

FRESCOES FROM AYIA IRINI, KEOS. PARTS II-IV

(PLATES 3-12)

II. MINIATURE FIGURED SCENES

Fresco fragments fallen into Rooms 1 and 2 in the basement of the Northeast Bastion at Ayia Irini in Keos preserve representations of architectural façades, figures of men and women, deer, dogs, and horses, all painted in a miniature style.¹ These fragments belong to one unified original composition: the portrait of a hillside town and its inhabitants.

The human figures, at least fifty men and six women, conform to the conventions of Cretan miniature fresco paintings.² The men are painted red, but their faces are

¹ This study was supported in part by a grant-in-aid for research from the American Council of Learned Societies in the summer of 1974. For a review of the excavations under the direction of Professor John L. Caskey of the University of Cincinnati, see J. L. Caskey, "Investigations in Keos. Part I: Excavations and Explorations, 1966-70," *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 359-396; and "Investigations in Keos. Part II: A Conspectus of the Pottery," *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 357-401. These articles contain references to all the previous preliminary reports.

For the Northeast Bastion in particular, see *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 374-375, fig. 9 (ground-floor rooms I and II shown).

For a discussion of previously published frescoes: K. Coleman, "Frescoes from Ayia Irini. Part I," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 284-296. Appendix: "Technical Examination of Fresco Samples from Excavations at Ayia Irini," pp. 297-300, by L. J. Majewski and M. Reich.

I have discussed the presentation of these fragments over many years and received many helpful responses from colleagues. Most of all I am indebted to J. L. Caskey, E. B. Harrison, M. A. S. Cameron and M. Shaw for their insight and imagination in suggesting identifications and interpretations of the images; and to Elizabeth T. Blackburn and J. L. Caskey, my sincere gratitude for their patient editing and continued support throughout this study.

The following abbreviations will be used:

Cameron, "New Joins" = M. A. S. Cameron, "New Joins and Additions to well known Frescoes from Knossos," *Europa*, ed. W. C. Brice, Berlin 1967.

Knossos Atlas = M. A. S. Cameron and S. Hood, *Sir Arthur Evans' Knossos Fresco Atlas*, London 1967.

Lang, *Pylos* II = M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, II, *The Frescoes*, Princeton 1969.

Marinatos and Hirmer = S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae*, New York 1960. *P. of M.* = Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, London 1921-36.

Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries* = G. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, Halle 1921.

Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II = G. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, *Die Fresken des Palastes*, Athens 1912.

Sakellariou, *CMS* I = A. Sakellariou, *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, I, *Der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseum in Athen*, edd. F. Matz and H. Biesantz, Berlin 1964.

Smith, *Interconnections* = W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, New Haven 1965.

² For example: at Knossos, *P. of M.* III, pp. 31 ff.; and at Tylissos, M. C. Shaw, "The Miniature Frescoes of Tylissos Reconsidered," *AA* (JdI 87), 1972, pp. 171-188.



characterized by pronounced profiles with hooked noses and sharp chins, quite different from the more rounded Minoan faces. Their hair, with few exceptions, is short and unadorned. The women are painted white, and their profiles are softer, their hair elaborately dressed. The woman in fragment 56 (Pl. 3:e) wears a wreath of white flower petals intertwined in her upswept hair. All the figures are barefoot and dressed in garments suitable to their activities. No entire figure is preserved, but an estimated height of 0.059 to 0.087 m. can be obtained by combining measurements from different fragments. The preserved heads range from 0.01 to 0.014 m. in height, providing a proportion of 1:6 for the head to the body.³

Eight figures are dancing, six men dressed in tight-fitting, short-sleeved, knee-length white chitons, and two women in fleecy skirts (Pl. 4). Several of the men have their mouths open, as if singing, and both arms raised with open hands, gesturing. Four of the men and both women are moving to the left; another man has his head turned to the right but his feet are not preserved. Probably a row of figures, not a circular dance, should be restored. All are shown against a simple tan background, possibly representing a prepared dancing floor deliberately cleared of vegetation.

The short chiton worn by the men is common on mainland frescoes, but does not appear in Minoan art; the kilt (?) worn by one dancer (62) is closest to representations of kilts on inlaid daggers and seals from Mycenae.⁴ The fleecy skirts worn by the two women (63) are unusual; the closest parallels occur on a sardonyx seal from Vapheio and on the Haghia Triadha sarcophagus.⁵ One figure (65; Pl. 4:b) which I have associated with these dancers is a complete surprise. He appears to be a caricature; his head is enormous with an exaggerated hooked nose and pointed chin, his shoulders are sloping, his abdomen sags, and he is completely nude. Although the outline of his body resembles the outline of a man wrapped in a himation (cf. 72) there is no indication that the red was intended as a guide for a later application of white, and I think that he is an intentional grotesque. It is tempting to see his role in the dancing scene as one of religious significance.

At least nineteen men are taking part in a procession (Pl. 4:c), dressed in long white himation-like garments draped around one shoulder and carrying offerings in their hands or suspended from long red poles. Some of these figures overlap one another; all are shown moving slowly, at least six to the left, eight to the right. Each man is shown with the 'himation' draped over the shoulder away from the viewer regardless of whether it is the left or right; this is probably an attempt to clarify the

³ M. A. S. Cameron, "An Addition to La Parisienne," *ΧρητΧρον* 18, 1964, p. 47, note 31, cites the typical proportion in Minoan miniature painting as 1:5.

⁴ Chiton: Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries*, pl. II; *idem*, *Tiryns* II, pl. XI: 4; Lang, *Pylos* II, pl. 13 (17 H 43; 16 H 43).

Kilt: Marinatos and Hirmer, pl. XXXVI, bottom (dagger, Shaft Grave IV); Sakellariou, *CMS* I, no. 9 (seal, Shaft Grave III), no. 16 (ring, Shaft Grave IV); Lang, *Pylos* II, pl. 4 (5f H 5).

⁵ Sakellariou, *CSM* I, no. 226; Marinatos and Hirmer, pl. XXIX: A.

representation rather than a reflection of actual variations in the draping of the garment.

One of these men seems to be carrying a steatite (?) stone vase represented by a large dark blue rectangle held in his hand (70); another balances a pole over his shoulder from which is suspended a large jar⁶ (68); a third supports a pole from which hangs a sack of irregular shape, perhaps filled with cheese (66). At least two of the men (71 and 73) are distinguished from the others by elaborate hairstyles and what seems to be a canopy behind their heads. Both these face the right, receiving the offerings (?), and one (73) holds his hand in front of his face in a Minoan religious gesture. Although the majority of the figures wear all-white 'himatia', at least two wear garments with striped borders of blue or yellow.

The long himation, worn without a chiton underneath, is comparatively rare in Aegean art. It appears on the priest on the Haghia Triadha harvester vase and possibly on the figure on a jasper seal from Knossos.⁷ Although the same garment may be represented in the miniature scene in the West House at Akrotiri, Thera, it is not worn in the same way with the emphasis on the loose end thrown over the shoulder.⁸

At least six horses, possibly nine, are preserved (Pl. 7). Four of these are standing together in pairs, facing left, a white horse alongside a black one in the traditional method of depicting a two-horse chariot in Aegean art. A large black head is drawn at a scale suitable for one of these horses; a white one must belong to another single horse facing left. Fragments 121 and 120 preserve part of a chariot box painted in vivid colors and a chariot wheel.⁹ A chariot scene on a Late Helladic I ring from Mycenae shows the horses in the Cretan flying-gallop pose,¹⁰ but when the motif is introduced at Knossos in Late Minoan II/Late Minoan III A¹¹ the horses appear to be standing still or walking slowly forward. The Keian horses are clearly standing and should be connected with the procession.

The fragments of architectural representations suggest the façade of a town set on a hillside (Pl. 3). Buildings appear side by side and above and behind each other, a light blue sky is seen above several roofs; traces of outdoor scenes are preserved beside some of the walls. The construction materials are indicated according to the conventions of Aegean fresco painting. White areas divided horizontally and vertically by black lines represent courses of ashlar stone masonry, red-brown areas divided in a similar fashion probably represent courses of local schist (?) or mud brick, dark

⁶ Cf. Shaw, *AA* (*JdI* 87), 1972, fragment 9, fig. 7; the Tylissos jug is painted solid red while ours is in red outline, but the iconography and style are extremely close.

⁷ Marinatos and Hirmer, pl. 103; Evans, *P. of M.* IV, fig. 336.

⁸ S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera* VI, Athens 1974, color pl. 8, left: West House, Room 5, north wall.

⁹ I am indebted to M. Cameron for this identification. The wheel fragment (120) preserves parts of the spokes of a typical four-spoked chariot wheel.

¹⁰ Sakellariou, *CMS* I, no. 15.

¹¹ M. A. S. Cameron, "Unpublished Fresco Fragments of a Chariot Composition from Knossos," *AA* (*JdI* 82), 1967, pp. 341-343.

blue rectangles represent windows or doors, the wooden frames painted yellow brown.¹² Different building materials may be combined in one structure but usually the upper course of each building is of ashlar masonry with one or two large white pointed oval crenellations on the roof.¹³ The red-brown structure on fragment **38** may represent a tower projecting in front of adjacent lower ashlar buildings. The courses of masonry are carefully indicated, the windows are small and set high in the wall, and the crenellations are imposing.

The fragments of architectural scenes found in Room 1 are all at the same scale; at least twenty-two different buildings are represented. Seventeen areas of ashlar masonry are preserved, ten of local schist (?) or mud brick, and four tan (plastered?) wall surfaces. Ten windows or doors can be identified and thirteen crenellations, six against a blue background, five against tan, and two against a white background which may represent another building behind, higher on the hillside.

The fragments of architectural representations found in Room 2 are at a slightly larger scale, and the inner details are sloppily executed or omitted. In this group at least six buildings are represented. Two of these have cavetto-like stone moldings above and below a horizontal wooden beam (**48**; Pl. 3:c) and a third has a pillar or courses of white stone at the corner of a wall made of local stone or brick (**50**; Pl. 3:d).

Architectural façades are common in miniature frescoes from Crete, the Cyclades and the mainland.¹⁴ The crenellations which appear on the roofs of the Ayia Irini buildings, however, are without parallel in Aegean art.¹⁵ They are similar in form to ones seen on Hittite clay models of the 15th and 16th centuries, where they appear to be used as decorative and religious motives as well as representations of actual fortifications.¹⁶ The Hittite crenellations were often constructed of carved stone plaques, and it is most likely that our examples represent similar stone plaques or plastered mud constructions rather than solid stone cones.¹⁷

Two women appear in window or door openings (Pl. 3:e), standing inside,

¹² Clearly the colors, if not intended to indicate specific building materials, are meant to differentiate the structural parts: an area of white crossed by irregular black lines (**56**) appears to represent polygonal stone masonry, reinforcing the interpretation of white as stone.

¹³ It is possible that the white color in the upper courses and in the crenellations does not indicate stone, but crude brick, whitewashed and painted in imitation of masonry, a common practice in modern-day Greece.

¹⁴ Evans, *P. of M.* III, figs. 36, 47 (Knossos), fig. 49 (Tylissos); Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, pl. I, 1; *idem*, *Der Fries*, pl. II; Lang, *Pylos* II, pl. R (1 A 2); *Knossos Atlas*, pl. IV: 15.

¹⁵ A possible exception is a sherd from the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos which may show similar solid conical forms on an altar. I am indebted for this reference to Gerald Cadogan.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Prof. E. Porada for this observation. E. Porada, "Battlements in the Military Architecture and in the Symbolism of the Ancient Near East," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London 1967, pp. 2 and 6, figs. 3 and 6. Close contact with Anatolia both in trade and the interchange of visual motives occurs at this time (see Smith, *Interconnections*, pp. 29, 35, 49).

¹⁷ Porada, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 and 5.

against a dark blue background.¹⁸ It is unlikely that they were drawn by the same artist; they differ slightly in scale and also in the clarity of the interior details. Both represent the Minoan female image, wearing open-bodied dresses with their hair piled on their heads. One (56) holds her hand in front of her face but with her hand open rather than closed in the traditional Minoan religious gesture; the other (55) may be balancing a basket on her head. Fragment 57 preserves the outstretched arms of a third woman against a similar dark blue background. These figures are probably spectators linking the architecture to the action outside. In addition, fragment 58 preserves the leg and foot of a woman walking to the right through marsh grasses, the corner of an ashlar masonry building behind her. It is unclear with which group this woman should be associated. She wears neither the fleecy skirt nor the bell-skirted Minoan dress, but instead a blue knee-length garment of soft, loose cloth.

Seven men are hunting, dressed in loose, knee-length white chitons (Pl. 5). They are climbing over rocks and moving through streams. The representation of landscape by variegated veined rocks and curving ribbons of water occurs in Aegean frescoes in differing degrees of naturalism,¹⁹ but there is little concession to realistic detail in these examples except for the overlapping of blue over red for feet stepping into water. Three hunters are moving to the right, three to the left or standing still. One (83) carries both a spear (?) diagonally over one shoulder and a pole balanced horizontally on the other, from which dangles a large brown crescent-shaped object. This hunter is distinguished from the others by the strange tufted black hair jutting straight up all over his head.

Fragments of at least five, possibly seven, deer are preserved (Pl. 6:d). Drawn to approximately the same scale as the hunters, they appear against the same tan background with a minimal suggestion of landscape. The does are moving slowly to the left or grazing; their brown coloring and white spots identify them as fallow deer, a species known to have existed in the Aegean in the Bronze Age.²⁰ Mainland representations of this species are common,²¹ but the Ayia Irini deer are closer in style to the more naturalistic rendering of the Haghia Triadha deer than to the later stylized and heavily outlined examples from Tiryns.²² One stag is extended in a flying gallop,

¹⁸ A common Aegean motive: e.g. Evans, *P. of M.* II, fig. 375 (Knossos); Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries*, pl. II. Because of the destruction of the lower part of these two fragments it is not certain whether they should be thought of as in a window/door or on a balcony; e.g. Marinatos and Hirmer, pl. XLIII, top (Mycenae). For an example of this motive influencing Anatolian iconography see the Bitik vase, *Archaeology* 19, 1966, p. 194.

¹⁹ E.g. the House of the Frescoes at Knossos, Evans, *P. of M.* II, pp. 431-467; M. A. S. Cameron, "Unpublished Paintings from the 'House of the Frescoes' at Knossos," *BSA* 63, 1968, pp. 1-31, compared to Lang, *Pylos* II, pp. 122-131.

²⁰ I am indebted to Jennie Coy for this information, confirmed by her studies in paleofaunal remains.

²¹ Sakellariou, *CMS* I, no. 13 (Mycenae, Shaft Grave III); no. 15 (Shaft Grave IV); Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, figs. 60, 61.

²² Smith, *Interconnections*, pp. 77-79, fig. 110 after Gilliéron (Haghia Triadha); fig. 123 (Tiryns); Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, figs. 60, 61.

followed closely below by an elongated white greyhound-like dog (112).²³ Paws of several other white dogs are preserved. It appears that the hunters' dogs have just reached the herd: only the last deer has noticed them and started to flee in panic.

Set against a background of an architectural façade drawn at a larger scale than any of the other buildings, several men dressed in white loin-cloths are tending two large tripod cauldrons, stirring the contents (90; Pl. 6).²⁴ The background is tan, but across the foreground runs a strip of bright blue, drawn with such a straight outline that it is uncertain whether it represents the edge of a body of water or an arbitrary border pattern limiting the scene. Below it is an area of white and the remains of a black line forming an arc. No other fragments of this composition show any traces of border designs, and this same blue stripe is associated with the carefully drawn feet of two other men and appears behind the torso of a third, so the interpretation as water seems the most plausible. Parts of the cauldron fragment are damaged but it is clear that the two men are leaning over the cooking pots while a third brings something brown to them from a red table (?) at the right. Other men approach the scene from the left. The same brown used for this unknown object is used for the hunter's burden. Should it be interpreted as venison?

Further support for the interpretation of the bright blue as water is provided by another group of three men (96) dressed in white loincloths, kneeling in a boat rowing (Pl. 6:c). Fragment 97 preserves the hull of a boat, painted with leaping dolphins,²⁵ and fragment 99 (Pl. 5:c) a sail (?) behind the head of a fourth man. The blue color used for the sea in these fragments is identical with that of the stripe in the cauldron scene.

In addition to these fragments from the Northeast Bastion, Area M, five fragments of men were recovered from House B, Rooms II and III.

Fragments 129-132 (Pl. 7:c) belong to men drawn in a miniature style, but at almost twice the size of the ones described above. The background is white, the men red, with some black outlines. They may belong to another processional scene; 129 preserves the upper arm of a man carrying a conical, white stone rhyton.

Fragment 133 preserves the central part of a man's face, drawn at approximately one-half life size.²⁶ The frontal eye is heavily outlined in black, the white a paste-like added pigment. The profile of the face is not fully preserved.

CATALOGUE

Architectural façades: 35-54; women associated with architecture: 55-58; dancers: 59-65; procession: 66-82; hunters: 83-89; cauldron scene: 90-95; boat scene: 96-99; miscellaneous males: 100-105; deer and dogs: 106-113; horses and chariot: 114-121; miscellaneous, 122-133.

²³ Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, fig. 55.

²⁴ The loincloth/codpiece appears in both Minoan and Helladic representations: *Knossos Atlas*, pl. IV, 3; Shaw, *AA (JdI 87)*, 1972, fig. 3 (Tylissos); Sakellariou, *CMS* I, no. 126 (Mycenae); Lang, *Pylos* II, pls. 116, C (36 H 105). It should be associated with activity rather than a cultural group.

²⁵ Cf. Marinatos, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), color pl. 9.

²⁶ M. A. S. Cameron was the first to suggest this interpretation.

Northeast Bastion, Rooms 1 and 2

The plaster is white and fairly fine; three layers are distinguishable: a coarse layer of *ca.* 0.003 m., a finer layer of *ca.* 0.002 m. and a very fine layer of *ca.* 0.004 m. which forms a prepared surface for the paint. The surface is hard and smooth (on some fragments the salinity of the soil water has destroyed portions of the surface). The paints are well bonded, the overpainted colors thicker, especially the paste-like white. The light-blue color has bonded the least well. The colors are red, red brown, yellow brown, brown, tan, bright blue, dark blue, black and white. Some of the architectural representations have impressed string marks for guide lines.

