BRONZE AGE CRETE AND ART NOUVEAU:
A DIACHRONIC DIALOG

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the relationship between Minoan art and Art Nouveau. The Minoan civilization was rediscovered at the turn of the twentieth century when the Art Nouveau movement reached its peak. Due to this coincidental timing, their artistic resemblance has raised questions about whether Minoan art had inspired Art Nouveau and whether Art Nouveau played a role in the restoration of Minoan art. The possibility of a Minoan influence on Art Nouveau is considered through a number of aspects, which include news reports on the excavations, Minoan collections acquired by museums, reference to the Minoans in various fields, application of Minoan motifs, and the attractiveness of the Minoans to Art Nouveau artists. As for the reversed influence, the research analyzes how archaeologists came to see the Minoans as a "modern" civilization, investigates the background of the restorers of Minoan objects, and provides examples of fresco restorations that illustrate an Art Nouveau preference of the early archaeologists and restorers. With the evidence and the discussion, I argue that the existing connection between Minoan art and Art Nouveau is beyond doubt.

To My Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines art styles in two different periods—Minoan art in the Bronze Age and Art Nouveau at the turn of the twentieth century. The Minoan civilization, regarded as the oldest civilization in Europe, flourished on the island of Crete approximately from 3000 to 1450 B.C. The Art Nouveau movement, an important step toward the development of modern art, reached its height from 1890 to 1910 A.D. in Europe and North America under various names such as *Jugendstil*, the Secession style, the *Modernista* movement, and *La Stile Liberty*. These two periods were distant from each other in history, but they had a meeting point when an ample amount of Minoan sites were unearthed and came to human knowledge around the year 1900.

Not only was the Art Nouveau movement concurrent with the rediscovery of the Minoan civilization, but the art forms of both periods appeared to have much in common. Subject-wise, both were in favor of motifs from the natural world, such as plants and animals. Both employed spirals, abstract patterns, and undulating lines as decorative elements. Stylistically speaking, both rendered their subjects in organic forms and with full dynamics. In terms of representation and spatial features, the subjects in the foreground were often depicted in detail while the background being abstract and flattened.

The coincidental timeframe and the artistic similarities have generated discussions on the connection between Art Nouveau and Bronze Age Aegean art. The early remarks of the connection started with Mycenaean art, which owed much of its style to Minoan

art, unearthed in the later half of the nineteenth century. In his 1925 article on the evolutionary significance of *Jugendstil*, Ernst Michalski stated that it was not incorrect to assume an influence from Mycenaean art, especially the vases painted with marine animals in sinuous forms.[1] Henri Focillon also mentioned the influence of Mycenaean pottery on French painters of the fin-de-siècle.[2] Yet these were brief comments without elaborate discussion. It was not until 1969 that a detailed analysis on the discourse was published, where Jaroslav Leshko analyzed the works of Gustav Klimt and Oskar Kokoschka in relation to the Mycenaean finds from the sites of Tiryns and Mycenae, in which he concluded that both artists absorbed Mycenaean style in their art.[3]

Much attention thereafter was turned to the comparison between Minoan art and Art Nouveau. Anton Bammer discussed the link between *Jugendstil* in Vienna and Minoan objects discovered on Crete.[4] Several other scholars also made the connection.[5] While some scholars suggested that Minoan art had inspired Art Nouveau artists, others were opposed to this idea. Wolfgang Schiering stated that the relationship between Minoan art and Art Nouveau was not as close as it first appeared.[6] Fritz Blakolmer suggested that the similarities "may often be explained only as 'coincidences.'"[7] In their

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[1] Michalski 1925, 142.

[2] Focillon 1928, 398.

[3] Leshko 1969.

[4] Bammer 1990.

[5] Selected publications include Schmutzler 1962, 15; Wallis 1974, 210; Eschmann 1991, 72; Papadopoulos 1997, 99. See Blakolmer 2006 for more references.

[6] Schiering 1976, 168-170.

[7] Blakolmer 2006, 220.

discussion, Vicenzo La Rosa and Pietro Militello concluded that there was limited Minoan influence on modern art in Italy.[8]

The discourse has also extended to the restoration of Minoan art. It has been argued that the Art Nouveau, instead of being influenced by Minoan art, actually played a significant role in the interpretation and restoration of Minoan art. Alexandre Farnoux has addressed this "influence in reverse" in a number of publications, explaining how Art Nouveau theories affected the understanding and interpretation of Minoan art.[9] Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier also argued that *Jugendstil* played a role in shaping the modern impression of the Minoan civilization, which was largely a myth created by the excavator at Knossos, Arthur Evans.[10] Louise Hitchcock, Paul Koudounaris, and John Papadopoulos shared this view by looking at the reconstruction of the site at Knossos.[11] Their argument has also met oppositions. Blakolmer maintained that the supposed interconnections were drawn prematurely and that the two styles "occurred independently in the two cultures."[12] Barthélémy De Craene demonstrated a similar idea by analyzing the restoration of frescoes and the lives of the restorers, doubting their familiarity with the Art Nouveau Movement.[13]

The discourse on whether connections exist between Minoan art and Art Nouveau, therefore, is a two-way discussion. The questions are, on the one hand, whether

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[8] La Rosa and Militello 2006, 249.

[9] Farnoux 1996a, 95-112; 1996, 108-110; and 2003.

[10] Niemeier 1995, 204-206.

[11] Hitchcock and Koudounaris 2002; and Papadopoulos 1997 and 2005.

[12] Blakolmer 2006, 220.

[13] De Craene 2008.

Minoan art had an influence on Art Nouveau, and on the other hand, whether Art Nouveau played a role in the restoration of Minoan art. Are the similarities between the two merely coincidental? Or is there a connection to be found?

This dissertation investigates both directions by asking two pairs of questions: First, were Art Nouveau artists aware of the archaeological discovery of the Minoans? If so, how appealing was Minoan art to Art Nouveau artists? Second, were the early Minoan archaeologists aware of Art Nouveau? If so, how appealing was Art Nouveau to Minoan archaeologists? The dissertation also reconsiders the time frame of the discussion. Previous scholarship has largely focused on chronological concerns, concentrating on the two decades when Art Nouveau was most popular. The discussion has mostly enveloped around the possibilities of whether either group had the opportunities to learn about the other group in the first decade of the twentieth century. While it is crucial to examine the interconnection, or none thereof, between the two within this time frame, it is also somewhat limited, overlooking the development in the preceding or following years. The level of influence is another issue. While the artistic similarities have been pointed out between the two, the ideas and mindset behind the stylistic preference have not been discussed in detail. Building on the previous scholarship, this dissertation broadens the scope by placing the discourse in a wider artistic context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two provides examples of the similarities between Minoan art and Art Nouveau. Selected motifs and the presentation of space in both periods demonstrate their resemblance that raised the question of a possible connection. Chapter Three gives an account of the rediscovery of the Minoan civilization

at the turn of the twentieth century. It discusses Europe's early impression of Crete, the growing archaeological interests for the island, and the timely political situation, all of which contributed to the increase of archaeological activities on Crete and led to the rediscovery of multiple Minoan sites. The excavation at Knossos, one of the defining projects of Minoan archaeology, as well as other notable Minoan sites being excavated before the 1920s, are briefly reviewed. Chapter Four is an overview of the Art Nouveau movement. While it is a movement that happened all around Europe and North America, special focus is given to Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and the United States due to their relevance to the archaeologists of Minoan sites and the artists and scholars discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five examines the reception of the Minoan civilization in relation to the Art Nouveau movement. Newspaper articles and museum purchases of the time provide an idea of the dissemination of the archaeological discovery. Examples of scholars, writers, and artists, who either mentioned the findings or applied it to their works, also testify to the circulation of the news. The chapter then explores the likelihood and the reasons why Art Nouveau artists would find Minoan art interesting. Chapter Six dives into a number of aspects concerning the interpretation and the restoration of the Minoan civilization. It discusses the involvement of Art Nouveau in establishing the view of the early archaeologists that the Minoans were more "modern" than other ancient civilizations. It investigates the background of major restorers and their familiarity with Art Nouveau. Two examples of fresco restoration illustrate the likely Art Nouveau preference behind the projects.

Eager to depart from institutional practices of art, Art Nouveau artists looked for new inspiration from various sources. Was Minoan art one of them? Archaeologists, on the other hand, tried to understand and reconstruct the Minoan civilization with a large amount but fragmental evidence. Did Art Nouveau play a role in their interpretation? It is the hope that this dissertation will present a fresh look at the perceptions and restorations of the Minoan civilization, contribute to the conversation on Art Nouveau, and provide an outlook on the vital interchange of ideas in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2

THE RESEMBLANCE

The resemblance between Minoan Art and Art Nouveau has been noted ever since the early stage of Minoan archaeology. Arthur Evans, who is most renowned for his excavation at Knossos, pointed out "how similar all Cretan decoration is to Art Nouveau."[14] Léon Bakst, known for his design works for Ballets Russes in the early twentieth century, was amazed at how Minoan art was "so close and familiar… closely related to our new art" on a trip to Crete.[15] The resemblance has also been mentioned in later scholarly works. Robert Schmutzler stated "the style which can best be compared to Art Nouveau is that of the island of Crete in the Minoan period" in his survey book of Art Nouveau.[16] Their impression was not unfounded. This chapter illustrates how this impression came into existence with examples from both periods. Minoan examples are mostly taken from the Middle and Late Bronze Age, which extended approximately from 2100 to 1100 B.C. The similarities between Minoan art and Art Nouveau could be observed in both the choice of motifs and the rendering styles.

Motifs from the Botanical World

Motifs from the botanical world appear frequently in both Minoan art and Art Nouveau. Minoan examples of botanical patterns show up in countless pottery sherds and

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[14] Clark 1974, 107.

[15] Momigliano 2017, 89.

[16] Schmutzler 1962, 15.

wall paintings. Lilies, crocus flowers, papyrus flowers, ivy leaves, reeds, and palm trees are some of the plants most favored by the Minoans (Fig. 2.1). In some depictions they form part of a landscape, and in others they serve as decorative patterns. Similarly, Art Nouveau artists are known for their extensive use of botanical patterns. As one of the hallmarks of Art Nouveau, floral motifs could be seen in all types of design—from posters to ceramics, and from furniture to architecture. The repertoire of botanical types in Art Nouveau is larger than that in Minoan art, possibly due to the simple fact that the plants known to the Minoans were mostly limited to the Mediterranean region, but those plants that are popular in Minoan art also appear to have found favor in the eyes of Art Nouveau artists.

While plant motifs are not exclusive to Minoan art and Art Nouveau, the rendering of the motifs demonstrated their resemblance to each other more than any other periods or styles. Take the motif of the ivy leaves for example. Ivy leaves as decorative bands are commonly seen in Minoan pottery and wall paintings, especially those from the Late Minoan period. They are represented in shapes of hearts. One of the earliest finds containing such a motif would be a jar that was unearthed from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae in 1877 (Fig. 2.2). Among the various motifs decorating the jar is a band of ivy leaves that surrounds the lower body. These heart-shaped leaves are connected by two curved stems, which come out from the middle of each leaf. Another Minoan example is a bowl excavated from Zakros (Fig. 2.3). Decorating the interior wall, the heart-shaped ivy leaves are attached to wavy stems and bands, creating a flowing feel. A comparison from the Art Nouveau is found in a set of porcelain ware manufactured by the Bavarian

firm Rosenthal Porcelain Company around 1900 to 1902 (Fig. 2.4).[17] Ivy leaves in the shape of up-side-down hearts are printed on the vessels. Curved stems coming down from the middle of the leaves merge into thin decorating bands, delivering a similar sense of flow. Heart-shape ivy leaves are also one of the common motifs in the vase design of Louis Comfort Tiffany. A glass vase made around 1911, among others, especially bares a band of ivy leaves that is strikingly similar to the Minoan jar excavated from Mycenae (Fig. 2.5).

Plant motifs are also seen in the design of Alfred William Finch, a Belgian ceramicist, around the same time. In a 1901 catalog published by the Aktiebolaget Iris, a workshop promoting Finnish Art Nouveau home objects, Finch's works demonstrate what the Iris workshop viewed as "the combination of tradition and modernity in Finnish Art Nouveau" (Fig. 2.6).[18] These ceramics are decorated mostly with earth tones and simple patterns, which evoke a so-called "primitive" impression. The cup numbered as "U2" in the catalog (top right) is painted with a flattened image of a palm tree with curved leaves on either side of the trunk and four dots representing the leaflet. Combined with the simple colors of black, brown, and white, the image calls to mind the palm trees commonly depicted in Minoan art. Even though a few variations exist, they all display a

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[17] An image of a tureen from the same design set could be found in Haslam 1989, 126.

[18] The Aktiebolaget Iris was co-founded by the Finnish painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela and the part-Swedish, part-Italian furniture designer Louis Sparre in Finland in 1897. Both of them studied and traveled extensively around Europe. It was during his trip to Brussels that Sparre met Finch, who had an English parentage and played a crucial role in the Belgium Art Nouveau scene, and invited him to run the ceramics production of the Iris workshop (Escritt 2000, 199). While the workshop was centered on Finnish Art Nouveau, the international make-up of the group demonstrated that Art Nouveau was truly a movement of a universal scale.

pattern of a flattened image of a tree with curved leaves on either side of the trunk and a tip as the leaflet on the top (Fig. 2.7).

Motifs from the Animal World

Animals from both the sea and the land are common motifs in Minoan art and Art Nouveau. Marine animals are highly prevalent. The images of octopuses appear widely on Minoan objects, particularly on pottery and wall paintings from the Late Minoan period (Fig. 2.8). The motif also occurs on Mycenaeans objects, which were heavily influenced by those of the Minoans, such as the fifty-three gold ornaments in the shape of an octopus found from Mycenae in 1876 (Fig. 2.9). Despite the evolving styles of the octopus motif, they have in common the elongated head, large round eyes, and curved tentacles, occasionally with rows of suckers. The sinuous forms of the octopus, usually asymmetrical, always deliver a sense of movement. The octopus motif, not among the most commonly depicted subjects in Western art history, is also seen in Art Nouveau objects. The fob watch made by Gorham for Tiffany around 1890 has an octopus design (Fig. 2.10). The octopus, with large round eyes, covers the entire surface of the watch. Its tentacles curve freely without stiff symmetry. Gustav Klimt's painting *Jurisprudence* provides another octopus image from Art Nouveau (Fig. 2.11).[19] At the bottom half of the painting, a condemned man is wrapped by an octopus of great scale.

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[19] Originally painted for the ceiling of the University of Vienna's Great Hall, *Jurisprudence*, along with *Philosophy* and *Medicine* from the same commission, was seized by the Germans in 1938 and destroyed in 1945 when the retreating German SS armies set fire on the artworks to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. All that is preserved now are some sketches and photographs.

The eye of the octopus is seen among similar dots. Its tentacles add a sense of movement to the scene.

Such sinuous form is likewise to be seen in snakes. The most well known Minoan objects involving snakes are the faience figures of the "Snake Goddess" and her attendants excavated from Knossos (Fig. 2.12). This "Under-World form of the great Minoan Goddess," as interpreted and restored by Evans and his assistants, was named because of the three snakes coiling on her body—one follows along her arms, which stretch outward to the front; the other two are interlaced, reaching from the top of the tiara to down below her waist.[20] The curvy and twisting form of the snakes adds dynamics to the otherwise rather rigid figure. One of the attendants, which also went through restoration, raises her arms and holds a snake in each hand. The theatrical pose and the wavy form of the snakes easily draw the attention of the viewer. A number of Art Nouveau works are reminiscent of the "Snake Goddess" and her attendants. At the lower part of Klimt's painting *Medicine* stands Hygeia, the goddess of health (Fig. 2.13). Although it follows the traditional depiction of Hygeia with her attributes of a snake and a bowl of Lethe, the way the snake coils around her arm and curls into a spiral shape at the tail demonstrates the preference of the artist for organic forms. She corresponds to the "Snake Goddess" and attendants with her full frontality and direct stare. In *Jurisprudence*, snakes appear curling around the three Furies that surround the man wrapped by the octopus (Fig. 2.11). The fondness for snakes during the Art Nouveau period is also presented beyond the realm of visual art. A popular form of dance, which

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[20] A. Evans 1921-1935, I, 200.

had been performed by renowned dancers such as Loïe Fuller and Annabelle Moore, involving the effect of the swirling movement of dress under electric stage lighting is known as "the Serpentine Dance."

Another animal motif that occupies a prominent place in both Minoan art and Art Nouveau is birds. Birds in Minoan art, which include a variety of species, occur in different contexts and actions.[21] On a pyxis from a tomb at Alatsomouri, the birds are flying in a Nilotic landscape with lilies and papyrus flowers (Fig. 2.14). On an alabastron from Phaistos, two waterfowls flank a plant in a heraldic position (Fig. 2.15). On a wall painting from Knossos, partridges and a hoopoe stand among bushes and rocky landscape represented by undulating lines (Fig. 2.16). Birds also appear in cult contexts such as being on top of the headpiece of a goddess. Most of these have counterparts in Art Nouveau. Examples include Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo's fabric *Cromer Bird* (Fig. 2.17), Walter Crane's wallpaper *Swan, Rush and Iris* (Fig. 2.18), William Morris' *Bullerswood Carpet* (Fig. 2.19), and Charles van der Stappen's sculpture *Le Sphinx Mystéieux* (Fig. 2.20).

Abstract Motifs

The most common abstract motifs in Minoan art are the spirals. Minoan spirals, decorating objects ranging from wall paintings and pottery to seals and jewelry, appear in a variety of forms. Some of them are running spirals like the ones on the "Shield Frieze" fresco (Fig. 2.21), some are incorporated into other motifs such as being the eyes and the

[21] Many of the birds in Minoan wall paintings are represented so accurately that their species are identifiable. See Masseti 1997.

tentacles of an octopus (Fig. 2.22), and some grow out from one another giving a plant-like impression such as a pottery sherd found from Knossos (Fig. 2.23). Among Art Nouveau works, Klimt's paintings are best known for his use of spiral shapes. As pointed out above, a spiral forms the tail of the snake in the painting *Medicine* (Fig. 2.13). In his 1909 mural *Tree of Life*, which covered the wall of a dining room designed by Josef Hoffmann, the branches and leaves of the tree are transformed into connected spirals of various sizes (Fig. 2.24). Similar spirals also appear in the 1907 painting *Adele Bloch-Bauer I* on both sides around the woman's waist, likely representing a couch (Fig. 2.25). Motifs of oval outline encircling connected spirals serve as decorative elements with other geometric shapes around her head. The encircled spirals, as well as the spiral-filled circle in the *Beethoven Frieze* created for the Vienna Secession Exhibition in 1902 (Fig. 2.26), are reminiscent of Minoan and Mycenaean gold objects such as a gold earring and the decoration on a gold cup from Mycenae (Fig. 2.27 and 2.28).

Looking through the above examples, it is also clear that both the Minoans and the Art Nouveau artists favored sinuous bands or lines. Be it pure decoration or representation of objects, the lines add to the dynamics of the scene. In addition, the lines often serve as merging zones for the representational and the abstract. A simple line sometimes transforms into a plant or an animal, thus creating a variety of hybrid forms. In Minoan art, the Kamares Ware provides some of the best examples of the merging of abstract and representational forms (Fig. 2.29). In Art Nouveau, the embroidery design *Whiplash (Peitschenheib)* by the German designer Hermann Obrist, considered the beginning of the Munich *Jugendstil*, is composed of sinuous lines and plant motifs, which

"typified a use of line common among Art Nouveau designers" (Fig. 2.30).[22] In some cases the form of a motif evolves over time and transforms its appearance. The argonaut, a common motif in Minoan and Mycenaean pottery, appears in a variety of forms, which evolved from recognizable animal forms to simple lines and spirals during the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 2.31). As for Art Nouveau ceramics, one of the vessels by Finch for the Aktiebolaget Iris bears a curvilinear pattern that, although abstract, is reminiscent of the form of a marine creature (Fig. 2.5, V53) and is comparable to the tentacles of Minoan and Mycenaean argonauts.

Pictorial Space

Not only the motifs and their forms, but the representation of space is also similar between Minoan art and Art Nouveau. In paintings of both styles, the backgrounds tend to be flattened and simplified. The "Throne Room" fresco from Knossos depicts griffins and plants against a background of plain red and white fields, separated by undulating lines (Fig. 2.32). As opposed to the detailed depiction of the griffins, the vacant background, typical for wall paintings from Knossos, is devoid of context and eliminated of the depth of space. In the "Partridge" fresco from the same site, the landscape is reduced to colorful lines and irregular shapes (Fig. 2.16). The abstraction of the background stands in contrast to the precise depiction of the birds. Such approaches are prevalent in Art Nouveau paintings. In *Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, the plain gold and green background flattens the space and gives no context except for an abstract couch that

[22] Greenhalgh 2000b, 15.

suggests an interior space (Fig. 2.25). In *Judith I*, also by Klimt, the treatment of the heroine figure is distinctly different from that of the background (Fig. 2.33). While the face of Judith is rendered in a realistic manner, the plants surrounding her head are represented symbolically with black lines and a single color of yellow. The space is flattened through placing the figure and the plants on the same plane.

Minoan art and the Art Nouveau have a similar approach of space in three-dimensional objects as well. The match between the decoration and the shape of the objects has been mentioned in both. In Minoan pottery, how certain shapes are frequently combined with certain types of decoration in Kamares Ware has been discussed.[23] Examples can also be found in Marine Style pottery, such as the stirrup jar with an octopus design from Gournia, in which the sinuous body of the octopus works well with the contour of the vase (Fig. 2.34). In Art Nouveau porcelain, the design often follows the shape of the vessel, such as the cup and saucer designed by Henry van de Velde for the Meissen porcelain factory in Germany (Fig. 2.35). Instead of having rigid compositions confined to layers of friezes or disconnection between vessel shapes and paints, the unifying effects of decoration with shape in both art styles enhance the flowing dynamics. The design of the Tiffany fob watch is also an example of incorporating the form of the octopus with the shape of the watch (Fig. 2.20).

To sum up the similarities, both Minoan art and Art Nouveau demonstrate a love for motifs from nature, contain abstract patterns and hybrid forms, display flattened pictorial space in two-dimensional art, and have decorations that complement object

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[23] Walberg 1987, 87-88.

shapes in three-dimensional works. While each individual feature might not be unique to Minoan art or Art Nouveau among art styles throughout history, the resemblance in all these features between the two styles can hardly be overlooked. With these similarities and their curvilinear and organic appearance, it is not unreasonable for archaeologists, artists, or scholars to get the impression and comment on how the two styles look alike. The resemblance calls for a deeper examination on the possible connection between Minoan art and Art Nouveau.

CHAPTER 3

MINOAN CIVILIZATION REDISCOVERED

With its commanding location, the island of Crete had been ruled by various political entities throughout its history. The Greeks, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Arabs, the Republic of Venice, and the Ottoman Empire all had their presence on Crete. It thus developed a unique culture of its own. After the Ottomans took over the island from the Venetians in 1669, the cultural divide between Crete and most of Europe deepened. The image of Crete, to the majority of Europe, was mostly associated with ancient myths and legends, furthered by a number of travelers' records and accounts. These accounts were made as early as the fourteenth century when medieval pilgrims journeyed through the island to the Holy Land. Antiquarian and scientific travelers, many of whom went for scientific or military missions, followed soon after. Their number flourished beginning from the mid-sixteenth century.[24]

Cultural Ruins and Legends on Crete before the Twentieth Century

Journals of travelers to Crete left sporadic mentions of ancient ruins and buildings. Classical sites and those of later periods, such as Gortyna, the Church of St. Titus, and the Venetian forts, were brought up in a number of writings.[25] Locations associated with the myths of King Minos and the Minotaur were also noted. For example,

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[24] Warren 2000, 1.

[25] Robert Pashley, an Englishman, published *Travels in Crete* in 1837 on his researches into the classical sites on the island. See Warren 2000 for more references.

the English Chaplain Sir Richard Guylforde wrote about Candy, the old English name of Herakleion, as "the habytacle and lordshyp of ye kynge Mynos" in the early sixteenth century.[26] Thomaso Procacchi, a Venetian cartographer, published a map of Crete in his book *L'isole più famose del mondo*, where a symbol of the Labyrinth stood out among all features in the map (Fig. 3.1). The myth surrounding the Labyrinth was given in the explanatory texts that accompanied the map.[27]

Some travelers even claimed to have visited the legendary sites. The Scotchman William Lithgow, while visiting Crete in 1609, was shown "the cave of King Minos" and "the entry into the Laborinth of Dedalus."[28] He recounted the story as such:

> "Theseus by the helpe of Ariadne the daughter of King Minos, taking a bottome of threed, and tying the one end at the first doore, did enter and slay the Minotaurus, who was included there by Dedalus: This Minotaure is sayd to have bene begot by the lewd and luxurious Pasiphae, who doted on a white Bull."[29]

The English poet and painter Edward Lear made a landscape sketch of the alleged location of the Labyrinth.[30] These travelers might have taken a quarry near Gortyn as the entryway to the Labyrinth that had once confined the Minotaur, as shown in the map by Procacchi (Fig. 3.1).[31] While the existence of the Minotaur would be nothing plausible, the recounting of the myths by people who had actually visited Crete kept the legend

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[26] Ellis 1851, 14.

[27] Porcacchi 1590, 108-112. The first edition of the book was published in 1572.

[28] Lithgow 1906, 78.

[29] Lithgow 1906, 78.

[30] Farnoux 1996a, 16.

[31] It was traditionally believed, at least starting from the Medieval times, that the Labyrinth was located in a quarry near Gortyn (Beschi 1984, 20; Farnoux 1996a, 16).

alive, which would later help in building up the interests for the Minoan civilization at the turn of the twentieth century.

Archaeological Interests for Crete at the Turn of the Century

Despite the number of accounts made by travelers over the centuries, few contained solid archaeological records. Crete was slow in drawing the attention of archaeologists in comparison to mainland Greece probably due to the fact that no remarkable ruins were visible. The French archaeologist Georges Perrot wrote after his trip to Crete in 1857 that Knossos, the oldest city of ancient Crete, left no ruins.[32] Crete remained uninvestigated while mainland Greece was already attracting eager archaeologists and antiquarians, either privately or sponsored by institutions.

The situation began to change in the late nineteenth century. A number of factors generated the interest for archaeological activities on Crete. Fueled by Heinrich Schliemann's discovery of the Bronze Age sites of Troy and Mycenae in the 1870s, excitement about the search for prehistoric civilizations in the Aegean area grew stronger. Crete was naturally one of the spots of interest since Homer, who wrote about the Trojan War that was previously thought to be entirely imaginary, also wrote about the prosperity of Crete, especially "the mighty city of Knossos."[33] In 1884, the Italian archaeologist Frederico Halbherr discovered the Law of Gortyn, the oldest Greek law code yet

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[32] Perrot 1867, 112.

[33] "There is a land called Crete in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair land and a rich, begirt with water, and therein are many men innumerable, and ninety cities… And among these cities is the mighty city Knossos, wherein Minos when he was nine years old began to rule, he who held converse with great Zeus…" (*The Odyssey*, XIX, 25).

discovered, in south-central Crete.[34] This code, dated to the Classical period, stirred up great enthusiasm for the island. Lucio Mariani, another Italian archaeologist, systematically explored Crete and published an account of the ancient cities he had located.[35] Interests were also raised for earlier civilizations. Ancient seals, originating from Crete and being sold to museums and collectors, also pointed to earlier civilizations on the island.[36] By the end of the nineteenth century, research institutes and archaeologists from major European countries and the United States were exploring all over Crete, which led to the discovery of numerous Minoan sites at the dawn of the following century.

Timely Political Circumstances

The growing archaeological interests in Crete coincided with a time when the political situation availed the excavations on the island. It had not been easy for European countries to perform archaeological projects on Crete during the nineteenth century when it was part of the Ottoman Empire. The collecting of antiquities was of great concern for the empire especially after Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Europe in 1867. Artifacts,

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[34] Driven by his mentor, Domenico Comparetti, Halbherr explored Crete in the 1880s. Comparetti's interests in Crete were prompted by two Cretan inscriptions found in Venice (Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006, 15; Di Vita 1984, 27). Arthur Evans called Halbherr "the patriarch of Cretan excavation" (A. Evans 1921-1935, IV, ix).

[35] Farnoux 1996b, 26.

