

Sakellarakis, Y. & E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis. 1997. *Archanes. Minoan Crete in a New Light*, Athens.

Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2010. 'The human body in Minoan religious iconography', in *Cretan Offerings. Studies in Honour of Peter Warren* (BSA Studies, 18), ed. O. Krzyszkowska, London, 321-329.

Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2013. 'Anthropomorphic Vessels as Re-Imagined Corporealities in Bronze Age Crete', *Creta Antica* 14, 17-67.

Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. & F. Stevens. 2012. 'Adorning the Body: Animals as Ornaments in Bronze Age Crete', in *Kosmos: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference/13e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Copenhagen, Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research, 21-26 April 2010* (Aegaeum, 33), eds. M.-L. Nosch, & R. Laffineur, Leuven and Liège, 597-608.

Stürmer, V. 2006. 'Rezeption minoischer Kunst in Deutschland: 80 Jahre Minoisch-Mykenischer Saal der Berliner Universität', in *Pepragmena Th' Dieth-*

nous Kritologikou Synedriou, Elounta, 1-6 Oktovriou 2001, eds. E. Tampakaki & A. Kaloutsakis, Irakleio, 389-400.

Tsipopoulou, M. 2012. 'The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery at Petras, Siteia: a diachronic symbol of social coherence', in *Petras, Siteia - 25 years of excavations and studies. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9-10 October 2010* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 16), ed. M. Tsipopoulou, Athens, 117-131.

Tsipopoulou, M. 2017. 'Documenting socio-political changes in Pre- and Proto-palatial Petras: The house tomb cemetery', in *Petras, Siteia: The Pre- and Proto-palatial cemetery in context. Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 14-15 February 2015* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 21), ed. M. Tsipopoulou, Athens, 57-101.

Warren, P. 1988. *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action* (SIMA-PB 62), Gothenburg.

Xanthoudides, S.A. 1924. *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará. An account of some early cemeteries of Southern Crete*, Liverpool & London.

Mycenae, Shaft Grave III. Tomb of the High Priestess?

Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi

Abstract

A recently published study of the skeletal remains from Shaft Grave III, Grave Circle A, at Mycenae showed that it was the burial place of a woman (individual M) and two men (individuals K and Λ). The remains of an infant who had originally been placed on the woman's chest were also identified. In his valuable diary, Panayotis Stamatakis, supervisor of Schliemann's excavation on behalf of the Archaeological Society, has provided a drawing on the find spots of the skeletons and offers information on the attribution of grave goods. The absence of weapons, despite the presence of two male burials, suggests the special role of the deceased, which most probably derived from being members of the priesthood. The quantity and quality of the woman's finds suggest that she was the most important person buried in the grave. The infant, who had been covered in gold, was in all probability meant to inherit her office.

Introduction

On November 23rd, 1876 Heinrich Schliemann was writing—possibly with trembling fingers—in his diary about the discovery of Shaft Grave III, which has until recently been known in the international literature as the "Tomb of Women" (Calder and Traill 1986: 199). Schliemann was led to the hypothesis that it was the burial place of three women and two infants by of the abundance of the gold jewelry, the small size of the preserved bones and teeth and the absence of weapons (Schliemann 1880: 164). John Laurence Angel, the anthropologist who examined the osteological remains, described it as a family grave containing three women and two children, without providing any detailed measurements or drawings (Mylonas 1973: 391).

A restudy of Shaft Grave III

It is thanks to the valuable diary of Panayotis Stamatakis, supervisor of the excavations on behalf of the Archaeological Society in Athens, that today we know the find spots of the three skeletons in the grave, marked as Λ, M and N, as well as the grave goods that were associated with each of them.

Despite Schliemann's remark concerning the sex of the deceased, some of the finds, such as three gold seals with scenes of a lion, a struggle between a man and a lion (Fig. 1) and a faience juglet depicting a warrior in relief, do not correspond to "female" grave goods. A relatively recent anthropological analysis has shown that the skeletal remains belonged to a woman (M) of 25-35 years old and



Figure 1. Gold seal from Shaft Grave III with scene of a struggle between a man and a lion.¹

two men, one aged 35-45 years (N) and the other (Λ) around 35 years old (Papazoglou-Manioudaki *et al.* 2010: 172-179).

