

# EARLY HELLENIC POTTERY OF CRETE

**E**VEN the most recent handbooks of Greek art and histories of Greek pottery relegate the Cretan ceramic factories of the early Hellenic Age to a secondary place. The Cretan school seems to be considered backward in comparison with all the other Geometric schools of Greece, to be the most alien to the very spirit underlying Geometric art. It appears reluctant to accept the linear elements which constitute the essence of that art and to organize them into a rigid architectural system because it was bound to the tradition of curvilinear decoration, of single elements freely arranged; it was used to the absence of a rigid and rigorous partition of space. Until recently it was generally held that Orientalizing pottery was practically unknown in Crete, that Orientalizing art passed from the centers of its creation and diffusion, such as Cyprus and Rhodes, through Ionia directly to continental Greece. Crete was believed to have given at most a purely local re-elaboration of this style. The Geometric-Orientalizing period was seen as the final dwindling out of the artistic production of the island, which is henceforth a withered branch on the tree of Greek art throughout the historic age of Hellenism.<sup>1</sup>

Yet even in this negative attitude a recognition of the survival of pre-Hellenic tradition and artistic feeling was implicit; and indeed in the very height of the Geometric style the strange reappearance of some elements undoubtedly deriving from the repertory of Late Mycenaean art was pointed out.<sup>2</sup> But such a tradition and such an inheritance are unexplainable if—as was generally admitted—a gap of four centuries separates the end of the exhausted Mycenaean from the beginning of Geometric productions. Yet, in other categories of artistic work, for instance in laminated bronzes, during the Geometric and the Orientalizing periods a vitality and an inventiveness have been noticed strangely contrasting with the poverty of the ceramic workshops. Among the ceramic productions themselves, some rare and isolated monuments<sup>3</sup> revealed such remarkable and advanced artistic qualities as to make one doubt that the creative capacity of Cretan art had really so quickly and entirely faded away.

To try to solve with the spade the much-discussed and complicated problems referring to the dark period of transition between the dying off of the Mycenaean and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g., Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*; P. Ducati, *Storia della ceramica greca*, I (Florence, 1922), pp. 52 and 88; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, pp. 86 ff., and pp. 101 f. (where the remaining bibliography may be found).

<sup>2</sup> S. Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 233 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Thus e. g., the plate from Praisos we mention below, Plate XXIX.

the beginnings of the Hellenic civilization in Crete, during the spring of 1924 I carried on excavations on a site in the center of the island near the slopes of the Lassithi mountains. Both numerous surface remains all belonging to this period, and the name itself of the region in classical times, Arkades, suggested the hypothesis of a colonization of this place by the earliest, i. e., pre-Doric, Greek invaders of the island, and inspired the hope of finding here the point of contact with the preceding people and civilization. The mingling of the two civilizations and the direct derivation of the latter from the earlier were strikingly confirmed by all the characteristics of the excavated site: the architectural peculiarities, the mixture of tombal forms and of inhumation and cremation rites, as well as the appearance of the objects abundantly provided by its necropolis. In fact, a large number of interesting and unexpected monuments have by now added greatly to our knowledge of this period, thanks to this first excavation and to several others dedicated to the same problem, which were soon extended to the whole island. We may mention especially the methodical excavation of the necropolises of Knossos by the British School at Athens.<sup>4</sup>

First of all, a productive school of Geometric pottery was revealed. And this, far from being a belated and provincial interpretation of the rules dictated by the leading schools of Greece, presents many striking and individual characteristics, partly to be sure contrasting with the main tendencies of the other Geometric workshops of Greece, yet not so much as to prevent the legitimate classification of its products among those of the Geometric style. The more laborious and contrasted formation in Crete of this Geometric style explains its notable lagging behind the others, a phenomenon which had momentous consequences in the further development of Greek pottery, as we shall see below. All this can be due only to a more or less marked but indisputable inheritance, to a direct derivation from late pre-Hellenic art.

Secondly, the new finds—together with the monuments previously known on which they throw a new light—help us, as a matter of fact, in following, through slow and imperceptible transitions, the successive and progressive transformations from the latest Mycenaean manner to the art of the new age, without any violent change or any sudden break between past and present. A minute examination of all the products of Late Mycenaean art brings one, on archaeological and artistic grounds, to the inevitable conclusion already suggested by some scholars on historic grounds: the Mycenaean civilization did not die out during the thirteenth century,

<sup>4</sup> The greatest amount of Geometric pottery was discovered in the necropolis of Zafer Papoura, a little less than a mile to the north of the Palace of Knossos. A group of tombs was excavated on this site by Hogarth in 1899, two tombs by Sir Arthur Evans in 1907, and others by Payne in 1927. Two large tombs were discovered in 1933 on another site which lies to the west of the Palace, known as Fortezza. Most of the abundant tomb-furniture of the burials at Fortezza is still unpublished.

but in some regions of the wide Minoan world went on with its worn-out productions as late as the end of the second or more likely the beginning of the first millenium B.C. In its last centuries, it is true, the center of inspiration and of diffusion of Mycenaean art, as well as the center of its political and military power, had passed from the Aegean island to the fortresses of Mycenae and Tiryns on the Hellenic mainland. Crete, however, never ceased to be an intermediary between Europe and Asia, as the natural bridge from the Aegean to Rhodes, Cyprus, and Syria, for the traffic of the ships sailing along the ancient route by which its civilization had spread into the Orient even before the creation of the great Palaces, as far back as the last stages of the Early Minoan period.<sup>5</sup> The admirable architectural structure of the tombs of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the shore of Syria opposite Cyprus has its correspondence not in the tombs of Mycenae, but in the Royal tomb of Isopata near Knossos.<sup>6</sup> In the last period of Ugarit a factory of Mycenaean pottery, probably together with a substantial colony of Aegean inhabitants, was established in the Syrian town, just as in all probability similar factories had previously been established in Cyprus. From that and from other towns on the Syrian coast the Cretan-Mycenaean artistic manner, feeling, and motives spread to the Eastern world, persisted there, and were contaminated and confused with elements and motives of the oriental arts.

The whole phenomenon of the spreading and of the transformation of Cretan art in the East—a still obscure phenomenon, of which only vague but suggestive highlights have been projected so far by the recently very active excavations in the Near East—will possibly one day throw a brighter light upon the last difficult problem to the solution of which the Cretan excavations mentioned above have been an important contribution: the origin of the Orientalizing art. Already, however, because of these excavations the ceramic products of this art are so abundant and varied, that they must be considered, with the bronze monuments and all the other artistic products, when we set about to investigate and to revalue Crete's function in the creation and diffusion of the Orientalizing style at the beginning of Hellenic art.

Fully to grasp the origin and the profound essence of the Geometric pottery of Crete, consequently, we must go back one step, trying to comprehend all its harmonious and uninterrupted evolution by beginning with its point of contact with the preceding art. In other words we must take into consideration, also, the manifestations of that

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e. g., Demargne, "Crète, Égypte, Asie, perspectives d'hier et d'aujourd'hui," *Annales de l'École des hautes études de Gand*, II, 1938, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Aperçu de l'histoire d'Ugarit," *Journal des savants*, 1937, pp. 264 ff.; *eundem*, "Die Stellung Ras Shamra-Ugarits zur kretischen Kultur," *Jahrbuch*, LII, 1937, pp. 139 ff., especially pp. 147 ff.; *eundem*, *Mission de Ras Shamra*, III, *Ugaritica* (Paris, 1939), Chapter II ("Ras Shamra-Ugarit et le monde Égéen"), pp. 53 ff.

intermediate and still hesitant manner which is called Submycenaean or Proto-geometric. The sites where these products were found, such as Muliana, Erganos, Vrokastro, Kourtes, Kavousi, may be arranged in a chain, the first links of which still have their roots in the expiring Bronze Age, while the succeeding ones stretch on into the full Iron Age. We can see clearly through them the slow transformation of the fictile technique, the deterioration in the quality of the varnish, the dropping of some ceramic shapes. Still persisting more or less, however, are some decorative elements as well as some other shapes (stirrup-vases, broad-mouthed kraters, krateriskoi, wide cylindric jars with oblique handles, hydriae, spheric pyxides, and kalathoi).<sup>7</sup> The ornamental syntax at the beginning is still that of the previous art; but it becomes more and more linear and disintegrated; its elements are more and more casually associated; they can be distributed at pleasure horizontally or vertically, on any part of the vase. The changes are slow and almost imperceptible from one single object to the next one. But let us withdraw to a certain distance and consider the manifestations of the two extreme phases in their entirety, and we are able immediately to perceive that the point of contact represents also the point of departure of two centrifugal tendencies. There is in this first period of Hellenic ceramic art almost a restless process of discrimination and elimination, of transformation and re-elaboration, in order to find among the numerous inherited forms those most suitable to the new tastes and to the new exigencies. This is a period of creation and multiplication of fugitive shapes. We have, as regards the vase decoration, on the one hand a progressive impoverishment of an old and decaying ornamentation, reduced after a time almost to a skeleton of decoration, conveying a feeling of emptiness, and ready consequently to welcome a new ornamental repertory. And we have on the other hand the arrangement of traditional motives, but into a system differently conceived.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate this manner and these tendencies. To the very dawn of the Geometric style belongs the capacious cinerary urn from Vrokastro (Plate I, 1) showing a shape that links it directly to Mycenaean forms and a decorative system immediately calling to mind the Late Minoan larnakes. The decoration as a whole, however, produces an effect of a distinctly Geometric character, and consists of elements (such as full triangles, lozenges, checkerboard pattern, small leaves) from a repertory already perceptibly different from the preceding one. These are distributed here in vertical series, but elsewhere, and more often in this period, in a pattern of metopes and triglyphs, and always in such a way as to convey a general effect of strongly contrasting blacks and whites. The large krater from Kavousi (Plate I, 2) presents another old-fashioned and fugitive shape. But its decoration is emptier; the breaking off the geometric compactness with a curvilinear element confers upon a part of the vase a feeling of rhythmic movement. It betrays the delight

<sup>7</sup> This survival of Mycenaean shapes of vases in the Geometric period is admitted by Anna Roes, *De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst* (Haarlem, 1931), figs. 3-8 and p. 141.



in disturbing the indifferent equilibrium in the disposition of the geometric ornamentation by the introduction within it of an isolated element, which succeeds in attracting to itself all the spectator's attention. This consists, in this case, of two knobs in relief, surrounded by small rays, which may represent the forerunners of all the generation of prophyllactic eyes in Hellenic vase-painting.

It has been questioned for a long time whether a distinct place must be granted in ceramic art to the Protogeometric manner, as is given to the following Geometric manner. We have asserted that in Crete the Protogeometric forms a class clearly distinguishable as a whole from the following class on criteria of technique, shape, and decoration. We may well call it, consequently, a style, if we are willing to eliminate from this term any concept of fixed canons: because in the latter case we find in it, rather than a style, the preparatory stage of a style, a multiplying of attempts in search of an organization into a style. And again, we meet serious difficulties when we try to determine the precise chronological limits of this production. The apparent contradiction between shape and decoration, and sometimes the technique of certain vases as well, confirms in fact the continuation of products in a Protogeometric manner even during the period of a fully developed Geometric style. This is noticeable especially (see Plate I and Plate III, 1-2) in peripheral provinces (such as Kavousi, Praisos, etc.) where the presence of autochthonous groups of people, attested as late as the historic age, was bound to exert on the artistic production of the age with which we are dealing peculiarly disintegrating and individualizing effects. Hence in some Cretan regions at the time of the Geometric style formulas and artistic tendencies were preserved which elsewhere had already been superseded; in a like manner we shall notice the continuation of the Geometric style as late as the full blooming of Orientalizing art.

Geometric pottery, on the contrary, appears with homogeneous characteristics, firmly fixed, and moreover peculiar to the island in contrast to the other Geometric schools of Greece. The technique has by now greatly improved; a more consistent and lasting varnish is used. The repertory of the shapes has been limited by selecting the most organic and best proportioned ones from among the manifold attempts and the oscillations of the preceding period. The ornamental tendencies are stabilized by now in a determined system, which even through innumerable variations reveals an immutable aspect, the mark of an inalterable taste and tradition.

In an extensive series of products of this class<sup>8</sup> the incipient geometric manner of other Greek factories (for example, the "black ceramic" of the Dipylon) is recalled by a scheme of decoration in which broad black bands alternated with groups of narrow ones dominate the whole lower part of the vase. In Crete, however, we may easily recognize in the remaining ornamentation, mostly limited to the shoulder of the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e. g., *Arkades*, p. 592, fig. 640.

vase, the elements and the tendencies we have pointed out before. We meet often the narrow zones of cherished patterns giving in their ensemble the impression of alternating dark and light spots (Plates II, 2, and III, 3). Elsewhere (Plate III, 3) there is the partition of broader bands into metopes and triglyphs. The structure of the numerous large jars of ovoidal shape, provided with four handles on their shoulders, was specially suitable for this metope-like decoration. In the center of the metope the single element may be prominent; and this now more than ever may represent motives—buckles, liliated rhombs, opposed spirals—which seem to be derived from the Mycenaean gold laminae, and which by now may be repeated in an ornamental band on other parts of the vase (Plates XXVI, 1-2; II, 1, etc.).<sup>9</sup> Finally on a great number of cinerary urns and on other vases the black bands are either alternated with or replaced by rows of concentric circles, or else they are overpainted with the circles in white color on the dark background; this is a system of decoration (Plate IV, 1) which becomes one of the most characteristic of the Cretan Geometric ceramic, and which sometimes remains as the only motive surrounding the whole body of the vase, and forming a sort of continuous arabesque obviously suggesting imitation from metal models. The maeander, on the contrary, is rather rare in Crete (Plate VI, 3). It assumes sometimes a dominant position on the vase, clearly appearing as a foreign motive inspired from other styles, but almost invariably surrounded by the other more peculiar elements of the indigenous repertory.

At least from the beginning of the Geometric style, or rather from the borders of Protogeometric art, there is consequently found in Crete the use of the technique of a white decoration on a black background (see also Plates VII, 2, and VI, 2). This is, by all evidence, contemporary with the use of the technique in which a whitish chalky color rests immediately upon a rough brick-reddish kind of clay (Plate X, 1-2), as well as with the use, very likely inherited directly from Mycenaean painting, of a few decorative elements reserved in the background of the light slip and placed in the middle of the usual decoration painted in dark color (Plate II, 2). With the addition of a red outline and of a few red inner details to the drawings in chalky white, and with the superposition at first very cautiously of a few violet stripes over the band of brown varnish (Plate XIII, 3-4), and subsequently with a more determined alternation of red and violet drawings with the black and brown ones (Plates XI, 1; XV, 1), we see at Arkades the logical and progressive development of polychrome decoration.<sup>10</sup> It seems to us perfectly idle, after these considerations, to dispute whether the triumph of polychromy in Cretan ceramics—represented primarily by the category of the spacious funerary jars discovered largely but not exclusively at Knossos (Plate VIII, 1-2)—represents a reappearance of the old Kamares style of Minoan pottery, or rather a new wave of Cypriot influence. The relations with and

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Wide, *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Arkades*, pp. 534 f.

the influences from Cyprus, to which we shall have occasion to return often and the admission of which is perhaps necessary to a full understanding of the rise of Geometric and post-Geometric Cretan pottery, could certainly inspire the introduction on a larger scale of the peculiar Cypriot technique with a trichromatism of red, white, and black; and it is equally true, on the other hand, that polychromy would find in Crete most favorable ground because of the uninterrupted Mycenaean heritage. But the technique of the Knossian cinerary urns is equally distant from the Kamares polychromy as from the Cypriot. This class of Knossian urns begins with specimens decorated in a still strictly Geometric style, but possibly already approaching contact with Orientalizing art. The colors used in them, and matched according to the artist's fancy,<sup>11</sup> are a mat black, that varies between blue-indigo and gray, and a brilliant red almost exclusively<sup>12</sup> placed on a thick whitish slip which easily deteriorates and flakes off. In the most refined specimens a third color is added to the two principal ones, a kind of gold-yellow or orange-yellow, more or less lustrous.

The delay in the formation of a well-organized and crystallized Geometric style brought with it another consequence of the greatest importance for the further evolution of Cretan ceramic. That is to say that, at the very moment of the full, stylistic and technical, formation of a Cretan Geometric school, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., begins also the infiltration at first cautious and hesitating of the elements of a new style, inspired by contact with the arts of the East. These elements at first appear as a sporadic intrusion into the Geometric milieu, confined as they are to a secondary position on the vase, or even interrupting with a single motive a Geometric band of decoration (Plate VI, 4): very shortly, however, they multiply themselves, and direct the whole decoration toward a new and contrasting system, toward the "Orientalizing" art.

In fact the rich and manifold ceramic products recently discovered concur with other categories of monuments previously known to us, and first and foremost with the laminated bronzes, in leading us to one and the same conclusion: that Crete, far from being during the creation of this art a secondary and remote province, in comparison to the great influence exerted by Ionia upon the Hellenic continent, was together with Cyprus and Rhodes the natural and traditional bridge of transition. It constituted moreover the very nursery where from the new influxes and refluxes of art, as well as from the hoary traditions and the uninterrupted survival of the experience and of the artistic elements of the past, the seeds were created from which

<sup>11</sup> Entirely arbitrary is Payne's chronological classification based upon the predominance of one color or the other in the decoration of the vase (*B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 283 ff.).

<sup>12</sup> Excluding, to be precise, a single urn where the color is applied directly on the surface of the clay which is accurately smoothed (*Arkades*, pp. 597 ff., fig. 642; *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 244, no. 58, plates XVIII-XIX; details by Evans, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 17, fig. 24; K. F. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens* [1923], p. 59, fig. 39; H. R. Hall, *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* [London, 1928], p. 261, fig. 337).

the rejuvenated manner we are speaking of arose and blossomed. The factories of laminated bronzes offer us the most conspicuous picture of this immediate contact with the oriental art and of the laborious yet eager artistic process of assimilation, elimination, and transformation of the promiscuous and strange repertory of the foreign elements in a fresh and joyful spirit of increasingly original creation. Side by side with a few imported Phoenician objects, we have before us a series of local products—mostly paterae and shields decorated in repoussé work—the earliest of which go perhaps as far back as the end of the ninth century B.C. In these at first the subjects and the elements are peculiarly foreign: often we can even recognize in these elements their several origins in Egyptian, Assyrian, Hittite sources, which had contributed to the formation of the eclectic Phoenician art from which they were derived. But immediately afterwards the representations are submitted to a new syntax, which sometimes reminds us unmistakably of the manner of Minoan art. The ornamental elements are misunderstood, altered, and subjected to the imprint of new tendencies and new characters, which more and more clearly are determined as the informative characteristics of the new Greek art. It is in this prolific and overwhelming Cretan production that, after the impulse arriving from the East, we may see the first expressions of Hellenic art taking consistency, and from here—according to the Dedalic story—spreading throughout the surrounding islands as far as the Hellenic continent, giving rise to ever renewed and more daring manifestations.

Let us return now to ceramics, and to production for everyday use that could not cease development even during the most troubled and most sterile centuries of the island's civilization. Here, in addition to the geographical position, the characteristics which we have pointed out before and the evolution we have followed in the formation of Cretan Geometric pottery make perfectly obvious to us the reasons why Crete (partly together with Rhodes) was bound to be the first to welcome renewed influences from the East. In this ceramic we have pointed out the reluctance, caused by its traditions and its innate tendencies, to accept an obligatory and organic distribution of the whole space to geometric patterns. We have noticed the predilection for curvilinear elements of design giving movement and air to the whole, together with the frequent introduction of freely chosen individual motives, and at times the attempt to animate in a personal way the stubborn geometric patterns.<sup>13</sup> Now, in the case of Hellenic ceramic, the acceptance of the Orientalizing art meant indeed a violent break with the rigid Geometric schematism which, in its architectonic system and in its rhythm dominating the whole surface of the vase, admitted no solution of continuity and no intrusion of motives foreign to its own repertory. It meant above all the admission of free-hand decoration, of individual design, and of fantasy into the space where the Geometric elements are few. Before long, the remains of the Orientalizing

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e. g., the amphora from Kavousi, *Arkades*, p. 592, fig. 640.

repertory—the rows of animals, the garlands of lotus-flowers, almost geometrized and stereotyped in their turn—will be relegated to a secondary part of the vase, all but taking up the place once occupied by the geometric bands in the Orientalizing decoration. But the conquest of space will remain throughout Greek art, it will give scope to the free expression of individual fantasy, opportunity for treating scenes with figures and—the central point always for the Greeks—human life.

Do the qualities emphasized before in Cretan ceramic entitle us to call the Geometric style of Crete a failure? <sup>14</sup> It is quite true that the first and foremost quality of Hellenic Geometric style, such as for instance the style of the Dipylon pottery, is the harmonious distribution of the whole space, the decorative rhythm which accentuates the architectural proportions of the vase. Though a good architectural decoration is one which enhances and stresses the form, it is as well one which, on the contrary, tries almost to destroy and to make one forget the underlying architectural structure, to cause its ornamental creations to float in the free space of fantasy beyond any obstacle and limitation. This goal will be reached in the vase-painting of classical Attic ceramic. But this is already, in opposition to all the other Geometric schools of Greece, the tendency peculiar to Cretan Geometric pottery.

