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METAPHYSIS

RITUAL, MYTH AND SYMBOLISM IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

**Proceedings of the 15th International Aegean Conference, Vienna,
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Edited by Eva ALRAM-STERN, Fritz BLAKOLMER, Sigrid DEGER-JALKOTZY,
Robert LAFFINEUR and Jörg WEILHARTNER

PEETERS
LEUVEN - LIEGE
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HERO, GODDESS, PRIESTESS: NEW EVIDENCE FOR MINOAN RELIGION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Most archaeologists today agree that a unified Minoan state emerged under the control of Knossos in the Neopalatial period, if not before.¹ There are a few dissenters,² but the main controversy surrounds the question of what happened to this state after the eruption of Thera at the end of the LM IA period. Did the central authority of Knossos collapse and its various palatial centers break apart, resulting in civil strife,³ or did the collapse of Knossos' authority lead to a "more segmentary state" in which rural areas acquired a high level of autonomy,⁴ or did Knossos continue to unite the island and spark a renaissance of re-building and creative activity?⁵ New evidence from Mochlos suggests the latter scenario and indicates how Knossos was able to continue its influence over distant parts of the island and sustain Minoan civilization for another century before the final LM IB destructions. It comes from a number of places in the Neopalatial settlement that appear to have been dedicated to religious purposes.

The LM I settlement on the island, which preserves only part of the ancient site since other parts are submerged or located beneath the modern village on the coast opposite, covers an area c. 100 by 175 m (Pl. LXXVII). It lies on top of earlier Prepalatial and Protopalatial settlements, an important fact to keep in mind since these remains lie directly beneath LM IB floor levels, and the LM I occupants of Mochlos were very much aware that they were living on top of the homes of their ancestors. Approximately 20 houses and two workshops of the Neopalatial town have been uncovered to date in addition to the two workshops excavated beneath the modern town.⁶ They are located in four blocks with four main streets running north-south. Several public shrines or ceremonial areas are also located here in addition to whatever domestic shrines were located inside the houses. Two of these are published in preliminary reports, the main ceremonial building, Building B.2, and a theatral area located outside its southwest corner.⁷ Both provide good evidence for the existence of ancestor worship in Minoan Crete, based on the finds themselves, which include skull retention, offerings made to the dead, and feasting with the dead, and on ethnographic parallels and comparative evidence from contemporary civilizations, in this case Egypt, which also practiced ancestor worship. Jan Driessen has accepted the evidence and taken it one step further to argue that the Minoans believed in a single composite ancestor,⁸ not unlike the Japanese belief that the dead loses his individual identity after a

¹ See M.H. WIENER, "Neopalatial Knossos: Rule and Role," in P.P. BETANCOURT, M.C. NELSON, and H. WILLIAMS (eds), *Krinoi kai Limenes, Studies in Honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw* (2007) 231-242.

² Y. HAMILAKIS, "Too Many Chiefs?: Factional Competition in Neopalatial Crete," in J. DRIESSEN, I. SCHOEP, and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *Monuments of Minoan. Rethinking the Minoan Palaces* (2002) 179-199.

³ J. DRIESSEN and C.F. MACDONALD, *The Troubled Island: Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini Eruption* (1997).

⁴ I. SCHOEP, "Tablets and Territories? Reconstructing Late Minoan IB Political Geography through Undeciphered Documents," *AJA* 103 (1999) 201-221.

⁵ P.M. WARREN, "The Apogee of Minoan Civilization: The Final Neopalatial Period," in E. MANTZOURANI and P.P. BETANCOURT (eds), *Philistor, Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras* (2012) 255-272; J.S. SOLES, "A Central Court at Gournia?," in DRIESSEN, SCHOEP, and LAFFINEUR (*supra* n. 2) 123-132.

⁶ For the workshops by the modern town, see J.S. SOLES *et al.*, *Mochlos IA. Period III: Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast. The Artisans' Quarter and Chalinomouri Farmhouse, The Sites* (2003).

⁷ J.S. SOLES and C. DAVARAS, "Excavations at Mochlos, 1992-1993," *Hesperia* 65 (1996) 175-230; J.S. SOLES, "The Evidence for Ancestor Worship in Minoan Crete," in O. KRZYSZKOWSKA (ed), *Cretan Offerings, Studies in Honour of Peter Warren* (2010) 331-338.

⁸ J. DRIESSEN, "The Goddess and the Skull: Some Observations on Group Identity in Prepalatial Crete," in O. KRZYSZKOWSKA (*supra* n. 7) 107-117.

period of time to be merged into a single entity.⁹ It's an important observation that has the potential to explain a lot of Minoan ritual evidence.

Two largely unpublished areas of the town are the subject of this paper: a temenos at the northeast corner of the site,¹⁰ and the House of the Lady with the Ivory Pyxis at its west. Avenue 2 led to the temenos. It ended in an open court that was paved at its west and provided with a large flat bedrock outcropping at its east; at the far end of the court stood a wall with a narrow doorway that opened onto a paved terrace that was open to the sky. The doorway led from one open space to another open space that was flanked by screen walls on the west and south and by rooms on the north and east (Pl. LXXVIIIa). The terrace floor was paved and several paving stones were marked with kernoi. The rooms to the north and east contained few finds, but the terrace itself was covered with broken pithoi, several of which were sufficiently preserved to be restored (Pl. LXXVIIIb). The soil from inside and around the pithoi was floated and found to be full of carbonized olive leaves, mostly tiny pieces, but some larger pieces as well still preserving their central veins (Pl. LXXIXa). Olive trees, which are grown from cuttings in containers and must be cultivated before being transplanted, may also grow to a considerable height in their containers, and that is what they appear to have been doing here, growing in the pithoi, so that the temenos formed a small grove of olive trees (Pl. LXXIXb).

