

Redefining Archaeology:  
Feminist Perspectives

Edited by

Mary Casey, Denise Donlon,  
Jeannette Hope and Sharon Wellfare



1998

ANH Publications, RSPAS  
The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

# The construction of gender in late Bronze Age Aegean art: A prolegomenon

Paul Rehak

The Late Bronze Age in the Aegean is a long period, ca. 1700-1100 BC according to the latest revised chronology, and it encompasses important developments for the Minoan civilisation on Crete, the islanders in the Cyclades, and the Mycenaeans on the Greek mainland (Fig. 1) (Aitken et al. 1988; Warren and Hankey 1989; Betancourt 1989; Muhly 1991; Davis 1992; Rutter 1993; Dickinson 1994). But scholars have been slow to apply to this period modern methodological and theoretical tools that have been applied in recent years to the later phases of Greek civilisation (Richlin and Rabinowitz 1993). Two of the reasons for this are obvious. There

Davis 1986; Withee 1992; Kokkinidou and Nikolaïdou 1993; Rehak 1995a; Younger 1995a). While this subject deserves a study in detail, the present article attempts to provide the basic questions, outline the evidence, and to highlight some issues that must be investigated further.

## AEGEAN FIGURAL ART – A SYNOPSIS

In the Aegean, representational art makes a relatively late appearance, and it is only with the rise of the second palaces on Crete toward the start of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1700-1500 BC) that figural representation suddenly appears in a variety of media. But throughout its history, Aegean art seems remarkably conventionalised, and concerns itself with variations on a relatively small number of subjects: hunting, combat (warfare and agonistic competitions), bull-leaping, processions, ritual activities (at shrines or peak sanctuaries), architectural representations, and natural landscapes with or without animals. There is none of the occasional art that we see, for example, in Egyptian tombs. The emphasis in the Aegean is generally on the group, not the individual: heroes and rulers alike are hard to identify (Morris 1989; Davis 1995). In addition, there appear to be no real portraits, and no depictions of specific historical events. Propagandistic art and inscriptions on the outside of buildings are lacking.

Instead, Aegean art develops along other lines, which have proved surprisingly resistant to satisfactory interpretation. Far too often, scholars have imposed modern narrative interpretations that have ignored what seem to me to be telling details of differences in the role and status of the participants. Part of the reason is the continuing biases that colour our visions of Minoan and Mycenaean societies. Despite our rejection of many of the Victorian views espoused by Evans, most scholarship still talks confidently of kings and queens and palaces, and most scholarship refers to a Great Mother Goddess as if the sole deity in the Aegean was only sexual and procreative (Hägg 1986; Cameron 1987; Marinatos 1993). Finally, most scholars still assume that Minoan and Mycenaean art represent a single, homogeneous world.



Figure 1 The Aegean, drawn by the author.

is a Dark Age that creates an enormous gulf between the cultures of prehistoric and historic Greece. And beginning about the eighth-century BC, literary records make it possible to supplement and elucidate the archaeological record. In the Bronze Age, by contrast, Linear B administrative documents only survive from the final phases of Mycenaean society and the Minoan script, Linear A, remains undeciphered. Thus Aegean art is often compared to a 'picture book without text' (Nilsson 1950:7). One aspect of that 'picture book' that has been little explored is the construction of gender and sexuality (Thomas 1973; Marinatos 1984, 1987, 1993; Koehl 1986;

Department of Classical Studies, Duke University, Box 90103,  
Durham, North Carolina, 27708, USA.  
Email: prehak@acpub.duke.edu

In what follows, I should like to question as many such assumptions as possible, and to rely instead on the various ways the Minoans and the Mycenaeans conveyed to themselves the place of everyone in society, their differences in gender and in age roles, and in social and political status, through the ways they presented themselves physically in their art.

I should like here to discuss briefly the most important of these aspects: colour conventions that distinguish men from women, morphological differences in body development that may relate to age-grades, hairstyles, costumes, and jewellery that should point to status, and scale, position, and pose that refer to action.

### COLOUR CONVENTIONS

In fresco, unlike other media, different colours can be used to make subtle distinctions among figures (Immerwahr 1990). When murals first appear at Knossos toward the start of the Late Bronze Age, a colour convention is already in place, perhaps borrowed from Egyptian art, that uses red for male flesh, white for female flesh.

