

**THE ROLE OF THE WOMEN IN
THE FRESCOES FROM AKROTIRI**

**An examination of the iconography of
dress, hairstyle and jewellery**

by

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**A thesis submitted to the Department of Classics
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

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ABSTRACT

The excavation of the site of Akrotiri on the ancient island of Thera began in 1967 under Spyridon Marinatos. The excavations, which continue after Marinatos' death with Christos Doumas, have revealed a Bronze Age civilization. The discovery of this city, preserved in ash, after the eruption of a volcano, has sparked a debate on the destruction of Akrotiri and the possible links to the destruction of cities on Crete.¹ The frescoes found at Akrotiri are some of the most captivating wall paintings in Greece. Their scenes compare well with the lively and nature-embracing frescoes from several sites in Crete. They too include scenes of landscapes filled with birds and flowers and of Therans, predominantly women, involved in enigmatic scenes. The interpretation of these frescoes has become the subject of recent debate and the continuing excavations may yet add more material to the discussion.

This thesis examines the roles the women play in the Tharan paintings as can be determined by their dress, hairstyle and jewellery. Analogies for each feature are obtained through the study of other wall paintings, seals, gemstones, rings, and figurines, all from Crete and the mainland. Secondary evidence, mostly in the form of later literary material and material from Egypt and the Near East will prove helpful for interpretation. The last chapter presents and critiques the prevalent scholastic interpretations of the paintings: specifically those that deal with the stages in the life of the women.

¹ Sp. Marinatos was the first to propose this theory.

In the conclusions a new interpretation of the frescoes will be presented. This new interpretation finds that the paintings of Xeste 3 and the House of the Ladies are inter-related and are presenting the various stages of women from the community. The women from Xeste 3 are depicted involved in several activities, which include gathering croci, presenting the plants to the goddess, and offering jewellery. The roles of the women are shown to be associated with their age. The scene on the House of the Ladies is presented as depicting at least part of an initiation ceremony.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals and Serials

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Aegaeum 6	<i>Annales d'archéologie égéenne de L'Université de Liège.</i> ed. Laffineur, R., Université de Liège. 1990.
Aegaeum 8	<i>EIKΩN. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology.</i> Proceedings of the 4 th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Australia, 6-9 April, 1992. eds. Laffineur, R. and Crowley, J.L. Université de Liège.
Aegaeum 11	<i>The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean.</i> Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Institute of America, 28 December, 1992. ed. Rehak, P. Université de Liège.
Aegaeum 12	<i>Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age.</i> Proceedings of the 5 th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994, Vol II. eds. Laffineur, R. and Niemeier, W.-D. Université de Liège.
Aegaeum 16	<i>TEXHI: Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age.</i> Proceedings of the 6 th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996, eds. Laffineur, R., and Betancourt, P. Université de Liège.
Aegaeum 18	<i>The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium.</i> Proceedings of the 50 th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati, 18-20 April, 1997. eds. Cline, E.H. and Harris-Cline, D. Université de Liège. 1998.
ArchDelt	Archaiologikon Deltion
AthMitt	Athenische Mitteilungen
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCH Suppl	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Supplement
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens. London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd.
CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel

Hesperia	Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
"The Minoan Harem"	N. Marinatos. "The Minoan Harem: The Role of Eminent Women and the Knossos Frescoes." <i>Dialogue d'histoire ancienne</i> . 15.2, 1989. 33-62.
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology

Books

<i>Aegean Frescoes</i>	Kontorli-Papadopoulou, L. <i>Aegean Frescoes of Religious Character</i> . SIMA CXVII. Göteborg: 1996.
<i>Aegean Painting</i>	Immerwahr, Sarah. <i>Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age</i> . University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University, 1990.
<i>Art and Religion</i>	Marinatos, Nanno. <i>Art and Religion in Thera</i> . Athens: D. & I. Mathioulakis, 1984.
<i>Crete and Mycenae</i>	Marinatos, S and Hirmer, M. <i>Crete and Mycenae</i> . London, 1960.
<i>Early Greek Cult Practice</i>	<i>Early Greek Cult Practice</i> . Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 26-29 June, 1986. eds. Hägg, R., Marinatos, N. and Nordquist, G. Stockholm, 1987.
<i>The Arts in Prehistoric Greece</i>	Hood, Sinclair. <i>The Arts in Prehistoric Greece</i> . England: Penguin Group, 1978.
<i>L'iconographie minoenne</i>	<i>L'iconographie minoenne: Actes de la table ronde d'Athènes</i> . eds. Darque, P. and Poursat, J.-C. BCH Suppl. XI. Paris, 1985.
<i>Minoan Society</i>	<i>Minoan Society</i> . Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981, eds. Krzyszowska, O. and Nixon, Bristol, 1983.
<i>Minoan Thalassocracy</i>	<i>Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality</i> . Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens. eds. Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. Stockholm, 1984.
<i>Minoan/Mycenaean Religion</i>	Nilsson, M. <i>The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion</i> . New York: Biblo & Tanne 1971.
<i>PM</i>	Evans, A. <i>Palace of Minos at Knossos, I-IV</i> , London, 1921-36.
<i>PN II</i>	Lang, M. <i>The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western</i>

<i>Problems in Greek Prehistory</i>	<i>Messenia II: The Frescoes.</i> U.S.A.: Princeton, 1969.
<i>Sanctuaries and Cults</i>	<i>Problems in Greek Prehistory.</i> eds. French, E.B. and Wardle, K.A. 1988.
<i>Interconnections in the Ancient Near East</i>	<i>Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age:</i> Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens. eds. Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. Stockholm: 1981.
<i>TAW I</i>	W.S. Smith. <i>Interconnections in the Ancient Near East.</i> New Haven: 1965.
<i>TAW III.I</i>	<i>Thera and the Aegean World I:</i> Papers presented at the Second International Scientific Congress, Santorini. eds. Doumas, C. and Puchelt, H.C. London: 1978.
<i>Thera in the Bronze Age</i>	<i>Thera and the Aegean World III. Volume One.</i> Archaeology. <i>Proceedings of the Third International Congress in Santorini, Greece, 3-9 September, 1989.</i> eds. Hardy, D.A. and Doumas, C.G., Sakellarakis, J. & Warren, A.M. <i>The Thera Foundation.</i> London: 1990.
<i>The Function of Minoan Palaces</i>	Forsyth, P. <i>Thera in the Bronze Age.</i> New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1997.
<i>Thera I-IV</i>	<i>The Function of Minoan Palaces.</i> Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June, 1984. eds. Hägg, R and Marinatos, N. Stockholm: 1987.
<i>GBA</i>	Sp. Marinatos. <i>Excavations at Thera, 1967-73.</i> Athens 1968-76.
	E. T. Vermeule. <i>Greece in the Bronze Age,</i> Chicago, 1964.

Dissertations

<i>Jones. Minoan Women's Clothes</i>	<i>Jones, Bernice. Minoan Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art.</i> Dissertation. University of New York, 1998.
<i>Peterson. WPABA</i>	<i>Peterson, S. Wall-Painting in the Aegean Bronze Age: The Procession Frescoes.</i> Dissertation. University of Minnesota, 1981.

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CHRONOLOGY²

Crete	Cyclades	Mainland
EM I	EC I	EH I
	EC II	
EM II		EH II
EM III	EC III	EH III
MM IA	MC (early)	MH (early)
MMIB		
MM IIA		(middle)
MM IIB		(late)
MM IIIA-B		
LM IA	LC I	LH I
LM IB	LC II	LH IIA
LM II		LH IIB
LM IIIA1	LC III (early)	LH IIIA1
LM IIIA2		LH IIIA2
LM IIIB		LH IIIB1
LM IIIC		LH IIIB2
Subminoan	(late)	LH IIIC
		Submycenaean

² EM/MM/LM – Early, middle, late Minoan, EC/MC/LC – Early, middle, late Cycladic, EH/MH/LH – Early, middle, late Helladic (mainland Greece). From Dickinson. *The Aegean Bronze Age*, 10, fig. 1.

INTRODUCTION

The role of wall painting in the Aegean Bronze Age

Bronze Age frescoes, as art and architectural decoration (both categories apply to frescoes as they are an immovable art form), serve several functions. A fresco's primary importance would be its narrative function,¹ which can further be qualified depending on the themes. Both N. Marinatos and Hägg use the content and iconography of the wall paintings to elicit specific themes, which in turn suggest the painting's function.

N. Marinatos postulates three separate functions of Aegean frescoes. The first use was to narrate a ritual, which took place in the same room as the painting. Examples of this type at Akrotiri include the fisherman frescoes and the painting of the young woman from the West House (Plate 1.15). These paintings suggest that the activity, probably an offering or at least participation in a ritual, was enacted in the room.² The second function of a fresco was to perpetuate a similar ritual which took place outdoors, by replicating the scene indoors. The frescoes from Xeste 3 and the miniature frescos from the West House (Plates 1.17-19), perhaps both depict events, whether ritual, festival or processional that took place out of doors.³ The third function of the frescoes was to serve as a

¹ Cain discusses the question of what constitutes narrative art, and concludes that it includes a story and discourse, complete only with characters, setting and sequence of actions. She considers that Xeste 3 might be "seen as 'devotional narratives', serving a similarly varied array of interests, and possibly supplementing oral recitations." "The Nature of Narrative in Aegean Fresco Painting", 7-8.

² N. Marinatos. "The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." *L'Iconographie minoenne*, 220, 229.

³ N. Marinatos also notes that the second function could be to depict a myth, but as she does not believe the fresco of the females from Xeste 3 describes a myth and she does not expand her thesis. "The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." *L'Iconographie minoenne*, 228-9.

backdrop for events, which took place in the room. Many of the non-figurative frescoes, such as the lily fresco from Δ2 and the papyrus scene from House of the Ladies fulfill this role.⁴

Hägg also suggests three functions of wall painting, which are marked by their themes. The first function was to perpetuate ritual scenes. The second was to guide and direct the participants of the ritual and the third was to invoke a divine presence at the ceremony. These three roles can "be seen to constitute elements of a programme, which aims at guaranteeing the proper performance of the ritual and its perpetuation as well as at securing a propitious divine presence."⁵

These evaluations of the role of the Theran frescoes all have a common denominator. They presuppose that the scenes are of a religious or ritualistic nature. There is another possibility for the role of the wall paintings, namely that the paintings may act as a purely decorative feature. They would simply have been seen as a type of modern 'wall-paper', or mural. It is true that frescoes are implicitly decorative; that is, regardless of the intent of the artist in creating the paintings, the frescoes, as art, hold an intrinsic decorative value. The suggestion, however, that the frescoes, especially the ones with figural decoration, were designed solely for the purpose of decoration is discarded by all scholars.⁶

A more moderate view is one that permits the possibility of religious, ritual

⁴ N. Marinatos. *L'iconographie minoenne*, 222, 229.

⁵ Hägg. "Pictoral Programs in Minoan Palaces and Villas." *L'iconographie minoenne*, 214.

⁶ Rehak. "The Role of Religious Painting in the Function of the Minoan Villa: the Case of Ayia Triadha." *The Function of the Minoan Villa*, 164.

and/or social as well as decorative themes in the fresco's interpretation. Warren writes:

Meanwhile it is a sign of healthy scholarship that interpretation, as distinct from the methodology of interpretation, varies according to the perspectives of the researcher; thus both secular/social and religious emphasis have been behind apparent *rites de passage* of youths and girls who are the subjects of different paintings in several buildings.⁷

Scholars who support this view often criticize interpretations that revolve around religious or ritualistic associations without considering the possibility of a more secular evaluation. Doumas is at the forefront of this criticism as he considers that the "interpretations given at various times to diverse phenomena in Aegean archaeology have been far from satisfactory."⁸ He gives as examples the 'hasty interpretations' of the life-size woman from the West House who is commonly referred to as a "Priestess"⁹, as well as the fresco from the House of the Ladies, which has been interpreted as a 'Robing Scene' associated with cult.¹⁰ Doumas' evaluation is fair and all too often 'religious emphasis' affects the interpretations of the roles of the people in the paintings. It is thus the intent of this author to try to present the paintings in an unbiased manner, devoid of all preconceptions present in the field of Bronze Age Archaeology.

The indebtedness of the Theran frescoes to those of Crete is undeniable, and thus the question of possible Minoan dominance over the subject matter of the frescoes must be mentioned. There are three possible suggestions; first that

⁷ Doumas, *Wall Paintings of Thera*, 13.

⁸ Doumas, *Wall Paintings of Thera*, 28.

⁹ Sp. Marinatos. *Excavations at Thera V*, 43. Doumas, *Wall Paintings of Thera*, 28.

¹⁰ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 104. Doumas, *Wall Paintings of Thera*, 28.

Thera was a Minoan colony; second, that the Minoans travelled to the island to execute the frescoes themselves; or third, that the artists were Therans already schooled in the Minoan style. The first and second suggestions are generally not accepted as many scholars detect a distinct Cycladic style in the frescoes.¹¹ Most popular is the belief that the Therans lived under a strong Minoan influence evidenced in all facets of their culture: architecture, dress, pottery, as well as the style, technique and subject matter of the frescoes.¹²

There is much less information on the role of the artist. Immerwahr uses the analogous civilizations of Egypt and the Near East and believes that "the artist was anonymous and his role was more that of craftsman than an individual expressing his creative talent."¹³ Rehak is the first to suggest the possibility that the paintings of Akrotiri, at least those from Xeste 3, were executed by women. The dominant female presence in the paintings, as well as the apparent subordination of the men in the frescoes, indicate that the building was used predominantly by women.¹⁴

A word or two must be said about the preservation of the frescoes as well as the conventions and styles of the painters. In general, frescoes from the Bronze Age sites of mainland Greece, Crete, and the smaller islands are poorly preserved. They are most often fragmentary and incomplete making the

¹¹ Cameron. "Theoretical Interrelations among Tharan, Cretan and Mainland Frescoes." *TAW I*. 579-92; Davis. "The Cycladic Style of the Tharan Frescoes." *TAW III.I.* 214-228; Morgan. "Island Iconography: Thera, Kea, Milos." *TAW III.I.* 252-266; N. Marinatos. "Minoan Threskeiocracy on Thera." *Minoan Thalassocracy*, 1983. 167-76; "Minoan-Cycladic Syncretism." *TAW III.I.* 370-347.

¹² Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 18.

¹³ Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 17.

¹⁴ Rehak. "The Aegean Landscape and the Body: A New Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." 13.

conservation and rejoining of the pieces difficult. The colours, usually a mix of three pigments: red ochre, yellow ochre, and blue, were often discoloured by the fires which destroyed most of the palaces. Further, any of the organic properties in the paints would have faded with time.¹⁵

The frescoes from Thera, however, were better preserved than most. The conditions of their burial, under a thick layer of volcanic ash, "ensured stable conditions of temperature and humidity, creating an ideal environment for both plaster and pigments."¹⁶ The colours at Thera were all made from mineral rather than organic sources; the red came from ferrous earths and haematite, the yellow came from yellow ochre, the black had a mineral provenance, and the blue was a paint called either 'Egyptian' blue, which is a compound of silicon, copper oxide and calcium oxide, or it was called glaucophane.¹⁷ Different shades were created by mixing the materials in diluted limewater.¹⁸

The techniques and conventions particular to the artists of the time may also distort the interpretation. The use of space in determining the narrative is one such convention. Cain believes that in Bronze Age painting, and in particular with the Theran frescoes, "[t]he ritual activity reflected here is likely to have had a functional relationship with the architectural space these paintings embellish."¹⁹ It is difficult to determine how much the actual space of the wall affected the

¹⁵ Asimenos. "Technical Observations on the Theran Wall-Paintings." *TAWI*, 572; J. W. Shaw. "Consideration of the Site of Akrotiri as a Minoan Settlement." *TAWI*. 429-36.

¹⁶ Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 14.

¹⁷ Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 18. The name glaucophane refers to the shimmering blue colour of the paint.

¹⁸ Asimenos. "Technical Observations on the Theran Wall-Paintings." *TAWI*, 574.

¹⁹ Cain. "The Nature of Narrative in Aegean Fresco Painting", 7.

narrative. Morgan believes that in Bronze Age painting “[t]he elements are in proportion to one another in relation to the painted surface, not in relation to real or mathematically-defined vision nor in relation to cultural properties.”²⁰ So while the elements within a painting may have been affected by the wall space, it is unclear how much the narrative as a whole influenced the artist’s choice.

Methodology

The methodology used in this thesis will combine the study of selected iconographical features, the examination of the use of these features in the context of the wall paintings as well as scholastic interpretations. Morgan uses the same methodology in her study of the miniature wall paintings at Akrotiri and explains that:

the interpretation of representational art is concerned with both simple and complex meaning: things or elements, and ideas or themes... The first aspect of interpretation is the detailed study of individual elements and the implications of each element: the weapon and its uses; the plant and its growth; the ship and its manufacture. The second aspect of interpretation is the study of meaning, which evolves through the juxtaposition of these elements: a group of armed warriors suggests fighting; a selection of cultivated plants a garden; a flotilla of decorated ships a procession. The overall meaning(s) of a scene is built up in this way: warriors, coastal settlement and ships imply a coastal raid; a procession of decorated ships greeted by the populace suggests a national celebration.²¹

The choice of which iconographical feature to study depends on its relevance

²⁰ Morgan. *MWPT*, 12.

²¹ Morgan. *MWPT*, 15.

to the interpretation of the painting. Younger uses four factors in his summary of the Iconography of Rulership: costumes, hairstyle, jewellery, and gesture.²² In this thesis, I will focus on dress, hairstyle, and jewellery and other ornamentation of and related to the women.

To determine which iconographical features are common in the Aegean Bronze Age a survey of other Aegean art is necessary. Wall paintings in the Aegean Bronze Age will be the main art form used as analogy for the Theran frescoes as they preserve the features in the same manner.

The abundance and high quality of seals, gemstones, and rings make them useful as further comparanda. The often minute details of dress and other features of the women on the chosen seals, gemstones and rings, serve as good examples of similar features to those of the wall paintings. In addition, the seals, gemstones, and rings offer examples of various scenic compositions, which can be used to determine the contexts of the features.

The third set of comparanda used, figurines, offers limited observation of scene compositions. They, however, preserve the iconographical features often in more detail.

Analogies to the art and customs of the Egyptian and Near Eastern civilizations will further elucidate the meaning of the Theran paintings. Burkert notes that “[a]ccess to the Minoan world through the contemporaneous Bronze Age civilizations of the East seems to become almost more important [than the

²² Younger, “Iconography of Rulership: A Conspectus.” *Aegaeum* 8.

successive Greek civilization].²³ He also mentions a possible Bronze Age ‘*koine*’ which established a certain economic and cultural unity in the eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth century, in the Amarna period at least.²⁴ To a lesser extent, later examples of Greek religion will be used, and only those which may have existed in the Bronze Age.

The introduction gives a synopsis of Bronze Age wall painting in the Aegean, addresses the methodology used in this thesis, and presents and critiques the major sources available to this topic.

Chapter one introduces the particular buildings of the site which contain the relevant wall paintings and describes the women and their features. Chapter two centers on the dress of the Thera women, specifically the two styles worn: the ‘flounced wrap’ and the ‘sash dress’. Wall paintings elsewhere in the Aegean, as well as glyptic art will be provided for comparisons. Chapter three deals with the hair and hairstyle of the Thera women. Analogies for this feature occur on other frescoes as well as figurines. Secondary evidence, mostly in the form of later literary material and material from Egypt and the Near East will prove helpful for interpretation. Chapter four covers the jewellery of the Thera women. Other frescoes from the Aegean, as well as extant pieces of jewellery form the comparisons for this chapter. Chapter five presents and critiques the prevalent scholastic interpretations of the paintings: specifically those, which deal with the roles of the women. A conclusion will sum up the author’s interpretations of the

²³ Burkert. *Greek Religion*, 24.

²⁴ Burkert. *Greek Religion*, 24.

role of the women in the wall paintings.

A catalogue of the majority of the preserved frescoes from the Aegean, which contain any female figure, follows the last chapter. It forms the basis for the discussion and provides present location, size, date, provenance and a bibliography of pictures and major references for the frescoes.

The Theran frescoes all date to Late Cycladic I.²⁵ As the dates of the frescoes from Crete are mostly Middle Minoan IIIB and Late Minoan IA and those from the mainland are mostly Late Helladic IIIB and Late Helladic IIIC, this study acknowledges that the Theran and Cretan frescoes are closer in chronology and thus the Cretan examples of wall paintings will be used with greater emphasis.

This study will not, however, use chronology as a determinate in the interpretations of the frescoes, as it is concluded by Immerwahr, who did a detailed study of the chronology of Aegean Painting, that the various types/genres of paintings "ran concurrently and were more an indication of their position on the wall and the function of the room (where possible to determine) than of their date."²⁶

Bibliographical Survey

A survey of the major modern sources used in the study of the wall paintings would begin with the invaluable work of Arthur Evans (*Palace of Minos at Knossos, volumes I-IV*). This monumental work, essentially his excavation

²⁵ See Chronology on page XII and the Catalogue of Frescoes for information on chronology.

²⁶ Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 164. Absolute dates will not be presented in this thesis. The last Theran occupation was considered to have occurred around 1500 B.C., but recent scientific research has shown that the volcano, which destroyed the island, may have happened around 1628 B.C. There is thus a 'low' and 'high' chronology used by Bronze Age scholars in reference to the absolute dates.

reports combined with his own interpretations, is both a great resource as well as a great problem to the student of the Bronze Age. The *Palace of Minos* does not, of course, deal with the wall paintings of Akrotiri, as the work predates their discovery, but does cover the frescoes of Knossos which are important for analogy in this thesis. The problem encountered in Evans' work, that of his preconceived notions of Minoan culture, is one of which every scholar must be aware. As Fitton rightly notes: "Did Arthur Evans simply discover the world of Minoan Crete, or did he to some degree invent it?"²⁷ To Evans, excavating in the early 1900's, it was inconceivable that such a vast, elaborate structure as the one found at Knossos, could not be anything but a palace. He proposed further that a royal family headed by a king would rule the society, and that a 'goddess' would preside over their religious beliefs. These notions have led to errors in the reconstruction of the frescoes at Knossos and thus also to faults in their interpretation. Such frescoes include the painting in the Throne Room, which has been mistakenly reconstructed to show griffins heraldically surrounding the throne, the "priest-king" fresco, which has since been re-evaluated, and the "blue-boy" fresco, which had also been mistakenly reconstructed to show a boy instead of a monkey. The reconstruction of the rest of the frescoes may have been executed 'too freely' to modern standards. Therefore in using Evans' work it is important to be skeptical concerning his interpretations and to use only the original pieces of the wall paintings in evaluation.

²⁷ Fitton. *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*, 115.

Later contributors to Thera wall painting include Spyridon Marinatos who excavated the site of Akrotiri and published his *Excavations at Thera Vols. I-VI* (1967-73), which were his excavation reports and some prefatory interpretations of the finds. Mark Cameron's unpublished Ph.D. thesis from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1975: *A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos*, is a great contribution to the study of the frescoes with some valuable interpretations. Other scholars like Oliver Dickinson, Sinclair Hood, Friedrich Matz, Martin Nilsson, Bogdan Rutkowski, Emily Vermeule, and Peter Warren all contribute excellent works of a more general nature of the Bronze Age.²⁸

Various more recent scholars deserve further mention for their contributions and interpretations of the Thera wall paintings. Sarah Immerwahr wrote the impressive and comprehensive *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* in which she chronologically describes the frescoes and offers some interpretations. Nanno Marinatos, daughter of the excavator Spyridon Marinatos, wrote a book *Art and Religion in Thera*, and several articles on the frescoes from Thera. She is a great authority on the subject but, I believe, has approached the frescoes with a bias on religious interpretations of the subject matter. This results in her interpretations often being permeated with religious or ritual symbolism and as a result of which must be looked at more critically. Suzanne Peterson's dissertation from the University of Minnesota, 1981, *Wall-Painting in the Aegean Bronze Age: The Procession Frescoes* provides another comprehensive source with few

²⁸ See Bibliography for their work.

interpretations but many detailed discussions of the finer points of the frescoes. Christos Doumas wrote the *Wall-Paintings of Thera*, which is designed as a tribute to the people who excavated and restored the wall paintings. The pictures are the best ones ever published and all subsequent evaluation of the frescoes, if first hand viewing were not possible, would benefit from his book. The information is cursory but still precise and judicious. Lyvia Morgan wrote *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera. A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*, which is an excellent look at the Miniature frescoes in the West House complete with her methodological approach and well developed interpretations stemming from a detailed study of the frescoes and other analogous Aegean art. Bernice Jones' dissertation on *Minoan Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, describes in exceptional detail the dress worn by the people in the frescoes and includes discussions of the costumes' reconstruction as well as their use. Phyllis Forsyth wrote a recent book called *Thera in the Bronze Age*, which is a concise history of the settlement but deals mainly with the problems of chronology and the actual settlement rather than Theran culture. Her section, however, on Theran society uses the previous works critically and thus her interpretations are valuable. Other contributors to the study whose articles have appeared primarily in the *Aegaeum* series include Ellen Davis, Robin Hägg, R. Laffineur, W.-D. Niemeier, Paul Rehak, Joseph Shaw, Maria Shaw, C. Telestantou, and J. Younger.²⁹

²⁹ See Bibliography for their work.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE SITE OF AKROTIRI

The wall paintings that concern this thesis are located in three of the buildings of Akrotiri (Plate 1.1a-d). Xeste 3 (Plate 1.1d) has the largest number of relevant frescoes; four compositions in total concern us here. These scenes provide four separate or one inter-related theme and have given rise to a host of interpretations. The West House (Plate 1.1c) contains the well-known Miniature wall painting, which presents various themes ranging from Tharan culture to topography of the wider Mediterranean area. The few representations of women in this fresco do not concern us because the details they offer are too minimal. The West House also presents a well-preserved, full-length fresco of a woman. The House of the Ladies (Plate 1.1b) provides us with further examples of women in wall paintings. The interpretation of these enigmatic scenes should give further insight into the role of women in Akrotiri.

Xeste 3

Xeste 3 is located at the southwest corner of the excavated site (Plate 1.1d). It is a large building: the length of its eastern façade measures about 12 meters, and the building rises at least 3 stories in the western section.³⁰ The exterior walls are built of ashlar masonry with timber window frames³¹: a type of construction common to the buildings of Akrotiri.

³⁰ Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 127. Forsyth notes that the building is at least two and possibly three storeys high in the western half. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 54.

³¹ Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 54.

The rooms that make up the ground floor, the plan of which is continued on the first floor, are commonly divided into western and eastern sections. This division is not a visual one but reflects a possible division of functions supposed by some scholars. The complex architectural elements of the eastern section suggest a sacred or ritual use, while the plain, smaller rooms (rooms 9-14) in the west imply a service or storage area.³²

The entrance to the building, located on the southeast corner of the eastern section, opens into Room 5. This room, a vestibule with benches and wall paintings, also joins the ground floor to the first floor with a staircase. The staircase is decorated with a male figure and the vestibule has a mountainous landscape scene.³³

To the north, Room 5 reveals Room 4, which can also be seen as a type of large hall, as it connects to its three adjoining rooms (Rooms 2,3 and 7), with pier-and-door partitions. These partitions, called polythyra, serve several purposes. When open, they enlarge the space, increasing the capacity of the room. Further, they help to illuminate the central room, which has no windows to the outside. The nature of such an area would be more conducive to meetings

³² Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 55; N. Marinatos. "The Function and Interpretation of the Theran Frescoes." *L'Iconographie minoenne*, 222. This ritual nature is suggested by "the presence of large rooms, polythyra, elaborate wall-paintings, and, especially, the adyton- the only such ritual area so far identified at Akrotiri." Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 55.

³³ The decoration on these wall-painting fragments are tentative as Doumas notes that conservation had not yet begun. Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 128.

and large gatherings than several smaller rooms. Conversely, when the polythyra are closed, they create three separate areas and limit visibility to each room.³⁴

The polythyra reduced the amount of available wall space and the wall paintings were limited to the upper regions of the room above the partitions. Consequently the painting became a frieze about 20 centimeters in height.³⁵ The subject matter was an exotic landscape scene, depicting swallows and blue monkeys.

Through the partition to the north, Room 4 leads to Room 3, which has two levels. The lower level, 1.73 meters by 3.16 meters³⁶, referred to as Room 3a, reveals the only adyton yet found in Akrotiri. The 'adyton' is a sunken area of a room, the type of which has been found in Crete.³⁷ The distinctness of this design has resulted in several interpretations of its function.³⁸ The two most common explanations involve its use as either a bathroom or a place for ritual purification.³⁹

Wall Paintings of Xeste 3

Wall-painting of 3a-ground floor

³⁴ N. Marinatos and Hägg "On the Ceremonial Function of the Minoan Polythyron" *Opuscula Atheniensia* 16 (1986), 73 and 60; Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 55-57; N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 11, 22, 73.

³⁵ Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 56.

³⁶ Sp. Marinatos. *Thera*, v. 7, pg. 26, fig. 3.

³⁷ Examples of adyta come from the palaces at Knossos, Phaestos, Mallia and Zakros. Nordfeldt. "Residential Quarters and Lustral Basins". *The Function of Minoan Palaces*, 187-194.

³⁸ Graham. *The Palaces of Crete*, 99ff, 125f.; Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 55-59; N. Marinatos. "The Function and Interpretation of the Theran Frescoes." *L'iconographie minoenne*, 224; *Minoan Religion*. Chapter 4; Evans. *PM I*, 4; Sp. Marinatos. *Thera VII*, 25ff.; Rutkowski. *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, 229-31; Nilsson. *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 92-4; Nordfeldt. "Residential Quarters and Lustral Basins". *The Function of Minoan Palaces*, 187-194.

³⁹ Rutkowski. *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, 229-31; Graham. *The Palaces of Crete*, 99. Nordfeldt. "Residential Quarters and Lustral Basins". *The Function of Minoan Palaces*, 187-194.

The wall paintings in the adyton are elaborate and controversial (Plates 1.3, 1.10-12). The east wall displays a shrine or altar (Plate 2.41) of which the outside vertical posts are decorated with spirals and the inner doors display two rows of lilies. A 'horn of consecration' tops the altar augmenting its sacred nature.⁴⁰ Red paint, undoubtedly representing blood, drips from the tips of the horn down the façade of the shrine.

The north wall of the adyton shows three women in a simple rocky landscape (Plates 1.3, 1.10-12). The woman in the western corner (Plate 1.11) is walking eastwards, i.e., towards the shrine fresco. The center woman (Plate 1.12) is seated facing the shrine fresco and the remaining woman (Plate 1.10) faces the seated woman, but with her head turned backwards also to face the shrine fresco. A window, placed between the first and second women, does not interrupt the scene.

The head of the woman on the left is in profile, but her body is half turned to face the viewer (Plate 1.10). Her hair is dark and full and cascades down her right arm. At least one brown ribbon decorates her hair, forming a loop on her forehead. The ribbon is entwined into the length of her hair, and just below the hairline either her hair or another dark ribbon forms a twist that also resembles the loop of a sacral knot. Her eye is heavily outlined in black and her iris is brown

The word ἄδυτος, means a place not to be entered and is often used substantively as an innermost sanctuary or shrine. *Greek-English Lexicon*. Liddell and Scott. 25.

⁴⁰ The 'horns of consecration' are typical and accepted objects of Minoan cult: horns molded or carved from stone, clay or a more valuable material, and are the "conventional imitation of actual horns of oxen, or rather a piece of the skull with the horns attached." Evans. *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*. 135. The area between the horns is a common place to lay other objects of the cult, and the entire structure also has a symbolic meaning within the cult. Nilsson. *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 184.

with a black pupil. Her eyebrow is heavy and her forehead and nose are formed with one line. The lips are painted and the protruding outline of her chin may indicate a double chin. Her ear is outlined in red with little definition. She wears a highly coloured and patterned flounced wrap. Her open-fronted bodice is diaphanous, coloured light blue with a simple brown pattern. A darker blue hem decorates the edge of the bodice. The hem does not continue down the sleeve like those on the tighter bodices, but rather, a thin brown rope, either a seam, or actually a rope inside the garment, can be seen.⁴¹ The torso can be seen through the material; her left breast and nipple are bared, the right breast being hidden by the hem. The same diaphanous material can be seen at the bottom of the flounced wrap. The bodice also displays a tassel at the end of each three-quarter sleeve. The woman wears a large hoop earring, a choker with a crosshatched pattern and a looser dark blue necklace. Lower on her neck lies a loose brown garland. With her left hand she extends a beaded necklace tied with a string.

The woman in the center is seated on a colourful rocky outcrop, which has tufts of croci growing from its peaks (Plate 1.12). She is rendered completely in profile, with her left arm resting on her knee and hand supporting her inclined head. Her hair is black and wavy, decorated with a thick blue and brown ribbon, which forms a small sacral knot or loop on her forehead. Protruding from the front of her hair is a branch, identified as an olive or myrtle.⁴² Another ornament,

⁴¹ If this is a rope inside the garment rather than a seam, then no other seam is visible.

⁴² N. Marinatos believes the branch is olive or myrtle. *Art and Religion*, 79. Doumas believes it is myrtle. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 129.

perhaps a decorative hairpin, extends from the back of her hair.⁴³ Her facial features are identical to those of the first woman with the exception that her double chin is more pronounced. She wears a flounced wrap, or elaborate girdle, although not as highly coloured or decorated, and a diaphanous bodice through which the outline of her right arm can be seen. The bodice is decorated at the sleeves with a dark brown hem and tassels extend from their ends. A lighter coloured seam or again an actual rope can be seen on the sleeves of her garment. Other than the hair decorations, the woman wears only a large hoop earring as jewellery. While her left arm supports her head, her right arm and hand, with her nails painted, reaches down to touch her extended left foot, which is bleeding.

The third woman in the fresco is depicted in profile with her head turned to face the opposite direction her body is facing (Plate 1.11). Her hair is unusual; the artist has painted her head blue and has added a lock of hair that curls onto her forehead and two longer curly locks from the crown of her head. Her facial features are the same as the other women with two exceptions; her iris is blue and her single chin is shown with a smooth line. Her dress is also similar; a colourful and highly patterned flounced wrap with a bodice edged in dark blue and brown hem. This woman, however, wears a diaphanous vestment, which covers most of her body exposing only half her head, part of her right arm, and her feet, which are bare with painted nails. The veil is decorated with small

⁴³ N. Marinatos describes this pin as an iris pin. *Art and Religion*, 79. Doumas calls it a "pin with a pomegranate finial". *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 129.

brown-red dots and has a similar trim of dark blue material. She wears a large hoop earring, a blue choker, bracelets and loose blue anklets.

