Saffron Offering and Blood Sacrifice: 
Transformation Mysteries in Jungian Analysis 

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This work evolved out of my love for the land, the people, and the language of Greece, where I lived during the summer of 1966, after a year of travel in Europe. Rocky islands, turquoise waters, and whitewashed buildings reduced to shimmering blocks of color by light and heat both concealed and revealed the energy of the old gods pulsing beneath everyday life. In the following years, returning to explore the ancient marbles and to study early Greek religion and ceremony dovetailed with my recognition of the archetypal mysteries in the psyches of modern women and men in analytic work.

When I visited the National Archaeological Museum of Athens in 1995, a group of frescoes from the island of ancient Thera, now Santorini, captured my attention. One of these is the Spring Fresco, which shows a rocky landscape with blooming red lilies and swallows diving in a joyous expression of nature (Figure 1). In another fresco two ladies are intimately engaged in a robing ceremony (Figure 2). These Bronze Age frescoes are from the site of Akrotiri, where
excavation was begun in 1967. The Akrotiri settlement was abandoned after an earthquake, then covered over by a volcanic eruption around 1630 BCE.\(^1\)

Archaeologists found the frescoes and other artifacts preserved by the volcanic ash. When I came to the site in 1999, the Petros M. Nomikos Foundation had recently installed an exhibit at the Nomikos Conference Center in Fira. This show reproduced the rooms to scale with photographic images of the frescoes that had been excavated thus far.\(^2\)

![Figure 2](image)

*Figure 2*

The art from Akrotiri belongs to the general classification of Aegean art, which includes art from the Cyclades and the Minoan culture of Crete. Because
there is no written language from the period, the cultural meaning must be read from the imagery. The language of gesture, action, and communication between the figures in the pictorial space speaks to the viewer. Our understanding of significance and style are amplified by careful analogy with both the Minoan culture and the Near Eastern cultures—Egypt, Syria, Anatolia—with whom Thera had extensive maritime trade.

Some of the wall paintings were done *al fresco* on wet lime plaster, thus becoming part of the plaster as it dried, and others used the *al secco* technique of applying paint on top of dried plaster. The colors bring the scenes to life. With the exception of blue, all the colors are naturally occurring: red, yellow, and pink from iron and hematite; ochres from clay; black from carbon; and white from crystals. No green was used. The blue came from Egypt and was derived from copper and minerals.

*Figure 3*
Theran art—frescoes, pottery, and other artifacts—emphasizes nature and the relationship between civilization and the natural world. It also highlights an interpenetration of human life and the divine. The frescoes illustrate flowers and plants such as crocuses, lilies, and papyrus and animals such as monkeys, antelopes, dolphins, ducks, and dragonflies in harmonious relationship with each other and with people. Images of women and feminine energy fused with the bird goddess are omnipresent.

This essay considers the imagery in the frescoes of four rooms in a building named Xeste 3 and explores their archetypal meaning as a heritage for the modern psyche (Figure 3). From my previous study of initiation ceremonies, I recognized in these frescoes the ancient practices of initiation. The vibrant imagery and the feeling of *eros* and harmony the dramas represented prompted me to begin reading about the archaeological investigations of the Akrotiri dig. These rites of passage for both women and men involved rituals of segregation, instruction, hair cutting, adorning with clothes and jewelry, and challenges or ordeals of endurance, strength, and skill.

Here, I am primarily concerned with women’s rites of passage and where they overlap or intersect with the men’s ceremonies. The specific rituals include preparation, adornment with clothes and jewelry, crocus gathering, offerings to a goddess, feminine blood mysteries, and the sacrifice of the bull. My experience in the consulting room shows that the modern psyche draws from these ancient symbols with transformative intent; offering and sacrifice are at the heart of the archetype of initiation in analytic work. Furthermore, I have discovered that the
Aegean representation of girls and women offers an archetypal model of feminine integrity for modern women.

INITIATION IN THE BRONZE AGE

In Minoan religion, ritual action is composed of things done, *dromena* (δρωμενα); things said or sung, *legomena* (λεγομενα); things displayed, *deiknumena* (δεικνυμενα); and things envisioned in *epiphania* (επιφανια). The origin of later mystery religions, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries, may be seen in Aegean iconography.4 And in Linear B (the Mycenaean adaptation of Linear A 1850–1400BCE, a syllabic script written from left to right), which was used in the Aegean in the Bronze Age, there is a word “mu-jo-me-no,” which is thought to be a reference to initiation; this word should be related to the classical Greek verb *muew* (μυεω).5 *Muew* means “to initiate into the mysteries,” or more generally “to teach or instruct.”6

In early societies, rites of passage were an educational system and the way that knowledge and culture were transmitted from one generation to another. My interest is in what the images reveal about the archetypes of initiation, transformation, and sacrifice that are at work in motivating the psychological initiation of men and women in psychoanalytic work. Psychological initiation involves the crossing of a threshold from one state of consciousness to another through encounters with forces of life events and forces of the unconscious. This initiation always involves a death of one identity in order to birth another. The symbolic death and rebirth in individual ego identity and its relationship to the
unconscious entails a fundamental transformation of the individual. Sacrifice is embodied in the initiatory process and is at the core of that transformation.

An *eros*-laden tone among women, men, plants, animals, and landscapes permeates the atmosphere of the Aegean frescoes. I am using the word *eros* (ερως) in the broadest classical Greek sense of the feeling—intense desire and love not only for another but also for things and animals, not strictly sexual love. In these frescoes, where *eros* is exhibited in “passionate joy,” the essential archetype of woman seems to be intact, undiminished by patriarchal power.

Traditionally, initiation ceremonies have the purpose of instilling in the girl or boy the value of adult social roles in the society. In later classical Greece, the female’s role is largely restricted to wife and mother. By contrast, in Akrotiri, as classicist John G. Younger points out,

No husband stands behind the woman, his hand touching her, or keeping her under his command, as in later representations in art; nor do her children sit in her lap, immobilizing her. It is as if these three or four stages constitute the complete woman: not in the modern sense of “virgin,” “bride,” and “mother”—which are functional terms for woman as seen and used by men—but rather as simple stages or attainments important for women in their own right.

A Theran woman, therefore, seems to have enjoyed a wholeness in her society; she is represented in her own right, her own autonomy. The feminine integrity of this archetypal/cultural model for women comes up during the
analytic process. One woman had a vision in a dream of a self-contained multifaceted femininity.

I see three women standing as a group. Two wear blue scarves on their necks and one wears a solid gold one. They have come to love and support me. The image is vivid. They are “like some original reason for analysis.”

PREPARATION (προτελεια): A ROBING RITUAL

Every initiatory ceremony, from birth to death, requires elaborate preparation. Special garments that carry significance for the rite are made and presented for the purpose. A robing ritual that one scholar named “the presentation of the sacral skirt” was depicted in the Room of the Ladies at Akrotiri (See Figure 2). This image of the gifting or offering of a flounced skirt from one woman to another emphasizes the weaving and textile industry in Akrotiri, which profited from the yellow dye made from saffron. The motif of robing or dressing appears in modern women’s dreams in many variations during psychological initiation. For example, a 66-year-old woman dreamed on September 21st, the Autumn Equinox, of designing garments for an unknown ceremony.

A friend and I have heard of some young women who are excellent dress designers and seamstresses and we are in need of them. After searching for their building and suite, we enter their space,
big and bare, little furniture but lots of fabric and some baskets of thread, tape measures, and pin cushions. The three seamstresses are sitting on the floor. They say nothing as we enter. We sit on the floor in front of them; still they say nothing. We seem to repeat this process—entering their barren suite and once again sitting on the floor in front of them; again they say nothing. I wait a bit and say, “My friend and I are in need of your services. We’ve heard about your excellent dressmaking skills and hope you can help us. These dresses will be for a very special event. My friend needs a lovely lime green material, a long A-line skirt and a fancier material for the short top. And I need a long, one-piece dress made of elegant material. Can you help us?” The women, in few words, let us know they can. Then I seem to see the dresses that I’ve described, already made. I was amazed when I woke up at the detail of the dream and at the “mythic” aspects of these three silent young dressmakers.

The dreamer said the seamstresses were priestesses and the color was a spring green, symbolizing new growth, new life, rebirth. The silent dressmaker-priestesses suggested the Moirai (μοιραί), the three Greek fates: Klotho (κλόθω), the “spinner,” spun the thread of life from the distaff onto her spindle; Lachesis (λαχεσίς), the “apportioner,” measured the thread of life allotted to each person with her measuring rod; Atropos (ατροπός), the inevitable (literally, “unturning”), was the cutter of the thread of life. Atropos chose the manner of each person’s death, and when the time came, she cut his or her life-thread.11 The dream’s prophecy was fulfilled when the dreamer’s 90-year-old mother died in February of the following year. Synchronistically, her memorial service was held on Spring Equinox, six months after the dream of the Moirai.
A different robing motif appeared in the dream of a woman I shall call Claire as she struggled with her intrusive mother complex.

*I have a red silk kimono appliquéd with flowers of another shade of red. It will heal my body if I wear it. My mother gives me another kimono to wear—it’s green and black, of textured silk, and padded for warmth. I don’t like it but find I am wearing it—it seems to be more practical. I am waiting until I can put on the red one. It is of very fine, soft, smooth silk and is breathtaking to look at and touch.*

The dream suggested that when Claire was able to put on the silk kimono of her choice, the color of blood, she would be able to heal her childhood wound, step into her empowered femininity, and choose her own destiny. The mother complex for women is often played out in their choice of clothes or their conflict about choosing what to wear. Then this element of initiation gets worked through in analysis. In ancient Thera, dressing or robing was ritualized by the culture to honor a woman at the threshold of change.

