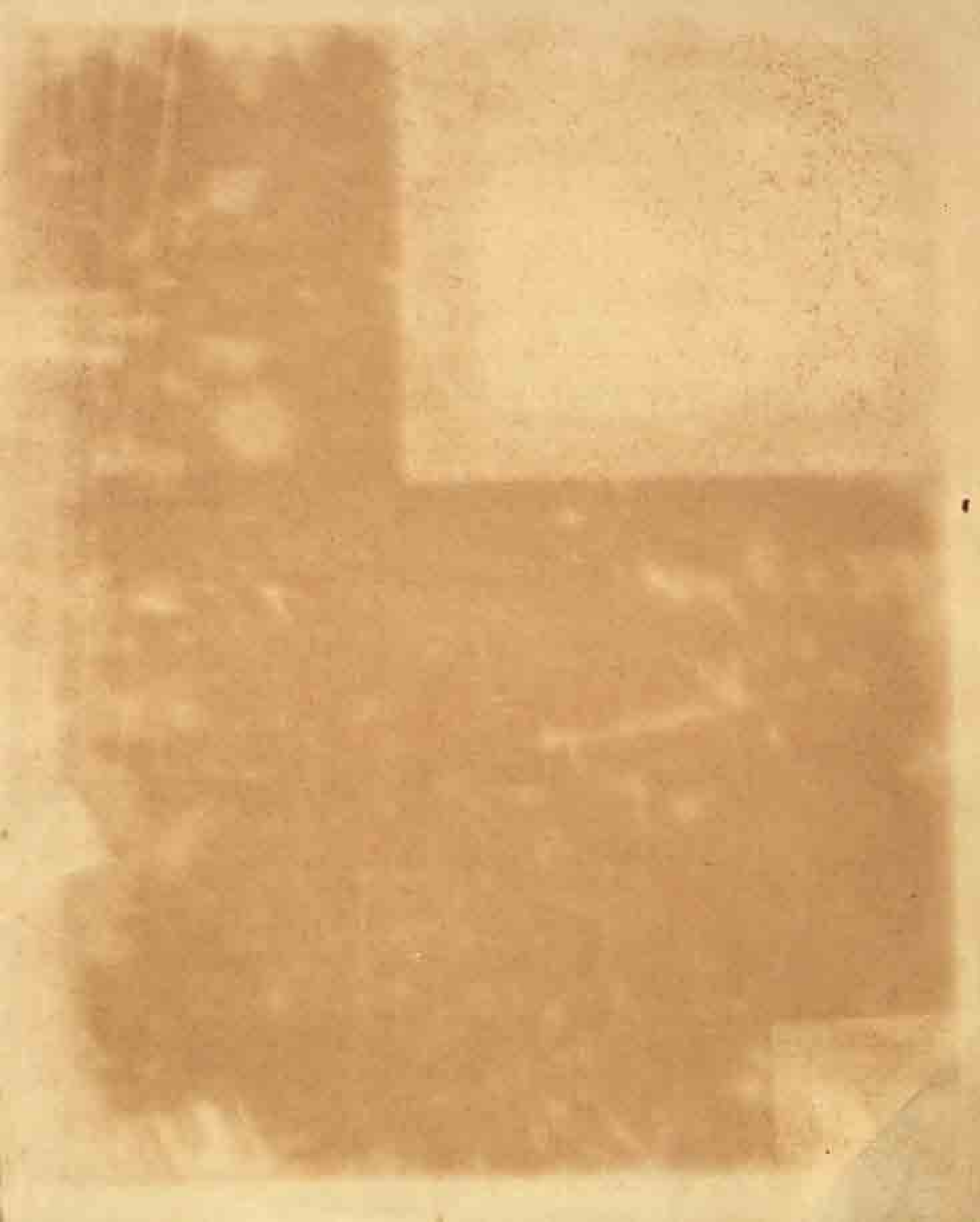


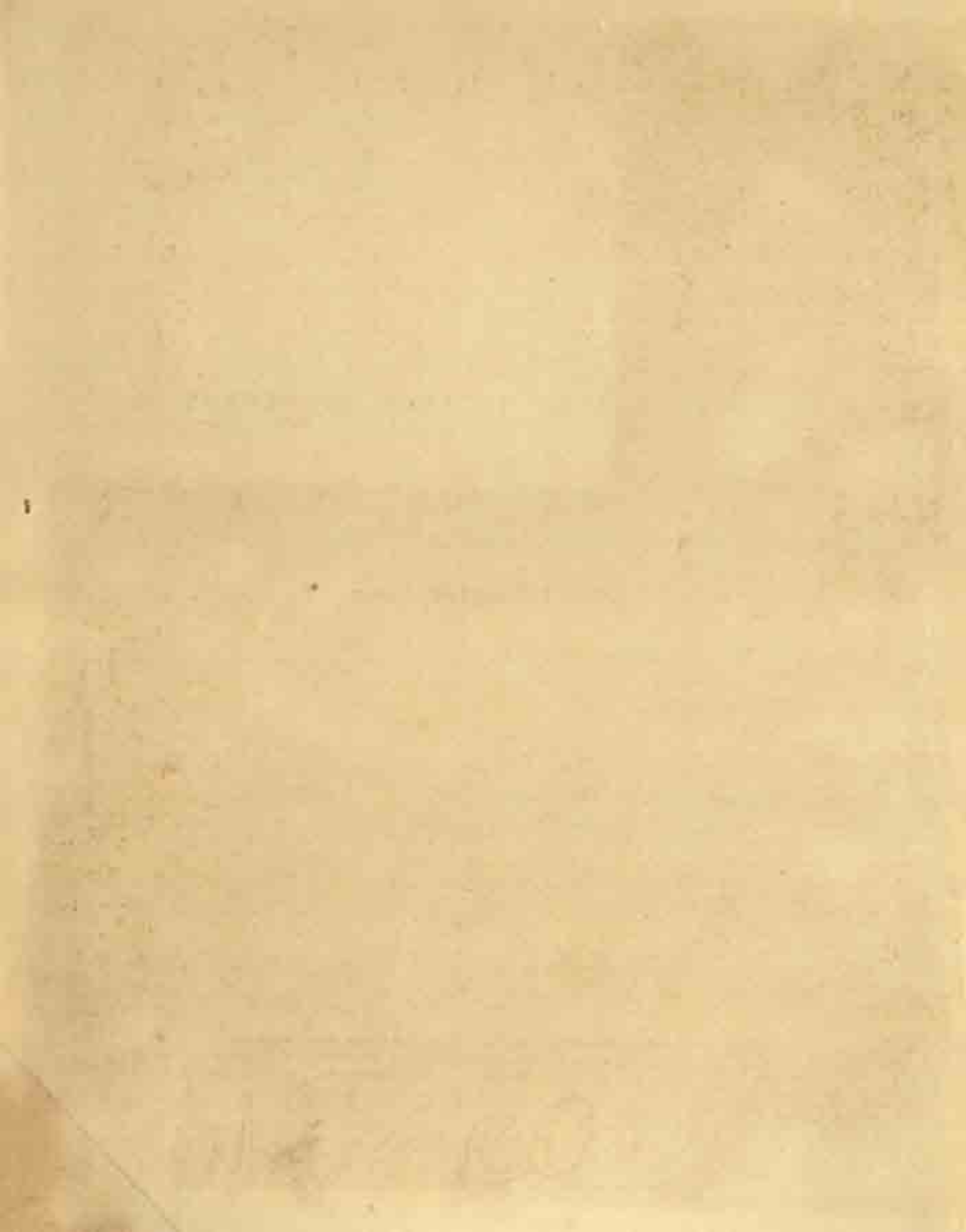
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This book is offered,
on the occasion of his birthday,

to

GERALD WAINWRIGHT

ms. 71. 72

as a token of the respect and admiration felt by a student
who has never failed to receive from him unstinted help and
encouragement.

*I should like to draw attention to the
following points.*

On pages 68 and 109 it is said that Keftiuans appear represented on the walls of the Tomb of Senmut. In fact, it is Islanders who appear thereon.

On pages 69 and 152 reference is made to the sword with the cartouche of Seti IIInd. The original publication of this object was by Borchardt (Z.A.S. 1912, pp 61 ff and Plate V), who said that it was of bronze. More recently, Childe said that it was made of iron (P.P.S. 1948, p 184). No analysis of the metal appears to be published.

T. Burton-Brown.

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T. Burton-Brown.

December, 1954

ABBREVIATIONS

AA.	<i>Archaeologischer Anzeiger.</i>
AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
Abusir el Melek	A. Scharff, <i>Abusir el Melek.</i>
Abydos	I., by W.M.F. Petrie. II., by W.M.F. Petrie. III., by E.R. Ayrton and others.
Aegean Essays	<i>Essays in Aegean Archaeology presented to Sir Arthur Evans.</i>
A f O	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
Aigina	W. Kraiker, <i>Aigina.</i>
AJ	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
Akerstrom	A. Åkerström, <i>Der geometrische Stil in Italien.</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archaologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung.</i>
Amarna	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Tell el Amarna.</i>
Amer Academy Rome	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.</i>
Amulets	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Amulets.</i>
Anc Gaza	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Ancient Gaza.</i>
Andrae IT	W. Andrae, <i>Der archaische Ischtar-Tempel in Assur</i>
Andrae WA	W. Andrae, <i>Das wiedererstandene Assur.</i>
Annales	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i>
Annuario	<i>Annuario della Scuola Italiana a Atene.</i>
Arabah	J. Garstang, <i>El Arabah.</i>
Arch	<i>Archaeologia.</i>
Arch mitt Iran	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.</i>
Arc Orien	<i>Archiv Orientalni.</i>
Argive Heraeum	C. Waldstein, <i>The Argive Heraeum.</i>
Arm	C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, <i>Armenien einst und jetzt.</i>
Arne	T.J. Arne, <i>Excavations at Shah Tepe, Iran.</i>
AFM	Kondakov, Tolstoy and Reinach, <i>Antiquités de la Russie méridionale.</i>
Aralan Taah	F. Thureau-Dangin and others, <i>Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, XVI (1931).</i>
Asine	O. Frodin and A.W. Persson, <i>Asine, Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-30.</i>

Ass Sculpture BM.

Atkinson

A und E

Ausg Samarra

Az 1948

Bad Civ

Balabish

BASOR

Baur

BCH

Belleten

Beth Pelet

Bethshan

BIFAO

Bittel Forschung

Blinkenberg

Bliss

BMC

BMG

Boghaz Keui

Boll Adriatica

Boreux

Bossert AA

Bossert AC

Bossert Karatepe

BRGK

Bronze Gates Shalmaneser

Bronze Laristan

E.A. Wallis Budge, *Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum, Reign of Ashur-Nasir-Pal, 885 - 860 B.C.*

B.F.C. Atkinson, *The Greek Language.*

W. Max Muller, *Asien und Europa.*

E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra.*

T. Burton-Brown, *Excavations in Azerbaijan 1948.*

G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation.*

G.A. Wainwright, *Balabish.*

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

P.V.C. Baur, *Centaur in ancient art.*

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

Belleten Turk Tarih Kurumu.

I., by W.M.F. Petrie.

II., by J.L. Starkey and F. Harding.

I., by A. Rowe.

II., ii., by G.M. Fitzgerald.

Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

K. Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien.*

C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules Grecques et Orientales.*

F.J. Bliss, *A mound of many cities.*

British Museum Catalogue of Vases.

Bulletin du Musée de Georgie.

Bittel & Guterbock, *Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil. Hist. Abh. 1935 (i).*

Bollettino delle società adriatica di scienze naturali.

Guide-Catalogue sommaire des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre.

H.T. Bossert, *Alt Anatolien.*

H.T. Bossert, *The art of ancient Crete.*

H.T. Bossert, *Karatepe Kasilari.*

Bericht der Romisch-Germanischen Kommission.

L.W. King, *Bronze reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria 860 - 825 B.C.*

A. Moortgat, *Bronzegerät aus Laristan.*

BSA	<i>Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.</i>
Buhen	University of Pennsylvania: Eckley B. Coxe Jr., Expedition to Nubia, Vol. VIII Buhen, by D. Randall-MacIver and C.L. Woolley.
Bull Palet	<i>Bullettino di Paletnologia.</i>
Buttons	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Buttons and design scarabs.</i>
Byblos	M. Dunand, <i>Fouilles de Byblos.</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (1st edition).
Capart	J. Capart, <i>Débuts de l'art.</i>
Carchemish	I., by D.G. Hogarth. II., by C.L. Woolley.
CC	H de Genouillac, <i>Céramique cappadocienne.</i>
Cem Ab	<i>Ceneteries of Abydos:</i> I., by E. Naville. II., by T.E. Peet. III., by T.E. Peet.
Cesnola	<i>Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities.</i>
Cesnola Cyprus	L.P. di Cesnola, <i>Cyprus, its ancient cities, tombs and temples.</i>
Christian	V. Christian, <i>Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes.</i>
Cim a crem	P.J. Riis, <i>Les cimetières à crémation (Hama).</i>
Cl R	<i>Clara Rhodos.</i>
Coll Myc Ath	V. Staes, <i>Collection Mycénienne du Musée Nationale.</i> (Guide illustré, 2me Edition).
Comp archy Mesp	A.L. Perkins, <i>The Comparative archaeology of Mesopotamia.</i>
Contenau antiquites orientales Louvre	G. Contenau, <i>Les antiquités orientales, (Louvre, Department des antiquités orientales.).</i>
Contenau manuel	G. Contenau, <i>Manuel d'archéologie orientale depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque d'Alexandre.</i>
Corinth	<i>Corinth.</i> Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
Corpus Palestinian	W.M.F. Petrie and J.G. Duncan, <i>Corpus of Palestinian Pottery.</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum antiquorum.</i>
Cylindres Biblio	L. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des cylindres orientaux dans le Bibliothèque nationale.</i>
Cylindres Louvre	L. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des cylindres et cachets orientaux du Musée du Louvre.</i>
Cyl seals	H. Frankfort, <i>Cylinder seals.</i>

Dahchour	J. de Morgan, <i>Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894</i> .
Dahchour 1894-5.	J. de Morgan, <i>Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-5</i> .
Davies AEP	N. de G. Davies, <i>Ancient Egyptian Paintings</i> .
Dechelette	J. Déchelette, <i>Manuel d'archéologie</i> .
Delos	École française d'Athènes, <i>Exploration archéologique de Délos</i> .
Delphes	École française d'Athènes, <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> .
Deltion	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> .
Demargne	P. Demargne, <i>La Crète Dédalique</i> .
Denderah	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Denderah</i> .
Dendra	A.W. Persson, <i>New tombs at Dendra near Midea</i> .
Dendra RT	A.W. Persson, <i>The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea</i> .
Denk P	C. Watzinger, <i>Denksäler Palästinas I</i> .
DEP	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse</i> .
Desborough	V. d'A. Desborough, <i>Protogeometric Pottery</i> .
Deshasheh	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> .
Dios P	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Diospolis Parva</i> .
Diss Pann	S. Gallus & T. Horvath, <i>Dissertationes Pannonicae II</i> , 9 (1939).
Dohan Italic Groups	E.H. Dohan, <i>Italic tomb-groups in the University Museum</i> .
Dragma	<i>Dragma M.P. Nilsson</i> .
Dugas	C. Dugas, <i>Les céramiques des Cyclades</i> .
Dussaud	H. Dussaud, <i>Les civilisations préhelléniques</i> (2nd edition).
Dussaud phénicien	H. Dussaud, <i>L'art phénicien du IIe. millénaire</i> .
Ebert Real	M. Ebert, <i>Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte</i> .
Egypt masonry	S. Clarke and R. Englebach, <i>Ancient Egyptian masonry</i> .
el Amrah	D. Randall-MacIver and A.C. Mace, <i>el Amrah and Abydos</i> .
el Kab	J.E. Quibell, <i>el Kab</i> .
Enk-Al	C.F.A. Schaeffer, <i>Enkomi-Alasia</i> .
Eph	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i> .
Ephesus	D.G. Hogarth, <i>Excavations at Ephesus</i> .
ESA	<i>Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua</i> .
Eutresis	H. Goldman, <i>Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia</i> .

Ex.s in C	A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith and H.B. Walters, <i>Excavations in Cyprus</i> .
Ex.s in TH	E.F. Schmidt, <i>Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan</i> .
Falchi	I. Falchi, <i>Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima</i> .
FF	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i> .
Field mus nat hist anthro memoirs	Field Museum of natural history, Anthropology memoirs
Fimmen	D. Fimmen, <i>Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur</i> .
F studies	H. Frankfort, <i>Studies in the early pottery of the Near East</i> .
Furtwangler KS	A. Furtwangler, <i>Kleine Schriften</i>
Gawra	E.A. Speiser, <i>Excavations at Tepe Gawra, Vol I</i> .
Gemmen	A. Furtwangler, <i>Die antiken Gemmen</i> .
Gerar	F. Petrie, <i>Gerar</i> .
Gezer	R.A.S. Macalister, <i>The excavation of Gezer</i> .
GGs	T. Mostafavi and others, <i>Archaeological Deductions (in Persian, Gozareshhaye Bastan Shenasi)</i> 1950.
Giyan	G. Contenau and R. Ghirshman, <i>Fouilles de Tépé Giyan</i>
Gizeh	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Gizeh and Rifeh</i> .
Gj. S	E. Gjerstad, <i>Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus</i> .
Godard bronzes	R. Godard, <i>Bronzes de Luristan</i> .
Gordion	G & A Koerte, <i>Gordion</i> . Ergänzungsheft V of the Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
Gournia	H. Boyd Hawes, <i>Gournia</i> .
Graef	Graef, <i>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis</i> .
Hampe	R. Hampe, <i>Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Boeotien</i> .
Handbook Cesnola	J.L. Myres, <i>Handbook to the Cesnola Collection</i> .
Harageh	R. Englebach, <i>Harageh</i> .
Harmabi	<i>The tombs of Harmabi and Tontankhamanou</i> . (Theodore M. Davis's excavations)
Hawkes	C. Hawkes, <i>The prehistoric foundations of Europe</i> .
Herzfeld Iron	E. Herzfeld, <i>Iran in the ancient East</i> .
Hesp.	<i>Hesperia</i> .
Hesp Supp	<i>Hesperia Supplement</i> .
Hyksos and Is Cities	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Hyksos and Israelite Cities</i> .

IAI	D. Randall-MacIver, <i>The Iron Age in Italy.</i>
IGAIMK	<i>Izvestiya Gos. Akad. istorii Material'noi Kul'tury.</i>
IKG	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob.</i>
Ilios	H. Schliemann, <i>Ilios.</i>
ILN	<i>The Illustrated London News.</i>
Iouiya and Touiyou	<i>The tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou.</i> (Theodore M. Davis's excavations).
IRAC	<i>The Imperial Russian Archaeological Commission.</i>
Iran Denk A	E. Herzfeld, <i>Iranischer Denkmäler, Reihe I A.</i>
Iran Denk B	E. Herzfeld, <i>Iranischer Denkmäler, Reihe I B.</i>
Ivories Sam	J.W. & G.M. Crowfoot, <i>Early Ivories from Samaria.</i>
Jacobstal ECA	P. Jacobstal, <i>Early Celtic Art.</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
Jenkins	R.J.H. Jenkins, <i>Dedolica.</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
Johansen	K.F. Johansen, <i>Les vases Sicyoniens.</i>
JRAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.</i>
Kantor	H.J. Kantor, <i>The Aegean and the Orient in the IIInd. millennium B.C.</i>
Karo S	G. Karo, <i>Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai.</i>
Kerameikos	I., by W. Kraiker & K. Kubler. IV., by K. Kubler.
KGH	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Kahun, Gurob and Hawara.</i>
Khorsabad	G. Loud and C.B. Altman, <i>Khorsabad II.</i>
Kieseritsky	G von Kieseritsky and C. Watzinger, <i>Griechische Grabreliefs aus Sudrüssland.</i>
Kinch	K.F. Kinch, <i>Vroulia.</i>
Kleinfunde	E. Heinrich, <i>Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk.</i>
Koban	R. Virchow, <i>Das Gräberfeld von Koban.</i>
Koldewey	R. Koldewey, <i>Das wieder erstehende Babylon.</i>
Kosay Pazarli	H.Z. Kosay, <i>Les fouilles de Pazarli.</i>
Kunze	E. Kunze, <i>Kretische Bronzereliefs.</i>
Kypros	M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, <i>Kypros, die Bibel und Homer.</i>

LAAA	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.</i>
Lachish	O. Tufnell and others, <i>Lachish II; the Fosse Temple.</i>
Lahun	I., by G. Brunton, <i>The Treasure.</i> II., by W.M.F. Petrie
Lamb GRB	W. Lamb, <i>Greek and Roman Bronzes.</i>
Lane	A. Lane, <i>Greek Pottery.</i>
Larisa	J. Boehlau & K. Schefold, <i>Larisa am Hermos.</i> III.
Layard	A.H. Layard, <i>Monuments of Nineveh.</i>
Layard N & B	A.H. Layard, <i>Nineveh and Babylon.</i>
Lindos	C. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos, fouilles de l'Acropole 1902 - 1914.</i>
Lorimer	H.L. Lorimer, <i>Homer and the Monuments.</i>
Luschey	H. Luschey, <i>Die Phials.</i>
Mahasna	J. Garstang, <i>Mahasna and Bet Khallaf.</i>
Marshall	<i>British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.</i>
Materials C	<i>Materials for the archaeology of the Caucasus.</i>
Matmar	G. Brunton, <i>Matmar.</i>
Matz FK	F. Matz, <i>Forschungen auf Kreta.</i>
Matz, GKG	F. Matz, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Kunst.</i>
Maximova	M.I. Maximova, <i>Les vases plastiques.</i>
Mazzarino	S. Mazzarino, <i>Fra Oriente e Occidente.</i>
MDAG	<i>Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft.</i>
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen deutschen orientalische Gesellschaft.</i>
Megiddo	I., by R.S. Lamon and G.M. Shipton. II., by G. Loud.
Megiddo Ivories	G. Loud, <i>The Megiddo Ivories</i> (OIP LII).
Megiddo Tombs	P.L.O. Guy and R.M. Engberg, <i>Megiddo Tombs</i> (OIP XXXIII).
Melanges D	<i>Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. Dussaud.</i>
Melanges P	<i>Mélanges offerts à Charles Picard</i>
Mesara	S. Xanthoudides, <i>The vaulted tombs of Mesara.</i>
Metallgefäße	von Bissing, <i>Metallgefäße</i> , Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
Metro Mus Bull	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum.</i>
Meydun	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Meydun and Memphis</i> III.
Messenia	M. Natan Valmin, <i>The Swedish Messenia Expedition.</i>

Mingazzini	P. Mingazzini, <i>Vasi della Collezione Castellani.</i>
Minns	E.H. Minns, <i>Scythians and Greeks in South Russia.</i>
Mirabello	H. van Effenterre, <i>Mirabello, Nécropoles.</i>
Mitt deut Ins Kairo	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo.</i>
Mochlos	R.B. Seager, <i>Explorations in the island of Mochlos.</i>
Mon Ant	<i>Monumenti Antichi</i> (Reale Accademia dei Lincei).
Montelius Civ Prim	O. Montelius, <i>La civilisation Primitive en Italie.</i>
Montet Byblos	P. Montet, <i>Byblos et l'Égypte.</i>
Montet reliques	P. Montet, <i>Les reliques de l'Art syrien.</i>
Morgan mission	J de Morgan, <i>Mission scientifique en Perse.</i>
Morgan origines	J de Morgan, <i>Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte.</i>
Mostagedda	G. Brunton, <i>Mostagedda.</i>
MT	A. Furtwangler & G. Loescke, <i>Mykenische Thongefässe.</i>
Much	Much, <i>Kunsthistorische Atlas.</i>
Muller Mythology	W. Max Muller, <i>The Mythology of all Races, Egypt.</i>
Mutesellim	C. Steuernagel & G. Schumacher, <i>Tell el Mutesellim.</i>
MV	A. Furtwangler & G. Loescke, <i>Mykenische Vasen.</i>
Nagada	W.M.F. Petrie and J.E. Quibell, <i>Nagada and Ballas.</i>
Naue	J. Naue, <i>Die vorrömischer Schwerter aus Kupfer, Bronze und Eisen.</i>
NC	H. Payne, <i>Necrocorinthia.</i>
NDS	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i> (communicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei.).
Notes..early..Megiddo	R.M. Engberg and G.M. Shipton, <i>Notes on the early pottery of Megiddo.</i>
OIC	Oriental Institute of Chicago University, <i>Communications.</i>
OIP	Oriental Institute of Chicago University, <i>Publications.</i>
Olympia	E. Curtius & F. Adler, <i>Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung. Olympia.</i>
Pallotino	M. Pallotino, <i>L'Origine degli Etruschi.</i>
PEFQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly.</i>
Pera	H. Payne, <i>Perachora.</i>

Pernier	L. Pernier, <i>Il Palazzo minoico di Festos.</i>
Perrot & Chipiez	G. Perrot et C. Chipiez, <i>Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité</i>
Pfuhl	E. Pfuhl, <i>Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen.</i>
Phylakopi	T. D. Atkinson and others, <i>Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos.</i>
Pic	J.L. Pic, <i>Die Urnengräber böhmens.</i>
Pinza & Nogara	G. Pinza e B. Nogara, <i>Museo Etrusco-Gregoriano, Materiali per la etnologia antica Toscano-Laziale.</i>
PM Library seals	<i>Corpus of ancient Near Eastern seals in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library.</i>
PMJ	<i>Pennsylvania Museum Journal.</i>
POB	A. Evans, <i>The Palace of Minos at Knossos.</i>
Poulsen	F. Poulsen, <i>Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst.</i>
PPS	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.</i>
Pre Ass	M. Mallowan, <i>Prehistoric Assyria.</i>
Pre Corpus	F. Petrie, <i>Prehistoric Egypt Corpus.</i>
Pre Mac	W.A. Heurtley, <i>Prehistoric Macedonia.</i>
Pre Myk	E. von Stern, <i>Die prämykenische Kultur in süd Russland.</i>
Priase	Priase d'Avennes, <i>Histoire de l'art égyptien.</i>
Prosynna	C. Blegen, <i>Prosynna.</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.</i>
Pseira	R.B. Seager, <i>Excavations on the island of Pseira.</i>
PT	A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson, <i>Prehistoric Thessaly.</i>
PZ	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift.</i>
Qau	G. Brunton, <i>Qau and Badari.</i>
QDAP	<i>The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.</i>
RA	<i>Revue archéologique.</i>
RAC	E. Chantre, <i>Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase.</i>
Radimsky	W. Radimsky, <i>Die neolithische Station von Butmir.</i>
Rapport prelim Hama	H. Ingholt, <i>Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie.</i>
RC	C.L. Woolley, <i>Ur Excavations II. The Royal Cemetery.</i>

RdA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie.</i>
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie.</i>
Reich und Kultur der Ch	E. Meyer, <i>Reich und Kultur der Chetiter.</i>
Rekh-mi-Re	N de G Davies, <i>The tomb of Rekh-mi-Re.</i>
Rev Bib	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</i>
Roes GGA	A. Roes, <i>Greek geometric art.</i>
Roscher	W.H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.</i>
RT	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>The Royal Tombs.</i>
Sacken	E von Sacken, <i>Hallstatt.</i>
SBAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
SC	C.F.A. Schaeffer, <i>Stratigraphie Comparée.</i>
SCE	E. Gjerstad, <i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.</i>
SE	<i>Studi Etruschi.</i>
Sedment	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Sedment.</i>
Sellin	E. Sellin, <i>Tell Ta'annek</i> (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil-Hist Klasse, Band L.).
Sendschirli	F von Luschan and others, <i>Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli</i> (Königliche Museen in Berlin, Heft XI, etc.).
Shaft Graves	A. Evans, <i>The Shaft Graves and the Beehive Tombs of Mycenae and their interrelation.</i>
Sialk	R. Ghirshman, <i>Fouilles de Sialk.</i>
Siptah	<i>The tomb of Siptah</i> (Theodore M. Davis' excavations.).
Smith Assyria	S. Smith, <i>The early History of Assyria.</i>
S Mycenae	H. Schliemann, <i>Mycenae.</i>
SS	H. Schmidt, <i>Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer.</i>
Steingefasse	von Bissing, <i>Steingefässe</i> , (Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire).
Stein routes	A. Stein, <i>Old routes of western Iran.</i>
Stubbings	F.H. Stubbings, <i>Mycenean pottery of the Levant.</i>
Survey	A.U. Pope, <i>A survey of Persian art.</i>
TAH	<i>The Alishar Hüyük</i> , (Excavations by various representatives of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
Tanis	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Tanis.</i>

Tarkhan	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Tarkhan</i> .
Tell Halaf I	H. Schmidt and M.F. von Oppenheim, <i>Tell Halaf I</i> (1943).
Tello, 20 campagnes	A. Parrot, <i>Tello, Vingt Campagnes</i> .
Thera	<i>Thera, Untersuchungen. Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1895 - 1902</i> .
Thermi	W. Lamb, <i>Excavations at Thermi on Lesbos</i> .
Til-Barsib	F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, <i>Til-Barsib</i> , Bibliothèque archéologique et historique Vol 23.
Tiryns	H. Schliemann, <i>Tiryns</i> .
Trialeti	B.A. Kuftin, <i>Archaeological excavations in Trialeti</i> .
TSBA	<i>Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology</i> .
T und I	<i>Troja und Ilion, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen</i> . Edited by W. Dörpfeld.
Tutmosis IV	Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. <i>The tomb of Tutmosis IV</i> , by H. Carter and P.E. Newberry.
Ug	C.F.A. Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> .
Unpub Palai	R.C. Bosanquet and R.M. Dawkins, <i>The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro excavations 1902 - 6</i> , (BSA Supplementary Paper no 1.).
Ur I	H.B. Hall and C.L. Woolley, <i>Ur Excavations I, at Ubaid</i> .
Vassiliki	R.B. Seager, <i>Excavations at Vassiliki</i> .
VEE	D. Randall-MacIver, <i>Villanovans and early Etruscans</i> .
Vernier	E. Vernier, Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. <i>Bijoux et Orfèvreries</i> .
Vrokastro	E.H. Hall, <i>Excavations in eastern Crete, Vrokastro</i> .
Watzinger	C. Watzinger, <i>Tell el Mutesellim II</i> .
W. Mycenae	A.J.B. Wace, <i>Mycenae</i> .
Wörterbuch	A. Erman & M. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> .
WPZ	<i>Wiener prähistorische Zeitung</i> .
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Zeus	A.B. Cook, Zeus.
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FOREWORD

The study of archaeology, whether of the Near East or of other regions, has been made, up to the present, the preserve of specialists in particular geographic areas, for the reason that the most powerful people working in this subject have preferred to work as excavators rather than as historians. In favour of this approach to the matter it is legitimate to argue that it is difficult to go into considerable detail unless the field is to some extent limited, it being accepted normally, and surely quite reasonably, that work in detail is essential. Against it, however, is the equally, or perhaps still more powerful argument that it will be excessively difficult to discover anything of the general principles underlying the development of the civilisations of the Near East, which nobody would suggest existed in water-tight compartments, unless a wide survey is undertaken. Up to the present such a survey has not been attempted with the emphasis laid on the international aspect of events. This being so, it has been considered proper that such an introduction to the general principles of Near Eastern archaeology as this book has inevitably become should be kept reasonably short and simple, despite the fact that it is therefore possible to object that an attempt has been made to draw conclusions from an insufficiently detailed study of the appropriate material. Such an objection may well be valid. But there is a limit to the patience of many people, especially when they are asked to suspend judgement on a considerable variety of detailed points while yet more material is brought forward for attention. Such an exploratory essay as this, therefore, can be criticised both for being insufficiently detailed, and for being unconventional.

Suspension of judgement, while further research is undertaken, is not a characteristic of excavators, and its rarity in the past has been one of the causes of the establishment of various dogmas in the study of prehistory which cannot be maintained seriously. Yet it is only by the exercise of great restraint that the serious student can satisfy himself that he has avoided being led to decide too soon what any particular group of evidence really can mean. It is suggested here that the tendency for far-reaching conclusions to

be enunciated on the basis of slight evidence should be recognised for what it is - the result of the wish of pioneers to get started as best they can, largely so as to be able to point to results of a sort whereby they may hope for support in the future. Many of such conclusions, though stated as dogmas, come to be questioned sooner or later. Others, however, remain unchallenged, a condition under which thought is not free. This book challenges certain conclusions which may have been formed prematurely, and are expressed dogmatically. In it the attempt is made to demonstrate that the material evidence illustrating the Early Iron Age in the Near East can be interpreted in a way different from that of the conventional approach, and also in a way which is likely, so it is suggested, to be in keeping with the working of human nature. It is something of a pioneering effort, the chief reason for which is the desire for the exposing of errors of thought and method.

* * *

The material with which the archaeologist has to work is very incomplete and fragmentary. Two consequences follow from this. On one hand, a certain type of student may feel some temptation to buttress the conclusions drawn by him in his work with as much detail as possible, in order to establish the view held as strongly as possible. But on the other hand a different type of student may find it difficult to form any conclusion at all, for fear of distorting, or even destroying the gossamer like evidence. The former type of student is the more numerous. Unfortunately, it happens that, when opinions are invested with the authority of the printed page they tend to be accepted by other students somewhat readily and, once accepted, often come to be repeated even when they are no longer tenable. This has caused, and still does cause, confusion in the study of prehistory, in which independent thought is not, perhaps, as usual as one might wish. Especially is this so when the implications of items of evidence are evaded, as happens sometimes when they appear to contradict the view normally held by students.

Sometimes not only particular items of evidence, but even whole aspects of the evidence are evaded. In the study of Near Eastern

archaeology, for example, it is usual for the material to be approached on a national basis. Yet it is no more difficult for the archaeologist to work in the international field than it is for him to confine himself to a study of national development. Moreover, to evade the implications in the field of international relationships, of the material studied, might lead to the formation of a one-sided view of national development. This is a view which, if taken far, would invite the comment that there is a physical limit to the field in which any student can hope to work. On the other hand, there is an elusive quality in the indications of archaeological evidence, and cross-checking of opinions seems to be highly desirable. Perhaps this may best be done by studying, not only facts in themselves, but also the interrelationship of facts over a broad field. It is this subjective element in prehistory, wherein attention is directed not so much towards the visible events at any one period, as towards the actual forces which lie behind those events, and cause or modify them, that has been concealed, perhaps a little unfortunately, from students in the past. It is for these reasons that the attempt has been made in this book to examine the development of the civilisation of the early Iron Age in Greece by studying the widest possible range of material, laying particular emphasis on its international significance.

CHAPTER I.

THE USE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Students of prehistory in Greek lands approach their subject placidly, as if that region saw no more than the gradual evolution of civilisation, illustrated by the rise and fall, often repeated, of particular styles of expression. Each of these styles, such as the Mycenaean, or the Geometric, is accepted as being characteristic of a particular period. The view normally expressed is to the effect that one may assume some sort of connection between these styles, and the fact that these civilisations are strikingly individual in character tends to be glossed over and ignored. For example, it is often stated that the appearance of the sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric styles was a perfectly normal thing to have happened, despite the remarkable contrast between them, and the Mycenaean styles of the close of the Bronze Age. Those who urge that this is a reasonable view to hold state that one can trace a gradual transition in art-styles at the epoch when the Iron Age was in course of appearing, and that such a 'transition' is of a type which could have evolved spontaneously within the Aegaeon area. Some students go much further, and allege that evolution of a precisely similar kind

may be assumed as the explanation of the appearance of Geometric art in the Aegaeon area. There are two reasons for doubting such an opinion. One is to be traced in the implication that the people inhabiting the Aegaeon must have been, if that view is correct, ready to abandon traditional ways both quickly and completely, and simultaneously most industrious and concentrated in effort in developing new ideas, without having experienced any external stimulus. For it may be doubted if there is any certain illustration of any people having acted in such a way. The other lies in the implication that artistic evolution alone could provide a sufficient explanation of the change from Mycenaean ornament, with its curvilinear, free-field style to the rectilinear, elaborately controlled work of the artists of the Geometric Period. If such a change could have happened at all for such a reason, it would have been an event of unique type. And unique things should not be accepted lightly, and unquestioned.

The statement that there was a gradual transition in art-style within the Aegaeon area, either at the time of the close of the Mycenaean period, or at the time of the coming of the Geometric style into common use, or indeed at any other time when one style of work gave place to another during the Bronze and Iron Ages, is decidedly not the only way by which the visible change may be explained. It is possible to say, on the basis of a reasonable amount of evidence, as will be shown in this book, that precisely the contrary happened, and that the appearances of new artistic styles during the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age within the Aegaeon area are not due to evolution at all, but to the introduction of new ideas from elsewhere.

Those who uphold the idea of gradual transition from one style to another can point to the fact that the characteristics of each new style of the early Iron Age in the Aegaeon area appeared gradually. So also do such new introductions as those of the metal iron, and of the rite of cremation, neither of which are in the least likely to have been of Aegaeon source. The gradual coming into circulation of new ideas is, however, a normal procedure in the human circle, no matter how they originate, except, maybe, when the whole of the previous population of the area was removed wholesale. But, even so, civilisations in mediaeval and modern times have not developed by their own momentum alone, and within, as it were, a charmed circle. Why should it be supposed that civilisations could, and did, do so in antiquity?

Considerable changes occurred in all the lands of the Near East at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age, not only in the arts, but also in religious rites, as, for example, in the introduction of cremation. Would such changes have occurred for no more than local reasons? Or, to generalise on the subject, did considerable

changes in culture occur without any far-reaching cause, in antiquity? This matter is one concerning which there is little certain evidence. There is, however, some indirect evidence, which suggests that people were remarkably conservative in certain ways, in prehistoric times. For example, it is possible to trace an extraordinary persistence in ceramic traditions, and also in architectural and sculptural styles, which appear little altered over thousands of years (see pages 274 - 283). So strong an adherence to traditional ways in arts which offer not only vast opportunities, but also great enticements, for experiment may suggest that the changes perceptible in cultural type at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age in the Aegean area may have been abnormal, requiring some other explanation than simply that of local evolution.

The next few pages contain a very brief illustration of the history of a few of the new motifs which appear in the Aegean during the earlier part of the Iron Age. It may be that to some extent the evidence of the appearance of such motifs can be used to deduce international movements of ideas, and perhaps also of people. But naturally ceramic evidence is only part of the material required whereby such movements could satisfactorily be established. Consequently, after a discussion of the events of a critical time in the history of Greece, the XVIth Century B.C., there is a short survey of the political history of the Near East during the earlier part of the First Millennium, since this is an essential background to the tracing of detailed evidence. With these preliminaries completed it will be possible to devote attention to the archaeological material illustrating the cultures of the Near East during the early Iron Age, beginning with the Mycenaean Period, which began at about 1400 B.C.

Archaeological material consists of things which have been worked at by humans. Considerable, and sometimes apparently unaccountable variety appears in the things made by human beings, or adapted by them, and it is important, therefore, for the archaeologist to keep an open mind in considering such material, and for him to avoid using it as a basis for precise conclusions. But, while variety is characteristic of archaeological material, it may sometimes be superficial. Below the surface of the variety in the methods of manufacture used in the past can be seen some degree of adherence to tradition, fairly easily traced, when a broad survey is taken. For example, there are widely spaced indications of a remarkably static architectural tradition in several lands, extending over thousands of years, leading up to the Classical Greek Temple (see pages 275 - 277). All these indications may be due to the coming, from time to time, to known lands of people from a single area

which may have been the home of that style. The general impression obtained from such a broad survey may be that while some people readily adopted new ideas, others followed rigid traditions. Such traditions may be of importance if they can be defined, for they may form a substitute for laws of human behaviour, none of which, if they exist at all, have yet found any generally accepted definition. In that case they would provide a basis for the study of prehistory.

All archaeological material, when it can be understood in its implications, illustrates history, though in different ways, according to the field in which it is placed. At present it may not always be clear what it is that can be learnt from any particular piece of material, but that does not deny its value. The most common, and perhaps least well understood class of archaeological material is pottery, which, at one level, constitutes the everyday products of a people, but on another represents the predilections of its makers, and thus can illustrate some quality of these people. It may be, no doubt, that much about a vessel of clay is conditioned by the use to which it is put, but there are certain elements in decoration, types of handles, surface finish and so on which admit of a variety of human choice, and do not spring from utilitarian requirements alone. All forms of human productions have this power of indicating personal predilections, but none of them are so useful to the archaeologist as pots, for nothing else is available in such quantity, or so varied in styles. Moreover, pottery vessels were made by all the peoples of antiquity, and they, in all lands and at all periods, are equally capable of offering a meaning to the student. They can be studied in varying ways, the simplest being to demonstrate the state of ceramic production at a given period in a given area. Alternatively, they may be used to demonstrate the possibility of contacts between one area and another. For example, when similarities exist in shape and decoration between pots in different countries they make it possible to suggest contacts between the peoples living in those lands, since ceramic styles are, to some extent, due to personal choice or tradition. The fact that the people living in two different areas should choose to make use of the same motif for ornament, or shape of vessel, may be, certainly, due to chance, even when the occurrences are contemporary. But it might also be due to both the peoples concerned acting in the same natural or instinctive way, and this could suggest that the two peoples were in some way connected, one with another. The possibility of relationship which is thus suggested would, perhaps, be increased if several motifs or shapes of vessel appeared among both peoples at the same period. Connection between two or more peoples in antiquity has frequently been proposed, on the basis of similarities between their goods, but nearly always it is supposed

that such connection was provided by trade relations between the peoples concerned. It is most interesting to notice this tacit assumption that trade was carried on in antiquity, for there is no shred of proof that any trading at all was undertaken during the Bronze Age, or even during much of the earlier part of the Iron Age. It is, in fact, an assumption which has passed unquestioned for so long that it would occur to few people to doubt its truth¹. An alternative explanation of the appearance of similar motifs and shapes of vessels in two or more areas at the same time might be found in the suggestion that related folk went to settle in them, no doubt as the result of migrations, which may often have developed as the result of over rapid increase in numbers leading to feeding problems, as well as adventurousness and curiosity, though this would imply that the migrating folk were often in a position to spread the knowledge of a high culture. This book is founded on the assumption that the latter of these two alternative views is the correct one, not least for the reason that the peoples of Near Eastern lands are not even now in any great degree sedentary, while there is no reason to suppose that they have changed much in this respect during the last few thousand years.

A fair illustration of the possible contacts between the peoples of various areas in antiquity is provided by the motif of the swastika, since this somewhat peculiar design seems unlikely to have been invented independently in several different areas, but yet is used for the ornament of ceramic wares in many lands and on many occasions.

THE SWASTIKA.

(Catalogue on page 31)².

The earliest examples of the swastika appear in the hill-country to the north of Mesopotamia, and in Persia. These examples seem to date from before 3000. Perhaps not much later is the swastika which appears on neolithic pottery in Thessaly. This neolithic Thessalian pottery used to be thought to be an isolated ware, but during the last 25 years a fair quantity of material has been discovered which, in the opinion of many archaeologists, indicates that the elaborately decorated pottery of the earlier periods in Thessaly and elsewhere in Greece is related to the similarly decorated wares of

Palestine, Cyprus and Cilicia. It has also been suggested that the extremely fine quality of the earliest of the Thessalian wares suggests that they had not been developed locally, for which indeed there is no evidence at all, but introduced from outside.

Subsequently the swastika disappears from use. It reappears as an ornament on pottery in Anatolia at about 2000, notably on the dark-on-light painted wares, but also on the incised wares at Troy. There is reason to believe that the painted wares referred to may have been made in Anatolia by new-comers there, people who had spread as part of the migrating bands who appear to have been responsible for the introduction of painted pottery, often decorated in polychrome, to many parts of the Near East at the close of the Third Millennium. A later wave of westward migrations may have brought the light-on-dark style of decoration to Crete, where it flourished during the earlier part of the IIInd Millennium. Both in Crete, and elsewhere in the Aegean at this time the swastika was in use in decoration. Later, at about 1600, very considerable changes appear in ceramic styles in the Aegean area, as well as in many other ways, and these may suggest, as is described later in this book, that at that time there was a further wave of migration from the east to the west. A common motif at this time in the Aegean area is the swastika. No doubt it might be argued that the use of this motif at about 1600 in the Aegean area is only to be expected, since it had been in use there during the preceding few centuries, and was available to be 'taken over' by the makers of the new styles of pottery vessels. But if this were indeed so, why is it that the motif is hardly ever seen again in the Aegean world for several centuries? It is, surely, at least as reasonable to suppose that the motif was already known to those people who manufactured the new styles of pottery made at about 1600, that it was, in fact, part of their repertory of ornaments, particularly since there is very little in that ware which is reminiscent of earlier fabrics. It is, in any case, by no means established that men in antiquity 'borrowed' such things as particular decorative motifs. They certainly imitated the broader aspects of the cultural activities of the lands in which they found themselves, as can be seen in the imitation of Egyptian hieroglyphs by Asiatics who came to Egypt shortly before 2000, but there is neither indication nor probability that they copied small details, such as decorative motifs.

The swastika does appear in Syria, but it is only rare there. It is scarcely known anywhere during the later part of the IIInd Millennium, though there are two examples of it from the Aegean of Mycenaean date, a time when, as will be shown later in this book, there seem to have been considerable migrations from Asia to the

west. Subsequently, at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age, the motif appears in Cyprus and in Anatolia, while by the time of the establishment of the Geometric style in the Aegean it had become comparatively common there. Many of the motifs of the Greek geometric wares are paralleled, like the swastika, in the area of the Caucasus mountains, and there is evidence to suggest that the style of the Geometric ornament in Greece is directly influenced by ideas from the East.

Later, at the time of the Orientalising period in the Aegean, examples of the swastika appear there, and also in Italy. There is also at that time an example of the motif in Egypt, (on a Greek vase from Naucratis), a land where it had previously not appeared.

It is possible to suggest conclusions from the geographic and chronological distribution of the swastika. It is, to begin with, remarkable that the motif should be rare in southern Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, since it is fairly common in areas further to the north, such as Anatolia, the Caucasus region and the Aegean. It is also curious that the appearances of the motif should be markedly intermittent. When it does occur in the Aegean area, it is only at times when there may have been migrations from the east. Most curious of all, the motif appears as ornament on a variety of differently decorated ceramics. All this may indicate that the motif is not one characteristic of any of those more northern areas, such as the Aegean or Anatolia, about which there is some reasonable quantity of information. It would appear that it is, as its early history would suggest, an oriental motif, which was introduced on various occasions to more westerly regions.

Such conclusions would be worthless if they stood alone. But they do not. Precisely the same conclusions can be drawn from a study of other decorative motifs, such as the geometric maeander, the many-armed star, the drawing of an animal with its legs folded beneath it, the quatrefoil, the wavy line making large loops and the motif of quadruple interlocking spirals, all of which are briefly examined below.

THE GEOMETRIC MAEANDER (Catalogue on page 32).

The earliest examples of this motif appear in the northern border country of Mesopotamia, and in western Persia. This is the same

area as that in which the first examples of the swastika appeared and, like that motif, this one also appears in neolithic pottery in Thessaly. It is not uncommon at the close of the IIIrd Millennium, both in Egypt and in the Aegaeon. This was a time when there seem to have been wide scale migrations from the general area of the Caucasus Mountains south towards Egypt, and westward to the Aegaeon. Later, at about 1600, the motif appears in several parts of the Aegaeon area. Subsequently it almost disappears for a time, though it reappears when iron begins to come into common use. Its first appearance at this epoch is in Anatolia, when the painted Alishar IV ware was being made, and fibulae were being manufactured for the first time. It is to be seen also on the Early Iron Age pottery of Crete and Cyprus. As will be suggested later, there is reason to suppose that the civilisations of the Alishar IV period in Anatolia, and of Crete and Cyprus during the beginning of the Iron Age may have owed much to ideas, and perhaps also to people, from more easterly regions. As in the case of the swastika, so also with the geometric maeander, examples of the motif have been found in the Caucasian region, and both are reasonably common in the ornament of Greek geometric ware.

It may be possible that the occurrences of the geometric maeander motif are due to westward migrations from more or less the general area of the Caucasus. It is found in the Aegaeon area during the same periods as the swastika and, like that motif, seems not to be native to the west.

THE MANY-ARMED STAR (Catalogue on page 35).

This motif is found first in northern Mesopotamia, not later than about 3000 B.C. It appears in Egypt at the time of the Middle Kingdom, a period when there were many indications of Asiatic influence³. During the earlier part of the IIInd Millennium the motif comes into use in the Aegaeon, and in Palestine, in both of which areas it is contemporary with the use therein of dark-on-light polychrome decorated pottery, a class of ware which seems likely to have been brought to known parts of the Near East from, or through, the north, and perhaps especially the north-west, of Persia⁴. Subsequently the motif disappears from use, but it again comes into favour, like the geometric maeander and the swastika, in Greece at

the time of the geometric period. It also appears at much the same time in Italy. It would seem that the use of this motif in known areas could be explained by supposing that migrations had occurred in precisely the same way as has been proposed on the basis of the occurrences of the swastika and the geometric meander.

THE ANIMAL WITH ITS LEGS FOLDED BENEATH IT (Catalogue on page 36).

The earliest example of this motif comes from the country to the north of the Mesopotamian plain. It continued to be used, occasionally, in Mesopotamia for a considerable period. It appears in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age, and comes into use a little later in central Persia, and in the Aegean, where it appears on geometric pottery. It also has been found in, or a little to the south of, the general area of the Caucasus Mountains. At the time of the Aegean geometric period it appears also in Italy.

The examples of the use of this comparatively rare motif suggest that it also, like those already discussed, cannot be of western origin. If it was not, it might have been brought to the west by migrations similar in period to some of those already proposed.

* * *

The motifs which have been mentioned above appear on pottery fabrics of particular epochs. In this way they form a group. Why, one may be tempted to ask, do they occur like this, as a body of motifs, sometimes in favour, and sometimes not? Archaeological authorities to-day, at least in England, would no doubt say that it is characteristic of human nature to be pleased with certain ways of doing things, such as ornamenting pots, at one time, and, after a period, to adopt something new, in the ceaseless love of change. No doubt there is a considerable element of truth in this view of human nature, but it does not explain the recurrence, in group form, of particular designs. Surely something else must lie behind such a curious happening? This is a matter in which dogmatism is worse

than useless, while to rest content with existing views is no more helpful than it would be to accept lightly extravagant hypotheses.

No attempt to explain the facts which have been singled out for comment above had yet been offered by archaeologists in detail, though Dr. Boes, of Holland, has suggested that similar facts can be explicable on the assumption that migrations from east to west occurred from time to time, sometimes being of people in each case of the same stock. Such migrating people would have brought their traditional ways of ornamenting pottery with them, and as they made their household vessels at every place where they encamped and later built houses, so they would have made the material evidence which is now reviewed. If such a thing really happened, these folk might have come, originally, from, or through, the general area of Caucasasia, according to what is so far known of the distribution of the relevant evidence. But it may be that these are not the only migrations to have brought people from the east to the west during the Bronze Age. Other motifs indicate that there may have been other migrations, as will be briefly indicated below.

THE QUATREFOIL (Catalogue on page 36).

The earliest example of this motif comes from the northern border of Mesopotamia, though it also appears in Predynastic Egypt at a date which is probably almost as early. It reappears about a thousand years later in Egypt, at the time of the First Intermediate Period, when, so it is usually agreed, Egypt was entered by hosts of wandering folk from Asia. Rather later it appears in the Aegaeon, at the time when the dark-on-light polychrome painted ware, which may be of Asiatic source⁵, was in use there. And then, towards the close of the IInd Millennium, it appears very commonly used in the Aegaeon. This sudden popularity, coupled with the fact that there are virtually no antecedents for the motif in the west, may suggest that it was brought westward from some Asiatic source as yet unknown. This may be all the more reasonable to believe since the motif reappears in the Aegaeon at the time of the Geometric Period, a time which, so the evidence of other motifs mentioned above may indicate, could have seen the arrival of ideas of eastern source. Moreover, there is a considerable amount of evidence, to be discussed later, to suggest that there were large-scale movements westward at this time of the later Mycenaean period.

The quatrefoil appears in Italy, more or less contemporaneously with the geometric period, and also in Anatolia and Cyprus.

WAVY LINE MAKING LARGE VERTICAL LOOPS (Catalogue on page 34).

The earliest example of this motif appears to come from the area of the Caucasus Mountains. Later, during the earlier part of the IInd Millennium, it appears in Syria, and at about 1600 it appears in the Aegean, where it continues to be in use, becoming especially common during the Mycenaean period. It is found at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus, and is not uncommon in the Aegean at the time of the Geometric Period. It also appears in the Aegean, though rarely, during the Orientalising Period.

Both this motif, and the quatrefoil, might well have been of oriental source. Both are common at about the XVth century, and during the Mycenaean and Geometric Periods in the Aegean area, and thus may suggest that there was at the time of the Mycenaean Period, as well as at other times, some degree of Asiatic influence on the west. A somewhat similar conclusion can be drawn from another motif, described below.

QUADRUPLE INTERLOCKING SPIRALS (Catalogue on page 37).

This motif first appears in the Aegean, on Cycladic wares which may be of IIIrd Millennium date. In Egypt it appears at the time of the First Intermediate Period, a time when Asiatics are supposed to have arrived there. It reappears in the Aegean on the light-on-dark painted ware of the earlier IInd Millennium in Crete. It is also used on the dark-on-light painted wares of the XVth Century in the Aegean. Subsequently it fell out of use in the Aegean area, but was again used during Mycenaean days. Again it disappeared, to return to favour in the Geometric Period.

Doubtless it might be said that since the earliest examples of this motif come from the Aegean area, it ought to be described as of Aegean source. However, the earliest examples are on vessels of early Cycladic type, a variety of pottery which seems to have been characteristic of the first people to use metal who came to the Aegean. Metal is usually believed to have been manufactured first by Asiatics. It is most unlikely that its use was as early in the Aegean area as in western Asia. Thus there is some reason to believe that the people who made early Cycladic type pottery were, or included, easterners who, in process of their exploratory wanderings, spread the knowledge of the manufacture of metal objects. The motif does, in fact, occur in the Caucasian area, a region in which the first tentative efforts at the production of metal may well have occurred.

* * *

It appears, from the evidence of the few motifs so far considered, that there is a remarkable degree of uniformity in their geographical distribution at particular times. Further, the evident discontinuity in the west in the use of the motifs discourages any theory that they were native to the lands of the Aegean. It seems therefore a fair conclusion that there were migrations at particular periods which brought to, or renewed in, the Aegean area, the use of a particular set of ideas, the most important of these migrations occurring during the XVIth Century, during about the XIIIth Century, and during the Geometric Period. The sources of these theoretical migrations cannot be defined, but such evidence as has yet been mentioned might suggest that they may have originated in, or passed through, Caucasasia. Such conclusion, though highly theoretical, yet has sufficient basis in fact for a more detailed examination to be made of it. It is therefore proposed to study, in the following pages, the material illustrative of the cultural changes which occurred at one of those epochs in the west, namely the XVIth Century. If it can be shown, with sufficient reason, that that epoch was one when foreign, and specifically Asiatic, ideas strongly influenced the development of civilisation in the Aegean area, it will be less reasonable to deny that the implications of ceramic material are significant.

SWASTIKA

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Herzfeld Iran, p 59, fig 107.
Persia	(Persepolis)	Herzfeld, Iran, Plate II.
	(Susa I)	DEP XII, p 125, fig 135.
Mesopotamia	(Samarra)	Unpublished, once in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin
Aegean	(Neolithic; Dhimni)	BMC I i, A 198, 4 (occurs with concentric semi-circles).
Anatolia	(Troy I)	C. Blegen, Troy I ii, Plate 266, 3.
	(Troy, 'burnt city')	Ilios, fig 245f, and p 350.
	(Troy IV)	C. Blegen, Troy II ii, Plate 169, top left.
	(Troy II - V)	SS, p 117, 2361.
	(Alaca)	Afo XIII, p 293, fig 3.
Persia	(Tepe Moussian)	DEP VIII, p 110, fig 176.
Anatolia	(IIInd millennium)	Bittel Forschung, Plate VII, 3.
		Jug no 6244 in the Altes Museum, Munich. (Possibly unpublished).
		CC.I, 22.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	Unpub Palai, Plate IV c: Plate X e.
	(Middle Minoan I.)	POM I, p 185, fig 134 e.
		Vassiliki, Plate XXXI, 1.
	(Early Minoan - Middle Minoan)	Mesara, Plate VIII, 648.
	(Middle Minoan; Phaestos)	ILN 19 Jan 1952, p 108, fig 10 left.
	(Middle Helladic)	Prosymna, fig 522.
	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, p 127, fig 97; & Plate XII, 9.
	(Middle Minoan III)	POM I, p 515, fig 372.
Syria	(Byblos level X)	Byblos I, p 191, no. 2986.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i AM XXXIV, Plate XVIII, 2.
		ii POM IV i, p 274, fig 207 b.
		iii POM II, p 197, fig 107.
		iv Karo S, Plate CVI, 206; Plate LXI, 347
Mycenean	(Rhodes)	CI R, X, p 135, fig 86.
Cyprus	(Iron Age)	i SCE II, Plate XC, 5.
		ii SCE IV ii, Fig XII, 1 b).
		iii CVA Denmark i, Plate 25, 6.
Anatolia	('Phrygian': Alishar IV)	TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 444, no.s 2 etc.
Caucasia	(Undated)	RAC II, Atlas Plate VIII, 5.

Aegean	(Geometric)	i	Lindos I, Plate 39, no 906.
		ii	AM XXVIII, Beil XI, 5.
		iii	Delos XV, Plate XX.
		iv	CVA Germany V, Germany Plate 197, 1 and 2.
		v	AJA 1901, Plate VIII, 4.
Cyprus	(Bichrome ware)	i	SCE IV ii, Fig XXI, 11).
		ii	Aegean Essays, p 77.
Italy	(Orientalising)		CVA Italy XVII, Italy Plate 805, 3.
			BSA XXXIII, Plate 25, no 42.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i	Argive Herseum II, pp 128-9.
		ii	Aigina, Plate 16, no 236.
		iii	BSA XXXV, Plate 50.
Syria	(al Mina)		JHS LX, Plate I, b.
Egypt			W.M.F. Petrie, Naucratis II, Plate VIII.
Central Europe	(Breslau)		Zimmer, Plate VI, 4.

GEOMETRIC MAEANDER

Mesopotamia	(Samarra)		Christian I, Plate 37, 2.
Anatolia	('Chalcolithic')		TAH 30-32 i, fig 65, 23.
Persia	(Persepolis)		Hersfeld Iran, Plate IX, bottom.
Aegean	(Thessaly, Neolithic)		BMC I i, fig 41.
	(Crete, neolithic; possible examples)		Mon Ant XIX, col 190, fig 40, 21, 30.
Egypt	(Predynastic; a possible example)		Dios P, Frontispiece, Class N 6.
Yugoslavia	(Vinca)		CVA Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia Plate 98; 4, 6.
Aegean	(E.M., Hagia Triada)	i	POM I, p 121 fig 90; p 359 fig 260
		ii	POM II, p 55 fig 26.
Egypt	(First Intermediate period)	i	Dios P, Plate XXXV.
		ii	Buttons, Plate IV, 235ff.
		iii	Qau I, Plate XXXIII, 121 ff.
Syria			Montet Byblos, Plate LIX, 44.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	i	Dakhour 1894-5, Plate XXVII.
		ii	W.M.F. Petrie Antaeopolis, Frontispiece.

Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	Mochlos, fig 31, XII, m.
	(XVIth century)	i JHS XXII, Plate X, 133. ii Karo S, Plate LXXXVII, 435. iii Pre Mac, p 214 no 404.
	(Late Bronze Age)	Pre Mac, p 228, fig 100 c and d.
Persia	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate III, 3.
Caucasia	(Undated)	RAC II, Plate I no 4: Plate X bis no 3.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	i TAH 1927 i, Plate II 790 (called Period III in the text, but in view of the handle shape, probably wrongly so-called) ii TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XLI b, 228, 30. iii MDOG 74, p 30 fig 22.
Italy	(Monte Cetona)	Bull Palet 1939, fig.s 8 and 15 b.
Aegean	(Early Iron Age)	Vrokastro, fig 51 E.
	(Attic Proto-geometric)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 21, 2031.
Cyprus	(Iron Age)	i CVA Louvre v, France Plate 343, 1-3. ii SCE IV ii, Fig XXXII 5). iii Dussaud, fig 175. iv SCE II, Plate XIX, Plate CXL 1 (an example which comes from tomb 13 at Amathus, in which it was associated with a double-conical shaped vessel - see catalogue on page 186). v Cesnola, Plate CXLVI, 1080-1. vi SCE II, Plate CXXXIX, 11.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Vrokastro, fig.s 52 c, and 96. ii Delos XV, Plate XXXVII, 28. iii CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 471, 1. iv A. Salzmänn, <i>Nécropole de Camiros</i> , Plate 45. v Annuario VI-VII, p 263, fig 163. vi Jb XLIV, p 211, fig 19. vii Cl R IV, p 343, fig 279. viii Cl R VI-VII, p 197, fig.s 236-7; Plate II, opp. p 522. ix Thera II, p 191, fig 383.
Since mainland examples are very common, references have been omitted.		
Caucasus	(Helenendorf)	ESA VIII, p. 211, fig 23.
Anatolia		i Kosay Pazarli, Plate XVIII, middle row, right. ii TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 471 no 7; fig 444, no. 1. iii Boghaz Köy, Plate 15 no.s. 5 & 7. iv Gordion, fig.s. 18, 26; Plate 3.
Central Europe	(Hallstatt period)	i Déchelette II ii, Plate VI, 11; p 523 fig 19, 2 & 4. ii Pic, Plate XLIX, 7; Plate LX, 10 & 11; Plate LXXIII. iii Sacken, Plate XXVI, 1.
	(Julian Alps)	Boll. adriatica 1893, Plate III 9-10.

Italy	(Villanova period)	i CVA Denmark iv, Plate 191. ii Pallotino, Plate VI.
Aegean	(Lemnos, VIIIth Cent)	Annuario XV-XVI, fig 131.
Italy	(Etruscan period)	Marshall, Plate XVI, 1262; Plate XVIII 1359 (in granulation technique).
Italy		i CVA B M vii, G B Plate 432, 3b ii CVA Denmark iv, Plate 188, 7.
Egypt		Tanis ii, Plate XXXII, 18.
Aegean	(Vth Century, Clazomenian sarcophagus)	JHS LVI, Plate I.

WAVY LINE MAKING LARGE LOOPS

Caucasus	(Trialeti)	Trialeti, Plate 76.
Syria	(early IInd Millennium)	Montet Byblos, Plate LXIII, 413 ff.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i BSA XXV, Plate XLVIII b. ii Karo S, Plates XXIX, 16; LX, 334. iii JHS XXII, Plate VII, 48. iv BSA IX, p 311, 9. v Unpub Palai, p 50, figs 38, 40.
	(later IInd millennium)	i BSA XVII, Plate XI, 140. ii POM IV i, p 340, fig 282. iii ILN 12 Jan 1952, p 60, fig 15.
Egypt	(Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re) c. 1450 (XVIIIth Dynasty)	LAAA VI, Plate XIII, no. 89 & p 59. Sedment II, Plate LIX, 5.
Central Europe		Aegean Essays, p 1, fig 1.
Mycenean	(Asine) (Crete)	Asine, fig 268, 5-6. i Deltion VI, Appendix, p 158, fig 5. ii BSA VIII, Plate XVII, 4. iii BSA XLVII, p 266, 1 6.
	(Prosymna) (Athens) (Egypt) (Cyprus) (Sicily) (Italy)	Prosymna, fig 97, 201 & 203. Graef, Plate 3, 68. BMC I i, A 994, 1. BMC I ii, C 437. Mon Ant VI, Plate V, 18. Bull Palet 1936-7, Plate opposite p 60; no 4.
Cyprus	(early Iron Age)	AJA XLI, Plate III, no 43, and fig 5.
Aegean	(early Iron Age)	Delos XV, Plate I. D 8.
Central Europe	(Hallstatt)	Sacken, Plate X, 4.

Aegean	(Geometric)	i	AM XLIII, Plate II, 1 & 2.
		ii	Delos XV, Plate XVII, Bb 16.
		iii	AJA XLIV, Plate XXIV.
		iv	Jb XIV, p 209, fig 79.
Syria	(al Mina)		JHS LX, p 15, fig 7a.
Aegean	(Orientalising)		NC, Plate VII.

(Note:- Sometimes in Mycenaean days this motif may have been confused with the cuttlefish motif, and the two become fused, as may be seen in the example illustrated in Deltion 1920-1, Parartema, p 159, fig 7.).

MANY-ARMED STAR

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	i	M.F. von Oppenheim in Mélanges D II, Plate I, fig 3.
		ii	LAAA XX, Plate XLII, 8.
	(Jemdet Nasr ware)		Comp archy mesp, fig 13, 55.
Persia	(Kazneh, near Tepe Moussian)		DEP VIII, p 111, fig 178.
Aegean	(early Helladic III)		Eutresis, fig 163, 2.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)		Dahchour 1894-5, Plate XII.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)		Phylakopi, Plate XI, 5.
	(Middle Helladic)		Eutresis, fig 206, 1.
Palestine	(XVIth Century)	i	Anc Gaza I, Plate XXVIII, 4.
		ii	Anc Gaza III, Plate XLII, 37.
	(Megiddo, Stratum X) ⁶		Megiddo II, Plate 39, 6.
Cyprus	(about 1600)		QDAP VIII, Plate XXIV.
Mesopotamia	(seal from Assur)		Reich und Kultur der Che, p 65, fig 55.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i	Aigina, Plate II, 31.
		ii	CVA Germany V, Germany Plate 197, 1 & 2.
		iii	BCH 35, p 352, fig 2.
		iv	BSA XLIV, Plate XXXVIII, 2.
		v	AJA XLIV, Plate XXI, 3 & 6.
Sicily		i	Akerström, fig 9.
		ii	NDS 1895, fig 90.
Aegean	(Orientalising)		Hesp XIV, Plate 28, 3.

ANIMAL WITH LEGS FOLDED BENEATH

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Frontispiece, 2.
	(Ur, about 2500 B.C.)	ILN 3 March 1928, p 338.
	(1st Dynasty of Babylon)	Cyl Seals, Plate XXVIII d.
Egypt	(IIInd Intermediate Period, figurine)	Qau III, Plate XX, 30.
Mesopotamia	(Later IIInd Millennium)	Cyl Seals, Plate XXXI, a.
Palestine	(Later IIInd Millennium)	Gezer III, Plate CCII, b 5.
Cyprus	(Ivory from Enkomi)	Exs in C, Plate II, 1339A.
Persia	(Sialk B) ⁷	Sialk II, Plate XXX, 7.
Aegean	(Tiryns treasure)	AM LV, Plate II, 6.
Urartu	(undated)	i Bossert A A, p 307, no 1169. ii S C, p 410, fig 30.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Furtwangler K S, Plate 24, 2. ii CVA Denmark ii, Plate 72, 4; Plate 73, 5. iii Delos XV, Plate XVIII a. iv Matz G G K. I, Plate 8.
Cyprus	(Geometric)	Handbook Cesnola, no. 1701.
Italy		Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XXI, 3. (on p 45 she gives references to various Near Eastern and Greek Geometric examples).
Azerbaijan	(Ziwiye)	ILN 6 May 1950, p 714, fig 6.

QUATREFOIL

Egypt	(Predynastic)	Morgan Origines I, p 115, fig 136.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate LII, 16.
Persia	(Cylinder seal)	DEP XII, p 91, fig 45.
Egypt	(First Intermediate Period)	Buttons, Plate IV, 262.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	LAAA XX, Plate LVIII, 5.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XIV, 3, 6c.
	(XVIth century)	Karo S, Plate XX, 61.

Egypt	(c. 1440)	LAAA VI, Plate XI, N 71.
	(Thothmes IVth, c. 1410)	Montet Reliques, p 47, fig 36.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)	BMC I ii, p 82, fig 139.
	(Rhodes)	CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 465, 1.
	(Crete)	i BMC I i, fig 167. ii BSA IX, p 319, fig 19. iii BSA VIII, Plate XVIII. iv AJA 1901, Plate VI, 4.
	(Delphi)	BCH 1935, p 360, fig 16.
Syria	(Carchemish)	LAAA VI, Plate XXVII C.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i CVA Greece i, Greece Plate 7, 1. ii CVA GB vi, GB Plate 239, 19 a; 20. iii Delos XV, Plate XXXII, 87. iv Cl B IV, p 345, fig 381. v Aigina, Plate I, 42. vi CVA Germany V, Germany Plate 197, 1 & 2.
Italy	(Geometric)	Åkerstrom, Plate IX, 1; Plate XII, 4.
Anatolia		i TAH 1928-9 ii, fig 46, a. 824. ii Kosay Pazarli, Plate XXI; Plate LIV.
Cyprus	(Bichrome)	SCE IV ii, Fig XXI 11).
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i BCH XXXVI, Plates IX, X. ii AM. LIV, p 19.

QUADRUPLE INTERLOCKING SPIRALS

Malta	(Megalithic period)	POM II, p 183, fig 92.
Aegean	(IIIrd Millennium)	i Asino, fig 173. ii F Studies ii, Plate VI, 2. iii POM II, p 196, fig 105 c. iv Mesara, Plate IV, 517. v POM I, p 118, fig 87, 5.
Egypt	(First Intermediate Period)	Qau I, Plate XXXIV, 201.
	(XIIth Dynasty)	Buttons, Plate VII, 24 ff.
Syria	(Early IIInd Millennium)	i POM II ii, p 655, fig 420. ii Syria III, Plate LXIV, 11.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan I)	POM II, p 274.
	(Middle Minoan II)	POM I, p 257, fig 192, b.
Egypt	(IIInd Intermediate Period)	Matmar, Plate XLIII, 29.

Aegean	(XVIth Century)	i	POM II ii, p 423, fig 245.
		ii	POM III, Plate XV.
		iii	Shaft Graves, p. 53, fig 41; p 35 fig 24 e
		iv	Pseira, p 28, fig 9
	(Late Minoan II)		POM IV i, p 303, fig 238.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty, Senmut)		JHS LXIX, p 105.
Caucasus	(Maral Deresi)	i	SC, fig 275, 6.
		ii	ESA IX, p 53, fig 4.
Anatolia	(Toprakkale)		Iraq XII, p 27, fig 15.
Mycenean	(Cythera) (Crete)		Deltion I, pp 191-4, fig 1.
		i	Arch LIX, p 481, fig 102 a.
		ii	BSA VIII, p 247, fig 15.
	(Cyprus, not perfect parallel)		BMC I ii, p 76, fig 128.
Anatolia	('Hittite cylinder seal')		Cyl seals, Plate LXIII o.
Palestine			Anc Gaza IV, Plate V, 82.
Aegean	(Early 1st Millennium)	i	Marshall, Plate XIII, 1219.
		ii	A. Salzmänn, <i>Nécropole de Camiros</i> , Plate 25.
		iii	Cl R IV, fig 345.
		iv	CVA Italy IX, Italy Plate 409, 2.
		v	Eph 1885, Plate 9, 2.
	(Orientalising)		Hesp XIV, Plate VI, 2.
Italy	(Ete)		RAC I, p 190 fig 133.
Hungary			Diss Pann Ser II.9., Plate XV, 3.

An example of the geometric maeander pattern occurs on a bowl found in Egypt, in a Twelfth Dynasty context at Dahshur. This bowl, like several other things found in the same context at that site, is of unique type in Egypt. It would not be unreasonable to consider that it is a vessel made in a style which is characteristic of some other land than Egypt, in which case either the bowl itself, or its maker, presumably came to Egypt from elsewhere⁸. The ornament of this bowl is partly provided by a geometric maeander incised, with a hatched background similar to that which appears on the painted neolithic ware of Thessaly, and partly by rows of impressed triangles, the so-called 'Kerbschnitt' pattern. Both the geometric maeander

and the impressed triangle pattern, though well known in several lands, are so rare in Egypt that they cannot be considered to be of local source, unless they were invented there by some individual who failed to transmit his inspiration. Since the patterns are well known elsewhere one may, however, prefer to connect their occurrences on this bowl with their appearances in other lands, a course which is by no means difficult or unreasonable. For example, the impressed triangle ornament (catalogue on page 40) is to be seen used on objects of Third Millennium date from various parts of western Asia. It also appears in the decoration of Early Cycladic pottery, a class of ware which was used by the earliest people of the Bronze Age in the Aegean area, as for example at such sites as Eutresis. It was, therefore, one of the varieties of pottery made use of by the first people to come to Greece after the end of the latest part of the Stone Age. The people of that epoch undoubtedly introduced the use of metal, and probably that introduction can be traced to an eastern source⁹. There is, moreover, some evidence to suggest that there may have been a tradition of making grey incised ware, more or less in the style of early Cycladic incised pottery, in or near eastern Anatolia, for such a fabric appears in Syria at about the time of the Seventeenth Century, sometimes ornamented with impressed triangles.¹⁰ This fabric may have been manufactured by migrating folk from further north (see page 262). Thus there appear examples of this method of decoration, at widely separated intervals, in different lands, under conditions which may suggest the coming of folk from the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The same conclusion, that people came from some part of the eastern Mediterranean region, can be advanced as an explanation of the appearance of some of the other unique objects found at Dahshur, besides the bowl with the geometric meander and impressed triangle ornament, (see page 194). Further, there is a piece of pottery from Monte Cetona in Italy, on which there appears both the geometric meander and the impressed triangle patterns. This object, which appears to date to somewhere near 1200 B.C., may have been found associated with a fibula of violin-bow shape, the bow of which was hammered flat into a leaf shape (see page 157). That type of fibula, as also the geometric meander and the impressed triangle pattern, is known in Caucasia, an area which could have been that from which, or through which these motifs of ornament came to lands which are at present better known to the archaeologist. It is also the region from which certain ideas may have come to Italy at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age (see page 186).

There is another reason for connecting certain objects of Middle Kingdom date in Egypt with Caucasia, besides the fact that the geometric meander and the impressed triangle patterns occur there.

For two torques have been found in Middle Kingdom contexts. One was found by Professor Frankfort many years ago¹¹, but unfortunately still remains unpublished. The other, found by Petrie, is published, but unsatisfactorily¹². Each end of the latter object has been hammered flat, to a more or less triangular shape, the end of which has then been rolled over. The similarity in this method of manufacture to that whereby the racquet pins of Ur, Geoy Tepe¹³, the Koban area¹⁴ and elsewhere were made is obvious. It is possible that the racquet-pin shape, which is as well known in Europe as in Mesopotamia and lands south of the Caucasus, was originated in an area more or less central between those regions, such an area, in fact, as Caucasia. Torques come to be better known in the Near East a little later than the time of the XIIth Dynasty examples mentioned. Several, dated to early in the IIrd Millennium, were found in Syria, and it has been pointed out that these are likely to have been brought south as a result of influence from the southern Caucasian region¹⁵.

IMPRESSED TRIANGLES

Persia	('Archaic' Susa) (Sialk IV)	DEP VIII, p 80, fig 108. Sialk I, Plate XXVIII, 5.
Aegean	(Early Helladic)	i Zyg Plate V, 2: fig 114. ii Eutresis, p 109, fig 124; Plate IX, 1.
	(Early Cycladic, Amorgos)	AM XI, Beilage 1, 1.
	(Early Cycladic, Syros)	AM XXXVIII, Plates VII-IX.
	(Early Cycladic, Paros)	AM XLII, p 44, fig 46 (where references are given to other examples).
	(Early Cycladic, Andros)	F Studies ii, Plate VI, 4. Phylakopi, Plate V, 14. Pre Mac, fig 45 E.
Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XL, 2.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	LAAA XX, Plate LXII, 12.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	Dahchour 1894-5, Plate XXVII.

Syria	(Atchana level VII, c 1600)	AJ XXX, Plate VIII b (see also ILN 2 Dec 1939 p 833 fig 6).
Caucasus	(undated (Samthawro)	RAC II, Plate XI, 4: Plate XIIIb, 1: Plate LIII, 4. ZfE 17, Plate XIII, 10.
Italy	(Monte Cetona)	(Photograph exists, though object ap- parently unpublished: copy in possea- sion of writer)
Aegaeon	(Geometric) (Orientalising)	Thera II, p 40, fig 123 i JHS LXVIII, Plate IV, c. ii Corinth VII i, Plate 25, 182.
Azerbaijan		Az 1948, Plate XI, 8 & 9.

TORQUES

(Discussed by C. F. A. Schaeffer in *Ugaritica II.*)

Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	i IKG, Plate XIII, 18. ii F Studies II, p 149.
Syria	(Early IIrd Millennium) (2100 - 1900)	Byblos, Plate XCIII, and p 271. Ug II, fig 22.
Egypt	(Pan Grave culture)	Mostagedda, Plate LXXIV 3120, 3170.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan) (Sialk B)	Herzfeld Iran, Plate XXX. Sialk II, Plate XCIII, S. 1754.
Caucasia	(Dchvari)	i Yessen, fig 17.3. ii RAC II, Atlas, Plate XVI.
Italy	(Ist millennium) (Julian Alps)	Mon Ant XXII, col 99, fig 42. Boll adriatica 1893, Plate XXV, 1-5.
Bohemia		Pic, Plate XI, 21.
Hungary	(Toszeg C)	BRGK 1934-5, Plate 33, 14.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

- I. Opinions vary as regards the question whether trade was carried on anciently. Amongst those who have written on the matter are Hasebroek, who dealt mainly with the Classical period in his *Trade and politics in ancient Greece*, Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*, and Blakeway, in an article in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*. It cannot be said that strong feelings have been held in check when this subject has been raised. Blakeway's article, in particular, is very far from being sober.

It is usually assumed that, when objects of a type known in one area are found in another, they must have been taken by the agency of trade from the former to the latter land. This assumption is but the most casual guess, and it will be likely to be profitable to ignore it, and to try and make a fresh start, studying such material as there is dispassionately.

Karo pointed out (in *Eph* 1937, pp 317-8, and in *Festschrift für Paul Clemen*, pp 105 ff) that, of all things suitable for trade, particularly under the conditions prevailing in antiquity, precious jewellery, especially that sort which is made with a technique difficult to imitate (such as Etruscan granulated gold work), is outstanding, both because of its value, its unusualness and its portability. If trade were really well established in Greek archaic days, why should it be that no Etruscan work has been found in Greece, apart from a fragment of a silver diadem (Karo, in *Eph* 1937, pp 316 ff)? On the same subject of Etruscan granulated gold work, Denmore Curtis pointed out (in *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* I, p 78), that the examples yet found seem to have been normally of local origin, not taken from one place to another. There is therefore, some reason to believe that, even when conditions of life were in process of becoming easier, there was little movement of objects of intrinsic value. This does not imply that such objects were not used for purposes of trade in earlier days, but equally it makes it improbable. Normally archaeologists do not labour this point, but instead suggest that the "fact" of trade can be deduced from such material as pottery. But, one may ask, is it really likely that every-day pottery, either empty or full of such commodities as oil or wine, so doubt excellent, but of infinitely less value or rarity than gold jewellery, would have been moved around for purposes of trade, since pottery is easily made locally, and equally easily breakable in transport? There would, in any case, have been no profitable sale for such things as wine or oil, which can be produced in any of the Mediterranean lands without trouble.

On the other hand certain goods undoubtedly did find their way from one country to another. Such things as lapis lazuli, and very likely metals, such as copper tin and gold. They may have travelled already made into weapons and tools, or as lumps or ingots. In either case they would have served to buy land, or other desirable things on the arrival of a new-comer. Perhaps they might also have been used to exchange for goods of local source, with which their original owner would return home. If that were so, it would constitute evidence of trade. But it cannot be proved to have happened, and surely one may ask whether it is likely that the bearers of valuables, such as pieces of metal, would have exchanged their possessions for other goods with which to return home, thus exposing themselves to the risk of losing their all by robbery, shipwreck or in other ways against which there was but little protection for the sake of an uncertain gain?

The main argument against the theory that trade was carried on in antiquity is that of incentive. What, in fact, were the things which men most wanted in pre-historic days? This is not a question about which one can do more than theorise, but at least one may suggest that, generally speaking, people were afraid of hunger and exposure, and much more likely to direct their attention to staying off such perils than to any other end. It is not difficult to visualise the ambition of an average person in antiquity as the possession of a productive piece of land, from which plenty of food and drink could be extracted, not only

for personal use, maybe, but also for exchange for the pretty and useful things brought sometimes by strangers from other places. Under such conditions, while there would have been some circulation of special commodities, such as metals, there would not have been anything like organized trade.

