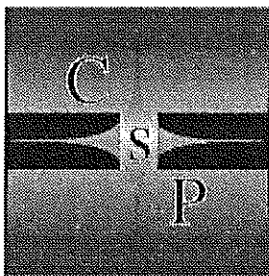


Reading a Dynamic Canvas:
Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World

Edited by

Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn



Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World,
Edited by Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn

This book first published 2008 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

15 Angerton Gardens, Newcastle, NE5 2JA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2008 by Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn
and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or
otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-84718-406-5, ISBN (13): 9781847184061

CHAPTER TWO

THE LADY OF THE LANDSCAPE: AN INVESTIGATION OF AEGEAN COSTUMING AND THE XESTE 3 FRESCOES

ANNE P. CHAPIN

Despite more than a century of excavation and study of the Minoan, Cycladic, and Mycenaean cultures of the Bronze Age Aegean, surprisingly little is known of the costuming traditions of these prehistoric peoples. Leather and textile garments generally do not survive, and metal accessories and accoutrements (jewelry, pins, hair rings, etc.) offer only limited information on costume design and personal adornment. Prehistoric texts, moreover, remain either undeciphered or, as in the case of Mycenaean Linear B, are bureaucratic in nature and do not describe the design and manufacture of clothing. Yet the human form was selected for representation in many periods of Aegean prehistory, and some of these images, particularly those produced in the early part of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1650-1450 B.C.), preserve highly descriptive images of prehistoric costumes. Details of clothing, hairstyle, and jewelry portrayed in these artworks offer clues to the age, gender, social status, and even the religious and political associations of the clothed individuals. The information embedded in depictions of costuming is therefore indispensable for investigating constructions of identity on both the individual and group levels, and throws new light on the social structures and cultural priorities of the peoples of the prehistoric Aegean.

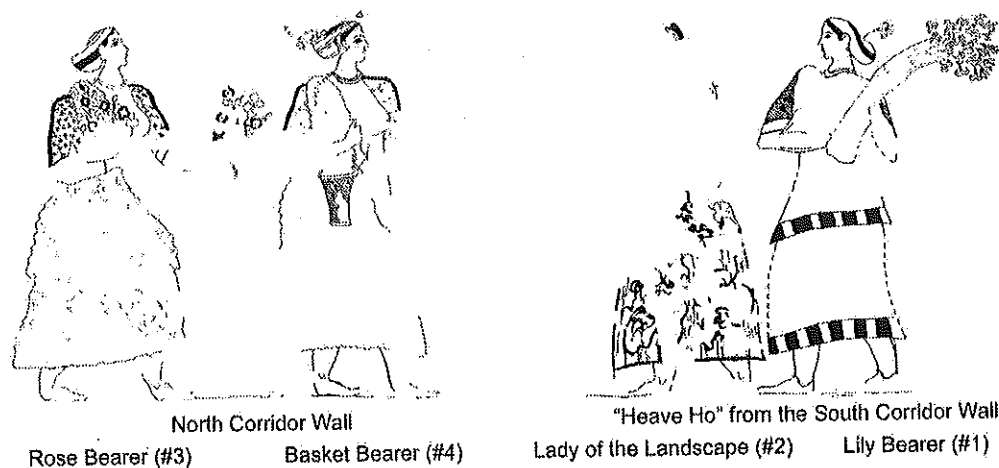


Fig. 2-1. The Xeste 3 Procession Fresco. Chapin, after Vlachopoulos 2003, figs. 22, 23.

One such descriptive art work is the “Lady of the Landscape,” a processional figure from a recently restored fresco preserving an unusual garment decorated with a landscape of swallows and rocks (Fig. 2-1, no. 2).¹ Painted in the Late Cycladic (LC) I period (c. 1650-1600 B.C.) at Akrotiri, Thera, in the Cycladic Islands of Greece, the painting belongs to the broad cultural and artistic milieu of the Neopalatial Aegean led by the Minoan culture of Crete. At this time, women’s fashions favored Minoan-style flounced skirts and back aprons worn with form-fitting bodices or chemises. The Lady of the Landscape and her companions, however, wear un-flounced garments of uncertain design, thus presenting important new evidence for Aegean costuming. The pictorial decoration of swallows and rocks that distinguishes the Lady’s costume, moreover, is also highly unusual and rare. It has been suggested that pictorial garments might identify a special priestly or divine status, but this idea remains largely untested.² Fortunately, the excellent preservation of the frescoes from Akrotiri, Thera, makes it possible to investigate the social significance of

¹ Vlachopoulos, Andreas. “Βίρα-μáινα: το χρονικό της συντήρησης μίας τοιχογραφίας από το Ακρωτήρι (1973-2003),” in A. Vlachopoulos and K. Birtacha (eds.), *Αργονάυτες. Τμηματικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χρίστο Γ. Ντόνμα*, with English summary. (Athens: Kathimerini, 2003), 505-526.

² PM III = Arthur J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 4 vols. with index by Joan Evans, 1964 reprint of the original text (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1921-1936), 42; Elizabeth J.W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 321.

Aegean pictorial costumes and to place the Lady of the Landscape and her unusual garment into a broader iconographic, cultural, and religious perspective.

After a brief introduction to the archaeological and iconographic contexts of the Lady of the Landscape, this study pursues two lines of investigation. First, the type of garment worn by the Lady of the Landscape is considered. Since an up-to-date, illustrated typology of Neopalatial Aegean costume design remains lacking in scholarship, one is presented here to provide a foundation for further discussion. Secondly, the iconography of pictorial costumes is explored. Parallels for the landscape decoration of the Lady's garment are identified from artistic contexts around the Neopalatial Aegean, and then the Lady of the Landscape is examined as part of the larger pictorial program to which she belongs. The results of this investigation suggest that the landscape costume communicates the Lady of the Landscape's privileged social status and her distinct identity among the members of the Akrotiri community, but, quite surprisingly, it does not identify her as a person of exceptionally high rank. Rather, the investigation into the extraordinary costume worn by the Lady of the Landscape leads to a new appreciation for the variety of form and subtlety of meaning underlying prehistoric Aegean costume design, and suggests that there remains much to be learned of prehistoric Aegean costuming traditions.

Archaeological and Artistic Contexts

The fresco with the Lady of the Landscape was excavated at Akrotiri, Thera, in 1973 from a large public building known today as Xeste 3 (Fig. 2-2).³ This free-standing structure was originally three storeys tall and built of ashlar stone blocks reinforced by timber framing. With an estimated interior space of about 535 square meters, or nearly 6000 square feet, Xeste 3 was also provided with many architectural refinements indicative of prehistoric luxury, including paved stone floors, pier-and-door partitions and a lustral basin modeled after elite Minoan architecture. Together with its grand size, these embellishments characterize Xeste 3 as the most elaborate Aegean structure of its era known outside of Minoan Crete.⁴ Its paintings, moreover, including the Lady of the Landscape,

³ *Thera VII* = Spyridon Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera, I-VII* (Athens, 1968-1976), 22-28, 32-38.

⁴ Clairy Palyvou, *Akrotiri, Thera: An Architecture of Affluence 3,500 Years Old* (Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2005), 54-62. These features are so close

belong to an extensive figural fresco program executed by at least one prehistoric master and his/her workshop. Notable for their excellent quality and abundant naturalistic detail, the frescoes rank among the finest from the ancient world. What is more, whereas contemporary frescoes from Minoan Crete are usually found in highly fragmentary condition, the frescoes of Akrotiri—known as the “Pompeii of the Aegean”—were well preserved by a powerful volcanic eruption that buried the town under a thick layer of pumice and ash.⁵ Xeste 3 and its many well-preserved figural frescoes thus present an exceptional opportunity to investigate artistic evidence for prehistoric costuming.

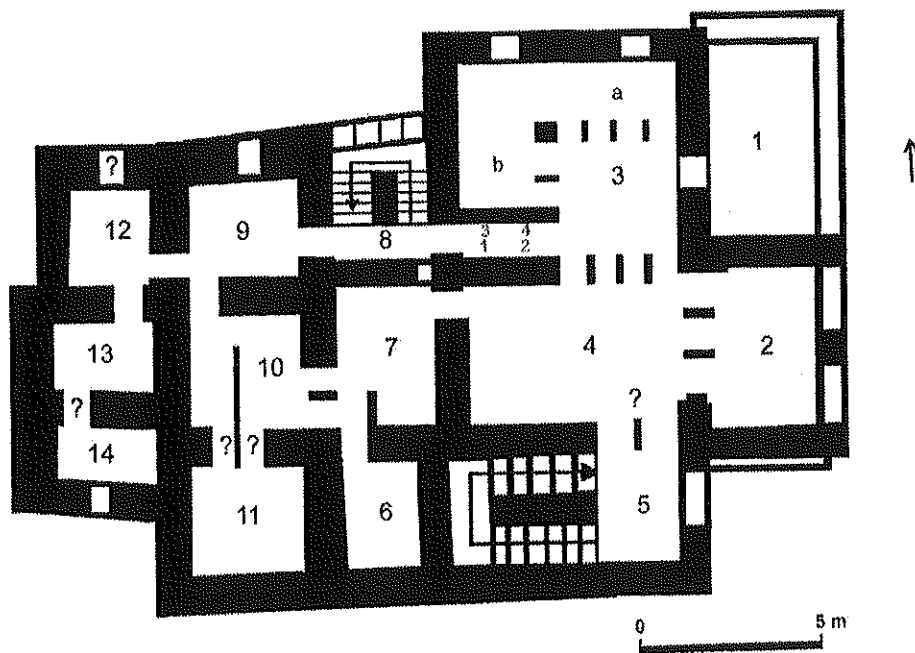


Fig. 2-2. Plan of Xeste 3. Chapin, after Palyvou 2005, fig. 62.

The general outline of the Xeste 3 fresco program is already well known, although details of interpretation are likely to change as

to Minoan villa architecture that Palyvou argues that Xeste 3 is an atypical Theran house.