The undersurfaces are varied: some are flat with vertical striations in the plaster indicating that it was applied directly onto schist slabs; others are extremely uneven and preserve traces of vegetable matter imbedded in a mud-plaster layer beneath. The average thickness of the fragments varies from 0.006 to 0.015 m. but several pieces are between 0.026 and 0.03 m. in thickness.

Room 1: **35-46, 50, 52-58, 69, 84, 91, 99, 102-105, 107-110, 112, 117, 128.** Also from Room 4 near door of Room 1: **66.**

Room 2: **47-49, 51, 59-65, 67, 68, 70-83, 85-90, 92-98, 100, 101, 106, 111, 113-116, 118-127.**

35. (F.34) Two pieces joined, 0.049×0.055 , Th. 0.01 - 0.012 m.; surface damaged, blue flaking off, cracks filled. Ashlar building with two crenellations, blue background.

36. (F.43) Pl. 3:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.063×0.095 , Th. 0.011 - 0.025 m.; surface worn, almost lost at right of string mark, cracks filled. Ashlar building with wood-framed window, edge of crenellation, red brown at top; tree at left, another building (?) to right of vertical string mark.

37. (F.38) Pl. 3:a; single piece, 0.051×0.058 , Th. 0.018 - 0.026 m. Ashlar building with crenellation, tower (red-brown masonry) topped by ashlar at right, tan background.

38. (F.35) Pl. 3:b; 4 pieces joined, 0.079×0.108 , Th. 0.008 - 0.03 m.; surface damaged, cracks filled. Central tower flanked by ashlar buildings. Two windows in tower, red-brown stone(?) masonry; ashlar courses and two crenellations above; traces of crenellations on adjacent roofs; blue background.

39. (F.83) Single piece, 0.038×0.032 , Th. 0.01 m. Ashlar building, red brown to right of vertical string mark (cf. **36**).

40. (F.158) Pl. 3:d; single piece, 0.051×0.038 , Th. 0.006 - 0.01 m. Ashlar building with crenellation, tan background; red-brown masonry between ashlar courses; two vertical string marks.

41. (F.42) Pl. 3:d; single piece, 0.059×0.062 , Th. 0.009 - 0.012 m.; surface destroyed at right. Three vertical wall ends or pillars of ashlar, red-brown masonry, wood(?); window or door?

42. (F.37) Pl. 3:d; single piece, 0.045×0.067 , Th. 0.012 m.; surface damaged. Ashlar masonry, wood beam (?), blue windows (?), tan background.

43. (F.55) Pl. 3:c; 4 pieces joined, 0.098×0.06 , Th. 0.007 - 0.011 m.; surface damaged, cracks filled. Ashlar building with crenellation, outdoor areas on either side (?), red and brown beams across blue-green area at right of vertical string mark.

44. (F.156) Pl. 3:d; single piece, 0.042×0.068 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface damaged. Two or three ashlar buildings, two crenellations, one building behind others next to tan background.

45. (F.160) Single piece; 0.04×0.025 , Th. 0.008 m. Ashlar masonry (slanted horizontal divisions) and wood-framed window.

46. (F.36) Single piece, 0.017×0.025 , Th. 0.001 - 0.013 m. Ashlar masonry and wood-framed window.

47. (F.113) Single piece; 0.036×0.024 , Th. 0.007 m.; surface worn. Ashlar building with wood-framed window.

48. (F.126) Pl. 3:c; 3 pieces joined; 0.102×0.087 , Th. 0.006 - 0.013 m.; cracks filled. Three ashlar buildings on hill; sparsely drawn inner masonry divisions, horizontal beams, crenellations, profile of cornice molding; black blob in center (mistake), tan background.

49. (F.112) Five pieces joined; 0.13×0.082 , Th. 0.009 - 0.015 m.; surface worn. Ashlar building with horizontal beams; tan background.

50. (F.33) Pl. 3:d; 2 pieces joined, 0.087×0.057 , Th. 0.008 - 0.013 m. Red-brown construction, vertical ashlar pillar, outdoor area at side.

51. (F.22) Single piece, 0.035×0.026 , Th. 0.007 - 0.009 m. Red-brown construction in courses.

52. (F.39) Single piece, 0.032×0.026 , Th. 0.01 m. Beams(?), parallel strips of white, red brown, tan, yellow brown, tan.

53. (F.80) Pl. 3:d; 2 pieces joined, 0.055×0.028 , Th. 0.006 - 0.011 m. Ashlar masonry, tan background.

54. (F.95) Pl. 3:d; 4 pieces joined, 0.093×0.043 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface damaged. Pillar (?) of ashlar masonry, wood (?) at right, tan background, possibly outdoors, at left.

55. (F.29) Pl. 3:e; 3 pieces joined, 0.076×0.081 , Th. 0.01 - 0.011 m.; surface damaged. Woman in open window or door, facing right, left arm raised over head, holding object (basket?), right arm bent down, hand at waist. Black hair, white skin, red eye, red dress with open bodice. Wooden door or window frame, red-brown wall.

56. (F.56) Pl. 3:e; 8 pieces joined, 0.088×0.09 , Th. 0.006 - 0.009 m.; surface damaged. Woman in open window or door, facing left, right arm bent up with hand raised in front of face, left arm down. Black hair, white petal wreath, white skin, black eye, brown dress which leaves shoulders bare. Wooden door or window frame, set in white stone(?) polygonal masonry.

57. (F.32) Single piece, 0.024×0.019 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface damaged. Woman's two arms in window or door opening(?).

58. (F.9) Pl. 3:f; single piece; 0.05×0.065 , Th. 0.011 - 0.02 m. Woman moving right, grasses, edge of building. Right leg and foot, blue dress, ashlar masonry behind, yellow-ochre and blue grasses and reeds.

59. (F.104) Pl. 4:a; single piece, 0.033×0.049 , Th. 0.011 m.; surface damaged. Man, head turned to left, arm raised over head, wearing chiton.

60. (F.110) Pl. 4:a; single piece, 0.033×0.035 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface worn. Man, head turned to left, arms raised over head, wearing chiton, brown canopy (?), black outline behind head.

61. (F.117) Pls. 4:a, 5:c; single piece, 0.036×0.03 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged. Man, head turned to right, right arm bent up, hand open, fingers of left hand at chest.

62. (F.140) Pl. 4:a; 2 pieces joined, 0.079×0.065 , Th. 0.01 - 0.022 m.; surface worn, cracks filled. Two men, running to the left, feet at left, leg and black-outlined chiton or kilt at right, horizontal red line at bottom.

63. (F.114) Pl. 4:a; single piece, 0.052×0.048 , Th. 0.007 - 0.008 m.; surface damaged. Two women, moving left, wearing feather or fleece skirts of white or blue green outlined in black.

64. (F.147) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.03×0.026 , Th. 0.007 m.; surface stained with black dots. Man, torso in chiton and left arm bent up at elbow.

65. (F.144) Pl. 4:b; single piece, 0.04×0.044 , Th. 0.008 - 0.013 m.; surface worn. Man, facing left. Large head, round shoulders, tapering arms, large abdomen, no trace of clothing. Black hair, white eye, trace of black lines at waist.

66. (F.24) Pl. 4:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.074×0.049 , Th. 0.015 - 0.017 m.; surface damaged. Man, moving left, carrying sack suspended from pole over left shoulder, wearing 'himation'; man, at right, hand open, arm bent up, facing left.

67. (F.131) Pl. 4:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.047×0.049 , Th. 0.006 - 0.008 m.; surface stained with black dots. Man, moving right, carrying two horizontal poles, one on left shoulder, the other at waist level, wearing 'himation'.

68. (F.122) Pl. 4:c; single piece, 0.043×0.038 , Th. 0.007 - 0.009 m.; gouge at top. Man, moving right, carrying jar suspended from pole over his right shoulder, wearing 'himation'.

69. (F.30) Pl. 4:c; single piece, 0.039×0.042 , Th. 0.007 - 0.009 m.; surface worn. Two men, moving right, overlapping, wearing 'himatia' with black lines indicating folds of cloth, blue- and yellow stripes (border of cloth?) at left.

70. (F.145) Pl. 4:c; 6 pieces joined, 0.058×0.054 , Th. 0.004 - 0.009 m.; surface worn, cracks filled. Man, moving left, left arm down, carrying in right a dark blue object in front of him, wearing 'himation', outlined in black.

71. (F.129) Pl. 4:c; single piece, 0.024×0.049 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged and restored at top left. Man, facing right, elaborate hair, wearing 'himation', light-blue and brown area behind head.

72. (F.150) Pl. 4:c; single piece, 0.042×0.03 , Th. 0.011 m.; surface worn. Man, facing left, left arm down, right raised in front of him, wearing 'himation'.

73. (F.154) Pl. 4:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.037×0.036 , Th. 0.004 - 0.006 m.; surface damaged. Man, facing right, elaborate hair, brown canopy outlined in black over head, hand raised in front of face.

74. (F.130) Two pieces joined, 0.052×0.063 , Th. 0.005 - 0.007 m.; surface worn. Man, standing frontally, hands clasped in front of chest, head facing right, wearing chiton and 'himation', brown tree (?) at left, diagonal blue stripes at far left.

75. (F.132) Single piece, 0.05×0.055 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface worn. Man, moving left, arm down, wearing 'himation'(?), dark blue-black area at left.

76. (F.20) Single piece, 0.048×0.04 , Th. 0.012 m.; surface worn. Man, wearing 'himation'(?), light-blue area at left, light-blue and brown blobs around legs.

77. (F.139) Pl. 5:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.035×0.058 , Th. 0.015 m.; surface damaged and stained with black dots, paint flaked off. Two (?) male heads and shoulders, facing right, wearing 'himatia', arms bent up, light-blue background.

78. (F.149) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.03×0.038 , Th. 0.008 - 0.01 m.; surface stained with black dots. Man, facing right, arms crossed in front of body, hands open, wearing 'himation'(?), outlined in black.

79. (F.146) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.03×0.03 , Th. 0.005 m. Foot of man moving left, wearing 'himation'(?), outlined in black.

80. (F.148) Pl. 5:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.026×0.038 , Th. 0.006 - 0.008 m.; surface stained with black dots. Man, facing left, left arm down, hand open, trace of right arm in front of body, wearing 'himation'(?), outlined in black.

81. (F.152) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.027×0.039 , Th. 0.01 - 0.016 m.; surface damaged. Male legs, light-blue border of himation, outlined in black, light-blue background.

82. (F.153) Single piece, 0.037×0.036 , Th. 0.004 - 0.006 m.; paint chipped at edges. 'Himation' (?) of light blue, outlined in black and white with traces of red at edges (male arms?).

83. (F.111) Pl. 5:a; 3 pieces joined, 0.105×0.076 , Th. 0.01 - 0.017 m.; surface damaged. Hunter (?) walking left, carrying two spears, one diagonally over left shoulder, one horizontally over right. Black tufted helmet, red spears, chiton, brown object at left (hind part of deer? hanging off spear?), black and gray area at right.

84. (F.86) Pl. 5:b; 4 pieces joined, 0.077×0.082 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface worn and stained with black dots, cracks filled. Man, walking right, arm bent at elbow in front of body, wearing chiton, rocks or water below.

85. (F.106) Pl. 5:b; 3 pieces joined, 0.049×0.055 , Th. 0.005 - 0.006 m.; surface worn. Man, walking right, wearing chiton, stepping into water (?); male feet by edge of water at right.

86. (F.105) Pl. 5:b; single piece, 0.042×0.035 , Th. 0.006 m.; surface stained with black dots. Male foot near water.

87. (F.107) Pl. 5:b; 2 pieces joined, 0.048×0.052 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface worn, cracks filled. Male leg, facing left, trace of second leg at right, blue and white rocks (?) at lower left.

88. (F.116) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.045×0.041 , Th. 0.008 m. Male leg, facing left, brown area under foot at left.
89. (F.143) Two pieces joined, 0.035×0.033 , Th. 0.005 m.; stained with black dots. Black-and-white-striped and red blobs (conglomerate rock?), over tan and light blue.
90. (F.142) Pl. 6:a,b; 13 pieces joined, 0.16×0.195 , Th. 0.006 - 0.016 m.; surface damaged, stained with black dots. Two men wearing loincloths, leaning over two cauldrons, stirring the contents; third man (badly preserved) at right; brown building, ashlar building, ashlar pillar, behind to left. Below: strip of light blue (water?), white beneath with brown vertical and black line (border? boat?).
91. (F.21) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.038×0.042 , Th. 0.007 - 0.009 m.; surface gouged and stained with black dots. Male leg, moving right, light blue with brown vertical and white below.
92. (F.115) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.024×0.025 , Th. 0.006 m. Two male feet, crossing at the ankles, both moving right, light blue below.
93. (F.119) Pl. 5:c; 3 pieces joined, 0.04×0.031 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged. Man, frontal, right arm bent up at elbow, hand open, wearing chiton, light-blue strip below elbow.
94. (F.151) Pl. 4:a; single piece, 0.027×0.029 , Th. 0.007 m.; surface damaged. Man, wearing chiton outlined in black, arm down, moving left; second male leg at right.
95. (F.120) Single piece, 0.04×0.031 , Th. 0.007 - 0.008 m.; surface badly destroyed. Man, bending or kneeling, facing left, clothing destroyed.
96. (F.99) Pl. 6:c; single piece, 0.081×0.046 , Th. 0.005 - 0.008 m.; surface worn. Three men, kneeling, facing left, wearing loincloths. Rowing (?): brown vertical thole pin (?) between each man; each raises one arm, bent at the elbow, but reaches out and down with the other; surrounded by blue (water).
97. (F.123) Pl. 6:c; 3 pieces joined, 0.088×0.034 , Th. 0.01 m.; surface damaged and stained with black dots. Boat in blue sea. Sides of boat painted white with leaping dolphins of blue and yellow brown.
98. (F.135) Pl. 6:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.078×0.043 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged. Part of boat (?): red and brown posts or beams over white, red and brown half-rosette (?) pattern in center of white, blue underneath.
99. (F.31) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.038×0.03 , Th. 0.014 m.; surface damaged. Man, facing left, light-blue background with wide, diagonally limited areas of white, outlined in black, above his head.
100. (F.100) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.035×0.037 , Th. 0.014 m.; surface worn. Male head, facing right, trace of white on shoulder.
101. (F.133) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.013×0.015 , Th. 0.006 m. Male head, facing right.
102. (F.26) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.018×0.019 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface worn. Male head facing right, curving black line behind head.
103. (F.27) Pl. 5:c; single piece, 0.018×0.026 , Th. 0.006 - 0.007 m.; surface worn. Male head (?) facing left.
104. (F.28) Single piece, 0.033×0.03 , Th. 0.01 m. Male leg and foot?
105. (F.25) Three pieces joined, 0.045×0.037 , Th. 0.008 - 0.01 m. Male leg? flower stalk?
106. (F.121) Pl. 6:d; 7 pieces joined, 0.078×0.075 , Th. 0.007 - 0.01 m.; surface worn, cracks filled. Deer walking left, white spots and underbelly, trace of black outlines.
107. (F.279) Single piece, 0.067×0.076 , Th. 0.01 - 0.012 m.; surface worn. Front legs and chest of deer walking left, white spots and underbelly.
108. (F.278) Single piece, 0.07×0.082 , Th. 0.011 m.; surface mostly destroyed. Body and hind leg of deer walking left, white underbelly outlined in black.
109. (F.280) Single piece, 0.034×0.028 , Th. 0.01 m. Deer leg.
110. (F.40) Two pieces joined, 0.043×0.034 , Th. 0.008 - 0.01 m. Deer leg?

111. (F.108) Pl. 6:d; single piece, 0.041×0.031 , Th. 0.005 m.; surface damaged. Muzzle of deer, facing left, brown with black nose and white under chin outlined in black.

112. (F.79+85) Pl. 6:d; 7 pieces joined, 0.118×0.092 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged, destroyed at far right. Stag running to left, white underbelly and herringbone spots, flying-gallop pose. Tail and hind leg of white dog in flying-gallop pose below, also running left.

113. (F.281) Pl. 6:d; 2 pieces joined, 0.025×0.027 , Th. 0.006 - 0.008 m.; cracks filled. Paw and tail of white dog.

114. (F.128) Pl. 7:a; single piece, 0.056×0.059 , Th. 0.007 - 0.029 m.; surface worn. Horse legs: white and black, third white leg altered from original white tail.

115. (F.109) Pl. 7:a; 2 pieces joined, 0.034×0.033 , Th. 0.008 - 0.01 m.; surface worn, cracks filled. Black hoofs of white and gray horse legs.

116. (F.282) Pl. 7:a, b; 2 pieces joined, 0.112×0.082 , Th. 0.01 m.; surface worn. White horse head looking left, black eye and outline, trace of red over large ear, unclear blue at upper right.

117. (F.44) Pl. 7:a, b; single piece, 0.037×0.025 , Th. 0.005 - 0.007 m.; surface worn. Black horse head, looking left, white eye.

118. (F.102) Pl. 7:a; 2 pieces joined, 0.027×0.038 , Th. 0.006 m. Two white legs (horse?).

119. (F.101) Single piece; 0.031×0.051 , Th. 0.007 m.; surface stained with black dots. Body and hind leg of white hoofed animal, facing left.

120. (F.125) Pl. 7:a; single piece, 0.038×0.03 , Th. 0.005 m. Part of chariot wheel; brown, white, black outlines, tan background.

121. (F.124) Pl. 7:a; single piece, 0.02×0.021 , Th. 0.005 - 0.007 m. Part of chariot box; brown, red, white, light blue, black outlines.

122. (F.136) Single piece, 0.035×0.03 , Th. 0.01 m. Part of bull hide.

123. (F.138) Single piece, 0.02×0.04 , Th. 0.015 m.; surface partly destroyed. Fabric (?) or necklace (?) : red dots on white over light blue.

