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OUT OF DATE, OUT OF FASHION: THE CHANGING OF DRESS OF AEGEAN FIGURES IN THE THEBAN TOMBS OF THE EGYPTIAN 18TH DYNASTY IN THE LIGHT OF AEGEAN BRONZE AGE COSTUME

Uroš Matić, Filip Franković

Summary

The change in the dress of Aegean figures in the Egyptian 18th dynasty Theban tombs from breechcloth to a kilt has long been a topic of discussion for both Aegeanists and Egyptologists. In this paper we build on the work of Paul Rehak (1996; 1998), who convincingly showed that the change in dress could not be interpreted as evidence for a change of ethnicity. We examine the use of the breechcloth and kilt in the Bronze Age Aegean and argue that the affinity of the Aegean elite of Knossos for wearing kilts in processions can be dated to LM II. This date corresponds to the change from breechcloth to kilt in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, which has a *terminus post quem* in the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III. Furthermore, we argue that this change in the depiction of Aegean figures corresponds to the first attestation of the toponym Keftiu in relation to the figures, and that this could reflect a shift in power on Crete and the dominance of the palace of Knossos.

INTRODUCTION

The question of Aegean emissaries depicted in Theban tombs has been widely discussed among archaeologists, with multiple interpretations of the evidence (Vercoutter 1956; Wachsmann 1987; Laboury 1990; Matthäus 1995; Rehak 1996; 1998; Panagiotopoulos 2001; 2006; Duhoux 2003; Matić 2012; 2014; 2015). One of the most frequently addressed problems in these studies is the change in the emissaries' dress between the earlier and later tombs. In the tombs that pre-date Menkheperreseneb's (TT 86) and during the first phase of the wall paintings of the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), emissaries are depicted wearing a breechcloth with a codpiece. In the tomb of Menkheperreseneb and during the second phase of the wall paintings of the tomb of Rekhmire, they are dressed in kilts. This change attested in the tomb of Rekhmire is of great importance, as the kilts worn by Aegean emissaries have been painted over the breechcloths, which can be seen as *pentimenti* underneath the kilts, suggesting that the change occurred while the tomb was still being prepared (Davies 1943b, pl. XVIII; Graff 2008, 260-261, fig. 85).

The change in costume¹ from the breechcloth with codpiece to the kilt has been interpreted as a move from typical Minoan to typical Mycenaean costume (Smith 1965, 33; Cameron 1974, 633-641; Immerwahr 1990, 172; Koehl 2008, 271; MacGillivray 2009, 166-167; Barber 2015, 209-210; Judas 2015, 130), as a consequence of a supposed Mycenaean conquest of the previously Minoan Crete (*e.g.* Hood 1985). Elizabeth Barber has even tried to demonstrate Mycenaean influence on the textiles used to produce the emissaries' kilts, connecting this with LM IIIA pottery decoration (Barber 1993, 350). To this day, some Egyptologists still accept the change in costume as evidence for a change in the ethnicity of the emissaries (Judas 2015, 130).

1 In Aegean iconography, some costumes are worn by both white and red figures, which have traditionally been interpreted as female and male, based on the analogy with the Egyptian iconographic canon. While the breechcloth with codpiece is sometimes worn by figures of both skin colours (as is the case with the Bull-Leaper fresco), kilts are only worn by the red male figures. In addition, there is no resemblance between kilts and any costumes normally worn by white figures. Furthermore, all of the depicted Aegean emissaries are male, as are all other foreign emissaries in the Egyptian foreigners' procession scenes (Hallmann 2006). The problem of the skin colour attribution in the Aegean is a problem in itself and exceeds the scope of this paper. Therefore, when referring to such costumes in this paper, the figures are described as male.

However, Paul Rehak's (1996; 1998) studies of Minoan and Mycenaean costume clearly show that such an ethnic distinction cannot be made solely on the basis of alteration in dress, suggesting that both costumes are worn by both groups before and after the period when the change was first attested in Theban tombs. In addition, there is no further corroborating evidence for a change in the ethnicity of Aegean emissaries in Theban tombs, and terms such as 'Minoans' or 'Mycenaeans', often attributed to these emissaries, are closer to the cultural-historical equation of archaeological culture = people, than they are to the reality of Late Bronze Age collective identities (Matić 2014). It should also be kept in mind that Egyptian imports in the Aegean were concentrated on Crete rather than on the Greek Mainland up to LH IIIA. This radically changes in LH IIIB-IIIC, when virtually all Egyptian imports are found on the Mainland (Cline 1994, 35-36).

While Rehak's contribution deconstructs some of the earlier misconceptions and over-simplified explanations, the actual meaning of the change remains unresolved (Duhoux 2003, 24; Panagiotopoulos 2006, 394). Authors of the most recent studies of Aegean textiles are more careful and refer to the dress worn by Aegean figures as 'Mycenaean', questioning the precision of this term (Barber 2015, 226). Moreover, a few problems arise from the archaeological data coming from the Aegean, which significantly impede the progress of the research.

The first problem is the ongoing debate about the high and low Aegean chronologies and their correlation to Egyptian chronology, which has its own discordances. Aegean relative chronology, moreover, has kept scholars from clearly defining when the change in the costume type first appeared and how it related to contemporary events in the Aegean.

The second problem concerns the dating of objects depicting Aegean costumes, which is crucial for their interpretation. For many of these representations there is no fixed contextual dating and they are often dated by stylistic characteristics. In addition, the wide stylistic dating of some of the representations is neither precise nor secure enough to contribute to the discussion of events linked to such a limited time span. This is especially true when the stylistic dating covers the phases before and after the change is presumed to have occurred, as is the case with, for example, LM I-LM II dating. Unfortunately, at the present time, these issues are either too complex or technically too difficult to overcome.²

Thirdly, only a relatively limited number of objects relevant to the discussion about Late Bronze Age Aegean costumes and their alterations has been discovered. This fact also contributes to the issue of their chronology, as many of them are dated exclusively on stylistic grounds because of their unknown provenance. This limits the possibility of a more detailed regional study of the objects and consequently of the costumes depicted on them.

Further problems arise concerning the research conducted on the subject, as is the case with the over-simplified comparison between the kilts that appear in Theban tombs and those on Crete. The comparison is made with the assumption that all kilts were the same, which neglects the possibility that even minor differences might be significant, as Rehak noted (1996, 45). Another issue is the perception of Crete as a unified entity, often disregarding smaller regional differences. This is the case with general discussions about Minoan costumes, in this case kilts, which approach the issue of costumes in the context of the entirety of Crete or even the whole Aegean. In order to analyze successfully the appearance and development of kilts in Late Bronze Age Crete, we must carefully delimit the examination both regionally and temporally.

PROBLEMS WITH THE CHRONOLOGY

The kilt appeared for the first time as the costume of Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, which can be dated late in the reign of Thutmose III, whereas the change in costume attested in the tomb of Rekhmire happened somewhere between the late reign of Thutmose III and the early reign of Amenhotep II (Wachsmann 1987, 34). The use of different chronologies in Egypt and the Aegean has been problematic in many previous discussions on the topic. For example, Paul Rehak dates the changes in costume to LM IIIA1 (Rehak 1998, 42), based

2 Stylistic datings for the sealstone representations introduced in this article match those used in the volumes of the CMS series.

on the low Egyptian chronology (see K.A. Kitchen quoted in Rehak 1998, 41 n. 21) and the high Aegean chronology, which is based on carbon-14 dating. Several authors have argued that possible analogies for the patterns on the kilts of Aegean figures in Egyptian tombs are found on LM IIIA1 pottery, although these motifs exist already on LM II pottery (Barber 1991, 348; Manning 2014, 215; Barber 2015, 224). However, although we cannot go into detail regarding the pottery decoration and the depictions of kilts, it is important to note that we are dealing with two different contexts. Helene Kantor (1947, 43-44) has previously shown that the patterns on the kilts in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb have parallels in Egyptian iconography, and that Egyptian painters used them as standard motifs to cover spaces. Different datings for the change in costume influence the interpretation of the meaning of these changes.

In the last few years, new research has been undertaken in the field of Aegean-Egyptian synchronism. In this paper we use the radiocarbon-based chronology for both Egypt and the Aegean (Ramsey *et al.* 2010; Dee 2013; Manning 2014; Manning *et al.* 2014). The results of recent research, based both on radiocarbon dating and on synchronisms with the material culture, show that the LM IB-LM II transition might have happened around the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III (Manning 2014, 337). The end of LH IIA falls into the reign of Thutmose III, whereas the end of LM II would then fall in the second half of the 15th century BC (Höflmayer 2009, 190; 2012a, 441; 2012b, 50).

AEGEAN DRESS IN THEBAN TOMBS

Aegean figures are depicted in the tombs of Senenmut (TT 71), Intef (TT 155), Useramun (TT 131), Menkheperreseneb, and Rekhmire (see below). An Aegean-Syrian hybrid figure is depicted in the tomb of Puimre (TT 39), and Syrian-Aegean hybrid figures are also depicted in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb. The difference between the former and the latter is the base figure used for the hybrid. While the Aegean-Syrian hybrid is an Aegean figure of dark brown-reddish skin colour with a distinct hairstyle and wears a Syrian dress (short kilt), the Syrian-Aegean hybrid is a Syrian figure of yellowish skin colour wearing an Aegean dress (kilt). In addition to these figures, there

Tomb	Date	Toponym used for the origin of Aegean figures	Dress	Reference
Senenmut (TT 71)	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III coregency	Damaged text	breechcloth	Dorman 1991.
Intef (TT 155)	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III coregency	Damaged text	breechcloth	Säve-Söderbergh 1957.
Useramun (TT 131)	<i>terminus ante quem</i> 28th regnal year of Thutmose III	Every island in the middle of Great Green	breechcloth	Dziobek 1994; Wachsmann 1987, 31.
Menkheperreseneb (TT 85)	<i>terminus post quem</i> 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III	Keftiu	kilt	Davies and Davies 1933.
Rekhmire (TT 100) Phase I	<i>terminus post quem</i> 28th regnal year of Thutmose III	Keftiu of the islands in the middle of Great Green	breechcloth	Davies 1943a; Davies 1943b; Wachsmann 1987, 34.
Rekhmire (TT 100) Phase II	Late reign of Thutmose III or early reign of Amenhotep II	Keftiu of the islands in the middle of Great Green	kilt	Davies 1943a; Davies 1943b; Wachsmann 1987, 34.

are Syrian figures depicted in the tomb of Amenemhab (TT 85), which are described in the words that accompany them as coming from Keftiu and Menenus.

