

— Studies in Aegean — Art and Culture

A New York Aegean Bronze
Age Colloquium
in Memory of Ellen N. Davis



Ellen N. Davis at Hagia Eirene, Kea, August, 2006. Photo by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos.

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A New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium in Memory of Ellen N. Davis

edited by

Robert B. Koehl



Published by
INSTAP Academic Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
2016

INSTAP Academic Press
Author Offprint
FOR PERSONAL USE ONLY

Design and Production
INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia, PA

Cover: Vapheio Cups. Photo courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium in Memory of Ellen N. Davis
(2014 : Hunter College), author. | Davis, Ellen N., 1937-2013, dedicatee.
| Koehl, Robert B., editor.

Title: Studies in Aegean art and culture : a New York Aegean Bronze Age
Colloquium in Memory of Ellen N. Davis / edited by Robert B. Koehl.

Description: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : INSTAP Academic Press, 2016. |
Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016033378 (print) | LCCN 2016033544 (ebook) | ISBN
9781931534864 (pbk. : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781623034115 (ebook) | ISBN
9781623034115 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Art, Aegean--Congresses. | Civilization, Aegean--Congresses.

Classification: LCC N5475 .N49 2014 (print) | LCC N5475 (ebook) | DDC
709.39/1--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016033378>

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Table of Contents

List of Figures in the Text.....	vii
Preface and Acknowledgements.....	xi
Bibliography of Ellen N. Davis.....	xv
List of Abbreviations.....	xvii
1. The Silver Kantharos from Gournia Revisited <i>Judith Weingarten</i>	1
2. Helladic Pairs of Cups <i>Malcolm H. Wiener</i>	11
3. For Ellen Davis: Transylvanian Gold? <i>Günter Kopcke</i>	27
4. Cycladic and More Northerly Connections in the Metal Objects from Petras Cemetery <i>Philip P. Betancourt, Susan C. Ferrence, and James D. Muhly</i>	35
5. The Human Condition as Reflected in Early Aegean Art <i>Christos Doumas</i>	47

6. Purple Rosettes/Πορφυροί ρόδακες: New Data on Polychromy and Perception in the Thera Wall Paintings <i>Andreas G. Vlachopoulos</i>	59
7. Depictions of Water in Aegean Miniature-Style Wall Paintings <i>Elizabeth B. Shank</i>	77
8. The Three Minoan “Snake Goddesses” <i>Bernice R. Jones</i>	93
9. Beyond the “Chieftain Cup”: More Images Relating to Minoan Male “Rites of Passage” <i>Robert B. Koehl</i>	113
10. The Ideology of the Ruler in Mycenaean Prehistory: Twenty Years after the Missing Ruler <i>Thomas G. Palaima</i>	133

List of Figures in the Text

Frontispiece. Ellen N. Davis at Hagia Eirene, Kea, August 2006.....	ii
Figure 1.1. Silver kantharos from Gournia House Tomb I, south room (HM 201).....	2
Figure 1.2. Ceramic kantharos from Isle of Christ, Malia (HM 7882). ...	2
Figure 1.3. Ceramic kantharos from Pseira, Town Square pottery dump.....	3
Figure 1.4. Ceramic kantharos from Palaikastro (HM 3307).....	3
Figure 1.5. Ceramic polychrome kantharoi from Gournia House Tomb I, north room (HM 3621, HM 3622).	4
Figure 1.6. Three types of kantharoi from Level Ib at Kültepe.	4
Figure 1.7. Pedestalled kantharoi from Kültepe Level Ib.....	5
Figure 1.8. Ceramic kantharos from Kültepe Level Ib, tomb.	5
Figure 1.9. Ceramic kantharos from Alaca Höyük.....	6
Figure 1.10. Serpentine kantharos possibly from Kato Syme.	8

Figure 2.1. Vapheio Cups: (a) “Peaceful” cup; (b) “Violent” cup.....	12
Figure 2.2. E. Gilliéron Père’s drawings of the Vapheio Cups.....	13
Figure 2.3. Plan and section of the Vapheio Tholos.....	14
Figure 2.4. View showing the dromos of the Vapheio Tholos aligned with Mt. Taygetos.....	15
Figure 2.5. Finds from the Vapheio Tholos.....	15
Figure 2.6. Ceramic goblet from the Vapheio Tholos.....	17
Figure 2.7. Early Helladic II gold sauceboat, said to be from the Peloponnese.....	20
Figure 2.8. Twin-spouted gold sauceboat from Troy.....	22
Figure 2.9. Depa amphikypella from Troy.....	22
Figure 3.1. Gold sword, Persinari, Romania, mid-16th century B.C.E.	28
Figure 3.2. “Type 2” bronze sword with gold hilt, Grave Delta, Grave Circle B, Mycenae, mid-16th century B.C.E.	28
Figure 4.1. Scrapers from the cemetery of Petras, all made of copper or copper alloy.....	38
Figure 4.2. Metal circular pendants from the cemetery of Petras.....	40
Figure 5.1. Early Cycladic figurine of a pregnant woman.....	49
Figure 5.2. Fragments of a Middle Cycladic jar with men in awkward horizontal positions (drowned?).....	50
Figure 5.3. Miniature wall painting from the West House, Akrotiri, Thera (detail), showing men and women in daily life activities and shipwreck.....	51
Figure 6.1. Ellen Davis, Christos Doumas, and Andreas Vlachopoulos, Thera Fresco Workroom, August 2006.	60
Figure 6.2. The Blue Spirals wall painting, Xeste 3, Akrotiri, third floor, Room 3, north wall.....	61

Figure 6.3. Tentative reconstruction of the arrangement of the wall paintings of Xeste 3.....	61
Figure 6.4. Reconstruction drawing of Xeste 3, Akrotiri, second floor.....	62
Figure 6.5. Reconstruction drawing of the “Red Spirals” wall painting, Xeste 3, Akrotiri, third floor, Room 3, south wall.....	63
Figure 6.6. Relief Lozenges fresco with purple and blue rosettes, Xeste 3, Akrotiri, third floor, Room 9, north wall.....	65
Figure 6.7. Relief Lozenges fresco with gray and blue rosettes, Xeste 3, Akrotiri, third floor, Room 9.....	67
Figure 6.8. Reconstruction drawing of the rosettes from the Relief Lozenges fresco.....	68
Figure 6.9. Reconstruction drawing of the “Blue Spirals” wall painting, Xeste 3, Akrotiri, third floor, Room 3, north wall.....	69
Figure 6.10. Pithos lid with rosettes from Sphoungaras, Crete.....	70
Figure 7.1. The Saffron Gatherers fresco, Knossos.....	78
Figure 7.2. Middle Minoan III pottery with landscape scenes.....	79
Figure 7.3. Reconstruction of a boat, the sea, a building, and male figures, Hagia Eirene.....	80
Figure 7.4. Reconstruction of a stream with plants, a female figure, and a building, Hagia Eirene.....	81
Figure 7.5. Detail of the Miniature Landscape frieze, from the east wall of room 5, West House, Akrotiri.....	83
Figure 7.6. The north wall frieze, from room 5, West House, Akrotiri.....	83
Figure 7.7. Detail of the Departure Town, south wall, Flotilla frieze, room 5, West House, Akrotiri.....	84
Figure 7.8. Detail of the Flotilla and the Arrival Town, south wall Flotilla frieze, room 5, West House, Akrotiri.....	85