We have said that it is along the ancient road of communication between East and West, through the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete which all but form a natural bridge for the coastal trade of antiquity, that the wave of oriental influence travels which gives rise to the Orientalizing style. But if we want really to grasp the artistic phenomenon of this new influx from the East, we must keep in mind the Late Mycenaean colonization of the Syrian coast, which we have mentioned before, and the slow irradiation from here of Mycenaean motives and artistic features. We must not forget, moreover, that Phoenician art, the messenger of the new style, by the time it arrived in Crete had included in its repertory not only truly oriental elements but also the Mycenaean motives which reached it in the manner just mentioned as well as those it absorbed from belated and exhausted Mycenaean production in the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes. And finally we must not forget that several among the themes and patterns which were used to form the repertory of this Phoenician art had already emigrated to Crete along the same route from the East centuries and centuries before and had been absorbed and assimilated into Minoan art: for instance, the guilloche, the calyx, the collar of tongues and lobes (Plates VI, 2; VIII, 2; IV, 2; XIII, 4, etc.),—the last a pattern certainly derived from the imitation of metal models,—the rosette and the star (see e.g., Plates XXI, 1, 4, 5; XXVII, 3).<sup>15</sup> For some of these old patterns the direct and uninterrupted descent from Mycenaean to

<sup>14</sup> M. Hartley, *B.S.A.*, XXXI, 1930-31, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> On the guilloche see *Arkades*, pp. 521 ff.; on the tongue-pattern, Kunze, *Kretische Bronze-reliefs* (Stuttgart, 1931), pp. 113 f.; on the rosette, *ibid.*, pp. 116 f.

Hellenic art can be proved. Some other motives, such as the rows of running or hunting animals which persisted as a cherished pattern in outlying factories of late Mycenaean art like Cyprus, are met again sporadically also in Crete. But it is idle to speculate on the number and importance of these single elements of the Mycenaean heritage, when we have been able to demonstrate above that contact existed between the two arts and the two civilizations, that tradition, the ancestral tendencies, and artistic taste never were entirely extinguished. Another confirmation of this assertion is that in the renewal of art we are speaking of, at the very moment of the full manifestation of the Geometric style, the introduction of the earliest oriental elements coincides with the largest recurrence of other elements, alien both to the geometric and to the oriental repertory, and indisputably reminding one of the Mycenaean decoration on the incised gold laminae of Mycenae (Plate XXVI).<sup>16</sup> This convergence of manifold and opposed sources of inspiration is also the very reason for the uncertainty in the chronological determination of the single products. It is obvious in fact that the Geometric style, which has just now arrived at its full and most efficacious expressions, will not give up immediately, that it will persist in the production of objects entirely imprinted by it, although at the same time all around Crete the new Orientalizing art is more and more imposing itself and is soon to dominate altogether.

The active role displayed by Crete in this renewal of Greek art may be demonstrated by observing also in the products of this Orientalizing pottery that twofold aspect which has been singled out in the laminated bronzes: on one hand the direct contact with oriental art, and on the other the fanciful and capricious re-elaboration of oriental motives into a quite new and individual manner, into a purely local style. Let us analyze some patterns of the new repertory. The chain of arcs and palmettes, which especially in metalwork shows the point of departure from the foreign motive in a shape exactly corresponding to Assyrian prototypes, immediately takes up a different trend (Plate XXII, 2). In the same way we notice the transformation and the determination of an individual character in the garlands of lotus-flowers, either alone (Plate XXI, 5) or alternated with the fleur-de-lis, and subsequently interlaced and alternately inverted (Plates XXX, 1; XV, 1); these floral chains precede and lead the way to the graceful and complicated variations of the Protocorinthian pottery. Suddenly we perceive, however, that it is a row of bees—cherished as an ornamental pattern in the island's decoration—that hang from a chain of arcs (Plate XX, 2), or that it is the lotus flower that is being consciously confused with animal forms or entirely replaced by feline heads (Plates XV, 1; XXX, 2; XI, 1). The rosettes inscribed within the circle,<sup>17</sup> as well as the chains of contiguous palmettes,<sup>18</sup> or the two

<sup>16</sup> Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 233 ff.; *Arkades*, p. 579.

<sup>17</sup> See Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 ff. Cf. *B.S.A.*, XXXI, 1930-31, p. 93, fig. 23, and the pinax decorated in relief from Praisos, *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-6, p. 38, fig. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Arkades*, p. 351, fig. 459; p. 70, fig. 48.

opposed fleurs-de-lis,<sup>19</sup> may be directly traced back to the Assyrian repertory. But in an urn from Arkades (Plate IX, 2) the garland of palmettes is transformed into a pattern calling to mind the heart-shaped leaves formed by two running spirals in Mycenaean decoration. In another urn the two opposed fleurs-de-lis may betray a reminiscence of the Mycenaean pattern of two double spirals set back to back, and at the same time perhaps also an attraction of the naturalistic feeling in the rapprochement of the geometric element to the outline of a butterfly.<sup>20</sup> On a Cretan plate the Assyrian pattern of the quadruple lotus, thanks to a fanciful use of whites and blacks, may suggest the form of two big crossing-axes divided by two bilobate shields (Plate XXVII, 2).<sup>21</sup> The parathetical disposition of isolated floral elements may indicate a direct contact with Egyptian art, or rather a derivation of this Egyptian pattern through the intermediary of Cypriot art, the tight bonds of which with Egyptian art are well known. It may, however, be a conscious break of the chain of flowers introduced by a foreign style, and the adaptation of the foreign repertory to the taste by now acquired and established in the Geometric style. Quite peculiar to Crete, and fugitive, are in fact the faulty attempts at combinations of floral with Geometric elements:<sup>22</sup> such are the lotuses inserted within arrangements of concentric circles,<sup>23</sup> and the palmettes resting upon spirals (see e. g., Plates XXVII, 1 and 4; XIII, 1, etc.) which often end in scrolls or in large ribbons spreading across the field (Plate IX, 1), curiously calling to mind the loops of the Minoan "sacred knot." Even more distinctly, the device of isolating a single motive, which dominates by itself the whole field, results, as it were, in a breaking forth of the elements of nature imprisoned in the schemes of Orientalizing art, in order to bestow upon them again, according to the primeval tendencies of the island, almost the value of real flowers rising in a meadow. Such is the feeling which seems to have revived on one of the most interesting polychrome urns from Knossos (Plate VIII, 2) the schematized branches of Geometric style, transforming them into the representation of a grove within which birds and insects move.

The same observations may be repeated also for animal motives. Even the most characteristic pattern of the Orientalizing style, the rows of running animals, may be found in Crete in a vase as early as the Kavousi hydria (Plate III, 1), which in shape, technique, and figured decoration is so characteristic of the Protogeometric manner as to make us inclined to admit its direct derivation from late Mycenaean art, where in fact the running-animal pattern occurs in a very conspicuous ceramic cate-

<sup>19</sup> Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Arkades*, p. 403, fig. 519.

<sup>21</sup> See a similar stylization of the calyx of a single palmette on the back of a moulded handle, representing a winged bearded bust of Assyrian type, from a bronze basin from Delphi, Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 107, p. 275, Beilage 6. The same design of the calyx of palmettes appears also on other Cretan ceramic products.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 278; *Arkades*, p. 515, fig. 599 C.

<sup>23</sup> Payne, *ibid.*, p. 279, fig. 34, no. 46.

gory of Cyprus. Again the series of running wild goats of oriental art assumes in Crete a varied, animated rhythm and reveals the anxiety and the agony of the animal about to be caught by the lion, while these feelings diminish progressively with the increasing distance from the danger, to the complete calm reached with the last animal which browses unaware (Plate XVI): a disposition which reminds us exactly of the representations on the incrustated daggers of Mycenae. In other cases<sup>24</sup> we notice behind a stag a part of a dog, which reveals the transformation of the theme of "stag-hunting" into the Hellenic scheme, which will be peculiar to Proto-corinthian art. The running bulls attain the aerial élan of the "flying-gallop";<sup>25</sup> and vice versa the series of deers assume another attitude, providing a new Hellenic pattern in the row of grazing animals,<sup>26</sup> a pattern which in the fanciful Cretan metal-work is applied even to the rows of monstrous creatures so ill-fitted to this peaceful pasture as are the griffins. The "bird-griffin" which appears first, like the siren, in the Hellenic fantastic repertory in an urn from Arkades (Plate XI, 2) is half painted and half carved in relief. This vase thus reveals itself as a clear imitation from the Eastern bronze basins provided with moulded attached handles ("Kesselattaschen") which will have a long life also in Europe's industry,<sup>27</sup> while this device in clay-decoration is peculiar to Crete. We find again the motive of the two-bodied animal,<sup>28</sup> which had been earlier imported from the East to Crete during the height of Minoan art. And vice versa, from a full-face view of the lion's head a new stylization of wild animal is created, which is conventionally called the "panther." In the very forms of the animal motives, even those of the most common animals, the part of foreign inspiration is clearly distinguishable in its beginning and its transformations. These transformations and re-elaborations are so thorough, that soon we have before us the fixed and peculiar types of Cretan art, and those which will be the models of Hellenic art. We distinguish, for instance, oriental elements, perhaps with some Mycenaean reminiscences, and new details in an admirable series of lions painted as well as plastically carved (Plate XXV). An even more individual outline is that of the horse, with long, almost wooden, legs and a tiny head (Plates X, 2; XIV, 3; XXXI, 3 and 6; XXXII). There is the abandonment of the oriental sphinx—which makes only an ephemeral appearance on the laminated bronzes—and the introduction of new varieties. In these a still distinctly Mycenaean headdress, such as the low

<sup>24</sup> Fragment of stamped pithos from Prinias, *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, plate XIV, 12.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Arkades*, p. 63, fig. 44, no. 46. Rostovtzeff, when tracing the history of this motif, which spread from Crete as far as China, affirms that it did not pass into the repertory of Greek art: see *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty*, 1927, p. 59 ff.; "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, V, 1935, p. 288 ff. He seems to ignore all specimens of late Mycenaean, Geometric and Orientalizing art: see *Arkades*, p. 458; the jug of Theseus and Ariadne (*ibid.*, p. 340); the bronze patera, *ibid.*, pl. XX; in addition, the shield of Palaikastro, etc.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Pernier, *Annuario*, I, 1914, p. 99, fig. 54.

<sup>27</sup> See Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Arkades*, p. 172, fig. 192. Cf. Jacobsthal, *Proceedings of the Brit. Acad.*, XXVII, 1941, p. 13.



and flat lily-cap (Plates X, 1; XX, 4), or the three-cornered hat (Plate XI, 2), may be associated with a profile of the face which is gradually approaching a purely Hellenic structure. The process we are hinting at can be well followed especially through a magnificent series of pithoi decorated in relief (Plate XXX, 2), a ceramic category particularly exuberant in Crete (Plates XXX-XXXII), which can be directly linked with the Minoan technical inheritance.<sup>29</sup> The luxurious products of this category as regards decoration evolve in a manner parallel to the related painted pottery in spite of a repertory and a syntax peculiarly their own.

We have anticipated, in the examination of the sphinxes which appear together with centaurs as a main feature in the last category of monuments we have mentioned, some remarks on the representation of the human element in Cretan art; this remains to be considered. We have already said that the luxuriant and refined production of the bronze industries, which may have been interrupted during the centuries of decay and impoverishment, complied now in their beginnings with the multiform and varied foreign repertory. Within this, we may recognize human types of thoroughly oriental manner, although we may notice at the same time the infiltration of transformations and misunderstandings. Only when we reach the very last products of this activity can we distinguish the appearance, very hesitant at first, of a facial structure entirely different from the oriental,<sup>30</sup> one clearly Hellenic. On the contrary, ceramic as well as plastic art is also in this respect indissolubly bound to the manner of pre-Hellenic art. At first we meet an entirely open face, an inorganic one, with a snub nose and a receding chin, quite characteristic of late Mycenaean style: this is the reason why the fragment of a pithos from Praisos with the representation of a siren<sup>31</sup> was attributed to the latter art; in my opinion because of many considerations it must be classed in this primitive phase of Hellenic art. As a matter of fact we are in a position to follow through a numerous series of monuments both painted (Plates II, 3; XXVIII, 3; VIII, 1; V, 1-2; XX, 3-4; XI, 2; X, 1-2; XII; XVI) and plastic (Plates XXIV, 3, 1, 2; XXX, 2; XXXI, 5-6; XXXII; XXVI, 1-2) the gradual transformation from this structure of face to another, which in turn will be peculiar to the incipient Hellenic art; this is the type which we may call "Dedalic," just the contrary of the earlier one in that it is closed, energetic, and angular. Some intermediate products of this process, in which the inexperience in the design of the human body is matched by a sketchy outline of the face almost with beaked features (Plate IX, 2), call to mind in fact a transitional style between pre-Hellenic and Hellenic art in the related island of Cyprus which we have often cited before. The variations in the

<sup>29</sup> See *Arkades*, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 f. On the divergence in the structure of the human head between the late Mycenaean and the Geometric plastic art, see *eundem*, "Zu den Anfängen der griechischen Plastik," *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 141 ff., pp. 156 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Kunze, "Sirenen," *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 124 ff.

technique of drawing correspond to the wavering in the design of the human body. The starting point is here too, in all probability, the silhouette technique, common in Crete in the last phase of the Mycenaean age, with massive bodies and filiform limbs and only a hole preserved from the background in the middle of the head to represent the eye. From this proceeds the manner of the body in silhouette and the head in outline. Without trying to follow at this point all the advances, hesitations, and recessions, we may grasp the full contrast in tendencies and feelings between the two arts if we place ourselves at the two extreme points of the evolution, from the siren of Praisos cited above to the urn from Arkades with Theseus and Ariadne (Plate XVI), or better to some products of the stamped pottery of an even later time around the middle of the seventh century B.C., such as the *πότνια ἵππων* of Prinias (Plate XXXII) or the ephebe of Afrati (Plate XXXI, 5).

Also as regards the meaning of the symbolic and religious subjects and of the representations of human scenes, it is difficult to tell what has been derived from the indigenous religion of the country, from the newly imported repertory of oriental symbols and myths, and from the breaking forth of figures and subjects of the Hellenic legend. The cherished heraldic and antithetical motives (Plates XV, 2; X, 1; XXX, 2) are undoubtedly a primordial theme of oriental art, which had passed for centuries, however, into the repertory of Minoan creations and had been tediously repeated in Mycenaean art. Moreover the oriental demons as subduers of wild beasts had been identified for centuries with the island's own aboriginal gods and heroes as the rulers of the natural forces. Sometimes (Plate X, 1) these demons present themselves with indigenous garments and attributes; elsewhere, however, even in early representations such as the lid of an urn from Fortezza (Plate XXVIII, 3) a deity may hold a symbol like the thunderbolt, which suggests the new Hellenic mythology. Coming down to earthly subjects, in hunting scenes sometimes an element such as the carriage<sup>32</sup> may reveal indubitable derivation from the East, while the same element in other representations (Plate XXXII) is transformed into a characteristic local shape. The scene of a man leading a woman (Plates VIII, 1; IX, 1) may call to mind similar representations of divine or ritual processions of Minoan art. Equally legitimate, on the other hand, is the comparison with certain scenes of rape preserved to us in the scarce patrimony of geometric human representations: both have been attributed by some scholars to a definite myth, that is, they have been interpreted as the departure from Crete of Theseus and Ariadne on the deck of their boat. The warrior's farewell and the crying mourners of the Kavousi hydria (Plate V), which also may be linked with the usual repertory of the large Dipylon vases, may either be genre scenes, or suggest the funerary use of the hydria with a hint of the last greeting of the dead. Other representations of ceramic, as well as of metalwork and of the

<sup>32</sup> See *Annuario*, I, 1914, p. 93, fig. 47.

other Cretan arts, such as the youths on both sides of an *eidolon* or crowning a trophy (Plate XXXI, 4), while they remind us of similar ritual subjects of Minoan religion, pass into the generic repertory of early Hellenic pottery. The centaur, on the other hand, belongs exclusively to the new Hellenic mythology;<sup>33</sup> finally, two names of Cretan-Hellenic legend may be applied to the two figures on the jug from Arkades (Plate XVI), Theseus and Ariadne meeting near the Labyrinth.

In the course of our paper we have more than once come upon products, such as the pithoi with stamped decoration and the plastic vases or those with a moulded part of their body, which belong to an intermediate industry between plastic and ceramic.<sup>34</sup> Plastic vases were cherished throughout the ages in the East and had passed from there into Minoan art, and hence undoubtedly had come directly through the late Mycenaean age into the Protogeometric and Geometric art of Crete and down into the Orientalizing repertory. Proof of this is the most fugitive and unexpected variations of certain shapes through the transitional periods; such are the duck-vases, the bird-vases, and those with the structure of quadrupeds. So the jugs with a quadruped's neck and head (Plate XXII, 1 and 3) may be derived from a transformation of Submycenaean forms, such as the last degenerations of the stirrup vase, or from a direct inspiration of the old Minoan rhyta. The handles in the shape of griffin heads in the urn from Arkades mentioned before (Plate XI, 2) are derived from the East. Returning to the category of the birds, the owls of the Arkades tombs (Plate XXIII, 1) probably hint, on the contrary, at new religious and funerary conceptions. The small monkeys recently discovered at Knossos (Plate XXIII, 3) are found in later times among usual shapes of painted and plastic Corinthian toilet-bottles in Etruscan tombs, but are never represented among the products of Corinth itself. In the same way the vase in total or partial human shape (Plate XXIV, 1, 3) can be linked uninterruptedly with Mycenaean plastic vases through intermediate stages in the Geometric and Proto-orientalizing styles. Passing over all the fugitive and hesitant types, we will stop at a single vase, the famous aryballos in Berlin (Plate XXVI) which is painted in a strikingly Cretan style with strong Cypriot influences. Some details of its head, for example, the horizontally divided wig ("Etagenperücke"), also reveal the local manufacture, but other details on the contrary, such as the shape of the eyes, show an unmistakable, if no longer very close, imitation of Eastern models. In this example we may point out a significant proof of an artistic stream, in which an illustrious progeny in the Protocorinthian factories will have its origin.

<sup>33</sup> Fragment of stamped pithos from Eleutherna, Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 52, plate II b.

<sup>34</sup> On the uninterrupted development from Minoan to Hellenic plastic forms, see *Arkades*, pp. 612 ff.; also Valentin Kurt Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland u. Vorderasien* (Augsburg, 1929), pp. 60 ff.

Having watched the vigorous stream of the innovating art of the East reaching Crete's shores and giving rise in the island to the formation and the exuberant flourishing of a local art marked by the new style, we must now verify how much of this new orientalizing art the island was able to transmit to the rest of the Greek world, how big a role Crete had in the opening of the new roads along which Hellenic art as a whole moves. Of great importance in our task is the solution of the complicated and debated problem of the relationship between the Cretan ceramic and another among the most original and productive Greek factories, the Protocorinthian potteries, which were the first of Hellenic ceramic productions to have a universal diffusion throughout the ancient world.<sup>35</sup> In our present state of knowledge the problem may be summarized in a few words as follows. Nobody can deny that the class of globular lekythoi had its origin in Crete, where too it had a very long life. From Crete globular lekythoi were introduced into Corinth and there imitated; likewise from Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes (from the last two probably through the mediation of Crete) were introduced into the Protocorinthian ceramic the shapes of the long-necked lekythos (cf. Plate XIII, 4), the annular askos (cf. Plate XXII, 2), the high pyxis, and the vase in the shape of a pomegranate.<sup>36</sup> It is on the contrary insistently asserted and generally admitted that Corinth first invented, or adopted from the Mycenaean heritage, the shape of the ovoid toilet-bottle, and that all the specimens of this category found outside Corinth and revealing a kind of clay and a technique indisputably not Protocorinthian, such as those of Crete, are nothing but imitations from Protocorinthian models. Similarly to Corinth is attributed the origin, either by indigenous creation or by direct imitation from the East, of the standard types of the other most characteristic shapes of Protocorinthian pottery, which were to be the models for all Greece: the alabastron, the aryballos, the kotyle. As regards these shapes, however, thanks to recent discoveries, their Cretan origin, or at least their passage through Crete appears much more plausible. From Cyprus, the close relationship of which with Crete we have by now repeatedly remarked, shapes of vases quite characteristic of the former island (Plate XVII) or its general system of decoration (cf. also Plates XIII, 2; XXVI, etc.) are introduced in a huge number of Cretan products (still belonging to the Geometric period); these products in Crete reach great elegance and a really individual style. From Cypriot imitation was derived the creation of a variety of all the kinds of the small lekythos (Plate XVIII), which we can easily follow here in its progression toward the characteristic shapes of the lekythoi called "Protocorinthian" (Plate XIX, 4-6). From vases in terracotta and in

<sup>35</sup> The latest works on this subject are H. G. G. Payne's book, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, in Beazley and Jacobsthal's *Bilder griechischer Vasen*, fasc. 7 (Berlin, 1933); and S. S. Weinberg's paper "What is Protocorinthian Geometric Ware?" in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Johansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff., pp. 26 ff.; Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 5 ff., p. 7, note 4; *eundem*, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 254; *Arkades*, p. 524 and p. 670.

