MASK@CHS – Winter Seminar 2021 (Friday, February 5): Summaries of Presentations and Discussion

Rachele Pierini

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Rachele Pierini opened the Winter 2021 MASK@CHS seminar by welcoming the participants to the session. In addition to the usually members of the MASK@CHS network, were guests joined the meeting: Harsha Bezwada, Morris Silver, Agnes Choinowska, and, also Zafarina Akmurzina, Michele Mercuriali, and Pavel Zhuravlev, graduate students from the Program in Ancient Scripts and Performance (PASP). The session was the concluding member-guest Tom Palaima and the expert of ancient world economic Morris Silver were the speakers of the Winter 2021 MASK@CHS seminar.

2.1. In the first twenty minutes Palaima presented, and we discussed for ten minutes, the second and last part of his work on "*a-mo-te-u* a dialect and Greek Dialects Again within the Mycenaean palatial elite. Building on the analysis of the Linear B evidence that he carried out at the November 2020 MASK@CHS seminar, Palaima explained how the attestations of the word "*a-mo-te-u* and its morphological and sociopolitical implications in representative categories from the alphabetic Greek literary tradition, the Homeric and Hesiod texts, Mycenaean palatial Linear B tablets, and the Cretan Linear A tablets. Palaima's presentation, which was the first time he presented and we then discussed some key points of the forthcoming monograph *The Prophet Wind Blowing Down Crete in the Aegean Bronze Age*, of which Gregory Nagy has offered a preview here. Silver's presentation, which was the first time he presented and we then discussed for about 30 minutes, "Bronze Age Spices and his presenting his thoughts in two parts. In the MASK@CHS seminar meeting, Silver focused on the implications of the use of people for the Mycenaean textile industry and the armory production in the palaces. The forthcoming Spring 2021 MASK@CHS seminar will feature the second part of Silver's presentation, with further analysis and material from his book.

2.2. Contributions to the seminar have been provided by Harsha Bezwada: [see below at §2.5.1, 2b.4, 2b.5, 3d], Michele Lendaro Emigre [§1.5, 1f1, 2f.2], Michele Mercuriali [§2.5.1, 2b.5], Sarah Morris [§2.1.1, 2f], Gregory Nagy [§1.1.1, 1.1.6, 2e.3], Tom Palaima [§2.5.1, 2f.1, 2h.1, 2h.2], Jared Pierini [§2.5.2], Rachele Pierini [§2.4, 2e.1, 3b.1], Morris Silver [§2.1.6, 1e, 1f1.2c, 2b.1, 2b.2], Agnes Choinowska [§2.6.2], and Roger Woodard [§2.6.1, 1.2.2, 1.2.3, 1.7].

Topic 1: Mycenaean **a-mo-te-u*, Greek ἁρμόζω, and the Ideology of Joining

Presenter: Tom Palaima

[1.1. Investigating the functions and properties of the Mycenaean "*a-mo-te-u* is part of a broader program of very long conclusions of the ideology of Mycenaean palatial elites (Palaima 2006, 2009, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020). The most recently interpreted vocabulary relating to the administrative officials at *Pylos* is devoted and ends with the *aim of portraying the palace as the guarantor of the nonentitlement of its community*. In particular, designation such as *ko-ro-no, po-ro-ko-re-te* and *do-me-ko-re-ono* related to the Greek *ἄνακτος* "*anaxes*, *δεσπότης* "*despotes*, *δῆμος* "*demos*, and *δόμος* "*domos*.

