

Time & Event in Aegean Art

Illustrating a Bronze Age Calendar*

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It has been difficult to identify narrative scenes in Aegean art; most seem generic. As FRITZ BLAKOLMER has recently pointed out¹, we cannot identify rulers (either kings or queens) or gods with any certainty or even any heroes. There is an abundance of genre scenes, like the duel or ‘Commanding Gesture’ that both convey the notion of power², but there are no repeated attributes that could identify specific people, occasions, or events.

A few scenes have received a scholarly consensus concerning their identification. The ‘Dance’ fresco is probably taking place in the West Court at Knossos³; the towns depicted in room 5 of the West House, Akrotiri, Thera, are probably to be located mostly on the island⁴; and bull-leaping can be appreciated as a sequence of events from bull-capturing to bull-sacrificing⁵.

I would like to suggest applying another kind of narratological framework than ‘person’ or ‘place’ to Aegean art, namely ‘time’. Time has only occasionally occupied Aegean scholars. Several have noted that spring seems to be a favorite time of the year for depicting colorful plants and cavorting animals (e.g., the ‘Spring’ fresco from Akrotiri or the ‘Garland’ fresco from Knossos)⁶; and gathering saffron from crocus (*Cholcicum autumnale*) took place in the fall⁷. But there have been no attempts at fleshing out any kind of Aegean calendar.

Yet some kind of calendar must have existed in the Aegean Bronze Age; in fact, given the plethora of calendars for the classical period, there were probably several calendars in use. In

* I dedicate this short, problematic, and unconventional paper to STEFAN HILLER, a scholar whose innovative thoughts and wide interest I have always found stimulating. I gave this paper as a talk at the University of Cincinnati, 13 May 2005.

¹ F. BLAKOLMER, “Fighting Heroes on Minoan Palace Walls at Knossos?” In *EPOS. Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology (Aegaeum 27)*, edited by S. MORRIS & R. LAFFINEUR. Liège (forthcoming).

² For the ‘Commanding Gesture’, see J.G. YOUNGER, “The Iconography of Rulership: A Conspectus.” In *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean (Aegaeum 11)*, edited by P. REHAK. Liège 1995, 150–211.

³ N. MARINATOS, “Public Festivals in the West Courts of the Palaces.” In *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, edited by R. HÄGG & N. MARINATOS. Stockholm 1987, 135–42.

⁴ T. STRASSER, “Perspective and Location in the Theran Flotilla Fresco.” *Archaeological Institute of America 104th Annual Meeting, Abstracts* 28, 2005, 160, identifies the ‘Departure’ and ‘Arrival’ towns as occupying the spits of land at the south entrance to Thera’s caldera.

⁵ J.G. YOUNGER, “Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Games, III.” In *POLITEIA. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 12)*, edited by R. LAFFINEUR & W.-D. NIEMEIER. Liège 1995, 507–45.

⁶ For the Spring fresco, see M. HOLLINSHEAD, “The Swallows and Artists of Room Delta 2 at Akrotiri, Thera.” *AJA* 93, 1989: 339–54; for the Garland fresco, see P. WARREN, “The Fresco of the Garlands from Knossos.” In *L’iconographie minoenne*, edited by P. DARCQUE & J.-C. POURSAT. Paris 1985, 187–208.

⁷ P. REHAK & R.R. SNIHUROWYCH, “Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture? Medicine, Myth and Matriarchy in the Thera Frescoes.” *American Philological Association, Abstracts of Papers Presented at the One Hundred Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting*. New York 1997, 180; P. REHAK, “Saffron Crocus and Yellow Garments in Aegean Wall-Painting.” In *Colours in Antiquity. Colour and Hue from Egypt to Byzantium. Abstracts and Programme, Department of Classics, University of Edinburgh, 10–13th September 2001*, 2–3; P. REHAK, “Imag(in)ing a Women’s World in Prehistoric Greece: The Frescoes from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri.” In *Among Women. From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, edited by N. RABINOWITZ & L. AUANGER. Austin 2002, 34–59; P. REHAK, “Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art.” In *CHARIS. Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, edited by ANNE P. CHAPIN. Austin 2002, 85–100.

