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## Revising the dress code of the “Goddess” from the Procession Fresco at the Palace of Knossos

### ABSTRACT

Flanked by two antithetical groups of men in procession, the prominent standing female figure in the LM II/III A1 Procession Fresco from the palace of Knossos was identified by Arthur Evans as the “Minoan Goddess”. Thus, he restored her, despite her very fragmentary state, as dressed in a flounced skirt in combination with tight bodice and *polos* headdress, and with double axes in her upraised hands. A first modification of her attire was first proposed in 1987 by Christos Boulotis: instead of long wavy bands descending free from her head and shoulders, as Evans believed, he recognized the end of a long fringed piece of cloth offered to her by the men approaching on her left. In the present contribution I focus on the reexamination of her garment, of which only the three richly decorated lower border zones have been preserved. The light shed on this by recent cleaning of the fresco simultaneously raised some enigmatic sartorial issues. In view of its close affinities with the LH IIIB “priestess” (Lang 1969, 50 H nws) from the palace of Pylos in particular, whose fragmentary long robe attests the combination of decorative lower border zones with a vertical frontal band, I propose here a similar garment for the Knossian “Goddess” too. My proposal is essentially based on (a) contemporary Cretan fresco evidence (the Procession Fresco itself, the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and related compositions) as well as on the LH II signet ring CMS I, no. 179 from Tiryns and LH IIIB fresco parallels from the Mycenaean palatial centers – which clearly document this specific type of robe, as appropriate to deities, members of the priesthood (females and males) and to elite individuals in general; and (b) the fact that richly decorated lower border zones are not compatible with the flounced skirt in Aegean iconography. Given the appearance and diffusion of the long robe with vertical frontal band and lower border zones in Crete during the Mycenaean dominance of the island, its origin on the Greek Mainland, regardless of the degree to which that might have been due to Minoan influence, seems very plausible. In this respect, the fact that the Tiryns signet ring predates the related Cretan fresco evidence might be decisive in giving the Mainland priority.

KEYWORDS: Knossos palace, Procession Fresco, “goddess”, dress type, Mycenaean presence on Crete, new restoration, long robe with vertical band

The female figure under discussion (henceforth “Goddess” no. 14 according to Evans’s numeration of the restored “Procession Fresco”) undoubtedly occupies a central position

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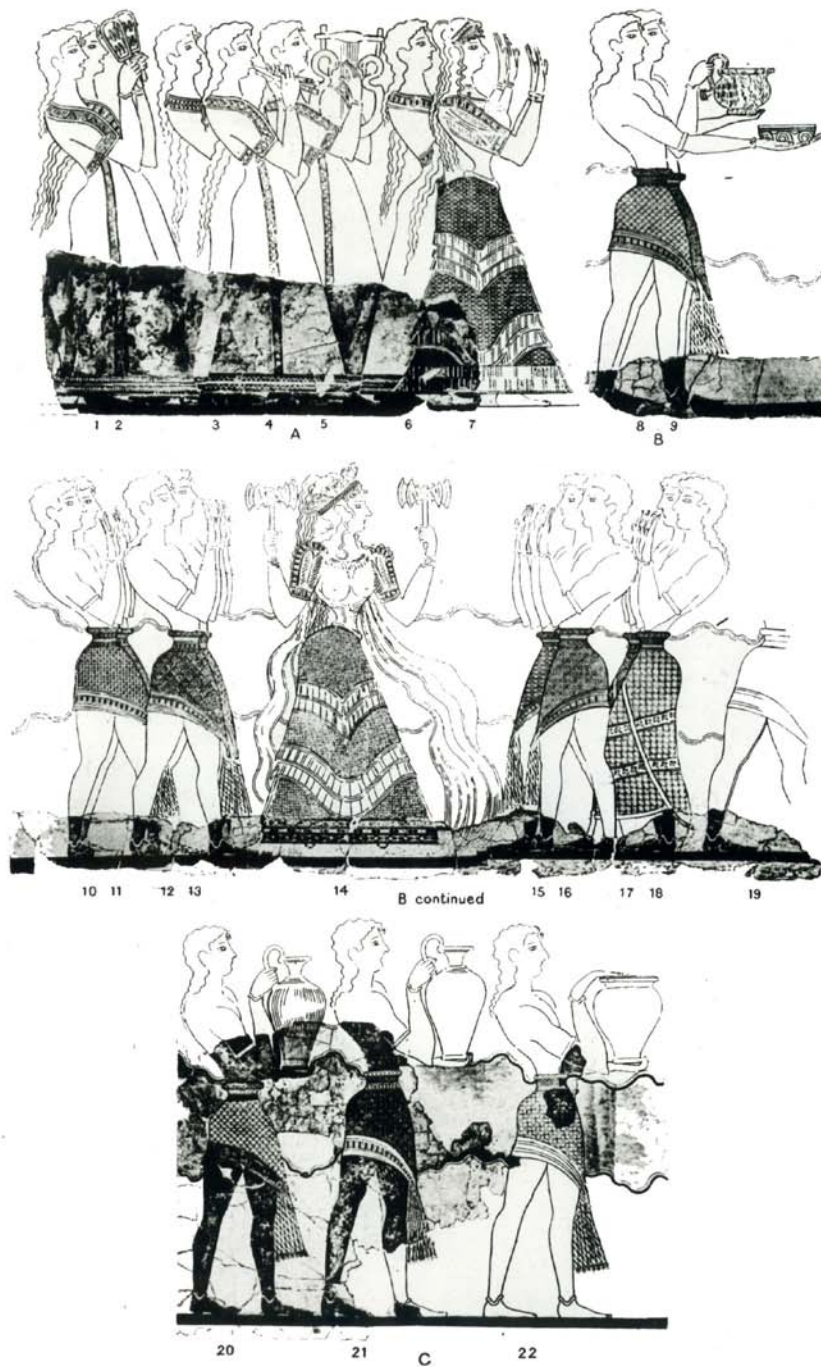


