

REPRESENTATIONS OF MINOAN-MYCENAEAN JEWELRY *

Minoan-Mycenaean jewelry begins to be represented on seals, in fresco, and on statues and statuettes of terracotta and bronze late in the Middle Minoan period and continue to be represented through most of the Late Bronze Age.

Most people depicted in Aegean art in this limited period wear jewelry, but not all ¹.

Perhaps the easiest way to present depicted jewelry is to discuss it in order of its location on the body, starting with Plumed Caps and ending with Anklets. In the discussions that follow, however, it will become clear that certain types of people or people in certain situations will wear certain groupings of jewelry. A summary at the end will make these groupings clear.

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First, this study is based on the *Catalogue of Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewelry* and the simplified *Chart*, both of which are appended at the end of this paper. Second, this study does not discuss extant items of jewelry that are not represented in the other arts; e.g., bucranium earrings are found fairly frequently but are not depicted and therefore will not be discussed here. Third, a full study of jewelry, both extant and depicted, has not yet been attempted; and until such a study is completed the conclusions reached in this study must remain tentative. And fourth, the paper presented here differs from the talk given in Hobart in several substantial ways. For abbreviations see p. 287 *infra*.

Only in frescoes are items of jewelry given colors. I interpret these colors as follows: yellow or gold painted jewelry was made of gold; red painted stone jewelry was made of cornelian; red painted metal jewelry was made of a gold alloy (sylvanite); blue or blue-gray painted stone jewelry was probably made of the rare stones lapis lazuli (somewhat rare among extant pieces) or amethyst (very rare among extant pieces, which are usually small), or, more likely, of the much more common blue glass (*ku-a-no* of the tablets); blue painted metal jewelry was made of silver.

In the interpretations that follow, I give the red and yellow/gold stones/metals as certain, but restrain from a positive identification for the blue items of jewelry. TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry passim*, identifies all blue jewelry (omitting hair bands of blue cloth) as of silver. But necklaces, bracelets, arm-rings, and anklets, all could just as well, if not better, have been made of tightly strung blue glass beads, many of which are extant.

1 People wear no jewelry on Pictorial vases, on the Harvester Vase and the Vapheio Cups, on faience inlays, like those of women from Knossos, E. Treasury Deposit in the West House, Akrotiri, miniature frescoes; both the "Meeting on the Hill" and the Flotilla fresco depict many people but none wears jewelry (MORGAN 93: "... the women and men in the miniatures have no jewellery or facial decoration, perhaps owing partly to their roles in society and partly to the small scale in which the figures are painted"). Yet the Knossos miniatures, including the Grandstand Fresco (#29), include jewelry, albeit simplified, on their figures. Almost all warriors and hunters do not wear jewelry (cf. Warrior Vase; Lion Hunt Dagger; Vapheio Cups; etc.). Perhaps jewelry in the field was considered burdensome or dangerous. Two exceptions are catalogued: #91 & #121.

A. Jewelry represented on people

Plumed caps

All plumed caps are worn by women (the plumed cap given to the Prince of the Lilies #54 must be misattributed)² and by sphinxes (the plaster head from Mycenae #84a is often described as that of a sphinx; her cap must have been plumeless since it preserves no means of attaching a plume). The women seem to be in charge (processional figures #32 from Mycenae; the woman carrying a yoke #57 [Pl. LXVIb] on the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus; the Mycenae "Grain Goddess" #34 [Pl. XVa *supra*]); some are probably head priestesses (Niemeier thinks all should be); the Mycenae processional figures also wear necklaces and the woman with a yoke on the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus also wears a sealstone; others seem to be goddesses: the "Grain Goddess", who also wears a sealstone. On the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus, the plumed cap is given to the near charioteer on each end (#58 on the west end & #60 on the east end), whether these are goddesses or special women in fancy chariots.

It is well known that sphinxes often wear plumed caps and necklaces with a Waz-lily pendant (e.g., *CMS* I 87). Since actual, large Waz-lily pendants are found in tombs (e.g., KAISER, *Relief* 55f. fig. 18), and since at least one terracotta "dolly" (#77) wears a Waz-lily pendant, it may be that the same women or priestesses who wore plumed caps may also have worn Waz-lily pendants; sphinxes, then, might have been their symbol, attribute, or heraldic badge of office³.

Date by contexts for Plumed Caps: LH II-III B (possibly only Mycenaean).

Bindings for hair⁴

The two young crocus gatherers from Xeste 3, #10 (Pl. LXIII d) who empties her basket and #12 (Pl. LXIV a) with curly hair, the curly haired women on the Clytemnestra ivory mirror handles #89 (Pl. LXVII b) and #90, and the woman on the Ras Shamra/Minet el Beida pyxis lid #92 (Pl. LXVII c), all have short cropped hair and wear a simple hair band that stretches from temple to temple across and just above the forehead -- these all correspond to E. Davis's stage three of youth, when girls become young women⁵. One other woman wears this hair band, the "Goddess" #9 (Pl. LXIII c).

2 W.-D. NIEMEIER, "The 'Priest King' Fresco from Knossos. A New Reconstruction and Interpretation", *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* (1988) 235-24, especially 237 citing H.Th. BOSSERT, *Atikreta* (1921) 27-28.

3 The plaster woman's head from Mycenae (#84a) has often been called a sphinx because of the type of cap she wears; since, however, the cap has no attachment for a plume, it was probably simple, much like the cap of the seated woman on the Tiryns ring (#106), *CMS* I 179. The head also preserves some of the neck, on whose left side is preserved the necklace (I am grateful to Paul Rehak for reminding me of this); it would be tempting to imagine the head as part of a xoanon, but the presence of the neck argues for a more substantial figure.

4 See TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 44-46.

5 Both DAVIS, *Youth and Age*, and KOEHL, *Chieftain Cup*, discern stages of youth based on hairstyles, Davis especially for the women at Thera and Koehl for Minoan men. D. WITHEE, "Physical Growth and Aging Characteristics Depicted in the Thera Frescoes", *AJA* 96 (1992) 336 (abstract), also discerns stages of age but on the basis of physical development coupled with the sensible observation that, since the back-lock in girls seems not to have been shaved, its increasing length (at a rate of one-half inch per month) should correspond to the age of the figure. It is possible to collate Davis and Koehl, and then append Withee's arrangement as a possible corrective (see Appendix p. 288-289).

In one case (the Red Haired Girl #11), the hair band is yellow, perhaps cloth, outlined with black dots, perhaps beads ⁶; presumably it passes around the head just at the top of the neck. And in two instances, the "Goddess" #9 (Pl. LXIIIc) and the young crocus gatherer #13 (Pl. LXIVb) substitute a string of spherical beads for the solid hair band.

Often, the women wear a blue hair band, which in four cases, #s 9, 10, 12, 13 (Pl. LXIIIc-d and LXIVa-b), ends in a blue papyrus-shaped finial just at the temple where the sideburn would be. Televantou describes these bands ⁷: narrow and short bands. "All are blue with a dark line at the edge or in the center (exc. #13). This band is always placed at the top of the forehead, not over it, in order to hold the hair back from the face. Apparently these bands were tied at the neck, below the hair, and their ends (papyrus-shaped) were flipped over the ears. In my opinion, these are not 'sideburn ornaments' but simply the ends of the hair band".

The Knossos Cup-Bearer #17 (Pl. LXVb) also sports a hair band tassel, but, oddly enough, he seems to lack the hair band itself to which the tassel ought to be attached. Evans (*PM* II 706, fig. 442a) was the first to recognize this papyrus-shaped finial, a 'sideburn ornament', and to describe how it was of silver and "some way looped round the root of the ear"; at the time, this representation of the ornament was unique.

Davis, *Youth and Age*, suggests that the fillet with ear tassel replaced shorn locks and sideburns in a rite of passage, a suggestion that seems valid for all the Xeste 3 girls but not for two figures: the Young Crocus Gatherer #13 who should be, by Davis's own account, too young for the ceremony and the Goddess #9. Davis explains that this goddess, a mature female figure, wears fillet, tassel, and shorn locks (presumably of others) as "insignia of her specific function in relation to youth", but I find the explanation perhaps too speculative.

No one has yet recognized an extant example of one of these papyrus-shaped hair band tassels. Although I have not conducted an exhaustive search, I have not found any convincing extant example in Karo's publication of the Shaft Grave material or in Sakellariou's publication of the Tsountas tombs. I can only conclude provisionally therefore that: 1) these tassels may indeed have been made of silver, as Evans supposed, and most have disintegrated; 2) that they were made of some organic material, perhaps cloth, and have disintegrated; 3) that they belonged to slaves and servants whose burials were humble; 4) that they were rare and have not survived in great numbers; or 5) that they are now easily confused with the numerous types of blue glass or faience beads of various papyrus and other shapes with appropriate horizontal stringholes that have indeed survived (e.g., SAKELLARIOU 302 type 83, 307 types 107 & 111).

The two older women #7 and perhaps #8 from the south wall on the upper floor of Xeste 3 wear hair kerchiefs.

Mature women wear their hair long, doubled up onto itself as a large mass of hair and bound at the back of the neck. Most women (#29 the seated conversing women, as well as the men, in the Grandstand Fresco [Pl. LXVc], #40 the Mykenaia [Pl. LXVd], and probably #38 the Mycenae woman carrying a lily) use a cloth ribbon that runs across the top of the forehead down toward the temple, then under the hair, and continues on to wrap around and bind the larger mass of hair worn by mature women at the nape of their neck.

In several instances, such as the Wounded Girl #15 (Pl. LXIVd) and the Necklace Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa), both from Akrotiri, a yellow ribbon holds the hair back, running

6 TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 52, asserts that a Theran contribution to Aegean jewelry was to mix metal and beads on the same item. This assumes that all blue bracelets, arm-rings, and anklets were made of silver. The blue hair bands were, as she confirms (*Comments*), made of cloth. Those hair bands that are dotted might have had small beads sewn on to their hems.

7 Televantou did not catalogue these special hair bands in *Thera Jewelry*; her description comes from *Comments*. DAVIS, *Youth and Age*, mentions these tassels over the ears, calling them, after Evans, "sideburn ornaments".

from the nape of the neck to above the forehead where it is tied with a loop knot. Davis interprets the decorative loop knot as substituting for the shorn front lock.

Another fresco, #25 from Knossos, the NW heap, preserves just the mass of hair, which uses both a gold ribbon and a rather complicated hair-necklace of gold spherical and papyrus flower beads.

The Akrotiri "Goddess" #9 (Pl. LXIIIc) is unusual; she wears her long hair simply with only a small gathered bun at the top of her head from which hangs a long thin tress, much like the modern pony-tail but falling down to the waist; she also lets the mass of her hair fall from the back of her head just to her shoulders, unbound and long, almost as long as her pony-tail. This hairstyle parallels that of Koehl's group of the "aristocrats", including the Chieftain Youth #63, a group that overlaps in age with his second group.

Her string of red and yellow spherical beads is also unusual; it gathers her bun at the top of her head but then rather oddly outlines the top of this bun too and continues on to follow the top of the long pony-tail.

In many respects, the "Goddess" is certainly puzzling.

Hair pins ⁸

Only one woman is depicted with a hair pin, and she with two: the "Wounded Girl" #15 (Pl. LXIVd); one crook-shaped pin ends in a lily finial, the other consists of a myrtle/olive branch with silver and blue leaves.

There are likewise only a few extant hair pins (see below); several have theriomorphic finials, but one from the Vapheio Tholos carries a palm finial and another, NMA 8618 from Mycenae ShGr Iota, either a hair pin or a dress pin, carries a lily finial akin to that worn by the Wounded Girl; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* cites other lily examples from two tholoi near Volos. All examples, extant and represented, are rare and, if the Wounded Girl is any indication, they are special.

Similar Extant Hair-Pins:

Mavrospelio Tb IXB (St. ALEXIOU & W.C. BRICE, "A Silver Pin from Mavro Spelio with an Inscription in Linear A: Her. Mus. 540", *Kadmos* 11 [1972] 113-124): silver crook-shaped pin, as hair pin (pp. 114-15)

Mycenae

GrCircle B (MYLONAS)

ShGr Gamma

Kuklos B pl. 100c (NMA 8618): bronze hair (dress?) pin with lily finial, from R shoulder of skeleton

GrCircle A (KARO)

ShGr II

hair pin (NMA 75): silver pin hooked at the top from which dangles a gold woman under arching papyrus (woman's grave; *BSA* 46 [1951] 102 ff.)

ShGr I

gold dress/hair pins with theriomorphic finials (NMA 245-7)

Vapheio Tholos (*ArchEph* 1889 pl. 7, p. 15): hair pin with palm finial

Volos Tholoi (*ArchEph* 1906 231-4, fig. 7-9): hair pins with lily finial

Earrings

The most common type of earring is of gold, large, and circular; almost all are plain, but one has wheel-like spokes (Young Priestess #4, Pl. LXIIIb) and several others are decorated

⁸ See TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 45 (& n. 5) and 46-47.

with granulation/grains (Xeste 3: "Goddess" #9 [Pl. LXIIIc], Curly Hair crocus gatherer #12 [Pl. LXIVa]); identical earrings are extant from Mycenae ShGrs III & IV.

One Akrotiri girl, #11 with the red hair, and the two curly haired women on one of the Clytemnestra ivory mirror handles #89 (Pl. LXVIIb) wear two such circular earrings looped together in a simple chain; this arrangement is also depicted worn by the male face-bead in the "Jewel Fresco" #52.

Both men (#s 1, 2, 116, 117, 118, 127) and women (#s 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 90, 122) wear these simple earrings. Their social classes are difficult to ascertain with certainty. Of the men, the Akrotiri Boxer #2 (Pl. LXIIIa) is probably of high class (the insistence on the blue beads is striking); so too, the bearded men on the seals #116, #118 (Pl. LXVIIIId). The African #1 may be exotic.

Of the women, all seem important, except perhaps for the "Young Priestess", whose function, to hold the brazier, may argue for a subordinate role -- note, she is the only one to wear the wheel-type circular earring.

Date by context: end of MM-LM IA; Minoan.

Extant Earrings:

Mycenae

GrCircle A (KARO)

ShGr II

gold earrings (NMA 61): 2 circular plaques with net/kernel design attached to circular core of wrapped gold wire (see A.W. PERSSON, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea* [1931], pl. 21)

ShGr I

gold circular earring of tetrafoil "grain" rosettes with spikes = "with granulation"

Necklaces⁹

(neck-rings, chokers, garlands; torques; string necklaces; single & multiple strings of beads)

The garland (*hypothymis*) seems to be the most common type of necklace depicted¹⁰; it can be certainly identified, however, in only a few cases (the Keos terracotta women #73 [Pl. LXVIId], some of the bronze figurines #67 and terracotta dollies #76). These figures probably depict worshipers or stand as eternal surrogates for the devotés who dedicated them (thus I would interpret the Gazi terracotta #84 with up-raised arms). And therefore we may surmise that a garland was an appropriate decoration for a worshiper to wear. Both M. Caskey and P. Warren¹¹ cite various classical authors, including Alcaeus, Sappho (L.-P. no. 81), and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XV 669c-686c, and others, all of whom attest to the appropriateness of garlands in all kinds of celebrations and who all agree that those who sacrifice to the gods may please them more if they wear garlands. And Caskey goes on to cite other depictions of garlands¹² and other references to garlands, e.g., how they were also worn to minimize the effects of fumes from wine.

⁹ See TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 37-42.

¹⁰ There are no garlands depicted in the Akrotiri frescoes; considering their appropriateness for religious festivals, their absence from Xeste 3 is notable.

¹¹ M. CASKEY, *The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues. Keos II*, Part 1, 36f.; WARREN, *Garland Fresco* 205f.

¹² Caskey's statement (*Keos II*1, 36f.) that garlands are rare perhaps underestimates their frequency; they appear more often than her references imply: her Ayia Triada impression (*MonAnt* 13 [1903] col. 42 fig. 36) is our #130; her Knossos vase with garlands (*PM I* 494 fig. 353) is our #129; her bronze statuette from

If garlands are indeed appropriate for worshipers to wear then we may identify as garlands those vaguely depicted neck-rings on people who seem to act as simple devotés at a shrine: #96 (1st two women at shrine), #98 (Pl. LXVIIe, 1st & 3rd women at shrine), #101 & #114 (both women saluting shrine), and #100 (Pl. LXVIIIb, man pulling on tree).