Some representations of bull-leaping, a dangerous sport, include sexually ambivalent individuals with long hair (appropriate for men and women) and flat chests and clad in codpieces (again worn by both sexes), whose flesh is painted white or red (Evans 1930:209-18; Younger 1995b). A few recent scholars have challenged this notion, and have suggested that the white colour of some figures might represent not their sex but rather their status as leapers, their role as protagonists, or even different moments in the leap (Marinatos 1989).

The meaning of white/red skins is even more problematic in the case of the 'Priest-King' relief fresco from Knossos, reconstructed from several fragments (Evans 1927:774-90; Niemeier 1988) (Fig. 2). Recently Ellen Davis has argued persuasively that the torso was white, and therefore should belong to an athletic **young female** figure, probably a bull-leaper (Davis 1995). The other fragments might actually belong to several figures.

The question is crucial to our definition of the Minoan 'palace', because large-scale scenes of bulls and bull-leaping – including these white figures – decorated the palace's major entrances. If the white figures are indeed young women, then they form an integral part of the 'official' iconography that greeted all visitors to the complex (cf. Hägg 1985).

The red/white controversy continues into Mycenaean art. A bull-leaping scene from Tiryns includes a floating white figure over the animal, suggesting that women actually performed the jump (Immerwahr 1990:202 Tiryns No. 1). White-skinned fresco figures wearing a piece of masculine armour, the boars' tusk helmet, have been found at Mycenae (Immerwahr 1990:192 Mycenae No. 1) and at Thebes (Immerwahr 1990:201 Thebes No. 2). Since the white (female) hands of boar hunters also occur at Tiryns (Anderson 1983), women could have obtained the plaques needed for helmets, which would still be a sign



Figure 2 Redrawn from Evans 1927, plate XIV, by author.

of status, but not necessarily one restricted to men. Although I have argued in the past that the white figure wearing a figure-eight shield on a painted plaque from the Mycenae Cult Centre represents a 'Warrior Goddess,' not all such women need be divinities (Rehak 1984). Paradoxically, if every important female figure is automatically a goddess, we diminish the possible existence of powerful women by removing them from the human sphere.

### THE BODY

We need to consider anatomy, as well as skin colour. Until the excavation of the Thera frescoes, however, there were few well-preserved large-scale representations of humans. Men in relief on stone vases, sealings and rings, and in relief fresco, tend to have lithe and muscular bodies, while in flat murals and in later vase paintings, the emphasis is on the figure's outline, not its musculature.

The infrequent images of nude women in the Aegean suggest influence from Syria/Palestine. At the same time, Aegean art reflects fairly detailed changes in female breast development, from flat-chested prepubescent girls, to pubescent girls with shallow breasts, to matrons with full breasts that either stand erect (Doumas 1992:plate 131) or show such a pronounced nipple as to suggest that one woman is lactating (Doumas

1992:plate 125). The image of a seated goddess from one building shares the shallow breasts of pubescent women, not the full breasts of the matrons. By themselves, none of these images suggests that the breast has any erotic association.

Some of the flat-chested athletic figures who are painted white in the frescoes are recognisable as female bull-leapers (Fig. 3). It is difficult to estimate their ages for the same reason as for modern female gymnasts, who



Figure 3 Redrawn from Evans 1930, plate XXI, by author.

are deliberately selected for slimness and strength. Not only would the development of secondary sexual characteristics be an impediment, but the rigorous training of female gymnasts tends to inhibit the onset of menarche, delaying puberty.

Some types of body that we might consider typical of one or both sexes are not shown at all in Aegean art. There are no tiny babies, no representations of advanced age, and no physical deformities. References to sex or to natural (body) functions, whether taboo or accepted, do not exist. There is no overt heterosexual or homosexual activity (e.g. sexual intercourse) or even covert activity (courting, kissing or fondling). There appears to be no visual reference to childbirth.

And there are few expressions of overt emotion: the seated Wounded Woman from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera with open mouth and hand to forehead may be in pain (Doumas 1992:plates 105-6); the men with open mouths on the Harvester Vase and some sealstones might be singing or chanting.

