THE DORIANS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

SKEAT

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BY

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PREFACE

This study, in an abridged form, was successfully submitted for the Cromer Greek Prize of 1932, and is published in accordance with the terms governing the award. A considerable part of the materials on which Part I is based were gathered during tenure of the Sachs Studentship, in 1929/30, and the Walston Studentship, in 1930/31, at the British School at Athens, and I am indebted to the Committee of the School for permission to make use of them here. In the course of those two years I had the privilege of collaborating with Mr. W. A. Heurtley in the publication of the Early Iron Age tholos tombs at Marmáriani in Thessaly, since printed in *BSA* xxxi 1/55; as the views put forward in the present work conflict in some important particulars with the joint publication, I wish to make it clear that Mr. Heurtley is in no way responsible for, or necessarily in agreement with, the opinions here expressed.

The late appearance of this book has been chiefly occasioned by my present duties, which leave me little time for work of this nature; the same reason, together with the high cost of printing, which has been met from my own resources, may explain, if not excuse, the inconsistencies, omissions, and other defects which in more favourable circumstances I would gladly have eliminated.

For permission to illustrate vases my grateful thanks are due to Dr. K. Kourouniotis, Dr. Emil Kunze, Prof. G. P. Oikonomos, and Dr. N. I. Yannopoulos. For the reading of the proofs and for many valuable suggestions I wish to thank both my colleague, Mr. R. D. Barnett, and Mr. N. G. L. Hammond, whose paper on *Epirus and the Dorian Invasion*, now published in *BSA* xxxii 131/179, came to my notice too late for me to make use of it here. In conclusion, I would mention the unfailing patience and kind advice of the De La More Press, which have done so much to facilitate the production of this work.

T.C.S.

PART I

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

1. Macedonia[1]

Macedonia was almost the last of the provinces of the Ægean world to come under the influence of Mycenean Greece. The earliest evidence of direct contact is imported pottery of the Amarna style (*ca.* 1350 B.C.) found in Macedonia[2]. But once begun, commerce grew apace; what the merchants from the South trading into the Thermaic gulf brought back from their voyages we do not know, unless some the wealth of 'golden Mycenae' consisted in Macedonian bullion; yet we can be sure that among the wares they offered in exchange Mycenean pottery played an important part. Actual imported sherds, though occurring at numerous sites,[3] are naturally present only in very small numbers; the domination of Mycenae can be more truly gauged by the abundance of local imitations of Mycenean pottery[4] which are found on almost every Macedonian site. These vases, though made of local materials, are in fabric, shape and decoration essentially Mycenean, and no attempt to adapt them to the native pottery styles can be detected.[5]

The catastrophe which closes this chapter, and which caused, or coincided with, the cessation of Mycenean imports, was a sudden and violent irruption of barbarians from the North. Some of the riverine settlements were burnt; at Vardaróftsa the accumulated debris of at least two successive settlements was found, occupying a metre of deposit, while at Kilindír the corresponding layer was 1.25m. in thickness.[6] Remoter sites, like those of Chalcidice,[7] or Saratsí in its secluded valley,[8] escaped, but even here the effects of the invasion can be traced in the definite change of ceramic fashions.

[1] To give the name of Macedonia to the home of a prehistoric civilisation centering round the Axios is, strictly speaking, an anachronism, for it was not until the 8th-7th cent. B.C. that the Makedones of the western hill-country established themselves on the edge of the Kampania. But the use of Macedonia as a general name for the country is extremely ancient, probably dating from the conquests of Alexander I; certainly it was well established by the end of the fifth century. Cf. Thucydides ii, 99: τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται; Solinus ix, 1: qui Edonii olim populi quæque Mygdonia erat terra aut Pierium solum vel Emathium, nunc omne uniformi vocabulo Macedonica res est, et partitiones quæ specialiter antea seiugabantur, Macedonum nomini contributæ factæ sunt corpus unum.

[2] *BSA* xxix, 144, fig. 24, nos. 1-3 (Ayios Mámas); xxx 131/2 (Saratsí).

[3] The list in Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* 134/5 suffers from the author's mistaken belief (*ibid.* 135) that all pottery of Mycenean style found in Macedonia is imported, whereas actually all but an insignificant proportion (at Vardaróftsa 8 %) is of local manufacture. Authenticated examples of imported Mycenean pottery have been found at Várdino (*LAAA* xii 22), Vardaróftsa (*BSA* xxvii 21 and note 4), and Ayios Mámas and Saratsí (note 2 *supra*).

[4] *BSA* xxvii 59 and note 1.

[5] *BSA loc. cit.*

[6] *LAAA* xii, 17 (Várdino); *AJ* vi, 61; 71 (Kilindír); *Archæologia* lxxiv 78/9 (Chauchítsa); *BSA* xxviii, 10 (Vardaróftsa).

[7] *BSA* xxix 178.

[8] *BSA* xxx 148/9.

The post-Mycenean pottery of Macedonia falls into three well-defined groups:

1. The invaders themselves brought with them a black hand-made fabric decorated with ribs or fluting, which points to somewhere in the region of the Danube as their original home.[1] After the period of upheaval this type of pottery disappears, and its negligible effect upon subsequent fabrics shows how speedily the Northerners were absorbed into the native population. One practical idea, however, was taken over by the Macedonian potters: the twisting or grooving of jug-handles to provide a better grip[2]; and how this developed, probably under the influence of basketry, into the so-called 'rope-handle' can be seen in the strata of Vardaróftsa.[3]

2. The various unpainted wares, whether plain, incised, or scraped, are all of native origin, and many of their characteristic features can be traced back continuously to the beginning of the Bronze Age. A certain proportion of this pottery continues to be made by hand. In the present connection the chief significance of these fabrics is the way in which they illustrate the extreme conservatism of the Mace donian potters, an important factor to remember when questions of foreign influences are under discussion.

3. Painted wares. These are divided by Heurtley into *Matt-painted* (D4) and *Varnished* (D5); but the paint of the latter class is often so lustreless that varnish is no more than a courtesy title; and as the same forms and methods of decoration are, practically speaking, common to both styles, they are best considered together here, though they are rightly separated in Heurtley's classification.

Since a new theory of the origin and development of this painted pottery forms the basis of this essay, a short summary of its leading characteristics may fittingly be included here. Most of the known examples are sherds, either surface-finds or from trial-pits sunk in settlement-mounds; consequently our knowledge of shapes is limited. The Iron-Age tombs at Chauchítsa contained only a single vase painted with any design other than horizontal bands, and though several good examples have been found by Dr. Pelekídhis during his excavations of the Kalamariá cemetery near Salonika (now in the Salonika Museum), they are still unpublished.

With regard to fabric, however, we can speak with some confidence. The best specimens of the *Varnished* variety are equal in quality with the local Mycenean of the Bronze Age; but in general considerable degeneration is observable; the paint is thin, rarely showing the true Mycenean lustre, and besides the red colour universal in the Bronze Age, black and purple are also found. To this corresponds the almost complete disappearance of any Mycenean design more elaborate than arrangements of horizontal bands or wavy lines, and the increasing intrusion of native forms, which were so scrupulously eschewed by the potters working under the direct influence of Mycenae.

The *Matt-painted* pottery stands on an even lower level. Black, purple and brown are here the predominant shades, though red and pink also occur. Although a few pots are made of fine well-cleaned clay, there is much coarse ware, with thick walls of gritty, ill-levigated material, sometimes very dark in colour; often the surface of the vase is covered with a white slip, glistening with mica. I have even

[1] *AJ* vii 48/9 and figs. 10, 11.
[2] *Ibid.* 59 (Myres).
[3] *Ibid.* 53.

seen sherds which appear to be hand-made, though Cuttle (*BSA* xxviii 210) suggests the use of a slow wheel in the case of fragments which show no visible signs of turning.

To determine the origins of this pottery, the most convenient method will be to take each of the more prominent types in turn, and attempt to define its ancestry. For further information as well as for actual examples reference must be made to the original publications and to W. A. Heurtley's article, *The Early Iron Age in Macedonia*, in *AJ* vii 44/59, which is a scientific summary in much greater detail than can be attempted here.

1. *Bowl with offset rim.*[1] This shape is clearly of Mycenean derivation, but besides the sharp angle below the lip, the vase is shallower and the handles set on more steeply. Usual decoration: groups of concentric circles or semicircles (sometimes overlapping each other) hanging from the angle below the rim.[2] One from Chauchítsa is painted all over, another has merely horizontal bands.

2. *Bowl with flattened, incurving rim.*[3] One of the commonest shapes of the Macedonian Bronze Age; it may even be an inheritance from the Neolithic culture.[4] The flange is often painted with radiating strokes, corresponding to the incised rim-decoration of the contemporary monochrome bowls. The decoration consists of concentric circles or semicircles arranged as before, or occasionally groups of short strokes painted with the multiple brush.

3. *Deep bowl with narrow rim.* Another purely Macedonian shape (Heurtley's A 1).[5] The rim is sometimes slightly turned in, making it difficult to differentiate it from the preceding type. As in the incised equivalent, the rim is decorated, usually with bars. Bowls of this type are frequently fitted with a bridged side-spout, resembling, but not necessarily derived from, the Mycenean spouted bowl; a complete example from Kalamariá, decorated with groups of concentric semicircles, shows that the spout was balanced on the opposite side by a single horizontal handle. A fragmentary bowl similarly ornamented from Saratsí[6] shows the true Macedonian 'wish-bone' handle, painted with bars. Concentric circles and semicircles, groups of vertical or horizontal strokes, single or compound wavy lines, and cross-hatching in triangles or panels, seem to be the chief designs employed.

4. *Wide bowl with single ribbon-handle* ('*Cothon*'). Another Macedonian shape, in the Iron Age commoner unpainted. Decoration of the same careless patterns of parallel lines, or simply horizontal bands.

5. *Jug with cut-away neck.*[7] In spite of its rarity during the Middle Macedonian period, the derivation of this shape from the trough-spouted jugs of the

[1] *AJ* vii 49, 54/5, Type 6.

[2] *E.g. BSA* xxvi 10, fig. 3 *c*. It has not, I think, been noticed that this vase is decorated on one side only; in this respect it resembles some of the bowls from the Early Geometric graves below the Athenian acropolis (*CVA Athens* i, pl. 1, nos. 3, 4, 10-13), which have for that reason been the subject of much learned discussion (Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* 80; Gotsmich, *Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst* 76), the general opinion being that the unifacial decoration, like the moulded breasts with which it is sometimes associated, is a recrudescence of anthropomorphism.

[3] *AJ* vii 51/2, Type 1*b*.

[4] Mylonás, *Excavations at Olynthus*. I. *The Neolithic Settlement*, 33.

[5] *AJ* vii 51/2, Type 1*a*.

[6] *BSA* xxvii 30 and note 1; xxx 133, 138.

[7] *AJ* vii 52/3.

Early Bronze Age is established. Several varnished examples are known, painted only with horizontal bands, and some matt-painted sherds are said to come from jugs of this kind, but the only complete one in this fabric dates from the last phase of the industry, perhaps as late as the 4th century B.C.

6. *Amphora with neck-handles.* The type is an Iron-Age one; usually decorated with groups of complete concentric circles on the shoulder, crossing stripes on the neck. Most of the vase was left unpainted.

7. *Jug with side-spout.* Fitted with a vertical 'basket-handle' this was a popular LH III type. The Iron-Age derivatives have the handle placed vertically on the side, and are much less elegant in contour. Horizontal bands again serve as sole decoration.

This may seem a restricted repertoire,[1] and it is certainly very different from that of the Mycenean potters, which appears inexhaustible.[2] We may compare, however, the evidence of Thessalian tombs of the Early Iron Age; at Marmáriani, for example, out of a total of 121 glaze-painted vases, 110 fall into no more than eight different categories.

From the above analysis of the painted pottery of the Macedonian Iron Age it will be seen that, despite the remarkable survival, in some respects, of Mycenean tradition, it is, nevertheless, taken as a whole, very far from being a 'Mycenean' or even 'Sub-Mycenean' style; and of the new elements which make their appearance, and in particular the compass-drawn concentric circle, an explanation must now be attempted.

In a short article in *Man* (Jan. 1924, No. 6) Casson drew a comparison between the bowl with concentric-circle ornament from his excavations at Chauchítsa (*BSA* xxvi 10 fig. 3*c*) and certain *Bückelkeramik* bowls from Danubian sites of the Early Iron Age, and attempted to bring the rise of the concentric-circle style in Macedonia into connection with the influx of Danubian tribes which is now a well-established fact. The same view is taken by Myres[3]: "When the concentric-circle ornament is drawn on a large scale, still more when it is partly obliterated by a dark band, as on some of the pottery at Halos, it gives the illusion of an embossed and concentrically grooved surface, like that of the Lausitz ware. The suggestion, therefore, that in that fabric of pottery we have the model for the concentric-circle designs in paint, is probably a sound one" (*Who were the Greeks?* 453/4). And it is to Macedonian inspiration, if not to Macedonian workshops, that he attributes the examples of this concentric-circle style which have come to light in south Greece and the Islands.[4] "It looks as if this concentric-circle tradition had its main vogue in the North Ægean; as if its impact on the region south of the island-chain was mainly 'down-wind' and casual; and as if

[1] *AJ* vii, 50.

[2] Cp. the number of hitherto unknown shapes found in the 'Potter's Shop' at Zygouriés: Blegen, *Zygouries* 165.

[3] And, though doubtfully, by Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* 411.

[4] But cf. *ibid.* 456: 'This discussion of the culture of the Northern invaders of Macedon, and especially of their peculiar pottery and the painted imitations of it, may seem at first sight irrelevant, seeing that in Greek lands no such fabric of pottery was introduced at all.' This is only intelligible if we take the last phrase to refer to the actual Lausitz pottery, for the 'painted imitations' were not only 'introduced in Greek lands' but, as we shall see, took root there.

consequently the adoption of concentric circles into the repertory of insular schools was literally a windfall, and anticipated the general resumption of intercourse. Early sites in Euboea and Andros are the most likely to decide this point. When we read of "Thracian" settlements in Naxos and other parts of the island-world, of "Pelasgians from Lemnos" in Attica, and of "Minyans" from the same quarter settling in Laconia, we have historical parallels at hand, in Albanian place-names, and villages named from Slavs and Bulgarians, in western Crete, to illustrate these sporadic landings upon the lee-shores of an archipelago" (*Ibid.* 475.)

The first and most serious objection to this theory as propounded by Myres is that although 'embossed and grooved' Danubian pottery has been found in Macedonia, no examples of the *Bückelkeramik* bowls which are indispensable to his argument have yet made their appearance. Further, the shapes of the concentric-circle pottery are not Danubian at all, but are either of Mycenean or of native Macedonian origin. In any case, the concentric scorings on the *Bückelkeramik* which Myres has in mind are fundamentally different from the painted circles of Macedonia; for while the former are engraved individually the latter are 'an early, and perhaps the first, example of a purely machine-made ornament' (*Ibid.* 450).[1] Nor is the extraordinary difference in fabric between the black hand-made pottery of the invaders and the light-faced wheel-made wares they are assumed to have inspired, satisfactorily accounted for; in fact, one may legitimately protest, as Myres himself does in another context, that 'it is not explained why the new masters, if they were really so particular about the decoration of their pots, did not have them done "just right," as the "gray-ware" people did, in a self-colored ware without any painting at all.' (*Ibid.* 476.)

The opposite theory finds the origin of the Macedonian concentric-circle style in similarly-ornamented fabrics from south Greece, where the design is regarded as the mechanisation of the familiar Mycenean spirals and freehand half-circles. Of these southern concentric-circle fabrics the Macedonian is presumed to be a provincial imitation, corresponding to the locally-made Mycenean of the Bronze Age; it will be noticed that this theory, like that of Myres, postulates a movement 'anticipating the general resumption of intercourse,' but in exactly the reverse direction.

[1] This statement is not, of course, strictly true, as Myres himself at once proceeds to show. Small stamped or incised circles on wood, bone, pottery, metal, or other materials are so universally employed throughout the ancient world that few conclusions can be drawn from their use. Even the multiple brush was not a new idea at the beginning of the Iron Age, though re-invention at that moment is, of course, a possible, perhaps the most probable, explanation; but the tool itself had already been used by the potter of pre-dynastic Egypt (Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18), though not indeed to draw concentric circles, and in Bronze-Age Cyprus it appears again in the designs of a peculiar red-on-black fabric which is perhaps of Syrian origin (Myres, *Cesnola Coll.* 30/31; *Brit. Mus.* 1927/3/17/1), since it has also been found in Palestine; *Ancient Gaza* ii pl. xxvii, no. 10 U. Myres is well advised in discounting any possible connection between the concentric-circle fabrics of the Cypriot Iron Age and those of the contemporary Ægean. Their complete independence of each other is visible at a glance, and the only feature they have in common is the use of the multiple compass; his suggestion that we should look to Asia Minor for the origin of the Cypriot style is made very probable by the recent discovery of a late Hittite fabric decorated with small compass-drawn circles (*ca.* 1400/1200 B.C.; E. F. Schmidt, *The Alisar Hüyük* 1928/9, *Univ. of Chicago Or. Inst. Publ.*, vol. xix). It is unfortunate that in dealing with the Gordium pottery Myres (*op. cit.* 422/3) should have displayed a temporary leaning to the opposite theory; the parallel which he draws between the interments of Gordium and Hálos cannot be accepted.

Considered in detail, this theory is hardly more satisfactory than the other. Against it the following points may be urged:

1. In the Late Bronze Age in Macedonia the local imitations of Mycenean pottery are usually accompanied by a small proportion of actual Mycenean imports, thus proving, if proof were necessary, that originals were available for the native potters to imitate. During the Early Iron Age, on the other hand, there are no imports of concentric-circle pottery from the South,[1] and in fact no evidence whatsoever of contact between North and South. The argument *a silentio* is a formidable one, and up to the present continued examination of Macedonian Iron-Age sites has only strengthened it.

2. Apart from the bowl with offset rim (*supra*, p. 3, no. 1) and the amphora (no. 6), none of the shapes of the Macedonian concentric fabric can be paralleled in south Greece at this period: conversely, the shapes commonest in the South, such as the trefoil-lipped jug and the cup on high conical stem, make no appearance in Macedonia.

3. While the shapes of the Macedonian fabric thus preclude any theory of contact with the South, they proclaim emphatically its indigenous origin.[2] This is strikingly illustrated by two shapes in particular, the jug with cut-away neck and the bowl with wish-bone handles, both of which are characteristic Macedonian forms which can be traced back to the beginning of the Bronze Age in that country.

4. Fabric tells the same story: the glaze-paint of some of the Macedonian concentric-circle pottery, it is true, affords no decisive evidence for the origin of the style; but equally common is the purplish matt colour identical with that of the old pre-Mycenean pottery, a development exactly paralleled in Thessaly, and which further emphasises the essentially Macedonian character of its Iron-Age descendants. If, as suggested above, some of this matt-painted pottery was still being made by hand, the argument for a continuous survival of technique is further strengthened.

5. Details of decoration are equally unfavourable to the theory of a south-Greek origin of the concentric-circle style of Macedonia. It is, for example, in Macedonia that the concentric-circle ornament is used in its simplest form, namely a group of circles which progressively diminish down to a central spot of paint concealing the mark of the compass-point. In other concentric-circle styles, however, this ornament very frequently has some central filling, such as a cross, two opposing solid triangles, or a more elaborate cruciform motive. If the Macedonian potters were following imported models, how is it that none of these centre-fillings appear on any of the vases they decorated?

One of the commonest Early Iron Age types throughout the greater part of the Ægean world is a bowl with two horizontal rolled handles, decorated with groups of concentric semicircles depending from the offset rim. Characteristic of

[1] The statement that all pottery of this type in Macedonia is imported (Myres *op. cit.* 449, 453) is an erroneous inference, not an archæological fact, and is in any case contradicted by his own derivation of the concentric-circle ornament from the *Bückelkeramik* of the Lausitz people.

[2] Cf. *AJ* vii 50.

this type is the way in which adjoining circle-groups often overlap, not, as Myres supposed (*op. cit.* 475) through technical incompetence, but with deliberate decorative intent.[1] The same motive is applied to a form of short-necked jar with vertical shoulder-handles. The distribution of these two types is revealed by the table given below,[2] from which it will be seen that they range from Macedonia to Crete, including central Greece and the Ægean islands. The remarkable fact, however, emerges that so far not a single example has come to light in what have always been the chief pottery-producing areas of Greece, Attica and the Argolid[3]; from any claim to have originated the Macedonian concentric-circle bowls, and with them the concentric-circle style as a whole, these countries are thus definitely excluded.

The Macedonian use of small double or triple concentric circles as free-standing ornaments[4] is also of interest, for in the South they are not found until well on in the Geometric period, and even then only connected tangentially to form the so-called 'false-spiral'; it is not till the latest phase of the Geometric Age that the freestanding circles appear in the South, possibly under Cypriot influence.[5] The stratigraphical evidence makes it fairly certain that the Macedonian

[1] The interlacing of the circles also produces a design better suited to the proportions of the bowls then fashionable. On the same principle complete concentric circles are reserved for the adornment of the comparatively flat surfaces of large amphoræ and kraters; for the conical surface of an oinochoe shoulder, again, semicircles are naturally preferred.

[2] Macedonia: Chauchítsa: *BSA* xxvi 10, fig. 3 *c*.
Tópsin: *ZfE* 1905, 109.
Kalamariá: Salonika Museum, unpublished.
Saratsí: *BSA* xxx 141 fig. 28, 1, 3, 4.
Thessaly: Marmáriani: *BSA* xxxi 28/9 nos. 115/122. *CVA Copenhagen* ii Pl. 66, 4.
Volo: Volo Museum, unpublished.
Theotóku: Wace & Thompson, *op. cit.* fig. 146*a*.
Mustaphaklí (Enipeus valley): Athens, National Museum, unpublished.
Phthiotic Thebes: Volo Museum, unpublished.
Hálos: *BSA* xviii 5, fig. 3 no. 5.
Central Greece: Orchomenos and Vranési: Chaironeia Museum, unpublished.
Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes* v 17: fig. 74.
Islands: Skyros: Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1918 Παράρτημα. 43, fig. 11
Andros: Andros Museum 145.
Tenos: Albizzati, *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano* pl. I, 1, 4. *Annuario* viii-ix 226, fig. 28,
Rheneia: Mykonos Museum, unpublished; *BCH* 1911, 360.
Paros: sherd in Paros (Paroikiá) Museum, not published in Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitth.* xlii 73/85.
Knossos: *BSA* xxix pl. vi. 12; xxxi 80, fig. 20, 22.
Vrókastro: *Vrokastro* 164, fig. 99.
Rhodes: *Clara Rhodos* vi-vii 189/191, figs. 223, 227.
Cyprus: Myres, *Cat. Cesnola Coll.* 289, nos. 1710/11. Fairbanks, *Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* i no. 225. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?* 438, 450 and note 153, 479.
Asia: Tell Halaf: Frh. M. von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf* 262 (apparently of this type).
Haifa: sherds found 1933, kindly communicated to me by Mr. Heurtley.

[3] Unless the bowl described in *AA* 47 (1932) 207 ('sich kreuzende konzentrische Kreise') is decorated in this fashion.

[4] *BSA* xxvii, pl. xxi, nos. 4, 14, 15.

[5] *E.g. Ath. Mitt.* 43 (1918) pl. vi. 7; *CVA Scheurleer* i III G1, no. 3.

examples are independent of and earlier than those of the South; the same detached circles appear on sherds from Phthiotic Thebes, now in the Volo Museum, but it is not certain whether they are to be classed as Protogeometric or Geometric.

The foregoing argument leaves only one alternative open, and the inference is now inevitable that the concentric-circle style originated in Macedonia itself. How exactly it come to be invented is another matter, and at present we have hardly sufficient evidence to suggest a solution. Myres's proposal (*op. cit.* 454) to connect it with the small drilled or punched circles which are as common in the Balkans as elsewhere, has much to recommend it, and fits in well with the actual occurrence at an early date of the small painted circles referred to above.

The succeeding sections will be devoted to a rapid survey of the concentric-circle style in other parts of Greece, and the manner in which it spread southwards from its home in Macedonia. Our first stage is Thessaly, always in close contact culturally as well as geographically with Macedonia, to which it is connected not only by Tempe and the various 'by-pass' routes over the foothills of Olympus, but by the equally important passes from Elassóna through the Sarandáporo into the Haliakmon valley, and up the Peneios valley into the far west.

2. Thessaly

The rich plains of Thessaly have often attracted foreign invaders, and it is not surprising that Thucydides should have chosen it as his first example of a land which has seen many changes of population.[1] Our present task is to investigate one of the most famous occasions on which Thessaly thus suffered, that of the complicated series of racial movements which culminated in the Dorian invasion.

As in the case of Macedonia, we must first of all attempt to form a picture of the conditions existing at the end of the Bronze Age. This is no easy task. The chief aim of the magnificent pioneer work of Tsúndas and the systematic excavations of Wace and Thompson was to throw light on the history of the Neolithic period in Thessaly, and only a few of the sites thus examined continued to be inhabited in the Bronze Age. In fact, disregarding for the moment the eccentric culture of the Spercheios valley, almost all our information concerning the Bronze Age comes from the large cemetery at Sésklo and the single stratified site of Zerélia. And in addition to the paucity of evidence there is a further and almost equally serious difficulty; Thessaly is not a geographical unity, and its natural divisions have often harboured widely differing cultures, which have been very unequally investigated. These local styles are particularly prominent during the Neolithic period,[2] but they can be traced with more or less certainty well into the Iron Age, as will be shown below.

Bearing these cautions in mind, let us try to analyse the pottery of the latest Thessalian Bronze Age. This falls into three main classes:

1. Handmade, monochrome, undecorated wares, closely related to those of contemporary Macedonia. Of the shapes, some go back to the Early Bronze Age; but the bowls with raking handles in particular testify to a strong 'Minyan' tradition which is corroborated by the finding of 'Minyan' pottery on many Thessalian sites, especially round the Pagasaian gulf.

2. Pottery of the same type and of similar origin decorated with linear designs in purple matt paint (Δια).[3] The history of this class in the Bronze Age is still very obscure and indeed most of our knowledge concerning it is based on survivals which actually date from the Iron Age.[4] But apart from the evidence afforded by the shapes of these latter vases, which are without exception typical of the Bronze Age, a small pot of this style found with L.H. III vases at Dhimíni,[5] and a few sherds from various stratified sites[6] prove conclusively that the matt-painted style was in existence in the Bronze Age in Thessaly; and this is confirmed by its obvious similarity to the Bronze-Age matt-painted fabrics of both central and western Macedonia.[7] The well-known 'Lianokládhi Third Style,'

[1] i, 2; cf. Pliny *N.H.*, iv, 28: sequitur mutatis sæpe nominibus Hæmonia.