Stamatakis recorded in his diary that individual Λ, of whom only a few bones remained, had been furnished with the only gold cup in the grave, the three gold seals mentioned above (Karo 1930-33: 49, Pl. XXIV) and beads of gold and amethyst (Karo 1930-33: 58-59, Pls. XX.38, XX.23). Over each of the three burials lay two pieces of solid gold in the shape of ivy leaves with spiral ends, which Schliemann interpreted as hair ornaments, as well as gold accessories in the shape of quadruple spirals. The majority of the grave goods seem to have accompanied individual M, whose head, torso and lower limbs were

preserved. Grave goods include the large diadem (Karo 1930-33: 43-44, Pls. XIII.14, XIV), about which Stamatakis reports that when it was lifted part of the skull was detached with it, a second impressive diadem that had been placed on the chest of the burial (Schliemann 1880: 186-187, figs. 281-282, Karo 1930-33: 43, Pl. XI.12), a silver and gold brooch with a female figure as finial (Karo 1930-33: 54-55, Pl. XXX) and miniature gold vessels (Karo 1930-33: 54-56, Pls. CIV, CIII) (Fig. 2). The rest of the finds, including a small bronze knife and gold cut-outs in the shape of an octopus, pair of deer, butterfly, sphinx, lion, tripartite shrine and naked goddess with birds,

¹ All illustrations in this article are published with courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum Athens, Photographic Archive.



Figure 2. Grave goods from Shaft Grave III.

were found in the space between M and N and Λ. The cut-outs had been sewn or attached to luxurious garments, offered also as grave goods to burial M.

Around 700 roundels of gold (Fig. 3) were found on top, underneath and around the deceased (Schliemann 1880: 165). Information about their exact position is missing and we cannot know whether these ornaments belonged to all three of them; we can, however, assume that they had been sewn on burial garments (shrouds). The use of shrouds was never widespread in Mycenaean Greece (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 109); its restricted employment on special occasions is

indicated both by representations on the LH IIIA larnax of Tanagra, Boeotia (where the central figure seems to be fully dressed and covered over with a shroud, Spyropoulos 1972: 208 c), and by "burial" jewelry, cut-outs of thin gold foil that do not seem to have any practical use: in Sellopoulo, Crete, tomb 4, of the LM IIIA1 period, produced more than hundred gold rosettes, over and under the two occupants of the grave (Popham and Catling 1974: 203, 214, fig.12).

In the light of the recent anthropological analysis, the absence of weapons, apart from the small knife—that, as its size indicates, was probably a ritual implement or personal toiletry item—acquires new dimensions,

related to the special role of the deceased. In the remaining "male" or even "mixed" graves of Circle A, it is evident that impressive swords and daggers served as symbols of prestige for the men of the elite. In Grave Circle B, several of the early male burials were not furnished with weapons, like the deceased of grave K or the last burial of grave Gamma (Gamma 51). The lack of weapons in those graves is not surprising, as no luxurious grave goods were found anyway (Dickinson *et al.* 2012: 15). By contrast, the main feature of Tomb III is the large accumulation of artifacts of religious/ritual character, something not found in the rest of the tombs, with the exception of the faience models of "sacral knots" and the luxurious rhyta from Tombs IV and V (Karo 1930-33: 77-79, 93-94, 106-108, 115-116).

