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Frontispiece. Bearer (No. 21) in Kilt, Procession Fresco, Corridor of the Procession, Knossos (photo A. Chapin. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports -Archaeological Receipts Fund)

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WOVEN THREADS

Patterned Textiles of the Aegean Bronze Age

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with contributions by

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and Suzanne Peterson Murray*



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Front cover: Bearer (No. 21) in Kilt, Procession Fresco, Corridor of the Procession, Knossos (photo A. Chapin. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund)

CONTENTS

Preface, by <i>Maria C. Shaw</i>	vii
1. Spinning Ariadne's Thread: Sources and Methodologies	1
<i>Anne P. Chapin</i>	
2. Bronze Age Aegean Cloth Production: A Cottage Industry No More	17
<i>Brendan Burke and Anne P. Chapin</i>	
3. Patterned Textiles as Costume in Aegean Art	43
<i>Suzanne Peterson Murray</i>	
4. Palace and Household Textiles in Aegean Bronze Age Art.....	105
<i>Maria C. Shaw and Anne P. Chapin</i>	
5. Textile and Stone Patterns in the Painted Floors of the Mycenaean Palaces.....	131
<i>Emily C. Egan</i>	
6. Sailing the Shining Sea: Maritime Textiles of the Bronze Age Aegean.....	149
<i>Maria C. Shaw and Anne P. Chapin</i>	
7. String Lines, the Artist's Grid, and the Representation of Textiles in Fresco.....	183
<i>Maria C. Shaw</i>	
8. Minoans, Mycenaean, and Keftiu	205
<i>Elizabeth J. W. Barber</i>	
9. Observations, Summaries, and Conclusions.....	239
<i>Anne P. Chapin</i>	
Abbreviations.....	257
Bibliography.....	259

PREFACE

Should one – only half a century ago – have inquired into what was known about the appearance and dress of people in the Bronze Age Aegean, the answer would have been based on what we might “hear” about the subject in early literature, as in the Homeric poems, aided by depictions of frescoes found in Crete, the Greek mainland, and some of the Mediterranean islands. Then – as if in the sudden opening of a hidden treasure – there was the revelation of the excellently preserved Bronze Age frescoes brought to light at Akrotiri, on Thera, by Spyridon Marinatos’s excavations on that island.

What is truly special – particularly for our purposes, here – is that, all of a sudden, and thanks to those discoveries, textiles began to acquire a narrative context which, along with our analyses of the human activities and gestures of the individuals portrayed, have added to our ability to better understand that past.

This book was originally conceived as a series of articles focusing on a number of depictions – sometimes fragmentary, and usually of people shown in association with patterned textiles. As the book progressed, Marie-Louise Nosch, of the Danish National Research Foundation’s Centre for Textile Research, became interested and inquired concerning it. At about the same time further writing became difficult, so I called upon Professor Anne Chapin to help me complete it. With her usual alacrity and generosity, she agreed and, with time, invited others with specialties touching on various fabrics, as well as their manufacture and depiction, to broaden the spectrum of consideration.

Thus, to Anne Chapin – and to the aid of Marie-Louise Nosch – I remain indebted for making the completion of this volume possible, not to mention my husband, Joseph Shaw, who supported me throughout the progress of this project!

Maria C. Shaw

Palace and Household Textiles in Aegean Bronze Age Art

Maria C. Shaw and Anne P. Chapin

Populations around the world, and throughout the centuries, have utilized textiles in “household” settings; whether that household was a mud brick house, villa, or a palace, textiles were part of the inhabitants’ surroundings. Textiles serve as window curtains and wall hangings, as rugs and ceiling coverings; they are used to “close” doorways and divide interior spaces; they are spread over beds as sheets, blankets, and pillows; they are laid over tables; and folded or knotted into carriers, sacks, and bags. Made into tents, textiles can even serve as temporary or portable dwellings. In short, household textiles serve a host of domestic functions. Unfortunately, they are also made of organic materials that easily degrade, and only rarely do bits and pieces survive from prehistoric Aegean archaeological contexts. And whereas images of textiles in the form of clothing are relatively common in Aegean art (see Chapter 3), household textiles are more difficult to recognize in the pictorial record, and hunting for them could be viewed as a losing proposition. Yet the archaeological evidence demonstrates that the textile arts developed slowly over millennia, from the first Paleolithic production of string and cord to Neolithic innovations in spinning, weaving, and sewing.¹ Many of the tools, technologies, and techniques developed millennia ago for producing textiles are still used today, often by people of diverse cultural and geographical backgrounds (see Chapter 2). As such, the textile arts constitute a living tradition, conservative by nature, which suggests that when an Aegean fresco looks rather like a household textile recognizable from later eras, it could, in fact, have been inspired by a type that was actually made in the Bronze Age.²

This chapter, then, surveys surviving artistic evidence in an effort to identify what these lost fabrics looked like, how they were used, and what their significance may have been for the people who created and used them. The most useful artistic renditions are the frescoes and painted stucco reliefs, which were produced at relatively large scales and thus provide detailed information on the textiles they imitate. If we categorize the images in terms of the ways cloth was displayed while in use, there would be three main categories: (1) cloth hung vertically over wall surfaces (as wall coverings); (2) cloth used as ceiling coverings; and (3) textiles used as floor coverings or carpets. These are the three categories that will be considered in this chapter, but cloth can also be attached to moveable screens and used as mobile space dividers, which are known as *paravents* or screens. Similarly, cloth can be suspended like a curtain, sometimes from

the ceiling. In each of these proposed household functions, the cloth material is mobile and its use is flexible. Additionally, mats and similar items made of fibrous materials such as straw, wicker, and other fibers, could have functioned as floor or ceiling coverings. The question of whether the ancient representation refers to cloth or matting can perhaps be determined by the character of the design – unless it is a case of artistic hybridization, which would prevent one from making an exact identification.

The catalogue below discusses wall paintings and painted plaster reliefs identified as possible imitations of household textiles in each of the three categories (wall, ceiling, and floor). Shield frescoes, which may reproduce some elements made of cloth, are also reviewed. The material is presented chronologically and geographically, starting with frescoes from sites in Crete, followed by those from contemporaneous Aegean sites, and then by artworks discovered in Mycenaean contexts that are dated to the later phases of the Bronze Age. The chronological sequence used in this presentation has the added benefit of helping us to note any potential developments, or imitations, in the artistic representations.

Wall hangings

These frescoes appear to imitate wall hangings made of textiles (either wholly or in part) and “hung” (that is, painted) on walls. They appear in the Neopalatial period on Crete as decoration in villas and palaces, and on the Cycladic islands at Akrotiri on Thera as house embellishment. Later, in the Mycenaean era, frescoes depicting wall hangings are identified on the Greek mainland at the palatial centers of Mycenae and Pylos. Even though actual wall hangings do not survive from prehistoric Greece, the existence of these frescoes suggests that elaborately patterned cloth was widely used as sophisticated interior decor in a variety of elite structures throughout the Late Bronze Age. These frescoes appear in both domestic and ritual settings, which also implies a wide range of use for the textiles they imitate. Finally, given the time and expense required to produce large and elaborate cloth wall hangings, it is likely that the paintings sometimes functioned as cheaper imitations of the real thing.

Paintings of textile hangings also appear as wall and ceiling decoration in ancient Egypt (discussed in Chapter 8). They are generally believed to imitate Aegean cloth that was imported by the Egyptian elite and used to decorate real structures.

LM I Wall Hanging Fresco, from the Royal Villa at Ayia Triada, Crete

This painting is reconstructed in Figure 4.1 on the basis of plaster fragments that were found scattered in Court 11 and Room 13 of the so called Royal Villa at Ayia Triada,³ not far from Room 14, which is known for its famous fresco showing richly clad women in a lush landscape (Fig. 3.8).⁴ The fresco’s textile pattern is marked by a blue background against which spreads a network of lozenges outlined by white lines. Decorative zigzag white lines are set vertically within each lozenge in alternate rows, while the next row is filled with red star-like motifs set within white lozenges. A thin, undulating white band separates this upper patterned zone from one that is painted solid red. As restored, intriguing details are placed along the upper border: a thin black band that serves as the upper frame, and an “arcade pattern,” which is similar to the images of the textile hangers used in the Mycenaean era to suspend figure-eight shields from walls (see,

for example, Fig. 4.20, below). The painted details in this fresco probably represent hangers and suggest that it depicts a wall hanging of patterned cloth. According to this reading, its undulating hem is bordered by a white band that separates it from a solid red area, which may represent the overall color of the wall against which the cloth was suspended. We can speculate that the fresco imitates a wall hanging used as house decoration or a window curtain. Still another option (though less attractive, given the fresco's placement on a wall), is that the painting imitates cloth suspended vertically from a ceiling, hanging nearly down to the floor, to serve as a divider of a large architectural space.

LM I Pattern Fresco with Waz-Lilies, from the villa at Epano Zakros, Crete

This fresco is restored from fragments discovered in a rural “villa” situated in the environs of the Minoan palace at Kato Zakros (Fig. 4.2).⁵ The structure was excavated in the 1960s by Nicholas Platon, but remains incompletely published.⁶ The fresco fragments preserve a lively net (or diaper) pattern of diagonally crossing blue and black barred lines, with the intersections marked by blue rosettes drawn in black, with red centers, and a single red waz-lily painted inside each lozenge. The waz-lily is an Egyptianizing motif formed by the stylized combination of lily and papyrus flowers. A chain of red lily flowers frames the network. Thin bands of blue, each outlined in black and embellished with a thin wavy black line, supply borders to the various parts of the composition.