Other women stand in front of a seated woman. In one case, only the standing women wear garlands (#120?).

But in the Mycenae Treasure ring #95 all women, both standing and seated, wear garlands.

On the Isopata ring #111, only the central woman clearly wears a garland; two of the other women are shown in side view which would obscure any garland present; and the third woman, shown frontally at left, carries an odd vertical stroke on her right shoulder that might have been part of a planned garland.

A few garlands consist of a single string of flowers worn loosely, draping across the shoulders.

The upper chest fragment belonging to the Prince of the Lilies #54, a composite relief fresco, belongs to a man both in anatomy and in its original painted color ("ruddy" according to Evans and confirmed by Kaiser); across his chest lies a string of red lilies, perhaps a garland¹³ or a necklace imitating a garland. Similarly, the Necklace-Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa) from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri also wears a loosely draped string of gold flowers, perhaps a gold necklace imitating a garland. Compare the seated woman on the seal CMS V 253 (#113) who wears a similarly broad chain whose scale, however, is too small to reveal whether it is a garland of flowers or a necklace of beads.

If garlands are de rigeur for dedicants, then we might identify as dedicants those people who wear garlands and are accompanied by animals: #99 (Pl. LXVIIIa, man with agrimi at shrine) and #115 (man leads bull).

Some of the women with animals are usually termed Potniai Theron (#113) or as variants on that theme: #119 (woman holds agrimi), #87 (woman & agrimi), #109 (woman crossed by sheep), #113 (seated woman and dog?), #102 (woman with griffin), #105 (woman on Babylonian Dragon); perhaps, on this basis, we could add a Master of Animals: #110 (robed man leading griffin).

And if the garland is appropriate for devotional activities, somewhat like the streamers on CMS I 159 (#104)¹⁴, then it probably was appropriate for all sorts of festive occasions. A fresco of garlands eternally adorned a building at Knossos partially excavated¹⁵.

We may identify as garlands, then, those vague neck-rings that appear on bull-leapers #107, boxers #64 & #65, male spectators #29 (Pl. LXVc), and other men whose context is obscure (#26, the Captain of the Blacks; and #27).

One such obscure context envelops the men depicted on the Chieftain Cup #62/63 (Pl. LXVIc) and in the "Master" Impression #126. Both the "Master" #126 and the Chieftain Youth #63 (Pl. LXVIc) wear a simple neck-ring that might be a garland; if so, the "Master" is probably no god.

Palaiakastro (R.C. BOSANQUET & R. M. DAWKINS, *The Unpublished Objects from The Palaiakastro Excavations 1902-1906* [1923] fig. 103) is our #71; her seals CMS I 221 (garland) and CMS I 126 (necklace) are our #109 and #100; her Volos ring CMS V 728 is our #114; her terracotta woman from Gazi is our #84. The *Catalogue* gives others.

13 WARREN, *Garland Fresco* 198.

14 On the front panel of the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus all figures in the Pouring and Presentations Scenes (except the xoanon at the right) wear streamers that stream down; see LONG, *AT Sarcophagus* 38-39. Perhaps it is streamers that also decorate omphaloi on seals (see J.G. YOUNGER, *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings* [1988] 282-283, "omphaloi/squills").

15 WARREN, *Garland Fresco* 187-207.

And finally, as sole ornament on figures that were themselves dedicated in sanctuaries, we may identify as garlands those that appear on bronze figurines (#66-#69 [men], #70 & #71 [women]), terracotta dollies #77 & #81 (women), and the Keos terracotta statues #73 (Pl. LXVIId) & #74 (women).

Few men wear any other kind of necklace.

The Akrotiri West House Fisherman #3 wears a string tied about his neck; and the Phylakopi stooping figure #42 has what looks like a rope tied about the neck. Since the Phylakopi figure is painted in outline, it is possible it was meant to depict a woman with plaster-colored flesh although Atkinson et al. interpret the figure as a man, probably a fisherman. If this Phylakopi figure is indeed a fisherman and if fishermen had to wear necklaces, a string about the neck would certainly be light of weight and would not hinder him in his work. But no necklace at all would have been even less cumbersome. Might these simple strings have functioned more like symbolic collars on slaves?

A few other men wear actual bead necklaces.

Of these, the clearest context concerns the Chieftain Youth #63 (Pl. LXVIc) and the dominant Boxer Boy #2 (Pl. LXIIIa) from Akrotiri. Both youths wear a similar assortment of jewelry: a necklace and arm-ring of large beads. The Chieftain Youth #63 (Pl. LXVIc) adds a similar bracelet on his left wrist (perhaps a double strand bracelet of large beads on his right wrist, if that is not a wrist-guard) while the left Boxer #2 (Pl. LXIIIa) has substituted a similar anklet for the bracelet. The Chieftain Youth #63 (Pl. LXVIc) adds two more necklaces of smaller beads. In view of the similar array of jewelry for these two figures and of the similar juxtaposition of different kinds of boys, it is tempting to view these two scenes as related.

It seems certain that the boxers are more than just casual combatants; except for the anklets that both youths wear, the older youth's jewelry consists of only the gold anklets and lots of blue beads, probably of glass¹⁶, a material that would only recently have been introduced into the Aegean at the time of the Akrotiri fresco; amethyst is also possible but it was rare at all times in the Aegean and the sizes of extant amethyst beads and seals are almost always very small¹⁷, too small for the Boxer youth's jewels.

The above points tend to support Koehl's thesis in *Chieftain Cup* that the Chieftain Cup depicts a special relationship between the two boys; Koehl connects this special relationship with that which formed part of the later Dorian rites of male passage: an elder youth chooses an outstanding boy and teaches him various military, hunting, and social arts in a homosexual context before introducing the boy into his *andreion*. Since the two Boxer boys #2 (Pl. LXIIIa) from Akrotiri seem to display similar slight age differences¹⁸ and wear jewelry similar to that worn by the two differing male figures #62 & #63 on the Chieftain Cup (Pl. LXVIc), it is likely that both pairs of boys are participating in the same rite (Koehl already adduces boxing, as on the Boxer and Boston rhyta, as playing a part in this rite).

Two similarities in these compositions, then, may refer to this rite: two males of apparently unequal age; and a peculiar set of jewelry (the youth wearing one or several necklaces and an arm-ring, and the boy attired simply by comparison).

16 Evans, *PM* II 725-6, identifies the blue arm-rings and anklets of the Knossos processional figures as silver.

17 Exception: the amethyst figure-eight shield beads from a LH IIB child's tomb at Argos (*AM* 100 [1985] pl. 3, 7; a color photograph in K. DEMAKOPOULOU, ed., *The Mycenaean World* [exhibition catalogue, Athens, 1988] no. 201) are unusually large (L. 2.2 cm.).

18 See footnote 5, above. The age difference between the Boxers is not immediately apparent in their hair styles; KOEHL, *Chieftain Cup* 110, seems to accept some age difference though he also attributes this perception to distinct technical and artistic conventions. DAVIS, *Youth and Age*, places both Boxers in her second stage of youth, older than the Fishermen. But it is possible that the locks of the right boxer are not as luxuriant and more of his head has been shaved. Diana Withee places both boys between the ages of 12 and 14.

For the composition involving two males of unequal age, we may compare the two men's heads that face each other on *CMS X 278* (#118, Pl. LXVIII_d), one bearded and one not, both wearing earrings; the three men's heads, one on each face of the prism *CMS IX 6D*, one bearded (face c), the others not; and the men's heads impressed on related sealings from Knossos¹⁹; and we may consider the two men of apparently unequal station who face each other on the barrel cylinder *CMS I Supp. 113*.

To see what makes these sets of jewelry distinctive, a glance at the *Chart* suggests that it may be the infrequent combination of arm-ring and necklace; if so, we may see the same youth depicted alone on two seals and one ring. On the seal *CMS VII 102* (#115) and the ring *CMS I 119* (#99, Pl. LXVIII_a) he brings an offering to a shrine (bull and agrimi, respectively), and on the seal that impressed the Master impression (#126), the youth stands in the same pose as does the Chieftain Youth; because of the presence of the arm-ring and because of the same pose (right arm outstretched holding a vertical staff), we can bring into this iconographic group the helmeted warrior on the Delos plaque #91. This pose, dubbed "commanding" by Kaiser, Hallager, and Niemeier²⁰, is also reconstructed for Knossos's Prince of the Lilies (Priest King; our #54), and all figures Hallager and Niemeier identify as gods or enacted gods.

I doubt all these "commanding" figures are gods. If they are enacted gods, then they do so within a context that supports social reality with mythology. As Koehl suggests, the sociological male rite of passage may have demanded that the elder youth play a mythological Zeus to the younger boy's Ganymede.

The other three examples of men wearing bead necklaces are more or less problematic or doubtful.

The Prince of the Lilies #54, already discussed above, may wear a necklace of beads imitating lily flowers or a garland of actual lily flowers. A fresco fragment #46 from Pylos (3 M 6) depicts strung beads against a red background: "obviously ... the neck of a life-size man", Lang assures us, though her photograph is difficult to read and the red background could be a generic red background to a scene depicting someone holding or swinging a necklace. And finally, the victor #93 on the gold cushion seal *CMS I 11* from Mycenae seems to wear a long bead necklace but it is more likely that these two rows of tiny dots represents either his long hair or, more probably, the strap to his outstretched scabbard (if that is the right identification).

Since the only depictions of men wearing a beaded necklace are problematic, it seems safer at the moment not to conclude that men did indeed wear beaded necklaces often.

Men, however, do carry beaded necklaces, at least as offerings to high ranking Egyptians: two tombs, that of Menkheperasonb and Rekhmira, depict "Keftiu" as well as men from Punt carrying large beaded necklaces (#50 and #51).

It is women who wear most of the necklaces, although one woman, whom we would expect to wear a necklace, does not, the Wounded Girl #15; perhaps hers was that which the Necklace Swinger #16 now swings.

Women's necklaces come in several styles: the choker, the torque, and strings of beads.

In most cases, most women wear a necklace, either alone or in combination with a bracelet.

19 HMs 179a/KSPI P71a2 (J. BOARDMAN, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* [1970] pl. 14) is definitely older with a pronounced chin if it is not a beard, HMs 180/KSPI Pf (*op. cit.* pl. 15), definitely younger and not bearded, and HMs 180B (unpublished). KOEHL, *Chieftain Cup*, includes HMs 179a amongst his "oldest men" (103); but he thinks (101) the "Prince" HMs 180 has his head shorn -- the sealing preserves the dots in his hair that should represent the curls of Davis's stage 3.

20 HALLAGER, *Master Impression* 23-24. W.-D. NIEMEIER, "The 'Priest King' Fresco from Knossos. A New Reconstruction and Interpretation", *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* (1988) 240f.

As their sole adornment, the dollies #82 & #83, the ivory seated woman #85, the headless woman of the ivory trio #86, and the two curly haired women on the ivory mirror #88 (Pl. LXVIIa), all from Mycenae, all wear just a necklace, whether a choker or one or more strings of beads. In these cases, it is difficult to attach any significance to such a sole item of jewelry.

Other women combine multiple necklaces with several bracelets: women in procession frescoes (#43 from Pylos, #48 from Thebes) and more dollies (#79 from Tiryns, #81 from Mycenae).

Large seated women may have been special, perhaps priestesses or more likely goddesses, like the seated woman #106 on the Tiryns ring CMS I 179 who greets the four genii that address her with their ewers; the seated women in relief fresco from Pseira (#56) are similarly attired with necklaces and bracelets.

The women from Xeste 3, the adyton, both upper and ground floors, belong to a complicated but probably integrated composition (*Art and Religion in Thera* [note, the caption to fig. 43 should read "N. wall"]).

Marinatos interprets the figures on the ground floor (#14 [Pl. LXIVc], #15 [Pl. LXIVd], #16 [Pl. LXVa]) as focusing on the blood-streaked shrine on the E wall, the Necklace Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa) moving toward it to dedicate the necklace she swings in her hand, the Veil Lifter #14 (Pl. LXIVc) looking at it, perhaps startled, and the blood of the Wounded Girl #15 (Pl. LXIVd) referring to it.

For the upper floor, the women on the S wall #7 seem to be older and are observers or preparers; on the N and E walls two pairs of girls (#10 [Pl. LXIIIId] and the Red Hair girl #11 on the N; #12 [Pl. LXIVa] and #13 [Pl. LXIVb] on the E) fill and bring baskets of crocus to the "Goddess" (#9, Pl. LXIIIc) on the N wall; #10 (Pl. LXIIIId) empties her basket of crocus or saffron in front of the Goddess.

These women's jewelry is remarkable and lush.

First, all women, including the "Goddess" #9 (Pl. LXIIIc) but excluding the older women observers/preparers #7 on the upper floor, S wall, wear earrings; as was hinted above, earrings were apparently a remarkably short-lived fad at the transition to the Late Bronze Age and it is possible the older women were already too old-fashioned to get caught up in it.

Second, several of the women wear hair ornaments (the two crocus pickers #12 [Pl. LXIVa] & #13 [Pl. LXIVb] wear fillets, one of cloth and one of beads, respectively; the Wounded Girl #15 (Pl. LXIVd) wears a metal hair pin with silver olive leaves and a hair pin with lily finial; the "Goddess" #9 (Pl. LXIIIc) wears the hair band and beads on her hair); such hair ornaments are not commonly depicted, and the hair pin is unique in depictions though similar pins survive.

Third, if earrings, a necklace, and a bracelet comprise standard items of jewelry for well-dressed women, then the ensembles of only three women deserve comment, and only then for their necklaces.

The Curly-Haired crocus-picker #12 (Pl. LXIVa) wears a gold neck-ring in addition to her two strings of blue, and gold and cornelian beads.

One of the "older" women #7 on the adjacent S wall wears what appears to be a solid torque, yellow and red perhaps representing gold and a red gold-alloy (sylvanite) or red stained gold; the only other torque-wearer is the Potnia of agrimia (#92, Pl. LXVIIc) depicted on the pyxis lid from Ras Shamra and it is likely that these torques were not a common necklace type, indigenous to the Aegean. Perhaps torques were foreign.

The "Goddess" #9 (Pl. LXIIIc) wears an unusual set of necklaces.

At top, she wears a common choker or fillet (cf. the similar choker or fillet on the Veil-Lifter #14 [Pl. LXIVc]).

At bottom, a string of tiny gold beads is draped across the shoulders and from this hang gold dragonfly pendants; similar gold dragonfly beads come from Peristeria Tholos 2²¹. Such long necklaces loosely draped over the shoulders, are rare, as we have already mentioned. The Necklace-Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa) from the room below the "Goddess", is the only other figure at Akrotiri who wears such a long, draped necklace -- hers of gold papyrus flower beads, if it is not a chain of actual gold-colored flowers (dried?); the Prince of the Lilies (#54) wears either a string of lily beads or a garland of lily flowers loosely draped across his shoulders; and the seated woman on the seal CMS V 253 (#113) wears a similarly broad necklace. The dolly from Mycenae (#82) presents another representation of a long necklace, worn pendent between her breasts, and the tribute-bearers depicted on the Egyptian tombs (#50, #51) carry similarly long (albeit exaggeratedly so) necklaces.

The middle ornament on the neck of the Akrotiri Goddess consists of a line of ducks, alternating yellow and red (gold and a red gold-alloy [sylvanite] or red stained gold, rather than cornelian) to left; until the "Goddess" is fully published, it is uncertain whether the ducks constitute a string of beads or an ornamented hem to a blouse²².

The Akrotiri Goddess is also decorated in two unusual ways: with the papyrus-shaped hair fillet tassel which otherwise adorns younger crocus gatherers and the Knossos Cup-Bearer; and with the crocus flower on her cheek²³ that repeats the pattern on her jacket.

The Necklace Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa) is the third woman whose jewelry deserves comment, although both her choker and her shoulder necklace are not unusual.