A woman and infant of special importance

The large number of valuable grave goods of female burial M and their clear symbolic connotations underscore her important social position, which was possibly related to a priesthood. The evidence we have at our disposal for Mycenaean religion during the following centuries, mainly from the Linear B tablets (Olsen 2014: 236), the frescoes from the Cult Centre of Mycenae (Kritsali-Providi 1982) and the representations on sealstones and gold signet rings (Demakopoulou 1988: 198-200, cat. nos. 170, 171), suggests the numerical superiority of women in the priesthood. Perhaps



Figure 3. A selection of gold roundels from the grave.

the most eloquent proof of the high social position of some priestesses is Tablet PY Ep 704.5-6, where there is mention of an appeal by the priestess Eritha (e-ri-ta) to the da-mo in order to resolve her disagreement with the palace concerning a piece of land that, as she believes, is rightfully hers (Wittonn 1960: 415-421).

The evidence from Shaft Grave III seems to indicate that female M was the most important occupant of the tomb. But was she really? In his diary, Stamatakis mentions that on her chest lay a quantity of folded gold plates that after conservation, proved to be parts of an infant's cladding. Both Schliemann and Stamatakis



Figure 4. The gold cladding of the baby and her diadem.

mentioned one infant, although Tsountas, probably influenced by the large number of gold plates, believed that there were two babies (Papazoglou-Manioudaki *et al.* 2010: 161, figs. 4-5; Dickinson *et al.* 2012: 13-14). The cladding consists of several separate plates which covered the face and whole body, on both sides (Fig. 4). Special mention can be made of the loop-earrings hanging from the "ears" and, of two wire loops, probably for the suspension of a ritual/symbolic item, which hung from the fingers of one hand, perhaps something like the gold scales that were found with burial M. Gold plates, probably from a similar cladding for an infant, have

been found in the dromos of Chamber Tomb II at Prosymna (Blegen 1937: 175-180, fig. 442; Kostanti 2009: 62).

In cases of double burials, where an adult is found with a child placed either at the region of the chest or on the rib-cage, as for example in tombs Θπ4, Θπ15 and Μπ6 of Eleusis, dating from MH/LH I-LH IIIA (Mylonas 1975: 10-19, 48-52 and 190-194 respectively), these have been identified as mother and child (Kostanti 2009: 120). Therefore, the wealth of the finds accompanying the baby, including the gold diadem which was found in the region of the priestess's chest, arguably proclaims the high office that the little (?) girl



Figure 5. The female figure from the finial of the silver brooch.

was perhaps destined for.

Apart from the diadem, the baby may also have been provided with the model triton made of faience found in the tomb. Shells of various types are often related to child burials and have been interpreted either as toys or as a symbol of youth and innocence (Gates 1992: 166; Immerwahr 1971: 109-110). Part of a model triton from amethyst, also of the 16th century BC, has been unearthed at the West Gate of the Midea citadel (Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010: 27-28, fig. 40). In ritual contexts, the triton was used as a wind instrument for invoking the deity (Åström and Reese 1990).

Drawing a new pantheon of the early Mycenaean period

Most of the woman's finds are unique within and outside the Helladic world and, irrespective of whether they formed personal items in life or had a clear funerary/symbolic use, they help confirm her high office. The impressive silver brooch with the finial in the form of a female figure (Fig. 5) reflects influences both from Minoan Crete and Egypt. The female figure—probably a goddess—is depicted standing with the body in frontal posture and the face turned to the right. She is wearing the typical Minoan costume with a bodice leaving the breasts naked, a short-sleeved vest and a long, flounced skirt (Wardle 1988). Of the facial features, we can discern the straight nose and the large almond eyes. Her long hair falls down to the waist. Her muscular and strong arms extend outwards on both sides. From her head, as part of her diadem, grows a papyrus flower that divides into two parts, framing the woman's body.

Although a similar iconography is not found in Egyptian art, it is tempting to trace a connection between the brooch figure and the Egyptian goddess Wadjet, from whom papyrus and marshes grew according to the Pyramid texts (Remler 2010: 199; Wallis Budge 1904: 443-444). The goddess was related to nature and vegetation, she was protector of the kings and gradually became the symbol of kingship *par excellence*. Her name derives from papyrus, her symbol, and means "papyrus-colored"



Figure 6. One of the pins with a rock-crystal head in the shape of a poppy seed pod.

or "green". The papyrus symbolized abundance and regeneration, and formed the emblem of Lower Egypt (Morgan 1988: 28). First the Minoans, in the 17th century BC adopted the motif for various artifacts; later the Mycenaeans combined it with the local lily (Higgins 1980: 81). Beads of gold and glass in the shape of the waz-lily are known from the sacred treasuries of the Knossos palace (Karetsou and Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2000: 105) and from burial contexts (Sakellariou 1985: 305; Persson 1942: 78, Pl. V.2) where they are found from the 16th to the 13th centuries BC.

