually close intervals (Fig. 5 *a* and *b*). Fourfold lines of raised ropework arranged horizontally divided the surface into zones, and these were connected by a succession of triple cross-lines of the same kind. The whole thus presented the appearance of large jars bound round by a kind of rope network very realistically reproduced and arranged in a manner suggestive of the means by which they were actually transported from the place of manufacture.

The most characteristic feature, however, of these great jars is supplied by the best preserved of them, where the inter-spaces between the handles and rope-work are decorated with groups of knobs like the studs of metal-work (Fig. 5 *b*). This knobbed decoration is of special interest as it enables us to group this class of *pithoi* with the vases

studded over in a similar manner found in the Corridor of the Bays.¹ These vases, like so many of the earlier Minóan class, betray in their embossed relief and other particulars a distinct indebtedness to prototypes in metal-work, and it is reasonable to suppose that the stud ornament was in this case taken over from the same source. The knobbed decoration may in turn have been transferred to *pithoi* from the example of the smaller vessels. In any case the parallelism in decoration must be taken

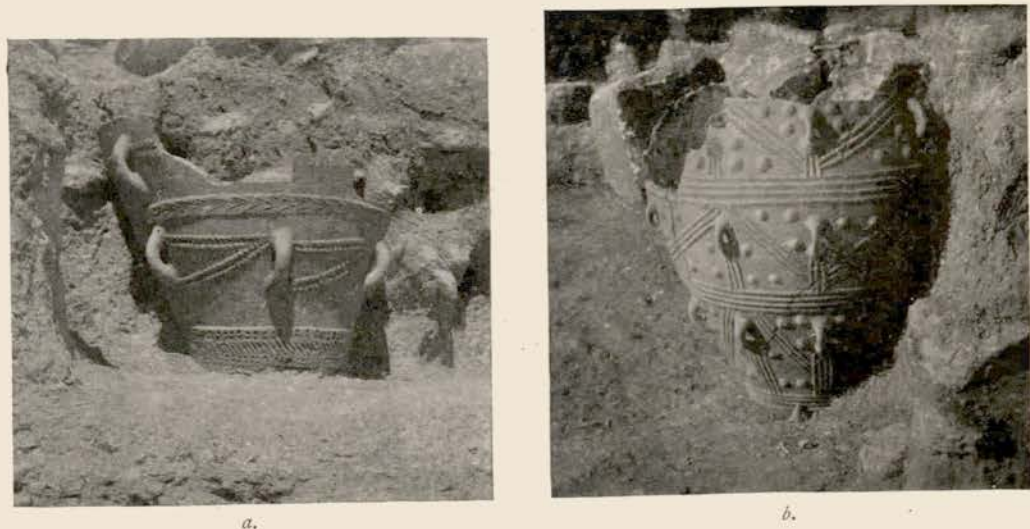


FIG. 5.—LARGE *Pithoi* WITH KNOB AND ROPEWORK DECORATION.

as an evidence of contemporaneity and the knobbed *pithoi*, like the vases, must belong to a comparatively early period in the history of the existing Palace.

Of the three Magazines containing the knobbed *pithoi* the Westernmost, containing remains of three jars, was 5.18 by 2.94 m. in dimensions with a floor level about 2.50 m. below the terrace level immediately above it. It opens into another Magazine of the same length but only 2.10 m. wide containing two more jars, and that in turn into a third store room with a floor-level 1.80 m. below that of the two other Magazines, but of which only parts of the wall-lines are preserved. The best preserved *pithos*, Fig. 5 *b*, stands in this chamber. Between these Magazines and the Court of the Oil Spout an ascending Corridor 1.60 wide, the steps of which however have disappeared, runs from East to West.

¹ *B.S. Annual*, 1900-1901, pp. 85, 86: Fig. 26, 28.

§ 4.—THE "PENS" OF THE UPPER EASTERN TERRACE.

About five metres West of the Magazines of the Knobbed *Pithoi* is the low terrace wall with interrupted upper courses broken by elongated grooved slabs referred to in the previous Report.¹ A further examination, however, has brought out the fact that these grooved slabs, of which six are preserved, were not, as at first supposed, runnels akin to those of the oil-press. The grooves in fact, though open on the outer face of the wall,

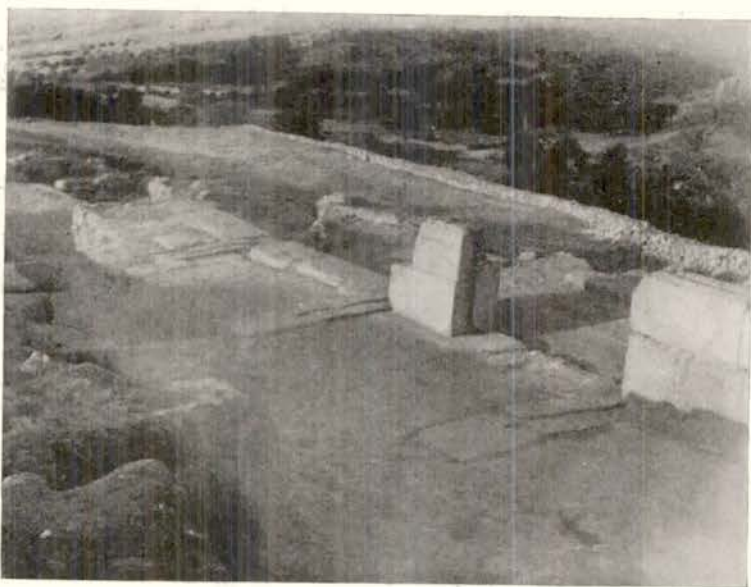


FIG. 6.—GROOVED BLOCKS FOR PARTITIONS.

run in 1.50 m. to square endings. It is obvious moreover from the dowel holes at either end of these elongated grooved blocks that they supported, both in front and at their further extremity, some kind of wooden framework (Fig. 6). It seems therefore possible that the grooves themselves were for sliding wooden partitions by means of which the space above the terrace wall was divided into compartments. What was the purpose of these can only be a matter for conjecture. Their width is only about two and

¹ *B.S. Annual*, 1900-1901, p. 93.

a half metres and their probable depth about the same, which makes them too small for stables, but they may have been pens for some kind of livestock, or possibly kennels.

§ 5.—THE TERRACOTTA DRAIN-PIPES BENEATH THE FLOOR OF THE CORRIDOR OF THE DRAUGHT BOARD.

The removal for purposes of investigation of some slabs of the flooring upon which the Royal Gaming Board had rested, resulted in an interesting discovery. Immediately below the flooring at this point, 1.45 m. down, was found a terracotta drain of remarkable construction. (Fig. 7 *a* and *b*.) The drain, of which two sections were found at this

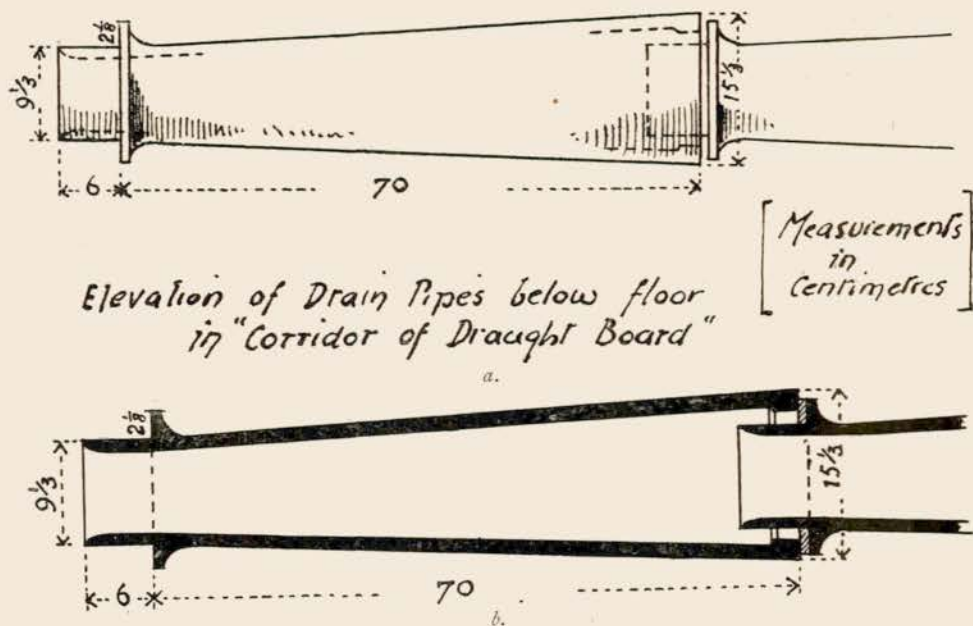


FIG. 7.—TERRACOTTA DRAIN-PIPES.

point, running North-East was broken off at its Southern end by a later wall-foundation, immediately beyond which, however, its course was again struck and three more tubes were found in position socketed into one another. The circumstances of the find show that these drain pipes are at least anterior to the good pavement of Mycenaean date on which the

Gaming Board had rested and that they in all probability go back to the earliest period of the Later Palace.

This indubitable evidence of their great antiquity makes the extraordinarily advanced construction of these terracotta pipes the more remarkable. It will be seen from Fig. 7 *a* and *b* that the mouthpiece of each tube is provided with a stop-ridge, solidly backed behind, which when fixed against the butt end of the succeeding tube afforded effectual resistance against pressure that would otherwise have been likely to wedge the two together to splitting point. On the other hand the inside of the butt end of each is provided with a raised collar which offered a widened surface to the stop-ridge of the tube with which it was connected and at the same time supplied an additional hold for the cement that attached the butt end of the one to the mouthpiece of the other.

The tubes are 76 cm. in length with a diameter of $13\frac{1}{3}$ cm. at the butt end, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ at the mouth. Smaller clay pipes of simple fabric, the tubes of which, though socketed into one another, were not provided with stop-ridges, occurred in other parts of the Palace area, namely in a room near the South Propylaea, outside the Northern Tower, and in the Court of the Sanctuary to be described below. On the other hand jointed clay pipes with stop-ridges of very similar construction have been found by Dr. Dörpfeld on an early site explored by him in Leukas.

§ 6.—REMAINS OF PORCELAIN MOSAIC SHOWING HOUSES OF MINŌAN CITY AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

Immediately North of the basement area in which the remains of the large spiral fresco were found in 1901, another basement chamber was opened out which proved to contain relics of extraordinary interest. The West end of this cellar was partly covered by the slabs of a pavement upon which rested some plain tripod vases like others found in the North-East Magazines. From a depth of about a metre onwards beneath this floor level were found a series of enamelled plaques which had evidently belonged to a considerable mosaic—the material resembling Egyptian porcelain but of the native Knossian fabric.¹

¹ In this space or on its borders were also found what appear to be large draught-men of ivory, 73 to 82 millimetres in height and 80 to 82 in diameter, and almost exactly answering to the diameter of the circles of the Gaming Table. One type has engraved below a disk surrounded by sixteen rays. Another type shows eight small engraved circles forming a ring. That these actually represent the pieces belonging to the board found only a few metres off, is highly probable.

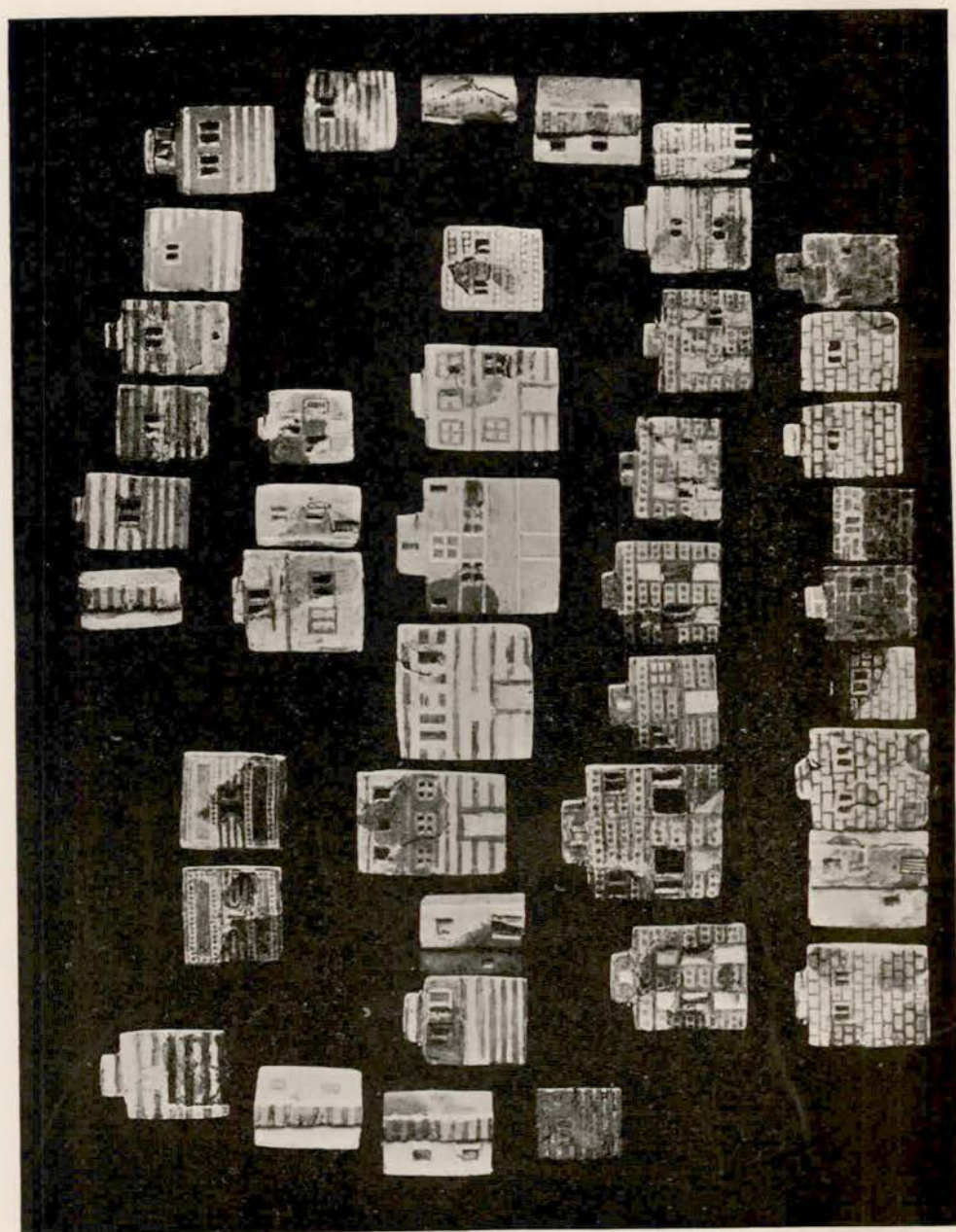


FIG. 8.—TABLETS OF PORCELAIN MOSAIC IN FORM OF HOUSES AND TOWERS.

A large number of these porcelain plaques were found to represent houses, towers and other buildings. Owing to the friable nature of the material, and the fact that they had evidently fallen from a room above, the plaques were in a much broken condition. In many cases, however, enough remained to supply a sufficient idea of the whole, and it was possible to reconstitute over forty examples of these façades. Fig. 8, from a photograph, gives a view of a series of these as thus reconstituted by me; certain recurring features in the design making it possible in some cases to complete the construction from comparatively fragmentary evidence. The arrangement as seen in Fig. 8 is an arbitrary one—the guiding principle having been to keep the buildings resembling towers and fortifications in the outer ring.

In order to make it quite clear what part of these reconstructed tablets represents the original fabric, special drawings have been made of characteristic examples by Mr. Fyfe, under my direction, and of these, two typical specimens of houses are given in Fig. 9 *a* and *b*. In a summary Report like the present it is impossible to deal more fully with this extraordinary architectural material.

Fig. 9 *b* represents a class of façade of which several fairly complete examples exist, so that every detail is thoroughly authenticated. The original of this type was obviously of wood and plaster construction, in which the round beam ends in the timbered compartments form a characteristic feature. It will be seen that many of these were quite short, simply laid across the thickness of the wall, a system of construction so ingrained at Knossos that in the great halls of the Palace, as will be shown below, beam courses of this kind are actually found interrupting the stone-work.

On the ground floor are what appear to be two doors, divided by a central panel—an arrangement superficially suggestive of modern semi-detached villas. Above the doors are two double windows filled with bright red pigment, above that again two larger window openings, and finally, what looks like an attic, with a small single window also coloured red. We have here a house or pair of houses with at least three stories.

The façade given in Fig. 9 *a* shows a different structure. The round beam ends are here wanting, and we see horizontal beams, with intervals of what seems to have been plaster-faced rubble. This house has a single door below, and, opening from the first floor, a row of three four-paned windows, coloured red like the others, set in a timber framework, while

the uppermost floor is provided with three smaller windows which show no traces of coloured filling and seem to have been simple openings.

In one case we see two rows of four-paned windows, in another double windows of six panes. In two examples a very curious form of double-window appears, curving in, crescent fashion, on the outer sides. The more tower-like houses show no door below, but sometimes a small attic-like structure above with a small window. Some of these tower-houses, which probably represent outer bulwarks of the town, are constructed of hori-

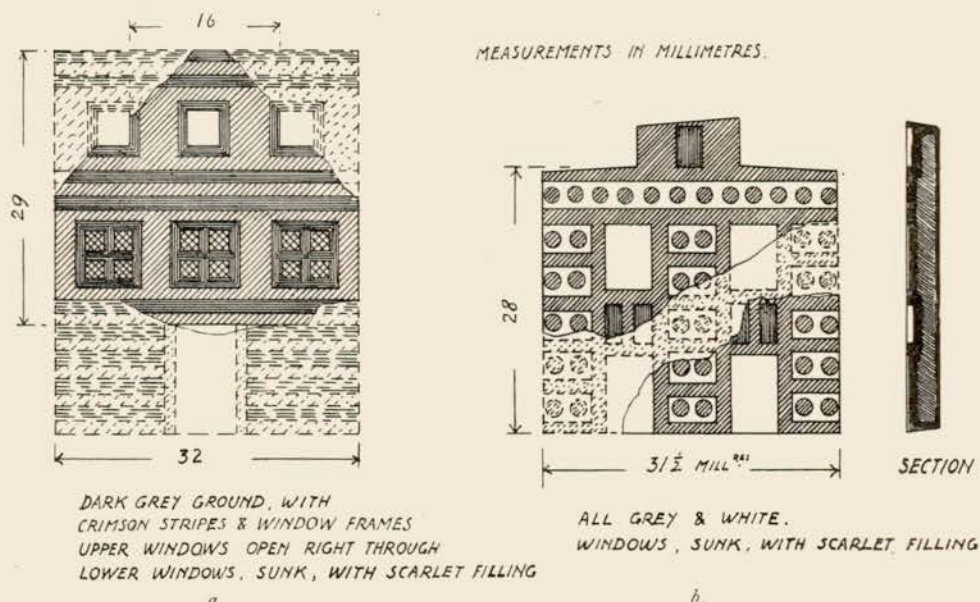


FIG. 9.—PORCELAIN TABLETS IN FORM OF HOUSES (SLIGHTLY ENLARGED).

zontal beams with interspaces of rubble masonry and plaster, like so much of the Palace fabric, while others are of isodomic masonry. Of towers proper there are several varieties, among them a type with a door below, constructed of what appear to be massive upright beams, and greatly resembling a gate visible in the outer wall of the besieged city seen on the silver vase fragment from Mycenae.

The upper, door-like openings, which in certain cases occur above rooms with regular windows, recall a feature repeated in some of the miniature wall-paintings. In these, groups of ladies are seen standing in similar openings, as upon a balcony. In other cases the women seem

to be seated at open windows of a more usual type, and in one instance there is visible a part of a curtain, apparently of light material, perhaps drawn at night as a protection against mosquitoes.

The red pigment in the windows of the mosaic suggests that some substitute for window-glass was in use—perhaps oiled and scarlet-tinted parchment. In the Eastern Quarter of the Palace there will be repeated occasion to notice in the walls of the small courts and light-wells the existence of window openings with the dowel holes for the wooden framework. But that windows of such a modern aspect as these before us should have existed in Minōan Knossos is a phenomenon for which no analogy of classical civilisation could have prepared us.

Unexpected indeed as have been so many of the revelations of this early Cretan culture, the whole appearance of these house façades with their three and even four stories is perhaps the most astonishing. In view of the generally grandiose character of the Palace itself, the indications of upper stories appear natural enough. But in the houses of the mosaic we can hardly fail to recognise the dwellings of the ordinary Minōan citizens. That these should have attained the tall proportions of the houses of a modern street-front points surely back to long previous generations of civic life.

The original physiognomy of these houses is undeniable. Yet the question naturally arises whether there was not here, as in so many other aspects of early Cretan civilisation, an ultimate indebtedness to Egyptian models? As a matter of fact the fundamental elements in these house fronts as illustrated by the typical variety shown in Fig. 9 *b*, do correspond in a remarkable manner with those of the better class of Egyptian houses. On monuments of the XVIIIth Dynasty the evidence is to be found of a well-marked type of house with a lower storey in which, as a rule, three doors are seen side by side, a kind of *entresol* with windows, barred, or with open panels, and an upper storey with an open colonnade in front. These features it will be seen all reappear in the Knossian houses. The room below has often a pair of doorways, though, perhaps owing to the greater inclemency of the climate, there is a greater tendency to reduce these to one. Here again is a first floor with windows, though probably, for the same reason, oiled parchment, anticipating glass, may in this case have filled the panels. The door-like openings of the upper storey, in turn, correspond with the open gallery of the Egyptian type, though the

Knossian system secured greater protection against the Cretan hurricanes. The Knossian attic, again, would have afforded a more efficacious shelter for the roof-top than the mere awning, which seems to have been its Egyptian equivalent.¹ No awning could stand a week against the boisterous winds that sweep this site. The timber framework and beam ends are also Northern characteristics.

It must be borne in mind, moreover, that while the Egyptian houses of which we have the records are isolated villas surrounded by courts and gardens, the gates and towers with which the Knossian house-fronts are associated lead us to suppose that they were ranged together in the actual streets of a fairly compact town, and that they are true examples of civic architecture. The influence of Egypt must be admitted, but there was certainly an indigenous core to this domestic architecture of Minôan Crete. The "Mycenaean" column itself is neither Egyptian nor Oriental, but a true outgrowth of a primitive European type.²

The plaques themselves somewhat vary in size, the mean of the houses being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres in height and 4 in width. The ground colour representing the plaster or masonry is white or greenish, often with a lilac tinge. The timber is generally coloured brown or brownish green, sometimes with an admixture of crimson. The edges of each piece are slightly bevelled back.

The amount of small fragments found of these architectural plaques shows, that if, as appears probable from their occurrence in the same deposit, they belonged to a single mosaic, a considerable city must have been represented. But the city itself seems to have formed only a part of a larger composition. Other plaques occurred representing a great variety of subjects, though, unfortunately, as will be seen by the examples given in Fig. 10, for the most part, in the same fragmentary state as the houses.

Among the subjects figured on these are men and animals, trees and running water. The men are, in most cases, warriors, dressed in the same short, close-fitting loin-cloths, as that worn by the Cup-bearer and the youths of the Procession painting. These hold either spears or bows of the European and African type. On two pieces are what appear to be curved and crested helmets; in some cases the figures seem to be marching. Others, in a very fragmentary state, are in a half-kneeling

¹ See Chipiez's reconstruction of a Theban house of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Perrot et Chipiez, *L'Art*, &c. vol. 1, p. 283, Fig. 267.

² See my *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 88 seqq.

pose which recalls that of the bowmen of the siege-scene on the silver vase from Mycenae. In another case there is seen a part of a prostrate figure, or perhaps of two men grappling with one another. The warrior plaques are of very different sizes; those with the upright figures, measuring respectively about 8 and 5 centimetres in height, must therefore belong to different zones or panels. The skin colour here is of a pale ochreous tint, and the loin-clothing of a greenish hue. In addition to these, however, are other figures with a more swarthy skin colour, some of them exceptionally small, and with hands stretched out as if in the guise of suppliants. The lower part of a larger figure of this dark-skinned type takes a curious squatting and frog-like attitude.

Among the fragments with animal types are parts of several goats with ibex-like horns, resembling those of the Cretan agrimi, and the foot of an ox. Two kinds of trees are represented, one perhaps intended for a vine, the other with willow-like foliage. Some pieces with curving horizontal bands of white and green seem intended to depict running water. The succession of similar types on plaques of the same size and shape, observable in the case of the marching warriors, of the goats, and of some of the houses, points to an arrangement in zones. On the other hand, the great discrepancy in size of some of the figures—specially noticeable in the case of the dark-coloured men—suggests distribution in quite distinct compartments. This kind of discrepancy is best explained perhaps if we suppose that the porcelain plaques formed part of the inlay of a wooden chest, in which case the more diminutive figures might have been set on the smaller sides. That they were made smaller on account of any attempt at perspective rendering in the same field is hardly probable.

It is to be observed that the porcelain plaques found in the Throne Room occurred in association with a mass of more or less carbonised cypress wood, which shows that they were set in a framework of that material, probably, as in other cases, overlaid with thin gold plate. With this analogy before us, we may recognize in the present mosaic the remains of the decoration of a wooden chest, a true *δαιδαλέα λάρναξ* like that of Danaë, and may see in it the remote prototype of the Chest of Kypselos—the porcelain plaques here taking the place of the ivory. The character of the inlay—a native imitation of Egyptian porcelain—suggests that the type of chest to which these plaques may have belonged, was taken from Egypt; and the probability of this is heightened by the

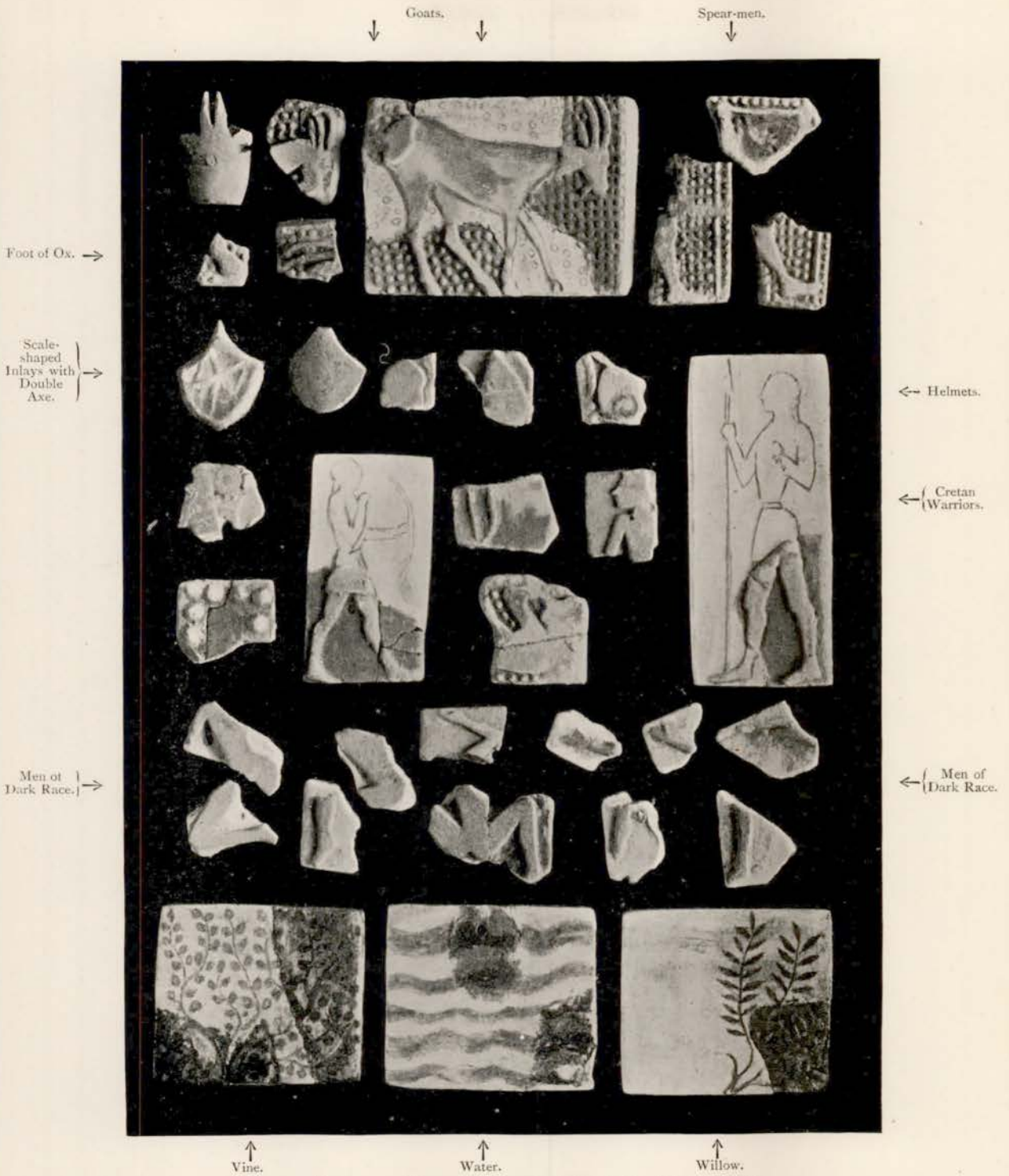


FIG. 10.—PORCELAIN TABLETS SHOWING WARRIORS, ANIMALS, ETC.

fact that the painted terracotta *λάρνακες* of the late Mycenaean tombs of Crete were certainly imitated from the painted chests of contemporary Egypt.¹

The scenes depicted in the present mosaic, however, were not of that mythological class which, according to Pausanias, filled the zones and panels of the masterpiece of early Corinthian carving. We have here, on the contrary, *genre* compositions greatly recalling those of the Miniature Frescoes. The architectural scenes on these, the warriors manning the walls and hurling javelins, supply distinct analogies, though the treatment in that case is of the free pictorial kind. In the present case the character of the material necessitated a more rigid distribution into zones and the breaking up of these into a succession of separate unities contained by the several tablets. The mechanical facility moreover of casting numerous plaques from the same mould seems to have favoured serial groups repeating the same design.

The fragmentary nature of the evidence only enables us to realise vaguely and imperfectly the contents of the whole composition as distributed into the various zones and panels. The warriors and city recall the siege scene of the silver vase, but the warlike episodes do not by any means exhaust the aspects of the record once unfolded in these mosaic groups. The homes of civic life within the walls, the goats and oxen without, the fruit trees and running water, suggest a more literal comparison with the Homeric description of the scenes of peace and war as illustrated on Achilles' shield than can be supplied from any other known source. The division into zones and panels lends additional point to this resemblance.

The scenes here are obviously of real life. The houses before us are those with which the artist was familiar in Knossos itself. The warriors wear the usual dress of the Knossian youths. The art here is historical; and in the dark-skinned, and—in one case at least—grotesque figures of the vanquished we have perhaps a living record of a Libyan expedition. Nor is it certainly without definite intent that on the back of each of the scale-shaped pieces of enamelled ware, which seem to have formed a kind of decorative border to part of the design, is seen in relief a figure of the sacred Double Axe, the emblem of the tutelary divinity of Minōan Knossos.

¹ See *The Palace of Knossos in its Egyptian Relations*, p. 3 (Archaeological Report of . Expl. Fund, 1899-1900, p. 66).

§ 7.—EARLIER ROOMS IN OLIVE-PRESS AREA BENEATH LATER PALACE BASEMENTS.

Throughout the whole space included by the Olive-Press system, the basement containing the enamelled mosaic, that with the remains of the spiral fresco, and the adjoining chamber South of the latter, a whole group of rooms with an earlier floor level came to light underlying those of the Later Palace.

The preceding discoveries have made it evident that the area in question was occupied during the Later Palace Period by a series of basements with a simple earth flooring, which lay about 1·80 metres beneath the level of the ground floor pavements. When, at the time of the destruction of the Palace, these ground floor pavements were partly broken through, the cellarage below became a receptacle for masses of important debris from the upper storeys, and it was in various compartments of this that the remains of the spiral fresco, the painted stucco figures in high relief, and the porcelain mosaic, were found lying on or near the basement floor.

Below this wall-marked line, which lay at a mean depth of about 2·50 metres below the existing surface of the ground, there was a comparatively barren interval. But the walls of the chambers continued to descend, and, about 2·40 metres lower, there came everywhere to light the evidence of a series of earlier floorings, the material of which consisted of hard white stucco with a pale yellow surface. Upon this level, and in the stratum immediately above, ceramic and other remains became once more abundant, all belonging to an earlier Palace building.

This earlier Palace floor level was in its turn superposed on a Neolithic deposit containing fragments of black hand-burnished pottery, stone and bone implements and other relics, which went down with a varying thickness of from 3·20 to 3·60 metres to the virgin soil. The total thickness of the deposit containing the remains of these various periods amounts, therefore, to about 8·50 metres as measured from the surface to the ground.

Nothing could be more complete than the stratification thus exhibited. Evidently the earlier floor level represented the ground-floor rooms of the original Palace, and it was specially interesting to observe that here the main lines of the later Palace were simply superposed on those of the

more ancient building. It was indeed often difficult to determine where the remains of the earlier walls ended and the foundations of the later work, largely composed of more primitive blocks, began.

Painted stucco belonging to the primitive fabric occurred in several chambers, some *in situ*, some fallen. In the room beneath the North-East corner of the Olive-Press room two plaster steps were found going down to the floor of the room, the steps sloping in the characteristic manner of the early steps in the Palace of Phaestos. Near this the early walling was coated to a height of about a metre with the original plain plaster. In the space South of the area of the Spiral Fresco were found parts of a plaster dado belonging to this earlier Period.¹ It was decorated with horizontal bands of red, white, and black and curved streaks descending from this which showed an alternation of colours—black, white and grey-blue, black and white, red, yellow and black. The character of this polychrome decoration differed from that of the Later Palace.

In the North-West corner of this space is a plaster platform which runs under the foundations of the later basement wall and shows that this space and that beneath the room of the Spiral Fresco originally opened into each other. This platform was covered by a compact layer of fragments of 'Kamáres' ware, above which was a heap of over four hundred clay loom-weights, flatter than the later Palace type. Another similar plaster dais of white stucco, with pale yellow facing like the pavement, came to light in the area beneath that of the Spiral Fresco. In this chamber were large pieces of fallen stucco with a pinkish surface, backed by a cement composed of pounded potsherds and small pebbles.

In the South-East corner of this area was found what appeared to be part of a chest of red and yellow stucco. It is possible that this chest had originally contained two interesting relics found near it. One of these is a miniature vase of blue 'porcelain,' with a foot, collar and thimble-like receptacle of gold-plate, which may have contained some perfume as precious as attar of roses (see Fig. 11). The other consists of very elegant fern-like sprays of thin gold plate and wire (see Fig. 12). These were laid on a small flat bowl of plain clay containing some carbonised substance. It is possible that this relic was of a votive character, and that it should be taken in connexion with a series of painted terracotta objects found near this and in the same stratum which relate to a very early cult of the Dove Goddess. These are of such importance and so varied in character that a summary description of them is reserved for the succeeding Section.

¹ See Theodore Dyfe, *op. cit.* *Journ. R. I. B. A.*, 1902, p. 109, figs. 1, 2.

The 'Kamáres' pottery found in this area included a series of miniature amphoras, cups, and oenochoae, in a perfect condition, and remains of several



FIG. 11.—SMALL VASE OF PORCELAIN AND GOLD (†).

large vases which it has been possible to put together. The smaller vessels for the most part display a plain white decoration—such as spirals, concen-



FIG. 12.—GOLD SPRAY IN FLAT BOWL (†).

tric circles, herring-bone pattern and sprays,—on a black or dark grey ground, and range from about 6 to 8 centimetres in height. The large

vases show a greater variety of design and colour—including, besides black and white, orange-red, and crimson—and are the finest of the class that have yet come to light, some approaching 60 centimetres in height. Among the decorative motives are eyed disks combined with leafy sprays (Fig. 13 *a*), conventional palm trees, together with other patterns similar to those already mentioned. The specimen given in Fig. 13 *b* shows a



FIG. 13 *a*.—PAINTED JUG (†).

spouted vessel of a typical form. It is 58 centimetres in height and has a dark grey ground with designs in white and orange-red showing dull crimson spots on the orange. These vessels from their form and style seem to belong to rather a late class of what may be called the 'Minóan' Ceramic style and it is observable that there did not occur in this series of chambers any of the finer egg-shell fabrics with their delicate imitations of metallic forms such as were contained in some of the magazines on the lower Eastern Terrace (see below, p. 117 *seqq.*). On the other

hand there was nothing of the purely transitional class which characterises the later Palace.

A comparison of levels shows that the ground floor level of the early chambers above described was the same as that preserved later in the Hall of the Double Axes and its connected system to the South and in the



FIG. 13 *b*.—PAINTED JUG ($\frac{1}{3}$).

'School Room' and adjoining chambers to the East. It was only during the period of reconstruction that immediately preceded the Mycenaean Period proper, and to which the Palace in its existing shape is mainly due, that these more Northern ground floor rooms, half choked with debris, became the basis of later cellarage areas underlying a terrace level which formed the new 'ground floor' in this region.

§ 8.—MINIATURE SANCTUARY OF DOVE GODDESS IN PAINTED TERRACOTTA, AND ACCESSORY OBJECTS.

In the early chamber, underlying the later cellar with the remains of the Spiral Fresco, and which contained in addition to fine, later Minóan vases the golden fronds and small gold and porcelain bottle, there were also brought out a series of painted terracotta objects of great religious interest.

These terracotta relics consisted of the remains of a miniature Sanctuary including a Pillar Shrine with sacred doves, altars with their ritual horns, a kind of portable seat for a divinity, and other accessories. The remains of some of these had been a good deal broken, but in many cases it has been possible to fit together the pieces, and with further study additional reconstruction may be eventually possible. The objects as they stand, however, quite suffice to throw an altogether new light on the pre-Mycenaean cult of the 'House of Minós.'

The original surface of the terracottas, which varies from buff to pale brick-red, has been coloured black, white, and red—the characteristic colours, that is, of the early vases with which they were associated.

Of special importance is a group of three columns (Fig. 14), the round, rectangular profiled bases of which are ranged along one edge of an oblong platform. The columns themselves show no tendency to taper. The capitals are square and leave a small interspace between each as if they were pieces of an interrupted architrave. Across each of these square capitals are laid side by side two sections of round beams, their circular ends showing in front, and again upon each of these is perched a dove with closed wings. The doves are black with white spots, the beam-sections, capitals and columns are red, their bases black, and the platform upon which they stand white.

It will be seen that here each column is a separate religious entity. Instead of the three combining to support a common entablature, the whole superstructure is in each case separately rendered by the two sections of round beams on which the sacred birds are seated. By a kind of architectural shorthand each column by itself is thus indicated as a 'Pillar of the House.'¹ We have here, therefore, the most ancient known example of the class of sacred pillar seen on the Lions' Gate at Mycenae and on a

¹ I can only refer to what I have said on the subject of the sacred pillar exhibited as performing structural functions and a 'Pillar of the House' in my *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 45 seqq. (*J.H.S.* vol. xxi. 1901, p. 143 seqq.)

series of Mycenaean gems and signets.¹ The trinity of baetylic columns, moreover (so popular in Semitic cult), recalls the fact that in the case of the gold shrines of Mycenae, and again in the Temple Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, we find a triple group of pillar cells. There can be little remaining doubt that the miniature dove shrines of Mycenae refer to



FIG. 14.—PAINTED TERRACOTTA PILLARS WITH DOVES; BELONGING TO EARLY SHRINE.

the cult of the same Goddess that we find at Knossos, and that there, as here, we have to recognise an example of the setting up of trinities of baetylic pillars representing the same divinity.²

The conclusive evidence now before us that the pillar-cult of a Dove Goddess³ goes back, in Crete at least, to the prae-Mycenaean period is of

¹ See *op. cit.* p. 58 seqq.

² In the monograph above cited (p. 42) I had already ventured to suggest this explanation of the triple pillar cells of the Mycenaean dove-shrines surmounted as they are by a single altar.

³ As pointed out below (pp. 98, 99) the dove is primarily the image of the divine descent and of the consequent possession of the baetylic column by a spiritual being. This is not necessarily a female divinity, for the dove also appears as the "Messenger" of Zeus, but the evidence seems to show however that it had early attached itself as a special attribute of a Goddess in the Aegean lands.

first-rate importance in its bearing on the origin of the cult itself, and its relation to the parallel religious phenomena presented by the worship of the Syrian Semiramis¹ or the Phoenician Astarté. The crude view that the little dove shrines of Mycenæ were mere import articles from Phœnicia has already almost died a natural death. The divine associations of the dove were a common heritage of primitive Greece and Anatolia, and it is a significant fact that the principal centre of the cult on the coast of Canaan was 'Philistine' Askalon, whose mythical founder Askalos was the brother of Tantalos the founder of the Phrygian dynasty and father of Pelops. We are thus led to an ethnic quarter that had a very intimate relation with Minōan Crete. A Palace shrine, described below, shows us a later stage in the local cult of the Dove Goddess in association with that of the Double-Axe (*see below*, pp. 100 *seqq.*) and makes it probable that the Cretan Rhea in her earlier aspect was also a 'Lady of the Dove.'

It is possible that there are here parts of more than one shrine, since there are columns of varying sizes. A characteristic of the walls of these edifices is the chequer-work of black and white indicating either actual masonry or a stucco coating in imitation of it. Identically coloured chequer-work occurs in the Temple Fresco. The stonework is broken at intervals horizontally by square-cut slightly projecting cornices, upon the white ground of which is painted a series of red disks which seem to represent the round wooden beam ends of Knossian wall-construction reduced to a mere decorative reminiscence. In one case what appear to be four somewhat narrow window-openings are seen above a substructure of the kind described above.

A part of a square altar with similar chequers surmounted by a plain cornice shows a pair of sacral horns rising above one face and part of another on a second face imperfectly preserved. The square altar recalls one constructed of isodomic masonry, with 'Horns of Consecration' above it, seen on a steatite pyxis from the site of Knossos,² and the presumed altar bases found in the Palace courts probably belonged to similar structures. Four other examples of miniature sacral horns were also found.

A base with incurving sides recalls another familiar adjunct of

¹ M. Salomon Reinach has well shown, *La Sculpture en Europe avant les influences Gréco-Romaines*, p. 561 *seqq.* (*Anthropologie*, VI.), that there is not the slightest reason for deriving the Dove Goddess from Babylonia.

² *Myc. Tree and Pillar Worship*, p. 103, Fig. 2.



FIG. 15 *a*.

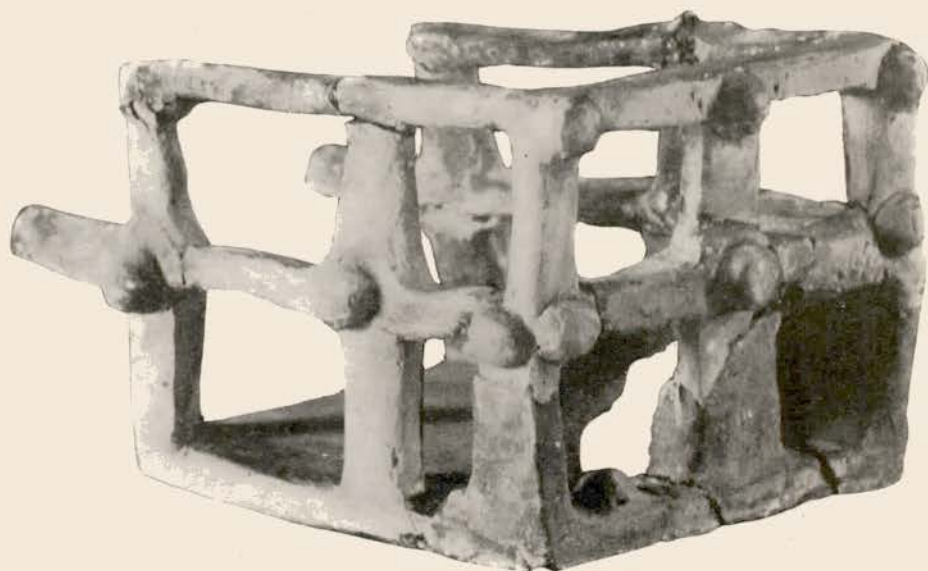


FIG. 15 *b*.—PORTABLE SEAT OF DIVINITY IN PAINTED TERRACOTTA (SLIGHTLY REDUCED).

Mycenaean religious furniture. The present example resembles a base, with the sacral horns above it, before a triple group of sprays, engraved on a crystal lentoid found in the Idaean Cave. The scene on the gem connects itself with the cult of a group of sacred trees, and a female votary is seen before the base blowing a large triton shell,—apparently a ritual function resorted to with a view of calling down the divinity. It is interesting to note that among the accessory objects found with the remains of the terracotta Sanctuary were parts of three miniature triton shells, the clay spires of which are painted alternately red and white.

A remarkable object remains to be described (Fig. 15*a* and *b*). At first sight it looks like a miniature car with a seat at the back, in front of which are visible what seems to be the roughly modelled extremity of a seated figure. The open wooden framework and joints are clearly rendered and there project in front what look like truncated shafts. On the other hand there is no trace of any attachment for wheels, and it may well be doubted if wheeled vehicles existed in Knossos in the early period to which these remains belong. The shafts of a car moreover would be attached to its floor, and not, as here, to the middle of the seat.

On the whole therefore, it seems safe to regard it as a kind of palanquin or sedan chair, and this view is confirmed by the traces of broken off shafts behind, answering to those in front.¹ The Priest Fresco referred to in the previous Report seems to connect itself with a figure borne aloft in some kind of chair, and we have here perhaps the *sella gestatoria* of a divinity or priest.

§ 9.—FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON THE QUADRUPLE STAIRCASE.

The ground-floor walls and piers of the area that includes the Room of the Olive Press and the Corridor of the Bays give, as already noticed section by section, the outline of a great Megaron above, the plan of which seems to have been practically identical with that of the great upper hall of the Palace of Phaestos. It is probable that the Quadruple Staircase discovered in 1901, besides leading to the Central Court immediately South of this hall, communicated with the Megaron directly by a doorway in its South wall.

It has already been noticed in the last Report that a block by the third landing of this staircase showed the outlines of the ends of three steps

¹ The breaks are wrongly restored as knobs in Fig. 15*b*.

ascending North, and supplied the evidence of a fourth flight of stairs. Another similar block originally found above the second landing proved on examination to bear the marks of the ends of three more steps belonging to the upper end of this fourth flight where it reached the level of the Central Court. At the cost of much labour this important block has now been replaced in the position that it had occupied previous to its fall. (See Fig. 23.)

The leaning position of the thick rubble wall that formed the division between the upper staircases involved a far more difficult problem. It had heeled over to such an extent above the third flight as to threaten the destruction of both the stone stairs and the parapet beyond. It was impossible to prop it up adequately and it became necessary to resort to heroic measures. I therefore had a deep incision made at a low level on either side, wedges being at the same time inserted in the slit on the side to which it leaned. The wall was at the same time cut across transversely at the point where the window opening between the two staircases lessened the amount of cutting necessary. The whole mass was then cased with planks on either side, and bound round with ropes so as to prevent its disintegration. A wooden framework firmly buttressed against the inner terrace was now set up to act as a stop, its face answering to the original position of that of the wall on this side. Sixty men, harnessed by ropes to the plank-encased wall-section, were now stationed on the terrace above the inner staircase, and at a given signal the tug of war began. There was a moment of great suspense, but the whole mass moved homogeneously and the wall righted itself in its original position. Stones and cement were ready to fill up the wedge-shaped opening along the outer staircase, and the work was complete.

An interesting light on the former decoration of the Quadruple Staircase seems to be thrown by a plaster fragment which had fallen into the adjoining 'Court of the Distaffs' (see below, p. 63 *seqq.*) apparently from one of its upper walls. It represented part of a brilliantly coloured palmette frieze.

§ 10.—CONTINUED EXPLORATION OF THE EAST-WEST CORRIDORS:
THE 'PERCENTAGE' TABLETS.

The Lower Corridor leading Eastward from the foot of the Quadruple Staircase and the North end of the Hall of the Colonnades had only been very partially explored in 1901.

The doorway leading into this passage from the Hall of the Colonnades was now opened (see p. 2, Fig. 1); the carbonised remains of its original wooden jambs being as far as possible protected by the solid wooden framework that it was found necessary to insert for its support. The doorway opening from the Corridor to the Hall of the Double Axes was at the same time cleared and supported with masonry as well as woodwork.

The excavation of this Westernmost and finely paved section of Corridor was a work of exceptional difficulty. This was due to the fact that the upper tiers of masonry belonging to this section of the light area of the Hall of the Double Axes had subsided a good deal in the direction of the doorway communicating with the Corridor and gave rise to a serious thrust on that side. The cause of this subsidence was discovered to be the original existence of a large double window with wooden framework, which had been introduced at this point with the object of lighting the Corridor from the open area at the end of the Hall of the Double Axes (see Fig. 21). This opening had been filled with fallen rubble, forming a very insecure support, and it was found advisable to support the wall on the inner or Corridor side by flat brick buttresses arched together.

The Lower East-West Corridor itself was excavated from above, the remains of the steps and pavement of the Corridor above it being carefully supported in their original position. At the same time the abundant fallen fragments of the upper pavement were collected and reconstituted at their former level, it being necessary in order to do this to build a solid timber framework from one end of the lower Corridor to the other with a platform above by means of which both the existing and the reconstituted parts of the upper pavement were maintained in position (Fig. 16). The pavement of the Upper Corridor was about 4·20 metres above the floor of the lower, its height representing that of the upper floor throughout this quarter of the Palace. The Eastern section of the lower Corridor, from the door of the Hall of the Double Axes onwards, showed no traces of

the fine gypsum paving that had continued to that point. The walls, however, had been provided with a similar casing of gypsum plaques.

The East end of this Lower Corridor is cut short in its direct course by the substructures of the stairs that form the continuation East of the Upper Corridor. Thus diverted, the lower passage opens on its North side on a small rectangular area leading to the 'Room of the Wooden



FIG. 16.—VIEW IN LOWER EAST-WEST CORRIDOR (LOOKING E.).

Posts,' and thence to an Eastern terrace edge. The gangway between this small area and the room beyond is flanked by a pillar originally of timber and rubble construction supporting a large gypsum block above, belonging to the upper storey, and which had been visible above the level of the ground on the East slope before the excavation began.¹ The pillar rested

¹ This block was maintained in the position in which it was found by means of wooden props, till the disintegrated pillar that had once supported it could be replaced by one of stone. This has now been done, and the block is thus permanently fixed at the level at which it was found.

on a square base rising from a breastwork or balustrade, the upper part of which consisted of flat gypsum slabs. Beneath this gypsum coping was a break of 20 centimetres between it and the masonry below, backed by a core of plaster and rubble, originally contained in a timber casing, a form of construction common in the Palace, and well illustrated by the Throne Room and by the bath-chamber to be described below.¹ The space above the gypsum slabs, between the pillar and the wall at the other end of the breastwork, had been left open as if to give light to the Room of the Wooden Posts. This circumstance, and the necessity of lighting the East end of the lower Corridor, makes it probable that the small rectangular area in question had served as a light-well, and was entirely open above. It is to be borne in mind that it was on a higher stratum of this area and the adjoining space to the West of it that the deposit of the painted high reliefs in *gesso duro* was found in 1901, and they may well have formed part of the decoration of an upper gallery or portico connected with the great Eastern Megaron and overlooking this light area.

The Lower East-West Corridor thus cleared, and with the flooring of the Upper Corridor replaced above, forms an imposing gallery—about 2 metres in breadth and 4 in height (Fig. 16). Its length is 14 metres or, adding the Northern arcade of the Hall of the Colonnades, which is practically its continuation, 23 metres. Only fragmentary remains, and these in a very much burnt condition, were found of the elaborate painted dado which seems to have adorned this gallery above the wainscoting of gypsum slabs. Its design was characterised by an oval beading, found elsewhere in the Palace decoration, and which recurs in some of the ceiling patterns of XVIIIth Dynasty Egypt.

The Upper East-West Corridor, which seems to have had the same internal dimensions as the Lower, attains, together with its staircase and the section corresponding with the North Gallery of the Hall of Colonnades and the second landing of the Quadruple Staircase, a length of 40 metres. The steps up from the lower terrace level were originally twenty in number,² of which fifteen were preserved, while the missing five—which had bridged over the entrance of the lower passage—have been reconstructed. The view from the West end of this Corridor looking along the upper Gallery of the Hall of the Colonnades towards the third flight of the grand Staircase is one of the most striking in the building (see Fig. 17).

¹ See p. 52, 53 and Fig. 27. ² Not fifteen, as stated in *Report B.S.A.* vii. 1901, p. 99.



FIG. 17.—VIEW LOOKING WEST FROM UPPER EAST-WEST CORRIDOR.

Extensive remains of deposits of inscribed tablets and seal impressions were found, partly above the pavement level, along the line of this Upper Corridor from the head of its Eastern Staircase to the point where it enters the Gallery of the Hall of Colonnades. It seems probable therefore that there had originally existed above it some kind of elongated chamber, flanking, and on the same level with, the Great Megaron above the Olive Press area, and that this had been used for the storage of these clay archives.

With the falling in of the floor of the upper East-West Corridor large masses of tablets and seals belonging to the same series as those found in 1901, above its floor level, had been precipitated into the Corridor below. During the continued exploration of this lower stratum, which resulted in the clearing out of the Lower Corridor, great numbers of inscriptions were found, raising the total number from this deposit to over 450, more than a hundred of which are practically perfect. This is the largest hoard discovered. The tablets exhibit formulas the general purport of which is very uniform, and the great majority of them present figures referring to three different items of account, the total of which when added together amounts to 100. It appears, therefore, that they relate to percentages, and they thus supply a striking proof of the prevalence of the decimal system in Minóan Crete. From the fact that the bulk of the deposit extended along a line of about ten metres, it is probable that the tablets were contained in a series of chests. Among the seals found with them were several impressions of what we are led to regard as having been a royal signet, exhibiting a seated Goddess offered a cup by her attendant, of which a counterfeit matrix in clay was found in 1901 in a room above the South Terrace.

§ II.—GOLD PENDANT IN FORM OF A DUCK.

About a metre below the floor level of the Upper East-West Corridor were found a part of a thin silver blade and a few articles of jewelry. These consisted of two globular beads, one of glass, the other of solid gold, and a gold filigree ornament in the shape of a miniature gold duck (Fig. 18). It was perforated to be used as a pendant, and evidently belonged to the same necklace as the beads.

Like the small gold lion found in 1900, the present jewel supplies an interesting example of granular decoration of gold work, though in this case

the grains are less microscopic than those of the gold lion. Both the lion and the duck are constructed in the same manner by means of two thin plates welded together above and below, the amount of precious metal employed being thus economised to the greatest possible extent.

The duck as a bead or pendant of 'Mycenaean' fashion in Crete was already known to me from two examples seen in the East of the island. One of these was found some years back at Palaeokastro. It is of red cornelian perforated longitudinally (Fig. 19), and shows on its lower face a rude intaglio of a ship. Another specimen of a similar cornelian bead also came under my notice in the same Cretan region. But these duck

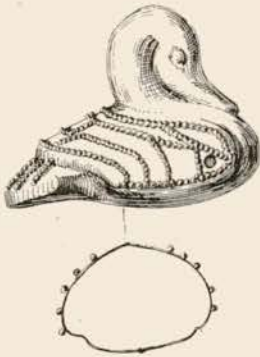


FIG. 18.—GOLD PENDANT IN FORM OF DUCK ($\frac{1}{2}$).

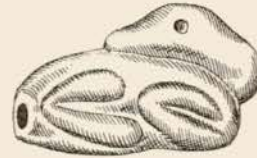


FIG. 19.—CORNELIAN DUCK BEAD ($\frac{3}{4}$).



FIG. 20.—EGYPTIAN DUCK BEAD ($\frac{1}{2}$).

beads are simply an imitation of contemporary Nilotic types. There is in the Ashmolean Museum¹ a bead of this form also of red cornelian (Fig. 20), which might have stood as the prototype of that from Palaeokastro, with a cartouche below containing the name of Amenhotep III. (c. 1400 B.C.). The gold pendant bead must also be traced back to the same class of Egyptian models.

§ 12.—THE HALL OF THE DOUBLE AXES AND ITS SOUTHERN PORTICO.

In the doorway leading from the Lower East-West Corridor to the Hall of the Double Axes was part of a steatite vase presenting a variety of the usual 'caliciform' type with a double series of petals. As already

¹ Fortnum Collection.

noted, the former existence of a large window, opening from the light area of the Hall into the Corridor, now explains the appearance of collapse that characterises the upper courses of limestone masonry belonging to the section immediately to the right of the doorway on entering (Fig. 21). The whole upper part of the wall has only been saved from utter ruin by the fallen materials from above that had found their way into the aperture.

The horizontal cavity which runs along the West and South sides of the light area of this Megaron between the fourth and fifth courses of masonry was wrongly interpreted in the previous Report.¹ This gap in

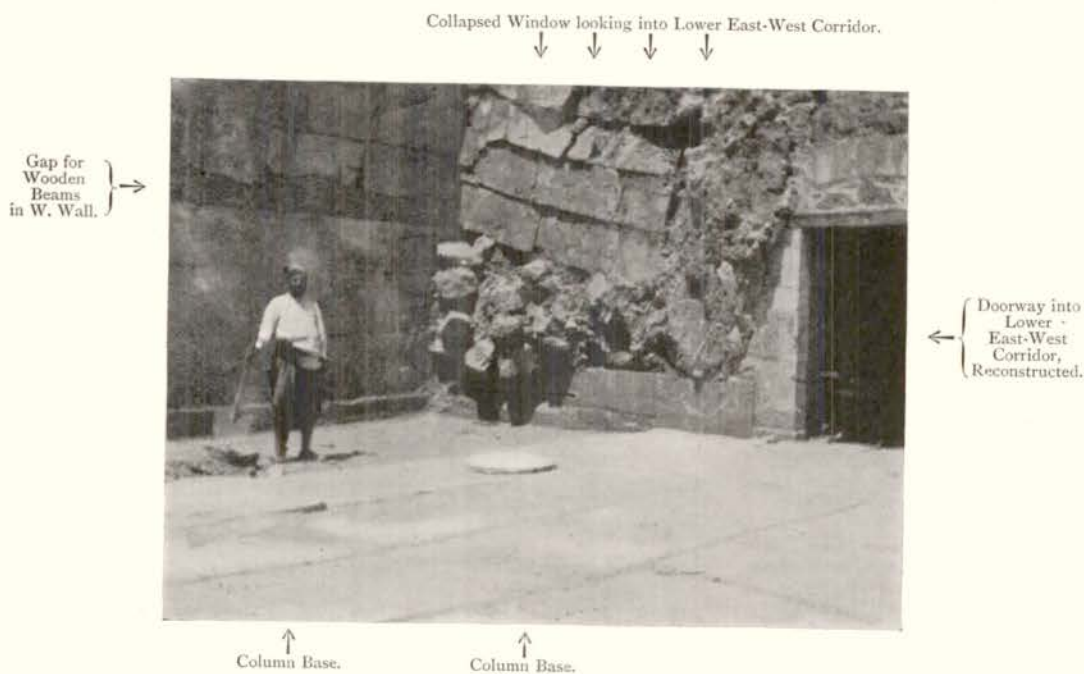


FIG. 21.—VIEW IN HALL OF DOUBLE AXES SHOWING COLLAPSED WINDOW OFF LIGHT AREA.

the masonry, as there noted, had been partly filled with coarse lime and terracotta cement in which were visible a succession of round sockets originally occupied by sections of wooden beams. It was suggested that these beams had projected into the end of the Hall, where they had formed the base of a kind of raised wooden platform.

¹ *Report, &c.* 1901, p. 113.

But the examples of construction since supplied by the porcelain houses and miniature shrine, and the further evidence afforded by neighbouring rooms has now made it clear that the round sockets in question contained nothing more than short sections of beams answering in length to the thickness of the wall. What we have here to deal with is, in fact, merely an architectural survival derived from the old rubble and timber construction, a regular feature of which was the laying of courses of short round beams at intervals in the walls, the ends of which were visible in the face of the building separated by plaster-covered zones or panels.

The round beam ends so much affected by the Mycenaean builders were translated into stone or plaster in the shape of rosettes and coloured disks which are their decorative survival. It is obvious that the wooden beam ends thus arranged symmetrically along the walls of the light area of the Hall of the Double Axes were masked by ornamental features of this kind. Its prominent position makes it not improbable that the surface of the cavity in which the round beam ends lay was covered, in this case, with decorative reliefs in metal-work, representing rosettes, with or without connecting spirals. These, like all other objects of metal on which the occupants could lay their hands, were doubtless removed at the time of the destruction of the Palace.

Nor is direct evidence wanting as to the general character of the design here exhibited. The band formed round the light area by the gap between the fourth and fifth courses of masonry was in fact continuous along the interior walls of the Hall of the Double Axes immediately above the gypsum slabs (almost exactly 2 metres in height) which formed their lower lining. There are here, indeed, no traces of round beam ends, but there are visible in places the sockets of horizontal beams which formed the backing of the plaster along this zone.

The same system of construction is continued uninterruptedly by a small passage, to be described below, to an inner hall and a bath chamber lined to the same level by gypsum slabs. But here, as will be shown in Section 15, the space immediately above the groove left by the horizontal beams is still filled in part with a painted frieze of spirals and rosettes. The intensity of the conflagration seems to have destroyed the frescoes in the body of the Hall of the Double Axes, but near its Southern Portico portions of painted frieze were found consisting of spirals and

rosettes and answering exactly to that in the adjoining bath-room. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this identical design followed the same zone in both rooms, and it is reasonable to suppose that, what is practically its continuation, the decorative band, namely, *ex hypothesi* of metal work that once masked the gap in the masonry of the light area, exhibited a closely parallel design.

Analogy might lead one to suppose that the gypsum slabs that originally lined the whole of the interior walls of the Hall of the Double Axes were coloured. But the corrosion of the surface on these lining slabs here and elsewhere has obliterated the evidence of this. These inner walls were divided into a succession of bays by fine upright posts of wood, between which was stone and rubble work, the whole surface being covered with a clayey plaster against which in turn the gypsum lining slabs were applied to a height of two metres.

Further exploration of the Eastern end of the Hall gave rise to an interesting development in the shape of a second Portico facing South (Fig. 22). This Portico, at right angles to that to the East, consisted of a massive corner base of limestone 1·10 metres square, common to both colonnades, three round column bases (·70 in diameter) and a pilaster in the wall-line to the West answering to the corner pillar.¹ Near the bases were masses of carbonised wood representing the remains of the pillars. Stone pavement extended to the outer line of the Portico, beyond which was a rectangular area about 4·30 metres wide and over 11 in length with a cement floor.

Above the level of this open space, especially along and in part overlying the good limestone courses that formed the lower part of its Western boundary wall, were found quantities of fallen stucco with fresco designs. This deposit, which also extended into the space beyond the wall, exhibited designs of fish and a female figure, described below, and it probably belonged mainly to the 'Queen's Megaron,' excavated on that side. A piece of bas-relief in coloured *gesso duro* was, however, of a character which points to a more public position, such as an open gallery. It consisted of a man's thigh life-size with the edge of a brilliantly coloured loin-cloth. With the plaster fragment were found fragments of painted Mycenaean pottery of the finest Later Palace style. About two metres beyond

¹ The spaces between the columns were 1·64 and 1·60 m., between the East column and pillar 2 m., between the West column and pilaster 1·98 m.

Village of Makryteichos.



Pillar Bases
on Upper
Floor Level. } →

Part of
N. Wall of
Queen's
Megaron
Enclosing
Private
Staircase. } →

Part of
E. Wall of
Queen's
Megaron. } →

←
← { Valley
of ancient
Kaeratos.
←

← { Corner Block
stepped
down E.

↑
Wood and Rubble Pillars above Lower Bases
Reconstructed to Support Upper Pillar Bases
and Pavement Found in Position.

↑
Column
Base.

↑
Line of
Pillar Bases.

↑
Column
Base.

↑
Line of
Column Bases.

↑
Corner
Pier.

FIG. 22.—VIEW OF EASTERN SECTION OF HALL OF DOUBLE AXES SHOWING E. AND S. PORTICOES.

the Northern column base of the East Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes is a curiously cut limestone block on a stepped pedestal, which seems to have been one of an outer line of piers in connexion with a broad line of steps descending East, that has now disappeared. The course of a large stone drain runs in front of the line.

The Hall of the Double Axes, with its two-fold Portico, formed a spacious chamber which, excluding the rectangular court to the South, embraces an area of somewhat over 250 square metres. It has the appearance of a large reception room, the post of honour in which, perhaps, marked by a movable throne, was probably against the North wall facing the middle of the Southern Portico and approached by the eleven openings between the pillars.

§ 13.—UPPER HALL OF THE DOUBLE AXES.

It has already been mentioned that a series of pillar bases and the intervening sections of pavement belonging to the room above the Hall of the Double Axes were found in position, only slightly sunk below their original level. Two further pillar bases subsequently came to light, corresponding to two of those found below facing the Southern Portico. The first series had been already temporarily supported in their position by means of a wooden scaffolding which, both in the case of these and the bases, has now been replaced by pillars of wood and stucco answering as nearly as possible in character to those which had originally stood there (see Fig. 22).¹ These rest on the original limestone bases.

A further hint as to the original construction of this upper room was the discovery above the floor level of the Southern Portico of a slab with a segmental cutting made for the insertion of part of the diameter of a column, like the parapet slabs that flank the impluvium of the Throne Room. We have here a valuable indication of the arrangement adopted in upper galleries answering to the Southern and Eastern Porticoes below. It is obvious that on the upper galleries some kind of breastwork was needed, and the analogy of the Throne Room makes it probable that a continuous stone bench ran here between the columns, as shown in Mr. Fyfe's upper storey plan on p. 57.

¹ The newly made supporting pillars with their corner posts of wood are clearly shown in this figure.

§ 14.—THE DOG'S LEG CORRIDOR AND THE DOMESTIC QUARTER OF THE PALACE.

Immediately opposite to the door at the upper end of the Hall of the Double Axes communicating with the Lower East-West Corridor, was another corresponding doorway. This, on being opened out and supported above by a flat arch as a protection against lateral thrust, gave access to a short paved passage with a turn at both ends, and to which from its shape the name of 'Dog's Leg Corridor' has been given. It is evident that this double turn greatly enhanced the privacy of the room beyond.

The Dog's Leg Corridor is finely paved with limestone slabs, and on its North and West sides retains the wainscoting of gypsum slabs, each about two metres in height and one metre in width, above which ran the groove already referred to, originally fitted with wooden beams laid horizontally. Above this again the wall construction, largely belonging to the upper storey, was preserved for a height of over five metres from the floor level.

This short corridor, after passing a limestone pier and plinth on the left, gave access to an interesting and quite original hall. This hall formed the principal room of a self-contained quarter of the Palace, having none of that semi-public character noticeable in the case of the Halls of the Double Axes and of the Colonnades. There is every appearance that we have here to deal with suites of private and domestic apartments, somewhat carefully secluded from the busier section immediately to the North of this with its great staircase and through corridors in direct connexion with stately halls that must have mostly served as a gathering-place for the men. In this quarter, on the other hand, we note on every side arrangements for securing privacy and comfort, together with sanitary conveniences in some ways ahead of anything the world was to see for the next three thousand years.

We have here (*see* pp. 56, 57, Plans, Figs. 29, 30) the centres of the domestic and family life of the Palace. To apply to this section indeed the oriental name of 'Haremlik' might convey a wrong idea, since there is no question—witness the miniature frescoes—of a rigorous separation of the sexes in the 'House of Minós.' We are at liberty to believe, however, that this secluded quarter was in a special way the domain of the women, and the distinctive name of the 'Queen's Megaron' has been accordingly given here to the most stately withdrawing room of this region.

§ 15.—THE QUEEN'S MEGARON WITH ITS BATH ROOM AND REMAINS OF WALL-PAINTINGS.

The hall here described as the 'Queen's Megaron' was found to be divided into an inner chamber, with an adjacent bath-room and elongated area, and an outer part consisting of a portico opening on another enclosed area that served as a light court on that side.

Of the back wall of this outer area, which separated it from the space in front of the South Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes, only two, or, in places, three courses remained in position. These courses are of good limestone masonry, and the disappearance of the upper part perhaps implies that it consisted of rubble masonry and timber, with the usual plaster facing. A later wall of poor construction had been built near the outer line of the Portico within. At the same time the masses of painted stucco that had presumably covered the original back wall of the light area had been cast aside and formed a heap above and on each side of its remaining lower courses.

This demolition and poor reconstruction leads us to a series of related phenomena that made themselves apparent not only in the 'Queen's Megaron' itself but throughout the whole of the deep cut section of the Palace South of the Quadruple Staircase and the Halls of the Colonnades and of the Double Axes. Throughout this area there were abundant signs, like those already noted in the Southern basements and in the rooms West of the Northern entrance, of a re-occupation in the mature Mycenaean Period. There is some evidence that the intensity of the conflagration which has left such obvious traces in the great halls to the North of this area was on this side so far mitigated that some even of the upper rooms were left in a more or less habitable state.

In clearing away in successive horizontal sections the deposit above the Queen's Megaron, which, towards its Western limit, attained a depth of over 6 metres, a series of large stirrup vases and amphoras were found, partly piled one over another, above the remains of pavement belonging to an upper floor level (See Fig. 23). It seemed indeed as if a large part of the original upper floor had been used as a magazine for these vessels, which with their coarse decoration of octopuses, or often simple bands, in dull colours, must be regarded as a characteristic product of the

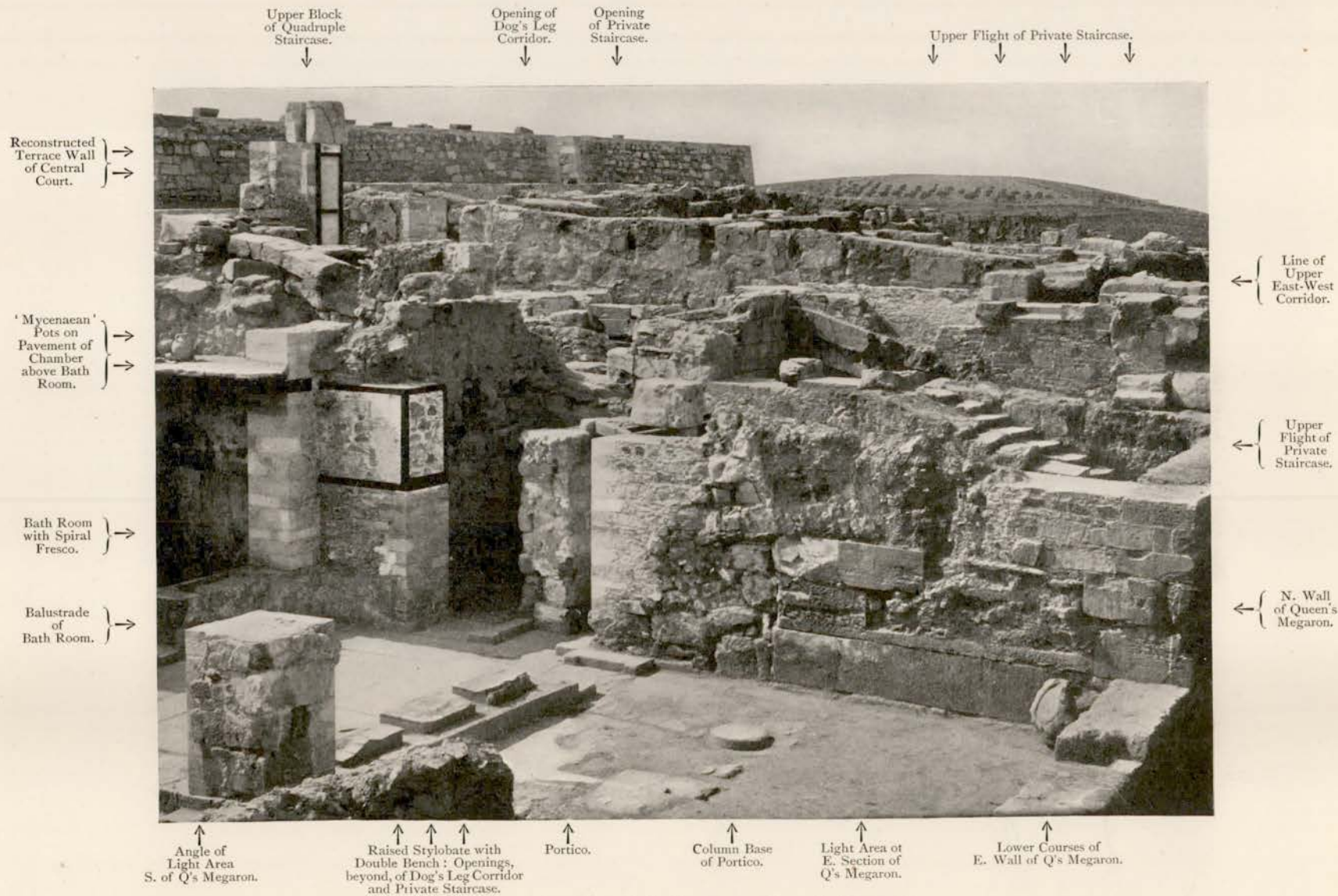


FIG. 23.—VIEW FROM S.E. CORNER OF QUEEN'S MEGARON.

Mycenaean Period proper. Over the body of the hall the remains of the upper floor level had fallen in at an early period, and the vases were found for the most part in a broken condition at a lower level. Above the little bath chamber however, thanks to a later supporting wall built above the balustrade, the store had been less displaced, and many vases in perfect condition were ranged against the walls of the upper storey room.

It looks as if shortly before the final desertion of the building a comprehensive plan of restoration had been set on foot throughout the region above defined. On approaching the floor of the Megaron below, there was found everywhere a stratum of lime, and the adjoining bath chamber had been used as a special deposit of the same material, while a late *pithos* full of lime stood in its entrance passage. A small chamber immediately South of the portico of the Megaron was found moreover to have been actually turned into a kiln, in which were found a number of mature Mycenaean cups and vases. It was obvious that the plaster on the North wall, as on the destroyed upper part of the East wall and again in the corridor leading to the inner rooms to the West, had been deliberately picked away and thrown aside in the heaps in which it was found. Oddly enough the earlier decorative plaster has only remained untouched in the upper part of the walls of the bath chamber, which itself had been converted into one of the chief receptacles for the restorer's lime.

