

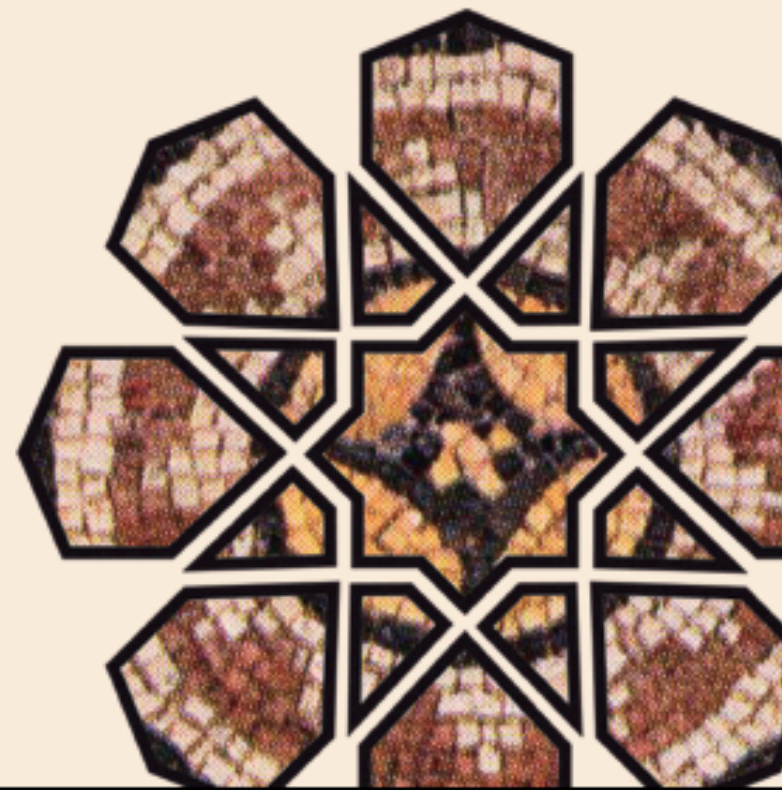


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Bu dergideki makalelerde kullanılacak olan kısaltmalar Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü yayın kuralları, Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque antique, AIEMA - AOROC 24.2016, La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine IX ve Der Kleine Pauly dikkate alınarak yapılmıştır.

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José María Blázquez Martínez in memoriam (1926-2016)

José María Blázquez Martínez (Professor of Ancient History and Fellow of the Spanish Royal Academy of History) passed away on March 26, 2016, in the city of Madrid (Spain) after a full life devoted to teaching, scientific research and the spread of antiquity; and leaving all of us -who have had the immense fortune to enjoy his mastership and overwhelming personality-, with an immense sadness.

Prof. Blázquez graduated in Philosophy and Letters from the University of Salamanca in 1951 and defended his PhD in the Complutense University of Madrid in 1956. During the next decade, Prof. Blázquez continued his training under the supervision of Prof. Pallottino at the University of La Sapienza in Rome and, granted by the DAAD, at the University of Marburg, under the supervision of Prof. Matz and Prof. Drerup. Subsequently he made other successful research stays at the University of Tel Aviv, the British Academy of Rome, the University of Catania, and in the German Archaeological Institute branches at Istanbul, Damascus and Riyadh. In this regard, Prof. Blázquez always defended the importance of international networks that, through academic contact with other schools and colleagues, conceived as essential for personal development and the progress of scientific research.



After this intense formative period, José María Blázquez obtained a position as Professor of Ancient History at the University of Salamanca (1966-) and shortly after at the Complutense de Madrid (1969-), where he was designated as Professor Emeritus. At the same time, he was an active member of the former Institute of Archaeology "Rodrigo Caro" (CSIC), that he directed during more than ten years (1973-1985). Finally, in recognition to his academic trajectory, Professor Blázquez was elected as a Fellow of the Spanish Royal Academy of History. In all these institutions Prof. Blázquez developed a brilliant contribution to the promotion of Ancient History in Spain, especially important was his capacity for mentoring (he supervised more than 40 PhDs during his academic life) large teams of teachers and researchers, that obtained several tenured positions in different universities and academic institutions. He was also a prolific author publishing many handbooks and monographs that are authentic milestones in history the Spanish scholarship (i. e. *La Romanización, Historia social y económica. La España Romana. Economía de la Hispania romana*, Bilbao, 1978, *Historia de España Antigua, I. Protohistoria*, Madrid, 1980; *Historia de España Antigua II. Hispania romana*, Madrid, 1978). Largely influential was also his leadership in the direction of the scientific journals as *Archivo Español de Arqueología* (1973-1987) and *Gerión* (1983-2010). In addition, Prof. Blázquez directed numerous archaeological excavations at Caparra (Cáceres), Cástulo (Jaén), La Loba (Fuenteovejuna, Córdoba), and in the Monte Testaccio (Rome).

By virtue of its training and its wide perspective, Prof. Blázquez's research trajectory was the reflection of the scientist dedicated to the study of antiquity, with a masterful management of

diverse written and archaeological sources, always connected with current intellectual debates of all social and human sciences. During his career published more than 37 books, acting of editor in other 9 monographs. He also published 234 articles in the most prestigious, both Spanish and International, scientific journals and several chapters in collective volumes. His research interests covered multiples areas on the study of antiquity: the Phoenician and Greek colonization of the Western Mediterranean, the Late Iron Age communities of the Iberian Peninsula, the study of Pre-Roman religions, the Impact of primitive Christianity in the Late Roman Empire, and, of course, the ancient economy of Roman Spain, with an special focus on the exports of *Baetican* olive oil.

Finally, we would like to highlight his research on Roman mosaics, whose first publication dates from 1975 - "Arte y Sociedad en los mosaicos del Bajo Imperio" [Art and Society in the mosaics of the Late Roman Empire] *Bellas Artes* 75, 1975, pp. 18-25 -soon followed by- "Mosaicos romanos del Bajo Imperio" [Roman mosaics of the Late Empire], *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 50-51, 1977, pp. 269-293., In this regard, Prof. Blázquez continued the a research line previously initiated by his teacher Prof. Antonio García y Bellido. Since 1976 to 1996, Prof. Blázquez promoted and directed the Corpus of Mosaics of Spain, within the framework of the international project sponsored by the AIEMA. Through this monumental labor, Prof. Blázquez contributed to establish the study of Roman mosaics as an authentic sub-discipline in the field of the Spanish Classical archaeology.

The obtention of several I+D Research projects, funded in competitive calls by the Spanish Ministry of Science (acting as Principal Investigator from 1976 to 1997) and an International Project of the Joint Hispanic-American Committee, with the University of West-Lafayette, Purdue (Indiana-USA), allowed Prof. Blázquez to create a permanent research team on the study of Roman mosaics. This team, which I (Prof. Neira Jiménez) am honored of have been part, managed the realization of the above mentioned *Corpus de Mosaicos de España* (CME), a work continued afterwards by its dear colleague, Dr. Guadalupe López Monteagudo (CSIC). In addition to the publication of 12 volumes of the CME, he presented numerous papers on the Hispanic, African and Near Eastern Roman mosaics in the most prestigious conferences on these topics, such as the International Congresses organized by the AIEMA or *L'Africa romana* conference, organized by the Centro di Studi sull'Africa Romana of the Università degli studi di Sassari, as well as in countless courses and seminars in other institutions and universities, such as the Roman Mosaic Seminar of the UC3M, to which he attended every year, without missing any of the 9 editions celebrated.

Prof. Blázquez was a firm believer in the work developed by AIEMA, having been named member of Honor of this scientific association. He also formed part of the editorial board of the Journal of Mosaic Research, where he published various articles, and presented papers in both the 11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, held in Bursa on 2009, and in the 5th Colloquium of AIEMA Turkey, held in Kahramanmaraş on 2011. Prof. Blázquez was a true lover of Turkey.

Prof. Blázquez was an unavoidable reference in the international scholarship on ancient mosaics, many colleagues who share our pain remember his vitality even in the XIII. AIEMA Congress held in Madrid on September 2015, where he gave the inaugural conference. As a testimony of his enthusiasm for the study of ancient mosaics, he was already thinking of traveling to the next AIEMA Congress scheduled for 2018 in Cyprus. Proof of his infinite generosity, he prepared

tirelessly until the end of his days a text on Diana in the mosaics of Roman Spain for X SMR, held in September 2016 at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

His decisive contribution to the study of antiquity has earned him numerous recognitions from many international academic institutions and associations: Fellow of German Archaeological Institute (1968), Board member of the L'Association Internationale d'Épigraphie grecque et latine (AIEGL), Member of the Hispanic Society (1974); Fellow of the Academy of Arts and Archaeology of Bologna (1980), Fellow of the Spanish Royal Academy of History (1990), Fellow of the New York Academy of Sciences (1993), Fellow of the Academia Nazionale dei Lincei (1994), Fellow of the Fine Arts Academy of Santa Isabel de Hungría (Seville) (1995), Fellow of the Real Academia de Bones Letres de Barcelona (1997), or Fellow of the Académie de Aix-en-Provence (1999), among others. He also received many prizes as the Franz Cumont prize from the Académie Royale de Belgique (1985), the Great Silver medal of Archaeology from l'Académie d'Architecture de Paris (1987), or the Cavalli d'Oro prize from Venice (2003). Prof. Blázquez was named *doctor honoris causa* by the universities of Valladolid (1999), Salamanca (2000), Bologna (2001), León (2005), and Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (2015), and received the *Orden del Mérito Civil*, one of the highest recognitions granted by the Spanish govern.

He was a genius as scholar, but also a genial person. For both reasons, colleagues, students, and friends of many countries, that have the fortune of meet Prof. Blázquez during his life, feel a great emptiness for the loss of our dear teacher.

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şahin
Bursa Uludağ University

Prof. Maria Luz Neira Jiménez
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid



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A New Mosaic Workshop in South Sardinia?

Güney Sardunya'dan Yeni Bir Mozaik Atölyesi?

Simonetta ANGIOLILLO*

(Received 30 October 2017, accepted after revision 22 June 2018)

Abstract

Up to now, two workshops have been identified in South Sardinia, at Nora, but the recent discovery in the surroundings of Cagliari of two late polychrome mosaics, one at Sarroch, the other at Settimo San Pietro, yielded new data, increasing our knowledge. Both of them present the same patterns - a chevrons rainbow style pattern and an orthogonal pattern of adjacent imbricated scales - and strong similarities in the style, while nothing similar has been found in the whole Sardinia; an unknown, common workshop can therefore be assumed.

But the floor at Settimo San Pietro includes a third panel which shows a geometric mosaic "à trame végétalisée", exactly alike to other two which were found in Carthage and Maiorca, and we can assume a Carthaginian origin of this pattern. So, can we think to only one workshop for the three floors, even for the panel with chevrons and adjacent imbricated scales, and for the mosaic at Sarroch too? And responsible for these mosaics could be African itinerant workers or Sardinian craftsmen, with African models at their disposal? Literary, documentary and archaeological sources witness for the existence of cartoons and pattern books in the ancient world, but we know for sure that itinerant craftsmen too existed. The present study will debate and analyze the different working hypotheses, but the answer is not yet possible, and we have to wait for more archaeological data and findings.

Keywords: Sardinia, mosaic, itinerant craftsmen, stationary workshops, pattern books, transmission of motifs.

Öz

Yakın zamana kadar Güney Sardunya'daki Nora'da iki atölyenin varlığı bilinmekteydi fakat Cagliari Bölgesi'nde yapılan son çalışmalarda birisi Sarroch diğeri Settimo San Pietro'da tespit edilen geç döneme ait iki çok renkli mozaikten yeni veriler elde edilmiştir. Her iki mozaik de aynı desenlerden oluşmaktadır, gökkuşağı gibi renkli şevronlardan oluşan bir desen ve bitişik düzende dikey olarak birbiri üstüne binmiş balık pulu deseni. Tüm Sardunya'da benzer desene sahip başka bir mozaik olmadığından bu mozaiklerin şimdiye kadar bilinmeyen fakat tek bir atölye tarafından yapıldığı varsayılabilir.

Ancak Settimo San Pietro'daki mozaik döşemedeki üçüncü bir panelde bitkisel çerçeve (à trame végétalisée) içinde geometrik bir motif yer almaktadır ve bu motif Kartaca ve Mayorka'da tespit edilen iki mozaikle benzerlik göstermektedir. Bu bakımdan bu desenin Kartaca kökenli olduğu varsayılabilir. Öyleyse, üç mozaik döşeme için de, yani şevronlarla bezeli panel, bitişik düzende üst üste bindirilmiş balık pullarıyla bezelenen panel ve Sarroch'taki mozaik için, sadece bir atölyenin söz konusu olduğu düşünülebilir mi? Bu mozaikleri yapanlar Afrikalı seyyar zanaatkarlar mıdır yoksa Afrika kökenli desenleri bilen Sardunyalı zanaatkarlar mıdır? Yazılı kanıtlar ve arkeolojik bulgular Antik Dünya'da desen kitaplarının ve çizim taslaklarının var olduğunu göstermektedir ancak aynı zamanda seyyar zanaatkarların da var olduğu kesin olarak bilinmektedir. Bu makalede farklı çalışma hipotezleri tartışılıp analiz edilecektir. Ancak kesin bir cevap henüz mümkün değildir, bu yüzden yeni arkeolojik veri ve bulgulara ihtiyaç vardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sardunya, mozaik, seyyar zanaatkarlar, geçici atölyeler, desen kitapları, motif yayılımı.

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Two interesting late mosaics have recently come to our knowledge in Southern Sardinia, one at Settimo San Pietro, 20 km E of Cagliari, in a site identified with *Assinarium*, mentioned by the Anonymous from Ravenna¹, the other, now lost, was at Sarroch, 28 kilometres SW of Cagliari, not far from *Nora*².

The Settimo San Pietro pavement has not yet been completely unearthed; the part we can see consists of three contiguous carpets: a geometric mosaic “à trame végétalisée”, a chevrons rainbow style pattern and an orthogonal pattern of adjacent imbricated scales (Angiolillo 2007; Angiolillo 2011) (Fig. 1). We know about the pavement of Sarroch thanks to meagre news and a detailed watercolour painted in 1889, immediately after the excavations (Olevano – Esposito 2014) (Fig. 2). In this mosaic there were two contiguous rectangular panels, only one existing when it was excavated, and one semicircular. The preserved panels were framed by a polychrome guilloche and contained rainbow style chevrons and adjacent scales respectively.



Figure 1
Settimo San Pietro, mosaic.
Photogrammetry by Marco di Lieto.

Figure 2
Sarroch, mosaic: Watercolour by
Vincenzo Crespi, 1889 (Roma,
Archivio Centrale dello Stato,
AABBAA II versamento, I serie,
Busta 2, f 107, Allegati grafici).



Although our knowledge of the mosaics of Settimo San Pietro and Sarroch is not homogeneous - the first is still *in situ*, the other exists just in a watercolour - we cannot avoid to see good similarities between them because of the same selection of patterns (Fig. 3) and, most of all, on account of the way they were carried out. Similarity is especially clear in the case of adjacent imbricated scales, where we notice some features which were not widespread all over the Empire. In both of them, scales are painted in shaded colours, according to a semicircular line and are arranged so that they produce a slanting colour alternation, but colours are somehow different. The core of the scale is always black at Settimo San Pietro (Fig. 4) and it is surrounded by polychrome curvilinear rows of two different kind: in the first a green row, then a grey-blue and finally a

1 Cf. Didu 1980-81: 211. The site Assinarium was along the way which went to the east coast of Sardinia from Karales, and Didu thinks that this name comes from Ad septimum miliarium.

2 This site too lies along the important via a Caralis Nura, or, as some milestones attest, a Nora Karalibus. About this road cf. Mastino 2005: 381-382.



Figure 3
Settimo San Pietro, mosaic:
Rainbow style chevrons.
Photograph by the Author.



Figure 4
Settimo San Pietro, mosaic:
Adjacent imbricated scales.
Photograph by the Author.

white one; in the other a red row, then a dark yellow ochre, a yellow and finally a white one (Décor I: pl. 219a, variety). In the pavement of Sarroch the core is yellow, or brown, or green, or red or blue and the lines around it take up the same colours only with white, the palette seems to be more various and bright, but perhaps it is just a different choice of nuances: light blue and green prevail in the mosaic of Sarroch, yellow ochre, brown and red in that of Settimo San Pietro. Furthermore, we do not know the watercolour reliability about the range of colours which were used in the mosaic.

Yet the 19th century drawing is certainly reliable when it shows the kind of scales and their layout in the carpet. Actually, if imbricated scales are widespread all over the Roman Empire, not so favoured are curvilinear arrangement of coloured tesserae and slanting colour alternation. In Sardinia, where some pavements follow the imbricated scales pattern, only two of them (just the ones of Sarroch and Settimo San Pietro) show these peculiar features; in the others we find particoloured black and white or polychrome scales (Décor I: pl. 217d, e, variety)³. In other provinces of the Empire we know only a few examples of curvilinear arrangement of coloured tesserae and slanting colour alternation⁴.

As for rainbow style chevrons, Africa has yielded many floors decorated with them⁵, above all from 3rd century on, but there is some evidence of them

3 Angiolillo 1981: n.12 (Nora, first half 3rd century AD), 103 (Cagliari, 3rd century AD), 107 (Cagliari, middle-end 2nd century AD), 119 (Capo Frasca 3rd century AD), 125 (Tharros, middle 3rd century AD).

4 Palo Laziale, Roma, (Cosentino - Foschi 1998: fig. 4). Bulla Regia (Hanoune 1980: 90-91 fig. 165, 170-171; 42 fig. 104), 3rd-4th century. Thuburbo Maius (Alexander - Ben Abed Ben Khader 1994: 82 n. 408 F table XXXVI), end 5th - beginning 6th century. Pupput (Ben Abed Ben Khader - Hanoune 2011: 105 fig. 12). Sufetula (Duval 1971: 286 fig. 327), end 5th - first half 6th century. Cillium (Darmon - Gozlan 2015: 117-118 fig. 11), second half 4th-beginning 5th century. Timgad (Germain 1969: 128 n. 194 table LXVI; 141-145 n. 222 table LXXVI). Burgos (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 29 n. 11 tavv. 14, 43), end 4th century. Lescar (Balmelle 1980: 134-138 n. 132 tables LXXII-LXXIII), end 4th-beginning 5th century. Dax (Balmelle 1987: 59-60 n. 189 table XXII), 4th century. Bordeaux (Balmelle 1983: 27, table XVI), 5th, or better 6th century, (De Matteis 2004: 72-76 n. 14 table XXIII, 5th-6th centuries; 91-92 n. 24 table XXX, 5th-6th centuries; 107-108 n. 38 table XLII, first half 6th century); De Matteis 2013: 47-48 and 124 n. 35, table XXXIII/3.

5 Utica (Alexander et al. 1973: 128 n. 145), second half 4th century. Bulla Regia (Hanoune 1980: 7 n. 5 fig. 10), not before 4th century. Dougga (Jeddi 2005: 536 fig. 5). Thuburbo Maius (Alexander et al. 1980: 45-46 n. 38D, table LXXVIII (beginning 4th century); 56-57 n. 45A table XXII, end 2nd - beginning 3rd century; 127 n. 101 table XLIX, 3rd century; 133-134 n. 105 table LI, beginning 3rd century. (Ben Abed-Ben Khader et al. 1985: 104 n. 235 table LVII, end 2nd - beginning 3rd century; 104-105 n. 236 table LVII, end 2nd - beginning 3rd century). (Alexander - Ben Abed Ben Khader 1994: 5-6 n. 346 table V, 4th century; 44-45 n. 375A table LXXIII, beginning 5th century; n. 408 G, end 5th - beginning 6th century). Pupput (Ben Abed Ben Khader 1994: 240 fig. 8) end 4th-beginning 5th century. Sousse (Foucher 1958: 21 table VI b), 3rd century. Sufetula (Duval 1971: 286 fig. 327), end 5th - first half 6th

elsewhere too⁶.

It is difficult to date our pavements. About the lost mosaic of Sarroch, the archaeologist Filippo Vivonet did not give meaningful news, as he wrote: “Vi riconobbi un bellissimo pavimento di mosaico policromo, parte a squamme (sic), parte a zig-zag, chiuso da cornice a nodi, il tutto a vivi colori e ben distribuiti; del pavimento fu fatto un disegno dal sig. prof. Vincenzo Crespi” (Vivonet 1889). The one of Settimo San Pietro, in its turn, has not yet been completely brought to light and till now excavations have given no diagnostic findings. So we have just to make an analysis of comparanda: they belong to a chronological range between 4th and 5th century, but some of them are later. More useful is to examine the third carpet (Fig. 5), the biggest of the room, a geometric mosaic “à trame végétalisée” (Angiolillo 2007; Angiolillo 2011), exactly alike to other two which were in Carthage (Beauregard et al. 1976: 66 figs. 13-15) and Maiorca (De Palol 1967: 220-221 fig. 76 table XXXIX), so that one could think that all of them come from the same *atelier*, or are made from the same cartoon. According to stratigraphy, the mosaic of Carthage has been dated to the end of Byzantine period: more exactly K. M. D. Dunbabin hypothesizes the decades AD 533-583 (Senay - Beauregard 1978: 75-85; Dunbabin 1985: 14-15). In default of diagnostic findings we have to accept this datation for the mosaic of Settimo San Pietro too.



Figure 5
Settimo San Pietro, mosaic:
Panel “à trame végétalisée”.
Photograph by the Author.

century. Acholla (Gozlan 2001: 29-32 n. 57 table XLII) 1, 2nd century. Djemila (Dunbabin 1978: 256), end 4th - beginning 5th century. Timgad (Germain 1969: 108 n. 158 table L, 3rd-4th century; 123 n. 185 table LXI; 125-126 n. 190 table LXIV).

6 Aquileia (Bertacchi 1986: figs. 188, 201). Ravenna (Berti 1976: n. 41, 62) half - second half 6th century. San Giusto, Lucera (De Santis 1998: 164 figs. 225, 230), 5th - first half 6th century. Catania (Branciforti 1997: 179 fig. 11). Enna (Cilia Platamone 1997: figs. 6, 9). Aphrodisias (Campbell 1991: 20 -21 n. 7 tables 72-73, 76 -77, half 5th century; 28-29 n. 10 tables 101, 103, AD 365-380). Antiochia (Levi 1947: 211 table XLVIIa, AD 235-312; 349 table LXXXIVb ca 475; Campbell 1988). Misis-Mopsuestia (Budde 1969: 33-34). Gaza (Blanc-Bijon 2016: 390-398, 391-392 fig. 4), end 4th - beginning 5th century.

But let us go back to the mosaics with rainbow style chevrons and adjacent scales. Nothing similar has been found in the whole Sardinia, not even in the site of Villaspeciosa⁷ (not far from Cagliari), where a pavement with rainbow style and shaded colours, dated to the end of the 4th century but reworked until the beginning of the 6th, can be ascribed to African workers. Therefore, a common workshop for both the mosaics of Settimo San Pietro and Sarroch can be suggested, however it is hard to determine whether it is an African or a local one.

Let us consider again the above mentioned carpet “à trame végétalisée” of Settimo and the others at Carthage and Maiorca: despite their great likeness, a few small variants suggest that the craftsmen are not the same. Instead of the birds painted in the middle of the circles on the pavements of Carthage and Maiorca, at Settimo there are geometric motifs and there are also some differences in colours and details. Literary, documentary and archaeological sources confirm that in the ancient world cartoons and pattern books did exist and travel remarkable distances⁸; responsible for the mosaic of Settimo was therefore possibly a local *atelier*⁹ which had an African model at its disposal¹⁰. On the other hand, because of the slight differences between Carthage, Maiorca and Settimo San Pietro mosaics the possibility should not be ruled out that the workshop was the same for the three floors¹¹. Up to now, two workshops have been identified at Nora (Lately, Angiolillo 2017): the first's features are an original, and sometimes unique, revision of very popular geometric patterns and the use of just three colours, white, black and ochre. It was at work from the end of the 2nd century. The second was trained at the school of the African craftsmen who worked in the so-called Casa dell'Atrio tetrastilo in the Severan period and who created very innovative mosaics, of a high technical level, with extremely small tesserae, new and complicated patterns and a rich polychromy. The local workers, who constituted this second *atelier*, learned repertoire, use of colours, magnificence of decorative framework from their African colleagues, but did not become as skilled as these were. Anyway, they made mosaics not only at Nora, but also in *Karales* and at *Sulci*, now Sant'Antioco. Beside these *ateliers*, as we said, African craftsmen worked at Nora (Casa dell'Atrio tetrastilo: Angiolillo 1981: 42-56, nn. 41-48, in particular nn. 43, 47), in *Karales* (Orpheus mosaic: Angiolillo 1981: 99-101 n. 101) and Villaspeciosa (Angiolillo 1999).

Shall the authors of the pavements of Sarroch and Settimo San Pietro belong to a new local workshop? The answer is not easy now, and we have to wait for more archaeological data and findings. At present we can just observe the close relationship between the mosaics of Sarroch and Settimo San Pietro, and between the panel “à trame végétalisée” at Settimo and the others in Carthage and Maiorca, but it is still very difficult to say whether the craftsmen were itinerant Africans or Sardinians. In this case they could probably come from *Karales*, but the mosaic production of the town is just partially known (Angiolillo 1981: 79-112).