Wall-paintings of 3b-ground floor

The wall paintings in Room 3b of Xeste 3 are of four males, and, as such, do not concern this study. A brief description will be necessary, however, to better explain the interpretations.

Of the four males, three are naked youths; one, much smaller than the rest, carries a small cup.⁴⁴ The second youth carries a long, narrow piece of cloth and the third a shallow bowl (Plate 2.33 for the first and second youth). The older male is dressed in a loincloth and holds a large jar.

Wall-paintings of 3a- first storey

The main scenes of the first storey wall paintings are directly above the scenes in the adyton of the ground floor (Plate 1.2, 1.4-9, cf. 2.11). The east wall, directly above the shrine fresco, features two women gathering croci (Plate 1.7-9). The north wall, above the three women in the rocky landscape, portrays two women carrying baskets of flowers and one woman in the center seated on a tripartite stand (Plate 1.2, 1.4-6).

The lower half of the east wall fresco depicts a rocky landscape (Plate 1.7-9). The rocks are alternately coloured dark yellow and orange and have red streaks similar to those on the shrine (Plate 2.41). The upper portion of the rocks is

⁴⁴ These three are considered to be youths because of their blue heads. This may indicate shaving of the head, which may represent youth. See below p. 100ff. Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." AJA 90, 399-406; Karageorghis. "Rites de Passage at Thera: Some Oriental Comporanda." TAW III.I, 67-71.

coloured gray and from their peaks grow tufts of croci. Crocus plants hang in mid-air behind the women, perhaps to form the backdrop of the painting.

Between the peaks of the rocks stand two women who gather the croci plants.

The woman on the left is painted in a full frontal position with her head turned towards the other woman (Plate 1.8). Her hair is full and black, but short or elaborately pulled up into tight curls. A wisp of hair falls onto her forehead, and two ponytails are formed from the top of her head. A blue headband pulls the hair from her face. Her eye and eyebrow are heavily outlined and her iris is coloured brown. Her lips are painted and her protruding chin is doubled. Her ear is outlined in red and well defined. She wears the characteristic flounced wrap, coloured and patterned, with an open fronted bodice. A rope is either used decoratively around the waist or attaches the skirt to the bodice. The bodice is edged with a patterned blue material. The artist indicated the woman's breasts by curving the line of the bodice as well as applying two dots for the nipples. Tassels, more delicate than seen before, extend from her short sleeves. The woman wears a large hoop earring, which is decorated with beads, a brown choker and two more necklaces. She wears two armbands on her right arm and a loose blue bracelet on each wrist. Brown anklets encircle her feet. In her left hand, fingernails painted, she holds a conical basket and with her right hand she plucks at the tuft of croci on the rocks.

The woman on the right is shown in full profile (Plate 1.9). Her head is almost completely blue with a single strand of hair on her forehead and a ponytail at the back. A fringe or headband graces her forehead. The facial features are similar,

however, with a single chin. Her wrap is flounced and coloured and she has a similar rope at her waist. Her bodice is decorated with patterned blue trim and is open-fronted but with no indication of breasts. Tassels, which are a variation of the ones seen until now, hang from her sleeves. She wears a large hoop earring, a brown armband on each arm, and loose, blue bracelets and anklets. She stands, bare-footed, facing the first woman, her right foot resting on a rocky outcrop, and with the right hand with painted fingernails, picks from a tuft of croci. She holds a handful of the plant in her left hand.

The north wall of the same room features a very enigmatic scene (Plates 1.2, 1.4-6). The background is no longer a landscape scene, but is presumably inside or on some sort of an unnatural construction. The woman on the left, i.e. the western-most woman, is shown with her head and upper body in profile and her legs turned towards the viewer (Plate 1.4). Her hair is curly and full; a tendril rests on her forehead and a ponytail hangs from the back. A blue headband pulls the hair off her forehead. Her eye and eyebrow are well outlined, with a brown iris and lightly coloured white part to the eye. Her chin is very prominent but not doubled, and her ear is not well defined. Her flounced wrap is coloured but unpatterned and a yellow rope hangs about her waist. Her bodice too is plain yellow with a blue hem, and is open-fronted but with no indication of breasts, even though her arms do not obscure her chest area. She wears a hoop earring, a bracelet on her left wrist and two blue anklets. She holds a conical basket, which she is emptying of its crocus flowers onto the first level of the stand before her.

Her attention is directed to the scene in the center of the painting. A woman sits high atop a structure, which has three levels (Plate 1.6). Her head is in profile and her torso turned slightly towards the viewer. Her hair is black and full, elaborately decorated with beads and a blue headband. A wisp curls over her forehead and more curls decorate the top of her head. A long ponytail extends from the crown of her head and trails down her back.⁴⁵ Her facial features are similar to the other women and her chin is prominent and doubled. She has, further, a red marking on her cheek, similar to crocus stamens. Due to the poor preservation of this painting, her dress is difficult to describe. The skirt or wrap is probably flounced and has blue bands as decoration. Her bodice is light blue, stippled with the same marks as on her cheek, and with a blue edging. The bodice is open-fronted, exposing her right breast and nipple. She is elaborately bejewelled: a large hoop earring, three necklaces and several bracelets. Her necklaces are of particular interest here; the first is a fairly simple blue necklace edged with black beads. The second necklace is a multi-coloured row of ducks. The third necklace is a row of blue and yellow dragonflies, which are suspended from a string of beads.

On either side of this woman, on a lower part of the structure, stand in attendance, a blue monkey and a griffin. The blue monkey, between the first western-most woman and the center woman, stands on its hind legs and offers up a paw-full of croci to the seated woman. The griffin also stands on its hind

⁴⁵ Sp. Marinatos and Doumas believe that this ponytail is not part of her hair but a separate band and proposes that the artist wanted the band to represent a snake. Sp. Marinatos. *Thera VII*, 27; Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 130.

legs and faces the central woman; it is secured by a rope, which extends from its neck off to the upper right register of the scene.

The rocky landscape repeats itself in the east end of the scene. The last woman stands facing the scene, her torso slightly turned towards the viewer and her head down as she supports a basket on her neck and shoulder (Plate 1.5). Her hair is red and fixed in tight curls over her head, a wisp escaping onto her forehead. A blue band ties back her hair at the forehead. Her eye is blue and heavily outlined. Her lips are painted red and her chin is prominent. Her wrap is flounced and coloured but not patterned. Her open bodice is blue with yellow edging, and her right breast and nipple are visible. She wears a double hoop earring, a beaded necklace and matching bracelets and anklets.

Wall painting of 3b- first storey

The arrangement of the wall paintings of the first storey follows that of the ground floor. The area of Room 3b (Plate 1.1d), which was outside the adyton area was decorated with paintings of at least three women (Plate 1.13-14). Doumas notes that their location on the walls is uncertain.⁴⁶

The first woman is shown with her head in profile and her upper torso turned slightly towards the viewer (Plate 1.14). Her hair is unusual; in between a light fringe and a small part at the top of her head, lie broad, patterned blue and white bands. This may indicate some sort of a cap, or coloured ribbons encircling her

⁴⁶ Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 131. He notes moreover, that the excavation reports that the paintings may have come from the area of the staircase (Room 8) but he believes that they come probably from Room 3b. Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 131; Sp. Marinatos. *Thera VI*, 1974, 17; *Thera VII*, 1976, 36.

head. Her eye is large with an undistinguished pupil and thin eyebrow. Her chin is prominent but not double. She has a similar mark on her cheek as the woman seated on the stand in Room 3a: here, however, the two lines do not touch. She does not wear the common flounced wrap; but rather a dress that goes over her right shoulder, across her torso and continues down her lower body. The dress is brown-red in colour and the material seems fuzzy, perhaps indicating wool or fur or another animal skin. She does wear a tight bodice, which is open exposing a large breast. She wears a thick necklace of two colours and carries, in her right arm, a bag or basket with a crosshatched pattern.

Even less remains of the second woman (Plate 1.13). Her hair is similarly styled, but with no fringe, and a broad black and white band. Her eye is large and her upper eyelid and brow are very heavily drawn. She wears the same type of sash dress but of a yellow fluffy material decorated with red flowers. Her bodice is tight and is decorated with a red lily-like pattern. The bodice seems to be open but there is no sign of a breast. She wears a double beaded necklace.

West House

The West House is located on the west side of Akrotiri, just north of the Triangular Square (Plate 1.1a, 1.1c). It is two storied in the western part and three in the eastern half. The contents in the rooms of the ground floor suggest that it was used mainly for storage and food preparation. Room 4 contains a stone mortar, stone tools, cooking jars, and a bowl. Room 3 contains a hearth and a basin for water. The staircases to the upper storey are in Rooms 1 and 2.

Upper Room 3 features a large window facing the square, a central column, a stone trough, storage jars and approximately four hundred and fifty loom weights, which indicates its probable use as a weaving room.⁴⁷ Upper Room 3 leads to Room 5, which gives access to Room 4, which contained a smaller separately divided room; 4a. Upper Room 5 features four large windows on the northern and western walls. Doors and niches make up the southern and eastern walls. A high quality, painted stucco table was found in one of these niches. These windows and doors took up much of the wall space, and the frescoes were painted on the remaining rectangular bands running along the top of the room. The frescoes on the four walls are inter-related and are known as the Miniature Frieze. Only fragments remain on the west wall showing a town, called Town I. The north wall is more complete, the fresco shows scenes called Meeting on the Hill, the Shipwreck, the Warriors, and Town II. The east wall features a marshy landscape. The south wall shows scenes called the Ship Procession and Towns IV and V (Plates 1.17-19). In the south-west and north-east corners of the same room, two nude fishermen are featured holding their catch. The entrance from Room 4 to 5 shows a woman dressed in an unusual sash dress and carrying an incense burner (Plate 1.15).⁴⁸ Room 4 features eight life-size paintings of stern cabins from boats. Room 4a is considered a lavatory as it features stone benches separated by a ten-centimetre slit. A clay pipe at the bottom of the slit travels to a slab-covered pit outside, which is connected to the drainage system.

⁴⁷ Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 72.

⁴⁸ Sp. Marinatos believes the fresco was found in room 4, but Ch. Doumas placed it on the wall leading from room 4 to room 5. N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 46.

The room also contains a bathtub, a bronze tripod vessel, two clay vessels containing plaster, a bowl of red pigment and a stucco tripod table. Room 7 in the upper storey contains approximately two hundred vessels, a window, a stone bench, and a staircase. Neighbouring Room 6 contains pottery, stone tools, a stone lamp, and twenty-six lead discs.

Wall-paintings of the West House

The frieze on the north wall of Room 5 of the upper storey shows two scenes known as "Assembly on the Hill" and "Shipwreck". Near the center of the composition remain two women who walk beside each other carrying jugs on their heads, presumably from the town well (Plate 1.16). The first woman balances the jug without use of her hands. Her hair is shown black and full; the thick strands, which rest on her arm, may indicate its length.⁴⁹ The woman behind her raises her arm, perhaps to balance her own jug, which is obscured by a tree. Both women wear long skirts of a single colour: one is blue and the other is red. A black fringe along the side of the red skirt may indicate its shaggy texture, although the style of the dress does not compare well with those of the women in Xeste 3, who may also wear shaggy dresses. Their dresses continue in a sash style up into the chest area, whereas the garments of the women in the Miniature fresco are only skirts.

The south wall also shows a Miniature frieze (Plate 1.17-19). On the left side of the frieze (Plate 1.17), only one woman is discernible among those in the first

⁴⁹ This thick black line may be a dark outline of her bodice rather than her hair.

town. Only a portion of her head remains: presumably just her head and shoulders are seen emerging from the roof of the building. Behind her stand five more men or youths. No women are indicated on the boats shown in between the towns. On the right side of the fresco (Plate 1.19) the artist has shown at least five to seven women. They are placed in the same position: head and shoulders rising from the roof of the building. The hair of two of the women is dark and short, and their bodices seem to be patterned and may be open-fronted. Two of the women raise their arms in some type of a greeting towards the boats.

A woman is depicted on the wall between the two rooms (4 and 5) (Plate 1.15). The fresco shows the head in profile and the full frontal view of the body. The head is painted blue. Curly locks of hair remain on her head, one of them hanging down her neck. Her one eye shown is dark with no definition, and her prominent nose continues in a straight line from her forehead. Both her lips and her ear are painted red. The woman wears a large, gold coloured hoop earring, with two bisecting lines in the center, and thick blue necklace and a thick blue bracelet or armband on her lower wrist. Her dress seems to have two garment parts; underneath she wears a tight blouse with a checkered white and blue pattern with blue piping along the sleeves. The dress over the blouse only goes over one shoulder and cuts across the chest. The lower portion of the dark yellow or brown dress is decorated with a wide blue and white stripe. A section of the dress shown along her right side where the stripe is on a higher level may indicate a fold in the dress or the inner material of the dress. The barefooted

woman is holding what is commonly believed to be an incense burner into which she is sprinkling yellow saffron.⁵⁰

The House of the Ladies

The House of the Ladies, named after its frescoes, is located northeast of the West House (Plate 1.1a, 1.1b). It is a large building with at least three stories in its western half, two staircases and a light-well. This last feature, although common to Minoan architecture, is the first of its kind in Akrotiri.⁵¹

The frescoes that gave this building its name are located in Room 1 of the second storey (Plates 1.20-21). The room itself is divided into a western and eastern half by a small partition. The wall paintings of the western half fill the south, west and north walls. The upper part of the composition is made up of several horizontal, blue, red and black bands. Below this a row of large plants, their flower heads standing high above their foliage, rise from wavy, red-yellow lines.⁵² Room 1 contains repositories under the floor holding cups, painted jugs, a rhyton, a cooking pot, a pot containing seeds and a jug decorated with swallows.⁵³

Wall-paintings of the House of the Ladies

The paintings that concern this study are located in the eastern half of Room

⁵⁰ Her right arm has been rather sloppily shortened by the artist, probably in error, to reach the burner.

⁵¹ Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 33; Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 81.

⁵² Sp. Marinatos suggested these are Pancratium lilies. *Thera V*, 1972, 39.

⁵³ Sp. Marinatos describes the repositories as "a great shist slab of some pavement [which covered the floor]". Sp. Marinatos. *Thera v. 5*. 13.

1 (Plates 1.20-21). They cover at least the north and south walls, perhaps the east wall, the composition on which is too decayed. The figure on the south wall, an upright woman in profile, walks towards the east (Plate 1.20). Her hair is full, long and wavy, with a slight fringe, but undecorated. Her eye and eyebrow are fairly thick with no pupil definition. The artist has added red paint in light streaks to the white part of her eye. Her ear has some detail outlined in light brown. Her lips are painted brightly and her chin is doubled and prominent. She has a bright red spot on her cheek. She wears a flounced wrap, which is tied at the waist with a rope, and a long patterned underskirt and tight bodice. The woman is turned in profile so the viewer cannot tell if the bodice is open-fronted, and no signs of her breasts are visible. The only jewellery she wears is a large hoop earring and perhaps a double stranded necklace, although its simplicity suggests it may be the hem of another garment.

At least two figures grace the north wall arrangement. One woman is almost completely preserved (Plate 1.21). She stands in profile and bends from the waist towards the east. Her hair is long and wavy, although this time decorated with a thick headband, and her facial features, what little is preserved, are identical to her companion on the south wall. Her dress is likewise similar, although not as highly coloured, and her bodice is definitely open, as a large breast and nipple, droop from under her arm. She wears a large hoop earring and a bracelet on her left wrist. She leans towards another figure, whose arm and hem of bodice can be seen. With her left hand the first woman touches the

other's arm and seems to offer a garment in her right. The garment is identical to the woman's flounced wrap.

CHAPTER 2

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF DRESS FROM AKROTIRI

The most important and telling iconographical feature of women in the Bronze Age arts is dress. Dress serves several functions in a civilized society; foremost it is used as a visual symbol, which reflects everything from the sex and age to social rank, function and occupation of the wearer. Barber contends that "most clothing is worn for social reasons"⁵⁴ and the "the easiest and most adaptable solution [to convey social messages] is to hang a suitable cloth outermost on the person, place, or thing to be marked and remove it when it is no longer appropriate".⁵⁵

Two different properties of dress should be distinguished; the first is the style of dress, and the second, the designs depicted on the material. Both properties offer information about the wearer; this thesis, however, will focus primarily on the former.⁵⁶

The dress alone, however, does not identify the wearer with a particular role; rather, it is part of a set of iconographical features, which in a particular composition reveal the nature of the wearer. In the final conclusions of this thesis (page 112), the reader will be presented with the results of the dress, hairstyle,

⁵⁴ Barber. E.W. *Women's Work: The First 2,000 Years*, 128.

⁵⁵ Barber. E.W. *Women's Work: The First 2,000 Years*, 148.

⁵⁶ For a detailed discussion on symbols on the costumes of Bronze Age men and women see Barber. *Prehistoric Textiles*, 316ff.; Jones. *Minoan Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, and see also N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 141ff.

and jewellery; the three components that make up this set of iconographic features.

The wall paintings of the Aegean show six types of dress for women.⁵⁷ The first is the bodice with long plain skirt (see plate 1.40, the two women from the left of the top panel).⁵⁸ The second is the bodice and long flounced skirt (see plates 1.30 and 1.39). The third is the bodice and flounced wrap, sometimes worn over a long skirt (see plates 1.20-21). The fourth is a type of full length dress, which crosses the torso on a diagonal, covering only one shoulder, and is sometimes worn over a bodice, hereafter referred to as a sash dress (see plate 1.15).⁵⁹ The fifth is a 'hide dress', a garment referred to as such as it may represent animal skin (see plate 1.40, the first, fourth, fifth and sixth women from the left of the top panel, and the woman on the far right of the bottom panel). The sixth is the loincloth of the Taureador frescoes (see plates 1.34-5). The Theran wall paintings only depict two of these six types of dress and thus this study will

⁵⁷ See Kontorli-Papadopoulos, *Aegean Frescoes*, 86ff., for a slightly different categorization of dress. See Morgan, *MWPT*, 98ff., for the clothing of the women in the miniature paintings. (I have chosen not to include the miniature paintings as their small scale does not preserve to a great extent the iconographical features that are the focus of this thesis: dress, hairstyle and jewellery.) See Barber for the development of Aegean clothing fashions arranged into four main chronological phases which she calls *Preclassical Minoan*, *Classical Minoan*, *Transitional/Ritual*, and *Native Mycenaean*. *Women's Work: The First 2,000 Years*, 314ff.

⁵⁸ Kontorli-Papadopoulos describes this dress as Type B in her description of the costumes of the Aegean Bronze Age. *Aegean Frescoes*, 86ff. I, unlike her, differentiate between the bodice and long skirt, and the sash dress (see below in text and next footnote). The bodice with plain skirt may in some cases be a one-piece dress. N Marinatos reconstructs this dress, specifically the one worn by the women of the House of the Ladies. The skirt and bodice are shown as one piece. (Plate 2.14). Immerwahr notes, in her description of the Theran dress, that "[t]he length of this bodice is not clear, nor whether it was a separate garment, for the flounced skirt was applied over it". She presents as further evidence for a one-piece dress, the faience robes from the Temple Repositories at Knossos (*PM I*, 506f, 364a-b), but indicates that the girdles found among them (*PM I*, 364 c-d) suggest otherwise. *Aegean Painting*, 55.

⁵⁹ Kontorli-Papadopoulos equates the sash dress with the long robe (see above footnote), and I separate the two. *Aegean Frescoes*, 86ff. N. Marinatos also notes that the sash dress "indicates a special ceremonial garment not to be equated with any long dress." *Art and Religion*, 46.

concern only the middle two categories of dress: the bodice and flounced wrap, and the sash dress.⁶⁰

BODICE AND FLOUNCED WRAP

The types of bodice generally fall into two categories: open-fronted, or close-fronted. In both cases it is a tight fitting jacket with sleeves normally ending at the elbows. Bodices are occasionally shown with various patterned material, often the border on the sleeves is different. A diaphanous chemise is often thought to cover the chest area; still leaving visible the breasts. Often the neckline of this diaphanous garment would have a coloured border. The dress of the Theran women, however, shows that this is not the case. There is no hint on these well-decorated wall paintings of any material covering the chest. The only possible exception is seen on the young life-size woman on the West House paintings (Plate 1.15). She has a blue band across her neck, and it is difficult to decide whether it is a neckline to a diaphanous chemise or a necklace.

In one case the bodice may be laced at the front probably under the breasts. The fresco of the bending woman from the House of the Ladies shows five lines of yellow thread on the lower part of her bodice.⁶¹ A comparable example for this

⁶⁰ Another feature of the Aegean dress that is more rarely depicted in art, and is not depicted on any wall-paintings including the Theran frescoes, is the panier or apron. Two fine examples are seen on the faience statues from the Palace of Knossos (Plates 2.5-6). A later example can be seen (possibly) on a gold signet ring from Mycenae (CMS I, Nr 127) (Plate 2.15). A line on the dresses, specifically on the women on the right, can represent this apron, which is tied around the waist and hangs in the front and the back of the dress.

⁶¹ This observation and hypothesis is thanks to Bernice Jones' observant descriptions of the dresses. Jones. *Minoan Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, 254.

feature is seen on the "Snake Goddess" of Knossos, where the bodice is secured under the breasts with lace.

In all instances in Akrotiri, the bodice has an open front. This is evident even of the women who are rendered in semi or full profile. The artists have not always indicated the breasts of the women; of the thirteen life-size examples at Akrotiri, six have their breasts visible, and on one of these, only the nipples are indicated.

The bodices from Akrotiri have a decorative feature rarely seen on other Aegean representations. In six cases the sleeve, which ends at the elbow, has an ornamented tassel attached to the seam. This tassel can best be seen in its variations on the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3 (Plate 1.7-9). The woman on the left has three tassels clearly hanging from each sleeve, which end in a triangular piece of cloth that may be the frayed end of the tassel or another added ornament (Plate 1.7). A variation of this decoration can be seen on the garment of the woman on the right (Plate 1.9). Only two strings dangle from her sleeve, and consist of successive triangular pieces of cloth. The tassel on the woman from the House of the Ladies is decorated with blue and red beads (Plate 1.21). Younger believes that the tassel is the warp ends of the cloth: the unbound edges of cloth from the loom, gathered together and weighted with beads of different shapes.⁶²

It may be suggested, however, in the cases of the two left-hand women on the adyton fresco, that the tassels may be joined to a rope, which travels under the sleeve and around the back of the neck rather than belonging to the seam

⁶² Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewelry." *Aegaeum* 8, 273-4.

endings (Plates 1.3, 1.10, 1.12). This idea for the rope ornament comes from the fact that the bodice hems and sleeve seams of the left-hand woman in the same fresco are mismatched; the hems at her sleeve ends and along her chest are dark blue, while the seam that runs up the side of her arm is light brown. The only possible explanation I can provide is that these diaphanous bodices did not require a sleeve seam in reconstruction, so a rope was added under the dress to simulate the seam (Plates 1.10, 1.12). This rope would therefore be purely decorative with no functional value and would simply help in keeping the representations of the bodices consistent.

The tassels have few comparisons in Crete and the mainland, although this is probably due to the lack of sleeve representations.⁶³ The Procession fresco at Knossos does, however, show elaborate, beaded tassels on at least two of the men in kilts (Plate 2.1). Here the beads weighting the tassels are obvious. The bottom hem of a dress can also be decorated with tassels as seen on the hem of a dress from a fresco at Mycenae (Plate 2.2). The woman from Ayia Triadha is also believed to have net-like tassels decorating the sleeves of her garment, which can be seen in the cross-hatching over her right hip.⁶⁴

The tassels do have a parallel in the decoration of the Syrian costumes. Women's dresses often show a tassel drooping from the sleeve area of a garment (Plate 2.3). Another example shows a man dressed in a kilt with three sets of tassels attached to the hem and the waistline of his skirt (Plate 2.4).

⁶³ Jones. *Minoan Women's Clothes. An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, 272.

⁶⁴ Jones. "Revealing Minoan Fashions." *Archaeology* Vol. 53, Num. 3, 40.

These tassels are identical to those of the girl on the east wall of upper Room 3a in Xeste 3 (Plate 1.9).

The best examples of the open-fronted bodices seen outside of Akrotiri are those in the frescoes at Knossos: the Lady in Red (Plate 1.26), the Ladies in Blue (Plate 1.24), and the Dancing Girl (Plate 1.36). In all cases, only fragments of the bodice and chest remain, but they are sufficiently preserved to show that they were open-fronted. These fragments also illustrate the richness of decoration and colour of the material. The edges have a clearly defined border, which is distinguished by different patterns and colours. The life-size figure of a woman at Pseira (Plate 1.39) shows an open-fronted bodice, but with no indication of breasts other than the curved shape of the material.

On the mainland this type of bodice is preserved on the processional women from Thebes and Pylos. In the case of Thebes (Plate 1.59), two of the women are rendered in full profile, but the artist has extended the chest area to depict the breasts. An example of the close-fronted bodice is best seen on the Mykenaia (Plate 1.44) at Mycenae. Here the chest area is covered with a transparent chemise, and only the outline of the nipples is visible. It is often difficult to determine if a bodice is open or closed, when women are portrayed in profile. This difficulty can be seen with the La Parisienne (Plate 1.32). Her profile view and preservation obscures a conclusive description. The side view of the women in the Boar Hunt fresco (Plate 1.53) from Tiryns also prevents a definite description.

The depiction of the bodice is difficult to categorize on seals and other art of smaller dimensions. Figurines, however, show more clearly these types of bodices.

The figurines found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos (Plates 2.5, 2.6) wear the open-fronted bodice. These bodices are probably an earlier type because they do not fall to the waist in a V-shape exposing the breasts in the normal fashion, but rather they are closed beneath the breasts with a lace or string⁶⁵; or they might have boning under the cloth to ensure the stiffness of the material. The bodices on the votive robes found in the same context, however, are different (Plate 2.7). They, in accordance with later styles, open in a V-shape almost to the waist.⁶⁶

There are variations in the material of the bodice. The westernmost woman on the north wall of the adyton in Xeste 3 (Plates 1.3, 1.10) wears a loose fitting, diaphanous blouse. The torso of the woman can be seen through the light blue material, the hem of which is an opaque, dark blue. Short brown double lines are patterned on the blouse. The woman in the center of the same fresco (Plates 1.3, 1.12) also wears a diaphanous blouse: the outline of her right arm can clearly be seen through the material which seems to hang loosely around the right arm and right side of the torso. All other bodices from Thera, and from Crete and the mainland, are of a non-diaphanous material.

⁶⁵ Evans, *PM I*, 503.

⁶⁶ The 'later' style is a relative designation and it refers to those styles of the Palace Period (MM IIIA-B, LM IA) at Knossos during which most of the frescoes were painted.

The flounced wrap commonly accompanies the bodice. It is best distinguished by three properties; the first characteristic of the wrap is its length; it is normally distinctively shorter than the flounced skirt. The second property is the distinctive V-shape folds the flounces follow on the dress; the hemline of the dress follows this V-shape of the flounces. The last distinguishing feature of the wrap, which is clearly seen on the frescoes at Akrotiri, is the visible separation in the center where the ends of the wrap would meet (these three properties are best seen on the reconstruction of the wrap from the fresco from the House of the Ladies. Plates 2.13, 2.14).

The flounced wrap is a garment often confused with the flounced skirt, and it is only recently that scholarship has begun to separate the two garments (see below for discussion). The distinction between the wrap and flounced skirt must be stressed; whereas the wrap is a garment, which is literally “wrapped” around the waist to form a type of skirt, the flounced skirt is a garment which is pulled up to form a skirt fully-closed at the front.⁶⁷ The frescoes at Akrotiri undoubtedly show that the “divided skirt” or wrap, as it is called in this thesis, was a common garment, at least to the Therans, and therefore it has to be studied as a clothing item distinguished from the popular flounced skirt. Any lingering doubt as to the distinctness of the wrap is immediately dispelled by the images of the House of the Ladies where the artist has clearly indicated the distinct wrap (Plates 1.20-1). Nevertheless it is instructive to note other scholars’ views on this garment.

⁶⁷ I have already noted the possibility of the flounced skirt being attached to the bodice and therefore forming a dress. In this case the dress would be pulled up or pulled over the head. See footnote 58 above.

There are various and inconclusive views on the distinction between the wrap and the well known flounced skirt. Wace, in his characterization of a Cretan statuette of uncertain origin, rejects the view of the divided skirt, believing the bell skirt that is "worn without any petticoats underneath will naturally flop between the knees when the wearer is sitting and if drawn by a primitive artist of limited technique will at first sight give the impression of a divided skirt".⁶⁸ Hogarth, and more recently Foster, allude to the wrap as being a garment of wide trousers.⁶⁹ These views, for the most part written before the discovery of the Thera frescoes, except for Foster whose work was published only three years after the discovery, could not have taken the Akrotiri 'flounced wrap' into consideration. Again, due to the meticulousness of the artists at Thera, it is clear that the wrap has not merely flopped between the knees as Wace defines it, nor is it a 'garment of wide trousers' as Hogarth and Foster claim.

Sp. Marinatos, without making any conclusions, mentions the wrap in regards to the Knossian miniature frescoes and similar monuments that show the "type [that] deals with a fabric whose overlapped ends fall apart by striding or by rapid movement."⁷⁰ Finally, Peterson and N. Marinatos are the first scholars to acknowledge that this garment is definitively divided and they thus separate the flounced wrap from the ordinary flounced skirt.⁷¹ Since their publications scholars now differentiate between the two garments as such. It is my opinion that the

⁶⁸ Wace. *A Cretan Statuette in the Fitzwilliam Museum. A Study in Minoan Costume*, 38-9. n. 5.

⁶⁹ Hogarth. "The Zakro Sealing." *JHS* (1902), 79; Foster. *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age*, 78.

⁷⁰ Sp. Marinatos. "Kleidung Haar- und Bartracht." *Archaeologia Homeric*, 26-30.

⁷¹ Peterson, "A Costuming Scene from the Room of the Ladies on Thera." *AJA* 85 (1981), 211; N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 100-2.

flounced wrap is to be distinguished from the full, undivided flounced skirt and this thesis will thus differentiate between the two garments.

There is evidence for the flounced skirt in the Near Eastern civilizations. The Sumerians wore a similar full skirt of at least three horizontal flounces. Lutz notes that this type of dress may have evolved from flaps commonly added to the simple loin-cloth garment that they also wore.⁷² The later Sumerians wore a type of long robe, which covered only one shoulder, and was made up of a succession of horizontal flounces (Plate 2.8). The Syrian women wore a wrap garment, which usually had about three flounces (Plate 2.12).

Another problematic issue with the flounced wrap is its reconstruction. N. Marinatos offers a reconstructed drawing of the wrap in *Art and Religion of Thera* (Plate 2.14).⁷³ She does not, however, explain how the wrap would have been made. Wardle offers a method of manufacture of the wraps; she believes that the wrap was made of a trapezoidal shaped lining onto which were sewn six horizontal bands of cloth, each overlapping the one below it.⁷⁴ Wardle does not explain how the wrap would have been secured at the waist. Jones reviews this method and finds it to be a "complex system [which] is based on cutting, piecing, and sewing to achieve the requisite V-shaped points hanging down the center front of the skirt."⁷⁵

⁷² Lutz. *Textiles and Costumes Among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East*, 146.

⁷³ This reconstruction was done by L. Papageorgiou. *Art and Religion*, 6.

⁷⁴ Wardle. "Does Reconstruction Help? A Mycenaean Dress and the Dendra Suit of Armour." *Problems in Greek Prehistory*.

⁷⁵ Jones. *Minoan Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, 170-1.

Jones offers an alternative method, which uses "a simple loom shaped rectangle of cloth."⁷⁶ She proposes a pattern of a thin, long strip of cloth onto which several overlapping flounces would have been sewn. The main difference between the two methods was that Jones' base lining for the wrap is a rectangular shaped piece of cloth which could have easily been made on the loom, whereas Wardle's base lining was of a shape which would have had to be cut from several rectangular shaped pieces of cloth and sewn together. As it is unclear how complex the dress making systems of the Bronze Age were, other than the general methods of the loom, I believe Jones' reconstruction to have made the most use of the evidence. Once the skirt was completed and formed a rectangular strip of cloth, the woman would 'wrap' the skirt from back to front, overlapping one side to let the material hang freely in the front (Plates 2.9-10). A cord would have been knotted around the waist and tied in a loop at the back.

The wrap can be worn alone, or over a long underskirt. The distinctiveness of the wrap and the underskirt can best be seen on the fresco of the north wall of the House of the Ladies (Plate 1.21, also see N. Marinatos' reconstruction, plates 2.13-14). The bending woman offers a wrap; identical to the one she herself is wearing, to the poorly preserved figure in front of her. It is obvious that the flounced wrap is a completely separate garment from the longer skirt over which it is worn.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Jones. *Minoan Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, 171; "Revealing Minoan Fashions." *Archaeology* Vol. 53, Num. 3.

⁷⁷ Peterson. "A Costuming Scene from the Room of the Ladies on Thera." *AJA* 85, 211; N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 274, note 59.

At Thera a waist rope often accompanies the flounced wrap; it was probably used to secure the looser garment, which would easily have slipped off the waist. This corded belt is mostly absent from depictions in Crete and the mainland; the only female who sports the belt is one of the bull-leapers from the Taureador Frescoes (Plate 2.30). Further examples come from a wall painting in Egypt, which shows kilted men wearing the waist rope (Plate 2.31). An extant knotted and fringed cord with its attached loin cloth, from a tomb in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes in Egypt, also confirms its use.⁷⁸

A review of the dress of the Theran women is necessary to show that they wear the wrap rather than the flounced skirt. The woman on the far left in the north wall painting of the adyton in Xeste 3 (Plates 1.3, 1.10) wears her highly decorated garment over a longer transparent skirt, which matches her bodice. The narrow slit in the center of the material indicates that it is undoubtedly a wrap and not a full skirt, which would not have shown any division. It is important to note that this is the only woman in Xeste 3 who wears an underskirt below her wrap, all others wear the wrap alone. N. Marinatos has perhaps exaggerated this distinction in her sketches of this wall painting (Plate 2.13).⁷⁹

The many jagged edges on the skirt on the seated woman beside her indicate that her skirt is probably also a wrap secured to her waist with a rope (Plates 1.3, 1.12). It is important to note that both Jones and Televantou do not believe this woman wears a wrap but that she wears, according to Jones, an elaborate girdle

⁷⁸ Jones. Minoan Women's Clothes. An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art, 181.

