

THE MINOAN “SNAKE GODDESS.” NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF HER COSTUME AND IDENTITY*

Ever since its discovery a century ago,¹ the faience statuette from the Temple Repositories, Knossos, has stood as an icon of the splendor of Minoan civilization at its height in MM IIIb, and of the importance of Minoan women (Pl. LXXXVa-c). With upraised arms holding snakes in a powerful “Mistress of Animals” gesture, the figurine is among the best candidates for a Minoan “Potnia.” The luxurious garments that emphasize the remarkable curvaceous anatomy and expose the breasts have prompted the figure to be identified as a goddess,² and even to be adopted as a symbol for the feminist movement today. With regard to its costume and identity, however, the image offers more questions than answers. Was the garment actually skin-tight or an artistic construct designed to emphasize the anatomy at the expense of the cloth? Were the breasts actually bare or an artistic fantasy? What was her role? This paper attempts to answer some of these questions by defining the costume and gaining an understanding of its construction. Since we lack actual Minoan textiles, and since much of the evidence is fragmentary, including the statuette whose missing head, left forearm and parts of her skirt were restored (Pl. LXXXVc),³ I shall focus on visual evidence from Crete and Thera, actual linen dresses from Egypt, and analogous designs from the ancient Near East. I shall then propose replications of the costume on a live model who imitates the pose of the statuette in order to come to conclusions about its arrangement on the body, and ultimately about its construction.

An examination shows that three garments adorn the statuette: a “bodice,” a flounced skirt, and an apron. I shall consider the “bodice” first.⁴ Orange with blue stripes,⁵ the garment is open in front down to the waist and exposes the breasts. Laces, tied in a looped-knot, secure the front edges beneath the breasts. Raised blue bands appear at the front edges, across the shoulders and at the sleeve hems. The questions of whether the raised blue bands are decorative or structural and whether the tight rendering represents an artistic construct or actual tailoring are critical since the classical peplos and chiton were loom-shaped rectangles made on warp-weighted looms, the same type of loom used by the Minoans.

* I wish to express my warmest thanks to Valerie Bealle for dyeing and making the replications with me. The following abbreviations are used:

PT = E.J.W. BARBER, *Prehistoric Textiles: the Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (1991).

WW = E.W. BARBER, *Women’s Work: The First 20,000 Years* (1994).

EVANS, BSA = A. EVANS, “The Palace of Knossos,” *BSA* (1902-3) 74-87.

MWC = B.R. JONES, *Minoan Women’s Clothes: An Investigation of their Construction from the Depictions in Aegean Art* (1998).

RMF = B.R. Jones, “Revealing Minoan Fashions,” *Archaeology* 53.3 (2000) 36-41.

PEC = G. VÖGELSANG-EASTWOOD, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (1993).

1 The statuette, HM 65, was originally published in EVANS, *BSA* 77-80; also *PM* I, 501-505 and *PM* III, 440-442.

2 Most recently in *Minoan Religion* 157-8, Fig. 141. EVANS, *BSA* 78, originally identified her as a votary or attendant because she is smaller than the other faience figure holding snakes from the same find spot.

3 For other unrestored views of the figurine see *PM* I, 502-3, Figs. 360-1.

4 For a detailed drawing of the bodice see *PM* I, fig. 362a,b.

5 For color illustrations of the statuette see *RMF* 39 and A. VASILAKIS, *Herakleion Archaeological Museum* (no date) 85. K.P. FOSTER, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* (1979) 72, has interpreted the vertical blue bands as suspenders but the blue bands diagonally rendered from sleeve to waist cannot be suspenders. All the bands are probably simply stripes. They taper from shoulder to waist, presumably an artistic construct reflecting either the natural folds of fabric which increase toward the waist or actual tapered seams or tucks.

Such a loom, with the ends of the warp tied in groups of 4 threads and anchored by loom weights, appears on the Amasis painter lekythos of c. 540 B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁶ The left girl pushes the weft threads up toward the finished cloth rolled over the top. It is important to understand that the long sides of the finished rectangle would have crisp finished edges (selvages), the top would have a band and the bottom would have warp fringes or attached bands to prevent unraveling. A finished loom-shaped rectangular cloth with its warp edges bound and banded is being folded by two women. This will probably serve as a peplos, the garment worn by the women, but it is also the basic shape for all Aegean Bronze Age garments.

