THE COMING OF IRON TO GREECE

by

T. Burton-Brown

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

GERALD  WAINWRIGHT

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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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe so much to so many people that an inclusive acknowledgment would scarcely be possible. But perhaps I may be allowed to mention Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. G. A. Wainwright, both of whom have greatly influenced me by their sympathy and kindness, and by their single-minded devotion to archaeology, through which they have set a very high standard for all to follow. A still greater part has been played in my work by two other people. For in the days when I was a student material support outside University awards was almost non-existent for the beginner, and I could not have studied, travelled and explored, in such a way as to develop an independent opinion had it not been for my Mother, whose work at Prior's Field will, I think, long be remembered, and for the wonderful patience and self-sacrifice of my wife. My debt to both of them is immeasurable.

T. Burton-Brown.

December, 1954
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BASOR

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BCH
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Bethsham
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Blinkenberg
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Bliss
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BMC
British Museum Catalogue of Vases.

BMG
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Boghaz Keui

Boll Adriatica
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| Mochlos     | R.B. Seager, Explorations in the island of Mochlos. |
| Mon Ant     | Monumenti Antichi (Reale Accademia dei Lincei). |
| Montet Byblos | P. Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte. |
| Morgan mission | J de Morgan, Mission scientifique en Perse. |
| Morgan origines | J de Morgan, Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte. |
| Mostagedda  | G. Brunton, Mostagedda. |
| MT          | A. Furtwangler &amp; G. Loescke, Mykenische Thongefässe. |
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| NC          | H. Payne, Necrocorinthia. |
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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 that 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.
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 Aegean 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 Aegaean area. There are two reasons for doubting such an opinion. One is to be traced in the implication that the people inhabiting the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 truth. 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 Mycenean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean, 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 Aegaean. It is also curious that the appearances of the motif should be markedly intermittent. When it does occur in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegean. 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 Aegean. Later, at about 1600, the motif appears in several parts of the Aegean 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 Aegean 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 influence. During the earlier part of the IIInd Millennium the motif comes into use in the Aegean, 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 Persia. 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 today, 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 Caucasus, 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 Aegean, at the time when the dark-on-light polychrome painted ware, which may be of Asiatic source, was in use there. And then, towards the close of the 11th Millennium, it appears very commonly used in the Aegean. 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 Aegean 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 IIInd Millennium, it appears in Syria, and at about 1600 it appears in the Aegaean, where it continues to be in use, becoming especially common during the Mycenean period. It is found at the time of the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus, and is not uncommon in the Aegaean at the time of the Geometric Period. It also appears in the Aegaean, 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 XVIth century, and during the Mycenean and Geometric Periods in the Aegaean area, and thus may suggest that there was at the time of the Mycenean 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 Aegaean, 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 Aegaean on the light-on-dark painted ware of the earlier IIInd Millennium in Crete. It is also used on the dark-on-light painted wares of the XVIth Century in the Aegaean. Subsequently it fell out of use in the Aegaean area, but was again used during Mycenean 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 Aegaean area, it ought to be described as of Aegaean 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 Aegaean. Metal is usually believed to have been manufactured first by Asiatics. It is most unlikely that its use was as early in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean. It seems therefore a fair conclusion that there were migrations at particular periods which brought to, or renewed in, the Aegaean 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, Caucasia. 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 Aegaean area, it will be less reasonable to deny that the implications of ceramic material are significant.
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ii AM XXVIII, Beil XI, 5.  
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P. Cybernetics:  
i SCE IV ii, Fig XXI, 11.  
ii Aegaeum Essays, p 77.  
Cyprus (Bichrome ware) CVA Italy XVII, Italy Plate 805, 3.  
BSA XXXIII, Plate 25, no 42.  
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 v Annuario VI-VII, p 263, fig 163.
 vi Jb XLIV, p 211, fig 19.
 vii Cl H IV, p 343, fig 279.
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ii BSA VIII, Plate XVII, 4.

iii BSA XLVII, p 266, I 6.

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(Cyprus) Mon Ant VI, Plate V, 18.

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(Africa) Delos XV, Plate I, D 8.

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i AM XLIII, Plate II, 1 & 2.  
ii Delos XV, Plate XVII, Bb 16.  
iii AJA XLIV, Plate XXIV.  
iv Jh XIV, p 209, fig 79.  

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Aegaeon (Orientalising)  
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(Note:- Sometimes in Mycenean 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.)

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### ANIMAL WITH LEGS FOLDED BENEATH

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<td>Syria</td>
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<td>POM II ii, p 655, fig 420.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Syria III, Plate LXIV, 11.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Middle Minoan I)</td>
<td>POM II, p 274.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Middle Minoan II)</td>
<td>POM I, p 257, fig 192, b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(IIInd Intermediate Period)</td>
<td>Matmar, Plate XLIII, 29.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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 elsewhere. 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 source. 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. 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 maeander 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 maeander 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 maeander and the impressed triangle pattern, is known in Caucasus, 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 Caucasus, besides the fact that the geometric maeander 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 ago, but unfortunately still remains unpublished. The other, found by Petrie, is published, but unsatisfactorily. 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 Tepe, the Khaban area 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 Caucasus. 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 IIInd 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 region.

* * *

**IMPRINTED TRIANGLES**

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<thead>
<tr>
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<td>DEP VIII, p 80, fig 108.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Sialk IV)</td>
<td>Sialk I, Plate XXVIII, 5.</td>
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<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Early Helladic)</td>
<td>i Zygn Plate V, 2: fig 114.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Eutresis, p 109, fig 124; Plate IX, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Early Cycladic,</td>
<td>AM XI, Beilage I, 1.</td>
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<td>Amorgos)</td>
<td>AM XXXVIII, Plates VII-IX.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Early Cycladic,</td>
<td>AM XLII, p 44, fig 46 (where references are given to other examples).</td>
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<td>(Nineveh V)</td>
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<td>(XIIth Dynasty)</td>
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40
Syria (Atchana level VII, c 1600) AJ XXX, Plate VIII b (see also ILN 2 Dec 1939 p 833 fig 6).

Caucasus (undated) RAC II, Plate XI, 4; Plate XIIIb, 1; Plate LIII, 4.
(Samthawro) ZfE 17, Plate XIII, 10.

Italy (Monte Cetona) (Photograph exists, though object apparently unpublished: copy in possession of writer)

Aegaeon (Geometric) Thera II, p 40, fig 123
(Orientalising) i JHS LXVIII, Plate IV, c.
ii Corinth VII 1, Plate 25, 182.

Azarbaijan Az 1948, Plate XI, 8 & 9.

TORQUES
(Dismissed by C. F. A. Schaeffer in Ugaritica II.)

Egypt (XIth Dynasty) i IEG, Plate XIII, 18.
ii F Studies II, p 149.

Syria (Early IIInd Millennium) Byblos, Plate XCIII, and p. 271.
(2100 - 1900) Ug II, fig 22.

Egypt (Pan Grave culture) Mestagedda, Plate LXXIV 3120, 3170.
Persia (Tepe Gtian) Herzfeld Iran, Plate XXX.
(Sialk B) Sialk II, Plate XCI, S. 1754.

Caucasia (Dchvari) i Yessen, fig 17-3.
ii RAC II, Atlas, Plate XVI.

Italy (Ist millennium) Mon Ant XXII, col 99, fig 42.
( Julian Alps) 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.

1. 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, Heinrich 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 fur Paul Clemens, 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, Dennmore 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 lesser 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 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 staving 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 organised 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 Sinuhe so graphically relates, and as appears also from Biblical statements (Gen. 11, 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.


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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATUM</th>
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<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>3000-2800.</td>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>1550-1479</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>2500-</td>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>1479-1350.</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>-1950.</td>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>1350-1150.</td>
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<td>XV.</td>
<td>1950-1850.</td>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>1150-1100.</td>
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<td>XIV.</td>
<td>1850-1800.</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>1050-1000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIII.</td>
<td>1800-1750.</td>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>1000-800.</td>
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<tr>
<td>XII.</td>
<td>1750-1700.</td>
<td>III.</td>
<td>750-650.</td>
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<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>1700-1650.</td>
<td>II.</td>
<td>650-550.</td>
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<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>1650-1500</td>
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</table>

7. It is not possible satisfactorily to date the use of Cemetery B at Salk. It may be observed that an imitation of a scarab of Seti I st (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 XVII), and on Dhimini ware in Thessaly (BHC I i, pp 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 patterns 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 Anarbaijan (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, wherever it appears, from the general area of Cucassia.

9. LBA XI, pp 43 ff. See above, page 30, also.

10. ILN 2 Dec 1939, p 233, fig 6.


12. IKG, 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. E. Virchow, Das Grabenfeld von Koban, Plate VI, 1 & 2; Plate X, 11.

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 Azarbaijan.

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 Egypt, 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 Ist 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.)

It is scarcely necessary to discuss the changes in civilisation at the time of the XVIth Century in such lands as Cyprus, Syria or Egypt, 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 pre-
sent purpose attention is best given to events within the Aegaean
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 to-
wards the west. Events in the Aegaean 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 pre-
viously in the west. But it is similar in technique of manufacture,
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 3000. This new Aegaean fabric is made in a
variety of shapes which are new in the Aegaean, 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:

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

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 Aegaean.
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 origin. 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 Aegaean. The Piri-form Jar shape 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 Jericho, and at Gaza, where an example was dated by Petrie to the time of the XVIth Dynasty. It may be 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 Ur. The shape also occurs in Cypriote Base Ring ware, of about the 16th Century at its first appearance. The Stirrup Vase, so characteristic a shape of Mycenaean pottery, is found, though not very commonly, in the Aegaean 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 shape is a type of vessel which may be connected with the Keftiuian folk. Its early history is not known, save that there is no antecedent for it in the west. The long Pear shaped vessel is closely paralleled in shape in Egypt at the time of the close of the Old Kingdom, 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 Egypt and with part of a faience 'tea-pot' shaped vessel. 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 IIInd 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 I 20. Shallower bowls with a similar profile have been found in Azarbaijan 21, and elsewhere 22 in the Near East, probably of about the XVIth century. The shape is characteristic of Base Ring ware 23, which appeared at that time. It re-appears in the Aegaean in Protogeometric days 24.

### BAGGY ALABASTRON

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<td><em>University of Pennsylvania, Anthropology, Memoirs, I, Plate LXVI, 40.</em></td>
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<td>(VII–VIIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Qau I, Plate XLV, 3748.</td>
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<td>(IXth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Qau II, Plate XCIII, 93 M.</td>
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<td>(Sediment, C. 1500)</td>
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<td>(XVIth Century)</td>
<td>Gournia, Plate IX, 7, 8.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unpub Palai, fig. 25.</td>
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<td>Mycenaean</td>
<td>(Phaestos, early LM III)</td>
<td>POM IV, p 337, fig 280, b,c.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Palaiakastro)</td>
<td>Unpub Palai, fig 63.</td>
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### EGG-SHAPED VESSEL

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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(First Intermediate Period)</td>
<td>Qau I, Plate XXX, 7893, 7930.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Tepe Gawra VI)</td>
<td>Gawra, Plate LXIX, 130.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('Neo-Sumerian')</td>
<td>Tello 20 Campaigne, fig 56.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(MM III, Harvester Vase)</td>
<td>POM II, p 224.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Navro Spelio)</td>
<td>POM II ii, Supplementary Plate XXI, A c.</td>
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<td>(MM III )</td>
<td>Unpub Palai, p 35 fig 23.</td>
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<td>(LM I)</td>
<td>Gournia, Plate VII, 40.</td>
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<td>i J de Morgan, Mission au Caucase I, fig 212.</td>
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KYLIX

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        (Shah Tepe III-II b) ii
Aegaean  (Early Minoan)
Cyprus  (2500 ?)
Syria  (before 2000 ?)
Anatolia  (about 2000)
Aegaean  (Minyan ware)
        (XVIth Century)
Armenia  (undated)
Caucasia  (undated)
        (undated Djönu)
Anatolia  (Kusura, C Period)
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Ex.s in TH, Plate VIII.
SC, fig 316, 8.
POM I, fig 19.
POM II ii, p 635, fig 399, c.
Arch 88, Plate XV c.
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ILN 9 April 1938, p 633, top right.
Eutresia, fig 184.
POM IV, p 363, fig 303.
Arm II ii, p 567.
SC, fig 220.
Morgan, Mission IV, fig 112, 2.
Arch 86, Plate VIII, 9.
POM II ii, p 634, n.
Very common 25.
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 Aegaean, there appears to be reason to trace the coming westward of eastern ideas. The motifs concerned are:

MOTIF

Pot-Hook Spiral
Wavy line
Swastika
Rows of dots bordering a motif
Rosette
Circular line with pot-hooks growing from it
Animal drawn with its head turned back
Line making large vertical loops
Lozenge with ornaments at the corners
Row of ivy-leaf motifs.

CATALOGUE ON PAGE

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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 that to have been introduced from outside the Aegaean area from time to time.

POT-HOOK SPIRAL

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<td>AOF XIV, p. 293, fig 12, 1-3.</td>
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<td>A. Stein, Archaeological Reconnaissances in N.W. India and S.E. Iran, Plate XXVII.</td>
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<pre><code>            |                      | BMG XIII B, fig 61, no. 1. (p 106).             |
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<td>vi AA 1925, 339, fig 10.</td>
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**WAVY LINE**

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(Tepe Giyan II)
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Mycenean (Ialysos)
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(Levanto-Helladic)
(close style)
(Palaikastro)
(Mouliana)
(Greece)
(gramary)

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Italy (Coppa Navigata)
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Syria (Early Iron Age, Hamam)
(Early Iron Age, Carchemish)

Cyprus (Early Iron Age)

Aegaean (Early Iron Age)

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ii PT, p 210, fig 145, g. (Theotoku)
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<td>Phylakopi, p 117, fig 90.</td>
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<td>(LM II)</td>
<td>ILN 12 Jan 1952, p 60, fig 18.</td>
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<td>Hesp Supp II, p 180, fig 130.</td>
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<td>(c. 600)</td>
<td>CVA Denmark, Denmark Plate 77, 1.</td>
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<td>ii Morgan Origines I, p 115, fig 136.</td>
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<td>RC, Plate 162. (U. 10850).</td>
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<td>iv Unpub Palai, p 15, fig 9.</td>
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<td>AM XXXIV, Plate XX.</td>
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<td>ii Gournâ, Plate VIII, 21; Plate IX, 29.</td>
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<td>(Late Minoan II)</td>
<td>POM IV i, fig 285.</td>
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<td>BMC I i, p 193, fig 276.</td>
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<td>Persia</td>
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<td>Anatolia</td>
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<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>NC, Plate I, 3.</td>
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<td>ii Hesp XIV, Plate XX, 2.</td>
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CIRCULAR LINE, FROM WHICH GROW POT-HOOK SPIRALS ALL THE WAY ROUND

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<th>Region</th>
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<td>Anatolia</td>
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<td>ii TAI 1928-9 i, Plate XXVI, b 36: 325.</td>
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<td>Phylakopi, Plate XIII, 17.</td>
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ANIMAL OR BIRD WITH HEAD TURNED BACK

Mesopotamia (Tell Halaf ware) i Tell Halaf I, Frontispiece, 2.
          ii AFO XII, p 170, fig 8.
          (Gebel el Arak knife handle)
Mesopotamia (Nineveh, MM - 54) von Bissing, Catalogue Générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Tongefässer (i), Plate V, 18805 and p 29.
          (Jemdet Naar)
          (archaic seals)
          (c. 2500) i Tello, 20 campagnes, fig 27.
          ii RC, Plate 142, U.10009.
Mesopotamia (II Ind. Millennium or earlier)
Persia (Susa '3rd millennium') DEP VII, Plate III.
          (Susa II)
          Survey I, p 291, fig 70 e.
          i DEP XIII, Plate XXXV, 6; Plate XXXVIII, 6.
          ii Contenu, Antiquités orientales. Louvre, Plate 49.
Syria (Atchana level XIII) AJ XXX, Plate IX, b.
Egypt (VIth Dynasty) Qau II, Plate XCVI, 23.
Aegaean (Middle Minoan I)
          (Middle Minoan)
Mesopotamia (1st Dynasty of Babylon)
Anatolia (c. 1800) BM Catalogue of engraved gems, Plate I, 5.
          Cyl Seals, Plate XXVIIId.
          ILN 6 Oct 1951, p 547, bottom row, Middle.
Persia

Near Eastern vessel taken to Cyprus

Aegaean

(Middle Minoan III) (XVIIth Century)

Egypt

(XVIIth Century) (XVIIIth Dynasty)

Near East (c. 1500 ?)

Palestine

Aegaean (Isopata)

Egypt

(1400-1350) (Tutankhamun tomb)

Aegaean (1400-1300)

Palestine (c. 1400)

Mesopotamia (Assur)

Egypt (c. 1250)

Cyprus (1300-1200)

Persia (Talyche, undated)

Palestine ('Philiatine')

Persia (Luristan, undated)

Near East ('Syro-Cappadocian')

Persia (Sialk B)

Syria (Carchemish)

Mesopotamia (Assyrian period)

Aegaean (Geometric)

Iran Denk B, Plate XIII, 8 & 9.

JHS LXX, p 15, fig 10.

Bossert, Alt Kreta, 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.

QDAP VIII, Plate XIII, b.

Arabah, Plate XVII, 320.

ii von Bissing, Ein alt-Thebanischer Grabfund, Plate VIII, 7, bottom row.

i PM Library seals, Plate CLIX, 1046 E.

ii Cyl Seals, Plate XXI, a.

Gezer III, Plate CCII, b 5.

Arch LF, p 544, fig 138.

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.

i JHS LXXI, p 241, Plate XLVI b.

ii Dendra RT, p 58.

iii Aegaean Essays, Plate II.

iv JHS LIX, Plate XIV a.

v Coll myc Ath, p 85

Bliss, Stratum IV (below Mycenean).

Reich und Kultur der Che, figs 40, 52.

Qau III, Plate XXXVI, 9.

Ex a in C., Plate II, 1339 A; Plate IV, 1.

SC, p 410, fig 30.

i Gezer III, Plate LXX, 14 & others.

ii QDAP V, fig 11, 2.

iii AASOR XII, Plate XXIII, 1.

ILN '22 Oct 1932, p 615, fig 16.

Cylinders. Louvre, II, Plate 97, 14.

i ILN 16 March 1935, p 416, top right.

ii Sialk II, Plate XXX, 7.

LAAA XXVI, Plate XIII, 11.

W. Andrae, Farbigkeramik aus Assur, Plate 21.

i Matz GGK 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.
Aegaean (Orientalising) i Kinch, cols 233-4.
ii BSA XXXIV, p 5, Plate III A.
iii Cl II, III, coloured Plate A.
Cyprus Ex. s in C, p 104, fig 151.
Italy (Canale) Åkerström, Plate 8, 8.
Aegaean (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.
Aegaean (early Bronze Age) Phylakopi, Plate V, 18.
Anatolia (Troy II-V) SS, p 124, no 2470.
(Aliashar III) TAH 30-32 I, fig 255, 2.
Egypt (Middle Kingdom) POM II, p 200, fig 110, A.f.
Anatolia (early 11th millennium) i Bittel Forschung, Plate VII, 3.
ii F. Studies, Plate IX, 2.
Aegaean (Middle Cycladic probable example) Phylakopi, Plate XII, 28.
(Middle Minoan II) POM 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.
Mycenae (Aegaean) MV, Plate XXXVI.
i ILN 2 May 1953, p 711, fig 926.
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 Jacobatal 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 Ephesos 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, Die neolithische Station von Bursir II, 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)  
Ug II, fig 55, 17.
(Mycenae)  
Mon Ant XIV, col. s 611 ff.
(Sparta)  
Amarna, Plate XXVII, 26-29.
(Cyprus)  
MV, Plate XXXVI, 367.
(Tiryns)  
BSA XVI, Plate I.
(Dendra)  
Ex. a in C, p 7, fig 10.
(Tiryns, Plate IX.

Aegean (Geometric)  
i Thera II, fig 341.
ii Eph 1885, Plate 9, 2.
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 Aegaean area during the XVIth century, being associated with a particular shape of jug 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 Aegaean 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.
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 Aegaean area, and which have been studied by Professor Persson. 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean during the XVth 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 confines oneself to the opinion that while much in funerary architecture from about 1600 in the Aegaean 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.
Before the close of the XVIth Century a new type of architecture appeared on the mainland of Greece, the Tholos. 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. 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. 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 Aegaean 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. 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 Mycenaean 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.

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. 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. This strange and difficult technique had also been practised in the Aegaean area at about 2000, a time which may have witnessed the coming of Asiatic ideas to the west.
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<th>Period/Type</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<td>(Early Minoan III)</td>
<td>Mesara, Plate IV, 386.</td>
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<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Troy III 'burnt city')</td>
<td>Ilios, fig s 830-1, 841.</td>
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<td>(Knossos, c. 2000)</td>
<td>POM IV ii, p 423, fig 349.</td>
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<td>(Mallia, MM II a)</td>
<td>POM IV i, p 75, fig 48.</td>
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<td>Syria</td>
<td>(found associated with torques and toggle pins)</td>
<td>Montet Byblos, Plate LXIII, 411, pp 127 ff.</td>
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<td>Byblos I, p 156, fig 146.</td>
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<td>Syria</td>
<td>(XVIth Century)</td>
<td>AJ XVIII, Plate XVI, 4.</td>
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<td>Aegæan</td>
<td>(XVIth Century)</td>
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<td>Eph. 1889, Plate VII, 4 &amp; 7.</td>
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<td>Mycenaean</td>
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<td>Dendra RT, Plate XXV, 2.</td>
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<td>(Tiryns treasure)</td>
<td>Delton II Parartema, pp 14 ff, Plate I, fig 8. See also Karo in AM LV, pp 119 ff.</td>
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<td>(Mouliana)</td>
<td>Eph 1904, col. 50, fig 13.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Ialysoa)</td>
<td>Annuario VI-VII, p 166, fig 94 (gold ring with inlay).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(pendants in many places)</td>
<td>Amer Academy Rome I, pp 69 ff.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Enkomi)</td>
<td>Ex s in C, pp 18-19.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk A)</td>
<td>Sialk II, Plate V, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(end of the IIInd millennium)</td>
<td>Anc Gaza IV, Plate XIII.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
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<td>(Sialk B)</td>
<td>Herzfeld Iran, Plate XXX.</td>
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<td>ILN 16 March 1935, p 416, middle row, left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus</td>
<td>(undated)</td>
<td>ARM, fig 422.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegæan</td>
<td>(Geometric)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Amer Academy Rome I, pp 74 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus</td>
<td>('Scytho-Byzantine')</td>
<td>RAC III, Plate XIV, 27.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A variety of new kinds of arms and armour appear in the Aegean at the time of the XVIth Century. These include the chariot, the socketed spear, the 'hollow-based' type of arrow-head, the cutting sword and possibly the composite bow. Chariots had long previously been in use in the east, where they had been drawn by animals guided by reins and, presumably, bits, 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, 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, apparently associated with painted pottery which might be of as early as about 2000.

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, it would also suggest that this type of spear-head was of eastern invention, while the fact that it is made of iron might be supposed to connect it with the general area of Caucasus, 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, Asiatic 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 Caucasus, and, made in obsidian, in Azarbaijan, 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. 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. 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 XVth century, an example having been found in the Fifth Shaft Grave. A contemporary example comes from Ras Shamra in Syria. This type is, however, known earlier in the east, for one such sword was found in a tomb at Alaca in central Anatolia, while another comes from Qau in Egypt, where it is dated to the First Intermediate Period. 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. 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, Caucasus, according to a small amount of evidence which is discussed in this book. Except for the Middle Minoan I sword from Mallia in Crete, and for an example carried by a Kekiuian who appears in a fresco on the wall of the Tomb of Senmut 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 Aegaean, as for example in Chamber Tomb 2 at Dendra, a tomb believed to date from about 1200, and in Tomb B at Mouflonia, a tomb sometimes described as of 'sub-Minoan' date. This B Tomb at Mouflonia 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 Nauke type II, 'undoubtedly originated' 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 torches, 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 Nauke 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 Caucasus.

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

New types of armour to appear in use within the Aegaean 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. This design of helmet appeared later in the Aegaean area, at Kavouris in Crete in late Geometric days, and elsewhere. It was also a common type of helmet in Assyria early in the First Millennium, and also appeared at Carchemish, possibly as early as the end of the Second Millennium. If the type had been invented within the Aegaean 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, 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 Aegaean area appears on the silver rhyton from the Fourth Shaft Grave. A similarly shaped helmet, with such a crest, is worn by the 'Custodian of the Gate' at Boghaz Keui, presumably of before 1200. It also appears at Kavouris and Knossos in Crete, and on the Hunt shield from the Idaean Cave, 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 Aegaean area. It appears contemporaneously in the Lausitz region of south Germany.
A helmet with horns fixed in it appears to be illustrated on a fragment of faience from the Third Shaft Grave. Helmets with horns are not rare in Cyprus during Mycenean days, and they occur contemporaneously in the Aegaean area. The Shardana wore helmets with horns at about 1200.

