LUDWIKA PRESS, «OSADNICTWO I BUDOWNICTWO NA KRECIE W EPOCE NEOLITU I BRAZU (REKONSTRUKCJA STOSUNKÓW SPOŁECZNYCH NA PODSTAWIE ZABYTKÓW ARCHEOLOGICZNYCH). «SETTLEMENTS AND BUILDINGS ON THE ISLE OF CRETE IN THE NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE (RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS ON THE BASIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RELICS)». *

The essential aim of my work calls for a proper confrontation, ranging and critical discussion concerning relics of settlement and architecture on the Isle of Crete in the Neolithic and Bronze Age.¹ Actual research carried out on a great quantity of remains as well as the scattering of a very fragmentary material available, are the cause of considerable difficulties in this stage of work. All research and efforts to determine the degree of usefulness of accumulated relics, are an approach to the examination of historical sources concerning the most important stages of social development in ancient Crete. I suppose, as was already stressed in the introduction to my work (chap. I.) that all remains of buildings, being immovable objects, constructed in given places, in a determined time and conditions were, at the moment of their erection, closely connected with the society’s essential needs. Being to a certain degree the result of an existing local tradition, they may in many cases witness the influence of other cultures, or the resistance to their influence and foreign imported models.

My work comprises studies on settlements (chap. IV), habitation buildings (chap. V), places devoted to cult (chap. VI), and graves (chap. VII) with a clear notion that among the examined relics of architecture not all categories are equally useful to the reconstruction of general lines of development of the Minoan society.

* This paper brings a brief account of the subject matter and chief theses of my dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Warsaw University, written under Prof. Dr. K. Majewski.
Scientific literature in this field lacks thorough monographs concerning Aegean, or in a closer sense Minoan architecture, (chap. III). There are only numerous analytic studies comprising the planning of towns on the Isle of Crete (Hutchinson 1), the dependence of palace architecture on foreign models (Lawrence 2), principles of orientation in Crete's architecture (Marinatos 3) and others. All works which had to rely almost entirely on archaeological evidence serving to a true reconstruction of pages of history of the Isle of Crete, not considering groups of relics examined by their authors, bring very diverse and often contrary results concerning the character of the island's society (Glotz 4, Pendlebury 5), social organization of life (Bogajewski 6, Majewski 7, Wace 8), the importance of Crete in the area of Aegean culture and the outside world, (Evans 9, Star 10) and reasons of her fall (Mosso 11, Levi 12, Struve 13, Matz 14).

The ancient Isle of Crete is a ground where traces of the oldest state in Europe have been found. Archaeological research and works lasting for the recent 60 years have discovered relics belonging to various periods (chap. II, sources). Excavations reaching the late Neolithic and early Bronze Age allow some introspection into a period of history of Crete, preceding the appearance of social degrees, class diversities and state organization. Discoveries in the middle and late bronze period may supply many proofs of social advance, development of handicrafts and trade, diversities of possession outgrowing the oldest forms of primitive community.

The above conclusions may be drawn from a general glance upon all material inheritance left by the oldest inhabitants of Crete. Since our knowledge of the architecture of Aegean Crete is based on discoveries coming from different parts of the island and belonging to various periods, the unequal percent of buildings preserved, confines a characteristic of some periods to the habitation buildings, whereas others supply more sepulchral objects to archaeological studies.

When determining dates of relics described, a relative chronology has been applied since the elaboration of a historical sequence of dates for the Isle of Crete, divided into eminent periods by Evans, has not yet been completed.

The principle problems discussed in my work are in general as follows:

1. The development of forms concerning habitation buildings, beginning with natural caves characteristic for the system of a primitive community, up to villas and palaces in the state of Crete. The results of archaeological research conducted on the island allow to determine the origin of the earliest habitation buildings in the oldest layers as belonging to the late neolithic period. The first dwelling houses had
a very simple plan, imitating perhaps the inside of caves; these kept in use through all the Neolithic Epoch although houses used to grow in their nearest neighbourhood, (e.g. the cave and house of Magasa). It seems very probable that these primitive stone houses may have been built by clan-elders, who gain in this time more and more meaning and influence in the tribal community. The fragmentary material preserved does not allow to draw many conclusions concerning the motives of erection of the rare houses that have persisted. Were they habitations destined to a ruling chief and therefore constructed in a way that might assure a longlasting existence, or are they only parts of a large complex, where not all houses succeeded to persist — is difficult to determine. Houses having many rooms in Knossos and similar later ones in Vasiliki, seem to be habitations much better adapted to the wants of a whole tribal community if they really represented domestic buildings for the members of a single clan.