7 Angiolillo 1999. Villaspeciosa is possibly situated along a diverticulum of the road a Karalibus Sulcos: Pianu 2006: 21-24.

8 On cartoons and pattern books, recently Angiolillo 2011; Poulsen 2012, with previous literature.

9 For a similar case in SW Caria and the Dodecanese, Poulsen 2012: 135-142.

10 The discovery of one more similar mosaic at Carthage suggests a Carthaginian origin of the pattern; see Angiolillo 2007: 17.

11 I previously favoured the hypothesis of local workers who had African patterns at their disposal (Angiolillo 2007 and 2011). On thinking it over, I am now inclined to have a greater caution, due to the lack of good photographic documentation of either Carthage or Maiorca mosaic. I believe therefore that, taking for granted that cahiers de modèles existed in the ancient world (see Angiolillo 2011), there is no sufficient evidence to ascribe the pavement of Settimo San Pietro either to local mosaicists or to African itinerant craftsmen: in dubiis abstinere.

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Room and Corridor Mosaics from the Ancient City of Germanicia and its Iconographic Assessment

Germanicia Antik Kentine Ait Oda ve Koridor Mozaïği ve İkonografik Değerlendirmesi

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Abstract

Germanicia has been hosted by many civilizations since Antiquity and is located in the Kahramanmaraş province at the intersection of East, Southeast and Mediterranean Regions. Even though the localization cannot be done completely, it is thought that the city was located on the southern hillsides of Ahir Mountain in 2339 meters high. It is thought that the ruins discovered at the district of Dulkadiroğlu, located in the east of Kahramanmaraş city center at the beginning of 2000s, may belong to Germanicia ancient city. It is known that Germanicia was an important episcopal city in the Early Byzantine period and many bishops such as Eudoxius, Nestorius, Suras, Salamanes (Salamias), Anaphora Thomas and John were called “Germanikeia” Agnomen. The villa room and corridor mosaics mentioned in the article belong to the Early Byzantine Period. The founds in the district of Dulkadiroğlu were unearthed in the archaeological excavations in 2001 and 2016. Various plants, domestic and wild animal species were depicted together on these mosaics. These mosaics give us information about fauna and flora of Germanicia. The mosaic that forms the subject of our article and animal depictions had importance in Roman art since the 1st century BC. Village life, nature, animals and hunting scenes (Emblemata) began to appear on mosaics in North Africa in the 2nd century AD, in Anatolia, Europe and Adriatic in the 4th century AD and later. However, the meaning of these themes changed in the Jewish and Christian communities and were perceived as religious symbols. Village life, nature, animals and hunting scenes are associated with stories in the Old and New Testament.

Keywords: Kahramanmaraş, Germanicia, Late Roman, mosaic, Opus Tessellatum.

Öz

Germanicia, Antik Çağlardan beri birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapan Doğu, Güneydoğu ve Akdeniz Bölgesi'nin kesişme noktasında yer alan Kahramanmaraş ilinde yer almaktadır. Lokalizasyonu tam olarak yapılamasa da kentin, 2339 metre yüksekliğindeki Ahir Dağı'nın güney eteklerinde yer aldığı düşünülmektedir. 2000'li yılların başında Kahramanmaraş il merkezinin doğusunda yer alan Dulkadiroğlu ilçesinde ortaya çıkartılan kalıntıların Germanicia Antik Kenti'ne ait olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Erken Bizans döneminde, Germanicia'nın önemli bir piskoposluk merkezi olduğu bilinmektedir. Eudoxius, Nestorius, Suras, Salamanes (Salamias), Anaphora Thomas ve John gibi birçok piskopos, “Germanikeia” Agnomeni ile anılmıştır. Makalenin konusunu oluşturan Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne ait mozaikler 2001 ve 2016 yıllarında arkeolojik kazılarda Dulkadiroğlu ilçesinde bir villa da ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Bu mozaikler üzerinde köy yaşamı, çeşitli bitkiler, evcil ve vahşi hayvan türleri bir arada tasvir edilmiştir. Bu mozaikler bize Germanicia'nın fauna ve florası hakkında bilgiler vermektedir. Makalemizin konusunu oluşturan mozaik üzerinde gözlemlenen hayvan betimlemelerinin İÖ I. yüzyıldan itibaren Roma resim sanatında önemli bir yer tuttuğu bilinmektedir. Köy yaşamı doğa, hayvan ve av sahnelerinin (Emblemata) mozaikler üzerine yansımaları Kuzey Afrika'da İS II.

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yüzyılda, Anadolu Avrupa ve Adriyatikte ise İS IV. yüzyıl ve sonrasında mozaikler üzerinde görülmeye başlamıştır. Ancak, bu sahneler Yahudi ve Hristiyan topluluklarda anlam değiştirerek dini semboller olarak algılanmıştır. Mozaikler üzerindeki köy hayatı, doğa, hayvan ve av sahneleri Eski ve Yeni Ahit'teki hikayelerle ilişkilendirilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kahramanmaraş, Germanicia, Geç Roma, mozaik, Opus Tessellatum.

History

Germanicia has been hosted by many civilizations since Antiquity and is located in the Kahramanmaraş province at the intersection of East, Southeast and Mediterranean Regions. Even though the localization cannot be done completely, it is thought that the city was located on the southern hillsides of Ahir Mountain, 2339 meters high.

Germanicia (Greek: Γερμανίκεια) which means “the emperor city”, was founded in 38 AD in honor of empire by IV. Antiokhos, King of Commagene¹ (Magie 1950: 549; Millar 1993: 228-229; Zoroğlu 2005: 303-304). The first information about the city is found in the books of Ptolemaios (Millar 1993: 228; Zoroğlu 2005: 305-306; Tekin 2010: 167) called Geography (Ptol. geogr. V.15.10), Gaius Asinius Quadratus Parthikas (Millar 1993: 229) and Stephanus Byzantinus' Ethnica (Billerbeck 2006: FGrHist 97 F 10). It is known that coins were minted on behalf of the Roman Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Commodus between 161-180 AD (Tekin 2010: 173).

In the Early Byzantine Period, it can be obtained from the sources that there were important people related to the city. For example, Eudoxius, born in Arabissos (Kahramanmaraş - Afşin) who defended Aryanism in the 4th century AD, was an episcopalist in Germanicia (Lippold 1964: 408; Sinclair 1999: 653-654; Kaçar 2008: 145-159; Dumankaya in print b), Nestorius (386-451 AD), the founder of Nestorianism, who deeply influenced Christianity in the 4th century AD and Byzantine Emperor III. Leo (717-741 AD) was born in Germanicia (Vasiliev 1943: 297-298; Foss 1991: 845; Gregory 1991: 1460). As it is known, the bishops were named according to the regions where they served. According to sources Germanicia was an important episcopal city. As it is known, the bishops were named according to the regions where they served. In the Early Byzantine Period, many bishops such as Suras, Salamanes (Salamias), Anaphora Thomas and John were called Germanikeia Agnomen² (Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 90-165; Chadwick 2004: 275, 578; Clayton Jr 2007: 32). However the contribution of the aforementioned bishops to Germanicia is still unknown.

Localization

A source giving detailed information about the localization of the city could not be identified. For this reason, evaluations and opinions about the localization of the city were obtained from the historical sources, the researches (Texier 2002: 141-142; De Giorgi 2016: 114-115) and the information from the excavations³.

At the beginning of the years 2000, it is thought that the remains revealed in the district of Dulkadiroğlu, east of Kahramanmaraş, may belong to the ancient

1 In 38 AD, known the time that the city was founded, the Roman Empire was ruled by Gaius Iulius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (Caligula). IV. Antiochus was brought to the Kingdom of Commagene by Gaius. Although it was stated as gratitude to the Emperor Gaius that the name of the city is “Germanicia”, there are different opinions about to whom the name was dedicated and the date of the foundation of the city (Ürkmez 2014: 79- 81; Dumankaya in print a).

2 <http://syri.ac/diyarbakir-turkey-meryem-ana-kilisesi-diyr-00334> Manuscript Names: DIYR 00030 – DIYR 00066 – DIYR 00253 – DIYR 00269 – DIYR 00334 –BORG. SIR. 159.

3 For other opinions and suggestions; (Dumankaya in print a).

Figure 1
Kahramanmaraş Province, Dulkadiroğlu
District Border and General View of 461
Cadastral Block Life Mosaic
(Ersoy 2017: 115).

city of Germanicia. Many archaeological cultures exist from the Roman Period to the Ottoman Period in this area where is called “Kara Maraş” by the people. Although the region has many cultural properties, the district of Dulkadiroğlu has a dense modern housing. This situation prevents to be carried out of archaeological excavations and to obtain scientific data. Despite the negative process, the first archaeological excavations were carried out in 2001, 2009, 2010 and 2016 in the cadastral block number 461 of Dulkadiroğlu district⁴ by Kahramanmaraş Museum. As a result of the archaeological excavations carried out in the cadastral block number 461, mosaic-floors were uncovered. The lack of archaeological findings prevents the right definitions and dating. In this structure which we thought was a villa, two different floor mosaics were uncovered. One of the mosaics was revealed in the central hall of the villa, and the other one was revealed at the room and corridor. Three different panels on the mosaic found in the central hall include village life, nature, human, animal, structure, geometric patterns, mythological scenes and plant descriptions (Fig. 1). The daily life depicted in the different panels of the mosaic gives us information about the period and the social structure, fauna, flora and the architecture of Germanicia (Ersoy 2017: 115-144).



⁴ Remains of archaeological culture were observed in Dulkadiroğlu district, Dulkadiroğlu, Bağlarbaşı, Namik Kemal, Seyhadil and Kanuni neighborhood.

Room Mosaic⁵

The mosaic, which was discovered in 2001, is still exhibited at the Kahramanmaraş Museum (Küçük – Yar 2012: 89-95 fig. 11). The preserved horizontal surface of the “L” shaped mosaic in the exhibition is 2.79 m x 4.32 m and its vertical surface is 1.47 m x 1.63 m and totally 14.45 m² (Fig. 2, Drawing 1). The size of the mosaic *tesserae* made in the *Opus Tessellatum* technique varies between 0.5 cm and 1 m. The lotus blossoms (Décor I: pl. 62a) arranged in opposite directions side by side encircle the mosaic. Black, gray, beige and white tones were used in lotus blossoms looking towards to the main panel but in outward looking lotus blossoms, a composition in red, pink, beige and white tones was preferred. Vine branches come out in two branches from kantharos with domestic and wild animals in various species and surround the entire scene form the main theme of the mosaic. The tones of pink, brown and green were used on two vine branches. The puppy bear, pigeon, deer, purple gallinule, bull and bear, which are observed in different stages in a single panel, will be evaluated separately in the article.

Figure 2
General View of Room Mosaic
(Ersoy 2017: 145).



⁵ This mosaic was named “Corridor Mosaic” by Ersoy (2017: 145). However, although the width of the vertical surface of the “L” shaped mosaic is 1.52 m, the width of the horizontal surface is 2.62 m. Therefore, the mosaic floor must belong to a room with a corridor. For this reason, the mosaic in the text is called “Room Mosaic”. Ersoy 2017 was taken into consideration in the mosaic evaluation in the exhibition.

Drawing 1
Room Mosaic
(Drawn by
Semih Togan).



Figure 3
Pupy Bear

Figure 4
Pigeon



Pupy Bear

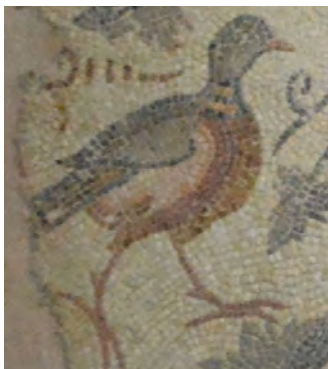
The back part of the pupy bear and some parts of vine branches have undergone destruction. The pupy bear between vine branches was depicted in position, sitting on their hind legs (Fig. 3). Extensively black and gray *tesserae* were used on pupy bear, but white *tesserae* were used on its eyes and teeth. In order to give a natural appearance and to show the effect of light and shadow on the pupy bear, correct tonalities of colors were tried to be caught.

Pigeon

Green, red, pink and yellow *tesserae* were used on the pigeon depicted in the right side of the vine leaves (Fig. 4). In order to give a natural appearance, smaller *tesserae* were used to catch natural tonalities and to show the effect of light and shading on the pigeon.

Deer

The deer - the left foot on the front - was depicted while eating the vine leaves. On deer, different tones of brown, gray, light-pink and pink *tesserae* were used (Fig. 5). In order to reflect the muscles and limbs naturally, different color tonalities were used from the back to the abdominal.



Purple Gallinule (Porphyrio Porphyrio)

It was depicted walking to the rightward among the vine leaves (Figs. 6-7). Black, brown, light pink and gray were used on the body of the purple gallinule and darker *tesserae* were used from its body to the wings. The black and green were used on its neck and head but the red colors were used on its foot, beak and comb.

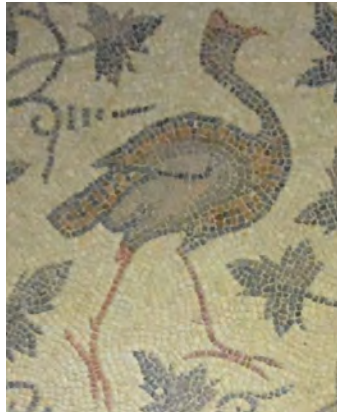


Figure 5
Deer

Figure 6 -7
Purple Gallinule (Porphyrio Porphyrio)

Bull

The Bull - the right foot on the front - was depicted while eating the vine leaves. On the Bull, brown, gray, white, pink and dark red *tesserae* were used in different tones (Fig. 8). The lighter color *tesserae* were used from the back to the abdominal. So that the shadow could be shown to the viewer naturally. In order to show the muscles more clearly, different colors were used in the contours. The impression of a well-fed animal was tried to be given but there is a mismatch between back and the front legs of the bull.



Figure 8
Bull

Bear

The bear was depicted rightward between the vine leaves, while eating grapes, two legs on the front (Fig. 9). The black and the gray *tesserae* were used intensively on the eyes and teeth of the bear, while the red *tesserae* were used in the tongue. Light color *tesserae* were used from the back to the abdominal to give a natural appearance and to show the effect of light and shading on the bear. In order to show the muscles clearly, different color tones were used in contours.



Figure 9
Bear

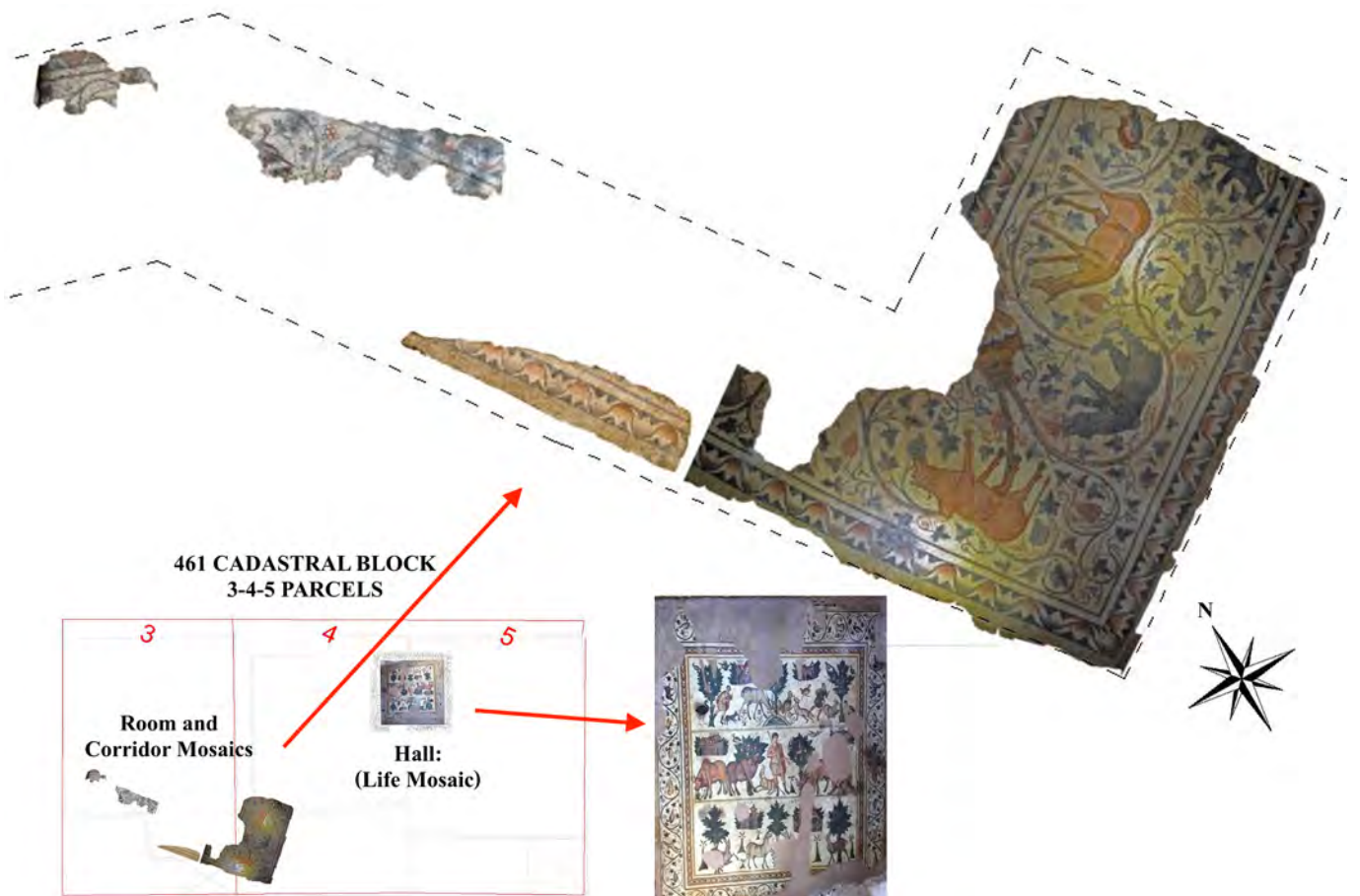
Corridor Mosaic

The continuation of the floor mosaic was revealed on the same axis in a corridor in 2016. Since 2016, a total of three pieces-corridor mosaics were uncovered. Since they were removed in pieces, each mosaic will be evaluated within itself in the article (Figs. 10a-b).

Figure 10a
Localization of 3rd Parcel
Corridor Mosaics.



Figure 10b
General View of 3-5th Parcel Mosaics
(Ersoy 2017: 115, 145).

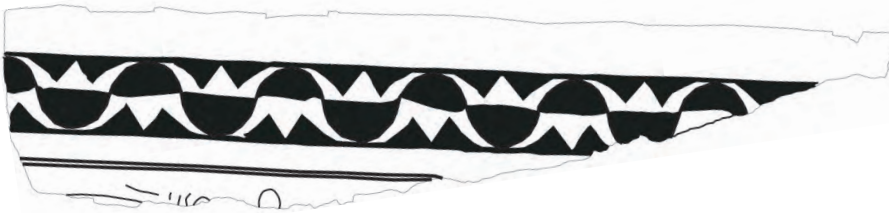


First Piece

The corridor mosaic which extends towards the northwest direction, is 55 cm x 2.15 m in size (Fig. 11, Drawing 2). Only the lotus blossoms were preserved on the mosaic (Décor I: pl. 62a). Black, gray, beige and white tones *tesserae* were used in the lotus blossoms looking towards the main panel. However, pink, beige and white *tesserae* were included in lotus blossoms looking outward.



Figure 11
Corridor Mosaic (First Piece).



Drawing 2
Corridor Mosaic (First Piece)
(Drawn by Semih Togan).

Second Piece

A floor-mosaic was also uncovered about 2.5 m away from first piece and 4.6 m x 2.50 m in size, on the same axis (Fig. 12, Drawing 3). Lotus flowers can be seen on the protected bordures of the mosaic. In the middle part of it, the vine branches, the grapes and male black francolin (*Francolinus Francolinus*)⁶ can be seen. Male black francolin was depicted as looking towards eastward (Figs. 13-14). The light tones of pink color and dark red were used on its neck, legs and wings but white *tesserae* were used on its eyes. On the other hand, the different



Drawing 3
Corridor Mosaic (Second Piece)
(Drawn by Semih Togan).

⁶ Male black francolin was decorated with more vivid colors, neck red ring and colors are suitable for natural environment. Naturally, it spreads in the Mediterranean coast, especially in Çukurova. Male black francolin spreading in Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Kahramanmaraş, is also located in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan, except Anatolia. For details see http://www.trakus.org/kods_bird/uye/?fsx=2fsdl17@d&tur=Tura%E7.

Figure 12
Corridor Mosaic (Second Piece).



Figures 13-14
Male Black Francolin (*Francolinus*
Francolinus).



tones of gray and green were used on its body. Two and three rows of green tones *tesserae* were used on the vine leaves in the mosaic. Red *tesserae* contour on the outside and light-pink *tesserae* on the inside were used on the grapes in this mosaic.

Third Piece

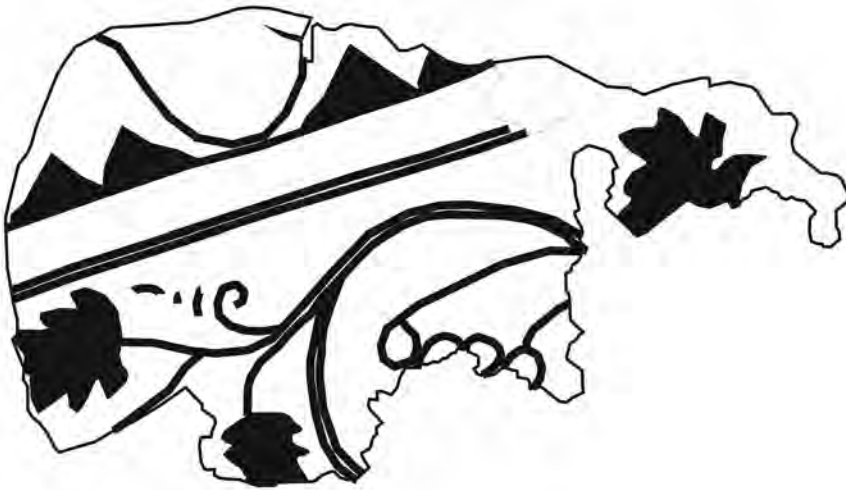
This mosaic which is 50 cm x 90 cm, was destroyed in an advanced level (Figs. 15-16, Drawing 4). Lotus blossoms and grapes are observable on the mosaic. The other parts of the mosaic are not observable due to the destruction. Considering that it is the continuation of the same mosaic, it is highly probable that there are domestic or wild animals among the vine branches as it was in the second part.

Figure 15
Corridor Mosaic (Second and Third
Pieces).





Figure 16
Corridor Mosaic (Third Piece).



Drawing 4
Corridor Mosaic (Third Piece)
(Drawn by Semih Togan).

As of 2016, a total of five mosaic floors have been identified in pieces along with the mosaic which is called life mosaic and those are located in number 461 cadastral block. The destructions and the lack of archaeological findings prevent to determine what kind of structure it is. For this reason, the dating of the structure was made on the village life, nature, human, animal, structure, geometric patterns, mythological items and plant descriptions observed on the mosaics.

The mosaic that forms the subject of our article and animal depictions observed on other mosaic (Ersoy 2017: 114-115) in the same structure had importance in Roman art since the 1st century BC. Village life, nature, animals and hunting scenes (Emblemata) began to appear on mosaics in North Africa in the 2nd century AD, in Anatolia, Europe and Adriatic in the 4th century AD and later (Levi 1947: 489-490; Kondoleon 1994: 254-258; Merrony 1998: 442-482; Dunbabin 1999: 109-110; Hales 2003; Hachlili 2009: 175-178; Omari 2012: 124-127; Eraslan 2013: 227; 2014: 448; Ersoy 2017: 220-238). The scenes observed in North Africa began to appear in Anatolia as a result of the political and cultural

interaction in the region. Thus, this interaction was further advanced by the agreements (Malalas Chron. XIV. 23; Bahadır 2011: 689; Eraslan 2013: 227 etc.) made between Byzantine and Sassanic states during the IVth-Vth century AD. Similar scenes observed in Germanicia mosaics are a result of political and cultural interactions. In the Early Byzantine Period, similar scenes are observed on the mosaics located in villas and public structures such as baths. With Christianity being the official religion, these scenes were used in the decoration of the monumental structures (Kolarik 1991: 791). In the spread of similar scenes in Anatolia, itinerant craftsmen and patrons had a great effect. (Dunbabin 1978: 24-29; Campell 1979: 287-292; Merrony 1998: 452-460; Hachlili 2009: 273-281).