It was not till after the removal of this thick lime deposit that the internal structure and arrangements of the Megaron could be fully made out (see Fig. 23). Both the interior part and the portico beyond were paved with fine limestone slabs, the pavement being replaced as usual by cement in the light areas to East and South. A more original feature was supplied by a raised base or stylobate which formed a division between the two halves of the Megaron, leaving a passage only at its Northern end.

The best idea of this structure will be given by the annexed plan and section (Fig. 24*a* and *b*), showing its existing state, and by the elevation and restored section (Fig. 25). The base was formed of limestone blocks, 26 cm. in height, faced with gypsum slabs, the whole breadth of the base being almost exactly a metre. Along the centre of this ran a raised ledge of varied composition, stone, rubble and plaster, on which were laid gypsum slabs with raised intervals between forming the bases of narrow piers. The lower ledges on either side of this central system had been covered with wooden boards, a good deal of which was preserved in

a carbonised state, and the surface of this again was coated with cement. This plaster covering curved up against the slightly bevelled edges of the centre slabs (see Fig. 25) so as to get a good grip of the wood and at the same time to form a curved termination of the seat back similar to that found in the throne, and other examples. The stylobate thus fulfilled a two-fold function. It acted as the base of the narrow pillars, which, while leaving broad light openings, supported the room above. At the same time it provided a double bench. This bench was, as we have seen, of comfortable con-

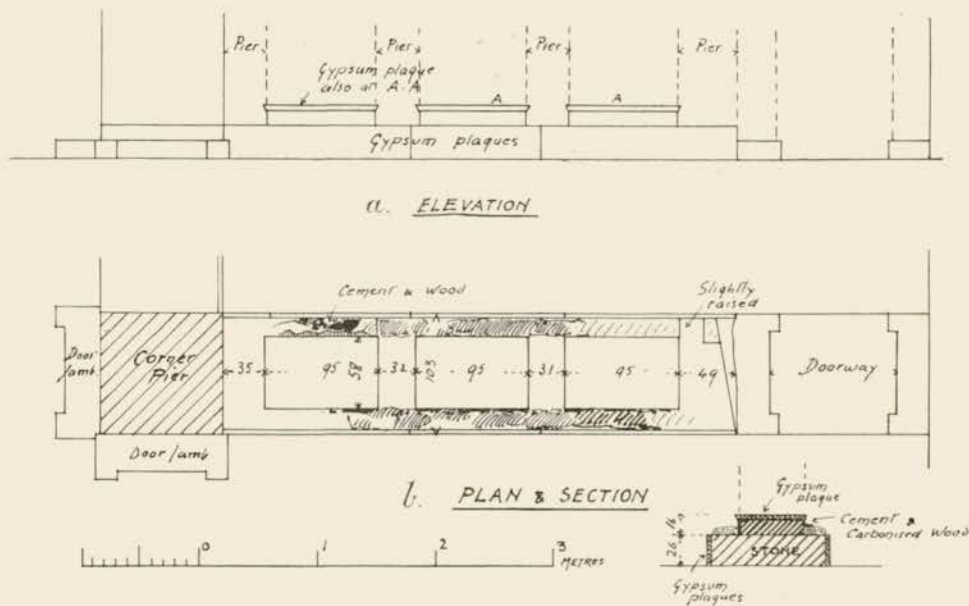


FIG. 24.—PLAN, SECTION, AND ELEVATION OF RAISED STYLOBATE WITH DOUBLE BENCH.

struction and the woodwork certainly projected sufficiently beyond the line of the stone to give the required depth for a seat. The moulded stucco surface of this was doubtless also covered with cushions.

The total height of the seat from the ground may have been about 30 centimetres. This is lower than the benches of the Throne Room, but considerably higher than the plaster seat of the "Cook" in the small chamber behind it. It must however be borne in mind that this last mentioned seat was specially arranged for a person, presumably of menial condition, engaged in preparing food on a table only slightly raised above

the floor level. It cannot therefore be regarded as conclusive for the height of the Minóan ladies' seats. On one of the Zakro gems for instance¹ a female figure, probably intended for a Goddess, is seen seated on a kind of stool without a back, the top of which comes nearly to the level of her bent knee. But there is no reason to suppose that the benches in the 'Queen's Megaron' were reserved specially for women. This was rather the general withdrawing-room of the family quarter of the Palace.

Along the South side of the inner part of the Megaron, facing the door opening from the 'Dog's Leg Corridor,' was another similar stylobate,

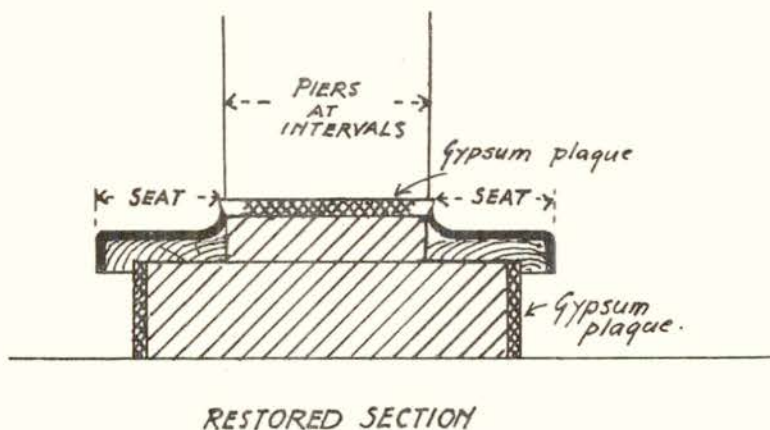


FIG. 25.—RESTORED SECTION OF STYLOBATE WITH DOUBLE BENCH.

formed in the same way of limestone blocks with a facing of gypsum plaques. It was of the same length as the other, but in this case the seat had only existed on the inner side. There was indeed no passage on this line into the light area beyond,—the stylobate running without a break from a square inner pier of good ashlar masonry to another pier forming the South-West corner of the room. The upper structure here has disappeared, but the former existence of a similar layer of woodwork was evidenced by certain mortises and dowel holes on the upper surface of the limestone blocks. From the fact that the length of this stylobate was

¹ D. G. Hogarth, 'The Zakro Sealings,' *J.H.S.* xxii., Pl. VI. 3; and cf. p. 77, Fig. 2.

the same as the other, we may assume that it supported the same number of pillars with equal intervals between them.

The openings here were devised to give light from a narrow elongated area, about 1.40 metres wide, which derives a special interest from the character of its South wall. This wall consists of exceptionally large blocks (about 2.38 metres in length by 0.68 in height) somewhat roughly faced, in contrast with the smooth ground surface of the later masonry, and incised with the spray or branch sign, larger and deeper cut than the signs of the existing Palace. The blocks, moreover, had a more distinct clay bedding (necessitated by the unfinished surface) than is usually found in the building. This was particularly conspicuous in the horizontal lines—attaining a thickness of about a centimetre. There can be no doubt that this is one of the earliest existing walls of the building, and that it goes back at least to the close of what may be called the 'Middle Minóan Period.'

Another interesting feature about this light area is that in order to enable the light to slant in to the adjacent hall, the wall—or rather the later addition to it—steps back above.

It seems certain that this light area was during the latest Palace period covered with a brilliant stucco decoration. A pile of this, perhaps torn down at the moment of the would-be restoration, lay in the innermost corner of the area and supplied the evidence of a quite unique method of relief. This is illustrated by the fragment exhibiting part of a bird shown in Fig. 26, *a, b, c*. The bird itself, which is on a white ground, has long curving wings and feathers of brilliant and varied hues, red, blue, yellow, white and black.

The moulding of the relief as shown in the side view (*b*), and section (*c*) does not correspond with any recognised canons of relief. The wing ends are executed in a kind of sharp bas relief, but the tail feathers can best be described as cut in intaglio. It looks indeed, as if an artist accustomed to the technique of gem engraving had transferred the process to moulded *gesso duro*. Such a combination of crafts recalls the early Renaissance.

The interior part of the 'Queen's Megaron,' namely that directly approached from the Hall of the Double Axes, was thus lighted by a double series of pillar openings, one looking towards its East Portico, the other facing the Area of the Bird Relief on the South, and both flanked by shapely

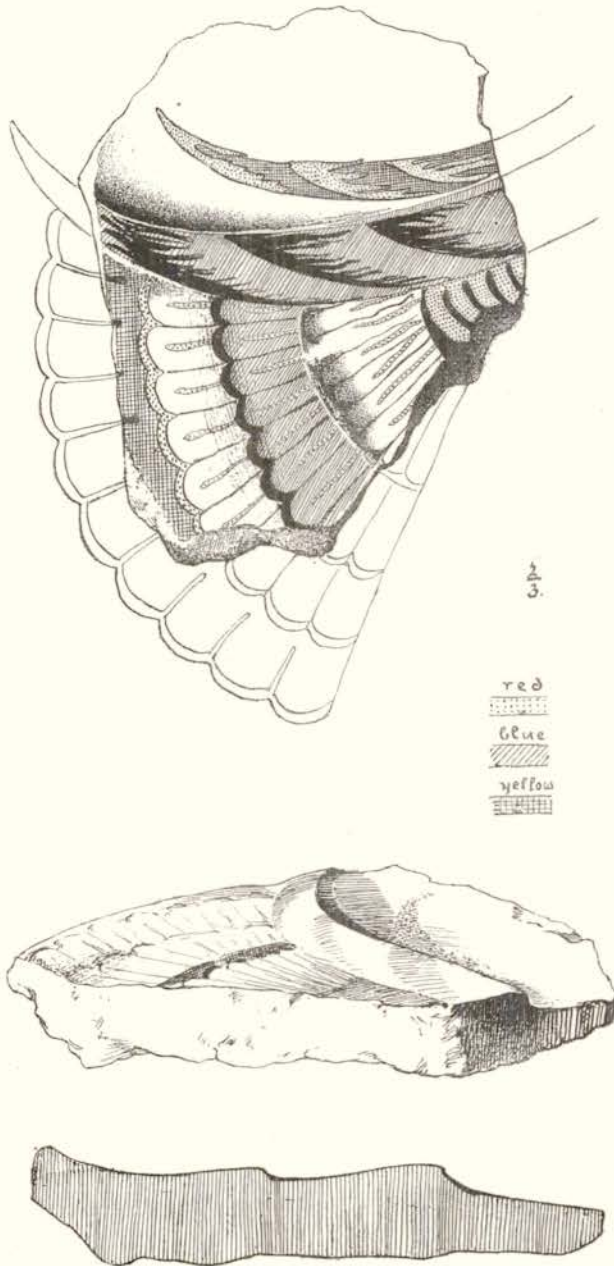
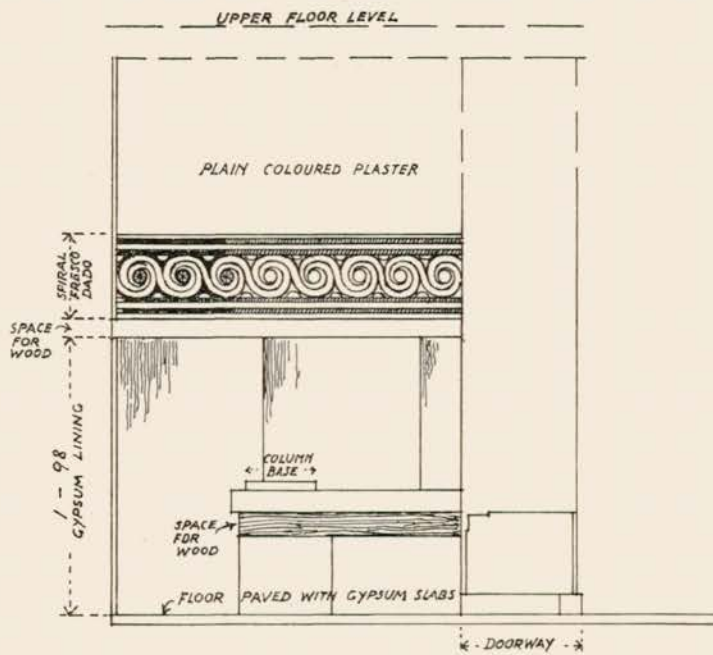


FIG. 26.—VIEWS AND SECTION OF PAINTED RELIEF SHOWING BIRD'S TAIL AND WINGS.

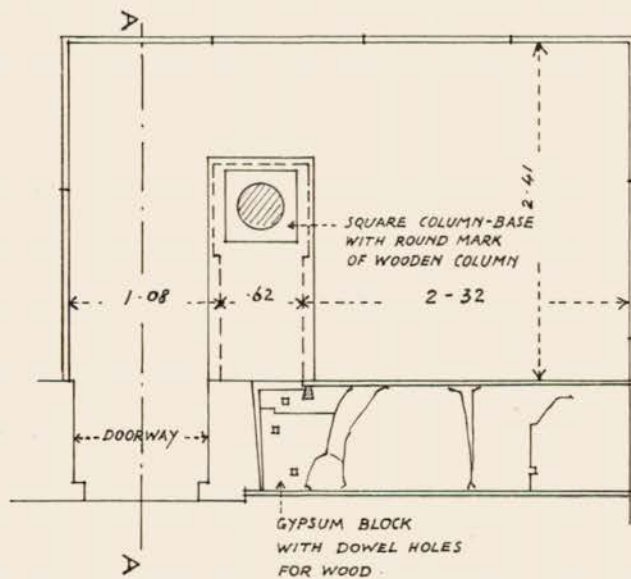
benches. In the North-West corner, immediately to the right on entering, was the small bath chamber already mentioned.

This bath-chamber, the details of which can be gathered from the annexed plan and elevation (Fig. 27, *a* and *b*), was flanked, like the Palace baths already described, by a balustrade, with corner and terminal piers. The latter of these was a column base, still showing the circular mark of a wooden column 31 centimetres in diameter. The corner pier had dowel-holes for the wooden part of a pillar of the usual composite construction. The walls showed the characteristic gap for plaster and woodwork below the coping slabs, and the limestone blocks below this were faced, like the neighbouring stylobates, by gypsum plaques.

This bath-chamber differed in an essential point from those found elsewhere in the Palace.



a. SECTIONAL ELEVATION ON LINE "A A"



b. PLAN



FIG. 27 a, b.—PLAN AND SECTIONAL ELEVATION OF BATH ROOM WITH PAINTED SPIRAL FRIEZE.

It had no descending steps, the basin being on the same level as the floor of the adjoining Megaron. It was constructed for a portable bath, and in fact considerable remains of a large painted terracotta bath were found in the portico of the neighbouring hall, having doubtless been turned out when the bath-chamber was used as a lime-store.

Neither was this bath-chamber in any way an 'impluvium' like that of the Throne Room. The present chamber was roofed over, and the openings between the pillars here were not for letting in light into the adjoining hall, but for enabling the light of the Megaron to penetrate into the bath-room, where, however, privacy may at any time have been attained by drawing curtains between the pillars.

Apart from other evidence of the existence of a room above, the good state in which the interior of the bath-room was found may be taken to show that it had not been exposed to the weather. The gypsum lining slabs, about 2 metres in height, were here exceptionally well-preserved, and above the upper margin of these were considerable remains of a frieze of painted stucco, already referred to in the treating of the 'Hall of the Double Axes.' The central band of this frieze or dado, which was about half a metre in width, consisted of rosettes, or conventional marguerites, linked by running spirals, with half rosettes in the angles.¹

The communication from the inner part of the Queen's Megaron with its small bath room and double stylobate is confined to a single opening, which may be regarded rather as a passage-way between half pillars, like those of the Hall of the Double Axes, than a doorway proper. The outer portion of the Megaron thus entered, flanked by a bench answering to that on the other side of the stylobate, consisted of a paved portico with two column bases 65 centimetres in diameter, facing to the East the enclosed light-area already referred to. On the South a doorway led from the portico to a small square room (that used later as a lime-kiln) with two other doorways, one communicating with the Area of the Bird Relief, the other leading through a narrower chamber to a passage opening opposite the South Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes. There was therefore a means of access to the Queen's Megaron from the East, though evidently controlled by a strict system of guardianship and surveillance. Three separate doors had to be passed and two small chambers to be traversed to enter from this side.

¹ See D. T. Fyfe, *op. cit.*, *Journal of R.I.B.A.*, 1902, p. 120, Fig. 43 (upper fig.).

In the North Wall of this outer section of the 'Queen's Megaron' were some exceptionally large limestone blocks—one 2·71 metres in length



FIG. 28.—WALL-PAINTING OF LADY, APPARENTLY DANCING.

by 0·72 high—several of them marked with the Double Axe sign. This wall, which formed part of the casing of the private staircase to be described below, had been entirely denuded of its stucco decoration. It is possible,

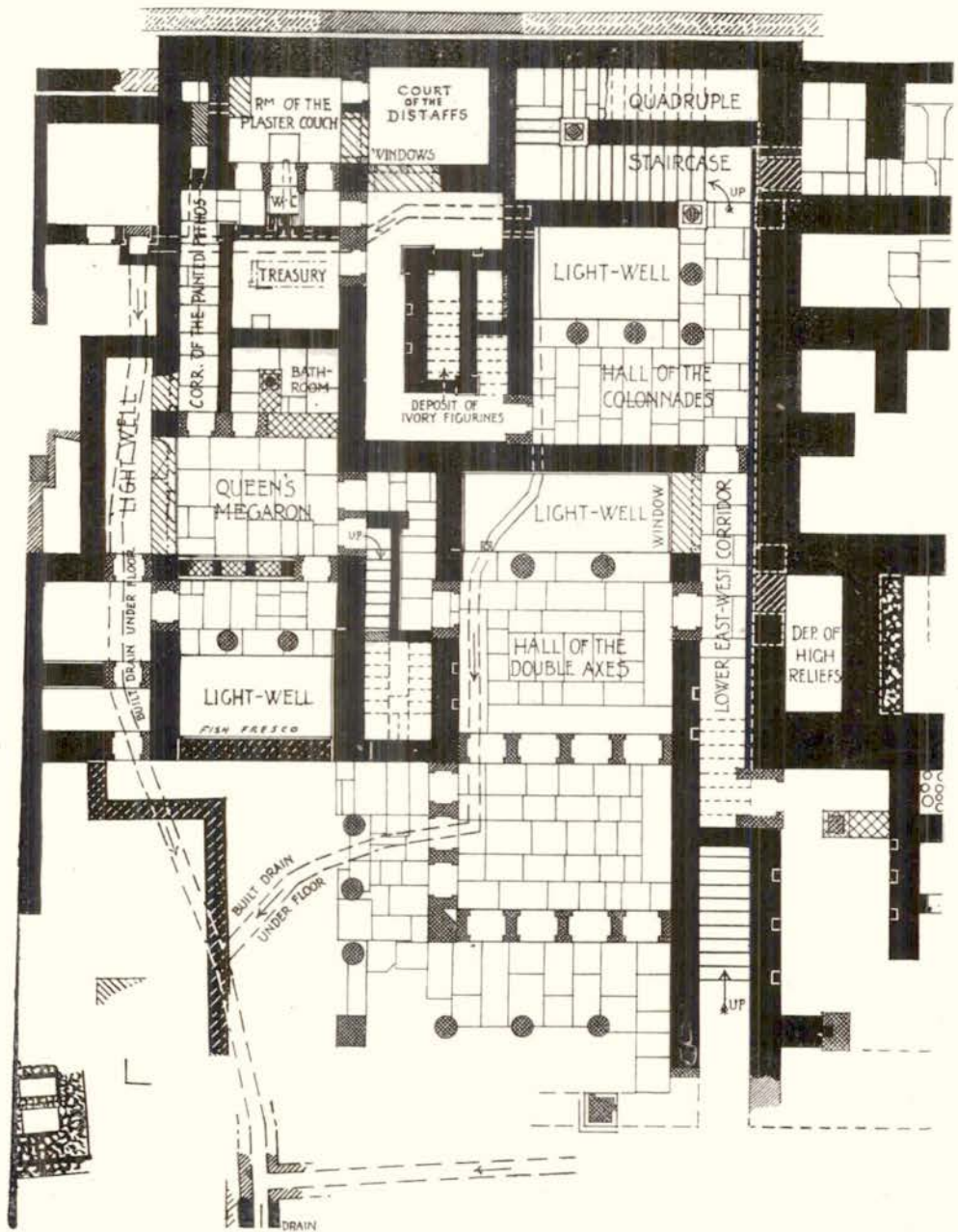


FIG. 29.—GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF DOMESTIC QUARTER AND ADJOINING HALLS.

DEEP PART OF EAST-SLOPE
PLAN OF UPPER FLOOR

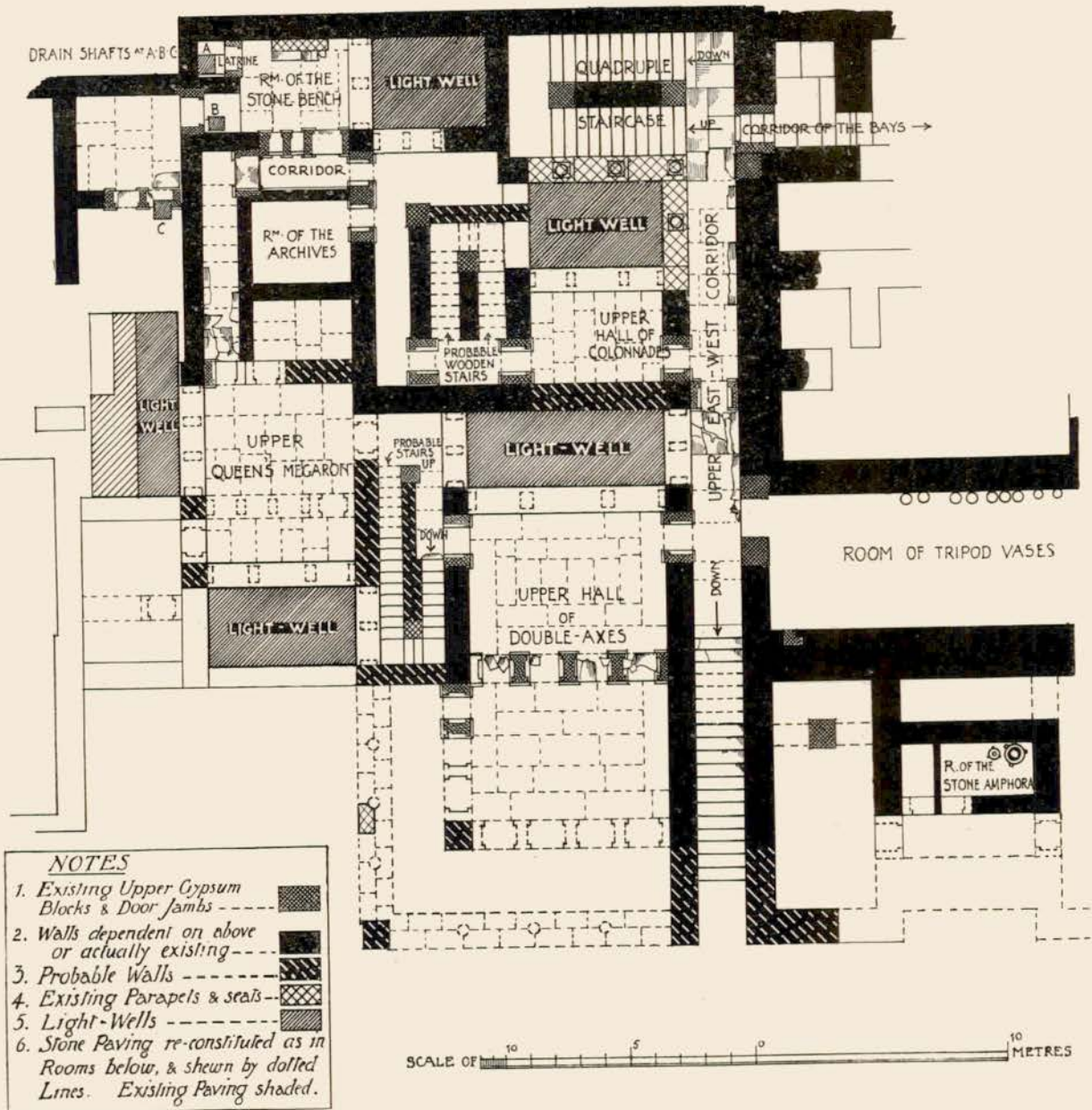


FIG. 30.—UPPER FLOOR PLAN OF DOMESTIC QUARTER AND ADJOINING HALLS.

however, that a spirited design of the upper part of a lady (Fig. 28) found at a low level in the neighbouring heap of detached plaster belonged to this space. The figure is about half the natural size, and seems from the way in which her tresses fly out in opposite directions to be engaged in somewhat energetic action, but her attire is not of the same masculine type as that of the female toreadors. She is clad in a jacket of the ordinary type, with a yellow ground and blue and red embroidered border, beneath which is a diaphanous chemise, its upper line showing clearly across the chest. Her left arm is bent and her right stretched forward. Her features are fairly regular, and a slight dimple is traceable at the corner of her lips, which, however, is hardly the *σεμνὸν μεδίασμα* of Archaic Greek art. She is possibly one of a group of dancers like those that appear with raised arms on one of the miniature frescoes. Unfortunately a part of the right arm, which might have afforded some clue to the meaning of the design, is missing, but it is not difficult to believe that figures such as this, surviving on the Palace walls even in their ruined state, may lie at the root of the Homeric passage describing the most famous of the works of Daedalos at Knossos—the 'Choros' of Ariadnê.

Of the character of the decoration of the back wall of the light court of the Megaron there can be little doubt. Of the heaps of detached pieces of painted stucco that lay along its line the most abundantly represented were derived from a great marine piece containing a large number and variety of fishes. The larger pieces of the design belonged to two dolphins and to a certain extent completed one another, one set belonging to the tail end, another to the head. Both these and the numerous smaller fry were most naturalistically rendered, and, though among the preserved fragments there were no flying fishes, there could be no doubt that the whole belonged to the same class as the marine fresco from Phylakopi.¹ The spirited character of the designs, the prevailing colours of the fish, blue of varying shades, black and yellow, the submarine rocks with their coralline attachments, and still more the manner of indicating the sea itself, proclaim identity of method. In both cases it was found advisable to reserve the different tones of blue for the fish themselves and to give their outlines greater relief by leaving the ground white, while at the same time the marine element was gracefully indicated by azure wreaths and coils of dotted spray. The spray and bubbles fly off at a tangent from the fins and tails, and give

¹ *Annual B.S.A.* iv. Pl. III.

the whole a sense of motion that could not otherwise be attained. It is evident that the panel of similar fresco from the Melian site belongs to the Knossian School and may even have been imported ready-executed from Crete like some of the fine Palace pottery found in the same building.

The covering of the wall of the light area, facing the seat beneath the portico, with this marine design suggests interesting comparisons. The whole is the artistic substitute for a natural view, identical in intention with the landscape scenes that form such a favourite feature of the blind walls that shut in the smaller courts and areas of Italian villas, and which are supposed to cheat the eye with the illusion of a free outlook. On this side those seated in the adjoining portico might seem to see the fishes of the sea disporting themselves, while the flying bird of the area lighting the Queen's Megaron on the South may be taken to represent a fragment of a similar scene borrowed this time from the fields and woods.

§ 16—PRIVATE STAIRCASE FROM THE 'QUEEN'S MEGARON' TO
THALAMOS ABOVE.

An interesting feature connected with the Queen's Megaron remains to be described. The right door jamb facing the entrance of the Dog's Leg Corridor, was found to have a double reveal indicative of a second doorway, the other jamb of which presently appeared. The fondness of the Palace architect for double doorways is conspicuous, and it seemed at first as if in this case this second portal was of a more or less decorative kind—leading perhaps to a small closet—the more so as the opening was partly blocked by a pier belonging to the wall of the adjoining corridor.

Even supposing that the upper part of the third door jamb, which consisted of wood and plaster, had been originally splayed back, the opening here could not have been more than 70 centimetres or rather less than 28 inches in width.

The surprising discovery was made, however, that this narrow opening nevertheless gave access to a stone staircase, affording a private means of communication with the upper-rooms. This staircase was 92 centimetres in width,¹ somewhat broader than its entrance and its lower flight was very

¹ The steps had 36 cm. tread and 12 riser.

well preserved. This consisted of a first flight of fourteen steps, a landing with three more, flanked by a square pillar, and an upper flight, originally consisting of nine or ten steps, of which seven were preserved. This upper flight led to a landing with a doorway, on the right of which both jambs were preserved, leading to the upper Hall of the Double Axes. The private staircase from the Queen's Megaron had the effect therefore of bringing this fine Upper Hall into the system of domestic rooms. The Upper Hall of the Double Axes had, in fact, no direct connexion with the more public Hall immediately below it, though it stood in communication with the Upper East-West Corridor.

Beyond this doorway the staircase landing merged in a short passage above the Dog's Leg Corridor and thus gave access through a second doorway (no longer preserved) to the upper room or rooms above the Queen's Megaron. From this, in turn, an Upper Corridor, part of the pavement of which has been preserved, led West to the upper storey room of the Domestic Quarter to be described below. (See Plan, Fig. 30, p. 57.)

Near the point where the first floor landing-passage of the Private Staircase would have entered the 'Upper Queen's Megaron,' a sunken block was found which reveals an interesting fact. This block, which resembles one on the first landing of the staircase and other staircase blocks found on the site, had sunk to the position in which it was found from an upper landing. In other words the staircase was originally continued to a second floor and there were at least three storeys in this part of the building.

In excavating the staircase a fine bronze chisel¹ was found together with fragments of fresco and a clay seal impression—a galloping bull with a fish below—a curious anticipation of the coin types of Thurii. The upper flight was partly choked with plain pottery belonging to the Re-occupation Period, including numerous pedestalled cups of the 'champagne glass' type.

§ 17.—THE BACK ROOMS OF THE DOMESTIC QUARTER: GROUND FLOOR. (SEE PLAN, FIG. 30, P. 57.)

Immediately South of the entrance to the Bath Room of the Spiral Fresco, another doorway, 87 cm. in width, leads from the Queen's

¹ 9.4 cm. long, 0.9 broad at edge.

Megaron to a corridor which brings it into connexion with the back ground-floor rooms of this Domestic Quarter of the Palace.

At the entrance of this corridor stood a large pithos, both in form and decoration different from any of the jars found in the various Magazines. It was shaped like an ordinary tub, and displayed a zone of continuous spirals broadly painted in black. It had been filled with lime and set in the position where it was found (blocking the passage way) at the time of the Mycenaean 'restoration,' but it is by no means so certain that the *pithos* itself belonged to this later period. The painted decoration recalls the jars of the latest pre-Mycenaean period, lately found in Magazines below the floor of the Great Megaron at Phaestos. The shape on the other hand suggests the tub-like receptacles for flowers and shrubs that appear on the background of certain scenes on Mycenaean gems. This painted clay tub had been placed for security on the upper ledge of the Southern light area of the Queen's Megaron, and it is by no means impossible that this ledge may have been originally adorned with large pots of this kind containing flowering plants.

The Corridor of the Painted *Pithos* runs under the passage already referred to as leading from the Upper Queen's Megaron to the rooms on the same storey at the back, and of which on this side one of the door jambs and part of the pavement was found in position. The lower gallery would have been quite dark had it not been for a window immediately to the left on entering, the masonry forming the East side of which is splayed back—the effect of the squint being to afford passage for the maximum of light from the 'Area of the Bird Relief,' on the extreme corner of which it opens. The corridor, finely paved with limestone slabs, is about 1.40 metres in width; the walls on the South side show good masonry, that on the North being of somewhat rougher construction. The original stucco covering has for the most part been stripped off from both walls. At the point where the passage makes a sudden turn to the North, however, remains of the fresco-coating were still visible showing a band of spirals¹ resembling that of the bath room, but without rosettes and placed at a lower level. It runs at a height of 78 cm. from the ground and is 50 cm. in breadth.

The fact that the Corridor of the Painted *Pithos* does not run straight from one room to the other, but has a short turn, or rather double turn, is very characteristic of the Palace architecture in this region, and has been

¹ See D. T. Fyfe, *Journ. R.I.B.A.* 1892, p. 111, Fig. 8.

already illustrated by the Dog's Leg Corridor. It seems to have been a device for insuring greater privacy.

At the North corner, where the short inner turn of the Corridor begins, was a square gypsum block and considerable remains of the timber frame of a flat arch about the height of an ordinary doorway, the masonry above which was found in position supporting the stone jambs and threshold of the corresponding turn of the Upper Corridor. The actual door to the inner room was not however at this point. Immediately beyond the arch the passage way was once more diverted by a partition wall of gypsum slabs, so that, to pass the door jambs that gave entrance to the room in question, it was necessary to turn once more to the right about.

The characteristic feature of the ground floor room thus approached, so far as concerns its interior arrangements, was an oblong platform of plaster-covered stonework in its S.W. corner, 1.50 metres in length by 0.80 in width. There can be little doubt that this was the support of some kind of bed or couch, and it recalls rectangular platforms of the kind in some of the Mycenaean Chamber Tombs at Phaestos, on which were found the skeletons of bodies laid out in the sleep of death. This 'Room of the Plaster Couch,' may therefore be regarded as having served as a bedroom. It was covered with a cement floor, except for one large slab in the middle of its Eastern border, with an aperture used for flushing a drain, to be referred to below.

This slab in fact was opposite the entrance jambs of a latrine, a description of which is reserved for a succeeding Section, in connexion with the drainage system of this quarter. Its South partition wall was that which had turned off the entrance passage described above. Beyond the North partition wall of this closet was another doorway, with remains of its wooden framework and red coloured stucco, giving access to a corridor leading by a double turn to the Hall of the Colonnades. The Eastern side of the room thus shows a succession of four limestone jambs and bases with reveals, originally surmounted by as many pillars supporting the upper storey. Three stone pillar bases of the upper storey answering to them in number, but not quite in relative position, were found compacted together by means of intervening pavement slabs forming a fine line of masonry, which, especially in its central part, had somewhat sagged down below its original level. This has been preserved (slightly raised, to its original level), by means of brick piers built above the lower pillar bases.

The South and West walls of the room were constructed of rubble masonry, but the North wall showed fine limestone blocks above and below. In the North-West corner was another doorway leading to a small court which served as a light area. To the right of this exit the upper limestone courses had sunk a good deal, and between them and the lower courses was a space filled with earth and rubble. This subsidence was due to the fact that the whole upper part of this North wall had been originally supported on wooden beams and pillars forming the frame-work of a large double window opening on to the Court, and thus giving sufficient light to the room. The limestone blocks above the original window opening were photographed and numbered in their relative positions and replaced at their original level above a new supporting wall, on the cement facing of which the form of the window was traced. The somewhat naive trust of the Minôan builders in the strength and durability of wooden supports at least bears witness to the massiveness of the timber employed. In the present case there was not even a flanking pillar of stone by the doorway as might naturally have been expected.

The walls of the Room of the Plaster Couch had lost their stucco covering, but the remains of a fine dado of gypsum slabs, 2 metres high and 1·20 broad, were visible round the South and West walls and above this a gap for wooden beams, which we may infer to have been originally marked by a painted frieze of spirals and rosettes like that of the adjoining Corridor and Bath Room.

The North-West door of the 'Room of the Plaster Couch' gave access as already stated to a small Court (4·50 metres North-South by 3·50 East-West) which serves as its light area. The walls of this Court, except the spaces reserved for the windows, were of fine limestone blocks with the usual gap for woodwork about 2 metres from the floor. Along the foot of the North wall was a projecting course, which seems, when coated with its original stucco covering, to have been used as a seat.

On the East Wall of this Court was a second double window like that looking out from the Room of the Plaster Couch, giving light, in this case, to an alcove and to the Corridor leading towards the Hall of the Colonnades. The dowel holes in the stones that formed the sill of this window, about 40 centimetres above the floor level, clearly showed how the wooden posts—two side posts and one in the centre—had been arranged. Considerable remains of these and the massive lintel above were indeed

found in a carbonised condition amidst the debris which had worked its way into this opening and helped to support the limestone blocks above. It was thus possible to restore the whole framework of the windows,



FIG. 31. — VIEW IN COURT OF THE DISTAFFS, SHOWING RESTORED FRAMEWORK OF WINDOW.

the somewhat sunken limestone courses above being raised to their original position (see Fig. 31).

An interesting feature of the limestone blocks of this small Court was the repetition of a sign like a two pronged fork with two cross-lines between

the prongs—sometimes reduced to a single cross-line—(Fig. 32 *c* and *d*). But this mark has a peculiar interest from the fact that it recurs in somewhat fuller and more realistic form among the signs of the pictographic Cretan series (Fig. 32 *a*, *b*). It is seen in this case accompanied by a sort of pendant and in my first account of the Cretan pictographs I had been inclined to regard it as some kind of *sistrum*. That is a possible view, but it seems to me to be more natural to regard it as a simple representation of a forked distaff with the thread and pendant spindle—a type of distaff which may still be seen in the hands of the peasant women in parts of Southern Europe.

The distribution of this sign on the Palace blocks is interesting. It only occurs in connexion with this 'Domestic Quarter.' It is frequently

FIG. 32 *a*.FIG. 32 *b*.FIG. 32 *c*.FIG. 32 *d*.

repeated on the South wall of the light-area of the Hall of the Colonnades above and below the double window looking into it from the back staircase of this region. It is found again in the Queen's Megaron on one of the door-jambs, the left on entering, leading to the private staircase, while the corresponding door-jamb on the right shows the Double Axe.

Can it be regarded as a sign of 'the spindle side' and a distinguishing mark of the chambers somewhat specially set apart for women? Or, if we are justified in believing that the marks on the Palace blocks have a consecrating value, can it be, like the distaff and spindle attributed to the Ilian Athênê, and perhaps the spindle whorls of pre-historic Troy, a sign of

female divinity? Its association with the Double Axe sign, the emblem of the tutelary male divinity of the Palace, points that way, but in this case too it would be specially appropriate for the Women's Quarter.

From the repetition of this sign on the walls of the small court with which we are dealing, it has seemed appropriate to name it the 'Court of the Distaffs.' There is no reason, however, for supposing that in its finished state these marks—which *ex hypothesi* were a sign of consecration for the material, like the dedications on Babylonian bricks—were visible to the eye. It seems probable that in all cases the fine limestone masonry of the small courts that serve as light areas in the Palace was brightened by a coating of painted stucco partly perhaps reproducing the lines of the stone-work, like the earlier 'Oscan' style of wall-painting at Pompeii. At Phaestos the limestone blocks of the outer Western wall showed abundant traces of the red-coloured plaster with which they had been originally adorned.

Part of a male figure in painted stucco found in this Court, and the loin-cloth of another with a brilliant needlework design of flowers and network¹ that lay near the doorway of the adjoining room, as well as a bull's foot in painted *gesso duro*, seem on the other hand rather to belong to the decoration of the usual rubble walls of the interior rooms or galleries. For we should naturally suppose that the coloured ornamentation of good masonry would be architectonic rather than pictorial in character.

Somewhat above the original floor level both in the Court and in the adjoining Room of the Plaster Seat were found abundant remains of rough Mycenaean pots—many of them 'Stirrup Vases' with octopuses painted on them—belonging to the Period of Re-occupation. At a lower level were found pieces of better Palace fabric. The most remarkable ceramic find, made a little above the floor level of the Court of the Distaffs, was a fine glazed and painted fragment showing part of an inscription in three linear characters of somewhat exceptional form (Fig. 33). This inscription, painted on the vase with the rest of its decoration before the firing, recalls the inscribed vases of Classical Greece and is the only specimen hitherto known belonging to the 'Mycenaean Period.'

The doorway at the North-East corner of the Room of the Plaster Couch leads by a double turn—analogueous to that in connexion with its South-East door—to a passage of about the same dimensions as the Corridor

¹ Fyfe, 'Painted Plaster Decoration of Knossos,' *Journ. R.I.B.A.* 1902, p. 128, Fig. 69, (but placed wrong way up).

of the Painted *Pithos* on the other side, but with a cement floor in place of limestone slabs. This passage, lit by the Southern half of the window of the adjoining Court, passes on the left the opening of a rectangular alcove, the lighting of which was effected by the Northern half of the same window. This alcove was very probably reserved for attendants or guards.

Beyond this, immediately on the right, is a door giving access to what is undoubtedly the most secluded room in this quarter of the Palace, described below as the Treasure Chamber, to the contents and



FIG. 33.—PART OF PAINTED VESSEL WITH INSCRIPTION.

character of which we shall return. Some six metres further on, the passage takes a turn at right angles to the left, and passing a kind of store cupboard—that of the ivory statuettes—and the entrance to a back staircase (see Section 18) emerges, through a door-opening, on to the inner corner of the Hall of the Colonnades. Through this Hall access would thus be gained either to the Quadruple Staircase and Central Court or by means of the lower East-West Corridor to the small rooms beyond its Eastern end, occupied in all probability by slaves or attendants. This unpaved back passage from the Room of the Plaster Couch must have been largely used as the service passage to the Domestic Quarter of the Palace.

Quantities of clay seal impressions, derived from the upper storey,

were found above the floor level of this passage from near the door of the Private Treasury onwards. Near the entrance to the Hall of the Colonnades there also came to light some curious clay labels, repeating the same linear inscription and figures and showing the impression of thick string with prominent twisted strands running through them, which had doubtless served to secure large packages or bales.

Throughout all this section the walls of the Corridor, which ascended well above the upper floor level, were in a dangerous condition, necessitating the construction of two brick arches. In addition to this, stone pillars had to be built on each side of the doorway leading to the Hall of the Colonnades, above which were laid iron bars to support the upper walling.

§ 18. THE TREASURE CHAMBER AND THE DEPOSIT OF IVORY FIGURES.

The secluded room already referred to as opening off the back passage behind the Room of the Plaster Couch was certainly the inmost nook of this part of the building, and from the difficulties that beset its approach, and a certain mystery attaching to it, it was jocosely spoken of in the course of the excavations as 'the Lair.' Its upper part was choked with debris from a chamber above it of the same square form, containing a mass of clay seal impressions, an indication that archives had been originally deposited in this upper chamber. Above these again was a stratum full of broken stirrup vases and other 'Mycenaean' pots of the usual rough class, showing that, like the neighbouring upper rooms, it had been used as a store room for these vessels in the period of Re-occupation.

The room itself contained the evidence of a gradual rising of the floor-level, the upper level, which was of stamped earth, not very clearly marked, being 35 centimetres above a lower flooring. But the most interesting and unique feature was the foundation of this lower floor. It consisted of solid limestone blocks forming a bedding over the whole room and near the West wall roofing over a main drain. This solid if somewhat rough flooring suggests the idea that it may have been a precautionary measure against any one trying to enter the room from below by means of the large stone conduit. The level of this layer of limestone blocks was about 80 centimetres below the top of the stone bases of the door jambs.

Except for the doorway itself, there was no opening into the room,

and it must have been quite dark. This circumstance explains the discovery on the lower floor level, near the South-West corner, of a pedestalled lamp of steatite of the usual Minôan class.

The possibility suggested by the seclusion of this chamber, and the solid blocks of the floor, that it was used as a repository for valuables—a kind of private treasury or wardrobe—was borne out by the finds made near the earlier floor level. Here, especially near the North-East and South-West corners, were found a variety of objects of gold, bronze, ivory, porcelain, rock crystal and other materials. The gold here found mostly consisted of quantities of thin plate or leaf, such as was applied to the surface of various materials by the Palace artificers. There was also found,

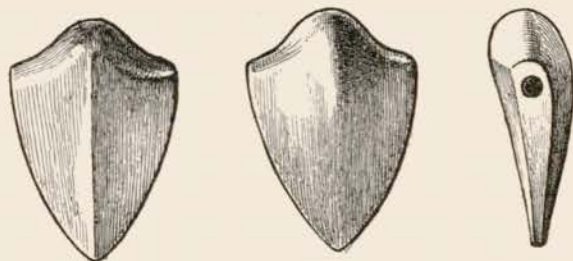


FIG. 34.—GOLD HEART-SHAPED PENDANT ($\frac{1}{4}$).

however, a solid heart-shaped jewel with a perforation showing that it was used as a pendant (Fig. 34). It is of the same form as a Mycenaean amethyst gem, with an intaglio representing a flying eagle and possibly linear characters below, obtained by me from the site of Knossos in 1894,¹ and a similar pendant in cornelian came to light near the Olive Press Area.

Among the other objects found in this deposit may be mentioned the following :

Bronze attachments (with gold plate adhering) and, below, carbonised wood, perhaps for a casket (see below Figs. 35-36).

Wing and leg of an ivory griffin, and head, apparently, of lion.

Fragments of ivory ornaments, including part of a bracelet covered with thin gold plate.

Parts of bull's head of 'porcelain' with gold tubes for horns and blue glass eyes.

Pieces of an ivory casket.

Porcelain plaques for inlay, a great variety, including rosettes, pieces resembling

¹ *Cretan Pictographs*, &c., p. 12 (281), Fig. 8.

oval shields; others of **A** shape, several with marks and numbers on their underside.

Jasper pommel of a sword or dagger.

Part of a bowl of rock-crystal (see below).

Crystal plaques for inlaying.

Remains of carbonised wood perhaps belonging to a box inlaid with porcelain plaques.

Miniature bronze axes with gold plate attaching (see below p. 101, Fig. 58).¹

Parts of diminutive bronze blades, perhaps representing swords, gold plate attaching.

Two small fragments of stucco with paintings in a miniature style; one showing part of a frieze with double axes, perhaps alternating with shields; the other a piece of a bull's head facing.

The last mentioned objects, notably the miniature Double Axes, look as if part of the treasure had been removed here from a shrine. It seems even possible, in view of the miniature temple of terra cotta, found in the Earlier Palace chamber (see above, p. 28 *seqq.*), that the miniature frieze with this sacred emblem belonged to a portable 'sacellum' with stucco decoration.

A still more important discovery threw further light on the character of the valuables originally deposited in this small 'Treasury.' Under the second flight of the back stairway (to be described below), there seems to have been a kind of closet, 1.15 metres wide, with its opening at the corner of the passage, about six metres beyond the door of the room with which we have been dealing. The front of the opening of this stair-cupboard was shut in below by a low stone breastwork, the top of which was about 85 centimetres above the floor of the passage. By the time of the Re-occupation, the lower part of the closet within this barrier had been partly choked with earth, and at about 70 centimetres from its original floor was traceable a second floor level, upon which were found several later Mycenaean amphorae and a stirrup vase with octopus decoration.

Below this later but still Mycenaean floor level was a stratum of deposit some 30 centimetres in thickness, covering the remains of vessels of the Later Palace Period, including a pedestalled vase with two vertical handles, identical, except for the absence of painted decoration, with a late Kamáres type found in the Palace of Phaestos.² Immediately below this deposit of 'Transitional Minóan' vessels there came to light the remains of a series of ivory figures together with other objects, showing

¹ One was found round the corner by the latrine.

² L. Pernier, *Scavi*, &c., 1900-1901. *Rapporto Preliminare*, p. 107, Fig. 39.

that this had originally been one and the same deposit with that of the little Treasure Room already mentioned. There was here, for instance, part of a crystal bowl of which another piece that fitted on to it was found with

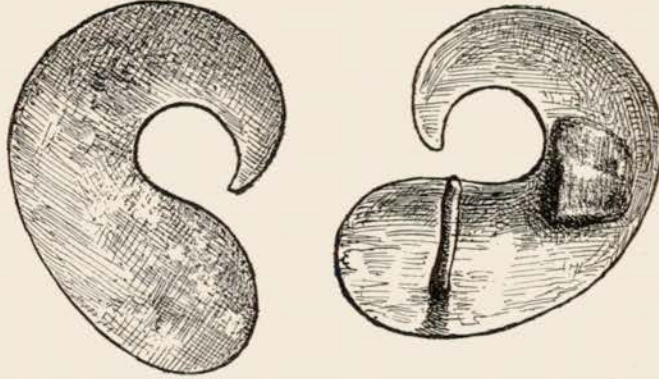


FIG. 35 *a* AND *b*.—DECORATIVE ATTACHMENT OF BRONZE, WITH GOLD PLATE ATTACHING.

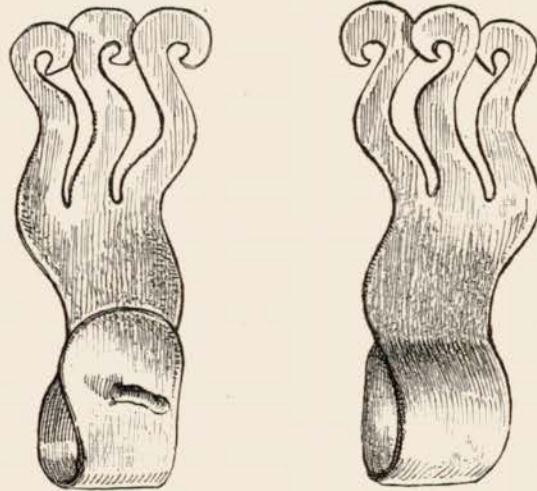


FIG. 36 *a* AND *b*.—DECORATIVE ATTACHMENT OF BRONZE, WITH GOLD PLATE ATTACHING.

the other deposit. Here also occurred part of a set of fittings, perhaps from a casket, made of bronze in some cases partly overlaid with gold plate, with curved terminations—some suggestive of a mane—and nail-like projections for attachment on their under side, of which other examples

were found in the neighbouring chamber (Figs. 35, 36). Similar pieces of porcelain inlay and an abundance of the same thin gold plate also came to light in this deposit.

Of much greater importance, however, were the ivories found, including, besides decorative pieces and an exquisitely carved wing of a bird, remains of human figures. When found these were in a very friable condition, but they were at once soaked in a solution of wax and paraffin at a high temperature, by which means a good deal of their original consistency was restored and their surface at the same time cleared of impurities.



FIG. 37.—PART OF IVORY HEAD, WITH CURLING LOCK OF BRONZE PLATED WITH GOLD ($\frac{2}{3}$).



FIG. 38.—HEAD OF IVORY FIGURE, SHOWING HOLES FOR ATTACHMENT OF LOCKS OF HAIR IN BRONZE AND GOLD ($\frac{2}{3}$).

The most remarkable of these ivories belonged to a series of figures of youths—possibly in one case of a girl—each of whom apparently is in the act of leaping with extended arms and head thrown back. Only in one case (Plates II. and III.) was enough of the trunk preserved to admit of the reconstitution of the whole figure. The waist alone—which has been supplied by wax—was here wanting. It was evidently, as in all the Palace figures, very narrow, and a strong presumption arises that it was surrounded by a metal band. The thin gold plate found with the figures further suggests that the usual loin cloth, which was certainly not wanting, was supplied by its means. On this and other examples the hair was reproduced in a curious manner by means of curling bronze wires with remains of gold

plating adhering to the bronze, several of which were found. Fig. 37 shows an example of one of these locks, somewhat corroded, still attached to a head. In Fig. 38 only the holes are shown. In this case there was evidently a row of shorter curls over the forehead. In several cases curving anklets and bracelets of the shape worn by the youths of the Procession Fresco are seen in relief round the ankles and wrists. The foot-gear consists of elegant shoes tapering to a slightly upturned point.

The figures were not cut out of solid pieces of ivory, the fore-arms being attached by means of joints and sockets in the manner illustrated by the specimen shown in Fig. 39. The height of the best preserved figure is 28.7 centimetres (about 11½ inches). From what has been said above it appears that these ivories were in a certain sense chryselephantine, and the question naturally suggests itself—was the ivory itself tinted? No trace of this is at present discernible, but the passion for colour is such an universal characteristic of Minōan Art, that it is probable that the male figures at any rate were originally stained of a ruddy hue.

The life, the freedom, the *élan* of these ivory figures is nothing short of marvellous and in some respects seems to overpass the limits of the sculptor's art. The graceful fling of the legs and arms, the backward bend of the head and body give a sense of untrammelled motion, to a certain extent attainable in painting or relief, but which it is hard to reconcile with the fixity of position inherent in statuary in the round. How were such figures supported? Not certainly by their taper feet or delicate fingers. It may be conjectured that they were in each case actually suspended from the girdle in a downward slanting position by means of fine gold wires or chains, recalling in this the *amorini* of Hellenistic jewellery and terracottas.

The naturalistic treatment of the individual parts of the body is quite in keeping with the animated appearance of the whole. The set of the arms and shoulders and the well-developed breast of the figure seen in Plates II. and III. point to careful physical training, and the slender limbs reveal great sinewy strength, though in some examples the treatment of the flesh is softer, and may, as suggested above, be due to a difference of sex. The arm represented in Fig. 39 gives a good idea of the fidelity in detail. While the development of the lower part of the biceps and of the succeeding supinator muscle are here well indicated, the extensors of the wrist and hand are shown in full action, and the veins of the back of the hand and even the finger-nails are minutely rendered.

These youthful figures are athletic—not to say acrobatic—in their nature, and certain parallels presented by the Palace wall-paintings, as well as by a series of gem impressions, seem to connect them in the most unmistakable way with the favourite sport of the Minōan arena—the bull-grappling scenes, of which the Thessalian *ταυροκαθάρψία* may be regarded as a kindred survival.

It has been possible this season to reconstitute the remains of a fresco panel, exhibiting one of the scenes described, from the Chamber which apparently overlooked the Court of the Olive Spout, to which reference was made in the Report of 1901. This design reproduces a complete *tour de force* of the Palace Circus. A girl toreador in cowboy costume is caught under the arm-pits by the horns of a charging bull and is evidently in the act of being tossed. A youth, who seems already to have been

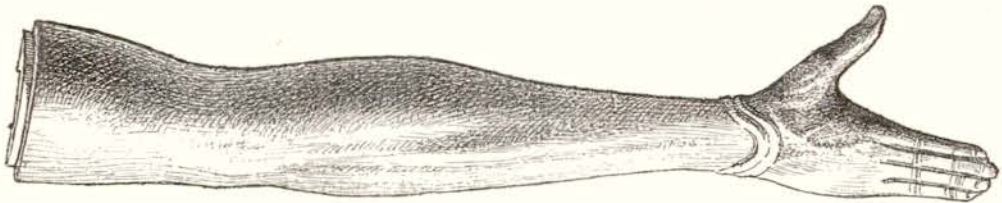


FIG. 39.—ARM OF IVORY FIGURE (3).

thrown into the air, is seen performing a somersault over the animal's back, while a girl behind, perhaps intended to be standing in the middle of the arena, holds out both hands as if to catch the flying figure. In other cases, as most frequently on gems, we see various versions of the Tirynthian picture of the youth springing from above and seizing the bull's horns in cowboy fashion. It is probable that the ivory figures belong to one or other of these representations. The way in which, in two examples at least, the head and upper part of the body is thrown back closely recalls the acrobatic figure of the painted panel described, but the legs there are also both bent back, as in the execution of a backward somersault, whereas, in the case of the ivory, one is extended. It is to be noted that the flesh and muscles of the neck as shown in the separate head on Plates II. and III. indicate a downward position, and the youth reproduced on the same Plates must also be regarded as in the act of leaping down.

§ 19.—BACK ROOMS OF DOMESTIC QUARTER: UPPER-FLOOR. (THE WOODEN STAIRCASE AND ROOMS OF THE ARCHIVES AND OF THE STONE BENCH.)

The back Corridor mentioned above as leading from the Room of the Plaster Couch to the Hall of the Colonnades passes on the left, immediately before reaching the latter destination, the shell of what was beyond all doubt another staircase. This is enclosed in an oblong space, with a dividing wall between the two flights, leaving at its West end a space for the first landing. The gradual rise of the stairs is further marked by lower and higher cross walls built for their support and by landing blocks answering to those found elsewhere. The stairs themselves were in this case wanting and there is every reason for supposing that they were made of wood.

This wooden staircase was lit, so far as its first two flights are concerned, by the double window already mentioned as opening in the upper part of the South wall of the Hall of the Colonnades. Below the second flight of stairs was the closet that contained the precious deposit of ivories. At the top of this second flight to the left is another square landing block, and there can be little doubt that two more flights originally led up from this point to third storey rooms above. The landing to which this second flight of stairs immediately led gave access though a doorway—of which the two jambs remain *in situ*—to the room which originally existed immediately above the lower covered part of the Hall of the Colonnades. Like the room formerly existing above the Hall of the Double Axes, this too is thus linked on to the upper floor system of the 'Domestic Quarter.'

Several interesting fragments of decorative fresco, including part of a triglyph frieze, had found their way into the Northern division of the staircase, partly perhaps through the window opening on the adjoining Hall of the Colonnades, and it is probable that they had originally formed part of its ornamentation. A curious slab of porphyry-like limestone, of grotesque outline, perhaps part of a seat, was also found here.

Throughout this staircase area—for the most part above the level of the first landing—were found quantities of seal impressions, generally somewhat broken. By this time however the eyes of the workmen specially trained for this task had become so quick that very few fragments escaped their first examination of the earth and remained for subsequent detection

by means of the sieve. This deposit of seal impressions was continuous with that of the adjoining corridor and extended thence to the upper strata of the neighbouring Treasure Chamber. In that case they had certainly fallen through with the collapse of the floor from the similarly shaped room answering to it above. On the other hand further seal impressions, together with some inscribed tablets referring to granaries, were found beyond the East wall of the same upper room and above the level of the balustrade of the adjoining Bath Chamber. It thus appears fairly certain that the centre whence these sealings were originally derived must be sought in this chamber which, like the Treasure Chamber below, was of the nature of a store-room, without any access or opening except a single door. At the time of the Re-occupation this, like other upper chambers near, had been used as a store-room for Stirrup Vases and amphorae of the usual 'mature' Mycenaean type, and it was probably owing to this that large numbers of seals or other earlier documents that had accumulated here were thrown out and found their way into the staircase and other adjacent nooks.

We may therefore regard this very extensive deposit of seal impressions—the most considerable yet found in the building—as having been derived from the room in question, which was evidently set apart for some kind of archives. None of these seals were countermarked like some of those found elsewhere in connexion with remains of chests containing deposits of inscribed clay tablets. On the other hand the broken condition of a large number seems to show that they were attached to documents, in many cases perhaps correspondence, inscribed on some perishable materials, such as the palm leaves, which, according to the Cretan tradition, served as the earliest material for writing.

The interesting discovery described in a succeeding Section (25) of clay cups containing for the first time ink-written inscriptions throws a new light on the character of these vanished writings.

The clay impressions include a great variety of subjects, many of which are repeated from the same seal.

Among the classes of subject represented may be mentioned the following:

Male Divinity between lions.

Seated Goddess, with lion in front on rock.

Lion-headed and other 'Daemons,' in some cases holding pointed vessel.

- Parts of cult scenes and of a shrine with sacral horns.
 Group of four double axes, symmetrically arranged (see Fig. 61, p. 103.)
 Griffins.
 Composite monsters, man-goats, &c.
 Group of three warriors with 8-shaped shields, spears and peaked helmets (see Fig. 41).
 Group of three shields of similar form.
 Forearm and hand holding lily spray (see Fig. 42).
 Lion and fluted pillar.
 Boy milking cow.
 Scenes of the *Taurokathapsia* (see Fig. 43).
 Animals: sometimes in groups; a great variety.
 Flying fish.
 A 'school' of dolphins.
 Grains of corn.

The small fragment of a seal impression given in Fig. 40 is of special interest, as it seems to contain part of the impression of a cylinder showing late Babylonian influence.



FIG. 40.—(7.)



FIG. 41.—(7.)

The consideration of the religious scenes and figures—notably the Dæmons—represented on these sealings must be reserved for another occasion. The groups of warriors, such as that shown in Fig. 41, give the best idea as yet obtainable of the military side of Knossian life—which in the Palace at least is by no means in the foreground. The pointed helmet, composed of various bands, recalls a small ivory helmet found on the West side of the Palace, but in this case no cheek-piece is visible; otherwise it recalls the head-gear of a warrior on the silver vase-fragment from Mycenæ. The hand and forearm grasping a lily spray seen in

Fig. 42 has a curiously modern aspect. A bracelet is seen round the wrist. The male figure (Fig. 43) performing a backward somersault over the back of a galloping bull may throw a side-light on the ivories.

The staircase wall by the adjoining upper corridor had evidently, from the character of its material, been partly reconstructed at a late period in the history of building. Here, together with the usual rubble, were a number of worked blocks—some exhibiting sawn sections, consisting of Spartan basalt or *lapis Lacedaemonius*, a rock apparently unknown in Crete, which had been imported from Mount Taygetos for decorative purposes. This material seems indeed to have been a favourite one of the Minôan gem engravers.

The upper Corridor in question had originally followed the line of the passage below from the *thalamos*, already mentioned as built over the East



FIG. 42.—(¾.)



FIG. 43.—(¾.)

half of the Hall of the Colonnades, past the stairs and the Room of the Archives. On passing the head of the wooden staircase, we found on this upper passage a second doorway, the stone jambs of which are preserved. At this point the passage turns, like that below, leaving on the left the door of the Room of the Archives and thus approaches a chamber of which there are considerable remains, situated above that with the plaster couch, and which, from its most conspicuous feature, is here called the Room of the Stone Bench. On the lower floor the course of the corresponding passage is broken by the latrine, here however it is continuous, passing the door of the Room of the Stone Bench and a double light opening from it marked by limestone pillar bases. In this way, through another doorway, both the jambs and stone threshold of which are well preserved (see Fig. 44), it reaches the Upper Corridor corresponding to the

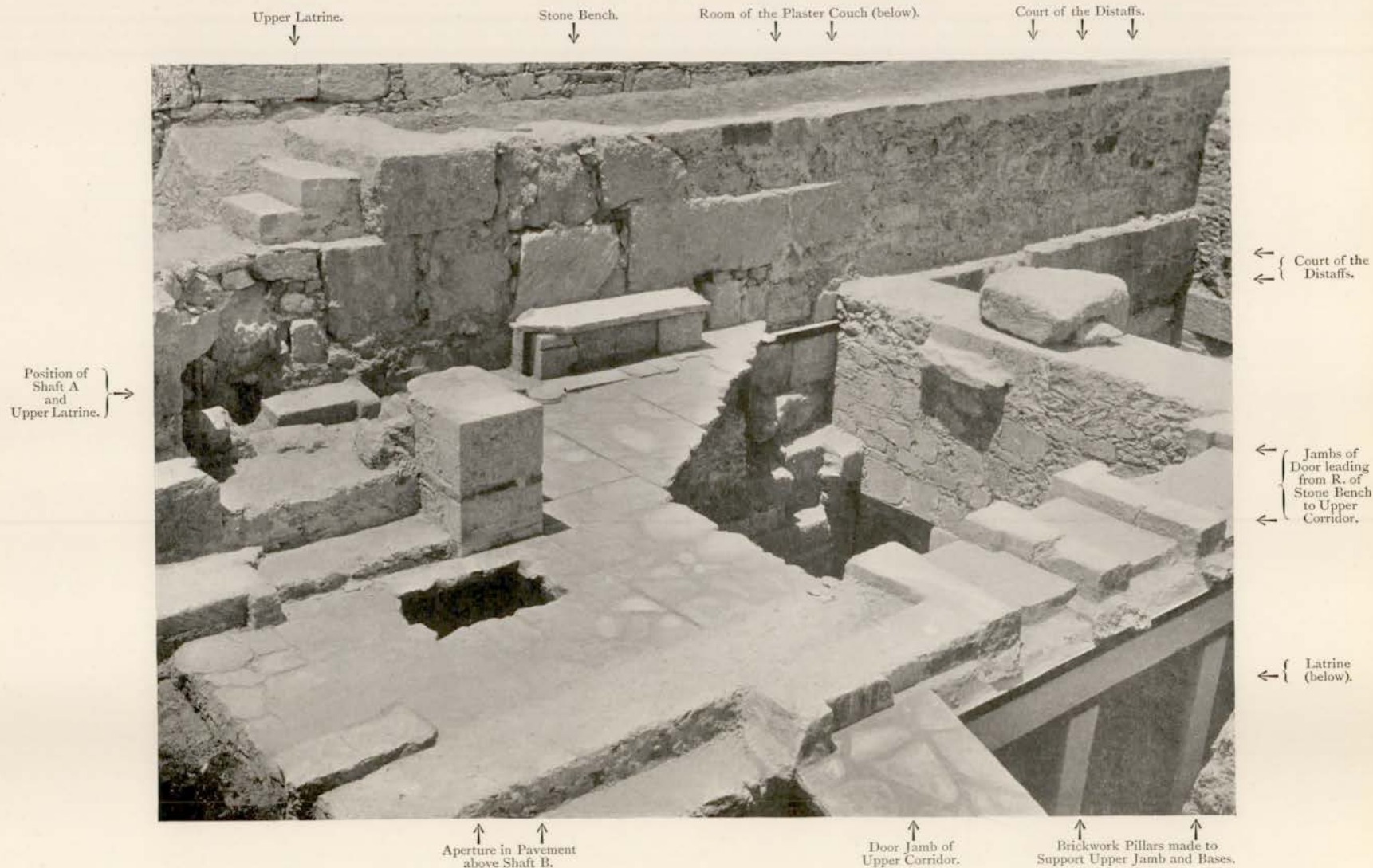


FIG. 44.—ROOM OF THE STONE BENCH, SHOWING UPPER FLOOR PAVEMENT PARTLY IN POSITION AND PARTLY RECONSTRUCTED.

lower section that contained the painted *pithos*, and finally emerges on the system of rooms above the Queen's Megaron.

On the East wall of this Upper Corridor, flanking the room of the Stone Bench, a good deal of the original red stucco coating was still visible. The Room of the Stone Bench doubtless derived its light from a double window looking on to the Court of the Distaffs and answering to that already described on the lower floor. Considerable remains of the slabs of the upper floor were here preserved, especially near the West wall, and here the stone bench from which the room has been named still stood at its original level (see Fig. 44). It has two pilasters on its front and resembles the benches of the Room of the Column Bases and of the Throne Room. It has been possible in part to reconstitute the subsided area of the pavement (Fig. 44).

It is noticeable that, since there was no occasion to reserve so much space on the Eastern side of this room as was below occupied by the door of

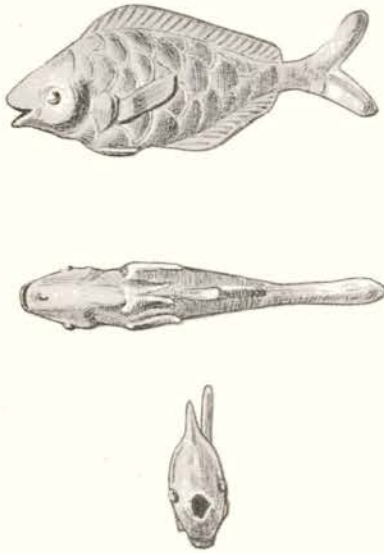


FIG. 45.—GOLD FISH (†).

the latrine, the single doorway communicating with the Upper Corridor is wider than that below, and the pillar bases thus do not correspond in position with those of the ground floor. The absence of the latrine on this side seems to have been made up for by a similar convenience in the S.W. corner of the room. There is an ascending step and doorway leading to a quite small closet from which a square stone shaft (A on plan, p. 82) descends to a drain passage below the level of the lower floor. There are strong reasons for believing that this shaft was originally continued to the level of the Central Court and received its surface waters on this side.

It would be difficult however to assign any intelligible meaning to the small chamber which stands in such direct relation with the descending drain shaft, unless we suppose that it had an outlet into it for the passage of ordure or other waste materials. The closet seems in fact to have served as another small latrine.

On the South of the Room of the Stone Bench is a bay communicating by a doorway, both jambs of which are preserved *in situ*, with a small square alcove beyond. Beneath the floor of this annexe is a small square chamber, in the bottom of which opens another drain-shaft. This chamber could only have been approached by some kind of trap door in the floor above, marked in Fig. 44 by the break in the re-constituted pavement.

Finally, outside the double doorway of the annexe to the Room of the Stone Bench to the South, is another stone shaft going down to the drain below. Its mouth, which lay partly between the jambs of the Northernmost of the two doorways of the above room, was covered by a stone slab. Partly in the lower part of this shaft, which descends 5.3 metres, and partly in the neighbouring part of the cloaca below, were found the bone 'fish' for inlaying, with incised signs, many of them resembling the letters of the later Greek alphabet.¹

Near the small upper latrine was found a gold-fish of very naturalistic execution, of which an enlarged representation is seen in Fig. 45. It is possible that this may have been taken from the Treasure Chamber.

§ 20.—DRAINAGE SYSTEM AND SANITARY ARRANGEMENTS OF THE DOMESTIC QUARTER.

In the whole structure of the Palace, nothing is more remarkable than the elaborate drainage system that runs throughout the 'Domestic Quarter,' and adjoining halls. The stone shafts, already mentioned as descending from the upper floors, lead down to a well-built stone conduit with flat covering slabs. Throughout the greater part of its course it is about a metre in height and half that width, so that a man can easily make his way along it. The inner surface of the conduit was originally coated with cement. A plan of the shafts and neighbouring drains is shown in Fig. 46, and a section drawn through shafts A and B appears in Fig. 47.

Two short branches of this system permeate the back rooms of the Domestic Quarter, one of which starts from immediately below the shaft marked A in the plan (Fig. 46), while the other leads from a section of wall between the Quadruple Staircase and the Hall of the Colonnades. Shaft A, as noticed in the preceding Section, was certainly constructed to receive the

¹ See *Report*, 1901, end.

surface waters of the adjacent area of the Central Court, and it is probable that a shaft or pipe ran up the wall at the starting point of the other branch of the lower conduit, which by its means received the collected

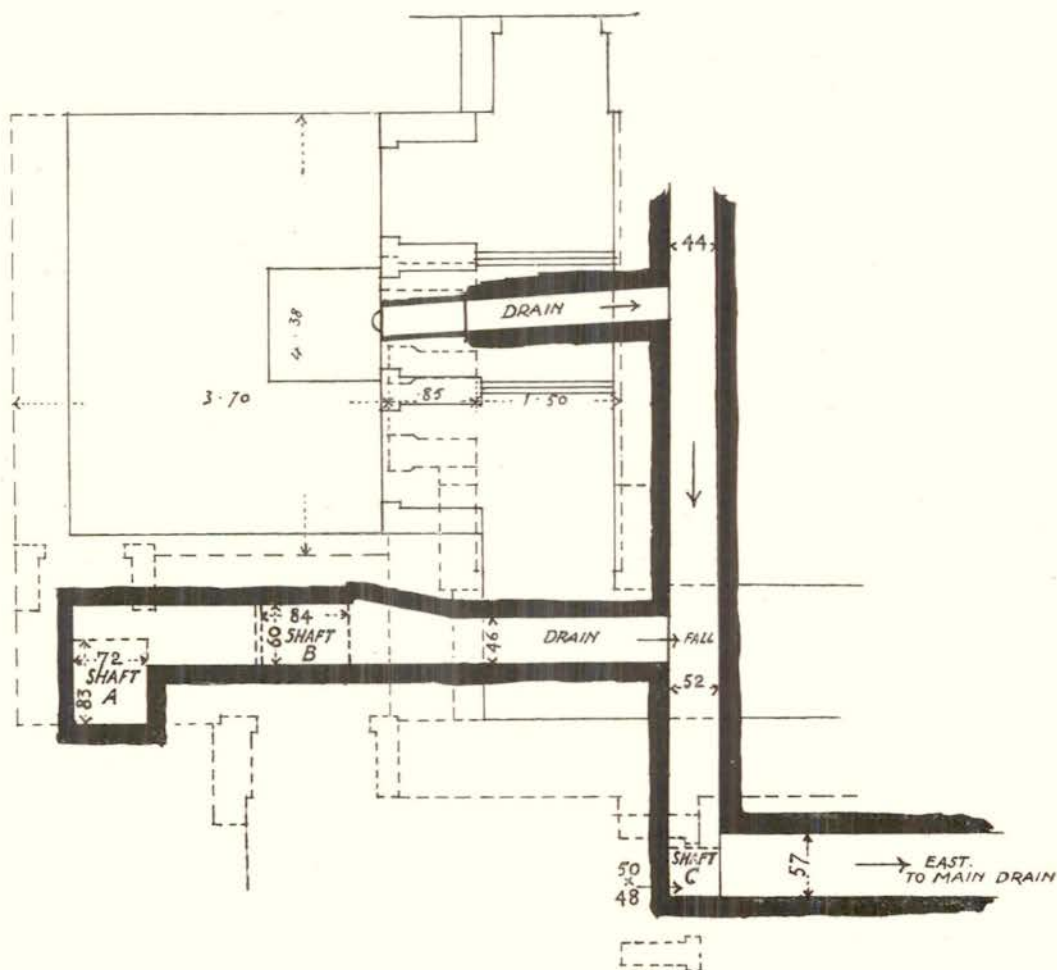


FIG. 46.—PLAN OF PART OF THE DRAINS, SHOWING POSITION OF SHAFTS A, B AND C.

drainage of the roofs of the neighbouring halls and staircase. Both branches show a continuous gradual descent with an occasional step down.

