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Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), pp. 339-354

Published by: Archaeological Institute of America

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/505585>

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The Swallows and Artists of Room Delta 2 at Akrotiri, Thera*

MARY B. HOLLINSHEAD

Abstract

The "Spring Fresco" in Room 2 (the "Room of the Lilies") of Building Delta at Akrotiri, Thera is examined as an intact fresco with a known context. Art historical information is used to complement archaeological evidence and vice versa. The swallows and lilies of Delta 2 are attributed to two artists. The painter of the swallows is identified stylistically, and frescoes in Building Beta (antelopes) and Xeste 3 (swallow, young women) are attributed to his hand. Archaeological evidence indicates that these frescoes were all painted after the earthquake of Late Cycladic I. In the light of both furnishings and decoration, Delta 2 is interpreted as a secure domicile for an important person rather than a religious chamber.

The "Spring Fresco," covering three walls of Room 2, the "Room of the Lilies," of Building Delta at Akrotiri, Thera is a rare example of a nearly intact Aegean Bronze Age wall painting found in situ. The painting is sufficiently well preserved to permit analysis of its subject and style without troubling questions of restoration; and its exact location and archaeological context are known and documented. In addition, the numerous frescoes found in nearby structures at Akrotiri provide a significant body of comparanda, an artistic context for the paintings of Delta 2. The excavations and restoration work of the Greek Archaeological Service have provided us with more information than is available for most Aegean frescoes, so that one can seek a more complete understanding as to why Room Delta 2 was painted as it was, with swallows in acro-

batic flight above a rocky landscape covered with red lilies.

This study begins by considering the swallows, the primary subject of the painting, and continues with questions of painting methods and artistic style. Two artists apparently worked on this fresco—one painted the swallows, another the lilies. The painter of swallows in Delta 2 is identified stylistically, and frescoes in Building Beta and Xeste 3 are attributed to his hand. Archaeological evidence indicates that all the paintings associated with this artist were produced after a major earthquake, as part of the reconstruction and redecoration of the town of Akrotiri. The activities of an individual painter are thus described, and located in space and time.

Finally, the question of Delta 2's meaning is addressed. The architecture and furnishings of the room are unremarkable compared with the fine painting on its walls. Since Delta 2 is often interpreted as a shrine, the iconography of its decoration is considered. The red lilies are seen as potentially significant, but not necessarily predictive of a religious function for Delta 2. Instead of a naturalistic setting for cult practice, Delta 2 is best understood as a safe and aesthetically pleasing environment for an important person. Identifying the artist who painted the walls of Delta 2, as well as how, where, and when this artist worked, not only allows us an unusually complete assessment of an individual Bronze Age painter, but also suggests a

* A short version of part of this paper was presented at the 89th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York, 29 December 1987. Cf. *AJA* 92 (1988) 253–54. I am grateful to S.A. Immerwahr for her comments on an earlier version of this article. The opinions expressed herein and any errors are the sole responsibility of the author. The National Archaeological Museum in Athens provided photographs for Figs. 1–3, 6–8, and 10; all other photographs were taken from published illustrations by Brooke Hammerle. The plan in Fig. 16 was drawn by Mary G. Winkes.

The following abbreviations are used:
Doulas, C. Doulas, *Thera: Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean* (New York 1983).

TAW I, II C. Doulas ed., *Thera and the Aegean World I, II* (London 1978, 1980).
Thera II S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera II (1968 Season)* Athens 1969.
Thera III S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera III (1969 Season)* Athens 1970.
Thera IV S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera IV (1970 Season)* Athens 1971.
Thera V S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera V (1971 Season)* Athens 1972.
Thera VI S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera VI (1972 Season)* Athens 1974.
Thera VII S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera VII (1973 Season)* Athens 1976.



Fig. 1. Delta 2: west and south walls. (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

new explanation for the decoration of the small chamber with lyrical scenes of swallows among the lilies.

THE SWALLOWS OF DELTA 2: ART AND NATURE

Room 2 of Building Delta at Akrotiri is the finest, fullest example of a painting of swallows known from antiquity.¹ Although more paintings of swallows have been found on Thera than at any other site of the Aegean Bronze Age, it is ironic that no swallows now inhabit the island.² Nevertheless, so many of the swallow paintings from Thera exhibit the artists' awareness of characteristic plumage, body form, and behavior that I believe we can assume there were swallows on Thera ca. 1500 B.C. Marinatos suggested that the volcanic eruption drove them away; Doumas has observed that the eruption would have left behind ash ill suited for nest-making.³ Obliteration of the local envi-

ronment by the heavy ash fall would also have eliminated the swallows' food supply. Once the island was covered with ash, there would have been a critical gap in time before insects appeared in sufficient quantity again to sustain a swallow's energetic existence.

The swallow's grace and agility in flight clearly appealed to the painter of the Delta 2 swallows. His acute observation of bird behavior is also evident. Although landscape elements in the form of variegated rock formations sprouting clusters of tall, red lilies dominate the composition of Delta 2, the swallows are the focal points of the painting, which extends over three of the four walls of the room (fig. 1). Flying among and above the oversize red lilies, alone or in pairs, the swallows are rendered simply, in spare sweeping strokes. The shape of their wings and the two-pronged tail identifies them as *hirundo rustica*

¹ Thera IV, 20–25, 34–44, 49–53; pls. 28–40, 101–108, 121–26, and color pls. A–C. Thera V, 20–21, 44–45. Thera VI, 10–13, pls. 10b, 12, 13a. Thera VII, 13, pls. 11b–12. Cf. S. Marinatos, *A Brief Guide to the Temporary Exhibition of*

the Antiquities of Thera (Athens 1971) 16–19; figs. 4–6; color pl. B. Also, TAW I color pls. A–D.

² Thera IV, 51–52.

³ Thera IV, 51–52. Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 81.



Fig. 2. Delta 2: pair of swallows and lily, north wall. (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

rustica, the European swallow, a close relative of the North American barn swallow (*hirundo rustica erythrogaster*). The artist has taken care to show the species' diagnostic plumage, with dark upper body, pale lower parts, and red throat and forehead.⁴

The two pairs of swallows, on the north and west walls, have been described as kissing, twittering, and cavorting eagerly in airborne courtship.⁵ Those on the north wall are shown in profile, meeting bill to bill as they fly upward (fig. 2). Those on the west wall have wings outspread. One swallow flies from above toward the left, in momentary encounter (nearly bill to bill) with another swallow (fig. 3). The second bird has swept down from above and flies upside down, turning its head up for the encounter as it moves toward the right. The graceful curve of the latter bird's body shows its quick, twisting flight, and blocks part



Fig. 3. Delta 2: pair of swallows, west wall (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

⁴ C. Perrins, *New Generation Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe* (Austin 1987) 152–53. R.T. Peterson, G. Mountfort, and P.A.D. Hollom, *A Field Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe* (London 1974) 196, 210. A.C. Bent, *Life Histories of North American Flycatchers, Larks, and Swallows* (Smithsonian Institution Bulletin 179, Washington, D.C. 1942) 458–63 offers detailed comment on *hi-*

of its right wing from view. This position and that of the bird's feet, depicted as if seen from below, reveal a conscious attempt at foreshortening. The artist's rendering of this complex pose suggests that he himself had watched swallows in aerial display. On the other