In many civil and religious structures dated to the 4th and 6th centuries AD, many examples similar to the kantharos, vine, domestic and wild animal species on chamber mosaics have been identified. The mosaics of the Konya Tatköy Monastery (Ermişler 1992: 35-43 fig. 17-25), The Grand Palace of İstanbul (Jobst et al. 1997: figs. 12-42, Dunbabin 1999: 233 figs. 244-248), Osmaniye province, Düziçi district Church (?) and Koyundaş Basilica (Tülek 2004: Vol. I 88-93; Vol. II figs. 9.1-10; Vol. I 124-125; Vol. II figs. 16.1-16.12), Burdur province Gölhisar district Yusufça Early Byzantine Period Church (Ekinci 2005: 125-126 fig. 8), Bursa Büyükorhan district Derecik Basilica (Okçu 2007: 35-44 fig. 20), Erzincan Altıntepe Church (Can 2009: 1-9 figs. 8-17), Tekirdağ province, Marmara Ereğlisi district, Perinthos Basilica (Öztürk 2009: 29-31 figs. 8-12), Karabük Province Eskipazar district Paphlagonia Hadrianopolis Church (Patacı 2011: 30-49 figs. 5-44), Samsun Amisos Antique City Structure (Aybek – Öz 2012: 20 fig. 8), Haleplibahçe Bath (Karabulut et al. 2012: 56 fig. 60), Hatay province, Kırıkhan district, İncirlik Village Structure (Çelik 2013: 1-6 figs. 1-7), İzmir, Kemalpaşa district, (Nymphaion) villas (Tok et al. 2013: 66-87 figs. 7-94, drawing 2), are examples of similar themes.

In Syria, Jordan and Israel, similar scenes such as the struggles of predators and hunting animals, hunting scenes, vine motifs, various animal figures eating vines or certain bird species were depicted in many civil and religious structures dating from the Late Antiquity⁷. During the Roman Empire period, many vines and grape motifs on mosaics were associated with God Dionysos (Şahin 2004; Hachlili 2009: 111). However, the meaning of these themes changed in the Jewish and Christian communities and were perceived as religious symbols. (Omari 2012: 126-127; Tok et al. 2013: 96-97). Village life, nature, animals and hunting scenes are associated with stories in the Old and New Testament.

Iconographic Assesment

The vine plant coming out from Kantharos

The symbolic meaning of the vine scrolls that come out from kantharos and extend to the entire area indicates to Jerusalem and the Prophet Jesus in the Old and the New Testament.

Genesis in the Old Testament (**Genesis 40:9-11**) **9:** “*So the chief cupbearer told Joseph his dream. He said to him, “In my dream I saw a vine in front of me, **10:** and on the vine, were three branches. As soon as it budded, it blossomed, and its clusters ripened into grapes. **11:** Pharaoh’s cup was in my hand, and I took the grapes, squeezed them into Pharaoh’s cup and put the cup in his hand”*”.

7 For examples see; Hachlili 2009.

(Genesis 49:11-12) 11: *“He will tether his donkey to a vine, his colt to the choicest branch; he will wash his garments in wine, his robes in the blood of grapes. 12: His eyes will be darker than wine, his teeth whiter than milk”.*

(Leviticus 25:5) 5: *“Do not reap what grows of itself or harvest the grapes of your untended vines. The land is to have a year of rest”.*

(Leviticus 25:11) 11: *“The fiftieth year shall be a jubilee for you; do not sow and do not reap what grows of itself or harvest the untended vines”.*

(Numbers 13:23) 23: *“When they reached the Valley of Eshkol, they cut off a branch bearing a single cluster of grapes. Two of them carried it on a pole between them, along with some pomegranates and figs”.* Emphasizes the importance of the vine plant with these expressions.

(Hosea 9:10) 10: *“When I found Israel, it was like finding grapes in the desert...”.* With these expression, vine and Israel are likened to each other.

(Psalm 80:8-14) 8: *“You transplanted a vine from Egypt; you drove out the nations and planted it. 9: You cleared the ground for it; and it took root and filled the land. 10: The Mountains were covered with its shade, the mighty cedars with its branches. 11: Its branches reached as far as the Sea, its shoots as far as the River. 12: Why have you broken down its walls, so that all who pass by pick its grapes? 13: Boars from the forest ravage it, and insects from the fields feed on it. 14: Return to us, God Almighty! Look down from heaven and see! Watch over this vine”.* The sacred meaning is attached to the vine plant. In the New Testament, the sacredness of the vine plant is associated with the Prophet Jesus and the Holy Spirit.

(John 15:1-5) 1: *“I am the true vine, and my Father is the gardener. 2: He cuts off every branch in me that bears no fruit, while every branch that does bear fruit he prunes so that it will be even more fruitful. 3: You are already clean because of the word I have spoken to you. 4: Remain in me, as I also remain in you. No branch can bear fruit by itself; it must remain in the vine. Neither can you bear fruit unless you remain in me. 5: I am the vine; you are the branches. If you remain in me and I in you, you will bear much fruit; apart from me you can do nothing”.* With these words, the vine plant is personalized. As it is understood from the texts of the holy books, after the first century when Christianity began to spread, the most important metaphor was vine for the Prophet Jesus. The wine obtained from grape represents the blood of the Prophet Jesus in the Christian liturgy (Dimitrova 2006: 181-182).

Puppy Bear and Bear

The puppy bear is located in the upper corner of the main scene and the bear is in the middle part. In the Christian liturgy, the bear symbolizes evil and oppression.

(Daniel 7:5) 5: *“And there before me was a second beast, which looked like a bear. It was raised up on one of its sides, and it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. It was told, ‘Get up and eat your fill of flesh!’”.* In this verse, the evil kingdom of Persia is compared with a bear. The puppy bear symbolizes renewal and reshaping in the Christianity. In the same sense, Jesus helps to reshape and regenerate the sinners⁸.

8 For a detailed iconographic evaluation see: http://www.christiansymbols.net/animals_2.php

Pigeon

The pigeon on the mosaic is located on the lower edge of the main scene. In Judaism and Christianity, the pigeon is forefront as an important religious symbol.

(Genesis 8:8-12) 8: “Then he sent out a dove to see if the water had receded from the surface of the ground. **9:** But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark. **10:** He waited seven more days and again sent out the dove from the ark. **11:** When the dove returned to him in the evening, there in its beak was a freshly plucked olive leaf! Then Noah knew that the water had receded from the earth. **12:** He waited seven more days and sent the dove out again, but this time it did not return to him”. Pigeon returns to the ship with an olive branch in his mouth and this is heralded as a reconciliation between God and man. With this event, the olive branch and the pigeon are regarded as symbols of eternal peace (Yilmaz et al. 2014: 130).

(Matthew 3:16) 16: “As soon as Jesus was baptized, he went up out of the water. At that moment heaven was opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on him”. With these expressions, the Holy Spirit and the pigeon are associated.

(Matthew 10:16) 16: “I am sending you out like sheep among wolves. Therefore be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves”. With these words, the pigeon is seen as a symbol of purity and cleanliness⁹ (Dimitrova 2006: 183; Yilmaz et al. 2014: 131-132).

Deer

(Psalm 42:1) 1: “As the deer pants for streams of water, so my soul pants for you, my God.” In this sentence, a relation is established between God and man. The stories of deer that kills the serpent at the beginning of Christianity, are influential in the fact that deer is a symbol of Jesus. The deer depictions associated with baptism in the Christian liturgy are depicted with different mythological scenes on mosaics (Kazdhan - Carr 1991: 598-599).

Purple Gallinule (Porphyrio Porphyrio)

It is located in the middle part of the mosaic. Since 2500s BC, Purple Gallinule has emerged as an important decorative figure representing the richness of the nature. The Purple Gallinule motif was used in many religious and civil structures from Roman period to Middle Age (Arnott 2007: 286-287; Lopez et al. 2016: 581-587).

Bull

The bull motif which is located in the middle part of the mosaic is seen as a symbol of patience and strength in Christianity belief. In some sources, it is regarded as a symbol of the Prophet Jesus¹⁰.

(Deuteronomy 33:17) 17: “In majesty he is like a firstborn bull; his horns are

9 For a detailed iconographic evaluation see; http://www.christiansymbols.net/animals_5.php

10 http://www.christiansymbols.net/animals_13.php

the horns of a wild ox. With them he will gore the nations, even those at the ends of the earth. Such are the ten thousand of Ephraim; such are the thousands of Manasseh". With these words, power and force are symbolized with the strength and horns of the bull. The mythological scenes related to domestic and wild animals shown in the same panel are associated with Isaiah 11:7 in Old Testament.

(Isaiah 11:7) 7: *"The cow will feed with the bear, their young will lie down together, and the lion will eat straw like the ox"*. The cow and puppy bear seen in the main panel, can be seen as a reference to this verse.

Conclusion

As of 2018, there is not any completed excavation structures in the district of Dulkadiroğlu where mosaics were found. So, our knowledge about the structures is insufficient due to the uncompleted archaeological excavations. For this reason, the dating of mosaics was made by comparing them with the similar mosaic examples. When we compare the characteristic features of the mosaics found in the structure with the examples of similar structures mentioned above, it is possible to say that the structure was used during the IVth-VIth century AD. However, the two-hundred-year time frame is quite wide for a structure. It is not possible to make a certain dating because of uncompleted archaeological excavations and the lack of in-situ findings.

Another finding which gives us important information about the Germanicia of IVth-VIIth century AD, was found in a church excavation in the neighborhood of Çokyaşar, about 30 km away from the town center of Dulkadiroğlu in 2017 (Başpınar et al. in print). Similar animal depictions located in Germanicia mosaics are also observed on the mosaics in this church. And also the ranks and names of priests were written in the middle nave of the church. The fact that similar descriptions are included in civil and religious structures cause them to be perceived as Christian mythology. As a matter of fact, the similar mosaics depicted the wild and domestic animals together are also observed in Adana (Albak 2016:575-577) and Şanlıurfa (Önal 2017) religious and civil and structures.

The animal depictions observed on the mosaics may not include only symbolic meanings, but also provide important clues about the domestic animal species living in the area. These mosaics and the other mosaic called "Life Mosaic" in the same structure give us information about the architecture of the Germanicia, the fauna, the flora and the social life of the period. However, it is not possible to give detailed information about Germanicia through the mosaics identified only in one structure. There is no doubt that detailed information can be obtained after the completion of the excavations of other structures identified throughout of Dulkadiroğlu district.

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From the Roman Mosaic to the Portuguese Pavement: Continuity of an Artistic Expression in Time and Space

Roma Çağı Mozaikinden Portekiz Döşemesine: Sanatsal Dışavurumun Zaman ve Mekân İçerisinde Devamlılığı

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Abstract

The embellishment of pavements has always assumed a crucial role in what can be considered the furnishing of private and public spaces. The best known in antiquity has been, without doubt, the mosaic in all its forms: pebble mosaics, opus signinum, opus tessellatum, opus sectile.

The mosaic, of Greco-Roman and Byzantine tradition, is one of the architectural and artistic elements that, for centuries, had been used to decorate the room in which they were placed. The beauty, coupled with the durability and strength of the material, was a determining aspect of the use of the mosaic as a pavement: two closely related aspects when looking at the Roman mosaic, which can still be found today on the Portuguese pavement or Portuguese mosaic, as it is called on the other side of the Atlantic.

In this article, we intend to illustrate the continuity of an art, which has kept many classic motifs alive through the centuries taking it far beyond the territories of the Roman Empire.

Keywords: Roman mosaic, Portuguese pavement, perspective, symmetry, pattern heritage.

Öz

Her zaman, özel ve kamusal alanların düzenlenmesi olarak kabul edilen döşemelerin motiflerle bezenmesinin büyük öneme sahip olduğu düşünülmüştür. Antik Çağ'da en bilinen döşeme türü ise hiç şüphesiz, her türlü mozaiklerdir: çakıl mozaikler, opus signinum, opus tessellatum, opus sectile.

Greko-Romen ve Bizans geleneğinde mozaikler, yüzyıllar boyunca yerleştirildikleri odayı dekore etmek için kullanılan mimari ve sanatsal unsurlardan birisi olarak kabul edilmişlerdir. Malzemenin dayanıklılığı ve sağlamlığının yanı sıra güzellik de mozaik'in bir döşeme olarak kullanılmasının belirleyici niteliklerini oluşturmaktadır: Roma mozaikleri ile Portekiz Döşemesi ya da Atlantik'in karşı tarafında verilen ismiyle Portekiz Mozaik'i karşılaştırıldığında bugün bile hala görülebilen ve birbiriyle bağlantılı olan iki özelliğidir.

Bu makalede klasik motiflerini yüzyıllar boyunca koruyan ve Roma İmparatorluğu'nun sınırlarının ötesine yayılan bir sanatın sürekliliğinin gözler önüne serilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma mozaik'i, Portekiz döşemesi, perspektif, simetri, desen mirası.

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Anyone who strolls through the streets of Lisbon¹ soon realizes that, in most cases, he is treading on a different type of pavement of the ones he knows from many other countries, and that in many cases it could be considered a “carpet” in stone, such is the beauty of his compositions² (Fig. 1). It is the so-called *Calçada Portuguesa*. Constructed either from the application of stones of irregular shape, or from the application of regular parallelepipeds of small dimension “tesse-*rae*” of dimensions that vary between 4-5 and 12-13 cm side length³, the paving stones are almost exclusively the limestone in white and different shades of gray / black, existing in the country's quarries⁴. For certain figurative compositions, pink limestone or rejects from the extraction of marbles are also used (Henriques et al. 2009: 17)⁵.

For the people from Lisbon, the so-called *Lisboetas*, this type of paving, be it of pavements or squares more or less central of the city is so commonplace that sometimes the beauty and the decorative originality of these pavements go unnoticed in the hustle and bustle of daily life (Fig. 2). The approval by the Lisbon Municipal Assembly in 2013 of the Pedestrian Accessibility Plan, “an initiative that provides for the implementation of 100 measures, by 2017, to facilitate mobility in the country's capital. One of the measures provides for the removal of the Portuguese pavement”⁶ has reversed this situation and lead to a general awareness of the value of the *Calçada Portuguesa* as a cultural manifestation of a people, whose roots go well beyond the first modern examples of paving and pathways and can be considered a natural evolution of Greco-Roman mosaic art: A cultural manifestation that has been spreading throughout the World⁷ in the last two centuries - whether in the form of Portuguese classical black and white stone, or introducing other basic colours, such as red and yellow, or still monochrome but resorting to the use of different motifs in the decoration⁸.

If, with Justino Maciel, we consider that “*it is, in fact, in the paving of constructed spaces that the mosaic issue is inserted into. It is an opus, that is, a construction method since the pavement is inseparable from architecture. There are many Greco-Latin expressions to designate this type of coating, which presumes a great variety in the decoration of these pavements which, obviously,*



Figure 1
Lisbon ©Fernão Silver.



Figure 2
Av. da Liberdade, Lisbon ©flickr.com.

1 We take Lisbon as a reference here, as it can be considered as the “homeland” of the Portuguese pavement. However, we find this type of flooring practically all over Portugal.

2 Already on September 22, 1945, the magazine *Século Ilustrado* drew attention to the fact that the passers-by did not realize the “ground that they had trodden”. The article of Judith Maggioly published in this edition of the magazine was entitled “Notice where you put your feet “and advised”... lower your eyes a little and notice that you are stepping on stars, fish, flowers, liras, birds ...”, Palmeira 2016.

3 According to Palmeira 2016, the application of Portuguese pavement uses various application techniques: the old Portuguese pavement - irregular application of irregularly shaped stones; the gauntlet, similar but with more space between the stones; the classic Portuguese pavement, with a diagonal application, according to an alignment of 45 degrees with the walls or lancis; the pavement in a row, with stones aligned in parallel rows; the circular pavement; the hexagonal pavement; the artistic pavement, which is characterized by the application of stones with specific shapes and / or colour contrast; *Mar Largo*; segmented fan; the Florentine fan and the peacock's tail. In our view, however, this classification is situated in the pattern field and not in the paving technique itself.

4 Basalt is such a hard material that is difficult to cut and handle, so it is rarely used.

5 A fundamental work for the study and understanding of the Portuguese *Calçada* and its specificity, the *Manual da Calçada Portuguesa* was taken as basic bibliography for the elaboration of this article.

6 A decision that generated strong controversy and brought to the scene the civic movement *Forum Citi-zenship Lx*, which has since been fighting for intermediate solutions that preserve this cultural heritage, especially in the Historic Center of the city.

7 According to the decision taken by the Lisbon City Council in December 2016, the City Council of Lisbon will start the candidacy process with UNESCO for the elevation of the *Calçada Portuguesa* to World Heritage in 2018.

8 For the origins of Portuguese pavement, see; Henriques et al. 2009: 13-14.

would have to be coated with hard materials, in stone or latericium” (Maciel 2011: 36)⁹, we find to have here a definition of pavement that also applies to the Calçada Portuguesa, although with differences with regards to the preparation of the ground and the application of the materials linked to the type of functionality of the pavement which they are intended for - interior, exterior - walk, square, pavement - and local climatic conditions (South or North Europe, South or North of America, etc.). The “musive art” character of this type of pavement is so dominant that the denomination “Portuguese mosaic” appeared, on the other side of the Atlantic, for pavements in Calçada Portuguesa.

The similarities between the two types of pavement, which allow to classify the Portuguese pavements as a continuation of the Roman mosaic, can be seen both in terms of their construction, as regards the pattern collection, the use of symmetry and perspective, and even on the part played by the “owner of the work” in the choice of the iconographic program to be carried out.

The Preparation of the Soil and the Placement of the Portuguese Mosaic / Pavement

The temporal and spatial beginning of the use of the paving of spaces that unites the durability and robustness to the desired decorative beauty and representativeness is still controversial: For some authors it would have been created by Mycenaean or Minoan cultures, for others it would have been imported from Asia Minor. However, it is true that it is in Greece from the 5th century BC that we will find the first clearly decorative pavements, precursors and heralds of a decorative art that would develop especially during Classical Antiquity (Dunbabin 1999: 5-17).

In the 1st century BC, in Chapter I of Book VII of his treaty *De Architectura*, Vitruvius introduces a theorization and standardization of the treatment of spaces intended for the application of one of the various types of flooring used at the time (Maciel 2009: 263-265).

According to him, the correct application of the different layers underlying a mosaic pavement required a pre-treatment of the ground, which should be solid, without debris, thus ensuring the necessary strength for a correct application of the different base layers of the pavements (Maciel 2009: 263 (1)). If this was not the case, it should be beaten carefully with a packet (Maciel 2009: 263-264). Only then the three layers provided for the final application of the mosaic pavement could be placed - stone (rolled) or *statumen*, then the *rudus* - a mixture of lime, small stone, gravel, sand and ceramic remains - and finally the *nucleus*, the hardest layer consisting of a piece of lime and ground building clay, and on which the chosen floor would sit¹⁰.

This same concern is the basis of the preparation of the space for the construction of a pavement in Portuguese pavement: “*The execution of a work of Calçada Portuguesa involves several phases, and generally the first is the compaction of the floor where it will be applied, which, if it does not have the necessary cohesion, requires that a compacted tout-venant¹¹ base be made*” (Henriques et al. 2009: 47).

9 All the citations in this article have been translated by the author.

10 Since the detailed treatment of Vitruvian standards on the construction of a floor would exceed the theme of this article we refer to Maciel 2009: 35-40.

11 *tout-venant* is a mixture of larger and smaller aggregates (the largest should be no more than 30 to 40 mm), and stone powder. It is a material supplied by the quarries and, once compacted and watered, when dried becomes quite hard and is used for the treatment of the floor of laying of roads, foundations, pavements, etc.

Once the laying base is established, the technique of applying the Portuguese pavement is now adapted to the characteristics and functionality of the pavement space and its geographic location¹². In its classic form, used in Portugal and in countries of moderate or hot weather, once compacted, the floor that underlies it, it should be covered by a 4 to 15cm layer of stone powder or sand, according to the size of the pavement to be applied (Figs. 3-4). In this layer, the paving stones will be laid, avoiding future deformations of the pavement and the "jumping" of the stones. Once the pavement is applied, it is covered with stone powder or sand, or with a mixture of sand and cement scattered with brooms or squeegees (Fig. 5). It is then watered and compacted (Remesar - Esparza 2014: 310 fig. 4) (Fig. 6).

In northern European countries¹³ the method followed is very similar, varying only in the materials used for the laying of the pavement and for the final sealing¹⁴. According to information gathered directly from two of the Portuguese paving masters who were laying a pavement in Trier¹⁵, the laying base is previously washed and compacted. In preparation for the laying of the paving stones, a 5 cm layer of cement is spread: the stones (in porphyry, imported from Italy) are previously washed, and a layer of glue is then placed on the cement as well as on the bottom of the paving stones prior to laying, where they are well fixed (Fig. 7). Once it has dried, the gaps will be filled up. The filling material is made up of two components - one is extra-fine black sand and the other is extra-fine white sand. It is mixed with a liquid element¹⁶ and is applied with a broom, filling the gaps between the stones: then the floor is washed to remove excess material (Fig. 8).

The technique used for the laying of the external pavements in Germany is closely linked to the functionality of the pavement: "with cement, trucks, even military tanks can go over it but the pavement does not burst"¹⁷. To prevent the cement from cracking the pavement with changes in temperature, larger gaps are left in the width of the entire floor, following the pattern chosen for the decoration: these gaps are designed to allow the cement to "work" due to the existing thermal amplitudes and are filled with silicone.



Figure 3
Preparation of the stones ©Zureks.



Figure 4
Laying the pattern ©Zureks.



Figure 5
Finishing ©Zureks.

¹² A concern already mentioned in Vitruv, when referring to the prevention of the damage caused by the frost on mosaics placed abroad. See Maciel 2009: 265 (6).

¹³ Not only in Northern Europe, but also in Spain, a technique for laying the Calçada Portuguesa was more in line with the requirements of stability and continuity. See Remesar - Esparza 2014: 311.

¹⁴ In 2017, I was able to accompany in Trier the laying of Portuguese pavements on Simeon Straße - the former *cardo maximus* of *Augusta Treverorum*, capital of the Roman Empire of the West (under Diocletian) and residence of his co-regents Maximianus Herculius and Constantius I Chlorus, and Constantius and Constantine the Great, who kept Trier as his principal residence for some years. Roman emperors resided in Trier on and off until AD 392.

¹⁵ Here is my sincere thanks to Jorge Almeida, a Portuguese paving master (*mestre calceteiro*) who was born in Viseu, trained at the School of Calceteiros in Lisbon and has been in Germany for more than 30 years, where he is practicing his profession, and his companion Amandio Silva, for the good willingness and sympathy with which they always responded to my requests for information as they went along with the pavement and the final interview, at the end of November. To the whole team - a total of six paving masters - my congratulations for the extraordinary quality of their work so far from their homeland, which shows the pride they have for their Portuguese culture.

¹⁶ The material is supplied by the company responsible for laying the pavement, and I was not able to access the chemical composition of the floor.

¹⁷ Jorge Almeida, in his last interview on November 17, 2017.



Figure 6
Final effect ©Zureks.

The Mobility of Workers Yesterday and Today

*“One of the most important aspects of the cultural richness of the Western world is undoubtedly the existence and reciprocal influences of different cultures, which are mixed and interact in a continuous evolution. In the past, contacts between peoples of different cultures and regions have always existed and have given rise to new cultural expressions resulting from the symbiosis”*¹⁸. The Roman mosaic is, in essence, one of the most tangible proofs of this reciprocal influence, mirrored above all in the decorative grammar chosen for the different pavements and the workers skills (Darmon 2011a: 25-34): the arrangement of space to decorate, the descriptive or purely geometric-ornamental style, the inclusion or exclusion of plant or animal elements and their insertion in the composition, are all elements that make it possible to recognize the stylistic-regional school to which a particular workshop of mosaics belonged and the pavements they carried out in different parts of the Roman Empire, a testimony to the performance of these workshops a great distance from their presumed place of origin¹⁹.

However, it was not exclusively the mobility of workshops of mosaics that allowed and fostered the emergence of a new expressiveness in the paving of domestic spaces in the Roman era: the interaction of different socio-economic and cultural factors, the need for representation by the owners, the existence of catalogues of motifs - all of them combined for the more or less rapid dissemination of the mosaic as a representative and durable floor and for a certain definition of patterns “in fashion” in a certain region and in time.

The export of the Calçada Portuguesa to different parts of the world followed, basically, the same path, made by paving masters, who were first trained by the elders, who shared their craft and experience with them²⁰ (Fig. 9).



Figure 7
Laying the pavement, Trier
©MJ Duran Kremer.



Figure 8
Finishing ©MJ Duran Kremer.

18 Project “RoGeMoPorTur” - East meets West. Investigating the reciprocal influence of east and west in the Roman mosaics with geometric patterns of Portugal and Turkey. A comparative study. RoGeMoPorTur is an international scientific collaboration project between Portugal and Turkey.

19 We will not touch here the questions related to the individualization of workshops of mosaists, because it does not fit in the subject treated.

20 Amaro 2014: He did not do well in school and his father told him to go and learn a trade. Inspired by a

With the passing of the years and the deteriorating economic situation in Portugal, many of them chose to stay in the countries where they had moved to, to perform their craft; others followed the path of voluntary migration in search of better living conditions²¹. They took along the technique learned in Portugal, and the love for their craft; they did not have pattern books, even because the decoration is defined by the owner of the work and given to them: *“The technique is the same, if you learn this technique, you can lay any stone, any pattern. Technique is everything; you need to have technique and love your work, and have everything in your head and then do the settling. It is all about the head, about the love of the art”* (Jorge Almeida).

