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He says: 'Except among a few scholars attached to free religious bodies, such (absolute) freedom has never existed in the Christian Churches in the past, and it does not exist to-day. Almost all theological students — including most Professors of Divinity—are officially attached to ecclesiastical organizations, to hold any position in which subscription to specific statements of doctrine is demanded.' He adds: 'Faculties of Theology should be quite free, and in the interest of thought and religion itself no one should be allowed to occupy a Chair of Divinity who holds any position which requires definite adherence to prescribed doctrine.' But he has not faced the difficulties in the way of this negative suggestion. At the same time, the matter of subscription deserves consideration.

But, apart from this, a simpler path is open. Let each one claim and take liberty for himself. For this, all that is needed is the courage of our convictions, inspired by a due appreciation of the infinite value and sacredness of the Truth. This will stimulate earnest and patient search for it, and a frank and unreserved statement, to all sincere inquirers, of whatever we have found. We must also admit the limitations of our knowledge. This will evoke our pupils' confidence, and open a way for their intelligent reception of those many matters for which we can bring decisive evidence.

The above criticisms pass in silence over many good things in Mr. Widgery's thoughtful paper. Even caricature is a legitimate form of literature. And it may do good by calling attention to what in the past has been, and to some extent still is, a serious hindrance to progress in theological thought. We have been more anxious to bring our pupils to our own opinions than to evoke in them intelligent convictions of their own. That so intelligent a man as Mr. Widgery has this opinion about theological method, reveals serious fault somewhere.

Another point to be ever kept in mind by teachers, especially by those who teach the future pastors of the flock of Christ, is that knowledge implies responsibility. Whatever we know about the eternal realities has been revealed to us by God in order that we may pass it on to others. That light shines upon us from and through the Cross of Christ. By teaching the Truth, and so far as our teaching corresponds with the Truth, we impart to others the infinite blessings purchased for us and for them by that great Sacrifice. Consequently our loyalty to Christ binds us to loyalty to the Truth, both in our search for it, and in its announcement to others.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Pre-Hellenic Civilization.[1]

THE appearance of the new edition of M. Dussaud's big book, and the publication of Mr. Hall's new volume — a companion to Handcock's *Mesopotamian Archæology*—are very appropriate at the present time, when, even apart from the outbreak of war, there is a kind of pause in the onward movement of investigation.

By and by, no doubt, when things have readjusted themselves in the various areas concerned, the movement will be resumed, perhaps with all the greater vigour for the pause, and probably under very different and more favourable conditions, in some lands at least, than have hitherto characterized the progress of exploration. Meanwhile the pause is a very fitting opportunity for archæological stock-taking, and that is what the volumes of M. Dussaud and Mr. Hall really amount to.

Of the two books, that of M. Dussaud is, of course, incomparably the more exhaustive. It not only covers a good deal more ground than Mr. Hall's, taking in the Troad, which Mr. Hall expressly rules out, and devoting a long chapter (rather too long) to the civilization of Cyprus, which Mr. Hall only handles incidentally; but it also deals at considerable length with matters which the scheme of the English writer's book only permits him to glance at in passing. Thus the chapters on Ægean influence in Palestine and

[1] *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Égée.* Par René Dussaud. Second edition, 1914. *Ægean Archæology.* By H. R. Hall. 1914.

Syria, and on Cults and Myths, which form a considerable, and not the least interesting, portion of M. Dussaud's book, have no counterpart in that of Mr. Hall.

On the other hand, the English volume, strange to say, displays much better proportion, and a much more useful grouping of material. This is what one is accustomed rather to expect from a French author; but there is no denying the fact that M. Dussaud has been rather overburdened with his material. At this time of day it is scarcely possible to see so clearly the bearings of much that has been discovered in the Ægean as to enable the discoveries to be grouped, each in its proper place, and presented, each in its true proportion and relation. The consequence is that M. Dussaud, anxious to leave nothing out, has presented his readers with an enormous mass of details which sometimes, like the ancient art with which he deals, is lacking in perspective. Again and again, in his otherwise most interesting volume, it is the old story of not being able to see the wood for the trees. Mr. Hall has avoided this difficulty by a more rigid self-denial and restraint in the selection of his material; and he has his reward, for one is never at a loss to see the bearing of his material on his story.

Altogether, these two volumes have now done for the present day what the *Mycenæan Age* of Tsountas and Manatt, and Mr. Hall's earlier volume *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* did for the days before the Cretan explorations of Sir Arthur Evans and the Italian mission under Dr. Halbherr.