Only the figures from the tombs of Senenmut, Intef, Useramun, Menkheperreseneb, and Rekhmire are relevant to our discussion, since the tomb of Puimre does not depict the hybrid figures in Aegean but rather in a Syrian costume. There are two types of costumes worn by Aegean emissaries in these five tombs: the breechcloth and the kilt. The breechcloth is known from the tombs of Senenmut, Intef, Useramun, and Rekhmire (Phase 1). Considering that the wall painting with Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Senenmut (Fig. 1) is poorly preserved,

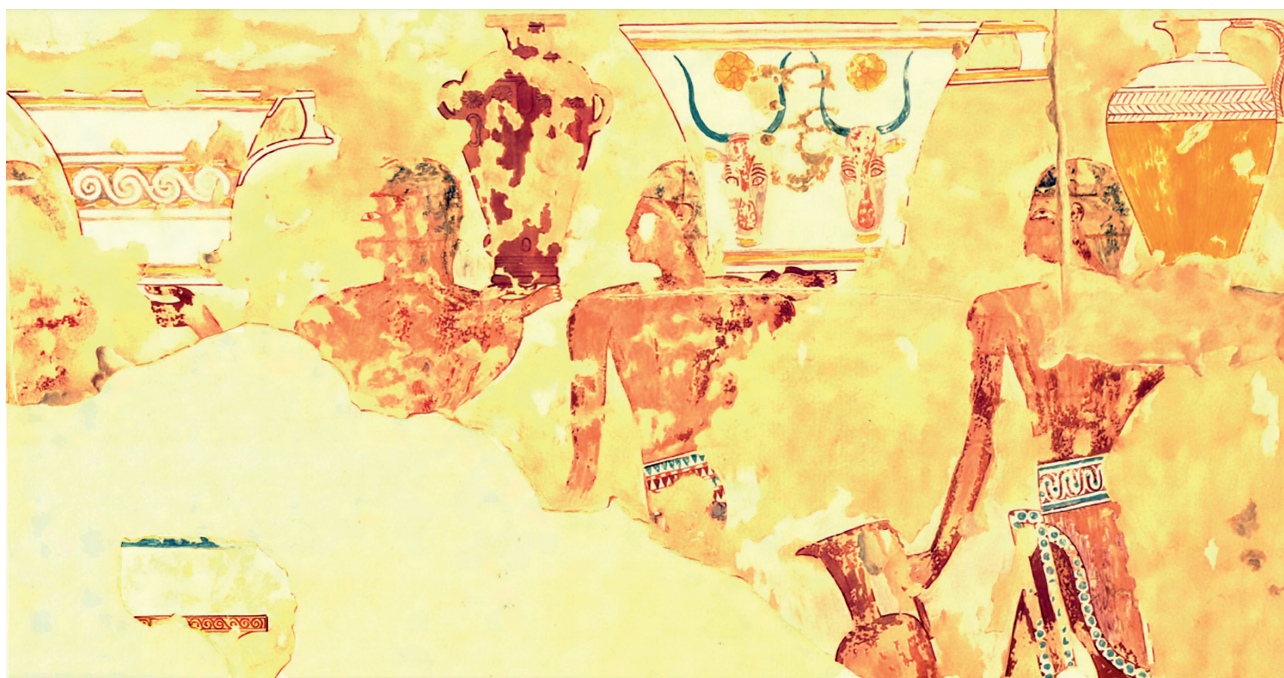


Fig. 1. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), reign of Hatshepsut, facsimile detail (after Davies 1936, pl. XIV).

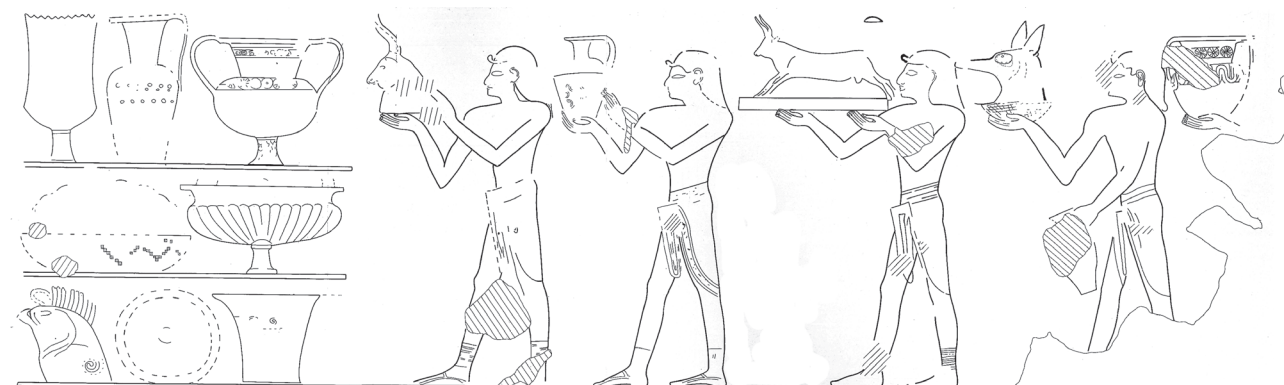


Fig. 2. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131), reign of Thutmose III, drawing detail (after Dziobek 1994, pl. 92).

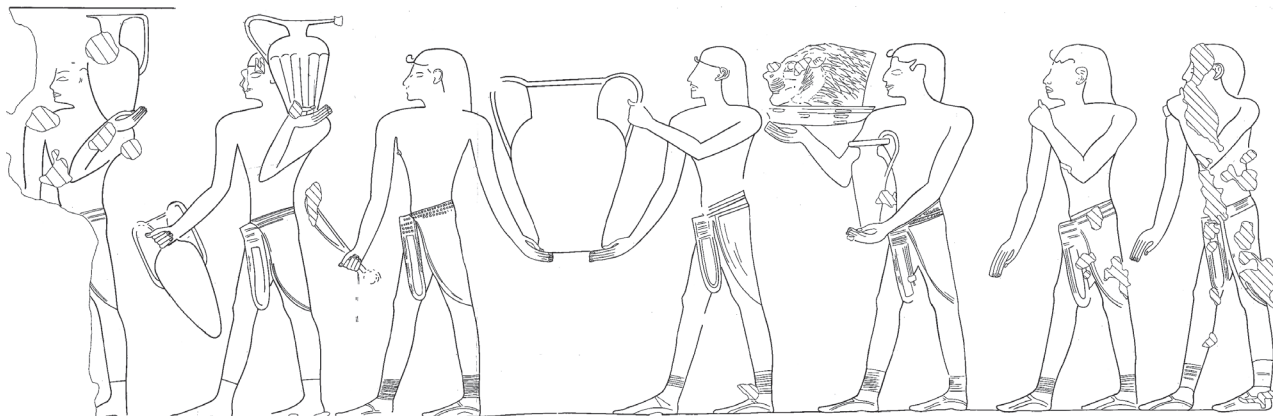


Fig. 3. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131), reign of Thutmose III, drawing detail (after Dziobek 1994, pl. 93).

the Aegean costume in the entire tomb is in fact based only on one figure. Of the other figures in the tomb, only one is more than partially preserved, of which only the waistband is visible (Davies 1936, pl. XIV).

The breechcloth of the figure whose dress is entirely preserved consists of an elaborately decorated waistband or a belt and the breechcloth itself. The band was probably decorated variously on different figures, judging by the two preserved bands. The first band is divided into four parallel rows, each of which consists of eight downward-pointed triangles coloured blue in the first and the third rows, and red in the second and fourth. The space around the triangles is white. This creates the effect of a rich pattern on the band. The second band is decorated in an entirely different manner. It has three parallel rows: the first and the third are narrow and consist of a straight blue line extending across the white background; the middle row is broader and has four interconnected spirals of which only the two middle ones are entirely visible. They are coloured red and they all begin and end with a blue dot. The background of the middle row is also white. The breechcloth itself is red with a border in the form of a band filled with blue dots within white dots on the dark red fill of the band.

One figure from the tomb of Senenmut has a long strip of cloth depicted on the left of the breechcloth (Davies 1936, pl. XIV). It is also red with the same border as in the case of the breechcloth. It has been interpreted by some scholars as a phallic sheath or something similar to a codpiece (Kantor 1947, 44; Furumark 1950, 225). However, Jean Vercoutter points out that this is a misinterpretation of the Egyptian frontal manner of representation (Vercoutter 1956, 252-256). In fact, this is a breechcloth looped at the front of the belt drawn *en face*. The only figure from the tomb of Intef with a partially preserved dress does not allow much comparison to the dress of the Aegean figures in the tomb of Senenmut. However, there are visible traces of an elaborately decorated belt and the border of the breechcloth (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. XIII). The better preserved Aegean figures from the tomb of Useramun (Figs. 2-3) wear the same type of dress, but with some noticeable differences, since they all wear white breechcloths (Dziobek 1994, pls. 92-93).

The text accompanying the register with Aegean figures is not preserved in the tombs of Senenmut and Intef, and the Aegean register in the tomb of Intef is preserved only in fragments. The text of register with Aegean figures in the tomb of Useramun identifies them as coming from *jw nb n hrj-jb nw w3d wr* "every island in the middle of the Great Green" (Dziobek 1994, 91). The tombs of Senenmut and Intef are dated to the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Säve-Söderbergh 1957; Dorman 1991) and the tomb of Useramun was completed before the 28th regnal year of Thutmose III (Wachsmann 1987, 31). Thus, the latest appearance of the breechcloth can be dated to before his 28th regnal year and his sixth campaign in Syria-Palestine.

The kilt appears for the first time in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (Figs. 4-5) and is again found in the second phase of the foreigners' procession painting in the tomb of Rekhmire (Figs. 6-7). In the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, nine Aegean figures of the first register wear a kilt (Davies, Davies 1933, pls. IV-V).

None of the kilts has a waistband or a belt and the breechcloth looped at the front of the belt drawn *en face*, as was the case with the breechcloths in earlier tombs. They are all richly decorated and seem to have at least one piece of cloth folded over the other. Some of them have a hanging pointed edge to the cloth, whereas others are cut straight horizontally. The same type of kilt is found on Syrian-Aegean hybrid figures in other registers. The elaborate decoration of the kilts does not allow us to go into detail, especially since they are not remotely similar to one another. For these, the tomb publications and facsimiles by Nina de Garis Davies (1936, pl. XXI) should be consulted. The decorated parallel rows on some of the kilts are painted with running spirals, fishbone patterns, and double zig-zag lines with dots. These rows run almost straight on some kilts and are looped and curvy on others. There are also some having such patterns only on the border, whereas the rest are filled with net patterns. Some kilts have decorative sections on larger fields, so that one field consists of angled zig-zag lines and the other of a net pattern with dots. In other cases, these larger fields are filled with almost vertical parallel lines or a running lily-shaped motif. Some of the kilts have black fringes on the borders.