### HAIRSTYLE

Hairstyles are another element of gender in the Aegean, as the publication of the Thera frescoes shows (Davis 1986). Further work remains to be done in correlating hairstyles with morphological changes in the body (Withee 1992). Generally, however, children of both sexes have their heads partially shaved and grow and cut their hair in specific ways to mark important changes as they mature into adulthood. Since human hair grows at the rate of about one centimetre per month, the intervals between changes in some of these hairstyles can be charted fairly accurately. In the case of the women in the frescoes from Xeste 3, it is possible to hypothesise two successive stages of prepubescent hair growth for girls, an early mature style (for nubile young girls), and two styles for matrons, who either wear their hair long or tuck it into a head-kerchief. The seated goddess wears another hairstyle entirely, one that is much more elaborate than human coiffures.

At least one female hairstyle does not fit into the sequence identified here, that of a maturing girl wrapped in a yellow veil, who has both a backlock and a sidelock (Doumas 1992:plates 100, 107-8). An earlier stage of this hairstyle can be reconstructed for her, but it is not worn by any of the girls in paintings known at this point. Thus, there may have been more than one course of development open to some girls as they matured.

It has proved somewhat more difficult to reconstruct the evolution of male hairstyles, since so few large-scale male heads survive: even that of the well-known Knossos Cupbearer is missing the key areas that would tell us whether he wore his hair long (as restored) or short.

For prepubescent boys the hair is worn in ways that are close to those of the girls. This seems to suggest that sexual differentiation between boys and girls was

not considered important: even today, we use a neuter term, 'children', to describe the prepubescent of both sexes – compare the Greek term, *παῖδια*.

Two or more adult male hairstyles may coexist. Some individuals clearly wear their hair short, like the man with the sistrum on the Harvester Vase and the men on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. Others, however, have long tresses, like the 'Chieftain' on the Chieftain Cup (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960:plate 102) and some of the boxers on the Boxer Rhyton (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960:plates 106, 107). Long hair in these cases might indicate aristocratic status. A third, intermediate hairstyle with nape-length hair is worn by a robed man on the Harvester Vase (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960:plate 103) (Fig. 4) and by the so-called 'priests' on some sealstones. Clearly, more work could be done in this area.



Figure 4 Harvester Vase.

There is one sexually ambivalent hairstyle that deserves further investigation: the long, trailing locks worn by male and female bull-leapers, which takes several years to grow from a partially shaved scalp. If the bull-leapers of both sexes begin growing their hair long as soon as they entered training, their tresses may indicate that they followed a different 'track' than other youths.

### COSTUME

In most societies, costume can also be an important reflection of gender or activity, though not necessarily of ethnic origin as is often claimed (Rehak 1996). A comprehensive study of Aegean Bronze Age male and female costumes is needed, now that several authors have laid the important groundwork (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1971; Televantou 1982; Barber 1991).

The simplest costume for Minoan men is the belt and codpiece, which presumably can be worn with a more enveloping garment, the kilt. In cold weather, cloaks would be added. By Mycenaean times, the short or long tunic is generally preferred to the codpiece or

kilt. Early in the Late Bronze Age, both Cretans and mainlanders also don a type of shorts, perhaps made of leather, for hunting and fighting.

Women in Minoan art tend to wear a robe, cut like the modern bath-robe and tied at the waist. The robe is calf-length for girls, and ankle-length for adults. In both cases, the garment is open above the waist to expose the breasts, even for immature girls. Most of the women in robes appear in ritual scenes, not everyday activities. Over the robe, a heavier rectangular apron with a fringed edge is draped about the hips and tied around the waist.

In Mycenaean art, women tend to wear long tunics, a 'unisex' costume shared by men. Some Mycenaean processions, however, show women in the Minoan-style open robe that exposes the breasts. The mechanical repetitiousness of such representations makes me wonder whether mainland women ever actually wore the robe, and these scenes may be based on earlier models. Alternatively, the robe in Mycenaean times may have been a 'fossil' costume that reappeared only on certain special occasions, much as (medieval) gowns and hoods are still worn at colleges and universities for academic processions.

Unique garments are difficult to assess; in these cases, ethnographic comparison becomes a necessity. For example, the seated Wounded Woman from Xeste 3 lacks the robe (Fig. 5); instead, the waist and hips are draped in a belt from which hang vertical tabs or lappets (Doumas 1992:plates 100, 105). This see-through garment may be a variant on the String Skirt, which in other European cultures is a costume that advertises sexual maturity (Barber 1995).