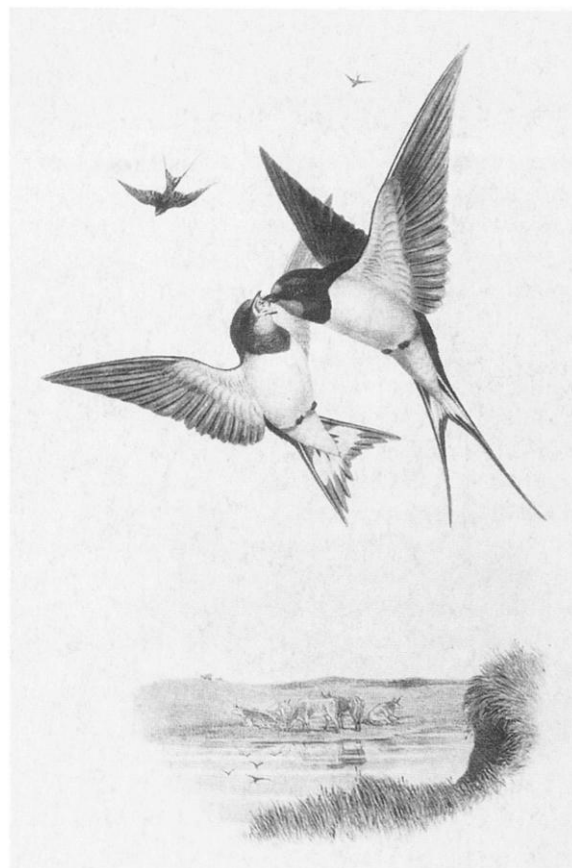


Fig. 4. *Hirundo rustica* feeding offspring. (After J. Gould, *Birds of Europe* [London 1966] 220, courtesy Littera Scripta Manet, Gorssel, Holland)

hand, the complementary scheme of outspread wings framing a long, upward curving tail is so balanced and decorative a composition that it could be simply a charming convention. The artist's attention to swallows' plumage and body form is evident, however, and the flight patterns of both pairs (on the west wall and on the north wall) reproduce characteristic swallow behavior, observable today in *hirundo rustica*.

While swallows do fly eagerly about in airborne

rundo rustica, including the following (461–62): "I cannot find in the literature any indication that the behavior of the European swallow differs in any respect from that of our American representative of the species . . . the habits of the two birds are almost exactly alike in every way."

⁵ Thera IV, 50, 52. Marinatos (supra n. 1) 19.



Fig. 5. Xeste 3.2: fresco fragment with swallows and crocuses. (After *Thera* VII, pl. 39b)

preliminaries to mating, the specific bill to bill contact (or near contact) of the Delta 2 swallows is more typical of adult swallows feeding their young. Swallows are attentive parents, known for the intensity and duration of commitment of both parents to their offspring. A.C. Bent, in *Life Histories of North American Flycatchers, Larks, Swallows and Their Allies*, states: "After the young leave their nest they are fed by their parents for a while, sometimes on the wing. . . ."⁶

Two eyewitnesses have told me of observing swallows feeding their young in mid-air.⁷ Most convincing is John Gould's illustration of *hirundo rustica* for his 1837 *Birds of Europe* (fig. 4).⁸ The artist of the Delta 2 swallows must have conceived of his paired swallows after watching parent birds deliver the last free meals to their adolescent offspring. He may not, however, have known what he was seeing. The nearly mature young would not appear substantially different from an adult bird, especially in rapid flight against a bright sky, to an observer without binoculars or a field guide. The artist depicted actual swallow behavior with precision and skill, but we do not know whether he saw the scene as love, or knew it to be lunch. On the other hand, a fresco fragment found in Room 2 of building Xeste 3 (fig. 5) is described by Marinatos as scenes of monkeys behaving like humans, with a small landscape of "... rocks. In their cavities rural swallows have built their nests, from which protrude the open beaks of the featherless nestlings. In one of the fragments, a mother swallow approaches carrying a large insect in her beak. Clusters of crocuses grow on the rocks. . . ."⁹ The one



Fig. 6. Delta 2: lily painted over swallow, west end of south wall. (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

⁶ Bent (supra n. 4) 461 (European swallow), 449 (American barn swallow). Cf. E.M. Nicholson, *Birds and Men* (London 1951) 210. Also, R.B. Sharpe and C.W. Wyatt, *A Monograph of the Hirundidae or Family of Swallows* 1 (London 1885) 235.

⁷ Eyewitnesses: C.J. Berg (scientist, avocational bird watcher), letter to author, August 1973; R.B. Fischer (Professor of Environmental Education, Cornell University), letter to author, 19 June 1984.

⁸ J. Gould, *Birds of Europe* (London 1837, repr. New

York 1966) 220. Cf. E. Hoskings and C. Newberry, *The Swallow* (London 1946) pl. 1, "The parent swallow feeds a fledgling on the wing" (artist's rendering). I have yet to locate a photograph of mid-air feeding, but the transitory nature of the action makes it very difficult to record at the instant it takes place.

⁹ *Thera* VII, 27, pl. 39b. Cf. C. Dumas, *Santorini* (Athens 1982) 35, "In a landscape, again rocky, full of crocuses, swallows fly to their nests bearing food for their chicks who await with open beaks." N. Marinatos, *Art and Reli-*



Fig. 7. Kymbe with polychrome swallows. (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

swallow illustrated from the Xeste 3 fresco is strikingly similar to those of Delta 2 (see below), and the nurturing theme of the former supports an interpretation of comparable behavior in Delta 2.

The two pairs of swallows in Delta 2 are balanced by three birds in solo flight. Those on the west and south walls are shown in profile, with both wings raised. The other single swallow, also on the south wall, is less successful—it appears to be escaping entanglement with a lily (fig. 6). Without the flower, the bird's position is plausible as an acrobatic motion of wheeling up and around in flight. The artist, however, failed to make the outline and the complex angles of the pose visually comprehensible. Although the twisting, upside-down position is rendered with impressive technical skill, this virtuoso example of foreshortening does not project an instantly coherent image of the swallow.¹⁰ The large red lily painted across the bird's right wing may represent an attempt to convey pictorial depth, or it could be a frustrated attempt to conceal the unsuccessful swallow. It may also be the work of a second painter. The overlapping of lily on swallow demonstrates that the swallows were painted before the lilies. One assumes, intuitively, that the walls were painted from the bottom up, that the rocks were painted before the lilies to provide a ground line. In logical sequence, one also assumes

that the lilies were painted before the swallows, thereby articulating pictorial frames for the areas in which the birds were to be painted. The lily overlying the swallow in the southwest corner suggests a different sequence.

The lilies are larger in scale than the swallows. A noticeable problem of scale and spacing appears on the north wall, where the pair of swallows is inappropriately close to a large cluster of oversize blossoms behind the bird on the left (fig. 2). Less dramatic than the overlap in the southwest corner, this second example of awkwardly juxtaposed bird and flower nevertheless reinforces the impression of disjunction between the painting of the swallows and the painting of the lilies.¹¹ Rather than a frustrated artist painting over his problems, there must have been more than one painter. The painter of swallows must have completed his birds before the painter of lilies set to work. Occasionally the lily painter disregarded or even covered the birds of his collaborator. The interval between successive painters using the *buon fresco* method would have been hours.¹² Iliakis identified a sequence of two different painters in the "priestess" fresco of the West House (on the short wall segment between Rooms 4 and 5), a more skillful artist improving on the initial efforts of one less able.¹³ Unlike the teacher-pupil relationship implied by the "priestess"

gion in Thera (Athens 1984) 69, fig. 47 (color); 113, 116. Cf. Borthwick (*infra* n. 46).

¹⁰ Marinatos (*Thera* IV, 24) has considered this swallow a "masterpiece," as have others.

¹¹ S.A. Immerwahr suggests that the small size of the swallows is intentional, indicating that they are on a more distant plane. See J. Schäfer, "Zur kunstgeschichtlichen Interpretation altgriechischer Wandmalerei," *JdI* 92 (1977) 1–23, who notes the swallows' role in creating pictorial space in the Delta 2 fresco.

¹² M.A.S. Cameron, R.E. Jones, and S.E. Philippakis, "Scientific Analysis of Minoan Fresco Samples from Knossos," *BSA* 72 (1977) 121–84, esp. 155–56, 167–71.

¹³ K. Iliakis, "Morphological Analysis of the Akrotiri Wall-Paintings of Santorini," in *TAW* I, 621, 624, pl. 8, 625, pl. 9; *TAW* II, 313. Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 74 makes the general comment that "the hand of more than one artist can even be discerned in the same composition." K. Thorpe-Scholes, "Akrotiri: Genesis, Life and Death," in *TAW* I, 439, calls the "priestess" the work of an apprentice.