124. (F.118) Single piece, 0.024×0.018 , Th. 0.005 m.; surface damaged. Fabric (?) : red and black floral pattern on white over light blue.

125. (F.134) Single piece, 0.03×0.045 , Th. 0.01 m. Part of ship? Geometric pattern of black lines and red dots on white; light-blue area adjacent.

126. (F.137) Single piece, 0.032×0.04 , Th. 0.007 m. Same as **124**.

127. (F.155) Four pieces joined, 0.085×0.042 , Th. 0.008 m. Rock pattern (?) of red and brown round forms on tan next to light blue.

128. (F.159) Two pieces joined, 0.083×0.06 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged. Two male legs (?), dark blue area, prickly bush of yellow and blue.

House B, Rooms II and III

The plaster is white and fine, the surface slick, the paints extremely well bonded. The colors are an unpainted white background, a deep red, added white and black. The average thickness of the fragments is 0.005 to 0.008 m.

129. (F.47) Pl. 7:c; 3 pieces joined, 0.038×0.04 , Th. 0.01 m. Part of male arm, bent at elbow, white stone rhyton, outlined in black, held in arm, white background.

130. (F.97) Pl. 7:c; 2 pieces joined, 0.022×0.028 , Th. 0.007 m. Male arm (?) ; stone vessel (?) of white, black outlines, trace of red.

131. (F.48) Pl. 7:c; single piece, 0.027×0.038 , Th. 0.008 m. Man: back of neck and top of shoulder, looking right, white background.

132. (F.49) Pl. 7:c; single piece, 0.025×0.03 , Th. 0.008. Male shoulder (?), white background.

133. (F.50) Pl. 7:d; single piece, 0.05×0.053 , Th. 0.005 m. Male face, white eye, heavily outlined in black, black pupil, facing left.

A great deal of the fresco has been destroyed and, although the grouping within the smaller units is fairly certain, the evidence for the placement of the scenes on the walls remains inconclusive. The actual find spots of the fragments within the destruction debris is of limited help as they were widely scattered throughout the two rooms, and fragment **66** was actually recovered from Room 4 near the door to Room 1. The fragments of detailed architectural façades were found in the eastern half of Room 1. The greater numbers of the human figures and the fragments of less detailed architectural façades were found in the northern portion of Room 2. The deer and hunters fell into the center of both rooms on either side of the party wall, Wall O. The two most reasonable hypotheses are that the miniature figured scene decorated a central east-west dividing wall above Wall O, or that it decorated the western wall of a single upper room.

It remains to suggest a reconstruction for the original composition. The major difficulty is our lack of knowledge about the artists' desire for symmetrical balance and consistently related scale. Would they consider a central focus desirable? Would they favor a linear, sequential arrangement of scenes? The activities appear to our eyes sequential and causal in their relationships: the hunt, the preparation of the meat, the celebration; but a consistent narrative emphasis in pictorial representation is unlikely to dominate here.

The fragments themselves provide a certain number of clues. The town façade must appear in the background. No fragments combine the two different scales of architecture. They should probably be placed beside each other or on either side of the fresco. The detailed architectural fragments with a light-blue background (sky?) may represent the highest buildings on the hill. The women in the windows could be merely part of the usual description of an Aegean town. They do, however, by facing in opposite directions, suggest that those buildings form an independent group, not merely a part of the town linked with the other buildings. It is tempting to see the women as spectators of the religious procession and dance, and place all those fragments in the center of the frieze. The procession would take place in the foreground, the dancers in the middle ground, the women in the windows in the background. Certainly the procession of figures moving from the left and right must have had a central focus, and that focus may have been the dancers.

The preparations for the feast, the hunt and the cooking of the meat, are likely to have been placed at the sides of the fresco, either above and behind the town or just to the left and right of it. Although the deer are very large in scale they must belong in a background, peripheral scene, set in the rocky landscape beyond the town and at the left. Enough space must be allowed to place the unsuspecting does at the left of the herd and the dog chasing the stag at the right. The hunters encircle from behind and below. The entire herd, once alarmed, could scatter into open countryside away from the town and off toward the left.

The placing of the cauldrons is a problem. The building façade behind them is much larger than any of the other architecture and can not be integrated easily with the

other façades in scale or style. Presumably this scene was also considered peripheral or anticipatory to the main celebration and was placed on the right in the fresco. Three figures approach the cauldrons from the left, at least one from the right. The boat can be placed in the sea below and in front of the boiling pots. But the hunter who carries the haunch(?) of a slaughtered deer over his shoulder is moving to the left. If the arrangement of the hunt and cauldrons is a flanking one, subordinated to the central celebration, then the scenes are clearly not in a narrative sequence. A satisfactory artistic balance of forms and areas of interest would result from the allocation of the hunt to the left, the cauldrons to the right, the town, dancers and procession in the center. This would not, however, create a logical, temporal sequence. A triangular funnel of information, a hierarchy of activities culminating in a central focus on the religious celebration, would be the result.

Comparisons with similar Minoan and mainland iconography cannot suggest a more precise date for these frescoes than, it is hoped, can be determined by a detailed analysis of the associated destruction debris (which is not yet available). Fresco-painting traditions are extremely conservative and one can only note that some of the motives occur as early as Late Helladic I or Late Minoan I A and continue through Late Helladic III A; those closest in both style and iconography cluster around the Late Minoan I A period.

Nor is it possible to postulate a Minoan or Helladic sphere of influence. An analysis of the dress forms (see pp. 58-59 above) indicates that although the loincloth is a favorite Minoan dress, and the short chiton and draped 'himation' are of mainland origin, in our frescoes the choice of dress is based on the activity of the wearer, not on cultural affiliation. Menial labor such as stirring boiling pots or rowing demands the maximum freedom of movement afforded by a loincloth; dancing or hunting in rough terrain, the relative freedom of a short chiton; a formal religious procession, the stately attire of a full length 'himation'. Clearly we are not dealing with a purely Minoan tradition such as appears at Tylissos where men in a procession scene wear the cod-piece or loincloth. Our painters reflect a mixed cultural environment, Cycladic in character rather than provincial.

The indication of landscape in the composition is minimal. Only a few fragments include the suggestion of an outdoor scene adjacent to the building façades. The rocks and stream are described in shorthand, by ovals or a ribbon of blue, rather than with the loving attention to variation and detail seen in Minoan frescoes. The transmission of information dominates any real interest in naturalistic description. The stereotyped treatment of animals, the heavy outlining, and the compartmentalizing of forms which characterize later mainland frescoes are also absent. The hunting scene relates to mainland iconography, but the execution of the deer and dogs is closer to the more graceful and immediate rendering of animals in Minoan art. The only close parallel to the boat and rowers comes from the West House frescoes at Akrotiri. The indication of the oars, thole pins and the painted decorations on the hull appear to belong

to the definition of a Cycladic boat, and are probably to be thought of as information, like the indication of architectural materials, rather than description.

At least two hands were involved in the execution of this composition. One artist's work is distinguished by a very precise, tight outline and an attention to detail similar to Minoan painting; his figures are closest in style to those from the miniature frescoes at Tylissos. The other artist betrays a less practiced eye for proportions and details. In both architectural and figural representations, his forms are larger, the outlines sloppier, the interior details less felicitous.

The representation of a hillside town by the sea appears to be a Cycladic invention. It is not adapted from Minoan art, nor is it developed in later Mycenaean art.²⁷ The Keian fresco seems to represent the portrait of a town and its religious celebration; there are no indications of a military atmosphere. The details of architectural construction, clothing styles, and activities which are included serve to provide information almost like attributes rather than descriptive embellishment. Rather than a provincial adaptation of known Aegean motives this fresco is an example of native Cycladic iconography.

The only other example to date of a Cycladic hillside town appears in the frescoes of the West House at Akrotiri in Thera.²⁸ The individual details which appear in the Thera fresco are not identical with ours. Architectural construction is carefully indicated, but no crenellations appear on the flat roofs, and the men and women seen in the buildings on the hillside appear against a white, not dark blue background. The women wear the Minoan style of dress; although some of the men wear loincloths similar to the Keian ones, none wear the short-sleeved chiton, and the manner of depicting the long 'himation' is different. The rowers are shown in a radically different way, and the subsidiary scene above the town of a lion pursuing deer is largely dissimilar in style and iconography. In addition, the Thera painters use an outline technique for many representations; the Keian painters do not. Despite, or perhaps because of these differences, one retains the impression that a desire for circumstantial geographical and ethnographic detail belongs to this iconography. The Ayia Irini scene, like the one at Akrotiri, suggests a real rather than an imaginary place and time. The inclusion of elements recognized from later mainland art is appropriate in frescoes decorating a Cycladic town adjacent to the mainland. The Minoan flavor of many details in the Thera paintings reflects the close proximity of Crete.

The style itself should not be described as provincial or derivative. The closest parallels are found in Minoan frescoes, particularly the miniature style of Tylissos, but in both the representations of individual forms and in the design principles of the composition, characteristics predominate which should be recognized as Cycladic in origin and intent. The characteristics are subtle, not dramatic: 1) simplified forms

²⁷ The silver siege rhyton from Mycenae is not analogous in style, composition or iconography. See Smith, *Interconnections*, figs. 84, 85.

²⁸ Marinatos, *Thera* VI, pp. 38-57; pls. 91-112; color pls. 7, 9.

and situations, 2) neutral backgrounds, 3) elimination of supportive naturalistic details, 4) generalized forms without hard, linear stylizations. The overriding artistic concern seems to be for the decorative balance of the design rather than for descriptive details or didactic narrative. A tendency towards a universal abstraction best describes this principle. We have seen this tendency expressed in the organic abstractions of Early Cycladic vessels and idols. It characterizes both the vessel forms and the focused designs which decorate the Middle Cycladic panel-cups. The Late Bronze Age frescoes from Ayia Irini belong to this continuing artistic tradition. We are on the threshold of an understanding of what is Cycladic in Cycladic art.

III. FLORAL DESIGNS

Two different floral designs were recovered from the fresco fragments found in Rooms 1 and 2 of Area M, the basement rooms in the Northeast Bastion of the fortification wall. One consists of intertwining bramble and myrtle plants isolated against a cream-colored background, the other of grasses and bushes painted in muddy colors which give the impression of a marshy landscape near the sea. The two designs differ in style, relative clarity, color and scale. (It is possible that the marshy floral design belongs with the miniature figured scene found in these rooms, see above, Part II.)

A. BRAMBLES AND MYRTLES (Pls. 8, 9:a-c)

The bramble plants have curving red stalks with short triangular thorns. Trefoil clusters of rounded oval leaves with serrated edges alternate to the left and right from the stalks. The clusters are painted light blue or yellow ochre and each is attached to the stalk by a smooth curving stem of the same color as the leaves. The stems arch up away from the main red stalk and the clusters of leaves extend out or hang down from these stems. The myrtle plants have smooth straight red stalks and short straight yellow-ochre stems alternating to the left and right, each bearing a single large lanceolate smooth-edged leaf of yellow ochre. Clusters of red and black buds or berries, arranged in a daisy-like pattern, appear sporadically, apparently associated with the myrtles.

The plain cream-colored background may represent a plastered wall behind the growing plants, but a garden scene seems unlikely. The plants do not seem to have been set out in evenly spaced rows or organized in spreading clumps. The bramble consistently overlaps the myrtle, and the dense tangle of stalks and leaves is, at times, confusing. Usually the blue and yellow-ochre trefoil leaf clusters alternate, but at least two fragments show blue clusters repeated without an intervening one of yellow ochre (135 and 136). One fragment preserves a large orange-brown leaf shape crossing the plants (138). The leaves which are usually yellow ochre appear a gray brown, but the other colors are unchanged; therefore the discoloration cannot be the result of burning. Either this new color was mixed by another painter or this fragment comes from another section of the floral design which is no longer preserved. There are a few fragments of a brown area (a tree?) sprouting small red flowers (e.g. 151).

CATALOGUE

The lime plaster is white and fairly fine in texture; a finer layer of plaster is applied over this as a base for the painting.²⁹ The surface is very smooth and slick; the yellow ochre and red are well bonded with the plaster, but the thick, grainy, Egyptian blue flakes off easily. All the colors are applied over the pale cream background: the red first, then the yellow ochre, and last the blue. Fragment 143 preserves preliminary guidelines for the leaves, deeply scratched into the plaster, but none of the other fragments show signs of preliminary drawings or outlinings. The undersurface of the fragments is fairly smooth with small crosslines which are probably the impressions of vegetable matter imbedded in an underlying plaster layer.³⁰ The average thickness of the fragments is 0.007 to 0.009 m.

134. (F.14) Pl. 8:b; 18 pieces joined; 0.145×0.23 , Th. 0.008 m. Bramble with alternating blue and yellow leaf clusters in front of myrtle.

135. (F.57) Pls. 8:a, 9:a; 25 pieces joined; 0.144×0.155 , Th. 0.007 m.; cracks filled with plaster, blue flaking off. Bramble and myrtle at left; blue bramble leaves at right; central bramble with one yellow and three blue clusters of leaves in front.

136. (F.58) Pls. 8:a, 9:a; 9 pieces joined; 0.082×0.015 , Th. 0.007 m.; surface stained with black dots. Bramble with two adjoining clusters of blue leaves, stems of yellow-ochre clusters above and below; red berries or flowers on red stem and another blue leaf at right.

137. (F.68+72) Pl. 8:a; 23 pieces joined; 0.145×0.21 , Th. 0.007 m.; cracks filled, surface stained with black dots. Clusters of blue bramble leaves in front of myrtle.

138. (F.70) Pls. 8:a, 9:a; 5 pieces joined; 0.105×0.105 , Th. 0.004 - 0.02 m.; cracks filled. Clusters of blue bramble leaves in front of myrtles.

139. (F.87) Pls. 8:a, 9:c; 10 pieces joined; 0.131×0.104 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged; yellow-ochre paint appears almost gray. Blue bramble leaves in front of myrtles; large myrtle leaf (?) of orange overlapping both plants in center.

140. (F.61) Pl. 8:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.082×0.073 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface damaged. Bramble with cluster of yellow leaves and trace of blue leaf in front of myrtles.

141. (F.54) Pl. 8:a; 9 pieces joined; 0.061×0.076 , Th. 0.009 m.; edge piece: plaster abuts horizontal surface (beam?) at top. Bramble with alternating clusters of yellow and blue leaves.

142. (F.71) Pls. 8:a, 9:c; 3 pieces joined; 0.062×0.078 , Th. 0.008 m. Floral design ends against vertical edge of unpainted white area at right; stalk truncated by edge of panel. Myrtle stalk and leaves in front of bramble with blue leaves.

143. (F.62) Pls. 8:c, 9:b; 8 pieces joined; 0.068×0.103 , Th. 0.008 - 0.12 m.; surface damaged, guidelines for blue clusters etched deeply in the plaster, most of the blue flaked off. Bramble with alternating clusters of yellow and blue leaves in front of myrtle.

144. (F.16) Pl. 8:c; 3 pieces joined; 0.06×0.056 , Th. 0.011 m.; surface damaged, paint flaked off at edges. Myrtle stalk and leaves.

145. (F.96) Pl. 9:c; 2 pieces joined; 0.057×0.065 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface mottled. Bramble with alternating clusters of blue and yellow leaves in front of cluster of yellow leaves.

146. (F.15) Pl. 8:c; single piece; 0.055×0.057 , Th. 0.008 m. Blue bramble leaves in front of three branching bramble stalks.

147. (F.73) Pl. 8:c; 5 pieces joined; 0.054×0.057 , Th. 0.005 - 0.007 m.; surface stained with black dots. Yellow bramble leaf in front of myrtles.

²⁹ Surface damage revealed a fine plaster layer of 0.0003 m. and a paint layer of less than 0.0001 m.

³⁰ Fragment 42 shows traces of a mud-plaster layer which originally underlay the lime-plaster layer.

148. (F.18) Single piece; 0.032×0.036 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface damaged. Blue bramble leaves in front of stalk.

149. (F.60) Pls. 8:c, 9:c; 3 pieces joined; 0.047×0.037 , Th. 0.005 m.; blue paint mostly gone. Large myrtle leaves and stalk in front of blue bramble leaf and stalk.

150. (F.69) Pl. 8:c; 3 pieces joined; 0.041×0.045 , Th. 0.009 m. Clusters of red and black berries or flowers on red stems at right; trace of yellow and blue bramble leaves at left.

151. (F.81) Pl. 8:c; 2 pieces joined; 0.026×0.035 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged. Orange-brown smooth stalk supporting red stem with cluster of red flowers.

152. (F.17) Single piece; 0.036×0.19 , Th. 0.007 m. Center of cluster of yellow bramble leaves.

The floral design is suited to a panel composition rather than a long frieze. The stalks taper as they ascend and this tapering, together with the upward thrust of the barbs on the stalks, helps to place the fragments higher or lower in the panel and to suggest the correct axis for the plants. The leaves seem to decrease in size toward the top of the pattern, so that a fragment such as **147** is probably to be placed high in the design, **138**, low. The occasional clusters of berries or buds are probably fairly high in the design as they are found associated with relatively thin stalks.

No border bands have been found for this design and the existing evidence suggests that there were none. Fragment **141** preserves the horizontal edge of the plaster where it abuts a beam. The floral design continues up to this edge. Fragment **142** shows the design cut abruptly at the right by an unpainted white area. The dividing line, although not reinforced by an impressed string mark, is a straight vertical. No pieces preserve the left edge or the bottom of the panel, but from the evidence of these two pieces, one may restore a panel without borders set between horizontal beams with a white area at the right, and probably also at the left.

Myrtles similar to ours occur in a panel from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos;³¹ their stems are red and their leaves olive green. The plants are arranged in rows, and the stems curve freely in comparison to the stiff upright stems of the myrtles on the Caravanserai frieze,³² or on the fragment from Haghia Triadha showing a woman beside a throne.³³ Other fragments of myrtles with red stems and green leaves were found in the excavations of the Royal Road North at Knossos.³⁴ The myrtle plants from Thera have pale brown leaves and thin red stems, and they grow in clumps rather than in rows.³⁵ The Keian plants differ noticeably from all these examples in their lack of realistic coloring and their interweaving composition.