There are also some costumes that are not gender-specific, and they deserve a study of their own. They include the hide skirt worn by both men and women on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960:colour plates XXVIII, XXXIX A), the long tunic worn by most Mycenaeans regardless of sex, and the diagonally banded robe (Rehak 1994; Younger 1995a). This last is worn by gods in the Near East, but we do not know exactly what it signified in the Aegean. Despite this overlap among some costumes, evidence of transvestism is entirely lacking: there are no obvious men in women's robes, or women in men's kilts, shorts, or short tunics.

The most important shared costume is that of male and female bull-leapers, who wear a codpiece with rigid outline (tooled leather or metal?) (e.g. Marinatos and Hirmer 1960:plates 78-185). Its bulging outline, however, calls attention to an aspect of the male, not female, anatomy. Male and female leapers also wear sandals with leggings wrapped around the calf, though most Aegean men and all women are otherwise shown barefoot.

Costumes can indicate membership in a group or activity, as the preceding discussion of bull-leaping gear indicates. I have also noted that the appearance of shorts seems limited to men in scenes of hunting and fighting;

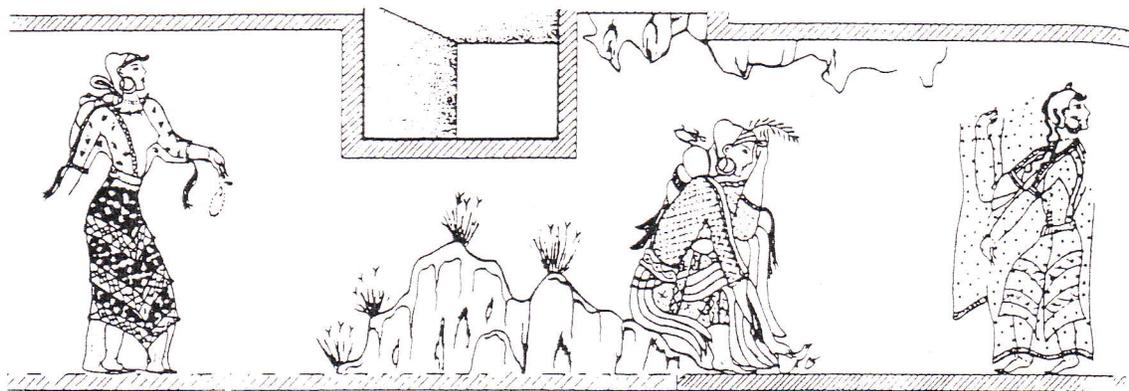


Figure 5 Redrawn from Marinatos 1984, by author.

it would be interesting therefore to know what the fragmentary white huntresses with spears among the Tiryns murals were wearing (Anderson 1983). The men and women in diagonally banded robes seem usually to be authorities (administrators, rulers, or gods) or harpists (e.g. Immerwahr 1990:colour plate XVIII). For women, the robe and apron may suggest participation in a ritual activity. And in a scene of saffron-gathering from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, the four prepubescent girls wear the same type of forehead band as the goddess, suggesting that all the figures are somehow linked (Doumas 1992:plates 116, 118-26).

The appearance of more than one type of costume on an artefact or monument is rather unusual, and more attention should be paid to these. On the Harvester vase, we see the codpiece, kilt, cloaks, and an unusual scalloped cloak, all worn by men. The Ayia Triadha sarcophagus shows four garments, some of them worn by men and women: kilt, short tunic, long tunic, and hide skirt. Similarly, the Knossos Procession fresco includes men wearing long tunics, kilts, and hide skirts, plus women in robes and aprons (Boulotis 1987).

### JEWELLERY

Jewellery is an important indicator of status, but it can also reflect gender and group identification, as well as mark important transitions in life (Televantou 1984; Younger 1992). Much Aegean jewellery, however, appears to be non-gender specific: earrings, necklaces, armbands, bracelets, and anklets. All of the major female figures in the ritual scenes of Xeste 3 have large gold hoop earrings; the similar earrings worn by a few male figures in other frescoes from the site and on seals may therefore be important as well. Might such earrings be worn at specific times?

The jewellery of one figure from Xeste 3 has not received sufficient attention: the seated Wounded Woman with bleeding foot, who also wears a unique costume. Except for earrings, she has been **divested** of other, usual jewellery and **invested** with two floral hairpins that no other woman wears. Similar hair pins on Crete sometimes carry Linear A inscriptions, like some cult objects.

