Aegean Breechcloths, Kilts, and the Keftiu Paintings

PAUL REHAK

Abstract

In discussions of Aegean costume, considerable attention has been paid to the change in the representation of presumed Aegean natives (the Keftiu) in several Egyptian tomb paintings of the 18th Dynasty. The earlier tombs depict men wearing breechcloths with codpieces and backflaps; the later tombs show men in kilts. The date of this change has usually been thought to coincide with a shift in power in the Aegean at the end of LM IB, from Minoans (with codpieces) to Mycenaeans (in kilts).

But both breechcloths and kilts are worn on Crete at least from MM II times, and neither costume is generally worn by early Mycenaeans. Breechcloths with codpieces characterize certain types of Minoan activity (hunting, farming, bull-leaping, and ritual performances), whereas shorts appear in early Mycenaean scenes of hunting and fighting, replaced in LH IIIA-B frescoes by tunics; most Mycenaean representations of kilts are quite late (LH IIIB).

Rather than an indication of ethnicity, differences in Aegean costume may refer to age, status, and activity, and the change in costume of the Keftiu embassies re-

corded in Egyptian tombs may reflect more the type of men the Egyptians saw than any political structures that the garments might have represented.*

INTRODUCTION

It has often been observed that Aegean Bronze Age art consists primarily of images without texts.¹ Considerations of pose, jewelry, hairstyle, and costume thus become paramount in an attempt to determine meaning in the representations of the human figure. Predictably, some of these areas like hairstyles and jewelry have received more attention than others;² perhaps most problematic is the issue of Aegean costume, which has yet to be addressed systematically as a reflection of gender, status, and activity.³

One interesting and major problem of costume concerns the relationship between the breechcloth and the kilt in a series of Egyptian paintings that

* I am grateful to the following individuals for their helpful comments: L. Bell, P.P. Betancourt, E. Cline, L. Hitchcock, C. Lilyquist, N. Marinatos, M.J. Mellink, S. Morris, G. Nordquist, J. Rutter, C. Thomas, the two anonymous reviewers for *AJA*, and especially J.G. Younger. Versions of this paper were presented at the Workshop on Ancient Societies, University of Chicago (11 October 1994) and circulated at the conference Ancient Near Eastern Textiles and Interregional Contacts in the Mid-Second Millennium B.C., Leiden (17-18 November 1994).

The following abbreviations have been used:

Barber	E.J.W. Barber, <i>Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, with Special Reference to the Aegean</i> (Princeton 1991).
Buchholz and Karageorghis	H.G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis, <i>Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus</i> (New York 1973).
Doumas	C. Doumas, <i>The Wall-Paintings of Thera</i> (Athens 1992).
Hood	S. Hood, <i>The Arts in Prehistoric Greece</i> (Harmondsworth 1978).
Immerwahr	S. Immerwahr, <i>Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age</i> (University Park 1990).
Marinatos 1960	S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, <i>Crete and Mycenae</i> (New York 1960).
Marinatos 1976	S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, <i>Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas</i> , rev. ed. (Munich 1976).

¹ This situation, of course, also occurs in regard to the art of other cultures and other times. For the Aegean, this dictum has been voiced in various ways by a number of

scholars, most notably M.P. Nilsson, *MMR*² 7: "The evidence is purely archaeological, it has come down to us as a picture book without text, and our first concern is to furnish a text to the pictures—namely, to interpret them."

² On hairstyles, see E. Davis, "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes," *AJA* 90 (1986) 399-406; and R. Koehl, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage," *JHS* 106 (1986) 99-110; D. Withee, "Physical Growth and Aging Characteristics Depicted in the Thera Frescoes," *AJA* 96 (1992) 336 (abstract). Much additional work remains to be done, especially in view of the continuing publication of the Thera frescoes that show new hairstyles: see illustrations in Doumas. For jewelry, see the useful catalogue and comments by J. Younger, "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewelry," in R. Laffineur and J.L. Crowley eds., *EIKΩN: Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology* (*Aegaeum* 8, 1992) 257-93.

³ B. Jones, a student of G. Kopcke at the Institute of Fine Arts in New York, has just completed a dissertation (1995), entitled *Women's Costume in the Aegean Bronze Age*. See also D. Kokkinidou and M. Nikolaïdou, *Η αρχαιολογία και η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του φύλου: Προσεγγίσεις στην αιγαιακή προϊστορία* (Thessaloniki 1993). A. Alexandri at Cambridge University has written a recent Ph.D. thesis on gender in Minoan archaeology, and M. Lee at Bryn Mawr College an M.A. thesis on *Semiotic Approaches to the Iconography of Gender in Minoan Neopalatial Bronze Votive Figurines*. A paper by P. Rehak on "The Construction of Gender in Late Bronze Aegean Art—A Prolegomenon" was presented at the Third Australian Women in Archaeology Conference in Sydney, Australia, on 5 February 1995, and at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Omaha, Nebraska on 20 April 1995.

seem to show Aegean natives, or Keftiu, in Theban tombs of the first half of the 18th Dynasty.⁴ The earlier paintings show individuals dressed in a stylized version of the Minoan breechcloth with codpiece and backflap; the later paintings show Keftiu in kilts that resemble those in the Procession Fresco from the palace at Knossos. From an Aegean standpoint, the most important in the series of Egyptian paintings is that in the Tomb of Rekhmire, vizier from late in the reign of Tuthmosis III to early in the reign of Amenhotep II, ca. 1457/6–1438/33 B.C.⁵ There, a group of Keftiu (the first to be labeled as such in an Egyptian painting) was originally painted wearing codpieces with backflaps; after these figures had already been completed, the garments were repainted as kilts (fig. 1).⁶ The codpieces are visible as *pentimenti* under the kilts. This change in costume has long been thought to reflect a shift in power in

the Aegean ca. 1450 B.C. from the Minoans, represented by the figures with codpieces/backflaps, to Mycenaeans, who are thought to be the individuals wearing kilts.⁷

The problem is compounded by the fact that the date of the Knossos Procession Fresco, and its kilts, is debatable. According to traditional (low) Aegean chronology, a relatively firm Egyptian date of ca. 1450 for the Keftiu paintings in the Tomb of Rekhmire is thought to coincide with the end of the pottery phases LM IB/LH IIA.⁸ And, since LM IB marks the widespread destructions across the island of Crete that some have attributed to the actions of Mycenaean invaders, the change in costume in the Egyptian paintings could reflect changes in the balance of power between Crete and the mainland, if the change in costume is diagnostic.⁹

Recently, however, the traditional dates associated

⁴ The bibliography on the Keftiu is now immense. See esp. PM II.2, 736–48; H.J. Kantor, “The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.,” *AJA* 51 (1947) 1–103, esp. 41–49; A. Furumark, “The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History ca. 1550–1400 B.C.,” *OpArch* 6 (1950) 150–271; J. Vercoutter, *L’Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Cairo 1956); W.S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven 1965) 33–35, figs. 90–92; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis* (Darmstadt 1979); J. Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu: A New Investigation* (Leiden 1980); I. Ström, “Aspects of Minoan Relations, LM I–II,” in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos eds., *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* (Stockholm 1984) 191–94; E. and Y. Sakellarakis, “The Keftiu and the Minoan Thalassocracy,” in *Minoan Thalassocracy* 197–203; S. Wachsmann, *The Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (Louvain 1987); Immerwahr 89–90; P.W. Haider, “Ägäer in ägyptischen Diensten zwischen ca. 1550 und 1200 vor Chr.,” *Laverna* 1 (1990) 18–49; E. Cline, *Orientalia in the Late Bronze Age Aegean: A Catalogue and Analysis of Trade and Contacts between the Aegean and Egypt, Anatolia and the Near East* (Diss. Univ. of Penn. 1991) esp. 37–53; Cline, “Contact, Trade or Colonization? Egypt and the Aegean in the 14th–13th Centuries B.C.,” *Minos* 25–26 (1990–1991) 7–36; Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Bronze Age Aegean* (BAR-IS 591, Oxford 1994); Barber 330–40. The recent discovery of Minoan-inspired wall paintings at the Hyksos site of Tell el-Dab’a in the Nile Delta is raising interesting new questions about Aegean/Egyptian contacts at a slightly earlier period. As part of the symposium “The Minoans in Egypt,” held in Chicago in February 1993, E. Davis delivered a paper, “Evidence of Minoan Colonies in the East,” which dealt with the Keftiu. The Metropolitan Museum of Art also sponsored a relevant symposium on 3 November 1993: Trade, Power, and Cultural Exchange: Hyksos Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World, 1800–1500 B.C. Several costumes appear in the Tell el-Dab’a paintings, including a man in a white kilt published by N. Marinatos as “a Minoan priest”: see *Pharaonen und fremde Dynastien im Dunkel*, catalogue of an exhibition held in Vienna, 8 September–23 October 1994, 203 cat. no. 227.