Pending formal publication, interpretation of the composition remains tentative.⁷ If the fresco is understood as representational rather than merely decorative, then the slanting lines could suggest a wooden trellis formed of diagonally arranged wooden slats painted blue and black, and fixed by clasps in the shape of rosettes at their intersections to form an attractive lattice pattern. However, the net pattern finds numerous parallels in depictions of patterned textiles used for clothing (e.g., the Lady in Red from Knossos, Fig. 3.2), and it is possible that the design preserves a bit of a decorated garment similar to those painted in the Procession Fresco at Knossos.⁸ The blue and black barred motif is paralleled by the edging of the relief rosette fresco from Xeste 3 (see below, Fig. 4.6), and the lily chain suggests the influence of jewelry design.⁹ It is possible that this composition was inspired, at least in part, by patterned textiles, perhaps in the form of woven wall hangings or quilts.

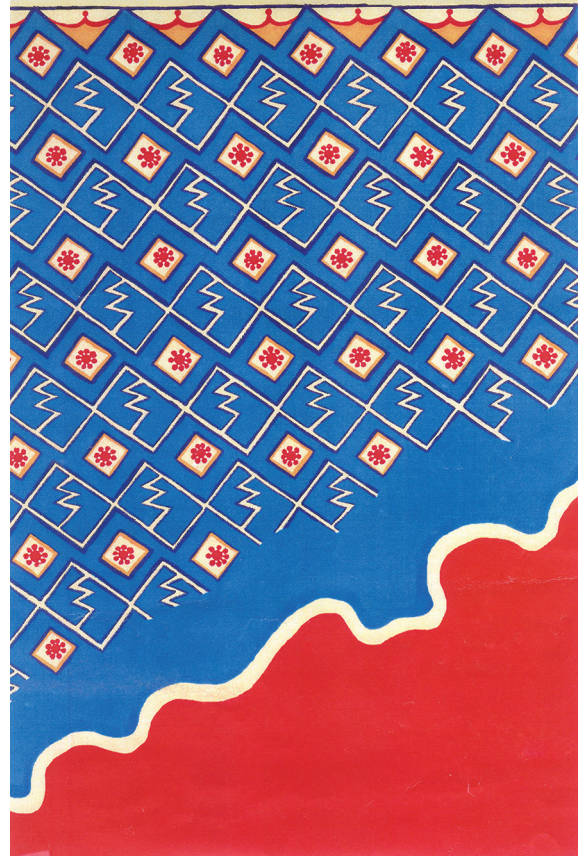


Fig. 4.1. Fresco of a Wall Hanging, from the Royal Villa, Ayia Triada, Crete (restoration M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)



Fig. 4.2. Fresco from the Minoan villa at Epáno Zakros, Crete (restoration courtesy L. Platon)

Since the fragments were found in a basement, it is not known which room the fresco once decorated in the villa. Evi Saliaka suggests it originally decorated a floor or a ceiling,¹⁰ but it seems doubtful that the decoration belonged to a floor, given the delicate nature of the painted design and the exposure to wear that one would expect in such a context. According to Lefteris Platon, whose father, Nicholas Platon, discovered the fresco in his excavations of the building, the piece is more likely to have decorated a wall on the upper floor, given the small scale of the iconographic motifs, which require closer scrutiny – perhaps a window or a doorframe.¹¹ Future inspection of the reverse (back) side of the plaster fragments would reveal the surface to which it was applied.

Fresco of Interlocking Circles, from Building 1, Galatas, Crete

This new restoration of a fresco from Building 1, a large and well-built structure situated about 100 m southeast of the Minoan palace at Galatas on Crete, is made from fragments discovered in 1992 and published by Giorgos Rethemiotakis as a red lozenge net design.¹² This restoration, which remains tentative pending publication of the building and its contents, explores the idea that the fragments belong to a design of interlocking circles with the intersections marked by red dots (Fig. 4.3). The resulting geometric pattern is an optical illusion, however, and can also be viewed as repeating four-petaled flowers and as a rapport design of curving lozenges (four-pointed stars) rendered in double outline. The multiple readings of this fresco's design reflect the playfulness of much Minoan decorative art.¹³

The Galatas fresco's interlocking circle/four-petaled flower rapport pattern, as a painted motif, may have its origins in "Woven Style" Protopalatial (MM IB) polychrome pottery decoration,¹⁴

but a closer stylistic parallel can be found in the depiction of patterned cloth worn by the young woman of the Priestess Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri, dating to LM IA (Fig. 7.3).¹⁵ The curving lozenges also recall similar motifs in the flounced skirt of the Necklace Swinger of Xeste 3 (Fig. 3.23) and the four-pointed stars of the red-dotted net pattern from the House of the Ladies (discussed below as a fresco depicting a wall hanging; Fig. 3.32), both from Akrotiri. Even more closely related may be the textile pattern of the kilted bearer (No. 22) in the Procession Fresco from Knossos (Figs 3.18, 7.10, 9.2) in which a lozenge design similarly painted in outline is framed by interlocking rapport patterns of quatrefoils and crosses. These artistic parallels emphasize the textile associations of both the lozenge pattern and the interlocking circle/four-petaled flower motifs, and raise the possibility that the fresco from Galatas depicts a textile – possibly a wall hanging, based on the rather large scale of the textile design and its lack of figural elements.

Rethemiotakis initially dated the fresco fragments to MM IIIB/LM IA,¹⁶ and indeed, renewed excavation of the building in 2008 confirms that Building 1 was destroyed by earthquake in LM IA.¹⁷ But before this, the structure enjoyed a long architectural life. Additional fragments of the fresco, together with fragments of another composition depicting twigs and leaves, were found in a small corridor that had been packed with hundreds of MM IIIA vessels and more than 20 circular, portable hearths. Rethemiotakis suggests that Building 1 suffered a major destruction at the end of MM IIIA (as did the early Galatas palace), and, in the course of rebuilding, this small corridor had been filled, its doorway blocked, and the space sealed, never to be used again. This closed archaeological context indicates that this fresco and the pictorial fragment discovered in the Galatas palace in another secure MM IIIA context, are among the earliest examples of pictorial fresco painting yet discovered in the Aegean. Further, the ceremonial functions of the pottery associated with the Fresco of Interlocking Circles suggest that Building 1 played host to important ritual events before its MM IIIA destruction. The building's LM IA ceramics, which reportedly comprise cups, jugs, and amphorae used for drinking and storage of liquids, together with other finds, indicate a continued ritual use in the Neopalatial era.¹⁸

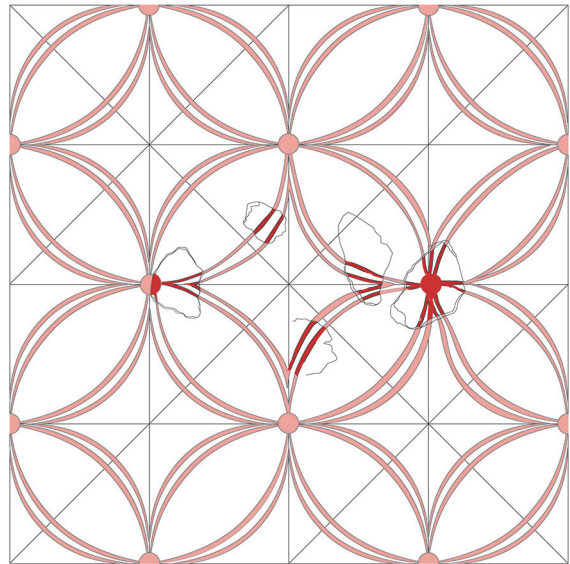


Fig. 4.3. Fresco of Interlocking Circles, from Building 1, Galatas, Crete (restoration G. Bianco and A. Chapin)

MM III–LM IA Swastika and Rosette Fresco, from Poros-Katsambas, Crete

This tentative restoration of a swastika and rosette is based on a fresco fragment discovered in a Neopalatial house in Poros-Katsamba, the Minoan harbor town of Knossos.¹⁹ The fragment, which is on display in the Herakleion Museum, preserves a repeating pattern of black swastika designs painted on blue squares, alternating with red rosettes on white squares (Fig. 4.4). The swastika

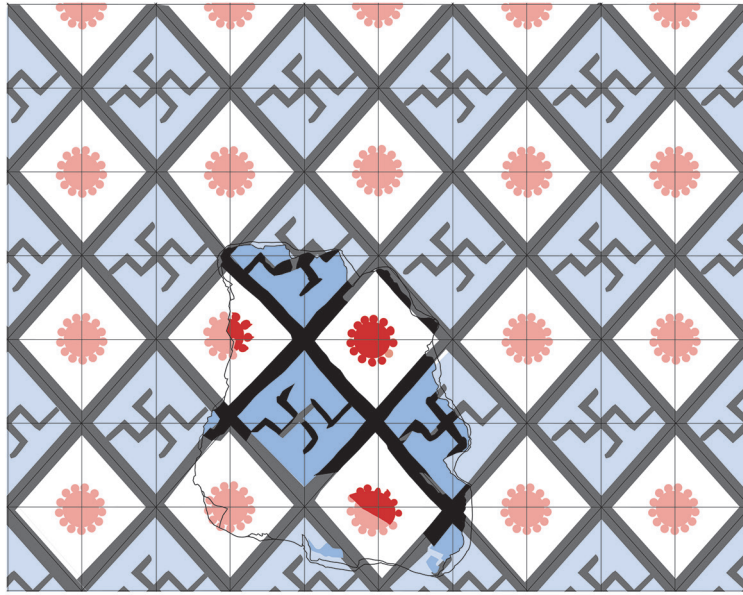


Fig. 4.4. Swastika and Rosette Fresco, from Poros-Katsambas, Crete (restoration G. Bianco and A. Chapin)

designs point counterclockwise, and alternating arms extend to the black borders of the square. The rosettes are made from central red circles surrounded by a ring of red dots just touching the central circle's perimeter. An indeterminate area of black can be seen on one edge of the fragment; whether or not it constitutes part of an undulating border of black cannot be determined here.