The Signature and the Identification of the Mosaist / Paving Master

On the pavements in Roman mosaic discovered until our days the signature of the mosaist that realized the work is not very frequent, appearing mainly in mosaics of high artistic quality: this is the case, among others, in mosaics of Zeugma and Pergamon (Darmon 2011b: 38-45; Neira Jiménez 2011: 485-500)²². The reason that led to such a small number of signatures by the mosaicists who made the mosaic pavement is not yet clear: would it depend on the owner of the house to allow a signature of the artisan? Would it be up to the artisan himself to want to identify himself with the work he had done? Are there any other types of “signature” on Roman mosaic floors, which have not been identified until now? A hypothesis to be considered is provided by the “signatures” present in certain compositions of the Calçada Portuguesa.

In the Portuguese pavement, we find signatures of paving masters, which are blended on such a manner in the decorative discourse that they pass unnoticed to the less attentive observer. Contrary to the identification of the Greek or Roman mosaist, which was identified by his name or by an inscription of the type *ex officina*, the signatures of the Portuguese paving masters are constituted, exclusively, by simple geometric, floral (Fig. 10) or animal motifs, or even letters, inserted on a geometric motif or at any point in the composition: *“There is a trick to identifying the work of a specific paving master, when they opt for using one. As in a picture, a Calçada Portuguesa can have the signature of who made it. It is a stone with a specific shape, chosen by the craftsman”*²³.

For the great paving masters, their work is more than a profession: it is love for the art that they create with their own hands, humble, out of the limelight, kneeling on the floor day after day. It is the “taste of art” (Jorge Almeida), the “passion for the small stones on the floor” (*“I started very young – with the small hammer in my hand - but soon I fell in love – for the small stones on the floor”*, verse by António Mateus Marques, the “Tony Calceteiro”) that led some paving masters to identify themselves with their compositions.



Figure 9
A Portuguese paving master in Germany, Trier ©MJ Duran Kremer.

knit neighbor, Fernando Simões begins the art of knitting at age 14. At 27, chance brought him to Macau, where he is still the only Portuguese knapsack. When the masters were going to lunch, Fernando Simões began to set stones in secret. At the age of 14, he began working side by side with the great names of Portuguese pavement art, but his work was limited to fetching water and sand. Three years later, he began to fit the white stones of the mosaic, while his masters made the decorative motifs. With the expansion of hotels in the south of Portugal, he went to the Algarve for his first major pavement work. And there he met Master Canoa, who made him cross the world to set Macau ... He came to win "quick bucks". Fernando arrived in Macau in 1996, the second batch of 12 paving masters hired to work in the Palace of Praia Grande and Santa Sancha. He saw all his Portuguese colleagues leave and, in 2003, he was already the only Portuguese paving master working in Macau.

21 Jorge Almeida: “Well, I left over 30 years ago and came to Germany. I came in search of a better life. Now, I am here: I earn well and the working conditions are very good. But I go there to see the family twice a year”.

22 See also Béjaoui 2003; Zimmer 2010.

23 Mestre Calceteiro Jorge Duarte in Pincha 2016.



Figure 10
Signature of a paving master
©Maternolivares.

Roman Mosaics Pattern Tradition in the Portuguese Pavement

In its quality as decoration of space²⁴ each composition of the Calçada Portuguesa is, basically, always a unique work. This is because there is a whole process of spatial thinking on the part of the commissioners of the work, before its placement, which define the type of planning of space and the iconographic program to follow - a program that, as a general rule, should take into account the type of pavements of contiguous spaces and the type of urban construction in which they will be inserted: A decorative argument that does not deviate from the process of analysis and decision of the decorative grammar and iconographic program chosen by the commissioner of the work in Roman times. Yesterday as today, the understanding of the space to be decorated, its functionality, the introduction of factors related to symmetry and perspective or two-dimensionality, the representative character and the intrinsic message of the “image” chosen for the decoration of the floor, the choice between geometric, floral, animal patterns - or a combination of all of them, the introduction of the human element into the composition - all these factors led, yesterday as today, to a chain of arguments and to the interpretation of the symbolic language present both in the Roman mosaic and in the Calçada Portuguesa.

It is interesting to note that, with all the differences related to the material, the measurements of the surface to be decorated, the size and texture and colour of the tesserae to be used, the Portuguese pavement resumes - in different variations - a number of patterns common to the mosaics of the Roman World.

One of the most interesting themes - perhaps even considered the main symbol of the Portuguese pavement and one of the most widespread patterns especially in Portuguese speaking countries - is undoubtedly the pattern “Mar Largo”²⁵.

Selected by the Lisbon City Council for the paving of more than eight thousand square meters of the D. Pedro V Square Rossio (Fig. 11)²⁶, “the Wide Sea pattern

Figure 11
Mar Largo, Rossio (Lisbon)
©Wikimedia Commons.



²⁴ The Portuguese pavement is part of what we can consider “urban furnishing”. In fact, it does not only exist as a “covering” of public spaces but also assumes the task of “decorating”, “furnishing”, so to speak, these spaces, combining beauty with the solidity and durability of the pavement.

²⁵ “Mar Largo” = “Wide Sea”.

²⁶ For the origins of the Portuguese pavement, see Silva 2016.

symbolizes the encounter between the Tagus River and the Atlantic Ocean, which led the Portuguese into the discoveries and overseas expansion starting in the fifteenth century. The name Wide Sea for the pattern refers to the fourth part of the Portuguese major epic poem The Lusíadas by Luis Vaz de Camões” (Silva 2016: 33)²⁷.

The base motif of the Broad Sea is technically made up of parallel strips of two lines that curl differently, approaching one another at near-crossing points and creating the effect of a waving ribbon in a frontal perspective. This is a motif that we will find in the repository of motifs for the geometric decoration in the Roman mosaic (Blanchard et al. 1973: 524²⁸, Décor I: pl. 61c). The use of this surface-fill motif, with a parallel repetition of it, in alternating fill colours in black and white, gives movement and depth to the composition, as waves of the sea in motion. We find it everywhere, with waves that are more closed or more spaced, according to the taste of the responsible entity (Fig. 12). A single example of the use of both forms - with the space between the black ribbons being fully filled but covering only a part of the paved surface, the other part being covered by the “original” version (a black row defining the track controls, of the same filled in white) of which I am aware is the Square 5 de Outubro, in Cascais (Fig. 13). In Bragança, we will find a variant of this motif, where the different thickness given to the black ribbon accentuates the wavy movement of the composition (Fig. 14).

The aspect of movement and depth is practically always present in the surface fill compositions: in Torres Novas, in Plaza 5 de Outubro, we come across a variant of another classical motif of the Roman mosaic (Décor I: pl. 9g)²⁹ (Fig. 15).

Another classic theme used in the Greek and Roman mosaic that is to find on the Calçada Portuguesa: the consoles pattern (Blanchard et al. 1973: 92 n. 496) (Fig. 16). Using a single geometric pattern - in this case a parallelepiped rectangle - the mosaist can construct a series of decorative compositions in only two colours - black and white - or different colours. In both cases, it is possible to introduce a volumetric perspective in the composition. In the example we present we use three colours - black, white and yellow - to insert movement and perspective in the composition. On the contrary, the theme of the meander in the Portuguese pavement is mostly used as a linear motif (Figs. 17, 18). Other frequent themes on the Calçada Portuguesa are in the tradition of the Greco Roman mosaic (Figs. 19, 20³⁰, 21³¹, 22³², 23).

The Message

One of the most important aspects of the Greek and Roman mosaic is undoubtedly the deep interconnection between the intended room, the purpose of the room, and the iconographic program chosen for the floor. Mosaic scholars are unanimous in recognizing the mosaic composition as a vehicle for a message understood by members of the same socio-cultural group: a symbol of wealth,

²⁷ The original pavement was subject to several remodelations, the most important of which took place in 1976 and, above all, in 2001.

²⁸ “Band of two lines undulating differently, one crossing the other and creating the effect of an undulating ribbon in frontal perspective”.

²⁹ “band of contiguous repeating rows of superposed chevrons with arms of alternating colours, forming a zigzag pattern, with effect of relief” here in two colours – black and white.

³⁰ Blanchard et al. 1973: 84 n. 448.

³¹ Circles, lined up. Salies 1974: 14 (Kreissystem Ia, 51).

³² Blanchard et al. 1973: 38 n. 166; Décor I: 96 pl. 97a.

Figure 12
Mar Largo, Macau ©Gonçalo Lobo
Pinheiro.



Figure 13
Cascais ©www.alami.com.



Figure 14
Bragança ©Foto ROC.



culture, knowledge of mythology, pride in the activity carried out (especially in Africa or in African-style floors representing everyday scenes), even of Christianity, are but a few of the messages tacitly inherent in a certain mosaic composition. The object of careful reflection and decision-making by the commissioner of the work, the iconographic program of mosaic pavement reflected, in a general way and independently of the quality of execution, the position of the agent in relation to the World that surrounded him.

In the face of the recognition of the Portuguese pavement as an evolution or modern version of the Roman mosaic in various aspects, the question arises whether there is a “message” inherent to the compositions in this type of paving of public or private spaces³³.

The analysis of the different pavements with geometric, floral or even animal motifs and their framing in the surrounding area - *conditio sine qua non* for a possible identification of the underlying iconographic program - will have to be the subject of a more detailed and individualized study. However, we must mention some examples - chosen at random from among the many existing floors.



Figure 15
Torres Novas ©J. Lourenço.



Figure 16
The consoles pattern, Elvas
©Sarmale O. on flickr.com.



Figure 17
Plaza de España, Olivença
(Spain) ©Tagido.



Figure 18
Meander ©Ana Cristina Antunes.

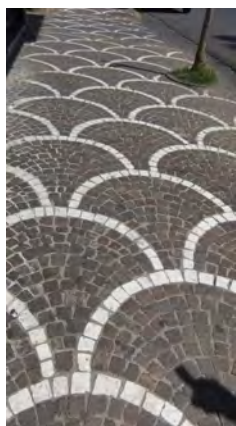


Figure 19
Napoli ©Lindsey Hough.

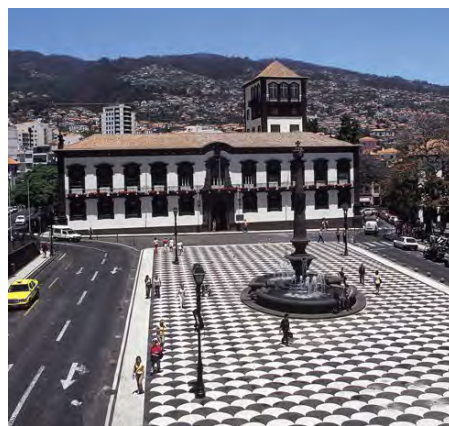


Figure 20
Calçada Portuguesa ©Tugatotheworld.



Figure 21
Circles ©i.pinimg.com.

³³ The use of Calçada Portuguesa as a floor for private spaces is increasing, especially in interior passageways.



Figure 22
Lagos ©ROC2C.



Figure 23
Thiasos maritime ©Toni Águas.

The paving in “Mar Largo” has, as we have already seen, a direct connotation with the Portuguese Discoveries - and therefore a message to be interpreted individually by the observer. Connected to this pavement is, next to the pattern of the Discoveries in Belem, the wind rose (Fig. 24): in the center of a choppy “wide sea”, a wind rose is an element of safety and tranquility, reminding that it is always possible to find the direction wanted³⁴.

Another image, this time linked to a personality that marked - and still marks the image of Portugal - is the portrait of Amália Rodrigues (Fig. 25), the great interpreter of the fado of Lisbon, now classified as intangible heritage of Humanity. Here too is a message of “lusitanism” in universality.



Figure 24
Windrose, Lisbon ©Machbel.



Figure 25
Amália ©Maria Irene-Google.

³⁴ The question of the origin of the wind rose will not be addressed here.

A third example, simpler but not less relevant: in the city of Trier, the footprints made from the central town square - the Hauptmarkt - point the visitors the way to Porta Nigra - the only still existing gateway to a Roman city to the North of the Alps – a monument also classified by the UNESCO (Fig. 26).

A chance? A subtle message directed at the visitor? Today as yesterday, it is the observer's decision.

Conclusion³⁵

The Portuguese pavement today is undoubtedly an expression of a specifically Lusitanian culture: Inheritance of centuries of Romanization, it was not lost in the mists of time but it was able to adapt to the specificities of the present world, and to the climatic demands of the space it is call to decorate. Exported all over the world, it is a vehicle for the diffusion of a culture that has been able to transpose the beauty of the Roman mosaic to a pavement that unites it with the necessary durability inherent to public spaces, without neglecting the imaginative and innovative character of its craftsmen - the paving masters.

³⁵ This study cannot and will not be exhaustive in its approach: among others, aspects related to the use of molds for the elaboration of more complex compositions to the mathematical calculations that underlie it, require a deeper study that cannot be the object of this article.

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Figure 26
Paving masters and the Calçada Portuguesa,
Trier ©MJ Duran Kremer.

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Iconography Related to the Mineral-Medicinal Waters in Hispanic Mosaics in Castilla, Aragón and Navarra

Castilla, Aragón ve Navarra'da Yer Alan İspanyol Mozaiklerindeki Mineral-Tıbbi Sularla İlgili İkonografi

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Abstract

This work is dedicated to the memory of Professor José María Blázquez with whom I had a close friendship and whose wise advice helped me to continue my research into the field of mosaics. I will focus on the Hispanic mosaics of Castilla, Aragón and Navarra.

We know that gods invoked in thermal spaces ranged from the nymphs to Apollo, Minerva, Jupiter, Juno, Fortune or, for quite some time, even Bormanicus. The image of Medusa was also regarded as the carrier of healing blood, which was kept in the veins of her right arm, and that would be used by Asclepius in his resurrections. On the other hand, it is not unusual to find mosaics with the image of Medusa associated with the gods of hot springs. Objects such as shells, craterae, jars and jugswere part of its symbolic repertoire, which is, in turn, an inexpensive way to represent otherwise more elaborate motifs. In Hispania the said associations are traces of former pre-Roman cults, which would later syncretise with those beliefs imposed by the Roman civilisation.

The fact that the higher concentration of mosaics displaying craterae, shells, etc. are located at specific enclaves where waters can be often found in situ or not far from the location led us also to believe that there is a connection between the ornamental motifs of mosaics and the curative waters. It will be through this analysis that we will clarify this approach.

Keywords: *Mosaic, iconography, Hispania, healing waters and hydrotherapy.*

Öz

Bu çalışma, yakın dostum olan Profesör José María Blázquez'in anısına adanmıştır ve kendisinin bilge tavsiyeleri, mozaikler üzerine yaptığım araştırmalarımı sürdürmeme yardımcı olmuştur. Bu çalışmada Castilla, Aragón ve Navarra'daki İspanyol mozaiklerine odaklanılacaktır.

Termal suların olduğu mekânlarda nympheler, Apollon, Minerva, İupiter, İuno, Fortuna ve hatta bir dönem Bormanicus'tan bile yardım istendiği bilinmektedir. Hatta sağ kolunun damarlarında şifalı kan dolaştığına inanılan Medusa da iyileştirici kanın taşıyıcısı olarak kabul edilmiş, ve bunun, Asklepios tarafından yeniden canlandırmada kullanıldığına inanılmıştır. Öte yandan, kaplıca tanrıları ile beraber tasvir edilmiş Medusa betimli mozaikler bulmak sıra dışı değildir. Örneğin deniz kabuğu, krater, vazo ve sürahi gibi nesnelere sembolik repertuarın birer parçasıydı ve bu da, daha ayrıntılı motiflerin bezemesinin daha ucuz bir yoludur. İspanya'da, söz konusu betimler Roma öncesi kültürlerin izleri olup; bu, daha sonra Roma Uygarlığı'nın getirdiği inançlarla uyumlu hale gelecektir.

Kraterler, kavkılar vb. öğelerin betimlendiği mozaiklerin, yoğunlukla etrafında su bulunan alanlarda ya da mozaiklere çok yakın mesafelerde tespit edildiği belli başlı alanlarda bulunması, mozaiklerde görülen motiflerle

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şifalı sular arasında bir bağlantı olduğunun düşünülmesine sebep olmaktadır. Bu analiz çalışmasında bu yaklaşım açıklığa kavuşturulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Mozaik, ikonografi, İspanya, şifalı sular ve hidroterapi.*

This work is dedicated to the memory of professor José María Blázquez with whom I had a close friendship and whose wise advice helped me to continue my research into the field of mosaics.

José Maria was among the firsts to study the Iberian Protohistorical religiosity, as well as the involvement of many of the indigenous and Roman gods in the healing waters throughout our Peninsula. I believe this to be the best way to pay tribute to his work and his memory.

For some time now I have been interested in this topic and I presented already a paper in September 2016, at the 10th International Seminar on Roman Mosaics: *Los mosaicos de la pars occidentalis. Nuevas perspectivas de estudio*, focused on the iconographic motifs present in those mosaics related to mineral waters across the Spanish Levant.

As already stated on several occasions the healing properties of sulfur and chlorinated water with respect to certain illnesses were found over time, and those who were unaware of the scientific particulars would easily relate its curative power to divine intervention. It was the Greek who instructed the Romans about the principles of medicine and so the god Aesculapius got associated with the Greek god Asclepius.

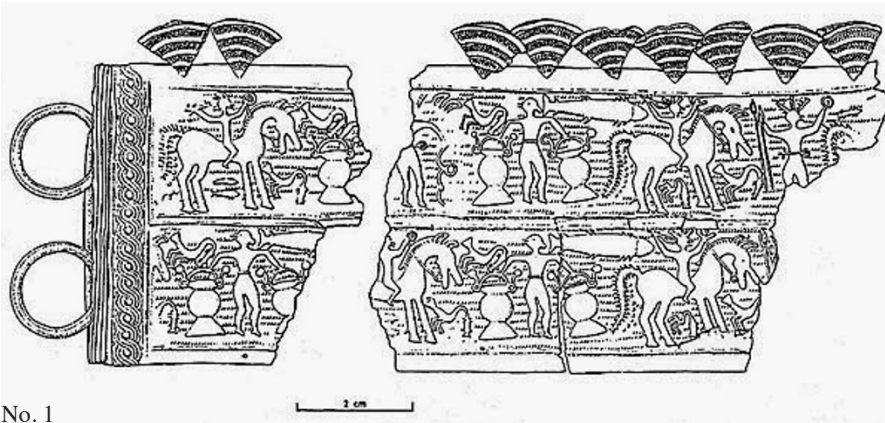
As stated by Pérez (2012: 131-141), there is written record of the curative properties of thermal water either used for baths, vapours or consumption in the works of Hippocrates of Cos, Arataeus of Cappadocia, Celsus, Dioscorides, Herodotus, Soranus, Oribasius, Arquigenes, Rufus, Aetius, Antilos, Celios Aurelius, Alexander of Tralles or even Paul of Aegina, Musa, Vitruvius (VIII) and Plinius (XXXI and XXXI), among many others.

We also know that these waters were collected and transported within a small territorial scope. The 3rd-century BC diadem of Moñes in Piloña (Asturias) and the patera of Otañes in Santander from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD are indeed archaeological testimonies of this reality (Table 1).

We know that gods invoked in thermal spaces ranged from the nymphs to Apollo, Minerva, Jupiter, Juno, Fortune or, for quite some time, even Bormanicus. San Nicolas reminds us that the image of Medusa was also regarded as the carrier of healing blood, which was kept in the veins of her right arm, and that would be used by Asclepius in his resurrections. On the other hand, it is not unusual to find mosaics with the image of Medusa associated with the gods of hot springs. Objects such as shells, craterae, jars and jugs were part of its symbolic repertoire, which is, in turn, an inexpensive way to represent otherwise more elaborate motifs. In Hispania the said associations are traces of former pre-Roman cults, which would later syncretize with those beliefs imposed by the Roman civilization.

When a cratera displays volutes with vine or dyonisiac motives it is usually given a Bacchian connotation. If not, the cratera is often related to an allusion to the garden, as exposed in the work of (San Nicolás 1997: 139) and in the recent case of (López Monteagudo 2015) as they might show volutes, branches and streams of water. Its use in themes of asarotsoikos (Martin - Montilla 2015: 387-389) or as a symbol of good luck (Campbell 1990: 293-300) has been

associated with them too. Through this present work we have been able to verify –and would like to continue to demonstrate– that another connotation should be added, and that is their link with benevolent waters of thermal and minero-medical springs nearby. Let us not forget those that show marine fauna, such as dolphins; these are animales associated with regeneration and transformation, symbolising the benevolent power of waters which would be later adopted by Christianity as a symbol of resurrection.

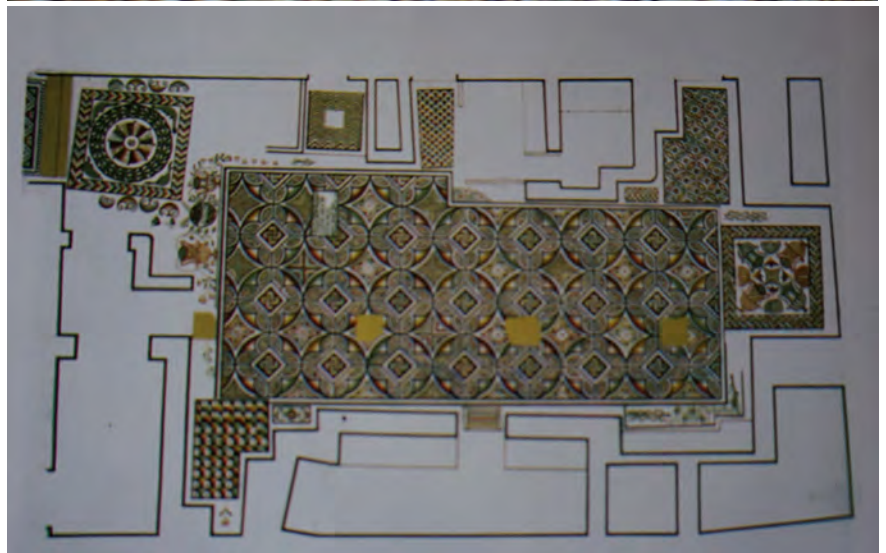


No. 1

No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

Table 1

No.1: The transportation of the sacred waters in the diadem of Moñes (Piloña, Asturias) 3rd-1st centuries BC, source retrieved from free Internet site. **No. 2:** The cicle of the sacred waters in the paddle of Otañes, Santander (centuries 1st - 3rd AD), source retrieved from free Internet site. **No. 3 and No. 4:** Mosaic with craterae, shells and plant at the sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius in Thuburbo Majus. Photograph by A. Ben Abed ben Khader, 1999.

We already saw that the use of craterae relating to protection of health are located in the building devoted to Asclepius in Thuburbo Majus (Ben Abed Khader 1999: 321-334), Tunisia (Table 1) where the combination of motifs with craterae and shells or scallops were the main elements, in addition to being in the frame flanking the inscription of Asclepius Augustus. The said motifs are not only to be found at cult places, but also in some of the housing around the city. Considering the fact that Zaghoun and its Water Temple –built by Hadrian and being the spot where the aqueduct to Carthago departed from- are just 29 km away from Thuburbo Majus, the proliferation of the images of craterae in its mosaics seems to be fairly justified.

The fact that the higher concentration of mosaics displaying craterae, shells, etc. are located at specific enclaves where waters can be often found *in situ* or not far from the location led us also to believe that there is a connection between the ornamental motifs of mosaics and the curative waters. The area of influence of mineral-medical waters and the villas with mosaics ranges between 30 and 40 km, since that is considered to be a convenient distance for traveling and transportation in antiquity (Fig. 1).

Starting our tour in Castilla la Mancha, we will stop in the province of Toledo, where two mosaics from the 4th century AD at the Roman villa of Carranque presents motifs and images that lead us to think about the possible relationship with the waters of the area. An iconography related to the nymphs is what is depicted in this case. This cult was widespread in those locations where healing waters had already been used in pre-Roman times, and hence a logical syncretism derives. As stated by Blázquez and García (1992: 21-66), Díez de Velasco (1998) and Oro Fernández (1996: 23-151), among other scholars, this kind of testimonies concentrate especially around the North and West of Hispania, which remained much less romanized, but as new mosaics emerge it gets evident that the process would eventually involve, to a greater or lesser extent, an important part of the Spanish territory.



Figure 1
Map of Spain with the main enclaves of Roman mosaics and healing waters in Castile, Aragon and Navarre.
Map by the author.

There are several enclaves with thermal waters and dedications to the nymphs which had the purpose of thanking them for their curative powers, and we suppose that this fact influenced as well the owners of the houses when reflecting these motives on their mosaics.

The villa of Carranque, currently considered as a palatial building, includes an ensemble of mosaics with the iconography of the nymphs. The mosaic of the Metamorphosis depicts the nymphs accompanying Diana, the nymphs along side Hilar, Anymone the nymph surprised by Eros riding a horse, Priam and Tisbe, Hercules, Artemis, and Athena, all of them surrounding the goddess Venus. These motives are directly related to the healing and medicinal waters, as we see in Oro Fernández (1996: 125 et seq.) and so it is not surprising that we may also find allusions to seawater in the image of Oceanus. One of the geometric mosaics with a circular emblem presents containers with fruits and branches at its corners. Along the frame there are two craterae with vegetal ornamental motifs. In another mosaic there are sea shells in semicircular lunettes. Other mosaics of the ensemble would depict Achilles and Briseida or the fight between Adonis and the boar in front of Venus and Mars.

All in all, a complete set of ornamental elements where the interest of the owner for highlighting the value given to waters as a source of life, health and wealth is clear.