At the point where C, the Easternmost of three shafts shown in the plan,—which may also have served at times as a man hole,—strikes the

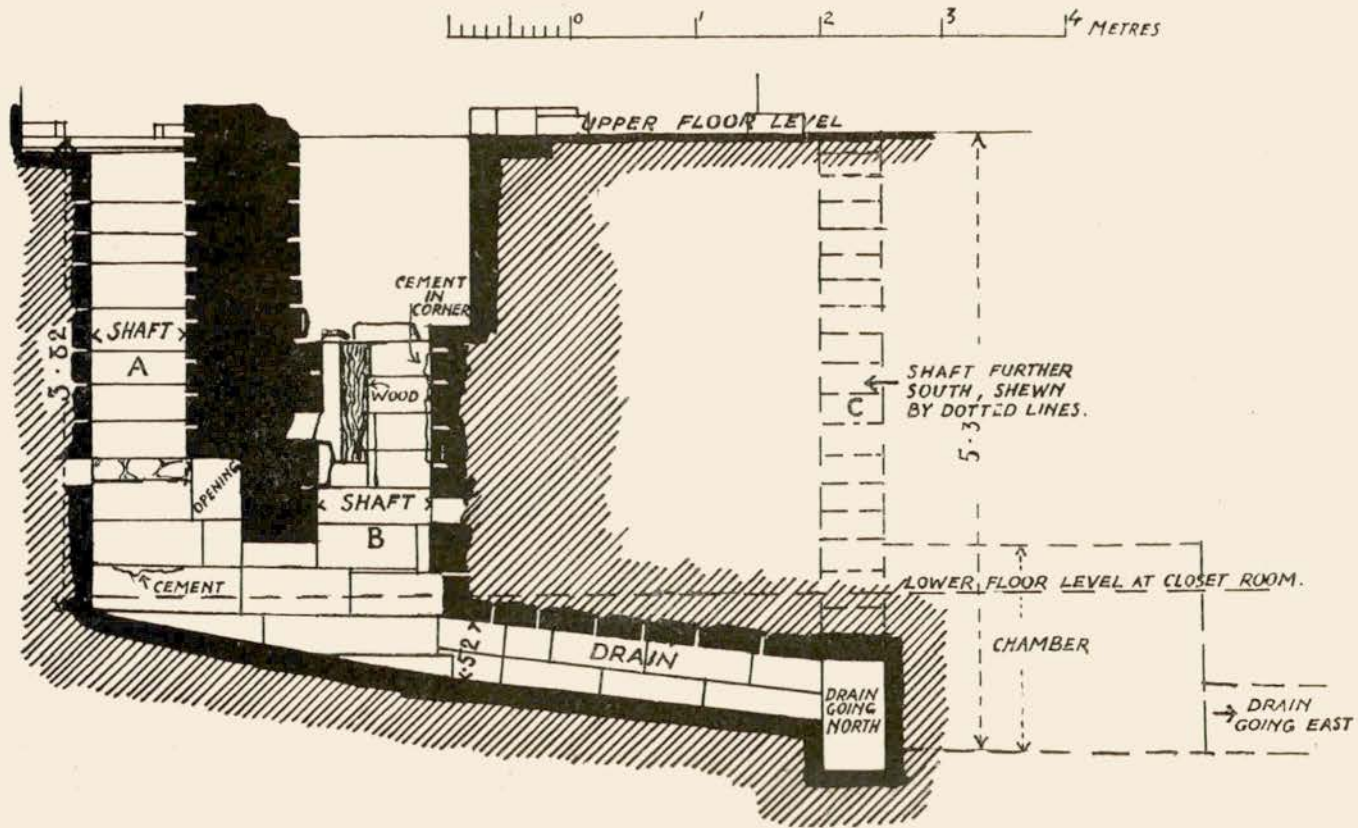


FIG. 47.—SECTION OF DRAIN WITH SHAFTS A AND B.

united course of the two short branches already mentioned, the stone conduit turns at right angles and continues in an Easterly direction, skirting the Southern borders of the Queen's Megaron, and the adjoining portico of the Hall of the Double Axes. Here it is joined by a tributary drain, the ultimate source of which was apparently the Court of the Distaffs, and which received in succession the drainage of the light wells of the Hall of the Colonnades and of the Double Axes. With each successive drainage area its capacity increases, and from the light well of the Hall of the Double Axes onwards, the passage is large enough for a man to crawl along it.

At a point about seven metres East of the S.E. pillar of the Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes another tributary stone drain runs into the main conduit from the North. In this Northern branch a quantity of painted pottery, of the finest Later Palace style, was found at the very beginning of the excavations in 1900.

Beyond this point the slope rapidly descends, and the further course of the main conduit is broken off.

In considering the elaborate drainage system of this quarter of the Palace, it is well to remember that its primary object was to afford a means of escape for the surface waters. The rains of Crete are often even now torrential, and in the Minōan Period, when the country no doubt was much better wooded, the rainfall must have been greatly in excess of what it is at the present time. The main conduit below the ground floor level of this Palace region answers both in structure and capacity to the large stone drain that runs down from the Northern Entrance Passage and which, beyond all possibility of doubt, was principally devised to effect a passage for the surface waters of that end of the Central Court. In the same way 'Shaft A' of the Eastern system received those that accumulated on this part of its area. So too the Northern of the two branches on this side seems, as we have seen, to have acted as a channel for the water collected from the roofs of the great adjoining halls.

The main conduits below were thus periodically flushed at times with a great force of water, and facilities were in this way afforded for the removal of ordure and waste materials. Of these facilities the Minōan architect skilfully availed himself by bringing into connexion with this system of surface water drainage various conveniences of a sanitary nature, some of which in their elaborate character can hardly find a parallel in the Ancient World.

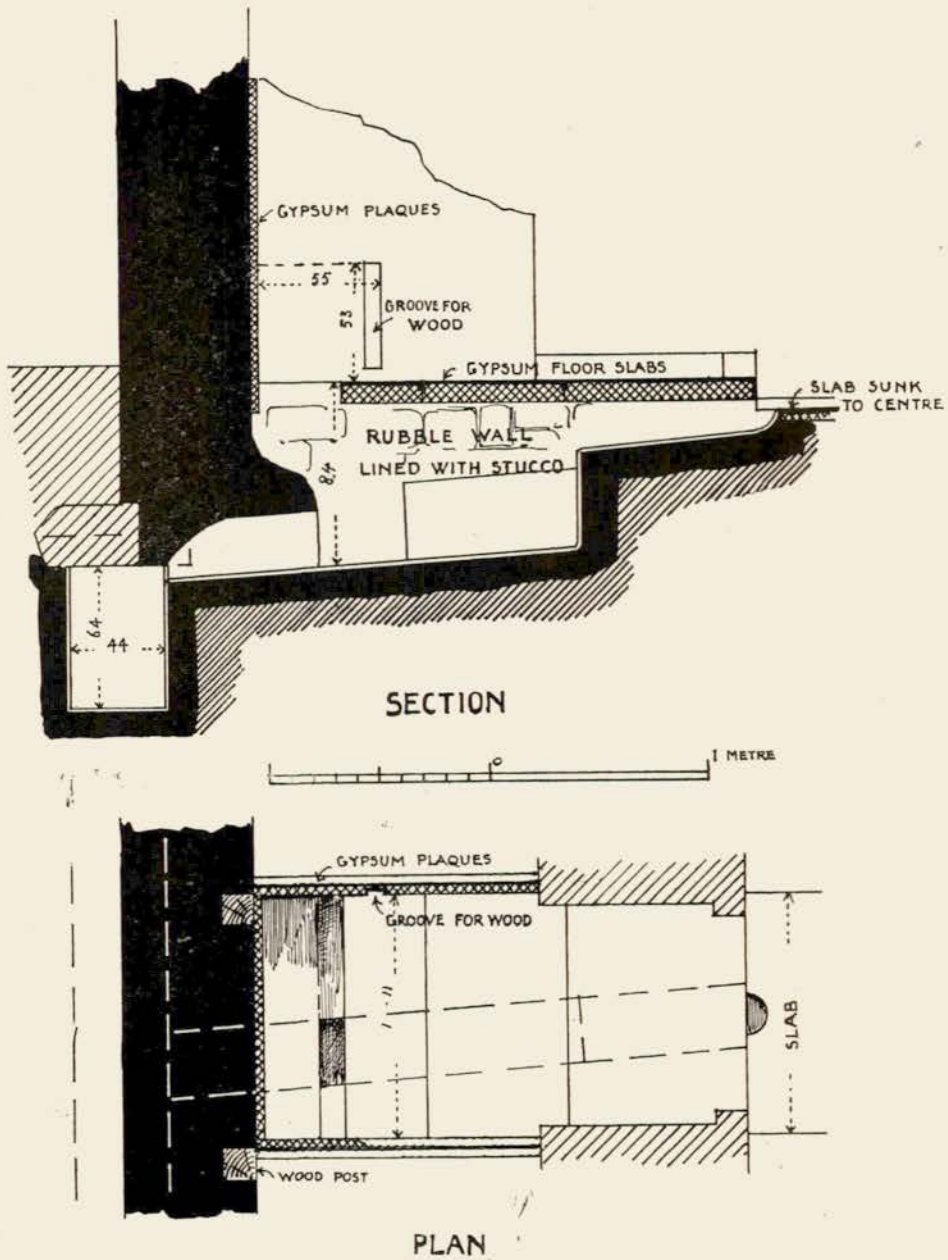


FIG. 48.—PLAN AND SECTION OF LATRINE.

It has already been noticed that shaft A passes on the second floor through a small detached chamber, which may partly be supposed to have served the purpose of a latrine. As to the usage to which shafts B and C were put, the evidence is not so clear; it may however be assumed that they served the purpose of modern sinks, perhaps in one or the other case in connexion with culinary preparation. The convenience of either as a man-hole giving access to the main conduit below is also obvious, the descent to it by this means, as I know by personal experience, being by no means difficult.

But the most elaborate structure in connexion with the drainage system is unquestionably to be found in the small closet, with its partition walls on either side consisting of double slabs of gypsum, that opens off the Room of the Plaster Couch. There can be no doubt that this small chamber served as a latrine.

The interior arrangement of this closet will best be gathered from the plan and section (Fig. 48). From the groove indicated in the wall-slab there seems to have been a wooden seat at the back of the compartment, apparently with a stone foot-rest in front of it like that on which the throne stands. The height of the seat moreover, allowing for its upper slab, would have been about 57 centimetres from the ground or, within a centimetre, the same as the throne.

Up to a little beyond the outer line of this seat, the latrine is paved with gypsum slabs, but beyond this limit the stone pavement ceases and this space seems to have been in part at least open, thus giving access to a drain passage below. This drain passage on the one side communicates by a small opening with the North branch of the main drain, on the other by a sloping channel with a hole in the pavement slab outside the closet door, which seems to have been made use of as a means of flushing this channel. It is to be observed that the entrance to the main drain is not below the middle of the seat, but on one side of it. It looks as if this asymmetrical arrangement was devised to leave a space on the other side of the bench upon which to rest a water vessel for flushing the main opening of what must certainly have been a latrine.

The curious curved projection coated with cement which juts forth from the wall immediately below this main opening is very enigmatic. It may almost be suspected that there was here a balance flap.

In any case it may be taken as certain that both the apertures were

closed externally by slabs, like the drain-shaft C when discovered, to prevent the effluvia of the drains from penetrating into the adjoining rooms. In this connexion it may be observed that the high shafts such as those originally leading to the level of the Central Court and of the roof would have afforded excellent ventilation for the main drains, promoting as they must have done a constant circulation of air below. These main conduits were continually flushed during a great part of the year, and it must be remembered that, as in the case of the filling and emptying of the large bath basins, slave labour was probably available for clearing out the impurities from the passages during the dry season. The shafts, as already noted, formed excellent man-holes and the main drains are so roomy that two of my Cretan workmen spent days within them clearing out the accumulated earth and rubble without physical inconvenience.

§ 21.—THE PLASTER VASE CLOSETS.

Immediately South of the rooms of the Domestic Quarter with the descending shafts is an interesting group of small rooms with adjoining store-closets. The ground floor of these, as in the case of all this Southern zone, is on the higher level corresponding with that of that Olive Press and connected system on the North, and of the neighbouring upper rooms of the Domestic Quarter.

On the North border of this group of rooms are six steps of a narrow stone staircase¹ which must originally have led to the level of the Central Court. The upper course of this staircase ran above the end of an inner paved chamber with part of a stone bench remaining against its North Wall, and to which there is at present no visible access. On the floor of this room and in two adjacent chests or closets were found a series of vases belonging to the earliest period of the existing Palace, and tending to show that not long after its construction the chamber had been filled in or its access blocked.

A narrow passage, 60 centimetres in width, flanking the staircase, gave access to another smaller paved room which, from its square form and the remains of gypsum lining slabs attached to its walls, somewhat resembled one of the Palace bath basins. On the West side of its entrance was a small niche.

¹ The steps are 72 cm. wide, their riser 12, and tread 27.

The inner chamber was flanked on two sides by closets of a remarkable character. The exterior walls of these are thin partitions, composed of hard red stucco,¹ with a kind of terracotta plaster core—the whole only 12 centimetres, or about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, thick. The more roomy of the two



FIG. 49.—FALSE-LIPPED JAR USED AS COVERING OF AN INTERMENT, WITH SKULL.
(Height, 58.3 cm. ; diam. 47.75.)

closets contained three large jars with a plain brown surface with white bands,² two of them characterised by a false spout on the rim—a special feature of the later Minōan pottery. An interesting discovery made on the opposite side of the valley shows that jars of this type were occasionally

¹ .06 in thickness.

² The taller of these is 1.10 metres high.

used for sepulchral purposes. The accidental circumstance of a cow putting its foot through its bottom, revealed the existence there at a spot North-East of the Palace, of a jar of precisely similar form (Fig. 49) which had been placed upside down in a round hole just sufficient for the purpose, above the remains of a child and a few smaller pots of a plain character. This as yet isolated discovery¹ is the only interment of the Palace Period that has as yet come to light on the site of Knossos.

Near these *pithoi* was an elegant one-handled vase (Fig. 50, middle),



FIG. 50.—VASES FROM PLASTER CLOSET OF EARLIEST PERIOD OF LATER PALACE.

with white bands and traces of flowers and foliage on a purplish brown ground, 43 centimetres in height, while at various points on the pavement of the room itself were scattered other small vases, some of characteristic early form.² With them was also a steatite 'pyxis' and a triton shell.

The contents of the other plaster chest were still more remarkable.

¹ Careful researches in the neighbourhood of this tomb did not result in the discovery of any further interments.

² E.g. a plain vase, shaped like those represented in Figs. 13 *a* and 13 *b* above—the commonest 'Kamáres' form.

It contained, besides the remains of a jar, resembling the above mentioned, with a 'false' spout on the rim, a whole collection of pots belonging to the same period, most of them well preserved, and a white marble bowl with four ear-like handles. Two of these vessels, a tall jar with four handles round its rim, and a kind of candlestick, to be described below (Fig. 51, 2, and Fig. 52), were in colour and ornament indistinguishable from the Late Minôan class of painted ware found in the basement room described above, together with the remains of the Terracotta Sanctuary. Their decoration consisted of white continuous spirals on a dark brown ground. It will be seen from this that the earliest ceramic fabrics of the Later Palace fit on without a break to those of the earlier building to which apparently the room containing the Terracotta Sanctuary belonged, and it will be remembered that the early pottery found in the 'Kasselles' shows the same affinities.

In the present deposit, however, as in the Kasselles, elements of transition are found which are not visible in the earlier Palace. In addition to the vases with the white spirals on a dark ground there came to light¹ a small bowl with a red continuous spiral on a buff ground (Fig. 51, 3) which, except that the surface of the vase was dull, recalled 'proto-Mycenaean' types.

The plaster chest also contained a number of cups preserving to a certain extent the outline of those belonging to earlier strata, though of rougher and heavier construction, with plain clay walls occasionally streaked or lined with black or blue showing a slight glaze.² Among other forms represented were tripods (Fig. 50) approaching those of the North-East Magazines, the wide mouthed jar (Fig. 51, 8), a jug with a single handle and elevated spout (Fig. 50),³ an elegant vase with a quatrefoil outline (Fig. 51, 5), and a whole series of tall two-handled jars piled in nests, which, so far as form is concerned, also recalled a common type of the North-East Magazines.

These latter jars, as well as the quatrefoil vessel, presented a decorative feature already referred to as exhibited by the painted vase found in the other plaster closet. Upon the sides of these vessels, in the case of the

¹ This lay just outside the chest, but may originally have been contained within it.

² That shown in Fig. 51 is 7.3 cm. in height and 8.8 in diameter. Its ground colour is a warm buff with a dull surface, with black, slightly glazed streaks.

³ 23 cm. in height.

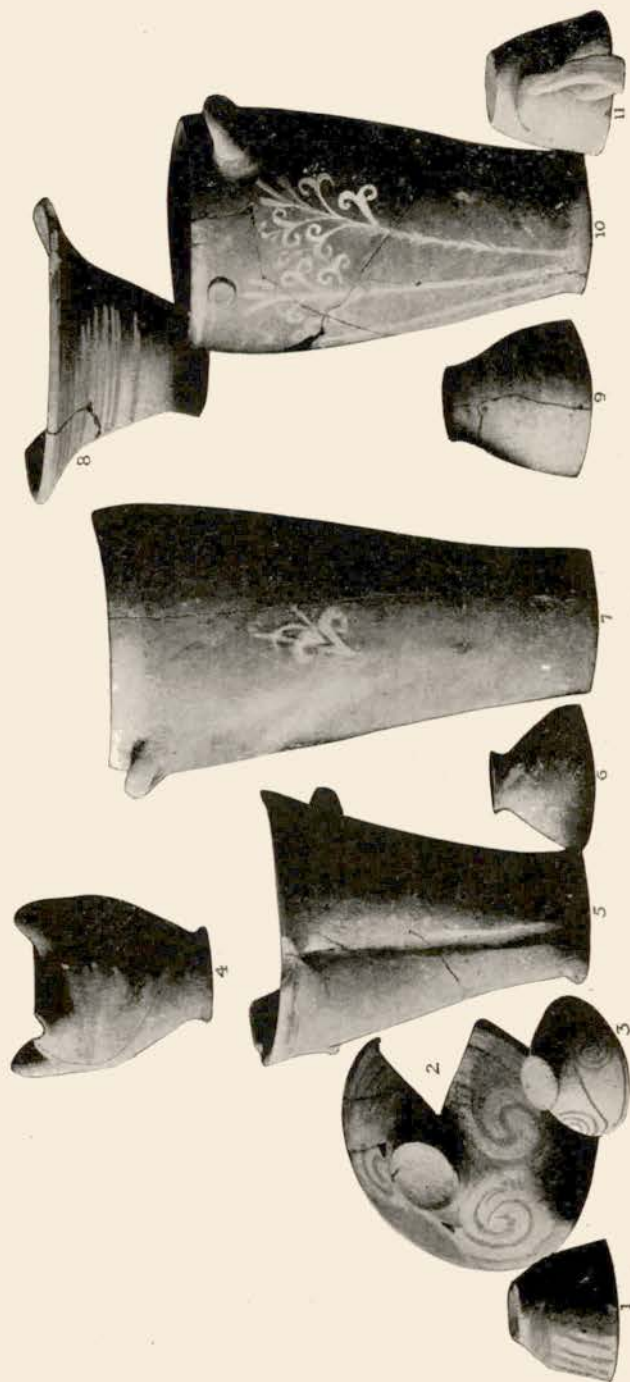


FIG. 51.—VASES FROM PLASTER CLOSET OF EARLIEST PERIOD OF LATER PALACE.

quatrefoil vase upon a purplish red ground, in that of the jars (see Fig. 51, 7, 10)¹ upon the terracotta surface of the pots themselves, sprays and groups of lilies, showing both the flowers and foliage, are painted in white in a most naturalistic fashion. These picturesque and beautiful floral designs, so freely drawn, represent the complete emancipation of the ceramic artists from the more geometric traditions of the earlier Minôan art, and become henceforth a distinctive feature of the Later Palace style. It is only in its latest phase that they show a tendency to be absorbed in a decorative conventionalism, intensified no doubt by increasing intimacy with Egyptian models.

The lily itself was the favourite Palace flower. On a fine fragment of wall-painting, found at the close of the present season's work near the



FIG. 52.—PAINTED EARTHENWARE CANDLESTICK FROM PLASTER CLOSET.

South-East staircase, we have a glimpse of a whole field of lilies with white flowers and buds, yellow pistils and stamens and green foliage on a red ground, while, lest any natural touch should be wanting, the petals are in some cases shown half blown off by the wind. From the lily spray in the hair of the seated Goddess on the great signet ring from Mycenae, it seems probable that the flower had a religious association. In its more conventionalised form as a fleur-de-lis, we see it supplying the decoration of the crown and collar of the painted bas-reliefs and as a foot ornament of the youth of the Procession Fresco, who is in immediate attendance on 'the Queen.'

Among the forms of vessel found in the plaster chest, that referred to

¹ Fig. 51, 7, is 33 cm. high and has a reddish brown ground. Fig. 51, 10, is 25.5 high with similar ground.

above as a 'candlestick' is specially noteworthy. Its under side with the white spiral decoration is shown in Fig. 51; and the upper side with a socket, much resembling that of a modern candlestick, is seen in Fig. 52. Both the size of the object and the fragile character of the material show that it was not a torch holder and there can be no reasonable doubt that this, like certain analogous forms of classical antiquity,¹ was intended to

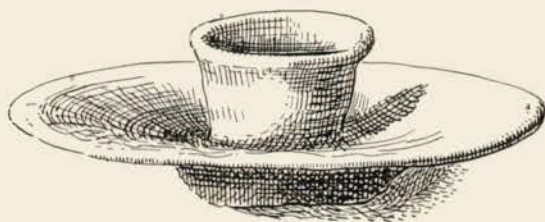


FIG. 53.—EGYPTIAN CLAY CANDLESTICK FROM FOURTH DYNASTY TOMB.

hold some kind of wax candle. But the characteristic form and the expanding socket take us back to a much earlier parallel,² and the most literal prototype of this clay utensil, like those of so many of the Minóan stone vessels, is supplied by the old Empire of Egypt. Fig. 53 shows a sketch of a similar clay candlestick from a Fourth Dynasty tomb. Attention will be called, in a succeeding section, to the accumulating indications of a direct contact between Minóan Crete and early Dynastic Egypt.

§ 22.—COURT OF THE SANCTUARY; SHRINE OF THE DOUBLE AXES,
AND LABYRINTH FRESCO.

Both the rooms with the plaster closets and the whole upper system of the Domestic Quarter seem to have been approached on the South-East from an open Court of elongated form. The West side of this Court is flanked by a self-contained quadrangular block of small chambers through the centre of which runs a double gangway leading at its inner extremity into a corridor that runs round the Western and Northern sides of the block

¹ For examples of these, see M. Saglio's article 'Candelabra,' *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*.

² A somewhat analogous form of clay utensil, but with a larger socket, is found in Cypriote Tombs of the sixth century B.C. Others were found at Lachish.

in question. The two parallel gangways that traverse the centre of this group of structures open on to the Court by a double doorway, immediately in front of which are the remains of a stone altar-base of the kind found elsewhere in the Palace. From the significant position of this altar-base and from the religious character of one at least of the chambers that stand in immediate relation to it, the elongated area in which it is situated has been here named the 'Court of the Sanctuary.'

The passages bounding the rectangular block of buildings to the North and West were both productive of interesting finds. In the lateral passage to the North were brought to light, above the floor level, a large number of perforated clay loom weights, more globular in form than those of the deposit from the earlier Palace rooms described above (p. 24), together with spools of the same material for winding thread. These had fallen from an upper storey room where the loom (*ἐργαστήριον*, as it was called by our workmen) must have been situated. We have here an indication of women's chambers.

In the back passage to the West—also above the floor level—were found a series of inscribed clay tablets, some of them well preserved, including two almost complete documents containing lists of men. Clay seals were also found with them, one, which had evidently secured the chest

containing these personal records, countermarked with the 'Man'-sign. Altogether new was a class of tablets—two with complete and others with fragmentary inscriptions—referring to swords. The pictorial figures of the weapons on these tablets are of special importance as they illustrate two distinct forms of blade, one the old Cretan and Aegean type, triangular in form, Fig. 54, *a*, the other leaf-shaped, Fig. 54, *c*, besides a more or less intermediate class, Fig. 54, *b*.

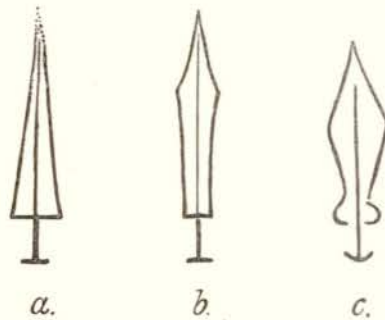


FIG. 54.—TYPES OF SWORDS INCISED ON TABLETS.

The presence of the leaf-shaped form in the Palace is of great interest, as there can be little doubt that it is of Northern origin. It is not too much to say that the whole chronology of the European Bronze Age is affected by this discovery, which shows that this leaf-shaped type of sword had

been developed before the approximate date of 1400 B.C. These tablets were probably derived from deposits originally existing in rooms of the upper terrace level, South of the Central Court, along the borders of which runs the passage in the upper strata of which they were found. On or near the paved floor-level of this passage occurred glazed pottery of the proto-Mycenaean ('Transitional Minôan') class. One is a high-spouted vase with spiral decoration recalling that of a 'funnel' vase with perforated bottom from the Second Shaft-Grave at Mycenae.

The double gangway opposite the altar-base communicates on the South with the small bath-chamber already brought to light in the course of an isolated excavation in 1901.¹ Five steps, flanked by a parapet ending in a pillar-base, descend to a square basin (2.20 x 2 metres). As noted in my previous Report this shallow basin must have been used in the Oriental fashion for washing the feet and it looks as if in this case it had performed a lustral function of a religious kind.

An opening in the central dividing wall of the double gangway immediately opposite the entrance to the bath gives access to its Northern passage, in which, a few metres further on, appear the stone jambs of a doorway leading to a small square chamber.

The passage off which this small chamber lay was paved with limestone slabs and opened, by a doorway with two gypsum jambs, into the 'Corridor of the Sword Tablets.' In both these passages the floor had risen 25-30 centimetres, so as partly to obscure the jambs of the doorway, and the same rise in the floor level was visible in the adjoining chamber. As pottery of good Palace Period lay on the original level, it seems probable that the higher floor level here represents that of the latest period during which this part of the Palace was occupied. This conclusion was fully borne out by the character of the ceramic types found in the adjoining room.

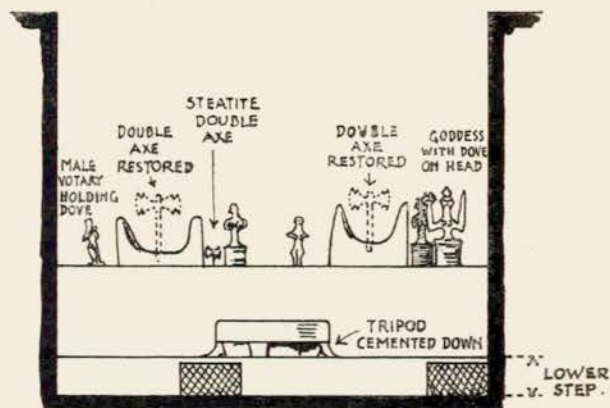
The small square chamber proved to be an actual Palace Shrine with the vessels of offering, votive figures, idols, and cult objects still in position as they were left when the site was finally deserted. The room itself was of very small dimensions—a circumstance quite in keeping with other indications as to the size of shrines of Mycenaean date. It was only one and a half metres square.

¹ See *Report* 1901, pp. 62, 63. The plan, Fig. 19, on p. 62 requires correction, the Northern passage of the double gangway not being blocked as there indicated.

The little Shrine was divided into three parts (see Plan, Fig. 55). The body of the room, with a plain stamped clay floor, was occupied by a variety of vessels standing in the position in which they had been left by the last occupants. Two of these, a tall plain jar with an oval mouth and a tripod pot, were practically indistinguishable from the ordinary rustic vessels of the good Palace Period. A stirrup-vase, however, with a good glaze and a painted design consisting of octopuses with conventionalised tentacles forming a kind of waved maeander presented a characteristic type of the later Period of partial occupation. A kind of bowl with a flat bottom and two upright handles, showing painted decoration in the shape of plain brown bands on an ochreous ground also belonged to the later ceramic class.

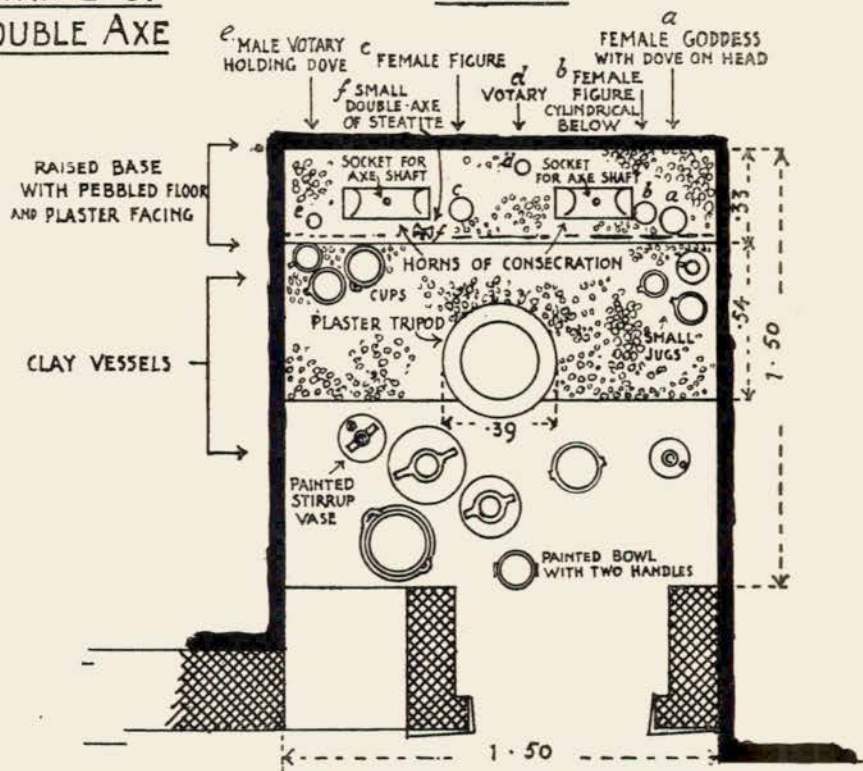
Beyond this area, where stood the larger vessels of offering, was a somewhat raised dais with a pebble floor, fixed in the centre of which was a plaster tripod with a slightly hollowed upper surface which had evidently served as a table of offerings (see Section, Fig. 55). In form and construction it recalled a similar object, which however was flat at top and seems to have been rather a stand than a table, found, with vases belonging to the good Palace Period, in a small store-room near the North-East Magazines. It was observable that the feet of the plaster tripod in the Shrine were embedded somewhat deeply in the slightly raised dais, and this circumstance tends to show that it had been already in position before the floor level rose to its present height. On the pebble dais on either side of the tripod were some cups and smaller jugs.

Immediately behind the dais and table of offerings a raised base about 60 cm. high ran from wall to wall. It was of clay and rubble construction with a plaster face much decayed, which it has been necessary to restore in order to keep the upper part from ruin. On the ledge thus formed were fixed two sacral horns of white coloured stucco with a clay core, and on either side of these stood a series of painted terracotta figures representing votaries and divinities (see plan, Fig. 55, and Fig. 56, *a, b, c*). The figures, though belonging to the mature Mycenaean period, showed, alike in their pose, the character of parts of their ornament, and their rude appearance, an old religious tradition. This was especially noteworthy in the case of a female votary, whose eyes, mouth, hair, and ornaments were rendered by means of punctures and triangular incisions filled with a white inlay, consisting of pounded gypsum, like the rude clay images from the



SHRINE OF
DOUBLE AXE

SECTION



PLAN

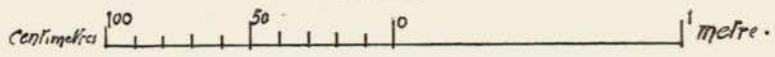


FIG. 55.—PLAN AND SECTION OF SHRINE OF THE DOUBLE AXES.

Neolithic stratum beneath the earliest Palace. Her arms, moreover, were clasped over the breast in the primitive fashion, while her half sitting posture also suggested a distant reminiscence of the Neolithic images of Knossos. The idols proper, three in number, were all of the female sex, of better fabric than the last described, and showing a slight glaze, like the contemporary painted vases. They are distinguished from the representatives of the votive class by the fact that they are only semi-anthropomorphic, the body in each case rising from a clay cylinder, which looks like a survival from the columnar form of the earlier 'baetylic' stones. Except for a small round hole the cylinders were closed below.

Two of these idols are of much the same type, though in one case the Goddess's head is turned on one side (Fig. 56, height 17·5 centimetres). The companion figure has a plant design painted on the back. A kind of pig-tail hangs down in each case from the back of the neck, and other locks are visible about the shoulders. The hands curve up over the breasts, as in the case of some figures from Mycenae. A type with a conical base, allied to these latter, extends to the Danube.¹

The most remarkable of these images, however, is a Goddess with both hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile, each with a dark band drawn across it. She seems to be clad in a kind of bodice, and wears necklaces and armlets, while on either wrist is a narrow circlet with a disk like that on the wrist of the Cup-Bearer. The meaning of this disk is sufficiently explained in the painting by the indication of agate veins, and here as there it evidently stands for an engraved lentoid gem. Round the top of the cylindrical base runs a zone of curved lines, like a succession of C's—a simple decorative motive which is very characteristic of the 'proto-Mycenaean' style of Knossos, and on which in turn it was taken over from the 'Middle Minôan' ware of the earlier Palace.² The figure is 22 centimetres in height.

But the most interesting feature of this image remains to be described. On the head of the Goddess, just as on the fetish columns of the more ancient Sanctuary described above,³ is settled a dove. I have elsewhere pointed out the religious importance of such conjunctions as indicating the

¹ Compare the figure in the Belgrade Museum found near Kostolatz (S. Reinach, *La Sculpture en Europe avant les Influences Gréco-Romaines*, p. 31, Figs. 78, 79). It was found with a bucchero vase of Bronze Age character showing spiral reliefs.

² For an example see above, p. 27, Fig. 13 *b*.

³ See p. 29, Fig. 14.



FIG. 56.—IDOLS AND VOTARY OF PAINTED TERRACOTTA FROM SHRINE.

descent of the divine spirit on the earlier baetylic object of worship.¹ Here we see the dove-sanctified column become a 'Dove Goddess,' analogous to the gold figures found at Mycenae, the cylindrical base, however, in the present case preserving a record of the earlier columnar form. It is the same old Minōan cult in gradual course of transformation.

In direct relation with the Lady of the Dove stands a male figure, 17·2 centimetres in height, found on the opposite side of the base, who is holding out a dove as if to offer it to the Goddess, and must evidently be regarded as a votary. He stands on a small flat base and wears a loin cloth, recalling that of some votive bronze figures from the Dictaeon Cave, and what looks like a tunic, laced behind. The figure is of solid clay, the colouring reddish-brown on a pale ochre, but with no trace of glaze.

But the central objects of cult in this small shrine were of the old 'baetylic' kind, to which even the semi-anthropomorphic images seem to have been subsidiary. The stucco horns representing the familiar cult objects elsewhere described by me as the 'Horns of Consecration,'² and which, as we have seen³ from the examples supplied by the terracotta Sanctuary, go back at Knossos to the date of the earlier Palace, are the regular accompaniment of the most ancient objects of cult. They appear at the base of Sacred Trees and Columns, and—what is still more pertinent in the present connexion—the sacred Double Axe is also seen rising from between the horns of this cult object, as elsewhere from between the actual horns of a bull's head. In my monograph on the *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* a design is reproduced from a painted vase found at Old Salamis, in which a double axe rising from 'Horns of Consecration' is seen between two bulls' heads with similar axes.⁴ Since then a remarkable illustration of the same ritual practice has been supplied by a painted larnax found at Palaeokastro, Crete,⁵ upon which the sacral horns with the Double Axe are seen rising from a slab with columnar support, the fetish pillar and weapon being thus combined.

That the pair of sacral horns on the raised base of the Knossian

¹ *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 7 (*J.H.S.* 1901, p. 105), *The Dove Cult of Primitive Greece*. In another form we see a survival of this bird-inspiration in the Eagles carved above the twin pillars of the Arcadian Zeus Lykaeos (*op. cit.* p. 29 [127]), or the Eagle engraved on the conical black stone of the Mountain God of Emesa, as seen on the coins of Helagabalus.

² *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, § 15.

³ See above, p. 30 *seqq.*

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 9, Fig. 3. [*J.H.S.*, 1901, p. 107.]

⁵ Found by Mr. I. H. Marshall, to be published in the present volume of the *B. S. Annual*.

shrine served the same religious purpose as those depicted on the 'larnax' and the vase is made evident by the following circumstance. Midway between the two horns in each case is a round socket for the shaft of the axe, and lest there should be any remaining doubt as to the character of the cult here represented, a small Double Axe of steatite (Fig. 57) was actually found resting against the left pair of horns. The miniature dimensions of this weapon preclude the possibility of its having been one



FIG. 57.—MINIATURE DOUBLE AXE OF STEATITE FROM SHRINE (*slightly enlarged*).

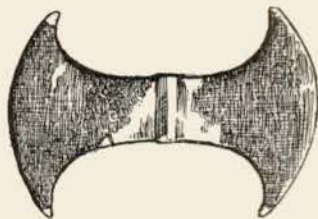


FIG. 58.—MINIATURE DOUBLE AXE OF BRONZE WITH GOLD PLATE ATTACHING (*slightly enlarged*).

of the pair set up in the sockets of the horns. These were doubtless of bronze, gold plated perhaps like the small double axes found in the neighbouring Treasure Chamber (Fig. 58), and, like almost all objects of metal, would probably have been carried off at the time of the final desertion of the site.

The small axe of steatite may be regarded as having a votive significance in the sense in which small images—in this case a fetish image—can be offered to the divinity. Its reduplicated ends are an interesting feature, and, like the pair of sacral horns, suggest a dual cult. It will be remembered that a similar reduplicated double axe appears in the field on the great signet of Mycenae between the seated Goddess and the descending warrior God.

The presence of the female idols on the same base as the Sacral Horns and Double Axe seems to show that this symbolic weapon was associated here with the cult of a Goddess as well as a God. A roughly engraved steatite lentoid found near the Court of the Oil Spout shows in fact an axe of the same reduplicated form in the hands of what appears to be a female divinity (Fig. 59). An interesting mould of schist found near Siteia in Eastern Crete¹ exhibits moreover in addition to Sacral Horns

¹ S. A. Xanthoides, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1900, p. 26 *seqq.* and Plates 3, 4.

and two Double Axes with curiously cusped sides—perhaps an outgrowth of the 'reduplicated' type—two figures of what again seem to be female divinities, each of which holds a Double Axe aloft in either hand. The accumulating proofs supplied by signets, gems, and seal impressions of the cult of a divine pair in Minōan Knossos, not infrequently associated with lions, make it probable that the cult of the Cretan Zeus was here linked with that of Rhea, the ruins of whose temple with its sacred Cypress Grove was pointed out at Knossos in later days.¹ The Double Axe, the proper emblem of the male God, was also common to the Goddess—just as in Asia Minor it survived in the hands of the Amazons—and



FIG. 59.—GODDESS WITH DOUBLE AXE ON STEATITE LENTOID (¶).



FIG. 60.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION SHOWING DOUBLE AXE BETWEEN HORNS OF BULL (¶).

there are indications that of the two it was Rhea who took the precedence in Minōan cult. This is quite in keeping with the surviving Cretan traditions of Rhea and the infant Zeus.²

In addition to the evidence supplied by the small Shrine, a whole series of recent finds within the Palace has brought the exceptional sanctity of the double-axe into additional relief. Mention has been made of miniature axes of gilt bronze from the Treasure Chamber, and of the seal with

¹ Diod. *Lib.* V. c. lxxv. 1.

² In *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 70 [*J.H.S.*, 1891, p. 168], I had already ventured to remark: 'It is probable that in Mycenaean religion as in the later Phrygian the female aspect of divinity predominated . . . The male divinity is not so much the consort as the son or youthful favourite. The relationship is rather that of Rhea than of Hera to Zeus, of Adonis rather than of Ares to Aphrodite . . . the God is either in the background as on the great Akropolis ring or holds a secondary place, as when he approaches the seated Goddess.'

the axe-holding Goddess. An interesting seal impression from the Court of the Oil Spout shows a bull's head with the sacred emblem worked in between its horns (Fig. 60), while on another impression from near the Room of the Archives, four double-axes are seen symmetrically grouped round a central rosette (Fig. 61). Fresh examples of Mycenaean pottery of the Palace style occurred on which ornamental figures of the Double Axe take the place of the ordinary decorative motives. In the rubbish heap of the South-East Court bordering the Court of the Sanctuary, moreover, fragments of clay vessels belonging to the earliest period of the existing Palace were found with this religious symbol incised on their handles.¹



FIG. 61.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION WITH FOUR DOUBLE AXES (†).

The overwhelming evidence now forthcoming of the importance in the Palace cult of the Double Axe, the Carian *labrys*,—emblem of the kindred Zeus of the Asianic regions—must be taken to supply strong support from the archaeological side for the connexion suggested by Kretschmer and Max Meyer on philological grounds of *labrys* and *Labyrinthos*. That the *labrys* symbol should be the distinguishing cult sign of the Minōan Palace makes it more and more probable that we must in fact recognise in this vast building—with its maze of corridors and chambers and its network of subterranean ducts—the local habitation and home of the traditional Labyrinth.

That the Labyrinth in Art was already known in the walls of the later Palace we have now the proof in an interesting discovery made in what appears to be the remains of a corridor on the terrace immediately below the East Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes. The fallen plaster here showed the remains of an elaborate series of mazes painted in a reddish brown on a white ground (Fig. 62). The Labyrinth figures here, though belonging to the same class, are more complicated than those on the archaic coins of Knossos, the Minotaur upon which is also, as has been shown in the last Report, an heirloom from Minōan times. A simple key or maeander pattern appears on some of the sealings found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro. A still earlier example of the same class occurred in a magazine of the Earlier Palace together with fine 'Middle Minōan' pottery on the

¹ The only other mark found on the pottery here was a T sometimes placed on its side.

East slope. The source of these maeander designs, and, ultimately of 'the Labyrinth in Art,' will probably be found in a curious class of

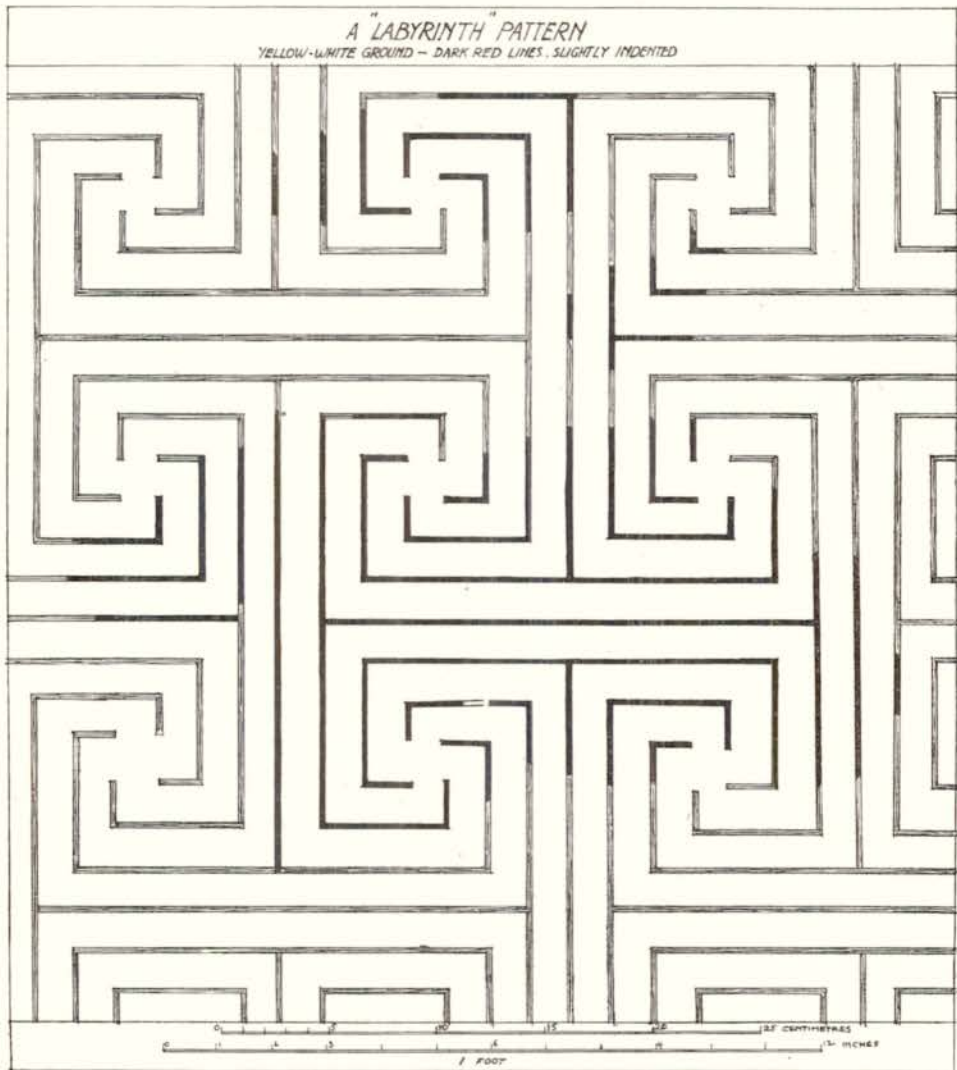


FIG. 62.—WALL-PAINTING CONSISTING OF LABYRINTH PATTERN FROM CORRIDOR E. OF HALL OF DOUBLE AXES.

Egyptian button-seals, dating from about the VIth and VIIth Dynasties, on which similar designs predominate.

Between the small Shrine and the Court of the Sanctuary were two square chambers of similar dimensions, one opening on the Court, which had been completely cleared of their contents. It is possible that there was originally—in accordance with the tripartite division visible in the Temple fresco and the Dove shrines of Mycenae—a group of three small cells devoted to a similar cult. From the presence of altars like those near the wall of the West Court and that by the Southern Propylaea as well as from other indications, it may be inferred that there were several similar shrines within the Palace area. Each quarter of the Palace may well have had its special sanctuary, and the Temple Fresco leads us to infer that some of these were more showy erections (though still of exiguous dimensions) than the humble cell of the South-Eastern region.

The contents, however, of the present Shrine derive a special interest from the decadent period to which the bulk of them belong, since they afford a convincing proof that essentially the same religious cult that we have seen illustrated by the terracotta Sanctuary from the Earlier Palace, survived to the very latest period of occupation. This religious survival can indeed be carried a step further in other parts of Crete. A close parallelism is visible between the cylindrical-based female images here brought to light and those from a shrine of still later date, found by Miss Harriet Boyd in the Mycenaean settlement at Gournià, in the Province of Mirabello. The female images there found were of plain clay and much larger and coarser. They had snakes coiled about them and small attachments in the shape of the Sacral Horns. In this case, too, a plaster tripod had been placed in front of the figures. Still later and very rude versions of the same religious type were found by Dr. Halbherr in the Sub-Mycenaean cemetery of Prinià, near Gortyna.

§ 23.—SOUTH-EAST COURT AND RUBBISH HEAP.

South of the Court of the Sanctuary, on a lower terrace level, is another oblong Court or Yard, here called the South-East Court. It is enclosed by walls on three sides, that to the West supporting an ascending staircase of which some steps remain. This open space seems to have been largely used as a receptacle of rubbish, and the amount of ordinary clay cups of the Later Palace style found here at the beginning of the excavations in 1900 led the workmen to name it the *Καφερείον*. The deposit of pottery

included in its lower stratum many fragments of 'Kamáres' ware probably dating from the Earlier Palace. On the necks and handles of some of the plain pottery belonging to the early period of the Later Palace were found the marks already referred to in the shape of T's and Double Axes of earlier and later form. This pottery answers in fabric to the plainer vessels found in the Plaster Closets, and others from the North-East Magazines and elsewhere, and the close correspondence presented by some of the vases with those found at Phylakopi marked in a similar way is a significant sign of contemporaneity. A fragment, with traces of streaked colouring, in the style of the North-East Magazines, found in the same stratum of the South-East Court, is of interest as showing part of a graffito inscription, the characters of which though linearised seem rather to fit on to the Pictographic System.

§ 24.—REMAINS OF EARLIER BUILDING TO SOUTH-EAST.

Immediately East of the South-East Court were excavated a series of deep chambers and cell-like compartments of simple construction, evidently



FIG. 63.—CLAY SEALING WITH SIGNET IMPRESSIONS SHOWING DESIGN DERIVED FROM XIIIth DYNASTY SCARABS ($\frac{1}{2}$).

belonging to an earlier building, and, indeed, somewhat out of line with the Later Palace work immediately to the West of it. The floors of these chambers lay about 5 metres below the present surface and from about 3 metres down quantities of painted pottery of the Middle Minóan class were found. It was here that at a depth of 4 metres lay the dove vase found in 1900. With the pottery were also found a variety of clay sealings belonging

to the period of the Earlier Palace, some with decorative designs derived from the XIIIth Dynasty scarab style (Fig. 63). Other sealings are of great importance as exhibiting groups of pictographic characters of early type. It thus becomes evident that this form of script was in vogue in the Earlier Palace. Fig. 64 shows an example of one of these impressions

with the bent leg, double axe and fish signs. Another sealing (Fig. 65) shows a double axe with a scale pattern.

These early chambers and cells were composed of rubble masonry, and square limestone doorposts took the place of the low bases supporting

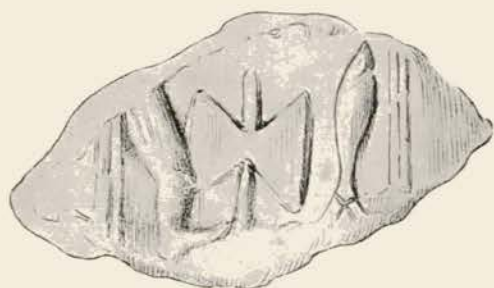


FIG. 64.—CLAY SEALING WITH PICTOGRAPHIC SIGNS (†).

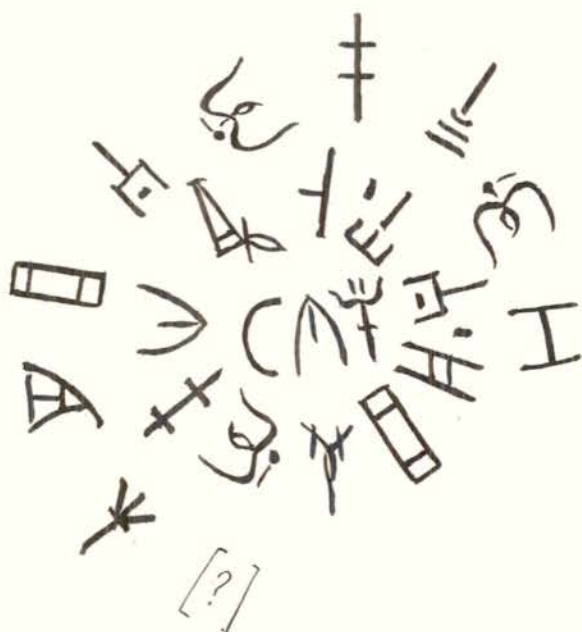


FIG. 65.—DOUBLE AXE WITH SCALE PATTERN (†).

wood and plaster door jambs, seen in the Later Palace. Some of the compartments here are mere walled pits about 1.55 metres N.S. by 0.80 E.W., and are perhaps largely foundation structures.

§ 25.—CUPS WITH INK-WRITTEN INSCRIPTIONS.

The upper part of the early constructions on the South-East, mentioned in the preceding Section, had evidently been made use of as basements for a wing of the Later Palace. Here were found various vases belonging to its early period, including two cups of quite exceptional interest. These cups, the relatively early date of which is attested by their forms still showing traces of the characteristic contour of the earlier Minôan painted class, were themselves of plain clay. The interior, however, was in both cases occupied by inscriptions in linear characters written in what appears to be a kind of ink of deep brown or blackish colour. The writing shows a cursive tendency, and there are some variations from the ordinary linear forms. I have therefore set beside my copy of one of the two inscriptions given in Fig. 66 *a* a rendering of it in the characters of the normal linear script (Fig. 66 *b*). The existence of stops between some of the words or sentences will be noted.

FIG. 66 *a*.—INK-WRITTEN LINEAR INSCRIPTION IN CUP.FIG. 66 *b*.—TRANSCRIPTION OF *a* IN NORMAL CHARACTERS OF THE LINEAR SCRIPT.

So far as appearance goes, the base of the ink used may have been sepia. It has been extraordinarily durable and so indelible that it was possible carefully to wash the inner surface of the cups. The lines of the letters show occasionally a tendency to divide, which may point to the use of a reed pen. As a whole the inscriptions present an extraordinary parallelism in their general character to those on Egyptian *ostraka*.

The great value of these ink-written inscriptions is that they give us the first direct evidence of the existence of literary materials in the Palace of Knossos other than the inscribed clay tablets. These specimens of penmanship are the work of practised scribes, who, writing in a different manner, had developed independent methods and forms, somewhat variant from that of the other school of scribes who wrote with a pointed instrument. The heaps of broken seals found in the Room of the Archives and elsewhere already suggested the inevitable inference that they had originally belonged to written documents the materials of which had perished. What these materials were it is impossible to say with certainty. Parchment may have been used, and the old Cretan tradition that palm leaves had once been used for writing should not be left out of account. In any case the proof that writing in ink was practised in the Minōan Palace opens out possibilities of the former existence of literary materials of a fuller kind than could be supplied by means of the clay tablets.

§ 26.—SOUTH-EASTERN ANGLE OF THE PALACE.

The exploration of the South-Eastern Palace region is still incomplete, and it must be sufficient here to give the briefest summary of the general results obtained.

South of the South-East Court is a group of chambers, one of which containing part of a *pithos*, is certainly a Magazine, while the South-Eastern angle is occupied by a square tower-like structure with abnormally thick walls. This group of chambers seems to form a connected whole, and is entered on the East side through an oblong room, larger than the rest, which forms a kind of entrance hall. Some rather elegant vessels of the late Minōan class were found here.

At the extreme South-Eastern angle a double staircase, one flight of which is preserved, runs down towards what may have been a postern gate on this side. On either side of the lower entrance passage of this staircase are two rooms built of good limestone masonry, that to the South

of oblong shape, being lined with gypsum plaques like the North Bath. The other is a square room with a square stone pillar standing on a low base in its centre. In the entrance passage between the two rooms were brought to light important bits of wall painting consisting of olive or myrtle sprays and the group of lilies already referred to. A small fragment showing grass in seed is also of singularly naturalistic execution. In the same area also occurred bits of painted pottery in the fine Later Palace style, and an ivory knot similar to the porcelain example from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae. Here, too, was found a small columnar shaft of porphyry-like material, round which runs a spiral band relieved with a continuous decorative design of a kind also found on the Palace vases.

It is to be noted that the group of structures about the South-Eastern staircase is set at a somewhat different angle from that of the rest of the Eastern Palace wing. This abnormal orientation is almost certainly accounted for, however, from the fact that this angle of the building lies on the edge of a steep bluff, and that it was therefore found convenient to follow the contour of the ground. It must be regarded as an integral part of the Palace.

§ 27.—EASTERN WALL-LINES AND BASTION WITH DESCENDING RUNNEL.

On the lower terrace a little East of the East Portico of the Hall of the Double Axes came to light the foundations of two parallel walls perhaps belonging to a Corridor. It was here that the 'Labyrinth fresco' was discovered, and a little North of the same spot lay large fragments of a plaster dado showing a pale yellow ground realistically decorated with veins in various shades of reddish brown in imitation of marble.¹

Parallel with the remains of the Corridor, and about a metre and a half East of it, a double line of wall, the foundation courses of which alone were preserved, runs from North to South. These were evidently terrace walls, and seem to represent the limits of the Palace in this direction.

It is true that about 12 metres below the point where the traces of this double wall temporarily cease in a Northerly direction, parts of a walled angle are visible which seem to represent some projecting spur of the

¹ See Fyfe, *R.I.B.A. Journ.*, 1902, p. 112, Fig. 13.

Palace, or a covered line of approach to its no longer visible Eastern Entrance. But the true continuation of this double wall-line is to be found in two terrace walls with a similar narrow space between them that form the Southern and Western sides of a curious Eastern Bastion, to be described below, and prolong their course thence towards a point probably representing the north-east angle of the Palace.

The Southern part of this Bastion seems to have contained a double staircase, the steps of the upper flight of which have disappeared. This upper flight led to the terrace above and thence in the direction of the Court of the Oil Spout. On the lower part of this staircase there was apparently a double landing with two or three intermediate steps connecting the two flights, as in the case of the Quadruple Staircase. Of these landings the lower only has been preserved, and from it a small flight of five steps leads down to a stone terrace having itself two slight steps at either end. From this terrace again, about 5 metres on, another flight, of which only two steps and part of a third are preserved, descends in an Easterly direction (See Plan, Fig. 67 and Fig. 69).

But the most interesting feature of the whole is the water channel that accompanies the stairs. The steps themselves are a metre wide, but between them and the outer balustrade of the staircase is a space of 25 centimetres occupied by a stone runnel, the construction and arrangement of which shows extraordinary skill in dealing with running water. Its stone channel instead of accompanying the descending flight of stairs in one continuous slope, as might have been supposed, follows the successive gradations in a series of curves. (See Section BB, Fig. 68.)

The effect of these descending curves is to put a repeated check on the rush of water. The curves themselves almost exactly agree with the natural parabola which water on falling would execute. There is thus a series of leaps instead of one, and the water flowing over a succession of curves is subject to friction which reduces its velocity. The current thus reaches the critical point, the sharp turn namely at the bottom of the stairs, with an impetus much inferior to that which it would otherwise have accumulated from the unbroken descent. The force of the water being in this way diminished, it was less liable to overflow the pavement at the bottom of the flight of stairs. The hydraulic science displayed by this device is such as to astonish the most competent judges.

But this is not all. At the bottom of the flight of stairs where the

KNOSSOS.
EAST BASTION

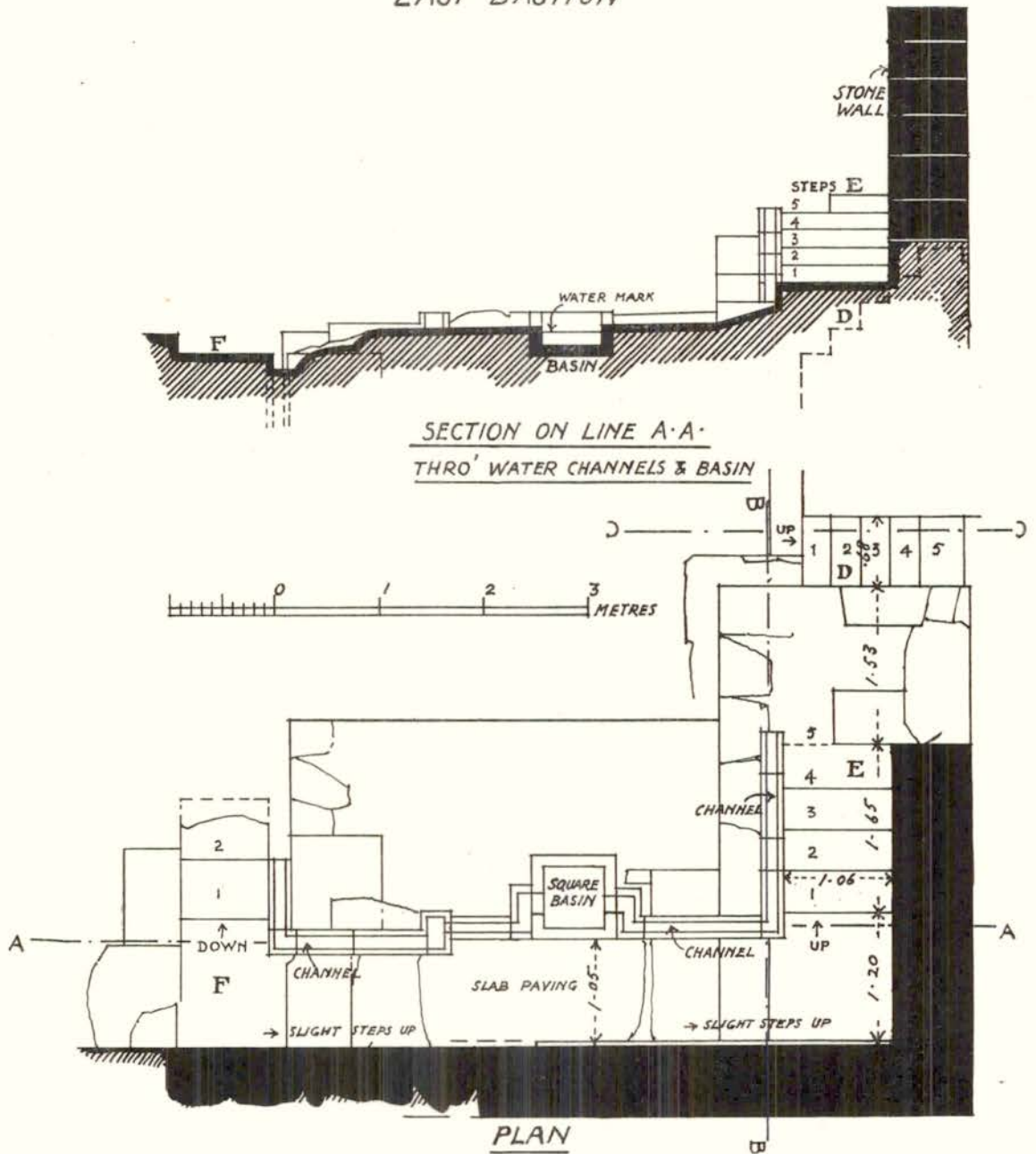
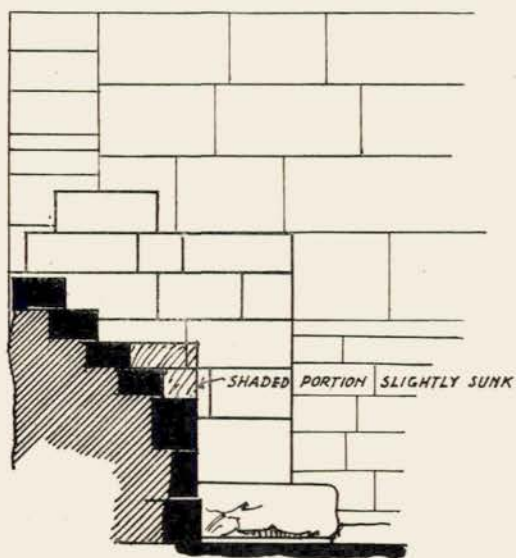
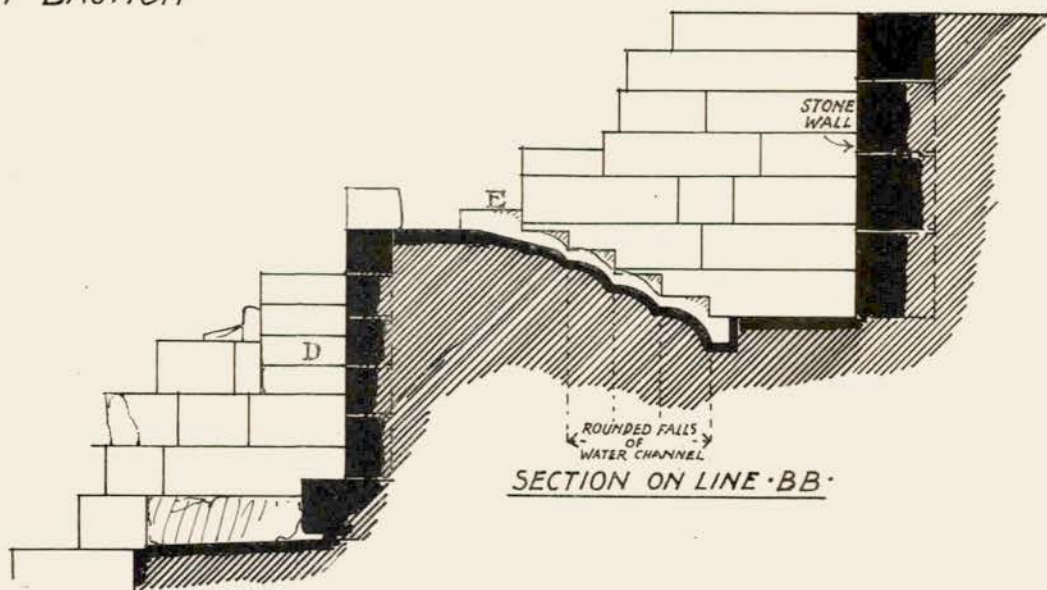


FIG. 67.—PLAN OF EAST BASTION WITH SECTION ON LINE A—A.

· KNOSSOS ·
EAST BASTION



SECTION ON LINE ·CC·
THRO' STAIRS "D"

FIG. 68. —SECTIONS OF EAST BASTION ON LINES B—B AND C—C.

runnel takes a sudden turn to the right the channel is deepened so as better to accommodate the inrush of the current, and the water is further drawn away from the possible point of overflow by a sudden downward slope of the channel.

It appears that the water was ultimately wanted for some tank below which it was desirable to keep clear. Accordingly the level part of the course along the small terrace was taken advantage of to form a small catch-pit, for the deposit of sediment, in the shape of a shallow square basin, which could easily be cleaned out when necessary. In order to secure a certain local retardation of the current, moreover, favourable to the precipitation of sediment, the runnel instead of proceeding directly to the basin makes a double bend, repeated in its continued course beyond. In the angles of these bends as well as in the small catch-pit itself the sediment according to well-known laws would have a tendency to be deposited. The extraordinary point is that these laws should have been known to the Minóan architect.

The runnel now proceeds by two more elongated curves, answering to the low steps at the further end of the terrace, to the point where it turns Eastward by a continued curving course down the further flight of steps, of which only the uppermost are preserved.

In the North face of the wall, immediately beyond the Bastion down which the runnel descends, are visible five steps of a smaller staircase (D in the Plan and Section and Fig. 69), which display the peculiarity that they suddenly break off, leaving a drop of 1.20 metre to the paved floor level below. The possibility suggests itself that the level of the lowest step may represent the water level in some kind of tank, supplied, in part at least, by means of the runnel that accompanies the other stairs. Two courses of a wall are in fact visible about a metre East of the smaller flight of steps, which seems to have represented the containing wall of the basin on that side. There are also traces of its North Wall.

The platform of masonry with the larger stairs and runnel is not jointed into the main terrace wall behind, and, though doubtless contemporary with it, forms, so far as its construction goes, a kind of annexe to it. It is built of smaller blocks than the others, several of which show incised signs belonging probably to the latest Palace Period.

The terrace wall itself is backed, as already noted, at an interval or only a few centimetres by another rougher wall, and this double line,

Landing of
Staircase E.
↓

Continuation South of
Eastern Wall Lines.
↓ ↓ ↓



← { Wall (IV.)
within
Wall III.

← { Original Outer
Wall to East
with Plinth
(III.)
←

← { Remains of
Terrace Wall
(II.) Backing
Later Outer
Wall (I.)
←

Small Stair-
case D. } →

Lowermost
Steps. } →

↑
Water Runnel
and Catch-Pit.

↑
Outer Wall
to East (I.)

FIG. 69.—VIEW OF EAST BASTION AND REMAINS QUADRUPLE LINES OF WALLING BEHIND IT.

though partly in a ruinous state, can be traced for about another twenty-five metres beyond the East Bastion. The outer of these two walls alone has a face, on the Eastern side, the inner wall being constructed entirely of roughly finished blocks. This dual arrangement which characterises what may be regarded as the Eastern boundary line of the Palace, also reappears in the case of the Western Wall of the deep-lying central region of the East side of the Palace, that, namely, which borders the Quadruple Staircase, the Court of the Distaffs and adjoining rooms. The object, especially visible in the latter case, is to protect the second of the two walls from damp by interposing an air-space between it and the true terrace wall. At the same time certain points of contact between the inner and outer walls of the system gave the whole a measure of unity as a supporting wall. The Minôan architect showed in other ways a special genius in protecting the main halls of the low-lying part of the building against damp. It will be seen by referring to the Plan on p. 56, that the whole 'Domestic Quarter' of the Palace and the adjoining halls are not only protected by the double wall and air-space to the West, but are flanked to North and South, where there was also an earth cutting, by corridors, light areas, and blocks of masonry containing drain or ventilating shafts.

Almost immediately behind the second line of the East Wall is another wall, traceable, in part only by its foundations, for a distance of about 30 metres beyond the East Bastion. This wall is constructed of large limestone blocks and has a good facing on its Eastern side, showing that it was originally intended to be visible. It follows that the rough wall in front of it and the outer wall-line in connexion with it are of later construction. The third wall-line would then represent the original terrace wall, which was afterwards supplemented, owing probably to its having fallen into a ruinous state, by the two outer lines with foundations, at a somewhat lower level. There are also remains of a fourth inner line of wall at a mean distance of about a metre within the earlier terrace line represented by the third wall (see Fig. 69).

This quadruple line of wall may be taken to represent the Palace boundary on this side and is evidently the continuation of the similar system visible West of the East Bastion. Further Eastwards, owing to the denudation of the slope, the traces of these walls dwindle to vanishing point, but there are strong indications that these remains very nearly reach the extreme North-West corner of the building. A distinct Northern

boundary line is in fact visible, which would have met the Eastern Wall at a point about 35 metres from the East Bastion. The first section of this line on the slope above is supplied by the remains of an existing wall by the North-East Postern. East of this—following the Northern boundary of an earlier group of buildings to be referred to in the next Section—is a cutting as if for a roadway, which was found choked with tumbled blocks, apparently derived from a line of outer walling that had originally surmounted it.

It is true that immediately North of this cutting are remains of a block of buildings consisting partly of magazines with *pitthoi* of the advanced Mycenaean class, together with other constructions belonging largely to the period of the Earlier Palace. These structures, however, seem to be at most of the nature of dependencies to the main building.

§ 28.—STORE-ROOMS OF EARLIER PALACE, WITH PAINTED VASES OF EGG-SHELL FABRIC.

In the angle included between the Magazines of the Knobbed *Pitthoi*, the Eastern Wall-lines and the cutting to the North mentioned in the last Section, the remains of the Later Palace have almost entirely disappeared. This is no doubt largely due to the natural denudation of the slope of the hill, but the remains of a kiln found here belonging to the Roman period may indicate that some of the good material on this side was artificially destroyed.

To compensate, however, for the disappearance of the later Minōan structures within this area, a whole series of chambers belonging to the earlier building were here brought to light, in part beneath the level of the Roman kiln. The walls were of the same simple rubble construction as those of the primitive chambers near the South-East corner of the Palace. The rooms were small, with narrow door openings, and there appeared to have been a gallery on their Western border. Two points in regard to these structures were specially noteworthy. Although obviously of an earlier date and built according to a more primitive method than the Later Palace, the orientation of their main lines, both from North to South and from East to West agreed with the later plan. It was also evident that some of the chambers had, at a time when their original floor levels had slightly risen, been used as basement stores by the occupants of the Later Palace.

In one case piles of vessels similar to those of the North-East Magazines had been placed on a floor level only a few centimetres above layers of finer vases belonging to the earlier Minôan Period.

As a rule, however, the difference of level was very decided, and the following was the usual stratification brought to light.

1. At or near the surface level a disturbed clayey deposit with pottery answering to classes found in the Later Palace, including the Period of Re-occupation. This goes down 1.25 metres.
2. A stratum 12 centimetres deep full of wood ashes packed with Late Minôan (Kamáres) sherds similar to those below the Room of the Spiral Fresco (see p. 26, 27).
3. A pale clayey stratum .20 deep with a few sherds of the same general character as the last.
4. A deposit 45 centimetres thick of wood ashes with the remains of Minôan painted vases of the finest fabric. This deposit rests on a stamped clay floor-level about 1.88 from the present surface.

It was evident that the bulk of these chambers had been store-rooms for pottery of a very remarkable quality. Although from the extreme delicacy of the fabric of a large proportion of the vessels the mere weight of the superincumbent deposit seems to have been enough to crush them, it has been possible to put together a series of vessels in a fairly complete form with results that throw an entirely new light on the high perfection of ceramic art already reached in what may be best described as the Middle Minôan Period.

The vases from these chambers consisted for the most part of bowls and cups, with or without handles, of great variety and elegance of form. Their very fine fabric, often as thin as egg-shell china, as well as some of their contours, suggest originals in metal work, and some of them are adorned with embossed decoration evidently copied from the *repoussé* designs of cups in precious metals. The slight metallic lustre occasionally visible on the black ground of these vases helps to enhance this comparison.

The colours are generally vermilion red, orange, and white, on a black ground. Sometimes, however, the ground is a bright brick-red, as in the case of some beautiful bowls adorned with white asterisks. More rarely the ground is pale buff with dark brown decoration—a style which anticipates the prevailing fashion of the Later Palace Period. A cup with white

leaf ornaments on a dark ground round its walls and the same decoration in dark brown on a white ground on its base illustrates the transition between the two usages.

It is impossible here more than to refer to these exquisite ceramic types, which will be more fully illustrated in Dr. Duncan Mackenzie's account of the Knossian pottery in the forthcoming number of *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. A good example of a cup with a fine metallic outline is given in Fig. 70. It shows a simple geometrical decoration—white with small red disks on the black ground—resembling a succession of narrow plates with studs or rivets; the handle, part of which only is preserved, is about two centimetres broad, but so slender that it must have been used with great precaution. The cup reproduced in Fig. 71¹ is one of the most beautiful ceramic productions of the Minóan or any other age. It is light in make and spontaneous as a bubble, and the design it bears, the calix of a water-lily as it floats on the surface of a pool, is in keeping with the lightsomeness of form. The idea of this decoration may have been suggested by a lotus vase of Egypt, but the floral motive is here more delicately treated.² The outer leaves of the calix are black with a central vein of red, the inner petals white, and the whole upper margin of the corolla is outlined against a red background.

It is to be observed that the divergent spiral and several other designs on the cups and bowls from these early store-rooms, like the contemporary Cretan seals, show distinct traces of the influence of Egyptian motives of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty Period. The character of the decoration is geometrical, and plant forms where they occur are treated in a more or less geometrical manner. There is nothing here of the untrammelled naturalistic style which characterises the art of the Later Palace.

§ 29.—FRAGMENTS OF BOWLS OF DIORITE AND LIPARITE OF EARLY DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN FABRIC.

The high level of civilisation attained at Knossos by the date of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt is well illustrated by the beautiful ceramic

¹ Both of these illustrations are from black and white drawings by Mr. Theodore Fyfe.

² The same design in a coarser form is applied to a characteristic series of Cretan stone bowls of the type figured in *Cretan Pictographs, &c.* (Quaritch, 1895) *Deposit of H. Onuphrios*, p. 123, Fig. 123. A variety with a double calix was found in the North doorway of the Hall of the Double Axes (see above, p. 39).

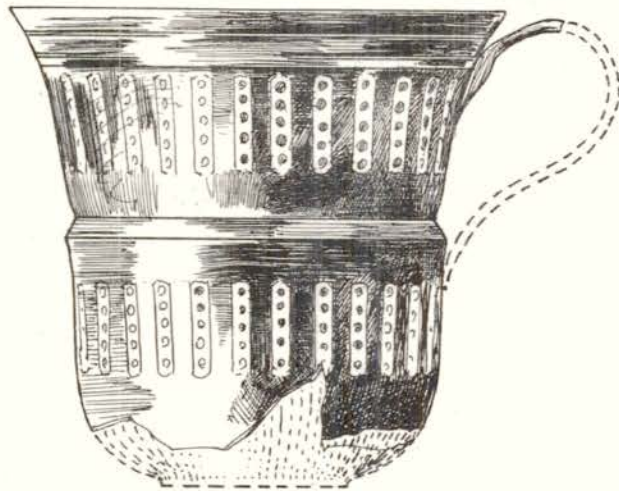


FIG. 70.—PAINTED CUP OF METALLIC OUTLINE: MIDDLE MINOAN.