Egyptian faïence—importations and imitations of the latter category in Crete are attested as well <sup>37</sup>—we can notice the derivation of a series of unstable shapes and variations which through endlessly differentiated stages arrive finally at the standard models of the alabastron and of the aryballos (Plate XIX, 7-9). Some of these shapes, either direct imitations from Cypriot or Rhodian ones or fugitive transformations of the Cretan factories, may be found sporadically also in some other ceramic schools of the “Protocorinthian” sphere of influence, but often do not appear at all among the products of Corinth itself (cf. Plates XIX, 1-3; XX, 3).<sup>38</sup> In Crete, moreover, we can observe the slow and gradual formation of the standard type of the “Protocorinthian” kotyle from the Geometric skyphos (Plate XXI, 1, 3, 4). As regards the technique and the style in general, we can notice taking shape in Crete little by little, perhaps by imitation of Cypriot products, the geometric category of vases decorated with narrow parallel bands all around the body, vases which become thinner and thinner, of a more and more whitish clay, which, in a word, reach the technique that will be peculiarly Protocorinthian (cf. Plate XIV, 1-2). In conclusion, even if we may find in Crete some isolated specimens of imported Protocorinthian pottery as early as the time of the early ovoid lekythoi, is this sufficient reason to accept the thesis that their imitation gave rise in the island to the whole category of the ovoid toilet-bottles of Crete, especially since we can verify in Crete as late almost as the end of the Protocorinthian age an indigenous production of a clearly individual character, varied, full of inventiveness, venturing into every kind of experiment, and since too we can see the exportation of Cretan products radiating into the Aegean and into the Peloponnese itself undoubtedly on a much larger scale than the importation of foreign products into Crete? Above all, the expansion of the influence of Cretan art is evident; its features, introduced into the Peloponnese in ancient as well as in recent times, are still recognizable as late as an advanced stage of Protocorinthian ceramic, while we can never notice in the main Cretan production an effective stream of influences and suggestions from the Peloponnese. An exhaustive study of the penetration in this age of Cretan style into the Aegean and the Peloponnese has not yet been made. Nonetheless, single elements of Cretan derivation have been indisputably pointed out here and there: in the garlands of lotus flowers, in the geometric and

<sup>37</sup> In the two recently discovered tombs of Fortezza near Knossos were found several specimens of faïence vases closely imitating Egyptian originals. In these can be noticed also, for the first time, a conspicuous number of clay toilet-bottles imported from Cyprus to Crete, together with their Cretan derivations. In Tomb I at least six specimens reveal beyond doubt their Cypriot origin in their decoration in black shining varnish on lustrous red or orange color: a small amphora with the characteristic decoration of concentric circles, two lekythoi with horizontal bands, a stamnos, a jug with trefoil mouth and without neck, and a flat spheroidal flask with a long neck. Two other Cypriot toilet-bottles were found in Tomb II.

<sup>38</sup> See, furthermore, *Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, p. 306, fig. 17; *Arkades*, p. 351, fig. 459, and p. 358, fig. 470.

floral motives which have contributed to the formation of the Melian floral style, in the peculiar double loops of the style of Eretria (cf. Plate XXII, 3), in the rendering of the animals in the admirable vases attributed to the school of Paros.<sup>39</sup> They have penetrated into Peloponnesian art down to the time of the creation of the Chigi oinochoe, and in metalwork down to the cuirasses of Olympia.

But how much longer can we follow in Crete itself an original creation before civil strife and perhaps also the exhaustion from centuries of cultural effort reduce the island to a state of inert indifference in the face of the wonderful surge of civilization and art of all Greece? It is perhaps premature to fix this termination until further discoveries can complete our fragmentary knowledge of this last phase of the age with which we are dealing. So far the latest products, and among them some of the best, yielded to us by the Knossian cemeteries do not seem to date beyond the middle of the seventh century B.C. Only a few isolated Early Corinthian toilet-bottles from some individual tombs of Arkades are more recent. For an even later time we must still mention, outside the category of the stamped pithoi, a single but unexpected and striking monument of Cretan painted ceramic: the pinax, or plate, from Praisos (Plate XXIX). On one side of this is represented a horseman riding a horse of a distinctly Cretan type; the figures are drawn in the already mentioned silhouette technique, but with a diluted varnish which is also not entirely absent from figured Cretan pottery. On the other side there is the graceful representation of a hero, who cannot be more precisely identified (Herakles fighting against the sea-monster, *ἄλιος γέπων*, or Theseus at the bottom of the sea, or Peleus and Thetis?). A new daring enlivens this painting, which in its conception seems almost to be inspired by the old Minoan "round-composition," while its technique is unique as well; it is an outline-drawing for the whole human body, except for the man's flowing hair, and with details in a white or grayish color used together with the brown varnish. This technique seems, consequently, almost to foreshadow that of Attic black-figured ware; furthermore, in other Cretan creations we seem to see the gradual evolution of the style of red figures preserved on a dark background (Plates XVI; XV, 2) almost two centuries before the beginning of the Attic style.

In the above-examined ceramic products, as well as in contemporary bronze objects<sup>40</sup> of the second half of the seventh century B.C., we see the last flight of imagination of the old civilization of Crete before it settles into the darkness of its exhausted, lethargic sleep.

<sup>39</sup> See Payne, "Cycladic Vase-Painting of the Seventh Century," *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>40</sup> See Doro Levi, "I Bronzi di Axòs," *Annuario*, XIII-XIV, pp. 43 ff., plates X-XV.

## APPENDIX

## CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

NOTE. Where not otherwise stated, it is understood that the vases described are preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Candia (Herakleion). The following photographs were kindly secured by the British School at Athens: Plates II, 1 and 3; VII, 1-2; XIX, 1-3; XX, 2-4; XXI; XXIII, 3; XXVIII, 3. The photograph of Plate XXIII, 1, was given me by J. D. Beazley; those of Plate XXVI, by the Director of the Berlin Museums. The photographs of Plates I, 1; XXIX; XXII, 2 and XXIII, 2, were secured by the ex-ephor of Crete, Sp. Marinatos, and the last two are published with his permission and that of the discoverer of the Tomb of H. Paraskies, Mr. Platon, ephor for Crete. Most of the other photographs are by the author.

## PLATE I

Large Protogeometric cinerary vases.

I, pp. 87 f., III, p. 8, fig. 30. Cf. *Arkades*, p. 556.

1. Cylindrical urn with two handles in relief along all the height of the vase, from Vrokastro, Tomb I. Geometric decoration in vertical bands. E. H. Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 126, pl. XXX; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*,

2. Krater from Kavousi. Scanty decoration in vertical and horizontal bands. Two "eyes" with knobs in relief. *Arkades*, pp. 582 f., fig. 626.

## PLATE II

Protogeometric and early Geometric cinerary urns in the shape of truncated cones with oblique handles.

*Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 307, fig. 14; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 189, note 1, pl. XXV.

1 and 3. Urn from Fortezza near Knossos. Convex shape, still near the form of a barrel-shaped stamnos. 1. Front view. Largely curvilinear decoration with scales, spirals, and waves. 3. One of the two panels under the handles, each representing a female figure with a polos on head and uplifted arms: probably a goddess.

2. Slender urn from Arkades, Tomb R, with pagoda-shaped lid probably belonging to it. A vertical band with two white quatrefoils on black background in middle of the shoulder, between horizontal bands of circles, net-pattern, and guilloche. Series of leaves on rim, as well as on the lid. *Arkades*, pp. 247 f., fig. 292.

## PLATE III

Large Protogeometric and early Geometric hydriai and amphorai.

Curvilinear decoration. *Arkades*, pp. 580 f., fig. 624.

1. Hydria from Kavousi. Rough shape. Decoration with row of running animals. *Arkades*, pp. 601 f., fig. 643 a-c.

2. Hydria with flaring foot, from Kavousi.

3. Slender ovoid hydria with flat base and double oblique handles (probably imitating a stylized bull's head). Wide, *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, p. 39, fig. 21; *Arkades*, pp. 590 ff., fig. 639.

## PLATE IV

Cinerary urns with decoration of rows of concentric circles superimposed in white color on the black varnish. Geometric and early Orientalizing.

1. Urn of usual ovoid shape, with two stamnos-handles, from Arkades, Tomb R. Decoration of series of white concentric circles

on black. *Arkades*, p. 234, fig. 272.

2. Large urn from Arkades, Tomb L. Flaring foot with plastic ring and high rim; double handles as on Plate III, 3. Broad tongue-pattern on body; two series of white concentric circles on the rim and on the shoulder are faintly perceptible. *Arkades*, p. 326, fig. 421.

## PLATE V

1-2. Funerary hydria from the tholos tomb of Skouriasmenos (Rusty Ridge) at Kavousi. Developed geometric ornamentation on body; on shoulders, two figured scenes (the departure of the dead on his war-chariot, and mourning women) in silhouette technique. Advanced Geo-

metric or early Orientalizing period. H. A. Boyd, *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pls. III-IV; Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung*, I, pp. 87 ff., and III, p. 8, fig. 38; *Arkades*, pp. 562 ff., pp. 604 ff., fig. 644 a-c.

## PLATE VI

Geometric and early Orientalizing vases.

1. Hydria from Kavousi, probably a metal imitation. Elvira Fölzer, *Die Hydria* (Leipzig, 1906), pl. I, 4, no. 13; *Arkades*, pp. 589 f., fig. 638.

2. Lekythos from Fortezza. Rich decoration in white over the black varnish: metope-like decoration on body, with birds and spiral-patterns in the large panels; tongue-pattern on shoulder; elsewhere guilloche and geometric

elements. *B.S.A.*, XXXI, 1930-31, p. 62, no. 14, pl. XII.

3. Amphora from Arkades, Tomb R. Severe geometric decoration, with maeander pattern, rare in Crete. *Arkades*, p. 291, fig. 376.

4. Spherical hydria from Turtuli (Sitia). An isolated orientalizing guilloche-pattern appears with the geometric decoration, in a small panel in front. *Arkades*, p. 593, fig. 641; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzerelevs* (Stuttgart, 1931), p. 95, pl. 53 a.

## PLATE VII

Geometric cinerary urns from Fortezza near Knossos with black, or white-on-black decoration. Geometric or early Orientalizing period.

1. Cinerary urn from Tomb I, Pithos 66, with its lid. This is the largest among the very numerous urns (over seventy) of this tomb. Ovoid, with low splayed foot. The white-on-black decoration is restricted to a single panel with a bird in the zone between the double handles, on the side not reproduced. All the remaining decoration is in plain brown-black varnish. Large bands alternated with groups of narrow bands on lower part of the vase. On

the other side of the handle-zone are two panels each with a bird supporting a smaller bird on its wings; these face a larger panel in the center with an interlaced guilloche, the cable of which is decorated with an inner dotted line. The same pattern occurs again in two narrower bands, one above on the shoulder and the other beneath on the center of the vase, in several panels alternated with panels containing striated swastikas. The lid has the usual wide and narrow bands, and a peculiarly stylized quatrefoil on top of the disc forming the handle.

2. Cinerary urn from Tomb I, Pithos 89,



with its lid. This is one of the only three urns (two with bichrome and one with monochrome decoration) supported by a tripod foot and not showing a polychrome decoration. Extensive use of white-on-black painting. Two series of white concentric circles on wide black bands, divided by a series of narrow bands, on lid. Another series of similar circles on the lower part of the vase, for the rest decorated with wide and narrow black bands. Two zones of decoration above and beneath the four handles (as usual two cylindrical oblique handles alternated with two vertical band-handles) in-

clude the following patterns: birds; quatrefoils with parallel angles in the spaces between the leaves; spiral pattern recalling the Mycenaean gold-plaques, with two double spirals backing each other and parallel angles in the spaces between this design and the borders; concentric rhombs; a cross of two striated leaves. The largest zone between the handles has a monochrome decoration in brown-black varnish; panels with single birds are alternated with narrow vertical bands with herring-bone, net, rhombs with network, etc., giving the whole band the appearance of metopes and triglyphs.

#### PLATE VIII

Polychrome cinerary urns from Knossos. Early Orientalizing.

1. Four-handled urn with tripod foot. Figured scene of warrior and woman between handles. *Arkades*, pp. 571 f., and p. 608, fig. 645 a-c; Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 240, no. 38, pp. 286 ff., pls. XI, 10-11, XIII, and color plate XII; A. von Salis, "Neue Darstellungen griechischer Sagen: I, Kreta," in *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., XXVI, 1935-36, pls. 1-2, p. 5,

fig. 1; Buschor, *Griech. Vasen*, p. 48, fig. 54.

2. Stemmed ovoid urn with two oblique handles. The handle of the lid is in the shape of a tripod. The bowl of this was pierced below, so that liquid poured into the bowl would run through the hollow stem of the lid into the urn. A row of fishes and a panel with birds and insects between branches of leaves are between the geometric decorative elements. Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 244 ff., no. 60, fig. 12, color-plate XIV and plates XV-XVI.

#### PLATE IX

Cylindrical cinerary urns from individual pithos tombs of Arkades.

1. Urn in reddish-orange clay, with a whitish-cream slip mostly flaked off and reddish-brown varnish. Horizontal handles in the shape of triple rings. On front, figured scene resembling that on Plate VIII, 1. The woman, standing on a pedestal, places her right hand on her head. The man preceding her has his body painted in silhouette technique, his head in outline; the woman is almost entirely in outline. Behind her, palmette ending in two long ribbons. On back, three birds standing on high pedestal with zigzag decoration. *Arkades*, p. 401, fig. 518 a-b; A. von Salis, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, fig. 3. When saying that the gesture of the woman recalls the position of the Minoan wor-

shippers, I did not mean that she may be worshipping the figure before her, who turns its back to her, as von Salis, *loc. cit.*, p. 10, wrongly understood me to claim. I meant that both may be worshipers in a kind of ritual procession in which on several Minoan representations a woman is shown following a man: see, e. g., Doro Levi, "Le Cretule di Haghia Triada e di Zakro," *Annuario*, VIII-IX, 1925-26, pp. 130 f., fig. 138, figs. 140 f., etc.

2. Cinerary urn from Pithos 40. Technique and shape similar to the preceding vase, but the handles are twisted on the sides. Garlands of spirals containing palmettes, flowers and rhombs; on back, checker-board pattern. Orientalizing period. *Arkades*, p. 120, fig. 99. The lid of the urn is preserved too, and has

the shape of the pinakes illustrated on Plate XXVII, with a decoration of white concentric

circles on the black varnish (*Arkades*, pp. 120 f., fig. 100 a-b).

#### PLATE X

Cylindrical cinerary urns from individual pithos tombs of Arkades.

1. Cinerary urn from Pithos 20. Low cylindrical shape with two band-handles. Ordinary reddish clay; the decoration, in whitish chalky color and with superimposed dark-red details is applied directly on the clay. Winged deity dominating two sphinxes. These have the Mycenaean lily-cap on their heads. *Arkades*, pp. 100 ff., fig. 76 a-c.

2. Cinerary urn from Pithos 55, with its flat lid. High shape of a truncated cone, handles in the shape of twisted ribbons. Ordinary clay and colors as the preceding vase. A bearded

man leads a horse by the bridle. The mane of the horse, its two legs of the farther plane, as well as the outlines of the figures are in dark-red color. Behind the figures, a high flower like a lily rises from the ground. The representation recalls the Etruscan paintings of the Campana Tomb at Veii (P. Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* [Florence, 1927], p. 198, figs. 218 f.; M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* [New Haven, 1929], p. 239, fig. 387; G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* [Milan, 1935], pl. XCVI). Within the urn were found early Orientalizing toilet-bottles. *Arkades*, pp. 130 f., fig. 114.

#### PLATE XI

Early Orientalizing basin-shaped cinerary urns from Arkades.

1. Cinerary urn from Pithos 59 with its lid. Low splaying foot and three horizontal spool-handles. Chain of spirals ending with panther-heads. Tongue-pattern on lid and around foot. Doro Levi, *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. V, a; *J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, p. 278, fig. 6 a; *Arch. Anzeiger*, XL, 1925, col. 337, fig. 9 a; *Arkades*, pp. 134 f., fig. 59; Buschor, *Griech. Vasen*, p. 48, fig. 55; P. Jacobsthal, "Imagery in Early Celtic Art," *Proceedings of the Brit. Academy*, XXVII, 1941, pl. 16 a. In same burial Plate XVII, 6.

2. Cinerary urn from Tomb L. Imitation from oriental bronze basins with three attached moulded handles in the shape of griffin heads;

the bodies of the bird-griffins are painted on the shoulders of the urn. Sitting sphinx with three-cornered hat on one panel between handles; a lioness and four birds on the other two sides. Rosettes, quarters of rosettes, and other filling elements in the field. Series of concentric circles below, toward the bottom of the vase. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. V, b; *J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, p. 278, fig. 6 b; *Arch. Anzeiger*, XL, 1925, col. 338, fig. 9 b; *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, p. 52, fig. 1; *Arkades*, pp. 323 ff., fig. 420 a-d; Doro Levi, s.v. Creta, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XI, p. 850, fig. 4. On the Mycenaean derivation of the three-cornered hat of the sphinx, see Valentin Müller, "Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühgriechischen Kunst?," *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, pp. 51 ff.

#### PLATE XII

Cinerary urn in the shape of a truncated cone with two oblique handles, from Tomb L. The "Goddess of the birds" is painted on the front of the vase, in full face, with her feet in profile.

The moulded head of the goddess has fallen off, leaving only part of the locks of her hair on the breast. The goddess holds two stylized branches, or "Trees of Life," in her hands,

and is flanked by two palmipedes. A Geometric ovoid lekythos and an early Orientalizing one were found within the urn. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. V, c; *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, p. 59, fig. 4; *Arch. An-*

*zeiger*, XL, 1925, col. 341, fig. 11 a; *Arkades*, p. 331, fig. 431; A. Della Seta, *I Monumenti dell'Antichità classica*, I, *Grecia*<sup>2</sup> (1931), p. 19, fig. 42.

## PLATE XIII

Early Orientalizing oinochoai from Arkades.

1. Ovoid oinochoe with trefoil mouth from Pithos 81. On shoulder palmette between spirals. *Arkades*, p. 152, fig. 154. The oinochoe was found in a burial together with a cylindrical urn, containing an aryballos showing already the transformation of the Assyrian quadruple-lotus pattern into the "quatrefoil" ornament which will be peculiar to Corinthian pottery and will dominate the Corinthian aryballoi of the sixth century (see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* [Oxford, 1931], pp. 146 ff., fig. 54).

2. Spherical oinochoe with narrow ringed neck and trefoil mouth from Tomb R. Imitation from Cypriot decoration, with various

combinations of concentric circles. Prophylactic eyes on mouth. *Arkades*, pp. 229 f., fig. 261.

3. Pear-shaped oinochoe from Pithos 138. Two rows of drops on shoulder; prophylactic eyes on mouth. The rest of the vase is all varnished, with narrow white and violet bands superimposed. *Arkades*, p. 168, fig. 182.

4. Hemispherical oinochoe with flat bottom and trefoil mouth from Tomb R. Small trefoil-shaped lid with knob for handle. Collar of tongue-pattern on shoulder, in black, red, and violet, with incised outlines and partitions; rays around base. Wide black band in center of the body, with traces of superimposed narrow bands in red and violet. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 220, fig. 247.

## PLATE XIV

Early Orientalizing oinochoai from Arkades.

1. Ovoid jug with trefoil mouth from Pithos 110. It is decorated with three birds on shoulder, and with narrow bands on the rest of the body. *Arkades*, pp. 192 f., fig. 213. Found in a burial with a basin-shaped urn containing the aryballos, Plate XIX, 7.

2. Ovoid jug from Tomb R. Trefoil mouth with prophylactic eyes. Decorated with series of concentric circles and narrow bands. *Arkades*, p. 268, fig. 327.

3. Slender jug from Pithos 33, with two discs projecting from trefoil mouth, high neck, flaring foot. Running pegasi and birds, in brownish varnish with incised outlines and details, decorate most of the body. Collars of rays on shoulder and around foot. Interlacing guilloche on neck; prophylactic eyes on mouth. *Arkades*, pp. 111 ff., fig. 89 a-b. On the combination of horse and bird and its meaning, see Anna Roes, *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* (1933), p. 69.

## PLATE XV

Details of fragmentary jugs from Arkades. Early Orientalizing period.

1. Fragmentary jug from burial between Pithoi 9 and 10. On shoulder, chain of panther-heads painted in black, red, and violet, with

incised outlines and details. Below, garland of lotus flowers and palmettes in alternated directions, also polychrome. Calyx of rays around foot. Upper part and handle of the jug are restored. *Arkades*, pp. 88 ff., fig. 63 a-b.

2. Fragmentary jug from Tomb L. On shoulder, two rampant lions on sides of "Tree of Life," preserved on the whitish-cream slip of the vase and surrounded by black varnish. Ornamental decoration in black varnish on the light background all around: rhombs with lilies

rising from the angles or surmounted by a bird; striated triangles, series of step-pattern, and so on. The lower part of the jug and its neck are very fragmentary. *Arkades*, pp. 359 ff., fig. 472 a-b.

#### PLATE XVI

Jug from Arkades, Tomb L. Squat spheroidal shape with large ring-base and high cylindrical neck splaying on rim; handle twisted on shoulder of the jug. Figured scene in front of neck; in all probability, Theseus and Ariadne. Whitish slip used on gown of the female figure. Checkerboard pattern on back of the neck of the jug. Series of animals on shoulder, preserved on the whitish slip of the background: lions hunting stags and deer. The bodies are dotted; a narrow band in white is reserved between the painted and incised outlines of the animals and the filling of the remaining space in black varnish. Parallel bands on lower part of the jug. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. VI, b; *J.H.S.*, XLIV,

1924, p. 279, fig. 7; *Arch. Anzeiger*, XL, 1925, col. 342, fig. 11 b; E. Langlotz, *Antike Plastik, W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1928), pp. 114 f., fig. 2; *Arkades*, pp. 339 ff., pp. 542 f., p. 612, fig. 443 a-d, pl. XXIII; Doro Levi, s.v. Creta, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XI, p. 851, fig. 5; A. von Salis, *Theseus und Ariadne* (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1930), p. 10, fig. 8; Ch. Hofkes-Brukker, *Frühgriechische Gruppenbildung*, pl. 3, 6, pp. 8, 12 ff.; A. von Salis, *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad.*, XXVI, 1935-36, pp. 6 f. Buschor, *Griech. Vasen*, p. 49, fig. 56. On the motive of this group on Etruscan bucchero, see also Doro Levi, *Notizie d. scavi*, 1926, p. 195, fig. 4.