Underground aquifers such as those of Arroyo de la Cabeza with Fuente de Pobo, Guadarrama River and Fuente de Tejada, are other elements which help us understand the ensemble. In this case, though, there is no location of medicinal mineral waters in less than 40 km. We suppose the owner intended to make a reference to the world of waters from a globalizing perspective. Also in Toledo, the town of Saucedo in Talavera la Nueva offers the mosaic of Iscallis carrying a cratera, as well as another mosaic with five other craterae (Canto 2001: 111 et seq.) (Castelo et al. 2004: 187-212), currently kept in the Museo de la Santa Cruz in Toledo.

According to A. Canto the Saucedo had a sacred character ever since antiquity and there it also appeared an altar dedicated to the nymphs and a votive epigraph dedicated to the indigenous goddess Alla, Allia, Alles. Although the medicinal properties of these waters are unknown, the villa offers a decorative ensemble that includes craterae, dolphins and Neptune's trident. Iscallis would be a divinity related to fertility and wealth of waters. López Monteagudo (2009: 597-635) also agrees with A. Canto in the idea that it also relates to the curative waters of the area. The attributes that it carries, cornucopia, globe and cratera along with the four craterae at the corners reinforce this interpretation.

The wide distance between Carranque and Saucedo, 88 km, makes us discard a possible influence of this water in Carranque.

Cuenca offers an extraordinary set of mosaics in Noheda. We will not elaborate on the mosaics of the rectangular room with mythological and allegorical themes (Fernández Galiano 2010: 111-142), where iconographic variety, interpretive originality and great artistic quality are combined. For this author the building could be destined to a religious community. Focusing on the topic we are dealing with, in the octagonal room that communicates with the room with three apses and on a surface of 24.35 m², we find a mosaic surrounded by interlaced acanthus scrolls, finished with lotus flowers.

On the surface of the tapestry, there are 8 rows of craterae joined by garlands, alternating with plant stems topped by lotus flowers. The craterae vary in shades,

one row is black and the next is red, while yellow tiles appear in both combinations to indicate the decoration (Table 2). The profusion and multiplication of this motif is certainly exceptional, with 56 evident containers and some more in the damaged area, but they are also painted on the stucco of walls, which makes its religious functionality of particular relevance. This site is located 29 km away from the spa resort of Valdeganga with ferruginous waters good for arthritis, rheumatism, etc. and which is currently abandoned. Just 38 km away there is the town of Beteta and its famous waters of Solan de Cabras, recognized since the 18th century, and it is very likely that their qualities were also known in antiquity.



No. 1

Table 2

No. 1: Mosaic with craterae and vegetal ornamentation in the octagonal room of Noheda, Cuenca. Photograph courtesy of M. A. Valero, today abandoned.

No. 2: Balneario de Solan de Cabras at 38 km from Noheda. **No. 3:** Balneario de Valdeganga at 28 km from Noheda.



No. 2



No. 3

In the autonomous community of Madrid, the site of Complutum, now Alcalá de Henares, offers the late-Severian mosaic of Achilles and Penthesilea (Blázquez et al. 1989: 12 et seq., 1-7). Among the various motifs included in the boxes surrounding the central panel there are two types of craterae, which have been represented up to four times, even if today only two are preserved. D. Fernández Galiano (1984: 11-89 fig.1 láms. I-LVIII) links them to Dionysian motifs that also appear as the lioness, goat, tragic mask or head of Silenus among others. However, the fact that these craterae do not show the elements of grapes or the branches of vine, raises doubts as to whether the two craterae arranged next to the Medusa motif are actually referring to the fertilizing and protective waters. This association can be seen in the mosaic of Calle del Reloj in Valencia too. In fact, Achilles acquires his protection in the waters of the Stygian lagoon and it could be a symbolic reference to their benefactor power.

At a distance of 27 km from Complutum, the medicinal waters of Carabaña can be found, with a wide healing tradition and which were already commercialised at the beginning of the 20th century. The spa is currently operating. In Carabaña, part of a Roman road communicating with nearby cities, such as Complutum, has been preserved. These natural waters are purgative for containing sulfate of soda, purifying due to calcium chloride and antiseptic for its sodium sulfate, and they were therefore highly appreciated by all populations that inhabited these place.

Next we will stop in the province of Avila, specifically in the villa of S. Pedro del Arroyo, in the estate of Vergeles, where a mosaic depicting the story of Meleager was discovered in 2006. The angles contain four craterae from which ornamental plant elements arise, also mixed with terrestrial animals. We can not specify any more data since its excavation continues and relevant studies are in progress. Nevertheless, we can confirm that in an area less than 30 km around, there are several medicinal fountains long appreciated. The one of Our Lady of the Parral is at 16 km, good for dermatological problems; the one of San Juan de Olmos at 25 km along with the chapel, associated to fertility; or the fountain La Salud ("Health") in the term of Narrillos de Rebollar.

Focusing on Castilla León, we will stop in the province of Salamanca where the mosaic with the bath of Pegasus and the nymphs was found in S. Julián de Valmuza (Blázquez 1982: 19 n°12 fig.12), dating back to the 4th century. Only a drawing of it is conserved in the Real Academy of the History. A nymph rides Pegasus and crowns him with laurel; another nymph feeds him and another one tidies him up from behind.

The Ledesma resort is 27 km away from this site. Currently operating, its medicinal waters are recommended for the respiratory and locomotor systems, and to heal neurological affections. At a distance of 30 km, the baths of Babilafunete have a long tradition and are highly appreciated for chronic conditions of the digestive, urinary, locomotor and respiratory systems. Even further, 54 km away, the resort of Retortillo was already known in the Roman era, and a votive ara was found at the place.

There is only one single geometric mosaic with craterae at the angles in Zamora, dated from the 4th century and located in the village of Requejo in Santa Cristina de la Polvorosa, which today is kept at the Provincial Museum of Zamora (Blázquez 1993: 480-487). In this case, the spas of Calabor and Almeida are too far away from this village and so they would not have had as much influence as at other spots.

In the province of León, we can find an interesting contribution in the villa of Quintana del Marco of the 4th century, with the theme of Hilar and the nymphs (Blázquez 1986; Mañanes 1989: 131-144) discovered in 1899 and currently in the Museum of San Marcos de Leon. Unfortunately, we do not have much data about this villa; we do know that a silver oval plate with the text Marti / Teleno was found, which J. Mangas (1996: 483-490) interprets as a syncretism of the Roman god Mars and the indigenous Teleno, a direct reference to Mount Teleno. This mount is an important landmark between Orense and South-West León. In this site an important hydraulic complex was built and it was used during the gold explorations of the Medulas and therefore it is very possible that this village had close links with the mining activity of its neighbors.

The thermal areas are too far away to constitute an influence area, and that is why we point out the possibility of the influence of Mount Teleno in this specific case.

Table 3

No. 1: Mosaics of the village of Almenara de Adaja, Valladolid: Pegasus “toilette” by the nymphs. **No. 2 and No. 3:** Ornamental and geometric mosaics with multiple craterae. Photograph by Manteca in Garcia - Sanchez 2015. **No. 4:** The Spa of Olmedo at 8 km from Almenara d’Adaja.



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

In Palencia we can mention the villa of Quintanilla de la Cueva, from the 3rd-4th centuries (Garcia Guinea 1986). The varied iconographic ensemble is in honor of the water with fishes, Oceans and seasons, Neptune or the allegory of a river and Amphitrite. And the fragment of a mosaic with a cratera and a bird, that is conserved in the Museum of Palencia. The waters that we find in Saldaña 25 km away, of medicinal tradition like the ones from Fuente de los Calores next to Villorquite of the Páramo which is only 10 km away from La Olmeda, or the waters of Villa la Fuente, could be the reference for the ensemble of mosaics. Nonetheless, without proper archaeological documentation and waiting for future revisions, we just dare to point at this possible influence.

Another important set to be noted is the villa of La Olmeda in Pedrosa de la Vega, from the 4th century, with the splendid mosaic of Achilles in the gynoeceum of Lycomenes in Skiros (Mangas 1996: 146-156; Durán 2010-2012: 1314). Located at the oecus, it presents on its border a portrait gallery of the family that inhabited the villa. These portraits are placed between pairs of mallards facing amphorae and vegetal cumbos all forming part of a symbology related to the prosperity of nature provided both by the fresh water of the mallards and the healing water that is collected in the amphorae. All elements are linked to each other by filaments which also attach to the portraits. The rest of the decorative mosaics depict hunting scenes and geometric themes, dated between the 4th-5th centuries AD. It is not surprising that in this place, just 6 km away from Saldaña and with an area of influence of various springs of mineral-medicinal waters, the owners of this village would wanted to reflect their wishes of prosperity and long life for the members of the family.

In the province of Valladolid and in the chronological framework of the 4th century, we must mention the town of Almenara de Adaja (Neira - Mañanes 1998: 13-34), which conforms a very interesting decorative mosaic ensemble (Table 3), where four rooms present craterae and a scene of the "toilette" of Pegasus and the nymphs. In the room with a pentagonal head, there is a cratera at the threshold from which a lotus flower and pods with acanthus leaves and four-leaf flowers emerge. Throughout the rest of the area geometric and vegetal motifs alternate. Another mosaic which contains the cratera is the one with the four circular garlands: at the threshold the cratera with emerging tendrils that end up the shape of four-petal flowers can be admired. Once in the rectangular room, there are four large squares framed by five-leaf laurel garlands. In the four isosceles triangles resulting from the presence of a square on the tip inside another, four galled craterae are represented with emerging lush acanthus leaves and pellets on the sides.

The mosaic of the room finished in exedra displays a great cratera with pods and acanthus leaves and tendrils with leaves and four-lobed flowers. In the rest of the room, at the corners, we find similar craterae to that of the exedra. It is also remarkable that vegetal scrolls frame another square which has craterae at its angles, and from which acanthus leaves emerge, fairly geometrized in this case. Finally, at the tri-apsed room in one of the exedrae, there is a square which contains craterae with emerging tendrils at its angles, again in a geometrized fashion.

All this ensemble is complemented with the mosaic with fish, the one with vegetal and geometric motifs, and the great composition of the octagonal room with the "toilette" of Pegasus. On this mosaic, the nymphs clean a wingless Pegasus up with two large jars on the sides. The scene is completed with the representation of the fountain of Hippocrene and Mount Helicon at the top of it,

which is a direct connection to fresh waters of fountains and springs.

To this artistic set fully linked to the cult of water, we should add that just 8 km away the spring of "Sancti Spiritus" with the Olmedo resort fully operating nowadays. This presents hyperthermal waters of 22°C of strong mineralization, useful for the rheuma, the skin, the locomotor apparatus, etc. We consider all this enough evidence to prove the influence of these waters in the use of symbolic motifs in the decorative ensemble of the mosaics in this villa, which is also placed in the road communicating with the villa of Cauca (present Coca) at 15 km.

Another interesting thermal location, also in the area of influence that would affect the villa, would be that of Las Salinas de Medina del Campo, at 22 km from Adaja Almenara, with waters rich in sodium chloride, calcium and sulfates and thus recommended for arthritis, the respiratory system, skin, etc.

A set that we must also mention is that of the villa of Prado (Table 4) (Neira - Mañanes 1998: 47 et seq., 21, 22 and 24 figs. 8-9 lines 31-40), located in a neighborhood of Valladolid and therefore distant from Olmedo and Medina del Campo, at about 41 km. Despite the great distance, we believe that this villa can be included in the area of influence of those medicinal sites, given that in its repertoire of mosaics at the apsed room it appears the theme of Diana with the seasons and seven craterae, two in the tapestry and five, lined at the opposite end of the apse, combined with floral motifs, clovers, etc. In addition, there is the quadrangular mosaic of craterae that recalls the scheme of the compass. Four more craterae are represented at the angles, from which four laurel wreaths emerge and, being in a semicircular shape, they also frame four other craterae from which leaves of acanthus emerge. The motif is represented eight times in total and, without undermining the high level of ornamentation they involved, this ornamental ensemble recalls again the symbology of water as a benefactor element of prosperity, health and wealth. Another apsed room identified by an oecus uses again the same motif of the craterae that are this time located at the angles of the central square, and from which acanthus leaves and lotus flowers emerge. In the center of this square a medallion with a floral wheel is represented, and, at its free angles, there are again craterae with stems of hanging leaves; this adds eight more to the previous ones and make a total of 23 times that the motif is represented in the three rooms. The theme of Diana would also be adequate because, according to E. Oro Fernández (1996: 93) she was worshiped in places with hot springs, as documented in Bande (Orense) and Burguillos (Badajoz). In short, another interesting set linked to water and nature.

In Segovia, an inscription has been located in Duraton by a soldier who consecrates an altar to Fortuna Balnearis (Perea 1997: 51-61), the goddess who protects health and hygiene. The doubt arises as if this mosaic with allegorical bust, headdress with diadem of fruits, cornucopia and with a snake around her throat, could be related to this divinity that was worshipped by the military collective. But she is not represented with the helm and neither the crown of fruits would be appropriate. Near Duraton, at 5 km, we find the fountain of La Salud in Sepulveda. Its waters remain at a constant temperature of 18°C throughout the year and it is a spring of the river Duraton; although not being thermal, the waters have healing properties for skin problems, and it is for this reason that we think of a possible relation with the documented archaeological material.

The province of Burgos offers some mosaics of great interest to document this relationship with healing waters. One of them is the early-imperial mosaic with

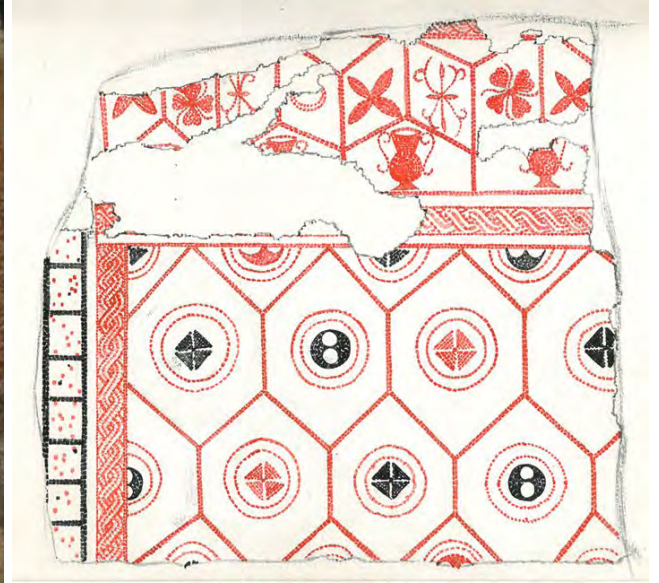
Table 4

- No. 1** and **No. 2:** Mosaics of the villa of Prado in Valladolid, with Diana hunting. Photograph by Neira y Mañanes 1998.
No. 3 and **No. 4:** Geometric mosaics including craterae and vegetal elements from the same villa. Photograph by Neira y Mañanes 1998.
No. 5 and **No. 6:** The spas of Medina del Campo and Olmedo in Valladolid, 40 km away from the villa of Prado.

triton and the fantastic marine fauna in Sasamon (Durán 1993: 70, 254-255 pl. XXXIX). At its edge there is a cratera with acanthus leaves emerging from it, constituting a clear reference to mineral-medical fresh water with beneficial properties for both nature and people and which is also complemented by the benefits of marine water depicted on the central the tapestry.



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5



No. 6

Segisama (Sasamon) was on the road that communicated with Clunia and Astorga. This favored the circulation of certain motifs such as those that interest us and also, at a distance of 45 km, there is the resort of Valdelateja with waters of curative properties for arthrosis, the respiratory, digestive and circulatory systems, etc. Perhaps this is a relevant element to take into account.

Now, in the city Clunia Sulpicia (Palol 1994) (Table 5) we find several mosaics in whose iconography craterae are also included. It is represented as a central motif in the house no. 3 (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 68 et seq fig. 18 lines 25 and 48) in room no. 8 from the 2nd century, globally appearing up to twelve times. Another relevant motif at this site is the venera or scallop, symbol of Venus. This is very useful for the architectural exedras, specifically in the room no. 9, currently "in situ". There it is used in the mosaic with secant circles and pseudoemblema (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 54 et seq. lams. 23 and 45) of mid-2nd century. Another mosaic of the same chronology is the one known as the "the one with scallops" (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 62 et seq. 48) in room no. 1, where a border of vegetal scrolls frames a quadrangular composition with semicircles on the sides and quarters of circle at the ends. A circle frames the central octagon and at one end stands the part corresponding to an exedra, also decorated with the seashell.

Table 5
No. 1 to No. 4: Mosaics with craterae and scallops in the city of Clunia. Photograph by the author. **No. 5:** Roman cave waters in situ under the city.



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5

In the spa area of Los Arcos I, we find it again in a bichrome mosaic at the threshold (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 78 et seq. 23 lám. 28), from the mid-2nd century too, currently in situ and in the mosaic of “scallop with eagle” (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 77 fig. 23 pl. 49) (Chevalier cit by López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 78) at the center. The bird is identified with the sun, from which light and heat comes, currently occupying a part of room no. 18.

The motif of shells has also a large repercussion on the Portuguese mosaics analyzed, along with other aquatic motifs by C. Mourao (2008), as we see in “Casa de los Rapouxos” and the “House of Skeletons” of Conimbriga, which has shells and craterae along the edge. In Rabaçal (Penela) there are dolphins drinking from a cratera or in Rio Maior Santarem with the use of the shell. From these facts, it is understandable that a symbolic element associated with goddess Venus protecting medicinal waters is used in certain places linked directly or indirectly with them.

Returning to Clunia, we will say that this city is based on an important karstic formation with lagoons of underground water and that have been named Roman Cave. Through wells and fountains they would supply water to the city and they are believed to have been beneficial at those times as a mud therapy treatment, since inside the cave phallic votive offerings and clay masks have been found, which could be related to a magical-religious sanctuary related to Priapo. Up to forty inscriptions have been located and several of them make reference to the “Matres”. These were divinities related to fertility, prosperity, health and life, and were linked to the healing power of the waters (Blázquez 1961: 129-130; Gómez 1999: 425; Gallego 2004: 69-89).

Without moving from Burgos, and with a late chronology of the 5th century, we would like to note the Dionysian mosaic of Baños de Valdearados, unfortunately partly expelled, wherein the frame of the lower panel with the Triumph of Dionysus, two craterae with gallons are represented with acanthus scrolls emerging in which birds intermingle and which, in turn, frame the busts of its owners. We believe that, in this case, the craterae would be associated with the benefactor powers of the waters. On the other hand, in the upper panel, we find another strip with gallonated craterae and vegetable scrolls with grape clusters, clearly alluding to wine. Therefore, in this mosaic both elements, wine and water, combine, being the most appreciated by its owners.

In order to finish with this decorative ensemble of the house, in room no. 5, sector B, a quadrangular mosaic (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 18 et seq fig. 4 lam. 4) was arranged with concentrically arranged octagons. There is a central circle and in the inter-circular space eight shields of which two are decorated with craterae, one with gallons and the other with horizontal stripes. Another room showed a decoration of birds and terrestrial animals that were combined with craterae (Table 6).

This site, located on the Bañuelos river, was part of the Antonine itinerary Ab Asturica per Cantabriam Caeraugustam (Calvo 2003: 1-9) and it was only 15 km away from the city of Clunia. It is therefore not surprising that the influence of the waters of Cluniae Clunia, is here similarly reflected.

Arriving in the province of Soria, although there are no documented thermal areas, there are multiple springs with hydrogen sulfite waters of therapeutic properties (Yelamos - Sanz 1994: 215-228). It is therefore not surprising that we find mosaics with decorative motifs related to these waters in Medinacelli, such as the one of San Pedro Sq that can be admired in situ. The preserved fragment

presents a semicircular shell composition, symbol of Venus, and in one of the squares the helmet allusive to Mars, both being gods of the hot springs. It has been dated between the 1st-2nd centuries. Another mosaic, this one from the 4th century, is the one of the Plaza Mayor de Medinaceli with Ceres in the emblem and surrounded by the Winds, cratera, dolphin, feline-panther and a fantastic animal, along with other characters confronted. In this case, Ceres-Abundance is surrounded by propitiatory elements such as the marine waters with the dolphin and medicinal terrestrial animals with the cratera, all with Dionysiac elements such as felines. It is possible that the use of these motifs was related to the existence of Fuente de los Baños in Fuencaliente, not far from Medinaceli, at 4 km. Its sulfurous water is known to have healing properties in affections of the skin and of the stomach.

Table 6
 Villa in Baños de Valdearados, Burgos.
No. 1: Mosaic with the Triumph of Dionysus. **No. 2:** Mosaic with female portraits, terrestrial fauna and cratera in the rhomboidal interspaces **No. 3:** Mosaic with shields and craterae. Photograph by the author. **No. 4:** The waters of Clunia are 15 km away.



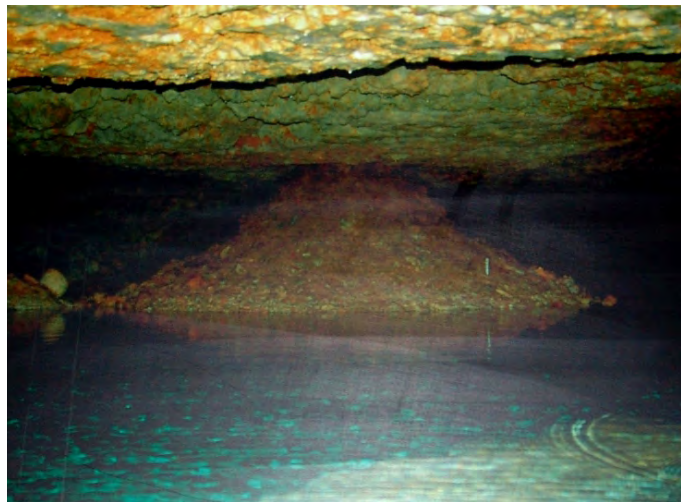
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

Following in the province of Soria, we will mention the mosaic of Uxama (Cabré 2015) from the 4th century, excavated in 1913 at an unknown location, showing a cratera between gryphons that could symbolize the protection they exert on beneficial waters, in addition to other mosaics that also depict craterae very similar to those found in Clunia or Astorga. As J.M. Blázquez and M.P. García (Blázquez - García 1992: 33) state, in Uxama there were pre-Roman cults documented, which worshiped the indigenous god of thermal springs Bormanico, and therefore it is not surprising that these cults were extended into the Roman world through syncretism.

It is be at the center of Burgo de Osma, 1.6 km away from Uxama, and under the old University of Santa Catalina, where hypothermal mineral water rich in calcium bicarbonates and very advisable for rheumatic problems, diuretic and hypocholesterolemia were located, that could have been used already in antiquity and which is currently exploited by a spa. In fact, just few kilometers next to Gormaz Castle there is the most important aquifer in the province.

Finally, and within the possible scope of influence of the waters of Burgo de Osma, there is the town of the Dehesa de Cuevas de Soria at 38 km, which shows an interesting set of geometric mosaics that are musealised and from which we stand out the number VI (Blázquez - Ortega 1983: no. 57 pl. 25). It is a geometric mosaic with a roped-square in which squares are inserted on the tips and cantharoi at the four angles, with handle of double scroll from which vegetal rolls of leaves of acanthus emerge. Again the symbolism is repeated.

Leaving the area of Castile, we will focus our analysis on Aragón (Table 7) and we will stop in Zaragoza, where a mosaic whose main motif is a cratera with birds drinking and with vegetable scrolls emerging from it was located at the House of the Cratera in Torrenueva St no. 4-6, dated from the 2nd century, and that is currently in the Museum of Zaragoza. In the same museum there is also another mosaic with a geometric pattern based on squares in which another is inserted at the tip and forming a star, that in turn presents a circle in its interior. At the four angles there are four gallonatedcraterae with plant scrolls extending across the surface.

With regard to the relationship of these mosaics with curative sprigs in Zaragoza, there were several of them mentioned at the recently held exhibition "The curative fountains of Zaragoza", in 2013 (Iturbe - Ruiz 2013): Agua Fita Santa Fe, Fuente de la Junquera; Source of the Tile and source of Health, all four in the axis of the river Huerva. Salina de Mediana limiting with Mediana, source of the Berro in the left margin and Pozo San Miguel in the border of the Gállego river. All this clearly illustrates that the area is full of well-known springs which may have been known from antiquity.

In Tarazona, specifically in Tudela St no. 13 (Bona - Nuñez 1983: 63-83), a geometric mosaic of the mid 3rd century was located, which consisted of secant circles forming four petals and in one of the ends a strip with a central cratera and a gryphon on each side, interweaved by their tails. These are protective elements and specifically in Tarazona there is the medicinal spring of Ojo de San Juan with waters good for paralysis, external oropharynx secretions, hemorrhoids, etc.

We know according to M. Beltran and J. A. Paz (Beltran - Paz 2014: 48) that Augustus attended this sacred spa which is believed to be of Turiaso (Tarazona) under the invocation of the nymph Silbis and that he was miraculously healed. Turiaso's coins reflect that healing. It is believed that Augustus deposited in the sanctuary a votive offering, which has not arrived to our days, and it seems that this aquatic sanctuary remained in use until the 3rd century. We do not know whether the spring we have mentioned could correspond to the one of the texts. It certainly is verified that it existed a nymphaeum in which votive offerings were deposited and where a thermal enclosure was built with an associated temple, later to be Christianise in the Middle Ages.