Her choker of cornelian beads and gold crosses seems reasonable, although gold crosses as beads are otherwise unknown²⁴. And her string of gold papyrus flowers loosely draped over her shoulder also occasions little comment, except that such loose shoulder-necklaces are rare, as commented above.

But in one detail the Necklace Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa) belongs to a select group of figures; she is one of only a few figures who call attention to their necklaces. Only she and the Mykenaia #40 (Pl. LXVd) hold necklaces (the Mykenaia looks at the double strand necklace she holds, similar to the one she wears²⁵, a common type); one of the Ladies in Blue (#28) and the little boy in the ivory trio from Mycenae #86 finger the necklace they wear; and the woman depicted in the Jewel Fresco (#52) has her necklace fingered by a man²⁶.

21 TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 41-42, cites the similar hawk-beads NMA 689 from Mycenae ShGr V but is apparently unaware of the dragonfly necklace from Peristeria (*BCH* 90 [1966] 806-811 fig. 25).

22 Cf. M. LANG, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* II (1969) 63 n. 47 for evidence of a chemise under a jacket.

23 At the Hobart Conference I suggested that this crocus may have been painted on her cheek much like designs on the painted faces of terracotta dollies and the Mycenae plaster woman's head. Televantou, both in Hobart and in *Comments*, maintains that the flower is meant to represent a real flower draped over the ear at the temple; as parallels, she mentions (*Comments*) another crocus at the temple of Older Woman #7 (barely visible) and a lily that adorns the hair of the Mycenae Woman with Lily #38 (I cannot identify this). In Greece, wearing a flower behind one's ear is certainly a common practice both today and in classical antiquity.

24 A gold cross as inlay? comes from Mycenae ShGr III (KARO pl. xxvii.52); interlocking gold crosses ornament swords from ShGr III and IV (KARO pl. lxxxviii 69 & 294); glass star-beads with five rounded points have been found in Prosymna tombs (e.g., Tb I, C.W. BLEGEN, *Prosymna* [1937] fig. 142.4, Blegen's class 12 "crenellated", fig. 599). Cf. SAKELLARIOU 309 type 124.

25 I am grateful to Paul Rehak, who drew my attention to the two sets of necklaces being of the same type. In fact, much of the Mykenaia is repeated: her hair band is of the same dyed material as the hem to her jacket; and her bracelets of spherical gold and cornelian beads are the same as her top necklace. It is possible, therefore, that the artist used a limited palette of colors and preferred to depict repeated jewelry forms and textiles so as to simplify the reading of this image.

26 The person-face bead depicted in the Jewel Fresco is still unique, although it undoubtedly is related iconographically to the women's faces on a few MM seals (A. SAKELLARIOU, *Les cachets minoens de la*

cf. Chios
material

It can be doubted whether all these representations form a pattern: the Mykenaiia #40 (Pl. LXVd) is incomplete and it is barely possible that the two-strand necklace she holds could be a leash for some animal in front of her; and the Jewel Fresco may have represented a dressing scene, like the one which N. Marinatos reconstructs for the Ladies fresco ²⁷.

Nonetheless, it is possible to link the two sets of scenes, holding necklaces and fingering them, thus: all five scenes emphasize their necklaces not as items of adornment but as strings of carefully shaped, semi-precious stones.

Where the necklace that the Necklace Swinger swings was meant to come from is of course an unanswerable question, but it seems unlikely that she would have removed it from her own neck, already adorned with three necklaces. Instead, it may have belonged to the Wounded Girl #15 who is unusual in wearing now no necklace and no bracelets.

N. Marinatos asserts that the destination for the Necklace Swinger's necklace is the shrine which she seems to approach -- as a prediction this is likely, though perhaps not the most likely ²⁸. In any case, beads were appropriate for dedication in sanctuaries; many, mostly of pale yellow glass, were found in the Mycenaean Sanctuary at Phylakopi, some apparently strung together and dedicated on or about the platform altars there ²⁹.

With this reconstruction in mind, we can place the Mykenaiia near a shrine, about to present either a necklace just like the one she wears or an intended sacrificial victim which she holds by a beaded leash. In both situations, it is the semi-precious nature of the string of beads which is valuable, enough so to warrant it an appropriate votive object. With the fingered necklaces, it must again be their semi-precious nature to which our attention is called.

collection Giamalakis [1958] nos. 190b & 112a; perhaps V.E.G. KENNA, *Cretan Seals* [1960] no. 169a). Certain parallels, however, can be found for people beads: gold woman pendant from Mycenae ChT 68 (NMA 2946; SAKELLARIOU 194 pl. 84); glass standing women spacer beads from Mycenae ChT 2 (NMA 2286; SAKELLARIOU 55-6, pl. 1); gold earring with woman-shaped bead from Cyprus (F.H. MARSHALL, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* [1911] no. 347; gold woman bead (*ibid.* no. 803) - people heads in jewelry: the Aigina Treasure pectoral with sphinx head finials; and compare the helmeted boxer? heads from Pylos ShGr below rm 97 (C.W. BLEGEN & M. RAWSON, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* [1966] 312-314 fig. 309), and the men's heads on silver cups from Mycenae ChT 24 (SAKELLARIOU pl. 15) & from Pylos (BLEGEN & RAWSON, *op. cit.* fig. 261) - the looped earrings: cf. the looped rings on the spacer bead NMA 2846 from Myc ChT 55 (SAKELLARIOU 177, drawing on pl. 111).

27 *Art and Religion in Thera* 97-105, figs. 68-71.

28 *Art and Religion in Thera* 75. It is of course just as likely that the Necklace Swinger refers her necklace not to the Shrine some distance away but to some place closer: the window sill directly in front of her or the spur wall directly below her (*Art and Religion in Thera* 64-65 fig. 43 and 66-67 fig. 44 showing the relationship of the fresco to the architecture). N. Marinatos has already employed such a mix of depicted figures referring to actual objects by relating the fishermen with their fish in the West House to the offering table found on the sill of a window between them (fold-out A fig. 17 between pages 32 and 33); the fishermen thus "depict an offering that took place in that room, thereby perpetuating it forever", Egyptian-style (37-8). If we accept the possibility that such paintings referred to actual events that took place there in the room, and, if actual necklaces were deposited near the lustral basin of Xeste 3, they then should have been laid either in front of the shrine (presumably on the floor of the lustral basin immediately below it) or nearer the Necklace Swinger who anticipates the dedication: either on the window sill directly in front of her (a window that communicates out into the street and, in any case, is slightly too high to be convenient) or on top of the short spur wall just below her. Both types of places (window sills and ledges below them) constituted actual repositories in the Mycenaean Sanctuary at Phylakopi: the windows or niches (C. RENFREW, *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* [1985] index s.v. "niche") in the west wall of the West Shrine (fig. 9.6) and the benches below both held offerings found still in situ; compare, too, the platform-altars (RENFREW, *op. cit.* index s.v. "platform").

29 C. RENFREW, *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (1985) 317-322.

In both sets of scenes, the figures call attention to the economic and social value of these beads; when worn they connote status and when dedicated at a shrine they constitute economic value.

It seems logical, therefore, to go the next step: these carefully wrought, semi-precious beads constitute transportable items of barter, i.e., money. This conclusion cannot now be tested, although it makes a priori sense. Beads have served as money around the world from time immemorial, whether among the North American Indians who sold Manhattan for them or among the wandering merchants of central Asia and north Africa who use "trade" beads. In defence of this notion, that Minoan-Mycenaean beads could have served as money, we should remember that stone beads, especially seals, come in a remarkably limited array of sizes and weights; that certain stones, like agate, cornelian, lapis lazuli, all had to be imported into the Aegean and must therefore always have had high trade value; that amethyst beads are almost always very small, as if the stone was always rare, difficult to obtain, and therefore valuable; that the Keftiu bring beads as offerings in the painted tombs of Menkheperasonb and Rekhmira (#50 & #51); and that certain gold spirals and rings have been claimed, with some justification, as goldsmith weights and raw materials³⁰.

So far, it has been possible to take separate scenes and link them through their common use of jewelry: the men's rite of induction into an *andreion* and the women's gesture of fingering or holding their necklaces, calling attention to their value and worth.

One more quasi-narrative group can be re-constructed around a repeated image of a central woman flanked by two others:

all three stand frontal, central woman taller:

CMS I 159 [#104, Pl. LXVIIIc] from Mycenae

CMS I 321 from Pylos (central woman marginally taller; jewelry not legible)

CMS II 3.218 [#112] from "Mochos"

AT 140/HMs 505 (LONG, *AT Sarcophagus* fig. 9)

all three stand right in front of a shrine:

CMS I 108 [#98, Pl. LXVIIe] from Mycenae ChT 7

central woman sits (jewelry not legible or present):

Chania Mus. 1528 (I.A. PAPAPOSTOULOU, *Τὰ Σφραγίσματα τῶν Χανίων* [1977] pls. 40.29 & 41)

AM 1938.1013 (V.E.G. KENNA, *Cretan Seals* [1960] cat. no. 295)

When jewelry is depicted, it is worn only by the central woman.

On *CMS* I 159 [#104, Pl. LXVIIIc] and on the Ayia Triada sealing 140 (HMs 505), the flanking women position their right arm akimbo, as if tied (compare the "Mochos" lentoid II 3.218 [#112]), and a pair of lines run in back of the central woman like a leash; it is possible that the smaller women are bound, and if so, this repeated scene may fit in with another composition repeated almost identically on two rings: *CMS* V 173, the so-called "Minotaur" ring from the Athens Agora and an impression made by a ring on a sealing from Chania³¹. Both rings as preserved carry a man with sceptre striding ahead of two women in back of him,

30 W. RIDGEWAY, "Metrological Notes III. - Had the People of Pre-Historic Mycenae a Weight Standard?", *JHS* 10 (1889) 90-97; H. THOMAS, "The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae", *BSA* 39 (1938-1939) 65-87, esp. 73-74; Evans published an article on raw gold and weights in *Corolla Numismatica* -- I have not seen this article, but Marshall (*supra* n. 26) refers to some of his conclusions (see below); and M. VENTRIS & J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* 2nd ed. [1973] 359; other gold spirals have been found at Archanes and Amnisos [*PZ* 1970, 150] and Kato Zakro (on display in the Herakleion Museum); thick gold wires, square in section, come from Enkomi (MARSHALL [*supra* n. 26] 43, nos 647-648); portions of these raw bars were also found (MARSHALL [*supra* n. 26] 42-43, nos 644-645). Perhaps the hair rings (MARSHALL [*supra* n. 26] 53, no 751) from the Aigina Treasure may have functioned as such goldsmith raw materials.

31 HALLAGER, *Master Impression* fig. 28f.

and leading them by a double leash. Compare the two Curly-Haired women on the ivory mirror handle #89; they hold ropes.

We may take the episode further, and include the ring *CMS* I 108 [#98, Pl. LXVIIe] from Mycenae; here, the central woman salutes, the flanking women display no gesture, even though they are not tied by a leash, and they both seem featureless; the woman at the back actually glances demurely down, though the limited space there might have constrained this position of the head. It is likely that the central woman's necklace is a garland; the ribbing on her necklace of I 108 [#98, Pl. LXVIIe] might be flowers (cf. the garland on *CMS* II 3.218 [#112] and the large dots on the necklace of the central woman on *CMS* I 159 [#104, Pl. LXVIIIc]). If so, then again we have a scene depicting a woman wearing an appropriate garland bringing two bound women to a shrine; the central woman in the original scene on *CMS* I 159 (#104, Pl. LXVIIIc) also wears streamers, another indication of the occasion's ritual character (see above, and fn. 14).

Another scene on another ring, *CMS* I 126 [#100, Pl. LXVIIIb], might relate to the episode of the bound women. A central woman is flanked by another woman at left and by a man at right; both flanking figures hold their head low, the woman over a table and the man averting his eyes as he pulls at a tree growing from a shrine. The central woman here wears probably a garland or perhaps a bead necklace at the throat and a loose bead necklace (not drawn by *CMS* but visible in the photograph of the ring bezel) that falls between her breasts. While the young man pulling at a tree wears the garland appropriate for activity in a sanctuary, the woman who leans over a table wears no such necklace; at each wrist, however, there is a line that could indicate bracelets, or, if these lines do not, they might be binding her hands -- in this light, the leaning pose can be interpreted as appropriate for a captive bent over a table³². And the double catenaries below the table might represent the ends of her leash or garlands which she is to wear.

Arm-rings³³

Few women wear arm-rings: at Akrotiri, both the Curly Haired crocus gatherer and her young companion of Xeste 3 (#12 [Pl. LXIVa] & #13 [Pl. LXIVb]) wear a gold arm-ring; so, too, may the Young Priestess (#4, Pl. LXIIIb) of the West House; some terracotta statues from Ayia Irini, Keos (#75), groups 5-1, 5-2, 7-1, and 7-2 also wear arm-rings.

Arm-rings are worn mainly, however, by men. We have already seen that the arm-ring along with the standard set of jewelry (earring & necklace) seemed appropriate for the Akrotiri Boxers #2 (Pl. LXIIIa) and the Chieftain Cup youths #62 & #63 (Pl. LXVIc), both pairs possibly being lovers, and for the related figures in the "commanding pose", the Chania "Master" #126 and the Delos warrior #91, as well as for the two men in glyptic who lead animals to a shrine, *CMS* I 119 (#99, Pl. LXVIIIa) & VII 102 (#115). The bronze figure #67, apparently a devoté from the presence of the double garland, also wears arm-rings; cf. #66 with garland? and bracelet.

As part of another standard set of jewelry, the Knossos Cup Bearer #17 wears bracelets, one with a sealstone, presumably a hair band with papyrus-shaped tassels, and blue arm-rings (two on his left, one on his right arm); his colleague in front wears at least one gold arm-ring on his left arm.

32 Is she about to be sacrificed over this table? Animals are sacrificed over slightly lower and different tables; see J.G. YOUNGER, *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings* [1988] 176-7.

33 TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 30-32.

As the sole item of jewelry, arm-rings are worn by the Knossos male taureadors #20 & #53 and by the white painted taureadors #21 & #23 (usually identified as female but probably not) and by the chariot driver #94 (Pl. LXVIIId) on the ring from Mycenae. From Mycenae comes another male figure #33, who also wears an arm-ring; from the position of his right arm, held up against the shoulder, he may also be a cup bearer, charioteer, or more convincingly an alighting leaper, another taureador.

A final male figure, *CMS* I 107 (#97), wears an arm-ring; he stands dressed in a short skirt amongst columns -- an enigmatic scene.

From the above, it is obvious that arm-rings of gold and silver seem appropriate to those male figures who appear in pairs and in the "commanding pose" and to cup bearers, charioteers, and taureadors. What all these figures have in common may be their subservient and/or consecrated roles, cup bearers and charioteers probably being servants, slaves, and/or lovers, "commanders" and taureadors perhaps involved in the male rite of passage, if bull-leaping was one of its athletic events like boxing.

The few female figures who wear arm-rings, the West House Young Priestess #4 (Pl. LXIIIb) and the two Xeste 3 crocus gatherers #13 (Pl. LXIVb) & #15 (Pl. LXIVd), were probably similarly consecrated. Perhaps all these figures combine these aspects as consecrated servants, like the women do-e-ra i-je-re-ja of tablets PY Eo 224.06 and Ep 539.07 & 08.

All extant arm-rings come from the Mycenae shaft graves in both Grave Circles. In Shaft Graves A, O, and IV there were multiple burials, so it could be possible that subservients or specially consecrated people were buried with arm-rings; in O, the arm-ring was associated with the last burial, a woman. But Shaft Grave B held only one burial.