People were doubtless afraid of such spectres as hunger and exposure, which were certainly much more real than they are even today, in the Near East. It was, no doubt, such spectres which caused people to migrate in search of better land or safer conditions of life. Possibly they might have consciously provided themselves with such things as lumps of metal, with which to buy their way on arrival in a new land. When they migrated they were prepared to settle in foreign parts for long periods, as the story of Simeon so graphically relates, and as appears also from Biblical statements (CAN II, p 382). Thus far one can perhaps go without straining credulity too far. Why should the archaeologist go any further, and suppose that people then had any particular desire to take risks in their management of affairs? Admittedly people do so today, but then the penalty for failure is not now extreme. From no point of view, it may be suggested, can one justify the claim that trade was carried on in prehistoric days.

Strong partisans of the theory that trade was carried on, such as Miss Kantor, state that objects of particular types are of such and such a provenance, simply because they have been found there. This sort of approach to the problem is characteristic of those who confuse personal opinion with fact, and it is perhaps to be regretted that much good work by such people should be rendered of doubtful value through the expression of strong prejudice.

2. Although the catalogues of certain ceramic shapes and decorative motifs, and of various other things, printed in this book are fairly representative, they are not, and are not intended to be, complete. Their purpose is to illustrate the history of the subjects concerned, for which a complete documentation would not be necessary. Space has been left available on the pages of these catalogues for further references to be added, as required, or as considered necessary by the individual student.
3. T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in third millennium history*, p 91, note 6.
4. *As* 1948, pp 87 ff.
5. *As* 1948, p 253.
6. The stratification of the site of Megiddo is stated in G. Loud, *Megiddo II*, Text, p 5. The details are reproduced below to save the time of those who are not well acquainted with Palestinian chronology.

STRATUM	DATE	STRATUM	DATE
XVIII.	3000-2500.	IX.	1550-1479
XVII.	2500-	VIII.	1479-1350.
XVI.	-1950.	VII.	1350-1150.
XV.	1950-1850.	VI.	1150-1100.
XIV.	1850-1800.	V.	1050-1000.
XIII.	1800-1750.	IV.	1000-800.
XII.	1750-1700.	III.	780-650.
XI.	1700-1650.	II.	650-600.
X.	1650-1500		

7. It is not possible satisfactorily to date the use of Cemetery B at Sialk. It may be observed that an imitation of a scarab of Seti Ist (c. 1300) was found in Tomb 14 in that cemetery. But this, being a single object, does not prove anything chronologically. (*Annales* XLIX, 51 ff.).

8. The similarity between the styles of ornament on the XIIIth Dynasty bowl from Dahshur, (Dahchour 1894-5, Plate XXVIII), and on Dhimni ware in Thessaly (BMC I i, p. 37, and fig 41.) may be, perhaps, too close to be accidental. There seems little reason to suggest that there was direct contact between the two lands to explain it, but there might well have been influences spreading from some common source both to Egypt and to the Aegean area, whereby these similarities could have occurred. It is noticeable that the style of emphasising the ribbons of geometric meander pattern by hatching the background is the same as that found on Celtic work in metal, such as the mirrors from England.

The Dahshur bowl was found with a wide flat bowl, (Dahchour 1894-5, p. 25, fig 60.), a version of the phiale shape, which is not unlike a vessel of more or less the same date from Asarbaijan (Az 1948, fig 23, 321.). The phiale (see pages 283 - 288) is, like the geometric meander pattern, found from time to time over a very long period of time in the Near East, and can, perhaps, be believed to have been introduced, whenever it appears, from the general area of Caucasia.

9. LAAA XI, pp 43 ff. See above, page 30, also.
10. ILN 2 Dec 1939, p 833, fig 6.
11. F Studies II, p 149.
12. IEG, Plate XIII, 18. (The illustration is not clear in the publication; the object is displayed in the Manchester Museum).
13. Az 1948, p 47.
14. R. Virchow, *Das Grabfeld von Koban*, Plate VI, 1 & 2; Plate X, 11.
15. Syria VI, pp 16 ff.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The period of the Sixteenth Century saw great changes in many parts of the Near East. In Syria and Cyprus, for example, and in other neighbouring lands, the previously popular pottery types were, to some extent, now discontinued, and instead there came to be made Base Ring ware, while polychrome decorated fabrics with naturalistic ornament, a type of ware little known previously, suddenly became widely popular. There are no known ancestors for these new kinds of ware within the Mediterranean region. Consequently, it may be unreasonable to consider that their appearance was due to local development. On the other hand, they might have appeared as the result of the coming, to lands already known to the archaeologist, of people who were accustomed to make such kinds of pottery. If so, such people might have spread from the north-east, in view of material discovered in Azarbaijan¹.

Pottery is not the only material to suggest that new ideas were spreading at this time from undefined lands. For example, there also appear at this time some most remarkable examples of inlaid

work in metal in Egypt², and a bracelet of which the ends are fashioned to represent animal's heads, in Syria. Both the technique of inlaid work, and that particular style of bracelet, illustrate ideas which are new, in Egypt and Syria, at this time. But the objects of these types from those lands are not the work of inexperienced workmen, but of masters in their craft. They illustrate ideas which had already been brought to a high stage of refinement, presumably in some part of the ancient world not yet defined, since no prototypes can be traced in archaeologically known lands.

BRACELET WITH ANIMAL'S HEAD ENDS

This type of bracelet first appears in Syria at about the time of the Sixteenth Century. It is a type which was very popular in Achaemenid Persia, and also in later days in that land, and may perhaps have been traditional in that country, though it is also found at about the same period further west. The shape occurs, as M. Dunand has pointed out, in the Talyche region of north western Persia, and in Luristan.

CATALOGUE

Syria	(Byblos level X)	Byblos I, p 194, 3054, Plate XCIII.
Persia	(Luristan)	ILN 6 Sept. 1930, p. 390, 18, 19.
Assyria	(Early 1st Millennium)	i Annales 25, p 128 n.4. ii Contenau, Manuel iv, p 2244 fig 1269.

(Many examples are listed by Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, p 194.)³

It is scarcely necessary to discuss the changes in civilisation at the time of the XVIth Century in such lands as Cyprus, Syria or Egypt⁴, since they have no direct bearing on the subject under discussion. It is therefore probably sufficient to advance evidence

that new peoples may have come thither at that time. For the present purpose attention is best given to events within the Aegean area.

If Syria and adjacent lands were entered by foreign peoples at this time in sufficient numbers to cause a change in the styles of the every-day pottery wares, it is surely possible that a disturbance had occurred on such a scale as to cause people also to migrate towards the west. Events in the Aegean area at about 1600 and later do seem to suggest that this may have happened. For at about 1600 an extraordinary change in civilisation occurred. Previously, different countries within that area had been the scenes of highly individual and local cultures, each characterised by a special kind of pottery. Now, however, a fair degree of uniformity began, especially from the ceramic point of view. The new style of pottery, painted in dark-on-light, in contrast to much that had been normally made previously, is widespread. It is unlike anything known previously in the west. But it is similar in technique of manufacture⁵, and also in certain varieties of ornament, to the very much earlier Tell Halaf ware which had been made in northern Mesopotamia, perhaps as early as before 3000⁶. This new Aegean fabric is made in a variety of shapes which are new in the Aegean, though in several cases similar shapes had been manufactured in earlier days in lands to the east of the Mediterranean. These new shapes include the following :-

SHAPE	CATALOGUE ON PAGE
Baggy Alabastron	49
Egg-shaped vessel	49
Piriform Jar	See page 48
Stirrup Vase	117
Conical Rhyton	See page 48
Long Pear shaped vessel	50
Cylindrical vessel (often on three legs)	50
Kylix	51
Bowl with ogee profile	See page 49

Since the types of vessels mentioned above are all found in Asia, or Egypt, and sometimes at a much earlier date, their introduction to the west might well, perhaps, indicate the coming of foreigners to the Aegean⁷.

The Baggy Alabastron is a shape which appears to have no prototype in the west. In the east, however, vessels of the same shape had been in use as early as the time of the First Intermediate Period in Egypt. That epoch was one when a great variety of new ideas appeared in the Nile Valley, some of which seem likely to be of Asiatic origin⁸. This shape, when it appears there, may well be of such a source, for it has no antecedent locally. The Egg-shaped Vessel, which often has a short neck and a wide horizontal rim, also appeared at the same time in Egypt. A more or less related shape came to be made in western Asiatic lands at the close of the IIIrd Millennium, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the shape is of Asiatic source, brought first to Egypt and later to the Aegaeon. The Piri-form Jar shape⁹ occurs in Palestine, though its chronology there is uncertain. Examples were found in the upper level of the Tomb 13 excavated by Garstang's expedition to Jericho¹⁰, and at Gaza, where an example was dated by Petrie to the time of the XVIth Dynasty¹¹. It maybe that the shape is to be derived from much earlier vessels in the east, for a not dissimilar shape of vessel appears in the Royal Cemetery at Ur¹². The shape also occurs in Cypriote Base Ring ware, of about the 16th Century at its first appearance¹³. The Stirrup Vase, so characteristic a shape of Mycenaean pottery, is found, though not very commonly, in the Aegaeon during the XVIth century, though not for the intervening space of time. This shape will be discussed later (see page 112), and it will be suggested that it was a foreign shape, introduced from elsewhere to the west during Mycenaean days, as it may also have been at this earlier date, and coming, perhaps, from Syria, or from a land further to the north-east.

The Conical Rhyton shape¹⁴ is a type of vessel which may be connected with the Keftiuan folk.¹⁵ Its early history is not known, save that there is no antecedent for it in the west¹⁶. The long Pear shaped vessel¹⁷ is closely paralleled in shape in Egypt at the time of the close of the Old Kingdom¹⁸, when, so it is thought, Asiatic migrations were beginning to bring foreigners to the Nile Valley. One example of this shape of the XVIth century found at Knossos occurred in association with a globular vessel of a shape found in Egypt¹⁹, and with part of a faience 'tea-pot' shaped vessel²⁰. This latter has been shown by Evans to be closely similar to the well-known silver 'tea-pots' found at Byblos, the fluted ornament of which is of eastern style (see pages 190, 285).

The Cylindrical vessel, often equipped with three legs, is a type widespread in earlier days in Persia. It reappears in the west towards the end of the IIrd Millennium. The Kylix appears to have been a shape made in Syria at an early date. Like the Stirrup Vase it reappears after an interval, to become one of the most popular

shapes of the Mycenaean period. The bowl with ogee shaped profile was considered by Evans to be a new shape in the west when it appeared at the time of MM III b - LM I²⁰. Shallower bowls with a similar profile have been found in Azarbaijan²¹, and elsewhere²² in the Near East, probably of about the XVIth century. The shape is characteristic of Base Ring ware²³, which appeared at that time. It re-appears in the Aegaeon in Protogeometric days²⁴.

BAGGY ALABASTRON

Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr)	<i>University of Pennsylvania, Anthropology, Memoirs, I, Plate LXVI, 40.</i>
Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XLV, 7835.
	(VII-VIIIth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XLV, 3748.
	(IXth Dynasty)	Qau II, Plate XCII, 93 M.
	(Sedment, C. 1500)	POM IV, p 270, fig 200 a.
Aegaeon	(XVIth Century)	i Gournia, Plate IX, 7, 8.
		ii Unpub Palai, fig 25.
Mycenaean	(Phaestos, early LM III)	POM IV, p 337, fig 280, b, c.
	(Palaikastro ")	Unpub Palai, fig 63.

EGG-SHAPED VESSEL

Mesopotamia	(Ur, c. 2500)	RC, Plate 180, U.8380; Plate 253, 44a.
Egypt	(First Intermediate Period)	Qau I, Plate XXX, 7893, 7930.
Mesopotamia	(Tepe Gawra VI)	Gawra, Plate LXIX, 130.
	('Neo-Sumerian')	Tello 20 Campagnes, fig 56.
Aegaeon	(MM III, Harvester Vase)	POM II, p 224.
	(Mavro Spelio)	POM II ii, Supplementary Plate XXI, A c.
	(MM III)	Unpub Palai, p 35 fig 23.
	(LM I)	i Gournia, Plate VII, 40.
		ii Karo S, Plate CLXX 221.

LONG PEAR SHAPED VESSEL

Egypt	(First Dynasty)	Abydos II, Plate XII, 267.
	(Sixth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XXX, 7807.
Syria	(Early Second millennium)	Byblos, Plate CLVIII, 1555.
	(Megiddo Stratum XVI and later)	Megiddo II, Plate 7, 19 ff.
Palestine		Beth Pelet I, Plate VIII, 550.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	POM II, p 822, fig 129, 312 e, f; fig 537
	(Orientalising)	i Perrot and Chipiez III, Plate VI
		ii Kinch, Plate 38, 6.6.

CYLINDRICAL VESSEL, SOMETIMES ON LEGS

Aegean	(Early Bronze Age)	i Phylakopi, Plate IV, 1 and 3.
		ii Mesara, Plate XVIII, 4195, 4196.
Mesopotamia	(Ur, c. 2500 B.C.)	RC, Plate 233, 24.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan III)	SC, fig 244.
	(Tepe Djamshidi)	SC, fig 250, Tomb 10, no 8.
	(Hissar III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate CXVI, H 59.
Aegean	(M.M. I)	POM IV, p 90 fig 57 c.
	(M.H. I)	Eutresis, Plate XI, 1.
	(L.M. I)	i POM II, fig 253 C.
		ii Unpub Palai, fig 37.
		iii Gournia, Plate VIII, 36.
Mycenean		BMC I i, Plate XV, A 1003.
		Annuario VI-VII, figs 105 and 155
	(Ialysos) (Phylakopi)	MV, Plate VII, 36 XIII. BSA XVII, Plate XII, 73.
Aegean	(‘Sub-Mycenean’)	Mirabello, Plate VIII, 0. 50.
	(Protogeometric)	Kerameikos I, Plate 61, 533.
Caucasia	(Undated)	i J de Morgan, <i>Mission au Caucase</i> I, fig 212.
		ii SC, fig 304, 11 and 12.
		iii Materials C, VIII (1900), Plate XLII, 12.

KYLIX

Persia	(Early IIIrd Millennium)	i	PMJ XXIII, Plate CI H. 1648.
		ii	Ex.s in TH, Plate VIII.
	(Shah Tepe III-II b)		SC, fig 316, 8.
Aegean	(Early Minoan)		POM I, fig 19.
			POM II ii, p 635, fig 399. c.
Cyprus	(2500 ?)		Arch 88, Plate XV c.
Syria	(before 2000 ?)		LAAA VI, Plate XIX a.
Anatolia	(about 2000)		ILN 9 April 1938, p 633, top right.
Aegean	(Minyan ware)		Eutresis, fig 184.
	(XVIth Century)		POM IV, p 363, fig 303.
Armenia	(undated)		Arm II ii, p 567.
Caucasia	(undated)		SC, fig 220.
	(undated Djönu)		Morgan, Mission IV, fig 112, 2.
Anatolia	(Kusura, C Period)		Arch 86, Plate VIII, 9.
Aegean	(LM II-III)		POM II ii, p 634, n.
	Mycenean		Very common ²⁵ .
Syria	(Early Iron Age)		Til-Barsib, Plate XXIII. 5 - 9.

As with the ceramic shapes which have just been discussed, so also with certain of the decorative motifs used on wares of the XVIth century in the Aegean, there appears to be reason to trace the coming westward of eastern ideas. The motifs concerned are :-

MOTIF	CATALOGUE ON PAGE
Pot-Hook Spiral	52
Wavy line	53
Swastika	31
Rows of dots bordering a motif	56
Rosette	57
Circular line with pot-hooks growing from it	57
Animal drawn with its head turned back	58
Line making large vertical loops	34
Lozenge with ornaments at the corners	60
Row of ivy-leaf motifs.	61

3020

The history of these motifs is shown on the catalogues of them which appear on the pages already referred to. These histories will not be analysed here, beyond saying that it is clear from a study of them that all the motifs concerned had been known in early days in the east, and that some of them, on present evidence, could hardly have been of any but eastern origin. Some, however, had also appeared at an early date in the west, but these seem not to have enjoyed a continuous use, but rather to have appeared periodically. Such evidence may, perhaps, suggest that they are less likely to have been native in the west than to have been introduced from outside the Aegean area from time to time.

POT-HOOK SPIRAL

Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXVIII, C. 16.
Aegean	(Early Bronze Age)	Phylakopi, Plate V, 12 B; Plate XIII, 17.
Persia	(Susa II)	Iran Denk B, Plate III, 4.
Armenia	(Erivan, undated)	<i>Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires</i> , LX (1901) p. 2, fig. 1.
Anatolia	(about 2000)	F Studies ii, fig. 19. TAH 1930-32 i, fig. 239, c. 1898. SS, p. 124, no. 2470.
Transcaucasia	(undated)	AFO XIV, p. 293, fig. 12, 1-3.
Persia	(south-east, undated)	A. Stein, <i>Archaeological Reconnaissances in N.W. India and S.E. Iran</i> , Plate XXVII.
Aegean	(Middle Bronze Age)	i Eutresis, Plate XV, 4. ii BMC I i, A 5054. iii PT, fig. 131. (Lianokladhi III). iv BMC I i, fig. 124. v Phylakopi, Plate XII, 30.
Anatolia	(IInd Millennium)	CC II, Plate 23 bis.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	Sedment II, Plate LIX, 7.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i Phylakopi, Plate XV, 1. 20. ii AM XXXIV, Plate XXIII, 1.
Syria	(post 1500 ?)	AJ XIX, Plate XVI, ATP/8, 16.
	(Tell Billa III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 2.
Mesopotamia	(c. 1500, from Ashur)	Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo 5860. (unpublished)
Armenia	(undated)	BMG XIII B, fig. 61, no. 1. (p. 106).

Persia	(Tepe Giyan II)	Giyan, Tomb 77.
Mycenaean	(Amarna) (source not known) (Zafer Papoura) (Calymnos) (Cyprus) (Ialysos) (Crete) (Macedonia) (Palestine)	Amarna, Plate XXVII, 52. PZ XIX, Plate 35. Arch LIX, p 481, fig 102 b. BMC I i, p 196, fig 280 & A 1022. BMC I ii, p 87, fig 150. Annuario VI-VII, fig 7, p 92. Vrokastro, fig 89, 1. Pre Mac, p 219, fig 89 d. Gezer III, Plate LXXI, 25. Sieveking & R. Hackl, <i>Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München</i> , Plate 3, 23.
Aegaeon	(Geometric, Thera) (VIIIth Century, Lemnos) (Orientalising)	Thera II, fig 341. Annuario XV-XVI, fig 84. i NC, Plate 3, 2. ii CVA Germany ii, Germany Plate 51, 1. iii RSA XXXV, Plate 44. iv Annuario X-XII, fig 460. v AM XXII, Plates 7 & 8. vi AA 1925, 339, fig 10.

WAVY LINE

Persia	(Persepolis)	Iran Denk A, Plate VIII, 2.
Syria	(Hama)	Rapport prelim. Hama, Plate III, 2.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware) (al Ubaid ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate XLVI, 11. i Ur I, Plate XV, 1868. ii Pre Ass. fig 26, 1, 3, 4.
Anatolia	(Troy I)	C Blegen Troy I ii, fig 238, 21.
Cyprus	(Third millennium)	i F Studies ii, Plate VII, 2. ii BMC I ii, fig 9.
Egypt	(Protodynastic)	i Tarkhan II, Plate V, 13. ii RT II, Plate LIV.
Persia	(Tepe Hissar II)	i ILN 28 Jan 1933, p 116, fig 1. ii Ex. a in TH, Plate XXII, H. 4498.
Cyprus	(Incised ware)	Kypros, Plate CCXVI, 14.
Aegaeon	(Early Bronze Age)	i Pre Mac, p 170, fig 42 a. ii BMC I i, fig 68. iii Zyg, Class A 2.
Persia	(Susa II)	DEP XIII, fig 117, Plate XXIV.
Anatolia	(Alishar III)	OIP XXVIII, Plate IX, d. 2493.
Palestine	(Megiddo, Str. XIV)	Megiddo II, Plate XIII, 6.

Persia	(Tepe Giyan IV)	i	Giyan, Tomb 118.
		ii	Iran Denk B, Plate I, 1 & 3.
	(Tepe Moussian, polychrome)		DEP VIII, Plate VII.
Egypt	(First Intermediate Period)	i	Dios P, Plate XXXIII, 33.
		ii	Matmar, Plate XXX, 90.
		iii	Mostagedda, Plate LII, 14 C & 14 E.
		iv	Qau II, Plate LXXXVIII, 93 K.
	(XI-XII Dynasties)		Denderah, Plate XVIII, 133.
			KGH, Plate XIII, 41.
Syria	(Tell Beit Mirsim, Stratum II)		AASOR XIII, Plate III, 3.
	('Middle Ugarit')		SC, Plate X, bottom right.
Palestine			Notes early Megiddo, fig 19, G-L.
Cyprus			CVA BM i, G.B. Plate 6, 7.
Mesopotamia			Gawra, Plate LXX, 144-6.
Egypt	(Early IIInd Millennium)	i	el Amrah, Plate LIV, 22.
		ii	Qau III, Plates XII ff.
		iii	Hyksos and Is cities, Plate VIII, 58.
Palestine	(Tell Beit Mirsim, strata G-F)		AASOR XIII, Plate 22, 5.
Syria		i	Byblos, Plate LXV, jar 2132.
		ii	Ug I, fig 54, left.
Aegean	(2000-1600)		PT, fig 131 (Lianokladhi III ware).
	(Middle Minoan III)		Unpub Palai, p 16, fig 10.
	(Middle Helladic)		AM LII, Beilage 1.
			Hesp Supp. VIII, Plate 7, 1.
	(Middle Helladic III)		Tiryns, Plate XXVI d.
Anatolia	(2000 - 1600 ?)		F Studies ii, Plate XII, 4.
Cyprus	(2000 - 1600 ?)		CVA B.M. i, G.B. Plate 5, 28.
Egypt	(XVII-XVIII Dynasties)	i	Harageh, Plate XLIII, 24 Q.
		ii	Meydum, Plate XXVII, 100.
Aegean	(XVIth Century)	i	Shaft Graves, p 23, fig 12.
		ii	Phylakopi, Plate XXVI, 5.
		iii	POM II ii, p 427, fig 248.
		iv	Gournia, Plate VIII, 27.
Palestine	(XVIth Century)		Megiddo II, Plate 36, 3 (Str. XI).
	(base ring ware)		QDAP VIII, pp 1 ff, tomb 10, no 8.
	(Gaza Palace II)		Anc Gaza II, Plate XXIX, 31, v, 7.
Aegean	(L.M. II ware)	i	AM 34, Plate XVII.
		ii	Arch LIX, Plate C.
		iii	Dendra, fig 77.

Egypt	(L.M. II period, Maket tomb)	IKG, Plate XXVI, 45.
Syria	(1400-1300)	Ug II, fig 86, 21, 24, 28.
Anatolia	(Troy VI)	T und I, p 294.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan III)	Giyan, tomb 84.
	(Tepe Giyan II)	Giyan, tomb 73.
	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate II, 4.
Cyprus	(milk bowl)	Ex.s in C, p 40, fig 68, 1109.
Mycenean	(Ialysos)	BMC I i, A 892.
	(Cyprus pictorial)	BMC I ii, C 390.
	(Levanto-Helladic)	SCE I, Plate CXVIII, 8.
	(close style)	MV, Plate 22, 160. (from Cyprus)
	(Palaikastro)	BSA IX, p 319, fig 18.
	(Mouliana)	Eph 1904, Plate 3.
	(Greece)	Coll Myc Ath, p 108, 2775.
	(granary)	BSA XXV, p 33, fig 9 b.
Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CLVIII, 3.
Italy	(Coppa Nevigata)	Mon Ant XIX, Plate IV, 6.
	(Monte Cetona)	NDS 1933, p 88, fig 55.
Syria	(Early Iron Age, Hama)	Cim a crem, p 52, fig 33.
	(Early Iron Age, Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Plate IX, 6.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	i BMC I ii, C 721. ii SCE IV ii, Fig III 4), 8); Fig IV 12), 14). iii Enk-Al., fig 114, 2, & others.
Aegaeon	(Early Iron Age)	i LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 7. ii PT, p 210, fig 145, g. (Theotoku) iii AM XXXV, Plate VI, 8 (Salamis). iv Vrokastro, Plate XXXIII. v Hesp II, 366 ff.
Anatolia	(Troy VI-VII)	SS, no 3190, 3195 ff. Lariss III, Plates 3, 11, 12.
Palestine	(Lachish)	BASOR April 1939, p 20.
Aegaeon	(Protogeometric ware)	BMC I i, A 1093.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Frontispiece, 3.
Armenia	(Redkin Lager, Undated)	ZfE 17, Plate XVI, 8.
Aegaeon	(Attic sub-geometric)	Hesp Supp II, p 186, fig 137.

ROW OF DOTS BORDERING A MOTIF

Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid ware)	Ur I, Plate XVI.
Anatolia	(Troy I)	Ilios, fig. 72.
Persia	(Susa II?)	DEP XIII, p 45, fig 158.
Anatolia	(Alislar III)	TAH.30-32 i, fig 264, 13.
Aegean	(2000-1600)	Phylakopi, p 117, fig 90.
	(XVIth Century)	i Mon Ant XII, report on Phaestos, Plate VIII, 3. ii Gournia, Plate IX, 5. iii AM XXXIV, Plate XIX. iv BSA XXV, Plate XLVII, b.
	(LM II)	i ILN 12 Jan 1952, p 60, fig 18. ii BSA XI, p 281, fig 12 a.
Syria	(XVth Century)	i Byblos, Plate CLXXVII, 6549. ii Mallowan in Melanges D. II, Plate III. iii AJ XVIII, Plate IX, ATP 230.
Egypt	(c. 1350)	Amarna, Plate XXVII, 52.
Mycenean	(Isopata)	Argive Heraeum II, Plate LIV, 19. i Arch LIX, p 531, fig 122. ii Arch LXV, p 20, fig 30.
	(Ialysos)	Annuario VI-VII, p 128, fig 49.
	(Cyprus)	Ex.s in C, p 73, fig 126.
	(Melos)	Phylakopi, Plate XXXII, 10.
	(Cephalonia)	Eph 1932-3.
	(Calymnos)	BMC I i, p 193, fig 276.
	(Cilicia)	LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 2.
	(and many others)	
Aegean	(sub-Mycenean)	Kerameikos I, Plate 5.
Cyprus	(sub-Mycenean)	BMC I ii, C 703.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	AJA 1901, Plate VI, 4.
Central Europe	(Hallstatt)	Sacken, Plate XXVI, 5.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Matz GGE, I, Plate 13 b. ii Delos XV, Plate XXXVIII, 3. iii Hesp Supp II, p 180, fig 130.
	(c. 600)	CVA Denmarkii, Denmark Plate 77, 1.

ROSETTE

Egypt	(Predynastic)	i Capart, 33. ii Morgan Origines I, p 115, fig 136.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	M.F. von Oppenheim in Mélanges D. II, Plate III.
	(al Ubaid ware)	i Pre Ass, fig 37, 5. ii Comp archy Mesp, fig 11, 11.
	(c. 2500)	BC, Plate 162. (U. 10850).
Egypt	(1st Intermediate Period)	Buttons, Plate IV, 216.
	(XIIth Dynasty, Toud)	ILN 18 April 1936, p 682, bottom left.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	i Mesara, Plate VIII, 653. ii POM I, Plate II. iii POM IV i, p 137, fig 108. iv Unpub Palai, p 15, fig 9.
	(XVIth Century)	i AM XXXIV, Plate XX. ii Gourai, Plate VIII, 21; Plate IX, 29. iii Karo S, Plate XI.
	(Late Minoan II)	POM IV i, fig 285.
Syria	(Atchana)	JHS LVI, Plate VII.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i Bekh-mi-Re, Plate XVIII ii Amarna, Plate XVIII
	(Keftiu ornament)	i LAAA VI, Plates IX ff. ii Yuas and Thuiu, Plate XXI.
Mycenean	(Crete)	Deltion 1918, p 76, fig 20.
	(Ialysos)	MV, Plate IV, 27 A XII.
	(Zygouries)	Zyg, Plate XV, 1 & 4.
	(Calymnos)	BMC I i, p 193, fig 276.
Persia	(Luristan)	ILN 6 Sept 1930, p 389, fig 10.
Anatolia	(Toprakkale, near Van)	Iraq XII, p 27, fig 15.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i NC, Plate I, 3. ii Hesp XIV, Plate XX, 2.

CIRCULAR LINE, FROM WHICH GROW POT-HOOK SPIRALS ALL THE WAY ROUND

Anatolia	(Alishar III ware)	i TAH 1930-32 i, Plate V, 4. ii TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XXVI, b 36- 325.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan I)	Unpub Palai, Plate X, 1.
	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XIII, 17.

Aegean	(XVIth century)	i	Unpub Palai, fig 27.
		ii	Gournia, Plate VII, 18.
		iii	Shaft Graves, p 23, fig 12.
	(Late Minoan II)		AM XXXIV, Plate XXII, 2.
Macedonia	(Late Bronze Age)		Pre Mac, p 219, fig 90, c.
Mycenean	(Syria)		Ug II, fig 95, 37.

ANIMAL OR BIRD WITH HEAD TURNED BACK

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	i	Tell Halaf I, Frontispiece, 2.
		ii	AFO XII, p 170, fig 8.
Egypt	(Predynastic)		von Bissing, Catalogue Générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, <i>Tongefässe</i> (i), Plate V, 18805 and p 29.
	(Gebel el Arak knife handle)		F Studies I, Plate XII, 1.
Mesopotamia			Gawra, Plate LV, a.
	(Nineveh, MM - 54)		LAAA XX, Plate LXIV, 19.
	(Jemdet Naar)		Field Mus Nat Hist Anthr Memoirs, I, Plate LXXX, 4.
	(archaic seals)		Cylindres Louvre I, Plate 24, s 255 A Plate 29.
	(c. 2500)	i	Tello, 20 campagnes, fig 27.
		ii	RC, Plate 142, U.10009.
Egypt	(Old Kingdom)		ILN 4 June 1938, p 1000, fig 1.
Mesopotamia	(IIInd Millennium or earlier)		DEP VII, Plate III.
Persia	(Susa '3rd millennium')		Survey I, p 291, fig 70 e.
	(Susa II)	i	DEP XIII, Plate XXXV, 6; Plate XXXVIII, 6.
		ii	Contenau, Antiquités orientales. Louvre, Plate 49.
Syria	(Atchana level XIII)		AJ XXX, Plate IX, b.
Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)		Qau II, Plate XCVI, 23.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan I)		Mesara, Plate XXXVII, 5114.
	(Middle Minoan)		BM Catalogue of engraved gems, Plate I, 5.
Mesopotamia	(1st Dynasty of Babylon)		Cyl Seals, Plate XXVIII d.
Anatolia	(c. 1800)		ILN 6 Oct 1951, p 547, bottom row, Middle.

Persia		Iran Denk B, Plate XIII, 8 & 9.
Near Eastern vessel taken to Cyprus		JHS LXX, p 15, fig 10.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan III) (XVIth Century)	Bossert, <i>Alt Kreta</i> , p 58, no 82. i JHS XXII, Plate X, 120-1. ii POM IV ii, p 545, fig 503 b. iii Karo S., Plate XXIV, 34; Plate CXLV.
Palestine	(XVIth Century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XIII, h.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i Arabah, Plate XVII, 320. ii von Bissing, <i>Ein alt-Thebanischer Grabfund</i> , Plate VIII, 7, bottom row.
Near East	(c. 1500 ?)	i PM Library seals, Plate CLIX, 1046 E. ii Cyl Seals, Plate XXXI, a.
Palestine		Gezer III, Plate CCII, b 5.
Aegean	(Isopata)	Arch LIX, p 544, fig 138.
Egypt	(1400-1350) (Tutankhamun tomb)	i Sedment II, Plate LXXI, 132. ii Amarna, Plate XVI, 182, 192. iii JEA XXVII, Plate XX, panel 7. iv ILN 20 Oct 1928, p 715.
Aegean	(1400-1300)	i JHS LXXI, p 241, Plate XLVI b. ii Dendra RT, p 58. iii Aegean Essays, Plate II. iv JHS LIX, Plate XIV a. v Coll myc Ath, p 85
Palestine	(c. 1400)	Bliss, Stratum IV (below Mycenaean).
Mesopotamia	(Assur)	Reich und Kultur der Ene, fig.s 40, 52.
Egypt	(c. 1250)	Qau III, Plate XXXVI, 9.
Cyprus	(1300-1200)	Ex.s in C., Plate II, 1339 A; Plate IV, I.
Persia	(Talyche, undated)	SC, p 410, fig 30.
Palestine	('Philistine')	i Gezer III, Plate LXX, 14 & others. ii QDAP V, fig 11, 2. iii AASOR XII, Plate XXIII, 1.
Persia	(Luristan, undated)	ILN 22 Oct 1932, p 615, fig 16.
Near East	('Syro-Cappadocian')	Cylindres, Louvre, II, Plate 97, 14.
Persia	(Sialk B)	i ILN 16 March 1935, p 416, top right. ii Sialk II, Plate XXX, 7.
Syria	(Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Plate XIII, 11.
Mesopotamia	(Assyrian period)	W. Andrae, <i>Farbige Keramik aus Assur</i> , Plate 21.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Mats GGR I, Plate 16 a. ii Argive Heraeum, II, Plate LVII, 22. iii CVA Denmark ii, Plate 73, 5. iv Delos XV, Plate XVIII a. v Hesp Supp II, p 180, fig 130.

Cyprus	(Geometric)	Handbook Cesnola, no 1701.
Persia	(north-west, undated)	i ILN 6 May 1950, p 714.
		ii ILN 24 Aug 1935, p 312, 1.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Kinch, col.s 233-4.
		ii BSA XXXIV, p 5, Plate III A.
		iii Cl R, III, coloured Plate A.
Cyprus		Ex.s in C, p 104, fig 151.
Italy	(Canale)	Åkerström, Plate 8, 8.
Aegean	(Perachora)	JHS LXVIII, Plate IV f.
Anatolia	(Ephesus)	JHS LXVIII, Plate XI b.

LOZENGE WITH ORNAMENTS AT THE CORNERS.

Persia	(Tepe Moussian)	DEP VIII, p 109, fig 175.
	(Sialk II)	Sialk I, Plate LXXVI, B 22.
Aegean	(early Bronze Age)	Phylakopi, Plate V, 18.
Anatolia	(Troy II-V)	SS, p 124, no 2470.
	(Alishar III)	TAH 30-32 i, fig 255, 2.
Egypt	(Middle Kingdom)	PCM II, p 200, fig 110, A.f.
Anatolia	(early IIInd millennium)	i Bittel Forschung, Plate VII, 3.
		ii F Studies, Plate IX, 2.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic probable example)	Phylakopi, Plate XII, 28.
	(Middle Minoan II)	PCM II, fig 110, A.o.
	(XVIth century)	i S Mycenae, fig 378.
		ii AM XXII, p 233 ff.
		iii POM II, p 201, fig 110, B a.
		iv JHS XXII, Plate X, 134.
		v Karo S, Plate XXXVII, 233.: Plate LXI
Palestine	(c. 1500 ?)	Watzinger II, p 13, fig 12, 1.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty, possible example)	Sedment II, Plate LVIII, 9.
Mycenean	(Aegean)	MV, Plate XXXVI.
		i ILN 2 May 1953, p 711, fig 9 ²⁶
		ii Ex.s in C, Plate 10, 401.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	i CVA BM ii, GB Plate 54, 4.
		ii SCE IV ii, Fig III, 5).

Aegean	(Protogeometric)	BSA XXXI, 17, fig 6, 28.
Hungary	(Hallstatt period)	i ILN 5 Aug 1933, p 225 (middle of page). ii Sacken, Plate IX, 4; Plate IX, 7. iii Jacobsthal ECA, Plate 268, 204-7.
Aegean	(Geometric)	AM XXII, p 234, figs 2 & 4; Plate VI.
Assyria	(Nimrud)	Layard II, Plate 68.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i BSA XXIX, Plate XIII, 2. ii Hesp XIV, Plate, 5. iii AJA 1897, p 259, fig 6. iv Ephesus IV, 31. v JHS LXXI, p 94.
Cyprus	(Orientalising)	CVA GB xi, GB Plate 488, 4.
Caucasia	(undated)	WPZ XXI (1934), p 23, fig 1.
Italy	(Cumae)	Mon Ant XXII, Plate XXII, 6. Montelius Civ Prim I, Series A Plate II, 14.

ROW OF IVY-LEAF SHAPES

Europe	(Balkans)	Fr. Fiala, <i>Die neolithische Station von Butsir II</i> , Plate VIII, 6.
Aegean	(XVIth Century)	i Karo S, Plate XX, 71. ii Gournia, Plate IX, 10. iii CVA GB xi, GB Plate 482, 27. iv Fimmen, fig 73. v Unpub Palai, p 31, fig 19 b.
Palestine	(c. 1500)	Anc Gaza I, Plate XXXII, 59.
Mesopotamia	(Tepe Billa Stratum 3)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.
Aegean	(Late Helladic II)	i Arch LXXXII, Plate XXXII, 80 a. ii Arch LIX, p 548, fig 143.
Mycenean	(Syria) (Phaestos) (Egypt) (Mycense) (Sparta) (Cyprus) (Tiryns) (Dendra)	Ug II, fig 55, 17. Mon Ant XIV, col.s 611 ff. Amarna, Plate XXVII, 26-29. MV, Plate XXXVI, 367. BSA XVI, Plate I. Ex.s in C, p 7, fig 10. Tiryns, Plate IX. Dendra R.T, fig 67.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Thera II, fig 341. ii Eph 1885, Plate 9, 2.

Aegean	(Aigina treasure)	JHS XIII, p 211, fig 16.
	(Orientalising)	Hesp XIV, Plate IX, 2.
	(VI-Vth Century)	JHS LVI, Plate I.

Note: - One variant of this pattern occurs on a gold cup of about 1400 from Dendra (Dendra, fig 88) and in Palestine at perhaps about the same time (Megiddo Ivories, Plate X, no. s. 41-2.).

A second variant occurs in incised pottery. Examples of this appear on Early Cycladic I ware (Eutresis, Plate III, 2.) and in Syria, at Alalakh, during the XVIth Century (ILN 2 Dec. 1939, p 833, no 6.).

Furumark has discussed the network pattern, to which he refers under the heading of Motif no. 62. The network pattern (catalogue on page 63) is one which suddenly becomes used in the Aegean area during the XVIth century, being associated with a particular shape of jug²⁷ which is also new at that time. The pattern continues in use in the west, and is fairly commonly employed during Mycenaean days. It also appears in carved ivory from Megiddo, where it is dated to 1350-1150. It was not used after Mycenaean days in the west, but somewhat elaborate versions of this motif were used in the decoration of the shallow bronze saucers of which such numbers were found in Assyria by Layard. Furumark discusses the motif without reference to the various examples from Palestine and Assyria, and appears to consider that the motif is a purely Aegean one. This, however, is not very likely to be the case, for it is surely impossible to derive the Assyrian examples from the west. On the other hand, if the motif were of eastern source, brought to the west, like so many other ideas, at the time of the XVIth century, and again later, during the Mycenaean period, the occasions of the various examples of its use which are at present known, could be satisfactorily explained.

NETWORK PATTERN

Mesopotamia	(Late IIIrd. millennium)	Contenau Manuel III, p 740, fig 521
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i Gournia, Plate IX, 6. ii Annuario VI-VII, fig 110. iii POM III, fig 50.
	(LM II-III)	i BSA XLVII, p 263, fig 9, I 3. ii Bossert AC, p 39, no 58.
Mycenean	(Ialyasos)	i Annuario VI-VII, p 160, fig 87. ii MV, Plate XI, 70. iii MV, Plate VI, 32.XII.
	(Tiryns) (Mycenae)	Tiryns, Plate XXVII, a. MV, Plate XXVII, 217.
Palestine	(1350-1150)	Megiddo Ivories, Plate 20, 123.
Assyria		Layard II, Plate 61 B: Plate 62 A.
Palestine		Ivories Sam, p 42, fig 16.

The change in the types of pottery made at the time of the Sixteenth Century is striking enough. Even more remarkable, however, are the variations which appear at this epoch in other forms of activity. One of these is to be found in the new types of architecture which came into use in all parts of the Aegean area, and which have been studied by Professor Persson.²⁸ As he has pointed out, there were now constructed in Crete two varieties of tomb, one of which was of fair size, and contained several rooms arranged on two floors. The best example of this type is the Temple Tomb at Knossos. The other variety is of one room only, this being preceded by a vestibule with niches in the side walls. Both of these types appear to be foreign to the west, when they appear at this period, but both had been constructed in Egypt in earlier days. The second of the two types mentioned appears later in the Aegean area, after an interval when, so it seems, it was not in use, for examples of such a style of tomb were constructed during Mycenaean days in Rhodes.

On the mainland of Greece, during the Sixteenth Century, there were being hollowed out rock-cut tombs, the earliest, dating from about 1600, being of elaborate plan, though as time passed the design employed became simpler. The type can be subdivided into three main categories. There is a single room in each case, but a different arrangement of side-chambers, which can be called secondary rooms. In one category there are several such secondary rooms, each entered through a doorway cut in one of the side-walls, or in the back wall; in the second category a secondary room is entered through a doorway in the wall opposite the entrance, while in the third a secondary room is entered through a doorway in one of the side walls, generally the right as one enters. All these three types can be paralleled by tombs of equal, or greater antiquity in Egypt. Persson has stated that he believes that the Egyptian parallels indicate that the new ideas were brought to the Aegaeon region from Egypt. This is perhaps a trifle naive, for it does not follow, as Wainwright has often pointed out, that because a thing is found in any given land, it originated there. Many new ideas appeared in Egypt, for example, at the time of the First Intermediate Period, but they could not be called Egyptian, in origin, for that was a time when Egypt saw extraordinarily diverse changes in handicrafts and in methods of expression contemporaneously, so it is usually believed, with considerable immigration of Asiatics. Egypt was, as a matter of fact, entered so often by people and ideas from Asia, so the archaeological material indicates, that it is quite impossible to describe more than a comparatively limited range of material as being of characteristically Egyptian source. The alleged Egyptian prototypes of funerary architecture found in the Aegaeon during the XVIth Century might quite easily prove to be of originally Asiatic design or inspiration. This is all the more likely in view of the fact that there is very little in the Aegaeon at this time which would support the theory that anything so revolutionary as a change in funerary custom was brought thither from Egypt. If this had happened there should surely be much in the Aegaeon to recall Egyptian methods and ways, for it would be incredible that so considerable a change should have occurred isolated. Yet Persson can only quote rare objects, such as a single mummified head from Mycenae, to illustrate parallels with Egyptian practices. It is perhaps a little doubtful if his supporting evidence can be taken seriously, for it is of types which are distinctly uncommon in the west, and it remains reasonable to confine oneself to the opinion that while much in funerary architecture from about 1600 in the Aegaeon undoubtedly appears to be of quite new types, it is not possible to define the source from which these new ideas came more precisely than to say that it may have been in the east.²⁹

Before the close of the XVIth Century a new type of architecture appeared on the mainland of Greece, the Tholos.³⁰ This is not a type of architecture which is in the least likely to have been evolved independently in two or more areas, for it is far from being an obvious method of building, and requires considerable skill and experience. In Greece it was practised for the very limited period of about two centuries. It may have been a method of building of Asiatic origin, and there may be reason to suppose that it dates from a remote period in the east, where it is, as a matter of fact, still practised in Syria and in eastern Persia. There was no antecedent for this style in the west, when it appeared before 1500 at Mycenae, and the foreign origin for it appears to be probable.³¹ A little later there appears, in the beautifully built tombs at Isopata in Crete, yet another style of funerary architecture to reveal parallels with eastern work, in this case with tombs at Ras Shamra in Syria.³² The evidence is not sufficient to show whether the Syrian or the Cretan tombs were the earlier.

Yet other new ideas can be shown to have come to the Aegean at the time of the XVIth Century, as for example in metal-working. Iron came into use, though only for a brief period, and somewhat rarely.³³ Gold granulation (catalogue on page 66) was another introduction, and so was the technique of inlaying one metal in another to produce decorative designs. The achievements in this latter technique, as illustrated by the daggers found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, recall those of the approximately contemporary inlaid technique from Egypt. As in that country, so in Greece also, no fore-runners to such work are known. Yet their technical virtuosity is amazing. These pieces could not possibly be even early examples of the technique. In view of this, there seems to be every likelihood that the Mycenae daggers represent an art which had had a long previous history, in which case they, or their makers, must have come from some area which is not yet archaeologically known.³⁴

The use of iron at this time is interesting. Iron as a mineral is supposed not to occur in Greece, (though it may occur in Laconia), and therefore it may be that the idea of its use was brought from some foreign land. Asia is often thought to have seen the first tentative efforts at iron-working, and examples of such efforts, possibly dating from as early as 1600, or even earlier, have been found in Azarbaijan, an area where iron ores occur.³⁵ Gold granulation had been practised as a technique since before 2000 in Asia, and had also appeared in Egypt at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, a period when a variety of ideas which seem to be of foreign, and probably Asiatic source, had come there.³⁶ This strange and difficult technique had also been practised in the Aegean area at about 2000, a time which may have witnessed the coming of Asiatic ideas to the west.³⁷

GOLD GRANULATION

Aegean	(Early Minoan III)	Mesara, Plate IV, 386.
Anatolia	(Troy III 'burnt city')	Ilios, fig.s 830-1, 841.
Aegean	(Knossos, c. 2000)	POM IV ii, p 423, fig 349.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	Dahchour 1894-5, Plate XII.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan)	Hersfeld Iran, Plate XXX.
Aegean	(Mallia, MMI a)	POM IV i, p 75, fig 48.
Syria	(found associated with torques and toggle pins)	Montet Byblos, Plate LXIII, 411, pp 127 ff. Byblos I, p 156, fig 146.
Egypt	(XVIth Century)	von Bissing, <i>Ein alt-Thebanischer Grabfund</i> , p 4, Plate III, 5.
Syria	(XVIth Century)	AJ XVIII, Plate XVI, 4.
Aegean	(XVIth Century)	AM XXXIV, p 271, Plate XIII, 27. Eph. 1889, Plate VII, 4 & 7.
	(L.H. II)	Dendra, pp 77 ff.
Mycenean	(Dendra) (Tiryns treasure)	Dendra RT, Plate XXV, 2. Deltion II Parartema, pp 14 ff, Plate I, fig 8. See also Karo in AM LV, pp 119 ff.
	(Mouliana) (Ialysoa)	Eph 1904, col. 50, fig 13. Annuario VI-VII, p 166, fig 94 (gold ring with inlay).
	(pendants in many places)	Amer Academy Rome I, pp 69 ff.
	(Enkomi)	Ex.s in C, pp 18-19.
Persia	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate V, 7.
Palestine	(end of the IIInd millennium)	Anc Gaza IV, Plate XIII.
Egypt	(Treasure of Tell Basta)	<i>Le Musée Egyptien</i> , II, Plate LIV.
Persia	(Shushinak deposit)	DEP VII, pp 61 ff, Plate XIV, 6 & 7. Hersfeld Iran, Plate XXX.
	(Sialk B)	ILN 16 March 1935, p 416, middle row, left.
Caucasus	(undated)	ARM, fig 422.
Aegean	(Geometric) (Orientalising)	Amer Academy Rome I, pp 73ff. Amer Academy Rome I, pp 74 ff.
Caucasus	('Scytho-Byzantine')	RAC III, Plate XIV, 27.

A variety of new kinds of arms and armour appear in the Aegaeon at the time of the XVIth Century. These include the chariot,³⁸ the socketed spear,³⁹ the 'hollow-based' type of arrow-head,⁴⁰ the cutting sword⁴¹ and possibly the composite bow.⁴² Chariots had long previously been in use in the east, where they had been drawn by animals guided by reins and, presumably, bits,⁴³ as shown on the Mycenaean stelae. Miss Lorimer has demonstrated the possibility that a heavy chariot was in use at the time of the Shaft Graves, showing that it had similar equipment to that which appears on chariots from Cyprus and Assyria in much later days,⁴⁴ equipment which may, perhaps, have been traditional in the east. The socketed spear, not previously known in the west, may possibly be dateable earlier in the east, for it appears at Trialeti in the Caucasus area,⁴⁵ apparently associated with painted pottery which might be of as early as about 2000.⁴⁶

If the socketed spear-head made of iron which was found by Woolley in Nubia is correctly dated to the time of the Twelfth Dynasty,⁴⁷ it would also suggest that this type of spear-head was of eastern invention,⁴⁸ while the fact that it is made of iron might be supposed to connect it with the general area of Caucasia, whence the practice of iron-working may have spread. It is, in this respect, interesting to observe that Wainwright has already pointed out that the shape of this Nubian spear head is to be seen also in the case of the spears carried by the model soldiers of a famous object of First Intermediate Period date. That was a time when, as has been said above, Asiatics may have found their way to Egypt. The evidence of architecture, to be discussed later (see pages 275ff) might indicate that some, at least of these migrants came south from the general area of Urartu.

Hollow-based arrow-heads of stone and obsidian have been found in undated contexts in Caucasia,⁴⁹ and, made in obsidian, in Azarbaijan,⁵⁰ where they can be dated to about 2000 or rather later. This type of object has also been found in Egypt, probably of a considerably earlier date.⁵¹ Such arrow-heads cannot be considered to be of Egyptian invention, despite the fact that the earliest examples known come from that land, since although they were very commonly made in early days, they later went almost entirely out of fashion. The only likely explanation of such appearance is that they were introduced from elsewhere. The examples from the Fayum were found more or less in association with grains of the wheat *Triticum vulgare*. This also subsequently disappeared from Egypt. It also was known in Azarbaijan, where it can be dated at about 2500, and examples have been found elsewhere in Asia, and in Greece, at an early date.⁵² This type of wheat may have been introduced to Egypt from the north. It could hardly have been a product of

Egypt, or even generally used there, since it subsequently vanished from use, after only a very short period. If it was, in fact, introduced from the north, those people who introduced it could have been those who introduced the style of arrow-head made with a hollow base, since this type may well have been of Caucasian invention.

The cutting type of sword is known at Mycenae at the time of the XVIth century, an example having been found in the Fifth Shaft Grave.⁵³ A contemporary example comes from Ras Shamra in Syria.⁵⁴ This type is, however, known earlier in the east, for one such sword was found in a tomb at Alaca in central Anatolia,⁵⁵ while another comes from Qau in Egypt, where it is dated to the First Intermediate Period.⁵⁶ The sword from Qau is of much the same shape as the swords which appear in the hands of the Shardana at Medinet Habu in Egypt at about 1200.⁵⁷ This is not altogether surprising, since both the Shardana, and the people who came to Egypt during the later centuries of the Third millennium may have come south from, or through, Caucasasia, according to a small amount of evidence which is discussed in this book. Except for the Middle Minoan I sword from Mallia in Crete,⁵⁸ and for an example carried by a Keftiu who appears in a fresco on the wall of the Tomb of Senmut⁵⁹ in Egypt (end of the Sixteenth Century), there seem to be no other swords of this type before the later part of the Thirteenth Century. At that time they appear in the hands of Shardana, and also in the Aegean, as for example in Chamber Tomb 2 at Dendra,⁶⁰ a tomb believed to date from about 1200, and in Tomb B at Mouliana,⁶¹ a tomb sometimes described as of 'sub-Minoan' date. This B Tomb at Mouliana is considered slightly to antedate Tomb A there. In Tomb A there were both cremated and inhumed burials, and a sword of iron.

The evidence may be held to suggest that the cutting shape of sword was invented in Asia. However, Miss Lorimer states that a variety of the cutting shape sword, that known as the Naue type II, 'undoubtedly originated'⁶² in central Europe. Considering how scanty the evidence is, this remark would not carry conviction at any time. But it is, in any case, misleading. The active civilisations which were growing up in eastern Europe at this time are so similar, in some of their characteristic goods, to what occurs in certain western Asiatic civilisations (such as torques, racquet pins, spiral ornaments), that when an object appears characteristic of Europe, that does not deny, and may even imply that it is of originally eastern source. For all that can be known at present, the Naue type II sword may be earlier in Europe than in the Mediterranean world. But that is far from meaning that that shape of sword is of European origin.

When the cutting shape of sword began to be commonly made, an

event which appears dateable to about 1200, it had apparently already come to be made in iron, for the example from the Delta in Egypt, which is made of iron, is so dated. Iron examples, unfortunately undated, have been found in Cyprus and elsewhere. This connection of the shape with iron may be significant, in view of the connection of iron with the general area of Caucasia.

It has been suggested, though without very good authority, that the composite bow is represented in the Aegean area at about the time of the Sixteenth Century.⁶³ This type of bow, which Miss Lorimer has shown to be likely to be of Asiatic source, appears in Egypt during the Sixteenth Century.⁶⁴

New types of armour to appear in use within the Aegean area at the time of the Sixteenth Century include the crested helmet, the horned helmet and the round shield. The crested helmet was fitted with the crest in various ways. One way was to attach it to a curved strip, which may have been made of metal, which rose from the back of the helmet to curve forward. This type appears, as Miss Lorimer has shown, on a fragment which has now been lost from the silver rhyton which was found in the Fourth Shaft Grave.⁶⁵ This design of helmet appeared later in the Aegean area, at Kavousi in Crete in late Geometric days,⁶⁶ and elsewhere.⁶⁷ It was also a common type of helmet in Assyria early in the First Millennium,⁶⁸ and also appeared at Carchemish, possibly as early as the end of the Second Millennium.⁶⁹ If the type had been invented within the Aegean area, it might be thought difficult to understand how it was that it came to be popular in Assyria, many centuries later. On the other hand, if it had been invented in the east, and brought from thence to the west, its various appearances would be entirely in keeping with the possible implications of much other evidence.

Sometimes the crest was fixed to a helmet by attaching two equal lengths, one on each side of the point of a conical shaped helmet, direct, so it would seem, to the metal itself. The shape of helmet used in this style is precisely similar to the Villanova type of helmet of Italy,⁷⁰ perhaps a significant similarity, for the Villanova people may well have come to Italy from the east. The earliest example of this type in the Aegean area appears on the silver rhyton from the Fourth Shaft Grave.⁷¹ A similarly shaped helmet, with such a crest, is worn by the 'Custodian' of the Gate' at Boghaz Keui,⁷² presumably of before 1200. It also appears at Kavousi⁷³ and Knossos⁷⁴ in Crete, and on the Hunt shield from the Idaean Cave,⁷⁵ an object of strongly orientalising character.

Occasionally a plume was fixed in a knob surmounting the helmet. This style is dated to about 1400 in the Aegean area. It appears contemporaneously in the Lausitz region of south Germany.⁷⁶

A helmet with horns fixed in it appears to be illustrated on a fragment of faience from the Third Shaft Grave.⁷⁷ Helmets with horns are not rare in Cyprus during Mycenaean days, and they occur contemporaneously in the Aegean area. The Shardana wore helmets with horns at about 1200.

The earliest examples of the round shield found in the Aegean area are supposed to be those which appear to be drawn on the Phaistos Disc.⁷⁸ At the time of the Thirteenth Century the round shield appears in Syria, and a century later in Egypt, used by the Shardana and Pulesati people in their attacks on that land. It also appears in the Aegean area and in Cyprus at about the same time. Early in the First Millennium the shape was commonly in use in Urartu and in Assyria.⁷⁹

It might be possible to consider one point about the evidence referred to above as being significant. This is that the types of weapons and armour mentioned come to the west at the same time, the Sixteenth Century, and are all known in the same area outside the Aegean region, namely Caucasasia-Eastern Anatolia-Syria. Further, some of them are earlier in the east than in the west. It can be argued, therefore, that the evidence of these objects is parallel to that of the ceramics which have been discussed above, and suggests precise conclusions as regards the movements of ideas from east to west. There is further material available whereby similar conclusions can be formed.

The XVIth century saw the introduction of some particular types of jewellery to the west. One of these is the signet ring, the characteristic shape of which, in the Aegean area, is made with its bezel at right angles to the hoop.⁸⁰ There are also two special shapes of bead, the segmented bead, and the multi-tubular bead with a flat back.

The signet ring is a heavy version of the shape of ring which had already appeared in Egypt at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, though those rings in Egypt were much thinner, and were ornamented in relief,⁸¹ not in intaglio, and were consequently more probably designed for ornament than for use for sealing. One of those Egyptian rings is decorated in the granulation technique (catalogue on page 66), a manner of work which may have been of Asiatic invention. The other bears an ivy leaf design in filigree. A similar design appears also on the bowl of a spoon from Dendra,⁸² which has been dated to Late Helladic II. Such spoons, decorated and otherwise, are very rare at all times in the Aegean area. They are, however, known in Cyprus,⁸³ a fact which might suggest that they are more likely to be of eastern than of western source.

The segmented type of bead has been discussed by Beck,⁸⁴ an authority who considered that it was of eastern source, and who observed that the folk who disseminated this type as far as Britain may have started on their travels in the general area of the eastern Mediterranean. This type of bead had been found in many parts of the Near East, where it was known from a very remote date.

The multi-tubular type of bead which has a flat back⁸⁵ appears not only during the Sixteenth Century at Mycenae, but also at about the same time, or possibly even earlier, in Azarbaijan. It also appears at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt. There can be little doubt that this type of bead is of eastern origin.⁸⁶

In a consideration of the figurines of birds which appear on the Dove cup from the IVth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, and on the miniature shrines from the IIIrd and IVth Shaft Graves there, Miss Lorimer has suggested comparisons with bird figurines which appear on IIIrd millennium pottery in Cyprus. She is of the opinion that 'the presence of the doves suggest the eastern end of the Mediterranean as the quarter whence the type of the Shaft Grave figures is derived'.⁸⁷ If such a conclusion can be accepted it would clearly support the view expressed in this book concerning the implications of much of the XVIth century material from the Aegaeon.

At the time of the XVIth century a particular variety of triglyph design appears at Mycenae and in Crete.⁸⁸ There is also an example of LM II. date,⁸⁹ and another occasion of its use appears in the case of the gold ring from the Tiryns treasure, the oriental parallels of which have been discussed by V. Muller.⁹⁰ This motif may be of eastern source, for it appears on an 'archaic' seal from Susa.⁹¹

* * *

The material which has been discussed up to the present has been used to suggest that there had been migrations from Asia to various archaeologically known parts of the Near East. One of these migrations occurred, so it has been proposed, at about 1600. There is a considerable amount of additional evidence with which one can support such a theory of east to west migration.

One piece of evidence which seems to suggest that migrations brought people from the east to the Aegaeon area, both at the time of the Sixteenth Century, and at other periods, is that provided by the history of the askos shape of vessel. The askos is a type of receptacle which can be 'plain', that is, more or less in the form of a bag, or shaped like an animal, fish, bird or human.

The plain variety of the askos was often made in the Aegaeon area during the earlier part of the Bronze Age. But this does not mean that it can be considered to be of Aegaeon invention. It can be seen from the catalogue (on page 72) that this shape went out of use after about 2000 almost completely, to be revived at the time of the Sixteenth Century, when it suddenly became comparatively common in the west. Elsewhere in the Near East, as for example in Egypt and in Cyprus, the plain variety of the askos shape was in use at the time of the Third Millennium, though it was uncommon after about 2000. At the time of the beginning of the Iron Age this shape of vessel again became commonly used, not only in the west, but in all parts of the Near East. Clearly the appearance, disappearance and re-appearance of the popularity of the askos shape is marked, and it may be doubted if such a very 'uneven' history can be explained as a normal proceeding. The shape might well have been introduced to Greece, Egypt and elsewhere from some source by a series of migrating peoples. It could, however, hardly be of origin in any of the various parts of the Near East which are already well known to archaeologists. It may possibly be equally unlikely that so unusual a shape was invented independently in two or more lands, especially when its appearances are contemporary therein.

THE PLAIN VARIETY OF THE ASKOS

Egypt	(Predynastic)	Nagada, Plate XXXVI, no 85.
Anatolia	(Early Bronze Age)	Jb XXII, pp 207 ff.
	(Troy II)	Illos, fig 160.
	(Troy II-V)	SS, p 63, no 1481.
	(Troy III, 'burnt city')	Illos, pp 375 ff.
Armenia	(undated)	Arm II ii, p 566.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	SCE I, Plate CII, 1.

Aegean	(Early Bronze Age)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i Zyg, fig.s 82-3; Plate XII 2. ii Cl R, I, p 116, fig 94. iii Phylakopi, Plate IV, 6.; fig 74. iv Deltion 1918, p 145, fig 6, 23. v Graef, Plate I, 7. vi Pre Mac, p 173, no.s 191-2.
	(E.H. III)	Fimmen, fig.s 127-8.
	(M.H.)	Prosymna, fig 62, no 560.
	(M.M. I)	POM IV i, p 79, fig 49 a.
	(XVIIIth Century)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i Pernier I, p 281, fig.s 163-4. ii Hesp Supp VIII, Plate VII, 2. iii Phylakopi, fig.s 108-9. iv POM IV i, p 293, fig 228. v JHS XXIII, p 257, fig 31. vi W Mycenae, Plate 70 a. vii Karo S, Plate CLXXIII, 944.
	(L.M./H. II)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i BSA XVII, p 15, fig 2, 96. ii Unpub Palai, p 58, fig 45.
Cyprus	(IIInd millennium)	CVA BM i, GB Plate 5, 33.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	el Amrah, Plate L (Tomb D 11).
Mycenean	(Egypt)	IKG, Plate XX, 9.
	(Rhodes)	Cl R, X, fig 85, 2.
	(Attica)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i MV, Plate XVIII, 127. ii BSA XLII, pp 52-3.
	(Mycenae)	ILN 1st Nov 1952, p 721, fig 22.
	(Zygouries)	Zyg, fig 169
	(Delphi)	Delphes V, p 11, fig.s 37-8.
	(Crete)	Gournia, Plate X, 16.
Syria	(Early Iron Age)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i Cim a crem, p 67, fig 85. ii LAAA XXVI, Plate XXIV, J 5.
Luristan		Godard bronzes, Plate LXVI.
Palestine		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i OIP XXVI, Plate 38, 3015. ii Megiddo I, Plate 5, 117.
Cyprus		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i CVA GB ii, GB Plate 53, no.s 4, 7, 11. ii SCE IV ii, fig VII 3).
Crete	(Early Iron Age)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i Vrokastro, p 152, fig 92, bottom right. ii AJA 1901, Plate I.
Anatolia	(‘Phrygian’).	TAH 1930-32 ii, Plate IX, a 132.
Italy	(First Millennium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i CVA Denmark iv, Denmark Plate 188, 9. ii CVA BM vii, GB Plate 435, 12. iii BMC I ii, Plate XII, H 238; p 224, fig 361.

One variety of askos is of a form which is intermediate between the plain purely ceramic type, and the vessel made in imitation of the form of an animal. This variety is illustrated by a vessel from el Amrah in Egypt,⁹² of XVIIIth Dynasty date. It is of black clay, and is of ceramic shape save for the snout of a hedgehog which appears modelled below the spout.⁹³ It is ornamented with rather conventionalised floral tendrils modelled in relief. These tendrils are similar to those appearing in relief on a Persian Sassanian silver dish.⁹⁴ Another parallel to the floral end of these tendrils appears painted on a granary class vessel from Mycenae.⁹⁵ The askos from Egypt was found in a grave with a kohl-pot decorated with a running spiral (catalogue on page 234), and an alabaster jug of the shape of the Base Ring ware jugs, a type which began to be made in many parts of the Near East during the XVIth Century, and which may have been introduced by migrants from more northerly lands. The askos is so unusual that it is probably of foreign manufacture, though as nothing like it is known elsewhere, it could hardly have come from Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, Anatolia or the Aegean, the ceramic styles of which are by now fairly well known. Maybe it is north-west Persian in source, for the makers of Base Ring ware might have come from somewhere in that direction, and the running spiral was known at an early date in the Caucasian region.⁹⁶

Possibly related to the plain askos is the vessel made for containing liquids but in the shape of an animal, bird, fish or human. This shape, like the plain variety of askos, is common in the Aegean and elsewhere in the Near East during the IIIrd Millennium, and again during the IIrd Millennium and at the time of the XVIth Century. During the XVIIIth Dynasty this variety becomes very well known at some sites in Egypt, such as el Amrah, from which come a great number of little scent bottles in human and animal form,⁹⁷ similar in several respects to the 'scent receptacles' so common in the Aegean and Italy during Orientalising days. Animal shaped vessels appear also in Crete at the time of the XVIth Century, and Evans considered that they, and their predecessors of Middle Minoan I date, took their origin from oriental inspiration, quoting possible prototypes in the east.⁹⁸ It is remarkable that very similar animal shaped vessels are not uncommon in the Caucasian area, though their date is not known.

VASE IN ANIMAL, BIRD OR FISH FORM

(Discussed by M. A. Murray in *Historical Studies*, pp 40 ff).

Egypt	(Predynastic)	i	Dios P, Plate XIV, 67.
		ii	E.B. Knobel and others, <i>Historical Studies</i> , Plate XXIII, 19-26.
	(Early Dynastic)	i	J.E. Quibell, <i>Hierakonpolis I</i> , Plate XX, 2 and 4.
		ii	Abusir el Melek, Plates 16, 24 and 57.
Aegean	(Early Cycladic)		Phylakopi, Plate IV, 7.
	(Early Minoan I-II)		Mesara, Plate II, 4121 and 4126.
	(Early Helladic II)		Eutresis, Plate VII, 1.
	(Early Helladic)		Zyg, p 81, no 1.
Anatolia	(Troy III)		Ilios, fig.s 339-340.
Persia	(Third millennium)		DEP VII, fig.s 10-14.
	(Hissar III)		EX.s in TH, Plate XLVI, H. 2785.
	(Susa II)		DEP XIII, Plate XXXVIII.
	(Shah Tepe)		Arne, Plate LXIX, fig 538.
Syria	(Later Third millennium)		Byblos, no.s 4552 ff.
Mesopotamia	(Later Third millennium, Tell Asmar)	i	OIC 19, fig 24.
		ii	ILN 15 July 1933, p 97, fig 4.
Egypt	(Twelfth Dynasty)		Murray, in <i>Historical Studies</i> , pp 42-3, no.s 15-18.
	(Early Second millennium)		Hyksos and Is cities, Plate VIII A, 59-63.
Aegean	(Early Second millennium)	i	Eutresis, Plate XII, 1.
		ii	PCM I, fig 107.
		iii	Mesara, Plate VII, 5052-3; Plate LI, 6868 and 6869.
		iv	Mochlos, fig 28, XI, 14.
Anatolia	(c. 1800)		ILN 6 Oct 1951, p 546, bottom.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i	Karo S, Plate CXV.
		ii	<i>Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i> III, p 23, fig 7, Plate IX.
Anatolia	(Undated)		Reich und Kultur der Ch, 52ff and Plate V.
Cyprus	(Base Ring ware)	i	CVA, BM i, GB Plate 9.
		ii	BMC I ii, fig 53.
	(Painted ware)		CVA, BM i, GB Plate 5, 23 and 25.
Syria	(Atchana)		ILN 17 Sept 1938, p 504 fig 11.

Mycenaean	(Mycenae) (Syria)	Arch 82, Plate XXIII, 1 and 14. Ug II, Plate XXXVII.
Caucasia	(Undated)	i Materials C, VIII, Plate XLII, 14 ii Morgan Mission IV, fig 125, 1. iii SC, fig 235.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	i SCE IV ii, Fig VII. ii SC, fig 216, 35.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XXI, 3.
Syria	(1050-1000)	Megiddo I, Plate VIII, 180.
Aegean	(Rhodes) (Attic Geometric)	CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 486, 1 & 2. Deltion Parartema 1927-8, p 3, fig 27.
Central Europe		i Déchelette II, p 388, fig 155. ii Zimmer Plate IV, 1.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	NC, pp 170 ff.

There is a variety of Rhyton which is made in the shape of a vertical funnel or horn terminating in the representation of the forepart of an animal. This variety, which appears to be known in several parts of western Asia, is stated to be of Eighteenth Dynasty date in Palestine. It appears to be possible that the distribution known at the present of this variety could support the hypothesis of a source in the general area of Caucasia.

RHYTON TERMINATING IN THE FOREPART OF AN ANIMAL OR BIRD

(Discussed by Von Bisping in AA 1923-4, col.s 106 ff.)

Egypt		i W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Qurneh</i> , Plate XXV & p 7. ii Hyksos and Is cities, Plate XXXVII A.
Anatolia	(‘Post-Hittite’)	AA LV, col.s 577-9 and fig 15.
Syria		LAAA VII, Plate 27, 15 and 17.
Armenia		AA 1923-4, col.s 106 ff.
Aegean	(Mycenaean)	Jb XXVI, 249 ff.
Anatolia	(‘Phrygian’, from Marash)	LAAA X, Plate 68.
South Russia	(Kul Olba)	Minns, p 197, ABC XXII, 7.

Persia	(Achaemenid Period)	Contenau Manuel III, p 1448, fig 879.
	(Sassanian Period)	ILN 19 Aug 1933, p 289, fig 14.
Italy	(Orvieto)	Montelius Civ Prim II i, Plate 244, 4.

VASE IN THE FORM OF A HUMAN

Aegean	(E.M. III)	Mochlos, p 64, XIII g, fig 34.
Egypt	(XIth Dynasty)	Denderah, Plate XXI.
	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i Balabish, Plate XX.
		ii Sedment II, Plate XLVIII, 25.
	(XVIII-XIXth Dynasty)	Murray in <i>Historical Studies</i> , pp 40 ff.
Aegean	(Later Second millennium)	POM II, pp 255 ff.
Syria	(Later Second millennium)	POM II, pp 255 ff.
Egypt	(XIXth Dynasty)	PMJ I (1910), pp 42 ff.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	NC, pp 170 ff.

There is a piece of evidence which may, perhaps, point toward a definite source for those people, who, according to the theory put forward here, migrated to the Aegean and elsewhere at the time of the Sixteenth Century. This is the evidence provided by the Phaestos Disc.

The Phaestos disc is supposed to date from about 1600, and is usually considered to have been either an importation to Crete, or made by a stranger in that land, since nothing else like it has been found there. If so, presumably it or its maker came from the east, the home of several early systems of writing. Its source is often put, somewhat vaguely, as Anatolia. On it there appear illustrations of a round shield and of a human head with a crest, like the crest of a helmet, or perhaps like the head-dress of the Prst⁹⁹ and Dkkr¹⁰⁰ people who were engaged in the attacks on Egypt at the time of Ramesses III, during the latest part of the IInd Millennium.

The Prst people then came to Egypt both by sea and overland, being illustrated at Medinet Habu with ox-drawn carts. The Prst people are usually equated with the Philistines, and besides their head-dresses, made of feathers,¹⁰¹ they had lances, cutting swords and round shields. People with such armament appear on the sculptured reliefs of the eastern-Anatolian and north-Syrian area,¹⁰² and these might be of as early as the time of Ramesses III. The same area is included in, or is a neighbour of, the area of Cappadocia, and the name of Cappadocia is that which, as Wainwright has pointed out, was used by the Septuagint for Caphtor,¹⁰³ the home of the Philistines.¹⁰⁴ The pottery which comes into use in Syria and Palestine at the time when the Prst were active is decorated with designs in polychrome, and sometimes includes pictures of birds (see page 176). Both these elements had been found in Azarbaijan, where they are dated to a much earlier period and whence they may have spread to other parts of the Near East, and it is possible that they can be believed to be of Caucasian source, whenever they appear.¹⁰⁵ Thus there is a possibility that, if the head shown on the Phaestos disc is wearing a feather head-dress, that disc might be connected with eastern Anatolia, or Caucasia. It is also possible that the Philistine people came from the same area. There is, as a matter of fact, more evidence than can be conveniently discussed here, to suggest the same conclusion (see pages 177 ff). If it be a tenable theory, it would imply that Caphtor, or Kaptara,¹⁰⁶ as it is given in the late Assyrian inscription discussed by Sidney Smith which says that it was 'beyond the Upper Sea', might be located north of the Caspian Sea, or north of the neighbouring Lake of Urmia. It is in this latter area, of Azarbaijan, that there have been found parallels to many things found for the first time during the XVIth Century in the west, such as iron, hollow-based arrow heads and multi-tubular beads.¹⁰⁷

Miss Lorimer is of the opinion that the crest shown on the picture of a human head on the Phaestos disc is more like the crest of a helmet than like the feather head-dress worn by some of the invaders of Egypt at about the end of the XIIIth century. She has stated that it is fairly certain that the idea of the ridge crest of a helmet is 'of Anatolian origin'¹⁰⁸ though she adds that the earliest datable examples are those worn by the Urartians who appear in the reliefs of the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III (about 850 B.C.). Urartu is, from the geographic point of view, not truly in Anatolia, but in the mountainous region to the east of the Anatolian plateau, a region which could reasonably be described, so far as evidence available indicates, as being archaeologically related to Caucasia. It is by no means improbable, if the evidence at present available can be relied on, that the principle of adorning a helmet with a ridge

crest is of Caucasian (including Urartian) source, since it is both thought to be of eastern source and is known in that area. Thus whether the crest illustrated on the Phaestos disc be supposed to represent a feather head-dress, or a crested helmet, the conclusion from this particular piece of evidence could be the same, namely that the source of the Phaestos disc may be in the region to the south or south-west of the Caucasus mountains. The fact that the round shield, a type supposed to be shown on the disc,¹⁰⁹ is also found in Urartu land,¹¹⁰ would support such a theory.

Further oriental influence at about 1600 may be indicated by a detail found in a most remarkable object, the gaming board from Knossos. Gaming boards are not uncommon in the east, but very rare in the west.

A filigree-like design formed by a wavy line making large loops occurs on the Knossos gaming-board, which is attributed to about 1600.¹¹¹ This design does, in fact, occur in filigree metal work elsewhere, as for example in Mesopotamia and in Egypt during the latter part of the Third Millennium. It also appears, during the earlier part of the Second Millennium, in Syria, and, much later, in Persia, in the A Cemetery at Sialk, in which grey bucchero pottery was common. (The possible significance of grey bucchero pottery is discussed elsewhere, especially on pages 188 - 189. It also appears in Etruscan work in Italy.¹¹² In the opinion of Dr. Karo, the employment of the wavy thread in this filigree work can be related to that of the wavy upper part of certain fibulae, of which several examples, catalogued below, have been found in Caucasia. It may, perhaps, be suggested that the wavy thread, both in filigree and in fibulae, may be of eastern origin. Perhaps, therefore, the filigree-like wavy line on the draught-board from Knossos may suggest oriental inspiration.

OPENWORK FILIGREE IN THE FORM OF LOOPS ALTERNATELY TO RIGHT AND LEFT

Mesopotamia	(Ur)	RC, Plate 138, U 11806.
	(Tell Ammar)	ILN 15 July 1933, Colour Plate.
Egypt	(Ist Intermediate Period)	Dios P, Plate XXV, D 7 (Axe-head).
Syria	(Early IInd millennium)	Montet Byblos, Plate LXIII, 413-5.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	POM I, Plate V (Gaming board).
Persia	(XIVth century ?)	Sialk II, Plate V, 7.
Italy	(Etruscan)	SE VIII, p 56.

FIBULA WITH WAVY UPPER PART

Caucasia		i	RAC II, Plate XXII bis, no 7.
		ii	MAGW 1891, p 69, fig 98.
		iii	Yessen, fig 32, 1.
		iv	<i>Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov</i> , article by A. Kalitinsky, Plate VIII, 33 and 34.
Europe	(Julian Alps)		Marchesetti, <i>Necropoli di Santa Lucia</i> , in <i>Boll adriatica</i> 1893, Plate 29, 2.
Aegaeun	(Phaestos)		Mon Ant XII, col 105, fig 38 (Blinkenberg I, 13 a).
Europe	(Hungary)		Dis Pann Ser II, 9, Plate XXXV, 8.

A VARIANT OF THE TYPE OF FIBULA MENTIONED ABOVE HAS THE LOOPS IN A SERIES OF FIGURES OF EIGHT

Aegaeun	(Cephallenia)		Deltion 1919, p 118, fig 33.
Italy		i	VEE, Plate 19, 13.
		ii	Pinza and Nogara, fig 110 (p 161).
Europe			Much, Plate XXXV, 20.
			PPS 1948, Plate XVII B.
	(Hallstatt A)		

Composite figures, such as human bodies with bird heads, are by no means uncommon in antiquity, first appearing in the Aegaeun at the time of the XVIth Century. There is a wide variety illustrated on the sealings from Zakro,¹¹³ which reveal a general similarity with Greek composite figures of a later date, such as the hippalec-tryon.¹¹⁴ This, as Dr. Roes has pointed out, may be connected with the grylli, and with the seal impressions which Woolley found at Ur.¹¹⁵ In her view such composite figures may be of Persian origin, a source which would be appropriate, geographically speaking, for their appearances in Scythia, southern Mesopotamia, the Aegaeun and Sardinia.

Certainly they seem to be more probably of Asiatic than of European source. Also Asiatic, and perhaps also of Persian source might be the idea of representing a double-headed animal, a single body with a head at each end, these usually facing outwards (catalogue on page 81). Such a shape appears, used for an amulet, or sometimes as the handle of a stamp-seal, at an early date in the Near East, and was quite commonly used by the people who migrated (so it is believed by some) to Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period. At the same time as that period there developed the Early Minoan III period in Crete, and this shape of object appears then in the Aegean. The Early Minoan III period was an epoch when new kinds of pottery and other things appear in the west, and it might be that these introductions can be traced to an oriental source.¹¹⁶ The double-headed animal shape subsequently disappears from the Aegean but re-appears there at the time of the XVIth Century

THE DOUBLE-HEADED ANIMAL

(Discussed by V. Müller, *OLZ* XXVIII, col. s 785 ff., and by A. Roes, *Greek geometric art*, pp 93 ff.)

Egypt	(Predynastic)	PSBA, 1900, p 160.
Mesopotamia	(IIIrd Millennium)	i ILN 19 May 1934, p 778. ii Iraq IX, Plate XV. iii Cylindres Louvre, Plate I, 6 b. LAAA XVIII, Plate XXV, 22-3. Gawra, Plate XIII. b.1.
	(Nineveh, at A.27)	
	(Tepe Gawra)	
Persia	(Hissar III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate CXXXIII, pp 488-9.
Egypt	(Vth Dynasty)	Deshasheh, Plate XXVI, 26.
	(VIth Dynasty)	Amulets, Plate XXXIX, 220, a, b.
	(VIIIth Dynasty)	Qau II, Plate XCV, 17.
	(Ist Intermediate Period)	Buttons, Plate I.o. ; Plate IV 235 ff.
Syria	(Byblos level XXVI)	Byblos, Plate LXXXI.
Aegean	(Early Minoan III)	Deltion IV Parartema, p 22, fig 8.
Aegean	(XVIth Century)	JHS XXII, p 82, no 49 (fig 14).
Mycenean	(Eleusis)	Roes GGA, p 119.
Egypt	(1350)	Amarna, Plate XVII, 306.
Persia	(c. 1200)	DEP VII, Plate XXI, 4, a.
	(Luristan)	ILN 6 Sept 1930, p 389, fig 9

Egypt	(XXII-XXVth Dynasties)		Matmar, Plate LXI, 11.
Italy	(Iron Age)	i	Pinza and Nogara I, Plate 3.
		ii	Dohan Italic group, Plate XXI, 29.
Aegean	(Olympia)		Olympia IV, Plate XXV, 477.
Egypt	(XXVIIth Dynasty)		Amulets, Plate XXXIX, 220, c.
Aegean	(Camiro)		Catalogue of Bronzes in the BM, no.s 161-171.
Caucasia	(undated)	i	Roes GGA, p 118.
		ii	ESA IX, fig 30.
Persia	(Achaemenid Period)		Herfeld Iran, Plate XLV.
	(Parthian period)		Anatolian studies presented by Sir William Ramsay, pp 442 ff.

The Early Minoan III period was a time when the light-on-dark pottery style was introduced to the Aegean. This ware has been connected with more or less similarly decorated pottery discovered in Azarbaijan and in eastern Anatolia, its arrival in the west being attributed to migration from those parts of the east.¹¹⁷ The contemporary introduction to the west of the type of ivory seal made in the form of an animal lying down may well have been due also to such a migration, which, if it really did occur, would have been the not unexpected east-to-west counterpart of that southerly movement which is thought to have brought Asiatics to Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period there, for similar objects occur also there at that time.

SEAL (OR AMULET) IN THE FORM OF A COUCHANT ANIMAL

Mesopotamia		i	Cylindres... Louvre I, Plate II, 1-7.
		ii	Kleinfunde, Plates 9-13.
	(Late IIIrd Millennium)	i	ILN 9 June 1934, p 919.
		ii	Iraq IX, Plate XII, 3 & 4.
Aegean	(Early Minoan III)		POM I, fig 87, 2.
Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)		Mostagedda, Plate LX, 35.
Persia	(Susa)		DEP VII, Plate XXI, 3.
Egypt	(Buhen: XIIth Dynasty)		Buhen, Plate 89, 10874.