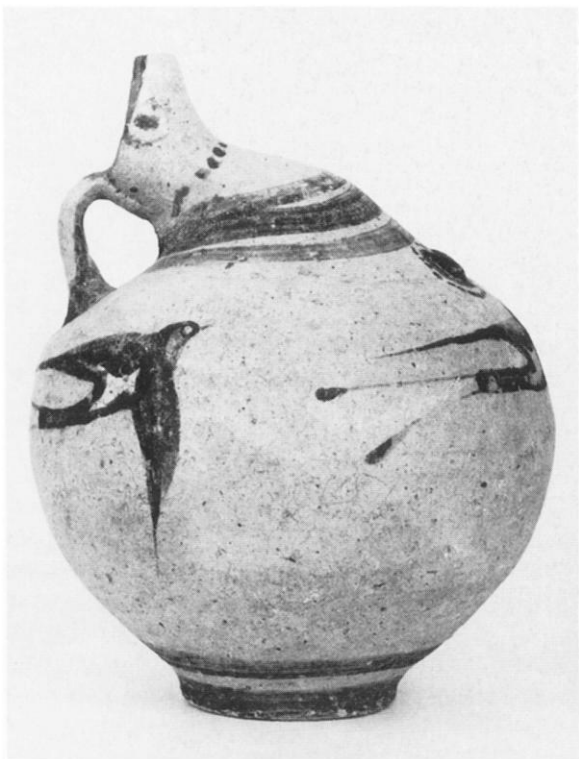


Fig. 8. Nippled ewer with swallows. (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

fresco, the Delta 2 artists appear to work as general designer and subject specialist. Even though the decoration of Delta 2 may have been subcontracted to specialist painters, a single master was undoubtedly responsible for the pleasing and coherent composition of the whole.

SWALLOWS ELSEWHERE AT AKROTIRI

If we postulate specialization among Theran wall

¹⁴ *Thera* III, 64, pl. 62.2, and color pl. B.1.

¹⁵ S. Marinatos, "Chelidonisma," *AAA* 2 (1969) 65–69. He cites other examples of swallows in Minoan and Mycenaean art, none with strong parallels or direct relevance to the Theran material. Marinatos's article includes only pottery from the first two seasons of excavation; his examples are described and illustrated in *Thera* II. Since then, the following vases decorated with swallows have been published: 1) ewer from the West House (*Thera* VI, 32, pl. 74a); 2) "strainer-pyxis" from Xeste 3 (*Thera* VII, 29, pl. 47c); 3) large storage jar from the West House, Room 6 (*Ergon* 1980, 40, fig. 83); 4) Middle Cycladic ewer from the West House (*Ergon* 1984, 80, fig. 116).

¹⁶ M. Marthari, "The Local Pottery Wares with Painted Decoration from the Volcanic Destruction Level of Akrotiri, Thera: A Preliminary Report," *AA* 1987, 359–79. Also Marthari, "The Local Pottery Styles from the Volcanic Destruction Level of Akrotiri and Their Significance," *BICS*

painters, then we should seek evidence of an artist's hand in other paintings of swallows. Swallows are a recurrent, characteristic motif on pottery found at Akrotiri. Marinatos first identified a Swallows Painter or workshop, to whom he attributed four vases (or vase fragments) with swallow decoration from Akrotiri, as well as a jug with swallows from Grave Circle B at Mycenae, and a decorated fragment from Phylakopi.¹⁴ With the increase in ceramic finds at Akrotiri since then, Marinatos's original group can now be subdivided, and other types of swallow paintings added.¹⁵ The greatest number of vases decorated with swallows are recognized as products of a local Theran workshop, which also favored dolphins and goat-like quadrupeds as subjects. Classified by Marthari as Theran Polychrome ware, the vessels are executed in red and black matt paint on a buff ground.¹⁶ The swallows (fig. 7) are typically outlined in black with red for the throat, and added white filling the outlined body.¹⁷ Three white dots, specific to *hirundo rustica*, mark the bird's

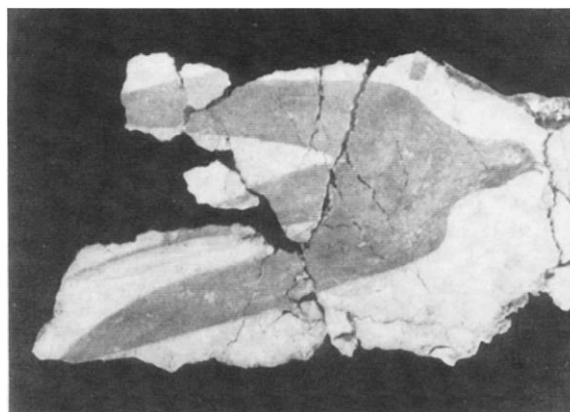


Fig. 9. Beta 6: fresco fragment with swallow. (After *Thera* III, pl. B.1)

32 (1985) 159–60, Category 6. Cf. Dumas (supra n. 9) 26–27. Thorpe-Scholes (supra n. 13) 444. For spectroscopic confirmation of the Theran origins of several swallow vases from Akrotiri, see R.E. Jones, "Composition and Provenance Study of Cycladic Pottery with Particular Reference to Thera," *TAW* I, 471–82, esp. 472, 476.

¹⁷ Examples of swallows from this workshop include: 1) kymbe (*Thera* II, 20, pl. 17, color pl. C.8; Marinatos [supra n. 15] no. 1); 2) upper half of a large ovoid ewer (*Thera* II, 43, fig. 29; Marinatos [supra n. 15] no. 3); 3) ewer fragment with head and neck of a swallow (*Thera* II, 44, fig. 30, center right; Marinatos [supra n. 15] no. 4); 4) strainer-pyxis (*Thera* VII, 29, pl. 47c). The sherd with a swallow from Phylakopi cited by Marinatos (supra n. 15) 68 may belong to this group as well. T.D. Atkinson, R.C. Bosanquet et al., *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (London 1904) 120, fig. 92. Cf. R.L.N. Barber, "The Cyclades in the Middle Bronze Age," in *TAW* I, 379.

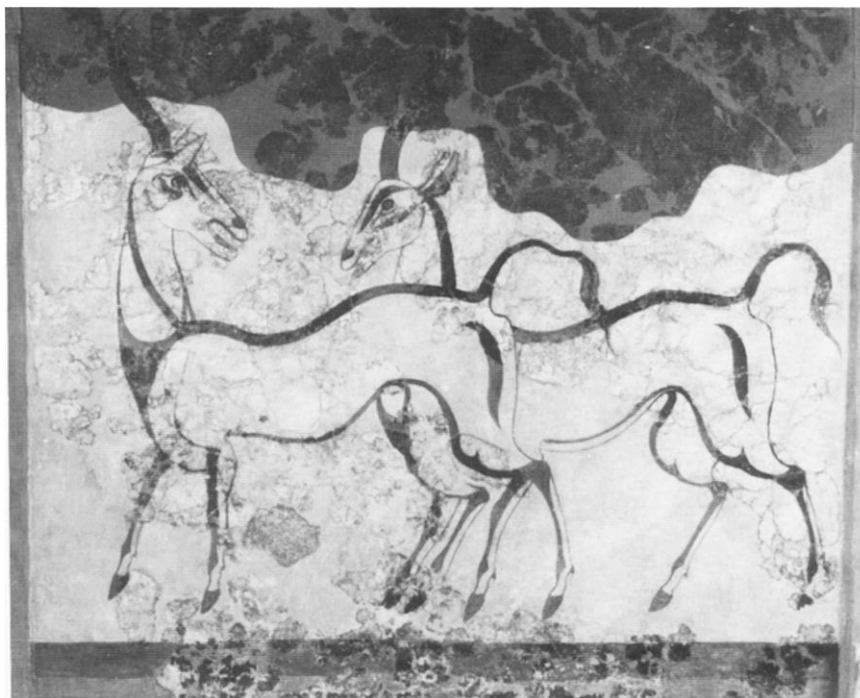


Fig. 10. Beta 1: pair of antelopes, north wall. (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

black rump.¹⁸ The profile of the bird's body is rendered casually, without the sense of flow and control visible in the swallows of Delta 2, so that the impression of swift and sweeping flight is diminished.