### SCALE, POSITION, AND POSE

Relative scale and position can be important indicators of political and social, as well as gender relationships, particularly those that stress inequality. Outsized male figures are rare in the Aegean, except for the 'Master' on the Khania Master Impression (Hallager 1985). Instead, Aegean art sometimes shows us groups of women that are bigger than groups of men, as in two miniature frescoes from Knossos, the Grandstand and Sacred Grove and Dance (Evans 1930:plates XVI, XVIII; Cameron 1987:327 figure 11; Davis 1987). Unlike the men, the larger women are also differentiated from one another, and have more elaborate costumes and jewellery. In both scenes, the men are mostly spectators.

The Campstool Fresco, of slightly later date, also shows women at a larger scale than the men (Immerwahr 1990:176 Knossos No. 26, plate 44). Men in diagonally banded robes sit on campstools and toast one another. Two fragmentary women at a larger scale, one the famous 'Parisienne', preside over the scene.

Perhaps the greatest discrepancy in scale occurs in the late Mycenaean fresco from the Cult Centre at Mycenae (Rehak 1992). In the upper register are two large women who face one another and hold emblems of authority: a sword and a sceptre, respectively. Floating between them are two tiny floating nude figures lacking male genitalia, one red and the other black.

Pose and gesture are even more complicated issues, since a wide range of movements is possible for the human body. While certain gestures have already been identified, a comprehensive study would be valuable. Some gestures may be gender-specific, while others like the 'commanding gesture' are performed by both sexes (Figs 6 and 7).

Finally, various activities should be examined as to gender. 'Masculine' activities are not limited to men: we have women boar-hunting (Anderson 1983), wearing boars' tusk helmets, and wielding swords (Rehak 1984). The sword and 'whip' (scabbard?) held by a woman on a Knossos sealstone virtually duplicate in appearance those held by a youth on the Chieftain Cup – can the latter therefore really represent the gifts in a homosexual rite of passage restricted to men (Koehl 1986)?

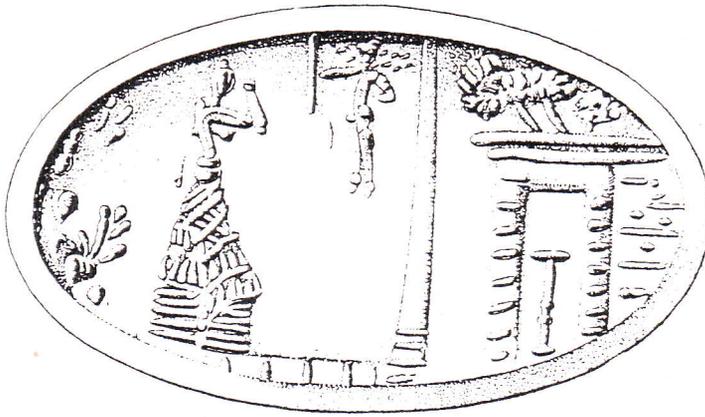


Figure 6 Ashmolean gold ring, redrawn by author, after Evans 1927.

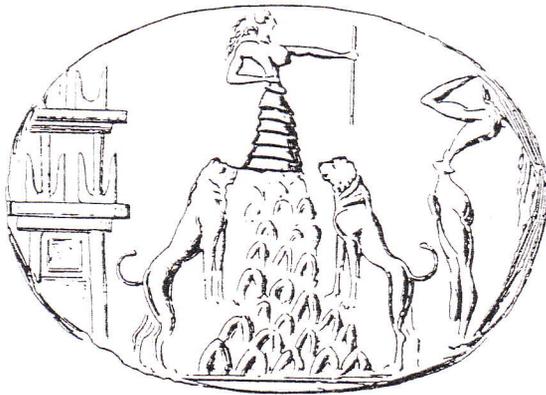


Figure 7 Knossos clay sealing, redrawn by author, after Evans 1927.

The greatest ambiguity lies in the fresco figures identified as male and female bull-leapers. Since not only their costumes, but also their physiognomies, resemble those of men it is only in murals that we can actually tell them apart. In other media, they may be indistinguishable.

### MEN AND WOMEN TOGETHER

Men and women are seldom shown together; when they are, they tend to form separate groups, as they do in Classical Greece, where literary sources show that the separation of women indicates that they were politically marginalised. Thus, it is worth examining the few occasions where men and women appear together in Bronze Age art.