the Linear B tablets, for instance, we hear of ‘last year’ (*pe-ru-si-nu-wo*, **PY Ma 14** etc.), ‘this year’ (*to-to we-to*, **PY Aq 64**), and ‘next year’ (*a₂-te-ro we-to*, **PY Ma 13**). We know the names of several months at both Knossos and Pylos, and they are different⁸. A couple of months are intelligible: Zeus’s month (*di-wi-jo-jo me-no*) is the first month of the year in classical Macedon, Aitolia, and Lesbos; and another month (*ra-pa-to me-no*) looks much like *μηνός Λαπάτω* mentioned in an inscription from Orchomenos. The ‘month of sailing’ (*po-ro-wi-to-jo*, *Plowi(s)toio*) is likely to have been, because of the many references to it, the last month completed at Pylos before the palace’s destruction; it may have corresponded to the first month of the sailing season, that is March/April. And the month of Sphagianes (*pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no*) may have been the current month during which Pylos was destroyed, April/May.

Four festivals have also been identified on the Pylos Linear B tablets. The ‘festival of the new wine’ (*me-tu-wo ne-wo*, **Fr 1202**) could correspond to other ‘new wine’ festivals, like the ‘Pithoigia’ at Athens in February/March. The ‘Spreading of the Couch’ (*re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, **Fr 1217**, **Fr 343**) might refer to a ‘hieros gamos’ like that at Athens in February. The ‘Thirsty Ones’ (*di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*, **Fr 1217**) and the ‘Festival of the ‘Queen’’ (*wa-na-se-wi-jo*, **PY Fr 1215**) might have classical parallels too⁹. Carrying cult images (*theophoria*) seems to have had a Mycenaean equivalent (*te-o-po-ri-ja*, **KN Ga 1058**, **Od 696**)¹⁰.

To assist in creating a calendar, the peoples of the Aegean must have organized the stars into asterisms (constellations and clusters). A few gold rings include a wavy ‘heaven line’ at the top of the scene above which are placed depictions of the sun, moon, stars, and what may be comets or shooting stars¹¹. J.A. MACGILLIVRAY has suggested that the many depictions of bull-leaping may refer to a constellation¹²: Taurus as the bull and the Pleiades as the leaper’s head (cf. *CMS* II,6 nos. 44 from Ayia Triada, 162 from Gournia, and 255 from Sklavokambos, all impressions from the same gold ring) or a closer configuration of Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. For watching the stars, mountain peaks (and peak sanctuaries) would be ideal, but shallow reflecting pools open to the sky would also allow one to study a specific cluster¹³. From mountain peaks one could watch for the heliacal risings or settings of stars (when a star first appears before the sun rises or sets just after the sun sets); thus the heliacal rising of Sirius signals the start of the wheat harvest and the heliacal setting of the Pleiades signals when flax is to be sown (end of October in *HES. erg.* 382–4)¹⁴.

⁸ T.G. PALAIMA, “Last Days of the Pylos Polity.” In *POLITEIA. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 12)*, edited by R. LAFFINEUR & W.-D. NIEMEIER. Liège 1995, 623–37. At Knossos: *de-u-ki-jo-jo me-no* on **Fp 1**; *wo-de-wi-jo me-no* on **Fp 16** etc.; *ka-ra-e-ri-jo me-no* on **Fp 6** etc.; *di-wi-jo-jo me-no* (Zeus’s month) on **Fp 5**; *a-ma-ko-to me-no* on **Fp 14**; and *ra-pa-to me-no* on **Fp 13**. At Pylos: *ki-ri-ti-jo-jo* on **PY Es 650**; *po-ro-wi-to-jo* (‘in the month of sailing’, *Plowi(s)toio*) on **PY Tn 316v.1** and **Fr 1218** etc.; *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* on **Fr 1224**.