Ανθολογία/Καρπολογία: GATHERING OF FLOWERS/PICKING OF FRUIT

In the first Crocus-Gatherer fresco, the robing preparation has been completed (Figure 4). On the east wall, two young girls wearing elaborate jewelry and formal dress are picking crocus flowers; they are engaged in a ritual. The scene takes place in the rocky landscape of the island. The younger girl (Figure 5)
on the right is hanging from a rock; she is flat-chested. The girl on the left (Figure 6) is a little older and does not appear to be in danger of slipping. She has small breasts with nipples indicated by a red dot; this shows that she is between childhood and puberty. She is holding a basket in her left hand. The two are also differentiated by hairstyle; the younger girl has had her head shaved with curly locks left dangling (Figure 7). The older girl is wearing a band to keep her hair out of her eyes as it begins to grow (Figure 8).
The gathering of the crocuses is organized by age group. The girls in the fresco pick the flowers of the crocuses from the top, placing them on top of one another in the baskets; they are not picking them as ornaments but in order to obtain the stigmas, the fruit. The stigmas are the source of saffron, the intense reddish-yellow spice of the Mediterranean. This detail suggests that the girls are engaged in a harvest festival. Symbolically, the fertility of the earth is often associated with girls becoming fertile.

Different hairstyles connoting different ages are part of girls’ and boys’ initiation ceremonies across cultures. The Kinaalda of the Navajo, the Festa das Mocas Novas in the Northwest Amazon, and African and Indian girls’ puberty ceremonies, for example, which often precede marriage ceremonies, all effect changes in hairstyle as part of a ceremony in which a girl moves from maidenhood to womanhood. The adornment motif is another parallel in the Theran frescoes to girls’ puberty ceremonies. Girls are dressed for their ceremonies in special garb and symbolic costumes and are layered with jewelry to enhance their changing bodies and roles at these crucial thresholds.13

The flower basket for crocus gathering (See Figures 4, 6, 10, 11) has archetypal reverberations in the subsequent Greek myth of Europa, in which the basket took on a magical role as a symbol of the matrilineal connection between grandmother, mother, and a daughter’s fate. It also plays a part in the abduction motif of young women in classical Greece. Roberto Calasso tells the story:

Europa was out walking with her friends, a shining golden basket in her hand. Hephaestus had made it two generations before to give to
Libye, who had given it to her daughter Telephassa, who then gave it to her daughter Europa. It was the family talisman. On the side, embossed in gold, was a stray heifer apparently swimming in an enamel sea. . . . Two mysterious men were standing on the shore watching. And there was a golden Zeus too, his hand just skimming the bronze-colored animal. In the background a silver Nile. The heifer was Io, Europa’s great-grandmother. . . . As she walked down toward the flowery meadows near the sea, what Europa was carrying, embossed in precious metals, was her destiny.14

The meadow in the fresco of rocky slopes with abundant blooming crocus plants introduces an initiatory setting for girls (See Figure 4). The Theran girls in their flowering meadow are innocent and virginal; they too are “flowering” and beautiful.15 The girls’ attitude suggests that they feel protected in this setting; no threats to their self-containment are visible.

This secluded self-containment contrasts explicitly with classical Greek mythology and culture, in which the gathering of flowers or fruit by girls foreshadows a seduction or kidnapping, followed by rape, a deflowering. Europa was carried off by Zeus, who assumed the shape of a bull, just as her mother and grandmother had been carried off in their girlhoods. In this abduction myth, Europa is picking flowers with her handmaidens in a field. She is fascinated by a purple rose, and as she reaches to pick it, she sees a golden bull approach. The myth describes “the bull who breathes / blows the perfume of crocus from his mouth.”16 Symbolically, then, Zeus seduces Europa with the scent of her own flowering. Persephone was also picking flowers with her girlfriends when Hades
came up from the underground and carried her off. Eurydice was picking flowers when a man pursued her, a snake in the meadow bit her foot, and she died.

Sometimes the mythological girl or goddess gains in power or stature after she is deflowered. Europa becomes a continent; Kore becomes Persephone the queen. Eurydice, however, is condemned to the bleakness of Hades. In classical Greek thought, the rites of passage and kidnappings were paired symbolically. The basis for this concept is that marriage was a separation of the girl from her family of origin, which had previously defined her. In addition to the loss of mother and family, married girls often succumbed to death in childbirth because they were too undeveloped physically to give birth safely.

In the Theran frescoes, however, the girls gathering the crocus flowers are not in danger of abduction. It is an all-female ritual, something a modern woman often longs for—a ritual that affirms her self-confidence in the world. During a difficult period with her long-standing boyfriend, Claire dreamed:

> Women, including me, are making love with each other at a big house. It feels healthy, for the sake of health, like the exercise of animals. I go out into a meadow and make a circle of twiggy, bare trees and dance around them. I feel cheerful, healthy, and whole.

Here, making love, feeling *eros* for and with other women, is a symbol of Claire’s coming into her femininity in a wholesome way. The dream created a feminine initiatory environment that included the meadow and nature, without intrusion from male forces.
In Greek mythology, the crocus appears in the sexual sphere, the female virginal environment. The crocus can be the seductive male element as well as a mirror of the girl’s flowering. According to classical archaeologist Marco Giuman, the crocus is bound “to a mythological matrix that found its conclusion in a vegetal metamorphosis.” He cites examples in classical mythology. In one, Krokos was the name of the young man from whose blood the flower is born. In a second variation, an unhappy love between Krokos and Smilace, he was transformed into the crocus, she the *Smilax aspera*—the European “salsapariglia.” Besides representing the girl’s maidenhood, the flower may also represent her fecundity. Psychologically, this flower of differentiation arises from within a woman and leads to individuation and to creativity in either her inner or outer life.

Both the Aegean legacy of woman’s self-possession and the classical legacy of woman as prey in her flourishing meadows have survived in the psyches of modern women. And both themes appear in women’s dreams with surprising variations. Claire’s unconscious frequently returned to the meadow in the years that we worked together. Here are three of those dreams:

*I am out in a meadow in the wilderness shadowed by a huge steep rock wall. I’m frightened in spite of the beauty. I’m the only person here but I’m afraid of other presences.*

*I am carrying a guilt or sin that feels like a lump in my throat. As if my badness has coalesced or narrowed down to this one thing and I can’t seem to resolve it or know what to do with it. It’s making me suffer. Then I go outside and the land is smooth rolling*
hills with a lush meadow in between. The hills are brown with green coming up from below getting greener as I watch. It’s breathtaking. I feel the contrast between my lump of guilt and this vast well-being.

I’m in a meadow. I look at the earth under grass and flowers and I see many copper coins, good luck coins of the goddess. They are not worth anything as money but are priceless nonetheless. In among them is a quarter, as if someone wanted to bring the coin of the marketplace into the realm of the goddess. I find a pair of hands looking like boxing gloves, hanging on a fence. They are for me to use.

Claire identified the meadow as a psychological space “at the edge of freedom.” Simultaneously, she feared both intrusion and loneliness there. As she expressed her own nature, the greening hills offered the promise of renewal. The new growth reflected her emotional separation from family trauma as she began to live from her authentic self. In the third dream Claire found a connection between the material world and an inner world of the archetypal feminine together with a symbol of strength in the boxing gloves. The image of a contemporary silver quarter in the midst of the old coins of the goddess also unearthed the link from the ancient to the modern psyche.

Claire associated the meadow with another dream about her analytic work.

My analyst has made a book for me—my annual book. It is thick and the first few pages are paper pockets with evergreen seeds planted in them, a different tree on each page. Pine needles stick up out of the pockets. This signifies her faith in what I will become.
It is something no one has control over or can predict, but the seeds are planted.

Claire said, “You have more faith in me than I do but you don’t know what will be and neither do I. The book had to have my essence; it was green and black.” The initiatory symbol of the meadow in Claire’s psyche appeared here as an artifact, a book made from trees and seeds reflecting her elemental nature. At that point in the work, I carried the trust in her ability to move through this threshold. But who she would be on the other side of the threshold was unknown to both of us.

KROKOS (Κρόκος)

The crocus has a unique place in Theran culture. The plant, *Crocus cartwrightianus*, existed wild in 1700 BCE and still does to some extent on Santorini (Figure 9). Leaves sprout from its bulb whose flowers are pale to deep-lilac purple, white, or white stained with lilac. The name saffron comes from the Arabic *zafaran* or *zasfaran*, meaning yellow; harsagsar in Sumerian. A perennial tuberose with a big root, the crocus dies back, conserves its energy, and flowers again the following year. It is the wild precursor of domesticated saffron, *Crocus sativus*, the commercial crocus, which is sterile.¹⁸

Saffron was an important crop for trade and contributed to the economy of Thera. In Bronze Age Egypt, saffron was used extensively as a medicine. The crocus plant did not grow in Egypt, and it is probable that the Aegean islands helped supply saffron there. The three long bright-red stigmas of the crocus
flower were gathered and used as a wild source of saffron. The stigma, sometimes described as blood red, is part of the female reproductive organ through which pollen passes to the ovary. Synchronistically, or calculatedly, therefore, it is appropriate as an offering in a female puberty rite or marriage ceremony. Powdered saffron is the ground stigmas, not the yellow pollen. *Crocus cartwrightianus* has the largest stigmas of any crocus species and is a fall-blooming plant.19

![Figure 9](image)

*Saffron is precious. It takes more than 200,000 crocus flowers picked by hand to produce one pound of the spice.*20 In Linear A and B, scholars discovered...
an ideogram thought to represent saffron, which was measured by weight in the units used for gold. The crocus is the most frequently depicted flower in Theran mural paintings. Other flowers include the Madonna lily, the wild rose, the iris, and the sea lily. The abundance of crocuses on Thera suggests that it was a crop for the luxury trade. We also see evidence of saffron perfume production; small perfume flasks called *askoi* (ασκοι) decorated with crocuses were found at Akrotiri. In addition to perfume, saffron was used as a textile dye, an artist’s pigment, an antiseptic, and a spice to flavor and tint foods. All the women in the Theran frescoes have yellow lips and fingernails, suggesting that saffron was a component of cosmetics they used or that they handled or ingested saffron. Saffron was also used in religious ritual as incense. And in Egypt the scent of the spice could indicate the presence of a deity.