The Fresco of a Wall Hanging from the Royal Villa at Ayia Triada (Fig. 4.1) similarly features a large-scale repeating design with red rosettes set in white squares and zigzag lines on blue (though at Ayia Triada, these do not seem to be swastikas). The Rosette Fresco from Room 9 of Xeste 3, Akrotiri, features large-scale petal rosettes set in groups of four in white lozenges; this fresco too probably depicts a wall hanging (discussed below, Fig. 4.6). Rosettes are found as textile patterns in the costume of Lady A at Pseira (Figs 3.5, 7.4), and similar red circles are placed in a net pattern that decorates the flounced skirt of the youngest Saffron Gatherer of Xeste 3 (Fig. 3.26).²⁰ Although swastikas are not common as spotlighted motifs in Aegean representations of textiles, similar designs can be detected if one looks at the *frames* of four-pointed cross interlock designs, such as those that are found on the kilt of one of the offering-bearers in the Procession Fresco from Knossos (Figs 3.18, 9.3), and on a fresco fragment of a woman's skirt from Mycenae (Fig. 3.40).²¹ The large scale of the Swastika and Rosette Fresco, however, makes it unlikely that it represents a piece of human clothing; rather, a wall hanging seems likely. The placement of each swastika and rosette motif within its own individual square panel, moreover, recalls historical and contemporary quilting practices, and raises the possibility that the Minoans also sewed quilts from smaller pieces of cloth and added the central motifs as embroidery or appliqué designs.

MM III-LM IA Quatrefoil Fresco, from Poros-Katsambas, Crete

The Quatrefoil Fresco, from a Neopalatial house in Poros-Katsambas, is tentatively restored from a fresco fragment published by Nota Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki and placed on view in the Herakleion Museum (Fig. 4.5).²² The fragment depicts approximately half of a large blue quatrefoil thickly outlined in black on a white ground. The interior of one arm of the quatrefoil is painted with thin, black, parallel lines; its exterior is embellished with a line of carefully painted, small red dots reminiscent of the bead-like, red-dotted net pattern in the wall hanging painted above the women in the House of the Ladies at Akrotiri (discussed below; Fig. 3.32). The other quatrefoil arm preserves no similar decoration.

Similar to many Minoan frescoes depicting intricate geometric designs (and as discussed in Chapter 7), the Quatrefoil Fresco was planned and executed with the assistance of thin guidelines lightly incised into the plaster while still wet, before the process of painting had begun. A thin, light incised line is just visible along the line of the red dots (and it runs through the quatrefoil motif); a second incised line marks the quatrefoil's central axis. Presumably additional lines were incised into the wet plaster beyond the surviving fragment to extend the geometric pattern in all directions, but these are not preserved.

Quatrefoils are found in the MM II Proto-palatial floor fresco from the Phaistos palace (discussed below as a possible representation of a rug or a mat; Fig. 4.14) and on the LH IIIB Mycenaean megaron floor fresco at Pylos, where it appears as a textile motif interspaced with other textile and rockery designs (see Chapter 5, especially Fig. 5.5). In Neopalatial wall painting, images of quatrefoils are identifiable as complex textile patterns on garments worn by human figures. The “Goddess” of Ayia Triada wears a flounced skirt featuring a vibrant red, blue, black, and white pattern of interlocking quatrefoils (Figs 3.9, 3.10, 7.6). The kilt of the famous Cupbearer of Knossos (Figs 3.19, 7.11) features an interlocking pattern of orange quatrefoils ornamented with dot rosettes and outlined in black, and one of the offering bearers (No. 22) in the Procession Fresco wears a kilt similarly decorated with interlocking quatrefoils, though these are blue with black outlines and set within interlocking crosses (Figs 3.18, 7.10). The four-pointed flowers of the *trompe l’oeil* textile design on the Priestess Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri (Fig. 7.3)

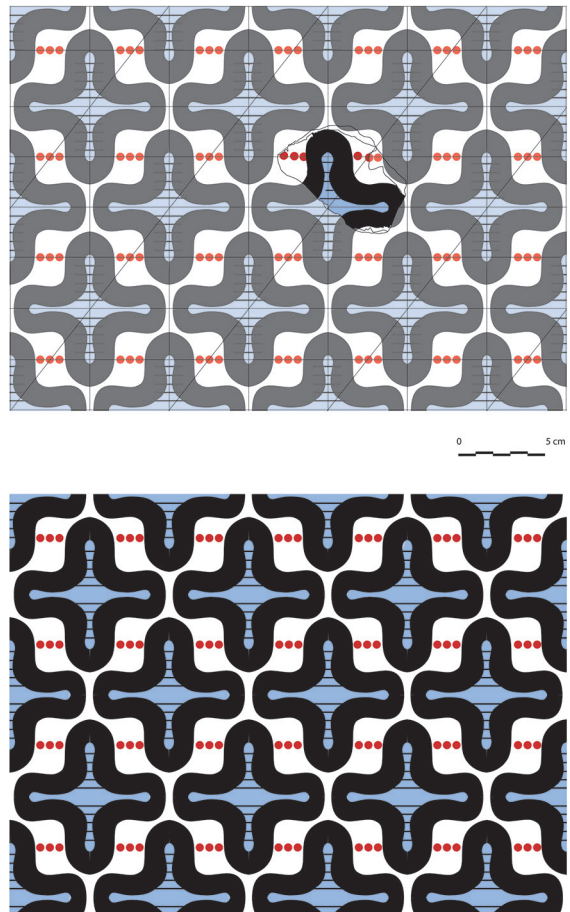


Fig. 4.5. Quatrefoil Fresco, from Poros-Katsambas, Crete (restoration G. Bianco and A. Chapin)

are broadly similar in shape to the Minoan quatrefoils, and also work as a rapport (repeating) design.

While the Poros fragment preserves no visible trace of additional quatrefoil motifs, the use of incised guidelines strongly suggests that the design was repeated at regularly spaced intervals. The chains of small red circles also indicates greater spacing between the quatrefoils than is found in the comparanda. Figure 4.5 accordingly restores a gridded design in which the quatrefoils alternate with lines of red circles to create a lively and bold geometric pattern. The strong textile associations of the quatrefoil motif, together with its large scale, suggest that this fresco could depict a wall hanging. Alternately, it could belong to a life-size human figure.

LC I Fresco of Rosettes, from Room 9 in Xeste 3, Akrotiri, Thera

This ornamental painting spread across two walls of a second-story room in Xeste 3 (Fig. 4.6).²³ In addition to this decorative painting, the second story was painted with large, psychedelic spiral designs extending across much of the floor space. In the lower two floors, Xeste 3 was endowed with a plethora of figural paintings depicting youths, mostly female but some male, apparently engaged in the performance of rituals related to the transition from childhood to adulthood (discussed in Chapter 3). Such rites of passage were commonly celebrated in early societies, as, to a degree, they have been since. Rather expectedly, cloth appears to have played an important role in such occasions, both as part of the dress of the participants as well as the theatrical setting within which the activities took place.

The painting of Room 9 is marked by a tricurved ribbon network made of three horizontal rows of interlinked lozenges. Their contours are defined by double undulating white bands modeled in low relief and painted as if passing through yellow rings rendered, interestingly, in foreshortened views. Quoting Spyridon Marinatos, Christos Doumas thought the relief bands were inspired by ivory carving,²⁴ but it seems more likely that the ancient painter tried to illustrate some kind of textile, perhaps a quilt, and that the raised bands likely depict padded cylinders of cloth that were twisted and curved to create the undulating pattern.²⁵ Enclosed within each lozenge is a group of four rosettes. The petals of most are rendered in blue – potentially representing silver medallions – but some are painted yellow, possibly representing ornaments made of gold or gold foil. Noteworthy too is the festoon-barred border that appears at the top edge of the composition. This decorative pattern looks forward to the barred bands seen in later Aegean representations of costume, where narrow, decorative barred bands were used to reinforce the seams and hems of elaborate costumes (e.g., Fig. 3.45). Here, the barred band seems to imitate the reinforced edges of a wall hanging. There does not seem to be a similar indication of a hem at the bottom of the fresco, though this may well be a matter of preservation. A wall hanging in this case makes the most plausible interpretation for the representation.

LC I Red-Dotted Net Pattern, from Room 1 of the House of the Ladies, Akrotiri, Thera

This painting extended across portions of the south and north(?) walls of Room 1 in the House of the Ladies. The composition is best known for its figural decoration showing three female figures engaged in a costuming ritual (discussed in Chapter 3, this volume), but above the figures is an eye-catching red-dotted net pattern with four-pointed stars (lozenges) painted blue and black at



Fig. 4.6. Fresco of Rosettes, from Room 9 in Xeste 3, Akrotiri, Thera (courtesy the Thera Foundation – Petros M. Nomikos)

the interstices (Figs 3.31–3.32).²⁶ This network design was laid out with the assistance of lightly incised diagonal lines marking the path of the red dots, just visible in published photographs.²⁷ It is demarcated by colored bands: just below ceiling level, horizontal border bands are painted red, yellow, black, and white; below, undulating black and blue bands follow the fresco's figural contours. This arrangement of compositional motifs suggests that the women are meant to be seen by the viewer as moving under, or perhaps in front of, the red-dotted net pattern, and that the pattern represents a decorative wall hanging.