[2] Wace & Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 1912.

[3] In stating that this fabric is 'as a rule wheel-made,' Wace & Thompson (*op. cit.* 20) have been misled by the wheel-made, glaze-painted imitations produced in the Early Iron Age.

[4] *BSA* xxxi, 41/4. Δ-Σ. [5] Tsúndas, *op. cit.* fig. 66.

[6] Notably at Rakhmáni, where they were found mixed with Mycenean, Wace & Thompson, *op. cit.* 35.

[7] It is not certain whether the matt-painted beaked jug and one-handled cup from Tarsanás Cape at Volo (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889, 266, pl. xi, 2, 8; P. Apostolídhis, Αἱ Παγασαί, pl. viii; *BSA* xxxi 43) are of Bronze Age or Iron Age date; all the other vases published with them are L.H. II-III, and the crossed circle on the base is common at Lianokládhi (Wace & Thompson, *op. cit.* 180); but Iron-Age vases have also been found at Tarsanás (Apostolídhis, *op. cit.*, fig. 2). The age of the matt-painted beaked jug from Dhomokós, Wace & Thompson *op. cit.* 215, fig. 150, is likewise undetermined.

assigned by its discoverers, in the supposed absence of Thessalian parallels, to invaders pressing down the Spercheios valley,[1] may prove to be no more than a local variety of the matt-painted style of Thessaly proper (cf. *JHS* 53, 121).[2]

3. Glaze-painted pottery of the Third Late Helladic style. As in Macedonia, this was freely imported and still more freely imitated, and earlier estimates of the control which Mycenae exercised over Thessaly are in urgent need of revision. The chapter of *Prehistoric Thessaly* devoted to Mycenean remains, though complete when written, gives an erroneous impression, for it reveals only the scantiest traces from a very restricted number of sites. Yet the early introduction of Mycenean culture (in L.H. II) would lead us to expect evidence at least as extensive as in more distant Macedonia. And this is actually the case; since Wace and Thompson wrote, the widespread, if superficial and insufficiently reported excavations of Arvanitópoullos have considerably lengthened the list of Mycenean sites; and the recent excavations of M. Béquignon in Thessaliotis[3] have brought to light an abundance of Mycenean pottery which is in striking contrast with the meagre rewards of earlier investigations.

We must now turn to the Iron Age. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that whereas almost all our knowledge of Macedonian pottery is derived from the excavation of settlement-mounds, in Thessaly the position is exactly the reverse. Very few Iron-Age settlements have been excavated at all in Thessaly, none scientifically; on the other hand a considerable number of tombs are known,[4] some well stocked with pottery. To the remains noted in chapter X of *Prehistoric Thessaly* must be added the following: (1) Nearly three hundred vases from a tholos tomb near Volo (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1914, 141; cf. *AA* 1915, 188). These vases, none of which, with the exception of that illustrated here Pl. II, 7, have been published, are now exhibited in the Volo Museum; the weapons, jewellery, etc. found in the tomb I have been unable to trace. (2) The contents of the cist-graves and pyres at Hálos in the Krokian plain (*BSA* xviii 1/24). (3) One hundred and fifty vases and other objects from the tholos tombs of Marmáriani, which though excavated more than thirty years ago, have only recently been published (*BSA* xxxi 1/55). There have also been other finds of minor importance.

Thessaly in the Early Iron Age, as so often in later times, was the meeting-point of different forces; not only were there the successive strata of population within her borders, the Neolithic peoples, the Early Bronze Age and Minyan-Middle Bronze Age races, but there was the pressure of her neighbours, Macedonians on the North, the Epirote tribes on the West. Neither in peace nor in war has the mountain ring which surrounds the Thessalian lowlands proved an effective barrier against foreign encroachments.

[1] For the difficulties of this supposed route see 'Εφ.' Αρχ. 1930, 14.

[2] Myres 459/60 dates both Bubústi and Lianokládhi 3 to the Early Iron Age, the latter in any case against the archæological evidence. His explanation of the pot-hook spiral as a degenerate Mycenean ornament is also mistaken (cf. *BSA* xxxi, 16, note 5). Miss Roes's equation of Lianokládhi 3 with LH II (*De Oorsprong der geom. Kunst* 41) must be due to some misapprehension.

[3] *BCH* 1932, 89/191. Cf. also *BSA* xxxi 3.

[4] A list of Iron Age tombs of the tholos type is given in *BSA* xxxi 12. To it may be added a group of tholoi said to exist near Hálos (letter from Dr. Yannópoulos). Cf. also Πρ. 1922/4, 37/8.

The composite character of the Thessalian culture of the Early Iron Age is graphically represented in the pottery of the period. In the first place it is remarkable to see how completely the Mycenean element disappears; the break seems to be more definite here than in Macedonia, and even in the case of the few shapes which survive into the Iron Age the intermediate steps are quite obscure. So, too, the use of the glaze-paint, Mycenae's one lasting contribution to the art of the North, did not survive unaltered; the Iron Age paint is readily distinguished by the preference for black instead of the scarlet colour favoured by the Mycenean potters, and by the harder firing, which often produces a metallic glint. Excavated sites confirm the discontinuity of the Bronze and Iron Age cultures; at Marmáriani, the Mycenean town was suddenly deserted, and the Iron Age people visited it only to dig tombs in the mound. Although tholos tombs were used for repeated interments over a long period, there is as yet no instance of Mycenean and Iron Age objects being found in the same tomb, as we might expect if the transition was a gradual and a peaceful one. Many other settlements, such as Dhimíni and Sésklo, Rakhmáni, Zerélia, and those recently excavated by M. Béquignon, were also deserted at the close of the Bronze Age. The flat lands, closely studded with large villages during the Neolithic periods, were almost depopulated, and the Iron-Age inhabitants chose positions of natural strength overlooking the plains for their settlements.[1]

It is not yet possible to disentangle satisfactorily the different traditions underlying the Thessalian pottery of the Early Iron Age, or to account fully for some of its characteristic features. Nevertheless, through the study of the contents of the Marmáriani tombs the following classification can be put forward with some confidence:

1. Hand-made, unpainted pottery. This is simply the continuation of the predominant fabric (I 3) of the Bronze Age, almost entirely uninfluenced by later developments.

2. Hand-made matt-painted pottery. This important ware has been fully described elsewhere.[2] Like the preceding it is a survival from the Bronze Age, but until its antecedents are better known it is impossible to say how far it may have been influenced by other Iron-Age styles; the possibility of borrowing from the West-Macedonian style of Bubusti has been suggested.[3]

Although these two classes are Bronze-Age pottery in all but date, and do not therefore bear directly on the problems in hand, they well illustrate the conservatism and stability of the pottery industry in North Greece, qualities which are conspicuous by their absence in the South.

3. Hand-made unpainted jugs with cut-away necks. The home of this type, of which no fewer than nine examples were found at Marmáriani, is happily certain, for they are replicas of Macedonian jugs of the Early Iron Age. That they are not, like the preceding classes, survivals of the Bronze Age industry is made clear both by the difference in shape and proportions, and by the distinctive twisted handle, a characteristic Macedonian feature which can be traced back

[1] Cf. Wace & Thompson, *op. cit.* 248, 254; Myres *op. cit.* 457; Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien* 1.
[2] *BSA* xxxi, 41/4. [3] *Ibid.*

in that country to the influence of the Lausitz invaders.[1] The incised decoration points in the same direction.[2]

4. Glaze-painted pottery. This is the commonest Iron Age fabric and is always wheel-made. Its immediate antecedents are still insufficiently determined. In the absence of prototypes we must fall back on a detailed analysis of shapes and decoration, and by tracing back those components whose origin seems assured try to form some estimate of the whole.

Since Thessaly acknowledged the political hegemony of Mycenae it is not surprising to find that there are a number of forms whose ultimate origin is Mycenean. In every case, however there is a subtle but significant change which shows that the Argive manufacturers no longer exercised direct influence. Least deviation from the Mycenean type is shown by the *Round-mouthed jug* which, however, never became popular and was eventually ousted by its more practical competitors, the *Jug with cut-away neck* and the *Jug with trefoil lip*. The immediate origin of the latter must be Mycenean, for it is unknown in Macedonia throughout the Iron Age, and there are no Thessalian prototypes; it is, nevertheless, difficult to see why it should have been so enthusiastically adopted in Thessaly, for it is not very common in the South at the end of the Bronze Age. The type is perhaps an Oriental invention, for it first appears (disregarding sporadic examples too rare to support an alternative origin) in Cyprus and Crete,[3] and it is not till the latest phase of Mycenean has been reached that it obtains a footing on the mainland, where examples have been found in the Salamis cemetery and the Granary at Mycenae.[4] *Skyphos* and *Cup*, both universally popular shapes in the Iron Age, are in Thessaly derived from Mycenean sources, but both are distinguished from their prototypes by a sharply off-set lip, which replaces the flaring mouths of the Mycenean vases. The skyphos also differs in other details, notably in its much shallower proportions; the handles, too, are set on more horizontally in the Iron Age. The cups are more heavily proportioned, and their bases are larger; the conical foot, which seems to make its earliest appearance in Thessaly, is an entirely new departure, though there as in the South it only had a transient vogue, and disappeared on the development of the full Geometric style. The great *Kraters* which are so distinctive a feature of the tholoi of Volo and Marmáriani are even further removed from their Mycenean counterparts. The Mycenean krater stands on a small flat base, from which a hollow cylindrical foot opens out into the body of the vessel; in Thessaly the foot is a tall cone open at the base and sharply marked off from the rest of the vase. The vertical strap-handles which are standard at Mycenae are only one of several alternatives in Thessaly, where single or double horizontal rolled handles or combinations of them with strap-handles are equally common. The Early Iron Age kraters are further differentiated, both in Thessaly[5] and elsewhere,[6]

[1] *AJ* vii 53.

[2] *BSA* xxxi 13 no. 6, 43. There are some remarkable incised examples in the Volo Museum.

[3] *Exc. in Cyprus*, 1221 (fig. 62). *Gournia* pl. ix 14, cf. x 23, 26, 35. *BM Vases* A 696 (Palaíkastro).

[4] Salamis: *Ath. Mitt.* xxxv 25/6. Mycenae: Furtwängler & Löschke, *Myk. Vasen* 382. *BSA* xxv fig. 8*b*. Asine: *Årsberättelse* 1924/5, pl. 33, 2. 42, 1.

[5] *BSA* xxxi 33/33 nos. 134/150; the moulded cable-pattern on nos. 147-9 further emphasises their non-Mycenean character.

[6] *Lindos: Fouilles de l'Acropole* no. 8[illegible]1; *BSA* xxix 247 (Knossos).

by a strongly moulded rim, reminiscent of the Macedonian Iron-Age bowls. In short, the design has been completely transformed by the provincial potters; and in some details we can see what influences were at work. Thus the ridgings on the krater-stems at Volo and Hálos are a survival of Minyan influence which is independently attested by the popularity of the kantharos form; and at Hálos one of these kraters is actually made in a grey unpainted fabric recalling grey Minyan.[1] Thus in Thessaly at least there is no continuous survival of the Mycenean style, which is only indirectly drawn upon by the local potters.

The influence of Macedonia, on the other hand, is strongly marked; at Marmáriani seventeen jugs with cut-away necks were found, identical in shape with the hand-made jugs of Macedonian type referred to above, but made on the wheel and painted with glaze-paint; their Macedonian character is again confirmed by the twisted handle, which has in some instances undergone a further refinement into the so-called 'rope-handle' (more probably an imitation of basket-work).[2] At other sites this type is less common; it is not found in the cist graves at Hálos, it is rare at Volo, and is only represented by a single example at Theotóku, facts which are significant when we meet with the problem why the type never spread south of Othrys.

Though numerically entitled to first place, the jug with cut-away neck is by no means the only or even the most interesting witness to Macedonian penetration of Thessaly. Two further examples will be considered here. One of the most characteristic shapes of Macedonian pottery throughout the greater part of its long history is the bowl with 'wish-bone' handles; during the late Bronze and Early Iron Ages the handle undergoes a curious deformation, gradually sinking down to a horizontal position and simultaneously shrinking to a small pierced lug[3] (Pl. I, nos. 1-2). Now bowls with lugs of this identical pattern were found at Marmáriani (Pl. I, no. 3),[4] and although made in the glaze-painted fabric, whereas their Macedonian predecessors are usually unpainted or incised, their origin is unmistakeable. But we can trace them beyond Thessaly; further South, fragments were discovered in the Halos pyres; and in Bœotia the type can again be recognised in bowls which though themselves dating from the sixth and fifth centuries imply the existence of earlier examples (Pl. I, no. 4).[5] Lastly, three Protogeometric bowls from Attica—two from Eleusis (Nos. 400, 401; the latter illustrated here Pl. I, 5-6), the third in the British Museum (No. 2553)—are provided with small pierced projections which can only be explained as the final degeneration of the wishbone handles of distant Macedonia.

The small lugs of these bowls have completely lost their earlier function of

[1] There is an exact parallel to this development in Lesbos, *infra*, p. 38.

[2] The rope-handle is found occasionally in very late Mycenean pottery, especially on jugs (references in *BSA* xxxi 47, note 1), but its exclusive association in Thessaly with the jug with cut-away neck, and its absence from the trefoil jug, leave no room to doubt its development from the twisted handle introduced by the Lausitz invaders of Macedonia.

[3] *AJ* vii 51/2.

[4] *BSA* xxxi 30, 46.

[5] A peculiarity of these Bœotian bowls may be mentioned here: the opposite lugs are occasionally painted to represent the head and tail of a bird; to this there is a remarkable parallel of the Early Iron Age from Macedonia, where two 'wish-bone' handles have been modelled with a similar end in view (*BSA* xxx 137, fig. 24).

handles, and their sole use is to enable the bowls to be hung up on the wall.[1] Consequently in the Thessalian, Bœotian and Attic examples the decoration is confined to the outer surface, which alone would be visible in that position. The same is true of the so-called 'plates' of the Geometric style, which although so very much shallower may perhaps have been descended from, or influenced by, the protogeometric bowls.

The second example shows a precisely similar process; the thumb-grip, a a simple expedient to give a good hold adopted in many pottery fabrics ancient and modern alike, underwent in Macedonia an unusual development; the projecting stop was gradually lengthened until it became an indispensable part of the handle, whose proper function it in the end entirely usurped (Pl. II, 1-4). Two cups of this pattern were found at Marmáriani (Pl. II, 5-6)[2]; in them the former handle is now reduced to a mere strengthening loop, which helps to attach the real handle firmly to the body. At Volo another example was found in the great Iron-Age tholos (Pl. II, 7); the next stage is marked by one from Orchomenos,[3] in which the tail of the handle curves vertically downwards (Pl. II, 8). Attica again provides the last phase; the connecting loop—the original handle—has disappeared, and the downward curve is transformed, with characteristic bizarre humour, into a modelled human leg and foot (Pl. II, 9).[4] The last example illustrated, from the National Museum at Athens, is of unknown provenience, and the vertical leg is broken off (No. 12574; Pl. II, 10); probably it too is of Attic workmanship, and if so can differ little in date from the Berlin cup.

Decoration presents a more difficult problem, but in the first place it is abundantly clear that here Thessaly owes nothing to Mycenae, unless we include designs, such as zig-zag or wavy lines, chequers, hatched triangles, etc., so simple as to be almost common property at this period. Positively, however, we are not yet able to decide between the claims of Macedonia on the one hand and the Thessalian matt-painted style on the other. Regarding the greater part of the designs we must therefore suspend judgment for the present.

It remains to consider those motives for which we can find a convincing pedigree; of these we have already shown the ubiquitous multiple-brush patterns, and above all the groups of concentric circles to be of Macedonian origin. Concentric circles and semicircles are extremely common in Thessaly; but in their simplest form they are, it will be agreed, liable to become monotonous, and even in Macedonia attempts were made to utilise the multiple brush in other ways, e.g. for drawing groups of short vertical or horizontal lines. In Thessaly, diversification was carried further by filling the central circle of each group with some simple ornament. At Marmáriani the successive stages are well illustrated: at first a simple cross makes its appearance, dividing the circle into four; then two opposite segments are filled in with paint. The resulting device was much used inside groups of semi-circles on the shoulders of jugs. The large kraters of Marmáriani called for something more elaborate; the cross was drawn in double outline,

[1] For an example of this mode of suspension in modern Greece, see *BSA* ix 183; cf. *Thera* ii 155.

[2] *BSA* xxxi 26, nos. 91-2. See also p. 46.

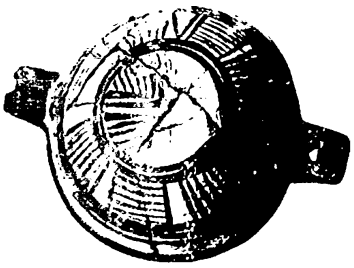
[3] Chaeroneia Museum; published by the kind permission of Dr. Kunze.

[4] *Ath. Mitth.* xliii (1918) pl. 1, 2.

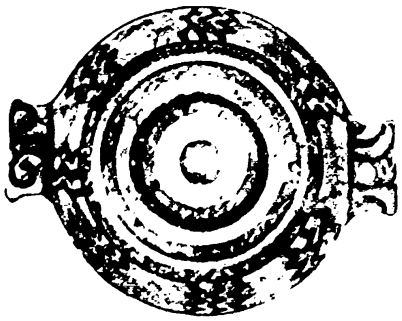
PLATE I.

1. Chauchítsa.
(*BSA* xxvi 15 fig. 6*b*)

2. Chauchítsa.
(*BSA* xxvi 15 fig. 6*c*)

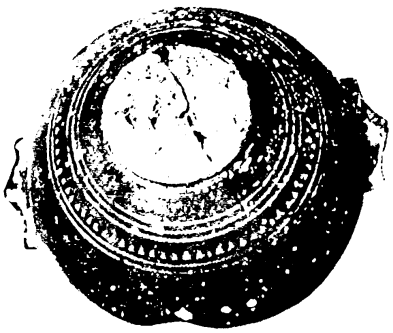


3. Marmáriani.
(*BSA* xxvi pl. VIII, 129)



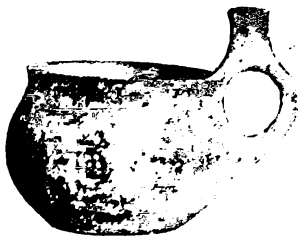
4. Boiotia.
(*CVA Scheurleer* i, III G, pl. II, 2)

5. Eleusis.
(Eleusis Museum 401)

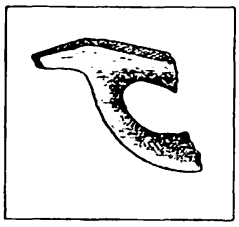


6. Eleusis.
(Eleusis Museum 401)

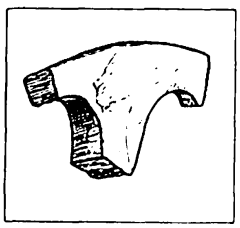
PLATE II.



1. Chauchítsa.
(*BSA* xxvi 10 fig. 3*g*)



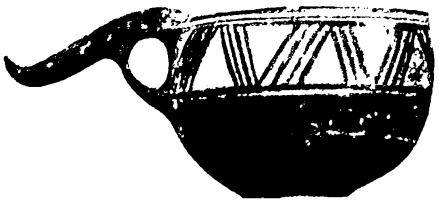
2. Várdino.
(*LAAA* 12, pl. xiii, 28)



3. Saratsí.
(*BSA* xxx 122 fig. 6, 6)

4. Chauchítsa.
(*BSA* xxvi 10 fig. 3*j*)

5. Marmáriani.
(*BSA* xxxi pl. VI, 91)



6. Marmáriani.
(*BSA* xxx. pl. VI, 92)

7. Volo.
(Volo Museum)

8. Orchomenos.
(Chaironeia Museum)

9. Attica.
(*Ath. Mitt.* xliii pl. 1, 2)

10. Attica (?).
(Athens, National Museum 12574)

leaving four separated segments, which were filled with paint, or, in one case, with cross-hatching.

The use of such central fillings in Protogeometric pottery is of considerable importance. Their complete absence from the Macedonian concentric-circle style has already been adduced as an argument in favour of the latter's indigenous origin; and the claim of Thessaly to be the originator of these motives is confirmed by the occurrence there of their most primitive form, the single cross, of which there is no early example from the South.[1] It is no less important to note that the completely filled disc which is the usual filling of the *hand-drawn* semicircles of the latest Mycenean style, never appears within the compass-drawn designs of the Iron Age.

The subsequent history of the centre-filled circle belongs to the South, where more elaborate cruciform designs were evolved which in some of the local schools were in use until the close of the Geometric period. Nor must we lose sight of the various non-curvilinear ornaments of which the multiple brush was capable; it has been pointed out that even in Macedonia and Thessaly steps were taken in this direction; in the South experiments went very much farther, and the multiple brush continued in common use centuries after the old concentric-circle designs had gone out of fashion; with its aid were produced the faultless multiple zig-zags of Early Attic Geometric pottery; at Tiryns it was used to cover the lower part of the vase with fine parallel bands, a use which foreshadowed the fine bands on Protocorinthian; an amusing example of the work of the multiple brush is the band of water-fowl, drawn five at a time on the rim of a bowl.[2] The compass, whether fitted with brush or scratch-point, had meanwhile found a permanent place in the tool-rack of the potter; for drawing circular objects such as shields or chariot-wheels, or for the production of incised or painted scale-patterns, it was never superseded.

So far, our arguments have been confined to the evidence of pottery, and though the reasons for giving such prominence to this particular branch of art are to-day universally appreciated, it is unfortunate that (with the exception of fibulae) similar progress has not been made in other directions. The small-bronze industry, which was at its height during the Early Iron Age, has in particular been sadly neglected; Casson's article *AJ* i 199/221 is only a sketch, and Myres, though formally raising the question (*op. cit.* 506) gives no definite answer. At present, it must be admitted, the obstacles to any adequate study are indeed formidable; in the first place, so much of the material is still unpublished; for example, the great deposit of bronzes found at Pherae, which would throw a flood of light on the culture of archaic Thessaly, appear to be no nearer publication than when they were discovered eight years ago, and this is only an outstanding example among many smaller finds. The second problem is that of local styles; the differences which enable us to distinguish between the local pottery styles are by no means so obvious in the case of bronzes, and yet until that is done it will be impossible to recognise imports and consequently to decide when and where the industry developed. Myres, in discussing the origin and spread of fibula

[1] An Attic jug showing the single-cross filling is illustrated Wide, *Opuscula Archæologica O. Montelio dicata* 209 fig. 4, but the drawing is incorrect, cf. *CVA Athens* i, III H *d*, pl. 2, 1.

[2] *Tiryns* i, pl. xx, 2.

types, is undoubtedly right in drawing attention to the danger of uncritical use of evidence from national centres such as Olympia and Delphi.[1] A further difficulty is that of dating; the dates assigned to Geometric bronzes are even more precarious than those given to the contemporary pottery, with which they are unfortunately only too rarely associated. It must be remembered, too, that while in Greece Geometric bronzes continued to be made till about the end of the eighth century B.C., in Macedonia, and to a less extent Thessaly, they were still in use in the sixth and perhaps later still, while the simpler types, such as beads, rings and bracelets show little change throughout this long period. Nor are the chronological difficulties confined to the Ægean area; on the contrary, they affect the whole question of the ultimate origin of Geometric bronze-work, for it is the uncertainty of the dating of the Central-European bronzes which makes it impossible to determine, on purely chronological grounds, whether the industry took its rise there or in Greece.

This last, the origin of the small-bronze industry, is the only question which can be illustrated here, and even so lack of detailed study or any body of agreed opinion imposes severe restrictions. Thus the principal types, especially the figures of horses, birds, etc., can be paralleled in so many different civilisations bordering on the Greek world that it is difficult to decide which is responsible for their origin; how universal these types are can best be judged from Miss Roes's recent study,[2] in which the arguments for an Oriental origin are powerfully brought out.

These difficulties have certainly been much exaggerated, and any attempt to collect the evidence without the bias of a preconceived opinion would, I think, produce decisive results. But for research on such a scale this is not the place; and instead I have restricted myself to consideration of a very few types whose origin can be established with certainty.

The pottery jug with cut-away neck is characteristic of the Macedonian Iron Age, and its introduction into Thessaly has already been mentioned. Now numerous miniature bronze jugs of identical form, made apparently for use as pendants,[3] have been found at various sites in Macedonia.[4] Examples from the Pherai deposit of bronzes[5] and one in the Almyrós Museum show[6] that they accompanied the pottery original into Thessaly; but while the latter does not

[1] *Op. cit.* 412.

[2] *De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst*, Haarlem 1931.

[3] Miniature vase-pendants of bronze are common at Glasinač in Bosnia (*Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegovina* I 100, figs. 171-9), but the idea is not confined to Central Europe. *See* Evans, *JHS* 45 (1925) 1/2; they have also been found on Italian sites. Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* 404 regards the central European pendants as reflecting Mycenean influence.

[4] Ghevgelí: *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* ix 66, fig. 2*a*.
Chauchítza: *AJ* i pl. vi, fig. 1: *BSA* xxvi 27 and pl. iv*d*. We may note the minute jugs with cut-away necks on the bird-pendants, *ibid.*, pl. v, 1*b*.
Neokhóri (near Amphipolis): *ibid.* 27, note 3; Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* 173.
Pátele: Rey, *Albania* 4 (1932) 59 fig. 11.
Vérria: *BSA* xxvi 27, note 2; Casson, *op. cit.* 171.
Potidaia: *British Museum Quarterly* vi, 82/3 and pl. xxxiii.
Unknown provenience: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; unpublished.

[5] In the National Museum, Athens, and in the Volo Museum; all unpublished.

[6] Of unknown provenience, but presumably from the neighbourhood; unpublished.

penetrate beyond Othrys, the little bronze jugs have turned up at Athens[1]; at Perakhóra in Corinthia[2]; at Ægina[3]; and at Sparta[4]; while from overseas there is one from Rheneia[5] and even one, presumably imported, from Cumae.[6] Most of these little objects bear slight but significant decoration, either horizontal groovings like those on the clay examples from Marmáriani[7] or, in the case of some of the Macedonian pendants, simple engraved patterns on the shoulder, such as also occur on the clay jugs of Macedonia and Thessaly.[8]

At Chauchítza and other places in Macedonia another type of bronze pendant has come to light.[9] Casson doubtfully explained them as amulets; whatever their real use, they appeared at the time to be almost confined to Macedonia, since Casson was only able to point to a single example outside that country, the lower half of one found at Olympia.[10] Since then, two from the excavations at Lindos have been published[11]; and here once again Thessaly provides the connecting link, for two lids were found at Velestino, while from the Cave of the Nymphs near Pharsalos comes a pendant, apparently of identical type,[12] though probably later in date than any of the others mentioned above.