Extant Arm-Rings:

Mycenae, Shaft Graves

GrCircle B (MYLONAS)

ShGr A (MYLONAS 21ff.; large tomb with multiple burials; not much is clear about the disposition of the finds)

MYLONAS pl. 21a (NMA 8563): gold arm-ring (D. 12, W 2.8), decorated with spiral

ShGr B (MYLONAS 36-42; one burial)

MYLONAS pl. 28a (NMA 8581 & 8583): arm-bands of thin gold wrapped about the left upper arm

ShGr O (MYLONAS 187-207; last burial, a woman)

MYLONAS pls. 178b & 179a (NMA 8639): arm-ring or bracelet (gold wire with spirals)

GrCircle A (KARO)

ShGr IV (five burials)

gold arm-ring with impressed tondi of hexafoil rosettes (NMA 255) & millefeuille rosettes (NMA 257)

gold arm-ring (NMA 263; H. SCHLIEMANN, *Mycenae* (1878) 227f. fig. 336; KARO pl. xlii) with attached plate with pointed corners & attached millefeuille rosettes

Bracelets ³⁴

Unlike the case with arm-bands, few men wear bracelets, though they seem to be the same types of men. Again, we find the same related group, the Chieftain Youth and Boy (#62, #63, Pl. LXVIc), the man (#115) on the seal *CMS* VII 102 leading a bull, and the Knossos Prince of Lilies (#54); again, we find a charioteer, the one from Mycenae #31; again, taureadors, both red-fleshed #30 and white-painted #22 & #23; and again, the Knossos Cup

34 TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 32-36.

Bearer #17 (Pl. LXVb) and the Mycenae figure #33 that may also be a cup bearer or an alighting leaper, to which porter figures we may add the simulacrum bearers, the two youths on both the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (#57, Pl. LXVIIb) and the helmeted white-painted figure #37 in the Mycenae fresco.

One other figure, the seated figure #41 painted in outline from Phylakopi, wears gold bracelets, large ones, probably metal, with a striated rope pattern. The figure is holding up what seems to be a textile, often identified as a fish net, though the figure could be taking part in a dressing scene.

More women wear bracelets, however, than men, although one woman, whom we would expect to wear a bracelet, does not, the Wounded Girl #15.

The women who do wear bracelets seem clustered into two groups: those who wear necklaces and bracelets, and those who wear bracelets with other items of jewelry or apparel.

The women who wear bracelets with necklaces are the more numerous. They include the Akrotiri Necklace Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa), the Knossos Ladies in Blue #28 and the Mykenaiia #40 (Pl. LXVd), all of whom call attention to their necklaces; the large seated women, like the one from Pseira #56 and the one on the Tiryns ring #106; the procession figures from Pylos #43 and Thebes #48, to which could probably be added the fragmentary Mycenae #38, Pylos #45, and Tiryns #49 (restored bracelets); and the votive dollies from Mycenae #80 and Tiryns #78.

And again, we find the curly-haired women paired together wearing necklaces and bracelets, the Akrotiri Curly-Haired Crocus gatherer #13 (Pl. LXIVb) and the pair of Curly-Haired Women #89 (Pl. LXVIIb) on the ivory mirror handle from the Clytemnestra tholos.

Of the women who wear bracelets but no necklaces, there are two groups: one of women who wear plumed caps and bracelets with sealstones -- these will be discussed separately and below, under "Sealstones". The other group is confined to Akrotiri and consists of Lady B (#6) from the House of the Ladies and, from Xeste 3, the Young Crocus Gatherer #13 (Pl. LXIVb), and possibly the girl who empties her basket #10 (Pl. LXIIIId).

Finally, two seal impressions #125 & #126 present hands that wear bracelets; the first holds a lily and may represent another offerand, like the Mycenae woman holding a lily #38.

U-Bracelets ³⁵

U-bracelets seem to be a special way of depicting a bracelet at the joint of the wrist itself. This distinctive U-line takes several forms: a line of beads, red for the Pylos processional women #43, and of undetermined color for the small Pylos woman #45; a band of solid color with small beads, a blue band with dark blue beads for the Necklace Swinger #16 (Pl. LXVa), crocus gatherers #12 (Pl. LXIVa) & #13 (Pl. LXIVb), and Lady B #6 from Akrotiri, and gold for the woman #38 carrying a lily from Mycenae; and a plain band of solid color, gold for the man on the Mycenae fresco #33, and red for the Mykenaiia #40 (Pl. LXVd). These U-bracelets have caused some comment.

Pharmakofsky, who published the Bucharest fresco #33 from Mycenae, noted the bracelet's abstract quality and wondered if the line really was meant to depict an anatomical articulation; Lang has the same doubts ³⁶. She connects the U-bracelet with the similar "arched"

35 TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 32-37, discusses several ways of depicting bracelets and anklets, all of them bowed wavy forms or S-curves. If people wore bracelets and anklets loose about the joint for ease in maneuvering, these items of jewelry would form a continuous sine- or cymatic-curve, any section of which the artist could excerpt to depict wavy forms, U- and S-curves, depending on which section was excerpted and how much of it. There probably is no formal distinction between these forms of bracelets.

36 M. LANG, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia II* (1969) 57.

line on ankles in a fresco from Pylos³⁷ and Tiryns³⁸: "it is reasonable to wonder if this is an effort to show the ankle-bone or a misunderstood memory of the anklets worn by the Procession at Knossos".

It is certain that the U-bracelet as a bracelet did exist lying at the wrist joint, a loose bracelet of beads or of solid or jointed metal³⁹, or of a combination of the two; in the Akrotiri and Pylos frescoes its components can be easily seen. In the Mycenae examples, the bracelet has been turned into a thin, solid line that articulates this wrist joint. Perhaps the doubts in interpreting this line originate in chronological or geographical distinctions -- might the solid U-shaped joint-line at Mycenae be later or just a feature peculiar to Mycenae?⁴⁰

On the other hand, it is equally possible that the U-bracelet/U-shaped joint line was deliberately meant to be interchangeable (as both bracelet and wrist joint) and even ambivalent: compare the similar U-shaped articulation on the two, virtually identical sword handles from Dendra and from Zafer Papoura T. 36⁴¹; that is, the U-line or U-arch might have existed as a bracelet precisely because that line functioned in art to articulate all kinds of joints.

Sealstones

There is no depiction of the engraved face of a sealstone. But there are depictions of one or two large circular beads on a simple string bracelet, and these I take to represent the reverses of lentoid seals⁴².

With this assumption, it is possible to identify ten representations of people wearing lentoid seals⁴³.

Four of these ten seal-wearers are women who also wear plumed caps: the "Grain Goddess" #34 (Pl. XVa *supra*) from Mycenae, and, on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, the yoke-bearer #57 (Pl. LXVIb) and the charioteers #58 and, probably, #60 on the two ends (I think I see a lentoid seal on the left arm of the near driver). I should have thought that there exists a good hypothetical possibility that the woman (#59) with the plumed cap who stretches forth her hands toward the sacrificed bull might have worn a sealstone on the far (not visible) side of her left wrist.

Of the other women who wear plumed caps, the Pylos woman #47, the Mycenae "Shield Goddess" plaque #61, and the Mycenae procession figures #32 preserve no wrists.

Lentoid seals are also worn by the woman #72 in the terracotta "shrine" from Knossos and by the Mycenae dolly #80.

Two men wear lentoid seals, the lyre player #57 (Pl. LXVIb) on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus and the Knossos Cup Bearer #17 (Pl. LXVb).

37 50 H nws: LANG, *op. cit.* pls D, N, 31, 32.

38 H. SCHLIEMANN, *Tiryns* (1885) pl. IXd.

39 Compare the "necklaces" from Pylos tomb E-6, burial D (C.W. BLEGEN et al., *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* III [1973] fig. 243.1) and from the Aigina Treasure (*BSA* 52 [1957] 42-57: BM 758A & 759A). Evans (*PM* II 725-6) thought that the blue color of arm-rings and anklets of the processional figures meant they were of silver.

40 Compare KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* 37-40.

41 Dendra: A.W. PERSSON, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea* (1931) 35 pl. V.1. Zafer Papoura: *PM* IV 863f., fig. 848, 851; MARINATOS & HIRMER pls. 112-113 above.

42 J.G. YOUNGER, "Non-Sphragistic Uses of Minoan-Mycenaean Sealstones and Rings", *Kadmos* 16 (1977) 141-159, esp. 147-9. LONG, *AT Sarcophagus* 37, also presumes that the lentoid beads worn by the Cup-Bearer and by the Ayia Triada women are sealstones.

43 People wore seals on necklaces and on bracelets at the wrist, usually the left (J.G. YOUNGER [*supra* n. 42] 147-9); engraved rings were also worn on necklaces (146-7) and on bracelets, but not on fingers (149-152); unengraved rings were worn on the fingers. There are no representations, however, of anyone wearing a ring of any kind anywhere.

And finally, two fresco fragments, one from Pylos #44 (Pl. LXVIa) and one from Knossos #55, carry a white arm, presumably female, each adorned with two lentoid seals.

Almost all figures wear their seals on the outside of their left wrist, the seal turned face inward to the flesh; only the "Grain Goddess" #34 wears her seal on the inside of her right wrist. The woman in the Knossos terracotta "shrine" #72 wears a sealstone on each wrist.

The conclusion seems inescapable: women who were of high rank and wore plumed caps also wore seals; possibly they are priestesses, as the Ayia Triada sarcophagus yoke-carrier indicates (and bull-toucher?). Few men, a musician, a cup-bearer, were depicted wearing seals. From this conclusion, it would also seem unlikely that, unless goddesses were also active in administration, the Ayia Triada sarcophagus charioteers, the "Grain Goddess", or the two terracotta women, even the one in the "shrine", are all goddesses; rather they are all probably priestesses.

This correlation of women of high rank wearing the seals might be reflected in several PY tablets⁴⁴, the priestesses called ka-ra-wi-po-ro (klawiphoroi, "key-bearers"), who have *doeroi* (bondsmen) and are in charge of land, grain⁴⁵, bronze, and cloth at Pylos, at nearby sanctuaries (Pakijapi and Pakijana), and elsewhere. One is named Kapatija (Karpattia? as if from Karpathos); compare the position of the esteemed bondswoman Eurykleia in the *Odyssey* who keeps the key to the storerooms and who was primarily responsible for retrieving luxury goods from them for important figures -- Telemachos and guests like Athena.

Dress-beads⁴⁶

Many women's gowns gather the warp ends at the sleeve and let these dangle in tied bunches of strings (TELEVANTOU, *Costume* 130): Curly Haired Crocus Gatherer #10 (Pl. LXIIIId), #12 (Pl. LXIVa), #16 the Necklace Swinger (Pl. LXVa), and the woman on the Isopata ring #111.

Sometimes these warp ends at the sleeves are gathered with beads, small spherical ones for #6, and papyrus-shaped beads for #13 (Pl. LXIVb).

Women wear spindle whorls (*conuli*) that act as weights gathering the warp ends at the lower hem of a dress⁴⁷. The Mycenae woman #35 (Pl. XIIa *supra*) in the fresco from room

44 This identification first emerged as a possibility during a paper given by Ms Elizabeth Swain on the position of women in the Linear B tablets during a graduate seminar on Linear B in the Fall of 1988; the author first proposed this identification at the Austin conference "Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration" in January 1990 (*Aegaeum* 5 [1990] 240). The *klawiphoros* of Pylos has slaves (Ae 110, at Pylos; Ep 539.9), and the *klawiphoroi* of various places have or control cloth (Un 6) and bronze (Jn 829, along with *prokoretēs* and types of overseers [*opisukoi* and *opikape-ewe*]; *klawiphoroi* apparently associate with priests and priestesses (Ep 539, Un 6, Vn 48). Ka-pa-ti-ja (Karpattia? from Karpathos?) is a prominent *klawiphoros* at Pakijapi (Eb 338) with land and grain holdings there and at Pakijana (Ed 317, Ep 704); she is also mentioned in Un 443 as giving grain; and in Ep 539.9 (a list of slaves of various priests), she has a slave Pu.-da-ka who also controls grain. Kapasija in Vn 851 might be a variant spelling of Karpattia; there she gets a bed, as do various other officials.

45 In this light, we could imagine that the goddess "Potnia Sitou" of the tablets, possibly reflected in the Mycenae "Grain Goddess" #34 and on the Ras Shamra lid #92, could be enacted by priestesses, the "Keepers of Grain"; if this interpretation is possible, then the figure #72 in the Knossos "shrine", wearing a sealstone, might be a priestess enacting the Potnia not in a shrine but in a granary. Such a secular identification of the building resolves some of the difficulties posed by the people and dog on the roof.

46 TELEVANTOU, *Costume* 130 mentions dress beads but does not present a detailed discussion; in *Thera Jewelry*, she mentions the bead that secures the knot of the Fisherman's #1 string necklace.

47 These dress beads and weights resemble the many "spindle whorls" found in excavations. Sp. IAKOVIDES, "On the Use of Mycenaean 'Buttons'", *BSA* 72 (1977) 113-119, first identified the lower dress weights on the Mycenae woman #35 and on seals. E.J.W. BARBER, *Prehistoric Textiles* (1991) does not seem to mention them but her illustration 3.27 would presume their loomweight prototype in the weaving process.

31, at the left, wears such dress weights, which may also be identified on seals *CMS* I 220 (#108) and 226.

Few men wear dress beads and only hanging from the hem of their skirt: the lion-battlers #121 (Pl. LXVIIIe) on the Péronne ring and the kilted procession figures #19 from Knossos. Other *conuli* were used to secure knots, like the Fisherman's string necklace #3 or at the end of loose belts, like that worn by the standing lady in the House of the Ladies (*Thera* V pl. H).

Extant Dress-Beads: Iakovides⁴⁸ cites spindle whorls (*conuli*) as possible dress weights from Dendra Tb XXIV, Perati Tb 16, Nafplion Tb Iota-Theta, and elsewhere.

Anklets⁴⁹

As many men as women wear anklets.

For the men, we see the same groupings: the dominant Akrotiri boxer #2, the man leading an agrimi to a shrine on the ring *CMS* I 119 (#99, Pl. LXVIIIa), and possibly the Chania "Master" #126; the men #19 in the Knossos procession fresco; and a Knossos taureador #53.

For an Egyptian source for anklets, Televantou cites Evans, who notes they symbolized there the status and wealth of the wearer. But none of the Akrotiri women who wear anklets (the Young Crocus Gatherer #13 [Pl. LXIVb], the Girl Emptying her Basket #10 (Pl. LXIIIId), the Red Hair Girl #11, the Curly Hair Girl #12 [Pl. LXIVa], and the Veil Lifter #14 [Pl. LXIVc]) seems of any high station. It may be, instead, that, like some necklaces and arm-rings, anklets signified being bound or consecrated.

B. Jewelry represented on objects

Catenary strings of spherical and teardrop beads hang suspended from hooks in windows (#128) from which women look out, from the capitals of columns (#129), and from the tips of Horns of Consecration (#130). Such strands of beads, clacking drily in the breeze, seem undoubtedly to have decorated festive and sacred occasions, just as necklaces and garlands seem appropriate items for people to wear on these occasions. Perhaps the clacking noise of the beads, along with the rustling of leaves of similarly hung branches (cf. #129, where boughs also hang from the column capitals), contributed to making the presence of the divinity felt (cf. the oracle at Dodona where rustling oak leaves conveyed the oracular responses of Zeus).

By extension, strung beads seem appropriate decorations for items associated with such festive/sacred occasions: various vases #131 from Tylissos, Keos, Mycenae, etc. And a niello dagger #132 is inlaid with strung spherical and lily beads; perhaps the dagger, too, played a part in such a festive/sacred occasion.

It is therefore not surprising to see strung beads and other items of jewelry decorate the West House ikria #133 and flotilla fresco #134 at Akrotiri.

Strung spherical, lily-papyrus, crocus, and rosette beads, of gold, silver?, cornelian, and blue glass/amethyst/lapis lazuli decorate the large-scale ikria.

Strung spherical and crocus (SAKELLARIOU 304, types 90, 91: trilobed flower bud) beads of gold serve as the rigging lines to ship 2⁵⁰; compare the gold crocus beads from Mycenae ChT 8⁵¹. If they were to scale with the rest of the ship, the beads decorating the rigging would be almost as large as the heads of the passengers. So too the other gold ornaments on these ships: the gold sequins, butterflies, birds, and "puffs" on the prow of ships

48 IAKOVIDES *supra* n. 47.

49 See TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 36-37; HALLAGER, *Master Impression* 22.

50 MORGAN 166 notes this.

51 SAKELLARIOU pl. 6, NMA 2302.

(#134) 1, 3, 7, and on the prow and mast top on ship 2 should each be, if to scale, as large as an entire passenger.