⁹ C. TRÜMPY, “Die kretischen und kyprischen Monatsnamen als Zeugen für die Geschichte und Religionsgeschichte im frühen ersten Jahrtausend v. C.” In *Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift. Von der Frühgeschichte bis zum Ende der archaischen Zeit.* 26.–28.2. 1999, Ohlstadt, edited by A. KYRIATSOULIS. Altenburg 2001, 233–48.

¹⁰ S. HILLER, “Te-o-po-ri-ja.” In *Aux origines de l’hellénisme. La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*, edited by C.G. GLOTZ. Paris 1984, 139–50.

¹¹ J.G. YOUNGER, *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings*. Bristol 1988, 290.

¹² J.A. MACGILLIVRAY, “Labyrinths and Bull-Leapers.” *Archaeology* 53:6, 2000: 53–5.

¹³ Shallow basins framed by columns or piers for supporting a opening in the roof have been found at Mochlos House B (J. SOLES & C. DAVARAS, “Excavations at Mochlos 1990–1991.” *Hesperia* 63, 1994: 391–436) and at Galatas (<http://www.uk.digiserve.com/mentor/minoan/galatas.htm>), called a hearth by the excavator.

¹⁴ Hesiod records other seasonal events, such as the migration of cranes (*erg.* 448–51).

With the likelihood that Minoans and Mycenaeans had calendars of some kind and that these calendars included seasonal, agricultural, religious, historical, and social celebrations, like other calendars, then I take Athens's calendar as an example of an early calendar and add to it an agricultural calendar (**Tab. 1**)¹⁵. My purpose in doing this is to produce a 'frame' (as it were) of events, to the likes of which some Aegean depictions might refer (I am not suggesting that any Aegean calendar necessarily resembled this calendar; but it might be productive for scholarship to take into consideration such annual events, some of which are predictable, as possible subjects for artistic depictions in the Bronze Age). So, in the last column of this calendar I suggest Aegean texts and works of art that may refer to events similar to those that were celebrated in the Athenian and agricultural calendars.

The following notes follow the Athenian month. Months and days in the Gregorian calendar (*column 1*) give an approximate suggestion of when, in the calendric year, the Athenian event (and its Aegean analogue) might have taken place. Information in all columns is abbreviated.

Hekatombaion

1) The blood of doves was used to purify the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos on the southwest slope of the Acropolis; while birds often appear in various depictions (e.g., the Ayia Triada sarcophagus), they are also associated with female statuettes from Gazi and Karphi¹⁶.

2) Public drinking was celebrated on several occasions, at the Kronia and during the Anthesteria, and, for women, at the Haloo; the frescoes from Knossos and Pylos that show pairs of men drinking could relate to similar occasions as well, of course, to any public occasion¹⁷.

3) During the summer, grain, figs, and nuts are harvested, including the poppy which is depicted as a crown on a terracotta statuette from Gazi¹⁸.

4) And toward the end of the month occurred the Panathenaia, the focus of which was the giving of a new *peplos* to the cult statue of Athena; a possible robing scene is preserved in a fresco from Akrotiri, House of the Ladies¹⁹.

Boedromion

5) War is the theme of many depictions in Aegean art and it was especially celebrated in this Athenian month (the battle of Marathon, end of the campaigning season, and the celebration of war dead). The Pylos festival of the 'Thirsty Ones' (*di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*, **Fr 1217**) might also have related to war dead (cf. the myth of Herakles's capture of Kerberos which involved slaughtering one of Hades' cattle to provide blood for the thirsty souls of the Underworld). The Mycenae House with the Fresco includes two small nude figures, one black and one red, floating between the two female figures, one of whom has a gold sword. Who the small figures are is not known, but since the false door to the left of the fresco is decorated with

¹⁵ For the Athenian calendar I have relied on E. SIMON, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary*. Madison 1983 and, to some extent, on B.D. MERITT, *The Athenian Year*. Berkeley 1961.

¹⁶ S. MARINATOS & M. HIRMER, *Crete and Mycenae*. Munich 1960, pls. 128, 129; G. RETHYMNIO TAKIS, *Minoan Clay Figures and Figurines*. Athens 2001, figs. 39–40a–b, 47a–d.