#### PLATE XVII

Imitations of Cypriot lekythoi with high and narrow neck, and other Cretan toilet-bottles from Arkades. Geometric and early Orientalizing.

1. Ovoid lekythos from Tomb R. Low splaying foot, handle attached on neck. Rosettes and stars on shoulder. *Arkades*, pp. 300 f., fig. 398 a-b.

2. Another, from same Tomb. Body more spheroidal, with larger ring-base. Two large series of concentric circles on the two sides of the vase. *Arkades*, pp. 301 f., fig. 400.

3. Other, from same Tomb. Flatter shape. Pattern of interlacing guilloche on body. Lower part of vase is restored. *Arkades*, p. 260, fig. 314.

4. Lekythos from Tomb L. Flat spheroidal body with large base, high and narrow neck,

and slender band-handle attached to the mouth. Neck varnished; row of step-pattern on shoulder, and narrow bands below. *Arkades*, pp. 327 f., fig. 424.

5. Lekythos from Tomb L. Flat spheroidal body, with handle attached to the narrow neck. Decoration of concentric circles and parallel bands. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 328, fig. 425.

6. Lekythos from Pithos 59. Same burial as urn, Plate XI, 1. Shape similar to vase Plate XVII, 4, but with trefoil mouth and prophylactic eyes. Also the decoration is similar, but with a series of bees in full face on shoulder. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. VI, a; *Arkades*, pp. 135 f., fig. 123 a-b.

## PLATE XVIII

Toilet-bottles from Arkades, varying from the Cypriot types to the more characteristic Cretan small lekythoi. Geometric and early Orientalizing.

1. Globular lekythos with band-handle attached to neck; ring-base. Quatrefoil pattern on shoulder. *Arkades*, p. 416, fig. 547.

2. Pointed lekythos from Tomb R. Handle as above. Collar of tongue-pattern on shoulder. *Arkades*, p. 292, fig. 379.

3. Spherical lekythos from Repository R. On the sides two series of concentric circles between cross-hatched triangles within outer circle. *Arkades*, p. 183, fig. 202.

4. Ovoid lekythos from Pithos 134, found within large basin-shaped urn. Triple handle attached below the mouth. Three quarters of a rosette on shoulder. *Arkades*, p. 166, fig. 178.

5. Globular lekythos from Tomb M. Collar of tongue-pattern around shoulder. *Arkades*, p. 311, fig. 409.

6. Globular lekythos from Tomb R. Lobes and rhombs on shoulder; parallel bands below. *Arkades*, p. 293, fig. 380.

7. Squat lekythos from Pithos 34, found within bronze urn. *Arkades*, p. 113, fig. 91.

8. Small globular lekythos, found within the basin-shaped urn of Pithos 62. This is a specimen of the most common type of globular toilet-bottles in Crete, with a series of concentric circles on the shoulder and parallel bands below. *Arkades*, p. 142, fig. 136.

9. Ovoid lekythos from Pithos 149. Collar of tongue-pattern around neck on shoulder, and calyx of rays around foot. Traces of superimposed narrow stripes appear on a wide black band around the body; also some of the tongues on the collar seem to have been overpainted in violet. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 171, fig. 191.

## PLATE XIX

Cretan toilet-bottles of shapes similar to the Protocorinthian and Corinthian ones. Early Orientalizing period.

1. Pear-shaped bottle from Fortezza, Tomb I. Without handle and with rounded bottom. Two small holes for suspension near the rim. Narrow bands of geometric patterns, and rows of tongue-pattern. Rosette of tongue-pattern around bottom. *Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 305, fig. 17. The shape was considered peculiarly Corinthian: see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 313, nos. 1067 ff.

2. Egg-shaped alabastron from same locality. Pointed bottom, without base; two small vertical tubular handles for suspension, each with two plastic liliform projections on the sides. Tongue-pattern on shoulder; scale-pattern around body; around the bottom a rosette

with space around leaves dotted. *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 305, fig. 17.

3. Bottle similar to No. 1, but slenderer, from same locality. Chain of bees and chrysalides on body: rhombs, guilloche and tongue-pattern on neck. Lower part of body is dotted. *Arch. Anz.*, loc. cit.

4. Ovoid lekythos from Arkades, Tomb L. Rows of leaves and parallel angles on shoulder, and narrow bands on body. *Arkades*, p. 334, fig. 439.

5. Globular lekythos with large ring-base from Arkades. Collars of leaves on shoulder and around base. Wide bands and narrow rows of rectangles on body. *Arkades*, p. 417, fig. 550.

6. Ovoid lekythos from Arkades, Tomb L. Rosettes and crosses on shoulder. Parallel lines

below. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 346, fig. 450.

7. Aryballos from Arkades, Pithos 110. Found inside basin-shaped urn, in burial together with the jug, Plate XIV, 1. Small hollow on bottom. Divided into slices by vertical incised lines. Four sections crossing each other are painted in white color, and perhaps others were painted in red and violet, over the brown varnish covering the whole surface of the clay. Incised rays also around the mouth.

*Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 193, fig. 214 and color-plate XVIII.

8. Bird-shaped aryballos from Arkades, Pithos 19. One band-handle on side of mouth. Dotted decoration over whole body. Found within bronze urn. *Arkades*, p. 99, fig. 74 b.

9. Alabastron from Arkades, Pithos 60. A hollow on bottom; painted rosette around it, and other around neck. Big dots on body. Greenish clay. *Arkades*, p. 137, fig. 126.

#### PLATE XX

1. *Poculum* from Arkades, Tomb R. Shape of a slightly concave cylinder, with vertical band-handle on rim. Large four-strand guilloche on upper part. Below, two narrow bands with a series of hooks and with a step-pattern, between thin parallel lines. *Arkades*, p. 241, fig. 282.

2. Spherical lekythos in grayish bucchero from Fortezza, Tomb I. Incised decoration with three rows of rosettes, and one row of bees, each bee hanging from a rosette above. Stylized tree beneath handle.

On bucchero pottery in Crete and Greece, see *Arkades*, pp. 532 f., p. 597; Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 276 f.

3-4. Pear-shaped bottle with small handle on rim, from Fortezza, Tomb I. Three squatting

sphinxes on principal zone of decoration; the first two are female sphinxes, with "Etagen-perücke" and lily-cap, and the first turns back her head; the third wears a Corinthian helmet of an early shape. Two have sickle wings, the third straight wings, the tip of the wing in the back plane protruding beyond the front wing. Only the outline of the legs in the back plane are indicated, except for the back legs of the first sphinx which are both painted as if the sphinx were in a marching position. Silhouette technique with incised details. Rosettes on bottom and on mouth. Characteristic Cretan clay, varnish, as well as the other geometric decorative patterns. *Jahrbuch*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 305, fig. 17; Payne, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 293, fig. 17. *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 268 ff., figs. 35-36.

#### PLATE XXI

Cups and kotylai from Fortezza, Tomb I. Late Geometric and early Orientalizing. The kotylai show the gradual transformation from the shape and the technique of the Geometric skyphos toward the standard type of the Proto-corinthian kotyle.

1. Low hemispheric kotyle with small flaring base and sharply projecting oblique handles. The rim is receding. Panel decoration on shoulder-zone with rosettes in dotted rings,

branch of two stylized lilies, two opposed black triangles. Lower part of cup is varnished.

2. Globular cup with roundish bottom. Three panels, divided by groups of vertical lines and net-pattern, have monstrous birds, a swan with cross-hatched body and four striated necks and heads, and two swans with a striated body and three black necks and heads. *Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 309, fig. 22. On the motive of these birds see *B.S.A.*, XXIX,

1927-28, pp. 288 ff. Shape of the body and design of the lateral birds on this cup correspond exactly to the fragment from Knossos illustrated *ibid.*, p. 289, fig. 37, and *B.S.A.*, XXXI, p. 83, pl. XVII, 1 (swan with five heads, accompanied by an extra head growing up out of the ground).

3. Low ovoid kotyle with flat base and oblique handles. The clay is very thin and pure, covered with a fine whitish slip. On shoulder-zone, three narrow rows of parallel angles and step-pattern between vertical and horizontal lines.

4. Slender and thin ovoid kotyle with ring-base, almost straight rim and horizontal handles. On shoulder, two birds flanking a flower with leaves and rhombs; on the sides of this panel are rosettes and groups of two opposed

triangles. Series of thin parallel lines decorate the upper part of the cup, outside beneath the figured band, as well as inside.

5 and 6. Inner and outer view of a graceful low cup, used perhaps as a lamp. The central stripe of the handle has a relief decoration with a lotus flower rising from a stem of beads-and-reel; on the two edges, a white guilloche is painted on the dark background. The inner painted decoration of the cup has a star of lozenges surrounded by circles, around which rosettes are alternated with liliated rhombs. A dotted guilloche runs on the flat rim of the cup. Outside, a series of lozenges runs around the ring-base. For the shape, cf. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 237, fig. 278, and p. 495.

#### PLATE XXII

Askos and jugs with plastic spouts. Early Orientalizing.

1. Jug from Arkades, Pithos 35. The jug, in the shape of a usual ovoid oinochoe with trefoil mouth on a high cylindrical neck, is provided with a second mouth in front, formed like a horse's or rather a donkey's neck and head. A large palmette between spirals on shoulder; around this, vertical and horizontal rows of maeander, and a step-pattern below. Calyx around foot. Prophylactic eyes on trefoil mouth. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. IV; *Arkades*, p. 115, fig. 93.

2. Annular askos from H. Paraskies. It belongs to a small rock-cut tomb discovered in the autumn of 1935 on the site called H. Marina (territory of Arkalochori). The shape of the vase differs from those of Arkades (cf. *Arkades*, p. 288, fig. 373; p. 362, fig. 474; p. 277,

fig. 349; pp. 492 ff.) inasmuch as here the ring is flat. On the sides are two chains of palmettes alternated with black or dotted leaves. All around the ring are, on one side a luxuriant "Tree of Life," on the other an elongated rosette.

3. Vase from Arkades, Pithos 72. The vase has the shape of a stemmed spherical hydria with two double horizontal handles on its sides, and a third vertical handle attached to the narrow neck. The spout in front of the neck has the shape of a fawn's head. Rosettes around neck and on pedestal. A series of double loops and one with single parallel spirals on body (both elements common in the orientalizing style of Eretria: cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, p. 130, figs. 101-2). *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. IV; *Arkades*, pp. 148 f., fig. 147.

#### PLATE XXIII

Plastic vases and toilet-bottle.

1. Vase in the shape of two owls placed back to back, from Knossos, in the Ashmolean

Museum at Oxford. Bodies of the owls partly dotted and partly painted with decorations. *Arkades*, p. 549, fig. 612 a-b; Payne, *C.V.A.*,

Oxford, fasc. 2 (England, fasc. 9), p. 56, 1-4, II A, pl. III (AE 191); *id.*, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 175, note 2.

2. Small globular pyxis from H. Paraskies. Two vertical tubular handles for suspension. The lid is a disc with a central hole, and is decorated with a rosette in relief; two series of large leaves in relief on body of the pyxis; zigzag lines on rim and on handles. The brick-reddish clay was covered by a whitish slip, now mostly flaked off, and is obviously an imitation of the Egyptian faience of similar toilet-bottles.

3. Vase from Fortezza, in the shape of a sitting monkey, resting his hands on his knees. The limbs are shapeless. The clay is brick-reddish, covered with a chalky grayish slip. *Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 305, fig. 18 a.

4. Fragment of a vase from Knossos, probably the lid of an ovoid urn, with handle in the shape of a dog's head. Traces of polychrome decoration in blue and red on the white slip. *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 263, no. 164, pl. X, 4.

5. Semi-annular askos in bucchero from Knossos. Mouth and handle of a lekythos rising from the center of the arc, and two dog's heads on the two ends. *Arkades*, p. 532, fig. 606; *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 264, no. 174, pl. XI, 9; M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'Antiquité*, I (Paris, 1927), pl. X, no. 37.

6. Handle of a stamped pithos from Praisos, in the shape of a bull's head. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 161, pl. 52 c.

#### PLATE XXIV

##### Plastic vases.

1. Vase from Adromyloi, in the shape of a nude squatting woman holding a hydria on her head. *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-6, p. 46, fig. 23; *Arkades*, pp. 506 f., fig. 597.

2. Lid-handle from Arkades, Tomb B, in the shape of a seated mourning woman. The

central part of the figure is restored. *Arkades*, p. 186, fig. 205 a-c.

3. Spouted vase from Knossos, with mouth in the shape of a rough human head. Severe geometric decoration on shoulder and body, much effaced. Orsi, *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, p. 263, fig. 11; Maximova, *op. cit.*, pl. X, no. 41; *Arkades*, pp. 618 f., fig. 652.

#### PLATE XXV

Plastic vase from Arkades, Tomb R, in the shape of a squatting lion. The water spouted from the lion's mouth into a basin held between his paws. A flame-pattern represents the mane, the body is dotted, the legs striated. A large rosette, a guilloche, and a step-pattern decorate

the basin. Orientalizing art. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. II; *Arkades*, pp. 239 f., fig. 281 and pl. XIX; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 171, fig. 74 D (detail of head). Cf. also Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 187.

#### PLATE XXVI

1-3. Globular lekythos with plastic female head, in the Antiquarium at Berlin. Early Orientalizing. Hair-dress with vertically and horizontally divided wig forming a checker-board pattern; small circles indicate the forehead curls. Low oblique foot surrounded by a

calyx of lobes. Body adorned with series of vertical circles in Cypriot style, the one in front containing a garland of four palmettes, the lateral ones a star each. Rosettes and single lilies fill the back and the spaces between the circles, otherwise all painted in black. S. Wide,



*Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 239, pl. VI; Fr. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 94 ff.; E. Buschor, *Griech. Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1913), p. 44, fig. 25; *id.*, *Greek Vase-Painting* (London, 1921), p. 30, fig. 27; P. Ducati, *Storia della*

*ceramica greca*, I (Florence, 1922), p. 88, fig. 72; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, pp. 101 f., fig. 56; Kunze, *Kretische Bronze-reliefs*, pp. 271 f.; R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dedalia* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 50, pl. VI, 6 (detail of head).

## PLATE XXVII

Lekanides (or plates used as lids of cinerary urns) from Arkades. Late Geometric and early Orientalizing.

1. Plate from Tomb M. Outer decoration with garland of floral and geometric elements around disc. Concentric circles, inside. *Arkades*, p. 307, fig. 407.

2. Plate from Pithos 129. The outer decoration seems to be a fanciful transformation of the Assyrian quadruple lotus. *Arkades*, p. 162, fig. 174.

3. Plate from Pithos 38. The outer decoration is a big star adorned with concentric dotted

and solid rings superimposed in white color on the black varnish. Inside, concentric circles among which is a dotted white ring. *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pl. III; *Arkades*, p. 117, fig. 97 a-b.

4. Deep plate from Tomb R, with rim in the shape of a truncated cone. The two handles differ from the usual twisted type, and are solid and flat three-cornered lugs, one of which is pierced by two holes for suspension. On the bottom are a cross in checkerboard-pattern, and four big leaves in the free spaces. A series of rhombs runs around the rim. *Arkades*, p. 290, fig. 374.

## PLATE XXVIII

Other types of lids of cinerary urns. Early Orientalizing.

1. Calotte-shaped lid from Knossos. Outer decoration of spirals, guilloche, series of concentric circles or semi-circles, in white on dark. *Arkades*, p. 522, fig. 603 a.

2. High-stemmed cup used as a pagoda-shaped lid, from Arkades, Tomb R. Outer decoration with two series of lobes. *Arkades*, pp. 287 f., fig. 372.

3. Lid from Fortezza, of a similar shape as No. 1, but with a handle in the shape of a calf's head, adorned with the Minoan rosette on the forehead. The quarter of circle behind the head—one of four formed by two striated angles—has a scale-pattern, two have geometric ornaments, the fourth a figured scene. In the latter a nude male figure, roughly sketched, holds in his hands a bird and another object with three waving lines, and approaches a tripod, surmounted and flanked by two birds,

and under which is a human, possibly female, bust. The male figure has the body painted in silhouette technique and the head in outline. A horizontal series of four big dots in white color is superimposed on the black varnish on his breast (detail neglected in Marinatos' drawing). *Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 309, figs. 20-21; H. G. G. Payne, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 18; *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 269 f., fig. 37; M. Guarducci, *Rivista del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, VI, 1937-38, p. 11, fig. 2; T. B. L. Webster, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 102, fig. 1; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 1150, fig. 898, pl. LXXXI. Cook suggests the interpretation as Zeus advancing with bolt and bird, tripod replacing altar. But for the possible meaning of the tripod as the seat of mantic power, and its connection with the Cretan Zeus, see my interpretation of the *mitra* from Axos, *Annuario*, XIII-XIV, pp. 131 ff. The birds are also connected with the theophany in mantic

practices (see *ibid.*, p. 132). As for the bust under the tripod, we may recall Pausanias' description of five bronze tripods seen by him at Amyclae, the Laconian town celebrated for its precinct of Apollo (III, 18, 4). Under the three earliest of these, which according to tradition were votive offerings dedicated from the spoils of the first Messenian war (cf. Pausanias, IV, 14, 2) concluded in 724 B.C., were three divine images, to be precise respectively those of Aphrodite, Artemis, and Kore. Two were made by Gitiadas, the third by Callon of Aegina (on the disparity between the artists' time and that of the first Messenian war, see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, III, p. 350). On the other hand, the representation on the Cretan lid calls immediately to mind that on the famous Proto-corinthian toilet-bottle from Corinth in Boston, Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 11. But Johansen's explanation of the latter (*Les vases sicyoniens*, p. 146, fig. 109 and pl. XXII, 2) as an episode of the Centauromachy, the fight between Peirithoös and Eurytion, cannot hold good for the former; in this, moreover, the object brandished by the human figure cannot be the root of a tree. The previous explanation of this figure as Zeus by H. Oelschig (*De centauromachiae in arte Graeca figuris* [Diss. Halle, 1911], p. 21, note 1; accepted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Addenda, III, 2, p. 1142, fig. 893; see also II, pp. 614 ff.) was probably correct.

A confirmation may be offered by the earliest representations of centaurs, the admirable stamped pithoi from Rhodes (A. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros* [Paris, 1875], plates 26-27; Maiuri, in *Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-24, pp. 311 ff., figs. 208-210, pp. 336 f., fig. 222; Jacopi, in *Clara Rhodos*, IV, 1929-30, p. 310, fig. 344), where the figure fighting against similar centaurs holding branches is armed with the most characteristic weapon of the primordial Cretan god, the double axe, which is just another symbol of the bolt (see P. Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orientalischen u. griechischen Kunst* [Berlin, 1906], pp. 10 ff.). On some fragments of pithoi this divine being fights with a sword (*Annuario*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 222 A) or with both sword and axe (Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 616, fig. 514). But it is not necessary to imagine with Oelschig a legend, otherwise unknown, of Zeus intervening against the centaurs in defence of a man, nor to think with Buschor (*A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 128 ff., fig. 1) that here the horse-monster stands for Typhon. Zeus fighting against the centaurs, the ferocious *θῆρες* of the mountains, may be just another representation of the supreme god subduing the wild forces of nature, a parallel to the god of the sphinxes we have met before (Plate X, 1), in the same way as centaurs often appear alternating with sphinxes as decorative elements (e.g., on the sarcophagi from Clazomenae).

#### PLATE XXIX

Fragmentary plate from Praisos. Outer decoration: nude bearded warrior wrestling with sea-monster (?). Inner decoration: youth riding on horseback. J. H. Hopkinson, *B.S.A.*, X, 1903-4, pp. 148 ff., color-plate 3; F. Poulsen, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 382 f., and p. 391, fig. 1; G. W. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, pp. 190 ff., fig. 2; P. Jacobsthal, *Theseus auf dem Meeresgrunde* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 6, note 1;

Buschor, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, p. 45, fig. 26; *id.*, *Greek Vase-Painting*, p. 32, fig. 29; Ducati, *St. d. ceramica greca*, I, p. 148, fig. 120; Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeichnung*, p. 102, fig. 57; H. R. Hall, *Civil. Greece Bronze Age*, p. 271, fig. 347; Beazley-Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 13; Pendlebury, *Arch. of Crete*, pl. XLII, 2; Buschor, *Griech. Vasen*, p. 49, fig. 57.

#### PLATE XXX

Large pithoi with stamped decoration. Orientalizing.

1. Ovoid stemmed pithos from Lithines (Sitia). Garland of lotus flowers and pal-

mettes; rows of rosettes and running spirals. *Arkades*, p. 72, fig. 49. See also a detail of the garland in K. F. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, p. 122, fig. 89.

2. Ovoid pithos from Kasteli of Pediada. Base and most of neck are fragmentary. Stand-

ing sphinxes; chain of feline heads; spirals, zigzags, and egg-pattern on rim. F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs* (Bibliot. des Écoles Fr. d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 125, Paris, 1922), pp. 44 f., pl. I c; *Arkades*, pp. 74 f., fig. 51.

#### PLATE XXXI

Fragments and details of stamped pithoi.