The site of Albalate in Calanda, also in Teruel, contains a room decorated with both a geometric and a figurative mosaic based on terrestrial animals such as a galloping horse, a running wild boar, roaring lioness,



No. 1



No. 3



No. 5

Table 7

No. 1: Mosaic in the domus of the 2nd century cratera. Torrenueva St no. 4-6. Zaragoza. Zaragoza Museum, photograph by the author. **No. 2:** Well of water Fita Santa Fe, Zaragoza. **No. 3:** Mosaic with cratera flanked by gryphons in the domus of the Tudela St in Tarazona, Museo de Turiasso. Photograph by R. Lériida 2008. **No. 4:** Spring of Ojo de San Juan in Tarazona. **No. 5** and **No. 6:** Mosaics of the villas of Albalate, Calanda, Teruel. Photograph by the author.



No. 2



No. 4



No. 6

standing lion, a galloping mule and a walking leopard. There are also mosaic paved access steps with jars, craterae, a vegetal motif and even two sandals, all aligned on a step. In the mosaic on the apsed area of the room, in the upper level of the stairs we observe at the right end of the geometric composition alternating octagons, circles and squares, and in one of the octagons there is a galled-craterae, being possible that there would have been another one on the other side that has disappeared. This exhaustive reproduction catches our attention and we believe that they can allude to wine as well as water, but the details of small fish in the mosaic of the lower level of the stairs would confirm this statement. Even if we aware that both elements were mixed in the banquets, we must not forget the symbolism of abundance and health that they involve. This mosaic is currently in the Museum of Teruel and we believe that the proximity of the river Guadalopillo in the area of Calanda had to influence the iconographic use of these motifs.

Regarding the large thermal lake of Alhama de Aragón in Zaragoza, used since antiquity, we can not relate it with the mentioned mosaics since they are too far away from its area of influence.

Finally we will conclude our analysis in Navarre, where important villae offer us several motifs within their iconographic repertoires that we also relate to hot springs.

The villa of Arellano (Mezquiriz 2003: 238) (Table 8) presents amongst its iconographic repertoire of mosaics the Weddings of Attis, Farewell of Adonis, Muses, or the Birth of Attis at the cubiculum. He is the son of Nana the nymph, daughter of god-river Sangarius, who was abandoned by her at the foot of a mountain, and we believe that the one represented is the nymph Nana herself. He is depicted naked, adorned with jewels and holding a necklace or garland in one hand from which a duck and other birds hung, definitely a clear allusion to the aquatic environment. If we add that there are also four craterae at the angles filled with water given the blue shade of the interior, we can make a connection with the waters of fertility and abundance that heal and that were venerated from the Iberian world.

The villa of Ramalete (Blázquez et al. 1985: no. 44 pl. 39) presents an octagonal mosaic in which a circle is inscribed with other smaller circles in it. In the intermediate spaces there are included eight craterae that form part of the whole vegetal ornamentation, from which profuse leaves of acanthus emerge. In the central circle there is a horseman hunting with an inscription allusive to the owner of the town. Another interesting mosaic is that of the galled-craterae held by two putti (Mañanes 1999: 557-574), surrounded by a plant circle and with four baskets loaded with fruits at each angle, as well as a vegetal border with large scrolls that enclose the ensemble. This clearly refers to water and nature. Nevertheless, the one flanked by two erotes invites us to think about a possible allusion to the wine that would be produced in the village. In short, water and wine: two fundamental elements for the wealth of the villa.

We will finish our tour in the village of Liedna (Mezquiriz 2004: 327-359), from the 4th century. This one offers a broad repertoire of geometric mosaics among which I will emphasize the one of the gallery 76, with a braided square and with another square of garland of leaves in the center. Inside the central square some vases or cantharoi occupy the angles. Between each of them, three birds and several small vegetal branches. This is a symbology allusive to the benefactor powers of the waters.



No. 1

Table 8

No. 1: Mosaic with the birth of Attis in the villa of Arellano, Navarra, 4th century. Photograph by the author. **No. 2:** Fuente de la Salud in Estella at 4.5 km from Arellano. **No. 3:** Mosaic of the villa of Liedena, 4th century AD, currently in the Museum of Pamplona, photograph by the author. **No. 4:** Mosaic of Dulcitiu in the villa of Ramalete, 4th century AD, photograph by Mezquiriz 1985. **No. 5:** Balneario de Fitero at 20 km from the villa of Ramalete.



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5

The province of Navarra is well-known for its rich natural springs of water of thermal medicinal ature, and, at 20 km of the town of Ramalete, we find the spa of Fitero that presents Roman archaeological remains and a possible occupation during the Iberic times. Its waters, at 50°C, are mostly recommended for respiratory illness, rheuma and for rehabilitation. They are currently still in use. The villa of Arellano is also under the area of influence of multiple sources around

Estella, just at 7 km. Fuente de la Salud in the valley of Anocibar with properties for dermatological problems, in addition to Fuente de Los Ángeles, three streams of the fountain near the hermitage-cave of San Juan, and in Estarrus there are river immersion rites documented. Besides, we may not forget that at 24 km distance there is the Belascoain spa with waters at 27°C, good for the kidneys, liver and nervous system. 30 km away, the spa Ibero, in use since Roman times, with waters of 20°C strongly mineralized is beneficial for the urinary tract and the digestive apparatus. 33 km away, the spring of Alsasua with sulfurous waters are beneficial too for dermatosis and the nervous system.

With regard to the villa of Liedena, there is the spring of Burlada at 36 km, with its alkaline, saline, sodium bicarbonated waters indicated for gout, liver and kidneys. This water was commercialised until 1939 but today the spring has disappeared under construction works.

Throughout this analysis we can observe that the pattern we have already seen in the area of the Hispanic Levant continues to happen. The interrelation between certain motifs and proximity to mineral-medicinal waters is repeated. Hence, we are increasingly more positive that, apart from the ornamental meaning they could offer, the symbolic intention was very evident.

Following in order of relevance the use of these motifs, we see how the representation of craterae that are not linked to the Dionysian motifs is very frequent and corresponds to 68% of the mosaics studied, which is pointing us the influence and the strong symbolism that they contributed to in relation to the proximity of the sites with beneficial waters. These pieces are either accompanied by birds, fish, varied branches that decorate the scene at once or simply alone, as the main motif or multiplying in the mosaic are important enough, so that we see in them a symbolic message that goes further the merely decorative.

From this point, the percentages are smaller: images of nymphs are 13%, shells or veneras 13% and allegorical images 6%. The set of Almenara de Adaja is very interesting since it alternates the specific iconography of the nymphs with the bath of Pegasus, the representation of the fountain of Hippocrene and mount Helicon, with a set of geometric mosaics and with vegetal motives: branches and flowers that arise from craterae, which constitute up to 19 in the rest of rooms. The decoration insists on the fertility of nature that feeds on water and is also collected in ceramic containers in order to use it and recover our health.

Another aspect to be taken into account in this analysis is the continuity of the reasons analyzed. Both in the early and late Roman Empire the iconography is repeated and it maintains its persistence, often becoming syncretized with Christian iconography. The cratera and the shell would be clear evidence of this.

In this paper we must not forget Carranque's set, wherein a series of mosaics such as Diana and the nymphs, Hilar and nymphs, nymph surprised by Eros, Priam and Tisbe, Hercules, Minerva surrounding Venus, in other spaces of the villa geometric mosaics are accompanied by craterae at the angles or seashells in the lunettes of another mosaic. This ensemble was, in turn, completed with the mosaics of Achilles and Briseida and Adonis fighting with the boar in front of Venus and Mars. In short, a complete ensemble where most of the different episodes are related to water. The underground aquifers, Arroyo de la Cabeza with Fuente de Pobo, the Guadarrama River and the Fuente de Tejada, already mentioned, consolidate this assertion. It is an aristocratic villa that as in the previous ones, the owner valued the virtues of the terrestrial waters and their beneficial properties.

A remarkable set is the one of villa of Prado in Valladolid, where in addition to the theme of Diana and the seasons, we find up to 23 craterae, which enables us to illustrate the connection we try to demonstrate.

Another of the motifs used in decorations of mosaics is the shell, but this element is not useful enough and we find them at specific places like Medinaceli, Soria or Clunia, Burgos. The latter, with waters in situ.

It should not be a surprising fact that this association existed, since medicinal waters have been one of the most valued natural resources by people through the ages. Oral transmission was maintained and many of them persist today.

They are the sacred waters and through the analysis we see how they influence the inhabitants of the environment, in an area between 30 and 40 km around. This way, gods being invoked and honored. In conclusion, ancestral cults with symbolic meaning in honor of Nature, that certain owners respect and perpetuate in the decorative ensembles of their houses.

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The Boat Depicted in the Yakto Thalassa Mosaics: Is it a Dugout?

Yakto Thalassa Mozaiklerinde Betimlenen Tekne: Bir Kano mu?

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Abstract

Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople were important cities during the Roman– Byzantine periods but quite little is known about the wealth of Antioch in the same periods. The rich and expansive life of Antioch in the 4th century AD is mostly known from the Letters and the Orations written by Libanius.

The present paper will not cover all aspects of Antioch and its beautiful mosaics. The boat depicted in the Thalassa mosaic from Yakto Upper Complex and dated to the middle of the 5th century AD (the subject of this paper) may represent a unique depiction of a dugout. Such a vessel is rarely depicted in any arts and especially on mosaics.

Dugouts are an earlier type of watercraft dating from Prehistoric times until the 21st century, and still in use all over the world. Representations of boats in any arts and especially on mosaics, as a simple method of transportation, carrying light cargoes, or the utensils for fishing, are also used as a symbol or apotropaic of the place where such scenes are depicted, as well as the welfare of the owner of the house.

Keywords: Mosaic, Antioch, Tethys/Thalassa, dugout, fishing.

Öz

İskenderiye, Roma ve Konstantinopolis, Roma ve Bizans Çağları boyunca önemli şehirlerdi ancak aynı dönemlerde Antiocheia'nın zenginliği hakkında çok az şey bilinmektedir. İS 4. yüzyıldaki zengin ve gösterişli Antiocheia hayatı çoğunlukla Libanius tarafından yazılan Mektuplar (Letters) ve Söylevler (Orations) isimli kitaplardan bilinmektedir.

Bu makalede, Antiocheia ve onun güzel mozaikleri tüm yönleriyle ele alınmayacaktır. Yakto Yukarı Kompleksi'ndeki Thalassa mozağinde tasvir edilen ve İS 5. yüzyılın ortalarına tarihlenen tekne (bu yazının konusu), bir kanonun eşsiz bir tasvirini temsil edebilir. Bu tipte bir tekne nadiren herhangi bir görsel sanatta ve özellikle mozaiklerde tasvir edilir.

Kanolar, tarihöncesi dönemden itibaren bilinen en erken su taşıtı örneklerinden olup, 21. yüzyılda dünyanın her yerinde kullanılmaya devam etmektedir. Görsel sanatlarda ve özellikle mozaiklerde basit bir ulaşım aracı, hafif kargoların taşınması ya da balık tutma aracı olarak betimlenen tekneler hem bu tip sahnelerin betimlendiği yerler için bir koruyucu hem de ev sahibinin esenliğinin sembolü olarak kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaik, Antiocheia, Tethys/Thalassa, kano, balıkçılık.

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Some Notes on the Orontes River and the Excavations

Antioch is situated on the southwest corner of the Amuq plain. The Orontes flows along the southern edge of the plain, cuts through the mountains and flows into the sea on the northeast coast of the Mediterranean (Fig. 1). The Silpius Mountain Range stretching along the river's right bank rises to a height of 506 meters above sea level (Downey 1961: 15). Facing the city, the lower slopes of the mountain are gradual and in antiquity terraces were cut into these slopes, providing the building ground for villas and baths with a magnificent view of the Orontes and the city below. Orontes having its sources in Coelè Syria flows near the city of Antiocheia. Its length of about 400 kilometer never becomes a wide and deep river to provide good conditions for naval purposes. Still, the river has a pretty substantial stream that is navigable with rafts and can also be used to irrigate the land, especially between Homs, and Ḥamāh, and Al-Ghāb. Though that Orontes is not navigable anymore between Antioch (now Antakya) and the sea¹, several ancient sources mention that during certain periods in antiquity the river had very busy water traffics². Strabo wrote that the river flows underground for a while and then resurfaces; he also wrote that someone can make the inland journey to the sea in the same day:

“The Orontes River flows near the city. This river has its sources in Coelè-Syria: and then, flowing underground, issues forth again; and then proceeding through the territory of the Apameians into that of Antiocheia, closely approaches the later (Antiocheia) and flows down to the sea near Seleucia... Now on the west, below Antiocheia and Seleucia lays the sea; and it is near Seleucia that the Orontes forms its outlets... Inland voyages from the sea to Antiocheia are made on the same day one starts” (Strab. geogr. 16.2.7).

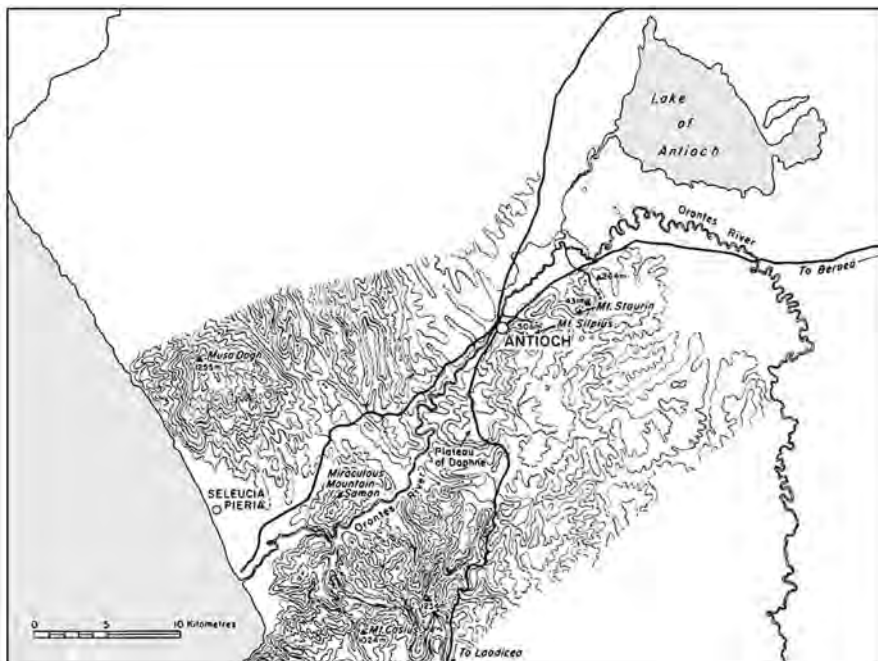


Figure 1
Location map of Antioch on the Orontes
(after Downey 1961: fig. 3).

- 1 In addition to the silt deposits from Mt. Silpius, since the Middle Ages, earthquakes, which are quite frequent in the Antioch region, caused debris fallen from the city wall to topple into the stream of the river and filling it up. The arm of the river that ran between the island and the city itself had filled up since the Crusader times; Downey 1961: 18.
- 2 The Gourob papyrus evidences that the Orontes was navigable in 246 BC; Downey 1961:18 and note 12.

A concurrent and updated description of Antioch in the 4th century AD is given by Libanius in his *Autobiography*, who also was a citizen of this city:

“As having the good fortune to be a citizen of a great and famous city, let us consider the size and character of the city of Antioch, the extent of its territory, the streams which water it, and the breezes which it backs. Even without seeing it, one can have full knowledge of it from hearsays, for there is no other corner of land or sea to which the fame of the city has not spread” (Norman 1992: 2).

Antiocheia was supplied with products from the hinterland, the lake and the sea by small vessels that sailed on the Orontes. Products like timber and fish came up the river from the seaport of Seleucia (Leibeschuetz 1972: 75 and notes 2–3). When Libanius spoke about the outlet of the Orontes, he refers to the products and goods that were brought to Antioch from its harbor Seleuceia Pieria:

“Wherefore all ships put to sea from all parts of the world, carrying goods from everywhere, from Libya, from Europe, from Asia, from the islands and the coasts, and the best of what is best everywhere is brought here, since the quickness of selling draws hither the wits of merchants... Among harbors, this (Seleuceia Pieria) has furled the most of the sails that are spread over the seas” (Norman 1992: XI.264).

Since the 18th and especially the 19th century, Antioch was visited and plundered by many European visitors. In order to stop the looting of antiquities and treasure hunting excavations in Antioch, the Committee for the Excavations of Antioch and its vicinity was founded in 1930, under the chairmanship of Prof. C. R. Morey of the Princeton University. The Committee also included the Musée Nationaux de France, the Baltimore Museum of Art, and the Worcester Art Museum. Systematic excavations at Antioch and its vicinity (Daphne and Pieria) were carried out by the University of Princeton, which began in the spring of 1932 and continued until 1939, when the outbreak of the Second World War prevented the continuation of the works (Downey 1961: 28). These excavations revealed the prosperity and luxuries of Daphne and Pieria during the 4th – 5th centuries AD. Many mosaic floors in private houses, public structures, pools and baths were discovered during these investigations. The mosaic themes are varied and they are produced with wide ranges of hues of stone and glass tesserae. Mosaic floors found in houses with modest facilities also emphasized the richness of the city (Levi 1947: 1; Downey 1961: 33). The excavations of these mosaics revealed that figural and mythological themes starting since the 2nd century continued to be used until the 6th century AD, the end of classical Antioch (Lassus 1976: 63).

The Yakto Complex – Upper Level

In November 1932, the Committee for the Excavations of Antioch, while excavating at Daphne (the suburb of Antioch) revealed a villa complex paved with beautiful and colorful mosaics. Two adjacent rooms on the NW side of the complex were named by the excavators Room A and Room B (Fig. 2). The walls of this complex had completely disappeared, as well as many parts of the mosaic floors. No indicative materials have been found during the excavations to hint or augment the dating of these rooms and their mosaic floors. The mosaic floor in the larger room (Room A) is decorated with hunting scenes surrounding a large circular medallion in the middle of the floor and depicting the bust of a female (Fig. 3). A Greek inscription spreading on both sides of the figure's head

indicates her name Megalopsychia. The entire mosaic is surrounded by a topographical border depicting varied buildings and streets, presumably illustrating the city of Antioch and its suburbs. A Greek inscription including the name and the title of Pribathon Ardaburius provides a terminus post quem of this mosaic, dated to the middle of the 5th century AD. Ardaburius was the "magister militum per Orientem" from 450 to 475 AD, with his headquarters at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, where he resided as late as 459 AD (Morey 1938: 18; Levi 1947: 323).

Figure 2
Plan of Yalto Upper Complex
(after Levi 1947: 280 fig. 110).

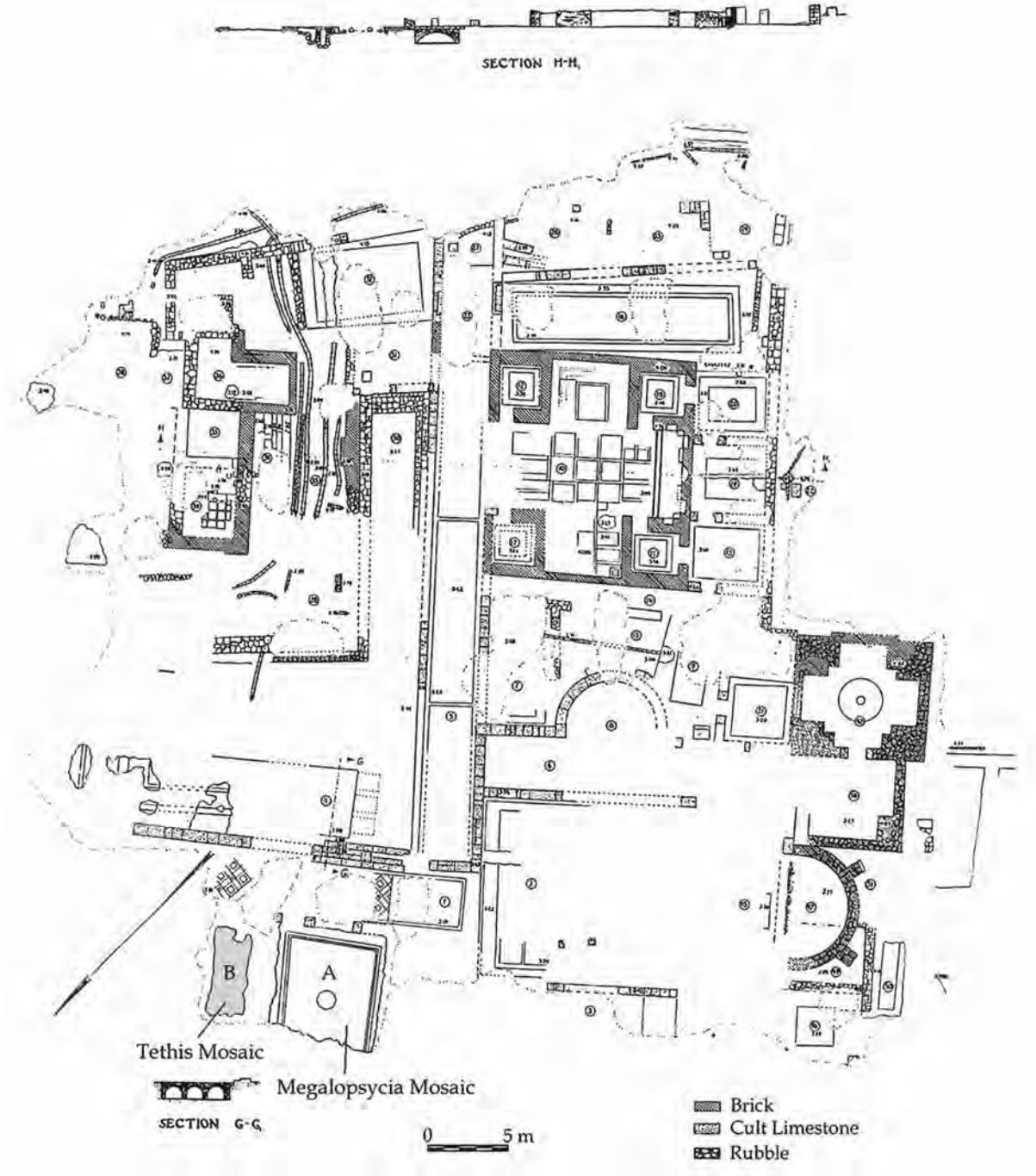
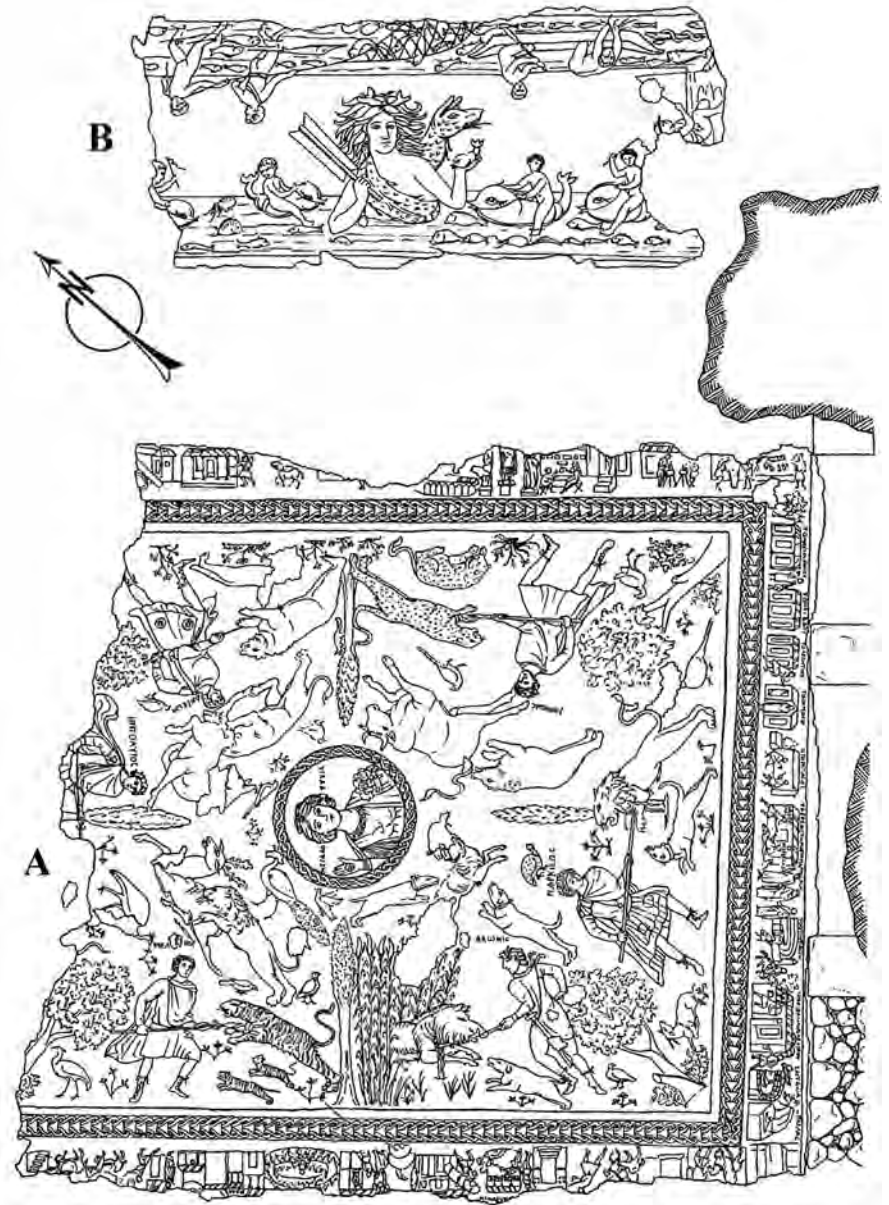


Figure 3
Drawing of Thalassa and “Megalopsychia”
mosaics, Rooms A-B (after Levi 1947: 324
fig. 136).