The decorating of Rekhmire's tomb began after he took over the office of the vizier from Useramun in the 28th regnal year of Thutmose III. We know from the palimpsest of the Aegean dress that there were two phases of the Aegean emissaries' depiction. In the first phase they wear breechcloths, while in the second phase these are replaced by kilts like those in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb. The work on Rekhmire's tomb was not entirely com-



Fig. 4. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), facsimile detail (after Davies 1936, pl. XXI).

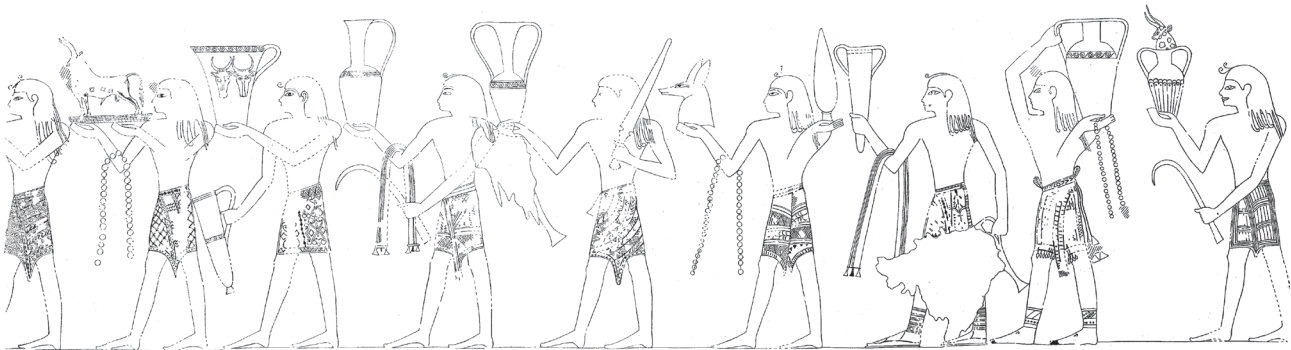


Fig. 5. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), drawing detail (after Davies, Davies 1933, pl. V).

pleted until the reign of Amenhotep II, so the change must be dated late in the reign of Thutmose III or early in the reign of Amenhotep II (Wachsmann 1987, 34).

The kilts are as elaborately decorated as those in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb and none of them seem to be identical. The main difference is that, unlike the case of Menkheperreseneb's Aegean emissaries, those in the tomb of Rekhmire (Figs. 6 and 7) have a waistband or a belt decorated in a similar fashion to the ones from the tomb of Senenmut (Fig. 1). This indicates that, although the change from the breechcloth to kilt occurred in the tomb of Rekhmire, the painters did not paint over the waistband or the belt that was part of the breechcloth dress of the earlier tombs. The patterns and motifs on the kilts are the same as those in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb. However, one of the figures has a kilt made from animal skin, most probably of a leopard.

The tomb of Menkheperreseneb dates to the later reign of Thutmose III and the tomb of Rekhmire to the later reign of Thutmose III and early reign of Amenhotep II. It is thought that the change in the dress of the Aegean

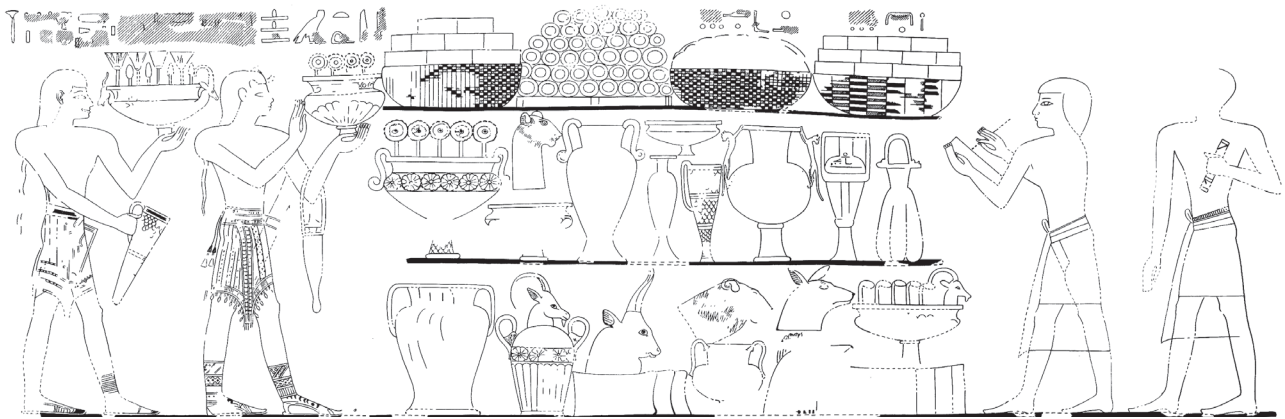


Fig. 6. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), drawing detail (after Davies 1943, pl. XVIII).

figures was made in the tomb of Rekhmire after the tomb of Menkheperreseneb had already been painted. In both tombs, the register describing the Aegean figures is preserved. The tomb of Menkheperreseneb does not precisely identify the Aegean figures. However, the first figure of the first register is a figure of a Syrian in proskynesis (Fig. 4). He is accompanied by a text identifying him as *wr n Kftjw* “chief of Keftiu” (Davies 1936, pl. XXI). The following two figures are also Syrian figures identified by their accompanying texts as *wr n Ht* [3] “chief of Hatti” and *wr n Tnpw* “chief of Tunip”. The fact that Hatti is not mentioned in Egyptian sources before the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III on his eighth campaign, when *jnw* from this country was received, and that it is unlikely that the toponym first appeared in a private tomb in this same context, indicates that the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III should be understood as a *terminus post quem* for the decoration of the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (Wachsmann 1987, 35). The Aegean register in the tomb of Rekhmire is accompanied by a text stating that the Aegean figures come from *kftjw jww hrj-jb nw w3d wr* “Keftiu of the islands in the middle of the Great Green” (Davies 1943a, 30; Matić 2014, 283 n. 69). Thus, an interesting observation can be made regarding the appearance of the kilt in the depiction of the dress of Aegean figures in Theban tombs. The kilt appears when the toponym Keftiu appears in relation to the Aegean figures for the first time. These figures are not described as coming from Keftiu in the tombs where they are wearing a breechcloth. This difference is also chronological, as both the kilt and the toponym Keftiu appear in the Theban tombs which date late in the reign of Thutmose III.

Many studies have been undertaken on the exact location of the toponyms “islands in the middle of the Great Green” and Keftiu (summary in Matić 2014). In this paper we use the most broadly accepted identification of the toponym “islands in the middle of the Great Green” as the islands of the Aegean and Keftiu as Crete. This is because the first toponym is associated with the Aegean figures in the tombs of Useramun and Rekhmire, whereas the toponym Keftiu is associated with those in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb only indirectly, but directly in the tomb of Rekhmire. Moreover, it has recently been suggested, based on the texts accompanying the foreigners’ procession scene in the tomb of Rekhmire, that Keftiu is a toponym belonging to the islands in the middle of the Great Green as a wider region (Matić 2014, 283 n. 69). This suggestion is based on the fact that the text describing the entire scene chooses a single toponym for each of the individual registers, whereas the text of the individual registers associates the select toponym with other toponyms which can be interpreted as being geographically broader. Thus, Keftiu belongs to the islands in the middle of the Great Green, as indicated also by the use of a direct genitive between the word Keftiu and the noun phrase “the islands in the middle of the Great Green”.

In conclusion, the appearance of the kilt as the dress of Aegean figures in Theban tombs coincides with the first appearance of the toponym Keftiu, and the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III is the *terminus post quem* for this. In accordance with the assessment of the new chronological data presented by David Aston, this took place in 1460 BC, according to his high chronology, or 1471 BC, according to his ultra-high chronology (Aston 2012-2013, 307). This date is not significantly different from the one based on carbon-14 dates (Ramsey *et al.* 2010, 1556).



Fig. 7. Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), facsimile detail, by Nina de Garis Davies, http://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/eg/web-large/31.6.45_EGDP012990.jpg

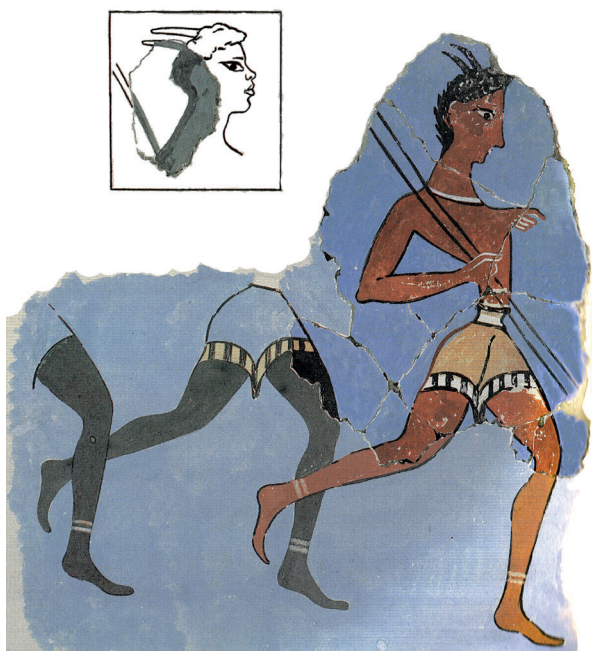


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the Captain of the Blacks fresco with the representation of a kilt (after Evans 1928, pl. XIII).



Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the Cup-bearer fresco from the Palace of Knossos with the representation of the Procession/Cup-bearer fresco kilt type (after Evans 1928, pl. XII).

Kilts appeared then in the second phase of the decoration of the tomb of Rekhmire, which occurred later in the reign of Thutmose III or even in the reign of Amenhotep II. If we assume that the change in the Aegean dress was so important that the Egyptians updated it in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb and then also changed that in the tomb of Rekhmire, we can presume that it reflects a real change in the appearance of Aegean emissaries. Bearing in mind that this alteration reflects their own self-presentation, it had to occur first in the Aegean and, according to the Egyptian data, this must have happened around or before 1460 or 1471 BC. If we take into account the recent Egyptian-Aegean synchronizations, this would fall into LM II. Additionally, Keftiu ships are mentioned in the annals of Thutmose III as carriers of the logs that his troops cut in his 34th regnal year (Redford 2003, 78-80). Therefore, the claim of some Egyptologists that the last recorded Aegean visit to the Egyptian court is synchronized with the end of the Neopalatial period on Crete (Mendoza 2015, 404) cannot be supported.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PROCESSION FRESCO

Although there is a wide variety of kilts worn by different individuals on MM and LM Crete, none of them resembles those from the Theban tombs as closely as the ones from the Procession and Cup-bearer³ frescoes (Fig. 8). However, a relatively small number of depictions of kilts in this period on Crete and the existence of several types at the same time clearly show that parallels between these frescoes and the Theban tombs can only be drawn with extreme caution. Paul Rehak suggests the need for further examination of the connection between the kilts depicted on Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes and those worn by the Aegean emissaries in the Theban tombs (Rehak 1996, 45), as previous research has been rather hasty in drawing such parallels (*e.g.* Immerwahr 1990, 174-175).