It is perhaps worth while considering these so-called amulets further. Casson's explanation is not really satisfactory; in the first place, we have no evidence that the Greeks used any kind of amulets at this period, and all the other contemporary bronzes seem to be either useful or ornamental; nor would these 'amulets' have afforded protection for their supposedly precious contents, for the loose lid, held down only by its own weight, could easily fall open if not properly secured. If it was unnecessary for the lids to be removable, why were they made so? A permanent fastening could easily have been achieved by hammering over or wiring on the lid.

The small jug-pendants already mentioned suggest a clue; may not the 'amulets' be similar toy models of full-size vessels in clay or metal? Up to the present only one such prototype has been found in Macedonia itself[13]; but it can hardly be a mere coincidence that vases with tie-on lids of identical pattern suddenly make their appearance at different Greek sites just about this time. The original type, with pierced lugs projecting from body and lid is represented by a high pyxis from a Protogeometric grave at Seskló,[14] and it was in common use

[1] A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, no. 163.
[2] Found 1930; unpublished.
[3] *Ægina*, pl. 118, 16, described as 'Hellenistische form.'
[4] *Artemis Orthia*, pl. lxxx *q*.
[5] Myconos Museum: unpublished.
[6] *Monumenti Antichi* xxii, 229, fig. 75; the cross scratched on the base is especially noteworthy.
[7] *BSA* xxxi 20/1, nos. 37, 38.
[8] Cf. *supra* p. 12., note 2.
[9] Chauchítza: *AJ* i, pl. vii, fig. 1; *BSA* xxvi, 26/7.
Dedelí near Húdovo (Doirán region): Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, 144.
Neokhóri (near Amphipolis): *BSA loc. cit.*
Pátele. Casson, *op. cit.* 150.
[10] *Olympia* iv, pl. xxiii, no. 416.
[11] *Lindos: Fouilles de l'Acropole* i, nos. 220, 221.
[12] *Annuario* vi-vii (1923/4) 32, fig. 7*a*.
[13] *BSA* xxvi 10, fig. 3*f* (Chauchítsa).
[14] Opened in 1918 (*BCH* 1920, 396). The contents are in the Volo Museum; unpublished.

at Sparta.[1] From the intervening region we have a squat Protogeometric pyxis from Athens,[2] and, though much later in date, the Protocorinthian and Corinthian flat pyxides. But the susceptibility to damage and the difficulties of manufacturing these projecting parts led to various modifications; first, the potter in making the body of the vase turned out a small rim all round, which he subsequently pierced in two places corresponding to holes in an overlapping lid. Examples of this type have been found in Attica[3] and Boeotia,[4] all being of protogeometric date; it was also popular in Crete.[5] Soon after, in central Greece, a further improvement was made; the rim which was to receive the string-holes was turned inwards instead of out, giving additional strength and greater smoothness of contour to the finished vessel. On this model were made top-shaped pyxides bearing a remarkable resemblance to the little bronze 'amulets'[6]; but flat-bottomed vases with the same lid-fitting were also coming into use,[7] and they in their turn handed on the technical tradition to the large flat pyxides beloved of the eighth-century Athenian.

Few objects illustrate Geometric bronze-work's debt to the North better than the spectacle-fibula. Its Central European origin is now generally admitted,[8] and has been further confirmed by two recent discoveries; first, an example of the bronze ornament of spirally twisted wire from which the spectacle-fibula was developed has been recognised among the finds from Pátele in Western Macedonia[9]; and secondly it has been pointed out that the iron spectacle-fibulae from Marmáriani and Sésklo are embellished with central bosses of conical shape which can be exactly paralleled in Central Europe.[10] The Marmáriani fibulae are also important in that they are the first which can be definitely dated to the protogeometric period; hitherto they have been found either in temple or settlement deposits, which cannot be very closely dated, or in graves of the developed Geometric Age. We are thus justified in associating spectacle-fibulae with the other proofs of Northern or at least Macedonian influence which suddenly appear in Greece an the collapse of the Mycenean régime.

[1] Sparta Museum 2349, 2353. *BSA* xiii 122 fig. 2*k*. *CVA* Cambridge i, pl. III, 14.

[2] *AA* 47 (1932) 118 Abb. 7.

[3] München Nat.-Inv. 6250, a multiple pyxis; unpublished.

[4] 1). Louvre A 564. 2). Collection of the British School at Athens; bought in Athens, but said to come from Thebes. 3). Thebes Museum, from Rhitsona, grave 134 (1921); unpublished.

[5] Cf. *Vrókastro*, pl. xxvii, 2; *BSA* vi 84, fig. 26; xxix 263 nos. 166-8, (Knossós); one from Arkádhes, *Annuario* x-xii 211, fig. 233 stands very close to the mainland examples.

[6] (1) Attica: *Ath. Mitt.* 43 (1918) 1918 taf. 1, 6; *CVA Athens* i pl. 1, 8; *JHS*, li, pl. vi, 1-6; München Nat.-Inv. 6224, and five others recently acquired, three of which are mere toys, lid and body being all in one piece; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, both unpublished. The type occurs sporadically in later fabrics: Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 323.

(2) Bœotia: Louvre A 565.

[7] A transitional stage between the footed and footless types is represented by the pyxis *Tiryns* i pl. xvi, 12.

[8] Myres, *op. cit.* 423/5. [9] *BSA* xxxi 54. [10] *Ibid.* 35, 36.

[11] The imitation spectacle fibula, made of plates of carved and engraved bone, may also be a central European invention, since many examples have been found in Bosnia, Croatia, and the Danube valley; Myres, however (*op. cit.* 425) prefers to regard them as Greek imports, or imitations of them. There is one of these fibulæ in the Salonika Museum (unpublished), though, it is only fair to add, with imported Greek pottery; see Blinkenberg's list, *Fibules Grecques et Orientales* 262/279.

As has been explained, these examples have been chosen because their Macedonian origin is well established, and also because it appears that, in various ways they are all associated with the earliest phase of the Iron Age in Greece; they cannot be explained as the result of commerce with Central Europe at a comparatively late date. No doubt further study will prove that similar conditions apply to other types of 'Geometric' bronzes; already typical bronze horses have been found in Macedonia at sites where there are no traces of intercourse with the outside world,[1] and the birds, beads, pendants, bracelets, and other ornaments are also forthcoming in the North, though unfortunately without sufficent evidence to enable them to be dated at all precisely.

These different lines of enquiry converge in emphasising the importance of the Macedonian element in Thessalian Early Iron Age pottery. They have also shown how the Macedonian style was affected by its translation to Thessaly; how it came under the dual influence of a dying Mycenean tradition, and a resurgent local fabric of Matt-painted ware.[2] The result was a compromise, a composite style in which the conflicting influences of North and South are more or less equally balanced. The tholoi of Marmáriani shew the result. We have now to consider what further modifications took place when the new fabric spread still further southwards into the heart of Greece.

3. Central Greece

On the history of Central Greece during these eventful centuries archæology can shed but little light. In Southern Thessaly[3] a single, though richly furnished tholos tomb of the Early Iron Age has been excavated, but the finds have unhappily vanished. In the Spercheios valley the station of Lianokládhi was deserted before the end of the Bronze Age.[4] Further South, between Oita and Parnassos, the country is equally unproductive,[5] and it is not till we reach Orchomenos that we can once again recognise traces of Early Iron Age settlement. Two groups of graves have been opened in this region, one at Orchomenos itself,[6] the other an hour west of the village of Vranési.[6] These two cemeteries are very similar in character and between them give us a most valuable glimpse of the Boeotian pottery industry at the beginning of the Iron Age, though until the publication (now happily resumed) of the excavations at Orchomenos is completed no estimate can be more than provisional. It is much to be hoped that the vases from Vranési will some day be published.

[1] Pátele: sketch in Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, fig. 66; photo in Rey, *Albania* iv 57, fig. 10. Chauchítsa: *AJ* i pl. vi, fig. 1.

[2] The fusion of Late Mycenean ideas and the local painted style, suggested by Wace & Thompson (*Prehistoric Thessaly* 216) as the origin of the glaze-painted style of the Early Iron Age in Thessaly, is thus completely substantiated; the third component, the influence of Macedonia, could not of course be detected in 1912. Cf. too the 'family tree' in *BSA* xxviii, pl. xiv.

[3] At Dhranísta in Dolopia, Πρακτικά 1911, 351/3.

[4] Wace & Thompson, *op. cit.* 247.

[5] To solve the problem of the Dorian invasion it is natural to suggest excavations in Doris itself (Myres *op. cit.* 459); but some trial pits sunk by Sotiriádhis at Kytinion (Πρακτικά 1909, 130), revealed nothing earlier than the fourth century. The prehistoric site at Suvála (*ibid.*; Wace & Thompson, *op. cit.* 11) belongs to the Early Bronze Age.

[6] Πρ. 1904, 39/40; 1907, 109.

Stylistically, and no doubt, chronologically as well, the pottery falls into two distinct classes, Protogeometric and Geometric. Here we are concerned with the former only; its main characteristics reflect the geographical position of the site; the intrusive North-Greek element is weaker, the Mycenean survivals correspondingly stronger. One of the most prominent of North-Greek types, the jug with cut-away neck never (except in the miniature bronze form mentioned above) occurs South of Othrys. The kantharos which was so favoured at Marmáriani is also absent, and though common in South Greece in Geometric times no Protogeometric examples are known there; nor have the great stemmed kraters of the Thessalian interments any parallels in Southern Protogeometric tombs, though here again they have been found in those of the Geometric period.

The stronger influence of Mycenae, on the other hand, is reflected by the bowl with flaring mouth,[1] which is here found side by side with the sharply off-set rims of the Iron Age; but even this survival from an earlier age is here modernised by the addition of the high conical foot characteristic of the Protogeometric style. And in spite of the discrepancies already noted, the Thessalian origin of the Iron-Age pottery of Orchomenos is placed beyond dispute by the presence of a small cup (Pl. II, 8) fitted with that peculiar modification of the 'thumb-grip' handle the history and Macedonian origin of which have been demonstrated above.[2] At both these Boeotian sites, too, have been found skyphoi decorated with pendent semicircles, a type with the North-Greek origin of which we have already become familiar.[3]

That Orchomenos with its venerable traditions should exhibit more numerous traces of Mycenean predominance than Thessaly is readily understandable. But in assessing the intrusive Thessalian element we are faced with a serious difficulty: this is the complete absence of the jug with cut-away neck. In view of the overwhelming popularity of this shape in Macedonia and North Thessaly, it may reasonably be objected that the absence of this shape at Orchomenos is sufficient to disprove any theory of the Thessalian origin of the concentric-circle style there.

Two solutions of this apparent anomaly may be put forward. In the first place, all our evidence for the pottery styles of Thessaly comes from sites in the North and East; of the Western parts of Thessaly during the Iron Age we know practically nothing. Now the danger of assuming a uniform culture for the whole of Thessaly has already been emphasised; and even for the comparatively small area regarding which we have information we can observe considerable differences between the various local fabrics. The jug with cut-away neck is a Macedonian shape, so it is perhaps not purely fortuitous that it is commonest at Marmáriani, the most northerly of the Thessalian sites; at Volo, it is greatly outnumbered by the trefoil-lipped jug; and in the early cist graves of Halos it does not occur at all. If, then, the legend of the 'migration from Arne' is reliable, we may perhaps seek in this non-homogeneous culture the reason why the Æolians failed to introduce the type into their Boeotian homes.

An alternative, or perhaps additional reason may be found in technical

[1] Somewhat resembling *Tiryns* i, pl. xvi, 2.
[2] p. 14. [3] p. 7.

considerations. The two principal liquids for which jugs of this size would be designed can only be oil and wine. Now oil is both dearer and more sparingly used than wine; therefore, for an oil-jug the chief requisite is maximum control over pouring. The Myceneans had attempted to secure this by constricting the neck of the vase, as can be clearly seen in the 'stirrup-vase' and the small jug with narrow decanter-like neck which is essentially of the same type; in the former, the 'stirrup' gives additional control. The defect of a narrow neck is irregular pouring; this, however, can be cured by opening a small hole at the base of the neck, an expedient actually adopted towards the close of the Bronze Age.[1] We may compare the similarly placed hole in the wooden flasks used by Greek shepherds to-day. For oil, then, the stirrup-vase and its allied types were admirably suited; but for wine quicker pouring is desirable, and therefore a neck of large diameter; the Mycenean 'oenochoe' is accordingly to be recognised in the jug with wide neck and flat, circular lip; but the various types of beaked jug would doubtless have served equally well.

The two different functions are perfectly combined in the 'trefoil oenochoe,' the sole type of jug in common use during the Geometric period. The trefoil lip ensures accurate control, the wide neck quick pouring. The jug with cut-away neck, on the other hand, is not similarly adaptable, and it seems quite possible that its inferiority in this respect to the trefoil jug is the reason for its replacement by the latter at Orchomenos.

Other examples of Protogeometric pottery from central Greece are too scanty to give us much help at present[2]; but meagre though the total evidence is, we have been able to trace the influx of peoples from Thessaly, coming, however, not as destroyers, but borrowing ideas from the older population. At Orchomenos we can see how the concentric-circle style was gradually and continually modified as it spread further South, slowly losing touch with its old centres in North Greece, and becoming ever more and more under the influence of the older and higher civilization of Mycenae.

4. The South.

I am not intended to discuss in detail here the archæological history of the Early Bronze Age in the southern half of the Greek peninsula. So much new material is being daily coming to light, or, if excavated, is still unpublished, that any comprehensive survey is at present impossible. I need only refer to the remarkable discoveries of the German Institute in the Athenian Kerameikos,[3] or of the American School in the Agora[4] or again the sustained success of the excavations on Ithaka, and, on the other hand, the still-awaited publication of the finds from Asine, to justify this decision; and the present discussion must be limited to some suggestions on the application of the principles outlined above to the archæological evidence of South Greece.

[1] See p. 24.

[2] Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes*, v. figs. 74, 500, 513, 516.

Thebes: Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1917, 24, fig. 19; fig. 29 (there is an identical jug from Orchomenos); 203, fig. 148.

Rhitsona, see p. 18, note 4

Kopai and Chorsiai and other sites: sherds in the collection of the British School at Athens.

Unknown provenience (Bœotian): Louvre A 564 (small pyxis); three vases (jugs with round and trefoil lip, small pyxis) now in the collection of the British School at Athens.

[3] *AA* 47 (1932) 203/8.

[4] *Ibid*, 115/6.

Comparative wealth of information has made it possible to follow fairly closely the development of Late Mycenean pottery, and in particular to distinguish the latest phase of degeneration before its sudden extinction. In 1893 a cemetery of more than a hundred graves was discovered on the island of Salamis; the excavation which followed was very carelessly conducted, and the contents of the different graves were not kept separate, though luckily the finds show so uniform a style that they must nearly all belong to about the same period. Apart from a few bronze pins and fibulæ, these consisted exclusively of pottery, which Sam Wide, to whom we are indebted for their belated publication,[1] claimed as the long-expected 'missing link' between the Mycenean and Geometric styles; in these vases he recognised the presence of a new guiding force, which he identified with his hypothetical renaissance of the pre-Mycenean system of decoration; and in spite of their strongly Mycenean character, he proposed to label the vases 'Protogeometric.' To-day, though Wide's *Bauernstil* theory in its extreme form, with its vision of a long-oppressed people shaking off the shackles of an alien culture, is generally discredited,[2] the Salamis vases are still commonly referred to as Protogeometric in that they are supposed to constitute a natural transition from Mycenean to Geometric, the development being a purely stylistic process unaffected by the political changes of the time.

Already in 1910 Wide had drawn attention to a few vases from other sites which obviously had close affinities with those from the Salamis graves, and since that date many more have been brought to light by excavation or research. The field is extensive; from examples of this style found in Crete and Asia Minor Wide had concluded that the links which bound the outlying parts of the Ægean world to Mycenae were still unbroken, and subsequent discoveries have completely confirmed his observations. Schweitzer's list of Protogeometric graves,[3] however, though still useful, suffers from excessive hospitality,[4] and complete revision is imperative. Unfortunately there are considerable difficulties in the way of such a revision, and in the list given below it has been found necessary to omit examples from Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Palestine, where the existence of vigorous local schools of Mycenean pottery, some of which persisted into the Iron Age, introduces extra complications which cannot be solved without special study.

ATTICA.

Kerameikos: Wide, *Opuscula archæologica O. Montelio dicata* 211, and fig. 5.
Ath. Mitt. 51 (1926), Beil. VI, VII.
AA 47 (1932) 203/8.

Acropolis: Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, taf. viii, nos. 237, 239.
Ath. Mitt. 13 (1888) 228.
Tiryns i 154, fig. 17 and note 1.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 35 (1910) 17/36, pls. v, vi.

[2] See the sensible remarks of Miss Roes, *op. cit.* 27/31; Myres, *op. cit.* 599 note 35; a modified *Bauernstil* theory nevertheless finds such adherents Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* i, 54; Gotsmich, *op. cit.*

[3] *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland* i, Diss. Heidelberg, 1917, 10/14.

[4] Cf. the criticism of Pfuhl, *op. cit.* i, 57.

Piraeus: *CVA Copenhagen* ii, pl. 69, *5a* and *b*.

Haliki: Furtwängler-Löschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. xviii, no. 124.

Exact provenience unknown: *JHS* li (1931), 171/3 and figs. 7, 8 (in Toronto); *BM Vases* Ii, A 1093-1097.

PELOPONNESE.

Mycenae: Athens, Nat.-Mus. 1104 = Schliemann *Mycenae* 65, fig. 26, cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 35 (1910), 34.
Athens, Nat.-Mus. 1083 = Schliemann 67, fig. 28.
Athens, Nat.-Mus. 1105; cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*[1]
Furtwängler-Löschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pls. xxviii-xxx, xxxiii-xxxv, *passim*.
BSA xxv (1921/3) 29/35, pl. vi (Lion Gate); *ibid.* 38/61, pl. vii*a*, *b*, viii, *c*, *d* ix-xi (Granary).
Archæologia lxxxiii 184/187 (Kalkáni cemetery).

Tiryns: *Tiryns* i, pl. xvi, 8 (Grave 3); pl. xvi, 1, 4 (Grave 35[2]); pl. xvi, 3 (not from the graves).

Nauplia: *Ath. Mitth.*, *loc. cit.*

Argos: *Mededeelingen der Koniklije Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Leterkunde*, Deel 66, Serie B, no. 4, pl. xv.

Asine: *Årsberättelse*. 1922/3, Pl. 2, 7-8; 1924/5, Pl. 33, 1, 2; 34, 1; 35, 2; 45, 1.

Korákou: Blegen, *Korakou*, figs. 86, 95-103.

Ægina: *BM Vases* Ii, A 1092.

Pylos (Kakóvatos): Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1914, 99-117, figs. 6-21.

CENTRAL GREECE.

Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes* v 9/11, figs. 26-42.

Thebes: Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 1917, fig. 20; fig. 109 *α-γ*; fig. 110, *α*; fig. 120, 1, 3; fig. 122, 1, 2, 4, 7; fig. 128, 1; fig. 136, 4.

THESSALY.

Theotókou: Wace & Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, fig. 146*f*; the yellow, mica-less clay proves this vase to be an import.

Halmyrós (?): Halmyros Museum 258*a*: upper half of a stirrup-vase decorated with concentric semi-circles.

[1] The jug recorded in Nicole, *Catalogue des Vases peints* no. 273, as from Mycenae is really one of the Salamis vases, and was published with its companions in *Ath. Mitth.* 1910, 26/7 and fig. 3.

[2] Grave 35 was a pithos-burial and contained a Geometric cup; the Salamis style vases appear to have been found outside the pithos, and are therefore probably unconnected with it; see, however, *ibid.* 135. The Tiryns graves may now be classified as follows (cf. *Ath. Mitth.* xliii 62/4):

Middle Helladic	: 14..
L.H. III	: 13.
Sub-Mycenean	: 3, 35.
Protogeometric	: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, (?), 11, 12, 17, 18, 32.
Geometric	: remainder, where determinable.

ISLANDS.

Skyros: The hydria *BSA* xi (1904/5) 79, fig. 3*d* may well be an import; it certainly does not look like an Iron-Age vase.

Melos: *BSA* xvii (1910-11) 18/19, pl. xii, pl. xiv, nos. 39-41, 43-4.

Paros: *Ath. Mitth.* 42 (1917) 70/72.

ASIA MINOR.

Assarlik (Caria): *BM Vases* Ii A 1101; the drawing in the original publication, *JHS* viii (1887), 74, fig. 18 is unsatisfactory.

1. *The Salamis Style in its relation to Late Mycenean pottery.*

We have already seen that Wide in his publication of the Salamis vases (*op. cit.* 31/2) drew a sharp distinction between them and Furtwängler-Löschke's 'Fourth Style' (*i.e.* L.H. III). His conclusions have found little support, and doubts of their correctness have been amply confirmed by subsequent discoveries; the shapes of the Salamis vases as a whole are purely Mycenean, and the few modifications they have undergone, such as the trefoil lip of the small jug, or the air-hole and surmounting knob of the stirrup-vase, are merely made in the interests of efficiency and are wholly insufficient to justify their separation from the Late Mycenean style. Wide was misled, partly by inadequate evidence, partly to what now appear to be local preferences and prejudices in the choice of vase shapes.[1] A mere catalogue of the principal shapes of the Salamis style: stemmed kylix, round-mouthed jug, spouted jug with basket-handle, 'pilgrim flask,' askos, amphora (with handles joining the rim), amphoriskos, hydria, kalathos, skyphos, cup, etc., is sufficient to demonstrate the essentially Mycenean character of these vases.

The decoration of the Salamis style is directly derived from the Late Mycenean style, and as such is readily explicable without calling in the aid of any social or political revolution.[2] In most cases the Mycenean origin of the motives used by the Salaminian potter is obvious: zig-zags, wavy lines, running spirals, areas of scale-pattern, groups of semi-circles or quadrants, lines of chevrons, degenerate floral or marine ornaments (chiefly dislocated murex or lotus-bud patterns) are the commonest of the Mycenean designs thus preserved. In the same way the rhythmical alternation of broad and narrow bands on the lower part of the vase is a development as old as the days of the Amarna style; the only difference is that at Salamis we can watch them gradually increasing in width until the bottom half of the pot is entirely covered with paint.

Much emphasis has been laid upon the impoverishment of ornament during this period, no doubt justly as far as the finds listed above are concerned. But one important result of the most recent excavations at Mycenae has been to supply

[1] Thus the Salamis graves contained no stemmed kylikes, though plenty of examples of this shape were found in the Mycenean 'Granary'; conversely, the stirrup-vase so popular at Salamis is represented only by a few sherds in the latest fabrics of Mycenae.

[2] *CAH* ii 522.

final proof of what the stratification of Korákou had already suggested, namely that the so-called 'Close Style' bowls were actually contemporary with the latest fabrics of Mycenean pottery, in the case of Mycenae, with the 'Granary Class.'[1] This is important because the 'Close Style' is characterised by an elaborate decoration of indisputably Mycenean origin; there are therefore the strongest reasons for regarding the Salamis style as Mycenean also. To illustrate this significance of the 'Close Style,' attention may be drawn to a small but well-distributed class of vases the importance of which has not been fully recognised. They are nearly all stirrup-vases, each decorated with a single octopus, whose long tentacles sprawl over almost the entire surface of the pot; the earliest predecessors of the type are to be found in LM I,[2] and the vases here listed have a special interest as being perhaps the last examples of Minoan free-field painting.[3] Henceforward zone- and panel-composition dominate Greek pottery, and for parallels we must turn to the monstrous figures which monopolise the decorative field on late Corinthian alabastra.

These vases, like the 'Close Style' bowls with which they are so nearly connected, are approximately contemporary with the pottery of the Salamis style; this is shown not only by their association with such pottery at Mycenae and Delphi, but also by details of construction, the knobbed 'stirrup' and air-vent on the shoulder. With their striking and carefully executed design, they stand in the line of Minoan and Mycenean tradition, and provide conclusive proof that the culture of the period when the Salamis vases were manufactured was Mycenean also.

Close Style vases with octopus decoration:

Athens, Kerameikos: *Ath. Mitt.* 32 (1907) pl. xxv, 1.

Attica, Keratéa: G. Welter, *Bausteine zur Archäologie* I, Taf. I, 1 (Karlsruhe Museum).

Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes* V 8/9, fig. 26.

Mycenae: Furtwängler-Löschke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. xxxvii, no. 380; (=*BSA* xxv, pl. ix *b*); pl. xxxviii, no. 385. Athens, Nat. Mus. 2772, and another unnumbered.

Asine: *Årsberättelse* 1924/5, pl. xliv.

Pitane in Æolis: Perrot & Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité* vi, 929/31, figs. 489, 491 (Constantinople Museum).

Troy: Athens, Nat. Mus. 4529.

Knossos: Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs* 141, fig. 122; *BSA* xxviii 258, fig. 12.

Mulianá: Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904, 42/4, fig. 10 and pl. i.

Psychro: *BSA* vi 103, figs. 31, 32 (cup).

[1] *BSA* xxv (1921/3) 41; *BM Vases* li, pp. xlii, 207, fig. 289.

[2] *E.g. Gournià.* Plate H.

[3] Myres, *op. cit.* 499 considers that the division of the vase-surface by the tentacles into zones and panels foreshadows the introduction of Geometric panel-painting; but the chain of evidence seems very slender.

Rhodes: Furtwängler-Löschke *op. cit.*, pl. iv, no. 24 = *BM Vases* Ii, A 932; several appear to be illustrated in *Annuario* 1923/4 but so inadequately that they cannot be satisfactorily recognised.

Calymnos: *BM Vases* I i, A 1015.

Unknown provenience: Athens, Nat. Mus. [-]488; Louvre CA 2906 (*Bull. des Musées* 1931, 48/9).

2. *The Salamis style in its relation to the Concentric-circle style.*

The fabric which has been referred to here under the non-committal title of the 'Concentric-circle style' has, as previously explained, usually been classed together with the Salamis vases and their counterparts elsewhere. As I shall now try to show, the two are in fact entirely distinct fabrics; and it is, I believe, the failure to enforce this distinction which has in great measure thwarted previous investigators in their efforts to reconstruct the history of the period.[1] In order to demonstrate the stylistic continuity of these two styles it has generally been thought satisfactory in the past to adduce 'transitional forms' from Crete, Cyprus, Palestine, and other distant corners of the Greek world, the disquieting absence of such forms on the mainland being discreetly passed over. In the present instance, however, we are dealing with Attica and the Peloponnese, and it is from within these limits that our evidence must be sought, unless indeed it can be proved, not merely assumed, that we have a right to go outside them.