Scholars have traditionally taken the “bodice” at face value, interpreting it as tightly fitted,⁷ and similar to modern Greek and Balkan folk costume which has a U-shaped neckline dipping beneath the breasts.⁸ But this style seems unrelated to the Minoan not only because the Minoan one has a different deep, open V-shaped front, but also because, during the span of 4,000 years, Greek clothing design underwent scores of changes including the uncut chiton and peplos worn throughout the classical period.

Alternatively, for the garment of the striding lady from the House of the Ladies, Thera, N. Marinatos suggested a long loose robe, that would cling to the body and give the impression of a tight jacket when a kilt was wrapped around it.⁹ Although she omits a detailed discussion of construction, this interpretation raises important questions. In terms of aesthetics, what we see is the artist’s interpretation of what he sees which may be far from the truth. In terms of practicality, a loose robe would alleviate the discomfort and split seams of a tight one, minimize or eliminate cutting and fraying of the cloth, and be more in keeping with uncut classical Greek garments. The key to Minoan dress design, however, lies in techniques used in the Bronze Age.

For actual evidence for construction of ancient Bronze Age garments from this region we must turn to Egypt where actual linen dresses are preserved from as early as c. 2800 B.C. at Tarkhan,¹⁰ and the 6th Dynasty at Naga-ed-der.¹¹ Both are finely pleated, and construction diagrams show how the cloth of the bodice was cut and tailored under the arms to form

6 D. von BOTHMER, *The Amasis Painter and his World* (1985) 185-187, Fig. 48.

7 EVANS, *BSA* 80-81.

8 According to BARBER (*PT* 317-18, n. 6), the bodice, tightly shaped and tailored, is cut on the bias. Subsequently (*WW* 141-2, Fig. 5.5), she associated it with Balkan folk dress and linked the tradition of cutting and tailoring from Crete to the Balkans. There is no connection, however, in time, space or design between the two. The ornamental decoration on a Bronze Age clay figurine from Cîrîna reveals little about dress design and the 19th century A.D. Bulgarian folk costume is a jumper with a U-shaped neckline, sleeveless and loose, worn over a high-necked chemise with attached sleeves. The Minoan, by contrast, is worn alone, has an open V-shaped front down to below the waist and is self-sleeved. Barber further suggests that the basis for the Slavic chemise was the dress of Mycenaean women which was “... made from three tubes of cloth.” Evidence, however, for such a design is lacking both in the archaeological record and in Barber’s undocumented gold bracelets from the shaft graves at Mycenae (*WW* 134-137, Fig. 5.2c, esp. 136-7, and *PT* 315).

Wardle’s interpretation of the Minoan bodices on the Ivory Triad from Mycenae of LH IIIb consists of 9 pieces of cut fabric including gussets, worn over a chemise. See D.E.H. WARDLE, “Does Reconstruction Help? A Mycenaean Dress and the Dendra Suit of Armour,” in *Problems in Greek Prehistory* 469-476, esp. 471-2, Fig. 1; and K.A. and D. WARDLE, *Cities of Legend: The Mycenaean World* (1997) 86-88. For good illustrations of the Ivory Triad see A.J.B. WACE, *Mycenae* (1949) Pls. 101, 102c, d. Wardle’s bodice has attached, set in sleeves and a U-shaped neckline that meets at right angles under the breasts. This, however, is unrelated to the bodices on the Ivory Triad that are worn alone, have deep open fronts that bare the breasts and reach below the waists (*RMF* 41). Wardle’s bodice appears, instead, to be modeled after modern Cretan folkdress, where the jacket, worn over a dress, has the same U-shaped front opening that meets at right angles under the breasts and set in sleeves. See postcard in *MWC* 69, Pl. 4.4 and illustration in R. HARROLD, *Folk Costumes of the World* (1978) 187, Fig. 45 left.

9 N. MARINATOS, *Art and Religion in Thera* (1984) 100-102, Figs. 67, 70. For a detailed description of the Thera costumes which largely reflects their appearance in art: long dresses, open down the front, tight above the waist, the bottom hems curved in points on those in Xeste 3, and banded horizontally on those in the House of the Ladies, see C. TELEVANTOU, “Η γυναικεία ενδυμασία στην προϊστορική Θήρα,” *ArchEph* (1982) 113-123, Fig. 3α, β, γ.

10 *PEC* 115, Pl. 26 and jacket.