⁵ N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes I–II*

(New York 1943; repr. 1973). On Egyptian chronology for the New Kingdom, see esp. W.C. Hayes, *CAH*³ II.1, 315–22; E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden 1964); K.A. Kitchen, “The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age,” in P. Aström ed., *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg, 20–22 August 1987 I* (Göteborg 1987) 37–55.

⁶ Smith (supra n. 4) 85; Wachsmann (supra n. 4) 37, 44–45.

⁷ Smith (supra n. 4) 33: “These were surely Cretans in the Chapel of Senmut at the time of Hatshepsut, but possibly Minoans mingled with some Mycenaeans in the paintings of User, Rekhmira and Menkheperaseneb in the following reign of Tuthmosis III.” Immerwahr 172 notes that the date of the Procession Fresco at Knossos “should be after [the] change to [the] new style of kilt in [the] Tomb of Rekhmire and progressive Mycenaean influence” (cf. her comments on 89). Cameron was emphatic that kilts (which he termed “culottes”) represent Mycenaeans: M.A.S. Cameron, *A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos* (Diss. Univ. of Newcastle upon Tyne 1974) 612–52, esp. 633–41 and n. 66 (useful summary of opinions pro and contra). I am grateful to the British School at Athens for allowing me to cite Cameron’s comments.

⁸ On the relevant pottery styles, see P.P. Betancourt, *The History of Minoan Pottery* (Princeton 1985) 137–48; P. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Its Identification* (SIMA 73, Göteborg 1986) 17–36.

⁹ S. Hood, “Warlike Destruction in Crete c. 1450 B.C.,” *Πεπραγμένα του Ε’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Heraclion 1985) 170–78. But cf. W.-D. Niemeier, “Mycenaean Knossos and the Age of Linear B,” *SMEA* 23 (1982) 219–88; Niemeier, “The Character of the Knossian Palace Society in the Second Half of the 15th c. B.C.,” in O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon eds., *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981* (Bristol 1983) 217–36; H.W. Catling, *Some Problems in Aegean Prehistory ca. 1450–1380 B.C. A Lecture Delivered at New College, Oxford, on 5 May 1987* (14th J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture, Oxford 1989).

Fig. 1. Keftiu in the Tomb of Rekmire, Thebes. Painting by N. de Garis Davies. (Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

with the Aegean pottery chronology have been challenged (see table 1),¹⁰ and according to a revised chronology Egyptian paintings datable to ca. 1450 in absolute terms would coincide with the pottery phases LM/LH IIIA:1.¹¹ As if to support the correlation between the date of the Rekmire murals and Aegean LM IIIA:1, Barber has recently noted affinities between the designs on the later Keftiu kilts and LM IIIA pottery patterns at Knossos, patterns

which she takes to indicate a progressive "Mycenaeanization" of motifs, since they do not appear on clothing or pots before then.¹²

The precise date of the Mycenaean presence at Knossos is still controversial, however. Some have argued that their arrival at the end of the LM IB pottery phase caused the widespread destruction of administrative centers outside of Knossos, which alone survived. Others have argued that the Cretan destruc-

¹⁰ P.P. Betancourt, "Dating the Aegean Bronze Age with Radiocarbon," *Archaeometry* 29 (1987) 45–49; but cf. P. Warren, "Absolute Dating of the Aegean Late Bronze Age," *Archaeometry* 29 (1987) 205–11, and P.P. Betancourt and H.N. Michael, "Dating the Aegean Late Bronze Age with Radiocarbon: Addendum," *Archaeometry* 29 (1987) 212–13; M.J. Aitken et al., "The Thera Eruption: Continuing Discussion of the Dating," *Archaeometry* 30 (1988) 165–82; J. Muhly, "Egypt, the Aegean, and Late Bronze Age Chronology in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Review Article," *JMA* 4 (1991) 235–47, with response by S. Manning, 248–62; P. Warren and V. Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology* (Bristol 1989);

P.P. Betancourt, "High Chronology or Low Chronology: The Archaeological Evidence," in D.A. Hardy and A.C. Renfrew eds., *Thera and the Aegean World III.1* (London 1990) 19–23.

¹¹ Betancourt 1987 (supra n. 10) 47.

¹² E.J.W. Barber, "Late Bronze Age Kilts and the Reconstruction of Aegean Textile Connections," *AJA* 97 (1993) 350 (abstract). Interesting in this connection is a seated ithyphallic faience figurine perhaps of Second Intermediate Period date from Egypt who wears a kilt patterned with running spirals in strips: E. Riefstahl, "An Enigmatic Faience Figure," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (Brooklyn 1972) 137–43. I thank L. Bell for calling this to my attention.

Table 1. Aegean and Egyptian Chronology

Calendar Years B.C.	New Aegean Chronology	Old Aegean Chronology	Egypt
1700	LM/LH I (1700–1610)	MH/MM	Hyksos
1650			
1600	Thera eruption ca. 1625 LM IB/LH IIA (1610–1550)		18th Dynasty Kamose (1578–1570) Ahmose (1570–1546)
1550	LM II/LH IIB (1550–1490)	LM/LH I (1550–1500)	Amenhotep I (1546–1526/5)
1500	LM/LH IIIA (1490–1365)	Thera eruption ca. 1500 LM IB/LH IIA (1500–1450)	Thutmose I (1525–1512) Thutmose II (1512–1504) Hatshepsut (1504–1482)
1450		LM II/LH IIB (1450–1400)	Thutmose III (1482–1450) Rekhmire paintings Amenhotep II (1450–1425)
1400		LM/LH IIIA (1400–1300)	Thutmose IV (1425–1417) Amenhotep III (1417–1379)
1350	LM/LH IIIB (1365–1200)		Akhenaten (1379–1363) Tutankhamen (1361–1352) Ay (1352–1348) Horemheb (1348–1320)
1300		LM/LH IIIB (1300–1200)	19th Dynasty
1250			
1200	LM/LH IIIC (1200–1100)	LM/LH IIIC (1200–1100)	

New Aegean chronology after P.P. Betancourt, *Archaeometry* 29 (1987) 45–49. Egyptian chronology after W.C. Hayes, *CAH*³ II.1 (1973) 819.

tions are the result of internal conflict, and perhaps signal a Knossian takeover of the rest of the island;

in this case, the arrival of the Mycenaean might be as late as LM IIIA:2.¹³

¹³ See, e.g., Niemeier (supra n. 9); E. Hallager, M. Vlasakis, and B.P. Hallager, "New Linear B Tablets from Khania," *Kadmos* 31 (1992) 61–87, with further references. J. Driessen argues that the Knossos Chariot Tablets belong to a relatively early (LM II–IIIA) Mycenaean archive in the palace, in which case the Mycenaean would have had to arrive at the end of LM IB: *An Early Destruction in the Mycenaean Palace at Knossos: A New Interpretation of the Excavation*

Field Notes of the South-East Area of the West Wing (Louvain 1990); cf. objections in a review by M. Popham, *JHS* 113 (1993) 174–78. For a recent summary of the evidence, see E. Cline, "A Wrinkle in Time: Orientalia and the Mycenaean Occupation of Crete," forthcoming in a *Festschrift* for Martha R. Bell. I am grateful to the author for an advance copy of this paper.