[36] Local Cretan people had been collecting ancient artifacts to sell to museums, scholars, or collectors. By the 1880s, the Berlin Museum, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and possibly other museums had collected ancient seals, carved with symbols later dubbed the Minoan hieroglyphics, of Cretan provenance (Brown 2000, 9). Arthur Evans was among the people who were intrigued by Cretan seals with hieroglyphics.

particularly those that bore Helleno-Byzantine heritage, were gathered all around the empire and transported to the newly founded Imperial Museum in Istanbul.[37] The governor of Crete, among other provinces, was "among the most avid respondents, eager to send antiquities to the capital at every opportunity."[38] As a result, most artifacts from Crete had been kept within the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

The restriction went a step further in the 1870s. The Antiquities Law of 1874 set regulations for antiquities trafficking to foreign countries, which furthered the development of the sense of ownership to the artifacts within Ottoman territory.[39] Being the first of its kind in the Ottoman Empire, the law was not without loopholes. At the opening of the new Imperial Museum building in 1880, Münif Pasha, then minister of education, stated, "Among the Europeans, a few years ago an American took enough antiquities from Cyprus to fill an entire museum. Today, most antiquities in European and American museums are from the stores of antiquities in our country… every part of the Ottoman nation was once full of antiquities that belonged to the civilized people who lived here."[40] A new antiquities law was issued in 1884 in response to the rise of concerns toward the exporting of antiquities among the administration and the public

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[37] See W. Shaw 2003, especially Chapter 3, for discussions on how the establishment of the Imperial Museum played a symbolic role in the "Westernization" of the Ottoman Empire, and how the possessing of the antiquities asserted their dominion of the territory, as the examples set by European countries.

[38] W. Shaw 2003, 85.

[39] While the Antiquity Law of 1874 may have limited the number of antiquities that the European countries were able to take from the Ottoman Empire, there were loopholes that allowed exceptions. See W. Shaw 2003, 89-91 and 108-109.

[40] W. Shaw 2003, 94 and 95. The American was Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the United States Consul in Cyprus from 1866 to 1872 (Orphanides 1983, 2).

sphere. Under this new law, all types of antiquities "belong[ed] to the state."[41] No individual, including landowner, could assume ownership of an antiquity, and nothing could be exported without a permit.[42] Crete, as part of the Ottoman Empire, was under the regulation of the law until 1898 when it declared independence.

The Ottoman antiquity laws were never applied to Mainland Greece, which had gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1832. Nonetheless, the growing concerns for antiquity in Greece were no different. In order to build up a national image and identity of the newly founded nation, reconnection with the classical heritage became part of the blueprint.[43] As was the case in the Ottoman Empire, the regulation for keeping antiquities within Greece had a rocky start. Although the idea of protecting national treasures began to develop, archaeological finds were continuously exported out of Greece due to research needs. Even after the first archaeological act, which anticipated the establishment of public museums to house the finds was carried out in 1834, other countries, including France, Germany, Great Britain, Austria, and the United States, were still gaining archaeological finds from Greece. It was not until a stricter law, which laid out the principle that all antiquities were property of the State, was put into practice in 1899 that all the finds would stay in Greece.[44]

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[41] W. Shaw 2003, 111.

[42] W. Shaw 2003, 113.

[43] Constructing a shared and continuous history among the Greek people was one of the early undertakings of the new State. The reconnection with the Classical past, in particular, would appeal to European countries, which would increase the diplomatic bargaining power of Greece (Bastéa 2000, 36-37).

[44] Dimacupoulou and Lapourtas 1995, 312.

Consequently, the exporting of archaeological finds in the huge Ottoman and Greek territories was prohibited by the end of the nineteenth century. Crete, on the other hand, presented an opportunity. The island did not become part of the Kingdom of Greece immediately after gaining independence with the help from the Great Powers of Europe.[45] Instead, it remained independent as the Cretan State until 1913 when it united with mainland Greece.[46] Hence the Cretan State had its own archaeological regulations between 1898 and 1913, which allowed the ownership of archaeological finds to be divided between the State and foreign excavation teams. Many institutions from European countries and the United States benefited from this law.[47] Combined with the growing archaeological interest for Crete, the convenient political environment led to a thriving excavation scene on the island.

Minoan Sites and Discoveries Leading to the Excavations at Knossos

While the rediscovery of the building complex at Knossos in 1900 has generally been known as the beginning of Minoan archaeology, a number of excavations had already begun earlier on Crete. Minoan objects had also been unearthed sporadically from Mycenaean sites on the Greek mainland. In fact, unearthed Minoan objects were

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[45] The Great Powers that intervened in the war of Crete against the Ottoman Empire were Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. They supported the independence of Crete with their own political and economical interests in mind. See Betancourt 2014, 8.

[46] See Betancourt 2014, 8-9, for the progression of Crete uniting with mainland Greece.

[47] The University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, for one, would exhibit finds from their archaeological expeditions in "Crete whose laws allowed a modest gift of artifacts to the sponsoring institutions" (Betancourt 2014, 10). The Ashmolean Museum, where Arthur Evans served as the Keeper, also benefited tremendously from the regulations of Crete.

considered "Mycenaean" before the twentieth century. It was not until Arthur Evans' excavation at Knossos that the term "Minoan was clearly established as referring to the Bronze Age civilization on Crete as opposed to the Mycenaean civilization on the Greek mainland.[48] Some notable Cretan sites excavated before the twentieth century were caves, often considered sacred spaces in ancient times. The Psychro Cave in central Crete, rediscovered accidentally by some peasants, was excavated by Halbherr and the Cretan archaeologist Joseph Hazzidakis in 1885. This would be the first recorded excavation of Bronze Age sites on Crete.[49] The excavation raised the interest of Arthur Evans. He met with Halbherr in 1892, bought some ancient bronzes said to be from the Psychro Cave during his first travel to Crete in 1894, and eventually visited the cave and conducted a small dig with his friend John L. Myres in 1895.[50] These excavations and the subsequent ones at the Psychro Cave yielded pottery, bronzes, and objects in gold, ivory, and precious stones.[51]

Another cave that had interested Evans was the Kamares Cave on Mount Ida not too far away from the Psychro Cave. Discovered accidentally by a shepherd, the cave

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[48] Evans did not invent the term "Minoan." He borrowed and translated the German term "minoisch" from the book *Kreta* (1823-1829) by Karl Hoeck. See Karadimas and Momigliano 2004 for the use and connotation of the term "Minoan" before the large-scale excavation at Knossos began.

[49] Higgins 1973, 26.

[50] It was during his first trip to Crete that Evans started to realize that a civilization earlier than the Mycenaens could have existed on Crete (Brown 1993, 38). While excavating the cave, Evans was told by the locals of the "many stories of treasure hidden" (Brown and Bennett 2001, 200).

[51] Joseph Demargne and D. G. Hogarth excavated the Psychro Cave on behalf of the French School in 1897 and the British School in 1900 respectively (Brown and Bennett 2001, 356).

held a large quantity of pottery decorated with paints of white and red on a black ground. Hazzidakis had acquired a group of the pottery, named Kamaras Ware after the place where it was unearthed, and figurines from the shepherd, and placed them in the museum in Herakleion in the 1890s. The intricate designs of the Kamaras Ware impressed Evans, who believed that they belonged to an early date.[52] A number of other caves being excavated in the late nineteenth century, mostly by Halbherr and Hazzidakis, also contained abundant ancient objects.[53] These excavations no doubt brought a promising prospect for the archaeology on Crete.

Excavations at Knossos

Of all the archaeological activities that happened on Crete at the turn of the twentieth century, the project at Knossos would have the most profound influence on later understanding and interpretation of the Minoan civilization. The site of ancient Knossos was first identified and briefly excavated by Minos Kalokairinos, a businessman and antiquarian from Herakleion, in 1878 when he was excavating the mound Kefala close by. Several people, including Schliemann, Halbherr, Myres from the British School, André Joubin from the French School, and William James Stillman, an American journalist who had once been Vice-Consul in Crete, had also shown interests in excavating the site. Some had attempted but failed in the process of obtaining legal rights

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[52] Brown 1993, 44; and Dawkins and Laistner 1913, 1.

[53] These include the Idaean Cave on Mount Ida, the Arkalochori Cave and a Cave at Amnisos among others. See Higgins 1973, 97-101.

to excavate the site mostly due to the political situation.[54] Finally, it was Evans who gained the right to excavate Knossos in 1899 after a long negotiation for purchasing the land.[55]

Being the director of the excavation at Knossos and having limited digging experience, Evans received assistance from a number of people. Duncan Mackenzie, Evans' second in commend, approached the findings scientifically in comparison to Evans' somewhat romantic approach.[56] Mackenzie's well-organized accounts were valuable sources for Evans' publication, *The Palace Of Minos at Knossos*.[57] His notes are still of great importance in verifying Evans' accounts even until this day. David Theodore Fyfe, an architect from the British School at Athens, was hired as the architect at Knossos from 1900 to 1904 while Christian Doll, an architectural student, was hired from 1905 after Fyfe's return to the United Kingdom. Both of them were greatly involved in the restoration of the site.[58] As for the restoration of art objects, Evans hired Émile Gilliéron

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[54] The complexity caused by the political situation was presented on multiple layers. Myres tried to organize a joint operation between the British School and the Hellenic Society in 1893, but he was advised against applying for a permit because "the Turkish government would want to take any finds" (Carabott 2006, 46). Myres thought that it was essential to keep the prime finds in Crete rather than transporting them to the Constantinople Museum as the Ottoman government required. He eventually gave up pursuing the project and went to excavate in Cyprus, where the British had taken over the government from the Ottomans in 1878 (Cadogan 2000, 15-16).

[55] Farnoux 1996, 30-33; R. Hood 1998, 8.

[56] The "romantic approach" of Evans could be observed in his interpretation and restoration of the findings, some of which are discussed later in this dissertation.

[57] R. Hood 1998, 16; MacGillivray 2000, 172.

[58] Brown 1994, 15; J. Evans 1943, 333; MacGillivray 2000, 172; Papadopoulos 2005, 98-99.

and his son Edouard Émile Gilliéron.[59] The backgrounds and works of the Gilliérons, who had arguably as much influence as Evans on later understanding of Minoan art, are discussed in Chapter Six.[60]

Evans' excavation at Knossos started on March 23rd, 1900. As he soon realized that he was dealing with a site of unexpected abundance, he went on to hire more workers to speed up the excavation.[61] Most of the building complex as presently known, along with the objects inside, had been revealed within the first six seasons, from 1900 to 1905.[62] The Throne Room, also known as the "bath chamber" originally, was almost fully excavated within a month into the first season. Evans uncovered the gypsum seat, which would soon be known as "the oldest throne in Europe."[63] At the Domestic Quarter, stone shafts and stone conduits, which Evans believed to be part of the drainage system and considered the most remarkable part of the building's structure, were discovered.[64] The excavation of the Temple Repositories unearthed the faience figurines known as the "Snake Goddess" and her attendants. Other significant findings include pottery, stone tools, baked tablets, and miniature "enameled plaques" of houses and towers.

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[59] Some sources cite Edouard Émile Gilliéron simply as Émile Gilliéron, the same as the father. The two are usually referred to as Gilliéron père and Gilliéron fils following the writing of Evans.

[60] See Brown 1994, 15-18, for other notable people who were on Evans' excavation team.

[61] The first season started with 31 workmen and ended up with 150 workmen for the final week. Approximately 200 to 250 workmen were hired for each of the following five seasons.

[62] Each season had approximately a span of two to five months.

[63] Evans wrote of the excavation of the Throne Room "the chief event of the day" on April 13th in his notebook.

[64] A. Evans 1902b, 81.

Some of the most exciting finds at Knossos were the frescoes, most of which were excavated within the first three seasons. The first significant group of fresco fragments, which was later restored into the "Cup Bearer," was unearthed within two weeks into the first season. The "Saffron-Gatherer," the "Bull Relief," the "Dolphins and Fish," the "Griffins" in the Throne Room, and the miniature frescoes known as the "Temple Fresco" and the "Sacred Grove and Dance" were also unearthed in 1900. The "Ladies in Blue," the bust of a female figure, known as "*La Parisienne*," and fragments that were later restored into the "Priest-King" were uncovered in 1901. Fragments of the "Dancing Lady" and the "Bull Leaping" frescoes were excavated in 1902. Restoration of the frescoes began soon after the first fragments were unearthed. These images have since become the best-known Minoan images.

Notable Excavation of Other Minoan Sites before the 1920s

Many other excavations of Minoan sites on Crete were contemporary to the one at Knossos. Archaeological activities were conducted by a number of European countries and the United States. A "Cretan Exploration Fund" was established for the British School in Athens in 1899 with the patronage of Prince George of Greece, the High Commissioner of the Cretan State appointed by the Great Powers.[65] Evans co-directed the fund with D. G. Hogarth, the director of the British School at the time. Hogarth used the fund for the exploration of the prehistoric town and tombs of Knossos and of the Cave of

[65] Myres 1901, 4.

Zeus on Mount Dikte.[66] He also excavated the site of Zakros in East Crete in 1901 where a great number of sealings were unearthed. R. Bosanquet and R. M. Dawkins excavated Palaikastro, a harbor-town near Zakros, from 1902 to 1906. Kamares Cave, which had been discovered in the 1890s, went through proper excavation by Dawkins and M. L. W. Laistner in 1913. All of these were projects directed by the British School in Athens.

Local Cretan archaeologists also took the opportunity of the political relief from the Ottomans. Hazzidakis had already gained permission from the Sultan in 1878 to establish the Society for the Promotion of Education, aiming to preserve ancient monuments and to start a museum in Herakleion, which would be the precursor of the present-day Herakleion Archaeological Museum. After the Cretan independence in 1898, Hazzidakis encouraged foreign explorations on Crete.[67] He himself excavated the town of Tylissos near Knossos with Staphanos Xanthoudides from 1909 to 1913 in addition to the various caves he explored with Halbherr. Xanthoudides also excavated the town of Chamaizi in East Crete in 1903 and as many as fifteen tholos tombs, which are circular communal tombs, in the Mesara Plain in central-south Crete from 1904 to 1918.

After the rediscovery of the Law of Gortyn and other sites, Halbherr helped the establishment of the Missione Archeologica Italiana di Creta in 1898, of which he was the first director. In 1900, the Mission continued the project at Gortyn. In the same year, Halbherr and Luigi Pernier led the excavation at Phaistos in south-central Crete where a

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[66] The Fund of about £500 was split between the projects of Evans and Hogarth (Myres 1901, 5). They continued to appeal for public support. See Brown 1994, 26 for detail.

[67] Cadogan 2000, 16.

huge amount of Kamares Ware was unearthed.[68] The famous Phaistos Disk was unearthed in 1908.[69] The two archaeologists also worked on Hagia Triada, near Phaistos, starting from 1902.[70] The excavations of these two sites and the effort of Halbherr led to the establishment of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens in 1909 with Pernier as the first director.

Not only did Halbherr work with the Italian Mission, he was also hired by the American Institute of Archaeology to lead American expeditions on Crete in the 1890s. Large-scale American excavation on Crete started in 1900 when Harriet Boyd excavated the general area of Kavousi where a number of houses and tombs from the Iron Age were found.[71] She delivered a paper on the finds of Kavousi at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America the same year, which stirred up interests and resulted in the financial support of the American Exploration Society.[72] Boyd returned to Crete to excavate the hill of Gournia in 1901, 1903, and 1904 where Edith Hall and Richard Seager, students at the American School in Athens, joined her. After retiring from

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[68] Halbherr had seen some prehistoric objects in the general area of Phaistos in 1894. He then did a ground survey with Pernier and Roberto Paribini (Di Vita 1984, 28). The first phase of the excavation of Phaistos went from 1900 to 1908, directed y Halbherr. Pernier continued the excavation in the 1920s and published *Il palazzo Minoico di Festòs: scavi e studi della Missione archaeological italiana a Creta dal 1900 al 1934* (1935).

[69] Pernier published *Il disco di Phaestos con caratteri pittografici* in 1909. Regardless of the recent debates over the authenticity of the Phaistos Disk, its fame at its discovery cannot be ignored. See Eisenberg 2008 and Hnila 2009 for discussions on its authenticity.

[70] The site of Hagia Triada was identified in 1901, followed by the excavation from 1902 to 1905, and 1910 to 1914.

[71] A student at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Boyd sailed to Crete and visited Evans, who was excavating the Throne Room at Knossos on the day of her visit. He suggested that she survey the Kavousi area where no archaeological activities had taken place yet (Becker and Betancourt 1997, 16 and 18).

[72] Becker and Betancourt 1997, 20-21.

fieldwork in 1905 and marrying Charles H. Hawes, Boyd worked on excavation reports and published the book *Gournia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete* in 1908, the first ever published final excavation report in the history of Cretan archaeology. Together with her husband, she also published a short, popular book, *Crete: the Forerunner of Greece*, prefaced by Evans, in 1922. In the mean time, Seager and Hall conducted excavations at Mochlos, Vasiliki, Pseira, Sphoungaras, Vrokastro, and other sites. Seager published *Explorations on the Island of Mochlos* in 1912.

East of Knossos, Hazzidakis first identified the site of Malia in 1915 and uncovered parts of the palace, an ancient town, and a cemetery within the following four years.[73] The French School in Athens soon collaborated with him in excavating the site.[74] North of Malia, a cemetery named Chrysolakkos that had been looted in the 1880s was excavated under the direction of Fernand Chapouthier and Pierre Demargne from the French School begining in 1930.[75] Famous finds include the bee pendent, a gold pendant in a design of two bees encircling a honeycomb.

Enthusiasm for Archaeological Activities on Crete

With the amount of archaeological activities happening on Crete, the island had become a huge excavation field at the turn of the century. Archaeologists from various

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[73] Higgins 1973, 66.

[74] The French School started the excavation in 1921. The palace at Malia had been mostly excavated by 1932.

[75] The modern name of Chrysolakkos, the Gold Hole, is due to the fact that it provided abundant gold to the local tomb-robbers, especially in the 1880s (Higgins 1973, 69).

countries rushed to the island, which, in turn, did not fail them. Minoan sites were unearthed one after another. Regardless of the many discoveries, Knossos was, and still is, the most famous site on the island. Evans' excavation at Knossos has often been credited as a discovery of an ancient civilization unknown to anyone previously although, in fact, many Minoan sites were discovered contemporaneously, if not earlier. This overriding fame of Knossos has placed the site at the center of the discourse on the relationship between Minoan art and Art Nouveau due to its popularity and its impact on people's understanding of the Minoan civilization.

CHAPTER 4

ART NOUVEAU MOVEMENT

Having emerged in Belgium in the 1880s, the term "Art Nouveau" became synonymous with contemporary decorative style when the art dealer Siegfried Bing opened up the gallery "Maison Bing, L'Art Nouveau" in Paris in 1895. Encompassing the realm of decorative art and architecture, the style fascinated the public with its ornate designs. Belgium and France were not the only countries where the Art Nouveau movement took place. It was a phenomenon that took many forms in various countries in Europe and America. It was *Jugendstil* in Germany, the Secession style in Austria and Hungary, the *Modernista* movement in Spain, *La Stile Liberty* in Italy, and associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement in England and America. It also reached other parts of the world where there was a European presence.

The style of Art Nouveau somewhat varied from country to country in response to local history and art development. While each country had its own source and influence, the development of the Art Nouveau movement in different places interweave with one another. Despite the various sources and forms, they could be united under the goal of creating art that matched modern society.

Art Nouveau in Great Britain

Art Nouveau in Great Britain could be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century when the English Aesthetic Movement and the Arts and Crafts Movement first started. As a reaction against machinery production, the movement advocated for a return

to handcraftsmanship and emphasized the inseparable relationship between design and manufacture, meaning that artists should carry out every step in the making of an object. Artists of the movement found inspiration in the Middle Ages in both its spirit and its form. William Morris, the leading figure of the Arts and Crafts Movement, believed that the Middle Ages were a time of "simplicity, honest craftsmanship, and co-operation between artist and artisan" in contrast to modern Europe.[76] He was a firm follower of John Ruskin, who took part in the Gothic Revival, one of the first movements to reject the Classical tradition, which developed rapidly in the first half of the nineteenth century.[77] While Gothic Revival was an architectural movement, its influence was not limited to architecture. Its ornate decoration and floral patterns became sources for wallpaper and furniture design in the Arts and Crafts Movement. The Celtic Revival, with both Irish and Scandinavian traditions, provided another source for the movement. The braided interlace ornament, often referred to as the "dragon style," was used in jewelry and metal design.[78] These design features appeared in the following Art Nouveau movement both domestically and beyond.

As a precursor of the English Art Nouveau, Morris certainly contributed much to the style of the movement. He believed that "everything made by man's hands has a

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[76] Madsen 1975, 144.

[77] In a lecture delivered in 1889, Morris stated, "Today there is only one style of architecture on which it is possible to found a true living art… and that style is Gothic Architecture" (Madsen 1975, 90). As an art critic, Ruskin viewed his contemporary civilization as being corrupted by the industrial division of labor, Capitalism, and proletarianization and in need of recollecting the artisanal ethic of the Middle Ages (Wolf 2015, 120). The arts and crafts reform, for which he advocated, was thus closely related to social reform.

[78] Examples are given in Madsen 1975, 207-221.

form, which must be either beautiful or ugly; beautiful if it is in accord with Nature, and helps her; ugly if it is discordant with Nature, and thwarts her."[79] Based on this belief, his design, which appeared to be linear and intricate, was filled with motifs from nature (Fig. 2.19). Similar decorative style could also be seen in the works of Walter Crane, who became a collaborator with Morris and designed rugs and textiles for his company, Morris & Co, from the early 1880s (Fig. 2.18). As a renowned illustrator for children's books, Crane created countless illustrations which demostrated his interests in Japanese prints (Fig. 4.1).

The city of Glasgow eventually became the center of the British Art Nouveau, the style of which was best represented by the "Glasgow Four," namely Charles Rennie Mackintosh, J. Herbert McNair, Frances Macdonald, and her sister Margaret Macdonald, who married Mackintosh in 1900. The fundamental feature of the Glasgow Four was the rhythm of lines, which "are given peculiar tension by their deviation from regular forms: the straight line is not quite straight… but is slightly curved, while the circle is not perfectly round but appears to have been inflated, until it has acquired a slightly unsymmetrical ellipsoidal form."[80] The heavy use of lines transformed the objects of description into stylized and symbolic forms. The great portion of vertical lines created a sense of elongation. These simplified and elongated forms, combined with the two-dimensional perspective, gave British Art Nouveau its highly decorative characteristics (Fig. 4.2).

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[79] Naylor 1989, 205.

[80] Madsen 1975, 32.

Art Nouveau in France

Paris and Nancy were the two major centers of Art Nouveau in France, which could generally cite its influence from the Gothic Revival, the Rococo Revival, Japonism, Islamic art, and the English Arts and Crafts Movement. The Rococo Revival, closely associated with the idea of the cultural supremacy of France, in particular celebrated the extravagant use of floral motifs and intricate patterns.[81] Its plastic treatment and asymmetrical feature in furniture design were essentially the characteristics of Art Nouveau. Flourishing in Nancy, the style of the Rococo Revival had much influence on Émile Gallé, the leading figure of the Nancy School of the French Art Nouveau movement.

Gallé was most acclaimed for his glass design. He had studied botany, philosophy, mineralogy, and glassmaking in France and Germany before taking over his father's glass and faience workshop in Nancy where he had also been trained.[82] Gallé rose to fame in the 1878 Paris Exposition with his glassware design. As a fervent lover of nature, he covered his glassware with floral motifs, which were developed from his direct observance of plants (Fig. 4.3).[83] Gallé also designed furniture. While the structure of his furniture mostly remained within the earlier French tradition, the constructive elements

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[81] See Silverman 1989, Chapter 8, for the association between the Rococo Revival and the national heritage of France.

[82] Madsen 1975, 343; Silverman 1989, 230; Escritt 2000; Wolf 2015, 155-158.

[83] As a botanical expert, Gallé published many specialized articles in the *Bulletin of the Nancy Horticultural Society* and spend his leisure time in gardening (Madsen 1975, 176-177; Silverman1989, 232). He often chose to depict floral species that were exclusively local to the Nancy region due to his nationalistic sentiment (Silverman 1989, 230-231; Escritt 2000, 108).

were in the forms of stalks or branches, which transformed the furniture into objects with an organic manner.[84] Natural forms in his design were at times given religious or symbolic meanings, examples of which were demonstrated by the cabinet *The Fruit of the Spirit* where each plant was associated with a spiritual character.[85] Louis Majorelle, another well-known furniture designer in Nancy, brought the dynamics of Art Nouveau in Nancy a step further. Not only did he use the forms of stalks or branches in furniture design, he also broke off from earlier structural tradition and gave his furniture more dynamic forms.[86] The undulating lines of the ironworks at the Villa Majorelle demonstrated his masterful skill in working with iron (Fig. 4.4). Overall, Art Nouveau in Nancy was based entirely on Nature. Artists imitated forms from nature, especially flowers, with limited stylization.[87] Symbolic meanings often derived from the choice of the plants.

Typically being hailed as the center of the Art Nouveau movement, Paris brought the decorative style to the attention of the general public. Art dealer Siegfried Bing, impressed by the works of the Belgium designer Henry van de Velde, commissioned van de Velde to decorate his new gallery "Maison Bing, L'Art Nouveau" in Paris around

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[84] Madsen 1975, 343-344.

[85] Regarding the cabinet titled *The Fruits of the Spirit* (1893), Gallé gave an account of the symbolic meanings: "The fruit of the generous fig tree represents gentleness, that of the palm tree moderation. The benevolent bee, gathering for others, is kindness, the myrtle is joy, the narcissus and dandelion [are] symbol[s] of spring and of forgiveness in the soul. Veronica is the flower of faithfulness" (Escritt 2000, 110).

[86] Madsen 1975, 349-352.

[87] Madsen 1975, 24.

1895 (Fig. 4.5).[88] As a follower of the English Arts and Crafts Movement, van de Velde focused his design on the use of dynamic linear patterns.[89] Such linear patterns were also characteristic of Hector Guimard's design, demonstrated by the entrances to the Paris Metro and the Castel Béranger (Fig. 4.6).[90] A master in the use of cast iron, Guimard was able to work the material into undulating and asymmetrical linear patterns that resembled organic forms. Instead of being the outright imitation of nature, his designs interpreted it with abstract lines, which have been applauded as "a fantastical metamorphosis of architecture and nature."[91] In jewelry design, René Lalique combined the figurative and the abstract, both derived from nature. He and other Art Nouveau jewelry designers made Paris into an international center of jewelry art. They employed the technique of enamel and preferred inexpensive gemstones and organic materials.[92]

Among various fields of design and art, poster design had a significant part in the Art Nouveau movement. While Art Nouveau posters could trace their early presence in

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[88] Bing played a significant role in the Art Nouveau movement by promoting Art Nouveau artists and designers, many of them from outside France. Before opening the gallery, he was already known for publishing the illustrated journal *Japon artistique* (Madsen 1975, 361).

[89] Van de Velde was an advocate of Morris' socially aware design reform. He once wrote, "The hope of a happy and egalitarian future lies behind these new decorative works; we find evidence of this in the writings of Walter Crane and William Morris, two of the movement's leading lights" (Escritt 2000, 68).

[90] In addition to van de Velde, the influence of Belgian Art Nouveau on French Art Nouveau was also demonstrated by the fact that Guimard was inspired by Victor Horta, another Belgian designer, to move from his earlier Gothic Revival style to a more maturely developed style of Art Nouveau (Wolf 2015, 84).

[91] Wolf 2015, 31.

[92] Art Nouveau jewelry designers opposed the use of expensive stones, a style preferred by the previous period, and emphasized the value of artistic design over that of the material (Wolf 2015, 80).

the works of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Jules Chéret, and Georges de Feure, it was Alphonse Mucha who was the defining figure of Art Nouveau posters. Born in the Czech part of Austria, Mucha moved to Paris in 1888 after working and studying in Vienna and Munich. His portrayal of women caught the attention of the Parisian actress Sarah Bernhardt, who then commissioned him to design her theater poster as Gismonda in 1894 (Fig. 4.7). The female figure in the poster was stylized and elongated. Holding a palm branch in her hand, she was adorned with a foliage headdress and a gown decorated with intricate motifs. The poster not only delighted Bernhardt to the extent that she offered Mucha an exclusive contract for several years, it also gave him overnight fame. In another poster, *La Samaritaine*, Mucha enhanced the decorative feature by placing Bernhardt's hair in a sinuous manner (Fig. 4.8). With the use of lines in depicting her costume, the figure seemed to be even more elongated. The color and the facial expression of the figures in both posters placed them in a semi-dreamlike state. Mucha retained this poster style—narrow and vertical in shape, soft-hued in coloration, stylized in its figures, curved and sinuous in the lines, and filled with ornaments of jewelry or floral pattern—throughout much of his career. He created such an iconic portrayal of women that the term "Style Mucha" became a synonym for Art Nouveau.