⁷⁹ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, figs. 43-4, 52.

with streamers, or, according to Televantou, an apron which wraps around the waist and ends in long tapes.⁸⁰ While the visual evidence to indicate that this skirt is such as is described above by Jones and Televantou, I am not entirely convinced that the garment is a girdle type skirt. Perhaps the artist was merely showing the wrap, with its many flounces and edges, on a seated figure. The last woman wears her wrap covered by a transparent veil (Plates 1.3, 1.11).

The women on the north wall of the upper floor of Xeste 3, Room 3a (Plates 1.2, 1.4-6), also wear the flounced wrap. Again, the obvious division in the center of the garment indicates that they are wraps rather than skirts. The dress of the woman seated on the tripartite stand (Plates 1.2, 1.6) is poorly preserved but the edges of the flounces are shown and it can be concluded that she wears a flounced wrap with no underskirt. The two women on the adjacent east wall (Plates 1.7-9) also wear the flounced garment with no underskirt.

Often the last flounce on a wrap matches the bodice in colour and pattern.⁸¹ This occurs several times on the frescoes from Xeste 3; the woman on the left in the Saffron Gatherer fresco (Plate 1.8) wears a white bodice with a blue border, and her bottom flounce is also white. The outline of the woman's legs can be seen through the material suggesting it is diaphanous. The bodice of the woman on the right of the same fresco (Plate 1.9) also matches the last flounce of her

⁸⁰ Jones. Minoan Women's Clothes. An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art, 249. Televantou. "Women's Dress from Prehistoric Thera." *ArchEph*, 124.121. If their judgment is correct, however, the girdle or apron would fit Lutz's observation above that the wrap may have evolved from flaps added to a loin-cloth (page 37).

⁸¹ This may indicate that the bodice is attached to an underskirt which, like the flounced wrap above it, opens at the front. Jones "Revealing Minoan Fashions." Archaeology Vol. 53, Num. 3, 36-7.

skirt. Similarly, on the north wall painting on the upper floor (Plates 1.2, 1.4-5) the women wear a matching bodice and diaphanous flounce. The woman on the left side of the scene of the adyton wears a loose, diaphanous blue bodice with matching underskirt (Plate 1.10).

The women depicted in the Room of the Ladies (Plates 1.20-21) wear their wraps with an underskirt or, more likely a long robe. The underskirts are not diaphanous and are distinctly longer, reaching to the ankles, and like the women on Xeste 3, their bodices match their underskirt in colour and decoration. N. Marinatos illustrates these garments in a reconstruction (Plate 2.14).

The diaphanous veil worn by the left-hand figure on the adyton fresco deserves further mention (Plate 1.11). This is the first veil pictured in Aegean art and the only reference to a diaphanous veil is found in Homer. In Book XIV of the *Iliad*, Hera envelopes herself with a "fair veil, all glistening, and white as the sun."⁸² The diaphanous quality of the fabric is also curiously only found on Thera. Again this may be due to the dearth of complete wall paintings extant in the rest of the Aegean, as this type of fabric is found in use on dresses in Egyptian frescoes (2.36). The idea that the artists may have made the material diaphanous to conceptualize the human body underneath is questioned, but is generally dismissed, due to the meticulousness of the Aegean artists, especially in their depictions of the fabrics.⁸³

⁸² Homer. *Iliad*. XIV, 184-5.

⁸³ Jones. Minoan Women's Clothes. An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art, 256. Forsyth and a number of other scholars, with the discovery of a cocoon on Thera, propose the possibility that these see-through garments are silk. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 49. E. Panagiotakopulu, P.C. Buckland, P.M. Day, Ch. Doumas, A. Sarpani and P. Skidmore. "A

Dress in other wall paintings

With a few exceptions the dresses on other wall paintings in the Aegean are difficult to categorize. Either the poor state of preservation or the minute sizes of the figures themselves make a comparative study difficult. The problem with identifying a wrap worn over a straight-edged skirt, such as those from the House of the Ladies, is again in the minuteness of the examples; there is no clear evidence that the garments have a center slit in them making them a wrap. These dresses may be wraps worn over underskirts or they may be full skirts made with V-shaped flounces. This difficulty results in few distinctions being made between the types of skirts and they are often just referred to as flounced skirts or dresses. As we shall see, in only one instance can we conclusively identify a wrap as opposed to a flounced skirt.

The best-preserved painting of a flounced wrap worn without an underskirt is seen on the fresco at Ayia Triadha (Plate 1.41). Only the woman's lower body is preserved and she is shown with her feet on two levels and her knees slightly bent. Her body position makes it difficult to say if she was standing, sitting or even dancing.⁸⁴ Her wrap is highly coloured and decorated with a variety of patterns.

The only other wall paintings that preserve the lower dress of the women are the Miniature frescoes at Knossos (Plates 1.29-30). Unfortunately their minute

lepidopterous cocoon from Thera and evidence for silk in the Aegean Bronze Age." *Antiquity* 71, 420-8.

⁸⁴ Rehak, "The Role of Religious Painting in the Function of the Minoan Villa: The Case of Ayia Triadha," *The Function of the Minoan Villa*, 168.

nature precludes any clear definition of their dress. The dresses that show V-shaped flounces with a straight edged hem could fit into one of two categories: they could illustrate a skirt with V-shaped flounces or they could show wraps worn over underskirts, similar to those seen in the House of the Ladies. It is possible to categorize the dress on some of the fragments. On the Grandstand fresco (Plate 1.29) the artist has portrayed a group of men and women in the shorthand technique, above and below which are groups of standing and seated women. They wear bodices which are open-fronted (or have diaphanous chemises), and long patterned and coloured skirts. Of all the preserved women who stand, only the skirt of one has V-shaped flounces: the rest have horizontal flounces. The dresses of the seated women are more difficult to categorize. The flounces are represented by bands of different patterns and colours, and probably show skirts with horizontal flounces.

The restoration of the Sacred Grove and Dance fresco (Plate 1.30)⁸⁵ shows, at the top of the painting, a crowd of both men and women. Again, the artist has indicated a large crowd by drawing in only the heads of many people. Below this crowd, a group of fourteen women stand, some with their arms raised towards the scene on their left, which is entirely lost. Their yellow bodices are of the open-fronted type⁸⁶, and their skirts are long with varied patterns. Only five of the fourteen women's skirts are preserved enough for study. On only two of the

⁸⁵ Drawn by M. Gilliéron, at the suggestion of Evans. *PM III*, 66.

⁸⁶ Evans suggests that they wear diaphanous chemises, which may indeed be the case. *PM III*, 67.

extant five dresses can we suggest that the women wear a wrap over a long straight skirt.

In comparing the dresses of the two miniature frescoes at Knossos, it is clear that the majority of the extant women on the Grandstand fresco wear horizontally flounced skirts, while the women of the Sacred Grove and Dance fresco wear either wraps over underskirts or fully flounced skirts.

The frescoes of the Processions at Knossos (Plates 1.37-8) preserve only the lower dress and feet of several life-size figures. The group of women on the east wall all wear long, plainly decorated dresses which have no indication of flounces or patterns. The woman at the forefront of this procession, however, wears a dress with a straight-edged hem and a V-shaped flounce. A procession on the west wall also shows that at least one woman wears the same type of dress. Again, this type of dress could be a wrap worn over a skirt or a flounced skirt.

The only other indication of a flounced skirt seen on the frescoes from Crete is from Pseira (Plate 1.39). Here a woman sits on a rock, with an open-fronted bodice and skirt. Unfortunately, only part of the skirt is preserved and only one flounce, probably horizontal, can be observed.

Few well-preserved costumes remain from the mainland. Of the two dresses seen on the painting from the Room of the Frescoes (Plate 1.46) at Mycenae, one has a dress patterned with rarely seen vertical lines, and the other has a design which may indicate flounces. A fragment of a skirt from the Cult Center at Mycenae (Plate 1.54) probably indicates V-shaped flounces. The only other

indication of a dress with V-shaped flounces is seen on the woman who stands to the right of the figure eight shield on the Palladion (Plate 1.48).

At Pylos there are a few additional examples of flounced skirts. The fragments that form the two processional women from the 'Palace of Nestor' (Plate 1.56) indicate that the skirts have definite V-shaped flounces. If the restoration is correct, then the flounces fall to the center of the dress down to the horizontal hem. Another procession from the same palace shows a skirt with V-shaped flounces that continue to the bottom of the dress (Plate 1.56).

This survey of the dresses shows that the only figure who definitely wears a wrap with no underskirt is the woman from Ayia Triadha. The rest of the garments are more difficult to categorize, however, in a few cases it can be suggested that the women wear the flounced wrap over a longer skirt. This can be seen on the women of the Sacred Grove and Dance fresco, the Procession frescoes at Knossos and the Procession frescoes at Pylos. In several other cases the skirts have horizontal flounces such as the seated women from the Grandstand fresco and the woman from the painting at Pseira. In all other cases the dress is too fragmentary to categorize.

Dress in seals, gemstones and rings

The various flounced garments can be seen on a gold ring from Knossos (Plate 2.19).⁸⁷ The scene shows four women: the two women on the right have their arms raised perhaps in adoration of the other figures. The positions of the

⁸⁷ CMS II.3. Nr. 51.

two figures on the left suggest some movement: their knees are bent under the skirts and their arms are raised. A much smaller figure appears in the scene. Three of the larger women wear a skirt with V-shaped flounces but the illustration is too small to decide if the dresses are wraps or skirts. The lines on the underskirt of two of the three women are horizontal, while those of the third woman are vertical. The fourth woman, however, wears a full flounced skirt; the skirt is long, with several horizontal lines depicting the flounces. The costumes of these women also depict the sleeve tassels commonly seen at Thera (Plate 1.9).

Another gold ring, this one found at Mycenae (Plate 2.15)⁸⁸ also shows two women standing on either side of a shrine. They both wear a skirt with V-shaped flounces. The underskirt of one woman is decorated with vertical stripes and on the other the stripes are horizontal.

There are several examples of skirts with horizontal flounces. A seal from Knossos (Plate 2.16)⁸⁹ shows a woman, who stands before an altar, wearing the full flounced skirt. Here the flounces do not follow a V-pattern; rather the artist has conveyed them with several horizontal lines.

A sealstone from Chania (Plate 2.17)⁹⁰, shows a skirt with definite V-shaped flounces. The flounces fall to the bottom of the skirt with no break in pattern until the horizontal hem of the skirt. This woman, too, stands beside an altar or shrine.

⁸⁸ CMS I. Nr. 127.

⁸⁹ CMS VS 1A Nr 75.

⁹⁰ CMS V SupplA Nr. 176.

A gemstone (Plate 2.18)⁹¹ shows a female figure whose wrap falls very low in the center, and starts high at the knees on the sides, which is worn alone. Its length and distinct V-shaped pattern suggest that this is a wrap.

Probably the best example of a flounced wrap can be seen on a gemstone from Pylos (Plate 2.20).⁹² Although this seal was found on the mainland, N. Marinatos notes that it was definitely of Minoan origin.⁹³ The flounces are V-shaped and are distinctly divided between the woman's legs to indicate definitively that the garment is a wrap, rather than a full skirt. This woman stands beside a shrine, mounted with horns of consecration, from which protrude two olive branches. She holds two lilies in her right hand, and bends her head towards them, as if to smell the flowers.⁹⁴

The difficulty in separating the identity of the flounced wrap and the skirt with V-shaped flounces is illustrated by a gold ring from a tomb at Mycenae (Plate 2.21).⁹⁵ The woman in the center wears a long dress with horizontal flounces decorating the bottom half of the dress. A V-shaped flounce falls just above the mid-point of the skirt. This may be an artist's convention to render a flounced wrap on such a small detailed piece of art. To the right of this woman, another woman leans from the waist onto a balustrade of a little enclosure on the left side of the signet ring.⁹⁶ Her skirt shown in semi-profile is quite different from the

⁹¹ CMS X. Nr 242.

⁹² CMS I Nr. 279.

⁹³ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*.

⁹⁴ N. Marinatos notes that because of the numerous representations of goddesses and lilies together, the lily is closely related to the goddess. *Minoan Religion*, 148-9, 151-2.

⁹⁵ Evans. *PM III*, fig. 93.

⁹⁶ Evans. *PM III*, fig. 142.

woman's in the center. The V-shaped flounces extend all the way to the bottom of the skirt, suggesting it is either a long wrap, or not a wrap at all, but rather a long closed skirt with V-shaped flounces.

In the examination of the dress on glyptic art we find only two clear examples of the wrap worn without an underskirt.

Dress on figurines

The simpler form of the more elaborate dress described above can be seen on the statuettes found in peak sanctuaries from the beginning of the Middle Minoan period (2100B.C.)(Plate 2.27).⁹⁷ The simplicity of the dresses of these figurines precludes any detailed comparison with the dress of later times. A line on the upper arm of one figurine indicates the sleeve of the bodice, and the skirts of all figurines are bell-shaped and full.

A clay figurine from the early second millennium B.C., is more detailed. This figure, from Petsofa, Crete (Plate 2.28), wears a bodice, which leaves the breasts at least partially exposed, and which rises into a stiff V behind the back of the neck. The skirt is very full and bears a linear decoration, both vertical and diagonal, which may be an artist's rendering of flounces or merely decorative lines. A waist rope is looped doubly around the waist and falls down the front of the skirt.

The skirt with horizontal flounces is seen best on the faience figurines found in the Temple Repositories in the central sanctuary at Knossos (Plate 2.6). The

⁹⁷ Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 54.

first statue is dated to MM III (1600-1580 BC). The figure wears an open-fronted bodice, waist-belt, and a panier overtop a flounced skirt.⁹⁸ The second figurine wears a similar costume: a flounced skirt, panier, with open-fronted bodice. Evans, in reference to these figurines, notes: "Two features that mark Late Minoan fashions are here absent – the chemise, the upper border of which is seen beneath the neck, and the V-shaped arrangement of the flounces – in itself suggestive of a divided skirt."⁹⁹

The well-known ivory group from Mycenae (1300BC) (Plate 2.29), of two women and a child, exemplifies the wrap in a detailed three-dimensional form. The artist has modeled the open-fronted bodice of the women with slight but definite incisions. The flounces are carved in more detail; they are well defined and the dress material is highly patterned. Of particular interest is the center of the wrap on the woman on the right. As the woman kneels her dress would dip between her legs, unless of course, she straightened the fabric. Here the artist has accentuated the division of the skirt, by carving the wrap in obvious folds.

Small metal figurines found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae also illustrate the flounced wrap (Plate 2.34). The garments show two flounces, which curve and form a V-shape between the legs, suggesting that they separate in the center.

Near Eastern examples of the flounced skirt show the connections in the Aegean. A lid from Minet el Beida in Syria (Plate 2.12) shows a seated goddess flanked by goats. The only garment she wears is a patterned flounced skirt.

⁹⁸ A panier is similar to an apron tied around the waist. Mackenzie believes that the panier comes from the elongation of the loin cloth costume, "Cretan Palaces II." *BSA XII*, 240.

⁹⁹ Evans. *PM I*, 503.

The few extant certain examples of the flounced wrap are found on the Mycenaean triad and on the small metal figurines.

SASH DRESS

The sash dress is a garment that covers most of the body, except for the arms and one shoulder. It is often studied in conjunction with the long, often sleeved garment, just as the flounced wrap is associated with the flounced skirt. These robes were generally decorated with diagonal bands along the garment. Evans first connects this robe with ritual or ceremonial actions, and notes its possible Syrian origin.¹⁰⁰ N. Marinatos notes that this garment changed at the end of the Palatial Era, from 1400 B.C. on, it became a long-sleeved dress with a seam down the front.¹⁰¹ The costumes found on the frescoes at Akrotiri, however, are all of the over-the-shoulder type and thus its distinctive nature, and as we shall see its distinctive representations, suggest it is "not to be equated with any long dress."¹⁰²

The sash robe is seen on various representations of Egyptian and Near Eastern art. A wall painting shows an Egyptian girl wrapped in a garment which covers only her left shoulder (Plate 2.36). A diaphanous, tight-fitting garment covers this dress.¹⁰³ Another wall painting from Egypt from the Tomb of Knum-Hotep shows the well patterned fabric worn across the chest and over one shoulder (Plate 2.35). The Sumerians too, wore this sash robe. It was also worn

¹⁰⁰ Evans. *PM IV*, 397-419.

¹⁰¹ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 146.

¹⁰² N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 46.

¹⁰³ Lutz. *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East*, 115.

over the left shoulder, leaving the right bare (Plate 2.37). The front of this garment was left open and the border of the sides were usually decorated with a fringe.¹⁰⁴

The sash dress is depicted at least three times on the Thera wall paintings. It is seen best on the woman holding the incense burner in the West House (Plate 1.15). It is clearly a one-piece dress, which falls almost to the ankles and crosses the torso over one shoulder where the remaining fabric falls down the back. It has a deep yellow colour and one horizontal stripe near the bottom of the dress. This blue band matches the bodice sleeves, which are patterned with a white starred design. The artist has shown that the robe is divided in the center, and the strip of dress, which hangs below her right arm and is rendered further back than the entire robe, shows the inside of the garment.

The same type of dress is also seen on the two women of Xeste 3, Room 3b (Plates 1.13-4). Two details further define these particular dresses. The first is that the dresses are more ornate; flowers decorate the dresses' fabric. The second detail is the texture of the dresses. The wavy outline suggests the fabric was wool or another material that would give a fluffy impression.

An example of this same type of dress is seen on the Camp Stool fresco from Knossos (Plate 1.31). Here the figure seated in the top row, second group from the right wears a sash dress, the ends of which can be seen hanging down the figure's back.

¹⁰⁴ Lutz. *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East*, 147-8.

The only examples of this sash dress on wall paintings on the mainland are seen on the frescoes from Mycenae. From the Room of the Frescoes (Plate 1.47) a woman holds aloft a sheaf. This dress is tied at the shoulder, leaving visible a knot of fabric on her left shoulder. As the size of the fresco is so small it is difficult to tell if she wears a bodice under the dress, but the thick line at her neck and the thick vertical line down the center of her chest, suggest she is wearing one. Another scene at Mycenae shows at least three women in an opening of some kind of structure (Plate 1.50). The upper half of the opening is decorated, implying a festival or ritual.

In seals, and other art where details are minute, the sash dress may be represented but the lack of definition results in only the bottom portion of the dress being defined.¹⁰⁵ The positions of the women's arms often further hinder the artist in properly representing the sash dresses on the torso area. Two seals, from Knossos and the Vapheio tombs, (Plates 2.38-9) illustrate the sash dress, the upper part of which cannot be seen properly as the figure's arms cross the chest. A detail on the bodice does indicate that the upper part of the dress is not the open or closed-fronted bodice. Further, the simple linear decoration on the skirt corresponds with the decoration of the dress of the woman in the West House.

A parallel of this robe is seen on a man on a seal representation from Knossos (Plate 2.40). As the figure is shown in full profile it is difficult to observe

¹⁰⁵ Wace notes that, likewise, for the women who appear completely naked above the waist, are really wearing an open-fronted bodice. *A Cretan Statuette in the Fitzwilliam Museum. A Study in Minoan Costume*, 23.

the robe. It does, however, show a piece of fringed material hanging over one shoulder, which again suggests a type of sash dress.

Conclusions of Iconography of Dress

It is clear then that the wrap, a distinctive, V-shaped skirt with a center slit, can only conclusively be identified in a few instances. These include the dresses of the Thera women, where between nine and ten (if we include the center woman on the adyton fresco) of the thirteen women wear the flounced wrap. The only wall painting outside of Akrotiri that shows the wrap is the one from Ayia Triadha. The seals offer only two examples of the wrap and of the figurines only the women of the Mycenaean triad and the metal figurines definitely wear the wrap.

In Thera, the dress seems to correspond to the ritual or action taking place. The women of the House of the Ladies (Plates 1.20-1), who are definitely involved in an offering or initiation ritual, wear the long, opaque underskirt, which is probably a robe, with their flounced wrap. The women of Xeste 3 wear no underskirt if they are involved in the crocus gathering process (Plates 1.4-5, 1.8-9, 1.11-12); conversely, the one woman who is not ostensibly involved in the flower gathering wears a longer underskirt (Plate 1.10). The center woman on the upper fresco of Xeste 3 is also not actively involved in gathering the croci, she is however receiving the plants.

We can thus conclude that there is a definite correlation between the iconography and the context of the Thera dress.

Due to the difficulty in identifying the wrap in other frescoes it is more difficult to extend this study into the dress of the wider Bronze Age and here only tentative suggestions can be postulated. Of all the frescoes studied the only woman who wears a flounced wrap without an underskirt is the woman at Ayia Triadha (Plate 1.41). She is situated in a landscape scene and her stance compares with those of the east saffron gatherer of Room 3a and the woman who pours out her crocus stamens onto the stage. This suggests she could be involved in the same activity. N. Marinatos, in relating the woman to a landscape scene notes the similarities in frescoes:

In the Crocus Gatherers Fresco...the goddess is depicted in the rocky terrain in which crocuses grow. Girls pick the flowers and offer them to the goddess. The Agia Triadha mural with the Cat fresco has the same elements: nature, a goddess and flower gathering women.¹⁰⁶

Rehak also notes the association and calls the figure at Agia Triadha a "votary" or "flower-picker."¹⁰⁷ She, like the woman on the left-hand side of the upper fresco of Room 3b, is located near a possible shrine or stand seen behind her.

We can also suggest that women who wear the flounced skirt over a longer, often straight-edged skirt, are involved in processions or dances (*Sacred Grove and Dance, Procession frescoes of Knossos and Pylos*, plates 1.30, 1.37-8, 1.56). Finally, the fully flounced skirt may be connected with women who are

¹⁰⁶ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 89; "Function and Interpretation of the Theran Frescoes." *L'Iconographie minoenne*, 221.

¹⁰⁷ Rehak. "The Role of Religious Painting in the Function of the Minoan Villa: the Case of Ayia Triadha." *The Function of the Minoan Villa*, 167.

generally involved in more passive social activities (Camp Stool Fresco, Grandstand fresco, Pseira fresco Plates 1.31, 1.29, 1.39).

The evidence for this thesis is less well corroborated on the seals, gemstones, and rings of the Bronze Age (Plates 2.15-2.21). The women on glyptic art are involved in activities that may include the adoration of a deity, or offerings in front of a shrine or altar. Due to the minuteness of the figures the style of their dresses cannot be definitely concluded. They vary from skirts decorated with horizontal flounces to those with V-shaped flounces. The only evidence of a woman wearing a true wrap without an underskirt is involved in a ritual in front of an altar (Plate 2.20). Here, however, there is a greater connection with nature. Two olive branches protrude from the altar, which is not particularly rare, as some type of flora is often shown in a shrine context. What lends credence to the wrap in connection with nature, is that this woman also holds two lilies in her hand.

This association is more difficult to define on the figurines. This is because figurines are often found in isolation and thus do not generally preserve the context. The women on the Mycenaean ivory triad, do however, hold a small child and thus may signify an association with fertility and nature.

The above study of the dress can be incorporated into the interpretative analysis (see page 78).

CHAPTER 3

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HAIRSTYLE FROM AKROTIRI

A second distinguishing feature in the art of the Bronze Age is hairstyle. The care and effort shown in the styles and the decoration of Tharan hair suggests its importance as an iconographical feature and should be studied as such. Unlike dress and jewellery, hairstyle is a more permanent aspect of one's image. It involves a change that can only be reversed over a period of time, as opposed to dress and jewellery: items that can easily be removed or added. The two characteristics concerning hair are style and ornamentation.

The Theran frescoes are an obvious choice to study the hairstyles of the Bronze Age. Not only are the styles preserved extremely well, but they are varied enough to offer a clear picture of their differences. To review the styles at Akrotiri I will separate them into groups and give a brief description of each type.

The first hairstyle type is the most problematic. The majority of the scalp is rendered in blue with at least two locks of hair retained. It is accepted that this style indicates that the head is shaven.¹⁰⁸ The woman in the West House painting retains only one lock of hair, depicted as three loops, on an otherwise shaven scalp (Plate 1.15). The two other women are part of the Xeste 3

¹⁰⁸ Various other explanations of this phenomenon are offered. Sp. Marinatos believed that the artists were depicting coloured caps. He thought these caps were "the privilege of gods or Pharaohs only...blue colour explained by its being the colour of royalty." *Life and Art in Prehistoric Thera*, 17. Hood explains that the heads are shaven and the scalp then stained blue. *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, 55. It is, however, believed by most scholars that the artists' depicted grey or skin colour as blue in the paintings. Compare the monkeys and the dolphins frescoes at Knossos, both animals of which are rendered in blue. This is most likely due to the limited range of colours the painters had available, see above in the Role of wall painting in the Aegean, p. 1ff.

paintings: one of the saffron gatherers on the east wall of the upper Room 3a (Plate 1.9), and the girl on the right hand side of the adyton fresco (Plate 1.11). The first girl has one backlock and one forelock on an otherwise shaven head. She has, further, an area in front of her ear, which is depicted in the same manner as her shaven head. The short black marks on her head may indicate the growth of hair. She wears a fillet, which is either a light cream in colour or has faded.¹⁰⁹ The girl who is shown in the adyton fresco also has a shaven scalp, but her two backlocks and at least one forelock are long. One of these forelocks seems to rise into a loop on top of her head.

Three of the Thera women wear a second hairstyle, which is characterized by tight curls. The two women, who flank the seated woman on the north wall of Room 3a, have a full head of curly hair (Plates 1.4-5). The woman on the left has a lock rising from the crown of her head, a forelock and the blue area in front of her ear. A blue fillet, edged in black, crosses her forehead. A forelock is visible on the woman on the right, but the back of her hair is obscured by the basket she carries. She too has her sideburn area painted, and wears a blue and yellow fillet, edged with red beads. This woman is set apart from the other female figures at Akrotiri, and even all the other depictions of women in the Bronze Age, because her hair is painted a bright red and not the prevalent black. The third example of this style is seen on the other saffron gatherer of upper Room 3a (Plate 1.8). Her curls are incised into the paint, and a short lock rises from the

¹⁰⁹ Davis believes that the fillet is white. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." AJA 90, 406 Addendum.

crown of her head. She has one forelock and the sideburn area painted. Her fillet is blue and black striped, with some hair curling onto her forehead.

A third hairstyle is seen on the women of the adyton fresco (Plates 1.10, 1.12). The two westernmost women have full, long hair. The first woman has a large loop at the nape of her neck, and her hair rises slightly at the crown of her head. She wears a thick yellow band, edged with red, twisted through her hair, which folds into a loop at her forehead. The second woman's hair rises at the crown also, and seems to twist itself around the shoulder region. She wears a similar band; blue with a red-brown edging that forms the same loop on her forehead. She also has an iris pin and an olive or myrtle leaf inserted into her hair. The woman seated on the tripartite stand also has a full head of long hair (Plate 1.6). She has a forelock, two curls on top of her head, one lock on the crown of her hair, which falls down her shoulder and back. She has the same coloured sideburn area with a blue and black fillet edged with red beads. A beaded garland is twisted through her hair. It has been suggested that the lock of hair, which falls down her shoulder and back, is actually a snake.¹¹⁰

A fourth hairstyle is restricted to the women in the House of the Ladies fresco (Plates 1.20-21). They too have long full hair, but it is simpler in the ornamentation than the others. Both women have a light fringe, and the one woman wears a black and yellow headband in the top section of her head.

The fifth style at Akrotiri appears on the women in Room 3b in Xeste 3 (Plates

¹¹⁰ Sp. Marinatos. *Thera VII*, 27; Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 130. See above page 20, footnote 45.

1.13-4). They both appear to have short hair, but it is more likely that their hair is tied at the back with a piece of fabric: a type of hair net. These hair nets are blue with a black and white striped design. Both women have a light fringe on their forehead as well as on the back of their necks.

A closer look at hair ornamentation at Akrotiri will help to compose a general description. There are six different pieces of hair decoration at Akrotiri: fillets, finials, ribbons, pins, bead strands and hair snoods. Fillets are headbands, which stretch above the forehead from temple to temple. Their use is well attested in the Aegean Bronze Age. Six of the thirteen life-size women at Akrotiri sport an elaborate fillet. Most of them are edged on their long ends with beads. The fillets were popular also on the paintings of Thebes, Mycenae and Tiryns (Plates 1.59, 1.45, 1.55).

The unidentified blue area in front of the ear is often referred to as a fillet ornament. Evans, in describing the one on the Cup Bearer at Knossos, who does not wear a fillet, believes that they are small, silver plates secured around the ear: finials.¹¹¹ Younger and Davis believe that they are ornaments attached to the ends of the fillet.¹¹² Peterson thinks the area is shaven and thus represents the absence of the lock of hair, which, in other hairstyle representations in the Aegean, normally falls in front of the ear.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Evans. *PM II*, 706, fig. 442a. The Cup-bearer is male and therefore does not serve as a strong comparison for the use of the fillet, but I included him because he shows the use of the finial without the fillet.

¹¹² Younger. "Representations of Mycenaean-Minoan Jewellery." *Aegaeum 8*; Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." *AJA 90*, 401.

¹¹³ Peterson. *WPABA*, 37, note 35.

All observations have merit: while Younger and Davis' suggestion seems most obvious for the Theran women, it does not agree with the Cup Bearer who does not wear a fillet to which the finial would attach. Furthermore it is clear that none of the Theran women have the characteristic lock of hair in front of their ear, and thus Peterson's suggestion might be the most convincing.

The lack of any finials in the archaeological record suggests to Younger that they were made of perishable silver or cloth or were too rare to survive in quantity, or even have been confused with other pieces of jewellery. Most interestingly, he suggests that they were perhaps associated with slaves whose burials were often too humble to survive.¹¹⁴ If this last suggestion were the case, the finial would perhaps mark the wearer as a slave or even as being consecrated to the deity.

Hair ribbons are only depicted on the two older women on the adyton painting. These ribbons were entwined in their hair pulling it into a thick knot at the nape of the neck and following the hair down the back. The ribbon forms a small loop at the forehead, which Davis believes replaces the shorn forelock of the other girls.¹¹⁵ The hair ribbon is commonly used to bind hair in the Aegean. Both the seated ladies in the Grandstand fresco (Plate 1.30) and the Mykenaia (Plate 1.44) have their hair ornamented with similar ribbons.

Only one hair pin is depicted in the Theran frescoes. The seated woman in the adyton painting has a pin with a lily shaped finial in her hair (Plate 1.12). An

¹¹⁴ Younger. "Representations of Mycenaean-Minoan Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 259.

¹¹⁵ Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." *AJA* 90, 401.

olive or myrtle branch protrudes from the front of her hair. Hair pins are not represented in other wall paintings. There are, however, several examples of extant pins found in the Aegean which are often considered dress pins; they were thought to be inserted through the material at the shoulders to secure the pieces of cloth together (Plates 3.1). Often their find context, near the shoulders of skeletons in graves, substantiates this use; they could, however, have been used as hair ornamentation.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the depictions of the costumes of Akrotiri, as well as those in Crete and the mainland do not document the use of dress pins. An interesting silver hair pin was recovered from a grave at Mycenae (Plate 3.3). The head of the pin shows an elaborately dressed woman stretching a garland or a multi-stranded necklace between her hands. Above her head extend stylized lilies and papyri from which fall three long branches. Several other pins found in the shaft graves at Mycenae appear to have been used to decorate the hair (Plate 3.2).¹¹⁷ The heads on these pins resemble those found on a statuette at Gazi (Plate 3.4). This clay figurine wears three poppy headed pins in her hair. A third pin found at Knossos is decorated with stylized crocus flowers and an inscription in Linear A.¹¹⁸

Strands of beads often adorn the hair of Bronze Age women. At Akrotiri, however, the only figure who is shown with beads in her hair is the center woman on the upper floor of Xeste 3 (Plate 1.6). A strand of red and yellow spherical

¹¹⁶ It has been suggested that the pins could come from a funeral type shroud only used in burials.

¹¹⁷ Hood. *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, 199. Pins were also found in the Cyclades, which Hood notes, "may have ornamental heads in the shape of birds, jugs, or double spirals." *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, 190.

¹¹⁸ Hood. *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, 200.

beads outlines the bun at the top of her head and continues down the ponytail.

The Ladies in Blue (Plate 1.24) and the small fragment from Knossos (Plate 1.33) illustrate the jewellery. The beads are either cylindrical or papyrus shaped.¹¹⁹

The only snoods represented in the Aegean are depicted on the women of Room 3b at Akrotiri (Plate 1.13-4). The snoods, probably a thick, coloured, piece of cloth, gather the hair at the back of the neck.

Hairstyle in other wall paintings

The main examples in Crete come from the few preserved life-size representations of women, namely, the Dancing Girl (Plate 1.36), the Ladies in Blue (Plate 1.24), and the female Taureador figures (Plate 1.34-5).

The Dancing Girl (Plate 1.36) has long, black tresses, depicted in two groups of three strands, with three curls on her forehead, shown in reverse on top of her head, a forelock, a knot at the back of her hair, and two strands which fall in front of her ear. She wears no hair ornamentation.

Very little of the hairstyle of the Ladies in Blue (Plate 1.24) is preserved. The hair is long, full, and black and falls in a thick mass, tied at intervals by bands. It is extremely ornate; strands of cylindrical and papyrus-shaped beads encircle the hair. It is possible that the papyrus strand indicates rather a garland such as the one that decorates the neck of the westernmost woman on the adyton at Akrotiri; but a similar fragment at Knossos suggests that the papyrus strand decorates the

¹¹⁹ Papyrus-shaped describes an object that is triangular with two incurved sides.

hair. In this fragment the hair falls down the shoulder in a thick mass, divided by a striped band and decorated with the same beads.