This seems an unlikely space to be growing olive trees and it demands an explanation, although we have only limited means to make one. One is context, and it is significant that three of the main roads led to this temenos. Indeed, the paving stones and bedrock surfaces of Avenue 2 are worn smooth and indicate that many Minoans took the trouble to walk up to this point. The open court that stood to the west of the temenos could accommodate a relatively large gathering of people. There is also a small two-story building that stood along the south side of this court adjacent to the temenos, which was provided with two kitchens on its basement level, but opened onto the court on its upper level where ritual equipment including a rhyton imported from Knossos was housed. The whole area should probably be identified as a ritual space where food and drink were offered. A second source of evidence is iconographical, and just such a temenos as this is pictured on three contemporary gold signet rings, two from Knossos and one from northern Greece.¹¹ In each case the temenos is surrounded by a screen wall with a projecting cornice and trees growing within. Two have a narrow doorway like the narrow doorway that leads into the Mochlos temenos. Two show a male figure greeting a female figure who may be identified as the Minoan goddess on the basis of her costume and ample breasts. The male figure is a stock figure in Minoan art who is shown in a heroic pose with torso bent backwards, and left arm outstretched towards the goddess with whom he speaks. This is as far as iconography takes us, but a third tool that archaeologists can use in their interpretations is ethnography. Patterns of human behavior that emerge from the comparative study of ancient as well as traditional societies allow us to proceed further, if with some caution.¹² A good ethnographic parallel is found nearby in Classical Greece where a temenos like those pictured in the rings serves as the terrestrial home of the hero/ancestor who lives on after death in a timeless paradise. In addition to his heavenly abode he also has an earthly precinct where he is thought to be capable of coming back to life in an epiphany. As Gregory Nagy explains, "at the moment of worship, the sacred precinct of the cult hero could become notionally identical to the paradise-like abode of immortalization from which he returns to his worshippers." The earthly precinct is a metonym for his eternal abode and must therefore also be a place of cultivation, such as a garden or grove.¹³ Such a temenos may also have

⁹ C. TAKEDA, "Family Religion in Japan, Ie and its Religious Faith," in W.H. NEWELL (ed), *Ancestors* (1976) 119-128.

¹⁰ J.S. SOLES and C. DAVARAS, "A Temenos of Olive Trees at Mochlos," *Kentro, The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete* 16 (2013) 14-16.

¹¹ H. HUGHES-BROCK and J. BOARDMAN, *Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum* (CMS VI.2 2009) 458-460, n. 281; N. PLATON and I. PINI, *Iraklion, Archäologisches Museum, Die Siegel der Neupalastzeit* (CMS II.3 1984) 18, n. 15; I. PINI, *Kleinere Europäische Sammlungen* (CMS XI 1988) 41, n. 28.

¹² J.S. SOLES, "The Functions of a Cosmological Center: Knossos in Palatial Crete," in *POLITEIA*, 408.

¹³ G. NAGY, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (1999); "The Sign of the Hero: A Prologue," in J. BERENSON MACLEAN and E. AITKEN (eds), *Flavius Philostratus, Heroikos* (2001) xxvi-xxviii.

existed in the Mycenaean period,¹⁴ but Homer and Hesiod are the first to document them and use the word ἄλσος to describe them as the homes of gods and nymphs (Hom. *Od.* 6.291; *Il.* 20.8; Hes. *Sh.* 99). They are hard to identify in the archaeological record since they are simple enclosures with trees growing within, but Pausanias documents dozens that are still in use in the 2nd century AD.¹⁵ If the male figure who appears in the rings can indeed be identified as a hero/ancestor, then the Minoan shrine is their prototype.

The House of the Lady with the Ivory Pyxis is located next to the site's main ceremonial building on the northwest side of a small courtyard that opens in Avenue 1. It is overlaid by Hellenistic buildings on its north and south, sits in turn on top of an EM II building, and is flanked by a MM II building on its west (Pl. LXXXa). It is terraced against the hillside with a basement room in its southeast corner, with a window that looked out onto the court, a ground floor, with a larger window that looked out onto a rectangular platform with three bins, a second floor, where the main doorway from the street was located, and where one staircase led down to the ground floor and another up to a third floor, which is unexcavated. A collection of pins and a jewelry box, all made from elephant ivory, lay in the wall collapse in the basement room. The pins include seven hair pins shaped like crooks and carved with vertical grooves on their outer sides, one straight pin with a rosette attached at its top, and one straight dress pin (Pl. LXXXb). The pyxis, which was badly damaged by fire and the wall collapse, still contained some of its original contents (Pl. LXXXIa). It consists of four corner pieces, 3 of which survived, with four plaques forming the sides attached by dowels to the corners, only one and a half of which survived, and a flat lid placed on top with a slight overhang. A strip of ivory surrounded and concealed the base which was made of wood. The lid measures 11 by 14 cm; the box itself is 4 cm high. The lid, carved in low relief, depicts the epiphany of the Minoan goddess to the left and a procession of four figures before the goddess to the right, all set in a frame that surrounds the lid (Pls. LXXXIb, LXXXIIa). The epiphany scene, which is depicted in many gold signet rings, is usually described as showing the goddess twice, descending from the sky and then seated, here on a throne beneath an olive tree. The subject has been much discussed by Aegean scholars, and an independent scholar by the name of Bruce Rimell has constructed an on-line site with a complete bibliography on the subject and a good description of different epiphany scenes in Minoan art.¹⁶ There is little to add to the subject, except perhaps to note that Evangelos Kyriakidis prefers to see a constellation where others see a goddess descending.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that the goddess's epiphany was the focus of Minoan religion and it is depicted in a number of places, the most famous of which is the recently recovered Ring of Minos, where you see essentially the same scene as on the pyxis with many of the same details: the outcurved hair and the bent right arm of the goddess as she descends, the pose and costume of the seated figure, and the pear-shaped object, perhaps a rhyton, which is held in front of her.¹⁸ The side panels also show remarkable similarities: they depict a seascape with what Wolfgang Schiering describes as C-curves, which are also seen in LM IB marine style pottery, rock work that frames the sea,¹⁹ while the sea itself is represented with diagonal lozenges with rippling edges, slightly hollowed at the center, the same representation of the sea shown on the Ring (Pl. LXXXIb). The Minoan artist is working with an iconographic template that determines the parameters of the way things should be represented. Another illustration of this is the tree which resembles the tree on the Vapheio cup with its limbs springing directly from the trunk or the pose of the goddess herself, her head and torso bent forward, her legs overlapping, her feet on tip toes, as on many gold signet rings. The throne is decorated with a half rosette frieze, another example of this prescribed iconography, but one that associates it with Knossos where it was prominently displayed, on the Grandstand Fresco and