However, one point that is clear from the material culture is that the MBA phases and the earlier phases of the LBA show a much wider variety in the kilt types used all over the Aegean (Crete, Cyclades, Mainland). They are known from Thera frescoes, Cretan figurines (both ceramic and bronze), faience plaques, stone vases, seal-stones and from other types of material culture (for a detailed overview see Rehak 1996, 42-48; 1998, 43). However, they do not seem to share a clearly identifiable common type. These earlier kilts disappear around the Final Palatial period; and from LM II onwards the only two kilt types depicted on Crete are those known from the Procession and Cup-bearer (Fig. 8), and the Captain of the Blacks (Fig. 9) frescoes, even though they might be considered as two different ways of representing the same costume (see below). The Procession fresco kilt type has the closest resemblance to those depicted in the Theban tombs of all the kilts from the Aegean. Thus, it is either true that this represents the kilt worn by emissaries, or that the representation of the kilt worn by them is yet to be discovered in the Aegean, which seems highly unlikely. Importantly, as none of the kilts worn by Aegean emissaries in Theban tombs are remotely the same, due to their elaborate decoration, it has to be noted that the same could be said for the kilts worn by the figures on the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes. Although all of the kilts on these frescoes share a common type, they all differ in the textile decoration pattern. Consequently, the dating of the Procession fresco might prove important for the understanding of the meaning of the change in costume type. However, the problem of its dating is connected to the problem of determining when the Procession fresco kilt type first appeared on Crete and subsequently to the problem of the change in the costume worn by Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Rekhmire.

The Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes have been dated and re-dated, with proposed dates ranging from LM IA to LM IIIA1 (for a detailed overview see Hood 2005, 62; also Hawke-Smith 1976; Immerwahr 1990, 174-175; Hood 2000). Evans dates the frescoes after the LM IA destruction and links them to the later re-modelling of the palace (Evans 1928, 682, 736). Other researchers opt for a later date, LM II (or later). Such dating of the frescoes is often based on an ethnic attribution of the garments (Cameron 1974, 633-641), where the breechcloth is seen as a Minoan costume and the kilt as Mycenaean, which follows Evans' conclusion that the breechcloth was more often worn in the Neopalatial period (Evans 1928, 751; Marcar 2004, 230) and results in the comparison

3 The name Cup-bearer fresco is used because the term has been traditionally employed in Aegean archaeology. However, the fact that none of the represented figures carry a cup suggests a more appropriate name would be the Rhyton-bearer fresco.

with the new type of costume worn by Aegean emissaries in the tomb of Rekhmire (Immerwahr 1990, 175). As a result, the change⁴ was then linked to Mycenaean influence on Crete from LM II onwards (Immerwahr 1990, 174-175). This is in fact a circular argument. The appearance of kilts on the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes was interpreted as an appearance of Mycenaean costumes after the Mycenaean conquest in LM II, after which the same kilts have been used to date the fresco to LM II.

Paul Rehak questions the LM II dating of the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes and proposes a LM IB date. He supports the view that the vessels carried by the figures resemble the Neopalatial types (Rehak 1998, 44), as shown by Ellen Davis (1990, 214-227), which would lower the date of the frescoes to LM IB. However, Rehak does not mention the possibility that some of the earlier valuable vessels might have survived into later periods and that they might have been depicted on the frescoes for that reason. Importantly, Rehak uses the argument that older vessels can be depicted in a later context to impose a later phase of the Aegean relative chronology on the tomb of Senenmut. He states that the appearance of Neopalatial vessels, such as the ones in the tomb of Senenmut, does not necessarily equate the date of the depictions with the Neopalatial period on Crete, but that some of the older Neopalatial vessels might have been brought in the LM II period (Rehak 1998, 46; *contra* Matthäus 1995). It is now clear, however, that the tomb of Senenmut depicts objects dating to the LM IB (Manning 2014, 213, 337; Matić 2015, 44).

In addition, Rehak applies the same reasoning to the LM IB-LM II vessels appearing in later tombs (Menkheperreseneb and Rekhmire), where breechcloths are replaced by kilts as the emissaries' costume. Rehak dates those tombs to LM IIIA1 and, if his dating is correct, it would suggest that the change in costume appeared later in the Final Palatial period rather than at the beginning of LM II (Rehak 1998, 45-46). Consequently, the change in costume attested in the tomb of Rekhmire would have nothing to do with the LM II change on Crete or the appearance of kilts on Crete, but could instead be a sign of some other change (Rehak 1998, 45).⁵ This hypothesis cannot be accepted on account of both iconography and the Aegean-Egyptian synchronism. As has been noted, the kilt first appeared in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, whose *terminus post quem* is the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III, and which was finished some time before the reign of Amenhotep II. LM/LH IIIA1 started during the reigns of Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, or perhaps even Amenhotep III (Höflmayer 2009, 188). The only find which could indicate a synchronization between Thutmose III and LH IIIA1 is an alabaster vase from the necropolis of Katsamba on Crete inscribed with his cartouche; however, this find is more often interpreted as an heirloom, considering that all the other evidence indicates that Thutmose III is to be equated with LM IB (Cline 1994, 6).

Independent studies of the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes may offer a possible solution to the problem, without presupposing that the costume is period-specific. Mark Cameron dates the Procession fresco to the LM II period, based on the resemblance of the textile patterns to the motifs on Palace Style jars (Cameron 1987, 325). Similarly, Emily Egan stresses that the absence of some fundamental and functional elements of the kilts on the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes can be explained as a consequence of the formal and decorative influence of the Palace Style jars (Egan 2012, 317, 320). Ariane Marcar's textile study also dates these frescoes to LM II (Marcar 2004), paralleled in Sinclair Hood's re-dating of the Knossian frescoes (Hood 2005, 55). Seeing that all of the more recent studies tend to place the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes at the beginning of LM II, this dating seems

4 So far, the changes in costume on Crete and in the Theban tombs have not been studied as two separate contexts, but rather they have been considered as a single phenomenon without questioning the chronological frame in which both changes occurred. One change has been linked to another and then has been used to synchronize chronologies. Only Paul Rehak (1998) approached these two contexts separately, offering different dates for the changes in Aegean and Theban tombs.

5 The idea that Aegean emissaries kept bringing the older vessels during all the periods in which they are depicted in Theban tombs is somewhat problematic. Even if we accept that Egyptian artisans might have copied some of the earlier representations (Matthäus 1995, 182), at least some of the representations must have been up to date if they were to be copied from in the later periods. Due to a high degree of copying evident in Theban tombs, Wachsmann states that there might have been only two Aegean embassies in Egypt, during the reigns of Hatshepsut and later Thutmose III (Wachsmann 1987, 121-125). Even if this is true, the tombs with examples of vessels that are possible to contextualize typologically and chronologically (Senenmut and Menkheperreseneb) fall into the reigns of the pharaohs mentioned above and their depictions seem to be chronologically relevant (Matthäus 1995, 183 n. 29).

perhaps most probable. Furthermore, it also corresponds to the date of the change from the breechcloth to kilt in Egyptian representations of Aegean emissaries in the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III as its *terminus post quem*.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PROCESSIONS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN

In addition to the Procession fresco from the Palace of Knossos, there are several depictions of processions both from Crete and the Mainland dating from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age almost to the end of the palatial periods in both areas. However, it is difficult to draw analogies between the processions from the Aegean and those from the Theban tombs. In the Aegean, it is not entirely possible to define the type of procession and its purpose. We can conclude that some of the processions are linked to some kind of gift-bearing, but the meaning of such occasions usually hovers out of reach (see Blakolmer 2008). One has to keep in mind that the figures depicted on Aegean procession representations wear a whole variety of different costumes which are still not easily linked to any specific age or social group. There must have been a reason for the depiction of different costumes on the same procession fresco, but from our perspective it still remains elusive.

We know that Aegean figures in the 18th dynasty foreigners' procession scenes were represented as bringing *jnw* to the Egyptian pharaoh and we know that these presentations of gifts and tribute happened at the celebration of the New Year (Panagiotopoulos 2001). Also, despite Paul Rehak's (1998, 45), claim that the change in costume represents a change in the composition of the embassies, there has not been a convincing argument either from the Aegean nor the Egyptian point of view which would so far support this. It can be concluded from Aegean iconography that different types of costumes were worn for the same occasion on Aegean frescoes, probably by different groups of people. In that case, the possibility that different costumes were worn by the same people on different occasions should not be dismissed and it might be possible that the difference in costumes worn by emissaries in Theban tombs might represent various occasions on which different costumes were appropriate. However, there is no real evidence in Aegean iconography for such a claim, and any other explanation, except for the mere change in the self-representation of the emissaries, does not seem to be supported by evidence.

Representations of Procession before LM II

The limited number of procession representations from the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age is hampered further by the problem of stylistic dating discussed above. There are few procession depictions from the Aegean prior to LM II. They come from a wide variety of media, mostly sealstones, sealings and a fragment of a stone vase, while the only example of a fresco comes from Thera.

There is also a possible procession fresco from the palace of Knossos next to the famous Procession fresco: the Grand Staircase fresco which was reconstructed as a procession by Mark Cameron (Cameron 1978, 587). According to most authors, the fresco dates to the period after the re-decoration of the palace following the MM IIIB destruction (Cameron 1970, 164; Hood 2005, 77; Blakolmer 2016, 40-42). Against this dating, Ariane Marcar's study of textile patterns places it in LM II-LM IIIA1 (Marcar 2004, 232). Textiles cannot, however, always be taken as chronological indicators in Minoan iconography (Blakolmer 2016, 41). The later dating would point towards breechcloth being worn in processions even after the end of LM IB.