¹⁷ See the essays in J. WRIGHT, ed., *The Mycenaean Feast*. Princeton 2004.

¹⁸ MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) pls. 130, 131; RETHYMNIO TAKIS 2001 (see n. 16) fig. 38a–c.

¹⁹ C. DOUMAS, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*. Athens 1992, pls. 7, 12; N. MARINATOS, *Art and Religion in Bronze Age Thera*. Athens 1984, 97–105.

rosettes on the jambs and lintel like one of the frescoed chamber tombs²⁰, it is possible that the entire scene relates to the dead²¹.

6) While initiation of adolescents into adulthood could take place at several times of the year, the Great Mysteries was a special occasion. Reference to women's transition to adulthood occur in the Ivory Trio from Mycenae which depicts an adult woman, a younger adult woman, and a girl²²; a similar combination of females occurs on the gold ring CMS I no. 17 from Mycenae, and the lower fresco from the Lustral Basin in Xeste 3, Akrotiri²³.

7) The Epidauria honored Asclepius, the healing god, as did the Asklepieia in Elaphebolion; a version of these two festivals might have provided the conventional occasion for the dedication of terracotta figurines from Petsofa showing deformities and maladies²⁴.

Pyanopsion

8) Possibly during this month occurred the Apatouria when boys were enrolled in their father's phratry; compare the Chieftain Cup from Ayia Triada which might celebrate the culmination of a youth's induction into an ἀνδρείον (as described by Ephoros and recorded by Strabo)²⁵.

9) With the autumn harvest came boar hunting (compare the boar hunt frescoes from Tiryns and Orchomenos)²⁶, the end of the sailing season, the celebration of Apollo's birthday during which a boy carries laurel branches (compare the branches that are often depicted on incurved altars), and the two all-women's festivals, the Stenia and the Thesmophoria.

10) During the Thesmophoria, women often went up to a high place (e.g., the Pnyx at Athens, and the sanctuary of Demeter on the slopes of Acrocorinth), similar to the settings for the

²⁰ L. KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU, "Some Aspects Concerning Local Peculiarities of the Mycenaean Chamber Tombs." In *THANATOS. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'Age du Bronze (Aegaeum 1)*, edited by R. LAFFINEUR. Liège 1987, 145–60, esp. 152–3; Mycenae Chamber Tomb 53 (decorated with rosettes around the door): CHR. TSOUNTAS, "Ανασκαφαί τάφων εν Μυκηναίς." *ArchEph* 1891, 1–11, pl. 1; A. XENÁKISAKELLARÍOY, *Οί θαλαμωτοί τάφοι τῶν Μυκηνῶν. Ανασκαφῆς Χρ. Τσοῦντα (1887–1898)*. Paris 1995, 165; Compare Mycenae Chamber Tomb 81 (decorated with brown beam ends above the lintel): CHR. TSOUNTAS & J.I. MANATT, *The Mycenaean Age*. Boston & New York 1987, 133–4, fig. 49, 50; Prosymna Chamber Tomb II (LH II early–III; decorated with running spirals around the door): C. BLEGEN, *Prosymna*. Cambridge 1937, 173ff., fig. 428; the Kokla tholos (LH III A1) decorated with red and blue beam ends (*Nestor* 9.2, Feb. 1982: 1594); Argos, Deiras Tomb V (decorated with spirals and palmettes around the door): *BCH* 28, 1904: 368–70, fig. 1; and Argos, Deiras Tomb XII (decorated with checks on the door jambs): J. DESHAYES, *Argos: les fouilles de la Deiras*. Paris 1966, 33, pl. XLIV.3.

²¹ P. REHAK, "Tradition and Innovation in the Fresco from Room 31 in the 'Cult Center' at Mycenae." In *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography (Aegaeum 8)*, edited by R. LAFFINEUR & J. CROWLEY. Liège 1992, 39–62; and P. REHAK, "Goddess of the Golden Sword and Glorious Fruit: Demeter in Bronze Age Greece." *Unpublished paper*.

²² MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) pls. 218, 219. J.G. YOUNGER, "We Are Woman: Girl, Maid, Matron in Aegean Art." Paper delivered at the conference *Engendering Prehistoric 'Stratigraphies' in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, Rethymnon, 2–5 June 2005*, forthcoming.

²³ DOUMAS 1992 (see n. 19) pl. 100.

²⁴ J.L. MYERS, "Excavations at Palaikastro II: Section 13. The Sanctuary-Site of Petsofa." *BSA* 9, 1902: 356–87. A.J. EVANS, *The Palace of Minos*. London 1921–1935.

²⁵ R. KOEHL, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage." *JHS* 106, 1986: 99–110; R. KOEHL, "Ephoros and Ritualized Homosexuality in Bronze Age Crete." In *Queer Representations: Reading Lives, Reading Cultures*, edited by M. DUBERMAN. New York 1997, 7–13.

²⁶ Tiryns: G. RODENWALDT, *Tiryns II. Die Fresken des Palastes*. Mainz 1976, pls. XI, XIII–XIV; Orchomenos: *ArchDelt* 28, 1973: 260–3, pl. 213; *AAA* 3, 1973: 313–25, figs. 10b, c, color pl. IId.

picking of the autumn crocus in the upper fresco from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri and for the crocus that has been picked on the back side of the Sanctuary rhyton from Kato Zakro²⁷.

11) At the end of the month, the festival Chalkeia celebrates the bronze working and crafts of Hephaistos and Athena; it may be for a similar occasion that Pylos tablet **Jn 829** records the distribution of ‘temple bronze’ in quantities ranging from 0.75kg to 3.75kg for the making of spear and javelin points.

Poseidon

12) That an entire month is named for Poseidon reflects his status, and to him the main sanctuary at Pylos, at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, is dedicated, for which the month of *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo* is also named.

Anthesterion

13) Towards the middle of this month the Pithoigia celebrated the opening of the new wine, which also was celebrated at Pylos with the *me-tu-wo ne-wo*.

14) The Anthesteria closed with ‘Chytroi’, which also included the ‘Aiora’ (swinging) that appeased the dead Erigone who hanged herself when her father Ikarios was killed. A terracotta from Ayia Triada depicts a girl swinging on a swing suspended from two poles; it is unique²⁸.

Elaphebolion (celebrates stag hunting in honor of Artemis)

15) Perhaps it is to her that the Pylos festival *wa-na-se-wi-ja* refers. A fresco from Tiryns depicts stag hunting²⁹, with both male and female hunters, a fresco from Ayia Triada presents two deer and two women in procession, and an agate sealstone said to be from Elis, *CMS* XI no. 27, depicts a woman holding an agrimi by the horns (α πότνια θερῶν, and therefore plausibly Artemis); the sealstone very likely impressed the sealing *CMS* I Suppl. no. 180 from Pylos, the only surviving sealstone to have impressed a surviving sealing.

Mounychion

16) Early in this month, the sailing season opened with the celebration of the Hiketeria in honor of Theseus’s homecoming. Similarly, perhaps, the Pylos month of *po-ro-wi-to* and the so-called ‘Naval Procession’ fresco, with its bejeweled and festooned ships, from the West House at Akrotiri may refer to such celebrations³⁰.

17) The opening of the campaigning season may also begin about this time, and this may be the occasion for the several depictions of warriors marching off: the ‘Meeting on the Hill’

²⁷ For the Xeste 3 fresco see, most recently, P. REHAK, “Children’s Work: Girls as Acolytes in Aegean Ritual and Cult.” In *Coming of Age: Constructions of Childhood in the Ancient World*, edited by J. RUTTER & A. COHEN. Princeton, forthcoming. The Sanctuary Rhyton depicts two clumps of crocus whose flowers have been plucked and one clump that retains its flowers (J.W. SHAW, “Evidence for the Minoan Tripartite Shrine.” *AJA* 82, 1978: 432–8); if women (and monkeys, as on the Saffron Gatherer fresco from Knossos) picked crocus, then the plucked (and missed) crocus must imply that women had already been up to the peak sanctuary, which conforms to the convention that relief stone vases depict only men – in this situation, the Sanctuary Rhyton refuses to depict the women who had just been there and chooses, instead, to depict the aftermath.