Accordingly, the net pattern has been identified either as a painting of a wall hanging (either woven or embroidered) or as a painting of a beaded net with metallic stars.²⁸ Without the physical evidence of surviving wall hangings or beaded nets, it is difficult to determine which scenario might more closely reflect Thera's interior decor, but Elizabeth Barber, an expert weaver herself, questions how such a pattern could have been woven.²⁹ If the fresco represents an embroidered hanging, then perhaps it was attached at its upper and lower ends to cloth bands and gathered up along its lower hem, as implied by its undulating bottom edge. If, however, it represents a net of threaded red beads, then their red color could suggest carnelian or some other kind of red-colored semiprecious stone, and the blue color of the stars could refer to metallic (silver?) clasps at the intersections of the threads, to help keep them in place. Philip Betancourt sees the knotted net

as a sacred symbol which appears in Neopalatial art, both as a costume pattern (as on the seated lady from Pseira, Figs 3.5–3.6) and as an object draped over (sacrificial?) bull figurines.³⁰ Fritz Blakolmer draws connections between the netted stars of the House of the Ladies and symbolic depictions of a celestial realm in the context of ritual performance. It seems likely that the wall hanging – painted or actual – transformed the space into a special setting for ceremony.³¹

LH IIIB Quadruple Ivy Leaf Fresco, from Corridor M, Area B, of the Southwest Building, Mycenae

The fresco restored in Figure 4.7 is developed from fragments published by Ioanna Kritseli-Providi and depicts a repeating motif of four-stemmed ivy leaves, each radiating from small concentric white circles outlined in black.³² The leaves are heart-shaped and painted red or yellow; they have fan-shaped umbel elements which are connected to stems and colored yellow and white. All elements of the pattern are outlined in black against a blue ground. At regular intervals between the radial ivy groups are additional concentric white circles. An undulating white band outlined in black provides a lower border to the ivy pattern; only blue ground is preserved on the far side of the band. The reconstruction of Figure 4.7, which is published here for the first time, provides a suggestion as to how the composition might once have appeared; the fresco's repeating pattern and undulating lower border suggest that it likely depicted a hanging patterned textile.

Ivy leaves offer an interesting iconographic choice for either a painting or a wall hanging. "Sacral ivy" was identified by Sir Arthur Evans as a cultic motif in Minoan Crete, where it appears in the decoration of a wide variety of objects, including painted pottery, jewelry, and even a carved stone column from Knossos.³³ In fresco, the motif is best known as a "living plant" in the Monkey and Blue Bird Fresco, found in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos.³⁴ It appears as a stylized motif in the frieze running above the Antelopes and the Boxing Boys in Room 1 of Building Beta at Akrotiri.³⁵ Ray Porter identifies the plant of inspiration (in nature) as a climbing, bush-like evergreen vine, *Hedera helix* L.³⁶

The Mycenaean fresco fragments were found in Corridor M, in Area B of the Southwest Building of the Cult Center at Mycenae. This location is near the find spot of the "Mykenaiia," the famous fresco of a woman holding necklaces now restored not as a seated figure, but as a standing figure walking to the left.³⁷ Both the restored Quadruple Ivy Leaf Fresco and the Mykenaiia share a similar blue background, which opens the door to the possibility that they once belonged to the same composition. This possibility is represented by the restoration in Figure 4.8, in which the Mykenaiia is shown with an ivy-patterned wall hanging above her. Though the fresco design thus created is consistent with other frescoes depicting women under undulating (textile?) designs, such as that found in Room 1 of the House of the Ladies at Akrotiri (Fig. 3.32), it remains a tentative association only.

LH III Rockery Fresco, from Area Γ of the Cult Center at Mycenae

More than 100 fragments of this painting were found in Area Γ, some distance away from the main part of the Cult Center, in a fill that was dumped during the LH IIIC period. The rendering is clearly inferior, judging at least from the part preserved, where we see a conglomeration of crudely rendered multicolored rocks painted red, yellow, and blue, with wavy markings acting as the veins.³⁸ A selection of the fragments were photographed, drawn, and restored as a Rockery Fresco, presented here for the first time (Fig. 4.9).³⁹ This mass is contoured at the bottom by an undulating white band, which

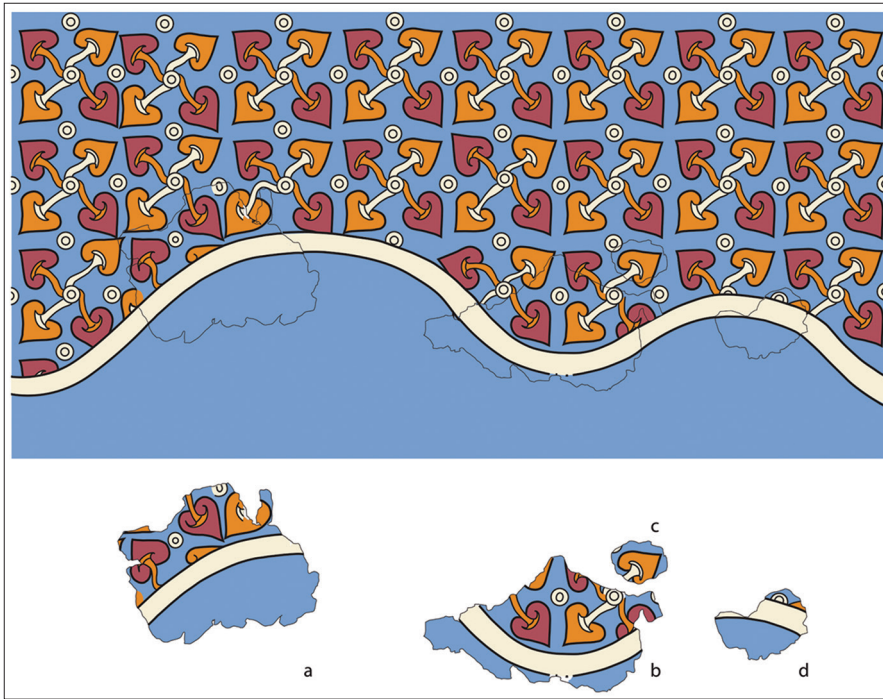


Fig. 4.7. Quadruple Ivy Leaf Fresco, from the Southwest Building, Mycenae (restoration M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)

recalls the curving border bands of the other representations of household textiles reviewed in this chapter. In this instance, the regularity of the white border suggests that the rock pattern refers not to nature, but to a design on cloth below which a solid blue area begins. Within the latter is where one might expect a figural scene (now lost), perhaps of women painted on a relatively large scale. Judging from the fresco's stylized character, it may depict a wall hanging in the form of a padded or stuffed patchwork quilt with the rocks rendered in relief.

LH III fresco with a male figure and a possible wall hanging, from the Northwest Slope Plaster Dump, Pylos

This composition, catalogued by Mabel Lang as 57 H nws, is represented by seven joining fragments that preserve part of a man's red-skinned face in left profile and a painted background divided into distinct decorative zones: a lower area of blue, an intermediary wavy white band outlined in black, and above, paneled decoration imitating textile patterns and perhaps variegated stone (Fig. 4.10).⁴⁰ Decoration inspired by textiles is preserved by bits of a net pattern painted in black on tan and framed by a wavy tan line outlined in black. The textile origin of this motif is clear. It appears (though rather infrequently) on textiles used for clothing in Mycenaean art, as seen on the skirt of a female processional figure from Pylos (Fig. 3.48).⁴¹ The pattern is often found in the Neopalatial period when parallels for the net pattern are numerous and include the textiles worn by the Lady in Red from Knossos (Fig. 3.2) and the Necklace Swinger from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri



Fig. 4.8. Tentative restoration of the Quadruple Ivy Leaf Fresco with the Mykenaia, from the Southwest Building, Mycenae (restoration M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)

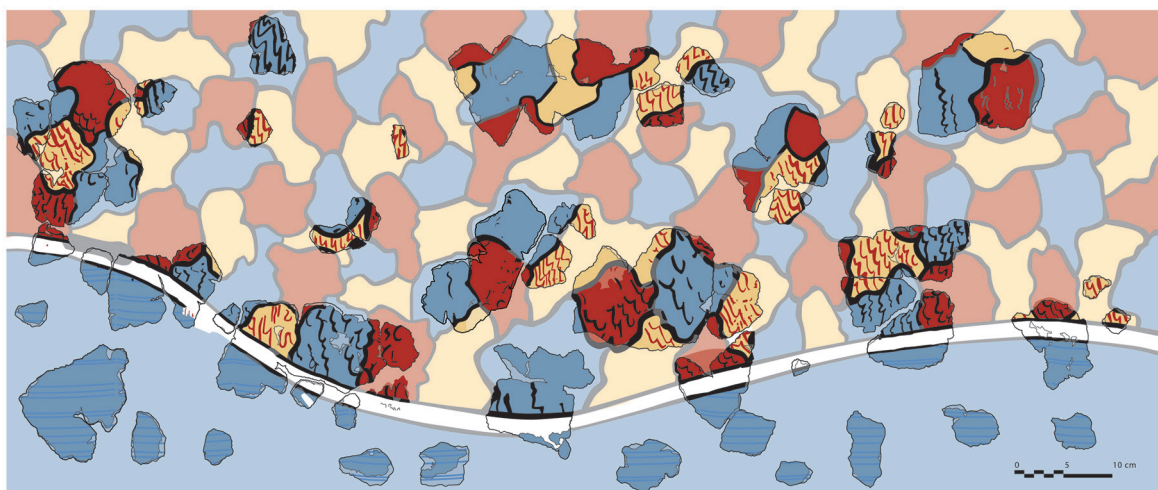


Fig. 4.9. Rockery Fresco, from Area Γ, Cult Center, Mycenae (restoration G. Bianco, A. Chapin and M. C. Shaw)

(Fig. 3.23). It seems possible that in the Mycenaean period, the net pattern's associations shifted somewhat away from clothing toward architectural embellishment.

In 57 H nws, the net pattern appears beside a panel featuring horizontal wavy (ripple) lines painted in red and white against a blue background. This pattern reminded Lang of a variegated stone dado design, as seen on Pylos 14 D nws (Fig. 5.9) and she identified it as imitation stonework.⁴² But the ripple design, too, may have been influenced by textiles, considering the many flounced garments of the Mycenaean era painted with wavy linear patterns, such as those worn by the processing ladies of Pylos 51 H nws (Fig. 3.46) and the “Staff Bearer” in the Room with the Fresco of Mycenae's Cult Center (Fig. 3.43). Both patterns of this fragment, then, have textile associations, and it seems that the fresco of 57 H nws could depict a male figure moving below (or behind?) a cloth wall hanging – one that could have been made by sewing together cloth panels of different patterns, rather like a patchwork quilt. According to this reading, the white border could describe the lower edge of the wall hanging, which undulates just like the other possible wall hangings discussed above.