A plant in the Blue Bird frieze from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos described by Evans as a "wild rose"³⁶ has leaves similar in form to those of our

³¹ *P. of M.* II, fig. 270; Cameron, "New Joins," p. 63, fig. 6, pl. III:e.

³² *P. of M.* II, frontispiece.

³³ Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 106.

³⁴ Cameron, "New Joins," p. 74, no. 14.

³⁵ S. Marinatos, «"Αι Ἀνασκαφαὶ τῆς Θήρας», *AAA* 1, 1968, fasc. 3, fig. 11.

³⁶ *P. of M.* II, p. 454, pl. IX, fig. 266: A 1, A 2. The leaves are limited to "groups of three like those of a strawberry."

bramble. Another plant whose species Evans does not identify is described as having serrated leaves of blue or yellow.⁸⁷ Our bramble seems to be an imaginative mixture of the barbed stalk and trefoil leaves of the wild rose and the alternating blue and yellow serrated leaves.

The Keian plants, however, are not integrated into a realistic garden scene as the Cretan examples are; they form an independent floral design set against an empty background. Our painting appears to be a local Cycladic simplification of a Cretan fresco, adapted to local taste.

B. MARSH LANDSCAPE (Pls. 9:d,e, 10:a)

The marsh design consists of clumps of reeds, grasses, bushes and small trees, all painted in dull, muddy colors of blue and brown over a tan background. The painting is markedly different from that of Design 1; there are no totally blank background areas, bright colors or distinct forms. Some fragments seem to represent underwater grasses; others show clumps of pointed leaves or grasses growing out of a darker colored earth. The clumps of larger reeds or grasses, light blue outlined in darker blue, are seen against a background of light-brown grasses growing in rows. Red and brown flowers or berries appear among the grasses and along the edges of crudely painted brown shapes which may represent small trees or shrubs. One atypical fragment preserves an olive tree (176, which although catalogued here, may belong to the architectural façade found in the same rooms [see above, pp. 59-60]. Traces of outdoor landscape elements appear on several fragments adjacent to ashlar buildings). Several fragments of a light-blue area with irregular white dots terminate in a straight edge where the plaster abutted a beam; these might represent the upper border of this pattern.

CATALOGUE

The lime plaster is white and fairly fine, but there are some tiny pebbles imbedded in it. The surface of the fragments is smooth and the colors, in general, are well bonded with the plaster. They are yellow ochre mixed with brown, light blue, dark blue, and dull red, over a light cream or dirty tan background. Often several layers of paint have been superimposed. The brushstrokes are quick and, at times, careless, resulting in fuzzy unclear forms. The undersurface of the fragments is fairly even with some indication that the plaster was laid over mud plaster and stones (e.g. 156).

153. (F.8) Pl. 9:e; 2 pieces joined; 0.064×0.067 , Th. 0.011 m.; cracks filled, surface damaged, stained with black dots. Clumps of yellow-ochre grasses, gray earth.

154. (F.59) Pl. 9:e; 11 pieces joined; 0.07×0.09 , Th. 0.009 m.; cracks filled, surface damaged, red paint almost gone. Clump of yellow-ochre grasses, red and black earth.

155. (F.10) Pl. 9:d; single piece; 0.049×0.065 , Th. 0.009 m.; brown stain. Brown grasses growing out of yellow-brown earth at bottom, blue water in center behind grasses, yellow over blue at top.

156. (F.11) Pl. 9:e; 3 pieces joined; 0.113×0.06 , Th. 0.011 - 0.024 m.; surface damaged

⁸⁷ *P. of M.* II, p. 464, fig. 275:D.

at edges. Dark blue water grasses over blue water and brown earth at bottom; clumps of brown grasses at edge of water with small blue blobs among them.

157. (F.67) Pl. 9:d; 3 pieces joined; 0.082×0.048 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged and stained with black dots. Yellow-ochre grasses or reeds, blue grasses at left.

158. (F.82) Pl. 9:d; single piece; 0.058×0.024 , Th. 0.007 m.; stained with black dots. Yellow-ochre and gray grasses, dark red blobs (flowers or berries?).

159. (F.74) Pl. 9:d; 5 pieces joined; 0.076×0.069 , Th. 0.009 m.; surface damaged and stained with black dots. Large light-blue grasses outlined in darker blue in front of light-brown or yellow-ochre reeds or grasses, brown earth.

160. (F.64) Pl. 9:d; single piece; 0.063×0.046 , Th. 0.007 m. Yellow-ochre, brown and blue grasses or reeds.

161. (F.75) Pl. 9:d; single piece; 0.037×0.034 , Th. 0.008 m.; stained with black dots. Light-blue and brown grasses, red blob near top.

162. (F.76) Pl. 10:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.053×0.051 , Th. 0.007 m.; stained with black dots. Brown and blue grasses at right in front of white background with pink divisions at bottom (wall of ashlar masonry?), vertical string impression right of center. White (wall?) with red horizontal line near top, irregular gray blob and lines over white at right.

163. (F.78) Pl. 9:d; 2 pieces joined; 0.049×0.039 , Th. 0.007 m. Light-blue and brown grasses.

164. (F.77) Pl. 9:e; 6 pieces joined; 0.073×0.112 , Th. 0.007 m.; cracks filled, surface damaged. Clump of large light-blue grasses outlined in darker blue in front of yellow-ochre reeds or grasses.

165. (F.12) Pl. 9:e; 2 pieces joined; 0.064×0.027 , Th. 0.017 m. Small pointed-leaved brown bush.

166. (F.63) Pl. 10:a; 14 pieces joined; 0.064×0.12 , Th. 0.009 m.; stained with black dots. Small pointed-leaved brown bushes, trace of blue at top.

167. (F.141) Pl. 9:d; 2 pieces joined; 0.056×0.035 , Th. 0.01 m. Small pointed-leaved brown bushes, red blobs (flowers or berries?).

168. (F.13) Pl. 10:a; single piece; 0.05×0.03 ; Th. 0.005 - 0.015 m. Tips of brown leaves over irregular arcs of blue, darker blue, red, yellow-ochre curving leaves or rocks.

169. (F.88) Pl. 9:d; 2 pieces joined; 0.055×0.035 , Th. 0.01 m.; stained with black dots. Red stalk with blotchy brown leaves; dark blue grasses in front of white spot at left; blue grasses in foreground.

170. (F.89) Pl. 10:a; 3 pieces joined; 0.073×0.09 , Th. 0.007 m.; surface damaged at edges. Thick red stalks with large brown blotchy leaves, small clumps of dark blue grasses underneath. Flowering shrub(?): round brown blobs at edges of brown leaves.

171. (F.103) Pl. 9:e; single piece; 0.032×0.025 , Th. 0.009 m. Yellow-ochre stems with trumpet-shaped leaves, white background.

172. (F.159) = **128** above.

173. (F.66) Four pieces joined; 0.064×0.07 , Th. 0.004 - 0.01 m.; surface damaged at left. Border piece: upper edge of plaster abutting beam. Light-blue splotchy flower or prickly bush with darker blue and brown dots and dashes in center; light-blue background.

174. (F.65) Pl. 10:a; single piece; 0.045×0.035 , Th. 0.008 - 0.014 m.; surface damaged at top. Border piece: edge of plaster abutting beam. Light blue with irregular white dots in row roughly parallel to edge of plaster near edge.

175. (F.23) Pl. 10:a; single piece; 0.072×0.075 , Th. 0.015 m.; surface damaged, added white flaking off. Two large round oleander (?) flowers with white wings at the center attached to central vertical stem.

176. (F.127) Pl. 9:e; 2 pieces joined; 0.065×0.095 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged at right. Delicately painted olive-tree branches with slender pointed brown leaves and thin curving stems; tan background. Traces of thin red vertical lines over background under tree at left. Vertical division with traces of black lines separates this design from area with traces of blue, red and yellow ochre at right.

No restoration of the various plants in the marsh can be suggested because too few fragments are preserved. Fragment 58, however (catalogued with the miniature figured scenes, above, Part II), preserves the leg and skirt of a woman walking through grasses of the same style and color as those in the marsh pattern. To her left is the lower edge of an ashlar stone building. This fragment suggests a connection between the marsh and the figured scene, or the participation of the same artists in the painting of both frescoes.

A blue grass-like plant from the Ramp House at Mycenae resembles some of our grasses.³⁸ Other slender spiky grasses (actually the stems of papyrus plants) from the House of the Frescoes³⁹ are similar to our grasses, but it is unlikely that ours represent papyrus. The closest parallels to our grasses in form and growing pattern occur on painted pottery of the Late Minoan I A style.⁴⁰

Olive trees are commonly represented on Cretan frescoes. Often the leaves are painted in varying shades of green to indicate the lighter undersides turned up by the wind. Our olive is simplified; the leaves and stems are both brown. The closest parallel to ours in style comes from Knossos: the branches are red, the leaves green, the olive tree delicately drawn against a white background.⁴¹

Our plants, in general, seem based on types familiar to both Minoan and mainland artists. Most likely the muddy colors and careless drawing on some fragments indicate either poor quality painting or little interest in this scene. It is tempting, however, to wonder if we might have here a deliberate, though not wholly successful, experiment in atmospheric landscape painting.

IV. SUBORDINATE DECORATIVE PATTERNS

The subordinate patterns fall into three major categories: A) border bands, B) conventional motives, and C) abstract patterns. Only a representative selection of fragments will be catalogued here. (Throughout the excavation small handfuls of painted plaster appeared in the fill of the basement rooms. Much of this was red, some yellow ochre. Among these handfuls scraps of design fragments occasionally appeared which were too small to be assigned to any recognizable pattern; these remain uncatalogued.)

Several of the frescoes have borders of parallel bands associated with them. The

³⁸ W. Lamb, "Frescoes from the Ramp House," *BSA* 24, 1919-21, pp. 189-199, pl. IX: 11.

³⁹ Cameron, "New Joins," fig. 4, pl. III: C.

⁴⁰ For example: *P. of M.* III, fig. 187; N. Platon, *Crete*, New York 1966, fig. 50 (from Kato Zakro).

⁴¹ *Knossos Atlas*, pl. D: 3; pl. VIII: 3.

solid-colored walls in House B were edged with border bands; the upper edge of the Blue Bird fresco from House A, Room 31 consisted of a thin band of white below a broader band of blue.⁴² Fragments of tricolored narrow bands have been excavated in several areas of the site. A large number of fragments of conventional motives, originally joined together in textile or mosaic-like patterns, were found in House A along with the frieze of Blue Birds. Many of these motives are similar to traditional designs known from other Aegean wall paintings, where they appear as components in variegated dadoes or as design elements in the representation of dress fabrics.

A few fragments of an abstract splash pattern were found in House A; fragments of a similar splash pattern were found in the Temple in Area B. The North Room of Building M (formerly Room VI, Area M) contained many fragments painted in unusually bright combinations of red, pink, orange, blue, brown, purple, black and white. None of these fragments is similar to any of the traditional Aegean motives, and their arrangement strongly suggests an intentionally abstract design.

A. BORDER BANDS (Pl. 10:b)

The border bands from House B appear to be associated with solid red walls. All the preserved fragments have a yellow-ochre band adjacent to the red, with the order of the bands either white, black, yellow ochre, or black(?), white, yellow ochre. Probably one of these sequences represents the upper border of the wall, the other the lower. Not enough is preserved to be certain. No. 180 preserves either a sequence of four bands, or three bands bordering a yellow-ochre wall. The bands are defined by impressed string marks, 0.002 to 0.003 m. in width. The width of the black band is 0.044 to 0.048 m., of the yellow-ochre band *ca.* 0.05 m., of the white *ca.* 0.045 m. (the paint overlaps the string marks). No. 178 preserves 0.061 m. of red, suggesting that this red is part of a solid red wall.

Also inventoried were one fragment of yellow ochre, blue and red bands from House A, Room 34 (182), along with fragments of the splash pattern, and one fragment from Room 1, Northeast Bastion, Area M (183), preserving red, unpainted white and blue bands.

CATALOGUE

House B

The plaster is white, fine and hard. The colors are dark red, yellow ochre, black and unpainted white. All the paints are well bonded with the plaster, but their surfaces are now slightly grainy and rough because of the disintegrative action of the salt water in the soil. The fragments are even on the undersurface; the average thickness is 0.005 to 0.01 m.

177. (F.51) Pl. 10:b; 6 pieces joined; 0.18 × 0.12, Th. 0.009 m. Bands of white, dark yellow ochre, red.

⁴² See "Frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos. Part I," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 288, nos. 1-3 and 9.

178. (F.53) Seven pieces joined; 0.165×0.008 , Th. 0.006 m. Bands of dark yellow ochre, red.

179. (F.46) Single piece; 0.026×0.025 , Th. 0.006 m. Bands of yellow ochre, red.

180. (F.52) Twenty pieces joined; 0.245×0.098 , Th. 0.006 m. Bands of white, black, yellow ochre. A trace of yellow ochre appears above the white band suggesting a sequence of yellow, white, black, yellow.

181. (F.45) Two pieces joined; 0.089×0.069 , Th. 0.008 m. Bands of white, black, yellow ochre.

House A, Room 34

182. (F.7) Two pieces joined; 0.058×0.059 , Th. 0.013 m. Bands of yellow ochre, blue and red, separated by string marks. Width of yellow 0.028 - 0.026 m., of blue 0.016 - 0.015 m., of red 0.013 m. (incomplete).

Northeast Bastion, Room 1

183. (F.41) Two pieces joined; 0.056×0.042 , Th. 0.014 m. Bands of red, white and blue separated by string marks. Width of white 0.019 m.

Parallel border bands occur at all the major sites in the Aegean. The graining on the back of our fragments suggests that our bands formed a horizontal border as is common; a position just above the door lintel or just below the ceiling would be most likely.⁴⁸

B. CONVENTIONAL MOTIVES (Pl. 10:c)

Thirty-seven examples of conventional decorative patterns were inventoried from House A, Room 31. Most of these belong to one of the following categories: 1) "waz lily" or adder mark (**184-187**), 2) imitation breccia (**188-193**), 3) ripple (**189-191, 194-198, 204, 206**), 4) spiral (**192, 193, 199-204**), 5) geometric design (**205-207**), 6) floral or rosette (**208-215**), 7) griffin wing (?) (**203, 216-219**).

CATALOGUE

The plaster is white and fine, the colors well bonded to the plaster, the surface slick. The paints are red, yellow, orange, brown, blue, black and white. The undersurfaces are fairly even but not smooth. The average thickness of the fragments varies from 0.005 to 0.014 m.

184. (F.196) Four pieces joined; 0.028×0.04 , Th. 0.01 m.; surface damaged and paint flaked off at the edges. Yellow fan-shaped flower outlined and crossed by thick red lines; white background; black dots between the flowers.

185. (F.197) Single piece; 0.03×0.055 , Th. 0.01 m.; surface damaged and some paint flaked off. Same pattern as **184**.

186. (F.217) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.057×0.035 , Th. 0.008. Fans of yellow and red flowers on straight red stems; white background; black dots between flowers. Blue area outlined in heavy black curving zigzag line; trace of red at edge of blue.

⁴⁸ J. W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, Princeton 1962, pp. 200-203; *P. of M.* II, pp. 109, 460, fig. 49; Lang, *Pylos* II, pp. 18, 157-159.

187. (F.195) Single piece; 0.03×0.025 , Th. 0.007 m. Two parallel, straight red stems, beginning of attached flowers; blue area with traces of thick black lines; white background with half of black dot.

188. (F.185) Single piece; 0.04×0.014 , Th. 0.013 m. Breccia of brown, red, light-red, and light-blue blobs on white background with black blobs and lines crossing the colors. String mark separates this pattern from another white area.

189. (F.186) Single piece; 0.022×0.028 , Th. 0.01 m. Breccia of light blue, yellow, orange, red, white and black. String mark separates this pattern from light-blue ripple on white.

190. (F.187) Single piece; 0.023×0.026 , Th. 0.01 m. Breccia of red, light blue, brown, light red, black and white. String mark separates this pattern from yellow-orange ripple on white.

191. (F.203) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.022×0.018 , Th. 0.008 m. Breccia of red, light blue, black and white. String mark separates this pattern from wavy red lines (ripple) on white.

192. (F.204) Two pieces joined; 0.042×0.035 , Th. 0.01 m. Breccia of light blue, red, light red, yellow striped with red, black and white. String mark separates this pattern from yellow-ochre spiral (?) on white.

193. (F.205) Pl. 10:c; 4 pieces joined; 0.08×0.045 , Th. 0.011 m. Breccia of light red, light blue, yellow striped with red, black and white. String mark separates this pattern from yellow-ochre spiral (?) outlined in black on white.

194. (F.201) Single piece; 0.042×0.03 , Th. 0.008 m. Orange ripple on white separated from blue ripple on white by black horizontal and vertical lines.

195. (F.202) Two pieces joined; 0.016×0.035 , Th. 0.008 m. Red and yellow striped ripple on white. String mark separates this pattern from wavy red ripple on white.

196. (F.209) Single piece; 0.022×0.02 , Th. 0.007 m. Red and yellow striped ripple on white. String mark separates this pattern from black area.

197. (F.211) Single piece; 0.03×0.033 , Th. 0.014 m. Light-blue and gray ripple on white. String mark separates this pattern from black and red linear pattern on white.

198. (F.208) Pl. 10:c; 3 pieces joined; 0.035×0.065 , Th. 0.008 m. Light-blue and dark blue ripple on white separated by string marks from breccia at top and black at bottom. Width of ripple 0.04 m.

199. (F.165) Three pieces joined; 0.055×0.045 , Th. 0.01 m. White curving band, outlined in black, painted over yellow ochre. Spiral?

200. (F.166) Two pieces joined; 0.04×0.04 , Th. 0.01 m. White curving band, no black outlines, over yellow ochre. Spiral? Unpainted white area above string mark.

201. (F.198) Two pieces joined; 0.045×0.032 , Th. 0.007 m. Two undulating bands of red over yellow ochre; unpainted white background. Spiral?

202. (F.214) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.03×0.035 , Th. 0.01 m. Converging arcs of dark red on yellow ochre; unpainted white background. Spiral?