The earliest examples of the round shield found in the Aegaean area are supposed to be those which appear to be drawn on the Phaestos Disc. At the time of the Thirteenth Century the round shield appears in Syria, and a century later in Egypt, used by the Shardana and Pulesat people in their attacks on that land. It also appears in the Aegaean 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.

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 Aegaean region, namely Caucasus-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 Aegaean area, is made with its bezel at right angles to the hoop. 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, 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, which has been dated to Late Helladic II. Such spoons, decorated and otherwise, are very rare at all times in the Aegaean area. They are, however, known in Cyprus, 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, 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 back appears not only during the Sixteenth Century at Mycenae, but also at about the same time, or possibly even earlier, in Azerbaijan. 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.

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 IIId and IVth Shaft Graves there, Miss Lorimer has suggested comparisons with bird figurines which appear on IIId 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'. 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 Aegaean.

At the time of the XVIth century a particular variety of triglyph design appears at Mycenae and in Crete. There is also an example of LM. II. date, 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. This motif may be of eastern source, for it appears on an 'archaic' seal from Susa.

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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area during the earlier part of the Bronze Age. But this does not mean that it can be considered to be of Aegaean 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Predynastic)</td>
<td>Nagada, Plate XXXVI, no 85.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Early Bronze Age)</td>
<td>Jb XXII, pp 207 ff.</td>
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<td>(Troy II)</td>
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<td>SS, p 63, no 1481.</td>
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<td>Armenia</td>
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<td>Arm II ii, p 566.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(Early Bronze Age)</td>
<td>SCE I, Plate CII, 1.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Aegaean (Early Bronze Age)

i  Zyg, fig. 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 5, 23.
v  Graef, Plate I, 7.
vi  Pre Mac, p 173, no.s 191-2.

(E.H. III)
(M.H.)
(M.M. I)
(XVIth Century)

i  Pernier I, P 281, fig. 5. 43.
ii  Hesp Supp VIII, Plate VII, 2.
iii  Phylakopi, fig. 88-9.
iv  POM IV i, p 293, fig 288.
v  JHS XXIII, p 257, fig 31.
vi  W Mycenae, Plate 70 a.
vi  Karo S, Plate CLXXXIII, 944.

(L.M./H. II)

Cyprus (IIInd millennium)

Egypt (XVIIth Dynasty)

Mycenean (Egypt)
(Rhodes)
(Attica)

i  Perier I, P 281, fig. 5. 43.
ii  Hesp Supp VIII, Plate VII, 2.
iii  Phylakopi, fig. 88-9.
iv  POM IV i, p 293, fig 288.
v  JHS XXIII, p 257, fig 31.
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Egypt (XVIIth Dynasty)

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Egypt (XVIIth Dynasty)

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Egypt (XVIIth Dynasty)

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vi  Karo S, Plate CLXXXIII, 944.
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, 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. It is ornamented with rather conventionalised floral tendrils modelled in relief. These tendrils are similar to those appearing in relief on a Persian Sassanid silver dish. Another parallel to the floral end of these tendrils appears painted on a granary class vessel from Mycenae. 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 Aegaean, the ceramic styles of which are by now fairly well known. Maybe it is northwest 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.

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 Aegaean and elsewhere in the Near East during the IIIrd Millennium, and again during the IIInd 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, similar in several respects to the ‘scent receptacles’ so common in the Aegaean 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. 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

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

Egypt
(Predynastic)

i Dios P, Plate XIV, 67.
ii E.B. Knobel and others, Historical Studies, Plate XXIII, 19-26.

(Early Dynastic)

i J.E. Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, Plate XX, 2 and 4.
ii Abusir el Melek, Plates 16, 24 and 57.

Aegaean
(Early Cycladic)

Phylakopi, Plate IV, 7.

(Early Minoan I-II)

Mesara, Plate II, 4121 and 4126.

(Early Helladic II)

Eutresis, Plate VII, 1.

Anatolia
(Troy III)

Zyg, p 81, no I.

Persia
(Third millennium)

Ilios, fig.s 339-340.

(Hissar III)

DEP VII, fig.s 10-14.

(Sussa II)

EX.s in TH, Plate XLVI, H. 2785.

(Shah Tepe)

DEP XIII, Plate XXXVIII.

Mesopotamia
(Later Third millennium, Tell Asmar)

Arne, Plate LXIX, fig 538.

Syria
(Later Third millennium)

Byblos, no.s 4552 ff.

Egypt
(Twelfth dynasty)

Hyksos and Is. cities, Plate VIII A, 59-63.

(Early Second millennium)

Aegaean
(Early Second millennium)

i Eutresis, Plate XII, 1.
ii POM I, fig 107.
iii Mesara, Plate VII, 5052-3; Plate LII, 6868 and 6869.
iv Mochlos, fig 28, XI, 14.

Anatolia
(c. 1800)

ILN 6 Oct 1951, p 546, bottom.

Aegaean
(XVItth century)

i Karo S, Plate CXV.
ii Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania 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.
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 Caucasie.

RHYTON TERMINATING IN THE FOREPART OF AN ANIMAL OR BIRD
(Discussed by von Bissing in AA 1923-4, col. a 106 ff.)

Egypt

Arch. 82, Plate XXIII, 1 and 14.
Ug. II, Plate XXXVII.

Caucasia

Materials C, VIII, Plate XLII, 14.
Morgan Mission IV, fig 125, 1.
SC, fig 235.

Cyprus

SCE IV ii, Fig VII.
SC, fig 216, §5.

Persia

Sialk II, Plate XXI, 3.

Syria

Megiddo I, Plate VIII, 180.

Aegaean

CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 486, 1 & 2.
Deltion Parartemis 1927-8, p 3, fig 27.

Central Europe

Déchelette II, p 388, fig 155.
Zimmer Plate IV, 1.

Aegaean

NC, pp 170 ff.

('Post-Hittite')

W. M. F. Petrie, Qurnah, Plate XXV & p 7.
Hyksos and Is. cities, Plate XXXVII A.

Syria

AA LV, col. a 577-9 and fig 15.

Armenia

LAAA VII, Plate 27, 15 and 17.

Aegaean

AA 1923-4, col. a 106 ff.

('Phrygian', from Marash)

Jb XXVI, 249 ff.

South Russia

LAAA X, Plate 68.
Kul Olba.

Minns, p 197, ABC XXII, 7.
VASE IN THE FORM OF A HUMAN

Aegaean (E.M. III) Mochlos, p 64, XIII g, fig 34.
Egypt (XIth Dynasty) Dendereh, Plate XXI.
(XVIIIth Dynasty) i Balabish, Plate XX.
(ii Sedment II, Plate XLVIII, 25.
(XVIII-XIXth Dynasty) Murray in Historical Studies, pp 40 ff.
Aegaean (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.
Aegaean (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 Aegaean 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 Prst and Dkkr people who were engaged in the attacks on Egypt at the time of Ramesses III, during the latest part of the IIInd 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, 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 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, the home of the Philistines. 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. 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 Caucasus. 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 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.

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, 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 Caucasus. 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,\textsuperscript{109} is also found in Urartu land,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Caucasus. 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.

\textbf{OPENWORK FILIGREE IN THE FORM OF LOOPS ALTERNATELY TO RIGHT AND LEFT}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mesopotamia</th>
<th>(Ur)</th>
<th>RC, Plate 138, U 11806.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tell Asmar)</td>
<td>IIIN 15 July 1933, Colour Plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Early IIInd millennium) Montet Byblos, Plate LXIII, 413-5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegeaean</td>
<td>(XVIth century) POM I, Plate V (Gaming board).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(XIVth century ?) Sialk II, Plate V, 7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>(Etruscan) SE VIII, p 56.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIBULA WITH WAVY UPPER PART

Caucasia

i RAC II, Plate XXII bia, no 7.
ii MAGW 1891, p 69, fig 98.
iii Yessen, fig 32, 1.
iv Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N.P.Kondakov, article by A. Kalitinsky, Plate VIII, 33 and 34.

Europe (Julian Alps)

Marchesetti, Necropoli di Santa Lucia, in Boll adriatica 1893, Plate 29, 2.

Aegaean (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

Aegaean (Cephallenia)

Deltion 1919, p 118, fig 33.

Italy

i VEE, Plate 19, 13.
ii Pinza and Nogara, fig 110 (p 161).

Europe (Hallstatt A)

Much, Plate XXXV, 20.
PSS 1948, Plate XVII B.

Composite figures, such as human bodies with bird heads, are by no means uncommon in antiquity, first appearing in the Aegaean at the time of the XVIth Century. There is a wide variety illustrated on the sealings from Zakro, which reveal a general similarity with Greek composite figures of a later date, such as the hippocelryon. This, as Dr. Boses has pointed out, may be connected with the grylli, and with the seal impressions which Woolley found at Ur. 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 Aegaean and Sardiaia.
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. 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

(Discovered by V. Müller, OLZ XXVIII, col. 785 ff., and by A. Roos, Greek geometric art, pp. 93 ff.)

Egypt

(Predynastic)

Mesopotamia

(IIIrd Millennium)

(Nineveh, at A.27)

(Tepe Gawra)

Persia

(Hissar III)

Egypt

(Vth Dynasty)

(VIIth Dynasty)

(VIIIth Dynasty)

(Ist Intermediate Period)

Syria

(Byblos level XXVI)

Aegean

(Early Minoan III)

Aegean

(XVIth Century)

Mycenean

(Elieusia)

Egypt

(1350)

Persia

(c. 1200)

(Luristan)

PSBA, 1900, p 160.

i ILN 19 May 1934, p 778.

ii Iraq IX, Plate XV.

iii Cylinders, Louvre, Plate I, 6 b.

LAAA XVIII, Plate XXV, 22-3.

Gawra, Plate XIII, b.1.

PMJ XXIII, Plate XXXIII, pp 488-9.

Deshasheh, Plate XXVI, 26.

Amulets, Plate XXXIX, 220, a, b.

Qau II, Plate XCV, 17.

Buttons, Plate I.o. ; Plate IV 235 ff.

Byblos, Plate LXXII.

Deltion IV Parartema, p 22, fig 8.

JHS XXII, p 82, no 49 (fig 14).

Roos GGA, p 119.

Amarna, Plate XVII, 306.

DEP VII, Plate XXI, 4, a.

ILN 6 Sept 1930, p 389, fig 9
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 Azerbaijan and in eastern Anatolia, its arrival in the west being attributed to migration from those parts of the east. 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

Mesoopotamia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Late IIIrd Millennium)</td>
<td></td>
<td>i Cylindres...Louvre I, Plate II, 1-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaeae</td>
<td>(Early Minoan III)</td>
<td>POM I, fig 87, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(VIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Mostagedda, Plate LX, 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Susa)</td>
<td>BDP VII, Plate XXI, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Buhken: XIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Buhken, Plate 89, 10874.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

82
Another introduction to the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean after 1600 would not therefore be so strange as might appear at first glance. The source, at the time of the XVth Century, of the Vaphio cup shape is doubtless a matter about which no certainty can be reached, but the possibility that it was then reintroduced from the east to the west is important, since this shape is one of those represented in Egypt, in a tomb of about 1500, in the hand of a Keftiuian. 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 Aegaean type. But if it is as much an Asiatic shape as an Aegaean 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 Aegaean, 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. Nothing in the least like this type of vessel has yet been seen in the Aegaean area. But shapes which may be related have been found in western Asia, both at Assur by Professor Andrae, and in Cilicia by Garstang. 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 Aegaean, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Predynastic)</td>
<td>El Amrah, Plate XV, c.55.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Protodynastic)</td>
<td>i Abydos I, Plate X, 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Old Kingdom)</td>
<td>ii Sedment I, Plate I, 560, 3 and 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Late Neolithic)</td>
<td>iii Mahasna, Plate XI, K 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Shah Tepe II b)</td>
<td>iv Meydum, Plate XIX, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Misaar III)</td>
<td>i Qau II, Plate LXXVI, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tell Ay)</td>
<td>ii Mitt deut Ins Kairo III, p 97.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(about 2000)</td>
<td>Pre Mac, Plate VI, 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Early Minoan)</td>
<td>Arne, fig 368.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(XIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>PMJ XXIII, Plate CXV, II 873.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Syria XVI, Plate LVI, 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i Unpub Palai, Plate II h: fig 5, a and b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Mochlos, fig 50, no 88.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mesara, Plate XXIII, 729 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W.M.F. Petrie, <em>The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Nazghuneh</em>, Plate XXXIII, 23 etc.</td>
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</table>
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 Egypt\(^2\) and in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 XVIth 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 Aegaean 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 XVIth century in Egypt and the Aegaean area when it is not, in fact, new 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period/Region</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Tomb of Tutankhamun)</td>
<td>ILN 20 Oct 1928, p 715.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JEA XXVII, Plate XX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>('LM III a')</td>
<td>POM IV ii, p 497, fig 436.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Seti Ist)</td>
<td>Montet reliques, p 7, fig 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(XVIIIth-XIXth dynasties)</td>
<td>KGH, Plate XVIII, 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ramesside Period)</td>
<td>G. Brunton Garôb, Plate XXV, 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near East</td>
<td>('Middle Assyrian')</td>
<td>Cyl seals, Plate XXXI h.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dussaud, pp 288 ff, fig 207.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Aegaean world at the time of the XVIth
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 Caucasus, 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 Aegaean world during the XVIIth 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 XVIth century from the time when iron was in common
use, the Iron Age, beginning at the end of the IIInd Millennium. 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, figs 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 an 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 266 B: POM IV, p 271, fig 204: 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 CLXVII, 193) 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.

10. This vessel is discussed by Wace in BSA XXXVII, pp 259 ff.
12. RC, Plate 266, 230, 232. There is also one from Ashur, Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo no. 16316.
14. POM II, Supplementary Plate XXIV; POM III, pp 89 ff, and AJA XL, 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 228, fig 129.
17. Qas I, Plate XXX.
18. POM II, fig 537 K.
19. POM II, fig 541 B.
20. POM I, fig 279 E. POM II, p 632, fig 396. Compare, however, Mochlos, fig 26, VII C, dated to MM I.
22. Sedment II, Plate LIX, 8. Kypros and Is cities, Plate XII A.
23. BMC I 11, fig 56.
24. Kerameikos IV, Plate 30, 2041.
25. The kylix appears late in the Mycenean period with a conical shaped bowl (ODAP IV, Plate XVII, 289; SCB II, Plate XXIII, Amathus tomb 15; ODAP V, p 103, fig 9.). Another version of the kylix found during and after the Mycenean period has a bowl with flat bottom and vertical sides, often adorned with horizontal ridges (Ug II, fig 64, 5. POM IV, fig 966 i. Anc Gaza I, Plate XIV, 7-8. Gordion figs 40, 41. Handbook Cesaora no. 676: BMC I 11, Plate XIII, H 94.) This variety appears best known from the Syrian-Palestinian area, and from Italy, whether it came, may be, from the east.

26. In this example—the technique is enamel work. This technique is most rare at no early a date. Some of the earliest examples of enamel previously known were from Caspasia, and were usually dated to not before about 1000 (Arch LXXIX, p 8.)
27. Phylakopi, Plate XXV, 4-6: BSA XLVII, p 83.
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. FOM IV, pp 770 ff.
33. Lorimer, pp 111 ff.
34. Little plaques of gold for attachment, like those found in the Shaft Graves (Ross
   sert AC, p 98, so 194) but representing a man riding a horse, have been found in
   Causcia (ARM, fig 436). The same idea appears in the birds of gold foil from
   Dahshur of the XIIIth Dynasty (Dahshur 1894-5, Plate XII).
38. BSA XXV, Plate XL.
41. Lorimer, p 263.
42. FOM IV, pp 172-4.
43. RC, Plate 92.
44. Lorimer, pp 307 ff.
45. Triateuli, Plate CVI. There is another, undated, illustrated in RBA July 1931,
   Plate II, 2.
46. This matter is discussed by Hissar in Antiquity XVII, p 133.
47. Beben, Plate 88. See also Wainwright 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 IIInrd millennium (PMJ XXIII, Plate CXIX, H 70). For the dating of
   the Hissar III period see LAMA XXVIII, pp 27 ff.
49. Morgan Mission IV, fig 76, 13.
50. Az 1948, fig 44, 16-17.
51. Bad civ, Plate XXII. Other occurrences are listed in Az 1948, p 233, note 1.
52. Az 1948, pp 50-1.
53. Lorimer, p 264.
54. Syria 1936, p 141, fig 22 C.
55. PPS 1948, p 185, Plate XVIII E.
56. Oau I, Plates XXXVIII & XLII.
57. Lorimer, pp 266-7. A sword of this shape as carried by the Shardana comes from
   Elisabetpol in Causcia (RAC. I, fig 30.)
58. FOM II pp 271 ff and fig 163.
59. BSA XVI, Plate XIV.
60. Dendra RT, p 103, no. 15.
62. Lorimer, p 264.
63. FOM I, p 66, fig 488, no. 11; Lorimer, pp 278 ff; FOM IV, pp 173-4.
64. Metro Mus Ball, The Egyptian expedition, 1921-22, pp 29-1. 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".

AJA 1901, p 148, fig 11. It occurs with representations of sphinxes (catalogue on page 246) and griffins (catalogue on page 246).

Lorimer, Plates IX-X, and p 235. Lamb GRE, Plate XV c.

Andrae WA, Plate 2. Layard I., Plate 68.

Lorimer, Plate XVI, 2.

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.

Karo S, Plate CXXXI g.

Schafer and Andrae, Kunst des alten Orients, p 554.

AJA 1901, p 148, fig 11.

JHS LIII, p 291, fig 16.

Lorimer, Plate VIII, 1.

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 XI, 16).

Lorimer, p 224.

POM I, p 652, 12.

Lorimer, pp. 146 ff., 173 ff.

POM III, pp. 139 ff., and POM IV, pp. 510 ff.

Dahchour, p 68, fig 144, with granulation ornament, and fig 145, with ornament of ivy-leaf pattern in filigree.

Dendra, fig 101. The ivy-leaf pattern also appears at Zakro.

Dendra, p 90.

POM II, pp. 179-189. 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 at about 1600 at Knossos. He also quotes Mycenaean examples from Cephalenia, Rhodes and Palestine. This type of head is also discussed in Az 1948, p 116, note 19.


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, R 408.: SC, pp 447-8.). It also appears in Cucumia (EAC II, Plate XX bis, 5.) and in Orientalizing days in Greece (Olympia IV, Plate XXV, 474.) An undated object from the Aegaean of this type is illustrated on Lamb GRE, p 17, fig 5.

E. Meissler has suggested (AEOXI, pp. 239-40) that there may be a connection between the gold mouth-plates dating from the XIIith century and later in Palestine and Syria, and somewhat similar objects found in the Aegaean 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 so 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.)

Lorimer, p 329.

POM IV, pp 222 ff.

POM IV, p 348, fig 291.

Jb. 1927, pp 1 ff.

Cylindres...Louvre I, Plate 18, 20.

el Amrah, Plate L, Tomb D II.
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.

ILN 30 July 1938, p 208, middle row, left.

BSA XXV, Plate 6 b. Another parallel occurs on the chiton in the form of a horse which is painted in polychrome and said to come from Azerbaijan (ILN 21 Aug 1948, p 215, bottom right).

Trialeti, Plate 78.

el Amrah, Plates XLVI-D 116: XLVIII, L D 8 & D 11: LII. D 19 B. of "red glass".

POM II, pp 259 ff.

A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastics I, pp 200 ff.

A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastics I, p 199 ff.

Feather headdresses have often been discussed. See, particularly, JB. LV, pp 86 ff.

Carchemish I, Plates B 2 and B 5.

Wainwright in JHS LI, p 36.

P. Bork believes that the Philistines were "Caucasiens" (AfO XIII, pp 226 ff.).

Az 1948, p 251.

S. Smith, Early History of Assyria, p 89.

Az 1948, sections on the D and C Periods.

Lorimer, p 230.

POM I, p 632, no 12.

Lorimer, pp 173 ff.

POM I, Plate V.

Karo in SK VIII, pp 49 ff.

Nogarth in JHS XXII: POM I, p 707.


JHS LV, pp 232 ff.


Az 1948, pp 251 ff.

BSA XVI, Plate XIV.

LAAA VI, Plate XIII, 86. This shape is curiously like one version of a phiale (see page 280) placed on a foot, which is often out of proportion.

Az 1948, Plate VIII.

J. Garatang, Prehistoric Mersin, fig 142, 2. It may be possible that this shape is to be connected with one found in Italy, of early First Millennium date (Dobas Italic Groups, Plate XXV 11: Plate XXXV, I.1). Contemporary material in Italy may be connected with the general area of Caucasus (see page 158).

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).

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 II Ind 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 166 ff.).

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 ("Plains ware", SCR 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 883, 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 IIInd 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 IIInd 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 Aramaeans, an expansion which had already begun by the XVIIth 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 newcomers 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 Akkiawa people, who may have been the same as the Achaeans.

At about 1200 a new Dynasty was established in Assyria by Enurutu-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 Menepthah, 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 Menephtah, 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, 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 even 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, Shekeslesh, 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 Dene 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 whom 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 IIInd 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 Subaranaeans 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. 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 Babylon 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.¹

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 VIIth 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. In 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 disensions 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.


3. As has been pointed out by Sidney Smith, who states that at this time a new people, the Uruca, 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area at any time, and especially during the late Bronze Age, when civilisation was markedly uniform, at least in those parts of the Aegaean 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 Aegaean, 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 Aegaean 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, 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.' 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 Aegaean lands might have had such walls, but it is a remarkable fact that large tells are virtually non-existent south of Macedonia, in the Aegaean 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, 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 Vercouller, 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 Aegaean folk, observing that since the phrase 'Iw w 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,' meaning probably the Aegaean 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.

(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.

(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.

(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.

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. 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. The ivories as well as the faience vessels are more in the stream of Asiatic than Aegaean development. Both techniques appear to be derived from Asiatic origins 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. It hardly seems likely that those Greek-looking objects are of Aegaean 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 Shamra during the XIIth century, and perhaps had some kind of connection with Cilicia Tracheia, and Cilicia was certainly the scene of considerable disturbance caused by Ionians soon after 700 B.C. 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, who is described in the Book of Genesis as the brother of Meshech and Tubal, 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. 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.

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

The evidence which it is possible to obtain from the study of the Haw-nbwt question can, from one point of view, be supposed to suggest that those people who were later settled in the Aegaean 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, to be well known in the Caucasian region, 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 Caucasus, while there are specimens in the west from Miletus, and from Mycenae of Mycenean date. 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. Antennae swords and chariot burials have been found in Caucasus, and cheek pieces for bits in horse form are known in Luristan. 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. 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, and plates designed, so it is supposed, to act as protection of the animal’s nose. 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. 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.
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 champlévé 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. Early examples of the champlévé technique are the daggers from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, the contemporary material from Egypt, and some pieces of rather earlier date, from Byblos. It is the champlévé technique which is of interest here. This appears in three different regions of the Near East during the earlier part of the IIInd 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 champlévé 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, and was developed in two different ways, one of which, the champlévé, 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. By the time of the XVIth century beautifully made pieces of champlévé 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. This is, naturally, only a theory, but it may possibly explain the comparative similarity between the Egyptian and the Aegaean 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 champlévé technique appear in the Aegaean, 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 bull's heads inlaid in the champlévé technique. There is a cup of 'Vaphio' shape, carried by a Kefian illuminated in the tomb of Senmut (c 1500) which is decorated with bull's heads drawn in a manner which may suggest that it, also, was a vessel with similar inlaid ornament. There is also a bowl inlaid in the same manner, and also with bull's heads shown in much the same way as on the Dendra bowl, from Enkomi in Cyprus, 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, 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 Caucasus. If so, they afford another opportunity of demonstrating the possibility of eastern elements in the Aegaean civilisation of the XIVth century.

Since similar ideas appear in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 also51, coming from such diverse places as the Aegaean,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 Cretean.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 Aegaean 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'. Similarly an ivory from Beth-Pelet reveals a quality of movement and vitality in the drawing of the figures which has suggested to some that Aegaean influence can be detected, though the object is certainly not of Aegaean manufacture. A still more curious object comes from Ras Shamra, a carving of a goddess between standing goats, which seems to be simultaneously Asiatic in style, and Mycenean in type, but with elements which are neither Asiatic nor Mycenean, 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. 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, 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.

The evidence so far discussed might be supposed to indicate that new ideas from Asia were beginning to pass westward towards the Aegaean 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 Aegaean after that date.