Saffron’s use as a medicinal herb is at the core of the symbolism in the Akrotiri frescoes. In ancient times it was used for gynecological problems and for eye diseases. In Assyria, according to a botany dictionary that dates to 668–633 BC, it was called *azupiranu*; there it was also used for breathing difficulties, painful urination, menstrual disorders, palpitations, smallpox, and measles. We now know that saffron is the richest known source of vitamin B2 and contains the flavonoid quercetin. The use of a saffron compound reduces atherosclerosis; has antioxidant, analgesic, and anti-tumor uses; and lowers blood pressure. Steroidal estrogens and nonsteroidal substances that mimic female sex hormones have been found in saffron.

It has been noted that the women in the Akrotiri frescoes have blue streaks in their eyes, indicating a high intake of Vitamin A, also found in saffron, while
men in the frescoes have red streaks in their eyes, showing a deficiency of Vitamin A. The women would have ingested saffron as an analgesic to ease the pain of menstruation and childbirth. Fertility, the threat of death in childbirth, and infant mortality would have been concerns in prehistoric Thera. In addition to invoking protection from a deity, women would have been skilled with using plants, both preventively and therapeutically, to care for themselves through the course of their blood mysteries; it is significant that only women are involved in gathering and processing the crocuses in the frescoes at Thera. And, as previously noted, women seem to enjoy a higher status here than later in Greek culture.

In the early twentieth century, saffron was used to promote menstrual flow and as an abortifacient, although a dose that was too high could kill the mother as well as the fetus. Depending on the quantities employed, this flower turns from useful remedy to powerful poison, similar to therapeutic systems of a homeopathic kind. Another medicinal plant used in both allopathic and homeopathic remedies came up in an early dream from Claire’s analysis:

I am sent to a special place, like a Greek island, where I’ve been given four gifts that are goddesses or objects or medicines. Only the first stays with me—the other three are sold or lent away for a while. The first is a celadon vase of classic Chinese shape with an herb, ephedra, and is ruled by a particular goddess. Then I am traveling—through deserted places with people and then separated from them. It feels like a mythic journey. I might get very large if I keep going—will that be ok?
A gynecologist had referred Claire to me for her anxiety over her infertility. The intrusive fertility tests and Claire’s worry about her ability to bear a child had constellated a psychological challenge. The biological question brought up her unresolved emotional conflicts about womanhood. Not only had she been “force fed” as a child, but neither her mother nor her older sisters had helped her negotiate the changes in her identity at puberty. Claire was left with a feeling of being “too large,” both physically and emotionally, that left her ill at ease in most situations. In the dream, she receives both medicinal and spiritual offerings that augur support for her inner initiation.

Girls in contemporary society often express fear of their bodies changing at puberty, getting too large. A woman who has not yet come into herself, her feminine empowerment, has similar fears. Just as in puberty ceremonies the initiate is enhanced or embellished as she moves from girl to woman in status, so a woman undergoing a psychological initiation is expanded. Her vision broadens as her feminine self magnifies. Like a girl undergoing a rite of passage, Claire undertook an initiatory journey and overcame her personal and cultural fear of largeness, taking up space.

The herb in Claire’s dream, ephedra (εϕεδρά), was considered a magical plant in classical Greece. It too has properties that can turn from remedy to poison: it is a powerful stimulant that can cause death if taken in excess. Ephedra is also known in Chinese remedies as ma huang. At the time, Claire was consulting both western and eastern doctors to treat her infertility. The dream fused both Greek and Chinese magical plant sources to further her psychological healing and her initiation.
GIRL CARRYING BASKET OF FLOWERS

In the Crocus-Gatherer frescoes, a third flower gatherer appears on the north wall (Figure 10). Her breasts are small and her nipples are indicated by a red dot. She has a mass of short curls and a headband, and she has lifted her filled basket of flowers onto her shoulder and is proceeding left to the main scene with the goddess on the north wall (Figure 11). These two scenes are divided by a window (See Figure 3).
The Crocus-Gatherer wall paintings show both successive points in time during the ritual and a view of the whole so that each girl represents one stage of the process of crocus collection. Four girls altogether are involved in the gathering, transporting, and disposition of the crocuses. All age groups appear to have been designated chores according to their abilities. This suggests that the crocus trade gave women some economic control that affected their social status. These activities precede and prepare for the moment of offering the harvest to the goddess. This is the only example in Aegean prehistory of an entire, sequential depiction of crocus- gathering; the wall paintings are both realistic and decoratively detailed. The harvest was the Therans’ way of thanking their goddess of commerce for her valuable gift.
I see the arduous task of picking crocuses as part of a trial of endurance and strength that is often a component of girls’ puberty ceremonies. In many early cultures, the initiate is required to dance, run, grind corn, or undergo purifications or other bodily ministrations, usually while the girl is elaborately dressed in her designated costume. These challenges are performed under the auspices of girls and women who have already been initiated. In analysis, the unconscious often shows a woman the way to her own initiation. For example, Claire had the following dream:

I’m about to have to do something difficult and challenging. Then a colleague of mine asks me if I’d like to come home with her and make love. She looks so appealing, bright, cheerful, pretty. I gladly accept, feeling that then I would be ready to undertake the difficult task, complete it somehow. Also, that I would be ready then to make love with my boyfriend. This was in the midst of being cared for, cared about by women in preparation for something.

Claire had not been cared for or prepared for womanhood. The dream showed her “making love” with another woman, a self-love that would give impulse to her becoming a woman-identified-woman. This would serve her in both the ordeal stage of her journey and in her relationship with her male partner. Her consolidation as a woman was a precondition for both. Again, in the dream, as in the crocus-gathering frescoes, this took place in the context of other women who attended to her. The support and mirroring of the female group is crucial to the initiatory process. Eros pervades the atmosphere.
THE CROCUS GODDESS

The central image on the north wall is a scene of an enthroned goddess accepting the girls’ offering from a blue monkey intermediary (Figures 12, 13). The goddess, attended by her fantastical griffin, sits on a series of saffron-colored pillows. The fourth crocus picker is tipping her basket into a container in front of the deity (Figure 14). She is young and flat-chested (no nipples), and her short hair is curly. Her eyes and mouth are open as she stares at the goddess and the monkey. The girl is in awe, having an epiphany, the moment in the mystery of the deiknumena, the display, a transfigured state of consciousness. She is entirely open and vulnerable to her vision. (Figure 15)
Such epiphanies also arise in modern women’s dreams and fantasies. The deity varies depending on the particular inner call or fate of the dreamer. The following is the dream of a 55-year-old mother of three grown children who was entering a newly independent phase of her life. Her Mormon background had served her well in raising three children as a single parent and achieving success in the world, yet it had restricted her access to her fullness as a woman.

*I’m in a brown-shingled Arts and Crafts style bungalow; a women’s retreat or workshop is about to take place. I love the house; it’s cozy, old-fashioned with wood furniture. As I look around, I see one woman off by herself, watchful, shy, and reticent but interested in what is going on. I sit in a big Morris style chair in a side room where two women slowly approach me. One is*
about fifty years old with curly gray hair and large brown eyes; the other is younger and less distinct. They come to me and without a word, the younger one puts her left hand on my forehead and her right hand on my belly. The older woman puts her hands on my feet and holds them gently but firmly. Now I’m stretched out in the chair which reclines. They start to rock me back and forth slowly, sweetly. I close my eyes and feel the peace and relaxation. After a little while, I open my eyes, they stop rocking me, and I sit quietly savoring the moment of receptivity. I smile at the young woman and say, “What did I do to deserve that?” She smiles back and says, “You didn’t have to do anything to deserve that.” They both smile lovingly and knowingly at me, then, after a few minutes, quietly walk away.

I am still amazed by what has happened. I see the same shy woman across the room and smile at her. Then I am outside the house, on the tree-lined street and decide to go for a walk. The shy woman comes up and joins me. She says, “I hope I’m not intruding but I couldn’t help noticing what happened in there. It seemed like a wonderful experience for you.” I say “yes” and begin telling her my responses. Suddenly, I see ahead of us a larger than life, beautiful woman statue walking toward us. She is carved out of highly polished brown wood, just emerging from the wood, her body barely discernible beneath long, flowing robes. She is a wooden statue yet she is alive and walking toward us—tall, statuesque and proud yet not haughty. As she passes me, she slowly turns her head in my direction and smiles directly into my eyes, into my face. It feels like a visitation, and I say out loud to my woman companion, “It’s Inanna, It’s Inanna!” We are both amazed, transfixed and in total awe.
The dream showed the dreamer receiving an unexpected *eros*-laden offering from two other women that involved her being cocooned and rocked in their hands. It is reminiscent of the “molding ceremony” in the Navajo Kinaalda in which the pubescent girl’s sponsor molds her into the shape of the woman she is to become. The oscillations reminded the dreamer of the Feldenkrais exercises that she had recently taken up on the advice of a massage therapist to alleviate congenital chronic pain in her neck. Consulting a practitioner had marked a radical change in the dreamer’s behavior and her attitude toward taking care of herself. She had been taught to be stoic about her own suffering and to take care of others. And she had internalized an ethic of “being good” to earn love. The women in the dream assured her that she did not have to do anything to deserve their attention.