203. (F.193) Single piece; 0.045×0.045 , Th. 0.01 m. Arcs of light blue, white, red, gray. Spiral? Griffin's wing? (See **216**.)

204. (F.199) Single piece; 0.021×0.03 , Th. 0.01 m. Light-blue area between areas of black. String mark separates this pattern from thin wavy red lines on white. Spiral?

205. (F.188) Single piece; 0.016×0.017 , Th. 0.01 m. Black diagonals, horizontals, triangle; red horizontals; white background. String mark separates this pattern from light-blue area.

206. (F.211) Single piece; 0.03×0.033 , Th. 0.014 m. Light-blue and gray ripple on white; black diagonals (?) and triangles (?); red diagonals; white background.

207. (F.212) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.035×0.03 , Th. 0.009 m. Gray horizontals, diagonals and triangles; red diagonals; white background. (Same design as **206** but faded?)

208. (F.189) Pl. 10:c; 2 pieces joined; 0.03×0.02 , Th. 0.011 m. Flower (?) of yellow-ochre blossoms heavily outlined in black; black stem; red line; white background.

209. (F.190) Single piece; 0.035×0.024 , Th. 0.009 m. Yellow-ochre blossoms heavily outlined in black; red with splashes of yellow ochre and black.

210. (F.191) Single piece; 0.025×0.02 , Th. 0.008 m. Yellow-ochre blossom heavily outlined in black; light blue next to thick black stem (?).

211. (F.194) Single piece; 0.03×0.02 , Th. 0.007 m. Thick curving lines of red, yellow ochre, black, red, light blue; white background. Floral stems and blossoms (?) or part of waz lily design (?).

212. (F.210) Pl. 10:c; 4 pieces joined; 0.035×0.038 , Th. 0.009 m. Yellow-ochre blossom (?) heavily outlined in black; light blue; red square.

213. (F.215) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.025×0.028 , Th. 0.005 m. Thick black branching stem with yellow-ochre blossoms; white background.

214. (F.216) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.033×0.033 , Th. 0.011 m. Red blossoms (?) heavily outlined in black; light-blue area with yellow-ochre tendrils and black spots.

215. (F.218) Pl. 10:c; single piece; 0.032×0.032 , Th. 0.008 m. Red petal (?) on white; traces of black arcs on white.

216. (F.206) Pl. 10:c; 6 pieces joined; 0.05×0.055 , Th. 0.011 m. Light-blue arcs outlined in gray black; thin red arcs; white background. Griffin wing? Arcs converge like feathers.

217. (F.213) Single piece; 0.035×0.03 , Th. 0.01 m. Yellow-ochre arc; blue arc with darker blue and yellow-ochre flecks; light-blue arc with red and yellow-ochre flecks; black. Wing feathers?

218. (F.219) Two pieces joined; 0.045×0.04 , Th. 0.012 m. Light-blue arcs outlined in black; red, white, yellow-ochre arcs. Wing? Floral or rosette design?

219. (F.192) Two pieces joined; 0.03×0.025 , Th. 0.01 m. Two light-blue converging arcs, black outline, red diagonal at convergence; white background. Spiral? Wing?

220. (F.207) Three pieces joined; 0.046×0.023 , Th. 0.01 m. Black, light-blue, black, yellow-ochre concentric circles.

221. (F.200) Single piece; 0.02×0.023 , Th. 0.008 m.; destroyed at edges. Light-blue square; outer square (?) of black. String mark separates this pattern from damaged area.

Although these fragments were recovered from the same room as the Blue Bird fresco, they are unlikely to have been associated with that frieze, and probably decorated another wall. Similar design motives have appeared as panels and bands in dress fabrics⁴⁴ but our examples seem to be purely non-representational wall decorations. Although patterns 1 and 7 can decorate griffin wings⁴⁵ there is no indication that they are intended to do so here.

The preserved fragments of these patterns are extremely small and only tentative reconstructions of their original arrangement can be suggested. Several patterns (the imitation breccia, ripple and spiral) are limited by impressed string marks. The imitation breccia pattern appears next to three different ones, the yellow spiral, red ripple and the blue ripple (which forms a band 0.04 m. wide). Therefore the two most reasonable reconstructions are a central panel of breccia pattern surrounded by bands of other patterns, or narrow bands of patterns set in parallel strips above each other.

⁴⁴ *P. of M.* II, figs. 458 (Pseira), 456, 457 (Knossos), 459: a (Haghia Triadha); Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, p. 79.

⁴⁵ *P. of M.* I, pp. 548-551, figs. 399, 400, 401: B; B. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, New York 1886, pl. VII; Lang, *Pylos* II, p. 152, pl. 85 (11 F 44).

Certainly the bright colors and fine quality of the plaster make any reconstruction as a floor fresco unlikely.⁴⁶

Similar conventional motives are found in many Minoan and Helladic frescoes. The closest parallels to our imitation breccia pattern come from mainland frescoes at Tiryns and Pylos,⁴⁷ but rosettes⁴⁸ and spirals⁴⁹ occur throughout the Aegean. None of these comparisons, therefore, can be used as chronological indicators. Nor are they conclusive in establishing geographical relationships for our paintings.

C. ABSTRACT PATTERNS (Pls. 11, 12)

The abstract splash pattern from Room 39, House A (Pl. 11:a) appears to have been formed by painting the wall dark blue and then splashing dark red, yellow ochre, and white from a sponge or wet brush over the background. The irregular splotches of paint with their tendrils stretching and spreading out in all directions give an agreeable texture and color to the wall. The pattern is gay and non-repetitive; the order of the colors varies from fragment to fragment, but the white is always applied last. (Fragments with splash patterns in white on dark blue, not catalogued here, were found on a wall of Room 6 in the Temple.)

CATALOGUE

The plaster is white and fairly fine, but crumbly. The surface is very hard and slick, possibly polished before painting. The dark blue color is very well bonded with the plaster, mottled on some fragments and crossed by the thin webs of lighter color on others. This blue varies from dark blue to dark blue gray, probably because of the differing original thickness of the paint (see Majewski, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 298). The additional colors of red, yellow and white are very thick and often gritty, and the finished surface is bumpy, with ridges and bubbles from the force of the splashed-on paint. The fragments are even on the undersurfaces, and the average thickness varies from 0.005 to 0.01 m.

222. (F.1) Pl. 11:a; 5 pieces joined; 0.085×0.069 , Th. 0.008 m. Red, yellow-ochre and white splashes on mottled blue-gray background.

223. (F.2) Pl. 11:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.071×0.045 , Th. 0.007 m. Yellow-ochre, red and white splashes on mottled dark blue-gray background.

224. (F.3) Pl. 11:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.073×0.042 , Th. 0.007 m. Red and white splashes on mottled dark blue-gray background.

⁴⁶ W. Lamb, "The Painted Stucco Floor," *BSA* 25, 1921-1923, pp. 193-194; C. W. Blegen and M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, I, *The Buildings and their Contents*, Princeton 1966, figs. 56, 73.

⁴⁷ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, pl. III: 14, 18; Lang, *Pylos* II, pl. 99 (14 D nws).

⁴⁸ *P. of M.* III, fig. 254; IV, p. 844; R. Paribeni, "Il sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada," *Monumenti Antichi* 19, 1908, pp. 5-86, figs. 21, 22; T. Atkinson, R. C. Bosanquet *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, London 1904, fig. 66; W. Lamb, "Frescoes from the Walls," *BSA* 25, 1921-1923, pl. XXVI: a; Lang, *Pylos* II, pl. 88.

⁴⁹ *P. of M.* I, pp. 374-375, figs. 269, 272; III, fig. 254; IV, fig. 170; Lamb, *BSA* 25, 1921-1923, pl. XXV: a; Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, p. 60, fig. 21: a; Lang, *Pylos* II, pls. 89, 138.

225. (F.4) Pl. 11:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.04×0.026 , Th. 0.005 m. Red and white splashes on mottled dark blue background.

226. (F.5) Pl. 11:a; 4 pieces joined; 0.08×0.057 , Th. 0.01. Yellow-ochre, red and white splashes on mottled and veined dark blue background.

Very few fragments of the splash pattern were recovered; perhaps this design was confined to a narrow decorative band, set, presumably horizontally, into a solid-colored wall. There are other examples of this type of painting but none as varied and colorful as ours. Evans describes a painting composed of orderly rows of sponge imprints in orange paint on a "dark, almost black ground," which he dates to Middle Minoan II.⁵⁰ Marinatos mentions "faint patterns" of "speckled sponge prints in brown on a buff ground or in black on a white ground," splashed, not pressed, onto a wall.⁵¹ He thinks that the design imitates "rockwork (certainly from a marine subject)" and dates the fresco to Late Minoan I A.⁵² Our pattern uses more and brighter colors, and a freer compositional organization. It is possible that the House A examples with three colors on dark blue may be later than the Temple examples of white on blue black; a date of Late Minoan I A would seem to be supported by the architectural and ceramic evidence.⁵³

The abstract patterns covering the walls of the North Room in Building M (Pls. 11:b, 12:a) are painted in unusually bright, vivid colors. This building was only one story high. Waterproof plaster lines the lower edges of the walls; the floor is covered by an irregular stone pavement; a large water channel leads directly into the room. These elements would suggest that the space functioned as a lustral area, but the complex has only three walls, the third or eastern side being open. Fragments from this room were inventoried and divided into thirteen patterns, some of which appear side-by-side. Sixteen examples are catalogued below. These intricate, irregular patterns consist of delicate lines, thick lines, splotches and overpainted details. It is hard to define the style because it varies from finely to crudely executed on the same fragment. The main concerns of the painters seem to be vivid movement and forceful colors.

- Patterns:
- a) areas of yellow ochre and brown, outlined in black, crossed by thin black lines
 - b) dark blue area crossed by darker blue and yellow irregular lines
 - c) pink area crossed by black, purple and yellow-ochre lines
 - d) concentric arcs or spirals of red, light blue, yellow, outlined in black on white background

⁵⁰ *P. of M.* III, pp. 361-366, fig. 238.

⁵¹ S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera. First Preliminary Report (1967 Season)*, Athens 1968, p. 43, fig. 66.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵³ See W. W. Cummer and E. Schofield, *Keos, II, Ayia Irini: House A. The Architecture and Stratigraphy*, forthcoming.

- e) spiral(?) of wide blue and yellow ochre with thick black outlines
- f) brown area next to white area crossed by thin hair-like yellow-ochre lines
- g) brown area crossed by thin black lines
- h) black, yellow-ochre and red areas, outlined in black
- i) red area with scalloped edges on white background
- j) spiral or flower(?) of red-brown, yellow-ochre and light-blue converging arcs with thick black outlines
- k) fish-like forms of light blue or red with thick black outlines on white background
- l) brown area with scalloped edges on white; black chevrons; light blue; red wavy lines on white background
- m) yellow-ochre spiral(?) with thick black outlines on white background

CATALOGUE

The plaster is fine and white; the surface is very slick. The paints, well bonded with the plaster, appear powdery on some fragments because of the destructive effect of the salt-impregnated ground water. The colors are red, pink, red brown, brown, yellow ochre, light blue, dark blue, black and white. The undersurfaces are generally even, and some of the fragments show cross lines of extruded plaster, indicating that the plaster was applied directly onto a stone wall. The average thickness of the fragments varies from 0.003 to 0.11 m.

227. (F.223) Pl. 12:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.055×0.052 , Th. 0.009 m. Thin black and yellow-ochre lines over gray blue; pink and white areas at one edge.

228. (F.225) Pl. 12:a; single piece; 0.038×0.022 , Th. 0.005 m. Yellow lines over pink; black and red lines over white.

229. (F.228) Pl. 11:b; 2 pieces joined; 0.047×0.035 , Th. 0.004 m. Concentric arcs of dark red, white and yellow ochre, heavily outlined in black.

230. (F.232) Pl. 12:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.045×0.042 , Th. 0.008 m. Thin yellow lines over white; black and pink lines radiating out of clump over gray blue.

231. (F.239) Pl. 11:b; 5 pieces joined; 0.09×0.053 , Th. 0.004 m., powdery paint. Red area with scalloped outline on white.

232. (F.243) Pl. 11:b; 4 pieces joined; 0.123×0.091 , Th. 0.011 m., paints powdery and flaking off. Large red petal or figure eight; light-blue area outlined in black on white.

233. (F.246) Pl. 11:b; single piece; 0.05×0.044 , Th. 0.008 m., powdery paint. Blue area outlined in black; red fish-tail shape outlined in black on white.

234. (F.249) Pl. 11:b; single piece; 0.048×0.048 , Th. 0.009 m. Red petal (?) outlined in black. Rosette?

235. (F.251) Pl. 11:b; 2 pieces joined; 0.074×0.038 , Th. 0.005 m., powdery paint. Black ladder pattern on white, some spaces filled with brown.

236. (F.253) Pl. 11:b; single piece; 0.032×0.041 , Th. 0.009 m. Black and yellow-ochre stripes on white. Spiral?

237. (F.255) Pl. 11:b; single piece; 0.04×0.041 , Th. 0.009 m. Same pattern as **236**.

238. (F.257) Pl. 11:b; single piece; 0.034×0.029 , Th. 0.004 m.; surface damaged at edge. Radiating curved yellow-ochre lines on white.

239. (F.262) Pl. 12:a; 13 pieces joined; 0.177×0.093 , Th. 0.006 m. Thin yellow lines on white (cf. **230**); areas of pink, black, red, and white next to pink-yellow-ochre area; thin lines of black and dark red over red brown.

240. (F.263) Pl. 12:a; 2 pieces joined; 0.071×0.038 , Th. 0.007 m. Thin yellow-ochre lines over white; red, dull brown, yellow-ochre and pink areas (belongs with **239**); thin red and black lines over white at edge.

241. (F.270) Pl. 11:b; 4 pieces joined; 0.106×0.095 , Th. 0.005 m.; powdery paints. Blue and red fish-like forms with thin black outlines over white (belongs with **232** and **233**).

242. (F.250) Pl. 12:a; 5 pieces joined; 0.145×0.093 , Th. 0.005 - 0.11 m.; powdery blue. Blue area outlined in black; curving herringbone of black on white at edge of blue; irregular brown areas on white; red herringbone on white; yellow-ochre stripes on white.

The various patterns found in this room are fragmentary and not clearly recognizable as adaptations of known patterns. The colors are extremely varied; the styles range from bold simple loops and spirals to intricate detailed patterns possibly imitating cut stone. These seem to be a more sophisticated development of the artistic impulse which created the splash pattern.

D. MISCELLANEOUS

One large fragment from Room 2 in the Northeast Bastion (**243**) preserves the lower part of the frescoed wall painted in a conglomerate-rock pattern, probably a dado for the upper scene. One fragment from Room 1 in the Northeast Bastion (**244**) appears to be an abstract pattern. A large fragment from Building M, North Room (**245**) preserves two red stripes forming a right angle on an unpainted white background. Several small fragments from Rooms 14 and 19 in House A have patterns of wavy lines similar to those of the ripple patterns in Room 31 (**246-249**); one has a white area resembling a bird or fish (**250**). A fragment from Room 39 in House A has an irregular blob of red on white (**251**).

CATALOGUE

243. (F.19) Pl. 12:b; 3 pieces joined; 0.105×0.095 , Th. 0.011 - 0.045 m.; thick curving piece of plaster preserving juncture of painted wall and floor. Conglomerate rock pattern: red vertical rocks over yellow ochre, white tips; blue background above, white dots on rocks at bottom.

244. (F.84) Three pieces joined; 0.085×0.085 , Th. 0.009 m.; stained with black dots. String marks frame wide and narrow bands. Irregular light-blue, brown and white blobs over red, painted across dividing lines.

245. (F.98) Single piece; 0.26×0.245 , Th. 0.03 m. Red bands *ca.* 0.03 m. wide meeting at right angle; white background. Preserved lengths of bands 0.19 and 0.094 m.

246. (F.90) Single piece; 0.045×0.032 , Th. 0.009 m. Irregular thin red lines over tan crosshatching on white.

247. (F.93) Single piece; 0.043×0.016 , Th. 0.008 m.; surface damaged at edges. Red and pink wavy lines on white.

248. (F.94) Two pieces joined; 0.05×0.045 , Th. 0.01 m. Red wavy lines on white; wide and narrow dark and light-blue bands.

249. (F.92) Single piece; 0.03×0.024 , Th. 0.005 m. Red wavy lines on white; dark blue.

250. (F.91) Single piece; 0.042×0.065 , Th. 0.01 m. Irregular white form resembling bird with tail, or fish. Black interior details, tan background.

251. (F.6) Single piece; 0.032×0.023 , Th. 0.006 m. Red blob on white, splashed?

ADDENDUM

In 1972 fragments belonging to the Blue Bird fresco⁵⁴ were found inside a pithos still *in situ* in the southwest corner of Room 31 in House A. Feet, wings, and bodies of at least five new birds were recovered, and one large fragment preserved the entire tail of a bird (Pl. 12:c). This discovery made it possible to reconstruct a more accurate representation of an individual bird (Fig. 1) and necessitated the re-estimation of the entire length of the frieze. In order to accommodate twenty-two birds approximately 0.26 to 0.28 m. in length, the frieze would have to have been at least 3.87 m. long. The preserved tail (**252**) is bright blue, fan shaped, and has a white pinfeather above and below the fan. No traces of black occur.