¹⁴ M. VENTRIS and J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1956) 266.

¹⁵ P. BONNECHERE, "The Place of the Sacred Grove (Alsos) in the Mantic Rituals of Greece: The Example of the Alsos of Trophonios at Lebadeia (Boeotia)," in M. CONAN (ed.), *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency* (2007) 17-41.

¹⁶ <http://www.biroz.net/words/minoan-epiphany/bibliography.htm>.

¹⁷ E. KYRIAKIDIS, "Unidentified Floating Objects on Minoan Seals," *AJA* 109 (2005) 137-154.

¹⁸ N. DIMOPOULOU and Y. RETHEMIOTAKIS, *The Ring of Minos and Gold Minoan Rings: The Epiphany Cycle* (2004).

¹⁹ W. SCHIERING, "Elements of Landscape in Minoan and Mycenaean Art," in *EIKON*, 319-320.

elsewhere.²⁰ The throne on which the goddess sits in turn sits on a platform which also supports the figures who approach her from the right. This platform also appears in the Thera fresco from Xeste 3 where the goddess sits enthroned with her griffin. The platform is made of wooden beams supported on incurved altars, and Clairy Palyvou has shown how it was constructed.²¹ It is a real platform, not imaginary, and such incurved altars to support such a platform have been found at Archanes and Malia. It formed a portable stage which could be set up, taken down and moved around. It provided a focus for ritual activity and set what Roy Rappaport calls “the boundary zone between this world and the next” for the performance of religious spectacles.²² If the platform is portable, the throne on which it sits must also be portable, and the olive tree which grows in a container that sits on the throne must also be portable, not unlike those growing in pithoi in the Mochlos temenos.

The whole scene illustrates the important role that religious pageantry played in Minoan civilization. It could be performed around the island and was one of the principle means that Minoans used to regulate society and maintain social order. In particular, it is the means by which a cosmological center facilitates communication between the supernatural world and this world and the means by which it asserts its control over the powers who reside in the supernatural world and brings them to bear on human affairs, so sustaining its own power.²³ In this case the pageantry displayed a narrative procession, but what was the narrative? The most important parts that might identify the figures on the right are lost, but the first of them, who leads the procession, belongs to a stock figure in Minoan iconography and can be identified with some certainty. He is identifiable by his height (taller than the others), by the elongated proportions of his legs, and by the position of his left arm. He appears on gold rings from Berlin, Poros, and Oxford, and on a sealing from Zakros.²⁴ In each case he is addressing the goddess; he has the power to approach her and communicate with her. These are two characteristics of heroes: they are larger than ordinary mortals and they can speak directly to god. This is exactly what he does when he appears in Minoan iconography; his role is to intercede with god on behalf of man. On the pyxis he introduces the three figures behind him to the goddess in a presentation scene. The source of these scenes lies in Old Babylonian and Neo-Sumerian cylinder seals where they are a popular subject for centuries.²⁵ They are highly standardized showing a worshipper, often a king or other high official, led by a lesser or personal deity before the supreme deity who is seated on a throne which is raised on a dais with his face shown in profile view and one arm raised holding an object in his hand. A classic example is the cylinder of Gudea, ruler of Lagash, who is led by his personal god into the presence of Enlil, the chief Sumerian god, who recognizes and sanctifies his rule with a gift of water.²⁶ These cylinders circulated widely in Crete and the rest of the Aegean, often long after they were made. 175, including Cretan imitations, were documented in 1997, four of

²⁰ R. HÄGG, “On the Reconstruction of the West Façade of the Palace at Knossos,” in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS (eds), *The Function of the Minoan Palaces: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June, 1984* (1987) 129-134.

²¹ K. PALYVOU, “Οικοδομικές παρατηρήσεις μέσα από την τέχνη της Εποχής του Χαλκού: Τοποποιημένες, λυόμενες κατασκευές,” in Y. KAZAZI and N. PAPANETROU (eds), *Πρακτικά 2^ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Τεχνολογίας. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Ancient Greek Technology* (2006) 417-424, fig. 7; see also A. VLACHOPOULOS, “The Wall Paintings from the Xeste 3 Building at Akrotiri: Towards an Interpretation of the Iconographic Programme,” in N. BRODIE, J. DOOLE, G. GAVALAS, and C. RENFREW (eds), *HORIZON. A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades* (2008) 451-465.