Under these restrictions the facts take on a very different aspect; many of the vase-shapes most popular with the Mycenean potters, even during the period of the Salamis style, either disappear suddenly or undergo drastic modification on the advent of the concentric-circle pottery. Among the shapes which fail to survive we may note the following: amphora (with handles reaching to the rim), amphoriskos, stirrup-vase, stemmed kylix, stemmed goblet, three-handled jar (pseudamphora), pilgrim flask, kalathos, squat bowl (pyxis), askos, bowl with bridge-spout, spouted jug with basket-handle.

Many rarer shapes might be added, but the evidence of isolated specimens is not sufficiently conclusive; and even so the list is long enough to demonstrate a comprehensive change in vase-shapes. Even those which survive show a marked alteration in proportions and contour; among these are the three types of jug—with broad neck and flat circular lip, with trefoil lip, and with narrow neck and funnel-shaped orifice; skyphos on low ring-foot; flat-based cup; and the hydria. The new jugs exhibit, in place of the dumpy, globular form of the Salamis style, the elegant ovoid profile characteristic of the concentric-circle style all over Greece, while skyphoi and cups are distinguished by a sharply off-set rim. The change is accompanied by the introduction of several entirely new shapes: amphorae with neck-handles, pyxides, of various patterns, with tie-on lids, lugged bowls, cups and skyphoi on high conical feet.

Decoration shows an even more striking change; the groups of concentric circles and semi-circles which are the distinctive mark of the later style are invariably drawn mechanically with the multiple brush-compass, whereas the semi-

[1] Wide (*Opuscula archæologica O. Montelio dicata* 205/6), it is true, and after him Schweitzer (*op. cit.* 66/7) realised the priority of the Salamis vases to the concentric-circle style, but neither saw the momentous implications of his discovery.

circles of the Salamis style are no less regularly drawn freehand. A small detail but none the less significant, is the replacement of the solid disc which so often filled the innermost of the semicircles of the Salamis style by the 'hour-glass' ornament the genesis of which has already been traced.[1] Still more essential is it to realise that the concentric-circle pattern and the cross-hatched triangle, which have been so frequently quoted as examples of the continuous survival of Mycenean design, though used in the later period almost to the exclusion of any other patterns, are in the Salamis style still only two among a wide variety of motives. And most of the motives of the Salamis style die out as suddenly and completely as do the shapes of the vases they adorn; particularly noticeable, for example, is the disappearance of the various spiraliform designs which in the Salamis style persist to the very end. Only a few simple designs are retained unaltered: dog-tooth, chequers, cross-hatched panels and triangles, large wavy lines practically exhaust the list. But the fundamental contrast between the two styles appears in its strongest light when pottery of the concentric-circle style is confronted with examples of the octopus decoration described above.

Wide[2] laid stress on the inferior fabric of the Salamis vases in his attempt to separate them from the Late Mycenean style, and it is certainly true that they, and contemporary pottery from other sites, show considerable degeneration of technique, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the proportion of carelessly-decorated, ill-baked pottery is higher. Whatever the value of this observation, it is at all events certain that the appearance of the concentric-circle style brings a great improvement in fabric; a few vases of the Granary class at Mycenae show the use of a black, metallic glaze in place of the traditional scarlet colour, proving that fashions had already begun to change[3]; the supersession of the Salamis-Granary style crystallised these tendencies; black becomes the invariable colour, characterised in many fabrics by the metallic glint which is the result of very hard firing. At the same time the vases themselves are well-turned and of pleasing proportions, the clay fine and well-levigated; the style of painting too is neat and regular; and altogether the effect is very different from that of the brownish, lustreless paint and porous badly-baked clay which are all too common in the Salamis period.

This is not an attempt to prove that the concentric-circle style owed nothing to the preceding Salamis style; that would not be probable, nor, as I have tried to show, is it a fact. What the arguments outlined above demonstrate is that the two styles can and must be kept separate, and until that is realised no progress can be made. Stylistic arguments are only part of the story; for if the list of Salamis style vases and their find-spots given above be examined, it will be seen that in no case has concentric-circle pottery been found in association with them; the converse is indicated by the finds of Protogeometric pottery mentioned in this work. If the great number of Late Mycenean chamber-tombs be considered, many of them containing a succession of interments down to the end of the Salamis-Granary

[1] v. *supra*, pp. 14/15.

[2] *Op. cit.* 32.

[3] See references in *BSA* xxxi 20, note 1.

period, the extreme rarity in them of pottery of the concentric-circle type is surely significant.[1] And the result exactly coincides with the site-history of Late Mycenean settlements: at Mycenae, Tiryns, the Argive Heraeum, Asine, no concentric-circle pottery was found, though there were quantities of mature Geometric; at Tiryns users of the concentric-circle fabric dug graves on the Acropolis. Korákou was likewise deserted at the close of the Salamis period and never reinhabited. Conversely, the concentric-circle pottery is often found in close connection with that of the full Geometric style; at Tiryns, as at Orchomenos and Vranési, tombs containing it are found within Geometric cemeteries; below the Athenian Acropolis and in the Agora both types are found together in the same graves; so on the summit of Hymettos, the sanctuary excavated in 1927 by Mr. Blegen contained no Mycenean pottery, but much concentric-circle style and enormous quantities of Geometric. The occupation of historic Lindos also begins with pottery of the concentric-circle style; only a handful of Mycenean sherds was recovered, shewing that the Homeric city is to be sought elsewhere. Last, and most important of all, concentric-circle pottery is the earliest fabric at Sparta, where it is succeeded by, and largely mixed with, developed Geometric wares.

Recent discoveries, especially those in the Athenian Kerameikos,[2] have perhaps tended to blur this clear-cut distinction, and at Athens at least the two styles seem to have overlapped for a short time; nevertheless the ultimate triumph of the concentric-circle style was just as complete there as anywhere else. It follows, therefore, that to avoid further confusion the two styles should receive different names; until experts have reached some measure of agreement on the sub-division of the Third Late Helladic period it will be impossible to make a final decision on a name for the Salamis and allied styles; for the moment, however, I would suggest the use of *Sub-Mycenean* for this phase; this would at least express adequately its close connection with L.H. III. For the concentric-circle fabric, on the other hand, the only name available is *Protogeometric;* this name has already been frequently applied to concentric-circle pottery, and although it may be considered tendencious, I do not think that is necessarily sufficient objection when we remember that Furtwängler's name of *Protocorinthian* has been in use for many years in spite of the fact that its logical correctness has only been very recently demonstrated; in the same way Schliemann's designation *Minyan* for the 'gray-ware' of Orchomenos has won general acceptance though it is, to say the least, highly improbable that any connection exists with the Minyans of Greek legend. Last but not least, *Protogeometric* has the merit of being a name, and not an alphabetical or numerical formula.

The transition from Protogeometric to Geometric is outside the scope of this essay, but may be briefly referred to here. Except for Attica, evidence for the nature of the change fails us completely; even in Attica, though we can now see to some extent *what* happened, we still cannot guess *why* it happened. Thus in the graves under the Acropolis and in the Agora, as noted above, Protogeo-

[1] I know of only two instances: (1) the bowl with concentric circles from one of the Kolonáki Tombs at Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1917, 204, 3, fig. 148; this is clearly a case of subsequent interment, cf. Schweitzer, *AA* 1922, 271. (2) Sherds from one of the tholoi at Kakóvatos, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1914, 107, fig. 12.

[2] *AA* 47 (1932) 203/208.

metric and Geometric are found together, though without any transitional forms to connect the two. The hall-mark of the Geometric style is the hatched meander, and its appearance is accompanied by a wholesale change of vase-shapes; the various types of ovoid jug, high-footed cups and bowls, suddenly disappear, and their places are taken by the typical broad-based Geometric oenochoe and cups and bowls with only a low ring-foot, or none at all. As for decoration, a glance at the early Attic Geometric grave-groups published by Schweitzer[1] and Iliffe[2] will suffice to give some idea of the sweeping changes made in this direction. It is true that some transitional forms do exist; there is, for instance, an ovoid jug in the British Museum decorated with a hatched meander round the neck; and a jug at Eleusis shows an intermediate stage between the ovoid and the broad-based forms. These, however, are decidedly not enough; and we must hope that some of the excavations at present in progress in Athens will provide the key to the problem. The only point I wish to make here is that there are two entirely distinct problems to be solved: the origin of Protogeometric, and the origin of Geometric pottery. The latter appears from the Attic evidence to have been an internal phenomenon of a secondary nature, and in any case cannot be discussed here; it is to the former, the origin of the Protogeometric style, that we must now turn our attention.

In the preceding sections we traced the concentric-circle style from its home in the North, through Thessaly and Central Greece into Bœotia, where it is well represented at Orchomenos. For the sudden appearance of a similar style in Attica and the Peloponnese in succession to the Sub-Mycenean fabrics of Salamis and elsewhere, there can, it is clear, be only one explanation: the Protogeometric style was introduced from the North. That this was not merely the result of commercial sea-borne traffic is proved by the complete absence of imports in the South and by the finding of Protogeometric pottery on inland sites. The new style was thus brought by an immigrant population; this is confirmed not only by the unanimous testimony of Greek folk-memory, but by the history of the two test-sites, Mycenae and Sparta. At Mycenae the most recent excavations revealed quantities of Sub-Mycenean ware in the so-called 'Granary,' proving that the site was still intensively inhabited; the Protogeometric phase, on the other hand, is represented by one doubtful sherd,[3] and the pottery which immediately overlies the Sub-Mycenean is developed Geometric. Hence the end of the Sub-Mycenean phase is marked by the total desertion of the site. The fire which destroyed part of the town belongs to an earlier period, before the development of the Granary style, and it is not referable to any but natural causes. Not only is it pure assumption to explain the fire as the work of hostile invaders, and the Granary style as the product of a 'reoccupation period,' but there are weighty reasons against such an interpretation. In the first place, it is impossible

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 43 (1918), pl. 1.

[2] *JHS* li (1931), 164/169, pl. vi.

[3] *BSA* xxv, 40. There is another Protogeometric sherd from Mycenae, in the collection of the British School (a trefoil oenochoe shoulder, decorated with overlapping groups of semicircles); these sherds, like three small Protogeometric jugs from Mycenae in the Nauplia Museum, probably come from tombs dug in or near the deserted site, as at Tiryns.

to place the beginning of the Granary style much later than about 1250 B.C.,[1] and consequently the fire at Mycenae, which precedes this phase, must have taken place almost a century and a half before the traditional date of the Dorian invasion. Even those who do not share prevailing views on the credibility of Greek folk-memory are likely to hesitate before accepting a Dorian invasion in the first half of the thirteenth century B.C., with the fall of Troy relegated to the year 1330 or earlier.

Such an interpretation is, however, quite unnecessary. According to tradition —and here we must anticipate some of the evidence which properly belongs to the second half of this essay—there was no siege and destruction of Mycenae by the Dorians; the invaders fortified a strong position, Temenion, at the south end of the plain, and the contest seems to have been one of attrition, like the great wars of the fifth century.[2] In the end Tisamenos and his folk were forced out of their country,[3] and the other semi-independent cities of the Argolid either opened their gates immediately, or after a mere show of resistance. Whether the invaders reoccupied Mycenae we have no definite information, but we know that in any case they did not make it their capital; that distinction was gained by Argos. The Dorization of Sparta had shifted the centre of gravity to the South; and the bold outstanding rock of the Larisa was an acropolis better suited to the needs and tastes of the age.

Is it not, then, something more than a coincidence when we find that just about the time when tradition records the invasion of the Dorians, the occupation of Mycenae is shown by archæological discoveries to have come to a sudden end? The natural conclusion to draw is that these two facts are cause and effect; and by accepting it we also avoid the chronological difficulties of the alternative view. How long the site lay deserted we do not know; but as none of the Geometric pottery so far found is at all early, the interval before its reoccupation must cover two centuries or more. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the new inhabitants had any considerable proportion of Mycenean blood in their veins; and granted that they may have been affected by their environment, that they may have adopted some of the old tales of their little city's former greatness, it is still difficult to share in the surprise expressed by Mr. Wace on finding that 'the inhabitants of classical Mycenae, who might have been supposed to keep themselves free from alien blood, wrote in good, broad Doric.'[4]

Another point which must be taken into consideration is the relation of Mycenean pottery of the Granary style to the contemporary Close Style. Mycenae, as its geographical position no less than its subsequent history shows, relied on its commerce for its wealth during the Bronze Age, and when commerce vanished, shrank to a mere village. Now the Granary and Close style fabrics, especially the class of stirrup-vases with octopus decoration to which

[1] Recent confirmation of this dating has come to light in the shape of a Salamis style stirrup-vase from Beth-pelet which can be closely dated to *circa* 1200 B.C.; if the editors are correct in regarding it as a local imitation, the beginning of the Salamis style in Greece must be placed at least several decades before that date. See *Beth-Pelet* II, pl. lxiv, no. 72, and p. 29; a similar vase found in Tomb 532 is dated *op. cit.* 31 to the reign of Rameses XI (*circa* 1130/1100 B.C.)

[2] Paus. ii, 38.

[3] Paus. ii, 18, 8; vii, 1, 7.

[4] *CAH* ii, 467.

attention has already been drawn,[1] prove that even at this late period the whole of the Levant was still open to the traders of Mycenae. Such a situation would obviously be impossible during a 'reoccupation period' after the Dorian invasion; and these belated Mycenean fabrics must therefore be placed before, not after, the arrival of the invaders.

It might be expected that all our difficulties could be resolved by referring them to the evidence of Dorian Sparta.[2] The results of such a comparison are, on the whole, disappointing; no tombs of the Early Iron Age have yet been located in Laconia, and we are consequently thrown back on the evidence of sherds, mostly small and in bad condition, from the various excavated sites. One fact of first-class importance does, however, emerge from a study of the sites. Mycenean Sparta does not underlie the historic city; its remains have been discovered high up on the other side of the Eurotas, near the site of the sanctuary where in classical times Menelaos and Helen were jointly worshipped.[3] Here were found extensive traces of a Mycenean city, which was completely destroyed by fire; the site, with the exception of the offerings at the temple, was never reoccupied. The sites on the right bank, on the other hand—the Acropolis, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the so-called Heroon—were uninhabited in the Late Mycenean Age; in each case the earliest traces of occupation belong to the Early Iron Age.[4] This clear-cut distinction cannot be explained away; the only reasonable interpretation is that the Dorian invaders burnt the old Mycenean city on the eastern hills, and founded their capital in a 'clean place' on the opposite bank.

The earliest wares of Dorian Sparta[5] have been very inadequately studied, partly owing to the intractable nature of the material; at the Orthia site the sherds were so small and their edges so rubbed that reconstruction was an almost impossible task; those from the Acropolis were not much better. In consequence the vase-shapes in use are very imperfectly known, and the diagram published in *BSA* xiii, 120, fig. 2, should be used with caution. In spite of this the general development of the pottery can be made out; at the Orthia site it was early noticed that while most of the Geometric sherds bore a white slip, there was a small proportion of slipless fragments, which were practically confined to the lower strata. This same slipless fabric was found in enormous quantities on the Acropolis, where, however, very little slipped pottery appeared. The conflicting evidence of the two sites created a difficulty which was not cleared up till the chaotic nature of the Acropolis deposits was fully realised; and at last the recovery, in the latest excavations on the Acropolis, of an appreciable amount of slipped Geometric pottery permitted the excavators to form the conclusion, already suggested by the Orthia finds, that the slipless pottery represents a definitely earlier phase; it is, in fact, the earliest Iron-Age pottery of Sparta.

[1] Thus in *Fouilles de Delphes* V, 8/9, fig. 26, the editors note that the vase is an import.

[2] Myres, *op. cit.* 476.

[3] *BSA* xvi (1909/10), 4/11.

[4] A Mycenean gem was found at the Orthia site, *BSA* xiii 76. Some sherds of an unknown fabric found in the most recent excavations on the Acropolis have been identified as Mycenean (*BSA* xxviii 38) but apart from the red glaze they have no resemblance to any Mycenean fabric I have seen. Their Museum number is 2953. Early pottery at the Heroon: *BSA* xii (1905/06) 288/291, *Artemis Orthia*, fig. 32.

[5] *BSA* xiii (1906/07) 118/126; xxviii (1926/7) 50/55. *Artemis Orthia* 52/66.

Complete confirmation of this fact has finally been provided by the excavations of the German Archæological Institute at the Amyklaion. There, a definite stratum of slipless pottery was discovered underlying the Geometric layer, and to this stratum the excavators gave the name of Protogeometric.[1]

Our task is therefore to compare this Protogeometric style with those of neighbouring countries which we have previously examined. Unfortunately this is, for the reasons given above, a matter of extreme difficulty, and it must be emphasised that until further evidence is forthcoming from Laconia no reliable conclusions can be formed. Only two complete vases of Protogeometric style are known: the first is a trefoil oinochoe from the Heröon at Sparta,[2] a typical Protogeometric product of which almost identical counterparts have been found at Thebes[3] and Orchomenos.[4] The upper half of what was probably a similar jug, decorated with radial strokes, comes from the Amyklaion,[5] and from the same site come fragments of grooved or twisted handles,[6] probably from jugs (it is perhaps worth noting that in other South-Greek schools twisted handles do not make their appearance before the Geometric period; only in Thessaly and Macedonia do they come into use so early). The only other complete vase is a miniature hydria[7] to which there are no very close parallels, though full-size hydrias are of course common enough at this period. Other shapes can be more or less doubtfully inferred from sherds; of these perhaps the most frequent is a high cylindrical pyxis with a flat lid. String-holes in these lids indicate the way in which they were secured, and they probably corresponded with the pierced lugs which have been found occasionally on fragments of pyxis-rim.[8] This high pyxis remains the characteristic Laconian shape in the Geometric period.[9] Its origin is at present undetermined; it has been suggested above that these lidded containers with lug and string-hole fastening were developed in the North, and penetrated with South in company with other ceramic devices the North-Greek origin of which is beyond dispute; this remains, however, no more than a hypothesis, and further light on the antecedents of the Laconian vases would be most welcome.

A great number of sherds at all sites come from small open bowls and dishes; at the Amyklaion it was estimated that ninety-five per cent. were from open-mouthed vessels, an abnormal proportion which may help to explain some of the discrepancies which a comparison with the evidence of Sparta reveals. The exact shapes of these vases remain almost irrecoverable, though they certainly included

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927), 32/3, 46/9.

[2] *Artemis Orthia*, fig. 32.

[3] Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1917, 30, fig. 29.

[4] Chaironeia Museum; unpublished.

[5] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927), pl. II, 6; for similar shoulder decoration on a Protogeometric oinochoe, cf. Albizzati, *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano*, pl. I, no. 2 (Tenos).

[6] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927), pl. II, 14-16.

[7] *Ibid.* 47, fig. 27.

[8] Cf. *supra*, pp. 17/18; the same fitting was used for small bowls with incurving rim, *BSA* xiii (1906/7) 120, fig. 2*k*.

[9] Two complete Geometric examples were found at the Amyklaion by Tsúndas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, pl. 4, nos. 1, 2.

several varieties of the Mycenean derivative skyphos,[1] and, perhaps, flat dishes or plates like the complete Geometric examples figured in *Artemis Orthia*, figs. 33, 34. The bases are usually flat, both the ring-foot and the conical foot of other Protogeometric styles being very rare; the fragments show a remarkable variety of rims, some of which are heavily moulded in angular shapes, a Protogeometric characteristic[2] which is elsewhere confined to kraters. It is indeed actually possible that these moulded rims come from kraters or krateriskoi, shapes which are indicated by certain tall stems on spreading feet.[3] These stems are significant for another reason, for the horizontal ribs which some of those from the Amyklaion bear are unexampled in any Protogeometric style except that of Thessaly[4]; but direct connection seems to be wholly lacking, and we must not forget the knobbed kylix-stems of certain sub-Mycenean fabrics.[5] And any proposed explanation of these ribbed krater-stems must also account for the horizontal groovings which appear so frequently on Laconian bowls, either to emphasise the rim or to mark off a band of decoration[6]; we may compare the necking grooves on the jug from the Heröon. Here once more Thessaly and Macedonia provide parallels,[7] but yet again the intermediate stages are lacking. These persistent resemblances between the Laconian and North-Greek fabrics may be mere coincidences, but their recurrence is remarkable, and it is doubly unfortunate that analysis of Laconian decoration, instead of deciding the point, only raises fresh problems, as we shall see.

At Sparta itself, by far the most frequent design after horizontal bands, which adorn some sixty per cent. of the decorated sherds, is the concentric circle; it is found on over twenty per cent. of the slipless, as against only about two per cent. of the slipped sherds,[8] thus far outnumbering any other motive; zig-zags and cross-hatched panels, the next most popular designs, are each of them only about one third as common. These concentric circles are always fully-drawn; at least, there are no examples of concentric semi-circles; on the other hand, there are a few cases of full-drawn circles partially obliterated with paint,[9] as in Thessaly.[10] We may note, too, at the Amyklaion (though in the Geometric period) an example of the interlacing concentric circles[11] which, though common in Thessaly and the Ægean islands, are otherwise almost unexampled in the South.[12] Centre-fillings

[1] *BSA* xiii (1906/7) 122, fig. 2*c*, *d*, *g*, *l*, *q*; it must be remembered that this diagram includes Geometric as well as Protogeometric shapes.

[2] *Supra*, p. 12.

[3] *E.g. Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927) 47.

[4] See *supra*, p. 13.

[5] Ithaka: *JHS* 52 (1932) 246; fig. 9.
Cyprus: Myres: *Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection No.* 458.

[6] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927) 47; the possible influence of lathe-turned woodwork must also be taken into account, as in the case of the grooved Corinthian 'powder-boxes' (Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 293).

[7] See *supra*, p. 12, note 2.

[8] *BSA* xxviii, 50; cf. *Artemis Orthia* 60; Myres' statement (*op. cit.* 476) that 'later the concentric circle is frequent' is incorrect.

[9] Sparta Museum, 2944, 2957.

[10] Myres, *op. cit.* 453/4; *BSA* xxxi, 21.

[11] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927), pl. viii.

[12] Cf., *supra*, p. 7.

are rare. It is difficult to determine now how the groups of circles were disposed on the body of the vase, but continuous zones of them seem to have been the usual method.

Of the remaining motives it is less easy to speak; as already mentioned, zigzags (sometimes hatched, as in the Argolid), cross-hatched panels, and bands are the next commonest forms; they are followed by rows of small lozenges, with or without central dot; groups of short vertical strokes, used rather to subdivide the vase surface than as substantive ornament; cross-hatched triangles and lozenges; meander patterns; and chequers, in diminishing order of frequency. The occurrence of the meander warns us that not all the unslipped sherds can be regarded as protogeometric; either the use of slip was subsequent to the emergence of the Geometric style, or, as at the Amyklaion, a certain quantity of slipless pottery continued to be manufactured in the later period.

This fact, however, cannot be used to explain away the overwhelming popularity of the concentric circle in the Spartan protogeometric style, which is thus brought into the closest connection with the various protogeometric styles elsewhere. Unfortunately, the evidence of the Amyklaion, which rests on the firm basis of stratification, is in direct conflict with this connection; for at that site concentric circles, though fairly common in the Geometric period, are rare in Protogeometric, and only occur in the form of small double or triple circles used to fill up small panels between heavy frames of cross-hatching.

In spite of their many resemblances in other ways, the divergence of the two styles on this point, especially when it is remembered that the sites from which they come are only five miles apart, makes it impossible to decide, on the existing evidence, the origin of the Lakonian protogeometric style. It might indeed be suggested that as according to tradition Amyklai remained in the hands of the Achæans until the close of the ninth century,[1] differences of style rather than resemblances are just what we should expect. The tradition, however, which is untrustworthy on other grounds, is not supported by the evidence of the excavations; it is true that no traces of burning or destruction have been detected at the Amyklaion, where occupation seems to have been continuous[2]; but all the same, the Iron Age brings a complete change in pottery and bronze-work alike. Neither in shapes nor in decoration does the protogeometric pottery of the Amyklaion show the slightest dependence on Mycenean art; and the few bronzes which can be definitely associated with the earlier stratum are likewise of non-Mycenean type[3]; with the possible exception of the actual cult of Hyakinthos there is no Mycenean survival at the Amyklaion, and the account of Pausanias is accordingly to be rejected, though it is of course conceivable that Amyklai, though Dorian in culture, was politically independent of Sparta in the ninth century; although they seem to have overrun the whole country at the first onset (if we may judge from the discovery of regular Lakonian protogeometric or geometric pottery at the Hyperteleatic sanctuary[4]) the invaders may have split up

[1] Paus. III, ii, 6. But Pind. Pyth. I, 65/6 mentions the capture of Amyklai in juxtaposition with the original invasion of the Dorians: ἔσχον (*sc.* Δωριεῖς) δ' Ἀμύκλας ὄλβιοι, / Πινδόθεν ὁρνύμενοι.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927), 12.

[3] *Ath. Mitt.* 52 (1927) 35; the raised rib on the rolled bronze strips bears witness to the influence of Danubian technique, transmitted through Macedonia and Thessaly. See *BSA* xxxi, 34/5, nos. 9, 10.

[4] Sherds in the Sparta Museum.

into a number of separate and independent communities; so in the fifth century Mycenae and Tiryns could be independent of Argos without being Achæan.

The evidence of Lakonia, which should be decisive, is therefore proved to be inconclusive; it is true that Mycenean Sparta is burnt, the Dorian city rises in its place, and a totally new style of pottery makes its appearance. But the Lakonian fabric has little resemblance to other protogeometric styles, and the frequent and early use of concentric circles at Sparta is contradicted by the Amyklaion evidence. We cannot, therefore, conclude that the Lakonian series commences with protogeometric and develops into geometric in the same way as do the neighbouring styles. And in the absence of general similarity with the products of its neighbours, consideration of individual characteristics, though pointing to a North-Greek origin for the Lakonian culture, cannot be held decisive, especially as the actual stages in the transmission of these characteristics from North to South are not demonstrable.