At about 1400 B.C., as Professor Blegen has pointed out, a new style in pottery decoration appeared in the Aegaean 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. 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean world, where it appears at times when there may have been westward migrations. It could hardly be a shape native to the Aegaean 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. But the chronological gap between the XVIth century and the Mycenaean 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, 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 and north Syria. Later, rather than earlier in the Mycenaean period, so it would appear, is the introduction to the Aegaean 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 Aegaean (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 Aegaean 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.

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 Aegaean in Mycenaean days (catalogue on page 120).

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**THE HORIZONTAL RING VASE**

| Egypt           | (Predynastic) | i Nagada, Plate XXXVI, 84.  
|                 |              | ii Matmar, Plate XII, 8.  
| Aegaean         | (Early Cycladic) | Phylakopi, Plate IV, 9.  
|                 | (Early Minoan) | Mesara, Plate XXIX, 4120.  
| Anatolia        | (Troy II) | C. Blagen Troy I ii, Plate 406. 35. 441.  
|                 | (Troy II-V) | SS, p 40, no 823.  
| Cyprus          | (Early Bronze Age) | IIIN 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) | Illicos, fig 1392.  
|                 | (Troy VI-VII) | SS, p 159, no 3246.  

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Mycenean (Ilyssos) (Mycenae, Granary ware) Annuario VI-VII, p 143, no 41, (fig 65).
(Aegaeum) Arch LXXXII, Plate XI, 7-8.
(Delphi) BSA XLII, p 53.
Cyprus (White Painted I ware) Delphes V, p 11, fig 39.
(Aegaean) SCE IV ii, Fig VII.11).
('Sub-Mycenean') Mirabelllo, 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.
(Ilyssos) BMC I, fig 212.
(Mycenae) MV, Plate X, 64.
(Cyprus) i Eph. 1891, Plate 3, 1.
ii ZfE 1899, p 337, fig XXIV, a.5.
(Carchemish) ii Ex. C in C, p 72, fig 142, no 31.
(Tell el Ajul) LAAA XXVI, Tomb YC. 81, p 35 & Plate XVI, a.1.
(Megiddo) Stubbings, Plate XIV, 4-5.
(Tell abu Havan) Stubbings, Plate XVII, 2.
(Gaza) Stubbings, Plate XVII, 7.
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 Dios P, Plate XVI, 91.
Syria (early IIInd millennium) Byblos, Plate CXCIV; Plate CC, 6683
Palestine (early Bronze Age) Corpus Palestinian, 10 C.
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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.
Cyprus  (White Painted I ware)  
Persia  (early Iron Age)  
Italy  (Bucchero)  
Ithaca  (Orientalising)  
Egypt  (VIIth century)  
Palestine  (IVth Semitic)  

SCE I, Plate XLI: Plate CXXX, 13.  
SCE IV ii, Fig. VII. 12).  
SCE IV ii, Fig XV. 2).  
GGS, Fig 26.  
Mingazzini, Plate VI, 13.  
BSA XLIII, Plate 40, 540 (Possible example)  
E.A. Gardner Naucratis II, Plâte VII, 3.  
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 Gyan III)  
Aegaean  (early Mycenean)  ('sub-Mycenean')  
Central Europe  (Hallstatt)  

SC, fig 247, 7.  
Unpub Palai, fig 70.  
Mirabello, Plate IX, D 7.  
Déchelette II ii, p 811, fig 325.

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

---

THE STIRRUP VASE

Aegaean  (early Cycladic)  
(M.M. III b-LM I)  
(XVITH century)  

Phylakopi, fig 74  
Pernier II, fig 259.  
Maraghianni, Antiquités Crétoises II, Plate XXVIII.  
Gournia, Plate VII, 18, and Plate II.  
Unpub Palai, fig 33.  

Mycenean  

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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(al Ubaid ware)</td>
<td>i ILN 1 March 1930, p 326, bottom left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii ILN 11 Sept 1948, p 305, fig 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(early Bronze Age)</td>
<td>ILN 2 Oct 1943, p 388, middle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Early Helladic)</td>
<td>Zyg., fig 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(Later IIIrd millennium)</td>
<td>Syria XVI, Plate LVIII, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Yortan)</td>
<td>Iraq II, Plate XXX, 3 b.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Troy II)</td>
<td>C. Blegen Troy I ii, Plate 387, 36. 847.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Troy III)</td>
<td>C. Blegen Troy II ii, Plate 59 a, B 9.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Troy IV)</td>
<td>C. Blegen Troy II ii, Plate 183, 17.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Tarsus 2000-1500)</td>
<td>AJA LI, Plate XCVI, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Early IIInd millennium)</td>
<td>Phylakopi, fig 91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Middle Helladic)</td>
<td>Eutresias, fig 218.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Atchana, white painted)</td>
<td>ILN 17 Sept 1938, fig 5 of article by Woolley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(?) 1400)</td>
<td>Anc. Gaza II, Plate XXXIV, 64, c. b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Boghas Keui)</td>
<td>Bossert AA, p 151, no 653.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Late Ugarit III)</td>
<td>Ug II, fig 58, 14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mycenean</td>
<td>(Aegaean)</td>
<td>BSA XLII, pp 53-4.</td>
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<td>(Attica)</td>
<td>i Delton Parartema 1927-8, p 63.</td>
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<td>ii CVA Denmark ii, Plate 63, 7.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Prosymna)</td>
<td>Prosymna, fig 133, 358.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Argive Heraeum II, p 84, fig 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Crete)</td>
<td>Arch LIX, p 513, 70 c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ialysos)</td>
<td>i MV, Plate XI 66.: Plate XXI.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Annusario VI-VII, p 117, fig 37.</td>
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<td>iii BMC I ii, A 933.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(White Painted I ware)</td>
<td>Sce IV ii, Fig IV, 18.</td>
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<td>(Kourion Tomb 26 A)</td>
<td>AJA XLI, Plate I, 23.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Early Iron Age)</td>
<td>Enk-Al, p 22, no. 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Region/Period</td>
<td>Reference Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(Gezer)</td>
<td>Gezer III, Plate LXXXIII, 2.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Megiddo V, c.1000)</td>
<td>Magiddo II, Plate 88, 19.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk B)</td>
<td>Sialk II, Plate XVI, 7.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Luristan)</td>
<td>Godard Bronzes, Plate LXVIII 245.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Asarbaijan)</td>
<td>GGS, the second Plate numbered 25, no 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Til-Barsib)</td>
<td>Til-Barsib, Plate XXVI, 10.</td>
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<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Shah Tepe II b)</td>
<td>Arme, fig 367.</td>
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<td>(Hissar III)</td>
<td>SC, fig 238, 32.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Old Kingdom)</td>
<td>i Sedment I, Plate I, 560, 8.</td>
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<td>ii Meydum, Plate XIX, 2.</td>
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<td>Persia</td>
<td>(2200 ? )</td>
<td>Iran Denk B, Plate XVII, 2,3.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Tepe Gīyan IV-III)</td>
<td>SC, fig 321.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(c. 1900)</td>
<td>Byblos, p 320, no. 4404.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(M.M.I)</td>
<td>Unpub Palai, Plate IV, c.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M.M.III)</td>
<td>Mochlos, fig 32, XX.3.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(L.M.I)</td>
<td>Gournia, Plate VIII, 24.</td>
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<td>Mycanean</td>
<td>(Cyprus)</td>
<td>BMC I ii, C 618-9.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Crete)</td>
<td>i Gournia, Plate X, 7.</td>
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<td>ii POM IV, p 313, fig 249.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BMC I i, fig 202.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(Rhodes)</td>
<td>i BMC I i, Plate XIII, A 848.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Tiryns Treasure)</td>
<td>ii MV, Plate IX, 56, XXV.</td>
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<td>(Calymnos)</td>
<td>iii Annuario VI-VII, figs 80, 146.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Haš Shamra)</td>
<td>AM LV, Beil XXXIV, 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Salamis ?)</td>
<td>BMC I i, Plate XV, A 1005.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Nauplia)</td>
<td>Ug II, fig 55, 15, 19: fig 60, 16, 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Thermi, late Bronze Age)</td>
<td>AJA LIV, Plate II C.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>MV, Plate XXI, 150.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Hama, 1200-1000)</td>
<td>Thermi, Plate XVIII, 650.</td>
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<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk A )</td>
<td>Gims a crem, p 180, fig 230-</td>
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<td>(Sialk B)</td>
<td>Sialk II, Plate III, 2.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Sialk II, Plate XVIII, 5.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>Hesp XIV, Plate XX, 1.</td>
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</table>
As has been pointed out by Blegen (see page 112), there was a decided ceramic break at about 1400 in the Aegaean 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. 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 Mycenean 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 Aegaean region. Such evidence shows that ceramic styles
changed, in different ways, in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean, and is typified by the use of a particular group of motifs. These include

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<td>Concentric semi-circles.</td>
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<td>Row of triangles with apices alternately up and down and hatched in alternate directions.</td>
<td>124</td>
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<td>Guilloche</td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>Wave pattern</td>
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<td>Large dot surrounded by a ring of dots</td>
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<td>Scale pattern</td>
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<td>Fringed circle</td>
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<td>Pairs of spirals arranged up a vertical stem</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vertical ribbon of horizontal zig-zags between thick vertical lines</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>Circle enclosing a four-pointed figure obtained by drawing five interlocking circles.</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical row of rings</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four pointed star with circular centre left empty.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle of dots.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird with a fish</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposed animals standing on either side of a tree.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribbon of chevrons.</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid triangle or semi-circle with lines parallel to the sides enclosing the apex.</td>
<td>136</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two spirals, back to back, from a single stem.</td>
<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medallion pattern.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Some of these motifs had previously been used to decorate Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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.

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<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>Tell Halaf polychrome ware</td>
<td>Tell Halaf I, Plate XXVI, 5, 7.</td>
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<td>Persia</td>
<td>Sialk III</td>
<td>Sialk I, Plate LXXVIII, C 17.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Predynastic</td>
<td>Bad Civ, Plate XL, 59 q.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>Thessalian neolithic</td>
<td>BMC I i, fig 43, A 198, 4 (on this sherd there is also a swastika).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
<td>i POM I, p 61, fig s 21-2.</td>
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<td>Aegaean</td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Mochlos, fig 23, VI. 6.</td>
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<td>Aegaean</td>
<td></td>
<td>iii BMC I i, fig 95.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td></td>
<td>iv Unpub Palai, Plate IIIe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
<td>i CER I, Plate I, centre.</td>
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<td>Caucasus</td>
<td>(Trialeti, undated)</td>
<td>ii Arch LXXXVIII, Plate II, b.</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Ur)</td>
<td>Trialeti, Plate 81.</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Nineveh V ware)</td>
<td>BC, Plate 116.</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Nineveh, found at B 19)</td>
<td>Comp archy Mesp, fig 19, 50.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Toud, 1940 B.C.)</td>
<td>LAAA XVIII, Plate 34, 24.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Middle Minouan)</td>
<td>ILN 18 April 1936, p 682, bottom right.</td>
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<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Middle Helladic)</td>
<td>BMC I i, fig 101.</td>
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<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(XVIth century)</td>
<td>i Zyg, Plate XIV, 2.</td>
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<td>Aegaean</td>
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<td>ii Prosymna, fig 590.</td>
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<td>(Anghelu Ruju)</td>
<td>BSA XXV, Plate XXIII, d.</td>
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<td>Mon Ant XIX, p 494, fig 61.</td>
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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.
(Delphi) Arch LXXII, Plate XI.
(Cephalenla) ii MV, Plate 37, 382.

iii BSA XXV, Plate 5 e.
BCH 1935, p 367, fig 20, 3.
Deltion 1919, pp 102-3, fig. a 17-18.
AA 1923-4, col 217, fig 33.

Sicily (Mycenean style) AM XXXV, Plate VI, 5.
Sub-Mycenean and Protogeometric ii BSA XIII, p 325, fig 14.

Aegaean (Salamis) i Cl R, VI-VII, p 189, fig 223.
(Camiros) Kerameikos IV, Plates III & V.
(Attica) i BSA XXIX, Plate VI, 12.
(Knossos) ii Vrokastro, Plate XXXIII.

Palestine (Megiddo VI) Delos XV, Plate XXVI.
('Philistine') Megiddo II, Plate 144, 15.
Syria (Hama) Plate 44.
(al Mina) QDAP IV, p 181.

Mesopotamia
Caucasia (Vladivkaz) Sima erem, p 113, fig 134.
Assyria JHS LX, p 3.
Aegaean (Lemnos, VIIIth century) ESA VI, p 138, no 48.
(Orientallising) Ass sculpture BM, Plate LII, 4.

Annuario XV-XVI, fig 134.
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Refs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Mesopotamia  | (Jemdet Nasr)                        | i Comp archy mesp, fig 13, 30.  
|              |                                      | ii IIN 14 Sept 1935, Colour Plate I, middle left. |
| Egypt        | (First Dynasty)                      | Abydos I, Plate LIII, 14.          |
| Aegean       | (Neolithic)                          | Prosya, fig 635, 5.               |
| Mesopotamia  | (Ur)                                 | RC. 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 ii, fig 57.                 |
|              | (Crete)                              | i Mochlos, fig 5.                 |
|              |                                      | ii Messara, Plate III, 847.       |
|              |                                      | iii Unpub Palai, Plate III a.     |
| 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 IIN 9 June 1934, p 913, fig 23. |
| Persia       | (Susa, c 2000)                       | DPH XIII, fig 116.                |
|              | (Susa, c 2000-1500)                  | DPH XIII, fig 143.                |
| Aegean       | (Middle Helladic)                    | Eutresis, Plate XIII.             |
| Egypt        | (XVIIIth Dynasty)                    | i Sedment II, Plate LIX, 7.75      |
|              |                                      | ii Mitt desl Ins Kairo V, p 156, fig 17. |
| Palestine    | (c 1600)                             | Am Gaza I, Plate XXVIII, 5.        |
|              |                                      | ii QDAP VIII, Plate XII, 5.       |
|              |                                      | iii Megiddo II, Plate 39, 8.      |
| Cyprus       | (c 1600)                             | QDAP VIII, Plate XVII.            |
| Palestine    | (Illrd Semitic)                      | Gazer III, Plate CLX 7; Plate CLVIII, 1. |
| Mycenean     | (Phylakopi)                          | Phylakopi, Plate XXXII, 16.       |
|              | (Cyprus)                             | Enk-Al, p 22, no. 7, 13.          |
|              | (Asine)                              | Ex. a in C, p 25, fig 45.         |
|              | (Salamis)                            | Asine, fig 269, 7.                |
| Aegean       |                                      | 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)
Aegaean (Geometric)
       (Orientalising)
Anc. Gaza III, Plate XXXIX, 68 k 2.

Am. XLIII, p 103, fig. 24.
CVA, Germany VII, Germany Plate 301, 4.
BSA XXXV, Plate 56 b.

GUILLOCHE

Mesopotamia (al Ubaid ware)
(c 2500)
Persia (Susa II)
Aegaean (E.M. III)
       (Middle Cycladic)
       (Middle Minoan)
Mesopotamia ('Syro-Hittite')
       (Tell Billa III)

Mycenae (Ialysos)
       (Mycenae)
       (Zygouries)

Egypt (Bubastis Treasure)

Aegaean (Troy VI-VII)
Persia (Sialk A)
Anatolia (Alishar IV)
       (Van)

Aegaean (Geometric (Thera)
or early (Cycladic)
       (Orientalising) (Knossos)
       (Crete)

Italy (Etruscan,
       Corneto)

Sicily (Orientalising)

Anatolia (Toprakkale)
Aegaean (Orientalising)

Comp. archy Mesop., fig 10, 17.
Tello, 20 campagnes, Plate VII.
DEP XIII, Plate XXVIII, 3.
Unpub. Palai, p. 8, fig 5 a.
Phylakopi, Plate XI, 3.
Gournia, Plate C 2.

POM IV ii, fig 348 b (p. 421).
PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.

MV, Plate II, 9.
Stubbings, Plate IV, 9.
BMC I i, p 203, fig 286, A 1070.
Zyg. Plate XVI, 1, and fig 131.
A. Furumark, Mycenaean pottery II, motif
48, p. 360.

Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,
October 1949, p 63, bottom right.

SS, p 163, no. 3366.
Sialk II, Plate II, 4.

Tall 1928-9 i, Plate XLVI b 1182.8
Iraq XII, Plate IX.

AM XXVIII, Beil VI, 2.
Delos XV, Plate XXXVII, 28.
BSA XXIX, Plate VII 3.
Jb. 1899, p 41, fig 27.

Marshall, Plate XVIII, 1359.
BSA XXXIII, Plate 24, 30.

Iraq XII, p 27, fig 15.
very common.
WAVE PATTERN

Aegaean (Thessalian neolithic)
(Early Minoan III)
(Middle Minoan)
(Middle Helladic III)
(Middle Helladic)
(Middle Cycladic)

PT, fig 11 a.
BMC I i, fig 93.
Pernier I, p 295, fig 172.
POM I, Plate 1 a.
Asine, fig 199, 6.
Korsakou, fig 35, 2 & 4.
Phylakpoii, Plate XIV, 9.

Egypt (II Ind Intermediate Period)

Cem Ab II, fig 29: Plate XIII 8 left.

Syria (c 1600)
(Tell Atchana)

Byblos I, fig 178 left (p 193).
AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2.

Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty)

Buhnen, Plate 50, 10738.

Aegaean (XVIth century)

Prosymna, fig 210, no 343.
Korsakou, fig 57, left.

Mycenean (Athens)
(Rhodes)
(Spain)

Graef, Plate 5, 190.
BMC I i, p 168, fig 229 (A 930).
CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 458, 3.
AA 1923-4, col. 217, fig 33.

Anatolia (Alishar V ware)

TAM 1928-9 ii, plate VI, 690.

Aegaean (Orientalising)

Zeus III, Plate 25.
Hesp XIV, Plate XXXII.
Annuario I, pp 66 ff.
Annuario X-XII, fig 52.

Caucasus area (undated)

Trialeti, Plate 77.
RAC II, Plate 1, 3.
III SC, fig 302, 6.

DOT, SURROUNDED BY A CIRCLE OF DOTS.

Mesopotamia (Tell Halaf ware)

M.F. von Oppenheim in Mélanges D, II,
Plate III, bottom left.
BM Carchemish book, folio 243, fig 173, S2.

Persia (Susa I)
(Bissar I)

DEP XIII, Plate V, 3.
Ex. a in TH, Plate XIII, OH, 34.11.2.

Mesopotamia (al Ubaid)

Comp archy Mespp, fig 5, 33.

Caucasus area

Trialeti, Plate 78.
Aegaean (Early Minoan III)

Egypt (XIIth Dynasty)

Aegaean (Middle Cycladic)

(Middle Helladic)

(Middle Minoan)

(XVIth Century)

Macedonia (Late Bronze Age)

Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty)

Mesopotamia (Tell Billa III)

Syria (Atchana)

(Subar bu pottery)

Cyprus (White slip milk bowl)

Mycenean (Tell el Amarna)

(Cyprus)

(Crete)

(Aigina)

Egypt (Babastia treasure)

Aegaean (Geometric)

Cyprus (Geometric)

Anatolia (Gordion)

Assyria

Syria (al Mina, below Protocorinthian)

Aegaean (Orientalising)

Central Europe

Unpub Palai, p 8, fig 5 d: Plate III o.

Gizeh, Plate X B.

Phylakopi, Plate XIV, 1: Plate XVI, 8.

Am XLII, p 62, fig 68.

Entressais, fig 211, 5.

Mon Ant VI, Plate IX, 7.

POM IV i, fig 142.

BSA XVII, Plate II, 87.

Dendra; fig 29, 6.

Gournia, Plate VIII, 20.

Phylakopi, Plate XXIII, 3.

Karo S, Plate XIII.

Pre Mac, p 214 no 403.

Iouiya and Touyou, Plate XXVIII left.

PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.

AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2.

Mallowan in Melanges D, Plates I and III.

BMC I ii, fig 78.

Amarna, Plate XXVI, 20.

BMC I ii, p 102, fig 179 a.

Enk-AL, fig 51, and Plate XVIII,

Argive Heraeum II, Plate LIV, 14 B.

Arch LIX, p 547, fig 142 b.

Mon Ant XIV, Plate XXXVIII.

Eph 1910, Plate 4, 8.

Pro Musée Egyptien II, Plate XLV.

Matz GGK, 12.

Aigina, Plate 2, 34.

Vrokastro, fig 53 D.

Handbook Casmola, no 1701.

Gordion, Plate X, no.s 37, 38 b, 38 c.

Bronze Gates Shalmaneser, Plate 1.

Layard, Plate XLVIII.

JHS LX, p 5, fig 2 a.

NC, Plate I, 6.

BSA XLIV, p 155, fig 1.

Zimmer, Plate I, 7.
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<td>TAH, 30-32 ii, fig. 407.</td>
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<td>BAC II Atlas, Plate II. 3.</td>
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**PAIRS OF SPIRALS ARRANGED ALONG A STEM.**

- Persia (Sialk III) - Sialk I, Frontispiece, 3.
- Egypt (Predynastic) - Morgan Origines, I, Plate III.
- Persia (? IIrd millennium) - ILN 16 March 1935, p 417, top left.
- Egypt (Hissar I) - ILN 22 June 1935, p 1123, fig. 4.
- Aegaeon (Ist Intermediate Period) - Ex. s in TH, Plate V, DG 69, 6.5.32.
- Cyprus (Early IInd millennium) - Matmar, Plate XXXIII, 88.
- Aegaeon (XVIth century) - BSA IX, p 303, fig. 2.
- Anatolia (Troy VI) - Phylakopi, p 122, fig. 94 b.
- Cyprus (XVIth century) - ODAP VIII, Plate XXIV.
- Aegaeon (XVIth century) - Gournia, Plate VII, 30.
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**VERTICAL RIBBON OF HORIZONTAL ZIG-ZAGS BETWEEN VERTICAL LINES.**

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<td>i. Vrokanstro, fig 96.</td>
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CIRCLE ENCLOSING A FOUR-POINTED FIGURE, OBTAINED BY DRAWING FIVE INTERLOCKING CIRCLES

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(Boeotia)
(Crete)
(Ialysos)

BMC I ii, p 109, fig 191.
MV, Plate XIX, 134.
POM IV i, p 313, fig 249 b.
BMC I i, A 914.
Argive Heraeum II, Plate LII, 39.

FOUR-POINTED STAR WITH CIRCULAR CENTRE LEFT EMPTY.

Egypt
(Predynastic, with a Vth ray)

DioaP, Plate XV, 24 b.

Mesopotamia
(al Ubaid period)

Comp archy Mesap, fig 11, 56.

Mycenean
(Crete)
(Cilicia)

Delton 1920 Parartema, p 159, fig 6.
LAA XXI, Plate VIII, 2.

Aegaean
(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.

Aegaean
(Middle Minoan II)
(Middle Minoan III)

BMC I i, fig 112, A 529.
POM I, p 595, fig 437, b.

Mycenean
(Ialysos)
(Mycenae)
(Cyprus)

MV, Plate I, no 4.
MV, Plate XXXI, 298.
BMC I ii, C 667.
### BIRD WITH A FISH

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<td>i QDAP VIII, Plate X.</td>
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<td>ii Anc Gaza IV, Plate XLI.</td>
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<td>iii Schaeffer in Syria XVI, Plate XXX, 2. Also in Missions en Chypre, p 54, fig 23.</td>
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<td>i Mon Ant XIV, Plate XXXVIII.</td>
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<td>ii Roes, GGA p 61, figs 48-9.</td>
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<td>i Roes GGA, p 60, figs 46-7.</td>
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<td>ii Matz GGR, Plate 7.</td>
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### 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).

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<td>iv PM Library seals, Plate LXXXIII, 597, Plate LXXXIV, 600.</td>
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<td>v AJ XIX, Plate XIII, AT/8/92.</td>
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Mycenean (Crete)  
(gem-stone) (Cyprus)  

Mesopotamia (Later IIInd millenium)  

Egypt (Bubastis treasure)  

Cyprus (Early Iron Age)  

Palestine (Early Iron Age)  

Syria (Early Iron Age)  

Assyria  

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Anatolia  

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Aegaean (Geometric)  

Cyprus (Geometric)  

Aegaean (Orientalising)  

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Persia (Kuh-i-Dasht)  
(Azarbaijan)  
(V-VIth centuries A.D.)  

Arch mitt Iran VIII, Plate I, fig 24.  

i Le musée égyptien II, Plate XLVIII, p 97.  
ii Jb XXV, p 197, fig 2.  

i SCE II, Plate XXIV, (Ahathus tomb 18).  
ii Kypros I, p 94, fig 128.  

i Beth Pelet II, Plate LVIII.  
ii Cim a crem, p 197, fig 242  
iii Montet reliques, p 106, fig 146.  

i BA 1904 ii, fig 2 (p 206).  
ii Ass sculpture BM, Plate L, 2; Plate LIII, 4.  