This article instead reexamines the central assumption: do codpieces/backflaps indicate Minoans and do kilts indicate Mycenaeans? The evidence, as we shall see, does not support this cultural distinction; kilts are neither a cultural nor a chronological indicator, and therefore the significance of the change in the Rekhmire paintings must be sought elsewhere. This particular issue is important, however, because it unites the threads of a number of recent discussions of wider scope, only one of which is the debate over the old and new chronology and its implications for the arrival of Mycenaeans on Crete. In addition, the construction of ethnicity around costume is just beginning to be addressed for the Aegean world itself, as well as its construction by an Other (in this case, the Egyptians). Our conclusion that a change in Egyptian artists' depiction of costume implies a change in ethnicity is grounded in faulty assumptions. Moreover, these questions are part of a much larger, ongoing discussion about the nature and degree of east-west trade and cultural interaction in the Bronze Age.¹⁴

APPROACHES AND TERMINOLOGY

Despite the importance of clothing as a reflection of society, no comprehensive study of Minoan and Mycenaean costumes has yet appeared. In a contribution to the series *Archaeologia Homerica*, Marinatos addressed the area of dress, hair, and beard styles in 1967.¹⁵ Sapouna-Sakellarakis subsequently produced a more useful catalogue of Minoan costumes in 1971,¹⁶ in which she assembles an impressive body of evidence. In 1988, Giesecke published illus-

trations of the Minoan loincloth for men along the lines proposed by Sapouna-Sakellarakis.¹⁷

Some criticisms of the existing studies can be raised, however. For example, many of the proposed reconstructions of garments involve implausibly elaborate patterns of cutting and stitching. These ignore the common-sense supposition that Bronze Age costumes were probably as simple as their successors in the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece, which consisted primarily of squares and rectangles of woven cloth, simply draped and seldom cut, even when they were elaborately dyed and embroidered.¹⁸

A more practical approach to Aegean clothing was outlined by Barber in *Prehistoric Textiles*,¹⁹ based on archaeological and ethnographic observations about cloth production and the techniques for creating patterns. But further analysis of the actual costumes is needed, along the lines of Morgan's careful study of male costumes that appear in the Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri²⁰ and Verlinden's description of the clothing worn by bronze figurines.²¹

The lack of consistent terminology for male clothing styles is a large part of the problem, especially since the term ζώμα tends to include several different types of hip-covering garment. For the purposes of this study, I shall define the costumes in question in simple terms (fig. 2). After *nudity*, which can itself be considered a costume,²² the simplest Aegean male clothing costume is the *belt* worn around the waist.²³ To this belt can be attached a *breechcloth*²⁴ draped between the legs and secured in the front and back. At the front of the body, one end of the

¹⁴ E.g., M. Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization I-II* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1987, 1991); various authors in *Arethusa Special Issue* (Fall 1989); J.D. Muhly, "Black Athena vs. Traditional Scholarship," *JMA* 3 (1990) 83-110. A panel on Black Athena was presented at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on 6-9 January 1995; papers forthcoming in *The History Teacher* (I thank C. Thomas and E. Cline for this information).

¹⁵ S. Marinatos, *Kleidung, Haar- und Barttracht* (*ArchHom* I, A-B, Göttingen 1967). This excursus includes post-Bronze Age material, and does not include a detailed catalogue of representations.

¹⁶ E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Το μινωϊκόν ζώμα* (Athens 1971).

¹⁷ H.-E. Giesecke, "Kretische Schurze," *OpAth* 17 (1988) 91-98.

¹⁸ This approach was followed in a little-noted article by J.L. Myres, "Minoan Dress," *Man* 50 (1950) 1-6. For later Greek costumes, see M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin 1928); D.J. Symons, *Costume of Ancient Greece* (London 1987); A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland* (Munich 1989); G. Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec* (Paris 1991); and the practical diagrams in S. Woodford, *An Introduction to*

Greek Art (Ithaca 1986).

¹⁹ Barber 311-57.

²⁰ L. Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography* (Cambridge 1988) 93-98.

²¹ C. Verlinden, *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.C.* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1984) 98-104.

²² L. Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art," *AJA* 93 (1989) 543-70. Cf. the West House fisherboys from Akrotiri on Thera: Marinatos 1976, col. pl. XXIV; Doumas pls. 18-19. The tiny floating male figures in a LH IIIB fresco from the "Shrine" at Mycenae also appear to be nude: P. Rehak, "Tradition and Innovation in the Fresco from Room 31 in the 'Cult Center' at Mycenae," in Laffineur and Crowley (supra n. 2) 48-49. There are also nude figures on the silver Siege Rhyton (infra n. 34).

²³ See, e.g., the boxing boys from Akrotiri on Thera: Marinatos 1976, col. pl. XXXVIII; Immerwahr 185-86 Ak no. 4; Doumas pl. 78. Cf. the pugilist on a sealing from the Knossos Temple Repositories: *PM* III, 504 fig. 349.

²⁴ Despite its lack of elegance, the term breechcloth seems preferable to loincloth, which implies to some a cloth wrapped around the thighs, a costume defined here as a kilt.

Fig. 2. Diagram of Aegean male costumes: A) belt with breechcloth; B) backflap and frontflap; C) belt with codpiece; D) breechcloth with rigid codpiece; E-F) kilt; and G) shorts. (P. Rehak)

breechcloth is secured by the belt to create the fabric *codpiece*²⁵ that supports the genitals. In this simple form, the belt with breechcloth/codpiece could be used as underwear and was probably worn under other garments (fig. 2A, C).

When the front end of the breechcloth is first

passed under, then over, the belt to fall outside, it creates a *frontflap*.²⁶ At the back, the other end of the breechcloth can be similarly passed over the belt to create a *backflap* that covers the buttocks (fig. 2B).²⁷

While the backflap of the breechcloth in some representations is patterned like cloth, in others there

²⁵ Technically, a codpiece is "an often ornamented flap or bag concealing an opening in the front of men's breeches," according to *Webster's Third International Dictionary* (1986). A simple codpiece, apparently without front or backflap, is worn by the male offering-bearers on a stone relief vessel fragment found south of the Knossos palace: Heraklion Museum 426: *PM* II.2, 752 and fig. 486; III, 65 fig. 37; Smith (supra n. 4) fig. 93 (this fragment probably does not belong to the same vessel as the fragment restored above in Smith's drawing); P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases* (Cambridge 1969) 85, pl. P 474; B. Kaiser, *Untersuchungen zum minoischen Relief* (Bonn 1976) 14 Knossos 5.

²⁶ E.g., on a bronze figurine from Tylissos: Verlinden

(supra n. 21) 189 no. 30, pl. 14; Hood 113 fig. 97.

²⁷ A good example of the codpiece with backflap occurs on the male figure (a god or a ruler?) on the Master Impression from Khania: Khania Museum 1563: *CMS V Suppl.* 1A, no. 142. I am grateful to E. Hallager for allowing me to examine the sealing in 1993. A possible late representation of the codpiece/backflap is worn by black-skinned individuals on one of the frescoes from the Pylos Palace: M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos II: The Frescoes* (Princeton 1969) 94 no. 59 H nws, pls. 44, 129D. Lang rightly calls attention to the resemblance between the belt of this figure and the kilted cupbearer from Knossos, but the costume of the black men otherwise resembles the Minoan breechcloth.

is a rigid codpiece that stands away from the body and has a sharp outline,²⁸ probably indicating that it is a separate piece of metal or leather worn either inside the cloth codpiece or over it, and acting like a modern athletic "cup," which protects the genitals during active sports (fig. 2D). Both red-skinned male and white-skinned female bull-leapers wear this device²⁹—an interesting example of Aegean costume that is not sex-specific, though it clearly emphasizes an aspect of male, not female, physiognomy. (The long hair of both male and female bull-leapers, by contrast, recalls a female characteristic, and these adolescent youths may represent gender-neutral *παῖδιά* who have not arrived yet at their sexually specific and differentiated adult state.)

The breechcloth thus may be worn in several different ways, but it essentially serves the function of modern underwear: it covers, protects, and supports. It can be worn in any situation,³⁰ and is *de rigueur* for active sports like bull-leaping.