In the dream the woman was rocked by female attendants preparatory to the epiphany of Inanna. The dreamer’s feminine spiritual path was emerging through her attention to her body. Inanna is the Sumerian goddess whose descent to the underworld has been used as a mythic model for a woman’s initiation in analysis. The shy woman in the dream was a younger shadow figure of the dreamer, part of herself that she had left behind, not yet developed, in an earlier life of mothering and becoming established as a mature professional in social work. In the classical Greek iconography of sacrifice, one of the ways the god is represented is with a cult statue. The archetypal or spiritual entity who is motivating the psychological initiation of an individual woman often appears as a larger-than-life woman in the form of a statue, a vision, an animal, or an energetic field—goddess, grandmother, heroine, or movie star.
The girl-gatherer adoring the seated goddess (See Figures 12-15) seems to prefigure the classical period, during which girls were acolytes to a goddess in the pre-pubescent years of their lives, when changes in development were also marked by changes in hairstyle, clothing, and other adornment.33

In classical Athens, girls had a period of training in service to the goddess Athena. One element of the rituals was the presentation of a saffron-dyed tunic to Athena on her birthday for the Greater Panathenaia.34 At the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, the little girls in service wore saffron-dyed tunics, the *krokotos* (κροκότος), and played at being little bears in preparation for puberty and marriage. Although classical Greek girls had such ceremonies to usher them into puberty, their ambivalence about menarche reveals a more fearful picture than that of the women in Theran frescoes.35 The girl adorant here seems to be secure under the special protection of the goddess.
The offering basket on the floor, into which the girl has poured the crocus flowers for the goddess, is a *pannier* (κανεον), not the handled flower-gathering basket (Figure 16). The pannier is known to have been used for measuring quantities of grain (*pitharia*/πιθαρια). The baskets were standardized so that the volume would indicate the quantity of saffron produced; when the basket was full, it would have been taken to a central collecting point.36

Surprisingly, a blue monkey, an animal not native to Thera, stands upright between the figures of the girl and the goddess (See Figures 12, 13). It is mounting the shrine and offering the goddess not a bunch of flowers but a handful of crocus stigmas from another pannier. Since the drama portrays human communication with the divine, the place of action is a liminal zone, a point of interaction between human, animal, and divine realms. The revelation takes place either on the tripartite shrine or on the platforms supported by incurved altars leading up to it. There are four altars, which were probably wooden structures built by the worshippers as the sacred space to receive the goddess’ visitation.37 Although the rocky landscape is not visible, scattered crocus plants appear in the background. This is a different liminal space from the meadow or the wildlands where girls meet their fate in later Greek mythology. But they are both initiatory thresholds, honoring a transitional state.

There are three symbolic levels in the enthroned goddess fresco: the mundane, where the girl-child stands as she empties her basket full of crocuses into the pannier; the transitional liminal level, a threshold to the supernatural; and the upper, mystical level where the goddess sits, reigning splendidly over the ceremonies.38 One foot of her monkey attendant and one foot of the goddess rest
on the intermediate level; the monkey has taken the stigmas from a pannier basket between his foot and the goddess’s. The goddess has one bunch of stigmas in her left hand while taking more in her outstretched right hand. Her mouth is open; she is smiling, perhaps speaking, looking into the monkey’s eyes.

Together, the frescoes on the upper floor of Xeste 3 show the girls picking crocuses and transporting the flowers to a second processing location and the monkey presenting the separated stigmas to the enthroned deity (See Figure 3). This action suits a ceremonial reenactment of the crocus stigma harvest, events that took place in the fall, the peak of the flowering season of the crocus. One scholar argues that the basket imagery is consonant with a type of women’s craft guild, one that was perhaps in charge of gathering, measuring, and distributing the saffron to various divisions to be processed into dye, medicine, perfume, or spice. For example, separating the three orange stigmas and three yellow stamens might have been done in a guild. From the standpoint of girls’ initiation motifs, the imagery reveals the elaborate adorning of the initiates, the change in hairstyles for different ages, and a relationship of the culture to a revered feminine deity. The crocus helps define the identity of the goddess and link her with women at four stages of their lives from youth through adulthood, not just at puberty.

The goddess has a mature hairstyle—long hair loose down her back but shaved behind her ear—and a band across her forehead (Figure 17). Her breasts are revealed. One of her necklaces has swimming cormorants on it, the other has dragonflies. These are in pairs of blue, yellow, and red in an asymmetrical sequence—red, blue, yellow and blue, yellow, red. The deity’s diaphanous dress is
emblazoned with crocuses. Slanting rows of black crocuses on Egyptian blue bands edge the tops of her sleeves; small orange stigmas emerge from the flowers. Crocuses are scattered on the light blue body of her dress. Her saffron yellow seat could represent cushions or finished bales of cloth. Crocus stigmas also appear to be painted or tattooed on her left cheek.41
This goddess emanates multiple meanings (Figure 18). She is queen of the flora and fauna, a goddess of nature and fertility, a mistress of wild beasts (potnia theron/ποτνια θερον), and a goddess of healing. As mistress of animals, the lady is attended by both her live monkey attendant and her winged mythological griffin. Together with the young girls, her animal companions put her in the category of the later Artemis of Brauron. As goddess of nature, she is the deity who taught the Therans about the benefits of stigmas and now receives a sampling of the flowers she caused to grow. She has a crocus flower tucked into her hair at her temple. As goddess of healing, she blesses the stigmas and empowers them with her divine energies, potentiating the saffron crocus. She is the patroness of both women and the crocus harvest because saffron is also associated with regeneration and womanhood. The girls and women offer it back to the goddess to thank her for her valuable gift of both the flower and the knowledge of how to use it. This is the earliest known image of a healing deity portrayed with her realistically depicted phytotherapeutic agent.

With reference to the archetype of psychological initiation, we could also call it a psychotherapeutic agent.

PLANT ALCHEMY

Significantly, however, in the enthroned goddess scene, in which the harvest is offered, the stage of separating the stigmas and stamens from the flowers is not shown. Instead, the freshly separated stigmas are all piled in a
basket from which the monkey takes his offering to the goddess. The monkey's mysterious role in magically separating the flowers from their fruit to produce the stigma offering introduces an alchemical theme that emphasizes vegetative transformation. It also parallels the biological transformation taking place in the girls’ development; they flower, becoming women, and their productivity and maturity enrich their society.

In Greece, the origin of alchemy stems from the ancient Greek *chymei* (χυμεί), meaning “pouring or infusion.” Alchemy was chiefly concerned with the juices and infusions of plants and was first applied to pharmaceutical chemistry.45 *Chymos* (χυμός) then became the modern Greek word for juice. In Thera, there were different infusions: saffron for cooking, healing, and dying cloth; and saffron and lilies distilled into perfumes.

In analysis, women labor toward psychological consciousness. The analyst and the patient gather the raw material and segregate and separate out the essence of the stories, the fertilizing, healing strands of the history. The alchemical process of change in dialogue with the unconscious distills those strands into a transformative substance with the potential power to heal. This mysterious alchemical substance arose in Claire’s dreams, as in the following example:

*I’m getting blessings and teachings directly from the dakinis via a tray of grass, like wheat grass, that I clip off and put in a prayer wheel which acts like a centrifuge. I can then take in the juice/blessings fresh and direct. Someone like Tsultrim is there, enabling*
this. I have the sense that prior to this all the teachings I’ve received have been desiccated and abstract, carried by old men.

Claire had been impressed by a teaching from an inspiring Tibetan Buddhist woman teacher, Tsultrim Allione. The dream named the plant infusion as the essence of a spiritual teaching generated by the feminine. In Andreas Schweizer’s discussion of an alchemical treatise, “Komarios to Cleopatra,” written in the first century CE, he compares Greek alchemy to analytical psychology and the individuation process. This rare treatise reflects the alchemical opus from a feminine viewpoint, emphasizing the natural world. In the discourse, the woman called Cleopatra says to the philosophers:

Observe the nature of plants and from whence they come. Some come down from the mountains and grow up out of the earth; others rise up from gorges and from plains. But observe how one approaches them. One must gather them at the right moment, on the appropriate days. Pick them from the islands in the sea and from the upper plains. And observe how the air serves them . . . the divine water that nourishes them, and how the air rules over them after they have incorporated themselves into one substance.

Cleopatra’s instructions could be a prescription for the crocus-gathering and saffron-offering rites that were being performed on Thera at least 1,700 years earlier. Cleopatra concludes that the hidden mystery in plant alchemy can be fulfilled only if body, soul, and spirit are united in love. Given that the medicinal uses of saffron have been proven to be effective over 3,000 years, it
seems that the mystery of crocus flower alchemy was fulfilled on Thera. Eros radiates from the flowers, plants, and animals gracefully participating in the ceremonies shown in the frescoes. This positive side of the feminine came up in other dreams Claire had, in contrast to the predominantly power-oriented, distorted expectations in the voice of a negative animus that harangued her about her worthlessness and inferiority.