Figure 7.9. Fragment from a miniature landscape fresco, Epano Zakros.....	86
Figure 7.10. Miniature landscape frieze, Tel Kabri.....	88
Figure 8.1. Faience statuettes from Knossos.....	94
Figure 8.2. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 65.....	95
Figure 8.3. Four views of the snake of HM 65.....	95
Figure 8.4. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63.....	97
Figure 8.5. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63.....	98
Figure 8.6. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63.....	101
Figure 8.7. Reconstruction A, faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63.....	102
Figure 8.8. Reconstruction B, faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63.....	103
Figure 8.9. Terracotta figurine from Piskokephalo, HM 16446.....	104
Figure 8.10. Reconstruction C, faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63.....	105
Figure 8.11. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 64.....	106
Figure 8.12. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 64.....	106
Figure 8.13. Faience left arm from Knossos, HM 66.....	107
Figure 8.14. Digital reconstructions of upper parts of faience statuette from Knossos, HM 64.....	108
Figure 8.15. Faience dress plaque from Knossos, HM 58a.....	108
Figure 9.1. Gold ring from Pylos, ANM 7985.....	114
Figure 9.2. “Chieftain Cup,” HM 341.....	115
Figure 9.3. Sealing HMs 52 and reconstruction drawing of sealings HMs 52 and HMs 53.....	118
Figure 9.4. Sealing HMs 76.....	123

Preface and Acknowledgments

With the passing of Ellen N. Davis on July 15, 2013, just a few weeks shy of her 75th birthday, the community of Aegean scholars lost one of its most valued and beloved members. As the news quickly spread, I immediately began to receive suggestions about how best to honor her memory along with requests from her many friends and colleagues to be included in whatever was decided. Since Ellen was a member of the New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium from its founding in the fall of 1978, along with Günter Kopcke, Malcolm Wiener, and the late Clairève Grandjouan, it seemed most appropriate to dedicate a special session to her memory. And so, on September 13, 2014, a group of us gathered at Hunter College's Roosevelt House and presented papers, which are published in this volume with the addition of one by her dear friend Christos Doumas.

Ellen Nancy Davis was born July 20, 1937, in Baltimore, Maryland. After her graduation from high school and following a short-lived marriage to her English teacher, Ellen enrolled at St. John's College in Annapolis where she honed her intellectual skills through their renowned and rigorous "great books" program. Thriving in this environment, and sure of her love of ancient art, she entered graduate school at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, where she was quickly taken under the wing of her adored mentor, Peter von Blanckenhagen. Like many of us, visits to Greece sparked her love for the Bronze Age, which led to her 1973 doctoral dissertation on the Vapheio Cups and Aegean gold and silver ware published in the *Garland Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts* series

(Davis 1977). After receiving her Ph.D., Ellen became a full-time faculty member of Queens College, City University of New York, where she taught in the Art History Department until her retirement in 2000.

Even with her earliest studies, Ellen's approach was trailblazing, merging art history with technical analyses to differentiate Minoan from Mycenaean manufacture (Davis 1974, 1976, 1977). Indeed, it was always a great learning experience to stroll through the Athens National and Herakleion Archaeological Museums with Ellen, and see the great works of Aegean craftsmanship through her keenly observant eyes. I vividly recall her pointing to the frieze of plaster relief "snail shell" spirals that ran along the top of the wall in the Zakros gallery in Herakleion, and extolling how the love of three-dimensionality was uniquely Minoan; or to the small silver jug from Zakros with gold embellishments as an example of the Minoan penchant for color contrasts in metal ware, and indeed, the Minoan love of color, in general, especially as expressed in their frescoes.

Ellen loved nature in all its forms, and art, especially painting (Davis 1990a). Thus, when the Onassis Cultural Center brought the exhibition of Minoan art, "From the Land of the Labyrinth," to New York in 2008, it was particularly thrilling to stand with Ellen before the Partridge fresco, as she pointed out the exquisite brush strokes, shading, and highlighting on the feathers (as in Davis 2007). Not only a famous ailurophile, but a passionate bird watcher, Ellen had a particular affection for that painting, as she did for the Spring fresco from Akrotiri, with its playful (or aggressive) swallows. Indeed, using the classic Morellian method of attribution analysis, she convincingly identified the individual hands and reconstructed the structure of the workshop that painted the landscapes in the Spring fresco in an article that merits greater recognition than it has hitherto received (Davis 2000b).

Alongside Ellen's contributions to the study of Aegean precious metal vessels and wall painting, stand her break-through articles on Aegean iconography, notably her studies on the miniature ship fresco from Akrotiri (Davis 1983b), on representations of aging in the Akrotiri frescoes (Davis 1986; revised in Davis 2000b, 868–871), on the miniature frescoes from Knossos and the function of the central courts (Davis 1987), and on ruler imagery, or the lack thereof (Davis 1995). Ellen even weighed in on the still-debated date of the Thera eruption by introducing the "Ahmose" stèle into the discussion, thereby supporting the traditional synchronism of Late Minoan IA with the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Davis 1990b). Other ideas went unpublished, such as her belief that the marine scenes painted inside Late Minoan III sarcophagi were residual references to earlier practices of burial at sea.