A *kilt*, by contrast, is simply a rectangular piece of cloth worn around the waist, draped rather like a Scottish kilt (though without the pleats) or a Turk-

ish bath-towel (fig. 2E, F), sometimes secured by a belt. Presumably, the vertical edges of the kilt were fastened at the hip, but in other instances the kilt is fastened in front. In the latter case, one or both edges may be shown as slightly pendant, and in some representations this vertical hem was evidently decorated with elaborate tassels, as shown in the Knossos Procession Fresco.³¹

Some Minoan and Mycenaean representations of hunting and fighting show men wearing a type of garment conventionally referred to as *shorts* with a distinctive split between the legs and a surface decoration of diagonal lines,³² like a short version of modern women's culottes (fig. 2G). These shorts may have been made of leather as well as of cloth, and could conceivably be worn over the simple breechcloth, like the leather chaps worn by cowboys. In this case, shorts may represent a heavy form of kilt appropriate for rigorous activities, and not short pants encasing each leg. On the gold Danicourt ring, a pair of men fighting lions have shorts with tassels like those attached to some kilts.³³

Other garments evidently worn both by Minoans

²⁸ For a fresco fragment with part of a patterned backflap and decorated belt, see *PM* II.2, 751 fig. 485. The most detailed example of the rigid codpiece is the man on the "quiet" Vapheio Cup, Athens National Museum 1759, but the men on the "violent" cup (Athens N.M. 1758) wear the same costume. See E. Davis, "The Vapheio Cups—One Minoan and One Mycenaean?" *ArtB* 56 (1974) 472–87; Davis, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* (New York 1977) 1–50, 256–57 no. 103, fig. 10; A. Xenaki-Sakellariou, "Αναζήτηση του εργαστηρίου των χρυσών κυπέλλων του Βαφειού," *ArchEph* 1991, 45–64. For illustrations see also Marinatos 1960, pl. 182 (below), 184; Marinatos 1976, pl. 204 (below), 206. The same costume is worn by men and women in the Knossos Toreador Frescoes (infra n. 29). For bronze figurines with this type of codpiece, see Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1, 230; Verlinden (supra n. 21) pls. 9, 10, 12; E. Sapouna-Sakellari, "Μυκηναϊκή πλαστική στη Λακωνία," in O. Palagia and W. Coulson eds., *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia* (Oxbow Monographs 30, Oxford 1993) 137 and figs. 1–3. A unique bronze figure found in Laconia (138 and figs. 4–5) combines the belt and codpiece with an unusual garment that covers the upper hips.

²⁹ E.g., on the LM II–IIIA Toreador panels from the Knossos palace: Marinatos 1960, col. pl. XVII; Marinatos 1976, col. pl. XVII; Immerwahr 175 Kn no. 23. This costume, incidentally, has been misunderstood on one of the new Tell el-Dab'a frescoes, adding to an already long list of peculiarities and making it unlikely that this was painted by a Minoan artist: for illustration, see O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge 1994) 246–47, fig. 7.1. More caution needs to be used in assessing these paint-

ings. N. Marinatos has suggested, incorrectly in my opinion, that the red/male and white/female color convention does not hold: "The Bull as an Adversary: Some Observations on Bull-Hunting and Bull-Leaping," *Ariadne* 5 (1989) 23–32.

³⁰ E.g., by the spectators in the Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco from Knossos: *PM* III, col. pl. XVIII; Immerwahr 173 Kn no. 16, pl. 23.

³¹ *PM* II.2, 725–26, fig. 453.

³² The term "shorts" is used here instead of "breeches" (short trousers that cover the hips and thighs) in order to avoid confusion with the term breechcloth. Examples include the warriors on the silver Battle Krater from SG IV: Athens N.M. 605–607: A. Sakellariou, "Un cratère d'argent avec scène de bataille provenant de la IV^{ème} tombe de Mycènes," in *Atti e memorie del 1^o congresso internazionale di micenologia* (Rome 1968) 262–65; "Un cratère d'argent avec scène de bataille provenant de la IV^{ème} tombe de l'acropole de Mycènes," *AntK* 17 (1974) 3–20; Davis 1977 (supra n. 28) 222–27 no. 86, figs. 176–78. Figures on seals include CMS I, nos. 9, 12, 16. Cf. also the men fighting lions on seals found at Kakovatos (*PM* IV.2, 463 fig. 387; CMS XI, no. 208) and the LM I Khania sealing with a related composition (CMS V Suppl. 1A, no. 135). The odd shorts and short tunic on an inlaid dagger blade recently on the art market raise doubts about its authenticity: for illustrations see A.R. Giumlia-Mais and P.T. Craddock, "Corinthium aes. Das schwarze Gold der Alchimisten," *AntW* 24 (1993) 20 fig. 9, 21 fig. 10.

³³ CMS XI, no. 272.

Fig. 3. Diagram of short and long tunic. (P. Rehak)

and Mycenaeans include the *short tunic*³⁴ and *long tunic*³⁵ (fig. 3), which probably consisted of two or three rectangles of cloth sewn together along their vertical edges, sometimes with sleeves added, which could be slipped on over the head. This garment corresponds closely to the chiton (χιτών) of historical Greek times.

Any of these costumes could be augmented by the addition of a larger rectangle of cloth or animal skin for a *cloak*, made with or without sleeves. There remain some rarely represented specialized forms of cloaks that may indicate special functions; but these need to be treated in depth elsewhere, along with other unique Aegean garments that are difficult to analyze.³⁶

Finally, *footgear* can be considered an element of

costume. Most representations of Aegean men and women show them barefoot. Exceptions are some figures in ritual scenes,³⁷ and the male and female participants in bull-sports. These individuals wear a low sandal with a pointed toe and strips of cloth or leather that are wrapped around the calves. A three-dimensional sandal of this type, carved in ivory, was found at Knossos.³⁸

CRETAN KILTS

Kilts in Aegean art span a wide chronological range, from MM II to at least LM IIIA/LH IIIB. The earliest securely dated examples occur in the Proto-palatial period, on some of the terracotta figurines from the peak sanctuary at Petsofas in east Crete.³⁹ Another kilted figure appears on a gold hilt-guard

³⁴ The earliest example of which I am aware appears on the LH I silver Siege Rhyton from SG IV at Mycenae: Athens N.M. 477, 504: Smith (supra n. 4) 66–67, fig. 85; A. Sakellariou, "La scène du 'siège' sur le rhyton d'argent de Mycènes d'après une nouvelle reconstitution," *RA* 1975, 195–208; Davis 1977 (supra n. 28) 227–30 no. 87, figs. 179–80. Cf. the falling warrior in a tunic from the megaron fresco of the Mycenae palace: *PM* III, 86 fig. 48e; Immerwahr 192 My no. 11. Cf. Lang (supra n. 27) 68 no. 16 H 43 (hunter with deer), 70–71 no. 21 H 48 (men with dogs), 73 no. 26 H 64 (charioteers). The short tunic is still being worn in LH IIIC, as on the Warrior Vase from Mycenae: Marinatos 1960, pls. 232–33; Marinatos 1976, pls. 256–57.

³⁵ Among the early examples are figures on the Knossos Procession Fresco and the Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus. It is common in the LH IIIB frescoes from the vestibule (room 5) at Pylos: Lang (supra n. 27) 66–68 nos. 7–10 H 5,

12–14 H 5.

³⁶ E.g., the so-called "priest robe" with diagonal bands (several examples illustrated in *PM* IV.2, figs. 341–43, 348), and the scalloped and fringed "cuirass." For a useful beginning, see Nilsson (supra n. 1) passim, and for recent discussion, P. Rehak, "The Aegean 'Priest' on CMS I 223," *Kadmos* 33 (1984) 76–84. Another garment is the so-called "hide skirt," which is worn by men and women on the Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus, and by several figures in the Knossos Procession Fresco. This "hide skirt" is different from the hide cloaks worn by the Pylos "Tarzans": Lang (supra n. 27) 71–72 no. 22 H 64, pls. 16, 117A, M.

³⁷ E.g., the gold ring from the Vapheio tholos: Athens N.M. 1801: *CMS* I, no. 219.

³⁸ *PM* II.2, 727 fig. 455.

³⁹ Sapouna-Sakellarakis (supra n. 16) pls. 6β, γ, 7α, 15.