⁵ For an overview of the eruption, see Walter L. Friedrich, *Fire in the Sea: The Santorini Volcano: Natural History and the Legend of Atlantis*, trans. Alexander R. McBirney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); for the results of the 2006 underwater survey of the Santorini volcano and the revised estimate that the Santorini eruption was twice as large as previously believed, see Haraldur Sigurdsson, et al., “Marine Investigations of Greece’s Santorini Volcanic Field,” *Eos* 87, 34 (2006): 337, 348.

compositions continue to be restored and published.⁶ The topmost floor of the building's three levels was decorated with an extensive geometric composition of spirals⁷ and a relief fresco of a rosette-embellished wall hanging.⁸ Below, on the middle storey (the second floor, in American parlance) was the Saffron Gatherers Fresco, a painting of pubertal girls collecting crocus flowers in a rocky landscape (Fig. 2-3). In the adjacent Mistress of the Animals Fresco, the processed saffron is offered to an enthroned goddess attended by a blue monkey and a griffin. Beside this composition was a fresco of a marshy landscape with ducks and dragonflies, symbols of the goddess's realm.⁹ Directly below the Mistress of the Animals Fresco, in the lustral basin of the ground floor (3a), was the Adorants Fresco. On the left, the Necklace Swinger carries a string of beads while the Wounded Woman in the center sits painfully on a crocus-covered rocky outcrop attending to a cut foot. To the right, the Veiled Girl, a youthful figure enveloped in a diaphanous cloak, turns her head as if to gaze at a horned shrine façade dripping with blood. An adjacent room (3b) displayed additional frescoes of two nude youths and a small boy in the company of an adult man, perhaps participating in a robing ceremony. Room 4 was painted with monkeys playing musical instruments and wielding swords in a rocky landscape of swallows and crocuses.¹⁰ Nearby, the vestibule and stairs (5) of Xeste 3 were painted with male figures,

⁶ Even before their formal publication, the bibliography of these frescoes is large. For excavation, see *Thera VII*; for an overview of the pictorial program and excellent color photographs, see Christos Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera* (Athens: The Thera Foundation, 1992), 127-31, pls. 93-137; for an important interpretation of the rituals depicted in the paintings, see Nannó Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens: D. & I. Mathioulakis, 1984), 61-84.

⁷ Constantin Papaodysseus, et al., "Distinct, Late Bronze Age (c. 1650 BC) Wall-Paintings from Akrotiri, Thera, Comprising Advanced Geometrical Patterns," *Archaeometry* 48.1 (2006): 97-114.

⁸ *Thera VII*, 27; Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 131.

⁹ Andreas Vlachopoulos, "The Reed Motif in the Thera Wall Paintings and its Association with Aegean Pictorial Art," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 631-56.

¹⁰ Paul Rehak, "The Monkey Frieze from Xeste 3, Room 4: Reconstruction and Interpretation," in *MELETEMATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, vol. 3, ed. Philip P. Betancourt, Vassos Karageorghis, Robert Laffineur, and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 1999), 705-09.

reportedly hunters and athletes.¹¹ Though many interpretations of the fresco program are possible, the distinctive narrative details suggest that prehistoric mythological tales may have been merged with ritual performance.¹²

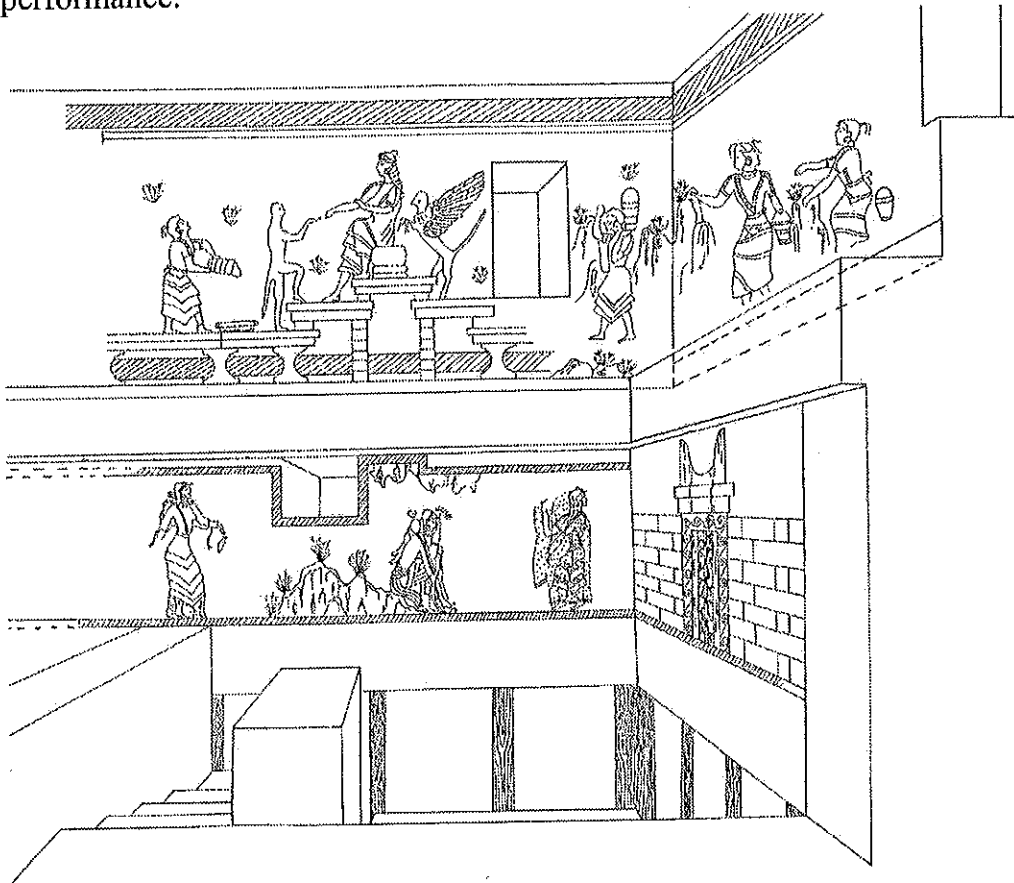


Fig. 2-3. Pictorial program of Room 3, Xeste 3. Chapin after Dumas 1980, 295.

Within this extensive iconographic program, the Lady of the Landscape belongs to a fresco of processional women (Fig. 2-1, right) that once adorned the south wall of an upper-floor corridor leading from

¹¹ *Thera* VI, 23; *Thera* VII, 23, 25; Andreas Vlachopoulos. "Motifs of Early Greek Poetry and the Wall Paintings of Xeste 3, Akrotiri," in *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International Aegean Conference, Los Angeles, UCLA-The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006* (*Aegaeum* 28), S. P. Morris and R. Laffineur (eds.), Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin, 2007.

¹² In Christos Boulotis, "Aspects of Religious Expression at Akrotiri," *AAΣ3* (2005): 38, Boulotis observes "the visible possibility that [the fresco program] presents an image of the mythical-cultic nucleus of the ritual performance by annealing myth and reality."

Service Staircase 8 into Room 3. Known among the excavation staff by the unusual sobriquet, "Heave Ho," the painting suffered an unfortunate accident when the recovery efforts went awry and pieces of plaster became detached from their gauze backing, resulting in additional damage to the fresco. The story of the accident and the subsequent process of the fresco's restoration are recounted by Andreas Vlachopoulos in an article that also presents a color drawing of the restored composition.¹³ Together with a companion composition of two similar figures situated on the facing wall (Fig. 2-1, left) and reports of a poorly preserved fifth figure, the corridor was painted with a procession of women who shared the architectural space with prehistoric viewers as they walked through the building.¹⁴

Indeed, the Procession Fresco of Xeste 3 offers important new evidence for the development of the processional theme in Aegean art. Comparable compositions from Minoan Crete are few in number and so fragmentary that they do not demonstrate that this subject, notably prominent in later Late Helladic (LH) III A-B Mycenaean iconography, actually originated in the Neopalatial period. The Corridor of the Procession at the Knossos palace, for example, was decorated in the Middle Minoan (MM) IIIB period with a fresco of large-scale women, but only tiny pieces of jewelry and dress designs survive.¹⁵ Its famous replacement, the mixed-sex Cupbearer and Procession Fresco, is usually dated to the Late Minoan (LM) II-III A1 period, after the collapse of Minoan power in LM IB.¹⁶ An unusual monochrome fresco of a (walking?) female figure costumed in a flounced skirt, girdle, and veil, excavated from the palatial building at Archanes anticipates later processional figures, but this composition seems to depict a procession of one.¹⁷ Finally, the LM I miniature fresco from Tylissos may preserve a procession of six female figures dressed in flounced skirts, but the reconstruction of this composition remains tentative.¹⁸ The Xeste 3 Procession Fresco, then, is important for demonstrating that female

¹³ Vlachopoulos, "Βίπα-μάβα" 522, fig. 22.

¹⁴ Doulas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 131-34; Vlachopoulos, "Βίπα-μάβα". On the belt of the fifth figure, see Maria C. Shaw, "A Minoan Fresco from Katsamba," *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978): 32.

¹⁵ Sara Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 59, 172 (Kn No. 13).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 88-90, 174-75 (Kn No. 22), pls. 38-40.

¹⁷ Yannis Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 2. (Athens: Ammos Publications, 1997), 494-96, fig. 478.

¹⁸ Maria C. Shaw, "The Miniature Frescoes of Tylissos Reconsidered," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 (1972): 171-88; Immerwahr, 66-67, 184 (Ty No. 1).

procession frescoes first appeared in Neopalatial art and that the theme was later taken over by Mycenaean artists.

Each of the figures in the Xeste 3 procession, moreover, is distinguished by individualized details of costuming. Two of the women, dubbed here the "Basket Bearer" and the "Rose Bearer," are already known from photographs published by Christos Doumas, but recent restoration work incorporates additional fragments that enlarge the composition and offer additional information about costuming.¹⁹ The Basket Bearer is dressed in a fleecy red mantle worn over a pale yellow short-sleeved bodice decorated with crocus stamens and murex purple bands.²⁰ She carries a basket similar to those held by the nearby Saffron Gatherers, wears a heavy necklace, and binds her hair in a snood – a pouch for restraining long hair that is held in place by a ribbon over the forehead. Crocus blossoms further ornament her hair. Beside her, the Rose Bearer wears a similarly fleecy mantle, colored yellow rather than red, over a pale yellow short-sleeved bodice decorated with red lily flowers and murex purple bands. A beaded necklace graces her neck, her hair is bound in a snood, and she carries large posies of wild roses or rockroses (*cistus*) in her hands.²¹ Typical of Aegean costuming traditions, both women's bodices are worn open at the breast, thereby showing details of breast development. The large, heavy size of the Basket and Rose Bearers's breasts, when viewed in comparison with the significantly smaller breasts of the pubertal Saffron Gatherers and the teenage Adorants of Xeste 3, characterizes these figures as mature women who have probably born children.²²

The two women of "Heave Ho"—the Lady of the Landscape and the "Lily Bearer"—are likewise identified by costuming attributes. The Lily Bearer is the better preserved of the two and carries a large bouquet of white Madonna lilies in her arms. She is dressed in a white flounced mantle worn over a murex purple short-sleeved bodice decorated with a

¹⁹ Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 131-34; Vlachopoulos, "Βίρα-μάινα" fig. 23.