All of the papers in this volume in some way build on, or were influenced or inspired by Ellen's work in several of the areas touched on above. In Chapter 1, Judith Weingarten revisits Ellen's study of the silver kantharos from Gournia and demonstrates that a re-dating of Minoan contexts, from Middle Minoan IB to Middle Minoan IIA, resolves issues that had previously vexed Davis, thereby supporting her belief that the Cretan lobed rimmed kantharos derived from Anatolian prototypes. In Chapter 2, Malcolm Wiener argues a Late Helladic IIIA:1 date for the burial context of the Vapheio Cups, and he looks into the history and cultural significance of the pairing of precious metal Aegean drinking vessels. In Chapter 3, Günter Kopcke defends Ellen's belief that Mycenaean gold came from Transylvanian sources, but also emphasizes the importance of Egypt in the acquisition of this metal, specifically for Crete. In Chapter 4, Philip P. Betancourt, Susan Ferrence, and James D. Muhly look to the north of Crete to explain the presence of certain types of metal objects found in Early and Middle Minoan burials from the Petras cemetery. In Chapter 5, Christos Doumas spans Cycladic prehistory in his investigation of the human experience in its many manifestations, observing how the changing roles of women and men are reflected in Cycladic art and iconography. Ellen's interest in the pigments used in Aegean wall painting is reflected in Chapter 6, by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos, who examines the purple rosettes from Xeste 3, Thera, and the illusions created by the juxtaposition of colors. In Chapter 7, Elizabeth B. Shank analyzes the various ways that water was depicted in Aegean miniature frescoes, including a remarkable three-dimensional rendering from Epáno Zakros. In Chapter 8, Bernice Jones deconstructs Evans's restorations of the two famous Snake Goddess statuettes based on her studies of Minoan women's garments, and reconstructs a third statuette from her examination of some hitherto largely overlooked fragments. In Chapter 9, Robert B. Koehl finds a homoerotic component in his interpretation of the male initiation rites he thinks are referenced in the imagery on a gold ring from Pylos and two sealings from Zakros. Finally, in Chapter 10, Thomas G. Palaima explores the etymology and ideology of Mycenaean Greek words associated with kingship—*wanaks*, *megaron*, *skēptron*, and *thronos*—and suggests that they derive from a non Indo-European, pre-Greek speaking population.

When discussions for a memorial colloquium began to coalesce, with the expectation that the papers would be published, Larissa Bonfante, Professor Emerita of Classics at New York University, volunteered to aid me in the task of editing. Though not an Aegean scholar, but a world-renowned Etruscologist (and close friend of Ellen), it seemed to me that someone from outside the "Bronze Age Mafia" would ensure they could be appreciated by

a wider audience of archaeological scholars. Working with Larissa on this volume has made my task easier, and I am grateful for all of her time and efforts. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers of the papers for this volume, for their valuable insights, additions, and corrections, and to the INSTAP Academic Press for undertaking its publication.

Finally, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Hunter College President Jennifer J. Raab for allowing us to hold the colloquium in the beautifully restored Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute at Hunter College and for sponsoring a fine luncheon for all the speakers and attendees. I am also grateful to the Institute of Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) and the M.H. Wiener Foundation for their financial support, without which the colloquium honoring Ellen would surely not have been the memorable occasion that it was.

Robert B. Koehl
New York City, NY
November 2015

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List of Abbreviations

AM	Ashmolean Museum	HT	Hagia Triada
ANM	Athens National Archaeo- logical Museum inventory number	IE	Indo-European
cm	centimeter(s)	inv. no.	inventory number
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>	INSTAP-	Institute for Aegean
d.	diameter	SCEC	Prehistory Study Center for East Crete
dim.	dimensions	LC	Late Cycladic
EC	Early Cycladic	LH	Late Helladic
EH	Early Helladic	LM	Late Minoan
EM	Early Minoan	m	meters
FN	Final Neolithic	MM	Middle Minoan
h.	height	Myc.	Mycenaean
HM	Herakleion Archaeological Museum inventory number	th.	thickness
HMs	Heraklion Archaeological Museum sealing	XRF	X-ray fluorescence
		w.	width

8

The Three Minoan “Snake Goddesses”

BERNICE R. JONES

Among all the works of art from Bronze Age Crete, none have epitomized the acme of Minoan civilization more than the faience statuettes found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos—dated Middle Minoan (MM) IIIB/Late Minoan (LM) IA—which Evans called the “Snake goddess” (HM 63) and her “Votary” (HM 65), both extensively “reconstituted” by him (Fig. 8.1; Evans 1902–1903; 1921–1935, I, 502–504, frontispiece, figs. 360–362; Lapatin 2002, 59–64, 76–81, figs. 2.19, 2.20, 3.4). A third faience statuette from this group, HM 64, is of equal importance, but it has received far less attention since it is preserved from just above the waist to the skirt hem, and Evans did not restore its upper part (Fig. 8.1; Evans 1921–1935, I, 523, fig. 382; Lapatin 2002, 64). It is thus appropriate that I dedicate my study of these exemplary statuettes to the memory of an exemplary Aegean scholar: my mentor, colleague, and friend, Ellen Davis.

This study analyzes the “reconstitutions” of the figurines by Evans and suggests new reconstructions and interpretations. The statuettes are referred to herein by their Herakleion Museum accession numbers: HM 63, HM 64, and HM 65 (Figs. 8.1–8.8, 8.10–8.14).

Statuette HM 65

All the fragments that comprise statuette HM 65 were found in the East Temple Repository (Evans 1902–1903, 43–44, 77–81, figs. 56, 57;

1921–1935, I, 501–504, figs. 360–362; Panagiotaki 1993, 52–53, 56–57). The head, left forearm, and portion of snake below the statuette's right fist were missing (Fig. 8.2). Evans gave the figure a modern head and attached to it a fragment he interpreted as a circular tiara, into which a feline was doweled. Evans interpreted the curved element with spiraling stripes held in the figure's right fist as the tail part of a snake and added below the fist its extended body and head. He also reconstructed a whole left forearm with a snake (Fig. 8.1).

Close scrutiny of the front, back, right side, and inside views of the snake reveals what looks like a break just above the curve (Fig. 8.3). The surface from the hand to the “break” is rough, whereas it is smooth above the “break” to the tip. One thus wonders whether the smooth “tail” was also restored by Evans. The odd feature of the animal held upside down is only paralleled on a suspicious gold diadem said to be from Zakros that illustrates the “Mistress of Wild Goats” holding the goats in her