I cannot, I fear, hope to add anything of value to the extensive literature which has grown up around the old problem of the introduction of iron-working into Greek lands.[1] There is a widespread opinion that this was a gradual process, resulting in the transitional stage reflected in the Homeric poems, and such a view has been fostered by the prevailing confusion of the sub-Mycenean and protogeometric styles. So far as concerns peninsular Greece this is not confirmed by the archæological evidence. When the distinction between sub-Mycenean and protogeometric is correctly enforced it becomes at once apparent that the introduction of iron coincides repeatedly with the appearance of protogeometric pottery. During the sub-Mycenean period iron was still unknown; with one exception, I know of no case where iron has been found in association with sub-Mycenean pottery on the Greek mainland; the vases from the Salamis cemetery were unaccompanied by iron, and Evans's attribution of them to 'the earliest Iron Age'[2] is misleading. The exception to which I refer is Tomb C at Theotóku;[3] this was a cist of stone slabs like Tombs A and B; it contained a child's skeleton, a bronze fibula with simple semi-circular bow, a bronze ring, an iron ring,[4] and a small jug which, as has been noted above, is a sub-Mycenean import into Thessaly. Unfortunately the metal objects are insufficient to determine the relation of this tomb to its neighbours; the bronze fibula and ring can be paralleled in the other graves, but are of too simple a type to prove that all three graves are contemporary; if this could be shown the result would be of the greatest importance, for it would demonstrate beyond the possibility of controversion that the protogeometric style originated in North Greece. For this, however, the similarities between the graves are not sufficiently convincing; and, in any case, it appears to me unlikely on other grounds that the vases from A and B can be as ancient as the jug from C. Nevertheless, the association of iron objects with a sub-Mycenean vase is sufficiently valuable in itself, for it justifies us in concluding that the Thessalians acquired the use of that metal before it was known in the South. This is confirmed by the occurrence of iron slag at Vardaróftsa[5] in a layer

[1] The most recent discussion is in Myres, *op. cit.* 433/443.

[2] Evans, *The Palace of Minos* ii 136.

[3] Wace & Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, figs. 146*f*, 147*b*, *c*.

[4] An iron pin according to *BSA* xiii (1906/7) 326.

[5] *BSA* xxviii, 197.

datable to *circa* 1600 B.C., and by the number of iron implements and ornaments in the Marmáriani tholoi; these latter date from a time when Thessaly was cut off from the South, hence knowledge of iron-working could not have been acquired from that source; nor could it have been acquired thence previous to the break-down of communications, for at that time, as we have seen, the South was still ignorant of the art. Yet at Marmáriani the occurrence of iron in the form of rings, long pins, and massive spectacle-fibulæ shows that it was already available, and in large quantities.

We have now to see how and when the precious secret was communicated to the South. The protogeometric cist-graves of Hálos were devoid of metal, with the exception of a bronze pin in Tomb 6, and the pyres are too late to be of any value here. No sufficiently definite evidence is yet available for Central Greece, but at Athens we again meet iron accompanied by protogeometric pottery,[1] though in the purely sub-Mycenean graves it is still conspicuous by its absence.[2] In Argolis the position is the same, iron being unknown in the 'Granary-style' deposit at Mycenae and in the latest interments in the Kalkáni cemetery, whereas at Tiryns[3] iron objects are found in the following protogeometric tombs: 2 (iron pin with engraved ivory handle); 4 (uncertain traces of iron fibula); 7 (iron pin with bronze knob); 10 (iron cone, probably from a pin; as nothing else was found in this grave its ascription to the protogeometric period is doubtful). At Sparta, though much iron was found, especially in the form of the famous 'spits,' nothing has been published to show how far back the industry can be traced; slag has been found,[4] proving that iron was worked on the site, but not, unfortunately, in a dateable context. Finally, in Tomb 2 at Tenos[5] two iron knives were found with protogeometric pottery and bronze pins of a type common in the sub-Mycenean and protogeometric periods.

5. The Islands

A word of apology is needed for the deficiencies of this section, with which our survey of the archæology of the Early Iron Age must close. After much consideration I determined to omit any account of Crete during this period; the questions involved are so intricate, and so different to those on the mainland, that I did not feel competent to make any addition to the scientific study which others better qualified have devoted to the long-neglected treasures of the post-Minoan Age.[6] Cyprus is likewise passed over, for it developed no protogeometric style of its own, though protogeometric vases of Ægean make occasionally reached

[1] Two swords and a knife of iron, and a bronze spear-head were found in the graves below the Acropolis, *Ath. Mitt.* 21 (1896) 106; 22 (1897) 478. Cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1898, 313. Fibulæ and stick-pins of iron in a protogeometric amphora from the Agora: *Illustrated London News*, June 25th, 1932, 1060 and fig. 13.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* 51 (1926) 136/9, Beilagen VI-VII.

[3] *Tiryns* i, 128/9.

[4] *BSA* xxvi (1923/5) 245; Davies, *Man*, 1931, no. 6 appears to be unaware of this reference.

[5] *Annuario* viii-ix (1925/6) 215, 216; fig. 15.

[6] *Viz. BSA* xxix (1927/8) 224/298 (Payne); *Annuario* x-xii (1927-9) (Levi); *BSA* xxxi 56/114 Hartley).

the island.[1] These limitations leave us with an area of fairly homogeneous culture, the development of which can be discussed generally.

The history of the Ægean islands has been an uneven one, periods of great prosperity alternating with periods of equally great depression, frequently resulting in their more or less complete depopulation, in modern[2] as well as in ancient times. The Early Bronze Age was one of these prosperous periods, but the rest of the Bronze Age seems to have been one of depression, which is reflected in the silence of the Homeric Catalogue. The one exception was Melos which grew wealthy on its obsidian monopoly. The Third Late Helladic period was one of general expansion, and most of the islands were reoccupied, though the meagre remains do not indicate a flourishing condition; and though Homer passes them over, nearly every island had some legend or group of legends reaching back to the Heroic Age. The scanty traces of the Mycenean occupation hardly permit us to conclude how and when it came to an end, but the identification of a sub-Mycenean style, closely resembling the 'Granary style' of Mycenae, at Melos, suggests that events took much the same course here as on the mainland; sub-Mycenean sherds have also come to light on Paros.[3] On Rhodes there is undoubtedly much sub-Mycenean, but it is not always easy to distinguish it from the local Mycenean styles, while the large chamber-tombs with their successive interments, in which alone such pottery has been discovered, do not provide the conditions for precise classification.

Nevertheless, throughout the islands—and here they differ from Crete—Mycenean culture suffers the same sudden and complete extinction which it does on the mainland; the Early Iron-Age pottery, as far as it is known, reveals no traces of Mycenean survival. The existence of a variety of insular protogeometric styles, corresponding to those of continental Greece, though ignored by M. Dugas in his monograph on Cycladic pottery, is proved by finds of such fabrics on Lesbos, Lemnos, Skyros, Andros, Tenos, Rheneia, Delos, Syros (?), Melos, Paros, Ios, Thera, Samos, Cos and Rhodes.[4] Uniformity of style over such a large

[1] Myres, *op. cit.* 438, 450, 479 and note 153. Cf. *supra*, p. 7, note 3.

[2] Hasluck, *BSA* xvii (1910/11), 151/181. [3] For both these sites see *supra*, p. 24.

[4] The following list may prove useful, though it does not pretend to be exhaustive; of course it is not suggested that the vases were necessarily made where they were found.

Lesbos: *BSA* xxxii 57, fig. 9.

Lemnos: *JdI* xv 52 fig. 110; also protogeometric pottery from the Italian excavations there.

Skyros: *BSA* xi 79; Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1918, Παράρτ. p. 43 fig. 11.

Andros: Andros Museum, nos. 45, 145-7, 150, 152; some of these vases are reproduced in bad photographs by Th. Sauciuc, *Andros* (Sonderschriften d. Öst. arch. Inst. viii) p. 47 figs. 58, 59.

Tenos: *Musée Belge* 1907, 42; Albizzati, *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano* nos. 1-5; *Annuario* viii-ix 203/234.

Rheneia: Mykonos Museum, unpublished; *BCH* xxxv 360.

Delos: *BCH* xxxv 355/6; *Délos* X: *Vases de l'Heraion* nos. 665-8.

Syros (?): *Ath. Mitth.* xxii 245 fig. 16.

Melos: *Tiryns* i 154 fig. 18.

Paros: *Ath.Mitth.* xlii 73/85; also sherds now in the British School at Athens.

Ios: Wace & Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* 216.

Thera: *Thera* ii 30 fig. 81; 57 fig. 193; 61 fig. 212.
Ath.Mitth. xxviii Beil. xxii 2, 5, 6 and p. 170 fig. 49, Beil. xxv 1, xxxii 1.

Samos: *Ath.Mitth.* liv Beilage iv. Cos: *Annuario* viii-ix 266/7, 272.

Rhodes: *JdI* i 135/7 (Kamiros); *Lindos: Fouilles de l'Acropole* nos. 821-844.

A jug in the Eleusis Museum (*JdI* xv 52 fig. 108) has the provenience Amorgos pencilled upon it, but it seems identical in fabric and design with other protogeometric vases from the Eleusis cemetery.

area is hardly to be expected, and until further evidence is available there is no value in tentative subdivisions. In its general characteristics the protogeometric style of the islands shows a fairly close resemblance to that of Attica and Argolis; jugs with trefoil or circular lip, skyphoi with offset rim, deep bowls, either on a ring-base or a conical foot, one-handled cups with flat base, amphoræ with neck-handles, or with horizontal handles on the body, are the chief shapes which the insular style shares with that of the mainland, and no doubt others will subsequently be brought to light. Strong resemblance is also found in ornamentation: concentric circles and semi-circles, with or without a variety of centre fillings, cross-hatched triangles and panels, arrangements of horizontal bands and zig-zags all reappear in the island schools of design with little apparent modification. But in spite of these similarities, there are certain features of the island style which make us hesitate to ascribe its origin unreservedly to the mainland. It will be recollected that one of the arguments put forward earlier in this paper[1] against the theory that the concentric-circle style of Macedonia was borrowed from the South, was the distribution of a peculiar type of skyphos, ornamented with groups of pendant semi-circles hanging from the rim; and it was then pointed out that this type, while much in vogue in Macedonia, Thessaly, and the Ægean islands, was almost totally unknown in the southern half of the Greek peninsula. Closely allied with this variety of skyphos is a form of rather squat jar with vertical shoulder handles. These two types sever the islands from southern Greece and attach them closely to the North.[2]

Nor are these isolated points; for when the full story is known, the island potters may well be shown to have taken a leading part in the development of the grandest protogeometric type, the stemmed krater. Its history in Thessaly has already been touched on, and the suggestion put forward that the type is essentially a survival of the stemmed Minyan goblet, transmuted by Mycenean influence.[3] This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that an exactly parallel development seems to have taken place on the other side of the Ægean, for at Antissa in Lesbos there was recovered a complete stemmed krater in the local 'grey-ware' identical in shape with the Thessalian examples.[4]

Now in Southern Greece the earliest stemmed kraters are of geometric style, and not very early at that; yet in Rhodes the shape is found in the protogeometric period, and some of these Rhodian examples are distinguished by the same grooves on the stem which we have noted in the Thessalian kraters. It is thus indisputable that some cultural connection existed between Thessaly and Rhodes; and its origin presents a problem of the first importance. Is it possible both were drawing from some common source, such as Euboia, the early pottery of which is unknown? It must be remembered, however, that the Marmáriani kraters, which, though lacking the grooves on the stem, are nevertheless of the same type, bear all the marks of a homogeneous local style, unaffected by, and indeed out of touch with, overseas fashions.

[1] *Supra*, p. 7.

[2] For a minor instance of this connexion between the Cyclades and Thessaly cf. *BSA* xxxi, 29, note 3.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 12/13.

[4] *BSA* xxxi, 170; fig. 3.

The only satisfactory solution seems to be to regard the island style as in the main derived from Thessaly; this need not conflict with the prevailing idea that the insular culture was derived from the mainland, for a little later, during the Geometric period, powerful mainland influence is manifest, not only in the island fabrics themselves, but in the tangible form of imported pottery.

The actual development of the protogeometric and geometric styles of the Aegean Islands cannot be touched upon here, and indeed the materials are at present quite inadequate for any such discussion. The wide distribution of protogeometric pottery in the Islands has been sufficiently emphasised; but it must be borne in mind that in the Cycladic industry there is a pronounced overlap of successive styles, and there is good reason to think that in a number of the Island-schools pottery which in style is still in the protogeometric stage continued to be manufactured down to the eighth or even seventh century B.C. The necropolis of Thera contained no purely protogeometric burials, but isolated protogeometric vases are nevertheless found there in association with those of the Geometric and even later periods; an instructive example is the protogeometric stemmed bowl *Thera* ii, p. 30, fig. 81, inside which was found a conical oinochoe which must date from about the seventh century, while the Heraion deposit on Delos included fragments of Parian protogeometric skyphoi which cannot be much, if at all earlier; and on Paros itself I have found protogeometric sherds at the Delion, where the offerings, according to the excavators, begin with 'reifgeometrisch.' In Rhodes too, protogeometric and geometric vases occur in the same tombs.

These instances also shew that the mixture of styles is not simply the result of different schools progressing at different rates, for both Rhodes and Paros developed mature geometric styles of their own; the truth seems to be that certain types became stereotyped at an early date, and continued to be painted with the old concentric-circle designs long after the emergence of geometric decoration. Of this antiquarian taste the favourite example seems to have been the shallow skyphos with groups of pendent concentric semi-circles which has been frequently referred to above; this line is also taken by Buschor,[1] who attributes the score of examples of this type from the κάθαρσις on Rheneia to seventh century potters of Tenos. Here, if Buschor is right, we have a good example of overlapping styles, for that Tenos developed a regular geometric fabric is proved by a group of such vases in the Tenos museum (*Annuario* viii-ix 227-233, figs. 30-36), and by others of similar type recognisable as imports in the Rheneia κάθαρσις itself. It is clear, then, that in the Islands the evidence of 'protogeometric' pottery must be used with caution; but happily there is convincing proof that a true, purely protogeometric phase preceded the appearance of geometric pottery in several centres at least. This is clearly shewn by three separate groups of protogeometric vases from graves on Tenos (see above p. 37) which are entirely free from geometric characteristics, and which are accompanied by pins and fibulæ of very early types; I understand that graves with similar contents have been brought to light by the most recent excavations on Rheneia. Furthermore, the excavations at Lindos have laid bare an unmixed protogeometric deposit, including part of a contemporary house.

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* 54, 159.

In view of the tenacity with which other Islands clung to the protogeometric style, it is extremely probable that they too had formerly shared in this primitive, genuinely protogeometric phase. Hence the importance of determining the ultimate origin of the Island protogeometric style, whether in South Greece or in Thessaly; for the solution will simultaneously reveal the identity of the earliest Greek colonists of the Aegean Islands.

PART II.

TRADITION

1. The Myso-Teukrian Invasion of Macedonia.

One of the hardest tasks of the archæologist is the scientific unravelling of the glittering web of fact and fable which the Greeks wove around their past. Tradition, myth, and legend are essentially individualistic in outlook: archæology, on the other hand, is the apotheosis of the impersonal—'the nameless τις of the Homeric poems,' as a recent writer has expressed it.[1] Hard as it is at any time to reconcile these two fundamentally different standpoints, it becomes doubly so in an age when not only are written records wholly lacking, but even a great mass of oral tradition has disappeared in the disturbances of wars, race-wanderings, and colonising expeditions.[2] Still, the attempt must be made; and the present investigation is of peculiar importance, since it was these critical centuries which saw the genesis of Greek civilisation; our task is, in fact, to re-examine the last phase of the age-old problem, 'Who were the Greeks?'

No traces in ancient literature led us to expect the remarkable proofs of close contact between Macedonia and Mycenean Greece which recent excavations have provided. Homer (B 848/850) knows only of the bare existence of the Paiones,[3] with their city Amydon,[4] and the river, the wide-flowing Axios. The only other Homeric passage directly relating to Macedonia is Ξ 225/230, where Hera, in her flight from Olympos to Troy, traverses Pieria and Emathia, and skirts the 'snowy hills' of Thrace on her way to Athos and Lemnos. But the 'Thracian mountains,' the modern Kruca Balkan, are visible from the shores of the Thermaic gulf, so that their mention does not prove any acquaintance with the interior. Evidence in later authors is meagre and unconvincing; according to a tradition which has the authority of Aristotle, the Bottiaians were Cretan colonists,[5] but it would be fanciful to connect this story with the period of Mycenean domination.[6] Here too may be mentioned the tales of Herakles' visit to Torone, and of his son Olynthos, founder of the city of that name in Chalcidice. These cannot, of course, be older than establishment of the colonies themselves in the seventh century B.C. In short, after Homer no reliable reminiscence of Bronze-Age Macedonia can be discovered. It may be that a period of peaceful and uneventful commerce can be readily forgotten once the

[1] Blegen, *Korakou* 126.

[2] Cf. Paus. iii. 13, 2 for the effects of the Messenian wars on local folk-memory.

[3] For the part played by the Paeonians in the Iliad, see G. H. Macurdy, *Troy and Paeonia* 83/86.

[4] The identification with the modern Amátovo (Casson, *op. cit.* 46) is accepted by Geyer, *RE* art. Makedonia, col. 657.

[5] Plutarch, *Thes.* 16; Halliday, *Plutarch's Greek Questions*, nos. 26 (quoting Aristotle's Βοττιαίων Πολιτεία), 35, pp. 149-152. Strabo vii, fr. 11.

[6] See, however, Myres, *op. cit.* 318.

links are broken; but the sudden and disastrous invasion which, as we have seen, ended Mycenean supremacy in Macedonia is far more the kind of event which impresses itself upon folk-memory, and it is to a half-forgotten tradition of this very invasion that we now turn.

Herodotus, in enumerating large-scale invasions of past ages in comparison with that of Xerxes (VII, 20), mentions τὸν (sc. στόλον) Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον, οἳ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τούς τε Θρήικας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἥλασαν. Thus we hear of a great invasion of Macedonia just about the time when archæology tells us that such an invasion actually took place. Even the extent of the area which according to Herodotus was overrun—the Peneios as its southern boundary—is in startlingly close agreement with the facts, for we know that no similar disaster overtook Thessaly. Does the passage of Herodotus really embody a genuine historical tradition of the Danubian invasion of Macedonia? Before we can answer this question there are several points which call for further discussion.[1]

In the first place, Herodotus speaks of the invaders as coming from Asia Minor, whereas archæology points to the Danubian region as their country of origin. Herodotus' reasons become clear when we turn to the other passages in which he refers to the origin of the Mysoi and Teukroi. His conception of the Asiatic Mysoi as autochthonous is clearly implied in his account of the eponymous brothers Mysos, Kar, and Lydos, and the three nations' common worship of Zeus Karios at Mylasa.[2] Clearer still is his description of the Mysoi as Λυδῶν ἄποικοι.[3] References to the Trojans of the Heroic Age under the name of Τευκροί show that he entertained similar opinions with regard to them also. Thus consistency, if nothing else, demanded the Mysian and Teukrian invaders of Macedonia should be brought from Asia Minor.

We have next to consider these statements of Herodotus in the light of our most ancient authority, Homer. In the Homeric poems the Teukroi are not mentioned, nor does their eponym Teukros appear in the royal genealogy of Troy as recited by Æneas,[4] though later chroniclers have inserted his name there. Homer's geography, too, leaves no room for the Teukroi in the interior of the Troad where they were settled in historic times,[5] and the first mention of them there dates from the seventh century.[6] A pre-Homeric invasion of Macedonia by Teukroi *from Asia* is therefore an anachronism.

Since the dawn of Homeric criticism, the location of the Mysoi of the Iliad has been a familiar ἀπορία. As Trojan allies they appear in the Catalogue, and as will be seen some weight must be attached to their position in the roll of tribal

[1]The following account is based upon E. Thrämer's masterly exposition of the problems surrounding the origin and history of the Mysoi in his *Pergamos* (Leipzig, 1888), 274/328. The best summary in English is Macan's admirable note on Hdt. vii, 20.

[2]I, 171.

[3]VII, 74.

[4]Υ 215/241.

[5]Herodotus V, 122; VII, 43.

[6]Strabo XIII, i, 48; Leaf *Strabo on the Troad* 245/6; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* 189/191.

contingents. But apart from a single passage, Homer gives us no direct information regarding their whereabouts: 'the Mysians might be in the Moon' is Mr. Allen's comment.[1] The *locus classicus* for the situation of the Mysoi is N 1/7, which must be quoted in full. Zeus has been seated on Ida since Λ 183, directing the battle in the plain below:

> Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶάς τε καὶ Ἕκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσε
> τοὺς μὲν ἔα παρὰ τῇσι πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ ὀιζύν,
> νωλεμέως, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινώ
> νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
> Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἱππημολγῶν
> γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.
> ἐς Τροίην δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἔτι τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινώ.

It was the great scholar Poseidonios[2] who by detailed criticism of this passage clearly demonstrated that the Mysoi here mentioned must be sought in Europe. More than this, he identified these European Mysoi with the Moesoi of his own day, who later gave their name to the Roman province of Moesia. In the enthusiasm of his discovery, Poseidonios even attempted to restore the form Μοισῶν for Μυσῶν in N 5,[3] though not, it seems, in other Homeric passages where the Mysoi are mentioned, for that he admitted the simultaneous existence of Asiatic Mysoi is clear from Strabo's discussion of the question (VII, iii, 2):

> Οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς Γέτας Θρᾷκας ὑπελάμβανον. ᾤκουν δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ Ἴστρου καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Μυσοί, Θρᾷκες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὓς νῦν Μοισοὺς καλοῦσιν. ἀφ' ὧν ὡρμήθησαν καὶ οἱ νῦν μεταξὺ Λυδῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Τρώων οἰκοῦντες Μυσοί. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσί, Θρᾳκιόν τι ἔθνος, κάθαπερ κἀι Μυγδόνες καὶ Βέβρυκες καὶ Μαιδοβιθυνοὶ καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Θῦνοι, δοκῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μαριανδυνούς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τελέως ἐκλελοίπασι πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ Μυσοὶ συνέμειναν, καὶ Ὅμηρον δ' ὀρθῶς εἰκάζειν μοι δοκεῖ Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μυσοὺς κατονομάζειν (λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ) ὅταν φῇ
>
> αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινώ
> νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
> Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων,
>
> ἐπεὶ εἴ γε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Μυσοὺς δέχοιτό τις, ἀπηρτημένος ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος.. τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Τρώων τρέψαντα τὴν ὅρασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Θρᾳκῶν γῆν συγκαταλέγειν ταύτῃ τὴν τῶν Μυσῶν, τῶν οὐ νόσφιν ὄντων, ἀλλ' ὁμόρων τῇ Τρωάδι καὶ ὄπισθεν αὐτῆς ἱδρυμένων καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν, διεργομένων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Θρᾴκης 'πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ', συγχέοντος ἂν εἴη τὰς ἠπειρους καὶ ἅμα τῆς φράσεως οὐκ ἀκούοντος. τὸ γὰρ 'πάλιν τρέπεν' μάλιστα μέν ἐστιν εἰς

[1] *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* 161.

[2] The identification was actually anticipated by his elder contemporary Artemidoros of Ephesus (*fl.* 130 B.C.): Μυσία τε ὁμοίως ἥ τε Ὀλυμπηνὴ συνεχὴς οὖσα τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἐπικτήτῳ, ἣν ἔφη Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀπὸ τῶν πέραν τοῦ Ἴστρου Μυσῶν ἀπῳκίσθαι, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν Κάϊκον καὶ τὴν Περγαμηνὴν μέχρι Τευθρανίας (Strabo XII viii 1).

[3] Strabo VII, iii, 3.

τοὐπίσω. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Τρώων μεταφέρων τὴν ὄψιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἢ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκ πλαγίων ὄντας προσωτέρω μὲν μεταφέρει, εἰς τοὐπίσω δ' οὐ πανύ.[1]

Modern scholarship[2] has accepted Poseidonios's conclusions, though Thrämer[3] eventually decided against him on the grounds (1) that no ancient writer earlier than Artemidorus mentions the Moesoi, who are therefore to be regarded as late arrivals in the Danubian region; and (2) that the equation Μυσοί = Μοισοί is philologically impossible. Neither reason is convincing; in the first place, the argument *a silentio* is of little weight; even the Dardanoi, the immediate neighbours of the Paiones on the North, do not make their first appearance in history until 284 B.C.,[4] although if, as is generally agreed, they are racially connected with the Trojan Dardanoi, they must have been settled in the Balkans for nearly a thousand years before that date. As to Thrämer's second point, the change from υ to οι, instead of invalidating the equation, actually strengthens it; for exactly the same variation occurs, as Kretschmer has shown,[5] in transcriptions of Thracian names ; sometimes the two forms are found side by side, as Βυρεβίστας (VII, iii, 5; XVI, ii, 39) and Βοιρεβίστας (VII, iii, 11, 12) in Strabo himself. An example from Hekataios (Λοιδίας for Λυδίας)[6] shows that the phenomenon is not to be attributed to Greek itacism, but rather to different attempts to reproduce a non-Greek vowel, or possibly to some variation in the actual Thracian pronunciation; the latter solution had already occurred to Strabo.[7]

Homer, then, certainly knew of European Mysoi living in the far North beyond Thrace; it is, however, very doubtful whether the Mysian ἐπίκουροι mentioned elsewhere in the poems came from that region; the sequence of names in the 'Trojan Catalogue,' Παφλάγονες, Ἀλιζῶνες, Μυσοί, Φρύγες, Μῆονες, strongly favours a situation in Asia Minor,[8] though in Bithynia rather than in the historic Mysia. That this was the actual situation of the Asiatic Mysoi in earlier times is

[1]The latter part of the paragraph (καὶ ἅμα . . . οὐ πανύ.) is an unsolved *crux*; Thrämer, *op. cit.* 327 clearly regarded it as hopeless. The meaning of the words as they stand is simple enough: μάλιστα = 'properly speaking,' introducing a definition, and the writer is plainly insisting on the strict meaning of πάλιν τρέπειν as a complete 'about-face'; unfortunately this argument, though it very effectually refutes Poseidonios's opponents, who held that the Mysoi referred to were the Asiatic nation, none the less effectually demolishes Poseidonios's own theory, to which Strabo has just professed his adherence; I find it impossible to believe that these words were written by Strabo himself, and the way in which they are loosely tacked on (the sentence might very well have concluded with συγχέοντος ἂν εἴη τας ἠπειρούς.) suggests that they may be an addition by some over-eager commentator who imagined he had found an important argument which Strabo had overlooked, and was anxious to communicate his discovery to others. Madvig's correction ἢ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν for the MSS. μὴ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν seems fairly certain, and even if it were not it would not be any easier to reconcile the passage as a whole with Strabo's own position as stated earlier on. Actually, of course, the attempted restriction of πάλιν τρέπειν to a turn of 180° is quite unjustifiable, and the real meaning is merely 'turned *away*'; see the lexica in παλιντρόπος. The Loeb editor appears to be unaware of any difficulty at this point.