Fig. 4. Mallia hilt guard. (P. Rehak after Marinatos 1960, pl. 69)

for a sword from an MM II context, discovered in 1936 in the palace at Mallia (fig. 4).⁴⁰ The sword was found in a room under a neopalatial polythyron at the northwest corner of the palace, and should not be confused with the other group of protopalatial weapons found in the west wing,⁴¹ which included a crystal-pommeled sword and dagger, and the well-known stone leopard-axe. On the gold hilt-guard, the elongated figure of a youth with a coiffure of short, curly hair curves around the surface of the circular plate. He wears a relatively long patterned kilt with a tight belt and a triple tassel at the front. Although

this individual has sometimes been identified as an acrobat or bull-leaper,⁴² he lacks the codpiece and the shoes with pointed tips and leggings normally worn by the latter. Thus his identity and role remain unknown.

A related costume appears on a problematic gold pendant from the Aigina Treasure roughly datable between 1700 and 1500 B.C.⁴³ In the center of the pendant, a Master of Animals grasps a pair of antithetic ducks by the necks. The surface of his kilt is plain, while the tassel down the front is shown as a single vertical band, its surface divided into segments by vertical and horizontal lines that perhaps represent beadwork. This garment with its peculiar tassel is reminiscent of Egyptian costume, perhaps filtered through Syrian eyes, and may not be representative of typical Aegean garb.

Another possible kilt is worn by two individuals on the faience plaques from the Town Mosaic found in the Knossos palace.⁴⁴ Like the Aigina pendant, these plaques have proved difficult to date. Evans considered the Town Mosaic to date to the protopalatial period (MM II),⁴⁵ though most scholars would now assign it to the beginning of the neopalatial era (MM III).⁴⁶ In either case, the thighs appear to be covered, making this costume different from the breechcloth with front or backflap.

One individual on the Harvester Vase found at Ayia Triadha also wears a kilt that has not hitherto been generally recognized: the plump man shaking the sistrum (fig. 5).⁴⁷ Like other stone relief vessels, the manufacture of the Harvester Vase is dated by Warren between MM III and LM I; the Harvester Vase was found in the LM IB destruction debris in room

⁴⁰ F. Chapouthier, "Deux épées d'apparat découvertes en 1936 au palais de Mallia," *EtCret* 5 (Paris 1938); O. Pelon, "L'épée à l'acrobat et la chronologie maliote," *BCH* 106 (1982) 165–90; "L'épée à l'acrobat et la chronologie maliote (II)," *BCH* 107 (1983) 679–703; "L'acrobat de Malia et l'art de l'époque protopalatiale en Crète," in P. Darcque and J.-C. Poursat eds., *L'iconographie minoenne. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Athènes (21–22 avril 1983)* (*BCH* Suppl. 11, Paris 1985) 35–39; O. Pelon, E. Andersen, and M. Schmidt, *Guide de Malia. Le palais et la nécropole de Chrysolakkos (Sites et monuments 9, Paris 1992)* 36, 37 figs. 15, 16; Marinatos 1960, pl. 69; Marinatos 1976, pl. 69. The short hairstyle need not "suggest a foreigner rather than a Cretan," implied in Hood 174 and fig. 71 (drawing); Barber 319, 320 fig. 15.5 (drawing).

⁴¹ J. Charbonneaux, "Trois armes d'apparat du palais de Mallia (Crète)," *Mon Piot* 28 (1925–1926) 1–18; O. Pelon, "Publication d'un palais minoen: Éléments pour une chronologie," *Πεπραγμένα* (supra n. 9) 275–83; Hood 173–74, figs. 169–70. For the leopard axe, see Marinatos 1960, pl. 68; Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 232; Marinatos 1976, pl. 68.

⁴² The acrobats on a cushion seal from Knossos (Ash-

molean Museum 1938.955) wear codpieces/backflaps and have plumes decorating their heads, but they lack footwear: V.E.G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (Oxford 1960) 118 no. 204; Hood 228 fig. 231.

⁴³ R. Higgins, "The Aegina Treasure Reconsidered," *BSA* 52 (1957) 42–57; C. Hopkins, "The Aegina Treasure," *AJA* 66 (1962) 182–84; R. Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art* (London 1967) 45 col. fig. 40; Hood 197, 196 fig. 193; C. Gates, "Iconography at the Crossroads: The Aegina Treasure," *Aegaeum* 3 (1989) 215–25, esp. 218–21; R. Higgins, *The Aegina Treasure: An Archaeological Mystery* (London 1979); R. Hägg and Y. Lindau, "The Minoan 'Snake-Frame' Reconsidered," *OpAth* 15 (1984) 73.

⁴⁴ *PM* I, 301–14, esp. 309 fig. 228p, t; K. Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* (New Haven 1979) 102, figs. 33, 35; Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1.305.

⁴⁵ *PM* I, 301–302.

⁴⁶ Immerwahr 68–70.

⁴⁷ Heraklion Museum 184; Warren (supra n. 25) 88; Marinatos 1960, pl. 104 (below); Kaiser (supra n. 25) 24–25 Hagia Triada I; Marinatos 1976, pl. 104 (below); Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1.165.

Fig. 5. Harvester Vase. (Photo J.G. Younger)

4 of the villa, where it may have fallen from an upper floor.⁴⁸ A total of 27 men are shown in the procession around the vase: most of these wear breechcloths that include codpieces and backflaps, but long cloaks envelop the three tall singers with open mouths, and the "leader" wears a long robe with a scalloped surface and a fringed hem.⁴⁹ The kilt of the plump sistrum-player represents a fourth distinct costume on the vessel, and his ample proportions are similar to those of a kilted figure from Akrotiri, discussed below.⁵⁰

Another kilt has been reported among the three-dimensional carved ivories found along the Royal Road at Knossos in a LM IB destruction level.⁵¹ Both it and the kilt on the Harvester Vase are important indicators that this garment was being worn by Minoans before the widespread Cretan destructions that signal the end of the neopalatial period and before the traditional LM II–IIIA date of the Knossos Procession Fresco.

The most elaborate kilts in Minoan art appear on the life-sized figures of the Procession Fresco, which

Fig. 6. Knossos Procession Fresco. (P. Rehak after *PM* II.2, suppl. pl. XXVII)

originally lined both side walls of the west entrance passage in the Knossos palace (fig. 6).⁵² Evans argued somewhat tentatively that these paintings followed a LM IA destruction but were modeled on a preexisting cycle of decoration.⁵³ Subsequently, Cameron, Immerwahr, and others have dated these murals to a later stage in the life of the palace after a probable Mycenaean takeover of Crete at the end of LM IB. The Procession Fresco would then date to LM II–IIIA, but might still reflect an earlier Minoan processional scheme.⁵⁴ There is, however, no stratigraphic evidence for dating the paintings, and stylistic chronologies for dating paintings are notoriously insecure.⁵⁵ Moreover, the presence of kilts in the painting was one of the factors that originally led Evans and others to propose a date after the Cretan

⁴⁸ On the dating of relief vessels, see Warren (*supra* n. 25) 174–75. On the villa, see also L. Banti, F. Halbherr, and E. Stefani, *Haghia Triada nel periodo tardo palaziale* (*ASAtene* 55, n.s. 39, 1980); L.V. Watrous, "Ayia Triada: A New Perspective on the Minoan Villa," *AJA* 88 (1984) 123–34, esp. 127.

⁴⁹ Marinatos 1960, pl. 103; Marinatos 1976, pl. 103. For discussion, see *MMR*² 160–63.

⁵⁰ J.G. Younger notes that plumpness is used for some musicians in the Near East to suggest that they are eunuchs (personal communication).

⁵¹ *AR* 1957, 22; Hood 119.

⁵² *PM* II.2, 704–36, suppl. pl. XXVII figs. 20–22; Marinatos 1960, col. pl. XV (cupbearer); Cameron (*supra* n. 7) pls. 7A, 8–11; Marinatos 1976, col. pl. XV (cupbearer); Hood

66 fig. 49 (cupbearer); S. Peterson, *Wall Painting in the Aegean Bronze Age: The Procession Fresco* (Diss. Univ. of Minnesota 1981); Immerwahr 85–89, 174–75 Kn no. 22; C. Boulotis, "Nochmals zum Prozessionsfresko von Knossos: Palast und Darbringung von Prestige-Objekten," in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos eds., *The Function of the Minoan Palaces* (Stockholm 1987) 145–55. Cf. comments by Hägg, "Pictorial Programmes in Minoan Palaces and Villas?" in Darcque and Poursat (*supra* n. 40) 209–17.