On the Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri on Thera, the larger Arrival Town includes pairs of large gesticulating women standing on the tops of buildings (Doulas 1992:plates 38, 48). The Knossos Grandstand and Sacred Grove and Dance frescoes suggest that a major function of the palace was to accommodate communal ceremonies on set occasions, not to house a royal court.

We next see men and women together in the Procession Fresco from the west entrance corridor of the Knossos palace (Evans 1927:719-36, supplementary plates

XXV-XXVII; Boulotis 1987:145-55; Cameron 1987:321-5, especially 323 figs 4 and 6). This painting, which originally lined both sides of the corridor, preserves only the feet and hems of most figures. On the east wall there is a cluster of men and one woman, moving right. Near the centre of the wall, and separated from the other figures, is a second woman flanked by men who face her. To their right, the procession resumes with men in kilts carrying vases. The central woman, set off visually from the rest, is clearly the most important figure.

The Ayia Triadha sarcophagus shows us interesting gender roles for men and women in the context of funerary ritual (Long 1974). One long side shows a bull-sacrifice; the other combines an offering of liquid libations at the left and men making offerings to a male at the right, presumably the deceased occupant of the sarcophagus. Interestingly, women seem to be the protagonists in both scenes: some of them are marked by elaborate head-dresses and sealstone bracelets, and they officiate at the bull sacrifice on one side and carry or offer the libations on the other.

The sacrifice and libation scenes on the sarcophagus are not as integrated as they seem at first glance, for there is only one man in each – a musician with flutes and a harp, respectively. I do not believe it has been noted that only men are musicians in Aegean art. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, by contrast, musicians are often women portrayed as erotic subjects. We regard the civilisations of the ancient Near East as patriarchal, and female musicians as marginal. Could the reverse be true in the Aegean, with men making music for empowered women?

In most other scenes, men and women are separate and – more importantly – they tend to be shown on different types of object. Women often appear together in the religious scenes on gold rings. Only men, by contrast, appear on stone relief vases. Because most of them have been recovered as tiny fragments, they may have been deliberately broken as part of a ritual exclusive to men (Rehak 1995b). Some of the scenes with men only suggest activities in peak sanctuaries which in reality both men and women may have used (figurines of both sexes have been found in them), though perhaps not at the same time (Peatfield 1990) – a division we see in some later Greek festivals.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Despite the preliminary nature of these observations, it seems to me that any meaningful inquiry into the identification of the human figures in Minoan and Mycenaean art of the Late Bronze Age – their status, roles, or functions – must pay close attention to the variables outlined here: colour, costume, hairstyle, jewellery, scale and position, and how men, women, and children

are conceived and structured in groups. We cannot look to Egyptian or Near Eastern models for interpreting Aegean society and its participants, despite the clear evidence of intercultural contacts and influences (Vercoutter 1956; Smith 1965; Cline 1994); there are too many commonplace *topoi* there that are missing in the Aegean for us to imagine that all these areas functioned in similar ways. Instead, when men and women appear together in the Aegean, it is the women who are usually depicted at a larger scale, they have the more elaborate costumes and jewellery, they are shown with the more individualised features, and they occupy the central positions. As subjects, women also appear far more often than men.

If we replaced 'women' by 'men' in the preceding paragraph, most scholars would accept without question that we are talking about a male dominated society (i.e. patriarchy). Why, then, have we not seriously considered matriarchy for the Aegean, at least for Crete? Most Aegean scholars eschew any mention of the term (Thomas 1973 is an exception), perhaps because it has been used in much non-specialist literature to promote certain agendas; should our own agendas be any less subject to scrutiny? Interestingly, the scholars who do mention matriarchy also add the caveat that 'we need to define the term carefully'; a parenthesis that is **not** appended when they use the term 'patriarchy.'

Moreover, the gender constructs and biases in which I have been steeped as a late twentieth-century western white male seem not to work: male hunters are easy to find in Aegean art, but not male rulers; the female breast is frequently exposed in the Aegean, but not as an erotic image. Could the breast be a power symbol in the Aegean, as the phallus is in later Greece?