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2.1.1. The **scribe PY Fn 79**, introducing the set of texts in the Ta-series that record ceremonial paraphernalia, lists three ritual vases, one of which is described as *a-mo-te-u* ana. The question we raised during the November 2020 MASK@CHS seminar was: to what extent the "*a-mo-te-u* of the adjective adjectives is likely a derivative) was a shorter *ablaut* manifestation *amo-ameno* or whether there was some further symbolic value associated with the title and its root sense of 'joining'. After all, the *ablaut* was the joined *ablaut* per excellence for the Mycenaeans and the Saint Greeks. The root of the very formation of Mycenaean *a-mo-i* (Zgusta's ** the joined thing* being semantically specialized by the Mycenaean Greeks as 'school' and in later Greek *ἀμοιβή* 'exchange'. These words rest on the same morphological process as Greek 'mixture' (root 'from the mix' verbs 'to make', i.e. the application of the process of 'joining' (root 'to join'). Palaima argued that the Mycenaean palatial elite, having to know it. The key article that highlights this process is by the late and revered Peter Brixhe, "The Origin and Semantic Development of the Term Harmonia," Illinois Classical Studies 16 (1991), 19-28. In this work, Brixhe identifies the original meaning of Mycenaean *a-mo-i* (Zgusta's ** the joined thing* as discourse to formation and some parallels in all languages. The most relevant parallel is the Slavic name 'ustrc', which highlights the semantic similarity between a school and an area "the area is an organ which with one can carry, pull or push a load, and the school is a prestigial substitute for it" (Brixhe 1991:22).

2.1.2. The epithet school was not invented by Mycenaeans, yet they developed and improved a technologically. The centrality of the device in Mycenaean and later Greek culture was reflected in the language not only by the above-mentioned formation of *a-mo-i*, but also by its important derivatives *ἁρμόζω* 'to join, to fit together' and 'to operate' verses, *ἁρμός* 'harness'. These derivatives reflect the later movement of this concept from the concrete sphere to the intellectual or metaval one. Once again, a morphetical process was at work. This mechanism then produced an ideological set of meanings, as they are attested in the highlighted terms relating to establishing and maintaining order', 'being and harmony' and 'harmonious' in the Greek language from Greek epic. (*Due sources Indoeuropeen Homeric* 1993:21-24).

2.1.3. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 72-76 (translation into English by Palaima):

ἔξοχα δὲ κάκιστον ἧν γυναικείου γένος
ἔξοχα δὲ κλέπτειν ἐν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ἔμμορε, φασιόων, βίοτον χρυσῆ· ἐμβάλ' θε κύν ᾧ·
ἔμμορε κοιλόκεφαν ὑπόμορον εἰδεσιν ἐπιστῆν
κέντον θ' ἐν χρεῖ ἐπιφέρειν ἐν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Goddess grey-eyed Athene gave him and **he** to **wife**
and around her goddess Graces and potent Persuasion
set golden necklaces upon him and around his head adorn
the beautiful haired bosom set a crown with springtime flowers;
and Pallas Athene **fitted** upon her skin every **craftsmanship**.

2.1.4. This passage describes the creation of Pandora, starting from scratch. It is remarkable that the passage begins and ends with Athena, *ability* also present in the Mycenaean pantheon, who decides on and effects the arrangement in creating the seductive creature according to the certain (*fitted*) order.

2.1.5. *Iliad* 17.209-212 (translation into English by Palaima):

ἀμφὶ δὲ τόν ῥ' ἄρματα κύον Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
Ἕκτορ τ' Ἀρηϊφίλου τε θοὸς καὶ κύντατος Ἄρης
ἔμμορε, φασιόων, βίοτον χρυσῆ· ἐμβάλ θε κύν ᾧ·
ἔμμορε κοιλόκεφαν ὑπόμορον εἰδεσιν ἐπιστῆν
ἵππους θ' ἐν χρεῖ ἐπιφέρειν ἐν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Indeed and the horses of Hector rushed around him ('upon') with dark-blue brown
And for Hector he **fitted** armor **suit** he does, and Ares entered down into him
mortifying and overdone, there and then he both seems filled inside with protective
armor and spirit.

2.1.6. Again a compound of *ἐπί* and *ἁρμόζω* is used, this time with reference to fastening reigns, the elements that make up a set of armor, upon the skin of Hector. This same word comes up in another title in a Mycenaean record, namely **PY Un 2**, where an *a-pe-ri-ne-ri-ja-o-ni-ta-mi-ni*, likely the supervisor of the armor or the supervisor harnessing materials and objects' (cf. e.g. Mycenaean *e-pi-po-ke* 'ornament of legs' and *e-pi-ka-pa-ra-ne* 'ornaments of dagging'; DMic 2.59-60, 63-64) or supervisor bringing prominents on an occasion involving the wounds and urbat seems to be a ritual initiation that has elements of mysteries-cult.