Fig. 1. Evans's restoration of the Procession Fresco at the Palace of Knossos (Evans 1928, fig. 450).

among the antithetically moving male cult participants of group B (nos 8-13 and 15-18 as above) in the extended life-size LM II/LM IIIA1 Procession Fresco (Immerwahr 1990, 174-175, Kn No. 22; Hood 2005, 66) which decorated the two opposite walls (east, west) of the "Corridor of the Procession" in the West Wing of the palace of Knossos (Evans 1928, 682-685, 719-736, fig. 450) (Fig. 1). Group B, from the east and better-preserved wall of the corridor, near the West

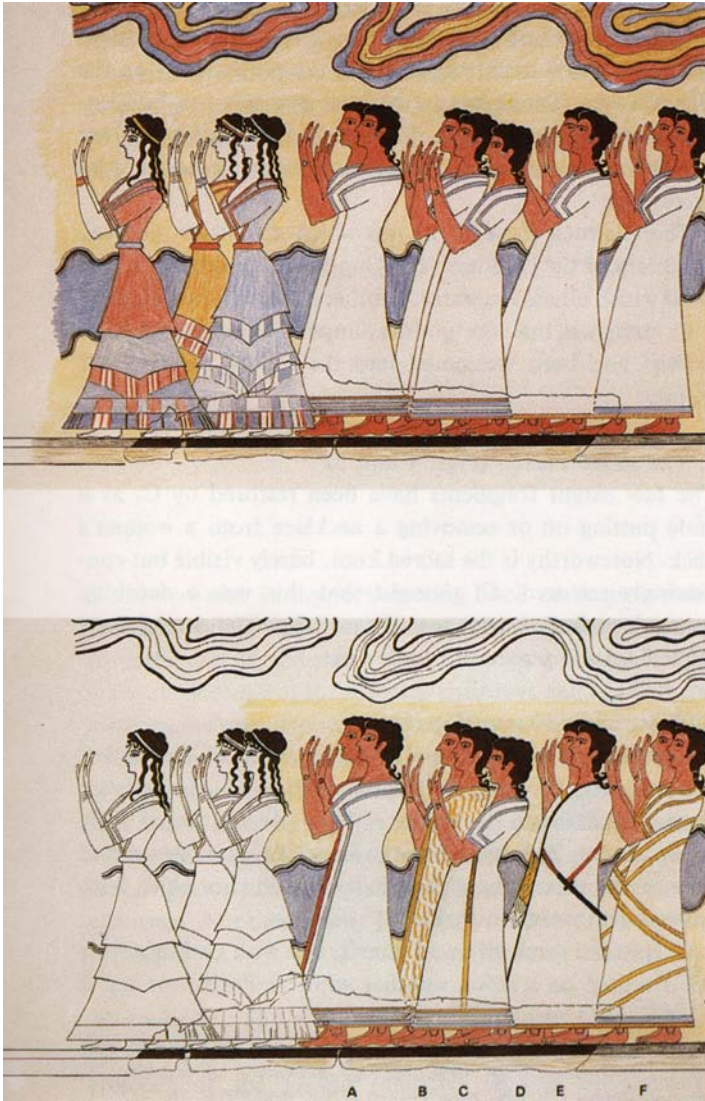


Fig. 2. Cameron's restoration proposal of figures from the west wall of the Procession Corridor (two variants) (Cameron 1987, fig. 6).

Propylon, is accompanied by a cluster of male participants moving to the right, dressed in long white robes with vertical band, with the exception of a woman (no. 7), preceding them, who wears a flounced skirt. These are designated group A (nos. 1-7). Based on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and the Harvester Vase, Evans restored the men of group A as musicians (players of lyre, pipes, *seistron*) and singers (Evans 1928, 722). A third group of male adorants (group C, nos. 19-22), dressed mainly in loincloths, like the men of Group B, on whom they turn their backs changing direction to the right, obviously constitute gift-bearers (of precious metal vases, etc.). For the rest of the participants Evans adopted the typical adoration gesture with raised hands addressed honorifically to the "Goddess" (see especially Group B, nos 10-13, and 15-18, but also Group A, nos 6-7). A similar group of processional figures, *i.e.* men in long white robes with vertical band and a female leader in flounced skirt, on the opposite (west) wall of the Procession Corridor was first published and restored by Mark Cameron (Cameron 1987, 323, fig. 6) and Christos Boulotis (Boulotis 1987, 148-149 with n. 18, fig. 5) (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As referred to in Evans 1928, 684 and fig. 427: "On the right side of the gallery were some scanty traces of the feet of a similar succession of human figures".





Fig. 3. Cameron's restoration of the Knossian Procession Fresco (Hood 2005, fig. 2.17).

Given her central position within Group B the woman under examination was attributed a state of visionary epiphany in the ceremony represented. Despite her highly fragmentary state Evans reconstructed her in a flounced skirt in combination with tight bodice, *polos* headdress, with two double axes in her upraised hands (Evans 1928, 722-723, fig. 450, Group B, no. 14). Furthermore, he interpreted the several white narrow wavy bands, visible in the lower preserved part of the fresco, at the level between the left extremity of the lower border of her dress and the feet of the men on her left, as "some kind of diaphanous veil, descending from her head and shoulders" (Evans 1928, 724). For reasons of symmetry, he assumed similar freely descending white bands on the other side of the "Goddess" as well, although no traces of them are discernible. Evans' restoration was slightly revised in the mid-1970s by Cameron, who considered the double axes in the hands of the "Goddess" arbitrary, while he alternatively proposed a dual identity as goddess or priestess (Cameron 1975, 139) (Fig. 3).