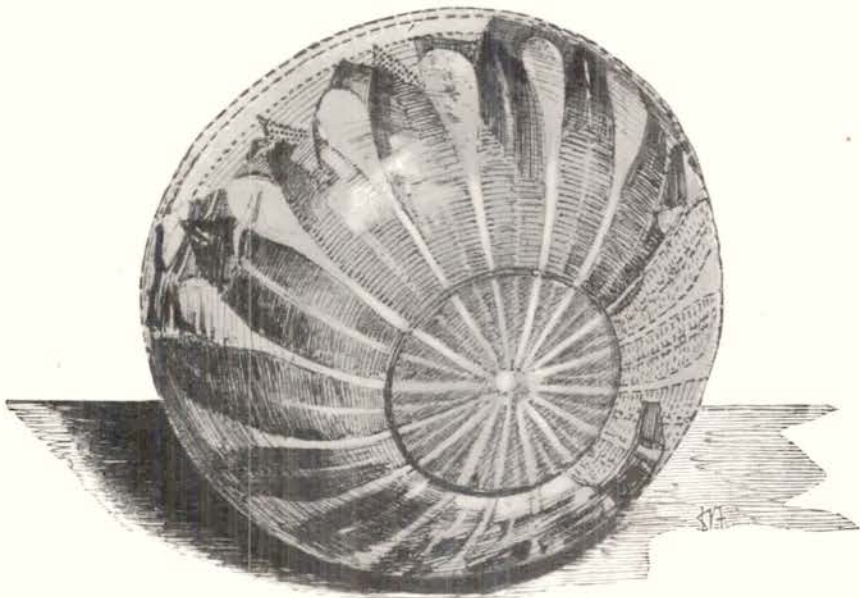


FIG. 71.—CUP WITH WATER-LILY DESIGN: MIDDLE MINOAN.

products described in the preceding Section. But the exquisite technique of these painted vases itself implies a very extensive period of earlier development. On the Palace site, moreover, and notably in the deep-lying early chambers on the South-East (see above, p. 106), were found remains of vases typologically at least anterior to the developed 'Middle Minóan' class. The decoration on these, consisting of chevrons and dots in reddish-yellow and white on a black ground, simply represents the taking over of the incised and punctured decoration of the advanced Neolithic style, where the white and orange inlays in the burnished black 'bucchero' already anticipate the system of colouring.

Already in 1895 certain forms of Cretan stone vases had led me to seek comparisons in Old Kingdom forms, notably those of the Fourth Dynasty.¹ The most characteristic of the Cretan bead-seals—the prism-shaped—find their prototype moreover in a black steatite example found

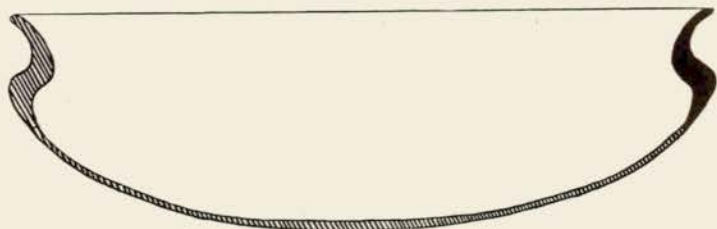


FIG. 72.—FRAGMENT, AND RESTORED SECTION, OF DIORITE BOWL, FROM EARLY PALACE.

at Karnak, the subjects on which are allied to those of a peculiar class of cylinders of the same material belonging to the earliest Dynastic period.² Several of the traditional figures of Cretan intaglios, moreover, such as the Minotaur itself, go back to the same cycle. The influence of another class of seal, of button shape, frequent about the VIth and VIIth dynasties, and on which the maeander design, the prototype of the 'Labyrinth in Art,' is specially frequent, has also to be taken into account.

The excavations of 1902 have now supplied in a fragmentary but conclusive form the evidence of actual imports from the Nile Valley belonging to the early Dynastic Period.

Among some debris from the South wall of the Store Room containing

¹ *Sepulchral Deposit of Hagios Onuphrios in Cretan Pictographs, &c.* (Quaritch, 1895), pp. 117, 118).

² *Further Discoveries of Cretan, &c. Script* (J.H.S., xvii. 1898, p. 362, *seqq.*).

the 'false-spouted' jars of the earliest period of the later Palace (see above, p. 88) occurred a beautiful fragment of a shallow finely profiled bowl of translucent diorite (see Fig. 72). The circumstances of the find sufficiently indicate that the fragment belonged to an earlier date than the Later Palace, but the evidence goes far beyond this. Both form and material show that the vase to which the fragment belonged was of the finest Egyptian fabric, and in the opinion of the most competent Egyptologists¹ the probable date of its manufacture goes back to the period of the IVth Dynasty (c. 4000-3700 B.C.), while it cannot be later than the VIth (c. 3500-3330 B.C.). As a matter of fact the fragment so closely resembles the material and contour of a diorite bowl in the Ashmolean Museum (see Fig. 73) from the tomb of the first Fourth Dynasty King Sneferu (c. 3998-3960 B.C.) that it might almost have been broken from it. The diorite is of the most exquisite kind, such as is found in the royal tombs.

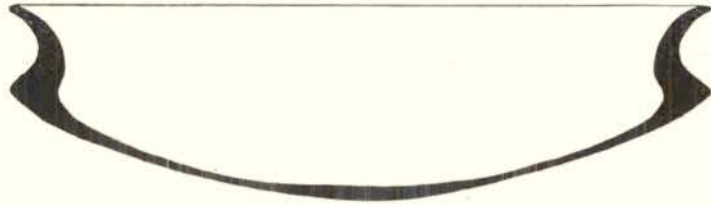


FIG. 73.—SECTION OF EGYPTIAN DIORITE BOWL FROM TOMB OF KING SNEFERU, OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY.

Nor does this evidence stand alone. On the East slope, near the early Store Rooms containing the 'Middle Minôan' pottery, but in disturbed earth, was found another fragment of a bowl of the same type, though of somewhat more carinated profile (see Fig. 74), cut out of a peculiar speckled variety of volcanic glass. The material, which is semi-transparent, has been examined by the eminent mineralogist, Professor H. A. Miers, and proves to be the very distinct variety known as liparite and derived from the Aeolian Islands.² This form of obsidian is unknown in the Aegean, and it appears to be unlikely that it could at any period have

¹ Professor Petrie considers it to be of the Fourth Dynasty and in no circumstances later than the Sixth. Professor Waldemar Schmidt, of Copenhagen, considers that these bowls were made during the Fourth Dynasty, and that though they may have been in use during the Fifth Dynasty it is impossible to bring them down to a later date.

² This conclusion is confirmed on the geological side by Professor W. J. Sollas.

been found there.¹ A few other fragments of the same material have occurred in the Palace strata at Knossos, including part of a lentoid intaglio dating from its latest period. From the earliest Neolithic times onwards, however, the obsidian in general use was the fine black quality such as is found in such profusion in Melos. It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that though the form and finish of the bowl to which this fragment belonged, proclaim it to have been of early Dynastic Egyptian fabric, the obsidian vases, hitherto found in Egypt itself, are of a material answering to the ordinary Aegean class. It is possible that the Italian variety offered greater facilities for cutting out vessels of comparatively large dimensions. The obsidian vases found in tombs belonging to the first Dynasties at Abydos are of more compact type, and to cut out a delicate bowl from the Aegean material might well have baffled human

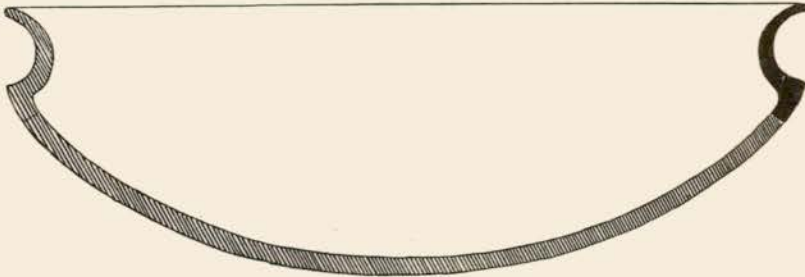


FIG. 74.—FRAGMENT AND RESTORED SECTION OF LIPARITE BOWL.

skill. As it is the bowl from which the fragment has been derived with its finely profiled outline and exquisitely slender fabric must have been a prodigious *tour de force*.

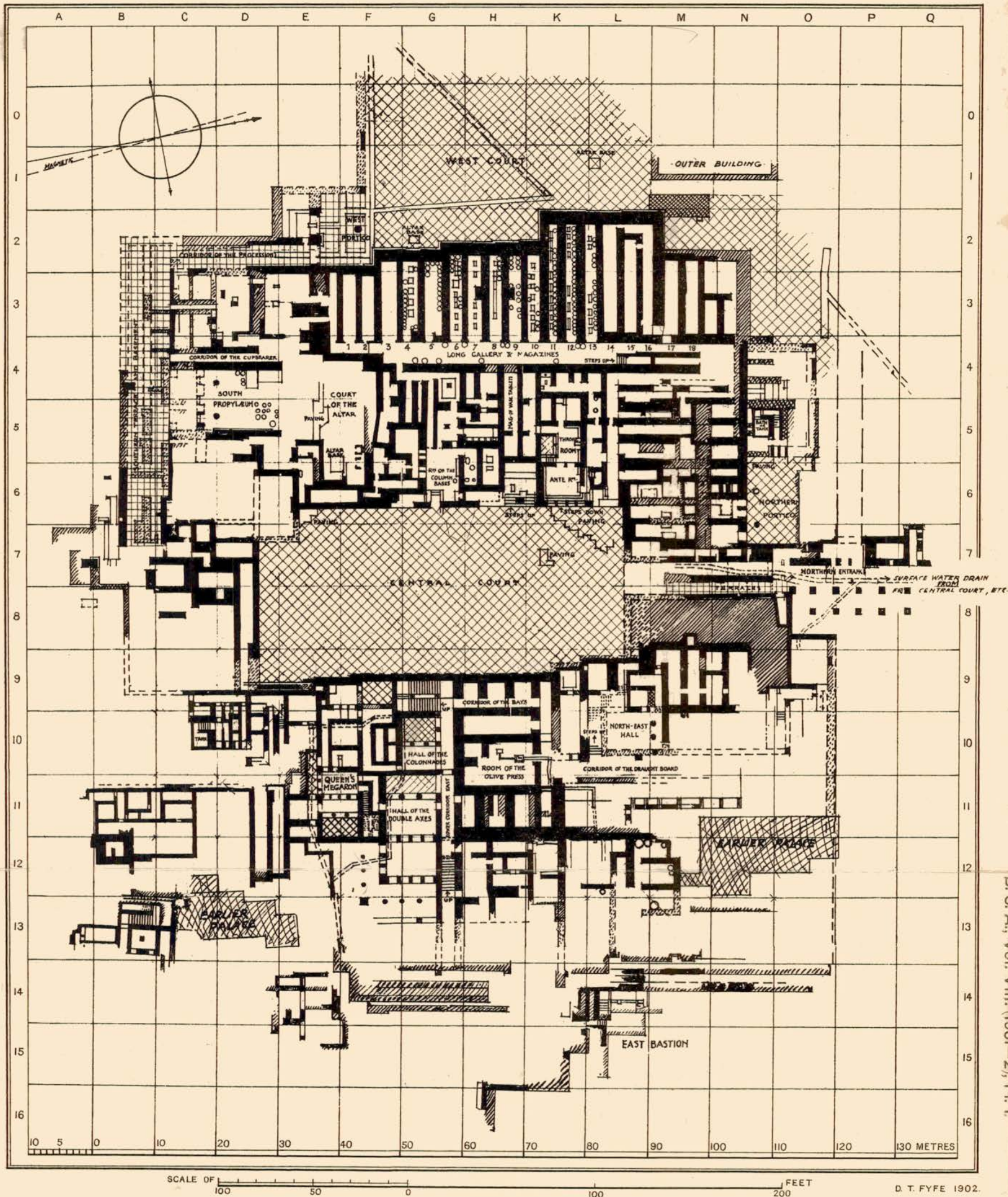
In Professor Petrie's opinion the sharply characterised form shows that this liparite bowl cannot be later than the IVth Dynasty. Coupled with the finding of the fragment of the diorite bowl, it is not too much to say that the discovery throws an entirely new light on the external relations of Minóan Crete in the early centuries of the Fourth Millennium B.C. It would appear that maritime intercourse was already opened up with Italy as well as the Nile Valley, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Cretan mercantile intercourse already supplied Egypt, not only with the Aegean type of obsidian, but with the rarer quality derived (perhaps

¹ This is Professor Miers' opinion.

by means of the later Ionian coasting route) from the Aeolian Islands. The Minóan ruler seems to have received in exchange some finished products in the shape of vessels both of the finest Egyptian material and of the liparite that his own maritime enterprise had secured for Pharaoh. The alternative hypothesis that either class of bowl was made in Knossos by Egyptian lapidaries seems less consistent with general probabilities.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.





SKETCH PLAN OF THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS.



IVORY FIGURE AND HEAD FROM KNOSSOS.



IVORY FIGURE AND HEAD FROM KNOSSOS.

THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS.

Provisional Report for the Year 1903.

(PLATES I.—III.)

§ I.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1903.

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

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

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

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

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

The veteran services of Gregorios Antoniou were once more secured

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

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

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

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

§ 2.—THE SOUTH-EAST HOUSE.

Already towards the close of the preceding Season parts of a staircase, passage, and adjacent rooms were unearthed at the South-East angle of the Palace area. The excavation now completed on this side has brought out an exceptionally perfect house-plan, which will be seen in Fig. 1. The building itself may be regarded as an inner *dépendance* of the Palace, not improbably an official residence. Although, owing to the declivity on this side, the whole is set at a slightly different angle from the main

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

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

The remarkable 'Royal Villa' excavated this season to the North-East of the Palace and described below¹ displays identical features. There too the main entrance was by a flight of stairs descending from an upper terrace, and there too the lower rooms were built into a cutting in the side of the hill.

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

Of the stairs the whole lower flight consisting of nine gypsum steps² was preserved, but of the upper flight only parts of two, adjoining the square block at the first landing. The upper stair-block which, like the other, has the usual four dowel holes for wooden construction, was found slightly displaced. About the same level were also found door jambs belonging to the upper storey of the house. It seems probable that the middle landing of the staircase was lit by a window in its North wall.

¹ § 20, p. 130 *seqq.*

² 1.39 m. wide, 0.38 deep with a tread of 0.13.

Immediately to the left of the foot of the lowest flight of steps opens a corridor (A I in plan) about a metre wide and 7.45 metres in length. On the paved floor of this, which lay about 2.50 metres below the surface, were found fragments of vases in the fine Later Palace style and painted plaster which seems to have been derived from the walls of this and probably of another similar corridor above. These fragments of wall-painting showed lilies, olive sprays, and grasses, of singular fidelity and beauty.¹ A group

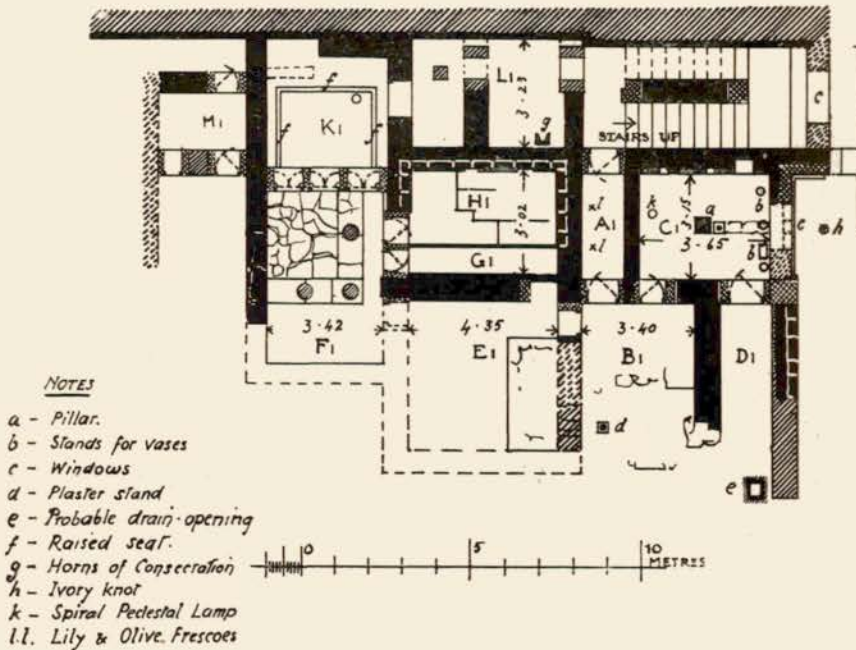


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF SOUTH-EAST HOUSE.

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

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

¹ See *Report*, 1902, p. 110.

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

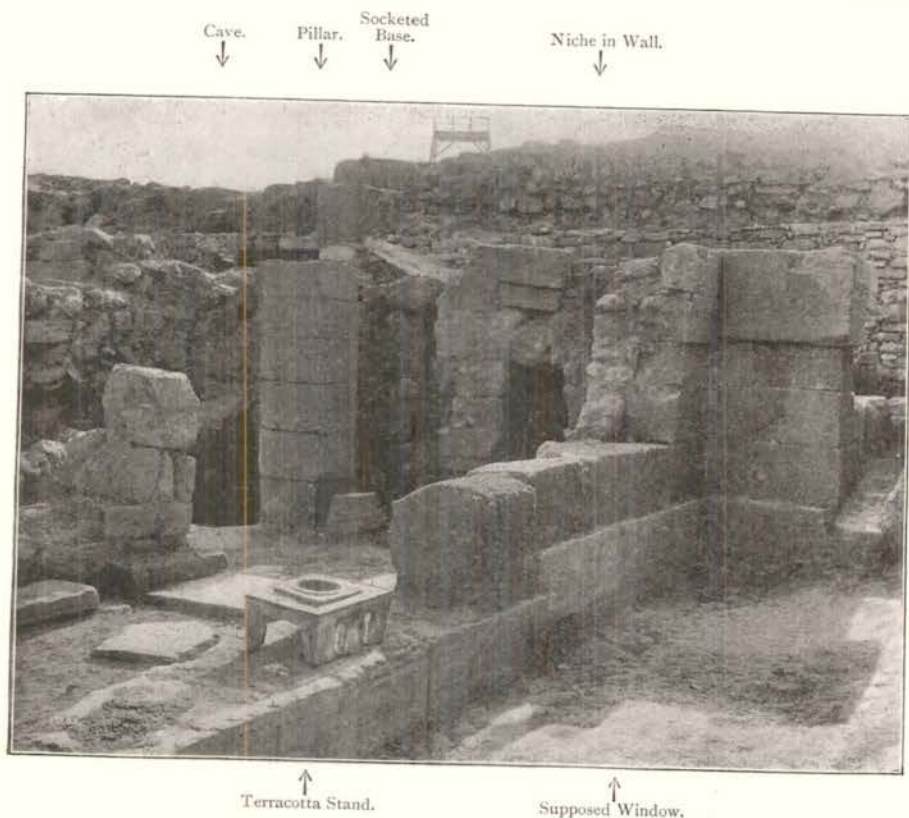


FIG. 2.—PILLAR ROOM AND EXTERIOR SOUTH WALL ; SOUTH-EAST HOUSE.

Minôan ceramic decoration, and its colouring recalls that of the small terracotta Sanctuary.²

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

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

² *Report*, 1902, p. 28, *seqq.*

square stone pillar. The pillar rests on a rough foundation block of limestone, and in its present state consists of six blocks, the lowest of them gypsum, rising to a height of 1.87 metre (see Fig. 2). Against this on the North side was a gypsum block in the shape of a truncated pyramid,¹ showing traces of a horizontal ribbed moulding, and provided with a socket above. This object belongs to a class found in the Palace Magazines and elsewhere, and which seem in many cases to have served as torch holders. It is interesting to note, however, that on the painted designs of the Palaikastro *larnax*² and the remarkable sarcophagus found by the Italian Mission at Hagia Triada,³ stepped bases of a similar kind appear as the stands for the sacred Double Axes.⁴ The possibility that the present base served a similar religious function cannot therefore be excluded.

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

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

¹ It is 23 cm. high and 30 square at the base.

² *B.S.A.* vol. viii, p. 299 and Pl. XVIII.

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

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

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

⁶ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 242, Fig. 352.

a sacral significance. On a gold signet ring from Mycenae¹ two knots of the same kind are seen suspended from the entablature of a sacred pillar between two lion guardians, while on a seal impression from the Palace of Knossos they are suspended from a sacred tree. On a lentoid gem from



FIG. 3.—PEDESTAL OF PURPLE GYPSUM
(ABOUT $\frac{1}{3}$).



FIG. 4.—SACRAL KNOT OF
IVORY ($\frac{1}{3}$).

the Heraeum² two similar knots are seen on either side of a bull's head surmounted by the Double Axe. Again, on a lentoid gem found in the

¹ *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 61, Fig. 39 and p. 62.

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

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

The Pillar Room itself recalls a characteristic feature of Minōan buildings well illustrated in the Palace itself by those chambers the pillars of which are so conspicuously marked by the Double Axe symbol. In the Royal Villa to be described below we meet with a similar chamber. It recurs in the case of certain private houses at Knossos and elsewhere in Crete and again at Phylakopi in Melos. It is moreover noteworthy that while in the case of the Pillar Rooms of the Western Palace wing the pillars may have incidentally served a structural purpose in supporting upper storey columns, in the generality of instances, placed as they are in the centre of small square rooms, they possess no apparent practical utility. On the other hand, the small votive cups ranged around the pillar in the house excavated by Mr. Hogarth at Knossos, on the opposite hill of Gypsádes,² and the libation vessels found in those of Phylakopi certainly point to a ritual usage. The original conclusions suggested to me by the Double Axes cut on the pillars of the two Palace rooms³ have now moreover been confirmed by the discovery of relics of an important sanctuary in their immediate vicinity. In the case of the pillar room of the South-East House we may therefore with great probability also recognise a domestic sanctuary connected with the cult of the divine pair whose fetish forms are constantly reappearing in the shape of Double Axes. Whether or not the socketed pyramidal base here by the pillar actually, as in the case of other similar bases, served to support the shaft of the sacred weapon, we can certainly trace a reference to the prevailing Palace cult in the ivory knot discovered hard by.

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

¹ *Knossos Report*, 1902, p. 102, Fig. 59.

² *B.S.A.* vi, p. 76.

³ *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 12 *seqq.*

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

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

The wall which forms the Northern side both of the storeroom, D 1, and the pillar room is at the same time the exterior wall of the house in this direction. Its structure, which displays remarkable features, is best preserved at the corner near the staircase landing (see Fig. 2). It is there seen to consist externally¹ of a layer of fine limestone blocks, resting on a plinth of the same material, followed above by three courses of gypsum blocks, and these again by two more of limestone. At a point nearly opposite the pillar the upper courses of the masonry suddenly break off, and a strong presumption arises that there was at this point a window opening as shown in the plan.

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

E 1, the first of these thus approached, shows on its North side remains of a low stone platform which suggests the place of a couch. The South door of this room, one jamb of which alone was preserved, opens on what was undoubtedly a light area bordering two faces of a small portico belonging to the principal Megaron of the household (Fig. 5). The outer porch of this was supported by three pillars, the bases² of which are visible, resting on a low limestone stylobate which encloses a small square, paved with irregular slabs of dark grey ironstone. From this again a triple opening³ between pillar bases leads to the little inner hall. We have thus in miniature an arrangement very similar to that of the Portico and Hall of the Double Axes. The sockets, moreover, visible in the angles of the reveals of the pillar bases, show that in this case too the openings were provided with double doors folding back against the pillars. When thus opened the doors were made as it were an

¹ There was, as usual, an inner backing of rubble masonry.

² About 38 cm. in diameter.

³ In each case 90 cm.

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

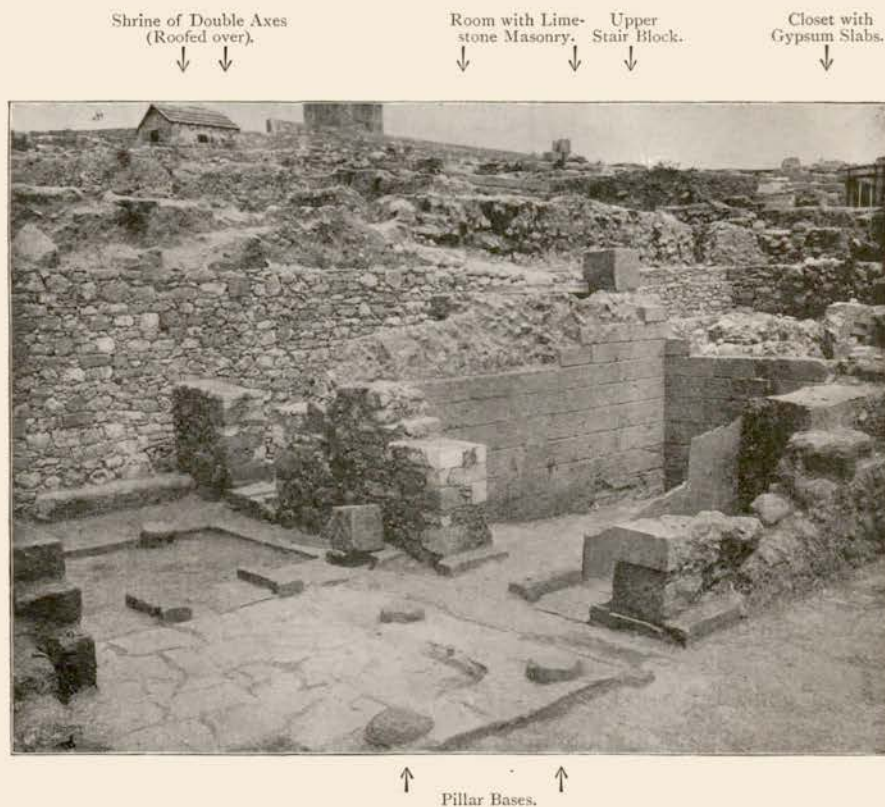


FIG. 5.—MEGARON OF SOUTH-EAST HOUSE AND ADJOINING ROOM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² This is Dr. Mackenzie's opinion.

³ Knossos, &c., *Report*, 1902.

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

§ 3.—NOTES ON THE OPENING OF DOORS.

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

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

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

I.—*Double, or 'Two Leaf Doors.'*

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

II.—*Single, or 'One Leaf' Doors.*

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

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

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

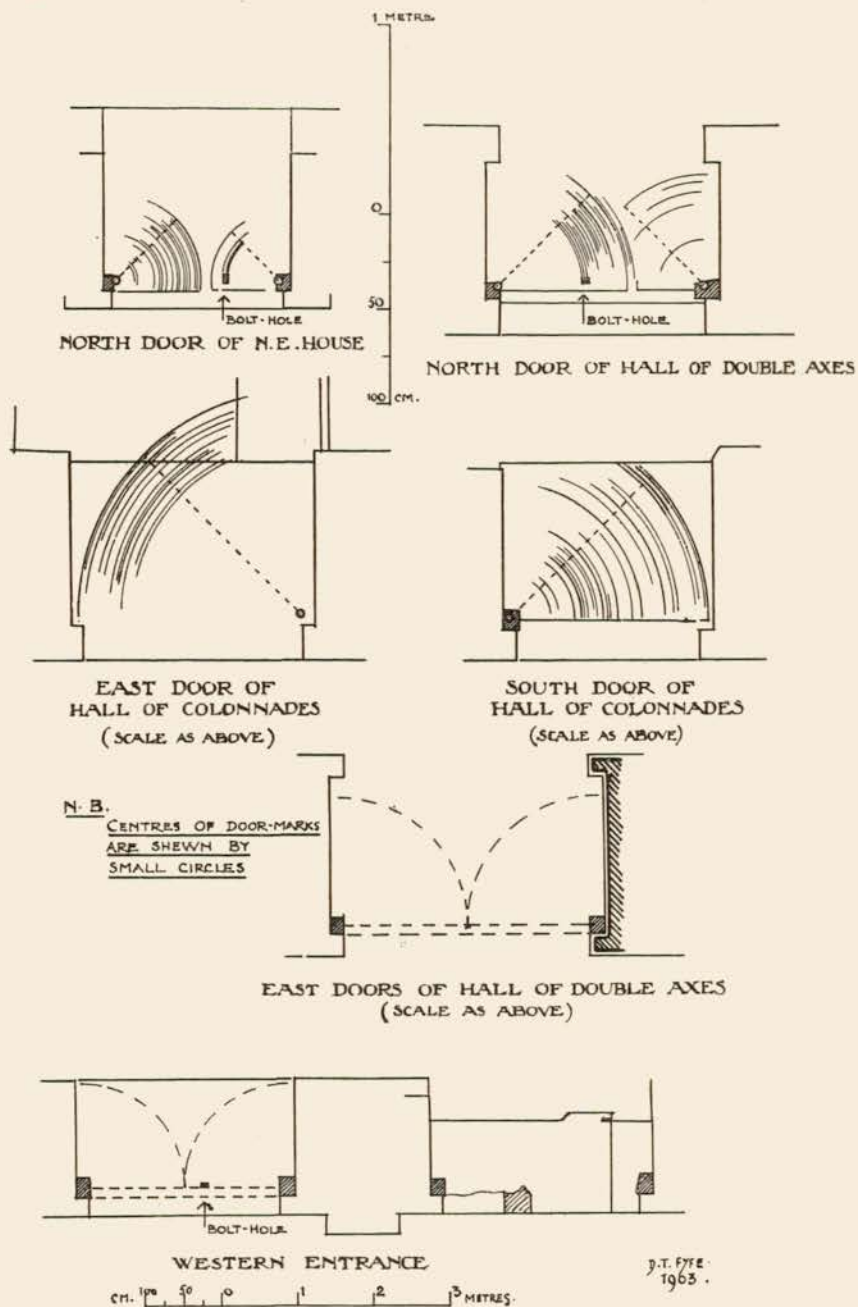


FIG. 6.—PLAN SHOWING SOCKETS FOR HINGES AND BOLTS AND SCORINGS CAUSED BY SWING OF DOORS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 4.—EARLY MINOAN BASEMENT WITH MONOLITHIC PILLARS.

About fourteen metres North of the South-East House, excavations completed this season have brought to light some very early basements with bays and pillars belonging to an extremely early period of the Minōan civilisation. Already in 1900 a trial pit sunk here to a depth of about 4.60 metres below the surface level had shown the existence of early walls to this depth and had been productive throughout the lowest two metres of early polychrome ware, including a curious vase in the form of a dove.

The walls, which at this spot began about 50 centimetres below the original surface of the ground, show a triple stratification, answering to three different periods. Of the walls of the highest stratum a height of about 1.30 metre is preserved. On a floor level answering to this layer rested a 'streaked' *pithos*, apparently belonging to the Latest Palace Period. In this stratum were also found fragments of good painted pottery of the 'Palace Style' and the two cups with ink-written inscriptions described in the preceding Report.

Another wall-layer, 65 centimetres in depth, leads down to the earliest and best preserved remains (see Fig. 7). These form what seems to have been a basement chamber, the roof of which was supported by two squared monolithic pillars of limestone resting on broad bases of the same material. The Western of these is 2.02 metres in height, the other, slightly broken at top, 1.90. The North Wall of the chamber has three projecting walls forming, with the side walls of the room, four bays or niches. Near the South Wall, opposite the space between the two pillars, was a shallow circular pit, about half a metre in depth and 1.30 metre in diameter. The walls where best preserved go up 2.10 metres. The small rough masonry and the deep character of the chamber much recall the deep walled pits of the North Quarter of the Palace. Pillars made out of a single block are not found in the Later Palace, though the Northern Pillar Hall shows a return to a similar system. There is no trace of a doorway, and it is probable that access to this basement was by means of a trap-door and ladder.

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

ground, together with some contemporary pottery with a light ground. The Dove Vase itself was found here at a depth of about 4 metres below the surface of the ground. Various clay sealings of the Middle Minōan Period including some with pictographic characters¹ also occurred. A certain proportion of the polychrome pottery was of the fine egg-shell class so well represented among the contents of the East Magazines,² but there was here a larger proportion of coarser wares. It was also clear that some of these belonged to an earlier period than any

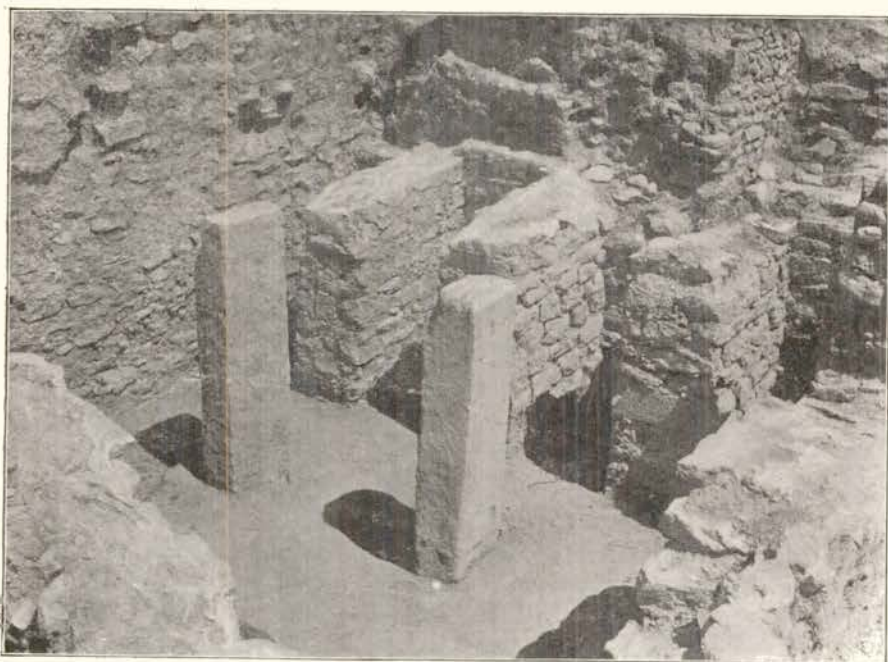


FIG. 7.—EARLY MINŌAN BASEMENT WITH MONOLITHIC PILLARS.

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

¹ See *Report*, 1902, pp. 106, 107, Fig. 64. ² *Report*, 1902, pp. 118-120, and Figs. 70, 71.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See below, pp. 96-98, and Fig. 66.

chrome designs of flowering plants and foliage on a lustrous black ground, representing a stage antecedent to the more naturalistic vegetable designs of the succeeding period. A class of ware with a brilliant metallic lustre may compare with the ceramic imitations of silver plate, so characteristic of the age immediately succeeding the Dionysian Empire in Magna Graecia and Sicily. A fragmentary cup, completed in Pl. II. Fig. 1, from the same deposit, illustrates the reproduction in colour of what was obviously the repoussé decoration of an original in precious metal.

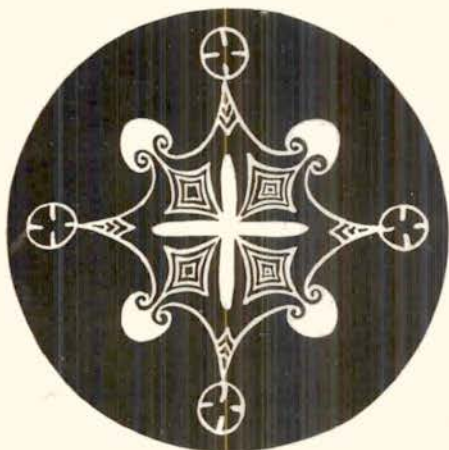


FIG. 8.—INNER DESIGN OF CUP
(REDUCED).

It may well in turn serve a modern goldsmith as an artistic model. The inner design (Fig. 8) seems

to represent a graffito pattern in the metallic original.

In the same deposit there also occurred clay sealings in some cases impressed with characters belonging to the pictographic script. This, with other evidence such as that supplied by the occurrence of similar inscriptions in the early basement rooms described in Section 4, has now made it clear that the pictographic form of Cretan writing is not only typologically but chronologically earlier than the linear system of the Later Palace. The evidence supplied by the original finds of such clay sealings in the walled space behind the staircase of the Long Gallery¹ was in itself misleading. The sealings, discovered there and in the immediate neighbourhood in a scattered state, may possibly have found their way into the walled space in question owing to its having been filled in from a deposit belonging to the latest period of the Earlier Palace. Or, if—as it still seems preferable to believe—they really belong to the Later Palace, they



FIG. 9.—MIDDLE MINOAN
SEAL IMPRESSION: WILD
GOAT AND PLANT ($\frac{1}{2}$).

¹ *Report, &c.*, 1900, pp. 25 and 59 *seqq.*

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

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

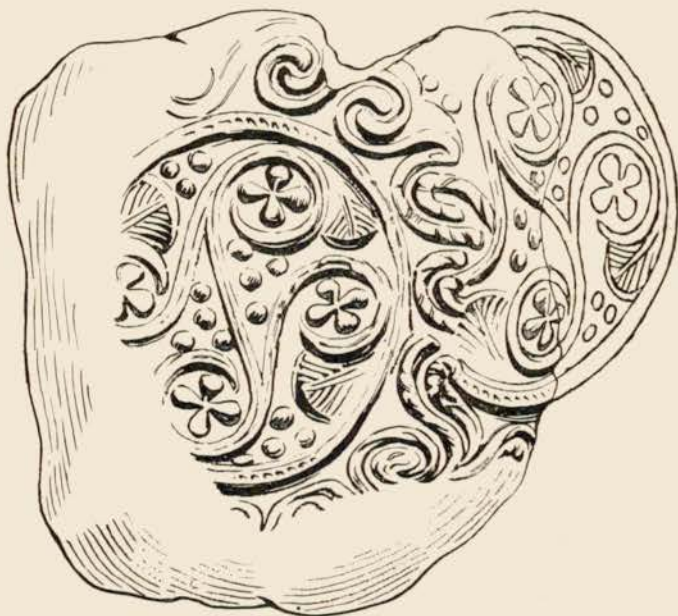


FIG. 10.—CLAY SEALING WITH DECORATIVE SCROLLS: MIDDLE MINŌAN (¶).

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

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

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

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

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

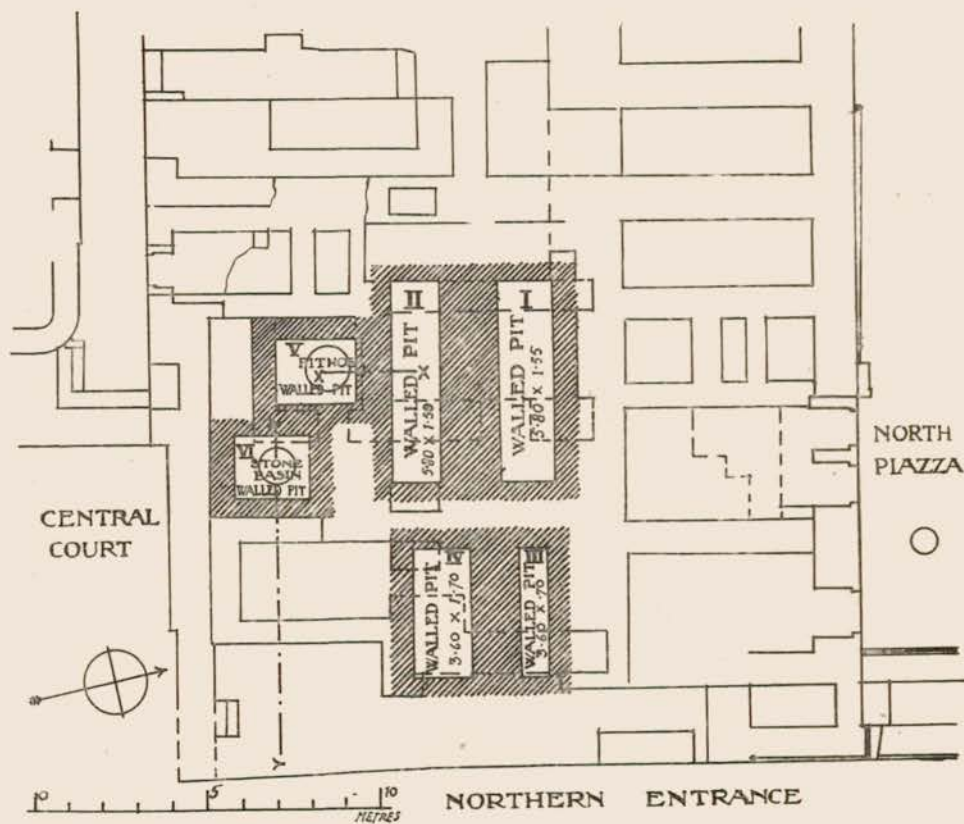
Of these cells No. 1 has now been completely cleared out, and, to render this clearance possible without destroying the history of the building by removing the later walls, I resorted to the expedient of removing only their rubble foundations and supporting their upper structure by means of arches thrown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

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

² *Report*, 1901, p. 35 *seqq.*

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

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



NOTE

WALLS OF EARLIER PALACE, ROUND DEEP WALLED PITS, ARE SHOWN SHADED.
WALLS OF LATER PALACE ARE SHOWN IN OUTLINE.

FIG. 11.—PLAN SHOWING DEEP WALLED CELLS OF EARLIER PALACE.

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

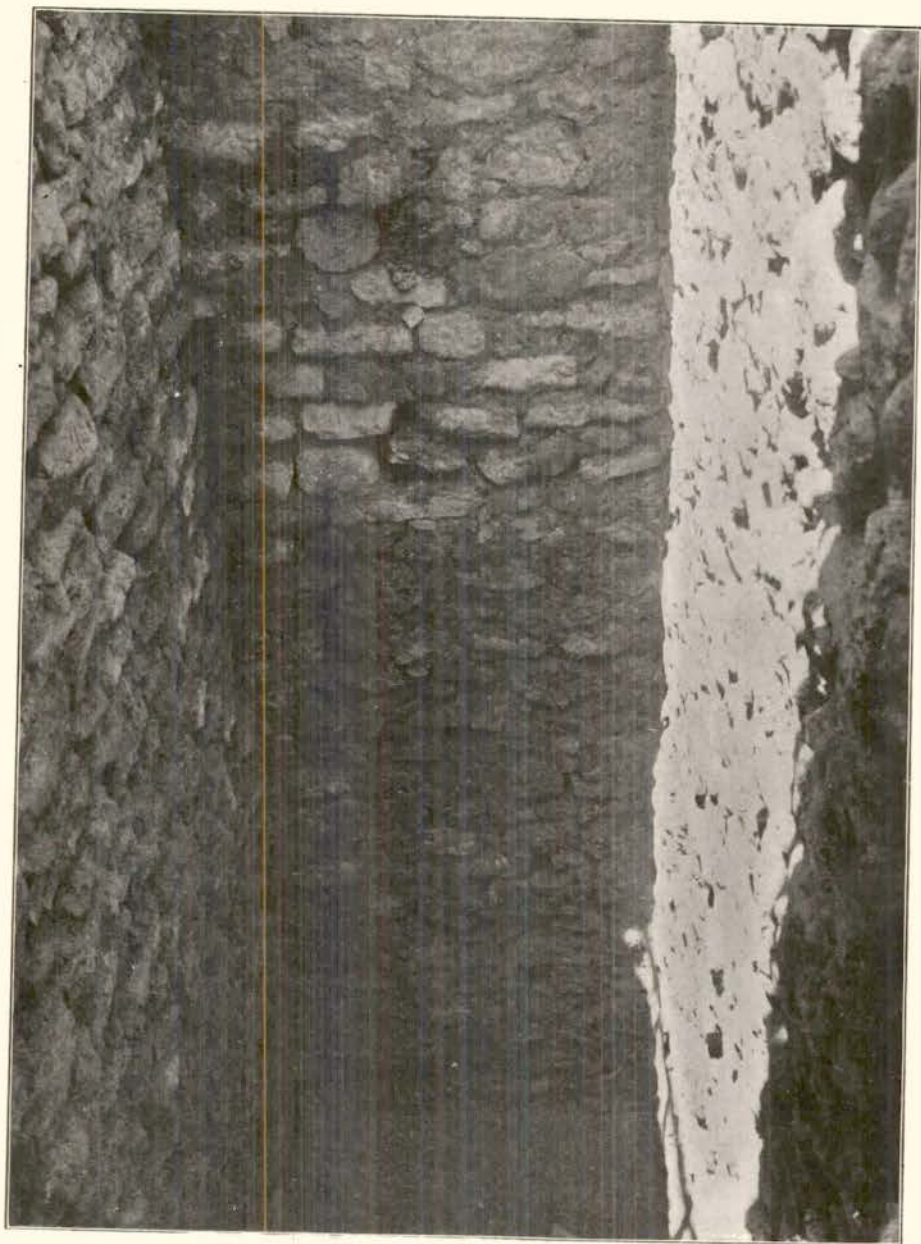


FIG. 12.—DEEP WALLED CELL OF EARLIER PALACE.

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

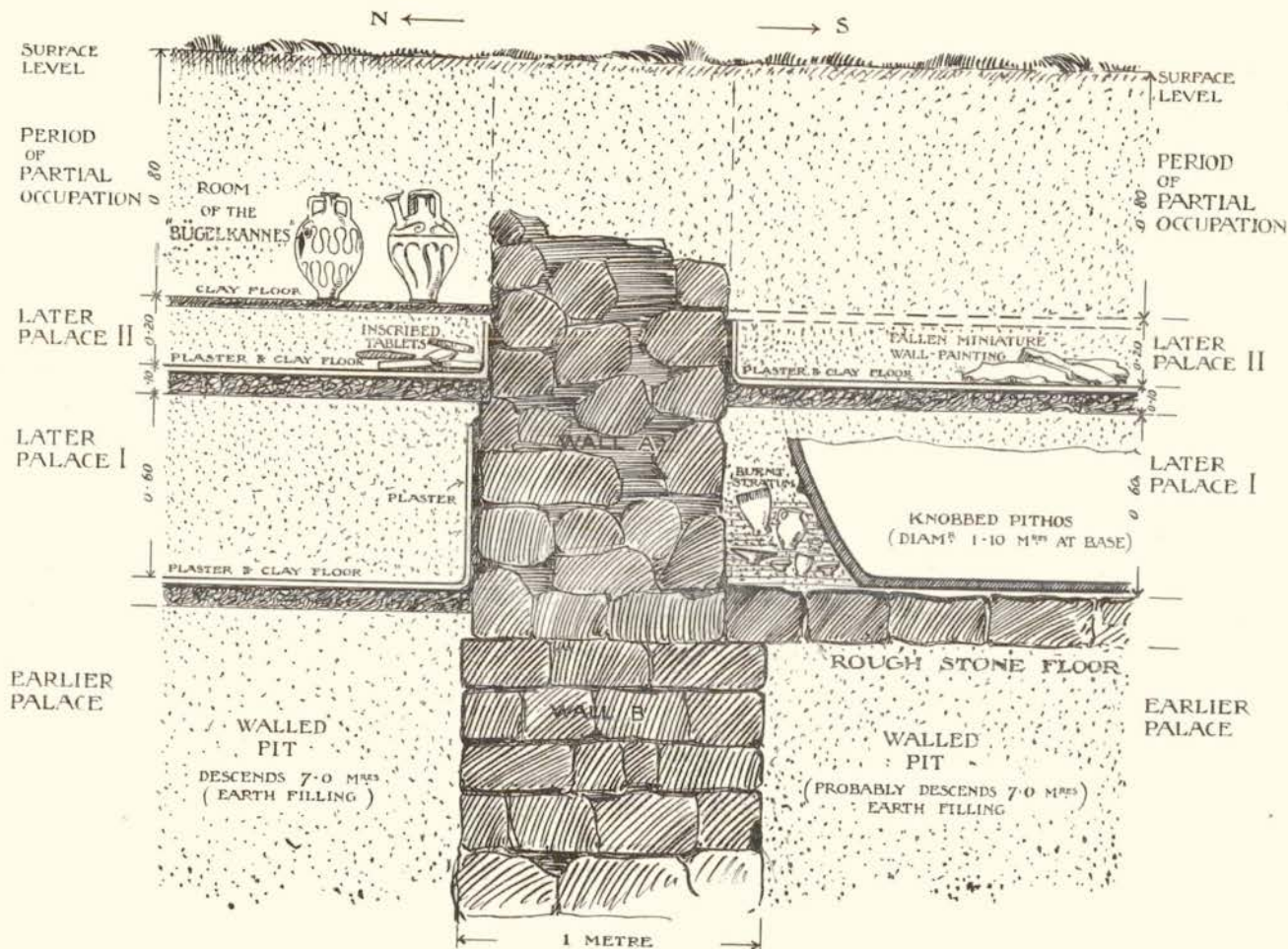
Very interesting data for the stratigraphy of the later structures was afforded by the area about the Room of the Lotus Lamp excavated in 1900. Throughout all this region two Later Palace floor-levels corresponding with its first and second periods are traceable, and in places again above these, as in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

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

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

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

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



SECTION LOOKING EAST
(ON LINE XX—SEE PLAN)

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 44 *seqq.*

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

The closed lower section of several of these receptacles contained in certain cases pottery with white spiraliform designs on a dark ground, of a type which we now know to be characteristic of the close of the first period of the Later Palace. A broken fragment of masonry found with pottery of this character in the lower part of a cist in the Fourth Magazine was incised with a Double Axe sign¹ of the same calibre as those seen on various blocks of this and other Palace regions; an indication that the masonry thus marked also belongs to the First Period of the Later Palace.

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

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

¹ See *Report*, &c., 1901, p. 47.

² See above, p. 13.

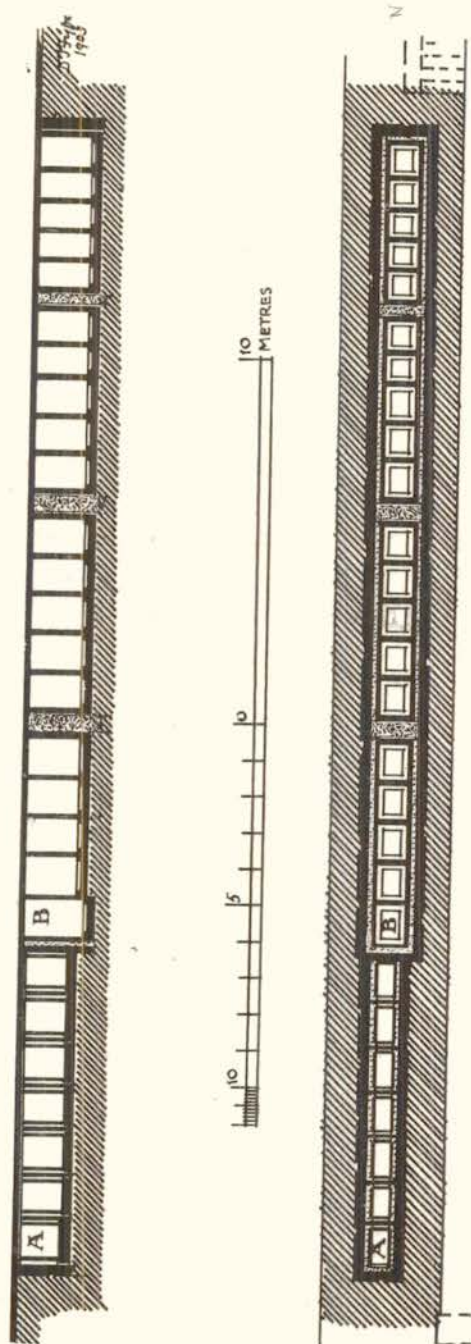


FIG. 15.—PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF 'KASELLES' IN LONG GALLERY.

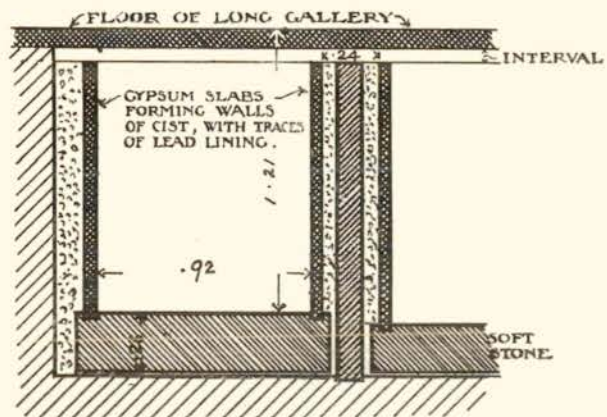
material of earth and rubble, were found numerous pieces of gold foil, pointing to the deposit of precious objects in these cists at the time of their original construction. Fragments of inlays composed of a native faïence also occurred, and in two cases bronze handles like that shown in Fig. 24 below.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

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

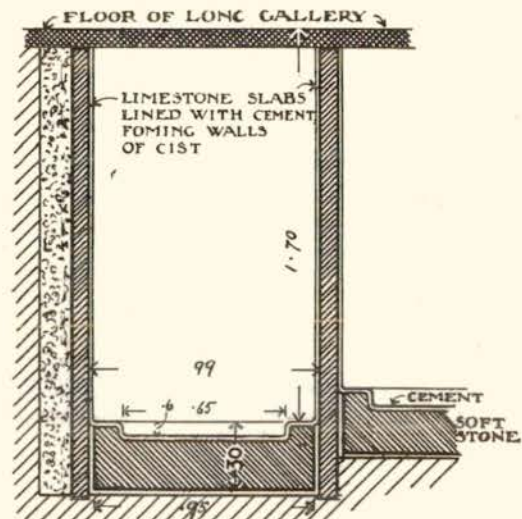
This examination led to the surprising result indicated by the plan and section in Fig. 15. It turned out that the greater part of the Long Gallery was underlaid by a continuous series of deep stone cists. These cists, which differed from those of the Magazines in that they consisted in every case of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

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

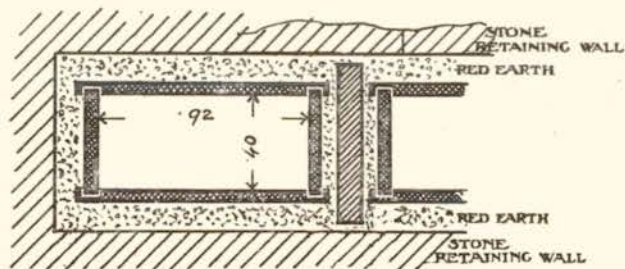
The Kaselles of Series A contained a good deal of carbonised wood and the usual remains of gold foil. In the cist opposite to the pier between Magazines 6 and 7 there occurred, in addition to this, some round and crescent-shaped plaques of the native faïence and others of bone for inlaying. In the cist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



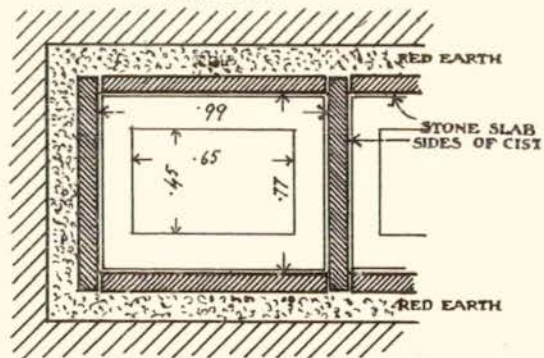
SECTION



SECTION



PLAN OF CIST "A"



PLAN OF CIST "B"



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

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

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

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

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

Their depth is greater than those of the other series, being about 1.70 to 1.45 metre as against 1.21. They also exhibit certain structural differences. The side slabs which are here of limestone instead of gypsum, are not, as in the other cists, set in grooves worked in the bottom slab, but

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

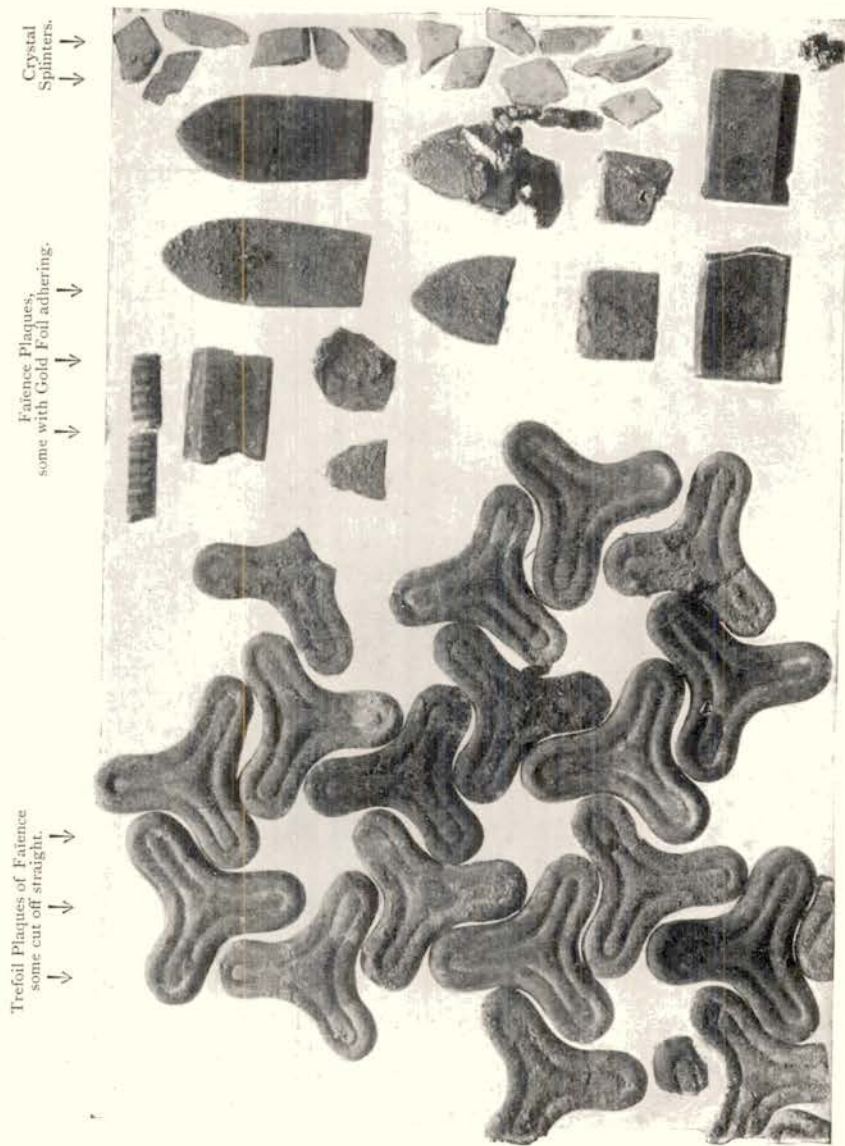


FIG. 17.—FAÏENCE PLAQUES FOR INLAYING FROM 'KASELLA.'

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

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

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

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

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

§ 8.—THE CENTRAL PALACE SANCTUARY.

Taken as a whole the West Central Palace region had afforded some special indications of a religious connexion. The unique sanctity of the Double Axe in Minôan Crete—of which the actual scene of worship depicted on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada has afforded a new and astonishingly complete illustration¹—had already led me to attach a religious importance to the repetition of this sign on the two stone pillars that are

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

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

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

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

¹ See p. 9 and p. 149 *seqq.*

² See above, pp. 31-33.

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

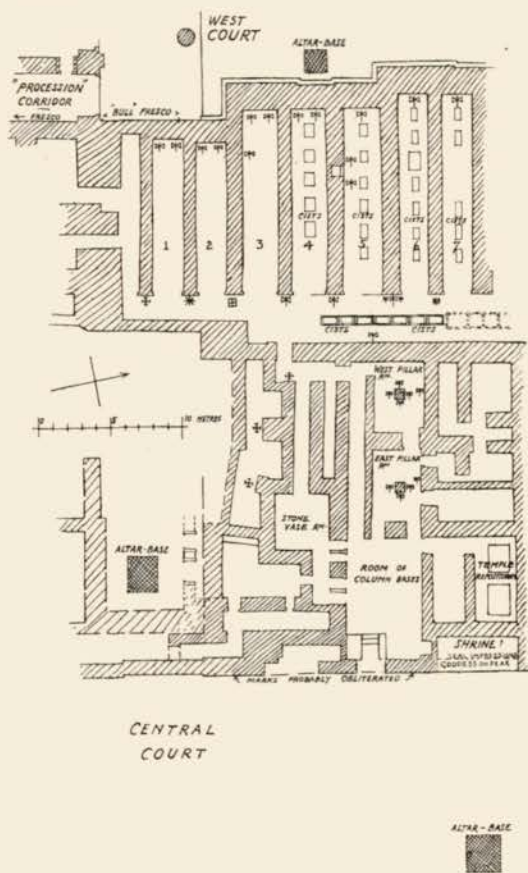


FIG. 18.—PLAN OF WEST CENTRAL SECTION OF PALACE WITH ALTAR-BASES AND SANCTUARY.

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

¹ *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 44 Fig. 25.

² *Report, &c.*, 1902, p. 32.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 30.

² See below § 18.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

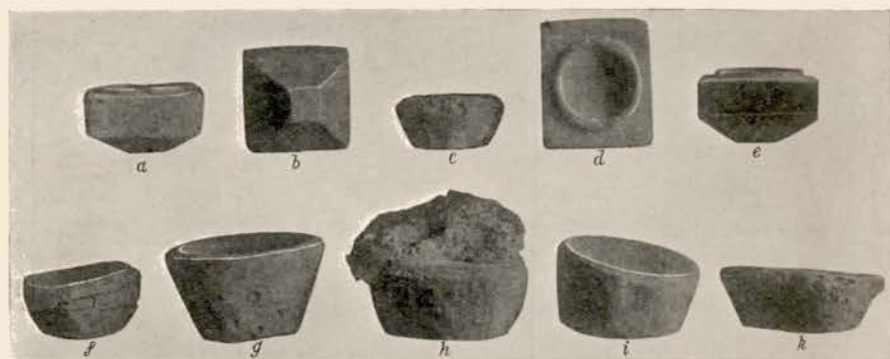


FIG. 20.—STEATITE LIBATION TABLES AND CAKE-LIKE OBJECTS¹ FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

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

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

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

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

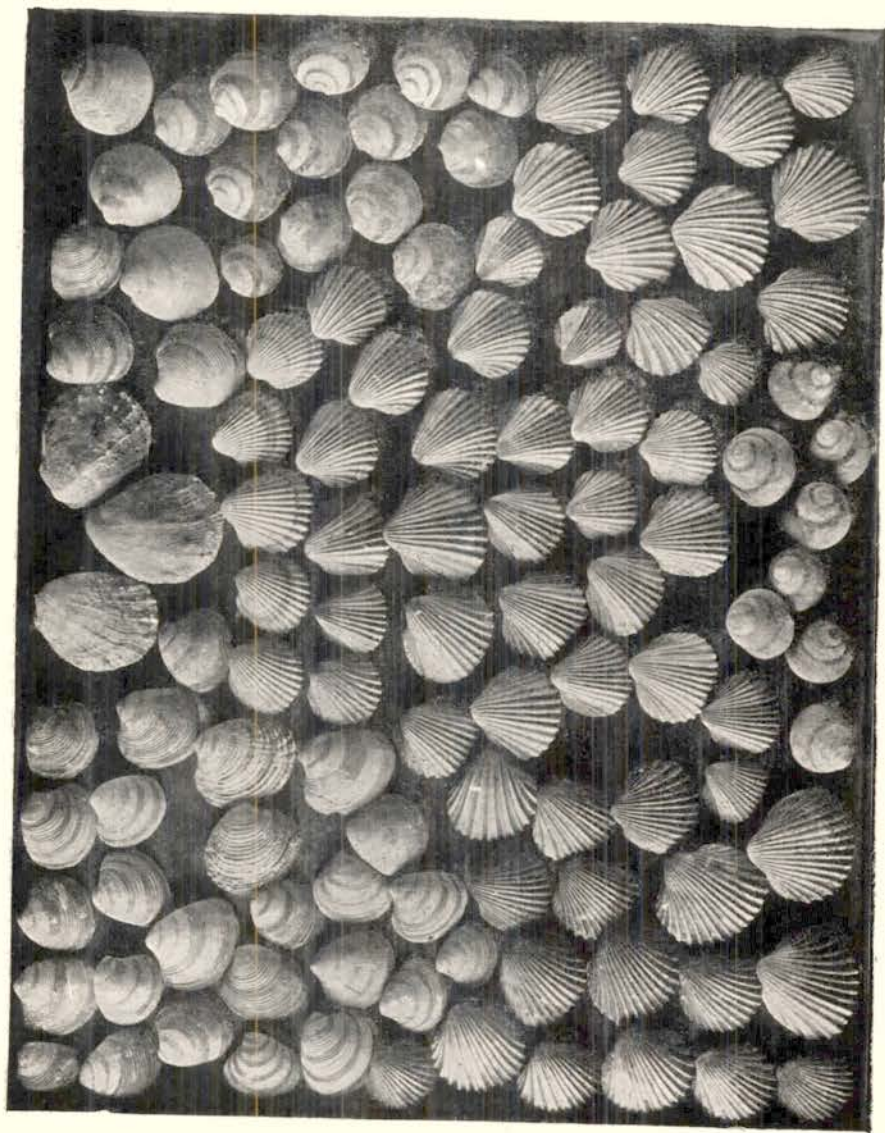


FIG. 21.—SEA-SHELLS, ARTIFICIALLY TINTED, FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

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

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

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

The shells, bushels of which were taken out, were the ordinary sea-shells of the neighbouring coast, cockles predominating. The following is a list of the varieties found¹:—

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

There were, as has been shown, two distinct strata in the Repository, the fatty layer containing the objects of art and cult, 32 centimetres in thickness, and above this the stratum 1.10 metre thick, in which the clay vases were packed. It is probable, therefore, that they were placed here at a time subsequent to the deposition of the other remains.

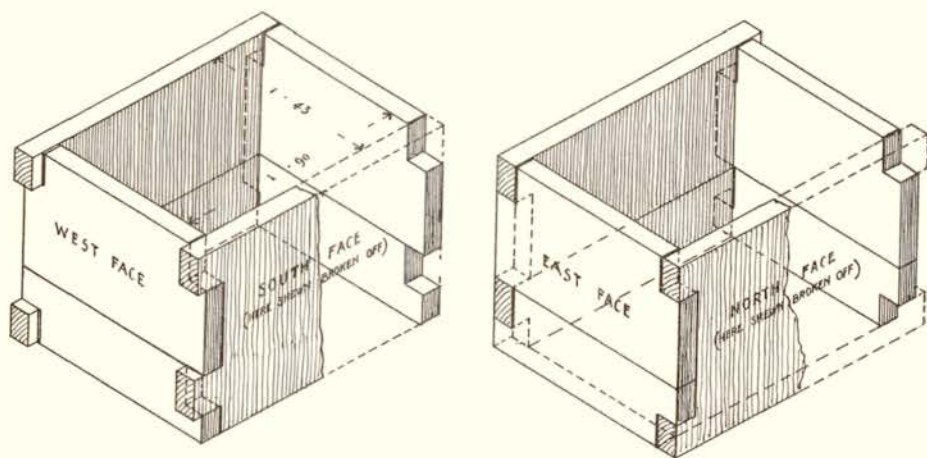
This first opened Cist (the East Cist of the plan, Figs. 22, 23) was

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

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

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

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



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

FIG. 22.

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

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

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

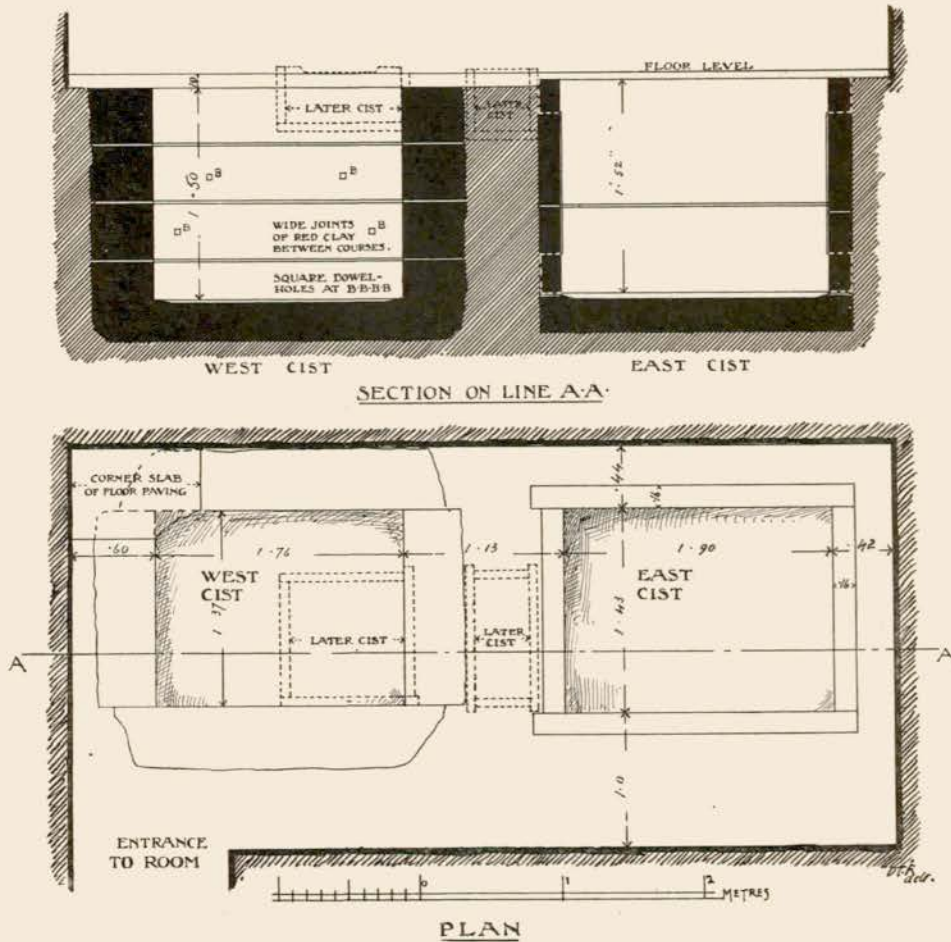


FIG. 23.—GREAT STONE CISTS : TEMPLE REPOSITORIES.

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

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

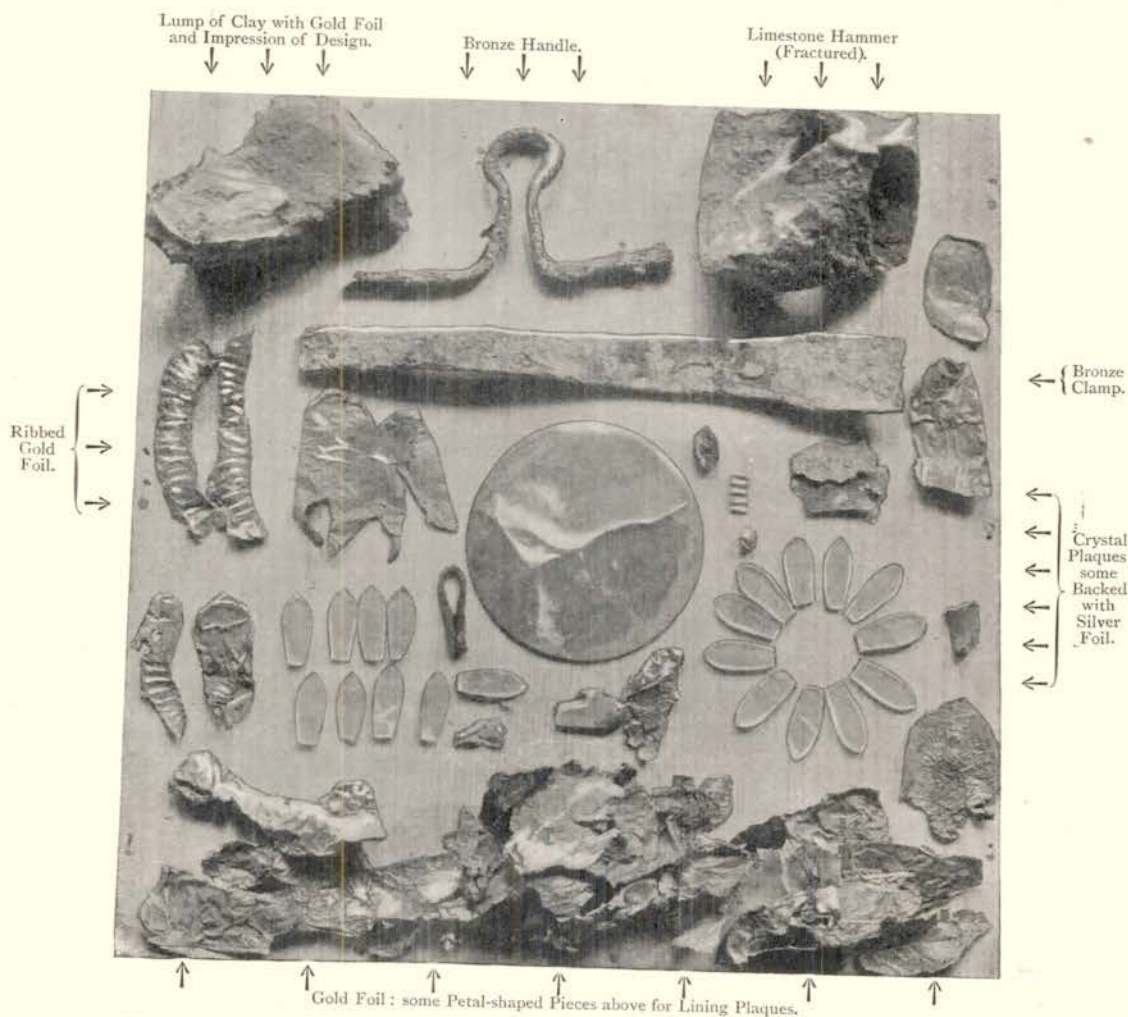


FIG. 24.—GOLD LEAF, CRYSTAL PLAQUES, BRONZE HANDLES, ETC., FROM WEST CIST.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ The crystal petals are 3·4 centimetres in length and 2·3 in breadth.

² See *Report*, &c., 1901, p. 78.

It is 27·7 centimetres in length.