Caucasia	(undated)	IRAC 1896, 141, 497.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i JHS LXVIII, Plates VIII-IX. ii ILN 14 Jan 1933, p 45, fig 6.
Mesopotamia	(c. 700)	ILN 4 August 1951, p 195, fig 31.

Another introduction to the Aegean at the time of the Early Minoan III period was that of the Vaphio cup shape (catalogue on page 84). This shape is found in Persia and Egypt during the IIIrd Millennium, and at about 1900 in Syria. It seems not to have been common in Asia or Egypt, but was popular in the Aegean until the time of the XVth Century, soon after which its manufacture was discontinued. Its first appearance in the west may have been due to the coming of people from some part of Asia, if the migration suggested above really happened. The Vaphio cup shape was one of the very few ceramic shapes which was both made before, and continued to be made, after, about 1600 in the Aegean area, a date when there were many changes there, resulting in a considerable degree of discontinuity with the preceding period in every way. The fact that the Vaphio cup shape continued to be made after that date may, perhaps, be explicable as follows. The changes and new introductions at about 1600 in the west may have been due, as has been suggested already in these pages, to the coming of people from the east. Since the Vaphio cup shape had long been known in the east, and might well have been of eastern source, it could be, perhaps, that such people were already accustomed in their homes in the east to manufacture pottery vessels of this shape, which might have been traditional in some parts of Asia. The apparent continuity of use of this shape in the Aegean after 1600 would not therefore be so strange as might appear at first glance. The source, at the time of the XVIth Century, of the Vaphio cup shape is doubtless a matter about which no certainty can be reached, but the possibility that it was then re-introduced from the east to the west is important, since this shape is one of those represented in Egypt, in a tomb of about 1500,¹¹⁸ in the hand of a Keftiu. This fact caused trouble to Wainwright when he was attempting to show that the home of the Keftiu people was in the general area of eastern Anatolia, since he thought of the shape as being characteristically of Aegean type. But if it is as much an Asiatic shape as an Aegean one, the fact that an example

is shown being carried by a Keftiuan is in no way an obstacle to his theory. Many of the objects carried by Keftiuan people, as illustrated on Egyptian tomb walls, seem to be, as Wainwright has shown, more closely paralleled in Asia than in the Aegean, though of only one can anything conclusive be urged regarding their sources. This is in the case of the most characteristic of all the Keftiuan shapes, the wide, and fairly flat bowl which is fitted with a foot, this being often a tiny, stalk-like and most unpractical addition.¹¹⁹ Nothing in the least like this type of vessel has yet been seen in the Aegean area. But shapes which may be related have been found in western Asia, both at Assur by Professor Andrae,¹²⁰ and in Cilicia by Garstang.¹²¹ Such evidence supports the view expressed by Wainwright that some, at least, of the people named Keftiu by the Egyptians were of Asiatic origin. Similar support seems to be offered by the history of the handle made in the shape of the head of a horned animal (see page 183) and of the cutting shape of sword (see page 68). If it be indeed correct to believe that the Keftiuan folk came from the east, some to migrate south to Egypt and others westwards to the Aegean, taking a particular set of ideas or types of objects with them, there must have been post-1600 B.C. migrations from Asia which would fit into the scheme of migrations which have already been proposed in this book on the basis of other evidence.

THE 'VAPHIO CUP' SHAPE

Egypt	(Predynastic)	El Amrah, Plate XV, c. 55.
	(Protodynastic)	i Abydos I, Plate X, 21. ii Sedment I, Plate I, 560, 3 and 6. iii Mahasna, Plate XI, K 1. iv Meydum, Plate XIX, 4.
	(Old Kingdom)	i Qau II, Plate LXXVI, 4. ii Mitt deut Ina Kairo III, p 97.
Aegean	(Late Neolithic)	Pre Mac, Plate VI, 16.
Persia	(Shah Tepe II b)	Arne, fig 368.
	(Hisar III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate CXV, II 873.
Palestine	(Tell Ay)	Syria XVI, Plate LVI, 21.
Aegean	(about 2000)	i Unpub Palai, Plate II h: fig 5, a and b. ii Mochlos, fig 50, no 88.
	(Early Minoan)	Mesara, Plate XXIII, 729 etc.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh</i> , Plate XXXIII, 23 etc.

Syria		Byblos, p 314, fig 253, Plate LXVI, 3.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	i POM I, fig 136, l and q. ii Mochlos, fig 32, XIII i. iii BMC I i, fig 100. iv Gournia, Plate II, 12.
	(Middle Minoan III)	i POM I, fig 434 a. ii BMC I i, fig 120.
	(XVIth century)	i Unpub Palai, fig 19. ii W Mycenae, Plate 92 c. iii POM I, fig 183, a.5. iv BMC I i, fig 133. v Phylakopi, Plate XXV, 10 and 12. vi Arch LXXXII, Plate XLI 35, and others. vii Karo S, Plate CXXIII, 866, and others.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i Cem Ab II, Plate XXXI, X 64. ii W.M.F. Petrie, Koptos, Plate XIV, 26. iii Sedment II, Plate LXI, 80.
Aegean	(Vaphio)	POM III, figs 124-7.
Egypt	(Tomb of Senmut, before 1500)	LAAA VI, pp 60-1.
	(Tomb of Menkheperresenb)	LAAA VI, pp 60-1.
Mycenean	(Ialysos)	i Annuario VI-VII, pp 52, 8. ii MV, Plate II, 11: Plate X, 63. XXXVIII. Unpub Palai, fig 77. Zyg, fig 130, 1.
	(Crete)	
	(Greece)	
Egypt	(XXth Dynasty)	LAAA VI, p 61.
Caucasia	(undated)	SC, fig 304, 2.

The XVIth century saw a very considerable increase in both the quantity and in the quality of representation of natural objects, and of scenes from daily life, treated realistically, a style which appears both in Egypt¹²² and in the Aegean area. The finest examples of such work appear to include the inlaid daggers from Mycenae, the Vaphio cups and the pottery of the Late Minoan I period, all of which are of about the XVIth century. The contemporary material from Egypt is less abundant, and the evidence available would suggest that the naturalistic style developed comparatively slowly in that land, reaching its highest development only by about 1400, by which time the manner of work of the XVIth century in the Aegean area had disappeared. This may, however, be due merely to the accident of

discovery - there may be as fine examples of the naturalistic style of the XVth century in Egypt yet to find as those known from the west.

By 1400 a particular manner of representing scenes from daily life had begun to appear in many lands. This appears in the charming scenes of animals playing happily among flowers (catalogue on page 86), which is of L.M. III a days in Crete, of the time of Tutankhamun in Egypt, and also occurs on seals of 'Middle Assyrian' times. There is no reason to suggest that the idea of that particular motif was of either Egyptian or Aegean source, though it might very well have been that the various appearances of the same manner in different lands were linked by reason of a common origin. The same seems to be true of the appearance of the naturalistic style in the XVth century in Egypt and the Aegean area when it is not, in fact, new,¹²³ but so rapidly developed as to suggest foreign inspiration rather than merely local development. A similar situation, though at a rather later date, can be traced in respect of the ornamental palmette which has volutes curving inward and outward (catalogue on page 87). This appears in Egypt from the XVth century, and also in Greece, eastern Mediterranean lands, and south Russia.

ANIMALS AMONG FLOWERS

Egypt	(Tomb of Tutankhamun)	i	ILN 20 Oct 1928, p 715.
		ii	JEA XXVII, Plate XX.
Aegean	('LM III a')		PCM IV ii, p 497, fig 436.
Egypt	(Seti Ist)		Montet reliques, p 7, fig 2.
	(XVIIIth-XIXth dynasties)		KGH, Plate XVIII, 31.
	(Ramesside Period)		G. Brunton Gurob, Plate XXV, 29.
Near East	('Middle Assyrian')		Cyl seals, Plate XXXI h.
			Dussaud, pp 288 ff, fig 207.

PALMETTE WITH VOLUTES CURVING INWARD AND OUTWARD

Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i	Amarna, Plate XVIII, 375.
		ii	Yusa and Thuis, Plate LIV.
		iii	Boreux ii, Plate XLV.
		iv	Davies, AEP, I, Plate XXXIII.
		v	Rekh-mi-Re, Plate LXVIII.
	'Phoenician'		Dussaud phénicien, p 102, fig 64.
Syria	(c. 1500)		Contenau Manuel IV, p 2182, fig 1217.
Aegean	(Mycenae)		Dussaud phénicien, p 105, fig 67.
			(Coll Myc Ath. pp 133 ff).
Palestine		i	Ivories Sam, Plate XXI, 4.
		ii	Megiddo ivories, no 167.
		iii	Lachish II, Plate XIX, 16, 17.
South Russia			Kieseritsky 87, Plate IV.

The material discussed briefly above seems to suggest that the evident changes in art-styles and in other ways which can be traced in Egypt as well as in the Aegean world at the time of the XVth century may not be so much due to local development, as is usually stated, as to the inspiration of new-comers, spreading possibly from the general area of Caucasia, though it must be noted that the styles referred to are not yet known in that area. Such ethnic movements as would be indicated by such a view lie outside the scope of this book, and their study will not be pursued here. It is, for the purposes of the present work, only necessary to appreciate that there is evidence to make this view tenable, since iron was available to the people who dominated the Aegean world during the XVth century. For whatever may have been the inspiration of the Late Minoan and Late Helladic I culture, the factor of iron makes it impossible to separate the XVth century from the time when iron was in common use, the Iron Age, beginning at the end of the IInd Millennium.¹²⁴ What, in fact, is the connection between the peoples of those two epochs, several centuries apart, can only be studied after a fairly wide range of material has been collected. This is attempted in a later part of this book. First, however, there comes a short study of the political background of the early Iron Age History of the Near East, a matter which may have a considerable bearing on the development of early Greek civilisation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Az 1948, pp 87 ff.
2. POM I p 551, fig 402; pp 715-7, fig.s 537, 540
3. Examples of this type of bracelet occur in north Syria (LAAA VII, p 122, - Woolley calls it an anklet) and in the Kazbek Treasure from the Caucasus (BSA V, 1930, p 178).
4. A brief survey of introductions at that time is to be found in LAAA XXVIII, pp 8 ff.
5. Iraq I, pp 146 ff.
6. Such as alternate lines and rows of dots, and of a background covered with dots (Tell Halaf I, Plate XLVI, 5; Plate VI, 2; POM II, p 491, fig 296 B; POM IV, p 271, fig 201; POM IV, p 292, fig 227 C).
7. There is a single example of the tall "spindle shaped" vase so very common in Egypt, Syria and Cyprus at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, from Crete, where it is dated to the XVIth century (Gournia, Plate VIII, 25.). This extreme rarity does not suggest that the vase was brought to Crete in the way of "trade". Presumably the only other explanation of its appearance in the west is that it was the personal possession of some migrant from the east, either brought with him, or made locally in the eastern manner, a tradition foreign to the west, and not adopted there.

Another vessel of which there is a single example in the Aegean area of XVIth century date, but which is of a shape known elsewhere, is a skyphos. This vessel, from the First Shaft Grave (Karo S, Plate CLXVIII, 198) is similar in shape to Protogeometric vessels from the Aegean (compare Desborough, Plate 18, 1469). This re-appearance, in 1st millennium days, of an idea found in the XVIth century in the Aegean area, parallels what occurs in the case of the geometric meander motif see pages 32 ff.
8. Az 1948, pp 251-2.
9. Karo S, Plate CLXVII, 193. Gournia, Plate K.
10. This vessel is discussed by Wace in BSA XXVII, pp 259 ff.
11. Anc Gaza II, Plate XXVI, 937.
12. RC, Plate 266, 230, 232. There is also one from Ashur, Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo no. 16316.
13. SCE I, Plate CXIII, 13.
14. POM II ii, Supplementary Plate XXIV; POM III, pp 89 ff, and AJA II, pp 501 ff.
15. Nagada, Plate XVIII, 24 b, illustrates an example from Egypt of Predynastic date.
16. Catalogue on page 50. POM II, p 235, fig 129.
17. Qas I, Plate XIX.
18. POM II, fig 537 K.
19. POM II, fig 541 B.
20. POM I, fig 279 K. POM II ii, p 632, fig 396. Compare, however, Mochlos, fig 26, VII C, dated to NM I.
21. Az 1948, fig 32, 478.
22. Sedmeat II, Plate LIX, 8. Mykonos and Is cities, Plate XII A.
23. BMC I ii, fig 56.
24. Kerameikos IV, Plate 30, 2041.
25. The kylix appears late in the Mycenaean period with a conical shaped bowl (QDAP IV, Plate XVII, 280; SCE II, Plate XXIII, Amathus tomb 15; QDAP V, p 103, fig 9.). Another version of the kylix found during and after the Mycenaean period has a bowl with flat bottom and vertical sides, often adorned with horizontal ridges (UG II, fig 64, 5; POM IV, fig 960 i; Anc Gaza I, Plate XXV, 7-8; Gordion fig.s 40, 41; Handbook Cesnola no. 676; BMC I ii, Plate XIII, H 94.) This variety appears best known from the Syrian-Palestinian area, and from Italy, whither it came, maybe, from the east.
26. In this example the technique is enamel work. This technique is most rare at so early a date. Some of the earliest examples of enamel previously known were from Caucasia, and were usually dated to not before about 1000 (Arch LXII, p 8.).

27. Phylakopi, Plate XXV, 4-6; BSA XLVII, p 83.
28. Dendra, pp 166 ff.
29. Marinatos (BSA XLVI, pp 102 ff), has argued for considerable Egyptian influence at Mycenae.
30. BSA XXV, p 391.
31. BSA XXV, p 395.
32. POM IV, pp 770 ff.
33. Lorimer, pp 111 ff.
34. Little plaques of gold for attachment, like those found in the Shaft Graves (Bosseret AC, p 98, no 194) but representing a man riding a horse, have been found in Caucasia (ARM, fig 486). The same idea appears in the birds of gold foil from Dahshur of the XIIth Dynasty (Dahchour 1894-5, Plate XII).
35. Az 1948, pp 199 ff.
36. T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium history*, p 91, note 6.
37. Az 1948, pp 251 ff.
38. BSA XXV, Plate XX.
39. Karo S, Plate LXXII; 215.
40. Karo S, Plate CI; AN XXXIV, (1909), pp 269 ff.
41. Lorimer, p 263.
42. POM IV, pp 173-4.
43. RC, Plate 92.
44. Lorimer, pp 307 ff.
45. Trialeti, Plate CVI. There is another, undated, illustrated in RHA July 1931, Plate II, 2.
46. This matter is discussed by Hiss in *Antiquity* XVII, p 133.
47. Baben, Plate 88. See also Walwright in *Antiquity* X, pp 9 ff.
48. A socketed spear head was found in the Hissar III level at Tepe Hissar, a period possibly of the IIIrd millennium (PMJ XXIII, Plate CXIX, H 70). For the dating of the Hissar III period see LAAA XXVIII, pp 27 ff.
49. Morgan Mission IV, fig 76, 13.
50. Az 1948, fig 44, 16-17.
51. Bad civ, Plate XXIX. Other occurrences are listed in Az 1948, p 233, note 1.
52. Az 1948, pp 50-1.
53. Lorimer, p 263.
54. Syria 1936, p 141, fig 22 C.
55. PPS 1948, p 185, Plate XVIII B.
56. Qau I, Plates XXVIII & XLII.
57. Lorimer, pp 266-7. A sword of this shape as carried by the Shardana comes from Elisabetpol in Caucasia (RAC. I, fig 30.).
58. POM II pp 271 ff and fig 163.
59. BSA XVI, Plate XIV.
60. Dendra RT, p 103, no. 15.
61. Lorimer, pp 265-6.
62. Lorimer, p 264.
63. POM I, p 652, fig 483, no. 11; Lorimer, pp 278 ff; POM IV, pp 173-4.
64. Metro Mus Bull, The Egyptian expedition, 1921-22, pp 20-1. Miss Lorimer points out (loc cit: p 300) that archery only began to play a significant part in war in the Aegean area from the time of the late Geometric period, and that then there was a "preference for bows of a foreign type".

65. Lorimer, Plate XV, 1 & pp 215-6.
66. AJA 1901, p 148, fig 11. It occurs with representations of sphinxes (catalogue on page 246) and griffins (catalogue on page 246).
67. Lorimer, Plates II-X, and p 235. Lamb GRB, Plate XV c.
68. Andrae WA, Plate 2: Layard I, Plate 68.
69. Lorimer, Plate XVI, 2.
70. IAI, Plate 23, 7.: VEE, Plate 12, 7a, b. The latter helmet is, apart from the crest, of the same shape as a common Assyrian type.
71. Karo S, Plate CXXXI g.
72. Schafer and Andrae, *Kunst des alten Orients*, p 554.
73. AJA 1901, p 148, fig 11.
74. JHS LIII, p 291, fig 15.
75. Lorimer, Plate VIII, 1.
76. BSA XLVII, pp 256 ff. Helmets surmounted by a knob, but without a plume, appear in the Aegean area (Lorimer, pp 215-6) and in Italy (Lorimer, pp 215-6: VEE, Plate II, 15.).
77. Lorimer, p 224.
78. POM I, p 652, 12.
79. Lorimer, pp 146 ff, 173 ff.
80. POM III, pp 139 ff, and POM IV ii, pp 510 ff.
81. Dahchour, p 68, fig 144, (with granulation ornament), and fig 145, (with ornament of ivy-leaf pattern in filigree).
82. Dendra, fig 101. The ivy-leaf pattern also appears at Zakro.
83. Dendra, p 90.
84. POM II, pp 179-180. Arch LXXXV, Plate LXIX, fig 2, 9, and pp 222 ff. Beck explains that this type of head occurs at Nineveh and in Egypt during the IIIrd millennium, during the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty in Egypt and at about 1600 at Knossos. He also quotes Mycenaean examples from Cephallenia, Rhodes and Palestine. This type of head is also discussed in Az 1948, p 116, note 19.
85. Karo S, p 69, no 209, Plate CL.: Arch LXXXIII, fig 25, 5 b.: Az 1948, pp 118-9.
86. It may be possible that the device of attaching an animal figurine to the end of a pin which occurs in the Aegean area at the time of the XVIth century (Fourth Shaft Grave, Karo S, Plate XVIII, 245.) is to be connected with the similar style in Persia of earlier date (PMJ XXIII, Plate CXXXI, H 403.: SC, pp 447-8.). It also appears in Causasia (RAC II, Plate XX bis, 5.) and in Orientalising days in Greece (Olympia IV, Plate XIV, 474.). An undated object from the Aegean of this type is illustrated in Lamb GRB, p 17, fig 5.
E. Maessler has suggested (AfO XI, pp 238-40) that there may be a connection between the gold mouth-plates dating from the XIIth century and later in Palestine and Syria, and somewhat similar objects found in the Mycenaean Shaft Graves. Such a renewal, if indeed it occurred, as seems possible, of an idea after the lapse of a few centuries, to reappear at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age is by no means isolated, as will be shown later in this book. It is paralleled by, amongst other things, the use of iron.
Gold mouth-plates appear at the time of the late Mycenaean period in Cyprus (Marshall, Plate III.) and Rhodes (Reichel, pp 49-50.).
87. Lorimer, p 329.
88. POM IV, pp 222 ff.
89. POM IV, p 348, fig 291.
90. Jb. 1927, pp 1 ff.
91. Cylindres... Louvre I, Plate 18, 20.
92. el Amrah, Plate L, Tomb D II.

93. A sphinx in relief from Syria (Carchemish I, Plate B 14 a) has a lion's head on the chest, in the same position as the hedgehog's head on this vessel.
94. ILN 30 July 1938, p 208, middle row, left.
95. BSA XXV, Plate 6 b. Another parallel occurs on the rhyton in the form of a horse which is painted in polychrome and said to come from Azarbaijan (ILN 21 Aug 1948, p 215, bottom right.).
96. Trialeti, Plate 78.
97. el Amrah, Plates XLVI.D 116: XLVIII.: L.D 8 & D 11: LII. D 19 B. of "red glass".
98. POM II, pp 259 ff.
99. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, pp 200 ff.
100. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, p 199 f.
101. Feather headdresses have often been discussed. See, particularly, Jb. LV, pp 58 ff.
102. Carchemish I, Plates B 2 and B 5.
103. Wainwright in JHS LI, p 36.
104. P. Bork believes that the Philistines were "Caucasians" (AfO XIII, pp 226 ff.).
105. Az 1948, p 251.
106. S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p 89.
107. Az 1948, sections on the D and C Periods.
108. Lorimer, p 230.
109. POM I, p 662, no 12.
110. Lorimer, pp 178 ff.
111. POM I, Plate V.
112. Karo in SE VIII, pp 49 ff.
113. Hogarth in JHS XIII: POM I, p 707.
114. JHS LV, pp 232 ff. A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, pp 48 ff. RA 1934 (ii), p 148.
115. JHS LV, pp 232 ff.
116. T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium history*, pp 24 ff.
117. Az 1948, pp 251 ff.
118. BSA XVI, Plate XIV.
119. LAAA VI, Plate XIII, 88. This shape is curiously like one version of a phiale (see page 284) placed on a foot, which is often out of proportion.
120. Az 1948, Plate VIII.
121. J. Garatang *Prehistoric Nersin*, fig 142, 2. It may be possible that this shape is to be connected with one found in Italy, of early First Millennium date (Dohas Italic Groups, Plate XIV, 11: Plate XXIV, 1.). Contemporary material in Italy may be connected with the general area of Caucasia (see page 158).
122. This may be seen in the inlaid and incised weapons of the time (POM I, p 550, fig 402: pp 715-7, figs 537, 540.).
123. There had been traces of an interest in naturalistic representation in the drawings of birds on pottery, which can be seen both in Egypt and in the Aegean, at the time of the earlier part of the IIrd millennium. In each case it may be that this was due to "influence" (or possibly migration) from western Asia (T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, pp 106 ff.).
124. It is interesting, in this respect, to notice that the shape of a variety of crater found in Cyprus and belonging to an early part of the Iron Age there ("Plain white ware", SCE IV ii, Fig XI, 16.) had appeared in North Syria, as a new introduction there, not later than the XVIth century (ILN 2 Dec 1939, p 838, fig 6). It is a shape which also appears in Mycenaean days in Palestine (QDAP IV, p 37, 231: Plate XVI, 231) and may be related to the characteristic CRATER SHAPE OF "Philistine" pottery (QDAP V, fig 11, 2.).

CHAPTER III.

THE BACKGROUND OF EARLY IRON AGE HISTORY

Iron began to be available, though not very commonly, for tools and weapons in the Near East after about 1200, and it is perhaps reasonable to say that the Iron Age had by then entered upon its first stage in that region. The full Iron Age is usually believed to have begun during the XIth century.

The toughness and reliability of iron tools and weapons ensured that the metal was popular as soon as it became known. Its manufacture appears to have been evolved in some part of western Asia, possibly in Azarbaijan, whence the requisite knowledge, as well as the raw material, and finished objects also, may have been disseminated. Possibly this was done through the agency of traders visiting that area, as is often suggested. It is equally possible that it was due to the spreading of migrants from the area where iron was first manufactured, taking the knowledge with them. Which of these two is the more probable can only be decided when a reasonably complete picture of the whole period can be drawn.

The last two centuries of the IInd millennium saw the disappearance of the highly developed civilisations which had, up to then, been

flourishing in several lands in the Near East, including Egypt, the Aegean area and Anatolia. Their place was taken by other cultures, none of which seem to have been on the high level which had been maintained previously, and it would be far from the truth to suggest that the peoples who had been dominant earlier in the eastern Mediterranean area merely lost ground culturally. For they did, in fact, do much more. They almost faded out of sight, at least for a time. Such a deep change, simultaneous in several lands, is not very likely to have been due to purely local causes. Consequently, the presence of some major overriding factor may be suspected, a political event of such magnitude that it could affect a vast area. This would no doubt link up with the dissemination of the knowledge of iron. It might also link up with the rapid rise to power of the Assyrian people, which began towards the end of the IInd millennium, and resulted in that folk holding the centre of the political stage of the Near East until 612. But although Assyria was the dominant power during those centuries, her influence and strength varied from time to time. This was not due to her wars with Babylonia, Elam or Egypt so much as to the almost unceasing strife with migrants from, or varying enemies on, her northern and western borders. She had, it seems, little trouble in imposing her desires on the south. It was different in the north, where she could not, on occasion, even hold her own. Thus to appreciate the international political history of the time the student must take account of, amongst other things, the history and character of the peoples in those northern hills. Since no excavation of any importance has ever been carried out there, illustrative material is scanty, and there has been a tendency to postpone consideration of the whole matter, and discuss instead the wars which were waged in other directions, wars which were, in fact, infinitely less significant, but which are very well documented by texts, and can therefore be made the subject of very detailed description. Those more southern activities of the Assyrians, which have been exhaustively discussed elsewhere, illustrate the history of Assyria as an individual country, and her military contacts. They do not, however, do much more. But there is very much more to do than to give attention to Assyrian history at this period in antiquity, when very various cultural changes seem to indicate a high degree of flux. The forces which caused these changes seem to be traceable in archaeologically known lands, though their origins remain doubtful. Perhaps it is a fair assumption that they may have been connected, to some extent, with the obviously active peoples of the hill-country north of Assyria. For this

reason attention will be concentrated in the next few pages mainly on events in that area.

One of the more important features of the early Iron Age was the steady geographic expansion of the Aramaean people, an expansion which had already begun by the XVIth century, and which seems to have started to threaten Assyria in the XIIIth century. It is not known whence the Aramaeans came, but they may well have formed part of a powerful coalition of peoples in Syria and Anatolia, against whom Ramesses II (1298 - 1232) fought an indecisive battle at Kadesh. Later, this king had to contend with revolts in Palestine, which appear to have been put down comparatively easily. Much more serious for Ramesses was the menace of Assyria, under Shalmaneser, and it may have been due to fear of his forces that Egypt concluded a treaty with the Hittite power under Hattusil, whereby the two rulers pledged themselves to live at peace, and to come to the assistance of the other if attacked, a possibility which they seem to have envisaged clearly. For some time Assyria remained quiet, but when Hattusil died disturbances arose in Anatolia, and Assyria, under Tukulti-Enurta (c 1250-1220), invaded the land of Subartu in central Mesopotamia. At this time Assyria seems to have controlled a very wide area, stretching to the passes in the Zagros hills to the east, which may have been held by the Assyrians 'to protect trade-routes' as Sidney Smith suggests, or perhaps more simply as the natural frontier against possible infiltration from the east. There are some possible indications that new-comers were pressing towards Assyria at this time, in the appearance of a new style of seal-engraving, and of the new invention of the siege-engine, and also, perhaps, in the civil disorder which followed the death of Tukulti-Enurta, and the ensuing decline in Assyrian prosperity. Further to the west, the lands of Zippasla, and Arzawa, which may have been under Hittite influence, were attacked by the Akkawa people, who may have been the same as the Achaeans. At about 1200 a new Dynasty was established in Assyria by Enurta-Apal-Ekur I, whose lands seem to have been reduced in extent to a confined area east of the Tigris.

Ramesses II was followed as king of Egypt in 1232 by Meneptah, who had to face, in his fifth year, a considerable force of invading folk in the Delta. These invaders included men of the Ekwesh, Tursha, Lukki, Sherden and Sheklesh tribes, who appear to have come originally from the north, no doubt as part of the migrations of the time, entering Egypt by way of Libya. The Sherden folk are well known, for they had been mentioned in the Amarna letters, and others of that name had formed an important part of the army of Ramesses II. But other Sherden had attacked Egypt from the sea

at the time of Ramesses II. Later, at the time of Ramesses III, Sherden again fought on both sides, and they are depicted on the walls of Medinet Habu as being equipped with helmets adorned with upward curving horns, round shields and long swords. Helmets of similar type, and long swords, have been found in the Caucasus, while helmets with horns appear to be painted on the Warrior Vase found at Mycenae, a vessel made of a clay which Schliemann thought was not local, and of a shape well known in Cyprus. The Caucasian finds are undated, but the Warrior Vase may be of about 1200.

Palestine seems to have been seriously devastated at the time of Meneptah, so the Israel stela appears to indicate. Perhaps this was due to the passing of the migrant folk, who seem to have travelled partly by land on their way south. Meanwhile the Hittites in the north are little mentioned, and their power appears to have faded. It might be that the migrants overwhelmed those people also,

In 1198 Ramesses III succeeded his father, Setnakht (1200-1198) as the second king of the XXth Dynasty. By this time the Hittite Empire had dissolved. Within five years of becoming king, Ramesses III was faced by a coalition of various Libyan peoples, who had united, maybe with the intention to enter Egypt. One of the peoples concerned was called Meshwesh,¹ a distinguishing mark of whom was a kind of feather headdress. These people practised circumcision, and it may be that their ancestors had been referred to, among northern peoples, as having been subjugated by Tuthmosis III, especially since feather headdresses and circumcision occur in the general area of Urartu and Caucasia. These Meshwesh figured ever more prominently as an enemy of Egypt as time passed, and by 930 one of their leaders could overpower the established regime, making himself king of Egypt, being known as Sheshonk Ist. They were no match for Ramesses III, who took some prisoner. The descendants of such captives, and maybe of further immigrants also, seem to have become to a great extent absorbed in the traditional manner of life in Egypt, but not entirely so, for they retained a sense of their traditions, such as that of wearing the feather headdress, and also kept their name, now often abbreviated to 'Ma'. Clearly their descendants remained vigorous and capable.

In 1191 Ramesses III was faced by the oncoming of a vast concourse of peoples, apparently spreading from the north. These were the Peoples of the Sea, who included the Pelesti, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Dene and Weshesh. The Pelesti are often supposed to have been the same as the Philistines. They wore a feathered headdress, and were armed with a lance, round shield, long sword and dagger, equipment not unlike that of the Sherden. The Tjekker

wore feathered headdresses like the Pelesti. Their name occurs, as a place name, in one of the Karnak lists of Tuthmosis III, in which the other names which have been identified belong, so it is believed, to north Syria. The Dene² may also have been mentioned at an earlier date, for they may be related to the people mentioned in an Amarna letter wherein Abimilki of Tyre reports to Egypt that the king of the Danuna had died. They wore feathered headdresses and kilts of similar type to those of the Pelesti. There is reason to believe that they can be identified with the Danaoi on the purely phonetic side. It is not known whence the Danaoi came, but evidence does not deny that they may have come from north of Syria, as will be discussed later in this book. Thus Ramesses III was confronted with advancing hosts who may have come from the north, some of whom were, perhaps, the descendants of peoples who had first appeared nearly two centuries earlier in the Mediterranean area. Despite their numbers he overcame them, fighting both on land and by sea. By this victory, and by another one subsequently, gained over the Meshwesh who had tried a second time to enter the Nile valley, it would seem as if the Egyptians had successfully defended their land. But by the time of his death in 1166, Egypt seems to have become very weak, and not much later there were undoubtedly great numbers of Meshwesh and others from Libya in Egypt. It hardly seems that Ramesses III was for long successful in keeping his country free from migrating bands of foreigners.

In 1168 the Kassite Dynasty in Babylon was supplanted by a new reigning family, which formed the IInd Isin Dynasty. For a time Assyria was threatened by Babylonia, but this menace disappeared with the death of Nebuchadrezzar. More serious foes to Assyria, now resurgent after a period of decline, were in the north, in the Subaraeans and the Mushki, who lived in the hill country and were far from being rough barbarians. They were, it seems, remarkably well supplied with goods. In addition, Assyria was faced with the expanding power of the Aramaeans, who may well have been the cause of the Assyrian collapse a century later, during the reigns of the successors of Tiglath-Pileser.

At the beginning of the XIth century the Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser (1098-1068) had to face, soon after his accession, an invasion of Assyrian territory by the Mushki. But other peoples seem also to have been involved, for the names of the Assyrian enemies appear to have been different at this time from what they were during the previous centuries, a fact which may indicate the continuance of a shift of populations.³ The Assyrians also campaigned in the west, perhaps against spreading Aramaeans. By about 1060 the throne of Babylon had been seized by an Aramaean usurper, and with this man the Assyrians allied themselves, not

unrealistically, for the Aramaean tribes seem to have dominated Babylonia from about 1050, and continued to do so for about two and a half centuries. The Aramaeans appear to have been unable to combine as a people but, together with the Chaldaeans, who also entered Mesopotamia at this time, they achieved remarkable successes against the established kingdoms.

It has been pointed out that Assyrian chronology after the time of Ashur-nasir-pal (1038-1020) can be fixed reasonably accurately, thanks to the limmu lists, wherein years were named after officials in a manner analogous to the naming of years in Greece after the official called the *archon eponymous*. This is one of several examples of parallels between Assyria and Greece.⁴

The continual Aramaean immigration of the XIth century appears almost to have inundated western Asia. Assyria managed to retain her sense of nationality during this process, but the effort seems to have left her barely able to do more than exist, virtually inactive, and though a new Dynasty came to the Assyrian throne at about 1000, she achieved no particular increase in power or activity until after 900. Her temporary eclipse was not taken advantage of by the Aramaeans, perhaps because of their inability to put aside their jealousies and antagonisms and combine in action. Like the Greeks, they seem always to have been divided into mutually antagonistic states, none of which appears to have been strong enough to assert supremacy over the others.

The Assyrians took to the offensive soon after 900. Their campaigns, which were almost yearly, were very frequently against the peoples of the lands to the north of Assyria, and of the western lands, towards the Mediterranean. In 889 Tukulti-Ninurta II campaigned in the regions to the south-west of Van, and brought home horses in his booty. It seems that about this time the use of cavalry was introduced to the Assyrian army, possibly in imitation of the northerners from who the horses were captured. A little later, at the time of Ashur-Nasir-Pal II (884-859) there were continual revolts against the Assyrians in the north. There is evidence to show that the government of Assyria at this time was efficient and firm, but its writ did not run in the northern hills, and during the next reign (Shalmaneser III, 859-824) the powerful kings of Urartu are referred to as having been very active. These Urartians are not entirely new-comers, for they had been mentioned by Shalmaneser I (1276-1257), and since their language appears to be related to Asiatic tongues, they seem likely to be of Asiatic origin. Their weapons and armour, which included spears, round shields and crested helmets, appears to be similar to Greek equipment. Both they, and the Assyrians at this time, are believed frequently to have established colonies.

During the earlier part of the VIIIth century Assyria was continually fighting against Urartu, but the balance of power seems to have rested with the latter, for the Urartians under Argistis seem to have extended their sway in the north-east of Assyria, and to have occupied Parsua and Mannai, lands east and south, so it is thought, of the Lake of Urmia. Meanwhile Assyria was defeated in the north. But in 745 Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727) came to the Assyrian throne, apparently by force, as an usurper. He drove back the Urartians, and doubtless to some extent revived Assyrian power. It is perhaps noteworthy, in view of the Asiatic anticipations of Greek ways of life which have already been mentioned, that the idea of the colonnade is supposed to have been introduced to Assyria at the time of this king. A little later Sargon came to the throne (722-705), who may have been another usurper and who was faced by ever increasing difficulties. In the south he had to fight with an alliance of Chaldaeans, Aramaeans and Elamites, who seem to have been well equipped and continually reinforced by folk migrating from the north and east. Westward migrations were also developing further to the north, where the Medes had by now reached Urmia, a district to which Sargon went to fight, no doubt to stave off further attacks. On this campaign he captured Musasir, and he had carved as a relief for the decoration of his palace a picture of this city, in which there appears an illustration of the temple, picturing it as very similar to a classical Greek temple. Yet another migrating people, the Cimmerians, were by now advancing, a little further to the north. Their way was blocked by the Urartians, whom they defeated in their movement to the west. They reached the borders of Lydia soon after the accession of Gyges in about 687, and somewhat later, owing perhaps to pressure from the north and east, overran that land. Such pressure in the east might have been due to the arrival of other peoples, such as the Ashguzai or Scythians, who appear to have dominated most of the territory previously ruled from Van by the Urartians, by an early date in the VIIth century. In all this considerable migration and invasion Assyria stood firm, her ability to do so being no doubt due, as Sidney Smith has pointed out, to the military organisation of the state, in which she can well be compared with Rome. Clearly, however, her ability to withstand these migrating hordes did not prevent them from spreading westward through Anatolia, and perhaps through Cilicia also, where there was a revolt against the Assyrians as early as 696, many of the people concerned being described as Ionians.

During the reign of Ashur-bani-pal (669-626) Assyria was threatened by the kingdom of Mannai acting with Median support, but she overcame the danger, and subsequently established friendly relations

with Urartu. From the information available it would seem as if Assyria were firmly placed despite her enemies, but for the fact that dissensions in the kingdom had begun before the death of Ashurbanipal, and that his chosen successor had to fight an usurper. But by 612 Assyria totally collapsed under the pressure brought to bear by an alliance of Media and Babylonia, perhaps an indication that she had become much weaker during the VIIth century than the official records would suggest.

The value of so very brief a survey as that just given above consists in the fact that detail cannot cloud the greater issues. Of these the greatest is undoubtedly the inability of Assyria to impose her will on the peoples of her northern frontier, despite her success in dealing with the other peoples of western Asia. But it is an almost equally important fact that there was continual movement of peoples, frequently on so large a scale as to give the impression of whole peoples or nations on the move in the same area of western Asia. Such movement of peoples as that which occurred at about 1200, to spread over parts of the eastern Mediterranean area, can be traced, for there is evidence to suggest that some of those involved in it may have come from the lands to the north of Assyria. Another very remarkable fact which emerges from the brief study offered is that a similarity can be observed between the Aramaeans, in their inability to combine, and the classical Greeks, with their characteristic parochialism, and a further similarity between the classical Greeks and the Urartians, in such things as military equipment and the practice of establishing colonies.

Such impressions as are provoked by the outline given above can be interpreted to mean that the real centre of human activity at the time of the early Iron Age was in western Asia, and not in Europe, as has so often been stated. If this were so, then the evidence which the archaeological student of this period has to study would come from peripheral regions, and not from central lands. It is possible that this would imply that much of the manufactures of such lands as Greece at this period was made by people who were, at least in part, either migrants from Asia, or influenced by Asiatic ideas. Such an idea is strange and unattractive. This is probably partly due to the fact that it is at variance with accepted tradition. But that does not mean that it is wrong. There is, as a matter of fact, a considerable amount of material to support it, and of this some of the most important elements are discussed in the following pages.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, pp 119 ff.
2. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, pp 124 ff.
3. As has been pointed out by Sidney Smith, who states that at this time a new people, the Urumaya, appeared, while the Hurrians ceased from being mentioned.
4. In Assyria personal application to the gods seems to have become, in the case of the king, a demand for direction in affairs of national importance. Thus the oracles of the gods held a peculiar position in Assyria, as in Greece (CAH III, pp 95, 110).

CHAPTER IV

1400 - 1200 B. C.

It has always been difficult to know where to begin in the consideration of the history of any period, for shadows often herald the approaching event, so slight and tenuous that they may easily be unrecognised, though failure to mark them may distort the conclusions reached from the study carried out. In the case of the history of the early Iron Age it is probably inadvisable to begin the study at a later date than at about 1400, a time when very marked changes in pottery can be observed in the Aegaeon lands, and when considerable changes in art and philosophy had begun to manifest themselves in Egypt. But it is not necessary to do more here than to observe a few particular points, since the present study is not concerned with the actual events and manifestations of ideas for their own sakes, but only with what may indicate drifts of ideas, and possibly also of people. It is these which, so it may be urged, played the fundamentally significant part in the birth of the Iron Age.

There is some evidence to suggest that peoples migrated during the period under review from east to west, and south to Egypt from

the north-east. One of the reasons for believing that there was an east-to-west migration can, perhaps, be found in a survey of the Haw-nbwt question.

The Ptolemaic trilingual decrees translate Haw-nbwt by Ionians and Greeks.¹ Haw-nbwt has, as a result, often been supposed to be an early designation for the Ionians, and indeed this seems to be reasonable. But what is not reasonable is to go further, and to say, as is usually done at the present time, that the Haw-nbwt, whoever they may have been, lived in the Aegaeon area. For this there is no evidence at all. The Ionians themselves may possibly be traceable on the scene about four or five generations before the Trojan war, though hardly earlier.² The Haw-nbwt, on the other hand, were first mentioned in an Egyptian text of the Old Kingdom, being referred to in conjunction with folk who were apparently Asiatics, and in connection with a rather enigmatic reference to a 'circle turning about'. The nbwt part of the phrase Haw-nbwt may mean 'basket', as Gardiner surmises, and it is also possible that the Egyptians used that word to describe the Haw-nbwt as people 'living in their baskets'. It has been proposed that what the Egyptians intended to convey by this was that these Haw-nbwt people lived in islands, since islands in the sea might look like baskets lying on the ground. By the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty the phrase occurs 'those who are in their nbwt in the midst of the Great Green', and the translation of Great Green³ as 'Sea' has been suggested. However, this translation of 'Great Green' may depend on no more than the assumption that nbwt means 'islands', and that is by no means established. A serious objection to the proposal to see in the Haw-nbwt the people who lived in the Aegaeon islands is that, as is pointed out in the *Wörterbuch*, there are references in Egyptian texts to the mountain lands of the Haw-nbwt, being opposed both to the flat lands of the Haw-nbwt and to the lands of other peoples.⁴ This does not seem to fit very well with what is known of the Aegaeon area at any time, and especially during the late Bronze Age, when civilisation was markedly uniform, at least in those parts of the Aegaeon area to which any Egyptian would have been likely to have penetrated, since cultural uniformity does not suggest the presence of various different peoples.

There is no compelling need to connect the Haw-nbwt with the Aegaeon, even though they were connected at a later date with the Ionians. For the Ionians presumably lived, in earlier days, in other lands besides the Aegaeon area, for Greek overlaid an earlier non-Greek tongue there, rendering it probable that the Greeks were not native to that region.⁵ Consequently the reader is asked to clear his mind, for the moment, of the preconceived

opinions concerning the source of the Haw-nbwt which have been expressed by so many students in the past, and to consider the evidence, such as it is, afresh.

The evidence for the source of the Haw-nbwt is provided mainly by Egyptian texts. First there comes the word nbwt. This can mean 'baskets'. Haw-nbwt can certainly refer to people in some way connected with 'baskets'. If so, the point at issue in this case would be, what did the Egyptians mean to imply here by the word 'basket'? A basket can possibly be thought of as being like an island,⁶ or at least a very small island (like the smaller of the two off the port of Candia, which do not look unlike an animal swimming after a bun), if it be imagined as floating upside down. But there is something else that is common in the Near East, and also might look like a basket lying upside down. This is a tell or tepe. For tells and tepes in western Asia are today, and probably were in ancient days, more or less of the same proportions in height to width as a basket, and also very much the colour of modern baskets, and, maybe, of ancient ones. When the traveller of the present time approaches a tepe where there are still houses in occupation, and consequently fields around are in cultivation, and trees are growing for fuel and timber, he could quite easily compare what he sees with an island in the sea, for it appears from out of the green of the vegetation, which trembles in the breeze in a manner extraordinarily like that of the waves of the sea. (It seems quite possible that the scene could also be compared with the appearance of a basket thrown down on the grass, to lie upside down, though that simile has not, in fact, ever crossed the mind of the writer of this book, when travelling in western Asia.) It could be, perhaps, that the simile referring to 'islands in the midst of the Great Green' refers more precisely than has yet been realised to an actual scene, to, in fact, tepes and tells in western Asia. If the translation of 'basket' for nbwt be retained (and it is not easy to see what else it might mean in the phrase under consideration), then there is another clue to what these 'baskets' might really be. This is provided by that curious phrase referring to a circle 'turning about'.⁷ That phrase does not quite explain itself if one is thinking of islands in the sea, except perhaps from the point of view of a student of maps, and that does not apply in this case. On the other hand, cities on tells in Near Eastern lands were probably surrounded by walls in a majority of cases, at least. Such walls, which were doubtless a conspicuous feature, would have appeared to go round the houses like a girdle. No doubt cities in Aegaeon lands might have had such walls, but it is a remarkable fact that large tells are virtually non-existent south of Macedonia, in the Aegaeon area, so that the phrases under discussion would

appear to apply best to eastern cities, rather than western, if indeed they refer to walled cities at all. On the whole, therefore, the Egyptian references to these people which have been discussed above might be supposed to apply better to easterners than to westerners,⁸ though such evidence as has yet been brought forward is hardly enough to warrant any definite conclusion, and certainly not any statement so far-reaching as that made by Dr. Gardiner. But there is much more evidence available to illuminate the matter.

The conclusion that the Haw-nbwt people were of eastern source has been reached by Vercontter, though from the consideration of totally different evidence. By his study of philological evidence he has suggested that the Haw-nbwt were not, in early days, in any way connected with Aegean folk, observing that since the phrase 'Iww hryw-ib Wadj-wr' occurs, and can, in his view (and in the view of others,) be translated 'islands in the heart of the sea,'⁹ meaning probably the Aegean islands, the phrase Haw-nbwt must mean something else. He has, from his study of the texts, drawn the following conclusions :-

(i) The Haw-nbwt were associated by the Egyptians at the time of the Middle Kingdom with the north, and apparently with Asiatic peoples.¹⁰

(ii) The Haw-nbwt were, during the period from the XIth to the XVIIIth Dynasties, associated with Asiatics, their geographic distribution being from the Delta towards the north-east.¹¹

(iii) The Haw-nbwt were connected, by the Egyptians during the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with the populations of western Asia around Mitanni, spreading from the coast of Asia Minor to the upper Euphrates.¹²

(iv) As time passed, the phrase Haw-nbwt became more vague, and by the time of the New Kingdom came to mean something like an ensemble of Asiatics.¹³

The implication of these suggestions is that the Haw-nbwt were originally an Asiatic folk. This may mean that the Ionians and the Greeks were also originally Asiatic in origin. Such a suggestion can be supported by other evidence. There is, for example, the fact that types of arms and armour, such as the crested helmet, the round shield and the greave, which students have come to think of as typically Greek, since they are described by Homer, appear in Urartu and other neighbouring lands, from quite an early date in the 1st Millennium, if not, indeed, earlier (see pages 69, 150). And there are the carved ivories of about 1200 from Cyprus which have been described as revealing 'a breadth of style in the forms of the animals which is more like a premonition of Greek genius

than anything else we can conceive.¹⁴ The faience vessels from the same context have been referred to in similar words, 'with their striking naturalism and their suggestion of kinship with the Greeks'.¹⁵ The ivories as well as the faience vessels are more in the stream of Asiatic than Aegaeon development.¹⁶ Both techniques appear to be derived from Asiatic origins¹⁷ and are, at this period, of types far more common in the east than in the west. In Egypt similar work in ivory in the naturalistic manner appears, and the vigorous vitality of the ivory carvings from Megiddo, of the period of about 1350-1150, has been compared with that of the Beisan stela.¹⁸ It hardly seems likely that those Greek-looking objects are of Aegaeon origin, and that parallel objects elsewhere were manufactured as a consequence of 'influences' going south or east from Greece, for if that had happened it should, surely, be indicated by the presence of prototypes there of such techniques as faience and carved ivory.

The Ionians may have been known at Ras Shamra¹⁹ during the XIIth century, and perhaps had some kind of connection with Cilicia Tracheia,²⁰ and Cilicia was certainly the scene of considerable disturbance caused by Ionians soon after 700 B.C.²¹ The presence of Ionians there could be due to eastward migration, if such indeed ever occurred, though there is extraordinarily little evidence, if so, to illustrate it at any time in antiquity. But it could also be due to the Ionians being originally an Asiatic folk, and in fact Ion might be the same name as Yavan,²² who is described in the Book of Genesis as the brother of Meshech and Tubal,²³ people usually believed to have been Asiatic, and not European. Yavan may also be the same name as Yauna, an Asiatic folk of whom there were two categories, according to the Persians, at the time of the VIth century B.C., these being the Yauna of the continent and the Yauna of the sea.²⁴ If the Yauna can be equated with the Ionians, that division might suggest that the early Greek people had been at one time on the move, coming to the Mediterranean from lands more or less remote from the sea, and indeed such a source is probable, according to the evidence provided by linguistic material.²⁵

Wainwright has pointed out that Tabal, an area which he says may be north-eastern Cilicia, was associated with iron,²⁶ and has also pointed to the statement in Ezekiel that Yavan was named as an exporter of iron.²⁷

The evidence which it is possible to obtain from the study of the Haw-nbw question can, from one point of view, be supposed to suggest that those people who were later settled in the Aegaeon area came thither from the east, the first of such folk arriving not later than about 1300, and possibly earlier. There is other evidence to support a theory of a westward migration from Asia,

and to confirm it by indicating that simultaneously there were migrations of people from the east in a southerly direction to Egypt, for if any really large scale migration occurred, it should be possible to trace it in more than a single region. This evidence is provided by the remains of harness and other equipment for horses. The earliest dated horse-bit comes from Tell el Amarna, and is therefore presumably not later than 1350. It is of a type which has been shown, by Potratz,²² to be well known in the Caucasian region,²⁰ and consists of a single bar of metal, with a cheek piece at each end, formed of a simple disc. The variety of bit which has two bars jointed together (the snaffle) also appears in the Near East, though possibly rather later, examples being known from many lands, especially Caucasasia, while there are specimens in the west from Miletus, and from Mycenae of Mycenaean date.³¹ This variety is also known in many lands of Europe, sometimes being fitted with cheek pieces in the form of horses, and associated, on occasion, with antennae swords and chariot burials.³² Antennae swords and chariot burials have been found in Caucasasia, and cheek pieces for bits in horse form are known in Luristan.³³ Such evidence may suggest that the home of the development of horse equipment is somewhere in the direction of the Caucasian region, or at least in western Asia, and it has been observed, in all probability correctly, that in the east there is a long and regular development in the improvement of the bit, in the west evidence for earlier stages of manufacture is almost completely lacking.³⁴ Further confirmation of the eastern home suggested for the bit is implied by the use of reins to guide the animals which drew the chariots of the 'Standard' of Ur, for these were, presumably, attached to some sort of bit. No doubt the chariot animals of the stelae of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae were also guided by bits. Other pieces of horse equipment include blinkers, of which examples come from Asia and from the Tomb of Tutankhamun,³⁵ and plates designed, so it is supposed, to act as protection of the animal's nose.³⁶ These latter, although of later date, are common from Persia and are thought to have spread thence, thus suggesting the possibility of an oriental source for this sort of horse equipment also.

The earliest illustrations of men riding horses come from Egypt. There is a splendid axe-head of metal, of a type so rare in Egypt as to be probably of foreign style, depicting such a scene. This is usually dated to the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty.³⁷ There are, in addition, other examples of riding, dating from Ramesside and XIVth century date, of which it has been said that the persons illustrated are not Egyptian soldiers, but messengers or slaves, or perhaps enemies in flight, or Asiatics.³⁸

It is possible that the technique of inlaying in metal may have been originally of eastern invention. It appears executed in two different ways, in the cloisonné and champlevé techniques. Early examples of the cloisonné technique are all from Egypt, Mesopotamia and Syria, and appear at times when there is reason to suppose that migrations from the direction of the Caucasus might have been responsible for their occurrence.³⁹ Early examples of the champlevé technique are the daggers from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, the contemporary material from Egypt,⁴⁰ and some pieces of rather earlier date, from Byblos.⁴¹ It is the champlevé technique which is of interest here. This appears in three different regions of the Near East during the earlier part of the IInd millennium, and in each of them the objects found are executed with the greatest skill, showing that they belong to a well established tradition of work. But in none of those lands is anything comparable from earlier days known, from which the champlevé technique could have been evolved locally. From all these facts it might perhaps be suggested that the idea of inlaying was probably native in the Near East,⁴² and was developed in two different ways, one of which, the champlevé, was introduced soon after 2000 to Syria, at much the same time, that is, as the coming thither of torques and other objects believed to indicate the southward journeying of people from the direction of the Caucasus.⁴³ By the time of the XVIth century beautifully made pieces of champlevé inlaid work were taken to Egypt and to Greece, or were made there, perhaps the latter, at least in the case of Egypt, in which event it may be reasonable to presume the migration of workmen.⁴⁴ This is, naturally, only a theory, but it may possibly explain the comparative similarity between the Egyptian and the Aegaeon objects, which otherwise might be considered strange, considering how very different in other ways are the civilisations of the two regions.

No more examples of objects inlaid at all elaborately in the champlevé technique appear in the Aegaeon, until soon after 1400. But in the Tholos tomb at Dendra, dated to 1400-1350, there was found a fine gold and silver bowl, with bulls' heads inlaid in the champlevé technique.⁴⁵ There is a cup of 'Vaphio' shape, carried by a Keftiuian illustrated in the tomb of Senmut (c 1500) which is decorated with bulls' heads drawn in a manner which may suggest that it, also, was a vessel with similar inlaid ornament.⁴⁶ There is also a bowl inlaid in the same manner, and also with bulls' heads shown in much the same way as on the Dendra bowl, from Enkomi in Cyprus,⁴⁷ presumably of much the same date as the Dendra piece. Both these bowls are extremely fine examples of inlay work. They are, however, isolated examples, with neither direct predecessors or any successors in Greece or Cyprus,⁴⁸ and do not seem to be likely,

as a result, to be local productions. Perhaps they may be connected with the earlier examples of champlévé work, and be supposed to have come from the same source, which, as has been argued above, may have been in the direction of Caucasia. If so, they afford another opportunity of demonstrating the possibility of eastern elements in the Aegaeon civilisation of the XIVth century.

Since similar ideas appear in the Aegaeon area at the time of the XVIth century, and after 1400, being illustrated by inlaid metal objects, it is perhaps not surprising that the same sort of fabulous animals which had been popular during Late Minoan I times, as shown by the Zakro sealings, reappear at about 1400 in the west. At this latter date they are illustrated in a signet ring from Dendra.⁴⁹

Another revival in the Aegaeon area at the time of the XIVth century of a technique known earlier, appears in the art of ivory carvings. Carved ivory objects had been known in the west in Early Minoan III days,⁵⁰ and again, after an interval, at the time of the Late Helladic I-II period, though they did not become common until after about 1400, by which time carved ivory was being manufactured in many lands of the Near East. Something of the same style, in fundamentals, can be traced in objects which seem to date from the XIVth century, and possibly from the XIIIth also,⁵¹ coming from such diverse places as the Aegaeon,⁵² Ras Shamra,⁵³ Megiddo,⁵⁴ Enkomi⁵⁵ and Egypt.⁵⁶ There is perceptible, in several of the ivories from those sources at this time, a quality of breadth in manner of execution, and of vivacity and vitality in design, which transcends the decided local peculiarities. This breadth in manner is, in fact, nothing new, for it can be observed in an ivory from Megiddo dated to about 1800.⁵⁷

There are some mirror handles from Mycenae, perhaps of XIVth century date, which have been supposed to exhibit Minoan traits but are certainly not Cretan.⁵⁸ These are considered by Wace to be, in all probability, of Cypriote source.⁵⁹ That is not, however, a very convincing attribution, for at the time of similar objects in that island Cyprus was the scene of very considerable cultural changes, which resulted in, amongst other things, the introduction of bucchero pottery, iron and other things (to be discussed later in this book) which can only have come from some external source. Consequently the ivories, which are also of completely new types in the island, should not be supposed too readily to be of local origin. But that they are of Near Eastern source cannot be doubted. There are other ivories in the Aegaeon which, as Miss Lorimer has demonstrated, show similarities with Near Eastern work.⁶⁰

There is revealed in the ivory carving of the latter part of the IIInd millennium, the extraordinary capacity of some, at least, of the inhabitants of the Near East for clever, but not perfect imitation of various styles of work. At Samaria, for example, many of the subjects illustrated in the ivory carvings were copied from Egyptian models, but none of them, as Crowfoot pointed out, 'could be mistaken for an Egyptian original'.⁶¹ Similarly an ivory from Beth-Pelet⁶² reveals a quality of movement and vitality in the drawing of the figures which has suggested to some that Aegaeon influence can be detected, though the object is certainly not of Aegaeon manufacture. A still more curious object comes from Ras Shamra, a carving of a goddess between standing goats,⁶³ which seems to be simultaneously Asiatic in style, and Mycenaean in type, but with elements which are neither Asiatic nor Mycenaean, as for example the style of hairdressing. This somewhat vaguely anticipates the hairdressing style found in archaic Greek sculpture. Perhaps there is here another example of a foretaste, in the east, of a manner of work found later in the west.

When a people are so receptive of ideas new to them as many of the ivory carvers undoubtedly were, and so ready to imitate foreign styles, it is hardly likely that their natural tendencies in design and decoration can be discovered without a very considerable mass of evidence. But the very fact of this receptivity is most illuminating, for it indicates the presence of a particular people very different from the mass of the inhabitants of Egypt, or of central and southern Mesopotamia, during the Early Iron Age and for several centuries previously. Practically all the earlier carved ivories of the Near East are of the later part of the Bronze Age.⁶⁴ Their makers may well have come to those lands of the Near East in which these ivories have been found, at least in any numbers, only after about 1400. Thus here again may be an illustration of the coming of new peoples to Mediterranean lands.

There is yet another indication of some sort of connection between east and west during the XIVth century in the style of an unusual type of axe-head which was found at Beisan,⁶⁵ where it was dated as being not later than 1300. This type is known in the Caucasian area, and examples have also been found in Hungary, while it has been claimed that it is also paralleled on the Illyrian coast.⁶⁶

The evidence so far discussed might be supposed to indicate that new ideas from Asia were beginning to pass westward towards the Aegaeon by about 1400 B.C., or fairly soon after that time.

This suggestion may also be thought to be indicated by a study of the pottery fabrics made in the Aegaeon after that date.

At about 1400 B.C., as Professor Blegen has pointed out, a new style in pottery decoration appeared in the Aegaeon area, showing itself in the change from semi-naturalistic and highly decorative ornament to the severe, geometrical designs of an abstract, generally non-representational art.⁶⁷ With this new style there appeared new ceramic shapes, one of which is the horizontal ring-shaped vessel (catalogue on page 113), while another is the pilgrim bottle, round in shape and with two handles, one on either side of the neck (catalogue on page 114). Both these shapes are believed to be of Asiatic source, since they are known in the east at an earlier date. Other shapes which were made in the new post-1400 type of pottery with abstract ornament include the multiple-pot (catalogue on page 114) which may be, so its history would suggest, of Asiatic origin, and the askos (catalogue on page 72) which also may have been an introduction from the east, since its earlier appearances in the Mediterranean world indicate an eastern source. One of the most characteristic shapes of pottery vessel at this time in the west is the stirrup-vase, not only in the Aegaeon area, but in many lands of the Near East. This shape is far from simple, but there is no immediate ancestor for it in the Aegaeon world. Its previous history (catalogue on page 117) seems to indicate that it may have been a shape which had been manufactured for a long time in some part of western Asia, whence it was introduced from time to time to the Aegaeon world, where it appears at times when there may have been westward migrations. It could hardly be a shape native to the Aegaeon area, for its appearances there are too spasmodic and disconnected, and also too rare in pre-Mycenean days there, for it to appear anything but a foreigner in the west before about 1400. But if it is of eastern source, it must be derived from some archaeologically unknown land (such as Urartu), for the shape does not appear in Egypt, Syria or Mesopotamia in early days. Equally common in post-1400 days in the west is the Kylix with a tall stem (catalogue on page 51), perhaps a shape related to the tall cups of gold on a stem which appeared in the west during the time of the XVIth century.⁶⁸ But the chronological gap between the XVIth century and the Mycenean period during which this shape was not being made forbids one to suppose that there was a continuous evolution of the shape in the west. Here again, as in the case of the stirrup-vase, there may be repeated introduction of a shape to the west. After 1400 the kylix is usually made with a wide flat bowl of gently curved outline, but sometimes the bowl has an angular profile,⁶⁹ not altogether unlike that of a vessel with a wide flat bowl of carinated profile on a tall stem, of which examples

come from the Talyche district of north-western Persia,⁷⁰ and north Syria. Later, rather than earlier in the Mycenaean period, so it would appear, is the introduction to the Aegean area of the 'feeding cup', a vessel with a basket handle over the rim, and a tubular spout attached to the side (catalogue on page 118). This shape, which is paralleled in the east, appears so suddenly in the west that it could well be an introduction from elsewhere.

During Late Mycenaean days a pottery mug-shaped vessel came into production in Syria and in the southern and eastern parts of the Aegean (catalogue on page 119). It is apparently a new form, not a derivation from the Vaphio shape, for it differs in shape from the Vaphio cup, being cylindrical, but with a waist constricted and smaller than the rim and base, which are roughly equal in diameter. The shape might be originally of eastern source, for it had been made in Persia during the IIIrd millennium. It had been made, though rarely, in the Aegean between 2000 and 1500, but not subsequently until about 1300, or possibly even later. So great a time lag makes it likely that its later appearance was due to a re-introduction. It is interesting to observe that a late example of this shape from Persia has a horizontal rib in relief round the body in just the same way as appears on a XVth century cup of Vaphio shape from Mycenae.⁷¹

This mug-shaped vessel may be a version of the slenderer tumbler shape with a foot which sometimes is slightly spreading, which also appears in the Aegean in Mycenaean days (catalogue on page 120).

THE HORIZONTAL RING VASE

Egypt	(Predynastic)	i Nagada, Plate XXXVI, 84.
		ii Matmar, Plate XII, 8.
Aegean	(Early Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate IV, 9.
	(Early Minoan)	Mesara, Plate XXIX, 4120.
Anatolia	(Troy II)	C. Blegen Troy I ii, Plate 406. 35.441.
	(Troy II-V)	SS, p 40, no 823.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	ILN 16 February 1935, p 249, fig 27.
	(Bronze Age)	i CVA BM i, GB Plate V, 11. ii BMC I ii, fig 102.
Anatolia	(Troy VI)	Ilios, fig 1392.
	(Troy VI-VII)	SS, p 159, no 3246.

Mycenean	(Isalysos)	Annuario VI-VII, p 143, no 41. (fig 65).
	(Mycenae, Granary ware)	Arch LXXXII, Plate XI. 7-8.
	(Aegaeon)	BSA XLII, p 53.
	(Delphi)	Delphes V, p 11, fig 39.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig VII.11).
Aegaeon	('Sub-Mycenean')	Mirabello, Plate IX, 054-056.
Italy	(Bucchero ware)	CVA Italy viii, Italy plate 355, 22.
Cyprus	(Bichrome III)	SCE IV ii, Fig XXIV. 4).
Ithaca	(Orientalising)	BSA XLIII, Plate 40, 541.

GLOBULAR VASE WITH TWO HANDLES

Anatolia	(Troy II-V)	SS, p 34, no.s 630-632.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i Balabish, pp 62 ff.
		ii Abydos III, Plate XVII, 20 and p 50.
Mycenean	(Prosymna)	Prosymna, fig 258, no 678.
		BMC I i, fig 212.
	(Isalysos)	MV, Plate X, 64.
	(Mycenae)	Eph. 1891, Plate 3, 1.
	(Cyprus)	i ZfE 1899, p 337, fig XXIV, s.5.
		ii Ex.c in C, p 72, fig 124, no 31.
	(Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Tomb YC. 81, p 35 & Plate XVI, s.1.
	(Tell el Ajjul)	Stubbings, Plate XIV, 4-5.
	(Megiddo)	Stubbings, Plate XVII, 2.
	(Tell abu Hawan)	Stubbings, Plate XVII, 7.
	(Gaza)	Anc Gaza III, Plate X, 'mid'.

MULTIPLE POT SHAPE

Egypt	(Predynastic)	i Nagada, Plates XXVI, 40 ff; and XXXVI, 90, 91.
		ii Mostagedda, Plate XXXIV, 18.
		iii Dies P, Plate XVI, 91.
Syria	(early IIIrd millennium)	Byblos, Plate CXC VII; Plate CC, 6683
Palestine	(early Bronze Age)	Corpus Palestinian. 10 C.

Cilicia	(early Bronze Age)		SC, fig 173. 10.
Cyprus	(early Bronze Age)		Arch LXXXVIII, plate XXVI.
Syria	(IIIrd millennium)		Byblos, no 6482.
Cilicia	(IIIrd millennium ?)		LAAA XXV, Plate XXII, 5.
Aegaeon	(Crete)		Mesara, Plate I, 4194: Plate XX, 4174.
Anatolia	(early Bronze Age)	i	Ilios, fig 161; fig 356.
		ii	BMC I i, fig 18.
Aegaeon	(Thermi)		Thermi, Plate XXXVI, 366.
	(Phylakopi, early Bronze Age)		Phylakopi, Plate IV, 2.
Persia	(Shah Tepe)		SC, fig 317. 14.
	(Susa II)		DEP III, Plate XXXII, 9.
	(Tepe ali Abad)		DEP VIII, p 144, fig 294.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Asmar)		OIC 19, fig 24.
Anatolia	(Alishar III)		TAH 1930-32 i, fig 239, E 1161.
Egypt	(Ist Intermediate Period)	i	Mostagedda, Plate LIII, 99 A.
		ii	Denderah, Plate XVIII, 143 ff.
Cilicia	(Tarsus)		AJA XLIV, fig 12: AJA LI, Plate XCI, 1: Plate XCIII, 9.
S.W. Russia	(Tripolye)		Minns, fig 29.
Anatolia	(Troy V)		Ilios, figs 1331-2.
Egypt	(IInd Intermediate Period)		Qau III, Plate XVII, 72 P.
Aegaeon	(Middle Cycladic)		Phylakopi, Plate XI, 12.
	(Middle Helladic)		Messenia, p 304, fig 68.
Syria	(early IInd millennium)		Montet Byblos, Plate LXXI, 609.
Aegaeon	(XVth century)		Gournia, Plate VII, 34.
Cyprus	(Base Ring Ware)		CVA. BM i, GB Plate 9, 21.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)		Gizeh, Plate XXVII.
Syria	(1450-1365)		Ug II, fig 78.
Mycenean	(Attica)		CVA, Germany VII, Germany Plate 300, 4.
	(Ialyasos)	i	BMC I i, figs 191: 239-40.
		ii	NV, Plate III (23. VII).
		iii	Annuario VI-VII, fig 65, 38: figs 115-116.
	(Cyprus)		CVA BM i, GB Plate 24, 24.
Palestine	(c. 1300)		Megiddo II, Plate 68, 8.
Palestine	(1150)		Megiddo II, Plate 77, 8.
Persia	(Sialk B)		Sialk II, Plate XIX.

Aegean	(Salamis period)	Vrokastro, fig 86 F.
	(VIIIth century, Lemnos)	Annuario XV-XVI, fig. 44, 48.
Palestine	(Ist millennium)	Gezer III, Plate CLXX, 8.
Egypt	(VIIth century)	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Tanis</i> II, Plate XXXV, 42.
Caucasia	(undated)	i Materials VIII, (1900), fig 303. ii Trialeti, Plate 124.

A variety of the multiple pot shape is the Kernos, which can be defined as a horizontal tube, or bowl, or a vertical stand, in each case supporting a series of small vessels.

THE KERNOS

Egypt	(early Dynastic)	Abydos I, Plate L, 23.
Aegean	(Early Cycladic)	i BSA III, p 54, fig 3. ii Phylakopi, Plate VIII, 14. iii BWC I i, A 332, Plate V.
Anatolia	(Troy IV)	Ilios, no 1111.
Cyprus	(Red polished ware)	i Arch LXXXVIII, Plate XXXIII, a.c.d. ii SCE I, Plate CII, 7.
Aegean	(Early Helladic)	Zyg, p 81, Plate XXI, 6.
Egypt	(Ist Intermediate Period)	Sedment I, Plate XXX, 40.
Egypt	(Middle Kingdom)	Gizeh, Plate XIII D, 168.
Palestine	(c. 1800)	Megiddo II, Plate 19, 19.
Egypt	(IIInd Intermediate Period)	Dios P., Plate XXXVI, 183.
	(XVth Dynasty)	Harageh, Plate XL, 70 G 3.
Persia	(undated)	Iran Denk B, Plate XXI, 6.
Caucasia	(undated)	Materials VIII, (1900), fig 304.
Palestine	(c. 1300)	Beth Shan I, Plate LI, A, No 3.
Mycenean	(Syria)	Ug II, fig 71, 8, 17.
	(Late Helladic)	i AJA XL, p 312, fig 10. ii Messenia, Plate XX, 60.
Palestine	(1198 : 1166)	Beth Shan I, Plate LX, A, no 3.

Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)	i SCE I, Plate XLI: Plate CXXX, 13. ii SCE IV ii, Fig VII.12).
	(White Painted II ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig XV. 2).
Persia	(early Iron Age)	GGs, fig 26.
Italy	(Bucchero)	Mingazzini, Plate VI, 13.
Ithaca	(Orientalising)	BSA XLIII, Plate 40, 540 (Possible example)
Egypt	(VIIth century)	E.A. Gardner <i>Naucratis</i> II, Plate VII, 3.
Palestine	(IVth Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CLXXII, 15; Plate CLXXV, 9.

There are a few bowls which have a single little cup placed on the rim. Some examples are as follows :-

Persia	(Tepe Giyan III)	SC, fig 247, 7.
Aegean	(early Mycenaean) (‘sub-Mycenaean’)	Unpub Palai, fig 70. Mirabelle, Plate IX, D 7.
Central Europe	(Hallstatt)	Déchelette II ii, p 811, fig 325.

A version of this type, of late Mycenaean date, is illustrated in Annuario VI-VII, p 250, fig 155.

THE STIRRUP VASE

Aegean	(early Cycladic) (W.M. III b-LM I) (XVIth century)	Phylakopi, fig 74 Pernier II, fig 259. i Maraghiannis, <i>Antiquités Crétoises</i> II, Plate XXVIII. ii Gourmia, Plate VII, 18. and Plate II. iii Unpub Palai, fig 33.
Mycenaean		Common.

It should be noted that Evans commented on the interval between LM I and LM III during which time this shape was not being made in the Aegean area (Arch LIX p 511). Such an interval is not now held to exist on most sites outside Knossos.

SPOUTED VESSEL WITH BASKET HANDLE.

Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid ware)	i	ILN 1 March 1930, p 326, bottom left.
		ii	ILN 11 Sept 1948, p 305, fig 15.
Cyprus	(early Bronze Age)		ILN 2 Oct 1943, p 388, middle.
Aegean	(Early Helladic)		Zyg, fig 89.
Palestine	(Later IIIrd millennium)		Syria XVI, Plate LVIII, 7.
Anatolia	(Yortan)		Iraq II, Plate XXX, 3 b.
	(Troy II)		C. Blegen Troy I ii, Plate 387, 36. 847.
	(Troy III)		C. Blegen Troy II ii, Plate 59 a, B 9.
	(Troy IV)		C. Blegen Troy II ii, Plate 183, 17.
	(Tarsus 2000-1500)		AJA LI, Plate XCVI, 1.
Aegean	(Early IIrd millennium)		Phylakopi, fig 91.
	(Middle Helladic)		Entresis, fig 218.
Syria	(Atchana, white painted)		ILN 17 Sept 1938, fig 5 of article by Woolley.
Palestine	(? 1400)		Anc Gaza II, Plate XXXIV, 64, c. b.
Anatolia	(Boghas Keui)		Bossert AA, p 151, no 653.
Syria	(Late Ugarit III)		Ug II, fig 58, 14.
Mycenean	(Aegean)		BSA XLII, pp 53-4.
	(Attica)	i	Deltion Parartema 1927-8, p 63.
		ii	CVA Denmark ii, Plate 63, 7.
	(Prosymna)		Prosymna, fig 133, 358.
			Argive Heraeum II, p 84, fig 14.
	(Crete)		Arch LIX, p 513, 70 c.
	(Ialyasos)	i	MV, Plate XI 66.: Plate XXI.
		ii	Annuario VI-VII, p 117, fig 37.
		iii	BMC I i, A 933.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)		SCE IV ii, Fig IV, 18).
	(Kourion Tomb 26 A)		AJA XLI, Plate I, 23.
	(Early Iron Age)		Enk-Al, p 22, no. 27.

Palestine	(Gezer)	Gezer III, Plate LXXXIII, 2.
	(Megiddo V, c. 1000)	Megiddo II, Plate 88, 19.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XVI, 7.
	(Luristan)	Godard Bronzes, Plate LXVIII 245.
	(Azarbaijan)	GGs, the second Plate numbered 25, no 4.
Syria	(Til-Barsib)	Til-Barsib, Plate XXVI, 10.

MUG, NARROWER IN THE MIDDLE THAN AT TOP AND BOTTOM

Persia	(Shah Tepe II b)	Arne, fig 367.
	(Hissar III)	SC, fig 238, 32.
Egypt	(Old Kingdom)	i Sedment I, Plate I, 560, 8.
		ii Meydum, Plate XIX, 2.
Persia	(2200 ?)	Iran Denk B, Plate XVII, 2,3.
	(Tepe Giyan IV - III)	SC, fig 321.
Syria	(c. 1900)	Byblos, p 320, no. 4404.
Aegean	(M.M.I)	Unpub Palai, Plate IV. c.
	(M.M.III)	Mochlos, fig 32, XX.3.
	(L.M.I)	Gournia, Plate VIII, 24.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)	BMC I ii, C 618-9.
	(Crete)	i Gournia, Plate X, 7.
		ii PCM IV, p 313, fig 249.
		BMC I i, fig 202.
	(Rhodes)	i BMC I i, Plate XIII, A 848.
		ii MV, Plate IX, 56. XXXV.
		iii Annuario VI-VII, figs 80, 146.
	(Tiryns Treasure)	AM LV, Beil XXXIV. 1.
	(Calymnos)	BMC I i, Plate XV, A 1005.
	(Ras Shamra)	Ug II, fig 55, 15, 19; fig 60, 16, 17.
	(Salamis ?)	AJA LIV, Plate II C.
	(Nauplia)	MV, Plate XXI, 150.
	(Thermi, late Bronze Age)	Thermi, Plate XVIII, 650.
Syria	(Hama, 1200-1000)	Cim a crem, p 180, fig 230-
Persia	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate III, 2.
	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XVIII, 5.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	Hesp XIV, Plate XX, 1.

TUMBLER WITH SLIGHTLY SPREADING FOOT

Egypt	(Protodynastic)	Abydos I, Plate IX, 3.
Persia	(Hissar III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate CXV, H 794.
Mesopotamia	(Ur)	BC, Plate 235, 42-3.
Egypt	(Old Kingdom)	Mahasna, Plate XXXVI, 1.
	(Vth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XXXI, 978; Plate XLIII.
	(VIth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XXX, 7906.
Aegean	(Early Cycladic)	Termi, Plate VIII, 194.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	i Lahun I, Plate IX. ii Harageh, Plate XVI.
Aegean	(M.M. I & II)	i BSA VIII, Plate XVII, 3, top right. ii POM I, fig 134 e. iii POM I, fig 191, top left. iv POM IV, pp 98-9, Plate XXX A.
Egypt	(XVIIIth - XXth Dynasty)	Arabah, Plate XXI, E 236.
Mycenean	(Zafer Papoura)	POM IV, p 871, fig 863.
Aegean	(Tiryns treasure)	AM LV, p 131, fig 3.
Persia	(Giyān I tomb 28)	SC, fig 242, 75.

As has been pointed out by Blegen (see page 112), there was a decided ceramic break at about 1400 in the Aegean world, owing to the fact that naturalistic ornament became much less common than in that area than it had been previously. There are, however, a few pots in the west which have fairly life-like drawings of birds, which have been attributed to an early part of that period.⁷² They are executed in a style not previously seen in the west. In Cyprus, on the other hand, naturalistic decoration was the rule during the Mycenaean period, and this style has been considered by the Swedish excavators of the island as essentially eastern in origin. It is typical of Cyprus, though examples of vessels painted with the chariot scenes so popular in Cyprus have been found in the Aegean region.⁷³ Such evidence shows that ceramic styles

changed, in different ways, in the Aegaeon and in Cyprus at about 1400, but there is insufficient evidence to suggest any reason for such changes from this evidence alone. But the case is different with the other style of decoration which appears at this time in the Aegaeon, and is typified by the use of a particular group of motifs. These include

MOTIF	CATALOGUE ON PAGE
Concentric semi-circles.	122
Row of triangles with apices alternately up and down and hatched in alternate directions.	124
Guilloche	125
Wave pattern	126
Large dot surrounded by a ring of dots	126
Scale pattern	128
Fringed circle	128
Pairs of spirals arranged up a vertical stem.	129
Vertical ribbon of horizontal zig-zags between thick vertical lines	130
Circle enclosing a four-pointed figure obtained by drawing five interlocking circles.	131
Vertical row of rings	131
Four pointed star with circular centre left empty.	132
Circle of dots.	132
Bird with a fish	133
Opposed animals standing on either side of a tree.	133
Ribbon of chevrons.	135
Solid triangle or semi-circle with lines parallel to the sides enclosing the apex.	136
Two spirals, back to back, from a single stem.	137
Medallion pattern.	138

Some of these motifs had previously been used to decorate Aegaeon pots, though there is no continuity of their use in that area. A study of their histories will show that many may well be supposed to be of eastern source, some having, perhaps, been introduced to the west on more than a single occasion.

The evidence of the ornament of Mycenaean pottery in the Aegaeon area may suggest the same conclusion as that which has already been indicated by other classes of evidence, namely that there were movements from the east, during the XIVth and XIIIth centuries. Such a conclusion would agree with that held by the Swedes as regards the eastern connection of the Cypriote pictorial style.⁷⁴

CONCENTRIC SEMI-CIRCLES.

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf polychrome ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate XXVI, 5, 7.
Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXVIII, C 17.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Bad Civ, Plate XL, 59 q.
Aegaeon	(Thessalian neolithic)	BMC I i, fig 43, A 198, 4 (on this sherd there is also a swastika).
	(Early Bronze Age)	i POM I, p 61, figs 21-2.
		ii Mochlos, fig 23, VI. 6.
		iii BMC I i, fig 95.
		iv Unpub Palai, Plate IIIe.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	i GCE I, Plate I, centre.
		ii Arch LXXXVIII, Plate II, b.
Caucasus	(Trialeti, undated)	Trialeti, Plate 81.
Mesopotamia	(Ur)	BC, Plate 116.
	(Nineveh V ware)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 19, 50.
	(Nineveh, found at B 19)	LAAA XVIII, Plate 34, 24.
Egypt	(Toud, 1940 B.C.)	ILN 18 April 1936, p 682, bottom right.
Aegaeon	(Middle Minoan)	BMC I i, fig 101.
	(Middle Helladic)	i Zyg, Plate XIV, 2.
		ii Prosymna, fig 590.
	(XVIth century)	BSA XXV, Plate XXIII, d.
Sardinia	(Anghelu Ruju)	Mon Ant XIX, p 494, fig 61.

Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CLVIII, 11, 15.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan III)	Giyan, Tomb 85.
Syria	(Tell Billa III, 1500-1200)	PMJ XXIII, Plate XLIV, row 5.
Mycenean	(Mycenae)	BMC I i, p 175, fig 240.
		i Arch LXXXII, Plate XI.
		ii MV, Plate 37, 382.
		iii BSA XXV, Plate 5 e.
	(Delphi)	BCH 1935, p 367, fig 20, 3.
	(Cephalonia)	Deltion 1919, pp 102-3, fig. a 17-18.
Sicily	(Mycenean style)	AA 1923-4, col 217, fig 33.
Sub-Mycenean and Protogeometric		
Aegaeon	(Salamia)	i AM XXXV, Plate VI, 5.
		ii BSA XIII, p. 325, fig 14.
	(Camiro)	CI R, VI-VII, p 189, fig 223.
	(Attica)	Kerameikos IV, Plates III & V.
	(Knossos)	i BSA XXIX, Plate VI, 12.
		ii Vrokastro, Plate XXXIII.
		Delos XV, Plate XXVI.
Palestine	(Megiddo VI)	Megiddo II, Plate 144, 15.
	('Philistine')	F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, <i>Excavations in Palestine 1898-1900</i> , Plate 44.
	(Tell abu-Hawam)	QDAP IV, p 181.
Syria	(Hama)	Cim a cron, p 113, fig 134
	(al Mina)	JHS LX, p 3.
Mesopotamia		M von Oppenheim, <i>Tell Halaf, A new culture in oldest Mesopotamia</i> , p 311.
Caucasia	(Vladikavkaz)	ESA VI, p 138, no 48.
Assyria		Ass sculpture BM, Plate LII, 4.
Persia	(Luristan)	AFO XV, p 45, fig 3.
Aegaeon	(Lemnos, VIIIth century)	Annuario XV-XVI, fig 134.
	(Orientalising)	Annuario X-XII, fig 579.

ROW OF TRIANGLES WITH APICES ALTERNATELY UP AND DOWN,

HATCHED IN ALTERNATE DIRECTIONS.

(This motif was discussed by G. A. Wainwright in *Balabish* p 45.)

Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr)	i	Comp archy mesp, fig 13, 30.
		ii	ILN 14 Sept 1935, Colour Plate I, middle left.
Egypt	(First Dynasty)		Abydos I, Plate LIII, 14.
Aegean	(Neolithic)		Prosymna, fig 635, 5.
Mesopotamia	(Ur)		BC. Plate 116.
Anatolia	(Troy III)		C. Blegen, Troy II ii, Plate 73, F 15.
Aegean	(early Helladic I)		Eutresis, Plate IV.
	(early Cycladic, Antiparos)		BMC I i, fig 57.
	(Crete)	i	Mochlos, fig 5.
		ii	Mesara, Plate III, 847.
		iii	Unpub Palai, Plate III s.
Balkans			Radimsky, Plate IV, 18.
Bohemia			Much, Plate XXXIII, 13, 17; Plate XV, 26.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)		Comp archy Mesp, fig 19, 30 & LAAA XX, Plate LIV 5; Plate LIX, 9.
	(Tell Asmar)	i	AfO X, p 379, fig 1.
		ii	ILN 9 June 1934, p 913, fig 23.
Persia	(Susa, c 2000)		DEP XIII, fig 116.
	(Susa, c 2000-1500)		DEP XIII, fig 143.
Aegean	(Middle Helladic)		Eutresis, Plate XIII.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i	Sedment II, Plate LIX, 7, 75.
		ii	Mitt deut Ins Kairo V, p 156, fig 17.
Palestine	(c 1600)	i	Anc Gaza I, Plate XXVIII, 5.
		ii	QDAP VIII, Plate XII.
		III	Megiddo II, Plate 39, 8.
Cyprus	(c 1600)		QDAP VIII, Plate XVII.
Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)		Gzer III, Plate CLX 7; Plate CLXVIII, 1.
Mycenean	(Phylakopi)		Phylakopi, Plate XXXII, 16.
	(Cyprus)		Enk-AI, p 22, no. s 7, 13.
			Ex. s in C, p 25, fig 45.
	(Asine)		Asine, fig 269, 7.
Aegean	(Salamis)		AM XXXV, Plate V, 6.
Cyprus	(Sub-Mycenean)		BMC I ii, C 701.
	(White-painted I ware)	i	SCE I, Plate CXXIII, 3.
		ii	SCE IV ii, Fig II, 2).

Palestine	(Iron Age)	Anc Gaza III, Plate XXXIX, 68 k 2.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i AM XLIII, p 103, fig 24.
	(Orientalising)	ii CVA, Germany vii, Germany Plate 301, 4. BSA XXXV, Plate 56.b.

GUILLOCHE

Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid ware) (c 2500)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 10, 17. Tello, 20 campagnes, Plate VII.
Persia	(Susa II)	DEP XIII, Plate XXVIII, 3.
Aegean	(E.M. III) (Middle Cycladic) (Middle Minoan)	Unpub Palai, p 8, fig 5 a. Phylakopi, Plate XI, 3. Gournia, Plate C 2.
Mesopotamia	('Syro-Hittite') (Tell Billa III)	PCM IV ii, fig 348 b (p 421). PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.
Myceneae	(Ialysos) (Mycenae) (Zygouries)	i MV, Plate II, 9. ii Stubbings, Plate IV, 9. BMC I i, p 203, fig 286, A 1070. Zyg, Plate XVI, 1, and fig 131. A. Furumark, <i>Mycenean pottery</i> II, motif 48, p. 360.
Egypt	(Bubastis Treasure)	Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, October 1949, p 63, bottom right.
Aegean	(Troy VI-VII)	SS, p 163, no. 3366.
Persia	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate II, 4.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV) (Van)	TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XLVI b 1182.8. Iraq XII, Plate IX.
Aegean	(Geometric (Thera) or early (Cycladic) Orientalising) (Knossos) (Crete)	AM XXVIII, Beil VI, 2. Delos XV, Plate XXXVII, 28. BSA XXIX, Plate VIII 5. Jb. 1899, p 41, fig 27.
Italy	(Etruscan, Corneto)	Marshall, Plate XVIII, 1359.
Sicily	(Orientalising)	BSA XXXIII, Plate 24, 30.
Anatolia	(Toprakkale)	Iraq XII, p 27, fig 15.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	very common.

WAVE PATTERN

Aegean	(Thessalian neolithic)	PT, fig 11 a.
	(Early Minoan III)	BMC I i, fig 93.
	(Middle Minoan)	i Pernier I, p 295, fig 172.
		ii POM I, Plate I a.
	(Middle Helladic III)	Asine, fig 199, 6.
	(Middle Helladic)	Korakou, fig 35, 2 & 4.
	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakpoi, Plate XIV, 9.
Egypt	(IIInd Intermediate Period)	Cem Ab II, fig 29: Plate XIII 8 left.
Syria	(c 1600)	Byblos I, fig 178 left (p 193).
	(Tell Atchana)	AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	Buben, Plate 50, 10738.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i Prosymna, fig 210, no 343.
		ii Korakou, fig 57, left.
Mycenean	(Athens)	Graef, Plate 5, 190.
	(Rhodes)	i BMC I i, p 168, fig 229 (A 930).
		ii CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 458, 3.
	(Spain)	AA 1923-4, col. 217, fig 33.
Anatolia	(Alishar V ware)	TAH 1928-9 ii, plate VI, 690.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Zeus III, Plate 25.
		ii Hesp XIV, Plate XXXII.
		iii Annuario I, pp 66 ff.
		iv Annuario X-XII, fig 52.
Caucasus area (undated)		i Trialati, Plate 77.
		ii RAC II, Plate I, 3.
		III SC, fig 302, 6.

DOT, SURROUNDED BY A CIRCLE OF DOTS.

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	i M.F. von Oppenheim in Mélanges D II, Plate III, bottom left.
		ii BM Carchemish book, folio 243, fig 173, 52.
Persia	(Susa I)	DEP XIII, Plate V, 3.
	(Hissar I)	Ex. a in TH, Plate XIII, DH.34.11.2.
Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid)	Comp archy Mesp. fig 5, 33.
Caucasus area		Trialeti, Plate 78.

Aegean	(Early Minoan III)	Unpub Palai, p 8, fig 5 d: Plate III o.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	Gizeh, Plate X B.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	i Phylakopi, Plate XIV, 1: Plate XVI, 8. ii AM XLII, p 62, fig 68.
	(Middle Helladic)	Entresia, fig 211, 5.
	(Middle Minoan)	i Mon Ant VI, Plate IX, 7. ii POM IV i, fig 142. iii BSA XVII, Plate III, 87.
	(XVIth Century)	i Dendra, fig 29, 6. ii Gournio, Plate VIII, 20. iii Phylakopi, Plate XXIII, 3. iv Karo S, Plate XIII.
Macedonia	(Late Bronze Age)	Pre Mac, p 214 no 403.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	Iouiya and Touiyon, Plate XXVIII left.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.
Syria	(Atchana)	AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2.
	(Subartu pottery)	Mallowan in Mélanges D, Plates I and III.
Cyprus	(White slip milk bowl)	BMC I ii, fig 78.
Mycenaean	(Tell el Amarna)	Amarna, Plate XXVI, 20.
	(Cyprus)	i BMC I ii, p 102, fig 179 a. ii Enk-Al, fig 51, and Plate XVIII, Argive Heraeum II, Plate LIV, 14 B.
	(Crete)	i Arch LIX, p 547, fig 142 b.
	(Aigina)	ii Mon Ant XIV, Plate XXXVIII. Eph 1910, Plate 4, 8.
Egypt	(Bubastis treasure)	Le Musée Égyptien II, Plate XLV.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Matz GKG, 12. ii Aigina, Plate 2, 34. iii Vrokastro, fig 53 D.
Cyprus	(Geometric)	Handbook Cesnola, no 1701.
Anatolia	(Gordion)	Gordion, Plate X, nos 37, 38 b, 38 c.
Assyria		i Bronze Gates Shalmaneser, Plate 1. ii Layard, Plate XLVIII.
Syria	(al Mina, below Protocorinthian)	JHS LX, p 5, fig 2 a.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i NC, Plate I, 6. ii BSA XLIV, p 155, fig 1.
Central Europe		Zimmer, Plate I, 7.

SCALE PATTERN

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate X, 27: Plate XII, 4.
Anatolia	(Shamiramalti)	PZ XIX, p 285, fig 1, no 5.
Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXVI, A 1 etc.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Morgan origines, I, Plate III.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	LAAA XX, Plate LX, 3.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	Pernier I, fig 110 (p 233).
	(XVIth century)	i BSA XXV, Plate XLVIII a. ii BMC I i, fig 137.
Egypt	(c. 1450, Keftiuian tribute)	LAAA VI, Plate X, G.
Mesopotamia	(c. 1420)	Tuthmosis IV, Plate XVIII, 46205.
Egypt	(Tutankhamun Tomb)	ILN 3 July 1926, p 20, fig 3.
Mesopotamia	(Assur, white painted ware)	Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, photo 9304 and others.
Cyprus	(Milk bowl ware)	Cesnola, Plate LXXXVI, 761.
Mycenean	(Crete)	i Arch LXV, p 20, fig 28. ii BSA IX, p 319, fig 18.
	(Rhodes)	i BMC I i, A 837-8. ii Stubbings, Plate I, 1.
	(Paros)	AM XLII, p 71, fig 79.
	(Cyprus)	BMC I ii, C 674.
	(Palestine)	Gezer III, Plate CLI, 17.
Syria	(Mycenean style)	Byblos I, Plate CLVII, 1444.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Hesp XIV, Plate XXVIII, 3. ii AJA 1901, p 146, fig 9.
	(Orientalising)	i Hesp Supp II, p 121, fig 87. ii JHS LXVIII, Plate XI e. iii NC, p 19, note 2.

FRINGED CIRCLE

Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXIX, C 8.
Mesopotamia	(post-Tell Halaf ware)	i Tell Halaf I, Plate XXXII, 1. ii Pre Ass, fig 78, 33.
	(al Ubaid)	Ur I, Plate XVI, 1621.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Mostagedda, Plate XXXII, 1 b.

Aegean	(Troy I) (Thessaly, neolithic) (Early Cycladic)	C. Blegen <i>Troy I</i> ii, fig 244, 31, 37. BMC I i, fig 36, A 132. 1. F Studies ii, Plate VI 2.
Mesopotamia	(Assur, H & G strata)	Andrae I T, Plate 23.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan) (Tepe Giyan)	Giyan, Tombs 65, 77. Hersfeld Iran, Plate XX.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Brak)	AfO XII, p 400, fig 6.
Aegean	(Middle Helladic) (XVIII Century)	Eutresis, Plate XII, 1. Pseira, p 25, fig 8.
Mycenean	(Ithaca) (Cyprus) (Anoia) (Crete) (‘Sub-Mycenean’)	JHS LVII, p 131, fig 4. BMC I ii, p 93, fig 166 b. POM IV i, p 338, fig 281. Mon Ant I, col. s 202 ff. & Plate I. Kerameikos I, Plate 5.
Cyprus	(Iron Age, bird vase) (Iron Age) (Orientalising)	Aegean Essays, Plate XII. 4. CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 407, 3. CVA Louvre v, France plate 343.
Anatolia	(‘Phrygian’)	TAH, 30-32 ii, fig 407.
Caucasia	(undated)	BAC II Atlas, Plate II. 3.

PAIRS OF SPIRALS ARRANGED ALONG A STEM.

Persia	(Sialk III)	- Sialk I, Frontispiece, 3.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Morgan Origines. I, Plate III.
Persia	(? IIIrd millennium)	i ILN 16 March 1935, p 417, top left. ii ILN 22 June 1935, p 1123, fig 4. Ex. s in TH, Plate V, DG 69, 6.5.32.
	(Hissar I)	
Egypt	(1st Intermediate Period)	Matmar, Plate XXXIII, 88.
Aegean	(Early IIInd millen- nium)	i BSA IX, p 303, fig 2. ii Phylakopi, p 122, fig 94 b.
Cyprus	(XVIII century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XXIV.
Aegean	(XVIII century)	Gournia, Plate VII, 30.
Anatolia	(Troy VI)	T und I, I, p 286, fig 181.

Mycenean	(Mycenae)	MV Plate XXXI, 291.
		i BMC I i, A 724, 3 (fig 159).
	(Crete)	ii Arch LXV, Plate II.
		iii Deltion VI, Appendix, p 158, fig 5.
	(Cyprus)	iv Unpub Palai, p 101, fig 84 (& others).
		i Enk-AI, fig 62, 8.
		ii Ex.s in C, p 73, fig 126.
		iii Kypros, Plate 152, 2.
	(Palestine)	iv ZfE 1899, fig 28, 2-4 (p 367).
		(Rhodes)
		QDAP IV, Plate XXI, k.
		CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 458, 8.
Cyprus	(Kourion)	AJA XLI, pp 56 ff, Tomb 26A, no 43, fig 6.
Syria	(Carchemish)	LAA VI, Plate XXVII, 2.
Anatolia	(Sakje Gozu)	Arm II ii, p 535.
Aegean	(Geometric)	Argive Heraeum II, Plate LVI, 6.
	(Orientalising)	Hesp XIV, Plate XV, 2.
Italy	(Orientalising)	Mon Ant XXII, Plate XXXVI, 3.

VERTICAL RIBBON OF HORIZONTAL ZIG-ZAGS BETWEEN VERTICAL LINES.

Egypt	(Predynastic)	i Pre Corpus, Plate XXXVI, 68 A - M.
		ii Bad Civ, Plate XXXIX, 10 m.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate VII, 8.
	(al Ubaid ware)	Comp archy Mesp. fig 10, 19.
Palestine	(Early Bronze Age)	Syria XVI, Plate LVIII, 4.
Persia	(Sawa)	BM bowl no 117834.
	(Shah Tepe)	Arne, Plate XLI, fig 290. b.
Aegean	(Early Minoan)	Deltion 1918, Plate B, right.
Cyprus	(XVIth century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XVII.
Mycenean	(Palestine)	QDAP IV, Plate XXII, h.
	(Ialyas)	Annuario VI-VII, Plate 3.
	(Mycenae)	i W Mycenae, Plate 76 b & d.
		ii MV, Plate XXIX, 251.
	(Cephallenia)	Deltion 1919, fig.s 17-18.
Cyprus	(‘Sub-Mycenean’)	BMC I ii, fig 264.
Caucasus area	(Djonu)	Morgan Mission IV, fig 114, 3.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	Deltion 1931-2, p 4, fig 3.
	(Geometric)	i Vrokastro, fig 96.
		ii Lindos I, Plate 36, 856.
	(Orientalising)	BSA XXIX, Plate XIX.

CIRCLE ENCLOSING A FOUR-POINTED FIGURE,
OBTAINED BY DRAWING FIVE INTERLOCKING CIRCLES

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate LI, 7.
India	(Harappa ware)	ILN 21 Nov 1936, p 910, fig 30.
Persia	(Third millennium)	JEA VI, Plate III, 3.
Aegean	(Early Minoan III ware)	i POM I, p 113, fig 80 b.1. ii POM IV i, p 92, fig 58.
Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)	N de G Davies, <i>Deir el Gebrawi I</i> , Plate VII and p 23.
	(XI-XIIth Dynasty)	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Antaeopolis Frontis-piece</i> , top left.
	(XIIth Dynasty)	i IKG, Plate I, 2. ii Dahchour 1894-5, Plate XII. iii Gizeh, Plate X b.
Syria	(Early IIInd millennium)	Montet Byblos, Plate XCVII 618.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	Mesara, Plate XIV, 1027.
	(XVIth century)	i POM I, Plate V. ii Psaira, p 18, fig 3.
Mycenean	(Dendra)	Dendra RT, Plate XXI
	(Rhodes)	i CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 458, 8. ii Annuario VI-VII, Plate II.
	(Cyprus)	Kypros, Plate XCVIII, 4.
Egypt	(c. 1200)	TSBA VII, Plate IV, (opposite p 186).
Cyprus	(‘Sub-Mycenean’)	Cesnola, Plate CXXIV, 936.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	AM XXII, Plate VI.
Assyria		Layard I, Plate LXVIII, centre.
Caucasia	(undated)	ARM, fig 438.

ROW OF RINGS

Persia	(Susa II style)	Iran Denk B, Plate II no 5, and others
	(Susa II)	DEP XIII, Plate XXVI, 4.
Palestine	(XVIth century)	Megiddo II, Plate 41, 30.
Syria	(Tell Billa III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.

Mycenean	(Cyprus)	BMC I ii, p 109, fig 191.
	(Boeotia)	MV, Plate XIX, 134.
	(Crete)	POM IV i, p 313, fig 249 b.
	(Italy)	BMC I i, A 914.
		Argive Herseum II, Plate LII, 39.

FOUR-POINTED STAR WITH CIRCULAR CENTRE LEFT EMPTY.

Egypt	(Predynastic, with a Vth ray)	DiosP, Plate XV, 24 b.
Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid period)	Comp archy Mesop, fig 11, 56.
Mycenean	(Crete)	Deltion 1920 Parartema, p 159, fig 6.
	(Cilicia)	LAA XXI, Plate VIII, 2.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	JHS LXVIII, p 15, fig 12.

Note :- A five pointed star with a circular centre left empty appears at Jemdet Nasr (AJA XXXIX, Plate XXXIII, 3.)

CIRCLE OF DOTS

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate IX, 13.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	IKG, Plate I, 1.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan II)	BMC I i, fig 112, A 529.
	(Middle Minoan III)	POM I, p 595, fig 437, b.
Mycenean	(Italy)	MV, Plate I, no 4.
	(Mycenae)	MV, Plate XXXI, 298.
	(Cyprus)	BMC I ii, C 667.

BIRD WITH A FISH

Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr ware)	i	Comp archy Mesp, fig 13. 61, 63.
		ii	Field Mus Nat Hist Anthro Memoirs, I, Plate LXXX, 2 & p 263.
	(Samarra)		Ausg Samarra, Plate VI.
	(Tell Agrab)		ILN 26 Sept 1936, Coloured Plate I, top.
	(Khafaje)		ILN 22 July 1933, p 123, fig H.
	(Tello, Larsa Dynasty)		Tello 20 campagnes, fig 61.
Palestine	(XVIth century)	i	QDAP VIII, Plate X.
		ii	Anc Gara IV, Plate XLIII.
		iii	Schaeffer in Syria XVI, Plate XXX, 2. Also in Missions en Chypre, p 54, fig 23.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III)		PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 2.
Mycenean	(Crete)	i	Mon Ant XIV, Plate XXXVIII.
		ii	Roes, GGA p 61, figs 48-9.
Syria	(Early Iron Age)		Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i	Roes GGA, p 60, figs 46-7.
		ii	Matz GGA, Plate 7.

OPPOSED ANIMALS STANDING ON EITHER SIDE OF A TREE.

(This motif was discussed by the Rev. Père Vincent in Syria, V, pp 81 ff. Schweitzer has suggested, in AM XLIII, p 149, note 5, that the motif might be of oriental origin).

Mesopotamia	(archaic)		Cylindres Louvre, Plate 27, 5.
Egypt	(Predynastic)		CVA USA ii, USA Plate 54, 6b.
Mesopotamia	(Ur)		RC, Plate 96.
Persia	(c. 2000)		DEP VII, p 25, and Plate III.
Mesopotamia	(c. 1500)		Cyl seals, fig 44, p 183.
Palestine and Syria	(Later Second millennium)	i	Megiddo II, Plate 56, 8; Plate 72, 3.
		ii	BCH XXXI, pp 117 ff, fig 1 s.
		iii	Cyl seals, Plate XXXII c.
		iv	PM Library seals, Plate LXXXIII, 597, Plate LXXXIV, 600.
		v	AJ XIX, Plate XIII, AT/8/92.
		vi	Reich und Kultur der Ch, p 64.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)		Yusa and Thuis, Plate LIII.

- Mycenean (Crete) i BCH XXXI, fig 1 (p 118).
 ii BMC I i, Plate IX, A 719.
 (gem-stone) MV, Tafel E, 16.
 (Cyprus) Ex.s in C, Plate I.
- Mesopotamia (Later IIInd millennium) Arch mitt Iran VIII, Plate I, fig 24.
- Egypt (Babastia treasure) i Le-musée égyptien II, Plate XLVIII, p 97.
 ii Jb XXV, p 197, fig 2.
- Cyprus (Early Iron Age) i SCE II, Plate XXIV, (Amathus tomb 18).
 ii Kypros I, p 94, fig 128.
- Palestine (Early Iron Age) Beth Pelet II, Plate LVIII.
- Syria (Early Iron Age) i Cim a crem, p 197, fig 242
 ii Montet reliques, p 108, fig 146.
 iii RA 1904 ii, fig 2 (p 206).
- Assyria Ass sculpture BM, Plate L, 2; Plate LII, 4.
- Mesopotamia i M von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf, a new culture in oldest Mesopotamia*, Coloured Plate III, 2 and 4.
 ii Layard N and B, p 562.
 iii LAAA XX, Plate LXV, 18.
- Anatolia Bossert Karatepe I, Plate XX, 99.
- Syria Sendachirli III, fig 117 and Plate XXXVIII a.
- Aegaeon (Geometric) i CVA Denmark ii, Plate 67, 4.
 ii AM XXI, p 448.
- Cyprus (Geometric) Handbook Cesnola, no 1701. (see R.S. Young in Hesp Supp II, p 196).
- Aegaeon (Orientalising) i CIR, IV, Plate VII.
 ii CIR, X, p 198, fig 11.
 iii CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 477.
 iv Perrot and Chipiez VIII, p 167, fig 90.
- Anatolia i Konay Pazarli, Plate XXXI.
 ii Bossert AA, p 276, no 1045.
- Luristan AFO XV, p 45, fig 3.
- Persia (Kuh-i-Dasht) ILN 1 March 1941, p 293, fig 8.
 (Azarbaijan) ILN 6 May 1950, pp 714 ff.
 (V-VIth centuries A.D.) ILN 30 July 1938, p 209 bottom right.

RIBBON OF CHEVRONS

Mesopotamia	(Nineveh II)		LAAA XX, Plate XL, 9.
	(Tell Halaf ware)		Iraq III, fig 23, 3.
	(Samarra)		Contenau Manuel iv, p 1950, fig 1058.
	(al Ubaid ware)	i	BM U 15509
		ii	Tello 20 campagnes, fig 8.
Egypt	(Predynastic)		Nagada, Plate XXIX, 78.
Persia	(Susa I)	i	Contenau Manuel i, fig 201.
		ii	DEP XIII, Plate V, 8.
	(Hissar I)		Ex.s in TH, Plate III, H 3439.
Cilicia	('Chalcolithic')		LAAA XXV, Plate XXIV, 1.
Egypt	(Protodynastic)	i	RT II, Plate LIV, top left.
		ii	Abydos I, Plate VIII, 17.
Aegean	(Knossos, neolithic)		BMC I i, fig 83, A 403, 3.
Anatolia	(Troy I)	i	T und I i, p 251, fig 118.
		ii	SS, 124.
Aegean	(E.M.I-II)		BMC I i, fig 87, A 414.
	(E.C.)	i	Thermi, Plate IX, 189.
		ii	Phylakopi, Plate VIII, 5.
Mesopotamia	(IIIrd Millennium)		LAAA XX, plate XLV, 4.
	(Ur, c. 2500)		PC. Plate 162, U 10453.
Anatolia	(Yortan)		BMC I i, fig 15, 11.
Aegean	(E.H.)		Zyg, Plate XIII, 2.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)		Arch LXXXVIII, Plate XIII f.
Anatolia	(Alishar III ware)		TAH 1930-32 i, Fig 239, E 1161.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)		Phylakopi, Plate XII, 9.
	(Middle Helladic)	i	Eutresis, fig 243.
		ii	Eph 1895, Plate 10, 2.
Egypt	(Hyksos period)		Hyksos and Ia cities, Plate VIII, 38.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan II)		BMC I i, fig 112, A 526, 2.
	(XVIth century)		Gourni, Plate VII, 33.
Cilicia	(c. 1500)		LAAA XXVI, Plate LIX, 11.
Mycenean	(Tell el Amarna)		BMC I i, fig 268, 10.
	(source not known)		PZ XIX, Plates 34-5.
	(Ialysos)	i	BMC I i, figs 200, 202.
		ii	HV, Plate X, 65, XXXVIII.
	(Salamis ?)		AJA XL, p 312, fig 10.
	(Palaikastru)		BMC I i, fig 168.
	(Mycenae, granary)		BSA XXV, Plate 5, a.
	(Cephalonia)		Eph 1933, p 86, Plate I.
	(Cyprus)		BMC I ii, fig 114.
	(Cilicia)	i	LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 5.
		ii	LAAA XXVI, Plate LVII, 18.
	(Palestine)		Anc Gaza III, Plate XI, 56.

Aegean	(Crete, Proto-geometric)	i BSA XXIX, Plate V 9: fig 25 c. ii Vrokastro, fig 54.
Palestine	(Early Iron Age)	Beth-Pelet I, Plate XXII, 199.
Aegean	(Crete, Geometric)	i BSA VIII, p 242, fig 10. ii JB 1899, p 38, fig 19.
	(Geometric)	i AM XLIII, Plate VI, 6. ii AJA XLIV, Plate, XXI, 5. iii Asine, fig 219, 7.
	(Orientalising)	i BSA XXIX, Plate X, 6 and 7. ii CVA, Pays Bas i, Pays Bas Plate 7, 1.
Cyprus	(Bichrome III)	SCE IV ii, Fig XXI 10).

SOLID TRIANGLE OR SEMI-CIRCLE, WITH LINES PARALLEL TO THE SIDES ENCLOSING THE APEX.

Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid period)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 11, 7.
Persia	(Sus III)	i DEP XIII, Plate XXVII, 1. ii CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 55, 55.
	(Tepe ali Abad)	DEP VIII, fig 285.
Anatolia		CC, I, 11.
Aegean	(Middle Helladic)	i Prosymna, fig 651, no 499. ii Entresis, Plate XIII.
Persia	(IIrd millennium)	DEP XIII, p 51, fig 179.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	Gournia, Plate IX, 16, 31.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa Stratum 3)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 4.
Persia		Iran Denk B, Plate XVIII, 8.
South Russia		Pre Myk, Plate I, 12 a.
Mycenean	(Rhodes)	Lindos I, Plate 3, 37.
	(Assarlik)	JHS VIII, p 69, fig 6.
	(Palaikastro)	BSA VIII, Plate XVIII.
	(Ialysos)	Annuario VI-VII, p 125, fig 44.
	(Zafer Papoura)	Arch LIX, p 453, fig 67.
	(Calymnos)	BMC I i, A 1015.
	(Cyprus)	i BMC I ii, C 510. ii Ex. s in C, p 35, fig 63, 1039.
	(Palestine)	Gezer III, Plate CLI, 24.
Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CLVIII, 1.
	('Philistine')	Beth-Pelet II, Plate LXXV, 1.

Cyprus	(¹ Sub-Mycenean ²)	Cesmola, Plate CXXIV, 936.
Aegean		Kerameikos I, Plate V.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate LXXXVIII, S 757.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig V, 7).
Aegean	(Cretan 'quasi-geometric')	Vrokastro, Plate XXX.
	(Salamis)	AM XXXV, p 27, fig. a 3, 4.
Palestine	(c. 1100)	Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	Kerameikos IV, Plate III.
Cyprus	(Bichrome)	i SCE IV ii, Fig VIII, 1).
		ii BMC I ii, Plate IV, C 836.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i AM XLIII, Plate I, 1.
		ii BCH XXXVI, pp 502, fig 9.
	(Protoattic)	Hesp Supp II, p 151, fig 107.
	(Orientalising)	CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 412, 1.
Italy		JHS LVI, pp 224-5, fig 6.

TWO SPIRALS, BACK TO BACK, FROM A SINGLE STEM.

Anatolia	(Alishar III)	TAH 1930-32 i, fig 239.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XII, 30.
	(XVIth century)	i Karo S, Plate XIX, 25: Plate CXLIV.
		ii BMC I i, fig 174, A 770, 1.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	Tuthmosis IV, Plate XIX (5A).
Mycenean	(Asine)	Asine, fig 260, 4.
	(Cilicia)	LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 4.
	(Calymnos)	BMC I i, A 1011, fig 273.
	(Rhodes)	Annuario VI-VII, p 93, fig 8.
	(Crete)	Gournia, Plate X, 31.
	(Korakou)	Korakou, fig 91.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	Kypros, Plate XCVIII, 1 b, 7.
Aegean	(Geometric)	Hampe, Plate 18, V 2.
Europe	(1st millennium B.C.)	Much, Plate XXII, 5.

MEDALLION PATTERN

Persia	(Moussian)	DEP VIII, p 117, fig 199.
Mesopotamia	(Larsa period)	Unpublished sherd in the British Museum
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XVIII, 20.
South Russia		Pre Myk, Plate X, 8.
Mycenean	(Tiryns)	Tiryns, fig 54.
	(Mycenae)	i W Mycenae, Plate 76 a.
		ii MV, Plate XXVIII, 225.
		iii BMC I i. p 204, fig 287, 2.

There are other decorative motifs besides those which have been listed above, which appear used on Mycenean pottery. Amongst them there appear the following :-

MOTIF	CATALOGUE ON PAGE
Quatrefoil	36
Circular line with a ring of dots outside it,	222
Pot-Hook spiral.	52
Fringed line.	196
Rosette.	57
Line of dots used to outline motifs	56
Wavy line making large vertical loops.	34
Pair of concentric semi-circles joined by chevrons.	180

These motifs, like the other motifs of Mycenaean pottery listed earlier (page 121), seem not, at least in several cases, to derive directly from decorative schemes previously in use in the west, though they might have occurred through having been brought by migrations from elsewhere. It is inadvisable to argue from individual cases, for chance discovery might change the balance of the evidence, but the general effect of the ceramic material seen as a whole does appear to suggest that eastern ideas were at this time of the Mycenaean period reaching the west.⁷⁶

The shape of the human figure with knees bent, as if running or kneeling, is obviously decorative and reasonably easy to draw or carve recognisably. Yet it was rarely so employed in antiquity. It seems very little known in the west before the middle of the 1st millennium, but is more common in the east. But since there is an example, carved on a Mycenaean gem, it will be of interest to survey the history of the use of this motif.

RUNNING OR KNEELING FIGURE

Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)	Qau I, Plate XXXII, 37.
Mesopotamia	(Akkadian)	Cyl seals, Plate XVII, c.
	(Early IIInd millennium)	Cyl seals, Plate XXIX, j.
Palestine	(1500-1300)	Gezer III, Plate CCII, b 5.
Mycenaean	(Seal-stone)	JHS XVII, p 70, Plate III, 11.
Syria	(1350-1150)	i Mélanges D, pp 557-8.
		ii Megiddo Ivories, no 44.
Luristan		i Syria XXVI, p 202, fig 5.
		ii ILN 22 Oct 1932, p 615, fig 15.
Mesopotamia	(1350-900)	Cyl seals, Plate XXXII, f.
	(Aramaean)	Bossert AA, p 232, no 901.
	(900-600)	PM Library seals, Plates LXXXVIII ff.

THE RITE OF CREMATION

The first traces of the use of the rite of cremation burial⁷⁷ during the Late Bronze Age are of Mycenaean date. For cremated burial appears at Troy before 1300, perhaps even before 1350, in the opinion of many authorities, basing their view on the normally accepted chronology for Troy VI.⁷⁸ The cemetery there is of the type known in many parts of Europe as 'urnfield'. In the internments therein there appeared pottery vessels made of grey ware, some formed in shapes which are not known to have been made in Greece and the Aegean islands, while others were of such well-known and characteristically Aegean shapes as the piriform jar⁷⁹ and the stirrup-vase. It has surprised students that shapes which have been supposed to be characteristically Aegean (and therefore, so they have supposed, of Aegean origin in invention), should have been made of undecorated grey ware, which was quite a rare style of pottery in the Aegean region, though used at that time in western Anatolia. To explain this Blegen has suggested that these shapes were made in grey ware at Troy through the interaction of two sources of inspiration, his opinion being that the quality of the ware and its colour were due to traditional local convention, while the shapes, then being manufactured in the Aegean area, were considered suitable by the Trojan potters for imitation, and were therefore made locally.⁸⁰ This view is agreeable, and might be a reasonable method of explaining the evidence for those students who do not attempt to examine the material from outside the Aegean region. What tells against it is as follows. The adoption of the rite of cremation is, or may be, more significant than the copying of a particular ceramic style. For, so far as one can see at present, the fashion in burial did not alter in antiquity except for definite reasons. It was not lightly changed. At the time of the Fourteenth century B.C. this rite appeared within the Aegean area, at Troy and in other sites, whither it came, very likely, from elsewhere. There is no evidence to suggest that this rite was introduced to Troy from Greece or the Greek islands. Yet it appears quite suddenly at Troy, contemporaneously with the use of pots made in shapes similar to those then being manufactured in the Aegean. Further, the 'urnfield' system of arrangement of a cemetery is new, not only at Troy but also in many parts of Europe.⁸¹ And again, the piriform jar and the stirrup-vase had already appeared earlier within the Aegean area, under such conditions as to suggest that they may have been types brought to the west by migrants from the east (see pages 48, 112 above). It would be possible to

suggest that when these types of vessel reappear during the Fourteenth century in the Aegean area, and at Troy, they were being re-introduced from their original source, somewhere in the east. This is, indeed, made all the more probable by the fact that they are made in two different techniques, grey ware, and painted ware, in adjacent regions, a situation which is more likely to arise if there had been a common external source for the shapes, than direct intercommunication between the two areas of western Anatolia and Greece. If these shapes had been, at any time, spontaneously developed in the west, then surely they would not have been discontinued, only to be revived, from time to time? But they did disappear, to come back into fashion. Perhaps it is truly significant that their reappearance should synchronise with the appearance of the rite of cremation. If so, there is the beginning of an indication that the rite of cremation was due to the spreading westward of eastern influence or ideas.

Cremation comes into general practice in the west and in Syria at about the time of the XIIIth century, though there had been, as has been stated above, earlier occasions of its use.⁸² In this matter one can trace the slow but fairly steady popularisation of a new idea, which was eventually to take strong hold in the west. This may be what one should expect, if in fact there had been, during the Mycenaean period, movements of people from the east to the west, and if the rite of cremation had been of eastern source, as may well have been the case. This subject is discussed further below (see pages 151 - 155), at the point where events subsequent to about 1200 are examined.

There are some things which appear to suggest that new ideas, which might be of eastern source, were finding their way to the Aegean area by the close of the XIIIth century.⁸³ One of these is the ceramic shape of the Kalathos (catalogue on page 142), which seems to be a new shape at that time, but perhaps of eastern source, despite the fact that the earliest examples yet known are of Mycenaean date from the Aegean. It is known from the earliest days of the Iron Age in Cyprus, and even earlier in Palestine, and may be one of the introductions of the first people of the Iron Age to enter known Near Eastern lands. Sometimes the Kalathos is made with pierced sides, making it look something like a kind of basket, and this version is found as well in the east as in the west, while there is the remains of a vessel with similar open work sides, painted in white on dark, from Assur,⁸⁴ a vessel which is ornamented in the style familiar from Atchana. Other ceramic shapes newly popular at about this time in the west include the tumbler shape with a spreading base (catalogue on page 120), and the cylindrical pyxis, sometimes on three feet (catalogue on page 50). Both these

latter shapes are known in the east at an earlier date, and may be of eastern source.

KALATHOS

Mycenean	(Crete)		Unpub Palai, fig 70.
	(Rhodes, Ialysos)	i	Annuario, p 143, fig 65, 31 (with figurines on the rim).
		ii	CVA BM v, GB Plate 290, 10.
	(Mycense, Granary)		BSA XXV, fig 8, a.
	(Asine)		Asine, fig 270, 12.
	(Dendra)		Dendra RT, Plate XXXI.
	(Palestine: Open work)		QDAP IV, Plate XVII, 276.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)		SCE I, Plate XLIII, bottom row.
	(White Painted II ware: Open work)		SCE IV ii, Fig XIII, 3).
Aegean	('Quasi-geometric': Open work)		Vrokastro, Plate XXXI.
	('Quasi-geometric': Solid sides).		Vrokastro, fig 86 A.
	(Protogeometric)		Kerameikos I, Plate 71.
	(Geometric)		JHS LI, pp 168 ff, Plate I, 7 & 8.
	(Geometric: Open work)		CVA Greece i, Greece Plate 6, 10-11.
Syria	(VIII-VIIth centuries)		JHS LX, p 20, fig 8 o.
Aegean	(Protocorinthian)		Common

The idea of making objects with open work sides appears to have interested people at this time in many parts of the eastern Mediterranean area. There is, for example, as has been pointed out in an article written by Wace and Blegen,⁸⁵ a double-conical type of pendant, hollow and with the sides pierced to give the effect of an open work basket (catalogue on page 143), which appears at Mycenae in Mycenaean days. Similar objects have been found at Byblos, at Ialysos and, apparently, also in Egypt. In the article referred to it is stated that such objects also appear at Atchana,

though these remain unpublished. There are further examples of this shape of pendant from the Caucasian area, and from Tepe Giyan in Persia, though these are not dated. They also occur in Italy, at Cumae and Vetulonia, and in Austria, while other specimens come from Athens and Olympia. There are pendants which may belong to the same general category though of different shapes, as follows. Pendants of single conical form, hollow and with the sides pierced, occur in an Iron Age context in Cyprus, and in the Caucasian area.⁸⁶ More or less globular pendants of similar style have been found in Armenia, Persia (in a tomb of Giyan IV date), Ithaca (of 1st Millennium date), Greece (of late Geometric date) and in Hallstatt contexts in eastern Europe.⁸⁷ A bell-shaped pendant in this style belongs, it seems, to the early Iron Age in Azarbaijan.⁸⁸

It should be noted that Beck published an open work bead, of melon shape, which he described as of XIIth Dynasty date, and from Egypt.⁸⁹

BICONICAL LANTERN-TYPE BEAD

Mycenean	(Syria)	i	Byblos, Plate CXXXV, 1965.
		ii	Klio XXXII, p 142, note 4.
	(Aegean)	i	Arch LXXXII, Plate IX.
	(Palestine)	ii	MV, Plate C, 17, 18. Lachish II, Plate XXXV, 80-81.
Egypt			MV, p 74.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan)		Herafeld Iran, Plate XXIX.
Aegean	(Olympia)		Olympia IV, Plate XXIII, 413.
	(Athens)		JHS XIII, p 242, fig 15.
	(Rhodes)		Lindos I, Plate 11, 219.
Europe	(Austria)		Diss Pann, Plate VI, 3.
Italy	(Cumae)		Mon Ant XXII, col 90, fig 34.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, pp 206 ff. Vercoutter says (BIPAO XLVIII, p 174) that *haw-abwt* was the equivalent of Greek from the time of the XXVth Dynasty.
2. J. A. R. Munro in JHS 1934, pp 121 ff.
3. Junker, *Onurislegende*, p 77. K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar* III, p 167.
4. Wörterbuch III, p 11.
5. P. Montet has made some vivid comments on this point (RA 1947, pp 131-2).
6. Montet has stated that the *Haw-abwt* has nothing to do with the Greek Islands (RA 1947, pp 129 ff.).
7. Discussed by Gardiner (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, pp 206 ff.).
8. W. Dörpfeld held (*Alt-Olympia*, pp 429 ff.) that the original home of the early Ionians (or *Haw-abwt*) was on the coast between Egypt and Palestine. And Sidney Smith (*The statue of Idrî-Mi*, pp 33-5) places the *Haw-abwt* in south-eastern Anatolia.
9. BIPAO XLVIII, p 173.
10. BIPAO XLVIII, p 192.
11. BIPAO XLVIII, pp 150 ff.
12. BIPAO XLVIII, p 174.
13. BIPAO XLVIII, pp 193 ff.
14. Ex. s in C, p 11.
15. Ex. s in C, p 22.
16. The stag lying down with its head thrown and its antlers spread so as to fill the space above the back of the animal (Ex. s in C, p 14, Plate II, 1339 A-B) is a type which, as is pointed out in that book, appears in south Russia much later. It is presumably in a style of eastern source, as it is not known so early in the west, while only an eastern origin could easily explain its occurrences in Cyprus and South Russia.
17. Barnett has pointed out (JHS LIVIII, pp 1 ff) that ivory can only have come from Asia or Africa. Faience is known far earlier in Egypt than in the west.
18. Syria 1929, p 176.
19. Arc Orien IV, pp 160 ff: RE suppb VI, cols 178-9: Mazzarino, note 298.
20. Zeus III, pp 650 ff.
21. JHS XIX, pp 327 ff: Mazzarino, pp 125 ff.
22. At the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, in the view of Mazzarino (loc cit pp 112/3) and Luckenbill (*ZfA* 1913, 93), the Assyrians referred to the Cypriotes (who did not speak the Ionian dialect) as Javan. The Uym mentioned in a text from Ras Shamra (*Virolleand* 2, 19) may represent Ionians (Rev Bibl. Jan 1931, p 38: Mazzarino, note 298: Arc Orien IV, pp 169 ff: RE Suppb. VI, cols 178-9).
23. Genesis I, 2-4. The sons of Japhet were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras. The sons of Javan were Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanin. Vainwright argues (*Klio* XIV, pp 7-8) that "the children of Javan" formed "a compact group round the shores of the North-East Levant".
24. S. Blochet in Rd A XII, pp 167 ff: Mazzarino, p 165. Junge in *Klio Beiheft* 1941: Kent in JHS 1943, pp 302 ff. Mazzarino says that "continental Ianna" was Greece and Macedonia, but he also says (p 268) that Assyrians knew nothing of Greek geography.
25. Atkinson p 26. An inscription in a niche at Van may refer to a Dissiani, a ruler of a people called Igani, and it has been suggested that this may be the equivalent of Diogenes of the Ionians (C.F. Lehmann-Haupt in *Klio* XVII, pp 74 ff). The Vannic niches, perhaps for offerings, were compared with niches in the Aegean area by Lehmann-Haupt (*Arm* II, 1926, p 157.).

25 (Continued)

There are signs of kinship between archaic Greek and Armenian languages (Atkinson, pp 39, 44-51). Unfortunately, very little if anything is known of the early history of the Armenian people. Modern Assyrians say that their Queen Shamiram, who is presumably the same as Semiramis, fought with, and conquered, the Armenians. Perhaps the Armenians had by then only recently entered the area now known as Armenia. It is a fact that the characteristic style of ornament of the borders of modern Armenian silverwork is very closely akin to the style of design of the borders of such Celtic works as the Book of Kells. But equally Celtic is the different style of ornament in which the background of the design is hatched, so as to throw up the pattern into bold relief, a style which appears in Greece in Thessalian neolithic pottery, which may well have been made by people who had migrated from further east, and in the XIIIth Dynasty saucer found at Dahshur, possibly a vessel brought from Caucasia (see page 38). Both of those styles may be truly Celtic and may represent two different groups of Celts. But if one such group can be located in Caucasia, perhaps the other group should also be located there. There is far too little evidence available for one to do better than to guess, but the possibility that Celtic people were living in or near Caucasia from the time of the IIIrd millennium, and included ancestors of the Armenian people, may perhaps have to be reckoned against the suggestion, so often made today, that the Armenian people crossed the Bosphorus into Anatolia during the Ist millennium B.C., a proposal for which there is no archaeological support.

It is a curious fact that the most unusual shape of the Celtic flagons from Lorraine in the British Museum (Arch LXXIX, Plate IV, fig 10) are paralleled in IInd millennium pottery from Anatolia (A. Goertze, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 3, Abt 3 i, Kleinasien, Plate 5.).

East to west movements of peoples during Mycenaean days seem to be indicated by Greek traditions. About 1580, so it has been suggested, Cecrops may have come from the east (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XXXII (1928), p 80). About a century later Danaos is believed to have come to Greece, arriving traditionally in a pentecoster in the Argolic Gulf. At much the same time Cadmus, called a Phoenician, came westward. Later Proetus, though called brother of the Argive king, established himself as the ruler of the eastern half of the Danaan Kingdom, with the help of a band of warriors with whom he had come from the east. Still later Perseus came from foreign lands, killed the king of Argos, exchanged kingdoms with the son of Proetus and built a citadel at Mycenae. Yet another foreigner, Pelops, came to Greece at about the same time as Perseus, and he also may have come from the east.

Munro has pointed out (JHS LIV, pp 127-8) that the Pelasgians may reasonably be associated with the migration of Mysians and Teucrians who, according to Herodotus, crossed into Europe before the time of the Trojan war, and that the Teucrians are in historic times most conspicuous in Cyprus and Cilicia.

Crosby Butler remarked (*Sardis I Excavations* I, p 141 and fig 156) on the mixture of Sumerian and Greek styles in an archaic head he found at Sardis. Since the Sumerian style had long been forgotten by Greek archaic times such a mixture might be thought odd, if the Ionians came from the west.

26. *Antiquity* 1936, p 16.
27. *Esakiel* xvii, 19.
29. *AfO* LIV, pp 1 ff.
30. This type of object also appears at Ras Shamra, during the period "XVth-XIVth centuries" (*ILN* 6 Jan 1940, p 26, bottom.).
31. *Lorimer*, p 308, note 3.
32. *Montelius Civ Prim Italie septentr*, Plate 62. *Déchelette* II ii, fig 275. *V&E*, Plate IV, 1.
33. *Godard bronzes*, Plate XLIV.
34. *AJA* LIV, p 258.

35. AA 1923-4, cols 263-7.
36. Lindos I, text cols 198-9.
37. Arch LIII, Plate III, 2: A and B, p 301, note 4: LAAA XVIII, pp 1 ff and Plate I.
38. Levi in AJA 1945, p 274, note 19.
39. They occur in Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period (Qau I, pp 8, 66: Matmar, Plate XII, 9:) and at the time of the XIIth Dynasty (Dahchour, Plates XV ff) As has been stated earlier in this book, there is some reason to believe that new people spread to Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period from the general area of Caucasia. Similar objects have been found at Byblos in Syria (Montet Byblos, Plate LXIII, 41), in association with torques and other material believed to be of Caucasian type (Syria VI, pp 16 ff). Similar work has also been found at Ur (RC, Plate 133), where it was contemporary with such things as racquet pias, which are of types known in Caucasia and Azarbaijan.
40. POM I, p 551, fig 402.
41. Montet Byblos, Plates XCIX, C, CII, and others.
42. In POM II, p 262, Evans expressed a similar opinion. Inlay in stone is of a very early date in Mesopotamia (Contenau Mammel IV, p 2037, fig 1131), and occurs at the time of the First Dynasty in Egypt (W. B. Emery, *The Tomb of Henaka*, Plate 12).
43. see above, note 38.
44. It may be pointed out that the crescent shape formed in relief where the handle joins the blade in an object supposed to be a dagger handle from the IVth Shaft Grave at Mycenae (Karo, S, Plate LXXVII, 294), is unique at that time in the Aegean area, but can be paralleled in the Caucasian area at, according to Schaeffer, about the same date (SC, fig 217, 3.).
45. Dendra ST, Plate XII-XV.
46. POM II ii, p 534, fig 338.
47. Nak-AI, pp 379 ff.
48. There are, however, some rings with inlaid enamel decoration of Mycenaean date from Cyprus (ILN 2 May 1953, p 711, fig 9). These objects may be related to the early enamel pieces from Caucasia of perhaps much the same date (Arch LXIII, pp 1 ff).
49. Dendra RT, p 56.
50. Mesara, Plates XIII ff.
51. Wace and Blegen in *Klio* XXXII, p 142.
52. At Delos. Merlin in *Comptes rendus des inscriptions et belles lettres* 1947, p 414.
53. Ug I, Frontispiece.
54. Megiddo Ivories, passim.
55. Ex. s in C, Plates I ff.
56. Matmar, Plate XLVII, 16: Plate LIII, 11 & 12: Qau III, Plate XXXVI, 5 & 9.
57. Megiddo II, Plate 204, 1.
58. Lorimer, p 62.
59. ESA XIV, p 370.
60. Lorimer, pp 62-3.
61. Ivories Sam, pp 49ff.
62. W. M. F. Petrie, *Beth Pelet* II, Plate IV. This object was discussed by C de Mertzenfeld in *Mélanges D*, II, pp 587 ff.
63. Ug I, frontispiece and Plate XI: Kastor, pp 86 ff: Barnett in *PRPQ* 1939, pp 4-19: Dussaud phénicien, pp 84 ff.
64. The earliest example appears to be of about 1800 (Megiddo II, Plate 204, 1.).
65. Couissin in *RA* XXVII, p 265.
66. JHS LVI, p 164.
67. Prosymna, p 422.

62. POM IV, p 363, fig 303.
69. Arch LXXXIII, Plate XII, 15. Zyg, fig 143, no 185: BSA XIV, fig 12 a. This type of vessel is referred to above (page 88 note 25).
70. Morgan mission IV, fig 112, 2.
71. Compare Siolk II, Plate XVIII, 5 (from Cemetery B) with Karo S, Plate CIII, 73.
72. BSA XLVII, p 266, 16: POM IV, p 337, fig 280: Annuario VI-VII, fig 39.
73. Annuario VI-VII, p 233, fig 149. Such vessels may, in the opinion of Wace and Blegen "reflect an eastern style in the west" (Klio XXII, p 142).
74. A. Furumark, *Mycenean pottery*, pp 430 ff.
75. This vessel has a curiously shaped rim to the neck. This type of rim is similar to that found in early Lakonian ware (see page 271), and appears on ware approximately contemporary with early Lakonian pottery at Thera (AM XXVIII, p 205, fig 55 a).
76. Jacobsthal has pointed out (*Imagery in early Celtic Art*, p 17) that the motif of a tendril ending in a bird's head appears both in Mycenaean and in Orientalising days in the Aegean area. He believes the motif to be of eastern source.
77. Cremation is believed to have been practised at about 1600 in Greece, but there is but a single isolated case (Dorpfeld *Alt Ithaca*, I, pp 210 ff, 220 ff. Wiesner, *Grab und Jenseits*, p 14, no 19, p 111.1).
78. AJA XXIX, pp 26 ff.
79. AJA XXIX, fig 21.
80. The cup AJA XXIX, p 29, fig 33, the jar loc cit, fig 19, and the bowl loc cit, fig 22, are not Aegean shapes, or, at least, they are very rare in that area.
81. Hawkes, p 343.
82. Lorimer, pp 103 ff. Prosymna, pp 143 and 242.
83. It was during the XIIIth century, at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, that a new style appears in the fashioning of Assyrian seals, different, in the view of Moortgat, from the style found in the Kirkuk seals (of about 1400), and from those of the times of Eriba Adad and Assurballit (ZfS 1941, p 87.1).
Demargne says (pp 73-4) that either Syrian or Aegean (anyway, foreign) influence seems to have caused an Assyrian break-away from Babylonian routine, noticeable at about the time of the XIIIth century.
84. Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo 21924.
84. Klio XXIII, pp 131 ff.
86. Cyprus: SCS IV ii, fig 26 (p 147) 23.
Caucasia: i RAC II, Plate XXVII, 9.
ii SC, fig 236, Tula, 11.
iii GGS, fig 40.
87. Armenia i ZfS, 17, Plate II, 18.
ii RAC I, p 176, figs 129-31.
Persia SC, fig 245, tomb 105 (Gilan IV).
Ithaca ILN 14 Jan 1933, fig 1, bottom left: BSA XLIII, Plate 49, E, 89-92.
Greece Pera, Plate 83, 14 and p 183.
Hallstatt i Sacken, Plate XIII, 3.
ii MAGW 1889, p 33, fig 22.
81. There is an example of a bronze hollow dagger handle, of which the sides are of open work, like the pendants discussed above. This is of the later part of the IIrd millennium, and comes from Tell Asmar (OIC 17, p 61 and fig 53 bottom left). It has served as the handle of an iron knife. The use of iron may suggest that the object came from Azarbaijan, where iron may have been made the object of experiment from an early date.
89. Arch LXVII, pp 19-20, fig 18, A 3.

CHAPTER V

1200 B.C.

This chapter is mainly concerned with the evidence provided by various classes of metal objects.

Some new types of armour and arms began to supplant the existing ones in the Aegean area by about 1200 (see pages 67 ff). Some of these were not entirely strange, for they had come into use during the XVIIIth century there, though they had not remained in use for long. They include the helmet with a crest standing upright along the top, this being fixed in various ways, the horned helmet, the round shield and greaves or leggings. These new types may have been, in the opinion of Miss Lorimer, derived from some part of western Asia.¹ At much the same time the cutting version of sword came into use, both in the Aegean area and in Egypt. This sort of sword, though only common by about 1200, had been in use also during the XVIIIth century (see page 68).

All the varieties of helmet illustrated at about 1200 were known, it seems, during the XVIIIth century in the Aegean, and may therefore, on the basis of the discussion earlier in this book, be possibly considered to be as of eastern source. They seem not to

have been made thereafter until somewhere near 1200, and this interval may perhaps suggest that there were two occasions of the introduction of the types. The horned helmet, so characteristic a piece of equipment of the eastern Shardana, could, no doubt, have been introduced to the east by wandering soldiers from the Aegean, but this cannot explain how it was that that type of helmet reached the west, unless, of course, it was invented there. But if that had occurred, why was it not made during the interval between the XVIth century and about 1200? In view of such difficulties it may be reasonable to suggest as an alternative view that there were repeated migrations to the Aegean area, possibly from the general area of Caucasia, and that certain types of equipment, like other things, were brought thereby.²

There were varieties of round shields made towards the close of the Mycenaean period, and these have been examined fully by Miss Lorimer.³ Round shields were in use by about 1200 in the Aegean, and were also part of the equipment of the Shardana and the Pulesati people in their attacks on Egypt. The type also appears at about the same time in Cyprus, and was commonly in use early in the Ist millennium in Urartu and in Assyria. Like the helmets of this period, the round shield may also have been in use during the XVIth century in the Aegean area, for something which may be, and has been described as, a round shield appears as one of the signs on the Phaistos disc. A round shield also appears in Syria early in the XIIIth century.

The Achaeans were noted for the protection that they arranged for their legs. Leggings are illustrated in Mycenaean days in the west, as for example on the Warrior Vase. But the only actual greaves of metal which have yet been found come from the east, from Enkomi⁴ and from Carchemish.⁵

The earliest examples of the slashing sword shape were of eastern appearance, and an eastern source is possible for the earliest examples of this shape found in the Aegean area, these being dated to Late Minoan I-II times (see page 68). The next group in chronological order includes the bronze sword found in Chamber Tomb 2 at Dendra,⁶ which is supposed to date from 1200 B.C., and the two bronze examples which were found in Moulia Tomb B. In both tombs at Dendra and Moulia objects of eastern type occurred, as will be shown below. By before 1200 the slashing sword was made in iron,⁷ as well as in bronze. To use iron for the manufacture of a sword would no doubt have required a high degree of skill, hardly to be gained without considerable experience. This would probably only have been obtained in such areas as those where iron was readily obtainable, and where men were attempting to make use

of it. There can be no doubt that such an area, perhaps the sole such area, was in Azarbaijan, in the general area of Caucasia.

Thus the evidence of arms and armour leads the eye towards the area of Caucasia, suggesting that it was from or through that region that some, at least, of the new ideas and styles which come flooding in to the west at about 1200 may have come. This evidence has brought attention to the use of iron, and to this matter, therefore, attention must now be turned.

IRON

Iron objects were uncommon in the Aegaeon area during the XVIth century, as has been mentioned earlier in this book (page 65), after which time they still continued to be used, though apparently less freely⁸. Towards the end of the XIIIth century an iron bracelet was placed in Tomb 17 at Ialysos, a tomb in which there were both inhumed and cremated burials, and pottery which included vases similar to the late Mycenaean wares from Korakou and Zygouries on the Greek mainland, decorated in a purely geometrical manner. One of the vessels in this tomb was a jug with a spout at right angles to the handle (catalogue on page 201), a shape which is new at about this period in the Aegaeon area, and which appears at roughly the same time in many lands, being found as far to the east as Azarbaijan. It is a shape which, when found in the west, is usually supposed to be of eastern origin. Also in Tomb 17 at Ialysos there were found cylinder seals of eastern type, a so-called Hittite seal, and a piece of granulated gold work. The granulated gold object might well have been of eastern source, for the history of that technique (see page 66) appears to indicate that it was probably invented somewhere in Asia. Thus it would seem as if the people buried in that tomb had certain eastern contacts, if indeed they were not actual migrants from the east, buried with objects which they had brought with them. Iron was also found in Chamber Tomb 2 at Dendra, a tomb which also contained late Mycenaean pottery, a short slashing sword of bronze, tripod cauldrons of bronze, a mirror with a carved wooden handle of the shape of the carved ivory mirror handles found in Cyprus, an example of gold granulation and what has been described as part of a semi-circular fibula of gold.⁹ These objects form an excellent counterpart to Ialysos tomb 17, in illustrating the new ideas and styles of objects which seem to have

reached the Aegean area at about 1200 B.C. The mirror handle certainly seems to be of eastern style. The granulation and the slashing sword are examples of objects much better known in the east than in the west up to this date.

Among the articles made of iron which were found at Enkomi in Cyprus were knives with carved ivory handles, which came from Tomb no. 58.¹⁰ This tomb also contained pieces of what was described in the report as 'ribbed ware', by which is perhaps meant the vertically fluted or engraved grey bucchero ware or the somewhat similar fabric covered with a black wash, both of which are known in Cyprus at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age, a bronze tripod, and the well-known long ivory draught-box carved in relief with hunting scenes, in one of which there appears a man wearing a feather headdress.¹¹ From Egypt comes the famous slashing sword of iron engraved with the cartouche of Seti IInd. None of these things with which those early pieces of iron are associated fall within the category of objects characteristic of the Mycenaean civilisation. They seem rather to indicate the advent to the Mediterranean area and to Egypt of new ideas which are of post-Mycenaean rather than Mycenaean date and which have, perhaps, eastern rather than western affinities, in much the same way as do the contents of Tomb 17 at Ialysos and Tomb 2 at Dendra. Other objects of iron maybe of about the same date as those which have just been mentioned. They include the pieces associated with 'sub-Mycenaean' fabrics from the Kerameikos, and from the Moulana Tomb A, in which the iron sword was associated with a fibula of bronze, a cremation burial and a crater of 'Cypriote' type, a variety to which also belongs the Warrior Vase from Mycenae. The Moulana crater is painted with crudely drawn scenes of human activity, and may perhaps, for that reason, be thought to be contemporary with the Warrior Vase and some other vessels with equally crudely executed illustrative drawings¹² from other parts of the Aegean area, all of which may be of the very close of the Mycenaean period in date, just before the Protogeometric age, and roughly contemporary with the interments at Salamis and the occupation of the Granary at Mycenae. Miss Lorimer, however, considers that that crater from Moulana is to be dated to the Protogeometric period, an epoch usually defined as the time when the compass came into use for the drawing of concentric circles as ceramic ornament. (This introduction is discussed on page 200). The use of the compass does not appear at Moulana. Iron also appears in the Chamber Tombs at Vrokaströ, where there were also other objects which link the groups in those tombs to the groups mentioned above, such as a tripod¹³ similar to the one found in Tomb 58 at Enkomi, and a gold

ring¹⁴ similar to rings found at Moulana. At Vrokaastro, however, there is a vessel from Chamber Tomb 3 decorated with concentric semi-circles drawn with a compass,¹⁵ which appears to suggest that the Chamber Tombs there may be assigned to a slightly later date than that of the other groups discussed above. The Vrokaastro Chamber Tombs will be referred to later in this book (see pages 192 ff).

Cremation was just beginning to come into practice as a popular form of interment at the time when the Moulana tombs were constructed. Since changes in burial rite are considered to be unlikely to occur without considerable reason, it may be presumed that in this use of cremation may be seen an important introduction. At the same time appears the use of fibulae in the west. This implies a change in dress, and this also is doubtless to be considered as an important introduction. Both of these innovations may be due to the coming of ideas from the east, as will be explained in the following pages, and are not only approximately contemporary with the introduction of the use of iron, but also seem to suggest, what that introduction appears to imply, the development of so great a degree of similarity between east and west that is reasonable to assume that migrations at this time brought considerable numbers of people from the east to the west. For neither a new burial rite, nor a new manner of dress, are likely to be produced by imitation from afar, or by trade, even if trade were carried on at all at that time, a hypothesis by no means established.

The rite of cremation was apparently practised from an early date in central and eastern Europe, though it only became known at all widely within the Mediterranean area at a later time. After the XIVth century, however, it began to appear in very widely separated places, ranging from Igdir in Azarbaijan¹⁶ to Assur, Babylon, the Punic cities of north Africa¹⁷ and Italy.¹⁸ The apparent priority of the rite in central Europe has suggested to some authorities that when it appeared in the Aegaeon area it was likely to have been spread through the agency of migrants passing south by way of the Balkan region on their way towards Greece. There is, however, no truly satisfactory archaeological evidence whereby such a proposal could be supported. On the other hand, the evidence at present available could reasonably be interpreted by suggesting that the original home of the rite was in the east, whence it spread first into central Europe, no doubt by way of south Russia, and at a later time into the Mediterranean countries, no doubt by way of Syria. Perhaps the best known cemetery dating from the beginning of the time when cremation came to be practised in the Near East is that at Hama in Syria. Little or nothing was found there of

western type, though some of the cremation urns were painted with crudely drawn pictures of animals, perhaps to be connected with the Moulana crater and the contemporary Aegean and Syrian/Palestinian vessels which bear drawings of animals (see pages 182 ff).

In itself the rite does not exhibit any characteristics whereby the course of its spreading can be established. To do this the student must make use of the evidence of objects found in connection with cremations.

Cremation appears in the Aegean area somewhat tentatively at first, so it would seem.¹⁹ A very few cremated burials occurred at Salamis, and in the 'Sub-Mycenean' graves of the Kerameikos, no doubt of about the date of the Salamis cemetery. There are also a few cremations at Ialysos, and one at Moulana, while cremation was practised at Vrokastro, first in the Chamber Tombs there. In all these places cremation was contemporary with inhumation at this time, which can be defined as the period immediately preceding the Protogeometric age. Cremation was, however, very much more rarely employed at that time than inhumation. But by about 1100, when the Protogeometric age began, according to the excavators of the Kerameikos (it is a convenient date to accept, even if it cannot be proved to be correct) cremation suddenly becomes the dominant rite in the Aegean area. With the urns used for the cremated burials, as Miss Lorimer pointed out 'weapons are sometimes found... daggers and swords are from the first of iron.'²⁰ She believes that 'the swords of the Kerameikos are in all probability imports, but apart from them there are no manufactured articles of foreign origin'²¹ either at Athens, or at Vrokastro, except for a 'Cypriote' tripod and some imitation scarabs and beads of faience. During all this time there is, in her opinion, 'a steady continuous development with no evidence for any change in the population. The pottery is gradually transformed... Mycenaean shapes... gradually disappear... and the alterations in decoration are gradual'. Thus she appears to consider that one of the most remarkable changes possible for man to adopt, that in the disposal of his dead, occurred without any change in the population. But surely such a change under those conditions is unlikely. The traditions connected with religious rites and with behaviour towards the dead have never changed lightly, and without any particular reason at all. It may be doubted if her picture of events has in fact any real foundation in human nature, without which no historical theory is likely to be useful.

The view of events which is proposed in this place is the exact contrary to that proposed by Miss Lorimer. It is to the effect

that there was a considerable change in the active elements in the population of the Aegean area during the XIIth century. The major evidence for this, apart from the change in burial rite, is in the change in the shapes and decoration of the pottery which, after the passing of a century, resulting in the production of a completely new kind of pottery. That such a change was gradual in development is not un-natural, for the change in population which, so it is suggested, occurred, might have been due to migration from elsewhere, beginning gradually, very likely as the result of the coming of a few adventurous souls, followed subsequently by increasing numbers. As there will be shown later, the ceramic evidence does indicate that there were migrations from the east to the west at this time, bringing eastern motifs and ideas. People wandering in this way do not necessarily cause great changes in the cultures of the lands they settle in. Rather the reverse. Theoretically they may be expected to cause small changes, by introducing one or two of their inherited ways of work, though daring, as their numbers increase, to introduce yet more, but always remaining ready to conform to local traditions, for fear of offending their neighbours while still dependant on their goodwill, as they would necessarily be, while still remaining numerically inferior to them.

FIBULAE

There is a type of metal pin, which appears likely to have been used as a fastening for clothing, of which several examples have been found in Syria and Palestine in contexts of before 1500. It is not unlike a semi-circular fibula in shape, but the bow and the pin are separate, not made all in one piece with a loop with which to give tension to the pin. An example occurred at Jericho²² in tomb 9 of the excavation carried out by the expedition organised by Garstang²³ and was apparently associated with a vessel with loop legs²⁴ (catalogue on page 220), and with an example of the ceramic use of the wavy line ornament²⁵ (catalogue on page 53). As may be deduced from a study of the appropriate catalogues, both those details, being new to Palestine at about the middle of the Second Millennium, may suggest that at that date foreigners were in process of introducing ideas strange to that land. Such hypothetical foreigners would, presumably, have come from the north, for the details referred to do not occur at that date elsewhere in the south.

The conventional shape of fibula has the bow and the pin all in one piece, as in a modern safety-pin, the pin being held in position

against the catch-plate by tension produced in varying ways. This kind of object appeared more or less simultaneously in several lands of the Near East at about 1200, there being a number of different varieties in shape, all, apparently, being more or less contemporary. A widely spread type at this time has an arc-shaped, or semi-circular, bow, and in this respect is not unlike the arc-shaped metal pin known some three centuries earlier in Syria and Palestine (see above). Blinkenberg classified this variety as his Type II, and said that it was to be dated to the Sub-Mycenean period. He also said that it was later in date than another category of fibula, classified by him as Type I. This latter category includes varieties of the fibula shaped like a violin-bow, that is, with the bow and the pin both straight, and parallel. However, his view is by no means endorsed by discoveries subsequent to the publication of his book, which was excellent, up to a point, at the time of writing, but is now out of date. For example, the Swedish expedition under Professor Persson discovered what has been published as part of a semi-circular fibula (made of gold) at Dendra in a purely Mycenean context. If this discovery has been correctly reported it can no longer be stated, convincingly, that the semi-circular fibula shape cannot be dated before the sub-Mycenean period.

Blinkenberg's contention, that his Type I fibula is of earlier date than his Type II fibula cannot be maintained, even if the evidence of the gold 'fibula' from Dendra be considered unacceptable. There is no reason whatever to suppose that this contention has any basis in reality, and indeed future discoveries may disprove it, in view of the evidence of the semi-circular pin found in Syria and Palestine, which may well have been the lineal ancestor of the arc-shaped fibula. It may be that this opinion regarding the relative dating of the two shapes of fibula was formed as a result of reading the statement originated by Duncan Mackenzie to the effect that the violin-bow shape of fibula is 'typologically the earlier',²⁶ an outstanding example of the proffering of personal fancy in place of serious study. The scientific archaeologist would not attempt to say which was the first type of fibula to be made, without more evidence than is even now available. Still less would he say which was the original design.

It is most unfortunate that the study of the fibula should have been so clouded by opinion dogmatically expressed. It has also been clouded by half-truths. For example, Tallgren has pointed out that the arc-shaped (that is, Blinkenberg Type II) fibula is well-known in Caucasia.²⁷ But neither he nor, apparently, anyone else has drawn attention to the fact that Blinkenberg's Type I appears also to be known there (see below, page 158). But even

with the appearance of the Type II fibula in Caucasia alone being remarked on, it should surely have seemed advisable to consider the implications of such wide-spread occurrences. So little has this been done that it has been possible for Miss Lorimer to state, without comment, that the fibula 'is an European invention',²⁸ a remark which could not possibly be proved, and which has surely been made before all the evidence was surveyed. It will be shown below that there is quite as much evidence to suggest that the fibula was invented in the east, that is, some part of western Asia, as in any part of Europe.

Blinkenberg's Type I shape of fibula, the violin-bow variety, occurs in two forms. One has the bow, that is, the upper part, in the form of a bar of metal. The other has the bow hammered flat in the form of a leaf or almond so that what shows, when the object is fixed in position, is a flat piece of metal of pointed oval shape, flat on the surface of the fabric. The first quoted of these two forms is said by Blinkenberg to have been found with Mycenaean material, and in support of this opinion he refers to examples from Cyprus and various places in the Aegean area. None, however, of the examples referred to were found in contexts which were certainly earlier than about 1200. This form of fibula was made in the Aegean area also at the time of the manufacture of the Salamis type vases. It is not, as Blinkenberg pointed out, a form confined to the Aegean area, for there is also the Enkomi example he mentioned.²⁹ As a matter of fact, there is also an example from Caucasia, though in this case the bow, while parallel to the pin, is slightly swollen, and has a knob at each end.³⁰ It may be said that, whatever is the exact chronology of the violin-bow type of fibula, it was used by the people who were in the Aegean area at the time when Mycenaean pottery was going out of use,³¹ and when iron, and the rite of cremation, were coming into use. It is possibly significant that this variety of fibula did not remain fashionable for long, for its comparative rarity cannot be considered probable, if it was indeed the first variety in time, and that from which subsequent types developed, as might be implied by rigid chronological priority.

The evidence of the distribution of the form of violin-bow shaped fibula, discussed above, and of the objects associated with it, does not offer much in the way of a clue which might help in tracing its source. In the case of the type of violin-bow shaped fibula which has its bow flattened in the shape of a leaf, however, there is some slight indication of an eastern source, for it occurs both in the east, and also in various western lands, where it is often in association with objects which have eastern parallels. As

Blinkenberg has said, it occurs in the Aegean area during Mycenaean days.³² It also occurs in Caucasia,³³ and in the cremation cemetery at Hama in Syria.³⁴ It is also associated with the rite of cremation in Greece, for it occurs in the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens, where an example was found in Tomb 108,³⁵ in association with Granary style pottery, a finger ring adorned with two spirals turned in opposite directions to form a kind of bezel,³⁶ and a spiral metal armlet. Both this type of ring (discussed also below on page 222) and the armlet are closely paralleled in Caucasia. Besides appearing in other places in Greece,³⁷ this form of fibula occurs also in other parts of Europe, including Italy,³⁸ being found at Monte Cetona³⁹ and Punta del Tonno.⁴⁰ Saflund has suggested that these latter examples are to be dated as not later than about 1200. At both the sites in Italy mentioned there were found objects which have parallels in the east. For example, there were found at Punta del Tonno, in the same deposit as these fibulae, pins with spiral and double spiral heads,⁴¹ types which had long been known previously in the east, as for example in Persia,⁴² and in Anatolia. And at Monte Cetona ceramic ornament included spirals in relief and geometric meanders,⁴³ and sometimes there appeared on pots horn-shaped protruberances⁴⁴ similar to the horns which are characteristic of Lausitz ware, and occur occasionally on vessels found in Caucasia. Pots found at Monte Cetona had handles which were equipped with knobs,⁴⁵ a style known in the early Iron Age in Azarbaijan, and in Cyprus, where such a style reappears, after being discontinued after many centuries, at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age.⁴⁶ Earlier in this book it has been pointed out that the motif of the geometric meander may well be, originally, of eastern source, and it might be possible to suppose that when it appears in such lands as Greece or Egypt it provides an indication of the migration of foreigners. The same might also be true of the appearance of the pattern in Italy, for there is no reason to suppose that it is of local invention there. Further, it may be possible to believe the same of the motif of spirals modelled in relief, a motif which had occurred early during the Third Millennium in pottery made in Azarbaijan.

The arc-shaped form of fibula (Blinkenberg Type II) appears to have been made in several varieties. One in plain, that is, without ornament (catalogue on page 159). Another has the bow adorned with engraved designs⁴⁷ (catalogue on page 159). Yet another has the bow twisted⁴⁸ (catalogue on page 159). Virtually identical examples of the two latter classes occur in Caucasia and in the Aegean region. In the former region this shape of fibula is undated: in the Aegean area this shape appears during late Mycenaean days, and continues to be made there during the time of the manufacture of Granary pottery.⁴⁹

SEMI-CIRCULAR FIBULAE WITH PLAIN UPPER PART

Syria		LAAA VII, Plate XXIII, H.
Palestine	(Megiddo stratum VI, 1150-1100)	Megiddo II, Plate 223, 77.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	TAH 1928-9 i, fig 352.
Mesopotamia		Koldewey, fig 189.
Caucasia	i	ESA V, pp 151 ff.
	ii	RA 1883 II, p 275.
Cyprus and the Aegean		Blinkenberg, class II.

SEMI-CIRCULAR FIBULAE WITH ENGRAVED UPPER PART.

Aegean		Olympia IV, Plate XXI, 342.
Italy	(Cumae)	Mon Ant XXII, Plate XX, 1.
Caucasus		RAC II, Plate XXI, 8: Plate XXII, 6.

(Note: - A fibula which is nearly flat, of the violin-bow type, with engraved ornament on the upper part, comes from Italy: Mon Ant XVI, col 83, fig 91).

SEMI-CIRCULAR FIBULAE WITH TWISTED UPPER PART

Aegean	(with late Stirrup-vase) (‘Sub-Mycenean’)	Vrokastro, fig 87 J. Kerameikos I, Plate 28, fig 2. Argive Heraeum II, Plate LXXXV, 844. Thera II, fig 489 a.
Anatolia	(Troy)	SS, p 258, no 6495.
Italy		i VEE, Plates 19, 20. ii Mon Ant XVI, col 85, fig 93.
Caucasia		Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov, article by Kalitinsky, Plate VII, 23.

(Further examples from the Aegean are given by Blinkenberg.)

The 'swollen bow' type of fibula (catalogue on page 160) is a variety of the arc-shaped type, but it is adorned in shape by having the curved bow thickened in the middle. This variety is as widely spread as the arc-shaped fibula with plain bow. In the west this shape does not appear before Sub-Mycenean days, so far as is known, though a Cypriote example was found with objects of Mycenean date only.⁵⁰ A variety of this shape of fibula has little knobs or swellings along the bow (catalogue on page 161). The earliest example of this shape is from Stratum VI at Megiddo, a level dated to 1150 - 1100. It is almost as widespread as the swollen bow variety. Another shape of fibula is triangular when viewed from the side (catalogue on page 161), and this appears to be more widely spread in western Asia than any other shape of fibula. It is common in Anatolia in Alishar IV days, and is dated at Megiddo in Palestine to before 1150.

FIBULAE WITH SWOLLEN BOW.

Cyprus	(Curium)	i Ex.s in C, p 68, fig 92. ii SCE I, Plate CLIV, 2. iii SCE IV ii, p 145.
Syria		i Cim a crem, p 132, fig.s 167, 168 B. ii LAAA VI, Plate XXVI a (on right). iii LAAA VII, Plate XXIII A.
Iranistan		ESA IX, p 278, no 1.
Anatolia		TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 494, d.898.
Aegean	(Crete)	Vrokastro, Plate XX c.
	(Rhodes)	GI B, VI-VII, p 338.
	(Attica, Proto-geometric)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 39, M 22.
Caucasia		RAC II, Plate XXII bis, fig 5.
(Further examples from the Aegean, Anatolia and Cyprus are given by Blinkenberg).		

ARCHED FIBULAE WITH BOW ADORNED WITH SWELLINGS.

Palestine	(Megiddo VI, 1150-1100)	Megiddo II, Plate 223, 76.
		Gerar, Plate XVII.
		Gezer III, Plate LXXXIX, 10.
Cyprus		SCE IV ii, p 145, type 2 d.
Syria	(Yunus)	LAAA VI, Plate XXVI a (left).
		LAAA VII, Plate XXIII, C.K.
	(Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Plate XIX, C 5.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 494, d.2087 and d.994.
	(Alishar V)	TAH 1928-9 ii, fig 93.
		Boghaz Keui, Plate 11, 11-12.
Aegean		i Cl. R, VI-VII, p 338.
		ii Vrokastro, Plate XX, A.B.J.
		iii Argive Heraeum II, Plate LXXXVII, 888.
	(Lemnos, VIII cent)	iv Annuario XV-XVI, fig 51.

(Futher examples from the Aegean, Anatolia and Palestine are given by Blinkenberg.)

TRIANGULAR FIBULAE

Palestine	(Megiddo 1350 - 1150)	Megiddo II, Plate 223, 75.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	i TAH 1928-9 i, fig 353, a. 718.
		ii TAH 1928-9 ii, fig 93, & p 68.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh)	LAAA XX, Plate LXXVIII, 15-17.
	(Babylon)	i Koldewey, fig 189.
		ii AM XLI, p 419, fig 12.
	(Khorsabad)	Khorsabad, Plate 59.
Persia	(Luristan)	i Godard Bronzes, Plate XXIX, 101.
		ii ESA IX, p 278, fig 2.
Syria		i LAAA VII, Plate XXIII G.
		ii LAAA XXVI, Plate XIX, C 3.
Palestine		i Beth-Pelet II, Plate XLII, 11, 12.
		ii Gerar, Plates XVII, XVIII.

Egypt	(Tell el Yahudiyeh)	Hyksos and Is Cities, Plate XX, A 321.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 493.
Syria	(Ras Shamra)	Jacobsthal ECA, p 127.

(Further examples from all the lands quoted above, except Persia, and also from the Aegaeon, are quoted by Blinkenberg.)

Note:- Jacobsthal observes that a triangular fibula with a mask was found at Ras Shamra and that a similar fibula from Bologna doubtless copies such a mask-fibula (*Early Celtic Art*, p 127).

ANIMAL SHAPED FIBULAE

Italy and Sicily		Quoted by Blinkenberg.
Aegaeon	(Crete)	Quoted by Blinkenberg.
Adriatic	(Ithaca)	ILN 14 Jan 1933, p 45 fig 1, top left. BSA XLIII, Plate 49, E.23.
Julian Alps	(St. Lucia)	Boll adriatica 1893, Plate XX.
Europe (Austria)	(Hallstatt)	Sacken, Plate XV 4-7.
Caucasia		RAC II Atlas, Plate XIII, bis 4.

The material now available with which to study fibulae does not suggest that there was a steady chronological succession, whereby one shape was modified to bring about the production of a new shape. On the contrary, there seem to have been several distinct varieties in shape of fibulae, all of which were approximately contemporary at the time of their first use. This might suggest the theory that the beginning of the Iron Age saw the activity of several related groups of people, and that as these groups split up their

members preserved their independence and particular traditions. The chronology and distribution of the varieties of the fibulae found could suggest that such people came from the east, and spread westward, since all the types are well known in the east, but one (the triangular fibula) is rare in the west. But it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of events since the evidence of fibulae has long been allowed to remain distorted, and conclusions which cannot be seriously maintained have often been repeated. A bad example of this is in the fact that the presence of the fibula with the upper part fashioned in the shape of an animal in Caucasia has been ignored. Blinkenberg, when discussing this variety, said that a fibula of this type from Kavousi in Crete might have been imported from Sicily.⁵¹ He could hardly have suggested that for the Caucasian specimen, and indeed this variety of fibula may be yet another example of the westward trend of ideas at the time of the early Iron Age.

TRIPOD BOWLS

Tripod bowls,⁵² made as a complete unit with three legs fixed to the belly of the bowl, and with two or more handles in the form of a ring fixed upright on the rim, came into use in the Aegean area during the Late Minoan II⁵³-III period. There are Mycenaean examples from the same area, as for example from Chamber Tomb 2 at Dendra,⁵⁴ while iron legs,⁵⁵ perhaps from a similar tripod, were found in the Tiryns hoard.⁵⁶ Both the Dendra tomb, and the Tiryns hoard, may date from about 1200.

At the time of the beginning of the Iron Age in the west, about 1200, a new kind of bowl on a tripod was coming into fashion.⁵⁷ The examples of this new variety consist of a bowl which rests on, but is not attached to, a tripod stand. The latter is, apparently, always cast and welded, being made with the three legs, and strengthening struts, of strips or rods of metal, supporting a circular strip placed on edge, and sometimes ornamented with naturalistic designs executed in repoussé. It is on this circular strip that the bowl rests. This type, which is called a 'rod-tripod', is known from examples found in Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Greece,⁵⁸ and Italy.⁵⁹ Riis⁶⁰ has pointed out that a relief style comparable to that on a tripod of this type from Cyprus flourished 'in the Phoenician sphere... throughout the Sub-Mycenaean time, to judge by the ivories'.

In addition to the two main classes of tripods referred to above there are tripods of somewhat individual shapes. One, from Anatolia,⁶¹ is more or less similar to the rod-tripod shape. Others, more unusual in design, come from Cyprus,⁶² Ras Shamra,⁶³ Megiddo⁶⁴ and Musasir in Eastern Anatolia.⁶⁵

The rod tripod shape is usually believed to have been introduced to the Aegean area from the east. Dr. Lamb went so far as to say that the rod-tripods are so 'intimately connected with Cyprus that we may safely assume their origin to be Cypriote'.⁶⁶ It may be doubted if this conclusion really follows from the evidence available, but nobody would deny that it is likely that the rod-tripod is of eastern source.

At the time of the Protogeometric period in the Aegean area the popular form of tripod appears to have been similar to the tripod bowls of the Late Minoan II-III period, and different, therefore, from the rod-tripod shape, according to evidence from the pottery models of tripods available.⁶⁷ The same is true of the tripods of the Geometric period in the Aegean area.⁶⁸ The tripods of archaic days are, however, of the rod tripod form.