As indicated therefore by both its symbolism and its large weight, the brooch did not have a practical use but was worn as an emblem, possibly together with the equally luxurious pins with heads of rock-crystal from the same tomb. The most impressive of the four rock-crystal heads (Karo 1930-33: 57, Pl. XXXI) (Fig. 6) was in the shape of an inverted poppy

flower of the *Papaver somniferum* type, from which opium is extracted (Demakopoulou 1990: 283). Similar pins were found with the female burials in tombs A, O and Y of Grave Circle B (Mylonas 1973: 326-327). Indications for the use of opium, whether as a painkiller or as a drug to provoke ecstasies during various rituals of the time, are seen throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Kritikos and Papadaki 1967; Gabra 1956: 292). In Crete, the ritual use of opium was known in LM IIIB/C (Kritikos 1960: 71), as indicated by the famous idol of a female goddess with upraised hands from Gazi, which has a diadem decorated with poppies (Moss 2005: 12, n. 39). In Egypt, large quantities of juglets, having the shape—and size in many instances—of an inverted poppy flower (Fig. 7), were imported from Cyprus, and may originally have contained opium. They usually have two vertical grooves on their body that correspond to the incisions made on



Figure 7. Cypriot juglet in the shape of a poppy seed pod.

the surface of the seed pod to obtain the juice. Similar vertical incisions, over the whole of the surface, are seen on the pin's head from Tomb III.

The assemblage of the five gold miniature vessels that also accompanied the "priestess", which it has been suggested were used for the keeping of cosmetic, pharmaceutical or "magical" substances, may also be related to opium use (Persson 1931: 39, 58; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997: 640-1; Konstantinidi-Syvridi 2012: 47-54).

A stone vessel in the shape of two hands joined in an offering gesture was probably also intended for ritual (Fig. 8). Although there are no Aegean parallels, there is a silver Hittite vessel



Figure 8. Stone vessel in the shape of joined hands.

in the shape of the lower hand folded in a fist (14th–13th centuries BC). The vessel is decorated in relief with a ritual scene of libations. Models of parts of the human anatomy made from wood or metal were often used by the Hittites in various rituals, the hand probably symbolizing the divine will (Aruz *et al.* 2008: 182-183; Güterbock and Kendall 1995).

Among the rest of the "priestess's" grave goods were models of three sets of scales made of gold plate (Fig. 9). Only one of them seems to have had a practical use, since it consists of two gold foils with a bronze disc originally placed in between, on which light substances could have been weighed. The other two sets of scales clearly had a symbolic use and consist of very fine discs decorated with a butterfly in relief, similar to the hundreds of other roundels found in the tomb, and measure in diameter 5-7 centimeters. Scales were quite popular grave goods in tombs of members of the Minoan and Mycenaean elite from



Figure 9. Model of scales made from gold plate.

the 17th to the 12th centuries BC (Pare 1999: 475-476).

The roundels of Grave Circle A, the majority of which come from Tomb III, have been related in the past to the Homeric gold "talanta". It is also worth mentioning that in Linear B the highest unit of measurement is depicted by the pictograph of a balance (Michailidou 2008: 146). The assemblage of the scales and roundels/talanta in the grave probably reflects activities of a religious character (Michailidou 2008: 149), while—regardless of their additional use as decorative elements on clothes—they are indicative of the high office that the woman M held, one which allowed her to possess and even handle this valuable equipment. It has also been suggested that silk worms are depicted on the plates of the scales and therefore the scales

may have been used for the weighing of silk thread (Panagiotakopoulou 2000: 586). This kind of honor paid to a priestess is recorded during the next centuries in Linear B (Aamont 2004: 49-55, Lejeune 1971: 85-93). Tablet PY Ae 303 refers to 14 "slaves of the priestess" who were either bought in exchange for a quantity of gold or were responsible for the safekeeping of gold (ritual vessels?) that belonged to the temple. Another interpretation is "for the safe keeping of the sacred gold" (Ventris and Chardwick 1973: 166).