The Taureador panels also confirm the same styles (Plate 1.35). The women's hair is depicted in sets of three long strands. Locks of hair fall in front of the ears and curls line the forehead, and are often shown in reverse on top of the head. Occasionally a red or blue fillet, thinner than those of the Theran women, is worn.

The Knossian Miniature frescoes also preserve the Minoan style. The standing women shown in the Sacred Grove and Dance (Plate 1.30) fresco show that the practice of shaving the head exists on Crete. The heads on two of the figures are painted light blue against the darker background, and several long locks grow from the scalps.

The seated women of the Grandstand fresco (Plate 1.29) have very lavishly decorated hair. It is usually rendered as one thick lock, tied back at intervals with bands, and in one example, a set of single curly locks, like those of the Taureador figures, is indicated. The hair is decorated with a thin fillet from which a curly fringe and a forelock fall. The forelock, in at least one place is extended into two very long thin locks. In all cases a strand falls in front of the ear.

The styles on the mainland show similar characteristics. Fragments of the Theban procession show thick locks of full, black hair, decorated with strands of beads and ribbons (Plate 1.59). Towards the ends of the hair, the thick lock changes to a set of thinner strands. Similarly the hair curls onto the forehead and in front of the ear.

The fragments, which make up the processional figures at Tiryns, better preserve the features of the hair (Plate 1.60). The fragments show long, thick locks, which fall into thinner sets of locks down the body. Earlocks, forelocks, and forehead curls are all represented here. Ornate fillets, edged with beads and ribbons decorate the hair.

The hairstyles from Mycenae are best represented on the Mykenaia (Plate 1.44) and the Lady with the Lily (Plate 1.45). The Mykenaia has a thick lock of hair, which is folded back and tied underneath itself on her shoulder and bound with coloured bands. She also has a forelock, stylized forehead curls and a lock, which overlaps her fillet and falls in front of the ear.

The Lady with the Lily (Plate 1.45) has forehead curls stylized into circles, with a yellow and red fillet, which is surmounted with a yellow ornament. She wears the usual forelock and earlock.

Hairstyle on seals, gemstones and rings

It is difficult to use glyptic examples here as the representations are normally too small to justify their admission. A common way of representing the hair of women on seals, rings and gemstones is by rows of several small unconnected grooves (Plate 2.15). This presumably indicates the length of hair and its tendency to separate into individual strands: an artistic convention seen on the Dancing Girl (Plate 1.36).

Hairstyle on figurines

The representations of hairstyles on figurines are likewise difficult to classify. Verlinden, in her study of the bronze and lead Cretan statuettes, distinguishes two types of female hair. Type 1 describes hair that is knotted down the back, and the Type 2 is a style that flows freely.¹²⁰ When confronted with the variety of styles in the paintings these descriptions can be applied only generally.

Conclusions of Iconography of Hairstyle

From the discussion of hair, several specific features of style and ornamentation can be determined. It is instructive to quote Peterson's description taken from her observations of the processional frescoes on the mainland. She describes the styles as

a mass of black hair bound into a chignon atop the head and a series of heavy tresses lying along the shoulder and back. These tresses, bound with coloured ribbons and sometimes rows of beads, separate along the arm into numerous wavy locks which fall to hip or thigh level. Beneath a coloured and sometimes dotted fillet, a row of spiral spit-curls edges the forehead and a single twisting lock curls in front of the profile. Another row of spiral curls, in reverse direction, often runs along the top of the head, or this area may contain patterns in reserved white. One or two long, undulating locks fall in front of the ear, usually to chest level.¹²¹

Both Peterson and Immerwahr consider that this style is of Minoan origin.¹²²

¹²⁰ Verlinden. *Les Statuettes Anthropomorphes cretoises en bronze et en plomb*, 93-7.

¹²¹ Peterson. WPABA, 106-7.

¹²² Peterson. WPABA, 107; Immerwahr. Aegean Painting, 117.

The disparities between the above description and these hairstyles seen at Thera are noticeable. None of the figures depicted at Thera have the long lock, which falls in front of the ear, nor do they have the thin, wavy strands of hair often seen on other paintings. Beaded strands are also absent in the iconography of the Therans, except in the case of the seated goddess. Further, the Theran women seem to have a predilection for shaved heads and hairlocks. This, however, may be accidental and perhaps no frescoes depicting Bronze Age youth were preserved on Crete or the mainland.¹²³ Nevertheless, it is clear that Thera had a very different repertoire of hairstyles.

An association between hairstyle and clothing has been proposed; Cameron notes:

Long hairstyle of type A [which describes hair that is long with locks falling over the ear onto the chest and only the shoulder¹²⁴], go only with the typical and traditional Minoan forms of male and female costume – the brief kilt, and jacket-and-flounced skirt outfit.¹²⁵

Although Cameron wrote his dissertation before the Theran paintings were excavated, his observation still applies, in general, to the Theran women. The only women with long hair who do not wear the flounced skirt have their hair secured and wrapped in some type of hair net.

The above study of the hairstyle can be incorporated into the interpretative analysis (see page 100).

¹²³ See below page 100 for information on youths and hairstyle.

¹²⁴ Cameron. *Minoan Frescoes*, 54.

¹²⁵ Cameron. *Minoan Frescoes*, 60.

CHAPTER 4

ICONOGRAPHY OF JEWELLERY FROM AKROTIRI

The last important iconographical feature to be discussed is jewellery. From the earliest societies jewellery has served to ornament people. If the wall paintings at Akrotiri depict the inhabitants even somewhat faithfully, then the Thera women are no exception. They wear all types of jewellery: earrings, necklaces, bracelets, armbands and anklets. The diversity of shapes and colours within these types at Thera is extravagant and thus a study of iconographical features of these women cannot be complete without an examination of their jewellery.

The women of Xeste 3 are the most ornamented (Plates 1.1-1.14). The woman on the left side of the adyton fresco wears a large, dark orange earring decorated with red stripes, a choker of alternating red beads and yellow bisecting lines, and a blue necklace lined with black beads (Plate 1.10). She also wears a brown ribbon decorated in the papyrus shape loosely extended from her shoulders over her chest. A loose bracelet matches her necklace. She also holds a strand of clear beads, strung on a thin red thread, the end of which is seen tied at her fingertips. The seated woman wears a similar earring edged with red beads (Plate 1.12). She also wears an iris pin and an olive or myrtle branch in her hair. The third girl wears an earring with red lines, a blue necklace lined with black beads, a beaded bracelet and a loose blue anklet on either foot.

The girls on the east wall on the upper floor are similarly ornamented (Plates 1.7-9). The girl on the left wears a dark orange earring, edged with red pointed tips, a dark orange choker with red dots, a loose, long, blue necklace with dividing black lines and a longer necklace with red beads. She wears a bracelet of blue with black beaded edging, an armband on her right elbow and one on her forearm, both dark orange with black decoration. She wears two anklets: orange with black and red dots. The second girl has a similar earring with red lines. She wears a loose bracelet and anklet on each wrist and ankle: all blue with black edging. A bracelet of orange edged in red sits on her right arm and one of orange with red lines adorns her left arm.

The woman on the left of the fresco on the north wall wears a yellow earring, a very faint bracelet on her left wrist and two anklets of blue with black edging (Plates 1.4). The center woman is conspicuous in her rich ornamentation (Plate 1.6). Her earring is lined in the inside with red and decorated on the outside with red beads. She wears three necklaces; one is blue with black edging, the next is a string of alternating red, blue and white ducks, the last necklace consists of dragonflies. She wears a large, beaded armband, which may be a decoration attached to her sleeve. She wears at least three more bracelets on her left hand. The last girl wears a double looped earring with red inner edging and red beads on the outer edge (Plate 1.5). She wears a red beaded necklace, two yellow bracelets with red edging, and two anklets of the same design.

Only the upper torsos of the two women on the wall of Room 3b are extant (Plates 1.13-4). The one woman wears a thick necklace of red and yellow with

three rows of black beads. The other woman wears a double strand of black beads tied at her neck with a thin string.

The girl of the West House wears a large yellow earring bisected in the center opening with two lines (Plate 1.15). On each wrist she wears a thick, flat, blue and white armband. The women of the House of Ladies fresco are less well-adorned (Plates 1.20-21). Both women wear a large, yellow, hoop earring and, on the only extant wrist, the one woman wears a blue bracelet.

Jewellery on other wall paintings

The majority of the women represented in the painting of the Bronze Age wear some type of ornamentation. Hair decoration has already been considered and it will be left to discuss the necklaces, bracelets, anklets, earrings, and less well represented items of ornamentation. The frescoes of Knossos show the propensity of multiple strands of beaded necklaces and bracelets. The fragments that make up the Ladies in Blue painting (Plate 1.24) show that all three women wear several necklaces of cylindrical shaped beads. Likewise, their wrists are decorated with numerous and varied beaded bracelets.

The Grandstand (Plate 1.29) and Sacred Grove and Dance (Plate 1.30) frescoes are too small to adequately preserve the jewellery. The women in both paintings have a mark around their necks, which may indicate a dress hem or a necklace. Further, they do not wear earrings.

The Procession Frescoes at Knossos only preserve, for the most part, the lower portion of the figures (Plate 1.37-8). Both the women and the men wear anklets on one or both of their ankles.

The mainland figures also wear an assortment of jewellery. The Mykenaia wears a necklace of at least two strands from which several long pendants drop (Plate 1.44). She also wears three bracelets on each arm. Two are round beaded bracelets and one is of a looser shape which Younger calls "U-shaped bracelets"¹²⁶. She also holds a multiple stranded necklace, similar to that which she wears.

The Theban processional figures also wear multiple strands of necklaces and bracelets (Plate 1.59). The fragments show a variety of necklace and bracelet types: the beads are spherical, amygdoloid, and papyriform shaped and are predominantly red, blue, black and yellow. The fragments show the women wear at least three strands and sometimes as much as five around their necks.

The women from the Tiryns paintings are shown in profile so no necklaces are visible (Plate 1.60). They do wear both the round and the U-type of bracelets on their wrists.

The representation of the jewellery on the frescoes at Pylos becomes more simple (Plate 1.56). They wear the double stranded necklace of red and black beads, as well as a red curved variety of the bracelet.

¹²⁶ Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 271. ¹²⁶

Jewellery on seals, rings and gemstones / figurines

Due to their lack of clear representation jewellery will not be studied on seals, rings and gemstones or figurines, but rather extant pieces of jewellery will be used as comparanda. In conjunction with this examination, I will look at individual pieces of jewellery.

Necklaces and bracelets are the most common ornaments in the extant wall paintings. They are depicted in all colours and shapes of bead: red, blue, yellow and black; and they are spherical, amygdaloid, and papyriform shaped. Several beaded necklaces and bracelets have been found in graves which validate their popularity (Plates 4.1-2).

Earrings are worn by all the women at Akrotiri except for those on the upper floor of Room 3b at Xeste 3 (Plates 1.13-4). The earrings are all yellow or dark orange hoops¹²⁷, with many stylistic variations, such as double hoops or two bisecting lines in the hoop. Many of the earrings have red markings, either lines or dots, suggesting an inlay or granulation. Surprisingly, earrings are not represented on any of the women on the remaining frescoes of the Bronze Age. Further, they are only seen on a mirror handle from the Clytemnestra Tholos at Mycenae (Plate 4.3), and on a Minoan seal. Earrings are represented on several men: the left-hand boxer (Plate 3.7) and on a fragment of a male head at Akrotiri. Several other examples of earrings are depicted on men on frescoes and seals outside of Thera.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ The colour yellow or dark orange most likely indicates that the earrings are made of gold.

¹²⁸ The pendants on the necklace of the Jewel Fresco, as well as several seals CMS VIII 110a, CMS IX 60c, CMS X 278.

Although earrings are not well represented on art outside of Thera, several examples of extant earrings have been discovered in graves from Mycenae and Knossos. Several examples of simple, gold, hooped earrings, which were found at Mycenae, indicate their popularity (Plates 4.4). A gold earring, contemporary with the Theran frescoes, was found in shaft grave III at Mycenae and it is almost identical with the one worn by the saffron gatherer of Xeste 3 (Plate 4.5).

Armbands are not well attested in Bronze Age depictions. The Crocus Gatherers on the east wall of Xeste 3 (Plates 1.7-9) and the female Taureador figures as well as some female terracotta statues from Keos show the only representations of these bands.

Anklets are well represented in both sexes in the Bronze Age. They are seen on almost all the women at Akrotiri, as well as on several of the figures at Pylos and Tiryns, and on the center woman of the Knossos procession (Plate 1.37). The Minoan and the mainland anklets follow the curve of the ankle, forming a U-shape, while the anklets depicted at Akrotiri form an S-shape.

The garland seen on the woman of the adyton is not a common ornament. Indeed, the only parallel comes from the fresco of the 'priest-king' of Knossos (Plate 4.6). The pattern of the garland from Akrotiri is believed to represent a gold necklace in the form of papyrus-shaped beads, but on closer inspection, the ends along the garland are frayed and suggest rather that it represents a garland of real stringed flowers.

Conclusions of Iconography of Jewellery

From the examination of the jewellery of the Thera women and those in the wider Aegean area, several conclusions can be drawn. It is evident that the women at Akrotiri were individually ornamented. The artist did not appear to be following a standard formula, whereas in the mainland processional frescoes "[t]he artists seem to have been enslaved by formula in following the iconography of the procession theme."¹²⁹ This formula includes multiple strands of beaded necklaces and bracelets, the beads of which are commonly red, blue, black and yellow and are either spherical, or globular in shape.

The jewellery at Thera is distinct in its originality: the earrings are often lined with red, or with red-coloured granulation, and in two cases they diverge from the simple hoop shape; one is doubled and another has a cross in the center. The necklaces are similarly individual; they include chokers as well as mid-length and long necklaces, even the pendants of the 'goddess' of Xeste 3 are unique. The bracelets are more common: generally round or U-shaped, and very often blue with black detail. The anklets are also common, but the U-shaped anklet seen on Knossos and the mainland is not represented at Thera.

Like hairstyle, analogies between jewellery and dress can be conjectured. One such discernable analogy occurs with short necklaces. They occur on women who wear the sash dress probably for the simple fact that longer necklaces or garlands would be obscured by the relatively high neckline of the dress, whereas long necklaces could hang freely on those women who wear

¹²⁹ Peterson. WPABA, 76.

open bodices. Further, the cross motif seen on the choker of the left-hand women in the adyton is depicted on the dress pattern of the woman from Ayia Triadha and thus it could be assumed that "le motif de croix du collier est analogue à celui figuré sur le volant supérieur de certaines jupes portefeuille, tel que celui d'une femme d'Hagia Triada."¹³⁰

The above study of the jewellery can be incorporated into the interpretative analysis (see page 112).

¹³⁰ Verlinden. *Le statuettes anthropomorphes cretoisen en bronze et en plomb*, 112, note 191.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATIONS

The following section offers interpretations of the Thera frescoes. To keep the three iconographical features separate I divided this section into the interpretations based on each feature.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FLOUNCED WRAP

The most conspicuous use of the flounced wrap is in the House of the Ladies fresco where the garment is being held forth by the bending woman. As we shall see a common interpretation for that scene is one of offering or adornment. Before a more thorough examination of that scene I will present other interpretations of the scenes from the three panels in Xeste 3. First, a brief synopsis of the individual panels will serve to remind the reader of the actions and participants of the Thera frescoes.

The adyton fresco shows the first woman on the left holding a necklace and approaching the seated woman (Plate 1.10). The central woman is seated on a rocky outcropping holding her injured foot (Plate 1.12). The final woman stands facing this scene but with her head turned back to face the altar on the adjacent wall (Plate 1.12). The fresco directly above the adyton painting shows the first woman on the left bending down to empty her basket of crocus stamens onto the platform before her (Plate 1.4). The central woman is seated on this raised platform and is surrounded by a monkey, who offers to the goddess a pawful of

the flowers, and a griffin (Plate 1.6, 1.2). The third woman walks towards this scene holding a basket on her shoulders (Plate 1.5). The east panel depicts two women in the process of gathering the crocus flowers (Plates 1.7-9).

Before the interpretations of these scenes are discussed, it is necessary to review the role of the central seated woman on the upper north wall fresco. Since it is a widespread belief that she is a goddess, rather than a priestess or other, it is essential to review scholars' theories of Minoan rulers and/or deities. A well-discussed topic of scholarship in Aegean studies deals with the conspicuous absence of any ruler iconography, divine or otherwise. This absence becomes even more striking when confronted by the copious representations of rulers, kings, queens and royal families in comparative Egyptian and Near Eastern art. Cameron considers that the

focus of Minoan interest lay in portraying religious scenes in which individual historical figures were of no interest, for it was the appearance of the deity, the collective worship of the entire people, or the act which brought about the epiphany of the god that mattered to them.¹³¹

This view, to a degree, is generally accepted by other scholars who study the Aegean Bronze Age, and it is not the existence of a religious entity that is in question, but rather the identification and personality of this entity.

Most early scholars had a "certain tendency to bring all representations of a female deity into a comprehensive formula and to apply them to one goddess only."¹³² Evans believed in the existence of one female deity whom he called the

¹³¹ Cameron. *Minoan Frescoes*, 129.

¹³² Nilsson. *Minoan/Mycenaean Religion*, 392.

'Mother Goddess'. Her manifestations were many; she could be found in the form of an earth goddess¹³³, a sports goddess¹³⁴, a hunter goddess¹³⁵, or any number of animal representations¹³⁶.

Cameron also believes that there is only one goddess, specifically a nature goddess, who, by Linear B¹³⁷ and Homeric¹³⁸ reference, can be identified as 'Eileithyia'. He maintains that the Minoan "primitive" religion centered around the great goddess of birth and a male principle of procreation/regeneration [was] represented by a bull. The Divine Mother could take the form of a great pregnant woman... She could also be represented as a mistress of animals, the protectress of animal life.¹³⁹ He suggests that the frescoes at Knossos are thematically connected and revolve around festivals celebrating the 'Great Goddess'. The festivals, really a series of rituals, include choosing a goddess impersonator, enacting a sacred marriage, the impregnation, and finally the birth of a divine child.¹⁴⁰

Nilsson was one of the first scholars to propose the theory that Bronze Age religion was polytheistic. Analogies with the religious beliefs of other Bronze Age

¹³³ Evans. *PM*. I, 3,6; III. 458.

¹³⁴ Evans. *PM*. I, 447; II. 649; III. 207; IV. 20, 39.

¹³⁵ Evans. *PM*. I, 511, 548; II. 765; IV. 577.

¹³⁶ Evans. *PM*. I, 447. Nilsson shows that Evans was not completely disagreeable to the possibility of polytheistic religious beliefs of the Minoans; he quotes Evans as saying: "I have always had in mind the possibility that the Goddess who appears in so many relations in Minoan scenes and impersonations may cover what were really regarded as separate divinities with separate names...but as a provisional procedure it is convenient, in default of more definite knowledge, to treat the Goddess as essentially the same great Nature Goddess under various aspects." *Minoan/Mycenaean Religion*, 392, note 3.

¹³⁷ Linear B reference KN 206=Gg 705.

¹³⁸ Homer. *Odyssey* XIX, 188.

¹³⁹ Cameron. "The 'Palatial' Thematic System in the Knossos Murals." *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, 321.

¹⁴⁰ Cameron. "The 'Palatial' Thematic System in the Knossos Murals." *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, 321.

civilizations show that “peoples in the stage of civilization reached by the Minoans always have a plurality of gods and goddesses.”¹⁴¹

Burkert notes that while there is no certain evidence of their beliefs, the Minoans probably included several goddesses in their religious repertoire.¹⁴² The contents of the Linear B tablets from mainland sites validates his view. The common designation *Potnia*: Mistress, appears with various qualifications of identification. For example, a tablet at Pylos mentions a ‘Mistress of the Horses’, *potnia iqeja*¹⁴³, while a Mycenaean tablet reveals a “Grain Mistress”, *sitopotinija*¹⁴⁴. He believes that “[t]he appearance of a whole series of goddesses bearing the title *Potnia*, Mistress, confirms the special role of female deities already intimated in the iconography.”¹⁴⁵

N. Marinatos believes in the multiplicity of Minoan deities but notes that the primary deity for the Minoans would be a “nurturing goddess of nature.”¹⁴⁶

It is often difficult to differentiate between the Minoan goddess and the women around her, but it is generally accepted that the seated woman depicted on the fresco on the upper floor of Xeste 3 at Akrotiri is a goddess anthropomorphically presented.

Forsyth believes that the “rich imagery” associated with this woman proves that she is not a figure from daily life. Her elaborate hairstyle and jewellery as

¹⁴¹ Nilsson. *Minoan/Mycenaean Religion*, 393.

¹⁴² Burkert. *Greek Religion*, 43-6.

¹⁴³ PY An 1281.

¹⁴⁴ MY Oi 701.

¹⁴⁵ Burkert. *Greek Religion*, 44.

¹⁴⁶ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 165.

well as the crocus designs on her dress and even her cheek, substantiate that the figure can adequately be distinguished as a goddess.¹⁴⁷

Goodison and Morris are also clear as to the divine nature of the woman:

The status of the seated female figure as the focus of the scene is clear from her physically elevated position, elaborate hair and jewellery, and her acceptance of the crocus stamens picked by the others. Her actual divinity is also clearly signalled: she sits on a tripartite platform and is flanked by a griffin and by a monkey, who offers her the stamens. The exotic and supernatural creatures mark her off from the human participants, and through their mediating role both human and divine spheres can be depicted simultaneously.¹⁴⁸

Both Cameron and Younger have created a checklist to identify the Minoan goddess. Cameron believes that a character must have at least three of the following conditions (including the first two) to be considered a goddess; she must be the focal point of the scene, in an isolated position, larger than other figures, have her arms raised, have offerings being made to her, and have the characteristic attributes.¹⁴⁹ The woman at Thera conforms to all the conditions presented except the fourth; she can then be considered a goddess. Younger presents a similar, but longer, list of characteristics, and again the Theran woman qualifies. The one condition on both lists that confirms her status is the one of the heraldically positioned animals. The artist has placed a monkey and a griffin in

¹⁴⁷ Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 58.

¹⁴⁸ Goodison and Morris. "Beyond the 'Great Mother'. The Sacred World of the Minoans." *Ancient Goddesses*, 126.

¹⁴⁹ Cameron. *Minoan Frescoes*, 130. The characteristic attributes include altars, shrines, sacral knots, trees, mountains, and antithetical guardian creatures.

the flanking position around the woman. The griffin, an animal developed in mythology, unquestionably places the woman in a different plane from the other characters in the paintings.

There is, nonetheless, a lack of clear ruler or divine representations in the art of the Aegean. This is why, combined with the lack of any literary evidence and the dearth of information on social status in the epigraphical remains (Linear B), the search for evidence on the Aegean Bronze Age social system must begin with the iconography.¹⁵⁰

We return to the frescoes. There are three interpretations of the wall paintings from Xeste 3. First, the scenes could be depicting the operation of making perfumes, cosmetics, medicines or dyes from the oil of the crocus plant.¹⁵¹ Second, they could be depicting the preparation of women for the various duties of womanhood: some type of initiation.¹⁵² Third, the scenes could be depicting part of an actual ceremonial offering, or adornment in the case of the House of the Ladies, perhaps to a goddess or priestess.¹⁵³

The first suggestion does have merit when combined with the evidence of the Linear B tablets. Some tablets record presentations of offerings to cult places and deities, and it is suggested that the offerings shown on many of the wall

¹⁵⁰ An entire issue of the serial, which deals with Aegean studies, Aegaeum 11, is devoted to *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*.

¹⁵¹ Kontorli-Papadopoulou. *Aegean Frescoes*, 141; Peterson, *WPABA*, 118-9; Morgan. *MWPT*, 31.

¹⁵² Kontorli-Papadopoulou. *Aegean Frescoes*, 141; N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 43, 71; Cameron. "Theoretical Interrelations among Thera, Cretan and Mainland Frescoes." 579ff.

¹⁵³ Kontorli-Papadopoulou. *Aegean Frescoes*, 141.

paintings reflect those listed in the tablets.¹⁵⁴ The objects represented on the wall paintings, here the saffron, could then be "be taken more as usual allotments from the palaces, than as parts of religious offerings."¹⁵⁵

Indeed, the east wall painting which shows the two girls involved in this activity could lead one to consider that "the artist is simply showing us a scene from the daily life of the Therans."¹⁵⁶ Morgan proposes that the Aegean was "the major marketing area" for saffron¹⁵⁷, and proposes a four-stage custom involving the crocus plant. She believes that the initial growth of the plant is shown in various frescoes at Thera (Room Beta 6 of Building Beta) and second, that the frescoes of Xeste 3 show the picking and collecting of the plants. Third, she contends, the woman from the West House dries the stigmas and finally the ships in the Miniature frescoes, which are decorated with croci details, carry the cargo of the croci product.¹⁵⁸

When presented with all three panels in the adyton area of Xeste 3, however, we see more than just the collecting of croci and Forsyth rightly concludes that "such a secular interpretation is unlikely."¹⁵⁹ N. Marinatos agrees that the theme

¹⁵⁴ Kontorii-Papadopoulou. *Aegean Frescoes*, 165 note 502. Tablet PY Tn 316 which lists divine names and tablet PY Un 718= Doc. No. 171 which lists gifts for a divinity. Chadwick. *The Mycenaean World*. 84ff. Ventris and Chadwick. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 126; Peterson, *WPABA*, 118.

¹⁵⁵ Kontorii-Papadopoulou. *Aegean Frescoes*, 165; Peterson, *WPABA*, 118.

¹⁵⁶ Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 58.

¹⁵⁷ She notes saffron was thought to have been produced in various regions outside of the Aegean: Egypt, Syria and Cilicia, but believes the prominence of the plant in the iconography suggests its influence in the Aegean. She notes further that Pliny believes finest saffron to come from Thera. Pliny. *Natural History XXI*, 17.31-2; Morgan. *MWPT*, 31-2.

¹⁵⁸ Morgan. *MWPT*, 31.

¹⁵⁹ Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 58.

is not purely secular as the crocus gathering is “done under the supervision of the goddess.”¹⁶⁰

Thus the interpretation that the Xeste 3 frescoes are depicting a purely economic activity must be excluded. The obvious predominance, however, of the crocus plant on the frescoes suggests its importance in the scene. Goodison and Morris involve both the economic role of the croci and the divine presence and offer a coherent argument:

Given the explicit focus on the stamens, perhaps our ‘nature goddess’ is here presiding not only over a ritual, but also over an economic activity, the harvesting of a highly valuable commodity – the transformation of ‘nature to culture’.¹⁶¹

The second interpretation suggests that the paintings show an initiation ceremony. N. Marinatos supports this view mainly on the basis that the protagonists of the frescoes are young women¹⁶² and thus “[I]nevitably one thinks of initiation and creation of new roles...[t]he young girls may be initiated into their new roles as wives and mothers.”¹⁶³ She links this theme with the overall iconographical programme of the frescoes of Xeste 3 which she believes was to illustrate “the various aspects and manifestations of the renewal of nature in the spring.”¹⁶⁴ Evidence for this is collected from the spring symbolism in the frescoes including the crocus flowers, the bird and dragonfly necklace of the

¹⁶⁰ N. Marinatos. “The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes.” *L’iconographie minoenne*, 224.

¹⁶¹ Goodison and Morris. “Beyond the ‘Great Mother’. The Sacred World of the Minoans.” *L’iconographie minoenne*, 127-8.

¹⁶² The determination of the age of the women represented will be discussed in Interpretations of Hairstyles below page 95.

¹⁶³ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 64.

¹⁶⁴ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 71.

goddess and her crocus costume, and the olive or myrtle leaf and the iris pin on the center woman of the adyton. An initiation ceremony and the arrival of spring, contends N. Marinatos, relate well since:

[I]t is as though nature provided a model for womanhood, because in the mythopoeic mind fertility of the earth and child-bearing are analogous and related phenomena. The time when plants and beasts grow is an appropriate one for the young girls to enter their new role.¹⁶⁵

Further she connects the bleeding foot of the woman in the fresco on the north wall with the blood dripping from the painted shrine on the east wall (2.41). N. Marinatos postulates a sacrificial or libation ritual in correlation with the blood. Again, this opinion may be connected with initiation since the letting of blood, in a sacrifice or libation, may be an element involved in an initiation ritual.¹⁶⁶

There are two objections to her evidence for this theory of initiation. First, the young girls are not the only protagonists in the frescoes. Women of all ages are depicted in two of the three panels.¹⁶⁷ Secondly, these frescoes, when compared to others in Thera, in which entire nature and vegetation scenes cover the walls (the south, west and north walls of Room Delta 2 in the Delta complex show a landscaped scene), are not inundated by spring symbolism. Further, the association between nature and women presupposes a connection, which is not necessarily validated. Therefore, with only the evidence that N. Marinatos

¹⁶⁵ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 71.

¹⁶⁶ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 80-1; *Minoan Religion*, 208-9; "Function and Interpretation of the Theran Frescoes." *L'Iconographie minoenne*, 15ff. Also Niemeier. "Iconography and Context: The Theran Frescoes." *Aegaeum* 8, 98-99.

¹⁶⁷ The determination of the age of the women represented will be discussed in Interpretations of Hairstyles below page 100.

supplies, it is not enough to determine that the paintings depict an initiation.

Forsyth adds two more elements to the theory of the initiation. She finds meaning in the placements of the fresco of the three women in the adyton on the lower floor of the building and the fresco on the wall directly above the north wall of the adyton (Plates 1.2, 1.3, 2.11). The frescos have many similarities; in each there are two women facing a central, seated woman. The seated woman of the upper floor is directly above the lower woman (Plates 1.6, 1.12). With this placement relationship, Forsyth suggests the frescoes are a visual representation of the woman on the lower floor being raised to the higher status of the woman on the upper floor. She postulates that the

real-life ritual for Thera women might thus place the would-be initiate in the adyton for the drawing of blood; she would then leave the adyton, ascend to the upper floor and be translated into the realm of the goddess.¹⁶⁸

This thesis is only substantiated in the architectural placement of the frescoes. The two frescoes, however, are located on separate floors and thus would never have been seen simultaneously. Again the evidence does not substantiate the theory that the paintings show an initiation scene.

The third interpretation for the meaning of the Xeste 3 frescoes is one of an offering or presentation. This theme is often considered part of a larger processional theme, which has been the basis of two recent studies as well as part of Immerwahr's *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*.¹⁶⁹ This processional

¹⁶⁸ Forsyth, *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 59.

¹⁶⁹ Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 114–121; Peterson, *Wall-Painting in the Aegean Bronze Age: The Procession Frescoes (WPABA)*; and a dissertation by Chr. Boulotis at the University of Würzburg.

theme is common in Aegean iconography and many scenes have been identified. The majority of the processions consist only of females and the only processions involving males come from Knossos (Plates 1.37-8) and Pylos (Plate 1.56). After examining the processional scenes (Knossos Plates 1.37-8), Tiryns (Plates 1.55, 1.60), Pylos (Plate 1.56-7), Thebes (Plate 1.59), and Mycenae (Plates 1.44-5, 1.50-2, 1.54) Immerwahr concludes that:

the majority of the processional figures must have represented votaries rather than goddesses, and the objects they carry – flowers, necklaces or fillets, stone vases, ivory pyxides, wooden boxes, statuettes or idols – must have been intended as gifts for the goddess, who was doubtless represented as a seated figure.¹⁷⁰

She also considers that the common thread which characterizes this procession theme is the flounced skirt.¹⁷¹ It remains to be seen if the Theran frescoes follow this theme.

The Xeste 3 frescoes do indeed depict various women offering the crocus stamens to the goddess. As suggested above this may have been part of the ritual gathering of the plants, which are used for various purposes at Thera. A second possibility, that the goddess is specifically associated with the crocus plants, is considered. Again, the prevalence of the crocus designs on her dress and on her cheek suggests that she is connected with the plant. Kontorli-Papadopoulou notes:

The proportionately large number of floral offerings preserved from the frescoes at Akrotiri, Thebes and

¹⁷⁰ Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 115.

¹⁷¹ Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 114-5. Immerwahr, however, does not differentiate between the flounced skirt and the wrap.

Pylos is not without significance, as they seem to denote rituals revolving around floral tribute and perhaps designating a particular deity ("Goddess of Vegetation" or "Mistress of Animals").¹⁷²

The scene at the House of the Ladies is most commonly interpreted as an offering or costuming scene of the flounced wrap to a goddess or priestess, and will thus be included in the evaluation (Plates 1.20-1).¹⁷³ The woman on the south wall (Plate 1.20) is walking with her arms outstretched, perhaps carrying an object,¹⁷⁴ towards the scene of the north wall. Here, the fully preserved figure bends down from the waist and offers a flounced wrap to the figure in front of her (Plate 1.21).

N. Marinatos describes this as "a costuming scene, depicting a group of festively attired women bringing clothes and ornaments to a seated female".¹⁷⁵ She rejects the thesis that the figure receiving the wrap is "simply the lady of the house" as the repositories and cult equipment found in the area suggests that this is not a common house. She also rejects the idea of the figure as a goddess. If this were the case, N. Marinatos believes that the goddess would likely have been depicted in the other part of Room 1, in which paintings of papyri were found.¹⁷⁶ N. Marinatos proposes instead that the figure is a priestess preparing for a ceremony. This idea of the priestess explains both the larger size of the

¹⁷² Kontorli-Papadopoulou. *Aegean Frescoes*, 142.

¹⁷³ Peterson. "A Costuming Scene from the Room of the Ladies on Thera." *AJA* 85, 211; N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 97ff.; Morgan. "Island Iconography: Thera, Kea, Milos." *TAW III.I*, 252ff.; Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 96.

¹⁷⁴ Compare the woman on the adyton at Xeste 3, who holds a necklace in her outstretched hand (Plate 1.10).

¹⁷⁵ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 102.