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 XXI, Plate LXV, 18.  

Bossert Karatepe I, Plate XX, 99.  

Sendachiri III, fig 117 and Plate XXXVIII a.  

i CVA Denmark II, Plate 67, 4.  
ii AM XXI, p 448.  


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  

i Kosay Pazarli, Plate XXXI.  
ii Bossert AA, p 276, no 1045.  

AFO XV, p 45, fig 3.  

ILN 1 March 1941, p 293, fig 8.  

ILN 6 May 1950, pp 714 ff.  

ILN 30 July 1938, p 209 bottom right.
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<td></td>
<td>(Tell Halaf ware)</td>
<td>Iraq III, fig 23, 3.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Samarra)</td>
<td>Contenu Manuel iv, p 1950, fig 1058.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(al Ubaid ware)</td>
<td>i  BM U 15509</td>
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<td>ii Tello 20 campagnes, fig 8.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Predynastic)</td>
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<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Susa I)</td>
<td>ii DEP XIII, Plate V, 8.</td>
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<td>Ex.s in TN, Plate III, H 3439.</td>
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<td>LAAA XXV, Plate XXIV, 1.</td>
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<td>(Hissar I)</td>
<td>i RT II, Plate LIV, top left.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>('Chalcolithic')</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Protodynastic)</td>
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<td>Aegaeian</td>
<td>(E.M.I-II)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(E.C.)</td>
<td>i Thermi, Plate IX, 189.</td>
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<td>ii Phylakopi, Plate VIII, 5.</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(IIIrd Millennium)</td>
<td>LAAA XX, plate XLV, 4.</td>
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<td>(Ur, c. 2500)</td>
<td>RC. Plate 162, U 10453.</td>
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<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Yortan)</td>
<td>BMC I i, fig 15, 11.</td>
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<td>Aegaeian</td>
<td>(E.H.)</td>
<td>Zyg, Plate XIII, 2.</td>
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<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(Early Bronze Age)</td>
<td>Arch LXXXVIII, Plate XIII f.</td>
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<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Alishar III ware)</td>
<td>TAH 1930-32 i, Fig 239, E 1161.</td>
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<td>(Middle Cycladic)</td>
<td>Phylakopi, Plate XII, 9.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
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<td>Aegaeian</td>
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<td>Cilicia</td>
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<td>AJA XL, p 312, fig 10.</td>
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<td>(Mycense, granary)</td>
<td>BMC I i, fig 168.</td>
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<td>(Cyprus)</td>
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<td>(Cilicia)</td>
<td>BMC I ii, fig 114.</td>
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<td>(Palestine)</td>
<td>i LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 5.</td>
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<td>ii LAAA XXVI, Plate LVII, 18.</td>
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Aegean (Crete, Proto-geometric) i BSA XXIX, Plate V 9: fig 25 c.  
ii Vrokastró, 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 EN- CLOSING THE APEX.

Mesopotamia (al Ubaid period) Copp archy Mesø, fig 11, 7.

Persia (SusaII) i DEP XIII, Plate XXVII, 1.  
ii CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 55, 55.

(Tepe ali Abad) DEP VIII, fig 285.

Anatolia CC, I, III.

Aegean (Middle Helladic) i Prosýmna, fig 651, no 499.  
ii Entresís, Plate XIII.

Persia (IIind millennium) DEP XIII, p 51, fig 179.

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.

(Lályxos) Annuario VI-VII, p 125, fig 44.

(Zafer Panóra) Arch LIX, p 453, fig 67.

(Calýmnos) i BMC I i, A 1015.  
ii BMC I ii, C 510.

(Cyprus) 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 ("Sub-Mycenean") — Cernoz, Plate CXXIV, 936.

Aegaean (Sialk B) — Kerameikos I, Plate V.

Persia (White Painted I ware) — Sialk II, Plate LXXXVIII, S 757.

Aegaean (Cretan 'quasi-geometric') (Salamis) — SCE IV ii, Fig V, 7.

Palestine (c. 1100) — Vrokastro, Plate XXX.

Aegaean (Protogeometric) — AM XXXV, p 27, fig a 3, 4.

Cyprus (Bichrome) — Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1.

Aegaean (Geometric) — Kerameikos IV, Plate III.

(A) — SCE IV ii, Fig VIII, 1.

Aegaean (Protoattic) (Orientalising) — BMC I ii, Plate IV, C 836.

(B) — AM XLIII, Plate 1, 1.

(C) — BCH XXXVI, pp 502, fig 9.

(D) — Hesp Supp II, p 151, fig 107.

(E) — CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 412, 1.

(F) — 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.

Aegaean (Middle Cycladic) (XVIth century) — Phylakopi, Plate XII, 30.

(E) — Karo S, Plate XIX, 25: Plate CXLIV.

(F) — BMC I i, fig 174, A 770, 1.

(G) — Tuthmosis IV, Plate XIX (5A).

Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty) — Asine, fig 260, 4.

Mycenean (Asine) (Cilicia) (Calymnos) (Rhodes) (Crete) (Korakou) — LAAA XXI, Plate VIII, 4.

(BMC I i, A 1011, fig 273.

(Annuario VI-VII, p 93, fig 8.

Gournia, Plate X, 31.

Korakou, fig 91.

Cyprus (Early Iron Age) — Kypros, Plate XCVIII, 1 b, 7.

Aegaean (Geometric) — Humpe, Plate 18, V 2.

Europe (Ist millennium B.C.) — Much, Plate XXII, 5.
MEDALLION PATTERN

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<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Moussian)</td>
<td>DEP VIII, p 117, fig 199.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Larsa period)</td>
<td>Unpublished sherd in the British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Middle Cycladic)</td>
<td>Phylakopi, Plate XVIII, 20.</td>
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<td>South Russia</td>
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<td>Pre Myk, Plate X, 8.</td>
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<td>Mycenaean</td>
<td>(Tiryns)</td>
<td>Tiryna, fig 54.</td>
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<td>(Mycenae)</td>
<td>i  W. Mycenae, Plate 76 a.</td>
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<td>ii  MV, Plate XXVIII, 225.</td>
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<td>iii BMC I i, p 204, fig 287, 2.</td>
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There are other decorative motifs besides those which have been listed above, which appear used on Mycenaean pottery. Amongst them there appear the following:

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<th>Catalogue on Page</th>
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<tr>
<td>Circular line with a ring of dots</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside it</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pot-hook spiral</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fringed line</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosette</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Line of dots used to outline motifs</td>
<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wavy line making large vertical loops</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair of concentric semi-circles</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joined by chevrons</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
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.

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

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

The first traces of the use of the rite of cremation burial 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. 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 Aegaean islands, while others were of such well-known and characteristic Aegaean shapes as the piriform jar, and the stirrup-vase. It has surprised students that shapes which have been supposed to be characteristic of Aegaean (and therefore, so they have supposed, of Aegaean origin in invention), should have been made of undecorated grey ware, which was quite a rare style of pottery in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean area, were considered suitable by the Trojan potters for imitation, and were therefore made locally. 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area, at Troy and in other sites, whether 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 Aegaean. Further, the 'urnfield' system of arrangement of a cemetery is new, not only at Troy but also in many parts of Europe. And again, the piriform jar and the stirrup-vase had already appeared earlier within the Aegaean 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 XIIth century, though there had been, as has been stated above, earlier occasions of its use. 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. 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, 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 tumblers 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.

<table>
<thead>
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<td>Annuario, p 143, fig 65, 31 (with figurines on the rim)</td>
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<td>(Mycenea, Granary)</td>
<td>CVA BM v, GB Plate 290, 10.</td>
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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, 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 Mycenean 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. More or less globular pendants of similar style have been found in Armenia, Persia (in a tomb of Giyan IV date), Ithaca (of Ist Millennium date), Greece (of late Geometric date) and in Hallstatt contexts in eastern Europe. A bell-shaped pendant in this style belongs, it seems, to the early Iron Age in Azarbaijan.

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.

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**BICONICAL LANTERN-TYPE BEAD**

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NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, pp 206 ff. Vercoottter says (BIFAO XLVIII, p 174) that thekambt was the equivalent of Greek from the time of the XXVIIIth Dynasty.


5. P. Monet has made some vivid comments on this point (RA 1947, pp 181-2).

6. Montet has stated that the Hawai-abwt had nothing to do with the Greek Islands (RA 1947, pp 129 ff.).


8. W. Dörpfeld held (Alt-Olympia, pp 429 ff.) that the original home of the early Ionians (or Hawai-abwt) was on the coast between Egypt and Palestine. And Sidney Smith (The statue of Idri-Mi, pp 83-6) places the Hawai-abwt in south-eastern Anatolia.

9. BIFAO XLVIII, p 173.

10. BIFAO XLVIII, p 192.

11. BIFAO XLVIII, pp 160 ff.

12. BIFAO XLVIII, p 174.

13. BIFAO XLVIII, pp 193 ff.


15. Ex. a 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. a 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 occurrence in Cyprus and South Russia.

17. Barnett has pointed out (JHS LXVIII, pp 1 ff) that ivory can only have come from Asia or Africa.


22. At the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, in the view of Mazzarino (Loc cit pp 112/31 and Luckenbill (ZAS 1913, 93), the Assyrians referred to the Cypriotes (who did not speak the Ionian dialect) as Javan. The Uyum mentioned in a text from Ras Shamra (V volunteered 2, 19) may represent Ionians (Rev Bibl. Jan 1931, p 37: Mazzarino, note 298: Arc Oriens IV, pp 169 ff: RR Suppl. VI, col. s 178-9).

23. Genesis X, 2-4. The sons of Japhet were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras. The sons of Javan were Elissah, Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanam. Wainwright argues (Klio XIV, pp 7-8) that the children of Javan" formed "a compact group round the shores of the North-East Levant".

24. E. Bocchet in R d A XXI, pp 167 ff: Mazzarino, p 165. Junge in *Klio Beiheft* 1941: Kent in JNRS 1943, pp 302 ff. Mazzarino says that "continental Javan" 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 Dinsilas, 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 XIX*, pp 74 ff). The Vannic niches, perhaps for offerings, were composed with niches in the Aegean area by Lehmann-Haupt (Arm II, 1926, p 157).
There are signs of kinship between archaic Greek and Armenian languages (Atkinson, pp 39, 44-51). Unfortunately, very little 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 XIIth Dynasty saucer found at Dashbur, possibly a vessel brought from Carthage (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 Carthage, 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 Carthage 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 Euphrates into Asia Minor during the 1st millennium B.C., a proposal for which there is so 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 19) are paralleled in IIId millennium pottery from Anatolia (L. Goertz, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 3, Abt 3 1, Keilinsien, Plate 5).

East to west movements of peoples during Mycenean 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 Danaus is believed to have come to Greece, arriving traditionally in a pentecoster in the Argolic Gulf. At much the same time Cadmus, called a Phoeni-cian, 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.

Muraro has pointed out (JHS LIV, pp 127-8) that the Pelasgi may reasonably be associated with the migration of Nysians and Teucrians who, according to Herodotus, crossed into Greece 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 archai 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.
They occur in Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period (Qau I, pp 8, 66: Matmar, Plate XII, 9:1) 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 IX, 411, in association with torques and other material believed to be of Caucassian type [Syria VI, pp 16 ff]). Similar work has also been found at Ur (RC, Plate 132), which it was contemporaneous with such things as racquet-pins, which are of types known in Caucasia and Azerbaijan.

In POM II, p 262, Evans expressed a similar opinion. Inlay in stone is of a very early date in Mesopotamia (Contenu Manuel IV, p 2037, fig 1131), and occurs in the time of the First Dynasty in Egypt (W.M. Emery, The Tomb of Hemaka, Plate 12).

There were, however, some rings with inlaid enamel decoration of Mycenaean date from Cyprus (ILM 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 XXXII, pp 1 ff).

W.H.F. Petrie, Beth Pelet II, Plate IV. This object was discussed by C de Mertzenfeld in Malanges D, II, pp 587 ff.

The earliest example appears to be of about 1800 (Megiddo II, Plate 204, 1.)

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W.H.F. Petrie, Beth Pelet II, Plate IV. This object was discussed by C de Mertzenfeld in Malanges D, II, pp 587 ff.

Ug I, frontispiece and Plate XII.: Bastor, pp 86 ff; Barnett in PRFO 1939, pp 4-19: Dussaud phœniciens, pp 84 ff.
This vessel has a curiously shaped rim to the neck. This type of rim is similar to that found in early Latakion ware (see page 271), and appears on ware approximately contemporary with early Latakion pottery at Thera (AN XXVIII, p 206, fig 55 a).

Jacobstal 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.

Creation 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. Wiener, Grub und Jenseits, p 14, no 19, p 111.1.

Hawkes, p 343.


It was during the XIIIith 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 Ribš-Adad and Assurballit (ZfE 1941, p 87.).

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 XIIIith century.

Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo 21924.

Klio XXXI, pp 131 ff.

Cyprus: SCW IV ii, fig 26 (p 147) 23.

Caucasia: i RAC II, Plate XXVII, 9.
   ii SC, fig 236, Tula, 11.
   iii GGS, fig 40.

Armenia i ZfE, 17, Plate IX, 18.
   ii RAC I, p 176, figs 129-31.

Persia SC, fig 245, tomb 105 (Giyam IV). 

Ithaca ILN 14 Jan 1933, fig 1, bottom left: BSA XLIII, Plate 49, E, 89-92.

Greece Perse, Plate 28, 14 and p 183.

Hallstatt i Sackes, Plate XIII, 3.
   ii MAGW 1889, p 33, fig 22.

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 IIIrd 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 Azerbaijan, where iron may have been made for the object of experiment from an early date.

Arch LXVII, pp 19-20, fig 18, A 2.
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 XVIth 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 XVIth century (see page 68).

All the varieties of helmet illustrated at about 1200 were known, it seems, during the XVIth 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 Aegaean, 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 Aegaean area, possibly from the general area of Caucasus, 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 Aegaean, 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 Aegaean area, for something which may be, and has been described as, a round shield appears as one of the signs on the Phaestos 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 Aegaean 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 Mouliana Tomb B. In both tombs at Dendra and Mouliana objects of eastern type occurred, as will be shown below. By before 1200 the slashing sword was made in iron⁷ 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 Azerbaijan, in the general area of Caucasus.

Thus the evidence of arms and armour leads the eye towards the area of Caucasus, suggesting that it was from or through that region that some, at least, of the new ideas and styles which come flooding into 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 Aegaean 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 freely. 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 Aegaean area, and which appears at roughly the same time in many lands, being found as far to the east as Azerbaijan. 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.

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 Aegaean 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. 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. 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 may be 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 Mouliana 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 Mouliana 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 drawings from other parts of the Aegaean 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 Mouliana 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 Mouliana. Iron also appears in the Chamber Tombs at Vrokastro, where there were also other objects which link the groups in those tombs to the groups mentioned above, such as a tripod similar to the one found in Tomb 58 at Enkomi, and a gold
ring similar to rings found at Mouliana. At Vrokastro, however, there is a vessel from Chamber Tomb 3 decorated with concentric semi-circles drawn with a compass, 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 Vrokastro Chamber Tombs will be referred to later in this book (see pages 192 ff).

Cremation was just beginning to come into practise as a popular form of interment at the time when the Mouliana 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 Azarbaijan to Assur, Babylon, the Punic cities of north Africa and Italy. The apparent priority of the rite in central Europe has suggested to some authorities that when it appeared in the Aegean 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 Mouliana crater and the contemporary Aegaean 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 Aegaean area somewhat tentatively at first, so it would seem. 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 Mouliana, 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 Aegaean 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.' 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 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... Mycenean 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 widespread 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', 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 Caucasus. 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 Caucasus 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,’ 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 Mycenean material, and in support of this opinion he refers to examples from Cyprus and various places in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area, for there is also the Enkomoi example he mentioned. As a matter of fact, there is also an example from Caucasus, though in this case the bow, while parallel to the pin, is slightly swollen, and has a knob at each end. 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 Mycenean pottery was going out of use, 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 Mycenean
days. It also occurs in Caucasus, and in the cremation cem-
tery at Hama in Syria. 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, in association
with Granary style pottery, a finger ring adorned with two spirals
turned in opposite directions to form a kind of bezel, and a
spiral metal armlet. Both this type of ring (discussed also be-
low on page 222) and the armlet are closely paralleled in Caucasas
Besides appearing in other places in Greece, this form of fibula
occurs also in other parts of Europe, including Italy, being
found at Monte Cetona and Punta del Torno. Saflund has sug-
gested 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 Torno, in the same deposit as these fibulae,
pins with spiral and double spiral heads, types which had long
been known previously in the east, as for example in Persia, and
in Anatolia. And at Monte Cetona ceramic ornament included spirals
in relief and geometric meanders, and sometimes there appeared
on pots horn-shaped protruberances similar to the horns which
are characteristic of Lausitz ware, and occur occasionally on ves-
sems found in Caucasus. Pots found at Monte Cetona had handles
which were equipped with knobs, a style known in the early Iron
age in Azerbaijan, and in Cyprus, where such a style reappears,
after being discontinued after many centuries, at the time of the
beginning of the Iron Age. 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 Azerbaijan.

The arc-shaped form of fibula (Blinkenberg Type II) appears to
have been made in several varieties. One in plain, that is, with-
out ornament (catalogue on page 159). Another has the bow adorned
with engraved designs (catalogue on page 159). Yet another has
the bow twisted (catalogue on page 159). Virtually identical
examples of the two latter classes occur in Caucasus and in the
Aegean region. In the former region this shape of fibula is
undated: in the Aegean area this shape appears during late Mycenean
days, and continues to be made there during the time of the manu-
facture of Granary pottery.
SEMI-CIRCULAR FIBULAE WITH PLAIN UPPER PART

Syria
Palestine (Megiddo stratum VI, 1150-1100) LAAA VII, Plate XXIII, II.
Anatolia (Alishar IV) Megiddo II, Plate 223, 77.
Mesopotamia Koldewey, fig 189.
Caucasia

Cyprus and the Aegaean ESA V, pp 151 ff.

SEM I-CIRCULAR FIBULAE WITH ENGRAVED UPPER PART.

Aegaean 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

Aegaean (with late Stirrup-vase) Vrokastro, fig 87 J.
('Sub-Mycenean') Kersaneikos I, Plate 28, fig 2.
Anatolia Argive Heraeum II, Plate LXXXV, 844.
(Troy) Thera II, fig 489 a.
Italy

SS, p 258, no 6495.

Caucasia

RECOUVAL D'ETUDES DEDIEES A LA MEMOIRE DE N.P. KONDAKOV, ARTICLE BY KALITINSKY, PLATE VII, 23.

(Further examples from the Aegaean 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. 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 Alisbar IV days, and is dated at Megiddo in Palestine to before 1150.

**FIBULAE WITH SWOLLEN BOW.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Ex.s in C, p 68, fig 92.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SCE I, Plate CLIV, 2.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SCE IV ii, p 145.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Cim a crem. p 132, fig.s 167, 168 B.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>LAAA VI, Plate XXVI a (on right).</td>
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<td>LAAA VII, Plate XXIII A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luristan</td>
<td>ESA IX, p 278, no 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 494, d.898.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>Vrokastro, Plate XX c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>Cl R, VI-VII, p 338.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attica</td>
<td>Kerameikos IV, Plate 39, M 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus</td>
<td>RAC II, Plate XXII bis, fig 5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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).
          (Carchemish)   LAAA VII, Plate XXIII, C.K.
          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 II, 11-12.
Aegaean    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.
          (Further examples from the Aegaean, Anatolia and Palestine are given by Blinkenberg.)

TRIANGULAR FIBULAE

Palestine  (Megiddo 1350 - 1150)  Megiddo II, Plate 223, 75.
          (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.
          (Khorsabad)     ii AM XLI, p 419, fig 12.
Persia     (Luristan)    Khorsabad, Plate 59.
          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 Aegaean, 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

Aegaean (Crete) Quoted by Blinkenberg.

Adriaetic (Ithaca) Quoted by Blinkenberg.

Julian Alps (St. Lucia) ILN 14 Jan 1933, p 45 fig 1, top left. BSA XLIII, Plate 49, E.23.

Europe (Austria) (Hallstatt) Bull adriatica 1893, Plate XX.

Caucasia Sacken, Plate XV 4-7.

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 independance 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. He could hardly have suggested that for the Caucasan 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, 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 Aegaean area during the Late Minoan II -III period. There are Mycenaean examples from the same area, as for example from Chamber Tomb 2 at Dendra, while iron legs, perhaps from a similar tripod, were found in the Tiryns hoard. 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. 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, and Italy. Riis 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-Mycenean time, to judge by the ivories'.

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

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. 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. The same is true of the tripods of the Geometric period in the Aegean area. 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. 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.
The treasure of Tell Basta (Bubastis) in Egypt 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 Aegean area, and in Persia. The technique also occurs in Caucasus, 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, while a scene of fowling and fishing therein has been compared with the ornament carved on an ivory from Palestine. 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, filling ornament occurs therein. This method of decoration, found rarely on Mycenaean vases in the Aegean area, is suddenly very common in the Aegean 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'. There can be no doubt that the filling ornament, either in the Aegean, 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. This is not a style of work otherwise known in Egypt during the Pharaonic period, as Wainwright pointed out, but it is found contemporaneously in Cyprus and in Palestine, and at about the same time in southern Persia. 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 there to before 2000, at Troy and, during the earlier part of the Second Millennium, at Byblos, while it has been shown, by Dunand, that twisted strips of metal, including torques, occur in Caucasus and in Luristan. A twisted strip comes from Alaca in central Anatolia, possibly of about 2000, and another from Trialeti in Caucasus. There is an example of what may be of Iron Age date from the B cemetery at Siakh. 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, 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.

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 newcomers may have been in some way connected with the Greeks, and it should be recalled in connection with 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, and no doubt made there also, plaques of glazed ware painted in polychrome and sometimes modelled in relief, bearing representations of human figures, and motifs which include the four-pointed figure formed by five interlocking circles (catalogue on page 131). Such a manner of work, while only found in Egypt at that time, as 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. The Assyrian glazed bricks, painted and modelled, are well known. In none of those lands does this style
seem to be native. A possible centre whence the style might have spread is Caucasus, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mesopotamia (al Ubaid period ?)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean (Early Bronze Age)</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Yortan)</td>
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<td>Anatolia (Troy)</td>
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<td>Persia (Susa IIIrd millennium)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anatolia (Tarsus, C 2000)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Alaca)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine (c 1700)</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria (Has Shamra), (2000-1500)</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c 1600)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine (II Ind Semitic ?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mycenaean (Source not known)</td>
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<td>Anatolia (Bali Dagh, Troy VI-VII period)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean (Macedonia, late Bronze Age)</td>
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Prauss, Akad. d Wiss Phil-Hist Abh 1937, no 11, Plate 35 e.

BSA XXXI, pp 46-7.

Eutresis, fig 151, 3.

BSA XXV, Plate XII, j.

Pre Mac, no 313: fig 61 a, p 98.

BMC I i, A 38.

Thermi, p 79.

Ilios, no 1134.

DEP XX, fig 2.

AJA XLIV, p 63, fig 6.

AJA LI, Plate XXXVI b.

Megiddo II, Plate 25, 8.

SC, fig 48 F.

Montet, Byllos, Plate CLI, 827.

Gezer III, Plate CXLIX, 16, 17.

BSA XXXI, p 47, note 1.

AJA XL, p 312, fig 10.

PZ XXIII, p 129, fig 15, 4.