²⁰ Murex purple, a rare and precious pigment extracted from murex mollusks, became famous in classical antiquity as a costly dye for cloth and clothing associated with luxury and prestige. On its use in the Theran frescoes, see E. Chrysikopoulou, "Use of Murex Purple in the Wall-Paintings at Akrotiri, Thera," *AAE* 3 (2005): 77-80.

²¹ On the identification of the flowers, see *Thera* VII, 36-37.

²² Anne Chapin, "Maidenhood and Marriage: The Reproductive Lives of the Girls and Women from Xeste 3, Thera," *Aegean Archaeology* 4 (1997-2000 [2002]): 7-25.

net pattern; on one sleeve are two blue birds, perhaps rock doves. She also has a white lily in her bound hair and a gold beaded necklace about her neck. In front of her is the Lady of the Landscape, the most fragmentary of the four processional women. Little of the upper body is preserved, but a fragment of her head shows that, like the others, her hair is bound in a snood, and a piece of her left arm demonstrates that she too wore a murex-purple sleeved bodice. Although any objects she may have carried in her hands do not survive, she is set apart from the others by her unusual garment decorated with its brightly painted rocky landscape and darting swallows.



Fig. 2-4. Detail of landscape costume. Chapin, after Vlachopoulos 2003, fig. 22, with some restoration of the swallows.

Surviving fragments depict lively costume decoration of undulating rockwork painted blue, red, yellow ochre, white, and green, all of which is outlined and lightly veined in black (Fig. 2-4). This type of rockwork is characteristic of Aegean landscape painting and finds many parallels in

Neopalatial art.²³ The swallows decorating the costume are also distinctive. The birds' bodies, wings, and tails are defined calligraphically by undulating black lines of varied thickness, and their heads are highlighted with a spot of red, which in combination with their deeply forked tails, indicates that the artist was specifically representing barn swallows (*Hirundo rustica*).²⁴ The birds are deftly rendered in foreshortened views to suggest their quick turns in flight. These stylistic features are well known from other frescoed swallows at Akrotiri, including the swallows of the famous Spring Fresco from Building Delta at Akrotiri.²⁵ It is possible, though difficult to prove, that these swallows were all painted by the same master or his/her workshop.²⁶

While landscape painting is a fixture of Aegean art, the appearance of a landscape design on a *costume* remains exceedingly rare. Moreover, the type of garment decorated with the landscape remains uncertain, a problem made more difficult because an up-to-date, illustrated typology of Aegean costume design is not available for comparison and because considerable confusion surrounds the identification of the various forms of dress in Aegean art.²⁷ A typology of women's Neopalatial costume is

²³ See, for example, the LC I Monkeys Fresco from Building Beta at Akrotiri (Doulas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 85-90) and the LM IA Monkeys and Birds Fresco from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (Immerwahr, 42-46, 170 [Kn No. 2], fig. 16).

²⁴ On the identification of *Hirundo rustica* in Thera art, see Kenneth J. Harte, "Birds of the Thera Wall Paintings," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. S. Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 690-92.

²⁵ Doulas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 66-76; Immerwahr, 46-48, 185 (Ak No. 2), pls. VII, 14, 15.

²⁶ Efforts have been made to identify a "Master of the Swallows" in both vase painting and wall painting but with mixed results. For bibliography and a cautious review of attributions, see Karen P. Foster, "A Flight of Swallows," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (1995): 409-10, n. 3. For a catalogue of swallow imagery in Aegean art, see pages 424-25.

²⁷ Costumes from all periods of Aegean prehistory are (unsystematically) identified and described by Sir Arthur Evans and catalogued by Joan Evans under "Dress, Minoan: female," in the *PM Index*, 42. Sir John L. Myres offers an introduction to male and female Aegean costume ("Minoan Dress," *Man* 50 [1950]:1-6), and Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis further investigates male clothing (*Minoikon Zoma*, 1971). Colette Verlinden's comprehensive but unillustrated typology of Neopalatial costume includes LM II-III evidence for costume design (*Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.-C.* [Providence and Louvain-la Neuve: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1984], 98-112). Ariane Marcar's summary typology of male and female Aegean

therefore presented here to facilitate the process of identification (Fig. 2-5). It categorizes the various forms of women's costume recognizable from Neopalatial (MM III – LM I) frescoes and faience figurines, all of which depict costuming details in color. The typology does not take into account images of women's clothing that appear on small-scale media such as signet rings or seals, nor does it include headgear, footwear, and forms of clothing from other periods of Aegean prehistory. Costumes depicted on Neopalatial bronze figurines are treated as supplementary evidence.

costume is appended to a related study and lacks illustrations and references to specific examples of costumes ("Reconstructing Aegean Bronze Age Fashions," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005], 30-43). For Thera costume, see Christina Televantou, "Η γυναικεία ενδυμασία στην προϊστορική Θήρα," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1982, 113-135; Lyvia Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 93-101; Christos Doumas, "Age and Gender in the Thera Wall Paintings." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and The Thera Foundation, 2000), 973-75; Robert Laffineur, "Dress, Hair Style and Jewellery in the Thera Wall Paintings," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. S. Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 891-95.



1. Rustic skirts
a. shaggy; b. smooth



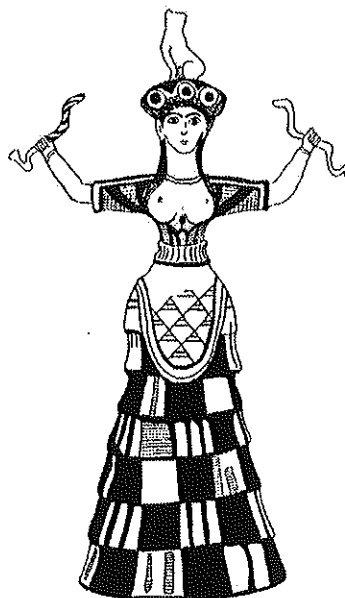
2. Striped costume



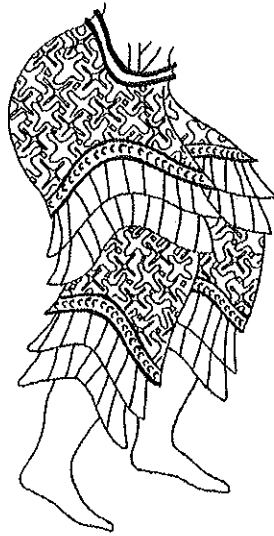
3a. Chemise:
tight bodice, open skirt
4. Flounced overskirt
9a. Cord belt



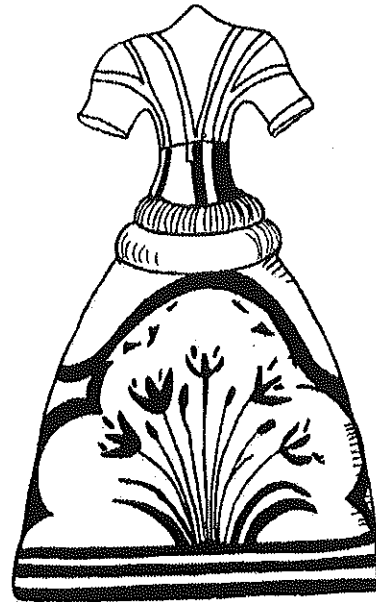
3b. Chemise:
loose bodice, level hem
4. Flounced overskirt



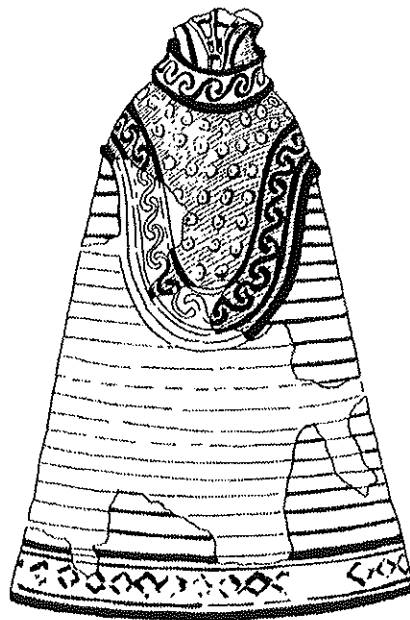
5. Flounced bell-shaped skirt
8. Double apron
9b. Wide belt
11. Bodice, multi-seamed