¹⁷⁶ This connection probably stems from N. Marinatos' association between the divine and scenes of nature.

woman in relation to the other woman in the scene, and the placement of the painting in this section of the room, which could be a preparation room.¹⁷⁷

N. Marinatos proposes a three step ritual of the robe offering: "(a) a robe is ceremonially brought to a priestess; (b) it is handed to her; (c) she is decked out, presumably in order to appear to the public."¹⁷⁸ She notes, moreover, a sequel in which the robe "then becomes a symbol and is featured as a sacred sign on seals."¹⁷⁹ As an example she gives a gold ring from Mycenae, which shows a heraldic scene of two lions flanking a column, from which two robes hang.¹⁸⁰

A further example of a robe in a religious context is presented. An onyx lentoid, from Argos, shows a flounced skirt on either side of a bucranium and a double axe: two well known elements of Minoan religion and cult (Plate 2.26).¹⁸¹

She continues, without presenting any evidence of her thesis, with the objectification of the wrap: "It may even be worshiped in itself after its sacralization".¹⁸²

There are several objections to N. Marinatos' suggestion. Doumas is unconvinced of the association of the finds in the repositories as evidence that the frescoes depict a religious scene. He believes that interpreting the room in which the fresco is found as a shrine, as N. Marinatos does in her evaluation, is

¹⁷⁷ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 103-4. N. Marinatos then continues with a reconstruction of the ritual based on the architecture of the house, and the artifacts and frescoes found within. *Art and Religion*, 104. Peterson also maintains that this is a costuming scene. She notes further, that the flounced overskirt was perhaps used for special occasions. "A Costuming Scene from the Room of the Ladies on Thera." AJA 85, 211. See also Niemeier. "Iconography and Context: The Theran Frescoes." *Aegaeum* 8, 101.

¹⁷⁸ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 144.

¹⁷⁹ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 144-5.

¹⁸⁰ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, fig. 118.

¹⁸¹ Evans. *PM I*, 435. fig. 312a.

¹⁸² N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 145.

erroneous, as the vessels and clay chests found in the repositories in the room of the fresco are “merely everyday objects commonly found in the houses at Akrotiri”.¹⁸³

Warren notes that the size of the fragmentary figure is uncertain, and thus an interpretation should not be based on this factor.¹⁸⁴ Jones points out that the height of the woman is immaterial since she may only appear so because she is standing before a bent figure.¹⁸⁵

Jones also notes, and rightly so, that “her lack of a kilt in contrast with the other figures may even mark a lower status.”¹⁸⁶

Warren also proposes that the scene is a robe offering to a divinity in a four-stage ritual.¹⁸⁷ He notes: “[w]hen the female divinity was deemed to be present, whether envisioned or in the person of a priestess, or in a cult statue or aniconic object, many kinds of offering could be made to her.”¹⁸⁸ The first stage is the production, dyeing and embroidering of the robe. Evidence for this first step is seen by the numerous loomweight finds in Knossos¹⁸⁹, and in Akrotiri.¹⁹⁰ Further, the many depictions of crocus plants (and its derivative –saffron) suggest its use as yellow dye.¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ Doumas. *Wall Paintings at Thera*, 35. The objects in question which N. Marinatos refers to as “cult equipment” are libation jugs and painted pitchers. Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 83.

¹⁸⁴ Warren. *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action*, 22.

¹⁸⁵ Jones. *Minoan Women’s Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, 261.

¹⁸⁶ Jones. *Minoan Women’s Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art*, 261.

¹⁸⁷ Warren. *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action*, 20ff.

¹⁸⁸ Warren. *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action*, 20.

¹⁸⁹ In the Loomweight Basements and the Late Minoan IB building.

¹⁹⁰ West House. Upper Room 3.

¹⁹¹ Some mention may be made of the probable use of saffron to dye cloth. Various later sources suggest that maidens wore yellow robes. Homer. *Iliad*, 8.1; 19.1; 23.227; 24.695; Jones. *Minoan*

The second stage of the ritual involves the procession with the robe. Warren presents several pieces of evidence for this procession. The scenes on a seal impression, a sealstone, and a ring impression (Plates 2.23-5), all suggest a robe procession taking place. The first, a seal impression from Ayia Triadha, shows a female carrying a long staff over her shoulder (Plate 2.24). A flounced wrap, or a skirt with V-shaped flounces, if the size of the robe is in proper proportion to the size of the woman, is suspended from the end of the staff. The second example, a sealstone from Knossos, shows a woman holding a skirt with horizontal flounces (Plate 2.23). In her left hand she holds a double axe, suggesting the event is sacred.¹⁹² The third example, a ring impression from Zakros, shows two women (Plate 2.25). The first carries a flounced robe in front of her. A double axe with a long handle stands in front of the second woman, and she may in fact be holding the emblem.¹⁹³

The third stage is the presentation of the robe. Again, Warren presents a sealstone (Plate 2.22), the carving on which suggests the two attendants are robing a seated central female figure.

Women's Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art, 182 and note 32. Jones concludes that it is "possible that crocus stigmas produced the dye for Knossian yellow chitons (as they probably did on Thera), and that the colour may have marked the women as maidens." 183. The young girls who are in the service of Artemis at her sanctuary in Brauron also wear saffron dyed robes.

¹⁹² The sanctity of the double axe is undisputed in Aegean studies. A few extant examples of the double axe have been found, as well as its use as a decorative motif on pottery, seals and frescoes and a cult emblem. Burkert. *Greek Religion*, 38. Cameron. *A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos*, 74. A satisfactory explanation for the two sides of the axe (blunt and sharp), nonetheless, does not exist.

¹⁹³ For this second stage, Warren also offers a Linear B example; *te-o-po-ri-ja*, a word which may mean "a carrying of an image (in festal procession) together with cloth for dedication or other cult use". *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action*, 20-22. He attributes this definition to Hiller. 'TE-O-PO-RI-JA', *Aux Origines de l'hellénisme. La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*. 139-50.

Warren's final stage of this ritual, which, he notes could in fact happen before the clothing scene or even as a separate stage, is the adoration of the robe.

Warren thus interprets the scene from the House of the Ladies as an offering to and clothing of a goddess.¹⁹⁴

Two later ceremonies involving a robe offering to a goddess support his view. These ceremonies are enacted in preparation for the Great Panathenaic festival. This festival is associated with Athena and culminates in the presentation of a new robe to her statue in the Parthenon. Young girls, the *arrhephoroi*, are accorded the duty of weaving the robe for Athena, which is carried up the Acropolis to the goddess' image. In the summer preceding the festival Athena's old robe is removed and cleaned by the women from the Attic clan of the Praxiergidai family.¹⁹⁵

The central scene on the east frieze of the Parthenon has led many to believe that the relief depicts the event in the Great Panathenaia festival in which the robe is presented to Athena's image.¹⁹⁶ The scene is often interpreted as depicting twelve gods seated around five mortal figures. Two of the five figures, a man and a young child, hold out a piece of cloth. The prevailing argument is that this cloth is the peplos (or robe) which is to be dedicated to Athena at the Great Panathenaic festival.¹⁹⁷ The ritual is also found in the *Iliad* where Hecabe

¹⁹⁴ Who, as noted above page 91, could be envisaged, seen as a priestess, in a cult statue or aniconic object.

¹⁹⁵ Plutarch. *Alcibiades*, 34.1; Simon. *Festivals of Attica*, 47-8.

¹⁹⁶ Simon. *Festivals of Attica*, 58ff.

¹⁹⁷ Simon. *Festivals of Attica*, 141f.

chooses a Sidonian robe as an offering for Athena and Theano dedicates it at the temple of Athena in Troy.¹⁹⁸

These last examples are much later in time, the frieze coming from the context of the fifth century B.C. and the *Iliad* from the eighth century B.C. I included them as examples to further the argument that the robe was often viewed, (at the very least in later Greek history) as an object to be presented to a goddess (Athena here).

A further example of a goddess associated with a robe is Artemis who presides over the initiation of young girls. The girls, called *arktoi*, she-bears, are dedicated to Artemis' service at the sanctuary at Brauron, and wear a saffron-coloured robe in her service.¹⁹⁹ Artemis is also the goddess of childbirth as well as of the death of the mother during childbirth. When a woman dies during childbirth, her clothing worn during the ordeal is dedicated to Artemis.²⁰⁰

Forsyth presents two wall paintings as analogies of this robing ceremony. She compares the robing scene on the Thera fresco with the wall painting seen at Phylakopi, Melos (Plate 1.22). Here the seated figure holds a piece of blue, woven cloth.²⁰¹ She also notes a parallel scene at Akrotiri. The male figure on the west wall of Room 3b at Xeste 3 carries a piece of striped cloth (Plate 2.33).

¹⁹⁸ Homer. *Iliad VI*, 286-311. The supposition that this event may describe a similar one from the Bronze Age comes from the fact that the author of the *Iliad* was presenting the story in that time period.

¹⁹⁹ A myth explains that the girls are dedicated because Attic youths killed a bear, which was sacred to Artemis. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 645.

²⁰⁰ An artistic form of Artemis, in her guise as huntress, shows her holding the legs of animals. This image is closely associated with the iconography of several images of women on Crete. Nilsson. *A History of Greek Religion*, 29.

²⁰¹ The object may actually be a net. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 62; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 89.

Peterson proposes that the Processional Frescoes at Knossos also illustrate a garment or cloth offering (Plates 1.37-8). The fresco depicts a procession of males and females towards a central figure, conspicuous by her frontal stance and ornate costuming. The painting features "nine narrow white bands" which "curve down in front of the female figure, turning in and ending at various levels near her skirt border."²⁰² Evans first noted that this object was a diaphanous veil worn by the central figure²⁰³, but Peterson believes it to be the bands or ribbons of some unknown object, which is being held out or offered to the central figure by the man beside her.

Boulotis, too, believes that the male figure in the Procession fresco hands a long garment or piece of cloth to the central woman. He reconstructs the scene in a drawing (Plate 2.32).²⁰⁴

The votive robes and girdles from the Temple Repositories in Knossos further the suggestion that the robe is being offered. They are decorated with croci, which Goodison and Morris believe "indicate a different kind of reference, to a specific type of ritual performance widely known in the many religions, the act of offering a robe to or actually robing a deity."²⁰⁵

A review of the possible presentation scenes from the mainland and Crete indicate that offering scenes were widespread motifs on wall paintings. Several mainland frescoes: Pylos, Thebes and Tiryns, depict numerous women carrying

²⁰² Peterson. *WPABA*, 32.

²⁰³ Evans. *PM II*, 724.

²⁰⁴ Boulotis. "Nochmals zum Prozessionsfresko von Knossos." *Function of Minoan Palaces*, 154.

²⁰⁵ Goodison and Morris. "Beyond the 'Great Mother'. The Sacred World of the Minoans." *Ancient Goddesses*, 125.

various gifts. The recipient or receptacle of these gifts is either not portrayed or no longer extant. The Procession frescoes from Knossos show a double line of male and female figures holding gifts of vases, proceeding towards a central figure. Several scholars propose that one of the innermost figures presents a robe to the central female (Plate 2.32).

Two other possible comparative scenes come from Melos and Thera, which clearly show a robe. The female figure from Melos holds a long strip of cloth, but it is unclear whether she is the recipient or the donor of the cloth (Plate 1.22). Room 3b in the Xeste 3 building, likewise illustrates a young man holding a long, thin stretch of material (Plate 2.33).

The comparative evidence suggests that the House of the Ladies scene is likely to be depicting a robe presentation. The identification of the fragmented figure who receives the wrap is the catalyst of the scene. A positive identification of the figure as a goddess would suggest the robe is being offered to a divinity, and thus the scene would have religious implications.²⁰⁶ If the figure is however, a mortal woman, the connotation of the scene would change and as Doumas correctly notes the scene could just be depicting a significant event in a woman's life: "Though it is difficult to determine the content of this scene, it need not necessarily be designated as religious. It could just as easily symbolize an important moment in the life of women."²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ The figure is too fragmentary to use the criteria employed to determine the identity of a goddess.

²⁰⁷ Doumas. *Wall Paintings at Thera*, 35.

Indeed, the only clear examples to support the theory that the figure is a goddess come from a much later time period: first, the presentation of a robe to Athena in the *Iliad*²⁰⁸, and second, the practice of offering a new robe to the statue of Athena at the Great Panathenaic festival in Athens. These examples cannot fully support the scene on the House of the Ladies as the last figure in the scene is unknown. Jones observes, rightly I believe, that the figure may even have a lower status since she does not wear the wrap already. This seems the most convincing proposal and it will be suggested below that the unknown figure is a girl about to be initiated into womanhood (see Conclusions page 112).

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SASH ROBE

The context of the figures that wear the sash robe is singular and simple; the wearer, in almost all cases, stands erect, alone, shown mostly in profile. This context of isolation in itself suggests that the figures who wear this particular sash robe perhaps have some degree of importance, either as a particular individual or as someone who takes part in an activity. The prevalence of seals, however, with the same iconographical theme, suggests that the former is more likely.

In closer observation we also note that in all cases the individual is holding something. The woman of the West House holds what is commonly thought to be an incense burner (Plate 1.15), and the one woman pictured in Xeste 3 holds a basket in her arms (Plates 1.14). The seated figure on the Camp Stool fresco

²⁰⁸ Homer. *Iliad VI*, 286-311. See above in text page 94 footnote 198.

holds a drinking vessel (Plate 1.31) and the woman in Mycenae holds two sheaves (Plate 1.47). Similarly the figures on the seals hold a type of staff, and a duck respectively (Plates 2.38-40). The Eastern examples also follow the same thread; the Egyptian woman stands alone and holds a type of instrument in her arms (Plate 2.36), while the Sumerian figure holds a sword with his left hand behind his body (Plate 2.37).

Evidence from other cultures also suggests that this dress was associated with a personage or occupation. Morgan notes that

in Sumerian iconography, the gods are distinguished from their votaries by this long gown; later, the garment was worn by priests and the most important of the worshippers, sometimes also by the ruler or god himself. In the Aegean, too, it was the apparel of an élite, quite likely of the priestly class.²⁰⁹

N. Marinatos notes that the sash dress type was common in Egypt also to represent an official priest or priestess.²¹⁰

With regard to the context of the figures it is conceivable that a similar iconography existed for the Therans. N. Marinatos suggests that due to the characteristic costume of the woman of the West House (Plate 1.15), as well as her hair and body paint, she is perhaps the "first example of a professional."²¹¹ She notes further that the status of these personages may be confirmed by "the symbols of authority which they hold."²¹² Indeed the items could denote a

²⁰⁹ Morgan. *MWPT*, 94.

²¹⁰ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 46.

²¹¹ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 46.

²¹² N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 46.

particular function; the West House woman could be the official person in charge of scenting the area during ritual, similarly the woman of Xeste 3 may be in charge of bringing the contents of the basket to a certain area. The figures on the seals further this argument; the staff, which both figures hold, is likely to have some meaning of authority.

Morgan also looks at the long-sleeved robe in the miniature fresco of the West House at Akrotiri (Plate 1.17-9). Male characters in both the north and south wall paintings wear this robe, often decorated with lines down the front or a simple band around the hem of the skirt. She notes that "[n]one of the figures engaged in non-ritual activities (herdsmen, sailors, warriors) wear this garment."²¹³ She also concludes that this garment is a ceremonial costume denoting a certain rank or the performance of certain functions.²¹⁴

The habitual use of the term 'priestess' for the woman from the West House needs some explanation. The title 'priestess' is, by definition, associated with religious rather than secular themes. Morgan believes that the occupation of the woman may be associated with the paintings of the ship cabins in the adjoining room:

Traditionally the stern has been considered the proper area for any form of preparatory ritual or thanksgiving worship connected with the welfare of the ship. The burning of incense near the stern was a common feature of such rituals during the Classical Period.²¹⁵

²¹³ Morgan. *MWPT*, 95.

²¹⁴ Morgan. *MWPT*, 95.

²¹⁵ Morgan. "The Ship Procession in the Miniature Fresco." *TAWI*, 640.

Doumas is very skeptical about the appellation 'priestess'. The title was given to the woman in the fresco in the *Excavations of Thera V* and has remained ever since.²¹⁶ He believes, and rightly so, that the connotations are harmful to the interpretation.

It can further be noted that since the shaved head represents youth, as we shall see in the next section, that this figure would be extremely young. She may have had the job of lighting the incense holder for some event, but that does not necessarily indicate that she is a 'priestess'. Without the evidence of the Near Eastern and Egyptian iconography the woman in the West House can only be considered a person who has a particular occupation and not necessarily a 'priestess'.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HAIRSTYLES

The style and ornamentation of hairstyle may suggest age, status, or even various practices involving the manipulation of hair. Davis convincingly proposed the thesis that, in regards to the Theran frescoes, hairstyles reflect maturity. She believes that the hairstyles depicted on the wall paintings "reveal a developed set of artistic and social conventions for indicating the specific stages of life from youth to maturity to old age."²¹⁷

She suggests six varying stages of maturity, which are defined by hairstyle.²¹⁸ The saffron gatherer on the right of the upper east wall of Xeste 3 (Plate 1.9) falls

²¹⁶ Sp. Marinatos. *Excavations of Thera V*, 43.

²¹⁷ Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." *AJA* 90, 399.

²¹⁸ While Davis does not offer absolute ages, Rehak suggests that the ages might be as follows: the two girls on the upper east wall; 8-10 (Davis' stages one and three), the right hand girl in the

into the first stage of maturity, and is distinguished by her almost completely shaved head. She retains a short forelock and backlock.

The girl with the transparent veil in the adyton (Plate 1.11) and the woman from the West House (Plate 1.15) constitute the second stage; their heads are shaved as well, but their hairlocks are longer and more numerous.

The girls of the third stage all have hair that is being allowed to grow in after the shaved stages. These include the girl from the upper east wall (Plate 1.8), and the two girls from the upper north wall (Plates 1.4, 1.5). Their hair is characteristically short and very curly. These girls still retain the forelock and backlock. Davis notes further that the chin is doubled and this physiognomic change may also indicate age. In at least one case the artist has shown the beginnings of breasts on the girls (Plate 1.8).²¹⁹

The women depicted on the adyton fresco (Plates 1.10, 1.12) and the goddess on the upper floor (Plate 1.6) represent the fourth stage of maturity. The hair has now been allowed to grow and is full and long. The forelocks and backlocks are perhaps replaced by a knotted cloth at the forehead of both the women depicted on the adyton, as well as a bulge or loop of hair at the crown of the head. The artist has clearly shown the breast on one of the women perhaps suggesting her maturity. The blue strokes in their eyes are an "artistic convention

adyton fresco (Davis' stage two) would be 12-14, and the two other women in the adyton fresco would be 14-16 (Davis' stage four). "The Aegean Landscape and the Body: A New Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." 11.

²¹⁹ Davis contends that the girl on the east side of the adyton fresco also has the beginnings of breasts, but I do not see any. Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." AJA 90, Addendum note 2.

for portraying the brilliance of youthful eyes, the whites of which often have a shiny, almost bluish quality."²²⁰

The fifth stage is represented by the women of the upper floor in Room 3b (Plates 1.13, 1.14) whose hair is completely bound up in a cloth. Again, the large size of their breasts, clearly visible here, suggest maturity.

The sixth stage is exemplified by the women in the House of the Ladies. Their hair is similar in style to those of the fourth stage and thus the evidence for their advanced age comes from the depiction of their large breasts and red strokes in the eye, which Davis believes suggests "the bloodshot eyes of the aged."²²¹

The hairstyles of the four male figures in Room 3b in Xeste 3 support the thesis of hair denoting maturity. Four stages of growth are represented; the head of the youngest boy, who is smaller in size than the others, is completely shaved save for a forelock and backlock (Plate 3.10); the boy who retains longer locks similar to those of the West House woman (Plate 3.10) represents the second stage. The third boy's head is shaved close about the face, but the top has been allowed to grow back (Plate 3.9). The fourth male, who is partially dressed unlike the others who are nude, is depicted with a full head of hair.²²²

This thesis is convincing and can be substantiated by examples other than those of the Theran frescoes. The Sacred Grove and Dance fresco from Knossos shows that some of the figures have shorn heads. Here the blue shaved areas of

²²⁰ Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." AJA 90, 401.

²²¹ Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." AJA 90, 404.

²²² Rehak again offers absolute ages for the male figures; the youngest boy would be 8-10 years, the next oldest; 10-12, the third oldest; 16-18 and he describes the fourth male as a mature man. "The Aegean Landscape and the Body: A New Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." 12.

the heads of the women in the foreground indicate that the ritual of the shaved hair is practiced in Crete.

Figurines can also be useful to illustrate the practice of shaving hair. An ivory statue of a young boy from Palaikastro, Crete (Plate 3.5), and the boy in the statue from Mycenae (Plate 2.29), are both shown with shaved heads.

An eastern example comes from a painting from the Tomb of Anher-Khaou, in Deir El Medina, and shows the hairstyles of several children (Plate 3.11). The older children have at least four locks of hair on an otherwise bare head, the younger children have three locks visible on their heads.

The figurines above and the figures in the Egyptian fresco are obviously children and thus Davis' theory is validated and widely accepted by all other scholars.²²³ The only discrepancy in Davis' theory is in some of the physiognomic changes that she proposes to determine age. The double chin, which she contends denotes a person as more mature, is seen on the youngest of the girls depicted: the right figure on the upper east wall (Plate 1.9). Davis' review of the coloured streaks in the eyes may also need re-evaluating as Rehak points out that the older women do not all have red streaks while the younger boys have red streaks rather than the youthful blue streaks.²²⁴

²²³ Doumas. *Thera: Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean*, 1983; Forsyth. *Thera in the Bronze Age*, 98-9; N. Marinatos. "The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." *L'Iconographie minoenne*; Withee. "Physical Growth and Aging Characteristics Depicted in the Thera Frescoes." *AJA* 96, 336ff.

²²⁴ Rehak. "The Aegean Landscape and the Body: A New Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." 13. He offers another solution for the red streaks in the eyes: the saffron from the crocus plants is very rich in vitamins A and B (riboflavin) and in carotenes, and the lack of vitamin A and riboflavin results in a "clinically distinct red streaking of the corneas". The red streaks in some of the eyes may thus simply be a result of this lack of the necessary vitamins. 13.

The practice of shaving hair may also provide information on the existence of possible rituals. Most rituals involve a transformation, which is symbolic and/or physical: a physical transformation commonly manifesting itself in a change of clothing, hairstyle or even bodily ornamentation.

Davis proposes two ritual interpretations for the third and the fourth stages of women based on their hairstyles. Women at the third stage include those who have tight curly hair, fillets of cloth on their forehead, the sideburn fillet, a forelock, blue strokes in their eye and a double chin. The removal of the long backlocks of hair that at an earlier age grow from the sides or top of the head, and the suggestion of a double chin indicate that the women may be involved in an initiation from puberty to adulthood. Likewise, Davis notes that women at the fourth stage, who are characterized as having a full head of hair with a knotted cloth rather than a fillet, no backlock or forelock, firm, high breasts and blue strokes in their eye, may be involved in a marriage ceremony.²²⁵ She sees the absence of the forelock as relevant to this interpretation and believes that "[t]he new rite of passage implied by their haircutting was most likely one related to marriage, the most important event in the life of a young person after the onset of puberty."²²⁶

N. Marinatos also interprets the scenes from Xeste 3 as puberty rituals. She believes that the women pictured on the two walls of the upper floor of the adyton represent a distinct age group as well as stages in the crocus gathering process.

²²⁵ It must be noted that 'marriage' is a cultural event which may not have existed for the Therans.

²²⁶ Davis. "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes." AJA 90, 402.

The girl on the far right of the east wall is the youngest; her head is shaven except for a backlock and forelock (Plate 1.9). She is in the process of picking crocus stamens, which she will place into her basket behind her. The second girl is older; she has the distinct short curls, which indicate her hair is in the process of growing (Plate 1.8). She also gathers crocus stamens. She belongs to the same age group as the two girls on either side of the seated woman (Plates 1.4-5). Their hair too, still with the backlock and forelock, is in the growing stage. The right-hand figure is no longer involved in gathering the plants; rather she lifts her basket onto her neck as she approaches the seated figure. Likewise the last girl empties her basket of crocus stamens on the first level of the tripartite stand before her.²²⁷

This offering or presentation scene is linked with the fresco below. Here, again, different age groups are represented; the youngest girl is shown with a partially shaven head and several long locks (Plate 1.11). The center girl is older; her hair is fully-grown and thick (Plate 1.12). Further, the blood on the altar of the east wall and the blood on the center girl's foot suggest connections with menstruation and childbirth: two events associated with puberty and maturity.²²⁸

Therefore the upper and lower paintings of the adyton are linked in their emphasis on representing various age groups of the girls as well as the familiar motifs of crocus flowers and blood. With this in mind, N. Marinatos suggests a scenario:

²²⁷ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 205.

²²⁸ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 207. She leaves out the third woman on the lower wall, as she stands outside the adyton area. She also mentions that the four male figures on the walls of Room 3b represent age groups furthering her argument. 209-11.

On the occasion of the festival to a goddess, girls were sent to the hills to collect large numbers of blossoms for the divinity. This exodus from the city corresponds to the period of seclusion that we so often meet in rites of passage. But this excursion was also an ordeal because, if the girls were required to be barefoot, sooner or later they would get bloody feet. Walking on wounded feet causes pain- which is precisely the purpose of the ordeal: to teach endurance of pain and familiarization with one's own blood.²²⁹

Several examples of possible initiation rites in which hair may be involved further the argument. Koehl uses the footed conical cup from Ayia Triadha to propose a Minoan rite of passage (Plate 3.12).²³⁰ This vessel, commonly called the Chieftain Cup, shows a relief of two men facing each other. The youth on the left wears his hair short with a top-knot and a long ponytail on the crown of his head. Scholars have offered several interpretations of the scene; all of them suggest that the figure on the left is the younger of the youths.²³¹ Koehl confirms this suggestion but believes that the trait that distinguishes the age of the men is the way in which their hair is worn.²³² Koehl proposed that "the changing of hairstyle formed part of a social institution among the Minoan aristocracy which celebrated the process of aging according to the stages of maturation."²³³ He believes that these changes in style are characterized by certain initiation rituals or rites of passage. He then relates several examples that show the initiate is commonly indicated by a change of clothing or acquisition of gifts at the end of

²²⁹ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 208-9.

²³⁰ Koehl. "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage." *JHS* (1986), 99-110.

²³¹ Evans. *PM II*, 792-4.

²³² Koehl. "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage." *JHS* (1986), 100.

²³³ Koehl. "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage." *JHS* (1986), 104.

one's passage. These rites all contain similar elements: a separation from society, a period of seclusion where the initiate often spends time with an older person, and a reintegration into society, often with a change of clothes to reflect that the ritual has taken place.

Parallel examples of the ritual of shaving or styling hair are also evident in Egyptian and Near Eastern customs. A lock of plaited hair worn on the right side of the head implied the consecration of the child to the god Horus,²³⁴ and the hieroglyph of a single lock of hair actually meant 'child'. A relief carving of Seti I shows the long lock of hair which indicated his office of High Priest (Plate 3.13).

The Egyptian goddess, Isis, also cuts off a lock of her hair in mourning for Osiris, and similarly, the hieroglyph of three locks of hair symbolizes 'mourning'.²³⁵

Karageorghis presents a further example of a haircutting custom. Euripides describes Artemis' recompense to Hippolytus: the hair dedication from unmarried maidens before their weddings.²³⁶ This dedication becomes a custom of the Troezenians.²³⁷

Karageorghis uses these examples to propose the interpretation of a hair cutting ritual for the Therans depicted on the frescoes of the adyton. The male figures in Room 3b of the adyton all hold implements that could be related to washing and/or cutting of hair. The youths hold a jug, a piece of cloth, and a bowl

²³⁴ Harrison. "Greek Sculpted Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts." *Early Greek Cult Practice*, 248; Lurker. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 57.

²³⁵ Lurker. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 56.

²³⁶ Euripides. *Hippolytus*, 1423-7.

²³⁷ Pausanias II. *Descriptions of Greece*, 32.

(Plates 3.9-10). Karageorghis proposes that the jug could hold the water to wash the hair and the cloth would be used to dry the hair. The bowl might then contain the cut hair.²³⁸

He suggests the same ritual for the females could take place in Room 3a in the adyton. The polythyra could be used to separate physically the rituals of the different sexes, a separation seen in other examples of ritual or festival.²³⁹

It is clear from the examples above that the deliberate manipulation of hair into a particular style represents a significant event. Davis proposes that the scenes depict, for the younger girls, a puberty ritual, and for the older women, the participation in a marriage ceremony. N. Marinatos also proposes that the scenes show a puberty ritual and she offers a possible scenario.

The evidence Davis presents for these two interpretations is as follows: the removal of a backlock of hair denotes the onset of puberty, and the absence of a forelock indicates a marriage ceremony or at least preparation for one. We have two pieces of evidence to support these theories: the hieroglyph of a lock of hair denoting a child, and the Troezenian marriage custom of hair dedication mentioned by Euripides. These are only two examples, one from outside the Aegean, and thus do not lend much support to the theories. While I agree that the frescoes do show stages in the life of the Thera women and may indeed be depicting a ritual, most likely a puberty ritual, the evidence of the hairstyle alone does not substantiate the interpretation.

²³⁸ Karageorghis. "Rites de Passages at Thera: Some Oriental Comparanda." *TAW III.I*, 70.

²³⁹ N. Marinatos. "Role and Sex Division in ritual scenes of Aegean art." *JRS I*, 23-34.

The evidence presented by N. Marinatos does further the puberty initiation theory. While the blood on the altar is more familiar and could easily indicate sacrifice, the blood on the foot is more difficult to explain. The possibility that the artist had no specific intention when executing this scene is unlikely and thus the blood would have to play a role in the interpretation. N. Marinatos presents two suggestions: that the blood is connected with childbirth or menstruation, or that it signifies the result of a walking ordeal during a rite of passage. There is no further evidence to suggest one interpretation over the other and we must be left with these two.

In association with indicating rituals, hair may take the form of votive offerings to a deity, often at a time of transition in one's life. Evans believes that "[I]n general, the hair was a supreme personal offering in the case of the living and a potent means of placing the person of the votary in the hands of the divinity both in life and death."²⁴⁰

Several examples of hair dedications suggest that this type of votive offering existed in the Bronze Age. Individual clay locks of braided, or at least twisted hair, have been found in the Domestic Quarter deposits at Knossos (Plate 3.8). The underside of the pieces had rivets and Evans notes that it "looks like as if it had been a widespread custom to fix up *ex votos* of this kind, representing plaited locks of human hair, on the walls of Minoan sanctuaries."²⁴¹ A similar dedicational lock has been found at Mycenae.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Evans, *PM IV*, 476.

²⁴¹ Evans, *PM IV*, 482, fig. 404 a, b.

²⁴² Evans, *PM IV*, 482, fig. 405 a, b.

A few archaeological and literary examples from later Greek periods may be referred to as testimony to the extensiveness of hair dedication.²⁴³ The first example is an inscription on a stele from the Temple of Zeus Panamaros at Caria, proclaiming the consecration of locks of hair from two brothers to Zeus Panamaros.²⁴⁴ A second illustration is a votive monument from Thebes displaying two long, plaited locks as a dedication to Poseidon (Plate 3.14).²⁴⁵

Several literary sources make reference to the practice to dedicating hair to deities.²⁴⁶ Achilles, so overwhelmed at the death of his friend Patroclus, dedicates, at his funeral, a lock of his hair, which was to be saved as an offering to his native river Spercheios.²⁴⁷ Plutarch narrates the custom of youths travelling to Delphi at their coming of age to dedicate some of their hair to the god. Theseus initiated this custom and thus, Plutarch notes, the ritual was referred to as the *Theseis*.²⁴⁸

The Theran frescoes, however, show no evidence of hair dedication, and thus the idea that the hair was used as an offering for the centrally seated deity on the upper floor must be abandoned.

As well as indicating age, rituals, and possible dedications, hairstyle may

²⁴³ It is dangerous to draw upon later Greek customs as evidence for Bronze Age rituals, as they do not necessarily imply continuation of culture, and thus these examples are only used as secondary evidence.

²⁴⁴ Evans. PM IV, 479. The inscription reads: ΔΑΙΑΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΥΠΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΚΟΜΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ.

²⁴⁵ Evans. PM IV, 480, fig. 403.

²⁴⁶ Herodotus, 4.34; Pausanias, 2.32.1; 1.37.3, 1.43.4; 7.5.7; 7.17.8; 8.41.3; 8.20.3; Pindar, *Pyth*, 4.82.

²⁴⁷ Homer. *Iliad*. 23,141-53.

²⁴⁸ Plutarch. *Theseus*, 5.1. This ritual is also seen in Theophrastos. *Characters*, 21. Evans, who presents this example in his section on Votive Hair-Offerings in Ancient Greece, notes that the early cult at Delphi was closely connected with the one at Knossos in Minoan times. PM VI, 477.

imply status or denote a special role for the individual. N. Marinatos often emphasizes this indicator in her various articles and books on the Theran frescoes. She believes that the

partially shaved men, women and children, as they appear on the frescoes, may have been serving their term as servants of the shrine, they may have been consecrated to the divinity. Partial shaving marks them off as separate from the rest of the community during a period of liminality.²⁴⁹

As examples, she uses the shorn women of the Xeste 3 paintings (Plates 1.9, 1.11), the Priestess of the West House (Plate 1.15) and the boys in the boxing fresco (Plate 3.7).

Hairstyle and headdress are common status indicators in Near Eastern art. A limestone plaque from Ur shows, on the lower register, a shaven headed priest pouring a libation (Plate 3.15). This accords well with N. Marinatos' suggestion that the shaven head indicates a connection with, or even a servitude to a deity. Further, the woman shown behind the priest and the women on the upper register wear their hair in a distinctive style, which is worn by a priestess of a god of Ur.²⁵⁰

A modern copy of an Akkadian cylinder seal shows a servant scribe standing behind his master (Plate 3.16). The scribe is designated by his shaven head. His connection with ritual or religion is less direct, but the supposition that a scribe would have some connection with the divinity is probable.

²⁴⁹ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Thalassocracy*, 172. See also *Art and Religion*, 46; *L'iconographie minoenne*, 224, 226.

²⁵⁰ Collon. *Ancient Near Eastern Art*, 74.

Several modern impressions of cylinder seals show deities with their recognizable horned hats (Plate 3.17-8). Collon notes that:

Sumerian and Akkadian deities were combined and a standard iconography devised so that they could easily be identified visually... The deities all wear the horned headdress which indicates their stature.²⁵¹

The theory that the shorn heads represent status is the second explanation given to the unusual hairstyles at Thera. It has already been determined that the different hairstyles indicate age, an idea that is wholly accepted by scholars, and there is no positive evidence that the styles may also indicate that the individual has been consecrated to a deity.