The highpoint of the French Art Nouveau would be none other than the 1900 Paris Exposition. In contrast to the 1889 Paris Exposition, which glorified the achievement of engineering with rigid metal structure, the 1900 Exposition was likened to a vast "organism" and an "immense reservoir of energy."[93] Porte Binet, the main

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[93] Silverman 1989, 288.

entryway designed by the architect René Binet, made a statement showing the new aesthetics (Fig. 4.9). It consisted of a dome resting on three arches, with the main façade higher than the other two arches, a tower raised from the façade, and the statue of a woman—*La Parisienne*—at the very top of the tower. Two minarets on each side of the façade were connected to it with walls carved with a frieze of workers.[94] The structure of Porte Binet bore links with the shapes of the lower life forms, which Binet had studied in paleontological and zoological sources, as he stated in his notebook.[95] The surface of the arches, the tower, and the minarets were elaborately decorated with ceramics and sparkling stones, which demonstrated an oriental influence that Binet had gained from his travels.[96] His enthusiasm in natural forms and the oriental style, both of which played substantial roles in the Art Nouveau movement, was clearly displayed in the design of the entryway. The statue of *La Parisienne*, made by the sculptor Paul Moreau-Vauthier, was yet another assertion of the new era due to its representation of a modern woman instead of a goddess from mythology or an allegorical figure with historical references often seen in the previous periods.[97] Topped with a fancifully dressed woman, Port Binet celebrated

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[94] The friezes, carved in high reliefs by Anatole Jean Guillot and Émile Muller, presented the artisans that contributed to the exposition.

[95] Silverman 1989, 291. Binet had read *Philosophy of Palaeontology* by Albert Gaudry and met Ernst Haeckel, who wrote *Kunstformen der Natur*, and discovered "what an unfathomable treasure of forms nature has given to art" (Jullian 1974, 39).

[96] Binet had traveled to Sicily, Tunisia, Algeria, and Spain, where he was "swept away" by the exotic Moorish architecture (Silverman 1989, 290).

[97] More discussion on the statue of *La Parisienne* is given in Chapter 6.

the "feminization of technology."[98] While the entryway attracted both positive and negative criticism, there was no disagreement that it represented modernity.[99]

The fascination for organism, exotic lands, decorative patterns, and feminizing features presented by Porte Binet was also exhibited in the entire exposition. The Grand Palais and Petit Palais, although mostly designed in the traditional Neo-Baroque style that reflected the official taste of France, were adorned with ironworks of intricate organic patterns. Decorative art pavilions, such as the Bing's pavilion and that of the Central Union of the Decorative Arts, exhibited interior spaces and objects designed by Art Nouveau artists. The foreign pavilions especially fascinated visitors with their curious and exotic atmosphere: The Bosnia and Herzogovina pavilion offered a presentation of folk traditions, which included frescoes and watercolors by Mucha. The Ottoman pavilion displayed lace, silk, carpets, and furniture with oriental style. The pavilion of "Andalusia in the time of the Moors" had a group of gypsy dancers. Pavilions of African countries were generally divided into those of French colonies, which "reconstructed" African villages and presented "real *griots* [itinerant musicians], witchdoctors and priests dressed in their costumes and accessories,"[100] and those of the Arabs, such as the representation of an Arab wedding in the Egyptian theater and the shops and winding

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[98] Silverman 1989, 293.

[99] The design of Porte Binet was criticized of being "a sad sign of decadence… quite original in its hideousness" and being too arabesques and ornamental that the builders had "lost every feeling for the limitations of formative art" (Fred 1900, 134; Jullian 1974, 42).

[100] Hachette Guide to the Paris Exposition, 1900 (Jullian 1974, 162).

streets in the Algerian pavilion. The Asian pavilions included decorated buildings, such as Japanese pagodas, a Khmer temple, and a Chinese gate.

Art Nouveau in Germany

Munich was the center of Art Nouveau, known as the *Jugendstil*, in Germany. A significant year for the development of the movement was 1896 with two landmark events. It was the year the avant-garde periodical *Jugend* on literature and art was founded, which gave the name to the new movement. It was also the year that Hermann Obrist introduced the embroidery pattern "the whiplash," which has been acclaimed as the first Art Nouveau example in Germany (Fig. 2.30).[101] At a time when the government showed strong affection toward ancient Greek style, the new expressive style was in conflict with the official neoclassical taste.[102]

Jugendstil in Germany was more or less a crossroad between the French floral style and the British linear style, which Obrist's design exemplified. Based on the belief that "the dynamics of nature rather than nature itself should be the subject of art," Obrist created patterns that derived from natural forms while transforming them into an expressive and ornamental motif.[103] As a former student of natural sciences, he was inspired by the publications of Ernst Heinrich Haeckel, a biologist and philosopher whose

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[101] Obrist might have started designing the pattern as early as 1892 (Madsen 1975, 413).

[102] It has been argued that the *Jugendstil* movement in Munich was, in fact, at least two movements—one concerned with decoration and individual expression and the other functionalism and rational standards (Hiesinger 1988, 23). This dissertation focuses on the expressive side of the movement.

[103] Escritt 2000, 120.

illustrations of sea creatures provoked the imagination of *Jugendstil* artists.[104] Greatly influenced by Obrist, architect August Endell also embraced the idea of transforming natural forms into expressive forms. The façade of the photographic studio Hofetelier Elvira, one of Endell's masterpieces, was adorned with a fantastical shape that recalled the Obrist's whiplash pattern (Fig. 4.10). In book illustration, Otto Eckmann was known for his linear presentation of flowers and figures. His motifs usually had a rhythm produced by "the pronounced thickening of the line in all curves," which had become typical of the *Jugendstil* (Fig. 4.11). These designers, all of who belonged to the "Munich school," presented the decorative style, which applied curvilinear patterns in expression of the dynamics of nature.

Art Nouveau in Austria

Art Nouveau in Austria was centered in Vienna, where the Vienna Secession was formed in 1897 in rejection of the prevailing Historicism promoted by the Association of Austrian Artists (*Künstlerhaus*). One of the earliest public expressions of the group was the Secession Building, a design of Joseph Maria Olbrich (Fig. 4.12). Dedicated in 1898, the building hosted only Secessionist exhibitions from 1898 to 1903. It had a cubic shape, white walls decorated with painted trees, and a cupola composed of gilded-bronze in the shape of laurel leaves. The motto of the Secession, "*Der Zeit ihre Kunst. Der Kunst ihre*

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[104] Haeckel had argued for a literal link between advances in scientific knowledge and the aesthetics of the *Jugendstil*: "The remarkable expansion of our knowledge of nature, and the discovery of countless beautiful forms of life, which it includes, have awakened quite a new aesthetic sense in our generation…" (Escritt 2000, 122).

Freiheit," was presented above the entrance of the building.[105] Perceived as being exotic, the building received nicknames such as "Madhi's Tomb" and "The Assyrian Convenience."[106] It was also a synthesis of the archaic and the modern, which reflected the interests of the Vienna Secessionists.[107]

Gustav Klimt, a founding member and the first president of the Vienna Secession, was noted mostly for his paintings and murals that depicted female figures. Trained in academic style in his early life, Klimt began his career painting interior walls and ceilings of public buildings. In 1894, he was commissioned to paint the Great Hall of the University of Vienna, where his newly developed unconventional style caused much criticism. The three paintings, *Philosophy*, *Medicine*, and *Jurisprudence*, were considered pornographic and overly sexual that upset the faculty at the university (Figs. 2.11, 2.13, and 4.13).[108] During this period, Klimt entered the "Gold Phase" of his career. His paintings became highly decorative, which often included large amount of gold leaves such as the *Beethoven Frieze* exhibited in the 1902 Vienna Secession Exhibition (Fig. 2.26). His use of spirals and geometric shapes also increased. Other important Secessionists included Joseph Hoffmann, Otto Wagner, and Koloman Moser, who applied linear ornamentation to their architecture and graphic art.

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[105] "To every age its art. To every art its freedom."

[106] Escritt 2000, 142.

[107] See Escritt 2000, 142-143, and Wolf 2015, 51, on discussions of how the style was both Classical and modern. The Secessionsists' attitude toward Classical art is discussed more in Chapter 5.

[108] Upon seeing Klimt's draft of *Philosophy*, 87 professors signed a petition to the ministry of culture to reject the commission (Wolf 2015, 217). The paintings were not completed until 1907.

Art Nouveau in the United States

The most representative Art Nouveau artist in the United States was Louis Comfort Tiffany, whose career spanned from the 1870s through the 1920s. Started as a painter, Tiffany soon turned his attention to decorative art. His early interior design projects were apartment buildings in New York City, where he applied unconventional techniques on leaded-glass windows (Fig. 4.14).[109] Not only in the United States, Tiffany's glass windows, vases, lamps, and jewelry were also sought after in Europe. His glass pieces were exhibited at the gallery of Siegfried Bing in Paris along with works of other Art Nouveau artists. Bing also commissioned Tiffany to execute a series of stained glass windows designed by leading French artists, which increased European news coverage for Tiffany's studio.[110] In addition, Tiffany was appointed a Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur at the 1900 Paris Exposition, and was awarded the Grand Prix at the First International Exposition of Modern Decorative Arts in Turin in 1902.[111]

As an extensive traveler, Tiffany had taken inspiration from many cultures, including Japanese, Chinese, Byzantine, Moorish, and Persian art. Gallé's design was also a source of inspiration. Like Gallé, Tiffany decorated his vases with natural and organic motifs (Fig. 4.15). He produced unique glass vases and windows with the

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[109] Frelinghuysen and Obniski 2007, n.p.

[110] Escritt 2000, 257.

[111] Escritt 2000, 252.

technique of Favrile glass, a type of iridescent glass where the color was embedded in the glass.[112] It gained much praises in the press of the time.

Popularity of Art Nouveau

Other major centers of Art Nouveau in Europe included Liège, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Helsinki, St. Petersburg, and Chicago. The development of Art Nouveau in these cities interchanged with those discussed above due to the traveling of the artists. In general, Art Nouveau artists were interested in the representation of nature. They broke away from the art practice of academic institutions and look for inspiration in non-European cultures. While variants existed in Art Nouveau of different cities, the general goal of creating art that matched the modern society remained the same. As it has been pointed out, "to contemporaries in 1900 there was no polarization between the geometry of Vienna and the curvaceous linearity of France. Both were considered as contrasting parts of the same movement."[113] The movement was to bring art to a new era.

Several features distinguished the Art Nouveau movement from preceding art movements. It was the first to cross the line between fine art and applied art. Artists were often designers who worked on commercial items. It was also the first to take advantage of mass production, despite some artists' detest of the machinery world.[114] Due to the development of manufacturing technology and the rise of middle class, both the supply

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[112] The technique of Favrile glass was developed by Tiffany and patented in 1894. This was the technique that won him the prize at the 1900 Paris Exposition.

[113] Escritt 2000, 133.

[114] William Morris, for example, detested the mass production of the modern society.

and the demand for house objects increased. Decorative style, with its variety of forms, offered different unique options and became a popular style for furniture. Magazines and posters further boosted its popularity. Periodicals such as *Jugend* and *Dekorative Kunst* in Munich, *L'Estampe Moderne* in Paris, and *Ver Sacrum* in Vienna were started in the late 1890s in promotion of decorative art. Art Nouveau posters were all over the streets in major cities as advertisement for merchandise, exhibitions, and theater. Art Nouveau architecture easily stood out with their unique and individual feature.

In addition, Art Nouveau artists, many of them prominent socialists, believed that art should be accessible to the masses instead of being preserved for only the privileged. While governments tried to elevate the minds of the working classes with art of Classical style, Art Nouveau artists aimed to make art that was intelligible to a wider population.[115] Besides abandoning the language of Classicism, their effort included organizing lectures on art and architecture and arranging exhibition visits for the working classes while tying decorative art with the modern society.[116] They also used art for their political cause. Morris and Crane, for example, designed the cover of the manifesto and the membership card of the Socialist League, an organization founded by Morris. With the distinguished feature of Art Nouveau and the promoting efforts of the artists, Art Nouveau became popular with a large audience.

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[115] Kaiser Wilhelm II of the German Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia, for example, asserted in 1901 that "art should help to educate a nation… we should give the working, the laborious classes, the opportunity to raise themselves up to what is beautiful and to escape from and overcome their other thoughts" (Haslam 1989, 109).

[116] Notable organizations that arranged these activities included the Société de l'Art Populaire in Paris, the Art Section within the Belgian Workers' Party, and the Secession in Vienna.

Continuation of Art Nouveau

Although Art Nouveau gave way to the rise of Art Deco after First World War, it did not disappear completely. Art and design in the style of Art Nouveau continued to be produced. For his exhibition of the *Slav Epic* Cycle in 1928 and 1930, Mucha designed a poster showing a woman with a figure of the Czech god, Svantovit (Fig. 4.16). His typical motif of a woman with floral ornaments still dominated the scene. Incense in a sinuous form stretched across the space. The typeface of the characters maintained much of his style from the late 1890s. In architecture, the intricate ironwork could still be seen in the 1920s in works of Majorelle, Guimard, and other Art Nouveau architects. At the 1925 International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts, where Art Deco reached its peak, Art Nouveau was still present with objects such as glass windows full of motifs from nature.[117] Loïe Fuller, who performed the Serpentine Dance in the 1900 Paris Exposition, performed in the 1925 Exhibition with equal success. Art Nouveau also lived on after First World War in Eastern European cities, where it had emerged relatively late. While Art Nouveau seemed to be pushed to the margin after two decades of prominence, its presence was certainly not diminished in the following decades.[118]

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[117] Haslam 1989, 133.

[118] See Haslam 1989 and Escritt 2000, Chapter Eight, on the continuation of Art Nouveau and its spirit down to the 1980s.

CHAPTER 5

FASCINATION FOR THE ANCIENT

It was not unprecedented for Art Nouveau artists to look to various ancient sources and archaeological discoveries for inspiration. In Great Britain, the rise of interests for Celtic and Viking art, which inspired Art Nouveau artists with their sinuous lines, could largely be attributed to the archaeological works, exhibitions, and publications. Plenty of field works on Irish archaeology were published from the 1840s to the 1860s, including the Tara Brooch that was found in 1850 and was enthusiastically adopted by silversmiths, goldsmiths, and book illustrators in the following decades.[119] The illuminated manuscripts, such as the *Gospel Book of Durrow*, the *Book of Lindisfarne*, and the *Book of Kells*, received increased attention even from, if not led by, Queen Victoria.[120] Books of a more popular nature, such as Edward Sullivan's *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* in five volumes (1874-1884), were published, as well as those by designers who credited Celtic patterns for the source of their inspiration.[121] The interests in the restoration of Gothic churches stimulated the Gothic revival in both Great Britain and France, becoming one of the sources of Art Nouveau.[122] Fascination for Egyptian-inspired jewelry was especially prominent in the 1880s and 1890s.[123]

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[119] Madsen 1975, 210-211.

[120] Queen Victoria was so interested that she signed her own autograph to the *Book of Kells* (Madsen 1975, 210).

[121] A selected list of book was provided in Madsen 1975, 211-212.

[122] Madsen 1975, 86.

[123] Madsen 1975, 202-203.

To understand whether Minoan art was an inspiration for Art Nouveau artists, it is necessary to examine how widespread the images of Minoan art were disseminated. Early reconstruction, publication, and museum exhibitions would provide an idea of the popularity of the Minoan civilization upon its discovery.

"Reconstitution" of Knossos

While Minoan sites were being excavated all over the island of Crete, the news of the discovery of the Minoan civilization was mostly centered on Knossos, which was certainly due to the publicizing endeavor of Arthur Evans. One thing Evans did was the reconstruction, or "reconstitution" as he called it, of the site.[124] His reconstruction transformed the appearance of the site in a great scale. Among the many visitors Evans received during the excavation at Knossos, French archaeologist and associate curator of oriental antiquities at the Louvre, Edmond Pottier, wrote after his 1901 visit that there was "no acropolis, no hilltop, nothing at first glance to suggest a site of such importance."[125] Knossos indeed came out in an unfortunate state in terms of preservation. Yet large-scale on-site conservation began during the second excavation season in 1901. The project included rebuilding walls, restoring columns, supporting staircases and upper floors, etc. The Throne Room, the Grand Staircase, the Upper Corridor, and the Hall of the Colonnades at the Domestic Quarter were restored rapidly.

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[124] A. Evans 1927.

[125] Farnoux 1996, 44-45.

The reconstructing method was not without controversy since there was little solid evidence of the original appearance of the building complex.[126] For example, the Throne Room was enclosed and roofed-in by placing modern wooden columns in the position of ancient wooden columns based on a scene depicted in the miniature frescoes found on site, and an iron railing was placed across the entrance.[127] When the wooden props inserted at the site were rotted by rain by 1905, Evans decided to "restore" the columns "in stone with a plaster facing in place of wood" and replace the original architraves and crossbeams with iron girders.[128] In other words, this reconstruction involved "his own idea of what the palace site might have looked like in its heyday" and transformed the site to a concrete building.[129] Despite the possible inaccuracy, Knossos had turned into an impressive monument and attracted visitors from all over.

Evans' prolific publications also played a role in building up the fascination for Knossos. In his annual excavation reports and other journal publications, Evans described the abundance of the site and its archaeological importance. Furthermore, he associated the site with the myth of King Minos and the Minotaur. Phrases such as "House of Minos," "Athenian prisoners devoured by the Minotaur," and "tale of Theseus" in the reports helped establish the link between the site and legends.[130] This mythical association was obviously a huge draw, seeing that in a statement provided to the Cretan

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[126] Controversy was aroused since the 1920s (Papadopoulos 2005, 116).

[127] A. Evans 1901b, 3.

[128] A. Evans 1905, 25. The reconstruction of Knossos went through many phases. See Papadopoulos 2005, 116.

[129] Papadopoulos 2005, 110.

[130] A. Evans 1901b, 37 and 96.

Exploration Fund campaign, Evans wrote that the excavation had uncovered "the actual Throne Room and Council Chamber of Homeric kings" and that "this huge building... was in fact the Labyrinth of later tradition which supplied a local habitation for the Minotaur of grisly fame."[131] It could be assumed that the myths were also included in the many lectures he gave in order to raise funds.

Popularity of Knossos in the Press

The fame of Knossos did not stop within the academic circle. As a former journalist, Evans was well aware of the power of general news media.[132] On April 6th 1900, as early as two weeks into the first excavation season, Evans reported to *The Times* in London that the complex he was excavating was "certainly a palace." Numerous news reports followed. Updates or descriptions of the excavation appeared in the news consistently, not only in English, but also in French. The discovery was also reported in at least German, Italian, Norwegian, Dutch, Spanish, and Greek press. These dozens of news media ranged from general daily papers, such as *The New York Times* and *Le Petit Journal*, to the more theme-specific papers and magazines, such as *Architect*, *Building News*, *Nature*, *Pilot*, and *The Athenaeum*, a weekly literary review. Most news pieces reported on the excavation and the building complex. Frescoes, tablets, and pottery also appeared in the press.

Without surprise, the news reports came with eye-catching titles, often linking the site with King Minos and the Minotaur. Some of the titles included "The Palace Archives

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[131] Myres 1901, 5 and 6.

[132] Evans was the Balkan correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* from 1877 to 1882.

of Mycenaean Cnossus" (*The Athenaeum*, May 19th 1900),[133] "The Pre-Homeric Age. Remarkable Discoveries in Crete" (*Yorkshire Post*, November 1st 1900), "The Home of Minos" (*Speaker*, November 3rd 1900), "The Origins of Civilisation" (*Academy*, April 13th 1901), "La Scoperta del Laberinto di Dedalo" (*Le Mattino*, August 27th-28th 1901), "A Primitive Worship" (*Daily Chronicle*, September 10th 1901), and so on. More specific titles were used in association with the news publication, such as "Sea Power Four Thousand Years Ago" in *The Navy and Army Illustrated* (April 6th 1901). It seemed that people of every occupation and interest could relate to this newly discovered civilization in a certain way. *Vanity Fair* put it the best: "They appeal to everyone in whom is the smallest degree of archaeological romance. Mr. Evans suspects that some of these clay records may give actual formulas of Minoan Legislation—of the legislation of Minos the Just, the first Lawgiver, the Cretan Moses. The paper gives thought that would fill columns. None should miss it" (March 9th 1901).

As if the written description and pictures were not enough, some newspapers went even further to create and make up their own illustrations. Less than six months after the first excavation season ended, *Cleveland Plain Dealer* published a ground plan of the "Palace of Minos" with the title "Maze of the Minotaur Found in Crete. Original of the Labyrinth From Which Theseus Rescued Ariadne" (November 11th 1900). This plan had a perfectly symmetrical layout, with three "palaces" in the center row and four courts on either side (Fig. 5.1). The throne room occupied the center palace. At the very front,

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[133] Evans himself wrote this piece, provided with a drawing of a tablet. Early in the excavations, he identified the site as "Mycenaean" (A. Evans 1900). It was not until after the first season that he started using the term "Minoan."

portico and steps led to the building. An area named "Den of the Minotaur" existed at the other end, supposedly the most hidden area of the building, and seemed to be running around the structure in a snake-like fashion. It would not be difficult to notice that this plan was made up through combining elements of Classical buildings, Mycenaean palaces, and the myth of the Minotaur, which had not the slightest resemblance to the ground plan of Knossos published by Evans at the *Annual of the British School at Athens* of the same year (Fig. 5.2).[134] Two months later, the *Golden Penny* published the same ground plan with the title "The Labyrinth of the Minotaur" (January 19th 1901). It would be safe to assume that the plan also appeared in other news press. Whether they had access to the actual plan of Knossos before publishing the unfounded plan, the distribution of an unverified plan demonstrated the eagerness of the news media in telling the story.

Public imagination was also encouraged with illustrated news pieces of an exotic nature. The *Birmingham Weekly Post* did a story titled "The Oldest Throne in Europe," in which King Minos was recounted as "the son of Zeus, the first lawgiver of Greece, who is styled the Cretan Moses, who every nine years repaired to the cave of Zeus and received from the immortal god of the mountains the laws for his people," and the throne where "King Minos read his laws to his subjects" (August 30th 1902). Discovery of frescoes and stone benches inside the room was also reported. Instead of using a photograph or an faithful drawing of the site, the news piece was accompanied by an illustration of the Throne Room set in a background of dry, rocky hills with two square

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[134] Evans 1900, pl. XIII.

pyramids that recalled ancient Egyptian pyramids (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4). By placing the Knossian throne together with Egyptian pyramids, the illustration added to the mysterious atmosphere of this newly excavated building and suggested equal weight of the Minoan civilization to ancient Egypt.

In other cases, the mystery was enlarged through combining Knossos with other legends. An article in *The Times*, titled "The Lost Continent," discussed the possibilities of Crete being Atlantis and concluded "the long-lost Atlantis is neither more nor less than Minoan Crete" (February 19th 1909). These examples demonstrated how a sensation for the Minoans was created through the media at the beginning of the twentieth century. Images of archaeological findings of Minoan objects, both from inside and outside Crete, appeared in the news. They included writing tablets, seal impressions with fantasy animals, daggers with hunting scenes, and vases with spiral, linear, animal, and plant decorations. No doubt the general population, especially those who paid attention to cultural events, would have heard of the new discovery and seen images of Minoan art and artifacts in the news.

Popularity of Minoan Objects among Museums

The news press would not be the only place where people could learn about the rediscovery of this ancient civilization. Museums in Europe and the United States were eager to acquire Minoan objects for their collection. As the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford at the time of excavating Knossos, Evans made sure that the Minoan civilization was introduced to the museum immediately. It was recorded in the *Annual Report of the Ashmolean Museum* of 1900 that the keeper (Evans) "gave a course of

public lectures on 'The Palace of Knossos, Its Art Treasures and Clay Archives,' and arranged an Exhibition in the Museum of drawings, plans, and photographs illustrative of the excavations on that site."[135] The following year, the museum purchased reproductions of objects from Mycenae made by the restorer Emile Gilliéron, which included a gold mask, cups, diadems, signet rings, inlaid daggers, and so on. Evans also presented to the museum casts of the objects from Knossos, including the gypsum throne and reliefs of male figures, which were later restored into the "Priest-King" fresco.[136] Collections expanded in the following years, with many objects that were reproductions made by Gilliéron. In 1903, the Ashmolean Museum rearranged its displaying room so that the reproductions from Knossos would occupy a considerable space (Fig. 5.5). Public lectures on Knossos continued to be given.

In the meantime, the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, today's University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia, had received Minoan objects from other sites as gifts for supporting American excavations on Crete.[137] The museum also purchased a group of reproductions of Minoan and Mycenaean objects produced by the Gilliérons (Fig 5.6). The Boston Museum of Fine Arts purchased approximately seventy reproductions of Mycenaean gold objects in 1901.[138] The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York acquired hundreds of reproductions of Mycenaean and Minoan objects between 1906 and

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[135] *Annual Report of the Ashmolean Museum* 1900, 2.

[136] *Annual Report of the Ashmolean Museum* 1901, 8-9.

[137] Betancourt 2014, 10 and 11.

[138] Lapatin 2002, 139.

1932.[139] The British Museum received a large amount of donation from the British School at Athens in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Louvre in Paris also acquired a number of Minoan and Mycenaean objects from the late 1890s to the early 1900s, including the gold earring from Mycenae (Fig. 2.27). Exhibitions of smaller scale were organized in museums and universities. Surely Minoan objects and even their reproductions were vigorously sought after by museums and put on exhibit soon after they were excavated.

Far-Reaching Reputation and Application

The popularity of Knossos brought visitors to the site from all over Europe and the United States. Numerous historians and archaeologists visited the excavation every season and left written accounts of their visits. Other than Pottier's visit that led to his publication on the account and historical analysis of the Minoan civilization in 1901, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Schliemann's associate at Troy, visited in 1903. M.-J. Lagrange of the Catholic order of Preaching Brothers visited in 1906 as a correspondent of the French Institute and wrote the book *Crète Ancienne*.[140] René Dussaud, a French archaeologist who specialized in the Near East, wrote in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* that "the excavations in Crete have inspired unanimous admiration… They constitute the foremost archaeological accomplishment of the early twentieth century."[141] The countless visitors that Knossos received once again proved that the rediscovery of the site was undoubtedly

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[139] Hemingway 2011, n.p.

[140] Farnoux 1996, 97.

[141] Farnoux 1996, 96.

one of the most significant findings being discussed in the archaeological communities at the time.

Beyond the archaeological communities, writings of influential figures proved that the rediscovery of the Minoans was not only widely known, but also applied to other disciplines. The philosopher Oswald Spengler referred to Evans' the *Palace of Minos at Knossos* and *Scripta Minoan 1* in his widely-circulated book, *The Decline of the West*.[142] Numerous literary and art pieces testified to the broad recognition of the rediscovery of Knossos and how it stimulated imagination.[143]

The field of science was not exempt from the fascination and interpretation, either. Psychologist Sigmund Freud was excited at the rediscovery of Knossos. In a letter written in Vienna in July 1901, Freud asked his friend Wilhelm Fliess, "Have you read that the English excavated an old palace in Crete (Knossos), which they declare to be the real labyrinth of Minos?"[144] As someone who started collecting antiquities in 1896, Freud had his own collection of Aegean objects.[145] In his house in London, now the Freud Museum, books such as *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* and the 1900 *Annual of the British School at Athens*, which contains Evans' preliminary excavation report from Knossos, were on the shelves among other books related to Aegean archaeology.[146] More importantly, Freud not only knew of the Minoan civilization, but he also applied it to his

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[142] Cadogan 2004, 540; Ziolkowski 2008, 3-4.

[143] For literary examples, see Cadogan 2004, 540-543 and Ziolkowski 2008. For visual art examples, see Blakolmer 2006.

[144] D'Agata 1994, 14.

[145] D'Agata published a catalog of the Aegean objects in the Freud Collection (1994, 20-34).