It is also possible that the scales were used in burial rituals, similar to the ones performed by the Hittites, during which, on the second day of the burial, the priests placed gold, silver and valuable jewelry on one of the scales/balances and mud or mortar on the other (Pare 1999: 476, n. 174). The

fact that the baby was probably also holding a scale, as suggested by the wire loop "held" between its fingers, reinforces the importance of the social role that has been assigned to it.

The picture of the most magnificent female burial of Circle A is completed by the gold cut-outs, also in their majority belonging to the "priestess": with the exception of some geometric designs that had a symbolic use other than decorative, their motifs are inspired either from animals connected to regeneration or from deities and religious symbols. The octopus is closely related to the circle of regeneration, possibly because of its ability to regrow its tentacles (Lange 1920: 1-57), as is the butterfly-symbol of the soul in several cultures, since in its short life, the insect is transformed from egg to caterpillar to chrysalis (cocoon) and then into a colorful, adult butterfly. All three later stages are depicted on cut-outs in the grave, while there also is a necklace of gold beads in the shape of cocoons (Karo 1930-33, Pl. XXII). Those beads have been suggested to represent silkworm cocoons.

The Minoan tripartite shrine, seen here on three gold cut-outs, is known from frescoes at Knossos and Pylos, sealstones and stone vessels (Shaw 1980). A clay model of a building with three columns on which birds perch has been found at Knossos (Shaw 1980: 559-562). In general, birds symbolize the epiphany of a deity (Moss 2005: 195-196) especially a deity of nature, heaven and life, as opposed to the snake which in many cultures



Figure 10. Gold cut-out in the shape of a naked goddess with birds.

symbolizes deities of the underworld (Gessel 2006: esp. 321-322).

The relatively frequent depiction of tripartite shrines in art indicates the significance of the rituals performed there. The nude goddess with the birds in two of the cut-outs (Fig. 10) belongs to a long tradition which has its origins in Syria and Babylon towards the end of the 3rd millennium BC. Frontal naked female figures with emphasized thighs and pubic triangle are curved on seal cylinders and figurines: they are probably to be identified with the fertility goddess Kubaba (see Aruz 2008: 81, for analytical discussion and

bibliography, and Özgüç 2003: 236, for the identification of the figures with the deity). In the examples of the tomb, the body is rendered in a frontal posture, while the head is turned to the left, according to the Minoan tradition. The folding of the arms across the chest is a typical feature of the Eastern iconography and is encountered on Crete in both male and female figurines that have been interpreted as worshipers (Moss 2005; Aruz *et al.* 2008: 80-81).

Finally, the motifs of the sphinx and the griffin, mythical creatures with the body of a lion and head of a woman or eagle, respectively, originate in Syria from where they reached Crete in the 16th century BC, before passing to the Mainland during their Palatial period. Their role is that of a guardian of the Underworld, with clear symbolic/religious affinities (Dessenne 1957: 188).

In their combination, the above elements of evidence deduced from the grave goods that were deliberately chosen as emblems of the grand priestess, compose a unit, shedding light on an unknown, up to now, pantheon of the early Mycenaean period. The intense Minoan influences, evident in the majority of the symbols, refer to female deities worshipped in Crete from the Middle Minoan IA and II to the Late Minoan IIIC periods (18th-12th centuries BC) (Moss 2005: 151-179), like the bird or dove goddess, the poppy and healing goddess, the vegetation goddess and the fertility goddess, beautifully exemplified in the clay figure from

Gazi (1350-1200 BC), who is wearing a diadem with three poppies, possibly a symbol of her ability to relieve pain or sickness (Moss 2005: 163). The worship of the dove goddess has been connected to the discovery of composite vessels and altars. For the bird deity, it is not always clear whether we are dealing with a male or a female divinity, but it is probably another version of the dove goddess (Moss 2005: 153-154). The symbols and their iconographical types, that draw elements from Egypt and the Near East, are often intermingled, while they are associated (especially the pigeon), with Istar or Astarte (see typically Owens 1996: 209-218), but also with Aphrodite of the Greek Olympian Gods (Hadjisavvas 2003).