We possess only very scanty remains belonging to the architecture of an Early Minoan period, which has undoubtedly played an eminent role in the history of the Island’s society, as the time preceding the building of villas and palaces. They cannot therefore be considered characteristic for the period of disappearance of forms of primitive community on the Isle of Crete. On the contrary, the following Middle Minoan period reveals in architecture a decided step forward in social and economic conditions. In the villas that have persisted, as well as in richly equipped houses, there lived most probably people gathered a round a chief’s palace, active in politics of the rising state, economically strong, connected with the state’s administration (Knossos, Mallia), belonging to the group of sailors (Pseira), land-owners (Tylissos), merchants (Zakro), artists and artisans (Knossos, Mochlos). Thanks to them the architecture of Crete has developed and attained perfect forms of building technique, in accordance with new and larger necessities of the class watched over by the ruler dwelling in his palace. At the same time small houses of 2—3 rooms, built all over the island were inhabited by handicraftsmen, farmers and other people whose life conditions may be conjectured on the basis of discoveries done in Stu Kusi, Apesokari, Gournia, partly in Palaikastro, Zakro, Vathyptetro and others. Thus do the types of habitation buildings lead to the knowledge of differentiation of property and the discernment of degrees of posts occupied by their inhabitants in the state.

2. Many domains of life concentrated in the palace as a result of the growing range of rulership in the hands of a chief standing at the head of the state. The excavated palaces exhibit a large display of rooms and spaces appropriated to various aims i.e. parts for dwelling, for official
audience, for cult, for administration (archives), for household (stores), for handicraft (workshops). All these domains were assembled in the palace and watched over by the ruler who was: state representant, leader of armed forces, high priest, receiver of subjects' tribute, chief of royal chancellery and organizer of artisans' workshops.

3. The reconstruction of class elements in social conditions on the basis of settlement remnants in the Middle and Late Minoan period. General criteria proposed by Childe,\textsuperscript{15} striving to discern rural from town settlements in the material provided by archaeological research have served to establish some principle urban features, (such as shops, handicraft's rooms, stores, archives) and to differentiate the population of Crete, living from the Middle Minoan period in settlements: Gournia, Monastiraki and others. We may imagine the population falling into two basic groups: rural settlers — food producers: (farmers, fishermen, cattle-owners) and the consumers of produced surplus (artisans, merchants, administration officials). The existing of towns is in every society a sign of class differentiation. Therefore the approximate determination of the rising of towns on the Isle of Crete, is very important for the reconstruction of the main stages of the society's development. The features of buildings, objects found inside town houses and the presumable situation of towns on Crete, allow a differentiation of their character to: port towns (e.g. Palaikastro), developing from coast settlements, busy with trade, handicraft centres (e.g. Vathypetro) or agricultural and handicraft settlements, appearing in the vicinity of residential cities, such as Knossos, Phaistos, Mallia (perhaps Monastiraki) whose character is due to the existence of rulers' palaces forming the centres of towns. Thus studies concerning the settlements of Crete allow a glance into that period of its history, when the rising state began to gain adequate conditions of development for its trade, navigation and export of its production of manufacture coming from artists' and handicrafts' workshops.

4. The connection between passing from natural harbours to regular port-building on the Isle of Crete and social transformations inside the country. The Isle of Crete situated on the crossing of important commercial sea-tracks, began very early to play an important role in overseas trade; the inhabitants of coast settlements became skillful sailors. Natural harbours along the north coasts of the island made contacts with overseas neighbours easy and profitable. Signs of oldest port-building may be traced in the Middle Minoan period when the control of rulership and state organization in the most important domains of life begins to be evident. Inland commerce was much cared for by the state, a sign of which was lively road-building and watchhouses placed on the main tracks.
For the sake of overseas trade, playing no doubt a very important role
in the welfare of a young and prosperous state, old harbours were
improved and regular ports built. Archaeological data supply proofs of
a permanent improvement of roads and harbours on the Isle of Crete in
the Middle and Late Minoan period.

5. Determining particular stages in the development of places of cult
and their connection with the development of society. On the basis of
architectural relics it is possible, notwithstanding the very fragmentary
material accessible, to develop and establish the notion that in the history
of sacral architecture there is a distinct cesura between the character of
places of cult in Crete, on the turn of the Early Minoan period III and
Middle Minoan I. The alterations applied to places of cult (fortifying of
peak sanctuaries, endowing caves with tectonic elements) and the
development of proper sacral building (in the premises of villas, palaces,
on eminent spots inside towns), falling in the beginning of the Middle
Minoan period, are meant explicitly to serve the business of the ruling
classes, who penetrated into all spheres of spiritual life, including religion
and impressed their stamp also on the style and character of sacral
architecture.

6. Specifying the dependence of forms of sacral architecture from
traditional sanctuaries on mountain tops, in groves, by sacred fountains.
In the Middle Minoan period there is a transfer from natural places of
cult to sacral building, no doubt connected with the former period in the
island’s history. A lively tradition of the Neolithic and Early Minoan
period has been repeated in forms of sacral architecture, keeping to the
style and features of natural sanctuaries. The dark interior of caves with
stalactites and stalagmites, seems to be continued in pillar crypts deprived
of light. Fountains being centres of worship find analogies in some habita-
tion buildings in the form of artificial basins belonging to a rite equipment.
Peak sanctuaries are sometimes replaced by altars erected in free spaces
in the premises of palaces.