[146] D'Agata 1994, 16-17; Cadogan 2004, 540.

psychoanalysis theories. Freud was always fascinated by archaeological discoveries. His fascination was demonstrated by his use of multiple analogies between archaeology and psychoanalysis such as comparing the procedure of "clearing away the pathogenic psychical material layer by layer" to "the technique of excavating a buried city."[147] Minoan archaeology specifically made an impact. Since 1901 when he first heard of the excavation at Knossos, Freud had followed Minoan archaeology attentively and developed his thoughts until thirty years later the reference of the Minoans first appeared in his psychoanalytic writings, which continued to be applied to his treatment of patients.[148]

The example of Freud, as well as many of his contemporaries, demonstrated the great interest shown to archaeological discoveries at the turn of the twentieth century. Whether the general understanding for the Minoans was gained through solid reports or sensational media coverage, no doubt that the excavation at Knossos was brought to immediate attention. Referring to it, consciously or unconsciously, in one's own discipline seemed to have become a fashion, reflecting a sense of "Cretomania."[149] Freud, who published *Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900, was particularly related to the development of the Vienna Secession in terms of the revolutionary spirit of liberating the

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[147] Freud 1953-74: 2, 139; Gere 2006, 210.

[148] See Gere 2006 for a detailed discussion on how Freud applied Minoan archaeology as a diagnostic tool. D'Agata (1994, 20) also suggested that Aegean archaeology "had in various ways supported and accompanied the process of the construction of psychoanalysis by Freud."

[149] The word "Cretomania," in its French version "crétomanie," was first used by Paul Morand in 1960 to describe the mania for things Minoan among Viennese artists and Ballets Russes (Momigliano and Farnoux 2017, 2).

mind. His theories were often reflected in the works of the Secession artists. Gustav Klimt would be one example of containing "allusions to the neuroses and obsessions of Freudian analysis" in his works.[150] Freud also had a close connection with French Art Nouveau through his teacher Jean-Martin Charcot, a French neurologist, whose wife exhibited alongside Émile Gallé in the pavilion of the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs at the 1900 Paris Exposition.[151] His fascination in Minoan archaeology could easily be passed on through the interconnection with artists and philosophers.

Direct Adoption of Minoan Motifs

Also fascinated by the rediscovery of the Minoan civilization was the artist and designer Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, who applied Minoan motifs directly to his textile design. After gaining knowledge of the excavation from Arthur Evans' publication *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (1906), Fortuny made sketches of the motifs that appeared on Minoan objects, some of which became the patterns on the defining work of his textile design, the Knossos scarves (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8).[152] Some of the repeated motifs seen on the scarves included the papyrus motif and the foliation patterns with wavy lines at one end of the silk scarf, taken from a jar found at the Royal Tomb of Isopata (Fig. 5.9), and

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[150] Naylor 2000, 300.

[151] Escritt 2000, 107. Also, see Silverman 1989, 310-313 for analysis of Auguste Rodin's pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exposition and its relation to Freudian theories.

[152] In his notebook *Descriptions et Illustrations*, Fortuny wrote that he named the scarf "Knossos" precisely because of the floral and algae motifs taken from the vases found on Crete. He also quoted Angelo Mosso's book *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo e gli scavi a Creta* (1907), which he owned, and publications by G. Maraghiannis, G. Perrot, C. Chipiez, A. Springer, C. Ricci as sources of inspiration (Caloi 2011, 84, 185).

the pea plants motif, from a pithos found at Knossos (Fig. 5.10). These scarves, made in collaboration with his wife Henriette whom he met in Paris in 1897, soon appeared in high-society circles. Sarah Bernhardt and Isadora Duncan, for examples, were fans of his design. For the following thirty years, Fortuny made countless variations of the Knossos scarf, all of which bore motifs taken from Minoan objects.[153] As large rectangular pieces of cloth, the Knossos scarves could be worn in a variety of ways following the natural contour of the body, which became the basis for all his dress productions. In 1907, Fortuny created the Delphos gown, a finely pleated silk dress sometimes worn with a silk belt (Fig. 5.11). Inspired by the Classical Greek statue the Charioteer of Delphis discovered at the Sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi in 1896, the Delphos gown simply hung from the shoulders, which was revolutionary in women's fashion for its striking difference from tight corsets.[154]

Fortuny's fascination for Minoan motifs was shown through his continuous use of them on various types of clothing design. The motifs of pea plants and foliation pattern with wavy lines appeared again on a tunic he designed in the 1920s (Fig. 5.12). Other major motifs on this tunic included the mythical animals with rosette fillings under the pea plants and the ivy leaves decorating the neckline and the sleeves. The pattern of ivy leaves, in the form of pointed tips and curved sides with wavy stems and spiral flowers as fillings, came from the fragment of a Mycenaean pot, which had a Minoan influence in style (Fig. 5.13). The mythical animals with rosette fillings were typical designs on

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[153] De Osma 2016, 130. For images of various Knossos scarves, see Caloi 2011, figures 19-41 and tables XII-XIV.

[154] Following the natural contour of the body, the Delphos gown was originally perceived as a dress to be worn at home, but it soon became a public outfit (De Osma 2012, 54).

Corinthian vases, which, despite not being Minoan, illustrated Fortuny's interest in finding inspiration from ancient objects. In most cases, Fortuny filled up the fabrics with different motifs from multiple objects. An abaya he designed had foliation patterns at the very bottom (Fig. 5.14). Right above was a seascape combining the motifs of murex shells on an alabastron from Hagia Triada (Fig. 5.15) and argonauts like those on a rhyton from Phaistos (Fig. 5.16). A major part of the abaya was covered with plant motifs taken from a fresco fragment from Hagia Triada (Fig. 5.17). The sleeves were decorated with stylized octopus motifs from a stirrup jar from the Royal Tomb of Isopata (Fig. 5.18), and the back shoulders with, again, the papyrus motifs (Fig. 5.9). These were some of the motifs being applied over and over again in Fortuny's textile design. Being so much captured by Minoan motifs, Fortuny even used several of them in his patented labels (Fig. 5.19).

Fortuny's Art Nouveau Circles

Like other Art Nouveau artists, Fortuny had worked in various fields of art and design throughout his life. Other than being a fabric designer, he was also a painter, an etcher, a photographer, a furniture designer, and a theatrical stage and lighting designer. His interest in the arts was rooted in his family background. Born in Granada in 1871 and moving to Rome the following year with his family, Fortuny was raised in an environment of artistic tradition that gave him the opportunity to be connected to influential artists and artisans. His father, Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, was a leading Catalan painter in the nineteenth century whose fascination with Orientalist themes,

growing from his travel in Morocco, passed down to Fortuny.[155] Like his father, he filled his studio with collections gathered from the Arab and Turkish world, such as furniture, lamps, and tapestries with ornamental designs. Fortuny's mother, Cecilia de Madrazo, came from a family that was considered one of the most prominent artistic dynasties in Spain.[156] After the untimely death of his father in 1874, Fortuny moved with his mother and sister to Paris where he was introduced to a variety of art forms. The family moved again in 1889 to Venice where he eventually settled.

Because of his broad artistic practice and the number of places where he had lived and traveled, Fortuny was well acquainted with various Art Nouveau circles. In fabric and clothing design, he followed the philosophy of the English Aesthetic Movement that called for a modern clothing style liberated from conventional attire in the late nineteenth century. The idea presented by his Delphos gown and Knossos scarf, namely the loose fabric that draped along the human body, could be seen in paintings of the period from that of Morris to that of Klimt. This new type clothing fashion could be partly attributed to the yearning of the Orient, which fit well with Fortuny's own passion.[157] The patterns on Fortuny's fabric also presented the style of Art Nouveau. Apart from the use of

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[155] Mariano Fortuny y Marsal was appointed by the government to depict the Spanish-Moroccan War. He also spent much time travelling between Italy, Spain, and France. After he passed away, Fortuny inherited his huge collection of oriental objects.

[156] José de Madrazo y Agudo, Fortuny's great-grandfather on his mother's side, studied with Jacques-Louis David and was a proponent for Neoclassicism in Spain. His sons and grandsons were also successful painters of their times.

[157] The effort for clothing reform was not only in female clothing, but also in male clothing. Many artists in the nineteenth century despised the "standard" male attire—the frock coat, the grey straight trousers, and the top hat—of the time, considering them "intolerable." As a form of rejection, many of them, including Fortuny, adopted clothes from the Arab and the Turkish world (De Osma 2016, 23).

Minoan images, Fortuny's fabric prints easily recalled those of Morris, which were filled with all types of motifs from nature interlocking with one another. In 1911, Fortuny took part in the Exposition des Travaux de la Femme organized by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, where his "female garments: tunics, shawls, veils, Persian abayas and Indian, Cretan, Greek, and Egyptian dress…" received huge success, leading them into becoming a form of theatrical costumes.[158] It coincided with the time when Ballets Russes were transforming their dancewear, inspired by Persian tunics and trousers, to compliment their choreographies.

Fortuny's cousin Cocó de Madrazo, whom he always visited while in Paris, had the opportunity to work in the Ballets Russes project *Le Dieu Bleu* with the Russian designer Léon Bakst.[159] Starting out with his fascination for ancient Greece, Bakst visited Knossos on his trip to Greece in 1907, fell in love with Crete and Knossos immediately, and applied Minoan motifs in his set and costume design back in Paris (Figs. 2.8 and 5.20 to 5.23).[160] He highly praised Minoan art of being "full of unexpected audacity… bold and dazzling," which "[smiled] and [breathed] with human efforts."[161] Isadora Duncan, who was a fan of Fortuny's design, paid a visit to the site of Knossos in 1910. Upon sighting the Grand Staircase, she threw herself into one of her well-known impromptu

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[158] Quote from the French dramatist Henri Lavedan (De Osma 2016, 185).

[159] See De Osma 2016, 195-196, for discussions on Fortuny and Ballets Russes.

[160] Bakst made a number of sketches in the trip, including *Port of Knossos* (Harvard Theatre Collection, MS Thr 978), and published the book *Serov and I in Greece* (1923). See Terkel 2015 and Momigliano 2017 for Bakst's trip to Crete. Momigliano provided many examples of Bakst's design with Minoan motifs.

[161] Momigliano 2017, 89.

dances up and down the stairs.[162] The mutual love for Minoan motifs among the designers and artists would not be absent from their conversation.

In theater design, Fortuny believed in Richard Wagner's ideal of "*Gesamtkunstwerk*," or the "total work of art," which had an impact on many artists, especially those of the Arts and Crafts Movement.[163] Instead of being a distant follower, he was introduced to Wagner's widow and the rest of the Wagner family through an artist friend, Rogelio de Egusquiza, in 1892. Inspired by Wagner's idea of "union of all artistic means of expressions," Fortuny dismissed the division between fine art and applied art.[164] He began to explore the possibilities of theater and eventually revolutionized the field with the invention of an "extraordinarily promising" new system of stage lighting that brought "a radical change," as commented by the Swiss theater designer Adolphe Appia.[165] Being a well-known designer for stage lighting and set, he had the opportunity to work with artists and designers in many major cities in Europe. Fortuny also painted Wagnerian subjects. *The Flower Maidens*, which won a gold medal at the international Exhibition in Munich in 1896, depicted a scene from Wagner's opera *Parsifal* (Fig. 5.24). The curvilinear forms and the use of flowers as decorative elements in this painting

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[162] Gere 2009, 94.

[163] In his essays "Art and Revolution" and "The Art of the Future" (1849), Wagner spoke of the ideal of "*Gesamtkunstwerk*," or the total work of art, in which different types of art are integrated and unified through theater. Artists who followed this idea included Morris, who tried to develop the art of book into a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Wolf 2015, 113).

[164] De Osma 2016, 71.

[165] De Osma 2016, 109.

illustrated an Art Nouveau preference and recalled French Art Nouveau posters or Loïe Fuller's Serpentine dance, which impressed Fortuny in Paris in 1895.[166]

Fortuny's art and design practice demonstrated much of the ideology and preference of the Art Nouveau movement. His choice of using motifs from Minoan art more than those from other ancient cultures naturally reflected the preference of the movement. It could be argued that the reason for the attractiveness of the Minoans to Art Nouveau artists was more than the mere appearance of the images. It had much to do with their perceptions for these ancient people and the island of Crete in correspondence to their artistic ideals, namely the love for nature, the fascination for the exotic and the oriental, and the rejection of traditional academic style.

Love for Nature

The excavations of Minoan sites unearthed art and artifacts with ample amount of representation of nature. Even before the systematic excavation at Knossos started, the rediscovery of the Kamaras Ware in the 1890s had already provided examples of intricate motifs from nature (Figs. 2.29 and 5.25). This type of pottery had polychrome and decorative designs, some with added plastic in the shape of flowers that recalled the works of Émile Gallé, who believed that "beauty meant natural shape and decoration, with floral motifs being the most suitable of all the possibilities."[167] As more Minoan pottery and frescoes with natural motifs were unearthed, the association between the Minoans and nature became stronger. While other civilizations and art periods also had

[166] De Osma 2016, 75.

[167] Bodt 2000, 22.

motifs from nature, the curvilinear and lively rendering of Minoan art corresponded to what the Art Nouveau artists favored. Furthermore, Minoan art appeared to be in various levels of stylization, chiefly due to the stylistic change over the span of the civilization.[168] Some were more naturalistic while others more stylized. The same stylistic variation could be said of Art Nouveau, which differed from city to city. As a result, most Art Nouveau artists were likely to find Minoan art appealing despite the wide range of their style.

Yet the connection went beyond the mere appearance of natural motifs. Art Nouveau artists would also find the location of Minoan art, particularly the frescoes, intriguing. The turn of the twentieth century saw the advancement of technology take place. Rapid urbanization and massive industrialization happened throughout Europe and North America. While it evoked much excitement, the modernizing process was not received without doubts. With the advancement of technology came a sense of pessimistic view that the civilization was degenerating and moving toward a collapse.[169] This sentiment was commonly expressed at the time. Max Nordau's publication *Degeneration* (1892), for example, attacked the modern society and its negative effects on the human body. The writer Emile Zola, although not against modernization, made this comment on modern engineering in 1896: "We are sick and tired of progress, industry, and science" even though "some years ago I believed absolutely that a new

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[168] Take for example the stylistic change of the representation of the argonaut. See Figure 2.31 and Niemeier 1985, 22-28.

[169] West 1993, 16.

material, iron, would create the basis for a new and modern style."[170] This transformation of attitude exemplified the distaste for a machinery world.

Consequently, a desire of returning to nature began to rise. One phenomenon was the transformation of interior space into natural landscape as a kind of safety haven away from an urban scene. This would explain the abundant designs of domestic objects with natural motifs by Art Nouveau artists. Especially in France, modern style came to be associated with "a nature style of interior decoration."[171] Charcot, whose ideas on neurology had great relevance to the French Art Nouveau, viewed "the domestic interior as a site for the calming of nervous disorders provoked by the city."[172] Gallé also emphasized the symbolic meaning of nature and its connection with decorative arts, which could offer "an atmosphere of tranquility… very much needed to calm our nerves."[173] By creating domestic objects and furniture with rural associations, he and other artists gave French Art Nouveau an "anti-urban connotation," and the interior spaces were conceived as "a refuge from the sordid metropolis."[174]

Decorating interior spaces with natural scenes was a feature of Minoan palaces and towns. Different from other civilizations, Minoan paintings of natural scenes were devoid of human presence. Discoveries of wall paintings depicting natural motifs started from the early stage of the excavation at Knossos. The walls of the Throne Room, unearthed not a month into the excavation, were covered with frescoes of a long

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[170] The two quotes come from two publications of the same year (Silverman 1989, 7).
[171] Silverman, 1989, 1.
[172] Escritt 2000, 107.
[173] Escritt 2000, 112.
[174] West 1993, 130; Silverman 1989.

landscape (Fig. 2.32). Although "imperfectly preserved," Evans could make out "the upper foliage of a palm tree (No! reeds) and a part of another of a reddish brown color on a pale ground."[175] After a quick work on the frescoes with Émile Gilliéron, Evans was certain that "a guardian griffin stood on either side of the door" in a landscape of running water, palm trees, and water plants.[176] In the Queen's Megaron, which was named because of its secluded nature, fresco fragments of a seascape with dolphins and groups of small fish were found.[177] Evans believed that this marine design originally covered the wall on the opposite side of a seat with the intention to "cheat the eye with the illusion of a free outlook," and that the whole fresco was "the artistic substitute for a natural view" (Fig. 5.26).[178] This explanation aligned perfectly with Art Nouveau artists' view of interior decoration. With the discovery of these two frescoes and other fragments suggesting landscape depictions elsewhere at the palace, the Minoans were presented with the impression of nature-loving people. This aspect could easily connect with Art Nouveau artists since "the dominating influence [for the birth of Art Nouveau] was Nature," and that "Art Nouveau was the culmination of Nature as an aesthetic expression," as emphasized by James Grady, one of the first scholars to talk about the essential role of Nature and the Art Nouveau movement.[179]

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[175] Evans' excavation notes from April 13, 1900.

[176] Evans' excavation notes from April 19, 1900; A. Evans 1900, 40.

[177] A. Evans 1902b, 45.

[178] A. Evans 1902b, 59.

[179] Grady 1955, 188.

Fascination for the Exotic and the Oriental

Europe in the later half of the nineteenth century was fascinated by art and ideas from "exotic lands," which essentially referred to non-European culture such as African, Asian, or Islamic societies, due to their increased contacts through colonization, trade, travel, and other activities. This interest was manifested in the 1900 Paris Exposition from its Moorish-inspired main entryway to the presentation of the foreign pavilions. Art Nouveau artists, like many other artists of the time, grew weary of European traditions and looked for inspiration from civilizations that felt foreign to them. Some of the "exotic" arts that were significant to the development of Art Nouveau came from Japanese, Indian, Moorish, and Turkish culture.

Even though being presented as the "first European civilization," the Minoans fit in the idea of "exotic" in many ways. First and foremost, Crete had been known as an island filled with myths. Two mountains on Crete, Mount Ida and Mount Dikti, were said to be where Zeus was born and nurtured. The islets of Lefkai on the northwest coast of Crete were the legendary result of the fallen Sirens whose feathers were plucked out by the Muses after a musical contest between the two. Most importantly, Crete was the setting of the myths surrounding the Minotaur. King Minos, the son of Zeus and Europa, prayed to Poseidon to send him a white bull for sacrificial purpose. Yet instead of sacrificing it, he kept the bull because of its beauty. Out of anger, Poseidon made Minos' wife, Pasiphaë, fall in love with the bull and give birth to the Minotaur, a half-man half-bull creature. As the Minotaur became increasingly monstrous, Minos ordered Daedalus to construct a labyrinth to imprison the Minotaur, which fed on youths and maidens sent from Athens. Eventually, Theseus, a prince of Athens, volunteered to be one of the

youths and slew the Minotaur in the labyrinth with the help of Ariadne, the daughter of Minos.

The representation of the Minotaur never got lost in art. Mythological scenes of Theseus slaying the Minotaur were common motifs in ancient Greek vase painting. The image of the Minotaur also appeared in a great amount of ancient sculptures, seals, and coins.[180] In the 1510s, an Italian painter known as the Master of the Cassoni Campana illustrated the myth with four panels, which were titled *The Loves of Pasiphaë*, *The Taking of Athens by Minos, King of Crete*, *Theseus and the Minotaur*, and *Ariadne in Naxos*.[181] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the moment of Theseus slaying the Minotaur was eternalized by sculptors such as Antonia Canova, Antoine-Louis Barye, and Étienne-Jules Ramey, whose marble sculpture *Theseus and the Minotaur* still stands in the Jardin des Tuileries in Paris. In 1826, William Blake, often considered to be one of the precursors of Art Nouveau, was commissioned to make watercolor illustrations for Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which included an image of the Minotaur.[182]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Gustav Klimt designed a poster for the first exhibition of the Vienna Secession in 1898, which presented the scene of Theseus slaying the Minotaur under the watch of Athena, the goddess of wisdom (Fig. 5.27).[183]

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[180] The scene of Theseus slaying the Minotaur appears in more than 300 ancient Greek objects known to the present time, not including other popular scenes related to the myth such as Europa with the bull. Examples are also found in Estruscan and Roman art (Ziolkowski 2008, 6).

[181] The panels are in the collection of Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon.

[182] *Inferno*, Canto XII, 12-28.

[183] Two versions of the poster exist. Theseus is shown in full nudity in the original version but is partially covered up by tree trunks in the censored version.

Founded in 1897 with Klimt as the first president, the Vienna Secession was part of the Art Nouveau movement happening around Europe. Frustrated by the official institutions, the Secession artists resigned from the conservative Künstlerhaus, the dominant artists' society in Austria, and campaigned for "a purified, modern view of art."[184] The combat scene in Klimt's poster was an allegory for the conflict between the Secessionists and the traditional arts led by the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Theseus, representing the Secessionists, appeared to be winning over the Minotaur, which fell and retreated into the darkness. Just as Theseus liberated the youths of Athens, the Secessionists viewed themselves as the liberators of the arts. Since the scene was used as the front image for their first exhibition, in other words the assertion of their goal, this mythical allegory carried a special significance for the Secessionists. The rediscovery of Knossos, where the slaying of the Minotaur supposedly happened, would have brought much attention and excitement.

In addition to ancient myths, the cultural and natural landscape of Crete furthered its exotic image. By the end of the nineteenth century, Crete had gone through more than two centuries of Ottoman rule, during which period the island became culturally distant from most of Europe.[185] While Mainland Greece had gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1832, the independent Cretan State was not formed until 1898. Naturally, the impression of Crete carried much Ottoman association. Journals of travelers often enhanced such an impression. English traveler Robert Pashley, for

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[184] Quoted from Klimt's letter to the Künstlerhaus, which also served as the manifesto of the Secession group (Escritt 2000, 137-138).

[185] Crete was declared an Ottoman province after the Ottomans conquered the western part of the island in 1646.

example, described and illustrated his encounters with Turkish, Arab, and "Mohammedan/musulman" (muslim) people and tradition in his book *Travels in Crete* (Fig. 5.28). French archaeologist George Perrot included plenty of descriptions on the appearance and customs of the "Turcs" and "Arabes" in his 1867 publication *L'île de Crète: souvenirs de voyage*. Mentions of the gypsies, who had been romanticized in literature and art, also existed in a number of accounts.[186] With its association to the Ottoman Empire and groups of nomads, the perception of Crete placed the island within the greater "oriental area" viewed by European countries to its west. Consequently, literary and artistic depictions of oriental culture elsewhere would easily contribute to the imaginary image of Crete.

Other than cultural aspects, travelers' accounts also provided descriptions of the natural landscape on Crete. The "gloriose ac magnifice" cypresses surrounding Chania and the abundant wine, cheese, and fruits made an impression on the Irish monk Symon Simeonis in the fourteenth century.[187] The fertile soil of the island was attested through the constant mention of agricultural produce such as cereals, oil, honey, oranges, lemons, melons, grapes, herbs, figs, and others in many travelers' accounts in the following centuries.[188] This type of description of lush vegetation fit into the general narratives of

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[186] A description by the Irish monk Symon Simeonis in 1323 of an encampment of gypsies was arguably the earliest record of their movement through to Europe (Warren 2000, 1).

[187] Warren 2000, 1.

[188] Some of the accounts included *Travels and Researches in Crete* (1865) by Captain Thomas A.B. Spratt, who published his notes on the geology and natural history of the island taken from his survey at the coast for the British Admiralty and his journeys inland, and *Description Physique de l'Ile de Crète* (1869) by Victor Raulin, who went on

the Age of Discovery and Colonialism about newly discovered lands, which often evoked a sense of exotic imagination. Presented with cultural and natural foreignness, Crete became this far-away island filled with romanticized ideas. The combination of its oriental connection and its rich natural environment corresponded to Art Nouveau artists' interests in non-European culture and their love of nature. Along with its mythological association, the Minoans, an ancient civilization from on this exotic island, would naturally be veiled with a certain degree of exotic fantasy.

Rejection of Traditional Academic Style

Aiming to create art that represented modern society, Art Nouveau artists abandoned the style being taught in traditional art institutions, namely the classical style that looked back to the ancient Greek and Roman times and had defined European culture for centuries. In addition to culture from "exotic lands" in which they found inspiration, folk art, whether it occurred in Europe or not, was also viewed as non-European. Folk art was widely viewed as the embodiment of pure and honest values, for it was created by societies thought to be simpler and more innocent than modern Europe. The interlaced ornamentation of the Celts and the Vikings, for example, had a clear presence in the Art Nouveau movement in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Morris and many of his contemporaries looked back to this time for the reason that, in their opinion, the society and art had not yet been corrupted then.[189] As stated earlier in this chapter, the

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an expedition for the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. See Pendlebury 1965, 16-18, and Warren 2000, for more references of the account from early travelers.

[189] Bodt 2000, 22.

adoption of Celtic art to Art Nouveau demonstrated the case that Art Nouveau artists looked into archeological discoveries for inspiration. News of the discovery of the Minoan civilization at the height of the Art Nouveau movement was distributed in a similar fashion. Furthermore, the Minoans were presented as a primitive society, which often brought up the association of folk art.[190] Being far back in the Bronze Age, the Minoans would have been thought of as even less corrupted than the Middle Ages. Their art style, which was distinctively different from the Classical style, distanced them from modern institutional European culture. In the words of Bakst, Minoan art was like "the mad, courageous gallop of nude youths" and "an eternally smiling child" to him, where "the arresting perfection of Praxiteles [was] not etched" and "the almost absolute beauty of the Parthenon [was] not to be found."[191]

While some Art Nouveau artists completely rejected any affiliation with the Classical tradition, others had a rather complex perception toward the tradition. This attitude could be best observed in the works of the Vienna Secessionists among others. The Secessionists rejected the rendering style of the classical tradition on one hand, but continued to apply classical themes on the other. In other words, they transformed the way classical themes were presented to reflect the concerns of their time. The poster designed by Klimt for the first exhibition of the Vienna Secession in 1898 discussed above was one of the examples (Fig. 5.27). While the figures of Athena, Theseus, and the

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[190] Evans used the terms such as "primitive settlement" or "primitive characteristic" to describe his discovery at Knossos beginning during the early stage of the excavation. Some earliest examples are found in his excavation reports, including A. Evans 1900, 6 and 17; and A. Evans 1901b, 5, 59, and 87. It can be assumed that he also used the terms in his lectures and conversations.

[191] Momigliano 2017, 89.

Minotaur were passed down from the classical tradition, the rendering was modern. The two-dimensional and linear illustration, the breaking through of the friezes of Athena, and the large blank central space were all ruptures to the academic tradition. Klimt made another painting of Athena, *Pallas Athene*, in the same year (Fig. 5.29). As opposed to the noble and rational image preferred and formalized by the academic tradition, the Athena in Klimt's painting looked sensual and unsettling.[192] In the dark background, the linear illustration, which was copied from a black-figured hydria from the Archaic period, flattened the space of the image. Apart from the subject, Classical ideas were hardly perceived in this painting.

The Minoans in the perception of the early twentieth century stood at an intriguing place. On one hand, the civilization had a Classical connection through mythology. Despite the fact that no images depicting the actual mythological scenes were discovered, the strong connection was made through the interpretation of the civilization. On the other hand, the artistic style of the Minoans had nothing similar to the Classical tradition. The Minoans rendered their subjects with free flowing lines, which were viewed by many Art Nouveau artists as a metaphor for freedom. The refreshed look of Minoan art, as opposed to the conventional style taught at the academic institutions, went well with the Art Nouveau artists who were "inspired by classicism while at the same time rejecting historicist classicism."[193]

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[192] See Florman 1990 for discussions on how Klimt's *Palla Athene* contrasted with the contemporary Neo-classical representation of Athena, and how Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy impacted the thought process of Klimt.

[193] Escritt 2000, 154.

Reception of the Minoans

A few points could thus be made regarding the reception of the Minoan civilization and the extent of its reach to the Art Nouveau communities. First, the news of the discovery was widely spread among the scholarly communities as well as the general public in Europe and America. Images of Minoan objects were accessible though publications and museum exhibitions where many Art Nouveau artists found inspiration. Second, the discovery of the Minoan civilization, as were other archaeological discoveries at the turn of the twentieth century, was received enthusiastically. It was mentioned in or applied to other fields of studies, some of which had close connection with the development of the Art Nouveau movement. Third, any use of Minoan motifs would be easily known to other artists, as it had with Fortuny's designs, due to the exchange of Art Nouveau ideas among various cities. Last but not least, as constructed from the impression of Crete and the presentation of early excavation reports, the Minoans were perceived as a mythical, exotic, and nature-loving culture that aligned with the artistic preference of Art Nouveau artists. It, thus, could be argued that Minoan art appealed to Art Nouveau artists and was a source of inspiration to them.