It is, of course, quite needless to attempt any description of the civilization whose relics, so sadly mutilated, and yet so infinitely suggestive, are here detailed and pictured. The general outlines of the facts which came to light as Schliemann, and after him Dörpfeld and Tsountas unveiled the civilization known to the end of last century as Mycenæan, and Evans, Halbherr, and Seager followed with the revelation of the earlier and nobler Minoan culture of Crete—these outlines are far too familiar to require any redrawing. Everybody knows now that instead of ancient civilization, in the world that counts in classical antiquity, being limited to the two great rival cultures of the Nile and Euphrates valleys, we have to make room in our scheme of history for a third culture, probably quite as ancient as that of either Egypt or Babylonia, quite as remarkable, at least in many of its developments, as either of its contemporaries, and with elements in it which make it even more interesting to us, from some points of view, than the cultures of the two great river valleys can ever be. For the Island Civilization which had grown old and passed away long before the Homeric Period was the mother of all that wonder of art and literature which we know as Greek culture; and while the Hellenes, no doubt, owed a vast deal to the sterner strain of Achæan and Dorian blood whose union with the conquered Minoans bore the fruit of Hellenism, they owed not less to the softer, swifter, subtler, and more beauty-loving genius of the older race.

Some day, perhaps, exploration will give us the materials, and fortune give us the genius capable of grouping them all in their true relations and weaving them into a connected story. And then we shall have the most wonderful romance in the whole history of the human race, telling us how it came to pass that by the union of the brilliant and unrestrained genius of the Minoan with the sterner and more austere force of the conquering races there came into the world the Greek as we see him in history, literature, and art. Meanwhile, we can only wonder at the mysterious alchemy by which the daring and adventurous art of Crete, sometimes overflowing, in the fulness of its life, into what we can only call bad taste and gaudiness, was curbed and refined until its motto became 'nothing in excess' and its representatives were Pheidias and Praxiteles, Lysippus and Ictinus.

In the presence of the great art of Mesopotamia, and even more of Egypt, one feels that here is something which, however splendid, will reach, or perhaps even has reached, a conclusion, and has nothing more to say; but the art of the Minoan, with all its crudities and imperfections, is seminal, with all the promise of the future in it—a future whose splendour we now can realize. The frescoes of Knossos are the work of artistic genius absolutely untrammelled, and only feeling its way, through excesses and in spite of occasional lapses of taste, to something great; the Parthenon Friezes or the Apoxyomenos represent the attainment towards which the unknown Minoan was striving. Curiously enough, as one looks at the reproductions in either of these volumes—the Hunting-Cat Fresco—the famous Cup-Bearer—the Silver Vase fragment from Mycenæ, and contrasts them with

fifth-century Greek work, the art that is really a millennium older appears infinitely more modern, in spite of its faults of execution—perhaps because we moderns too, like the Minoan, are struggling in our day towards something that we do not as yet fully understand, and cannot adequately express.

It is the same with Ægean architecture. Here, of course, we are hampered by the fact that, save at Knossos and, in a less degree, at Phaistos, we have scarcely more than outlines and basements to guide us. Yet it seems fairly evident that the Minoan architect, like the Minoan artist, had a superabundance of vigour and idea, but had still to learn how to group and proportion his conceptions. Probably the palace of Knossos, with all its splendour, would strike us, could we have seen it in its glory, as, in one sense, barbaric; it has been variously described as something on the lines of a Thibetan Lamassery or a Greek monastery. The life and the power were there; but the absorbingly interesting question is: How were they chastened and subdued, till the Parthenon or the Theseium took the place of Knossos and Phaistos?

How wonderful this Ægean civilization was, is seen, of course, mainly in the Cretan discoveries at Knossos, Phaistos, and Hagia Triada, where the Minoan palaces have yielded up the wrecks of their ancient treasures, and at Gournia, Palaikastro, Zakro, Mokhlos, and Pseira, where the relics of the middle-class, the business and seafaring section of the Minoan community have come to light. M. Dussaud's chapters on the Cyclades, the Troad, Cyprus, and continental Greece only serve to deepen the impression of the overpowering originality and dominance of Crete. They preserve the balance, in a sense, by reminding us of what we are apt to forget under the spell of the Cretan discoveries, that other Ægean lands shared largely in the same civilization; but, all the same, there is no mistaking the supremacy of Crete. The Cyclades yield much; but the best of their art is obviously inspired from Crete in those cases where it is not of direct importation. (Mr. Hall holds the famous flying-fish fresco of Phylakopi in Melos to be a Cretan work of art imported by a Melian grandee.) Even in continental Greece, the best of the treasures, such as the Vaphio cups, are of Cretan origin. And as for Cyprus, to whose awkward and clumsy perversions of Cretan ideas M. Dussaud devotes a long chapter much of whose space might have been better employed, she apparently would scarcely have had anything worth calling civilization or art, had it not been for comparatively late borrowings from her sister island—which she did her best to spoil when she got them.