Conclusion

The wealth and typology of the grave goods from Shaft Grave III indicate that it was the burial place of three priests. Such burials—not as magnificent though—have been identified on the basis of valuable and symbolic grave goods in other instances as well, for example in the case of the LM IIIA male burial found in tomb 15 at Mochlos, inside a roofed larnax, furnished with ritual vessels (Soles 1999). Of the occupants of Tomb III, of major importance were individual M and/or her infant "successor", whose early death was probably as much a matter of sorrow and dismay for the local community, as was the loss of their high priestess.

Acknowledgements

All the illustrations in this article are published with courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum archive, Athens, Greece.

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to Dr. Don Evelyn for editing the English and my friends and colleagues Dr. Katya Manteli and Dr. Vassiliki Pliatsika, for their valuable advices.

References

- Aamont, C. 2004. 'Priests and Priestesses in the Mycenaean period', in *Cult and Death. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of Postgraduate Researchers, Liverpool, May 2002* (BAR-IS, 182), eds. D.C. Naoum, G. Muskett & M. Georgiadis, Oxford, 49-55.
- Aruz, J., K. Benzel & J. Evans, eds. 2008. *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the second millennium B.C.*, New York.
- Åström, P. & D.S. Reese. 1990. 'Triton Shells in East Mediterranean Cults', *JPR* 3-4, 5-14.
- Blegen, C.W. 1937. *Prosymna. The Helladic settlement preceeding the Argive Heraeum*, Cambridge.
- Calder, W.M. & D.A. Traill, eds. 1986. *Myth, Scandal, and History. The Heinrich Schliemann Controversy and a First Edition of the Mycenaean Diary*, Detroit.
- Cavanagh, W. & C. Mee. 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece* (SIMA, 125), Jonserved.
- Demakopoulou, K. ed. 1988. *Ο Μυκηναϊκός Κόσμος. Πέντε Αιώνες Πρώιμου Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού, 1600-1100 π.Χ.*, Athens.
- Demakopoulou, K. ed. 1990. *Ο Θησαυρός των Αηδονιών. Σφραγίδες και Κοσμήματα της Υστερης Εποχής του Χαλκούστο Αιγαίο*, Athens.
- Demakopoulou, K. & N. Divari-Valakou. 2010. *Η Ακρόπολη της Μιδέας*, Athens.
- Dessenne, A. 1957. *Le sphinx. Étude iconographique. I. Des origines à la fin du second millénaire* (BEFAR, 186), Paris.
- Dickinson, O.T.P.K., L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki, A. Nafplioti & A.J.N.W. Prag. 2012. 'Mycenae revisited. Part 4. Assessing the new data', *BSA* 107, 161-188.
- Gabra, S. 1956. 'Papaver species and opium through the ages', *BIÉ* 37:1, 39-56.
- Gates, C. 1992. 'Art for children in Mycenaean Greece', in *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6-9 April 1992* (Aegaeum 8), eds. R. Laffineur & J.L. Crowley, Liège, 161-171.
- Gesell, G. 2006. 'Bird and Snake: Their Use as Minoan Religious Symbols' in *Pepragmena Th' Diethnous Kritologikou Synedriou*, eds. E. Tampakaki & A. Kaloutsakis, Heraklion, Crete, 313-324.