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

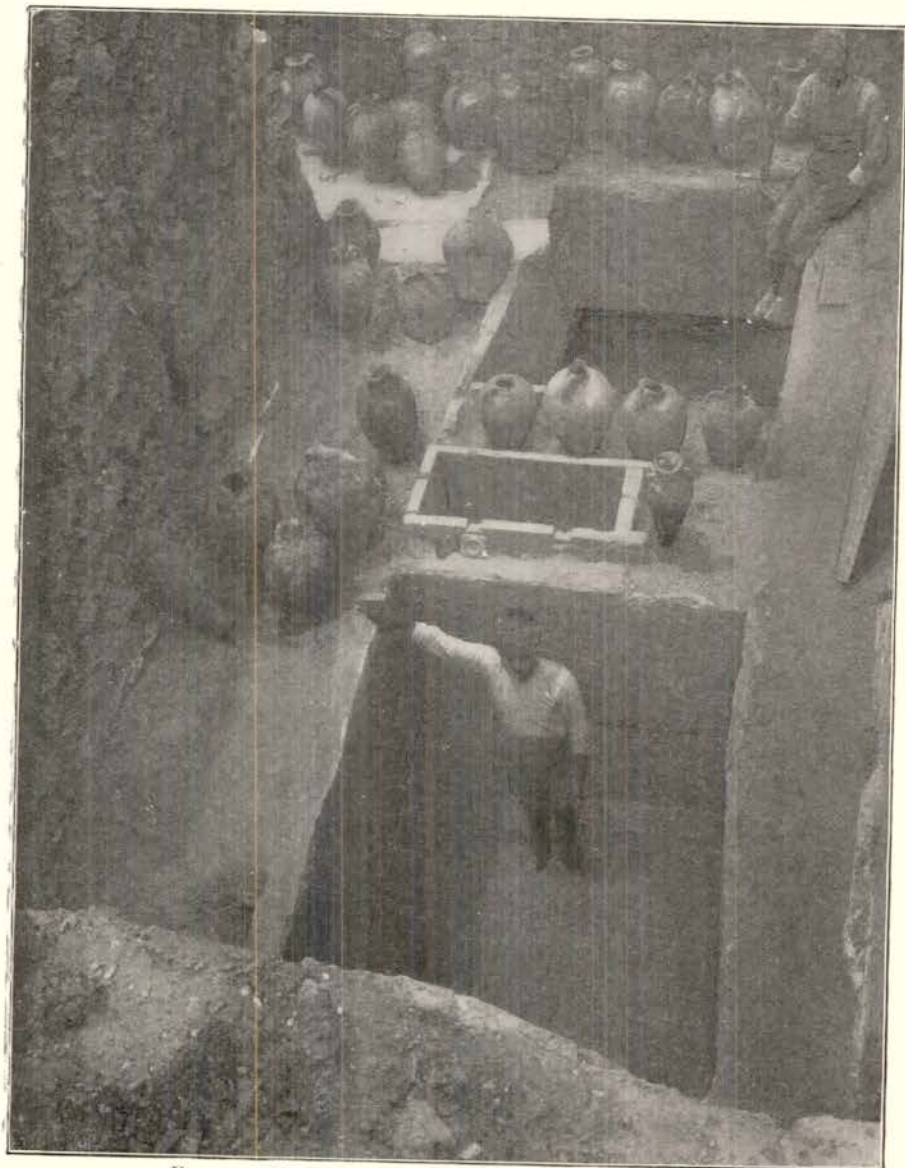


FIG. 25.—THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES AS OPENED OUT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



FIG. 26.—PAINTED VESSELS FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORIES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² See *Report*, &c., 1902, p. 58.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



FIG. 28.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION (7).



FIG. 29.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION (7).



FIG. 30.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION (7).



FIG. 31.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :
 TREE TRUNKS (7).

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

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



FIG. 32.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :
 WOLVES' OR DOGS' HEADS (¶).



FIG. 33.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :
 FOUR OWLS ROUND STAR (¶).



FIG. 34.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :
 TWO TRITON SHELLS (¶).

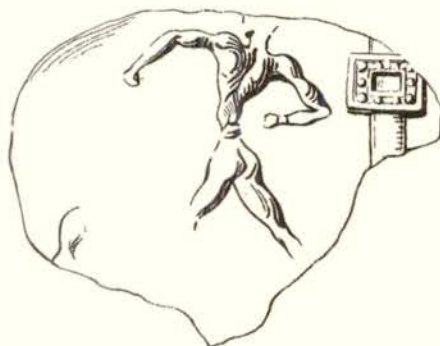


FIG. 35.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION :
 PUGILIST (¶).

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

¹ See above, p. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

λέβης ὡς ἐν πυρὶ πολλῷ
Πᾶσ' ἀνεμορμύρεσκε κυκωμένη—

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

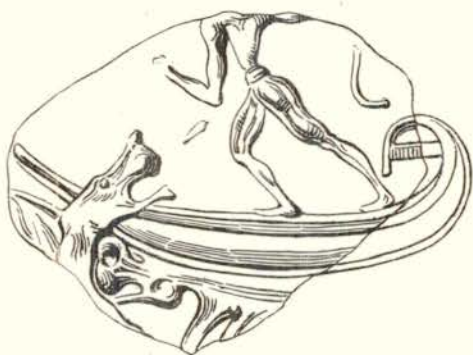


FIG. 36.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION : BOATMAN AND SEA-MONSTER (¾).

It is clear that many of the above seal-types had a religious significance. The accumulated evidences of the intimate association of the bull with Minôan Cult² suggest the conclusion that the performances of the bull-ring, such as that illustrated by No. 47, were themselves connected with sacred ceremonies. Of the ritual usage of the Triton shell (No. 42) something has been already said.³ The trinity of trees (No. 22) and the flying dove (No. 37) are recognised objects of the cult. The repetition of the groups of the cow and calf and wild goat and

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

² For a fresh illustration, see p. 114 below, Fig. 70.

³ See above, pp. 36, 37.

young on the faience reliefs of the shrine, bringing these subjects into natural connexion with the worship of a Mother Goddess,¹ sufficiently explains the occurrence of similar designs on the seal impressions, Nos. 28 and 29. The large horned sheep of Nos. 25 and 26 acquires, as will be shown below,² a definite religious character from the Swastika symbol inserted in the field above it. On the other hand the cross which stands as the sole type on No. 45³ (see Fig. 61, p. 90 below) connects itself with what may well be regarded as the most important ritual object found in the Repository. On the importance of these cruciform symbols in connexion with the Palace cult more will be said below.



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



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

The warrior God and Goddess with their lion guardians, exhibited by Nos. 46 and 47, bring the present series into direct relation with the sealings depicting a warrior Goddess on her lion-guarded peak found in the recess immediately East of the Repositories in 1901.⁴ The seal from which the present design of the female divinity was taken⁵ was in this case smaller and has been simplified by the omission of the rocky peak, the pillar temple, and the votary. But it clearly represents the same

¹ See below, p. 86.

² See p. 88.

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

⁴ See *Report, &c.*, 1901, p. 29, Fig. 9.

⁵ There were eleven examples of this type in the Repository.

Goddess, and alike the subject, the style of the engraving, and the contiguous place of discovery show that both sealings belong to the same Sanctuary and to the same period of its history. The Goddess here (Fig. 37) wears a peaked cap and somewhat short skirt, she is holding a spear, and the lion looks back and up at her. On some seal impressions from Hagia Triada is seen apparently the same Goddess, wearing a similar peaked cap, between two attendants, each of whom holds aloft a double axe.¹ The God (Fig. 38)² wears a short tunic and a somewhat peaked head-piece which recalls those of some contemporary statuettes of bronze, such as that from the votive cave or rock-shelter of Patso near Sybrita³ in Crete, the prominent front of which, however, is curiously 'Hittite.' He holds a spear and a shield of exceptional form. The animal at his side is apparently a lioness.⁴ These figures of lion-guarded divinities, well represented in the sealings of this deposit, must be identified with the same divine pair of whose cult in the Minôan Palace of Knossos so many records have already come to light.

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

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

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

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

² This type was represented by eight examples.

³ *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 27, Fig. 15.

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

⁵ Length 6.78 centimetres. There had originally been a second handle plate of the same form, the blade being held between them. The upper and lower faces of the plate and the side view are shown in Fig. 39.

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

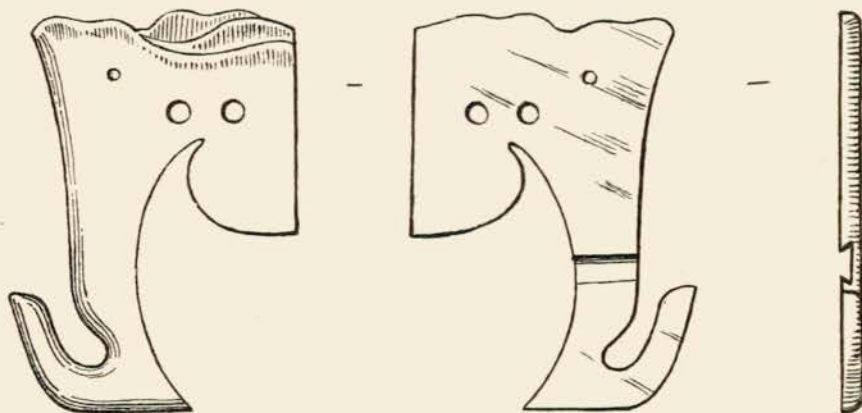


FIG. 39.—PLATE OF IVORY HANDLE OF INSTRUMENT ($\frac{3}{8}$).

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

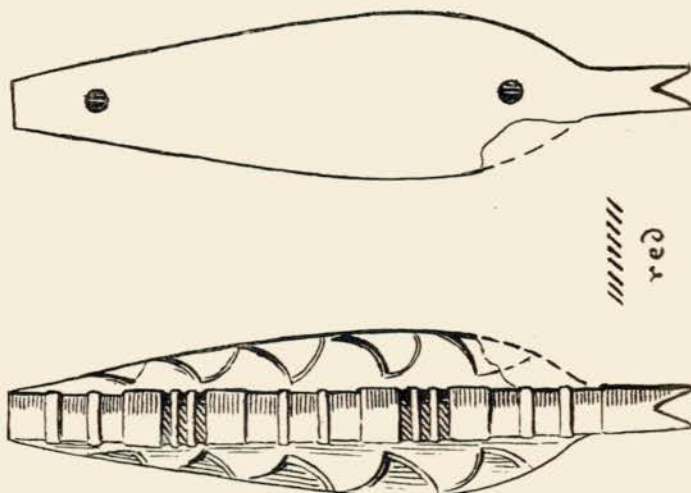


FIG. 40.—ARROW PLUME OF BONE, WITH RED INLAY ($\frac{1}{4}$).

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

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

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

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

The fabric at Knossos of an indigenous class of faïence was not new indeed at this period. The contents of a deposit to be described below⁵ tend to show that not only beads of the same material, but possibly also plaques for inlaying, were produced by the close of the Early Minóan period. The prevailing pale bluish tint of these, faintly tinged with green, corresponds with the characteristic faïence hue of the Early Egyptian Dynasties, and the beads, with their large perforations, suggest comparisons with those of the Sixth Dynasty. In the case of the faïence relics from the Temple Repository the paler tones are supplemented by deeper tints. The beads here, of

¹ Berlin Cat. No. 2; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Taf. II. 24.

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

³ As shown below, it can only be called 'porcelain' in a loose popular sense.

⁴ So too in the excavations of the Italian Mission at Phaestos and Hagia Triada.

⁵ See § 16.

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

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

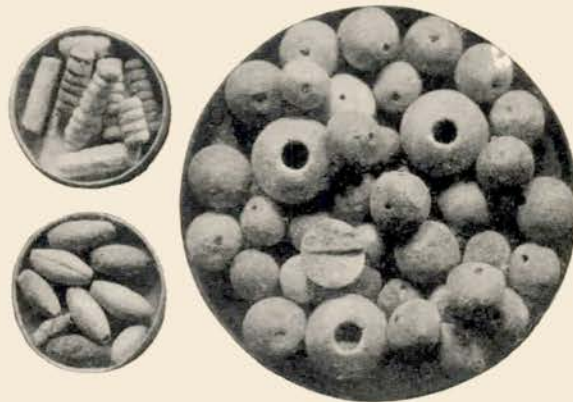


FIG. 41.—FAIENCE BEADS FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY (SLIGHTLY REDUCED).

resembles that of the so-called 'Egyptian porcelain.' It is to be observed in this connexion that on many plaques for inlaying there appear impressed or relieved signs on the lower side, presenting a close parallelism with those of Egyptian plaques¹ of the same material. These signs in turn correspond with others belonging to still more numerous

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

series¹ used by the Cretan inlayers in bone and ivory, which seem to have been, in part at least, literally taken over from the current stock of similar signs in use among Egyptian intarsia workers and jewellers from the earlier Dynastic Period onwards.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

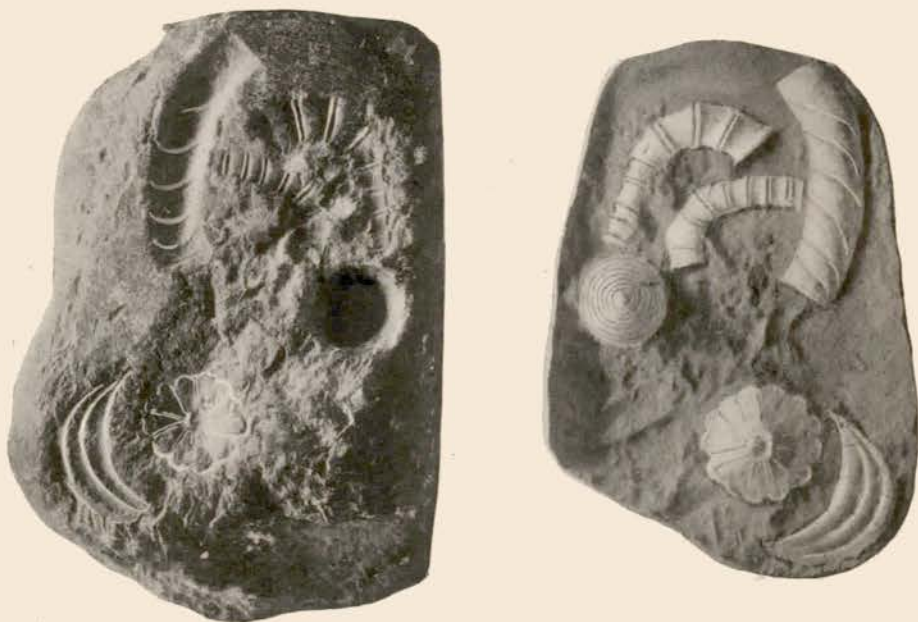


FIG. 42.—MOULD FOR FAIENCE OBJECTS FROM NORTH-WEST BUILDING, WITH PLASTER CAST [ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$].

rather recall specimens from the oolite or cretaceous beds³ than any recent species, a part of a spiral bracelet, a semilunar plaque resembling a faience

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

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

³ E.g. *Ptychoceras gaultinus*, a cretaceous species.

inlay from one of the Kasselles and an ivory example from the Repository with which we are dealing; and a rosette of a type of which more than one faience reproduction has been found within the Palace. The other sides of the mould exhibit respectively matrices of two very graceful consoles¹ (see Fig. 43) forming part of a cornice that ran perhaps along the upper border of an inlaid chest, and a clenched human hand, about half the natural size, with the little finger sticking out—possibly an amulet. The cornices when completed by the piecing together of sections such as those seen in the

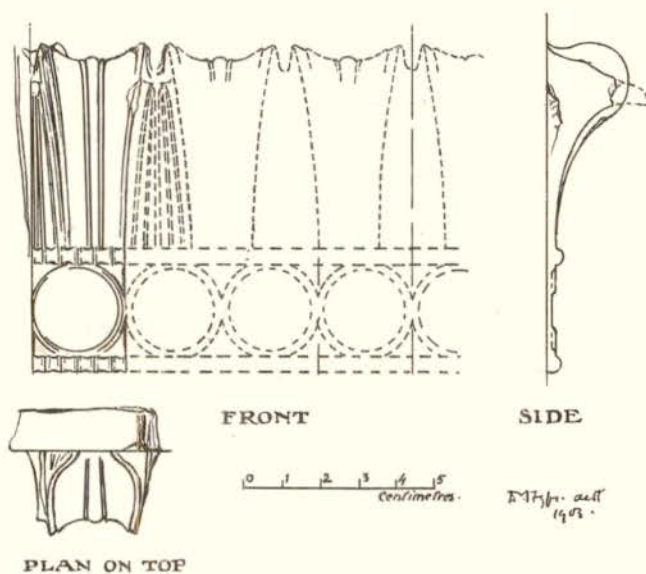


FIG. 43.—DEVELOPMENT OF FRIEZE BASED ON CONSOLE FROM MOULD (ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$ SCALE).

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

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

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

² Schliemann, *Mycenae*, I. 241, Nos. 350, 351.

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

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

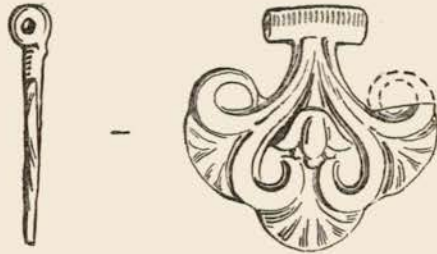


FIG. 44.—FAÏENCE PENDANT.

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

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

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

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

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



FIG. 45.—FLOWERS, FOLIAGE, AND FRUIT IN FAÏENCE (C. 37).

round, both repeating the same tints, a pale blue or bluish-green ground colour with purplish veins¹ (see Fig. 45). The fruit with a groove in its side, coloured above a pale brown, also shown in Fig. 45, appears to be a plum.

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

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

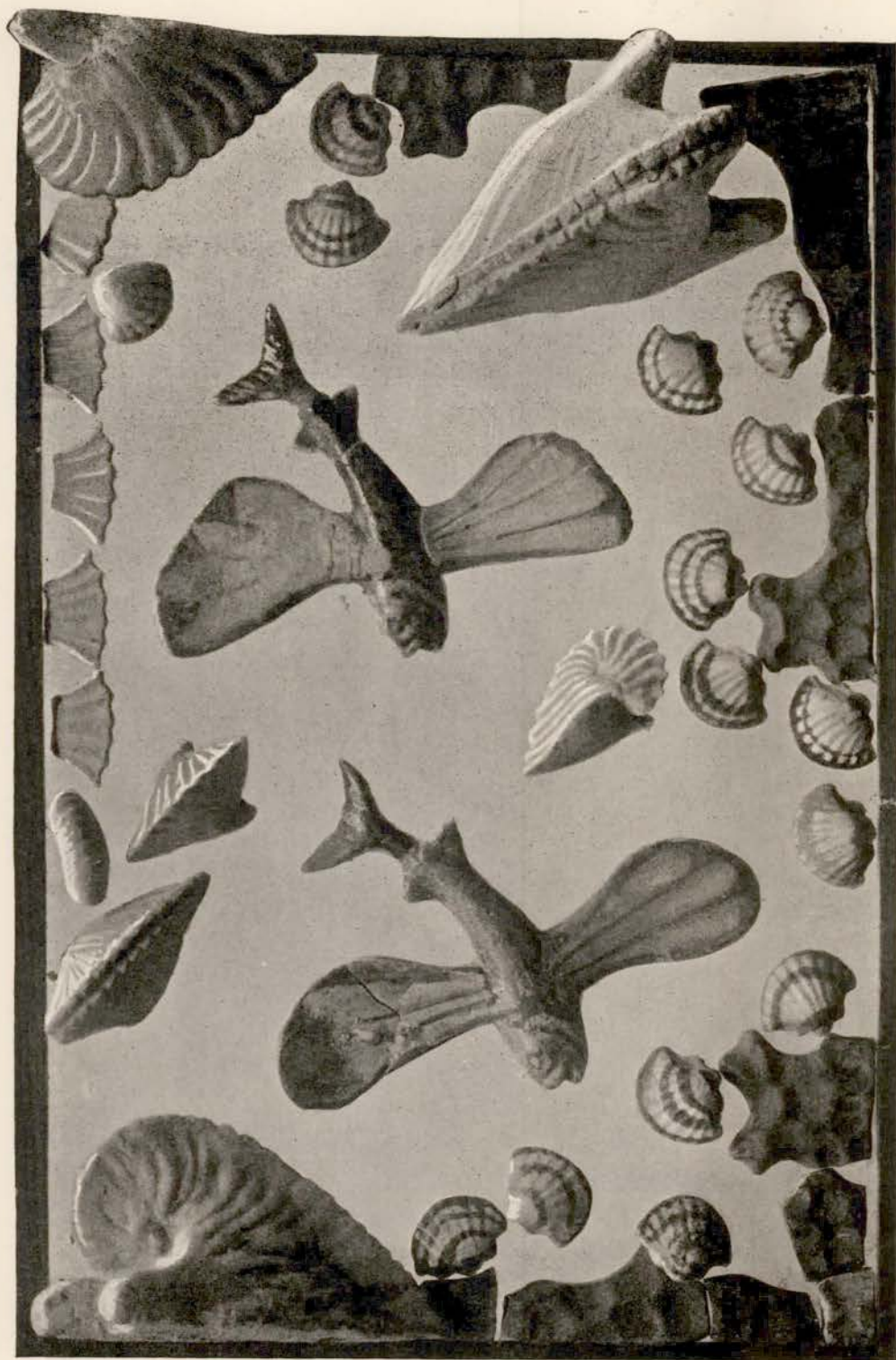


FIG. 46.—MARINE SUBJECTS IN FAÏENCE.

7

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

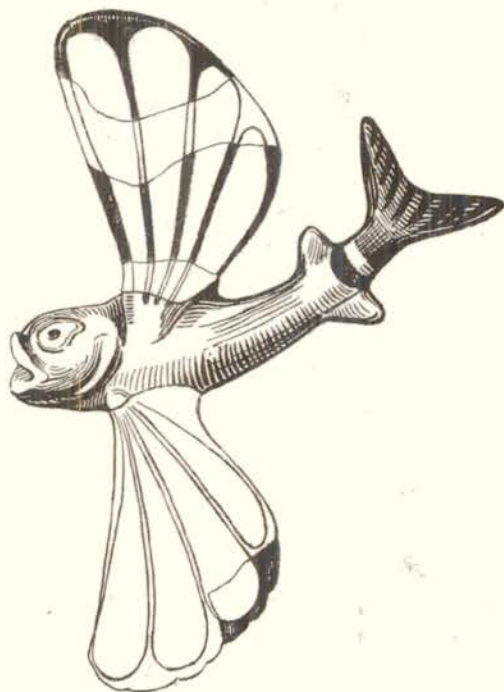


FIG. 47.—FLYING FISH IN FAÏENCE (SLIGHTLY REDUCED).

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

¹ Over a dozen of these were found. Their lower surface is flat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

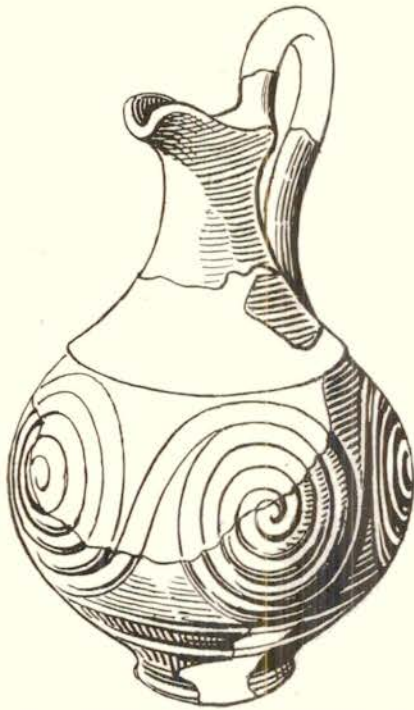


FIG. 48.—FAÏENCE VASE, RESTORED ($\frac{2}{3}$).

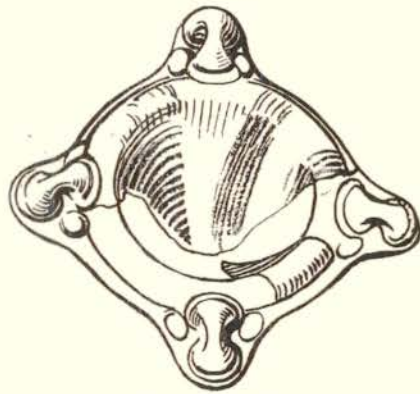


FIG. 49.—WHITE AND BROWN FAÏENCE BOWL, WITH SHIELDS ($\frac{2}{3}$).



FIG. 50.—FAÏENCE BOWL: WHITE MARBLED WITH BROWN ($\frac{2}{3}$).

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

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

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

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

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

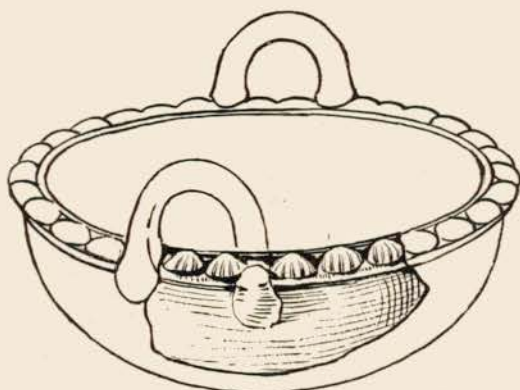


FIG. 51.—TWO-HANDLED BOWL OF FAÏENCE WITH COCKLE SHELL RELIEFS, RESTORED ($\frac{2}{3}$).

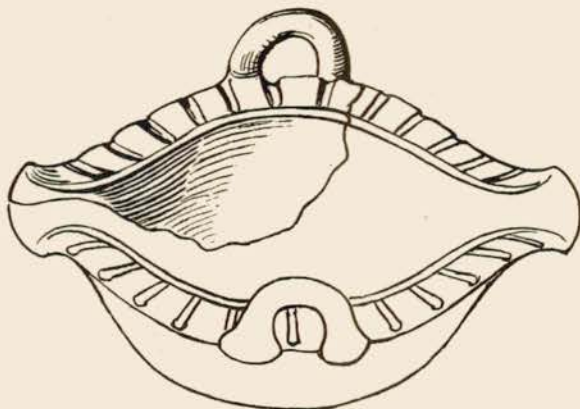


FIG. 52.—TWO-HANDLED BOWL OF FAÏENCE WITH TWO LIPS (RESTORED).

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

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

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



FIG. 53 *a*.—FAÏENCE CUP SHOWING FERNLIKE SPRAYS ON EXTERIOR ($\frac{2}{3}$).

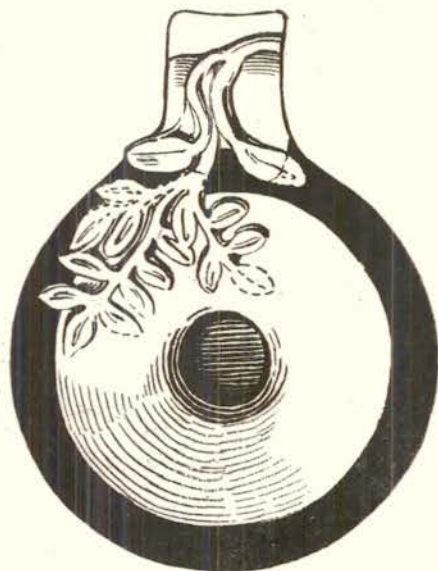


FIG. 53 *b*.—FAÏENCE CUP FROM ABOVE, SHOWING ROSE LEAVES IN RELIEF ($\frac{2}{3}$).

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

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

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

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



FIG. 54 *a* AND *b*.—FAÏENCE FIGURE OF SNAKE GODDESS (ABOUT $\frac{1}{3}$ SCALE).



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

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

The figure of the Goddess, as reconstituted, is 34·2 centimetres ($13\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in height (Figs. 54 and 55). She wears a high tiara of a purplish-brown colour with a white border, a necklace, and a dress to be more fully described below, consisting of a richly embroidered jacket with a laced bodice, and a skirt with a kind of short double apron. Her hair, seen in a fringe above her forehead, falls behind her neck and on to her shoulders; her eyes are black, as also her eyebrows, which are given in relief, and her ears are of abnormal size, possibly with a religious intention. Her breasts, which are almost entirely bare, are of matronly proportions. The ground colour of the whole, including the flesh tint, is generally a milky white, the various details being laid on in purple, purplish-brown, or black.

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

¹ The l. fore-arm with the tail is restored in the figure.



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

Round the hips of the Goddess, below the waist, two other snakes are interlaced. One of these, whose head appears in the centre of this serpentine girdle, is continued in a festoon down the front of the apron, and thence ascending along the edge of the jacket to the neck, coils its tail round the Goddess's right ear. Finally, a third snake, whose tail-end forms part of the plaitwork about the hips, runs up along the left fringe of the jacket over the left ear and coils up round the tiara, from the summit of which its head (restored in the figure¹) originally projected.

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

The second figure, which is rather that of an attendant or Votary, (Figs. 56 *a, b* and 57) had unfortunately lost its head, and it is doubtful whether it was surmounted by a tiara like the Goddess. It is somewhat smaller than the other, the height to the neck being 20 centimetres. Here we see the same short jacket with a raised cord-like border and a laced bodice, a girdle, (perhaps of metal) in place of the coiling snakes that surround the Goddess's hips, a double 'apron,' also with a corded border, and a flounced skirt, parts of which are restored. The Votary's hair, which is longer than that of the other figure, falls down behind her² to her hips. Though she is altogether slimmer than the Goddess, her breasts, which are bare, are prominent. She wears a bracelet round the wrist of her right arm which holds out a small snake, tail upwards.³ The left arm is wanting. The skin here is pure white, the jacket a dark orange with purplish-brown bands, and the rest of the dress shows designs of the same purplish-brown on a pale ground.

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

¹ A small fragment of the top of the tiara at the back was also wanting.

² Sections are restored in Fig. 57.

³ The head part is restored in Fig. 57.

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



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

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

6.5 centimetres in length, has the tail section of another spotted snake curving along it. The end of this is held in the clenched hand and a bracelet is visible about the wrist. A smaller forearm, 5.3 centimetres in length, is also adorned with a bracelet: the hand here is clenched like the other but there is no snake.

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

The Snake Goddess (Figs. 54, 55).

This figure appears to be wearing:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Votary. Figs. 56, 57.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among them the votive robes claim the first place. The larger of those shown in Fig. 58 is, like the other, in two pieces superposed on one another at the junction of the two curves of the double girdle. Both halves show a small perforation going right down the centre, evidently for the wire or string by which the garment was suspended. The ground colour of the dress is a greenish white, the bands and other designs with which it is decorated being of a purplish brown. The upper part seems to represent a simplification of the jacket and bodice seen on the Goddess and her attendant. The girdle is formed of a double roll which answers in position to the two twined snakes that encircle the Goddess and which perhaps symbolise similar serpentine coils. The skirt shows below a kind of arched canopy containing a clump of flowers, apparently crocuses, a row of which is also seen along the fringe below. It must, however, be remarked that though the flowers themselves seem to be of this native Cretan species—which supplied a favourite motive to the contemporary painters of decorative frescoes¹ and vases—the whole grouping

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

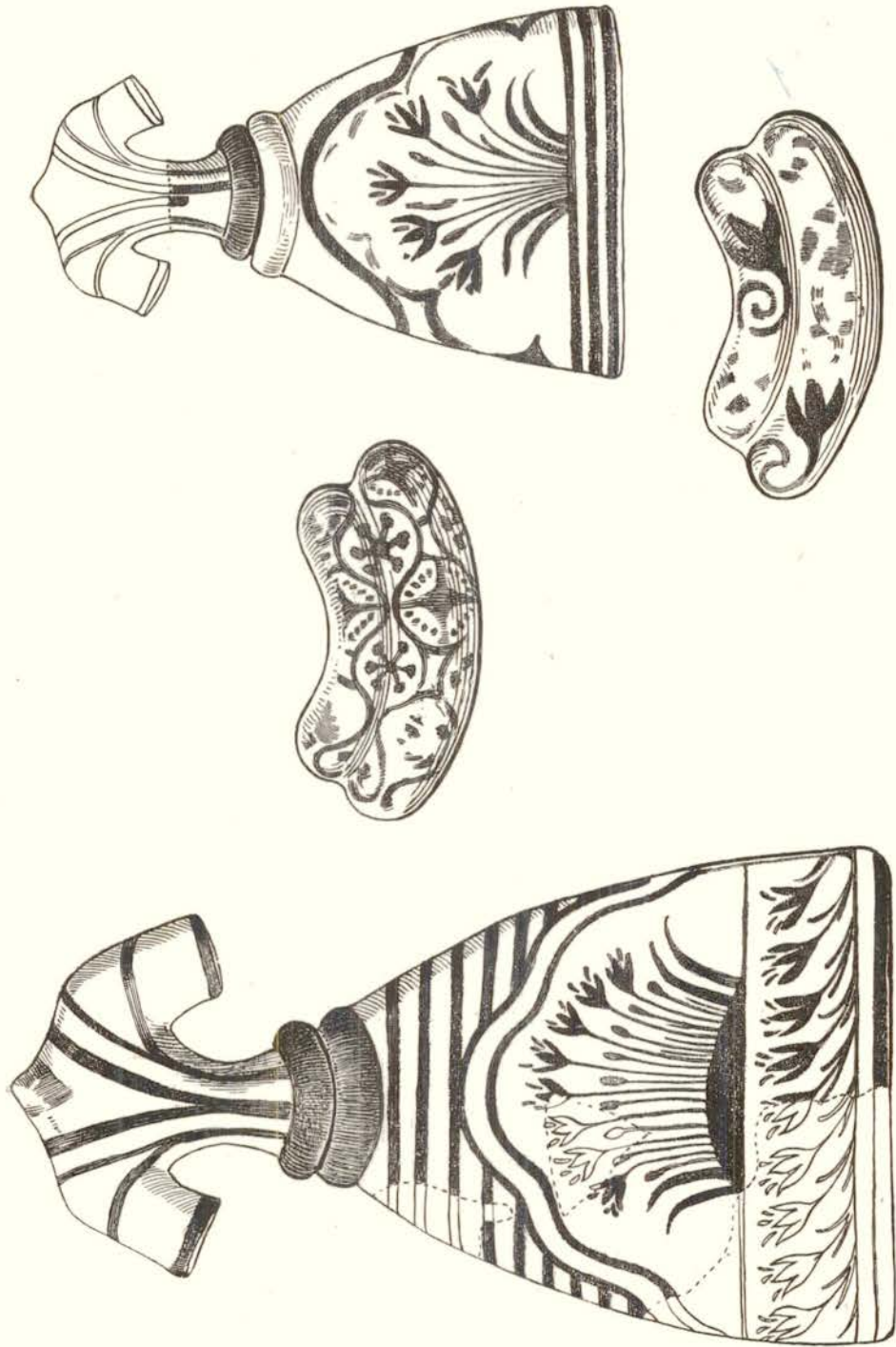


FIG. 58.—VOTIVE ROBES AND GIRDLES OF FAIENCE.

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

The height of the upper and lower robes together is in this case 23 centimetres (about 9¼ in.). There was also found a part of a larger votive dress of the same character which when complete must have been about 30.5 centimetres in height.

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

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

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

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

¹ The upper part of the jacket is restored in Fig. 58.

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

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

The snake's head rising above the summit of the tiara in the present figure³ naturally recalls the uræus as seen above the heads of Egyptian divinities and royal personages. A winged serpent or asp by itself appears as the representative of Nekhebet, identified by the Greeks with Eileithyia, the Goddess of Childbirth, and of her twin sister the 'Nurse' Uatchet or Buto. Its connexion with the Egyptian Mother Goddess Hathor derives a special importance from the fact that, as I have elsewhere shown,⁴ the Hathoric staff with two serpents coiled round its foot supplies the prototype of the rayed pillars with similar snakes on Cypro-Mycenaean signets, in association with a Goddess whose attributes are lions and doves.⁵

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

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

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

² For an excellent account of these see S. Wide, *Ath. Mitth.* xxvi. pp. 247-257 and Pl. XII.

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

⁴ See *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 52, 53.

⁵ See below, p. 87.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Od.* ix, 188, 189.

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

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

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

Various elements in the present deposit seem to illustrate different sides of a similar cult. The votive arrow plumes⁴ belong to the huntress. The sacred shield of the God and his Corybantes is repeated round the margin of the votive bowl.⁵ The fruit and flowers, shells and fishes, and notably the cows and goats suckling their young, illustrate the cult of a Nature Goddess; while the seal-type exhibiting the flying dove may be taken as an allusion to her more amorous side. On the other hand, the repetitions on the seal impressions of the figure of a Warrior Goddess attended by lions bring us very near to Rhea; and the companion piece, showing the Warrior God, can hardly be other than an early version of the Cretan 'Zeus.'

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

¹ *In Cer.* 123, 124.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Diod.* v. 77. 5.

² Paeōn of Amathus, in *Plut. Thes.* c. 20. Ariadnē had there a sacred grove and grave.

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

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

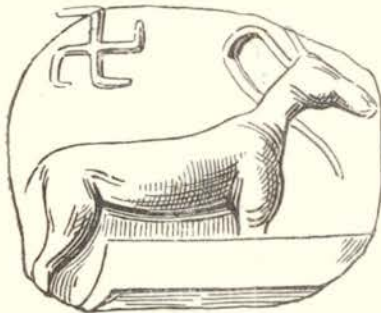


FIG. 59.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY. SWASTIKA AND HORNED SHEEP (♁).



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

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

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

¹ See *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 31, 32.

which on the Greco-Roman coins of Minōan Gaza symbolises the cult of Zeus Krêtagenês and his Consort and which sometimes forms the principal type,¹ is not rather a simplified *Crux gammata* than an abnormal form of the Semitic *mem*.² If we now turn from the Easternmost to the Westernmost traditional arena of Minōan enterprise, a parallel phenomenon of great interest meets our view. In Western Sicily, where Minôs himself met with his legendary fate, his tomb was significantly marked by a shrine of that Aphroditê³ whose chief sanctuary at Eryx represented to a much later time the essential features of the worship of the Knossian Goddess in her character of Lady of the Dove. It must therefore be regarded as a highly suggestive fact that on the coins of the Cities of Elymian Sicily the Swastika is set beside the head of the Goddess or above her sacred hound as a special symbol of the cult.⁴ In Paphos it is the *Crux ansata*.

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

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

¹ Stark, *Gaza*, Plate, Fig. 1.

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

³ *Diod.* iv. 79, 3.

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

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

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

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

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

It has already been noticed² that a type of cross with a small base to each foot—the cross pattée—occurs as the distinguishing mark of a small series of Magazines on the Southern border of the Palace section that seems to have contained its principal Sanctuary. On some blocks, apparently belonging to the Earlier Palace, a plain deep-cut cruciform sign with equal limbs and others x-shaped are also found, and these types recur at Phaestos.³

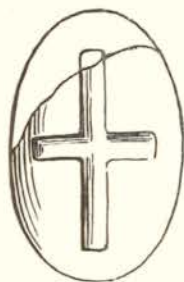


FIG. 61.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION WITH CRUCIFORM SYMBOL, FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

The Double Axe symbol cut on the Palace blocks finds its material counterpart in the fetish Double Axes of the Palace shrines. But even this analogy could hardly prepare us to bring to light from this Temple Repository, over and above the sealings with the cruciform symbols, an actual cross of fine veined marble and of orthodox Greek shape (Fig. 62). The colours of the marble are white and dark grey. The width of the cross is about 22·2 centimetres ($8\frac{3}{4}$ inches), and its thickness is very slight, only 1·2 centimetres, or somewhat less than half an inch. The face was finely polished, but the under side is less finished, and there are visible on it incised lines running parallel to the ends of the limbs at somewhat uneven distances from them.⁴ A part of one limb had been broken off, but there can be no reasonable doubt that it finished off as the others, and as it is restored in Fig. 62. It is evident from the comparatively rough back that the cross was applied to some other object.

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

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

² See above, p. 36.

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

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

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

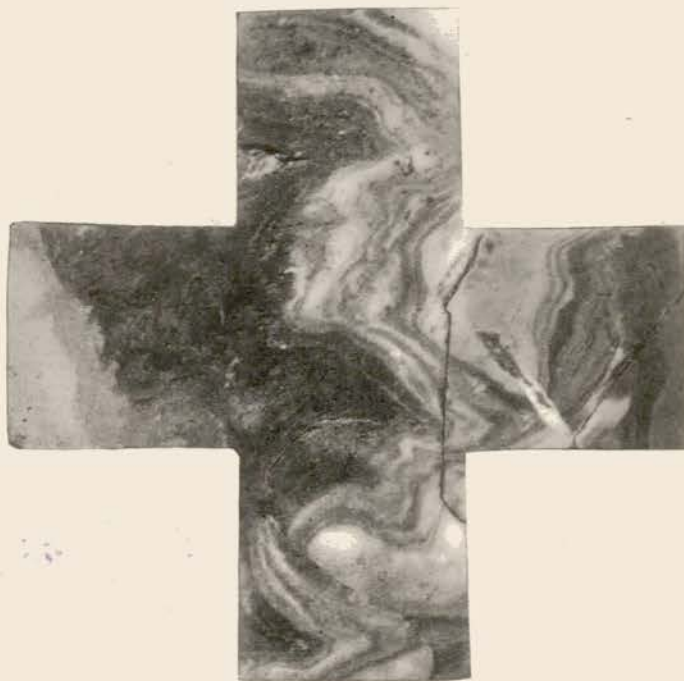


FIG. 62.—MARBLE CROSS FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY.

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

The parallelism seems so natural that, for illustrative purposes, I have ventured to group the objects as shown in Fig. 63.¹ The fetish Cross is

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

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

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



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

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

¹ Described and illustrated by Dr. Stephanos A. Xanthudides in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1900, p. 26, *seqq.*, Plates 3 and 4.

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

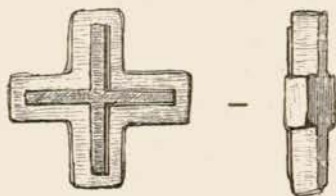


FIG. 64.—CROSS OF PURPLE FAÏENCE.

Megaron¹ of the Palace of Mycenae and a somewhat larger object of purple faience was found in the Palace at Knossos in 1901 (Fig. 64). These would appear to have been amulets connected with the same cult.

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

¹ Tsountas, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, Pl. 13, Fig. 26, p. 170.

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

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

§ 16.—DEPOSIT WITH 'EARLY MINÔAN' CERAMIC TYPES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

(6) Black-faced pyxis (Fig. 65 *b*) with three short feet and triangular ornamentation of incised lines filled with a white chalky substance, perhaps pounded gypsum. Four holes round rim to fasten lid. Diameter 18 centimetres, height 9.5.

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

(8) Lid of black-faced pyxis (Fig. 65 *c*), with incised chevrons and vandykings, enclosing punctuations. Traces of the same white filling. Diameter 15.5 centimetres.



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

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

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

(11) Jar with four handles rising from shoulder, 15.5 centimetres high. It is covered with a polished reddish-brown slip with white bands and decoration. On the upper border, between two white bands, is a white design consisting of two obtuse triangles with interior hatching, the apices of which are united. This

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As illustrating the evolution of the primitive geometrical painted

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

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

³ Tsountas, *Κυκλαδικά II.*, Pl. 9, 4.

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

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



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

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

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

¹ Diameter at top 1·8 centimetre.

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

§ 17.—THE STEPPED THEATRICAL AREA.

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

This low wall of limestone blocks with its well preserved corner to the South-East invited investigation and proved to belong to an approximately square construction about 5.2 metres by 5, which it was at first thought might represent the base of a large altar.

Trial pits sunk a little to the North of the first discovered angle of this construction produced only negative results. A pit dug about 10 metres to the North-West however exposed to view at a depth of 2.30 metres what appeared to be two strips of paving. Further enlargement of the pit proved that in fact we had here to do with lines of steps, entailing a comprehensive exploration, the final results of which were as new and surprising as any as yet produced by the Palace site.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part E
no 18
date 3

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

These combined indications make it reasonable to assume that the Western section of the South steps ended at this point and was symmetrical in width with the section East of the Central entrance on that side. It would thus appear that the original breadth of the three lowest tiers¹ was about 16.50 metres; that of the fourth step—which was continued to the Western limit of the entrance passage—about 9.50 metres; and that of the fifth and sixth, 6 metres.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Dr. Mackenzie observes that 'the highest point of the parabolic curve comes at the transition from one step to another.'

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

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

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

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

Happily the evidence as to the original extension Northwards of the

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

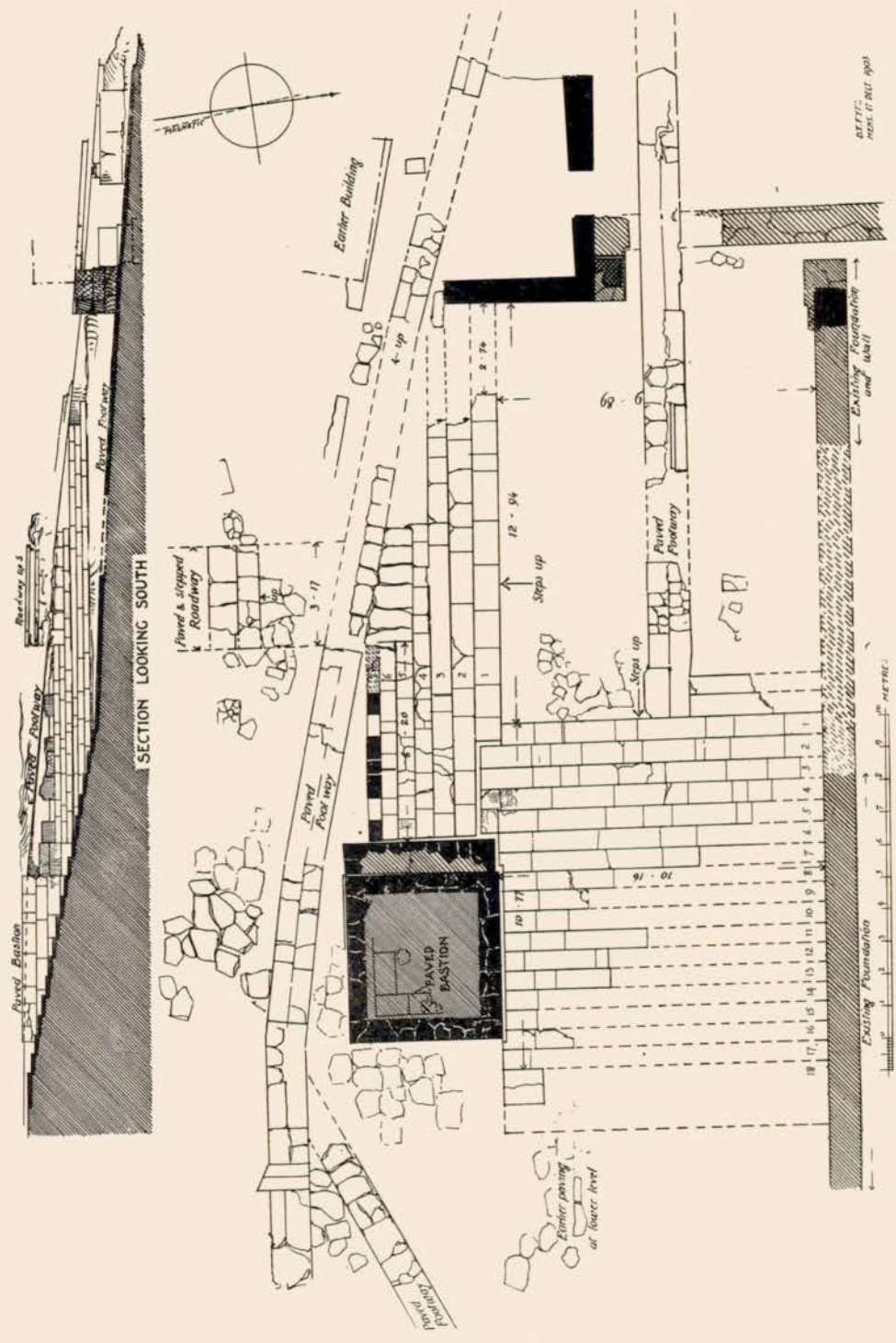


FIG. 68.—PLAN OF STEPPED THEATRICAL AREA.

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

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

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

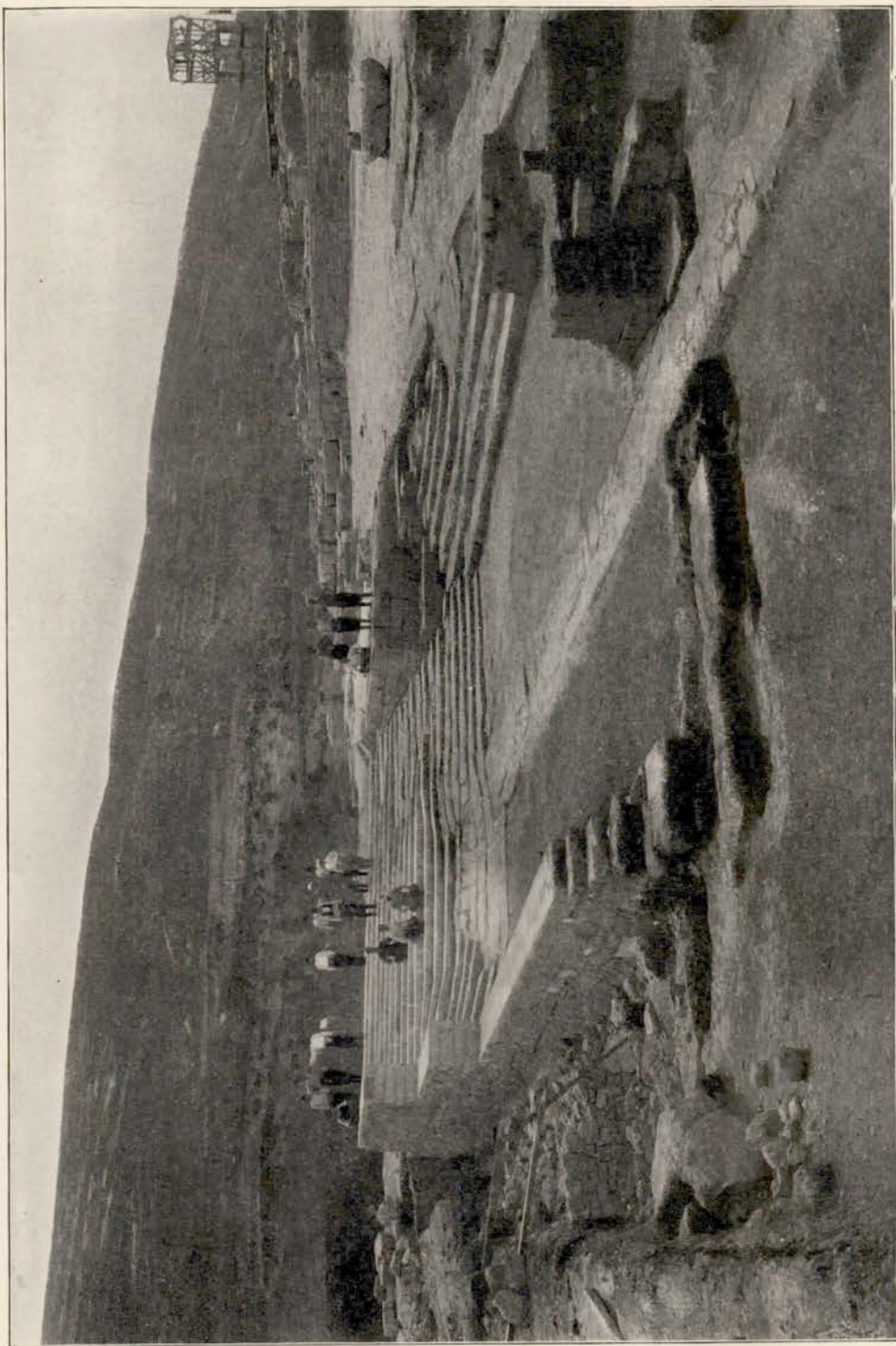
¹ The Eastern section of the part preserved of this supporting wall is 6 metres in length; there is then a gap of about 10 metres, after which from a point under the fourth step it is continued for another 13 metres.

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

Steps at N.E. Angle restored.

Bastion.

Main Entrance to Area.



↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 Upper Part of Supporting Wall restored.

↓ ↓
 Look-out Tower.

↓ ↓
 N.W. Angle of Palace.

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 Paved and Stepped Causeway Running S.

↓ ↓
 Paved Causeway Running East.

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 Gypsum Pier S. of West Entrance.

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 Remains of Earlier Wall.
 ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 Paved Central Path.

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

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

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

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

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

step of the East flight. This path was 1.50 metre wide at its East end, slightly diminishing (to 1.30) in width in its Westward course, which could be traced for 20 metres. It is evident that further on it joined the other paved causeway that runs West from above the South steps.

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

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

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

But the evidence goes much further than this. This Stepped Area is in fact an integral part of the Later Palace system. It is brought into direct connexion with the two main entrances of the building by lines of paved way. That leading Westward from the Northern Entrance with the tributary line from the Pillar House has been already mentioned. But the principal avenue of approach was the broader causeway, running directly South from the centre of the Southern flight of steps, which was evidently the main entrance of this Theatral Area. This paved causeway, which just by the entrance is crossed diagonally by the other, is 3.75 metres in width and ascends the rise immediately to the South, partly by means of low steps, of which two are preserved.¹ Its further progress is broken off above the upper of these, but its direct course would have taken it above the large foundation

¹ The lower of these is .74 centimetres deep, the other .85; the tread is .12 centimetres.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The only example of round masonry in the Palace itself is afforded by the great blocks¹ forming the corner of the passage way outside the Antichamber to the Throne Room.

What performances, it may be asked, are likely to have been given in the paved area? The favourite Minōan sport is ruled out, since the enclosure was in no wise adapted for a bull ring. Shows of pugilists, on the other hand, of which we have both at Knossos and at Hagia Triada several illustrations on steatite reliefs and the impressions of seals² may well have taken place here. In spite of its rectangular shape, when more level than at present and coated with cement, the area would have been also well adapted for dances, possibly of a ceremonial kind like those of the original Theatre in classical Greece.

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

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

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

² See above, p. 57.

³ See *Report, &c.*, 1902.

⁴ *Εφ. Αρχ.*, 1889, Pl. X. 12.

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

⁶ See above, p. 87.

native dialectic epithet of 'the Exceeding Holy One'—Ariadnê¹—under which she has become the heroine of separate romance.

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

οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῶ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμφ' Ἀριάδνῃ.²

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

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

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

² *Il.* xviii. 591 seqq.

³ West of Ida the *πεντοζάλης* prevails and in Sphakia the *σούστα*.

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

§ 18.—THE NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

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

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

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

¹ Plut. *Theseus*, xxi. (on the authority of Dicaearchus) (Θησεύς) ἀναθείς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ὃ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχώρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων χορείαν, ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίουσι λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων ἐν τινὶ ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην. The Κερατῶν altar about which the dance took place has been aptly brought into relation with the 'sacral horns' of the Minōan altars by F. Noack (*Homerische Paläste*, p. 87).

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

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

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

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

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

¹ It has been traced uninterruptedly in this direction over 40 metres.

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



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

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

The Double Axe, moreover, rising between the Sacral Horns and with a leafy shaft, recalling those of the Hagia Triada cult scene, appears here on vase fragments of the more decadent 'Mycenaean' style derived from a superficial layer of this same deposit. In the example given in Fig. 71, we see it flanked in other compartments by a fish and by a scroll derived from a group of three Triton shells. From the occurrence thus of the same sacred symbol in the upper levels of this building and in a stratum belonging to the Re-occupation Period, it is evident that the religious tradition of the spot was of a very persistent nature.

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

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

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

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

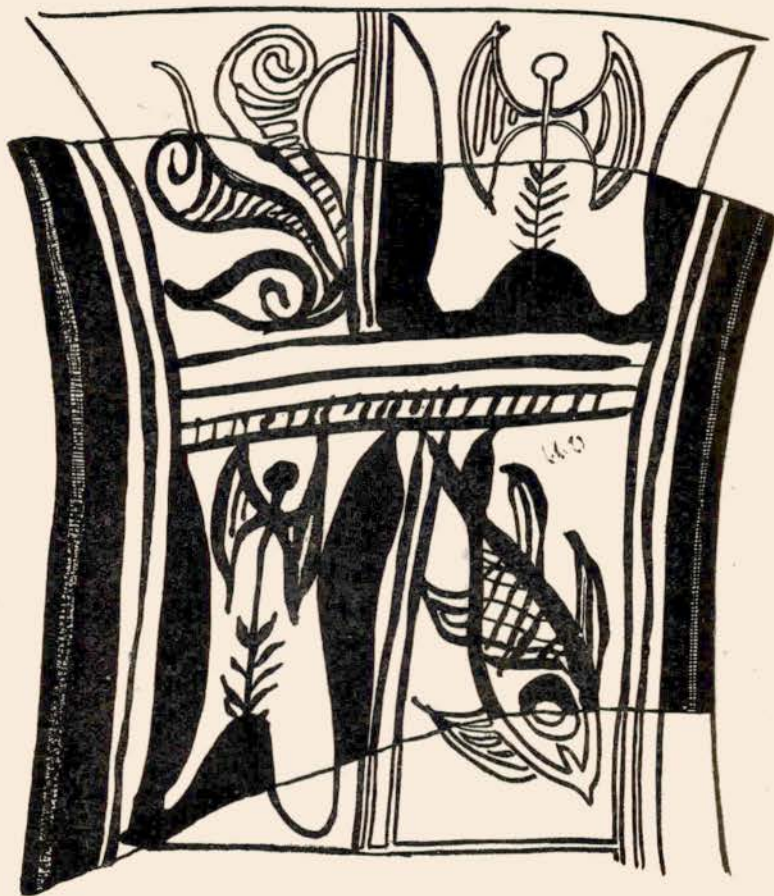


FIG. 71.—PAINTED VASE FRAGMENT SHOWING DOUBLE AXES (♁).

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

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

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

Among the ceramic relics here found illustrating the Latest Palace Period are remains of very fine Amphoras in the noble 'Architectonic' style then in vogue. One of these, the whole of which was preserved, though it came to light in a collapsed condition, exhibits an exceptionally fine decorative design in which the suggestion of the Egyptian papyrus can be clearly traced. It is 75.5 centimetres in height, by no means of the largest calibre here represented. Another Amphora shows an octopus, the naturalistic rendering of which offers a strong contrast to the conventional polyps that repeat themselves without end on the pottery of the succeeding age of decadence—the period of Partial Occupation. The naturalistic element of the Latest Palace Style was also illustrated by many examples including a cup wreathed with flowering sprays of olives. Very remarkable in this connexion are the fragmentary remains of a huge thick-walled vessel, the form of which unfortunately cannot be completed. It displays zones decorated with peas or large vetches, a favourite subject with the ceramic artists of this period. Some idea of the beauty of this design may be gained from the completed drawing of a group of these fragments given in Fig. 72.¹

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

A small room, about 1.60 metre square, with a clay flooring, on the West side of the excavated part of the constructions with which we are dealing, contained the most perfect collective group of vases belonging to the

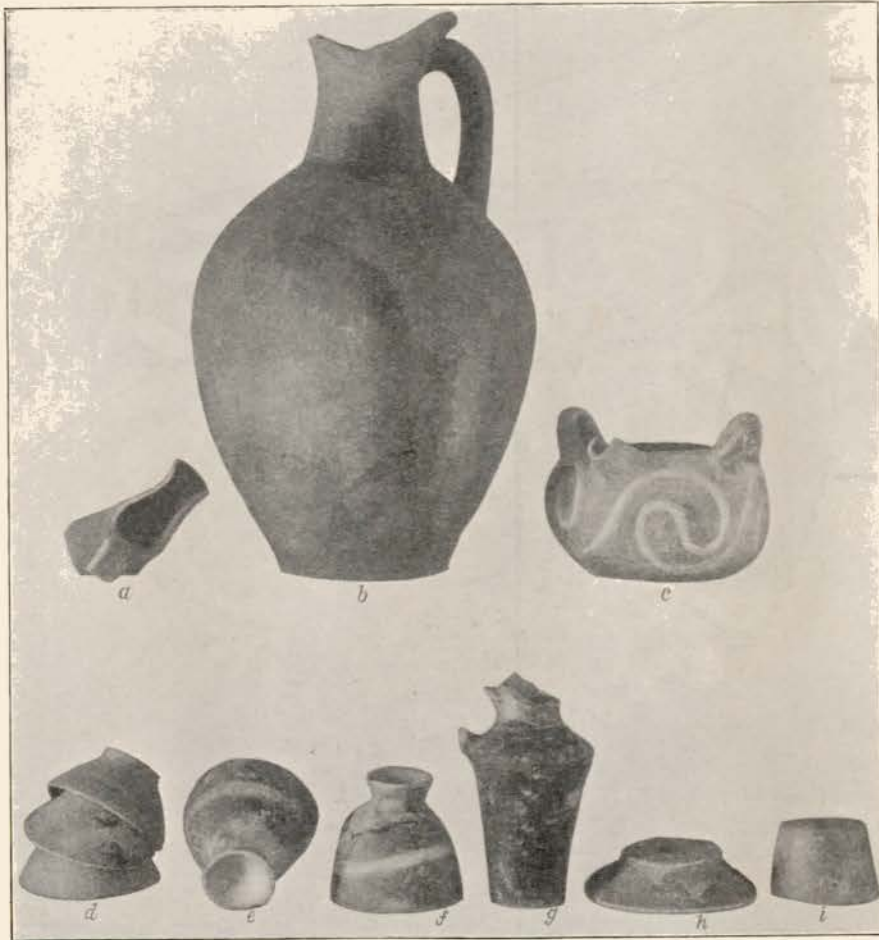


FIG. 74.—MIDDLE MINŌAN PAINTED VASES, NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

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

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

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

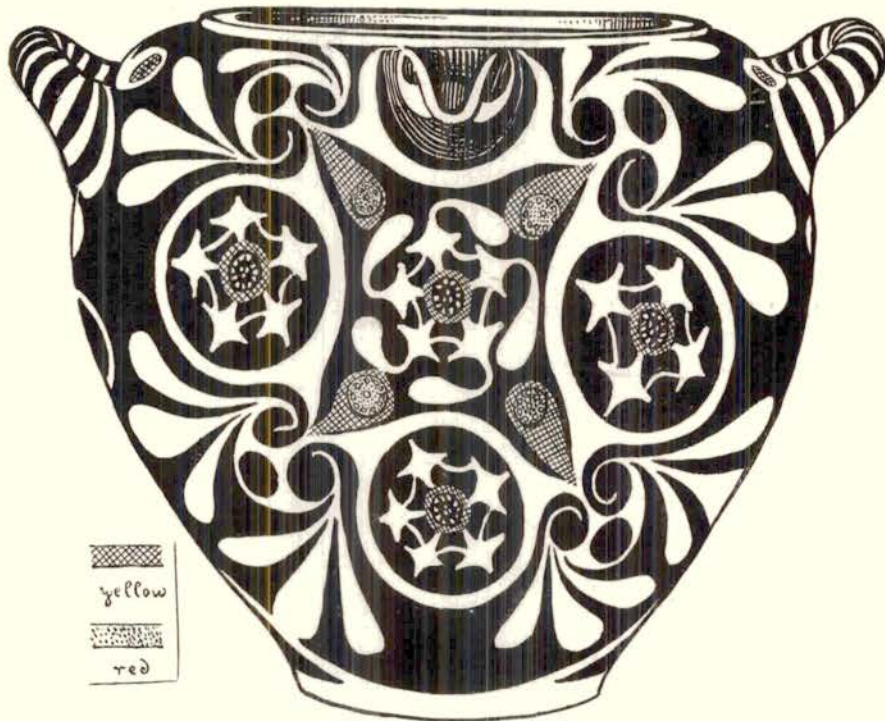


FIG. 75.—POLYCHROME VASE (MIDDLE MINŌAN), NORTH-WEST BUILDING.

Minōan Period. The Phaestos jars in question are surrounded on their shoulders by six looped handles. It is therefore extremely interesting to notice that among the 'foreign' vessels discovered by Professor Petrie in a proto-dynastic tomb at Abydos¹ is a smaller streaked jar of the same

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

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

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

A much more magnificent object is a vase with a spout and two handles like the last but of higher build. A back view of this vessel which was found in a practically intact condition is given in Fig. 75.¹ The black and white drawing, indeed, though it shows the design can give but a faint idea of the brilliant effect of the polychrome decoration, in which creamy white, orange and crimson are variously distributed on a lustrous black ground. The front design is the same as the back, and the sides show in each case beneath the handle a graceful fleur-de-lis pattern. Both this and part of the scroll-work on the other faces present a distinct affinity to the decorative motives of some of the finest contemporary signets, at times associated with pictographic inscriptions.

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

About the centre of the area at present exposed of the North-West Building a group of small walled spaces was brought to light. In one of these, not more than 2 metres by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in dimensions, some loose earth fell away in the course of the excavation and disclosed what at first sight appeared to be a set of bronze cups on their sides, ranged one above the other. On further clearing however it turned out that the supposed cups were the handles of a pile of four large bronze basins, while in an upright position beside them, stood a fine single-handled ewer, or *oenocholê*, of the same metal.

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

¹ It is 22 centimetres in height and its body the same in diameter.

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

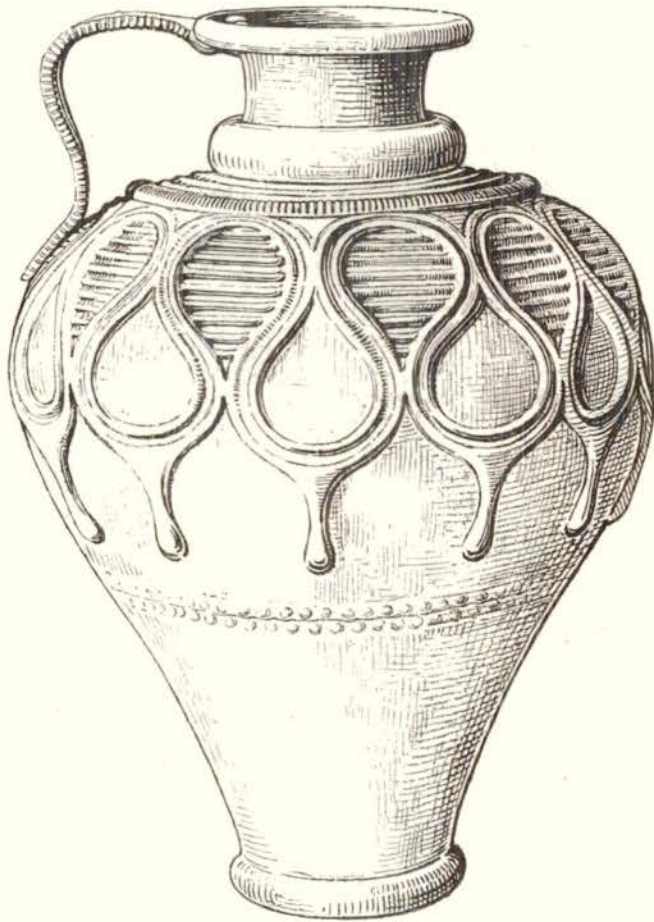


FIG. 76a.—BRONZE EWER.

A group showing the ewer, two of the basins, and the detached handle of another, is given in Fig. 77. The ewer, as will be seen, is a good deal crushed, but its original outline is restored in Figs. 76*a* and 76*b*. It is 34.5 centimetres in height and 27 in diameter. The body is formed of two

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

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

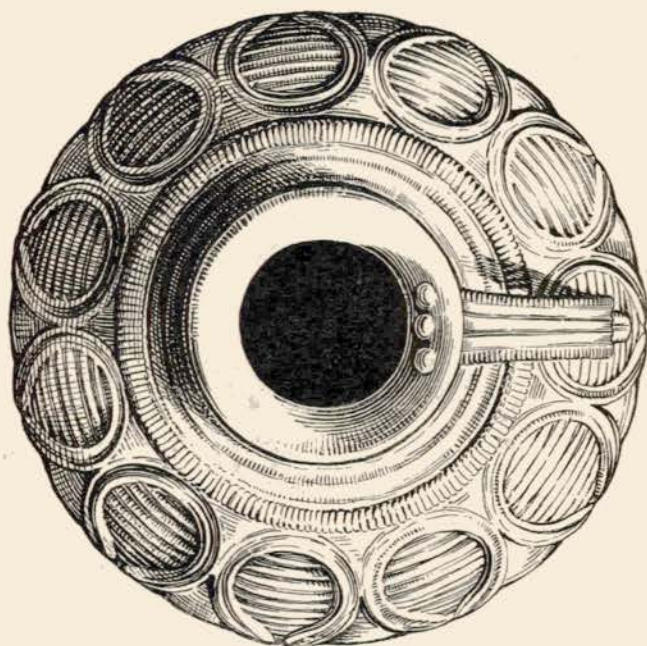


FIG. 76*b*.—BRONZE EWER SEEN FROM ABOVE.

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

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

² The height of the basin, apart from the handle, is 8 centimetres.

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



FIG. 77.—GROUP OF BRONZE VESSELS.

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

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

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

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

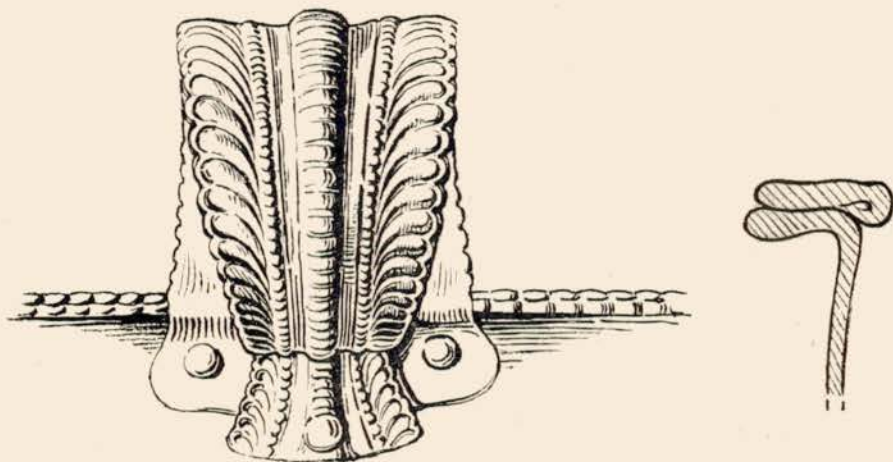


FIG. 78.—HANDLE AND SECTION OF BORDER OF BRONZE BASIN.

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

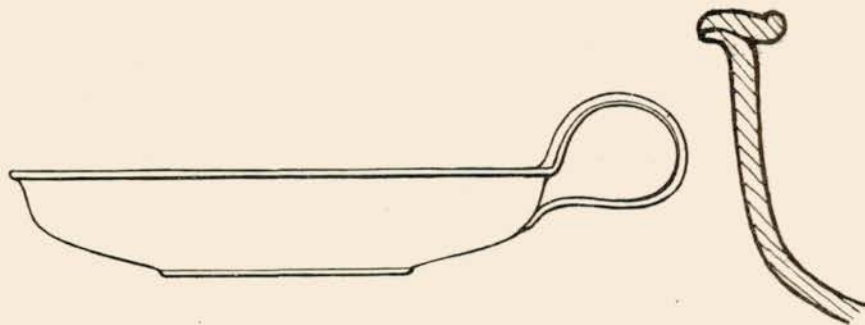


FIG. 79a.—SECTION OF BRONZE BASIN.

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

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

¹ Width of the basin (without the handle) 33 centimetres.

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

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

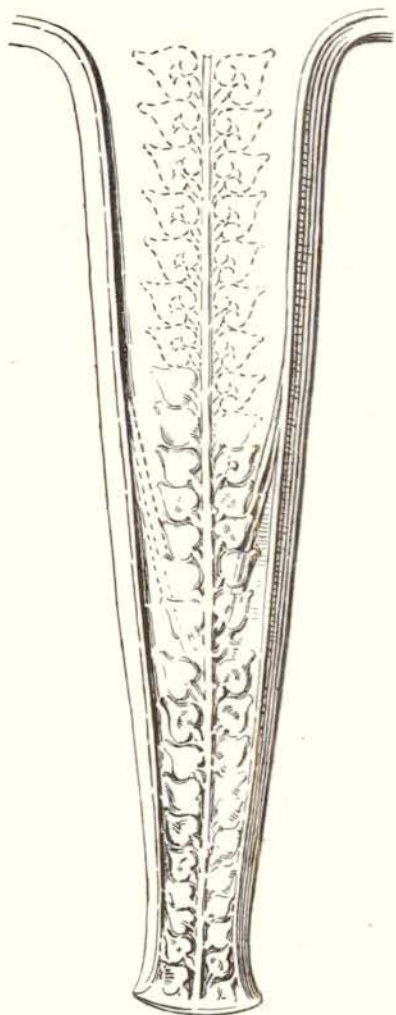


FIG. 80.—DEVELOPMENT OF HANDLE OF BRONZE BASIN.

A still more elaborate system of ornament is presented by the basin shown in Figs. 81, 82.¹ Its handle is attached, like the first described, by four rivets, but in this case the richly chased rim is simply the margin of the bowl hammered out and in one piece with it. The decorative design on this, though much oxidised in places, is visible throughout. It consists—as will be better seen from the small section of it given in Fig. 83—of an inner border of finely relieved beading from which at a somewhat oblique angle (like the pendants of a necklace) spring conventional lilies, terminating above in flamboyant sprays that stream behind them in undulating lines, like the flames of so many torches. The handle shows two similar borders divided by a central band adorned with a series of round bead-like bosses in fine relief.

The charm and originality of this design is undoubted, as also its brilliant execution. What, however, is perhaps still more striking is the intuitive knowledge it displays of the principles of balance and distribution of detail controlled by unity, as shown in the treatment of the decorative motive. The boldly relieved beading, which

¹ The width of the basin, without the handle, is 32 centimetres.