²² R.A. RAPPAPORT, “Ritual, Sanctity, and Cybernetics,” *American Anthropologist* 73 (1971) 59-76.

²³ J.S. SOLES (*supra* n. 12) 412; M. HELMS, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal, Art, Trade, and Power* (1993) 195.

²⁴ I. PINI (*supra* n. 10, *CMS XI* 1988) 41, n. 28; N. DIMOPOULOU and G. RETHEMIO TAKIS, “The Sacred Conversation Ring from Poros,” in W. MÜLLER (ed), *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion* (2000) 38-56; H. HUGHES-BROCK and J. BOARDMAN (*supra* n. 10) 458-460, n. 281; W. MÜLLER, I. PINI, and N. PLATON, *Iraklion, Archäologisches Museum. Die Siegelabdrücke von Kato Zakros, unter Einbeziehung von Funden aus anderen Museen (CMS II.7* 1998) 3-4, no. 1.

²⁵ D. COLLON, *First Impressions, Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (1987) 32-39, 125-127, figs. 113-119, 531-535.

²⁶ H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals* (1939) 141-143, fig. 37; for the identification of the god as Ningirsu, see P. AMIET, in E. PORADA (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals* (1980) 41, fig. II.6.

which were found at Mochlos,²⁷ and details from the cylinders, particularly the crescent moon and star, are sometimes copied on Minoan gold signet rings. The presentation scenes on the cylinders were likely to be familiar to Minoan artists, and there are a number of details that appear on both the pyxis lid and the cylinders. If viewed from the cylinder itself, rather than its impression, the deity usually sits to the left facing the processional figures who approach from the right, but in every case he raises the arm that is farther from the foreground as the goddess does. He also holds an object in the hand of his raised arm, which is sometimes a divine symbol, just as the goddess holds a lily in the hand of her raised arm. In all of the cylinders the god acknowledges the worshipper and in doing so sanctifies his rule if he is a king. If the cylinders are indeed the source of inspiration for the scene on the pyxis, then we should expect the second male figure in the scene to be a high official, perhaps also a king.²⁸ Although his head is missing he shows several parallels to the Priest King, as restored by Arthur Evans, and may belong to another stock figure in Minoan iconography.²⁹ The two have extremely narrow waists and athletic torsos shown in frontal view while the rest of the figure is in profile view. They both wear a belt around their waists and a codpiece and long hair that falls on the shoulders. Their left arms extend out behind them, and while Evans was uncertain what to do with this arm, the cylinders suggest that the figure should be holding hands with the figure behind him as so many of the figures do on the cylinders. If this interpretation is correct, and it is only a hypothesis until the missing pieces can be found, the scene on the pyxis might be read as a coronation scene when the goddess offers a lily to the king for his crown and sanctifies his rule.

What do we know about the woman who owned the pyxis? The jewelry inside the pyxis and other finds inside and outside the house reveal a lot. In one of the rooms on the ground floor of her house, a row of EM II pots lay neatly stacked against the wall sitting on the LM IB floor. Apparently she collected antiquities, probably pots that she found underneath her floors. She also had two large bronze bowls of the sort found in the adjacent ceremonial building,³⁰ a stone cosmetic palette, a carnelian seal with two lions, a collection of ivory pins, and assorted necklaces that were found inside the pyxis, one with 80 beads of Egyptian amethyst (Pl. LXXXIIIa), and others with exotic semi-precious stones including lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, carnelian from the Levant, as well as silver, probably from Laurion, and glass paste beads in the shape of flowers and grains of wheat and rain drops. Many of the beads - a carnelian figure of eight shield, a lily, a bull's head - are religious symbols, and some of the stones themselves are likely to have been thought to possess mystical powers, particularly the amethyst from Egypt where the possession of such stones was the privilege of a god and where they were believed to have prophylactic and regenerative powers.³¹ The jewelry was an important part of the woman's costume, and her costume was designed to communicate important religious and social information. The jewelry formed the woman's regalia, and like all regalia it was designed to link its owner to god. The lady was a priestess, but no ordinary one.

The large window in her house's east façade, which could be approached from inside by a staircase, overlooked a small open court in the adjacent street and a low platform was located here with a large circular bin to the left of the window and smaller bins to the north (Pl. LXXXa). A fire pit

²⁷ C. DAVARAS and J. SOLES, "A New Oriental Cylinder Seal from Mochlos. Appendix: Catalogue of the Cylinder Seals Found in the Aegean," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 134 (1995) 29-66; I. PINI, *Kleinere griechische Sammlungen* (CMS V, 1B 1993), 320, n. 332; J. ARUZ, "The Silver Cylinder Seal from Mochlos," *Kadmos* 23 (1984) 186-188; I. PINI, "Zu dem silbernen Rollsiegel aus Mochlos," *AA* (1982) 599-602.

²⁸ For the possibility of a Minoan king, see C. BOULOTIS, "From Mythical Minos to the Search for Minoan Kingship," in M. ANDREADAKI-VLASAKI, N. DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI and Y. RETHEMIOTAKIS (eds), *The Land of the Labyrinth: Minoan Crete 3000-1100 BC, vol. 2, Essays* (2008) 44-56; E.N. DAVIS, "Art and Politics in the Aegean: The Missing Ruler," in P. REHAK (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992. With Additions* (1995) 11-22; R.B. KOEHL, "The Nature of Minoan Kingship," in REHAK (1995), 23-36; N. MARINATOS, "Divine Kingship in Minoan Crete," in REHAK (1995) 37-48.