[2] *E.g.* Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums* I,2², 692; II,1², 568; *CAH* ii, 487.

[3] *Op. cit.* 323/4.

[4] Polyainos IV, xii, 3.

[5] *Op. cit.* 226/8, 391, note 1. [6]Frag. 145 Jacoby. [7]VII, iii, 4.

[8] The Mysians' gift of mules to Priam (Ω 278) likewise implies a situation not very far removed from Troy.

confirmed by numerous passages set out by Thrämer[2]; most striking of these is the epithet 'Mysian' Bosporus, for this indicates the route by which they originally entered Asia. Thrämer has also explained why they were forced to migrate further into Asia; hard on their heels came the Bithynoi, and this pressure from the rear, combined with Greek encroachment on the shores of Propontis, drove them to seek new homes further west, in Mysia Abrettene and the Kaïkos valley, where they usurp the place of the prehistoric inhabitants, the Teuthrantes, in the myth of Telephos.[2]

We can now summarise our results: the Mysoi crossed over into Asia before the foundation of the earliest Greek colonies in that region, whence arose the belief, in which Herodotus shared, that they were aboriginal there. But their former home on the Danube was still remembered in the days of Homer; and Herodotus's account of their invasion, in spite of its erroneous premisses, enables us to reconstruct their migration; it seems that the main body of the Mysoi divided into two streams, the one turning westwards into Macedonia and Northern Epirus, while the other pursued its way eastward through Thrace and over Bosporus into Asia. Herodotus, we can now see, has exactly reversed[3] the direction taken by the migrating tribes, whose true course, already indicated by closer consideration of the literary evidence, has now been so strikingly confirmed by archæology.

Herodotus's confusion on this point is sufficiently illustrated by his statement[4] that the Bithynians 'had once lived about the Strymon, but had been driven into Asia by the invasion of the Mysoi and Teukroi.' How 'Mysoi and Teukroi' pressing, as Herodotus thought, westwards across Bosporus into Thrace and Macedonia could have driven 'Strymonians' in exactly the contrary direction, it is not easy to imagine; actually, as we have seen, it was the Bithynians themselves who were the aggressors, and who expelled the earlier Mysian settlers from the land which was known in historic times as Bithynia.

We may conclude our survey of the Mysoi with a quotation from Hellanikos which confirms their residence in Macedonia: Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μακεδονία : Μακεδονία ἡ χωρὰ . . . ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰόλου, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος Ἱερειῶν πρώτῃ τῶν ἐν Ἄργει. 'καὶ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰόλου οὕτω νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες'.[5]

We must now turn to the Teukroi, our knowledge of whom is in a much less satisfactory state; apart from the two passages which have already been quoted referring to the Myso-Teukrian invasion, there is one more which appears to corroborate Herodotus's story of their arrival in Macedonia; this is the picturesque tale of the Paionian maiden and King Darius; on his enquiring of her brothers whence they came, the Great King was informed, says Herodotus, that εἴη ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη, ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλληςπόντου, εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι (Hdt. v. 13.) Obviously this

[1] *Op. cit.* 277.

[2] See the elaborate discussion of this question in Thrämer, *op. cit.* 274/286.

[3] Kretschmer, *op. cit.* 173.

[4] vii 75.

[5] So too the Schol. Vict. on N 5: Μυσῶν. τινὲς τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. The complicated theory by which Thrämer has attempted to explain the presence of Mysoi in Macedonia is quite unconvincing.

must be read in conjunction with the accounts of the Myso-Teukrian invasion, and subjected to the same criticism[1]; the ethnographical information appears to be wholly inacceptable; in the first place, the evidence connecting the Paiones with Asia is weak, unless Arkwright's doubtful identification of them with the Maiones[2] is right, and even then the movement must have been from Europe into Asia, and not *vice-versa*. As will be shown later, there is good reason to believe that the Paiones, so far from being intruders, represent the original Bronze-Age population of Macedonia. Secondly, the belief that the Teukroi of Macedonia could be immigrants from Troy has been shown to be impossible chronologically; and as the whole story told to Darius had a political motive,[3] we can hardly regard it as confirming the existence of a Teukrian enclave in Macedonia. Our only evidence for Teukroi in Europe at all is thus Herodotus's repeated assertions that they participated in the Mysian invasion of Thrace and Macedonia.

If Herodotus is reliable here, the Teukroi must also be of Danubian origin; in that case their appearance as newcomers in the Troad suggests that they too may have split into a Western (Macedonian) branch and an Eastern (Asiatic) one; certainly the culture of the seventh city of Troy is strongly Danubian in character.[4]

Nevertheless, most of our information regarding the Teukroi represents them as Asiatic by birth or residence; there are Teukroi in the Troad, in Cyprus, and in Cilicia, while the Gergithes, the historic representatives of the Troadic Teukroi, have been recognised in the Gerginoi of Cyprus, and, intermediately, at Miletus.[5] In recent times further complications have been introduced by the widely accepted identification of these Asiatic Teukroi with the *Zakaray* of Egyptian records,[6] a piratical folk then settled in Palestine, whose earliest appearance is in company with the land-raiders in 1196. The whole subject needs further investigation, and is in any case beyond the scope of this essay; the balance of evidence seems to favour strongly their Asiastic origin; but it must not be forgotten that the Teukroi make their earliest appearance, in the shape of their eponym, the Achæan Teucer, on the European side.

The problem of the Teukroi in Macedonia must therefore remain undecided for the present; but the statements of Herodotus, whether right or wrong, stood, and their effects can be recognised in later literature. Lykophron[7] worked up the story into a fabulous 'Trojan invasion' of Macedonia, in which he was no doubt

[1]Kretschmer, *op. cit.* 185.

[2]*JHS* 38 (1918), 62. Cf. Kazarow, Die ethnographische Stellung der Pāonen, *Klio* xviii 20/26.

[3]So Pouqueville (*Voyage en Morée* iii 21) permitted himself to be flattered by Albanians who assured him that their race was akin to his own!

[4]Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 296/303; Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*, 392.

[5]Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 189/191.

[6]The identification 'unimpressive,' *CAH* ii, 491; the place-name *Zdkro* in Eastern Crete has also been cited in support of the fantastic story rejected by Strabo XIII i 48, that the Teukroi of the Troad were colonists from Crete. For these and other identifications of the 'Peoples of the Sea,' cf. Hall, *Receuil Champollion* 297/329.

[7]*Alexandra* 1341/5.

influenced by the recurrence of Dardanoi North of Macedonia, and of the place-names Troia and Ilion in Epirus:

πάππος δὲ Θρήκης οὐμὸς ἀστώσας πλάκας
χώραν τ' Ἐορδῶν καὶ Γαλαδραίων πέδον,
ὅρους ἔπηξεν ἀμφὶ Πηνειοῦ ποτοῖς,
στερρὰν τραχήλῳ ζεῦγλαν ἀμφιθεὶς πέδαις
ἀλκῇ νέανδρος, ἐκπρεπέστατος γένους.

The allusions are thus explained in the scholia :

πάππος δὲ ὁ Ἴλος. τινὲς δὲ τὸν Λαομέδοντά φασιν. ὁ γὰρ Λαομέδων κρατήσας τῶν πόλεων ἃς ὁ Λυκόφρων ἀπαριθμεῖται, ἔκτισε τὴν Τροίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πηνειοῦ. πρῴην γὰρ ἡ Τροία μικρόν τι πολίχνιον ἦν.

For the dating of the Myso-Teukrian invasion of Macedonia Herodotus gives us only doubtful information, for his *terminus ante quem* of the Trojan War may be no more than an inference from his expressed opinion that the Paiones were Teukrian immigrants from the Troad; in the Iliad the Paiones are already in occupation of Macedonia, hence the arrival of their ancestors must considerably antedate the war. But as we have seen Herodotus has in each case reversed the direction of these migrations, and his chronological conclusions, in so far as they are based on these initial misconceptions, are accordingly valueless. Comparison with Homer, it will be seen, suggests a date for the Myso-Teukrian invasion shortly after, rather than before the Trojan War.

The position of the Mysoi in the Trojan Catalogue shows that they had already arrived in Asia, and other references to them are more intelligible if they refer to an Asiatic people. If, then, by the time of the Trojan War the Eastern branch of the migrating Mysoi were across the Bosporus, the advance of their Western kinsmen into Macedonia could not have been long postponed.

Nevertheless it is quite certain that the invasion of Macedonia did not take place until after the Trojan War; on this point the evidence of archæology is decisive, proving that from the time of the Lausitz invasion onwards Macedonia was completely cut off from South Greece; and when the curtain is lifted, in the course of the seventh century B.C., a new people, the Makedones, are already a power in the land; the Hesiodic epic, with its topical reference to the hero Makedon,[1] is the literary complement to Corinthian potsherds in the Macedonian mounds.

But of all these changes there is no trace in the Epic; it must, therefore, be the pre-invasion Macedonia of the Late Bronze Age which forms the basis of the Homeric picture of deep-soiled Paionia in the Axios valley which could afford to send her warriors to fight far away at Troy; the name Emathia probably dates from the same early period, for by the classical age it had been wholly forgotten, and its subsequent revival was a conscious archaism[4]; and the channels

[1] Quoted *infra*, p. 49.

[2] Ὅτι Ἡμαθία ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἡ νῦν Μακεδονία . . . ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Ἡμαθία πρὸς Θαλάσσῃ (Strabo VII, fr. 11); the name was revived by Polybius, and in poetic diction enjoyed an enduring popularity from Virgil to Milton. Whether the hero Emathion (first in Hes. *Theog.* 985) originally had any connection with Emathia is uncertain.

through which Homer acquired his knowledge are indicated by the abundant archæological evidence of a lively commerce with South Greece down to the date of the Lausitz invasion.

The Myso-Teukrian invasion of Macedonia therefore appears to have taken place after, but not long after, the Trojan War; this brings it remarkably close to the date which has been suggested, on purely archæological evidence, for the Lausitz invasion, and further strengthens the proposal made above to identify the two. One remaining point perhaps needs further comment: the scantiness of our information respecting the invasion, and the absence of any trace of its effects in the Macedonia of historic times. Apart from Herodotus, none of the early historians appear to have mentioned the invasion, though the loss of their works makes it difficult to be positive on this point; it can, however, be fairly argued that if the subject had been treated, for instance by Hekataios, of whom a very interesting fragment on the habits of the Paiones is preserved by Athenæus,[1] the passage, or a reference to it, would be found in some later commentator or compiler. Of this difficulty also archæology furnishes a possible explanation; for the intrusive Lausitz culture was so rapidly absorbed that after a disturbed period lasting perhaps a century, it disappears leaving hardly a trace upon the native civilization—an early example of the assimilative power of the Greek race, which in mediæval and modern times has, in the same region, made an equally successful resistance to Slav pressure. It is not, therefore, surprising that no account of the invasion should have been brought back by the South-Greek traders who first visited Macedonia four or five centuries after it had taken place.

2. Ebb and Flow in Thessaly

In Macedonia, the effects of the Lausitz invasion were ephemeral; but further South, its repercussions changed the whole course of Greek history. The invasion, as it is portrayed by Herodotus, placed the Mysoi and Teukroi astride the Balkan peninsula from Ægean to Adriatic; and from the lands they thus overran, two separate bands of refugees entered Greece. In North-Eastern Thessaly the sudden appearance of Macedonian pottery-types bears witness to the arrival of newcomers fleeing from the burnt settlements of the Axios valley. Some of the invaders may actually have accompanied them, as the spectacle-fibulæ and a few sherds of Danubian type found in Thessaly would seem to imply; but as a whole the intruding culture was overwhelmingly Macedonian. The vigorous survival of the Bronze-Age culture, even in the most Northerly parts of Thessaly, shows that the Macedonians came in peace and settled down quietly with the earlier inhabitants, who long retained their own Aiolic speech,[2] their place-names,[3] and their peculiar matt-painted pottery.[4]

[1] X, 447*d*: Ἑκαταῖος . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπης Περιόδῳ Παίονάς φησι πίνειν βρῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ παραβίην ἀπὸ κέγχρου καὶ κόνυζαν. ἀλείφονται δέ φησίν ἐλαίῳ ἀπὸ γάλακτος.

[2] Van der Velde, *Thessalische Dialektgeographie*, 173.

[3] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien* 85.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 11.

Of this influx of Macedonians into Thessaly no certain record seems to have reached the Greek historians. The close connection of Magnesia with Lower Macedonia was a familiar fact as early as the dawn of the sixth century, as is proved by a quotation from the Hesiodic Κατάλογοι Γυναικῶν[1]: Μακεδονία ἡ χωρὰ ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θυίας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητής.

ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Διὶ γείνατο τερπικεραύνῳ
υἷέ δύω, Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ' ἱππιοχάρμην,
οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὄλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον.

This indeed reflects the etymological fact that Μαγνῆτες and Μακεδόνες are cognate forms, though whether this implies that the Magnesians came from Macedonia or the Macedonians from Thessaly, it is not yet agreed[2]; in any case it cannot be held to confirm the archæological evidence. Support of a rather more definite kind is provided by a tradition that the town of Amyros overlooking the Dotian plain in North-East Thessaly had once been inhabited by the Eordoi, a well-known Macedonian tribe whose historic habitat was the region of Mt. Bermion.[3] Unfortunately there is no direct evidence to indicate the date of their sojourn in Thessaly; but we know that in epic literature the Dotian plain is represented as occupied by the Ainianes, who, with the exception of a small remnant, subsequently moved South into the Spercheios valley, where local tradition perpetuated the victory by which they had wrested that territory from the Achaians.[4] It is tempting, therefore, to place the Eordian

[1]Fragment 5; according to later accounts (see references in *RE* and Roscher's *Lexicon*) Magnes and Makedon were sons of Aiolos.

[2]The former, Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 1895, 197; On the other hand, O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen* 258/9 concludes from Herodotus' description of the Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος living in Pindus (I 56, VIII 43) that the Macedonians originated in West Thessaly.

[3]Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄμυρος, = Hekataios frag. 372 Jacoby; πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν . . . ἡ πόλις θηλυκῶς. ἄδηλον δὲ τὸ Ἡσιόδειον Δωτίωι ἐν πεδίωι πολυβότρυος ἀντ' Ἀμύροιο, . . . Εὔπολις δὲ Ἀμύρους αὐτοὺς λέγει, πλησιοχώρους τῆς Μολοττίας. ἐκ τούτου καὶ Ἀμυραῖοι λέγονται. (Ἑκαταῖος) δ' ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις (λέγει) ὅτι οὗτοι ἐκαλοῦντο Ἔορδοί, ὕστερον δὲ Λέλεγες. οἱ αὐτοὶ Κένταυροι καὶ Ἱπποκένταυροι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἀμυρικὴν καλεῖ.

The attribution to Hekataios is, of course, not proved, see Jacoby ad. loc. Cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰωλκός. ἀπὸ Ἰωλκοῦ τοῦ Ἀμύρου, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Ἀμυρικὸν πεδίον Λαρισαίων. Also Fick, *Hattider und Danubier* 24; Abel, *Makedonien vor König Philipp* 63 ff. The Molossian Amyroi are presumably connected with Mount Amyron in Chaonia, cf. *e.g.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δεξαροί. ἔθνος Χαόνων, τοῖς Ἐγχελέαις προσεχεῖς, Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπηι· ὑπὸ Ἄμυρον ὄρος οἰκοῦν.

[4]Enienes coupled with Perrhaiboi on the Northern frontier, B 749; so too the Homeric Hymn to Apollo 216/8: Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο κατῆλθες / Λέκτον ἠμαθοέντα παρέστιχες ἠδ' Ἐνιῆνας (Αἰνιῆνας Allen) καὶ διὰ Περραιβούς· ταχὰ δ' εἰς Ἰαωλκὸν ἵκανες. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Αἰνία. πόλις Περραιβῶν, καὶ Αἰνιᾶνες οἱ οἰκοῦντες καὶ Αἴνιος ποταμὸς αὐτῆς. On the Ainianian migration Strabo IX, v. 22: ἔπειτα τοῦτο (*sc.* migration) καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Περραιβῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰνιάνων συνέβη. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ συνέζευξεν αὐτούς, ὡς πλησίον ἀλλήλων οἰκοῦντας· καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἡ οἴκησις τῶν Αἰνιάνων ἐν τῷ Δωτίῳ γενέσθαι πεδίῳ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ πλησίον τῆς ἄρτι λεχθείσης Περραιβίας καὶ τῆς Ὄσσης καὶ ἔτι τῆς Βοιβηίδος λίμνης ἐν μέσῃ μέν πως τῇ Θετταλίᾳ, λόφοις δὲ ἰδίοις περικλειόμενον· περὶ οὗ Ἡσίοδος οὕτως εἴρηκεν· ἣ οἵη Διδύμους ἱεροὺς ναίουσα κολωνούς / Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ πολυβότρυος ἀντ' Ἀμύροιο / νίψατο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθένος ἁδμής. οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰνιᾶνες οἱ πλείους εἰς τὴν Οἴτην ἐξηλάθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Λαπιθῶν, κάνταῦθα δὲ ἐδυνάστευσαν ἀφελόμενοι τῶν τε Δωριέων τινὰ μέρη καὶ τῶν Μαλιέων μέχρι Ἡρακλείας καὶ Ἐχίνου, τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν ἔμειναν περὶ Κύφον, Περραιβικὸν ὄρος ὁμώνυμον κατοικίαν ἔχον. Stählin *op. cit.* 57, 153, 219, who identifies the Dotian plain with that of Keserlí (also *RE s.v.* Συκύριον). Halliday's commentary on Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 13, 26.

occupation of the Dotian plain in the post-Homeric period, and explain the migration of the Ainianes as the result of their expulsion thence by the Macedonian tribe. The evidence is, however, too scanty and unreliable to support such conclusions, and one may alternatively regard the Ainianes as the vanguard of the Thessalian advance which culminated in the great attacks on Phokis and Boeotia in the sixth century.

Still more doubtful is the possibility of tracing any connection between the entry of Macedonian tribes into North Thessaly and the migration of part of the earlier population to a new Aiolis overseas. The Aiolian migration has been commonly represented, by ancient and modern historians alike, as the direct outcome of the invasion of the Thessaloi and the disturbances caused by the Dorians; and the canonical date for the start of the expedition to Asia[1] makes it roughly contemporary with the Dorian migration. There are, on the other hand, good grounds for regarding the colonisation of Aiolis as a gradual process which began much earlier, during the general expansion of the Late Bronze Age. This view, which is supported by some of the genealogical evidence, is now held to be reinforced by the identification in a Hittite document of the name of Lesbos, which is there represented as a sufferer from Aiolian attacks.

Before leaving the subject of Macedonians in Thessaly there is perhaps one more question which deserves reconsideration, however brief, in the light of the archæological evidence: this is the introduction into Greece of the cult of the Muses.[2] In the Homeric poems they are still confined to Pieria, with the exception of one passage (B 594/5) where their encounter with Thamyris is localised at Dorion[3] (not a very reassuring name) among the mountains of Messenia. But by the eighth century at least the cult must have been established on Helikon; and its transference thither was regarded as an historical fact by Strabo, who attributes it to the 'Thracians.'[4] Now his conclusion has received the corroboration of archæology, by means of which an expansion of Macedonian culture can be traced, not only into Thessaly, but further South in Boeotia and Attica. How this bears upon the vexed question of the 'Thracians'

[1] *E.g.* Penthilos, son of Orestes is named as the leader of the expedition, Strabo XIII i 3, cf. IX, ii, 3, 5; four generations before the Ionian migration, *ibid.*

[2] Cf. G. H. Macurdy, *Troy and Pæonia*, 211/224. For the worship in Macedonia of the Muses and the Nymphs with whom they are so frequently associated, or even identified, see W. Baege, *De Macedonum Sacris*, Diss. Phil. Halensis 1913, 121/8, where the literary evidence is collected; perhaps I may draw attention here to the verses mentioning the Νύμφαι Ὀρεστιάδες (i.e. of Orestis, the region of the Haliakmon) in the tomb of Rameses IV at Thebes (Baillet, *Inscriptions des tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes*, Mém. de. l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or. au Caire, Tome 42, i, No. 319).

[3] In the multilated entry Δώριον in Steph. Byz., Dikaiarchos seems to have connected the name with the Dorians.

[4] IX, ii, 25: τεκμαίροιτ' ἄν τῖς Θρᾷκας εἶναι τοὺς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ταῖς Μούσαις καθιερώσαντας, οἳ καὶ τὴν Πιερίδα καὶ τὸ Λείβηθρον καὶ τὴν Πίμπλειαν ταῖς αὐταῖς θεαῖς ἀνέδειξαν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Πίερες. X, iii, 17: τόν τε Ἑλικῶνα καθιέρωσαν ταῖς Μούσαις Θρᾷκες οἱ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐποικήσαντες, οἵπερ καὶ τὸ τῶν Λειβηθριάδων Νυμφῶν ἄντρον καθιέρωσαν. Paus. IX, 29.

who figure so largely in Greek tradition is too wide a question to be considered here.[1]

To sum up, the literary evidence for the Macedonian wanderers in Thessaly can hardly be said to come up to expectations; Greek tradition is unanimously agreed that it was the invasion of the Thessaloi from Thesprotia which swept away the Homeric states and established the Thessaly of historic times. Our most ancient authority, Herodotus, gives no precise geographical details: ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τήν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται (VII, 176). Later, the starting-point of the expedition is localised at the Thesprotian capital Ephyra, and simultaneously we meet with the assertion that Ephyra was the older name of the Thessalian city Kranon, whose former inhabitants were said to be mentioned by Homer (N 301) under the name of Ephyroi.[2]

There can be no hesitation in rejecting this statement as a clumsy invention designed, no doubt, to gratify the Skopadae. We are therefore thrown back on Herodotus and his vague *Thesprotia* as the provenance of the Thessaloi. In Homer the Thesprotians occupy the same coastal region of Southern Epirus which they retained until their final disappearance from the map of Greece. It is, however, most unlikely that any invaders ever reached Thessaly from the West[3] and in any case, since the Thesprotians continued in uninterrupted possession of the seaboard until much later times, there is no obvious motive for any migration from that region. It is, however, quite unnecessary to limit the meaning of Thesprotia to the boundaries of the country in historical times. There is considerable evidence to show that previously the country had extended much further to the North; Pindar and the tragic poets spoke of Dodona as in Thesprotia, whereas Herodotus already includes it in the Molossian territory.[4] In the Telegoneia,[5] the Thesprotoi are represented in conflict with Bryges of Western Macedonia; and a series of extracts from Stephanus of Byzantium[6] (derived from Hekataios?) confirm their former residence in the far North.

It is now clear that the starting-point of the Thessaloi can be localised in Northern Epirus without doing violence to the evidence of Herodotus; this explanation is not only preferable on geographical grounds, but it enables us to make a very confident conjecture of the reasons which led the Thessaloi to seek new homes further South; the reason was the invasion of the Mysoi and

[1]For a recent discussion see Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* 102/108; the author, while emphasising the 'unexplained residuum,' does not venture to propose a solution. A bolder position is adopted by Treidler *Archiv für Anthropologie* NF. XII, 97 ff. See also Myres, *op. cit.* 475 (quoted *supra*, p. 5).

[2]Strabo IX, v, 23. Pind. Pyth. x, 55. Though Kranon is not mentioned in the Epic, the statement that it was a new foundation by the incoming Thessalians (*RE s.v.* Krannon) is incorrect, since Bronze-Age sherds have been found on the site (*BCH* 46, 518).

[3]Kretschmer, *op. cit.* 258/9; but his notion that the Eastward expansion of Epirote tribes was prevented by the Thessalians whom they themselves had driven over Pindos is surely paradoxical. O. Kern, *Nordgriechische Skizzen* 37/8. The description of the Dorians themselves 'moving up and down the spine of Pindus' in *CAH* ii, 530 hardly gives an accurate picture of the country. Myres, *op. cit.* 150/151.

[4]Strabo VII, vii, 11; Hdt. II, 52. Paus. I, 17.

[5]Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 57.

[6]Αὐταριᾶται· ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν. Βρυάνιον (on the upper Erigon, now the Crna) πόλις Θεσπρωτίας. Παραύαιοι· ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν. Τέκμων· πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν. Τύμφη· ὄρος Θεσπρωτικόν.

Teukroi, who, according to tradition, broke right through to the Ionian Sea.

It was this invasion, or its concomitant disturbances, which drove Macedonian tribes into Eastern, and Thessalians into Western Thessaly; and the double immigration in turn displaced[1] numbers of the former inhabitants of the country. This is the 'migration from Arne' assigned by Thucydides to a date sixty years after the Trojan War; the old organisation of Thessaly as it appears in the Homeric Catalogue was broken up; the great Western plain, formerly Aiolis, became the stronghold of the conquerors, and was renamed after them, Thessaliotis, while the old city of Arne became the historic Kierion.[2] Meanwhile the ejected Aiolians had found a new home with their Boeotian kinsmen; entering the country from the North-West, the first towns they occupied were Orchomenos and Koroneia; and in the plain below the latter they built a temple to the Thessalian goddess Itonia, which, like its prototype, became the national religious centre of the people.[3]

The arrival of the Aiolians in Boeotia is reflected in the sudden appearance of new pottery-types the immediate origin of which is Thessalian, though certain characteristics can be traced back through Thessaly to their origin in Macedonia. This justifies further important conclusions; for the Macedonians must have entered Thessaly and had time to spread the new style of pottery throughout the country before the arrival of the Thessaloi from Epirus. In dealing with these racial commotions the culture of the invading Thessaloi cannot be taken into account, for it is as yet almost unknown; but there is some evidence to show that we can afford to neglect it, at least for our present purpose; for since in the necropolis of Pátele in Western Macedonia, which belongs to a fairly advanced phase of the Iron Age, glaze-painting is still unrepresented, it is certain that tribes still further West can have had no share in popularising throughout Thessaly the Protogeometric style, which in that country appears only in the form of a glaze-painted fabric.

3. Dorians and Dryopes

But the Aiolians were not the only folk who lost their lands in Thessaly; from the mountainous country of the South-West there emerged a small tribe of hillsmen whose strange destiny it was to attain, at the height of their power, the hegemony of the Greeks; their name was the Dorians.

Any account of the Dorians must begin with the famous passage in which Herodotus has described their wanderings, and which for the sake of conveni-

[1] ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν Thuc. i, 12; but later a story of a 'Return of the Boeotians' was constructed on the model of the 'Return of the Herakleidai,' in which the part played by the Thessaloi was discreetly passed over (Strabo IX, ii, 3, etc.).