A different category of vases, including the nipples ewer of Marinatos's original Akrotiri group and his jug from Mycenae, must represent another workshop (fig. 8).¹⁹ Again the birds are outlined in dark paint, although on the vase from Thera the wings and tail are filled in. There are no added colors. The swallow's profile is emphasized, with exaggerated sweeping curves and greatly elongated wings and tails. With few diagnostic details, this is a more abstract version of a swallow than the birds of Delta 2. Other specimens of swallows or swallow-like birds, including one Middle Cycladic example, attest to the early and continuing popularity of this species as a subject for decoration.²⁰ Throughout the ceramic repertoire at Akrotiri, however, there are no strong parallels for the Delta 2 swallows.

¹⁸ See Peterson et al. (supra n. 4) 157.

¹⁹ Published vases in this group include: 1) nipples ewer (*Thera* II, 14, 42–43, fig. 5; Marinatos [supra n. 15] no. 2); 2) jug from Mycenae, Tomb Gamma, Grave Circle B (*Thera* VI, 32, pl. 74a). G.E. Mylonas, 'Ο τάφικος κύκλος τῶν Μυκηνῶν (Athens 1973) 57, no. 27, pl. 44a; 3) banded ewer (*Thera* VI, 32, pl. 74a).

²⁰ Middle Cycladic ewer: Marinatos (supra n. 15) no. 4. Collared storage jar: Marinatos (supra n. 15) no. 3. The

Among wall paintings, two additional swallows have been identified. A swallow on a plaster fragment from Room 6 of Building Beta may have been associated with the fresco of blue monkeys (fig. 9).²¹ Its solid mass of dark color and straightforward, unexciting profile indicate a different artist from the painter of Delta 2, who takes pleasure in swallows' flight patterns and bodily contortions. The swallow from Room 2 of Xeste 3, mentioned above, is clearly by the same painter as the Delta 2 swallows.

THE PAINTER OF THE DELTA 2 SWALLOWS: ATTRIBUTIONS

The swallows on the walls of Delta 2 are painted entirely in outline except for the head, which is black with red applied in the facial area. The wings are painted in broad black outline. Both the shape of the wing and the line which defines it taper simultaneously to a narrow point at the tip. Instead of long sweeping curves, the swallows' wings in this wall

head and wings of this large bird resemble those of a swallow, but the body mass, legs, and absence of forked tail make the identification questionable. See also pictorial style sherds with heads of birds (*Thera* IV, 39, pl. 96a).

²¹ *Thera* III, 64, pl. 62.2, color pl. B.1. Cf. N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 114–15. For another fresco fragment with part of an unidentified bird handled in similar fashion, see *Thera* II, color pl. B.2 (Arv. 1).



Fig. 11. Xeste 3.3: curly-haired crocus-gatherer, east wall, upper floor. (After *Thera* VII, pl. 59)

painting are all shown as compound curves, sometimes quite sharply angled (e.g., the single swallow in the middle of the south wall). A finer line is used to outline the birds' underbody, and to delineate the legs.

The swallow on the fragment from Room 2 of Xeste 3 (fig. 5) is executed in exactly the same manner. Its wings, head, and upper body are outlined with a broad, tapering black line, the underbody and legs with a finer line. Red is added to the head. The nearly vertical position of the Xeste 3 swallow reflects the painter's interest in depicting unusual postures in space, and in the swallows' mid-air acrobatics. The lines of the legs cross over the bird's right wing, conveying depth of field. The thematic parallels between Delta 2 and Xeste 3, of nurturing the young, have been noted. Instead of lilies, in Xeste 3.2 crocuses

sprout from a multicolor, irregular rocky landscape similar to that of Delta 2.²² As on the north wall of Delta 2, the swallow in Xeste 3.2 seems too close to the vegetation (and even the ground line) for such a soaring pose; in Xeste 3.2, unlike Delta 2, the swallow looks too large for the landscape. Once again, the bird and the flowers appear to be the work of different artists.

The crocuses beside the swallow of Room 2, Xeste 3 are identical to those being gathered by young women in the nearby Room 3 of the same building (fig. 12).²³ They bear little resemblance to the lilies of Delta 2. The similarities of birds and rocks, and differences in plants suggest that an artist in charge was responsible for conceiving and designing the composition, painting the swallows and probably the rocky landscape, but that a plant specialist was brought in to provide botanical illustration.

The painter of Delta 2 and Xeste 3.2 may not have painted only birds. Parallels of composition, technique, and approach to the subject suggest that he may have painted the antelopes of Room 1 in Building Beta as well.²⁴ On three walls of Beta 1, six antelopes are painted, two pairs, and two single animals. The best preserved pair, on the west wall (fig. 10), is depicted in bold and lively profile outlined in black paint. The broad black line accenting the haunch tapers at either end, while a lighter line is used for areas of more delicacy or lesser emphasis: head, neck,



Fig. 12. Xeste 3.3: girl reaching for crocus, east wall, upper floor. (After *Thera* VII, pl. 61)

²² My comparison of the rocks is based on the small color illustration in N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 47, and on a slide with a more complete view of the fresco shown by Doulas in Boston, May 1987.

²³ E.g., *Thera* VII, pls. 59, 61, color pls. B–F. For more on the crocuses of Akrotiri, see infra n. 57.

²⁴ *Thera* IV, 46–47, pls. 53, 58–61, 117–18, color pls. D,

Fb. Doulas, *Thera/Pompeii* 78–79, pl. 26, color pl. VIII. N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 106–109, fig. C. Others who have noted stylistic parallels between the swallows and the antelopes include: H. Tzavella-Evjen in *TAW* II, 313 and K. Thorpe-Scholes in *TAW* I, 439 (who identifies them as early works of a Minoan artist). Neither elaborates on her observation.



Fig. 13. Xeste 3.3: bare-breasted female with string of beads, north wall, first floor. (After *Thera* VII, pl. 63)

belly, and backs of legs. The tapering outlines of the Delta 2 swallows' wings and the fine lines of their underbodies and feet reveal a similar technique. Details of the antelopes' heads (interior of eye, interior of ear, nose, mouth, and accent line on cheek) were picked out in red. The hindquarters of the first antelope, to the left, overlap the upper forequarters of the second and shield it from view. The first antelope is shown turning its head all the way around to find the second; the line of its spine continues from its back in a diagonal curve up to the back of its head, in an effective use of foreshortening. The painter emphasizes interaction between animals by his use of unusual, twisting (and often graceful) poses. The parallels between antelopes and swallows suggest that the same artist planned the location and pose of the animals in each room, and then painted the animals. Just as this artist need not

have painted the lilies of Delta 2 or the crocuses in Xeste 3.2, the boxing children or the border in Beta 1 are probably the work of a different hand.

One further set of attributions is possible. Several figures of young women from Room 3 of Xeste 3 display stylistic traits like those described in the swallows and the antelopes. Five women are comparable in execution to the swallows and the antelopes: both of the figures on the east wall of the upper floor (figs. 11 and 12), the curly-haired girl and the girl reaching for the crocus (together, the "crocus gatherers"); and the three figures of the "wounded" scene on the north wall of the first floor, from left to right: the bare-breasted female holding a string of beads (fig. 13), the wounded girl seated on a rock (fig. 14), and the girl with the spotted veil (fig. 15).²⁵ In all of the figures, there is strong differentiation in the quality of line according to where it is used. A thick black line with dramatic use of tapering is evident in the eyebrow and the outline of the eye; the fine narrow line of the young women's profiles makes an effective contrast with the heavier lines of eyebrow and hair. Red paint is added for contrast, in the iris of the eye. A lively, variable, and expressive line is the basis of this painter's work. Color is subordinated to outline. In the case of the curly-headed crocus-gatherer (upper east wall), the girl actually picking a crocus (upper east wall), and the girl lifting her spotted veil (right side, north wall), strong similarities of profile and body line are not reflected in the treatment of their respective jewelry and dress, so that additional artists, perhaps apprentices, may have painted the girls' costume.