1-2. Two fragments of a pithos from Gonies of Pediada: standing sphinxes with horizontally divided wig and flat cap adorned with spiral-loop. *Arkades*, pp. 64 ff., fig. 46. Cf. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 183, note 24.

3. The *πότνια ἵππων*: detail from pithos of Prinias, Plate XXXII.

4. Fragment of pithos from Lyttos. Ephebe, wearing chiton, indicated with light incisions on his body, and mantle on his shoulders, and holding a crown; behind him a flower rises on a slender stem. *Arkades*, pp. 76 f., fig. 53.

5. Fragment of pithos from Afrati. Bust of youth (?) with high polos, over horizontally divided hair-dress, holding sword and round shield. Savignoni, *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, p. 414, pl. XIV, no. 9; Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 51, fig. 12; L. Pernier, *Annuario*, I, 1914, p. 94, fig. 49; M. Guarducci, "Due aspetti di Athena nella religione cretese," *Rivista del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, VI,

1937-38, p. 8, fig. 1. The fragment is part of an ornamental band with a row of identical figures; consequently, Miss Guarducci's interpretation of the figure as a goddess, and precisely as an image of Athena, is very improbable, and all her elaborate interpretation of the Axos *mitra* is weakened. The fragment has been previously interpreted as an "Athena as Palladion" by Valentin Müller, *Der Polos, die griech. Götterkrone* (Diss. Berlin, 1915), p. 69. The polos, however, can be not only a goddess' but also a god's or a man's head-dress (for Apollo and Dionysos, see *ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.; also for heroes or dead). The horsemen on the frieze of the temple of Prinias wear it; so do both man and woman on the stamped pinax of Xerolimni (Theseus and Ariadne?, *Arkades*, p. 542, fig. 610).

6. Detail of a fragmentary pithos from Lyttos. Horseman. Fabricius, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, p. 146, pl. IV, 2; Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 50, fig. 11; Pernier, *op. cit.*, p. 94, fig. 48.

#### PLATE XXXII

Fragmentary pithos with stamped decoration from Prinias. On the neck of the pithos are two impressions of the *πότνια ἵππων*, that is the Asiatic, or winged, Artemis, flanked by two rampant horses. A narrow band on the body, between two wide zones with dotted spirals, has a series of representations of hare-hunting: a dog and a hare are depicted under the horses of a biga led by a hunter and preceded by a warrior with shield riding on horseback; a

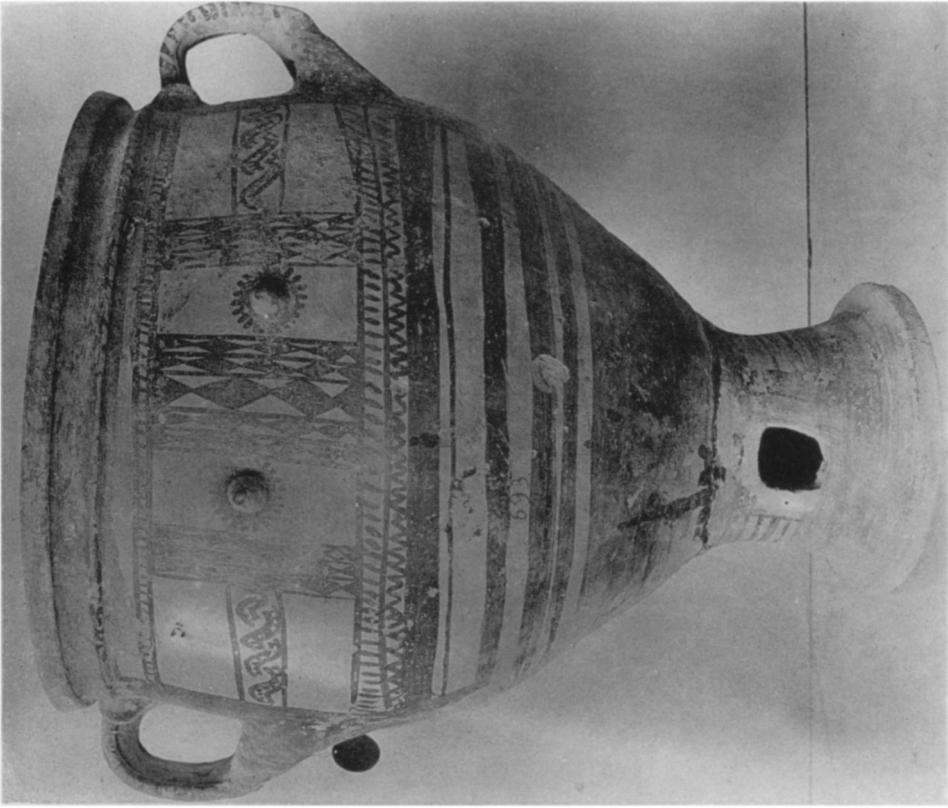
tripod and a peculiar palmette are the dividing elements between the figures. A floral garland and geometric patterns decorate the lower part of the pithos, above the missing base. Pernier, *Annuario*, I, pp. 66 ff., figs. 36-39. Some fragments from the same pithos seem to have been discovered before the Italian excavations at Prinias: see Savignoni, *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pl. XIV, nos. 10-11.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- P. Orsi, "Note on a Mycenaean Vase and on some Geometric Vases of the Syllogos of Candia," *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, pp. 251 ff.
- S. Wide, "Nachleben mykenischer Ornamente," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 233 ff.
- , "Geometrische Vasen aus Griechenland," *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, pp. 35 ff.
- D. G. Hogarth, "Knossos, II. Early Town and Cemeteries," *B.S.A.*, VI, 1899-1900, pp. 70 ff.
- L. Savignoni, "Fragments of Cretan Pithoi," *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pp. 404 ff.
- H. A. Boyd, "Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, in 1900," *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pp. 125 ff.
- R. C. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Praesos, I," *B.S.A.*, VIII, 1901-2, pp. 231 ff.
- H. Dragendorff, in *Thera*, II, pp. 177 ff.
- E. Pfuhl, "Der archaische Friedhof am Stadtberge von Thera," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 140 ff.
- J. H. Hopkinson, "Note on the Fragment of a Painted Pinax from Praesos," *B.S.A.*, X, 1903-4, pp. 148 ff.
- J. P. Droop, "Some Geometric Pottery from Crete," *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-6, pp. 24 ff.
- P. Orsi, "Gela," *Mon. Ant.*, XVII, 1906, cols. 95 ff., col. 190.
- F. Poulsen, *Der Orient u. die frühgriechische Kunst*, Leipzig, 1912.
- L. Pernier, "Templi arcaici sulla patela di Prinias," *Annuario*, I, 1914, pp. 65 ff.
- E. H. Hall, *Excavations in Eastern Crete, Vrokastro, Anthropol. Public. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, III, No. 3, 1914, pp. 79 ff., Plates XVII-XXXV.
- B. Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland*, I, Diss. Heidelberg, Karlsruhe i. B., 1917.
- F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 125)*, Paris, 1922, pp. 40 ff.
- E. Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, pp. 86 ff., pp. 101 f.
- M. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1927.
- Doro Levi, "Arcadia, an early Greek Town. New Italian Excavations in Crete," *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anth.*, XII, 1925, pp. 3 ff., Plates I-VI.
- , "Arkades, una città cretese all'alba della civiltà ellenica," *Annuario*, X-XII, 1927-29 (referred to as *Arkades*).
- H. G. G. Payne, "Early Greek Vases from Knossos," *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 224 ff.
- M. Hartley, "Early Greek Vases from Crete," *B.S.A.*, XXXI, 1930-31, pp. 56 ff.
- H. G. G. Payne, *C.V.A.*, Oxford, No. 2 (Great Britain, No. 9), "Hellenic Cretan," 1931.
- Sp. Marinatos, "Funde u. Forschungen aus Kreta," *Arch. Anzeiger*, XLVIII, 1933, cols. 304 ff.
- G. M. Young, "Archaeology in Greece, 1937-1938," *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 233 ff., fig. 12.