7. An attempt to show some connections between certain types of
sacral places and cult practice of particular spheres of society. Notwith-
standing the progress in sacral architecture, the inhabitants of Crete
never ceased to worship in their formal natural places of cult. In caves
devoted to divinities there are few changes even in the space of
thousands of years. The peasant cultivating his scrap of soil offered
his sacrifice of crops to the avowed divinity; the shepherd and stock-
owner placed his flock under its care, bringing little figures of his
animals into the cave; the huntsman probably offered symbolic products
of his first chase. These general symptoms of cult, not directed by
anybody, followed their own traditional lines; there are, however, proofs that sacral buildings in the premises of villas, palaces and in rebuilt or specially enlarged caves (e.g. Alkalochori) were meant for the representatives of ruling classes, rich merchants, land-owners and warriors. These were donors of rich equipment of particular sanctuaries such as artistic pottery, double axes made in noble metals and others.

8. Examination of forms of sepulchral architecture in particular periods in connection with progressing social changes. In the neolithic and Early Minoan period the dead were probably put to earth exclusively in natural, only seldom artificially enlarged caves, (Trapeza, Kumari-spilio). When some settlers moved to lowland regions where rocks did not supply natural hiding-places, people began to build graves for their dead. Influenced by the old tradition of habitation buildings, the newcomers used to build large, collective tombs, meant for hundreds of human remains in the vicinity of newly raised settlements. These are tholoi sepulchral buildings, filling the fertile Messara lowland beginning with the half of the Early Minoan period. Archaeological evidence of primitive life conditions in the Neolithic Age seems to prove that we have here to do with a clan organization ruling then generally on the Isle of Crete. The tholoi tombs of Messara, their internal arrangement, capacity and contents may give ample data with regard to forms of community, beliefs connected with the cult of dead ancestors, the level of production and earliest contacts with over-sea areas in the Early Minoan period I. The oldest individual graves were found in Mochlos, Pseira and Palaikastro, which would be, according to Thomson, a clear sign of clan dissociation. Thus the Middle Minoan period, connected with turning-points in the history of Crete's community i.e. the organization of state and the appearance of residential towns with palaces discovered in several spots of the land, has handed down to posterity several kinds of individual or family graves containing 2—4 dead humans. Later relics of sepulchral architecture show diversities, probably reflecting social differentiation becoming evident in the rising state. Its ruling chief was laid to rest in the royal tomb quite near from Knossos, known as the Temple Tomb. This object deserves special attention on account of its style, marking an exceptional step in the development of sepulchral architecture. Cemeteries lying around some of the towns had a nearly uniform outlook, due to their grave-complexes or chambertombs, which seem to be places of eternal rest for all average people. The placing of valuable objects in their internal arrangement is rather well disposed. Some of the cemeteries are able to give a distinct social diagram of the town's population. In Zafer Papura, 25% of graves were those of poor people,
their burial furnishing allowing to distinguish graves of warriors, traders, handcraftsmen. Some vaulted tombs in which human remains have been laid in several places of the island in a Late Minoan period do not allow a close characteristic of their owners since the objects of burial furnishing have been robbed long before archaeological investigations were here undertaken.

Considering all the types of architecture known to archaeologists, relics in situ, as well as those that have been represented in paintings, toreutic, decorative and goldsmith's art, we may observe a cesura in the history of Crete's society on the turn of the Early Minoan III period and Middle Minoan I (chap. IX. Conclusions). The passing from a primitive community to class organization in the rising state, may be discerned by close examination of the gathered material as a very slow and unequally advancing process. The diversity of classes may be noticed earlier on the coasts of Crete, whose inhabitants had the occasion to link contacts with the outer world and make their fortune by exchange of goods, later called trade. The villages situated among inaccessible mountains, with a population of soil-cultivators and shepherds, living in conditions of inevitable isolation, kept far longer to old traditions and tribal community.

Those relics of the past accompanied some social groups all through the Bronze Age. The attempt to reconstruct outlines of the rising of a class society and appearance of a state in Crete, presented here in very general outlines, considering only one, probably the richest and most diverse group of archaeological finds, waits for a further and deeper examination.

A better knowledge of Crete's architecture may be achieved only by means of research applied also outside the island and comparative studies, so far not sufficiently coordinated. These will help to a more perfect understanding of Crete's history and will supply fresh data to studies of Greek architecture.

(Translated by Maria Starowieyska)

NOTES


The final phase of the Neolithic Times is a period of great movements and disturbances in the history of human cultures in Europe. We may observe an increased demand for some basic tools and weapons, resulting in an intensive output-and-working of stone raw-materials, further in a considerable development of far-reaching trade and local exchange which gave rise to the spread of new materials, particularly metal, and of the techniques of metal-working. It also resulted in a higher standard of living in some favourably situated areas, thus emphasising the fact that the development of economy was not uniform in Europe. That fact