²⁸ RETHYMNIO TAKIS 2001 (see n. 16) fig. 131.

²⁹ Tiryns: RODENWALDT 1976 (see n. 26) pls. XI, XIII–XVII; the huntress (‘Jägerin’) is discussed on p. 111, pl. XIV 1 and 10. Ayia Triada: P. MILITELLO, *Haghia Triada* I. Gli affreschi. Rome 1998, 139–42, 287–8, pls. 11a, I, L; S. IMMERWAHR, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park 1990, 181 s.v. A.T. 4, 195 s.v. Or 3, and 202–3, s.v. Ti 6, 7; and deer are mentioned in the Linear B tablets, **PY Cr 591, 868+875**.

³⁰ DOUMAS 1992 (see n. 19) pls. 35–48; L. MORGAN, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*. Cambridge 1988; MARINATOS 1984 (see n. 19) 52–60.

fresco from the West House at Akrotiri, the fragmentary relief vase from Epidauros, and the famous 'Warrior Vase' from Mycenae³¹.

18) In mid-May, lilies flower, and this must be the season depicted on pottery and in the lily frescoes from Amnisos and Akrotiri³².

Thargelion

19) The Thargelia involved a curious ritual of feasting two men and then expelling them as 'scapegoats' (φάρμακοι). There are a couple of depictions which show two small females bound and led: by a man on the so-called 'Minotaur' ring from the Athens Agora (*CMS* V no. 173) and by a woman on two lentoids, one from Mycenae (*CMS* I no. 159) and one said to be from Mochos, Crete (*CMS* II,3 no. 218).

Skirophorion

20) The grain harvest took place in this month; the tools carried by the men on the Harvester Vase from Ayia Triada are either winnowing fans or flails, referring either to the grain harvest or to the olive harvest later in the summer³³.

21) Finally, the Bouphonia involved two major events, the slaughter of an ox with a double ax and the trial of the ax and throwing it into the sea. Bull sacrifice is depicted on several seals (e.g., *CMS* I no. 80 from Mycenae) and on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus³⁴. P. REHAK has shown how bull-head rhyta were smashed by a blow to the forehead and the pieces apparently dispersed like *symbola*³⁵.

22) The prevalence of double axes, in Minoan and Mycenaean art and script must relate to the religious importance of the object³⁶.

While many of these connections between the subjects of Aegean art and the events in a calendar like Athens's might seem problematic, even fanciful, some seem more promising. A connection between the festival *wa-na-se-wi-ja* (in honor of the *wanassa*, queen or Mistress), Artemis (the goddess usually called *wanassa*), and stags (Artemis's favorite animal for hunting) might be circumstantial, but the sealstone from Elis connects a *πότνια* controlling an agrimi while at least one white-painted (and therefore female) figure hunts deer on a fresco from Tiryns. More convincing is the Sanctuary rhyton. It points deliberately at a time in late October when women have been at the mountain peak to pick the autumn crocus for saffron – this corresponds to the classical Thesmophoria, an all-women's festival that included a day of 'Ascent'. Two days before the Thesmophoria, a *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* (a child with both parents living) carried a laurel branch in honor of Apollo's birthday – in front of the tripartite shrine on the Sanctuary rhyton there is an incurved altar on which such a branch lies (its wide leaves are more appropriate to laurel than to olive). This last connection seems striking and implies that occasion might indeed be an important element in Aegean iconography.

³¹ Meeting on the Hill: DOUMAS 1992 (see n. 19) pls. 26, 28; Epidauros relief vase: A. SAKELLARIOU, "Scène de bataille sur un vase mycénien en pierre?" *RA* 1971: 3–14; Warrior Vase: MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) pls. 232, 233.

³² Pottery: cf. MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) color pl. XXV; Amnisos: MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) color pl. XXII; Akrotiri: DOUMAS 1992 (see n. 19) pls. 66–74.

³³ MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) pls. 103–105.