The impression gathered from the whole mass of work left behind by the Ægean race, whether it worked in the flush of its youth and vigour in Crete, in the golden days before the overthrow of the great sea-empire of Knossos, or with lessening vigour and decaying taste in the other islands and on the mainland sites after the great catastrophe, is that of a people of astonishing mental agility, alert and sensitive in a high degree to original ideas, extraordinarily modern in many of their views—as to cleanliness and sanitation, for example, to say nothing of the dress of their womenkind. In some respects it almost seems as though the Minoan of the 15th century B.C. were nearer to us in his habit of life than our own ancestors of the 18th century A.D. Certainly, if Knossos be the test, he was a cleaner creature than they. Instinctively one feels the suggestion of France and French feeling and genius in much of the work of the Minoans. There is a daintiness, a quick fancy, and a lightness of touch about the Ægean artist, which are thoroughly French, so that one feels it only natural that the Minoan ladies should have worn the low-necked gowns with wasp waists and many flounces which suggest the court of the Second Empire rather than anything Greek or Oriental.

No doubt behind all the brightness and the love of beauty, so manifest upon the surface, there was a darker side to the Minoan character. The old classical legends attest the existence of this more sinister aspect of this ancient civilization. The Minotaur, whatever be the real origin of the legend, belonged to a race which had left a mark of cruelty and terror upon the imagination of the ancient Ægean world; while the Bull-grappling frescoes suggest a good deal of callousness in respect of human suffering, whether we are to regard this ταυροκαθάψια as a religious rite or not. There are seal-impressions from Zakro and elsewhere which reveal a strange, weird, unpleasant twist in the Minoan nature. The Egyptian combinations of animal head and human body in the images of some of their gods are bad enough; but they are restrained and dignified compared with some of the figures of nightmare that are seen on M.

Dussaud's pages. There was something perverted and unhealthy in the fancy that designed such monsters, whether their significance was sacred or merely fantastic. Yet, all the same, to turn from the reliefs of an Assyrian palace to the frescoes of Knossos is like turning from a shambles to a green meadow in spring-time. The Assyrian was a magnificent and cultured brute, the Minoan was a true artist.

On the question of the language of this remarkable race, M. Dussaud does not give us much enlightenment. Nor, unfortunately, does it seem as though much will ever be done in this direction, abundant though the materials are, until the discovery of a bilingual text. Such a thing ought to be quite within the bounds of possibility. The relations between Crete and Egypt were close and intimate for many centuries, and it would seem by no means unlikely that bilingual copies of treaties, commercial or otherwise, between the two empires, should have been in existence. Meanwhile the Minoan tablets remain alongside the Hittite inscriptions—a standing provocation. The attempts that have been made to read either them or the curious inscriptions, evidently from a foreign source, on the Phaistos disk, do not inspire confidence.

The chapters of M. Dussaud's book to which the average reader will turn with greatest expectation are those on Ægean influence in Egypt and Syria, and on Cults and Myths. Unfortunately the result is rather disappointing than otherwise. Particularly is this the case with regard to the Egyptian section of the former chapter. M. Dussaud begins his discussion of Ægean influence by saying that the Cretan genius has been fertilized by Egyptian Art, and, further, that there is evidence in the record of the development of the Ægean marine, that the relations between the two civilizations were reciprocal. In this there can be no doubt that he is absolutely right; and such statements made with such emphasis, lead one to expect a correspondingly full treatment of these relations, in regard to which we have fuller evidence than exists for any other races or lands with which the Ægean civilization had touch. Instead, we get a miserable eight pages, or rather less, of which a considerable portion is occupied with illustrations, none too happily chosen, and in which there occur such statements as that the Ægean races are mentioned in the Egyptian texts from the time of the first dynasty under the name of *Hanebu*. No evidence is produced for this statement, which is open to very grave question. On the other hand, M. Dussaud appears to attach singularly little importance to the actual discoveries of early dynastic Egyptian stoneware in Crete, and of black incised pottery of apparently Ægean origin in Egypt — a far more significant matter than questionable references.