6. Flounced
divided skirt



7b. Pictorial
bell-shaped skirt
9c. Rolled double belt



7a. Patterned
bell-shaped skirt
8. Double apron
9b. Wide belt



10. Blouse
12. Lappet skirt

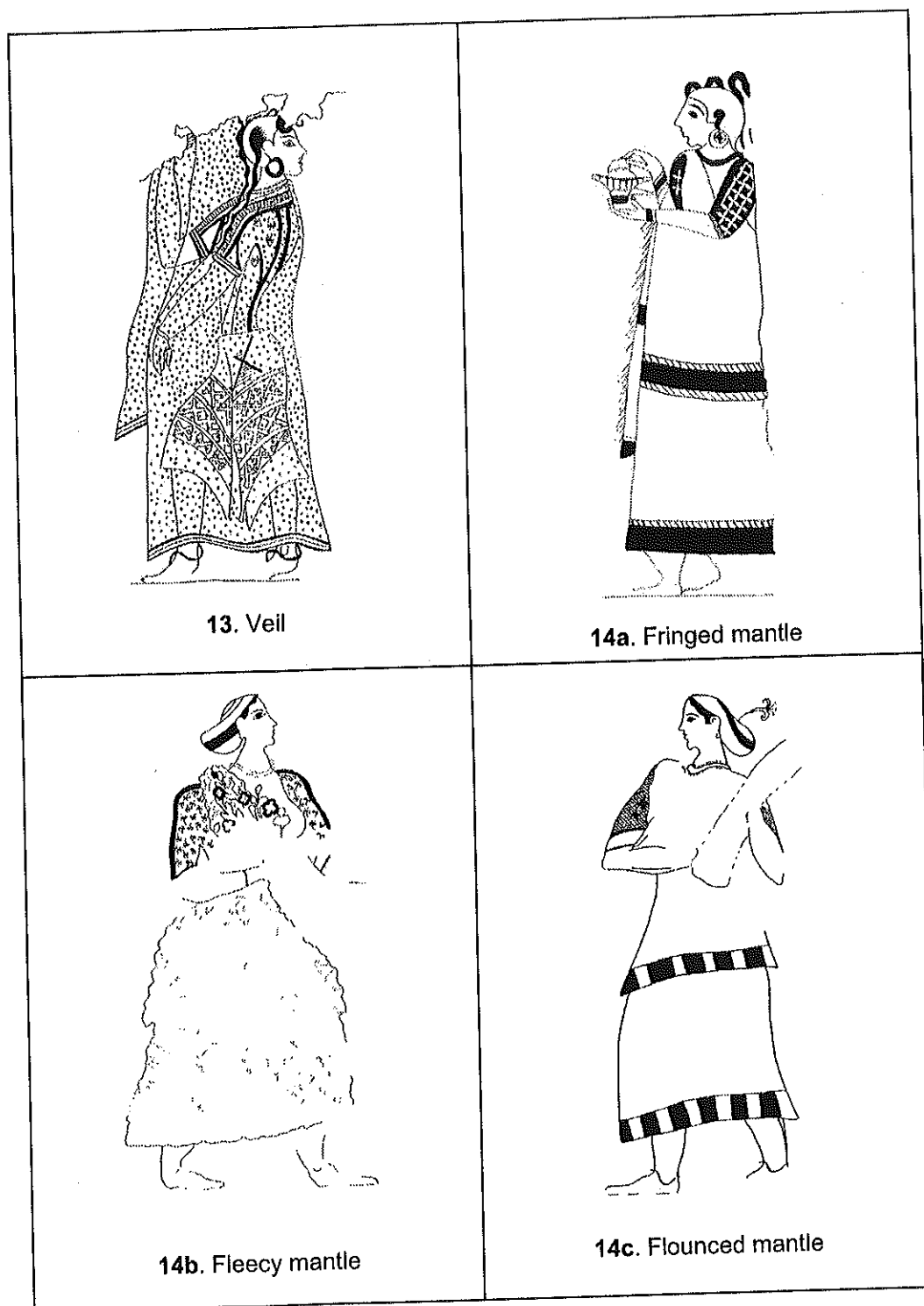


Fig. 2-5. An Illustrated Typology of Neopalatial Women's Costume Design. Chapin, after Doumas 1992, pls. 7, 24, 28, 38, 105, 107; Foster 1979, pl. 10; Militello 1998, pl. 4; *PMI*, fig. 382a; Vlachopoulos 2003, figs. 22, 23.

A Typology of Neopalatial Women's Costume (Fig. 2-5)

1. Rustic Skirts. Two peasant women in the Pastoral Scene of the LC I miniature frescoes from the West House at Akrotiri wear costumes comprised of short-sleeved bodices and ankle-length skirts.²⁸ The shaggy skirt of the figure on the left (1a) has an irregular contour suggestive of colored animal hide or rough wool. A parallel for this costume is offered by a miniature fresco fragment from Ayia Irini, Keos, which preserves a portion of a woman wearing a similar but shorter shaggy skirt.²⁹ The smooth outlines of the skirt on the right, however, suggest cloth (1b). Clearly worn for work and everyday wear, parallels for the shaggy skirt are known from ritual contexts.³⁰

2. Striped Garment. Worn by townswomen in the Flotilla Fresco from the West House miniature frescoes of Akrotiri, this item of clothing seems to have been made from striped woven cloth and was probably sewn from three pieces of fabric. Its repeated appearance in the Arrival Town suggests that it may have served as the everyday clothing of Cycladic townswomen.³¹

3. Chemise. The chemise is worn by many large-scale female figures in the Theran frescoes and is recognizable as a short-sleeved, calf- or ankle-length dress, recently dubbed a "Minoan chiton."³² The chemises worn by the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3 (3a) are characterized by form-fitting bodices with plunging necklines open to the waist and lower skirts that are un-seamed in front to allow freedom of leg movement. It is possible that this type of chemise was completely open in front, much like a modern bathrobe, and that the garment was secured at the waist by a cord belt (9a) tied over the flounced overskirt (4). Indeed, the high step of the youngest Saffron Gatherer with a shaved head might seem to support this possibility.³³ Yet this type of chemise could also have been sewn with a front seam extending from the waist to the knees, which are portions of the

²⁸ Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings*, 98; Doulas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pl. 28.

²⁹ Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings*, 94, fig. 61:d.

³⁰ Ibid., 98.

³¹ Morgan further observes that similar striped garments emerge as popular costumes in the LH III period (Ibid., 98-99).

³² Bernice Jones, "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess': New Interpretations of Her Costume and Identity," in *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Robert Laffineur and Robin Hägg (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2001), 261.

³³ Doulas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pl. 120.

costume obscured by the flounced overskirt. More information is needed to distinguish between the two possible designs.

In comparison, the loose-fitting chemise worn by the Necklace Swinger of Xeste 3 has a level hemline, suggesting that the lower half of this dress was sewn together (3b). Its sleeves are distinctly spacious and roomy, and the neckline drops in characteristically Aegean fashion to the waist. The loose chemise is also worn with a flounced overskirt (4). Christina Televantou observes that in Thera painting, the chemise may be made of opaque or diaphanous fabric.³⁴ The heavier cloth could have been wool or linen (both of which are attested in later Linear B tablets), and the sheer fabric of the Necklace Swinger's costume may represent fine linen, but the recent discovery of a silk cocoon at Akrotiri raises the additional possibility that the semi-transparent chemises may represent silk garments.³⁵

4-6. Flounced Garments. Four types of flounced garments are identifiable in Neopalatial art: the overskirt or back apron (4), the bell-shaped skirt (5), the divided skirt (6), and one variety of mantle (14c). The flounced overskirt/back apron (4) is well represented among the Thera frescoes, being worn by female figures from the House of the Ladies and Xeste 3,³⁶ but Colette Verlinden's analysis of Minoan costume (including bronze figurines, signet rings, and seals) suggests that the costume type probably originated on Crete.³⁷ The overskirt is characterized by angled flounces and a relatively short length, and some images of the garment describe fringe.³⁸ In comparison, the bell-shaped flounced skirt is longer (ankle-length) and has many layers of horizontal flounces, perhaps made of either pleated material or fringe. The garment is exemplified by the famous MM IIIB or LM IA "Snake Goddess" statuette from the East Temple Repository at Knossos.³⁹ Interestingly, both types of flounced

³⁴ Televantou, 113-23.

³⁵ Eva Panagiotakopulu, "Butterflies, Flowers, and Aegean Iconography: A Story about Silk and Cotton," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 585-91; Jones, "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess,'" 261.

³⁶ Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 6, 7, 100, 116, 122.

³⁷ Verlinden, 104-06.

³⁸ Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 11, 12.

³⁹ *PM I*, 501-5, figs. 360-62; *PM III*, 440, 442, fig. 306; Karen P. Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 72-78, pls. 10, 11; Marina Panagiotaki, *The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos* (London: British School at Athens, 1999), 98 (no. 211), 99 fig. 25, pl. 17; Jones, "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess,'" 259-65.

garments appear in the MM IIIB or LM I Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco from Knossos, where fragments preserve parts of three performers in angled flounced overskirts worn with chemises and one dancer costumed in a bell-shaped skirt distinguished by horizontal flounces.⁴⁰

The flounced divided skirt (6) is evidenced by the LM I frescoes from the villa at Ayia Triada, where a woman with slightly bent knees wears a garment that covers each leg with arching flounces separated by sections of patterned cloth.⁴¹ The garment extends from the waist to the mid-calf with no visible undergarment, so that the divided skirt suggests modern culottes or baggy pants. Lastly, the flounced mantle (13c) is described below with two other forms of mantles. The pictorial contexts of the flounced garments suggest they were worn during important rituals.

7. Bell-Shaped Skirt. In addition to the flounced variety of bell-shaped skirt (5), two further types of bell-shaped skirt are identified and catalogued separately as: a) patterned and b) pictorial. The patterned bell-shaped skirt (7a) appears to have been sewn from large pieces of unpleated patterned cloth, as illustrated by a fragmentary faience figurine from the East Temple Repository at Knossos, dated to MM IIIB or LM IA.⁴² Though only partially preserved, the statuette features a striped skirt ornamented with a diamond pattern at the hem. A double apron (8) and a wide belt (or girdle, 9b) accessorize the costume. A similar skirt and apron are restored to the large snake handler statuette from Knossos, but intertwined snakes serve as a belt.⁴³ Patterned bell-shaped skirts also appear on some standing figures in the Grandstand Fresco.⁴⁴ The pictorial variation of the bell-shaped skirt (7b) is evidenced by three faience costume models from the East Temple Repository at Knossos, each featuring rounded skirts ornamented with large crocus designs (Fig. 2-6a, b).⁴⁵ The archaeological and iconographic contexts of the bell-shaped skirt suggest that the costume type was probably worn for rituals and ceremonies.

⁴⁰ Immerwahr, 65-66, 173 (Kn No. 16), pl. 23.

⁴¹ Myres, 4; Pietro Militello, *Haghia Triada I: Gli affreschi minoici di Haghia Triada (Creta)* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1998), pls. 4, D, E.

⁴² PM I, 505-06, 523, fig. 382; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 72-73, fig. 10, pl. 9; Panagiotaki, 98 (no. 212), 100 fig. 26, pl. 17.

⁴³ PM I, 500-01, fig. 359, fig. 377 (left of center), frontispiece; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 70-72, pls. 7, 8; Panagiotaki, 97-98 (no. 210), 100 fig. 26, pl. 17.

⁴⁴ Immerwahr, 63-65, 173 (Kn No. 15), fig. 34e, pl. 22.

⁴⁵ PM I, 506, fig. 364a-b; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 86-89, figs. 17, 18; Panagiotaki, 101 (nos. 217-19), 102 fig. 27.

8. Double Apron. In addition to the double aprons worn with bell-shaped skirts noted above, a fragment of a MM IIIB/LM IA relief fresco from Knossos preserves part of a white thigh and the curving border of a brightly painted apron. Mark Cameron believed that the fragment belonged to a female bull leaper, and it offers intriguing evidence that the double apron may have been worn by female athletes.⁴⁶

9. Belt. Three belt types are identifiable: a) cord, b) wide, c) rolled. A cord belt (9a) secures the flounced overskirt or back apron worn over the chemise in female costumes depicted in the House of the Ladies and Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, Thera.⁴⁷ The wide belt (9b) has already been noted above on faience figurines from Knossos and appears with spiral and striped decoration. The rolled belt (9c) is worn with the pictorial bell-shaped skirts discussed above and is also illustrated by two faience costume models identified as girdles found in the East Temple Repository at Knossos; one of these is embellished with pictorial crocus decoration (Fig. 2-6c).⁴⁸

10. Blouse. A blouse is an article of clothing for women that covers the upper body from neck to waist and, in Aegean art, closely resembles the upper part of a chemise, with both garments featuring short sleeves and open fronts. Distinguishing between a blouse and a chemise can be difficult because Aegean women typically wore long skirts that hide the length of the upper garment. The Wounded Woman from the lustral basin of Xeste 3, however, offers good evidence for the existence of the blouse, where the lack of a hem about the figure's lower legs suggests the short length of a blouse.⁴⁹ It is likely, too, that flounced divided skirts (6) were worn with blouses.