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

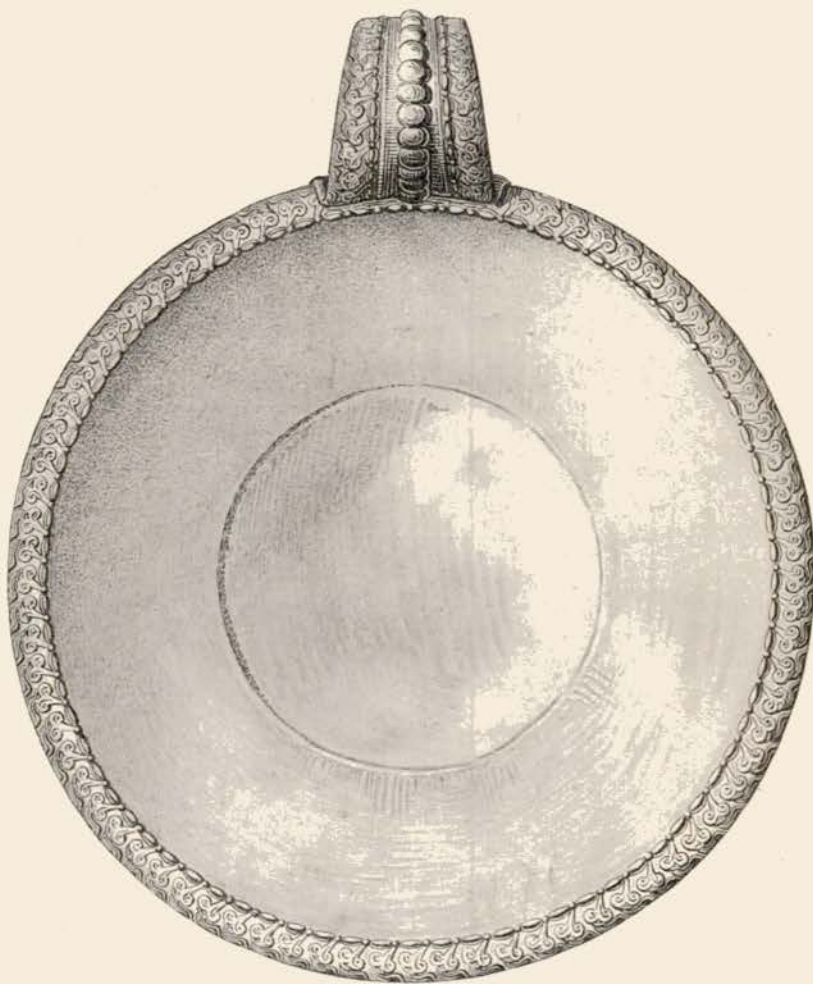


FIG. 81.—BRONZE BASIN WITH LILY BORDER.

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

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

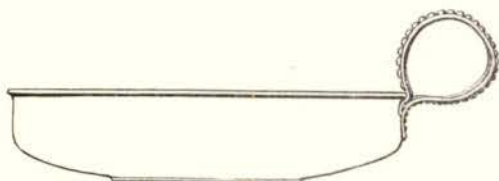


FIG. 82.—SECTION OF BASIN WITH LILY BORDER.



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

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

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

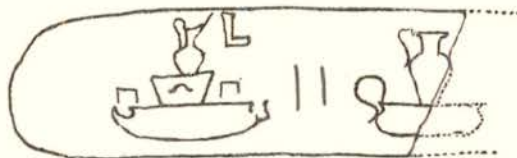


FIG. 84.—PART OF INSCRIBED CLAY TABLET.

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

An ewer, or *oenochōē*, of the same type as Fig. 76, with the characteristic raised ring round the base of the neck, appears amongst the offerings of the Keftian Chiefs on the tomb of Sen-mut² at Thebes, together with vases of the Vapheio type, of which we also find a record on the clay inventories of Knossos. In the magnificent group of bronze vessels before us we now see for the first time *in situ*, and in what may be legitimately

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

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

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

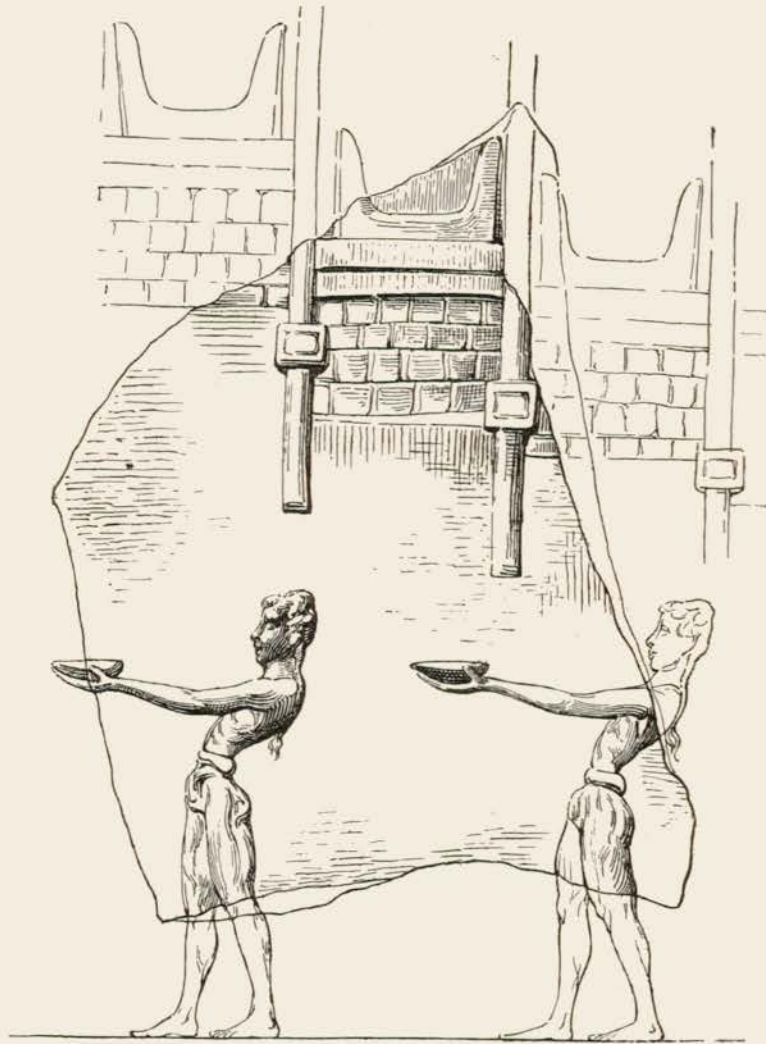


FIG. 85.—PART OF STEATITE VESSEL WITH RELIEF SHOWING OFFERTORY SCENE
(ENLARGED).

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

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

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

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

§ 20.—THE ROYAL VILLA AND PRIMITIVE 'BASILICA.'

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

¹ See above, p. 56, Fig. 35 and p. 57.

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

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

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

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

We had in fact exactly struck the line of a corridor, (A I in plan), paved below with good gypsum slabs. At every step inwards the preservation of the walls improved, and that on the right was found to be cased with the remains of gypsum slabs. At 5.70 metres from the opening of the tunnel a double door opening with the usual gypsum jambs appeared in the North Wall, and presently a small closet on the opposite side. At about 9.80 metres from the starting-point the further course of the corridor was cut short by a back wall of fine gypsum blocks and the lower steps of a staircase became visible, running up to the left.

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

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

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

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

In certain fundamental features connected with its construction and arrangement this house shows a decided parallelism with the Domestic Quarter of the Palace and the South-East House described above.¹ Here, too, as in these other cases the main entrance seems to have been by means of a staircase from an upper terrace level. Here, too, the lower part of the building itself is constructed in a rectangular cutting in the natural rock forming the side of the hill—in this case soft decayed limestone, known as *kouskouras*, and conglomerate. Here, too, moreover, the compact support thus given to the lower walls on three sides has had a favourable influence on the preservation of the fabric. As the walls approach the side of the hill more and more of them is preserved and those against the rock reach a height of 3.60 metres.

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

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

¹ See especially p. 4.

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

Of the ten steps of this flight, all are of limestone except the topmost which is of gypsum. They are 85 centimetres wide,—about half the width of those of the Quadruple Staircase in its lowest flight,—with a depth of 35 centimetres and a tread of 15. The gypsum wall to the right¹ is one of the finest pieces of masonry yet brought to light in Knossos and is preserved to a height of nine courses.² A remarkable feature of this wall is the traces along its lower margin of a thin coating of red stucco directly applied to the masonry. This red stucco was also found adhering to the walls of the landing above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

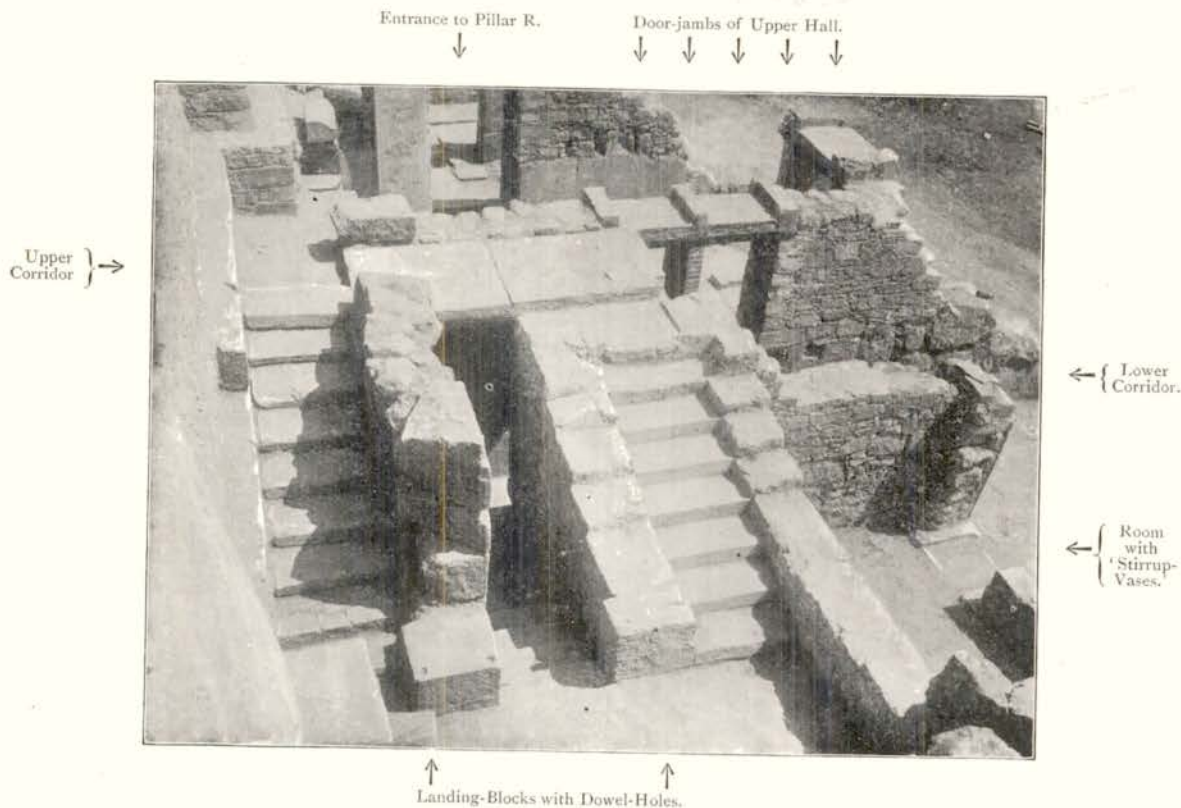


FIG. 86.—STAIRCASE WITH TWO HEADS; ROYAL VILLA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the right of the flight last described, at the point where it reaches the Upper Corridor (A 2), is one of the usual limestone landing-blocks (x in Section Pl. I). On the opposite or Eastern side of this block is visible a triangular ledge such as usually occurs on such landing-blocks³ for the

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

² This is Dr. Mackenzie's opinion. The actual interval in the wall here is broader (2.53 metres). The sill seems to have been about 1.30 above the landing floor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



FIG. 87*b*.—PAINTED 'STIRRUP-VASE.'

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

sents a wholly new style of Late Minôan ceramic technique¹ in which the principal features of the design are rendered in relief. The plant here portrayed, with its triple sprays and buds, is a decorative adaptation of the papyrus. The wavy lines between the stalks may be a reminiscence of the zigzagging double lines indicating water, which in the Nilotic prototypes appear before or beside such clumps. In the intervals between the papyrus heads are raised circles enclosing rosette and aster patterns in relief and the broadest of these circles is itself impressed with similar stellate figures. The rosettes with raised ring borders, of which the largest and best examples appear on the side of the vase not shown in Fig. 88 resemble those depicted in the flat on the upper part of the companion vessel (Fig. 87).

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

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

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

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

The lowest flight of stairs, as already mentioned, debouches on the ground floor Corridor A 1, which passes immediately on the left a small stair closet 2.20 metres deep and .75 centimetre wide, with a doorway opening inwards, and at its further end a ledge of masonry .30 centimetre high and .85 deep. It was formed by the utilisation of the space beneath the upper flight of stairs to the East, and answers to the closet of which the evidence was found beneath the Wooden Stairs of the Domestic Quarter.

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

On its South side the Hall shows two doorways opening into two small chambers separated by a thin partition consisting of gypsum slabs with a clay filling between them. That to the East (F 1) is a mere closet. The small room¹ to the West of this (G 1) had a panelling of similar gypsum slabs on all its walls. Its paving was partly of gypsum, partly of grey schist, and seems to have been originally coated with hard coloured plaster or cement.

The remaining South-West doorway of the Hall leads to a larger room H 1 (3.80 metres by 2.50), the door of which was controlled from within. Its flooring is mostly of plain clay with a strip of gypsum paving 1.25 metre wide along its South wall. Owing to the fact that it is enclosed on the West and South by exceptionally solid walls of gypsum and limestone blocks, one supporting the staircase, the other forming part of the outer walling of the house and resting itself against the soft rock, this room seems to have remained practically intact at a time when the greater part of the building must have been in ruins, and it thus offered facilities for

¹ Its dimensions are 2 metres East to West, by 1.70 North to South.

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

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

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

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

That part of the Eastern section of the hall, which immediately borders on the cross-line of door-openings, consisted of a rectangular paved area (4.55 metres North to South by 2.52 East to West) the finely cut gypsum slabs of which however have disappeared in the North and North-East parts of the room.¹ The South Wall of this section of the

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

hall is covered by a lining of gypsum slabs,¹ which in the case of the North Wall² have been lost.

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

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

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

On this inner side, again, opens a finely paved rectangular area,—in this case, 4 metres East to West by 4.55 North to South. The gypsum slabs, in places a good deal crushed by the falling in of upper chambers, here show a very neat arrangement. In the centre is a rectangular panel

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

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

³ Its height is 71 centimetres and breadth 47 centimetres.

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

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

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

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

The steps are of gypsum, just wide enough to admit the comfortable passage of a single person.³ On the second step a tall lamp of lilac gypsum with a finely modelled pedestal⁴ stood in position, apparently as it had been left at the time when the Villa was deserted. The part of the gypsum

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

² 34 centimetres square.

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

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

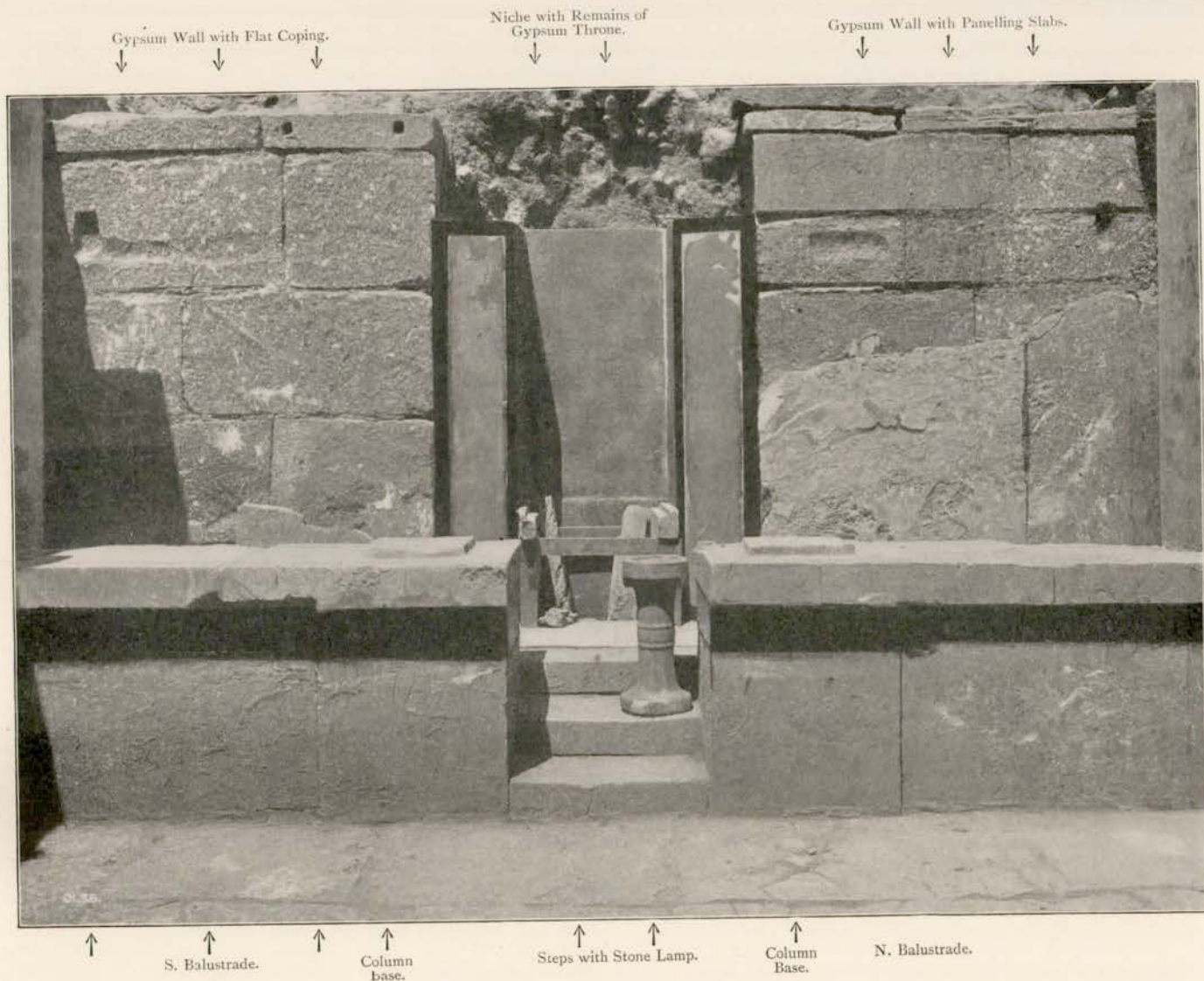


FIG. 89.—WEST END OF BASILICAN HALL SHOWING BALUSTRADE, RAISED PLATFORM, AND NICHE WITH REMAINS OF THRONE.

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

The long narrow platform thus approached which lies between the balustrades and the back wall is paved with good gypsum slabs. It is 4.45 metres long—answering to the width of the rest of the hall—but only 60 centimetres deep, thus affording no more than standing room.

This paved platform is backed by a fine gypsum wall rising on each side of the central niche to a height of 2.15 metres. These walls are built against the cut face of the rock and the uppermost course on either side is a coping of flat slabs. These as well as the rubble walls at each end of the platform were lined with gypsum panels.

The square niche was constructed in an interval¹ in the back wall of this platform. It is 62 centimetres wide and 43 deep, and its slab lining was 1.67 metre high,² the back slabs resting against the cut face of the soft sandy rock. Wooden posts with a stucco backing had stood at the outer angles of the niche, and for purposes of conservation this framing has been restored.

The gypsum chair³ or throne, the remains of which were found in this small square apse was unfortunately too much broken and decomposed to admit of restoration. It was clear however from the dimensions of some of the pieces that it had exactly fitted the niche. The remaining pieces were plain in character and seem to have formed the inner skeleton of the seat the construction of which was probably supplemented by wood work and decorative plaster. From the appearance of a vacant space above, it looks as if the niche itself had been covered by a wooden impost forming a canopy and also probably embellished with painted plaster.

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

¹ This interval itself is 1.30 metre wide.

² It was found necessary to replace the upper parts of these slabs which were in a much decomposed condition. On the South side of the niche only the lower slab was preserved.

wall had here stepped back like that above the Southern light-well of the Queen's Megaron—the Area of the Bird Fresco—to facilitate the incidence of light. Here the steep rise of the rock behind made this device the more necessary.

But, while there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here to do with a light-well, certain differences in construction show that it could not have been one of those—like that to the East of the portico above described,—directly open to the sky above.

The regular rule with regard to such exposed spaces is that the facing of the walls is of limestone, while the area itself has a cement surface and is provided with a drain. In the present case both the masonry and its facing are of gypsum, there are paving slabs of the same material in place of cement, and so far from there being any trace of a drain it is evident that water falling into the area would pour down the steps into the hall below.

We must therefore conclude that the present light area was roofed over at a higher level and received its light by means of a clerestory looking West. The room above the Megaron must naturally have been lit by the same covered opening.¹

We have here then a long hall, 4.55 metres in width and with a total length of 11.50 metres,² divided into four component parts—the raised light area with its niche, the paved space within the door openings, that contained within the portico beyond, and the originally cement-coated light-well following on to it to the East. And when we come to consider the completed plan in connexion with its most striking features,—the raised dais flanked by the balustrades and pillars and the throne in the square niche behind, commanding the whole length of the hall—it is impossible not to be struck with the parallel thus presented to the later *Basilica*.

Naturally the comparison can only be made on general lines, but we have here, overlooking the pillar-hall, a raised *tribunal* with its *cancelli* and *exedra*, in the central niche of which is the seat of honour, answering to the place of the episcopal throne in the early Christian building of the same name. The pillar hall itself contains moreover the elements of a triple division marked by the two columns of the balustrade, the central piers in

¹ The same evidence tends to show that the 'tank' of the Throne Room, and the Northern and South-East bath with their gypsum parapets and facings were lit in a similar manner.

² Not including the depth of the niche.

line with them and the two columns bordering the light-well to the East. The clerestory seems to have been confined to its West end.

But this comparison gains an extraordinary interest when we recall the historic origin of the *basilica* itself, Christian and Roman, from the *βασιλική* or *στοὰ βασιλείος*, of the Archôn Basileus at Athens, who stood forth as the sacral representative of an earlier King. That the pillar-hall of the Archôn Basileus must eventually be sought in the Megaron of a prehistoric Palace had already been recognised,¹ but at a time when comparisons were, perforce, confined to theoretic re-constructions of Homeric halls by the light of later Greek houses.

The materials for comparison now supplied by this Knossian 'Megaron' are of a very different order. It does not seem indeed an unwarrantable conclusion that we have here actually an example of a type of royal hall such as may have existed in the Cretan Palaces themselves on a more spacious scale. The present Villa must in any case be recognised as a dependency of the Palace, and has itself every claim to be regarded as a Princely abode. The exceptional scale on which it is built, with its successive storeys, distinguishes it from the other dwelling houses about. In the solidity and stateliness of its construction, with its fine gypsum walls and flights of stone stairs with their double heads, as well as in its magnificent furniture—as evidenced by the jar with papyrus reliefs—it rivals and in some respects excels any part of the Palace itself. Lying as it does almost within a stone's throw of the Northern Entrance, on the cool side of the hill and within easy access to the stream and the gardens watered by it, the house and its surroundings seem naturally marked out as a summer pleasure. We have here a Royal Villa, and it is allowable to believe that the throne within the niche, commanding the whole length of its principal hall, was actually occupied by a King or princely scion of Minōan stock. There has here, in short, been brought to light the true historic analogue of the 'Royal pillar-hall' of later times.

The tendency of such an arrangement to survive would be all the greater if, as seems to result from the great religious element in the Palace finds, we have here to do with rulers who performed priestly as well as religious functions. It was indeed this side of the old Athenian kingship that survived in the later office of the Archôn Basileus.

¹ See especially K. Lange, *Haus und Halle, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Wohnhauses und der Basilika* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 60 *seqq.*

In this connexion it is interesting to notice that the chamber (see Fig. 90) with which this basilican hall immediately communicates to the North is an extraordinarily fine example of a Pillar Room such as those of the Palace, and which seem to have formed a principal feature of the Minôan domestic sanctuaries.¹

The doorway leading to this Pillar Room opens in the North Wall of the Megaron just outside that end of the balustrade. The plan of this doorway and threshold is of special interest not only from the door marks but from the presence of a socket for the bolt as well as for each of the hinges.² The doors, which were double, opened inwards towards the Pillar Room and were therefore controlled from that side.

The room itself (D 1 in plan) is nearly square,—4.15 metres North to South by 4 metres East to West. The central pillar, composed of two gypsum blocks, is 1.82 metre high and 52 centimetres square. The paved flooring of the room, which is 20 centimetres above the level of that of the neighbouring hall, is of finely cut gypsum slabs. Immediately surrounding the pillar is a square framework of slabs, and another similar bordering follows the walls of the room. Between the inner panel of pavement and this outer border is a square channel, 47 centimetres wide and 6 deep, paved with gypsum slabs like the rest of the floor. In this channel, East and West of the pillar on either side, is a small oblong receptacle.³ We have here a feature analogous on a smaller scale to the vats in a similar position in the East Pillar Room of the Palace.

Another curious feature of the room is a group of small dowel-holes in the South-East corner of the room, which may have stood in connexion with some fixed article of furniture.⁴ As to the original contents or decoration of the rooms there was however no clue. The soil within it had all the appearance of later filling, and there can be little doubt that at some past period this Pillar Room had been methodically overhauled in search of treasure.

¹ See above, p. 9.

² The plan is given in Fig. 6, p. 15. See p. 14, No. 1. It is there called 'North door of North-East house.'

³ That to the West is hollowed out of a single block of gypsum, that to the East has its West side formed of a separate piece. The West 'Vat' is 44 centimetres North to South by 37 East to West and 12 centimetres deep. The East 'Vat' is 46 centimetres North to South by 35 East to West and 16 deep. The latter receptacle had been plugged by a small block.

⁴ There is a similar dowel-hole in the North border and another in the South-West corner of the room.

The room itself is of extremely solid construction. It is built of large gypsum blocks with good faces inwards, the other side being left rough or splayed away. This rough side was, however, rendered invisible by a coating of rubble and plaster, and, on the side of the Megaron, in addition to this, by the gypsum wainscoting.

From their solidity of construction the walls of this room are in singularly good preservation (see Fig. 90). Of the East Wall, owing to the slope of the hill, only three courses are preserved, but the South Wall

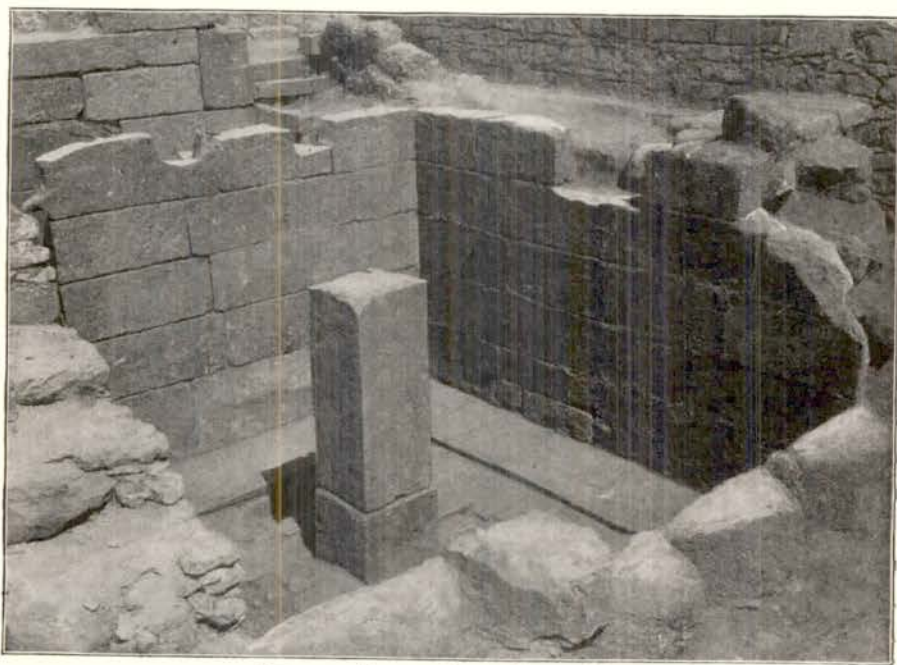


FIG. 90.—PILLAR ROOM; ROYAL VILLA.

shows five, the North six, and the West Wall seven: both of the two latter rising to a height of 2.43 metres. There is no evidence of any means of lighting this room except through the door.

The topmost course of the North and West Walls presents a most interesting feature. In the North Wall, just opposite the pillar and on a level with its summit, an opening has been left for a large square beam which rested on the pillar and formed the principal support for the roof of the room. At a somewhat higher level than this the blocks of the upper-

most course of the West Wall are cut out in a semicircular fashion to receive the round cross beams that rested on the square main beam already described (see Section, Pl. I). One of these crossed halfway between the pillar and the North Wall, the second directly over the pillar, and the third, of which only a segment of the socket is preserved, halfway again between the pillar and the South Wall. It is thus for the first time possible to reconstruct the whole arrangement of the roofing of a Minôan chamber.

The timber employed for roofing this small area was certainly of extraordinary dimensions. The main beam was 80 centimetres in breadth and about 60 high, the cross beams had a diameter of 44 centimetres. It would be difficult to find the materials for beams like these in modern Crete.

Once more we are struck with the careful precautions taken against damp in the construction of the walls nearest to the rock face of the hill. The North Wall, instead of being built directly against the cutting in the rock, is separated from it by an interval with short cross walls serving as its support. On the other hand, in accordance with a favourite device of the Minôan architects, the West Wall is kept back from the face of the soft rock by the interposition of a passage way—in this case a narrow staircase.

This staircase is entered from the South-West corner of the Pillar Room and has a width of 71 centimetres. There are ten steps, found in a considerably weathered condition, going up North.¹ The West Wall of the stairs is constructed of good gypsum blocks with limestone here and there: it is built up against the virgin rock and has eight courses preserved, rising to a height of 3.05 metres. The opposite or right wall is formed by the back of the West wall of the Pillar Room. At the top of the stair is a square landing, beyond which two further steps² are seen going up West, the upper of which forms another landing. On the North side of this appear the gypsum jambs of a doorway giving access to a gallery running East, in which some paving was visible.

A door-jamb found on this level shows that there was an entrance from this gallery to a room above the Pillar Room. Two jambs found in position on the opposite side of this chamber show that on the South it opened, in turn, into a room above the lower Megaron. Of this upper chamber two jambs with double reveals came to light above the two Southernmost of the line of piers below. A double doorway of this upper hall was found

¹ The steps are 30 centimetres deep and have a tread of 18 centimetres.

² The lower of these is of gypsum, the upper of limestone.

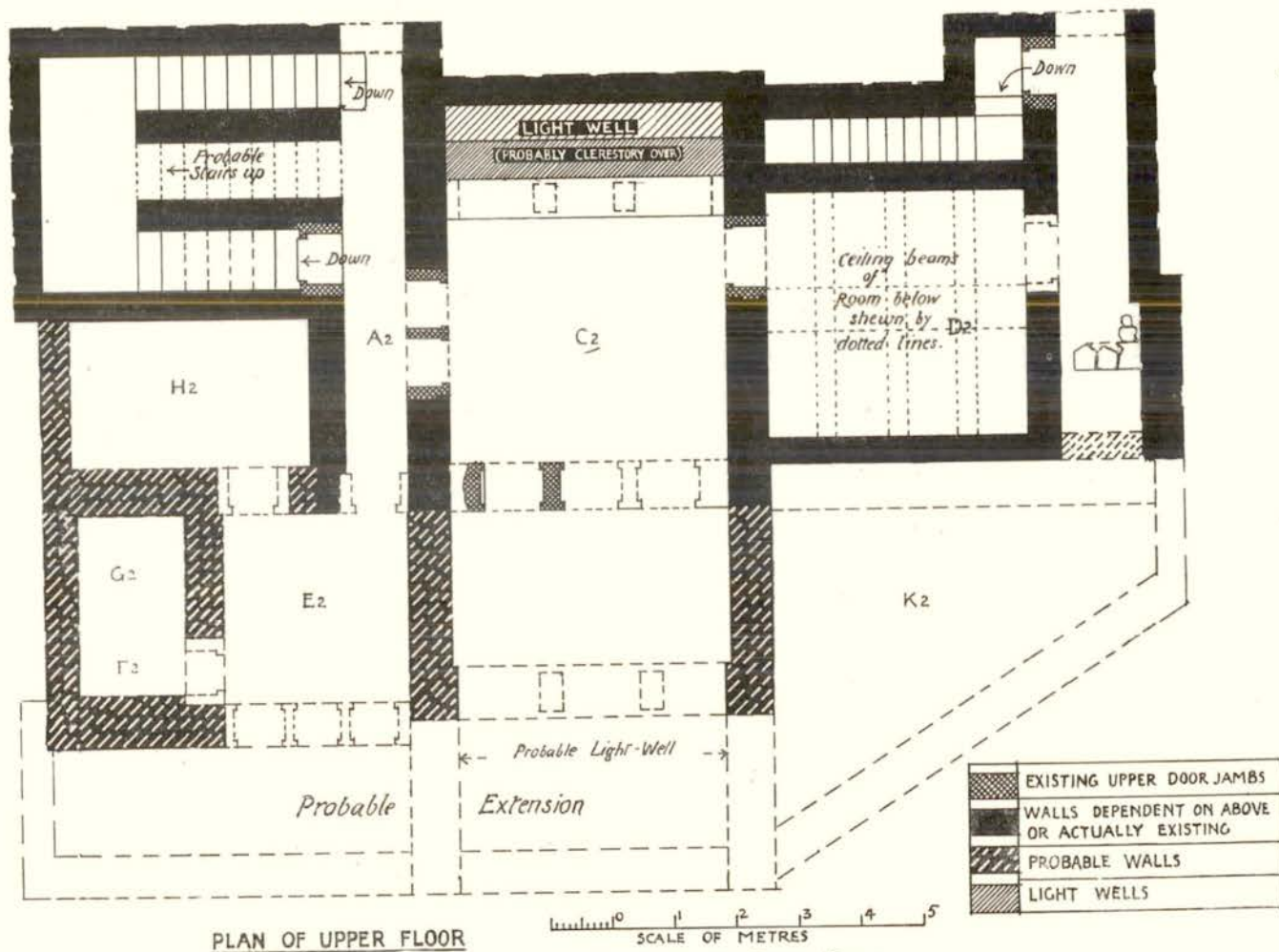


FIG. 91.—PLAN OF UPPER STOREY; ROYAL VILLA.

immediately above that of the Megaron below, leading into the upper Corridor, A 2. These upper storey-jambs, together with parts of the adjoining pavement, have been preserved in position with the help of brick piers.

It will be seen from Fig. 91 that it has been possible, as in the case of the Domestic Quarter of the Palace, to recover practically the whole plan of the first upper storey. It appears moreover that, just as the evidence has been preserved of a large chamber with piers and columns above the Hall of the Double Axes, so here too there seems to have existed an upper hall divided into two sections by a similar line of door-jambs above the principal Megaron or 'Basilica' of the Royal Villa.

A negative phenomenon noticed throughout this building deserves mention. Unlike the generality of the Palace rooms, the remains here contained hardly a vestige of burnt wood. There is no obvious sign of destruction by fire, and the door-posts and beams which elsewhere have been preserved in consequence of their carbonisation had here left no trace beyond their empty sockets. It looks as if the Villa had been plundered and perhaps partially ruined at the time of the great catastrophe and was afterwards left to gradual decay, doubtless accelerated by flood waters and landslips from the declivity above.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

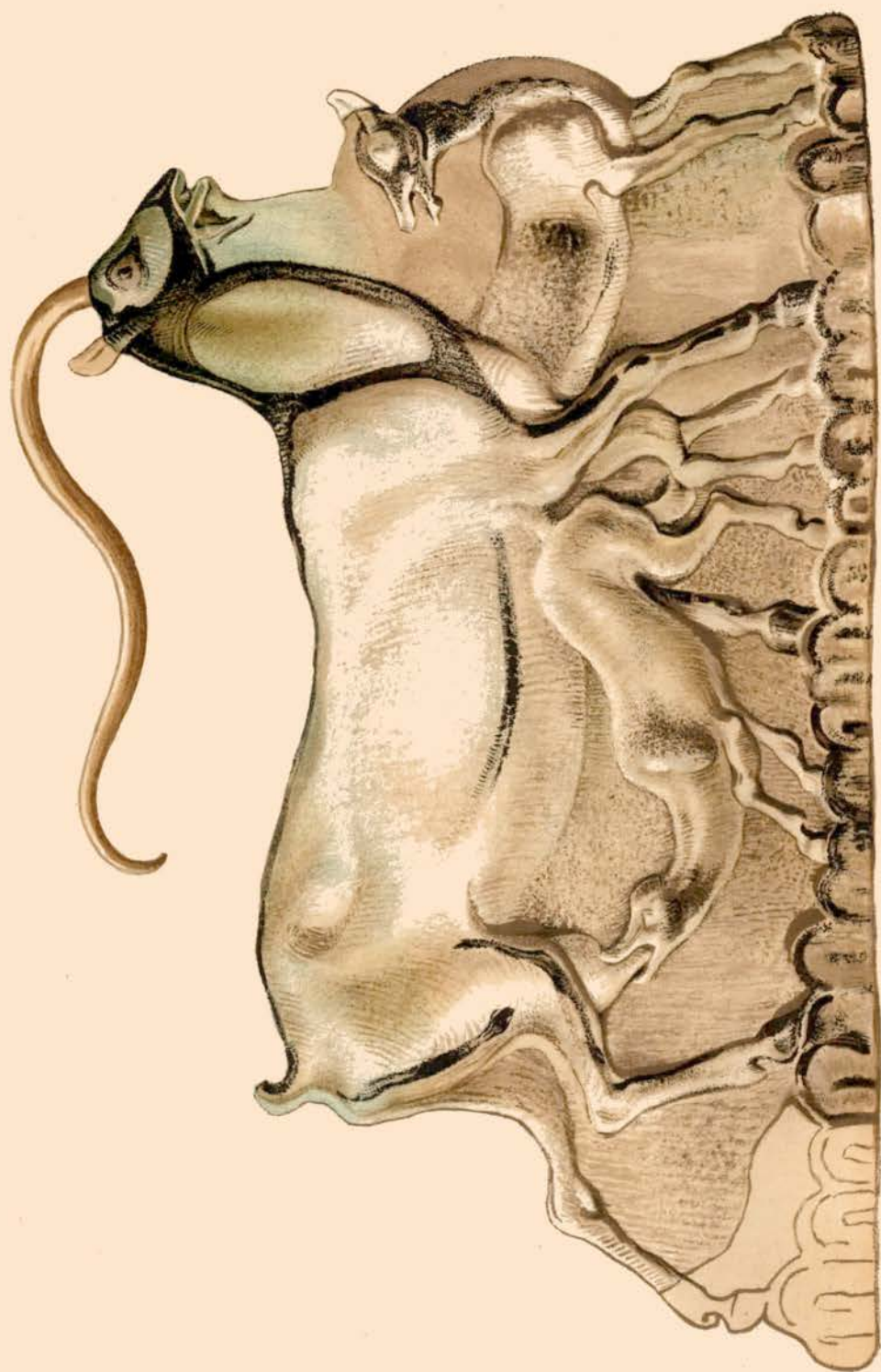


FIG. 92.—PAINTED POTTERY FROM ROYAL VILLA BELONGING TO THE PERIOD OF PARTIAL HABITATION.





MIDDLE MINOAN POLYCHROME POTTERY (FIRST PALACE, KNOSSOS) FROM BELOW OLIVE PRESS ROOM.



FAÏENCE RELIEF: WILD GOAT AND YOUNG. FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY OF SECOND PALACE, KNOSSOS.

THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS.

§ 1.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

THE fifth campaign on the Palace Site of Knossos had a twofold objective:—(1) The continued exploration of the Palace itself, with the special object of ascertaining its original elements, on which the Cists and Repositories found in 1903 had already thrown so much light; (2) the further investigation of dependencies lying beyond what may be called the inner *enceinte*. In addition to this, the discovery of an extensive Minoan Cemetery and of a Royal Tomb went greatly to swell the volume of the year's excavation.

(1) *The Palace*.—The researches in the Palace area have been very extensive, and a variety of new data have been acquired for distinguishing the first and second period of the Later Palace. In the West wing of the Later Palace the original plan can now be clearly distinguished from the existing scheme, which is shown to be the result of subsequent remodelling. Fresh stone Repositories belonging to its first period—like those found in 1903 containing the faience figures of the Snake Goddess and her Votaries, but less rich in relics—were found to extend North of the others beneath the later stepped Portico which here descends to the Central Court. A whole line of earlier gypsum walling facing this Court could finally be made out, a little within the later wall (§ 6). This original façade was seen to have been partly incorporated in the later constructions and partly to have been broken through by them. The West wall of the Palace itself and the adjoining Magazines belonged to the original work, but the entrances

to the Magazines were found to have been altered (§ 7). They seem to have been originally wide, but were afterwards provided with comparatively narrow doors appropriate to the valuable contents of the cists along their floors. Later, the entrances were again widened, the cists reduced to mere shallow cavities, and the whole fitted out for the reception of huge oil jars. From the superficial deposit of some of these cists belonging to the second period of the Later Palace were brought out a variety of painted stucco fragments which had fallen here from a North-West Hall above (§ 8). Among these were illustrations of the bull ring, together with other frescoes, slightly larger than the 'Miniature' paintings found in 1900, showing part of the façade of another shrine, with the 'fetish' Double-Axes stuck into its columns.

Thanks to the invaluable help of M. Gilliéron, it was further possible to carry out an elaborate scheme that I had long had in view for grouping together the earlier discovered 'Miniature' frescoes into connected designs. Two panels were thus reproduced, one showing a small temple and halls on either side, with ladies seated or standing in the foreground and throngs of men behind. The other depicted walled enclosures with trees and with similar spectators overlooking a court where gaily dressed women were engaged in a mazy dance. Fresh interesting fragments were also detected of the painted reliefs exhibiting parts of a male figure with a *fleur-de-lis* crown, and these permitted the restoration of the entire figure of what was not improbably one of the Priest-Kings of Knossos. The centre of the crown was found to be adorned with peacocks' plumes.

In the West Court of the Palace a section was cut, which has the highest importance in its bearing on the stratification and comparative chronology of the characteristic stages of Minoan culture that preceded the construction of the Later Palace (§§ 3, 4, 5). The foundation of the Later Palace was shown to have been posterior to the great age of polychrome pottery ('Middle Minoan II.'). Its second period, as appears from its Egyptian associations, did not come down later than about 1500 B.C., but there were now traceable five distinct phases of culture that separated the initial stage of the Later Palace from the latest Neolithic deposit. Below this again the Neolithic stratum, which was itself superimposed on the virgin rock, attained a depth of from six to eight metres. On the Western borders of the Palace the total depth of the human deposit was from twelve to fourteen metres.

In the North-East part of the site some of the great *pithoi* belonging to a very early Magazine have been built up. These are larger than any vessels of the kind yet discovered, attaining a height of over two metres. The Magazines have been roofed over for their preservation. The roofing of the Throne-Room had also to be carried out in a more permanent and efficient way.

(2) *Outlying Remains.*—A Minoan roadway paved with fine slabs has been traced running Westwards from the Theatral Area for a distance of over 230 metres (§ 10). The work here was very severe, as the pavement lay at a depth of nearly twenty feet below the surface, and involved the clearing away of a mass of later structures of no account. Pits sunk to the North of this line, moreover, revealed the existence of important Minoan buildings, and in order to make a preliminary exploration of these a wide cutting had to be carried out in this direction (§ 11). The structural remains thus brought to light derive extraordinary interest from their associations. A rich deposit of inscribed clay tablets was here found referring to the royal chariots and weapons. Near one of these, mentioning a store of 8640 arrows, were found the remains of two officially sealed chests containing a large number of carbonised arrows with small bronze heads. It is possible, therefore, that the structures form part of the Royal Arsenal. At this point, owing to the difficulty and expense of the work and the advance of the season, the excavation had to be broken off. It is most necessary, however, that this promising area, extending along the newly discovered roadway, should be fully explored.

During the greater part of the time I had the expert assistance of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie in directing the works, and in the present as in preceding Reports I have had the advantage of consulting his Day-Books. Mr. Theodore Fyfe was also able to devote some weeks to the architectural plans and drawings. I am also much indebted for the valuable assistance afforded by M. Gilliéron and by Mr. Halvor Bagge in the delicate task of delineating and reconstituting the works of art discovered. It must also be mentioned that, thanks to a new law passed by the Cretan Assembly, a series of duplicate specimens have been presented to the excavator.

The work began on February 15 and was continued to the beginning of July, as many as 200 workmen being employed during the height of the season.

§ 2.—THE MINOAN CEMETERY AND ROYAL TOMB.

Already by the end of February the skilful soundings of Gregori had made clear the existence of a Minoan Cemetery on a hill about half a mile North of the Palace, a little beyond the remains of the Roman City Wall that has given the name of Makryteichos to the neighbouring village. This is in fact a Northern extension of the hill of Kephala on which the Palace stands, and it was on a Northern prolongation of the same range that, later in the season, a Royal Tomb was discovered.

As my previous Reports have been confined to the Palace and its immediate surroundings, and an adequate description of the Tombs required very copious illustration, I have thought it best to issue the account of these in a separate form. The excavation of the Cemetery and Royal Tomb has formed the subject of a communication by me to the Society of Antiquaries and will be published in *Archaeologia*.¹

The hill North of the Palace where the Cemetery was discovered is locally known as Zafer Papoura (τοῦ Ζαφὲρ ἢ Παπούρα). One hundred tombs were here opened, the contents of which showed that the bulk of them belonged to the period immediately succeeding the fall of the Palace. The civilisation was, however, still high, and the character of the art displayed by the relics found showed the unbroken tradition of the Later Palace Style. Among the objects brought to light were a number of bronze vessels, implements, and arms, including swords, some of them nearly a metre in length. One of the shorter swords has a gold-plated handle engraved with a masterly design of lions hunting wild goats. The jewellery and gems discovered were of the typical 'mature Mycenaean' class, and a scarab found in one of the graves is of a Late Eighteenth Dynasty type. Among the painted ware 'stirrup vases' were specially abundant some with magnificent decorative designs. It was interesting to observe that if some graves belonged to warriors, others were certainly occupied by artisans. Thus in one interment the saw and other carpenter's tools were laid beside the skeleton.

The tombs were of three main classes: (a) *Chamber-tombs* cut in the soft rock and approached in each case by a *dromos*; in many cases these

¹ It will also be published (B. Quaritch) in a separate form as 'The Minoan Tombs of Knossos.'

contained clay coffins, in which the dead had been deposited in cists, their knees drawn towards the chin. (*b*) *Shaft graves*, each with a lesser cavity below, containing the extended skeleton, and with a roofing of stone slabs. (*c*) *Pit-caves*, or pits giving access to a walled cavity in the side below; these also contained extended skeletons. Unfortunately, owing to the character of the soil the bones were much decayed, and only in a few cases has it been possible to secure specimens for examination. A certain number of skulls have been sent to England.

On a high-level called Sopata (τὰ Ἴσώπαρα), about two miles North of this Cemetery, a more important sepulchral monument was discovered. This consisted of a square chamber, about eight by six metres in dimensions, constructed of limestone blocks, and with the side walls arching in 'Cyclopean' fashion towards a high gable, though unfortunately the upper part had been quarried away. The back wall was provided with a central cell opposite the blocked entrance. This portal, arched on the same horizontal principle, communicated with a lofty entrance hall of similar construction, in the side walls of which, facing each other, were two cells that had been used for sepulchral purposes. A second blocked archway led from this hall to the imposing rock-cut *dromos*. In the floor of the main chamber was a pit-grave covered with slabs. Its contents had been rifled for metal objects in antiquity, but a gold hairpin, parts of two silver vases, and a large bronze mirror remained to attest the former wealth of such. A large number of other relics were found scattered about, including repeated clay impressions of what may have been a royal seal. Specially remarkable among the stone vessels is a porphyry bowl of Minoan workmanship, but recalling in material and execution those of the Early Egyptian Dynasties. Many imported Egyptian *alabaster* were also found, showing the survival of Middle Empire forms besides others of Early Eighteenth Dynasty type. Beads of lapis lazuli also occurred, and pendants of the same material, closely imitating Egyptian models. Four large painted jars with three handles illustrate the fine 'architectonic' style of the Later Palace of Knossos, in connexion with which the great sepulchral monument must itself be brought.

The form of this mausoleum with its square chamber is unique, and contrasts with that of the tholos tombs of mainland Greece. The position in which it lies commands the whole South Aegean to Melos and Santorin, and Central Crete from Dicta to Ida. It was tempting to recognise in

it the traditional tomb of Idomeneus; but though further researches in its immediate vicinity led to the discovery of a rock-cut chamber-tomb containing contemporary relics, it was hardly considerable enough to be taken for that of Meriones, which tradition placed beside the other.

§ 3.—SECTION BENEATH WEST COURT: STRATUM BELONGING TO THE THIRD 'MIDDLE MINOAN' PERIOD AND ITS RELATION TO THE EARLIEST REMAINS OF THE LATER PALACE (See Fig. 7).

Already since the first year's excavation the stumps of walls had been visible in the pavement of the Northern part of the West Court about 6·5 metres West of the neighbouring Altar Base. Successive winters' rains had made these remains clearer, and, as it seemed probable that important evidence of early stratigraphy might here be obtained, it was resolved to undertake their methodical exploration.

The excavation itself was carried out with minute care, every fragment of pottery being set aside according to its level. The first result was to expose below the pavement of this part of the West Court two contiguous rooms of a house, each of which had a doorway on the East side. At 92 centimetres down were traces of a floor level, and, above this, pottery characteristic of a particular phase in Minoan ceramic development.

Dr. Mackenzie, who carefully examined the ceramic remains found above this floor level, notes that none of this was polychrome in the true sense such as other ware subsequently found beneath the floor of this house. White and sometimes red designs on a lustrous dark glaze ground survived into the period to which these remains belonged, 'but yellow, orange and crimson have practically if not quite disappeared.'

'The tendency of the decoration is distinctly in a monochrome direction—simple light design on a dark, or a dark on a light, ground. The proportions of these two classes, as in the earlier Minoan wares, are fairly equal.'

This deposit was found, in fact, to coincide in character with a stratum already¹ shown to represent a somewhat later phase of Middle Minoan

¹ *J.H.S.* xxiii. (1903), pp. 179 *sqq.*



FIG. 1.—VASE WITH LILLY DESIGN ('MIDDLE MINOAN III.') FROM SOUTH-EAST MAGAZINES.

ceramic art than that distinguished by the true polychrome style. The deposit in question, which lay immediately beneath the floor of the Room of the Olive Press, was, as in the present case, superimposed on a stratum containing the finest polychrome or so-called 'Kamáres' ware.

The present deposit, as that immediately beneath the Olive Room floor, is already marked by an abundance of the small unpainted cups so characteristic of the later 'Mycenaean' remains of Crete and other Aegean sites, and of which the Cave Sanctuary of Dicta afforded such plentiful hoards. With these moreover occurred somewhat similar cups of a larger and flatter type more resembling saucers. Dr. Mackenzie notes that these flat saucer-like cups are also found in the earlier polychrome deposits 'with and without a lustrous black-brown glaze. In the later period the glaze tends to be omitted altogether.'

Among other typical forms here represented was a jar of truncated pyriform shape with a pointed knob on either side of the rim and covered with an almost lustreless purple-tinted slip. This type of vessel belongs to the same class as a series of jars from the early Magazines with the 'Plaster Closet'¹ beneath the South-East wing of the Palace, some of them being ornamented with beautiful designs of lilies in white on a similar pale purplish or terracotta coloured ground. A complete representation of one of these is given for the first time in Fig. 1.

Moreover the parallel thus established between the pottery from the house-floor under discussion, and the contents of these South-East Magazines, enables us to assign to the same period a whole series of vessels, including a class of tall two-handled store jars with a rudimentary spout at times degenerating into a mere knob.

These jars, which were left standing in the early South-East Magazines, had at first been regarded as merely covered with a monochrome purplish slip. A season's rain, however, brought out upon one of them (see Fig. 2) some remarkable designs in white, the principal feature of which is a cruciform pattern with grass-like sprays between each limb. This ornamental motive stands in direct derivative relation to certain kindred patterns on vases of the preceding polychrome style. The design moreover has a special interest from the fact that a closely parallel

¹ *Knossos: Report*, 1902 (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 87 *seqq.* and p. 90, Fig. 51).



FIG. 2.—PAINTED STORE JAR (MIDDLE MINOAN III.) FROM EARLY SOUTH-EAST MAGAZINE.

motive is common to the decorative repertory of Middle Empire Egypt.

It is clear that in all the above deposits we have to do with a distinct archaeological stratum which may now be definitely classified as 'Middle Minoan III.' The existence of a similar stratum was moreover ascertained by means of test-pits at various other spots immediately beneath the pavement of the West Court, and it was also found to underlie that of the adjoining 'Corridor of the Procession Fresco.'

In the latter locality there occurred in the same deposit certain fragments of a peculiar class of large jars possessing a special comparative value. The fragments in question belonged to 'Knobbed Pithoi' like those found in the Early Magazines of the North-East Quarter¹ (Fig. 3), and again beneath the later Palace floor above the Walled Pit No. V.² These 'Knobbed Pithoi,' as was also the case in the fragments from the Procession Corridor, are characterised by what may be termed 'trickle' ornament—brown glaze pigment being dabbed on near the rim and allowed to trickle down the plain clay sides, so that the effect is rather that of the outside of a pail of pitch or a jar of glue. This simple form of decoration indeed was doubtless suggested by the actual appearance of jars used for coloured liquids.

'Trickle' ornament already appears on Knossian vessels belonging to the finest polychrome period.³ Knobbed Pithoi moreover, similarly decorated, have lately been found in the Palace of Phaestos, in early Magazines near the West Court, associated with good polychrome pottery, and the origin at least of this class of vessel must therefore go back to the Second Middle Minoan Period.

It appears, however, from other evidence that the Knobbed Pithoi, the remains of which have been found on the site of the Knossian Palace, belong rather to the Third or Latest Middle Minoan stage. In the case of the deposit found on the floor above the Walled Pit No. V., attention has already been called⁴ to the association of the remains of a Knobbed Pithos with part of a rim of a large jar showing white spirals on a black and

¹ *Knossos: Report*, 1902 (*B.S.A.* viii. pp. 10, 11).

² *Knossos: Report*, 1903 (*B.S.A.* ix. pp. 26, 27).

³ *Knossos: Report*, 1903 (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 118, Fig. 73c; pp. 119, 120). The 'foreign' vessel found by Professor Petrie in an Early Dynastic tomb at Abydos, takes the history of this 'trickle' ornament still further back (see *op. cit.* p. 120).

⁴ *Knossos: Report*, 1903 (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 27).

reddish-brown ground and resembling those from the Early Magazines of the South-East Palace area which now turn out to belong to this Third Middle Minoan Age.

The 'Magazines of the Knobbed Pithoi' on the Eastern slope of the Palace, where this particular class of jars first occurred, afford similar indications as to their comparative date. These Magazines are built in a cutting immediately South of those containing the very finest polychrome pottery of the 'egg-shell' class, and, it would seem, partly at the expense of these earlier store-rooms. The floors on which the Knobbed Pithoi stand are at a lower level than these, and no trace of the finest Middle Minoan ware was here found. On the other hand, the rope ornament seen on some of the jars of these Magazines is a realistic reproduction of the actual ropes used in the transport of such great vessels, and shows an earlier stage of evolution than that visible on the Pithoi of the later periods.

We are thus again led to an intermediate Period between the acme of the great polychrome style (Middle Minoan II.) and the Late Minoan Period. This result moreover is borne out by the special character of the signs cut on the blocks of the entrance pillars of the 'Magazines of the Knobbed Pithoi.' These signs are at once somewhat more compact than those of the earlier class but are more broadly and deeply cut than the generality of those belonging to the Later Palace.

The Knobbed Pithoi of this set of Magazines on the Eastern slope had been found in a much broken condition and the rains of two seasons had further served to disintegrate them. One of the tasks of the present campaign was to build these up as far as possible and to secure their future conservation by roofing over the Early Magazines in which they stood. An example of one of these as thus reconstituted and with its rim restored is given in Fig. 3. Its height is about 2.4 metres or nearly seven feet—which considerably exceeds that of the largest store-jars of the latest Palace Period.

The occurrence immediately beneath the pavement of the West Court and adjoining Corridor of the Procession of ceramic fabrics such as those described, illustrating a Third and concluding Middle Minoan phase, suggests very difficult questions in relation to the earliest remains of the Later Palace.

Unquestionably a great deal both in the style of the vase decoration and in the forms of the vessels shows strong affinities with the earliest



FIG. 3.—KNOBBED PITHOS, RESTORED (MIDDLE MINOAN III.), FROM EARLY MAGAZINE OF NORTH-EAST PALACE QUARTER.

ceramic relics from the Cists of the Long Gallery and adjoining Western Magazines as well as those of the Temple Repositories discovered last year. Yet there can be little doubt that these Cists belong to the original plan of the Later Palace and are representative, indeed, of its First Period. In this case the foundation of the Later Palace must be held to go back to within the confines at least of this Third Middle Minoan Period.

At the same time, in considering these earliest remains of the Later Palace we are struck with the following phenomena:—

1. The signs on the associated blocks, as on the jambs of the West Magazines, are of what appears to be a later style than those of East Magazines containing the Knobbed Pithoi.

2. The floral decoration, consisting of crocuses and scrolls, on the votive robes of faience found in the Temple Repositories is identical with designs—dark brown on a buff ground—very characteristic of some of the earliest vases of a distinctly Late Minoan character.

3. The pictographic style of writing prevalent throughout the most flourishing ages of the Middle Minoan Period occurred indeed in what may now be regarded as one of the earliest Magazines of the Later Palace. By the time however when the Temple Repositories were closed we find it superseded by a form of linear script.

4. The particular form of linear script (type A) found in the Temple Repositories occurs at Palaikastro in a well-defined stratum with vases of the Earliest 'Late Minoan' class.

The general conclusion to which we are led, therefore, is that the Later Palace was founded at a time when the Third Period Middle Minoan style was already fully developed, but that, at the date when the Great Repositories and Early Cists were closed, this phase of culture showed signs of a transition towards that which has been here described as Late Minoan I. and which finds its best illustration in the beautiful Zakro vases.¹

It seems probable that both the West Court pavement and that of the Corridor of the Procession date in their present state from some Period later than the actual foundation of the existing Palace.

¹ The note in my last Report (p. 21) on the character of the earliest culture revealed by the Later Palace contains a serious printer's error. In lines 5 and 6, for 'immediately below' read 'immediately above the original floors of the First Palace.' The terminology used in the final paragraph also requires revision in view of the more elaborate stratification now before us. For Middle Minoan I. and II. read Middle Minoan II. and III.

§ 4.—SECTION BENEATH THE WEST COURT: THE 'MIDDLE MINOAN' STRATUM (See Fig. 7).

It has been shown in the preceding Section that the building immediately beneath the floor of the West Court belongs to the Third or concluding Period of Middle Minoan culture. The walls of this construction went down 1 metre, and at a depth of 75 centimetres below this, or 1.75 metre below the level of the West Court, there came to light a floor belonging to an altogether different building. This floor in fact passes beneath the dividing wall of the two upper rooms and has no systematic connexion with the later arrangement (see Section, Fig. 7).¹

Upon this lower floor-level and partly below the later walls lay a quantity of vases of the finest polychrome period, many of them in a quite perfect condition. From the fact that many vessels of the same form were piled in regular nests, it seems clear that we have to do with a kind of store. The cups with carinated contour, derived from metal-work, were specially abundant, and many of these were covered with a lustrous black metallic glaze. Again and again in surveying the ceramic fabrics of this great Middle Minoan Age we are struck by the parallelism presented by the Fourth Century wares of Magna Graecia and Sicily, with their lustrous imitations of silver-plate. The wealth of the Priest-Kings of Knossos in such treasure during this period—contemporary with Twelfth Dynasty Egypt—is not less clearly reflected in these imitative wares of common use than is the luxury of Imperial Syracuse in the later fabrics of 'Great Greece.'

Further representations of characteristic vessels from the same floor-level, for the most part with polychrome decoration, are given in Fig. 4. Among these the lower part of a pyriform vase marked *a* is of interest as presenting the horizontal bands of semilunar designs which characterised the large polychrome vessels found under the Room of the Olive Press, and some Middle Minoan wall-decoration from the same region. Of the other types the globular bowls *g* and *p* are distinguished by their very fine thin texture recalling that of the egg-shell ware from the North-East Palace

¹ About 25 centimetres above this floor-level and between it and that of the rooms above (Middle Minoan III.) were remains of some intermediate walls of no importance.



FIG. 4.—POTTERY (MIDDLE MINOAN II.), MOSTLY POLYCHROME, FROM CHAMBER BENEATH WEST COURT.

region. The bowl *g* with its elaborate pattern is reproduced on a larger scale in Fig. 5, (2).

The occurrence of large groups of vessels belonging to the period of this fine polychrome fabric, lying *in situ* and practically intact on a Middle Minoan floor, has now repeated itself in various parts of the Palace site¹ and of the surrounding Town. This recurring phenomenon best explains itself by a general catastrophe that must have overwhelmed the Town and Earlier Palace at Knossos during the mature polychrome period.

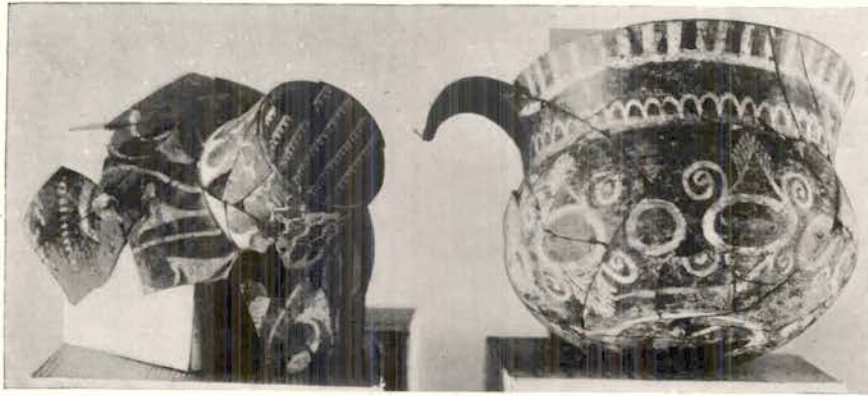


FIG. 5.—POLYCHROME VESSELS (MIDDLE MINOAN II.).
(1) From North-West Pit ; (2) from Chamber below West Court.

That this catastrophe was separated by a certain interval of time from the Latest Middle Minoan Age represented by the rooms immediately beneath the West Court pavement is further shown by the existence of two intervening stages of habitation visible in the section here explored.²

We have here then the evidence of a period of bloom, destruction, and gradual recovery leading upwards to a new phase of culture—the Middle

¹ Notably in the case of the earlier rooms beneath that of the Olive Press and of the 'Kamáres' Magazines of the South-East Palace Quarter.

² Traces occurred of a somewhat higher floor, still of the same polychrome period, 25 centimetres above that with the well-preserved vases. Independent again of this and immediately superimposed on it was a wall-system consisting of a room with a doorway. Both these walls, the foundations of which lay at a depth of 1.50 metre below the pavement of the West Court, and the intervening floor were alike anterior to the rooms of the Third Middle Minoan Period described in the preceding section. The floors of these latter lay 50 centimetres higher up and had no relation to any part of the lower systems.



FIG. 6.—POTTERY, MOSTLY POLYCHROME (MIDDLE MINOAN II.), FROM NORTH-WEST PIT.

Minoan III. of the preceding Section—which in turn was the immediate forerunner of the Late Minoan and affiliated Mycenaean styles.

It is to be observed that in the Section beneath the West Court pavement with which we are dealing there are no relics representing the beginnings of the polychrome style or the First Middle Minoan Period to which these belong. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the present floor-level may have gone back to that Period, since what is found on a house-floor naturally belongs to the latest days of its occupation.

A floor-level with well-preserved polychrome vases analogous to the present had been discovered in 1903 in the contiguous North-West Building. It was here indeed that was found the most elaborate vase of the polychrome style as yet discovered. In the neighbourhood of this there had already come to light part of what appeared to be a rubbish pit containing more fragmentary remains of vessels of the same Period. The exploration of this was continued during the present season, with the result that a mass of polychrome pottery of the finest quality, mostly fragmentary, though in some cases allowing of more or less complete reconstitution, was brought to light. A few typical specimens from this pit, of the polychrome class, are shown in Fig. 6.¹

§ 5.—SECTION BENEATH THE WEST COURT: 'EARLY MINOAN' AND NEOLITHIC STRATA (See Fig. 7).

Beneath the Earliest 'Middle Minoan' floor-level of the West Court Section there came to light lower parts of three walls belonging to a pre-existing building. It was to be observed, moreover, that while the various Middle Minoan wall-lines had followed an orientation exactly corresponding with that of the Later Palace, these earlier walls followed a somewhat divergent course and belonged to a quite different system.

These earlier structures belonged to what seems to have been an

¹ *p* shows designs like double axes. The 'asterisks' on *l* are typical of some of the lustrous 'egg-shell' cups from the North-East quarter. *h* is shown on a larger scale in Fig. 5. It is a fine example of the 'egg-shell' fabric. *b* with the crocus-like designs seems to belong to the Third Middle Minoan Period: a small proportion of later elements was included in this deposit. Mixed in almost equal proportions with the pottery from this pit representing the mature polychrome decoration on a dark ground, there was brought out—as from the contemporary floor-level of the West Court—an abundance of fragments with dark designs, generally of a simpler style on a buff ground. Together with these, moreover, was another well-marked class displaying, on the same buff ground, white or white-bordered patterns.

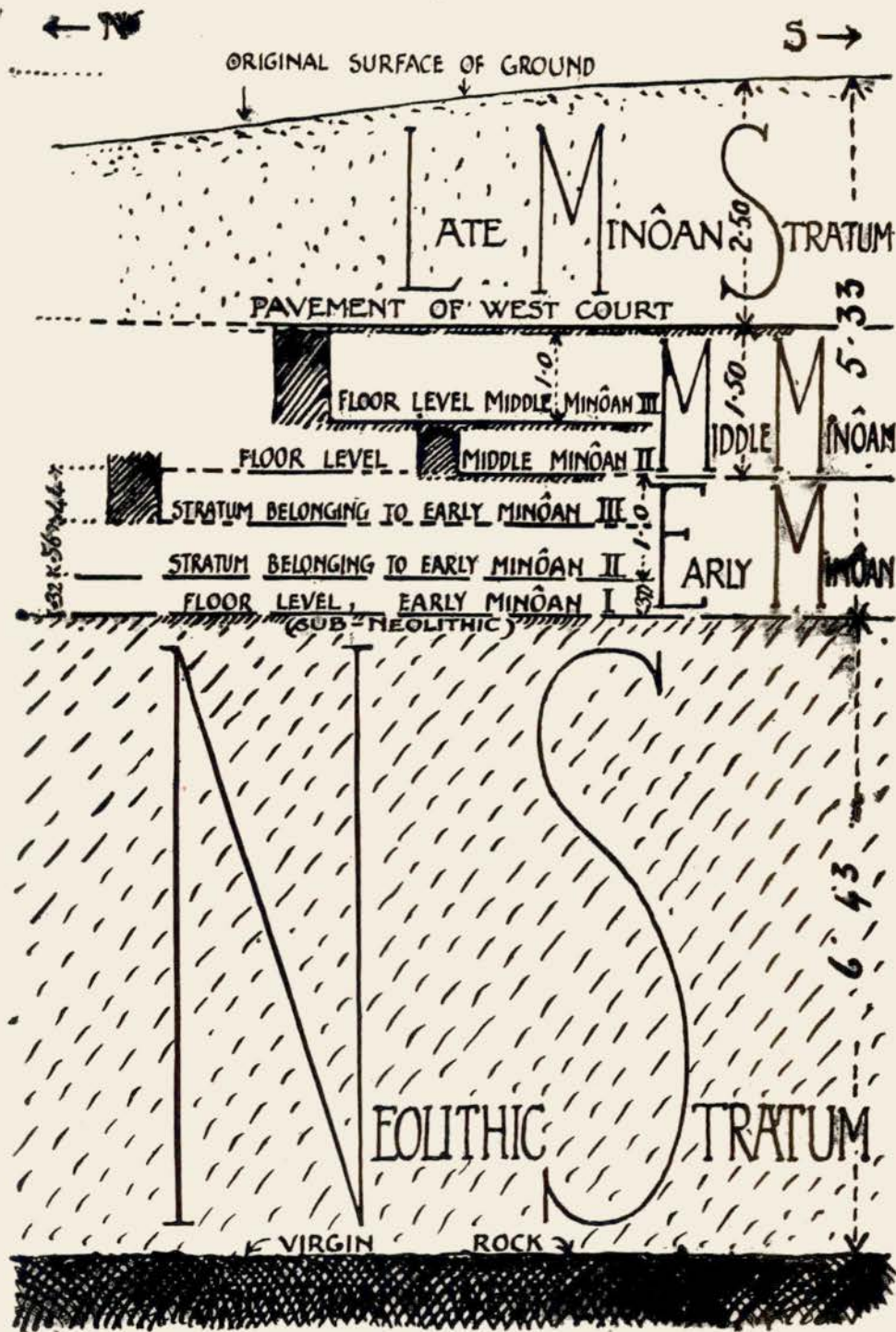


FIG. 7.—DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION OF STRATA, BELOW PAVEMENT OF WEST COURT.

enclosure with a South side 9·8 metres in length from which short sections of two other walls run North at right angles. The longer wall, of which two sections were traced, terminates in an anta showing that there was a doorway in the North-East corner of the enclosure. The Easternmost of these walls had been partly used as a foundation for a Middle Minoan wall running at a somewhat different angle. The longer wall, of which most remains, is of good ordinary masonry better built than the walls of the system above it. It is preserved to a height of 70 centimetres.

A plaster floor-level was traceable in connexion with these early walls, layers of it, several times renewed, being perceptible in and on both sides of the doorway.¹

Unfortunately the small extent of this floor hitherto excavated and the paucity of the relics found on it only permit us in a general way to refer it to the Latest Early Minoan Period (III.). For a fuller notion of this stage of culture the best evidence is still supplied by the relics found in the cavity below the floor of the Room of the Stone Vats,² by the hoards of vases from the Well near the oil-spout on the East slope, and by the earliest elements unearthed in the basement room with the Stone Pillars at the South-East Palace angle.³

At a depth of 56 centimetres below the last-mentioned stratum occurred another floor-level with which, however, within the limits of the area laid bare, it was impossible to correlate any lines of walling. The remains above this floor-level were of a fragmentary nature, no vases being found intact upon it as in the case of the Middle Minoan floor with the fine polychrome pottery. The character of the sherds from this layer must therefore be regarded as a whole.

This deposit, from the position that it holds in the general stratification of the section, may provisionally be regarded as representing the Second Early Minoan Period. Among the sherds here found a fair proportion attested the survival of the Neolithic class of fabrics with hand-polished surfaces either dark or light. The more limited use of this early process went on indeed to a much later time.

¹ Dr. Mackenzie notes as an interesting feature of this floor that 'it is seen in section to ascend in a step up North.' The North connexions, however, as yet remain unexcavated.

² *Knossos: Report, 1903* (*B.S.A.* ix. pp. 94-98).

³ *Knossos: Report, 1903* (*B.S.A.* ix. pp. 17-19).

At the same time the art of covering the face of vessels with a lustrous black slip as a substitute for the dark Neolithic hand-polished face was fully matured during this Second 'Early Minoan' Age.

As a result of a careful examination of the pottery in this stratum Dr. Mackenzie writes:

'Leaving out of account the coarser sherds it was found that fragments with a dark ground, though slightly in a majority, were in fairly equal proportions with those showing a light ground. Against 35 with a dark glaze slip there were 34 with a buff clay surface. Of those with a dark glaze slip 10 had geometrical or band decorations in a dull cream-white pigment. Of those with buff clay surface 18 had band or geometric decoration in slightly lustrous or lack-lustre brown-to-black glaze on this light ground. Regarding the finer fragments with the dark decoration on the light ground it has to be noted as important from the point of view of development—(1) That the kinds of vessel with a dark ground are the same as those with a light ground. These are two-handled or one-handled spouted jugs, cans, cups, bowls and plates. (2) That the decoration is of essentially the same geometric character whether light or dark.'

Dr. Mackenzie rightly insists on the importance of this parallelism in view of the later developments of Minoan ceramic art. Both classes pass through the same geometrical and curvilinear stages of decoration. The monochrome decoration, dark on a light ground, which finally triumphs in the Late Minoan Age, and of which we see the outcome in the so-called 'Mycenaean' class, 'is marked by an unity of character which was previously common to all Cretan painted pottery whether with a light or a dark ground.'

Two vase fragments from the above deposit showed a curious transitional technique midway between that of the pure Neolithic and the later painted ware. Here 'a broad band was left below the rim unpolished and then narrow parallel horizontal bands were drawn along this dull surface by means of a blunt instrument, probably bone. The result was that the dull parts looked like lighter bands on the lustrous dark ground, and indeed, when looked at carelessly, the surface appeared as if the dull parts were produced by means of a white colour that had partly faded away.'

Underneath the above floor-level, here qualified as Early Minoan II., was another layer only 32 centimetres in thickness, 2·82 metres below the level of the West Court pavement, and superimposed on a floor or clay platform immediately overlying the pure Neolithic deposit. The character of this stratum resembled that immediately above it in that it contained simply fragments dispersed throughout it. The fragmentary remains contained by it presented, however, a homogeneous aspect. There was no sign of disturbance involving the intrusion of later elements, and the deposit therefore, as in the case of that of the floor-level immediately above it, could be judged as a whole and as generally representing the fabric of a given Period.

This stratum, to which the name 'Early Minoan I.' may be conveniently applied, shows naturally a greater survival of Neolithic elements than the preceding. In its general complexion indeed it may be described as 'Sub-Neolithic.' No wall-system was found in connexion with the parts of this floor-level that were uncovered.

A series of fragments from this level has been thus analysed by Dr. Mackenzie:

'Of the sherds examined (apart from 186 coarse and uncharacteristic specimens), 50 fragments, or about two-thirds of the total, resembled the Late Neolithic. Of the remaining 18 a slight majority had a light buff ground, while 8 had a dark glaze slip ground.' In some instances there was visible the Neolithic "rippling" of the surface,¹ the tradition of which survives in its painted imitations right down through the Middle and Late Minoan ceramic series.'