DORO LEVI

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY



2



1

PLATE II



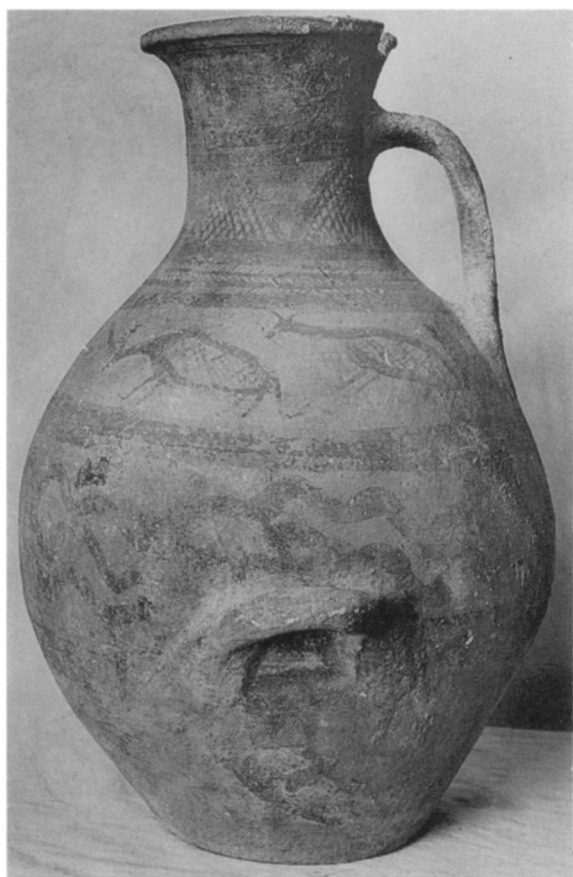
1



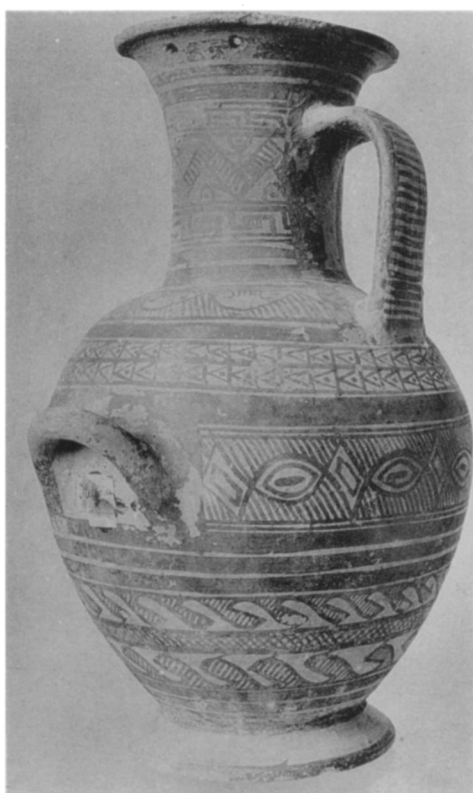
2



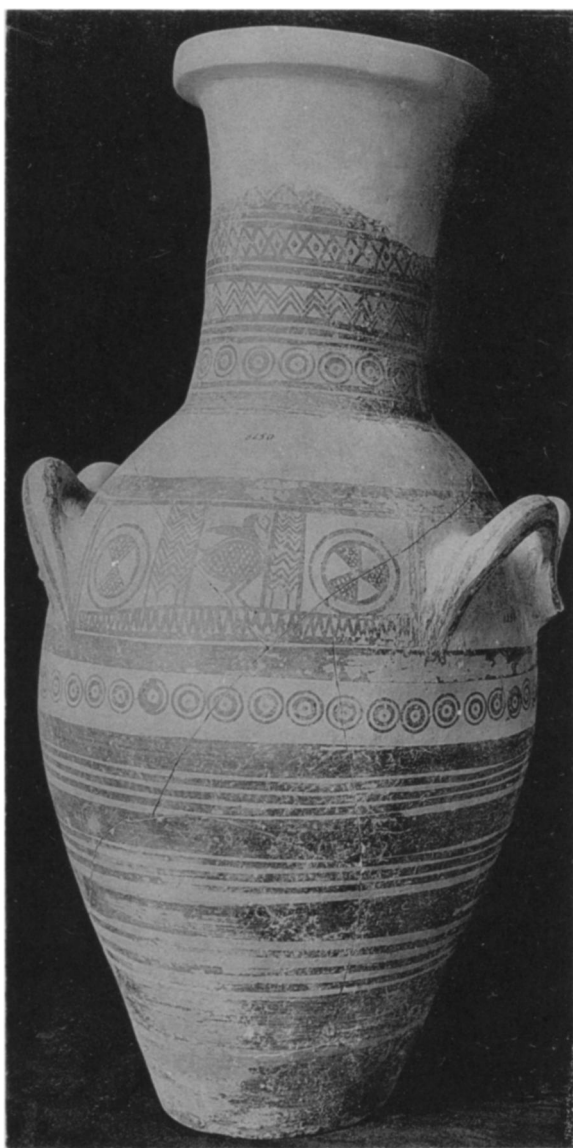
3



1



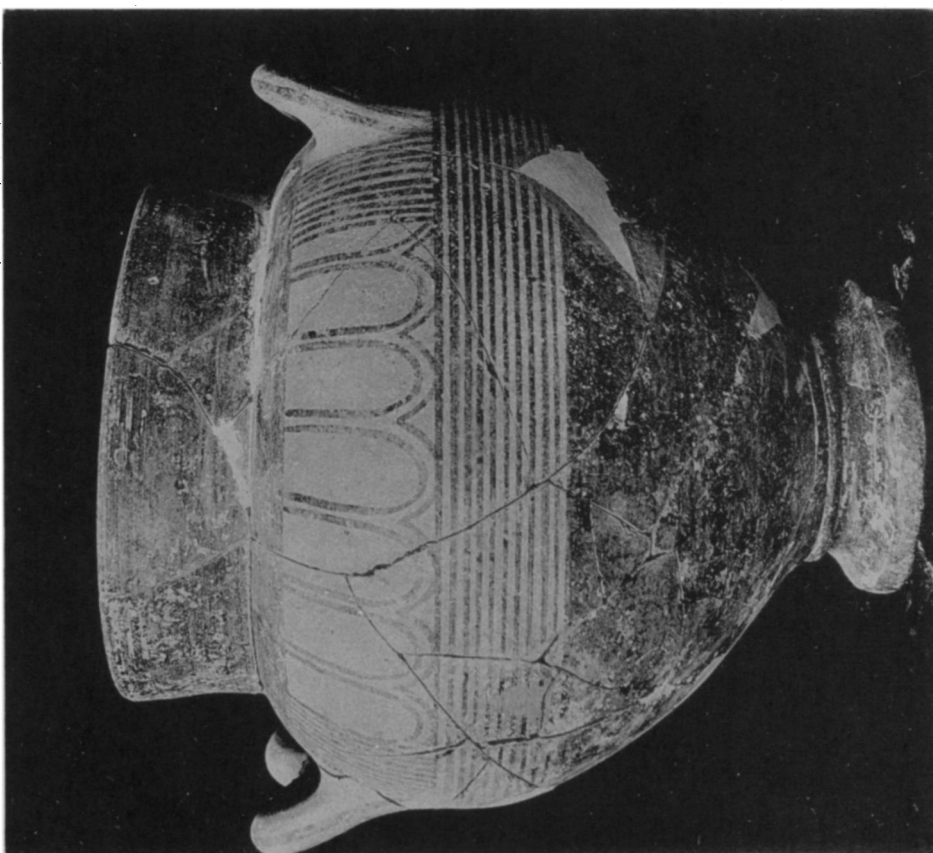
2



3



PLATE IV



2

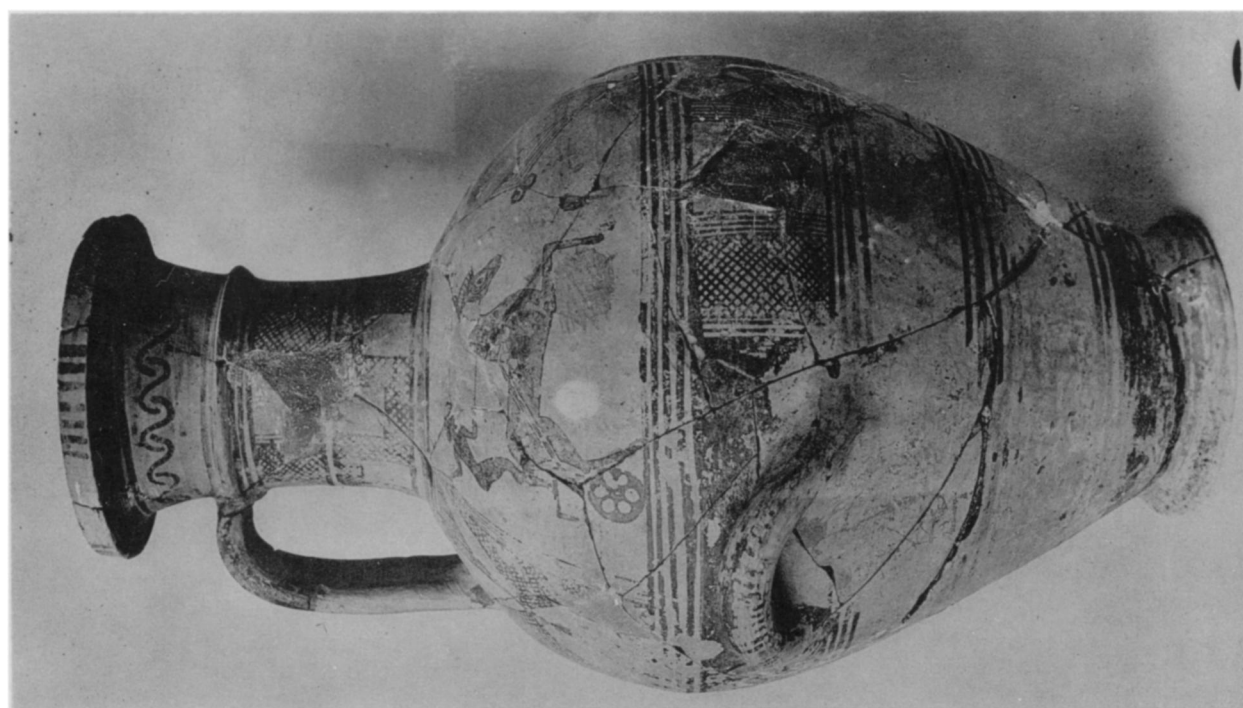


1





2

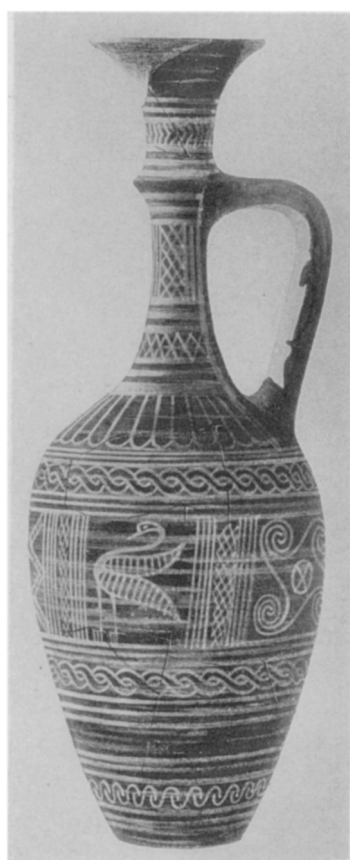


1

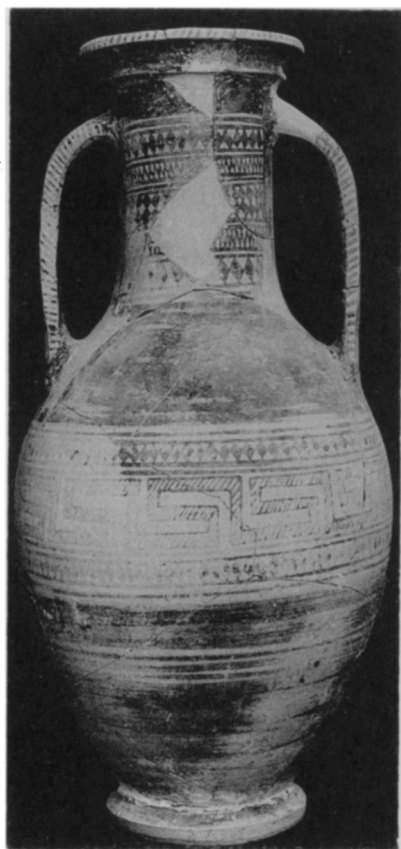
PLATE VI



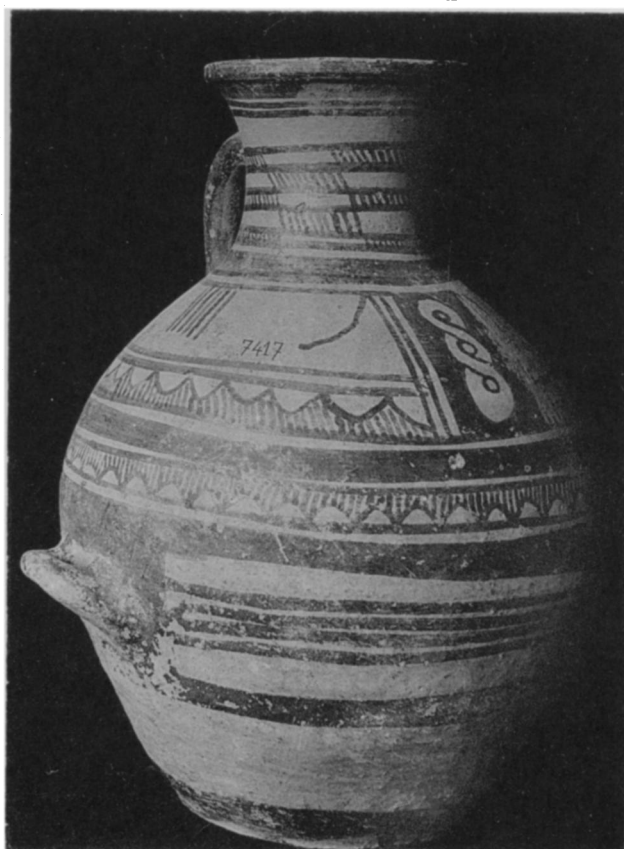
1



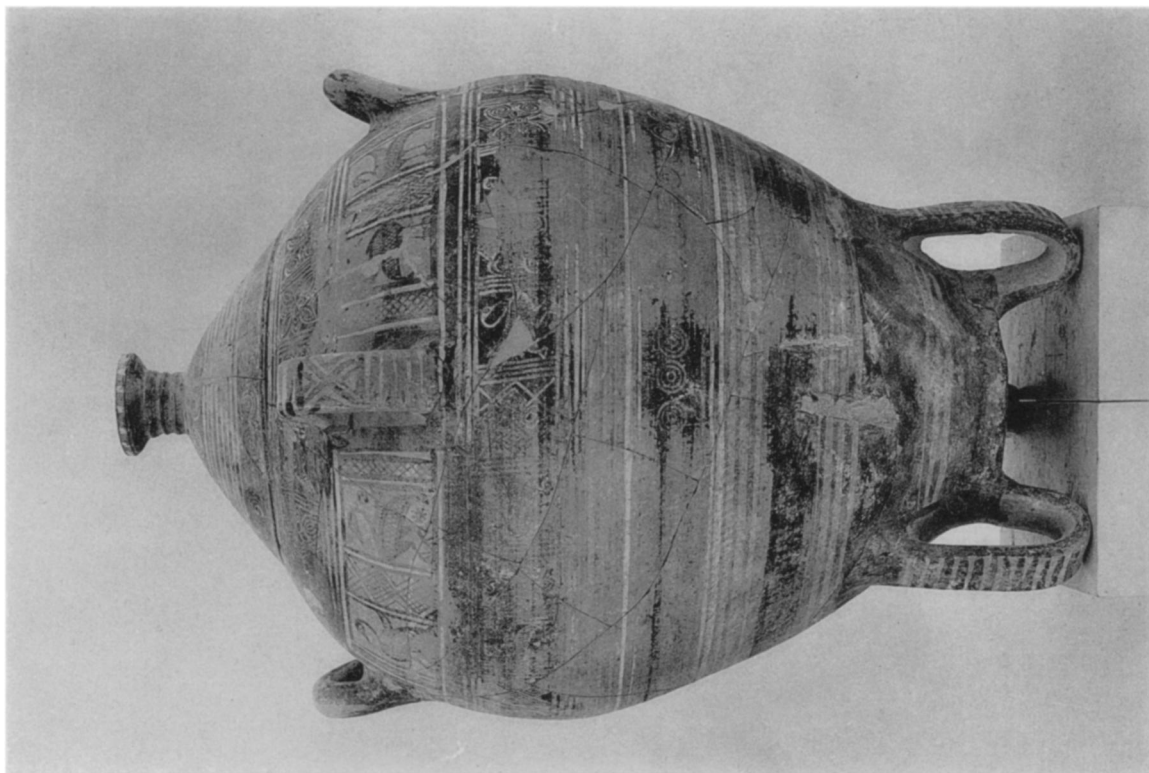
2



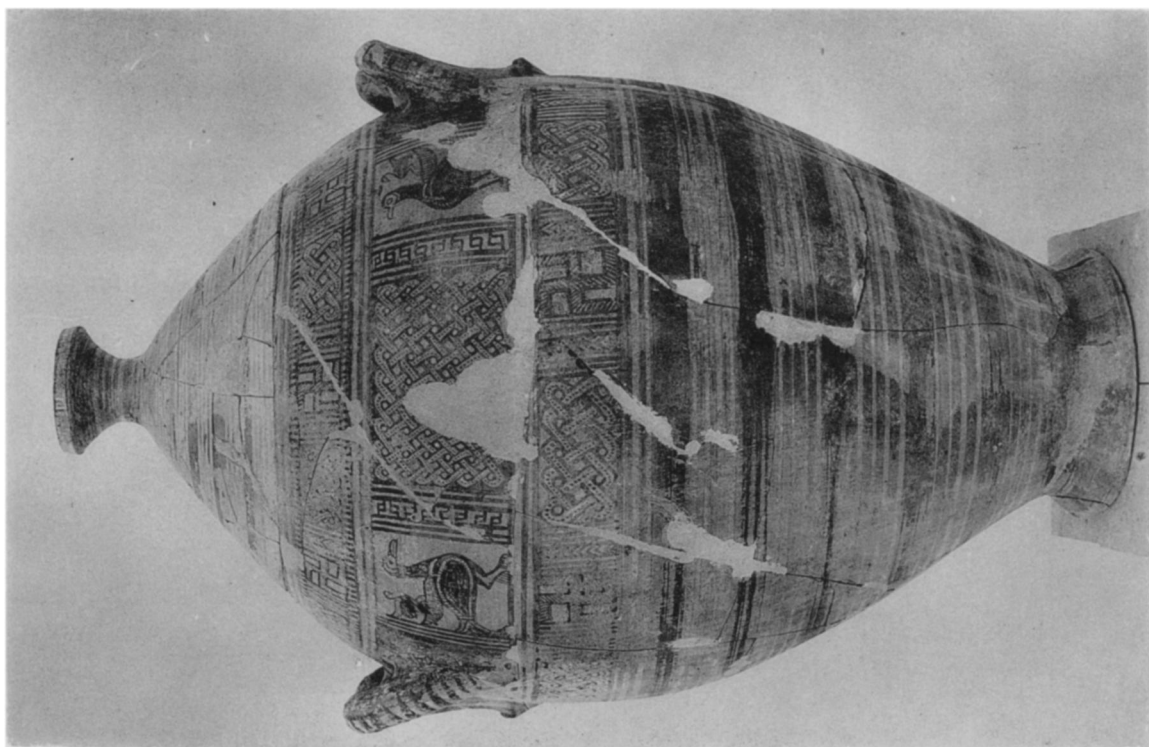
3



4

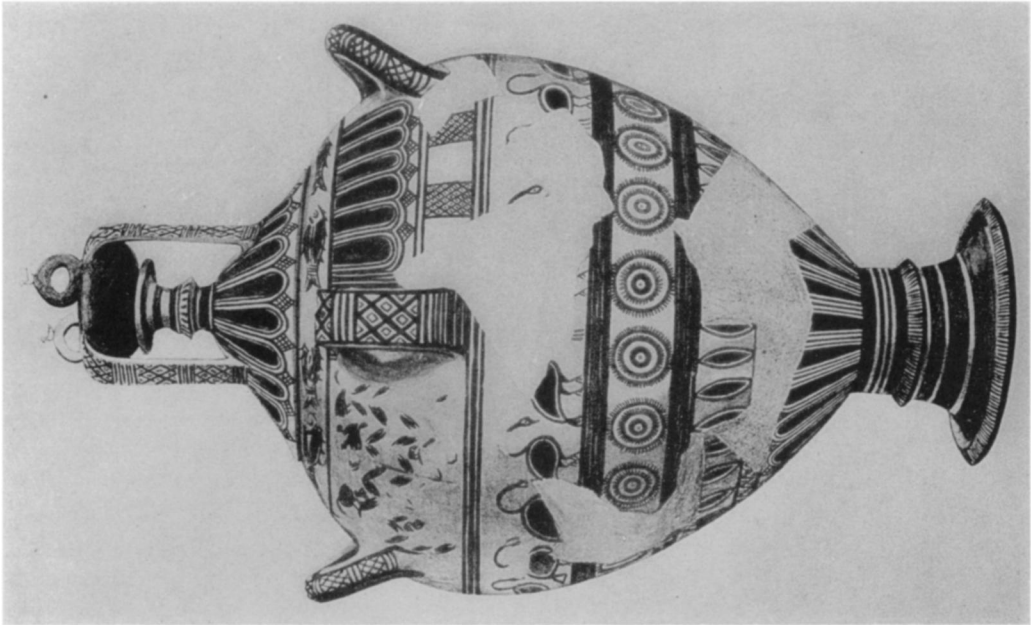


2

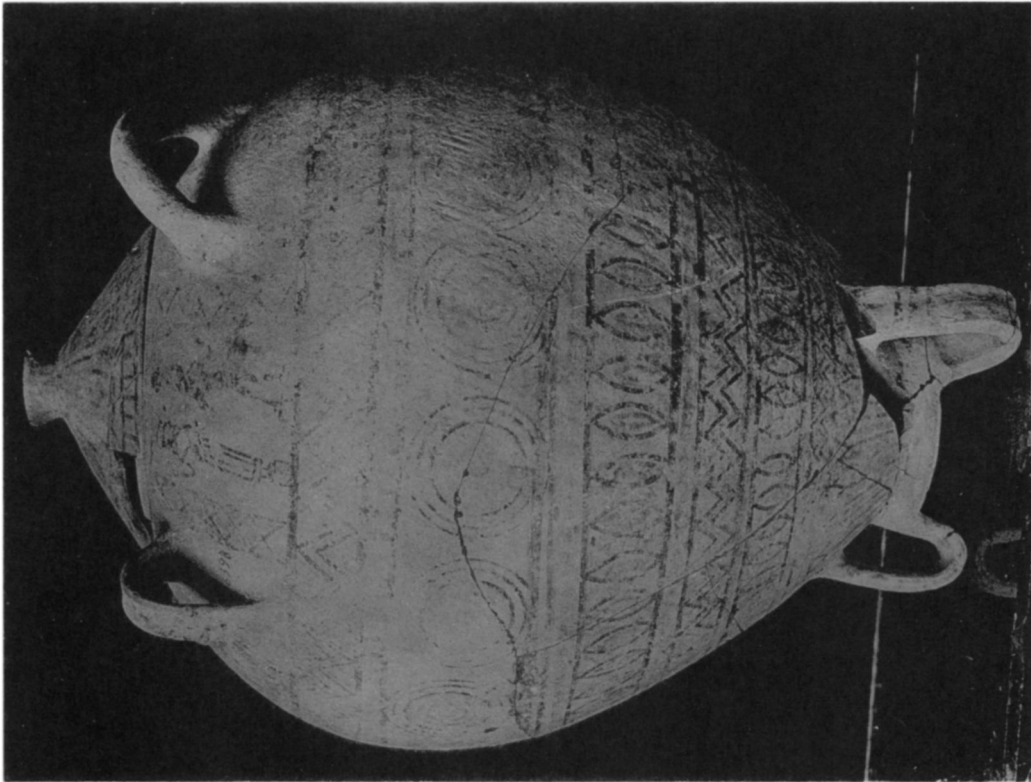


1

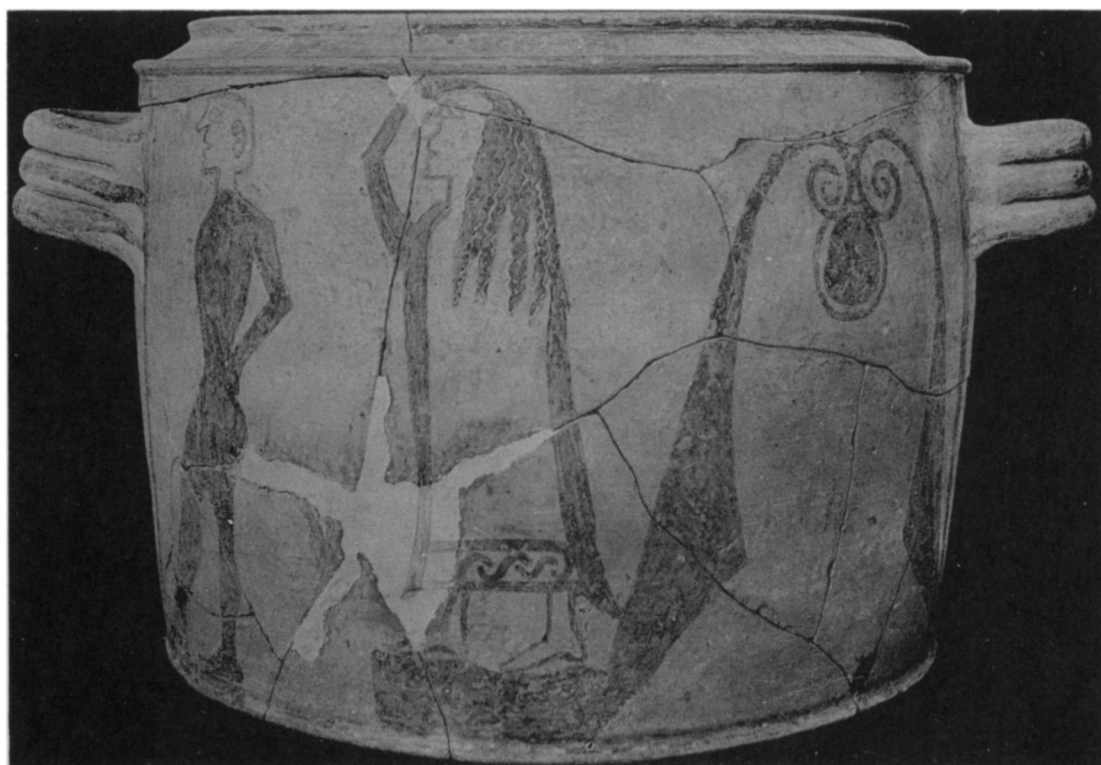
PLATE VIII



2



1



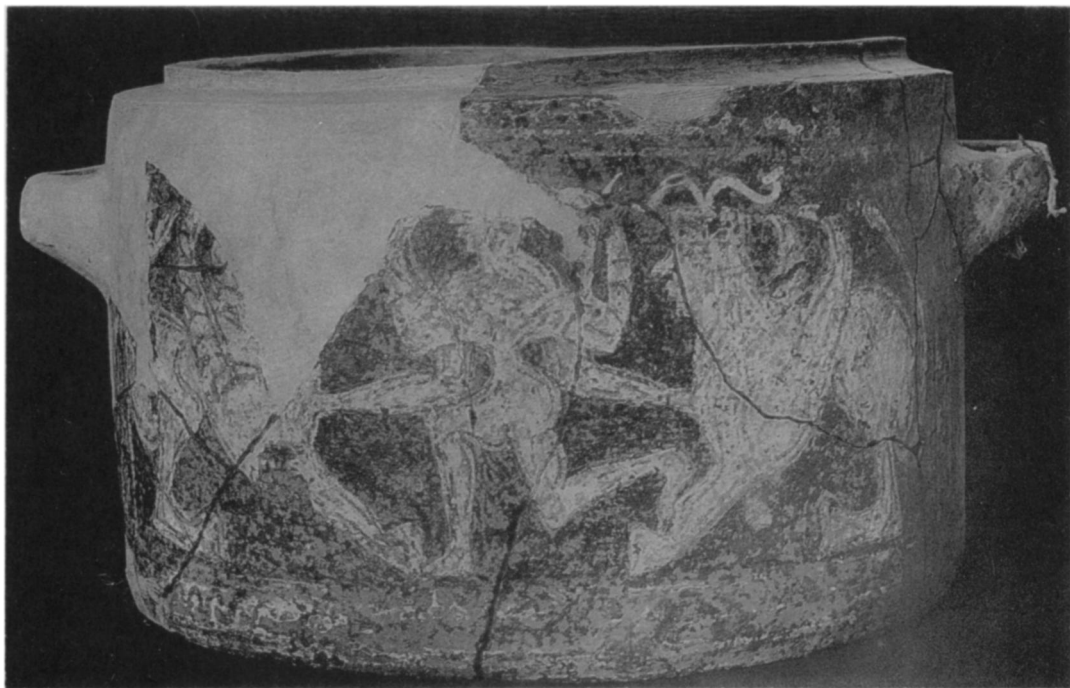
1



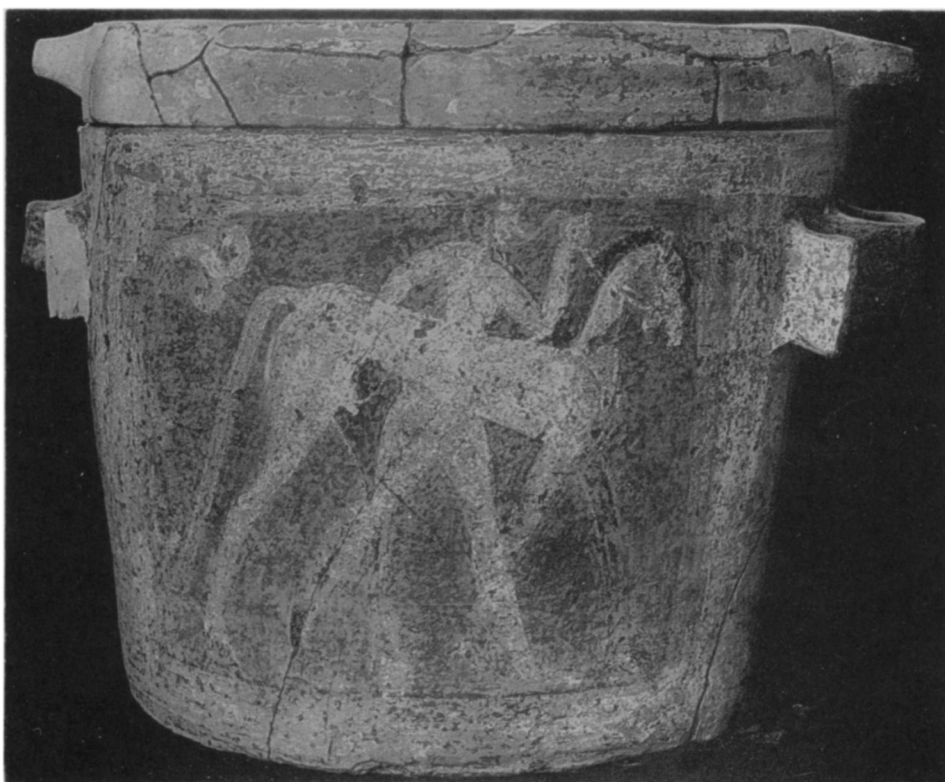
2



PLATE X



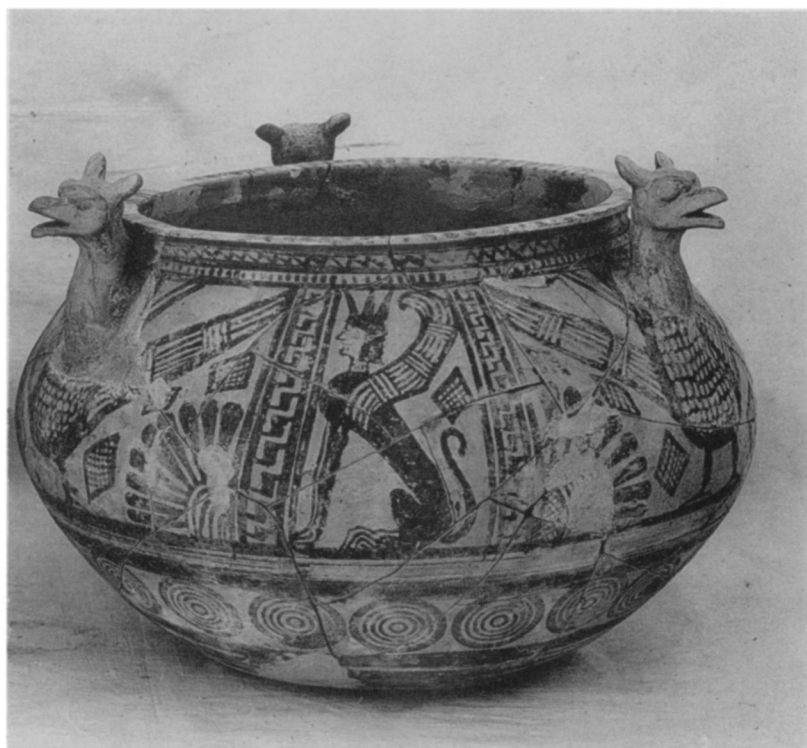