However, the reexamination of the fresco in 1987 by Christos Boulotis was decisive. He identified the aforementioned white wavy bands as the end of a long fringed piece of cloth offered to the "Goddess" by the men approaching on her left (Boulotis 1987, 150, fig. 8) (Fig. 4). This plausible assumption, supported by the Procession Fresco itself, in which gift-bearing seems to constitute one of the focal actions in the

Fig. 4. Boulotis' restoration of the "Goddess" from the Procession Fresco (Boulotis 1987, fig. 8).



Fig. 5. The lower border of the “Goddess” garment. Courtesy AMH.

ritual represented, is based mainly on the significant role that cloth offerings played in various cult activities, testified in Late Bronze Age Aegean iconography (see for example: Demargne 1948; Boulotis 1987, 150, with n. 29; Boloti 2009) and Linear B texts (Nosch & Perna 2001; Boloti 2009). Following Cameron, Boulotis avoided placing the dubious axes in the hands of the “Goddess”, leaving open the possibility of a high priestess (perhaps of royal nature) as a surrogate of the “Goddess” herself, in accordance, as it seems, with Minoan religious practice and beliefs.

In the course of my research in the field of Aegean “sacred” ceremonial attire (Boloti 2009; Boloti 2014; Boloti 2016), I examined anew the Knossian “Goddess” no. 14, focusing in particular on her garments, which, as already mentioned, had been restored as a flounced skirt with tight bodice. The richly decorated lower border of her dress, in conjunction with related iconographic evidence from Crete and Mycenaean Greece, has led me to the conclusion that it should rather be restored as a long robe with vertical frontal band. This reinterpretation has been substantially facilitated by the recent cleaning of the fresco on the occasion of its re-exhibition in the renovated Herakleion Archaeological Museum, thanks to which neglected elements have been revealed.

Three horizontal decorative zones, delimited by double bands with the common tooth-ornament, cover the lower border of the “Goddess” garment (max. length 85 cm.) (Fig. 5). The two outer zones, clearly wider (the uppermost poorly preserved), are decorated with a row of repetitive schematic “half-rosettes and triglyphs” motif (Evans 1928, fig. 456a), known from several architectural applications (Evans 1928, 592-596, 604-608, fig. 368, 370, 371, 377-381), and normally thought to be a symbolic sacred device (Evans 1928, 731; Marinatos 2010, 135-139). The middle zone, on the other hand, is covered, according to Evans, by a series of “beam-ends”, which have been proved to be rosettes (blue, yellow and perhaps also red), given the

curved traces of black colour in their interiors detected during the recent cleaning.<sup>2</sup> Crucial, though, for my argument is the proof that both lateral sides of the “Goddess” dress are straight, without hints of angular protrusion, which would denote a flounced skirt, as is clearly the case with the women in Group A (Fig. 1) and in the processional sequence of the west wall (Fig. 2). Besides, as we shall see, lower border zones, either richly decorated or plain, are not typical of flounced skirts.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, such borders are quite common on the widespread type of long robe with vertical frontal band.<sup>4</sup> Enigmatic, however, remain two blue, vertical, irregular, oblong “elements”, tangent symmetrically to both exterior sides of the lower dress of the “Goddess”, which have become clearly visible after the recent cleaning. The left one is somewhat thickened, while its right counterpart is pointed at its lower extremity. The possibility that these elements belong functionally to the garment of the “Goddess” seems quite dubious and without iconographical parallel; nor could they convincingly represent some kind of portable object in close contact with the garment. So, in the present state of our knowledge, it seems preferable to consider them as part of an additional piece of attire, perhaps a kind of long veil or cloak; In any case such a combination of clothing would constitute a *unicum*.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 6. The dress of the Pylion  
“priestess” 50 H nws (Lang 1969, pl. N).

Although no traces of a vertical band are discernible in the dress of the Knossian “Goddess” (no. 14), its closest parallel, a LH IIIB long robe with vertical band from Pylos, as well as a series of fresco *comparanda* from both Crete and Mycenaean Greece, allow little doubt about its former appearance. As far as its colour is concerned, the usual light blue, yellow, or white constitute possible options.

Found in the north-west fresco dump on the palace hill,<sup>6</sup> the aforementioned Pylion long robe (Fig. 6) belongs to

<sup>2</sup> The disappearance of black from the rosettes is due to the fact that it is one of the most sensitive colours in the Aegean painter’s palette.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that lower border zones are detected on some long robes with diagonal bands especially in Cretan frescoes e.g. from Hagia Triada: Militello 1998, pl. I and L (Donna ed altare), pl. P a (Frammento con figura humana); Marinatos & Hirmer 1986, pl. XXXI, sarcophagus side B (woman in the outermost left pair of cult participants) and Knossos: “Camp Stool Fresco”, Boulotis 1987, fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A precursor of this dress has been claimed to be detected at Akrotiri, Thera (Τελεβάντου 1982, 119-122). Nevertheless, this Theran dress appears to function as a female undergarment, since it is always worn in combination with skirts, a feature apparently confirmed sometimes by its transparency. On the contrary, the so-called long robe with vertical band appears as an autonomous, unisex garment from LH II/LM II onwards, related especially to ritual contexts.

<sup>5</sup> Double vertical lines depicted on some long robes worn by male figures on Mycenaean pictorial vases, descending sometimes down to floor level (Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, for example, III.19-20, IV. 50), are not satisfactorily explicable in sartorial terms. They seem to constitute a peculiar iconographic convention.