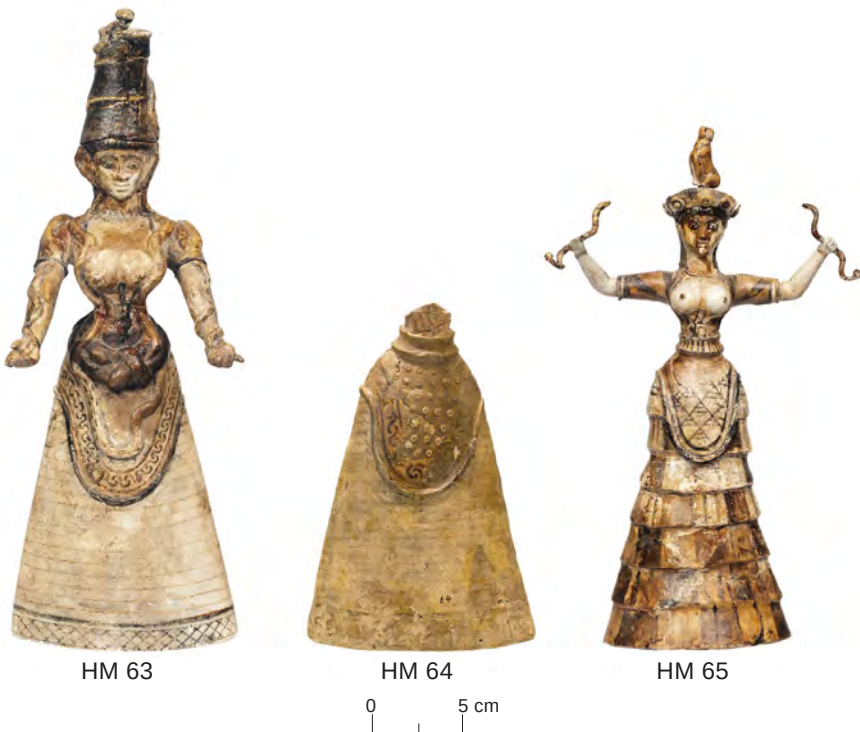


Figure 8.1. Faience statuettes from Knossos: front views of HM 64, HM 63, and HM 65. Courtesy Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo of HM 64, Ch. Papanikolopoulos, courtesy INSTAP-SEEC.



Figure 8.2. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 65: (a) back view drawing (after Evans 1902–1903, 79, fig. 57; 1921–1935, I, fig. 361); (b) side view (Evans 1921–1935, I, fig. 360:a); (c) three-quarter view (photo courtesy Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports). Not to scale.

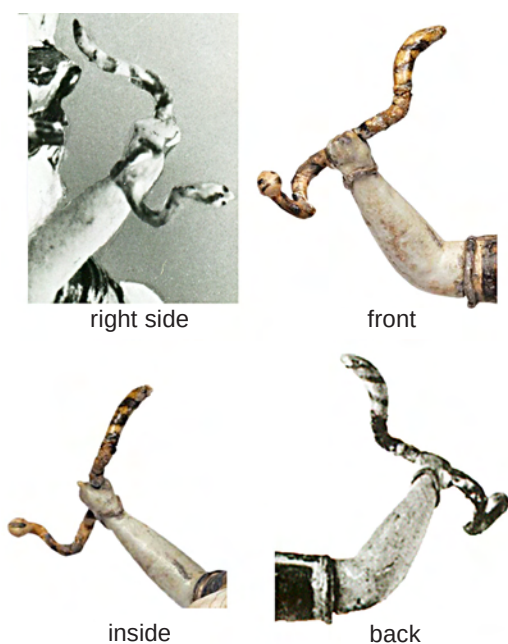


Figure 8.3. Four views of the snake of HM 65 (details of Figs. 8.1, 8.2). Not to scale.

outstretched hands by their hind legs (Platon 1971, 11, 22–23). Mistress-
es of animals and plants usually hold them in an upright position (Barclay
2001; Hiller 2001; Kopaka 2001; Yasur-Landau 2001; Cornelius 2004).

Rather than snakes, MacGillivray (2000, 223), followed by Bonney
(2011, 178), thought that the “peppermint stripes” represented twine or
cord. If so, one would have expected incisions cut into the faience as marks
of the spiraling recesses of a cord rather than painted stripes. In addition,
both twine and cord, to my mind, seem too limp to generate such a firmly
curved form.

Since snakes slither on statuette HM 63 and on the faience arm of HM
66 from the same location (discussed below, Fig. 8.13; also Panagiotaki
1993, 58, fig. 2), one hesitates to doubt the identification of the snake, de-
spite the oddities and different markings. The striped markings may in-
deed refer to the dice snake (*Natrix tessellate*), which has similar narrow
black bands on a brown ground, whereas the spotted markings may refer
to the cat snake (*Telescopus fallax*), both indigenous to Crete (Sakou-
lis 2008, 30–31).

The rear view drawing of statuette HM 65 (Fig. 8.2:a; Evans 1921–
1935, I, 503, fig. 361) reveals, in lighter lines, the missing portions of the
back of the torso and the swath of apron and skirt that was restored using
plaster of Paris, glue, and paint (see also Bonney 2011, 173–184, figs. 6,
7; Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2013, 156–158, figs. 3.2, 3.5). Ev-
ans published no drawing of his restorations to the front, providing only a
photo of it already restored (Evans 1921–1935, I, 502, fig. 360:b). Although
the radiography undertaken by Müller (2003, 151–153, pl. XXXV:a, b) was
unable to distinguish ancient faience from modern plaster, it does show
the metal wires that Evans used to connect the plaster forearm and snake
at right, the snake to the fist at left, and the head to the chest. Plaster
was inserted into the upper part of the skirt, through which a spike was
inserted for stability. The dark area below the plaster shows the original
hollow interior of the skirt, with 1 cm thick faience walls. Except for the
feline-topped crown, the radiography corroborates Evan’s descriptions and
restorations.

Statuette HM 63

Evans’s restorations of HM 63 are far more complicated than those of
HM 65 (Figs. 8.1, 8.4; Evans 1902–1903, 74–76, 78, 80, figs. 54, 55; 1921–
1935, I, 501, 503, frontispiece, fig. 359). He combined the figure’s nonjoin-
ing head, torso, and right arm, all found in the East Temple Repository
(Evans 1921–1935, IV, fig. 139; see also Bonney 2011, 173–184, figs. 4, 5;



Figure 8.4. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63: front, side, and back view drawings. Note the labelled segments (A) and (B). After Evans 1902–1903, 76, fig. 55; 1921–1935, I, frontispiece, fig. 359. Not to scale.

Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2013, 156–158, figs. 3.1, 3.5, 4), with the only faience object found in the West Temple Repository—not a torso, as stated by Bonney (2011, 173), but a belt or girdle in the form of a snake, “the part just below her waist and showing a triple interlacement of snakes forming her zone” (Evans, 1902–1903, 44; see Fig. 8.5, with restorations removed). As MacKenzie confirmed in his report on the excavation of the West Cist, “only one solitary fragment occurred but that of great importance, namely a part below the waist with entwined snakes of one of the figures from the other cist” (MacKenzie 1903, 90). In his front view, Evans drew the snake girdle and the laced bodice above it in darker hues to contrast with the lightly drawn restored missing areas: the break above it and the apron, the snake, and the skirt below (Figs. 8.4, 8.5). In the torso’s back view, however, Evans did not lighten his restoration of the missing part between the top of the belt and the jagged line marking the break,

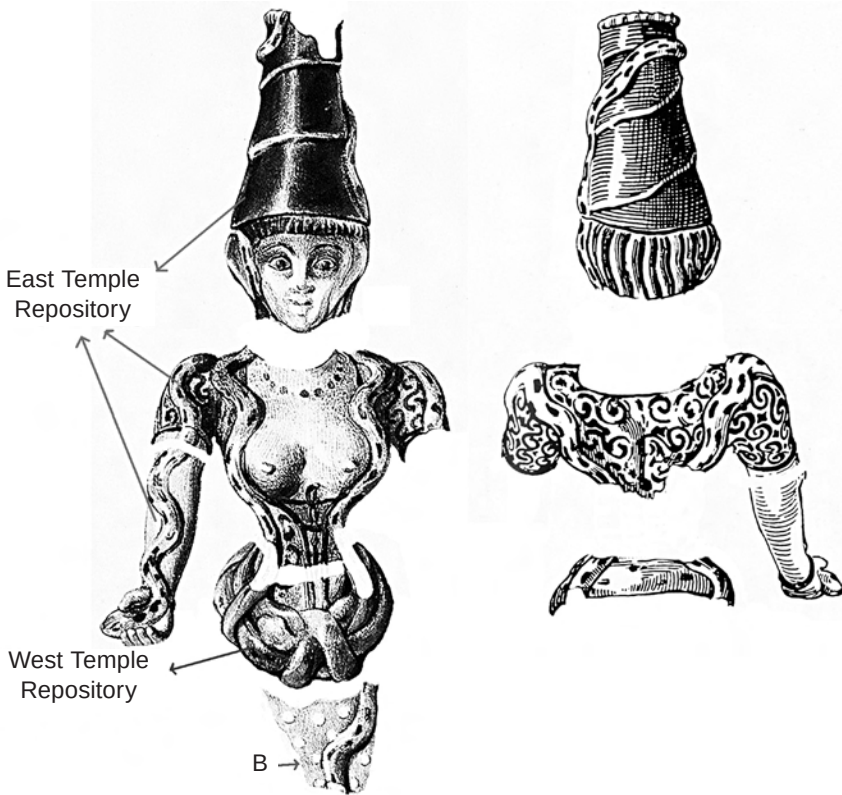


Figure 8.5. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63: front and back view drawings with restorations erased by B. Jones. Segment with disks and spotted snake indicated by label B. After Evans 1902–1903, 76, fig. 55; 1921–1935, IV, 176, fig. 139. Not to scale.

which is estimated in Figure 8.5. How much of the back of the serpentine girdle was preserved is also unclear.

The radiographic film taken by Müller (2003, 151–153, pl. XXXVI:a, b) revealed a modern long metal pin joining the chest to the belt area, and a modern metal spike inserted into a completely modern plaster skirt. Nonmetallic modern pins joined the figure’s modern left arm and ancient right arm, which was broken above the elbow. The irregular groove that runs from the top of the head to the skirt joins the head to the body, and the neck was restored with plaster. The headdress and head were made separately and joined in antiquity.

As for the figurine’s lower part, Evans cryptically wrote that the missing skirt was restored based on another (Panagiotaki 1993, 54–57). This is surely HM 64, which preserves identical horizontal stripes and a lozenge-patterned hem band (cf. Figs. 8.1, 8.11, 8.12, 8.14). His drawing of

the back of HM 63 portrays a completely restored skirt, whereas the front mysteriously incorporates two elements that he never mentioned: a darkly drawn triangular-shaped fragment with an apron's border, A, and a lightly drawn fragment with disks and a spotted snake, B (Fig. 8.4).

A closer look, however, reveals that Evans did not merely base his restoration of HM 63 on the preserved lower body of HM 64. Indeed, the triangular-shaped apron fragment, A, distinguished by its darker color from the rest of the skirt of HM 63, is identical in size, shape, location, and interlocking "S-hook" decoration to the part drawn as missing on HM 64 (Figs. 8.1, 8.11:a, 8.12, left and center). Thus, Evans clearly and inexplicably removed the faience piece from HM 64 and embedded it into his modern plaster skirt of HM 63. Furthermore, an even stronger reason to discard the apron is the design of the extant girdle of HM 63 that lies low on the hips and exposes the abdominal area (Figs. 8.1, 8.4). By contrast, the two sole preserved aprons in Aegean art, on HM 65 and HM 64, cover the abdomen and have belts or waistbands set high on the waists (Figs. 8.1, 8.2, 8.11, 8.12). Decorated with motifs that coordinate with the bands edging the borders, the waistbands are essential elements in the overall design of the aprons (Jones 2001, 263–264). Evans presumably created the apron for HM 63 to coordinate with the two aproned statuettes.

The removal of the apron from HM 63 also calls into question the credibility of fragment B, which Evans never described (Fig. 8.5). Thus, the precise shape of its upper edge remains uncertain, and its join with the lower edge of the serpentine belt remains unsure. Perhaps to express his own reservations, Evans drew it in a light hue to fit within the curve of the apron (Fig. 8.4). With the apron removed, however, the placement of fragment B on HM 63 is questionable. Oddly, Evans never mentioned the disks on the fragment, reminiscent of those on the apron of HM 64 (Figs. 8.1, 8.11, 8.12). That Evans carefully marked the preserved edges of the fragment and distinguished it from his reconstructed snake and the border of the apron's hem suggests that it is original. If it indeed belongs with the now apron-less figure, the disks could have decorated the skirt. However, a comparison of the raised disks on the apron of HM 64 and the barely detectable ones on the fragment on HM 63 makes one wonder whether Evans might have added them to the fragment to make it more credible as an apron (Fig. 8.1). Indeed, it would not be the first time that Evans manipulated archaeological evidence, as demonstrated convincingly by German (2005, 209–229; see also MacGillivray 2000; Lapatin 2002; Papadopoulos 2005, 87–135, esp. 135; Bonney 2011, 171–184). Alternatively, the fragment could belong to one of the other two figurines whose parts were found in the East Temple Repository (Panagiotaki 1993, 58–59, fig. 2:c).