It may be that the evidence of the tripod bowls and rod tripods suggest that they constitute two distinct varieties of object, perhaps characteristic of different peoples. The repeated re-introduction of each shape after a period of neglect may perhaps seem more likely to have occurred if each variety was of some source external to the Aegean world, whence migrating peoples brought it, than to local fashion in the Greek world having been particularly fickle as regards tripods.

There is no positive evidence to show where the idea of the tripod originated, or what was its early history, beyond the fact that pots were made with three stumpy little legs fashioned from the lower part of the vessel, from an early date in the Aegean area, Anatolia, Persia and elsewhere.⁶⁹ But it can be noticed, as regards the tripod bowls of the Late Minoan II-III type, that they appear soon after the middle of the Second Millennium in the west, and again at the time of the Geometric Period. It has already been suggested, on the basis of other evidence, that there had been a westward migration at about the time of the middle of the Second Millennium. It has also been suggested, and the possibility will be further examined, that the genesis of the Geometric civilisation in the Aegean area was due to an east to west movement of people. It is not impossible, therefore, that the origin of the tripod bowl was in the east.

LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY METAL WORK

The treasure of Tell Basta (Bubastis) in Egypt⁷⁰ is believed to date from the time of Seti the Second (1223-1211). It includes some remarkable metal work, including some specimens of gold granulation work, a technique which has been referred to at an earlier stage in this book (catalogue on page 66). The practice of making gold objects with granulated ornament thereon appears to have spread widely at about the time of the Thirteenth and Twelfth Centuries, for examples of that date have also been found in the Aegaeon area, and in Persia. The technique also occurs in Caucasia, but the date of it there is not established. In the Tell Basta treasure there are engraved objects ornamented with representations of horses playing happily in naturalistically treated scenes, in which there appear birds and plants. The running spiral pattern also occurs in that treasure,⁷¹ while a scene of fowling and fishing therein has been compared with the ornament carved on an ivory from Palestine.⁷² Such types of decoration are not in any long-established traditional Egyptian style, and perhaps it may be suggested that their presence at Tell Basta indicates the coming of foreign ideas. There are other details in the treasure which may indicate much the same. For example, as Edgar pointed out,⁷³ filling ornament occurs therein. This method of decoration, found rarely on Mycenaean vases in the Aegaeon area,⁷⁴ is suddenly very common in the Aegaeon world during the later part of the Geometric Period. It is also common on Phoenician bronze saucers. The parallel between the two periods, separated though they are by several centuries, is found in other ways for, as Dr. Lamb has pointed out, patterns on early archaic Greek bronzes only differ 'slightly from a certain type of pattern common on Mycenaean vases'.⁷⁵ There can be no doubt that the filling ornament, either in the Aegaeon, or in Egypt, at about 1200, does not appear to be so likely to have been of spontaneous local invention, as to have been an idea brought to both lands simultaneously from some external source common to both. If so, ideas from this source would appear to have been re-introduced to the west at the time of the Eighth Century and later.

The Tell Basta treasure also provides examples of yet another new idea in Egypt, which may be of foreign source. For it includes twisted metal bracelets.⁷⁶ This is not a style of work otherwise known in Egypt during the Pharaonic period, as Wainwright pointed out,⁷⁷ but it is found contemporaneously in Cyprus⁷⁸ and in Palestine,⁷⁹ and at about the same time in southern Persia.⁸⁰ Such evidence might suggest that this style is of foreign origin, and

so, indeed, might other evidence. For example, a twisted metal strip occurred at Mochlos, in the same tomb as the Mochlos saucer (see page 231), being dated thereto before 2000,⁸¹ at Troy⁸² and, during the earlier part of the Second Millennium, at Byblos,⁸³ while it has been shown, by Dunand, that twisted strips of metal, including torques, occur in Caucasia and in Luristan.⁸⁴ A twisted strip comes from Alaca in central Anatolia,⁸⁵ possibly of about 2000, and another from Trialeti in Caucasia.⁸⁶ There is an example of what may be of Iron Age date from the B cemetery at Sialk.⁸⁷ All these examples could be indicative of an origin for the idea of twisting somewhere in western Asia. So also could be the evidence provided by the twisted handles of pottery vessels, which, being also twisted, it may be advisable to consider in this context. Such handles (catalogue on page 167) were commonly made at the time of the Third Millennium in many lands, but rare subsequently until the close of the Second Millennium. It is noticeable that twisted handles on pots appear in the west at times which, so the theory of this book would suggest, saw migrations from east to west. Migrations may have occurred, to bring newcomers from some part of western Asia, in the view of others, in respect of the torques at Byblos, and perhaps also the Mochlos saucer.⁸⁸

There is reason to suppose that the objects which comprise the Tell Basta treasure are not of typical Egyptian type, while the parallels to those objects which are referred to above may indicate that they are likely to have been characteristic of Asiatics. If this is so, it would provide additional evidence in support of the opinion that migrations from some part of western Asia brought newcomers into the eastern Mediterranean region during the Thirteenth Century. If so, these new-comers may have been in some way connected with the Greeks, and it should be recalled in this connection that contemporary ivories and faience objects from Cyprus have been referred to as being closely akin to Greek work in spirit (see pages 106 - 107).

At about the same time as the Bubastis treasure there came to be used in Egypt,⁸⁹ and no doubt made there also, plaques of glazed ware painted in polychrome and sometimes modelled in relief, bearing representations of human figures,⁹⁰ and motifs which include the four-pointed figure formed by five interlocking circles⁹¹ (catalogue on page 131). Such a manner of work, while only found in Egypt at that time, so far as is known, is paralleled in Anatolia and Assyria. At Pazarli the plaques, which are undated, bear representations of soldiers with crested helmets and round shields, like those from Carchemish.⁹² The Assyrian glazed bricks, painted and modelled, are well known.⁹³ In none of those lands does this style

seem to be native. A possible centre whence the style might have spread is Caucasia, or some neighbouring region, and the motif mentioned as having appeared in Egypt on the plaques might, by its history, also indicate a similar source.

Dr. Lamb has discussed some bronze statuettes, of the close of the Bronze Age, representing a warrior with a conical helmet, a round shield on his left arm and with his right hand raised, no doubt to hurl a spear, which occur in the Aegean area and at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. She has suggested that they are 'proof of trade between Greece and the Orient'.⁹⁴ Certainly they seem to indicate some degree of intercourse between the two regions.

TWISTED HANDLES

Mesopotamia (el Ubaid period ?)		Preuss Akad d Wiss Phil-Hist Abh 1937, no 11, Plate 35 e.
Aegean (Early Bronze Age)	i	BSA XXXI, pp 46-7.
	ii	Eutresia, fig 151, 3.
	iii	BSA XXV, Plate XII, j.
	iv	Pre Mac, no 313: fig 61 a, p 98.
(Yortan)	v	BMC I i, A 38.
	vi	Thermi, p 79.
Anatolia (Troy)		Ilios, no 1134.
Persia (Susa IIIrd millennium)		DEP XX, fig 2.
Anatolia (Tarsus - C 2000)		AJA XLIV, p 63, fig 6.
(Alaca)		AJA LI, Plate XXXVI b.
Palestine (c 1700)		Megiddo II, Plate 25, 8.
Syria (Has Shamra), (2000-1500)		SC, fig 48 F.
(c 1600)		Montet, Byblos, Plate CLI, 827.
Palestine (IIInd Semitic ?)		Gexer III, Plate CXLIX, 16, 17.
Mycenean (Source not known)		BSA XXXI, p 47, note 1. AJA XL, p 312, fig 10.
Anatolia (Bali Dagh, Troy VI-VII period)		PZ XXIII, p 129, fig 15, 4.
Aegean (Macedonia, late Bronze Age)		Pre Mac, fig 87, a - c.

Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	CVA BM ii, GB Plate 45. 20.
Azerbaijan	(Early Iron Age)	Az 1948, fig 37, 121.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	i AM LII, Plate II, 14 - 16. ii BSA XXXI, Plate III. iii Asine, p 429, fig 277, left.
Palestine	(IVth Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CLXXI, 21.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Jb 1899, p 196, fig 60. ii AJA XLIV, Plate XVII, 4. iii Asine, fig 218, 6.
Caucasia	(undated)	i Trialeti, Plate XIX. ii SC, fig 276, 7.
Anatolia	(Gordion)	Gordion, p 198, fig 200, 96.

There is a particular variety of ear-ring formed of a ring, with a group of small globes of metal, like a bunch of grapes, placed at what would be the lowest point when the ring is in position in the ear (catalogue on page 168). This first appears in use in Mycenaean days, in Cyprus, Palestine and Egypt (in the treasure of Tell Basta). The type also appears in Caucasia, where the tradition continued long. Later it comes to be known in the west, an example coming from Megara Hyblaea.

EAR-RING ORNAMENTED WITH A BUNCH OF GLOBES

Cyprus	(Mycenaean)	Marshall, Plate IV, no 470, & p 27.
Palestine	(probably Mycenaean)	i Anc Gaza IV, Plate XVI, no. 70 ff. ii Gezer III, Plate XXXI, 16.
Egypt	(Treasure of Tell Basta)	<i>Le Musée Égyptien</i> II, Plate I, top right.
Syria	(Hama)	Cin a crem, p 129, fig 159.
Cyprus	(Lapithos tomb 425, perhaps of White Painted I date). (Orientalising)	SCE I, Plate LV, 6. SCE I, Plate IV: Plate XLIV, 32 etc.

Italy	(Orientalising)	Mon Ant, I, col 806.
Caucasia	(date uncertain)	i ZfE XVII, Plate VI, 2. ii AFM, fig 417. iii RAC III, Plate XIV, 12.

A distinctive ornament of metal found in late Mycenaean times is the loop of wire of which each end is curled back to make a spiral. This seems to be likely to have been of eastern origin for, although it occurs in both Asia and the Aegean, the examples in the west appear only at times when eastern influence may have been markedly strong.

LOOP, EACH END BEING CURLED BACK TO MAKE A SPIRAL

Persia	(Hissar II)	PMJ XXIII, Plate CV, c.
	(Hissar III)	Ex.s in TH, Plate LIV, H 4333
Anatolia	(Troy II)	Ilios, p 488, no 834.
Aegean	(M.M.I)	Mesara, Plate V, 4973.
	(XVIth century)	Karo S, Plate LVI, 649.
	(Late Helladic II)	Dendra, p 79, para. 23.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan)	Hersfeld Iran, Plate XXX.
Caucasia		RAC II, Plate XXVII, 6.
Mycenaean	(Cyprus)	Ex.s in C, Plate XII.
	(Aegean)	Eph 1932, Plate 18.
Italy		i Falchi, Plate XVI, 19.
	(Pesaro)	ii Montelius Civ Prim II i, Série B, Plate 147, 18.
	(Julian Alps)	Boll adriatica 1893, Plate XXV, 8.
Europe	(Bronze Age D)	PPS 1948, Plate XVII A.
	(Bosnia)	MAGW 1889, p 39, fig 55.
	(Hungary)	BRCK 1934-5, Plate 33, 25.
	(Hallstatt A)	PPS 1948, Plate XVII, B.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Lorimer, p 150
2. H. R. Hall observed (Klio 1929, pp 335 ff) that statuettes with horned helmets similar to those of the Shardana had been described by Zakharov as coming from Caucasia. There are also horned helmets from Luristan (Syria XI, Plate XLII, ter, 1.).
3. Lorimer, pp 146 ff, 173 ff.
4. Lorimer, pp 250 ff.
5. Carchemish II, Plate 25 a.
6. Dendra RT, p 97. Similar swords are illustrated in Montelius *La Grèce pré-classique* I, pp 153 ff, Plate XIII: JHS VIII, Plate LXXXIII, 3: MV, Plate D, 11.
7. PPS 1948, p 184. A similar sword of iron from Cyprus is illustrated in Hand-book Cesnola, p 482, no 4725.
8. The reader is referred to Miss Lorimer's very complete survey of the evidence, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp 111 ff, for references for the objects quoted below.
9. Dendra RT, pp 91 ff. Miss Lorimer says (p 33, note 3) that Persson's view of the "fibula", "is an error". She does not offer any alternative explanation. It is a pity that this object has not yet been illustrated and fully described.
10. Ex. a is C, p 31. Another piece of iron is the knife blade fixed in a carved ivory handle from Tomb 74 at Bakoni, published in the same place. This latter was found with a Mycenaean vase, and a fibula of fiddle-bow shape.
11. See page 78. This style of head-dress appeared in Mesopotamia at the end of the Kassite period (Contenau Manuel I, fig 137), and is shown at Medinet Habu as worn by the Dene, Prat and Tjekker peoples, all of whom were engaged in attacks on Egypt early in the XIIth century. It was also worn, as appears on monuments of rather later date, by people in Urarta. Those folk were equipped with round shields, and carried spears (Bronze Gates Shalmaneser, Plates XXXVII and XLII).
12. BMC I i, A 932, A 1015-6, A 1022. It is characteristic of this group of vessels that the scenes painted are not subordinated to a decorative scheme, but sprawl in a "fancy-free" manner. Such a style also appears in some Cypriote Mycenaean vessels (SCR I, Plate CX, 3-4).
13. Vrokaastro, Plate XXXIV.
14. Vrokaastro, p 136, fig 82.
15. Vrokaastro, Plate XXVII, 4.
16. As 1948, p 260, note 28.
17. Iraq IV, p 65, fig 3 g, and other Punic cremation urns at Carthage may be compared with Cim a crem, fig.s 41 ff. Ridge necks occur at Carthage (Iraq IV, fig 3, m, s, p) and at Hama (Cim a crem, fig 133 C.). The apparent similarity between the north African and the east Mediterranean cultures is strengthened by the fact that an animal shaped vase, similar to vessels of the Iron Age in Cyprus, was found at Carthage (Iraq IV, p 87, fig 8 a.). Polychrome ornament also appears in Punic cremation urns (Iraq IV, fig 3), some of which resemble Hama vessels (Cim a Crem, fig.s 41 ff). Such parallels may suggest that the early users of cremation at Carthage came from the east.
18. Riis gives a list of occurrences of the rite conveniently in Cim a crem, pp 37 ff. He does not remark on the fact that craters used for cremation at Carchemish (LAAA VI, Plate XXVI d: LAAA XXVI, Plates X, XIII) are similar in shape to Granary class vessels from Mycenae (BSA XXV, fig 12 b.).
19. Lorimer, pp 103 ff.
20. Lorimer, p 42.
21. Lorimer, p 42.

22. LAAA XIX, p 47, fig 10. Parallels in Syria and Palestine have been listed by Riis (Cim a crem, p 131), all of which are dated to before 1500.
23. LAAA XIX, pp 45 ff.
24. LAAA XIX, Plate XLIV.
25. LAAA XIX, Plate XLIV.
26. BSA XIII, p 436.
27. ESA V, pp 151 ff.
28. Lorimer, p 354.
29. Ex.s in C, p 16, fig 27.
30. IGAINK 120 (1935), fig 17, 6, of the article by A.A. Yessen.
31. An example, with the bow twisted, apparently of Mycenaean date, comes from Korakou (Karakou, fig 133, 6).
32. Eph 1933, p 93, fig 42 (Cephalonia Tomb B 2).
33. R. Virchow, *Das Gräberfeld von Koban*, Plate I, 11-12.
34. Cim a crem, p 131, fig 166 A.
35. Kerameikos I, Plate 28.
36. Kerameikos I, p 85, fig 4. This type is also found in Caucasia and in the Anzhetitz culture (see page 226 note 21).
37. Delphes V, 7 f.: Eph 1891, p 26, Plate 3, 5.
38. NDS 1887, p 388: Sundwall, *Die ältere italische Fibulen*.
39. Bull Palet 1939, p 141, fig a, (See AJA 1941 p 312).
40. Dagma, p 482.
41. Dagma p 483, fig.s 30 & 31. See also Thermi p 167 and T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, p 97.
42. PMJ XXIII, Plate CIV, C.
43. Bull Palet 1939, p 133, fig 8.
44. T and I, Plate 41, VIII, for examples from Troy VII, RAC II, Plate XXXIV, 5, for examples from the Caucasus, NDS 1933, Plate II, and SE XII, Plate I, 27, for examples from Italy.
Safliand says (SE XII, p 21) that the Monte Cetona material may be considered to belong to the Terramara Adriatic stage, and be dated to about 1250. Both he and Hanfmann (AJA 1941, p 313) suggest that Terramare pottery is related to Buckelkeramik and may be believed to be of foreign origin. In view of this it is interesting to observe that certain pot-shapes at Monte Cetona (NDS 1933, p 71, fig 24) are paralleled in Trialeti in Caucasia (Trialeti, Plate CXIV).
45. NDS 1933, p 71, fig 23.
46. Az 1948, p 165, note 9.
47. RAC II, Plate XXII, 6: Olympia IV, Plate XXI, 342.
48. Godard bronzes, Plate XXIX, 103.: Kerameikos I, Plate 28, fig 2.
49. A. Furumark, (*The chronology of Mycenaean pottery*, pp 91-3) points out that Blinkenberg's Types I and II are apparently contemporary.
50. Ex.s in C, fig 92, and p 68.
51. Blinkenberg, pp 43 f, 57.
52. There were tripod bowls with shallow basin, and without handles, in use during the XVIth century in the Aegean area. Their shape is curiously like that of pottery vessels of Giyan III date in Persia (compare Karo S, Plate CLXIII, 579, with Giyan Tomb 92).
53. Lamb GRB, fig 3 b, and S. Beaton in BSA XXXV, pp 74 ff.
54. Dendra RT, p 101, fig 75: Plate XXX.

55. Benton in BSA XXXV, p 77.
56. This type of tripod appears in the tomb of the Tripod Hearth in Crete (POM II ii, fig 398) associated with a kylix of characteristic Mycenaean shape.
57. Lamb GRB, pp 32 ff. SCE IV ii, p 447.
58. A tripod from Tiryns (AM LV, fig 4, Beil XXXIII) is considered to be an importation from Cyprus by Miss Benton (BSA XXXV, p 124). She points out that the feet are modelled as animal feet. Feet of tripods modelled in this way appear in Urartu (Arm II i, p 344; Arm II ii, p 483) Babylon (O. Montelius *Die alteren Kulturperioden*, p 294, fig 975) Cyprus (Handbook Cesaola, p 478, no. 4704) and, in the case of a stool, in Egypt, from the tomb of Tutankhamun (ILN 20 July 1929, p 117). The Tiryns tripod discussed by Miss Benton was adorned with little hanging figures of birds and pomegranates. This fruit may have been of eastern origin (see page 262), and the idea of hanging little figurines from metal objects is well known in Caecasia (RAC II, Plate LIII, 4) as well as in Italy (VSE, Plate XXXII, 9).
59. Leopold in Bull Palet 1939, p 155, and fig 2, 2. There is also a related type of tripod from Erzincan in eastern Anatolia (Iraq XII, Plate XXII, 1-3).
60. *Acta Archaeologica* V, p 9.
61. Boasert AA, p 313, 1194.
62. SCE IV ii, p 149, 26.
63. Contesau Manuel II, p 1072, fig 741.
64. Megiddo Ivories, no. 160.
65. Arm II i, p 344. A Laristan example is illustrated in Godard bronzes, Plate LIX, 218.
66. Lamb GRB, p 32.
67. Kerameikos I, Plate 64.
68. Lamb GRB, pp 44 ff, and fig 5.
69. Several are quoted in the catalogue on page 50.
70. C. C. Edgar in *Annales XXV*, pp 256 ff.; *Berliner Museen* LI, (1930): H. Hanke in *OLZ* 1941: *Syria XXIII*, p 129; *Le Musée Egyptien* II, pp 93-108; *Metro Mus Bull*, Oct 1949, pp 61 ff.
71. *Le Musée Egyptien* II, Plate XLIV, 2.
72. FBPO 1939, p 8.
73. *Annales XXV*, pp 256 ff.
74. POM IV, p 357, fig 300.
75. Lamb GRB, p 58.
76. *Annales XXV*, p 123.
77. *Annales XXV*, pp 123 ff.
78. Ex. in C, Plate VIII.
79. *Anc Gaza* IV, Plate XXI, 202.
80. DSP VII, p 67, Plate XIV.
81. Mochlos, fig 9, II.9.
82. SS, Beilage II, 5942.
83. Byblos, Plate XCIII, and pp 215, 271.
84. Byblos, p 215, notes 4 and 5., p 271. For the Caucasian connections of Palestinian torques see especially *Syria* VI, pp 16 ff.
85. ILN 9 April 1938, p 632, middle right.
86. Plate XC, 1.
87. Sialk II, Plate XCIII, S.1754.
88. see page 38. The Mochlos sancer has been discussed by Frankfort (*F Studies* ii p 92) who thinks that it is of eastern source.

89. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient*, p 589.
90. There is part of a large human statue in the round in glazed faience of this period (*Annales* XXX, H. Hamza's article and his Plate I).
91. Dussaud, fig.s 218 etc, p 288: TSDA VII, Plate IV (Opposite p 186).
92. AA 1939, col 142, fig 25: *Bulleten* III, pp 15 ff: K. Schefold, *Kleinasien und Syrien*, pp 137 ff. Compare Carchemish I, Plate S.3.
93. CAM III, p 9. For examples of such work from Babylon see Coatsenau Manuel IV, p 2253, fig.s 1277-8.
94. Lamb GRB, pp 28-9.

CHAPTER VI

POTTERY AT THE CLOSE OF THE MYCENEAN PERIOD

There is, as Miss Lorimer has pointed out, no evidence of any clear-cut break in ceramic styles in the Aegaeon area at the end of the Mycenaean period. Slowly new kinds of pottery came into fashion, and they eventually superseded the glazed-painted Mycenaean fabrics with rectilinear and naturalistic patterns. Much the same seems to have occurred in Cyprus. There are very few stratified sequences to illustrate this period, but there are tombs which, although possibly used more than once, seem unlikely to have been in use for very long. Such tombs as Enkomi nos 73 and 88, and Chamber Tomb 1 at Vrokastro in Crete all contained pottery of late Mycenaean affinities, together with one or more examples of such new styles as fluted bucchero, Cypriote White Painted I ware and 'quasi-geometric' fabrics. The overlap indicated by such evidence would suggest that there was some degree of mingling of ideas before the new ones became dominant.¹ Some of the new ideas in the west seem likely to be of eastern origin. For example, the Mouliana Tomb A pyxis,² perhaps of about 1200, has decoration which includes a rare motif, concentric semi-circles, the outer one being fringed.

This is to some extent similar to ornament on a roughly contemporary vase from north Syria,³ a vessel of which the decoration is almost exactly paralleled at Tepe ali Abad, near Susa, where it appears executed in polychrome.⁴ This motif may very well be of eastern source. The technique of polychrome decoration, which seems likely to have been of eastern source whenever it appeared in the Near East,⁵ was not used in the Aegean during the first part of the Iron Age. But it did appear in lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, at that time.⁶

At about the time that Mycenaean pottery ceased from being made in eastern Mediterranean lands, it seems probable that there came of the scene in Palestine a completely new kind of ware, decorated in two different ways, either with concentric circles,⁷ or with birds, normally in red and black colours on the buff surface. Such polychrome decorated ware is found also in Syria⁸ and Cyprus⁹ early in the Iron Age, and its first appearance can, by the evidence from Tell abu Hawam, be attributed to those people whose arrival may have been the reason for the obliteration of the final stage of the Mycenaean culture in the east. At the same time grey bucchero pottery came into use in the same area.

That variety of the polychrome painted ware on which there appears decoration of concentric circles is characteristic of Cyprus. The ornament which consists of drawings of birds, which are placed in panels with their heads turned backwards so that they seem to be looking over their shoulders, is apparently characteristic of Palestine and is the ware called 'Philistine', for no particular scientific reason. Furumark considers that it can be dated as having appeared soon after 1200.¹⁰ There are two tomb-groups in which this pottery was found at Beth-Pelet which are of considerable interest.¹¹ Petrie supposed these two tombs, numbered by him 552 and 562, to be of different dates, but it is, in fact, probable that they are contemporary. Both contained the same variety of amphora of pointed shape and with two handles, a shape which occurs at Tell abu Hawam in the same stratum as the earliest polychrome decorated vases there,¹² and both also contained side-spouted vases, and coffins with covers at one end which were modelled roughly to represent a human face. Other details of the pottery in these tombs include the motifs of solid triangles bordered by lines enclosing the apex (catalogue on page 136), the Union Jack type of cross enclosed within a circle (catalogue on page 178), and concentric semi-circles united by a row of chevrons (catalogue on page 180). There was an object of iron in each of these tombs, and a toggle-pin in one of them.¹³ The iron, the toggle-pin and the polychrome technique are all things which appear to have had a close

connection with the lands to the north of Syria, perhaps specifically with north-western Persia and more northerly lands, for many centuries previously.¹⁴ Consequently it might be possible to suggest that the people of whom these tombs are part of the remains came from the north of Palestine. This may be supported by other evidence, as follows. Petrie, in publishing these tombs, suggested that there was a parallel between the anthropomorphic covers of the coffins and the anthropomorphic gold covers found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, which may have been fixed to wooden coffins, which were in fact used in Greece, a matter which has now been established by the Swedes.¹⁵ As has been suggested above, it is possible that a migration from the general area of the Caucasus mountains brought people thence to the Aegaeon area during the XVIth century, and it could be, therefore, that the double appearance of these anthropomorphic covers illustrate the presence of a continuing tradition in that northern region, whence migrants took it elsewhere from time to time. Similar coffins to the Beth-Pelet ones have been found at Tell el Yahudiyeh,¹⁶ Beth-Shan¹⁷ and Babylon.¹⁸ At Hama in Syria polychrome decorated pottery seems to appear¹⁹ at about the same time as at Tell abu Hawam, and there also appears contemporaneously in Syria the rite of cremation. Jars used for this rite in Syria at Hama, are, in shape, not unlike jars at Carchemish,²⁰ though these latter are decorated in monochrome. Perhaps the appearance of these new ideas is due to the coming of the nomads, including Chaldaeans and Aramaeans, who are known to have settled at about this time along the river Euphrates, as far as Aleppo, to spread thence south and west. It is not known whence these people came, but it appears that cremation vessels of Hama and Carchemish are similar in shape to some cremation pots found in Armenia.²¹

At Tell el Yahudiyeh there were found several burials under tumuli, in which there were pottery coffins with a cover to the entrance aperture, which was at one end. These covers were modelled roughly to represent a human face, exactly as at Beth-Pelet.²² These coffins were frequently surrounded by a little brick wall, and sometimes there were bricks arranged above them in such a way as to form a gable-shaped roof.²³ Graves which are probably of about the same time are those of the B cemetery at Sialk in central Persia, and these also have protection above formed in a similar gable construction, though there this is of stone.²⁴ A little earlier larnakes with a gable-shaped roof, made of pottery, had been in use in the Aegaeon area.²⁵

The anthropomorphic pottery coffins at Tell el Yahudiyeh were sometimes inscribed, and Griffith stated that he found "blundered

hieroglyphs,²⁶ on them, which might suggest that strangers with little education in hieroglyphs had prepared them.²⁷ With the sarcophagi there was found a stirrup-vase,²⁸ a variety of phiale with a vertically placed collar-shaped neck,²⁹ and layer glass eye-beads.³⁰ Of about the same period at this site were found some sherds with combed incised decoration.³¹ Both layer glass eye-beads (catalogue on page 180) and combed incised ornament on pottery may have been originally of Asiatic source,³² and perhaps the presence of examples of such things in these Egyptian graves may indicate the presence of Asiatics.

At Anibeh in Nubia, Woolley excavated a cemetery which appears to date from the XIXth Dynasty.³³ In this he found clay coffins with faces 'rudely modelled in relief', a vase in human form and scarabs of several personages of that Dynasty. He also discovered an alabastron which is painted somewhat in the manner of the Middle Minoan II style. Evans thought that this piece was a genuinely Cretan production, but this is very questionable for, although it is well painted, it appears lifeless in its decoration compared with objects of the early IInd millennium from Crete. There is no reason to doubt its date as being about 1200.³⁴ Perhaps it was the possession of one of the people who made the anthropomorphic clay coffins, and who may, perhaps, have come from the general area of Caucasia.³⁵ If so, this might suggest that there was some connection between Crete and that region during the earlier part of the IInd millennium,³⁶ a suggestion which has already been made elsewhere on the basis of other material.³⁷

UNION JACK VARIETY OF CROSS INSCRIBED WITHIN A CIRCLE

(Sometimes alternate segments are coloured or hatched to form a four-armed cross).

Anatolia	(Alishar III)	TAH 30-32 i. fig 258. 7.
Agaeon	(Early Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate VII, 8.
	(Middle Cycladic, Paros)	AM XLII, p 62, figs 68-9
Palestine	(XVIth Century)	i QDAP VIII, Plate XII n. ii Anc Gaza I, Plate XXX 33.
Cyprus	(XVIth Century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XXIV.

Mycenean	(Crete)	i POM IV ii, p 1017, fig 965 g. ii Eph 1904 (Mouliana Tomb A). iii Perrot and Chipiez VI, 679 fig 300. LAAA XXI, Plate VIII 2.
	(Cilicia)	
Palestine	(Late IIInd mil- lennium)	i Gezer III, Plate CLVIII 1: Plate LXXI, 21. ii Corpus Palestinian, 85 N 12. iii F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, <i>Excavations in Palestine 1898-1900</i> , Plate 40 115-116.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	i TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XXXVI, 1831. ii MDOG 72, p 33, fig 16.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	SCE IV ii, Fig I 3).
Aegean	(Geometric)	AM XLIII, Plate V 2.
Anatolia		TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 461.11.

UNION JACK VARIETY OF CROSS INSCRIBED WITHIN A SQUARE

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Iraq II, fig 67, 1.
Anatolia	(Alishar III ware)	TAH 1930-32 i, fig 239, C 1898.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V ware)	LAAA XX, Plate LVIII, 11.
Palestine	(XVIth century)	i Anc Gaza III, Plate XLII, 30. ii QDAP VIII, Plate XVIII a.
Syria	(c 1500)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 8.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	Mitt dent Ins Kairo V, p 158, fig 20.
Palestine	(IIInd Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CXL. 10 & 11.
Italy		M. Mayer, <i>Molfetta und Matera</i> , Plate XVIII, 5.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Hampe, Plate 33 ii Johansen, Plate I, 7. iii CVA Germany VII, Germany Plate 301, 5.

PAIR OF CONCENTRIC SEMI-CIRCLES JOINED BY CONCENTRIC CHEVRONS

Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III)		PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 4.
Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)	i	Gezer III, Plate CLX, 1.
		ii	Bliss and Macalister, <i>Excavations in Palestine 1898-1900</i> , Plate 41, 125.
Mycenaean	(Source not known)		CVA USA iii, USA Plate 96, 2.
	(Ialysos)	i	BMC I i, A 926.
	(Crete)	ii	BMC I i, A 952: Plate XIV
	(possibly related design from Cilicia)		Gournia, Plate X, 5.
	(possibly related design from Palaikastro)		LAAA, XXI, Plate VIII, 1 & 2.
	(Italy, Punta del Tonno)		BMC I i, fig 153.
Palestine	('Philistine' ware)	i	Dragma, p 471, fig 14.
		ii	Beth-Pelet II, Plate LXIII, 43.
			Corpus Palestinian, 34 (bottom left).
Assyria	(possibly related design)		ILN 28 Sept 1935, p 505, fig 4.

EYE-BEAD

Persia	(Hissar III)		Ex.s in TH, Plate LXVI, H. 3215.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh)		Antiquity V, p 433, 52.
Anatolia	(Alishar)		TAH 1936-32, fig 197, c 1820.
Azerbaijan	(c 2000)		Az 1948, p 111.
Anatolia	(IIInd millennium)		TAH 30-32 ii, fig 309.
Egypt	(New Kingdom)		Montagedda, p 135.
	(XVIIIth Dynasty)		Arch LXXVII, p 43, fig 34 a; pp 63-4, fig 60.
	(XVIII- XIXth Dynasty)	i	Arch LXXVII, p 43, fig 34 a, A 7 d.
		ii	Gurob, Plate XLIII.
	(XXth Dynasty)		E.L.L. Griffith, <i>The antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh</i> , p 47, Plate XV.
	(XXIInd Dynasty)		W.M.F. Petrie <i>Lahun II</i> , Plate LV, 58 D.
	(XXII-XXVth Dynasties)		Matmar, Plate LXI, 81.
	(XXIIIrd Dynasty)		Arch LXXVII, p 43, fig 34 a, A4, A5a.

Anatolia	('Phrygian')	TAH 30-32 ii, fig 510, E 1967.
	(Alishar V)	TAH 1928-9 ii, fig 133.
Italy	(Villanova period)	Arch LXXVII, p 43, fig 34a; A6b-A6d.
	(Etruscan period)	Arch LXXVII, p 43, fig 34a, A8a.

It has been pointed out by Heurtley and others that there are parallels between 'Philistine' wares from Syria and Palestine, and varieties of late Mycenaean vases in the Aegean, including the Salamis class of pottery. Heurtley, when discussing the Close Style and the Panel Style of late Mycenaean ware in the west observed that 'the use of concentric loops in rows or in masses, the blocking in with black of the spaces between the concentric loops, the treatment of the bird's wing and the fish's fin, and the panel arrangement invite comparison with 'Palestine' ornament.³⁸ Doubtless the similarity of the motifs on the wares concerned is striking, but no less striking is the fact that there is no trace of the polychrome technique in the Aegean area at this time,³⁹ despite its comparative frequency in Palestine and Syria. But then, it was a time when there was no uniformity. The comparative similarity which could be observed between the Mycenaean pots of all parts of the Near East during the XIVth century had disappeared. Even in the Aegean world itself there were completely different styles developing at one and the same time, as may be seen in the divergence between the Close and Panel Styles, both of which disappeared after a short period when the Granary Style, again a new style,⁴⁰ appeared. The Granary Style, to which the Salamis vases belong, is usually supposed to be explicable as being in the line of development of Aegean pottery, and its presence in Cyprus⁴¹ and Cilicia⁴² is frequently attributed to migrants from the Aegean (or traders) having introduced the style to those eastern lands. It is, however, as easy, and probably more reasonable, to believe that the Granary Style was a new style formed very largely of ideas introduced from the east to the west, in which case its presence in Cyprus and in Cilicia requires no further explanation, for those lands would have been on the route whereby this particular style would have passed. This matter is referred to below (page 185).

The parallels which have been mentioned by Heurtley, connecting 'Philistine' wares in Syria and Palestine, and varieties of late Mycenaean vases in the Aegean area are, in the light of the evidence discussed above, unlikely to have developed as a result of ideas

spreading from west to east, since the whole spirit, and much of the detail, of the 'Philistine' fabrics and related objects is of northern, not of western, type. The implication of this is that much in late Mycenaean material may prove to have come to the west from some source from which also 'Philistine' pottery might have been influenced.

It has been observed above (see page 152), that there is a group of pottery vessels from the Aegaeon area, many of them being from the islands, which bear ornament which clearly reveals the attempt to illustrate scenes of action. The group may be of late Mycenaean date, and one piece, the cremation crater from Mouliaua, does appear to belong to somewhere near 1200, as may the Warrior Vase,⁴³ which Schliemann found at Mycenae. The group is small,⁴⁴ and quite out of key with the general development of late Mycenaean pottery, as illustrated by the Close and Panel styles, which are presumably roughly contemporary, and still more is it different from the group of the Salamis and Granary vessels, which are perhaps a little later in date. The group under discussion has not previously been isolated, but it is so remarkable that it surely deserves that distinction. Perhaps a suitable name for it would be the 'Illustrative Group'. There are reasons to suppose that this illustrative group has links with the east. These reasons are as follows.

1. The Warrior Vase, perhaps the most remarkable vessel of the group, is marked off from the other vases found by Schliemann at Mycenae, as Schliemann himself pointed out, by the fact that it is made of a highly sandy clay. It is noticeable that vessels of the close of the Second Millennium in Cyprus,⁴⁵ and perhaps also in Cilicia, were made of a sandy clay.⁴⁶

2. The handles of the Warrior Vase, modelled in the form of a horned animal's head, are unique in the west at this time though earlier examples occur on vessels carried by Keftiu people depicted on the walls of tombs in Egypt. Similar handles occur on Early Iron Age pots in Azarbaijan, and these may be of about the same date as the close of the Mycenaean Period, since they are contemporary in Azarbaijan with various styles which appear in the west at that time (see page 189). The horned animal's head handle (catalogue on page 183) is so remarkable a type that it is not very likely to have been invented independently in two areas not so very far apart, and perhaps at much the same time.

3. The motif of concentric circles, drawn by hand, appears on the Mouliaua crater, and on the Warrior Vase. This motif (catalogue on page 215) appears to have close connections with the east, as the catalogue demonstrates.

4. The shape of the Warrior Vase is a version of the shape of crater found very commonly in Cyprus during the late Bronze Age.⁴⁷ It is also not unlike the shape of crater used for cremated burials at about this time in north Syria.⁴⁸

5. A horseman is illustrated on a vessel from Moulana, and there seems to be little doubt that the practice of horsemanship was earlier in the east than in the west, and may therefore have been introduced from the east to the Aegean area.

6. During the XIIIth and XIIth centuries there came into fashion in Syria and Palestine a manner of decorating pots with illustrations of scenes of action which are, perhaps, not so very dissimilar, in spirit, from the illustrations on the western illustrative group.⁴⁹

THE HORNED ANIMAL'S HEAD HANDLE

Egypt	(Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re)	LAAA VI, Plate XIII, 89, and p 59.
	(New Kingdom)	i Matmar, Plate XLVII, 4. ii Montet reliques, fig.s 141, 143, p 105.
Aegean	(c 1200 ?)	H. Schliemann, <i>Mycenae and Tiryns</i> , pp 132 ff (MV, Plate XLII-XLIII).
Egypt	(c 1250 ?)	Siptah (Plate not numbered).
Persia	(Early Iron Age)	i Stein routes, Plate 31, 13. ii Az 1948, fig 40, 25.
		CC II, Plate 38, 137.
Anatolia		
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	BMC I ii, Plate V.
	(White Painted III ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig XVIII, 15).
	(Bichrome IV ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig XXXII, 1; 4; 6.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	i BSA XXXI, Plate X. ii Desborough, Plate 31.
	(Geometric)	i CVA Greece i, Greece Plate 7, 3. ii AM XXVIII, Beil IV, 1.
Anatolia	(Alishar V)	TAH 1928-9 ii, fig 84, A 9.
Italy	(Orientalizing)	BSA XXXIII, Plate 22, 4.
Aegean	(Orientalizing)	BSA VIII, Plate IX C.

Since the handle in the form of an animal's head may be believed to have some connection with one in the form of an animal's body, a list of examples of the latter type is given below.

HANDLE IN THE FORM OF AN ANIMAL

Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i	Rekh-mi-Re, Plate XVIII
		ii	LAA VI, Plate XI, 57.
Palestine			Anc Gaza IV, Plate XXII, 246.
Egypt	(c 1200)	i	<i>Le Musée Égyptien</i> II, Plate XLIII
		ii	Steingefasse, Plate V, 18362.
Persia	(Sialk)		Sialk II, Plate III, 6.
Syria			Cim a crem, p 180, fig 230.
Caucasia	(Undated)	i	APM, fig 452.
		ii	RAC II, Plate XXXVI bis, no 3.
North Persia			Herzfeld Iran, Plate XXIII.
Cyprus			ZfE 1899, p 65, fig XIII, 5.
Aegaeon	(Samos)		G. Rodenwaldt, <i>Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen</i> , Plate V, 1.
Palestine			Sellin, fig 95, p 73.
Italy	(VIIth Century)		BMC I ii, Plate XIII, H 99.
Afghanistan			O.M. Dalton, <i>The Treasure of the Oxus</i> , Plate V, 10.

The drawing on the vases of the illustrative group is far from being precise, and it is usually described as poor in quality. The painters are, however, trying to tell stories, or illustrate such scenes as of men riding or marching in file, or hunting, and were thus trying to do something new, at least so far as the Aegaeon area was concerned, and so had no established tradition or convention to help them. It is remarkable that they did produce anything recognisable at all, and one may well wonder if such a new departure, executed fairly well, all things considered, does not owe something to other reasons than to purely spontaneous local development.⁵⁰

There is perceptible in the Aegean world, at about the time of the illustrative group, a change in the quality of the decoration of pottery vases. The wares of this time include those known as 'Sub-Mycenean', a term which covers, amongst other things, the Salamis group of pots⁵¹ and possibly also the Granary class.⁵² As at Moulisana, so also at Salamis, iron and cremation appear in use, though only very rarely. The Granary class and the Salamis group are of Mycenaean character in so far as Mycenaean shapes appear therein, such as the stirrup-vase. But also some shapes not made in the usual Mycenaean fabrics appear in these new groups.⁵³ The same combination of tradition and novelty appears in the decorative scheme, for while spirals occur at Salamis and in the Granary class,⁵⁴ so also does a new style, consisting of alternate horizontal bands of dark and pale, a wavy line being scribbled horizontally along the middle of the pale band.⁵⁵ Sometimes this wavy band is multiple. This scheme cannot be said to owe much, if anything, to any local tradition, for although the wavy line motif had already begun to appear in use in the west in Mycenaean days, appearing in, for example, close style ware (catalogue of the motif on page 53), the idea of placing it on one of a set of alternately coloured bands has no western predecessor. Except one. This exception is a vessel from Crete, dated, significantly enough, to the XVth century.⁵⁶ That was a time when, so it has been argued above, Asiatic ideas in great variety came westward to the Aegean world. That this particular motif of the wavy line placed on one of a system of horizontal bands of alternate colours is truly of eastern source seems to be confirmed by the presence in Assyria, apparently of early Ist millennium date, of vessels⁵⁷ with precisely this style of ornament, made in the long pointed or pear-shaped form (catalogue on page 50), which appears to be typically eastern, though known in the Aegean at the time of the XVth century, and later, in the Orientalising Period.⁵⁸ Such a style of ornament is, like the other methods of ornament of these 'Sub-Mycenean' wares in the west, of remarkable simplicity. But that is not valid reason for describing these vases, as Desborough has done, as 'degenerate'.⁵⁹ There is, in fact, considerably more reason to suggest that the Salamis and Granary class vases illustrate the first stages of a new style in the west, than that they reveal the final stages of an old one.⁶⁰

Foreign ideas have been suggested as influencing the development of Aegean civilisation at about 1200. There are other ways in which foreign ideas can be traced at this time in the west. For example, there appear two 'hut-urns' in Crete which have been dated to about 1200.⁶¹ These are without any Aegean predecessors, though they are not unlike the urns of the Villanovans. But similar urns had appeared on more than one occasion in the east. For

example, the type had occurred in Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period,⁶² a time when many foreign, and probably Asiatic ideas had appeared there. Such urns never appeared again in Egypt, but a similar vessel was found at Ras Shamra⁶³ in association with a jug of typical Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty shape, a form new to Egypt after about 1600, and probably introduced from the north, since it is closely akin to a common shape of the 'Base-Ring' ware of Cyprus and Syria,⁶⁴ and paralleled in the B Period ware of Azarbaijan.⁶⁵ At every time when the 'hut-urn' appeared in the eastern Mediterranean it might well have been associated with migrants from the general direction of the eastern part of Anatolia, or from further north.

Besides the hut-urn, Villanovan pottery includes in its shapes the bi-conical urn, which is often used as an ossuary. This shape always has more or less of a rounded bulge at the widest point, rather than a carination, or sharp-edged angle, and is often decorated with incised geometric meander patterns. The bi-conical urn (catalogue on page 186) seems to have become fairly widespread at the beginning of the Iron Age in eastern Mediterranean lands, but it had been known earlier, at times and in areas which suggest that it may have been introduced by migrants from Caucasia.⁶⁶ Since the geometric meander pattern (catalogue on page 32) might also have been introduced to the west from there it is not, perhaps, strange that that shape and pattern should be associated in Italy. Perhaps the presence of a variety of knobbed handle associated with Macedonia (catalogue on page 187) but found in Italy and elsewhere also, may also serve to suggest eastern connections.

BI-CONICAL SHAPE

Aegean	(Early Cycladic)	i	Eph 1898, Plate 9, 1, 2, 4.
		ii	Phylakopi, fig 67: Plate VII, 1.
		iii	BMC I i, A 304.
	(Dhimini, incised)		Finmen, fig 60, right.
South Russia (Tripolye)			Minns, fig 29.
Egypt	(Late intermediate Period)		Qau II. Plate LXXXVII, 80-82.
	(IXth Dynasty)		CVA Pays Bas ii, Pays Bas Plate 59, 14.
Aegean	(XVIth century)		Pre Mac, p 214, no 408.
Cyprus	(1600-1400)		BMC I ii, Plate I, C 108.

Syria	(1450-1365) (Atchana ware)	Ug II, fig 70, 12. AJ XVIII, Plate IX, ATP 230.
Caucasia		Trialeti, fig 112; Plate CXIV.
N. W. Persia		Stein routes, Plate XXIX, 1.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 28, 1184.
Cyprus	(Iron Age)	SCE IV ii, Fig XXVII. 6).: Fig XXXV, 4).
Syria	(Iron Age)	LAAA XXVI, Plate XXIII, B 29
Europe	(Hallstatt)	Germania 27 (1943), heft 1 Plate 5, 1.
	(Hungary)	Diss Pann, Ser II.9: Plate II, 8.
Italy		i Mon Ant XXII, Plate XI, 8, 9. ii Pallotino, Plate VI. iii Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XXXIX, 16. iv Mingazzini, pp 104 ff, no 319, Plate XVII.
Balkans	(Butmir)	Benac, Butmir, Plate XV.
Aegean	(Lemnos, VIIIth century)	Annuario XV-XVI, Plate V, 9.

'MACEDONIAN HANDLE'

Aegean	(Macedonia, Early Iron Age)	Pre Mac, Plate XXII, 476.
Italy	(Terramare)	SE XII, Plate 1, 22.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XVII, handles 7 & 8.
South Russia	(Scythian)	IRAC XXXV, p 79, fig 16: Minns SAG, fig 24.
Italy	(Cumae)	Mon Ant, XXII, Plate IX, no 6.
Caucasia	(Trialeti, undated)	Trialeti, Plate LI.

It has been suggested above (see page 140) that some of the monochrome wares which were made at Troy during the Troy VI period, and used in association with the practise of the rite of cremation, might have been introduced there by new-comers who had migrated

from more easterly lands. These wares were by no means the sole monochrome fabrics in use at this time. There were monochrome red and grey pots being made at Troy in the Troy VII a period, and it has been pointed out by Wace and Blegen⁶⁷ that fabrics precisely similar to these have been found at Ras Shamra in Syria, and in Palestine at Tell abu Hawam and Lachish, where they occurred together with late Mycenaean pottery. Some of these wares have ornament of incised wavy lines⁶⁸ and guilloche pattern. Of much the same date are some monochrome grey wares from Lesbos,⁶⁹ on which occur plastic animals' heads used for decoration, in the same way as on wares from Troy (catalogue on page 194). But that is not the limit of the field in which similar wares are to be found.⁷⁰ Monochrome grey wares, with incised wavy line and guilloche patterns occur at Sialk, in the A cemetery there, and monochrome grey and red fabrics are characteristic of the A period in Azarbaijan, a period which may have begun somewhere near 1200. Similar wares also occur in Anatolia, at the time of the Alishar IV period, at which epoch there came into use in that land both iron, and triangular shaped fibulae. From these rather scattered pieces of evidence it seems to be possible to suggest that the presence of monochrome wares, occurring in so many lands at this time, indicates a widespread diffusion of a particular people. Since what are possibly the earliest examples of such fabrics, those in Troy VI, were associated with cremated burials, the makers of some, at least, of these wares would probably have come from the east, for it is scarcely possibly to believe that cremation was a rite which arose in the west, and no serious reason to suggest that it came to Troy from Europe. If they were, in fact, easterners, then they appear more likely to have come from, or through, a fairly northerly land, such as northern Persia or eastern Anatolia, about which there is comparatively little archaeological knowledge, since the more southerly regions, such as Syria and Palestine, were the scene of a somewhat sudden appearance of monochrome fabrics, which suggest that they were brought there, rather than originated in that area. Moreover, grey monochrome wares, though not related in general types to the bucchero fabrics of the Near East under discussion, had appeared on more than one occasion in northern Persia, a fact which may suggest that there were traditions of plain dark pottery manufacture in the north of Persia.

If these monochrome wares appeared in the Near East as the result of the pressing west and south of new comers from Persia (who may, naturally, have come from beyond Persia), a convenient place at which to study them will be Azarbaijan. That land would not have been the place where the early Iron Age bucchero wares were invented,

for they appear there as suddenly as they do in all the other sites yet examined in the Near East where they have been found. But it seems to be a region through which people passed towards the Mediterranean at many times in antiquity, especially when they were coming southward from Caucasia, an area of extraordinary riches and fertility, and an ideal place for the discovery and development of many things. The material from Azarbaijan is not extensive, but a small range of types has been made available from the work at Geoy Tepe.

The A Period at Geoy Tepe saw the introduction of grey and red monochrome wares, the shapes of which are entirely different from those of the immediately preceding period. This A Period ware in Azarbaijan is partly of a type found only in the area stretching towards the north, so far as is known at present, for examples were found at Geoy Tepe of a pyxis only known to be paralleled in Armenia, a vessel with a large flat rim ornamented by several concentric coils or ribs.⁷¹ Some of these A Period wares are ornamented with vertical grooves or lines impressed on the clay, a manner which appears in Anatolia, in Alishar IV ware, which is probably to be dated after 1200 (see page 191), in Cyprus, at Tepe Giyan and elsewhere in Persia, in the northern part of Caucasia and in Italy.⁷² It is virtually unknown in the Aegean area, there being a single example from Mirabello in Crete. A highly characteristic vessel of the A Period in Azarbaijan is a carinated bowl with a wide and fairly flat rim and shallow horizontal flutings on the shoulder.⁷³ This type of bowl is rare in other lands, but has been found in Palestine, at Tell el Mutesellim,⁷⁴ and in central Europe, in pottery of the Hallstatt period.⁷⁵ The known examples of the shape may suggest that the centre of distribution for it lies in the direction of Caucasia. Such evidence may be held to indicate that some of the Azarbaijan A Period ware is of eastern type, and is not to be derived from the west. On the other hand, there are several points about this ware which are paralleled in the west. The appearance of bucchero fabrics, for example, is widespread in the west at this time of about 1200. And at one place, Lesbos, several vessels are ornamented in ways found on A Period fabrics in Azarbaijan.⁷⁶ Various shapes of the Geoy Tepe wares, such as side-spouted jars (catalogue on page 201) and pot-stands (catalogue on page 202) are common in the west and in all parts of the Near East from late Mycenaean days. Again, such details as handles with knobs placed where the thumb would rest, common in Azarbaijan at this time,⁷⁷ appear frequently in early Iron Age fabrics in Cyprus. And the handle formed in the shape of a horned animal's head (catalogue on page 183) is another detail which appears at this time in both east and west. Thus while the new fabrics of

The A Period at Geoy Tepe cannot be entirely derived from the west, they show some parallels with wares in Cyprus and neighbouring lands, the Aegaeen area and Italy. The explanation which is offered here for this situation is that the close of the Bronze Age saw the arrival, from further east or north beyond Azarbaijan, of people accustomed to make bucchero wares of particular kinds, and that these people pressed westward in due course, taking with them some of their ceramic traditions and introducing to Cyprus, for example, knobbed handles, unknown further west, and animal's head handles to the Aegaeen area. Such a hypothetical movement might account for a curious introduction to Italy of the time when bucchero pottery appeared there. This is a particular kind of cup, rather small, with a base not always in good proportion and a high handle at the top of which appear knobs.⁷⁸ This shape is perhaps to be connected with a cup-shape found at Geoy Tepe,⁷⁹ but it is otherwise so unusual as to invite interest in its origin.⁸⁰

Vertical fluting has been referred to as occurring in the monochrome wares of Azarbaijan. It is very well known contemporaneously in Cyprus. This style of ornament is not, surely, of ceramic origin? But it might well be imitated from metal work. The earliest examples of this style of ornament do, in fact, appear in metal objects, such as the silver 'tea-pots' found at Byblos,⁸¹ and the silver bowls found at Toud in Egypt,⁸² all being of the earlier IIInd millennium in date and, in the case of the Toud material at least, very possibly of a western Asiatic source. Certainly the Toud bowls are not likely to be of Aegaeen origin. It might be that the source of this style of ornament was somewhere in the Caucasian region, whence repeated migrations took it to better known lands from time to time. This matter is discussed further subsequently (see page 285).

Evans suggested that the origin of the type of the silver 'tea pots' found at Byblos is to be sought in the Aegaeen area. This is not, in fact, the only possibility, for an eastern source could be proposed in view of both the shape and the spiral and fluted decoration. But it is probably best to postpone any attempts to come to a decision, since there does not seem to be any strong evidence in any direction, though it may be significant that this type of vessel appears as a new introduction at Byblos at the time when there appeared there both toggle-pins and torques (catalogue on page 41), both of which kinds of objects, when found in Syria, have been supposed to indicate the coming south of migrants from Caucasia.⁸³

In the light of the evidence mentioned above it may, perhaps, be suggested that the source of the monochrome pottery fabrics which appeared towards the close of the IIInd millennium may well have

been in the direction of Caucasia. This may be as true of Italy as of the Aegaeon. For although Saflund has discussed the apparent connections between Troy VI-VII and Italy at the time of the Adriatic culture phase,⁸⁴ the distribution of the ceramics concerned suggests that one should look further to the east than western Anatolia in search for origins.⁸⁵

A little later, at the time of Troy VII b, 'Buckelkeramik' appears at Troy. This is a grey monochrome ware which is characteristically ornamented with swellings or protruberances.⁸⁶ This fabric is, quite reasonably, believed to be connected with the Lausitz ware which is well known in many parts of Europe.⁸⁷ Childe and others have offered theories of a southerly migration on the basis of this resemblance. But to do so may be to over-simplify the problem. For similarly ornamented ware also appears in the Caucasian area,⁸⁸ and it might be as reasonable to suggest that the presence of this style of decoration at Troy is due to migration from the east as from the north. A westward migration would have been quite a likely thing to have occurred at this time, for it would have continued the series of migrations which had, so it has been suggested, already occurred, moving from east to west.⁸⁹ If such a migration had occurred, Lausitz ware itself, a type of fabric for which there is no antecedent in Europe, might have been introduced to the west by a migration originating in the direction of the Caucasus mountains. A later development of such a migration could in that case have been responsible for the appearance of certain wares in Italy, which include vessels with ornamental swellings⁹⁰ in the Lausitz manner. It has been observed that Terramare pottery may be 'related to Buckelkeramik',⁹¹ while, as has been said above, there is other evidence to indicate a connection at this time between Caucasia and Italy.

An additional confirmation of the possibility that many of the new ideas of this period seem likely to have appeared as the result of migration from the east, may be traced in the introduction of the Alishar IV type of civilisation in Anatolia. This culture seems to be dateable to an early part of the Iron Age, for it was of the time when iron began to be comparatively common in that land, and when fibulae, many of the triangular shape (catalogue on page 161), appeared there. Such fibulae are much more usual in the east than in the west, while the introduction of iron seems likely to have been from the east. At this time, as has been said (page 188), monochrome grey or black pottery was made, some of it being ornamented with vertical grooving,⁹² in the style known in the east, but very rarely seen in the west. But much more characteristic of this epoch in Anatolia is the use then made of

painted pottery. This fabric is frequently decorated with drawings of stags in silhouette, while other motifs are triangles painted solid in horizontal rows (catalogue on page 198), and concentric circles drawn with the use of a compass⁹⁵ (catalogue on page 215). A common shape is a large crater and this, both in its shape and in the type of handles with which it is equipped, is quite unknown in the west.⁹⁴ Equally unknown in the west are the drawings of stags. On the other hand, the manner of drawing concentric circles with the use of a compass does appear in the west, in the 'quasi-geometric' ware of Crete, and in the Protogeometric pottery which appears in the Aegean area before the end of the IInd millennium. It would scarcely be possible to suggest that this Alishar IV category of ceramics was derived from any western source, for there is far too little evidence to support any such claim, while there is a certain amount of evidence to contradict it. The use of a compass to draw concentric circles is widespread, appearing at this time on several highly individual types of pottery in different areas, a fact which is far from suggesting that it might have been of Aegean origin. Thus Alishar IV ware, which, being a new type of pottery must have been introduced to Anatolia originally from elsewhere, may be of eastern source, as indeed the appearance then of iron would suggest. If so, there is additional reason to indicate that the monochrome ware with vertical fluting may be, quite possibly, of eastern source.

The use of a compass to inscribe concentric circles or semi-circles on pottery appears in Cyprus, Syria, Palestine⁹⁵ and elsewhere in the Near East, and maybe of eastern source (see page 201). It appears in the Aegean area first, it seems, in Crete, where it is found in the pottery of the Chamber Tombs of Vrokastro, of the 'quasi-geometric' period.⁹⁶ The contents of these tombs suggest that they are characteristic of an intermediate period, when ideas were in a state of flux, for cremation appears in some, but not in others, and is sometimes associated with iron objects, and sometimes not, while the pottery in some tombs is of a geometric tendency, while in others it is markedly non-geometric. The presence in Tomb III of the bulb-pin type⁹⁷ known as Salamis, and in Tomb I of a tripod⁹⁸ of a type found at Enkomi and Tiryns, indicates that these tombs can possibly be dated before the Protogeometric Period.

Chamber Tomb I at Vrokastro, in which there were traces of cremation, contained a very interesting and reasonably homogenous group of objects. Besides the tripod, the eastern connection of which has been remarked (page 154 and 213), there were some faience seals made, apparently, in imitation of Egyptian scarab seals, and paralleled by specimens from many lands of the Near East (catalogue

on page 195), the 'swollen bow' type of fibula (catalogue on page 160) and a considerable amount of iron. The pottery included vessels which have in their ornament motifs which maybe of eastern type, including fringed lines (catalogue on page 196), rows of solidly painted triangles (catalogues on pages 198-9), concentric semi-circles drawn with the use of a compass⁹⁹ and a version of Granary style ornament.¹⁰⁰ There are some remarkable shapes, including an openwork kalathos (catalogue on page 142) which has parallels in the east (see page 141), and a vessel with handles which have knobs where the thumb would rest, in the manner found in Azarbaijan¹⁰¹ and well known in Cypriote ware of this earliest part of the Iron Age, though rare in the west at any time. Another vase was a cylindrical jar¹⁰², a shape new in the Aegean area at this time, decorated with a row of concentric diamonds (catalogue on page 196), rows of solidly painted triangles in vertical rows (catalogue on page 199), and the motif of a solidly painted triangle with lines parallel to the sides enclosing the apex (catalogue on page 136). The history of these motifs also may suggest that they are originally of eastern source. It is a most interesting fact that there appear together on this vessel two motifs, the row of concentric diamonds and the solid triangle with lines parallel to the sides enclosing the apex, which also appear together on Middle Helladic ware.¹⁰³ This is the earliest example of the renewal of the use of the motifs which had been characteristic of Middle Helladic pottery in group form rather than individually. This matter will be discussed later (see pages 269-270), but it may be recalled here that there is some evidence to suggest that the very great change which occurred at about 2000 in the west, when the completely new type of Middle Helladic ware superseded the Early Helladic III fabrics, contemporaneously with considerable destruction of villages, may well have been due to the coming of people from the east.¹⁰⁴ Further, the two motifs concerned were known centuries before the Iron Age in the east. They neither of them, so far as the evidence at present available indicates, seem likely to have been inherited within the Aegean world from the time of their first appearance there, for their use was decidedly not continuous in the west.

In addition to the ceramic shapes mentioned, there was, in the Vrokastro Chamber Tomb I, a stirrup vase and a pilgrim flask, and many small vessels. Clearly the contents of this tomb reveal the coming of new ideas, apparently supervening on the final remains of the Mycenaean tradition. Some of these new ideas seem likely to have been of eastern source, and indeed many of them may be due to the repeated coming of ideas known earlier in the west, but discontinued, to re-appear at this time, such as the fringed line motif and that of solidly painted triangles.

The Chamber Tomb I at Vrokastro also contained a finger ring of gold with a thin bezel of oval form, the longer dimension of the bezel being at right angles to the hoop.¹⁰⁵ Two similar rings were found in Tomb A at Mouliana, one of which had granulated decoration.¹⁰⁶ This type of ring, which is not engraved, though sometimes has ornament in relief, is the same as the type of ring of which two examples, one with granulated ornament, were amongst the jewellery found in a XIIth Dynasty context at Dahshur.¹⁰⁷ This Dahshur jewellery is, in several ways, of non-Egyptian type, and much of it consists of objects without parallel in Egypt either before or after that epoch. This type of finger ring might conceivably therefore have come from some external source both to Egypt soon after 2000 and, many centuries later, to Crete.

It is doubtful if this type of ring, which has a thin bezel, can truly be compared with the rings from Ialysos,¹⁰⁸ and associated with a Mycenaean larnax at Praesos.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately the publications of those objects are not complete enough to decide the issue.

A variant of the type of ring found at Vrokastro and Mouliana, with a long bezel pointed at each end, comes from a Protogeometric grave in the Kerameikos.¹¹⁰ A similar ring, of about the same date, comes from North Italy.¹¹¹

SOLID LUG HANDLE IN THE FORM OF AN ANIMAL'S HEAD

Persia	(Tepe ali Abad)	DEP VIII, p 127, fig 238.
Syria	(Byblos, Hyksos period)	i Corpus Palestinian, Byblos 27. ii Montet Byblos, Plate CXLV, 911.
Mycenaean	(Syria)	Ug II, fig 95, 24.
Anatolia	(Troy VI)	T und I, I, Fig 40. IV-IX: SS, p 157.
Aegean	(Lesbos)	Thermi, p 204.
Azerbaijan		Az 1948, fig 36, 915.
Persia	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate I, 3.
	(Tepe Giyan I)	Giyan, tomb 31.
Anatolia	(Erzingan)	Bossert AA, p 313, 1194.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	Lane, Plate 16 A.

KNOBBED HANDLE

Aegean	(Early Minoan)	Deltion 1918, p 153, fig 10, no 31.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	Very common, cf BMC I ii, fig 10.
Mycenean	(Ialysos)	Annuario VI-VII, p 216, fig 138.
Aegean	(Early Iron Age)	Pre Mac, p 235, no 477.
N. W. Persia		Az 1948, fig 41, 339.
Cyprus	(Bucchero ware)	BMC I ii, fig 61.
	('sub-Mycenean')	BMC I ii, fig 264.
	(White Painted I ware)	SCE II, Plate XXIII.
Aegean	('Quasi-geometric')	Vrokaastro, Plate XXV, 2.
Italy	(Coppa Navigata)	Mon Ant XIX, Plate V, 23.
South Russia		IRAC XXXV, p 66, fig 2; p 79, fig 19.
Persia	(Giyan I)	Giyan, tomb 28.
Caucasia	(undated)	Trialeti, Plate XIX.

IMITATION SCARAB-SHAPED SEALS

Aegean	('Quasi-geometric')	Vrokaastro, pp 135-6.
Palestine	(Tell abu Hawam stratum III)	QDAP IV, fig.s 150-1.
	(Beth-Pelet)	Beth-Pelet I, Plate XXII, 600; Plate XXXV, 395, 801.
Syria		Byblos, Plate CXXV, 2460.
Egypt	(XXth-XXIInd Dynasties)	Quoted in Vrokaastro, p 136.

Note: - A very well made imitation of a scarab-shaped seal, though with incised marks on the underside which do not resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs, comes from the Caucasus area (RAC II Atlas, Plate XXVIII, 1-2). This scarab has a very short thorax, and is much shorter in proportion to its width, than most scarab-shaped seals. There appears to be no known beetle of this shape available for comparison in English Museums, with the exception of some specimens of scarab from South America. There is a scarab-shaped object, nearly circular in plan, of about the time of the early Iron Age, from Carchemish (LAAA XXVI, Plate XX A.).

ROW OF CONCENTRIC DIAMONDS

Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)		Arch LXXXVIII, Plate XXXVI b.
Aegean	(Early Bronze Age)	i	Phylakopi, Plate V, 9: Plate X, 26.
		ii	CVA France XIII, France Plate 540, 2.
Persia	(Susa II)		CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 57, 20.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)		ILN 19 Jan 1952, p 108, fig 10, right (polychrome from Phaistos).
	(Middle Helladic)		Entresis, Plate XIII.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III)		PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 6.
Cyprus	(XVIth century)		QDAP VIII, Plate XVII.
Syria	(Tell Atchana levels V-VI)		AJ XXX, Plate VIII. d.
Anatolia	('Hittite')		Belleten III, Lev. LIV.
Mycenean	(Ialysos)		BMC I i, A 957.
	(Crete)	i	BMC I i, p 119, fig 159. A 722.
		ii	POM IV ii, p 1017, fig 965 o.
		iii	Matz FK, Plate 49, 1.
Cyprus	('Sub-Mycenean')	i	BMC I ii, C 734.
		ii	AJA XLI, p 75, fig 8, no 12.
Aegean	('Quasi-geometric')		Vrokastro, Plate XXX.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')		TAH 1930-32 ii, Plate X e, 1338.
Cyprus	(Bichrome)	i	SCE IV ii, Fig XXI, 11).
		ii	Dikaioi, in Mélanges P.I, pp 316 ff.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i	Aigina, Plate 6, 113.
		ii	Argive Heraeum II, Plate LVII, 18.
		iii	CVA Denmark ii, Denmark Plate 73, 3.
Anatolia	(Gordion)		Gordion, Plate 2.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i	Lane, Plate 14 A.
		ii	BSA VIII, Plate IX d.
Italy			Pallotino, Plate VI.
Persia			ILN 24 Aug 1935, p 311, no 4.

FRINGED LINE

Persia	(Sialk I)		Sialk I, Plate XLI, D, 4.
	(Persepolis)		Iran Denk A, Plate I, 5: Plate XIV, 1.
	(Susa I)		DEP XIII, Plate XVII, 4.

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate LXXXV, 1, 2.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Morgan origines, I, Plate III.
Persia	(Hissar I)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXXXIV, A.
Mesopotamia	(Post Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate XXXII, 1.
Aegean	(Knossos, neolithic)	i JHS XXIII, Plate IV, 24, 29.
		ii POM I, p 41, fig.s 8, 11.
	(Thessaly, neolithic)	i BMC I i, fig 37, A.156.1.
		ii Pre Mac, p 156, fig 23 b.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	SC, p 578, fig 313, 8.
Aegean	(Early Helladic)	i Pre Mac, p 170, fig 43.
		ii Zyg, Plate XIII, 1.
	(Early Cycladic)	i Phylakopi, Plate V, 10.
		ii AM 42, p 40, fig 38.
	(Early Minoan II)	Mesara, Plate II, 4137.
Anatolia	(Yorton)	Iraq II, Plate XXX, 1.c.
Egypt	(1st Intermediate Period)	Matmar, Plate XXXIII, 46.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan IV, tomb 119)	
	(Tepe Giyan IV type)	Iran Denk B, Plate 1, 3, 5.
	(Tepe Kazineh, near Tepe Moussian)	DEP VIII, p 136, fig 266.
	(Susa II)	CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 55, 14: Plate 57, 20.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	Comp archy Mesop, fig 19, 39.
	(Larsa Dynasty)	Telle 20 campagnes, fig 61.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	i Pernier I, p 267, fig 150.
		ii Mon Ant VI, Plate XI, 28.
		iii POM I, 174, fig 123 b.
	(Middle Helladic)	i Prosymna, fig 644.
		ii PT, fig 126, c-e.
		iii Entresis, Plate XVIII, 1.
		iv Korakou, fig 34, 11.
Syria	(Byblos level XXI)	SC, fig 74, 1.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan II)	Giyan, Tomb 77.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i JHS XXII, Plate IX, 89.
		ii Gournia, Plate VIII, 16.
		iii MT, Plate VII, 40.
		iv Korakou, fig 54, right.
Anatolia	(undated)	Arm II ii, p 570.
South Russia		Pre Myk, Plate VIII, 1.

Mycenaean	(Tell el Amarna)	BMC I i, p 185, fig 262, 3.
	(Calymnos)	BMC I i, A 1015.
	(Ialysos)	i Annuario VI-VII, Plate II.
		ii BMC I i, A 932-3.
	(Phaestos)	Mon Ant XII, col 115, fig 45
	(Isopata)	Arch LIX, p 531, fig 122.
Palestine	(c 1200)	Bliss and Macalister, Excavations in Palestine 1898-1900, Plate 40, 92-5.
Caucasia	(undated)	Trialeti, Plate CXIV.
Cyprus	(1200-1000)	i SCE IV ii, Fig III. 5).
		ii Kypros, Plate XCVIII, 1 b.
Aegean	(1200-1000)	i Vrokaastro, fig 50 A, Plate XXXII.
		ii AM XXXV, Plate VI, 7.
Syria	(1200-1000)	i Megiddo II, Plate 147, 6.
		ii LAAA XXVI, Plate X, 5.

TRIANGLES PAINTED SOLID (ARRANGED SIDE BY SIDE)

Persia	(Sialk I)	Sialk I, Plate XLI, C 9.
Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid ware)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 5, 14.
Persia	(Susa I)	DEP XIII, Plate VI, 5.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Bad Civ, Plate XL, 54 b.
Aegean	(Thessaly, neolithic)	Fimmen, fig 58.
Persia	(Susa II)	DEP XIII, Plate XXVII, 5.
	(Moussian district)	DEP VIII, p 99, fig 151.
	(Tepe Giyan IV)	Giyan, Tomb 117.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	LAAA XX, Plate LIX, 15.
Anatolia	(Tarsus before 2000)	AJA LI, Plate XCVI, 4.
Caucasus area	(Trialeti)	Trialeti, Plate 78.
	(Kizil Vank)	Afo XIV, p 292.
Egypt	(IIInd Intermediate Period)	Qau III, Plate XXVIII, 124.
Palestine	(XVIth century & later)	Megiddo II, Plate 49, 1.
Persia	(Tepe Giyan III)	Giyan, Tomb 86.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i BSA IX, p 311, fig 10.
		ii POM II ii, fig 312 e.
Syria	(XVIth Century)	i ILN 15 Jan 1938, p 95.
		ii ILN 2 Dec 1939, p 833, fig 5.

Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)		AJA XL, p 502.
Palestine			Beth-Shan II, Plate XLII, 21.
Egypt	(Ramesside period)		G. Brunton, Gurob, Plate XXV, 29.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV ware)	i	Bossert AA, p 282, 1068.
		ii	TAH 1928-9 i, fig.s 317, 320.
Aegean	(Salamis)		AM XXXV, Plate VI, 2.
	('Quasi-geometric')		Vrokastro, Plates XXV, 2: XXX.
	(Protogeometric)		Kerameikos I, Plate 29, 523.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)		SCE IV ii, Fig I, 3).
Persia	(Sialk B)		Sialk II, Plate XI, 6.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i	NC, Plate I, 3.
		ii	Johansen, Plate V, 1.
Sicily	(Orientalising)		CVA Italy XVII, Italy Plate 803, 1.

TRIANGLES ARRANGED ONE ABOVE ANOTHER

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)		Iraq I, Plate XVIII, second row, middle.
Persia	(Susa I)		DEP XIII, Plate XXII, 3.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	i	el Amrah, Plate XV, 22.
		ii	Nagada, Plate XXIX, 75 a.
Mesopotamia	('Sumerian')		ILN 27 June 1942, p 753, top left.
	(Nineveh V)		LAAA XX, Plate LXI, 3.
Mycenean	(Mycenae)		MV, Plate XXXVII, 380.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)		AJA XLI, p 75, fig 8, no 25.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	i	Vrokastro, fig 75, Plate XXX.
		ii	Kerameikos IV, Plate 10, 2027 (grave 48).
	(Geometric)		Jb 1899, p 208, fig 76.

It may, perhaps, be agreed that the evidence so far reviewed suggests that there are indications of eastern ideas in the Aegaeon area at the time of the 'quasi-geometric' period. Perhaps the most significant ceramic detail of this epoch is the introduction of the use of the compass to draw concentric circles. This motif, drawn freehand, had appeared without any direct local ancestor in the west at the time of the illustrative group of late Mycenaean pottery (see page 182), so that it is new just at the time when iron began to come into use. The use of the compass appears to suggest that new inventions spread rapidly on an international scale, since compass drawn concentric circles occur not only in the Aegaeon area and in Anatolia, in two different, but doubtless roughly contemporary classes of pottery, but also on the fabric of polished red surface on which the designs are painted in matt black which appears at about this time in Palestine,¹¹² Syria¹¹³ and Cyprus.¹¹⁴ This ware is entirely dissimilar from Alishar IV ware and is also unlike the Cretan 'quasi-geometric' ware except in so far as the occurrence of certain decorative motifs in common, these being the compass drawn concentric circles and the fringed line (catalogue on page 196).¹¹⁵

There are thus three different classes of pottery, the black on red ware of Palestine, Syria and Cyprus, the Alishar IV ware, and 'quasi-geometric' ware, which are linked by the appearance thereon of the motif of concentric circles drawn by a compass. All these classes appear to be roughly contemporaneous, appearing soon after the close of the Mycenaean epoch. Neither the Alishar IV ware, nor the black-on-red ware seem to have any ancestors within the Aegaeon area, or in the areas in which they are, from such evidence as is available at present, characteristic. Since they are of new types it may, perhaps, be supposed that they are likely to have been introduced from some region as yet unidentified, but presumably in Asia. The same appears to be very likely true also of the 'quasi-geometric' ware in the west, for although some of the patterns on that ware appear in Mycenaean days (such as solid triangles, fringed lines, solid triangles with lines parallel to the sides enclosing the apex), there is much in the 'quasi-geometric' ware which is new, and therefore appears not to have descended from earlier western traditions. Moreover, as has been suggested before, those patterns on Mycenaean wares may have come to be used as the result of westward migrations, in which case their use on the 'quasi-geometric' ware might suggest that this latter was due to a later migration to the Aegaeon area from much the same part of the world as that from which there may have come that earlier migration to the west at about the time of the close of the Mycenaean

era. Thus, despite the decided local individuality of the three wares on which the earliest compass drawn concentric circles appear, Alishar IV ware, black-on-red ware and 'quasi-geometric' ware, they may all have sprung from the same source, which may have been in some part of western Asia which has not yet been identified. Such marked local individuality of peoples who are yet linked by unifying characteristics is apparently similar to the strongly marked local individuality of small groups of the Aramaean people at this time, and of the Greeks later.

To a great extent the ceramic shapes of the Alishar IV, 'quasi-geometric' and black-on-red wares are new in the lands where they appear. During the time when they were in use there appeared the vertical ring flask (catalogue on page 203), a shape which is apparently of foreign source when it appears in Cyprus during the earliest part of the Iron Age. This shape, by its history, may have been of eastern origin. Another new shape in Cyprus which appears at the time of the production of White Painted I ware is a tall vase of a shape not unlike that of the mediaeval 'albarello'. This type of vase (catalogue on page 204) is made, rather later, in the Aegean area, an example from Crete being dated by Doro Levi to the Protogeometric or early Geometric Period. But some of the shapes of the time were known from the close of the Mycenaean period, such as the pot-stand (catalogue on page 202), the side-spouted jug (catalogue on page 201) and other vessels. The distribution and history of those two shapes appears to suggest that they may also have been originally of eastern source.

SIDE-SPOUTED VESSEL

(discussed by C. F. A. Schaeffer in *Enkomi-Alasia*, pp 304 ff.).

Aegean	(XVIth century)	Gournia, Plate VII, 17.
Cyprus	(Base-ring ware)	CVA BM i, GB Plate 10, 14.
Anatolia	(Kusura C)	Arch LXXXVI, Plate VIII, 7.
Mycenaean	(Salamia ?) (Ialysos) (Cyprus)	AJA LIV, Plate II C. MV, Plate II, 12. Enk-Al, fig 91, Plate LXXXI, 1. Tiryns, fig 30
Palestine		Mutasellim, Plate XXXVIII.
Anatolia		Boghar Keui, Plate 13, 3.
Aegean		Prosymna, fig 292
	(Marmariane)	BSA XXXI, Plate V, 69.
	(Iria)	AA 1939, col. = 289-290, fig 18.

Palestine	(Early Iron Age)	i Corpus Palestinian, 41. ii Megiddo Tombs, Plate 8, 12. iii Megiddo I, Plate 3, 75-77. iv Megiddo I, Plate 6, 153. v PEFO 1923, Plate II: Plate IV. vi Gezer III, Plates 87-88: Plate XCI, 11.
Azerbaijan	(Early Iron Age)	Az 1948, fig 37, 29.
Cyprus	(Kourion tomb 26 A)	AJA XLI, p 66, no 23.
Syria	(Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Plate XXIV, J 2, etc.
Aegean	(Geometric, Thera)	AM XXVIII, fig.s 26, 27.
Anatolia		Gordion, fig.s 19 ff.

Note: - A vessel not unlike the Mycenaean side-spouted jug, but with the spout on the other side of the vessel from the handle, is illustrated in MV, Plate XLIV, 67. This is apparently the vessel which is compared by Lehmann-Haupt with a pot from Armenia, which is said by him to be of similar shape (Arm II ii, pp. 576-7.) Another example is from Shah Tepe (Arne, Plate XXXIX, fig 263.).

POT-STANDS

Egypt	(Predynastic)	Nagada, Plate XLI, 84-88.
	(Early Dynastic)	i Abydos I, Plate XXXV, 192 ff. ii RT I, Plate XL, 13-15.
Palestine	(c 3000)	Megiddo II, Plate 3, 7, & 8.
Aegean	(Thermi)	Thermi, Plate IX, 148.
	(Early Minoan)	Mochlos, fig 48, 40.
Syria	(C 2500 ?)	Byblos, Plate CXXXIX, 3924.
Egypt	(Old Kingdom)	i Denderah, Plate XVI, 28, 38. ii F. Petrie, <i>Medun</i> , Plate XXX, 21.
Mesopotamia	(Brak)	Iraq IX, Plate LXIX, 2.
	(Ur)	RC, Plate 267, 245.
	(Tell Asmar)	OIC 19, p 18, fig.s 16, 17.
	(Ashur Stratum G)	Andrae IT, Plates 18, 20.
Persia	(Hissar III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate CXVII, H 1633.
Egypt	(1st Intermediate Period)	i Denderah, Plate XVII, 46 ff. ii Qau II, Plate LXXXVIII, 97: Plate XCII, 96

Persia	(Susa II)		DEP XIII, Plate XXXIV.
	(Moussian)		DEP VIII, p 137, fig.s 278-280
Mesopotamia	(c 2000)		Gawra, Plate LXXIV, 195-9.
Anatolia	(Troy II-V)		SS, p 121, no 2441.
Egypt	(Middle Kingdom)		el Kab, Plate XV.
Mesopotamia	(Larsa Dynasty)		BM 121959.
Aegean	(early IIrd millennium)		Phylakopi, Plate XXII.
Palestine	(1800-1700)		Megiddo II, Plate 22, 9.
Egypt	(IIrd Intermediate Period)	i	Qau III, Plate XVII.
		ii	Hyksos and Is cities, Plate X.
Palestine	('1650-1500')		Megiddo II, Plate 47, 16.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)		Sédment II, Plate LXI, 73.
Egypt	(New Kingdom)		Qau III, Plate XXIX, 215-8.
Anatolia	(Kusura C)		Arch LXXXVI, fig 10, 2 & 3.
Mesopotamia	(Tepe Billa Stratum 3)		PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIII.
Aegean	(1400, Gournia)		PCM II, p 139, fig 70, bis.
Syria	(1400-1200)		Ug II, fig 110, 40 ff.
Palestine	(1400-1200)		Megiddo II, Plate 62, 11 & 12: Plate 70, 13.
Mycenean	(Milatos)		Arch LIX, p 486, fig 105, B.
	(Knossos)		PCM II, p 133, fig 67.
	(Zygouries)		Zyg, fig 138.
Anatolia	(Troy VI)	i	JHS LII, Plate I, 2.
		ii	AJA XXXIX, p 579, fig 22.
	(Troy VI-VII)		SS, p 158, no.s 3228-3230.
Persia	(Early Iron Age)		Az 1948, fig 37, 28.
Palestine	(1150-1100)		Megiddo II, Plate 80, 9: Plate 87, 12.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)		SCE IV ii, Fig VII.8). to 10).
Aegean	(Protogeometric)		Desborough, Plate 14, 2029.

VERTICAL RING FLASK

Syria	(Later IIIrd millennium)		Byblos, no. 3927.
	('1900-1750')		Ug II, Plate XL.
	(c 1700)		Ug I, fig 53 F.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i	el Amrah, Plate XLIV. D 16 B.
		ii	Arabah, Plate XXI. E 158: E 233.