1



2



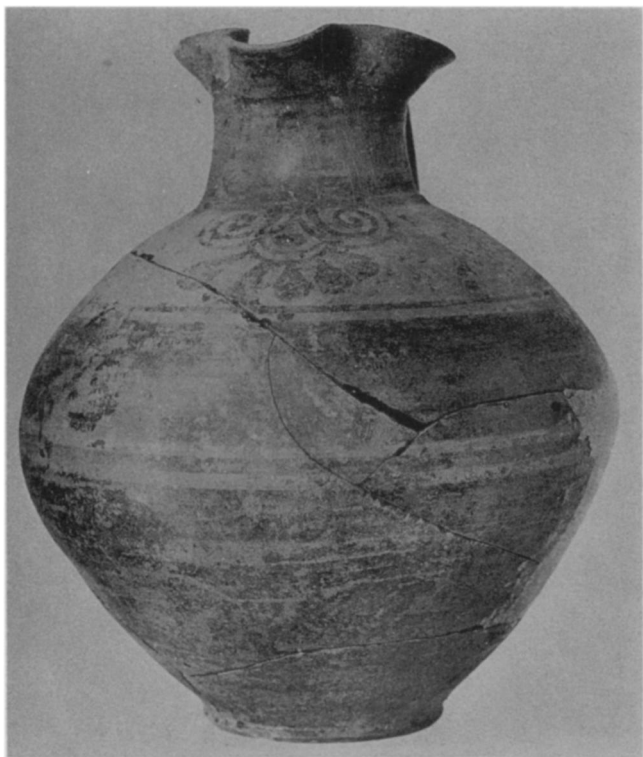
1



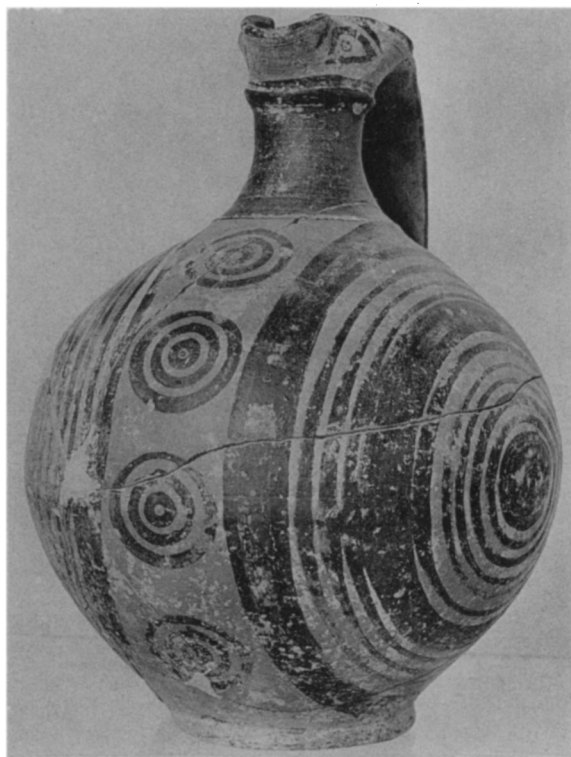
2







1



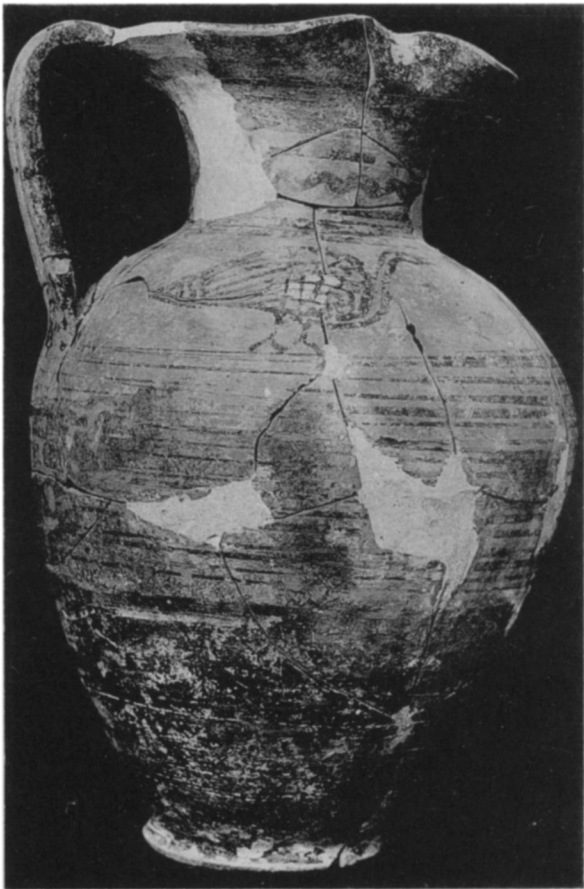
2



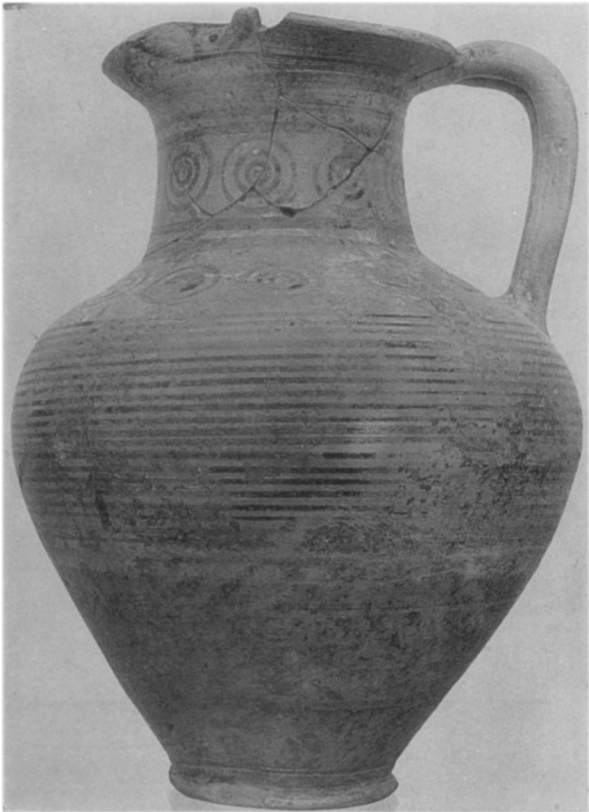
3



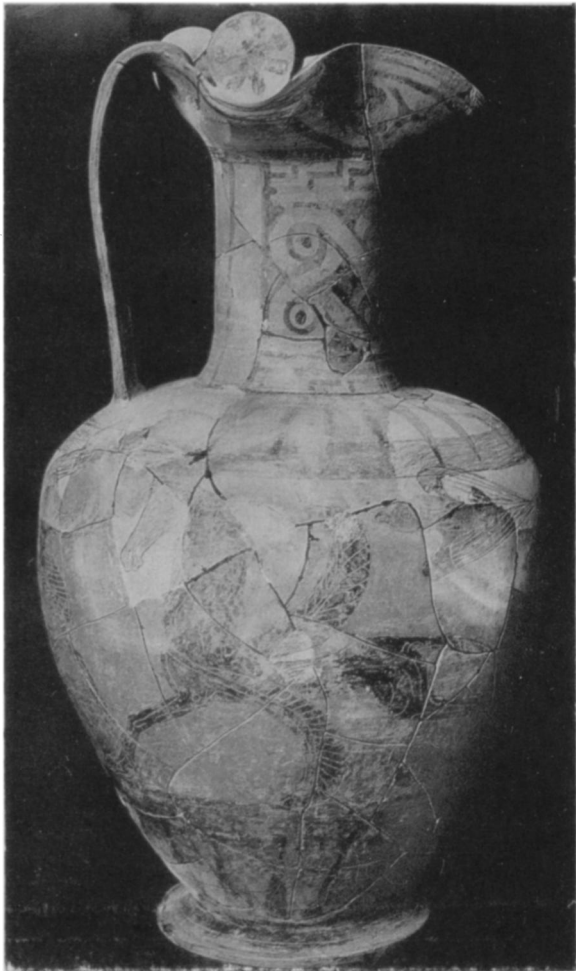
4



1



2



3

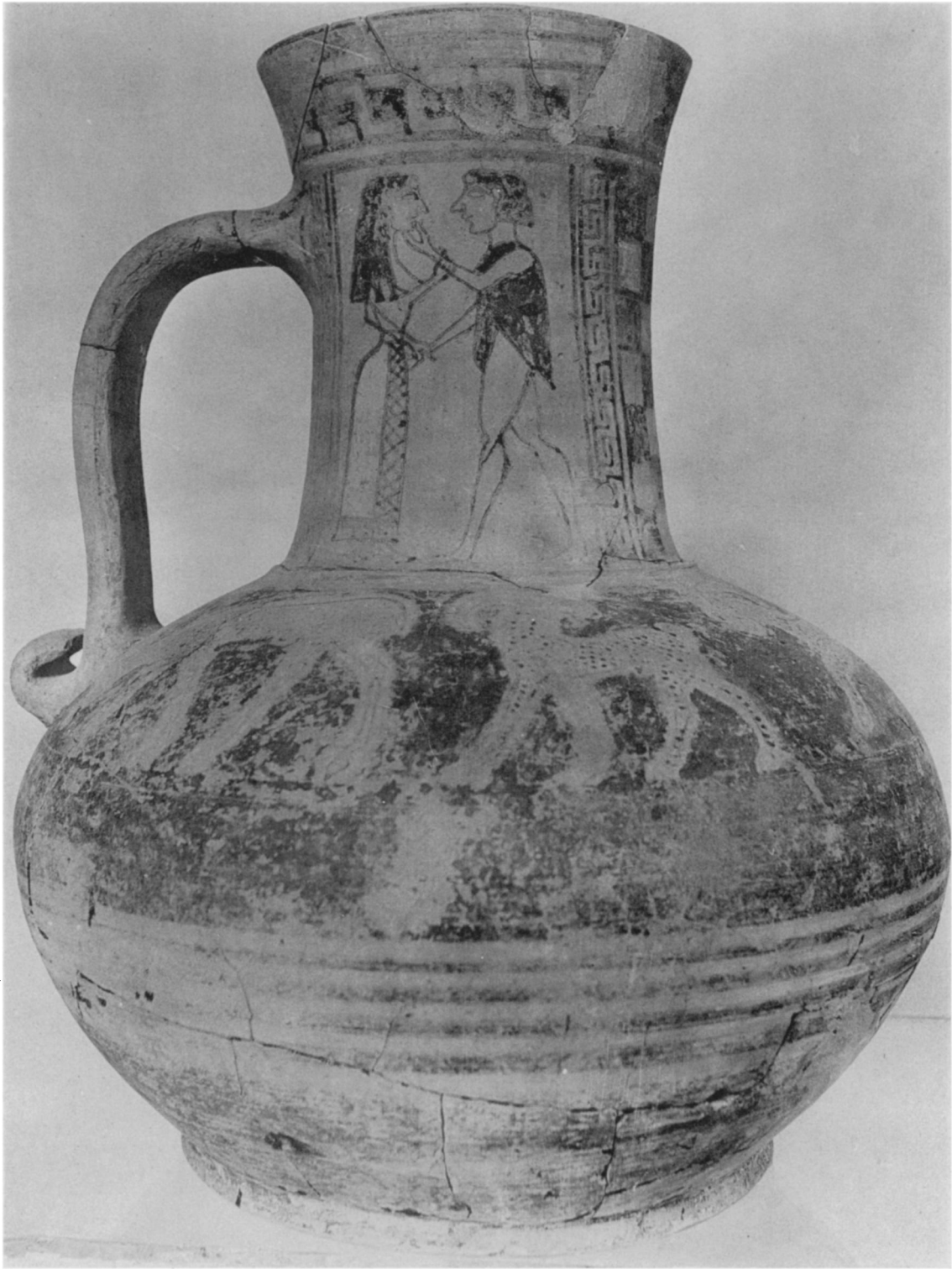


1



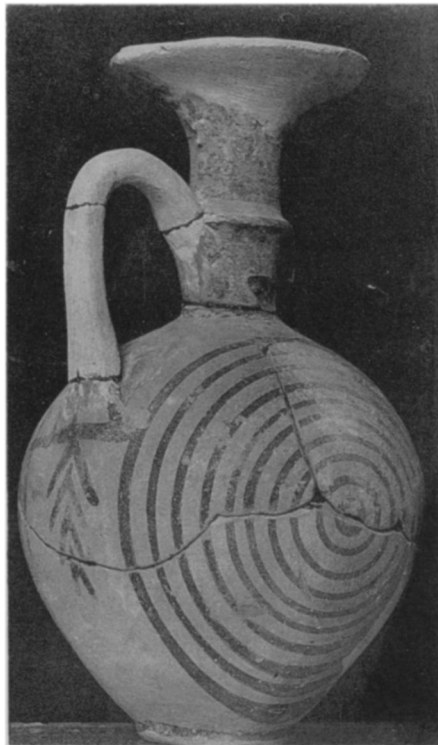
2

PLATE XVI

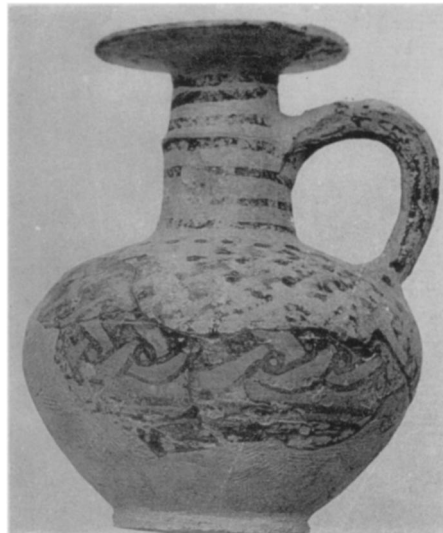




1



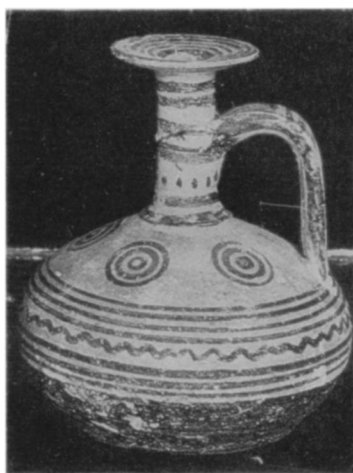
2



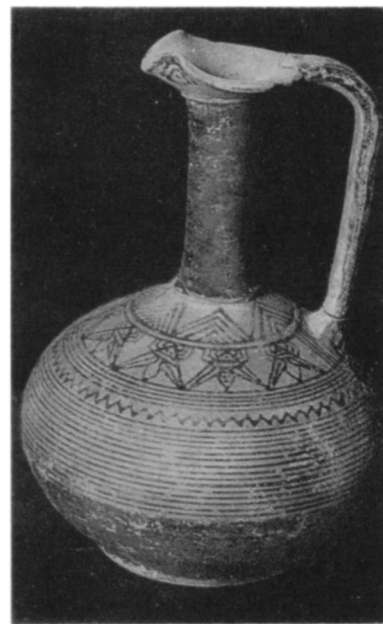
3



4



5



6



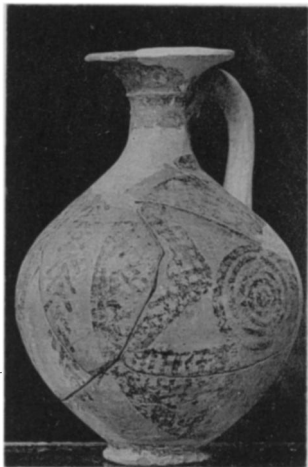
PLATE XVIII



1



2



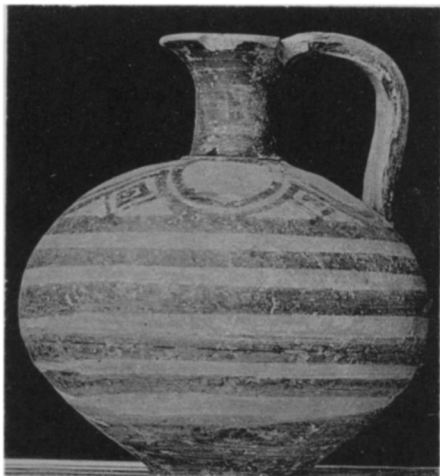
3



4



5



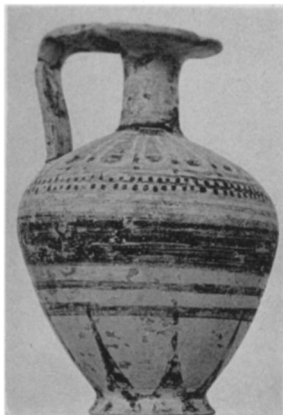
6



7



8



9



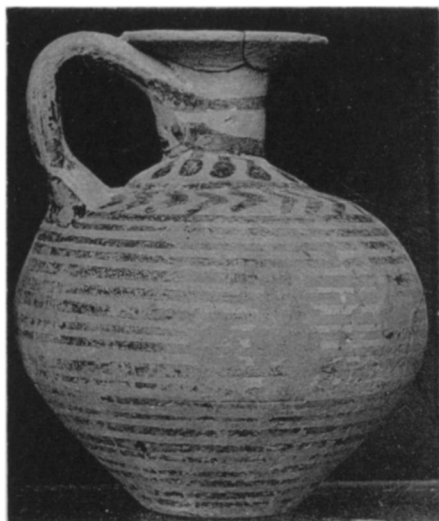
1



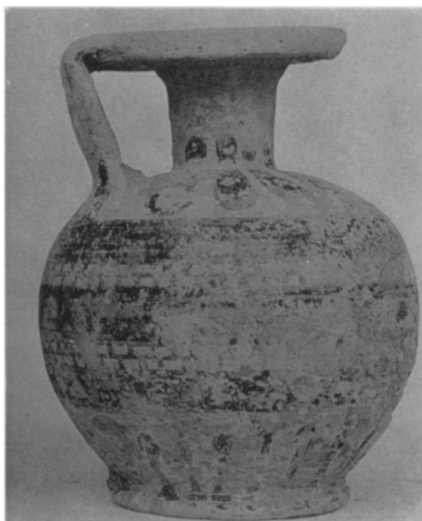
2



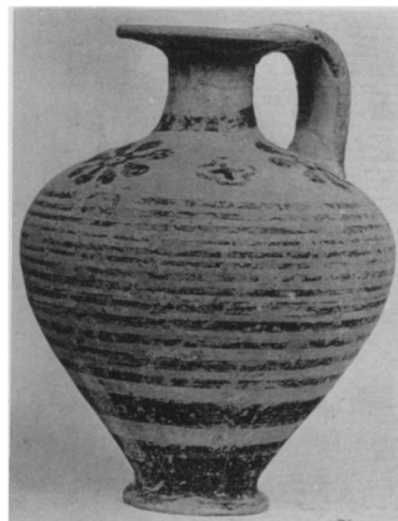
3



4



5



6



7



8