11. Bodice. Defined as the upper part of a woman's dress, the term "bodice" is used here to refer to garments that cannot easily be identified as either chemises or blouses. The garment covering the upper body of the "Snake Goddess" faience figurine from the East Temple Repository at

⁴⁶ *PM* III, 330-31, fig. 220; Mark A.S. Cameron, "A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos," 4 vols. (PhD diss., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975), 709, pl. 42E. For additional discussion of the double apron and female athletes, see Verlinden, 108.

⁴⁷ See above, note 36.

⁴⁸ *PM* I, 506, fig. 364d; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 89, fig. 19; Panagiotaki, 102-03 (no. 221), fig. 27.

⁴⁹ As observed by Paul Rehak, "Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art," in *XAPIE: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, ed. Anne P. Chapin (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 88. For photos, see Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 100, 105, 106.

Knossos, for example, is best described as a bodice.⁵⁰ Four types of bodices—some belonging to chemises—have recently been identified in Aegean art: the loose bodice, bodices with and without side seams, and bodices with multiple seams, such as that worn by the “Snake Goddess.”⁵¹

12. Lappet Skirt. The unusual skirt worn by the Wounded Woman of Xeste 3 is made of narrow strips of cloth that hang like lappets and are bound together by a wide belt.⁵² Elizabeth Barber has demonstrated that this garment is a variant of a string skirt, a traditional item of clothing in European folk costumes symbolizing sexual maturity and readiness for marriage.⁵³

13. Veil. A voluminous veil of sheer fabric, saffron yellow in color, rectangular in shape, edged with blue bands and embellished with red dots (beads?) envelops the Veiled Girl of the Adorants Fresco in Xeste 3.⁵⁴ A similar veil may be depicted in a fresco of a female figure from Archanes.⁵⁵

14. Mantle. Three variations of this one-shouldered garment appear in the Theran frescoes: a) fringed, b) fleecy, and c) flounced. The fringed mantle (14a), as evidenced by the “Priestess” of the West House, Thera, appears to be fashioned from woven cloth ornamented with two sets of blue and white bands; short brownish lines along the vertical edge suggest

⁵⁰ See above, note 39.

⁵¹ Abby Lillethun, “The Recreation of Aegean Cloth and Clothing,” in *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Karen P. Foster and Robert Laffineur (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2003), 468. The loose bodice worn by the Necklace Swinger of Xeste 3 belongs to a chemise, as do the tight bodices without side seams worn by the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3. The women of the House of the Ladies at Akrotiri may wear un-patterned blouses with patterned skirts rather than chemises, and the bodices show side seams.

⁵² See above, note 49.

⁵³ Elizabeth J.W. Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth and Society in Early Times* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1994), 42-70, especially 59.

⁵⁴ Dumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pl. 107. On the cloak, see Rehak, “Crocus Costumes,” 89-90; Bernice Jones, “Veils and Mantles: An Investigation of the Construction and Function of the Costumes of the Veiled Dancer from Thera and the Camp Stool Banqueter from Knossos,” in *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Karen P. Foster and Robert Laffineur (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2003), 441-50.

⁵⁵ See above, note 17.

fringe.⁵⁶ This garment may have been made from cloth wound around the body and over the shoulder like a modern sari, as suggested by Nannó Marinatos,⁵⁷ or folded around the torso and secured at the right shoulder, leaving the right side open. Like the diaphanous veil of the Xeste 3 frescoes, this garment is unstructured, and it seems similar though not identical to mantle-like costumes worn by figures sometimes identified as male priests carved on Aegean seals.⁵⁸ A ritual context for the mantle seems likely from the observation that the Priestess, whose sub-adult social status is indicated by her partially shaved scalp and long snaky tresses of hair, sprinkles a yellowish substance (saffron?) over the hot coals of an incense burner.⁵⁹

The two other mantle types appear in the Procession Fresco of Xeste 3. Fleecy mantles (14b), red and yellow in color, cover the Basket Bearer and the Rose Bearer in the processional corridor. The knobby contours of the garments and the "hairy" brush strokes detailing a wooly texture characterize these robes as fleecy rather than woven. The projecting shapes just above the level of the knees of the Rose Bearer may suggest fleecy flounces but similar detailing is not preserved on the Basket Bearer. The clearly flounced mantle (14c), worn by the Lily Bearer of Xeste 3, is fashioned from plain white cloth sewn with two red and yellow flounces. An undulating line crossing the figure's upper right arm suggests that the mantle was gathered into folds over her right shoulder.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Dourmas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 24-25. Marinatos (*Art and Religion in Thera*, 46) suggests that the garment is shaggy and could imitate skin, but the decorative bands suggest textile manufacture.

⁵⁷ Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera*, 46.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 46, fig. 27.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 34-61 for the identification of a shrine in the West House.

⁶⁰ Folds are rare in Aegean art. Lillethun, 470, identifies a wrinkle of cloth at the shoulders of the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3, and a fresco fragment from LH IIIA-B Mycenaean Pylos preserves faint vertical lines on a garment that may represent folds (Mabel L. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia, Vol. II: The Frescoes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 85, pls. 31, D, N [50 H nws]).

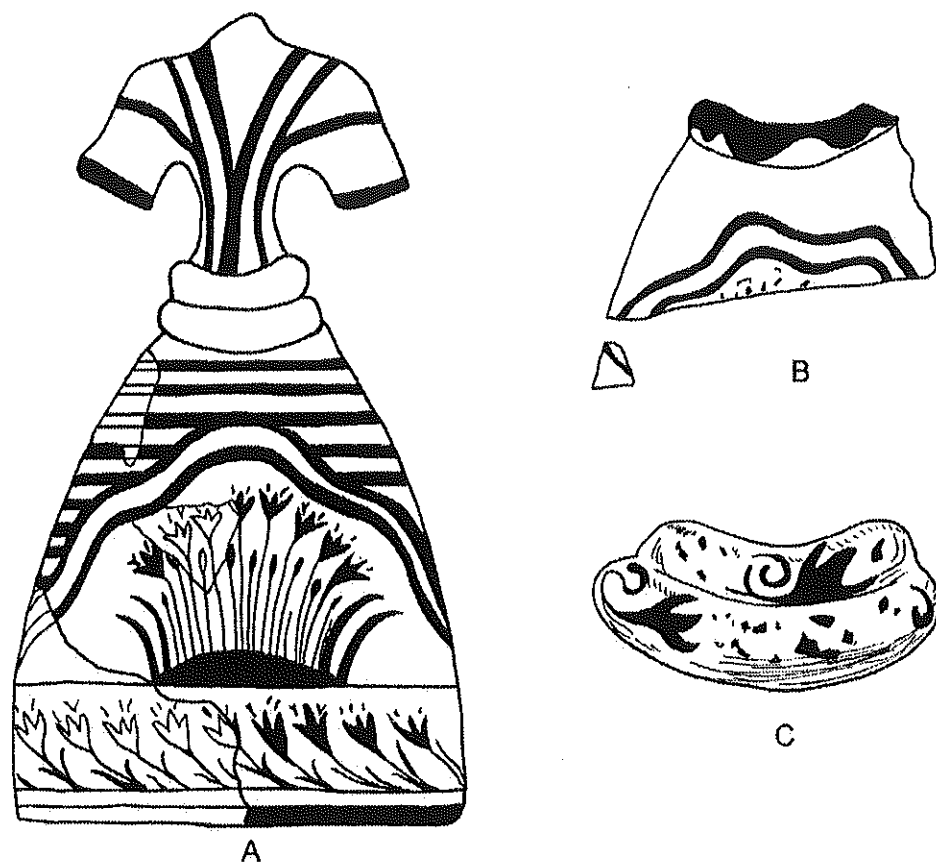


Fig. 2-6. Faience costume models from the East Temple Repository, Knossos. Chapin, after *PMI*, 506, fig. 364a, d and Panagiotaki 1999, 102, fig. 27 (no. 219).

Discussion. There can be little doubt that Aegean female costuming traditions were elaborate and varied. The typology offers proof for considerable diversity, and it seems likely that additional garments will be identified as new finds are made and as known art objects are reexamined for evidence of prehistoric costume design. Mireille Lee suggests that this variety, particularly when compared to relatively homogeneous costuming traditions for men, indicates that Aegean gender categories for male and female were strictly constructed and perpetuated daily and individually through dress.⁶¹ Moreover, evidence from modern costume recreation suggests that the prehistoric Aegean practice of cutting and sewing strips of cloth to fashion form-fitting clothing contrasts significantly with classical Greek costuming traditions, where dresses such as the peplos

⁶¹ Mireille M. Lee, "Deciphering Gender in Minoan Dress," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. Alison E. Rautman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 119.

were made from large rectangles of cloth that were folded, pinned, and sometimes belted to fit the female form with a minimum of sewing.⁶² Finally, examination of the typology of female dress suggests that a hierarchy of costume may have existed. Theran paintings depict peasant women wearing rustic skirts, townswomen clothed in striped woven costumes, and wealthy women—as estimated by their elaborate jewelry—adorned in finely decorated chemises and patterned flounced overskirts. Moreover, the Xeste 3 frescoes present the greatest variety of female costume in any one pictorial program, depicting two types of chemises and two types of mantles along with the flounced overskirt, blouse, lappet skirt, veil, and cord belt, all of which contrasts sharply with the greater homogeneity of female costume displayed in the Grandstand and Sacred Grove and Dance Frescoes from Knossos.

The Lady of the Landscape and Aegean Costumes with Landscape Motifs

Although almost all of the upper costume worn by the Lady of the Landscape is lost, a comparison of the lower portions with the above typology suggests that the figure was costumed either in a mantle or a bell-shaped skirt. The length and shape of the preserved portions of the garment could suggest a mantle (14) roughly similar in design to those worn by the other three processional figures, although there is no evidence for the fringe, flounces, or fleecy texture that characterizes the three identified types. If the Lady's garment is a mantle, then a new category, the "pictorial mantle," should be added to the typology. However, the slightly flaring contour of the Lady's landscape costume is also reminiscent of the pictorial bell-shaped skirt (7b). Of the three faience dress models from the East Temple Repository at Knossos that depict this garment, the large costume model preserves a bell-shaped skirt decorated with (woven?) horizontal stripes, an undulating double band, and a large crocus plant springing from a low mound. A band of crocus flowers and leaves also embellishes the hem (Fig. 2-6a). The second faience model features a similar but simpler design as the first (Fig. 2-5), and the third model, of which only a small portion survives, preserves only wavy bands

⁶² Lillethun, 467; contra Bernice Jones, "Revealing Minoan Fashions: Cretan Styles Regain Center Stage," *Archaeology* 53.3 (2000): 36-41. See also Diana Wardle, "Does Reconstruction Help? A Mycenaean Dress and the Dendra Suit of Armor," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, ed. Elizabeth B. French and Ken A. Wardle (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1988), 469-76.

and the tips of crocus flowers (Fig. 2-6b).⁶³ These parallels suggest that the Lady of the Landscape's design of swallows and rocks could have decorated a similarly-designed bell-shaped skirt, but without fragments from the upper portion of the Lady's costume, it is not possible to choose between either alternative.