I am locked in a male-dominated world, struggling to distinguish myself, to make my mark, but always having to do it their way. It’s killing me—I’m sick and losing strength.

Scraps of tomato slices are the women’s way of knowing, my way—slight, slippery, fragile. The men’s way dominates—firm, solid, big. I am happy to have found these tender wet scraps.

There is a mountain of garbage in front of me. I have a small amount of microbes and with these I’ll be able to chew through all the garbage and process it through my body into nourishing fertilizing humus.

We are restoring original native flora to a marsh, bringing in reeds and grasses in bunches. I am in love with a small silky man, bright and light like silk. I hold him.

My sister and I are transplanting the rootstock of grape vines of my family. They’re tangled, abandoned, haven’t been cultivated. We replant them and give them sun and water. We also dig up earth that is good and bring it along. This is all we can save but it is a lot of potential.
In all these dreams, the organic world of the earth was the antidote to Claire’s feeling of revulsion for her mother and her own body and her sense of dislocation from her feminine soul. She said, “Why do I stay where I feel split and alien when it’s so much easier to be where the animals live, where water lives, deep down?” In the last dream, Claire even found some “root stock . . . of my family” that allowed her to feel that she could regenerate from her own ancestry instead of being condemned to the profound alienation she felt from her family of origin. Through attending to nature both cultivated and wild, she healed the splits in herself.

THE BLUE MONKEY

In addition to the blue monkey in the goddess fresco, blue monkeys are the subject of a fresco in which the animals are performing or imitating human activities (Figure 19). One monkey picks a crocus, another plays a lyre, others hold a sword or sword sheath. One wears a necklace, another a gold earring. The monkeys are anthropomorphized and degendered. The area around their genitals is painted white and flat, blending with the stomach.49

These monkeys belong to a species of long-tailed ape, kerkopos (Κερκωπος), an African vervet. The kerkops (Κερκοψ), or monkey men, were a race of mischievous dwarfs, trickster figures that were connected in legend with Heracles. They were later turned into monkeys by Zeus. This species seems to possess the rudiments of language, giving different alarm calls that tell whether
leopards, snakes, or eagles are invading. With a semblance of language, their mimicry of human communication is convincing (Figure 20).

![Figure 19](image)

![Figure 20](image)

The monkey on the fresco was drawn from life; it was not mythical like the goddess’s griffin. This species was known in Egypt as an import from Africa and Syria. The degendering in the images is obviously intentional because the male
monkey of this species has a startling turquoise blue scrotum. (Figure 21)

Degendering situates the animal in an ambiguous role fitting for the liminal state between human and divine activity and also for the role of magician or alchemist that I noted above. This monkey is the primary servant for the Aegean/Minoan goddess shown on myriad seals in Crete, as attendant, adorant, and worshipper of the feminine divinity, or in front of the horns of consecration, where it is shown with raised arms.50

What does the monkey in the Spring Fresco mean for the girls experiencing the epiphany of the enthroned goddess? As a mediator, the monkey
is the bridge from the young girl bringing the flowers to the archetypal feminine, the goddess. For a woman in analysis, “attending” to the archetypal energies emerging from her psyche is essential to the process of strengthening her femininity. The monkey also has a connection to women’s sexuality; in Egypt, monkeys appeared as decoration on women’s cosmetic containers. As the instinctual animal energy in the fresco, it also represents a link to the girl’s sexuality. The monkey as trickster is a powerful agent of change in analytic work. One woman in analysis who had recklessly indulged in some vicious gossip at a church dinner had this dream:

_I am walking down the street bleeding copiously, menstruating and defecating at the same time. A big monkey is behind me, carrying a hose and sluicing down the sidewalk as he follows. When I woke, I knew the dream was about my behavior the previous night, and that the monkey was some primitive part of me that was both washing away and calling attention to my beastliness. I felt exposed and ashamed._

The public display of the woman’s blood in the dream referenced her repressed sexuality and the feces the acting out of destructive speech, a primitive shadow hidden behind the dreamer’s prim persona. The dream disgusted her and forced her to take responsibility for her intentions. The presence of the monkey, however, suggested that the woman had the capacity to change and be more mindful as she developed psychologically.
THE GODDESS’S GRIFFIN

The griffin is a magical beast with the head and wings of an eagle and the body and hindquarters of a lion. Sometimes its tail is said to be a snake. In the Enthroned Goddess fresco, tendrils from the griffin’s eye end in spiral curls on its neck, from which wings spring (See Figures 12, 13). The griffin is the goddess’s familiar; it wears a little red collar and red leash. It is close-mouthed, as opposed to open-mouthed with devouring intent, neither threatening nor aggressive in its role as magical attendant to the goddess.52

Rather, it is in the posture of an adoring protector; it looks as if it is smiling up at the goddess. The fresco portrays the girl, the monkey, the goddess, and the guardian griffin in a lyrical intimate moment (Figure 22).

Figure 22
Classical Greeks believed the griffin lived in the country of Scythia, where it guarded gold. As a mythical beast, the griffin is the bridge between the anthropomorphic goddess and the miraculous divine. The fact that the griffin is leashed refers to the goddess’s power: the griffin is a high-ranking predator, but it is submissive to the goddess of its own will. There is no force here. Harmony reigns. The griffin could also perform the role of sacrificial priest in Aegean ritual. Minoan culture conflated magic, religion, and medicine, a conflation inherent in the archetype of healing that we know from our analytic work.

Winged magical beasts hover around alchemical processes at thresholds of change in a patient’s development. In analysis, such creatures appear unexpectedly at moments of dire need to bring about the initiatory transformation or to herald a new mystery when a deep depression or possession has set in. They are potent spirits that embody the transcendent function. One woman, caught in an excruciating conflict between her husband of twenty years and a younger man with whom she had fallen in love, dreamed that the winged horse Pegasus flew down and took her on its back, then high up into the sky, depositing her on an island in a cold gray sea. When she woke, she realized that she needed to extricate herself from both men in order to orient and find her answer without external pressure. This self-imposed isolation would be challenging and lonely. But the winged guardian knew that she needed to make this decision from her soul. Here, the unconscious used the abduction motif of classical Greece as a motivating vehicle to serve the Self.
Ordinary animals also serve as intermediaries in the psyche; they can bring forth the instinctual energy lacking in the conscious point of view and set off archetypal repercussions. Claire dreamed:

I have a polar bear on a leash. Someone has tamed him partially so he can’t be released into the wild. He has both sides at cross-purposes—he’s wild and yet partly docile and self-effacing. So he doesn’t fit anywhere—too dangerous to be among people and too confused and tame to go back home. The bear climbs up trees and onto roofs. I feel sorry for him and stuck with him.

Claire felt her fierceness coming to the fore as she deepened her relationship to her unconscious and to her femininity. She said, “I have just tried to keep my strength concealed or let it leak out in secret. My life force is locked up in there. Bears have claws but the she-bear was also plump and soft. It’s amazing how softness can be a strength.” Claire felt caught in between at this liminal stage of her life and analysis—not wild, yet not tame. Integrating her own healthy aggression with her vulnerability in an embodied way had yet to come.

GIRLS’ INITIATION

On the ground floor of the building directly below the theophany, or enthroned goddess, is a fresco of three women moving to the right toward an altar fresco on the east wall (Figure 23). These frescoes depict another stage of the rituals linked with female maturation. Steps lead down to the underground
sanctuary, the *adyton* (αδυτον), or “holy of holies,” the place of separation. The existence of a place below ground for the female rites suggests that the ritual included a need for individual privacy, where nudity may have played a part, as well as group participation. (Female nudity is not depicted in Aegean art.) The ritual actions of all the outdoor scenes could also have taken place in the *adyton* along with the secret parts of the mystery ceremonies. The motif of descent often occurs in dreams, where it separates the dreamer from external reality and initiates a new development in the psyche. One woman in analysis dreamed:

*I’m descending into a sunken Roman bath-like area. It’s dark and slightly mysterious below ground. It seems to be a celebration for me, birthday or congratulations? I walk along a cobblestone walkway. To my right I see an aquarium-like glass structure full of small, apple-sized rocks, each brightly painted in a unique way. They are absolutely beautiful! I am told that the rocks are for me and that they are miniature sauna rocks. I watch the steam flare up as water splashes over them. I can’t believe it. I am so pleased. I move along the pathway and on the other side I see another such structure, larger. This one is full of water and miniature figures*
each about the size of a hand in artistically arranged scenes. I stare at them: mermaids, dervishes, others less identifiable—each painted perfectly, brightly to depict the unique character of the figure. I catch my breath. And suddenly the exquisite beings begin to move—the dervish whirls, the mermaids swim, a jester does handstands; it’s magical. Has someone flipped a switch to turn on this action? Then I am told that these are for me too.

But suddenly I become totally preoccupied with where my husband is so I am unable to attend to the spectacle fully. I am sick with anxiety by the time I see him, then struck with pain as he tells me, coldly, that he doesn’t love me anymore, hasn’t for a long time, and is, in fact, in love with someone else. I am devastated!

The dreamer was in a committed marital relationship based on love and affinity that she valued highly. But she had always had some anxiety, based on her ambivalent attachment to her mother, about her husband leaving her. The dream showed her that some ritual was going on in her unconscious, her inner world was calling. There was a design from the Self beyond her ego awareness. She needed to come alive to the beauty and magic in her feminine soul in order to realize her security. The mysterious inner gifts of colorful sauna rocks and animated figures were being offered to her. But as she was being initiated into her lively inner world, she worried that it would compete with or threaten her relationship to her husband.