Ceiling coverings

Ceiling frescoes, like the ceilings and roofs of ancient buildings, rarely survive today, and, since textiles used in household contexts are not preserved, information on this subject is limited. Fortunately, imitations of Aegean textiles are preserved on some painted ceilings in Egyptian palaces and elite tombs of Middle and New Kingdom date, which suggests that such textiles were exported from the Aegean to Egypt (discussed in Chapter 8), and two Aegean frescoes may preserve evidence for cloth ceiling decoration.

LM IA Relief Fresco of Quadruple Spirals, from the palace at Knossos

This fresco is best known from watercolors and drawings of the extant plaster fragments and a restoration (Fig. 4.11) made in 1902 by Theodore Fyfe, an artist and architect employed by Sir Arthur Evans during his excavation of the Minoan palace at Knossos.⁴³ These depictions show white running spirals rendered in relief, with the round central area within each spiral rendered flat and painted with a rosette. Additional rosettes painted red and yellow, and outlined in black against



Fig. 4.10. Fresco with a male figure and a possible wall hanging, from the Northwest Slope Plaster Dump, Pylos (watercolor P. de Jong. *Pylos II*, pl. N, courtesy the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati)

a blue ground, adorn the spaces between the relief spirals. Blue quatrefoil medallions, each centrally decorated with a large yellow, red, and black rosette, are spaced at regular intervals over the spiral design. The use of relief here conveys well the impression of a quilt, perhaps enhanced by cording or stuffing as seen in the medieval Italian *trapunto* quilting technique. Such manipulations of fabric are well known from historical traditions of sewing and quilting,⁴⁴ but can only be surmised for the Aegean Bronze Age from the fresco evidence. If the fresco actually refers to quilting, then it indicates that such items of household cloth were in use in Minoan times. That quilting could have continued into Mycenaean times is suggested by the next catalogue entry, as well as the previously discussed examples from Mycenae and Pylos (Figs 4.9, 4.10).



Fig. 4.11. Relief Fresco of Quadruple Spirals, from the palace at Knossos (watercolor T. Fyfe. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. PM III, pl. xv)

LH IIIB carved decoration on the limestone ceiling of the side chamber of the Treasury of Minyas, Orchomenos

Though not a fresco, this carved ceiling from a Mycenaean tholos tomb called the “Treasury of Minyas” is included in the catalogue due to its being very similar to relief frescoes, both in terms of scale and iconography (Fig. 4.12).⁴⁵ The drawing illustrated here (Fig. 4.13) provides a good idea of the decoration: the central panel has a repeating pattern of interlocking spirals and fan-shaped papyrus flowers with projecting “buds” and framing calyx motifs. This is bordered by a double frieze of rosettes. The outer perimeter of the relief decoration resumes the interconnected spiral/papyrus decoration. This ceiling helped to inspire Evans’s placement of the Knossos Quadruple Spiral Fresco (Fig. 4.11) to a ceiling.

The repetitive character of the Orchomenos ceiling decoration is evocative of a patterned textile hung on a ceiling. If interpreted as an imitation of a large cloth, then it may have been made from individual cloth panels that were stitched together. The bands decorated by carved rosettes act as frames. Of interest is the fact that the rosettes in this decoration are rendered in a somewhat higher relief, which might suggest that they imitate padded quilting, as was also proposed for the relief frescoes of Xeste 3 (Fig. 4.6) and the palace at Knossos (Fig. 4.11). Alternately, the rosettes could imitate metal attachments in gold or silver foil, sewn onto cloth, rather than woven, as was the case with the gold roundels found by Heinrich Schliemann at Mycenae in Shaft Graves III and V.⁴⁶ As discussed in Chapter 8, the interlocking spiral pattern was imitated in painted ceilings of New Kingdom date in Egypt. Such analogies offer evidence for artistic interconnections between the Aegean and Egypt, and quite possibly, for the export of fancy Aegean woven products for elite Egyptian consumers.



Fig. 4.12. Carved decoration on the limestone ceiling of the side chamber of the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos (photo A. Chapin)

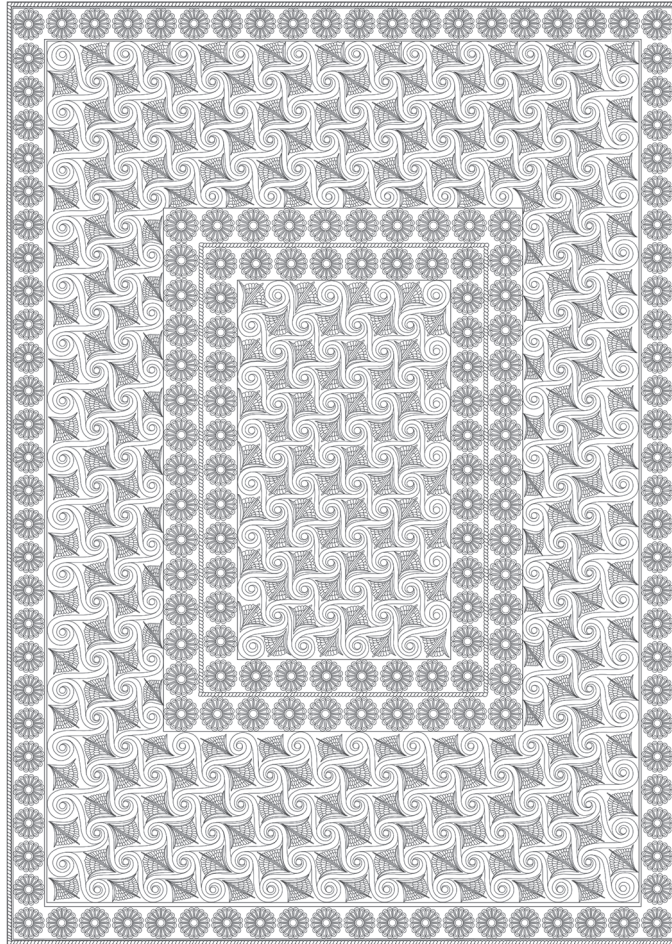


Fig. 4.13. Relief decoration of the side chamber ceiling in the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos (drawing M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)

Floor coverings and carpets

Aegean buildings were sometimes painted with floor frescoes characterized by patterned or pictorial decoration.⁴⁷ Floor frescoes of the pictorial type, such as the Marine Floor Fresco from the LM IIIA shrine at Ayia Triada,⁴⁸ remain relatively scarce, but floor frescoes with decoration imitating costly materials, such as stone slabbing or woven materials, are somewhat better known.⁴⁹ This chapter focuses on the latter and includes possible imitations of woven, braided, or knotted carpets made of textile materials, and mats plaited from straw, grasses, reeds, or other materials.

In order to be considered a floor fresco possibly imitating carpets or mats, two criteria must be met: (1) the painting must be identifiable as floor decoration (and not wall or ceiling decoration); and (2) the design must imitate patterns associated with weaving or plaiting.

Frescoes of this class are identifiable in Minoan (Protopalatial and Neopalatial) and Mycenaean (LH III) contexts. The more complex geometric patterns – quatrefoils, meanders, and labyrinth designs – of the Minoan floors do not seem to imitate the natural veining of stone slabs, so it is likely that these floors imitate woven materials, such as rugs or floor mats. The Mycenaean painted floors, however, are more open to interpretation, and are considered separately in Chapter 5.

MM II painted plaster floor with quatrefoil design, from Room LIV, palace at Phaistos

This plaster floor is painted with brown rectangles around brown quatrefoils, in the *incavo* technique (Fig. 4.14).⁵⁰ In *incavo* painting, the surface of the still-damp plaster was cut away to form grooves, into which another color was inlaid. Sara A. Immerwahr observes that the technique may reflect Egyptian influence, and was often used for floors, presumably to preserve the pattern and maintain its fresh color despite wear and tear from people walking over it.⁵¹ The pattern of quatrefoils and rectangles evokes rug decoration or a mat pattern.⁵² The space it once decorated had a built-in, bed-like platform coated with unpainted plaster, which suggests that the room could have functioned as a bedroom.

MM III painted plaster floor fragments with meander design, from Chalara, at Phaistos

Like the quatrefoil floor fragments, these are also discussed by Pietro Militello, who confirms their identification as a floor fresco dated to the MM III period (Fig. 4.15).⁵³ These fragments bear a rectilinear meander-like design, painted brownish red in the *incavo* technique, which also evokes a rug design. The meander design can be compared to the Labyrinth Fresco from Knossos, discussed below, and the Bull and Maze Fresco from Tell el-Dab'a, in northern Egypt (Fig. 7.14).⁵⁴ The suggestion is that this floor fresco imitates real rugs that were once woven and used in Bronze Age Crete.