Morgan does not comment on this use of colossal jewelry to emphasize the importance of these ships, beyond a commentary on the uses and importance of crocus ⁵².

Normal-sized jewelry was appropriate, in general, for festive/sacred occasions, as we have seen. But normal-sized actual jewelry was probably not used for the purposes the fresco artist has given them: fragile necklaces as rigging and tiny gold sequins as prow finials. In their proper scale such necklaces and sequins would have been difficult to see and appreciate, necklaces as rigging could not have secured the mast, and small sequins would have been too fragile to sustain a sea voyage of any length.

Unless the artist has given us an imaginary rigging, it is possible that he is in fact representing large ornaments in jewelry form, made perhaps of wood and gilded or painted gold. Such ornaments would then resemble those that decorate the modern Christmas tree.

On several ships in the Flotilla fresco there are references to other decorative arts: the niello-like decoration of the ship hulls ⁵³ and the stern aegides that resemble the gold lion cut-outs NMA 119/120 from Mycenae Shaft Grave III, to scale on real hulls and sterns ⁵⁴.

Summary

Most people wear jewelry, men and women, but not usually in battle or on the hunt.

The most common article of personal adornment was the garland; both men and women wear it and always in some kind of festive or religious setting.

Plumed Caps: only women, priestesses or goddesses, and sphinxes wear these.

Hair Bindings: only women wear these, and the types differ according to their age. I agree with Televantou (*Comments*) that the Theran women wear no silver diadems, but rather blue cloth fillets, most ending in blue papyrus-shaped tassels draped over the ears.

Hair Pins: only one woman wears one, the Wounded Girl #15.

Earrings: during the transition from MM to LM, both men and women wear these. The men who wear earrings seem to be mature or of high rank.

Necklaces: men workers wear string necklaces and other men wear necklaces in apparent rites of male passage. Women almost always wear necklaces of strung beads, although the Wounded Girl #9 is unique in wearing no necklace and no bracelet.

Arm-rings: only a few women wear these. Many men wear arm-rings as if consecrated or in apparent rites of male passage.

Bracelets: again, only a few men wear bracelets, mostly in apparent rites of male passage. Two types of women wear bracelets: those who also wear plumed caps and sealstones ("Klawiphoroi") and those at Akrotiri.

52 MORGAN 30.

53 MORGAN 130-131, does not mention the resemblances between decorated hulls and niello work. Ship 2: coursing lions (niello dagger NMA 395 from ShGr IV) & dolphins (niello dagger NMA 8446 from Prosymna Tb 14 [C.W. BLEGEN, *Prosymna* [1937] 166-170, 330-331]; Dolphin Cup NMA 73 from ShGr III [E.N. DAVIS, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* [1977] no. 89]). Ship 6: flying birds (niello dagger NMA 6416 from Prosymna Tb 111 [BLEGEN, *op. cit.* 180-185, 331-332]; gold goblet NMA 8759 from Midea Tb 10 [A.W. PERSSON, *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea* [1942] 89, fig. 99.4; DAVIS, *op. cit.* no. 111]). And of course the fresco's Nilotic scene closely resembles the Nilotic niello dagger NMA 623 from ShGr V (MORGAN 146-150).

54 These crouching lion stern aegides at Akrotiri are like appliqués atop the stern. Other boat constructions give the stern itself a terminal, either a human head [sealing from Kato Zakro KZ 70/HMs 26b] or a monster head, curved up and regardant, the so-called Skylla heads of the Mochlos Ring (CMS II 3.252) and the sealing from Ayia Triada 118 (HMs 434). An extremely similar monster-head aegis also decorates the prow of the Thai royal barge (*NatGeogMag* 162.4, October 1982, ill. p. 488 lower right).

Sealstones: ten probable depictions make it clear that mostly women wore seals ("Klawiphoroi") and a few men in subservient roles (Cup-Bearer and AT Sarcophagus Lyre Player).

Dress-beads: worn by both men (from kilts and skirt hems) and by women (from sleeves and as dress-weights).

Anklets: women, and men in male rites of passage or processions, wear these, probably again as symbols of being bound or consecrated.

Televantou, *Thera Jewelry* 50, concludes that in Akrotiri men wore little jewelry, if at all, contrary to Minoan and Mycenaean practice. The *Catalogue* and *Chart*, however, make it clear that aside from the garland few men in any Aegean representations wore any other kind of personal adornment than the earring and the arm-ring -- and these, especially when combined with other items of jewelry rarely worn by men (cf. the Cup Bearer #17), may have referred to one specific event in their life, their induction into their sponsor's *andreion*.

In general it can be assumed that most jewelry, especially the beaded necklaces and bracelets and the blue hair bands referred to the high social station and wealth of their wearers. Some items of jewelry, however, seem to have marked the wearer as not of high station, but perhaps exotic or bound to service, such as the torque, the arm-ring, and the anklet.

By focussing on jewelry, there emerged three recurring images with narrative qualities: 1) representations of two women with bound hands led by a man on a leash seem to relate to other representations of two women escorted by a third woman to a sanctuary; 2) several representations focus on male pairs where one is of different age or status than the other (Boxer Boys, Chieftain Youth and Boy, several seals) -- these pairs may be involved in male rites of passage; and 3) representations of women (and one man and one boy) draw the viewer's attention to necklaces, either by fingering them or holding them, and thus to the intrinsic value of the jewelry.

And finally, there are representations of sealstones, usually worn by women, especially women who also wear the plumed cap. If these representations depict real women, then they probably were priestesses who had some administrative standing; the association of the Mycenaean word "ka-wa-wi-po-ro" as a title for priestesses ("klawiphoroi", key-bearers) makes it attractive to identify these as the women who wore and used seals; and the women stewards in Homer, like Eurykleia in the *Odyssey*, provide information about their duties.

John G. YOUNGER

Catalogue of Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewelry

A. Jewelry on people

Frescoes

Akrotiri

Arvaniti 1, the "Kitchen"

1. "African" (*Thera* II pl. B.3-4; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 29, no. 2): gold circular earring

House B1

2. Left Boxer (Pl. LXIIIa; *Thera* II back cover, IV fig. 3 & color pl. E; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 27-28, no. 10⁵⁵): gold circular earring; single strand necklace, arm-ring, anklet on both legs, all of large blue (glass?, amethyst?) spherical beads; gold band anklet on each ankle above the string of blue beads

West House

3. Fisherman to left (*Thera* VI color pl. 6 right; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 28-29, no. 11): necklace (yellow string knotted at the back of the neck behind a black bead)
4. Young Priestess with brazier (Pl. LXIIIb; *Thera* VI color pl. 5 right; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 19, no. 3): gold wheel earring; thick blue neck-ring (hem of shift?) and, at both wrists, a broad blue bracelet? outlined in gold, blue, and white

House of the Ladies

5. Lady A (*Thera* V pls. F & H; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 19, no. 1): choker (reserved band outlined in black), gold circular earring
6. Lady B (*Thera* V pl. G; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 19, no. 2): gold circular earring; solid blue (U-?) bracelet on left wrist

Xeste 3, Rm 3

Upper Floor, South Wall

7. Older woman (*Thera* VII pl. 66; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 27, no. 9; *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 45): blue hair kerchief from forehead to bun, embroidered? with dotted squares⁵⁶; solid gold & red torque tied at the back of the neck; lily flower at the cheek (visible? in *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 46)
8. Woman with lily blouse (*Thera* VII pl. 65; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 27, no. 8; *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 46): dark hair kerchief from forehead to bun (cf. the hair band on #7⁵⁷); double strand necklace of small dark (cornelian?) spherical beads, the strands tied together at the back of the neck

Upper Floor, North Wall

9. "Goddess" (Pl. LXIIIc; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 21 & 23, no. 4b⁵⁸; *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 49): a string? of gold? dots (spherical beads?) outline her bun and long tress (pony-tail) at the back, as well as run through the hair in a zig-zag; blue hair band (red spherical beads outlined in yellow) across the top of her forehead and ending with blue papyrus-shaped tassels over the ear; gold circular granulated earring; on her cheek a crocus flower that matches the crocus flowers decorating her jacket; a broad blue band trimmed with blue beads or granulations (choker?, fillet?); single strand necklace of blue, gold, red and silver ducks swimming left, all strung on a red string; single strand necklace of gold and blue dragonflies strung on a thick gold string with red linear accents, loosely draped across the shoulders; on

55 Televantou identifies a gold bracelet on the boxer's left wrist.

56 Televantou did not catalogue head bands in *Thera Jewelry*.

57 Televantou did not catalogue head bands in *Thera Jewelry*.

58 Televantou informs us of the hair band, bracelets, and arm-ring, but does not catalogue the tassels.

- the left arm, a single strand of spherical beads, gold and some other color; on the left forearm and wrist, a loose blue bracelet outlined by black dots; on the right arm, a loose gold band outlined with black dots, and a single strand bracelet of spherical cornelian and gold beads
10. Girl emptying basket (Pl. LXIIIId; *Thera* VII pl. K; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 19-21, no. 4a⁵⁹): gray (originally blue) fillet across the hair on her forehead with gray (originally blue) papyrus-shaped tassels over the ears; gold circular earring; loose blue bracelet on both wrists; loose blue anklet outlined with black dots on both ankles
 11. Red Haired Girl carrying a basket (TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 25, no. 6⁶⁰; TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* no. 10, fig. 6-7; *Art and Religion in Thera* 62 fig. 40) at the right of the "Goddess": broad yellow⁶¹ hair band outlined with beads, black above and red below, large in the center and small at the ends; two gold wheel earrings looped together in a chain; a single strand necklace of spherical cornelian beads hangs loose in front of her breast; at each wrist, a loose gold band bracelet outlined in red dots; anklet on both ankles

Upper Floor, East Wall

12. Crocus Gatherer with curly hair (Pl. LXIVa; *Thera* VII pls. B, 59, 60; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 23, no. 5a⁶²; TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* no. 11, fig. 9; *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 41): blue band across the hair on her forehead with blue papyrus-shaped tassels over the ears; gold circular earring with spikey granulation; gold neck-ring; single strand necklace of blue (glass?, amethyst?) beads?; single strand necklace of alternating gold tubular and pairs of spherical cornelian beads; two gold arm-rings on right arm; loose blue U-bracelet with beads at each wrist; anklet on each ankle of a loose gold band outlined with black dots
13. Young Crocus Gatherer (Pl. LXIVb; *Thera* VII pls. C-E, 61; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 23 & 25, no. 5b⁶³; TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* no. 12, fig. 9; *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 42): a fillet of blue spherical beads outlined in blue (small beads at the ends and large beads in the center) across the forehead with blue papyrus-shaped tassels over the ears; gold circular ribbed earring; dress beads hang from the sleeve (single strand of papyrus-shaped beads); gold arm-ring; U-bracelet on each arm of spherical blue (glass?, amethyst?) beads at right wrist; anklet on each ankle of a loose blue band outlined with black dots

Ground Floor, South Wall

14. Veil Lifter (Pl. LXIVc; *Thera* VII pls. A & 58; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 27, no. 7c⁶⁴; TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* no. 17, fig. 4-5; *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 55): gold circular ribbed earring; broad blue band (choker?, fillet?) at the neck outlined with black (glass? or amethyst?) spherical beads or granulation; blue U-bracelet at each wrist outlined with black dots; blue U-anklet on each ankle with slanted black lines
15. Wounded Girl (Pl. LXIVd; *Thera* VII pls. I, J, 64; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 26-7, no. 7b⁶⁵; TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* no. 6, fig. 4-5; TELEVANTOU, *Comments*; *Art and Religion in Thera* figs. 43, 44, 56): thin hair ribbon (yellow outlined in red) weaves around the hair, holding it back, and runs from the nape to the top of the forehead where it ends in a loop knot; spherical beads wind complexly around the large bun at the nape of the neck and (same string?) three times about the hair at the top of the head and at the forehead, ending there in a loop knot; crook-shaped gold hair pin with lily finial projecting back from her bun; myrtle/olive⁶⁶ twig with alternating silver and blue leaves projecting forward from the hair above her right temple, stuck presumably in the string there of gold beads; gold? fillet tassel slipped against her eye; gold circular granulated earring; Marinatos wrongly restores bracelets
16. Necklace Swinger (Pl. LXVa; *Thera* VII pls. C, F-H, 62, 63; TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* 25-26, no. 7a): thin hair ribbon (yellow with vertical red stripes, all outlined in red on one edge and blue on the other) runs around the hair from the nape of her neck to the forehead, ending with a loop knot; gold

59 Televantou informs us of the bracelet on the right wrist and the anklets, but does not catalogue hair fillets in *Thera Jewelry*.

60 Televantou informs us of her jewelry.

61 Televantou informs me (*Comments*) that DAVIS *Youth and Age* 399, n. 7, is incorrect; the girl has red hair and blue eyes.

62 Televantou informs us of the anklets, but does not catalogue hair fillets in *Thera Jewelry*.

63 Televantou informs us of the bracelets and anklets.

64 Televantou informs us of the anklets.

65 Televantou confirms (*Comments*) that the girl wears no bracelets (pace *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 44).

66 The leaves resemble both the myrtle (*PM* II fig. 270) and olive (*PM* I fig. 289) in fresco.

circular ribbed? earring; choker of spherical cornelian beads alternating with gold crosses (no SAKELLARIOU type); blue cloth band outlined with black dots (large in the center and small at the end); long chain of gold papyrus flowers or long necklace of gold papyrus flower beads (SAKELLARIOU 300, types 68-71, although here the striations parallel the stringhole; but compare the gold papyrus bead from Prosymna tomb XLIV [C.W. BLEGEN, *Prosymna* [1937] fig. 541.12]), tied over the shoulders; blue U-bracelet (glass?, amethyst?) outlined with black dots at each wrist; she holds a single strand necklace of 37 spherical rock crystal (according to Marinatos) or clear glass beads increasing in size toward the middle, strung on a red string; pink fingernails (a characteristic of this painter, the Painter of the Crocus Gatherers [TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* 163]; also see the seated Phylakopi figure #41)

Knossos

17. Cup-Bearer (Pl. LXVb; *PM* II, color plate opposite p. 725): blue papyrus-shaped tassel over the ear (presumably belonging to a fillet running from ear to ear under the nape of the neck); two blue arm-rings on his left arm, one on his right arm; bracelet strand with light banded sealstone on left wrist; blue bracelet ring at right wrist. Gold arm-ring on left arm of Processional figure in front
18. Procession fresco (*PM* II 719 ff., fig. 450, supp. pl. xxvii): cup-bearers 20 and 21 wear arm-rings
19. Procession fresco (*PM* II 719 ff., fig. 450, supp. pl. xxvii): most figures wear U-anklets, some beaded (e.g., on figure 20); kilts end in a mesh (fig. 453) with spherical beads at the interstices and, at the hem, a string of alternating small palmette (SAKELLARIOU 301-2, type 73) and lily-papyrus [Waz-lily] (SAKELLARIOU 307, type 107) beads (the whole seems to be an elaborate set of dress beads; cf. ring *CMS* XI 272 [#121], below, with dress beads hanging from the men's kilts)
20. AM AE 1707 (*PM* III 209 ff.); arm-ring on male taureador
21. HM 34 (*PM* III 209 ff.; *KFA* pl. XIIa): white taureador, preserved right arm has what looks like a double gold arm-ring (hem to sleeve of jacket?)
22. AM AE 1708 (*KFA* pl. A2 & X4): white alighting taureador: single strand necklace with cornelian spherical beads; loose, blue U-bracelet; blue? arm-ring on left (preserved) arm
23. Court of Stone Spout (*KFA* pl. IX): white front assistant or preparing to leap: red arm-rings on arm; bracelets (blue & red) at wrist (wrist-guards?)
24. HM Tray 74 (*Archaeology* 24 [1971] fig. on p. 38): white figure: two? necklaces: double strand of cornelian & agate spherical beads, above a single strand of cornelian? teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57)
25. NW Heap (*PM* II 682 fig. 431; *Archaeology* 24 [1971] 40): bun of woman's hair with a complex set of strings of gold spherical and papyrus flower beads (SAKELLARIOU 300, types 68-71), and, at the nape of the neck, a thin gold ribbon(?)
26. Captain of the Blacks (*PM* II color pl. XIII opposite p. 756): neck-ring/necklace
27. *KFA* pl. VI no. 8: man with neck-ring/necklace
28. HM 7, Ladies in Blue (*PM* I figs. 397, 398; IV fig. 219; *KFA* pl. XIIB; *Archaeology* 24 [1971] 35: [MM III]-JLM I, one of the earliest frescoes with human figures, a near life processional or "conversational" piece): woman's right hand fingers the top necklace of four (top down: single strand of spherical cornelian beads; double strand of gray-blue alternating spherical with tubular [SAKELLARIOU 294-295, type 22] beads; strand of gray/blue spherical beads; strand of alternating gray-blue and cornelian trilobed buds [in plan these beads resemble SAKELLARIOU 304, type 90, but since the stringhole pierces the central lobe longitudinally, the beads may be triple versions of type 58]); two bracelets at the wrists: double strand of spherical beads and double strand of papyrus flowers (SAKELLARIOU 300, type 68) alternating gray-blue & cornelian
29. Grandstand & Dance in the Grove frescoes (Pl. LXVc; *PM* III 46 ff., color pls. XVI-XVIII): all men wear a simple fillet above the forehead and a necklace (neck-ring?); the seated women in the Dance fresco wear hair bindings around their bun and across the hair over their forehead, and a single strand necklace with pendent teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57)