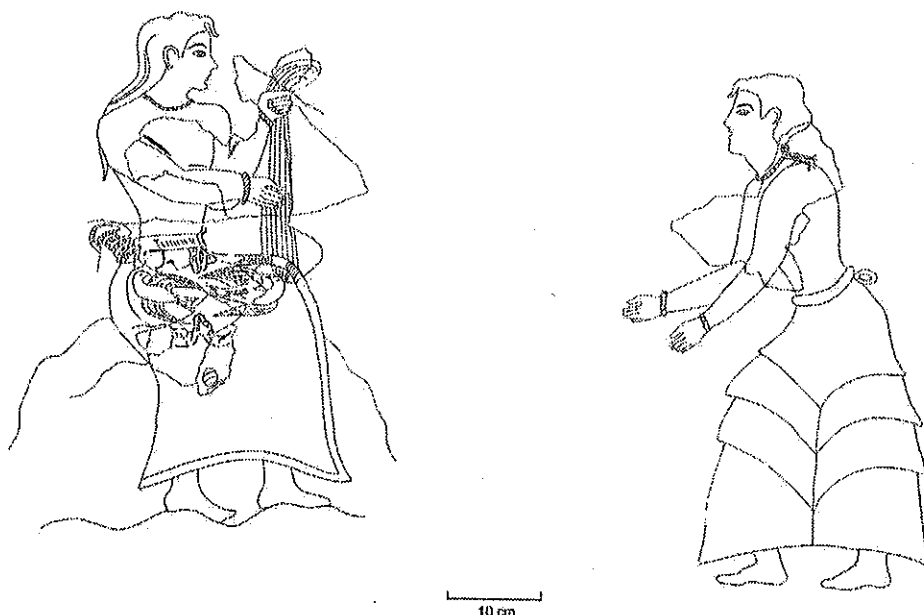


Fig. 2-7. Possible Reconstruction of a Presentation Scene with Goddess and Votary. Phylakopi, Melos. Chapin, after PM I, 43 fig. 26 and Morgan 1990, 259, fig. 8.

Interestingly, the Lady's costume recalls a contemporary fresco of a female figure seated on rocks and holding a cloth or a net in her hands (Fig. 2-7).⁶⁴ Excavated in 1898 from the area of the pillar crypt at Phylakopi, Melos, in the Cycladic Islands, the fresco's colors are less well preserved than those of the Thera frescoes and portions of the figure remain missing. Drawings of the fragments, however, show a white short-sleeved bodice trimmed with red bands, a yellow waistband secured by knotted blue cords, and an un-flounced skirt decorated with a rocky landscape and two creatures flying in opposite directions. The rockwork

⁶³ PM I, 500-01, 505-06, 523, figs. 359, 364a-b, 377, 382, frontispiece; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 86-89, figs. 17-18, pl. 17; Panagiotaki, 101-03 (nos. 217-19), fig. 27, pl. 17.

⁶⁴ Immerwahr, 54, 62, 189 (Ph No. 2).

seems similar to that of the Xeste 3 Lady's costume, being painted with red, yellow, blue, and perhaps white rocks veined and outlined in black, but the partially-preserved flying creatures defy precise identification. The wings, body, and tail of the better preserved animal seem bird-like, and Evans accordingly identified them as swallows, but he also noted that their symmetrical and antithetical positions, along with the notched plume designs on their feathers, recall depictions of sphinxes and griffins.⁶⁵ For these reasons, Mark Cameron identified the creatures as crested griffins.⁶⁶ Unfortunately the heads do not survive, and the creatures cannot be identified on present evidence. Nevertheless, the overall effect of the skirt's landscape decoration is undeniably similar to that of the Lady of the Landscape. If this figure were to stand up, it is tempting to imagine that the Phylakopi landscape costume would fall into the graceful lines of a bell-shaped skirt.

Additional evidence for floral, faunal, and landscape motifs used as costume decoration exists only in a few incomplete representations of clothing from Neopalatial Aegean frescoes. The best evidence is supplied by a MM III-LM I fresco fragment from Katsamba, near Knossos on Crete, depicting a pictorial belt decorated in miniature with a frieze of yellow birds, probably hoopoes, in a rocky landscape with reed-like plants.⁶⁷ Less certain is a MM IIIB/LM IA fresco fragment from the Savakis Bothros at Knossos painted with a miniature design of crocuses in a rocky landscape that could preserve a dress design.⁶⁸ A fresco fragment from the Knossos palace painted with a curving row of lily flowers may represent costume decoration,⁶⁹ and a fresco fragment from Palaikastro painted with crocus flowers in a geometric lattice probably belongs to a skirt or blouse design.⁷⁰ Additionally, miniature representations of sphinxes, a griffin, and bucrania found on fresco fragments from Knossos were identified by Sir Arthur Evans as embroidered textile designs,⁷¹ and

⁶⁵ PM III, 40-42, 43 fig. 26.

⁶⁶ Cameron, "A General Study of Minoan Frescoes," 65, 368. Morgan (*The Miniature Wall Paintings*, 49-54), however, observes that winged griffins in Neopalatial art often lack the notched plume decoration and are usually represented with the bodies and tails of lions in combination with heads and wings of birds.

⁶⁷ Shaw, "A Minoan Fresco from Katsamba," 27-34; Immerwahr, 67, 182 (Ka No. 1).

⁶⁸ Mark A.S. Cameron, "Savakis's Bothros: A Minor Sounding at Knossos." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 71 (1976): 5-13, fig. 3a, pl. 3a.

⁶⁹ PM III, 130-31, figs. 85.

⁷⁰ Immerwahr, 182-83 (Pa No. 1); Rehak, "Crocus Costumes," 96, 98 (no. 10).

⁷¹ PM III, 37-42, fig. 25. For other textile decoration depicting architectural motifs (beam ends) and perhaps quivers, see PM III, figs. 21-23.

papyrus and ivy motifs are found among the woven textile patterns of costumes worn by frescoed figures from Knossos.⁷²

While the existence of pictorial costumes has recently been challenged, the Lady of the Landscape's costume of swallows and rocks, together with the parallels discussed above, clearly establishes their appearance in prehistoric Aegean art. A rare but important category of pictorial costume decoration is thus confirmed.⁷³ How these floral and faunal motifs were created, however, remains unknown. Elizabeth Barber suggests a variety of possible methods, including tapestry techniques, embroidery, appliqué, or even painting for one time use.⁷⁴ Without a preserved costume, the answer may never be known.

Interestingly, the Lady of the Landscape's landscape costume finds good company in Xeste 3, where female garments are extensively decorated with motifs drawn from native flora and fauna. In addition to the crocus stigmas (and perhaps entire flowers, though murex purple pigment is fugitive) that embellish the short-sleeved bodices of the Enthroned Goddess, the Necklace Swinger, the Veiled Girl, and the Basket Bearer, the Wounded Woman wears a belt ornamented with crocus buds. As Paul Rehak observes, this crocus symbolism unifies the iconography of Xeste 3 by establishing a connection between the Enthroned Goddess and women of all ages and, moreover, underscores the importance of cloth and clothing as a means of communication among women.⁷⁵ But the textile iconography of the Xeste 3 frescoes, while clearly focused on the saffron crocus, encompasses an even wider range of motifs. Lilies decorate the bodice of the Rose Bearer, blue birds (possibly rock doves) ornament the Lily Bearer's sleeve, and flying fish painted in a rocky sea reportedly decorate the belt of a fifth processional woman.⁷⁶ It is within this diverse context of costume iconography that the Lady of the Landscape's unusual garment must be understood.

Despite incomplete preservation, the Seated Woman from Phylakopi likewise belongs to a broader iconographic program that includes the famous Flying Fish Fresco, a Lily Fresco, a Spiral Fresco, and a large

⁷² *PM* III, 297, fig. 194; Ariane Marcar, "Aegean Costume and the Dating of the Knossian Frescoes," in *Knossos: Palace, City, State*, ed. Gerald Cadogan, Eleni Hatzaki, and Adonis Vasilakis, London: British School at Athens, 2004, 230, 231 fig. 17.2.

⁷³ Contra Marcar, "Aegean Costume," 229.

⁷⁴ Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 320-21.

⁷⁵ Rehak, "Crocus Costumes," 97.

⁷⁶ Shaw, "A Minoan Fresco from Katsambas," 32.

fragment depicting the white shoulders of a woman leaning forward.⁷⁷ Lyvia Morgan observes that these compositions contrast nature with human culture just as the Reed Fresco with its ducks and dragonflies offers a wild counterpoint to the adjacent Mistress of Animals Fresco in Xeste 3. Morgan also suggests that the Leaning Woman has perhaps made a presentation of cloth to the Seated Woman, who raises textiles in her hands (Fig. 2-7). For Morgan, the Seated Woman wearing the landscape skirt is a goddess, much as the Enthroned Goddess of Xeste 3 is seated and receives an offering (indirectly) from a bending Saffron Gatherer. Morgan's interpretation of both the Thera and Melian frescoes thereby emphasizes a shared iconography of women, textiles, and landscape,⁷⁸ elements which coalesce in the persons of the Melian Seated Woman/goddess and the Thera Lady of the Landscape. These distinctive landscape costumes, then, might confer special status upon the figures, functioning as what Evans termed "holy robes."⁷⁹ Elizabeth Barber too suspects that such unusually elaborate costumes might have served to identify a goddess or a "divine principle" in art.⁸⁰ Indeed, most large-scale images of women in Aegean art, especially those in elaborate costumes, are identified today either as goddesses or priestesses.⁸¹ But can these ideas be confirmed? More specifically, as a medium of communication in Aegean society, what messages did the landscape costume convey?

The Lady of the Landscape and the Social Significance of Costuming in Xeste 3

The Lady of the Landscape's elaborate costume of swallows and rocks might suggest that the Lady is symbolically linked with the natural world and that the swallows function as her identifying attribute, much as iconographic attributes distinguish the deities and heroes of later Classical art (e.g., the aegis of Athena, or the bow of Artemis).

Unfortunately, prehistoric Aegean iconography is not so clear-cut, and efforts to differentiate divine beings and mortal individuals from one another remain frustrated by a perplexing flexibility of iconographic

⁷⁷ Immerwahr, 47-48, 54, 62, 189 (Ph Nos. 1-4), pl. 16.