The three female figures in the ground-floor fresco face the east wall, on which is painted a wall with a door, above which is a stone altar. The altar is crowned with the horns of consecration, which suggests a bull sacrifice. On each
side of the door is a row of red lilies; the door is outlined with spirals. On the horns is a red material that has been interpreted as both blood and as saffron stigmas dripping down the face of the door (Figure 24).56

Figure 24

The women wear long skirts and have long hair and developed breasts, indicating a post-pubescent stage of life (Figure 25).57 The woman on the left is walking toward the east carrying a necklace. Like the goddess on the upper floor, she wears a dress with a top of transparent, light blue material decorated with crocuses. The bright red stigmas mirror the red styles in the clumps of crocuses in the landscape (Figure 26). The yellow ribbon in her hair and the sacral knot and
girdle also look as if they have been dyed with saffron. She wears a garland of fresh crocus stigma bundles, which form fan-shaped clusters that are tied in a row to a cord. Her body is facing forward, her developing breasts revealed, turned toward the viewer. Her long loose hair is lightly bound in ribbons, and she is wearing a band across her forehead (Figure 27).

Figure 25

Figure 26
The necklace swinging from her left hand appears to be beaded.\textsuperscript{58} Or perhaps it is made of round translucent polished stones. Is she presenting the gift in honor of her own or the wounded girl’s physical maturity? Or does it belong to her and she is lending it to the initiate for the ritual in order to receive back the power of the goddess generated at this time? (Figure 28).\textsuperscript{59}
Jewelry is customarily part of girls’ puberty ceremonies and indicates status. Together with clothes, jewelry belongs to the adornment element of the ceremony that enhances the girl’s value as she comes of age. In the analytic container, a woman often dreams about adornment in the course of her initiation into becoming a woman-identified woman. Claire had “given up” on herself as a child, on her autonomy, her voice, and her identity. She had turned away from being female and from the feminine because her mother had dominated and engulfed her as a child. She had the following dream during our work together:

*I am in a store looking at two necklaces. One is made of green and yellow beads of different shapes and sizes. The other is black with small beads in a flower pattern. I want them very much but take a*
long time to look and think about getting one. My mother is in the background and will influence my decision.

Claire struggled for many years to act on her own desires and find her autonomy without the interference of that lurking maternal presence. She said, “I don’t yet know the secrets, what the necklaces are about, what mysterious power that could be. I’m completely in the dark and don’t know what it will feel like, look like.” The necklaces symbolized a feminine empowerment that she had yet to feel.

The wounded woman in this fresco is sitting on a rock (Figure 29). She is holding her head with one hand and extending her other hand down toward her bleeding foot. Her dress includes saffron-dyed bands. She is either reaching for the crocus flower on the ground, perhaps, or intending to cradle her foot. Her
large hairpin reproduces the shape and size of a small blue-violet iris. The olive branch in her hair has yellow and blue blade-shaped leaves. The girl looks disheveled, as though she has been through an ordeal: her hair is loose, and the iris pin and branch look as if they are falling out (Figure 30). Straps of her skirt are also falling in different directions. These elements suggest that she has been tested in some way. The purpose of the olive branch is not known; she could have acquired it during a trial in the fields or in the underground chamber (Figure 31).
The blood on her foot refers to the blood mysteries of menstruation, defloration, birthing, or miscarriage. In many initiation rites and in classical Greece, the appearance of blood at the girl’s menarche is the indication for the tribe or culture that marriage is to follow. The blossom with stigmas under her bleeding foot link the crocus with flowing blood. Could she be intending to use the stigmas as a healing compress for the wound? The undone skirt may indicate previous nudity during the initiation ordeal. The wound on her foot also suggests an analogy to the modern Arab folk culture of the Maghreb in Tunisia, where seeds are planted inside small incisions made in the bride’s legs during nuptial rites to promote fertility in the marriage. In the fresco the wound could also be a scarification or tattoo like the ones African tribes practice in women’s initiations at different maturational stages.

Again this is a natural setting that excludes men. The wounded woman is self-contained and could be expressing pain, grief, or self-reflection. Her companions are looking not at her but rather toward the altar (Figure 32). Although the other women are part of the ritual, they are not there to comfort
her. Likewise, in analysis a woman must endure her descent and ordeals alone. Psychological wounding can appear in physical symptoms or in dream and fantasy imagery of the body being injured during a woman’s analysis. Claire dreamed:

*I have a wound in my left foot that I've been dressing. Then I notice that both legs are dark red/maroon from top to bottom on the fronts and I think it is blood poisoning. I ask a woman to take me quickly to the hospital before it reaches my heart.*

After telling me the dream, Claire said, “Yesterday I felt so awful I wanted to cry. What I have in common with the rest of my family is the same blood. It was an old familiar feeling, one I had not had in a long time in which everything has a negative valence.” Early feelings of being the bad child in her family of origin at times threatened Claire with annihilation in analysis. The dream revealed a core wound. The poisoning from the wound, however, had not yet shut down her heart, the source of compassion and self-love. She could still feel for herself and ask for help before further damage was done. The dream called for an intensification of care in the analytic relationship.

*Figure 32*
Psychologically, self-confidence for a woman rests on an experience of being supported and protected as a girl and maiden. Her premenarchal intactness is “broken” by her own blood flowing at menarche. Then her developmental task is to submit willingly to her blood mysteries, learn to take care of herself physically and emotionally in a new way, and take responsibility for her interactions with other women and men as she becomes sexual. Part of submitting to the menstrual cycle is to deal with the experience of death and rebirth enacted in the womb each month—with its attendant expectation or fear of becoming pregnant, depending on a woman’s desire to bear a child. This, of course, takes place for a modern woman within a context of choices about sexuality and contraceptives. A 65-year-old woman dreamed:

I was on a hill looking down at a train track with my sister. . . . There were bloody clothes on the track where someone had been hit by the train. I didn’t want to look but my sister was fascinated. There was a part of a bloody body in the clothes that looked to be a uterus and reproductive organs.

At the age of thirty-three, the dreamer, who at the time was divorced and was raising a three-year-old daughter, had unexpectedly become pregnant with her boyfriend of several months. He had children from a previous marriage and did not want another child. The woman wanted to keep the child but could not imagine doing that without his support, so she agreed to have an abortion. Her childless sister had been ambivalent about parenthood and had let the years go by without taking up the conflict consciously. The dream showed the sacrifice of
the child that symbolically took the mother with it—the accident of the pregnancy and the revulsion for the bloody abortion and fascination with the desire to bear that child.

The initiatory ordeal in any culture can include an encounter with blood or death. The dreamer’s now-grown daughter had recently suffered a miscarriage. Her mother was mourning both her daughter’s loss and her earlier aborted child. The dreamer had struggled to come to terms with having submitted to the man’s wishes instead of following her own instinctual nature. Yet she also realized that the abortion was a sacrifice that fostered her psychological initiation.

In many puberty rites, a girl is required to enact the fate of a cultural heroine as part of her initiation. As each girl undergoes the ritual, she serves to keep the myth or memory of the heroized woman or goddess alive for the tribe. The initiate identifies with and imitates the ordeal or feats of the cultural heroine. The subject of this fresco could be an antecedent for the Eleusinian Mysteries, in which the initiate had to relive Demeter’s loss of her daughter during the ceremony. Demeter’s grief had its mirror in Kore’s grief after her abduction by Hades. Ritually reliving the mutual loss of mother and daughter began with the Eleusinian initiates processing from Athens to Eleusis, just as Demeter had roamed the countryside in search of Kore. Later the participants sat on “the laughterless rock” (agelastros petra/ἀγελαστρος πετρα), a rock over a well that was said to be connected to the underworld, on which Demeter had sat as she mourned Kore.

Kore originated as a vegetation goddess. Initiation mirrors vegetative cycles: death and rebirth of nature parallels taking up a new life and role when
passing from childhood through puberty to maturity. In their descent into the adyton, Theran women were experiencing the suffering of the vegetation goddess who was immanent in the crocus plant. In this way they could also become intimate with plant alchemy, with the potential essences to be made from the saffron.

The third woman in the ground-floor tableau is walking away from the east wall but still looking back at the shrine topped with the horns of consecration (Figures 23, 24). She is either wrapping or unwrapping herself in a cloak, a transparent peplos decorated with red dots (Figure 33). The dots, which likely symbolize crocus pollen, could be painted or embroidered, or they could be carnelian beads sewn onto the garment. She is moving toward the altar. Veiling symbolizes dedication to a new role, for instance to marriage or to a goddess in ancient Greek ceremony. The veil also suggests turning inward and a change in vision that is to come (Figure 34).
The dots decorating her peplos imply that the Therans knew about the fertilizing role of crocus pollen. This would represent a metaphorical transference of the fructifying and health-giving effects of the pollen onto the adolescent girl. In the Kinaalda and the White Mountain Apache tribes, corn pollen or red ochre clay is used to fertilize and bless the initiate. Here, in addition to red dots, crocuses also decorate the veiled woman’s dress (Figure 35). pollen was often depicted in Theran pottery painting as white or dark dots on flowers or streaming out of flowers. The abundant and heavy pollen of the crocus was featured in a gold Minoan pin with two bees carrying a single pollen ball between them (Figure 36).
HORNS OF CONSECRATION

The altar door with horns on the east wall, toward which the three girls in the fresco are oriented, brings together the bull’s blood, saffron stigmas, and flowers (See Figure 24). The door is surrounded by spirals and red drenched over the whole. Here, the horns may stand in for the male presence. While excavating at Catal Huyuk, one of the early Neolithic settlements in Anatolia, Dorothy Cameron noted the astonishing similarity between a bull’s head and a woman’s uterus with its fallopian tubes. Putting this observation together with other imagery in the shrines, she postulated that Catal Huyuk was the site of a birth-giving goddess and that men externalized and honored the blood sacrifice in a menstruating woman’s body in the sacrifice of the bull. She saw the bull’s head as the power of male fecundity in a woman’s body. Here the blood sacrifice of a menstruating woman, indicating the loss of a potential child, intersects with the sacrificed bull on the altar.