<sup>6</sup> According to Lang 1969, 221 “the dump was made in the latter part of LH IIIB”.



a fragmentary half-life size standing woman, identified as a “priestess” (Lang 1969, 50 H nws, 85, pls. 31, D, N), whose left foot overlaps a white curved footstool (obviously ivory). According to a common iconographic scheme, it seems quite plausible to assume that the Pylian “priestess”, in the eminent role of *propompos*, leads a procession towards a seated figure, in all probability of divine nature, since nearly life-size. This would have been the “White Goddess” with *polos* headdress (Lang 1969, 49 H nws, 83-85, pls. 33, 116, 17, D) from the same fresco dump. The whiteness of her long robe is in strong contrast to the fine polychrome decoration of its vertical frontal band—with alternating yellow, white and blue zigzags—as well as to the two horizontal border zones, the upper one with similar zigzags, while the lower with a series of “beam-ends”, blue and yellow alternately. Like the Knossian dress, narrow bands of tooth ornament delimit the horizontal decorative zones as well as the vertical band. Despite the fact that the “beam-ends” on the Knossian dress have proved to be rosettes, and the structural peculiarity of the vertical band of the Pylian dress which overlaps the horizontal border zones, unlike all the other known examples, their decorative similarity remains undoubted. Mabel Lang, who pinpointed the resemblance, attributed it to a common tradition (Lang 1969, 85) but didn’t challenge Evans’s reconstruction of the Knossian “Goddess” garment, which I restore here as a long robe with vertical band. This type of costume in conjunction with *polos* head-dress would constitute, in all probability, the most typical priestly attire in Mycenaean Greece, as well as in Crete during the period of Mycenaean dominance (see below, especially the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada), as I have already claimed in a previous attempt to hypothetically dress the eponymous Pylian high priestess *e-ri-ta*, by far the most striking sacerdotal female figure of the Mycenaean world (Boloti 2014).

The earliest secure appearance of the long robe with vertical band in Crete is in the same Knossian Procession Fresco. Besides the “Goddess”, as I have proposed, it is actually worn by several male participants in the ceremony (Group A on east wall, processional sequence of the west wall). Their monochrome long robes, with linear decoration (horizontal or curved – and, in one case, rosettes) on the vertical band have a three-zone lower border. The scheme recalls the analogous tripartite articulation of the “Goddess” (no. 14) dress, but in a simpler version, dictated obviously by the difference in identity and role in the ritual. The uniformity of dress of all the men unifies them decisively, indicating a distinctive social/functional community, apparently of high status. Given the significance of music in Minoan ceremonial practices, Evans restored the men of Group A as musicians and singers, despite the lack of any suggestion of this in the Procession Fresco. This assumption was also adopted by Cameron (Cameron 1975, 139) (Fig. 3), although he restored the similarly dressed men of the west wall with gestures of adoration (Cameron 1987, fig. 6).

Apart from the Knossian Procession Fresco (LM II/LMIII A1), the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (LM IIIA2 early; Burke 2005, 403), the epitome of Cretan religious iconography of this era in many respects, as well as related wall paintings from the same site, appear to be significant for my argument, since they provide abundant testimony to the use of the long robe with vertical band during this period. Versions of this robe (Militelio 1998, 291, type 1 and 2, “Lunga tunica bipartita”) are worn in the ceremonies depicted on the sarcophagus’s long sides (A, B) by nine, in

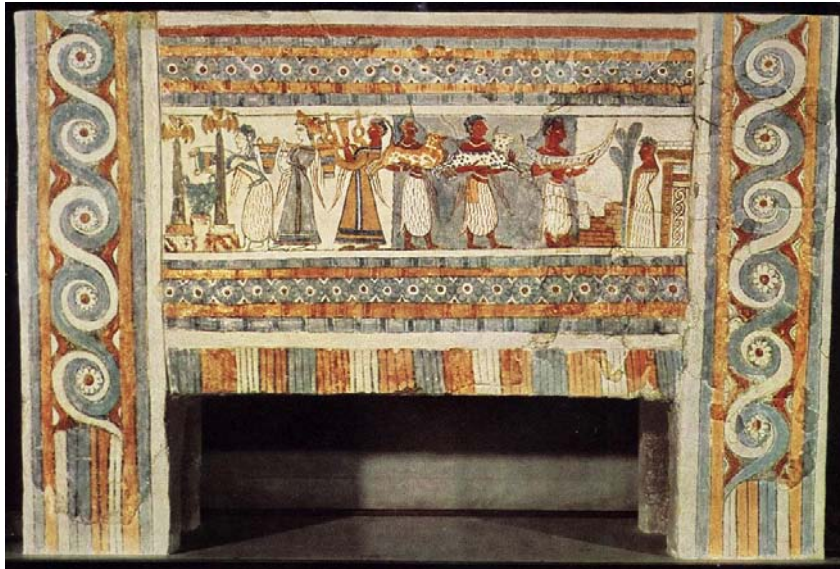


Fig. 7. The Hagia Triada sarcophagus, side A (Marinatos & Hirmer 1986, XXX).

all probability, cult officiants and adorants of both sexes. They wear alternately long robes with diagonal bands, otherwise known as “Syrian” robes (Marinatos 1993, 127-128) and the Minoan “hide skirt”, intimately connected with cult activities (Marinatos 1993, 135-136).