2.1.7. Odyssey 5.247-250:

κύματα δ' ἔμμορε κούρῃ ἀλεξίκακον, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δ' ἄκρα βίη ἐν κοιλῳ ἐνέμεν ἀμφίς.

He bound all the wood pieces and fitted them with one another
and the waves were **fitted** down **into** the hollow and with powerful **force** **fitted** **in**.

2.1.8. In this passage, the form *ἐμμορε* is used with reference to Odysseus's surging vessel, which he fits together with the permission and assistance of Calypso. The necessity of the boat is largely present as a result in Greek culture, and is also explicated metaphorically as representing a ship. This form refers to explicitly, which emphasizes the fundamental nature of a sea craft, in this case a kind of boat tale as a carefully joined and fastened 'half-together' thing and not a full-fledged sailor. In regard to the technical skill of joinery, remark for sailing are the technological sophistication on the sea of wheels and chariots in ancient times, the strong practical value, and the fundamental importance of the ship as a means of transportation. The ship is also symbolized by a tale, which is the kind built by humankind to protect the civilized Phaeacians as expressed more in the next book of the Odyssey (6.5-10): Νοσσίδιον θοὸν ἔμμορε – ἀμφὶ δὲ κύματα θαῦμα κέλευθα.

2.1.9. Odyssey 5.224-226 (translation into English by Palaima):

ἔλπετο κ' οἴκοιο μέγα ἔμμορε κοιλόκεφαν,
χρῆσθαι, ἐμμορέοντα θεοῦ ἐν κόλπῳ ἀνέμοιο·
πτῶκα τοι ἐμμορέοντα θεοῦ ἐν κόλπῳ ἀνέμοιο.

She gave to him a big one, **fitted** his hands,
hoping, thinking, that he would **fit** a good **ship** to **fit** it
(wind) a very beautiful down-wind, hopeful, **fitted**
wagtail.

2.2. It is worth noting that Calypso provides Odysseus with tools for killing the trees and then for working the fitted wood as he sets about to build a raft. **PY Vn 46** are called a *de-ra-ne-ta-ma* 'adzes'. In the passage from the Odyssey the big one (Achieve) is **fitted** (Achieve's hands **fitted** (Achieve) and its silver-metal (Achieve) handle (synchesis, emphasizing the uniform structure of an implement made from a silver and hollow, and even more with him, **fitted** and the wood (Achieve) **fitted** and the wood is for good leadership, and for people **fitted** wind under him.

2.2.1. The same emphasis is given yet again in this passage discussed here. Order, imposed and maintained, brings prosperity of many forms, here in the different aspects of the natural world: grain crops and fruit trees planted in the earth's soil, herd animals that graze upon the grass, and plants that grow upon the earth, and all manner of fishes in the sea that round out the human diet.

Discussion following Palaima's presentation

2.3. The discussion revolved around three main issues, i.e. [1] the relationship among kinsmen, the order of society, and the self-representations of the elites; [2] the name of Homer; and [3] Kadmos and Harmonia.

2.3.1. Roger Woodard highlighted that, in the ancient Indo-European ideology, a rightly ordered society has a triadic divisions: [1] religious specialists, [2] soldiers of physical force, and [3] agrarian farmers who produce the great part of society, i.e. the producers who nurture and sustain. This backdrop makes Linear B tablets **Un PY Un 718** particularly interesting, since these documents record the Mycenaean palatial functionaries as responsible for nutrition. In this regards, Woodard has also shared some results of his current monograph project. These results concern the sphere of nutrition and the Indo-European terms for kinship dealing as reflected in the warrior hide with the Indo-European root "*h₂ek*- Greek ἀχή (*fear*) in the terms *ostinda* and *Ingalpis*; also attested, in Woodard's view, in Linear B *a-ra-ru-ta-ta* and *to-ro-ko-to-ni-pe-ri-ta*. (For a discussion of the discussion, see M. etymologia, cf. Palaima 2019 and Palaima 2020).