Of course, this figurine is most notable for the snakes that slither over its body. Evans described three, colored here to clarify his front and rear view descriptions (Fig. 8.6; Evans 1921–1935, I, 501). He described the spotted one marked here in purple as follows: “The head of one of these she holds out in her right hand, its body follows the arm upwards, then descends behind the shoulders, and ascends again to the left arm, which held the tail [restored].” Marked in light blue is the snake incorporated into the questionable fragment B, “. . . whose head appears in the centre of this serpentine girdle, is continued in a festoon down the front of the apron, and thence ascending along the edge of the bodice to the neck, coils its tail round the Goddess’s right ear.” The third snake, marked here in red, “whose tail-end forms part of the plaitwork about the hips, runs up along the left fringe of the bodice over the left ear and coils up round the tiara, from the summit of which its head (here restored) originally projected.”

Since Evans’s description leaves us to imagine how the two snakes are coiled in the girdle, I have hypothetically placed the red one along the top and the blue one along the bottom (Fig. 8.6). Evans’s assessment of the snakes, however, has been called into question by Panagiotaki (1999, 97). Noticing that the snakes on the arms and along the torso are narrower and spotted, she suggested that they were a different species from the unspotted, thicker snakes of the girdle. In addition, the snakes on the girdle are dark brown compared with the other light colored snakes (Fig. 8.1).

One possible solution to the problem, shown in Reconstruction A (Fig. 8.7, right), involves separating the “serpentine girdle” from the red and blue snakes so that each had its own head and tail. Without an apron restricting it, the blue snake’s “festoon” could have a more symmetrical shape, and its head could lie at the right. The red snake’s tail would end above the girdle. Disks would decorate the skirt (Fig. 8.7, right).

Reconstruction B eliminates the problematic fragment B, with disks and snake (Fig. 8.8), especially since Evans never mentioned anything existing below the girdle in his early notes (Panagiotaki 1993, 54), and Popham believed that Evans’s early reports were more factual and reliable than the *Palace of Minos* (Popham 1970, 15; Hentschel 1982, 294 n. 1; Papadopoulos 2005, 106). Evans described the girdle fragment only as the “part . . . just below her waist and showing a triple interlacement of snakes forming her zone” (Evans 1902–1903, 44). The part “just below her waist” depicts the connecting lower part of her bodice.

Strikingly absent is a description of anything below the “serpentine girdle.” Indeed, in their compilation of the finds, Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens (2013, 158, figs. 3, 4) attempt to compensate for Evans’s omission by adding to their text in parentheses, “(including a small portion of

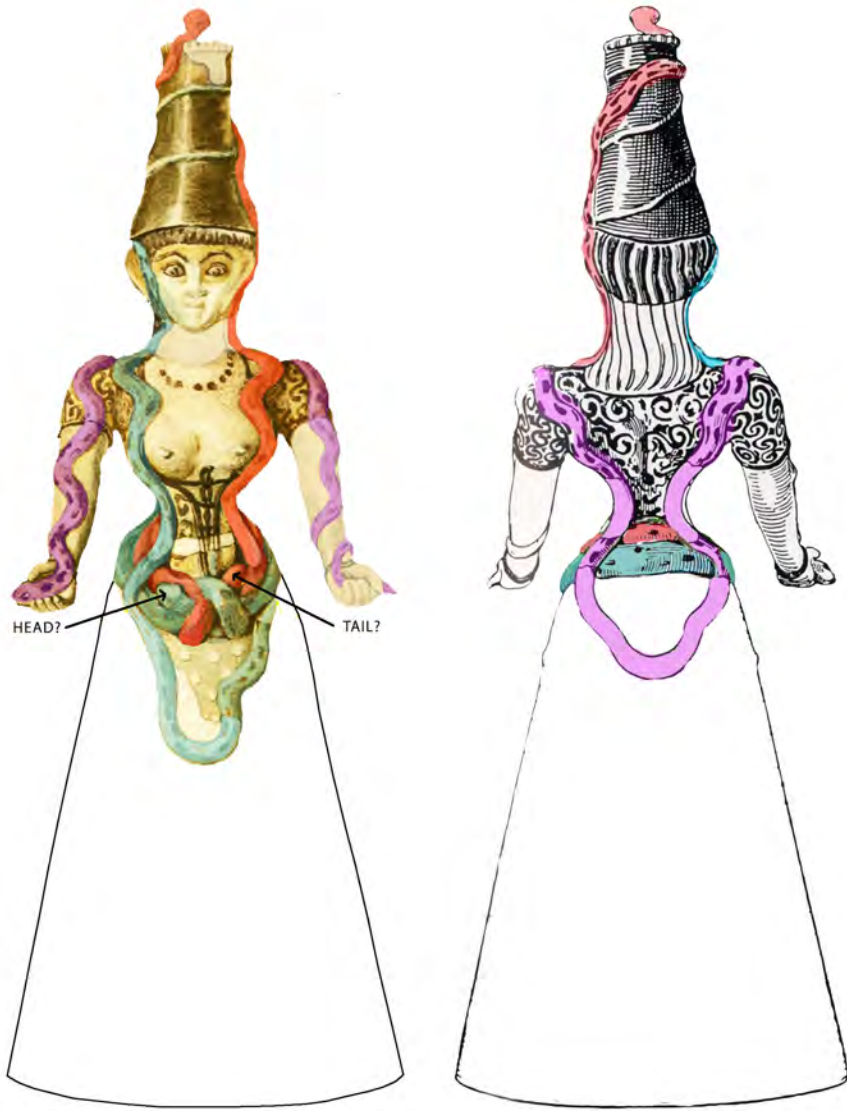


Figure 8.6. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63: front and back view drawings with snakes colored and skirt and apron deleted. Adaptations B. Jones after Evans 1902–1903, 76, fig. 55; 1921–1935, I, frontispiece, fig. 359. Not to scale.

the skirt).” Because Evans omitted any mention of a skirt in his texts, it is appropriate that we experimentally omit it from the figure. With fragment B removed, the head of the blue snake could end beneath the girdle, and the tail of the red snake could end just above it (Fig. 8.8). Thus the girdle



Figure 8.7. Reconstruction A, faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63. Adaptations B. Jones of drawing after Evans 1921–1935, I, frontispiece; photo courtesy Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports. Not to scale.

would comprise a single snake, whose head and tail coiled within itself. The problematic fragment B (Figs. 8.4, 8.5) could well have belonged to one of the other figurines, for which only fragments of arms and a hand are preserved (Panagiotaki 1993, 58–59, fig. 2:c).