INTERPRETATIONS OF JEWELLERY

The examination of the jewellery on the Theran frescoes lead to further interpretations. We have, first, a singular example in which a woman holds forth a beaded necklace. This event has most often been interpreted as an offering ceremony.

Two of the most convincing examples that support the offering theme of jewellery in Aegean iconography are the Mykenaia from Mycenae and the Jewel fresco from Knossos. The Mykenaia fresco shows the upper torso of a woman who holds out a beaded necklace in front of her (Plate 1.44). It is unclear from only the small extant fragments whether this woman was receiving the necklace

²⁵¹ Collon. *Ancient Near Eastern Art*, 79.

or was the only preserved figure in a processional scene bearing gifts. As we can see from the mainland paintings, large-scale female processional groups with offerings are common (Thebes, Tiryns, Pylos).²⁵²

The Jewel fresco from Knossos offers another example of a necklace (Plate 1.25). The only extant fragment of this scene depicts part of a woman's neck upon which lies an interesting necklace. A man's fingers are touching the jewellery. The necklace itself is very different from those seen in the Aegean; it consists of a beaded strand, from which dangles at least two small pendants in the shape of a male head. The heads themselves are of a dark complexion with curly hair and a double looped earring seen only on the woman at Thera (Plates 1.5). Cameron proposes that this scene may represent a robing (or disrobing) or adornment ritual²⁵³, an event, that may in turn, be a prelude for a marriage ceremony.²⁵⁴

Younger also believes that the necklace in Xeste 3 is an offering. He notes two other examples in the Aegean in which attention is being focused on a necklace. In the Ladies in Blue fresco, the woman touches the necklace of the woman seated beside her (Plate 1.24). Here the ladies are similarly ornamented; they wear necklaces, bracelets and beads in their hair. Likewise, in the Mycenaean ivory statue, the young boy who lies across the laps of the seated women reaches up and grasps one of their necklaces (Plate 2.29).

²⁵² Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting*, 166.

²⁵³ Cameron. *Minoan Frescoes*, 145.

²⁵⁴ This interpretation stems mainly from the presence of a sacral knot, a knotted cloth worn by the woman, which both Cameron and Evans believe had religious or ritual association. Cameron. "The 'Palatial Thematic System in the Knossos Murals.' *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, 324. Evans. *PM I*, 526.

Younger believes that these scenes emphasize the intrinsic value of the necklaces, and suggests that the necklace in the adyton painting was being used for a dedication. It is proposed that the woman would drop the beads on the altar painted on the east wall, or on the windowsill or spur wall in the room.²⁵⁵ N. Marinatos believes the former, noting that all three figures in the scene face the altar on the east wall, as do the male figures in the adjacent room. This arrangement suggests that the altar was the focal point of the scene in the adyton.²⁵⁶

Examples of paintings outside the Aegean strengthen the offering interpretation. Tomb paintings in Egypt show processions of men bearing gifts towards a collection of offerings (Plates 4.7-8). Among the metal vases and vessels, in two cases, the men carry necklaces as part of the dedicatory offerings.

The necklace itself has a symbolic meaning in Egypt. Amulets were often hung around the neck of the deceased and were meant to protect the wearer.²⁵⁷ An aegis, which fit around the neck like a collar, was considered a symbol of protection and its positioning was "a symbolic expression for being encompassed by the arms of the god."²⁵⁸ A menat, a broad necklace with a beaded counterweight, was a symbol of Hathor and was regarded as having the

²⁵⁵ Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 267. He notes that the window and wall are actual repositories in the Mycenaean Sanctuary at Phylakopi. Renfrew. *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*.

²⁵⁶ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 75.

²⁵⁷ Lurker. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 25.

²⁵⁸ Lurker. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 24.

power to heal.²⁵⁹ Several examples of women placing necklaces about the necks of pharaohs in Egypt are depicted. The first example shows Hathor, extending a necklace to the Pharaoh (Plate 4.9). The second and third examples show the queen placing a necklace around the neck of Tutankhamun (Plates 4.10-11).

A study of the offerings at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea shows massive amounts of jewellery being offered to the goddess. The excavator, Voyatzis, notes that the jewellery "may reflect the concerns of the women who invoked the goddess by offering personal jewellery at times of transition in their lives, such as marriage or childbirth."²⁶⁰ This is paralleled by the finds at other Greek sanctuaries and C. Morgan notes that at Olympia, the presence of belts, (as well as jewellery and tweezers found elsewhere) reinforces the idea that women were the dedicators.²⁶¹

It is clear then that the necklace offering has only one clear comparison in the Aegean: the woman of the Mykenaia fresco who also holds forth a necklace. The Jewel fresco is such a small fragment that any hypothesis of its meaning is mere conjecture, and thus Cameron's suggestion that the fragment depicts a marriage ceremony is too speculative. The Ladies in Blue painting and the Mycenaean ivory statuette do show interaction with the necklaces, but again it is too conjectural to assume that they would *a priori* prove necklace offerings. In the case of the Mycenaean statuette the artist may simply be illustrating a playful child.

²⁵⁹ Lurker. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 79.

²⁶⁰ Voyatzis. "From Athena to Zeus." *Ancient Goddesses*, 139.

²⁶¹ C. Morgan. *Athletes and Oracles. The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth century B.C.*, 34-5, 231-3.

Necklace offerings are, however, well substantiated outside the Aegean, particularly with the wall paintings from Egypt, and with this evidence and the fully preserved adyton fresco, the scene can then plausibly be interpreted as one of offering. Whether the dedication is part of a larger initiation theme is still unclear since, unlike the examples from Tegea and Olympia, little is known of the initiation themes and the character of the deity.

Another interpretation of this scene is the adornment ceremony already seen with the robe in the House of the Ladies fresco. The left hand woman who approaches the altar with her strand of beads, also walks towards the central woman in the scene. Likewise the right hand figure, who looks over her shoulder at the altar, perhaps carries a veil towards the seated woman. The unusual fact that the central woman is the only one of the figures that does not wear a necklace or bracelet suggests that the adornment theme may be the case. This thesis is less convincing, however, when presented with the above examples; the only one which may indicate an adornment of a mortal woman is the Jewel fresco, which again is too fragmentary to form a conclusion. It is thus more convincing to accept that the scene depicts an offering.

In addition to presenting information about the narrative of the scenes, the jewellery may also characterize the status of the person to whom it belongs. Here we shall consider and evaluate Younger's article on "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewelry."²⁶² After presenting the common pieces of jewellery found

²⁶² Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 257-93.

from burials or represented on art, Younger considers that jewellery was regarded as a symbol of status:

In general it can be assumed that most jewelry, especially the beaded necklaces and bracelets and the blue hair bands referred to the high social station and wealth of the wearers. Some items of jewelry, however, seem to have marked the wearer as not of high station, but perhaps exotic or bound to service, such as the torque, the arm-ring, and the anklet.²⁶³

According to Younger, arm-rings are often depicted on men whose roles fall into a particular pattern; they include cupbearers and charioteers, whose role is of a subservient nature, and those men who appear in pairs and as taureadors, who may be involved in a male ritual.²⁶⁴ Younger thus concludes that the women of Xeste 3 who wear the arm-bands are similarly consecrated.²⁶⁵

Younger also proposes that anklets are an indication of servility. Evans, however, notes that the anklet is seen on Near Eastern representations from a very early period, and he argues the opposite thesis, without giving evidence for his reasoning: that they were a privilege of those of higher status and authority.²⁶⁶

Several of the men and women involved in the procession at Knossos also wear this piece of jewellery. The central women also wear the anklets, which

²⁶³ Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 276.

²⁶⁴ Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 270. It is also noted that the female Taureadors wear armbands, although I suspect that this is because they may be involved in what traditionally seems to be a male activity. This is indicated by the fact that the women all wear the traditional male kilt with no top. Younger believes that the "white painted Taureadors" are probably not female. Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 270.

²⁶⁵ Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 270.

²⁶⁶ Evans. *PM II*, 726-7.

suggests, if the jewellery does indicate any obligation, that they were priestesses of the goddess in her service, rather than representations of the deity herself (Plate 1.37-8).

While Younger's premise, that arm-rings and anklets marked the wearer as "perhaps exotic or bound to service", may be correct, it does not mean that the jewellery "marked the wearer as not of high station", on the contrary in fact, one bound to the service of the deity would be considered of high station. Consider the girls who are commissioned to clean the old robe of Athena; they are gathered from the noble Attic clan of the Praxiergidai family.

It is left to consider the arm-rings and anklets on the Thera frescoes. Arm-rings are worn by at least two of the girls at Akrotiri: the crocus gatherers of the upper floor fresco (Plates 1.7-9). Anklets are worn by several of the women at Akrotiri: the saffron gatherers (Plates 1.8-9), the two women flanking the goddess (Plate 1.4-5) and the right hand figure on the adyton (Plate 1.11). These women who wear the arm-rings and anklets are all involved in the gathering and offering of the crocus plants (except for the right hand figure on the adyton), and thus it may be considered that the anklet indicates that the women were in the service of the central goddess on the upper floor. These women are younger than their mature counterparts, and thus the jewellery may also indicate their youth.

Earrings are another piece of jewellery that may indicate the status of the wearer. All the women on the Thera frescoes wear earrings except for the two figures in the upper Room 3b of Xeste 3. It is interesting to note that there are no earrings depicted on mainland and Cretan frescoes. Younger notes that the

"earrings were apparently a remarkably short-lived fad at the transition to the Late Bronze Age and it is possible that the older women [the two figures on the upper Room 3 of Xeste 3] were already too old-fashioned to get caught up in it."²⁶⁷

Jewellery may not only help to mark the status of the wearer, but it may also identify a particular individual. The duck and dragonfly pendants on the necklace on the goddess of Xeste 3 suggest that she is associated with nature (Plate 1.6).²⁶⁸ N. Marinatos believes:

[i]t is impossible to fully appreciate Minoan art and religion without a complete understanding of the role of nature. It must already have been obvious that the Minoan goddess is not only at home in an outdoor natural setting, but that she derives her very attributes from it. Her adornment consists of flowers, she may have a necklace with insect or bird pendants, and snakes can be crawling over her body [this view comes from the shape of the hair locks which suggest snakes]. We have also seen that landscapes constitute the perfect setting for the goddess... and Thera flowers, rocks, and animals surround the seated deity.²⁶⁹

Although one must be wary of any inherent associations between women and nature, the relationship between the Theran goddess and nature is evident. The bird and insect pendants of the necklaces, as well as the crocus designs on her cheek and dress and her apparent association with the monkey and griffin, all indicate that the goddess is undoubtedly associated with nature.

²⁶⁷ Younger. "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewellery." *Aegaeum* 8, 265. He has dated the earrings to the end of MM-LMIA by context. 261.

²⁶⁸ N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*, 68-70.

²⁶⁹ N. Marinatos. *Minoan Religion*, 193.

CONCLUSIONS

In the conclusions each fresco group will be looked at in light of the iconographical analysis on dress, hairstyle and jewellery. I will then present an interpretation explaining the narrative of the frescoes.

The examination of the dress shows that the bodice and flounced wrap are worn by the majority of the women on the frescoes, specifically those of the adyton fresco of Xeste 3 (Plates 1.3, 1.10-2), and those on the two frescoes of Room 3a on the upper floor of the same building (Plates 1.2, 1.4-9). The wrap is also worn by the two women in the House of the Ladies wall painting (Plates 1.20-1). It became clear with close observation that only specific women wore an underskirt below their flounced wrap. This is observed on the women in the House of the Ladies (Plates 1.20-1) as well as the western-most woman of the adyton fresco (Plate 1.10). The women from the House of the Ladies wear underskirts, which are most likely attached to the bodice; a long robe, the reconstruction of which is clear from N. Marinatos (Plate 2.14). Whether the woman from the adyton wore a one-piece robe is less clear, but still probable as her full underskirt clearly matches her bodice (Plate 1.10).

The wrap then, in Xeste 3, in all cases except one, is worn without an underskirt. The women who do not wear an underskirt beneath their flounced wrap are involved in a common role. The two girls on the east wall of the first floor of Xeste 3 are both picking croci; they have their baskets close at hand to collect the flowers (Plates 1.7-9). The north wall of the first floor illustrates the

next step in the crocus gathering process; bringing the plants to the central seated goddess (Plate 1.2). The eastern figure on the painting transports her basket on her shoulder (Plate 1.5), and the woman on the other side of the painting empties her basket onto the first level of the tripartite stand (Plate 1.4). Of the three women in the adyton fresco only one is ostensibly connected with the plants. The central woman is seated on a rock and bends down to touch her bleeding foot (Plate 1.12). A crocus stamen lies close by suggesting she was involved in the process before she hurt her foot. The eastern-most figure is the only one out of character; she is neither carrying a basket nor is she picking the plants, she does, however, hold a diaphanous veil over her body and seems to look over her shoulder at the altar on the adjacent wall, which may indicate her involvement with an offering (Plate 1.11).

An observation, which has not been postulated by scholars before, can now be presented. The lack of an underskirt may coincide with the action of picking the plants. The landscape, as can be seen especially on the east wall of Room 3a in Xeste 3 (Plate 1.7), is formed of uneven ground and high, rocky peaks. A full underskirt would hinder the movement of the women who have to maneuver through this rocky terrain. The girl on the right side of the scene of the east wall of upper Room 3a shows the difficulty in navigating the landscape to pick the plants (Plate 1.9). She has to lift her right leg onto a ledge of a rock to pick from a tuft of croci. A long skirt underneath would hinder this movement.

The women who do wear an underskirt under their wrap are also all involved in a common activity. The woman on the lower fresco of the adyton holds out a

beaded necklace likely as part of an offering or adornment ceremony (Plates 1.3, 1.10). Similarly, the two women in the House of the Ladies who also wear the wrap over their underskirt (Plates 1.20-21) are involved in an offering or adornment ceremony.

That the flounced wrap worn without an underskirt may have a connection with the process of crocus gathering, or at least with plants, is further evidenced by the wall painting at Ayia Triadha (Plate 1.41). Here the woman wears a flounced wrap without an underskirt and stands amid a nature landscape scene. A sealing from Pylos also shows a woman wearing the wrap with no underskirt (Plate 2.20). She holds two lilies in her hand and leans towards a shrine or altar structure from which protrudes two palm or olive branches. The connection between the women, who wear the flounced wrap with no underskirt and with nature, and particularly plants, is obvious.

There are other examples in the Bronze Age of women who wear the wrap over an underskirt and are involved in a similar offering, presentation, or adornment ceremony. These include the figures in the Procession frescoes at Knossos, Pylos, Tiryns, and Thebes.

We find then a correlation between the dress and the function of the women. The wrap without an underskirt is worn by the women whose job it is to gather the croci, and, in the same respect, the women who wear the wrap over an underskirt are involved in offering or presentation events.

The information gathered from the study of the hairstyles can now be added to these conclusions. For this examination we will use Davis' theory of age which

associates hairstyle and physiognomic features with maturity. Her accepted formula suggests that the older women would be the two women on the left side of the adyton fresco, and the extant women of the House of the Ladies (Plates 1.3, 1.20-1). Three of these four women wear the wrap with an underskirt. Thus, we can propose that older women would wear the wrap over an underskirt.

There are at least two women who wear a sash dress, yet are identified by their hair to be older. They are still involved in a common function: an offering ritual. Thus, the older woman of Xeste 3 holds forth a necklace, perhaps towards the shrine on the other wall, the woman of the House of the Ladies holds forth a wrap to another figure, while the other woman in the same house holds something in her hand, and the woman in Room 3b, whose hair is pulled up into a bun, holds a basket or woven bag. So the roles of the older women in the community are involved in some type of ritual offering.

The girls who have shaved heads are, according to their hairstyle, youths, and they do not wear an underskirt (being involved in crocus gathering). So therefore the duty of gathering plants to offer up eventually to the goddess and most likely later to be used for other reasons falls to the younger Thera girls – it is their role in society to gather the plants. The older girls, the ones who have had their heads shaved and now the hair is slowly growing back, are the ones who have the duty to approach the goddess with their baskets full of flowers.

This may also explain the robing ceremony in the House of the Ladies. Since there is not obvious evidence to suggest that she is goddess, such as what we have for the central figure in Room 3b, we may postulate that the fragmentary

figure is actually a young girl who is perhaps being initiated into womanhood by the fastening of a wrap over her longer robe. This association is paralleled on the fresco of the adyton (Plates 1.3, 1.12). Here we have a woman with long hair, suggesting she is older, yet she still wears the wrap without an underskirt, or possibly some type of girdle dress. She has perhaps not yet undergone her initiation into womanhood, which is also why she is still involved in the crocus gathering process. The associations made between the blood on the girl's foot and menstruation and childbirth may indeed suggest she is ready to undergo an induction.

I can now propose that the frescoes depict an initiation ritual. The seated woman of the adyton is in the primary stage of her induction (Plate 1.12). She, like the other girls who wear the wrap without an underskirt, is involved in gathering crocus blooms for the goddess, who is represented on the panel above. A crocus bloom lies just below her raised foot suggesting this is true. The second part of her initiation process would be carried out in the Room of the Ladies, where, it is most certain with the numerous loomweight finds, there was a great amount of textile production. In the Room of the Ladies, she would don the robe and have the wrap fastened to her waist: a sign of maturity. Now, rather than taking part in the flower gathering process, she would take part in other offering presentations. This initiation ritual would take into account the two scenes which, belonging to the same community, must have some relation.

The second type of garment studied was the sash dress. There are three women who wear this type of robe, which crosses the chest on a diagonal and is

worn with a bodice underneath. The woman depicted on the painting in the West House (Plate 1.15), and the two women on the Room 3b painting in Xeste 3 (Plates 1.13-4) all wear this garment. A study involving the context of these women shows that they all carry some object. The woman on the West House carries an incense burner, while the woman of Xeste 3 holds a woven basket or bag. Several examples of glyptic art confirm that the people who wear the sash robe are most often depicted solitary and in the process of carrying something. It can be suggested then that the characters who wear the sash robe are those individuals of the community who hold a specific position. In the case of the women at Akrotiri, their job is within the ritual taking place, thus the woman of West House must scent the area with her incense, and the women of Xeste 3 bring the contents of their baskets for ritual adornment or offering. Comparisons with several examples from the art of Egypt and the Near East confirm that individuals who wear the robe were considered to have a specific position within the community.

A second conclusion resulting from the study of their hairstyle is the apparent disparities between the Thera styles and those of Crete and mainland Greece. The women at Akrotiri lack three features commonly seen elsewhere: the long lock in front of the ear, the thin wavy strands of hair, and the ornamentally beaded strands which are only seen on the goddess of Xeste 3. The Thera women, moreover, have a predilection for shaved heads and long and short hairlocks. This may indicate that the scene shown at Thera was an original idea, one not seen elsewhere in the Aegean.

This individuality is also evidenced in the jewellery of the Thera women. Although the women of Thera and Crete and the mainland seem to wear a common type of bracelet, either the U- or S-shaped type, around their wrists and around their ankles, several other pieces of their jewellery show that they were individually ornamented and not following a standard theme of decoration. The garment rope, which may be worn by the two women in the adyton fresco (Plates 1.10-1) is a distinctly unusual clothing accessory. There are no other examples of it in the Aegean. The earrings are also very diverse in make-up; various types are represented at Thera; the double hoop (Plate 1.5), the earring with the bisecting lines (Plate 1.15), and the earring with ridged edges (Plate 1.8).

This individualism, in the hair and jewellery at Thera suggests that perhaps the theme being depicted was not one seen before in other frescoes; the frescoes at Akrotiri may be one of the first examples of an initiation theme.

This thesis has thus presented a new interpretation for the Thera frescoes. The Xeste 3 paintings depict scenes of women in the various stages of their lives; the younger women have the role to gather the plants and offer them to the goddess, and the older women are involved in various presentations or offerings of jewellery or robes. The House of the Ladies fresco shows the women involved in a ceremony concluding in the individual's initiation into womanhood or into a higher role within the community.

CATALOGUE OF FRESCOES

Number in catalogue and identification (identification is normally the name the fresco is commonly designated)

- a. present location
- b. size of fresco or figures (note: all dimensions are calculated in meters and indicate length and width respectively, unless otherwise noted. If there is more than one measurement it is because the panel is fragmentary. If there is no measurement it is because none was available)
- c. brief description
- d. date of fresco
- e. provenance
- f. bibliography of pictures and major references

CYCLADIC ISLANDS

Thera- Akrotiri (note: I have separated the Akrotiri frescoes into specific panels rather than entire rooms, for more detailed study. The bibliography after each fresco is for the entire room or fresco area)

(1) Frescoes from Lustral Basin

- a. Thera Museum
- b. 1.43 x 3.91
- c. Three women, two standing, one in center seated with a wounded foot
- d. LC I
- e. Xeste 3, room 3a, adyton, north wall
- f. S. Marinatos, *Thera VII*, 32, pls. A-J, pls. 58-64; Doumas, *PEA* (1980) 295 (reconstruction), *Thera* (1983) 106ff., pls. 30-32; *WPT* (1992), 127ff., pls. 100-8, 116-21, 122-28, 129-130; Televantou, *Aegeum* 8, 145ff., Catal. Nos. 25a-c, pls. (25a) XXXIIa, XXXVe, (25b) XXXIIa, XXXIVa, XXXVIa, (25c) XXXIIa, XXXIVb, XXXVIb, XLIIb, XLIIa; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 51, 55ff., figs. 33, 40-44, 49, 52, 55-6, 57 (reconstruction); S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 55f., 59ff., 186 (Ak. No. 6), figs. 20, 26c, 32a; Cameron, *TAW I*, 580ff.; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 10; Davis, *TAW III.I*, 214ff., fig. 13; P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 54ff., pl. 2-3; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 55 (No. 50), pls. 64, 66-7; here pl. 1.1d, 1.3, 1.10-12.

(2) Crocus Gatherers

- a. Thera Museum
- b. 2.44 x 2.66
- c. Two women picking croci in a rocky landscape scene
- d. LC I
- e. Xeste 3, room 3a, east wall, upper floor

- f. S. Marinatos, *Thera VII*, 32, pls. A-J, pls. 58-64; Doumas, *PEA* (1980) 295 (reconstruction), *Thera* (1983) 106ff., pls. 30-32; *WPT* (1992), 127ff., pls. 100-8, 116-21, 122-28, 129-130; Televantou, *Aegeaum* 8, 145ff., Catal. Nos. 31a-b, pls. (31a) XXXIIc, XXXIVc, XXXVf, XXXIXb, (31b) XXXIIc, XXXIVd, XXXIXb; Cameron, *TAW I*, 580ff.; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 10; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 51, 55f., 61ff., figs. 33, 40-44, 49, 52, 55-6, 57 (reconstruction); Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 55f., 59ff., 186 (Ak. No. 6), figs. 20, 26a,b, 32c; P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 54ff., pl. 2-3; S.; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 55 (No. 50), pls. 64, 66-7; here pl. 1.1d, 1.7-9.

(3) Offering scene to seated woman on rocky landscape, flanked by monkey and griffin

- a. Thera Museum
- b. 2.30 x 3.22 and 2.17 x .69
- c. Three women, two standing, one seated on a structure in center flanked by a griffin and a monkey
- d. LC I
- e. Xeste 3, room 3a, north wall, upper floor
- f. Sp. Marinatos, *Thera VII*, 32, pls. A-J, pls. 58-64; Doumas, *PEA* (1980) 295 (reconstruction), *Thera* (1983) 106ff., pls. 30-32; *WPT* (1992), 127ff., pls. 100-8, 116-21, 122-28, 129-130; Televantou, *Aegeaum* 8, 145ff., Catal. Nos. 30a-c, pls. (30a) XXXIXb, (30b) XXXIXb, (30c) XXXIIb, XXXIVe, XXXIXb, XLla; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 51, 55f., 61ff., figs. 33, 40-44, 49, 52, 55-6, 57 (reconstruction); P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 54ff., pl. 2-3; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 55f., 59ff., 186 (Ak. No. 6), fig. 20; Cameron, *TAW I*, 580ff.; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 10; N. Marinatos, *TAW III.I*, 370ff., fig. 4; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 55 (No. 50), pls. 64, 66-7, col. pl. XVII; here pl. 1.1d, 1.2, 1.4-6.

(4) Three standing women

- a. Thera Museum
- b.
- c. Only two women extant, both standing holding flowers or a basket
- d. LC I
- e. Xeste 3, room 3b, south wall, upper floor
- f. S. Marinatos, *Thera VII*, 36f., pls. 65-66; C. Doumas, *WPT* (1992), 127ff., pls. 131-4; Televantou, *Aegeaum* 8, 145ff., Catal. Nos. 33a-c, pls. (33c) XXXVId; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 64f., figs. 44-46, S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 62, 186 (Ak No. 7), fig. 26d; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 55 (No. 7), pl. 65, col. pl. XIII; here pl. 1.1d, 1.13-14.

(5) Miniature Frieze. Meeting on the Hill, Shipwreck and Landing Party, First Town

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b. .45 (height) x .86 (length)
- c. Shows fresco known as the "Meeting on the Hill", "Shipwreck and Landing Party", and "First Town"
- d. LC I
- e. West House, room 5, north wall, upper floor
- f. S. Marinatos, *Thera VI*, 38ff., pls. 91-4, 96-108, 110, 112, col. Pls. 7-9; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 12, 20, 21, pls. X, XIV-XV; Hiller, *TAW III.I*, 229ff.; Niemeier, *TAW III.I*, 267ff., Telestantou, *TAW III.I*, 309ff., figs. 5-14; *Aegeum 8*, Catal. No. 19b, 145ff., pls. XXIXb,d, XXXa; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 38ff., figs. 17 (reconstruction), 20-4, 32-6; P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 71ff., pls. 7a-b, 8a; L. Morgan, *MWPT*; *TAW 1*, 629ff.; *TAW III.I*, 252ff., figs. 5,3,O. Negbi, *TAW 1*, 645ff.; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 70-75, 187 (Ak No. 12), figs. 38a, pl. 27; *Minoan Society*, (1983), 143ff.; Doumas, *WPT* (1992), 45ff., pls. 35-48; *Thera* (1983), 85ff., fig. 12, pls. X, XIV-XV; "The Iconography of the Ship Fresco from Thera", E. Davis (1983), 5, fig 1,4; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 57-58 (No. 58), pls. 77, 79; here pl. 1.1c, 1.16.

(6) Miniature Frieze. Return of the Fleet, Second and Third Towns

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b. .43 (height) x 3.90 (length)
- c. Shows fresco known as the "Return of the Fleet" and "Second" and "Third Towns"
- d. LC I
- e. West House, room 5, south wall, upper floor
- f. Sp. Marinatos, *Thera VI*, 38ff., pls. 91-4, 96-108, 110, 112, col. Pls. 7-9; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 12, 20, 21, pls. X, XIV-XV; Hiller, *TAW III.I*, 229ff.; Niemeier, *TAW III.I*, 267ff., Telestantou, *TAW III.I*, 309ff., figs. 5-14; *Aegeum 8*, Catal. No. 19d, 145ff., pls. XXIXc, XXXb; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 38ff., figs. 17 (reconstruction), 20-4, 32-6; L. Morgan, *MWPT*; *TAW 1*, 629ff.; *TAW III.I*, 252ff., figs. 5,3,O. Negbi, *TAW 1*, 645ff.; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 70-75, 187 (Ak No. 12), figs. 34c-d, pls. XIV, 25-6, 28-9; *Minoan Society*, (1983), 143ff.; Doumas, *WPT* (1992), 45ff., pls. 26-29; *Thera* (1983), 85ff., fig. 12, pls. X, XIV-XV; "The Iconography of the Ship Fresco from Thera", E. Davis (1983), 4, figs. 1.1, 1.2; *TAW III.I*, 214ff, fig.14; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 57-58 (No. 58), pls. 77, 79; P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 71ff., pls. 7a-b, 8a; here pl. 1.1c, 1.17-19.

(7) Woman with Incense Burner

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b. 1.15 x .35

- c. Women standing holding an implement, possibly an incense burner.
- d. LC I
- e. West House, room 4-5, upper floor
- f. Sp. Marinatos, *Thera V*, 43, pls. 100-101, col. pls. J-K; VI, 20, 26, col. Pl. 5b; S. Hood, *APG*, 55, fig. 35; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 45ff., fig. 26; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 13, 54, 63, 74, 135, 186 (Ak No. 8), pl. 21; L. Morgan, *MWPT*, 143, pls. 41, 180; *TAW 1*, 640; C. Doumas, *Thera* (1983) 83f., pl. XIII; C. Televantou, (1990), 313, fig. 4-6; *Aegeum 8*, Catal. No. 15, 145ff.; P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 71ff., pl. 9; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 57-58 (No. 57), pl. 76, col. pl. XVI; here pl. 1.1c, 1.15.

(8) Standing Woman

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b. 2.20 x 2.05
- c. Full figure of woman walking with arms outstretched
- d. LC I
- e. House of the Ladies, Room 1, east compartment, south wall
- f. Sp. Marinatos, *Thera V*, 11ff., 38-41, figs. 3,5, pls. E-H, 9-12, 94, 96-7; VI, 8ff., pl. 5; Doumas, *Thera* (1983), 81ff., pls. VI-II; *WPT* (1992), 33ff., pls. 2-12; Televantou, *Aegeum 8*, 145ff., Catal. No. 20, pl. XXXId; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 97ff., figs. 67-9 (reconstruction), 71; Forsyth, *TBA*, 81ff., pl. 10-1; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54ff., 186 (Ak No. 5), fig. 17, pl. XI; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 55-56 (No. 52), pls. 68-69; here pl. 1.1b, 1.20.

(9) Bending Woman with cloth

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b. 2.25 (height) x 1.19 (width)
- c. Woman bending holding out a patterned garment, sleeve and arm of second figure
- d. LC I
- e. House of the Ladies, Room 1, east compartment, north wall
- f. Sp. Marinatos, *Thera V*, 11ff., 38-41, figs. 3,5, pls. E-H, 9-12, 94, 96-7; VI, 8ff., pl. 5; Doumas, *Thera* (1983), 81ff., pls. VI-II; *WPT* (1992), 33ff., pls. 2-12; Televantou, *Aegeum 8*, 145ff., Catal. No. 21, pl. XXXIe; (1982) 114 (no 1-2), fig. 1a; N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 97ff., figs. 67-9 (reconstruction), 71; P. Forsyth, *TBA*, 81ff., pl. 10-1; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54ff., 186 (Ak No. 5), fig. 17, pl. XII; E. Davis, *TAW III.I*, 214ff., fig. 4; L. Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 9; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 55-56 (No. 52), pls. 68-69; here pl. 1.1b, 1.21.

(10) Woman with lilies

- a.
- b.
- c. Small scale painting of woman holding lilies
- d. LC I
- e. Xeste 3
- f. S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 188, #15; *ArchDelt* 29B (1973-4), pl. 31.

Phylakopi, Melos

(11) Seated woman

- a. Athens, National Museum (5843)
- b.
- c. Seated woman wearing a skirt decorated with fish, and holding a piece of fabric (?) or a net (?)
- d. LM IA
- e. G3, Pillar Crypt Area, rooms 6-7
- f. Evans, *PM III*, 40f., fig. 26; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 8 (new reconstruction); N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion*, 86-88, fig. 59; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54, 62, 189 (Ph No. 2); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 60 (No. 65), pl. 87; here pl. 1.22.

(12) Stooping female figure

- a. Athens, National Museum 5843
- b.
- c. Stooping female figure
- d. LM IA
- e. Rooms 6-7 of large building at G-3
- f. *PM I*, 544ff., fig. 396; *Phylakopi*, 73, figs. 6-1; 74, fig. 62; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54, 62, 189 (Ph No. 3); L. Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 8 (new reconstruction); here pl. 1.23.

Ayia Irini, Keos

(13) Fragments of women

- a.
- b.
- c. Fragments of women
- d.
- e.
- f. Abramovitz, K, *A Study of Painted Wall Plaster. Fragments from the Bronze Age Site of Ayia Irini in the Island of Keos*, Ann Arbor, 1970; *Hesperia* 42, "Frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos, Part I", 284-300; *Hesperia* 49, "Part II", 57-85,

pt. 3 fig. 55-6, pl. 4a fig. 63; Morgan, *MWPT*, 94, figs. 61 a-e; *TAW III.I*, 252ff., fig. 1.

CRETE

Knossos

(14) Jewel Fresco

- a. Heraklion Museum, Case 173, No. 36
- b.
- c. Fragment of a woman's neck wearing an interesting necklace and a man's hand touching the necklace.
- d. MM IIIB
- e. Magazine of the Vase Tablets
- f. Evans, *PM I*, 525ff., fig. 383; Cameron and Hood, KFA, pl. B, fig. 2; Kaiser, *UMR*, 265; Cameron, *SMF*, 144f., pl. 44A, slide 14; *ActaAth-4(0)* (1987), 324, fig. 1, 5; Hood, *APG*, 74; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 50, 53, 161, 162, 172 (Kn No. 9); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 40 (No. 4), pls. 6-7; here pl. 1.25.

(15) Ladies in Blue

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV
- b.
- c. Fragments of three women: hair and ornaments, jewelery and patterned bodices
- d. MM IIIB/LM IA
- e. Found in deposit outside north wall of Royal Magazines
- f. Evans, *PM I*, 544ff., fig. 397-98, Cameron and Hood, KFA, pl. XIIb; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54, 58-9, 162, 172 (Kn No. 11), Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 40 (No. 5), pl. 8; here pl. 1.24.

(16) Lady in Red

- a. Heraklion Museum, Case 172, No. 60
- b.
- c. Fragment of bodice and bare chest of woman wearing a red bodice
- d. LM IA
- e. Exact provenance unknown
- f. Cameron, *Archaeology* 24 (1971), 35ff., Cameron, *SMF*, 146, slide 6; Peterson, *WPABA*, 28, 174, ill. 5; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54, 59, 162, 172 (Kn No. 12); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 40 (No. 6), pl. 9; here pl. 1.26.