The MM III Labyrinth Fresco, from Corridor 94, palace at Knossos

The fresco fragments, painted in the *incavo* technique, preserve bits of a labyrinth pattern painted in dark red (Fig. 4.16). They were found in a corridor running north–south (Corridor 94) a short distance to the east of the Hall of the Double Axes, near other fresco fragments painted with veining to imitate a dado of gypsum or alabaster slabs. Though Evans imagined a corridor with walls painted with the labyrinth design above the imitation stone dado,⁵⁵ the use of the *incavo* technique means

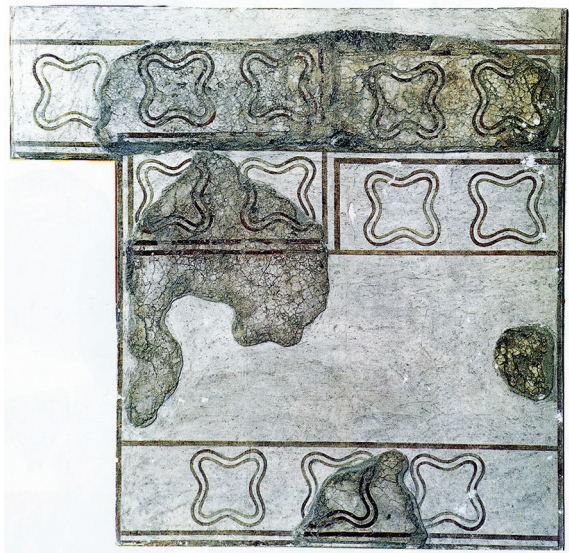


Fig. 4.14. Plaster floor fragments painted with quatrefoils, found in Room LIV, palace at Phaistos (Militello 2001, col. pl. A, top)



Fig. 4.15. Plaster floor fragments painted with a meander design, from an unspecified context at Phaistos (Militello 2001, col. pl. A, bottom)

that the Labyrinth “Fresco” must now be recognized as belonging to a painted plaster floor (Fig. 4.17).⁵⁶ The appearance of a similar labyrinthine pattern on the ground of a bull-leaping scene in the Aegeanizing Taureador Fresco from Tell el-Dab’a (Figs 7.14, 7.15), offers an interesting iconographic parallel.⁵⁷ In this composition, the motif gives the appearance of patterned floor decoration, one rather evocative of a patterned rug or mat.

MM IIIA Zebra Fresco, from the north side of the Royal Road, Knossos

This fresco, which remains formally unpublished, is nevertheless known from excavation reports, photographs, and a restoration by Mark Cameron (Fig. 4.18).⁵⁸ Fragments corresponding to its distinctive design have been identified from various contexts, but reportedly, 18 of these were identified in the Royal Road Excavations, sealed below an MM IIIB floor. The fragments preserve undulating black and white bands framing irregular spaces that resemble lopsided quatrefoils, each painted yellow with spots of red ringed by black outline. The black and white bands bring to mind zebra stripes, hence the name of the fresco, while the spots of yellow suggest the hide of a leopard or other spotted cat. The fact that the *incavo* technique was used for the yellow spaces suggested to Cameron that the composition should be identified as a floor fresco, and that it was “directly inspired by Minoan ‘mosaiko’ or crazy-pavings in stone even though the representational significance of this composition lies rather with rugs or carpets made from animal pelts.”⁵⁹ The composition is included in this survey of evidence for household floor coverings because of the suggestion that it imitates animal skins – presumably exotic imports from Africa of zebras and either leopards or cheetahs – that could have been sewn together or imitated through textile design.

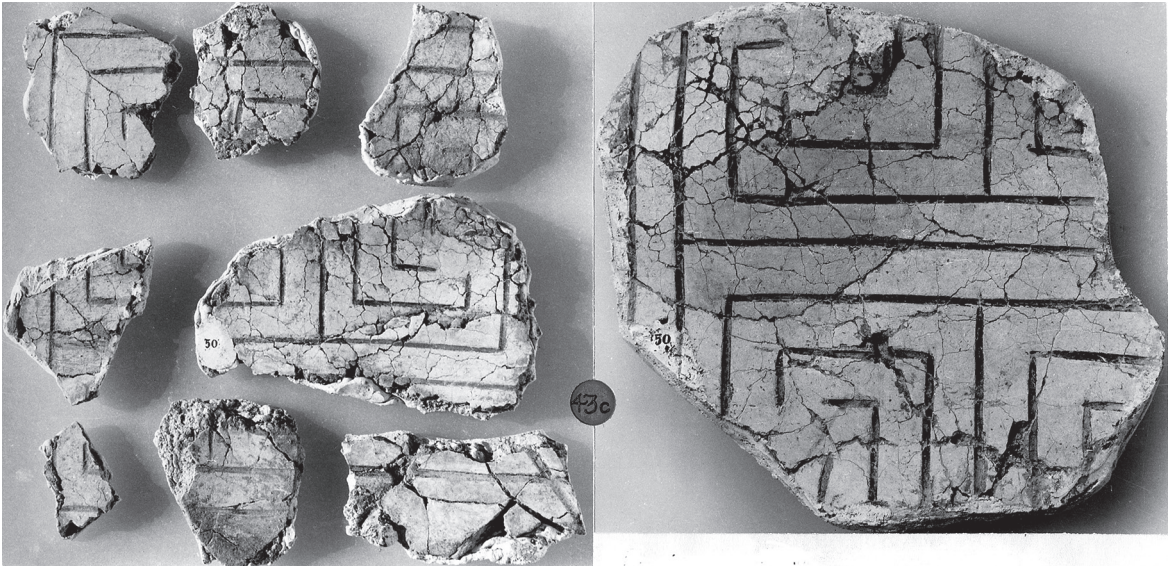


Fig. 4.16. Fragments of the Labyrinth Fresco, from the palace at Knossos (M. A. S. Cameron, courtesy the University of Western Ontario, Canada)

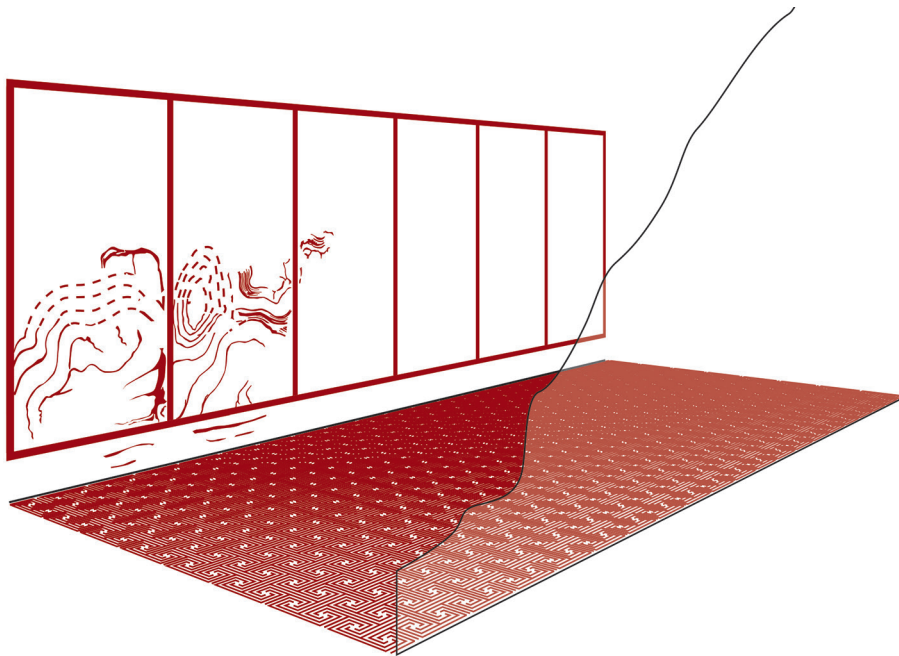


Fig. 4.17. The Labyrinth Fresco restored to the floor of Corridor 54 of the palace at Knossos (restoration M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)

Aspects of the pattern preserved in the fragment pictured in Figure 4.18 suggest a certain regularity of design despite the apparent irregularity of the individual details. That is, if one regards the Zebra Fresco as a repeating pattern of uneven, red-spotted yellow quatrefoils, then it can be observed in the fragment of Figure 4.18 that the upper and lower points of the quatrefoils approach a horizontal axis of symmetry about which the quatrefoils are distributed. This axis of symmetry is indicated in the restoration drawing of Figure 4.19 as a horizontal dotted line. When extended as a repeating pattern, the reliance of the Zebra Fresco on a predetermined grid becomes quite evident and indicates that the composition required considerable planning before its execution. Interestingly, the fragments themselves do not preserve direct evidence of the grid: published photographs do not show impressed or incised grid lines, nor do they indicate painted sketch lines. Nevertheless, this evidence of design suggests that the composition itself was laid out according to a grid. For further investigation of the artist's grid in Aegean art, see Chapter 7.

Shield frescoes

Figure-eight shields – a signature component of Bronze Age armor – are known from artwork in a wide variety of media (e.g., painting; stone, ivory, and metal relief; and glyptic – that is, seals, sealings, and signet rings). Details of their depiction indicate that they were constructed of oxhides stretched over wooden frames bent into a characteristic figure-eight shape. One set of (ceremonial?) shields from Pylos, however, appears to have been made of textile materials rather than oxhide, and a shield fresco from Mycenae suggests that decorative supports used to hang shields on walls incorporated textile elements. Accordingly, this review surveys these shield frescoes for their evidence pertaining to textiles.