⁵³ *PM* II.2, 679–84.

⁵⁴ Immerwahr 174–75.

⁵⁵ Noted by C.W. Hawke-Smith, "The Knossos Frescoes: A Revised Chronology," *BSA* 71 (1976) 65–76.

destructions! Recently, Davis has suggested that the paintings might be datable to LM IB on the basis of the vessel forms carried by some of the individuals in the procession.⁵⁶ This interpretation represents a compromise between the views of Evans, on the one hand, and Cameron and Immerwahr, on the other. But in any case, the date of the Procession Fresco cannot be considered secure.

Three important aspects of the Procession Fresco deserve particular emphasis here. First, not all the men in the procession wear kilts: some men (indicated by their red feet) are clad instead in long tunics with patterned hems.⁵⁷ Second, the status of some of the men with kilts is emphasized by the presence of blue (silver?) anklets; the famous kilted cupbearer illustrated in all the handbooks, whose legs are not preserved, wears bracelets, armbands, and a sealstone bracelet at his left wrist.⁵⁸ Finally, the kilts carry elaborate patterns of interlocking designs that are distinctly different from the linear banded designs represented on the kilts of the Egyptian Keftiu paintings;⁵⁹ perhaps these two types of kilts need to be more clearly distinguished than they have been previously.

At least one individual on the LM IIIA Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus, another work dated primarily on stylistic grounds, also wears a kilt that descends to a point in front like the Procession Fresco costumes.⁶⁰ He occurs in the upper register of one short end of the sarcophagus, above the zone containing two women in a chariot drawn by a griffin. Although not well preserved, he evidently belongs to another procession of figures since the feet of another man are preserved behind him at the right. Kilts are not worn, however, by the men on the long sides of the sarcophagus who appear in the bull-sacrifice scene or in the libation to an armless, footless figure, perhaps the deceased individual or a statue. In both of those scenes, men wear either short skirts, evidently of hide, with a pendant triangular flap or "tail" at the back, or a long tunic. It may be significant that all three male costumes on the sarcophagus—kilt, hide skirt, and long tunic—also occur on the Knossos Procession Fresco.⁶¹

Fig. 7. Captain of the Blacks. (P. Rehak after *PM* II.2, pl. XIII)

An apparent kilt of slightly different shape appears on the LM II–IIIA fresco fragments found near the House of the Frescoes outside the palace at Knossos, a composition that Evans called "The Captain of the Blacks" (fig. 7).⁶² The Captain himself wears a yellow kilt with a black and white checked hem and a tight belt. One of the more scantily preserved black figures behind him wears a light blue kilt with a black and yellow checked hem. The edges of the kilt form a V-shaped point between the legs of the Captain, perhaps a frontal rendering of the design seen in profile on the Procession Fresco and Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus. But this costume lacks elaborate surface patterns.

Several other Cretan representations include costumes that somewhat resemble kilts, but are

⁵⁶ E. Davis, "The Cycladic Style of the Thera Frescoes," in Hardy and Renfrew (supra n. 10) 214–27, esp. 214.

⁵⁷ *PM* II.2, suppl. pl. XXV, figs. 1–5.

⁵⁸ See the comments by J.G. Younger, "Non-Sphragistic Uses of Minoan-Mycenaean Sealstones and Rings," *Kadmos* 16 (1977) 141–59.

⁵⁹ Noted in Barber 336–38.

⁶⁰ C. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs* (SIMA

41, Göteborg 1974); Hood 70 fig. 54; Cameron (supra n. 7) pls. 12B, 151; Immerwahr 180–81 AT no. 2.

⁶¹ For the probable appearance of a hide skirt in the Procession Fresco, see Boulotis (supra n. 52) 149 figs. 4a and 4b; *PM* II.2 suppl. pl. XXVI fig. 18.

⁶² *PM* II.2, 755–57, col. pl. XIII; IV.2, 886 fig. 869; Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1,051; Cameron (supra n. 7) pl. 12A; Immerwahr 96, 176 Kn no. 27.

problematic for one reason or another. The youths on the Ayia Triadha Chieftain Cup wear garments with codpieces that curve too high over the thigh to be proper kilts, but some of the fabric appears to be draped around the hips in a manner different from the breechcloth.⁶³ A similarly ambiguous costume appears on a Minoan cushion seal found on Naxos showing a man with a spear, saluting a palm tree over a low table with an array of cult equipment.⁶⁴ It may be significant that one of the youths on the Chieftain Cup and the man on the sealstone are both performing the "commanding gesture" of brandishing a spear or scepter. Finally, a LM III bronze figurine found near Rethymnon seems to combine the kilt with the codpiece, perhaps indicating a late misunderstanding or conflation of both garments.⁶⁵

CYCLADIC KILTS

Kilts are also worn by individuals in Cycladic representations. On a painted pottery stand (contemporary with MC III) from Phylakopi on Melos, a row of men appear in kilts, each man holding a fish in each hand (fig. 8).⁶⁶ These individuals can be compared to processional figures like those in the frescoes, but their pose and gesture with the fish recall those of the nude "fisherboys" on paintings from the West House at Akrotiri on Thera.⁶⁷ The men on the Phylakopi stand, however, may represent the earliest *painted* representations of kilts in the Aegean (ca. 1700–1600 B.C.).

Kilts also appear at least four times in the LM IA Thera frescoes. In the Miniature Fresco from the West House, a man on one of the ships wears a white kilt with black borders,⁶⁸ in contrast to most of the other individuals who wear long cloaks or codpieces with backflaps.⁶⁹

In Xeste 3, a building where women's activities appear prominently in the fresco decoration, one small room (3b) near the lustral basin shows men and boys

Fig. 8. Phylakopi pottery stand. (P. Rehak after *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* [New York 1977] 69 fig. 23)

of various ages holding cloth and several metal vessels;⁷⁰ the latter association recalls the figures with vessels from the Knossos Procession Fresco. One of

⁶³ Heraklion Museum 341: Warren (supra n. 25) 37, pl. P 197; Kaiser (supra n. 25) 28–29 Hagia Triada 3. For illustrations, see Marinatos 1960, pls. 100, 102; Marinatos 1976, pls. 100, 102; Hood pl. 1,166a, b. An examination of the cup by J.G. Younger and myself in the summer of 1993 suggests that the cup may be unfinished; we thank P. Galanaki of the Heraklion Museum for assisting us in the study. For interpretation, see Koehl (supra n. 2).

⁶⁴ C. Kardara, *Απλώματα Νάξου* (Athens 1977) pl. 6; CMS V, no. 608. Cf. the pose of the man on an ivory plaque from the Artemision deposit on Delos: Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1,289.

⁶⁵ Marinatos 1960, pl. 121; Marinatos 1976, pl. 125.

⁶⁶ Athens N.M. 5782: T.D. Atkinson et al., *Excavations at*

Phylakopi in Melos (BSA Suppl. Paper 4, London 1904) 123–25, pl. XXII; Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 863; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* (New York 1977) 69 no. 23. The kilts are hard to distinguish in modern photographs, but show clearly in the original publication.

⁶⁷ Supra n. 20.

⁶⁸ Doumas pl. 40 (detail). The artist has neglected to paint the legs of this figure, so he appears to float.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of male costumes in the West House Miniature Fresco, see Morgan (supra n. 20) 93–98.

⁷⁰ Doumas pls. 109–15. On the use of the building, see N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens 1984) 61–84.