Pre Mac, fig 87, a - c.
Cyprus (Early Iron Age) CVA BM ii, GB Plate 45, 20.
Azerbaijan (Early Iron Age) At 1948, fig 37, 121.
Aegaean (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.
Aegaean (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 Caucasus, 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. a 70 ff.
ii Gezer III, Plate XXXI, 16.
Egypt (Treasure of Tell Basta) Le Musée Égyptien II, Plate L, top right.
Syria (Hama) Cim a crem, p 129, fig 159.
Cyprus (Lepithos tomb 425, perhaps of White Painted I date), (Orientalising) SCE I, Plate LV, 6.
Cyprus (SCE I, Plate IV: Plate XLIV, 32 etc.)
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 Aegaean, 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**

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<td><strong>PMJ</strong> XXIII, Plate CV, c.</td>
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<td>(Hisar III)</td>
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<td><strong>Illos</strong>, p 488, no 834.</td>
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<td><strong>Mesara</strong>, Plate V, 4973.</td>
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<td>(M.M.I)</td>
<td><strong>Karo S</strong>, Plate LVI, 649.</td>
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<td>(XVIth century)</td>
<td><strong>Dendra</strong>, p 79, para. 23.</td>
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<td>Mycenaean</td>
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<td><strong>Falchi</strong>, Plate XVI, 19.</td>
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<td>(Aegaean)</td>
<td><strong>Montelius Cív Prim II i, Série B</strong>, Plate 147, 18.</td>
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<td>(Pesaro)</td>
<td><strong>Boll adriatica</strong> 1893, Plate XXV, 8.</td>
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<td>(Julian Alps)</td>
<td><strong>PPS 1948</strong>, Plate XVII A.</td>
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<td>Europe</td>
<td>(Bronze Age D)</td>
<td><strong>MAGW</strong> 1889, p 39, fig 55.</td>
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<td>(Bosnia)</td>
<td><strong>BMK</strong> 1934-5, Plate 33, 25.</td>
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<td>(Hungary)</td>
<td><strong>PPS 1948</strong>, Plate XVII, B.</td>
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<td>(Hallstatt A)</td>
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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 Cansea. There are also horned helmets from Luristan (Syria XI, Plate XLIII, ter., 1.)
7. PPS 1948, p. 184. A similar sword of iron from Cyprus is illustrated in Handbook Cessola, 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 Persoon'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. is C, p. 31. Another piece of iron is the knife blade fixed in a carved ivory handle from Tomb 74 at Zakros, 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 (Cotteman Manel I, fig. 137), and is shown at Medinet Habu as worn by the Dene, Frat 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 Urartu. Those folk were equipped with round shields, and carried spears (Bronze Gates Shalmaneser, Plates XXXVII and XLI).
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 (CCE I, Plate CXX, 3-4).
13. Vrokastru, Plate XXXIV.
14. Vrokastru, p. 138, fig. 82.
15. Vrokastru, Plate XXVII, 4.
17. Iraq IV, p. 65, fig. 3 a, and other Punic cremation urns at Carthage may be compared with Cim a crem, fig. a diff. Ridge necks occur at Carthage (Iraq IV, fig. 3, m, m, p) and at Hama (Cim a crem, fig. 193 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. 3 a.). Polychrome ornament also appears in Punic cremation urns (Iraq IV, fig. 3), some of which resemble Hama vessels (Cim a Crem, fig. a 41 ff.). Such parallels may suggest that the early users of cremation at Carthage came from the east.
18. Miss 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 (EBA XXV, fig. 12 b.).
19. Lorimer, pp. 103 ff.
20. Lorimer, p. 42.
22. LAAA XII, p. 47, fig. 10. Parallels in Syria and Palestine have been listed by Eis (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.
27. BSA V, pp. 151 ff.
29. Ex. s in C, p. 16, fig. 27.
30. IGAIMK 120 (1935), fig. 17, 6, of the article by A.A. Tessen.
31. An example, with the bow twisted, apparently of Mycenaean date, comes from Korakou (Korakou, fig. 133, 6).
32. Eph 1933, p. 99, fig. 42 (Cephalasia Tomb B 2).
33. R. Virchow, Das Gräberfeld von Kobon, Plate 1, 11-12.
34. Cim a crem, p. 131, fig. 166 A.
36. Kerameikos I, p. 85, fig. 4. This type is also found in Caucasian and in the Aunjetitz culture (see page 226 note 21).
38. NDS 1887, p. 328: Sundwall, Die ältere italische Fibulen.
40. Dragma, p. 482.
41. Dragma p. 483, figs. a 38 and b 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.
Safu says (SE XII, p. 21) that the Hittite material may be considered to belong to the Terramara Adriatic stage, and be dated to about 1250. Both he and Handmann (AIA 1941, p. 313) suggest that Terramara pottery is related to Buckel-keramik and may be believed to be of foreign origin. In view of this it is interesting to observe that certain pot-shapes at Hittite Cetona (NDS 1933, p. 71, fig. 24) are paralleled in Trialeti in Caucasus (Trialeti, Plate CXIV).
45. NDS 1933, p. 71, fig. 23.
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 Blinken-berg's Types I and II are apparently contemporaneous.
50. Ex. s in C, fig. 92, and p. 68.
52. There were tripod bowls with shallow basin, and without handles, in use during the XVIIth century in the Aegean area. Their shape is curiously like that of pottery vessels of Gjuran III date in Persia (compare Karo S, Plate CLXIII, 579, with Gjuran Tomb 92).
53. Lamb GRB, fig. 3 b, and S. Bentzon in BSA XXXV, pp. 74 ff.
54. Dematra RT, p. 101, fig. 75: Plate XXX.
This type of tripod appears in the tomb of the Tripod Hearth in Crete (POM II ii, fig. 388) associated with a kylix of characteristic Mycenaean shape.

A tripod from Tiryns (AM IV, fig. 4, Bell 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. Manteius Die alteren Kulturperioden, p. 294, fig. 976) Cyprus (Handbook Cosnola, p. 478, no. 4703), 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 Cucasia (RAC II, Plate LIII, 4) as well as in Italy (VBE, Plate XXXII, 9).

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).


Bosseret AA, p. 313, 1194.

SCE IV ii, p. 149, 26.

Contesau Manuel II, p. 1072, fig. 741.

Megiddo Ivories, no. 160.

Arm II i, p. 344. A Luristan example is illustrated in Godard bronzes, Plate LIX, 218.

Lamb GBB, p. 22.

Kerameikos I, Plate 64.

Lamb GBB, pp. 44 ff., and fig. 5.

Several are quoted in the catalogue on page 50.


Le Musée Egyptien II, Plate XLIV, 2.

PBFQ 1939, p. 8.

Annales XXV, pp. 256 ff.

POM IV, p. 357, fig 300.

Lamb GBB, p. 58.

Annales XXV, p. 123.

Annales XXV, pp. 123 ff.

Ex. a in C, Plate VIII.


DEP VII, p. 67, Plate XIV.

Mochlos, fig. 9, II.9.

SS, Belitage II, 5942.

Mochlos, Plate XCIII, and pp. 215, 271.

Mochlos, p. 215, notes 4 and 5., p. 271. For the Caucasian connections of Palestinian torques see especially Syria VI, pp. 16 ff.

ILN 9 April 1938, p. 632, middle right.

Plate XC, 1.

Sialk II, Plate XCIII, 5.175.

see page 38. The Mochlos saucer has been discussed by Frankfort (P. 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, K. Hanua's article and his Plate 1).

91. Dussaud, fig.218 etc, p 288: TSDA VII, Plate IV (Opposite p 186).


93. CilI II, p 9. For examples of such work from Babylon see Constenas Manuel IV, p 2253, fig.8: 1277-8.

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 Aegaean area at the end of the Mycenean period. Slowly new kinds of pottery came into fashion, and they eventually superseded the glazed-painted Mycenean 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 Emkomi no.s 73 and 88, and Chamber Tomb 1 at Vrokastro in Crete all contained pottery of late Mycenean 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.

¹
²
This is to some extent similar to ornament on a roughly contemporary vase from north Syria, a vessel of which the decoration is almost exactly paralleled at Tepe al Abad, near Susa, where it appears executed in polychrome. 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, was not used in the Aegaean during the first part of the Iron Age. But it did appear in lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, at that time.

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, or with birds, normally in red and black colours on the buff surface. Such polychrome decorated ware is found also in Syria and Cyprus 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. There are two tomb-groups in which this pottery was found at Beth-Pelet which are of considerable interest. 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, 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. 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. 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. As has been suggested above, it is possible that a migration from the general area of the Caucasus mountains brought people thence to the Aegaean 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 Yahudiye, Beth-Shan and Babylon. At Hama in Syria polychrome decorated pottery seems to appear 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, 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.

At Tell el Yahudiye 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. 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. 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. A little earlier larnakes with a gable-shaped roof, made of pottery, had been in use in the Aegaean area.

The anthropomorphic pottery coffins at Tell el Yahudiye were sometimes inscribed, and Griffith stated that he found 'blundered
hieroglyphs on them, which might suggest that strangers with little education in hieroglyphs had prepared them. With the sarcophagi there was found a stirrup-vase, a variety of phiale with a vertically placed collar-shaped neck, and layer glass eye-beads. Of about the same period at this site were found some sherds with combed incised decoration. Both layer glass eye-beads (catalogue on page 180) and combed incised ornament on pottery may have been originally of Asiatic source, 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. 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 IIInd millennium from Crete. There is no reason to doubt its date as being about 1200. 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. If so, this might suggest that there was some connection between Crete and that region during the earlier part of the IIInd millennium, a suggestion which has already been made elsewhere on the basis of other material.

UNION JACK VARIETY OF CROSS INSCRIBED WITHIN A CIRCLE
(Sometimes alternate segments are coloured or hatched to form a four-armed cross).

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<td>(Early Cycladic)</td>
<td>PhyIakopi, Plate VII, 8.</td>
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<td>(Middle Cycladic, Paros)</td>
<td>AM XLII, p 62, fig.a 68-9</td>
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<td>(XVIth Century)</td>
<td>i QDAP VIII, Plate XII n.</td>
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<td>ii Anc Geza I, Plate XXX 33.</td>
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<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(XVIth Century)</td>
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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.


Anatolia (Alushar IV) i TAH 1928-9 i, Plate XXXVI, 1831. ii MDG 72, p 33, fig 16.

Cyprus (Early Iron Age) SCE IV ii, Fig I 3.

Aegaean (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 (Alushar 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 deutsch Ins Kairo V, p 158, fig 20.

Palestine (IIInd Semitic) Gezer III, Plate CXL. 10 & 11.

Italy M. Mayer, Wolfetta und Matera, Plate XVIII, 5.

Aegaean (Geometric) i Hampe, Plate 33 ii Johansen, Plate 1, 7. iii CVA Germany VII, Germany Plate 301, 5.

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### Pair of Concentric Semi-Circles Joined by Concentric Chevrons

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<td>Beth-Peret II, Plate LXIII, 42.</td>
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<td>ii. Corpus Palestinian, 34 (bottom left).</td>
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<td>Assyria</td>
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### Eye-Bead

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<td>Antiquity V, p 433, 52.</td>
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<td>Azarbaijan</td>
<td>(c 2000)</td>
<td>Az 1948, p 111.</td>
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<td>TAH 30-32 ii, fig 309.</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(New Kingdom)</td>
<td>Mostagedda, p 135.</td>
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<td>(XVIIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Arch LXXVII, p 43, fig 34 a; pp 63-4, fig 60.</td>
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<td>Gurab, Plate XLIII.</td>
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<td>E.L. Griffith, <em>The antiquities of Tell el Yahudiye</em>, p 47, Plate XV.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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'. 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, 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, 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 Cyprus and Cilicia 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 Mycenean 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 Aegean 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 Mycenean
date, and one piece, the cremation crater from Mouliana, 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 Mycenean pottery, as illus-
trated 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 dis-
tinction. Perhaps a suitable name for it would be the 'Illustra-
tive 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 Kefitian 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 Mycenean Period, since they are con-
temporary in Azarbaijan with various styles which appear in the
west at that time (see page 153). 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 Mouliana crater, and on the Warrior Vase. This motif (cate-
logue 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. It is also not unlike the shape of crater used for cremated burials at about this time in north Syria.

5. A horseman is illustrated on a vessel from Mouliana, 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 Aegaeum area.

6. During the XIIth and XIIIth 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.

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**THE HORNED ANIMAL'S HEAD HANDLE**

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

**Notes:**
- SCE: Society of Classical Studies
- BSA: Bulletin of the School of American Research
- CWA: Cyprus War Cabinet
- TAH: Turkish Archaeological Museum

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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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>(XVIIIth Dynasty)</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rekh-mi-Re, Plate XVIII</td>
<td>LAA VI, Plate XI, 57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anz 'Gaza IV, Pl. XXII, 246.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(c 1200)</td>
<td>Le Musée Égyptien II, Plate XLIII</td>
<td>Steingefasse, Plate V, 18352.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk)</td>
<td>Sialk II, Plate III, 6.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cim a crem, p 180, fig 230.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus</td>
<td>(Undated)</td>
<td>ARSm, fig 452.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Persia</td>
<td></td>
<td>RAC II, Plate XXXVI bis, no 3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hersfeld Iran, Plate XXIII.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Samos)</td>
<td>ZF E 1899, p 65, fig XIII, 5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td></td>
<td>G. Rodenwaldt, Neue deutsche Ausgräbnungen, Plate V, 1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>(VIIth Century)</td>
<td>Sellin, fig 95, p 73.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
<td>BMC I ii, Plate XIII, H 99.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 Aegean 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 Aegaean 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 pots and possibly also the Granary class. As at Mouliana, so also at Salamis, iron and cremation appear in use, though only very rarely. The Granary class and the Salamis group are of Mycenean character in so far as Mycenean shapes appear therein, such as the stirrup-vase. But also some shapes not made in the usual Mycenean fabrics appear in these new groups. The same combination of tradition and novelty appears in the decorative scheme, for while spirals occur at Salamis and in the Granary class, 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. 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 Mycenean 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 XVIth century. That was a time when, so it has been argued above, Asiatic ideas in great variety came westward to the Aegaean 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 1st millennium date, of vessels 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 Aegaean at the time of the XVIth century, and later, in the Orientalising Period. 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'. 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.

Foreign ideas have been suggested as influencing the development of Aegaean 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. These are without any Aegaean 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, 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 Shamra 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, and paralleled in the B Period ware of Azarbaijan. 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 an acarination, or sharp-edged angle, and is often decorated with incised geometric maeander 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. Since the geometric maeander 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Catalogue References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Early Cycladic)</td>
<td>i Eph 1898, Plate 9, 1, 2, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Dhimini, incised)</td>
<td>ii Phylakopi, fig 67: Plate VII, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Russia</td>
<td>(Tripolys)</td>
<td>iii BMC I ii, A 304.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(1st intermediate</td>
<td>Fimmen, fig 60, right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Period)</td>
<td>Minna, fig 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(IXth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Qau II, Plate LXXXVII, 80-82.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(XVIth century)</td>
<td>CVA Pays Bas ii, Pays Bas Plate 59, 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(1500-1400)</td>
<td>Pre Mac, p 214, no 408.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BMC I ii, Plate I, C 108.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Syria (1450-1365) (Atchana ware) Ug II; fig 70, 12.
AJ XVIII, Plate IX, AIP 230.
Caucasia

N. W. Persia

Aegaean (Protogeometric) Trialeti, fig 112; Plate CXIV.
Stein routes, Plate XXIX, 1.

Cyprus (Iron Age) Kerameikos IV, Plate 28, 1184.

Cyprus (Iron Age) SCE IV ii, Fig XXVIII, 6.; Fig XXXV, 4.

Cyprus (Hallstatt) LAAA XXVI, Plate XXIII, B 29.

Cyprus (Hungary) Germania 27 (1943), heft 1 Plate 5, 1.
Diss Pann, Ser II.9: Plate II, 8.

Balkans (Butmir) 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 (Macedonia, VIIIth century) Benac, Butmir, Plate XV.

Aegaean (Protogeometric) Annuario XV-XVI, Plate V, 9.

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 Blegen 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 lines and guilloche pattern. Of much the same date are some monochrome grey wares from Lesbos, 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. 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 fabulae. 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 possible 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 Caucasus, 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. 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 Gisyan and elsewhere in Persia, in the northern part of Caucasus and in Italy. 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. This type of bowl is rare in other lands, but has been found in Palestine, at Tel el Mutesellim, and in central Europe, in pottery of the Hallstatt period. The known examples of the shape may suggest that the centre of distribution for it lies in the direction of Caucasus. 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. 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 Mycenean days. Again, such details as handles with knobs placed where the thumb would rest, common in Azarbaijan at this time, 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 APeriod at Geoy Tepe cannot be entirely derived from the west, they show some parallels with wares in Cyprus and neighbouring lands, the Aegaean 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 Azerbajian, 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 Aegaean 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. This shape is perhaps to be connected with a cup-shape found at Geoy Tepe, but it is otherwise so unusual as to invite interest in its origin.

Vertical fluting has been referred to as occurring in the monochrome wares of Azerbajian. 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, and the silver bowls found at Toud in Egypt, all being of the earlier 11nd 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Caucasus.

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 11nd millennium may well have
been in the direction of Caucasia. This may be as true of Italy as of the Aegaean. For although Saflund has discussed the apparent connections between Troy VI-VII and Italy at the time of the Adriatic culture phase, the distribution of the ceramics concerned suggests that one should look further to the east than western Anatolia in search for origins.

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. This fabric is, quite reasonably, believed to be connected with the Lausitz ware which is well known in many parts of Europe. 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, 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 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. 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 swellings in the Lausitz manner. It has been observed that Terramare pottery may be 'related to Buckelkeramik', 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, 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 compass (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. 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 Aegaean area before the end of the IIInd 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 Aegaean 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 semicircles on pottery appears in Cyprus, Syria, Palestine and elsewhere in the Near East, and may be of eastern source (see page 201). It appears in the Aegaean area first, it seems, in Crete, where it is found in the pottery of the Chamber Tombs of Vrokastro, of the 'quasi-geometric' period. 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 type known as Salamis, and in Tomb I of a tripod of a type found at Enkomi and Tiryyn, 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 may be 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 compass and a version of Granary style ornament. 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 Azarbaijan 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 jar, a shape new in the Aegaean 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. 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. 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 Aegaean 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. Two similar rings were found in Tomb A at Mouliana, one of which had granulated decoration. 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. 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 and associated with a Mycenaean larnax at Praesos. 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. A similar ring, of about the same date, comes from North Italy.

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

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<td>(Tepe Ali Abad)</td>
<td>DEP VIII, p 127, fig 238.</td>
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| Syria     | (Byblos, Hymki 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.  
| Aegaeaean | (Lesbos)                | Thermi, p 204. |
| Azarbaijan|                         | Az 1948, fig 36, 915. |
| Persia    | (Sialk A)               | Sialk II, Plate I, 3.  
|           | (Tepe Giyan I)          | Giyan, tomb 31. |
| Anatolia  | (Erzingen)              | Bosaert AA, p 313, 1194.  
| Aegaeaean | (Orientalising)         | Lane, Plate 16 A. |
KNOBBED HANDLE

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

IMITATION SCARAB-SHAPED SEALS

Aegaean ('Quasi-geometric') Vrokastr, pp 135-6.
Palestine (Tell Abu Hawam stratum III) QOAP IV, figs 150-1.
(Beth-Pelet) Beth-Pelet I, Plate XXII, 600; Plate XXXV, 395, 801.
Syria Byblos, Plate CXXV, 2460.
Egypt (XXth-XXI Ind Dynasties) Quoted in Vrokastr, 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

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<td>(Tell Billa III)</td>
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<td>ii AJA XLI, p 75, fig 8, no 12.</td>
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<td>ii Dikaios, in Melanges P.1, pp 316 ff</td>
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<td>(Suza I)</td>
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<td>BMC I i, fig 37, A.156.1.</td>
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<td>Pre Mac, p 156, fig 23 b.</td>
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<td>(Tepe Kazineh, near Tepe Moussian)</td>
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|              |                 | Trialeti, Plate CXIV.                                                   |
| Caucasus     | (undated)       | i. SCE IV ii, Fig III, 5.                                                |
|              |                 | ii. Kypros, Plate XCVIII, 1 b.                                           |
| Cyprua       | (1200-1000)     | i. Vrokaastro, fig 50 A, Plate XXXII.                                   |
|              |                 | ii. AM XXXV, Plate VI, 7.                                               |
| Aegean       | (1200-1000)     | i. Megiddo II, Plate 147, 5.                                             |
|              |                 | ii. LAAA XXVI, Plate X, 5.                                              |
| Syria        | (1200-1000)     |                                                                           |

**TRIANGLES: PAINTED SOLID (ARRANGED SIDE BY SIDE)**

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Egypt (Ramesside period) G. Brunton, Gurob, Plate XXV, 29.
Anatolia (Alishar IV ware) i Bossert AA, p 282, 1068.
ii TAH 1928-9 i, figs. 317, 320.
Aegaean (Salamis) AM XXXV, Plate VI, 2.
('Quasi-geometric') Vrokastron, 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.
Aegaean (Orientalising) i NC, Plate I, 3.
ii Johansen, Plate V, 1.
Sicily (Orientalising) CVA Italy XVII, Italy Plate 803, 1.

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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 LXXI, 3.
Mycenean (Mycenae) MV, Plate XXXVII, 380.
Cyprus (Early Iron Age) AJA XLI, p 75, fig 8, no 25.
Aegaean (Protogeometric) i Vrokastron, fig 75, Plate XXX.
ii Kerameikos IV, Plate 10, 2027 (grave 48).
(Protogeometric) 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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, Syria and Cyprus. 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).

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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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-spired 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>XVIth century</td>
<td>Gournia, Plate VII, 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Base-ring ware</td>
<td>CVA BM i, GB Plate 10, 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>Kusura C</td>
<td>Arch LXXXVI, Plate VIII, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycenaean</td>
<td>Salamia ?</td>
<td>AJA LIV, Plate II C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iasios</td>
<td>MV, Plate II, 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Cyprus)</td>
<td>Enk-Al, fig 91, Plate LXXXI, 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiryns, fig 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
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<td>Musesellim, Plate XXXVIII.</td>
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<td>Anatolia</td>
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<td>Boghar Keui, Plate 13, 3.</td>
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<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>Marmariane</td>
<td>Prosymna, fig 292</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Iris</td>
<td>BSA XXXI, Plate V, 69.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>AA 1939, col. s 289-290, fig 18.</td>
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Palestine (Early Iron Age) i Corp. Palest. 41. 
ii Megiddo Tombs, Plate 8, 12. 
iii Megiddo I, Plate 3, 75-77. 
iv Megiddo I, Plate 6, 153. 
v PEQ 1923, Plate II: Plate IV. 
vi Gezer III, Plates 87-88: Plate XCI, 11.

Azerbaijan (Early Iron Age) Az 1948, fig. 37, 29.
F. Petrie. 

Cyprus (Kourion tomb 26 A) AJA XLI, p 66, no 23.

Syria (Carchemish) LAAA XXVI, Plate XXIV, J 2, etc.

Aegaean (Geometric, Thera) AM XXVIII, figs 26, 27.

Anatolia (Geometric, Thera) Gordion, figs a 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.
Aegaean (Thermi) Thermi, Plate IX, 148.
(Early Minoan) Mochlos, fig 48, 40.
Syria (C. 2500 ? ) Byblos, Plate CXXXIX, 3924.
Egypt (Old Kingdom) i Dendereh, Plate XVI, 28, 38.
ii F. Petrie, Medum, Plate XXX, 21.
Mesopotamia (Brak) Iraq IX, Plate LXIX, 2.
(Ur) NC, Plate 267, 245.
(Tell Asmar) OIC 19, p 18, figs a 16, 17.
(Ashur Stratum G) Andrae I T, Plates 18, 20.
Persia (Hissar III) PMJ XXIII, Plate CXVII, II 1633.
Egypt (1st Intermediate Period) i Dendereh, Plate XVII, 46 ff.
ii Qua II, Plate LXXXVIII, 97; Plate XCI, 96.
Persia (Susa II) (Moussian)
Mesopotamia (c 2000)
Anatolia (Troy II-V)
Egypt (Middle Kingdom)
Mesopotamia (Larsa Dynasty)
Aegaean (early IIInd millennium)
Palestine (1800-1700)
Egypt (IIInd Intermediate Period)
Palestine ('1650-1500')
Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty)
Egypt (New Kingdom)
Anatolia (Kusura C)
Mesopotamia (Tepe Billa Stratum 3)
Aegaean (1400, Gournia)
Syria (1400-1200)
Palestine (1400-1200)
Mycenean (Milatos)
(Mycenean (Knossos)
(Zygouries)
Anatolia (Troy VI)
(Troy VI-VII)
Persia (Early Iron Age)
Palestine (1150-1100)
Cyprus (White Painted I ware)
Aegaean (Protogeometric)

DEP XIII, Plate XXXIV.
DEP VIII, p 137, fig. a 278-280
Gawra, Plate LXXIV, 195-9.
SS, p 121, no 2441.
el Kab, Plate XV.
BM 121959.
Phylakopi, Plate XXII.
Megiddo II, Plate 22, 9.
Qau III, Plate XVII.
I Hyksos and Is cities, Plate X.
Megiddo II, Plate 47, 16.
Sédment II, Plate LXI, 73.
Arch LXXXVI, fig 10, 2 & 3.
PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIII.
POM II, p 139, fig 70, bis.
Ug II, fig 110, 40 ff.
Arch LIX, p 486, fig 105, B.
POM II, p 133, fig 67.
Zyg. fig 138.
I JHS LII, Plate I, 2.
AJA XXXIX, p 579, fig 22.
SS, p 158, no. s 3228-3230.
Az 1948, fig 37, 28.
Megiddo II, Plate 80, 9: Plate 87, 12.
SCE IV ii, Fig VII.8). to 10).
Desborough, Plate 14, 2029.