Bull sacrifice and bull games were practiced on Thera, perhaps as part of male rites of passage during initiation. One fresco shows a group of young men leading a white bull to sacrifice. The procession is shown, but the moment of sacrifice is never shown; it is the ineffable mystery that cannot be revealed. This means that the images we see in these frescoes are only the public face of the ceremonies; the mystery went on behind these scenes. A clay bull rhyton showing a net stretched over the bull indicates capture for sacrifice or for bull-leaping (Figure 37). (The rhyton was a ritual vessel used for pouring the libation of bull’s
blood). Another such rhyton with bull-leapers clinging to the horns was also found at Akrotiri (Figure 38).⁷⁵

Bull dances, leaps, and sacrifices are still practiced in ritualized form in Spain, Mexico, and southern France. In the 1930s, the Spanish poet Gabriel...
Garcia Lorca declared bullfighting “the last serious thing, a profound art form, dealing with mortality and humanity, man’s relationship with nature and the unavoidable fact that death comes as the end.” The pitting of man against bull has persisted as a continuous meaningful ritual since the Paleolithic age (Figure 39). Such continuity speaks to the consistency of the human psyche throughout human history. Hunting and sacrifice are part of an archetype based on humanity’s relationship with the earth and the gods. In Aegean culture, the distinction between hunt and sacrifice was blurred. In sacrifice, however, the sacrificer feels guilt because the animal that is killed is a friend, not an enemy. Therefore, in the ritual meal that follows, drinking blood and eating meat is essential both to appeasing the animal’s spirit and to nourishing the participants with its spirit.
The bull is the most important sacrificial animal in Ancient Greece, but it was not yet an individual god in the Theran/Minoan pre-Dionysian period. As mythologist Roberto Calasso says of the bull in Minoan culture:

He was the Bull: the total Bull, who descends from the heavens like Zeus, rises from the sea like Poseidon, grazes under the plane trees of Gortyn. He encompassed all things: he was in the honey and blood offered to the gods, he was in the slender horns at each side of the altars, in the ox skulls painted along the walls of the palace.79

The bull was closely allied with the moon goddess in Crete. Horns were found there with thirteen marks referring to the lunar calendar, the waxing and waning moon, menstruation, and the rise and fall of lunar tides. The horns also resemble the cornucopia, the horn of plenty. Horns were used to call the community together. In later Greek mythology, the bull was associated with the Minotaur complex of myths and then with Dionysos.

For sacrifice, the bull was stunned before its throat was slit, then the body was cut up and consumed, either raw or cooked. For the Greeks, the flow of the animal’s blood released its vital force, which was a potent agent that ensured renewal and, in some form, the promise of rebirth. The blood sprinkled on the altar contained the victim’s life force. (The same can be said of menstrual blood.) Blood was a strong image and substance; bulls’ blood was used for divination and had potent magic in Aegean Greece. The blood was mixed with water to fertilize fruit trees in Crete.80
In Thera, the red crocus stigmas associated with bull’s blood and menstrual blood and the healing properties of saffron, especially for women, persist in later classical Greece in the symbolism and ritual use of the saffron-dyed robes. The importance of the crocus to the sacred feminine appears in classical mythology as the κροκοπεπλος (κροκοπεπλος), the saffron-dyed garment of the sacrificial girl. On the verge of her sacrifice on the beach of Aulis, Iphigenia, who was betrayed by her father Agamemnon, discards her yellow robe and her veil and pierces her killers with her glance. In another version, at the moment of sacrifice, Iphigenia becomes the priestess at Brauron and the animal substituted for her sacrifice is a bear, not a deer. There she becomes the eternal παρθενος (Παρθενος), virgin or maiden, the innocent girl forever picking flowers. And “the girls at Brauron may have enacted some mimesis of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. . . . The girl who enacted the sacrificial victim became at the moment of shedding the robe, a bear.” The κροκωτος (κροκωτος) was the saffron-dyed robe worn by Dionysos, a male god associated with women, who embodies sacrifice, death, and rebirth. Apollo, Dionysos’s alter-god, snatched Creusa as she bent to pick saffron on the slopes of the Athens Acropolis. So the Aegean view of the girl or woman as valuable in her own right strongly contrasts with Aristotle’s view in classical Greece that a girl’s menarche brought her into the category of a sacrificial beast until she married.

The classical Greek menstruating girl was also associated with prey in a hunt. In the earlier Aegean view, the girl being initiated seems to have been empowered by association with the bull’s blood in the crocus-gathering
ceremony. Modern women’s psyches seem to reach for this earlier honoring of the feminine as a life-giving force in such dreams as the following one Claire had:

_I have to convince a group like a jury that I believe women to be perfect and innocent. My future, maybe my life, rests on their judgment. Before me I see such a woman, with bits of horn still clinging to the ends of her hair and fingertips as if she’s recently come from the innocence of animals._

Because of her mother’s intrusive, slatternly femaleness, Claire had rejected the feminine, preferring her father’s “neater, dryer masculinity.” She needed to regain some primal connection with the instinctual feminine in order to become a woman-identified woman and to feel at one with her Self. In the dream, the necessity, the life-or-death issue, is the acknowledgment that the horned animal and the woman are one and pure. The unconscious offers a pre-patriarchal solution in the face of the negative animus, the jury.

**TRANSFORMATION**

The first symbol of transformation in the Theran complex of imagery is the blue monkey with the stigmas, indicating plant alchemy. The second such symbol is the bull, the powerful male animal whose sacrifice is regenerative. In Minoan Cretan representation, plants, flowers, and bees are shown springing up from the bull’s body. The female blood mysteries that the goddess of flora and fauna presides over are the bridge between the two alchemies. The plant infusion, the
stigmas of saffron, the bull’s blood, and woman’s blood are all one to the Aegean mind. In menstruation, defloration, and childbirth women lose blood; after childbirth, the blood is converted into milk with which to nourish the child. Submitting willingly to their own bodies, their own instinct, women become both sacrificer and sacrificed. In this way, the altar with horns acknowledges the overlapping meaning of the girl’s body as sacred with the sacrifice of the bull. The flowers are the vegetative blessing.

During the excavation of Akrotiri, archaeologists found large stone horns of consecration (Figure 40). Perhaps an altar was constructed beneath them like the one shown in the fresco and perhaps the cult scenes with their guiding images were set in both outdoor and indoor locations. As they passed through the ritual, the initiates could have observed the pictures in the lustral basin and the upstairs rooms, then proceeded down the staircase and outside, picked the crocus styles, decorated the horns of consecration around the town, and brought an offering of styles to the goddess to conclude the ritual.84

Figure 40
The double axe, or labrys, was possibly a sacral image here, as it was on Crete. Its shape is similar to the shape of the bull’s horns, sacred horns of consecration. But no labrys has been found on Thera to date. The double axe was the symbol of the supreme Minoan goddess. New scholarship suggests that she is a solar goddess who reigned behind the Minoan king and that the double axe represents the sun emerging from the horizon. The double axe, then, is also a regenerative symbol, the symbol of renewal from darkness, from death. In Minoan imagery the varying shape becomes a butterfly, a bee, and a lily and is often embedded in vines and flowers. The horns also refer to the twin-peaked mountains where Minoan shrines were often built.

One element of male initiation centered on young men pitting themselves against the bull in various ways that involved competition, play, and sacrifice. The ideals of manhood are shown in other frescoes at Akrotiri with iconography that includes only males: boxing, hunting, fishing, seamanship, and the religious ritual of the sacrifice. These rites of passage have to do with trials of strength, while the women’s rites have more to do with endurance. But there is a lot of crossover between genders in terms of body adornment, robing, cutting of hair or changes in hairstyle, and jewelry. This suggests parallel significance in the girls’ and boys’ rites of passage. The women’s activities are all related to saffron, the men’s to athletics. Both genders carry offerings that have both practical and symbolic functions.

As we have seen, the frescoes on both the ground and first floors depict only female figures. A separate type of ritual for male coming of age took place in another room in the same complex. The rituals for each sex could have taken
place on separate days or at separate times on the same day. The doors of the pier
and the door partitions could be rearranged easily to close off the initiation area
of the opposite sex. There were not many windows, but many lamps were found
in this area, suggesting the possibility of controlled lighting.  

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SACRIFICE

Eros prevails in the ambience of the Theran frescoes. Animals, plants,
men, women, and goddesses all intermingle harmoniously in carefully rendered
frescoes. Besides the visual evidence of joy and love, there are subtle suggestions
of consciousness about eros in the choices of subject Theran painters made. For
instance, the white Madonna lily, the predominant flower in the frescoes, from
which both perfume and medicinal distillations were made, is deliberately
painted red in many instances (See Figure 1). This layers the symbolism.
Iconographically, red radiates love and eroticism and echoes symbolically with
the saffron stigmas and the sacrificed bull’s blood.