Fig. 9. Kilted man from Xeste 3, Akrotiri. (P. Rehak after Doulas pl. 114)

the Akrotiri panels shows a plump seated man who wears a cream-colored kilt that appears to be rolled at the waist rather than belted separately; a diagonal black band runs along one thigh (fig. 9).⁷¹ He holds a metal hydria that has good parallels in vessels discovered on Crete,⁷² Thera,⁷³ and in the Mycenae Shaft Graves.⁷⁴ His plumpness, however, is reminiscent of the man with the sistrum on the Harvester Vase. Recently, Marinatos has identified the painted hydria as a container for water⁷⁵ though wine is an equally good possibility, especially in a scene that may have religious associations. Another life-sized man who wears a white kilt reportedly decorated a wall of the entrance vestibule (room 5) in Xeste 3, but only one indistinct illustration of this figure has been published.⁷⁶

In a neighboring building, Xeste 4, several men are represented who wear patterned kilts.⁷⁷ Some

Fig. 10. Kilted man from Xeste 4, Akrotiri. (P. Rehak after Doulas pl. 138)

of these individuals are shown ascending alongside a staircase (fig. 10), and their kilts are elaborately decorated with running spirals and other designs in red, blue, and black, perhaps indicating that they are of higher status than the seated and standing men in Xeste 3 with the plain white or cream kilts. Further observations about these figures must await the full publication of the building, but it is important to note that the men from Xeste 4 prove that painted processions of figures wearing kilts already existed *before* the end of LM IA, earlier than any of the dates proposed for the Knossos Procession Fresco. There is a noticeable increase in the com-

⁷¹ Doulas pls. 110, 114.

⁷² J. and E. Sakellarakis, *Archanes* (Athens 1991) 84 fig. 61 (from Tholos A at Archanes Phourni). For other examples from Crete, see H. Matthäus, *Die Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (*Prähistorische Bronzefunde* II.1, 1980) pl. 25.210–12.

⁷³ Matthäus (supra n. 72) pl. 25.215: Athens N.M. BE 1974.46 (Akrotiri).

⁷⁴ Matthäus (supra n. 72) pls. 26–28: Athens N.M. 604: bronze hydria from SG IV.

⁷⁵ N. Marinatos, *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol* (Columbia, S.C. 1993) 210.

⁷⁶ Thera VII (Athens 1976) 25, pl. 39a (there are two bent legs moving left, below a white kilt); Immerwahr 188, uncatalogued no. 11.

⁷⁷ Doulas pl. 138.

Fig. 11. Silver battle krater, Shaft Grave IV. (After A. Sakellariou, in *AntK* 17 [1974] 5, fig. 1a)

plexity of fabric patterns from the kilts of Xeste 4 to those of the Procession Fresco to those of the Keftiu paintings.

MAINLAND MALE COSTUMES

Interestingly, however, there seem to be almost no early Mycenaean representations from the mainland of men wearing the kilt, except perhaps for the man standing at a shrine on a gold ring from Mycenae, but he is followed by an agrimi, a fertile goat indigenous to Crete.⁷⁸

On several gold cushion seals and rings from the Mycenae Shaft Graves, men appear to wear a type of shorts⁷⁹ that is also attested on Crete in scenes of hunting and warfare, like the tiny figure of a crouching bearded archer on a fragment of a stone relief vessel found at Knossos.⁸⁰ A similarly clad crouching beardless archer was engraved on a lentoid used to impress sealings, nodules, and a roundel at Ayia Triadha.⁸¹ While the bearded archer on the stone vase fragment has sometimes been considered

non-Aegean, or at least non-Minoan, the Ayia Triadha seal impression suggests that the crouching archer in shorts is an established artistic *topos* in neopalatial Crete. Similar shorts are worn by the men on the silver Battle Krater from SG IV (fig. 11),⁸² which Davis considers a Minoan work created for a Mycenaean patron,⁸³ in contrast to Sakellariou and Vermeule, who argue in favor of Mycenaean manufacture. All the male figures on the famous niello Lion Hunt dagger from SG IV also wear shorts.⁸⁴ Surprisingly, the silver Siege Rhyton, contemporary with these other works, is of little help here for all of its figures appear nude except for one man who wears a tunic and helmet.⁸⁵

By contrast, the two gold cups from the LH IIA (LM IB) cist in the Vapheio tholos show men wearing breechcloths with rigid codpieces with backflaps (see above, fig. 2D).⁸⁶ Although Davis has argued ingeniously that one cup is of Minoan manufacture and the other Mycenaean, it is important to note that *both* cups clearly reflect the bull iconography asso-

⁷⁸ Athens N.M. 3148: CMS I, no. 119. Nothing in the technique precludes a Cretan manufacture for this ring, according to J.G. Younger (personal communication).

⁷⁹ Supra n. 32.

⁸⁰ Heraklion Museum 257: Warren (supra n. 25) 85, 177, 181; Kaiser (supra n. 25) 12–13 Knossos 3; Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1, 164.

⁸¹ E. Hallager, L. Godart, and J.-P. Olivier, "La rondelle en linéaire A d'Haghia Triada Wc 3024 (HM 1110)," *BCH* 113 (1989) 431–37, 433 fig. 5 (drawing).

⁸² Supra n. 32.

⁸³ Davis 1977 (supra n. 28) 225–27.

⁸⁴ Athens N.M. 394: Marinatos 1960, col. pls. XXV–XXVI; Marinatos 1976, col. pls. XLIX center, L below; Buch-

holz and Karageorghis pl. 682. On the niello technique, see discussion in Davis 1977 (supra n. 28) 215–20; cf. R. Laffineur, "L'incrustation à l'époque mycénienne," *AntCl* 43 (1974) 5–37, esp. 7 no. 1; A. Xenaki-Sakellariou and C. Chatzilou, *Peinture en métal à l'époque mycénienne* (Athens 1989).

⁸⁵ Supra n. 34.

⁸⁶ Supra n. 28. For a good general discussion of the tomb and its contents, see E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, rev. ed. (Chicago 1972) 127–30. Cf. also I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, "Das Kuppelgrab von Vapheio. Die Beigabenausstattung in der Steinkiste. Untersuchungen zur Sozialstruktur in späthelladischer Zeit," *JRGZM* 34 (1987) 197–212.

Fig. 12. Kilted men, Pylos palace vestibule. (P. Rehak after M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos II: The Frescoes* [Princeton 1969] pl. N)

ciated with neopalatial Knossos—and Knossos alone of all the major Cretan centers.⁸⁷ Thus it is likely that both cups reflect Minoan compositions, regardless of who actually made them. The tremendous interest of the early Mycenaeans in the sport of bull-leaping is underscored by the presence of two gold amygdaloid seals with bulls in tholos 2 at Routsis near Pylos.⁸⁸

The man on the gold (Minoan) cult ring found on the floor of the Vapheio tholos also wears a codpiece,⁸⁹ as do the bull-leapers on frescoes found on the mainland at Mycenae,⁹⁰ Pylos,⁹¹ and Tiryns.⁹² Thus, it is clear that the early Mycenaeans were aware

of breechcloths with codpieces/backflaps along with shorts as costumes, but may have understood the former as a costume associated only with bull-sports or religious activities.

Kilts appear subsequently on the mainland only for offering-bearers in the LH IIIB frescoes from the vestibule (room 5) of the Pylos palace (fig. 12),⁹³ and for some of the combatants in frescoes from room 64.⁹⁴ Although the vestibule fragments were heavily burnt, they show individuals in a (religious?) procession⁹⁵ that recalls the Knossos Procession Fresco and the figures on the Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus. The depiction of the pointed hem between the legs,

⁸⁷ On the cups, see supra n. 28. The Knossian connections of bull-imagery were discussed in three papers at the 1994 Heidelberg conference: R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier eds., *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 12, 1995); P. Rehak, "The Use and Destruction of Minoan Stone Bull's Head Rhyta" (435–60); J.G. Younger, "Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Games, III" (507–45); B. and E. Hallager, "The Knossian Bull—Political Propaganda in Neopalatial Crete" (547–56).

⁸⁸ Athens N.M. 8324, 8330: CMS I, nos. 274, 283. These are the only two gold amygdaloid seals known from the Aegean.

⁸⁹ Athens N.M. 1801: CMS I, no. 219. Cf. the man with the codpiece/backflap on a gold ring from grave 91 at Mycenae: Athens N.M. 3179: CMS I, no. 126. Cf. J.A. Sakellarakis, "Die Chronologie der Siegelringe und Siegel aus Grab 91

von Mykene," CMS Suppl. 0 (Berlin 1984) 115–32.

⁹⁰ W. Lamb, "Frescoes from the Ramp House," BSA 24 (1919–1921) 192–93, col. pl. VII.4; Immerwahr 190 My no. 1; M.C. Shaw, "A Bull-Leaping Scene in a Fresco from Mycenae: A New Reconstruction," AJA 99 (1995) 343 (abstract).