Mycenae

30. Ramp House Deposit, male taureador (*AM* 1911 pl. ix.1): bracelet
31. Megaron, North wall (*AM* 1911 pl. xii.1): charioteer with bracelet
32. Under life-sized Procession fresco (W. LAMB, *BSA* 25 [1921-3] pl. 28e): women with plumed cap; single (quadruple?) strand necklace of alternating spherical and pendent teardrop (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57) cornelian beads

33. Man to right (RA 1897 374-380 pl. 20; *PM* II fig. 484; in the Bucharest Museum): blue arm-ring; gold U-bracelet at right wrist
34. "Grain-Goddess" (Pl. XVa *supra*) from the House with the Idols, room 31 (*Antiquity* 44 [1970] 273 fig. 2; R. HÄGG & N. MARINATOS, *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May, 1980* [1981] 47 fig. 14; N. MARINATOS, "The Fresco from Room 31 at Mycenae," *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* [1988] 245-24): plumed cap; single strand bracelet with sealstone at inside right wrist
35. Tall woman (Pl. XIIa *supra*) standing to right from the House with the Idols, room 31 (*Antiquity* 44 [1970] 273 fig. 2; *Sanctuaries & Cults* 47 fig. 13; N. MARINATOS, "The Fresco from Room 31 at Mycenae", *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* [1988] 245-24): dress beads weight her dress
36. Woman? (KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* pl. Aa18): ivy/papyrus bead (SAKELLARIOU 305, type 98) against white flesh
37. White-painted figure carrying griffin (KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* 28ff. pl. Ba, "certainly female"): bracelet
38. Woman carrying a lily (KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* pl. Bb): simple thin yellow fillet passes across her hair from over her forehead to around the nape of her neck; gold U-bracelet with beads
39. Procession of women (KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* 46-49, pl. 8b): women's feet to left (nos. B-14, B-15) and to right (nos. B-18, B-19), all wearing a yellow anklet
40. "Mykenaiia" (Pl. LXVd; KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* 37-40, esp. 39-40, pl. Ca):
 hair-binder: thick tri-colored ribbon (white with red borders, the same dyed material as the hem of her jacket) passes across the hair over her forehead and down, wrapping three times around her large bun; this same? ribbon also passes across her hair at the top of her head;
 necklaces: single strand necklace of spherical alternating gold & cornelian beads (the same as her bracelet) above a double strand of alternating gold & cornelian teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57) (the necklace is similar to the one she holds);
 bracelets: red U-bracelets; on each wrist, 2 strands of alternating gold & cornelian spherical beads, similar to her top necklace
 holds necklace/leash, in two single strands: a strand of alternating gold & cornelian spherical beads, and a strand of alternating gold & cornelian teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57); the necklace/leash she holds is similar to the top necklace on her neck.

Phylakopi

City 2, G3 rooms 6/7 (T.D. ATKINSON et al., *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* [1904] 72-75; the room also contained the flying fish fresco and others)

41. Seated figure in outline (ATKINSON, *op. cit.* fig. 61: man? with net?; *PM* III 40ff. fig. 26; *Art and Religion in Thera* 87 fig. 59): gold rope-like bracelet/ring at each wrist; red fingernails (cf. the Necklace Swinger #16)
42. Stooping figure in outline (ATKINSON, *op. cit.* fig. 62: man?): tied rope? necklace

Pylos (M. LANG, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia II: The Frescoes* [1969])

43. 51 H nws: Procession of women: single strand necklace of alternating dark blue amygdaloid and cornelian spherical beads; single strand necklace of cornelian amygdaloids; U-bracelet of cornelian spherical beads at right wrist
44. 13 M nws (Pl. LXVIa): two quadruple loosely woven strands (cf. Akrotiri #13, above), each with a banded sealstone against white flesh
45. 4 H nw: woman with double red U-bracelet at left wrist
46. 3 M 6: man wearing single strand necklace of white, black, yellow beads, most spherical, one leaf-shaped
47. 49 H nws ("White Goddess"): plumed cap

Thebes

48. Procession of women (*ArchEph* 1909 pl. I.6-8, fig. 14; AA 1948/9 244 fig. 3): triple strand necklace of amygdaloid beads, alternating blue-black & cornelian; quadruple strand bracelets of small amygdaloid & spherical beads

Tiryns

49. Procession of women (*Tiryns* II, pl. VIII): bracelets restored

Egypt, Luxor

50. Tomb of Menkheperasonb (*PM* II fig. 482C; LONG, *AT Sarcophagus* pl. 4.12): a Keftiu man carries a long single strand of large spherical beads over his left elbow
51. Tomb of Rekhmira (*PM* II fig. 473; C.K. WILKINSON & M. HILL, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* [1983]): a Keftiu man carries a large single strand of teardrop (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57) beads over his left elbow (p. 85 no. 31.6.45), just like a man from Punt (p. 84 no. 39.4.152) who carries a single long strand of amygdaloid beads over his left elbow

Relief frescoes

Knossos

52. "Jewel Fresco", Magazine of the Vase Tablets (*PM* I 525 fig. 383; *KFA* pl. B2): man's right hand holds edge of a textile & fingers a single strand necklace of gold beads, most spherical plus two beads in the shape of a youth's face with curly hair and triple loop earrings, all against white flesh (Evans identifies the flesh as a woman's); at the left, (her?) hair
53. Foot & arm? of a man (taureador?), Area of Bull Relief & Spiral Fresco (KAISER, *Relief* pl. 42L): blue anklet on the foot & (fig. 43bL) blue arm-ring on the arm
54. "Prince of the Lilies", South Entrance (*PM* II 777ff., fig. 508; KAISER, *Relief* 284; W.-D. NIEMEIER, "The 'Priest King' Fresco from Knossos. A New Reconstruction and Interpretation", *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* [1988] 235-244); Kaiser attests to the pale "ruddy" color of the flesh but notes that it has no parallels: the torso, belonging perhaps to a male figure, faces right with left arm outstretched; plumed cap belonging to a female figure. On the torso: "ghosts" of a single chain, originally in applied (gold?) paint?, of lily/papyrus flowers, perhaps meant to be an actual garland of lily flowers (WARREN, *Garland Fresco* 198) or a necklace of lily/papyrus beads (SAKELLARIOU 307, type 107); broad blue bracelet at the right wrist
55. Woman's arm, HM Box Theta v.3 (KAISER, *Relief* 388, fig. 464L above): bracelet on the arm with two small lentoid sealstones

Pseira, small shrine room

56. Two seated women, HM 469c (KAISER, *Relief* 299-302, fig. 469): one sits on a throne, perhaps both, facing? each other (in conversation?; cf. ivory mirror handles [NMA 2269 etc., from Mycenae ChT 2: SAKELLARIOU pl. 2]); one arm with blue bracelet; the left-seated woman wears a rather elaborate multiple strand necklace (cf. the multiple strand necklaces gathered by spacer beads [e.g., R. HIGGINS, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art* [1960] fig. 218 from Enkomi; and of glass, *Archaeology* 16 [1973] ill. on p. 190])

Ayia Triada sarcophagus
(LONG, *AT Sarcophagus*)

57. Pouring Scene (Pl. LXVIb) -- 2nd woman from left: plumed cap & bracelet with sealstone; lyre player: sealstone; 1st man calf-carrier: bracelet; man boat-carrier: bracelet
58. West End -- charioteers: plumed caps?; bracelets (might one carry a sealstone on the left arm of the near woman?)
59. Bull Sacrifice -- 3rd woman from left: plumed cap & bracelet on each wrist
60. East End (with griffins) -- both charioteers: plumed cap; near woman charioteer has a bracelet (& sealstone?)

“Shield Goddess” painted plaque, Mycenae

(*ArchEph* 1887 pl. 10.2; *AM* 1937 129; *PM* III 135 ff.; P. REHAK, *AJA* 86 [1982] 282ff):

61. ?Woman at right: plumed cap

Stone vases

Chieftain Cup (Pl. LXVIc; WARREN, *Stone Vases* P197, class 15; *PM* II 791 fig. 516; KOEHL, *Chieftain Cup*), Ayia Triada

62. Boy: neck-ring; bracelet of large spherical beads
 63. Youth: two necklaces of beads?; single strand necklace of large spherical beads; arm-ring on both arms of large spherical beads; bracelet of large spherical beads on left wrist; broad (double strand?, wrist guard?) bracelet (of large spherical beads?) on right wrist
 64. Boxer Rhyton (WARREN, *Stone Vases* P469)
 Zones 3 & 4: double neck-rings on the boxers
 65. Boston MFA (WARREN, *Stone Vases* 86, part of the Boxer Rhyton?): boxer: single neck-ring

Bronze figurines

(C. VERLINDEN, *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du IIIe millénaire au VIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, [1984] numbers)

66. 26 (man), Tyliossos: neck-ring/garland, bracelet?
 67. 24 (man): arm-rings, double neck-ring/garlands
 68. 28 (man): neck-ring/garland
 69. 30 (man): neck-ring/garland
 70. 34? (woman): neck-ring/garland
 71. 68 (woman): neck-ring/garland

Terracotta statues/statuettes

Knossos

72. Shrine, Double Axes (MARINATOS & HIRMER pl. 132 bottom), woman with hands up: quadruple strand necklace (top to bottom: small beads, pendent triangles, large beads, small beads); bracelet on each wrist with single sealstone

Ayia Irini, Keos (M. CASKEY, *The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues. Keos II*, Part 1)

73. Groups 1-4 (Pl. LXVIId): large neck-ring necklace, probably a heavy garland (nos. 3-1 carries traces of red & white paint)
 74. Groups 5-7: thick necklaces
 75. Groups 5-1, 5-2, 7-1, 7-2: arm-rings

Tiryns, Culthouse R110 (K. KILIAN, “Zeugnisse mykenischer Kulturausbung in Tiryns”, R. HÄGG & N. MARINATOS, *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May, 1980* [1981] 54 fig. 6)

76. Second from left: garland?
 77. Third from left: four chokers of spherical beads; single string necklace with single pendent Waz-lily (SAKELLARIOU 307, type 107, lily/papyrus)
 78. AA 1979, 392 fig. 12: single & multiple strand bracelets of spherical beads
 79. Unpublished?: woman with double strand necklace of spherical beads with pendent single bucranium (no Sakellariou type; cf. R. HIGGINS, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* [1981] fig. 13, type 32) and double strand bracelets of spherical beads

Mycenae

80. Room by Corridor C along N. Cyclopean Wall (G.E. MYLONAS, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* [1966] 155 fig. 128): woman with broad neck-ring/garland with long double strand necklace of spherical beads down her neck; on both arms a single strand bracelet? with sealstone?; on both wrists a single strand bracelet with sealstone?
House with the Idols (R. HÄGG & N. MARINATOS, *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May, 1980* [1981] 176, figs. 8 & 9)
81. 66-1557 (*History of the Hellenic World I Prehistory and Protohistory* [1974] 329, right) with double strand necklace of spherical beads & double strand bracelet of spherical beads
82. 66-1221 with two sets of double chokers of spherical beads, and single strand necklace with long double strand necklace down her front reaching to her waist, all of spherical beads
83. ChT 40 (NMA 1494; SAKELLARIOU 114, pl. 28): woman with triple strand choker with long double strand necklace reaching down between her breasts

Gazi (MARINATOS & HIRMER pls. 130, 131)

84. Woman with up-raised hands: tiara with three pomegranate buds; neck-ring/garland

Plaster Statue

- 84a. Mycenae (MARINATOS & HIRMER pls. 41, 42), plaster head of a woman; cap (plumeless); single strand necklace of cornelian and blue amygdaloid beads on a red string

Ivories

Mycenae

85. Seated woman (MARINATOS & HIRMER pl. 217): single strand necklace of teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57) flat on shoulders (cf. *CMS* I 279)
86. Trio (MARINATOS & HIRMER pl. 219; A.J.B. WACE, *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide* [1949] 83f. figs. 101, 102c-d, 103): headless woman -- single strand necklace with teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57); boy -- single strand necklace of spherical? beads, which he fingers
87. Ivory cut-out, ChT 49 (POURSAT 1 no. 299, NMA 2473, pl. xxix; SAKELLARIOU pl. 35): woman walks left; single strand necklace of spherical & teardrop (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57) beads; single strand bracelet of beads & teardrops on her upraised left wrist, the hand holding vegetation (in front, the hoof of an agrimi?)
88. Mirror handle, ChT 55 (Pl. LXVIIa; POURSAT 1 no. 300 [NMA 2899] pl. xxxii): two women with curly hair antithetic holding large "papyrus flower"/umbrella/fan; each wears a single strand necklace of spherical beads
89. Mirror handle, Clytemnestra Tholos (Pl. LXVIIb; POURSAT 1 no. 331; NMA 2898; pl. xxxv; MARINATOS & HIRMER pl. 221): two women with curly hair bend to hold ropes?/metaphor for attaching the handle itself; each wears a hair band above the forehead, two circular earrings looped together in a simple chain, a single strand necklace?, and a triple? strand bracelet
90. Mirror handle, Clytemnestra Tholos (POURSAT 1 no. 332; NMA 2900; pl. xxxv; MARINATOS & HIRMER pl. 224): two women with curly hair hold waterfowls; each wears a hair band above the forehead, a circular earring, perhaps a double strand necklace, and a bracelet

Delos, Artemisium

91. Plaque (Cypriot?; Delos B 7069; POURSAT 2 pl. xiv.1): helmeted man stands right, holding staff in front, figure-8 shield behind; arm-ring

Ras Shamra/Minet el Beida

92. Pyxis lid (Pl. LXVIIc; POURSAT 2 pl. xix.1): Potnia of agrimia; simple fillet around her short hair, torques, bracelets