CHAPTER 6

IDEAS FROM THE MODERN

Due to the disappointing state of preservation, Minoan sites imposed a challenge to archaeologists upon their discovery. With limited sources and knowledge of this ancient civilization, the interpretation and the reconstruction inevitably involved much assumption. In the process of making sense of what had been unearthed, early excavators and restorers tried to find parallels from cultures with which they were more familiar. Besides their knowledge of other ancient civilizations around the Mediterranean, an early-twentieth-century mindset, in which the Art Nouveau movement played a significant role, could also be reflected in their understanding of the Minoans. The following chapter examines the involvement of Art Nouveau in the interpretation and the reconstruction of the Minoan civilization from a number of angles, ranging from the initial perception of the Minoan people to the restoration of Minoan art.

Viewing the Minoans as "Modern"

The word "modern" has been used to describe the Minoans ever since the earliest stage of the excavation at Knossos. In his first excavation reports on Knossos, Arthur Evans employed the word repeatedly in commenting on various aspects of his discovery: Fresco designs of "a curious modern manner" covered the porch at the Western Court, the wall painting of the griffins in the Throne Room had a "remarkable and curiously modern feature," and the image of a "hand and forearm grasping a lily spray" presented

on a sealing had a "curiously modern aspect."[194] He was also impressed by the building complex, which included structures that recalled "a modern class-room" and "modern semi-detached villas."[195] His descriptions of building features such as "arrangements for securing privacy and comfort, together with sanitary conveniences in some ways ahead of anything the world was to see for the next three thousand years" and "windows of such a modern aspect… for which no analogy of classical civilization could have prepared us" demonstrated that the Minoan civilization appeared surprisingly modern to Evans as one that even surpassed later civilizations.[196] It could be safely assumed that such points of view were also delivered in the many lectures and talks given by Evans. As a pioneer in Minoan archaeology, Evans set the tone for the discipline, where his ideas have profound influence to the present day.

While the building complex at Knossos is indeed remarkable, the continuous use of the word "modern" in describing the site, as well as the civilization, is questionable. Earlier in the 1870s, Heinrich Schliemann had already discovered the Mycenaean sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, which provided valuable insight into Bronze Age Greece. These discoveries became important references for Evans' interpretation of Knossos since he originally believed that he had found another Mycenaean site due to the similarities in architecture and art styles. Yet Schliemann's publication on Mycenae and Tiryns did not associate the Mycenaeans with the idea of the so-called "modern." Another major reference for Evans' interpretation was ancient Egypt. Evans drew countless parallels

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[194] A. Evans 1900, 12 and 40; 1902b, 77-78.

[195] A. Evans 1901b, 97; 1902b, 16.

[196] A. Evans 1902b, 18 and 45.

from ancient Egypt in his discussion on Knossos, including declaring that the early Cretan civilization was in "an ultimate indebtedness to Egyptian models" in one instance when he discussed the physiognomy of the Minoan houses.[197] Since ancient Egypt was hardly associated with the idea of "modern," Evans' claim on the modern appearance of the Minoans seems to lack substantial support. How an ancient civilization that owed so much to ancient Egypt and being so similar to the Mycenaeans, both of which had not been described as "modern," would appear modern is puzzling.

Why, then, did Evans associate the Minoan civilization with the idea of the modern? The conception of this view could be observed in his impressions of Minoan art. Evans found Minoan art "decorative," an adjective he used frequently in describing Minoan frescoes, as well as containing many decorative elements. In the Southern Propylaeum, he found "decorative paintings" of "a succession of rosettes with brilliant red, white, black, and orange coloring;" some miniature fresco fragments included those "of a more decorative nature with bands of spirals, scroll work, rosettes and other motifs;" and the column base at the Northern Portico was of "an exceptionally decorative kind of limestone."[198]

Among the many examples, the fresco of the griffins in the Throne Room could provide a detailed examination (Fig. 6.1.). Evans described the fresco as such:

> … on either side of this opening were painted two couchant griffins of a curiously decorative type… The monster is wingless, an unique peculiarity due perhaps to an approximation to the Egyptian sphinx. It bears a crest of peacock's plumes, showing that this Indian fowl was known to the East Mediterranean world long before the days of Solomon. Pendant flowers,

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[197] A. Evans 1902b, 18.

[198] A. Evans 1900, 15, 48, and 54.

> and a volute terminating in a rosette adorn the neck, and a chain of jewels runs along its back. A remarkable and curiously modern feature is the hatching along the under-side of the body, which apparently represents shading… The griffins… were backed by a landscape of the same kind as that already described, showing a stream with water-plants and palm-trees behind. This location of the griffins in a flowery landscape is characteristic of contemporary Egyptian art, as illustrated by the Theban paintings. Above the zone containing these designs is a plain upper frieze consisting of two dark red bands bordered by pairs of white lines…[199]

In this passage, a resemblance was drawn between Minoan art and ancient Egyptian art in terms of the form of the griffins and the background landscape in which they were placed. While the Minoan fresco showed characteristics that were similar to Egyptian paintings contemporary to its time, Evans did not associate it with the idea of "ancient." Instead, the idea of "modern" was conveyed.

This paradox could be explained by understanding Evans' idea of "modern" in art representation. Based on his description, these Minoan griffins, although wingless like the typical ancient Egyptian sphinxes, were much more decorative due to the various ornamental elements that adorned the griffins. In other words, the decorativeness of the griffins distanced this wall painting from ancient Egyptian examples. Removing all the descriptive words from the passage, it becomes obvious that the two terms that summed up Evans' impression of the fresco were "curiously modern" and "curiously decorative." It could thus be suggested that the idea of associating "decorative quality" with "modernity" was more or less the view of Evans.

This idea of associating decorative quality with modernity was most certainly formed by the art development at the time when Knossos was excavated. The turn of the

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[199] A. Evans 1900, 40.

twentieth century witnessed the height of the Art Nouveau movement, which aimed to create art that matched modern society.[200] Regardless of the variety of styles developed in different countries, some of the major characteristics of Art Nouveau across all regions were: decorative in style, inspired by nature, and abandoning the Classical tradition being taught in academic institutions.

All of the three characteristics matched what Evans saw in Minoan art. In addition to describing the decorative quality of frescoes discussed above, Evans compared the Minoan wall painting of a group of lilies to the wallpaper designs of William Morris, one of the forerunners of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Great Britain.[201] He even pointed out "how similar all Cretan decoration is to Art Nouveau," in a conversation with the British art historian Kenneth Clark, who also stated that the frescoes at Knossos resembled "the style dix-neuf cent."[202] The curvilinear and sinuous renderings in Minoan art, such as the use of spirals and wavy lines, corresponded to the organic feature of Art Nouveau. Evans also saw nature as a major part of Minoan art, considering the numerous motifs taken from nature. He used the term "naturalism," which appeared frequently in his writings, to refer to "the sudden spurt of interest in the living world of nature, the flowers and animals of Crete, as well as the rocks and marine life of its coastline."[203] In other words, the Minoans appeared to him as a group of nature-loving people who lived

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[200] While Art Nouveau might not conform entirely to some of the 20th-century theories of what constitutes the modern, its breakaway from academic style certainly gave it a modern image at the turn of the century.

[201] A. Evans 1903, 5.

[202] Clark 1974, 107.

[203] Immerwahr 1990, 40.

in harmony with nature. Moreover, Evans viewed the Minoan representation of their surrounding world "naturalistic," meaning that they displayed a sense of animation and spontaneity.[204] He commented, for example, that some flower petals in Minoan frescoes were "delineated as half detached by the passing breeze" as evidence that Minoan artists tried to convey movement in their paintings.[205] The enthusiasm for nature, which played an essential role in the Art Nouveau movement, was reflected in Evans' impression and interpretation of Minoan art.

Furthermore, the style of Minoan art did not have much in common with that of Classical Greek art in Evans' view. The Minoan civilization, upon its discovery, was naturally compared with Classical Greece due to its location of Crete and its connection with the Mycenaean civilization from the Greek mainland. In his discussion of the miniature frescoes, Evans stated that some of the Knossian drawings of female figures called to mind "the white Athenian lekythoi of a much later age," but were "incomparably more modern, and display[ed] a vivacity and a fashionable pose quite foreign to classical art" (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3).[206] With such statements, he implied that Minoan art was, first, different from Classical art, and second, modern, despite the fact that the Minoans were dated to a much earlier age. This idea of associating non-Classical features with modernity also originated from the Art Nouveau movement. As a reaction

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[204] It has been pointed out that Evans' use of the word "naturalism" was a misnomer. "Naturalism" in art theory means the representation based on the accurate depiction of detail, yet Minoan paintings are more often a free expression of the spirit than a scientific depiction of an object (Immerwahr 1990, 41).

[205] A. Evans 1903, 5.

[206] A. Evans 1900, 47.

against traditional aesthetic views, the Art Nouveau movement abandoned the style of Classical Greece taught in academic institutions. Consequently, the aesthetic tastes that developed from following the Classical tradition to avoiding it signified progress and the advancement of the modern age. In accordance with the non-Classical preference, Art Nouveau artists, as well as the general public in Europe, were fascinated by art and ideas from the so-called "exotic lands." Calling the griffin in the "Throne Room" fresco an "Indian fowl," Evans' description revealed his inclination of seeing the Minoans as non-Classical and exotic.[207]

With its decorative, "naturalistic," and non-Classical characteristics, Minoan art resembled Art Nouveau to Evans more than Classical Greek art, which led to his impression that Minoan art had a modern appearance. This impression of art was then extended to how he viewed the civilization as a whole. For example, Evans described the scene in the "Temple Fresco" as an evidence of the Minoans performing "a more advanced and decorative form of Pillar Worship," where the words "advanced" and "decorative" were placed together without much explanation of their exact meaning in relation to the form of worship (Fig. 6.2).[208]

Evans' perception of the Minoans as a "modern" civilization was soon to be shared, or confirmed, by others. Edmond Pottier, who visited the site of Knossos, exclaimed "*Mais, ce sont des parisiennes!*" at the sight of a fresco fragment of a female

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[207] The Sharabha, a mythical animal with part lion, part bird, and part human features, in Hindu mythology is relatively comparable to the griffin or the sphinx in Western mythology. Yet whether there is a link between the Sharabha and the griffin or the sphinx remains to be explored.

[208] A. Evans 1900, 34.

figure unearthed in 1901 (Fig. 6.4).[209] Preserved from the top to the chest, this female figure, known since as "*la Parisienne*," had curly dark hair, elaborate clothing, and bright red lips, which reminded Pottier of modern women in Paris. He clearly expressed his thoughts on the "modern" appearance of the female figure:

> Her disheveled hair, the provocative "kiss curl" on her forehead, her enormous eye and sensual mouth, stained a violent red in the original, her tunic with its blue, red, and black stripes, the mass of ribbons tossed over her shoulder in a "come-hither" gesture, this mixture of naïve archaism and spicy modernism, this quick sketch traced by a paintbrush on a wall at Knossos more than three thousand years ago to give us the impression of a Daumier or a Degas, this Pasiphaë who looks like a habitué of Parisian bars—everything about this work conspires to amaze us; in sum, there is something about the discovery of this unheard-of art that we find stunning, even scandalous.[210]

In this description, Pottier presented his impression on the Minoan female figure as well as the modern women in Paris. The two, in his view, were comparable not only in their appearances, but also through the implication of their seductive character. The fresco of *la Parisienne*, as a matter of fact, could hardly be perceived as a "scandalous" image. What caused the scandalous impression was its association with the images of Parisian women under the paintbrush of Impressionist painters that often carried a social connotation of the time. Calling the female figure in the fresco "Pasiphaë," the mythological figure who fell in love with a bull and gave birth to the Minotaur, although being somewhat abrupt, went well with the narrative of a scandalous woman. The parallel between "Pasiphaë" and "a habitué of Parisian bars" further strengthened the connection between Minoan women and modern Parisian women through their manner, which was

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[209] MacGillivary 2000, 205.

[210] Farnoux 1996b, 105.

not exactly presented in the fresco. Thus, Pottier's interpretation of the figure was established upon his impression of modern women based on the fashionable appearance in modern standards.

Pottier visited Knossos and saw the fresco fragment only less than a year after the closing of the 1900 Paris Exposition. With the popular enthusiasm over the exposition, it was not impossible that when Pottier exclaimed "*la Parisienne*" he had in mind the statue of *La Parisienne* at the top of Porte Binet, the main entryway of the exposition (Fig. 6.5).[211] Made by the sculptor Paul Moreau-Vauthier, *La Parisienne* represented a modern woman through her costume as well as her gesture. Her costume, designed by the couturier Jeanne Paquin, consisted of a long dress of delicate patterns, a cloak with ruffled fringes, and a headdress in the shape of the prow of a ship, which symbolized the motto of Paris, *Fluctuat nec mergitur*.[212] She cast her look slightly upward and afar with her arms open in a welcoming gesture. Representing modernity and reflecting modern taste, the Art Nouveau statue of *La Parisienne* drew both positive and negative criticism, ranging from "supple and vital" to "the triumph of prostitution."[213] Interestingly, both comments could also serve as a brief summary for Pottier's impression of the Minoan

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[211] 76,000 exhibitors from both France and abroad were presented at the 1900 Paris Exposition. According to official figures, there were 39,027,177 admissions using 47,076,539 paid tickets at two locations over the span of the exposition, not to mention the enormous amount of free tickets that were given to political figures, media, and embassies (Jullian 1974, 203-205).

[212] The style of the dress reflected the fashion of its time. A link might have existed between the statue of *La Parisienne* and the contemporary trend among Parisian women to own "small full-length figures of herself and her lady friends," many of which were produced by the same sculptor, Moreau-Vauthier. See Lees 1903.

[213] Jullian 1974, 38, and Silverman 1989, 293.

fresco "*la Parisienne*," which would hardly be pure coincidence.

Pottier was not the only person who made a connection between Minoan women and modern women. Many others, who saw Minoan frescoes of female figures firsthand, expressed a similar view. Some comments included "beyond classical art… one rediscovered the modern world, with an elegance at once more familiar and more affected…" and "the women of Knossos in 1600 B.C. shared with the Parisiennes of our day the notion that a dress should cling around the hips and widen toward the hem."[214] The aforementioned miniature fresco scenes, in which Evans detailed the "Court ladies in elaborate toilette…engaged in animated conversation " were later presented as demonstrations of "the astonishingly modern character of Minoan life" where "men and women [mingled] freely with one another" (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3).[215] The connotation of modern society carried by images of stylish women was beyond doubt.

The image of *La Parisienne* of the 1900 Paris Exposition would come to mind again when the faience female figurines, which Evans named the "Snake Goddess" and her attendants, were unearthed in 1903 (Fig. 6.6). The "Snake Goddess" had a high tiara, a necklace, a long skirt, an apron, and a tight jacket with a laced bodice that revealed her breasts. Three snakes coiled on her body and arms, which extended forward. The posture of the "Snake Goddess" naturally evoked that of *La Parisienne* of the exposition. Her costume and that of her attendants were also comparable to that of *La Parisienne* in terms of the elaborate decoration. Evans, fascinated by the meticulous execution of the

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[214] The first comment was made by Father Lagrange, a French theologian, and the second by Salomon Reinach, a French archaeologist (Farnoux 1996b, 105).

[215] A. Evans 1900, 47, and E.H. Hall 1914, 158.

costumes of the faience figurines, detailed the braids and patterns and pointed out that the jacket of the "Snake Goddess" was "richly embroidered."[216] Although these were the only objects from Knossos that bore images of female figures handling snakes, Evans gave them major significance in his interpretation of the civilization and selected the "Snake Goddess" as the frontispiece for the first volume of his publication *Palace of Minos*. The "Snake Goddess" and her attendants, clothed in carefully decorated costumes, have since enjoyed the status as iconic Minoan images, just as *La Parisienne*, which celebrated "the triumph of the decorative art and the decorative women," was the face of the 1900 Paris Exposition.[217]

Thus, the generally accepted perception that the Minoans were more modern than other ancient civilizations, even some after its time, was in fact a reflection of the ideas of the early twentieth century. Explaining his new discovery by drawing parallels from other ancient civilizations such as Egypt, the Near East, and Anatolia, Evans certainly saw the Minoans as part of the greater ancient East Mediterranean world. The association between the Minoans and the modern, seemingly out of context, was actually established upon the similar styles between Minoan art and Art Nouveau, the art movement that aimed to represent modern society. The decorative quality, the representation of nature, and the contrast to Classical style placed Minoan art in alignment with Art Nouveau as opposed to Neo-Classical style preferred by traditional institutions. The impression of a modern art style then led to that of a modern society. Since no written texts of a narrative nature were left by the Minoans, the images naturally dominated the idea and the

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[216] A. Evans 1903, 76 and 80.

[217] Silverman 1989, 291.

interpretation of the civilization. Conceived by Evans and supported by some of his fellow scholars at the very beginning of this discipline, the perception of the Minoans being modern would later play a significant role in reconstructing the image of the Minoan civilization.

The Restorers and Art Nouveau

Two major figures that executed the restoration of Minoan frescoes and other objects were the Gilliérons, a father-and-son group whose skills Evans valued highly. Immediately after fresco fragments were unearthed at the site of Knossos in 1900, Evans hired Louis Emile Emmanuel Gilliéron, or Gilliéron père, as the restorer.[218] His son Edouard Emile Gilliéron, or Gilliéron fils, joined him in 1908. Together, the two restored Minoan frescoes, helped reconstruct the site of Knossos, and created illustrations for Evans' publication. Hired by Evans, the Gilliérons were naturally to be influenced, if not guided, by Evans' perception of the Minoans. His idea that Minoan art resembled Art Nouveau would easily be taken as a guideline for the restoration, either intentionally or unintentionally, if the restorers had knowledge of Art Nouveau. The question, then, would be how familiar the Gilliérons were with the Art Nouveau movement, which could

[218] He appears as Emile Gilliéron père in Evans' publication. Gilliéron's full name is recorded differently in various sources. Other than Louis Emile Emmanuel Gilliéron (Stürmer 2004, 39), Emile Victor Gilliéron (MacGillivray 2000, 186) and Louis-Emile Gilliéron (De Craene 2008, 48) are also used.

be discussed from several angles by examining their backgrounds and the spread of the Art Nouveau movement.[219]

First, the cities where they were educated laid the foundation for their exposure to art. Born in Villeneuve, Switzerland, in 1851, Gilliéron père received early education at the Gymnasium La Neuveville, where his father was assistant master. He then studied art at the Gewerbeschule in Basel where he was trained as an engraver, before going through further training at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich and the School of Fine Arts in Paris in the 1870s. While in Paris, he worked in the atelier of Isidore Alexandre Augustin Pils, a French painter who was painting the ceiling of the grand staircase of the Palais Garnier.[220] While Gilliéron père certainly had a solid training in historical and realistic paintings that were taught at the art institutions, he would also encounter new art movements that were already underway outside the academic settings. Major figures of the Munich *Jugendstil*, including Hans Eduard von Berlepsch-Valendas and Fritz von Miller, were either educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich or active in the city in the 1870s.[221] In Paris, the impact of the Gothic Revival, the Rococo Revival, Japonism,

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[219] Information on the Gilliérons outside their archaeological projects is limited. A large part of the information was lost during the Greek Civil War after the Second World War (Stürmer 2004, 39). References for the lives of the Gilliérons could be found in Bénézit 1976; De Craene 2008; Hemingway 2011; R. Hood 1998; Lapatin 2002; MacGillivray 2000; Rodenwaldt 1924; and Stürmer 1994 and 2004.

[220] The paintings on the ceiling of the grand staircase were installed two months before the opening day on January 5, 1875. Pils, and later his students after he fell ill, continued working on the paintings in situ until the opening day (Kirkland 2013, 283-285). Pils was also well achieved in military paintings and was commissioned by Napoleon III for a number of paintings (Bénézit 1976).

[221] Born in Switzerland, Berlepsch-Valendas studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich from 1875 to 1879 but became dissatisfied with traditional trainings. Comparable to William Morris, he was among the first German writers to emphasize the equality of

and Islamic art already started a couple decades earlier. It would have been impossible for Gilliéron père, as a young artist in his twenties living in the artistic centers of Europe, to be unaware of the new artistic experiments that were happening around him. In addition, it was not uncommon for artists' styles to evolve over time. René Binet and Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, both Art Nouveau artists, changed their artistic preference over the course of their career.[222] Being educated in a traditional setting would not necessarily indicate that the style of an artist would remain unchanged for the rest of his or her career.

The exposure to the Art Nouveau movement required even less explanation regarding his son, Gilliéron fils. Born in Athens in 1885, Gilliéron fils was educated at the Polytechnic in Athens, a prestigious institution for engineering and architectural studies in Greece. He then moved to Paris and studied at the School of Fine Arts in Paris and the Académie de la Grande Chaumière from 1905 to 1908. Not only was this period the mature phase of the Art Nouveau movement in Paris, but the Académie de la Grande Chaumière, newly founded in 1904, was established with the goal of not restricting

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the decorative and the fine arts. He became a regular member of the Munich Secession in 1895. Miller began teaching at the Munich Kunstgewerbeschule in 1868 and set up his own workshop in 1876 where he had lasting influence on his students for decades (Hiesinger 1988, 37 and 74).

[222] Binet, the architect who designed the main entryway for the 1900 Paris Exposition, entered the Academy of Fine Arts in Paris in 1882. Despite the classical architectural training and his high achievement, he turned away from the grandeur of Roman architecture. Instead, he traveled to Sicily, Tunisia, Algeria, and Spain where he was enchanted by Moorish architecture (Silverman 1989, 290). Fortuny y Madrazo, following his grandfather and uncles, spent much of his youth copying paintings of the great masters while in Paris. While learning the techniques from the great masters, he pursued his father's passion in oriental and decorative style in his later designs (De Osma 2012, 29).

students to the academic rules of painting. Gilliéron fils would have been encouraged to explore new styles of art, including Art Nouveau, at this new institution. His move from a traditional academy to an unconventional institution presented his interests in pursuing modern artistic styles. While his father had the opportunity to encounter Art Nouveau mostly outside of the institution, Gilliéron fils was able to practice it in his formal education.

Second, the education the Gilliérons received enabled them to hold important positions in Athens and thus become well connected in the art community. Settled in Athens in 1876, Gilliéron père built up his reputation in the fields of archaeology, fine art, and design. He worked as a draftsman for Heinrich Schliemann and other archaeologists. He was also hired by the Ministry of Education as freelance artist to do watercolor drawings, as color photography was not conveniently available at the time.[223] The large fees he charged for creating watercolor reproductions reflected his popularity among the archaeological community.[224] Over the next couple of decades, he made drawings of reliefs from the Acropolis in Athens, objects from Tiryns, bronze finds from the Idaean Cave on Crete, Vapheio cups from a tholos tomb outside Sparta, and other archaeological finds. In addition to working on archaeological projects, Gilliéron père became the art tutor to the princes and princesses of the Greek royal family in the early

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[223] The Historical Archive of the Archaeological Service in Greece owns six watercolor drawings by Gilliéron père of the grave steles from Pagasae. Information gained through correspondence with Metaxia Tsipopoulou and the Archive of the Archaeological Service, Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

[224] MacGillivray 2000, 186.

1880s and built up a close relationship with the royals.[225] Among his students was also the founder of the Metaphysical art movement, Giorgio de Chirico, who described him as "a tall robust man with a thick white beard trimmed to a point."[226] For the first modern Olympic Games held in Greece in 1896, Gilliéron père was commissioned to design commemorative postage stamps where Greek Classical art was used as the major motif (Fig. 6.7).[227] He was commissioned again for the 1906 Olympic Games (Fig. 6.8).[228]

After his return to Athens in 1908, Gilliéron fils worked with his father on multiple archaeology projects. After Gilliéron père passed away in 1924, Gilliéron fils continued the work with Evans at Knossos until his own death in 1939. He worked for many prominent archaeologists at the French, German, Italian, American, and British schools in Athens, executing projects from both mainland Greece and Crete. He also served as the artistic director of the National Museum in Athens and was appointed "Artists of all the Museums in Greece" by the Greek government, a position he held for twenty-five years. His fame must have reached the United States, for he was hired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to go to the Cairo Archaeological Museum to make reproductions of ancient Egyptian jewelry in the winter of 1922 to 1923. In 1926, he designed a new series of Greek coins.[229]

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[225] Gilliéron père was mentioned in the autography of Prince Nicholas, showing his close relationship with the royal circles (R. Hood 1998, 24).

[226] Giorgio de Chirico's *Memoirs*, p. 34, quoted from Gere 2009, 99.

[227] Karamitsos 2010, 60-62.

[228] R. Hood 1998, 24.

[229] R. Hood 1998, 24-25.

As shown by their resumes, the Gilliérons were close to the Greek royal family and the government, which must have been the result of their solid trainings at art academies in Munich and Paris. The traditional education on Neoclassical paintings that Gilliéron père received presented him with great advantage in gaining the jobs as a royal teacher and a draftsman for the Ministry of Education, working on watercolor drawings of classical grave steles. Both positions, even though not directly related to the Art Nouveau movement, would have given him the opportunities to be acquainted with artists who newly traveled or settled in Athens from other cities in Europe. It would have been the same for Gilliéron fils. As it was common for artists to travel to different cities in Europe, the Gilliérons would not have been isolated from new art movements happening in major artistic centers while living in Athens.

Furthermore, there was a close connection between the artistic community in Athens and those in Munich and Paris. It was uncertain why Gilliéron père moved to Athens in 1876, but it would not have been unusual at the time for artists in Paris and Munich to move to Athens. In fact, Greek art in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was hugely influenced by the art of the two cities. Greek artists would study abroad in Munich and Paris before returning and teaching in Athens, forming the Munich School and the Paris School in modern Greek art. The Munich School in Athens was more prominent in the mid-nineteenth century due to the close relationship between the newly established Greek State and Bavaria. Since Otto, a Bavarian prince, became the first king of modern Greece in 1832 under the Convention of London, Greek art

inevitably started to follow the Munich tradition.[230] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the influence of French trends rose above those from Munich and continued to be of prominence through the first decades of the twentieth century.[231] Works by major Greek artists working at the turn of the century demonstrated both their knowledge of academic tradition and their familiarity with new styles, such as the Nabis and symbolism.[232] With the back-and-forth traveling of artists, new ideas and information were constantly being circulated. Living in Athens thus would not have cut off the contact of Gilliéron père with the art scene in the two cities where he had studied. Returning to Athens after his education, Gilliéron fils was actually one of the artists who brought new ideas and styles back to Athens.

Last but not least, Art Nouveau was not absent in Athens even though the city was not a huge artistic center in Europe. The influence of Art Nouveau in Athens was especially present in the form of architecture. In the 1830s when the modern Greek State was first established, Neoclassical architecture, introduced by the Bavarian court, was regarded as the most appropriate form for public buildings, for it celebrated ancient Greek architecture, created a link between Athens and other European cities, and

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[230] The influence of Germany on Greece was not only present in the field of art, but the state education as a whole at the founding of modern Greece was based on German prototypes (Bastéa 2000, 41).

[231] Christou 1981, 40.

[232] Constantine Parthenis (1878/79-1967) and Constantine Maleas (1879-1928), two of the most prominent modern Greek painters, were examples of incorporating new artistic styles from Paris. Both of them studied in Paris and settled in Athens. Maleas, born and grew up in Istanbul, also traveled extensively in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, which often became the theme of his paintings (Christou 1981, 46-47).

symbolized a break from the Ottoman rule.[233] Around the turn of the twentieth-century, new styles of architecture started to emerge. Following the return of Greek people, mainly upper class immigrants, to the Greek mainland from other European cities, new ideas were brought in. Among these people were architects and engineers who were trained at the Polytechnic universities in France and Germany. With a taste for new architecture styles and the technique to build them, Athens saw a change in building styles. Neoclassicism was followed by Eclecticism, Art Nouveau, and Art Deco successively.[234] These buildings generally had ornate ironworks or carvings.[235]

Thus, living in Munich, Paris, and Athens, the Gilliérons were more than likely to have the opportunities of getting acquainted with the movement of Art Nouveau, contributed by three major factors: First, the style of what was later coined "Art Nouveau" was already underway when Gilliéron père was in Munich and Paris. By the time when Gilliéron fils studied in Paris, the Art Nouveau movement had reached its height. Second, the Gilliérons were able to gain knowledge of new art styles developing in other cities even when they were living in Athens due to their connection and the circulation of artistic ideas. Third, Athens was under the influence of the Art Nouveau movement, which was largely exemplified by the decorative elements in architecture. In addition, the Gilliérons must have paid more attention to Art Nouveau with Evans'

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[233] Bastéa 2000, 61 and 147.

[234] Katsibokis 2013, 135.