As in the case of the Late Neolithic strata of Knossos the wares here found, including the black hand-polished class, showed a reddish core when broken, implying that during this and the preceding period an improvement had taken place in the firing as compared with the Earlier Neolithic fabrics. On the other hand, as in the immediately preceding Neolithic class, there is a falling off in the finer kind of incised and punctuated decoration with its white gypsum inlaying. There were only three incised fragments, and their incisions were 'of an inferior or uncertain narrow or flat and superficial character.' The same falling off was noticeable in the case of an incised hand-polished fragment from the immediately overlying stratum. The incisions here were very faint and narrow and, as in the other examples, without white filling.

The imperfect fixing of white painted decoration on a hand-polished surface, and its consequent disappearance in many cases, made it difficult to determine whether any fragments from this deposit might be taken to illustrate the beginnings of this class of painted ware. The indications however were in favour of that view. One fragment moreover showed 'parallel bands consisting of closely placed vertical scratchings which seemed to be the reminiscence of dull-white bands on the dark grey-black hand-polished surface. What we have here is not the imitation of the Neolithic incised ware, but of dull-white painted bands on a dark ground.'

The full development of the incised decoration with its white gypsum filling marks what may be called the 'Middle Neolithic' strata of the Knossian series. The decadence and gradual disappearance of this decorative method observable in the succeeding deposits of the Latest Neolithic and Earliest 'Minoan' periods was in part at least the effect of the increased proportion of walls with a light ground due to the better firing of the clay. This decline was also doubtless hastened by the gradual rise of coloured ornament.

The fact, however, that this decadence should thus characterise the

¹ See Mackenzie, 'The Pottery of Knossos' (*J.H.S.* xxii. p. 160 and Pl. IV. Figs. 6-14).

Latest Neolithic and Earliest 'Minoan' strata on the site is of considerable importance in view of a phenomenon that meets us among the fabrics of a somewhat later date, namely, the Third Early Minoan Period. This stage, as already noticed, is well represented in the deposit found in 1903 beneath the floor of the Room of the Stone Vats, but among the vases there discovered the incised and punctuated ware with white inlaying is represented by a well-preserved clay 'pyxis' and the lid of another. When it is remembered that the type of vessel with which this technique is here associated is of constant occurrence in Cycladic graves such as those of Amorgos belonging to the contemporary Early Metal Age of the North Aegean, and that this practice of incising and inlaying pottery, which had practically died out in Crete, was still in full vogue in that quarter, it seems probable that the incised clay boxes from the deposit referred to were either actually articles of import or due to the operation of a strong Cycladic influence.

The surface and texture, and even to a certain extent the form, of the vases of the dark-faced hand-polished class belonging to the Sub-Neolithic stratum (Early Minoan I.) with which we are dealing, as well of those of the immediately underlying Late Neolithic deposit, suggest interesting comparison on another side. Among the First Dynasty remains excavated by Professor Petrie at Abydos¹ were certain vessels with a black surface, in some cases hand-polished and with burnished vertical striations, which were quite un-Egyptian in character. Professor Petrie, who during a recent visit to Knossos was able to place the fragments side by side, justly observes that a piece of the neck of the largest of the Abydos vessels which he had taken with him for comparison was 'indistinguishable in colour, burnish, and general appearance' from Late Neolithic or Sub-Neolithic Cretan specimens (see Fig. 8). One of the shapes represented by the Abydos vases with a hollow sub-conical base supporting a bowl-shaped recipient is very characteristic of the Cretan series.

The fragmentary character of the Late Neolithic and Earliest Minoan pottery from Knossos prevents as yet the establishment of anything like complete comparisons, but the parallelism is at least of such a nature as to warrant the conclusion that these non-Egyptian vessels found at Abydos are contemporary with the Cretan types, and that they stand in

¹ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos*, Part II. p. 38, and Pl. XLII. Figs. 20-36.

direct relation to them. The red-ochreous colouring material found in some of the Abydos bowls corresponds with the pigment so largely used in Crete in the succeeding Period for ceramic decoration, and if this was an early article of export from the island the presence of vessels of transitional Neolithic type on Egyptian soil would be easily explicable. That there was already a direct intercourse between Crete and Egypt during the time of the first four Dynasties has been already demonstrated, not

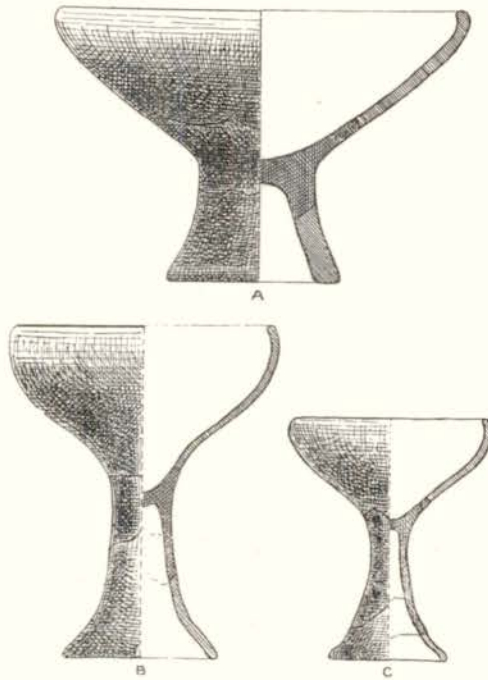


FIG 8.

(a) VESSEL OF FIRST DYNASTY DEPOSIT, ABYDOS; PARTLY RESTORED.
 (b, c) VESSELS FROM SUB-NEOLITHIC STRATA (EARLY MINOAN I.), KNOSSOS; PARTLY RESTORED.

only by the imitation of Egyptian stone vessels of that period by the native Minoan lapidaries, but by the actual importation of such.¹

In these ceramic parallels we have another important link of connexion between the very beginning of what may be termed the Minoan

¹ See *Report: Knossos, 1903* (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 98, Fig. 67).

Age proper and the First Egyptian Dynasty,—an indication of great comparative chronological value.

Immediately beneath the clay platform or floor-level with the transitional ceramic relics described above as 'Early Minoan I,' begins the pure Neolithic deposit, which at this point was found to attain a thickness of 6.43 metres, as against 5.33 for all the 'Minoan' and superficial strata put together. The soft virgin rock was here reached at a depth of 11.73 metres from the surface of the ground.

There is every reason for supposing that the more primitive deposit was at least as slow in accumulation as those above it. The probability indeed lies in the other direction—namely, that the accumulation was more gradual. But even assuming an equal rate of deposit for the Neolithic strata, the evidence presented by the West Court Section (Fig. 7) points to a vast antiquity for the earliest human settlement on the hill of Knossos. The rough equation established between the beginning of the 'Early Minoan' Age and the First Egyptian Dynasty would, if we take the very moderate computation of Lepsius, carry back this stratum, which is 5.33 metres below the surface of the ground, some 5800 years—giving a rate of deposit of somewhat under a metre for a millennium. If we assume an equal rate of deposit for the underlying Neolithic strata, which have a thickness of 6.43 metres, it is evident that we must go back about 12,000 years for the beginning of the Stone Age Settlement. It must moreover be remembered that in some neighbouring test pits the Neolithic stratum attained a thickness of over 8 metres, which at a moderate estimate would imply an antiquity of some 14,000 years.

This deep Neolithic deposit forms a vast mound on which all the later structures and deposits of the Palace Hill of Knossos are superposed, and of which the hill itself—analogue to an Egyptian or Babylonian 'Tell'—is largely made up. The various strata of this deposit are not, as in the case of the overlying 'Minoan' remains, separated by definite floors; but a distinct succession of progressive stages of primitive culture, marked by more or less constant metre levels from the bottom of the deposit, can be clearly made out.¹

It is impossible now to enter on a detailed consideration of these successive stages, which need a very broad survey of the comparative

¹ For a general summary of results, as regards the Neolithic pottery, see Dr. Mackenzie's article in *J.H.S.* xxiii. pp. 158-162.

material for their adequate study. The West Court Section, however, derives a special importance from the clear upper line of delimitation afforded by the Early Minoan floor level. The context thus supplied enables us to trace the gradual evolution of the higher out of the lower elements of the local culture under specially favourable conditions. From this point of view the characteristics presented by the pottery of the uppermost Neolithic stratum, immediately below the 'Early Minoan' floor, are extremely instructive.

The results of an examination of the pottery contained in the uppermost metre of the Neolithic deposit of this Section are summarised as follows by Dr. Mackenzie :

'The pottery was found to have unmistakable marks of lateness. (1) Where incision occurs it is superficial and scratchy, with no trace of the earlier white filling. (2) The hand-polished surface tends to lose the consistency of its brown-to-black lustre, and this result may have been due to the introduction of the potter's oven. The use of the potter's oven tends itself to bring out a terracotta or buff surface, even when it was meant to secure the traditional brown-to-black hand-polish. (3) The outcome of this becomes visible in the indications of a further stage, in which the buff surfaces, whether hand-polished or unpolished, are sought out on their own account.' Henceforward, as Dr. Mackenzie points out, 'the buff surfaces have a differentiated existence of their own, which from this time onward has a continuous history through all the successive Minoan periods. The light surface invited the dark geometric glaze decoration of the next Age. In fact it preceded the light decoration on the dark ground. The long tradition of the hand-polished Neolithic dark surface had first to be overcome before light design on a dark ground could be carried out.'

It will be seen that at Knossos there is no real break of continuity between the Stone and Early Metal Ages, nor indeed between the latter and the more elaborate civilisation of the Middle and Late Minoan Periods.

§ 6.—THE EARLIER WEST FAÇADE OF THE CENTRAL COURT: AND
DISCOVERY OF FURTHER CISTS BELONGING TO THE FIRST
PERIOD OF THE LATER PALACE (See Pl. I).

The principal discovery within the Palace walls of 1903 had been the great Stone Cists or Repositories containing what appear to have been the fittings of a small shrine of a Snake Goddess. The position of these below a later paved floor, provided with cists of much smaller dimensions, as well as the ceramic and other contents, showed that we had

here to do with remains belonging to an earlier stage of the Palace history, separated from the later by a considerable remodelling. The closed cists beneath the Magazines, and the further discovery of the cists below the floor of the Long Gallery, supplied further indications of the same early phase of the building. The faience and other inlays, and the early pottery with white design on a dark ground found in some of these cists, showed moreover that their construction must be referred to the same early period of the building as the Temple Repositories.

The investigations of the present season within the West Palace quarter have thrown fresh and unexpected light on the original arrangement of this part of the building, and on the extensive character of the remodelling which it subsequently underwent.

In considering the plan of this quarter of the Palace where it borders the Central Court, a curious phenomenon had already arrested attention. This was the appearance at intervals along this front of an interior as well as an exterior line of gypsum walling separated from the other by an interspace of a little over a metre's width. The fact that, as a rule, such gypsum construction was reserved for outside walls had already given rise to a suspicion that this inner line, in fact, represented an earlier façade, afterwards incorporated in an enlarged structure.

The results of this year's investigations leave no remaining doubt that an inner and earlier frontage line existed immediately West of the later border of the Central Court (see Plans *A* and *B*, Pl. I.). It is clear, moreover, that like the West wall of the Palace, and that of the Palace of Phaestos, this early façade was not carried out in a straight line, but showed a series of shallow bays and slight returns throughout a large part of its course.

The first traces of this inner wall line are visible immediately East of the Court of the Altar (see Plan *A*, Pl. I.). At a point nearly answering to the Northern limits of this Court the old façade took a short turn Eastward. Here, by the 'Room of the Chariot Tablets,' the earlier and later wall-lines are very clearly visible, and in this case the interspace between them seems to have been used as a kind of inner magazine or repository at the back of what has the appearance of an official bureau.¹ A narrow doorway was for this purpose broken through the earlier line of wall, which thus gave access to a small elongated chamber

¹ See *Report*, 1900, pp. 30, 31.

between the original and the later walls of the façade. Shut in between two walls, both of which were provided with gypsum faces and intended as outside structures, this inner chamber must have had something of the character of a strong room.

The interspace in question was also very noteworthy immediately East of the chamber containing the two early Repositories. The East wall of this chamber itself represents a section of the original façade. Here, outside the gypsum face of this wall, and between it and the later wall-line bordering the Central Court, is a small elongated compartment, with a floor about 8 centimetres above the level of the Court. On this floor, which consisted of burnt clay, were found some of the clay seal-impressions showing an armed Goddess on a lion-guarded peak, which already in 1901 had led me to the conclusion that this compartment had formed part of the front of a shrine.¹ We have here indeed an indication of the continued dedication of this part of the building to a religious usage, but it is now clear that the floor-level on which the seal-impressions lay belongs to the time that succeeded the great remodelling, and has to be brought into connexion with the new line of frontage on the side of the West Court.

Further exploration, however, has now revealed, about 23 centimetres beneath this floor-level, an earlier floor paved with small limestone slabs, which were found to go under the later wall-line facing the Central Court. We have here, therefore, a pavement standing in relation to the inner or original façade on this side.

A noteworthy feature about the gypsum blocks of this section of the original façade is that they exhibit, on their outer sides, certain incised signs answering to those found elsewhere on blocks belonging to the earliest structures of the West Palace wing including the jambs of the Magazines along the Long Gallery. A special characteristic of the signs of this period—which may be defined as 'Middle Minoan III.'—is the occasional recurrence of compound signs, such as the combination of a Double Axe with a Trident or Branch, or of the 'Window' sign with a Star or Cross Paté. A similar phenomenon—which has an obvious chronological value—recurs on one of the gypsum blocks of this section—the sign here represented being a combination of a Double Axe and a Star. The separate association of these two signs on a block is seen in one of the early galleries of

¹ *Knossos: Report, 1901* (*B.S.A.* vii., p. 28 *seq.*).

the South Front. The eight-rayed 'Star,' of a type frequent on the jambs of the West Magazines, also occurs, by itself, on a block of the old façade at this point. These parallels derive additional importance from the evidence adduced in Section 7 below as to the great antiquity of the jambs of the Western Magazines—which seem to have been in existence at the time of construction of the earliest Cists in that quarter.

By the North-East Corner of the room containing the Temple Repositories, and at the North end of the last mentioned interspace, the old inner façade breaks off abruptly in a gypsum block, the outer end of which is splayed back. The point where it breaks off corresponds with the line of the Southern boundary wall of the Vestibule and stepped approach of the Hall of the Jewel Fresco, belonging, as we now know, to the latest period of the Palace. At this point there is a real breach in the original frontage wall, filled by two principal creations of the final scheme of remodelling—by the Vestibule, namely, of this upper Hall and by the Antechamber of the Throne Room that lies immediately to the North of it. The lines of steps that lead up to the former of these constructions and down to the latter follow the later frontage-line of the Central Court.

That the older façade wall, however, originally continued across this gap¹ is shown, as will be more fully pointed out below, by the occurrence of a rounded corner of the same gypsum walling beyond the Antechamber of the Throne Room and in line with the last-mentioned section.

In order to ascertain whether any traces of the earlier arrangement existed in the area occupied by these later buildings it became necessary to proceed to a thorough investigation of certain obscure constructions underlying the Vestibule of the Hall of the Jewel Fresco.

A first result of these investigations was to bring to light eight upright lining slabs of gypsum, following a line parallel to that *ex hypothesi* followed by the old façade, and a little within it.

West of these lining slabs, and separated from them by a space of 1.25 metre, remains of another similar series of slabs became visible, parallel with the others, and between the two a well compacted pavement of lime-

¹ Dr. Mackenzie is of opinion that certain remains of wall foundation, extending North in a direct line from the point where the old façade breaks off, are to be regarded as supplying a definite trace of its further continuation for a distance of 2.75 metres.

stone slabs.¹ We had here, therefore, a narrow Corridor or Magazine running just inside this section of the old façade wall.

The paving slabs of this were at first taken by us for solid blocks of gypsum belonging to a massive wall. Further examination, however, showed that we had here to do with a pavement of the usual kind, and, on pursuing the investigation below, it was found that, as in the case of the Long Gallery, the pavement masked the original existence of a series of Cists.

Three large limestone Cists or Repositories were here brought to light (see Pl. I. B), the Eastern border line of which nearly corresponded with that of the gypsum lining slabs on that side. Of these Cists that to the South was the largest, its width exactly answering to that of the pavement above, so that the slab forming its Western wall coincided with the line of the gypsum facing slabs of the Corridor on that side. (See Fig. 9.)

It was observable that, as in the case of the early Cists underlying the Southern end of the Long Gallery, a small interval—in this case 6 centimetres—filled with a well-defined clayey stratum separated the top of the walling slabs of the Cists from the pavement and lining slabs above. At the same time the correspondence of the exterior lines of the upper and lower structures indicates a systematic connexion between the two. The existing lines were consciously followed, and neither here nor in the case of the Long Gallery was there any real break in continuity.

The Cists are embedded in the Neolithic deposit which, owing to the planing off of the intervening strata in this quarter, everywhere underlies the Later Palace constructions. The southernmost Repository is the largest of the three, being 1·17 metre in width, with a length of 1·60 metre and a depth of 83 centimetres. The other two were slightly narrower—1·04–0·98 metre—but otherwise showed the same dimensions. The Cists were contiguous, the same dividing slab serving for those on either side of it like the Northern series in the Long Gallery. Their plan and section, with the method of construction, are sufficiently shown in Figs. 9 and 10 and Pl. I. B.

Here, then, in an immediately contiguous area, had come to light an extension of the same system of early stone Repositories as had already,

¹ These lining slabs were at first mistakenly regarded by us as the outside lining of a thick wall, represented by the later filling in between them, necessitated by the structures above.

in 1903, afforded the splendid discovery of the Sanctuary relics. The exploration of the present series of Cists was unproductive of any finds comparable with these, but at the same time the ceramic and other remains found in them were sufficient to show that the contents had originally been of a similar kind and that they had been closed at the same time as the neighbouring Temple Repositories.

These remains were principally contained in the Southern and Middle Cists. Among them were fragments of gold leaf and the leg of a

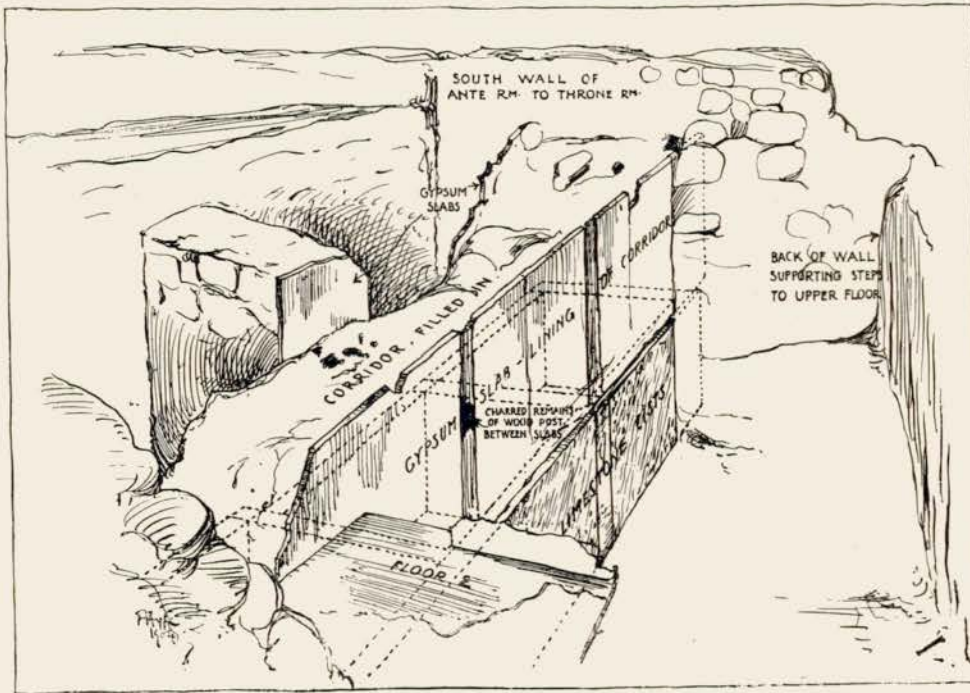


FIG. 9.—SKETCH SHOWING E. SIDE SLABS OF CISTS AND LINING SLABS OF CORRIDOR BELOW LATER VESTIBULE.

miniature figure of an ox or bull executed in the round in the same fine faïence as the figures of the other Repositories. Fragments of similar vases with white design on a dark ground also came to light, and others with figures of birds of a reddish-brown hue on a pale buff ground which answered to the imported, apparently Melian, class found in 1903. Besides

these there were remains of three large stone lamps that may have belonged to the Sanctuary fittings.

In the paved Corridor above, which must be referred to the close of the Period during which the Cists below were in use, were found fragments of a clay pithos of an earlier type than those of the Latest Palace Period as seen in the West Magazines and elsewhere. A further indication of the approximate date of this early Corridor or Magazine had been supplied by a discovery made in the first year's excavations. In a rectangular space immediately West of it, possibly answering to another parallel Magazine, there were then found a high pyriform vase and other fragments of pottery with white design on a dark ground. These

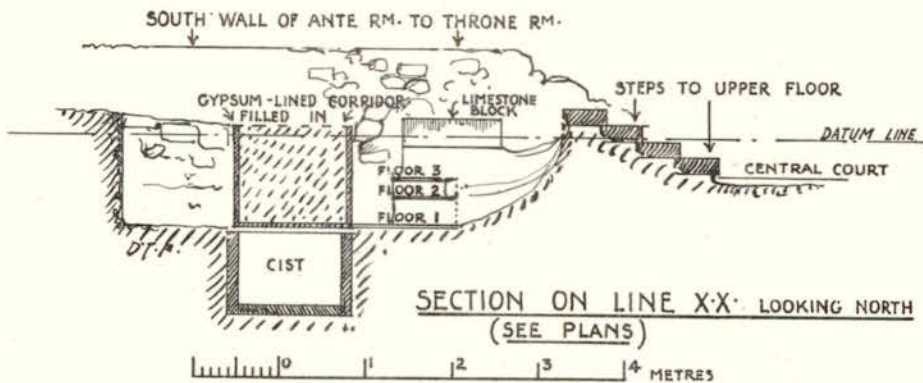


FIG. 10.—SECTION BENEATH VESTIBULE OF HALL OF JEWEL FRESCO SHOWING EARLIER CISTS, CORRIDOR, AND FLOOR LEVELS.

occurred above a clay floor-level 2·20 metres below the surface—in other words, almost exactly corresponding with the top of the newly discovered Cists. The ceramic types there exhibited practically correspond with those deposited in the Cists and Temple Repository.

The Corridor or Magazine to which these three Cists belonged was closed at its South end and had been therefore approached from the North. The northernmost Cist was found to partly underlie the South wall of the Anteroom of the Room of the Throne, and traces of the pavement above it going still further into the thickness of the wall showed that the Corridor had continued beyond so as to traverse at least a part of the area later occupied by this Antechamber.

The Eastern facing-slabs of this Corridor were, as already noted, the inner coating of a wall. On the outer side of this wall a succession of floor-levels, perhaps belonging to quite small cist-like compartments, was brought out. (See Section ; Fig. 10.) These show that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between the period when this wall was constructed and the later period to which the existing remains of the Vestibule of the Hall of the Jewel Fresco are to be referred. A limestone block jutting out East from the earlier line belongs to this intermediate system.

Dr. Mackenzie notes about this block that 'it is 1.15 metre long East-West, 0.55 wide, and 0.32 high. Its best face is South and it rests on a sub-structure of smaller masonry, with faces South and West, but rough to East. The top of the block is about 0.80 from the surface. The South face shows red stucco and then white stucco going down to a floor-level with white cement at 1.50 metres from the surface and .70 from the top of the block. Below this floor is white wall stucco and yellowish floor cement at a depth of 1.70 from the surface or 0.90 from the top of the block. This floor-level is itself 45 centimetres above the level of the adjacent South Cist.'

'On the West face of the same construction again is white wall stucco going down to a floor 2.5 metres below the surface of the ground or 1.25 below the top of the block. This floor in turn is 12 centimetres above the top of the Cists, so that it in turn must be of later date than they. The floor has underlying it a pale clayey earth similar to that which covered the tops of the Cists.'

At this point, then, we have the evidence of at least three successive stages of construction intermediate between the newly discovered Cists and the final remodelling to which the Vestibule above was due.

It has been already noticed that the northernmost of the three new Cists together with a continuation of the Corridor pavement runs partly under the wall which separated the Hall of the Jewel Fresco from the Antechamber of the Room of the Throne. At this point the original line of the old façade wall was entirely broken through by the excavation necessitated by the construction of the Antechamber. Beyond this room, however, the original existence of this outer line of wall enables us to place in their proper relation the rounded corner of fine gypsum blocks excavated already during the season of 1900.¹ This construction now reveals itself as a rounded turning-point of the earlier façade, adapted

¹ See *Report*, 1900, p. 35, Fig. 7.

as part of an inner corridor in the remodelled building and thus exceptionally well preserved.¹

'Branch' signs appear on the face of these corner blocks closely resembling those on the door jambs of the thirteenth and fourteenth Magazines.

The rounded corner of the old façade line visible at this point, whatever its exact significance, cannot be taken as evidence that the Later Palace in its original form did not extend North of this point. There is, on the contrary, abundant evidence of the great comparative antiquity of the quarter of the building that lies to the North-West of the Central Court.

§ 7.—EARLIER ARRANGEMENT OF DOORWAYS IN THE WEST MAGAZINES.

It will be remembered that during the previous season a long line of Cists were brought to light beneath the later pavement of the Long Gallery. This discovery, coupled with the evidence of closing or shallowing of similar Cists at more than one period in the adjoining West Magazines, suggested further investigations into the successive changes carried out in this great storage department of the Later Palace during the various phases of its history.

In several of the Magazines narrow slabs of gypsum were visible in the pavement on either side of the entrance which had at first been taken to represent the side walls of Cists. On examination, however, these proved to be old door jambs which had gone into disuse at the time when the later pavement was laid down.

The most perfectly preserved remains of this earlier arrangement were brought out at the entrance of the eighth Magazine (see plan, Fig. 11). On each side of this, gypsum door jambs of the usual type with a ledge for supporting the paving of the threshold had been set within the massive stone jambs of the original construction so as somewhat to narrow the doorway. The door jambs in this case were made in two pieces fitting on to each

¹ This curved wall rests on a rough limestone plinth which seems to have been originally intended to be invisible. Owing to the lowering of the pavement of the inner 'Corridor of the Stone Basin' this plinth came into view, and, as it presented an incongruous appearance, was, as Dr. Mackenzie observes, cut back to the same plane as the gypsum blocks and masked with a stucco coating which also extended over the original gypsum facing.

other and having the inner ledge continuous. A noteworthy feature about them was that they slightly projected beyond the face of the original jambs or *antae* of the Magazine. This phenomenon was, however, explained by the discovery of the remains of gypsum lining slabs which had originally been applied to the face of the *antae*, and the thickness of which corresponded to the slight projection of the inner door jambs beyond this line.

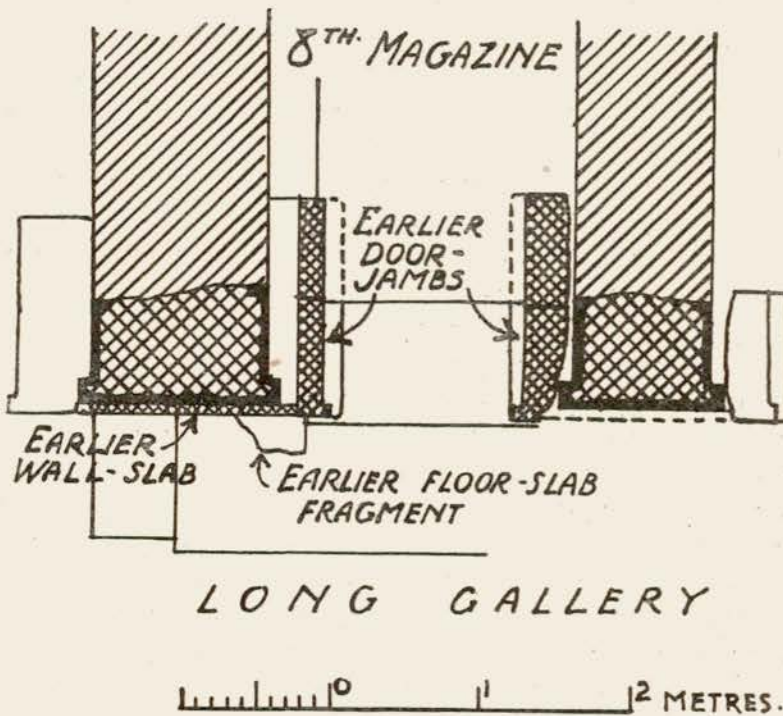


FIG. II.—PLAN OF EARLIER DOORWAY OF EIGHTH MAGAZINE.

Traces of a similar modification of the original entrance were found in all the Magazines from the sixth to the thirteenth.

It will be seen that in their original shape these store chambers had been provided with massive *antae* having reveals which point to doorways of the full breadth of the Magazines. We do not here find the threshold ledge that characterises the later door jambs, and the whole framework within the reveals was probably of wood.

Next follows the period, illustrated by the present discoveries, when the door-openings were narrowed by the insertion of the new gypsum door-jambs. The dimensions in the various Magazines slightly vary, but in the Eighth the breadth of the doorway was now reduced to 1.15 metre in place of the original breadth of about 1.70 metre. The new doorways, of more elaborate construction and smaller dimensions, were obviously less well adapted for the introduction of large storage vessels such as the great clay *pithoi*, and point to the need of securing more valuable possessions. It was doubtless during this period that the Cists or 'Kasselles' within were largely used for the deposit of real treasure in precious metals, and may have contained the plate and ingots referred to in some of the clay archives. The simultaneous coating of the *antae* of the Magazines along the side of the Long Gallery with gypsum lining slabs also evidences a high level of material prosperity.

In the next period, which answers to the latest period of the existing Palace, these narrow door-openings were removed and the entrances to the Magazines restored to their full width. It would even appear that there were no doors during this period, since the sides of the entrances, where the door-posts should have been, were plastered over with painted stucco. This stucco shows the white ground and red dado bands characteristic of the latest decoration of this part of the Palace basement. It was doubtless at this time that the final change in the floor of the Magazines took place, the earlier Cists being either covered over with the new pavement as in the Eighth Magazine or, as was more usually the case, reduced to mere shallow recipients, probably intended to hold the oil that might escape from broken or overturned jars. This is *par excellence* the age of oil storage.

It must at the same time be observed that, apparently during the latter part of the period covered by this last phase, the entrances to some of the Magazines were again straitened, and that in a most effective manner. In the Fourth, Fifth, and Thirteenth Magazines a pier of gypsum or limestone with new door jambs attached was set against one or other of the entrance walls, the doorway being thus reduced to about half its original breadth. It is possible that in addition to the liquid contents other objects of value continued to be deposited in these Magazines.

Further remains brought out this season near the South end of the Long Gallery show that during what may be called the second period in the history of the West Magazines the avenue of approach was carefully

secured on this side. Traces of a cross-wall with a central doorway,¹ partly

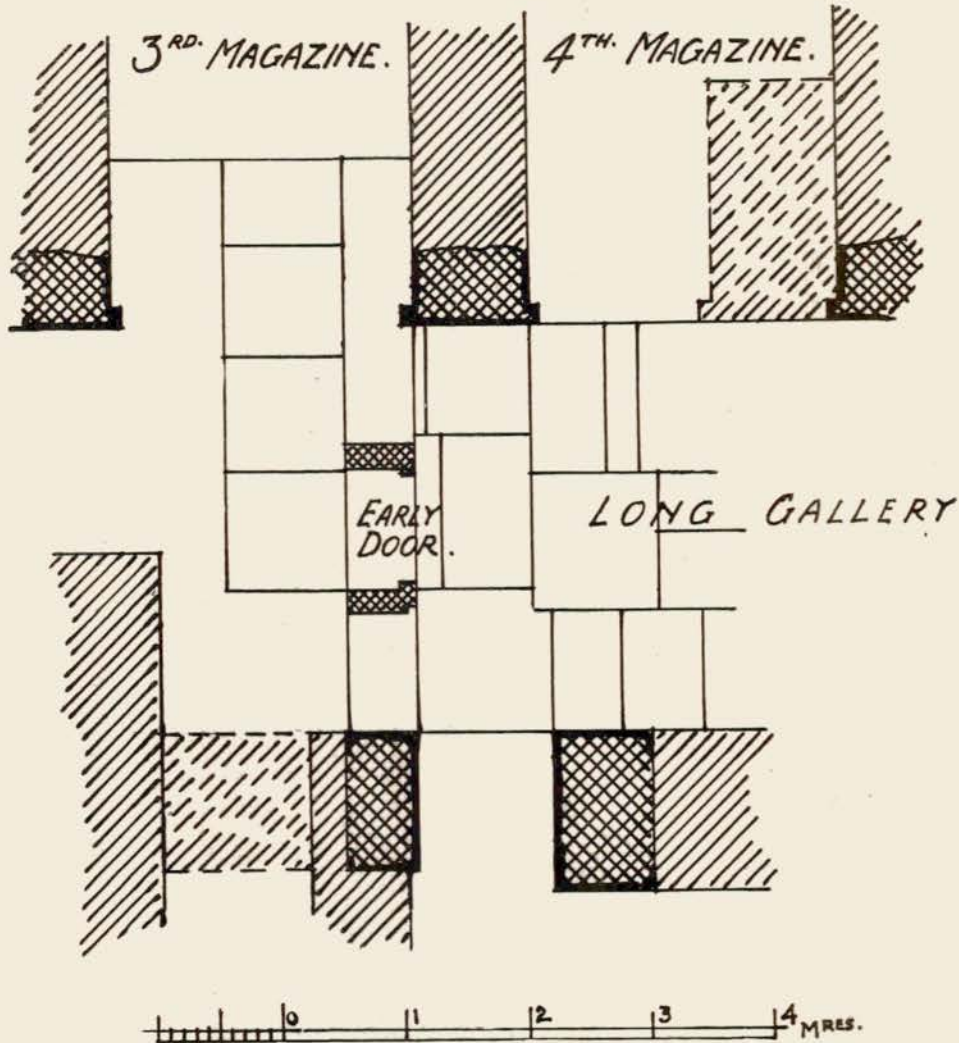


FIG. 12.—PLAN OF EARLY SOUTH ENTRANCE TO LONG GALLERY.

¹ The wall itself was 35 centimetres thick, and the gypsum door-jamb that appear in the middle of it were 98 centimetres apart. The door was controlled from the Southern side.

It will be seen that this barrier shut off the greater part of the Long Gallery and the Magazines from the Fourth onwards from the southernmost section of the Gallery and the three first Magazines. That the wall was later than the Magazines in their earliest form is shown by the fact that it was built over the Southern reveal of the *anta* between Magazines 3 and 4, against which it is set.

lost in the later pavement, were here brought to light, running across the Long Gallery from the gypsum pier that separates the Third and Fourth Magazines to that which lies immediately South of the entrance to the Corridor of the Granary Tablets. (See plan, Fig. 12.)

§ 8.—FRESCOES DERIVED FROM A NORTH-WEST HALL SHOWING
PILLAR SHRINE.

A glance at this section of Palace plan (see Fig. 13) shows that the series of Magazines from the eleventh to the sixteenth inclusive are longer than the others, and that the façade wall accordingly juts out an additional five metres into the West Court along this section.

It further appears that the dividing walls between the Tenth and Eleventh, and, again, between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, Magazines attain an exceptional thickness, evidently to support the outer walls of a large hall superposed on the area in question, the Eastern boundary line of which is supplied by the Northern section of the Long Gallery.

According to the above indications this North-West Hall would have formed an almost perfect square in its exterior measurements—namely, 21 metres North-South by 20 East-West. It is further observable that two of its inner supporting walls—that between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Magazine and that between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth—are somewhat thicker than the others, suggesting that pillars or columns ran along these lines, thus dividing the hall into three equal sections, like the 'Basilica' of the Royal Villa.¹

A series of discoveries made during the excavations of 1901 within the North-Western angle of this area and just outside the adjoining part of the Palace wall had already led to the conclusion that some important upper structure once existed on this side.² Among these finds were part of a frieze, composed of a porphyry-like limestone, showing triglyph-like bands of spirals between half-rosettes and recalling that of the Pillar Shrine in the Miniature Fresco. There were also parts of wall-paintings executed on various scales which were evidently derived from the same Upper Hall. Among these may be mentioned the bust of a girl that has struck so many Parisian observers as a *type faubourien*, and male figures on a smaller scale, some of them holding vases in precious metals.

¹ Report: Knossos, 1903, Pl. I. ² Report: Knossos, 1901, p. 54 seqq.

A kind of platform of massive blocks has been built against that part of the Palace wall which originally supported the North-West angle of the upper structure to which the above remains belonged. In my Report of the Excavations of 1901¹ I was inclined to regard this platform as having principally served the purpose of a buttress. But the Northward extension of the platform has now gained a new significance from the fact that it points directly to the broad Southern entrance of the recently discovered Theatral Area, only some twenty metres off. It looks, rather, as if we had here the substructure of a ramp giving direct access to this stepped enclosure from the Upper Hall with which we are dealing.

A discovery made during the present season has now thrown a new light on the decoration and character of this North-West Hall.

The Cists or 'Kaselles' in the floor of the Thirteenth Magazine which underlay the central section of this area were found to contain fragments of exceptional interest. As in the generality of cases, the Cists of this Magazine had been partly filled up and reduced to less than half their original depth by means of new bottom slabs during the concluding period of the Palace. As first constructed, the Cists in this Magazine had a depth of 1.30 metre. The subsequent superficial receptacles were only 55 centimetres deep, and seem to have served as vats to contain the overflow of oil from the occasional breaking or leakage of the large store jars—such shallow receptacles being often provided in the oil stores of modern Greece.

On removing the bottom slabs of these later vats, the lower compartments were found filled with a mass of plaster and other *débris* evidently swept into these receptacles during some extensive repairs in this Palace area executed about the same time as the alteration in the Cists themselves. Amongst this rubble were quantities of fragments of painted stucco which may reasonably be supposed to have been derived from the Hall immediately above the Magazine.

Fragmentary as were most of these remains, they supplied some valuable indications as to the decoration of the North-West Hall during the flourishing period of the Later Palace, and thus supplemented the evidence afforded by the pieces of fresco already found on the Western border of this area.

One of our best workmen, a Moslem named Hassan, was much excited by the discovery in the second Cist of this Magazine of what he

supposed to be a portrait of the Devil. It proved to be a fresco fragment shewing part of the head of a swarthy bull with very woolly hair and a red-rimmed truculent eye. The horns were painted blue and the head was evidently that of a charging animal. The subject was further explained by the appearance, against the yellow background of the design, of straggling corkscrew locks ^{claws} evidently belonging to some cow-boy performer who had either been tossed by the bull or was performing some kind of acrobatic evolution similar to that of the bull-ring fresco found on the Eastern borders of the Olive Press area. We have here, then, a scene of the *taurokathapsia*. The drawing of the bull's head is spirited and about a quarter natural size.

Other fragments show parts of a crowd of men, only the heads and, at most, the busts being visible. Their eyes are indicated by small white marks, and their hair is curled above the top of the head and falls in long locks down the back. The background is formed of two curving bands of yellow and sky-blue. The summary method here adopted of indicating multitudes of men is identical with that of the miniature frescoes found in 1900, though the scale here is somewhat larger. Below the groups, moreover, are traces of a white band with horizontal lines which seems to answer to the walls seen in the parallel series. Here, too, we must recognise spectators looking on at sports or dances, perhaps of a religious nature, in the courts of a building.

Nor was the distinct religious note, supplied in the case of the miniature frescoes by the central Shrine, wanting among the present remains. The most remarkable of the fragments of wall painting found in these 'Kaselles' are of an architectural character, in some cases showing portions of a columnar sanctuary. A part of a triglyph band with red, black, and blue panels, and of a half rosette of the typical kind—white and yellow with red and black outlines—suggests a similar application to that of the pillar shrine of the miniature frescoes.

Several other fragments serve to make the religious parallelism still more definite. We see here parts of an extensive architectural composition with contiguous open chambers, divided by what appear to be wooden posts, and with entablatures above showing the round ends of beams and on top the usual 'horns of consecration.' In some cases there is seen below the openings of these structures a timber framework enclosing what is intended to copy variegated stone-work, or, more probably, the imitation

of such in painted plaster. Among the panels depicted, some with black, green, and white spots seem to be copied from slabs of porphyry or of Spartan basalt. (See Fig. 14.)

The section of building, in the lower part of which these panels

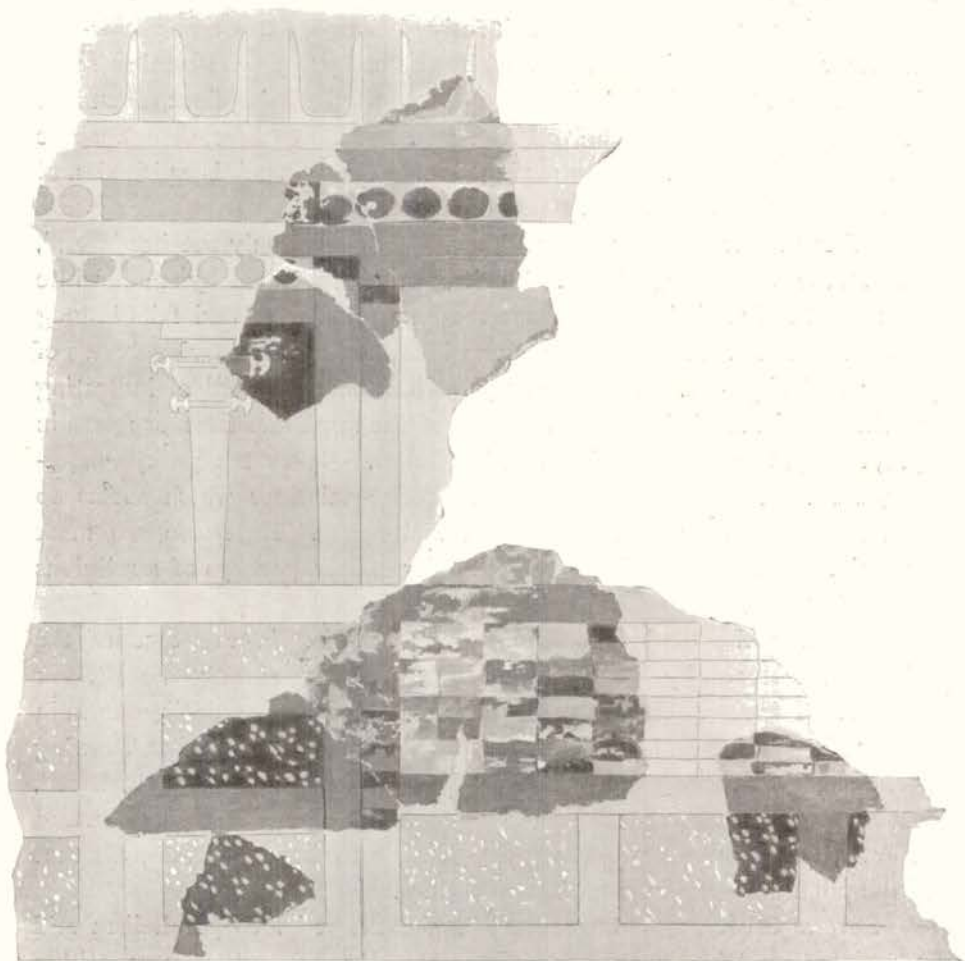


FIG. 14.—FRESCO SHOWING PART OF A SANCTUARY, FROM NORTH-WEST HALL.

appear, shows in an opening above, against a black ground, a part of a capital of a wooden column, painted orange, brown, and red, with a white object projecting from the top of its *echinus*. This curious feature receives

fuller illustration from the section reproduced in Pl. II. There are here seen three wooden columns of a similar type—characterised by two white excrescences, of the same kind as the preceding, on either side of the capital that has been preserved. The entablature, which was also doubtless of the same composition as that shown in Fig. 14, is here wanting; but on either side of each column—emphasising its sacred character—the usual horned cult object is set on the stylobate. Below is a frieze or border with rosettes of a decorative rather than purely architectural character.

The white objects that appear on either side of the capital have the appearance of being partly embedded in its substance. A comparison, moreover, of the various examples on these fragments leaves little doubt as to what they are intended to represent. They are, in fact, the fetish Double Axes of Minoan cult, stuck into the woodwork of the sacred pillars. On the Palaikastro 'larnax' we see the Double Axe planted on the top of a column,¹ while on the painted Sarcophagus of Hagia Triada the shafts of the twin Axes themselves take a pillar-like form. The combination of the Minoan fetish with the local cult of 'baetylic' pillars and pillar shrines is thus illustrated on all hands. The actual insertion, in the instance before us, of an axe blade in the shaft of the column recalls, moreover, a curious cult practice noted in the Cave Sanctuary of Dicta. In the inmost shrine, represented by the spacious vaults of the lower part of the Cavern, explored by Mr. Hogarth,² the sacred columns were supplied by the natural pillars of stalagmite, and in the chinks of these—sometimes entirely covered in the lapse of ages by the drop-stone film—had been stuck various small bronze implements and weapons, conspicuous among which were votive Double Axes.

The religious element here perceptible in the wall decoration of the North-West Hall is closely paralleled by that revealed in the Miniature Frescoes fallen from what seems to have been another important Hall immediately West of the Northern Entrance passage, and tends to bring this whole North-Western quarter of the Palace, like so much else of its Western wing, into a specially sacred connexion. The direct relation, of which the indications have been noted above, between the North-West Hall and the Theatral Area, enhances this impression. The more sacerdotal functions of the Minoan Priest-Kings seem to have found their field of activity on this side.

¹ *B.S.A.* viii (1901-2), p. 299, Pl. xviii.

² *B.S.A.* vi. p. 100.

The special sanctity of this quarter was already suggested by a series of discoveries—some of them illustrating the earliest period of the existing Palace. Among such may be enumerated the stone pillars with their constant repetition of the sacred Double Axe, the Temple Repositories with the Snake Goddess and her votaries, the lines of treasure Cists, the Room of the Stone Vases—many of them apparently intended for cult usages—the area containing the seals with the lion-guarded Mother Goddess, the neighbouring Throne Room itself with the painted griffins,—guardians, as we know from other sources, alike of the Goddess and of the fetish Axes—keeping watch and ward on either side of the Throne and of the inner doorway.

The religious character of the North-West Hall is further borne out by the discovery in this basement area, and also derived from the upper floor, of fragments of more than one vase in the 'Palace Style,' bearing representations of Double Axes.¹ Other similar pieces were found in the adjoining North-West Building,² which seems to have been a kind of dependency of this part of the Palace, and to have contained supplementary deposits of valuables belonging to the Sanctuary. Another significant fact is the appearance of an altar base in the West Court immediately opposite the Central Section of this North-West Hall.

§ 9.—FURTHER UPPER HALLS ABOVE THE WEST MAGAZINES :
THE 'MEGARON OF THE SPOTTED BULL.'

The traces of the existence of a North-West Hall above Magazines 11–16 are supplemented by indications presented by the neighbouring Magazines of at least two other upper *Megara* immediately South of this.

It will be seen from the plan (Fig. 13, above) that Magazines 6 to 10 inclusive make up together a square block, the sides of which in either direction are almost exactly sixteen and a half metres in length. The beginning and end of the front of this block, looking on the West Court, are marked off by two angles of the façade wall of the Palace on this side, and there can be little doubt that this quadrangular basement area originally supported a Hall or *Megaron* of somewhat smaller dimensions than

¹ One of these is given in *Knossos : Report*, 1901, p. 53. Other fragments from this area are given by Dr. Mackenzie, 'The Pottery of Knossos,' *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 204. A miniature shrine is seen at the foot of one of these Axes.

² *Knossos : Report*, 1903, pp. 114, 115.

that immediately to the North of it. The substructures here, indeed, afford an interesting clue to the interior arrangement of this upper chamber, at least in the latest Palace period. In Magazines 7 and 9 limestone buttresses had been added to the original walls,¹ which are seen to occupy central and symmetric positions in relation to the area with which we are dealing. It is clear that these piers had supported two large central pillars or columns in the Hall above.

The *Kaselles* of Magazine No. 9, explored this season, have now afforded evidence as to the wall decoration of this Upper *Megaron*, very similar to that obtained in the case of the North-West Hall. In the lower part of these Cists were found quantities of the same rubble sweepings derived from some remodelling of the upper fabric, which probably took place at the time when the limestone piers were constructed. The amount of painted stucco here was not so large, but a fragment of wall painting was found representing a part of an animal, apparently a large bull, with brown spots on a white ground. Some foliate decoration, including an olive spray, also occurred here, and a small section of a chequer border resembling the frame of the panels with the scenes from the bull ring discovered in 1902. From the most important piece of fresco found here, it may be convenient to designate the Upper Hall, thus conjecturally recovered, as the 'Megaron of the Spotted Bull.'

Immediately South of this block is another smaller rectangular area occupied by Magazines 4, 5 and 6, which has also the appearance of having supported an upper chamber. It looks as if this series of Upper Halls, increasing in their succession Northwards, had all opened on some upper Corridor answering to the Long Gallery below.

§ 10.—MINOAN PAVED WAY, WEST OF THE THEATRAL AREA.

It will be remembered that the Theatral Area brought to light in 1903 at the North-West angle of the Palace was approached from the West by a paved Causeway which traversed its quadrangular floor, dividing it into two equal parts, and stopped at the foot of its Eastern flight of steps. Another slightly narrower Causeway of the same kind, ascending gradually from the North-West, cut the South-West corner of the Theatral Area and, passing

¹ See *Knossos: Report*, 1903, p. 29.

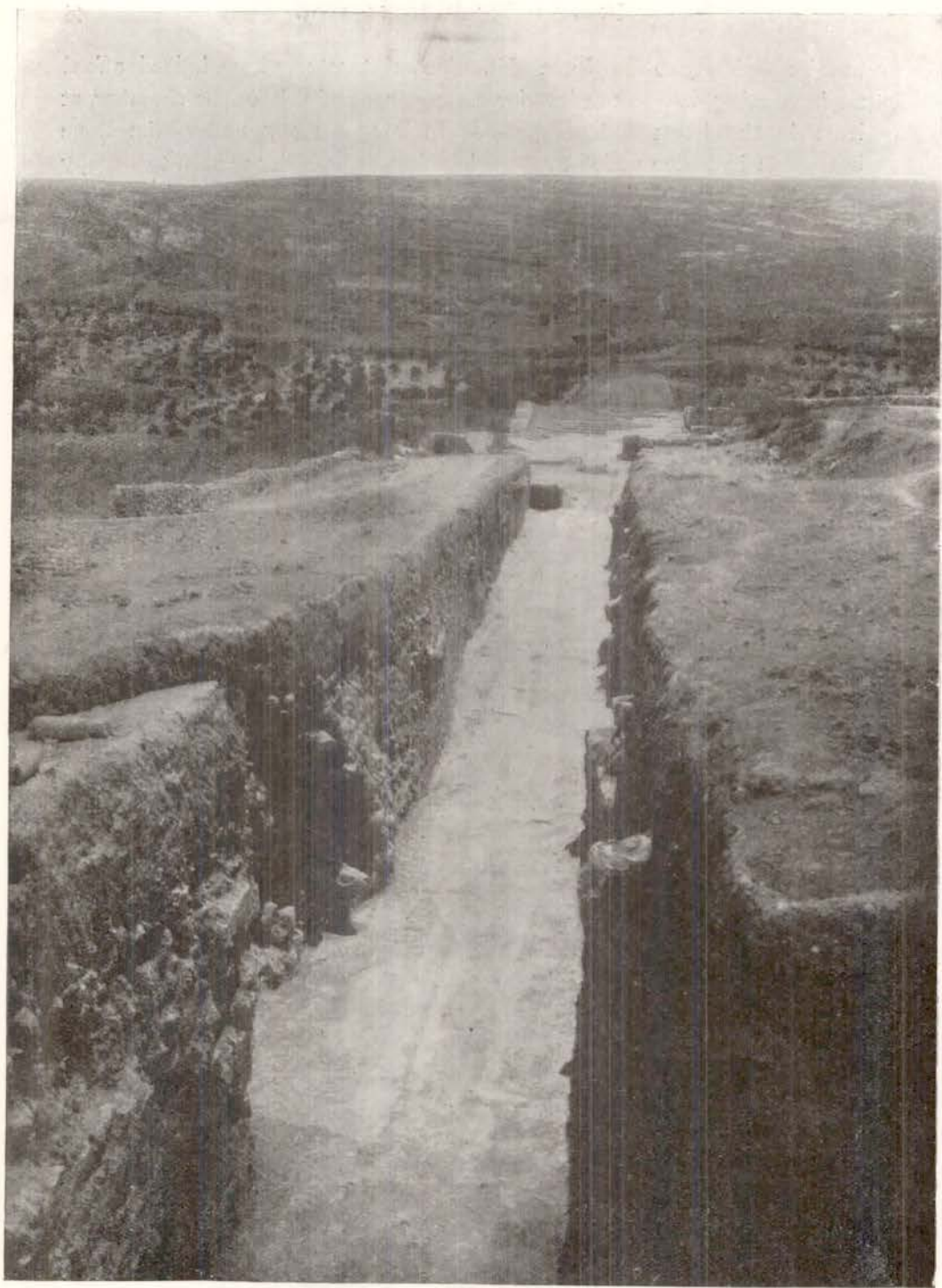


FIG. 15.—SECTION OF MINOAN PAVED WAY LOOKING TOWARDS THEATRICAL AREA.

above the Southern tier of steps, bifurcated into two branches, one pointing towards the Northern entrance of the Palace, the other to the Pillar House somewhat North of it. (See Plan, Fig. 13).

Both of these Causeways broke off a little to the West of the Theatral Area, and, though considerable excavations were made in the space immediately beyond, later constructions had here, for a space of over 20 metres, destroyed all traces of their continuation.

It was evident, however, that the two Causeways must originally have converged at a point some 24 metres distant from the places where they break off. To discover this meeting-point and, if possible, to trace the further continuation of the united line of way was one of the tasks of the present season.

It was reasonably assumed that, the Causeway bisecting the Theatral Area being the broader and therefore the more important of the two, their joint continuation would be found to maintain the direction—almost due West—in which it pointed, the narrower Causeway being merely a divergent branch. A calculation on this basis made it probable that the meeting point of the two lines would take place about 38 metres due West of the foot of the Eastern steps of the Theatral Area which formed the terminus of the larger Causeway.

A carefully measured test pit running from East to West was accordingly sunk at this point. The surface deposit here proved to be Late Roman. Below this was a floor of limestone paving, between 20 and 40 centimetres beneath the surface, with the bases of three plain and very bulging *pithoi* in a row. Finally, the pavement of the Minoan Roadway of which we were in search was struck at a depth of 2.10 metres. It appeared that at this point the convergence of the two lines had already taken place.

From this point the Causeway was traced without a break for a distance of 40 metres, continuing the same Westerly course as that followed by the section that bisects the Theatral Area (Fig. 15). The pavement was brought out for the most part in a well-preserved condition, though here and there the slabs had been crushed and broken up. The stone Causeway was about 1.40 metre wide along this section—divided as before into two rows of slabs, each 70 centimetres wide, set lengthwise (Fig. 16). The thickness of the flags was about 12 centimetres.

This slabbed path, however, was found to be only the central part of

the roadway itself. On either side of it there came to light a further strip consisting of a compact layer formed of a mixture of pebbles, clay, and pounded potsherds with a hard, rammed surface—a kind of pavement also used for Minoan house floors. This tough layer extended about 1·10 metre on either side of the paving, giving the roadway a total breadth of 3·60 metres.

Sections cut in the course of the roadway showed that its central paving rested on a compact layer identical with the hard stratum already referred to as stretching on either side of it. Beneath this whole layer again, including the two 'wings' of the road, was a foundation of rough stones 20 to 25 centimetres in thickness. For the reception of this bedding a regular cutting the width of the roadway above had been first made, with slightly inward-sloping sides, in the natural surface of the

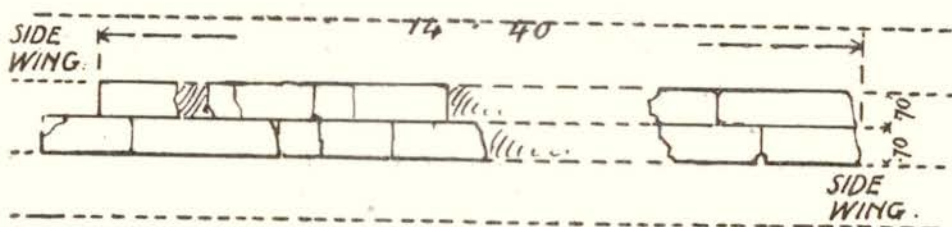


FIG. 16.—PLAN OF PART OF PAVING OF MINOAN WAY.

ground. The section thus presented is shown in Fig. 18, and it may be safely said that we have here the first European example of road-making on scientific principles.

The pottery of this bedding was of a mixed character, including Neolithic and 'Early Minoan' fragments, and, together with these, others with a lustrous black glaze slip, which in Dr. Mackenzie's opinion may well have belonged to the late Polychrome Period, though in the section specially examined no actual polychrome sherds occurred. The cutting itself had been made in an Early Minoan deposit.

Here and there in the course of the roadway the original fine limestone paving slabs had been broken away in ancient times, and their place supplied by stamped material like that described, or by smaller ironstone slabs. These changes clearly mark an age of decadence.

At 40 metres' distance from the point where the course of the roadway was recovered, the pavement was broken off for a distance of 23 metres, probably having been used for later constructions. The stamped earth borders, however, continued to be intermittently traceable, and after the interval above noted the pavement itself reappeared and was visible for another 14·10 metres—representing a total course of about 118 metres.

The slight downward inclination of the roadway already perceptible from its first start at the foot of the steps of the 'Theatral Area' was progressively continued to a point about 100 metres from the steps. At this point the bottom of the slight valley had been reached and the gradual ascent of the hillside beyond begins. The average fall is about 1 in 18 and the average rise from this point about 1 in 19. A slight depression is visible in the present surface of the ground, but it will be seen that at the time when the road was made the inclination was more considerable.

At the 118th metre a short interruption occurs in the visible traces of the Minoan paved way due to the preservation of a section of a Roman road running at a higher level. (See Fig. 17.) Beyond this interval of 9·20 metres, however, the Minoan pavement reappears at a depth of 3·30 metres. The further section of the road here uncovered extends West for another 42·70 metres with a slight continued rise. The pavement here visible is mostly later repair of the S. section of the road the N. section of which is here still uncovered. The materials here are of a miscellaneous character, and in one place a part of a Minoan drain had been worked in apparently to serve as mere pavement.

On the side of the hill above the modern road to Candia; about 60 metres beyond the end of this latter section, a test-pit dug in a line representing its exact prolongation brought to light similar paving.¹ We have thus the evidence of the existence of the Minoan Roadway for a total course of over 230 metres due West from the foot of the Theatral steps.

Whither did it lead? That an important quarter of the City existed on this side is sufficiently clear from the considerable remains of houses brought to light by numerous test-pits in this region. The cutting made

¹ The depth of this paving was 4·55 from the surface. Owing to the rise of the hill, however, it was at a higher level than the last part of the paving of the preceding section.

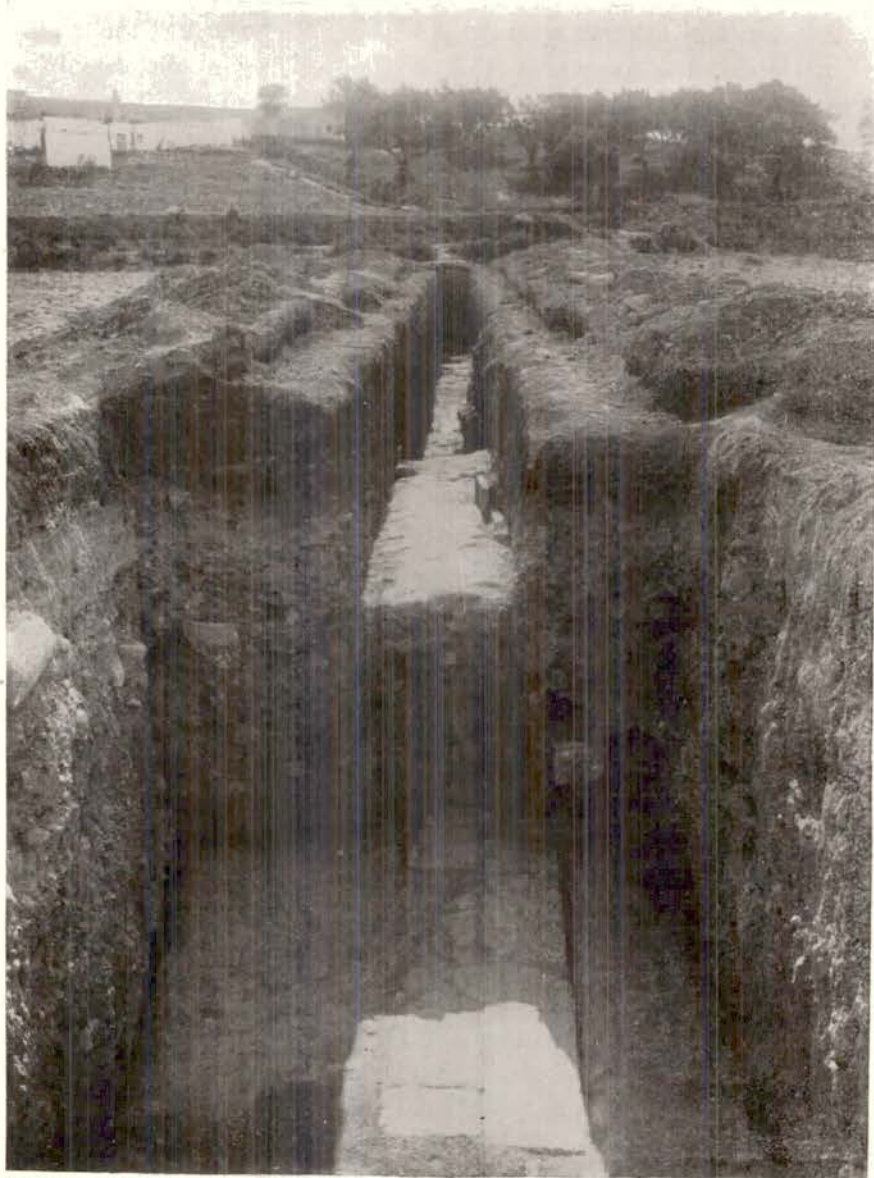


FIG. 17.—VIEW LOOKING WEST SHOWING MINOAN WAY AND SECTION OF ROMAN ROAD ABOVE.

in order to uncover the roadway itself showed traces of some of these aligned along its course as well as of a more important building to be described below. That it was a means of communication with this quarter of the City and with certain actual dependencies of the Palace is self-evident. But the careful planning of the roadway in conformity with the general orientation of the Palace lines and abutting at right-angles on the Theatral Area tends to show that it was principally planned as an avenue of approach to some monumental structure on the opposite hillside.

Further exploration of its traces in that direction is extremely desirable.

The overlying strata, removed in the course of bringing into view the successive sections of the Minoan Way, presented a very different character from those that covered the greater part of the Palace area. In that area we are confronted with the curious phenomenon that in the superficial earth, above the actual remains of the building, hardly a trace occurs of later occupation. Even the potsherds found are almost exclusively Minoan. By Greek and Roman alike this field of ruins had been left severely alone, and it seems to have been only at a time when the earthy deposit above had attained something like its present thickness that the area was again partially used for cultivation. It almost looks as if some surviving tradition of the religious aspect of the Minoan building in its function of Sanctuary as well as Palace may have served to protect the site. It may well, indeed, have been included in some later *temenos* like that of the Grove and Temple of Rhea.

It was only sporadically, towards the North-East, as in the case of the later kiln, and beyond the Northern entrance near the Pillar House where there was a 'Geometrical' well, that later remains began to appear. From about this point a zone can be traced, running Westward and including the greater part of the Theatral Area, where Geometrical, Classical Greek, and Roman remains occur in normal proportions. The Southern boundary of this zone, which skirts the North-West building, can be made out almost to a few feet, and the course of the Minoan paved way ran well within it.

One result of these altered conditions of excavation was the necessity—which in the Palace area proper had not presented itself—of constantly removing later structures, though these proved to be of no importance in themselves.

The earliest of these post-Minoan remains—the Greek, namely, of the

Geometrical period—often went down to within a few centimetres of the paving of the road itself. A very interesting result brought out by the occurrence of these Geometrical remains was that during the period represented by them the roadway was no longer in use. This is neatly illustrated by the fact that at a point about 20 metres West of the first test-pit, showing the beginning of the newly discovered section of the road, the pavement had been cut through by a well of the Geometrical Period. It appears that the road—which, though in places patched up in an inferior style, seems to have been at least kept open through the most decadent Minoan Age—had by this time been covered over and completely forgotten. This is one of the many indications of the real break in historic continuity involved by the coming in of the bearers of this Geometrical culture.

No trace of any roadway of Hellenic construction, either early or late, was encountered on the line of the Minoan Way. On the other hand, at about the 118th metre of its Westward course, were found the well-preserved remains, referred to above, of a paved Roman road running in almost the same direction. The identity in direction did not, however, in this case imply any real continuity of tradition, since the Roman paving was separated from the Minoan by a gradually formed deposit somewhat over 2 metres in thickness.

The historic coincidence itself, as well as the contrasts offered by it, were, however, of sufficient interest to induce us to preserve the Roman pavement for a length of $8\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The appearance presented by the two pavements is shown in Fig. 17, and a diagrammatic view of the Section appears in Fig. 18. The Roman pavement lay at a depth of 2 metres from the surface. In contrast with the well masoned slabs of the Minoan paving, with the solid bedding below, this was composed of mere cobbles set on the surface of the ground. The Northern boundary of the Roman road was formed by a wall going down to the level of the paving, the angle between the base of the wall and the road-level being filled with cement, so as to preserve the foundations from damp. On the South side of the roadway run three conduits or water-pipes. Two of these, formed of a kind of cement mixed with potsherds, are square in section and laid on a mortar bedding. The other is round, and consists of sections of terra-cotta piping fitted into one another, and with their necks pointing East, showing that the flow of water was in this direction. These water-

pipes indicate a source of supply on the hillside above, more or less corresponding with a still existing fountain on the line of the Venetian and later Turkish aqueduct, that still supplies Candia. The water of this aqueduct is brought from what is at present far and away the best and most copious spring of water in this neighbourhood, rising from an Eastern spur of Mount Juktas. It seems certain that the Roman water

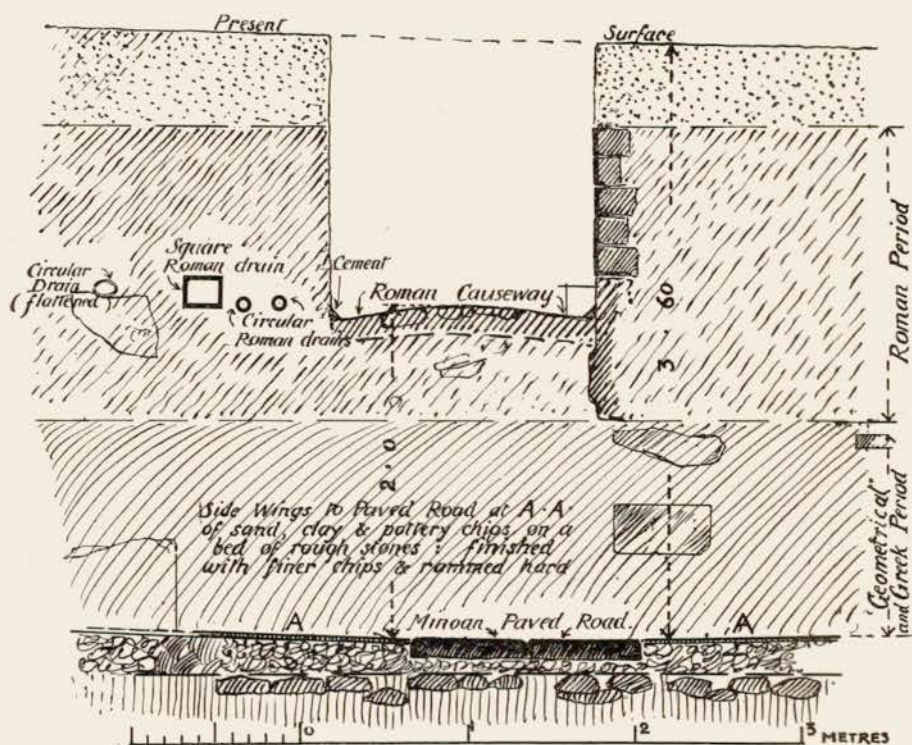


FIG. 18.—DIAGRAMMATIC CROSS SECTION.

supply was derived from the same quarter, and it is possible, considering the great hydraulic capacity shown by the Minoan architects, that water was conveyed to the Palace from this source. If this could be ascertained it would solve many difficulties as to the water-supply of the Knossian Palace.

The water conduits and shafts in the Palace, of which the function

can be ascertained, seem rather to have served the purpose of taking off the rain-water and flushing the drains. The wells found on the East slope belong to an earlier period, and there are none of the great bottle-shaped cisterns such as occur in the Palace at Phaestos. On the other hand, the water of the stream that runs along the valley below is, at present at least, too impregnated with decayed gypsum rock to be good for drinking. That a conduit existed, which brought down fresh water from the hill to the West, must almost be assumed, and the marvellously constructed sections of terra-cotta piping, found North of the Olive Press area, as well as another pipe of simpler construction near the Northern entrance, may be reasonably connected with the supply of spring water through some high-lying conduit.

§ II.—PALACE MAGAZINES NEAR THE MINOAN PAVED WAY WITH STORES AND ARCHIVES.

One object sought by the thorough investigation of the course of the Minoan paved way was the possible clue it might give to the position of important buildings, perhaps even of actual dependencies of the Palace. This was especially the case in the region immediately West of the Theatral Area.

The length of the cutting, and the amount of later structures and deposit to be removed above the level of the road-paving themselves, involved too serious an expenditure of labour to allow of much to be done during the present season in the way of side exploration. At one spot, however, just North of the point where the road attains its maximum of descent, an almost imperceptible rise in the surface of the ground suggested the possible existence of some important structure below.

A test-pit was accordingly sunk at this point, but it was not till a depth of 4.50 metres had been reached—lower, that is, by about half a metre than the neighbouring part of the road—that any Minoan deposit was reached. This deposit was at once distinguished from the duller and darker aspect of the over-lying Greek and Roman strata by its tawny and almost golden hue.

Part of an interior wall of a building was struck in this stratum, showing a mixture of limestone and gypsum blocks—a very usual feature of

Minoan masonry. As the top of the wall was already below the level of the neighbouring road pavement, it was evident that we had to do with basements.

These remains tended to confirm the view that the slight swelling of the surface of the ground some sixteen feet above might eventually find its explanation in the existence of a considerable building of Minoan date. The full importance of the discovery, however, was only ascertained on reaching the deposit immediately above the floor level. This deposit, which was largely mixed with carbonised fragments, proved to contain inscribed clay tablets and seal impressions, evidently belonging to an important hoard or series of hoards.

In view of this discovery, it became obvious that the whole surrounding area must be fully explored to the same level. The great depth at which these Minoan structures lay made the task thus set before us a heavy one, and considering the lateness of the season it was evident that in any case only a section of the area could be completely dug out. In order to expedite matters, it was therefore decided to resort to a method of excavation which had already been found effective, in the cutting for the roadway, though on the Palace site proper it had not been feasible.

In that region, as already noted, true Minoan remains were found from the surface downwards, a circumstance which entailed comparatively slow and tentative excavation. In the present area, however, where later and almost wholly unimportant deposit extended for so many metres depth, it was found convenient to work by a system of wader down at least to the level where more important finds might be expected. According to this method the area to be excavated was partitioned out into squares, in the present case of four metres, an equal number of mén—not less than three—being assigned to each lot. A prize was given to the group of diggers who first reached the level, here four metres down, to which this competitive kind of excavation might be considered safe. The work of clearing the ground was further accelerated by contracting with parties of villagers to remove the earth thrown up in the native manner by putting it into sacks, which were carried off by donkeys to the nearest dumping ground.

This method of excavation marvellously expedited matters, two or three times the amount of earth being excavated and removed in a given time than would have been possible under other conditions.

In this way it was possible before the close of the season to clear an

area about a dozen metres square to a depth of four metres, and over part of this area to explore the Minoan stratum immediately underlying this level. The basement structures were now found to extend on every side

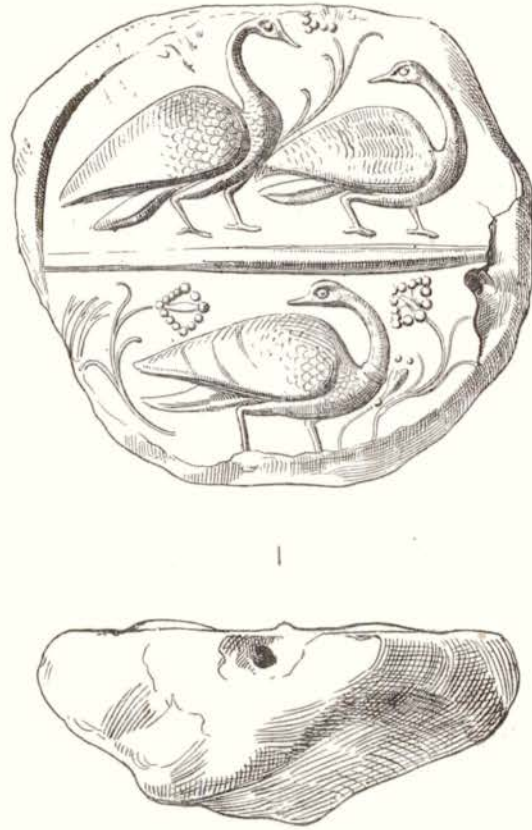


FIG. 19.—CLAY SEALING SHOWING WATER FOWL.

from the foot of the first wall discovered, and further remains of the deposit of inscribed tablets were at the same time brought to light. From the position of these at somewhat variant levels, in some cases above fallen cement flooring, it was clear that they had been originally stored on the floor above the basement, as seems to have been often the case in the Palace. A reason for this may be sought in the fact that the inscribed clay tablets were merely

sun-dried or subjected to a very slight degree of heat in the first instance, so that they were very liable to deterioration by damp. The ultimate preservation of the clay archives was undoubtedly due to the destruction of the building itself by fire. In the present case—like those, fallen from an upper storey, found in the East-West Corridor of the Palace—the tablets were exceptionally charred, and some of them had been reduced to a cindery state, indicative of a very intense conflagration.