The Yakto Thalassa Mosaic

The mosaic floor in Room B depicts the large bust of Thalassa³ rising from

3 Tethys was the Titan goddess of the sources of fresh water which nourished the earth. She was the wife of Okeanos, the earth-encircling fresh-water stream, and the mother of the Potamoi (Rivers), Okeanides (Springs, Streams and Fountains) and Nephelai (Clouds). Both Tethys and Oceanus were depicted as a couple, as well as each one also is represented as a single figure in varied arts since the 2nd to the 6th centuries AD (Levi 1947: pl. CLIX b). Both deities became a favored theme in mosaics from Antioch, Zeugma and Syria. In the early depictions of the goddess a pair of wings rises above her temples and a snake coils around her lower torso and over her right arm (Levi 1947: pls. XXXIX b, L a, LXII a; Wages 1986: figs. 1, 3, 5). The iconographic evolution of the winged sea goddess in mosaics began at the end of the 3rd century and lasted until the later part of the 5th century AD (Wages 1986: 124). Oceanus holds a long rudder with slim and an elongated blade, in his right arm and laid on his right shoulder. A pair of crab or lobster claws rises above his temples. He looks like an elderly man with gray thick beard (Levi 1947: pls. VI a, b, L c; Wages 1986: figs. 1, 8). The Tethys mosaic excavated at Shahba/ancient Philippopolis, Syria (325 – 350 AD) shows the portrait of the goddess within a square frame. Her hair appears as seaweeds, a pair of wings rises above her forehead and a sea star is placed between the wings. She holds a rudder with thin and elongated blade that lay on her left shoulder. A snake (ketos) rises from behind her back and its open mouth seems to point towards the right side of her head (Wages 1986: fig. 7). Apparently some changes occurred in the depiction of Tethys in the 4th

the sea, holding a rudder in her right arm and laid on her shoulder, and holding a small dolphin in her left palm (Figs. 3, 4, 4a). The rudder has a short shaft with a slim elongated blade. The blade comprises two long and narrow wings. Presumably, each wing formed an individual unit, which was inserted in a long groove cut lengthwise into the lower shaft. They seem to be locked by wooden treenails or pegs, or by bronze nails, indicated by the darker dots along the visible face of the shaft (Fig. 5). Both, the shoulders and the bottom ends of the blade's wings are angled toward the shaft. The left wing is depicted with ochre tesserae and the right one with dark brown stones). A monstrous snake (*ketos*), with a dog or wolf head and looking to the left, coils around the bust of Thalassa. Two short and thick claws of lobster or crab rising from the top of the Goddess's forehead are rendered with light brown, reddish-brown and ochre tesserae. The surrounding water of the maritime scene is depicted with dark green hues, while the white strips seem to indicate the crest of the waves. Varied fishing techniques are illustrated within a rich fauna of fish in the aquatic environment. The Yakto Thalassa is surrounded by these fishing scenes along with water games carried out by several young boys. Four boys, each one riding on the back of a dolphin, are racing towards the Goddess, two to the left and two to the right (Figs. 4 - 4a). On the extreme right-hand vertical border is depicted a fisherman sitting on a rock near the shore and fishing with a fishing rod; a fish is caught in the hook at the end of the line. In the reverse frame above the head of Thalassa are illustrated two types of fishing techniques: In the right side of the frame is shown a boat with two naked men engaged in fishing. The man standing slightly off amidships and bending over the fore port hull pulls an octopus out of the water, while the second man sited on the quarter steers the boat (Fig. 6). Within the left side frame are depicted two naked young boys in knee deep water, each pulling the liner of a seine net full of fish (Fig. 4). The present author may suggest that this fishing scene could be a pictographic illustration of the description given by Libanius when he wrote about the abundance of fish for the diet of the local population:

“Everything is at once available, and it is not necessary to hurry about in search of fish... Indeed, we who live on land enjoy more fish than many of those who are tossed about the ocean, and although we are separated by from the sea, the fishermen catch for us in their nets the creatures of the sea, and crowds of fishes of all kinds come into them every day” (Norman 1992: XI.258).

No datable materials were found in Room B with the Thalassa mosaic. It was mentioned above that the *Megalopsychia* mosaic in Room A was dated to the middle of the 5th century AD upon the Greek inscription within the topographical border and referring to Ardaburius. We may assume that the Thalassa mosaic was produced at the same time of *Megllopsychia* mosaics, which may be deduced from the fact that both rooms are adjacent and belonged to the same complex (Fig. 3).

and 5th centuries AD in Antioch and Zeugma. The wings attribute of Tethys in the early mosaics were changed into claw of crab or lobster that are the distinct attributes of Oceanus. These claws are adopted as attributes of Thalassa, as well as holding a rudder in her right hand and lay on her shoulder. During this phase the goddess Tethys began to merge with figures that personified the sea, and known in Greek as *Thalassa* (Wages 1986: 124). *Thalassa* is also the Greek word for the “sea”. She is depicted as a woman clothed in bands of seaweed, half submerged in the sea, and is represented with some attributes that were formerly given to Oceanus: the lobster or crab claws rising above her forehead, a rudder, a dolphin, a ship, or a ship's prow held in her palm, but not wings on her forehead. Thus, the Yakto goddess is one of the earliest depictions of Thalassa. She is depicted with the attributes that once belonged to Oceanus. Therefore, the goddess in the Yakto maritime scene is Thalassa and not Tethys.

Figure 4
Yakto Thalassa mosaic (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hatay_thalassa.jpg)



Figure 4a
Drawing of Thalassa mosaic panel
(detail from Levi 1947: fig. 136).



Figure 5
Thalassa rising from the sea
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hatay_thalassa.jpg).



The Yakto Boat

The only boat in the Yakto Thalassa mosaic is depicted within the fishing scenes border, in reverse above the head of goddess (Figs. 4, 4a, 6). The boat is seen in some perspective, deduced from the revealed inner starboard hull depicted with dark brown tesserae. The boat is engaged in fishing (Fig. 6). The prow is pointed to the left. The entire longitudinal port hull is rendered by uniform coloring of yellow-brown or ochre tesserae. Both ends (stem and stern) and the lower part of the hull are outlined by two rows of dark brown tesserae, probably indicating the

pitch or bitumen coating to make the hull watertight. The transom stem and stern have outward angles of c.30-40 degree each with a horizontal short platforms and finished by short straight cut ends. The boat has a flat bottom, elongated slim hull and a shallow hold, deduced from the projecting knees of the man bent over the fore port hull and pulling an octopus out of the water. The feet of the sited helmsman rest on the flat shallow floor of the boat. His knees also reach high above the gunwale.

The propulsion gear comprises a pair of oars with dual function steering and/or rowing; one oar is mounted to either quarter gunwale (Figs. 6-7). The port oar is represented by a long and thin shaft that it's lower end transverses longitudinally the rectangular blade. The oar is secured to the port quarter gunwale

Figure 6
Yakto Thalassa mosaic: fishing dugout boat
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hatay_thalassa.jpg).

Figure 7
Close-up of the rower
(detail from Cimok 2005: 37).



by a line tied around the lower shaft above the shoulder of the blade and then passing through a metal or wooden ring oarlock (Fig. 7). Apparently, the secure-line seems to be stretching along the shaft and its upper end being held in the rower's left palm. The short rectangular blade comprises two wings that seem to be inserted into a groove cut along the lower part of the shaft and then secured by wooden treenails or bronze nails. The lower part of the port blade seems to be submerged in the water. The starboard oar is indicated only by its upper shaft. Actually, this oar was similar to the port oar in its shape, length and mounting system on the starboard gunwale. The oarsman seems to steer the boat and stabilize it while the man on the fore-deck is engaged in fishing.

The rich fauna inhabiting the water are sea creatures some of which may be identified by known species of fish: Red mullet (*Mullus surmuletus*), silver fish (*Argentina sphyraena*), gray mullet (*Mugil cephalus*), barracuda (*Sphyraena sphyrena/Linnaeus*), cuttlefish/octopus (*Octopus vulgaris*), sea snake, bass (Greek: *Labrax*, Latin: *Lupus*), and shrimps (*Crustacea*)⁴. Thus we may conclude that the water environment surrounding Thalassa is the sea and the fishing activities are carried out in shallow waters close to the shore, as indicated by both boys in knee deep water and pulling the net full of the caught fish (Figs. 4, 4a).

Building a Basic Dugout

The Yakto Boat with a slim hull, flat bottom, even-colored sheer, and transom ends (stem and stern), most probably represents a logboat or dugout made from a single log. Such type of boat is a very simple and earliest water craft. The dugout was hollowed either from a whole log or a half log split longitudinally. Logboat or dugout has a long history known since the Neolithic period throughout all historical periods, and are still used in varied parts of the globe today: Arabia, Africa, Egypt, Northern Europe, and America. They also are known as *monoxylon* (Greek: *mono*: single, *xylon*: tree) or pirogue. Ancient dugouts were occasionally found in inland sites. Few of the oldest logboats were found at Pesse, Netherlands, and dated to 7920-6470 BC (Johnstone 1980: 46 fig. 5.1) (c.2.98 m long and 44x0.31m abeam), and at Noyen-sur-Seine, France, dated c.7190-6540 BC (McGrail 2001:173) (4.05m long and 0.55x0.20m abeam) (McGrail 2001:174). A logboat found in Lake Bracciano, Italy, is assumed to date to the 6th millennium BC (McGrail 2001:150).

Our knowledge of building logboats/dugouts come from several ethnographic sources: a study of three excavated half-finished logboats from Germany, or one of the first examples of experimental archaeology of reconstructing such a boat in 1965 on the shore of lake Mondsee, Austria (McGrail 1998: 59). Ancient dugouts were made from pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), alder (*Alnus sp.*), poplar (*Populus sp.*), and lime (*Tilia sp.*), whereas oak (*Quercus sp.*) was used sporadically from the Neolithic Period to the Bronze Age (McGrail 2001: 174). The timber used for building a dugout depends on what is available locally. Ethnographic evidence indicates that the tree generally chosen for a dugout is found near the water. The trunk should have a reasonable length and be strong, should not split or have spiral grains that would be difficult to be worked (McGrail 1998: 59). A dugout may be designed first by leveling the upper surface of the horizontal log

4 Some of the species surrounding the Neptune/Oceans and his consort Amphitrite/Thalassa mosaics from the House of Calendars, Room Six, dated 2nd century CE are based on the identification made by Dr. Henry W. Fowler, Curator of Fishes in the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences; Morey 1938: 30-31; Levi 1947: 37 fig. 12 pls. VI a, b.

to the height of the future sheerline (McGrail 1998: 61). Using charcoal or red chalk the carpenter marks the plan of the boat, the hold area and both stem and stern. Apparently, the first method is hollowing a certain amount of the log before the internal and external shape of the boat is finished. The external shaping of the boat is done with axes and also by adze. Thus, the preliminary shaping, both internally and externally is to reduce the weight of the log, which will lessen the effort to move the raw boat either overland to a water site, or to overturn the log to be worked underside and then to complete the final shape of the boat (McGrail 1998: 61) Such an example of hollowing a dugout is evidenced by the experimental archaeology carried out at Pfahlbau – Lake Dwelling Museum at Unteruhldigen/Bodensee, on the NE shore of Lake Constance, Germany (Fig. 8). The tools needed to hollow such a boat comprise axes, adzes, mallet (wooden hammer), chisels and scrapers.

Figure 8
Making a dugout boat; Lake Dwelling Museum, Bodensee, Germany (photo: Zaraza Friedman).

Figure 9
Preserved dugout under water; Lake Dwelling Museum, Bodensee, Germany (photo: Zaraza Friedman).



There are several reports of dugouts that were not finished in one season but were often stored under water, until the next year. Such a boat was probably towed on a sled to the water near the habitat of the owner, and then it was sunken under water at a depth of c.2m by filling in with stones and tight between four poles where it remained from one to several years (McGrail 1998: 63). Such comparable examples also are found at the Lake Dwelling Museum at Bodensee, Germany (Fig. 9). Three or more dugouts sunken under water were filled in with stones and are still tight to a pole close to the shore of the lake at the Dwelling Museum (personal communication). They look as new, though that they are submerged in the water for over twenty years at the Museum. Presumably, in several countries in Northern Europe, partly worked logs, still “green”, were stored under water, to keep the timber fresh and moist above the fiber saturation point. Thus the log would not shrink and then it can be worked relatively easier in a future boat (McGrail 1998: 63).

Another method to make a dugout is using fire. When fire is used it is lit on top of the horizontal log and constrained by sprayed water or by wet clay. Then

the charred wood is subsequently adzed or scraped away to leave a smoothed surface (McGrail 1998: 62). Accounts on the use of the fire method were given by European travelers to North, Central and South America in the 16th and 18th centuries. Thomas Harriot described the fire method in 1548, when he saw the local men in Virginia making dugouts by fire method (McGrail 2001: 423). A drawing dated to the 16th century shows in detail the use of fire method (Fig. 10). A similar method was described by the Swedish traveler Peter Kalm in 1747, as used by Delaware Indians:

“They lay branches along the stem of the tree as far as it must be hollowed out, set them on fire, and replace them by others. While these parts are burning, they keep pouring water on those parts that are not to be burnt at the sides and the ends. When the interior is sufficiently burnt out, they take their stone hatches and shells and scoop out the burnt wood. These canoes are usually thirty or forty feet long (10 – 13 m)” (Johnstone 1980: 47).

Figure 10
A late 16th century drawing of hollowing a dugout by fire method
(after McGrail 2001: 423 fig. 11.25).



The hydrostatics of logboats/dugouts is limited due to their long, narrow hull and shallow hold. Therefore, since antiquity, men searched to improve the stability of such boats by varied methods, such as by extending the beam of the boat, using stabilizers and outriggers, or by joining two or more dugouts by tying them together by heavy cables and then placing a platform on top to transport cargoes, and/or animals (such as sheep or horses) (Johnstone 1980: 48-50; McGrail 1998: 66-67, 72 fig. 6.12). Transverse timbers or thwarts have rarely survived in ancient dugouts found in excavations or surveys (Zwammerdam Boat 1, Netherlands; Barouscourt, Ireland; Loch Killburnie, Scotland) (McGrail 1998: 80). Transverse timbers also provide lateral reinforcement to the hull, as well as a sitting place for the oarsmen. Dugouts being small vessels were used for fishing in rivers, lakes, or along the seashore in shallow waters. Such boats also were used for hunting in marshes or river delta, carrying small cargo, or transporting limited livestock (one to two sheep, or one horse), or up to ten passengers. Dugout boats were propelled by a standing paddler slightly off amidships, or rowed by a sited oarsman on the thwart amidships or on the flatten end of the boat. The Yakto boat probably suggests a dugout that was rowed or steered by a pair oars with dual function as it was needed (Fig. 6).



The Marina Mosaic in the Nile Villa at Leptis Magna

The Villa with the Nile mosaic is situated near the port of the ancient city of Leptis Magna. The name of the villa comes from three excavated mosaics depicting Nilotic scenes. The Yakto Boat (Fig. 6) is comparable to one of the boats depicted in the Nile Villa that decorated the floor of the *tepidarium*. The excavations at the site that began in 1916 and continued until 1930 indicate a possible date of the mosaics and the construction of the villa around the 2nd century AD (Aurigemma 1960: 49)⁵. Two boats (Fig. 11) depicted in the left hand side of the mosaic panel are part of the design illustrating several fishing methods. The top boat with an elongated and slim hull, with outward extended ends (stem and stern), and a flat bottom (Fig. 12) is similar to Yakto Boat (Fig. 6). The static position of the boat and the five sitting figures, who probably are engaged in a party, suggest that the boat is anchored, though no anchor or mooring devices are shown. The prow points to the left. The stern, now damaged, probably had a similar shape as the prow with outward angle and a flat top. The oar mounted on the port quarter gunwale may indicate the steering gear (Fig. 12). The figure sitting on the quarter deck with his knees rising above the gunwale, presumably is the helmsman (badly damaged; only his profile and the left arm are preserved). His left arm stretching forward holds the loom of the port oar. Probably the loom of the starboard steering oar is worked by his right hand (badly damaged). The slim shape of the boat and the uniform coloring of the hull rendered with dark brown tesserae, presumably suggest an expansion logboat of about 10 m long and c.1-1.5 m abeam (McGrail 1998: 67-68 fig. 6.10). Its shallow hold is deduced from the sited figures on the starboard and port gunwales, with their feet resting on the flat floor and shallow hold, whereas their knees reach height above the gunwale.

Figure 11
The “Marina” mosaic in the Nile Villa at Leptis Magna (courtesy Jona Lendering, Livius.Org).

⁵ The size of the mosaic: L=3.78m; W=1.2m.



Figure 12
The top boat in the “Marina” mosaic
(detail; courtesy Jona Lendering, Livius.
Org).

Conclusions

The Yakto Thalassa mosaic (450 – 460 AD) is not the only mosaic depicting this sea goddess in Turkey. Apparently, themes of sea gods and goddesses were quite common motifs used in the mosaic decorations in Antioch and Zeugma in Turkey, as well as in Syria from the 2nd to the 6th centuries AD. The goddess depicted in the Yakto mosaic is Thalassa, as deduced from her attributes: she rises from the sea as a single figure, a pair of crab or lobster claws rise above her forehead, her hair is made by seaweeds indicated by dark hues of green and grey tesserae, she holds a rudder in her right hand, a small dolphin in her left hand, and a ketos coils around her bust. However, the Yakto Thalassa appears to be the only example where the goddess is surrounded by young boys engaged in various fishing activities and water games (Fig. 4).

The boat depicted in the fishing scene, in reverse to the goddess's head, may indicate a dugout, which is a rare representation in any arts and especially mosaics. The Yakto Boat, probably, was 5m or 8m long, one meter abeam and probably had a load capacity up to several hundreds of kilograms. The present author may suggest that the Yakto Boat was made by hollowing a log by axes, adze and scrappers. No such boat was found yet in Antioch to augment its building method. Therefore, the suggestion of the dugout is based only upon its iconographic depiction. The Yakto boat (Fig. 6) is comparable to the top boat depicted in the Nile mosaic from Leptis Magna (Fig. 12). If the boat in the Leptis Magna mosaic indeed represents a dugout then it is the earliest pictographic representation of such vessel in mosaics (2nd century AD), pre-dating the Yakto Boat by about 300 years. It is well known that pattern decorations in the North African mosaics and those from the NE Mediterranean are very similar. Pattern books and other sources of decorations circulated around the Mediterranean through sea trade connections, as well as by the movement of the mosaicists from one place to another and being contracted in projects by wealthy patrons whose taste for luxuries was a priority. These artists carried with them some patterns from their homeland workshops, which they could adjust to the taste and the requirements of the patron. Although Orontes was not navigable between the sea and Antioch in Late Antiquity, and neither is today, ancient sources indicate that at certain periods the river had busy water traffics (Downey 1961: 18 note 12). In his Orations of Antioch, Libanius wrote that the city profited greatly from the river because “many things were brought to the city by the vessels sailing

on the river” (Norman 1992: XI. 260). The close flow of Orontes at Daphne and Antiocheia provided an easy access to products brought by boats from the harbor of Seleuceia Pieria or from the hinterland down the river. Thus, the people had some kind of landings in front of their dwellings for such delivery boats:

“At first they bring the goods separately; then the river takes the place of both, receiving, along with its own products what is carried through the lake... It delivers the cargoes to each person before the gates, so that it is possible for the women and children to unload the freights” (Norman 1992: XI. 261).

Debris from the city walls that toppled into the river since the Middle Ages have blocked the passage for large sailing boats in the Orontes, but small boats could still sail on varied areas along the river. It also appears that the riverbed rose as a result of earthquakes, which are frequent in the area (Downey 1961: 1).

Though that Libanius does not mention anything about boat building near the Orontes or the sea, we may assume that the wood fallen from the mountain ranges of Amanus and Silpius, and the overseas wood trade provided the raw material for boats construction, as well as building materials, heating and also used in varied industries. This assumption also is suggested by Libanius:

“...the river was a way of transportation for the variety of woods, which are brought from everywhere” (Norman 1992: XI. 262).

Dugouts were the simplest vessels to be build that neither required much space nor a special shipyard, or a large team of shipwrights. The elementary tools were adze, axes, chisels, scrapers, and fire, and the raw material of proper logs were found in the vicinity of a river banks, lake or the sea shore. The present author may suggest that the Yakto Boat is a relevant representation of a dugout considering the fact that the site is found in close proximity to the Orontes River and the mountain ranges of Amanus and Silpius supplied the necessary timbers for the construction of roofs, fuel for bakeries and baths, as well as for boats building. The mosaicist who made the Yakto Thalassa mosaic may have seen or been familiar with such simple river crafts that probably still sailed on the Orontes or along the seashore in the 4th century AD. He also may have seen such boats engaged in fishing on the Orontes or nearby the seashore. All three varied fishing scenes depicted within the frames surrounding Thalassa may suggest for such activities in the daily life and the economy of the people living on the banks of Orontes, the Lake and the seashore. Fishing scenes were significant sources in any art decorations associated with mythological stories combine with scenes of everyday life of the people living in such areas. The owner of the Yakto complex probably was engaged in maritime trade and fishing business, as well having a taste for classical arts.

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Tethering of Tamed and Domesticated Carnivores in Mosaics from the Roman and Byzantine Periods in the Southern Levant

Güney Levant'ta Roma ve Bizans Çağlarında Yularlanmış Olan Ehil ve Evcil Etoburların Betimlendiği Mozaikler

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Abstract

Tamed and domesticated carnivores such as dogs, cheetahs and mongooses participated as search and chase aids to human hunting in different societies, during most of history, as attested by anthropological, literary or graphic sources. In order to impose human will on the animals, different tethering devices were developed, such as leashes, collars and harnesses. These devices significantly differ from others related to labour e.g. for hauling, riding or carry palanquins.

During the Roman and Byzantine periods in the southern Levant, these animals and their restraining gear were depicted in hunting scenes on mosaic floors of churches, synagogues and private dwellings. These mosaics are discussed as evidence of everyday life. Therefore, this research analyzes the mechanism involved in translation of reality to images, the choice of hunting animals and their respective equipment as motifs represented on the mosaics, the differences between prestige and utilitarian hunts and the motivation behind the animal owner's choices and preferences.

Keywords: Dogs, harness, collar, hunting, rural, tethering.

Öz

Köpekler, çitalar ve firavun faresi gibi ehlileştirilmiş ve evcilleştirilmiş etoburların tarihin büyük bir bölümü boyunca farklı toplumlardaki insanlar tarafından av esnasında avın aranması ve kovalanması sırasında kullanıldıkları antropolojik, yazınsal ve resimsel kaynaklar tarafından da onaylanmaktadır. Hayvanlar üzerinde insan iradesinin uygulanabilmesi için yularlar, tasmalar ve koşum takımları gibi hayvanları bağlamaya ve kontrol altında tutmaya yarayan farklı aletler geliştirilmiştir. Bu aletler taşımacılık yapmak, binmek ya da tahtirevan taşımak için kullanılan aletlerden büyük ölçüde farklıdır.

Güney Levant'ta, Roma ve Bizans Çağları boyunca, kilise, sinagog ve özel konutların mozaik döşemelerindeki av sahnelerinde bu tür etobur hayvanlar ve bu hayvanları kontrol altında tutabilmek için kullanılan aletler betimlenmiştir. Bu tür betimleri olan sahneler de günümüze kadar günlük yaşamdan kesitler olarak değerlendirilmişlerdir. Bu nedenle bu araştırmada gerçekliğin resme dönüştürülmesindeki mekanizmanın anlaşılmasının yanı sıra mozaiklerde betimlendiği şekliyle avda kullanılan hayvanlar ve ilgili ekipmanlarının seçilmesi, prestij avı ile fayda beklentili av arasındaki farkları ve hayvan sahibinin seçimlerinin ve tercihlerinin arkasında yatan motivasyonları analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Köpekler, koşum takımı, tasma, avlanma, kırsal, hayvan bağlama.

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Introduction

The outstanding, recently excavated, Roman period Lod Mosaics (Avissar 2001; Avni - Gorzalczany 2015; Gorzalczany 2016; Gorzalczany et al. 2016) illuminates important aspects of life in antiquity in the southern Levant. Among these are observations on the complex human-animal relationship in that place and time. This article is the outcome of an ongoing study of the Lod mosaics dated to the late 3rd–early 4th centuries AD¹. Two animals shown on these mosaics, a dog (Bowersock 2015: fig. 5) (*Canis lupus familiaris*) (Fig. 1) and a tamed feline, probably a cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*) (Fig. 2), wear harnesses, an almost unique tethering device occasionally seen on dogs depicted in Levantine mosaics. The cheetah is the commonest tamed feline used in the ancient Levant as a hunting aid, as detailed below.