And while the 'Mother Goddess' herself may be largely a construct arising out of nineteenth-century scholarship (Gesell 1983; Muhly 1990; Talalay 1994), it is hard to deny that most of the large-scale figures and figurines in the Aegean seem to represent women: enthroned figures are women (Rehak 1995a), and the images we most easily recognise as divinities are women (Younger 1995a). But for all this emphasis on women, Aegean art lacks the very images that have been used in other cultures to marginalise women by showing them mainly as mothers, nursing babies and tending children.

A meaningful investigation of gender and sexuality in Aegean art therefore requires that we begin by trying to dismiss our modern biases and preconceptions, and letting the evidence speak for itself. In addition, we must also take into account some very basic questions that we have not really asked yet of the excavated material: what are the purposes for which Minoan and Mycenaean art was created, and were those purposes identical in both cultures? When we see women in groups or men in groups, we should ask who created those scenes, and who was the intended audience. Did men and women use art in different ways? Stone vases, for example, show only men: does that mean that only men created and used these vessels? Did a woman paint the

scenes with women in Xeste 3 on Thera for women, or did men? And if a man, was he allowed to witness the actual model that lies behind the bleeding Wounded Girl in her unusual skirt? On a broader level, are the pictures of these women didactic or inspirational; were they relating myth or history, or propaganda?

These are just a few of the many questions that are easier to raise than to answer. In order to answer them, we must put aside our present confident belief that we already understand Aegean art, its purpose and meaning. That these questions have no answers now only means that we have not developed the methodology to discover them yet, and this means much work needs to be done deconstructing those aspects that reflect the position of women and men in Aegean societies. When we do, surprising results may emerge.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for their generous support in providing travel funds for this conference.

### REFERENCES

- Anderson, J. 1983 Huntresses and the Goddess of the hunt at Tiryns. *American Journal of Archaeology* 87:224.
- Aitken, M.J., Michael, H.N., Betancourt, P.P. and Warren, P.M. 1988 The Thera eruption: Continuing discussion of the dating. *Archaeometry* 30(1):165-82.
- Barber, E.J.W. 1991 *Prehistoric Textiles*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Barber, E.J.W. 1995 Peekaboo to cover-up in 20,000 years: Women's status garments in Southeast Europe. *American Journal of Archaeology* 99:303.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1989 High chronology or low chronology: The archaeological evidence. In D.A. Hardy and A.C. Renfrew (eds) *Thera and the Aegean World III*, pp.19-23. London: Thera Foundation.
- Boulotis, C. 1987 Nochmals zum Prozessionsfresko von Knossos. Palast und Darbringung von Prestige-Objekten. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds) *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, pp.145-55. Stockholm: *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*, 35.
- Cameron, M.A.S. 1987 The 'Palatial' thematic system in the Knossos murals. Last notes on Knossos frescoes. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds) *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, pp.321-5. Stockholm: *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*, 35.
- Cline, E. 1994 *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea. International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford: BAR. *BAR International Series*, 591.
- Davis, E. 1986 Youth and age in the Thera frescoes. *American Journal of Archaeology* 90:399-406.
- Davis, E. 1987 The Knossos miniature frescoes and the function of the Central Court. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds) *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, pp.157-61. Stockholm: *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*, 35.
- Davis, E. 1995 Art and politics in the Aegean: The missing ruler. In P. Rehak (ed.) *The Role of the Ruler in the*