Besides the lyre-player on side A (Fig. 7), the female bucket-carrier in front of him also wears long robe with vertical band, though there are slight differences in colour in the border zones and the vertical frontal band (yellow with black and white vertical band in the former case, light blue with black and yellow vertical band in the latter). The *polos* worn by the female bucket-carrier additionally underlines her priestly status, and her probable connection with economic activities is denoted by the lentoid seal-stones worn on her hands. Both these cult officiants constitute by far the best-preserved iconographic examples of this type of garment, used as a reference point for the understanding and reconstruction of related figures on side B of the sarcophagus (Fig. 8), in similar frescoes from Hagia Triada, as well as in the Knossian

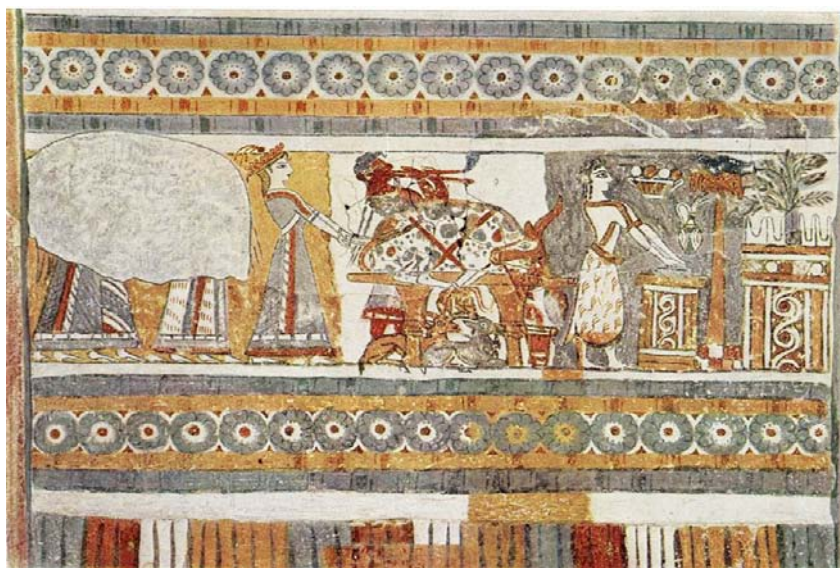


Fig. 8. The Hagia Triada sarcophagus, side B (Marinatos & Hirmer 1986, XXXI).





Fig. 9. The Hagia Triada sarcophagus, side C (Marinatos & Hirmer 1986, XXXII).

Procession Fresco. Consequently, by analogy with the sacerdotal bucket-carrier, the high priestess in the scene of bull-sacrifice (side B), dressed in the same light blue robe, varied in the vertical band and the lower border zones, was plausibly restored with a *polos*-headdress, as Evans assumed too for the “Goddess” in the Procession Fresco of Knossos. Long robes, apparently with either vertical or diagonal bands, in conjunction with the *polos*, are also worn by the female charioteers and passengers on both narrow sides of the sarcophagus, on the chariots drawn by griffins (side C – Fig. 9) or *agrimia* (side D – Fig. 10) – all considered divinities (Long 1974, 57).

Four out of five women (the high priestess of the sacrificial scene included) on the left part of side B (Fig. 8) seem to wear the long robe with vertical band, while the fifth is more probably dressed in a long robe with diagonal bands.<sup>7</sup> Unlike the plain long robes with vertical band of side A, the long robes of this type on side B constitute elaborate variations decorated with

linear motifs (rows of short red lines in one case and oblique black stripes in at least two cases).



It is striking that the characteristic sartorial uniformity of the bucket-carrier (priestess) and lyre-player of side A

Fig. 10. The Hagia Triada sarcophagus, side D (Marinatos & Hirmer 1986, XXXIII).

<sup>7</sup> The fact that only the half of her garment is visible complicates a secure identification. See however Militello 1998, 291, n. 3 “Gonna con decorazione e fasce oblique”. For the type cf. also the garment of the “donna ed altare”, *ibid.* pl. I.

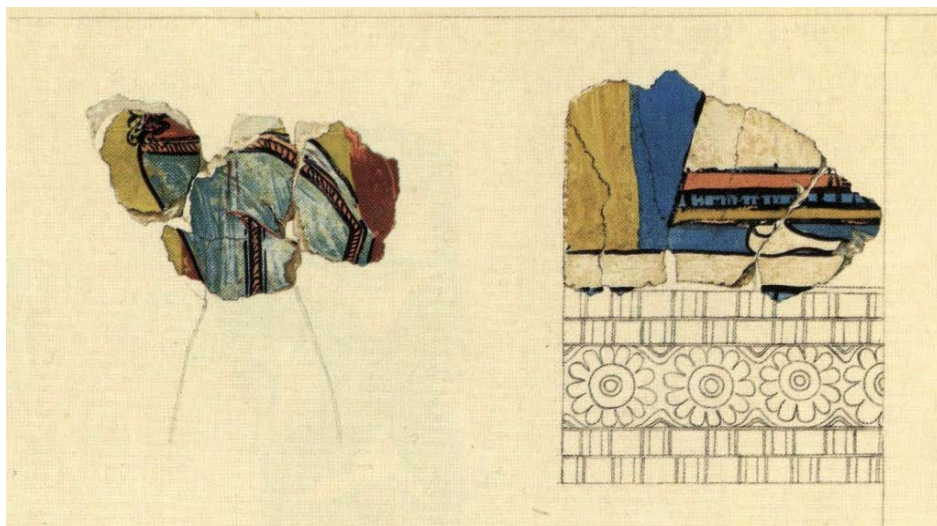
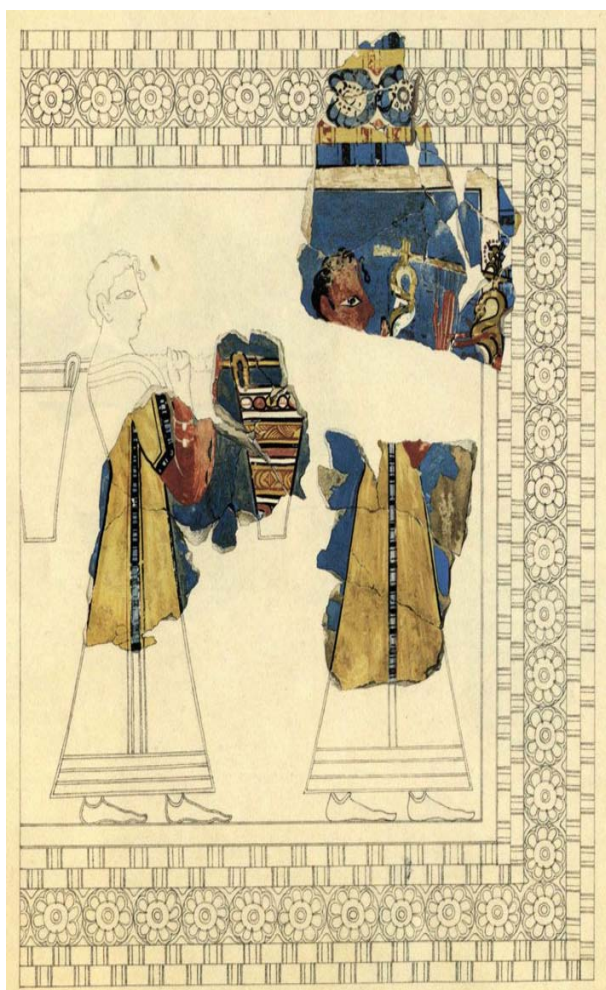