VERTICAL RING FLASK

Syria (Later IIInd millennium) (Later IIInd millennium)
('1900-1750')
(c 1700)
Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty)

Byblos, no. 3927.
Ug II, Plate XL.
Ug I, fig 53 F.
i el Amra, 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, Lahun II, 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.

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

PITHOS OF ALBRELLINO TYPE

Mycenean (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. Possibly the ridge-neck style is of similar source.

**RIDGE-NECK VESSELS.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period/Style</th>
<th>Sources</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>Jemdet Nasr</td>
<td>Field Mus Nat Hist Anthro Memoirs I, Plate LXVIII, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>c 1800</td>
<td>Megiddo II, Plate 19, 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Base Ring ware</td>
<td>CVA BM i, GB Plate 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>c 1500</td>
<td>Rapport prelim Hanna, Plate XVI 4.</td>
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<td>ILN 2 Dec 1939, p. 8-33, fig 5 right.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>before 1400 ?</td>
<td>Gezer III, Plate LXIV, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>before 1200</td>
<td>i Beth Shan II, Plate XLVII, 27.</td>
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<td>ii QDAP IV, Plate XIII, 86.</td>
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<td>iii Lachish, Frontispiece.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Amathus tomb 7</td>
<td>SCE II, Plate IX.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White Painted I ware</td>
<td>SCE IV ii, Fig III, 15.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>1150-1100</td>
<td>Megiddo II, Plate 80, 3.</td>
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<td>1050-1000</td>
<td>Megiddo I, Plate 6, 147.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Carchemish</td>
<td>LAAA XXVI, Plate XVI, a &amp; b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>Carthage</td>
<td><em>Iraq</em> IV, p 71, fig 4 (see Albright in AJA 1950, p 175, and Gjerstad SCE IV ii, p 295.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>'Phrygian'</td>
<td><em>Belleten</em> III, Plate LVI.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>Thera</td>
<td>AM XXVIII, Beilage XIX, 11.</td>
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<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>i Cl R, VI-VII, p 75, fig 82.</td>
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<td>ii Lindos I, Plate 43, 945.</td>
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<td>iii CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 431, 1 &amp; 3.</td>
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<td>iv Cl R, III, fig 73.</td>
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<td>AM XXVIII, Beilage XXII, 4.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(Geometric)</td>
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<td>i Delos XV, Plate L1, 1.</td>
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<td>ii CVA Pays Bas ii, Pays Bas Plate 73, 1.</td>
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<td>iii AM XLIII, Plate IV, 1.</td>
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<td>iv Cl R, VI-VII, p 189, fig 223.</td>
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<td>v AJA 1901, Plate III.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
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<td>i Kinch, Plate 38, 6, 5 and 6, 8.</td>
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<td>ii Annuario VI-VII, p 261, fig 162.</td>
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<td>iii CVA GB ix, GB Plate 381, 6.</td>
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NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Miss Hall observed, when discussing the late Mycenean period at Vrokastro, 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". [Vrokastro, p 181].

2. POM IV, p 377, fig 314 b. Examples of this shape include Unpub Palai, fig 37 (L.M I II); Korakou, fig 101 (Mycenean); IV, Plate VII (36 XIII) (Mycenean from Ialysos); ESA XVII, Plate XII, 73 (Mycenean, from Phylakopi).

3. LAAA XXVI, Plate XI, 3.

4. DAF VIII, p 130, fig 280-4.

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 1550 and 1100 the motif of animals grouped around a tree is common, and this sharply marks off the polychrome painted ware of this time from the earlier days of 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 Mycenean days that this motif appeared in the same forms in Aegean as in Palestine, first early in that period, as animals upright on either side of the tree (catalogue on page 133: compare RNC I i, A 719, with Megiddo II, Plate 48, 4) and later, at the close of the Mycenean period, as pairs of animals walking on either side of the tree (compare RNC 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 Mycenean pottery was still in use.

8. See page 78.

9. SGE IV II, pp 186 ff.


11. Beth Pelet I, Plates XXIII and XXIV.

12. At Beth Pelet, Corpus Palestiinis, 42 II 1. At Tell Abu Hawam, QDAP IV, Plate XXXVI, 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 (AASON XVII, p 54, note 62). This would suggest that at the time of the XIth century there was a migration of people into that land from the area where toggle pins were characteristic, an area which might be Callasia (Syria: VI, pp 16 ff).

15. Dendra, pp 111 ff.


17. Duna P, Plate 33.

18. Koldewey, fig 200. Anthropomorphic coffins were still being made in Mesopotamia (at Sama) in Parthian days (Revue d'Assyriologie XXVI, pp 133 ff).

19. Cism a crew, Plate X D.

20. LAAA XXVI, Plate XI.


23. As note above, Plate 14.
24. Sialk II, Plate VII. Cable-shaped protection to graves formed by bricks appears also in Palestine (Anc Gaza III, Plate VI: IV, Plate LXV, 1663).

25. At Pessos. BSA VIII, p 247, fig 15.

26. F. LL. Griffith, 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 XX, pp 111-2.)

27. Compare what may have occurred during the First Intermediate Period (As 1948, p 243).

28. Griffith loc cit, Plate XV, 15.

29. Griffith loc cit, Plate XV, 17.

30. Griffith loc cit, p 47.


32. As 1948, p 250.


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. Az 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. Griffith, pp 267 ff).

38. QDAP V, p 92.

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.


42. Sjoqvist, Problems of the Cypriote Bronze Age, p 190.

43. H. Schliemann, Mycenae and Tiryns, pp 182 ff: MV, Plates XLII-XXIII.

44. It includes Tiryns, Plates XIV, XV: BMC I i, A 1015-6; A 1022-MV, Plate IV, 24 B. x; Plate XXXIX.

45. SCE I Plate XCI, third row down, third from the right.

46. Pottery sherds of such 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 iv, C 397.

48. LAAA XXVI, Plate IX.

49. Examples include the following:-

   Clay a crev, Plate XII A.
   Lachish II, Frontispiece.
   Megiddo II, Plate 69, 13 (of stratum VII A).
   Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1 (of stratum VI a, in 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.
See previous note.

S. Wide in AM XXXV.

Wace in BSA XXV, figs. 8, 9, 12 and many others.

Such as the little two-handled pot AM XXXV, Plate VI, 8, some parallels to which are quoted below.

Cyprus: i SCE IV ii, Fig V (b).
   ii AJA XLI, Plate 1, bottom row.

Crete: (Spring Chamber at Knossos) POM II, fig 69 B.

BSA XXV, fig 8 b.

BSA XXV fig 9 b.

Gournia, Plate VIII, 14.

BM no. s 116376 and 116379, (S. Smith, Early History of Assyria, Plate XV, a.).

Kinch., Plate 38: 6, 6.

BSA XLIII, p 261.

One of the patterns used on Salamis pottery is the row of triangles hatched in alternate directions (AM XXXV, Plate V, 5, 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 33, fig 7). This is not a Mycenean shape, and cannot be derived from Mycenean sources. On the other hand, it is closely similar to a cup painted with ornament in white, of the earlier part of the IIb 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.

Aegaean (Early Minoan) Mochlos, Plate IX, M 12.

Egypt (XIIth Dynasty) KH, Plate XIII, 40.

Aegaean (M.H. I) Unpub Palai, Plate V D.

Egypt (XIIth-XVIIIth Dynasty) el Amrah, Plate LIV, 5.

Mycenean i Arch LXXII, Plate XXII, 8.

ii MV, Plate II, 51, XXVII.

Aegaean (Protogeometric) Kerameikos IV, Plate 24, 1106.

Cyprus (Early Iron Age) SCE IV ii, Fig II, 11.

POM II, pp 129-30. Farumark dates them later (Opuscula archaelogica III, pp 222 ff). For other Cretan urns see S. Alexiou, Kretika Chronika IV, pp 441 ff.

Diaos P, Plate XXIV: Nagada, Plate XIV, 29.

Ug II, fig 79 (Also illustrated in AfO 1941-4, p 370, fig 2; ILN 14 June 1941, p 779, fig 8.)

BMC I II, Plate I, C 106.

Az 1948, fig 34, no 38. This shape of jug appears also in the Geometric Period in the Aegaean area (see below, page 240).

Childs states that "Villanova Urn" shaped vessels were found in "early Scythian" graves in the north Caucasus (PPS 1948, p 194).

Kite XXXII, p 133.

QDAP IV, Plate XXII b-d (found with Mycenean ware).

Therim, pp 136 ff.

References are collected in Az 1948, p 260, note 29.

Az 1948, fig 39, 23, and p 162 (where it is called an alabastron).
72. As 1948, p 251, note. In addition to the references given there, the following should be added: Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires, Plate XIV, 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 was found by Dörpfeld at Olympia (M. Dörpfeld, Alt Olympia, fig 25), a fabric dated usually to 1300-1200, and made in shapes (such as an ovoid, Beilage 25 b) unlike contemporary Aegaeic vessels and presumably of foreign source.

For the Mirabello vessel see Mirabello, Plate VII, D 2.

73. As 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". (EZ 1932, p 122).

74. Watzinger, fig 41.

75. L. Lindenschmidt, Die Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit V, Plate 44, 753. See Childe Prehistoric migrations in Europe, p 189, fig 149, no 746. Somewhat similar ware appears in Armenia (Arm II ii, p 774). Horizotal fluting occurs also in Italy (Dohan Italian Groups, Plate XV, 10), and in Anatolia (MDG 75, p 45, fig 28 b; Larnaca III, Plate 2, 17.)

76. As 1948, p 261 note 29.

77. As 1948, p 165, note 9.

78. CVA Denmark iv, Denmark Plate 195, T.; Mingazzini, Plate VI, 10.: Dohan Italian Groups, Plate I, no. 3-5, found with a pilgrim flask (loc cit Plate I, 2) of a "type... common in Cyprus, and... also in Crete" (loc cit, 9), and with a scutte 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 Caucasus 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 RHA July 1931, Plate 12, 4-5.

79. As 1948, fig 41, 27.

80. In view of the parallels noted between Italy and the general area of Caucasus it may be of interest to observe that a bucchero vessel from the Tomba del Duca (EBE, Plate 21, top row, middle) is closely similar to the most frequently illustrated Kefitian shape of vessel in Egyptian tombs. For, as has frequently been urged by Wainwright, the Kefitian people were very closely connected with the eastern part of Anatolia.

81. Mystret Byblos, Plate CXI, 746.; Plate CXII. See also POM II ii, p 385, fig 541 a.

82. ILN 18 April 1936, pp 682-3.: Abusir el Melek, Plate 23, 2 and 5.

83. Syria VI, pp 16 ff.

84. Dramia, pp 468 ff, and SE XII, p 21. The period of Troy VII a is characterised by the use then made of smooth yellow monochrome ware (AJA XXXX, pp 550 ff). Yellow ware also appears in Italy, at Punta del Tommo (Dramia, pp 472 ff) made in shapes known in Troy VI (T and I, 1, figs 199-203; AJA 1937, p 82, fig 12).

85. At Punta del Tommo twisted handles (Safiuddin in Dramia, fig 25) and knobbled (loc cit figs 20-22) occur together, as in Asarbaijan.

86. SS, p 172, no. 3865-3847. At Troy VII b also occurs Granary ware (AJA XXXIX, pp 550 ff).

87. Déchelette II, p 354, fig 152.

88. RAC II, Plate XXXIV, 5, with which may be compared as 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, 61), being contemporary in Persia with "bevelled rim bowls".
90. Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XLIX, 6 & 7. CVA Italy xvi, Italy Plate 774, 1.
91. AJA 1941, p 313.
92. TAH 1928-9, 1, fig 325.
93. A.A. Zakharov in Arc Orien II, Plate XXXI, 2. See also E. Chantre, Mission en
Cappadoce, Plate XI, 1. TAH 1927 i, Plate VIII. TAH 1930-32 ii, fig. a 421 ff.
94. TAH 1927 i, Plate II.
95. The earliest example appears to be from Stratum VIII B at Megiddo, dated to about
1350-1200. (Megiddo II, Plate 67, 1 & 21.
96. Vrokastro, Plate XXXVII, 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 256).
100. A characteristic of Gramy 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 (LAAI XXVI,
Plate 9, 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, 1).
101. Az 1948, fig 41, 27.
102. Vrokastro, Plate XXX.
103. El teos, Plate XIII. This vessel from El teos 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 Protogeometric 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 fre-
quently on Minoan Geometric pottery. Neither of these motifs are at all well
known in Middle Helladic times, and it is probable that the ornament on this
El teos 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 there.
105. Vrokastro, fig 82.
106. Eph 1904.
107. Dahshour, 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. LAAI XXVI, Plate XVI, b. 2.
114. SCS IV ii, Fig XXV.
115. See note 112 above. Vrokastro, Plate XXVII, 2 and Plate XXXII.
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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean. 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean. They are best known from the only two areas from which there is any quantity of material of this time, Cyprus and the Aegaean 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, a type fairly well known in Cyprus, and popular in the Aegaean area. 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 Aegaean area, while examples have been found, not only, apparently, at Tell Halaf and Nineveh in northern Mesopotamia, but also at Mersina in Cilicia, at al Mina in Syria and Tell abu Hawam in Palestine, and in other places, including Cyprus.

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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean Protogeometric pots are quite new in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean Protogeometric pots, and fabrics of the early Iron Age in Cyprus:

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<td>Plate 24 (2092)</td>
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<td>AJA XLI, Kourion tomb 26 A, no 41</td>
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Kerameikos I. 

Plate 52 (590) 
Plate 63 (535)

SCE IV ii

Fig XXXVII 16). Also CVA BM ii, GB Plate 58, 21. 
Fig VII, 7).

Desborough.

Plate 16 (151) 
Plate 17 (5) 
Plate 20 (6 middle) 
Plate 20 (6 right) 
Plate 22 (49) 
Plate 23

Fig III, 4). 
Fig IX, 10): Fig XVII, 6): 
Also CVA BM ii, GB Plate 48, 1 & 2. 
Fig XVII, 19). 
Fig III, 10). 
Fig IV, 12). 
Fig XII, 16).

BSA XXIX

Plate V, 11. 
Plate VI, 11. 
Fig 4, 9. 

Fig VIII, 7). 
Fig III, 5). 
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 Cyprus, 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. 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 Aegaean 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, 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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**

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<td>Sicily</td>
<td></td>
<td>Åkerström, Plates 3 &amp; 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gordion, figs 18 &amp; 25: Plate 9, 34.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>i Hesp XIV, Plate IV, 1.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ii Annuario X-XII, figs 232 ff.</td>
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<td>iii BSA XXIX, Plate XII.</td>
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<td>iv Kinch, Plate 35.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>i Mon Ant XXII, Plate XXXVI, 2.</td>
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<td>ii Dohan Italic groups, Plate XXI, 5-7.</td>
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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) Contenaú Manuel ii, p 796, fig 556.

Cyprus
(XVIth century, birds) QDAP VIII, Plate XXIV.
(XVIth century, animals) QDAP VIII, Plate XIV B.

Mycenean
(animals) Marshall, Plate III, 195.

Persia
(Sialk B, animal) Sialk II, Plate XC, s 707.

Syria
(Iron Age, birds and animals) Cim a cram, p 50, fig 28.

Aegaean
(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, 486.
ii SCE IV ii, Fig XXI, 11.
iii Dussaud, fig 175.
(animals, birds and fish) SCE IV ii, Fig XXXII, 5).
CV A Louvre V, France Plate 341, 3.

Anatolia
(birds and animals) Gordion, Plate III.

Assyria
(Nimrud) Layard II, Plate 59 B.

Aegaean
(Geometric) Dugas, Plate 3, 2a.
(Birds and animals) i Aigina, Plate I, 42.
ii Delos XV, Plate XVI, 12.
(birds and animals) iii Al XXVIII, Beilage XXVI, XXVII.
(Sub-Geometric, animal) BSA XLVII, Plate IV, bottom right.
(Orientalising) i Cl R, VI-VII, p 47, fig 43, Plate II.
(ii Hampe, Plate 18, V 3.
(animal) CVA Denmark ii, Denmark Plate 65, 10.
(bird) o Akerström, Plate XI, 4.
FOUR-ARMED CROSS DRAWN IN A CIRCLE, WITH BACKGROUND
DIFFERENTLY COLOURED

Persia
(Persepolis)
(Sialk III)
(Susa I)
Anatolia
(al Ubaid)
Cyprus
(Early Bronze Age)
Aegaean
(Late IIIrd millennium)
Persia
(Sialk B)
Anatolia
('Phrygian')
Cyprus
(White Painted I ware)
Aegaean
(Protogeometric)
(Geometric)
Aegaean
(Middle Cycladic)
(Protogeometric)
Anatolia
('Phrygian')
Aegaean
(Orientalising)
Italy
(Orientalising)

Hetzfeld Iran, fig 21, Plates IV & XIII.
Sialk I, Plate LXXXIII, A 3.
DEP I, Plate XIX, 9.
Comp archy Neap, fig 10, 33.
BMC I ii, fig 17.
Phylakopi, Plate VII, 7.
Gournia, Plate XII, 34.
Sialk II, Plate XIII, 3.
TAH 30-32 ii, fig 462, 11.
SCE I, Plate LVIII, 1.
Kerameikos IV, Plate 25, 2034.
BSA XXIX, Plate VI, 6.
BCH 35, p 356, fig 7.
Delos XV, Plate XVIII a.
AM XLII, p 76, fig 83.
AJA XLIV, Plate 23, 3.
NDS 1895, fig 90.

SOLIQU TRIANGLES TO RIGHT AND LEFT ALTERNATELY ALONG A STRAIGHT LINE

Egypt
(Predynastic)
Mesopotamia
(Jemdet Nasr ware)
Persia
(Susa I)
Mesopotamia
(al Ubaid ware)
Persia
(Giyan V)
(Tepe Moussian)
Aegaean
(Middle Cycladic)
(Protogeometric)
Aegaean
('Phrygian')
Aegaean
(Orientalising)
Italy
(Orientalising)

BIFAO XXXIII, Plate XI, bottom left.
AJA XXXIX, Plate XXXIV, 4.
DEP XIII, Plate X, 8.
Tello 20 campagnes, fig 8.
Contenau Manuel IV, p 1722, fig 982.
DEP VIII, p 100, fig 153.
Phylakopi, Plate XII, 5.
BSA XXIX, p 233, fig 4.
Bossert AA, p 283, figs 1069-72.
Matz GGR, Plate 21 A, right
Dohan Italic Groups, Plate XVIII, 4.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period/Description</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>('Dynasty of Agade or later')</td>
<td>BM no. 128509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(1650)</td>
<td>Megiddo II, Plate 38, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Jericho, 1500 or earlier)</td>
<td>LAAA XX, Plate XXXI, left.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tell Beit Mardim)</td>
<td>Beth-Pelet II, Plate LXXXIII, 29 J 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Iron Age)</td>
<td>AASOR XIII, Plate 14, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(c 1200)</td>
<td>Gezer III, Plate XXVI, 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk A)</td>
<td>Cim a crem, p 76, fig 118.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Carchemish)</td>
<td>Beth-Shan II, Plate XLIV, 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(c 1100)</td>
<td>Sialk II, Plate III, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tell el Mutesellim)</td>
<td>LAAA XXVI, Plate IX, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Israelite Kings period)</td>
<td>Megiddo II, Plate 248, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
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<td>Watzinger II, fig 33.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(White Painted I ware)</td>
<td>Denk P.I, Plate 18, 5.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(White Painted II ware)</td>
<td>Gerar, Plate LVIII, 61 j.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Stein routes, Plate XXIX, 5.</td>
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<td>Hersfeld Iran, Plate XXIII.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>SCE II, Plate LXXXIX.</td>
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<td>SCE IV ii, Fig XIII, 5).</td>
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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 Aegaean 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, a biconical jug (catalogue on page 186), and some bowls with incised decoration, the motifs of which can be paralleled, like the shape of the biconical jug, in early Cycladic pottery. The incised motifs are, the herringbone 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 Caucasus 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, 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 meander ornament (catalogue on page 32) a style of decoration which may also be of eastern source.

Since parallels between objects of Protogeometric date in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Moulions, as Miss Lorimer has suggested. These objects have parallels in Cyprus, though there is no evidence to suggest priority, and consequently source.

Spiral bracelets of bronze were found in the Kerameikos. These seem to be of types not previously found in the Aegaean area. Similar bracelets have been discovered in Caucasia, 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. This type of ring (discussed also on page 158), appears in Caucasia. It is also found, like the bracelet mentioned above, in the Aunjetitz civilisation. 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.

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**CIRCULAR LINE, WITH A RING OF DOTS OUTSIDE IT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>Tell Halaf ware</td>
<td>Tell Halaf I, Plate I, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>Hissar I</td>
<td>PMJ XXIII, Plate LXXXVI, II 948.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
<td>Phylakopi, Plate V, 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus area</td>
<td>(undated)</td>
<td>Trialeti, Plate 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Middle Kingdom)</td>
<td>IKG Plate I, 1 (BMC I i, p 94, fig 115 A 567).</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Cilicia (c. 2000) LAAA XXVI, Plate LXVIII, 9.
Syria (c. 1700) AJ XXX, Plate VIII b.
Aegaean (Middle Cycladic) (Tell Billa III) i Phylakopi, p 117, fig 90.
Mesopotamia (Assur) ii PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 4.
Persia (Sialk A) Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo no. 1996.
Aegaean (Late Helladic II) Sialk II, Plate XXXVIII, s 431.
Mycenean (Rhodes) ILN 15 Feb 1936, p 279, fig 16.
(Crete) CVA Italy X, Italy Plate 462, 6.
(Rhodes) Arch LIX, p 487, fig 106 M.
(Phylakopi) Annuario VI-VII, p 151, fig 74.
(Mycenae) BMC I i, A 1072. A 974.
(Delphi) PCI 1935, p 353 no. 3.
Phylakopi) Argive Heraeum II, Plate LIII, 6.
(Palestine) BSA XVII, Plate XII, 73.
(Cyprus) Gezer III, Plate CLI, 11.
Enk-Al, fig 51.
Persia (Sialk B) Sialk II, Plate XCI, 2.
(Luristan) Survey, p 191, fig 37 C.
Aegaean (Proto-geometric) Kerameikos IV, Plate 29, 2040.
(Geometric) Vrokoastro, fig 53 D.
(Proto-attic) 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.
Aegaean (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.
(Protosan) 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 millenium) Sellin, p 27 and fig 21.
Aegaean (Middle Bronze Age) i BMC I i, p 63, fig 104, A 489.
ii Phylakopi, Plate XVI, 9.
 iii Prosymna, fig 63, no 586.
iv Eutresis, Plate XV, 2.
Egypt (XVIth century) Sediment II, Plate LIX, 19.
Palestine (XVIth century) Anc Gaza I, Plate XXXII, 57.
Cyprus (XVIth century) QDAP VIII, Plate XXIII a.
Aegaean (XVIth century) i HLN 12 Jan 1952, p 60, fig 20, bottom left.
ii Unpub Palai, p 31, fig 19 i.
iii BMC I i, fig 135.
Syria (XVIth century) 
Mesopotamia (Tell Billa III) (Subartu ware) (Atchana ware)
(BM) XXII, Plate LXIV, row 3.
(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.
(Alishar V ware) ii Kerameikos IV, Plate 30 bottom right.
Aegaean (Protogeometric) ii Delos XV, Plate VIII, 31.
(Antic.) VII, 31.
Anatolia (Villanova urn) Gordian, Plate III, & fig 18
TAH 1928-9 ii, Frontispiece.
Italy Palletino, Plate VI.
Aegaean (Geometric) AM XXVIII, Beil VI, 1.
(Orientalising) 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 XXII.

TWO CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, WITH BETWEEN THEM A CIRCLE OF DOTS

Mesopotamia (Nineveh) LAAA XVIII, Plate XXXIV, 19.
Aegaean (Early Cycladic) Phylakopi, Plate V, 8 B.
(XVIth century) (Early Cycladic)
(i) Karo S, Plate XIX, 86.
(ii) Gournia, Plate IX, 1.
(Protogeometric) Kerameikos IV, Plate 30.
('quasi-geometric') 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area were foreigners who had begun to come thither before the end of the Mycenaean period. The alternative view, that those folk were native Aegaeans, 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 Aegaean 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 16 of the Swedish Excavations (SCE II, Plate XXIII).
2. This shape appears in the Aegaeans (Kerameikos IV, Plate 11).
4. Desborough give full details of the other skyphoi found outside the Aegaean area (Desborough, pp 180 ff), as well as Aegaean examples. He disagrees with the 8th century date of the Tell Abu Haman sherd suggested by Hamilton (which is not, in fact, based on any serious foundation at all), and accepted by Heartley (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 XCVI, from Marion Tomb IV).
5. This shape appears also in the east, in Azerbaidjan, in A period ware (Az 1948, fig 38, 19/17).
6. Gjerstad has observed that Cypriot influence can be seen in the Protogeometric shapes of the Aegaean (SCE IV II, p 447).
7. Desborough, Plate 4, 918 (267), etc.
8. The version of the patterns of 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 91.).
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 (Neap 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 saceboat vessel, also as 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 XII, p 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 (Ball Palet 1939, p 133, fig 8). Such ornaments also appear at Canale (IAI, Plate 41, 3 and 13). L-shaped ornaments, hatched, against a plain ground, occur in Middle Helladic days in the Aegaean (Eutresis, Plate XIII).