Aegean	(Protogeometric)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 25, 2033.
Egypt	(XXII-XXIVth Dynasties)	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Lahun II</i> , Plate LX. 93 P.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig V, 8).
	(White Painted II ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig XIV, 2).
Italy	(Late Geometric, Cumae)	Mon Ant XXII, Plate XXXIX, 2.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i ILN 14 Jan 1933, p 46, fig 5.
		ii Hesp XIV, Plate XXII, 2.
		iii Johansen, Plate VII, 4.

(Many other examples are quoted by Gjerstad in SCE IV ii, p 293, and Johansen, pp 26 ff.).

PITHOS OF ALBARELLO TYPE

Mycenaean	(Crete)	Unpub Palai, Plate XXIII C.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	Cesnola, Cyprus, p 404, fig 15.
	(White Painted I ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig III 5).
Aegean	(Vrokastro chamber tomb)	Vrokastro, Plate XXX.
	(Vrokastro bone enclosure)	Vrokastro, fig 98.
	(Geometric)	Hesp XIV, Plate II, 2.
	(Lemnos)	i Annuario XV-XVI, fig 31.
		ii ILN 28 Feb 1931, p 332, fig 6.
Italy	(Gela)	Mon Ant XVII, Plate V, middle.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i AA 1925, col 339, fig 10.
		ii Johansen, Plate XI.

There appears in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age the curious detail of making a ridge horizontally round the vertical neck of a jug at the point where the handle is joined to the neck. Later this detail comes into use in the Aegean area. It is a style which, although without any known immediate antecedents at this time in the Near East, had, in fact, been invented very much earlier, for it first appears in Jemdet Nasr ware, which is one of the earliest classes of polychrome decorated ware known, and is doubtless of eastern source. There is some reason to believe that polychrome decoration may have spread from the general direction of the Caucasus mountains, and it is possible that the source

of Jemdet Nasr ware should be sought in that region.¹¹⁶ Possibly the ridge-neck style is of similar source.

RIDGE-NECK VESSELS.

Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr)	Field Mus Nat Hist Anthro Memoirs I, Plate LXVIII, 11.
Palestine	(c 1800)	Megiddo II, Plate 19, 31.
Cyprus	(Base Ring ware)	CVA BM I, GB Plate 9.
Syria	(c 1500)	i Rapport prelim Hama, Plate XVI 4. ii ILN 2 Dec 1939, p 8 33, fig 5 right.
Palestine	(before 1400 ?)	Gezer III, Plate LXIV, 1.
Syria	(Kasara period)	M.F. von Oppenheim, <i>Tell Halaf, A new culture in oldest Mesopotamia</i> , p 310, fig 4, 20.
Palestine	(before 1200)	i Beth Shan II, Plate XLVII, 27. ii QDAP IV, Plate XIII, 86. iii Lachish, Frontispiece.
Cyprus	(Amathus tomb 7) (White Painted I ware)	SCE II, Plate IX. SCE IV ii, Fig III, 15).
Palestine	(1150-1100) (1050-1000)	Megiddo II, Plate 80, 3. Megiddo I, Plate 6, 147.
Syria	(Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Plate XVI, a & b.
North Africa	(Carthage)	<i>Iraq</i> IV, p 71, fig 4 (see Albright in <i>AJA</i> 1950, p 175, and Gjerstad <i>SCE</i> IV ii, p 295.)
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	<i>Belleten</i> III, Plate LVI.
Aegean	(Thera) (Rhodes)	AM XXVIII, Beilage XIX, 11. i CI R, VI-VII, p 75, fig 82. ii Lindos I, Plate 43, 945. iii CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 431, I & 3. iv CI R, III, fig 73.
	(Geometric)	AM XXVIII, Beilage XXII, 4. i Delos XV, Plate LI, 1. ii CVA Pays Bas ii, Pays Bas Plate 73, 1. iii AM XLIII, Plate IV, 1. iv CI R, VI-VII, p 189, fig 223. v <i>AJA</i> 1901, Plate III.
	(Orientalising)	i Kinch, Plate 38, 6. 5 and 6. 8. ii <i>Annuario</i> VI-VII, p 261, fig 162. iii CVA GB ix, GB Plate 381, 6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Miss Hall observed, when discussing the late Mycenaean period at Vrokaastro, that "even in this period a new influence is observable... the introduction of a Cypriote type of crater and of the geometric type of bowl indicate affinities with the succeeding period". (Vrokaastro, p. 181).
2. POM IV, p. 377, fig. 314 b. Examples of this shape include Unpub. Palai, fig. 37 (7 LM I-II); Korakou, fig. 101 (Mycenaean); MV, Plate VII (36 XIII) (Mycenaean from Ialysos); BSA XVII, Plate XII, 73 (Mycenaean, from Phylakopi).
3. LAAA XXVI, Plate XI, 2.
4. DEP VIII, p. 139, fig. 283-4.
5. The history of polychrome decoration is briefly outlined in Az 1948, pp. 87 ff.
6. Polychrome painted pottery was virtually continually in use in some places in Palestine from very early days, according to the evidence from Megiddo. But from time to time the motifs changed considerably, so much so that it seems as if a new type of ware came into use. Between about 1500 and 1100 the motif of animals grouped around a tree is common, and this sharply marks off the polychrome painted ware of that time from that of earlier days (Megiddo II, Plate 48, 4 of Stratum IX; Plate 58, 2 of Stratum VIII; Plate 64, 4 of Stratum VII B; Plate 72, 3 of Stratum VII). It may be significant that it was during Mycenaean days that this motif appeared in the same forms in Aegean as in Palestine, first early in that period, as animals sprigged on either side of the tree (catalogue on page 133; compare BMC I i, A 719, with Megiddo II, Plate 48, 4) and later, at the close of the Mycenaean period, as pairs of animals walking on either side of the tree (compare BMC I i, A 1022, with Megiddo II, Plate 64, 4.).
7. R. W. Hamilton says (QDAP IV, p. 66) that polychrome painted pottery first appeared early in his stratum IV at Tell abu Hawam, at a time when late Mycenaean pottery was still in use.
8. See page 78.
9. SCB IV ii, pp. 186 ff.
10. A Furmark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean pottery*, pp. 118 ff.
11. Beth Pelet I, Plates XXIII and XXIV.
12. At Beth Pelet, Corpus Palestiniana, 43 H 1. At Tell abu Hawam, QDAP IV, Plate XIXVI, 174.
13. Beth Pelet I, Plate XII, 95.
14. In Az 1948 it is shown that iron was the subject of experimental working long before 1200, and that toggle pins may perhaps be dated as early there as anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean region. It has been said that toggle pins disappeared from use in Palestine from before 1400 till after 1200 (AASOR XVII, p. 54, note 62). This would suggest that at the time of the XIIth century there was a migration of people into that land from the area where toggle pins were characteristic, an area which might be Caecasia (Syria VI, pp. 16 ff.).
15. Dendra, pp. 111 ff.
16. F. Ll. Griffith, *The antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh*, Plate XIV, 1 & 2. (XXth Dynasty).
17. Denk P, Plate 33.
18. Koldewey, fig. 200. Anthropomorphic coffins were still being made in Mesopotamia (at Sana) in Parthian days (*Revue d'Assyriologie* XXVI, pp. 133 ff.).
19. Cim a crem, Plate X D.
20. LAAA XXVI, Plate XI.
21. Az 1948, p. 259, note 28.
22. F. Ll. Griffith, *The antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh*, Plate 13.
23. As note above, Plate 14.

24. Sialk II, Plate VII. Gable shaped protection to graves formed by bricks appears also in Palestine (Anc Gaza III, Plate VI: IV, Plate LXV, 1663).
25. At Praesos. BSA VIII, p 247, fig 15.
26. F. Ll. Griffiths, *The antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh*, p 45. Other inscribed coffins of this type, undated, with inscriptions in aramaean characters, were found at Sakkara (Annales XIX, pp 111-2.).
27. Compare what may have occurred during the First Intermediate Period (As 1948, p 249).
28. Griffiths loc cit, Plate XV, 15.
29. Griffiths loc cit, Plate XV, 17.
30. Griffiths loc cit, p 47.
31. Hyksos and Is cities, Plate XVII, 18-22.
32. As 1948, p 250.
33. *University of Pennsylvania Journal* I (1910), pp 42 ff. POM IV i, pp 267-8.
34. Evans discussed it in POM IV, pp 267-8.
35. It is interesting in this connection to note the presence of the four-winged figure at this time in Egypt (N de G Davies, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*, p 38, and Plate XXVI) since multiple winged figures appear at about the same time at Tell Halaf in North Syria.
36. If it represents, as it seems to do, what was being made at about 1200, according to the style which was already formed at the time of M.M. II times, that style must presumably have lasted for several centuries somewhere. Here there may be another example of the longevity of a particular style.
37. As 1948, p 251. With regard to the possible connection of north Syria and Egypt at about 1200, it may be of interest to note that Breasted pointed out the similarity between the design for a lion-hunt in a relief at Medinet Habu, and that for a similar scene in Assyria (in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffiths*, pp 267 ff).
38. QDAP V, p 93.
39. Except for the use of added white on the dark glaze of late Mycenaean decoration, as in the Warrior Vase.
40. Wace said (BSA XXV, p 34) that the Close Style may almost be considered as one variety of the Granary Class. This opinion is debatable.
41. AJA 1948, p 531: QDAP V, p 101.
42. Sjoqvist, *Problems of the Cypriote Bronze Age*, p 190.
43. H. Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, pp 182 ff: MV, Plates XLII-XLIII.
44. It includes Tiryns, Plates XIV, XV: BMC I i, A 1015-6; A 1022: MV, Plate IV, 24 B.1.; Plate XXXIX.
45. SCE I Plate XCI, third row down, third from the right.
46. Pottery sherds of such a quality, and perhaps, (by their decoration) of early Iron Age date, were collected in Cilicia by the present writer in 1930. They were presented to the Ashmolean Museum, but have never been exhibited.
47. BMC I ii, C 397.
48. LAAA XXVI, Plate IX.
49. Examples include the following:-
 Cim a crem, Plate XII A.
 Lachish II, Frontispiece.
 Megiddo II, Plate 69, 13 (of stratum VII A.).
 Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1 (of stratum VI a, is polychrome).
 Since several ceramic shapes, such as the side-spouted vessel, may have come from east to west at this time, there is additional reason to suppose that this illustrative style of painting may have been invented in Asia and brought thence to the west.

50. See previous note.
51. S. Wide in AM XXXV.
52. Mace in BSA XXV, figs 8, 9, 12 and many others.
53. Such as the little two-handled pot AM XXIV, Plate VI, 8, some parallels to which are quoted below.
Cyprus i SCE IV ii, Fig V 9).
ii AJA XII, Plate I, bottom row.
Crete (Spring Chamber at Knossos) POM II, fig 69 B.
54. BSA XXV, fig 8 b.
55. BSA XXV fig 9 B.
56. Gournia, Plate VIII, 14.
57. BM no.s 116376 and 116379, (S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, Plate XV, a.).
58. Kinch, Plate 38: 6, 6.
59. BSA XLIII, p 261.
60. One of the patterns used on Salamis pottery is the row of triangles hatched in alternate directions (AM XXXV, Plate V, 6., catalogue on page 124). This pattern is no product of degeneration in patterning pottery. It is exactly the same as it had been centuries later, and may well occur at this time as the result of a re-diffusion of ideas of eastern source.
At Salamis there appears an elegantly shaped cup (AM XXXV, p 38, fig 7). This is not a Mycenaean shape, and cannot be derived from Mycenaean sources. On the other hand, it is closely similar to a cup, gilded with ornament in white, of the earlier part of the IIrd millennium, from Syria (Byblos, Plate CLXIV, 4170). It is possible that the cup described above should be connected with a somewhat similar shape, of which the profile is a little more angular. Examples of this variety are listed below.
- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|--|
| Aegaeon | (Early Minoan) | Mochlos, Plate IX, M 12. |
| Egypt | (XIIIth Dynasty) | KGH, Plate XIII, 40. |
| Aegaeon | (M.M. I) | Unpub Palai, Plate V D. |
| Egypt | (XIIIth-XVIIIth Dynasty) | el Amrah, Plate LIV, 5. |
| Mycenaean | | i Arch LXXXII, Plate XXII, 8.
ii MV, Plate IX, 51, XXVII. |
| Aegaeon | (Protogeometric) | Kerameikos IV, Plate 24, 1106. |
| Cyprus | (Early Iron Age) | SCE IV ii, Fig II, 11). |
61. POM II, pp 129-30. Furumark dates them later (*Opuscula archaeologica* III, pp 222 ff). For other Cretan urns see S. Alexiou, *Kretika Chronika* IV, pp 441 ff.
62. Dios P, Plate XXV.: Hagada, Plate XLV, 20.
63. Ug II, fig 79. (Also illustrated in AfO 1941-4, p 370, fig 2: ILN 14 June 1941, p 779, fig 8.).
64. BMC I ii, Plate I, C 106.
65. Az 1948, fig 34, no 38. This shape of jug appears also in the Geometric Period in the Aegaeon area (see below, page 240).
66. Childs states that "Villanova Urn" shaped vessels were found in "early Scythian" graves in the north Caucasus (PPS 1948, p 194).
67. AfO LXXXII, p 138.
68. QDAP IV, Plate XXII b-d (found with Mycenaean ware).
69. Thermi, pp 136 ff.
70. References are collected in Az 1948, p 260, note 29.
71. Az 1948, fig 39, 23, and p 162 (where it is called an alabastron).

72. Az 1948, p 261, note. In addition to the references given there, the following should be added: *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires* LX, p 6, and Plate I, 3. This refers to an example from the north Caucasian region. Vertical fluting also occurs on Italian bucchero (Mingazzini, Plate VIII), and bucchero ware similar in some respects to Etruscan bucchero ware was found by Dörpfeld at Olympia (W. Dörpfeld, *Alt Olympia*, fig 25). a fabric dated usually to 1300-1200, and made in shapes (such as loc cit, Beilage 25 b) unlike contemporary Aegean vessels and presumably of foreign source. For the Mirabello vessel see Mirabello, Plate VII, D 2.
73. Az 1948, fig 35, 101. Dr. Lamb remarks, of the Period C grey wares of the Troad, that "the most prominent form is a carinated cup or bowl" and that "there is a strong tendency to decorate rims and bases with horizontal ridges or mouldings". (PZ 1932, p 122).
74. Watzinger, fig 41.
75. L. Lindenschmidt, *Die Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit* V, Plate 44, 753. See Childs *Prehistoric migrations in Europe*, p 189, fig 149, no 746. Somewhat similar ware appears in Armenia (Arm II ii, p 574). Horizontal fluting occurs also in Italy (Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XV, 10), and in Anatolia (MDOG 75, p 45, fig 26 b; Larisa III, Plate 2, 17.).
76. Az 1948, p 261 note 29.
77. Az 1948, p 165, note 9.
78. CVA Denmark iv, Denmark Plate 195, 7: Mingazzini, Plate VI, 10. : Dohan Italic Groups, Plate I, no.s 3-5, found with a pilgrim flask (loc cit Plate I, 2) of a "type... common in Cyprus, and... also in Crete" (loc cit, p 9), and with a snaffle bit (loc cit, Plate I, 20). The bit is of a type very well known in the east, and possibly of eastern origin. Another parallel between Italy and the general area of Caucasia lies in the similarity of the triangular shaped daggers, pointed to by Déchelette (*L'Anthropologie* XXI, pp 425 ff). A good example of a Caucasian triangular dagger is published in *BHA* July 1931, Plate 12, 4-5.
79. Az 1948, fig 41, 27.
80. In view of the parallels noted between Italy and the general area of Caucasia it may be of interest to observe that a bucchero vessel from the Tomba del Duca (VBB, Plate 21, top row, middle) is closely similar to the most frequently illustrated Keftian shape of vessel in Egyptian tombs. For, as has frequently been urged by Wainwright, the Keftian people were very closely connected with the eastern part of Anatolia.
81. Montet Byblos, Plate CXI, 746.; Plate CXII. See also POM II ii, p 825, fig 541 a.
82. ILN 18 April 1936, pp 682-3: Abusir el Melak, Plate 23, 2 and 5.
83. Syria VI, pp 16 ff.
84. Dragma, pp 458 ff, and SE XII, p 21. The period of Troy VII a is characterized by the use then made of a smooth yellow monochrome ware (AJA XXXII, pp 550 ff). Yellow ware also appears in Italy, at Punta del Tonno (Dragma, pp 472 ff) made in shapes known in Troy VI (T and I, I, fig.s 199-203; AJA 1927, p 32, fig 12).
85. At Punta del Tonno twisted handles (Safford in Dragma, fig 25) and knobbed (loc cit fig.s 20-22) occur together, as in Asarbaijan.
86. SS, p 172, no.s 3565-3547. At Troy VII b also occurs Grayware (AJA XXXII, pp 550 ff).
87. Déchelette II, p 384, fig 152.
88. RAC II, Plate XXXIV, 5, with which may be compared an example from Troy (T and I, Plate 41, VIII).
89. Pottery with warts or swellings appeared first at a very remote date in the East (Sialk I, Plate XXVII, 6), being contemporary in Persia with "bevelled rim bowls".

90. Doham Italic Groups, Plate XLIX, 6 & 7: CVA Italy xvi, Italy Plate 774, 1.
91. AJA 1941, p 313.
92. TAH 1928-9 i, fig 325.
93. A. A. Zakharov in *Arch Orien II*, Plate XXXI, 2. See also E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Plate XI, 1: TAH 1927 i, Plate III: TAH 1930-32 ii, figs 421 ff.
94. TAH 1927 i, Plate II.
95. The earliest example appears to be from Stratum VII B at Megiddo, dated to about 1350-1200 (Megiddo II, Plate 67, 1 & 2).
96. Vrokastro, Plate XXVII, 4.
97. Vrokastro, fig 85.
98. Vrokastro, Plate XXXIV, 1.
99. Vrokastro, Plate XXXIII. Desborough remarks, of this vessel, that it is "well in the proto-geometric tradition" (Desborough, p 266).
100. A characteristic of Granary style pottery is, as has been said, the use of alternate dark and light horizontal zones of colour. On the pale one occurs a pattern, normally a wavy line drawn horizontally. This general principle of ornament occurs in "Quasi-geometric" ware at Vrokastro, on one of which vessels (Vrokastro, Plate XXVII, 2) there is ornament which is a version of one known in Syria (LAAA XXVI, Plate IX, 3) and Cyprus (Payne in BSA XXIX, p 294) at the time of the early Iron Age, whence it is thought to have spread to the west (Payne, loc cit, pp 295 ff). It appears in geometric ware at Thera (Thera II, fig 341), and, undated, in Caucasia (RAC II Atlas, Plate I, II).
101. Az 1948, fig 41, 27.
102. Vrokastro, Plate XXX.
103. Entresis, Plate XIII. This vessel from Entresis is of considerable importance from the point of view of the motifs used for its decoration, among which are L-shaped figures, such as appear on Proto-geometric pottery from Tomb 48 in the Kerameikos (Kerameikos IV, Plate 21, 2031), a tomb discussed later (page 221) and fill-ornament of the butterfly motif (catalogue on page 231) as found frequently on Aegean Geometric pottery. Neither of these motifs are at all well known in Middle Helladic times, and it is probable that the ornament on this Entresis vase is not characteristic of Middle Helladic ideas. But it may very well be an illustration of ideas from some foreign source which then came to Greece but did not flourish, possibly because it was characteristic of only a small group of people then.
104. T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, pp 106 ff.
105. Vrokastro, fig 82.
106. Eph 1904.
107. Dahchour, figs 144, 145.
108. MV Text, p 16, fig 4.
109. BSA VIII, p 248, fig 16.
110. Kerameikos I, p 86, fig 5.
111. IAI, Plate 17, 1. Contemporary with this Italian ring is a shield boss (IAI, Plate 17, 2-3), similar to shield bosses from the Kerameikos (see page 222).
112. In the Megiddo V Stratum, dated as 1050-1000 (Megiddo II, Plate 147, 6.).
113. Cim a crem, pp 112-3: LAAA XVI, Plate XVI.b.2.
114. SCE IV ii, Fig XIV.
115. See note 12 above. Vrokastro, Plate XXVII, 2 and Plate XXXII.
116. Az 1948, p 76, pp 87 ff.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIOD

Sometimes students have alleged, perhaps in a somewhat dogmatic manner, that there is no evidence to suggest that there was any change in the population of the Aegaeon area at the time when iron was beginning to come into fairly common use, an event which occurred in the west during the Protogeometric period there. On the other hand, as has been indicated in the preceding pages, there is not a little evidence to indicate that what was, in fact, occurring at that time was a steady infiltration of new ideas, many of which seem likely to have come from the east. Such ideas may, of course, have come in a kind of disembodied way, having been observed by hypothetical Greek traders sailing to the east for supplies (presumably of iron), and brought back with them on their return to the Aegaeon. Perhaps it is equally likely that these new ideas were introduced by eastern folk migrating, for various reasons, to the west. Certainly the introduction of iron as a reasonably common metal, and of cremation as a funerary rite, both apparently from the east, was contemporary with the coming of new kinds of pottery, goods so easy to make and so breakable that they can hardly have

been articles of trade, which by their types can be traced to an eastern source. Several different kinds of evidence, therefore, may converge in suggesting one and the same conclusion, the wholesale coming of eastern ideas, some at least of types which are not likely to have been successfully disseminated in a new land merely by a love of copying something new. The implication of this is that the new ideas were brought by new comers to the west, and thus propagated so strongly that the previously popular fashions fell into disuse. This opinion is only a theory, as is the contrary view that there was no change in the population in the Aegaeon area at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age. Only study and time can decide which of these two theories is the less probable.

As time passed after the onset of the civilisations of the Iron Age in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean, new shapes of pots came to be manufactured. These are the types which are held to identify the Protogeometric Period in the Aegaeon. They are best known from the only two areas from which there is any quantity of material of this time, Cyprus and the Aegaeon area. There is, in fact, though it seems to be little appreciated, a considerable degree of ceramic uniformity during this period between those two areas. Meanwhile, it seems as if the monochrome grey and red wares, and such details as the handles with a knob on which the thumb would rest, passed out of fashion both in Cyprus and elsewhere. While, however, they were still being manufactured in Cyprus, one of the new kinds of shape characteristic of the Protogeometric period was already coming into use. This is an amphora with an elegant ovoid profile,¹ a type fairly well known in Cyprus, and popular in the Aegaeon area.² It may have been rather later that there came to be made skyphoi ornamented with concentric semi-circles drawn with a compass and arranged pendant from the rim of the vessel, often being so drawn as to overlap. These also are characteristic of the Protogeometric period in the Aegaeon area, while examples have been found, not only, apparently, at Tell Halaf and Nineveh in northern Mesopotamia,³ but also at Mersina in Cilicia, at al Mina in Syria and Tell abu Hawam in Palestine, and in other places, including Cyprus.⁴

There can be no doubt that this new Protogeometric fabric, in which distinctive new shapes and styles of decoration appear, can be differentiated from the wares which had been made previously in the Aegaeon area, (despite some overlap), and it has been so isolated. Desborough has expressed the opinion that the Protogeometric ware is of Greek, and specifically Attic, invention, spreading from Attica to many parts of the eastern Mediterranean area. His view is both simple and unconvincing. Perhaps the

most important reason for doubting its validity is the fact that most of the shapes of Aegaeon Protogeometric pots are quite new in the Aegaeon area, or indeed in the west generally, owing little or nothing in inspiration or, apparently, in ancestry to earlier wares there, while there is also much that is new in the contemporary ceramic decoration in Greece. Yet very many of the new shapes, and new styles of ornament, of Protogeometric pottery can be paralleled in the east, particularly in Cyprus. Desborough has observed that the relations between the Aegaeon area and the east at the time of the Protogeometric period were very limited, saying that they can only be traced in such things as the stands from Tomb 48 in the Kerameikos, the principle of loop feet for pots, the bronze tripods from Vrokastro and Knossos and a few vases from Cos. This appears to be a view which deserves analysis. The few similarities which he quotes are well known and without doubt acceptable. But can it really be agreed that they complete the list? It is to be suggested in this book that there are many more parallels between east and west at this time than have been remarked upon. These are listed below. In some cases it will no doubt be possible to argue that the parallels are not perfect, but it is suggested that the general correspondance in the shapes is sufficiently close to suggest that they indicate some kind of bond between east and west.

The following comparisons will serve to illustrate similarities in shape between Aegaeon Protogeometric pots, and fabrics of the early Iron Age in Cyprus :-

Kerameikos IV

SCE IV ii.

Plate 6	Fig IX, 4).
Plate 8	Fig VI, 1 & 3
Plate 9 (920)	Fig III, 9).
Plate 11	Fig XIV, 3).
Plate 13	Fig IV, 9).
Plate 17	Fig XXVIII, 19).
Plate 20	CVA BM ii, GB Plate 58, 13
	SCE IV ii
Plate 21 ^b	Fig III, 10).
Plate 24 (1097)	Fig II, 9).
Plate 24 (1106)	Fig II, 11).
Plate 25 (2033)	Fig V, 8).
Plate 25 (2028)	Fig VII, 10).
Plate 24 (2092)	AJA XLI, Kourion tomb 26 A, no 41

Kerameikos I.

SCE IV ii

Plate 52 (590)

Fig XXXVII 16). Also CVA
BM ii, GB Plate 58, 21.

Plate 63 (535)

Fig VII, 7).

Desborough.

Plate 16 (151)

Fig III, 4).

Plate 17 (5)

Fig IX, 10): Fig XVII, 6):

Also CVA BM ii, GB Plate

48, 1 & 2.

Plate 20 (6 middle)

Fig XVII, 19).

Plate 20 (6 right)

Fig III, 10).

Plate 22 (49)

Fig IV, 12).

Plate 23

Fig XII, 16).

BSA XXIX

Plate V, 11.

Fig VIII, 7).

Plate VI, 11.

Fig III, 5).

Fig 4, 9.

CVA BM ii, GB Plate 46, 6.

It seems likely that so many parallels could hardly be fortuitous. If they are not, they imply that there was some sort of connection between Cyprus⁶, and presumably the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and the Aegean area. Whether this connection was due to an easterly, or to a westerly movement, cannot be decided without having first obtained a general picture of the history of the whole period in which the Protogeometric age is but an item. But it is most improbable that the civilisation of the Aegean Protogeometric age had nothing to do with contemporary cultures elsewhere, in the light of the evidence of ceramic shapes. Further support for this opinion comes from the evidence of the decorative motifs used on Aegean Protogeometric pottery. There is, first of all, the presence of concentric circles drawn with a compass. It seems difficult to dissociate these motifs so drawn from the concentric circles drawn with a compass which appear on the roughly contemporary fabrics in Syria, Cyprus and Anatolia, the black on red ware, and the Alishar IV ware. Both of these can hardly be otherwise than of eastern source, as has already been pointed out, for they have no prototypes in the west, or any connecting links with any previous western fabrics. Thus when the use of the compass for

inscribing concentric circles appears, in two different areas, and in two different fabrics, to be of eastern source, it is not entirely convincing to claim that it is of western source in a third case. Again, there is the principle of leaving a band of the clay left uncovered between two horizontal bands of dark colour, and painting thereon a pattern in dark paint.⁷ This style, which is possibly related to the method of decoration popular in Granary ware, appears to have an eastern source, as was suggested on page 185. There is a version of this manner of decoration which comes into use during the Protogeometric period in the drawing of panels, which are pale in colour and framed within a dark border. On these panels are painted pictures of birds or animals (catalogue on page 218). This style is virtually new in the Aegean area at this time, but had been popular for a very long time in the east. Another pattern which is virtually new in the west at this time in one version of the cross within a circle,⁸ this having pale arms on a blacked out background (catalogue on page 219). There had, however, been a late Mycenaean example of this motif. Again, there appeared at this time the geometric meander pattern, which had not been known in the Aegean area since the XVIth century (catalogue on page 32). Yet another new-comer to the west as a motif at this time is formed by drawing a line on which are placed solidly drawn triangles alternately to right and left (catalogue on page 219). This had appeared earlier in the Aegean in Middle Cycladic pottery, but had been fairly well known in Persia and other eastern lands. Other patterns on Protogeometric pottery, such as solidly painted triangles (catalogues on pages 198, 199), the cross in the form of a Union Jack inscribed in a circle (catalogue on page 178) and the wavy line (catalogue on page 53) may all, also, have been of eastern source, as a study of the appropriate catalogues may suggest.

CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate LV, 10.
Anatolia	(Chalcolithic)	TAM 1930-32 i, fig 100, e. 1824
Aegean	(Late Neolithic)	Pre Mac, p 156, fig 22 a.
Anatolia	(Troy I)	Ilios, fig 72.
	(Alisar I)	TAM 1928-9 i, fig 56.
Persia	(Archaic seal)	Cylindres Louvre I, Plate 24, 10.
	(Hissar I)	Ex. a in TH, fig 41.
	(Shah Tepe)	Arne, fig 297.

Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)		Gj S, pp 108, 148-9.
Persia	(Hissar III)		PMJ XXIII, Plates CXXXIX & CXLI.
Aegean	(Early Bronze Age)	i	Phylakopi, Plate V, 15.
		ii	Mochlos, p 36, fig 13, II 1.
Anatolia	(Troy, 'burnt city')		Ilios, p 413, fig 484.
	(Troy II-V)		SS, p 119, no 2412.
	(Alaca)		AfO 1939-41, p 293, fig 4.
	(Alishar)		TAH 1930-32 i, fig 204, d 832.
Caucasus area	(undated)		Trialeti, fig 78.
Persia	(Gilan IV - Susa II)	i	Iran Denk B, Plate VII, 3.
		ii	DEP XIII, Plate XXVIII, 8.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)		LAAA XX, Plate LVIII, 2.
Egypt	(1st Intermediate Period)		Abydos III, Plate XI, 1.
Mesopotamia	(Larsa Dynasty)		Tello 20 campagnes, fig 61.
Aegean	(2000-1600)	i	Mesara, Plate XV, 1127.
		ii	Mon Ant VI, Plate IX, 12.
		iii	Phylakopi, Plate XV, 4.
		iv	AM XLII, p 61, fig 67.
		v	AM LII, p 5, fig 4.
Syria	(2000-1600)	i	AJ XXX, Plate VIII b.
		ii	Syria XIII, p 18, fig 12, 13.
Palestine	(2000-1600)	i	LAAA XX, Plate XXXI right.
		ii	Anc Gaza I, Plate XXXII, 59.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i	Karo S, Plate XIX: Plate XXXVIII, 286.
		ii	AM XXXIV, Plate XXIV, 10.
South Russia			Pre Myk. Plate IX, 1.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i	Amarna, Plate XXIX, 83.
		ii	el Amrah, Plate LV, 2.
Mesopotamia	(Assur, white painted ware)		Kaiser Friedrich Museum, photo 1996.
Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)		Gezer III, Plate CLVIII, 1.
Mycenean	(Mycenae)		H. Schliemann, <i>Mycenae and Tiryns</i> , pp 132 ff.
	(Mouliana)		Zyg, Plate XVII.
	(Ialysos)		Eph, 1904.
	(Cilicia)		Annuario VI-VII, p 126, fig 45.
	(Cyprus)		LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 2.
			BMC I ii, C 659.
Palestine	(Tell abu Hawam)		QDAP 1935, pp 1 ff and Plate XIV.
	(Beth Shan)		Beth-Shan II, Plate XLVII, 27.
	(Megiddo)		Megiddo II, Plate 67, 1 & 2.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)		TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XXXIV, 1215.
	(Boghaz Keui)		Boghaz Keui, Plate 9, 5.

Syria	(Jerablus) (Tomb of Ahiaram)	Bossert AA, p 282, 1068. Montet Byblos, Plate CXLIII, 856.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf)	M. F. von Oppenheim, <i>Tell Halaf, A New Culture in Oldest Mesopotamia</i> , p 310.
Aegean	('Sub-Mycenean') (Protogeometric)	Kerameikos I, Plate 5. Kerameikos IV, Plate 5, 915. Lindos I, Plate 33, 821, and text cols. 233 ff. ('quasi-geometric') Vrokastro, fig 51a etc.
Persia		Herzfeld Iran, Plate XXIII.
Palestine	(c 1000)	i Megiddo I, Plate 32, 169. ii Megiddo II, Plate 147, 6. iii QDAP IV, fig 8.
Cyprus	(White Painted ware)	Very common.
Anatolia	(Alishar V)	TAH 1928-9 ii, fig 44.
Mesopotamia	(Assur)	Andrae WA, Plate II.
Caucasia		i ESA VI, pp 146 ff. ii RAC II Atlas, Plate I, 1 & 3: Plate XI, 1.
Assyria		Ass Sculpture BM, Plate LII, 4.
Syria	(al Mina)	JHS LX, Plate I m.
Europe	(Hallstatt)	Déchelette Manuel II ii, p 815.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Hesp XIV, Plates II and III. ii Cl R, IV, p 354, fig 394. iii Cl R, VI-VII, pp 193 ff, Tomb LXXXII. iv BSA XXXI, Plate X. v BSA XXIX, Plate VII, 4. vi AM XXVIII, Beil, V, 2. vii Deltion III, p 203. viii Jb XIV, p 194, fig 57. ix AM XLII, p 76, fig 84.
Caucasus area		i Metro, Mus Bull 1922, fig 1, c. e. ii ARM, fig 424. iii ZfE 17, Plate XIII, 10.
Italy	(Geometric)	i CVA Italy xvii, Italy Plate 805, 3. ii BSA XXXIII, Plate 28, 61.
Sicily		Åkerström, Plates 3 & 4.
Anatolia		Gordion, figs 18 & 25: Plate 9, 34.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Hesp XIV, Plate IV, 1. ii Annuario X-XII, figs 232 ff. iii BSA XXIX, Plate XII. iv Kinch, Plate 35.
Italy	(Orientalising)	i Mon Ant XXII, Plate XXXVI, 2. ii Dohan Italic groups, Plate XXI, 5-7.

BIRDS AND ANIMALS IN PANELS

Persia	(Sialk III, animals)	Sialk I. Plate XXI, 4.
	(birds)	Iran Denk B, Plate IX, 3.
	(animals)	Iran Denk B, Plate IX, 6.
	(birds and animals)	DEP VIII, p 141, fig 286.
Mesopotamia	(IIIrd Dynasty of Ur)	Contenau Manuel ii, p 796, fig 556.
Cyprus	(XVIth century, birds)	QDAP VIII, Plate XXIV.
	(XVIth century, animals)	QDAP VIII, Plate XIV B.
Myconean	(animals)	Marshall, Plate III, 195.
Persia	(Sialk B, animal)	Sialk II, Plate XC, s 707.
Syria	(Iron Age, birds and animals)	Cim a crem, p 50, fig 28.
Aegean	(Protogeometric, animal)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 8, 911.
	(Protogeometric, bird)	Hesp XIV, Plate III, 3.
Cyprus	(Iron Age, birds)	i CVA Louvre v, France Plate 341, 426.
		ii SCE IV ii, Fig XXI, 11).
		iii Dussaud, fig 175.
	(animals, birds and fish)	SCE IV ii, Fig XXXII, 5).
		CVA Louvre V, France Plate 341, 3.
Anatolia	(birds and animals)	Gordion, Plate III.
Assyria	(Nimrud)	Layard II, Plate 59 B.
Aegean	(Geometric)	
	(Birds and animals)	Dugas, Plate 3, 2a.
	(birds)	i Aigina, Plate I, 42.
		ii Delos XV, Plate XVI, 12.
	(birds and animals)	iii AM XXVIII, Beilage XXVI, XXVII.
	(Sub-Geometric, animal)	BSA XLVII, Plate IV, bottom right.
	(Orientalising)	
	(animal)	i CI R, VI-VII, p 47, fig 43, Plate II.
		ii Hampe, Plate 18, V 3.
	(bird)	CVA Denmark ii, Denmark Plate 65, 10.
Italy	(Etruria, birds)	Akerström, Plate XI, 4.

FOUR-ARMED CROSS DRAWN IN A CIRCLE, WITH BACKGROUND
DIFFERENTLY COLOURED

Persia	(Persepolis)	Herzfeld Iran, fig 21, Plates IV & XIII.
	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXXIII, A 3.
	(Susa I)	DEP I, Plate XIX, 5.
Anatolia	(al Ubaid)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 10, 33.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	BMC I ii, fig 17.
Aegean	(Late IIIrd millen- nium)	i Phylakopi, Plate VII, 7. ii Gournia, Plate XII, 34.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XIII, 3.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	TAH 30-32 ii, fig 462, 11.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)	SCE I, Plate LVIII, 1.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	i Kerameikos IV, Plate 25, 2034. ii BSA XXIX, Plate VI, 6.
	(Geometric)	i BCH 35, p 356, fig 7. ii Delos XV, Plate XVIII a. iii AM XLII, p 76, fig 83. iv AJA XLIV, Plate 23, 3.
Italy		NDS 1895, fig 90.

SOLID TRIANGLES TO RIGHT AND LEFT ALTERNATELY ALONG A STRAIGHT LINE

Egypt	(Predynastic)	BIFAO XXXIII, Plate XI, bottom left.
Mesopotamia	(Jamdet Nasr ware)	AJA XXXIX, Plate XXXIV, 4.
Persia	(Susa I)	DEP XIII, Plate X, 8.
Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid ware)	Tello 20 campagnes, fig 8.
Persia	(Giyān V)	Contenau Manuel IV, p 1722, fig 982.
	(Tepe Moussian)	DEP VIII, p 100, fig 153.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XII, 5.
	(Protogeometric)	BSA XXIX, p 233, fig 4.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	Bossert AA, p 283, figs 1069-72.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	Matz GGG, Plate 21 A, right
Italy	(Orientalising)	i Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XVIII, 4. ii P. Ducati, Storia dell Arte Etrusca, Plate 34, 114 a.

Loop legs have already been referred to as possibly affording a connection between the Aegean area and the east at this time. The first examples of this curious manner of supporting a pot (catalogue on page 220) come from Palestine, and are dated to not later than 1500, though there is no reason to suppose that it is at that time of local invention there. The connections between Mitanni and other northern lands at that period would doubtless have been amply sufficient to bring many new ideas to Palestine, and the fact that this kind of support for a pot is not found again till about 1200 in Palestine is strong reason to encourage the view that it is of foreign source. At the beginning of the Iron Age the use of clay loops for legs begins again, this time being widely spread, and occurring in Palestine, Syria, Persia and Cyprus. Later it appears also in the Aegean area.

LOOP LEGS

Mesopotamia	('Dynasty of Agade or later')	BM no. 128509
Palestine	(1650)	Megiddo II, Plate 38, 11.
	(Jericho, 1500 or earlier)	LAAA XX, Plate XXXI, left. Beth-Pelet II, Plate LXXXIII, 29 J 8.
	(Tell Beit Mirsim)	AASOR XIII, Plate 14, 3. Gezer III, Plate XXVI, 16.
Syria	(Iron Age)	Cim a crem, p 76, fig 118.
Palestine	(c 1200)	Beth-Shan II, Plate XLIV, 16.
Persia	(Sialk A)	Sialk II, Plate III, 4.
Syria	(Carchemish)	LAAA XXVI, Plate IX, 2.
Palestine	(c 1100)	Megiddo II, Plate 248, 11.
	(Tell el Mutesellim)	Watzinger II, fig 33.
	(Israelite Kings period)	Denk P.I, Plate 18, 5. Gerar, Plate LVIII, 61 j.
Persia		i Stein routes, Plate XXIX, 5. ii Herzfeld Iran, Plate XXIII.
Cyprus	(White Painted I ware)	SCE II, Plate LXXXIX.
	(White Painted II ware)	SCE IV ii, Fig XIII, 5).

Aegean	(Protogeometric)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 9, 918.
	(Geometric)	i BSA XXIX, Plate VII, 7. and p 239
		ii Jb XIV, p 198, fig 63.
		iii AJA XLIV, Plate XX, 1.
		iv Delos XV, Plate XXXIX, 33.
	(Orientalising)	BSA XXIX, Plate XII

Petrie used to say that much can be learnt from a study of the unusual items of archaeological material. This is no doubt true, and an excellent example of such objects affording light seems to be given in the case of the Protogeometric tomb no. 48 found in the excavation at the Kerameikos by the Germans. Many of the pottery objects found therein have parallels in the Cypriote-Early Iron Age material, and are in no way unusual to see in an Aegean Protogeometric grave. But some of the other objects belong to a very different category of ware. They form a group which includes figurines of a rare type,⁹ a biconical jug¹⁰ (catalogue on page 186), and some bowls with incised decoration,¹¹ the motifs of which can be paralleled, like the shape of the biconical jug, in early Cycladic pottery. The incised motifs are, the herring bone pattern, concentric circles, sometimes plain, sometimes with the addition of an outer ring of dots (catalogue on page 222), two concentric circles with a ring of dots between them (catalogue on page 224), and a row of dots between straight lines (catalogue on page 223). This group of objects seems to be completely out of place in a Protogeometric context, for it is unique at that period. Consequently it may not be unreasonable to suggest that it is the equipment of some migrant. If so, it might be the belongings of a stranger from the area whence some of the early Cycladic ideas came to Greece, if one may assume that particular decorative styles could and did continue to be practised by any given people in their home for a very long period. That this is indeed a reasonable proposition is discussed later in this book (see page 277). The area whence the Early Cycladic ideas of the Early Bronze Age may have spread is, perhaps, to be located in the general area of eastern Anatolia and southern Caucasia where, perhaps, the fundamental ideas of the Early Bronze Age of the Near East first appeared. It may be significant that the remainder of the material in tomb no. 48 in the Kerameikos included a vase with handles in the shape of a horned animal's head,¹² since this type of handle (catalogue on page 183) may well be of eastern source. It also included a cup with a

simple form of geometric maeander ornament¹³ (catalogue on page 32) a style of decoration which may also be of eastern source.

Since parallels between objects of Protogeometric date in the Aegaeon area, and objects of eastern source, have been suggested, it is of interest to observe that minor metal objects of Protogeometric days include fibulae, rings and bracelets of types which are paralleled in Caucasia.

The evidence of fibulae has been discussed above (pages 155 -163), and it has been shown that there is some reason to believe that fibulae, which are common in Protogeometric graves in the Kerameikos in various forms, may have been first used by people who came from the east. The types found in the Aegaeon area are all known in or near Caucasia, and in many other parts of the Near East.

Particular types of shield bosses of bronze have been found in Protogeometric graves in Greece, and perhaps also at Moulana, as Miss Lorimer has suggested.¹⁴ These objects have parallels in Cyprus,¹⁵ though there is no evidence to suggest priority, and consequently source.¹⁶

Spiral bracelets of bronze were found in the Kerameikos.¹⁷ These seem to be of types not previously found in the Aegaeon area. Similar bracelets have been discovered in Caucasia,¹⁸ and in the Aunjetitz culture in central Europe.

A curious type of finger ring appeared in the Kerameikos, of which the ends of the hoop were turned into spirals coiled in opposing directions, lying side by side to form the bezel.¹⁹ This type of ring (discussed also on page 158), appears in Caucasia.²⁰ It is also found, like the bracelet mentioned above, in the Aunjetitz civilisation.²¹ That Aunjetitz civilisation is characterised by such things as torques and much else which is well known in Caucasia and elsewhere in western Asia, and may well have inspired, to some extent at least, by migrants from the east.²²

CIRCULAR LINE, WITH A RING OF DOTS OUTSIDE IT

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate L, 1.
Persia	(Hissar I)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXXXVI, H 948.
Aegaeon	(Early Bronze Age)	Phylakopi, Plate V, 5.
Caucasus area	(undated)	Trialeti, Plate 78.
Egypt	(Middle Kingdom)	IKG Plate I, 1 (BMC I i, p 94, fig 115 A 567).

Cilicia	(c. 2000)		LAAA XXVI, Plate LXVIII, 9.
Syria	(c. 1700)		AJ XXX, Plate VIII b.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	i	BMC I i, p 68, fig 82 A, 370.
		ii	Phylakopi, p 117, fig 90.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III)		PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 4.
	(Assur)		Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo no. 1996.
Persia	(Sialk A)		Sialk II, Plate XXXVIII, S 431.
Aegean	(Late Helladic II)		ILN 15 Feb 1936, p 279, fig 16.
Mycenean	(Rhodes)		CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 462, 6.
	(Crete)		Arch LIX, p 487, fig 106 M.
	(Rhodes)		Annuario VI-VII, p 151, fig 74.
	(Mycenae)		BMC I i, A 1072: A 974.
	(Delphi)		BCI 1935, p 353 no. 3.
			Argive Heraeum II, Plate LIII, 6.
	(Phylakopi)		BSA XVII, Plate XII, 73.
	(Palestine)		Gezer III, Plate CII, 11.
	(Cyprus)		Enk-Al, fig 51.
Persia	(Sialk B)		Sialk II, Plate XCI, 2.
	(Luristan)		Survey, p 191, fig 37 C.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)		Kerameikos IV, Plate 29, 2040.
	(Geometric)		Vrokastro, fig 53 D.
	(Protoattic)		CVA Germany ii, Germany Plate 58, 2.
Cyprus	(Orientalising)		Ex. s in C, p 104, fig 151.

PARALLEL LINES ENCLOSING A LINE OF DOTS

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)		Tell Halaf I, Plate X, 10.
Aegean	(Thessaly, neolithic- Early Bronze Age)	i	PT, fig 56: Plate II, 5.
		ii	BMC I i, fig 39, A 220, 2.
	(Early Bronze Age)	i	Eutresis, Plate I, 8.
		ii	Zyg, Plate VI, 10.
		iii	Phylakopi, Plate V, 8 B.
	(Yortan)	iv	BMC I i, fig 15, 4.
Balkans	(Butmir)		Radimsky, Plate V.
Anatolia		i	Iraq II, Plate XXX 1 C.
		ii	F Studies II, Plate X, 3.
Palestine	(Early IIInd mil- lennium)		Sellin, p 27 and fig 21.
Aegean	(Middle Bronze Age)	i	BMC I i, p 83, fig 104, A 489.
		ii	Phylakopi, Plate XVI, 9.
		iii	Prosymna, fig 63, no 586.
		iv	Eutresis, Plate XV, 2.

Egypt	(XVIth century)	Sedment II, Plate LIX, 19.
Palestine	(XVIth century)	Anc Gaza I, Plate XXXII, 57.
Cyprus	(XVIth century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XXIII a.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i ILN 12 Jan 1952, p 60, fig 20, bottom left. ii Unpub Palai, p 31, fig 19 f. iii BMC I i, fig 135.
Syria	(XVIth century)	ILN 2 Dec 1939, p 833, fig 6.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III) (Subartu ware) (Atchana ware)	BMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3. Mallowan in Mélanges D, II, Plate II. i AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2. ii JHS LVI, Plates VI & VII.
Cilicia	(c 1500)	LAAA XXVI, Plate LXVII 15.
South Russia	(undated)	Pre Myk, Plate XI, 12 a.
Caucasus area	(undated)	ESA IV, p 28, fig 17.
Mycenean	(Zygouries) (Mycenae)	Zyg. Plate XVI, 1. BMC I i, p 202, fig 285, A 1064.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV ware)	TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XXXIV, 1215.
Aegean	(Protogeometric)	i Kerameikos IV, Plate 30 bottom right. ii Delos XV, Plate VIII, 31.
Anatolia	(Alishar V ware)	Gordion, Plate III, & fig 18 TAH 1928-9 ii, Frontispiece.
Italy	(Villanova urn)	Pallotino, Plate VI.
Aegean	(Geometric) (Orientalising)	AM XXVIII, Beil VI, 1. i NC, Plate 3, 1 & 2. ii BSA XLIV, p 155, fig 1. iii Hesp XIV, Plate II, 1: Plate XX, 3. iv Kinch, Plate 24, 6 a. v BSA XXIX, Plate XXIII.

TWO CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, WITH BETWEEN THEM A CIRCLE OF DOTS

Mesopotamia	(Nineveh)	LAAA XVIII, Plate XXXIV, 19.
Aegean	(Early Cycladic) (XVIth century)	Phylakopi, Plate V, 8 B. i Karo S, Plate XIX, 86. ii Gournia, Plate IX, 1.
	(Protogeometric) (‘quasi-geometric’)	Kerameikos IV, Plate 30. Vrokastro, fig 61.

Perhaps it may be said that, both in shapes and in various ornamental patterns, the pottery of the Protogeometric period in the Aegean area reveals more or less close parallels with pottery in Cyprus and elsewhere in the eastern part of the Mediterranean region, some pieces of which can, perhaps, be dated to the earliest part of the Iron Age, that is, probably to the XIIth century. It also shows connections, in such ways as in the use of the decorative style whereby a pale band, bearing ornament, appears between two dark bands, all arranged horizontally, with ware which was being made previously to the beginning of the Protogeometric age in the west. That particular style of ornament, and several others of the same period, such as concentric circles, which also appear on Protogeometric pottery, cannot be considered, so it has been suggested, above, to be of native Aegean origin when they appear there at about the end of the Mycenaean period. On the other hand, there is reason to suppose that they may be of eastern origin. If this view is correct, the implication may be that the people who inspired and elaborated the civilisation of the Protogeometric period in the Aegean area were foreigners who had begun to come thither before the end of the Mycenaean period. The alternative view, that those folk were native Aegeans, inventing new ways of ornamenting pots and shaping them, is supported by those who urge that the slow development of the Protogeometric style is what would occur if it had been originated locally. No doubt this is so, but slow development of a new style might occur for other reasons, one of which is suggested on page 155. The slow development of the Protogeometric style is precisely paralleled by the contemporary, and slow, development in the use of iron, and of the rite of cremation, both of which are far less likely to have been evolved spontaneously in the west than to have been introduced thither from some external source, possibly from the east. The major classes of evidence available for this period thus might be supposed to agree in indicating the same course of events, which can be summed up as the slow introduction of new ideas and their increasing popularity. But since different conclusions can be drawn from this, it may perhaps be urged that the only wise course at present is to suspend judgement, and to avoid drawing conclusions until the civilisation of the Aegean Protogeometric period can be viewed as a part of the whole course of the early Iron Age civilisations in the Near East, rather than as an episode more or less isolated in time and space.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. In Amathus Tomb 15 of the Swedish Excavations (SCE II, Plate XXIII).
2. This shape appears in the Aegaeon (Kerameikos IV, Plate 11).
3. At Tell Halaf (M. F. von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf, a new culture in oldest Mesopotamia*, pp 310-311). At Nineveh (JHS LII, p 130).
4. Desborough give full details of the other skyphoi found outside the Aegaeon area (Desborough, pp 180 ff), as well as Aegaeon examples. He disagrees with the Xth century date of the Tell abu Hawan sherd suggested by Hamilton (which is not, in fact, based on any serious foundation at all), and accepted by Heurtley (QDAP IV, p 181). The idea of concentric semi-circles pendant from the rim of a vessel may not be confined in the east to skyphoi, for something similar appears on a deep bowl from Cyprus (SCE II, Plate XXXVI, from Marion Tomb IV).
5. This shape appears also in the east, in Azerbaijan, in A period ware (Az 1948, fig 38, 1017).
6. Gjerstad has observed that Cypriote influence can be seen in the Protogeometric shapes of the Aegaeon (SCE IV ii, p 447).
7. Desborough, Plate 4, 918 (26), etc.
8. The version of the pattern of a cross drawn in a circle with black arms against a pale ground, which is found in Protogeometric ware (Desborough, Plate 31), occurs in the east (SCE IV ii, Fig I 9.).
9. Kerameikos IV, Plate 31.
10. Kerameikos IV, Plate 28, 1184.
11. Kerameikos IV, Plates 29 and 30. Similar pottery to the Kerameikos fabrics, made by hand and adorned with incised circles and herring bone motifs, has been found elsewhere in Athens, and is dated to the Protogeometric Age. It includes pottery balls, similar to objects found in Cyprus (Hesp II, pp 564 ff).
Handmade vessels were found in a Protogeometric deposit at Ithaca, including bowls of similar form to Early Helladic pots, and a sanceboat vessel, also an Early Helladic form (BSA XXXIII, p 65).
At Kourion in Cyprus, in tombs of the early Iron Age, hand made incised vessels were found. Some of these are similar in shape to early Bronze Age vessels from that island (AJA XLI, pp 72 ff).
12. Kerameikos IV, Plate 10, 2027. This vase has, as part of its decoration, the motif of triangles placed one above another (catalogue on page 199, a motif which appears, from its history, to be of eastern source.).
13. Kerameikos IV, Plate 21. The L-shaped ornaments which are shown plain against a dotted background, may be compared with the similarly-shaped ornaments, dotted against a plain ground, from Monte Cetona (Bull Palet 1939, p 133, fig 8). Such ornaments also appear at Casale (IAI, Plate 41, 3 and 13). L-shaped ornaments, hatched, against a plain ground, occur in Middle Helladic days in the Aegaeon (Butresia, Plate XIII).
14. Lorimer, pp 154-5
15. Lorimer, pp 175-7. SCE IV ii, pp 139 ff.
16. Miss Lorimer points out (loc cit) that similar bosses have been found in Hallstatt graves.
17. Kerameikos I, p 85, fig 4, left.
18. RAC II, Plate XVII, 1.
19. Kerameikos I, pp 85-6, fig 4, right.
20. Morgan Mission IV, fig 88, 3.
21. ZfE 1904, p 60. There are other European examples (RAC II, p 61, figs 40-41.).
22. V.G.Childe *Dawn of European civilisation* (4th edition), pp 118 ff, and elsewhere.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

As in the case of the Protogeometric period, so also with the Aegaeon Geometric period, it is inadvisable to attempt to form a picture of the course of events, if one is limited to the examination of a single isolated epoch. However important and interesting such periods may be in themselves, a close study of them may result in distortion of the truth if they are not first surveyed, not so much for their own sakes as because they are part of the sequence of Near Eastern history, which can satisfactorily be unfolded only as a complete whole. Such an examination is attempted in this book, in which, for the sake of simplification, the details of national achievements are to a great extent omitted.

One might suppose, reading the names Protogeometric and Geometric, that the two periods thus named have something to do with each other. There is, however, no compelling need to believe that this is so. In the Geometric Period new shapes of vessels come into use, and decoration becomes both richer in variety, and more ornamental, than in the preceding epoch. New motifs come into use, notably the geometric maeander, the many armed star and the swastika, all of which had been used together in the Aegaeon area before, at

the time of the Middle Helladic Period, though not during the Proto-geometric Period. There is thus some reason to suppose that a considerable change occurred in Aegaeon civilisation at the time when the Geometric style supervened on the Protogeometric. It was not the only one to appear during this period, for so many new ideas arrived and came into common use as time passed that it would appear that further changes developed. Perhaps the most remarkable of such later changes can be traced in the development, in ceramic ornament, of an interest in living things, a trait which forms a kind of link with the subsequent, Orientalising Period.

* * *

Opinions differ profoundly as regards the genesis of the earlier style of pottery decoration of the Geometric Period in the Aegaeon area. Some authorities, such as Payne, have believed that there was a deep cleavage between the Protogeometric and Geometric styles, and that the latter is something other than a simple development of the former. On the other hand, Professor Robertson holds that the Geometric style began with Protogeometric 'in a system of vase-decoration by purely abstract geometric designs' which, he says, 'continues into the ripe geometric style of the Ninth Century, with only some change and elaboration of the motives, and a more consistent application of them in graded zones to cover the whole surface, and emphasise the clear form of the vase'.¹ This is, perhaps, a somewhat over-simplified view of a highly complex matter. In this place it will be assumed that a more correct view of the matter was taken by Payne, when, considering Cretan evidence, he said that the 'new' shapes and motifs of the geometric period constitute 'striking evidence of a change'.²

Perhaps the most noticeable point about the pottery of the earlier part of the Geometric Period in Greece is the use then made of the rectilinear meander pattern. This, which had already begun to appear during the Protogeometric period, but had not previously been used in the Aegaeon area for some considerable time (catalogue on page 32), is by no means restricted to pottery made

in Greece at this time. It appears painted on vessels of much the same date in all parts of the Aegean, in Anatolia and in Cyprus, and apparently also at about this period it was engraved on metal objects in the Caucasus area. It is also common in Italy and in the Adriatic region. Such a very widespread occurrence is remarkable, when it is observed how comparatively rare the style had been previously, in any land, and may suggest that its introduction was not due, as is sometimes said with regard to Greece, to a process of natural elaboration of Proto-geometric patterns, for those are only common within the Aegean area itself. On the other hand, there is always the possibility that this somewhat strange form of decoration, highly sophisticated (and consequently possibly of very early invention)³ and perhaps unlikely to have been the kind of thing to have been invented independently in different areas in the Near East, might have been spread widely by people migrating from the area where it had been originally developed, and constituted a natural means of expression. As has been suggested (page 26) that area may have been in the general region of the Caucasus. As regards the early Iron Age, such a migration is by no means unlikely, for there is philological and other evidence to suggest that peoples of the early Iron Age may have travelled by sea from the eastern end of the Mediterranean to Italy. Some other characteristic motifs used in the decoration of Aegean Geometric ware, such as illustrations of humans and animals,⁴ and the swastika (catalogue on page 31), also appear contemporaneously with the geometric meander in the Caucasus area.

Some of the motifs which appear on Attic and other classes of Aegean geometric wares occurred not only in the Caucasus area but also, and long previously to the Geometric period, on Middle Helladic and Middle Cycladic pottery, being well illustrated at Thylakopi. For example, such characteristic Aegean geometric period motifs as the star (catalogue on page 35), the swastika (catalogue on page 31), and the geometric meander (catalogue on page 32) appear, together with the 'butterfly motif' used as a filling ornament as in Geometric ware (catalogue on page 231), the row of concentric diamonds (catalogue on page 196), the solid triangle with lines parallel to the sides enclosing the apex (catalogue on page 136) and, as Dr. Roes has pointed out, the drawing of a bird with a worm (catalogue on page 232), as a group on Aegean wares of the period between 2000 and 1600. Some of these motifs also appear at the time of the Mycenaean period in the Aegean area, but even so it seems unlikely that they could have descended directly to Geometric ware, within the Aegean world, since, as Dr. Roes has pointed out, the two periods of the Mycenaean and the Geometric

epochs were separated by an intermediate period at which time they do not appear. Moreover, the Mycenaean and Geometric fabrics are entirely different, one from another. Dr. Roes holds the view that 'the only possible explanation is that the art of the end of the Mycenaean period, and the art of the geometric period had each felt the same oriental influence that Phylakopi had received previously.'⁵ When she made this remark she seems to have been almost (if not entirely) alone in her view, but her pioneering efforts are now beginning to receive their reward in so far as it is now coming to be realised that there is much in support of her once unorthodox opinion, so much so in fact that it is almost in course of becoming respectable. That there was contact between the Aegean area and the east during the Middle Helladic period is, as time passes, more and more widely accepted, and has been considerably illuminated by recent discoveries in Azarbaijan.⁶

The history of certain motifs found in Aegean Geometric ware, other than those already mentioned, undoubtedly suggests that eastern patterns now appeared in the west. Such motifs are as follows :-

MOTIF	CATALOGUE
The bird with a fish.	133
The quadruped with a fish.	231
The 'Butterfly'.	231
The bird with a worm.	232
The Rosette on the shoulder or hindquarter of an animal.	232
Opposed animals standing on either side of a tree.	133
The horizontal row of animals.	252
The horizontal row of birds.	233
The vertical row of birds.	233
The animal with a bird.	234
The running spiral.	234
The diaper design in which each diamond contains a dot.	236
The black and white chequer with a dot in each white square.	236
The concentric oval pointed at each end.	237
The tube with a spiral at each side of each end.	237

The history of these motifs is summarised below, or on the pages quoted.

QUADRUPED WITH A FISH

Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V ware)	i	LAAA XIX, Plate LIX, 19.
		ii	ILN 27 June 1931, p 1121, fig 10.
Palestine	(c 1100)		Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1.
Cyprus	(Geometric)		CVA Louvre v, France Plate 343, 1-3 (with geometric meander).
Aegean	(Argive geometric)		Tiryns, fig 20, Plate XVIII.

THE BUTTERFLY MOTIF

Persia	(Hissar I.)		Ex.s in TH, fig 38.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)		Tell Halaf I, Plate LII. 10.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	i	SCE I, Plate XCIX. 7. (A possible example.)
		ii	BMC I ii, Plate I. C 60.
Aegean	(EM II-III)		Mochlos fig 13, II 1, (appears with concentric circles).
	(EH III)		S. Fuchs, <i>Die griechischen Fundgruppen der frühen Bronzezeit</i> , Plate I.
	(M.M. I)		POM I, p 166, fig 117.
	(MH)		Eutresis, Plate XIII.
Syria	(c. 1500)	i	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXI. 4.
		ii	Contenau Manuel III, p 1322, fig 832.
Anatolia	(c. 1500)		J. Garstang, <i>Prehistoric Herson</i> , fig 144, 16.
	('Phrygian')	i	TAH 30-32 ii, fig 436. 35.
		ii	TAH 30-32 iii, fig 38. c. 37.
Aegean	(Geometric)		Matz GKK, Plate 13 (and many others).
Italy			Dohan Italic groups, Plate XVIII. 2.
Anatolia	(1st millennium)		MDOG 78, p 58, fig 15.1.

BIRD WITH A WORM

Egypt	(Predynastic)	F. Studies I, Plate XIII, 1.
Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr period)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 13, 66-7.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XI, 5.
	(Geometric)	i Argive Heraeum II, Plate LVI, 20. ii Delos XV, Plate XXXI, 71. iii BCH XXXV, fig 352, 2.

ORNAMENT ON THE SHOULDER OR HINDQUARTER OF AN ANIMAL

Egypt	(VIth Dynasty)	JNES 1947, p 250.
	(XIIth Dynasty)	JNES 1947, p 250.
	(IIInd Intermediate Period)	JNES 1947, p 251.
Palestine	(c 1450)	i Contenau Manuel ii, p 1047, fig 727. ii Mutesellim I, fig 128.
Egypt	(Early XVth century)	i Davies AEP I, Plate XIII. ii G. Jéquier, <i>Les temples égyptiens et thébains</i> , Plate 34, 3.
	(XIVth century)	JNES 1947, pp 251-2.
	(Tutankhamun)	Ug II, Plate XI.
Syria		Ug II, p 27.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)	i Ex.s in C, p 8, fig 14: p 49, fig 76, 1260. ii CVA BM i, GB Plate 22, 1.
Persia	(c 1200)	DEP VII, Plate XXV, 3.
Cyprus	(Iron Age)	i Kypros I, p 94, fig 128. ii Perrot & Chipiez III, p 706, fig 517. iii Cesnola Plate CVI, 857-8.
Persia	(Luristan)	i Godard bronzes, no 170, Plate 42. ii ILN 6 Sept 1930, p 389, fig 10.
Aegean		Gemmen, Plates 3 and 24.
	(Attic Geometric)	i CVA Germany, vii, Germany Plate 302, 3. ii CVA Louvre v, France Plate 341, 3.
Assyria		Layard I, Plate 31.
Caucasus	(Maral Dera)	SC, fig 275, 6. WPZ XVIII, pp 45 ff. ARM, fig 424. Metro Mus Bull, 1922, p 37, fig 1, C.E.

Anatolia	(Ephesus, orientalisising)	JHS LXVIII, Plate XI b.
	(Phrygia)	JHS LXVIII, p 19, fig 18.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	JHS XLVI, Plate VIII.
Italy	(Orientalising)	Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XXXIX 8.

HORIZONTAL ROW OF BIRDS

Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXIX D.
	(Susa I)	DEP XIII, Plate III. 1.
	(Hissar I)	Ex.s in TH, Plate VI, DH 46, 8 g.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	Bad Civ, Plate XL, 54 b.
Persia	(Susa II)	CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 50, 1.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	LAAA XX, Plate LVII.
Cyprus	(XVIth century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XX B.
Syria	(Atchana)	ILN 17 Sept 1938, p 504, no. 10.
Eastern Anatolia		Arm II ii, p 570.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 462, 7, 18.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i BCH 35, p 358, fig 12.
		ii AM XXVIII, Plate III.
		iii AM LII, Plate V.
		iv Aigina, Plate 5, 67-8.
	(Orientalising)	Johansen, Plate XI, 2.

VERTICAL ROW OF BIRDS

Persia	(Susa I)	DEP XIII, Plate III, 4.
	(Hissar I)	Ex.s in TH, Plate VI, DH 44, 10, 3.
Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr ware)	AJA XXXIX, Plate XXXIV, 3, 5.
Egypt	(Predynastic)	CVA Denmark i, Denmark Plate 8, 1.
Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate XX, 2.
	(Susa II)	DEP XIII, Plate XXIX, 8.
	(Tepe Giyan)	Herzfeld Iran, fig 164, (p 83).
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V ware)	LAAA XX, Plate LVII, 15.

Palestine	(IIIrd Semitic)	Gezer III, Plate CLXV, 1.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)	Ex.s in C, fig 68, 1103.
Aegean	(Attic Geometric)	Lane, Plate 6.
Italy	(VIII-VIIth centuries)	Marshall, Plate XV, 1255.

ANIMAL WITH A BIRD

Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXIX. A 11.
Mesopotamia	(Tepe Gawra) (Tell Agrab)	Gawra, Plate LV a. ILN 6 Nov 1937, Colour Plate I, top.
Persia	(Susa II)	CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 57, 3.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)	Ex.s in C, p 48, fig 74, 1160.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	Arc Orient II, Plate XXXI, 2.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Survey I, p 193, fig 38 f.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Hampe, Plate 18, V. 1. ii CVA Pays Bas i, Pays Bas Plate 8, 4.
Cyprus	(Geometric)	Handbook Cesnola, p 286, 1701.
Caucasus area	(undated)	Metro Mus Bull 1922, p 37, fig 1, E.

RUNNING SPIRAL

(Discussed by J. Boshlau, PZ XIX, pp 54 ff.)

Caucasus area	(undated)	Trialeti, Plate 78.
Egypt	(Ist Intermediate Period)	Buttons, Plate IV, 283. (This may be the wave pattern.)
Aegean	(c 2000 ?)	F Studies ii, Plate VI, 1 and 3.
Egypt	(Early IIInd millennium)	i BMC I i, fig 115, A 565, 1. ii Dahchour, p 62, fig 132.
Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XI, 1: Plate XIII, 11 & 12.
	(Middle Helladic)	Korakou, fig 36, 15.
	(XVIth century)	i Phylakopi, Plate XXV, 1. ii Gournia, Plate IX, 5. iii Arch LXXXII, Plate XLII, 9.

Palestine	(XVIth century)	i QDAP VIII, Plate XVII. ii Anc Gaza III, Plate XLII, 34.
Aegean	(Late Helladic II)	Arch LXXXII, Plate XLII, 5.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Billa III)	PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i el Amrah, Plate LI, D 59. ii Yusa and Thuiu, Plate XXXVI. iii Amenophis II, Plate XX, 24133. iv Ug II, Plate XI.
Syria	(Subartu ware) (Atchana ware) (XIVth century)	Mallowan in Mélanges D, II, Plate 1. AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2. Ug II, Plate III.
Mycenean	(Tell el Amarna) (Tell abu Hawam)	Amarna, Plate XVIII, 394. QDAP IV, Plate XX, 1.
Caucasus area		i RAC II, Plate III, 2. ii Materials VIII, Plate XLII, 5 & 9. iii Koban, Plate II, 8 & 9.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i AM XXVIII, Beil XIV, 5 & 6. ii Hampe, Plate 18, V 1. iii Mats GKK, Plate 17. iv BSA XLIII, Plate I, 1 & 4.
	(Orientalising)	Marshall, Plate VI, 691.

A pattern which appears to be akin to the running spiral motif is formed by a horizontal row of circles (sometimes a pair, or more, of concentric circles), placed not too close together and joined by diagonal lines. This pattern has sometimes been described as a 'degenerate' version of the running spiral motif. Perhaps it is, but if so is it not strange that it appears at intervals throughout the course of the prehistory of the Near East? It may be that it should be considered as an entirely separate motif. There are very many examples, from which the following have been selected :-

Aegean	(Early Cycladic)	i BMC I i, fig 75. ii Phylakopi, Plate VII, i.
	(XVIth century)	CVA GB xi, GB Plate 481, 25.
Palestine	(XVIth century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XIV g.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Jb 1899, p 29, figs 1 & 2. ii BSA XLIII, Plate 4, 59.
	(Orientalising)	SBAW 1941, II, Plate 1, 5.

Possibly this pattern is connected with a somewhat similar style of ornament which appears on IIIrd millennium ware in Azarbaijan (Az 1948, Plate VI, 385, 449: Plate V, 342.), in which case it might be that the pattern, when found in the Aegean area, could be supposed to be of eastern source.

DIAPER DESIGN IN WHICH EACH DIAMOND CONTAINS A DOT

Persia	(Sialk III)	Sialk I, Plate LXXVII, D 10.
Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Tell Halaf I, Plate X, 2.
Persia	(Tepe Moussian)	DEP VIII, p 105, fig 165.
Anatolia	(Alishar III)	TAH 30-32 i, fig 249, 6.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan)	i Mon Ant VI, Plate X, 18. ii ILN 19 Jan 1952, p 108, fig 6.
Cyprus	(c. 1300)	Cesnola, Plate LXXXVII, 764.
Mycenean	(Cyprus) (Crete)	MV, Plate XXII, 160. Vrokastro, fig 49 F.
Cyprus	('Sub-Mycenean')	i BMC I ii, C 708. ii Ex.s in C, p 74, fig 129, 1.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XCI, 27.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Aigina, Plate 8, 151. ii AM XLIII, p 97, fig 20. iii AM LIV, Plate II.
Anatolia		i Gordien, fig 18. ii Kosay Pazarli, Plate LVI. iii TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 444, 24.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Zeus III, Plate XXV. ii Aigina, Plate XXV, 333.
Italy	(Orientalising)	Mon Ant XXII, Plate L, 1.

BLACK AND WHITE CHEQUER WITH A DOT IN EACH WHITE SQUARE

Anatolia	(Alishar III).	TAH 30-32 i, fig 262, 2.
Persia	(c 2000)	i Iran Denk B, Plate VIII, 2. ii Herzfeld Iran, fig 164.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)	Comp archy Mesp, fig 19, 67.
Cyprus	(XVIth century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XVIII, h.

Mycenean	(Syria) (Crete)	Ug II, fig 55, 16. Eph 1904, cols 39-40, fig 9.
Anatolia		Gordion, fig 18.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Tiryns, Plate XVI, c. ii AM LIV, Beilage I, 1. iii CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 408, 1 and 2.
	(Orientalising)	i AM XXVIII, Beilage XXI, 4. ii Cl B, X, pp 187 ff.
Anatolia	('Phrygian')	TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 444, 23.
Cyprus	(Iron Age)	CVA GB ii, GB Plate 57, 4.

CONCENTRIC OVALS POINTED AT EACH END

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	LAAA XX, Plate XLV, 23.
Cyprus	(Early Bronze Age)	Arch LXXXVIII, Plate XIII e.
Persia	(Susa II)	i DEP XIII, Plate XXVII, 1. ii CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 50, 1 & 4.
Aegean	(Attic Geometric)	AJA XLIV, Plate XXII, 1.

Note:- Concentric ovals rounded at each end occur as follows :-

Italy	VEE, plate XXXIII, 3, 7, 11.
Caucasia	RAC II, Plate LIII, 4.

TUBE WITH A SPIRAL AT EACH SIDE OF EACH END

Anatolia	(Troy II) (Alaca)	Ilios, p 489, fig 836. Belleten Jan 1937, fig 28, bottom right
Caucasia	(Veri)	Morgan mission IV, fig 85, 12.
Mesopotamia	(Brak)	i ILN 22 Oct 1938, p 734, fig 3. ii Ireq IX, Plate XXXII, 8.
Aegean	(Middle Helladic) (XVIth century)	Prosymna, fig 43, 569. Karo S, Plate XXI, 56 ff.
Mycenean	(Boeotia) (Cyprus)	MV, Plate XIX, 134. Ex.s in C, Plate VII, 184.

Azerbaijan	(undated)	GGs, fig 43.
Italy	(Benacci)	Montelius Civ Prim Série A, Plate VI, 56.
Eastern Anatolia		Arm II ii, p 534.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i AM XXII, 242, fig 12. ii Kunze, Plate 21.
Italy	(VIIIth century)	Dohan Italic groups, Plate XVII, 20. Montelius Civ Prim I, Série B, Plate 51, 6.

There are a few very unusual and highly distinctive motifs found on Geometric Period ceramics in the Aegean area. These include the lozenge star, the round ended petal and the conventionalised palm-tree, all of which have eastern parallels, and may be of western Asiatic source. The first examples of the lozenge star pattern (catalogue on page 238) in the Geometric period were carefully drawn, and can be compared with a somewhat similar pattern which appears in Palestine at the beginning of the Iron Age. But it may be possible to trace a longer history for this motif, since there is a pattern, which might be considered to be related, which appears on Middle Cycladic pottery. There is also a version of the same basic principle on Cretan Orientalising ware. It may be considered possible to trace this motif at Van. The presence of similar patterns on the Aegean Middle Bronze Age, and Geometric/Orientalising period fabrics is discussed elsewhere (see pages 270, 271), where it is pointed out that there may have been a repeated migration bringing two similar groups of peoples to the Aegean world at those two epochs, despite the fact that they are separated by about a thousand years.

LOZENGE STAR

Aegean	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XV, 18
Palestine	(c 1200)	Beth-Pelet I, Plate XXIII, 5.

Aegean	(Geometric)	i	Hesp Supp II, p 113, fig 80, B 18.
		ii	Hesp Supp II, fig 37.
		iii	BSA XXIX, p 236, fig 7.
	(Orientalising)		Hesp XIV, Plate XXVII, 1.
Italy	(Orientalising)		Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XXXVIII, 25.
Luristan	(bronze pin)		AfO XV, p 45, fig 3.
Anatolia	(Van)		Iraq XII, Plate XIX.

The second of these unusual motifs of geometric ware in the Aegean area is the 'round ended petal' (described on page 238), a motif which appears to be placed vertically only. It is curious that so simple and, decoratively speaking, so effective a pattern should be so uncommon, for it is not known in the west except on geometric ware.⁷ It occurs in the east, though very rarely, examples in moulded pottery being of A Period date in Azarbaijan,⁸ and of 'Phrygian' date in Anatolia.⁹ There is also one painted 'Phrygian' example. Perhaps the motif is of eastern source. It is possibly less likely to be of Aegean origin, for local invention there would be difficult to defend against the fact that the Azarbaijan example is perhaps to be dated before the time of the Aegean Geometric period, while independant invention in Azarbaijan and Greece of a most unusual motif within a few centuries is, maybe, improbable. Moreover, 'Phrygian' pottery is often decorated in the polychrome technique,¹⁰ a style which, while well known in the east, is most unlikely to have been brought to Anatolia from the west at the time of the early 1st millennium.

The third of the motifs of this group is the conventionalised palm-tree design which, as has been shown by Mr. and Mrs. Crowfoot,¹¹ appears on Aegean Geometric ware.¹² This motif had been known in that area during Mycenaean days, and is often seen on carved ivories of Assyrian date in the east. It also appears on metal work of the Tell Basta treasure, which has been discussed above (see page 165), and which may be thought to illustrate the coming of foreign ideas to Egypt, being perhaps of origin in Syria, or some neighbouring land.¹³

Amongst the shapes of the pottery vessels of the Geometric Period in the Aegean there are two which might have been 'inherited' from the Protogeometric period, since they were in use then. They are,

the neck-amphora,¹⁴ and the trefoil-mouthed oinochoe. Apart from these two, all the more important of the shapes of the Geometric period appear to be of new types. One characteristic geometric shape is a jug with a comparatively small body of pear shape, the smaller end being downward, and a tall neck of cylindrical form which may sometimes widen towards the top. This jug often has a handle which rises above the rim.¹⁵ It is a shape which appears not to be known at present as occurring contemporaneously elsewhere. But a very similar shape was characteristic of many of the lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean during the later part of the IInd millennium, appearing in both the 'milk-bowl' and 'Base-Ring' fabrics of Cyprus.¹⁶ The 'Base-Ring' ware is dated to have appeared first at about 1600, and continued in use for several centuries in the whole area from Cyprus to Egypt, though it did not come to be made in the Aegaeon area. A related shape appeared at a date which may be of about 1500 in Azarbaijan. It is possible that this shape was known earlier in eastern lands, for the sherd of grey bucchero ware painted in polychrome which Petrie found in the XIIIth Dynasty town of Kahun probably came from a vessel of comparable shape.¹⁷ That bucchero fabric is of unique type, and is possibly from some part of eastern Anatolia or an adjacent region, since if it came from any other land, except Persia, excavations would probably have unearthed specimens of similar type by the present date. This jug shape is only one of several of the shapes of the Aegaeon Geometric period ceramics which can be paralleled by wares characteristic of the eastern end of the Mediterranean. A second new shape of that period, for example, is that of the pithos characteristic of Thera,¹⁸ a parallel to which occurs at about this period in Cyprus.¹⁹ Other new Geometric shapes are cups and bowls on tall stands.²⁰ Similar vessels were equipped with tall stands at this time in Cyprus.²¹ There appears also in the Aegaeon at the time of the Geometric period the shape of the pyxis with a lid, the latter sometimes being conical.²² This also is paralleled in Cyprus.²³

Some of the most remarkable of the vessels of the Aegaeon Geometric period are the huge craters and amphorae which are characteristic of the Dipylon style, and no doubt may be attributed to the later part of the Geometric period. They cannot therefore be used in any discussion of the genesis of the Geometric style. Both these shapes are new in the west in Geometric times. The crater is a shape which is not closely paralleled in Cyprus, in certainly native Cypriote ware, for although there does exist a crater on a high foot, as occurs also in the Aegaeon Dipylon shape,²⁴ in that island,²⁵ it has a much more squat and fatter shape, and could not be adducted as a satisfactory parallel to the Greek vessel.²⁶

But the Dipylon amphora shape²⁷ does seem to be fairly closely paralleled in shape by native Cypriote vessels which, while not reaching the considerable proportions of the Athenian pots, are nevertheless notably large.

It is usually stated that the great crater of Dipylon type found in Cyprus and now in the Cesnola collection in New York²⁸ is Attic in origin, though Young, who believes this, has pointed out that 'it shows a number of non-Attic influences'. In the decoration of this vessel appear the motifs of the animal with a bird (catalogue on page 234) and of the opposed animals standing on either side of a tree (catalogue on page 133). The history of both these motifs appears to indicate that they are of eastern source. The second of the two, the opposed animals, does indeed appear in the Aegaeon area in late Mycenaean times, but that is precisely one of the periods when eastern influences may have reached the west, so it has been suggested above. Consequently its appearance at that time could scarcely be advanced as a reason to consider the motif as a typically western one. A more reasonable support for the widely held view that the 'Dipylon style' and 'Argive geometric' fabrics in Cyprus²⁹ were of western source lies in the fact that geometric wares of Dipylon and Argive styles are much better known in Greece than elsewhere. Examples in Cyprus and Egypt, if indeed they were found in the latter country, are thus explained as having been brought to those lands by 'trade'. This opinion is not, however, concerned with the explanation of how the Dipylon and Argive styles arose in Greece and, as has been briefly indicated above, there is some reason to suggest that they may be the flowering of originally eastern ideas. The presence of vessels more or less in the Dipylon style in Egypt and Cyprus does not deny that the Dipylon style in the west may have been derived originally from eastern prototypes,³⁰ and might suggest that possibility.

Finally, there are in Geometric days in the west, a variety of low and small bowls, skyphoi, kantharoi and ribbon handled bowls, varying in height in relation to width, and in the ways in which the handles, if any, are attached, but all distinguished by the fact that the neck is collar-shaped and ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~indicate~~ ^{is} equal to, or smaller than, that of the greatest width of the body. Every detail of these 'collar-shaped' bowls, even the unusual type of the handle of the 'ribbon-handled' bowl, can be paralleled in Cyprus³¹ and elsewhere in the east, with the sole exception of the high handles set vertically, which are to be seen in the kantharos shape in the Aegaeon area.³² It is probable that the type of the 'collar-necked' shape should be considered to have already appeared in the Aegaeon area during the Protogeometric period, but most of the several rather

elaborate varieties of the shape and of the accessories, made during Geometric times, are new there.

There is a considerable degree of similarity to be traced in details between Greek Geometric fabrics, and contemporary pottery wares in Cyprus and neighbouring regions. Since these fabrics in Greece are of new types in many cases, it is possible that they were introduced there from the east. It might, perhaps, be suggested further that the people who made the early Geometric fabrics of the Aegæan, ornamented with the swastika and the geometric meander patterns, were of the same stock as some of those who had come to the west during the XVIth century. If this could be established, it might prove an additional reason for supposing that the civilisation of the earliest part of the Geometric period was of eastern source.