A more recent study by Fritz Blakolmer shows that the fresco probably does not represent a procession at all, but that some fragments might depict a boxing scene (Blakolmer 2016, 49-53). Even if the LM II date is accepted, Blakolmer's interpretation might support the idea that after the end of LM IB, the breechcloth is present only in scenes depicting athletic activities and bull-leaping (Rehak 1998, 42-43). This new understanding of some fragments, as well as the probable dating of the fresco before LM II, shows that the fresco cannot be considered an example of the use of the breechcloth in processions after the beginning of LM II.

We also have to mention the depiction of an LM IA procession in kilts from Xeste 4 on Thera (Rehak 1996, 47; Blakolmer 2016, 44-45). Although this fresco proves that the kilt was used as procession attire on Thera prior to LM II, we have to note the difference in comparison to Crete and the possibility that these are two different

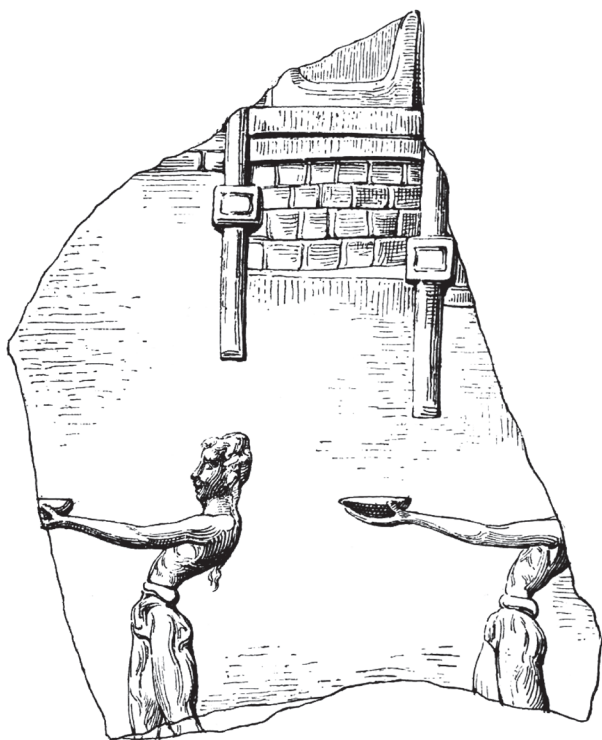


Fig. 10. Stone vase fragment with the representation of a procession in a breechcloth (after Evans 1928, fig. 486).

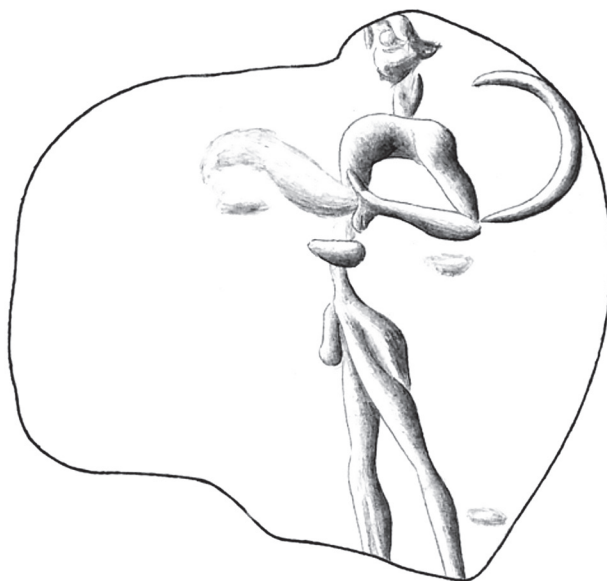


Fig. 11. Sealing CMS II 8, no. 259, from Knossos (after Gill *et al.* 2002, 412; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).

traditions. Also, as discussed below, the earlier use of kilts is not in question, but rather what is more significant is that there is no clear evidence that the breechcloth was used in processions after LM IB.

There are a number of representations on sealings from Ayia Triada (CMS II 6, no. 9; CMS II 6, no. 10; CMS II 6, no. 11) and Kato Zakro (CMS II 7, no. 7; CMS II 7, no. 13; CMS II 7, no. 14; CMS II 7, no. 15), now stored in the Heraklion Museum, that are contextually dated to LM IB. They all represent human figures dressed in long skirts moving in the same direction, sometimes carrying different objects, usually weapons, in their hands. It is not quite clear if these representations can be defined as processions, but the long skirts worn by the figures resemble those worn by several figures from the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, one figure on the Procession fresco from Knossos and possibly one figure on a stucco relief from Knossos, as has been noticed by various scholars (Kaiser 1976, 281–282; Blakolmer 2008, 266). These sealing representations might be an indicator of the appearance and use of these costumes in processions even before the beginning of LM II.

Another important find is a fragment of a stone vase (Fig. 10), described by Evans and dated to MM IIIB–LM IA on stylistic grounds (Evans 1928, 752). It represents a procession near an architectural setting, with at least two human figures carrying vessels in front of them. The figures are dressed in breechcloths with codpieces. If the dating is correct, this object could be an important example of breechcloths used as procession costumes in the MM IIIB–LM I period.

In addition to this stone vase fragment, there is a sealing from Knossos (CMS II 8, no. 259) (Fig. 11), without clear contextual dating, but stylistically dated to LM I. It represents a person carrying something under his arm that looks like a horn or an antler. Although it may be a representation of a procession, the depiction of a human with an animal might be another possible interpretation. The position of the body and the pose, however, are more reminiscent of two human figures from the stone vase fragment at Fig. 10, than the representations of human figures with horned animals. On both objects, the figures seem to be moving, which is shown by the po-

sition of the legs and body, especially the hips. On the representations of bull-leapers standing in front of a bull, or bull-grapplers, the figures are usually represented either as standing or fighting the bull in a crouching/kneeling position. However, the position of the hand holding the horn resembles that of a red relief hand holding a horn from the Palace of Knossos (see Evans 1930, 504-506), which probably represents a bull-grappler. The person depicted wears a breechcloth and this representation might be further evidence for the use of this costume during processions in LM I.

The pose of the body also resembles that of three human figures on a sealing from Mycenae (Fig. 12, CMS I, no. 170). The sealing is dated stylistically to LH II-LH IIIA1, but there is no contextual dating, which, along the fact that it is impossible

to say what kind of a costume is worn by the human figures, means that it cannot be used to build an argument upon. Fritz Blakolmer, however, believes this to be a procession representation and the costume worn by the figures is a breechcloth (Blakolmer 2016, 48). If this is true, this example depicts the only use of breechcloths in processions after LM IB. He states that this is one of only two such depictions, in addition to the stone vase fragment in Fig. 10 (Blakolmer 2016, 48). The breechcloth can be seen only on the Knossos example (CMS II 8, no. 259) (Fig. 11), and is not clearly visible on the Mycenae example (CMS I, no. 170) (Fig. 12), which might depict an undefined costume or nudity rather than a breechcloth, as Paul Rehak has noted (1996, 39). Although there might have been only two representations of processions in breechcloths, the sealing from Knossos with a human figure carrying a horn seems to be a more plausible case than the Mycenae sealing. This means that both clearly identifiable representations of processions in breechcloths might be dated before LM II, which seems to correspond to the representations of Aegean emissaries in Theban tombs.

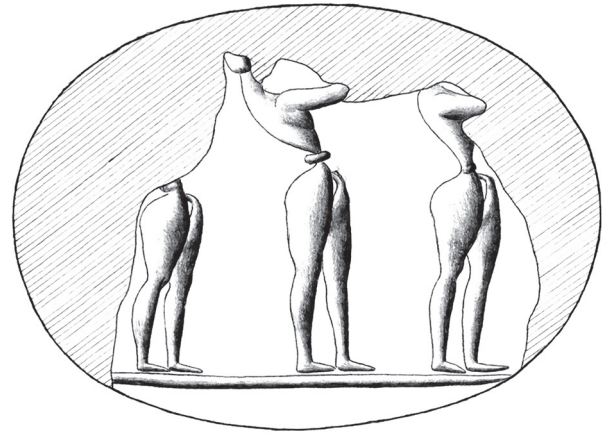


Fig. 12. Sealing CMS I, no. 170, from Mycenae (after Sakellariou 1964, 192; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).

Procession Representations after LM II

From the beginning of LM II, the number of procession depictions starts to increase, the most famous examples being the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes from the Palace of Knossos, whose dating has been discussed above. In addition to the flounced skirt worn by the white female character, there are possibly three different costumes worn by the red figures on these two frescoes: several examples of a long robe, several examples of the same kilt type and one example of a long skirt. While long robes and kilts can be identified with certainty due to the fragments' good state of preservation, the long skirt is problematic as it is depicted only once with the edge of the skirt and feet preserved. However, it seems that this long skirt resembles those worn by the figures on the sealings from Ayia Triada and Kato Zakro and those worn by the white (possibly female) and red (possibly male) figures depicted on the LM IIIA2 Ayia Triada painted sarcophagus (for the dating of the sarcophagus see La Rosa 1999).

The Ayia Triada sarcophagus is one of two examples from Ayia Triada relevant to this discussion. The second is the Great Procession fresco dated to LM IIIA2 (Militello 1998; 2006; Privitera 2008). This shows at least four individuals dressed in long robes, three of them red and one white. The same type of long robe is worn by individuals on the Procession Fresco from Knossos and the Ayia Triada sarcophagus. The latter is of utmost importance for this discussion, as it is the first case after the Procession fresco from Knossos that shows all three different procession costumes. On the two longer sides of the sarcophagus, long skirts and long robes are worn by white and red figures, while kilts appear on red figures on a separate panel in the upper part of one of the shorter sides. There is evidence of at least one, and probably more, kilts of the Knossos Procession fresco type (Rehak 1996, 45), but the

preservation of this part of the sarcophagus is not good and it would be very difficult to produce a more detailed analysis of this depiction.

There are two possible procession frescoes from the Palace at Pylos on the Greek Mainland, dated to different phases of LH IIIB (Lang 1969, 221-227; Immerwahr 1990, 117-118, 197). The earlier fragments depict at least five human figures, four of them red and dressed in animal skins and one black figure dressed in a breechcloth (Lang 1969, 91-95). Other fragments suggest that there was probably more than one black figure (Lang 1969, 94). Although this fresco might support the use of a breechcloth in processions even after LM II, its later date, the figure's unique character, and its Mainland origins move it out of this paper's scope (for one view of black figures, see Blakolmer 2002 and 2012).