²⁹ EVANS, *PM* II.2 774-785.

³⁰ Cf. SOLES and DAVARAS (*supra* n. 7) 193, pl. 54b

³¹ S. AUFRÈRE, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, vol. 2 (1991) 557-558.

lay alongside the platform to the left of the large bin, and in the pit lay carbonized figs, grapes and olives. The olives still preserve their pulp and one even its stem, as if it had just dropped from a tree growing next to the fire in the adjacent bin. Another fire, using grass as fuel, burned in front of her window, and a huge quantity of uncrushed, intact whole grains of emmer wheat lay here (Pl. LXXXIIIb). The fire was not intended to destroy the wheat but rather to preserve it. Clearly, it was not intended to make bread; it was an offering that was placed in front of the window where the priestess was likely to have appeared in all her regalia.

The Lady with the Ivory Pyxis was revered in her community and probably played an important role in the community. If the epiphany ceremony depicted on the ivory lid was performed locally, she may even have performed the role of the goddess. Her regalia suggests that she came from Knossos, where much of it was made, where the religious symbols were at home, and where ladies, probably also priestesses, wore the same crook-shaped hair pins.³² And if one of these ladies was here, resident at a modest harbor town like Mochlos, one was likely to be resident in every town in Crete and in its colonies overseas, including Thera.³³ They represented Knossos and embodied its powers just as the ritual objects from Knossos found all over Crete encapsulated them. They also served to preserve Knossian rule and maintain its authority to the very end.

Jeffrey S. SOLES

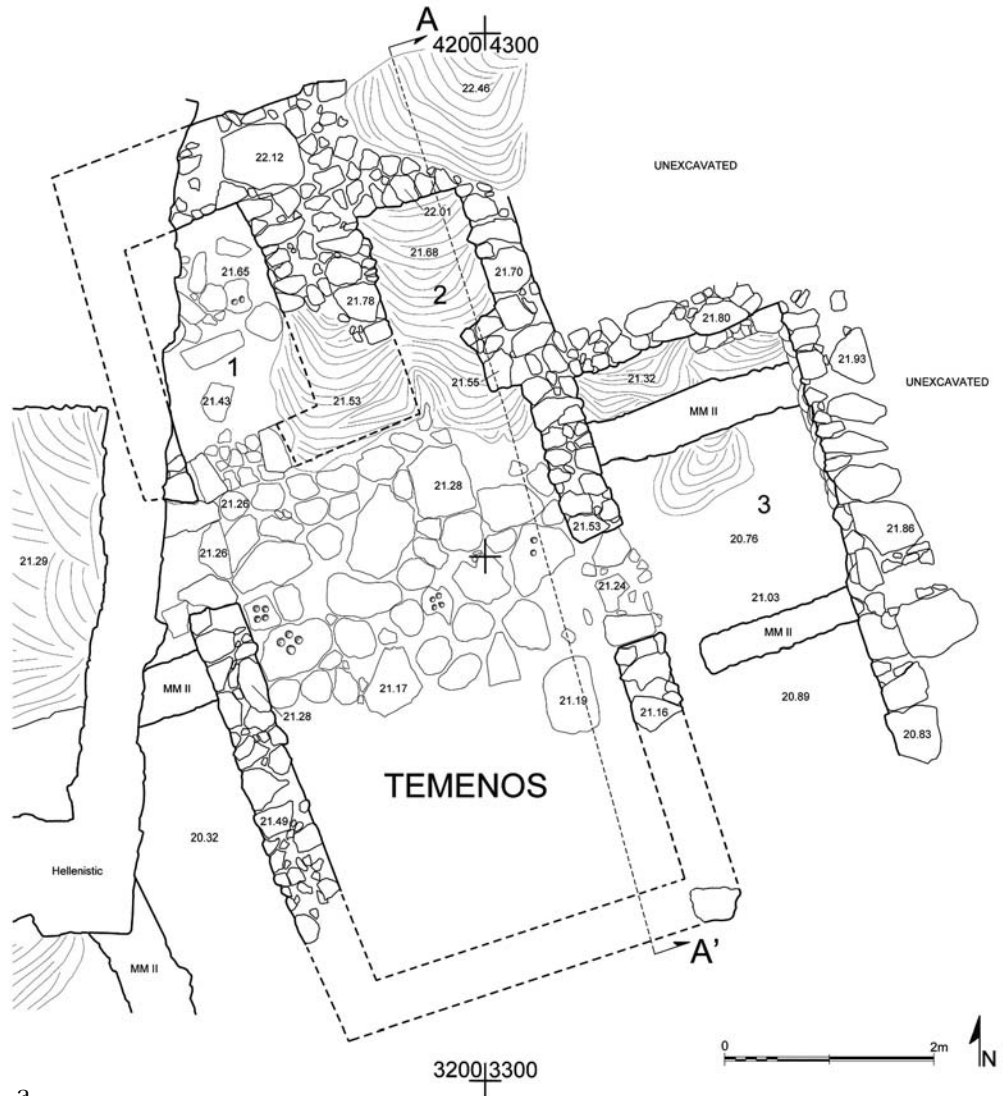
³² The crook-shaped hairpins appear on ladies in the Temple and Grandstand Fresco. Evans mistook them for curls, but they show up clearly in the recently cleaned fresco in the Heraklion Museum; see EVANS, *PM* III 46-65, fig. 31, Group C, nos. 6 and 7.