[235] Although the city experienced massive devastation during the Second World War, a number of Art Nouveau buildings built before 1930 are still standing today. For examples of Art Nouveau buildings in Athens, see Roubien 1993.

comment on the resemblance between Minoan art and Art Nouveau."[236] Started in 1900, the restoration projects executed by the Gilliérons lasted for many more years while Art Nouveau continued to spread and evolve.

Creativity in Restoration and Presentation

Restoration projects were not the only thing the Gilliérons worked on. They were also involved in reproducing and even forging archaeological objects. Mastering the technique of electrotyping, also known as galvanoplasty that allowed excellent reproduction of the finds, Gilliéron père started making and selling reproductions of ancient objects in the 1890s. Finds from Knossos were being copied as early as 1901. Some of the catalogues of his reproduction included *A Brief Account of E. Gilliéron's Beautiful Copies of Mycenaean Antiquities in Galvano-Plastic*, with approximately one hundred reproductions mostly from Schliemann's excavations, and *Galvanoplastic Copies of Mycenaean and Cretan (Minoan) Antiquities*, with reproductions of finds from sites such as Knossos, Pseira and Mochlos. These catalogues were published in the first decade of the 1900s and soon translated into multiple languages.[237]

Joined by his son, Gilliéron père ran the firm known as "E. Gilliéron & Son," which not only sold reproductions to individuals but also took commissions from

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[236] Clark 1974, 107.

[237] *A Brief Account of E. Gilliéron's Beautiful Copies of Mycenaean Antiquities in Galvano-Plastic* was published in at least English, French, and German. The objects were manufactured and sold by the Würtemberg Electro Plate Company.

collectors and museums throughout the western world.[238] In the process of making reproductions, they were sometimes more creative than cautious about the authentic appearance by inserting their preference and ideas, probably due to their training as artists. A reproduction of a gold mask, which Schliemann named the "Mask of Agamemnon," in the collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania would serve as an example (Fig. 6.9. Museum Number MS3976). It was clearly written on the catalogue card of this reproduction of the following: "The original is flattened out. The makers of the reproduction have tried to make it three dimensional." Since they were running a business, the reason for alteration was, presumably, to make the objects look more appealing to the audience and potential buyers.

Going beyond reproduction, the Gilliérons were also involved in a business of forgery, most likely as a way of gaining fortune. Taking advantage of their positions as first-handed restorers and the public's unfamiliarity with the culture, they made fake ancient artifacts by combining motifs taken from genuine Minoan or Mycenaean objects.[239] Among some notable examples were the "Boston Snake Goddess" and the "Nestor Ring," which even fooled Evans and other archaeologists, resulting in the

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[238] Some of the museums that purchased reproductions of Minoan and Mycenaean objects from the Gilliérons were the British Museum, the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harvard University, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and those in France, Belgium, and Germany.

[239] Alfredo Gilliéron, son of Gilliéron fils, was trained with the family skill and had a successful career producing reproductions and souvenirs for tourists, as well as imitations, which, he claimed, had fooled archaeologists (Lapatin 2002, 131).

possible misinterpretation of the Minoan culture.[240] While the Gilliérons were almost as influential as Evans in reconstructing and distributing the image of the Minoans, the lines among restoring, reproducing, and forging Minoan objects in their work were not always clear. Their approach of reproducing ancient objects and the practice of forgery demonstrated their less-than-careful attitude toward an honest presentation of the civilization.

The creativity of the Gilliérons in restoring Minoan objects was facilitated by the poorly preserved condition in which Minoan frescoes were discovered. In most cases, the frescoes were so fragmental that the restoration process required much speculation and assumption. Most well-known Minoan fresco images in fact consisted of small portions of actual finds and large portions of assumptive drawings. Even if a wall painting survived in a relatively larger portion, their fragmental nature, which imposed unlimited possibilities for arrangement, still resulted in the complexity of restoration. This situation provided much space for the personal input of the Gilliérons, which was possibly a mix of their observation, their preference, and the opinion of Evans. In some instances, the restorations or watercolor drawings even disregarded the evidence of the original fresco, such as substituting palm trees with reeds in the "Throne Room" fresco.[241]

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[240] See Lapatin 2002 for the discussion on the "Boston Snake Goddess," and Marinatos and Jackson 2011 for the "Nestor Ring."

[241] The "Palm Fresco," one of the largest fresco fragments from Knossos, was uncovered in situ on the wall of the Throne Room. The restoration done by Gilliéron fils in 1930, however, did not take the fragment into account. Instead, stalks of reeds were painted on the restoration, which is still displayed at the site of Knossos today. See Galanakis 2013, 24-25, for pictures and drawings of the fresco.

In other words, the creativity that the Gilliérons employed in their restoration projects could be controversial. On the one hand, the images dominated a significant part of the interpretation of the Minoans. On the other hand, the accuracy of the images could be in question due to multiple factors discussed above. The enthusiasm for modernism permeated all aspects at the turn of the twentieth century. It was possible that Evans himself was fascinated by modern technology considering that his excavation house at Knossos, Villa Ariadne, was constructed with reinforced concrete, a relatively new building material at the time. Along with the idea that Minoan art had a modern appearance, it was not unnatural for the Gilliérons to find the style of Art Nouveau adequate as a reference for restoration in order to be aligned with Evans' interpretation. The contrast between Art Nouveau and the traditional Neoclassical style would also further emphasize the difference between Minoan art and Classical Greek art.

Two of the well-known Minoan frescoes, the "Saffron-Gatherer" and the "Priest-King," went through multiple restorations over the years. The perception toward the Minoans that was involved in the restoration process can be examined by analyzing the different versions of the restoration.

Restoration of the "Saffron-Gatherer" Fresco

Eight pieces of the fresco fragments of the "Saffron-Gatherer" were unearthed in 1900 according to Evans' excavation report.[242] The fragments were sufficient in presenting a scene with a figure and a number of crocus flowers against a red

[242] A. Evans 1900, 45.

background, although no surviving fragments gave any glimpse of the figure's shoulders and head. Evans first described the subject, in his excavation reports, as "a boy in the field of white crocuses."[243] Later in *The Palace of Minos at Knossos I,* he changed his mind and pointed out that it seemed to be "a young girl rather than a boy" due to the grayish-blue body color, which he considered nearer to the convention of depicting females.[244]

The first restoration, produced by Gilliéron fils in 1914 or earlier, showed a long-haired youth picking crocuses with one hand and putting them in a vase with the other hand (Fig. 6.10).[245] Rocks and crocuses from both above and below the figure surrounded him. White doted lines decorated the backgrounds, which made the scene rather crowded. Two other fragments, with parts of crocuses, were added to a later restoration published in the first volume of *The Palace of Minoan at Knossos* in 1921 (Fig. 6.11). Despite Evans' assumption of a female figure in the writing text, the color-plate showed a figure with short hair, and thus even more male-like.[246] The fragments with crocuses and rocks were placed slightly differently from those in the previous restoration. While rocks and crocuses still framed the figure from both above and below, they become less embracing.

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[243] A. Evans 1900, 45.

[244] A. Evans 1921-1935, I, 265.

[245] The reproductions of this version could still be found in museums around the world, such as the Herakleion Archaeological Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

[246] Evans pointed out that the head and outstretched arms were Gilliéron's restorations and that the fragments of crocuses in the upper-right corner, though included in the drawing, belonged "apparently to a companion panel of this wall painting (Evans 1921-1935, I, 265n)."

The white dotted lines were reduced significantly, which left a larger portion of plain red area in the background.

A blue curved line was presented in both restorations. In the 1914 reproduction, the line, sprouting from a rock above, was placed at the right side of the fresco. It stood out as the only blue line in the fresco as the rocks were outlined in white, and the crocuses were completely white. In the 1921 publication, the line, rearranged to the area above the figure, seemed to serve as a stem that connected the crocuses. As if trying to make it more convincing, the restorer paled the line, which became grayish and closer to the color of the crocuses. Still it was the only one of its kind in the fresco. In other words, no other lines, whether outlines or stems of crocuses, in the fresco were comparable to the blue line in both restorations.

It was not until 1939 that Pendlebury suggested that the blue line was a tail, which made the figure a monkey.[247] A new restoration was then supervised by Platon, the then director of the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, and rendered in a painting by Thomas Fanourakis in 1947.[248] A second monkey was suggested in 1960.[249] The original fresco fragments were then restored into a different scene, which included two blue monkeys gathering crocuses in a rocky field (Fig. 6.12).[250] The curves and colors of the rocks were altered. The white dotted lines were considered part of the baskets and limited to the basket area. While the current restoration would presumptively be closer to the

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[247] Pendlebury 1939, 131. Pendlebury attributed the initiation of this theory to Luigi Pernier (Pendlebury 1939, 132n).

[248] Platon 1947, 507.

[249] Platon and Davares 1960, 504.

[250] This restoration is currently on display at the Herakleion Archaeological Museum.

original fresco in Minoan times, the early restorations illustrated the likely influence of an Art Nouveau preference for the following reasons.

First, the three restorations presented different levels of decorativeness. The first restoration appeared to be more decorative than the other two. The figure seemed to be embraced by the surrounding crocuses and rocks, which were more curvilinear in forms than the later ones. The sinuous white-dotted lines, having no concrete forms, served a purely decorative purpose and filled up a large part of the background. The blue line, which later recognized as a tail, was a decorative element as well. The combination of the various lines created an organic feel. It went well with the basic quality that characterized Art Nouveau, which was the increased favor of "the expressly ornamental instead of the realistic representation of figures," and "a preference either for linear expression… or for blocks of startling asymmetrical shapes…"[251] The nearly horror-vacui background, the abstract lines, and the sinuous curves of rocks and crocus pistils in the first restoration, which was de-emphasized in the later ones, originally presented a style favored by the Art Nouveau movement.

Second, the interest in nature was reflected specifically in the 1914 restoration. Evans emphasized "naturalism" in Minoan art, referring to both the "naturalistic" depiction of the surrounding world and the Minoans' love of nature.[252] He suggested that the "Saffron-Gatherer" presented the "naturalistic floral designs," which had an impact on Minoan pottery of the same time.[253] He also implied the harmonious relationship

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[251] Easton 2002, 61; Schmutzler 1977, 29-32.

[252] See Footnote 204 for comments on Evans' "misuse" of the word "naturalism."

[253] A. Evans 1921-1935, I, 265.

between the Minoans and the natural world in his multiple writings.[254] The composition of surrounding the figure with rocks and crocuses in the "Saffron-Gatherer" fresco clearly suggested an environment closely connected with the natural world. The curves of the crocuses, as if swaying in the breeze, and the calm pose of the figure delivered a sense of harmony and tranquility. With the peaceful human-nature relationship in mind, the figure could easily been seen as a male youth enjoying nature.

Yet, this interpretation was more sentimental than logical. Being the son of an antiquarian and the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Evans was knowledgeable about ancient Egyptian artifacts.[255] Not to mention that ancient Egypt was one of the major comparisons he used to discuss Minoan objects and culture. Gilliéron fils, hired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to make reproductions of ancient Egyptian jewelry in Cairo, should also be familiar with ancient Egyptian artifacts.[256] Naturally, the Egyptian convention of colors used for figures would not be unknown to them, as Evans had noted in his publication.[257] More crucially, fresco fragments of a blue monkey were excavated from another part of Knossos, which would be a perfect reference for the restoration of the "Saffron-Gatherer" fresco (Fig. 6.13). Nevertheless, the "Saffron-Gatherer" fresco was restored as a boy despite the naked body tied only with red strings, the simian

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[254] Immerwahr 1990, 40.

[255] John Evans, father of Arthur Evans, was president of the Society of Antiquaries in London, trustee of the British Museum, and president of the Numismatic Society, among many other positions he had held. See J. Evans 1943, Chapter 9, for more on the life of John Evans.

[256] Gilliéron fils was sent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Cairo Archaeological Museum from 1922 to 1923 (Hemingway 2011, n.p.).

[257] A. Evans 1921-1935, I, 265.

attitude of the body, the grayish-blue color of the figure, which was closer to the "green monkeys" depicted by ancient Egyptians, and the evidence of other blue monkey frescoes. It became obvious that Evans and Gilliéron fils were inclined to seeing a human in a natural environment even with the strong implications of a monkey and a fragment of the tail. Such sentiment could certainly be attributed to an Art Nouveau preference. The image of a human dwelling peacefully in nature, even becoming unified with nature visually, was ubiquitous in Art Nouveau designs.

Restoration of the "Priest-King" Fresco

The fresco fragments, which were later restored into the "Priest-King," were unearthed in 1901. Upon their discovery, Evans suggested that the fragments of the human body belonged to at least three different figures.[258] Soon, the idea of combining them into one single figure began to develop, revealed in his personal notebook, dating from 1901 to 1904.[259] Unearthed with the body fragments were a few background fragments, including those that clearly belonged to the same scene as the figure and those without certainty. With unlimited possibilities, the restoration of the fresco went through multiple changes under Evans' supervision. New suggestions have also been made in

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[258] A. Evans 1901b, 14-16.

[259] Sherratt 2005, 235. Duncan Mackenzie, Evans' assistant, seemed to have assumed that the fragments belonged to a single figure upon their discovery: "Here important fragments of relief fresco have been turning up the shape of parts of a full sized male figure," so written in his Daybook on May 14th, 1901 (Niemeier 1987, 67; and Sherratt 2000, n. 9).

more recent years.[260] Among the various restorations, the most widespread image of the fresco has been the watercolor reconstruction drawing published as the frontispiece of the second volume of Evans' *Palace of Minos at Knossos* as well as placed at the site of Knossos (Fig. 6.14). Made by Gilliéron fils, the image presented a male figure in a field of flowers and a butterfly.

Based on the fragments being discovered, the fresco background included at least a dark red field with an upper border of white-and-blue bands and a lower border in black. A few non-joining fragments, considered by Evans as part of the scene, presented red flowers with blue accentuating lines against a yellow background and a butterfly in yellow and blue against a dark red background. In the 1904 restoration done by Gilliéron père, which was the earliest recorded restoration of the original fragments, the background was a dark red field void of anything except for the upper and lower borders (Fig. 6.15). Yet two years later, a new restoration presented a striking change. In the 1906 restoration, also executed by Gilliéron père, the background was divided roughly into half by an undulating line running across at the height slightly under the figure's waist (Fig 5.5). The upper half was a field of dark red while the lower half was pale yellow. Flowers and buds, regarded by Evans as "highly stylized versions of an iris type," filled the background.[261] The taller ones, with stems growing above the undulating dividing line, had petals in pale yellow against the dark red background, including the fragment that

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[260] Discussions on the restoration and the identity of this figure have continued to the present day. Questions such as the gender, the gesture, and the number of figures remain controversial. For selected discussions on the restoration of the "Priest-King," see Cameron 1975, III; Coulomb 1979 and 1990; Niemeier 1987 and 1988; M. Shaw 2004; Sherratt 2000 and 2005.

[261] A. Evans 1921-1935, II, 786.

was later identified as a butterfly. The flowers that were shorter than the undulating dividing line were in red against the pale yellow background. The reason for reconstructing the background with two different colors was obvious: The few pieces of flower fragments clearly showed a design of red petals with thin blue lines against a yellow background. In order to place the fragments in the restoration of the "Priest-King," part of the background had to be yellow.

This restoration was not satisfying to Evans, who must have realized that it was in disagreement with some of the evidence shown by the fragments. The pale yellow background at the lower half of the scene, for example, did not match the fragments of the dark red background connected to the leg or the lower border. After a few revisions, the 1926 restoration, done by Gilliéron fils, went back to the background with nothing but a dark red field, mostly likely due to the absolute uncertainty of the placement of the flowers and the butterfly (Fig. 6.16). Regardless, the flowers and the butterfly still remained in Evans' publications. As the colored frontispiece in the second volume of the *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, the watercolor drawing by Gilliéron fils presented a scene with the pale yellow background reduced to occupying only the lower right of the scene, without any contact with the figure (Fig. 6.14). The flowers and buds were either red or yellow, depending on the color of the background. The fragment of the butterfly was placed right above the yellow background and under the down-swinging arm of the figure. The same watercolor drawing was also placed at the site of Knossos, making it the most well known restoration of the "Priest-King" to this day.

Without doubt, Evans was inclined to see the flowers and the butterfly as part of the scene, even though those were non-joining fragments.[262] Comparing the different restorations of the background, the presence of flowers and butterfly immediately added a feel of Art Nouveau to the scene. They made the image more decorative. They also turned the surrounding into a natural environment, which delivered the idea of a human residing in harmony with nature. Evans took the idea a step further by suggesting "the exotic flowers and six-winged butterfly… [were] not of this World," but of the "Elysian realm."[263] In his mind, he envisioned a natural landscape that offered the tranquility of an ideal world. As discussed in the previous chapter, some Art Nouveau artists designed objects with natural motifs as a reaction to the machinery world at the turn of the century. The representation of nature became a vehicle of escaping from the urban world. Evans' idea of an Elysian realm might very well have derived from the idea of nature as a safety haven.

The object held by the male figure in the "Pries-King" fresco also contributed to the idea of an Elysian realm. In his personal notebook, dated from 1901 to 1904, Evans made two sketches of the male figure, which were the prototypes of all the restorations (Fig. 6.17). In both sketches, the figure was holding a sword in his left hand. In the 1904 restoration, a long staff, approximately the same length as the figure's height, replaced

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[262] Not everyone agreed that the fragments belonged to the same scene. Evans discussed the fragments representing flowers and a butterfly as part of the fresco in his publication (A. Evans 1921-1935, II, 786-790). Shaw cataloged two fragments, parts of a flower and a butterfly, without further discussion (M. Shaw 2004, 69). Cameron emphasized that "only a clear dark red background is attested on original fragments," which seemed to imply his doubts on whether or not the flowers belonged to the same fresco (Cameron 1975, 25).

[263] A. Evans 1921-1935, II, 786.

the sword (Fig. 6.15). In the 1906 restoration, a short scepter was presented instead, which remained over a number of restorations. In the 1926 restoration, the downward-swinging arm and a clenching left hand held a section of a cord (Fig. 6.14). Whether it was a sword, a staff, or a scepter, they conveyed an image of a powerful king. The cord, on the other hand, had a different message. Evans did not explain why the various objects being considered in the previous restorations were discarded. Yet he discussed the holding of the cord as an obvious fact in *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*: The idea behind holding the cord was that the figure was "depicted as leading a sacred animal," as Evans stated, emphasizing that he had "little doubt that this would have been a Griffin."[264] As a mythical animal, a griffin strengthened the idea of a place "not of this World." An image, which had represented political power, was then transformed into one with spiritual power.

Art Nouveau in Minoan Art

The presence of Art Nouveau in the reconstruction of the Minoan civilization thus could be observed from a number of levels. Starting from the initial perception that the Minoans being a "modern civilization" to the decisions made in the restoration of the frescoes, Art Nouveau played a significant role in developing the ideas. The comments made by archaeologists of the similar appearance between Minoan art and Art Nouveau would certainly direct the restoration. The restorers' familiarity with Art Nouveau would bring the similarity even further. Whether there were conscious applications of the ideas

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[264] A. Evans 1921-1935, II, 783-785.

and styles promoted by the Art Nouveau movement or not, the connection between the restoration of Minoan art and Art Nouveau was more likely to exist than otherwise.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: VIBRANT EXCHANGE

Is there a connection between Minoan art and Art Nouveau?

This dissertation has shown that the examination of this issue should not be limited within the two decades when the Art Nouveau movement was at its peak. While the term "Art Nouveau" was not coined until the 1890s, the style had already emerged in the previous decades. As a reaction against academic art of the nineteenth century, the characters of Art Nouveau—the preference for natural motifs, the fascination for exotic culture, the use of curvilinear and decorative patterns, and the abandonment of the Classical style—had been developing before the style finally reached maturity and became dominant in the art and design world. It also lived on after First World War through Art Nouveau designers whose career continued into the 1920s. Like any other artistic movement, Art Nouveau style did not appear and disappear all of a sudden. Its presence was notable both before and after the peak of the movement. Likewise, Minoan archaeology did not start only when Arthur Evans launched his excavation at Knossos in 1900. Minoan objects had been unearthed from Bronze Age sites both on Crete and elsewhere before the term "Minoan" was widely used in reference to this specific civilization. The restoration of Minoan objects from early excavations, although started immediately after they were unearthed, was a continuous and evolving process that took many years. The discussion on the connection between Minoan art and Art Nouveau should thus be placed in a larger time frame.

With that in mind, the chance of Art Nouveau artists knowing the excavation of Minoan objects and Minoan archaeologists noticing the emergence of Art Nouveau was clearly positive. Both the Minoan civilization and the Art Nouveau movement received high popularity at the turn of the twentieth century. Museums over Europe and the United States sought after Minoan objects and their reproductions. Those that acquired them in large amount included the Ashmolean Museum, the University of Pennsylvania, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. These new collections were accessible to visitors, many of whom belonged to the art community, soon after the acquisition. Exhibitions of smaller scale were also organized at museums and universities in various cities.

Outside the institutions, the popular enthusiasm for this archaeological discovery was demonstrated by the reportage of press, which included daily newspapers as well as periodicals of specific interests in multiple languages. *The Times* in London, *Le Petit Journal* in Paris, and *The New York Times* were some of the newspapers that reported on the excavations every now and then. *Architect*, *Building News*, *Nature*, *Pilot*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, and many other publishing outlets targeted their readers of specific interests. Images of Minoan objects were published along with the news articles. Headlines such as "The Home of Minos" and "La Scoperta del Laberinto di Dedalo" were printed to catch people's attention. Suggestions linking Crete with the lost Continent of Atlantis added to the mythical feel of the culture. Illustrations of untruthful nature such as the "ground plan" of the "Maze of the Minotaur" published in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (November 11th 1900) and the *Golden Penny* (January 19th 1901) demonstrated the eagerness of the press. By associating the site with ancient myths

and creating illustrations that were closer to imagination than facts, the news press promoted, if not created, a sensation for the Minoans.

With the promotion of the museums and the press, the discovery of Minoan sites on Crete easily went beyond the archaeological community. The reputation of the Minoan civilization was reflected in the reference and application of it in various fields, from philosophy to science and from literature to visual art. Sigmund Freud, who had connection to both the French Art Nouveau and the Vienna Secession, not only read the publication of Evans and mentioned the excavation to his friend, but also employed the Minoans in his psychoanalytic writings and his treatment of patients. In art and design, the direct adoption of Minoan motifs by Art Nouveau designers Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo and Léon Bakst was a proof of their knowledge of the discovery. Both of them made sketches of Minoan objects from Evans publications. Bakst further made a trip to Crete and saw Knossos and the objects in person.

Meanwhile, the style of Art Nouveau was no less popular. Flourishing in major cities over the Western world, the style was prominent in architecture and design along with the traditional forms of fine art, such as painting. In Great Britain, there were the Arts and Crafts Movement and the Glasgow Four, who designed wallpapers, textiles, and furniture with linear feature. In France, there were Émile Gallé, Louis Majorelle, Hector Guimard, and Alphonse Mucha, whose designs were inspired by floral and organic forms. In Germany, Hermann Obrist, August Endell, and Otto Eckmann created works, which were somewhere in between the linear style and the floral style. In Austria, the Secession building by Joseph Maria Olbrich and the paintings of Gustav Klimt captured the attention of the public with their unconventional presentation of Classical subjects. In

the United States, Louis Comfort Tiffany charmed people with his highly decorative glasswork. Many more artists around Europe and the United States were part of the Art Nouveau movement, which stood out with its design of decorative and curvilinear forms, mostly inspired by plants or animals.

Art Nouveau went into streets and homes through posters and furniture. It was also widespread through magazines and personal items. Art Nouveau objects were exhibited at places as massive as the 1900 Paris Exposition and as small as local workshops. Actively promoted by the artists, Art Nouveau was known to people of all social backgrounds, from the wealthy to the laboring class. It would only make sense that art historians and archaeologists were aware of the new style. The many comments on the resemblance between Minoan art and Art Nouveau, made by scholars who had seen Minoan objects, demonstrated their knowledge of Art Nouveau, not to mention Evans' statements where he clearly mentioned the wallpapers of William Morris and the style of "Art Nouveau."

Furthermore, the dissemination of information and the network of artists at the turn of the twentieth century were more vibrant than what we have often considered from a century later. The examples given in the chapters illustrated the frequent communication and traveling of scholars and artists. It was not unusual for archaeologists to visit excavation sites in different countries. With the fame of Knossos, Evans received visitors from all over. He and the Gilliérons, who were most involved in the restoration projects at Knossos, had lived in multiple cities before starting the excavation at Knossos. During the years of the excavation, Evans split his time mostly between Greece and Great Britain, with visits to other countries. The Gilliérons, working for the Greek royal family

as well as institutions and archaeologists of various nationalities, had a wide circle of acquaintances. Similarly, Art Nouveau artists and designers such as Fortuny, Bakst, Mucha, and René Binet traveled extensively and worked with other artists on various projects. Their social circle included people from both inside and outside the art community. All these activities undoubtedly facilitated the exchange of opinions and information. With the wide distribution of both artistic styles and the circulation of ideas, it was unlikely for Minoan archaeologists to be unaware of the new artistic style, or Art Nouveau artists to be uninformed of the new archaeological discovery.

This brings us to the next questions: How appealing was Minoan art to Art Nouveau artists? Oppositely, how appealing was Art Nouveau to Minoan archaeologists? Why were they appealing? Examples of direct adoptions of Minoan motifs in Art Nouveau designs are evidence that some Art Nouveau artists did find Minoan art fascinating. On a basic level, shapes and forms of Minoan motifs interested Art Nouveau artists. On a deeper level, several other factors would have further contributed to their favor of Minoan art and the Minoan civilization: the abundant representation of nature in pottery and wall paintings, the exotic and Oriental impression created through myths and cultural image of Crete, and the non-Classical characteristics that provided a fresh look against conventional academic style. This perception for Crete and Minoan art aligned with the general artistic preference of the Art Nouveau movement. It would come as no surprise that Art Nouveau artists were drawn to Minoan art since they were constantly looking for inspiration outside the Classical tradition, including various archaeological discoveries.

Interestingly, the factors that attracted Art Nouveau artists to Minoan art were also the reasons that possibly led to the "modern" impression of the Minoans in the eyes of the archaeologists. Evans suggested the interests of the Minoans toward their surrounding world of nature. He expressed his view that Minoan art was foreign from Classical art. The idea of "exotic" was implied in his writings and often stated directly. He and many of his fellow archaeologists commented on the decorativeness of Minoan art, which reminded them of their contemporary art style. According to written accounts, archaeologists were generally surprised and delighted to find out how "modern" Minoan art was. It then became one of the major points being brought up when describing the Minoans. This constant use of the word "modern" could have been intentional as well as unintentional. Evans himself seemed to be excited about new technologies of the modern era, given that both the construction of his excavation house, Villa Ariadne, and the restoration of the site of Knossos employed much concrete, a relatively new building material at the time. His excitement for the idea of modern could have transferred to his perception and interpretation for the Minoans on an unconscious level. At the same time, the use of the word "modern" and the comparison between Minoan art and Art Nouveau could easily raise people's enthusiasm for the ancient civilization by linking it with the newest fashion.

It is beyond doubt, therefore, that a connection existed between Minoan art and Art Nouveau. Their relationship is a complex one since it is not always as straightforward as simply copying the motifs. When Fortuny applied Minoan motifs in his textile design, he was drawn to more than the forms themselves. The exotic and Oriental cultural image carried by Crete enhanced the attractiveness of the Minoans and matched Fortuny's

passion for the so-called Orientalist clothing style that was popular at his time. On his Knossos scarves, Minoan motifs printed in one or two colors were arranged in a composition of partly-frieze and partly-open-space manner, very much like Minoan pottery. Being the first defining work of his textile design, the Knossos scarf established a pattern for his later design, even for those with motifs from other cultures. As for Bakst, his impression of the "bold and dazzling" Cretan art was based on his observation of the frescoes. The trip to Crete came to be a turning point in his personal style considering his paintings and designs became much more vibrant in color than before. His style also moved significantly away from his academic training.

The restoration of Minoan art received an influence from Art Nouveau as well. Once Evans and some of his fellow archaeologists established a "modern" perception for the Minoans, it became a predilection for the restoration of Minoan objects. The various restoring phases of the frescoes of the "Saffron-Gatherer" and the "Priest-King" revealed an Art Nouveau preference of Evans and the Gilliérons. In the "Saffron-Gatherer" fresco, a young boy was restored in a natural environment in spite of the many clues that the figure was a monkey. The image was filled with plants and rocks in curvilinear forms. In the "Priest-King" fresco, a male figure was again placed in a field of lilies and a butterfly, which Evans called the "Elysian realm." The two examples demonstrated an inclination for a decorative style, the harmony between human and nature, and viewing nature as a safety haven away from the real world. While no adoption of specific motifs was involved in the restoration of Minoan art, the mindset of the Art Nouveau movement played a significant role.