The second example is a small procession of offering-bearers from the final destruction at Pylos. The red figures are dressed in two types of costumes, long robes and kilts (Lang 1969, 64-68). In type, the long robes look similar to those worn by the red and white figures on the earlier procession depictions from Crete, with minor differences. Kilts, on the other hand, resemble more the kilt type depicted on the Captain of the Blacks fresco (Lang 1969, 64-65; Rehak 1996, 50; 1998, 43).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COSTUMES

Rehak's claim that the costumes in the Aegean can sometimes be considered as markers of age and specific activity (Rehak 1996, 50) is in some cases supported by the evidence. It is impossible though to grasp what the difference was between the figures wearing kilts since the LM II period and those wearing a breechcloth in the earlier representations. Apart from the costume, which must have been significant in some way, there is nothing that would clearly separate them into two different groups by age, social status, activity etc. However, some points can be made.

Firstly, there are no clear depictions of Aegean processions since LM II in which human figures wear breechcloths (except for the LH IIIB black figure from Pylos). Even the re-dating of the Grand Staircase procession fresco to LM II (Marcar 2004, 232) does not change the picture, as there are valid reasons not to consider this fresco a procession fresco at all (Blakolmer 2016).

Secondly, there are no depictions of processions with kilts and breechcloths appearing at the same time in any of the periods, except for the depiction on the Harvester vase from Ayia Triada. As the lower part of the kilt represented there is not preserved, it is impossible to say whether this is the same type as in the later Procession fresco. Additionally, the physical appearance and the role of the figure wearing the kilt on the Harvester vase does not allow a clear correlation with other figures dressed in kilts. The representation on the Harvester vase also cannot be taken as a Procession depiction in the full sense, as other examples mentioned above can be.

More significantly, there are no depictions of kilts and breechcloths on the same representation after LM II. One could argue that kilts and breechcloths do appear together in LM I (*e.g.*, on the Chieftain Cup, see below), but it is hard to draw any clear parallel between these kilts and the ones on the frescoes from LM II onwards, such as the Procession fresco or the Captain of the Blacks fresco from Knossos. Although there are some kilt representations earlier than LM II which might represent the Procession fresco type kilt, or the one worn by Aegean emissaries, they do not appear together with a breechcloth on the same representation.

Three different types of garments appear in representations of processions after LM II: long hide skirts, long robes, and kilts. In the case of the Procession fresco it seems that all three appear together in the same scene, something we also see on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (Rehak 1996, 45), although in this case the long skirt and the long robe appear together in the same scene, while the figure(s) wearing a kilt appears on a separate panel on one of the sides. The long skirt and long robes are costumes shared by white and red figures, traditionally interpreted as female and male respectively, while the kilt is a costume worn only by red figures.

If we accept that the three costumes appear together on the Procession fresco and are attested on other procession depictions dating to the following phases of the LBA, this time on their own, they represent costumes intended to be worn during the processions, whatever their purpose. Even if we argue that the long skirt is not really

depicted on the Procession fresco and consider the fact that the kilt and long skirt do not actually appear together in the same scene on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, it still does not alter the fact that the three costumes are the only ones worn on procession depictions from Crete from LM II onwards. The long robe is clearly separated from kilts on the Procession fresco and from long skirts on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus. Therefore, while kilts and long skirts might have been shared by the same group of people depending on the occasion, the same cannot be said for the long robe. The choice of costume in these cases might be gender or age related, depending on the purpose of the procession.

If the two types of costume do appear in the same period, but never together, as is the case with the breechcloth and kilt, it might be possible that they were worn by the same group of people, but on different occasions. Here, it must be stated again that after LM II, the breechcloth only appears in a limited number of scenes (bull-leaping, athletic scenes etc.) and is not as widely used as it was in earlier phases (Rehak 1998, 42-43). Therefore, it would be more reasonable to argue that the change in costumes of Aegean figures in Theban tombs reflects the change in the way that people acting as emissaries wanted to present themselves. In addition, it appears that by LM II, the breechcloth was abandoned as a procession costume in Crete, as well as in representations of Aegean people in Egypt.

LATE BRONZE AGE REPRESENTATIONS OF KILTS

In his two articles dealing with Aegean costume and the question of Aegean emissaries in Theban tombs, Paul Rehak provided a detailed overview of the kilts appearing before LM II in all parts of the Aegean, Mainland Greece, Crete and Cycladic islands (Thera) (Rehak 1996, 42-48; Rehak 1998, 43). His study has shown that both the kilt and breechcloth were worn before and after LM II and that their origin can be traced back to MM II (Rehak 1998, 42-43).

Although Rehak's study clearly shows that the breechcloth and kilt were both worn on Crete from the MM period, the question of different kilt types and their meaning still remains open. Rehak observed certain differences in kilt types (Rehak 1996, 39-41; 1998, 49-50), but did not interpret their meaning. As Rehak's material covers a wide time frame, we must limit the representations both chronologically and typologically in order to observe the more subtle differences in the change in appearance and use of the costumes.

There is clearly more than one type of kilt in Aegean iconography. Kilts depicted earlier than LM I, such as on the hilt of the famous Mallia sword or faience plaques from Knossos, can hardly be compared with the later kilt type as depicted in the Procession fresco, since earlier kilts end with a straight edge instead of the V-shaped point on the front, as with the later kilts known from the Procession fresco. The only earlier kilt which exhibits some similarities to the later pointed kilt is that worn by the Master of Animals on the gold pendant from the Aegina treasure, although in Rehak's opinion it should not be considered as a typical Aegean costume (Rehak 1996, 43). There have also been some suggestions that the gold pendant should be dated to the transition from MM to LM I (Aruz 2009, 46-50).

Some of the LM I kilts also have straight edges and they are clearly not a good parallel for the type known from the Procession fresco. Other representations, such as on the Harvester vase from Ayia Triada, are missing the lower part and cannot be used as an example here. The same is true for the ivory kilt discovered by Sinclair Hood in his excavations of the Royal Road at Knossos (Hood 1957, 22; 2011, 156). Only a part of the kilt is preserved and it is hard to speculate on its complete appearance. Rehak uses this piece to show that kilts do appear before LM II (Rehak 1996, 44), as Sinclair Hood dates it to the LM IB period (Hood 2011, 156). Although the kilt might have been part of a clearance of the LM IB ivory workshop, the kilt fragment was found inside a LM II-LM IIIA dump. If we accept the LM IB dating, a close parallel might be the costume of a man on a LM IB sealing from Kato Zakro (CMS II 7, no. 3). In this case, it would also represent a type different from the later pointed kilts. However, despite the problems with some of the examples, there are LM I representations which might explain the origin of the later kilt.

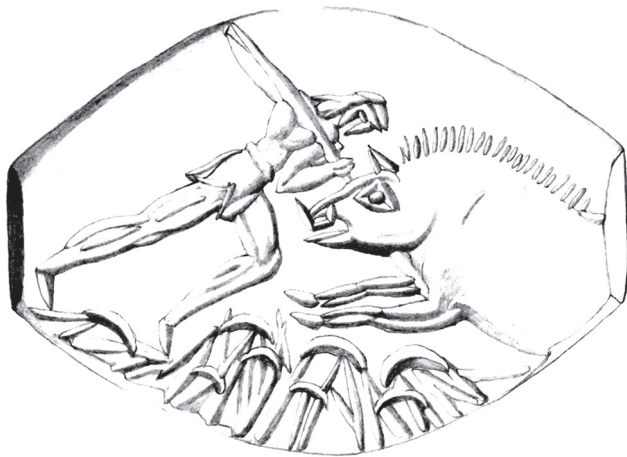


Fig. 13. Sealstone CMS XI, no. 32, of unknown provenance (after Pini 1988, 46; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).



Fig. 14. Sealing CMS II 6, no. 36, from Ayia Triada (after Müller, Pini, Platon 1999, 49; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).

The Possibility of an Early Appearance of the Procession Fresco Kilt Type

In LM I, there are several types of costumes which resemble the later pointed kilts. The first is a short kilt worn by the man holding a spear on the MM III-LM I Chieftain Cup from Ayia Triada (Rehak 1996, 46). A possible parallel to this representation is a wild boar hunter represented on a sealstone of unknown provenance (CMS XI, no. 32) (Fig. 13). Although its context is unclear, this sealstone might be dated to LH I-LH II on stylistic grounds.

Several of the possible kilt representations depict a male figure standing next to a lion. None of them seem to be fighting the lion, as scenes of this kind are represented in a different manner (usually, one or more male hunters are fighting a raging lion with various weapons). In this case, it seems that the lion is tamed and controlled by the human figure. The first is a sealing from Ayia Triada (CMS II 6, no. 36) (Fig. 14) found in a LM IB context, which shows a human figure carrying a bow standing in front of the lion. The figure wears a costume, shown from the side, which looks like a kilt. Both the front and back of the costume end in a pointed edge. The costume is clearly made from several layers of cloth, making the lowest look like a band. It is hard to tell if the costume is kilt, but it is reminiscent of the later kilts with a pointed edge (it may represent shorts seen from the side, as worn by other lion fighters). Such an interpretation makes more sense when compared to another sealstone (CMS IX, no. 114) stylistically dated to LM I, with a human figure standing next to a lion (Fig. 15). The figure holds an object of unknown use in his hand. The costume resembles the kilts from the Procession fresco and is depicted from the side, again ending in a pointed edge, but only at the front. On the lower edge of the costume, two parallel bands can be seen, similar to those on the kilts from the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes.

These kinds of representations are not rare in the Late Bronze Age Aegean iconography, but the human figure is often represented behind the lion, which blocks the view of the costume (e.g. CMS II 3, no. 24). There is another depiction where the costume is clearly visible (CMS XII, no. 207) (Fig. 16), although there is no contextual dating for this object either; on stylistic grounds it could be dated to LM I-LM II. The human next to the lion



Fig. 15. Sealstone CMS IX, no. 114, of unknown provenance (after van Effenterre, van Effenterre 1972, 138; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).



Fig. 16. Sealstone CMS XII, no. 207, of unknown provenance (after Kenna 1972, 301; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).

wears either a short kilt or the shorts usually worn by lion hunters (for shorts, see Rehak 1996, 48–49). Here the costume is depicted frontally, unlike the two examples above. A similar costume is depicted on a LH II sealstone from Mycenae (CMS I, no. 119) showing a goat, a human figure and a shrine (see Rehak 1996, 48). A sealing from a LM IB context in Ayia Triada depicts a human carrying an animal (CMS II 6, no. 29) (Fig. 17). Again, it is hard to tell whether the costume consists of shorts or a kilt. It is important to note that the subject of this depiction and the figure's pose, but not its costume, resemble the figures carrying animals on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus. Another similar representation can be seen on a sealstone from Ayia Pelagia (CMS VI, no. 321) stylistically dated to LM I–LM II. The sealstone shows a figure carrying an animal, again dressed in a costume which might be a kilt.