(17) Grandstand or Temple fresco

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XV, Case 174, Nos. 66-67
- b.
- c. Fragments of women seated and conversing in small groups, heads of men and women in shorthand technique
- d. MM IIIB (Evans) LM IIIB (Palmer) LM IA or MM IIIB/LM IA (Cameron) LM IB (Immerwahr)
- e. Room of the Spiral Cornice and Miniatures Deposit
- f. Evans, *PM III*, 46ff., figs. 28-34, 36, pls. XVI-XVII, Cameron and Hood, KFA, pls. B, fig. 1a-b, 11, 11A; Palmer, *OKT*, 119, 125, New Guide, 75, 79, 126f.; Cameron, *SMF*, 135, 437, fig. 17, pl. 26; *ActaAth4(0)* (1987) 325, figs. 8, 9, 11; Hood, *APG*, 62, fig. 46; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 14, 63-65, 71, 110, 163, 173 (Kn No. 15), fig. 34c, pl. 22; Smith, *Interconnections*, figs. 112-3 (DK); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 41 (No. 8), pls. 11, 13, col. pl. I; here pl. 1.29.

(18) Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XV
- b.
- c. Fragments of standing women with long dresses and large groups of simply drawn heads of people.
- d. MM IIIB/LM IA
- e. Room of the Spiral Cornice and Miniatures Deposit
- f. Evans, *PM III*, 66ff., pl. XVIII; Cameron, *SMF*, 134, fig. 17, pl. 29; *ActaAth4(0)* (1987) 325, fig. 11; N. Marinatos, *ActaAth4(0)* (1987), 141-2, fig. 7; idem, *JPR* 1 (1987), 23-34, fig. 1 (new and corrected reconstruction); S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 33, 63, 65-6, 67, 71, 163, 173 (Kn No. 16), pl. 23; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 41 (No. 9), pls. 12-13, col. pl. V; here pl. 1.30.

(19) Fragments of miniature frescoes

- a. Heraklion Museum, Case 174
- b.
- c. a) Lady on balcony b) Woman looking out of a casement
- d. MM IIIB/LM IA
- e. Room of the Spiral Cornice and Miniatures Deposit
- f. Evans, *PM III*, 59, fig. 35; II.2, 602, fig. 375-6; Cameron and Hood, KFA, pl. IV, no. 15; Platon, *KrChr*, 1955, 566; Evans, *PM III*, 84, fig. 46-7; Cameron, *SMF*, 136, pls. 46c, 27A, 46B; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 66, 173 (Kn No. 17 a-c); Morgan, *MWPT*, 83, figs. 57-8; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 42 (No. 10), pls. 14 a-b, 15; here pl. 1.27 (19a), 1.28 (19b).

(20) Procession Fresco

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV
- b.
- c. Bottom parts of women and men in procession
- d. LM IA/B (Evans), LM IIIB (Palmer), LM II (Hood and Peterson), LM II/IIIA (Boutlotis and Immerwahr)
- e. Corridor of the South Propylaeum
- f. Evans, *PM II.2*, 719ff., figs. 443, 450-1, pl. XII, suppl. pls. XXV-XXVII; Palmer, *New Guide*, 43f.; Cameron, *SMF*, 138ff., pls. 7A-14A, 56A; *ActhAth4(0)* (1987) 324, figs. 4, 6; Hood, *APG*, 66, fig. 49; Peterson, *WPABA*, 29ff., 138ff., 174ff., cat. Nos. 2-9, ills. 7-10; Boulotis, *ActhAth4(0)* (1987) 145ff., Abbs. 1-8; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 53, 84, 88-90, 109, 114, 118, 135, 162, 164, 166, 172-3 (Kn No. 22), pls. 38-40; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 42-3 (No. 13), pls. 21-3; here pls. 1.37-8.

(21) Taureador Fresco panels

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV, Ashmolean AE 1707-1708
- b. H. c. 0.3m (figures)
- c. Fragments of women (and men and bulls) wearing lionclothes involved in bull leaping
- d. LM IA-B (Evans) LM IIIB (Palmer) LM II (Hood) LM II/IIIA (Cameron and Immerwahr)
- e. Court of the Stone Spout, East Wing
- f. Evans, *PM III*, 213ff., fig. 144-5, 146, 148, 164B, pl. XXI; *KFA*, pls. IX (2 versions), X, no. 8, XIIA and X, no. 6, pl. A, fig. 2, pl. X, nos. 1-3, 5, 7; Palmer, *New Guide*, 96f.; Cameron, *SMF*, 148, pls. 71-73; slides 46-52; *ActhAth4(0)* (1987) 325, fig. 12; Hood, *APG*, 60ff., fig. 44; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 66, 84, 90-2, 103, 109-111, 117, 162, 164, 166, 175 (Kn No. 23a, Art and Religion, d-i), pls. 41-2; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 43 (No. 14), pls. 24-5, col. pl. II; here pls. 1.34-5.

(22) Dancing Lady

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XVI
- b.
- c. Upper part of women wearing a bodice with her hair tresses flying
- d. LM II
- e. East light well of the Queen's Megaron
- f. Evans, *PM III*, 70f., 369-71, fig. 40, pl. XXVb; Cameron and Hood, *KFA*, pl. F, fig. 2; VII, no. 2; *PM III*, fig. 246 (restoration); Palmer, *OKT*, 134ff.; Cameron, *SMF*, pl. 32; Hood, *APG*, 68, fig. 52C; Peterson, *WPABA*, ill. 114; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 92, 117, 175 (Kn No. 24), fig. 26f, pl. 43; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 43-4 (No. 15), pl. 26; here pl. 1.36.

(23) a)Camp Stool and b)La Parisienne

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XV
- b.
- c. a) Fragments of women and men sitting on stools being served drinks
b) Fragment of head and upper body of woman with a sacral knot
- d. LM II/IIIA
- e. Both sides of the West outside wall of the palace between Magazines XIII and XVI
- f. Evans, *PM IV.2*, 379-90, figs. 323-25, pl. XXXI; *KFA*, pls. C, figs, 5, F, fig. I, V nos. 3-5; Platon, *KrChr*, 1959, 319-45, col. pl. p. 336; Cameron, *KrChr*, 1964, 38-52.; *SMF*. 145f., pl. 54; *ActaAth4º* (1987) 324f., fig. 2; Hood, *APG*, 68, fig. 51; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 84, 89, 95, 100, 103, 149, 162, 164, 176 (Kn No. 26), fig. 26c, pl. 44; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 44-5 (No. 17), pls. 28-9, col. pls. IV, XII; here pls. 1.31 (23a), 1.32 (23b).

(24) Fragment of sleeve and decorated hair of woman

- a.
- b.
- c. Fragment of sleeve and decorated hair of woman
- d.
- e. Fresco heap in north-west region of Palace
- f. *PM II.2*, 682, fig. 431; here pl. 1.33.

Ayia Triadha

(25) Nature fresco with women

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV
- b.
- c. a) Kneeling female among plants b) Female in landscape scene
- d. LM IA (burnt in destruction of villa in LM IB)
- e. Room 14 of the Minoan Villa
- f. Paribeni, *MonAnt* 13 (1903), 5ff., pls. VII-X; Wace, *Cretan Statuette*, 20ff., pl. X; Smith, *Interconnections*, 77ff., figs. 106-9 (Gilliéron copies); Evans, *PM I*, 538, fig. 391; Cameron, *SMF*, 173f., pls. 21-22, 66, slide 54; *ActaAth4(0)* (1987), 326, fig. 10; Hood, *APG*, 52, fig. 34; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 49-50, 54, 161, 165, 180 (A.T. No. 1a-b), pl. 18; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 50 (No. 35), pls. 51-2, col. pl. XV; here pl. 1.41 (25b).

(26) Sarcophagus –Painted limestone

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV
- b. 1.375 x 0.45; height of figural zone c.0.25m
- c. Four different scenes; short sides show two women in chariots being pulled by griffins and horses, long sides show two processions or rituals.

- d. LM IIIAI
- e. From a small built tomb Northeast of villa
- f. Paribeni, *MonAnt* 19 (1908), 5ff., pls. 1-111; Nilsson, *MMR*(2), 42bff., fig. 196; Marinatos-Hirmer, CM, col. Pls. XXVII-XXX, Robertson, *Greek Painting* (1959), 28ff.; Cameron, *SMF*, 189, pls. 148-151; Peterson, *WPABA*, 41ff., cat. No. 11, ill. 11; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 16, 18, 19, 89, 100-2, 109, 114, 122, 144, 158, 164, 180-1 (A.T No. 2), pls. 50-53; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 50 (No. 36), pl. 53; here pl. 1.40.

(27) Women and decorated altar

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV
- b. H. c. 0.25
- c. Women leading deer –shows bottom portion of dress and feet
- d. LM IIIAI (Kontorli-Papadopoulou), LM IIIA (Immerwahr)
- e. Found in fresco dump between tomb and sarcophagus and villa
- f. Paribeni, *MonAnt* 19 (1908), 71, fig. 22; M. Borda, *Arte Cretese-Micenea nel Museo Pigorini di Roma* (1946), 75, pl. LV; Cameron, *SMF*, 91, pl. 82A; slide 24, Long, ATS, 21, 61, fig. 85; Peterson, *WPABA*, 45; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 102, 181 (A.T No. 4); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 51 (No. 38), pl. 55; here pl. 1.42.

(28) Procession of women to shrine

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XIV
- b.
- c. Upper register shows seated figure approached by four female figures, lower register with six or more women
- d. LM IIIAI (Kontorli-Papadopoulou), LM IIIA (Immerwahr)
- e. Found in fresco dump between tomb and sarcophagus and villa
- f. *MontAnt* (1908), 68 n. 1; Long (1974) 67; Platon (1957) 134-5; Cameron, *SMF*, 177, pl. 50A, S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 102, 181 (A.T No. 5); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 51 (No. 39).

Pseira (island in Mirabello Bay)

(29) Stucco reliefs of 2 life-size women seated on rocks

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XVI
- b.
- c. Relief fresco of life-size woman seated on a rock, wearing a bodice and skirt
- d. LM IA or B (Kontorli-Papadopoulou) LM A (Immerwahr)
- e. From "Shrine" of settlement
- f. Seager, *Excavations on the island of Pseira, Crete* (1910), 32ff., pl. V (restored as one figure); Rodenwald, AA (1923-4), 268ff., fig. 1-2 (recognized as two); Evans, *PM III*, 28, fig. 15A; Kaiser, *UMR*, 299ff., figs. 469a-c, pl. 24A-

B (two facing seated figures are restored); Cameron, *SMF*, 175, pls. 24-5; Hood, *APG*, 53, fig. 35B; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 54, 62, 78, 161, 162, 184 (Ps No. 1); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 52 (No. 42), pl. 57; here pl. 1.39.

Tylissos

(30) Miniature frescoes

- a. Heraklion Museum, Gallery XV
- b.
- c. Fragments of miniature frescoes showing figures
- d. LM I
- e. Possibly from House A, room 17
- f. *ArchEph* (1912), 224f., pls. 18-19; Hadzidakis, *Tylissos* (1921), pls. VII-VIII; M. Shaw, *AA* (1972), 171-88, figs. 1-9, 13 (reconstruction); Cameron, *SMF*, 147, pl. 6D-F; Morgan, *TAW III.I*, 253; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 66-7, 71, 82, 184 (Ty No. 1); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 52-3 (No. 43), pl. 58; here pl. 1.43.

Chania

(31) Stucco relief of life-size, seated female

- a. Chania Museum (?)
- b. P.H. 0.119m; W. 0.095m
- c. Stucco relief of life-size, seated female
- d. LM I (Kaiser)
- e. Kastelli excavations
- f. *ArchDelt* 22B (1967), 501f.; Kaiser (1976) 305, fig. 471, pl. 25; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 205 note 6, 181-2 (Ch No. 1).

MAINLAND

Mycenae

(32) The Mykenaia

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b.
- c. Upper torso and head of a woman, faced towards a necklace held in her right hand
- d. LH IIIB
- e. Cult Center Southwest building of sanctuary area
- f. Mylonas, *PAE* (1970) 123, pl. 171 and col. Pl.; Marinatos-Hirmer, *CM*, pl. LV; Iakovides, *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* No. 14 (1977) 130, 134, pl.

XVI; Hood, APG, 79, fig. 62; Peterson, WPABA, 65f., ill. 48 (cat. No. 59); S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 119f., 191 (My No. 3) fig. 32h, pl. XX; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, (No. 70), pl. 92, col. pl. XIX; here pl. 1.44.

(33) The Lady with the Lily

- a. Athens, National Museum
- b.
- c. Head of woman holding a yellow lily in her left hand
- d. LH IIIC (?)
- e. Uppermost layer of filling of Southwest building of the Cult Center
- f. Mylonas, *PAE* (1971) 147, pl. 180; *OKM*, 38; Iakovides, *AJA* 58 (1978) pl. XVa; Peterson, *WPABA*, 66f., 201f., ill. 64 (cat. No. 91); S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 120, 191 (My No. 5); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 62 (No. 72), pl. 94; here pl. 1.45.

(34) Various fragments from the Room of the Frescoes

- a. Nauplion Museum
- b.
- c. a) 2 female figures - legs visible only - with a sword (and spear) passing between their legs b) woman holding a sheath of wheat in each hand - upper torso, head and lower arms visible
- d. (mid-) LH IIIB
- e. Citadel House East wall of Room 31 with platform, west of Temple
- f. Taylour, *Antiquity* 43 (1969) 96f., fig. 2, pl. Xa; (1970) 276f.; *The Mycenaeans* (1883) 55, fig. 33; E. French, *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 47, figs. 12-14; Rehak, *AA*, 539, fig. 3; Peterson, n. 16, fig. 7; N. Marinatos, *PGP*, 245, figs. 1-3; Hood, APG, 82, fig. 65; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 120f., 191 (My No. 6), pls. 59-61; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 63 (No. 74) pls. 96-97, col. pl. X; here pls. 1.46 (34a), 1.47 (34b).

(35) Palladion or Stucco Shield Goddess Plaque

- a. Athens, National Museum (2666)
- b. 11.9 cm (height) x 19 cm (width) x 2.2-2.9 cm (thickness)
- c. Two women on either side of a figure-8 shield
- d. LH IIIB
- e. Cult Center Area. The Adyton of Temple (Pi)
- f. Tsountas, *AE* (1886) 78; (1887) 162ff., pl. 10.2; Tsountas-Manatt, *MA*, 299, pl. XX; Rodenwaldt, *AM* 37 (1912) 129ff., pl. VIII; Nilsson, *MMR*(2), 344f., fig. 156; Mylonas, *MMA*, 156f., fig. 131; *MΘ*, 21f., pl. VI; *ΠΜ*, 207, fig. 164; Lorimer, *HM*, 143., pl. I; Peterson, *WPABA*, 63, 194, ill. 49 (cat. No. 60); Cameron, *SMF*, 142, fig. 19A; Rehak, *AA* (1984) 535ff., S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 121, 140, 191-2, (My No. 7), pls. 62-3; Kontorli-

Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 64 (No. 78), pl. 101, col. pl. XXI; here pl. 1.48.

(36) Fragments of various women

- a. Athens, National Museum, 1015 and storage
- b.
- c. a) women in loggia b) life-size processional women
- d. LH II/IIIA
- e. Ramp House Deposit
- f. a) Mylonas, *IM*, fig. 205; Rodenwaldt (1911), 222f., pl. 9, 2; Lamb (1919-21) 191-92, pl. VII, 1-3; Marinatos-Hirmer, *CM*, pl. XLIII; Morgan, *MWPT*, 83; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 106, 110-1, 114, 117, 164-5, 166, (My. No. 1a,c), pl. 54; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, (No. 66) pl. 88; b) S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 106, 110-1, 114, 117, 164-5, 166, (My. No. 1a,c); Lamb (1919-21), 194-5, pl. VIII, 8-10, 23-25; Reusch (1953), 34-38, fig. 4-6; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, (No. 68) pl. 90; here pls. 1.50 (36a).

(37) Fragments of women

- a. Athens, National Museum, storage
- b.
- c. Fragments only, showing textile patterns, no reconstruction
- d. Probably LH IIIA/BI
- e. West Portal
- f. Lamb (1921-23), 166, nos. 6-8, pl. XXVIII; Rodenwaldt (1921) 50, fig. 26; *Tiryns II*, 84f., figs. 35-6; Peterson, *WPABA*, 58-68, 190-205; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 117 (My. No. 2); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, (No. 69) pl. 91.

(38) Miniature helmeted female figure

- a. Athens, National Museum, storage
- b. .10 x .07
- c. Part of a white figure wearing a boar's tusk helmet and carrying griffin
- d. LH IIIB
- e. South Building of Cult Center
- f. Rehak, *AA*, 541, fig. 4; *SIMA* 41, 57, pl. 22, fig. 64; Morgan, *MWPT*, 83, fig. 157; Mylonas (1972) 39, pl. XIIia; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 121 (My. No. 9); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, pl. 95; here pl. 1.15.

(39) Presentation of statuette

- a. Athens, National Museum, storage
- b.

- c. Two fragments: hand holding statuette and feet on a footstool
- d. LH IIIB (context)
- e. Southwest Building of Cult Center
- f. Mylonas (1972), 39-40, pl. XIV; Kritseli-Providi (1982) B-2 and 3, 41-3, pl. 6; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 119, 166 (My. No. 4), fig. 33a; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, (No. 71) pl. 93; here pl. 1.52.

(40) Skirt and architectural façade

- a. Nauplion Museum, storage
- b.
- c. Fragment of a skirt, probably from a woman, shown in front of an architectural façade.
- d. LH IIIB
- e. Southwest Building of Cult Center
- f. Kritseli-Providi, *TOKM*, 43f., fig. 6, pl. 7a (B-4); Peterson, *WPABA*, 121, 204 (cat. no. 99); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, (no. 75) pl. 98; here pl. 1.54.

Tiryns

(41) Lifesize Women

- a. Athens, National Museum, (5883)
- b.
- c. a) head and shoulders of woman b) full figure of a woman holding a pyxis, 8 women (at least) in procession
- d. LH IIIB (but earlier than final destruction)
- e. Found in West slope Rubbish Deposit
- f. Marinatos-Hirmer, *CM*, pl. 226; Wace, *Cretan Statuette*, 21ff., pl. XIII (reconstruction); Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns II*, nos. 71-111, 69ff., fig. 27-34, 37, pls. VIII-X; Verdelis, *AE* (1956) 7, pl. 16; Boulotis, *ArchKorr B1* 9 (1979) 59-67; Peterson, *WPABA*, 69-75, 202-218, cat. Nos. 133-34, ills. 66-67, 87; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 114-17, 139, 148, 165, 202 (Ti No. 4), figs. 26g, 32b, 33b, pls. 55-56; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 65-66 (No. 84), pls. 106-7 (reconstruction), col. pl. XXII; here pls. 1.60 (41a), 1.55 (41b).

(42) Boar Hunt

- a. Athens, National Museum, 5878-5882
- b. Frieze estimated height 0.355m
- c. Chariot groups with women
- d. LH IIIB (earlier than final destruction)
- e. From west slope rubbish deposit

- f. S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 202 (Ti No. 6a), pl. 69 (reconstruction); Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns II*, nos. 113-39, fig. 40, pls. XI, II, XII, XIV, 3, 9, XVII, 3; here pl. 1.53.

Pylos

(43) Lifesize female processional figures

- a. Chora Museum
- b. 1.53 (height)
- c. Fragments of two women in procession wearing long dresses and bodices
- d. LH IIIB (final destruction)
- e. From plaster dump on Northwest slope
- f. Lang, *PN II*, 52f., 86ff., pls. 34-40, 128, E, O (51-53 H nws); Peterson, *WPABA*, 77ff., cat. Nos. 143, 145, ill. 91; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 114, 118, 165, 196-7 (Py No. 6), pl. 57; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 68 (No. 64), pl. 117, col. pl. XXIV; here pl. 1.56.

(44) Procession of Offering-bearers

- a. Chora Museum
- b. .30 to .40 (height)
- c. Lower part of dress and feet of woman
- d. LH IIIB (final destruction)
- e. Found partially in situ against northeast wall of vestibule 5
- f. Lang, *PN II*, 38, 64ff., 193, pls. 3-11, 119-20, N (5-15H5); Peterson, *WPABA*, 84-86, 224, cat. Nos. 148-157, ills. 95-6; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 114, 117-8, 197 (Py No. 8); Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 68-69 (No. 96), pl. 119; here pl. 1.58.

(45) The White Goddess (?) and second woman

- a. Chora Museum
- b.
- c. Profile of woman's face with hat and fragment of lower part of dress and feet of another figure
- d. LH IIIB (but earlier than final destruction)
- e. From plaster slope on Northwest slope
- f. Lang, *PN II*, 83-85, pls. 31, 33, 116, 127, 128, D.N (49-50 nws); Peterson, *WPABA*, 82, 222-3, cat. no. 146, ill. 93; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 118, 197 (Py No. 9), pl. 58; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 69 (No. 97), pl. 120; here pl. 1.57.

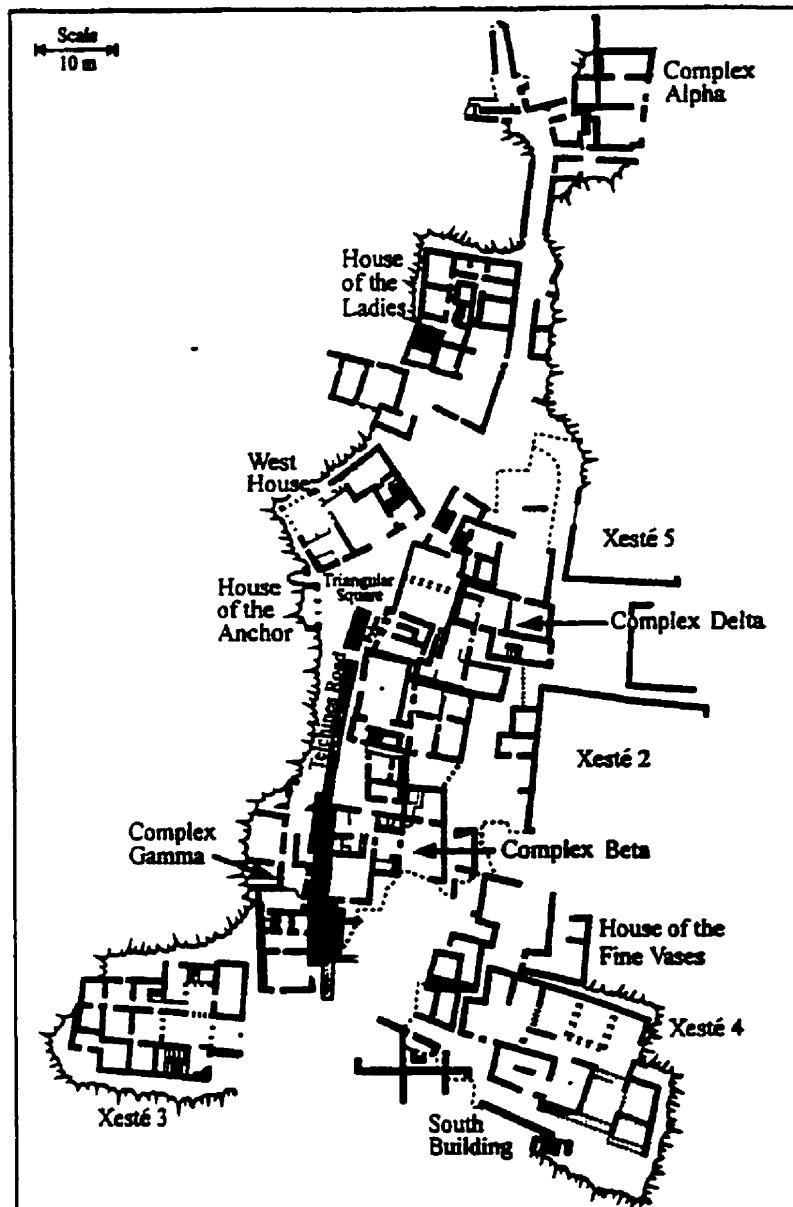
(46) Wallpaper frieze

- a. Chora Museum
- b.
- c. Fragments of bodices and skirts of two women seated facing each other
- d. LH IIIB2
- e. From Inner Propylon
- f. *Pylos II*, 1-2 H 2; S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 105, 113, 133, 142, 167, 198 (Py No. 12), pl. 7; here pl. 1.49.

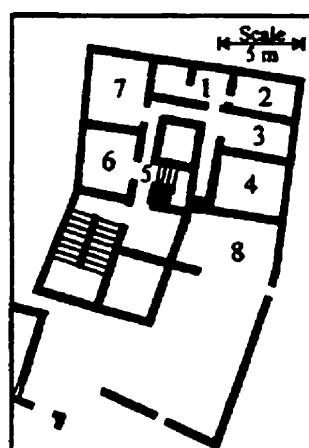
Thebes

(47) Women in Procession

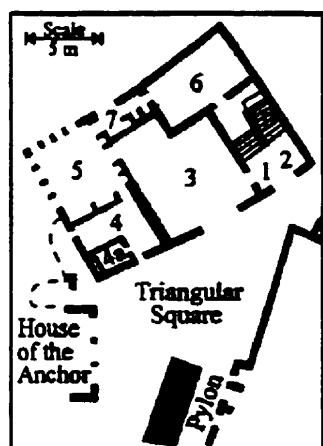
- a. Thebes Museum
- b.
- c. Fragments of women in procession
- d. LH II (Reusch) or LH IIIA (Immerwahr)
- e. Kadmeia, room N
- f. Evans, *PM II.2*, 749f., fig. 483; Vermeule, *GrBA*, 189, pl. XXVII; Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 116 (DK); Peterson, *WPABA*, 46-58, 180-90, cat. Nos. 13050, ills. 13-43; Hood, *APG*, 79; Lang, *PN II*, 52f.; Demakopoulou-Konsloa, *Guide*, 50-51, pl. 21; Boulotis, *ArchKorrBI* 9 (1979) 59ff.; Reusch, *Frauenfries*; AA68 (1953) 26ff., Marinatos, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 534 (altar?); S. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting*, 115-7, 200-1 (Th No. 1), fig. 32d-f, pl. XXI; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, *Aegean Frescoes*, 71 (No. 106), pl. 129, col. pl. XXVII; here pl. 1.59.



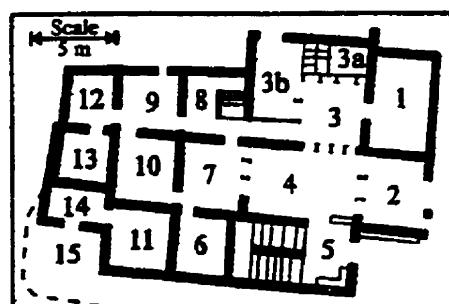
Pl. 1.1a Plan
of Akrotiri



Pl. 1.1b Plan of the
House of the Ladies



Pl. 1.1c Plan
of the West
House



Pl. 1.1d
Plan of
Xeste 3



Pl. 1.2 (Cat. 3) Xeste 3, 3a, upper floor, north wall



Pl. 1.3 (Cat. 1) Xeste 3, 3a, adyton, north wall



PI. 1.4 (Cat. 3) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
upper floor, north wall



PI. 1.5 (Cat. 3) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
upper floor, north wall



PI. 1.6 (Cat. 3) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
upper floor, north wall



Pl. 1.7 (Cat. 2) Xeste 3, 3a, upper floor, east wall



Pl. 1.8 (Cat. 2) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
upper floor, east wall



Pl. 1.9 (Cat. 2) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
upper floor, east wall



PI. 1.10 (Cat. 1) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
adyton, north wall



PI. 1.11 (Cat. 1) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
adyton, north wall



PI. 1.12 (Cat. 1) detail of Xeste 3, 3a,
adyton, north wall



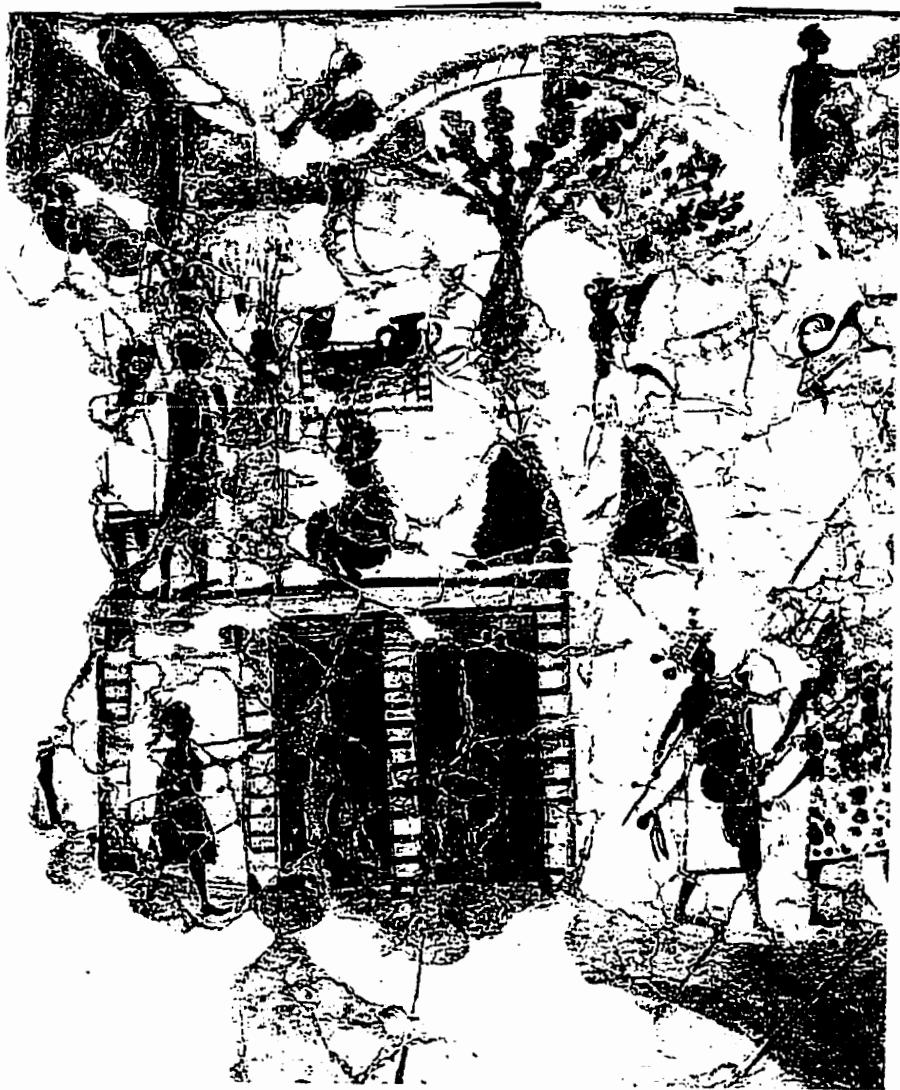
Pl. 1.13 (Cat. 4) detail of Xeste 3,
3b, upper floor



Pl. 1.14 (Cat. 4) detail of Xeste 3,
3b, upper floor



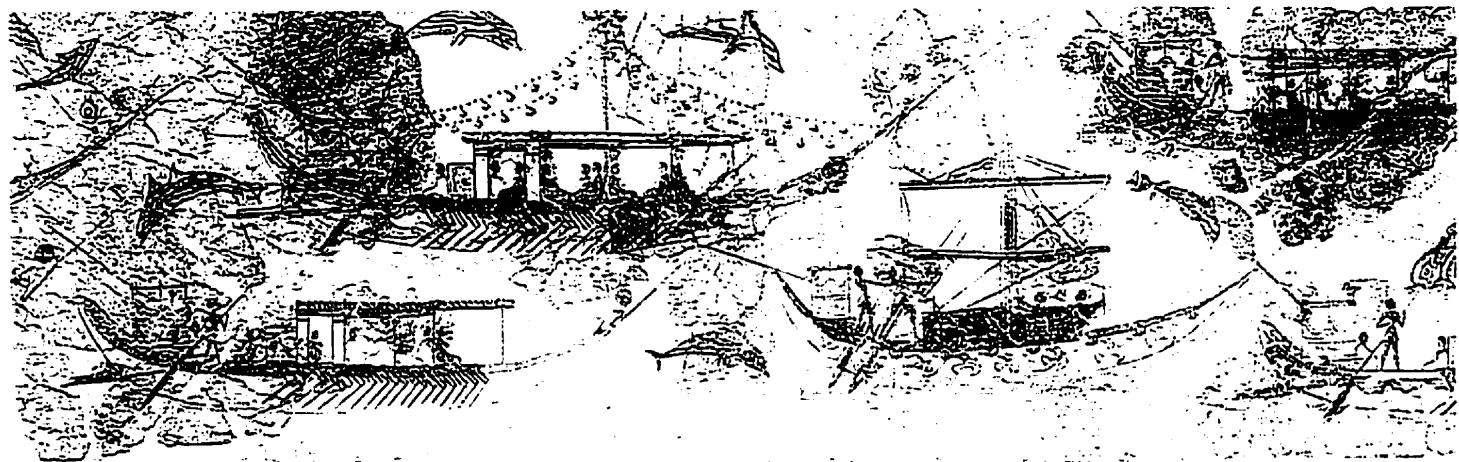
PI. 1.15 (Cat. 7) West House
Room 4-5



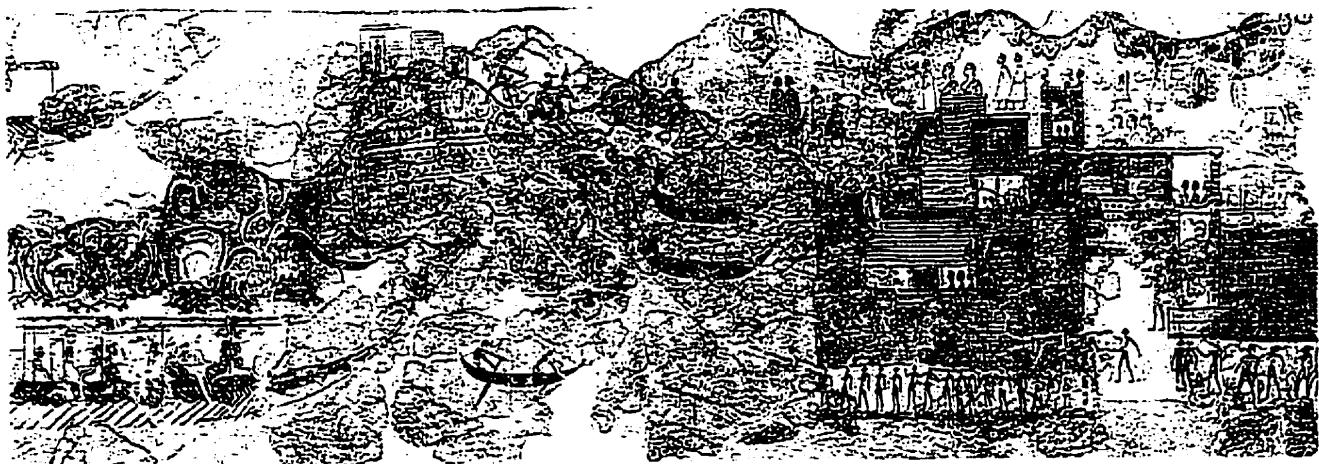
PI. 1.16 (Cat. 5) detail of West House,
Miniature fresco, north wall