The usual view taken of the Geometric Period in the Aegæan is that it lasted from the Xth to the later part of the VIIIth century, and that the culture throughout that time was of a single type. To some extent this could be true, for it may be possible to trace certain ceramic details throughout that period. But it is not always correct to suppose that a given civilisation continues to be effective so long as some of its characteristics can be observed. Sometimes a particular type of civilisation begins to yield ground as soon as the first indications of a cultural change appear. This may have happened during the course of the Geometric Period, for noticeable changes occurred, possibly at a date near 800, in the field of ceramics. These are supposed by Professor Robertson and others to illustrate no more than local evolution. A different view is expressed in this book, wherein it is suggested that the Geometric Period is not a simple homogeneous epoch, but can rather be pictured as a time during which two different peoples were dominant, one after the other, in Greece. These people, so it is proposed, can be identified by their ceramics.

It is quite easy, if one peers closely at the evidence, to trace, step by step, an evolution in the style of pottery decoration in the Aegæan during this period. If, on the other hand, one tries to obtain a generalised view of events during that time, a different picture forms itself. For example, at the beginning of the Geometric Period the pots appear as vessels with simple, indeed extraordinarily abstract, ornament, rich, but of a curiously remote or impersonal type. But by the end of that period (later VIIIth century) pots appear, not only in totally different shapes, like the grand things from the Dipylon cemetery, but also with completely different styles of ornament.²³ At this later time there appear scenes with living things, such as animals and people, painted on

the pots by men who were clearly interested in such subjects, which had not, so far as is known, appealed in the least to the earlier artists of the period. These men seem also to have been emotionally very different. For now one finds work which could not possibly be described as 'remote'. It is, on the contrary, most highly charged with emotion, as for example in the burial scenes which, however unformed the drawing may be, are achieved in a way which is magnificently contemptuous of obstacles. This is not the work of an artist content to draw either abstract patterns, or the outward appearance of things, but of one who was intent on conveying what he felt. Could it really be urged that the same sort of people could have worked in two such very different ways? Could the people who painted in the earlier 'geometric style' have evolved the later style? Or should one think that they had experienced the fertilising influence of people who could feel deeply and longed to express their feelings, who put up little or no barrier of embroidered convention behind which to hide?

Such questions cannot be answered at present. But perhaps the fact that they can be posed at all may suggest that the period from the Xth to the close of the VIIIth century in the Aegaeon area saw more than the development of a single group of new ideas. It is, as has been shown earlier, by no means unlikely that people may have spread towards Greece and in other directions from the general area of eastern Anatolia at this time (see page 230). The continual arrivals of new peoples, and considerable fighting, in that region may well have displaced folk who, although long established there, were ready to travel far distances in a desire to avoid what must have been highly unsettled conditions of life. It may also have resulted in the spreading of others who were far from being quiet peaceable folk, but on the contrary were ready to explore and seize what they could. It would appear, from what is known of the activities of the Assyrian armies, that the west was the most accessible region for eastern Anatolians and others, both for those seeking adventure, and refuge.

It is probably difficult to subdivide the Geometric Period in the Aegaeon area satisfactorily without going into elaborate detail, which might be confusing here, and would be out of proportion with the remainder of a book which is concerned with the attempt to trace evidence for the mechanism of international relations in antiquity. A few illustrations of ideas which appear to be typical of the later part of the Geometric Period may, however, be mentioned, even though it is an inevitable result that such details as are referred to should appear somewhat isolated from their background.³⁴

Ideas of eastern source can be traced in the Aegaeon area as appearing there fairly commonly during the later part of the Geometric Period.³⁵ But, as Miss Lorimer has pointed out, 'the exceedingly small number of Oriental artifacts from Geometric sites contrasts with the comparatively numerous indications of Oriental contacts'.³⁶ Some of these indications appear in the variety of goods made in metal. For example, Reichel has pointed to the oriental type of the forms of the earliest Greek stamped gold diadems, which date from the earlier part of the VIIIth century.³⁷ In the same way, the oriental appearance of some geometric bronzes from Olympia has been referred to by Dr. Lamb, who says that they are 'reminiscent of Cyprus and the east'.³⁸ Models of horses and birds, commonly made in pottery and in bronze in the Aegaeon area at this time, may also suggest eastern contacts, for models of horses are frequent in Cyprus and in northern Mesopotamia at the time of the early Iron Age,³⁹ and are sometimes similar in shape to the Aegaeon models.⁴⁰ Bird models similar to the Aegaeon ones have been found in Italy,⁴¹ and Mrs. Dohan has suggested that it may be possible to trace a connection between Persia and Italy thereby, since similar bird models appeared in Persia, though at a very much earlier date.⁴² Perhaps also one can trace an eastern connection in the case of a little bronze bird similar in appearance to the Aegaeon geometric birds, which stands on the rim of a mug which formed part of the Tiryns treasure.⁴³ The mug is of a shape well known in late Mycenaean days (catalogue on page 119), and possibly of eastern type in origin. This bird seems to foreshadow the popularity of bird-models later,⁴⁴ and it may be significant that it appears to date from a time when there were many indications of the somewhat tentative westward coming of eastern ideas.

Indications of oriental contacts can be found in a variety of other materials and classes of evidence, a few of which are briefly mentioned in the course of the next few pages.

Amongst many details which seem to characterise the later phase of Geometric pottery in the Aegaeon area, but to have been unusual or unknown on earlier Geometric ware, appears 'fill ornament', the

idea of placing numerous isolated small motifs on the background of the design. One such motif is the 'butterfly' (catalogue on page 231), which is formed by two triangles with their apices touching. The idea of fill ornament (referred to on page 165), is not new at this time, for it had appeared in the Aegean area in Middle Cycladic times⁴⁵ and in Mycenaean days,⁴⁶ and also, in Mycenaean days, in Egypt.⁴⁷ The butterfly motif had appeared from time to time over a very long space of time, in the Near East.

The use of white paint on a dark ground appears in the southern Aegean area in late geometric times⁴⁸ and continues to be known there in the orientalisising period. Both in Rhodes and in Crete the repertory of motifs used includes birds.⁴⁹ This unusual form of ornament can hardly be of local source (for neither ornament in white nor drawings of birds are found in the Aegean area during Protogeometric times), unless it was invented there during the VIIIth century. This, however, is not the only possibility, for the use of white paint, and of drawings of birds for ornament, is well known in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, not only during the later part of the IIInd millennium⁵⁰ but also possibly at about the time of the VIIIth century,⁵¹ and consequently might have been introduced from the east to the Aegean area during the geometric period.

Another motif found during the later part of the geometric period in the Aegean world is the drawing of the Sphinx (catalogue on page 246). Verdelis is of the opinion that the early Cretan examples are closely copied from oriental prototypes.⁵² Speaking of a much earlier sphinx, Evans expressed the view that the idea of the sphinx is of eastern source,⁵³ while von Bissing stated that in his opinion the winged sphinx was of Syrian origin.⁵⁴ The earliest example of the winged sphinx in the west is from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, but there are no other examples from the Aegean area until the later part of the geometric age.

Not very much later than the examples of the sphinx in the west which are of the geometric period, are the first examples of the decorative use of the Griffin (catalogue on page 246). This also appears in the Shaft Graves, but not again until the VIIIth century in the west.

SPHINX

Egypt	(III & IIrd millennia)		RE II, Reihe 1726 ff. Roscher IV, 1298 ff.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i	JHS XXII, p 83, fig 19; Plate VII, 41, 42.
		ii	H. Schliemann <i>Mycenae</i> , fig 277.
Syria	(c 1400)		Ug II, pp 1 ff.
Assyria	(XIVth century)		Ebert Real, VIII, p 198.
Palestine	(1350-1150)		ILN 23 Oct 1937, p 709, top right.
Egypt	(XIV-XIIIth century)		IKG, Plate 20, fig 4.
Anatolia	(Eyk)		Perrot & Chipiez, IV, figs 323, 327.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)		Ex.s in C, pp 7-8, and fig 14.
	(Ialysos)		Marshall, Plate III, 196.
			MV p 74, Plate C.9.
Egypt	(Tell Baata treasure)		<i>Le Musée Égyptien</i> II, Plate XLVIII a.
Syria	(c 1000 ?)	i	Sendschirli II, Plate XXXIII.
		ii	Carchemish I, Plate B 14.
	(IXth-VIIIth century)		Syria XXVI, Plate VIII.
Assyria			Poulsen, p 7.
Palestine			Ivories Sam, Plate V.
Aegean	(VIIIth century)	i	BCH LXXV, pp 1 ff.
		ii	AJA, 1901, pp 144 ff, fig 11.
Anatolia	(Alisar V)		TAH 1928-9 ii, Frontispiece.
			TAH 30-32 iii, fig 73.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i	NC, pp 89-90.
		ii	BCH LXXV, pp 1 ff.

GRIFFIN

Egypt	(Predynastic)	i	J. Capart, <i>Primitive art in Egypt</i> , fig 172.
		ii	J. E. Quibell, <i>Hierakonpolis</i> II, Plate XXVIII.
		iii	Morgan <i>origines</i> I, p 115, fig 136.
	(XVIth century)		POM I, p 551, fig 402.
Aegean	(XVIth century)	i	BT, Plate VIII.
		ii	H. Schliemann, <i>Mycenae</i> , fig 272.
Syria	(c. 1400)		Ug II, pp 1 ff.
Egypt	(XIVth-XIIth centuries)		Montet <i>reliques</i> , pp 111 ff.

Palestine	(XIVth-XIIth centuries)	ILN 23 Oct 1937, p 708.
Assyria	(XIVth century onwards)	BSA XXXVII, p 108.
Mycenean	(Seal-stones)	EV, Plate E, 12; Plate E, 40 (?).
Egypt	(Tell Basta treasure) (XXth Dynasty)	Annales XXV, pp 256 ff. Prisse II, Plate 86.
Syria	(Tomb of Ahiram)	Montet Byblos, Plate CXLII, 878.
Cyprus	(Assyrian type bowls)	Perrot & Chipiez III, p 789.
Assyria		Perrot & Chipiez, A history of art in Chaldea and Assyria II, p 330, fig 209.
Aegean	(Late Geometric) (Orientalising)	AJA 1901, pp 144 ff. fig 11. NC, p 90.
Anatolia	(Pazarli)	Belleten III, Plates XXIV - XXVII.

(Note: - Some griffins have been discussed by Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst I*).

At the close of the Geometric Period there appears in the Aegean area, though only rarely, a bowl shape⁵⁵ which is closely similar to a characteristic bowl of the Granary Class at Mycenae,⁵⁶ save for the fact that, while the Granary ware bowls had their handles parallel to the side of the vessel, the Geometric vessels have their handles at right angles to the wall of the pot. The similarity does not end there, for the ornament of the Geometric bowls is closely similar to that which appears on the Granary vessels. No prototype for the Geometric bowls of this shape is known in the west, since the shape appears not to have been made there since the time of the making of Granary ware. Thus it is possible to suggest that, if the Granary style in the west was introduced by migrating easterners, as has been proposed above (see page 185), one can see, in the manufacture of these Geometric bowls, an indication that a second migration of easterners had occurred, for it hardly seems likely that the similarity between the Geometric and Granary class bowls discussed is accidental.

Another indication in the field of ceramics of connections between east and west at this time which can be significant has already been discussed by Miss Lorimer, with regard to the supposed

oriental conception of a scene shown on a Dipylon kylix.⁵⁷ Another is perhaps to be recognised in the use, late in the Geometric and early in the Orientalising Period, of the illustration on pottery of the form of a wriggling snake, there being normally a dot or other mark within the hollows formed alternately to right and left by its wavy shape.⁵⁸ There is no antecedent for this representation within the Aegaeon area, but it occurs in the Koban region of Caucasia.⁵⁹ Often the drawing of the body of the snake on Aegaeon pots is bordered by a row of dots, a style of ornament found on a vessel of Susa I date.⁶⁰ It could be, therefore, that this rare manner of ornament illustrates an eastern idea when found in the west.

At a site in the island of Lemnos, which may have been occupied in the VIIIth century by people who may have spoken an Asianic, non-Greek tongue, some model buildings of pottery have been found. These seem to be representative of fountain-buildings, but in front of each, at 'ground-level', is a flat piece of pottery with a channel leading away from the house, and presumably intended for liquid, perhaps in some form of libation.⁶¹ The parallel with the models of dwelling-houses in Egypt of 1st Intermediate Period days has already been remarked by Mustilli, though he has omitted to refer to the similarity between the models from Egypt and Lemnos which appears in the platform and channel. The other models of buildings which he quotes, those from Perachora, the Heraeum of Argos and so on, do not have this most unusual, and probably significant detail, and there is no reason to suppose that they were made for libation work. With the models with a channel, however, libation seems probable. Since the whole idea of a house model used for such a purpose is most unusual it is reasonable to couple the examples known together. In this case it is, perhaps, legitimate to suggest that branches of a single people may have been involved in each case.⁶² This may be significant in the case of the people who came to the west during the later part of the geometric period, for the folk who went to Egypt during the time of the 1st Intermediate Period appear to have originated somewhere to the north of Mesopotamia.

There occur, in deposits of geometric and later date in the west, many pieces of carved ivory, which are clearly related, as Barnett has shown,⁶³ to the work of the 'Phoenician' and 'Syrian' groups of ivory workers who flourished in the Near East from at least as early as the IXth century, and doubtless imply a movement of ivory-workers towards the west, such as he describes, since they appear not to be oriental imports.

HANDLE WITH AXLE ORNAMENT

Aegean	(EH II)	Eutresis, fig 151, 1.
Syria	(Early Iron Age)	Bossert AA, p 282, 1068.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	i TAH 1927 i, Plate II. ii TAH 1928-9 i, fig.s 317-8.
Aegean	('quasi-geometric')	Vrekastro, fig 76.
Anatolia	(Gordion)	Gordion, Plate 2.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Lane, Plate 24 A. ii Olympia IV, Plate LIV, 900. iii CVA Pays Bas i, Pays Bas Plate 7, 3. iv CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 415. v Hesp XIV, Plate XIV, 3.
Italy	(Orientalising)	CVA Italy xvii, Plate 805, 3.
South Russia	(Kiev)	ESA V, p 35.

A variant of this type of handle occurs in Azarbaijan (Az 1948, fig 35, 125) and in an early Orientalising tomb in Crete (Annuario X - XII, - fig 239.).

It is often supposed that the Indo-European languages developed originally in some part of western Asia. This matter, like much else in the philological world, is not a subject about which it is possible to come to any definite conclusion, and it is therefore not proposed to speak of it in this place, beyond pointing out that evidence has already been produced to suggest that the Greeks, and presumably therefore also their language, may have been located in or near Caucasia before they were established in Greece. The written alphabet used by the Greeks appears to have come into use during the Eighth Century in Greece,⁶⁴ and is usually considered to have been derived in all its varieties from the Phoenician alphabet.⁶⁵ Doubtless it could have evolved equally easily in Greece as in western Asia. It may possibly be significant in this regard that one of the most ancient inscriptions in the Greek language comes from Tyana in Anatolia.⁶⁶ Such philological connections with the east are, to some extent, paralleled by the linguistic connections between Lydian a language stated to belong to the same

family as the Caucasian languages) and Etruscan, connections which are considered by some authorities to be highly significant.⁶⁷ A relationship between Ludoi and Lutipris,⁶⁸ a name found during the earlier part of the First Millennium in Urartu,⁶⁹ has been suggested, though this, like other philological equations, may not stand the test of time. It is only quoted here since (if it is to be taken seriously at all) it also suggests that the student of the Geometric Age in the Aegean area should consider the implication of Caucasian material.

Yet another example of a new idea in the west which can be dated before the end of the VIIIth century appears in the gorgoneion.⁷⁰ This creature is frequently of full-face aspect, and is normally shown with a protruding tongue. Payne suggested, no doubt quite reasonably, that it might be connected in some way with the godling Bes, known at various times in Egypt and other lands of the Near East.⁷¹

The divinity Bes almost always appears in the guise of a human dwarf with a tongue which protrudes and hangs down, a shaggy beard, a headdress which is made of feathers standing vertically, and a tail. He appears first in Egypt at the time of the XVth century.⁷² One of the more remarkable things about him is the fact that he is often shown full-face, since this is a style which is most unusual in Egypt. Bes was popular during the XVIIIth Dynasty period, but after that he disappeared from Egypt and only reappeared during the earlier part of the Ist Millennium. He has been described as being something of a mountebank, possibly because he is frequently represented as dancing. It has further been suggested that he was popular mainly with the commonalty, but against that view is the fact that an early representation of his figure appears on the grand furniture of the very important people Inaa and Thuiu. He may have been a foreign godling in origin, for both his beard and his full-face seem to be non-Egyptian. Max Muller thought that his feather headdress was also an indication of a foreign source, and certainly feather headdresses (see page 78) do seem to be of non-Egyptian origin, perhaps deriving from eastern Anatolia. It is a fact that the epochs of his popularity in Egypt coincided with times of considerable Asiatic influence in that land, while the alternation of the periods of popularity and obscurity for him may suggest repeated introductions, possibly by migrations, to Egypt, for gods seem unlikely to travel alone.

After the XIIIth century Bes seems to have been fairly well known in Palestine.⁷³ He appears rather later in Cilicia.⁷⁴ He has been connected by some students with the Kabeiroi,⁷⁵ the sons of Hephaestus and famed metal workers from Anatolia. Some such

eastern source might fit conveniently with the fact of his appearance in the Treasure of the Oxus.⁷⁶

By the beginning of the VIIIth century the type of the gorgoneion had appeared in the Aegaeon. Very soon after that date, as Miss Lorimer has pointed out, Zeus appears illustrated in the west with attributes of deities known in the east.⁷⁷ Zeus may originally have been to some extent a sky-god similar to Amun of Egypt. Deities with functions similar to those of Zeus, and also armed with thunderbolts, appear in the Near East from the time of the IIIrd millennium onwards. It could, indeed, be that Zeus was originally the god of a people in the east, perhaps descended from an ancestor from whom such gods as Amun sprang, and that his worship was taken west to the Aegaeon area.⁷⁸ But if the contrary view were held, that Zeus was a god of western origin, it might be thought strange that he should appear, at the time of his earliest known representation in the west, to have been provided with the characteristic equipment of an eastern god, for there is no strong evidence, if indeed any at all, to suggest that western ideas of divine equipment, or anything else, ever travelled eastward.⁷⁹

There are several reasons for tracing connections within the field of mythology, between east and west. For example, it has been pointed out by Cornford that in Hesiod's hymn to Zeus various incidents 'are recognisably parallel to the exploits of Marduk in Babylonian Hymn ... of Creation'.⁸⁰ And the parallels between east and west which have been pointed out in the case of the Heracles legend,⁸¹ and in the Epic of Kumarbi,⁸² are no doubt also significant.⁸³

HORIZONTAL ROW OF ANIMALS

Persia	(Susa I)	i	CVA Louvre iii, France Plate 135.
		ii	Survey IV, Plate I C.
	(Sialk III)		Sialk I, Plate LXXXII D.
	(Hissar I)		ILN 28 Jan 1933, p 117, fig 11.
Egypt	(Predynastic)		Cam Ab I, Plate V, E 340.
Mesopotamia	(Nineveh V)		LAAA XX, Plate LVI, 19.
Aegean	(Middle Minoan I)		Mesara, Plate XIII, 1104.
	(Middle Cycladic)		Phylakopi, Plate XV, 14.
	(Geometric)		Very common.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. BSA LXVI, pp 152-3. A similar opinion is expressed by M. P. Nilson in *The Minoan-Mycenean religion*, (2nd edition), p 30.
2. BSA XXIX, p 229, 267 ff. Others who hold this view include B. Schweitzer (*Gnomon* 1934, pp 339-40) and Demargue (p 96).
3. Some of the earliest of ancient ceramics, such as neolithic Thessalian and Tell Halaf wares, are ornamented with some of the most elaborate and perfectly composed abstract designs ever used on pottery. For thousands of years subsequently, except at certain periods, such as the XVIth century in the Aegean area, the various civilisations of the Near East reveal considerable naïveté, comparatively speaking, so far as may be judged from the evidence of pottery.
4. SC, fig 375, 1.
5. A. Roes, *De oorsprong der geometrische Kunst*, p 142.
6. Az 1948, B and C Periods.
7. Schweitzer in AM XLIII, Plate II, 1. Hampe, Plate 28: V 18.; Hesp Supp, P 215.
8. Az 1948, fig 38, 1918.
9. TAN 1930-32 ii, fig 410, e 1346, fig 412, d 2000, and painted, TAN 30-32 ii, fig 410, e 871.
10. Kosay Pazarli, Plate LII, and p 15. TAN 1928-9 ii, Plates II and VI.
11. Ivories Sam, pp 36 ff.
12. BCH 36, pp 499-500, figs 5-6. Cl R, VI-VII, p 79, fig 88.
13. The design appears on a Mesopotamian steatite vase, probably earlier than the Mycenaean period in date (Contenau Mamel III, p 644, fig 448.).
14. Matz GKG I, Plate 8.
15. CVA Greece Athens National Museum i, Plate 3, 11. Matz GKG I, Plate 9.
16. CVA BM i, GB Plate 5, 3: 7, 10.; BMC I ii, C 735., C 133. The shape also appears in Armenia (Arm II ii, p 565) Azerbaijan (Az 1948, fig 34, 38) and Egypt (Iouiya and Iouiyon, Plate XXVIII).
17. BMC I i, A 567. Bucchero ware was one of the introductions to the Aegean area during the geometric period (BSA XXIX, pp 276-7).
18. Matz GKG, Plate 20.
19. SCE IV ii, Fig XX 11. and 3).
20. Hesp Supp II, fig 39.
21. SCE IV ii, Fig XLIV 6). and 7).
22. Hampe, Plate 21, V 11. Hesp Supp II, fig 49.
23. SCE IV ii, Fig XLVIII, 9).
24. Matz GKG I, Plate X.
25. SCE IV ii, Fig XXIII. 6). Both the Aegean and the Cypriote vessels have handles in the form of a horned animal's head. (There is a vase like the Cypriote one quoted from Capodimonte published in NDS 1928, Plate VIII, dated by Miss Benton to the VIIth century, in BSA XXXV).
26. A crater on a high foot from Rhodes (BCH XXXVI, Plate X) is intermediate between the Cypriote and Aegean shapes quoted above.
27. Matz GKG I, Plate I, of the ripe geometric period, when human figures were used in decoration freely. In Cyprus the shape appears (SCE IV ii, Fig XXIII 17): CVA BM ii, GB Plate 51) also at the time when human figures appeared often as ornament.

28. *AJA* XXXIX, p 414.: *Hesp Supp* II, p 196.: *AJA* XLIV, p 160.
29. *Jb* 1899, p 196, no 7.: *Cesnola II*, Plate 104-5.: *Perrot and Chipérez III*, p 703, fig 514.: *Handbook Cesnola*, p 286, 1701 ff.: *Ex.s in C*, p 103, fig 150.: *SCE* II, pp 79 ff, Plate XIX.
30. Vases painted in the Dipylon manner appear also in Egypt (*Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases*, Plate I, no.s 26, 134.), though perhaps they were imported in recent times.
31. Cups and bowls on high stems have been referred to above (page 240). In the case of the skyphos shape compare *AJA* XLIV, Plate 21, with *SCE* IV ii, Fig XVIII 6), and Fig XIX 19). In the case of the lekane shape compare *Hampe*, Plate 33, 775, or *Hesp Supp* II, XI.3, fig 32, with *SCE* IV ii, Fig XXXVII, 24). For the ribbon handle in Cyprus see *SCE* IV ii, Fig XVII 9).
32. *AJA* XLIV, Plate XXII, 4-5. It may be observed that vessels similar to Aegaeon geometric ones occur in Italy (*Blakeaway in BSA* XXXIII, pp 170 ff and *CAH* IV, p 392.).
33. Reichel (*Griechisches Goldrelief*) has suggested that there is a marked difference between the gold bands of the earlier part of the geometric period, and those of the later geometric series.
34. Miss Lorimer has collected many illustrations of changes in the Aegaeon world which may be connected with "influences" from the east. She has for example, quoted the decline of the use of the rite of cremation after about 800 (*Lorimer*, pp 103 ff), and discussed the question of the Dipylon shape of shield (*loc cit*, pp 162 ff) pointing out that it is known much earlier in the east than in the west, reaching the Aegaeon area in the Geometric Period. She shows that it is supplanted by the round shield, this, she thinks, being due to eastern influence. It was long used in the east, for Persian soldiers at Persepolis carry such shields (*Herzfeld Iran*, Plate LXXV). Miss Lorimer has also pointed out that the style of showing the dead on a battlefield which appears on Assyrian reliefs is also to be seen on the Tiryns shields, (*BSA* XLII, pp 137 ff).
35. Several authorities have stated that it was at the earlier part of the VIIIth century that contact between the East and Greece began to be close, and that simultaneously the geometric style began to fade (*AJA* XXXVIII, p 27: *AM* XLIII, pp 148 ff).
36. *Lorimer in BSA* XLII, p 136. An illustration of what may be an oriental product found in the west appears in the glass amulet of 800-750 found at Athens (*Hesp Supp* VIII, pp 427 ff).
37. *Griechisches Goldrelief*, p 20.
38. *Lamb GRB*, p 42.
39. In Cyprus, *BM Catalogue of Terracottas*, Plate IV, left.: *Ex.s in C*, p 70, fig 113. In Persia, *Sialk II*, Plate XXI, 4. In Mesopotamia (at N 20 at Nineveh) *LAA* XVIII, Plate XXIV, 1.
40. *Argive Heraeum II*, no 13 (76), Plate XLVIII. (a model similar to the one quoted above from Nineveh.). *Olympia IV* 267, Plate XVII (discussed by S. D. Markman, *The horse in Greek art* p 27.). Cypriote "influence" on Attica in late geometric days has been discussed by Schweitzer (*AM* XLIII, p 148) and on Rhodes by Dussaud (*Syria* 1931, p 381). In Cyprus and Syria models of a horse with its rider are common. This style seems rare in the west at the time of the geometric period, but such a figurine was found in a Mycenaean stratum at Asine (*Asiae*, fig 213, 4.).
41. *Dorian Italic Groups*, Plate XIX, 22.
42. E. F. Schmidt, *Ex.s in TR*, Plate XLVIII, H 4279.
43. *AM* LV, Beilage XXXIV, 1.
44. *Lindos I*, Plate II, 228-9.: Plate 5, 54 ff.
45. *Phylakopi*, Plate XVIII, 5, 24.

46. POM IV, p 357, fig 300.
47. In the Subastis treasure, *Annales* XXV, pp 256 ff.
48. BSA XXX, pp 275-6.
49. Lindos I, Plate 43, 944 a.: BSA XXXI, Plate XII.
50. Mallouan in *Mélanges* D, fig 1, Plate II, bottom left.
51. LAAA XVIII, Plate 34, 20.
52. *ICH* LXXV, pp 1 ff.
53. POM III, pp 419 ff.
54. JB 1898, p 48.
55. Johansen, Plate X, 5.
56. BSA XXV, Plate 5, a.
57. Lorimer, p 445.
58. Late Geometric, *AJA* 1941, p 38, fig 15.
Early Orientalising, *AJA* 1940, Plate XXVIII, 1.: IAI, Plate 35, 2, 3 etc.
59. WPZ XII, Plate IV, 2.
60. Syria XVI, p 381, fig 9.
61. Mustilli, *Annuario* XV-XVI, pp 229 ff, and Karo in *AA* 1930, p 143, figs 22, 23.
ILN 28 Feb 1931, p 331, figs 8, 10, 11.
62. Another parallel between Lemnos at this time and the east appears in a very unusual form of handle (*Annuario* XV-XVI, fig 238) which is somewhat similar to a handle from Azarbaijan (*As* 1948, fig 35, 125). It is shaped like a bar with a disc at right angles, at each end, like an axle with its two wheels. This type of ornament occurs on normally shaped handles (catalogue on page 249).
63. JHS LXVIII, pp 1 ff. The ivories of the Near East, as has been said above, reveal a tendency on the part of their makers to work in a variety of styles, so also do the engraved and repoussé metal bowls of the Early First Millennium. Some of these latter have been discussed in *Opuscula Archaeologica* IV, pp 1 ff, and VEE, pp 210-213.
64. *AJA* XXXVIII, p 27.
65. *AJA* LXII, pp 58 ff.: JHS LXVI, p 89.: *AJA* XXXVIII, p 10.
66. Ullman in *Classical studies presented to Capps*, pp 333 ff.
67. Sir James Fraser in *Anatolian Studies presented to Ramsey*.
R. Dussaud, *La Lydie et ses voisins*, in *Babyloniaca* XI.
There are several ways in which connections between Italy and Persia can be traced. Some have been mentioned already. There can be added the following. The arrangement of a circle of stones round a grave, believed to be as early as soon after 750 at Vetulonia (A. Piganiol, *Histoire de Rome*, p 21) can be paralleled in N.W. Persia (Morgan Mission I, figs 140-1). The appearance of caryatids in Etruscan bronzes (P. Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca*, Plate 117, 319) is also paralleled in the east, in Persia and eastern Anatolia (A. Moortgat, *Bronzegerät aus Luristan* Plate XII.: Arm II ii, pp 521 ff.: *ILN* 22 Oct 1932, p 613, fig 2). Similarly, the caryatid style in the Aegean area of archaic Greek date has been considered to illustrate an oriental manner (Matz GGE, pp 382 ff. F. Studnicka in *Antike Plastik*, Walther Anelung, pp 252-3). Ivory caryatids from Assyria are well known (JHS LXVIII, Plate III a, right.: *ILN* 4th Aug 1951, p 194, figs 18, 19.).
The manner of ornamenting objects with small figurines placed along the rim or edge occurs in Etruscan art (P. Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca*, Plate 34, 115) and also in Persia (Hersfeld Iran, Plate XXII).
Hanfmann has pointed to the presence of "Syrian" bronzes in Etruria and Rome, and suggested that they played a role in the birth of Etruscan plastic (Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik* I, pp 32-4.: *AA* 1935, col.s 50-58, figs 1, 3, 5, 6.).

68. Mazzarino, pp 49-50.: RE Suppb. VI, 169.
69. JEA XVII, p 38.
70. NC, p 79.
71. C. Picard has suggested (*Manuel d'Archéologie grecque, La sculpture, I, Période archaïque*, p 123) that the gorgon of Corfu is derived from an oriental divinity. The gorgoneion appears in many places, including Italy (CVA RM vii, GB Plate 450, 4.: Marshall, Plate XXI, 1460) and Caucasia (Mins, p 208, 9, 10).
72. He appears represented at the time of Amenhotep III (IKG, Plate XVII, 9.: at Amarna (Amarna, Plate XVII, 290), in the tomb of Tutankhamun (ILN 29 Dec 1923, p 1199). and contemporaneously elsewhere (Sedment I, Plate XL, 406.: el Amrah, Plate ILV, Tomb D, 14 51).
73. Megiddo Ivories, nos 24 and 26.: Montet Byblos, Plate CLIV.: C de Mertzenfeld in Syria XIX, pp 345 ff.
He appears at Tell abu Hawam (QDAP IV, Plate LXXV, 143-4).
74. T. Bossert, and others, *Karatepe Kasilari I*, Plate XVII, 84.; Plate XVIII, 89.: *Ex Oriente Lux, Jahrbichte II*, Plate XXII b: von Bissing in *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung II*, pp 88 ff.
75. Bengt Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*: AFO 1939-41, p 63 f.
76. O. M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*, Plate XII, 32.
77. BSA XXXVII, p 180.
78. Similarities between religious thought and practise in east and west have often been discussed. Very early in the east there appeared ideas with which can be compared the Greek Dike and Themis (CAH II, p 400), while similarities in practise have been reviewed by many authorities (AJA 1941, p 488.: MDOG LXXVIII, pp 3 ff.: SE XI, pp 83 ff.).
The cult of Zeus Lykaos and Zeus Horkios may reveal oriental influence in the west (V. Bérard, *Les origines des cultes arcadiens*; and in RHA July 1931, p 127.: BSA XXXVII, pp 172 ff.). Cook says that Zagreus played an essential part in the rites of Zeus Idaios, and closely resembled an oriental deity, who was perhaps of the Zagros mountains in Persia (Zeus I, pp 648 ff.). The Carian Zeus is considered to be "hardly distinguishable from the weather god Teshub-Hadad" (BSA XXXVII, p 179).
79. Parallels between religious practises in east and west may include the Asiatic elements visible in the religion of Corinth (BSA XLVI, p 71), which may date from before geometric times. It has been stated that the cult of the dead found in late Geometric times offers a "striking testimony for the continuity of race... through the dark period of Greek history following the Mycenaean age" (AJA XLIV, p 124). Throughout all that space of time, so the archaeological material reviewed in this book seems to show, there were migrations of different, but possibly related, groups of foreigners coming to the Aegean area from the general region of Caucasia.
80. JHS LX, p xi. Baldry has pointed out (*Classical Quarterly* XLVI, pp 83 ff) that Hesiod may have received his idea of the "golden race" from Zarathustra's teaching, and Nock observed that "it is possible that ideas, like art-motifs, came to Greece from the east in Hesiod's time" (JHS XLIX, p 114).
81. AJA XXXVII, pp 529 ff.: RA 1934, p 248.; JHS LIV, pp 40 ff.
82. JHS LXV, pp 100-101.
83. See also H. J. Rose, *Ancient Greek religion*, p 81, JHS LXIX, p 126. H. G. Guterbock suggested that there are Hurrian elements in Greek mythology (AJA LII, pp 123 ff).

CHAPTER IX

THE ORIENTALISING PERIOD

In the Orientalising Period, as in all the other periods into which this book has been divided, it is proposed, by the writer, to be possible to trace the spreading of ideas, some new, some of types already familiar from earlier days, from or through Caucasia or North Persia to the West and to the South. Thus, although the events of the Orientalising Period have little to do, directly, with the subjects of the beginning of the Iron Age, and the coming of iron to Greece, they may help to illustrate the wide survey which has been thought advisable. Moreover, a study of certain aspects of the history of the Orientalising Period in the west, such as the introduction there of large scale stone sculpture, and of the classical style of architecture, may illuminate the subject of the international aspect of prehistory, irrespective of period.

It is possible to argue that, as the years of the Geometric Period passed, more and more new ideas appeared in the manufactures of the Aegæan area, some of which may, as has been suggested earlier in this book, have come from the east, possibly as a consequence of

westward migration, both of old established folk from the general area of Caucasia, and of new-comers to that region. This view would doubtless be open to criticism, if it were pressed far, but it is certainly usually agreed that, during the later part of the VIIIth century, some ideas of eastern source found their way to the west, heralding the Orientalising Period. At this time one can see both extraordinary diversity, and also some degree of increased unity within the Aegaeon area. There appears, for example, the practise of using animals, birds and flowers as models for pottery ornament in a far more naturalistic way than previously. Such a manner of decoration was very widespread, but used in markedly different ways in adjacent regions of the Aegaeon world. The effect is of some degree of cultural uniformity in the civilisation of the Aegaeon, but of highly individual groups existing side by side within that region. However, such uniformity is only of a very general type, and is by no means complete, for it may have been more or less simultaneously that there appeared certain abnormal varieties of fabrics, such as the early Lakonian, the first examples of which are painted in a purely abstract style and are thus sharply differentiated from the naturalistically ornamented wares, such as the Protocorinthian, which were now widespread. This high degree of local individuality of culture may raise doubts regarding the almost universally held opinion that the change perceptible in the development of the civilisation of the Orientalising Period in the Aegaeon area was due to the adoption and copying of eastern ideas by the people then in Greece, who are alleged to have become acquainted with them in the course of 'trade'. Does it not seem a little improbable that the Aegaeans, who were, at the time of the VIIth century, highly individualistic, and were no doubt individualistic earlier, would whole-heartedly and simultaneously have abandoned their traditional ways of shaping and decorating pots, only to adopt new fashions with unabated local individuality at the time of the beginning of the Orientalising Period, a little before 700? And again, why, if copying new ideas was a widespread and popular practise, does one find such extraordinary contrasts within a very small area as those between early Lakonian and Protocorinthian? A greater degree of uniformity might have been expected, or at least less division into almost water-tight compartments, failing which one may, perhaps, feel inclined to hesitate a little when faced with the explanation which is so often and so dogmatically given. It is, however, not difficult to suggest another explanation of the curious cultural development of this epoch in the west. This is to the effect that the changes in the Aegaeon civilisation which brought about the new culture of the Orientalising Period might have been due to the coming of new peoples, introducing new ideas.

These new-comers would doubtless have come from the east, a disturbed area, as has been pointed out before, at this period, and one might fairly expect a marked reaction when the tension of their existence was relaxed on arrival in comparatively peaceful regions. It might be possible to explain on these lines both the strong regional individuality (through the coming of a variety of peoples, in some cases keeping to themselves), and also the sudden flowering in the Aegaeon area of new ideas, in which an extraordinary height of artistic achievement was rapidly attained, only to degenerate slowly, a course of development which might be difficult to interpret in any other way. It is not suggested that such an interpretation could be established at present, and it is put forward merely as a theory, the traditional one being possibly open to question, in the light of which it is proposed to discuss some of the relevant material.

* * *

As Payne pointed out in *Protocorinthia*, there appear new ceramic shapes in the Aegaeon area at the time when the late Geometric style was beginning to disappear, and the new style of the Orientalising Period was taking its place. These include the ovoid aryballos, the kotyle, several types of pyxis, the vertical ring vase (catalogue on page 203), the vase in the form of a pomegranate, the vase in the form of an animal or bird (catalogue on page 75), the vase in the form of a human (catalogue on page 77) and the alabastron (catalogue on page 260). Such shapes occur fairly widely. Other new shapes are, the lakaina (see page 271) and an oinochoe with a wide flat body and a large flaring-sided neck,¹ both of which are comparatively unusual. At the same time several of the shapes common during the Geometric Period disappear from use, such as the several varieties of cups and bowls with collar-shaped necks (see page 241) and the large craters. Some of the new shapes have been considered by Payne to be of foreign origin, such as the ring vase, the vase in the shape of a pomegranate (see page 262), the tall pyxis, the ovoid aryballos, the alabastron and the askoi in the shapes of animal, bird or human. On the other hand, he suggested that the kotyle with horizontal handles was an invention of Protocorinthian artists.

The kotyle is obviously a most important shape, for it forms the standard type of cup now made in the west, taking the place of the collar necked cups of Geometric days. It might, no doubt, be of Aegaeon invention,² but this is by no means certain, for it appears when eastern ideas were flooding in to the west, and it is, in itself, a shape found in the east, occurring in Persia, notably in the B Cemetery at Sialk, which is probably of the earlier part of the 1st millennium in date.³ It is a far cry, geographically speaking, from central Persia to the Aegaeon area, but the areas cannot have been out of touch with each other at this particular epoch, for an example of the variety of long beaked bronze jug which is only known otherwise in northern and Central Persia at about this date has been found, as is well known, in Samos.⁴ With such a link it may not be impossible that the prototype of the kotyle is of eastern source. Both the ring vase (catalogue on page 203) and the askos in animal, bird (catalogue on page 75) or human form (catalogue on page 77) occur, as appears in the catalogues, at times and in places which might suggest that they are to be connected with peoples coming from the general area of the Caucasus. Certainly none of them can be recognised as the characteristic inventions of any of the regions of the Near East which are at present archaeologically known, but Caucasia is not on that list. The same is true of the alabastron (catalogue on page 260), a shape which appears not only in several lands at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age, but also very much earlier, at the time of the Middle Cycladic period in the Aegaeon area. And at the time of that Middle Cycladic period in the west there came into use dark-on-light polychrome painted fabrics, very possibly introduced to the west by migrants from the east, perhaps from the Caucasian area.⁵ The link between the Middle Cycladic and Orientalising periods in the west thus suggested can be illustrated in another way, for, as will be shown later (see pages 266 - 271) several of the more characteristic of the motifs used on the early fabrics of the Aegaeon Orientalising Period also appeared as ornament on the Middle Cycladic pots.

ALABASTRON

Palestine	(c. 1800)	Megiddo II, Plate 19, 31.
Aegaeon	(Middle Cycladic)	Phylakopi, Plate XI, 4.
Central Europe	(Aunjetitz)	PZ XX, p. 81.

Palestine	(Xlth-Xth century) (Megiddo)	QDAP IV, Plate XIII, 87. Megiddo II, Plate 88, 18.
Cyprus		SCE IV ii, Fig XVII, 24.
Assyria	(VIIIth century)	SE XIII, pp 132 ff.
Aegean	('sub-geometric') (Protocorinthian)	NC, p 270, fig 114. NC, pp 269 ff.
Palestine	(Tell Ta'annek)	Sellin, p 73, fig 97.
Italy		Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XXXIX, 37.

One variety of alabastron is made in anthropomorphic shape. Payne said of this, that when found in the west, it may perhaps be a type of Cypriote source.⁶ It has also been pointed out that some of the examples from Italy of these vessels show a close similarity with the ivories from Nimrud,⁷ and that the school which produced the objects should perhaps be located in north Syria. Certainly the type does appear to be likely to be of eastern source.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC ALABASTRON

Aegean	(? Geometric) (Orientalising)	ILN 28 Feb 1931, p 330. i Maximova, Plate XV, 63. ii Thera II, fig 61.
Anatolia	(Gordion)	i Gordion, pp 123 ff.
Cyprus		i Maximova, Plate IV, 18. ii CVA Louvre iv, France Plate 191, no 6. iii SCE IV ii, Fig XXXIX, 21.
Rhodes		CI R, VI-VII, p 153, fig 182.
Italy		i SE XIII, pp 132 ff. ii <i>BM Catalogue of Sculpture I</i> , Plate II, and pp 158 ff.

The aryballos in ovoid form is a characteristic vase shape of the early and middle Protocorinthian periods. It may perhaps have been originally of eastern source, a possibility proposed by Payne on the basis of the similarity in shape between this type of vessel, and various jug shapes from Cyprus and elsewhere in the east, dating from much earlier times.⁸ He did not quote eastern parallels to the tiny size of the Aegaeon aryballos. There are, however, parallels to this, in the case of the so-called Hyksos juglets, which are of early IIInd millennium date and occur in Syria, Cyprus, Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East. Some of these little vessels are similar not only in size to the much later aryballoi of the west, but also in shape.⁹ They are, however, quite different in ornament, being usually of dark faced ware, and decorated with incised pointillé work, the punctures often filled with white.¹⁰ They were, on their appearance soon after 2000, of a type not previously known in any of the lands of the Near East which have been as yet archaeologically explored. Perhaps this style of vessel was introduced by people coming from the regions north of Syria, an area both little known archaeologically, and conveniently situated as a centre from which they could have spread.¹¹

It is, perhaps, possible that there is a connection between these 'Hyksos' juglets, and the sometimes similarly shaped, but always differently decorated aryballoi of the Orientalising Period in the west, some thousand years later. Further, such a possibility is, on the face of it, more reasonable than the suggestion made by Payne concerning eastern prototypes, for those he quotes are neither similar in size nor ornament to the Protocorinthian aryballoi. If the ovoid aryballos of the Orientalising Period in the west was a shape of eastern origin, its source might have been, in view of such possibilities, in the direction of Caucasia.

It has been stated that the vase shape in the form of a pomegranate fruit appeared as a new comer to the Aegaeon at the time of the Orientalising Period. The shape was, however, of much earlier date in various eastern lands, for not only is it fairly common during the Mycenaean period in Cyprus,¹² often being made in faience (an eastern rather than a western medium at that time, judging by the relative frequency of finds), but it also appears, made in silver, amongst the objects found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.¹³ A study of this latter vase is instructive. It is, very possibly, in a foreign, non-Egyptian style, for the plant itself is said to be of Asiatic source. And it bears horizontal rows of engraved ornament, one such row consisting of 'tongues' side by side, touching each other, a style characteristic of Assyrian faience,¹⁴ and another of alternative flowers and leaves in a style

also reasonably closely paralleled in Assyrian art.¹⁵ (The fruit of the pomegranate is often illustrated in Assyrian reliefs). It may be, perhaps, that such parallels are not accidental. If they are not caused by chance, the evidence provided by this silver pomegranate shaped vase is to the effect that there was already existing somewhere in the Near East by 1350 a style of ornament which was of some importance in influencing Assyrian work. Perhaps it was from such a source that the idea of a horizontal frieze of alternate flowers and leaves came to Egypt, where it appears sometimes during the period of the XVIIIth to XXth Dynasties.¹⁶ It also appears on the sarcophagus of Ahiiram from Byblos¹⁷ of the XIIIth century, which is at least as much non-Egyptian as Egyptian in style, and might very well have been made by workmen from the north.¹⁸

The history of representations of pomegranates in other ways than as vases is interesting, as indicating the source whence spread the idea of using the pomegranate as a model for imitation. Beads and ornaments of that form (catalogue on page 263) first appear at the time of the XVIth century in the Aegaeon,¹⁹ and become fairly common towards the end of the IIInd millennium and the beginning of the ISt millennium in many lands of the Near East, occurring in Syria, Palestine, Assyria and Persia. There are little models of pomegranates hanging on the tripod from the Tiryns treasure, and that tripod belongs to the group which appears to be centred on Cyprus, or some neighbouring land in the eastern end of the Mediterranean²⁰ (see page 163).

There is an example of a vase in the form of a pomegranate fruit from the Aegaeon of Geometric date,²¹ as well as the examples referred to by Payne of the Orientalising period.²²

REPRESENTATIONS OF POMEGRANATES

(not in vase-form).

Aegaeon	(XVIth century)	Karo S, Plate XXII, 77.
Egypt	(Karnak)	Montet reliques, pp 85 ff, fig 113.
Mycenean	(Cyprus)	Marshall, Plate V, 623.
	(Syria)	i Ug I, p 43, fig 32. ii Contenau Manuel II, p 1072, fig 741.
Palestine	(Megiddo)	i Megiddo II, Plate 215, 113.
		ii ILN 23 Oct 1937, p 710, top left.

Luristan		i	Godard bronzes, Plate XXIX, 107.
		ii	Hersfeld Iran, fig 289.
Assyria	(IXth century)	i	Assyrian sculpture BM, Plate XLVIII.
		ii	Layard II, Plate V: Plate VIII: Plate XI b.
Aegean	('Protogeometric')		Lamb GRB, Plate XI b.
Persia	(Sialk B)	i	Sialk II, Plate XXV, 6.
		ii	ILN 1 March 1941, p 293, fig 7.
Assyria	(Nimrud)		ILN 16 Aug 1952, fig 21.
Aegean	(Orientalising)		CI R, III, p 73, figs 63-4.

Several authorities have stated that there occurs, at the time of the late Protocorinthian period (650-635), the transformation of the aryballos from the ovoid to the pointed form.²³ This was so Payne would seem to imply, caused by a natural evolution. It is not easy to understand how anyone could believe that so suitable and practical a shape as the ovoid aryballos could be improved by being turned into a tall vessel with a pointed base, and the suggestion may not be thought to be entirely convincing. But if it is discarded, some alternative explanation of the appearance of the tall pointed shape of vessel seems to be called for, since such an introduction must surely have had some cause. Perhaps it may be suggested that here also can be seen the coming to the Aegean area of an eastern idea, for the tall pointed shape of vessel is well known as a long-lived form in the east (catalogue on page 50). And it may be significant that there appears in the west contemporaneously with the introduction of this shape, the scale pattern, which is 'probably' to be explained on the hypothesis of a new external influence,²⁴ according to Payne, who refers to the fact that the same kind of diagonal arrangement of colours on the scale pattern in the west is to be seen on the same pattern in Assyria.

Contemporaneous with the long pointed shape of aryballos is the pyxis with concave sides,²⁵ a type which first appears at Corinth, so it has been said, at about 640. This shape can be paralleled in Caucasia,²⁶ though only in undated ware. Similarly shaped vessels had appeared in the Aegean at the time of the beginning of the Bronze Age,²⁷ when migrants, perhaps from the east,²⁸ had reached that area,²⁹ and it may be that the occurrences of this shape at such very widely spaced intervals indicate that it can be

considered as another example of a long-lived type, originating perhaps in the general area of Caucasia.³⁰

Even from the brief survey offered above it would appear that there were great changes in ceramic shapes in the Aegaeon area by the end of the VIIIth century. At much the same time changes as considerable developed in ceramic decoration. Perhaps as early as 700³¹ floral ornament, unlike anything known earlier during the Iron Age, appeared, and palmettes came into use as an important part of the decoration of the earliest Protoattic wares,³² such as the Analatos hydria, as well as in Italy. This kind of decoration, though foreign to the geometric tradition, had been for long well known in the east.³³ Very early in the course of the Orientalising Period the decorative technique of polychrome painting makes its appearance, a new introduction at this time, for although polychrome painting had been used in the Aegaeon area at the time of the Middle Helladic epoch, it had subsequently been discontinued in the west for many centuries, except on rare occasions. Payne would derive this technique, on its arrival during the VIIth century in the west, from Cyprus,³⁴ and he reinforces his arguments by pointing to parallels in decorative motifs which can be traced between Cyprus and the Aegaeon area, though he also refers to the 'cable' motif (guilloche, catalogue on page 125), saying that it can be 'clearly derived more or less directly from Assyrian art'.³⁵ There can be little doubt, however, that the sources of the guilloche pattern can be traced further back in time than to contemporary manifestations in various parts of western Asia, and in precisely the same way the technique of polychrome painting can be traced as having been first introduced to the lands of the Near East long before the 1st millennium B.C. It is by no means certain that either the earliest examples of polychrome ceramic decoration, or of the guilloche pattern, come from Cyprus or from Assyria. They may be in origin from some region further to the north or east, and they may well both have been brought from the general direction of Caucasia.³⁶ Thus references to Cyprus or Assyria in the context

of the 1st millennium appearances of these details may be misleading, for on the occasions when parallels occur between the Aegaeon and those lands they may be due, not at all to direct intercourse between the regions concerned, but to a single influence, possibly exerted by more or less contemporary migrations, on both east and west. That there was such influence being brought to bear on known regions is made all the more likely by the fact that the polychrome technique, found at the beginning of the Iron Age in Palestine and elsewhere at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, is not in the least likely to have been invented, or re-invented, at that time in Cyprus, or in any other of the archaeologically known lands of the Near East, since it appears suddenly and without immediate ancestors in known regions. But it might very well have been brought by the people who at that time disseminated the knowledge of iron working, and who came, so it seems, from the lands north of Mesopotamia, the same region from which the technique of polychrome painting may have come when it appeared in the Near East on previous occasions.³⁷ Further, it is from just such an area as Caucasia, almost unknown archaeologically, that there might have come the curvilinear and unrestrained manner of floral motifs of the Aegaeon Orientalising style, which forms such a considerable contrast to anything known at earlier times there, except during the Middle Cycladic period, and which, while described as being 'in the oriental style', cannot be paralleled to any great extent in any known country in the east, at any time. This curvilinear manner does not, in fact, seem to be traditional anywhere in known areas.

The characteristic motifs used in the decoration of Aegaeon Orientalising pottery include several types which appear to have been newly introduced, or re-introduced after a long interval, to that area at the time of the VIIIth century, and later, not having been in use during the preceding epoch. There are, however, exceptions, such as the swastika, which had already been popular in the west during the geometric period. In the view of evidence to be discussed, it is possible to divide some of the more significant of the orientalising period motifs into two classes, as follows:-

CLASS I

MOTIF	CATALOGUE ON PAGE
i Scale pattern	128
ii Opposed animals on either side of a tree.	133

iii	Five pointed star	267
iv	Row of closed loops, first to right and then to left.	268
v	Designs based on floral forms	
vi	Tongue pattern	
vii	Rosette.	57

CLASS II

	MOTIF	CATALOGUE ON PAGE
i	Swastika	31
ii	Pothook spiral	52
iii	Lozenge with ornaments at the corners	60
iv	Guilloche	125
v	Wave pattern	126
vi	Dot rosette, the central dot joined by lines to the outer dots.	268
vii	Horizontal row of birds	233
viii	Horizontal row of animals	252
ix	Dot with a circle of dots round it.	126

FIVE POINTED STAR

Mesopotamia	(Jemdet Nasr)	Field mus of nat hist Anthro Memoirs I, Plate LXVIII, 11.
Egypt	(Old Kingdom)	i Qau I, Plate XXXIV, 15.
		ii Matmar, Plate XXXIV, 40.
	(1st Intermediate Period)	Qau I, Plate XXXIV, 16.
	(XIIth Dynasty)	i KGH, Plate XXVII, 182.
		ii Vernier, Plate I, 15.
Anatolia		CC I, 10043.

Palestine	(c 1800)	Megiddo II, Plate 18, 7.
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty) (New Kingdom)	Harmhabi, Plate LXXXIX. Qau III, Plate XXXII, 16.
Anatolia	(Troy VI-VII)	SS, p 162, no 3325.
Palestine	(c 1200)	Mntesellim I, Plate XXXIII o.
Syria	(c 700)	JHS LX, p 19, fig 8 k.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	Matz GKG I, 162.
Italy	(Orientalising)	Mon Ant XXII, Plate XLVII, 3.

LINE OF CLOSED LOOPS, FORMED FIRST TO THE RIGHT AND THEN TO THE LEFT

Syria	(c 2000)	i Byblos I, Plate CXXVIII, 4070. ii Montet Byblos, fig 53, 402.
Egypt	(Middle Kingdom ?)	Buttons, Plate VIII, 130.
Anatolia	('Hittite') (1st millennium)	i Cyl seals, Plate XLIII c. ii Reich and Kultur der Ch, p 50, fig 41. TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 444, 35.
Syria	(Iron Age)	i JHS LX, p 9, fig 4 d. ii Cylindres Biblio, Plate XXXVIII, 649.
Aegean	(Iron Age)	i Annuario VI-VII, fig 209, p 313. ii CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 409, 2.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Dagma, pp 458 ff, p 461, fig 3. ii Hesperia XIV, Plate XXII, 3. iii Lane, Plate 13 a. iv AM LVIII, p 86, fig 32. v Kinch, col 220, fig 107. vi AM XXVIII, Beilage XXIII, 4. vii Deltion 1916, p 29, figs 15, 16. viii BSA XLVII, Plate V, C 3.

DOT ROSETTE, THE CENTRAL DOT JOINED BY LINES TO THE OUTER DOTS

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	Pre Ass. fig 77, 6.
Persia	(Shah Tepe) (Sialk III) (Hissar I)	Arne, Plate XLII, fig 380. Sialk I, Plate LXXV, 1. Ex.s in TH, Plate VIII, H 4383.

Aegean	(Middle Minoan I)	BMC I i, p 82, fig 102 (A 486).
	(Middle Cycladic)	Entresis, fig 217. (fairly close parallel).
	(Middle Helladic)	Korakou, fig 34, 5
	(Middle Minoan III)	i BSA IX, p 82, fig 58. ii Mon Ant VI, Plate XI, 42. iii Unpub Palai, Plate XII.
Palestine	(XVIth century)	QDAP VIII, Plate XXIII C.
	(XVth century)	Mutesellim I, fig 128.
Mycenean	(Ialysos)	Annuario VI-VII, p 160, fig 87.
Egypt	(Tutankhamun tomb)	Ug II, Plate XI.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate X, 3.
Central Europe	(Hallstatt)	Sacken, Plate XXI, 2.
Aegean	(Geometric)	i Vrokaastro, fig 53 C. ii Thera II, fig 339.
	(Orientalising)	i CVA Germany ii, Germany Plate 51, 2. ii BSA XXXV, Plate 53. iii CI R, VI-VII, Plate II. iv Kinch, Plate 25, 5 & 11. v NC, Plate 3, 3.

Some of the motifs of Class I, such as the scale pattern, had been used from time to time in the west, a fact which may give an impression either of repeated introduction from outside, or of revived use within a closed area. Several of these motifs can be traced to have been employed first in the east, while some of the patterns, such as the tongue, have been supposed to have been introduced directly from the east first at the time of the Orientalising period.³⁸ The evidence provided by the motifs of this Class may thus suggest the simultaneous coming to the west both of people, some forebears of whom had travelled in the same direction previously, and of representatives of peoples who had not previously spread west. But the Class I material is not great in quantity, and if it were all that were available it could not be relied upon as a serious support for any theory.

The motifs of Class II form a group which may represent a particular people. Parallels to individual motifs of this Class can be traced at various periods in the west, such as pot-hook spirals

on Mycenaean pottery, but a parallel also exists to the whole group in the collection of motifs used on Middle Helladic pottery in the Aegean area. Since the number of motifs concerned is reasonably large, and their type is fairly elaborate, this similarity is unlikely to be accidental. Perhaps there is some link to be found between these two appearances of a single group of patterns. Such a link might be provided by the possibility that there was a particular people, somewhere in western Asia, from which surplus population split off from time to time in the form of repeated migrations, as a result of which there appeared in the west the motifs described as Class II, both at about 2000 and late in the VIIIth century. This view can be supported by a study of what occurred at the close of the IIIrd millennium. There was then, so it has been suggested elsewhere, a very wide scale introduction of the dark-on-light polychrome style of decorating pottery, which occurs in all the lands of the Near East, and was probably due to the gradual infiltration everywhere of new people. These folk seem to appear first in Persia, possibly in Azarbaijan, and to move thence both to the west and to the south. A branch of them are likely to have been the agents whereby the Middle Helladic/Cycladic civilisation of the Aegean area was caused to appear. For this civilisation was new in type, obviously not descended from its predecessor of the Early Helladic/Cycladic III period, and its coming was marked by the destruction, often by violence, of the then existing settlements. It was characterised not only by dark-on-light polychrome ware with eastern parallels, but also by monochrome Minyan wares, fabrics which also have eastern parallels.³⁹ It seems, consequently, reasonable to assume that the coming of the makers of the polychrome ware into the sphere of archaeologically known lands of the Near East shortly before 2000 was linked with the introduction of the post 2000 civilisation of the west. After a few centuries polychrome decorated pottery disappears from the Aegean area, but it remained for long in use in western Asia, and consequently the presence of branches of the people who introduced this style may be presumed to have maintained themselves in the east. It is, therefore, perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that there might have been a second migration to the west of similar or related people to account for the re-introduction of the style known for a period at an earlier time. It is interesting, in view of this suggestion, to observe that the five-pointed star (catalogue on page 267), a Class I pattern introduced at this time to the west, appeared first on a vessel of Jemdet Nasr ware, perhaps the earliest polychrome decorated fabric in western Asia, and possibly to be connected with Caucasasia.⁴⁰

In Middle Protocorinthian days animals were sometimes drawn on pottery in silhouette, legs extended and chest low, with a graceful outline which is expressive both of the shape of the animal and of the idea of movement.⁴¹ There is no immediate ancestor for such forms in the west. But it is both a fine style of drawing and an artistic method of space filling. It is not a style confined to the Aegean area. More or less contemporary vases with similarly (though less well) executed drawings of animals have been found in Cyprus⁴² and in Egypt,⁴³ while there is an animal drawn in something the same way on a Middle Cycladic sherd from Phylakopi.⁴⁴ Perhaps in this animal style, as in other ways, there can be traced the renewal of a particular artistic tradition.⁴⁵

Lakonian pottery,⁴⁶ which is the ware made by the people who came to Sparta at the time of the beginning of the Orientalising Period, is a fabric which is known in other places in the Aegean world, occasional vases of early Lakonian fabric having been found in, for example, the island of Rhodes. It is, however, only at all common at Sparta.⁴⁷ During the first stage of its manufacture it was a highly individual ware, unlike any other ceramic known at any time in the Aegean area. The shapes belonging to the earlier part of the period of the manufacture of this ware include the lakaina⁴⁸ and a mug with a rim which is sharply off-set and curved upwards in profile.⁴⁹ Both these shapes are virtually unknown at that date in the west, except at Sparta. The ware is characterised from the first by extreme restraint in ornament, though this comes to be relaxed as time passed, by the use of polychrome painting, in which the colours used are black and purple, and by the use of the motif of a horizontal band of alternate black and buff coloured squares, this band being bordered by a line of dots.

The lakaina is a shape of vessel which has no apparent prototype within the Aegean area. It may be a shape derived from the east, for there is a vessel of similar shape from Anatolia,⁵⁰ of 1st millennium date, while much earlier the shape was fairly common in Asia, for it was characteristic of Tell Halaf ware from northern Mesopotamia during the IVth millennium.⁵¹ Possibly the tradition of this type of ceramic shape lingered long in some part of that region, to have been taken thence from time to time, in much the same way that, as is suggested elsewhere (see page 47), the style of the decoration of Tell Halaf ware may have been taken, long after the time of Tell Halaf ware as it is known at present, westward to inspire the ornament of Late Minoan/Helladic I ware. The type of mug with sharply off-set rim may perhaps be connected with the mugs found in the Aegean area during the Mycenaean period (catalogue on page 119), which may have been of eastern source. The

curious and most unusual type of rim of this Lakonian mug can be paralleled in the east, in rare Syrian vessels.⁵² The use of purple paint, which is characteristic of early Lakonian fabrics⁵³ may also be traced to the east, where purple paint was in use in Armenia and elsewhere.⁵⁴ The motif of alternate light and dark squares seems likely to be of eastern origin, for known examples occurred during the IIIrd millennium in Egypt⁵⁵ and Cyprus,⁵⁶ and at about the time of the XVIth century in Egypt,⁵⁷ Persia⁵⁸ and the Aegean area,⁵⁹ while the use of a row of dots to border a motif may have been originally of eastern source (catalogue on page 56).

Clearly the Lakonian fabric was to a large extent isolated from the contemporary fabrics of the Aegean world. Equally clearly it may have been connected with the east. This link between Lakonian fabrics and the east seems to have continued after the use of black figure decoration had come into fashion in the west for, as has been demonstrated elsewhere, the scene depicted on a gold medallion found at Van is parallel to a scene painted on a Lakonian cup of later date than the geometrically ornamented wares discussed above. It has been suggested that that gold medallion may have been an 'Ionian import',⁶⁰ due to some current of 'West to East trade',⁶¹ and 'Ionian influence on Chaldaean art' has been proposed.⁶² There is another object which might fall within such a hypothetical 'influence sphere',⁶³ a Persian cylinder seal, engraved with a scene 'in the Greek style'. It need not be emphasised that such evidence could be used to support the views expressed earlier as regards the eastern source of the Ionian people (see page 104ff) and to suggest that the current of 'influence' and artistic inspiration might have been from east to west.

Amongst the motifs of the Orientalising Period wares made in the Aegean area there are two which are most unusual and may, perhaps, be singled out for special notice. One is the representation of a centaur (catalogue on page 273), the other the illustration of two or more animals (or fish) so arranged that while their bodies are separate, they all have the same face (catalogue on page 273). The history of the centaur motif does not go back, with any certainty, before the Mycenaean Period. There is perhaps some reason to suppose that the idea of the centaur, and possibly the idea of the other motif also, may have been invented in the east, whence they came, somewhat seldom, to the west during the Mycenaean and Geometric Periods, and very commonly during the Orientalising Period. It is interesting to observe that on one of the pithoi decorated by rolling engraved cylinders over the soft clay⁶⁴ from Rhodes there appear centaurs, concentric circles (catalogue on page 215) and quadruple interlocking spirals (catalogue on page 37)

together. Both the two latter motifs, as appears from a study of the catalogues, may be believed to have been of eastern source, when found in the west. The centaur himself, by his nature being half human and half animal, seem to suggest some connection with the curious mixed animals⁶⁵ found on the Zakro sealings and elsewhere, and thought to be likely to be of eastern source (see page 80). It is to the period of the Zakro sealings that the earliest example of the other motif mentioned, that of the group of animals with a single face, can be traced. In each case the appearances of the motif in the Aegaeon area are so disconnected that they can hardly be believed to be native in that region.⁶⁶

CENTAURS

(Discussed by P. V. C. Baur, *Centaur in ancient art*, and by P. Demargne, *BCH LIII*, (1929), pp 117 ff.)

Greece	(1400-1200)	Prosymna, p 277, 11: fig 589.
Mesopotamia	(Kassite)	i Baur no. 3. ii Baur no. 2.
Aegaeon	(Geometric)	i Matz GCK, Plate 27 A. ii Baur no. 4. iii Baur no. s 199 ff.
Anatolia	(Pazarli)	Bossert AA, p 276, no 1048.
Aegaeon	(Orientalising)	i BSA XLIV, Plate 10, 2-3. ii Annuario VI-VII, p 337, fig 222 (with concentric circles and quadruple interlocking spirals). iii Matz GCK, Plate 48. And many other examples.

TWO OR MORE ANIMALS WITH A SINGLE FACE

(Discussed by W. Deonna in *RA* 1930, pp 28 ff.)

Aegaeon	(XVIII century)	Annuario VIII-IX, p 160, fig 170
Egypt	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i <i>RA</i> 1930, pp 35-6. ii <i>Mitt deut Ins Kairo</i> V, Plate XXIII.

Mycenean	(Asine) (Gem Stone)	Asine, fig 242, 3. Gemmen, Plate 3, 23-4, fig 28. RA 1930, pp 28 ff. BCH LIX, p 315.
Cyprus		Kypros, Plate XCVIII 2.
Persia	(1st millennium)	ILN 1 March 1941, p 293, fig 6.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	i Jacobstal ECA, p 47. ii RA 1930, pp 28 ff.
Italy		Muhlestein, <i>die Kunst der Etrusker</i> , <i>Die Ursprunge</i> , fig 205.

The introduction of two major factors in the course of Greek history appeared at about the time of the beginning of the Orientalising Period, in the appearance of the construction of large scale stone architecture, and the practise of monumental sculpture. They are both of them arts which had long been known in Mesopotamia, Egypt and neighbouring lands, and there is some reason to suggest that their appearance in the west was not due to local causes alone, but also, at least to some extent, to influences from the east. That, however, is a matter which would be more in place in a study of the Orientalising Period, considered as a particular epoch of Greek history, than in a survey of events on an international scale, a survey in which Greek history would be but an item, were it not that a very long process of development can be traced, by means of evidence from various lands, in the case of each of these arts. What will be offered in the next few pages is an attempt to show that the evidence provided by both of them indicates that there were (as has already been suggested in the case of pottery and other material), centres of dispersion of ideas somewhere in the Near East whence there spread, from time to time, particular traditional ways of workmanship which changed but little during the ages. This view is, as has been frequently indicated, the foundation on which the theory of this book rests. If it can be shown to be a possible explanation of the evidence provided in yet other ways than have been so far discussed in this book, that theory should become more complete and precise, and therefore more easily analysed. It is to this aspect of the evidence, and not to the intrinsic interest of the beginnings of Greek sculpture and architecture that attention is to be drawn in the next few pages.

ARCHITECTURE

Monumental architecture in stone appears to have been practised in the Aegaeon area at the time of the beginning of the Orientalising Period (the first building of the Heraeum at Samos may have been during the VIIIth century, according to Buschor⁶⁷), and temples are said to have now come to be built no longer of timber and mud brick, but of stone. From plans of what are apparently temples it seems that a pteron might appear, and a porch be formed by the extension of the two long walls, with the addition sometimes of two columns. The roof also may now have been constructed in gable form. All these details appear to be innovations to Greece, and are either introductions or inventions there at this time. Many of them are known at about the same time in the area between Caucasia and Assyria. There is, for example, the well-known pillared building with a gabled roof, not unlike a Greek classical temple as seen from one end, which stood at Musasir,⁶⁸ in the hill country to the north of Assyria, at the close of the VIIIth century. Porticoes⁶⁹ with columns, and capitals⁷⁰ which have been described as proto-Ionic⁷¹ are also nearly contemporary in Assyria.⁷²

It is possible that certain details of the Classical Greek manner of constructing temples may have been known and put into practise from a very remote date in the general area to the north of Assyria, long before the time of the building of the pillared structure at Musasir. For, while little is known of that area directly, there is considerable reason to believe that migrations brought folk from the general region of Caucasia south to Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period⁷³ and the Middle Kingdom.⁷⁴ It is at the time of the Middle Kingdom, or perhaps even earlier, that some tombs were cut in the rock at Beni Hasan. These tombs are entirely unlike the normal Egyptian types, and seem therefore to be likely to be of a foreign type. They are designed in a manner which is found only during a single short period. In one of them there is an example of a portico in antis with fluted columns.⁷⁵ There are curious details about these tombs which may indicate that they belong to an architectural tradition already fixed and therefore, maybe, of some antiquity, but yet foreshadow Greek Classical building. For example, there occur in them the detail of the

carving of the soffit of the cornice with false rafter ends, laid flat but rounded below, which correspond to the mutules of the Doric order.⁷⁶ Fluted round columns, so characteristic of Greek Classical temples, are in fact paralleled, not only in these Middle Kingdom tombs⁷⁷ but also very much earlier, in Egypt, for there were attached to the walls at Sakkara what are in plan about three-quarter columns, which are fluted. These are of the IIIrd Dynasty, probably not later than about 2500. The architecture of that time and place seems probably to have been of non-Egyptian inspiration, for it appears highly elaborated, and without any sign of an earlier stage of development in Egypt. The fluting of some of the Sakkara pilasters or three-quarter columns appears side by side with ribbing of pilasters and columns,⁷⁸ and it has been pointed out that the principle of ribbing and fluting may be in imitation of the forms taken by a Caucasian plant, the stem of which is ribbed when freshly cut, but fluted when dry.⁷⁹

Thus a style of architecture characterised by the use of fluted columns or pilasters occurs in Egypt at periods separated by several centuries, and under conditions which suggest the impact there of foreign influence. In one case it seems possible that the source of that foreign influence might have been in the lands to the north of Mesopotamia. But foreign influence was felt at other times in Egypt. It was especially strong at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, an epoch, like that of the XIIth Dynasty, often considered to be one of nationalistic revival after foreign domination.

Fluted columns appear, as part of a colonnade built by Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri.⁸⁰ Such colonnades are very unusual in Egypt, and the period of this example may be significant, for it is the beginning of the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, soon after the time of the use in Egypt of weapons with ornament in the inlaid technique, which is almost certainly of non-Egyptian source, since it appears suddenly there in an elaborate state of perfection.⁸¹ Even at the beginning of a time when the Egyptians may have been experiencing a nationalistic revival, therefore, there were objects in use which were made by foreigners, or at least in a foreign manner. The Deir el Bahri architecture, which is no more of traditional Egyptian style than are the inlaid objects of metal referred to above, may quite reasonably be considered to have been inspired by foreign ideas. As time passed during the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the foreign connections of Egypt became marked. Perhaps it was due to foreign influence that the little peripteral cella temple was built on the island of Elephantine at the time of Amenophis III,⁸² for this is unique in Egypt. As the scholars of Napoleon's expedition surmised, it is possible that this building illustrates a stage in the development of the building style which finally flowered in the Greek Classical style.

This somewhat fragmentary evidence illustrates the presence in Egypt of details of architectural work which are akin to Greek Classical ways of work, at epochs when ideas, and probably people also, may be believed to have come south from the general area of Caucasia. Some of those details, such as the colonnade and the fluted column, are so unusual in Egypt that they seem unlikely to be a natural form of Egyptian architecture, evolved spontaneously in that land. This fact alone suggests foreign influence as a major factor in their appearance. If, indeed, such a northern home as Caucasia could be presumed for the architectural manner in Egypt which incorporated fluted columns, colonnades and the peripteral style, it would be, theoretically, made all the more probable by the appearance in Greece at a time of strong eastern connections, of an architectural manner which is in several ways similar to that which can be traced in Egypt.⁸³

If particular traditions in architectural ways are to be supposed to have remained little changed for thousands of years, there ought to be parallel examples of great longevity of ideas in other arts or practices. Such examples do seem to exist, and a few are quoted below. One occurs in the case of the amulet or seal which is carved in the form of an animal lying down. This type of object (catalogue on page 82, see also page 290) appeared, virtually unchanged in style, at intervals over a very long period, in many Near Eastern lands. Another example can be traced in the fact that pottery of the Tell Halaf class, which can hardly be later than about 3000, is remarkably similar in texture and quality of surface and paint, and in some of the patterns employed, to the new wares which appeared in the Aegean area during the XVth century,⁸⁴ a time when, so it has been suggested, there was considerable migration from western Asia to the west. Yet another example can be observed in the case of a metal vessel of the early Iron Age from Italy. This is of the shape of a pot of the K Period in Azarbaijan, and is ornamented with a relief depicting a horned stag,⁸⁵ a type of ornament found on K Period wares in North-Western Persia. Since this similarity appears on a single vessel, it might be accidental, but considering the fact that other evidence suggests that much of early Iron Age date in Italy can be traced to a possible, and indeed a probable origin in the Caucasian area, it is just as likely, and perhaps more probable, that the re-appearance of this style of shape and ornament, though in Italy, indicates the presence in Azarbaijan of a tradition unforgotten, and still potentially active over perhaps two thousand years. Yet another example is perhaps to be seen in the revival, from time to time, of a particular decorative motif which appears to be at home within a very small geographic area, in which it can be traced over perhaps two millennia. This is

the butterfly motif painted solid dark colour and with a fringe along one or both base lines. It occurs in Tell Halaf ware,⁸⁶ in Nineveh V ware⁸⁷ and in early Iron Age ware at Carchemish,⁸⁸ while there is one example of it from the Aegaeon, of Middle Helladic days.⁸⁹

It may be supposed from the material which has been briefly referred to above that there is at least some evidence to suggest that particular ideas or ways of work lasted for long periods very largely unaltered. It is possible that there is a reference to just such an unchanging quality of traditional ways in the remark made by Pindar in the Xth Pythian, when he says that old age never touches the Hyperboreans.

The Hyperborean offerings brought to the sacred island of Delos passed from hand to hand. Pausanias says⁹⁰ that they came from the Hyperboreans to the Arimaspians, thence to the Issedones, thence to the Scythians, then to Sinope, on to Attic Prasiae and so to Delos. The Arimaspians, whose name imply that they had something to do with horses, and perhaps also with Persia, fought, according to the tradition, with griffins who guarded gold.⁹¹ Beyond the griffins lived the Hyperboreans, but Herodotus said⁹² that he had heard nothing about them from the Scyths. The Hyperboreans were always the people beyond knowledge. Little enough can be deduced from such tales, save for the vague indications of easterly connections. The route by which were brought the first fruits of the corn, (the offerings sent to Delos), the journey of which may have symbolised actual events of long before, has been supposed by Seltman⁹³ to have passed through Dodona. Such an opinion, however, can hardly be reconciled with the statement that they came by way of Sinope. If they really did come by way of Sinope and the Scythians they are, perhaps, a little more likely to have come from the east than from the north of Greece.

SCULPTURE

The practise of large scale stone sculpture began in the Aegean area at about the time when the Geometric Period civilisation was being superseded by that of the Orientalising Period. Its introduction may have been due, in part, to the coming to Greece of ideas from the east.

Sometimes it is said that sculpture in the east was dry, conventional and rather rigid. Certainly there was a tendency to produce an effect of monotony in the great Persian palaces, while the early Iron Age work at Carchemish is remarkably conventional, in its friezes of figures walking, all exactly alike. But already by the middle of the IXth century, sculptors in Assyria were experimenting in ways with which to add variety to the scene portrayed. One of the things they did was to break the traditional uniformity of the row of human figures in a relief by showing one of them with his body turned to the front and his head back.⁹⁴ Such re-arrangement of posture from uniformity, though still rare at that time, is the reverse of a spirit of stiff and conventional arrangement.⁹⁵ Such differentiation was developed, and by the time of the building of the palace of Ashur-bani-pal at Kouyoundjik it had become normal. King supposed that the considerable development which can be traced in Assyrian composition in relief work should be attributed to the Assyrians. To him the only alternative was to suppose Ionian influence behind such artistic development, and this he could not accept, since the discrepancy in time was too great.⁹⁶ But there is a third possible source from whence inspiration might have come. This is the land of Urartu, and the neighbouring areas. It does in fact seem possible that some such area may have seen the development of ideas which were subsequently made use of by Assyrian sculptors. One reason for making this statement is that there appear in Assyria attempts not only to add diversity to the arrangement of figures in line, but also to illustrate diversity by representing facial expression. The best known example of this is that by which the corners of the mouth are given an upward tilt, a style known in Greece as the 'archaic smile', found as early as about 700 in Assyria, more than a century before

It became popular in Greece. This manner of carving the mouth is in a style which was never popular or indeed other than very rare in Assyria, and it consequently cannot be believed to be characteristic of Assyrian art. It is presumably, therefore, a foreign style when found in that land. But at that date it is unlikely to be a development 'borrowed' by Assyrian artists from the west, or from Egypt. Thus, while the early history of the 'archaic smile' manner must remain doubtful at present, the implication is that it may have been originated somewhere to the north, or possibly the east, of Assyria, whence it seems to have spread during the 1st millennium to Egypt,⁹⁷ Assyria,⁹⁸ Cyprus⁹⁹ and the Aegaeon area,¹⁰⁰ the earliest example of that period coming from Assyria. The first appearance of this manner of representing character or expression seems to have been much earlier, for it had already appeared during the IIIrd millennium in Mesopotamia.¹⁰¹ Thus there may long have been a tradition of obtaining facial expression in this way somewhere in the Near East.

It is usually stated that foreign influences played a part in the development of the earliest Greek large scale sculpture, though there is little uniformity as regards details. For example, it is agreed that large scale stone sculpture, for which no local Greek antecedents are known, is approximately contemporary in Greece and Cyprus, appearing at some point between the later Geometric Period, and the middle or later part of the VIIth century.¹⁰² Gjerstad, speaking of early Cypriote sculpture, suggested its derivation from the Syro-Hittite area, denying any Assyrian connection, though he accepted the view that the 'idea of monumental plastic' originated in Egypt.¹⁰³ Lawrence expressed a similar view, with the exception that he observed that a connection between the style of the statue of Queen Napir-Asou in Mesopotamia (c. 1500) and that of the Cheramyas Hera 'is not so unlikely as it sounds'.¹⁰⁴ Grace, for his part, saw definite parallels between Assyrian and Greek sculpture.¹⁰⁵ So did Miss Richter.¹⁰⁶ But neither of the two latter authorities deny 'Egyptian influence' on Greek work. Miss Richter, on her side, wrote that 'the resemblance in general posture and structure between the early Greek Kouroi and the Egyptian statues is too striking to be accidental',¹⁰⁷ though the Egyptian statues she refers to are of the period of the Old Kingdom, of a very much earlier date. Grace, on the other hand, discussed the similarity between the style of the first large scale statues in Greece, and that of the manner of work introduced during the VIIth century to Egypt, this being, in his view, perceptible in simplification and generalisation. It may be thought reasonable to agree with the view held by these, and many other authorities,¹⁰⁸

in common, and to consider that large scale stone sculpture in the Aegaeon area was inspired by the coming of new ideas to the west during the VIIth century. The inspiration of such ideas might have been single or multiple. It might have been from a single region whence ideas could have spread also to Assyria, Cyprus and Egypt. Or it might have come partly from Egypt, partly from the 'Syro-Hittite' regions and partly, maybe, from Assyria, to the west. Perhaps the latter alternative is the less attractive. For it does not seem altogether convincing or satisfactory to suggest that the causes of the development of sculpture in the Aegaeon area were diverse at this time, for when new ideas spread, at least at the present time, they normally 'diffuse', that is to say, they spread from a source to many lands, rather than from many lands to concentrate at one point. And, if one is to propose a varied assortment of sources for Greek sculpture, that list suggested above is not complete, for it does not include Urartu, the scene of considerable activity in metal work, especially in cast bronze objects, including sculpture, an important point, for cast bronze sculpture appears early in the Aegaeon. If, on the other hand, one is to look for a single source for the new ideas found in sculpture, and for the energy displayed in putting them into execution, it might be found in Urartu. Certainly if that were the source, it might be easier to understand the parallels and similarities, in outward form, and in attitude of mind on the part of the local sculptors, in several different parts of the Near East. It is an area whence certain architectural ideas may have passed to Egypt at the time when large scale sculpture came first to be practised there with any considerable degree of artistic success, at the time of the IIIrd Dynasty. It could, perhaps, have been the home of the 'Egyptian' style of sculpture compared by Miss Richter to the Greek kouros type. Much later, at the time of the 1st millennium, many peoples do seem to have come from somewhere further to the north or east of Mesopotamia, to appear on the borders of Assyria.¹⁰⁹ It would not have been difficult for some such folk to have passed through Cilicia and Syria, to introduce a variety of ideas to Mediterranean lands. No doubt simultaneously movements of people would have developed towards Egypt. And the contemporary sculpture of the XXVIth Dynasty, while much in the manner of work of the Old Kingdom, reveals, in the opinion of Breasted,¹¹⁰ a new quality which can hardly be inherited, an opinion which, if substantiated, might support the suggestion of the coming of new people to Egypt.¹¹¹

Evidence from a different source may suggest that people from Urartu played a part in the development of Greek sculpture. This, so it is suggested, may perhaps be seen in the sculpture of the

Achaemenid people, who probably came from the lands to the north and north-east of Assyria.¹¹² Their art has some links with Assyrian art, for they decorated their palaces with carvings of winged demons and human-headed bulls, and represented divinity by the symbol which had for long been used for the god Ashur. Their art has parallels also with Greek work,¹¹³ and the reliefs at Persepolis are in some ways closely similar to reliefs carved in Greece, as has been pointed out by Moortgat and Miss Richter. The latter, and other authorities, believe that Greek sculptors worked at Persepolis, and that these parallels are due to such men having carved the pieces referred to. But the parallels might have occurred for quite other reasons. The sculptors of the Achaemenid people may have inherited traditions from a source from which also the Greek sculptors themselves drew their inherited ways of thought and work.¹¹⁴

A single piece of sculpture, the little silver statuette somewhat of the Greek kouros type, found with the Oxus treasure,¹¹⁵ might support such a suggestion that Greek sculpture was influenced from such a source as Urartu, since its similarity to Greek mirror handles of the Vth century, but nevertheless independence from Greek work would be difficult to explain, except on some such assumption as that proposed.