Fig. 4.18. Zebra Fresco, from the north side of the Royal Road, Knossos (drawing G. Bianco)

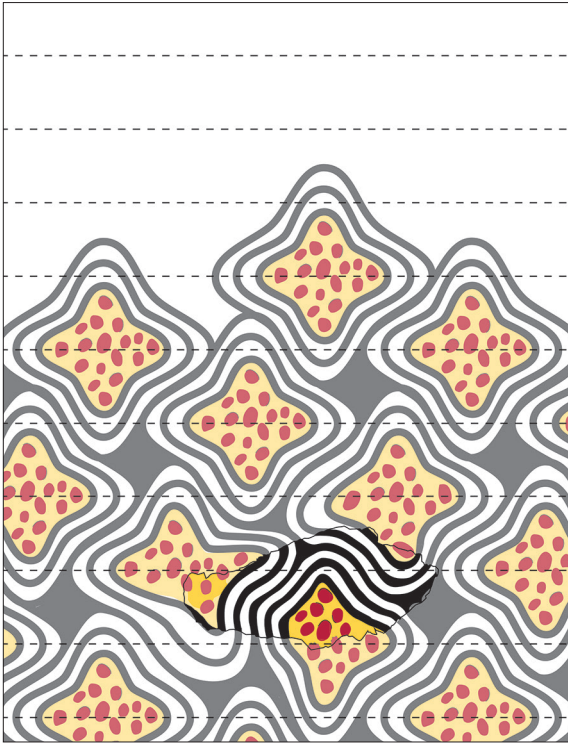


Fig. 4.19. Zebra Fresco restored as repeating pattern (restoration M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)



Fig. 4.20. Figure-Eight Shield Fresco, from the Southwest Building at Mycenae (National Archaeological Museum, Athens; photo A. Chapin)

LH IIIB Figure-Eight Shield Fresco, from the Southwest Building at Mycenae

This fresco preserves three figure-eight shields in relatively complete condition, and fragments of other shields, painted as if hung on a wall ornamented additionally with a spiral frieze.⁶⁰ The shields are realistically shown as having been made of oxhide, as in the single example illustrated here (Fig. 4.20). It is included in this survey of hanging textiles because the rendering of details suggests that cloth was possibly used as part of the suspension device – the round disk shown above each shield.⁶¹ Assuming that the fresco faithfully depicts the actual object, the disk could have been made from a plank of wood, with small holes pierced through it to allow for a round piece of cloth of the same diameter to be secured to it. The edges of the cloth seem to be marked by festoon stitching, which would have kept the cloth from unraveling. The small central circle in the disk likely signifies the head of a nail hammered onto the wall to keep the disk in place, and the wavy lines linking the round hanger to the shield probably represent the strings used to suspend the shield. Their lower ends must have been attached to some metal bracket at the rear part of each shield.

LH IIIB Cloth Shield Fresco, from Stairway 54 in the palace at Pylos

Mabel Lang identified this fresco as “Rosettes with Streamers” (13 F 54) and published a color restoration by Piet de Jong incorporating some of the 40 reported fragments.⁶² Renewed study

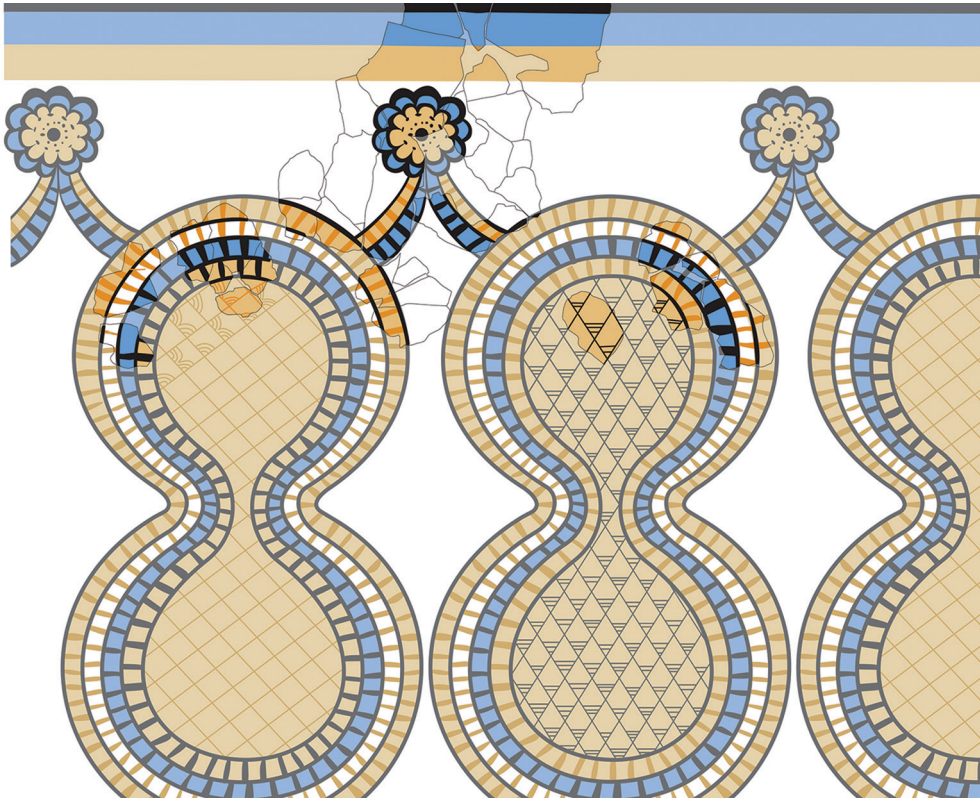


Fig. 4.21. Cloth Shield Fresco, from the palace of Pylos (restoration M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)

of the composition, however, suggests that the fresco more likely depicts a frieze of figure-eight shields (Fig. 4.21).⁶³ Interestingly, these shields are shown in the painting as if constructed of cloth, with cloth also covering the heads of the nails or pegs on which the shields were suspended. Variations exist in the kinds of decoration chosen for each shield, using two alternating combinations of colors: blue bands crossed by black bars and yellow bands by red bars. Such alternating colors are commonly used in the frames of paneled compositions in Mycenaean art, where intentionally or not, they create the impression of the panels being part of a large woven piece of cloth.

Details from the fresco and other artistic depictions of figure-eight shields allow for speculation on the shields' manufacture. A cloth shield was likely made on a wooden form or frame that had been bent into its characteristic figure-eight shape, perhaps after being soaked in hot water or steamed. Then, a piece of cloth could be cut, stretched, and secured onto the shield frame. It is possible, perhaps even likely, that layers of cloth were laminated together (as layers of oxhide may have been laminated) in order to give the shield greater strength and durability.⁶⁴ The piece of cloth at the center bears a net pattern in the shape of lozenges or diamonds and appears to be laid on the frame in a smooth, flat manner; that of the barred bands surrounding it was potentially, or even likely, padded to allow for such shields to appear more substantial.

Artistic and archaeological evidence suggests that real figure-eight shields made of oxhide and wood were used for warfare during the Shaft Grave period, c. 1600–1400 BC, but that they had probably gone out of use before the LH IIIB period, c. 1300–1200 BC, when the Shield Frieze at Pylos was painted. This suggests that the LH IIIB frescoes of figure-eight shields, including those from the Southwest Building at Mycenae (Fig. 4.20) and the palace at Tiryns,⁶⁵ were archaizing in subject matter and probably produced for symbolic or ideological purposes. It is possible that figure-eight shields were associated with a Mycenaean war goddess, perhaps akin to a Bronze Age Athena or Hera,⁶⁶ but definitive proof is lacking. It is possible that real versions of the painted cloth shields, which would have been unsuited for warfare in any era, were carried in ceremonial occasions or parades in the later Mycenaean periods. Interestingly, the space this fresco decorated, Stairway 54, can be identified as belonging to soldiers' barracks.⁶⁷ If so, then perhaps the cloth shields preserved the memory of real shields used by earlier generations; they had become a sign of the Mycenaeans' cultural identity, having been transformed into a ceremonial attribute of palatial power.

Discussion

This accumulation of artistic evidence for lost palatial and household textiles indicates that elaborate wall hangings, ceiling textiles, and floor coverings likely existed in both the Minoan and Mycenaean eras, and that they served as elegant, luxurious room decorations, as well as indicators of elite social status. In the Minoan period, frescoes such as the Wall Hanging Fresco from Ayia Triada (Fig. 4.1), the Fresco of Interlocking Circles from Galatas (Fig. 4.3), and the Quatrefoil Fresco from Poros-Katsambas (Fig. 4.5) all feature complex decorative patterns and suggest that actual wall hangings demanded significant skill at the loom. The Swastika and Rosette Fresco from Poros-Katsambas (Fig. 4.4) and the Fresco of Rosettes from Xeste 3 (Fig. 4.6) indicate further that wall hangings incorporated a variety of sewing techniques, including quilting or cording, embroidery, or appliqué in cloth or metal. The red-dotted net pattern from the House of the Ladies (Fig. 3.32) even implies the existence of wall hangings made from nonfibrous materials, such as beads of carnelian and stars of silver. The investment of time and material resources required to make actual wall hangings must have been considerable and underscores the significance of these textiles – and the frescoes that imitate them – as luxury goods demonstrating the wealth and social position of those whose homes they adorned.

These messages of luxury, wealth, and elite identity reinforce other signs of rank and social status culturally coded as palatial elements in the architectural plans of these nonpalatial buildings – e.g., the lustral basin of Xeste 3, the light well of the House of the Ladies, and the *polythyra* (pier-and-door partitions) of Ayia Triada and Xeste 3.⁶⁸ These spaces, so characteristic of elite Minoan architecture, cannot be assigned a single purpose. Rather, a certain flexibility of function and diversity of use seems likely in which rooms dedicated to domestic life seamlessly yielded to spaces suited for cult and ritual performance.⁶⁹ The textiles, as revealed by the frescoes, may have supported an adaptable use of space by offering a simple means through which rooms could be transformed into sacred environments appropriate for religious rites or ceremonies.

The Mycenaean frescoes that appear to imitate wall hangings suggest both continuity of tradition and a certain standardization of the iconographic type. The Quadruple Ivy Leaf Fresco

(Fig. 4.7), the Rockery Fresco (Fig. 4.9), and the possible wall hanging fresco from Pylos (Fig. 4.10) all incorporate repetitive, textile-like patterns that end with an undulating white wavy band (a hem?) similar to that preserved in the Wall Hanging Fresco from Ayia Triada (Fig. 4.1). But rather than decorating houses and villas, as in the Neopalatial period, these frescoes are associated with palaces – that is, with the Mycenaean centers of religious, political, and economic power. At Mycenae, the Quadruple Ivy Leaf and the Rockery Frescoes were found in the area of the Cult Center, a portion of the citadel dedicated to religious ritual. This find context implies continuity in the function of these frescoes as backdrops to religious ritual, and in the use of textiles to delineate (or, “mark off”) cultic settings.⁷⁰

Frescoes imitating ceiling coverings are too few in number to put forward any comprehensive hypothesis for their use, but the palatial context of the Quadruple Spiral Fresco from Knossos (Fig. 4.11) and the elite funerary context of the Orchomenos ceiling (Fig. 4.12) suggest that they imitate elegantly designed ceiling coverings commissioned by the wealthiest and most powerful Bronze Age patrons. Similarly, the floor fresco survey highlights the palatial associations of the paintings (Phaistos, Figs 4.14, 4.15; Knossos, Fig. 4.16; and the Mycenaean palaces discussed in Chapter 5). It is also interesting to note that the interest in repetitive, labyrinthine designs evoke associations with later Greek myths of the labyrinth at Knossos.