11 *PEC* 118-119, Pl. 29.

self-sleeves and how the open V-shaped neckline was tied with laces of twisted flax.¹² These dresses and others like them provide evidence for pleating, cutting and tailoring in the eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age and free us from interpreting Minoan garments through the lens of later classical Greek dress. The use of linen for Egyptian dresses and twisted flax for the laces suggests the likelihood of that material for the Minoan. Multiple laces appear on the "bodice" of another statuette from the Temple Repositories, Knossos,¹³ and that of the bending lady from the House of the Ladies, Thera.¹⁴ The latter actually shows the diagonal yellow lines that indicate the stitching of five rows of yellow laces that emerge in front of the blue band as tied loops with ends hanging down.¹⁵

Further evidence for construction of the Minoan "bodice" is provided by the detailed paintings of garments from Thera, particularly that of the crocus gatherer.¹⁶ The fabric of the "bodice," decorated in a small diagonal grid pattern, appears above and below the kilt (the kilt's top tier is a larger grid), thus the "bodice" is actually a full-length dress which I call the Minoan chiton.¹⁷ Since the figure's legs are visible through the fabric, it is sheer, either linen or silk.¹⁸ The edges of the chiton down the center front are banded above the kilt but not below it. Since bands are used to reinforce cut edges and seams, the banded edges down the center front from shoulder to abdomen must have been cut on a diagonal and banded to prevent fraying; the unbanded center front edges of the chiton from abdomen to bottom hem were then the uncut selvages or naturally bound woven edges of the loom-shaped rectangular cloth. This observation provides crucial evidence that the fabric was not cut on the bias as Barber had suggested,¹⁹ but was cut on the straight. The chiton was thus made of 3 lengths of cloth: two for the front and one for the back as shown in my construction diagram and replicated chiton.²⁰ The top center front edges were diagonally cut and banded. The front and back were seamed together and banded at the shoulders. The sides were shaped, cut and seamed to tailor sleeves, and bands secured the sleeves' rough edges. The artist overlapped the bands to show that those down the center front edges were applied first, the shoulder band next, and the sleeve bands last. On the live model posed as the crocus gatherer, the replicated chiton closely conforms to the painted one.²¹

Since the chiton on the Knossos statuette is similar to that of the crocus gatherer in its bands and contoured fit, and since it has vertical stripes which indicate that it was also cut on the straight of the fabric, its construction likely was similar. The length of the chiton, however, is unknown since its lower part is obscured by a full-length skirt. Thus, my replication employs one piece of cloth for the back and two for the front, as the construction diagram shows (Pl. LXXXVd). The outside edges were cut under the arms to form sleeves. The inside edges, cut diagonally for the open front, were banded to prevent fraying and laces were applied. The

12 PEC 120, 122, Figs. 7.20, 7.21, 7.22.

13 PM IV 177, Fig. 139.

14 C. DOUMAS, *The Wall Paintings of Thera* (1992) 38, 41, Pl. 7 and detail on Pl. 10.

15 MWC Pl. 8.16d.

16 DOUMAS (*supra* n. 14) 156-7, Pls. 120-1.

17 See the diagram in RMF 36-38 esp. 38 top.

18 A silk cocoon found at Akrotiri provides evidence for the possibility of raw silk which would be appropriate for the sheer fabric depicted in the frescoes. See "E. PANAGIOTAKOPULU, P.C. BUCKLAND, P.M. DAY, C. DOUMAS, A. SARPAKI and P. SKIDMORE, "A lepidopterous cocoon from Thera and evidence for silk in the Aegean Bronze Age," *Antiquity* 71 (1997) 420-429.

19 According to Barber, the diagonal pattern was achieved either by using a diaper weave with supplemental weft or a plaid cut on the bias. The latter technique, she felt, would better accommodate the tight fit of the bodices of the crocus gatherer and the snake goddess (*PT* 317-18, note 6). There are, however, several problems with these interpretations. First, artistic license may well be responsible for the skintight rendering of a looser bodice in an effort to emphasize the female anatomy. Second, V. Bealle (pers. Comm.) has pointed out that the excessive cutting and wasting of fabric when cutting on the bias also argues against that technique. Further, although a supplemental weft would work on opaque fabric, it would not work on the diaphanous cloth of the Thera chitons where the weft threads would show through the sheer fabric and significantly change the pattern. Bealle suggested that the crocus gatherer's chiton was likelier cut on the straight from a loom-shaped rectangle of plain weave with the diagonal grid and crosses embroidered on it.