³³ See the woman from Xeste 3 on Santorini, who wears a crook-shaped ivory pin and an olive tree branch in her hair, in C. DOUMAS, *The Wall Paintings of Thera* (1992) 129, 142-143, pls. 105, 106; A. VLACHOPOULOS and F. GEORMA, "Jewellery and Adornment at Akroteri, Thera," in *KOSMOS*, 39-40.

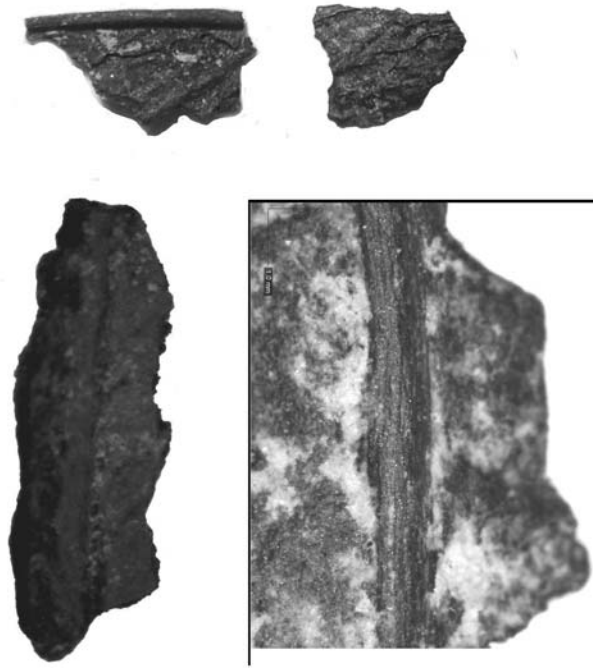
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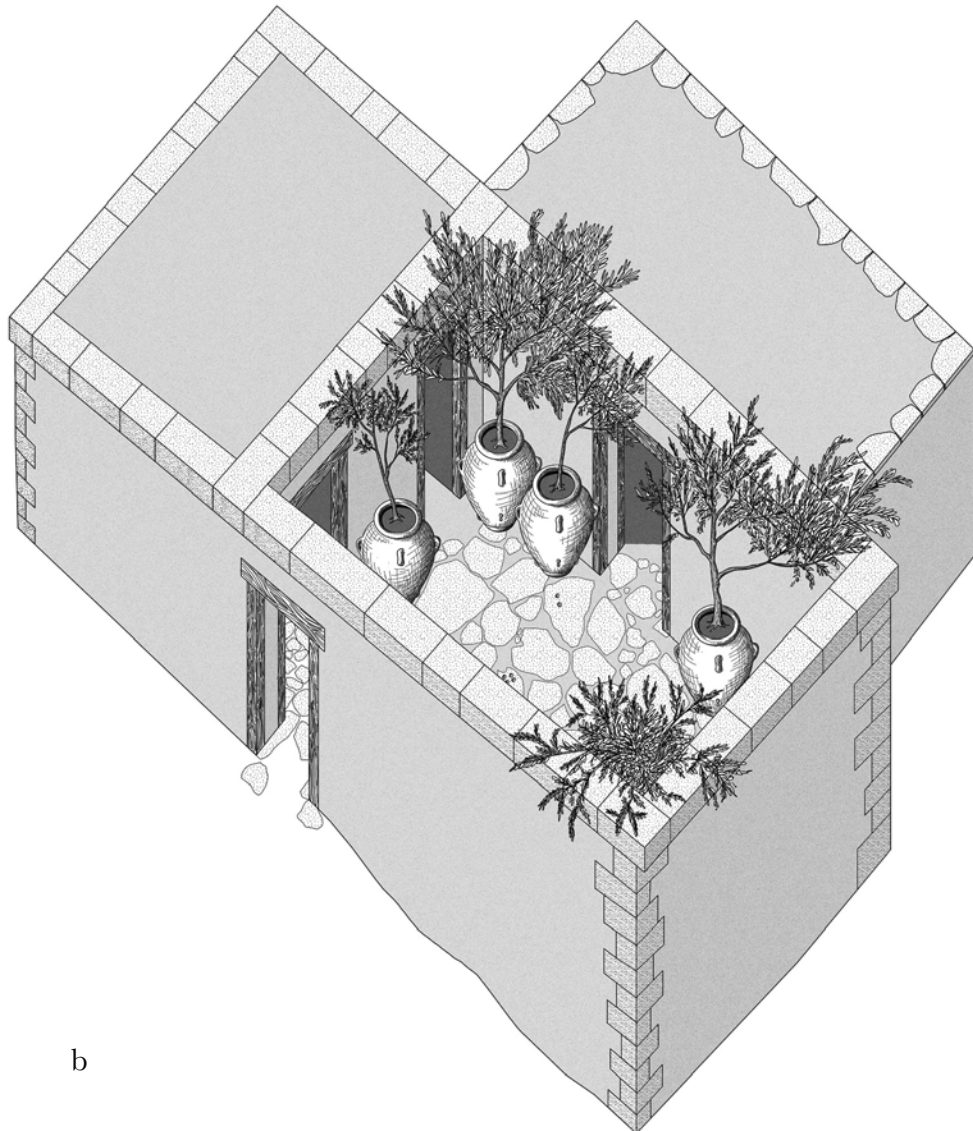