The master painter makes skillful use of line to render complex poses. As the curly-headed girl moves to the left end of the east wall (upper floor), she turns her head back, looking toward her companion, who leans forward to pick a crocus, raising her head as if in animated conversation. The line of the latter girl's neck extends down between the lines of her extended arms, creating a subtle sense of depth.²⁶ The girl in the spotted veil, while moving left along the north wall (first floor), looks back over her shoulder. Such backward-turning, often interactive poses, as well as the use of line and color, are reminiscent of the swallows of Delta 2 and the antelopes of Beta 1. The sequence of painting in Xeste 3.3 is the same as that observed in Delta 2: the crocus leaves were painted over the fin-

²⁵ *Thera* VII, 27–28, 32–38, pls. 58–64, color pls. A–I (the poorly preserved figure in color pl. K probably belongs in our stylistic group as well). C. Doumas, "Ἀνασκαφή Θήρας," *Prakt* 1980, 294–96. Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 106, 108, pls. 30–32. N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 12, 61–68, 73–84, pl. 180.

²⁶ Cf. for example, the less successful treatment of similar poses in the "Ladies" of the House of the Ladies (*Thera* V, 11–15, 38–41, color pls. E–H. Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 81–82, pl. 27, color pl. VI. N. Marinatos [supra n. 9] 97–105, fig. B).



Fig. 14. Xeste 3.3: wounded young woman seated on a rock, north wall, first floor. (After *Thera* VII, pl. 64)

gers of the girl about to pluck the blossom of that plant, revealing the same practice of painting flowers last that we observed in Room Delta 2.

The painter of our swallows, antelopes, and young women is a superb draftsman. His work is all in his line. The line is bold and tapering, then fine and delicate, in close juxtaposition. Red paint is added only to pick out minor details. Polychromy was apparently left to other painters. Foreshortening clearly intrigues this artist, who uses overlapping lines to articulate complex poses and to create pictorial depth. Communication between birds or animals, as well as people, is emphasized through pose. The swallows of Delta 2 and at least one young woman of Xeste 3.3 were painted before the flowers, suggesting that painters

may have specialized according to subject. Further examination of the walls on which our attributed frescoes were painted, and their respective archaeological contexts, indicates a consistent sequence of production for all.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The archaeological record provides some corroboration of our stylistic comparisons (fig. 16). One or more severe earthquakes caused significant damage to the town at Akrotiri early in LC I, after which followed a phase of demolishing dangerous walls, repairing and rebuilding others; this phase was cut short by the catastrophic volcanic eruption.²⁷ The length of time between earthquake and eruption is not known.

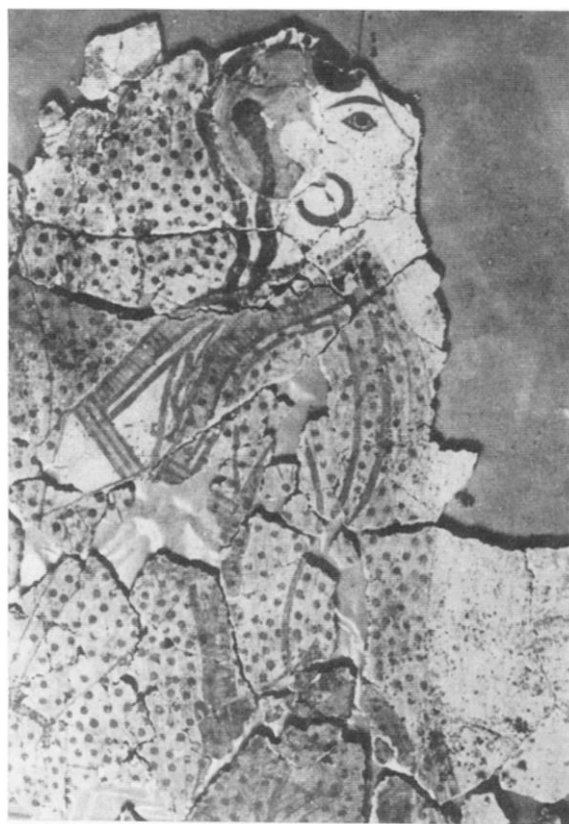


Fig. 15. Xeste 3.3: young woman with spotted veil, north wall, first floor. (After *Thera* VII, pl. 58)

²⁷ Doulas, *Thera/Pompeii* 134–35. C. Doulas, “The Stratigraphy of Akrotiri,” in *TAW* I, 780–82. C. Doulas, “The Minoan Eruption of the Santorini Volcano,” *Antiquity* 48 (1974) 110–15. C. Doulas, “Late Bronze Age Engineering in the Aegean,” *AAA* 7 (1974) 365–70. Cf. S. Marinatos, “Life and Art in Prehistoric Thera,” *ProcBritAc* 57 (1971) 359–61. Also *Thera* III, 64–65. *Thera* V, 20, 27, 44–46, pl. 37a. For architectural evidence of this sequence,

see C. Palyvou, “The Destruction of the Town at Akrotiri, Thera at the Beginning of LC I: Rebuilding Activities,” in J.A. MacGillivray and R.L.N. Barber eds., *The Prehistoric Cyclades. Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology* (Edinburgh 1984) 134–47. For the ceramic sequence, see M. Marthari, “The Destruction of the Town at Akrotiri, Thera, at the Beginning of LC I: Definition and Chronology,” also in MacGillivray and Barber, 119–33.