Two additional depictions might serve as parallels for this discussion. The first is a LM I–LM II sealstone from Knossos (CMS VI, no. 320) (Fig. 18) depicting a deer and a human figure holding a spear. Again, the figure wears the type of kilt found on CMS IX, no. 114 (Fig. 15), which resembles the later Procession fresco type.

The second is a LM IB sealing from Ayia Triada (CMS II 6, no. 8) with two human figures (Fig. 19). The larger figure, probably female, sits in front of the smaller, which holds a staff-like object in front of it. The smaller figure is dressed in a costume resembling a kilt with a pointed front edge shown from the side. However, when compared to the LM I–LM II Master Impression sealing from Chania (CMS V Suppl. 1A, no. 142) and the Mother of the Mountains sealing (CMS II 8, no. 256) from Knossos (stylistically dated to LM I, but contextually to LM II–LM IIIA), it seems to represent a female figure dressed in a skirt and not a male wearing a kilt, and so may not be relevant to our discussion. Female skirts such as that on the Mother of the Mountains sealing usually do not end with a pointed front edge.

Kilts were also worn in the Cyclades prior to LM II. Most of the kilts from the Cycladic islands, mainly Thera, seem to be of a different type than those from Crete, possibly suggesting a different tradition. Rehak mentions that Theran kilts appear on the fresco from Xeste 4, which probably represents some kind of a procession

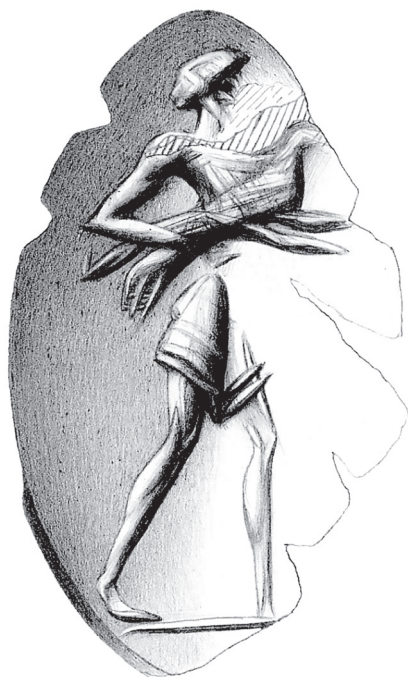


Fig. 17. Sealing CMS II 6, no. 29, from Ayia Triada (after Müller, Pini, Platon 1999, 42; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).



Fig. 18. Sealstone CMS VI, no. 320, from Knossos (after Hughes-Brock, Boardman 2009, 502; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).



Fig. 19. Sealing CMS II 6, no. 8, from Ayia Triada (after Müller, Pini, Platon 1999, 15; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).

(Rehak 1996, 47; Blakolmer 2016, 44-45). He uses the appearance of kilts on Thera as proof of the contemporary existence of both breechcloths and kilts (Rehak 1996, 48), which is undoubtedly true, as the Cretan examples prove. However, different costume traditions need to be further explored on the examples from Thera. Nevertheless, the Xeste 4 representation shows that kilts were probably used for processions on Thera. A possible Cretan parallel to this kind of kilt might be found on a sealstone representing a male figure holding a fish (CMS VI, no. 183). The kilt is also worn by one of the individuals on the miniature ship fresco from Thera (Rehak 1996, 46), but in this case it does not resemble the later Cretan pointed kilts (for a detailed analysis of Thera male costumes, see Morgan 1988, 93-98).

Another close parallel is the attire worn by acrobats on the LM IA tripod table of offerings from Trianda on Rhodes (Marketou 1988, 30; 1990, 107-109; 1998, 59; 2008, 129-130). The scene represents a papyrus

with two acrobats in a reverse-vertical position on either side of it. The acrobats, represented from the side, wear a costume consisting of three layers of cloth, all of which end in a pointed front edge. The alteration of blue and yellow layers of cloth and the net pattern covering the cloth surface have affinities with the later Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes kilt type. However, several layers of cloth are more similar to the representations of shorts and some of the early kilts, which can be used to determine the origin of the later kilt types (CMS IX, no. 114) (Fig. 15). This kind of scene is also known from a MM III-LM I stylistically dated sealstone, probably from Knossos (CMS VI, no. 184). It is important to note that although the scene is represented in exactly the same way as the one on the Trianda table, the costume is unfortunately hard to identify, even though some of its features point to it being a breechcloth. Another example of the same scene is known from Mycenae (CMS I, no. 131), dated both contextually and stylistically to LH II-LH IIIA1. Again, the costumes cannot be clearly identified.

Representations of Kilts from LM II onwards

Two types of kilts appear from LM II onwards. The first is the Procession fresco type, attested also on the Cup-bearer fresco and the Ayia Triada sarcophagus. Although Emily Egan notes that in LM II, these kilts are shown from the side, which represents a clear distancing from the tradition (Egan 2012, 318), some of the possible earlier representations of the same type are also depicted from the side (CMS II 6, no. 36 and CMS IX, no. 114) (Figs. 14-15). However, in all the cases when this type of kilt could have been clearly defined, it is represented from the side. As has already been noted, of all the kilts appearing in the Aegean, the Procession fresco type bears the closest resemblance to that in the Theban tombs.

The second type of kilt is that worn by the LM II-LM IIIA1 Captain of the Blacks fresco (Fig. 9) from Knossos. It closely resembles the kilts known from the Pylos frescoes, but it appears earlier than the examples from the Mainland. It is shown from the front and looks somewhat shorter and simpler in its surface patterns than the Procession Fresco type (Rehak 1996, 45). Its earlier parallels might be found on the Chieftain Cup from Ayia Triada and the sealstone with the boar hunt (CMS XI, no. 32), even though both of these examples are represented from the side. There is another possible analogy to this representation – a LM IIIA1-III A2 sealstone found in a LM IIIB context on Naxos (CMS V, no. 608) depicting a standing human figure that resembles the Chieftain's cup figure.

The difference between the Procession fresco kilt and that on the Captain of the Blacks fresco cannot be determined from a chronological point of view. Although the Procession and Cup-bearer frescoes predate the Captain of the Blacks fresco, the Procession fresco type kilt from the Ayia Triada sarcophagus shows that this type can be found even after the appearance of the Captain of the Blacks type. It seems valid to conclude that these two kilt types appear at the same time, despite the fact that the number of existing representations is not sufficient to reach a decisive conclusion. In this case, we are either dealing with two different ways of representing the same costume or there are two different types of kilts used for different purposes and represented in a slightly different way.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that although kilts appear before LM II, they are usually represented by only one example per representation (*e.g.*, the Harvester vase), while breechcloths are reserved for large scenes with more participants (*e.g.*, the Grand Stand fresco and the Harvester vase). From LM II onwards, the situation seems to change and the kilt becomes a costume worn by wider groups of people (*e.g.*, the Procession fresco).

Late Bronze Age Representations of Shorts and their Connection to Kilts

Shorts are another type of attire that might be useful for this discussion. They start to appear in LM I/LH I. Although the representations from the Mainland are more numerous, it seems that the origin of shorts is also to be sought on Crete (Rehak 1998, 45), where they appear in a significant number of representations.

Shorts appear on various forms of material culture, such as the Lion Hunt dagger, the silver Battle Crater, and a significant number of sealstones (*e.g.* CMS I, no. 9 or CMS I, no. 16). They always appear in scenes depicting warriors, battles or lion hunters/fighters. Rehak rightly noted the similarity between shorts and kilts, describing shorts as a heavy version of the kilt (Rehak 1996, 41). The two sides of the shorts often join at the peak of the fron-

tal part and they might look similar to kilts with a pointed front edge, as on the Procession fresco. On sealstones, the most numerous source of their depictions, it is often hard to tell if the costume represented are shorts or a kilt. However, on sealstone representations, the two sides covering the legs often do not look completely joined, as one would expect in the case of kilts. Also, it seems that the kilts of the Procession fresco type are often depicted from the side (Egan 2012, 318), as noted above, while shorts are usually shown from the front.

There is one representation of shorts on the fresco from Ayia Irini on Kea. Abramowitz (1980, 58) describes this depiction as a kilt, which only proves how closely a kilt and shorts can resemble each other. Even more importantly, she draws a parallel with the costume depicted on the Lion Hunt dagger, which can be interpreted as shorts. Because of the poor preservation state of the fresco, it is impossible to define the subject of the scene.

Rehak mentions that shorts become rare after LM IB and that they are probably replaced by short tunics worn by male and female figures, although such tunics exist even earlier on the silver Siege Rhyton (Rehak 1998, 45). Shorts disappear on the Greek Mainland much later than on Crete. They are depicted as the costume for lion hunters as late as LH IIIA1, for example on the signet ring probably found in Thessaloniki (CMS XI, no. 272), with clear iconographic parallels to sealings from Pylos (CMS I, nos. 302 and 307). The ring is stylistically dated to LH II-LH IIIA1, as are the sealings, which were found in a LH IIIB2⁶ context, but were probably produced and used in earlier periods as well.

As lion hunts are not depicted after LH IIIA1, it is impossible to define which type of costume replaced shorts as the typical attire of lion hunters in the periods after LM IIIA1. On the other hand, it is clear from the LH IIIB frescoes from Pylos that warriors wore short kilts (Lang 1969, 72-74), which might offer a possible explanation for the development of this costume. Since lion hunters and warriors were dressed in the same costume, more precisely shorts, in LH I-LH II, it might be that shorts were replaced by short kilts in later periods. The longer version of shorts from LH I-LH II, worn by lion hunters and warriors, was replaced by a shorter version sometime in LH II-LH IIIA1, which is supported by the evidence from the depictions of lion hunters (compare the Lion Hunt dagger to CMS XI, no. 272). In the later period, LH IIIB, shorts were possibly completely abandoned and replaced by short kilts, as can be seen from the frescoes from Pylos. It might be important to note that the same type of kilt is worn both by warriors and the male figures in processions.

In addition, it is important to stress the difficulty in determining whether a representation depicts a kilt or shorts, especially for sealstones and sealings. The best example is the sealing from Chania (CMS V Suppl. 1A, no. 135) representing a human fighting a lion with a sword. The costume is described by Rehak as shorts (Rehak 1996, 50), while Egan sees it as a kilt with a pointed front edge (Egan 2012, 317). Lion hunters on similar representations always wear shorts and it seems reasonable to conclude that the same is true for this example.

This accords with Rehak's remark that kilts and shorts are actually quite similar (Rehak 1996, 41), which can also be seen in his reconstruction of both costumes (Rehak 1996, 40, fig. 2). In addition to the similarity in the frontal part (see above), there are other similarities, such as the band by the edge of a kilt, possibly produced by two layers of cloth, which closely resembles the layers of shorts. It is important to note that both shorts and earlier kilts are linked to the lion-related iconography, with shorts usually being worn by the figures fighting lions, while kilts and the costumes in between are worn by the figures that control the lions without the use of physical force.