In Aegean society, the sacrificial gifts were saffron, flowers, and bulls’
blood; the feminine blood mysteries were the original sacrifice. The burning of
incense made of saffron stigmas to the goddess was also a sacrifice because the
word thisia (θυσια) or thiein (θυειν), meaning “to sacrifice” or “slaughter,” also
meant “blazing, flaring up.” This referred both to the leaping sacrificial fire by
which the gift offered to the gods was consumed and to the smoke carrying it up
(Figure 41.) Such blazing is also shared by the intense feeling of eros. Later, other
“products of cultural achievement which are the fruit of attention, patience,
industry, devotion and laborious toil” become the sacrifice: wheat and grape
became bread and wine in the Catholic Mass, for example. At the sacred meal,
“consecrated” food (bull or plant) is eaten; sacrifice means to make sacred.

The eros-laden atmosphere of analytic work, if rightly acknowledged and
used, furthers the individuation process of both analyst and patient. It makes the
sacrifice possible. A true psychological sacrifice, according to Jung, only becomes
a sacrifice if one gives up the implied intention of receiving something in return;
the gift must be given as if it were being destroyed. Therefore, all giving is a self-
sacrifice in some way. In individuation, the ego makes itself conscious of its claim
and the self must cause the ego to renounce it. This can happen only through self-
reflection and self-recollection. The self is the sacrificer and the ego is the
sacrificed gift, the human sacrifice.
Analysis is a modern initiation rite and a mystery in which the sacred core of transformation can never be entirely revealed. The intimacy of the ongoing psychotherapeutic or analytic relationship generates an atmosphere conducive to the archetype of sacrifice. The relationship exists as an archetypal call for change that energizes the unconscious of both patient and analyst. The engagement must become a willing sacrifice on both sides; in this way it becomes an offering to consciousness and to the Self.

On an ego level, from the patient’s point of view, the initial commitment of time and money is an offering that implies a conscious expectation of relief from unwanted symptoms and a renewal of health and well-being. But as an analysis proceeds, the patient loses the security of a fixed identity and experiences both psychological and sometimes physical affliction as the forces of the unconscious erupt and make themselves felt. In this way, the patient undergoes more intense suffering as the work deepens inward and then the ego is forced to submit to the Self’s designs. Sacrifice becomes necessary. The archetype of initiation comes into play.

For the modern woman or man who has not properly negotiated the developmental initiatory stages, the psychological journey is even more fraught because the individual is not standing on solid internal ground. And the patient often has to make up for this lack, move through many developmental thresholds as he or she is simultaneously forging a psychological attitude in the analysis.

In many cases, through undergoing the initiatory ordeal, a sense emerges that the individual’s sacrifice makes life sacred. In the analytic relationship, a woman is contained, supported, and challenged by the analyst, by the
unconscious, and by the health-seeking motive in her psyche. The patient submits to an individual journey with blessings and ordeals along the way as she loses the security of a narrow vision of life. Discomfort and disruption may occur in her social group or community because she has chosen this consciousness-seeking path. Unlike an initiate in the Theran community, she cannot count on welcoming equals or elders when she emerges from the psychological transformation she has undergone.

And what about me as analyst? I receive my livelihood by engaging in the individuating fields of my patients. But I cannot know at the outset what the cost will be to me of a particular analytic relationship. My initial commitment necessitates my submission to the relational field between me and the new patient. When the self in me is activated, as it must be in any truly analytic process, my ego must also submit. In being present to that initiatory field, the configuration of the particular transference-countertransference is constellated, demanding sums of energy both consciously and unconsciously. Negative and positive transferences in every permutation are unrelenting as they work toward the resolution of the patient’s soul problems. From the ordinary demands for contact between hours or for extra hours to the extraordinary call upon my resources when someone regresses, becomes suicidal, or intrudes on my dreams or personal time, I carry the psyche of each individual I see.

The consulting room becomes sacred not only through what happens during the hour but through my act of responding to the unconscious necessity of each patient both in and out of the hour without asking for anything in return. Each relationship is different; each presents a different test. In essence, I become
engaged in Jung’s participation mystique—where I sacrifice or lend a part of myself to the blessing, descent, or initiation of my analysand. Each time, I too experience a deepening or move through another threshold as I admit the transcendent energies that preside over and potentiate the work.

For me, that is the place of the blood and stigmas on the altar in the frescoes, the place of transformation. I offer myself, allow myself to be used in the appropriate way on behalf of another’s individuation, in response to the other’s unconscious. Time and again, I am in awe of the powers beyond me; I am often vulnerable in relation to the unconscious forces. Masculine and feminine come together. This is the making sacred, the offering and the sacrifice, through which both the patient and I are consecrated. This subtle engagement has a life of its own in analytic work. I know it is beyond me and I surrender to it, even as I am simultaneously humanly engaged and objectively assessing the work. At certain moments a dream, such as the following one from Claire, appears that graces the mystery of the analysis:

*I go to see my analyst. There is an Om seed syllable, flowing with riches like a cornucopia, happiness, and well-being, peace.*

NOTES

The exhibition is now (as of 2015) a permanent installation in the new Santozeum Museum, Fira, Santorini. Images from the exhibition are available online at www.santorini-art.com/santorini_wall_paintings.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akrotiri_(Santorini); and http://www.therafoundation.org/wallpaintingexhibition. The images can also be found in Christos Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 2nd ed., translated by Alex Doumas (Athens: The Thera Foundation–Petros M. Nomikos, 1999), which was invaluable to me in my research.


Ibid., p. 695.

Ibid.


I discussed the Navajo ceremony and other puberty ceremonies in depth with relation to analytic work in Rutter, Woman Changing Woman.


“απο του στοματος κροκονεπνει” as “che spira dalla bocca profumo di croco” (citing The Idylls of Moschus, 2ff.).

17 Ibid., p. 92.


19 Spring-flowering crocuses do not have conspicuously long stigmas.

20 The price for one pound of saffron through Amazon.com was $1,282 in 2010.


29 Rutter, Woman Changing Woman.


31 For an exploration of this myth, see Betty Meador, Inanna: Lady of Largest Heart (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001). See also Meador, “Sappho and Enheduanna,” in this volume.


34 Ibid., p. 224.


37 Marinatos, “The Imagery of Sacrifice: Minoan and Greek,” p. 15.


44 Ferrence and Bendersky, “Therapy with Saffron and the Goddess at Thera,” p. 199.

pouring or infusion) was confused with the word chimia (χημεια or χημια), having a slightly different spelling derived from the hieroglyphic name for Egypt, K’hmi, meaning “black earth.” Chimia (Χημια; transmutation) of gold and silver was called the Egyptian art by Diocletian, ca. 300. The Arabs adopted the name and practice using the word al-kimia. The chemistry of this process developed in Alexandria, then was reintroduced via Spain to Europe, from whence we get the alchemy of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance—that is, the pursuit of a way to change baser metals into gold.

46 Lama Tsultrim Allione now presides at Tara Mandala Retreat Center in southern Colorado.


48 Ibid., p. 96.


56 Ibid., p. 74.


58 The necklace resembles the modern Greek “worry beads,” or κομπολοι, which have an origin in prayer beads.

59 In the puberty ceremony for Navajo girls, the offering necklaces are made of turquoise, the sacred stone of healing and power for the tribe. Some necklaces and other jewelry are given to the initiate and others are loaned to her, so that when the necklaces are returned to the owners, they can receive the power of Changing Woman, the Navajo Creatrix Goddess whom the girl has become in the course of the ritual. See Rutter, *Woman Changing Woman*, pp. 35–62.

60 Rehak, “Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art,” p. 89.


64 Rehak, “Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art,” p. 91.

65 It is even possible that girls were sacrificed in Aegean prehistory. For possible floral offerings and child sacrifice on Crete, see Peter Warren, “Flowers for the Goddess? New Fragments of Wall Paintings from Knossos,” in *Aegean Wall Painting: A Tribute to Mark Cameron*, edited by Lyvia Morgan (London: The British School at Athens, 2005), pp. 131–148.

66 In the Festa des Mocas (the Festival of the New Maiden) that is currently performed by the Tukuna people in the Northwest Amazon, after a girl begins to menstruate, the girl battles male demons in the course of her initiation and traverses several realms from underworld to sky world. In each of these she enacts her identification with different cultural heroines who played a part in restoring the balance of life between her human hunting society and nature. See Rutter, *Woman Changing Woman*, pp. 91–94.


70 Rutter, *Woman Changing Woman*, pp. 72–76. The clay can also be white.

71 Gold Bee Pendant found at Chrysolakis, 2000 BCE–1800 BCE, Heraklion Museum. The ball is sometimes identified as a drop of honey.


73 D. O. Cameron, *Symbols of Birth and of Death in the Neolithic Era* (London: Kenyon-Deane, 1981), p. 8. The transformation mystery that Dorothy Cameron described could have been transmitted to the Aegean from Anatolia; Crete and the Aegean culture imported many symbols and religious/cultural elements from the Near East.

74 Marinatos, “The Imagery of Sacrifice: Minoan and Greek,” p. 17.

75 Bull Rhyton, Museo Archeologico Thira, Santorini.


78 *Ibid*.


82  Ibid., pp. 105–106.


88  Marinatos, Art and Religion in Thera, p. 84.

89  Sarkapi points out that the lilies are a fusion of two species: the Madonna lily (Lilium candidum) and the red martagon lily (Lilium chalcedonicum). Sarkapi, “Plants Chosen to Be Depicted on Theran Wall Paintings,” pp. 659–660.


91  Ibid., p. 101.

92  Ibid., pp. 150–157.
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Figure 39 Fresco. Bull and Leaper. Detail Faces. Source: Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Crete.

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