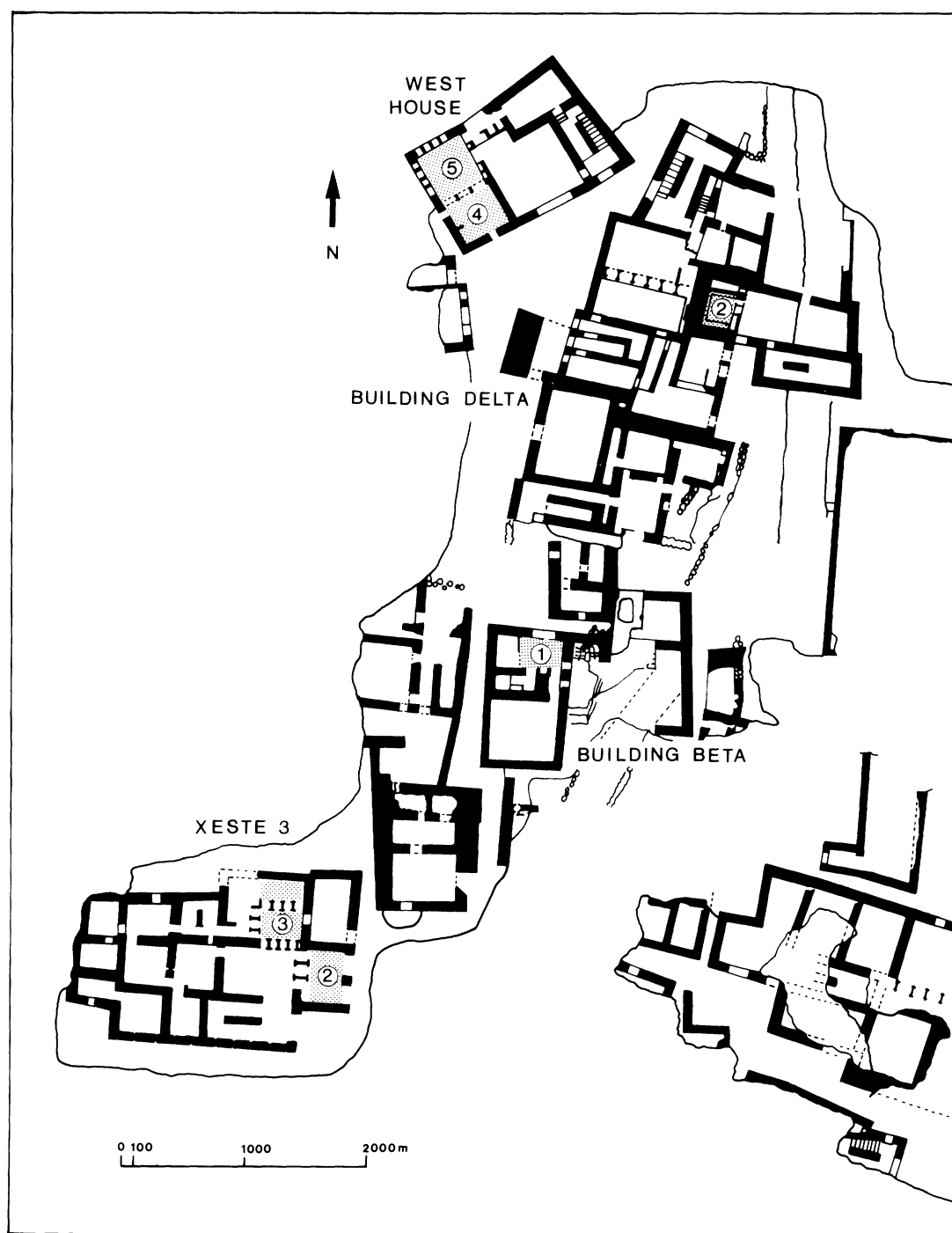


Fig. 16. Akrotiri. Plan of southern sector of the excavation. Rooms referred to in text are shaded. (After Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 46–47, fig. 5. Drawing by Mary G. Winkes)

Doumas and Palyvou have described the widespread and extensive nature of the recovery effort, which probably took years of work.²⁸ The contexts of the

frescoes in Delta 2 and Beta 1 and elsewhere indicate that restoration work had proceeded in several places to the stage of repainting interior walls. Each room

²⁸ Doumas, in *TAW II* (discussion) 344, proposed “a considerable period of time” for this interval, based on mixed MC and LC I pottery in the destruction debris from the

earthquake. Cf. *supra* n. 27: Doumas, *TAW I*, 1974a and b; Palyvou; and Marthari.

painted by our artist had been reworked or was undergoing rebuilding after an earthquake and before the final eruption.

Room Delta 2 was not only remodeled, but reoccupied. This small (2.24 × 2.60 m) ground floor room was originally built with a polythyron on the east wall. Subsequently, the polythyron was closed off in such a way that a door, window, and niche occupied the wall.²⁹ Presumably at the same time, a thin, poorly built wall of "upright wooden posts with straw and clay" was constructed across the width of the room to the north, shortening the room while forming a narrow, closet-like space between it and the original north wall. The northern part of the fresco with swallows and lilies was painted on the plaster of the new partition wall, continuing onto the west and south walls.

Less detailed information is available for Rooms 2 and 3 of Xeste 3, partly because they were located on upper floors.³⁰ Temporary workshops with tools used in building repair were located along the south wall of Xeste 3, so that restoration was evidently in progress nearby.³¹ Room 1 of Building Beta was also on an upper floor, but more of its frescoes were found in situ or close to their original location on the west, north, and east walls (the boxing boys were on the short south wall). Marinatos identified an earlier layer of painted plaster on the north wall of Beta 1 just above the flagstone floor. He observed a black band on a substratum of older plaster behind the antelopes' feet, and red-painted older plaster beneath the antelopes further up the wall.³² The repainting of Beta 1 thus provides circumstantial evidence for the antelopes as a post-earthquake painting.³³

Elsewhere at Akrotiri, Room B6 and the West House have yielded comparable evidence of reworked wall surfaces, so that a number of painters must have worked on decorating rebuilt structures. The frescoes of blue monkeys in Beta 6 covered "a substratum con-

taining entire painted fragments of an older, destroyed fresco."³⁴ In the southwest corner of Room 4 of the West House, Marinatos identified remnants of an older wall painting (of reddish paint on a cream-colored background) beneath an *ikrion* (cabin) motif.³⁵ He also noted a change in construction materials, from stones to "raw bricks," in the partition wall between Rooms 4 and 5, indicating that it had been rebuilt.³⁶ Since *ikria* were painted on the Room 4 side of this rebuilt partition, and the flotilla segment of the miniature fresco was painted on the Room 5 side, it follows that both the *ikria* and at least the miniature fresco on the south wall of Room 5 were painted after the earthquake.³⁷ The most dramatic evidence for remodeling right up to the final eruption comes from the adjacent Room 4a, the "bathroom," in which two broad-mouth jars in situ in the southeast corner contained plaster ready for use. A bowl containing red pigment was found nearby. Marinatos reported: "The upper Eastern portion of the walls were still unplastered; and of the plastered portions only the lower sections were painted ochre-yellow to a height of about 60 cm."³⁸ The incomplete plastering of the walls in 4a documents work in progress on the walls at the moment of catastrophe.

These structural or surface repairs cannot be tied with certainty to a single seismic event. On the other hand, stratigraphic and architectural evidence throughout Akrotiri consistently indicates a sequence of major destruction and rebuilding. Of the frescoes we have attributed on stylistic grounds to a single artist, the swallows and lilies in Delta 2 were painted on a partition wall added when the room was altered, while the antelopes of Beta 1 were painted over a previously painted surface. (The complicated stratigraphy of Xeste 3.2 and 3 is not yet fully published.) The painter of these naturalistic scenes must have been one of several skilled artists among the workers restoring

²⁹ Dimensions from Marinatos (*supra* n. 1) 17. Rebuilding: *Thera* V, 44–45; *Thera* VI, 12–13.

³⁰ *Thera* VI, 15–17; *Thera* VII, 22–28, pls. 32a, 33a. Doulas 1980 (*supra* n. 25).

³¹ Doulas notes (*Thera/Pompeii* 54) that basement workshops were common features at Akrotiri, so it is only a hypothesis that repair work was in progress in Xeste 3.

³² *Thera* IV, 28–33. *Thera* V, 45. *Thera* VII, 17, pl. 23b. A. Patrianakou-Iliaki, "Excavation of Wall-Paintings at the Site of Akrotiri," in *TAW* I, 657–60; discussion in *TAW* II, 311.

³³ Cf. Patrianakou-Iliaki discussion (*supra* n. 32), in which M.A.S. Cameron inquired as to whether the rubble wall with the antelopes might be a later construction than

the wall on which the boxing boys were painted. Patrianakou-Iliaki replied that she had not yet studied the issue but thought not.

³⁴ *Thera* V, 45, pls. 91–92a.

³⁵ *Thera* VI, 25–26, pls. 52–53.

³⁶ *Thera* VI, 24–25, pl. 45.

³⁷ *Thera* VI, 25. Flotilla: Doulas, *Thera/Pompeii* 105–106. N. Marinatos (*supra* n. 9) 40–44. For a clear diagram of the location of paintings in Rooms 4 and 5 of the West House, see L. Morgan, "Theme in the West House Paintings at Thera," *ArchEph* 1983, 87, fig. 2.