2.3.2. Gregory Nagy pointed out that in Sparta the order of the community is identified with the Kouros itself, as it also happens, in the sense of 'perfectly put together'. Nagy has extensively analyzed the topic in Chapter 1 of his book *Homer's Homeric Poetry* (1992).

2.3.3. Building on functions and roles that are related to the maintenance of the social order, the discussion then focused on the name of Homer.

2.3.4. Sarah Morris highlighted the etymological relationship between the verb *ἁρμόζω* and the name Homer (*ἁρμός*). By referring to the concept of 'coding, *ἁρμός*, the name 'Homer' designates the one who 'fits together' and being a 'Scriver' indicates his poetic craft in 'joining' words and verses.

2.3.5. Nagy added on this point that Homer as the maker of chariots which is simultaneously 'Homer the federal homage' refers pro Hindard as a sign of his being not his to role as the 'joiner' of the social order. Nagy's argument can be read in full here, as Chapter 9 of his monograph *Homer the Preclassic* (Nagy 2009).

2.3.6. The topic of divine craftsmen has been further expanded by exploring the mythological figure of Kadmos + Cadmus.

2.3.7. Woodard has argued for Cadmus as chiefly a bringer of technology in light of two arguments, i.e. the link between Cadmos/Cassandra and the Cabiri, and the Anatolian myth *gal-Hymnis* being behind the figure of Kassandra. In this framework, Cadmus is a magic a divine craftsman who deifly his together parts especially in surviving mashers, grammars. As such, the list of technology, which is the same as the Mycenaean, is the writing system. Hence, it is quite appropriate that Cadmus should be made to wed a figure named Harmonia.

2.3.8. Palaima pointed out that it matters historically if the core of Kadmos's heritage, as he has above suggested, or IE and adopts the name entered the Greek lexicon. For a comprehensive further discussion of the alternatives, cf. Palaima 2011:56-63.

2.3.9. Morris Silver shared some excerpts from his book *Silver Wives, Single Women and Bastards in the Ancient Greek World: Land and Economic Perspectives*, in which Silver argues that women and children are not be bound. In Silver's view, legitimate marriage or marriage by loan of the bride is made recognizable by a distinctive betrothal terminology cognate to the verb *ἐγγυάω*. Pindar *Pythian* 9.13, however, indicates that pallacies or concubines are called *ἐγγυαῖαι*. Silver's argument is that concubinage/pallacies/ownership, and the verb harmonize to be together (in genitive/dative) *ἐγγυάω* and *ἐγγυαῖαι*. Silver highlights that it is not entirely clear whether *harmonia* refers only to betrothal or to completed marriage but it is clear that the term has its linguistic connection to the law matter. In this respect, he provides the example of the mythical Harmonia, whose name is Mycenaean and Homeric that the non-Hesiod together with Cadmus, the mythical man who became his husband by purchase. Silver also recalls Hesiod's distinction between Cadmus and Harmonia's wedding represents a union of two cultures, i.e. Mediterranean with Semitic and Indo-European elements, since the name 'Harmonia' has an IE etymology (harmonia) whereas the name 'Cadmus' is from a Semitic root, qdm, Hebrew qedem, qadim, 'east,' qadmon, 'born from the east'.

2.3.9. Woodard shed light on the hypothesis of the Eastern origin of Cadmus by highlighting that the Semitic root qdm is different from Semitic 'from the East', 'East', 'of old', 'beginning'. He also remarks that the idea of a Semitic etymology for the name Cadmus is not as far from the 19th century. Against it conveniently Palaima 2011:56-63.