⁷⁸ Lyvia Morgan, "Island Iconography: Thera, Kea, Milos," in *Thera and the Aegean World III: Proceedings of the Third International Congress* vol. I, ed. David A. Hardy, Christos G. Doumas, Yannis A. Sakellarakis, and Peter M. Warren (London: The Thera Foundation, 1990), 260-63, figs. 7-12.

⁷⁹ PM III, 42.

⁸⁰ Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 321.

⁸¹ Immerwahr, 62.

symbol and a persistent anonymity deriving in part from a lack of identifying textual labels.⁸² The iconography of Xeste 3 offers a case in point. Prominent among the frescoes is the Enthroned Goddess, a divine figure whose prehistoric name remains unknown but whose immortal status is recognizable from the actions of the other figures, from her central and elevated seated position, and from her attendant griffin and monkey (Fig. 2-3). Her costume iconography includes crocus decoration, dragonfly and waterfowl necklaces, beam-end patterns on her sleeves, and a snake-like tress of hair that slithers down her back. Some of these attributes link her to other prominent female figures in Aegean art. The snaky hair, for instance, recalls the serpents held by the "Snake Goddess" faience figurine from Knossos. Do these two figures represent the same divine being? On present evidence, it is impossible to say. And how does the Enthroned Goddess relate to the Lady of the Landscape? At a glance, the iconography of costume—one featuring swallows, the other notable for its crocuses—would seem to suggest distinct identities perhaps related by a general interest in nature.

Rather than seeking to distinguish individual identities, however, the ambivalent and flexible character of Aegean costume iconography can be explored for the significant associations it creates among figures. The Enthroned Goddess's crocus decoration, for example, establishes a symbolic connection with the Lady of the Landscape's companion, the Basket Bearer, whose bodice and hair are ornamented with crocuses. Crocuses also appear in the Adorants Fresco of the lustral basin and on the knobby rocks of Room 4 in the fresco of monkeys and swallows. Swallows and undulating rocks, of course, form the subject of the Lady of the Landscape's costume decoration. One of the swallows from Room 4, moreover, has captured a red dragonfly, and in the Reed Fresco, red dragonflies and ducks similar to those depicted as ornaments in the goddess's necklace are pictured alive and at home in their natural environment. These pictorial elements can be arranged into what is identified here as an iconographic circle, which demonstrates how the Lady of the Landscape, along with other figures and compositions of Xeste 3, are intimately connected to the Enthroned Goddess through a complex web of intertwined symbols (Fig. 2-8). A second iconographic circle can also be drawn linking the goddess with the crocus and lily

⁸² For a recent review of this problem with further bibliography, see Paul Rehak and John G. Younger, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete," in *Aegean Prehistory: A Review*, ed. T. Cullen (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2001), 438-39.

costumes worn by the processional women through the crocuses and lilies of the lustral basin frescoes.

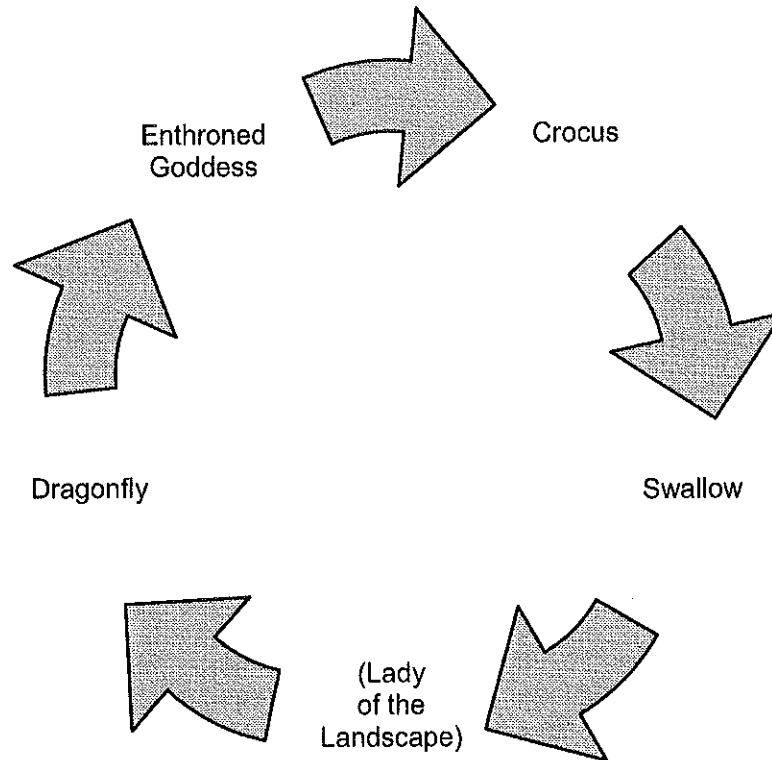


Fig. 2-8. Iconographic Circle of Xeste 3 with Crocuses, Swallows, and Dragonflies.

The complexity of iconography implied by these iconographic circles suggests that the Xeste 3 fresco program could illustrate a highly developed mythic or religious cycle, one that may have been reenacted by members of the Theran community in ritual performances.⁸³ The manner in which pictorial subjects and individual iconographic elements are linked in iconographic circles across separate compositions even suggests that the various frescoes could have been intended as counterpoints to one another in order to develop deeper levels of symbolic meaning within the visual cycle. Such iconographic complexity is rarely preserved in prehistoric

⁸³ Marinatos (*Art and Religion in Thera*, 80-81) and Vlachopoulos ("Motifs of Early Greek Poetry") observe parallels between the paintings of Xeste 3 and mythic figures of early Greek poetry.

Aegean art, but it is a regular feature of more recent religious art.⁸⁴ Thus, while it cannot yet be determined *how* the prehistoric Aegean artist(s) intended for their symbols to be read, and even though the individual identities of the figures depicted in the Xeste 3 frescoes—including the Lady of the Landscape—remain unknown, it is clear that a sophisticated, interwoven and multi-layered iconography binds the Xeste 3 pictorial program together and relates the figures' elaborate costumes to significant programmatic themes. This costume iconography thus serves both to identify and differentiate individual figures even as it emphasizes their connections with others.

Within this intricate pictorial program of myth and ritual performance, the Lady of the Landscape and her processional companions are positioned in the upper floor corridor leading from back stairwell (8) into Room 3 (Fig. 2-2). This narrow passage connects the small service and storage rooms of Xeste 3 (Rooms 6-14) with the larger and more elaborate public spaces of the building (Rooms 2-5). The Lady and her companions therefore appear to be situated on the programmatic margins, approaching the "inner circle" with the Enthroned Goddess and her attendant Saffron Gatherers, but still standing outside of it. Even the frescoes of hunters, athletes, swallows, and sword-brandishing monkeys on the ground floor were awarded more prominent positions, since viewers would see these compositions as they entered Xeste 3 through the vestibule (Room 5) and approached Room 3 via Room 4.

If, moreover, frescoes functioned as signposts that directed the viewer's attention and offered an indication of the activities and rituals that once occurred in the decorated space, then it might be imagined that the Procession Fresco depicts real women from Akrotiri carrying floral offerings from the service rooms of Xeste 3 into the building's ritual spaces. Indeed, the wealth of naturalistic detail offered by the careful rendering of costume and physique encourage the viewer to trust the veracity of the composition. Unfortunately, details of iconography might make this interpretation difficult. In particular, the women carry or wear flowers that blossom in different times of the year: "roses", whether identified as wild roses or rockrose (*cistus*), bloom in the spring (April –

⁸⁴ The complex pictorial programs of many Medieval and Renaissance monuments, for example, regularly make use of iconographic interconnections and counterpoints. Old Testament narratives often function as prefigurations of New Testament events, and even individual pictorial elements may serve as powerful symbols adding new layers of meaning. On Christian iconography, see Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

May), Madonna lilies (*Lilium candidum* L.) flower in early summer (May – July), and crocuses (*Crocus cartwrightianus*) open in late autumn (October – December).⁸⁵ The floral iconography of the Procession Fresco thereby encompasses three different seasons, creating a sense of timelessness that enhances the transcendent quality of the composition.⁸⁶ In short, the Procession Fresco sends mixed messages of reality and myth.

Nevertheless, costuming and personal adornment serve to identify the Lady of the Landscape and her companions as members of a social elite, presumably in imitation of real women from Akrotiri. They wear thick golden necklaces and finely woven costumes that are extensively embellished with murex purple (known later in antiquity as “royal purple”).⁸⁷ The ornate swallow costume worn by the Lady of the Landscape, moreover, finds its closest parallels in the frescoes from Phylakopi, Melos, and in the faience pictorial costume models deposited in the East Temple Repository at Knossos. As such, the Lady’s costume not only should rank highly in a costume hierarchy, it may even link her directly with the Knossian palatial elite.

But despite the high social status suggested by their costuming, the Lady of the Landscape and her processional companions play only supporting roles in the ritual narratives that focus on a younger generation of girls and women. The frescoes seem to suggest that as matrons, these women have ensured the future of Thera society by rearing its next generation, and as mature women, they serve their goddess and their community in ceremonial roles intended to support their daughters. Indeed, the entire fresco program of Xeste 3 seems to place an emphasis on *communal*—rather than individual—aspects of ritual performance and deemphasizes the role played by any one figure except, of course, for the Enthroned Goddess.

Within this context, it is difficult to conclude that the Lady of the Landscape’s unusual and highly ornate costume identifies her as a goddess or a divine personage, as has been suggested for the Phylakopi Seated Woman. It is possible—perhaps even likely—that the procession identifies the Lady and her companions as priestesses,⁸⁸ but if so, then their priestly

⁸⁵ George Sfikas, *Wild Flowers of Crete* (Athens: Efstathiadis Group, 1987), 146, 269-70, 278.

⁸⁶ On a similar use of floral iconography in Minoan landscape paintings, see Anne P. Chapin, “Power, Privilege, and Landscape in Minoan Art,” in *XAPIE: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, ed. Anne P. Chapin (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 47-64.

⁸⁷ Chrysikopoulou, 77.

⁸⁸ As suggested by Boulotis, 54.

status seems limited when compared to the actions of the girl and the monkey who present offerings to the Enthroned Goddess. Altogether, it seems that the existing categories of "goddess," "priestess," "votary," "adorant," etc., used by scholars to categorize figures in Aegean religious art are, in fact, inadequate when applied to the complex visual narratives of Xeste 3.

The Lady of the Landscape thus offers a cautionary lesson to those attempting to read Aegean pictorial art. Had the fresco program been less well preserved, it might have been tempting to assume that the Lady's special costume identified her as a goddess or an important priestess. But the excellent state of preservation within Xeste 3 suggests instead that the Lady of the Landscape, whose ornate costume characterizes her as an important member of a privileged social class, plays a surprisingly minor role within the rich narrative sequence of Xeste 3. The messages embedded in the Lady's costume, then, are not simple equations such as "Landscape Costume = Goddess," or even "Landscape Costume = Important Priestess." Rather, her costume speaks to elite social status, symbolic connections with the palatial elite of Knossos, and perhaps to a priestly function, but it is likely that its meaning is complex, multivalent, and intimately linked to a lost mythic or religious cycle.