³⁸ *Thera* VI, 26–27, pls. 58b, 59a–d, color pl. 2. See also *Thera* VI, 10, pl. 5a–b for a large ewer full of lime (for plaster?) found in Room 7 of the House of the Ladies.

and embellishing damaged buildings after the earthquake and before the eruption. In addition to the paintings of Delta 2, Beta 1, and Xeste 3.2 and 3, archaeological evidence demonstrates that the *ikria* of Room 4 and the "flotilla" of the miniature fresco in Room 5 of the West House must date from this post-earthquake period. The diversity of styles in this small group of apparently contemporary frescoes demonstrates the difficulties of dating such paintings on the basis of style.³⁹

Remodeling is not the same as repainting. Room Delta 2 holds special interest as a modest structure which was given a new architectural arrangement, and then a new surface decoration. The reconstruction of Room Delta 2 would have changed the nature of the space in fundamental ways. Closing off the polythyron would have reduced light and ventilation just as the partition wall shortened one side of the small chamber. Originally a semi-detached alcove-like space flanking the larger Room Delta 18 to the east, Room Delta 2 was converted to a small, closed refuge. Then its walls were decorated with the swallows and lilies.

The furnishings and small finds of Delta 2 were thoroughly domestic in character. Beneath a bed in the southwest corner were storage jars, some with remains of identifiable foodstuffs such as barley and onions (fig. 17).⁴⁰ Additional large storage jars, amphoras, ewers and spouted pitchers, goblets, drinking cups, and a vessel tentatively identified as a chamber pot were found along the walls of Delta 2; they may have fallen from an upper shelf. Two ceramic roasting grills and a three-legged cooking pot were discovered in the northwest corner. At the west end of the north wall, a floor-level opening into the intramural space formed by the new partition was packed with pottery, for storage or even safekeeping. More vases, and loomweights were found in the long narrow intra-

mural space. The metal objects of Delta 2—three sickles, a knife, a dagger, a large frying pan, and a lead weight—all can be explained as mundane equipment for daily life. The contents of Delta 2 and their distribution are consistent with domestic use.⁴¹

MEANING OF THE DELTA 2 PAINTINGS

The modest size and humble location of Delta 2, on the ground floor, make the room an improbable setting for the lyrical scenes on its walls.⁴² Since none of the objects and equipment of the room is demonstrably religious in nature, any interpretation of Delta 2 as a place of special significance must be sought in the paintings alone. As is so often true in the Minoan wall painting tradition, the central question is whether lyrical naturalism carries meaning beyond pleasure to the eye. The remarkably accurate portrayal of rocks, swallows, and lilies has led some scholars to postulate that a particular landscape is represented, and others to suggest that a specific time or season was intended.⁴³ The landscape's colorful crags may have



Fig. 17. Delta 2: Bed with storage jars beneath in situ, southwest corner. (After *Thera* IV, pl. 35b)

³⁹ Cf. M.A.S. Cameron, "Theoretical Interrelations among Thera, Cretan and Mainland Frescoes," in *TAW* I, 579–92.

⁴⁰ *Thera* IV, 42–43, pls. 106–108. Marinatos (supra n. 27) 360. The bed reportedly stood 0.10 m off the floor on non-specific debris (*Thera* IV, 24 and pl. 35). There is a clear logic to the grouping of storage jars under a bed, implying contemporary association, rather than the bed being brought in at a later date. Moreover, the entire remodeled Delta 2 may have had a floor of compacted debris from the earthquake as elsewhere at the site. Palyvou (supra n. 27). Cf. *Thera* V, 22, and pl. 37a for a second floor 0.10–0.15 m above an earlier floor in Delta 16.

⁴¹ *Thera* IV, 20–25, 34–36, 38–45, pls. 28–41, 64c, 65, 67a, 70, 72, 75a, 76a, 77, 78a, 88b, 89, 91a, 98a, 101–108.

Thera VI, 11–13, pls. 12–13a.

⁴² Delta 2 is the sole ground-floor room with frescoes, except for the "lustral basin" of Xeste 3, in which steps descend to the ground level, where there are wall paintings. Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 76.

⁴³ S. Marinatos interpreted the Delta 2 landscape as a view of Thera before the eruption, *Thera* IV, 50, 53. O. Rackham, "The Flora and Vegetation of Thera and Crete Before and After the Great Eruption," in *TAW* I, 759, agrees, and further proposes a specific place "less than 1 km west of the site" which he believes provided inspiration for the Delta 2 rocks, even though the vegetation is different from the lilies in Delta 2. See also discussion, *TAW* II, 292. For specificity of season, infra ns. 46–48.

been inspired by volcanic formations on Thera, but their irregular outline, the detailing with free-form concentric ovoids, and their arrangement into triads are all comparable to contemporary Minoan painting, such as seen at Haghia Triadha, Amnisos, and Knossos.⁴⁴ Marinatos interpreted the Delta 2 fresco as a vision of the coming of spring, with courting birds and blossoming flowers symbolizing fertility and a spring festival in honor of a (hypothetical) goddess.⁴⁵ Although swallows were considered harbingers of spring in Greek literature as early as Hesiod,⁴⁶ *hirundo rustica* commonly breeds twice in one season. A first brood would require nurture and feeding through June, a second through August,⁴⁷ so that the artist may have witnessed interacting birds in either spring or summer. Moreover, the red lilies are *lilium chalcedonicum*, which flowers from June to August.⁴⁸ If the Delta 2 paintings were intended to depict a season, summer is more likely than spring.

Nanno Marinatos has described the function of the Delta 2 frescoes as a "backdrop for a ritual related to a vegetation and harvest festival," based on the congruence of the paintings' naturalism with objects associated with harvest and food preparation found in the room. She proposes that communal gatherings may have taken place in the larger room (Delta 18) in front of Delta 2.⁴⁹ As noted above, the objects and furnishings of Delta 2 are uniformly domestic in nature, and

display no obvious religious meaning or cultic function. Moreover, its small doorway made access to Delta 2 awkward; the visual impact of the swallows and lilies would have been minimal to anyone outside of Delta 2.⁵⁰ The special, unusual backdrop of the Delta 2 paintings is more likely to indicate the importance of its occupant than of the chamber itself.

These paintings may simply be decoration. Their high quality and grand design, however, seem incongruous for a tiny ground-floor room; and collaboration of multiple artists confirms that considerable resources were devoted to the painting. The use of a second painter who specialized in plants invests the lilies with greater significance. Although grouped in formulaic clusters of three stems each, the lilies are depicted with gracefully curving stems as if they were blowing gently in the breeze. Atop each stem a tripartite central bud is flanked by one to four flowers in varying stages of maturity, from tight bud to flaring trumpet. The apparent botanical precision is, however, artistically enhanced in that the lilies are shown with flowers standing upright (like the white *lilium candidum*) rather than drooping downward as is characteristic of *lilium chalcedonicum*.⁵¹ This hybridization of traits in related species has caused scholars to speculate that the red color of the lily is itself merely conventional, a convenience when painting flowers on a light ground.⁵² Is form or color more likely to be

⁴⁴ Irregular outline: e.g., Haghia Triadha, Room 14: F. Halbherr, "Hagia Triada," *MonAnt* 13 (1903) cols. 55–60, pls. VIII, X. W. Stevenson Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven 1965) figs. 106, 110. Amnisos, Room 7: Cameron (supra n. 39) 581, pl. 1 (reconstruction). Ovoids: Knossos, House of the Frescoes: *PM* II, 2: 444–54. M.A.S. Cameron, "Unpublished Paintings from the 'House of the Frescoes' at Knossos," *BSA* 63 (1968) 1–31. Cf. W. Schiering, "Steine und Malerei in der minoischen Kunst," *JdI* 75 (1960) 17–36, esp. 26–36. Triads: Thera IV, 49–50. Doumas, *Thera/Pompeii* 80. The Cretan tradition of grouping plants and trees in threes is noted by S. Hood, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (New York 1978) 55.

⁴⁵ Thera IV, 49–52, supported by P. Warren, "The Fresco of the Garlands from Knossos," in P. Darcque and J.-C. Poursat eds., *L'iconographie minoenne* (BCH Suppl. XI, Paris 1985) 203.

⁴⁶ E.g., Hes. *Op.* 568–69. For this and other roles of the swallow in Greek literature, see J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London 1977) passim (esp. 30–33). Also E.K. Borthwick, "Odysseus and the Return of the Swallow," *Greece and Rome* 35 (1988) 14–22, who emphasizes the swallow as "emblematic of domestic bliss and fidelity" (p. 17).