The complexity of the relationship between Minoan art and Art Nouveau goes even deeper. Due to the fragmental state of Minoan objects being unearthed, many of the images and interpretation that were accessible to the public were restored and constructed. In other words, the general understanding of the Minoans, including what Art Nouveau artists knew, was a reconstruction and interpretation by the archaeologists. Yet during the process of reconstruction, archaeologists were more or less influenced by the style and preference of their contemporary art development. It is, therefore, difficult to claim which one made an earlier or a larger impact on the other since both sides were looking outward for ideas. The relationship between Minoan art and Art Nouveau in the early twentieth century thus is best described as dialog that has no definite starting or ending point.

What is certain is their existing connection, being created either consciously or subconsciously. The likelihood of Minoan art as an influence for the emergence of the Art Nouveau movement was minimum, but it was a source of inspiration for the modern style, especially for some of the Art Nouveau artists of younger generation who had seen and read about Minoan objects. On the other hand, the early restoration of Minoan art reflected an Art Nouveau mindset in a subtle manner. While part of their resemblance is indeed coincidental, it cannot be denied that both of them had a presence in the other. The examination of the relationship between the two styles demonstrates how much ideas were interweaved and exchanged in the early twentieth century. I am positive that further research would reveal more evidence on the connection between Minoan art and Art Nouveau.

FIGURES

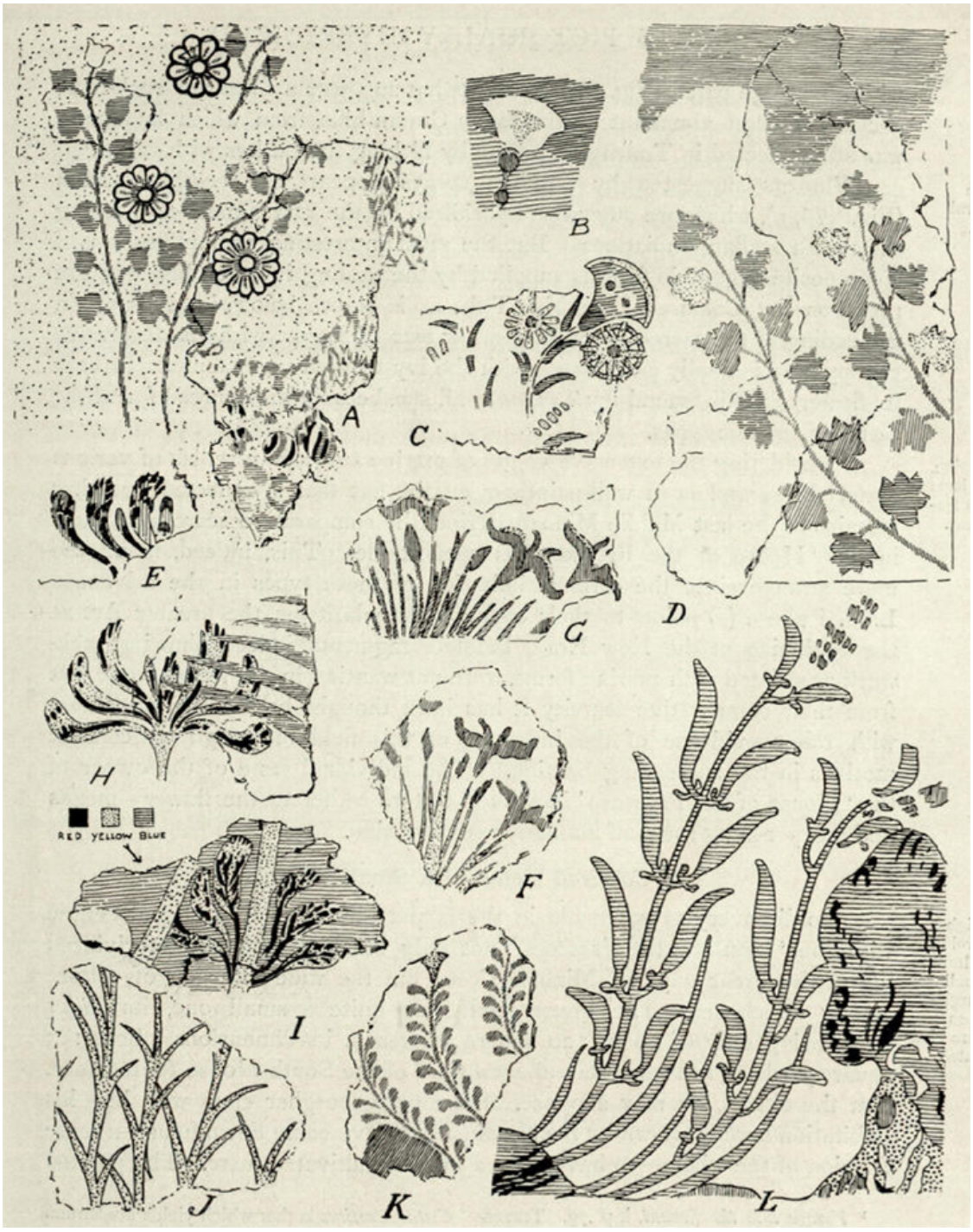

Figure 2.1. Various plants in Minoan wall paintings from the House of the Frescoes

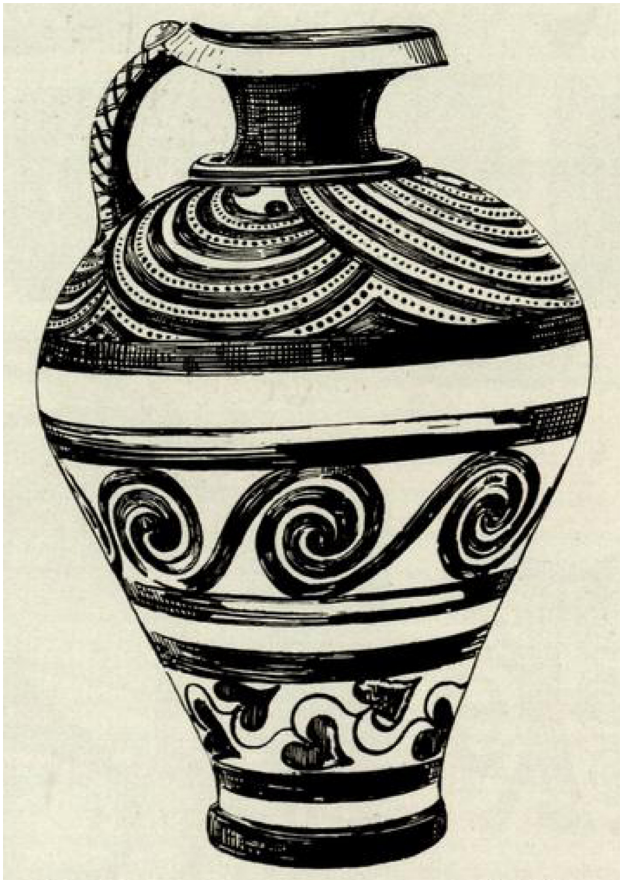

Figure 2.2. Minoan jar excavated from the Sixth Shaft Grave

Figure 2.3 Minoan bowl excavated from Zakros

Figure 2.4. Cup and saucer manufactured by Rosenthal Porcelain Company

Figure 2.5. Glass vase made by Louis Comfort Tiffany, ca. 1911

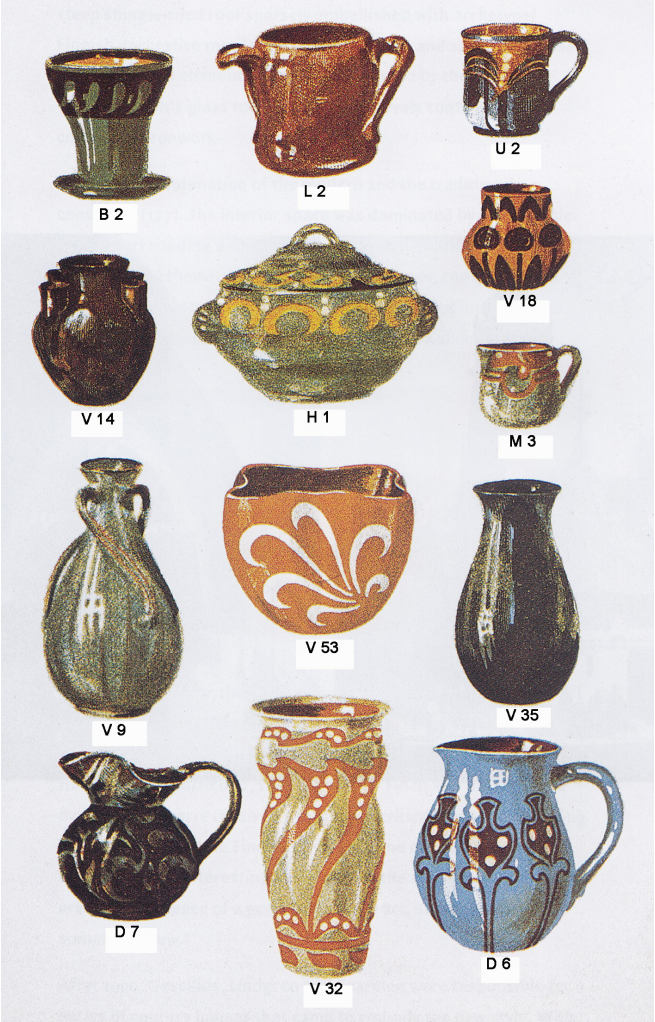

Figure 2.6. Ceramics by Alfred William Finch from the *Aktiebolaget Iris* catalog, 1901

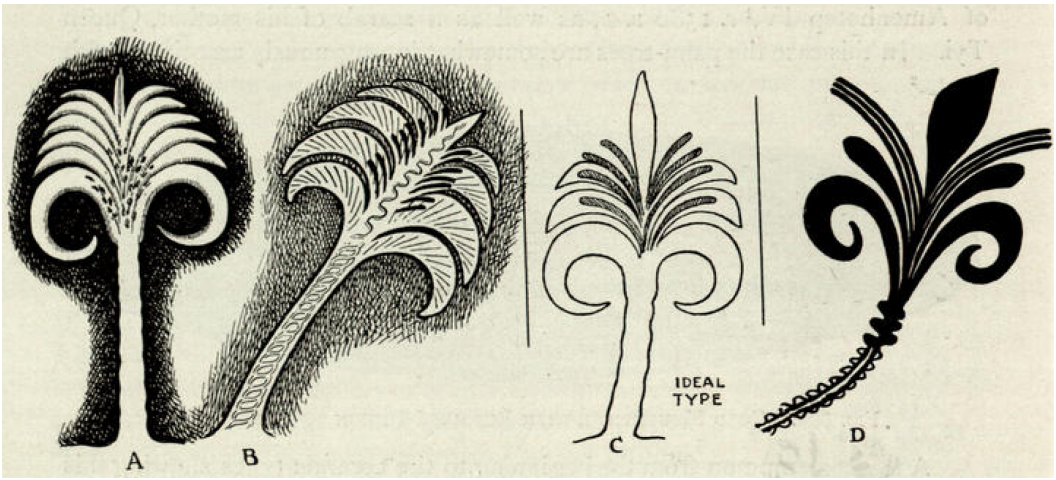

Figure 2.7. Various types of palm trees in Minoan art

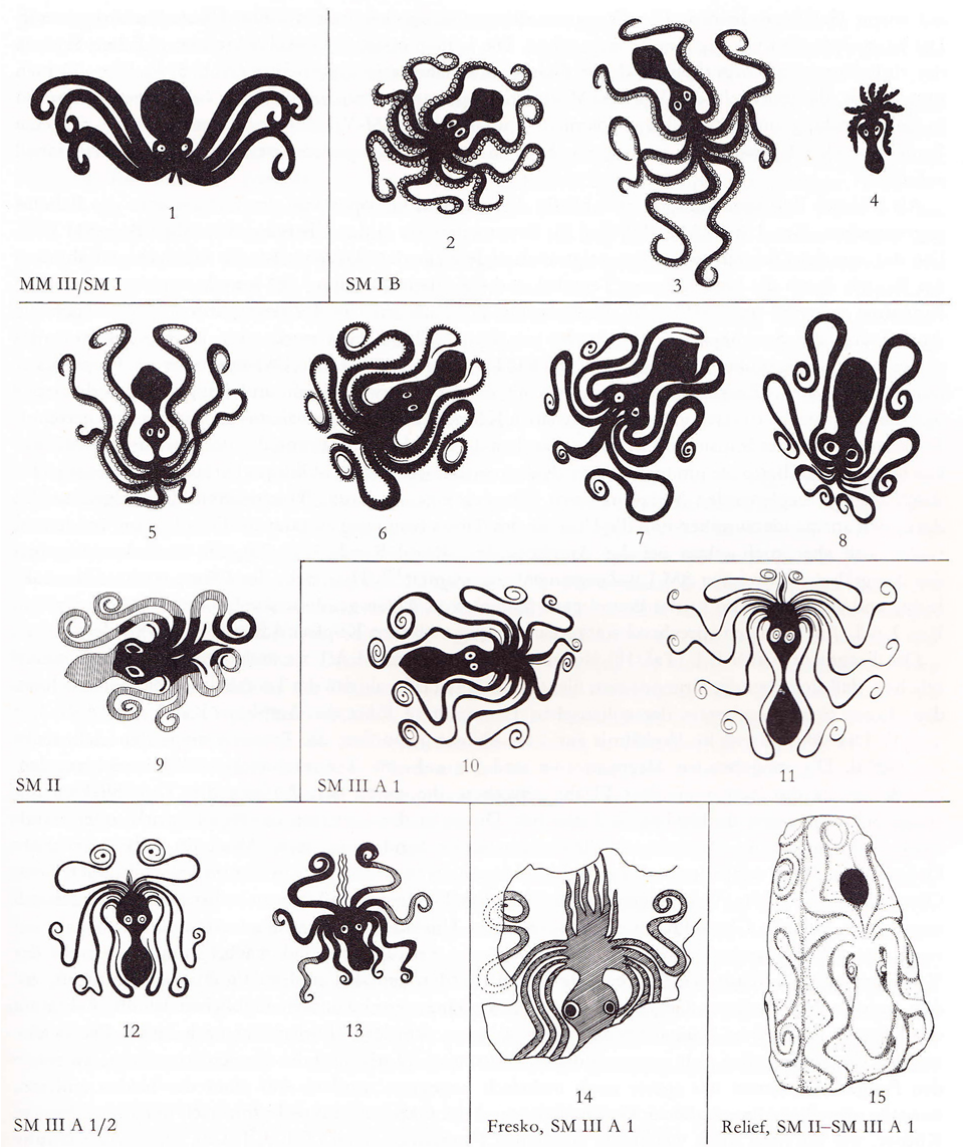

Figure 2.8. Octopus motifs from Minoan objects

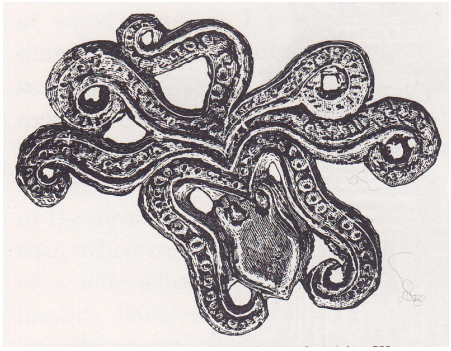

Figure 2.9. Mycenaean gold ornament in the shape of an octopus

Figure 2.10. Fob watch made by Gorham for Tiffany

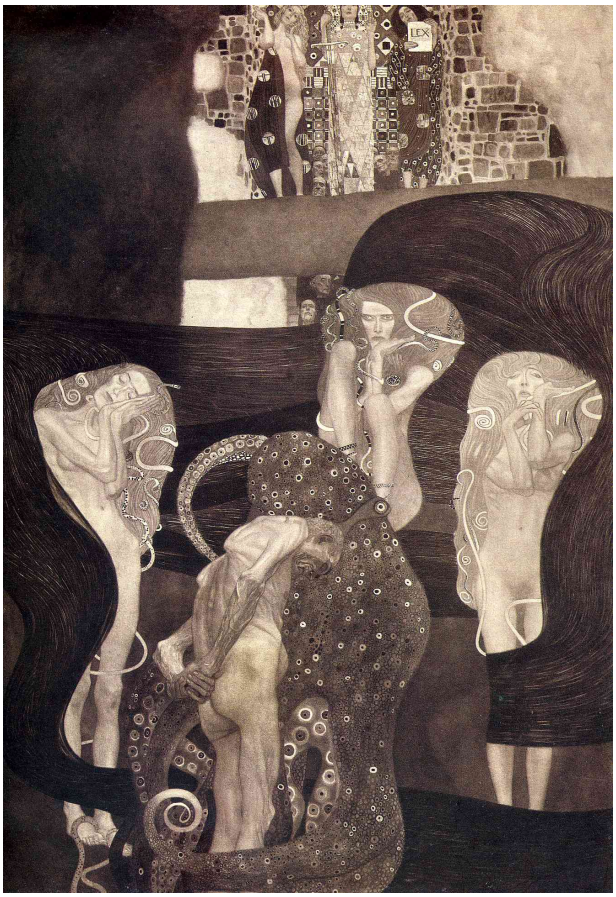

Figure 2.11. Gustav Klimt. *Jurisprudence*. 1903-1907.

Figure 2.12. The “Snake Goddess” and her attendant

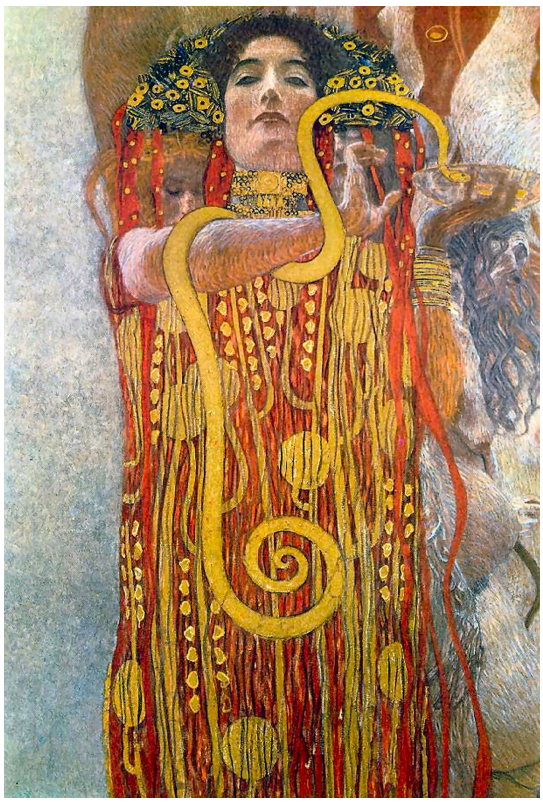

Figure 2.13. Gustav Klimt. *Medicine* (detail). 1901.

Figure 2.14. Illustration of a pyxis from Alatsomouri

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Figure 2.16. The “Partridge” fresco from Knossos

Figure 2.17. Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo. *Cromer Bird*. c. 1884.

Figure 2.18. Walter Crane. *Swan, Rush and Iris*. 1875.

Figure 2.19. William Morris. *The Bullerswood Carpet*. 1889.

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Figure 2.21. Reproduction of the “Shield Frieze” fresco restored by Emile Gilliéron père in 1911 or early 1912

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Figure 2.23. Minoan pottery sherd from Knossos

Figure 2.24. Gustav Klimt. *Tree of Life* (detail). 1909.

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Figure 2.30. Hermann Obrist. *Whiplast (Peitchenhieb)*. c. 1895. Silk and wool textile.

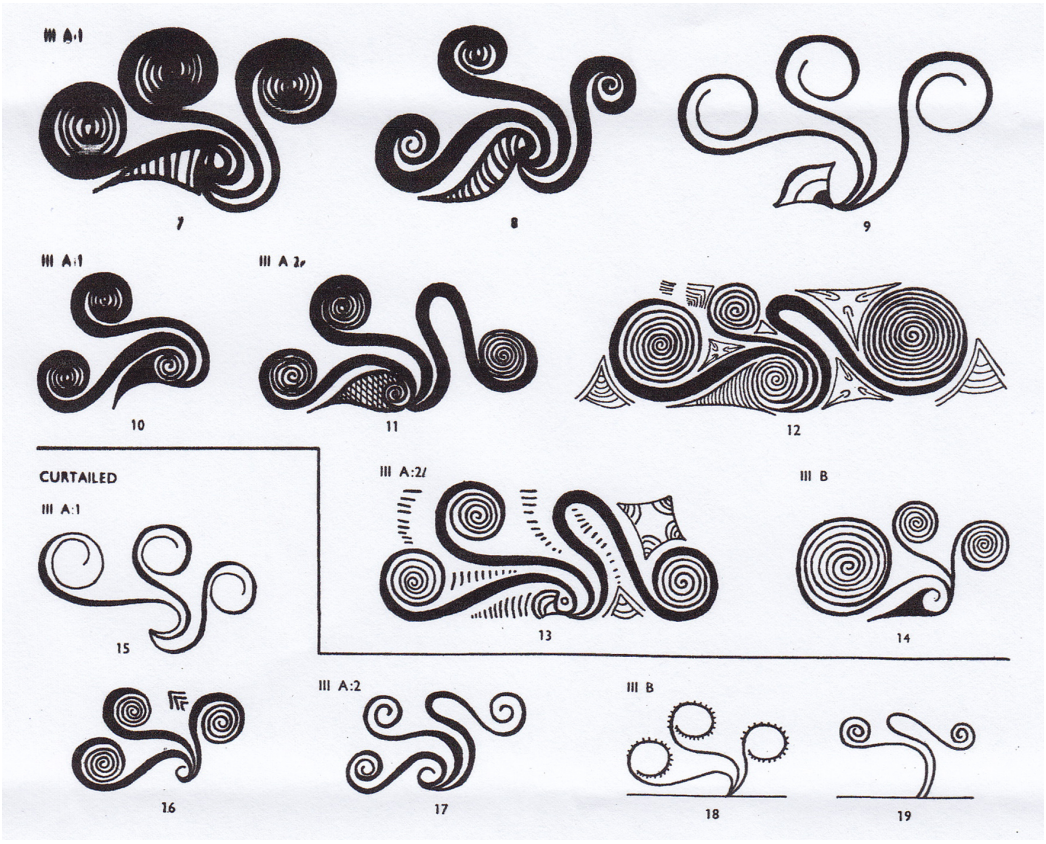

Figure 2.31. Argonaut motifs on Late Bronze Age pottery


Figure 2.32. Watercolor reconstruction of the Throne Room at Knossos

Figure 2.33. Gustav Klimt. *Judith I*. 1901.

Figure 2.34. Stirrup jar from Gournia

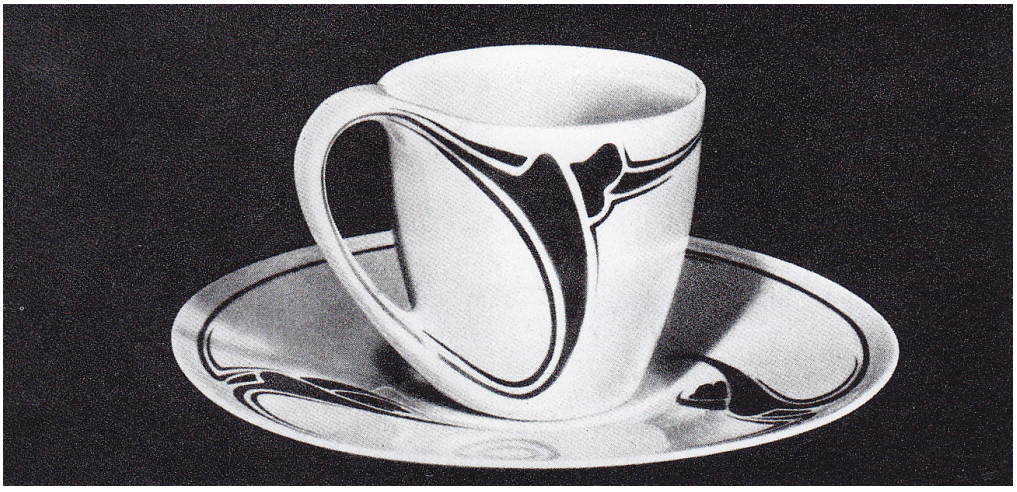

Figure 2.35. Cup and saucer designed by Henry van de Velde for the Meissen porcelain factory in Germany, c. 1904.

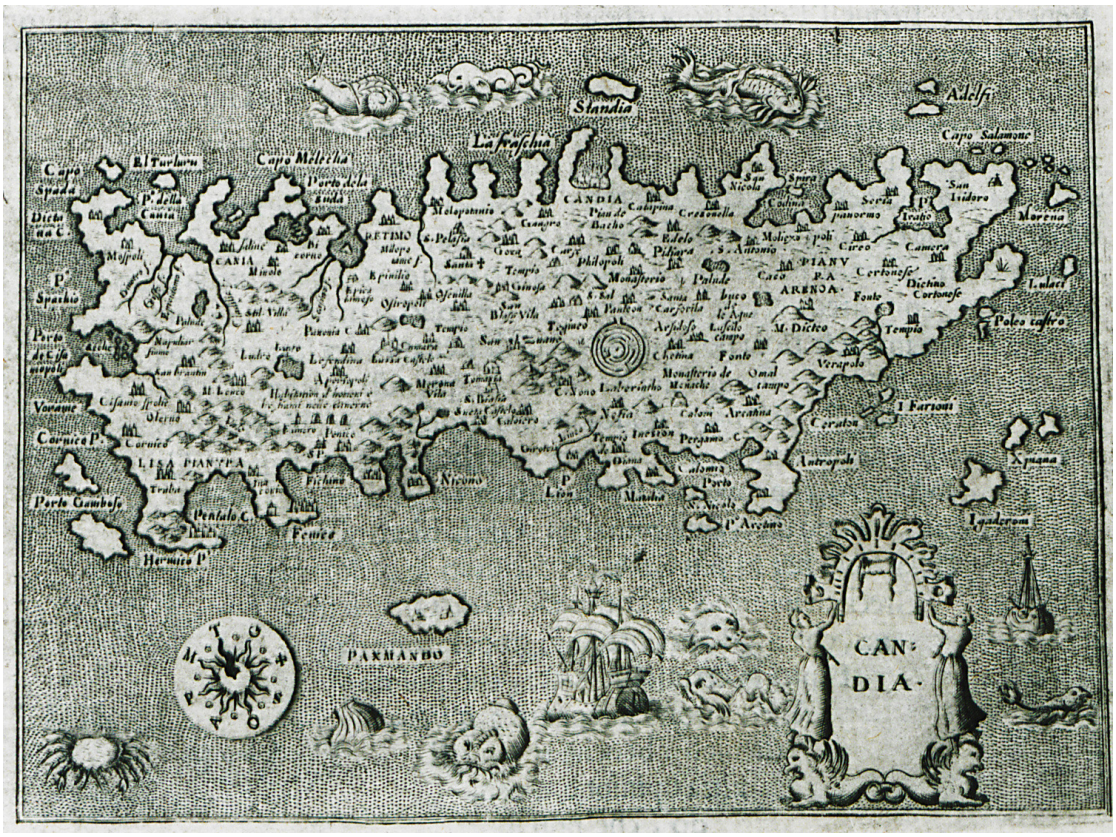

Figure 3.1. Map of Crete (Candia) made by Thomaso Porcacchi

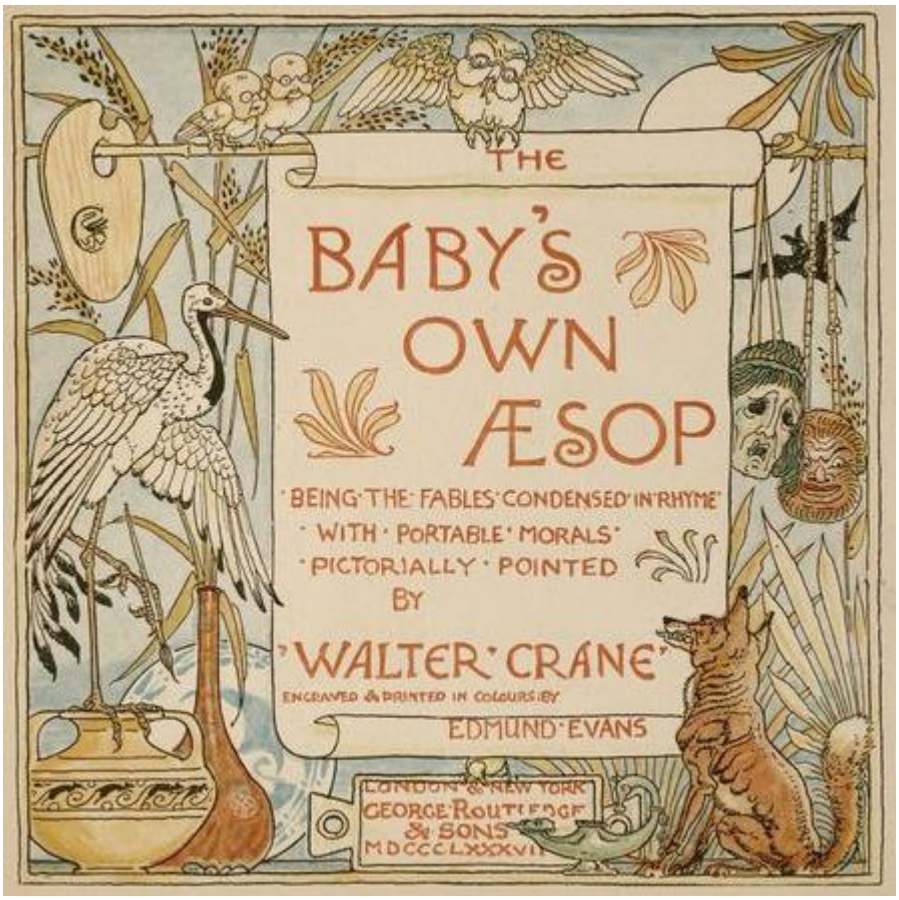

Figure 4.1. Walter Crane. Title Page of *Baby's Own Aesop*, 1887.