Fig. 11a.  
Fragments of  
the "Grande  
Processione"  
fresco  
from Hagia  
Triada (Mi-  
litello 1998,  
tav. I).

of the sarcophagus (Fig. 7) finds a counterpart in the fragmentary "Grande Processione" from Hagia Triada (Militello 1998, 132-139, tav. 9A and I) (Fig. 11a and Fig 11b), but with two notable differences. The first is that both cult officiants here are male, similarly dressed in long yellow robes with vertical band; the second that the lyre-player is in a leading position within



the processional section, followed by the bucket-carrier. It is noteworthy that the latter, like his female counterpart on the sarcophagus (side A), wears a pair of lentoid seal-stones, in all probability also denoting economic activities. Two fragments from a similar processional composition, executed at least by the same painters' workshop as the sarcophagus, prove the participation of further female and male officiants, wearing a colourful variation of the same long robe (Fig. 11a and Fig 11b) (Militello 1998, 135, fragment 12, tav/pl. I [upper right] and fragment 8, pl. I [upper left]).

Moreover, at least two out of seven or eight dancing women in procession

Fig. 11b. Fragments of the "Grande Processione" fresco from Hagia Triada (Militello 1998, tav. I).



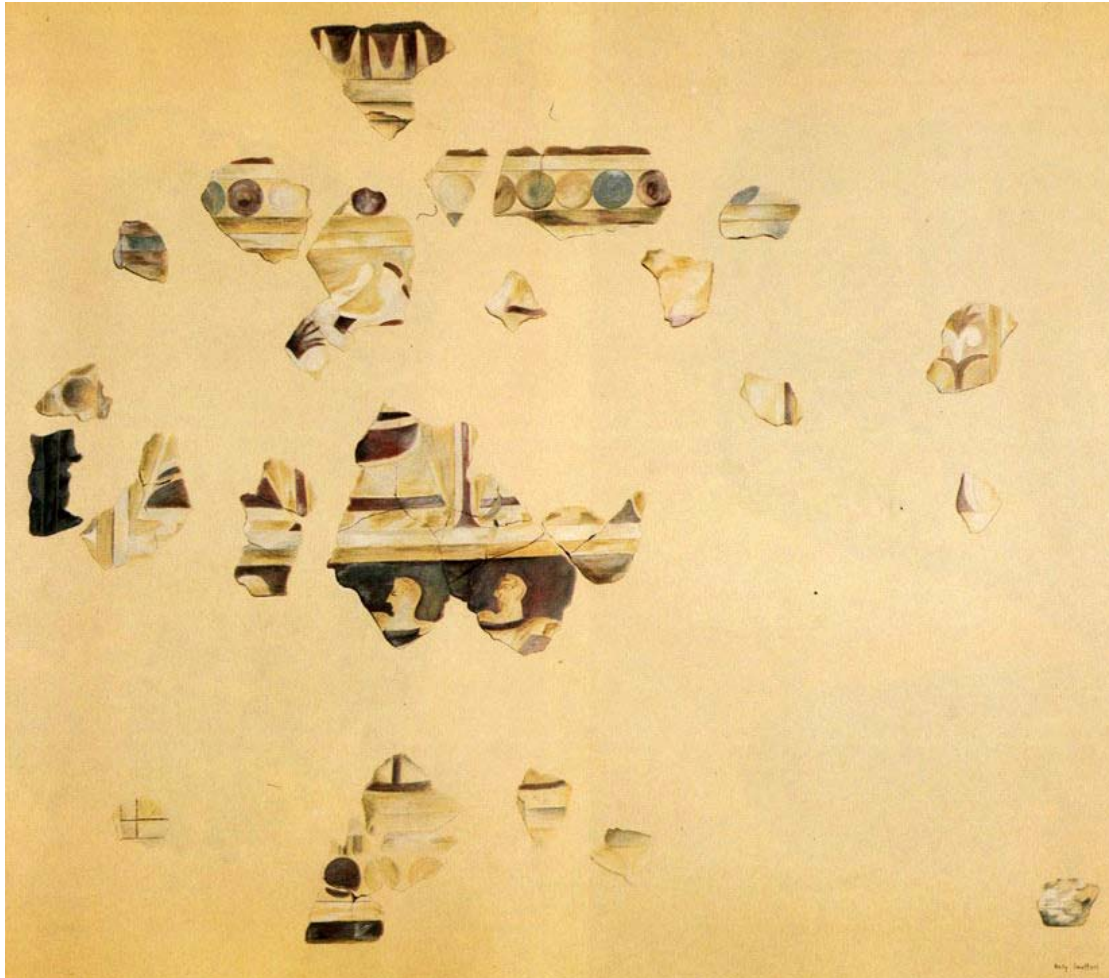


Fig. 12. “Piccola Processione” fresco from Hagia Triada (Militello 1998, tav. M).