- Güterbock, H.G. & T. Kendall. 1995. 'A Hittite Silver Vessel in the Form of a Fist' in *The Ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, eds. J.B. Carter & S.P. Morris, Austin, 45-60.
- Hadjisavvas, S. ed. 2003. *From Ishtar to Aphrodite: 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism. Treasures from the Museums of Cyprus*, New York.
- Higgins, R.A. 1980². *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London.
- Immerwahr, S.A. 1971. *The Athenian Agora. XIII. The Neolithic and Bronze Age*, Princeton.
- Karetsoy, A. & M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki. eds. 2000. *Κρήτη-Αίγυπτος. Πολιτισμικοί Δεσμοί Τριών Χιλιετιών*, Heraklion, Crete.
- Karo, G. 1930-1933. *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, München.
- Konstantinidi-Syvridi, E. 2012. 'Πολυτελείς θήκες ψιμυθίων της Μυκηναϊκής εποχής (16^{ος}-14^{ος} αι. π.Χ.)' in *Διηγήσασα, Τιμητικός τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμιοπούλου*, eds. P. Veleni-Adam & K. Tzanavari, Thessaloniki, 47-54.
- Kostanti, A. 2009. *Παιδιά στο Προϊστορικό Αιγαίο. Μαρτυρίες των ταφών της Υστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού στο Μυκηναϊκό ελλαδικό χώρο*, MA thesis, Rethymnon, Crete.
- Kritikos, P.G. 1960. 'Der Mohn, das Opium und ihr Gebrauch im Spätminoicum III. Bemerkungen zu dem gefundenen Idol der Minoischen Gottheit des Mohns', *PraktAkAth* 35, 54-73.
- Kritikos, P.G. & S.P. Papadaki. 1967. 'The History of the Poppy and of Opium and Their Expansion in Antiquity in the Eastern Mediterranean Area', *Bulletin of Narcotics* 19:4, 5-10.
- Kritseli-Providi, A. 1982. *Οι Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηνών*, Athens.
- Lange, M. 1920. 'On the regeneration and finer structure of the arms of the cephalopods', *Journal of experimental zoology* 31, 1-57.
- Lejeune, M. 1971. 'Prêtres et prêtresses dans les documents mycéniens', in *Mémoires de Philologie Mycénienne. Vol. 2. Deuxième Série* (1958-1963) (= *Incunabula graeca* 42), Roma, 85-93.
- Michailidou, A. 2008. *Weight and Value in Pre-coinage Societies. Vol. 2. Sidelights on Measurement from the Aegean and the Orient*, Athens.
- Morgan, L. 1988. *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera. A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*, Cambridge.
- Moss, M. 2005. *The Minoan Pantheon. Towards an Understanding of its Nature and Extent* (BAR-IS, 1343), Oxford.
- Mylonas, G. 1973. *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών*, Athens.
- Mylonas, G. 1975. *Το Δυτικόν Νεκροταφείον της Ελευσίνας, Η Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας αρ. 81*, Athens.
- Olsen, B. 2014. *Women in Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos*, London & New York.
- Özgüç, T. 2003. *Kültepe-Kaniš/Neša. The earliest international trade center and the oldest capital city of the Hittites*, Istanbul.
- Owens, G.A. 1996. 'All Religions are One (William Blake 1757-1827), Astarte/Ishtar/Ishassaras/Asasaram: The Great Mother Goddess of Minoan Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean', *Cretan Studies* 5, 209-218.
- Panagiotakopoulou, E. 2000. '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. S. Sherratt, Athens, 585-592.