Together with the inscribed tablets were found, as in other cases, clay sealings which had either secured the chests in which the tablets were stored, or had been attached to documents of more perishable materials, such as parchment. Among the sealings were impressions of an exceptionally large signet of the lentoid kind, showing water-fowl and flowering plants executed in the finest style of the Later Palace (Fig. 19). Another

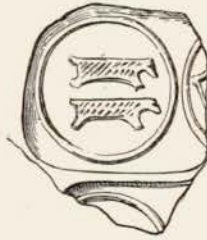


FIG. 20.—CLAY SEALING SHOWING SKINS OF ANIMALS.

much smaller seal (Fig. 20) presents a more enigmatic device. It may be taken to represent two skins of animals seen sideways.

Eighty inscribed tablets, including important fragments, were found in the area excavated. These tablets, with the exception of a few stragglers, lay within the opening of what seems to have been a basement Magazine, into which the wooden chests containing them had sunk when the floor above collapsed. Of these about fifty referred to chariots. Here, however, as in the case of a parallel series of tablets found in the Northern entrance passage, no complete chariot was represented in connexion with the inscription, the frames, with or without the poles and yokes, appearing on one set (See Fig. 21), and the wheels by themselves on another. The large expenditure on the last item entailed by the character of the country may be gathered from the fact that one tablet

concerns a total amount of 478 wheels. It must be observed, however, that some of the tablets refer to as many as 80 or 90 chariot frames. In the formulas preceding these representations the throne-and-sceptre sign plays an important part.

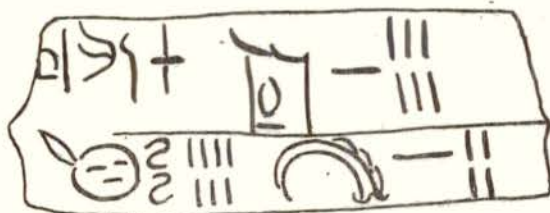
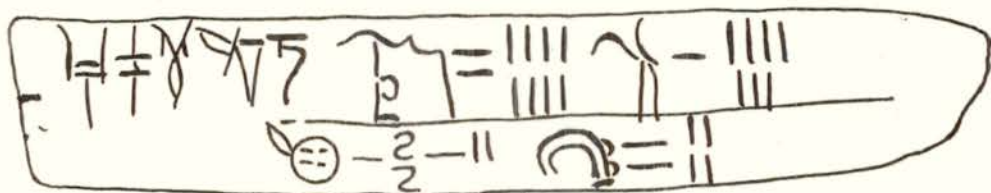
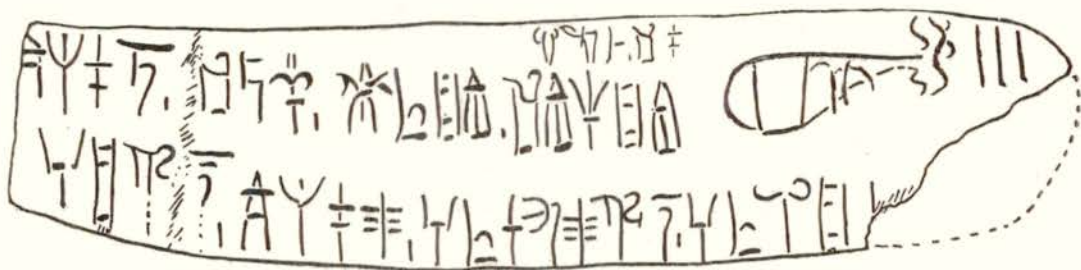


FIG. 21 *a, b, c*.—INSCRIBED TABLETS WITH FRAME OF CHARIOT (*a*) AND HORNS OF CRETAN WILD GOATS (*b, c*).

The pictorial designs on some of the tablets remain unexplained. One apparently relates to spears or javelins. Still more interesting are a series of tablets (Fig. 21, *b* and *c*) showing two curved objects, the explanation of

which can present no difficulty to any one familiar with Minoan designs. We have here represented the long curving horns of the Cretan Agrimi or Wild-Goat, the characteristic 'rings' of the horns being indicated by small curved lines near the base of each, a device for which an exact parallel may be found on contemporary figures of the same animal on some contemporary gems.

To what purpose were these pairs of horns applied? There can be little doubt that we have here the raw material for horn bows, such as that of Menelaos.¹ It is true that the more usual form of the bow in Minoan Crete, to judge from the small steatite relief found in the North-East Palace quarter² and from various designs on gems, was of the simpler African and usual European type, indicating a wooden material. But the horn or composite type, so distinctive of Asia, can claim a very high antiquity in the island, since a weapon of this form appears in the hands of a hunter pursuing a Wild Goat on a seal belonging to the beginning of the Middle Minoan Period, from Central Crete. At a later date the use of the horn bow in the island is well authenticated by the open-work bronze relief from Crete of very early Greek work, first described by Milchhoefer,³ showing a bowman grasping the arm of a youth who holds an Agrimi on his shoulders. Certainly, for such hunting, this form of bow had a peculiar appropriateness.

That the Agrimi horns on these tablets formed the raw material for bows receives striking confirmation from two associated discoveries. With the above tablets was found the latter part of one referring to a large amount of arrows. The subject of this clay document was made clear by the repetition of a pictographic figure of an arrow. The tablets contained a record of two large lots of arrows, one 6010 in number, the other 2630, or 8640 in all. The first part of this tablet remains, unfortunately, to seek.

But what adds an extraordinary interest to the occurrence of this inscription is the discovery in its immediate neighbourhood of the remains of two actual depôts of arrows, at a distance of about 3 metres from one another.

The depôts had in each case been contained in wooden boxes with bronze loop handles, and together with the charred fragments of

¹ *Iliad* iv. 105, *seqq.*

² *Knossos: Report*, 1901, p. 44, Fig. 13 (*B.S.A.* vii.).

³ *Annali*, 1880, p. 213, *seqq.* *Tav. d'Agg. T.: Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 168, 169, Fig. 65.

these were found the clay sealings with which their string binding had been secured. These sealings were three-sided, the string passing through their major axis. Both chests had been sealed in an identical manner, and together afforded a more perfect illustration of the Minoan method of controlling and safeguarding deposits of valuables than had as yet been supplied by similar remains from Knossos or elsewhere. In

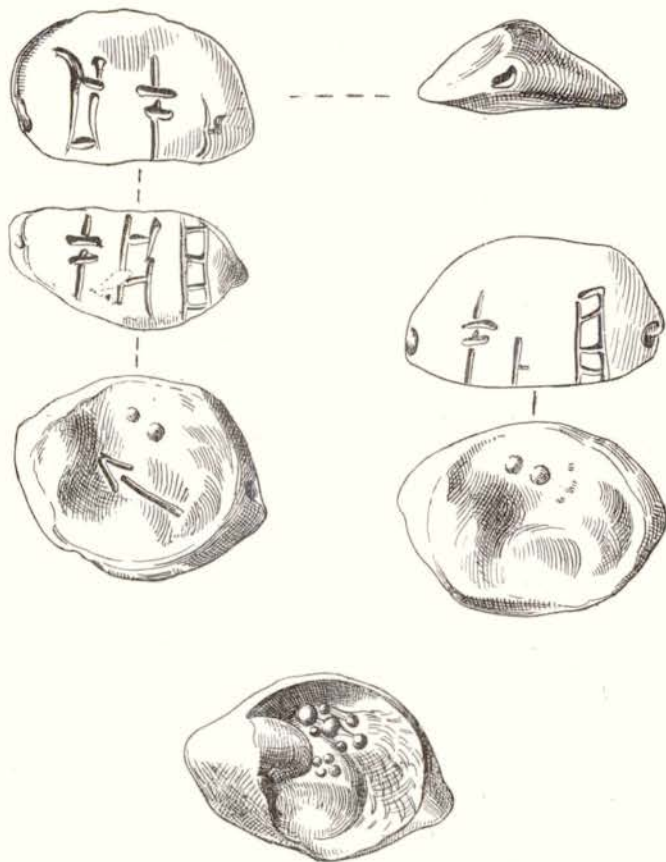


FIG. 22.—CLAY SEALINGS WITH COUNTERMARKS AND SIGNATURES FROM CHESTS CONTAINING ARROWS.

no other case had such chests and sealings been found in direct association with the objects that they secured and the documents relating to them.

The sealings thus duplicated were of three types, which may be described as A, B and C (See Fig. 22). The signet used had for its

device a couchant lion, in a careless style of engraving, the impression of which, owing to the subsequent countermarking and countersigning of the clay while it was still wet, was much effaced. In type C, however, where it stands alone on the sealing, some of the details are visible.

In A 1 we see this device cancelled by the arrow sign, which is a somewhat simplified form of that seen on the tablet referring to these deposits. A 2 and 3 show the method of countersigning,—the first characters on A 1 being the significant throne-and-sceptre, here shown in a cursory manner. In B 1 the lion device can also be traced, but the arrow sign is wanting. B 2 shows the only side of this sealing with inscribed characters; the remaining side is plain. In type C, as already noticed, both of the smaller sides (where the clay nodule was pinched in) are plain, the lion device alone appearing on the principal face, without the countermark.

Embedded in the *débris* of the chests, once so elaborately sealed and registered, were the carbonised remains of the shafts and, partly attaching to them, the bronze heads of hundreds of arrows. The arrowheads were of small size and of two principal types, namely with and without a stem. Together with the bronze arrowheads which formed the mass of the two deposits were three of bone and one broken specimen of flint, all these of the stemless kind. The types of the bronze arrowheads are identical with those of the arrowheads found by Tsountas in a chamber-tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae, where they had been laid in two bundles of ten each.¹ In spite of the diminutive size of those from the present deposits, there does not seem to be sufficient reason for seeing in them objects of votive usage. Strengthened as their thin blades would have been by the pointed ends of the wooden shafts in which they were hafted, they may have been quite effective for shooting small animals, including the Cretan wild-goats. We must in fact recognise in them arrows of the chase.

The depôts of arrows lay within a narrow Corridor running from South to North, into which opened two Magazines of somewhat unequal width. The inscriptions lay within the opening of the first of these Magazines. The above mentioned Corridor communicates, at its Southern end with another narrow passage, and to the North leads to a larger Chamber or Magazine, the limits of which are as yet imperfectly

¹ Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 206, Figs. 92, 93.

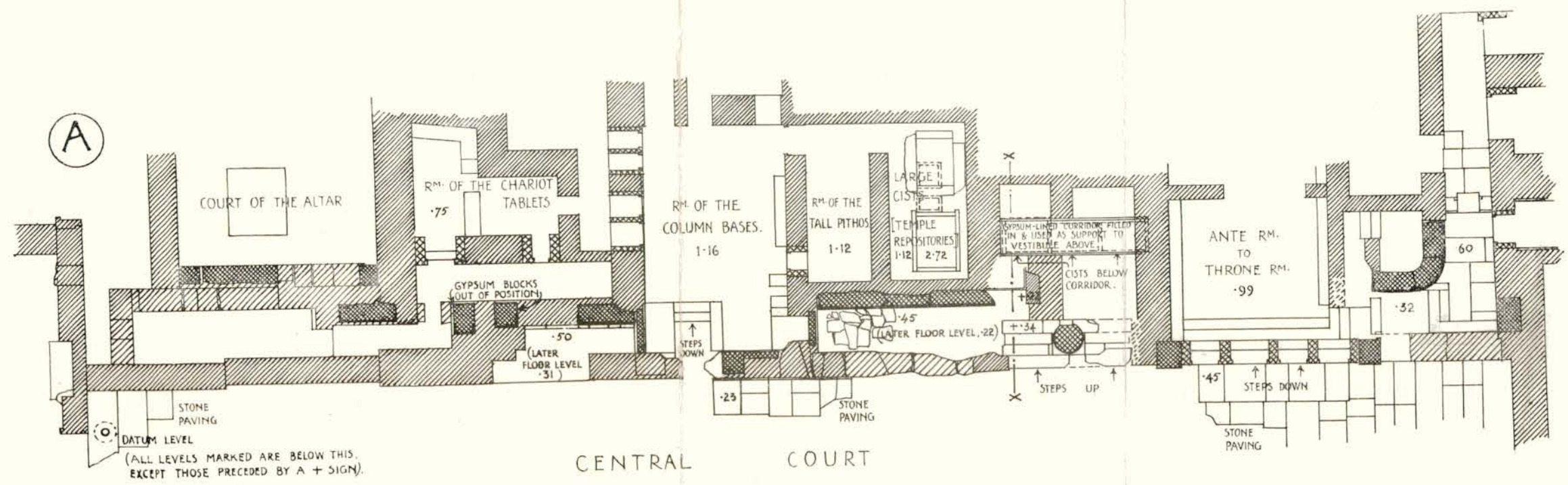
ascertained. Throughout this area a good deal of exceptionally fine cement flooring¹ belonging to one or more upper chambers was visible, some of the inscribed tablets being above the level of this. The floor level of the basement Corridors and Magazines lay at 5.45 metres below the surface, and the walls had been in most cases levelled away to about half a metre from this, the North wall of the Second Magazine alone rising to a height of 1.20 metre. A further indication of date was supplied by the fact that immediately West of the larger Magazine were found fragments of painted pottery, including the frequent grass design, characteristic of the latest Palace Period (Late Minoan II.).

The extent and general arrangement of the building to which these structures belong can only be determined by further excavation on a serious scale. In the meantime, we must conclude from the character of the inscriptions, and the deposit of arrows with their official sealings, that we have to do with an important dependency of the Palace. It seems possible that we may be able to locate here the Royal Armoury and Stables.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

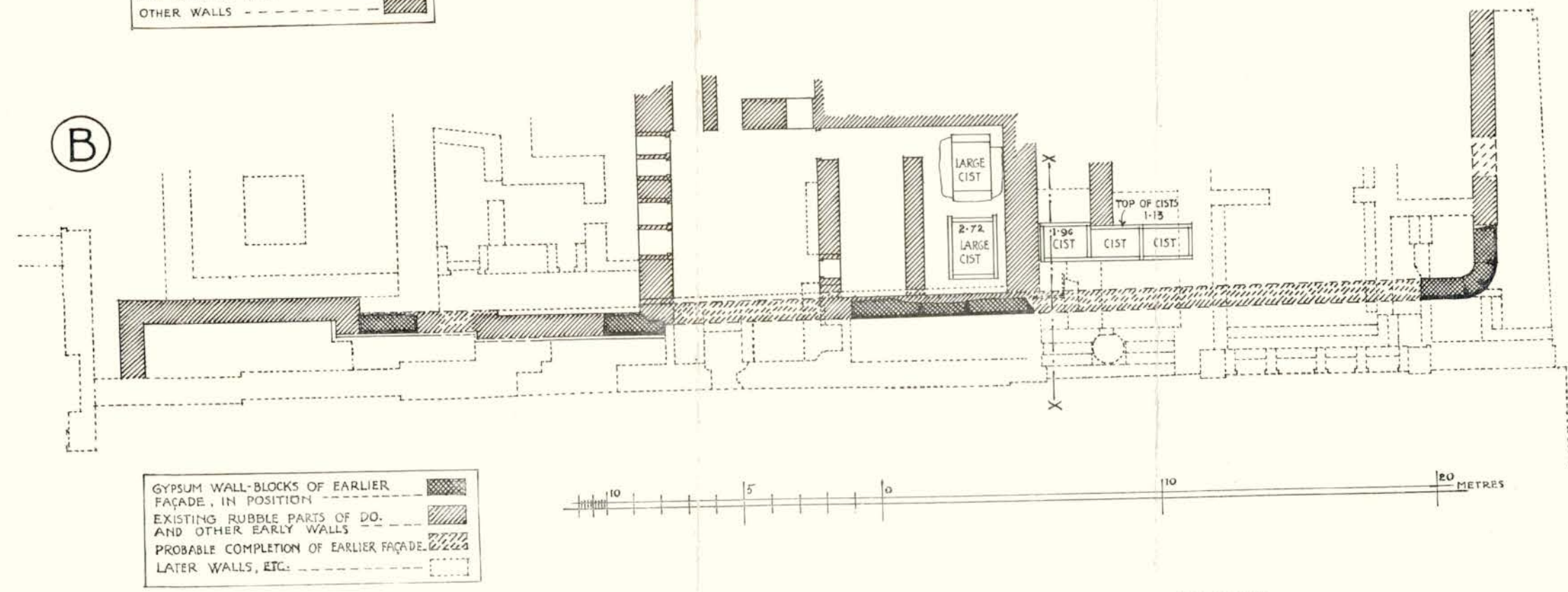
¹ Dr. Mackenzie notes of this cement flooring that its foundation was of clay and sand. Above this was laid a layer of grey tough earth such as is now used in Crete for roofs. Then came a layer of potter's red earth, over which was laid the floor layer of fine white 'stucco' cement, impregnated with very small river pebbles, and smoothed away to a fine surface.





GYPSUM WALL-BLOCKS, DOOR JAMBS AND COLUMN-BASES

OTHER WALLS



GYPSUM WALL-BLOCKS OF EARLIER FAÇADE, IN POSITION

EXISTING RUBBLE PARTS OF DO. AND OTHER EARLY WALLS

PROBABLE COMPLETION OF EARLIER FAÇADE

LATER WALLS, ETC.

A. EXISTING REMAINS ON W. BORDERS OF CENTRAL COURT, SHOWING FRONTAGE OF PALACE AS FINALLY REMODELLED.
 B. REMAINS OF ORIGINAL FRONTAGE LINE ON THIS SIDE WITH INDICATIONS OF THE MISSING SECTIONS.



FRESCO OF SHRINE WITH DOUBLE AXES STUCK IN COLUMNS.
N.W. HALL OF PALACE, KNOSSOS, 1904.

THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Provisional Report for the Year 1905.

(PLATE I.)

(THE report of last Season's work must necessarily be of a somewhat summary character. The fuller description and elaborate plans and sections required for the due illustration of the results of the complete excavation of the Grand Staircase will find a more fitting place in the forthcoming general work on the Palace. On the other hand as it was only possible to lay bare a section of the large building on the hill to the West of the Palace, it has seemed undesirable at present to publish anything beyond a very brief account of the portion as yet explored, except so far as relates to the Shrine of the Fetish Idols. I have only to add that throughout the recent explorations I had, as before, the valued cooperation of my assistant Dr. Mackenzie.)

§ I.—THE MAGAZINES ALONG THE MINOAN ROADWAY.

It will be remembered that one of the principal results of the Campaign of 1905 was the opening out of a paved Minoan way, running due West from the 'Theatral Area,' and forming, indeed, the continuation of the paved Causeway that bisected this. Facing this on the North side has been further brought to light an important Magazine, containing clay documents in the linear script (B) referring to the Royal chariots, spears,

bows and arrows, together with the remains of two sealed coffers which had been used as repositories for the actual arrows. During the present season the work of excavating this Magazine was completed, and additional tablets and bronze arrows were brought out. From the relation of these finds to the remains of fallen pavement it was clear that the deposits of tablets and arrows had originally lain on the floor of a room above the basement Magazines. The work of delimitation that it was now possible to carry out showed that the Magazines themselves were not an integral part of a larger structure but formed a building by themselves. This was of oblong shape, in outside measurement 18·70 metres N.-S. by 11·55 E.-W., the narrower side S. facing the roadway. The basement consisted of a corridor with four Magazines opening on it, that to the South being larger than the others. Separated from this building, at a mean distance of about a metre and a half, was another parallel structure with a slightly divergent orientation: for the time being, however, only the Eastern border of this could be excavated.

On the opposite or Southern side of the Minoan way the faces of other buildings were traceable, and it looks as if the whole course of the road had been lined with Palace dependencies, very probably magazines like that excavated. Owing to the mass of superincumbent earth, the overlying Graeco-Roman structures, and the considerable area involved, the task of excavating these buildings could not be at present pursued further. Their eventual exploration may greatly enrich the stock of inscribed tablets.

§ 2.—THE HOUSE OF THE FETISH SHRINE.

In my preceding Report I had already expressed the conviction that the careful planning of the Minoan roadway in conformity with the general orientation of the Palace lines and abutting at right angles on the 'Theatral Area' tended to show 'that it was principally planned as an avenue of approach to some monumental structure on the opposite hillside.' For this reason all our efforts were now concentrated on the fuller clearing out of the roadway throughout its slightly uphill course in the direction of the modern road to Candia. To make the evidence clearer the section of a Roman road above, provisionally left in 1904, was now removed, and a further well preserved double line of Minoan pavement thus exposed.

Beyond this point it was found that we had been somewhat misled by some rough paving, representing a rough patching of the left wing of the roadway, and that the central lines of the Minoan slabbing really took a more Northerly bend than we had hitherto realized. This tendency increased at the point at which the paving passed under the modern road.

Deep and extensive excavations were now undertaken in the area immediately beyond the modern road, in the course of which two wells, one of Roman date, the other at any rate post-Minoan, were brought to light. The great accumulation of soil from the steep above made this work extremely difficult, and after the narrow escape of three of our workmen from the falling in of the side of a pit it was thought advisable to relinquish it.

The hillside above this, to which the last explored section of the Minoan Way pointed, is to a great extent covered by an olive-wood. Hitherto our trial-pits in search of the important building which, according to the indications supplied, ought to exist hereabouts had been made near the Southern borders of this plantation. The tendency however exhibited by the last section of the Minoan pavement led us now to look in a more North-Westerly direction. On a clear space which opened on this side of the olive-wood I now decided to dig an exploratory trench twenty-four metres in length by two and a half in width.

This work speedily led to a successful result. Already, about a metre from the surface at the south end of the trench, a stratum of terracotta-coloured earth was encountered which is the usual concomitant of Minoan remains. This tawny red earth is very clearly distinguishable from the pale grey earth of the Hellenic and Roman strata. It seems in the main to have been the effect produced by conflagration on the sun-dried clay bricks of which a large part of the upper storey walls of houses seems to have been composed. A good deal of this brick construction was in fact found this year in the upper part of the walls of the North-East Magazines (see Fig. 1) and remains of it were subsequently brought to light on the present site (see below, Fig. 2). In this tawny earth was presently found part of an inscribed clay tablet—the first instance of such a discovery at Knossos outside the Palace and its immediate dependencies. For this reason the new tablet seemed to be the presage of the existence of some important building on this side, and, later in the day, in addition to rubble walls, part of the pavement of a Court was brought to light, presenting three column bases.

The building thus struck proved to be of considerable extent, and there is every reason for supposing that it was a principal objective of the Minoan Paved Way. Of this building it was possible to explore the Eastern section for a length of about thirty-one metres N.-S.—the extreme width of the part that we were able to excavate E.-W. being twenty-one metres. Further excavation westward into the slope of the hill had to be abandoned for the present season owing to the increasing depth of the



FIG. 1.—UPPER PART OF WALLS OF MAGAZINES IN N.E. QUARTER OF PALACE, SHOWING BRICK COURSES ABOVE RUBBLE MASONRY.

superincumbent earth and to the olive-grove above. That some extension on this side is to be expected however may be judged from the fact that at the South end of the building a section of a finely constructed outer wall, faced with gypsum slabs and provided with a plinth, was found, running straight into the hill-side.

This wall recalled on a smaller scale the West wall of the Palace, and

was probably bordered to the South by a Court answering to the West Court of the Palace. It seems probable that a little East of the point where the gypsum wall breaks off there had been a principal entrance to what were evidently the reception rooms of the house. A little North of this, a line of doorways, remains of three of which were exposed, with a double step up between each, leads to a small paved Court surrounded by a portico, originally of nine columns. This in turn led to a line of five door jambs leading to a Megaron of the usual Minoan type with similar jambs, which could serve either for doors or light openings, fronting its inner section. On the East side of this again were further jambs opening on a portico with column bases beyond. The whole thus formed a stately system, in several respects recalling the arrangement of the 'Hall of the Double Axes.' The covered part of this Megaron, as distinct from the peristyle and portico, represented an area of about 103 square metres as against 147 square metres in the case of the covered part of the 'Hall of the Double Axes.'

To the West of this system were the inner and more private rooms, of which only a part is as yet excavated. Many traces of upper-stories were here visible, one of the walls presenting very visible remains of its sun-dried brick construction (Fig. 2). The bricks were about 45 centimetres square and 12 high. On this side, flanking the Columnar Court, was a stone staircase, of which two flights and remains of a third were preserved, though they had sunk considerably beneath their original level.

From what has been already said it will be seen that the building on the West Hill reproduces on a reduced scale the leading features of the Palace of Knossos as finally remodelled about the beginning of the Late Minoan Period. It is indeed to that period that the earliest relics found within it belong. In other respects its history reflects the various phases of the Later Palace. Here too, as there, were abundant traces of later occupation during the more decadent period of Minoan civilization and of the breaking up of the seignorial halls into the dwellings of humbler denizens. We do not here indeed find traces of such a cataclysmic break between the two periods of habitation as is visible in some parts of the Palace area. Rather the change that here took place was similar to what seems to have taken place in parts of the Domestic Quarter of the Palace,—rooms not wholly destroyed and with their posts and beams substantially intact, having been simply parcelled out and reoccupied. Thus the two

sections of the great Hall were made into separate dwellings by blocking up the lines of doorways with rubble masonry, which abutted on the massive original door-posts. It is clear moreover that the wood, long since carbonized by the conflagration of the final catastrophe, was at that time unconsumed. This blocking process has thus had the effect of preserving to a greater extent than would otherwise have been the case the shape of the

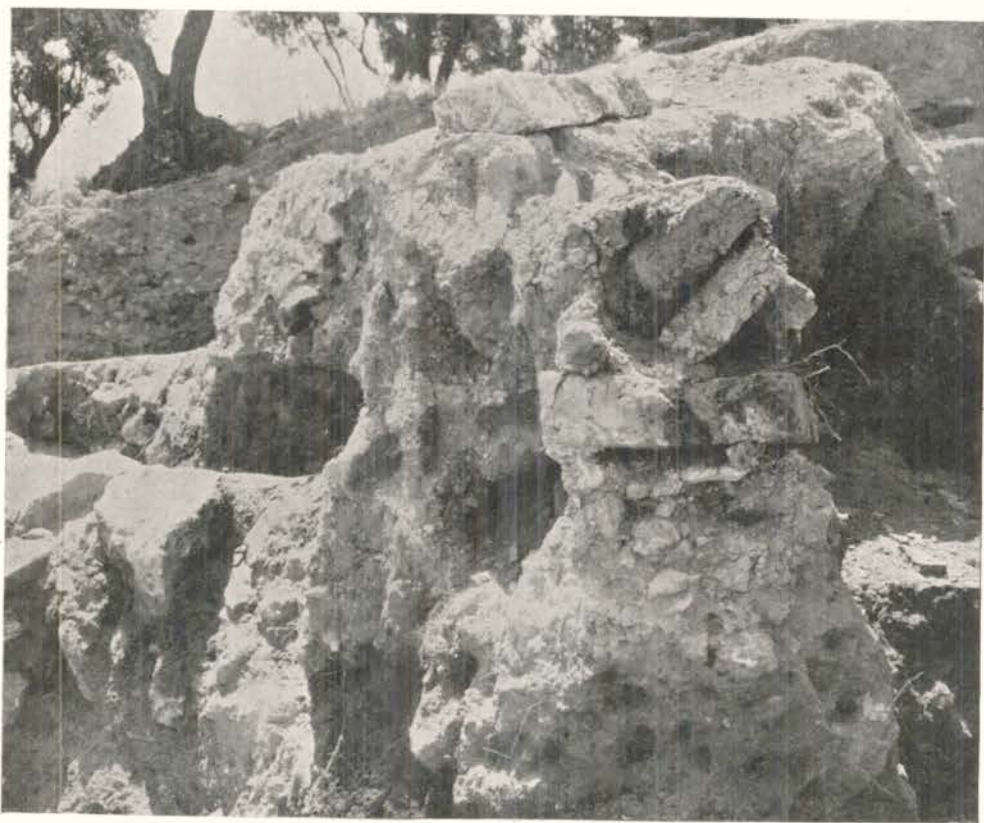


FIG. 2.—PART OF UPPER WALL IN HOUSE OF FETISH SHRINE, SHOWING BRICK CONSTRUCTION.

original woodwork which has left its impress on the later rubble and plaster, and to this fact is due the most interesting architectural revelation of the building.

Separated from the hall of the many door-ways by a passage-way, was

a small balustraded space, recalling those which in the Cretan Palaces may at times have served as bath-rooms, but which fulfilled as well the architectural functions of light-wells and *impluvia*. During the period of reoccupation, the openings between three of the wooden columns which had originally stood on the round stone bases of the balustrade on the side facing the small corridor had been blocked and half of their diameter had been embedded in a clay and rubble walling, which must effectually have shut out the light from the passage-way. So it came about that, when later the wooden shafts themselves were destroyed by fire, they left in the plaster of the wall behind them almost perfect casts of their embedded halves.

A careful examination of the back wall thus brought out sufficient remains of these moulds of columns to illustrate what, so far as Minoan architecture is concerned, must be regarded as a new type. Columns of this period with the ordinary incave fluting—the prototype of the Doric—were already known, but in this case the fluting was in relief, a moulding obviously taken over from Egyptian columns imitating clustered papyrus stems or sheafs of reeds. An analogy for such an architectural borrowing had indeed already been forthcoming, in the shape of a pedestal of a lamp of purple gypsum, found in the Palace in 1900, presenting a quatrefoil section and terminating above in a capital forming the basin of the lamp, the decoration of which combined lotus buds and papyrus leaves. In the present case the wall has not been sufficiently preserved above to supply impressions of the capitals, but the relieved flutings were apparently twenty in number.¹ This, it will be observed, answers to the usual number of the ordinary incave flutings according to the Doric canon.

Further balustrades, in each case with a single column base, ran along the North and South sides of this small enclosed space, but here the wooden columns, of which the charred remains were found, had not been embedded in any subsequent structure. An entrance passage opened in the balustrade to the North, approached in the same manner as the light-well or *impluvium* of the Throne Room, by a descending flight of much decayed gypsum steps (apparently six in number). The floor of the inner area, however, did not, as had been the rule in similar cases, show any traces of a stone pavement.

¹ At half a metre from the base the diameter of the columns was 30 centimetres, and the width of the flutings was as nearly as possible 5 centimetres.

It must be said at once that any theory involving the assumption that these stepped balustraded spaces, of which so many examples have now accumulated at Knossos, Phaestos, and elsewhere, were exclusively designed to perform the architectural function of light-wells or *impluvia* is not by itself sufficient. In this case, indeed, the tricolunar opening of the balustrade could only have supplied light to a narrow passage-way, while the rooms to South and West which might have been expected to profit by this space as a source of light were completely walled off. That to the North could at most have derived a very indirect light from it through two narrow doorways (see plan : Fig. 3). It rather looks moreover as if the Western section of the inner area may have been from the first roofed over.

As to the later use of this small balustraded enclosure, when the openings between the columns on its East side had been blocked and the whole of the area probably roofed over, interesting and conclusive evidence was forthcoming. Previous to its excavation there had already come to light (see Fig. 3. G) in the neighbouring room to the South, at some height above its floor-level, a curious natural block which, as later became apparent, had made its way to the position in which it was found from the other side of the adjoining wall. From the quasi-human aspect of this block, itself a limestone concretion, I at once expressed the opinion that we had to do with a fetish image, which indeed from its characteristic conformation might well be that of a Mother Goddess.

The presumption that this grotesque concretion was an object of fetish cult received striking corroboration when the small adjoining space to the North came to be dug out. The relics there found supplied in fact the clearest evidence that, during the concluding period of its occupation, this balustraded area had served the purpose of a domestic chapel.

Great havoc and destruction had fallen on the little shrine at the time of the final destruction of the building. Its finely carved columns had been burnt to ashes, its contents cast hither and thither. On the gypsum ledge at the South end, however, in the space between the pillar-base on this side and the inner wall, there still rested—with traces of the usual layer of pebbles round—‘horns of Consecration,’ the unfailing concomitant of Minoan sanctuaries. The horns were of plaster, resembling those placed on the ledge of the Palace Shrine of the Double Axes and associated with the clay figures of the Dove Goddess and her Votaries. But in this case, beside them, in place of such images ‘made with hands,’ were the

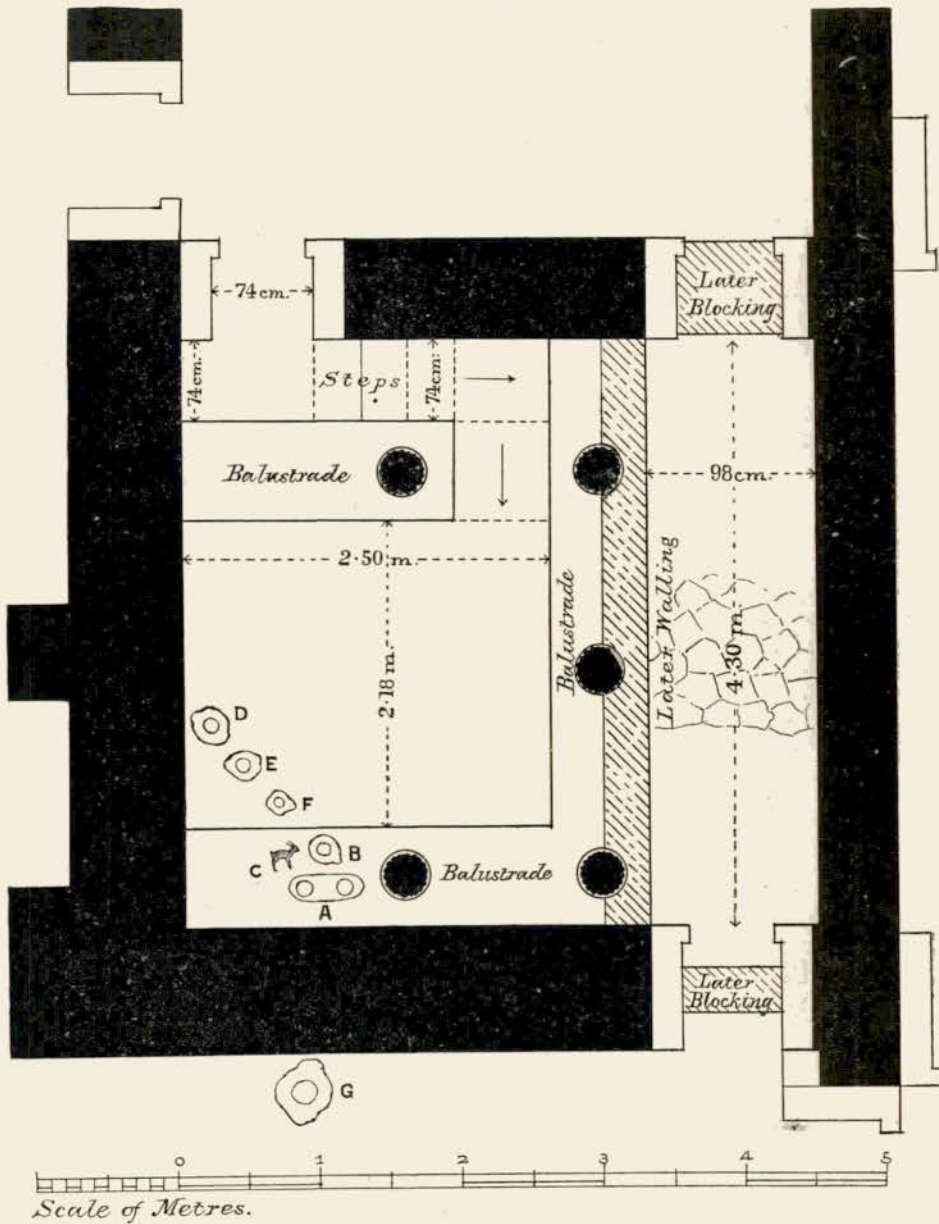


FIG. 3 — PLAN OF SECTION OF HOUSE SHOWING BALUSTRADE AREA AND FETISH SHRINE.

fetish idols of a much more archaic cult. One still in position by the ritual horns, others dispersed about the inner area, another, the largest of all, which

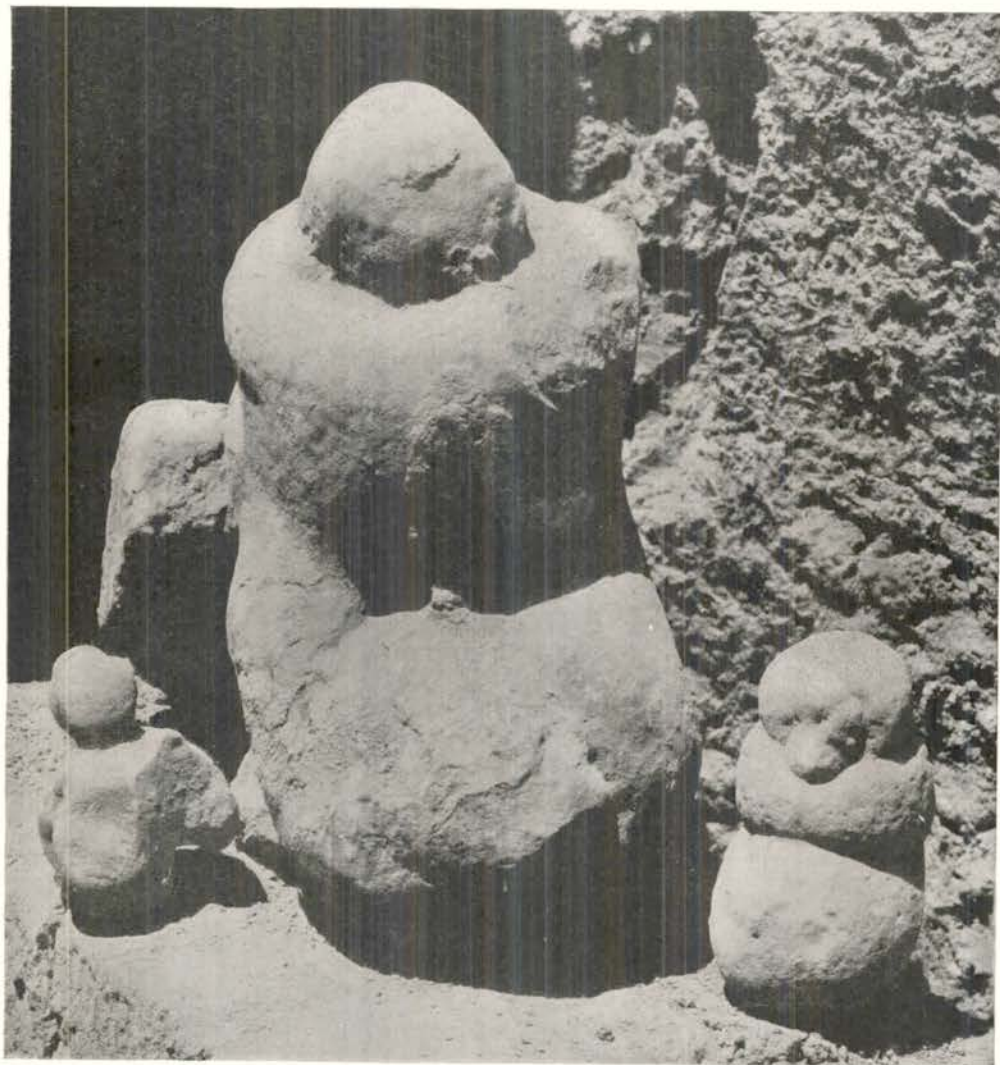


FIG. 4.—FETISH IMAGES OF NATURAL FORMATION IN FORM OF MOTHER, CHILD, AND APE.

had already arrested our attention, tumbled over the wall into the adjoining chamber,—evidently by violators of the shrine,—were a series of grotesque

concretions of quasi-human appearance, like the first described (see Fig. 4). Some were quite small,—one of ape-like aspect recalling the bizarre flint forms—survivals of a similar religious stage—found by Professor Petrie in the Temple of Abydos.¹ The largest and principal figure was evidently chosen from its resemblance to a woman of ample and matronly contours. Another smaller nodule curiously suggested an infant. This latter² was still in position by the sacral horns and near it was a rude figure of a Cretan wild goat or *agrimi* of painted clay together with fragments of others (see plan, Fig. 3).

It is difficult not to conclude in view of the contents of this shrine that we have here to do in its most primitive guise with the traditional Cretan cult of Mother Rhea and the infant Zeus,—the divine offspring actually appearing in the form of his sacred stone or *βαίτυλος*. Nor is Nurse Amaltheia wanting to complete the group. In the matronly fetish of natural stone we must certainly recognize the same Nature Goddess that we find so constantly recurring in Minoan religious art with her male satellite, her sacred Double Axes and lion guardians, and the doves or snakes that alternately present her in a celestial or a chthonic aspect.

It would appear from the blocking of the colonnade in front that during the last period of the building this inner area had been entirely covered in and reduced to a dark closet. We have here then a domestic shrine analogous to that fitted up during the re-occupation period in a small back room of the South-East House.³

Was this dedication of the balustraded area to religious uses an entire innovation, or was it rather the re-adaptation of what had been designed from the first as a domestic shrine? The triple arrangement of the balustrade, showing a façade with three columns and two wings, each containing a single column, is certainly suggestive of the Minoan pillar-shrines. The architectural functions of light-well and *impluvium* are quite reconcilable with that of a small hypaethral sanctuary, and it is moreover possible that according to the original plan the back part of the inner area was covered over. It is at any rate certain that in excavating the space inside the balustrade certain fragmentary relics came to light

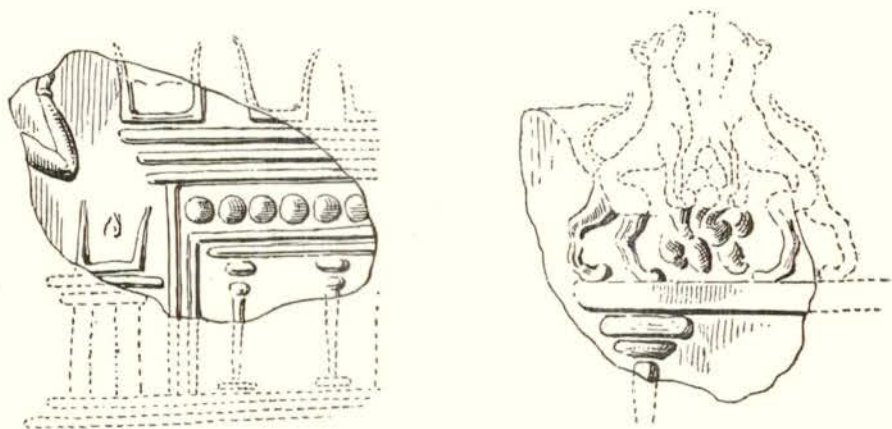
¹ Petrie, *Abydos*, Pt. ii. Pl. VI.

² The 'infant' is shown to the left of the 'Mother' fetish in Fig. 4. The ape-like figure is seen to the right.

³ Report: *Knossos*, B.S.A. 1903, p. 12.

which might well have belonged to the fittings of an earlier shrine. These relics included convex crystal disks like those of the Royal Gaming Board, part of an exquisite faïence vase with nautilus reliefs, and two or three corkscrew curls of bronze, of larger size but otherwise resembling those inserted in the heads of the animated ivory figures found in the Palace, and probably belonging to the treasury of a sanctuary.

Among the fragmentary clay sealings belonging to the earlier part of the building brought to light in the same area or the immediate vicinity, were several of religious import, two of these indeed exhibiting parts of façades of shrines. The fragment reproduced in Fig. 5 shows the raised arm of an adorant



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—SEAL IMPRESSIONS, SHOWING PARTS OF SANCTUARIES (¶).

before a small columnar temple with wings, and with the sacral horns placed on the entablature. In Fig. 6 we see an architrave supporting what seems to be intended for a group of sculpture in the round representing a lion-guarded peak like that on which a series of seal-impressions from the Palace shows the armed Goddess standing. In the present case it is uncertain whether the rocky pyramid was surmounted by any other object; but there could hardly, in any case, have been room for a divine figure.

Another seal-impression found here, also of a good period (apparently Late Minoan II.), imperfect as it is, shows the essential parts of a design of exceptional interest (Fig. 7). We see here a one-masted vessel with

rowers beneath an awning, upon which, not represented as in the hold but superposed on the whole design, stands the greater part of the figure of a noble horse. The superposition must be here taken to be a graphic way of indicating the cargo, and, if so, we have a contemporary record of the first importation of horses into Crete. As a matter of fact, it is during this, the earlier part of the Late Minoan period, synchronizing with

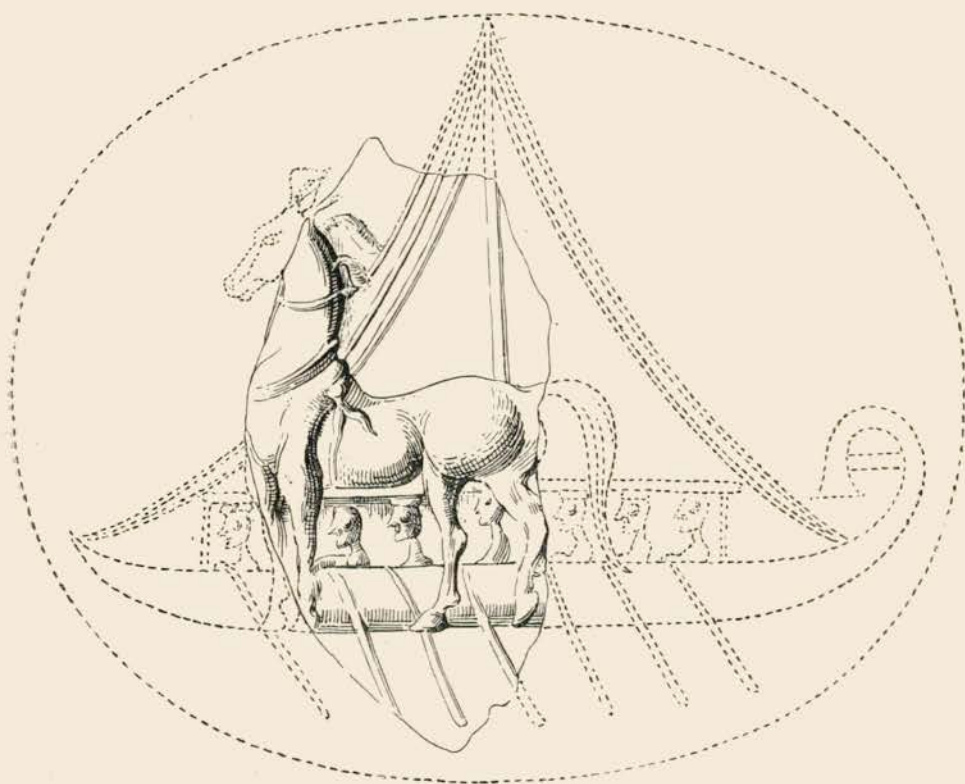


FIG. 7.—SEAL IMPRESSION WITH DESIGN COMPLETED, SHOWING HORSE ABOVE SHIP (‡).

the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, that the horse first makes its appearance on Minoan monuments. It is represented together with the Royal chariots on the clay documents of the Palace, just as during the same age it appears on the tombstones and the somewhat later frescoes of Mycenae. A noteworthy feature in the present example,

as on the horses of the tablets and the frescoes, is the binding up of the mane in a series of tufts. We have here the coming of the thoroughbred horse.

The exact correspondence between the dressing of the mane here shown and that of the horses on the fragmentary frescoes found in the Megaron of the Palace at Mycenae¹ may be taken as a fair indication that we have to do with the same stock. It is therefore interesting to observe that the colour of the horses on the Mycenae frescoes, where the surface tint has not been destroyed by burning, is a deep bay. In conformity, as Professor Ridgeway has shown, with Libyan custom, but contrary to the usual Asiatic and European practice,² they had nose-bands in place of bits. It would seem then that the owner of the present seal was engaged in the transport of the first horses into Minoan Crete across the Libyan Sea.³

The uncouth natural fetishes of the domestic chapel compare strangely with the beautiful faience images of the Snake Goddess and her votaries found in the Temple Repository of the Palace itself. Yet these latter are of much earlier date than the contents of the present shrine, which belong to the latest period during which the house was inhabited. It looks as if the rustic recrudescence of the cult that we see here may have been due to the coming up to the surface of more plebeian elements in the whirligig of Minoan history. The kings are less, the people more, and the princely building now partially explored, like the great Palace opposite and the 'Royal Villa' beyond, is broken up into smaller habitations. The Royal Tomb at Isopata itself became a common sepulchre.⁴ But the evidence supplied by the later contents of this House of the Fetish Shrine, as by those of the great bulk of the tombs, explored in 1904,⁵ belonging to the same age, forbids us to believe that the close of the Palace period at Knossos should be connected with a successful foreign invasion. Rather it points to some internal revolution. The standard of wealth and the standard of art fell. At Knossos itself clay largely replaced metal for domestic utensils. In every direction we begin to perceive decadence, but the decadence itself is

¹ 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, Pl. II.

² See W. Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 480, etc.

³ The frescoes of the Megaron at Mycenae had escaped Professor Ridgeway's attention, otherwise they might have supplied him with an useful corroboration of his theory as to the Libyan origin of the first horses introduced into Greece.

⁴ See A. J. Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (London, Quaritch, 1906), p. 170.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 133.



FIG. 8.—FLOOR OF CHAMBER $1\frac{1}{2}$ METRE BENEATH WEST COURT PAVEMENT, WITH POTTERY OF THE SECOND MIDDLE MINOAN STYLE.

simply the gradual falling away from the models of the latest Palace style. There is no real break in continuity.

In nothing is this more perceptible, so far as regards the present building, than in the heaps of more or less fragmentary clay sealings, found on the later floors, attesting the survival of similar usages as regards securing documents and possessions, and presenting in a somewhat degraded style the same artistic types as those of the preceding age. But what is still more interesting is the evidence, now for the first time supplied by some fragmentary clay tablets found in connexion with these sealings, that the fully developed linear script of Minoan Crete continued to be at least partially in use during the later period. It thus appears that the fall of the Palace did not bring with it the absolute extinction of letters, and the true dark ages of Crete were not yet.

§ 3.—FLOOR DEPOSIT OF THE FIRST MIDDLE MINOAN PERIOD BENEATH WEST COURT.

Investigations into the earlier stratification in the West Court of the Palace were continued with interesting results. It will be remembered that in the Section described in the preceding Report a gap occurred in the strata below the pavement. A floor-level was found containing clay vessels of the Second Middle Minoan period representing the full development of the polychrome style of decoration. A view of this as seen when first uncovered¹ is given here in Fig. 8. Immediately below this floor an Early Minoan deposit occurred as it were *per saltum*, and there were no remains of the First Middle Minoan Period, illustrating the beginning of the polychrome technique. This, however, as I then observed, 'does not exclude the possibility that the floor-level in question may have gone back to that Period, since what is found as a house-floor naturally belongs to the latest date of its occupation.'²

The excavation of the adjoining area to the South has now conclusively shown that floors existed at this level, immediately, that is, superimposed on the latest Early Minoan stratum, belonging to this First Middle Minoan stage. In the former case therefore the use of the room must have either gone on continuously to the Second Middle Minoan Period or some

¹ From a sketch by Mr. H. Bagge.

² Report: *Knossos*, 1904, p. 18.

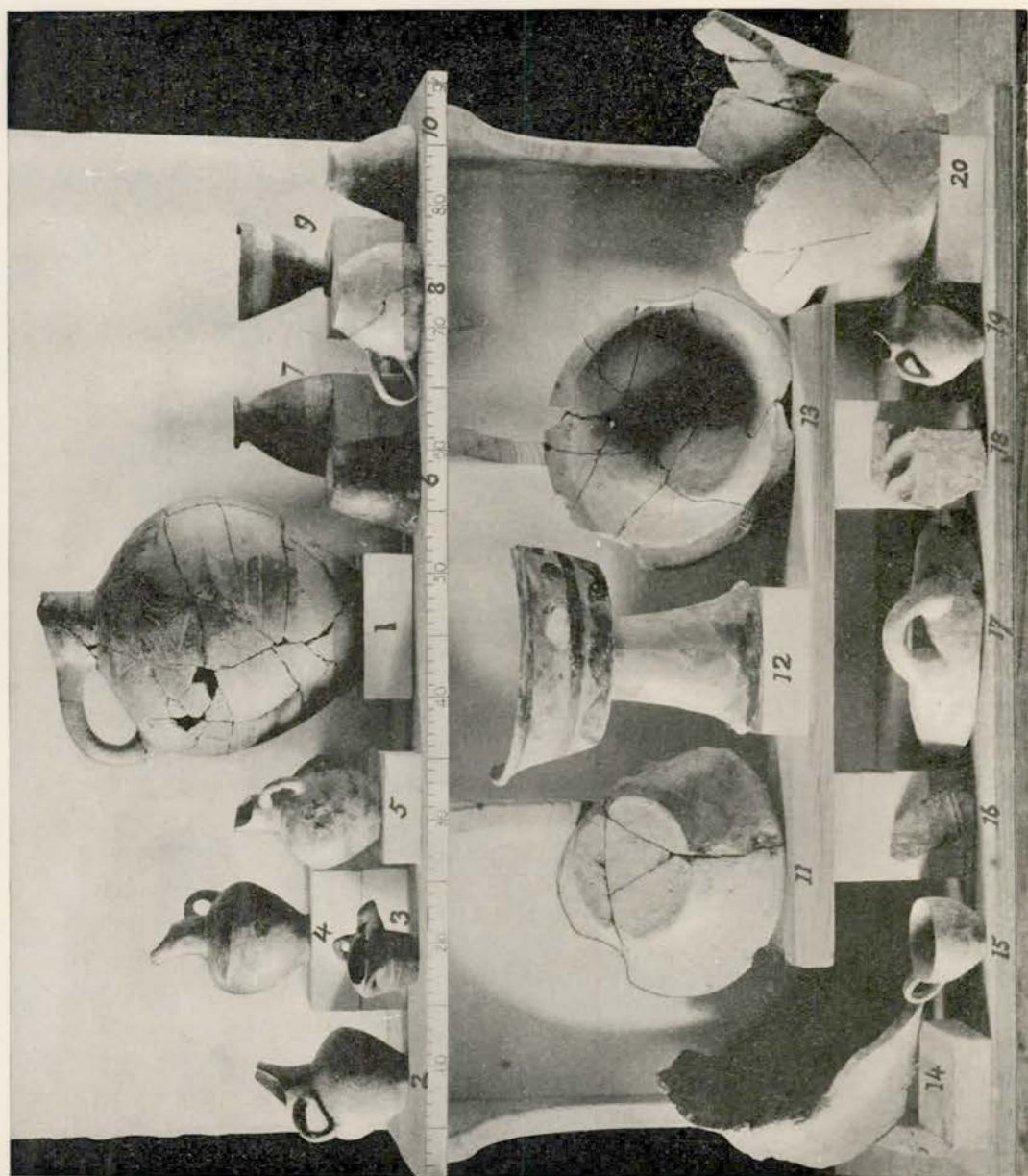


FIG. 9.—POTTERY OF FIRST MIDDLE MINOAN PERIOD, FROM FLOOR OF CHAMBER BENEATH WEST COURT.

building operations carried out at that time must have removed the vestiges of the immediately preceding Age. In the neighbouring room now uncovered to this level¹ a very characteristic series of vases belonging to the First Middle Minoan Period was found resting on the floor (see Fig. 9). Besides the usual cups, bowls, etc. was an interesting pedestalled basin (12)



FIG. 10.—CORNELIAN BEAD-SEAL WITH MAN-STAG AND MAN-BOAR,
FROM W. ENTRANCE OF PALACE.

with dark brown decoration on buff, a small spouted vessel (3) with white geometrical striping on a purplish brown ground, and the typical beakers with square-cut upright mouths (2, 4, 5, 19). With these was a remarkable

¹ In this, as in the neighbouring area North, the Third Middle Minoan stratum went down a metre beneath the pavement of the Court. In this section there was no trace of a M. M. II. layer.

jug of a somewhat different type (I) with a dull brown ground, decorated with white, vermilion and madder-red, and presenting the finest specimen yet discovered of the early polychrome style (Pl. I). The principal motive consists of double axe-like figures in slanting positions, with their edges involved in the curves of a vermilion band. We see here a rudimentary anticipation of the elaborate spiraliform designs of the developed polychrome style.

§ 4.—SUPPLEMENTARY INVESTIGATIONS ABOUT THE WESTERN ENTRANCE OF THE PALACE.

Various supplementary excavations were carried out about the West Porch and Entrance of the Palace. One result of these was the discovery of an interesting relic, apparently belonging to the period immediately preceding the final catastrophe of this part of the building. This was a lentoid bead-seal of carnelian which had worked down beside the threshold of the doorway leading from the Corridor of the Procession to the 'Porter's Lodge.' The engraving, of bold but somewhat summary execution, such as often characterizes the work of the Second Late Minoan Age, exhibits two compound monsters, one of them a man-stag, the other a man-boar (Fig. 10). We have not here a *Μινώταυρος*, but a *Μινέλαφος* and *Μινώκαπρος*. The gem illustrates the fact that the Minotaur was only one of several similar monstrous creations of Minoan Art that were rife at this period, and of which the man-stag and the man-lion as well as the eagle-lady afford further illustrations. The man-boar is new to the series. It is to be noted that in the Zakro sealings¹ representing the transitional period between the latest Middle Minoan and the Earliest Late Minoan phases, these compound figures are seen under less stereotyped and more fantastic aspects.

The main object of the investigations about the Western Entrance of the Palace, however, was, by raising various portions of the pavement, to secure from the contents of the immediately underlying stratum a *terminus a quo* for the original construction of this part of the building. The results obtained entirely corresponded with previous indications and with the evidence acquired from the stratum immediately underlying the pavement of the West Court. Several fragments of rough jars occurred—one

¹ Hogarth in *J.H.S.* xxii. pp. 76 *seqq.*

with 'trickle' ornament—of the same class as those of the North-East Magazines and belonging to the Third Middle Minoan Period. Under the threshold of the Entrance on the East side of the Porch, as generally under the Western wall, the intervening strata had been cut away by a later levelling process and the Upper Neolithic stratum directly appeared.

§ 5.—INVESTIGATIONS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE WEST WALL AND THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL RESULTS.

The certainty had thus been acquired that throughout the region embraced by the West Court and Entrance and the Corridor of the Procession no later elements occurred beneath the pavements than those belonging to the last stage of the Middle Minoan culture. The West wall and Court of the Palace at Knossos, and the Porch, with its single column and approaching causeways, presents an obvious parallel with that of the earlier Palace at Phaestos, and in that case the fine polychrome remains found above the pavement levels belonged to the acme of the Second Middle Minoan Period. These comparisons, which had been familiar to us since the results of Dr. Pernier's excavations in 1901, had long led Dr. Mackenzie and myself to face the possibility that the West wall of the Palace at Knossos and the adjacent system went back to the same approximate period. It was at any rate clear that we had here to deal with the survival of Middle Minoan architectural traditions.

On the other hand the further investigation of the section of the Knossian Palace adjoining the Central Court to the West had shown that here parts of the original building, including a gypsum wall like that facing the West Court, had been incorporated in later structures belonging to the Late Minoan Age. The contents of the Temple Repositories led to the conclusion that this original building underwent a considerable destruction and remodelling about the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period. The early Cists and jambs of the West Magazines illustrated the same phenomenon. It thus became evident that the original structures of the Western Palace wing went back at least to the concluding epoch of the Middle Minoan age.

Were they, indeed, in their origin still more ancient?—perhaps altogether coeval with the early part of the Phaestian Palace? Was it

possible, in other words, that the original elements of the Palace at Knossos as at present existing, went back to the great age of polychrome ceramic art, namely the Second Middle Minoan Period, or even beyond it?

The absence of ceramic remains of the fine polychrome class in these early cists and repositories was not by itself conclusive. More conclusive, however, was the fact of which now there was such ample proof, that the stratum immediately underlying the West Court system did not represent an earlier stage than the Third Middle Minoan, when the great days of ceramic polychromy were already over. It thus appeared that the West front of the Palace and with it the original elements of the whole Western wing—though they still maintained the same architectural tradition as that visible in the earlier Palace at Phaestos, were the work of a somewhat later age,—in all probability of the concluding part of the Third Middle Minoan Period.

In order to clench the matter I resolved on a crucial experiment as to the date of the construction of the West wall itself. This wall, as has been already shown,¹ consists of an outer and inner face of massive gypsum slabs with a core of rubble masonry between them. I resolved therefore to make excavations, at certain points where it was still intact, in the intervening core of rubble masonry, which unquestionably belonged, equally with the gypsum casing, to the original structure. The sherds contained in this, especially in its lowest level, would certainly give a *terminus post quem* for the date of the construction of the West wall.

These explorations of the interior of the wall were made at four points opposite the ends of Magazines 2, 3, 5, and 10, and in all cases identical results were obtained. The upper part of the wall above the gypsum casing had been partly at least remodelled, and here some Late Minoan fragments occurred, including a seal impression showing one of the usual beast-headed 'daemons.' In the undisturbed area below, sherds were found of the polychrome class (Middle Minoan II) together with other characteristic fragments of the succeeding Third Middle Minoan Period. This evidence it will be seen entirely agrees with that collected in the adjoining West Court region and shows that the construction of the West wall belongs to the close of the Middle Minoan Age.

These explorations of the interior of the West wall brought out some further results of interest. The massive gypsum slabs forming its inner

¹ See Report *B.S.A.* 1903, p. 3.

and outer face were connected, as was already known, by cross-pieces of wood. In the wall-section, however, where this was first observed¹ the mortise holes, into which the ends of these cross-pieces fitted, were not sufficiently well preserved to show their exact original form. The present excavation revealed the fact that they were of a dove-tail plan, so that the ends of the wooden struts were keyed into them and the outer and inner facing of the wall thus locked together (see Fig. 11). It further appeared that on both of the rough inside surfaces of the gypsum



FIG. 11.—EXCAVATED SECTION OF INTERIOR OF WEST WALL OF PALACE, SHOWING MORTISES FOR CROSS-PIECES OF WOOD.

slabs signs were cut answering to those visible on the outside of the casing slabs at the back of the Magazines. It was thus demonstrated that the 'double axe' sign was repeated on the back of both the inner and outer gypsum slabs throughout the section of the West wall that extends from the second

¹ See Report, *B.S.A.* 1901, p. 3, Fig. 1.

to the fifth Magazine,—this being thus the regular mark both within and without. In the excavation made at the back of the tenth Magazine the star-sign made its appearance, which also occurs on the door-jamb between that and the eleventh Magazine.

§ 6.—REFERENCE MUSEUM IN THE PALACE.

In order to protect 'the Room of the Throne' from damp it had been found desirable to roof both it and the adjoining corridor and small chambers. The loft and covered galleries thus provided have now been fitted up with wooden shelves for the baskets of minor fragments of pottery taken from the various Palace rooms and from different metre-depths of the exploratory sections. In this way it has been possible to organize on the spot a kind of reference museum for the whole excavation, the baskets from the various floors and levels being carefully arranged and labelled by Dr. Mackenzie.

§ 7.—THE RESTORATION OF THE GRAND STAIRCASE.

By far the greatest work undertaken on the Palace site during the past season was the result of an accident, which threatened to become a disaster.

An exceptionally rainy winter led to the falling in of the second landing of the Grand Staircase in the Domestic Quarter. The wooden props inserted at the time of the excavation to support this had partially rotted and proved insufficient for their task. The breach caused by the partial collapse of the landing threatened the equilibrium of the upper flight of the staircase and its balustrade, as well as the adjoining part of the Upper East-West Corridor. To avert the ruin thus threatened demanded nothing less than heroic measures.

It will be remembered that at the time of the excavation of the Grand Staircase this upper flight of stone stairs with its stepped balustrade had been found practically in position, resting as by a miracle on a mass of indurated débris, though the supports which had originally held it up above the flight beneath it had themselves disappeared. Through this indurated mass, which seems to have been formed by the remains of the original sunburnt clay bricks of the upper stories of the building, a passage

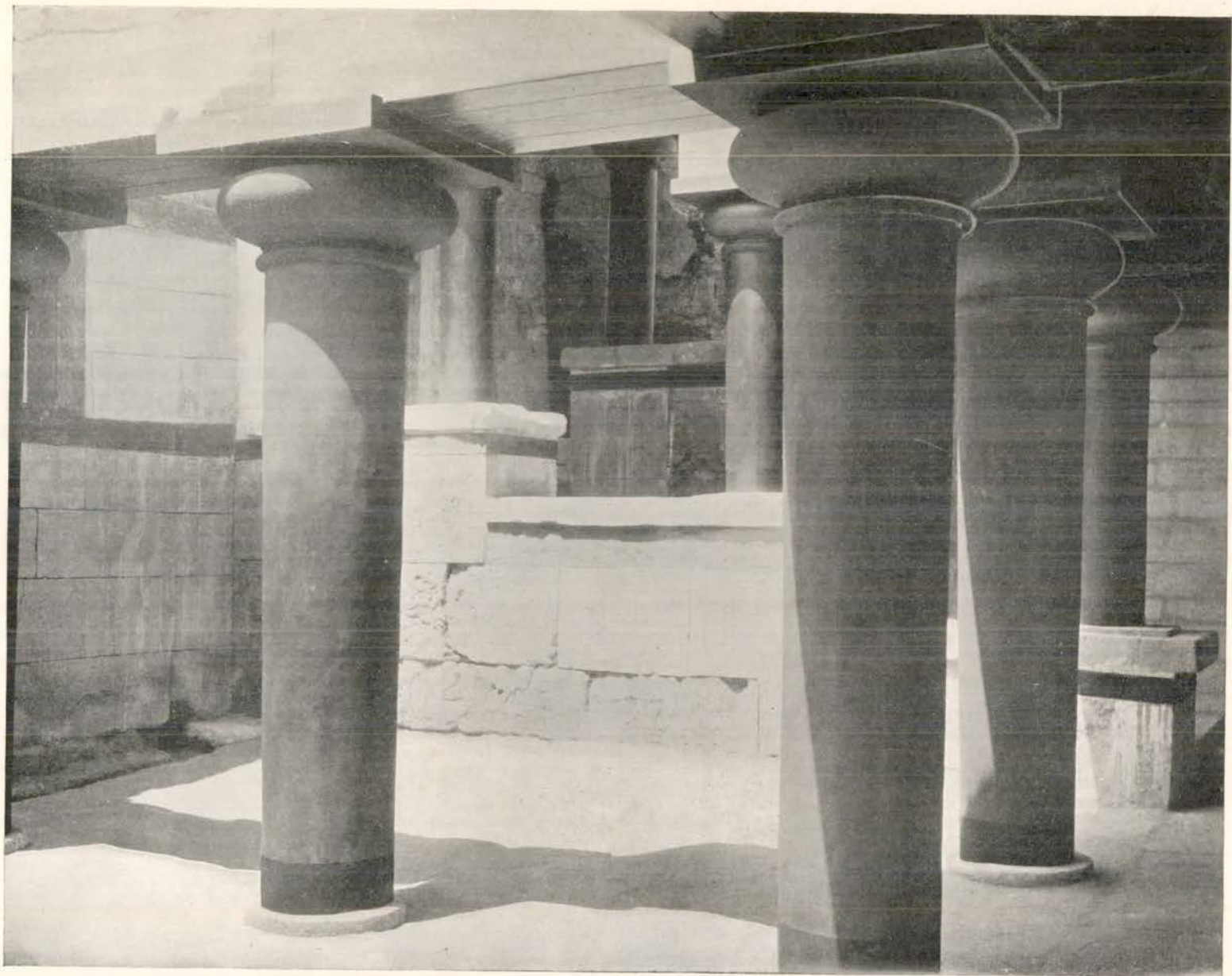


FIG. 12.—LOWER BALUSTRADE OF GRAND STAIRCASE, AS SEEN FROM BENEATH COVERED PART OF HALL OF COLONNADES, WITH COLUMNS IN BOTH PLANS.

way had been literally tunnelled down the underlying first flight of stairs. The descending gallery thus excavated had been supported like that of a mine with wooden props and frames, but a considerable thickness of fallen material had been left on the outer side of the stairs in order to ensure the adequate support of the upper flight and balustrade. But the whole upper structure having become insecure on account of the breach in the landing, I decided on the drastic expedient of removing provisionally the whole of the upper flight of stairs, with the intention of replacing it, properly supported, at its original level when the mass of débris below had been cleared away.

The upper structures having been carefully removed stone by stone and placed together on a neighbouring terrace in such a way as would facilitate their exact reconstitution, the hard deposit below could be cleared away,—an operation which resulted in a most illuminating discovery. Below the stepped balustrade that accompanied the upper flight of stairs, and separated from it by an interval of fallen and carbonized materials, there came to light on the outer border of the lower flight another similar ascending balustrade with sockets for columns like those above and even the charred remains of the actual wooden shafts.

It being in any case necessary to obtain strong and durable supports for the upper structures, the *minimum* of incongruity seemed to be secured by restoring the columns themselves in their original form—but in stone with a plaster facing in place of wood. For this work, which involved most difficult structural problems and a large use of iron girders in place of the original architraves and cross-beams, I was happy in securing the services of Mr. C. C. T. Doll, architectural student of the British School at Athens who has carried out his task with great success. The basis of this reconstruction must in any case be held to be secure. The new columns with their capitals reproduce both in shape and colouring examples seen on some recently discovered frescoes from a hall of the West Palace wing. The actual size of the architraves and beams could be ascertained from some large charred sections actually preserved. The stones, moreover, of the upper flight of stairs and of their balustrades had been carefully marked and numbered so that they could be re-set in their original positions. In the same way the massive limestone stair-block at the landing leading from the third to the original fourth flight, was also temporarily removed and re-set above its supporting column. In the course of our investigations a

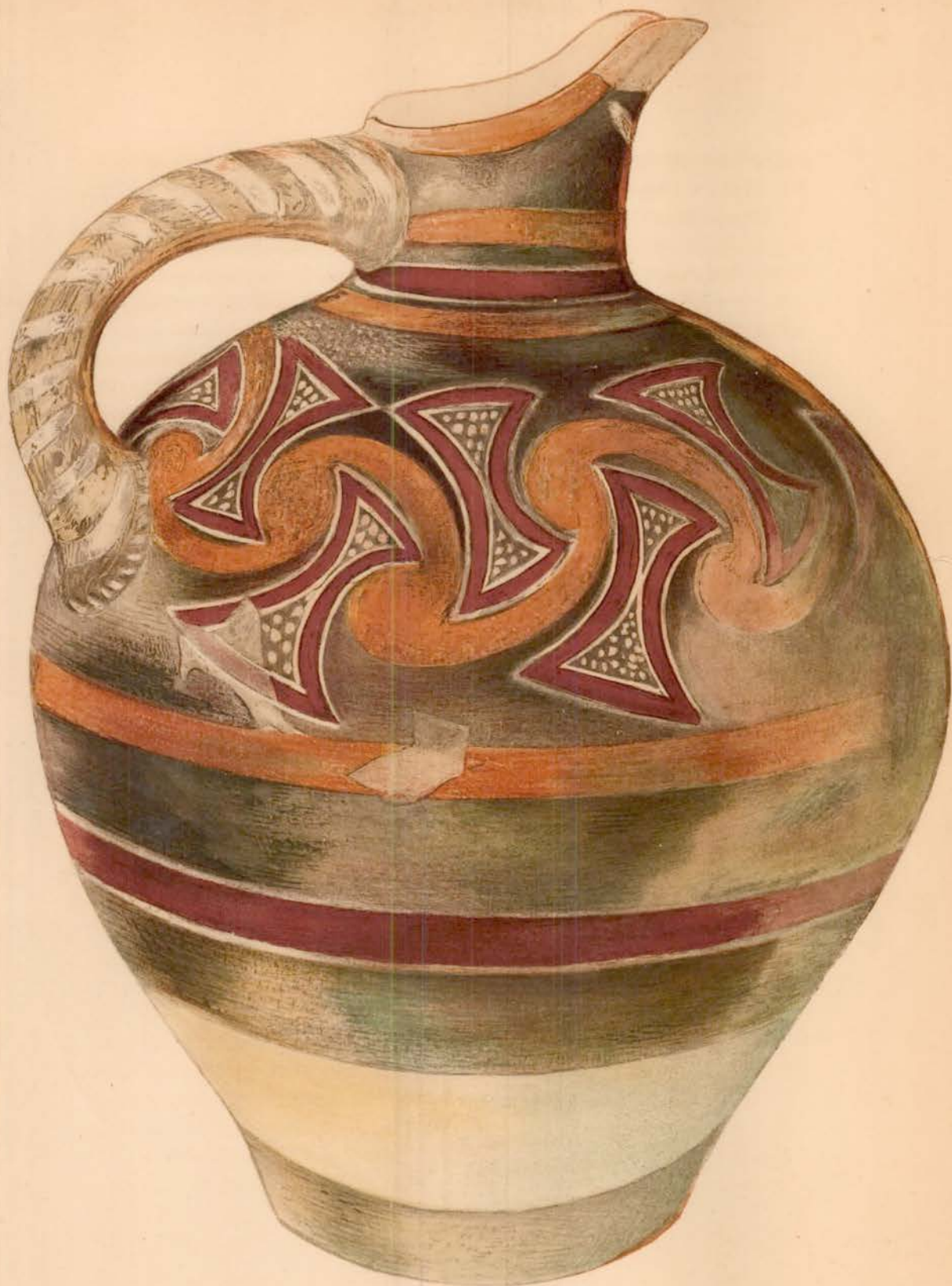
further stair-block came to light substantiating the existence of an original fifth flight of stairs.

It was found necessary to carry out the same reconstitution under the adjoining Upper Corridor and across the Hall of the Colonnades, which the Grand Staircase overlooks—the partially collapsed masonry above the window on the south side of the Hall being at the same time raised, the window itself opened out and its original wooden framing replaced.

Some idea of the result of this restoration as regards the lowermost flight of stairs may be gathered from the photograph, reproduced in Fig. 12, taken from the covered part of the 'Hall of the Colonnades.' As a whole the effect of this legitimate process of reconstitution is such that it must appeal to the historic sense of the most unimaginative. To a height of over twenty feet there rise before us the grand staircase and columnar hall of approach, practically unchanged since they were traversed, some three and a half millenniums back, by Kings and Queens of Minos' stock, on their way from the scenes of their public and sacerdotal functions in the West Wing of the Palace, to the more private quarters of the Royal household.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.





POLYCHROME VASE OF EARLY TYPE FROM FLOOR BENEATH WEST COURT;
OF THE FIRST MIDDLE MINOAN PERIOD.