20 RMF 38 (diagram) and 36 (modeled replicated costume).

21 RMF 36-37.

diagram and replicated bodice (Pl. LXXXVe-LXXXVIa-b), show that seams at the sides and top joined the front to the back, and bands were applied over the shoulder seam and at the sleeve edges to reinforce hems and prevent fraying. Since the evidence for band overlap is obscured on the chiton of the snake goddess, I have placed the center front bands over the shoulder band as an alternative to that of the crocus gatherer since the chitons on several figures from Thera, including that of the goddess, show this technique.²² As it turns out, this method provides the securer join. In imitation of the snake goddess, the open front of the replicated chiton on the model was pulled to the sides of the breasts to expose them and laced together below them (Pl. LXXXVe, LXXXVIa-d, LXXXVIIa). Alternatively, however, the chiton could cover the breasts as depicted on the faience dress plaques from the Temple Repositories at Knossos.²³

A full-length flounced skirt is worn over the chiton, fragmentarily preserved as seen in Evans' drawing of the back of the statuette (Pl. LXXXVa-c).²⁴ Snug around the hips and flaring toward the bottom, the skirt gives no indication of a seam or closure. It consists of seven tiers; six tiers decorated in alternating blocks of color in tones of natural tan, purplish-blue and dark ocher.²⁵ The blocks of color are further marked by four thin, dark, vertical lines: one at each edge of the block and two in the center. These lines are more clearly visible on the lighter tan and ocher blocks than on the dark blue. Thus, each tier forms a pattern reminiscent of metopes and triglyphs. With the tiers arranged one above the other, the colors alternate so that the whole forms a kind of checkerboard design. The fragmentary state reveals little evidence for the top tier, decorated with two horizontal stripes and fringes on the bottom, and raises the question of whether Evans' reconstruction is accurate.²⁶ The only Aegean parallel for this skirt is represented on the goddess on the contemporary gold pin head from Shaft Grave III, Mycenae.²⁷ The skirt also has seven tiers, each decorated in alternating plain and vertically incised blocks, the whole also affecting a checkerboard.

Prototypes for this skirt appear in the ancient Near East as garb for priestesses, gods and goddesses, suggesting a similar role for the Knossos figure. An Old Syrian seal with a seated god, c. 1750, shows a tiered skirt with a similar checkerboard effect.²⁸ Another Old Syrian seal, c. 1800-1750, found at Tyllissos, shows flounced skirts worn by priestesses at an altar.²⁹ This is one of six ancient Near Eastern seals with figures depicted in flounced garments found in Crete that attest to interconnections between the two regions.³⁰ On an Old Babylonian seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection, the god wears a wrapped flounced skirt open in the front,³¹ providing evidence for how it was made. A gold foil presentation goddess in relief from Kamid el Loz, Lebanon, of the mid-eighteenth century, clearly shows a garment with fringed flounces.³² The robes of the presentation goddesses on the Investiture Painting from Mari, c. 1750,³³ have tiers painted in a variety of earth colors similar to that of the Minoan statuette. Obviously the flounced skirt of the Minoan figurine depended on oriental models and likely marked a similar role for the wearer as priestess or goddess.

22 See the chitons on the crocus picker with black hair, the maiden dumping crocuses, and the goddess in DOUMAS (*supra* n. 14) 154-5, Pls. 118-19; 160-1, Pls. 123-4 and 162-3, Pls. 125-6, respectively.

23 *PM I* 506, Fig. 364a.

24 *PM I* 503, Fig. 361.

25 Likely faded through time, the colors are based on my observation of the figurine in the Herakleion Museum.

26 If not, the top tier likely was the same as the others.

27 G. KARO, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (1930) 54-55, 182, 187, Pl. XXX, no. 75.

28 E. PORADA, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I. *The Pierpont Morgan Library Collection. The Bollingen Series* 14 (1948) 118-119, Pl. CXXXVII, Fig. 910.

29 *CMS II.3*, nr. 128.

30 E. MØLLER, "A Revaluation of the Oriental Cylinder Seals Found in Crete" in *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean: Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Mediterranean Pre- and Protohistory* (1980) 85-104. For the most recent seal to enter the corpus see C. DAVARAS and J. SOLES, "A New Oriental Cylinder Seal from Mochlos," *ArchEph* (1995) 29-60, Figs. 1-3.

31 B. BUCHANAN, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (1981) 294-5, Fig. 1137.

32 I thank G. Kopcke for bringing this to my attention. J. BOESE "Reliefdarstellung einer fürbittenden Göttin" in *Frühe Phöniker im Libanon: 20 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz* (1983) 109, Cat. no. 92.