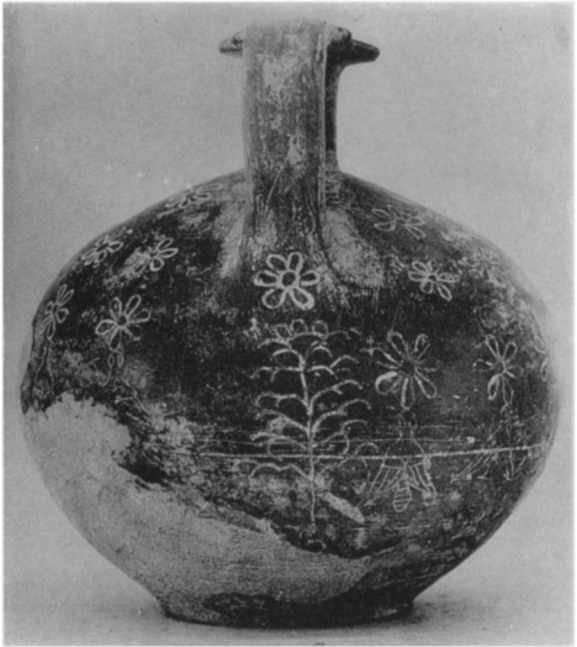


9

PLATE XX



1



2



3



4





1



2



3



4



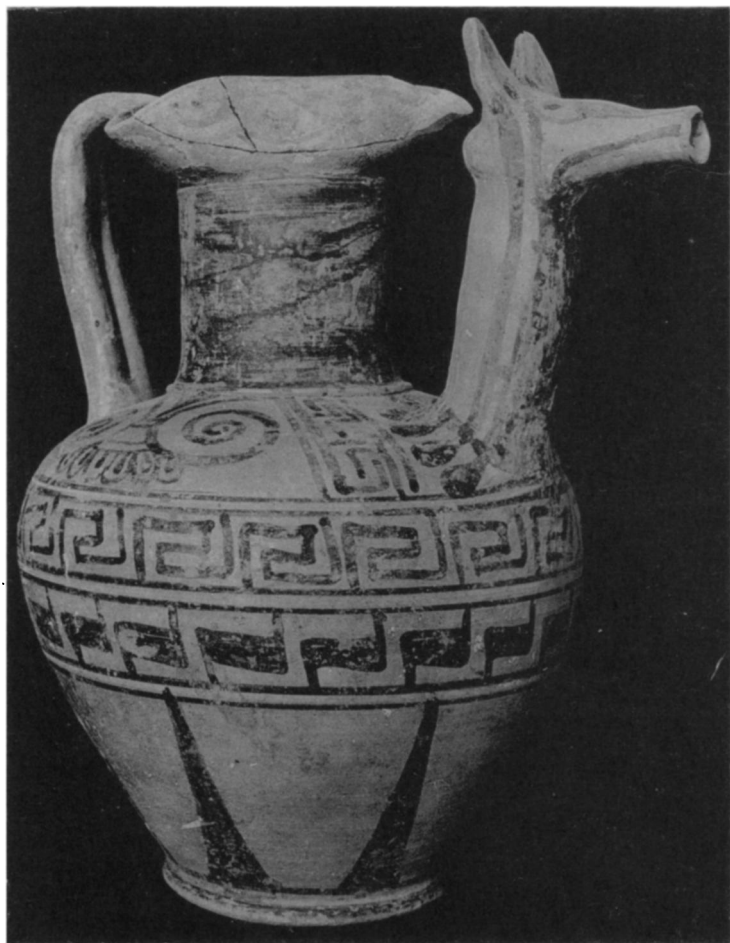
5



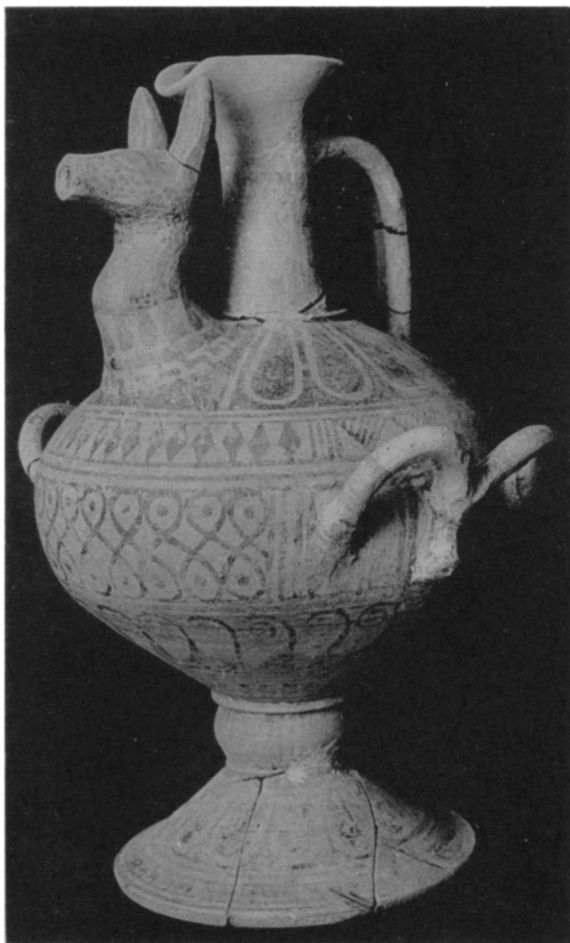
6



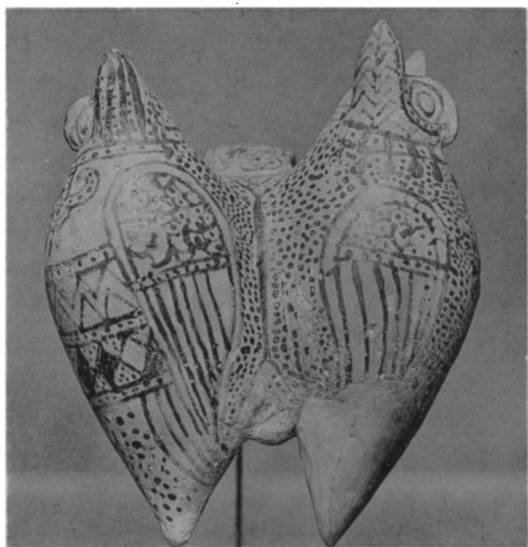
2



1



3



1



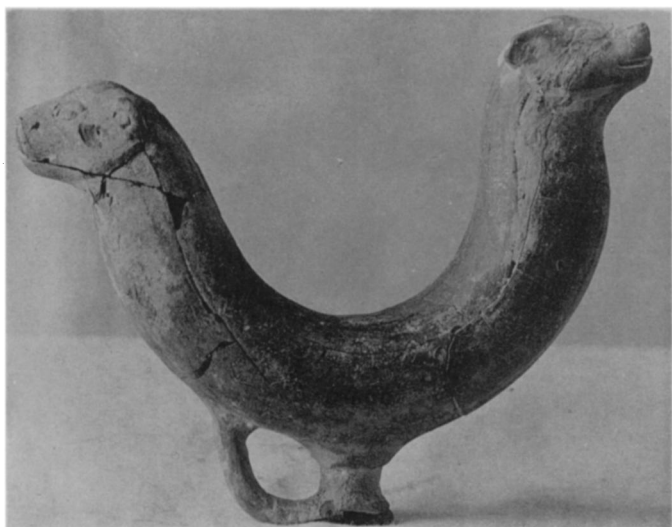
2



3



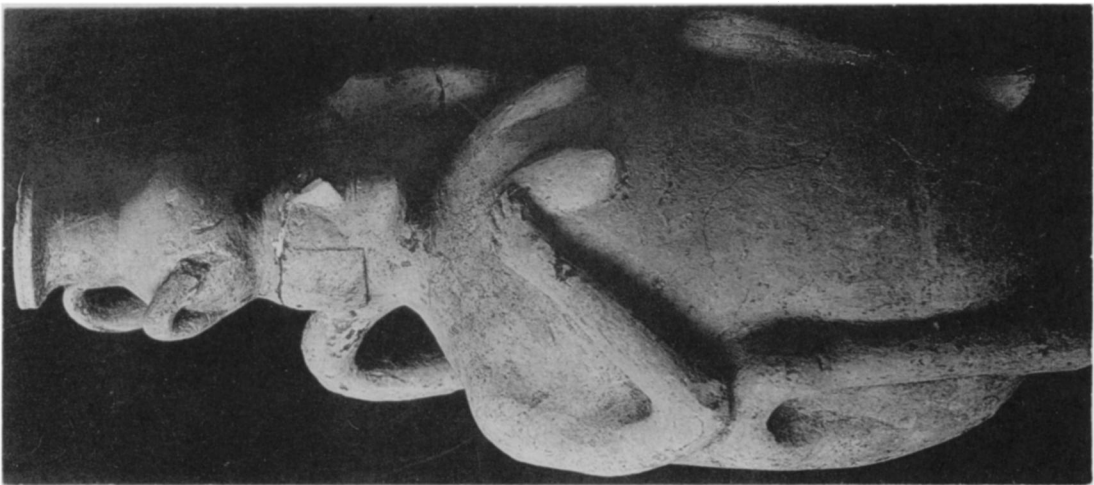
4



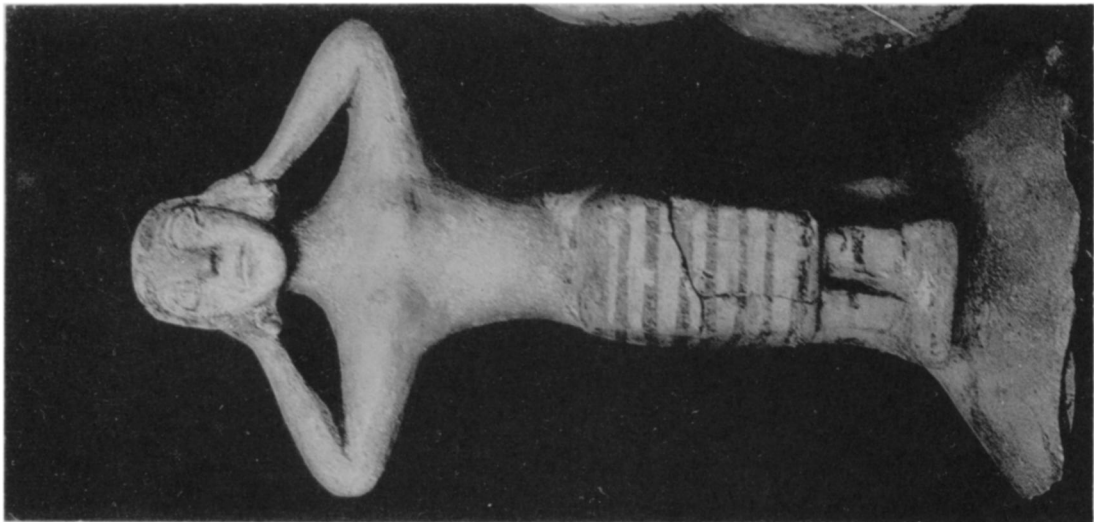
5



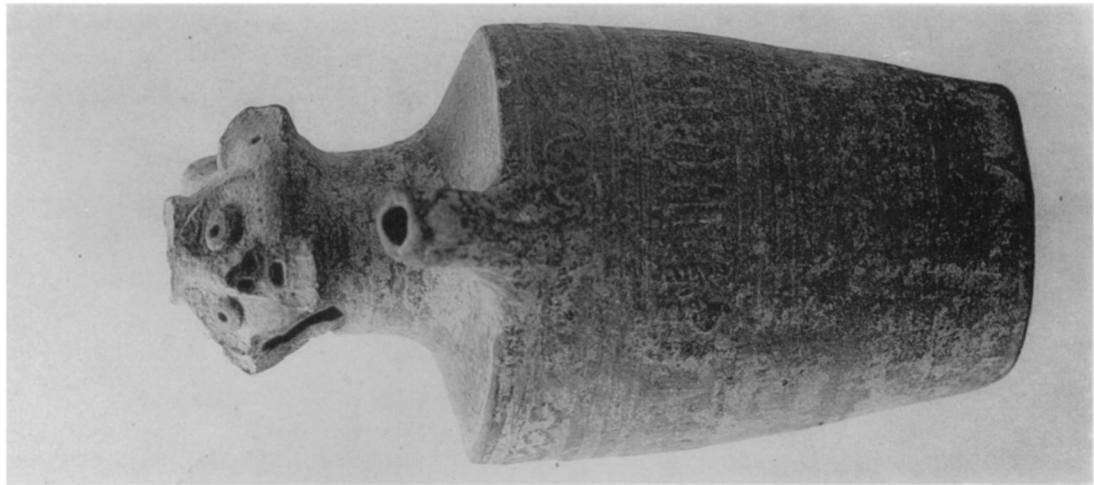
6



1



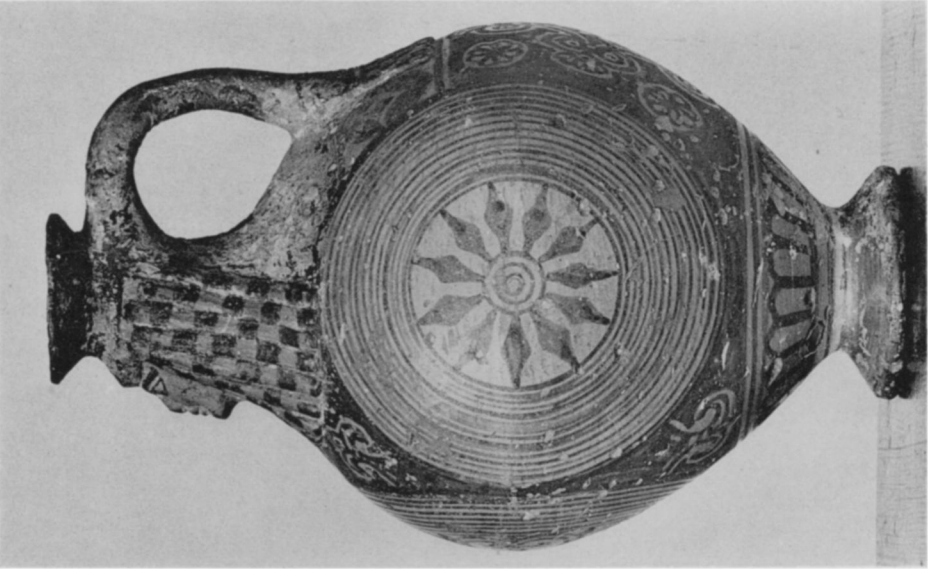
2



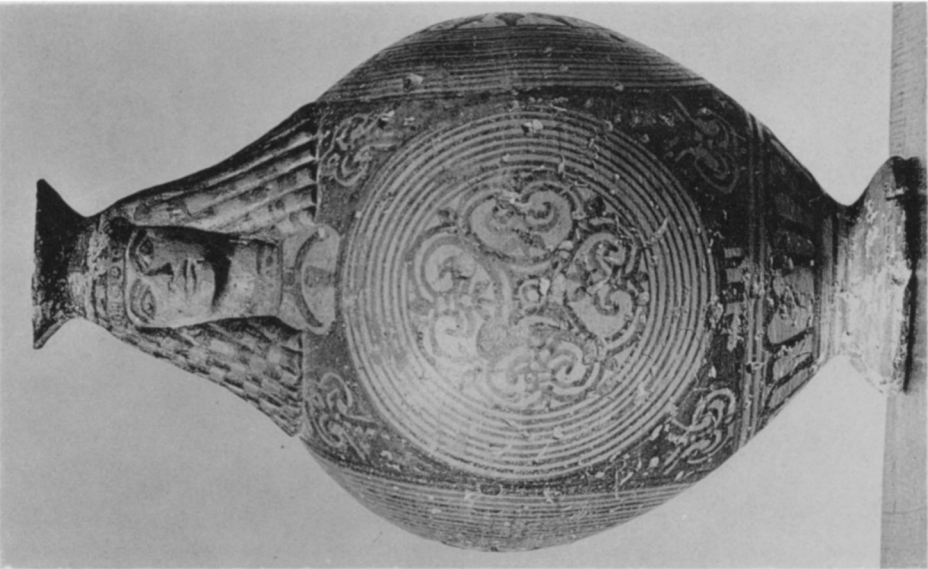
3



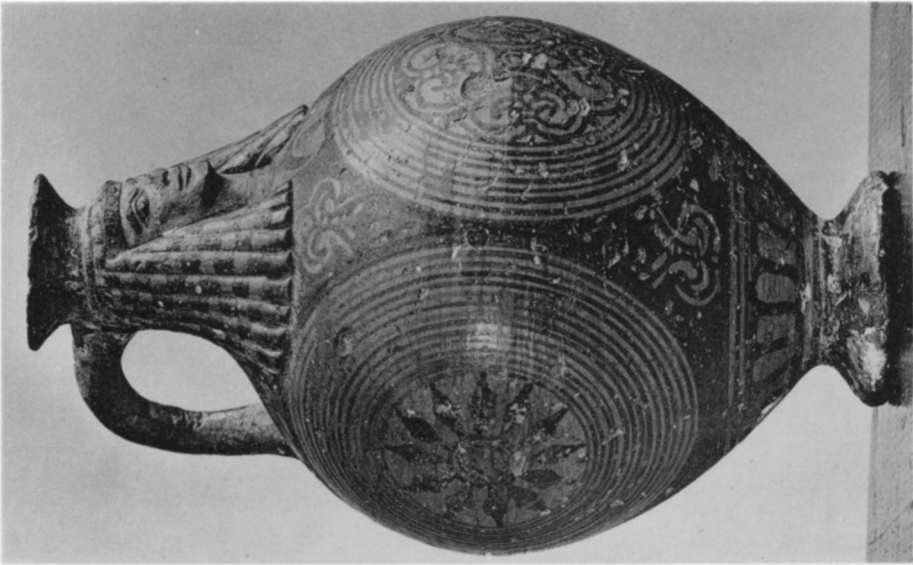




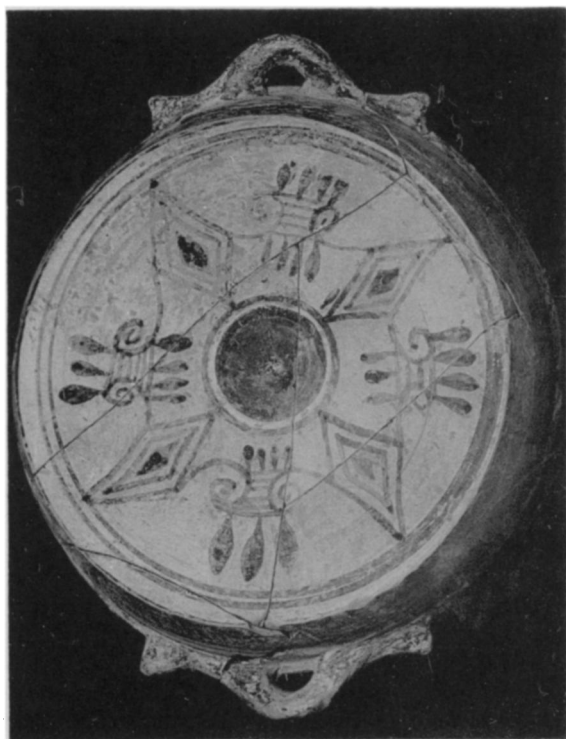
3



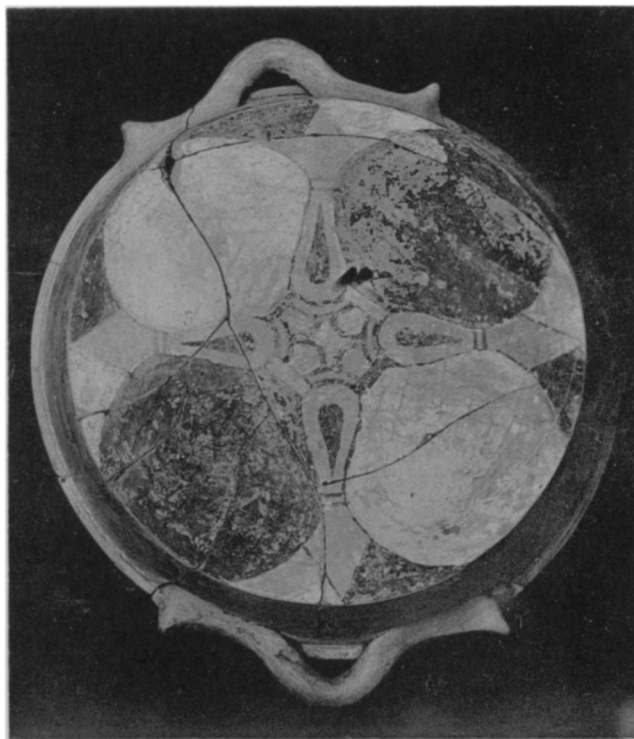
2



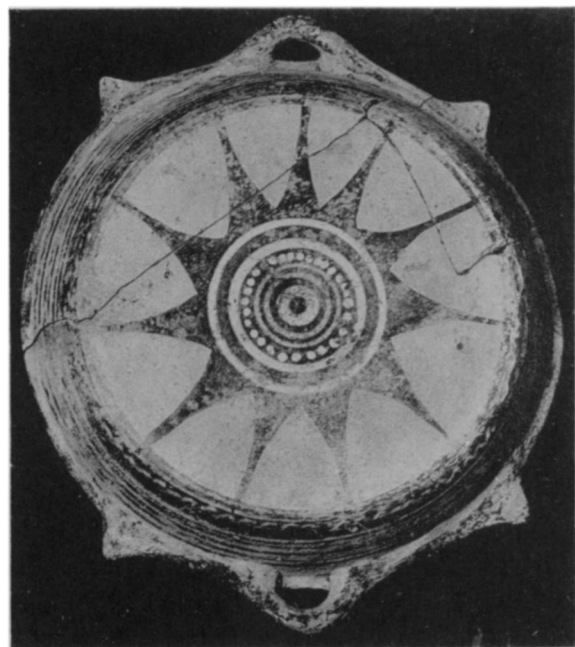
1



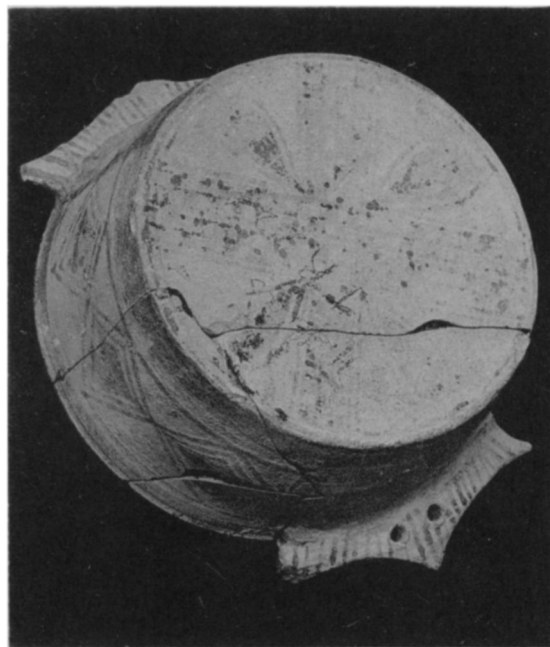
1



2



3



4

PLATE XXVIII



1



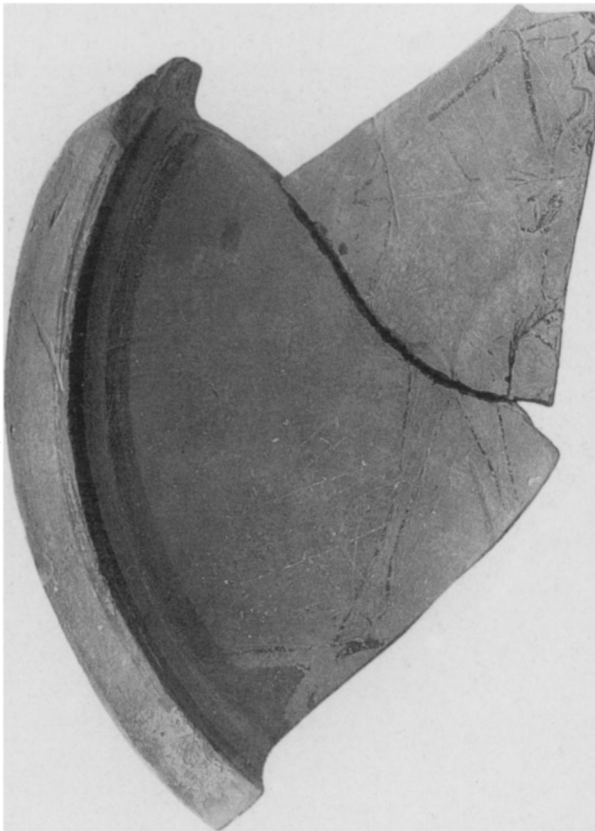
2



3



PLATE XXIX





2



1



1



2



3



4



5



6