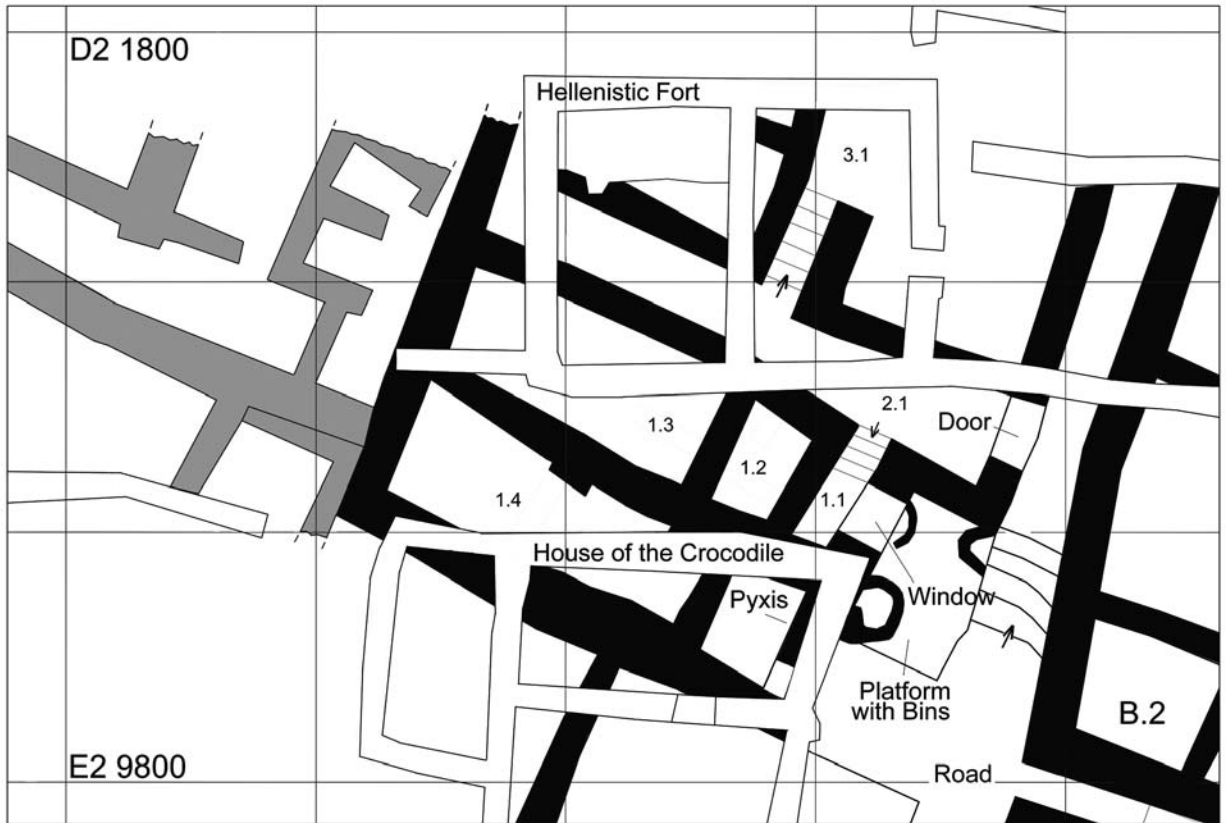
LXXIX



a



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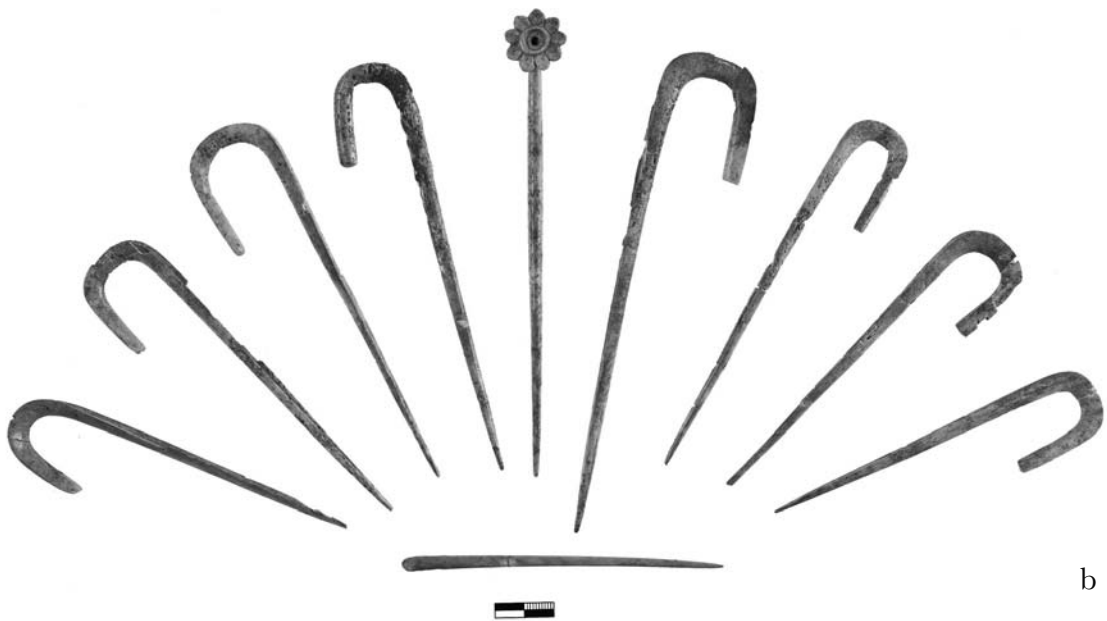