Jones Reconstruction B

Figure 8.8. Reconstruction B, faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63. Adaptations B. Jones of drawing after Evans 1921–1935, I, frontispiece; photo courtesy Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports. Not to scale

Although the snakes slithering up her arms, torso, and head are unique, the “serpentine girdle” by contrast seems to belong to a category of double rolled girdles that accompany a variety of Minoan skirts. A few examples are the A-shaped skirt on the faience plaque from Knossos (Fig.

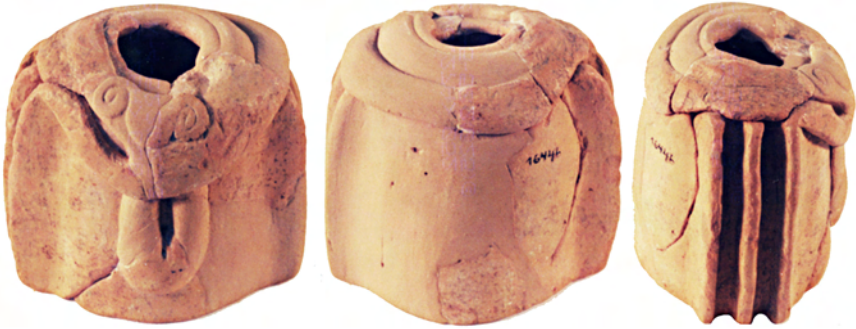


Figure 8.9. Terracotta figurine from Piskokephalo, HM 16446 (Jones 2012, pl. XLVI.1:a–c). Not to scale.

8.15), the flounced skirt on a bronze statuette from Palaikastro (Verlinden 1984, fig. 68, pl. 32), the flounced kilts on bronze statuettes from Hagia Triada (Verlinden 1984, figs. 34, 35, pl. 17), and the side-pleated skirts on terracotta statuettes from Piskokephalo (Jones 2012, 221–229, pl. XLV.3–5).

One from Piskokephalo, HM 16446 (Fig. 8.9), missing its upper part, may provide a possible parallel for a “serpentine girdle,” if the spiral at the right that emerges from the loop is a snake’s coiled tail, nestled within itself (Jones 2012, 221–229, pl. XLVI.1). Its missing counterpart to the left was restored as a spiral, though if it were a snake it would actually be its head, like that on HM 63. Although this crudely fashioned terracotta figurine from the rural site of Piskokephalo cannot compare with the fine quality of our faience masterpiece, it may suggest another possibility for HM 63. As on the figurine, a similar loop could have emanated from the snake’s criss-crossing overlap at the center (Reconstruction C; Fig. 8.10).

Figurines from Piskokephalo also provide the closest parallels for the coiffure of HM 63, which is not long, as Evans thought, but is upswept into a high spiraling band and emerges in a fringe at the top (Zervos 1956, 281–282, figs. 401, 405). The somewhat simpler Piskokephalo versions again reflect their humbler medium. Parallels with the Piskokephalo figurines may also suggest that HM 63 likewise wore a side-pleated skirt, though other styles are possible.

Statuette HM 64

Only the lower part of HM 64 is preserved (Fig. 8.11). The figure wears an A-shaped skirt, decorated overall with rows of evenly spaced horizontal stripes and hemmed by a wide band with a running lozenge motif. Evans restored the skirt extensively, though, to his credit, in his drawings and



Figure 8.10. Reconstruction C, faience statuette from Knossos, HM 63. Adaptations B. Jones of drawing after Evans 1921–1935, I, frontispiece; photo courtesy Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports. Not to scale.

reconstitution of the object, the missing portions are clearly discernible from the preserved ones (Fig. 8.12). Over the skirt is a double U-shaped apron adorned with raised round elements, probably to represent disks, and banded at the waist and hem with a row of quirks or disconnected spirals, the same motif that appears on the *heanos*, the open-front dress, of HM

63 (Figs. 8.1, 8.4, 8.5). A lock of hair adhering to the back of the apron reveals that the statuette had long hair. The preserved lower part of the torso depicts a striped *heanos* and two or three sets of laces that tie its center front together. Presumably Evans found the size of this laced area comparable with the laced area of HM 63. He then used the lower part of HM 64 as a basis for reconstructing that of HM 63 (Evans 1902–1903, 78; 1921–1935, I, 523, fig. 382; Panagiotaki 1993, 54–57; 1999, 97).

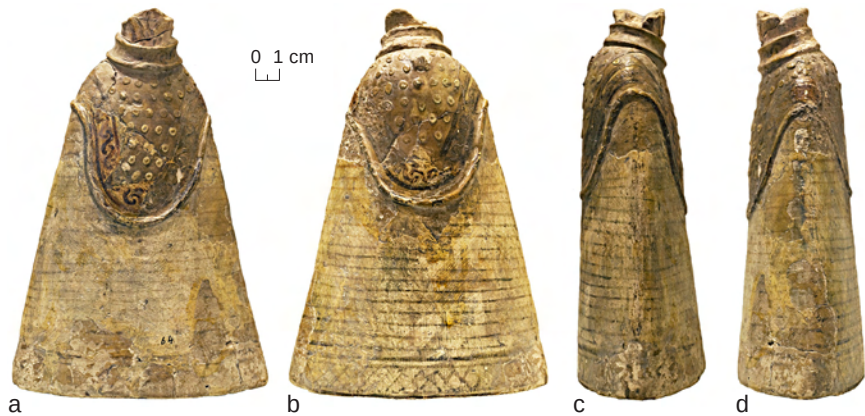


Figure 8.11. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 64: (a) front, (b) back, and (c, d) side views. Photos Ch. Papanikolopoulos, courtesy INSTAP-SCEC and Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

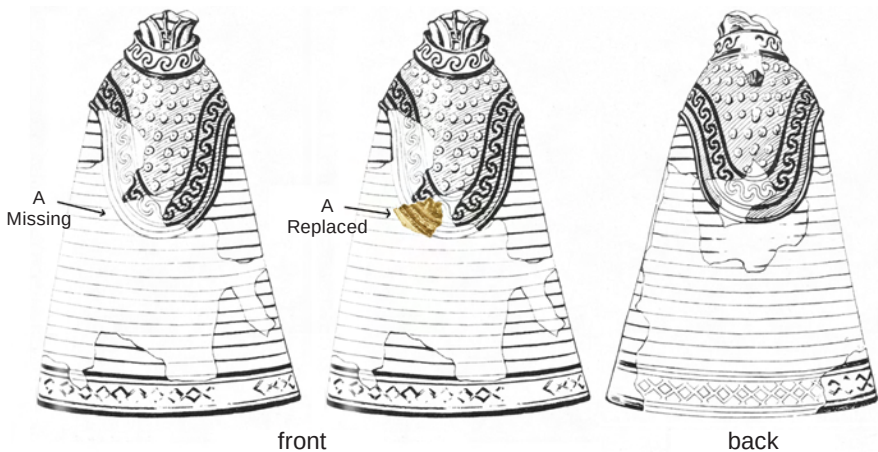


Figure 8.12. Faience statuette from Knossos, HM 64: front and back view drawings adapted by B. Jones after Evans 1921–1935, I, 523, fig. 382. Not to scale.