- Papazoglou-Manioudaki, L., A. Nafplioti, J. Musgrave & J. Prag. 2010. 'Mycenae revisited. The Human Remains from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Part 3. Behind the masks: A study of the bones of Shaft Graves I-V', *BSA* 105, 157-224.
- Pare, C.F.E. 1999. 'Weights and weighing in Bronze Age central Europe', in *Eliten in der Bronzezeit. Ergebnisse zweier Kolloquien in Mainz und Athen* (RGZM, 43), Mainz, 421-514.
- Persson, A.W. 1931. *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund.
- Persson, A.W. 1942. *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund.
- Popham, M.R. & H.W. Catling. 1974. 'Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4. Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos', *BSA*, 6, 195-257.
- Remler, P. 2010. *Egyptian Mythology A-Z*, New York.
- Sakellarakis, Y. & E. Sakellarakis. 1997. *Αρχάνες, Μια Νέα Ματιά στη Μινωική Κρήτη*, Athens.
- Sakellariou, A. 1985. *Οι Θαλαμωτοί Τάφοι των Μυκηνών, Ανασκαφής Χρ. Τσούντα (1887-1898)*, Paris.
- Schliemann, H. 1880². *Mycenae. A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*, New York.
- Shaw, J.W. 1980. 'New Evidence for the Minoan Tripartite Shrine', in *Acts of the Fourth International Cretological Congress, Heraklion, 29 August-3 September, 1976*. Vol.1. Athens, 559-562.
- Soles, J.S. 1999. 'The Ritual "Killing" of pottery and the discovery of a Mycenaean Telestas at Mochlos' in *Meletemata III* (Aegaeum 20), eds. P. Bettancour, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier, Austin & Liège, 787-792.
- Spyropoulos, T.G. 1972. Μυκηναϊκή Τανάγρα: Πήλινες Σαρκοφάγοι, *Αρχαιολογία* 25:3, 206-209.
- Ventris, M. & J. Chadwick. 1973². *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge.
- Wallis Budge, E.A. 1904. *Gods of the Egyptians*. Vol. 2, Chicago.
- Wardle, D. 1988. 'Does Reconstruction help? A Mycenaean Dress and the Dendra Suit of Armour', in *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School at Athens, Manchester April 1986*, eds. E. French & K. Wardle, Bristol, 469-476.
- Wittonn, W.F. 1960. 'The Priestess Eritha', *AJP* 8, 415-421.

JOURNAL OF PREHISTORIC RELIGION

Published by Astrom Editions AB.

Banérsg 25

SE-752 37 Uppsala, Sweden

website: <http://www.astromeditions.com/jpr>

Abbreviation for this journal: JPR

Editor: Dr. Jeannette Forsén

email: jpr@astromeditions.com

Editorial board:

Helene Whittaker von Hofsten

Professor of Classical Archaeology and Ancient Culture

Department of Historical Studies,

University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Ann-Louise Schallin

Associate Professor

Department of Archaeology and Ancient Studies

University of Stockholm, Sweden

The articles in the journal are peer reviewed.

Cover pictures:

- *JPR* logotype: Terracotta model from Kotchati (or Marki), Cyprus. Early/Middle Bronze Age, c. 1900 B.C. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. See P. Åström, "A Cypriote Cult Scene", *JPR* 2: 5-11.
- Mycenaean *Psi* figurine from a chamber tomb in Kareas, Attica. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. <http://sirarthurevans.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/collection/mainland/>

© The individual authors and Astrom Editions Ltd 2018.

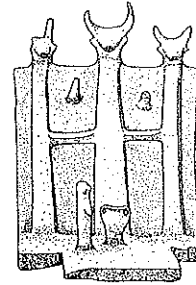
All rights reserved. No part of this journal may be republished without the written permission of the publisher.

ISSN 0283-8486

ISBN: 978-91-7081-229-3

CONTENTS

	Aim and Scope	4
	About the Editor	4
Jeannette Forsén	Editor's introduction	5
Gerard Mulligan	Religion in Neolithic Ireland.	
	Themes and Inspiration	7
Alexandra Markou	The Influence of Mycenaean <i>Psi</i> Figurines	
	on Late Cypriot Ritual Practices	22
Anna Simandiraki-	Illusion in Minoan Religion	35
Grimshaw		
Eleni Konstantinidi-	Mycenae, Shaft Grave III. Tomb of the High	
Syroidi	Priestess?	47
	Notes on the Authors	61



**JOURNAL
OF
PREHISTORIC
RELIGION**

VOLUME XXVI

**Astrom Editions
UPPSALA 2018**