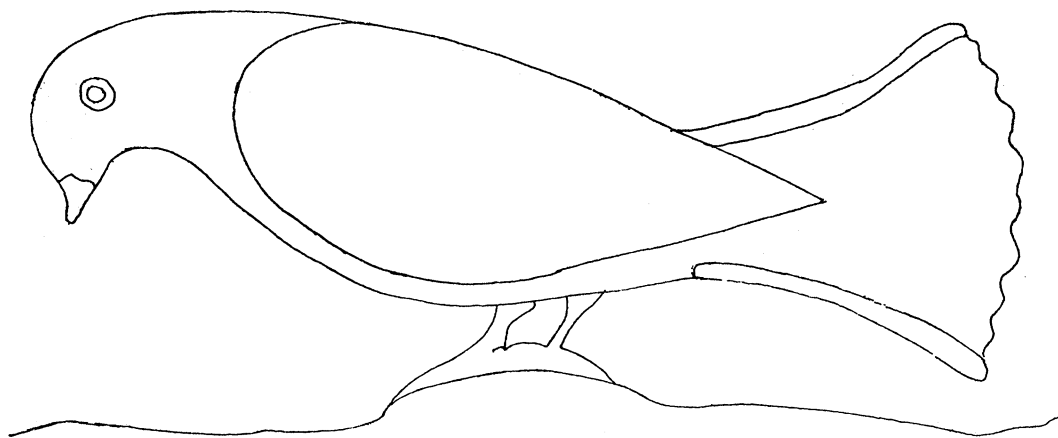


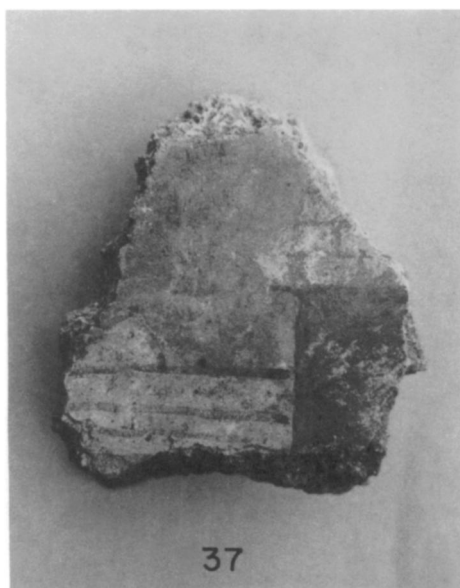
FIG. 1. Reconstruction of bird from Blue Bird fresco.

252. (F.286) Pl. 12:c; 25 pieces joined; 0.17×0.12 , Th. 0.008 - 0.014 m.; poorly preserved, surface largely destroyed at upper right, light blue flaking off at base of tail. Body and tail of rock dove facing left, standing on undulating rocky ground of red dots; lower edge of fresco preserved. Blue belly, light-blue closed wing, two red feet. A white area above the light blue may indicate breast feathers. Bright blue fan tail with traces of stripes for individual feathers; single white feather above and below fan. Yellow-ochre background. Unpainted white area at top may represent trailing pinfeather of a flying bird. Length of tail at least 0.08 m.; height of tail at least 0.06 m.

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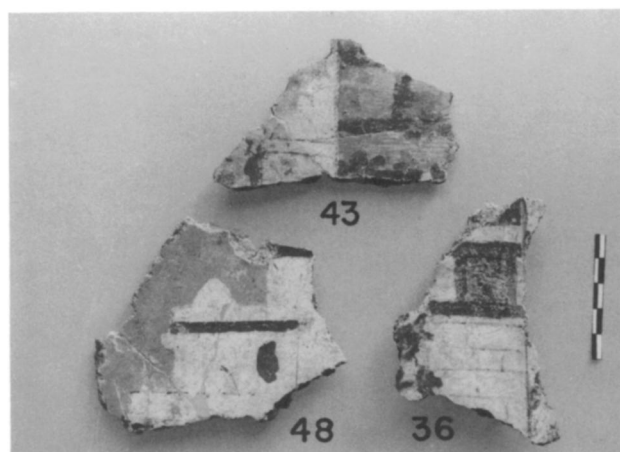
⁵⁴ See *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 286-293; pls. 54, 55, 56: a. I am indebted to Stella Bouzaki for her painstaking cleaning and restoration of the new fragments which provide this information.



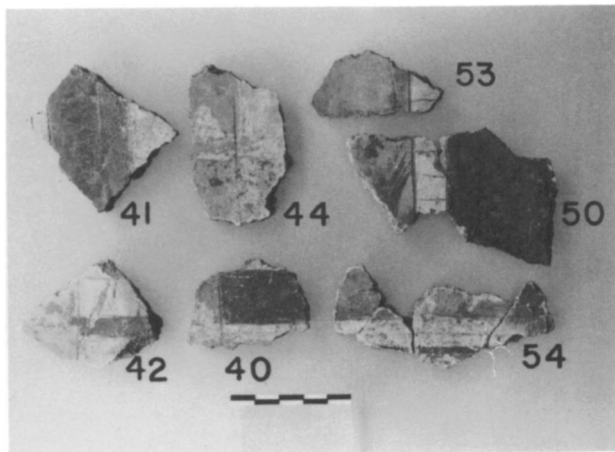
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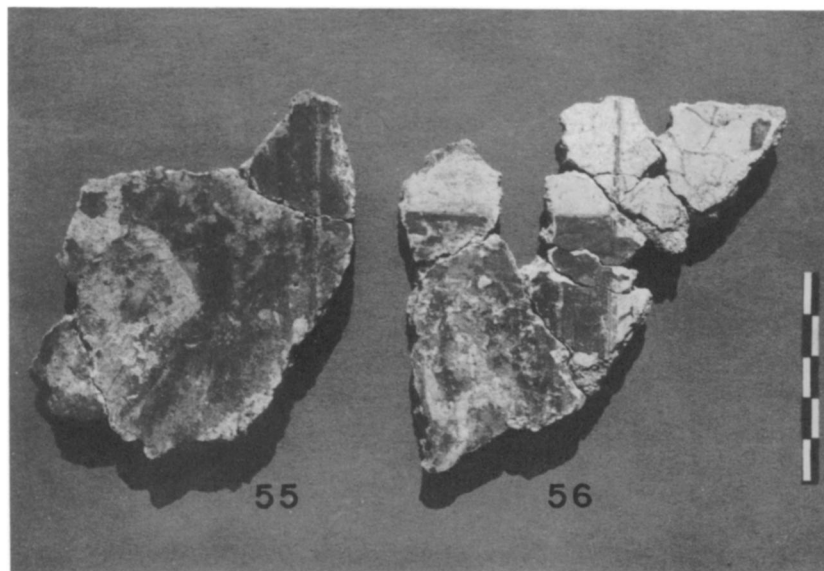
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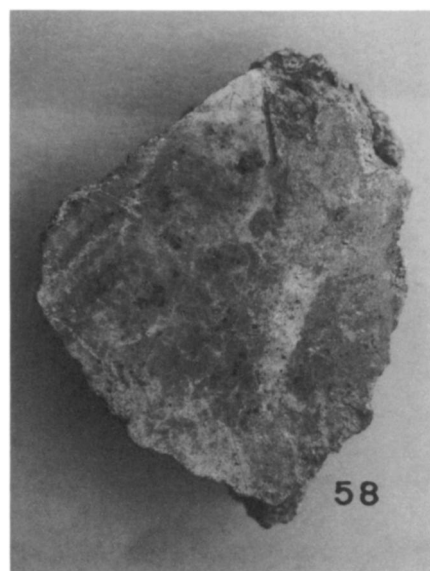
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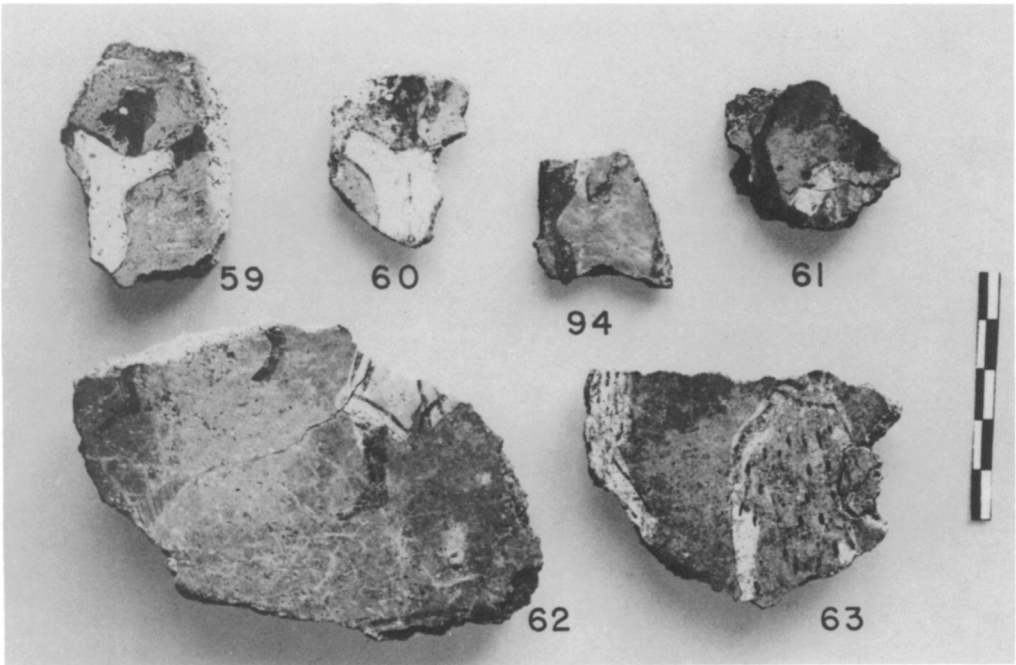


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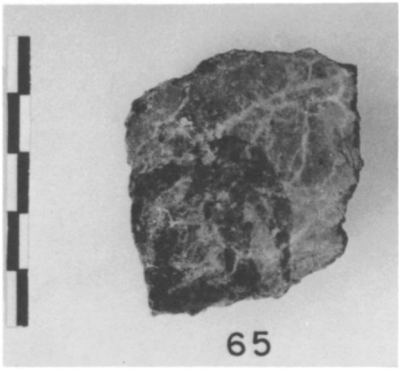


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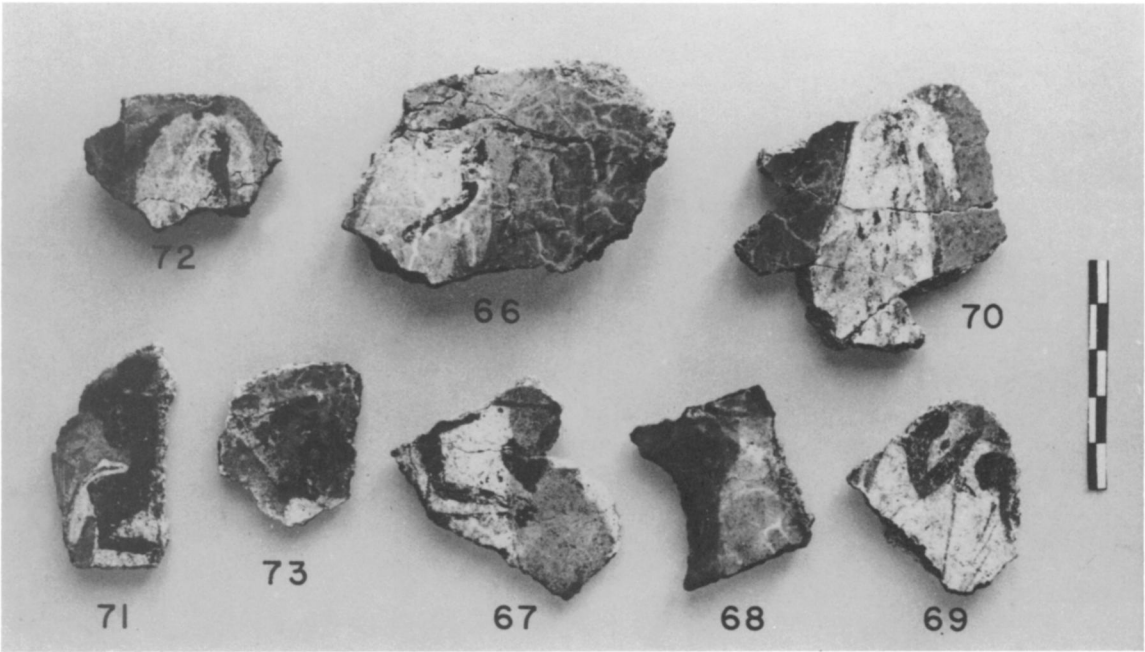
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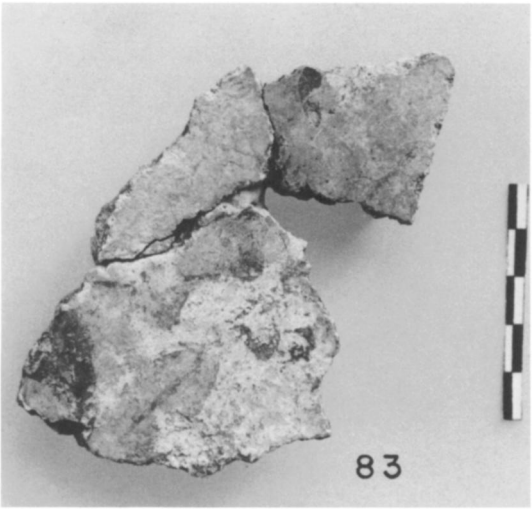
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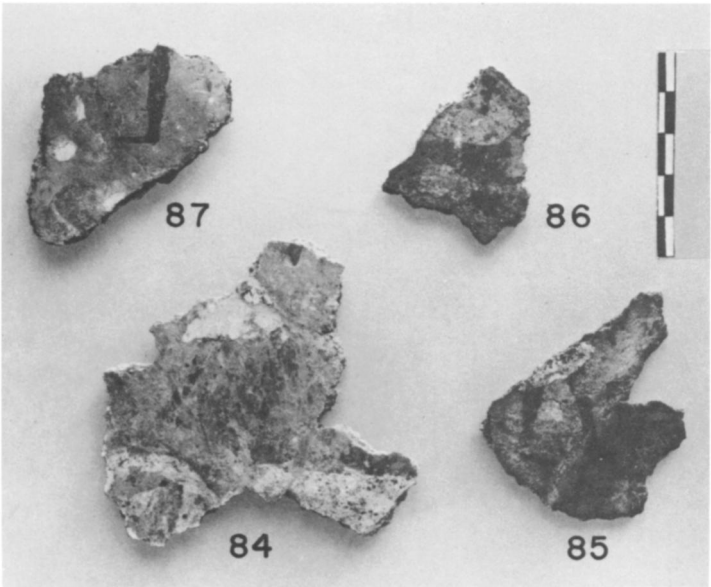
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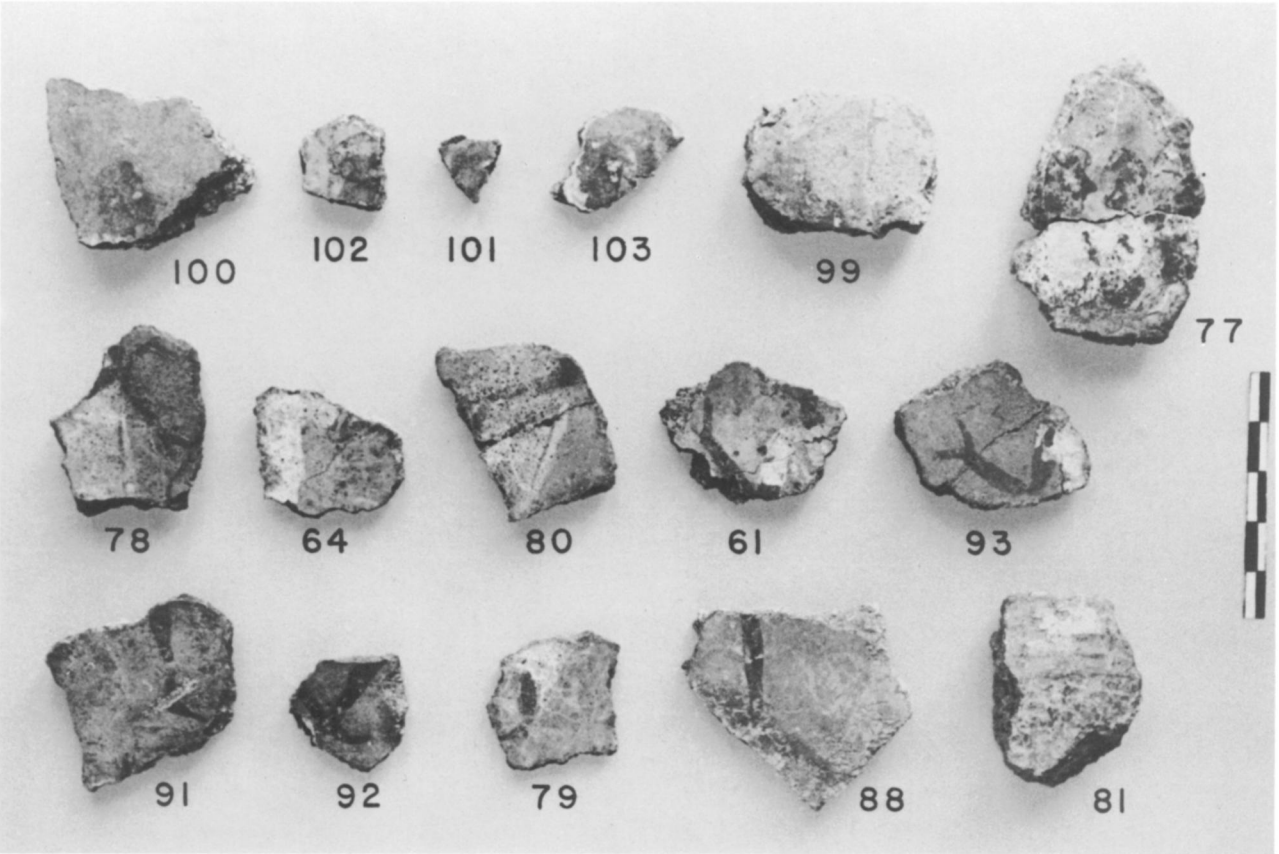
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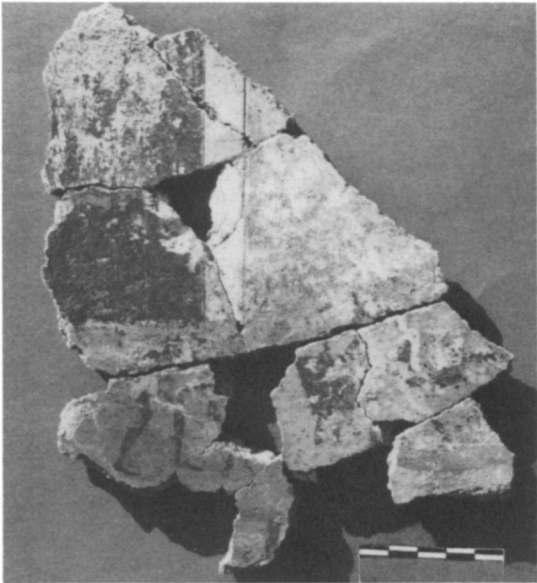