depicted in the lower zone of the so-called “Piccola Processione” from Hagia Triada are also dressed in long white robes with blue (?) vertical band (Fig. 12). They contrast, as regards clothing, with the women of the upper zone, who are clad in flounced skirts (Militello 1998, 142-148, esp. 143, pl. M). If the stylistic criteria are correctly interpreted in dating this fresco to LM II/LM IIIA1 (Militello 1998, 142), it would fill the chronological gap between the Hagia Triada frescoes of LM IIIA2 and the LM II/IIIA1 Knossian Procession.

The above Cretan iconographic evidence, a uniform *corpus* from both a geographical and a chronological point of view, provides us with adequate information on the repertoire and the establishment of the official and ceremonial/priestly wardrobe in the period of Mycenaean dominance on the island,<sup>8</sup> during which tendencies of syncretism are detectable on several levels, including religion according to the Linear tablets of Knossos (see especially the case of *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*/Dictaeon Zeus – Aura Jorro 1985, s.v. *di-ka-ta-jo* and s.v. *di-we*).

<sup>8</sup> For a typological discussion of the garments represented see Militello 1998, 290-295.



Through this historical prism, the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, in particular, has been considered “an artifact connected to an emergent Mycenaean ideology”, a real “hybrid of Minoan and Mycenaean elements”, among which garments are included (Burke 2005, 419). In this respect, it is very reasonable to understand the simultaneous use of the typically Minoan hide dress, attested as ritual garment from MM II onwards (Boloti forthcoming), and of the long robe with vertical frontal band widely documented during the period of Mycenaean dominance. The latter, especially in conjunction with the *polos*, appears to provide a Mycenaean counterbalance to the former as well as to the long robe with diagonal bands. Long (1974, 57) took this argument one step further: taking into consideration the plausible formation of a mixed pantheon on *terra cretica*, she suggested that the female divinities riding on the Griffin-chariot (side C) might be Mycenaean, in contrast to the Minoan on the *agrimia*-chariot (side D). Cameron, for his part, following a similar explanatory line, and in view of the Mycenaean presence in Knossos from LM II onwards, considered reasonably enough the aforementioned male figures of the Procession fresco in long robe with vertical frontal band as “men in Mycenaean dress” (Cameron 1975, 138). Consequently, the attire of the Knossian “Goddess” (no. 14) proposed here, namely the long robe, appears to be compatible with such a sartorial framework.



Fig. 13. The golden signet ring  
CMS I, no. 179 from Tiryns.

Unlike the typical Minoan ceremonial hide dress, testified in Mainland Greece only by two seals (CMS V.2, no. 106, CMS I, no. 132) (Boloti forthcoming), the type of the long robe under discussion was widespread at least in the main Mycenaean palatial centers (Pylos, Mycenae, Tiryns) during the 14th and especially the 13th century B.C., worn by male and female figures (especially priestesses and deities), in official and/or ceremonial circumstances.<sup>9</sup> The *polos*-headdress, almost exclusively restricted to female figures (elite-members, high priestesses and deities)<sup>10</sup> and sphinxes,<sup>11</sup> seems

<sup>9</sup> See indicatively, Pylos: the “priestess” 50 H nws, Lang 1969, pl. N; the men in procession from Vestibule 5 of the palace, *ibid.* pl. 119-120. Mycenae: female “idol” from the Cult Center, Mylonas 1983, fig. 165. Tiryns: Women in ceremonial procession from the Western Staircase, Papadimitriou et al. 2015, fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> In Long 1974, 37 it is argued that this type of headdress is not “restricted to women and sphinxes” as attested by “an ivory pyxis from Tsountas’ excavations at Mycenae (tomb 49) showing two men wearing a headdress of this type and leading a sphinx” (a view also reproduced in Lenuzza 2012, footnote 13). For the *pyxis* see Poursat 1977, 92 (297/2476. *Pyxis avec homme et sphinx*), pl. XXVIII.

<sup>11</sup> For a selection of ivory artifacts, such as *pyxides* and plaques, with *polos*-wearing sphinxes see Poursat 1977, 43-45, 81, 92-93, 113, 148-149, 153-154, 156-159, 169-170. For sphinxes depicted wearing a *polos* on LH IIIB sarcophagi from

to accentuate the perception of a Mycenaean dress-code<sup>12</sup>. Whatever the degree of Minoan influence behind the rising popularity of this type of long robe (in combination with the *polos*), its wide diffusion and establishment in LM II/LM IIIA Crete as well as the Greek Mainland seems to be closely connected to the Mycenaeans. Significant in this respect is the testimony of the famous LH II golden signet ring CMS I, no 179 from Tiryns (Fig. 13), especially if we accept that it predates the Knossian Procession Fresco: the seated female figure on its bezel, undoubtedly a goddess, who receives a procession of Genii, is clad in the characteristic long robe of the type discussed, in combination, moreover, with a *polos* headdress, as in the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. The vertical band of her garment has a clearly frontal position, ending on the border with its characteristic decoration. The ellipsoid/oblong motifs all over its surface recall similar garments in the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (see above), while they find decorative parallels in other Mycenaean robes (spots, dots, dot-rosettes, small branches, etc.) which contrast with the plain garments of similar type. Particularly as far as the symbolic connection