33 A. PARROT, *Sumer* (1961) 279, Fig. 346.

Scholars have suggested fringes or striped or pleated cloth for the tiers.³⁴ The modulating colors of the stripes on the Knossos statuette suggest fringes but the horizontal ground line suggests woven cloth and the flaring of the tiers appears to call for pleats or gathers.

In response to this evidence, I made two replications, one fringed (Pl. LXXXVe-LXXXVIa-b) and one striped and pleated (Pl. LXXXVIc-d, LXXXVIIa),³⁵ in order to see which was more convincing.³⁶ Sewn onto rectangular lengths of cloth with tops folded over to serve as the top tier, the six tiers of fringes are shown on Pl. LXXXVIIb above, and the six tiers of striped fabric with alternating pleated blocks of color are shown on Pl. LXXXVIIb below. The skirts were wrapped around and overlapped at the back (Pl. LXXXVIIc). On the model posed as the snake goddess, only the replicated fringed tiers differ in that they have an irregular groundline (Pl. LXXXVe, LXXXVIa-d, LXXXVIIa). Although the overlapping is not obvious on both replicated skirts, the fringed version masks it better than the pleated and thus conforms better to the statuette. The narrow side view rendering of the snake goddess's skirt is reflected in both replications.

When the fringed and pleated replicated skirts are overlapped in front on the model who imitates the pose on a female figure on a faience plaque also from the Temple Repositories at Knossos, they also conform well to the image (Pl. LXXXVIIId, LXXXVIIIa-b).

An apron completes the costume. Front and back views (Pl. LXXXVa, c), show that the main U-shaped parts of the apron are decorated in a diagonal grid, the upper segments filled with two horizontal lines.³⁷ By contrast, the apron's hem is bordered by a band with double horizontal stripes and the waist band is decorated with vertical stripes. These striped bands were likely attached to the main body of the apron and ultimately reinforce all of its cut edges. The waist band has an interesting concave contour that suggests it was folded over. The same treatment exists on the only other Minoan apron, preserved on another faience figurine from the same find spot.³⁸ There the main fabric is decorated with dots in relief (likely applied discs or beads) and surrounded at the waist and hem with bands of spirals. Since the spirals and diagonal grid patterns are typical Minoan textile decorations, the construction diagram of my replicated apron consists of two lengths of cloth for front and back, cut in the appropriate U-shape (Pl. LXXXVIIIc). The front and back were seamed together at the sides and bands were sewn all along the U-shaped edge. A wide band was attached to the top (waist) edge and folded over. As a hypothetical solution as to how the waistband was secured, a channel was sewn all along the inside of the waistband and a drawstring was inserted that tied at the inside. The model, in front, back and side views, shows that the wide opening at the top of the replicated apron passed easily over the head and the hidden drawstring secured it tightly at the waist (Pl. LXXXVe, LXXXVIa-d and LXXXVIIa).

The only actual foreign parallels for aprons exist in Egypt where, according to Vogelsang-Eastwood, they were chiefly worn by men.³⁹ A gold apron, however, shaped like an indented

34 E. STROMMINGER, "Mesopotamische Gewandtypen von der Frühsomerischen bis zur Larsa-Zeit" *Acta praehistorica et archaeologica* 2 (1971) 52-3, described the material as organized in pleated flounces in steps one above the other; A. MOORTGAT, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (1969) 48, interpreted the robe of Enheduanna as several layers of ruches (strips of pleated material); D. COLLON, *Ancient Near Eastern Art* (1995) 101, Fig. 80, believed the tiered garments were made either of a pleated or fringed fabric, the latter possibility in imitation of the earlier sheepskin garment.

35 For a color illustration of my replicated skirt and costume see *RMF* 39.

36 My first experiment, a tubular skirt with graduating tiers sewn together at the top, designed to satisfy the lack of a visible join on the skirt of the statuette, failed to achieve its look. I am grateful to E. HARRISON for suggesting the wrap-around design.

37 Possibly achieved by supplementary-weft techniques or embroidery (see *PT* 312-330 esp. 319-20, 330, and I. TZACHILI, *Υφαντική και υφάντρες στο Προϊστορικό Αιγαίο* [1997] 225-6, Fig. 121).

38 *PM I* 523, Fig. 382 (drawing) and 518, Fig. 377 (photo).