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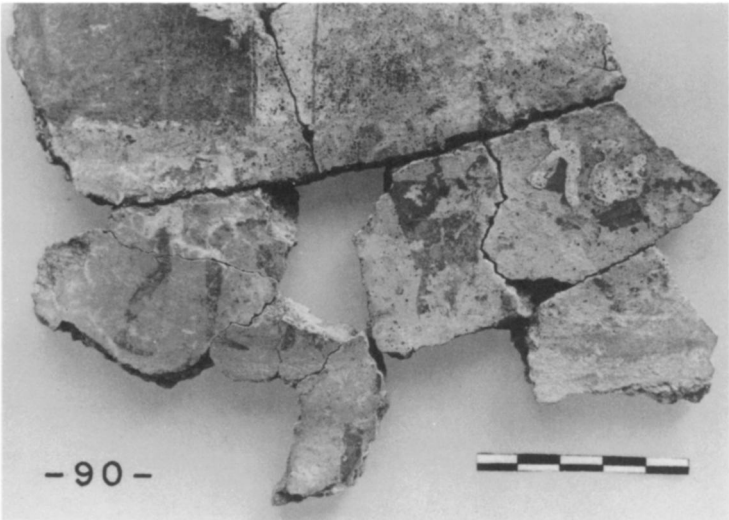


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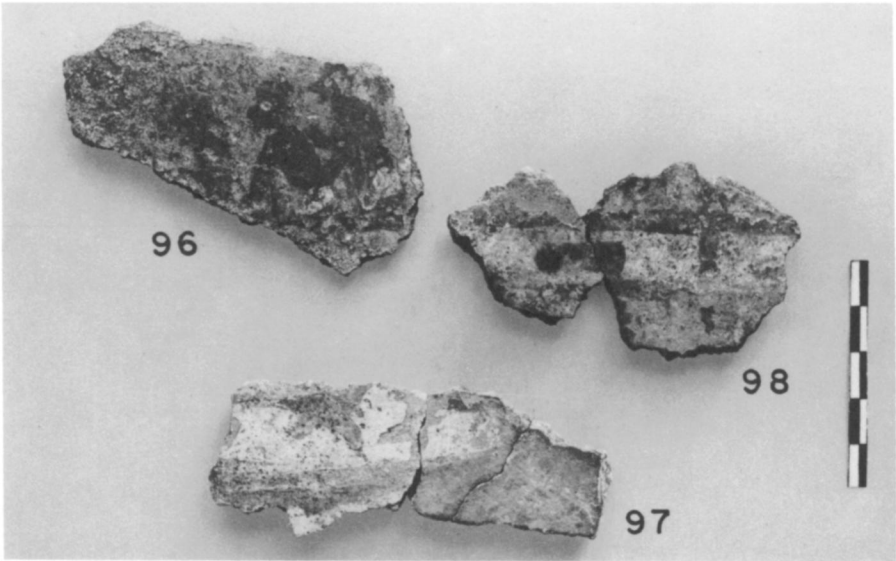
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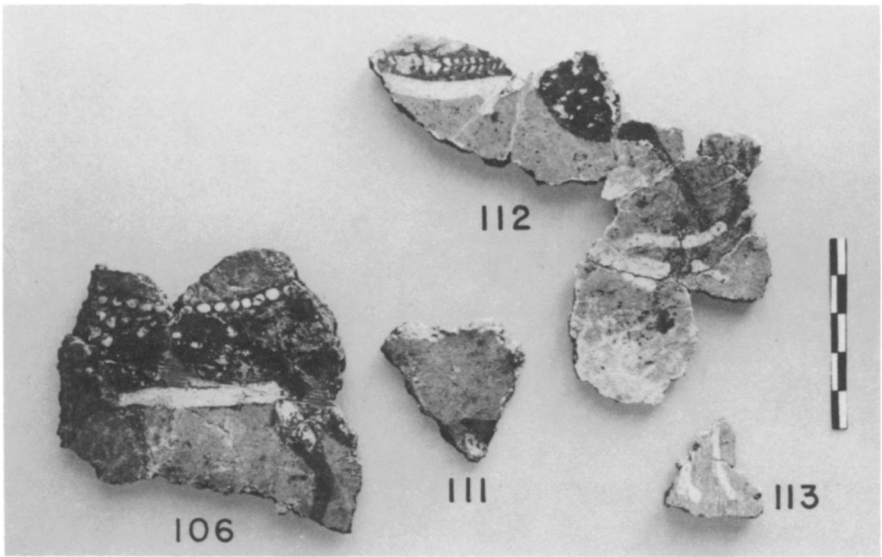
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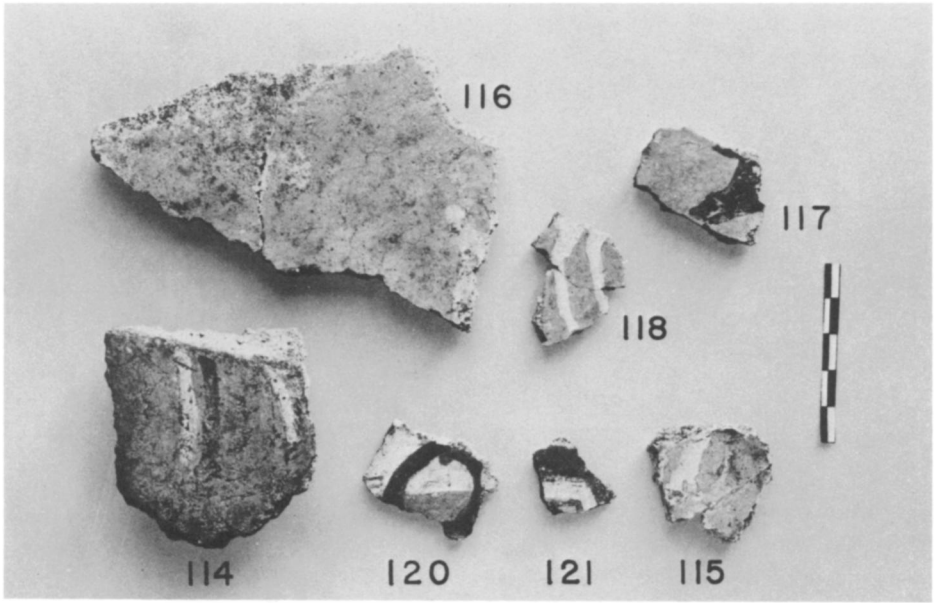
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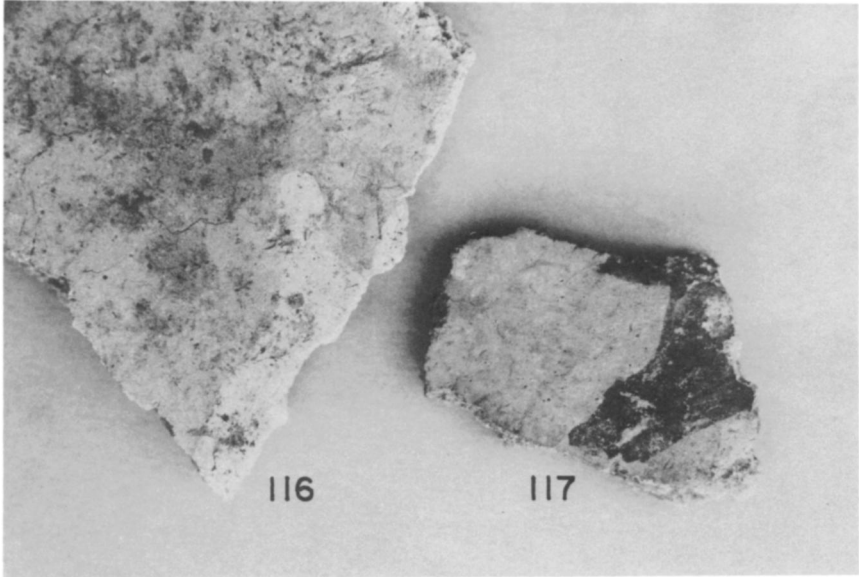
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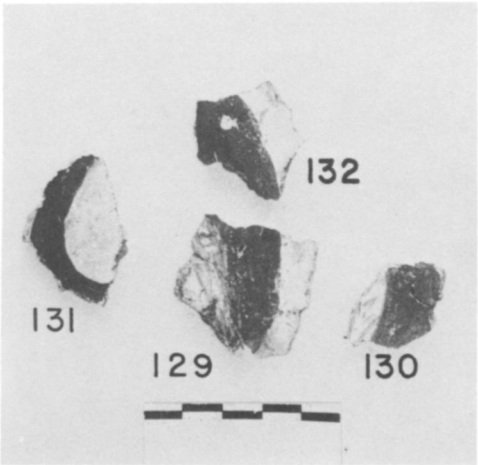
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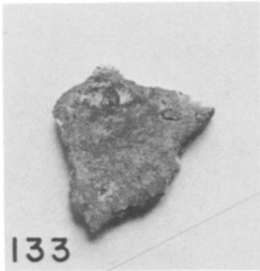
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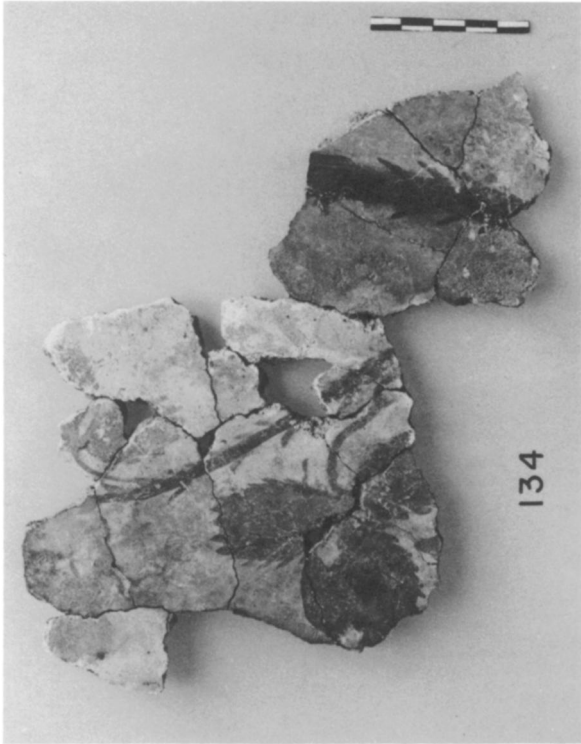
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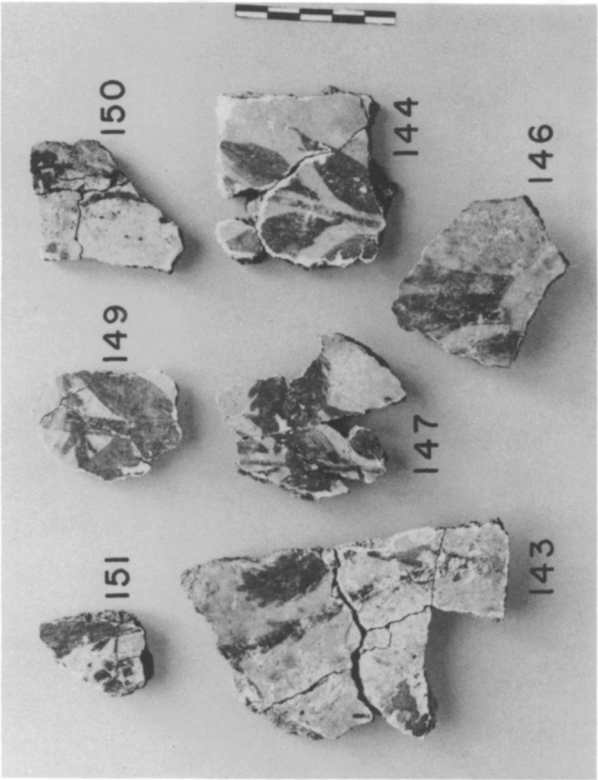
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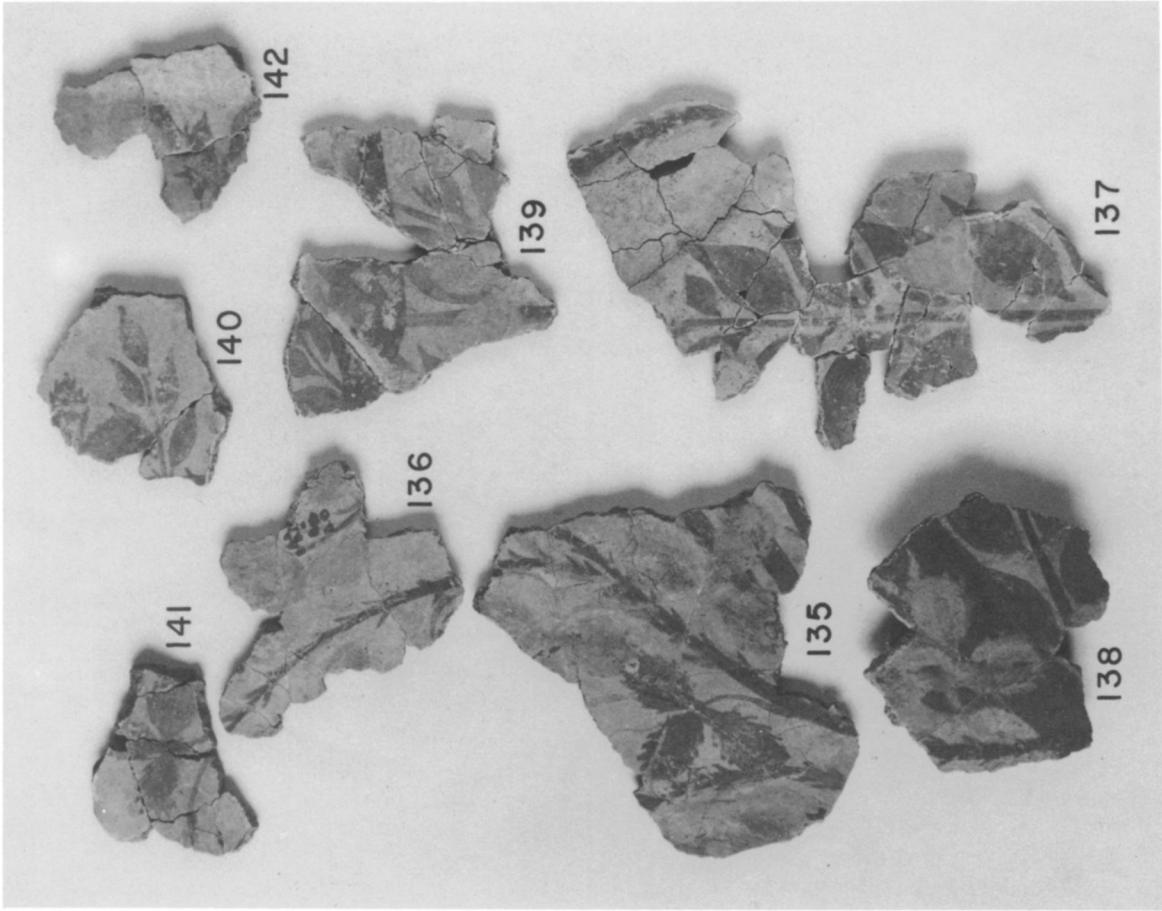
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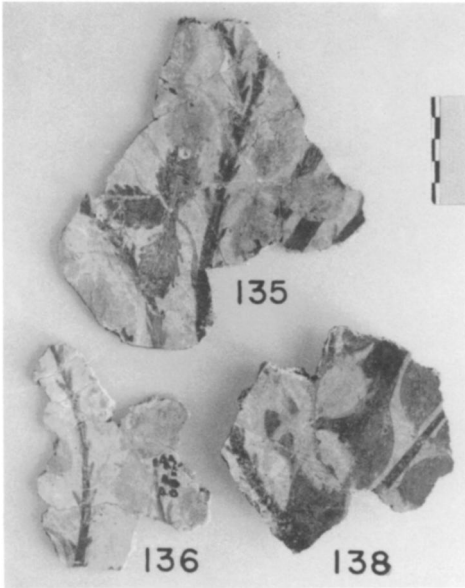
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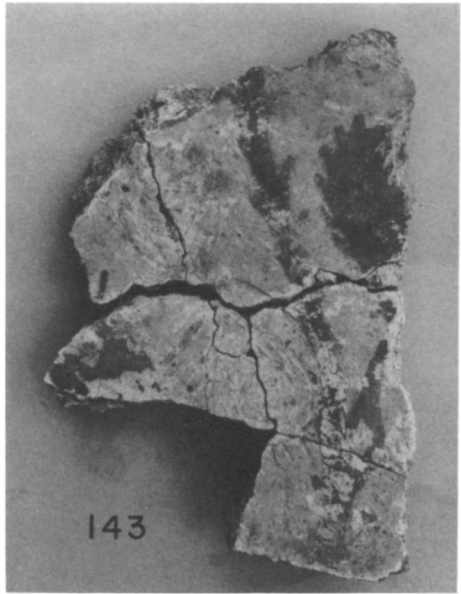
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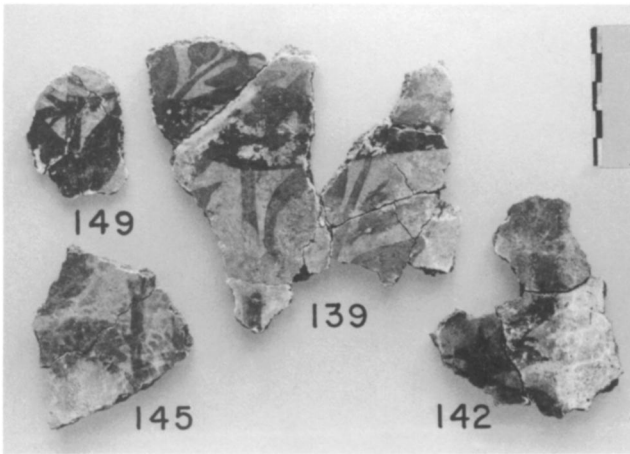
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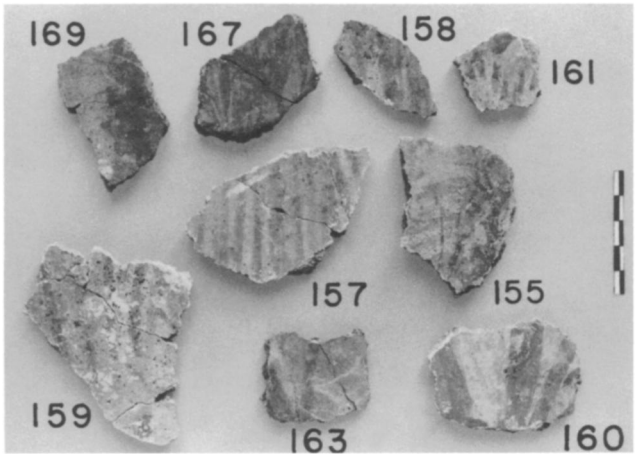
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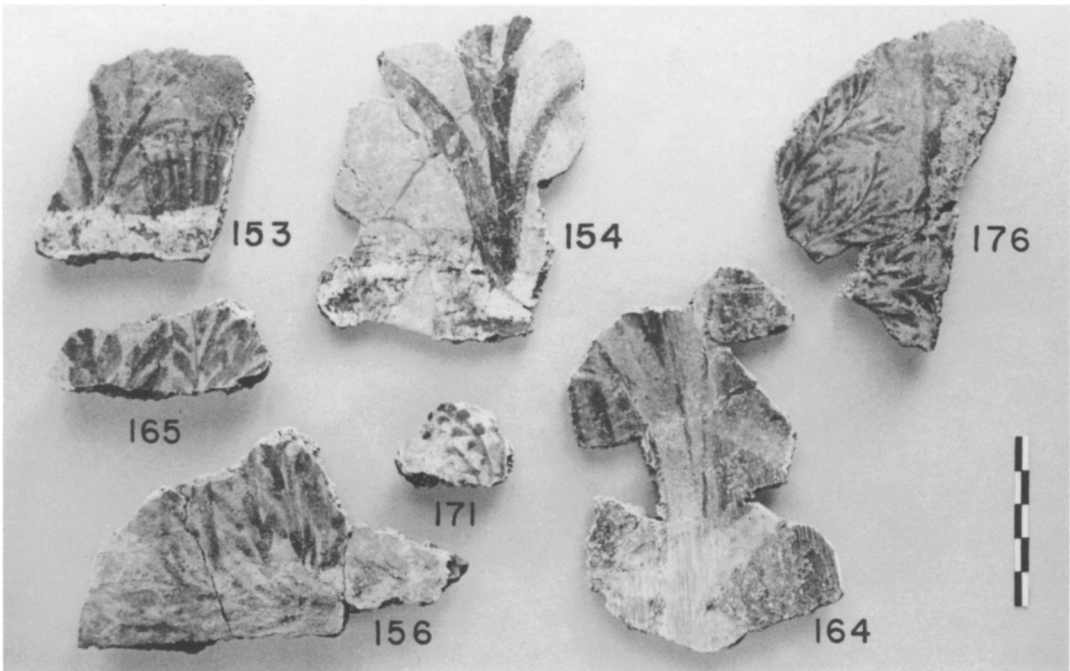
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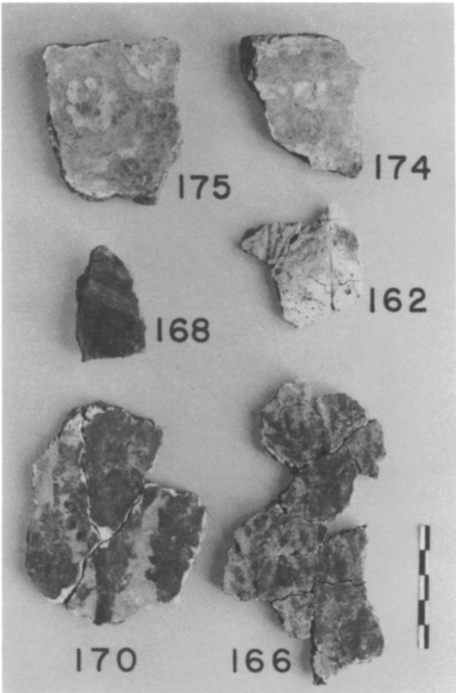