Seals & Rings

93. CMS I 11, Mycenae ShGr III: dominant warrior wears? long single strand necklace (or hair) of spherical beads (or dots)
94. CMS I 15 (Pl. LXVIIId), Mycenae ShGr IV: chariot driver, arm-ring
95. CMS I 17, Mycenae Treasure: all three women, single (woman at left) & single? strand (other two women) neck-rings
96. CMS I 86, Mycenae ChT 55: 1st two women at shrine, single neck-rings
97. CMS I 107, Mycenae ChT 68: man among columns, arm-ring
98. CMS I 108 (Pl. LXVIIe), Mycenae ChT 71: women at shrine, 1st & 3rd women with double neck-rings; central woman with arm up & single strand necklace of spherical beads (or: ribbed torque, garland)
99. CMS I 119 (Pl. LXVIIIa), Mycenae ChT 84: man with (offering?) agrimi at shrine, two arm-rings on each arm; neck-ring; anklet on both legs
100. CMS I 126 (Pl. LXVIIIb), Mycenae ChT 91: central woman with single strand necklace of beads (M. CASKEY, *The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues. Keos II, Part 1 p. 37 n. 54*: "garland"); man pulling on tree with neck-ring; woman at left wears bracelets? (or are her hands tied?) and leans over a table; strands of spherical beads under "table" at left
101. CMS I 127, Mycenae ChT 91: both women saluting shrine, neck-rings
102. CMS I 128, Mycenae ChT 91: woman with griffin & neck-ring
103. CMS I 144 & 145, Mycenae ChT 515: Potnia with neck-ring
104. CMS I 159 (Pl. LXVIIIc), Mycenae ChT: tall woman in center with single strand necklace of spherical beads, and two streamers fluttering to either side of her head; a pair of lines lead from the central woman's hands to the two smaller flanking women, like a leash; the two smaller flanking women have their hands behind their back, as if tied; all three women look like they wear arm-rings, which are really the hem of the sleeves of their jackets; cf. CMS I 121
105. CMS I 167, Mycenae: woman on Babylonian Dragon with neck-ring
106. CMS I 179, Tiryns Treasure: seated woman with spherical beads necklace & double strand bracelet at each wrist
107. CMS I 200, Asine: male bull-leaper with neck-ring
108. CMS I 220, Vapheio cist: both women crossed by agrimi; the hem of the sleeves of their jacket looks like an arm-ring (see CMS I 221); from the lower border of the dress, dress weights (cf. CMS I 226)
109. CMS I 221, Vapheio cist: woman crossed by sheep; with thick striated neck-ring/garland
110. CMS I 223, Vapheio cist: robed man leading griffin with neck-ring (or neck hem to robe?)
111. CMS II 3.51, Isopata ring: central woman with neck-ring; woman at right with dress beads hanging from her left sleeve
112. CMS II 3.218, "Mochlos": tall central woman with neck-ring
113. CMS V 253, Armenoi T. 24: seated woman & dog?, loose single strand necklace of beads (garland?)
114. CMS V 728 ring, Mega Monastiri: both women salute shrine, double neck-ring/garland
115. CMS VII 102: man leads bull (as offering?), arm-ring on left arm; bracelet? on right wrist; perhaps a loose necklace/garland
116. CMS VIII 110a: bearded man's head right, circular earring
117. CMS IX 6Dc: man's head right, circular earring?
118. CMS X 278 (Pl. LXVIIIId): bearded man's head & youth's head, both with circular earring
119. CMS XI 27, Elis (& sealing CMS I Supp. 180, Pylos): woman holds agrimi, neck-ring
120. CMS XI 30 ring: woman with neck-ring stands before woman seated on shrine
121. CMS XI 272 (Pl. LXVIIIe), Péronne ring, near Thessalonike: men battle lions, dress beads & tassels hang from their skirt hems (cf. Knossos #19, the mesh addition to the men's kilts)
122. A. SAKELLARIOU, *Les cachets minoens de la collection Giamalakis* [1958] no. 190b: woman's face flanked by two circles/earrings
123. HMm 899 ring, Archanes (*Archaeology* 20 [1967] 276-281 fig. 13): central woman wears (two?) garland(s); at left, man pulls at a tree growing from a shrine; at right, man kneels against an omphalos
124. HMs 153 (KSPI R102): arm & hand with double strand bracelet (simple lines, no beads), holding lily
125. HMs 54 (KZ 47): three hands, each with bracelet
126. Chania Mus. "Master Impression" (HALLAGER, *Master Impression*): youth wears a neck-ring/necklace/garland, arm-ring on each arm; lines at ankles may be anklets or, more probably, abbreviations for the top of his boots

Jewelry

127. Master of Waterfowl, the "Aigina Treasure" (R. HIGGINS, *BSA* 27 [1957] 42-57): a large circular earring at each ear; three arm-rings on the left arm; two arm-rings on the right arm; and two bracelets on each wrist.

B. Jewelry on objects

Architecture

128. Fresco fragment, Mycenae, Ramp House Deposit (*AM* 1911 pl. ix.2): women at window; a catenary necklace with teardrop beads (SAKELLARIOU 298, type 57) strung from hooks at upper corners of the window
129. LM II Pot sherd, Knossos (*PM* II 494 fig. 353): Horns of Consecration between two columns from whose capitals are suspended a double strand necklace of spherical beads and a branch
130. HMs 487 (*AT* 136) sealing, Ayia Triada: woman at left salutes right a shrine at right topped with two Horns of Consecration and containing? a single strand necklace or festoon

Furniture

(see #100, *CMS* I 126: catenary strands of spherical beads below "table" at left)

Pottery

131. LM IB amphora, Tyllissos (MORGAN 31 fig. 16): three zones, each with single strand necklaces of four sets of spherical beads alternating with pendent crocuses (cf. SAKELLARIOU 304, type 90, trilobed buds) attached also to each other by double strands of tiny spherical beads

MORGAN 182 ns. 138 & 142, lists other pots:

Keos III, House A, p. 68 no. y in pl. 53; p. 107 pl. 77, no. 1223 (fragment of a jar/jug); p. 125 (with references to other vases), pl. 85, no. 1547 (baggy alabastron)

MYLONAS pls. 198 right & 199a (upside down), a pithoid amphora, Mycenae ShGr Rho

P.P. BETANCOURT, "The Crocus and Festoons Motif: Evidence for Traveling Vase-Painters?", *TUAS* 7 (1982) 34-5

AR 27 (1980-1) 78, fig. 14

Niello dagger

132. Fragments, Peristeria Th 1 (*BCH* 89, 1965, 743 fig. 19 top; R. LAFFINEUR, "L'incrustation à l'époque mycénienne", *AntCl* 43 [1974] 5-37, no. 26): necklace of sets of spherical beads alternating with pendent lily flowers (SAKELLARIOU 306, type 104, except that the stringhole goes through the sphere at the base of the flower, as in her type 107)

Ships

Akrotiri, West House frescoes

133. Large-scale ikria with single strand, catenary necklaces
Thera VI color pl. 4, left alternating gold & gray-blue spherical beads with an outlined gold lily-papyrus [Waz-lily] pendent bead (SAKELLARIOU 307, type 107) hanging from every third spherical bead
Thera VI color pl. 4, middle a complicated strand of spherical beads, gold & cornelian, alternating with small to large (in the center) crocus flower pendent beads (SAKELLARIOU 304, type 90) of gold & outlined white hanging from spherical gold or cornelian beads
Thera VI color pl. 4, right strand of large rosettes en face (SAKELLARIOU 304, type 88), alternating cornelian and blue
134. Ships in miniature "Flotilla" fresco (*Thera* VI color pl. 9)
 Ship 1 (MORGAN pl. 9) profile butterfly & "dandelion puff" sequins on prow; crouching lion stern aegis (cf. gold cut-outs NMA 119/120, Mycenae ShGr III)

Ship 2 (Dress ship): pair of double strand necklaces of pairs of spherical gold beads alternating with pendent gold crocus flowers (SAKELLARIOU 304, type 90) as rigging; two pairs of profile butterfly sequins crown the mast (cf. double butterflies, Peristeria Th III [*AR* 1965-6 front cover; *BCH* 90 [1966] 806 ff. fig. 25, upside down]); two profile butterfly sequins (cf. NMA 51, sequins, Mycenae ShGr III) & two "dandelion puff" sequins on prow; crouching lion stern aegis (cf. gold cut-outs NMA 119/120, Mycenae ShGr III); coursing lions & dolphins decorate the hull (cf. Coursing Lions niello dagger, Mycenae ShGr IV)

Ship 3: crouching lion stern aegis (cf. gold cut-outs NMA 119/120, Mycenae ShGr III)

Ship 6 (ship under sail): flying birds decorate the hull (cf. gold goblet, Midea T. 10 [E.N. DAVIS, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* [1977] 290, no. 111] & niello dagger, Prosymna T. III [C.W. BLEGEN, *Prosymna* [1937] 180 ff. 331f., figs. 458, 459, color pl. II bottom])

Ship 7: crouching lion stern aegis (cf. gold cut-outs NMA 119/120, Mycenae ShGr III)

Abbreviations follow those listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 1-16. Additional abbreviations include:

- AT = sealings from Ayia Triada as published in D. LEVI, "Le Cretule di Zakro", *ASAtene* 8-9 (1925-1926) 157-201
- DAVIS, *Youth and Age* =
E. DAVIS, "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes", *AJA* 90 (1986) 399-406
- HALLAGER, *Master Impression* =
E. HALLAGER, *The Master Impression* (SIMA 69, 1985)
- KAISER, *Relief* =
B. KAISER, *Untersuchungen zum minoischen Relief* (1976)
- KFA = M. CAMERON and S. HOOD, *Knossos Fresco Atlas* (1967)
- KOEHL, *Chieftain Cup* =
R. KOEHL, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage", *JHS* 106 (1986) 99-110.
- KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* =
I. KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου τῶν Μυκηνῶν* (1982)
- KSPI = sealings from Knossos as published in M.A.V. GILL, "The Knossos Sealings: Provenance and Identification", *BSA* 60 (1965) 58-98
- KZ = sealings from Kato Zakro as published in D. LEVI, "Le Cretule di Haghia Triada", *ASAtene* 8-9 (1925-1926) 71-156
- LONG, *AT Sarcophagus* =
C. LONG, *The Ayia Triada Sarcophagus* (SIMA 41, 1974)
- MARINATOS & HIRMER =
S. MARINATOS & M. HIRMER, *Crete and Mycenae* (no date)
- POURSAT 1 =
J.-C. POURSAT, *Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes* (1977)
- POURSAT 2 =
J.-C. POURSAT, *Les ivoires mycéniens. Essai sur la formation d'un art mycénien* (1977)
- SAKELLARIOU =
A. XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU, *Οἱ θαλαμῶτοι τάφοι τῶν Μυκηνῶν Ἀνασκαφῆς Χρ. Τσουντα* (1887-1898) (1985); "Sakellariou type" refers to pp. 292-312, a catalogue of the types of beads found in the Tsountas tombs
- TELEVANTOU, *Comments* =
C. TELEVANTOU, notes and comments, personal communication 23 May 1992
- TELEVANTOU, *Costume* =
C. TELEVANTOU, "Ἡ γυναικεία ενδυμασία στην προϊστορική Θήρα", *ArchEph* 1982, 113-135
- TELEVANTOU, *Human Figure* =
C. TELEVANTOU, "Ἡ απόδοση τῆς ἀνθρώπινης μορφῆς στις θηραϊκῆς τοιχογραφίες", *ArchEph* 1988, 135-166
- TELEVANTOU, *Thera Jewelry* =
C. TELEVANTOU, "Κοσμήματα ἀπὸ τὴν προϊστορική Θήρα", *ArchEph* 1984, 14-54
- WARREN, *Stone Vases* =
P. WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases* (1969)
- WARREN, *Garland Fresco* =
P. WARREN, "The Fresco of the Garlands from Knossos", *Iconographie minoenne* 187-207

Appendix: Stages of Minoan and Theran adolescence

A. According to Davis & Koehl:

CHILDREN (Minoan): shaved scalp

(DAVIS, *Youth and Age* 404 n. 31; KOEHL, *Chieftain Cup* 100-101)PK ivory boys (S. HOOD, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* [1978] fig. 108),HMs 180/KSPI Pf [J. BOARDMAN, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* [1970] pl 15)

Davis adds:

Psychro bronze baby (C. VERLINDEN, *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du IIIe millénaire au VIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, [1984] no. 38),

MY ivory triad child,

ARCH ivory (older?) children (*Ergon* 1982 57, pl. 138)

WOMEN - Theran (Davis)

MEN - Minoan (Koehl)

Stage 1: shaved head, back-lock, forehead-lock
Fishermen #3, Young Crocus Gatherer #13,
terracottas from Iuktas, Petsofa

head shaved around locks ("Horus")
Fishermen #3, Boxers #2,
terracottas from Iuktas

Stage 2: longer locks, top-lock, forehead-lock,
back-lock, right temple-lock ("Horus")
Priestess #4, Boxers #2, Veil-Lifter #14

hair allowed to grow, top-knot, bangs
Chieftain Boy #62, CMS I 16 victim,
Grandstand #29 top boys, V.E.G. KENNA,
Cretan Seals (1960) no. 204
hair long to waist (aristocratic)
ear-lock, forehead-curls, back-lock
Chieftain Youth #63, Boxer Vase boxers #64,
Taureador leapers, Grandstand #29 men
combed behind ears
Chieftain Hide-Bearers, KN Cup-Bearer #17,
KN Camp Stool men, Stone Vase bowl-
bearers (WARREN, *Stone Vases* P474)
short hair (different social stratum?)
KN Blacks Captain, KN Palanquin bearers,
Harvester Vase workers

Stage 3: locks cut, short curls/new growth
hair band w/ tassels
Crocus Gatherers #10-12,
MY mirror handles #88-#90
back-locks
MY ivory cut-out #87, Ras Shamra lid #92

oldest men: hair short, forehead curls
Robed figures on seals
in "Chanting Priests" group
(J.G. YOUNGER, *Aegaeum* 3 [1989] 58-59)
back-locks
Harvester Vase leader

Stage 4: brides?
front forelock gone (replaced by fillet knot)
no hair band (brides?)
Necklace Swinger #16
Wounded Girl #15

Goddess: older, wears youth insignia
forehead & top locks
hair band w/ tassels

Stage 5: mature, breasts developed,
hair bound in cloths
Older Xeste Women #7, #8

Stage 6: Old Women, pendulous breasts
Ladies #5, #6

B. According to Withee

GIRLS

BOYS

about 8-10 years old, shaved
 Young Crocus Gatherer #13

about 10-12 years old, new growth
 Curly Crocus Gatherer #12

about 14 years old, long back-locks
 Veil-Lifter #14, Wounded Girl #15,
 Necklace Swinger #16

Boxers #2

about 16-18 years old, lanky growth spurt

Fishermen #3

Cat #	Name	Plumed cap	Hair	Earring	Necklace	Arm-ring	Bracelet	Seal- stone	Dress bead
Women									
47	PY 49 H nws	x							
61	MY Shield Plaque	x							
84a	MY plaster head	x			1 str				
32	MY Procession	x			4? st				
87	MY ChT 49 ivory	?helmet			1 st				
59	AT Sarc bull 3rd	x					x		
58	AT Sarc W end	x					x		?
34	MY Grain-Goddess	x					x		x
57	AT Sarc yoke	x					x		x
60	AT Sarc E grifs	x					x		x
122	CMCG 109b, face			x					
15	Akr Wounded		band	x					
			pin						
12	Akr Curly		dia	x	AU n-r	x	U		
			fillet/tas		string				
			sels						
13	Akr Young Crocus		dia	x		x	U blue		x
			fillet/tas						
			sels						
14	Akr Veil Lifter			x	blue choker		U blue		
10	Akr Girl+Basket		band	x			x		
			fillet/tas						
			sels						
4	Akr Priestess			x	AG? n-r?	?	x		
9	Akr Goddess		bead	x	dragonfl	x	x		
			dia		ducks				
			fillet/tas						
			sels						
6	Akr Lady B		x				U? blue		
16	Akr Necklace Swinger		band	x	choker corn/AU		U blue		
					blue band w/ dots				
					AU neck/garl				
					shoulder				
					carries 1 str RC/glass				
11	Akr Red Haired Girl		x	x	1 str				
5	Akr Lady A			x	choker				
7	Akr OldWoman		kerchief		gold/red torque				
8	Akr Lily blouse		kerchief		2 str corn				
29	KN Grove Dance: women		x		1 st				
77	TI Dolly				4 choker				
					1 str & Waz				
82	MY Dolly				chokers, 1 str				
83	MY Dolly				choker/long 2 str				
85	MY seated ivory				1 str				
86	MY ivory trio, headless				1 str				
88	MY ChT 55 mirror				1 str				
104	CMS I 159, central				1 str				
98	CMS I 108, central				1 str/ribbed n-r/garl				
100	CMS I 126, central				1 str/garl & 1 loose str				
112	CMS II 3.218 central				n-r/garl				
70	AE Verl. 34?				n-r/garl				
71	AE Verl. 68				n-r/garl				
73	Keos Grps 1-4				large n-r/garl				
74	Keos Grps 5-7				thick neckls/garl				
76	TI Dolly				garl?				