³⁴ Bull-slaughter: YOUNGER 1995 (see n. 5) 518–21; a convenient set of illustrations of Aegean sealstones is given by SIMON 1983 (see n. 15) 10 fig. 1. Ayia Triada sarcophagus: MARINATOS & HIRMER 1960 (see n. 16) color pl. XXVIII.

³⁵ P. REHAK, "The Use and Destruction of Minoan Stone Bull's Head Rhyta." In *POLITEIA. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 12)*, edited by R. LAFFINEUR & W.-D. NIEMEIER. Liège 1995, 435–60.

³⁶ M.P. NILSSON, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*. Lund 1949, 194–235.

Modern date	Attic date	Festival	Deity	Event	Harvest	Linear B Aegean art
21 Jul	1 Hekatombaion					
24 Jul	4 Hekatombaion	Aphrodisia	Aphrodite Pandemos	dove blood purifies sanctuary images of Aphrodite & Peitho washed		
1 Aug	12 Hekatombaion	Kronia	Kronos	slaves & masters dined together	end of grain harvest harvest figs & nuts	KN & PY drinking pairs Gazi poppy MGUA
6 Aug	16 Hekatombaion	Synoikia		synoikismos of Athens ewe & 2 bulls sacrificed	harvest figs & nuts	
18 Aug	28 Hekatombaion	Panathenaia	Athena		harvest figs & nuts	Akrotiri, House of the Ladies, Robing scene
21 Aug	1 Metageitnion				harvest figs & nuts	
20 Sept	1 Boedromion			in Boedromion: battles of Marathon (16 th ?) & Salamis (end?)	harvest grapes, pears, green olives fermenting new wine	
22 Sept	3 Boedromion			autumn equinox		
24 Sept	5 Boedromion	Genesia		celebration of war dead; end of campaigning season		?di-pi-si-je-wi-jo MY House with the Fresco
25 Sept	6 Boedromion	Charisteria	Artemis	celebration of Marathon		
26 Sept	7 Boedromion		Apollo	Athenian defeat at Eleusis	sowing of flax	
4 Oct	15 Boedromion or nearest full moon	Great Mysteries	Demeter	registration of initiates		Eileithyia: Ivory Trio, TI & MY rings, Xeste 3 lower fresco
5 Oct	16 Boedromion			purification		
6 Oct	17 Boedromion			sacrifice to Demeter & Persephone		
7 Oct	18 Boedromion	Epidauria	Asclepius	fasting		TCs of invalids from Petsofa
8 Oct	19 Boedromion			procession to Eleusis		
9 Oct	20 Boedromion			Mysteries		
10 Oct	21 Boedromion	Plemochoai			vintage ends sealing new wine	
20 Oct	1 Pyanopsion	?? Apaturia		phratry enrollment		AT Chieftain Cup
24 Oct	5 Pyanopsion	Proerosia	Demeter	first fruits sacred plowing	autumn harvest ewes & lambs sows & piglets boars	boar hunts (TI, ORCH frescoes, seals)
26 Oct	7 Pyanopsion	Pyanopsia Oschophoria	Apollo Helios Dionysos	Apollo's birthday πάς ἀμφιθαλής carries branch of laurel (εἰρεσιώνη) 2 youths dress as women		laurel branches on altars
27 Oct	8 Pyanopsion	Thesia	Theseus	Theseus's safe return male beauty contests	end of sailing season	
28 Oct	9 Pyanopsion	Stenia	Demeter	woman's nocturnal dance & ribaldry, sacrifice of piglets?		