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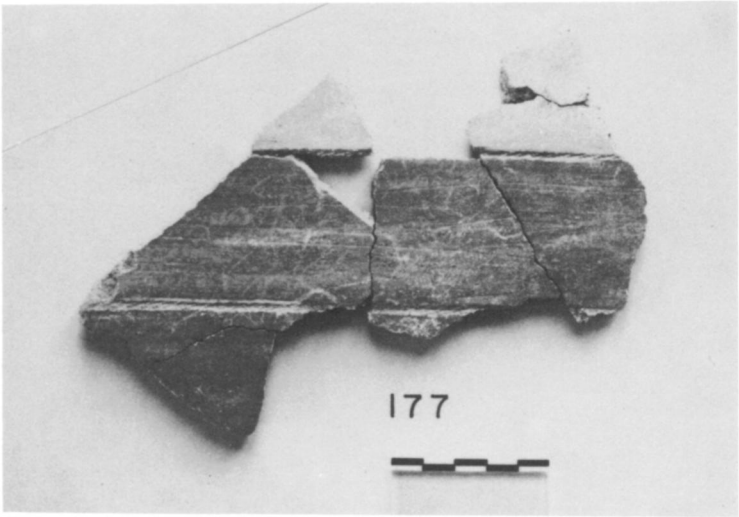


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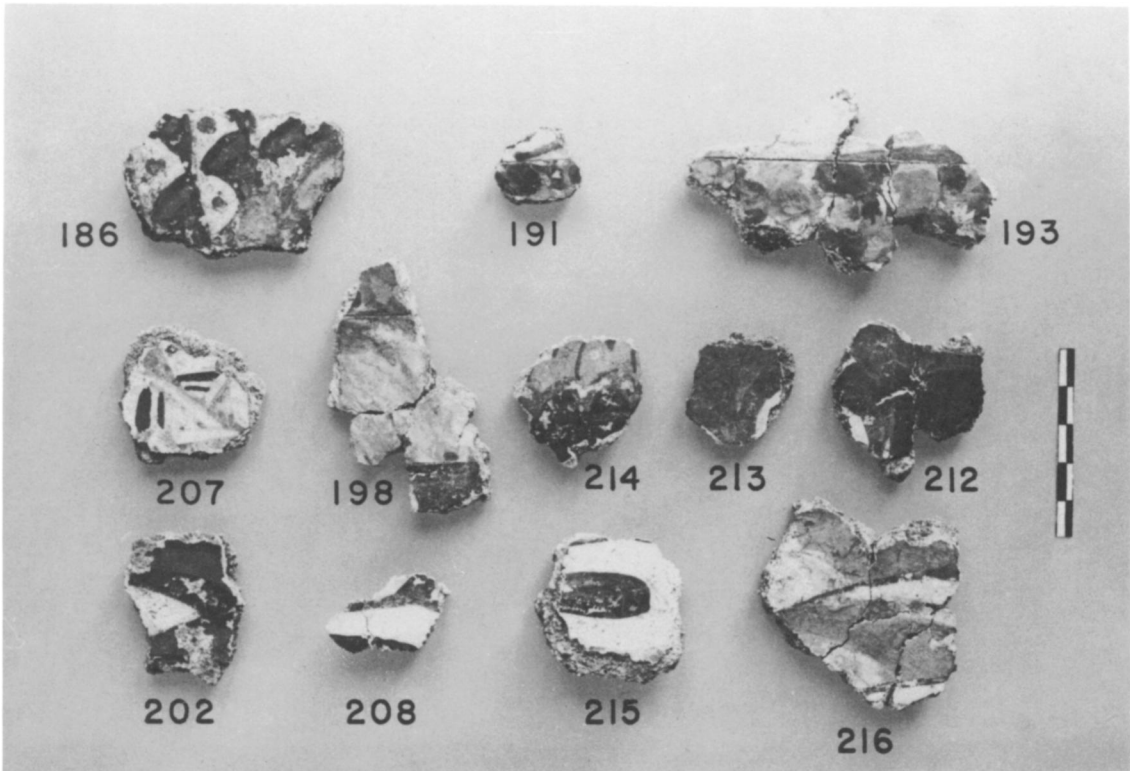
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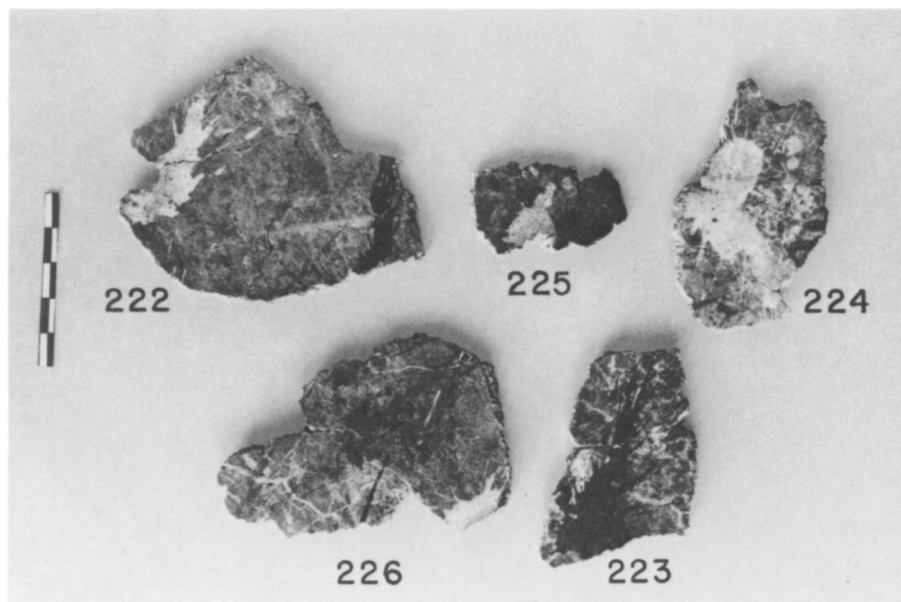
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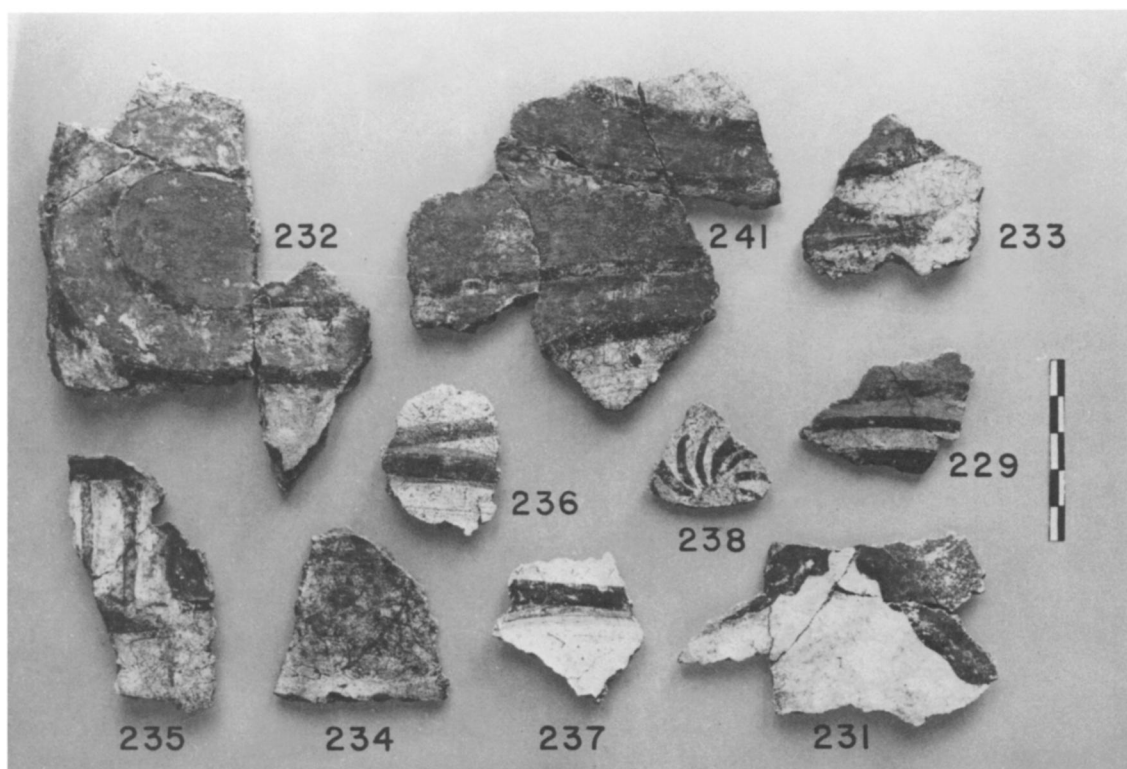
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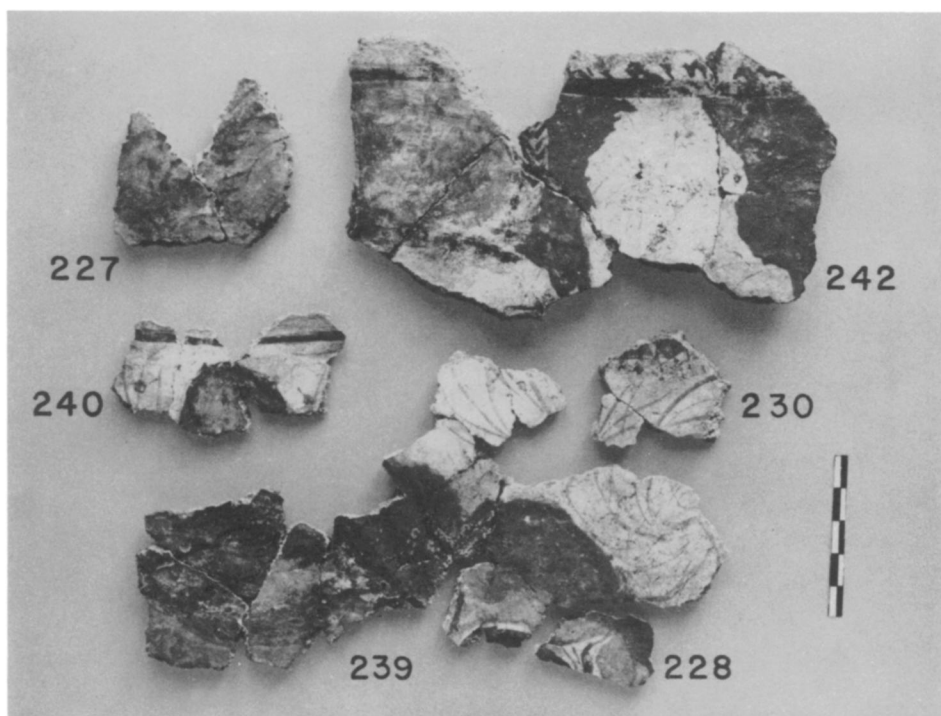


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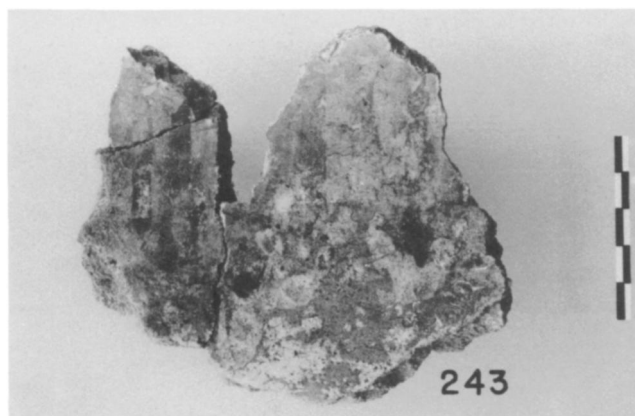


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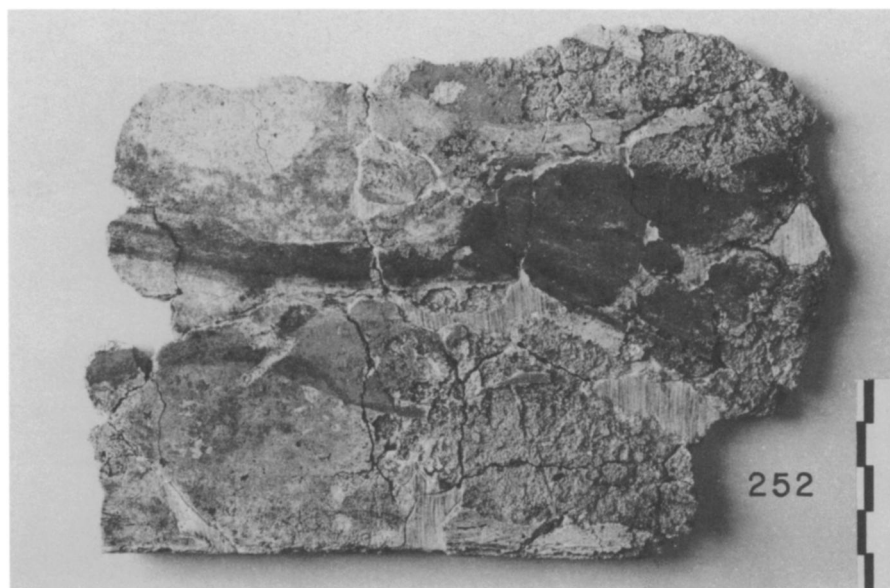
PLATE 12



a.



b.



c.