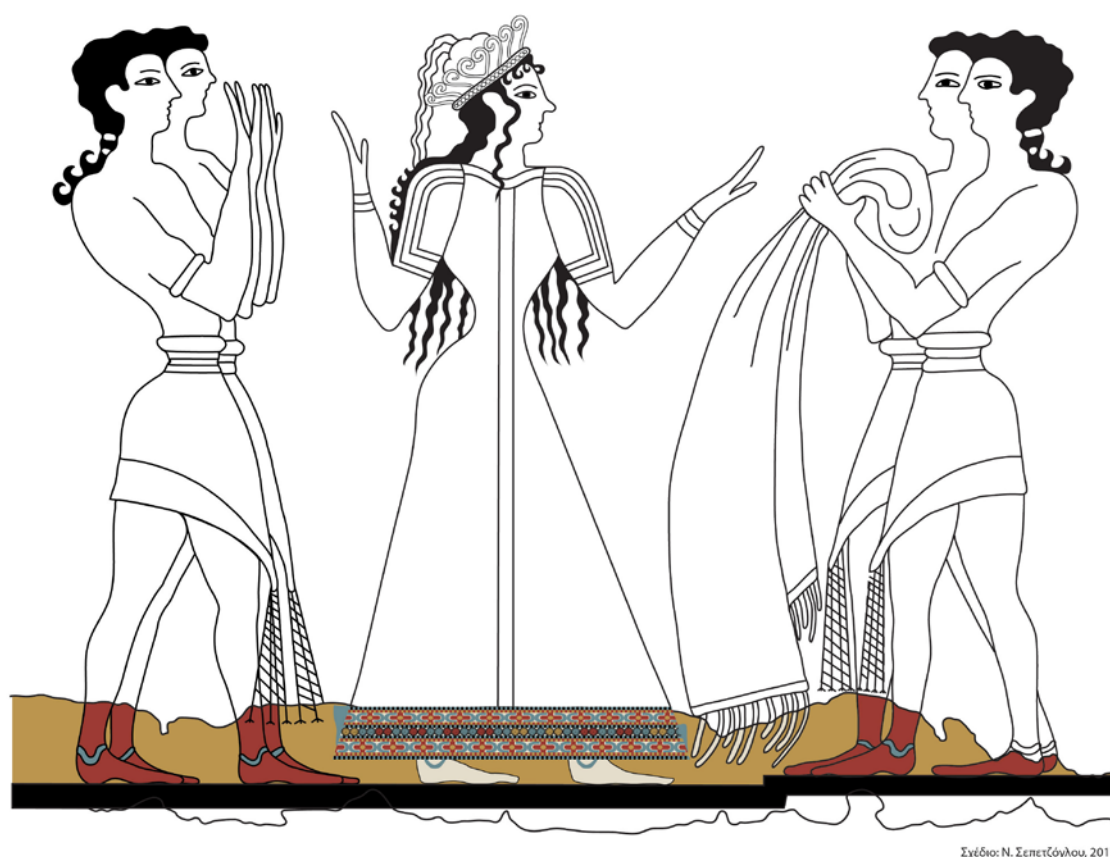


Fig. 14. Boloti's reconstruction proposal of the Goddess (no. 14) from the Knossian Procession Fresco. Drawing: N. Sepetzoglou.

Tanagra or on LH IIIC Mycenaean pictorial vases see Αραβαντινός 2010, 120-124 and Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 144, 224 (XI.91) respectively.

<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the *polos* is sometimes worn by women clad in flounced skirts, e.g. the woman from the Theban Procession Fresco (Boulotis 2000), and from the portable plaster plaque from Mycenae, known as *Palladion* (Mylonas 1983, fig. 164).

of the Tiryns signet ring with the Knossian Procession Fresco is concerned, one wonders if the appearance of the peculiar “half-rosettes and triglyphs” motif, decorating both the lower border zones of the garment of the “Goddess” (no. 14) and the dado which delimits the ceremonial scene of the ring, is simply a coincidence, dictated by the adaptation of “sacred” images in several media. In any case its symbolic appearance on the robe of the Knossian “Goddess” is not enough to decisively confirm her divinity, given the frequently observed similarity of dress between deities and high priestesses in Aegean iconography. Finally, without overlooking the Minoan iconographic and conceptual components in the religious narrative of the Tiryns signet-ring, its pictorial realisation is obviously Mycenaean, witness the nature of the attire of the seated goddess, the earliest manifestation of this type, first introduced in Crete probably with the arrival of the Greek Mainlanders.

In conclusion, the dress of the “Goddess” (no. 14) in the Procession Fresco of Knossos, clad most probably in a long robe with frontal vertical band and a *polos* headdress (Fig. 14), seems to reflect a Mycenaean unisex style, prevalent in Crete as well as in the Greek Mainland from LH II/LM II onwards. The assumed central position of the “Goddess” in the processional sequence, between two antithetical male groups, is by far the most plausible reconstruction proposed. Although her face and feet are turned to the right, I believe that her upper and lower body would have been rendered entirely in frontal view, thus underlining her connection to both male groups. The position of her hands, however, remains ambiguous, since the double axes which Evans assumed that she held are speculative. If we adopt the idea that the men approaching to her left are offering her a long cloth, it seems reasonable to assume that her left hand would be somewhat extended to receive the offering.



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