PI. 1.17 (Cat. 6) detail of West House, Miniature fresco, south wall



PI. 1.18 (Cat. 6) detail of West House, Miniature fresco, south wall



PI. 1.19 (Cat. 6) detail of West House, Miniature fresco, south wall



PI. 1.20 (Cat. 8) House of the Ladies, Room 1,
south wall



PI. 1.21 (Cat. 9) House of the Ladies, Room 1,
north wall



Pl. 1.22 (Cat. 11) Melos: Seated woman



Pl. 1.23 (Cat. 12) Melos: Stooped figure



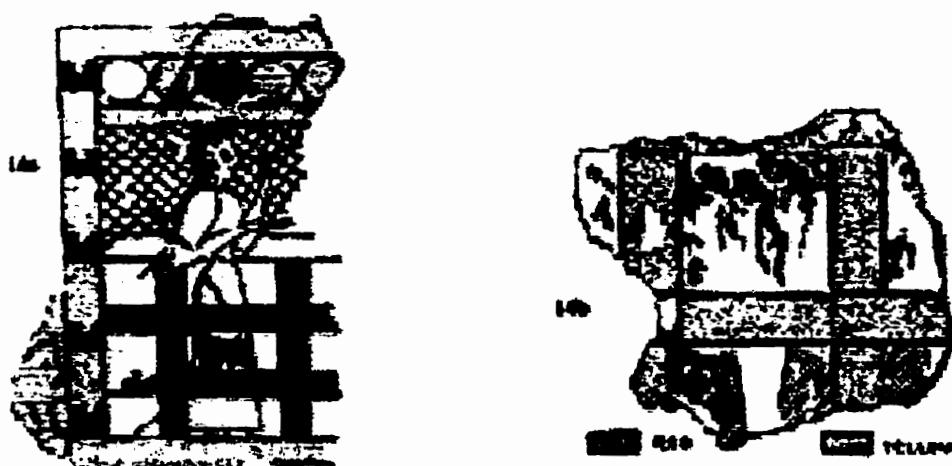
Pl. 1.24 (Cat. 15) Knossos: Ladies in Blue



Pl. 1.25 (Cat. 14) Knossos: Jewel Fresco

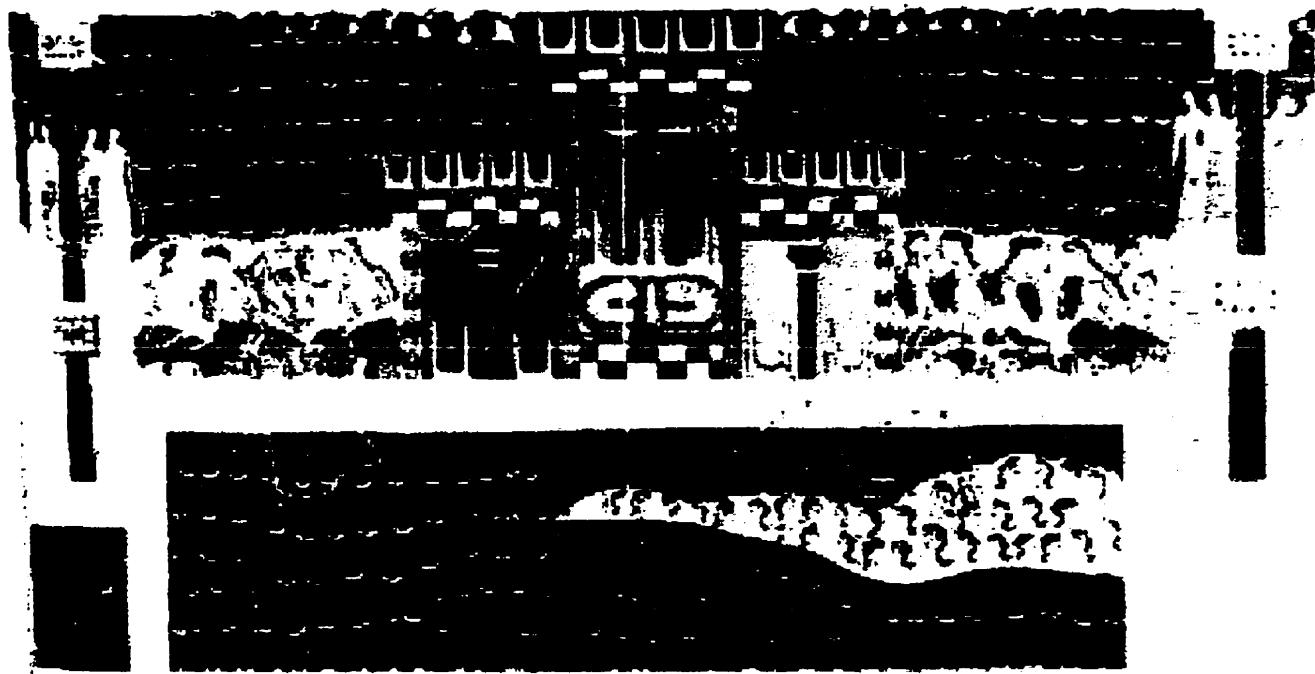


Pl. 1.26 (Cat. 16) Knossos: Lady in Red



Pl. 1.27 (Cat. 19a) Knossos: Lady on Balcony

Pl. 1.28 (Cat. 19b) Knossos: Women looking out of casement



Pl. 1.29 (Cat. 17) Knossos: Grandstand and Temple Fresco



Pl. 1.30 (Cat. 18) Knossos: Sacred Grove and Dance



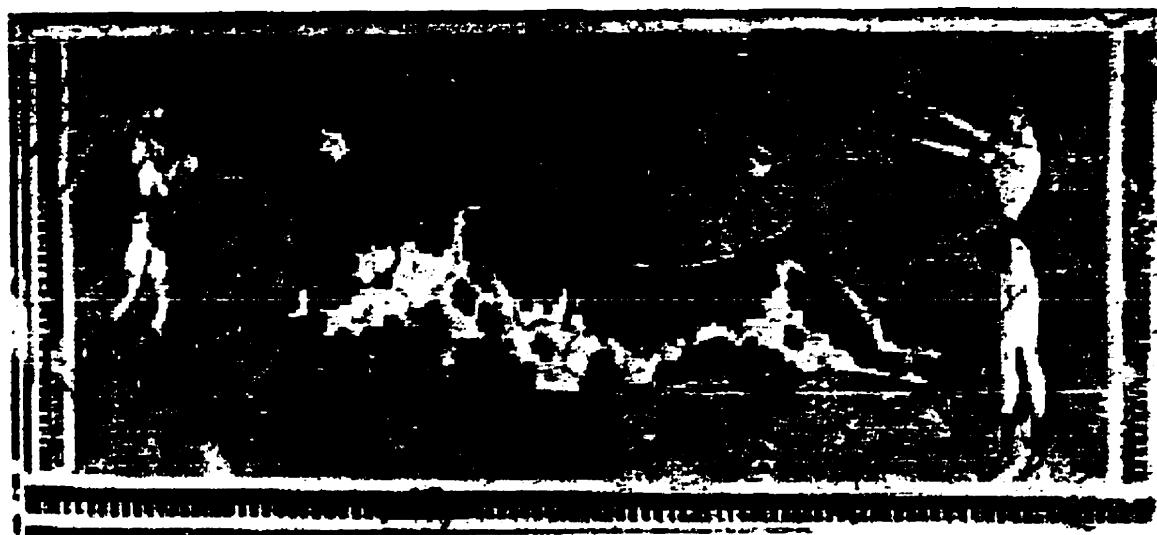
Pl. 1.31 (Cat. 23a) Knossos: Camp Stool
Fresco



Pl. 1.32 (Cat. 23b) detail of Camp Stool
Knossos: La Parisienne



Pl. 1.33 (Cat. 24) Knossos: Sleeve
Fragment



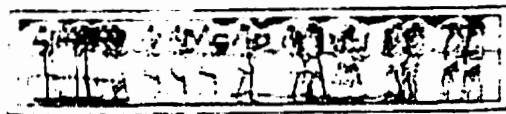
Pl. 1.34 (Cat. 21) Knossos: The Taureador Frescoes



Pl. 1.35 (Cat. 21) Knossos: The Taureador Frescoes



Pl. 1.36 (Cat. 22) Knossos: The Dancing Lady



PI. 1.37 (Cat. 20) Knossos:
Procession Fresco



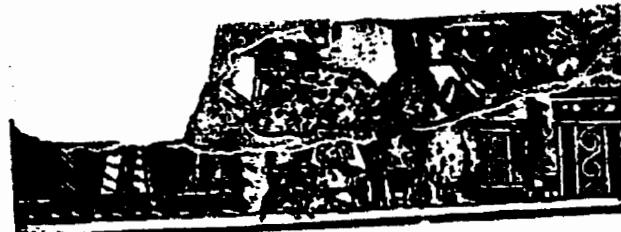
PI. 1.38 (Cat. 20) Knossos:
Procession Fresco



PI. 1.39 (Cat. 29) Pseira:
Seated woman



PI. 1.40 (Cat. 26) Ayia Triadha: Limestone
Sarcophagus





Pl. 1.41 (Cat. 25b) Ayia Triadha:
Nature Fresco



Pl. 1.42 (Cat. 27) Ayia Triadha: Women and a
decorated altar



Pl. 1.43 (Cat. 30) Tylissos: The Miniature Frescoes



Pl. 1.44 (Cat. 32) Mycenae:
Mykenaia



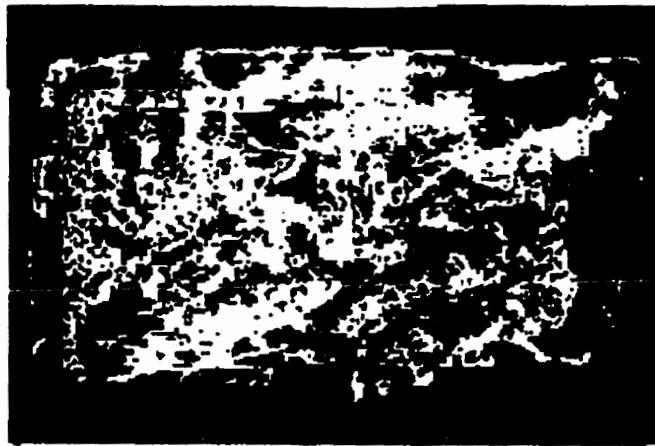
Pl. 1.45 (Cat. 33) Mycenae: Lady
with the Lily



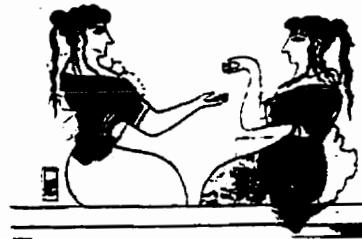
Pl. 1.46 (Cat. 34a) Mycenae:
Fragments from the Room of the
Frescoes



Pl. 1.47 (Cat. 34b) Mycenae:
Fragments from the Room of the
Frescoes



Pl. 1.48 (Cat. 35) Mycenae:
Palladion



Pl. 1.49 (Cat. 46) Pylos: Wallpaper
Frieze



Pl. 1.50 (Cat. 36a) Mycenae: Women
in loggia



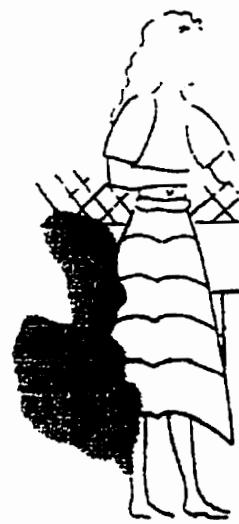
Pl. 1.51 (Cat. 36b) Mycenae: Female in boars
tusk helmet



Pl. 1.52 (Cat. 39) Mycenae: Presentation of statue



Pl. 1.53 (Cat. 42) Tiryns: Boars Hunt



Pl. 1.54 (Cat. 40) Mycenae: Skirt fragment



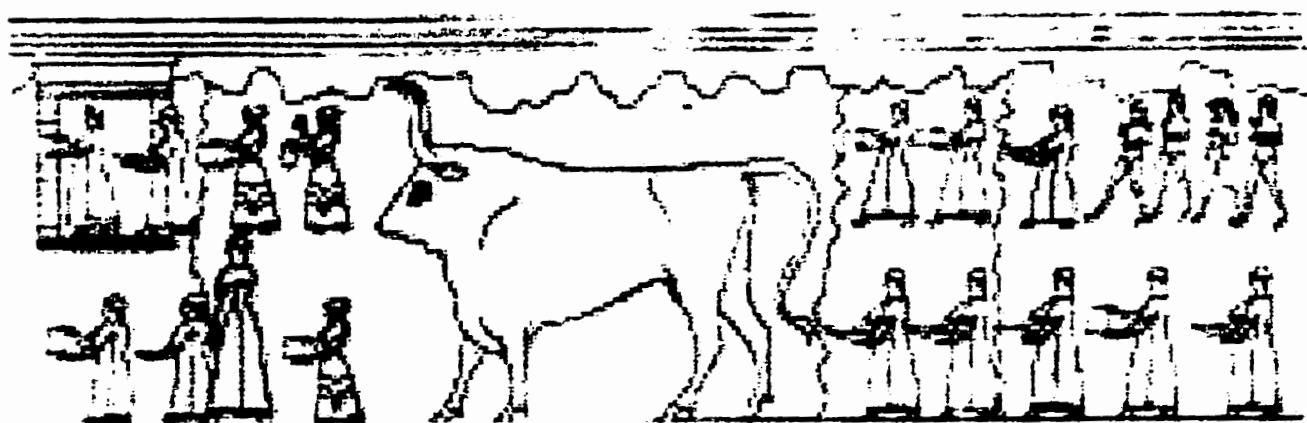
Pl. 1.55 (Cat. 41b) Tiryns: Lifesize Woman



Pl. 1.56 (Cat. 43) Pylos: Procession Fresco



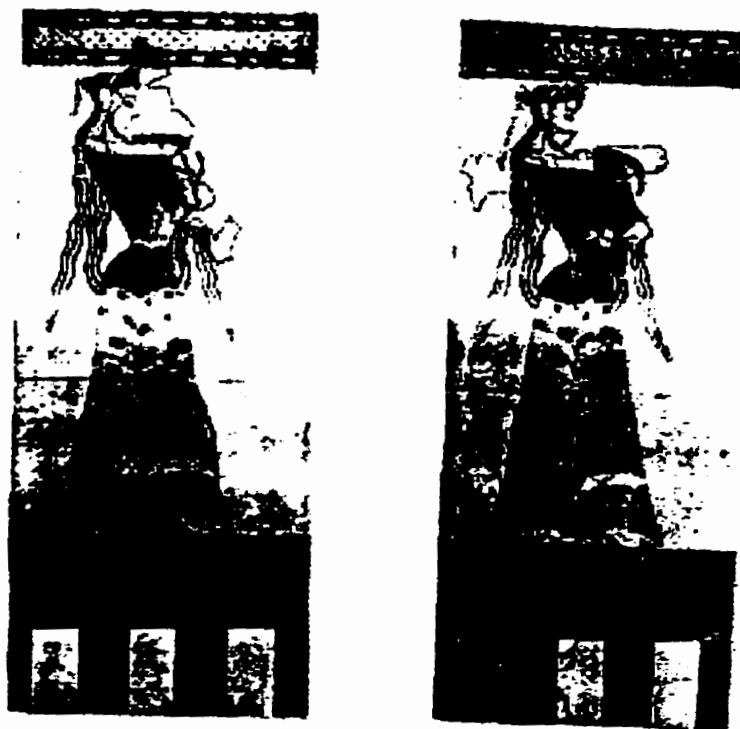
Pl. 1.57 (Cat. 45) Pylos: White Goddess



Pl. 1.58 (Cat. 44) Pylos: Procession of Offering-bearers



Pl. 1.59 (Cat. 47) Thebes: Women in Procession



Pl. 1.60 (Cat. 41b) Tiryns: Procession
Fresco



PI. 2.1 Procession fresco
showing skirt tassles
(Jones 6.8)



PI. 2.2 Reconstruction of fresco from
Mycenae showing tassels at the hem
of the robe (Marinatos, *Problems in
Greek Prehistory*; fig 2)



PI. 2.3 Syrian costume with
tassels



PI. 2.4 Syrian costume with
tassels



PI. 2.5 Statue from Temple Repository at Knossos



PI. 2.6 Statue from Temple Repository at Knossos



PI. 2.7 Votive Robes from Temple Repository at Knossos

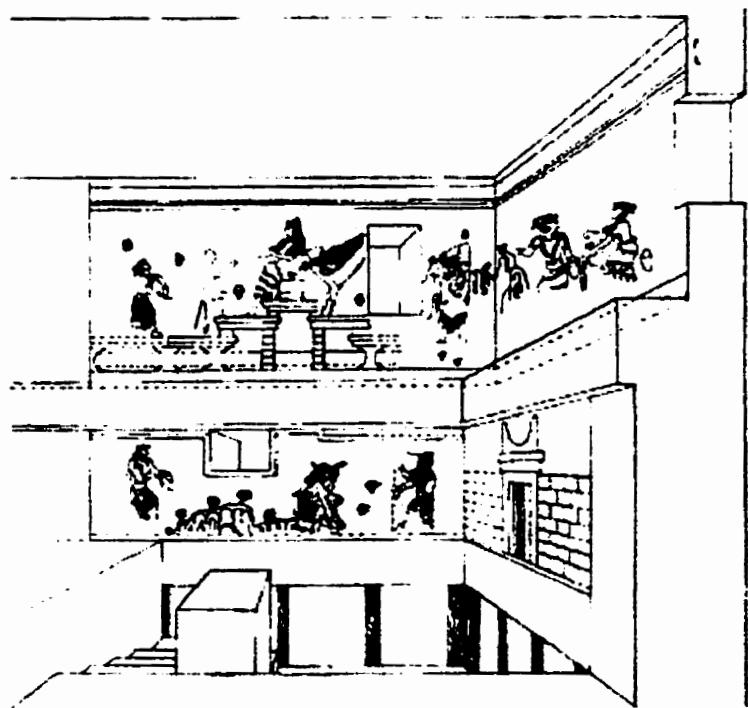


PI. 2.8 Sumerian costumes



PI. 2.9 Jones' reconstruction of 'flounced wrap'

PI. 2.10 Jones' reconstruction of 'flounced wrap'



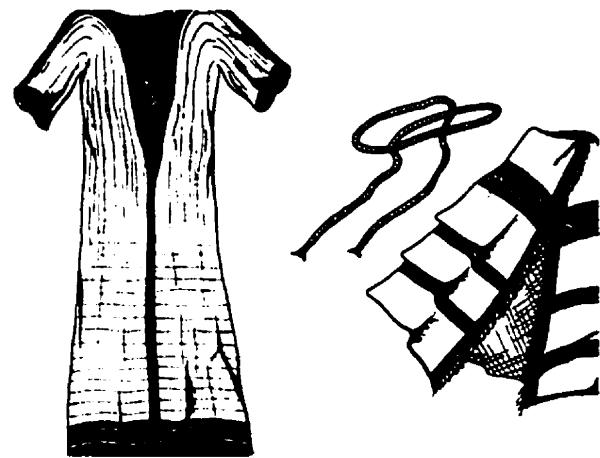
PI. 2.11 N. Marinatos' reconstruction of Xeste 3 frescoes



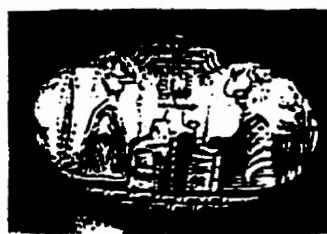
PI. 2.12 Syrian lid



PI. 2.13 Reconstruction of House of the Ladies scene.
From N. Marinatos. *Art and Religion*.



PI. 2.14 Reconstruction of dress in House
of the Ladies. From N. Marinatos. *Art and
Religion*.



Pl. 2.15 Mycenae: gold ring (CMS I. nr. 127)



Pl. 2.16 Knossos: seal (CMS V Suppl. nr. 175)



Pl. 2.17 Chania: seal (CMS V Suppl. A nr. 176)



Pl. 2.18 Gemstone (CMS X. nr. 242)



Pl. 2.19 Knossos: gold ring (CMS II.3. nr. 51)



Pl. 2.20 Pylos: gemstone (CMS I. nr. 279)



Pl. 2.21 Mycenae: Gold ring



Pl. 2.22 Sealstone



Pl. 2.23 Knossos: seal



Pl. 2.24 Ayia Triadha: seal impression



Pl. 2.25 Zakros: seal



Pl. 2.26 Lentoid



PI. 2.27 Statuette



PI. 2.28 Statuette from Petsofa



PI. 2.29 Mycenae: Ivory trio Statuette



PI. 2.30 Detail
of Taureador
Fresco



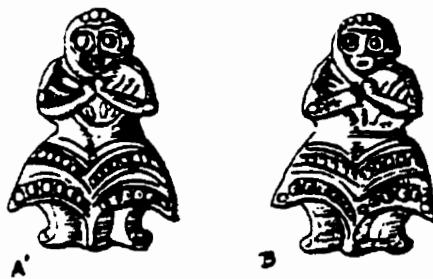
PI. 2.31 Egyptian wall
painting



Pl. 2.32 Boulotis' reconstruction of
Procession Fresco



Pl. 2.33 Xeste 3, 3b, adyton



Pl. 2.34 Metal figurines from the
Shaft Graves in Mycenae



Pl. 2.35 Egyptian wall painting
showing sash robe



PI. 2.36 Egyptian sash dress



PI. 2.37 Sumerian sash dress



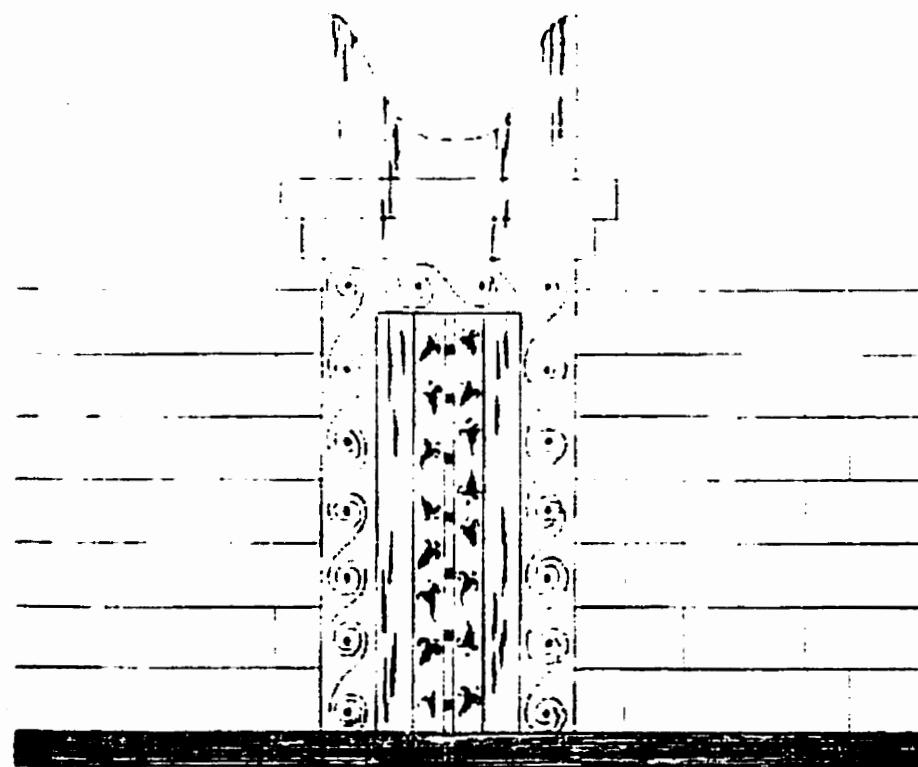
PI. 2.38 Seal
showing
sash robe



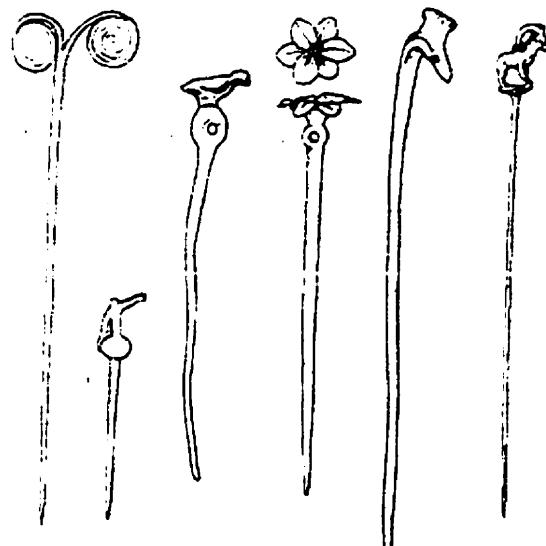
PI. 2.39 Seal
showing
sash robe



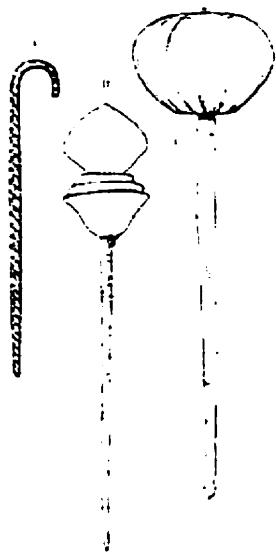
PI. 2.40 Seal
showing
sash robe



PI. 2.41 Reconstructed drawing of altar from Xeste 3, adyton



PI. 3.1 Hair pins



PI. 3.2 Hair



PI. 3.3 Hair pin head from Mycenae



PI. 3.4 Statuette from Gazi



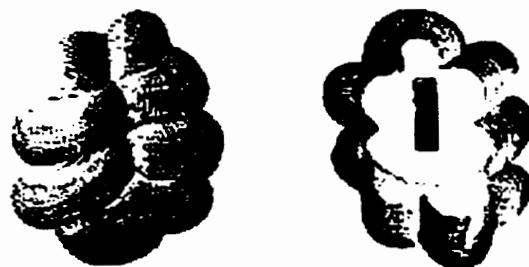
PI. 3.5 Child from Palaikastro



PI. 3.6 Woman from the Troad



PI. 3.7 Boxers from Akrotiri



PI. 3.8 Hair knot from Knossos



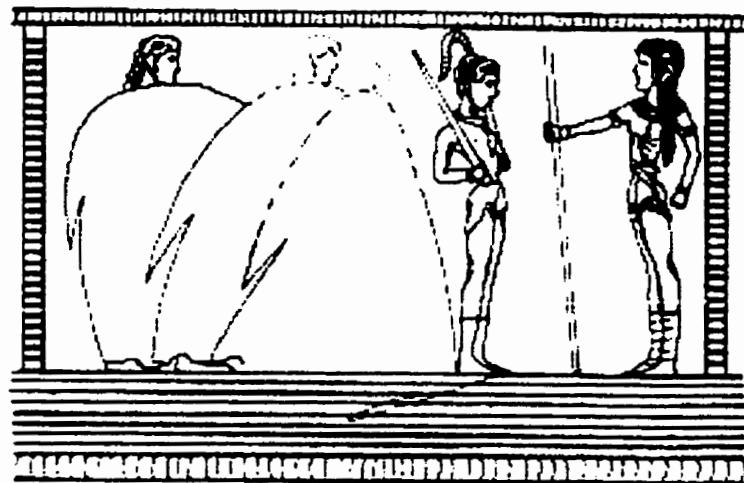
PI. 3.9 Boys from Xeste 3,
3b, first floor



PI. 3.10 Boys from Xeste 3, 3b, first
floor



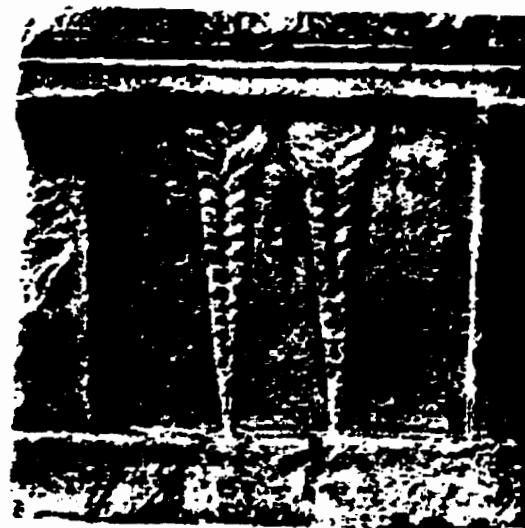
PI. 3.11 Tomb Painting from Deir el Medina



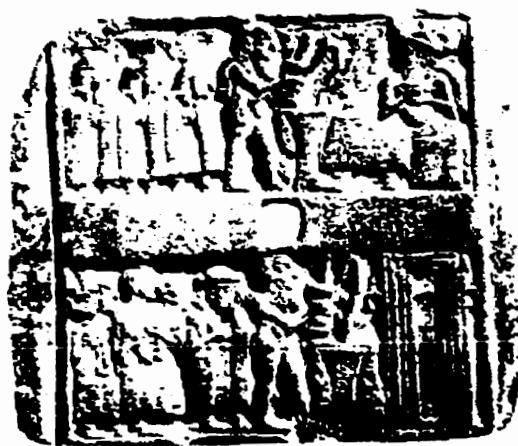
Pl. 3.12 Chieftains Cup from Ayia Triadha



Pl. 3.13 Relief of Seti 1



Pl. 3.14 Stele from Thebes



PI. 3.15 Limestone plaque from Ur



PI. 3.16 Akkadian seal



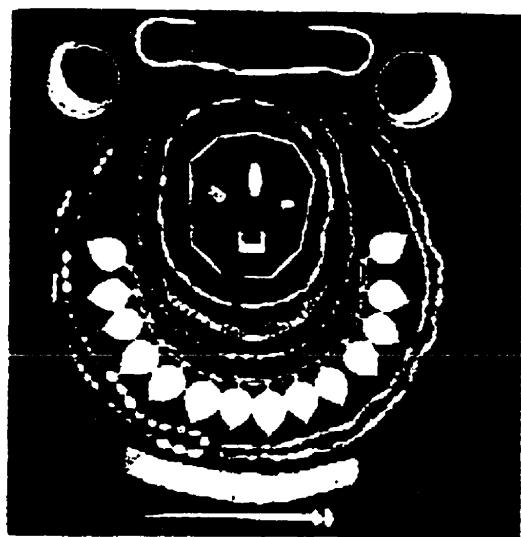
PI. 3.17 Cylinder seal



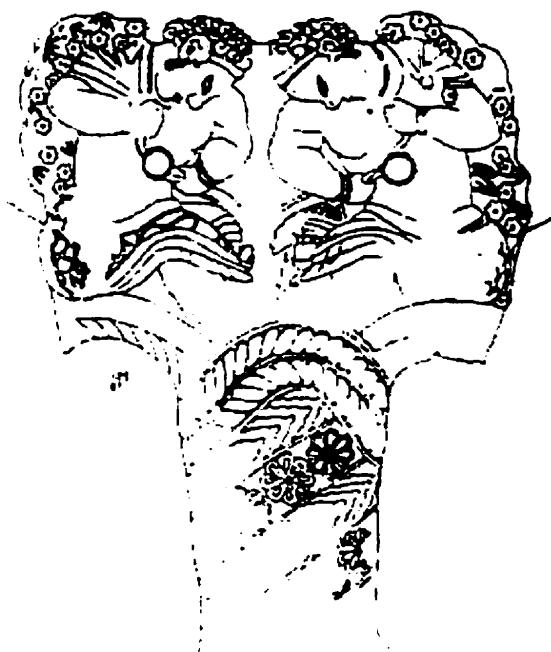
PI. 3.18 Cylinder seal



Pl. 4.1 Beaded necklace



Pl. 4.2 Gold necklace



Pl. 4.3 Mycenae: Mirror handle



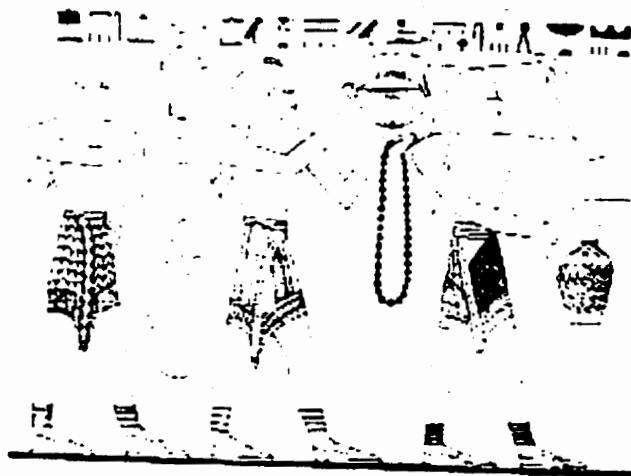
Pl. 4.4 Gold earrings



Pl. 4.5 Mycenaean Gold earring



Pl. 4.6 Knossos: The "Priest-king"



Pl. 4.7 Egyptian wall painting



Pl. 4.8 Egyptian wall painting



Pl. 4.9 Egyptian necklace offerings



Pl. 4.10 Egyptian necklace offerings



Pl. 4.11 Egyptian necklace offerings

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