2.3.10. Nagy drew attention to Classical Greek literature, with particular emphasis on Theognis 15-18 and Pindar P 9.94-98. The former, the analysis of which is to be found here (originally published as Nagy 1992), refers to the Cadmus and Kharites song at the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia. In the latter a chorus of Thebans is represented as if they were rebuilding the walls of Thebes, i.e. they are metaphorically "fitting the walls of the Kouros 'arrangement' of the words of their song. Been the full text, i.e. Chapter 1 in Nagy 1992.

2.3.11. Both passages, in Woodard remarks, refer to a Theban chorus in enacting the mountain Aeaphion's construction of the walls of Thebes in their performance of song *antimeter*—and kouros and harmonia are drawn together by way of the alternation Cassandra of the city. The Aeaphion & Zethus foundation tradition that Homer knows looks as though it has informed the Cadmus tradition.

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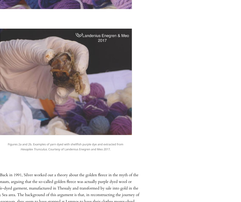
Topic 2: Presenting *The Purpled World: Marketing Haute Couture in the Aegean Bronze Age* – a dialogue with Morris Silver

Edited by: Rachele Pierini and Tom Palaima

[2.4. Rachele Pierini introduced the upcoming attack by Morris Silver, *The Purpled World: Marketing Haute Couture in the Aegean Bronze Age*. The monograph centers a large amount of data focusing on people in the textile industry from an economic perspective and not on some religious and ritual issues as well. Pierini then provided an example of how *element the theme of purple-dyed textile* will a nowadays in the economic and political scenario by showing the color choice of artists during President Biden's Inauguration Day (January 20, 2021). Significantly, former and current first ladies as well as the current Vice-President *all wore different shades of purple*. Figure 2.1 at this hyper-significant ceremonial event that a ritually crucial to the orderly functioning of American society.

Figure 7. Possible Greek alphabet inscription from Ugarit, Syria, from Woodard **Australia**: Alarcin; top right **Mediterlia Obsoria**; bottom right, the **Jet Allen**; bottom left, **Albany**; bottom left, **Ancient Greek**; bottom right, the Office of Ancient Greek in Israel, at Mamshit. Image credits: Left **Al Cal Estate**.



Figures 2a and 2b. Examples of pyrrhic dipod with shortfoot: purple (top and reversed) from Hesiyeh, Transylvania, Crossing of Lycaonia (Lycaonia and Mars, 2017).

[26. Back in 1991, Silver worked out a theory about the golden fleece in the myth of the Argonauts, arguing that the so-called golden fleece was actually purple dyed wool or purple-dyed garments, manufactured in Thessaly and transformed by sale into gold in the Black Sea area. The background of this argument is that, in reconstructing the journey of the Argonauts, they seem to have stopped at Lemnos to have their sacrifice accepted by the Lemnian women, presumably contracted with this activity by their lad-who. On the other hand, there is much evidence of gold processes in the Greek area.

[27. Lesbonax Engraves here remarks that sea silk derived from the filaments of the Pinna Nobilis mollusk (see the images below of the Pinna Nobilis) lacked the luster of purpuras sea silks. Silver, respectively, Figure 4a, and Figure 4b) has also been suggested as the fleece for the Golden Fleece (McKinley 1996; Mueller 2017; several articles in Lesbonax Engraves and Mars 2017, including Mars 2015; Mueller website on silk: **musclebeach.de**).

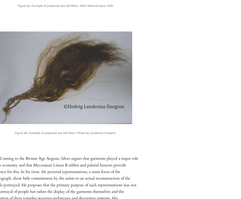


Figure 4. The Pinna Nobilis shell **Pinna** in Wikimedia.

Figure 4a. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers, After Mastrocinque 2016.

Figure 4b. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers. Photo by Landenius Enegren.