[2] The Thessalian spelling; Πιέριον in Thuc. V, 13, 1. There can hardly be any connection with Pieria, though in that region too the same phenomenon recurs (Πύδνα-Κύδνα); other examples Stählin *op. cit.* 130, note 8.

[3] Strabo IX, ii, 3; IX, ii, 29.

ence is printed below.[1] He distinguished five stages: Phthiotis, Histiaiotis, Pindos, Dryopis, and the Peloponnese. Discussion of the first two, the Dorian occupation of Phthiotis under the Deukalionid Doros,[2] and their removal to the plains of North Thessaly, together with their expulsion thence by the Kadmeians,[3] must be left to the mythologist; it is among the hills of Pindos that the Dorians first make their appearance on the horizon of history.

The sojourn of the Dorians in Pindos is vouched for by Herodotus both in the above-quoted passage and in the condensed version viii, 43,[4] in which 'Pindos' must mean the mountain-chain, and not the 'ghost-town' in Doris. Hence, we are told by Pindar, the wanderers started on their final journey of conquest.[5] And their residence in this region is well attested elsewhere. Northwards, Pindos terminates in the massif of Lakmon,[6] overhanging the Métzovo pass; accordingly Lykophron can qualify the Spartans as Λακμώνιοι'.[7] The eastern foothills of the range lie within the tetras of Histiaiotis: and a widespread tradition recalled that the earlier name of that district had been 'Doris.'[8]

Finally, it was in this settlement of the Dorians in Western Thessaly that the historian Andron sought a solution of Odysseus' description of Cretan

[1] I, 56. ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε (*sc.* Croesus) Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλέομενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

[2] The Doric speech of historic Phthiotis seems to date only from the spread of the Doric κοινή under the influence of the Aitolian League in the third century, B.C.; the scanty monuments of earlier date show an Aiolic dialect.

[3] Diod. iv, 67.

[4] Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες.

See *infra*, p.

[5] *Pyth.* I, 125/6: ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας ὅλβιοι, / Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι, λευκοπώλων Τυνδαριδᾶν βαθύδοξοι γείτονες. Cf. Schol. *ad. loc.*: Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι. διὰ Πίνδου τὴν κάθοδον ποιησάμενοι εὐχερῶς τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐκράτησαν. Πίνδος δὲ Περραιβίας ὄρος. Appendix II, nos. (**10**), (**11**). Also Schol. *Pyth.* ix, 27. Περραιβία means, of course, the country of the Περραιβοὶ μετανάσται in the Western hills, cf. Strabo IX, v, 12; IX, v, 22.

[6] Stählin, *op. cit.* 145.

[7] Alexandra, 1389; cf. Tzetzes *ad. loc.*: Λάκμων· ὄρος Περαιβίας ἔνθα ᾤκουν Δωριεῖς.

[8] Strabo IX, v, 17: ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος, ἐκαλεῖτο δ', ὥς φασι, πρότερον Δωρίς. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωρίς. μέμνηται τῆς Δωρίδος τῆς Θετταλικῆς Χάραξ ἐν ζ' τῇδε γράφων περὶ Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Αἰάτοῦ [τοῦ] νικήσαντος τοὺς ἐν Ἄρνῃ Βοιωτούς· ' ὁ δὲ Θεσσαλὸς οὐδὲ τὴν τετάρτην μοῖραν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' Ἱστιαιῶτιν αὐτὴν ὡς πρὶν καλεῖσθαι εἴασε. κεῖται δὲ πρὸν δυσμῶν (*sic*) τῆς Πίνδου. Δῶρος δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἕλληνος εἵληχε τὰ πρῶτα καὶ Δωρὶς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτις μετωνομάσθη.' Diodoros iv, 37: πολέμου συνεστῶτος τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοῖς τὴν Ἑστιαιῶτιν καλουμένην οἰκοῦσιν.

ethnography (τ 175/8), which has puzzled Homeric scholars of all ages.[1] According to his explanation, the Cretan Dorians, together with Achaian and Pelasgian contingents,[2] had arrived direct by sea from Thessaly *before* the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese. Attractive though the story seems, in view of the strong evidence both archæological and philological for an early connection between Thessaly and Crete, inclusion in the same expedition of Achæans and Pelasgians leaves no room to doubt that it is an *ad hoc* invention to explain the Homeric passage. The variant versions of Dikaiarchos[3] and Diodoros[4] do not increase confidence; and although the latter has won the credence of Myres,[5] who discerns in it a tradition of historical importance, the obvious artificiality of Andron's version, which is by far the earliest of the three and presumably the model for the others, seems to me to leave no alternative.

But if Andron's account is an invention, or, to be more lenient, a reconstruction, it is not necessarily incorrect. Indeed there are, to repeat, substantial grounds for assuming an early migration from Thessaly to Crete. Myres in his study of the Pelasgian question neatly brought this evidence into connection with the 'no-man's-land' between Axios and Peneios in the Homeric Catalogue; here alone, he argued, on the Pierian coast, could the Dorians have access to the sea, and therefore to Crete, without doing violence to Homeric geography.

The arguments adduced by Myres in support of his theory are not, however, very cogent; the Pierian coast is almost harbourless[6]; and as for the recurrence of place-names, Dion and Pydna = Dia and Hierapytna, the former is surely too frequent a name for any conclusion to be based upon it,[7] while Pytna is also

[1]Strabo. X, iv, 6: ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη (φησὶν ὁ ποιητής), ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί, ἐν δ'' Ετεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες, Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί. τούτων φησὶν Στάφυλος τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕω Δωριεῖς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ δυσμικὸν Κύδωνας, τὸ δὲ νότιον Ἐτεόκρητας . . . τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἐτεόκρητας καὶ τοὺς Κύδωνας αὐτόχθονας ὑπάρξαι εἰκός, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπήλυδας, οὓς ἐκ Θετταλίας φησὶν ἐλθεῖν Ἄνδρων τῆς Δωρίδος μὲν πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Ἐστιαιώτιδος λεγομένης· ἐξ ἧς ὡρμήθησαν, ὥς φησίν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκήσαντες Δωριεῖς καὶ ἔκτισαν τήν τε Ἐρινεὸν καὶ Βοιὸν καὶ Κυτίνιον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τριχάϊκες ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λέγονται. οὐ πάνυ δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος λόγον ἀποδέχονται, τὴν μὲν τετράπολιν Δωρίδα τρίπολιν ἀποφαίνοντος, τὴν δὲ μητρόπολιν τῶν Δωριέων ἄποικον Θετταλῶν. τριχάϊκες δὲ δέχονται ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς τριλοφίας ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ τριχίνους εἶναι τοὺς λόφους.

[2]Ap. Steph. Byz. *s.v.*, Δωριεῖς: καὶ οἱ Κρῆτες ἐκαλοῦντο, Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί, περὶ ὧν ἱστορεῖ Ἄνδρων Κρῆτος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύοντος Τέκταφον τὸν Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος, ὁρμήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τότε μὲν Δωρίδος νῦν δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιδος καλουμένης ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωριέων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαράντων εἰς Τυρσηνίαν.

[3]Ap. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δώριον: τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Πελασγιώτιδι χώρᾳ Δωριέων κατοικούντων μέρος τι μετὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχαταῖς [τοῦ Ὀλύμπου παρωρείαις οἰκούν]των εἰς Κρήτην [ἀ]φ[ίκετο κ.τ.λ. The supplements are those of Meineke. Tektamos is hardly to be separated from the Teutamos or Teutamidas who first appears in B 843 as a ruler of the Asiatic Pelasgoi; later writers place Teutamidas in Thessaly, and the name certainly seems to be at home in Northern Greece, cf. Macurdy, *Troy and Paeonia*, 117-18.

[4]Hist. Bibl. iv, 60 : Τέκταμος ὁ Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος εἰς Κρήτην πλεύσας μετὰ Αἰολέων καὶ Πελασγῶν, ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου, γήμας δε τὴν Κρηθέως (cf. Κρής King of the Eteocretans, *ibid.*, v. 64). θυγατέρα ἐγέννησεν Ἀστέριον.

[5]*Op. cit.* 346. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with his previous opinion of Andron (*JHS* xxvii, 177, note 10): 'Andron's guess is neither Homer nor Homeric.'

[6]Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, 30/31.

[7]Stephanus cites nine towns and four islands named Dia and four towns named Dion.

a peak of (Trojan) Ida.[1] Furthermore, while Herodotus states that the Dorian race had once been 'called Macedonian' he is careful to state that their home at the time was in Pindos, which is a long way from Pieria. Myres's position is somewhat difficult to grasp since he has recently identified a second Homeric 'no-man's-land' in the shape of the classical Doris, which he now considers to have been occupied by the Dorians about 1230; and in his latest work both theories appear rather oddly side by side.[2]

Could the correctness of Myres' earlier hypothesis be demonstrated, it would form a most valuable complement to the archæological evidence of an influx of Macedonians into Thessaly at the beginning of the Iron Age; since, however, this is not possible, we must retrace our steps in order to consider further the residence of the Dorians in the far West of Thessaly.

The succeeding pages are concerned with the final movements of the Dorians before their invasion of the Peloponnese. In view of the somewhat complex nature of the questions involved, I first give a short outline of the evidence before embarking on any commentary; and to facilitate reference the important passages bearing on the subject are printed in full in an Appendix, references to which are in heavier type.

During a journey from Delphi to Trachis to pay a visit to King Ceyx, Herakles happened to pass through the land of the Dryopes; in some way or other[4] the conduct of the inhabitants excited the righteous wrath of the hero, who after reaching Trachis, returned and expelled the whole nation from their country, which according to one account he turned over to the Malians. Regaining Trachis, he set out on a fresh adventure; under their King Aigimios, the Dorians were engaged in a disastrous frontier war with the Lapithai, and in their plight they sought the assistance of Herakles, offering in return a third share in the Dorian kingdom. Herakles accepted the proposal and led the Dorians to victory, driving out the Lapiths and killing their king Koronos. Then, leaving his reward in trust for his descendants, he departed on further quests.

I can only deal in a very summary way here with the complex of problems surrounding this stage of the wanderings of the Dorians, though they really deserve much more careful attention, especially the question of the Dryopes,[5] whom Myres does not even mention; as, however, I have been unable to find any adequate study of the subject, I shall state as briefly as possible the chief conclusions which seem to be justified by the passages printed in the appendix to this work. These are:

[1]Strabo, X, iii, 20. [2]*Who were the Greeks?* 149/150, 316, 318/9, 354, 457/8.

[3]He was carrying the Erymanthian boar at the time, Suidas *s.v.* Δρύοπες (17).

[4]Their offences (see infra) were variously reported as inhospitality, impiety and banditry; the charge against Laogoras, the Dryopian King, was that he was accustomed to dine in the sacred precinct of Apollo (no doubt identical with the Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ Δρυοπίδι of Ant. Lib. 32, a very interesting item of information which suggests survival among the Dryopes of an earlier stage of civilisation than that to which the rest of the Greek world had attained; it was probably these various accusations, all likely to outrage Greek sentiment, which gave rise to the peculiar theory that the Dryopes were βάρβαροι, Strabo VII, vii, 1. Actually, however, the name is pure Greek, the suffix being one widely distributed throughout Northern Greece; cf. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II i,[2] 270.

[5]C. O. Müller, *The Dorians* (Eng. trans., 1830) 47-50 is useful only for its references.

1. During the reign of Aigimios the Dorians were settled in South-West Thessaly.

It may at first sight appear a hopeless task to extract any historical information regarding this period from such writers as Diodoros (**2**) and Apollodoros (**3**); it is, however, reasonably certain that both accounts are in the main derived from the lost epic *Aigimios*, and in authority they may accordingly rank even superior to Herodotus. Diodoros definitely states that the Dorians at the time of this episode dwelt in Histiaiotis; and this is confirmed by the setting of the story; for it is against the Lapiths of the North-East that Herakles goes up from Trachis to help them. Herakles' subsequent route also confirms Diodoros' specific statement, for after defeating the Lapiths he returns to Trachis by way of Itonos in the Krokian plain and Ormenion; of the various claimants to the latter name there is but one of which the situation, or even existence, is at all certain, namely the village mentioned by Strabo twenty stades from Iolkos.[1] If this is the Ormenion intended here, it may be that the hero intended to return to Trachis by boat from Volo. Diodoros, it is true, places Ormenion in Pelasgiotis, but this may be no more than confusion with Armenion on Lake Boibeis.[2] In any case, it is sufficiently clear that the Dorians were settled at this time in the interior of the South Thessaly.

We can accordingly reject without more ado the story that the original home of the Dorians was the classical Doris. This theory first makes its appearance in a quotation from Ephoros (**14**), who may well have originated it; at any rate it is just the sort of fable he loved to propagate. In spite of its absurdity, the theory made rapid headway; in the version retailed by Diodoros (**15**) the expulsion of the Dorians by the Kadmeians (Herodotus i, 67, printed *supra*, p. 53) is transferred from Thessaly to Central Greece, the Kadmeians being the rulers of Thebes. Another attempt to impart greater verisimilitude to the Ephoros fiction is found in Strabo (**12**), (**13**) where Aigimios, now king of the Doris in the Kephisos valley, is stated to have been expelled from his kingdom and restored by Herakles—clearly a combination of Ephoros with the standard account of Aigimios' dispute with the Lapiths and rescue by Herakles.

The method of reasoning which gave rise to tales of this kind appears to have been the following: as early as the time of Tyrtaios (**23**) Doris had acquired the reputation of being 'metropolis of the Dorians' in the sense of a living memorial of an earlier stage in the history of the Doric race; later writers, however, seem to have become obsessed with the term 'metropolis' to such an extent as to persuade themselves that the Dorians must have been indigenous there. 'Andron's assertion,' says Strabo,[3] 'that the Metropolis of the Dorians is a mere colony of Thessalians, is quite unacceptable.'[4] And no doubt such

[1] IX, v, 18, cf. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 125/7; Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, 75/77.

[2] See however Kretschmer, *Einl. in die gr. Sprache*, 209/10.

[3] X, iv, 6, printed *supra* p. 54, note 1.

[4] The same attitude of mind is shown in the more justifiable conception of the Oitaian country as the 'metropolis of the Dryopes,' Strabo IX, v 10 (**19**).

sentiments would have found warm support among the members of the Aitolian League, which for the greater part of its existence kept a firm hand upon the little state. The final development is reached in Stephanus' entry: Μητρόπολις . . (πόλις) Δωριέων.

2. The expulsion of the Dryopes is a historical event.

Though this is generally admitted,[1] it may be useful to recapitulate the facts. The very name of the tribe proves its North-Greek affinity; and the route taken by the refugees is precisely indicated by the chain of colonies they founded or occupied: Styra and Karystos in Southern Euboia; the isle of Kythnos; Hermione in South-West Argolis, with its harbour Eion, and the town Dryope which Stephanus says was hard by; and lastly Asine near the head of the gulf of Nauplia.[2] At Messenian Asine it was said (**8**) that the Dryopes had 'crossed over to the Peloponnese by sea,' but this probably means across the Corinthian gulf; it is indeed very doubtful whether what Pausanias heard could possibly embody any real tradition, though the Asineans showed sense in rejecting the more fanciful details of the account which he prefixes to their own.[3]

But although tradition has seemingly preserved no account of their voyage, it is nevertheless certain that their place of embarkation was not far from the Malian gulf. This, and the situation of Dryopis, will be considered below.

3. The Dorians were responsible for the expulsion of the Dryopes.

Though none of the ancient historians commit themselves to this view, it is nevertheless the only possible conclusion which can be drawn from their accounts of the events in question. His expeditions against the Dryopes and in aid of the Dorians are always represented as successive and closely connected episodes in Herakles' career; and a more tangible link is provided by the statement of Apollodoros (**3**) that the Dryopes were allies of the Lapiths, and therefore anti-Dorian. But the most cogent argument is one of historical interpretation. It is probable that in the oldest accounts, the *Aigimios* and the legends which preceded it, Herakles was represented as having defeated the Dryopes single-handed, as he had the Neleids, Λ 690/93; Pherekydes (**5**) only allows him the aid of Deianeira, who is wounded; but later some concession was made to common sense, and the βίη Ἡρακληείη was supplemented by a

[1] Cf. *e.g.* E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums loc. cit.*

[2] Their alleged colony in Cyprus, (**2**) may only be an inference from the name Asine there; but there is no ground for connecting this name specially with the Dryopes, for the Argolic town was not founded by them, merely given them by Eurystheus, and had in fact, as recent excavations have revealed, been continously inhabited for centuries before that time. The Dryopes at Kyzikos (Strabo, XIII. i. 8) remain unexplained; Leaf *Strabo on the Troad* 61, thought the name a mistake for Doliones, but a Dryops fought on the Trojan side and was killed by Achilles, Υ 455. It is curious that the Doliones themselves should exhibit so strong a connection with Thessaly, and especially with the Dolopes (Myres, *JHS* xxvii 223/4.) Hylas, too, who had his cult at Kios in Mysia, was of course a Dryopian.

[3] According to Pausanias (**8**) and Diodoros (**2**) the Euboian towns were settled independently of those of the Argolid; but this is necessitated by acceptance of their mythical 'dedication' at Delphi by Herakles.

bodyguard of unstable nationality and unvarying ineffectiveness.[1] Clearly we must look further for an explanation.

If we ask what the legend of the expulsion of the Dryopes signifies, we must consider who in the end benefited by it, or at least was in a position to do so. Only once do we hear what became of the land vacated by the fugitives, when Diodoros (**2**) states that it was handed over to the Malians. As, however, the emergence of Malis dates from post-Homeric times[2] this can be discounted, the more so as they never seem to have extended their sway South of the Spercheios. The situation of ancient Dryopis is a problem in itself, of which an explanation will be attempted hereafter; we may note, however, that the identification with the classical Doris which is asserted as early as Herodotus (**1**), (**16**) gives good grounds for supposing that it was the Dorians themselves who displaced the earlier population. Finally, if Herakles personifies an invading tribe, the choice is restricted to the only intruders in Central Greece during the period in question, namely the Dorians and the Aiolians: and in view of the belief going back to Tyrtaios (**10**) that the Spartans were all descendants of Herakles[3], we can have no difficulty in deciding in favour of the former.

4. The position of Dryopis cannot be certainly determined, but it was most probably located in the valley of the upper Spercheios.

Herodotus' specific identification of fifth-century Doris with Dryopis (**1**), (**15**), which seems to imply that the two were co-terminous, is not lightly to be set aside; indeed if the itineraries of Herakles given by Diodoros (**2**) and Apollodoros (**3**), which imply the same view, are here dependant on the *Aigimios*, the identification is of even greater antiquity. Modern scholarship has generally accepted the equation without question; but to do so involves serious misrepresentation of ancient Greek views, for examination of the passages printed below will make it sufficiently clear that ancient opinion on the subject was far from unanimous.

The classical Doris lies between the parallel ranges of Oita and Parnassos[4]; the names of the two mountains are used indifferently to denote the region, though Pausanias (**9**) differentiates them. When this is understood, our authorities fall into three groups. The first, as already stated, is headed by Herodotus and supported by Diodoros and Apollodoros; it is echoed by one of the scholiasts on Apollonios (**6**) and by Servius (**22**) and is quoted as an alternative by Strabo (**7**); and it was to this view that the inhabitants of Lakonian Asine, themselves Dryopian descendants, subscribed (**8**). There is, of course, no question of any genuine tradition having been preserved at Asine; this is sufficiently clear from the over-detailed account of their dedication at Delphi and their journey thence to the Peloponnese, a route which we have already rejected on geographical

[1] Malians, against Dryopes: Herodotus (**1**), Diodoros (**2**).
Arcadians, ἀεί: Diodoros (**2**).
Arcadians, Malians from Trachis, Epiknemidian Locrians, against Oichalia: Apollodoros II, vii. 7.

[2] Stählin, *RE s.v.* Malis.

[3] The same belief existed in other Dorian states, *e.g.* Corinth; cf. Ant. Lib. iv: Κορίνθιοι δὲ πάντες εἰσὶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους. etc.

[4] Schol. Pind. Pyth. I, 121 (**10**).

grounds. It seems probable that it was the connection of the Dryopes with Parnassos which suggested the connection with Delphi; and their legendary transfer from the Northern to the Southern slopes of the mountain eventually gave rise to the belief of Suidas that they were actually indigenous 'around Pytho' (**17**).

But the authoritativeness of this view, as has been said, dates from modern times, and the Greeks themselves were familiar with a strongly-held divergent belief which sought the home of the Dryopes somewhere in the Spercheios valley. According to Pherekydes, writing in the middle of the fifth century, they were neighbours of the Malians and dwelt on the Spercheios (**5**), while the eponym Dryops was said to be the child of the Danaïd Polydora and the river Spercheios himself. This view was shared by Aristotle, as we learn from Strabo (**7**), who elsewhere states that Tymphrestos, at whose foot the springs of the Spercheios rise, had once borne the name of the 'Dryopic mountain' (**18**), while according to Pliny Dryopis was one of the ancient names of Thessaly, *N.H.* iv 28. Other traditions[1] which though neither early nor precise, are nevertheless impressive in their cumulative effect, enable us to follow the Dryopes over the hills into Epirus; Lucan III 179 couples 'Thesproti Dryopesque' as allies of Pompey, on which the Scholiast remarks 'Dryopes gens Epiri'; according to Dionysios Kalliphontis,[2] Dryopis was an alternative for Ambrakia, and Antoninus Liberalis 4 tells of Melaneus, son of Apollo and King of the Dryopes, who had conquered all Epirus. A similar source of information underlies the sequence of tribal names in Pliny *N.H.* iv, 2: In ea (*sc.* Epiro) primum Chaones, a quibus Chaonia, dein Thesproti, Antigonenses, locus Aornos et pestifera avibus exhalatio, Cestrini, Perraebi quorum mons Pindus, Cassiopæi, Dryopes, Selloe, Pilopes, Molossi, etc.

Finally, the confusion of our later informants was completed by the formation, probably in the course of the third century B.C., of a Neo-Dryopic state; this became a member of the Oitaian confederacy of the 'Fourteen Demes'[3] whose foremost city, Herakleia in Trachis, assured them control of Thermopylai and thus gave them a position of considerable importance which lasted even after they fell under the sway of the Aitolian League about 280 B.C. The universal silence of both literary and documentary sources before this date leaves no room to doubt that this 'Dryopis' was an artificial creation; Strabo says it had once been a tetrapolis like Doris, and was regarded as the metropolis[4] of the Dryopes in the Peloponnese (**19**), but this naïve invention is obviously modelled on the neighbouring state of Doris and we shall not be far wrong in detecting therein an echo of local propaganda[5]; at any rate, the only city of which we hear is the Dryope (**20**) whose citizens (Δρυοπαῖοι). appear in Delphic inscriptions.[6] The whole phenomenon is, in fact, part of that expan-

[1]Most of these references are taken from Treidler, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N.F. xvii, 91.

[2]In *Geographi Græci Minores*, I 239.

[3]Stählin, *op. cit.* 209/212.

[4]For the influence of the μητρόπολις conception *cf. supra* p. 56.

[5]The inclusion in Dryopis of the Heroic Age of the 'Baths of Herakles' at Thermopylai, Ant. Lib. iv (**21**), may well have a similar explanation

[6]Pomtow, *Jahrbücher für Philologie* 1897, 764.

sion of the hill-folk about Oita which as early as 424 induced the Spartans to found Herakleia—destined, ironically enough, to become the stronghold of the very people whose activities it was designed to curb.[1]

If the foregoing account be accepted, there are but two alternative situations open for the Dryopes as the Heroic Age, namely the valley between Oita and Parnassos which the Dorians occupied in historic times, and the Spercheios region. The latter can be defined a little more closely, for while there is no evidence to show that the Dryopes ever held Trachis, there is plenty to show they did not. Consequently they must have occupied the upper valley where the Ainianes were settled in the classical age. This would bring Tymphrestos within the bounds of Dryopis, and would also give point to the Epirote connection; still more important, the Dryopes would thus become close neighbours of Aigimios' Dorians in Hestiaiotis and Pindos, and their anti-Dorian alliance with the Lapiths and their whole association with the Dorian episode becomes clear. As soon as the Dorians began to move, collision with the Dryopes would be inevitable, and the latter, driven down the trough of the valley towards the river mouth, may well have been forced to take to the sea, and sail away down the Euripos, around the outlet of which Dryopian settlements are found in later times.

In spite of the attractiveness of this hypothesis, Herodotus and his followers cannot be ignored. If Dryopis was really in the Spercheios valley, how did it ever come to be identified with that of the upper Kephissos? One possible reason is the influence of contemporary geography; Herodotus knew that there were Dorians in the Kephisos valley, also, probably, that the Dorians were somehow concerned in the expulsion of the Dryopes; hence former Dryopis=present-day Doris. We have already had occasion to notice a very similar method of reasoning in regard to the migrations of the Mysians, historic Mysia being erroneously regarded as their original home.

In these circumstances we must make the inevitable appeal to Homer, though the results are in this case, I fear, bound to be rather disappointing. Of the country between Lilaia on the extreme Western edge of Phokis, and Trachis in the Spercheios valley, the Homeric Catalogue tells us nothing; to explain this 'no man's land' Myres has put forward the theory that it was already in the hands of the Dorians, and had been for some time before the Trojan War[2]: 'as the silence of the *Catalogue* shows, they were no vassals of the house of Atreus, and were indeed harboring its declared enemies![3]' The fact remains, however, that the silence of the Catalogue might just as well be invoked to prove the contrary; for if the Dorians were in possession of Doris, the Dryopes must have reached their new homes overseas; nevertheless, the poet is equally silent concerning them also, though he had good opportunity to refer to them in connection with Karystos or Styra in Euboia, Hermione, Asine, or Eïones in the Argolid, all of which figure in the Catalogue, and all of which had a Dryopian population in the classical age. Homer might indeed

[1]Thuc. iii 92; it was ceded to the Oitaians by Jason of Pherai in 371, Xen. Hell. VI, iv, 27.

[2]*Op. cit.* 149/150. Date of occupation 'about 1200' *ibid.* 218; 'before 1230,' *ibid.* 457, 458.

[3]*Ibid* 458.

think fit to omit the 'declared enemies' of the house of Atreus, but why also its favoured friends? Pausanias, it is true, states that on their arrival in the Peloponnese the Dryopes were received by Eurystheus, but his account is discredited *ab initio* by the erroneous assumption that they came across the Corinthian gulf.