Nor are the later relations handled in a much more satisfactory manner. In dealing with the period of the Empire, the author naturally discusses the famous representations of Keftiu in the tombs of Sen-mut, Rekhmara, and Men-khepera-senb, and accepts the general identification of these foreign tribute bearers with the men of Minoan Crete, regarding Keftiu, Kaphtor, and Crete as one and the same. So far good; but M. Dussaud is not entitled to evade the difficulties of this probably perfectly accurate theory as he does. When the figures, not only of Cretan Keftiu, but of Syrian Retennu, are represented bearing manifestly Ægean vessels, it is not sufficient to explain this fact by the suggestion that the Egyptian artist often put more haste than conscience into his work. Surely in this case it is the modern writer rather than the ancient artist who is hasty. If he had been speaking of illuminations for a commercial copy of the Book of the Dead the remark might have passed; but it is rash to assume that the Theban tomb-paintings, the most priceless contemporary documents for the appearance and garb of these ancient races, are carelessly handled. So far as can be judged by comparisons of Cretan frescoes, the Egyptian artist was as careful as could reasonably be expected. Moreover, M. Dussaud's hasty remark has a double edge. If the tomb-paintings are not good evidence in the case of the Retennu, can we assume that they are good evidence in that of the Keftiu? If the facts will not square in every detail with the theory, surely it is safer to admit the slight discrepancy, and to inquire whether some modification of the theory may not be required, and whether the apparent inconsistency may not lead to a fuller knowledge of the wider extension of Ægean influence.

In the discussion of Syrian relations, the most interesting point is, of course, the question of the Philistines. There are few things more remarkable than the way in which Archæology has come to the rescue of the reputation of Israel's ancient

enemies, and, by associating them with the remnants of the wrecked Minoan culture, has shown us that they were far from being the uncultured barbarians of current imagination, but, on the contrary, were a race more highly civilized and more advanced than the Israelites against whom they fought. The identification seems now to have practically passed into the realm of accepted fact, though there are still some who question it, and though the argument from the resemblance of the feather head-dress of the Pulusati in the Medinet Habu reliefs of Ramses III. to that of the heads on the Phaistos disk is scarcely one to be pressed, even in the guarded form in which M. Dussaud presents it, in view of the probability that the Phaistos disk is not a native Cretan piece of work. Assuming that the identification of the Zakkaru with the Cretans of Zakro is to hold, we must conclude that from shortly after 1200 B.C. the entire coastland of Palestine from Dor southwards was in the hands of a race of Cretan origin, the inheritor of the great Minoan tradition, which had been driven originally from its home by the great catastrophe of Knossos in 1400 B.C., and after long wanderings had at last found a resting-place.

Mr. Macalister has aptly pointed out the curious inversion, in the encounter of Israelite and Philistine, of what we are accustomed to consider the normal relation between East and West; the Western race, in this instance, being the one with the great historic past and the old tradition, while the Eastern was, comparatively speaking, of yesterday.

M. Dussaud recognizes the repute of the Philistines as redoubtable soldiers, a repute probably due, in the main, to their possession of superior arms, the passage 1 S $13^{19ff.}$ seeming to indicate that they jealously guarded for themselves the newly realized advantages of iron weapons. Apart from this advantage, it is difficult to see wherein their superiority can have consisted. Certainly not in physique, where the advantage probably lay on the other side. M. Dussaud cites Goliath; but there is no evidence that Goliath was of the same origin as the men on whose side he fought. Rather the special way in which he and his gigantic brethren are mentioned points to their having been the descendants of an older race of larger frame which had been absorbed by the Cretan conquerors. All the evidence points in the direction of the Ægean race having been one of comparatively small men, relying more upon quickness and alertness of brain than upon brute force.

Though, as M. Dussaud observes, the Philistines seem to have almost entirely abandoned their old island gods in favour of the gods of their new home, Dagon, Ashtoreth, and Baalzebub, yet traces of the ancient Cretan influence survive. The votive offerings of the golden tumours and golden mice which accompanied the ark on its return from Philistia come from the same stock as the votive figures and limbs of Petsofa and the offerings of the Dictæan Cave.