In the end, this investigation into the costume of the Lady of the Landscape from Xeste 3 highlights and qualifies the importance of costuming in prehistoric Aegean myth and ritual. First, a typological survey of Neopalatial costume identifies fourteen categories of garments and accessories, seven of which appear in the Xeste 3 frescoes. Of these costume types, the Lady of the Landscape wore either a pictorial mantle or a bell-shaped skirt. Secondly, a review of evidence for pictorial garments suggests that the Lady's landscape costume, while unusual, has important parallels in Neopalatial art. The well-preserved landscape design on this costume therefore confirms the existence of an important (but infrequently recognized) form of elite costume decoration. Finally, while the iconography of costume underscores the Lady of the Landscape's (1) privileged social status, (2) her distinct identity, and (3) her symbolic connections with the Enthroned Goddess, her status within Xeste 3 is nevertheless subsumed by a programmatic emphasis on communal, multigenerational myth and ritual performance with the Enthroned Goddess at its core. The Lady of the Landscape, therefore, throws new and perhaps surprising light on incompletely understood Aegean costuming traditions, and suggests the need for further investigation into costume typology and its relation to the social customs and religious beliefs of the prehistoric Aegean populations.

Acknowledgments

It is with pleasure that I acknowledge the generous assistance of others during the preparation of this study. I thank the editors, Maura Heyn and Cynthia Colburn, for their invitation to contribute to this volume and for their hard work and valuable feedback during its preparation. I also want to express my sincere gratitude to Christos Doumas and Andreas Vlachopoulos of the Akrotiri Excavations for generously allowing me to view the frescoes of Xeste 3 in 2006; I remain in their debt. I also want to thank Toni McCourt, Katie Berube, Molly Carlson, and Robert Bauslaugh for their many helpful observations and insights into art, textiles and clothing design. While their knowledge clarified many points for me, any and all mistakes remaining in this study are my own.

Works Cited

- Barber, Elizabeth J.W. *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth and Society in Early Times*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1994.
- Boulotis, Christos. "Aspects of Religious Expression at Akrotiri." *AAΣ3* (2005): 20-75.
- Cameron, Mark A.S. "A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos." 4 vols. PhD diss., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975.
- . "Savakis's Bothros: A Minor Sounding at Knossos." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 71 (1976): 1-13.
- Chapin, Anne P. "Maidenhood and Marriage: The Reproductive Lives of the Girls and Women from Xeste 3, Thera." *Aegean Archaeology* 4 (1997-2000 [2002]): 7-25.
- . "Power, Privilege, and Landscape in Minoan Art." In *XAPIΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr, Hesperia* Suppl. 33, edited by Anne P. Chapin, 47-64. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004.
- Chrysikopoulou, E. "Use of Murex Purple in the Wall-Paintings at Akrotiri, Thera." *AAΣ3* (2005): 77-80.
- Doumas, Christos. "Ανασκαφή Θήρας." *Praktika tes en Athenais Arkhaiologikes Hetaireias* (1980): 289-96.
- . *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*. Athens: The Thera Foundation, 1992.
- . "Age and Gender in the Thera Wall Paintings." In *The Wall Paintings*

- of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros M. Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August - 4 September 1997*, 3 vols., edited by Susan Sherratt, II: 971-81. Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and The Thera Foundation, 2000.
- Foster, Karen P. *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979.
- . "A Flight of Swallows." *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (1995): 409-25.
- Friedrich, Walter L. *Fire in the Sea: The Santorini Volcano: Natural History and the Legend of Atlantis*. Translated by Alexander R. McBirney. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Harte, Kenneth J. "Birds of the Thera Wall Paintings." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros M. Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August - 4 September 1997*, 3 vols., edited by Susan Sherratt, II: 681-98. Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000.
- Immerwahr, Sara A. *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.
- Jones, Bernice. "Revealing Minoan Fashions: Cretan Styles Regain Center Stage." *Archaeology* 53.3 (2000): 36-41.
- . "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess': New Interpretations of Her Costume and Identity." In *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference/8e Rencontre égéenne internationale Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000* (*Aegaeum* 22), edited by Robert Laffineur and Robin Hägg, 259-65. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2001.
- . "Veils and Mantles: An Investigation of the Construction and Function of the Costumes of the Veiled Dancer from Thera and the Camp Stool Banqueter from Knossos." In *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 9th International Aegean Conference/9e Rencontre égéenne internationale, New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 April 2002*, edited by Karen P. Foster and Robert Laffineur, 441-50. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas at Austin, 2003.
- Laffineur, Robert. "Dress, Hair Style and Jewellery in the Thera Wall Paintings." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros M. Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August - 4 September 1997*, 3 vols., edited by Susan Sherratt, II: 890-906. Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000.

- Lang, Mabel L. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia, Vol. II: The Frescoes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Lee, Mireille M. "Deciphering Gender in Minoan Dress." In *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, edited by Alison E. Rautman, 111-23. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Lillethun, Abby. "The Recreation of Aegean Cloth and Clothing." In *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 9th International Aegean Conference/9^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 April 2002*, edited by Karen P. Foster and Robert Laffineur, 463-72. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2003.
- Marcar, Ariane. "Aegean Costume and the Dating of the Knossian Frescoes." In *Knossos: Palace, City, State: Proceedings of the Conference in Herakleion Organised by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion, in November 2000, for the Centenary of Sir Arthur Evans's Excavations at Knossos (Annual of the British School at Athens Studies 12)*, edited by Gerald Cadogan, Eleni Hatzaki, and Adonis Vasilakis, 225-38. London: British School at Athens, 2004.
- . "Reconstructing Aegean Bronze Age Fashions." In *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, edited by Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, 30-43. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005.
- Marinatos, Nannó. *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*. Athens: D. & I. Mathioulakis, 1984.
- Militello, Pietro. *Haghia Triada I: Gli affreschi minoici di Haghia Triada (Creta)* (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 9). Padova: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1998.
- Morgan, Lyvia. *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . "Island Iconography: Thera, Kea, Milos." In *Thera and the Aegean World III: Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3-9 September 1989*. 3 vols., edited by David A. Hardy, Christos G. Doumas, Yannis A. Sakellarakis and Peter M. Warren, I: 252-66. London: The Thera Foundation, 1990.
- Myres, John L. "Minoan Dress." *Man* 50 (1950): 1-6.
- PM I-IV = Arthur J. Evans. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 4 vols. with index by Joan Evans. 1964 reprint of the original text published by London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1921-1936.
- Palyvou, Clairy. *Akrotiri, Thera: An Architecture of Affluence 3,500 Years*

- Old. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2005.
- Panagiotaki, Marina. *The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos (Annual of the British School of Archaeology Suppl. 31)*. London: British School at Athens, 1999.
- Panagiotakopulu, Eva. "Butterflies, Flowers, and Aegean Iconography: A Story about Silk and Cotton." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros M. Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August - 4 September 1997*, 3 vols., edited by Susan Sherratt, II: 585-91. Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000.
- Papaodysseus, Constantin, Thanasis Panagopoulos, Mihalis Exarhos, Dimitrios Fragoulis, George Roussopoulos, Panayiotis Rousopoulos, G. Galanopoulos, Constantin Triantafillou, Andreas Vlachopoulos, and Christos Doumas. "Distinct, Late Bronze Age (c. 1650 BC) Wall-Paintings from Akrotiri, Thera, Comprising Advanced Geometrical Patterns." *Archaeometry* 48.1 (2006): 97-114.
- Rehak, Paul. "The Monkey Frieze from Xeste 3, Room 4: Reconstruction and Interpretation." In *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year (Aegaeum 20)*, 3 vols., edited by Philip P. Betancourt, Vassos Karageorghis, Robert Laffineur, and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, III: 705-09. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 1999.
- . "Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art." In *XAPIΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr, Hesperia Suppl. 33*, edited by Anne P. Chapin, 85-100. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004.
- Rehak, Paul and John G. Younger. "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete." In *Aegean Prehistory: A Review (American Journal of Archaeology Suppl. 1)*, edited by T. Cullen, 383-465. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2001.
- Ross, Leslie. *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996.
- Sakellarakis, Yannis, and Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis. *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*. 2 vols. Athens: Ammos Publications, 1997.
- Sfikas, George. *Wild Flowers of Crete*. Athens: Efsthadiadis Group, 1987.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, Efi. *Minoikon Zoma*. 1971.
- Shaw, Maria C. "The Miniature Frescoes of Tylosos Reconsidered." *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 (1972): 171-88.
- . "A Minoan Fresco from Katsamba." *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978): 27-34.

- Sigurdsson, Haraldur, Steven Carey, Matina Alexandri, Georges Vougioukalakis, Katherine Croff, Chris Roman, Dimitris Sakellariou, Christos Avagnostou, Grigoris Rousakis, Chrysanthi Ioakim, Aleka Gogou, Dionysis Ballas, Thanassis Misaridis, and Pareskevi Nomikou. "Marine Investigations of Greece's Santorini Volcanic Field." *Eos* 87, 34 (2006): 337, 348.
- Televantou, Christina. "Η γυναικεία ενδυμασία στην προϊστορική Θήρα," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1982: 113-135.
- Thera I-VII = Spyridon Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera, I-VII*. Athens, 1968-1976.
- Verlinden, Colette. *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.-C.* (*Archaeologia Transatlantica* IV). Providence and Louvain-la Neuve: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1984.
- Vlachopoulos, Andreas. "The Reed Motif in the Thera Wall Paintings and its Association with Aegean Pictorial Art." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros M. Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August - 4 September 1997*. 3 vols., edited by Susan Sherratt, II: 631-56. Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000.
- . "Βίρα-μάλινα': το χρονικό της συντήρησης μίας τοιχογραφίας από το Ακρωτήρι (1973-2003)," in *Αργονάυτες. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χρίστο Γ. Ντόυμα*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos and K. Birtacha, 505-526, with English summary. Athens: Kathimerini, 2003.
- . "Motifs of Early Greek Poetry and the Wall Paintings of Xeste 3, Akrotiri." Paper presented at *EPOS. Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology*, 11th International Aegean Conference, 21-23 April 2006.
- Wardle, Diana E. H. "Does Reconstruction Help? A Mycenaean Dress and the Dendra Suit of Armor." In *Problems in Greek Prehistory: Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, edited by Elizabeth B. French and Ken A. Wardle, 469-76. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1988.