Cat #	Name	Plumed cap	Hair	Earring	Necklace	Arm-ring	Bracelet	Seal- stone	Dress bead
White figures									
24	HM Tray 74				2 str				
36	MY K-P Aa18				Waz				
52	Jewel Fresco				1 str				
21	KN HM 34 taur				double(hem?)				
22	AM AE 1708 alight taur				1 str&U		AG		
23	Stone Spout front asst				red		wrist-guards?		
37	MY helmet & grif						x		
44	PY 13 M nws								2
55	KN HM Box Theta						x		2
Hands									
124	KN HMs 153 (R102)						double		
125	KZ HMs 54 (KZ 47)						x		

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- Pl. LXIIIb Young Priestess, Akrotiri, West House (#4), detail after *Thera* VI color pl. 5
- Pl. LXIIIc "Goddess", Akrotiri, Xeste 3 (#9), after *Art and Religion in Thera* fig. 49
- Pl. LXIIId Girl emptying basket, Akrotiri, Xeste 3 (#10), after *Thera* VII color pl. K
- Pl. LXIVa Crocus Gatherer with curly hair, Akrotiri, Xeste 3 (#12), after *Thera* color pl. B
- Pl. LXIVb Young Crocus Gatherer, Akrotiri, Xeste 3 (#13), after *Thera* VII color pl. E
- Pl. LXIVc Veil Lifter, Akrotiri, Xeste 3 (#14), after *Thera* VII color pl. A
- Pl. LXIVd Wounded Girl, Akrotiri, Xeste 3 (#15), after *Thera* VII color pl. J
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- Pl. LXVb Cup-Bearer fresco, Knossos (#17), after *PM* II2 color pl. XII, detail
- Pl. LXVc Grandstand fresco, Knossos (#29), after *PM* III color pl. XVI, detail
- Pl. LXVd "Mykenai", Mycenae, Cult Center (#40), after KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Cult Center Frescoes* color pl. Γ top
- Pl. LXVIa Lentoid seals? on a bracelet, Pylos, 13 M nws (#44), after M. LANG, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* II (1969) pl. 112
- Pl. LXVIb Ayia Triada Sarcophagus, Pouring Scene (#57), after LONG, *AT Sarcophagus* fig. 37
- Pl. LXVIc Chieftain Cup, Ayia Triada (Boy #62; Youth #63), after *PM* II2 fig. 516
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- Pl. LXVIIa Mirror handle, Mycenae ChT 55 (#88), after POURSAT 1 pl. XXXII
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- Pl. LXVIIC Ivory pyxis lid, Ras Shamra/Minet el Beida (#92), after *History of the Hellenic World I Prehistory and Protohistory* [1974] pl. on p. 295
- Pl. LXVIId *CMS* I 15, Mycenae ShGr IV (#94), after *CMS*
- Pl. LXVIIe *CMS* I 108, Mycenae ChT 71 (#98), after *CMS*
- Pl. LXVIIIA *CMS* I 119, Mycenae ChT 84 (#99), after *CMS*
- Pl. LXVIIb *CMS* I 126, Mycenae ChT 91 (#100), after *CMS*
- Pl. LXVIIC *CMS* I 159, Mycenae ChT Philadelphus I (#104), after *CMS*
- Pl. LXVIId *CMS* X 278 (#118), after *CMS*
- Pl. LXVIIIE *CMS* XI 272 (Péronne ring), "Thessalonike" (#121), after *CMS*



a



b



c



d



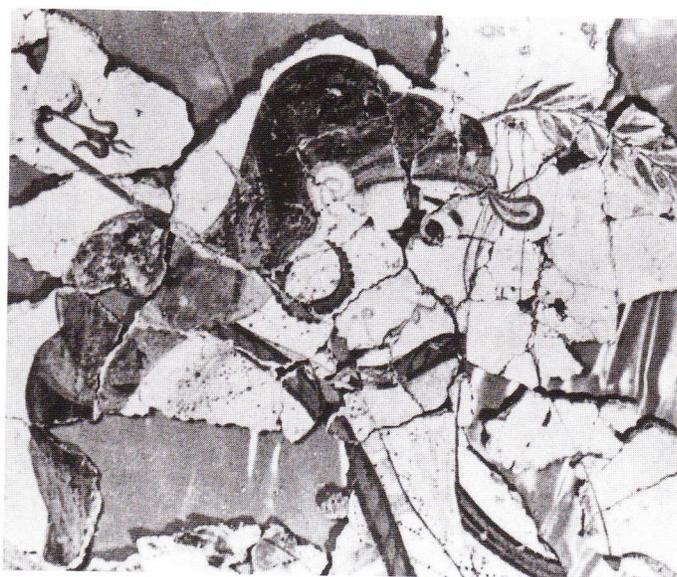
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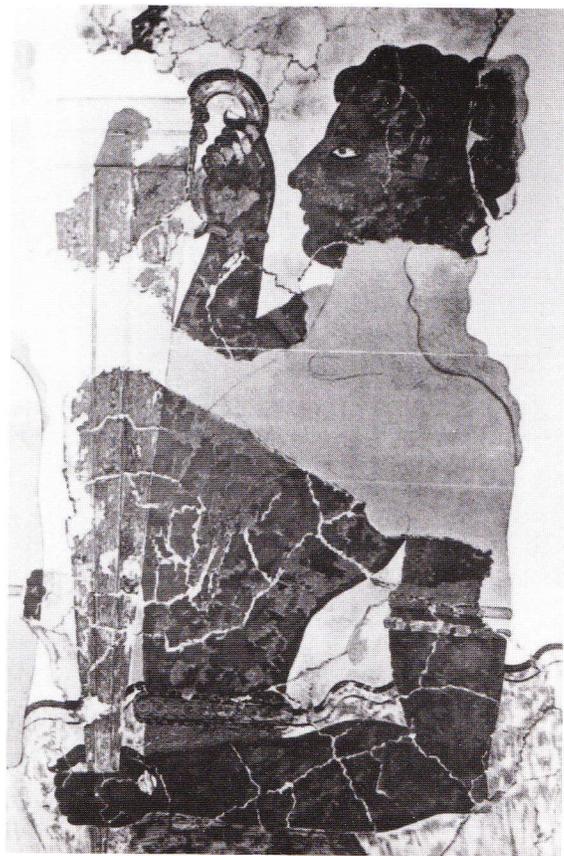
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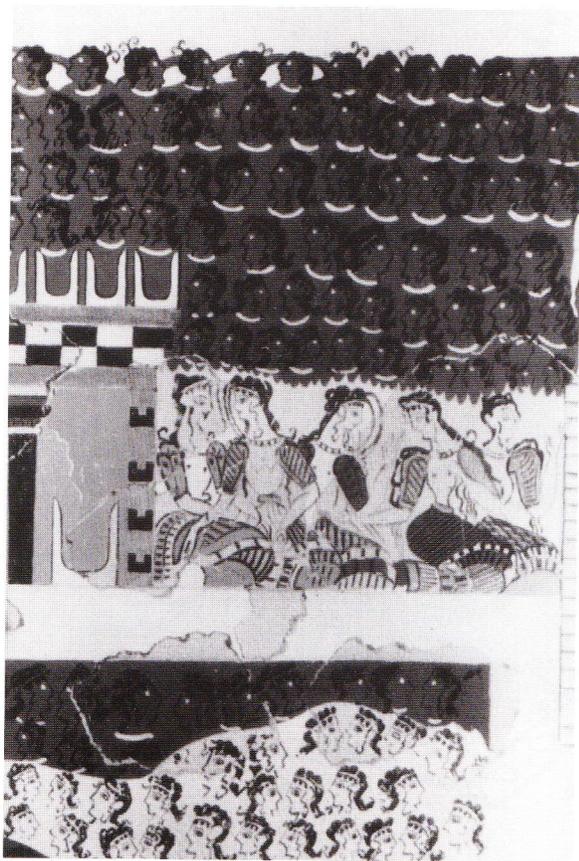
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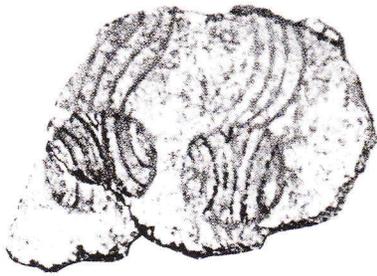
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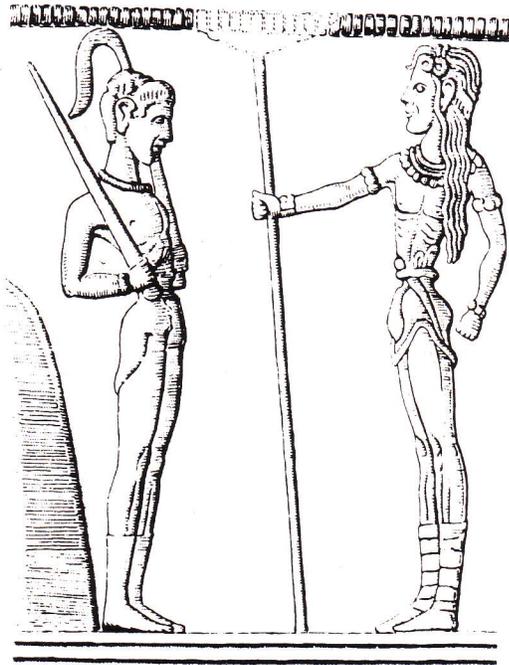
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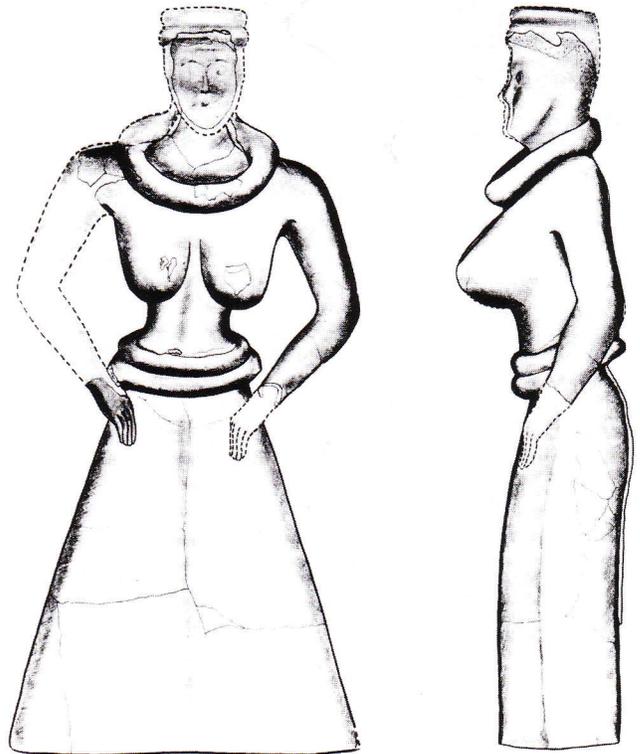
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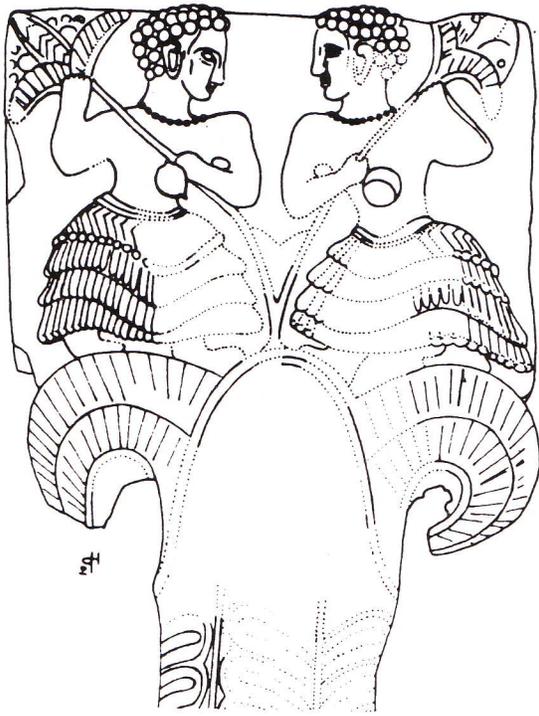
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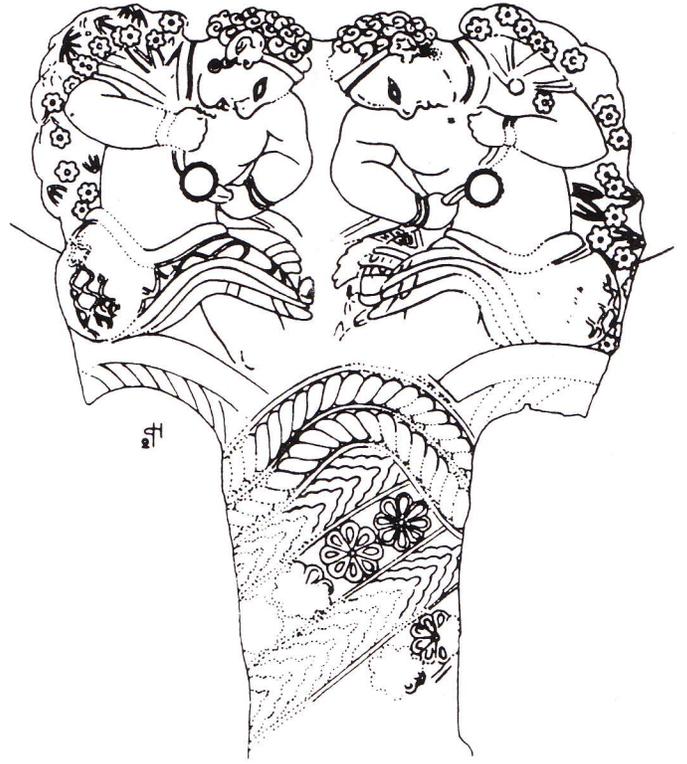
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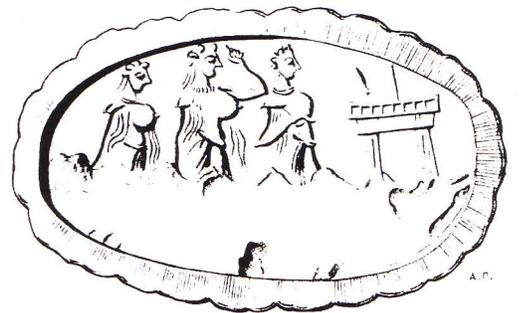
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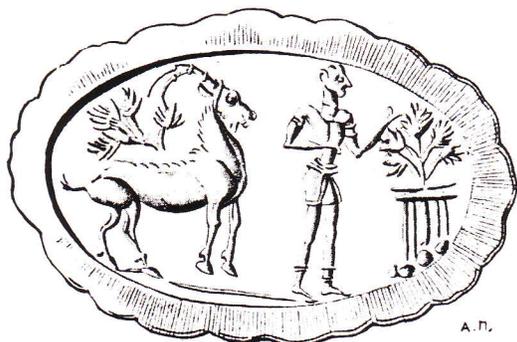
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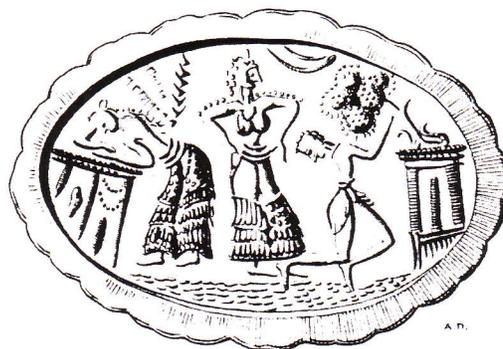


e



A. П.

a



A. П.

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A. П.

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