Modern date	Attic date	Festival	Deity	Event	Harvest	Linear B Aegean art
30 Oct	11 Pyanopsion	Thesmophoria: Anodos	Demeter	married women ascend to sanctuary		Akrotiri saffron pickers; KN Saffron Gatherer KZ Sanctuary Rhyton
31 Oct	12 Pyanopsion	Thesmophoria: Nysteia	Demeter	fasting; retrieve sacrificed piglets		
1 Nov	13 Pyanopsion	Thesmophoria: Kalligenia	Demeter	celebrate fertility	plow & sow winter grain	
18 Nov	30 Pyanopsion	Chalkeia	Athena & Hephaestus	work on Athena's peplos begins		bronze allotments
20 Nov	1 Maimakterion	?? Pompaia	Zeus		newly sown grain	
20 Dec	1 Poseideon			winter solstice		<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no</i>
27 Dec	8 Poseideon	Poseidea	Poseidon	sea is fiercest	black olive harvest	
3–18 Jan	15–30 Poseideon	rural Dionysia	Dionysos	drama festivals		
14 Jan	26 Poseideon	Haloa	Demeter	symposium of hetairai in Eleusis; models of genetalia	flax harvest & processing	
19 Jan	1 Gamelion					
30 Jan–2 Feb	12–15 Gamelion	Lenaia	Dionysos	drama festival in Athens		
11 Feb	26 Gamelion	Theogamia	Zeus & Hera wed	Hieros Gamos		<i>re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo</i>
19 Feb	1 Anthesterion	??	Demeter	lesser Mysteries at Agrai	1 st growth of winter crops	
1 Mar	11 Anthesterion	Anthesteria: Pithoigia	Dionysos	opening of the new wine		<i>me-tu-wo ne-wo</i>
2 Mar	12 Anthesterion	Anthesteria: Choes	Dionysos on ship	drinking contests Basilinna & Dionysos wed		PY, KN drinking pairs
3 Mar	13 Anthesterion	Anthesteria: Chytroi	Dionysos	water to chasm: Great Flood swinging: Aiora		AT Swing TC
13 Mar	23 Anthesterion	Diasia		bloodless offerings		
21 Mar	1 Elaphebolion			vernal equinox		
26 Mar	6 Elaphebolion	Elaphebolia	Artemis	stags sacrificed		<i>wa-na-se-wi-ja</i> TI stag fresco seal CMS I Suppl. no. 27
28 Mar	8 Elaphebolion	Asklepieia	Asklepios			TCs of invalids from Petsofa
29 Mar–1 Apr	9–13 Elaphebolion	City Dionysia	Dionysos	phallos procession	flax ready to be spun	
22 Apr	1 Mounychion					
27 Apr	6 Mounychion	Hiketeria	Theseus's departure	girls to Delphinion	sailing season opens	<i>po-ro-wi-to</i> Akrotiri Naval Procession
6 May	16 Mounychion	Mounychia		Celebration of Salamis (battle fought in Boedromion): mock sea battle	?beginning of campaigning season? olives flower	West House Meeting on the Hill Warrior Vase, Epidauros relief vase
9 May	19 Mounychion	Olympieia		sports, horse races	lilies begin flowering	Amnisos lily fresco Akrotiri Spring fresco
21 May	1 Thargelion	?? Kallynteria	Athena	Athena's temple cleaned	harvest begins	

Modern date	Attic date	Festival	Deity	Event	Harvest	Linear B Aegean art
26 May	6 Thargelion	Thargelia	Apollo & Artemis	φαρμακοί 'scapegoats'		Athens ring <i>CMS</i> V no. 173 seals <i>CMS</i> I no. 159 & II,3 no. 218
27 May	7 Thargelion	Thargelia	Apollo & Artemis	blessing on harvest necklaces of figs dithyramps at the Pythion		
7 Jun	19 Thargelion	Bendida	Athena	torch on horseback relay		
13 Jun	25 Thargelion	Plynteria	Athena's statue washed			
21 Jun				summer solstice		
22 Jun	1 Skirophorion	?? Arrhephoria	Athena	Arrhephoroi carry sacred things		
3 Jul	12 Skirophorion	Skira	Demeter	women's festival harvest thanksgiving threshing		AT Harvester Vase
5 Jul	14 Skirophorion	Dipolieia, Boupheonia	Zeus Polieus	ox slayed ax tried & thrown into the sea		AT Sarcophagus seal <i>CMS</i> I 80 bronze & gold double axes

Tab. 1. The Athenian festival calendar, coupled with an agricultural, and possibly related depictions in Aegean art.