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Figure 4.4. Louis Majorelle. Ironwork at the entrance at the Villa Majorelle. 1900-1901.

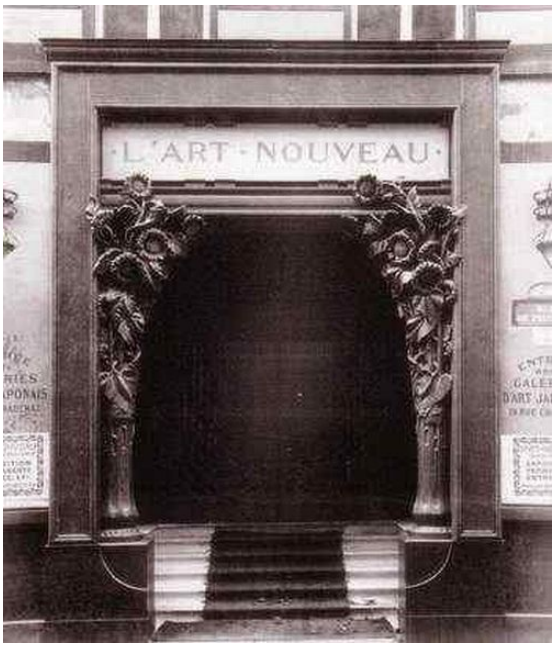

Figure. 4.5. Entrance to the gallery L'Art Nouveau in 1895. Photographed by Édouard Pourchet.

Figure 4.6. Hector Guimard. Gate of Castel Béranger. c.1890.

Figure 4.7. Alphonse Mucha. *Gismonda*. 1894.

Figure 4.8. Alphonse Mucha. *La Samaritaine*. 1897.

Figure 4.9. Porte Binet at the 1900 Paris Exposition. Photographed by Worm-Petersen.

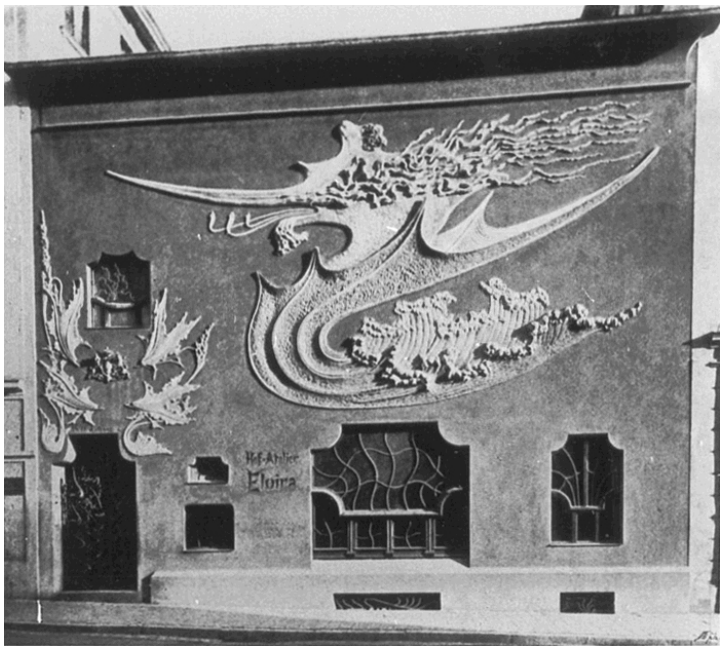

Figure 4.10. August Endell. Hofetelier Elvira, c. 1900.


Figure. 4.11. Otto Eckmann. Illustration for *Jugend* Magazine. 1896.

Figure 4.12. Vienna Secession Building designed by Joseph Maria Olbrich

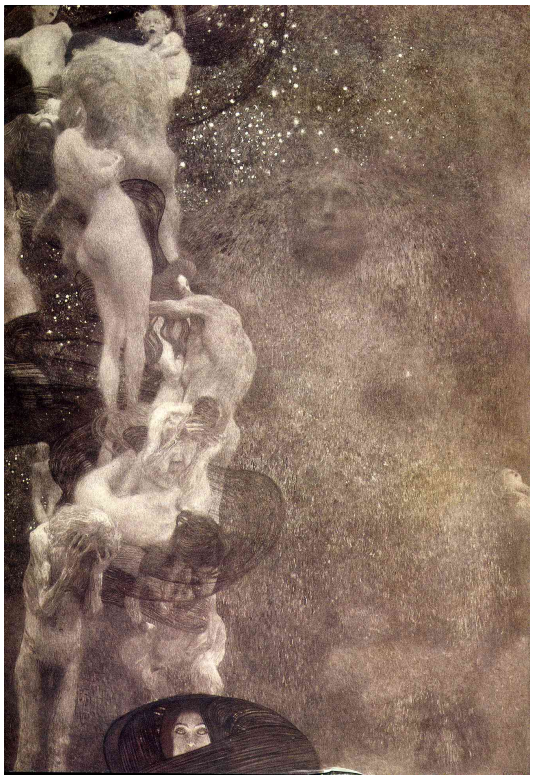
Figure 4.13. Gustav Klimt. *Philosophy*. 1899-1907.

Figure 4.14. Leaded-glass window designed by Louis Comfort Tiffany, c. 1880.

Figure 4.15. Favrile glass vase by Louis Comfort Tiffany, c. 1903.

Figure 4.16. Alphonse Mucha. Poster for "The Slav Epic" Exhibition. 1928-1930.

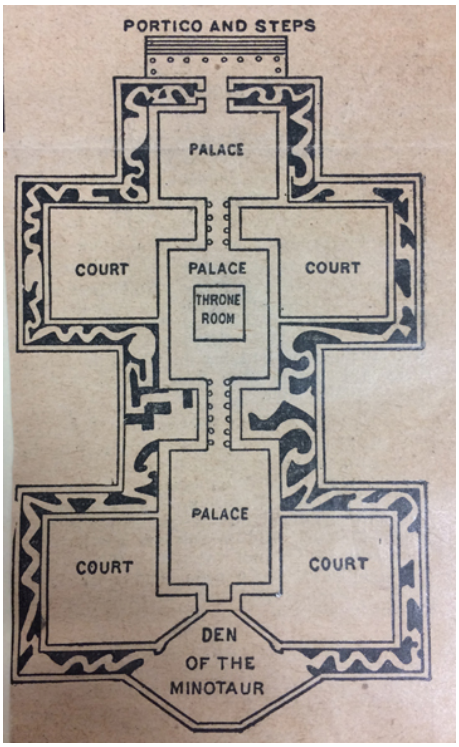

Figure 5.1. Ground plan of the "Palace of Minos" published in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* on November 11th 1900

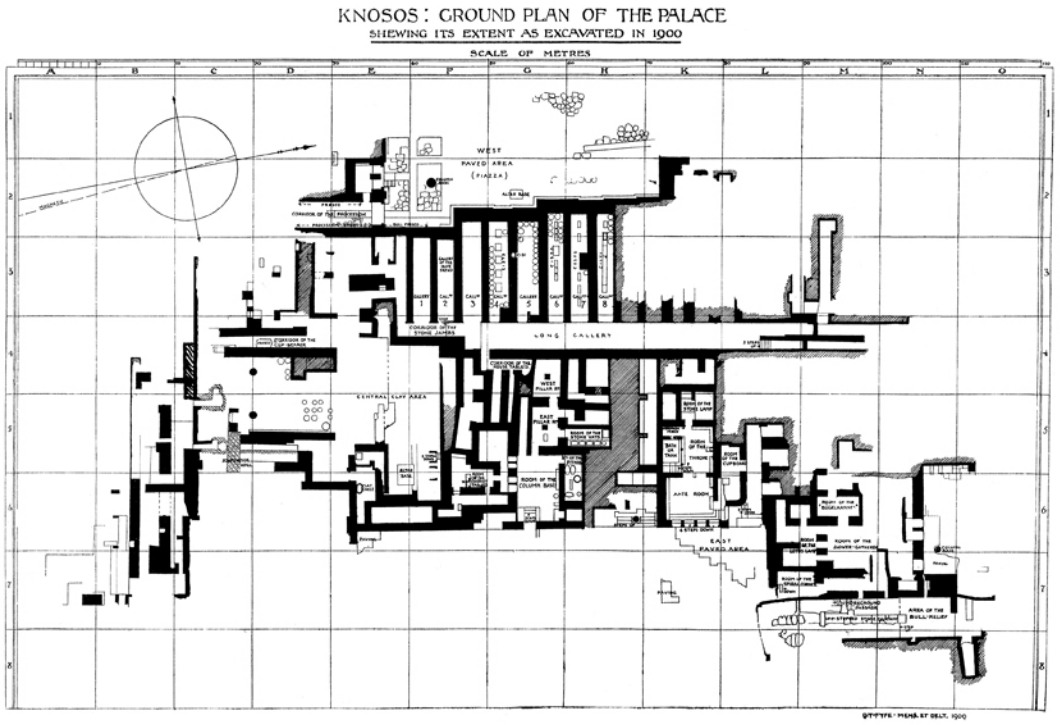

Figure 5.2. Ground plan of Knossos published by Arthur Evans in 1900

Figure 5.3. Illustration of "the oldest throne in Europe" published in the *Birmingham Weekly* on August 30th 1902

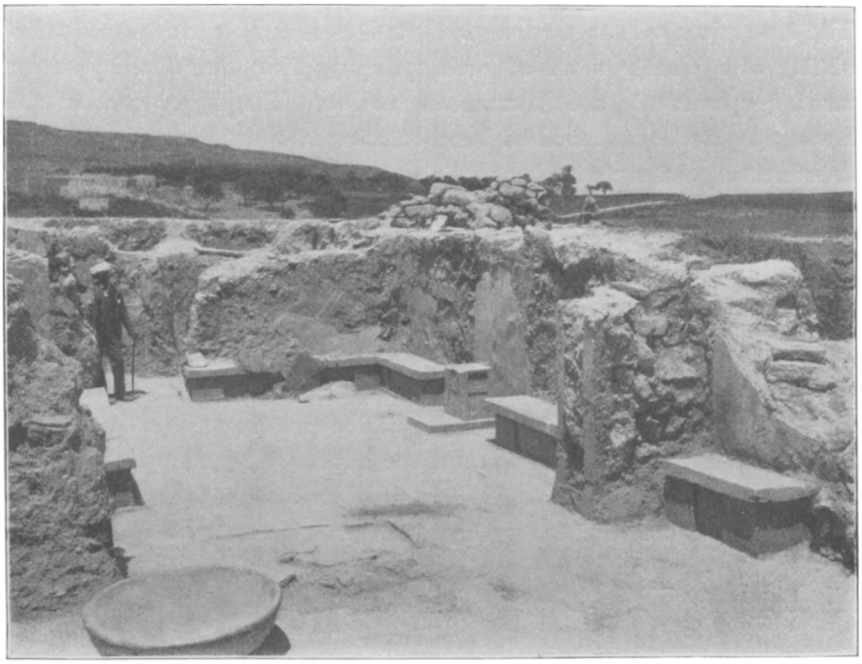

Figure 5.4. Photograph of the Throne Room published by Arthur Evans

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Figure 5.10. Illustration of pea plants motif on a pithos from Knossos

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Figure 5.12. Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo. Tunic. 1920s.

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Figure 5.14. Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo. Abaya (front and back).

Figure 5.15. Alabastron from Hagia Triada

Figure 5.16. Minoan ewer decorated with argonauts

Figure 5.17. Fresco fragments from Hagia Triada

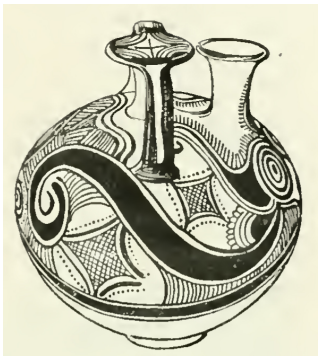

Figure 5.18. Drawing of a stirrup jar from the Royal Tomb of Isotapa

Figure 5.19. Labels patented and used by Fortuny

Figure 5.20. Léon Bakst. Costume design for *Hélène de Sparte*. 1912.


Figure 5.21. Jug from Phylakopi

Figure 5.22. Léon Bakst. Set design for *Phèdre*. 1923.

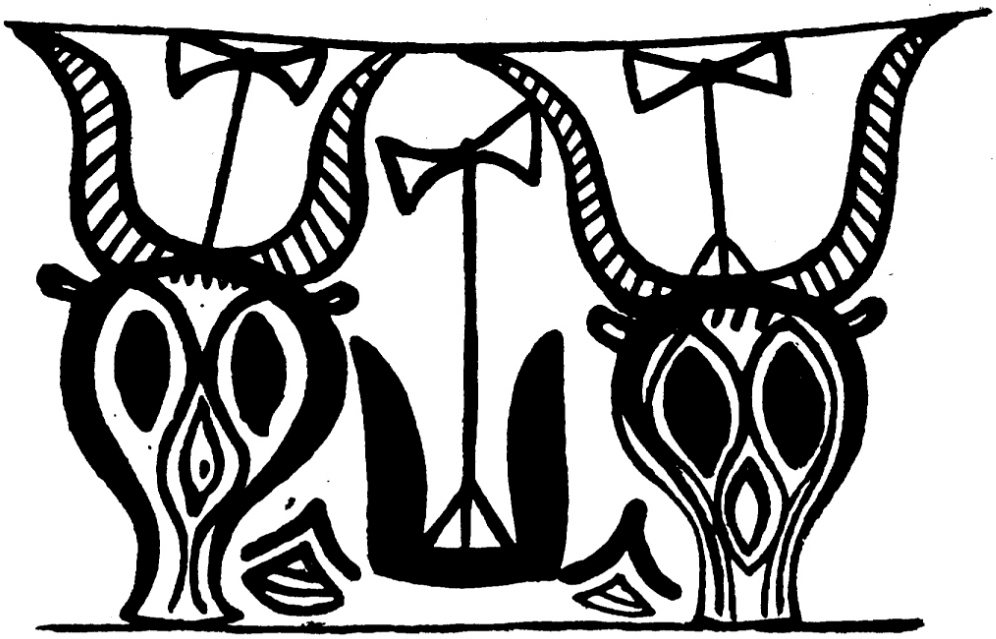

Figure 5.23. Motif from a Minoan vase

Figure 5.24. Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo. *The Flower Maidens*. 1896.

Figure 5.25. Kamares Ware from Phaistos

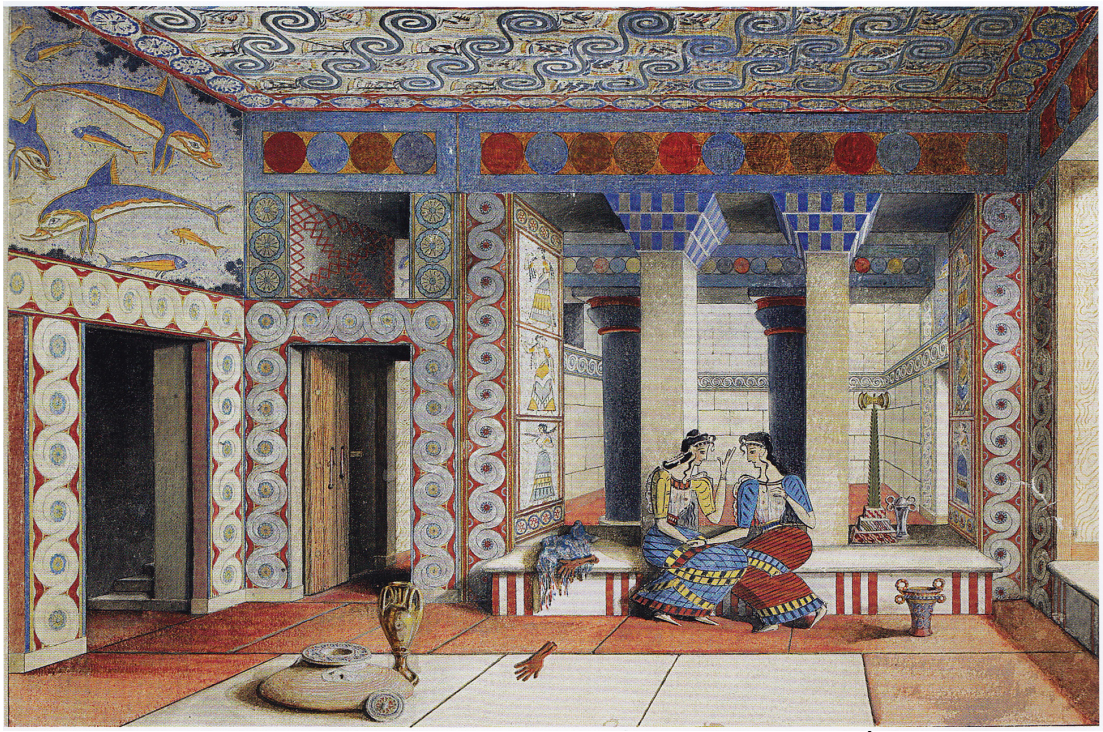

Figure 5.26. Watercolor reconstruction of the Queen's Megaron by Émile Gilliéron fils

Figure 5.27. Gustav Klimt. Poster for the first exhibition of the Vienna Secession. 1898.

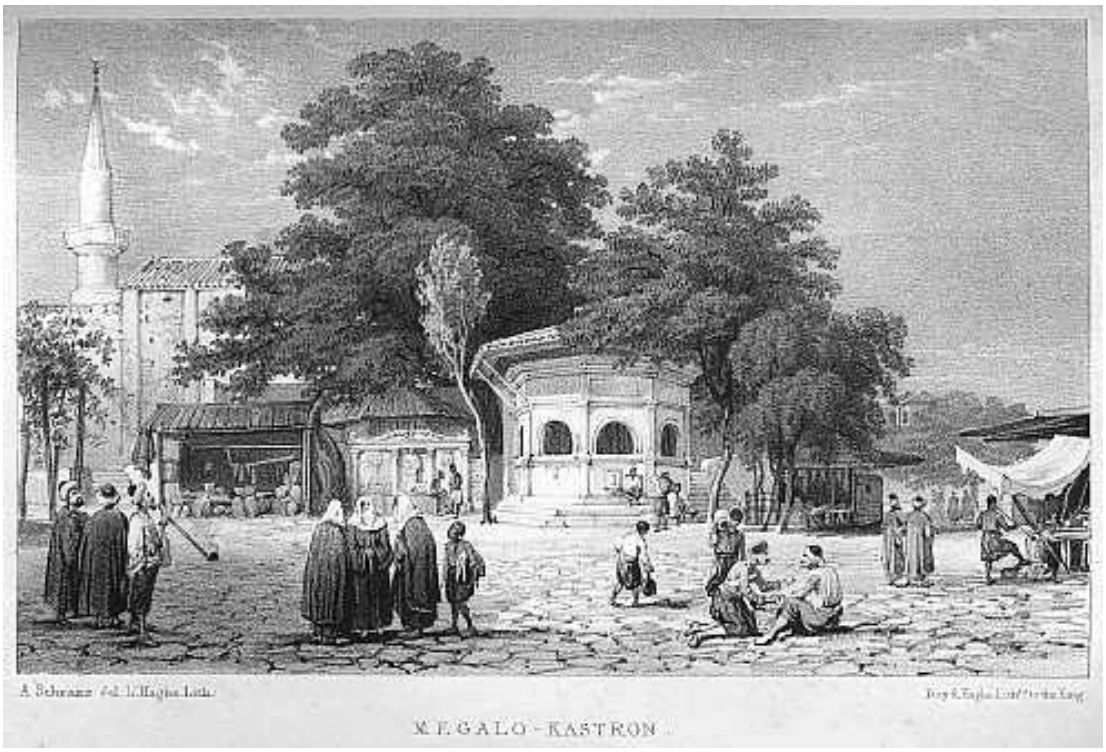

Figure 5.28. Illustration of *Megalo-Kastron* (today's Herakleion) in Robert Pashley's *Travels in Crete*

Figure 5.29. Gustav Klimt. *Pallas Athene*. 1898.

Figure 6.1. Detail of the fresco from the Throne Room at Knossos

Figure 6.2. “Temple Fresco” from Knossos

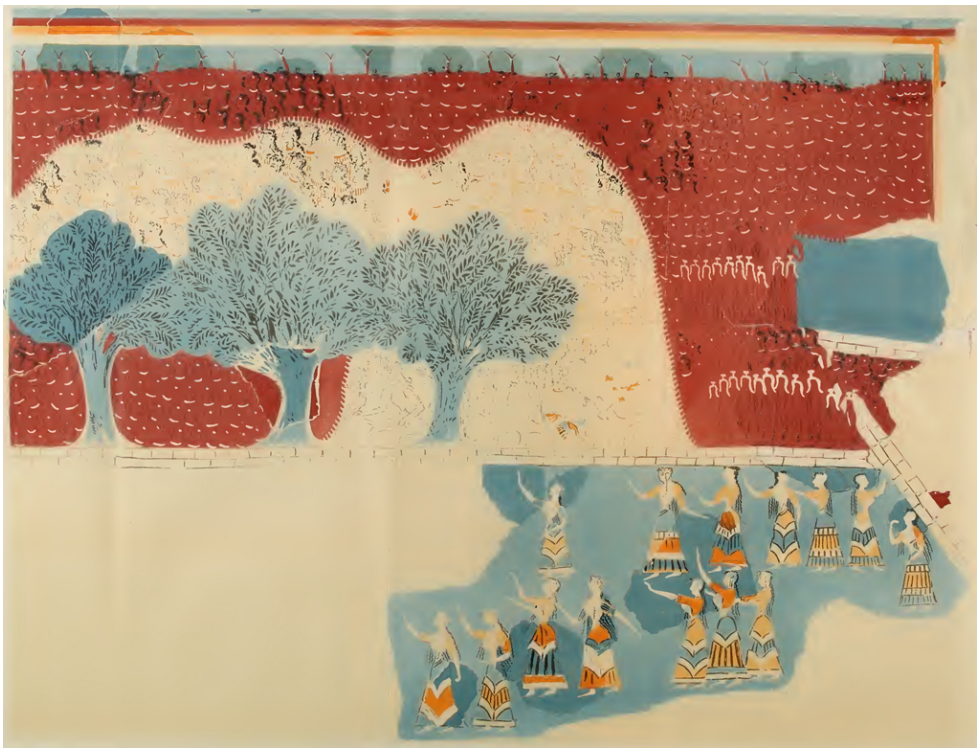

Figure 6.3. “Sacred Grove” fresco from Knossos

Figure 6.4. Fresco of “*La Parisienne*” from Knossos

Figure 6.5. Postcard of the 1900 Paris Exposition with an image of the statue of *La Parisienne*

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Figure 6.7. Commemorative postage stamps for the 1896 Olympics designed by Émile Gilliéron

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Figure 6.11. Restoration of the “Saffron-Gatherer” fresco, published in 1921.

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Figure 6.14. Reconstruction of the “Priest-King” fresco, published in 1928.

Figure 6.15. Restoration of the “Priest-King” fresco in 1904

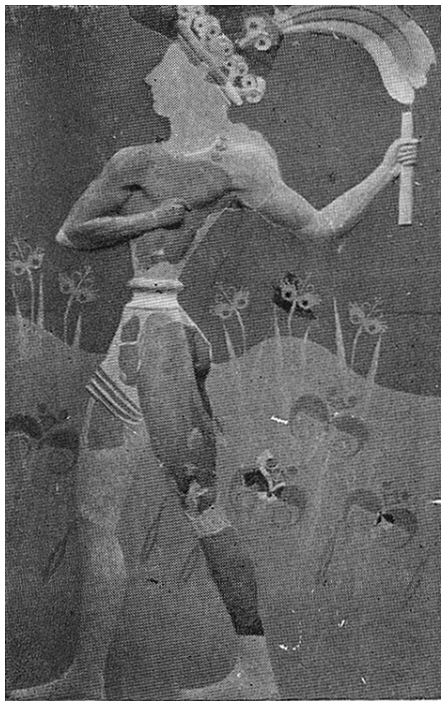

Figure 6.16. Restoration of the “Priest-King” fresco in 1906

Figure 6.17. Current restoration of the “Priest-King” fresco

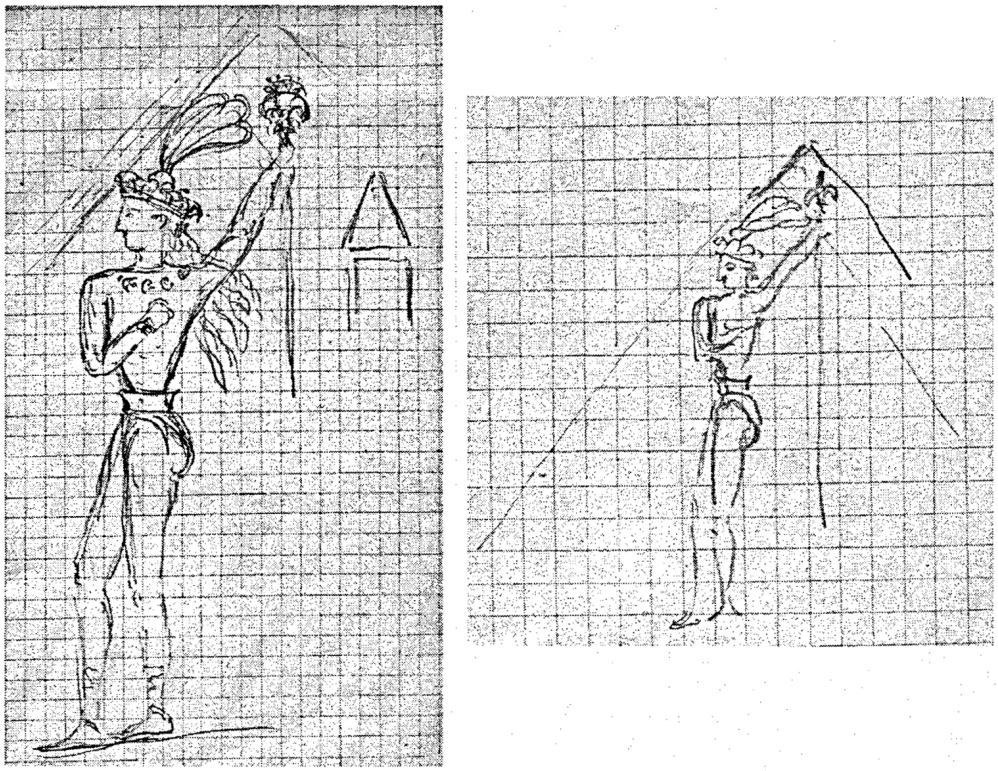

Figure 6.18. Sketches from Evans’ notebook, 1901-1904.

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