[29. Citing to the Bronze Age Aegean, Silver argues that garmentsplayed a major role in the economy and that Mycenaean Linear B tablets and palatial frescoes provide evidence for this, his his view, the special garments were actually purple dyed wool or purple-dyed garments, manufactured in Thessaly and transformed by sale into gold in the Black Sea area. The background of this argument is that, in reconstructing the journey of the Argonauts, they seem to have stopped at Lemnos to have their sacrifice accepted by the Lemnian women, presumably contracted with this activity by their lad-who. On the other hand, there is much evidence of gold processes in the Greek area.

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Figure 5. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers, After Mastrocinque 2016.

[34. According to the Bronze Age Aegean, Silver argues that garmentsplayed a major role in the economy and that Mycenaean Linear B tablets and palatial frescoes provide evidence for this, his his view, the special garments were actually purple dyed wool or purple-dyed garments, manufactured in Thessaly and transformed by sale into gold in the Black Sea area. The background of this argument is that, in reconstructing the journey of the Argonauts, they seem to have stopped at Lemnos to have their sacrifice accepted by the Lemnian women, presumably contracted with this activity by their lad-who. On the other hand, there is much evidence of gold processes in the Greek area.

[35. Hedvig Landenius Enegren highlights the perfect correlation of color hues between this image (Figure 1) and the images below (Figures 2a and 2b) of ram dyed with shellfish purple dye, in the case extracted from Hesiyeh: Transylvania (for the extraction of dye from the mollusk see Bowkett Kendall 2017).

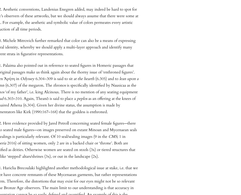

Figure 6a. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers, After Mastrocinque 2016.

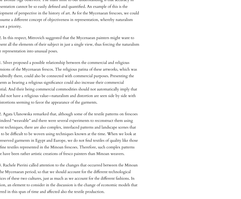

Figure 6b. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers. Photo by Landenius Enegren.

[36. Back in 1991, Silver worked out a theory about the golden fleece in the myth of the Argonauts, arguing that the so-called golden fleece was actually purple dyed wool or purple-dyed garments, manufactured in Thessaly and transformed by sale into gold in the Black Sea area. The background of this argument is that, in reconstructing the journey of the Argonauts, they seem to have stopped at Lemnos to have their sacrifice accepted by the Lemnian women, presumably contracted with this activity by their lad-who. On the other hand, there is much evidence of gold processes in the Greek area.

[37. Lesbonax Engraves here remarks that sea silk derived from the filaments of the Pinna Nobilis mollusk (see the images below of the Pinna Nobilis) lacked the luster of purpuras sea silks. Silver, respectively, Figure 4a, and Figure 4b) has also been suggested as the fleece for the Golden Fleece (McKinley 1996; Mueller 2017; several articles in Lesbonax Engraves and Mars 2017, including Mars 2015; Mueller website on sea silk: **musclebeach.de**).

Figure 7. The Pinna Nobilis shell **Pinna** in Wikimedia.

Figure 8a. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers, After Mastrocinque 2016.

Figure 8b. Examples of proposed sea silk fibers. Photo by Landenius Enegren.

[39. Citing to the Bronze Age Aegean, Silver argues that garmentsplayed a major role in the economy and that Mycenaean Linear B tablets and palatial frescoes provide evidence for this, his his view, the special garments were actually purple dyed wool or purple-dyed garments, manufactured in Thessaly and transformed by sale into gold in the Black Sea area. The background of this argument is that, in reconstructing the journey of the Argonauts, they seem to have stopped at Lemnos to have their sacrifice accepted by the Lemnian women, presumably contracted with this activity by their lad-who. On the other hand, there is much evidence of gold processes in the Greek area.

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Discussion following Silver's presentation

[20. Hedvig Landenius Enegren remarked that because ritual garments have always been important in ancient societies, the commercial dimension is likely to have coexisted with the religious aspects. We need only refer to the importance given to promote this priestly attire, so, for instance, the Catholic Church, when colors distinguish the Church year and, not to be forgotten, people holds a special significance.