14. Lorimer, pp 134-5
16. Miss Lorimer points out (loc cit) that similar bosses have been found in Hallstatt graves.
17. Kerameikos I, p 88, fig 4, left.
18. BAC II, Plate XVIII, 1.
19. Kerameikos I, pp 85-6, fig 4, right.
21. ZfE 1904, p 60. There are other European examples (BAC II, p 61, figs 40-41.).
CHAPTER VIII

THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

As in the case of the Protogeometric period, so also with the Aegean 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 meander, the many armed star and the swastika, all of which had been used together in the Aegean area before, at
the time of the Middle Helladic Period, though not during the Protogeometric Period. There is thus some reason to suppose that a considerable change occurred in Aegean 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 Aegean 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'. 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'.

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 Aegean 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 Protogeometric 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) 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, and the swastika (catalogue on page 31), also appear contemporaneously with the geometric maeander 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 Phylakopi. For example, such characteristic Aegean geometric period motifs as the star (catalogue on page 35), the swastika (catalogue on page 31), and the geometric maeander (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 Mycenean 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 Mycenean and the Geometric
epochs were separated by an intermediate period at which time they
do not appear. Moreover, the Mycenean 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 Mycenean period, and the art of the geometric period had each
felt the same oriental influence that Phylakopi had received pre-
viously.' When she made this remark she seems to have been al-
most (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
Aegaean area and the east during the Middle Helladic period is, as
time passes, more and more widely accepted, and has been consid-
ensibly illuminated by recent discoveries in Azarbaijan.  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIF</th>
<th>CATALOGUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The bird with a fish.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The quadruped with a fish.</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 'Butterfly'.</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The bird with a worm.</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rosette on the shoulder or</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hindquarter of an animal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposed animals standing on either</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side of a tree.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The horizontal row of animals.</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The horizontal row of birds.</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The vertical row of birds.</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The animal with a bird.</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The running spiral.</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The diaper design in which each</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diamond contains a dot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The black and white chequer with</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a dot in each white square.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The concentric oval pointed at</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each end.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tube with a spiral at each side</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of each end.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The history of these motifs is summarised below, or on the pages quoted.

### Quadruped with a Fish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Illustrations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Nineveh V ware)</td>
<td>i LAAA XIX, Plate LIX, 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii ILN 27 June 1931, p 1121, fig 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(c 1100)</td>
<td>Megiddo II, Plate 76, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(Geometric)</td>
<td>CVA Louvre v, France Plate 343, 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(with geometric meander).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Argive geometric)</td>
<td>Tiryns, fig 20, Plate XVIII.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Butterfly Motif

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Illustrations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Hissar I.)</td>
<td>Ex.s in TH, fig 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Tell Halaf ware)</td>
<td>Tell Halaf I, Plate LIII. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(Early Bronze Age)</td>
<td>SCE I, Plate XCIX. 7. (A possible example.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii BMK I ii, Plate I. C 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(EM II-III)</td>
<td>Mochlos fig 13, II 1, (appears with concentric circles).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(EII III)</td>
<td>S. Fuchs, Die griechischen Fundgruppen der frühen Bronzezeit, Plate I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M.M. I)</td>
<td>POM I, p 166, fig 117.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(MH)</td>
<td>Eutresia, Plate XIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(c. 1500)</td>
<td>i PMJ XXIII, Plate LXI. 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Contenu Manuel III, p 1322, fig 832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(c. 1500)</td>
<td>J. Garstang, Prehistoric Persia, fig 144, 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘Phrygian’)</td>
<td>i TAH 30-32 ii, fig 436. 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii TAH 30-32 iii, fig 38.c.37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>(Geometric)</td>
<td>Matz GGK, Plate 13 (and many others).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>(Ist millennium)</td>
<td>Dohan Italic groups, Plate XVIII. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td></td>
<td>MDOG 78, p 58, fig 15.1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIRD WITH A WORM

Egypt
(Predynastic)
F. Studies I, Plate XIII, 1.

Mesopotamia
(Jemdet Nasr period)
Comp archy Mesp, fig 13, 66-7.

Aegaean
(Middle Cycladic)
Phylakopi, Plate XI, 5.

(Geometric)
i Argive Heraeum II, Plate LVI, 20.
ii Delos XV, Plate XXXI, 71.
iii BCI XXXV, fig 352, 2.

ORNAMENT ON THE SHOULDER OR HINDQUARTER OF AN ANIMAL

Egypt
(VIIth 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, Les temples némphites et thébains, Plate 34, 3.

(XIVth century)
(Ug II, Plate XI.

Syria
Ug II, p 27.

Mycenean
(Cyprus)
Ex. 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 IIN 6 Sept 1930, p 389, fig 10.

Aegaean
(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 Dere)
SC, fig 275, 6.
WPZ XVIII, pp 45 ff.
ARM, fig 424.
Metro Mus Bull, 1922, p 37, fig 1, C.E.
Anatolia (Ephesus, orientalising) JHS LXVIII, Plate XI b.
(Phrigia) JHS LXVIII, p 19, fig 18.
Aegaean (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.
Aegaean (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 Naasr 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.
(Telope Giyan) Hersfeld Iran, fig 164, (p 83).
Mesopotamia (Nineveh V ware) LAAA XX, Plate LVII, 15.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Style/Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(IIIrd Semitic)</td>
<td>Gezer III, Plate CLXV, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycenaean</td>
<td>(Cyprus)</td>
<td>Ex.s in C, fig 68, 1103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Attic Geometric)</td>
<td>Lane, Plate 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>(VIII-VIith centuries)</td>
<td>Marshall, Plate XV, 1255.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ANIMAL WITH A BIRD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Style/Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk III)</td>
<td>Sialk I, Plate LXXIX. A 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Tepe Gawra)</td>
<td>Gawra, Plate LV a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tell Agrab)</td>
<td>ILN 6 Nov 1937, Colour Plate I, top.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Susa II)</td>
<td>CVA Louvre ii, France Plate 57, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycenaean</td>
<td>(Cyprus)</td>
<td>Ex.s in C, p 48, fig 74, 1160.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Alishar IV)</td>
<td>Arc Orin II, Plate XXXI, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Sialk B)</td>
<td>Survey I, p 193, fig 38 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Geometric)</td>
<td>i Hampe, Plate 18, V. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii CVA Paya Bas i, Paya Bas Plate 8, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(Geometric)</td>
<td>Handbook Cesnola, p 286, 1701.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus area (undated)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Metro Mue Bull 1922, p 37, fig 1, E.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RUNNING SPIRAL**

(Discaused by J. Bochlan, PZ XIX, pp 54 ff.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Style/Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus area (undated)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trialeti, Plate 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Ist Intermediate Period)</td>
<td>Buttons, Plate IV, 283. (This may be the wave pattern.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(c 3000 ?)</td>
<td>F Studies ii, Plate VI, 1 and 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Early II nd millennium)</td>
<td>i BMC I i, fig 115, A 565, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Dahchour, p 62, fig 132.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Middle Cycladic)</td>
<td>Phylakopi, Plate XI, 1: Plate XIII, 11 &amp; 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Middle Helladic)</td>
<td>Korakou, fig 36, 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(AlVith century)</td>
<td>i Phylakopi, Plate XXV, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Gourina, Plate IX, 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii Arch LXXXII, Plate XLII, 9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Palestine (XVIth century) i QDAP VIII, Plate XVII.
ii Anc Gaza III, Plate XLII, 34.

Aegaean (Late Helladic II) Arch LXXXII, Plate XLII, 5.
Mesopotamia (Tell Billia III) PMJ XXIII, Plate LXIV, row 3.

Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty) i el Amra, Plate LI, D 59.
ii Yusa and Thuiu, Plate XXVI.
iii Amenophis II, Plate XX, 24133.
iv Ug II, Plate XI.

Syria (Subartu ware) Mallowan in Mélanges D, II, Plate I.
(Subartu ware) AJ XIX, Plate XV, 2.
(XIVth century) Ug II, Plate III.

Mycenean (Tell el Amarna) Amarna, Plate XVIII, 394.
(Tell abu Hawam) QDAP IV, Plate XX, 1.

Caucasus area i RAC II, Plate III, 2.
iii Koban, Plate II, 8 & 9.

Aegaean (Geometric) i AM XXVIII, Beil XIV, 5 & 6.
(Orientalising) ii Hampe, Plate 18, V 1.
iii Matz GKG, Plate 17.
iv BSA XLIII, Plate I, 1 & 4.

Aegaean (Early Cycladic) Marshall, Plate VI, 691.

(Early Cycladic) i BOC I i, fig 75.
ii Phylakopi, Plate VII, 1.

Palestine (XVith century) CVA GB xi, GB Plate 481, 25.
(XVith century) QDAP VIII, Plate XIV g.

Aegaean (Geometric) i JB 1899, p 29, figs 1 & 2.
(Orientalising) ii BSA XLIII, Plate 4, 59.

SBAW 1941, II, Plate I, 5.

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: -
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 Aegaean area, could be supposed to be of eastern source.

**DIAPER DESIGN IN WHICH EACH DIAMOND CONTAINS A DOT**

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

**BLACK AND WHITE CHEQUER WITH A DOT IN EACH WHITE SQUARE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period/Dynasty</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Alishar III).</td>
<td>TAH 30-32 i, fig 262, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(c 2000)</td>
<td>i Iran Denk B, Plate VIII, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Herzfeld Iran, fig 164.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Nineveh V)</td>
<td>Comp archy Mesp, fig 19, 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>(XVIth century)</td>
<td>QDAP VIII, Plate XVIII, h.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Mycenaean
- Syria
- Crete
  - Ug II, fig 55, 16.
- Anatolia
- Aegean
  - Geometric
  - Orientalising
- Anatolia
  - 'Phrygian'
- 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 c.
- Persia
  - Susa II
  - DNP XIII, Plate XVII, 1.
  - 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
- Caucasus
  - VEE, plate XXXIII, 3, 7, 11.
  - BAC II, Plate LIII, 4.

#### Tube with a Spiral at Each Side of Each End
- Anatolia
  - Troy II
  - Alaca
  - Ilios, p 489, fig 835.
  - Belleten Jan 1937, fig 28, bottom right
- Caucasus
  - Veri
  - Morgan mission IV, fig 85, 12.
- Mesopotamia
  - Brak
  - ILN 22 Oct 1938, p 734, fig 3.
  - Iraq IX, Plate XXXII, 8.
- Aegean
  - Middle Helladic
  - XVIth century
- Mycenae
  - Boeotia
  - MV, Plate XIX, 134.
  - Ex. s in C, Plate VII, 184.
There are a few very unusual and highly distinctive motifs found on Geometric Period ceramics in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean world at those two epochs, despite the fact that they are separated by about a thousand years.
The second of these unusual motifs of geometric ware in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area. A related shape appeared at a date which may be of about 1500 in Azerbaidjan. 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 XIIth 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, excavation 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean Dipylon shape, in that island,²⁴ it has a much more squat and fatter shape, and could not be adducted as a satisfactory parallel to the Greek vessel.²⁵

²⁴
²⁵
²⁶
But the Dipylon amphora shape\textsuperscript{27} 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 York\textsuperscript{28} 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 Aegaean 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 Cyprus\textsuperscript{29} 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\textsuperscript{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 indistinctly or equall 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 Cyprus\textsuperscript{31} 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 Aegaean area.\textsuperscript{32} It is probable that the type of the 'collar-necked' shape should be considered to have already appeared in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean, ornamented with the swastika and the geometric maeander 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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. 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 emotion-
ally very different. For now one finds work which could not pos-
sibly 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 con-
veying 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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.
Ideas of eastern source can be traced in the Aegaean area as appearing there fairly commonly during the later part of the Geometric Period. 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.' 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. 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.' Models of horses and birds, commonly made in pottery and in bronze in the Aegaean 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, and are sometimes similar in shape to the Aegaean models. Bird models similar to the Aegaean ones have been found in Italy, 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. Perhaps also one can trace an eastern connection in the case of a little bronze bird similar in appearance to the Aegaean geometric birds, which stand on the rim of a mug which formed part of the Tiryns treasure. 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, 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area in Middle Cycladic times and in Mycenaean days, and also, in Mycenaean days, in Egypt. 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 Aegaean area in late geometric times and continues to be known there in the orientalising period. Both in Rhodes and in Crete the repertory of motifs used includes birds. This unusual form of ornament can hardly be of local source (for neither ornament in white nor drawings of birds are found in the Aegaean 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 millennium but also possibly at about the time of the VIIIth century, and consequently might have been introduced from the east to the Aegaean area during the geometric period.

Another motif found during the later part of the geometric period in the Aegaean 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. Speaking of a much earlier sphinx, Evans expressed the view that the idea of the sphinx is of eastern source, while von Bissing stated that in his opinion the winged sphinx was of Syrian origin. 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 Aegaean 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

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### GRIFFIN

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Palestine (XIVth-XIIth centuries) ILN 23 Oct 1937, p 708.
Assyria (XIVth century onwards) BSA XXXVII, p 108.
Mycenean (Seal-stones) MV, Plate E, 12: Plate E, 40 (?).
Egypt (Tell Basta treasure) Annales XXV, pp 256 ff.
(XXth Dynasty) Prisse II, Plate 86.
Syria (Tomb of Ahiram) Montet Byblos, Plate CXIIII, 878.
Cyprus (Assyrian type bowls) Perrot & Chipiez III, p 789.
Aegaean (Late Geometric) AJA 1901, pp 144 ff, fig 11.
(Orientalising) 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 Aegaean area, though only rarely, a bowl shape which is closely similar to a characteristic bowl of the Granary Class at Mycenae, 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. 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. There is no antecedent for this representation within the Aegaean area, but it occurs in the Koban region of Caucasus. Often the drawing of the body of the snake on Aegaean pots is bordered by a row of dots, a style of ornament found on a vessel of Susa I date. 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. 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. 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, 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

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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, and is usually considered to have been derived in all its varieties from the Phoenician alphabet. 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. 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. A relationship between Ludoi and Lutipris, a name found during the earlier part of the First Millennium in Urartu, 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 VIIth century appears in the gorgoneion. 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.

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. 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 XVIIth 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 Inua 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 XIIth century Bes seems to have been fairly well known in Palestine. He appears rather later in Cilicia. He has been connected by some students with the Kabeiroi, 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.\textsuperscript{76}

By the beginning of the VIIth century the type of the gorgoneion had appeared in the Aegaean. 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.\textsuperscript{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 Aegaean area.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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'.\textsuperscript{80} And the parallels between east and west which have been pointed out in the case of the Heracles legend,\textsuperscript{81} and in the Epic of Kumarbi,\textsuperscript{82} are no doubt also significant.\textsuperscript{83}
HORIZONTAL ROW OF ANIMALS

Persia  (Susa I)
(Sialk III)
(Hissar I)

Egypt  (Predynastic)

Mesopotamia  (Nineveh V)

Cypriote  (Middle Minoan I)
(Middle Cycladic)
(Geometric)

i  CVA Louvre iii, France Plate 135.
ii  Survey IV, Plate I C.

Sialk I, Plate LXXXII D.

ILN 28 Jan 1933, p 117, fig 11.

Cem Ab I, Plate V, E 340.

LAAA XX, Plate LVI, 19.

Mesara, Plate XIII, 1104.

Phylakopi, Plate XV, 14.

Very common.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. BSA LXVI, pp 152-3. A similar opinion is expressed by M. P. Wilson in The

2. BSA XXIX, p 229, 267 ff. Others who hold this view include B. Schweitzer
(Gnomon 1934, pp 339-40) and Demargne (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 sub-
sequently, except at certain periods, such as the XVIIth 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 275, 1.

5. A. Rosse, De oorsprong der geometrische Kunst, p 142.


8. Az 1948, fig 38, 1018.

9. TAH 1930-32 ii, fig 410, c 1346, fig 412, d 2000, and painted, TAH 39-32 ii,
fig 410, § 871.

10. Kosay Pazarli, Plate LII, and p 15. TAH 1928-9 ii, Plates II and VI.

11. Ivories Sam., pp 36 ff.

12. BCH 26, pp 499-500, figs a 3-5. CI IX, VI-VII, p 79, fig 88.

13. The design appears on a Mesopotamian steatite vase, probably earlier than the
Mycenaean period in date (Contenau Manuel III, p 644, fig 448).


16. CVA BM i, GB Plate 6, 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 (Louisa
and Touliou, Plate XXVII).

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).


19. SCB IV ii, Fig XX 11, and 3).


21. SCB IV ii, Fig XLIV 6), and 7).


23. SCB IV ii, Fig XLVIII, 9).

24. Matz GGR I, Plate X.

25. SCB IV ii, Fig XXXIII. 6). Both the Aegean and the Cypriote vessels have handles
in the form of a horse 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 GGR I, Plate 1, of the ripe geometric period, when human figures were used
in decoration freely. In Cyprus the shape appears (SCB IV ii, Fig XXIII 17);
CVA BM ii, GB Plate 51) also at the time when human figures appeared often as
ornament.


30. Vases painted in the Dipylon manner appear also in Egypt (Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 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 XXX 19). In the case of the lekanë shape compare Hamps, 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 Aegaean geometric ones occur in Italy (Blakeway 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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, Persia soldiers at Persepolis carry such shields (Hersfeld 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 XIII, 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 XXXVII, p 27: AM XLIII, pp 148 ff).

36. Lorimer is BSA XLII, p 138. 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).


38. Lamb GRE, p 42.


40. In Mesopotamia (at B 20 at Nineveh) IAA XVIII, Plate XXIV, 1.

41. 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.). Cyproite "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 Aigina (Aigina, fig 218, 4.)

42. Doham Italic Groups, Plate XIX, 29.

43. P. F. Schmidt, Exs in Th, Plate XLVIII, H 4279.

44. AM LV, Beilage XXXIV, 1.

45. Lindos I, Plate 11, 228-9.: Plate 5, 54 ff.

46. Phylakopi, Plate XVIII, 5, 24.
46. PON IV, p 357, fig 300.
47. In the Subastis treasure, Anales XXV, pp 256 ff.
49. Lindos I, Plate 43, 944 a. BSA XXXI, Plate XII.
50. Nallback in Mélanges B, fig I, Plate II, bottom left.
51. LAAA XVIII, Plate 34, 20.
52. ECM LXXV, pp 1 ff.
53. PON III, pp 419 ff.
56. BSA XXV, Plate 5, a.
57. Lorimer, p 445.
58. Late Geometric, AJA 1941, p 38, fig 15.
59. Early Orientalising, AJA 1940, Plate XXVIII, 1. IAI, Plate 35, 2, 3 etc.
60. WPZ XXI, Plate IV, 2.
61. Syria XVI, p 381, fig 9.
63. ILN 28 Feb 1931, p 331, figs. s 8, 10, 11.
64. Another parallel between Lemnus 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 Azerbaijan (Az 1948, fig 35, 126). 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 240).
65. 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.
66. AJA XXXVIII, p 27.
67. AJA LXII, pp 58 ff.; JHS LXVI, p 89. AJA XXXVIII, p 10.
68. Ullman in Classical studies presented to Cappe, pp 333 ff.
69. Sir James Fraser in Anatolian Studies presented to Hankey.
E. Dussaud, La Lydie et ses voisins, in Babylonica XII.
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. s 140-1). The appearance of caryatids in Etruscan bronzes (P. Ducati, Storia dell Arte Etrusca, Plate 117, 310) 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 Aegaean area of archaic Greek date has been considered to illustrate an oriental manner (Matz GGE, pp 382 ff. F. Studniczka in Antike Plastik, Walter Amelung, pp 252-3). Ivory caryatids from Assyria are well known (JHS LXVIII, Plate III a, right: ILN 4th Aug 1951, p 194, figs. s 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 XXXI).
Hausmann 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 (Hausmann, Altetruskische Plastik I, pp 32-4. AA 1936, cols. s 20-58, fig.s 1, 3, 5, 6.)
88. Mazzarino, pp 49-50.; RE Suppb. VI, 169.
89. JBA XVII, p 38.
90. MC, p 79.
91. 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 gorgonion appears in many places, including Italy (CVA RM VII, GB Plate 450, 4.; Marshall, Plate XXI, 1460) and Caucasus (Mins. p 208, 9, 10).
92. He appears represented at the time of Amenhotep III (IKG, Plate XVIII, 9.; at Amarna (Amarna, Plate XVII, 290), in the tomb of Tutankhamun (ILN 29 Dec 1923, p 1199), and contemporaneously elsewhere (Sedmeit I, Plate XL, 406.; el Amrah, Plate XL, Tomb 9, 14 61).
93. Megiddo Ivories, nos 24 and 26.; Montet Byblos, Plate CLXV.; C de Mertzenfeld im Syrie XIX, pp 345 ff.
94. He appears at Tell Abu Hawam (QDAP IV, Plate XXXIV, 144-4).
96. Bengt Hemberg, Die Kabiren., AFO 1939-41, p 63 f.
97. O. H. Dalton, The treasure of the Omus, Plate XII, 32.
98. BSA XXXVII, p 180.
99. Similarities between religious thought and practice 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 III, p 400), while similarities in practice have been reviewed by many authorities (AJA 1941, p 486.; HDOG LXXVIII, pp 3 ff.; SS XI, pp 84 ff.).
100. The cult of Zeus Lykaon and Zeus Horkios may reveal oriental influence in the west (V. Bérard, Les origines des cultes arcticiens; 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 448 ff.). The Carian Zeus is considered to be "hardly distinguishable from the weather god Teshub-Nadad" (BSA XXXVII, p 179).
101. Parallels between religious practices in east and west may include the Asiatic elements visible in the religion of Corinth (BSA XLVI, p 78), 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 Caucasus.
102. JHS LXI, p 31.; Baldry has pointed out (Classical Quarterly XLVI, pp 83 ff) that Hesiod may have received his idea of the "golden race" from Zaraithustra’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).
103. AJA XXXVII, pp 529 ff.; EA 1934, p 248.; JHS XIV, pp 40 ff.
104. JHS LXIV, p 100-101.
105. See also H. J. Rose, Ancient Greek religion, p 81.; JHS LXIX, p 126.; R. G. Gasterbock suggested that there are Hurrian elements in Greek mythology (AJA LI, pp 123 ff.).
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 Aegaean 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 Caucasus, 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 Aegaean area. There appears, for example, the practice 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 Aegaean world. The effect is of some degree of cultural uniformity in the civilisation of the Aegaean, 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 Aegaean 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 VIIIth 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 practice, 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 *Necrocorinthia*, there appear new ceramic shapes in the Aegaean 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, 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 Aegaeans invention, 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. It is a far cry, geographically speaking, from central Persia to the Aegaean 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. 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 Caucasus 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 Aegaean 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. 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 Aegaean Orientalising Period also appeared as ornament on the Middle Cycladic pots.

ALABASTRON

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>i Maximova, Plate XV, 63.</td>
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<td>ii Thera II, fig 61.</td>
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<td>iii Gordion, pp 123 ff.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Gordion)</td>
<td>i Maximova, Plate IV, 18.</td>
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<td>ii CVA Louvre iv, France Plate 191, no 6.</td>
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<td>iii SCE IV ii, Fig XXXIX, 21.</td>
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<td>Cyprus</td>
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<td>Cl R, VI-VII, p 153, fig 182.</td>
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<td>Rhodes</td>
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<td>i SE XIII, pp 132 ff.</td>
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<td>Italy</td>
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<td>ii BM Catalogue of Sculpture I, Plate II, and pp 158 ff.</td>
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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. He did not quote eastern parallels to the tiny size of the Aegaean 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. 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. 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.

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 Aegaean 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 Mycenean period in Cyprus, 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. 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, and another of alternative flowers and leaves in a style
also reasonably closely paralleled in Assyrian art.\textsuperscript{18} (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.\textsuperscript{16} It also appears on the sarcophagus of Ahiram from Byblos\textsuperscript{17} 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.\textsuperscript{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 Aegaeen,\textsuperscript{19} and become fairly common towards the end of the IIInd millennium and the beginning of the IInd 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 Mediterranean\textsuperscript{20} (see page 163).