39 *PEC* 52, 38, Fig. 3:9. See chapter 3 for a survey of Egyptian aprons. Painted aprons from a Middle Kingdom coffin from el-Bersheh are rounded at the bottom somewhat similar to the Minoan but are single panels, worn only in the front. The narrow rectangular beaded and gold aprons from the tomb of Tutankhamun (c. 1324), differ entirely from the Minoan (see G. M. VOGELSSANG-EASTWOOD, *Tutankhamun's Wardrobe: Garments from the tomb of Tutankhamun* [1999] 50-51, Figs. 4:3, 4:5).

rectangle appears on a silver female statuette inscribed on its wooden pedestal with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III (c. 1450).⁴⁰ The back view (unpublished), shows that the single front panel is tied in the back. Although different in shape from the Minoan, the presence of the apron and the emphasis on the breasts made of gold caps, which have parallels on Crete and on the mainland, suggest a possible iconographic connection to the Minoan figurine.⁴¹

In sum, tailored and corseted to emphasize the breasts, the presumably linen chiton's open front design surely facilitated breast-feeding and likely was rooted in ritual related to fertility and/or sexuality. The flounced skirt, represented in greater volume marking thicker material, was likely made of wool. Since both striped and fringed flounce replications conformed to the representation, either one was possible. The garment of priestesses and goddesses in the Near East, the flounced skirt presumably marked a similar role for the Minoan figure. In combination with the Minoan chiton and flounced skirt, the apron likely had special significance. In the *Bible* (Exodus 28:6-14), among the vestments distinguishing the office of the High Priest Aaron from lower ranking priests was an elaborate, colored and embroidered linen *ephod*, an apron-like garment which was worn over a long tunic.⁴² As the *ephod* marked the office of the High Priest Aaron, so it is possible that the apron marked the office of the Minoan High Priestess and possibly was associated with sacrifice.

Bernice JONES

40 *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (1981) 68, Fig. 13. For a painted version from el-Bersheh see *PEC* 39, Fig. 3.10.

41 Cretan parallels for breast caps appear on a Minoan terracotta relief from Kannia dated LM Ib (F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Die minoische Kultur des alten Kreta* [1964] 210, Pl. 52, opp. 193, and continue on the mainland where they appear on a recently excavated terracotta female figure from Midea dated LH IIIB2 (D.J. BLACKMAN *et al.*, *Archaeological Reports for 1997-1998* [1998] 31 and cover), and in an Iron Age (c. 1000) grave in Lefkandi, Euboea, where actual gold breast caps embossed with a spiral design once covered the breasts of a buried woman (M. POPHAM, E. TOULOUPA and L.H. SACKETT, "The Hero of Lefkandi," *Antiquity* 56 [1982] 172, Pl. XXIIIb).

42 Although there is no pictorial representation in the Near East of an apron or the *ephod*, the latter is also mentioned in the Ugaritic texts and in the Assyrian letters from Cappadocia. See B. MAZAR, *Views of the Biblical World I* (1959) 166.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. LXXXVa-c The "Snake Goddess," Knossos, Hm 65: a) front, photo: Herakleion Museum, b) side, photo: Herakleion Museum, c) back, photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Pl. LXXXVd Construction of chiton of HM 65: front, back, and front and back joined, drawings: M. Carvalho and L. Grisafi.
- Pl. LXXXVe Replicated costume of HM 65 with fringed tiers on skirt: front, model: D. Oktay, photo: M. Gammacurta.
- Pl. LXXXVIa-b Replicated costume of HM 65 with fringed tiers on skirt: a) back, b) side, model: D. Oktay, photos: M. Gammacurta.
- Pl. LXXXVIc-d Replicated costume of HM 65 with cloth tiers on skirt: c) front, d) back, model: D. Oktay, photos: M. Gammacurta.
- Pl. LXXXVIIa Replicated costume of HM 65 with cloth tiers on skirt: a) side, model: D. Oktay, photo: M. Gammacurta.
- Pl. LXXXVIIb Construction of skirt: fringed tiers, pleated tiers, drawings: M. Carvalho and L. Grisafi.
- Pl. LXXXVIIc Replicated chiton and wrapped fringed skirt, model: D. Oktay, photo: M. Gammacurta.
- Pl. LXXXVIId Faience plaque, Knossos, HM 17, photo: author.
- Pl. LXXXVIIIa-b Replicated costume of HM 17: a) skirt with fringed tiers, b) skirt with pleated tiers, model: D. Oktay, photos: M. Gammacurta.
- Pl. LXXXVIIIc Construction of apron: front and back, side, front and back joined, drawings: M. Carvalho and L. Grisafi.