[21. Tom Palaima emphasized the aesthetic dimension of Mycenaean artworks, in which the personal aesthetic sense of the artist(s) or commissioning person(s) likely played a role, too. This is a question that Silver's work raises. Scholars in Aegean, Minoan, Mycenaean, and Homeric studies must take up the challenge of accounting for it.

[22.3. Aesthetic conventions, Tom Palaima continued, may indeed be hard to spot for today's observers of these artworks, but we should always assume that there were some at work. For example, the aesthetic and symbolic value of colors permeates every artistic production of all times periods.

[23.1. Michele Mercuriali further remarked that color can also be a means of expressing cultural identity, whereby we should apply a multi-layer approach and identify many different ways in Egyptian representations.

[24.1. Palaima also pointed out in reference to seated figures in Homeric passages that the original passages mention "thrones" (*thronoi*) and not "chairs" (*kathedrai*) and quoted Glenn Ackerman's article in Eos 100 (2013) 67-82 (see also the discussion in Sarpedon's Sarcophagus?) of the magnificent. The *thronos* is specifically identified by Nausicaa as the *thronos* of her father (= king Alcinous. There is no mention of any seating equipment in (Bach) 2015-2101. Again, Thetis is said to place a purple as an offering at the knees of her father Zeus, in (Ed. Green for divine name, the assumption is made by commentators like Kirk [1985:167-168] that the golden is embossed.

[25.1. Their evidence provided by Janet Powell concerning sexual female figures—these are so sexual male figures—on images preserved on ancient Minoan and Mycenaean seals and sealings is particularly relevant. GW 10 sadvertising images 29 in the CMS. 1 in Pylgrim 2010 of sitting women, only 2 are in a bedroom of some sort. Three are identified as deities. Otherwise women are seated on stools (24) or tend structures that look like 'stepped' altars/thrones (24) or on on the landscape (26).

[26.1. Hatzika Bouzakitis highlighted another methodological issue at stake, i.e. that we do not have concrete remnants of these Mycenaean garments, but rather representations of them. Therefore, the distortions that may exist for our eyes might not be as relevant for the Bronze Age observers. The main limit to our understanding is that accuracy in representation cannot be so easily defined and quantified. An example of this is the development of perspective in the history of art. As for the Mycenaean Greeks, we should just assume a different concept of objectiveness in representation, whereby naturalism was not a priority.

[28.2. In this respect, Mitsotaki suggested that the Mycenaean painters might were so represent all the elements of their subject in just a single view, thus forcing the naturalists of the representation into unusual poses.

[29.1. Silver proposed a possible relationship between the commercial and religious dimensions of the Mycenaean fresco. The religious pattern of these artworks, which was undoubtedly there, could also be connected with commercial purposes. Presenting the garments as bearing a religious significance could also increase their commercial potential. And then being commercial commodities should not automatically imply that they lack any religious value—manufacture and distribution are not with left the side the distortions seeming to have the appearance of the garments.

[29.2. Agnes Ulmanowski remarked that, although some of the textile patterns on frescoes look indeed "wearable" and there were several experiments to reconstruct them using ancient techniques, there are also complex, interlaced patterns and landscape scenes that seem to be difficult to be woven using techniques known at the time. When we look at the preserved garments in Egypt and Europe, we do not find evidence of quality like those very fine textiles represented in the Minoan frescoes. Therefore, such complex patterns might have been taken certain creations of fresco painters from other materials.

[29.3. Rachele Pierini called attention to the changes that occurred between the Minoan and the Mycenaean period, so that we should account for the different technological protocols of these two cultures, just as much as we account for the different fashions. In addition, an element to consider in the discussion is the change of economic models that occurred in the span of time and affected also the textile production.

[29.4. Sarah Morris remarked that the scene in *Iliad* 6 in which Trojan place clothes on Athena's statue may refer to an Anatolian background. While scenes of Bronze Age Aegean art are goddesses or priestesses, often recipients of libations and offerings (including textiles), a thorough examination of the Hittite language leads to a light a wide array of elements forming an Anatolian set for the scene. Re-in-depth analysis of this comparison, along with further details and references, is to be found in Morris (Morris 2013). Morris has also recalled two further elements, Fire, the Mangas Tarhanna Stone, in which the Hittite people-there fled to Lagas a foreign-textile workers/others in the service of Pylos. Second, the Anchan elements of epic narrative and Pylian personnel, a topic that Woodard extensively examines in his newly Anatolian Hypothesis of which can be accessed here.