-  Middle Minoan II
-  Late Minoan IB
-  Late Hellenistic

House of the Lady with the Ivory Pyxis
(House A.2)



a



b

LXXXI

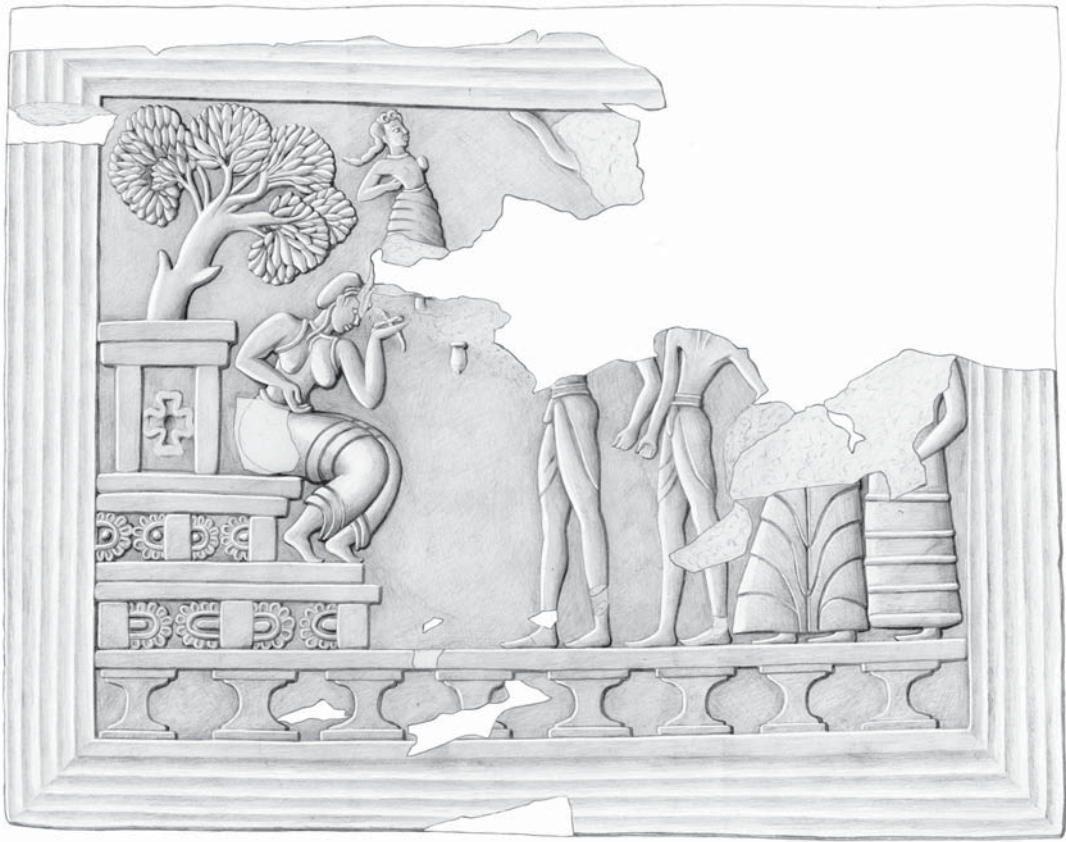


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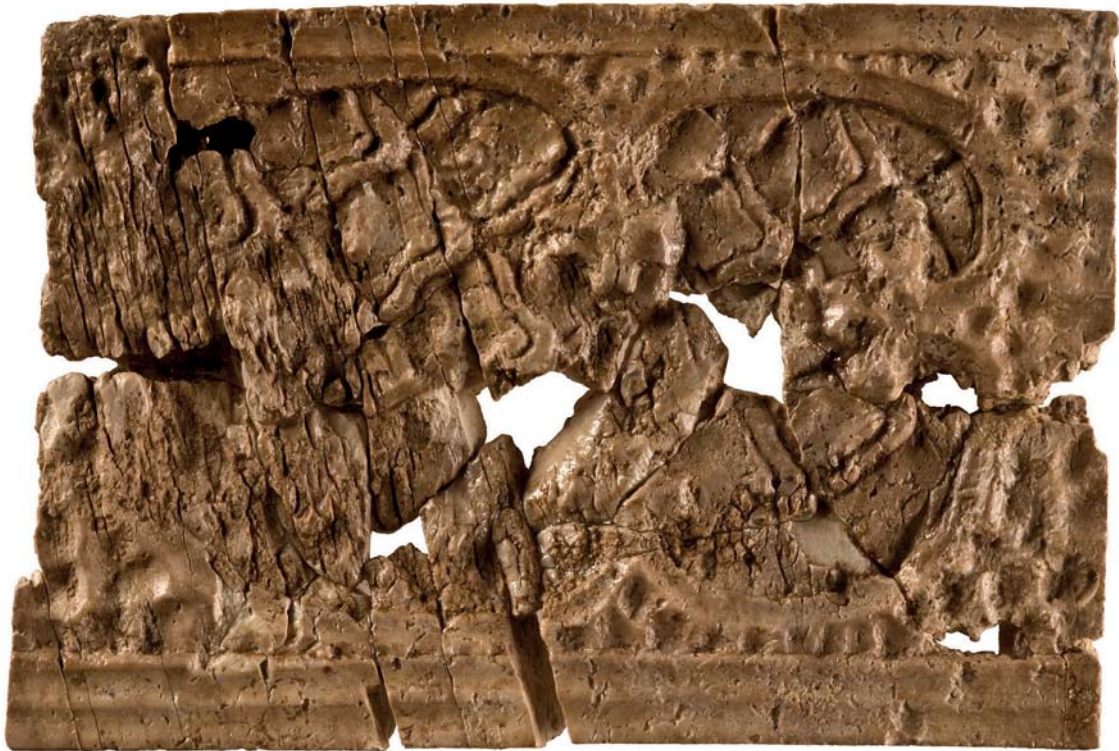


b





a



b





a



b