Urartu was the scene, as has been said, of casting in metal. Some of the pieces concerned are hollow cast, and include examples of sculpture.¹¹⁶ They are not dated, but are likely to be of the 1st millennium B.C. Hollow cast metal objects in Greece are not earlier than the VIIIth century, the earliest example being the griffin protomes from cauldrons, made in a style supposed to be of eastern source.¹¹⁷ The earliest hollow cast piece of sculpture in human form in the Aegean is a VIIth century head at Carlsruhe with hair arranged à étage.¹¹⁸ As Studniczka has pointed out, there is a bronze head of slightly later date, from Cyprus, which is also hollow cast.¹¹⁹ That style of hair-dressing is, in the opinion of Picard, of exotic origin when found in Greece.¹²⁰ It appears to be considerably earlier in Syria¹²¹ than in the Aegean area.

Casting of metal to produce very large objects was practised at about the middle of the IIInd millennium in western Asia and in Egypt. There is, for example, the huge bronze statue of Queen Napir-Asou from Mesopotamia,¹²² which is believed to be hollow cast. This is the statue which has been compared with the statue of Hera by Cheramyas, both in the general treatment of the drapery, and in the columnar form broken only where it splays out round the feet.

Of this time in Egypt are the doors, the manufacture of which is illustrated in the tomb of Rekh-mi-Re¹²³ and elsewhere. It may be significant that that personage had, apparently, much to do with the Keftiu folk, since they appear elaborately illustrated in his tomb, for the technical skill required for large scale casting seems to have been very rare in antiquity. It might, however, be less unexpected among those people, who seem to have had connections with Urartu (in which area iron was, it seems, cast not much later than 1200, and possibly earlier),¹²⁴ than among any other folk of the Near East.

Layard stated that the Assyrians could cast hollow bronze objects,¹²⁵ but there do not appear to be extant the pieces on which he based this opinion. But there is one piece from Assyria which is hollow cast, the splendid head found at Nineveh¹²⁶ by Campbell Thompson and Mallowan. Unfortunately, no record was taken of its find-spot or stratification, and there have been long arguments concerning its date. Mallowan believes it to be of the IIIrd millennium, but von Bissing considers it to be of the Ist millenium.¹²⁷ The history of metal casting on a large scale would not support Mallowan's thesis, while the extraordinary perfection in this piece of the difficult technique of large scale hollow casting might also be against any very early date. There are, as Mallowan has pointed out, Sumerian parallels in the style of hair-dressing. But there are also parallels between this piece, and the hollow cast statue of the Zeus of Artemisium,¹²⁸ both in the general style of hair-dressing, and also in the precision which appears in the delicate detailed work characteristic of both.

No positive deductions can be drawn from the evidence of sculpture. But it can, perhaps, be urged that such evidence does not conflict with the suggestion that the early Greeks may have passed through eastern Anatolia on their way to the Aegean.

Sometimes the evident parallels between east and west have been supposed to be due to western influence, but there are opponents to such views. For example, Luschey, after a study of phialai, has suggested that the alleged role played by influences from Greece in the development of Achaemenid art may have been less active than has been urged by some archaeologists in the past.¹²⁹ He has shown that certain types of phialai originated in or near Assyria, and developed along very similar lines both in Persia and in Greece¹³⁰ without, it would appear, any particular evidence of direct influences between the two lands, at least on the scale to modify the details of these objects.¹³¹ This suggestion clearly is on similar lines to the proposal made above as an explanation of certain types of activity in sculpture in both east and west.

The term phialai covers a considerable variety of vessels, more or less shallow in proportion to their width, but capable of subdivision into varieties. One of these can be defined as a fairly flat bowl with a collar shaped rim set on the bowl vertically. Another is a bowl of similar shape, but with the rim set either curving or sloping outwards from the body (catalogue on page 285). A third variety is a bowl of which the profile, apart from the top, is all in one curve (catalogue on page 286). Many, but not all the bowls called phialai have some kind of ornament on the base, sometimes an omphalos, sometimes merely a piece of ornament, engraved or embossed.

The variety of phiale which has a collar shaped neck set vertically on the body appears first during the IVth millennium in Asia, being found in Tell Halaf ware.¹³² At about 2500 it appears in the Royal Cemetery at Ur,¹³³ without any omphalos or ornament on the base. The next example in time comes from the end of the Bronze Age, and was found in Egypt, where it appears in the treasure found at Tell Basta.¹³⁴ This example has an omphalos. There is another Egyptian example, possibly of the XXth Dynasty.¹³⁵ Still later, there is an example from a Hallstatt A context¹³⁶ in central Europe, and many from Italy.¹³⁷ As has been pointed out earlier in this book (see page 165), there is much in the Tell Basta treasure which suggests that at that time peoples may have brought ideas to Egypt from the general area lying to the north of Mesopotamia.

The earliest example of the variety of phiale which is a more or less flat bowl with a rim set curving or sloping outwards from the body (catalogue on page 285) occurs in Mesopotamia at the time of the Tell Halaf period. This has no ornament on the base. The next example in time is of the early second millennium in Egypt. Subsequently the shape disappears until the Fourteenth Century, when it occurs in Egypt, made with an omphalos,¹³⁸ and a little later in Palestine, also with an omphalos. Subsequently the shape becomes common in the Near East and in Italy, being made both with, and without, an omphalos. This shape was often made with varieties of repoussé decoration, whereby bulges were caused by pressure on the sides of the bowl to appear in relief on the outside. Such bulges have been compared by German archaeologists to leaves, tongues, eggs and so on.¹³⁹

The variety of phiale in which the profile, apart from the top, is all in one curve (catalogue on page 286), appears first in Troy, in the Troy II-V group of material. The Trojan phiale of that time have omphaloi. Soon after 2000 the shape appears in Syria and Egypt, and it is also found in Egypt at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when it has an omphalos. During the Iron Age this shape appears in several parts of the Near East, usually with an omphalos.

In addition to the types of phialai which have been mentioned above, there are two classes which can fairly be isolated by reason of their ornament. Much the most important of these is the variety in which there are formed ribs, produced, it seems, by repoussé work from the interior of the vessel, which radiate from the centre of the base and extend vertically up the side. The other variety has flutings or channellings which take the place of the ribs of the former variety.

The type of phiale with ribs has been discussed by Matz,¹⁴⁰ who call it Riefelschale. Such vessels are common in Italy, but occur also in the east, in the Aegean, Cyprus, Persia and also, apparently, in Egypt. Matz, discussing the Italian specimens, would derive the type from the east, and indeed the example from Egypt (if it is of this variety - the illustration is not clear) dates from the XXIst Dynasty¹⁴¹ (c. 1000 B.C.), and is probably earlier than any of the Italian examples. But it cannot be thought that there is anything like enough evidence to make his view entirely acceptable.

The type of phiale with vertical flutings appears early in the second millennium in Syria¹⁴² and later in Palestine, there being a shallow ivory bowl with such decoration from Megiddo, which is dated to the period between 1350 and 1150.¹⁴³ There is a similar example from Cemetery B at Sialk.¹⁴⁴ The use of fluting or channelling arranged vertically on a vessel for ornament can be traced far back in western Asiatic lands (catalogue on page 287), and is, as has already been pointed out (see pages 189 ff) a well-known type of ornament on plain coloured ware introduced to several lands in the eastern end of the Mediterranean at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age. Jacobstal has pointed out¹⁴⁵ that there are several examples in Italy, at about 700, of what seems to be the metal foot of a bowl made of wood or some other fabric, which are ornamented with vertical fluting, and that while no parallel is known from Greece, one example of this type of object has been found at Van in Urartu-land.

PHIALE WITH COLLAR-SHAPED NECK SET CURVING OR SLOPING OUTWARDS

Mesopotamia	(Tell Halaf ware)	<i>Iraq II, Plate XXII, 7. (No omphalos).</i>
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty) (c. 1420)	<i>Dahchour 1894-5, p 25, fig 60. N de G Davies, Tombs of two officials of Tuthmosis IV, Plate IV (With omphalos).</i>

	(XIVth century)	N de G Davies, <i>The tombs of Ramose</i> , Plate XXXIV (with omphalos).
Palestine	('1350-1150')	Megiddo Ivories, Plate 26, 146 (No omphalos).
Azarbaijan	(Early Iron Age)	As 1948, fig 36, 643 (No omphalos).
Syria	(Early Iron Age)	Rapp prelim Hama, Plate XXXI, 2 (With spike in place of omphalos). LAAA VII, Plate XXI (Examples both with and without an omphalos). Ug I, p 49, fig 38 H (No omphalos).
Luristan		Godard bronzes, Plate LXIII (With omphalos).
Palestine	('1300-800')	Beth Pelet I, Plate XXVIII (With omphalos).
Aegean	(Aigina Treasure)	JHS XIII, p 196, fig 1 (With omphalos).
Italy		Dohan italic groups, Plate XVIII, 10 (No omphalos stated). Klio XXX, p 111 (Omphalos rare).
Assyria	(c. 800) (c. 750)	Luschey, fig 13 (Solid omphalos). ILN 29 July 1950, p 182, figs 7 and 8. (No omphalos). Layard II, Plate 62 B (No omphalos). Luschey, fig 2 (With omphalos).
Aegean	(c. VIIth century) (Tiryna)	Pera, Plate 135, 9 and 10 (No omphalos). Luschey, fig 27 (Solid omphalos).
Cyprus		Klio XXX, p 113.
Caucasia	(Stephan-Taminda)	RAC II, pp 113-4 (With omphalos).

PHIALE WITH LOWER PART ALL IN ONE CURVE

Anatolia	(Troy II-V)	SS, p 252, nos 6255-6 (With Omphalos).
Egypt	(Early IIrd millennium)	ILN 18 April 1936, p 682, bottom (Without omphalos).
	(XVIIIth Dynasty)	i Jb XIII, pp 28 ff. Boreux ii, Plate 45 (With omphalos). ii Metallgefässe, no 3553.
Syria		LAAA VII, Plate XXI (With and without omphalos).

Palestine	('1300-800')	Beth Pelet I, Plate XXVIII (With and without omphalos).
Aegean	(c. 900)	Hesp XXI, pp 287-8 and fig 4 (With spike in place of omphalos).
Assyria		i Luschey, fig 4 (Solid omphalos). ii Layard II, Plate 62 A.
Aegean	(Tiryns, c. 700)	Luschey, fig 8 (With spike in place of omphalos).
Syria	(Sendschirli) (Til Barsib)	Luschey, fig 6 (With omphalos). Til-Barsib, Plate XIX, 5 (With omphalos).
Aegean	(Olympia)	Luschey, fig 7 (With omphalos).
Cyprus		i SCE II, Plate CLXXX, 3 (With omphalos). ii SCE IV ii, Fig XXVIII, 3), (With spike in place of omphalos).
Anatolia	(Gordion) (Ankara)	Gordion, fig 53, 60-70. Belleten XI, Plate XXII, 45 (With omphalos).
Aegean	(Rhodes)	i Kinch, Plate 44, 31, 9 a (With point in place of omphalos). ii Lindos I, Plate 31, 749 (With omphalos).

Note - Phialai with spikes in place of omphaloi from Palestine, Rhodes and Greece are quoted in Pera, p 151.

VERTICAL FLUTING

Mesopotamia	(c 2500)	BC, Plates 160, (U. 10003); 162.
Anatolia	(Troy II) (Troy II-V) (Alaca)	SS, p 231, no. 3865. SS, p 105, no 2263. ILN 21 July 1945, p 80, fig 14.
Egypt	(XIIth Dynasty)	ILN 18 April 1936, p 682, bottom.
Syria	(Early IInd millennium)	POM II, p 825, fig 541 a.
Aegean	(XVIth-XVth centuries)	i POM II, p 822, and fig 537 B-C. ii POM I, fig 163 a 5, (opp. p 242). iii Karo S, Plate CVIII, 442.

Palestine	(c 1500)	ILN 25 Nov 1939, p 795, 15.
Egypt	(Keftiuan bowl)	LAAA VI, Plate XIII, 89.
Azerbaijan	(Early Iron Age)	Az 1948, fig 38, 1034.
Cyprus	(Early Iron Age)	Handbook Cesnola, p 55.
Anatolia	(Alishar IV)	TAH 1928-9 i, p 250, no. a 1064,
Persia		Giyan, Plate XIV, 2.
Caucasia		Trialeti, Plate XLVIII, 6, lower row, middle.
Aegean	(c 1200)	Pre Mac, no. 409.
Persia	(Sialk B)	Sialk II, Plate XIV, 6.
Central Europe		i V. G. Childe <i>Prehistoric migrations in Europe</i> , p 189, fig 149, top left.
		ii Déchelette II i, p 383, fig 152.
		iii BRGK 1934-5, Plate 31, 6: Plate 46, 28.
		iv Pic, Plate I, 20.
Italy	(c 700)	i PZ 1934, pp 84 ff.
		ii Dohan Italic groups, Plate XXXIX, 16.

Phialai were used in Greece for pouring libations, and very likely also for purposes of divination. Perhaps they were introduced to the west as part of the mechanics of divination, as has been suggested by Dunbabin.¹⁴⁶ Both the history of known types of phialai, and the history of divination, would indicate that when phialai are found in western lands, they may be considered to indicate the spreading of eastern ideas. But since they may have been used mainly for religious purposes, their presence may perhaps suggest the coming of migrating peoples, for new customs in religious practices are not very likely to have been adopted merely as the result of their having been observed in distant lands.

Some evidence appears to indicate, as has been shown above, that there may have been a tendency for people to migrate from the general area of Caucasia during the earlier part of the 1st millennium to the west. Such a tendency to migrate is not altogether likely to have been confined to a single direction, and indeed its existence might be regarded as a little doubtful if it could not be traced in other areas besides the Aegaeon. It does, however, seem to be possible to trace similar movements elsewhere, as is suggested below.

Gunn pointed out¹⁴⁷ that there was a tendency, not very long-lived, to use 'alphabetic' signs in writing Egyptian at the time of the XXVIth Dynasty. This would not be at all likely to have happened by chance, and Gunn attributed its occurrence to Greek influence. The Greeks in Egypt at that time appear to have been more or less restricted to certain places in the Delta, at least so far as establishing 'national' centres was concerned, and could hardly have wielded sufficient influence thence to cause a modification of the very long established style of writing universally practised over a large country. But apart from the Greek cities in the north there may have been many colonies or settlements of foreigners in Egypt at that time, including people of Yavan and the like, as well as such folk as Meshwesh, who had no desire to segregate themselves in their own cities, but adopted the manner of life of the country and became, as it were, 'naturalised citizens' of Egypt. Such people would have been in an excellent position for introducing new ideas on a wide scale in Egypt. The existence of such folk, who may well have been fundamentally Greek, is perhaps the only likely explanation of the fact that the tendency at that time to 'alphabetic' writing in Egypt was widespread. So important a result as a change in the style of writing, however transitory, would seem likely to imply a considerable migration of foreigners to Egypt during the earlier part of the 1st millennium (the XXVIth Dynasty began to rule in 663 B.C.). Clearly this would parallel the considerable migration from western Asia to Greece of Greek speaking peoples which, so it has been argued in this book, can be traced during the VIIIth-VIIth centuries. The possibility of migration from Asia to Egypt at this time is further supported by the fact that the sculpture of the XXVIth Dynasty is considered to reveal tendencies towards new styles which can be paralleled in or near Assyria, showing themselves in such details as the 'archaic smile'.

Amongst the many ideas, which appear to be of eastern source, to have come westward to the Aegaeon area during the Orientalising Period, there are two which are of some interest, for they prove

that particular ideas could remain constant in type over several hundred years, and sometimes for very much longer periods. One of these appears in the practise of making small terra-cotta reliefs by means of a mould.¹⁴⁸ Riis has pointed out that this technique had been in use in Syria since the XIVth or XIIIth century, though it seems not to have spread westward until the VIIIth century, to reach Italy after 700. There can be little doubt that the question of independant invention does not arise for, as Demargne has shown, the same style appears in the XIIIth century at Ras Shamra as in the Aegean much later in the dedalic style. The other appears in the practise of making seals or amulets in the form of a couchant animal (catalogue on page 82). Objects of such a shape were fairly widespread towards the close of the IIIrd millennium, and it seems likely that they were popular among the peoples who entered the Near East at that time and inspired the development of both the Early Minoan III Period culture in the west, and of the Ist Intermediate Period civilisation in Egypt. Subsequently, however, such objects are almost unknown until the Orientalising Period in the Aegean area. It could be, naturally, that such things were independently invented on two occasions, but if it were so, it would be curious that the second occasion of their invention falls at the time when the whole tenour of western culture was being strongly influenced by eastern ideas.¹⁴⁹

A few bronzes of Orientalising date found in the Aegean appear to be of foreign source.¹⁵⁰ One of these is part of a belt-buckle from Perachora, an object which may very well be of Transcaucasian origin.¹⁵¹ Of much the same date may be a ring from Knossos, which appears likely to be from Luristan.¹⁵² At about the same time pottery vessels of a type considered as 'distinctly non-Egyptian and yet . . . not familiar in Greek types' appeared in use in Egypt.¹⁵³ These vessels are closely similar in shape to a bowl of early IIIrd millennium date in Azarbaijan (K Period).¹⁵⁴ This parallel may be accidental, but there is a vessel of about this time from Italy which parallels a K Period piece from Azarbaijan (see page 277), and the apparent similarity should therefore be considered seriously.

A considerable variety of new ideas appeared in the west at the time of the beginning of the Orientalising Period.¹⁵⁵ This fact has been interpreted so widely in one single way that it is difficult to realise that it is a matter about which more than one opinion can be held. The usually expressed view, which is, however, far from being proved to be correct, is that 'trading Greeks' encountered things new to them on their eastward journeys¹⁵⁶ and, liking them, brought home examples which were then copied. This might, perhaps, form an explanation which some can accept. But the extraordinary variety of new ideas, and the remarkable speed with which they became dominant in the west at about 700, may seem to others to require a rather more positive explanation, something, in fact, more in tune with the very vigorous and creative life of the time. That explanation which is offered here is to the effect that at this period, as so frequently before, so this book would suggest, there had been a very wide-scale migration of people from the east, an explanation which is adequately in keeping with the international political situation at that period, and its probable results.

The suggestion has been made that the similarities between the ceramics of the Orientalising Period in the Aegean area and those of the Middle Helladic/Cycladic period there are sufficiently close to make possible the assumption that there was a double migration, bringing people who were racially of a single stock on those two occasions to the west. This is a matter which, if it could be established, would be highly significant for the understanding of part of the framework of prehistory. This being so, it should not be made a field for the expression of personal views, but should be examined dispassionately until a consensus of opinion can be formed. Meanwhile, one aspect of the theoretical double migration to the west may, perhaps, be quoted. This is as follows. Greek tradition refers to the return of the Heraclids as having occurred at an early date during the course of the Iron Age. Whether, or not, Heracles was the western version of a personage of eastern origin, the use of the word 'return' does seem to be sufficiently unusual to command attention. It implies a former visit or coming of 'Heraclids' and possibly therefore, a double migration. There is no other group of material in the Aegean area except that of the Late Geometric/Orientalising Periods which can be paralleled there by a whole group of similar material at an earlier date, a fact which may indicate that the Greek tradition of the returning Heraclids might refer to what lies behind the coming of new ideas during the middle and later parts of the VIIIth century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Orientalising examples include the following :-
Johansen, Plate XIV, 3.
CVA Rhodes I, II D e, Plate I, 1 and 2.
Comptes rendus de la Commission Impériale archéologique pour les années 1870 et 1871, Plate IV.
This shape can be paralleled in Tell Halaf ware, examples including :-
Iraq II, fig 67, 2.
Iraq III, fig 24, 6.
2. As has been suggested by Payne, *Perachora I*, pp 55 ff: Robertson, *BSA XLIII*, pp 10 ff.
3. SC, fig 256, 3.
4. Buschor in *PF* 1932, p 161: Moebius in *Marburger Studien*, p 162: SC, pp 486-7.
5. Az 1948, p 253.
6. NC, p 270 note 2.
7. *BM Catalogue of sculpture* 1, pp 158 ff.
8. NC, p 5.
9. Compare, for shape, Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh*, Plate XI, 2, with Falchi, Plate XVII, 34: also compare Hykmos and Ia cities, Plate V, bottom right, with NC, fig 3, and Cl 2, pp 119 ff, 127 ff, figs 183 ff.
10. Ornament of dots appears first in Tell Halaf ware. It occurs in the Aegean from neolithic times, as for example in the Knossian neolithic incised fabrics, which are paralleled in Syria and may have been made by migrants spreading westward. It also appears in the "chalcolithic" period in Anatolia (*Bulleten XII*, pp 471 ff), and in Protodynastic days in Egypt, in wares described by Petrie long ago (but probably correctly) as "foreign". Subsequently the type of ornament is rare in Egypt, though it appears from time to time, though it is never common, in the Aegean, Syria and Cyprus, until the XVIth century, when it appears fairly frequently, both in the polychrome wares frequently seen in Syria and Palestine, and in other fabrics. The history and distribution of this type of pattern may suggest that it is of eastern source.
11. Such juglets are common in Palestine and Cyprus. The earliest examples at Megiddo are of Stratum XIV, dated to 1850-1800 (Megiddo II, Plate II, 1.). They are not closely dated in Cyprus (*Catalogue Cesnola*, pp 42-3). Sometimes these black incised fabrics of the early IIrd millennium are made in the form of fish (*Catalogue Cesnola*, p 43, no. 384), a fact which may be significant, for the idea is not very common, but reappears in the vases made in the form of living things (animals and humans) in Orientalising days in the Aegean area (NC, pp 170 ff).
12. Ex. 4 in C, p 14, fig 24: p 24, fig 63, 1052-3, 1056: *AfO IX*, pp 222-3.
13. *ILN* 20 July 1929, p 116, top right.
14. Kunze, p 115.
15. *Assyrian sculptures in the BM*, Plate LIII, 1: Layard II, Plate 57 A. As Barnett has pointed out, the style is very well known on early Orientalising vessels in the Aegean area (*PEFQ* 1939, p 173).
16. Ivories Sam, p 32: *Prinse I*, Plate XIII. It also appears in the Tell Basta Treasure (*Le Musée Egyptien II*, Plate XIV). An example from Palestine (undated) appears in *Anc Gaza III*, Plate XLIV, 77.
17. Montet *Syblon*, p 229, Plate CIXVIII: Contreau *Manuel II*, pp 1056 ff. Dr. Contreau says that this frieze would have been carved in imitation of Egyptian work. Maybe, but it is also possible that the first examples of this style of ornament in Egypt were made in imitation of an originally Asiatic style, especially since it appears first in Egypt at the time when Asiatic influence was strong.

18. Contenau (loc cit) discusses the Asiatic parallels to the Ahiram sarcophagus. It may be observed that the very rare style of carving animals lying flat on the lid which appears on this monument is to be seen on modern Assyrian wooden boxes.
19. Pomegranates are referred to in Egypt at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty (Rehmi-Re, p 42).
20. There are pomegranates hanging from a differently shaped tripod from Ras Shamra (Contenau Manuel III, p 1072, fig 741).
21. ILN 9 Aug 1930, p 245, fig 8.
22. An example is illustrated in Johansen, Plate VIII, 3.
23. NC, p 17.
24. NC, p 19, note 2.
25. NC, pp 273, 280. See also Johansen Plate XLII, 5.
26. SC, fig 304, 11, 12; HAC II, Plate XXXVI, 1 & 4.
27. Mesara, Plate XVIII, 4196. It is interesting to observe that in this vessel appears the same type of flange to hold the lid in place as in the vessel from Caucasia quoted in the note above.
28. As 1948, pp 245 ff.
29. Still later than the pyxis with concave sides there appears the round Aryballos, a shape compared by Payne (NC, p 287) with an Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty stone vase (von Bissing, Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Steingefässe, Plate 5, no. 18483), and described by him as an ancient oriental form. An earlier Egyptian example of the round aryballos, with a wide flat flange-shaped rim, is of First Intermediate Period date (Qan I, Plate XXVIII, 148-150), a time when Asiatics seem to have migrated to Egypt in numbers, as has been suggested previously in this book.
30. There are some other ceramic shapes of about this time in the Aegean area which may be of eastern source. One of these is a tall amphora, swelling slightly towards its base. Some examples are as follows:-

Mesopotamia	(al Ubaid period)	ILN 11 Sept 1948, p 305, fig 13.
Luristan		ILN 22 Oct 1932, p 615, fig 6.
Egypt	(XVIIIth century)	Siptah (unnumbered).
Palestine	(1350-1150)	ILN 23 Oct 1937, p 710, bottom left.
Egypt		i F. Petrie, <i>Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa</i> , Plate X, 14.
		ii F. Petrie, <i>Tanis II</i> , Plate XXV, 3.
Aegean	(Orientalising)	Kinch, cols 189-190.

Another Aegean shape at this time possibly of eastern source is a bowl on a tall stand (Kinch, Plate 15, and fig 73). This shape appears also in Assyria (Layard Plate 22). A somewhat similar stand was found in Cyprus (CVA HM II, GR 50, 1.), and another in Italy (Montelius Civ Prim II ii, Série E, Plate 381 6.).
31. NC, p 3.
32. J. M. Cook in BSA XXXV, pp 165 ff.
33. There appear painted on Italian vases motifs based on floral patterns, and pictures of animals which recall those appearing on Sialk B pots from Persia (Doban Italic groups, Frontispiece and Plate XXIX). Mrs Doban comments that horses painted in more or less the same way appear in the Aegean area (loc cit, pp 59-60), and she adds that the palmettes found on the same level as the horses are of a type which "derive directly from 'Phoenician' art" (loc cit, p 60).
34. BSA XXIX, pp 281 ff.
35. BSA XXIX, p 292.

36. It has been pointed out that "we may legitimately look for traces of foreign influence in Assyrian work" (JHS XXV, p 332), and that the "later literature of Assyria exhibits a marked readiness to adopt new gods and incorporate them in its all-embracing pantheon" (JEA I, p 240). Under such conditions it would not be wise to assert the Assyrian origin of any detail of such changeable fashions as ornamental styles.
37. As 1948, Periods D and G.
38. The tongue pattern was thought by Payne to have come, maybe, directly from the east to the Aegean area, (BSA XXII, p 292).
39. As 1948, p 252: LAAA XVIII, p 109.
40. As 1948, p 76.
41. NG, Plate 5.
42. Ex.s in C, p 104, fig 161, 5. A similar style appears also in Anatolia (Belleten VII, p 19 and Lev. VIII, 18).
43. BSA XXIV, Plate 3 a. This vase is about a century later than the Middle Proto-corinthian period.
44. Phylakopi, Plate XII, 29.
45. It has been suggested that a possible Persian influence may be detectable in the Aegean area, in the use made, towards the close of the VIIth century, of the motif of the chimæra (JHS 1934, pp 21 ff), which appears contemporaneously in Egypt (Tavis II, Plate XXVI, 8).
46. See E. A. Lane, in BSA XXIV. A coloured illustration of a Lakonian II bowl is in CI R VI-VII, Plate II.
47. The oriental elements in Lakonian ware have been discussed by Dugas in RA 1907 ii, 36 ff, and Pfuhl I, pp 224 ff.
48. BSA XXIV, p 103, fig 2 C.
49. BSA XXIV, p 123, fig 11 C.
50. TAN 1930-32 ii, fig 410, c 1710.
51. Iraq, I ii, p 152, fig 3, 14.
52. Montet Byblos, Plate CXLVIII, 922 (apparently of early IIrd millennium date.)
53. Purple paint occurs commonly in Orientalising fabrics in the west. It is well known at Vroulia, where one small vessel painted in black and purple paint (Kinch Plate 3, 2) is of a shape of granary ware (see above, page 208 note 53). This re-introduction of a shape found first in the west when many new ideas were coming to the Aegean area from the east may suggest that this shape also was originally eastern, and was brought on two occasions to the west.
54. JEA XVII, p 40: JRAI XXXIII, pp 396 ff.
55. Tarkhan II, Plate XXX, 74 f.
56. SCE I, Plate IXV: SCE I, Plate CVI, 4.
57. Qas III, Plate XXIX, 200. Contemporaneously in Egypt appears a rare motif, dots arranged at intervals along a line, like beads on a string, examples of which are illustrated in Qas III, Plate XXVIII, 124: Harageh, Plate XLIII, 24 V: el Amrah, Plate LV, 61-2. This motif occurs in Tell Halaf ware (Tell Halaf I, Plate XLVII, 1). Both motifs could well be of eastern source. They are unlikely to be of Egyptian origin, and appear at a time when other ideas, such as polychromy, seem to attest the presence of Asiatic influence in Egypt (As 1948, p 253).
58. Tepe Giyan II, (SC, fig 247, 2-3).
59. POM II, fig 291 a: Entresis, fig 216. It also appears on "Phrygian" ware in Anatolia, TAN 30-32 ii, fig 444, 32.
60. AM XII, 182-3, fig 13.
61. Préhistoire II, 45.
62. Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1907, 3180. See also Elio 1913, p 475: AA 1908, pp 48 ff.

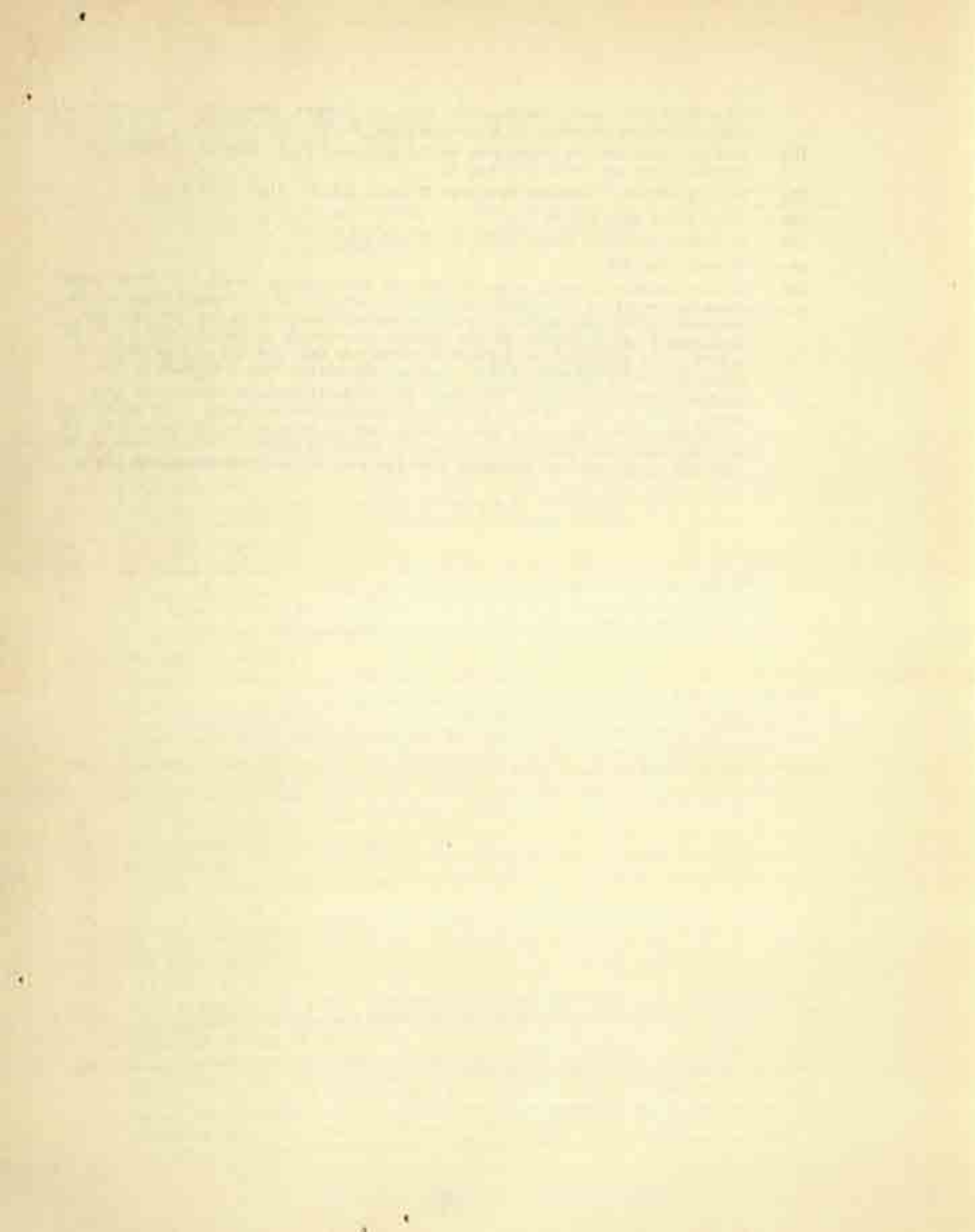
63. *Collection de Clerq*, Plate XXXIV, 385.: Curtius, *Antike Kunst* I, Plate VIII, 8, and see *Klio* XIII, pp 474-6.
64. This technique, so common in Rhodes and Italy at this time, is first found in Syria (Rapport prelim... Hama, Plate XIV, level J.: Byblos, Plate CXXXIII, 5073, 5684. These examples are probably of IIIrd millennium date).
65. The chimæra seems also to be an introduction to the Aegean during the Orientalising period, and this has been supposed to be of Persian source (JHS 1934, pp 21 ff).
66. Levi has observed (AJA 1945, pp 292-3) that the siren type appears first in Kassite days in Mesopotamia and "shows an aspect close to the Hellenic canon" in Assyrian and neo-Babylonian art. It thus seems to some extent to parallel the history of the centaur type.
67. E. Buschor in AM LV.
68. Arm II ii, p 556.
69. JHS XXX, pp 327 ff.
70. It has often been observed that ancestors of Greek forms of Aeolic and Ionic capitals are to be seen in Palestine (QDAP XI, p 91 f.: W. Andrae *Kleinasiens und Byzanz*, pp 1 ff.)
71. Layard II, Plate 40.: Layard N & B, p 547.
72. The colonnade is said to have been known to the Assyrians at the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727). (CAH III, p 40).
73. Az 1948, pp 251 ff.
74. T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, p 91, note 6.
75. P.B. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pp 36-7. See also Mitt deut Ins Kairo VIII, pp 185 ff.
76. F.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, p 20.
77. See also G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, les éléments de l'architecture*, pp 182 ff.
78. *Annales* XXV, Plate II of article by J P Lamer.: *Annales* XXXII, pp 81 ff.: *Annales* XXXIII, Plate opposite p 152.
79. JRA XXV, pp 123 ff.
80. G. Jéquier loc cit (note 77 above), p 183, fig 108. Also G. Jéquier, *Les temples memphites et thébains*, Plate XXXI.
81. POM I, p 550, p 715.
82. Frisse I, Plate XI.: Breasted, *A history of Egypt*, p 125.
83. It has been observed that "despite much local variety, the early Doric column and the triglyph frieze are essentially the same wherever they are found, and they appear almost simultaneously all over Greece and the Greek west. It is unlikely that there were sudden inventions, for the Greek instinct was for the gradual refinement of traditional forms: it is still more unlikely that such inventions should have spread so quickly and so far" (CAH IV, p 6). Such a situation might perhaps be explained most easily by presuming the coming of the Doric column, the triglyph frieze and other elements of the classical Greek style of architecture from some foreign land, where the process of invention and slow refinement had already occurred.
84. The remarks made by Woolley in Iraq I, p 146.
85. Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XXII, 21. See also Az 1948, Plates III and IV, no 45.
86. Tell Halaf I, Plate LXXXV, 1 & 2.
87. LAAA XI, Plate LV, 2.
88. LAAA XXVI, Plate XI, 6.

89. Hutresis, fig 217. Two other examples of the possible long-continued life of particular ways of work may be quoted. One is in the most unusual manner of carving the outer surface of a bowl in high relief which is characteristic of "Jemdet Nasr period" vessels in Mesopotamia, and recurs in the 1st millennium in Italy, at the same site (Palestrina) as bronzes similar to pieces from Van (Montelius Civ Prim II ii, Série B, Plates 376, 6 and 368 1-2). The other is in the ornamental jewellery formed of many small chains, of which Schliemann found examples of late IIIrd millennium date in Troy, while a 1st millennium piece comes from Italy (Montelius Civ Prim II i, Série B, Plate 160, 6). It may also be pointed out that the type of boot with an ornamental tassel over the instep found during the 1st millennium B.C. in Greece (Eph 1912, fig 16) and Italy (Pinza and Nogara, p 317, fig 264) is still being made in Aleppo.
90. Pausanias I, 31, 2.
91. RE II i, col. a 826-7.
92. Herodotus IV, 33.
93. *Classical Quarterly* 1928, pp 157 ff.
94. Bronze gates Shalmaneser, Plate XXXV. There was great interest in things foreign in Assyria at this time. Shalmaneser III (860-825) brought home animals not known previously in Assyria (CAH III, p 20), and such interest developed as time passed (JHS XXX, p 331, note 14; JEA I, p 240). A parallel interest in things foreign and strange was noticeable also in Egypt at the time of Thothmes III, and perhaps also of Akhnaton (Wife 1913, p 27), roughly contemporary, that is, with the peripteral temple at Elephantine.
95. It has been said that the masons "no longer cut figures after figures... in the same attitude with the same expression, in monotonous succession" by soon after 700 (CAH III, p 109). As the note above says, they had in fact begun to experiment a century and a half earlier than that time, in order, apparently, to avoid such monotonous succession. Rows of walking figures, in which monotony is broken in much the same way as on the Shalmaneser reliefs, appear at Persepolis (Herzfeld Iran, Plate LXXVI; AJA 1916, p 13, fig 10) and at Xanthos (BM Catalogue of Sculpture I i, Plate XXXI, B 314), no doubt carved under Persian influence, though the Persians themselves may have derived the style from other peoples. It should be pointed out that the same method of breaking the monotonous effect of a row of figures had appeared in the Deir el Bahri temple built by Hatshepsut (G. Jéquier, *Les temples égyptiens et thébains*, Plate 40, 1-2), contemporary with the use, therefore, there of colonnades built with fluted columns. It may be significant that both architectural, and sculptural, styles could be derived from a single geographical source.
96. L. W. King in JHS XXX, pp 327 ff.
97. A. W. Lawrence, *History of Herodotus of Halicarnassos II*, p 182, note 1; M. Mogensen *La Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg. La collection égyptienne*, Plate XXV, A 105, A 107, and Plate LXXXIV, A 641, A 642.
98. ILN 16 Aug 1953, p 248 (dated to about 720).
99. BM Catalogue of sculpture I ii, C 10 ("before 550").
100. Chrysaor, in the temple of Artemis in Corfu.
101. ILN 9 June 1934, p 912, fig 15. It may, perhaps, be suggested that the style of hairdressing which is possibly of the time of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur (AJ VI, Plate LXII; Smith *Early History of Assyria*, Plate X) is not unlike that which appears on the Ludovisi Throne.
102. CAH IV, p 588. Buschor (AM 1933, pp 158 ff) describes the possible base of a geometric statue, of suitable size for an over-life piece of sculpture. And Bonanz-Wedeeking (*Die Anfänge der griechischen Grossplastik*, p 134) suggested that the introduction of monumental sculpture might be connected with that of the monumental temple.

103. SCE IV ii, p 356.
104. A.W. Lawrence, *Classical sculpture*, pp 102 ff. See also in JHS XLVI, p 165.
C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture, I, Période archaïque*, p 346.
105. AJA XLIV, pp 341 ff.
106. G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*,
G. Rodenwaldt (AM XLVI, pp 27 ff) and C. Picard (loc cit, as note 104 above, p 224) consider that Greek archaic art derived the types of monumental draped figures primarily from Assyrian art. V. Müller (*Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1936, pp 167 ff) also supports the view that the earliest large scale Greek sculpture was influenced from the east.
107. G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*, p 8.
108. V. Müller (*Fruhe Plastik*); C. Picard (loc cit, as note 104 above, pp 251 ff) suggest that the column style was of eastern source.
It has been suggested that the emphasis on musculature in archaic statuary indicated asiatic influence, (RA 1904, p 215; Deonna, *Les apollons archaïques*, p 23; *Monuments et Mémoires de la fondation Piot* XX, p 34)
109. Tallgren pointed out (BSA X, p 146) that before 600 "large flat stone statues" were being made in the Crimea.
110. Breasted, *A history of Egypt*, p 572.
111. The curious idea of the Dodekarchy, an alliance or federation of twelve cities, appears in Egypt at the time of the XXVth Dynasty. It was roughly contemporary in Italy. The common source (if there was any true connection) might have been in the general area of Caucasia.
112. G.G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p 179.
113. MDAG II i.: AJA L, pp 15 ff.
114. As Wainwright pointed out (JEA XVII, p 39) the name Sandas or Sandon may enter into Vannic names. Roscher (col. 329) says that Xerxes had a sister called Sandake, or Sandauke.
115. O.M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*, Plate II, 4.
116. Iraq XII, pp 1 ff.
117. Pera, pp 127 ff.; Arm II ii, pp 859 ff.; Lamb GRB, pp 70 ff. Associated with these objects, and also believed to be of eastern source, are the cauldrons with handles in the form of winged figures which occur in many places (R. Dussaud, *La Lydie et ses voisins*, in *Babyloniaca* XI, p 144, note 2; Barnett in Iraq XII, p 39).
The shield and disc from the Idaean cave (Kunze passim) have often been compared with the shields with animal's protome boss from the Musasir temple (*Museo Italiano di antichità classica* II, col. 818 ff.; AFO XV, pp 42-3). Layard illustrated the same type of shield (Layard I, Plate 18). One Cretan shield (Kunze, Plate XXVI) bears ornament arranged as at Van (Perrot and Chipiez II, fig 225; see AJA V, p 48.)
The disc-headed pins from western Persia bear ornament designed in a similar way to that on the Cretan shields (ILN 1 March 1941, p 293, 4, 5, 6; AFO XIII, p 89, fig 1).
118. Jb XLIV, pp 1 ff. (It may be noted that there is a piece of human sculpture from Toprakkale, near Van, Bossert AA, p 305, no. 1163-4)
119. F. Studniczka in *Antike Plastik*, W. Amelung, pp 245-54.
120. C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La Sculpture I Période archaïque*, p 272.
Jenkins observes (p 20) that this style is derived from the Egyptian wig and the Assyrian stylised method of hairdressing.
121. Picard loc cit, p 189, 246.

122. DEP VIII, pp 245 ff.: A.W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, pp 102-3. Other early objects of cast metal include the following: DEP I, pp 161, 163: DEP VII, p 37: ILN 8 Oct 1932, p 528, figs 7-9: T and I I, p 405, fig 404, p 408 f. (from Troy VIII).
123. Bekh-mi-Re, pp 53-4. Davies says "a complete bronze door of any size would scarcely be attempted in one casting". That may be so, but it would be no more difficult than the casting of the statue of Queen Napir-Asu. See also, N. de G. Davies, *The tombs of Menkhererresenb, Anenmose and another*, p 13.
124. Az 1948, p 201.
125. Layard M and B, p 672.
126. LAAA XIX, Plate L: Iraq III, pp 104 ff.: A. Voss in *Mélanges d'Études anciennes offerts à G. Radaet*, pp 328 ff., *Comptes Rendus* Manuel IV, pp 2091 ff. Another hollow cast head is the one from Hamadan, published in *Metro Mus Bull*, April 1952: ILN 10 Jan 1931, p 35: A. Moortgat, *Bildwerk & Volkstum vorderasiens zur Hethiterzeit*, fig 8, who calls it late IIrd millennium.
127. OLZ 1941, pp 295 ff.
128. Deltion 1930-31, pp 41 ff.
129. Luschey, p 146.
130. Luschey, p 144.
131. This type of relationship recalls the remark by Aeschylus to the effect that Greece and Persia were "sisters of the same stem" (*Persae*, 185-6).
132. Ug I, p 9, fig 6.
133. RC, Plate 235, 47.
134. *Le Musée Égyptien II*, Plate 48. Luschey illustrates a "IIrd millennium" example from Assur (loc cit fig 1).
135. P. L. Griffith, *The antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh*, Plate XV, 17.
136. PPS 1948, Plate XVII B.
137. Doham Italic Groups, Plate VII, a b, and others.
138. It seems that the well-known Keftian bowl on a small pedestal foot is very similar, if the foot be removed, to this type of phiale. Both are illustrated together in N. de G. Davies, *Tombs of two officials of Tutmosis IV*, Plate IV.
139. A saucer which may possibly be thought to be related to this type of phiale occurs in *Caucasia* (IRAC II, Plate XXXIII, 1 & 2), where it bears incised ornament on the lower surface.
140. *Klio* XXX, pp 110 ff. See also Pera, p 151.
141. ILN 9 March 1940, p 317 middle.
142. Ug I, fig 58.
143. Megiddo Ivories, Plate 26, 145.
144. SC, fig 255, 40.
145. PZ 1934, pp 84 ff.
146. BSA XLVI, pp 70-1.
147. JSA XXIX, pp 55 ff.
148. Rils in Berytus IX, p 84: Demargue p 247, and pp 262-3. D. Obly has stressed the importance of Cypriote models in the development in Greece of the mould technique (AM LXV, pp 57 ff).
149. Other indications of eastern influence have been collected. For example, Kunze has observed that the polos came from the Phoenicians or Assyrians to the Greeks (Kunze, p 194), while Rils suggests that other details of dress indicate that Greece was inspired by Asiatic ideas, as for example the use of the chiton, the tasselled belt, the style of arranging the dress to fall in vertical folds and the use of vertical twisted locks. Zimmern has proposed that measures were

- taken over into Greek form from the east (H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*, pp 20 ff).
150. Amongst these are the "Caucasian bells" discussed by H. Moebius in *Marburger Studien*, 160, and in AA LVI, col 32.
 151. Pera, pp 128-9. Compare Pera, fig 20, with RAC II, Plate XIII bis 3.
 152. JHS LIII, p 295, fig 19.
 153. F. Petrie *Tanis II*, Plate XXIV, 12, 13 and p 61.
 154. Az 1948, fig 538.
 155. Certain details of early ships in the west have eastern parallels. The ship shown on the ivory from Sparta has shields arranged in the manner shown on the Kouyoumdjik reliefs, while the earliest certain examples of the two-bank oar arrangement are on reliefs of the time of Sennacherib in Assyria (BSA XLIV, pp 136-7). It has also been pointed out that the fighting top on a warship, as shown on the Aristonoibos crater, appears at Medinet Habu (BSA XLIV, p 121).
 156. Professor Robertson stated (JHS 1940, p 18) that there are a number of fragments, from al Mina, of "imitations" of Protocorinthian vessels. He added that it is conceivable that they are of local make. No doubt he believes that, if so, they were made under the influence of Greek "trade". On the other hand, they may illustrate the spreading from the east of the Protocorinthian style.



CHAPTER X

AN INTRODUCTION TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY

There are two major conclusions which it is possible to propose as a result of the discussion of material in the first part of this book. One of them is to the effect that certain peoples in the Near East retained their traditional ways of making pottery and other things very largely unaltered over long periods. The other is that various peoples migrated from parts of the Near East, possibly from or through the general area of Caucasasia, both westward and to the south at fairly frequent intervals during prehistoric times, and that they spread a knowledge of their traditions in this way in other lands. However, the evidence from which these conclusions have been obtained has been read differently by other archaeologists, and the opinions here expressed, though not, certainly, entirely new, have at best only been suggested in the past in outline, and somewhat tentatively, and have usually been flatly denied. It is, perhaps, helpful that varying opinions should be expressed, for discussion is usually of value, especially since it

is most doubtful if, at present, any archaeologist can be successful in anything more than the formation of personal views. All, it is to be hoped, aim at establishing an impersonal survey of the evidence, but it seems fairly certain that the time has not yet come for any overall statement of a type to carry universal conviction, largely for lack of sufficient evidence.

It is suggested in these pages that prehistorians have tended to occupy themselves primarily with such facts as historically significant events, or personalities, no doubt because such things are concrete and can be more or less accurately defined. Such things are varied, individual and unmistakeable, and they form landmarks in history. Like all landmarks, they are part of a greater whole. To some extent the landmarks of history are the outcome of human nature, which seems to have the power of expressing itself in the most diverse ways, producing an infinite variety of characters who cause very diverse events to occur. Human nature itself, however, may prove to be fundamentally unchanging, and is certainly the background of history. As such it should not, perhaps, be discounted by the student.

It is scarcely possible to define human nature at all, let alone briefly. But at least it may be said that humans are not normally attracted by the unconventional. Usually they dislike it, and even fear and resent it. This attitude seems to reflect a deep-seated and widely spread characteristic. As occurs so frequently in humans, its opposite also exists. For it is also true of humans that they react to the opportunity to take an interest in novelty and change. Their love of the new is not, perhaps, as serious as their love of accepted convention, but both interests, in convention and in change, are important agents in influencing the course of history. There can, surely, be little doubt that flexibility in absorbing and transforming new ideas has been, and probably always will be, of the highest importance in the development both of individuals and of nations. It is a factor which can hardly be overstressed in the study of history. And in no field therein can it be studied more readily than the prehistoric, where the shortage of material reveals it comparatively unobscured.

The term 'human nature' has, for various reasons, come to suggest something indefinite, but large, rather simple and unchanging, something in fact with which one is likely to be safe, and consequently something which can be taken for granted. The implication of this is that it is not normally considered as an active force, but perhaps it should not be disregarded. It may not be necessary to study the effects of human nature on the course of historical development when there is plenty of material available, but it may

be a mistake not to do so when, as in the field of prehistory, historical events and personages are few and can readily be given disproportionate emphasis, and even misinterpreted. Human nature is by no means well understood, but who would deny that it should be ranked as a prime cause, rather than as a result, of the 'facts' which make up history? Whatever else human nature may be, it does not seem to be anything which can readily be altered. Yet many archaeologists, through their personal preferences, have attempted to write history solely in the light of events, as they believe them to have occurred. Perhaps it would be wiser to attempt to study events in the light of human nature, so far as the latter can be understood.

The first part of this book has been devoted largely to the cataloguing of a certain amount of material. The purpose with which this has been done is to demonstrate evidence for what is argued here to be a fundamental element in prehistory, the spreading, sometimes the repeated spreading, of ideas from western Asia to the south and to the west. If it can be established that this did, in fact, occur, it may be that certain conclusions about the nature of man can be drawn from the ways in which ideas spread.

Not very much is known of the ways in which ideas spread in antiquity and as has been shown above, it is a matter about which opinions differ. A certain amount of light on this subject can, however, be shed by the study of recent events. For example, it is plain that there was a far-reaching change in art-styles at the close of the XVIIth century in England. This change, whereby the elegantly simple Queen Anne style replaced the richly ornate and not frequently elegant style of earlier days, is of so considerable a form that it could not be supposed to be of purely local and spontaneous origin. But it must have had some sort of cause. The Queen Anne style seems to be a version of a style well known in Holland at about the same time. Perhaps the reason for its appearance is to be found in presuming a willing and wholesale imitation in England of the personal taste of important foreigners from the Low countries, William IIIrd and his court. This, if so, provides an excellent example of the human love of a new thing in action. It also suggests that a revolutionary change could develop from what appears on the surface to be only a slight cause. It would certainly be absurd to say that the Queen Anne style in silver, furniture and so on was caused to appear throughout England by means of an influx of foreigners on a vast scale. This remarkable capacity on the part of the people of a whole country to turn away from traditional ways, and to adopt a new style without any obvious compelling reason, whatever its cause may have been in England at

about 1700, is apparently closely parallel to what happened again and again during the early Iron Age in the Near East. Perhaps in each case the fundamental cause was composed of human desire for something new, coupled with some act sufficient to bring that desire into action, such as the coming of new peoples, even if only few in number, who became objects of imitation.

Perhaps it may be argued against what has just been said that there can be no similarity between what happened at 1000 or 2000 B.C., and nearly 2000 A.D., that, in fact, conditions are likely to have been so different at either end of so great a space of time that no true parallels can be drawn. This seems to be a matter of opinion. On the other side one can argue the remarkable case of the transference of ideas which appears in the use of that style of architecture which was characterised by the use of colonnades often incorporating fluted columns. This style appears over a period of 2000 years, during which time considerable modifications, but no radical changes, appear in it. It appeared in Egypt on three occasions, each separated from the others by several centuries, and on each of these occasions only a few monuments are known to have been erected. Surely if those who built in this manner by tradition had been numerous in Egypt, they would have left several monuments behind them on each occasion. Since they did not do so, it hardly seems likely that the style would have been a result of mass migration from some foreign land. How else could it have appeared? By trade, maybe, but trade could hardly be an effective agent in introducing an elaborately worked out style of building when no contemporary parallel is known elsewhere in the world, and could not have existed to any extent within a considerable distance. Perhaps it might have been invented locally, or it might have been introduced from outside Egypt by a comparatively small group of people. The first of these two latter proposals is not, perhaps, altogether probable. For the style of architecture involved is, as has been suggested, similar in more than one way to the style of building found in classical Greek temples. This link with the Greeks is reinforced by the fact that, both in Egypt at the time when this style was introduced first, and in Greece when this style appeared, it was contemporary with the introduction of large scale sculpture. And again, Imhotep, the legendary architect at Sakkara, when this style first appeared, was identified by the Greeks two thousand years later with one of their own gods, Asklepios, god of medicine. Why should he have been so honoured? Surely such a course would not have been taken without strong reason. Perhaps the reason was that the people who built in that more or less Greek style at Sakkara were in actual fact Greeks by blood, people who

had come to Egypt from the region whence, long after, the Greeks of the First millennium came. This, or something like it, would not support any suggestion that those who invented the style of architecture discussed were of Egyptian source. Perhaps, therefore, the fourth possibility proposed should be taken seriously, namely that there is here, at Sakkara at the time of the Third Dynasty, a possible example of a change following the coming of comparatively few foreigners, a suggestion with which the archaeological evidence would not be in conflict.

It is not suggested that such views as those proposed above can be shown in a book of this type to be true. For historical truth is not found by impatience, or by undue self confidence, but by establishing a picture of events within which all the parts agree, one with another. The historian does not prove things to have happened in this way or in that, he experiments in arranging possibilities, in the hope that one day so many possibilities will agree in indicating a particular course of events that it may be believed to be likely. For this reason the last part of the book consists of a picture of events as seen from a single point of view, which is that of the theories which have been mentioned above. Such a picture is inevitably a personal one. What value it may have will lie in its unity and consistence in illustrating one approach to the problem involved.

It has sometimes been urged that history is in the nature of a science. Since, however, it is mainly concerned with human beings, a type of raw material which appears to be far from stable, and even highly unpredictable in its actions, one may sympathise with those who hold that no branch of history could be considered to be an exact study. On the other hand, as has been suggested above, there may be certain major tendencies in human nature which can be traced, and seem almost like 'laws' of human behaviour. It is unfortunate that little work on this subject has yet been attempted, and it is certain that much more research will be necessary before any conclusion can reasonably be formed. Perhaps it may be considered of sufficient anthropological interest to attract attention. Meanwhile it is no doubt best for the individual archaeologist to try so to present his views of the course of history that he may hope both to avoid instructing others in his own opinions unduly, and to help to make it possible for each and every interested person to form his own vision of what lies below the surface. If he can achieve this he may fairly claim to be working in a scientific manner.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY

The earlier pages of this book are clear evidence of the somewhat tangled and conflicting nature of the material with which archaeologists have to work. But the obscurity and conflict can be shown by analysis to be largely superficial, being due mainly to the fact that preference is given by students to the examination of the small rather than the great factors involved. Of these latter there is one which is supreme, shedding light which, although intermittent and indeed rarely seen, is nevertheless unmistakable when it does appear. It can be traced in the manifestations of a remarkable breadth of vision and grandeur of artistic imagination which shine far above anything else in antiquity, all of which may, in consequence of the inner light which inspires them, have been the products of a particular people. They appear in many lands and at several times, in a variety of arts and techniques, architecture, sculpture, carved ivory, faience, jewellery. These things are not the characteristic products (so it is argued in this book) of the lands in which they are found by modern students, but of a folk gifted much above their neighbours, some of them wandering from

time to time, and introducing their ideas to many lands as they passed on their travels. From this point of view it may be said that for the interpretation of archaeological evidence, the understanding of two things seems to be of fundamental importance, the individual capacity of peoples, and their mobility. It is suggested that it is primarily to these things, and not solely to such details of archaeological fact as their place of discovery, that the student should refer as his guiding light in the tangled archaeological jungle.

The possessors of outstanding artistic talent in historic times were the Greeks, but it has been suggested that objects found in Syria, Cyprus and elsewhere, dating from long before classical days, show kinship with the Greek classical spirit. It might be that the implication is that the Greek peoples had been active for long before the middle of the 1st millennium. In these pages it has been proposed that the ancestors of the Greek people originally lived in the general area of Caucasia, and were responsible for the spreading of the remarkable artistic talent which has been referred to above. This theory receives some support from sources other than purely artistic. There is, for example, the statement in Ezekiel to the effect that Yavan was concerned in the production of iron. Yavan may be the same word as Ion, and if it were, it would presumably be connected with the Greeks. But iron does not occur in Ionia, or anywhere in the Aegean area, though there is evidence to suggest that it was manufactured, not only first, but for a long time, in certain parts of western Asia. If Yavan, which it seems to be located in all probability in western Asia, be really the same as Ion, it would seem that the Greeks might have been connected with, and even perhaps have come from, the east. The same conclusion appears to be indicated by the discussion of the Hawabwt question.

The earliest examples of any considerable quantity of ideas characteristic of the Greek people, with which this book is concerned, appear somewhere near 1200 B.C. They can be seen in carved ivory in Cyprus, Palestine and elsewhere, in faience also in Cyprus and Palestine and in metal work in Egypt. At this period the new metal, iron, was coming widely into use, and at the same time there was appearing a new method of disposal of the dead, cremation. There is some likelihood that it was a time when peoples from other lands than those at present archaeologically known were spreading widely. From the evidence discussed above, it would appear that they came from the east, that is to say, from western Asia. It is a remarkable thing that many of the ideas which appeared at this time of about 1200, though not known during the immediately preceding

period in the eastern Mediterranean region, had appeared there during the XVth century. And it can be shown that there is evidence to suggest that there had been a migration from east to west, at the time of the XVth century, of people who were acquainted with iron metallurgy. There is no material of that time from the Aegaeon area to indicate that the migrating folk had included any 'proto-Greeks', but those who then travelled west may well have come from much the same part of the world from whence the Greeks themselves spread, according to the view expressed here. The appearance is created, therefore, of a double migration westward of people who used iron, the earlier one being, it would seem, of comparatively few people who were not supported by further large contingents of related folk from the east, while the later one included people who made or used objects fashioned in a more or less 'Greek manner', though it also included people who may have had no connection at all with any 'proto-Greeks'.

The carved ivory objects which appear in Cyprus and elsewhere during the later part of the IIInd millennium, and seem to illustrate a more or less 'Greek' style in the breadth of manner and imaginative power of their makers, appear unlikely to be of Aegaeon source, since they are uncommon in the west, while their raw material, ivory, seems not to have been available except in the east or south. They were made by people who readily imitated styles already evolved in such lands as Egypt, and appear therefore to have been very responsive to ideas new to them. But while they copied other manners, they did not lose their peculiar qualities, which appear in very fine workmanship and occasionally in an extraordinarily vivid sense of dramatic action, and of finely balanced design. Both these qualities are unusual enough at this time in the eastern Mediterranean area to be highly conspicuous, a fact which reinforces the suggestion already made to the effect that the ivory carvers were new-comers to the Mediterranean world at this period.

The faience objects which appear in Assyria, Cyprus and Palestine at about the same time as the carved ivories just mentioned also sometimes reveal fine workmanship as well as remarkable naturalistic modelling, sometimes closely akin in manner to the work of classical Greek days. These objects, like the ivories, are of types well known in Asia but very much less common in the Aegaeon region, and, like them therefore, could hardly be derived from the west.

The metal work from Egypt which has been referred to as being in a more or less Greek manner is the material of the Tell Basta treasure, which is dated to the latest part of the XIIIth century. In the engraved ornament therein appear naturalistic scenes, some of which are closely similar to the scenes on contemporary ivories,

and also the use of filling ornament, a style which recalls the manner of ornament on early Greek vases.

At this time of the occurrence of the carved ivories and other objects which seem to reveal parallels with Greek work, there appeared in Greece itself, as well as in western Asia, a variety of arms and armour of types known in Greece in Classical days. They include helmets with crests, round shields, greaves, and the slashing type of sword. Almost all of these things had appeared in use in the Aegæan area at the time of the Sixteenth Century, but only for a brief period, after which they did not reappear there for some centuries. There is some reason to suggest that the appearance of these things in the west at the time of the Sixteenth Century was brought about as the result of a westward migration, a possibility which may be indicated by other evidence. Such types of arms and armour might have been long established in the east, and they seem to be at least as common in the east as in the west at about 1200. By an early date in the First Millennium helmets with crests and round shields appear to have been characteristic of the Urartians, a point which may be important, since there is no great likelihood that western influence was important there at so early a date. It might appear, therefore, that these types, although characteristic of the Greeks, are more likely to have originated in the east than in the west.

If migrations brought westward, at about 1200, people who made objects in ways which seem to anticipate the later Greek styles of work, they also brought people who seem, in their arts at least, to have been quite different. For amongst the new ideas which then appeared there were some which may have had little or nothing to do with the Greeks. Amongst these are to be counted fibulae, the technique of gold granulation, the burial rite of cremation and such ceramic styles as Granary ware, bucchero ware and Buckelkeramik. These things may suggest that while 'Proto-Greeks' may have been included in the migrations at the time of the close of the Bronze Age, they formed but part of the mass of peoples involved in those folk movements. This is, after all, only to be expected, for the migrations seem to have been on a sufficiently wide scale to include people from many regions.

After about 1200 fibulae came into use in many lands in the Near East, thereby forming links between cultures which are, by ceramic evidence, isolated one from another, since they are to a great extent illustrated by varieties of pottery of purely local character.

These fibulae indicate that a new fashion in the manner of wearing clothes had come into use, a fact which suggests that they were introduced by people coming at this time from regions of which little is at present known. There is some evidence, though it is not conclusive, to suggest that the idea of the fibula may have been of eastern origin.

Gold granulation, a jewellery technique characteristic of the Etruscans, had a long history, for the earliest examples date from before 2000 B.C., and come from both Mesopotamia and Egypt. Such evidence as there is, however, may suggest that this style of work was not native to either of those two lands, but was introduced to them from a region which was in the direction of Caucasia. It becomes fairly well known at about 1200 in the Aegean area, and appears contemporaneously in Persia and Egypt. The frequent re-introduction of this technique, which was never practised for long in any archaeologically known land except by the Etruscans, may be, perhaps, less likely to be due to the imitation of a foreign manner of work than to the wandering of individual gold-smiths who were never in sufficient numbers to establish a tradition of work until the time of the Etruscans in Italy.

The introduction to the Aegean area and elsewhere of the rite of cremation during the XIIIth century, or even earlier, may suggest that new people then entered the Near East. In some cases, at least, the practise of cremation would appear to have passed from east to west, as, for example, in the introduction of it to Carthage. It is a remarkable thing that this rite came very slowly into popular favour, though it became the dominant rite in Greece during the Protogeometric Period. It may be that this slow increase in use is to be explained by a slow increase in Greece of the numbers of the people who introduced the practise from its original centre. The alternative view is, presumably, that this new system of disposal of the dead became slowly more popular through its inherent advantages. Against this is, however, the fact that cremation was, eventually, comparatively quickly abandoned within the Aegean area in favour of a return to inhumation. Something similar to the slow growth in popularity of the rite may be observed in the fairly slow development of contemporary ceramic styles within the Aegean area.

At about 1200 B.C. the whole of the Near East saw the introduction of new kinds of pottery. There were some varieties of ware which seem to have been widespread, though short-lived, such as that of the 'illustrative style', which appeared in Palestine, Syria and the Aegean area. Others, like the re-introduced polychrome style of ornament, appear only in the east. One very widespread fabric

is the 'Granary ware', a variety which may have been long in use in some unknown area, whence migration brought it to Greece and elsewhere. For a vessel decorated in the manner characteristic of this fabric appears at the time of the XVIth century in the Aegaeon area, while another, of 1st millennium date, comes from Assyria. The distribution of this style might possibly suggest that its home was in the area towards Caucasia.

Bucchero fabrics appeared from time to time in various parts of the Near East. Such ware was very widespread after about 1200, and was frequently associated with a particular collection of types of handle, including the variety twisted like rope, the variety with a knob where the thumb would rest and the variety shaped like a horned animal's head. It was also ornamented with incised decoration, the motifs being guilloches and wavy lines. Both such decoration, and the types of handles, may be of eastern origin. So also may be the bucchero technique itself when it appeared at about 1200, for it was at that time that bucchero as found within the Mediterranean region appears in Azarbaijan. These Persian wares appear to be connected with the more westerly types, but cannot have been produced as the result of a migration from west to east, since some of them are types found only in the east.

Another indication of migration from east to west may be afforded by the evidence of Buckalkersmik, which is a variety of plain grey fabric found at Troy at the time of the XIIth century, in parts of southern Europe, and in Italy, since it may have been derived from an original ware made in Caucasia.

All of the various new introductions of about 1200 B.C. in the Near East may indicate the spreading of peoples from, or through, the general area of Caucasia. This region is known to possess rich iron deposits, and it is supposed that the scanty evidence available indicates that experiments in iron working had long previously been carried out there. It is entirely in keeping with the suggested Caucasian source of the new introductions that, shortly before 1200, iron began to become widely known, appearing in the Aegaeon area as well as in Egypt. It also occurs in neighbouring regions, where, however, its appearances are not dated, though they may be of about the same time as in the west.

The suggestion of an eastern source for iron appears to be reinforced by the fact that iron objects had been known previously in the west, at the time of the XVIth century, when there is reason to suppose that westward migrations had occurred. Subsequently, however, the metal became comparatively rare there and elsewhere until about the time of the close of the XIIIth century when, so it has been suggested, evidence indicates that further westward migrations developed.

After about 1200 iron came into use among peoples who used a variety of ceramics. It is found, for example, not only with late Mycenaean and Protogeometric wares in the west, but also with the 'Philistine' ware in Palestine. This, although to some extent parallel in manner of decoration with late Mycenaean fabrics in the Aegean area, incorporates the polychrome technique, which is not found in the west at this time. It seems to be reasonable to propose that the makers of 'Philistine' wares may have come from the direction of Caucasia, an area which appears to have been the earliest use of polychrome decoration, and may have been the area whence it was derived on the occasions when it was introduced to the west, and south.

It has frequently been suggested that repeated migrations of particular ideas, and therefore presumably of particular types of peoples, can be traced in the Near East. One such repetition of particular ideas appears to occur at the time now being considered, for the twisted and knobbed handles referred to as having been introduced at about 1200 to Cyprus and to the Aegean area had been also in use in those regions at the time of the Early Bronze Age, though subsequently they appear to have lost their popularity until about the end of the Bronze Age. Precisely the same happened in the case of the 'feeding vessel' shape of pot and also in the pattern of a band of chevrons. This repetition may be significant, for there can be little doubt that the people who developed civilisation in the Aegean area, and Cyprus, at the time of the early Bronze Age, were not descendants of the neolithic folk in those regions, but came thither from outside, perhaps, to some extent, as has been argued elsewhere, from Caucasia.

At a date probably soon after 1200 B.C. the compass came into use in many lands for the purpose of drawing concentric circles. As in the case of the fibula, the invention was used by several different peoples who had decidedly individual ceramics of local types. Although the evidence is incomplete, it seems that an eastern source for the invention of the compass for such work is likely.

By the close of the XIIth century the Protogeometric style had begun to evolve in the Aegean area. The typical ornaments on this ware are concentric circles and semi-circles drawn with the use of a compass, and variants of the characteristic manner of ornament on granary pottery, all of which elements are perhaps of eastern source. Many of the shapes in which protogeometric wares are made seem to be new in the west, though they are found at about the same time in Cyprus and other areas of the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Since it seems improbable that a considerable

quantity of new shapes would have evolved more or less spontaneously in the west, it may perhaps be urged that these new introductions are due to migrants from the east. Certainly other details of the period appear to have been inspired from the east, such as the principle of making loop-legs to pottery vessels, metal tripods, and certain of the metal ornaments found in the Aegean area. For while some of these things have an earlier history in the east, none have any western antecedents from which they could have been derived.

The development of the ideas characteristic of the Protogeometric Period in the west was not rapid, and does not suggest that the dominant people of the Aegean at that time were particularly enterprising. What may have occurred, so it is suggested here, was the bringing, long before the Protogeometric Period started, and apparently as early as the Thirteenth Century, of a few exploratory minded people to the west, who migrated from their eastern homes and introduced to the Aegean world the rite of cremation, the first examples of such decorative designs as the characteristic Granary style of ornament, and concentric circles. As time passed, it could be supposed that such migration increased in volume, for further new ideas, such as that of the use of compasses for drawing circles, and of a variety of new ceramic shapes, apparently of eastern source, appeared in the west, contemporaneously with an ever-increasing supply of iron. Several of these ideas became strongly established. Others, however, died out. Some of the more noticeable of the latter include the manufacture of bucchero pottery, the shape of the side-spouted vessel, and the technique of granulated gold work. Perhaps what happened was that some of the groups brought by the theoretical migrations proposed, such as that one which was characterised by the manufacture of granulated gold work, could not hold its own, for one reason or another, and ceased to have the strength to impose its traditions. Other, however, such as the groups responsible for the introduction of the concentric circle motif, the use of the compass and the Granary style, may have coalesced, and have formed, together with the manufacturers of iron objects, and possibly other groups, the Aegean Protogeometric and other allied cultures, which had evolved by the time of the XIth century, and in which there can be traced a much greater homogeneity in artistic activity, and presumably also in racial type, than is perceptible at about 1200. Such a course of events, entailing the vanishing of certain groups of humans while others, for no obvious reason, advanced from strength to strength, can frequently be discerned in history.

New ceramic shapes and styles of ornament came into use in the Aegean area at the time of the Tenth Century, with the commencement of the Geometric Period. They are not, however, confined to

that region, for parallel styles of decoration, and similar shapes of vases, appear at much the same time in parts of the eastern Mediterranean sphere, such as Cyprus and Caucasia. The usual explanation of the coming of these new ideas to Greece is that they were evolved there. Not only does this statement fail to explain the parallels between Aegaeon and Caucasian objects at this time, but it also fails to recognise that there is no trace in the west of immediate antecedents for these new things. The latter of these two points would be less significant were it not for the fact that some of these new ideas had been known earlier in the west, both during the time of the Middle Helladic period and during the Sixteenth Century, when there suddenly developed a new civilisation in Greece, quite different from what had existed there during the Middle Helladic time. It is a remarkable thing that it was precisely at those two times, so it has been argued in this book and elsewhere by the present writer, that there is evidence of westward migration to the Aegaeon area. Thus it might be reasonable to suggest that the coming into use of the Geometric style in the Aegaeon area is more likely to have been due to a migration of easterners (forebears of whom had already travelled thither), than to local evolution alone. Such migration, if it had truly occurred would perhaps have followed the pattern of the migration which, so it has been proposed, caused the inauguration of the Proto-geometric Period civilisation, though it would have been on the part of a different type of people, to judge from the ceramic evidence. Moreover, the Geometric Period folk did not introduce their ideas slowly, more or less gradually transforming the culture that they found in the west, as the Proto-geometric Period people had done. On the contrary, they seem to have imposed their ideas somewhat abruptly, so that there remains comparatively little evidence of any gradual transition from Proto-geometric to Geometric in artistic styles.

The fact that certain elements of the Aegaeon Geometric culture had appeared earlier in the west as well as in Egypt may suggest that there was a particular folk, amongst whom these ideas were traditional, which was the source whence earlier migrations had begun to move, as well as the one which formed the civilisation of the Geometric period in Greece. This is a matter open to discussion, though it certainly seems to be difficult to account, in any other way, for the repeated appearance of a group of decorative motifs at fairly long intervals, in the Aegaeon area.

The evidence of the material of the Proto-geometric, and the earlier part of the Geometric, periods appears to point the same way in each case, that is, to the coming westward of ideas and,

to some extent also, of people. People seem likely to have been involved in such movement when fundamental changes, as in the case of the popularisation of a new funerary style, occurred. That this movement towards the west continued, and was even intensified, appears possible, in the light of the material of the later Geometric Period. At this later period further very considerable changes developed in Aegaeon civilisation, these being succeeded by others at ever shortening intervals of time.

Throughout the early Iron Age in the Aegaeon area, so it has been suggested, there were migrations of varying types of peoples from east to west. At first, it may be, comparatively few people came, for the new ideas, which can be traced to the east and may be supposed to have originated there, were introduced only gradually. As time passed, however, new ideas seem to have appeared abruptly, a state of affairs which might imply that the migrations were on a large scale, though it could also be due to an increased readiness to accept new ideas in the west. The peoples concerned in these migrations, assuming that they did, in fact, occur, appear to have all come from a rather vague area stretching from the north of Syria towards Caucasia, and to have included several groups which can be isolated by their pottery productions, though in reality they may not have differed to any great extent racially or in any other way, one from another.

In this book the outlines of a picture of events has been drawn. It is a picture of repeated migrations, sometimes of one group of people, sometimes of another, wandering from east to west and from north to south, against a kind of background, which can be seen only dimly, of various peoples established in the general area of Caucasia, who upheld traditions in architecture, metal work, pottery and other things which scarcely seem to alter through the ages. Work carried out in these traditional ways appears from time to time, possibly through the agency of the migrating folk, in lands better known to the archaeologist. Perhaps such a theory as this picture provides may explain the available evidence as a coherent whole. But, if so, it is still by no means a theory to be accepted readily, for it is far from conventional.

The conventional view is that prehistory was essentially a national concern, the culture of a given people developing through the ages on a more or less steady course, presumably by virtue of

its own momentum. The theory of this book is that national cultures in the eastern Mediterranean world developed, not as a result of the intrinsic qualities of the local dwellers, but through the inspiration of external forces, set in motion by the coming of peoples from or through Caucasia from time to time. Which of these views will prove the more attractive to the student will depend on the attitude he takes to the problem of whether the qualities of originality and fertility of invention were equally distributed amongst peoples of antiquity, or whether they were comparatively limited, and found, fully developed, among certain folk only. It is a problem which lies at the root of the study of prehistory. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence with which to come to a satisfactory conclusion.

POSTSCRIPT

It is a fact that, while money is made available from official English sources for excavations carried out in a variety of regions, very little is done in the way of meeting the cost of the publication of the objects found, and consequently the excavations sometimes remain of considerably less value to students than they would have been if they had been completed properly. Even less is done to help those interested in other types of archaeological activity, and there appears to be little or no hope of publishing such wide-scale historical surveys as the one attempted in this book, admittedly controversial, but perhaps stimulating, except through private means. Under such conditions it is hardly surprising that most books now being published either deal with excavation technique, or are essays, written usually as theses to demonstrate personal qualifications, by persons too young to have obtained a grasp of more than a strictly limited field.

I should like to ask my readers seriously to consider if such a state of affairs is to the advantage of archaeology. It has, it seems to me, the effect of placing great emphasis on the technical details of excavation and allied matters, and of studies of particular classes of material. Such things are excellent in themselves, but they do not constitute the whole of archaeology, and they tend to obscure the fact that there are other aspects of the subject, such as the study of the wider implications of the material excavated. Fundamentally, archaeological study can be approached in two ways, either by the assumption that the material studied is in a sense mechanical, and that its constituent parts

can be docketed, to the vast advantage of instructors, or by the assumption that the material is, in a sense, alive, and may or may not reveal its secrets, under which condition it cannot be completely classified and labelled, and may be unintelligible if not considered against a wide background. Perhaps the two approaches could be considered to illustrate the scientific and humanist attitudes. All the emphasis in teaching today seems to encourage the former approach, and it may well be deemed to be going against the tide to plead for some thought to be given to the latter. The student who follows the unpopular approach needs, to my mind, not so much support as acceptance. He is not stifled for lack of money, for there are often ways of finding support for such things as the excavations he considers necessary to fill gaps in knowledge, or for publication. But what he does find stifling is the fact that present day archaeological thought revolves, as it were, on a fixed axis, instead of ranging out into free spaces. If I am right, and archaeology needs, at times, to be approached in the humanist way, we need the best of the younger generation. We may not get them, though, if we do not allow free scope for the adventurous habit of mind.

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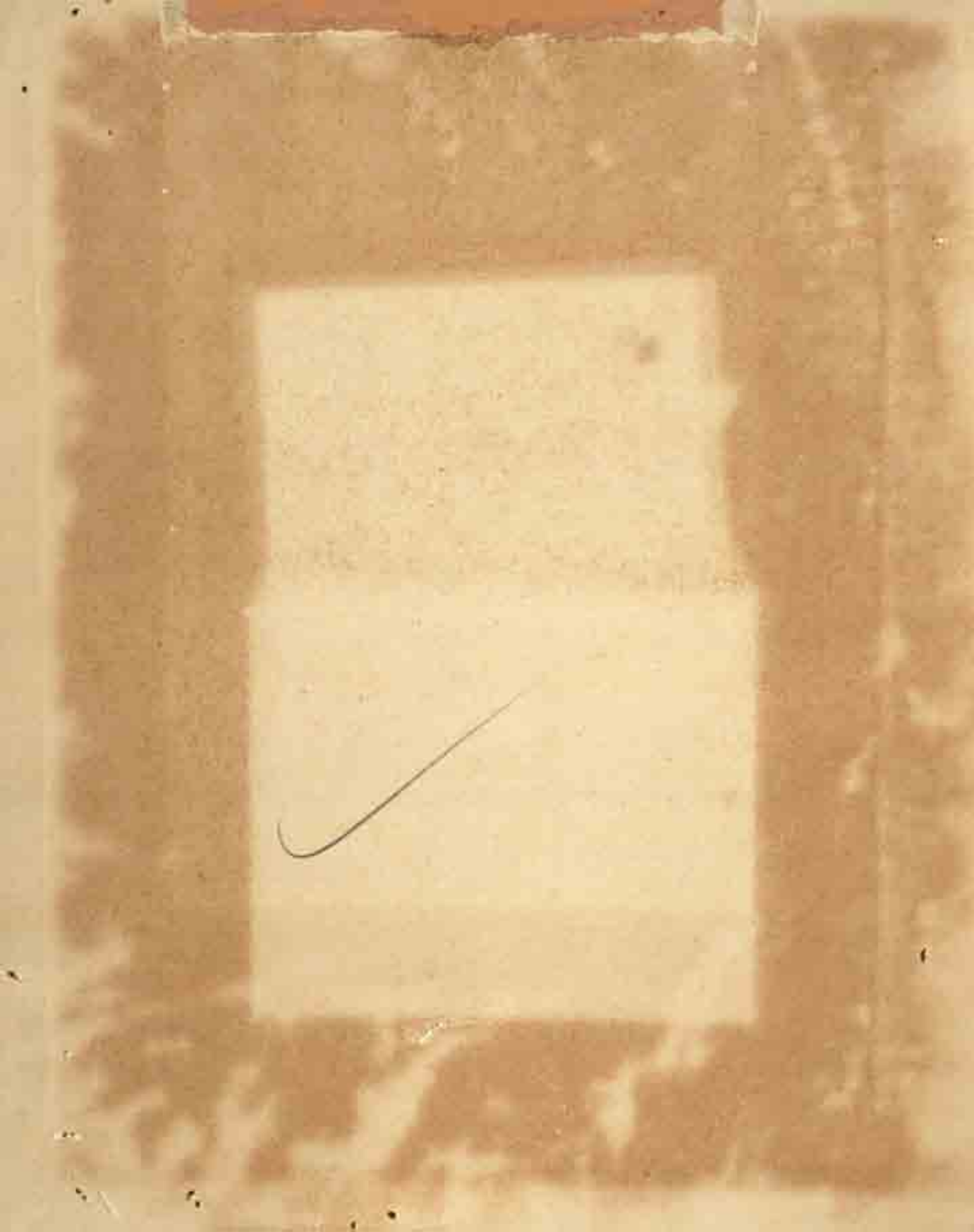
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