- Prehistoric Aegean*, pp.11-20. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas *Aegaeum*, 11.
- Davis, J. 1992 Review of Aegean prehistory I: The islands of the Aegean. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96: 699-756.
- Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1994 *The Aegean Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doumas, C. 1992 *The Wall Paintings of Thera*. Athens: The Thera Foundation.
- Evans, A.J. 1927 *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, II. London: Macmillan.
- Evans, A.J. 1930 *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, III. London: Macmillan.
- Gesell, G. 1983 The place of the goddess in Minoan society. In O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon (eds) *Minoan Society*, pp.129-36. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Hägg, R. 1985 Pictorial programmes in Minoan palaces and villas. In J-C. Poursat and P. Darceque (eds) *L'iconographie minoenne*, pp.209-17. Paris. *BCH Supplément* XI.
- Hägg, R. 1986 Die göttliche Epiphonie im minoischen Ritual. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 101:41-62.
- Hallager, E. 1985 *The Master Impression: A Clay Sealing from the Greek-Swedish Excavations at Kastelli, Khania*. Göteborg. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 69.
- Immerwahr, S. 1990 *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Koehl, R. 1986 The chieftain cup and a Minoan rite of passage. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106:99-110.
- Kokkinidou, D. and Nikolaidou, M. 1993 Η αρχαιολογία και η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του φύλου: Προσηγγίσεις στην αιγαική προϊστορία. Thessaloniki: Banias.
- Long, C. 1974 *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus. A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs*. Göteborg. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 41.
- Marinatos, N. 1984 *Art and Religion in Thera. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*. Athens: D. and I. Marthioulakis.
- Marinatos, N. 1987 Role and sex division in ritual scenes of Aegean art. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 1:23-34.
- Marinatos, N. 1989 The bull as adversary: Some observations on bull-hunting and bull-leaping. *Ariadne* 5:23-32.
- Marinatos, N. 1993 *Minoan Religion*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Marinatos, S. and Hirmer, M. 1960 *Crete and Mycenae*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Morris, S. 1989 A tale of two cities: The miniature frescoes from Thera and the origins of Greek poetry. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93:511-35.
- Muhly, J. 1991 Egypt, the Aegean, and Late Bronze Age chronology in the Eastern Mediterranean: A review article. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 4:235-47.
- Muhly, P. 1990 The great Goddess and the Priest King: Minoan religion in flux. *Expedition* 32:54-60.
- Niemeier, W-D. 1988 The 'Priest King' fresco from Knossos. A new reconstruction and interpretation. In E. French and K. Wardle (eds) *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, pp.235-44. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1950 *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*. Second Edition. Lund.
- Peatfield, A. 1990 Minoan peak sanctuaries: History and society. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 18:117-31.
- Rehak, P. 1984 New observations on the Mycenaean 'warrior goddess'. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1984:535-45.
- Rehak, P. 1992 Tradition and innovation in the fresco from Room 31 in the 'Cult Center' at Mycenae. In R. Laffineur and J.L. Crowley (eds) *Eikon. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology*. *Aegaeum* 8: 39-62.
- Rehak, P. 1994 The Aegean 'Priest' on CMS I 223. *Kadmos* 33:76-84.
- Rehak, P. 1995a Enthroned figures in Aegean art and the function of the Mycenaean Megaron. In P. Rehak (ed.) *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*, pp.95-118. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas *Aegaeum*, 11.
- Rehak, P. 1995b The ritual destruction of Minoan art? *Archaeological News*. June 1995.
- Rehak, P. 1996 Aegean breechcloths, kilts, and the Keftiu paintings. *American Journal of Archaeology* 100:35-51.
- Richlin, A. and Rabinowitz, N. 1993 *Feminist Theory and the Classics*. London: Routledge.
- Rutter, J. 1993 Review of Aegean prehistory II: The prepalatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland. *American Journal of Archaeology* 97:745-93.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. 1971 *Μινωικόν Ζωμα*. Athens.
- Smith, W.S. 1965 *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Talalay, L.E. 1994 A feminist boomerang: The great goddess of Greek prehistory. *Gender and History* 6(2):165-83.
- Televantou, C. 1982 Η γυναικεία ενδομασία στην προϊστορική Θήρα. *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 113-35.
- Televantou, C. 1984 Κοσμήματα από την προϊστορική Θήρα. *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 14-54.
- Thomas, C.G. 1973 Matriarchy in early Greece: The Bronze and Dark Ages. *Arethusa* 6:173-95.
- Vercoutter, J. 1956 *Égypte et le monde Égéen préhistorique*. Cairo.
- Warren, P. and Hankey, V. 1989 *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Withee, D. 1992 Physical growth and aging characteristics depicted in the Thera frescoes. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96:336.
- Younger, J.G. 1992 Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean jewellery. In R. Laffineur and J.L. Crowley (eds) *Eikon. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology*, pp.257-93. Liège: Université de Liège. *Aegaeum* 8.
- Younger, J.G. 1995a The iconography of rulership – a conspectus. In P. Rehak (ed.) *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*, pp.151-211. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas. *Aegaeum*, 11.
- Younger, J.G. 1995b Bronze Age Aegean representations of bull-leaping, III. In R. Laffineur and W.D. Niemeier (eds) *Politeia. Society and State in the Bronze Age Aegean*. *Aegaeum*, 12.