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

\textbf{REPRESENTATIONS OF POMEGRANATES (not in vase-form).}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Aegaean} (XVIth century) \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Karo S, Plate XXII, 77.}
  \item \textbf{Egypt} (Karnak) \hspace{1cm} Montet reliques, pp 85 ff, fig 113.
  \item \textbf{Mycenean} (Cyprus) \hspace{1cm} Marshall, Plate V, 623.
  \hspace{1cm} \textbf{i.} UG I, p 43, fig 32.
  \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ii.} Contenau Manuel II, p 1072, fig 741.
  \item \textbf{Palestine} (Megiddo) \hspace{1cm} Megiddo II, Plate 215, 113.
  \hspace{1cm} \textbf{i.} ILN 23 Oct 1937, p 710, top left.
\end{itemize}
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. 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 Aegaean 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 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, a type which first appears at Corinth, so it has been said, at about 640. This shape can be paralleled in Caucasia, though only in undated ware. Similarly shaped vessels had appeared in the Aegaean at the time of the beginning of the Bronze Age, when migrants, perhaps from the east, had reached that area, 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.  

Even from the brief survey offered above it would appear that there were great changes in ceramic shapes in the Aegaean area by the end of the VIIIth century. At much the same time changes as considerable developed in ceramic decoration. Perhaps as early as 700 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, 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. 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 Aegaean 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, and he reinforces his arguments by pointing to parallels in decorative motifs which can be traced between Cyprus and the Aegaean 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'. 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 Ist 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. Thus references to Cyprus or Assyria in the context
of the Ist millennium appearances of these details may be misleading, for on the occasions when parallels occur between the Aegaean 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.  

Further, it is from just such an area as Caucasus, almost unknown archaeologically, that there might have come the curvilinear and unrestrained manner of floral motifs of the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS I</th>
<th>CATALOGUE ON PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Scale pattern</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii Opposed animals on either side of a tree</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Five Pointed Star

#### Row of closed loops, first to right and then to left.

#### Designs based on floral forms

#### Tongue pattern

#### Rosette.

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### Class II

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

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### Five Pointed Star

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

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267
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period/Style</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(c 1800)</td>
<td>Megiddo II, Plate 18, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(XVIIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>Harmhab, Plate LXXXIX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(New Kingdom)</td>
<td>Qau III, Plate XXXII, 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Troy VI–VII)</td>
<td>SS, p 162, no 3325.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>(c 1200)</td>
<td>Mutesellim I, Plate XXXIII o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(c 700)</td>
<td>JHS LX, p 19, fig 8 k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>Matz GGK I, 162.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>Mon Ant XXII, Plate XLVII, 3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period/Style</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(c 2000)</td>
<td>Byblos I, Plate CXXVIII, 4070.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Montet Byblos, fig 53, 402.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(Middle Kingdom ?)</td>
<td>Buttons, Plate VIII, 130.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>('Hittite')</td>
<td>Cyl seals, Plate XLIII c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1st millennium)</td>
<td>Reich und Kultur der Ch, p 50, fig 41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TAH 1930–32 ii, fig 444, 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>(Iron Age)</td>
<td>JHS LX, p 9, fig 4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cylindres Biblio, Plate XXXVIII, 649.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Iron Age)</td>
<td>Annuario VI–VII, fig 209, p 313.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CVA Italy ix, Italy Plate 409, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean</td>
<td>(Orientalising)</td>
<td>Dragma, pp 458 ff, p 461, fig 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hesperia XIV, Plate XXII, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lane, Plate 13 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AM LVIII, p 86, fig 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinch, col 220, fig 107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AM XXVIII, Beilage XXIII, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deltion 1916, p 29, fig a 15.16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BSA XLVII, Plate V, C 3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period/Style</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Tell Halaf ware)</td>
<td>Pre Assy, fig 77, 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>(Shah Tepe)</td>
<td>Arne, Plate XLIII, fig 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sialk III)</td>
<td>Sialk I, Plate LXXV, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hissar I)</td>
<td>Ex. a in TH, Plate VIII, H 4383.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 Orientalizing period. 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 Aegaean 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 populations 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 Aegaean 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. 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 Aegaean 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 Caucasia.
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. 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 Aegaean area. More or less contemporary vases with similarly (though less well) executed drawings of animals have been found in Cyprus and in Egypt, while there is an animal drawn in something the same way on a Middle Cycladic sherd from Phylakopi. Perhaps in this animal style, as in other ways, there can be traced the renewal of a particular artistic tradition.

Lakonian pottery, 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 Aegaean 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. During the first stage of its manufacture it was a highly individual ware, unlike any other ceramic known at any time in the Aegaean area. The shapes belonging to the earlier part of the period of the manufacture of this ware include the lakaina and a mug with a rim which is sharply offset and curved upwards in profile. 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 Aegaean area. It may be a shape derived from the east, for there is a vessel of similar shape from Anatolia, 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. 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 offset rim may perhaps be connected with the mugs found in the Aegaean area during the Mycenean period (catalonge 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.\textsuperscript{52} The use of purple paint, which is characteristic of early Lakonian fabrics\textsuperscript{53} may also be traced to the east, where purple paint was in use in Armenia and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{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 Egypt\textsuperscript{55} and Cyprus,\textsuperscript{56} and at about the time of the XVIth century in Egypt,\textsuperscript{57} Persia\textsuperscript{58} and the Aegean area,\textsuperscript{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',\textsuperscript{60} due to some current of 'West to East trade',\textsuperscript{61} and 'Ionian influence on Chaldaean art' has been proposed.\textsuperscript{62} There is another object which might fall within such a hypothetical 'influence sphere',\textsuperscript{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 104\textsuperscript{41}) 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 clay\textsuperscript{64} 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 animals 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 Aegaean area are so disconnected that they can hardly be believed to be native in that region.  

CENTAURS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>(1400-1200)</td>
<td>Prosymna, p 277, ll: fig 589.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>(Kassite)</td>
<td>i Baur no. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaeon</td>
<td>(Geometric)</td>
<td>ii Baur no. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i Matz GGG, Plate 27 A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Baur no. 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii Baur nos. 199 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>(Pazarli)</td>
<td>Bossert AA, p 276, no. 1048.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaeon</td>
<td>(Orientalizing)</td>
<td>i BSA XLIV, Plate 10, 2-3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Annuario VIII-IX, p 337, fig 222 (with concentric circles and quadruple interlocking spirals).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii Matz GGG, Plate 48. And many other examples.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TWO OR MORE ANIMALS WITH A SINGLE FACE

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aegaeon</td>
<td>(XVIth century)</td>
<td>Annuario VIII-IX, p 160, fig 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>(XVIIIth Dynasty)</td>
<td>i RA 1930, pp 35-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii Mitt. deutsch. Ins. Kairo V, Plate XXIII.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
Monumental architecture in stone appears to have been practised in the Aegean 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. Fluted round columns, so characteristic of Greek Classical temples, are in fact paralleled, not only in these Middle Kingdom tombs 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, 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.

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. 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. 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, 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 XVIth 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,\textsuperscript{86} in Nineveh V ware\textsuperscript{87} and in early Iron Age ware at Carchemish,\textsuperscript{88} while there is one example of it from the Aegaean, of Middle Helladic days.\textsuperscript{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 says\textsuperscript{90} that they came from the Hyperboreans to the Arimaspian, thence to the Issedones, thence to the Scythians, then to Sinope, and to Attic Prasie and so to Delos. The Arimaspian, 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.\textsuperscript{91} Beyond the griffins lived the Hyperboreans, but Herodotus said\textsuperscript{92} 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 symbolized actual events of long before, has been supposed by Seltenmann\textsuperscript{93} 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.
The practice of large scale stone sculpture began in the Aegaean 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. Such rearrangement of posture from uniformity, though still rare at that time, is the reverse of a spirit of stiff and conventional arrangement. 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. 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, Assiya, Cyprus and the Aegean area, 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. 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. 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. Lawrence expressed a similar view, with the exception that he observed that a connection between the style of the statue of Queen Napir-Assu in Mesopotamia (c. 1500) and that of the Cheramyas Hera is not so unlikely as it sounds. Grace, for his part, saw definite parallels between Assyrian and Greek sculpture. So did Miss Richter. 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, 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,
in common, and to consider that large scale stone sculpture in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean. 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 kouro type. Much later, at the time of the Ist 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. 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, 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.

A single piece of sculpture, the little silver statuette somewhat of the Greek kouros type, found with the Oxus treasure, 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 8th 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. 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 8th century, the earliest example being the griffin protomes from cauldrons, made in a style supposed to be of eastern source. The earliest hollow cast piece of sculpture in human form in the Aegean is a 7th century head at Carlsruhe with hair arranged à étage. As Studniczka has pointed out, there is a bronze head of slightly later date, from Cyprus, which is also hollow cast. That style of hair-dressing is, in the opinion of Picard, of exotic origin when found in Greece. It appears to be considerably earlier in Syria than in the Aegean area.

Casting of metal to produce very large objects was practised at about the middle of the 12th millennium in western Asia and in Egypt. There is, for example, the huge bronze statue of Queen Napir-Ason from Mesopotamia, which is believed to be hollow cast. This is the statue which has been compared with the statue of Hera by Cheramyes, both in the general treatment of the drapery, and in the columnar form broken only where it splayed out round the feet.
Of this time in Egypt are the doors, the manufacture of which is illustrated in the tomb of Rekh-mi-Re\textsuperscript{123} 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),\textsuperscript{124} than among any other folk of the Near East.

Layard stated that the Assyrians could cast hollow bronze objects,\textsuperscript{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 Nineveh\textsuperscript{126} 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 I\textsuperscript{st} millennium.\textsuperscript{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 Artemision,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Greece\textsuperscript{130} 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.\textsuperscript{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. At about 2500 it appears in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, 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. This example has an omphalos. There is another Egyptian example, possibly of the XXth Dynasty. Still later, there is an example from Hallstatt A context in central Europe, and many from Italy. 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, 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.

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 phialae with ribs has been discussed by Matz, who call it Biefelschale. Such vessels are common in Italy, but occur also in the east, in the Aegaean, 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 Dynasty (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 phialae with vertical flutings appears early in the second millennium in Syria 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. There is a similar example from Cemetery B at Sialk. 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) 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. Jacobsthal has pointed out 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**

<table>
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### Phialae with Lower Part All in One Curve

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

### VERTICAL FLUTING

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Palestine (c 1500)
Egypt (Keftiu bowl)
Azarbaijan (Early Iron Age)
Cyprus (Early Iron Age)
Anatolia (Alishar IV)
Persia
Caucasia
Aegaeon (c 1200)
Persia (Sialk B)
Central Europe
Italy (c 700)

ILN 25 Nov 1939, p 795, 15.
LAAA VI, Plate XIII, 89.
Az 1948, fig 38, 1034.
Handbook Cosnola, p 55.
TAH 1928-9 i, p 250, no. a 1064.
Giyàn, Plate XIV, 2.
Trialeti, Plate XLVIII, 6, lower row, middle.
Pre Mac, no. 409.
Sialk II, Plate XIV, 6.

i V. G. Childe Prehistoric migrations in Europe, 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.

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 Caucasus during the earlier part of the Ist 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 Aegean. It does, however, seem to be possible to trace similar movements elsewhere, as is suggested below.

Gunn pointed out\(^{147}\) 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 Ist 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 Aegean 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. Riias 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 Aegaean 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 1st Intermediate Period civilisation in Egypt. Subsequently, however, such objects are almost unknown until the Orientalising Period in the Aegaean area. It could be, naturally, that such things were independantly 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.

A few bronzes of Orientalising date found in the Aegaean appear to be of foreign source. One of these is part of a belt-buckle from Perachora, an object which may very well be of Transcaucasian origin. Of much the same date may be a ring from Knossos, which appears likely to be from Luristan. 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. These vessels are closely similar in shape to a bowl of early IIIrd millennium date in Azarbaijan (K Period). 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. 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 journeys 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, 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 XIX, 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.
   - As has been suggested by Payne, Perachora I, pp 55 ff. Robertson, BSA XLIII, pp 10 ff.
   - SC, fig 256, 3.
   - As 1948, p 253.
   - NC, p 270 note 2.
   - NC, p 5.

2. Compare, for shape, Griffith, The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyyeh, Plate XI, 2, with Falchi, Plate XVII, 34; also compare Mykonos and its cities, Plate V, bottom right, with NC, fig 3, and CI E, pp 119 ff, 127 ff, fig.s 183 ff.

3. 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 (Bellleten 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 XVIII 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.

4. Such juglets are common in Palestine and Cyprus. The earliest examples at Megiddo are of Stratum XIV, dated to 1850-1800 (Megiddo II, Plate 11, 1.). They are not closely dated in Cyprus (Catalogue Cessona, pp 42-3).

5. Sometimes these black incised fabrics of the early IIInd millennium are made in the form of fish (Catalogue Cessona, p 43, no. 384), a fact which may be significant, for the idea is not very common, but reappears in the wares made in the form of living things (animals and humans) in Orientalising days in the Aegean area (NC, pp 170 ff).


7. ILN 20 July 1929, p 116, top right.


9. 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 (PEQ 1939, p 172).

10. Ivories Sam, p 32.: Prisse 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.

11. Montet Sybiis, p 229, Plate CXXVIII.: Contenau Manuel II, pp 1056 ff. Dr. Contenau 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 (Bekhmi-He, p. 421).

20. There are pomegranates hanging from a differently shaped tripod from Ras Shamra (Contenau Manuel III, p. 1072, fig. 741).


22. An example is illustrated in Johansen, Plate VIII, 3.

23. NC, p. 17.


25. NC, pp. 273, 280. See also Johansen Plate XLII, 5.

26. SG, fig. 304, 11, 12; RAC 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 Caucasus 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 from Bissing, Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Steingefäse, Plate 5, no. 18488), 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 (Qam 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 Aegaean area which may be of eastern source. One of these is a tall amphora, swelling slightly towards its rounded 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 (XIIIth century)
  - Siptah (unnumbered).
  - ILN 23 Oct 1937, p. 710, bottom left.
- Egypt (1350-1150)
  - i F. Petrie, Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa, Plate X, 14.
  - ii F. Petrie, Tanis II, Plate XXV, 3.
- Aegaean (Orientalizing)
  - Kinch, cols. 189-190.

Another Aegaean shape at this time possibly of eastern source is a bowl on a tall stand (Kinch, Plate 15, and fig. 78). This shape appears also in Assyria (Layard Plate 22). A somewhat similar stand was found in Cyprus (CVA BM ii, GB 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 XXV, 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 (Dohan Italic groups, Frontispiece and Plate XXIX). Mrs. Dohan comments that horses painted in more or less the same way appear in the Aegaean 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.
It has been pointed out that "we may legitimately look for traces of foreign influence in Assyro-Babylonian art" (JHS II, 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.

Az 1948, Periods D and C.

The tongue pattern was thought by Payne to have come, maybe, directly from the east to the Aegean area. (BSA XXII, p 292.)


Az 1948, p 76.

NC, Plate 5.

Ex.s in C, p 104, fig 151, 5. A similar style appears also in Anatolia (Belleten VII, p 19 and Lev. VIII, 18).

BSA XXXIV, Plate 3 a. This vase is about a century later than the Middle Protocorinthian period.

Phylakopi, Plate XII, 29.

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 chimaera (JHS 1934, pp 21 ff.), which appears contemporaneously in Egypt (Tomis II, Plate XXVII, 8).

See E.A. Lane, in BSA XXXIV. A coloured illustration of a Lykian II bowl is in CI II VI-VII, Plate II.

The oriental elements in Lykian ware have been discussed by Dugan in RA 1907, II, 38 ff., and Pfuhl I, pp 224 ff.

BSA XXXIV, p 103, fig 2 C.

BSA XXXIV, p 123, fig 11 C.

TAH 1930-32, II, fig 410, c 1710.

Iraq, I, i, p 153, fig 3, 14.

Mostet Byblos, Plate XCVIII, 922 (apparently of early IIInd millennium date.)

Purple paint occurs commonly in Orientalising fabrics in the west. It is well known at Vroula, where one small vessel painted in black and purple paint (Kirch 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.

JEA XVII, p 40.: JRAI XXXIII, pp 396 ff.

Tarkhan II, Plate XXX, 74 f.

SCE I, Plate XV: SCE I, Plate XVI, 4.

Qan 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 Qan III, Plate XVIII, 124; Harageh, Plate XLIII, 24-V; el Amrah, Plate IV, 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 (Az 1948, p 253).

Tepe Gijan II, (SC, fig 247, 2-3).

POM II, fig 291 a: Iretrus, fig 216. It also appears on "Phrygian" ware in Anatolia, TAH 26-32, II, fig 444, 32.

AM XII, 182-3, fig 13.

Préhistoire II, 48.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1907, 3180. See also Njil 1913, p 475.: AA 1908, pp 48 ff.

64. This technique, so common in Rhodes and Italy at this time, is first found in Syria (B. Rapport prel... Hama, Plate XIV, level J.: Byblos, Plate CXXXIII, 5073, 6684. These examples are probably of IIIrd millennium date).

65. The chamaera seems also to be an introduction to the Aegean during the Orientalizing 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. Bocchor in AH LV.

68. Arm II ii, p 556.

69. JHS XXX, pp 337 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. Andreae Kleinasien und Byzanz, pp 1 ff.)

71. Layard II, Plate 40: Layard N & B, p 647.

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.


75. P. E. Newberry, Beni Hasan II, pp 36-7. See also Mitt deut Ins Kairo VIII, pp 185 ff.


77. See also G. Jéquier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, les éléments de l'architecture, pp 182 ff.

78. Annales, Plate II of article by J P Lamer.: Annales XXXII, pp 91 ff.: Annales XXXIII, Plate opposite p 152.

79. JRA XXXV, pp 123 ff.

80. G. Jéquier loc cit (note 77 above), p 183, fig. 108. Also G. Jéquier, Les temples némphites 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 columns 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. Doham 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 XXI, Plate LV, 2.

88. LAAA XXVI, Plate XI, 6.

295.
88. Assyria, 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, Serie B, Plates 376, 6 and 388 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, Serie 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. 10) and Italy (Poulsen and Nogara, p. 317, fig. 264) is still being made in Aleppo.

89. Pausanias I, 31, 2.
90. RE II i, col. a 826-7.
91. Herodotus IV, 33.
93. Bronze gates Shalmaneser, Plate XXXV. There was great interest in things foreign in Assyria at this time. Shalmaneser III (858-825) 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 Akhenaten (Wil 1913, p. 27), roughly contemporary, that is, with the peripteral temple at Elephantine.

94. 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 I (Persia, IV, Plate LXVI; AJA 1946, p. 18, fig. 10) and at Xanthus (BM Catalogue of Sculpture I ii, 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 al Bahri temple built by Hatshepsut (G. Jéquier, Les temples mérophites et thébains, Plate 40, 1-21, contemporary with the use, therefore, of colonnades built with fluted columns. It may be significant that both architectural, and sculptural, styles could be derived from a single geographical source.

95. L.W. King in JHS XXXI, pp 327 ff.
97. ILN 16 Aug 1953, p 243 (dated to about 720).
98. BM Catalogue of sculpture I ii, C 10 ("before 550").
99. Chryseor, the temple of Artemis in Cefaupy.
100. 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 VII, Plate LXII; Smith Early History of Assyria, Plate X) is not unlike that which appears on the Ludovisi Throne.
101. 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 Romm-Weidinger (Die Anfänge der griechischen Großplastik, p 134) suggests 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 185. C. Picard, Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture, I, Période archaïque, p 546.

105. AJA XLIV, pp 341 ff.


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. Muller, Metropolitan Museum Studies 1936, pp 167 ff) also supports the view that the earliest large scale Greek sculpture was influenced from the east.


108. V. Muller (Frühe 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 a non-local influence, (RA 1904, p 215. Deonna, Les Apollons archaïques, p 23. Monuments et Mémoires de la fondation Piot XX, p 341)

109. Tallgren pointed out (ESA X, p 146) that before 600 "large flat stone statues" were being made in the Crimea.


111. The curious idea of the Dodekarchy, an alliance or federation of twelve cities, appears in Egypt at the time of the XXVIth 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. NDAG II i.: AJA 5, pp 15 ff.

114. As Waite pointed out (JRA XVII, p 39) the name Sandas or Sando may enter into Vannic names. Roscher (col. 329) says that Xerxes had a sister called Sandake, or Sandaue.

115. O.M. Dultos, 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; Lomb GRB, pp 70 ff. Associated with these objects, and also thought to be of eastern source, are the cauldrons with handles in the form of winged figures which occur in many places (E. Bussaud, La Lydie et ses voisins, in Babylonico XI, p 144, note 2; Barnett in Iraq XII, p 39).

The shield and discus 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. s 818 ff.: AFO XV, pp 42-31. Layard illustrated the same type of shield (Layard I, Plate 18). One Cretan shield (Kunze, Plate XXVII) 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 39, fig 11).

118. Jb XLIV, pp 1 ff. (It may be noted that there is a piece of human sculpture from Tophrakale, near Van, Bossert AA, p 305, no. 1163-4)


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 192-3. Other early objects of cast metal include the following:— DEP I, pp 161, 163:
DEP VII, p 37: ILN 8 Oct 1932, p 528, fig. s 7-9. T und 1 1, p 405, fig 404, p 408 f. (from Troy VII).

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 Napisir-Assur. See also, N. de G. Davies, The tombs of Menkhorerresenb, Amenmose and another, p 13.

125. Layard M and B, p 672.
Another hollow cast head in the one from Hamadan, published in Metro Mus Bull, April 1952.: ILN 19 Jan 1931, p 55: A. Moortgat, Bildwerk & Volkskun
wederzien sur Hethiterzeit, fig 8, who calls it late IIIrd millennium.

127. OLZ 1941, pp 295 ff.
129. Luschen, p 146.
130. Luschen, 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." (Persæ, 185-6).

132. U 1, p 9, fig 6.
133. RC. Plate 235, 47.
134. Le Musée Égyptien II, Plate 48. Luschen illustrates a "IIIrd millennium" example from Assur (Loc cit fig 1).
135. F. L. Griffith, The antiquities of Tell el 'Aubudiyeh, Plate IV, 17.
136. FPS 1948, Plate XVII B.
137. Dohan Italic Groups, Plate VII, 8 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 the two officials of Tuthmosis IV, Plate IV.
139. A saucer which may possibly be thought to be related to this type of phiale occurs in Canasia (MAC 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. U 1, fig 58.
143. Megiddo Ivories, Plate 26, 146.
144. SC, fig 256, 40.
145. EZ 1934, pp 84 ff.
146. BSA XXV, p 70-I.
147. JEA XXV, pp 55 ff.
149. Other indications of eastern influence have been collected. For example, Kunze has observed that the g秾os came from the Phoenicians or Assyrians to the Greeks (Kunze, p 194), while Riis suggests that other details of dress indicate that Greece was inspired by Asiatic ideas, as for example the use of the chiton, the tasseled 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 Fremdworte als Beweis für babylonischen Kulturinfluss, pp. 20 ff).

150. Amongst these are the "Caucasian bells" discussed by H. Moebius in Marburger Studien, 180, and in AA LVI, col 32.


152. JHS LIII, p 295, fig 19.

153. E. Petrie Tenis 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 Kouyoundjik 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 Aristocleides 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 Caucasia, both westward and to the south at fairly frequent intervals during prehistoric times, and that they spread 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 unmistakable, 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 deeply 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 that 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, and in Greece when this style appeared, it was contemporary with the introduction of large scale sculpture. And again, Imhotep, the legendary architect at Sakkarra, 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 Sakkarra 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 unmistakeable 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 Tonia, or anywhere in the Aegaean 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 Hawkhawt 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 XVIth 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 XVIth century, of people who were acquainted with iron metallurgy. There is no material of that time from the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 have been 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 Aegaean 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 Aegean 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, buccero 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 Caucasus. It becomes fairly well known at about 1200 in the Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area, while another, of 1st millennium date, comes from Assyria. The distribution of this style might possible suggest that its home was in the area towards Caucasus.

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 Azerbaizhan. 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 Buckelkeramik, 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 Caucasus.

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 Caucasus. 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Caucasus, 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Caucasus.

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 than 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean 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 Aegaean area. Thus it might be reasonable to suggest that the coming into use of the Geometric style in the Aegaean 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 Protogeometric 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 Protogeometric 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 Protogeometric to Geometric in artistic styles.

The fact that certain elements of the Aegaean 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 Aegaean area.

The evidence of the material of the Protogeometric, 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 Aegaean civilisation, these being succeeded by others at ever shortening intervals of time.

Throughout the early Iron Age in the Aegaean 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 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 Caucasias 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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Issue Record.
Catalogue No. 669.1/Bur.-3020.

Author—Burton-Brown, T.

Title—Coming of iron to Greece.

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