And finally, the shield frescoes of the Mycenaean era (e.g., the Figure-Eight Shield Fresco from Mycenae, Fig. 4.20) depict shields characteristically made of oxhide and incorporate textiles only for their cloth-covered suspension devices. But one fresco from Pylos features figure-eight shields made of cloth (Fig. 4.21) – in real life, they would have been useless in battle, but perhaps they were thought to be suitable for ritual and ceremony. Being modeled after old-fashioned (antique?) armaments, their display, whether on the walls of the palace or as real objects carried in Mycenaean pageants, parades, or ceremonies, would have kept the memory of actual figure-eight shields alive, and with it, a sense of how significant the early Mycenaean warrior culture must have been for the Mycenaean states at the time when they were first emerging as cultural and political powers in the Aegean. Such ancestral shields, rendered nonfunctional in their cloth forms, demonstrate how textiles – both real and fictive – were used by Mycenaean Greeks, like the Minoans before them, to define and reinforce their own sense of history and cultural identity.

This review of possible artistic representations of palatial and household textiles presents evidence for the existence of actual wall hangings, ceiling and floor coverings, and even cloth shields that were manufactured and displayed during the Aegean Bronze Age. This survey also offers insight into the many roles that textiles played in Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. Underlying all is the sense that these luxury items were displayed in households as prestige goods that demonstrated the wealth and social position of those whose homes and palaces they adorned. And, given the elaborate designs and the extensive investment in time and raw materials that must have been required to create these luxury textiles, it is possible that some frescoes served as less expensive substitutes. As such, household textiles and the frescoes they inspired appear to have played significant roles in the cultural self-definition of both the Minoans and Mycenaeans.

Notes

- 1 PT, 9–162.
- 2 Blakolmer 1994.
- 3 For details of the reconstruction, see Shaw and Laxton 2002. See also Militello 1998. Thanks are due to Pietro Militello, who facilitated Shaw's study of the fragments.
- 4 See Chapter 3.
- 5 L. Platon 2002, 154–155, pl. xlviii; Saliaka 2008.
- 6 N. Platon 1964, 163–167; 1965, 216–224. The plan of the villa is only partially preserved. For overviews of the building and its contents, see Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 234–235; L. Platon 2002, 153–155.
- 7 For recent discussion of the fresco program, see Vlachopoulos, Platon, and Chrysikopoulou 2011.
- 8 L. Platon 2002, 154.
- 9 See, for instance, the gold necklaces from the Zapher Papoura graves near Knossos and the Kalyvia cemetery near Phaistos (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pl. 120, left), or the lily necklace on the Priest-King Fresco (*PM* II, 2, frontispiece).
- 10 Saliaka 2008.
- 11 L. Platon 2002, 145–156, pls xlv–xlviii; pers. comm. 2010; Vlachopoulos, Platon and Chrysikopoulou 2011, 440–441, 442.
- 12 Rethemiotakis 2002, 57, 60–61, pl. xvii.
- 13 On visual illusions in complex rapport textile patterns, see *PT*, 317, 328–329, figs 15.2, 15.15.
- 14 MacGillivray 2007, 111–112, fig. 4.5.
- 15 Doumas 1992, pls 24–25.
- 16 Rethemiotakis 2002, 57.
- 17 See <http://chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/785/>.
- 18 See <http://chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/785/>.
- 19 On the excavations, see Dimopoulou-Rethemiotakis 1993.
- 20 Doumas 1992, pl. 120.
- 21 For the association of interlocking crosses with swastikas, see *PT*, 328; Barber 1998, 14.
- 22 Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 375–376, fig. 31.27.
- 23 Doumas 1992, 174–175; pls 136–137. Maria Shaw thanks Andreas Vlachopoulos for providing pictorial details not easily discernible from illustrations of the painting (pers. comm. 2002).
- 24 Doumas 1992, 131, citing *Thera* VII, 27.
- 25 Raised, padded, and stuffed quilting techniques are well known from historical times but can only be surmised for the Aegean Bronze Age from artistic evidence. On manipulating fabric to create structure and relief, see Wolff 1996.
- 26 *Thera* V, 39–40; Doumas 1992, 35, pls 6–8.
- 27 Doumas 1992, pl. 8.
- 28 For the various views, see Immerwahr 1990, 49; Shaw 1993, 679; 1998, 69; Blakolmer 1994, 22; 1996; 2012a; True 2000, 353–355; Murray 2004, 125, and Chapter 3, n120.
- 29 *PT*, 329.
- 30 Betancourt 2007b, 185–189.
- 31 Blakolmer 1994, 22–27.
- 32 Kritseli-Providi 1982, 63–64, pl. 19, col. pl. Z.
- 33 *PM* II, 2, 478–489.
- 34 Cameron 1968.
- 35 Doumas 1992, pls 78, 79, 83.
- 36 Porter 2000, 625.
- 37 Kritseli-Providi 1982, 37–40, pls 4–5, col. pl. Γ; B. Jones 2009; see Chapter 3.
- 38 Kritseli-Providi 1982, 76, pl. 25.
- 39 The authors sincerely thank Dr. Katerina Kostanti, Curator of the Prehistoric Collection at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, for permission to photograph and study this fresco. The museum work

was conducted in July 2014 by Anne Chapin, and the fragments were drawn and restored by Giuliana Bianco in consultation with Anne Chapin and Maria Shaw.

- 40 Pylos II, 92–93, pls 42, 117, D, N.
- 41 In Mycenaean art, the net pattern appears more often on dado designs in association with stylized rockery or stone patterns, as in Pylos 14 D nws, discussed in Chapter 5 (Fig. 5.9).
- 42 Pylos II, 92–93, 173–174, pl. Q. If the pattern imitates stonework rather than textiles, then the combination of motifs (textile and stone) interestingly parallels the decoration of the painted plaster floors in Mycenaean palaces, discussed by Emily Egan in Chapter 5.
- 43 PM III, 30–31, pl. xv; Kaiser 1976, 270, fig. 417; Immerwahr 1990, 63, 142, 178, fig. 39c.
- 44 On cording and stuffed quilting techniques, see Wolff 1996; on *trapunto*, see Morgan and Mosteller 1977.
- 45 Schliemann 1881; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, 165–166, pls 160, 161; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1990.
- 46 Schliemann 1880, 165–173, figs 239–252; Karo 1930–1933, 44–47, pls xxviii–xxix; Demakopoulou 1990, 284–285.
- 47 Hirsch 1977a. On undecorated floors, see J. W. Shaw 2009, 147–152. For a detailed study of plaster floors (some painted) at Kommos, see M. C. Shaw 2006.
- 48 Militello 1998, 321–335, pls 11b, 12b, 13.
- 49 Minoan tarazza floor plasters, which have high lime content and are mixed with small water-worn pebbles, are not included in this survey as they do not imitate textile designs. On tarazza floors, see J. W. Shaw 2009, 149–150.
- 50 Levi 1976, 85, pls xxiv, lxxxva; Immerwahr 1990, 22, 183, fig. 6c; Militello 2001, 45–46, 146–148, col. pl. a, top (F 54).
- 51 Immerwahr 1990, 206–207, n12.
- 52 Levi 1976, 85–86; Blakolmer 1994, 4; Militello 2001, 146–147.
- 53 Militello 2001, 146, 148–149, col. pl. A, bottom (F CHZ). See also Levi 1976, pl.lxxxvb; Immerwahr 1990, 22, 183, fig. d.
- 54 Militello 2001, 149; Bietak, Marinatos and Palivou 2007.
- 55 PM I, 356–358, fig. 256.
- 56 Shaw 2012a.
- 57 Bietak, Marinatos and Palivou 2007, 47–50.
- 58 *ArchDelt* 1961–1962; Cameron 1975, vol. I, 726, vol. iii, 124, 131, 155, 187; Evely 1999, 248.
- 59 Cameron 1975, vol. iii, 187.
- 60 Kritseli-Providi 1982, B-32–46, 54–62, pls E, ΣT, 12–17.
- 61 Contra George Mylonas (Kritseli-Providi 1982, 56–57, referenced by Immerwahr 1990, 140), who believes that the rosette functions not as a hanging device but as a symbolic head, which transforms the shield into a palladian.
- 62 Pylos II, 153, pls 86, Q (13 F 54).
- 63 Shaw 2012b.
- 64 Recent experiments with laminated linen have successfully reproduced the *linothorax*, the lightweight cuirass of Macedonian armies. See Aldrete, Bartell and Aldrete 2013.
- 65 *Tiryns* II, 34–40, no. 40, pl. v. See, also PM III, 304–306, fig. 197.
- 66 See, for example, Rehak 1984; 1999; O’Brien 1993, 126–130.
- 67 Shaw 2012b.
- 68 The plan of the villa at Epáno Zakros is only partially preserved and cannot be assessed here.
- 69 On the architecture of Neopalatial palaces and towns, see McEnroe 2010, 93–116; for Akrotiri, see Palyvou 2005.
- 70 The fresco with a male figure and a possible wall hanging (57 H nws) was found in a dump next to the Pylos palace, so its palatial context seems assured even if it cannot be restored to a specific room.