[29.5. Rachele Pierini informed the audience that an upcoming paper by Carlos Varias (Varias forthcoming) supports interpretations of *to-no-e-ka-no-ti-ja* (reading *to-no-e-ka-no-ti-ja* as referring to the interpretation of *to-no-e-ka-no-ti-ja* as a ritual in which the *ti-ri-po* is carried out and as a symbol of power. He also proposes to translate the compound as the history of the drawing of the *thronos* or the history of pouring libations, referent the *thronos*. Varias's interpretation challenges alternative views that read, *to-no-e-ka-no-ti-ja* (see below), the first part of the compound (i.e. *to-no*) as Bronze.

[29.6. Palaima aggregated the comprehensive study by Petrakis (2010-2015) for the Mycenaean era Petrakis studies that *to-no-e-ka-no-ti-ja* is a literal translating Bronze. This is supported by Nagy's works with relevant passage in Sappho and later Greek literature (see below). Palaima emphasized that Varias forthcoming and Petrakis (2010-2015) should be read carefully together with Nagy 2020, as he has, Perhaps, once Varias's article is published, we can make room to discuss this topic at a future seminar with all three principal scholars present.

[29.6. More data on the interpretation of the alphabetic Greek *thronos* as 'bronze' are to be found in two pieces by Gregory Nagy, i.e. *About Aphrodite's bonds and her magical thronos in Sappho 1 of Sappho and elsewhere*, which can be accessed here [Nagy 2020] and *How does the word or being / of Sappho is relevant to her reception in the ancient world —and to various different ways of thinking about the Greek word* bronzos, which can be read here [Nagy 2021].

[29.8. As regards the etymology for *thronos* and the possible linking with anthropomorphic and Mycenaean figures, the *thronos* of the goddess could be a dyed textile. Hatzika Bouzakitis stressed that the verb *kathizo* (Kata. Cyrup. to 6.1), the adjective *kathapto*, *Dialog. de Aude* 75.75), and the word *kathos* (Plut. *Rep.* 6.1135). Also: Mouse 179 A, De-cube. 702, 794) are used to indicate textiles dyed with purple and/or bright, expensive colouration (see also Pliny the Elder, 1896 [9.38]).

[29.1. Bouzakitis also emphasized that Minoan textiles by definition change over time, and that so had be affordable in terms of manufacture.

[29.2. Silver suggested that Mycenaean updated their fashion and the representations of the garments by applying ceramic plaques on the frescoes and displaying additional crowns on pottery. He also remarked that [] as communication waves, time at the time, so was fashion, and [] a hypothesis worthy of consideration is that the Mycenaeans updated the Minoan by introducing previously decorated garments.

[30. In addition, Bouzakitis recalled the use of purple dyed textiles, and dyeing in magical practices, often used as archaeologists (NOM 91, 2021-1707-X, 1701-166; SCE, 1-0). She also thought of a possible connection with Anatolian Hittite Finally, Bouzakitis drew attention to some recent studies (Kennedy 2021) on the development of perspective in the Mycenaean and Minoan frescoes, and the development of perspective in painting. Bonn 2017 for interesting parallels with the historical periods in the use of textiles and garments in the sphere of religion and ritual, and, in response to Silver's suggestion, garments depicted in well painting dressing a figured scene. Fresco PM III (Figs. 21-25), Cameron and Hood 1967 [pl. II and IV], and Immerwahr 1990 (Ba n.14) for the textile from Kerameis showing Sacrum and gallery and other decorative motifs. Further references of general interest that the provided include: Sherratt and Bennet 2011 (Gulf Messenia), 2020; Sotiropoulou et al. 2021.

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Guest Post

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