The 'silences' of Homer thus cancel each other out, and this leaves us very little reliable evidence on which to form a decision. But on the whole I find it difficult to accept Myres' view, which would leave the Dorians cooped up in the corner of a mountain valley for over a century; Beloch[1] has rightly objected that the tiny poverty-stricken state of Doris can never have provided a home for a people sufficiently numerous to conquer the Peloponnese. Doris can only have marked a stage on their journey South; and if that is admitted, they cannot have left Pindos-Hestiaiotis very long before the invasion of the Peloponese. If we must look for a 'no-man's-land' in the Catalogue, we might just as well find it in the South-West corner of Thessaly; even to-day the district retains the name Ἄγραφα which it acquired from its omission in the Turkish tax-registers.[2] Here too the Herakleidai might have found the safe asylum they were denied at Trachis.[3] Lastly, if the Dorians were still in Thessaly in, say, 1130-1120 B.C., we can hardly doubt that the reason for their exodus was the same which gave rise to the Aiolian migration from Thessaly within a few years of this date; namely, the invasion of the Thessaloi from Epirus.

If we return, on the basis of the above conclusions, to the archæological evidence we have so long neglected, we could hardly find better agreement; both at Orchomenos and Tiryns, to take two well-documented sites, the dying Mycenean culture is swept away and its place is taken by an intrusive culture which seems to have acquired its distinctive character in Thessaly. It must, therefore, have been brought by newcomers who were either Thessalians themselves or in touch with Thessaly. And in each case the identity of the newcomer is now clear: at Orchomenos, he was the Aiolian; at Tiryns, the Dorian.

At this point we may conveniently summarise results. Each hard-pressed tribe, as we have seen, passed on the shock to its neighbours, until at last the whole of the Balkan peninsula was in motion, with a period of 'maximum disturbance' about 1100 B.C. The actual motive force is still unidentified, wrapped in the mists of the North beyond the confines of the Greek world; the first blow is the Mysian and Teukrian invasion of Macedonia; sweeping through Macedonia and and Northern Epirus, they leave behind them a trail of destruction; Macedonian refugees join Epirote Thessaloi in the land to which the latter gave their name; thence dispossessed Aiolians pour into central Greece, thence too highland Dorians (not altogether voluntarily, we may suppose) 'spring from Pindos'; the Aiolians, superior in numbers and perhaps with priority of choice, claim the rich Boeotian plains; the Dorians, after a vain

[1] *Rheinisches Museum* xlv (1890), 568. The Allied concentration camp at Kytinion during the Great War had the advantage of rail connection with Athens and a motor-road to Amphissa and Delphi.

[2] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iv, 266.

[3] Hekataios fr. 30 Jacoby. = Anon. π. ὑψ. 27, 2.

attempt to force their way up the Kephisos valley, turn south through the long defiles leading to the shore of the Corinthian gulf, whence they were to embark on their last and greatest adventure, the subjugation of the Peloponnese.

4. Final Problems.

We have now traced from the Danube to the frontiers of 'Old Greece'—to use a geographical distinction which was as true in the Bronze Age as it is to-day—the series of racial movements which crystallised into the classical Hellas. Beyond this point it would not be profitable to pursue the task, at least under present conditions. Some day it may be possible to detect the traces of the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnese and to determine the route they took; we may be able to form some estimate of the relations of conquerors and conquered, of the sources and date of the great migrations to Asia, of the Dorization of Corinth and Megara, of the vexed problems surrounding the early history of Messenia. But for all such studies a successful interpretation of the evidence offered by excavation at Sparta is an indispensable pre-requisite. And even when that foundation has been laid, there will be need of much patient research organized on a scale at present unknown[1]; for in an age when 'planning' in every branch of human activity is so much under discussion, the science of history lags behind.

Nevertheless, it would be impossible to close these studies without some reference to one of the most difficult and also one of the most important problems of the Early Iron Age in Greece, the anomalous position of Attica. An Attic tradition which in origin cannot be later than the end of the sixth century asserted that Athens had never fallen to the Dorian invaders, though in their final attempt King Kodros had fallen on the bank of the Ilissos.[2] According to one version the enemy even made their way into the city before they were repulsed.[3] In spite of these categorical assertions, we have seen that the Protogeometric style of pottery which the newcomers propagated throughout the rest of Greece, appears as the normal style of Attica also at this time. The only tangible difference which distinguishes the Attic series from those of her neighbours is that apparently the Protogeometric style was sooner and more completely supplanted by the Geometric than elsewhere. The antithesis is clear; either, then, tradition or our interpretation of the archæological facts must be in error.

The archæological position was thus stated by Busolt[4] just forty years ago: 'Der Zusammenbruch der mykenischen Kultur in Attika, der dort gleichzeitig (teilweise wahrscheinlich etwas später) wie in Argolis erfolgte, beweist, dass auch diese Landschaft von den Stürmen der Wanderung keineswegs unberührt blieb.' This is just as true to-day as it was then—truer, in fact, for the details of the period immediately before and after the Dorian invasion are now slowly

[1] Cf. Myres, *op. cit.* v/vi, 483.
[2] Paus. I. 19.
[3] Paus. VII 25.
[4] *Griechische Geschichte* I² (1893), 288.

but steadily coming to light, and they completely confirm Busolt's conclusion. The reality of the severance between Mycenean and post-Mycenean has been sufficiently emphasised from the archæological standpoint; here all that remains is to consider what conclusions we must draw. If we admit what now appears incontrovertible, that some of the 'conquest peoples'—Dorians or Aiolians—obtained a footing in Attica, we have next to explain how knowledge of the fact never reached the pages of any Greek historian. It seems to me that we can learn something from the history of other states which we know for certain to have been overrun by the Dorians. At Sikyon in the early sixth century Kleisthenes made a deliberate attempt to efface all traces of the Dorian conquest of his city; of the many expedients he adopted, the most significant for our purpose is his recension of the ancient Sikyonian king-lists, from which he excluded the pre-Dorian kings of Heraklid descent, whose existence had been made use of to justify the Dorian seizure of the city. Kleisthenes' nationalist programme failed, the Heraklids were restored to the roll of Kings, the hated Adrastos regained his local cult. But what if he had succeeded?

The attempt of Kleisthenes to rewrite history was part of a deliberate, consciously planned scheme devised for political ends, and imposed on a disaffected populace. But it is not difficult to imagine a somewhat similar situation at Athens. A much smaller number of intruders there might well have become unconsciously assimilated at a very early date, and what Kleisthenes, in spite of tremendous obstacles, nearly succeeded in effecting, might have been swiftly and silently accomplished centuries earlier in Athens. This indeed seems to be the only way, at present, of reconciling Attic 'pedigrees and potsherds.'

But Attica does not stand alone. The archæology of Amyklai has already been discussed,[1] and it has been shown that though a strong tradition recalled that the site had been 'Achaian' till the eighth century, the objects found there revealed a culture which, though not identical with that of Sparta, was closely related to it, and certainly showed not the slightest resemblance to that of Mycenæan Lakonia. It seems clear that Amyklai, though falling to the Dorians at the instant of invasion, soon achieved independence of Sparta; it may actually have contained a greater pre-Dorian element than the capital, or the legend of its Achaian population may have been circulated to justify its independence. At any rate, had Amyklai been stronger, or more distant from Sparta, it might easily have preserved its own rulers down to a comparatively late period, and the legend of its exemption from the Dorian invasion would have come down to us as a perfectly coherent and, to all appearance, unimpeachable tradition.

I should perhaps refer once more to the Ægean archipelago, though there is not much to add to what has already been put forward on pp. 36-40 above. There are few of the islands of whose early history (disregarding myths reaching back to the Mycenean age or earlier) we know anything before the sixth century. According to fifth-century writers of Attic sympathies, most of the Cyclades at least had been settled by 'Ionians from Athens,' a statement which has been treated with undue respect; if we knew what the islanders themselves

[1] *Supra* p. 34.

had to say we might well hear a different story. Archæology neither confirms nor refutes the theory of mainland settlement, but the pottery shows some characteristics which definitely point to Thessalian influence, if not Thessalian settlement, and it is at least curious to note the recurrence of some connection, in myth or cult, between several of the islands and Thessaly. The links with Euboia (especially Histiaia, Eretria) appear to antedate the Dorian invasion; more apposite are the connections with Keos (Zeus Aristaios) Seriphos (Diktys, oikist, son of Magnes) and especially Kos (Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos:* Appendix F); that the later Thessalians were not averse to the sea is shown by their decisive intervention in the Lelantine war. Whether the Hyperborean Maidens can be legitimately quoted as evidence, I am not competent to say, but there is nothing impossible in a trade-route from the Malian gulf down the island-chain to Delos; and if there is any truth in the suggestion which connects the story with the amber trade, it is interesting to note that amber has been found in a Protogeometric grave on Tenos—the earliest dateable example of post-Mycenean amber.[1]

But all this is mere surmise, and the time for a study of the settlement of the Aegean islands is not yet ripe. It is, indeed, only the results of recent research in Macedonia which have made it possible for the present essay to be undertaken with even the remotest chance of success. The period here discussed, together with the greater part of the Geometric age, is admittedly overshadowed by the glamour of the Minoan and Mycenean civilisations on the one hand, and the splendour of archaic Greece on the other, and lack of sympathy is not the least of the reasons why progress in this branch of study has been disproportionately slow; and deep and concentrated research is necessary to interpret the true spirit of the age; 'to their customers, on their customary handiwork, with dexterous hands interpreting orderly minds, these men "told their souls" in an age none the less competitive in that it had no newspapers to say so. Among themselves too, they not only competed but argued: "potter wrangling with potter, and carpenter with carpenter," as artists competed and quarreled in Florence or the Vatican of Julius II. Within the limits set to their art by popular demand for serviceable and presentable pottery, they practised in advance what Delphi preached in due time, to "know themselves" and do "nothing in excess." If ever a class of men were *dikaioi*, "true to type," while expressing their several individualities, it was the potters of the geometric school.'[2] And those to whom it will fall to follow up the study of the problems of which Prof. Myres has given us so brilliant an outline will not lose their reward.

[1] *Annuario*, viii–ix 213 fig. 11, 215.

[2] Myres, *op. cit.* 525/6. Cf. the profound observations of Schweitzer on the philosophic background of the Geometric style, *Ath. Mitth.* 43 (1918) 137/8.

APPENDIX.

Select Passages to Illustrate the Conflict of Dorians and Dryopes in Central Greece.

(1) Herodotus viii 43: ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἵδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . Κορίνθιοι . . . Σικυώνιοι . . . Ἐπιδαύριοι . . . Τροιζήνιοι . . . Ἑρμιονέες . . . , ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.

(2) Diodoros iv 37: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φύλαντος τοῦ Δρυόπων βασιλέως δόξαντος εἰς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν παρανενομηκέναι, στρατεύσας (*sc.* Ἡρακλῆς) μετὰ Μηλιέων τόν τε βασιλέα τῶν Δρυόπων ἀνεῖλε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξαναστήσας Μηλιεῦσι παρέδωκε τὴν χώραν. . . . τῶν δ' ἐκπεσόντων Δρυόπων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Εὔβοιαν καταντήσαντες ἔκτισαν πόλιν Κάρυστον, οἱ δ' εἰς Κύπρον τὴν νῆσον πλεύσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀναμιχθέντες ἐνταῦθα κατῴκησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν Δρυόπων καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα βοηθείας ἔτυχον διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλέα· τούτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς *συνερλοῦντος* τρεῖς πόλεις ᾤκισαν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἑρμιόνην ἔτι δ' Ἠϊόνα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Δρυόπων ἀνάστασιν, πολέμου συνεστῶτος τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοῖς τὴν Ἑστιαιῶτιν καλουμένην οἰκοῦσιν, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Αἰγίμιος, καὶ τοῖς Λαπίθαις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἱδρυμένοις, ὧν ἐδυνάστευε Κόρωνος ὁ Καινέως, ὑπερεχόντων δὲ τῶν Λαπιθῶν πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οἱ Δωριεῖς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τρίτῳ μέρει τῆς Δωρίδος χώρας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας. πείσαντες δὲ, κοινῇ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λαπίθας στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἔχων ἀεὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύσαντας Ἀρκάδας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων χειρωσάμενος τοὺς Λαπίθας αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα Κόρωνον ἀνεῖλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους κατακόψας ἠνάγκασεν ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, Αἰγιμίῳ μὲν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῆς γῆς τρίτον μέρος παρέθετο καὶ παρεκελεύσατο φυλάττειν τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ἐπανιὼν δὲ εἰς Τραχῖνα καὶ προκληθεὶς ὑπὸ Κύκνου τοῦ Ἄρεος, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰτώνου πορευόμενος καὶ διὰ τῆς Πελασγιώτιδος γῆς βαδίζων Ὀρμενίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνέμιξεν οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐμνήστευεν Ἀστυδάμειαν.

(3) Apollodoros II 7: διεξιὼν δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Δρυόπων χώραν, ἀπορῶν τροφῆς, ἀπαντήσαντος Θειοδάμαντος βοηλατοῦντος τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων θύσας εὐωχήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Τραχῖνα πρὸς Κήϋκα, ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δρύοπας κατεπολέμησεν. αὖθις δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς Αἰγιμίῳ βασιλεῖ Δωριέων συνεμάχησε. Λαπίθαι γὰρ περὶ γῆς ὅρων ἐπολέμουν αὐτῷ Κορώνου στρατηγοῦντος, ὁ δὲ πολιορκούμενος ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν Ἡρακλέα βοηθὸν ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς. βοηθήσας δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε Κόρωνον μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἁπάσαν παρέδωκεν ἐλευθέραν αὐτῷ. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ Λαογόραν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, βασιλέα Δρυόπων, ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει δαινύμενον, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα καὶ Λαπιθῶν σύμμαχον. παρίοντα δὲ Ἴτωνον εἰς μονομαχίαν προεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν Κύκνος Ἄρεος καὶ Πελοπίας· συστὰς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς δὲ εἰς Ὀρμένιον ἦκεν, Ἀμύντωρ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μεθ' ὅπλων οὐκ εἴα διέρχεσθαι· κωλυόμενος δὲ παριέναι καὶ τούτον ἀπέκτεινεν.

(4) Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica A 1213/1219: Hylas son of—

δίου Θειοδάμαντος, ὃν ἐν Δρυόπεσσιν ἔπεφνεν,
νηλειῶς, βοὸς ἀμφὶ γεωμόρου ἀντιόωντα,
ἤτοι ὁ μὲν νειοῖο γύας τέμνεσκεν ἀρότρῳ
Θειοδάμας, ἄτῃ βεβολημένος. αὐτὰρ ὁ τόνγε
βοῦν ἀρότην ἤνωγε παρασχέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα,
ἵετο γὰρ πρόφασιν πολέμου Δρυόπεσσι βαλέσθαι
λευγαλέην, ἐπεὶ οὔτι δίκης ἀλέγοντες ἔναιον.

(5) Schol. I 1212: . . . καὶ ἐλθὼν (*sc.* Ἡρακλῆς) εἰς τὴν Δρυοπίαν (λῃστρικὸν δὲ τὸ ἔθνος ὁμοροῦν τοῖς Μηλιεῦσιν, ὡς Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησίν) τοῦ παιδὸς πεινῶντος καὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λίχα ἀπολιμπανομένου συντυχὼν τῷ Θειοδάμαντι ἠτεῖτο ὀλίγην τροφήν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδω. ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ἀποσπάσας αὐτοῦ τὸν ἕνα βοῦν θύσας εὐωχεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Θειοδάμας ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐστράτευσε καθ' Ἡρακλέους, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνάγκην κατέστη ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὡς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Δηιάνειραν καθοπλίσαι, καὶ λέγεται κατὰ μαζὸν τότε τετρῶσθαι. περιγενόμενος δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνελὼν τὸν Θειοδάμαντα ἐδέξατο τὸν τούτου υἱὸν Ὕλαν, καὶ τὸ πᾶν δὲ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν λῃστείαν μετῴκισεν (εἰς τὰ ?) περὶ Τραχῖνα τὴν Θεσσαλικὴν καὶ τὴν Οἴτην τὸ ὄρος πρὸς τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Φωκίδος, ἵνα τῇ πολλῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμιξίᾳ τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ ἤθους ἀποσχῶνται. τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Καλλίμαχος μέμνηται. Φερεκύδης δὲ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὅτι Πολυδώρᾳ τῇ Δαναοῦ μίσγεται Πηνειὸς (Σπερχειός Berkel ex Ant. Lib. 32) ὁ ποταμός. τῶν δὲ γίνεται Δρύοψ, ἀφ' οὗ Δρύοπες καλοῦνται. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ.

(6) Schol. I 1218: Δρύοπες, ἔθνος περὶ τὸν Παρνασὸν ἄδικον ὃ κατεπολέμησεν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ Δρύοπος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δίας τῆς Λυκάονος.

(7) Strabo VIII vi 13: Δρυόπων δ' οἰκητήριόν φασι καὶ (i.e. as well as Hermione, previously mentioned) τὴν Ἀσίνην, εἶτ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σπερχειὸν τόπων ὄντας αὐτοὺς Δρύοπος τοῦ Ἀρκάδους κατοικίσαντος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, εἶθ Ἡρακλέους ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωρίδος ἐξελάσαντος αὐτούς.

(8) Pausanias iv 34: Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκωρείταις ὅμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασὸν ᾤκουν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπες. γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον τρίτῃ, βασιλεύοντος Φύλαντος, μάχῃ τε οἱ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς. ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνι Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων, καὶ ὡς ἀνὰ χρόνον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατήχθησαν οὐ γενομένης σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστάτου τῆς πολέως. Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσι. κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους μάχῃ συγχωροῦσιν, ἁλῶναί τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασῷ πόλιν· αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐ φασιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασοῦ. διαβάντες δὲ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γενέσθαι φασὶν Εὐρυσθέως ἱκέται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρυσθέα ἅτε ἀπεχθανόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δοῦναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνην. μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυόπων οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Εὐβοέων

οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Στυρεῖς Δρύοπες τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅσοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκήσεις. ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν Στυρεῖς καλεῖσθαι Δρύοπες ὑπερφρόνοῦσι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ πεφεύγασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι Φωκεῖς. Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ Δρύοπές τε μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἁγιώτατά εἰσι δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτὲ ἐν Παρνασῷ σφίσιν ἱδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. ἄγουσι καὶ παρὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετήν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες.

(9) Pausanias v 1: Δρύοπες δὲ καὶ Δωριεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρνασσοῦ, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐς Πελοπόννησόν εἰσιν ἀφιγμένοι.

(10) Sch. Pind. Pyth. I, 121: ἐθέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου. Πάμφυλος. . . καὶ Δύμας καὶ Δῶρος, υἱοὶ Αἰγιμίου, ἀφ' ὧν Παμφυλὶς καὶ Δυμανὶς φυλαὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. ὁ δὲ νοῦς· θέλουσι δὲ οἱ Ὑλλίδαι, τουτέστιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους κατάγεσθαι (cf. Tyrtaios 8, 1: Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικήτου γένος ἐστέ). ἄλλως. οἱ Δωριεῖς οἰκοῦντες πρότερον τὴν Πίνδον, οὖσαν μίαν τῆς τετραπόλεως τῆς ἐν Περραιβίᾳ, ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν μεταξὺ Οἴτης καὶ Παρνασσοῦ Δωρίδα, ἐξάπολιν οὖσαν. ἐστὶ δὲ Ἐρινεός, Κύτινον, Βοιόν, Λίλαιον, Κάρφαια, Δρυόπη. ἐκ δὲ τούτων σὺν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κατέρχονται. ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐπαμφοτερίζει. θέλουσι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Παμφύλου, Ἡρακλέους ἀπόγονοι Δωριεῖς οἱ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Τηϋγέτου ὄρους μένοντες, ἐμμένειν τοῖς Αἰγιμίου νόμοις. The alleged Dorian tetrapolis in Perrhaibia may have been suggested by the Perhaibian tripolis, Azoros, Doliche, and Pythion. Cf. also p. 52, *supra*. For the form Κύτινον cf. Steph. Byz. Κύτινα· πόλις Θεσσαλίας. The number of Dorian towns was probably brought up to six to correspond with the Doric hexapolis in Asia.

(11) Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 385. This is hardly worth printing, except for the fact that in many text-books it is still religiously quoted as an "authority." Aristophanes refers to the picture *The Suppliant Herakleidai* by the painter Pamphilos, whom the scholiast confused with Pamphylos the eponym of the Doric phyle, inserting accordingly a blundered copy of the preceding note **(10)**. See the edition of Dindorf, who reprints the devastating comments of Hemsterhuys on this 'scholion futilissimum.'

. . . ὁ Πάμφιλος. οὗτος εἷς ἦν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, υἱὸς μὲν Αἰγιμίου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Δυμάου καὶ Δώρου, ἀφ' ὧν φυλαὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Παμφιλεῖς καὶ Δυμενεῖς καὶ Δωρεῖς, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Δωριεῖς, οἵτινες οἰκοῦντες πρότερον τὴν Πίνδον μίαν οὖσαν τῆς τετραπόλεως τῆς ἐπ' Εὐβοίᾳ (!) ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν μεταξὺ Οἴτης καὶ Παρνασσοῦ Δωρίδα ἐξάπολιν οὖσαν. ἔστι δὲ Ἐρινεόν, Κύτινον, Βοιόν, Λίλαιον, Κάρφαια, Δρυόπη. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἀναχωροῦσιν ὁμοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ὡς Πίνδαρός φησι—'θέλοντι δὲ Παμφίλου.'

(12) Strabo IX iv 10: οὗτοι (sc. Δωριεῖς) μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν τετράπολιν οἰκήσαντες, ἣν φασιν εἶναι μητρόπολιν τῶν ἁπάντων Δωριέων, πολεῖς δ' ἔσχον Ἐρινεόν, Βοιόν, Πίνδον, Κυτίνιον· ὑπέρκειται δ' ἡ Πίνδος τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, παραρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ὁμώνυμος ποταμός, ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Κηφισσὸν οὐ πολὺ τῆς Λιλαίας ἄπωθεν· τινὲς δ' Ἀκύφαντα λέγουσι τὴν Πίνδον. τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγίμιος, ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατήχθη πάλιν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν, ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους. ἀπεμνημόνευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τελευτήσαντι περὶ τὴν Οἴτην.

Ὕλλον γὰρ εἰσεποιήσατο τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων, καὶ διεδέξατο ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι. ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμηθεῖσι τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ὕπηρξεν ἡ εἰς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδος.

(13) Strabo VIII vii 1: ὧν (*sc.* of the sons of Deukalion) Δῶρος μὲν τοὺς περὶ Παρνασσὸν Δωριέας συνοικίσας κατέλιπεν ἐπωνύμους αὑτοῦ.

(14) Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δυμᾶνες . . . Ἔφορος α'. Αἰγίμιος γὰρ ἦν τῶν περὶ τὴν Οἴτην Δωριέων βασιλεύς. ἔσχε δὲ δύο παῖδας Πάμφυλον καὶ Δυμᾶνα, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ὕλλον ἐποιήσατο τρίτον, χάριν ἀποδιδοὺς ἀνθ' ὧν Ἡρακλῆς ἐκπεπτωκότα κατήγαγεν.

(15) Diodoros iv. 67: αὐτοὶ δὲ (i.e. the Kadmeians in their flight from Thebes) μεταναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Δωριεῖς ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μαχῇ νικήσαντες τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπί τινας χρόνους κατοικήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέμειναν, οἱ δ' ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὰς Θῆβας, Κρέοντος τοῦ Μενοικέως βασιλεύοντος. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἐξελαθέντες ὕστερόν τισι χρόνοις κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν Δωρίδα καὶ κατῴκησαν ἐν Ἐρινεῷ καὶ Κυτινίῳ καὶ Βοιῷ.

(16) Herodotus viii 31: ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὼν στεινὸς κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κῃ εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.

(17) Suidas *s.v.* Δρύοπες· ἔθνος περὶ τὴν Πυθῶνα ἄδικον ὃ Ἡρακλῆς μετῴκισεν. ὅτε γὰρ τὸν Ἐρυμάνθιον κάπρον ἔφερεν, ἐζήτει αὐτοὺς τροφήν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκαν.

(18) Strabo IX v 9: τοῦ δὲ Σπερχειοῦ μεμνημένος πολλάκις, ὡς ἐπιχωρίου ποταμοῦ, τὰς πηγὰς ἔχοντος ἐκ Τυφρηστοῦ, Δρυοπικοῦ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου (. . . πρ)ότερον, ἐκδιδόντος δὲ πλησίον Θερμοπυλῶν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ Λαμίας κ.τ.λ. On suggested fillings for the lacuna see Jones in Loeb ed. *ad. loc.*, Stählin, *op. cit.* 193, note 1. In view of the passages advanced *supra* the emendation Δολοπικοῦ for Δρυοπικοῦ seems merely arbitrary.

(19) Strabo IX v. 10 (boundaries of Achilles' domain) . . . πρὸς νότον δὲ τῇ Οἰταίᾳ, εἰς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα δήμους διῃρημένῃ, Ἡράκλειάν τε καὶ τὴν Δρυοπίδα, τετράπολιν γεγονυῖάν ποτε, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Δωρίδα, μητρόπολιν δὲ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Δρυόπων νομιζομένην. Strabo no doubt intended to include Herakleia and Dryopis in Oitaia, but the passage is not clear and a lacuna has been suspected.

(20) Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δρυόπη· πόλις περὶ τὴν Ἑρμιόνα. γράφεται καὶ Δρυόπα. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Οἴτην Δρύοπες ἀπὸ Δρυόπης τῆς Εὐρυπύλου θυγατρός. ἔστι καὶ Δρυοπία τῶν Δρυόπων περὶ Τραχῖνα. λέγεται καὶ Δρυοπὶς καὶ Δρυοπηὶς καὶ Δρυοπία.

(21) Antoninus Liberalis iv. Κραγαλεὺς ὁ Δρύοπος ᾤκει γῆς τῆς Δρυοπίδος παρὰ τὰ λουτρὰ τὰ Ἡρακλέους, ἃ μυθολογοῦσιν Ἡρακλέα πλήξαντα τῇ κορύνῃ τὰς πλάκας τοῦ ὄρους ἀναβαλεῖν.

(22) Servius ad Verg. Aen. iv. 146: Dryopesque] populi juxta Parnasum, ut 'Dryopumque trahens Erasinus aristas' (Stat. Theb. iv. 122). Erasinus vero fluvius est. Hi populi, ab Hercule victi, Appolini donati esse dicuntur.

(23) Tyrtaeus fr. 2 Diehl.

αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης,
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν.
οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος υἷῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.