Although Cretan and Mainland costumes had two different and parallel developments, it is possible that the final product of their developments was the same form, with kilts becoming one of the typical male costumes. When comparing the costumes from the Mainland to those from Crete, despite their many similarities, there are many things pointing to two different traditions. In the end, it seems that kilts appeared on the Mainland much later than they did on Crete, which supports Rehak's idea that kilts were not brought to Crete by Mycenaean invaders (Rehak 1996, 50). Based on the currently available evidence, if there was any such influence, it could have only been passed from Crete to the Greek Mainland.

⁶ The contextual dating of these examples could be extended to the beginning of the LH IIIC period, but the question of the Pylos chronology is beyond the scope of this paper and does not affect its main arguments.

The Cretan kilt of the Procession fresco type is more similar to the kilts worn by Aegean emissaries in Theban tombs than to any kilt from the Greek Mainland. In addition, the appearance of kilts on the Mainland can only be conclusively determined in the later phases of the LBA, much later than on Crete. If the LM II date for the wide use of kilts both on Crete and in Theban tombs, with a possible LM IB appearance on Crete, is right, the interpretation of kilts as Mycenaean costumes cannot any longer be sustained. Paul Rehak arrived at the same conclusion through a different argumentation (1996).

DEPICTIONS OF AUTHORITY IN LM IB

Representations of authority are hard to recognize if they are not accompanied by texts, as is the case with the Late Bronze Age Aegean. This might also be one of the reasons for the problem of the missing ruler iconography, as depictions might exist but cannot be recognized with certainty. In the periods prior to LM II, a depiction of a man standing in a monumental pose and holding a staff before him, or sometimes leaning on it, has been recognized as a representation of authority (Rehak 1995, 112-113; also Davis 1995). This human figure usually has long hair and is dressed in a breechcloth, and it would be easy to recognize the typical Minoan male costume, just as they were depicted in Theban tombs before the tomb of Menkheperreseneb. Examples from Crete include some more or less clear depictions on the sealings from Kato Zakro, all contextually dated to LM IB (CMS II 7, no. 3-5), the miniature MM III/LM IA Young Officer fresco (Evans 1930, 83) and possibly the LM I Prince of the Lilies fresco from Knossos (Niemeier 1987; 1988), the LM I sealing known as the Master Impression (CMS V Suppl. 1A, no. 142) and possibly another MM III-LM I sealing from Chania (CMS V Suppl. 1A, no. 180). Although such a depiction might seem canonical, there are similar images on Crete that differ in some details. For example, one of the male figures on the Chieftain Cup from Ayia Triada stands in a similar pose, has long hair and carries a staff or spear. What differs is that the figure is not dressed in a breechcloth as the other figures discussed, but rather wears an early form of a kilt (Rehak 1996, 46). Such a difference is without question deliberate as the second figure standing opposite of him wears a typical breechcloth.

Some of the examples mentioned above add to this discussion. An important example is a LM I sealing from Knossos with a man and a lion standing behind him (CMS II 8, no. 237) (Fig. 20). The man is dressed in a kilt or a skirt and wears a cap. A similar example comes from a LM IB context in Ayia Triada, where a man wearing a kilt stands in front of a lion with a bow in his hand (cf. the above mentioned CMS II 6, no. 36, at Fig. 14).

Many parallels for the kilts that appear before LM II and are similar to the Procession fresco type come from Knossos or Ayia Triada, at least based on the objects of known provenance. More importantly, in some cases the authority figures dressed in kilts are linked to lion-related iconography. In general, all known representations of kilts appearing before LM II which can be iconographically connected to the later kilt types come from Ayia Triada or Knossos. A close connection between the depicted costume types can be noticed even in later periods between Knossos and Ayia Triada, as was shown above. This is almost true for the authority representations connected to lion-related iconography. Lions are attested as a motif related to kingship in many Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean cultures (Feldman 2006; Marinatos 2010). Although many of these representations do not have a clear

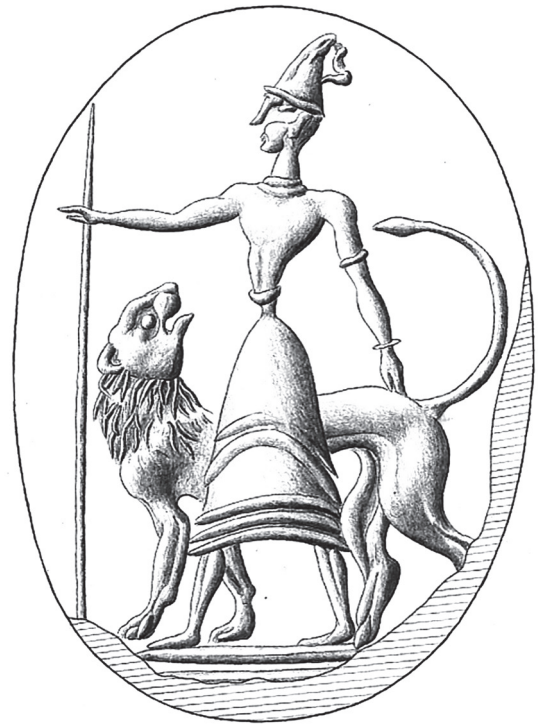


Fig. 20. Sealing CMS II 8, no. 237, from Knossos (after Gill *et al.* 2002, 376; courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg).

depiction of the costume, none of them depicts a breechcloth. Most of the known depictions from Crete come from Knossos, with some examples from Ayia Triada. From other parts of Crete (both east and west), there are only a few examples of lion-related iconography prior to LM II and none of them can be linked to any type of costume (Kato Zakro: CMS II 7, no. 27; CMS II 7, no. 33; Sitias: CMS IX, no. 152).⁷ In Knossos, these depictions survive even in later periods, after the beginning of LM II. However, none of these examples clearly depicts the costume, which makes any comparison, both with earlier costumes and contemporary kilts, virtually impossible.

CONCLUSION

Aegean figures in the 18th dynasty Theban tombs are depicted wearing two types of dress. The earlier type is the breechcloth with a broad waistband or a belt. We find it in the tombs of Senenmut, Intef and Useramun. The figures wearing the breechcloth are designated in the texts accompanying the register in the tomb of Useramun as chiefs coming from the islands in the middle of the Great Green (Aegean or eastern Mediterranean). The texts in the two other earlier tombs are not preserved.

The kilt appears for the first time in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb with a *terminus post quem* in the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III. The kilts in this tomb are elaborately decorated and they are not depicted in the same way. The waistband or belt is not present. This is also the first tomb in which the toponym Keftiu is indirectly connected to the Aegean figures. Sometime in the later reign of Thutmose III or during the reign of Amenhotep II, the original breechcloths of the Aegean figures in the tomb of Rekhmire were repainted into kilts. The waistbands or belts were left as they were. The Aegean emissaries in this tomb come from Keftiu (Crete), which is located among the islands in the middle of the Great Green, as stated in the text accompanying the Aegean register. The kilts are as elaborately decorated as in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb. Bearing in mind that the 28th regnal year of Thutmose III is the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the tomb of Useramun, and that the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III is the *terminus post quem* for the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, we can conclude that the change in the costume of Aegean emissaries occurred between the 28th and 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III, being represented for the first time after the 33rd regnal year.

This change corresponds chronologically with LM II – which is also the period when the breechcloth disappears from the representations of processions in the Aegean –, and not with LM IIIA1, as was suggested by Rehak. Starting from LM II, the kilt is found only in procession scenes as worn by the red figures, usually interpreted as men. However, its early appearance can be traced to LM IB in the areas of Knossos and Ayia Triada, and is often connected to lion-related iconography, with figures wearing a kilt having control of the lions without the use of physical force.

Thus, the change in Egyptian iconography corresponds to a change in the Aegean. This change cannot be interpreted in ethnic terms either in the Aegean, as already emphasized by Rehak, nor in Egypt. It rather reflects the changes in dress appropriate for processions in the Aegean, reflecting not the composition of the Aegean embassy sent to Egypt, but the change in the way in which the Aegean elite represented itself on such occasions. The local occasions for these processions are not as defined as those in Egypt of the time, because of the lack of written sources. However, the iconography indicates gift-giving as the general idea behind them. One should emphasize the contrasting meanings of the procession scenes in the 18th dynasty Theban tombs and Aegean procession scenes. Foreigners' procession scenes in New Kingdom Egypt depict visits of foreign emissaries to the Egyptian court which included the presentation of the objects they brought from their home countries as gifts, tribute or tax to the Egypt-

7 It has to be noted that these objects (sealstones and prestige objects such as the Chieftain Cup) might not have been produced in the areas around Ayia Triada and Knossos. Therefore, one has to be extremely cautious when proposing any kind of limited regional distribution of certain representations. However, in our opinion these objects might have been deliberately chosen and actively used for the construction of an elite identity in which self-representation played a very important role. Thus, one has to focus more on the context of consumption than on the mere origins of the objects.

tian king (Hallmann 2006; Matić 2012). This is exactly what Aegean emissaries were doing in Egypt, although the fact is that their gift-giving could have been represented as tribute giving by the Egyptians, both in reality and in maintaining decorum. Aegean procession scenes are more focused on the representation of the local elite and their interactions.

The change coincides with the appearance of the toponym Keftiu as the place of origin for these emissaries. Thus, one wonders if the change can be related to the change of embassy, namely that after the 33rd regnal year of Thutmose III the emissaries coming from the Aegean came only from Crete and not from the islands in the middle of the Great Green.⁸

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Abbreviations

CMS *Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel*
 TT Theban Tomb

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⁸ We know that already during LM IB Santorini does not play a role in the Aegean network any longer, but it remains unclear why the emissaries from other important sites on Aegean islands, such as Ayia Irini and Phylakopi, would not take part in the diplomatic visits. During LM II, Knossos has dominion over Crete, and Knossos is the palace to which the change in dress for the processions should be related. This change follows only later on the Mainland. One must therefore wonder if the term Keftiu originally designated Knossos, possibly with its surrounding area of control. That Keftiu later designated the entire island is also indicated by the use of a specific toponym for Knossos (*knš* read as *k3-n-yw-š3*, parallel to Linear B *ko-no-so*) in the Aegean list from Kom el-Hetan from the reign of Amenhotep III (Cline, Stannish 2011, 10). However, a closer examination of this suggestion is beyond the scope of this paper.

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