⁹¹ Lang (supra n. 27) 77 no. 36 H 105, pls. 24, 116, 124, C; Hood 78 fig. 59; Immerwahr 196 Py No. 1.

⁹² Athens N.M. 1595: Immerwahr 202 Ti no. 1. Immerwahr suggests a date of LH IIIB (?), which seems rather late.

⁹³ Lang (supra n. 27) 64–65 no. 5 H 5, pls. 3–6, N, 119; Immerwahr 197 Py no. 8.

⁹⁴ Lang (supra n. 27) 74 no. 28 h 64, pls. 20, 123; 72–73 no. 24 H 64, pls. 118, 124.

⁹⁵ L. McCallum, *Decorative Program in the Mycenaean Palace of Pylos: The Megaron Frescoes* (Diss. Univ. of Penn. 1987).

however, resembles that of the kilts in the Captain of the Blacks composition from Knossos.

CONCLUSION

Although more examples could be added, this brief survey of the evidence should make it clear that the kilt was worn by men in some situations on Crete over a wide chronological span, from at least MM II to LM IIIA, and on the mainland by several individuals in the LH IIIB Pylos frescoes. The garment by itself is thus not a good chronological indicator when it appears in some of the later Keftiu paintings. All the Aegean evidence suggests that the kilt should identify islanders from the Cyclades or from Crete, not Mycenaeans.

At the same time, the highly detailed surface patterns of the kilts on the hilt-guard of the Mallia sword, the Knossos Procession Fresco, and the Xeste 4 staircase figures are probably indicators of the high status of these individuals, in contrast to the plain kilts of the plump seated man from Xeste 3 and the sistrum-shaker on the Harvester Vase, both of whom also lack the jewelry that is another mark of importance.⁹⁶ Thus, surface decoration of textiles may not be a significant chronological indicator either, but rather an indicator of status.

I would suggest that differences in Aegean costume largely reflect the roles or spheres of activity of individuals, and possibly their ages as well, with the breechcloth with codpiece/backflap denoting intense physical activity of youths and adolescents (harvesting, bull-leaping, agonistic combats) and the simple breechcloth in worship (since it is worn by comparably posed figures of votaries in bronze⁹⁷ and in glyptic⁹⁸), while for mature men simple kilts might indicate a "low level management" (the sistrum player, hydria-holder) and patterned kilts might indicate men of higher status (the Knossos Procession Fresco, including the cupbearer with his sealstone bracelet). Shorts are confined, as far as I can tell, to LM/LH I-II scenes of battle or hunting but appear in Minoan⁹⁹ as well as Mycenaean depictions; in the later Mycenaean frescoes of LH IIIA-B date they are gen-

erally replaced by tunics. Tunics—short and long—may be appropriate for a wide variety of activities, and could conceivably represent ordinary "everyday wear" for the Minoans, whom we are accustomed to see mostly in extraordinary circumstances in frescoes, glyptic, and on stone and metal vases.

Comparatively few Aegean objects depict more than one type of male costume, and more attention should be paid to these works. The Ayia Triadha Harvester Vase is unusual in showing breechcloths, two types of cloak (plain and scalloped), and a kilt. The somewhat later Knossos Procession Fresco and the Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus depict long tunics, kilts, and hide skirts. One musician on the sarcophagus even wears a short, calf-length tunic.

In addition, the kilt is not restricted to Crete, since it is represented on works from at least two Cycladic islands, Thera and Melos, early in the Late Bronze Age. There is no evidence from the mainland, however, to suggest that the kilt is *ever* a standard Mycenaean costume. There, shorts are the rule for the early Mycenaean (Shaft Grave) era, superseded by short or long tunics in the later wall paintings from Pylos¹⁰⁰ and in pictorial vase paintings from the Argolid.¹⁰¹

These observations bring us back to the starting point for this paper: the change from codpieces/backflaps to kilts in the tomb paintings of Rekhmire and later 18th Dynasty Egyptian nobles at Thebes. This has been regarded as a simple problem, but obviously it is not. The change in costume obviously meant something of significance to the painters of the Egyptian tombs, since in the case of the Rekhmire friezes the artists deliberately reworked murals that were essentially complete. One possible explanation is that the change from codpieces to kilts could reflect a basic change in the status or age group of Aegean men that composed the embassies to Egypt.

A second explanation is more complex. It has long been noted that many of the Keftiu paintings in the Theban tombs copy or select from an existing pictorial model, perhaps inspired initially by a single, major deputation from the Aegean to Egypt early

⁹⁶ Younger (supra n. 2).

⁹⁷ E.g., a bronze from Tylissos: Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1,226a-b.

⁹⁸ As on the well-known "Mother on the Mountain" sealings from Knossos: *PM* II.2, 809 fig. 528; IV.2, 608 fig. 597 A e; M. Gill, "The Knossos Sealings: Provenance and Identification," *BSA* 60 (1965) 71 M 1-5, pl. 11.

⁹⁹ E.g., the Khania sealing (supra n. 32), which comes from a LM I context before the period of major Mycenaean influence on Crete, though several scholars have suggested

that there were Mycenaeans at Thera, and a LM I Warrior Grave has been found at Poros near Heraklion: P. Metaxa-Muhly, *Λαξευτός τάφος στο Πόρο Ηρακλείου* (Athens 1992).

¹⁰⁰ See examples in Lang (supra n. 27) cited in ns. 34 and 35.

¹⁰¹ E.g., the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, supra n. 34. Cf. the late painted stela from Mycenae, which may be by the same hand as the vase: Buchholz and Karageorghis pl. 1,071; Immerwahr 149-50.

in the 18th Dynasty, perhaps during the reign of Hatshepsut.¹⁰² A major change in costume could then be an indication that another important visit took place at the time that Rekhmire's tomb was still being prepared, and that the costumes of this new group of visitors inspired a change in the basic Egyptian conception of how the Keftiu dressed. Exchanges of various sorts between the Aegean and Egypt may have been much more common than we now suppose. Later in the 18th Dynasty there is evidence for a reciprocal Egyptian embassy to Crete and the mainland under Amenhotep III, which left physical traces in the archaeological record at Mycenae,¹⁰³ as well as the further possibility that warriors from the Aegean actually served in Egypt shortly thereafter, in the reign of Akhenaten.¹⁰⁴

But the alteration of codpieces to kilts in the Theban tomb paintings cannot be used to support ideas

about changes in political structures in the Aegean, regardless of whether one follows the traditional Aegean chronology or adopts the higher one that has been proposed recently. Thus, the notion—implicit or explicit—that the codpieces in the Keftiu paintings indicate Cretans, and that kilts indicate Mycenaean natives must be abandoned. Clearly, though, differences among Aegean costumes were significant, and changes among them were observed and noted even outside the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds.¹⁰⁵ The meaning of Aegean costumes is still an area where we have much to investigate and learn.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
6525 NORTH SHERIDAN ROAD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60626
PREHAK@ORION.IT.LUC.EDU

¹⁰² Wachsmann (supra n. 4) for discussion of the possible role of copybooks in the transmission of images.

¹⁰³ E.g., a series of faience plaques of the type used in Egypt for foundation deposits. See E. Cline, "Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century B.C.," *Orientalia* 56 (1987) 1–36; cf. Cline, "Monkey Business in the Bronze Age Aegean: The Amenhotep II Faience Figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns," *BSA* 86 (1991) 29–42.

¹⁰⁴ An illustrated papyrus from Amarna in the British Museum shows warriors, some wearing zoned (boars' tusk?)

helmets: R.B. Parkinson and L. Schofield, "Akhenaten's Army?" *Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1993) 34–35; Schofield and Parkinson, "Of Helmets and Heretics: A Possible Egyptian Representation of Mycenaean Warriors on a Papyrus from el-Amarna," *BSA* 89 (1994) 157–70 and color frontispiece. Note, however, that the helmeted men also wear Egyptian loincloths, not Aegean costumes; furthermore, L. Morgan has argued that boars' tusk helmets cannot be used to distinguish Mycenaeans from Minoans (supra n. 20) 109–15.

¹⁰⁵ W. Helck, "Die Ägypter und die Fremden," *Spaeculum* 15 (1964) 103–10.