In order to reconstruct the upper part of HM 64, we can do the reverse, using the size and shape of HM 63 as a model. Evans, followed by Panagiotaki, thought that a faience left arm, HM 66 (Fig. 8.13), found with two others in the East Temple Repository, belonged to HM 64 because of its large size, and he thus placed it in front of HM 64 in his photograph of the assemblage (Evans 1902–1903, 79–80, 92, fig. 63; Panagiotaki 1993, 58, 89, fig. B, fig. 2:c above; 1999, 98, 101, pl. 16:e [left], no. 213, pl. 17). Preserved from part of the sleeve band to the clenched fist, the arm is extended at the elbow and has an undulating bracelet at the wrist. A spotted snake lies across the knuckles of the hand and curves up to the break at the sleeve band. A hole at its upper edge reveals that it was doweled into the missing upper arm (Fig. 8.13:a). A deep crack across the diameter caused breakage to the front (Figs. 8.13:a, b) and back (Fig. 8.13:d) of the arm, clearly breaking off part of the snake at the front (Fig. 8.13:b) and probably the end of the snake at the back (Fig. 8.13:d). The reconstruction drawing of HM 64 thus incorporates HM 66 in three views and mirror images of it for the figure's right arm (Fig. 8.14).

The reconstructed decoration on the *heanos* of HM 64 is based on the traces of laces and vertical stripes preserved just above the waist, which closely resemble those found on HM 65 (Fig. 8.14; cf. Fig. 8.1). Unlike the dark laces and bands of HM 65 and HM 63 and the dark stripes of HM 65, the stripes and laces of HM 64 are light with a reddish hue against a neutral ground. Otherwise, the lateral contours of the center front bands and adjacent stripes of HM 64 are virtually identical with those of HM 65, and like them, presumably frame the exposed breasts and rise up to the shoulders.

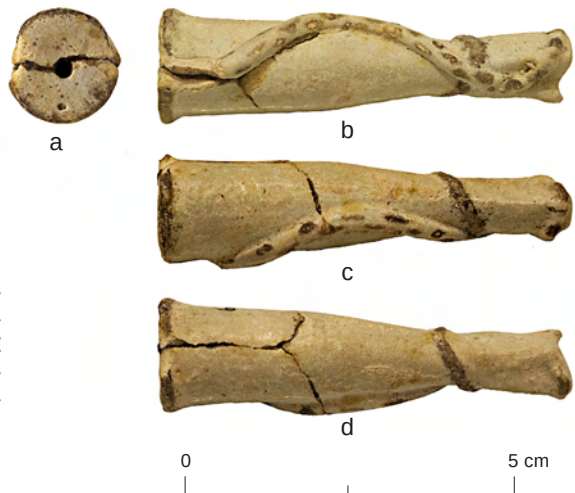


Figure 8.13. Faience left arm from Knossos, HM 66: (a) top end, (b) front, (c) side, and (d) back. Photos Ch. Papanikolopoulos, courtesy INSTAP-SCEC and Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.



Figure 8.14. Digital reconstructions of upper parts of faience statuette from Knossos, HM 64, front (a), back (b), and side (c) views by C. Mao and B. Jones. Photos C. Papanikolopoulos, courtesy INSTAP-SCEC and Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.



Figure 8.15. Faience dress plaque from Knossos, HM 58a. Courtesy Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

Similar bands and stripes adorn the faience dress plaque HM 58, and illustrate that the open front can extend to the center to cover the breasts (Fig. 8.15). The stripes on the “sleeves” of HM 64 were based on those of both HM 65 and HM 58. Since the stripes continue onto the back of HM 65 (Fig. 8.2:a), they were added here (Fig. 8.14:b). If the faience left arm HM 66 belongs to HM 64, as argued here, its *heanos* would have short sleeves, like those of HM 63, and thus shorter than the almost elbow-length sleeves of HM 65. Furthermore, a snake would slither up the center front of the sleeve’s band like the purple snake on HM 63 (Fig. 8.6). The abraded surface across the sleeve band at the top of the back of the arm suggests that the snake curved over the shoulder and ended there (Figs. 8.13:d, 8.14:b, c).

Conclusions

This examination of Evans’s “reconstitutions” of the snake goddess statuettes has suggested a new reconstruction of the upper part of HM 64. Furthermore, it has led to new interpretations and reconstructions of the costumes and snakes of HM 63, HM 64, and HM 65. As for their hair-styles, HM 64 had a long tress of hair on the apron, like HM 65, although the tresses of HM 64 are narrower and shorter (Fig. 8.14:b, c; cf. Fig. 8.2:a, b). Thus, as on HM 65, the tresses presumably clung to HM 64’s upper back, but stood away from the figure’s incurved waist area before they fell on the apron (Figs. 8.2:b, 8.14:b, c). By contrast, HM 63 is distinguished by her upswept coiffure (note the absence of long back tresses) and, arguably, the lack of an apron. Her splendid high conical crown makes one wonder what kind of headdress adorned the head of HM 64, and, of course, whether the one restored to HM 65 by Evans is accurate. With their exquisite clothes including unique aprons and their equally unique authoritative snake-wielding gestures, these statuettes were extraordinary manifestations of the power of certain women in Minoan society, whether priestesses or goddesses. Surely Ellen would have had comments on these iconic images. I hope mine have at least provided greater clarity as to their appearance and, perhaps, their essence.

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful to Robert Koehl for organizing this significant colloquium in memory of Ellen Davis, inviting me to participate, and meticulously editing the papers for publication, and to Larissa Bonfante for her generous editing assistance. Any errors that remain are mine. I am greatly indebted to the Institute for Aegean Prehistory for travel and research

grants that allowed me to study the faience statuettes in the Herakleion Museum and to Tom Brogan and Eleanor Huffman for facilitating the excellent photographic services of Chronis Papanikolopoulos. I am particularly thankful to Director Stella Mandalaki and Associate Director Maria Pateraki and previous Director Athanasia Kanta of the Herakleion Museum for permitting me to study and publish the figurines, for generously providing me with photographs, and for permitting Chronis Papanikolopoulos to photograph HM 64. I am also grateful to digital artist Charlotte Mao.

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