There remains the still very obscure question of the Ægean Religion. M. Dussaud's chapter on this subject is probably the most valuable part of his volume, not for any constructive effort at an outline of the religion, but for the fact that it gathers together practically every detail that has been discovered with regard to Ægean belief and worship. In the five sections of a very long chapter the author deals with Places of Worship, Cult Objects, Idols and Ritual Gestures, Myths and Legends, and Worship of the Gods and of the Dead; and the diligence with which he has assembled his material is worthy of all praise. At the same time, this is still only a stone-heap for the future builder. The chapter is a great collection of facts about certain gods and certain acts of worship; but no attempt has been made to create a picture of a religion. That, of course, is no fault of the author, for as yet no picture seems to be possible.

We vaguely discern a faith in which the supreme deity was not a god, but a goddess, a Great Mother, source of all life, human and animal alike, and into which a secondary male deity was introduced, at a later date, and perhaps by a conquering race, and was united in a sacred marriage to the original mother goddess. To the goddess various creatures are specially sacred—the dove, often perched upon her head; the lion, posed on either side of her as a guardian,—supremely the serpent, to which, as a Chthonic deity, she has close affinity, and which is represented, as at Gournia and in the faience figures of Knossos, twisted round her arms. The sacred animal of the minor male deity is apparently the bull, and his emblem is the Double Axe.

Worship is conducted originally in sacred caverns, such as the grotto of Psychro—the Dictæan Cave

—sacrifice and libation being part of the ritual. Later, the cave sanctuary becomes transformed into the household sanctuary which is characteristic of Cretan religion. There are no temples in existence, but only small shrines. Several of these have been found in the Cretan palaces; while it has been suggested that the whole structure of such buildings as the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos partook of a sacred character, and that the great width of the superb staircases was due to the fact that they were used for processional services. Dr. Mackenzie has stated that the tendency at Knossos was for each house to have its own shrine, and M. Dussaud concurs: 'It is probable that each dwelling possessed a place consecrated to private worship.' This is one of the distinguishing features characteristic of what Professor Petrie very truly calls 'the refreshing originality of Crete.' Minoan worship was family worship. Another feature is the prominence of women in acts of worship. It cannot be said with certainty that the Minoan worship was conducted by priestesses instead of priests; but certainly women are far more prominent than men in the various representations of ritual—particularly, *e.g.*, on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus to which M. Dussaud devotes considerable space.

In dealing with Cult Objects, the author shows, as he has done more or less throughout the volume, a decided prejudice against the idea of Pillar-worship among the Minoans. The vigour with which he presses his denial of the baetylic character of the various Minoan pillars hitherto assumed to have a sacred significance is almost in inverse proportion to the amount of evidence which he brings against the views of Sir Arthur Evans (*Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*); and in some cases, as in dealing with the pillars which have the goddess's special emblem of the dove perched upon them, his argument amounts only to looking the difficulty boldly in the face and passing by on the other side. Again, the eagerness to discard the pillar as a sacred emblem goes, curiously enough, along with a desire to assume the sacredness of the spiral, which seems to have less evidence in its favour. 'One feels,' says M. Dussaud, 'that it is not only its decorative value that has ensured its extreme diffusion: it had a particular value in the worship.' But why? One would naturally imagine that the decorative value of the spiral would ensure its wide diffusion from the moment that it was first realized by so artistic a race, quite apart from any question of religious significance. This, however, is a trifling blemish upon a chapter which is by far the fullest extant collection of material for the study of Ægean religion, and which is marked besides by a very refreshing sanity and common sense in its dealing with some of the problems raised.

Unfortunately in both volumes the date of publication has hindered the inclusion of any reproduction or notice of what is probably (if its genuineness be finally attested) the most remarkable work of Minoan art so far known to exist. This is the ivory and gold image of the Snake Goddess which has recently come into the possession of the Boston Museum, U.S.A.; and which has been reproduced in the *Bulletin* of the Museum, and in Professor Petrie's quarterly, *Ancient Egypt* (Part ii., 1915). As an idol, this extraordinary little figure merely repeats the ideas of the familiar snake goddesses of Knossos; but as a work of art it is altogether unique. Mr. Hall speaks of students of Greek religion gasping at the faience figures of the snake goddesses. But should the Boston statuette be finally accepted as a genuine piece of Minoan work, students of Greek art will be left still more breathless when they see details of the representation of the human face which were believed not to have been realized till the 4th century B.C., anticipated by the Minoan artist at least a thousand years before. I say nothing of the divine lady's Parisian gown, which is neither more nor less than an intelligent anticipation of the fashions of the present spring, only much more gracefully carried out.

JAMES BAIKIE.

Edinburgh.