⁴⁷ Bent (supra n. 4) 460. Perrins (supra n. 4) 152. Both note that for *hirundo rustica* three broods in a season is not unusual.

⁴⁸ A. Huxley and W. Taylor, *Flowers in Greece and the Aegean* (London 1977) 146, fig. 338. D. Phitos (trans. P. Haritonidou), *Wild Flowers of Greece* (Athens 1965) 22. G. Sfikas, *Wild Flowers of Greece* (Athens 1982) 76–77.

⁴⁹ N. Marinatos, "The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes," in Darcque and Poursat (supra n. 45) 221–22. N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 93–94.

⁵⁰ On difficulty of access to Delta 2, see Thera VI, 12.

⁵¹ Rackham (supra n. 43) 756–57, who points out that both red and white lilies must have been cultivated garden plants on Thera, rather than native wildflowers. Cf. O. Höckmann, "Thera Floral Style in Relation to That of Crete," in *TAW* I, 605–16. I. Cerceau, "Les représentations végétales dans l'art égéen: problèmes d'identification," in Darcque and Poursat (supra n. 45) 181–84. Also Warren (supra n. 45) 191–92, 198.

⁵² It is certainly easier to paint red lilies on a light ground than to create a dark background to which white lilies are added. The *incavo* technique used for the white lilies at Amnisos is a more complicated process than simple painting. For Amnisos, see S. Marinatos, "Ἀνασκαφή Ἀμνισοῦ Κρήτης," *Prakt* 1932, 76–94. For *incavo*, see Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis (supra n. 12) esp. 162–63. Nevertheless, I find the difference between white and red too extreme to ignore for the sake of convenience. S. Petrakis, "Madonna Lilies in Aegean Wall Paintings," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 5 (1980) 15–21, classifies both red and white lilies as *lilium candidum*. She associates the choice of

changed? It seems to me more probable that an artist would adjust the position of the lilies' blossoms for aesthetic effect than change the flowers' color, especially when the difference in color is as extreme as that between white and red.

As increasing numbers of red lilies are identified at Thera, and at sites on Rhodes, Crete, and Cyprus, the importance of *lilium chalconicum* in the repertoire of Aegean painting is becoming more evident. Red lilies have been identified on wall paintings from Trianda, Haghia Triadha, and Amnisos, and they are a major motif in the fresco of the garlands at Knossos.⁵³ The red lily blossom appears as a decorative motif on Late Minoan IA pottery from Crete, and a large vase from Toumba tou Skourou, Cyprus also bears a red lily plant.⁵⁴ Nineteenth-century explorations on Thera yielded two fresco fragments with red lilies.⁵⁵ Among the frescoes of Akrotiri, two jars of red lilies flank a window in Room 4 of the West House, a young woman on the south wall of Xeste 3.3 wears a garment decorated with red lilies, and a shrine-like structure painted on the east wall of the same room has a red lily motif.⁵⁶ If there is special meaning in the fresco of Delta 2, technical details of the painting process and comparative material both point to the red lilies as the potential source.

Crocuses identical to those in Xeste 3.2 are a major focus of the young women's attention in Xeste 3.3. Like the lilies, they appear to have been painted last, after the human figures. We do not fully understand the scenes in Xeste 3.3, nor the iconography of crocuses and lilies at Akrotiri.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, present evidence attests that identifiable species of flowers, particularly crocuses and lilies, may have held more significance than simple ornament. How are we to

distinguish between meaning and decoration in recurrent non-narrative motifs? If the red lily of Xeste 3.3 was invested with religious meaning, must Delta 2's scene of red lilies indicate a religious function for that room? In modern terms, a crucifix may hang on the wall of a room without making it a shrine. Crocuses and lilies are preferred elements in Thera painting. While they may carry special content in one circumstance (such as Xeste 3.3), their role in others may be primarily decorative. The lilies of Delta 2 may represent a kind of enriched ornament, enhanced by a dormant symbolism derived from their religious role in other contexts.

By reason of its location and size, Room Delta 2 was perhaps less damaged by the earthquake than other structures at Akrotiri. As the community began to rebuild, this chamber would have been buttressed, enclosed, and embellished for an occupant of high status. The painting was done sequentially by a pair of artists, at least one of whom also worked on redecorating rooms in Building Beta and Xeste 3. The close, confining walls of Delta 2 were painted away with the airy scene of swallows and lilies. The occupant must have had the best of that precarious world—a small, apparently safe refuge in which he or she was surrounded by some of the loveliest fauna and flora of the natural world.

Room Delta 2 reveals how much can be learned from a well-preserved painting in a documented artistic and archaeological context. We recognize the distinctive hand of a painter, and some of his attitudes as he expresses his observation of bird, animal, and human behavior in bold, graceful lines. The breezy naturalism of his painting in Delta 2 stands in contrast to the room's reduced, enclosed architecture, and its do-

color with fashions in pottery (17–18). In support of the red color as important and characteristic, see Warren (supra n. 45) 192.

⁵³ Trianda: G. Monaco, "Scavi nella zona micenea di Jalisso," *ClRh* 10 (1941) 68–72, color pl. VII, 128, color pl. XI. Cf. A. Furumark, "The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550–1400 B.C.," *OpArch* 6 (1950) 177. Smith (supra n. 44) 70, fig. 104a. Haghia Triadha: Halbherr (supra n. 44) 58. L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Guida degli scavi italiani in Creta* (Rome 1947) 31, fig. 43. Cf. Smith (supra n. 44) 70, fig. 109 (after Gilléron copy). Amnisos, Room 7: Marinatos (supra n. 52) 86–91, fig. 8 (white), 8a (red) (the caption appears to be incorrect). Cameron (supra n. 39) 581, pl. 1, 584. Knossos, Garland Fresco: Warren (supra n. 45) 187–208.

⁵⁴ Toumba tou Skourou: E. Vermeule and F. Wolsky, "New Aegean Relations with Cyprus: The Minoan and Mycenaean Pottery from Toumba tou Skourou," *ProcPhilSoc* 122.5 (1978) 300–303. LM IA pottery: *PM* (supra n. 44)

469, 470, fig. 276d–e, 472–73, fig. 278b. Vermeule (302) also cites two sherds decorated with red lilies from Cyprus. Cf. W.D. Niemeier, "Die Katastrophe von Thera und die spätminoische Chronologie," *JdI* 95 (1980) 21–22.

⁵⁵ G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* 6 (Paris 1894) 537, fig. 211, 538, fig. 212. Cf. Smith (supra n. 44) 70, fig. 104b–c.

⁵⁶ Jars of red lilies in the West House: *Thera* VI, 25, pls. 47b–52, color pl. 3. Young woman with lilies on garment (south wall Xeste 3.3): *Thera* VII, 36–37, pl. 65. Cf. C. Televantou, "Ἡ γυναικεία ἐνδυμασία στὴν προϊστορική Θήρα," *ArchEph* 1984, 116, 132. N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 64–68, figs. 44, 45. Shrine-like structure: Dumas 1980 (supra n. 25) 295–96. N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 74–75, fig. 53, 82–83, fig. 57.

⁵⁷ O. Douskos, "The Crocuses of Santorini," in *TAW* II, 141–46, 314–15 (discussion). N. Marinatos (supra n. 9) 65, 74. Cameron (supra n. 39) 580, 582. Lilies: Warren (supra n. 45) 187–208, esp. 196–98, 203–204.

mestic contents. In the light of stratigraphic, architectural, and ceramic information from throughout Akrotiri, the changes to the room's form look like attempts to create a more secure chamber after the earthquake of early LC I. In this study, evidence furnished by art complements and sometimes corroborates that yielded by archaeology, and vice versa. Close scrutiny of Delta 2 and its paintings, together

with knowledge of their broader context, provides us with specific insights into artists' methods, and a more general appreciation of an individual's and a community's aesthetic priorities.

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