Figure 1
Harnessed dog chasing a hare, Lod, northern mosaic (photo: Nikki Davidov, courtesy of the IAA).

¹ The mosaics were discovered in the city of Lod (Lydda) Israel (Schwartz 1991; 2015; Oppenheimer 1998), and excavated during several seasons between 1996 and 2014, first by Miriam Avissar and later by one of the authors (A.G.) on behalf of IAA.

Figure 2
 Harnessed cheetah hunting, Lod,
 southern mosaic (photo: Assaf Peretz,
 courtesy of the IAA).



Tethering appliances used in the Southern Levant are known from written sources as well as from representations depicted on mosaic floors or other media, such as sculpture, wall paintings or carved sarcophagi (see e.g. Toynebee 1973: 91, 109–112 and *passim*). To understand the role and the meaning of such devices, we will discuss similar items shown on carnivores in other Roman and Byzantine mosaics from the southern Levant. When deemed helpful, literary sources and additional works of art outside the defined area and time will be mentioned².

Leashes, Harnesses and Collars

Relationships between humans and captured, tamed and domesticated animals have always been associated with the use of control mechanisms and restraining devices. These were and are essential tools in imposing human will on the animal.

Restraining and control implements may vary according to the animal in question

² The authors thank the Israel Museum, Anjelina Dagot (map), Ram Shoeff, Faina Milstein and Silvia Kapriwko (graphics), Noga Z'evi (IAA Photography Archive), Yeshayahu Lender (IAA Southern District), Meir Bass, Nachshon Sneh, Ricky Hershler, Walid Atrash, Nikki Davidov and Assaf Peretz (photography). Yoav Tzur (IAA) provided valuable logistic assistance. Danny Syon, Keren Covallo, Doron Ben-Ami, Peter Gendelman and especially Lihi Habas offered helpful comments. The authors are grateful to all of them. Figs. 1–3 and 6 are by courtesy of the IAA.

and the function desired and imposed on that animal. Cages, ropes, tying knots and tethering gadgets used to immobilize and transport captured wild animals on their way to Rome have been discussed already (Bertrand 1987). Devices used for both military and civilian riding or for traction animals differ from those used mainly for restraining and control. Even tethering devices used to control the same species could vary, depending on the expected function. Consequently, a hound used in tracking would be tethered differently from a guard dog or a sled dog. Thus, tethering devices ranged from simple foot ropes and neck collars with leashes to complex harnesses or carried palanquins.

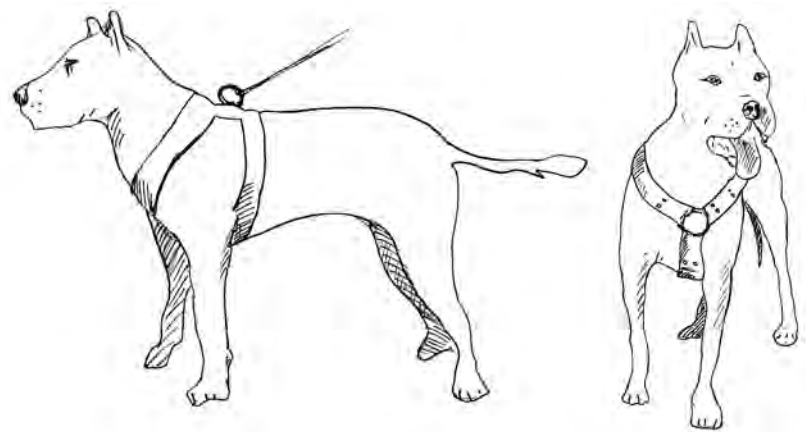
Generally, when the main purpose of tethering was to control an animal's movements, e.g. a hunting hound or a guard dog, the basic controlling element was a collar around the neck. The leash, when used, is shown attached to the collar.

A harness, as defined here, has two to several loops surrounding both the torso and the neck of the carnivore, forming two circles into which the front legs are inserted (Figs. 4-5). The loops are interconnected and sometimes can be modified according to the animal's size. Connecting straps are frequently located between the loops to tighten and reinforce the harness. The generally detachable leash is connected to the upper part of one of these loops, between the carnivores' neck and back. This design allowed for an even distribution of force applied on the tethered animal, thus preventing choking and damage to the esophagus. Additionally, the harness was less liable to slip off compared to a simple collar. Most of the harnessed carnivores shown in Levantine mosaics are dogs.



Figure 3
Map of the sites discussed in this research
(Anjelina Dagot, courtesy of the IAA).

Figure 4
Modern dogs, harnessed with devices of the kind depicted on the mosaics (drawing Amir Gorzalczany).



The Data

The data presented in the following tables includes mosaics in which three tethered carnivores (dogs, cheetahs and mongooses) used in hunting were rendered, all from sites located within the boundaries of Roman provinces of Palestine, Arabia and Phoenicia (Tables 1-3).

For the purpose of this study, the carnivores examined were divided into two categories: carnivores tamed but not fully domesticated and those that are

Figure 5
 Harnessed dog on mosaic from Shechem
 (Neapolis) on display in the Israel Museum
 (photo: photographer unknown, courtesy of
 the Israel Museum).



domesticated. The first category is represented by the Egyptian mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*) and the cheetah and the second category consists of dogs. Mosaics from the Roman and Byzantine periods showing additional carnivores associated with humans, some of them bearing tethering devices e.g. house cats (*Felis catus*) or bears (*Ursus arctos syriacus*), are known from elsewhere (e.g. Toynbee 1976; Wohlgemuth 2008: 135). Following Rosen's 1984 study on mosaics, (and see also Bagatti 1952), the identification of the mongoose as a tamed animal, specifically due to its association with humans, is now accepted.

Besides Lod (Fig. 1), depictions of tethered carnivores on mosaics in this area are known from several other sites in Israel (Table 1), Jordan (Table 2) and Lebanon (Table 3). The date of the depictions ranges between the 2nd and 8th centuries AD, however, the lion's share of the images are dated between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. The kinds of chasing, hunting and killing scenes depicted varies greatly; twenty-nine dogs, seven mongooses and one cheetah. Dogs are conspicuously present in mosaics in Israel (12) and Jordan (15 cases), but they are missing in mosaics from Lebanon. The point should be stressed that the dog scenes can include more than one animal. In Jordan, only dogs were depicted hunting or chasing, and in Lebanon mostly mongooses (3 cases) and two dogs.

The only cheetah was found in Israel. As for the restraining devices, the dogs in the mosaics from Israel bear a collar in 10 cases, a harness in three cases and a poorly defined device in two occasions. The cheetah wears a harness and the mongooses are restrained by collars (3 occasions), except for the mongoose from Jerusalem that wears a harness. In Jordan, the dogs wear the same devices: in eight occurrences the dogs exhibit collars, in four cases collar and leash, dragged or flying and in two occasions, no collar at all (chasing scene as filler in the mosaic). In one case, a dog wears a harness with a flying leash. Interestingly, in four occasions the hounds wear a collar with ring or loop on top. In the mosaics from Lebanon we can see two hounds, one wearing a collar with leash and the second a collar adorned with ribbons and three mongooses, two of them fighting snakes with no restraining device visible, and a third one with a collar and flying leash.

Table 1
Tethered Carnivores Depicted on Selected
Mosaics in Israel/Palestine
(Listed from North to South).

No.	Site	Scene depicted	Tethering device	Reference	Context and Remarks
	Hounds				
1	Nahariya	Hound howling	Collar	Dauphin - Edelstein 1984; 1993.	Church, 6 th century AD
2	Sepphoris ("House of Dionysios")	Hound attacking ass (?) together with tiger	Unclear	Talgam - Weiss 2004: 91 fig. 82 (picture unclear).	Villa, late 2 nd or early 3 rd century AD
3	Caesarea ("Birds Mosaic")	Hounds chasing gazelle or Antelope	Collar	Reich 1985: figs. 2, 3.124, 154 pl. LI 5.	Villa, 6 th -7 th centuries AD
4	Beth Shean-Scythopolis (Kyrie Maria Monastery)	Hound standing on two legs, listening to flute player	Collar, no leash	FitzGerald 1939: 9 pls. XVI; XVII.2.	Monastery, 567 AD Depiction of street performance?
5	Shechem (Neapolis)	Hound	Harness	Yeivin 1975: 33 Talgam - Weiss 2004: 7-8.	Dwelling, third quarter of the 3 rd century AD
6	Lod (Diospolis) (Neve Yaraq Quarter)	Hound chasing hare	Harness	Talgam 2015: figs. 30; 43; Bowersock 2015: fig. 5; Gorzalczany 2016: figs. 3, 10, 12.	Villa, 3 rd -4 th century AD
7	Beth Guvrin-Eleutheropolis (Tel Maqerqesh)	Hound chasing	Collar and dragged leash	Avi-Yonah 1993: 198.	Monastery 6 th century AD
8	Beth Loya	Hound biting rabbit	Collar	Patrich - Tsafrir 1993: 268-70.	Church, 5 th -8 th century AD
9	Gaza (Jabaliyah)	Hound chasing	Collar	Blanc 2000: 130, 134-135.	Unclear
10	Kissufim (Western Negev)	Hound chasing rabbit and gazelle	Collar + loop, dragged Leash	Cohen 1973: 1979: 23.	Mosaic laid 576 AD Church built 565-578 AD
11	Nirim (Ma'on) (Western Negev)	Hound chasing	Collar and dragged leash	Barag 1993a: 946.	Synagogue, dated following Shellal (see below)
12	Shellal (Habesor Park, Western Negev)	Hound chasing	Collar? No leash	https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART40979/ Henderson 1985; 1988: 35-44; Trendall 1957: 13-14.	Church, 651/2 AD
13	Be'er Shema' (Kibbutz Urim, Western Negev)	Hound biting a rabbit	Collar with flying leash	Gazit - Lender 1991; 1993.	Church abandoned 7 th century AD
	Mongoose				
14	Tabgha Church of the Loaves and Fishes	Mongoose fighting a bird	Collar	Schneider 1937: 64 tab. 23.	Mongoose identified as badger
15	Sede Nahum Bet Shturman Museum	Mongoose fighting a snake	Collar	Dalali-Amos 2014: fig. 13.	Southeastern corner of chapel's floor, 4 th -5 th centuries AD
16	Jerusalem	Mongoose fighting a snake	Harness with a flying leash a	Rosen 1982: 182-83; Avi-Yonah 1933; Friedman 1967.	Church? Monastery? Date debated, 3 rd -6 th centuries AD
17	Be'er Shema' (Kibbutz Urim, Western Negev)	Mongoose a fighting snake	Collar, no leash	Gazit - Lender 1991; 1992.	Church abandoned 7 th century AD
	Cheetah				
18	Lod (Diospolis) (Neve Yaraq Quarter)	Cheetah hunting	Harness	Talgam 2015: figs. 30; 43; Bowersock 2015: fig. 5; Gorzalczany 2016: figs. 3, 10, 12.	

N°	Site	Scene depicted	Tethering device	Pp.	Fig.	Context and Remarks
	Hounds					
1	Chapel of Elias, Maria and Soreg (Gerasa)	Hound chasing gazelle	Collar + dragged leash	295–96	572	Early 7 th century AD
2	Chapel of Suwayfiyah Amman (Philadelphia)	Hound chasing	Collar + dragged leash	264	472	
3	North Church Esbos (Hesban)	Hound harassing bird or birds	No collar	251	429	No chase, just a filler
4	Massuh, Upper Church Esbos (Hesban)	Hound chasing rabbit	Collar + Harness dragged leash	252–53	444	From the neck, just behind front legs
5-6	Diakonikon, Moses Church, Mount Nebo	Hound following rider Hound attacking boar	Collar Collar	135, 138–39	166, 169	530 AD
7-8	Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius Mount Nebo	Multi-colored hound sitting. Hound chasing a hare	Collar + flying leash	153	202	557 AD
9	Upper and Lower Chapels of the Priest John Mount Nebo	Hound following or tracking	Collar + dragged leash	174–77	220, 233, 238	No ring leash is free
10-11	Church of Deacon Thomas Mount Nebo	Hound howling Hound capturing gazelle by rear leg	No collar? Collar and ring on top	181–82	253, 254	
12	Kaianus Lower Church Mount Nebo	Hound biting gazelle (female?)	Collar + ring on top	189–90	271, 275	
13	Burnt Palace Madaba	Hound chasing two hares	Collar + ring on top	78–79	50, 52	Late Byzantine
14	Church of al-Khadir Madaba	Hound chasing	Collar + ring on top	129–31	148	Iconoclastic damage
15-17	Church of the Priest Wa'il Umm al-Rasas	Two or three hounds chasing	Picture unclear	242–44	396, 400	Built 586 AD; Iconoclastic damage

N°	Site	Scene depicted	Tethering device	Reference	Context and Remarks
1	Houarte ('The Michaelion') Syria	Mongoose fighting a snake	No device Visible	Donceel-Voûte 1988: 106 figs. 73, 80 Hachlili 2009: pl. VII.6 f.	Church, 486/7 or 501/2 AD On display at the National Museum, Damascus
2	Qabr Hiram Lebanon	Mongoose fighting a Snake Dog chasing a hare (2 instances)	No device visible Collar and leash, collar with ribbons	Hachlili 2009: pl. VII.6 d.	Mongoose and snake rendered in opposite medallions, confronting each other. Dog wearing collar decorated with colored ribbons
3	Zaharani (Sidon) Lebanon	Mongoose fighting a snake	Collar and flying leash	Balty 1976: pls. XLI, XLII,1 Hachlili 2009: pl. VII.6 e Donceel-Voûte 1988: 411–12 figs. 403, 430–32 pls. 17 h-t, 18.	Church, 6 th century AD Mongoose and snake rendered in opposite medallions, confronting each other

Table 2
Tethered Carnivores in Selected Jordanian Mosaics as Depicted in Piccirillo (1993), Listed from North to South.

Table 3
Mongoose Depicted on Selected Mosaics in Syria and Lebanon.

Iconography

In the vast majority of the mosaic depictions discussed here, the tethered carnivores are rendered fighting, hunting and killing. One clear exception is the collared dog depicted on the Kyrie Maria Monastery mosaic at Beth She'an, sitting on its haunches and looking backwards (Fig. 6). The dog is accompanied by a curly-haired, mustached young man playing a flute while sitting on what is apparently a straw basket. The dog's somewhat twisted posture, with the head looking backwards, may suggest that the two were depicted performing some kind of street spectacle in which the animal follows the music (and compare Toynbee 1973: 109–12). Another possibility is that the image represents a shepherd playing music accompanied by his dog as the shepherd is sitting on similar object (a rock?) in the mosaic from the Chapel of the Martyr Theodore at Madaba (Piccirillo 1993: 117 figs. 96, 109). It is possible that the artist represented the dog standing on its rear legs because he used a template representing a tamed dancing dog. However, another option that cannot be ruled out, is that the artist chose this stance due to space constrictions.

Figure 6
Collared dog and musician depicted in the Kira Maria Monastery mosaic at Beth She'an (Scythopolis) (photo: Walid Atrash, courtesy of the IAA).





Figure 7
Harnessed mongoose fighting snake,
depicted in a mosaic found at Jerusalem
(after Rosen 1984).



Figure 8
Collared mongoose fighting snake as
depicted in the mosaic at Horvat Be'er
Shema' (photo: Nachshon Sneh, courtesy of
Y. Lender).

The Egyptian Mongoose

Three tethered mongooses, depicted on three different mosaics discovered in Israel, are considered in this article. The identification of the animals illustrated here are based on the latest zoological publications. In two other cases, from Syria and Lebanon, the animals do not wear a visible restraining device and so may represent either untamed specimens in the wild, or, perhaps, fully tamed individuals.

The first depiction of a tethered mongoose (Fig. 7), discovered in Jerusalem (Vincent 1901; Bagatti 1952, now on display in the Archaeology Museum at Istanbul), shows the animal (Rosen 1984; Herrero et al. 2010) tethered by a harness (Avi-Yonah 1933: 26–73 pls. XIV–XVIII; Friedman 1967; Ovadiah - Mucznik 1981). In the second instance, the animal, wearing a collar (Fig. 8), appears on a mosaic in Be'er Shema' in the northern Negev (Gazit - Lender 1991; 1993). The third, also wearing a collar, is depicted, on a mosaic at Sede Nahum but is in a poor state of preservation (Fig. 9), (Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987: 112; Dalali-Amos 2014 fig. 13). A fourth small animal that appears in the Tabgha mosaic is listed here because it is wearing a collar, but its species identification is an enigma as it does not look like a local, identifiable, domesticated animal. Sometimes it has been identified as a badger, or possible a mongoose, or perhaps a bear's cub (Schneider 1937: 64 table 23). The very obvious nails on its fore paws could suggest that is a carnivore of some kind. But the posture, the absence of a tail and its size relative to the water bird, facing it, could suggest that it is a rock hyrax (*Procapra capensis*). The latter is an African animal to be found from the southern tip of Africa to southern Lebanon. In Israel it can be found occurring naturally on the mountains just above Tabgha, where the mosaic on which it appears is found. It is very rarely seen on Levantine mosaics. Therefore, in this case, it is not very probable that it was copied from a "sample book" and it is conceivable that it was drawn from real life, except perhaps for the red collar as we don't know that the hyrax was ever domesticated.



Figure 9
Collared mongoose fighting snake as
depicted in the mosaic at Sede Nahum
(photo: Ricky Hershler).

Mongoose biology has been studied thoroughly (Rosevear 1974: 268–75; Osborn - Helmy 1980; Harrison - Bates 1991: 144–46; Qumsiyeh 1996: 170–73; Mendelssohn - Yom-Tov 1999: 201–5). In the Levant today, the Egyptian mongoose is a wild animal (Figs. 10–11). However, mongooses hand-reared from a young age make excellent pets (Ben-Yaacov 1980; Ben-Yaacov - Yom-Tov 1983; Mendelssohn - Yom-Tov 1999: 201–5). Mongooses are broad-spectrum diet carnivores, hunting and otherwise consuming a large variety of prey, from crabs to birds and cats, and domesticated poultry (Ben-Yaacov 1980; Mendelssohn - Yom-Tov 1999: 201–5). Since antiquity they have been known as snake killers; research now shows that they are biologically somewhat resistant to snake venom (Barchan et al. 1992). It should be stressed that the theme of the mongoose fighting snakes (e.g. the one discovered in Jerusalem, see above) seems to be deeply rooted in the Christian iconography, and has connotations of the everlasting struggle between Good and Evil (Balty 1995: 219–223). The provenance of the motif is the Hellenistic iconography from Alexandria, known as the ‘Nilotic Landscape’, and from there it made its way to the Roman and Christian realms.

Wild mongooses will adapt, as commensals, to human environments in most places in the Levant. For example, in Iraq the presence of wild mongooses near human habitations has been accepted because they help control pests (Harrison - Bates 1991: 145). In antiquity, they were revered in Egypt, allegedly because they ate crocodile eggs and killed snakes, thus controlling their numbers. In Egypt this aptitude probably led, until recent times, to their status as revered pets (Osborn - Helmy 1980: 422). In India, as in Egypt, the mongoose often fulfills the role of snake killer. Some are kept as participants in shows arranged by street ‘snake-charmers’. In the southern Levant, mongooses, both wild and commensals, must have formed continuous close relationships with humans, ‘It is as though the ages have passed it by and it still expects the protection and respect that were its heritage in ancient Egypt’ (Rosevear 1974: 272). The mongooses depicted in the four mosaics (Jerusalem, Be’er Shema’, Tabgha and Sede Nahum) were probably tamed animals since they wear harnesses or collars and probably resembled mongooses exhibited by the street snake-charmers in modern India.

The Cheetah

Written documents and pictorial evidences show that tame cheetahs kept for hunting were well known in the Middle East and India from antiquity until the mid - 20th century (Ognev 1935: 258–65; Harrison - Bates 1991: 170–72; Maraqtan 2015). Other large felines handled by people in the Southern Levant during the Roman and Byzantine periods are known from Dionysian victory parades depicted on works of art, e.g. the Erez mosaic (Rahmani 1975) and see also the Sepphoris mosaic (Talgam - Weiss 2004: 64–66 with thorough discussion therein). The cheetah discussed here depicted in the Lod mosaics while attacking a bleeding gazelle, is tethered by a harness (Fig. 2).

The cheetah belongs to the big-cat subfamily *Felinae* (Ognev 1935: 260–65; Rosevear 1974: 495–512; Osborn - Helmy 1980: 415–22; Harrison - Bates 1991: 170–72; Qumsiyeh 1996: 157–59), it inhabited wide areas in Africa and Asia, and apparently became extinct in the Levant by the first half of the 20th century. In pictorial representations, it is often confused with the leopard (*Panthera pardus*). It is the fastest land mammal. It hunts by sight rather than smell, prey of medium and light weights, like gazelles, ibex, sheep and goats.



Figure 10
Group of wild mongooses on the Carmel coast, Israel (photo: Meir Bass).



Figure 11
Mongoose confronting snake in the wild (photo: Amikam Shuv).

Its origins as a hunting aid are obscure. Supposedly prehistoric rock carvings in southern Jordan, yet to be verified, have been interpreted as depictions of a tethered cheetah (Fugii 2008). However, these interpretations are difficult to accept. Cheetahs were kept in ancient Egypt as hunting aids at least since the 15th century BC (Maraqten 2015). Tamed cheetahs were used in Arabia since pre-Islamic times. In medieval times hunting with tamed cheetahs in the area from Sinai to northern Syria was regarded as a common practice (Hitti 1927: 236–37 and *passim*). Carved representations of cheetahs have occasionally been found on marble sarcophagi, perhaps those belonging to avid hunters (Toynbee 1973: 84–85). Cheetahs are easily trained but do not breed well in captivity, and using them was based on capturing and taming young individuals. Culturally speaking, like all big cats (lions, leopards, tigers), they are so-called ‘prestige animals’, symbolizing rank and status until modern times. The Lod mosaic (Fig. 2) constitutes a good example of a hunt with trained cheetahs but is a unique example from this region.

The Dog

The ever-evolving complex relationships between humans and domestic animals perhaps started with dogs since these were the first animals to undergo domestication (Clutton-Brock 1995). Consequently, the cultural evolution of their tethering can illustrate the development of tethering in general. It would be helpful to supply a short overview of dog tethering devices in general.

Extant hunters-gatherers retain a symbiotic co-existence with dogs. Their dogs are never tethered and are a part of the community; as was the dingo (*Canis lupus dingo*) in Australia till pre-modern times and are in some places till now (Senior et al. 2006; Smith - Litchfield 2009). Hunter-gatherers, e.g. San in Africa, traditionally hunted accompanied by dogs till recently (Ikeya 1994). Hunter-gatherers and proto-agriculturists of pre-Columbian North America used dogs to pull travois, two wooden poles forming a triangular stretcher whose apex was tied on the back of dogs that dragged it. The last vestiges of that practice lasted well into the 19th century (Eastman - Blumenschein 1971: 5). Hunter-gatherers of the arctic zone may have developed the use of dogs to pull loads at least 2,000 years ago (Meldgaard 2004). Dogs were apparently used as backpack carriers in the Early Bronze Age of Spain (Albizuri et al. 2011). Restraining devices used for carrying and hauling are technically more complicated than simple collars, as seen in those applied on traction animals depicted on mosaics (e.g. Piccirillo 1993: 241).

The use of dogs in hauling and carriage in prehistoric periods must have necessitated the use of devices more complex than simple collars, as seen in modern sled-dog harnesses and in harnesses used by military transport dogs (e.g. Fischer 1984: 14). It can be suggested that such tethering devices could have preceded the appearance of the harness seen on the mosaics discussed here. It is possible that such restraining devices, originally designed not to choke the pulling dog, evolved into the complex harness that replaced a “choking” collar on some hunting dogs.

An early representation of a hunting dog tethered by a collar and a leash is known from Egypt on a relief in the tomb of Ptahhoterp, vizier of Djedkare Isesi (5th Dynasty) in Sakkara (Wreszinski 1923-38: III, 16), in which hunting hounds in the desert, with a collar topped by a prominent tying ring for the leash, can be seen attacking a gazelle and an oryx. Assyrian records show the habitual use of

hounds in hunting (Salonen 1976: 68–97) and in Assurbanipal's reliefs (627-669 BC) from Nineveh, hunting hounds can be seen with the hunter holding the leash attached to the collar around their neck (Frankfort 1989: 131-199).

Rock carvings in Yemen, some of them dated to about the 1st century BC, show hounds participating in hunts (Maraqten 2015: 208).

Dogs tethered by collars and leashes were depicted on Greek works of art during the second half of the 1st millennium BC, while Xenophon (430-354 BC), writing about hunting with hounds in Greece discusses their tethering³:

Harnesses like those discussed in this article were not mentioned by Xenophon.

Use of hunting hounds in Arabia persisted until modern times (Maraqten 2015: 208–34 and *passim*). Using hounds in the hunt, depicted by mosaics in the Southern Levant during the Roman and Byzantine periods is discussed (above) (Tables 1–3). Such use could then indicate the mingling of local and imported traditions corroborating the eclectic nature of the mosaics of Lod that has been noted by scholars (Ovadia - Mucznik 1998). Often such hunts were conducted by the rulers as seen e.g. by the Piazza Armerina Mosaics. During the hunt, such rulers may have mixed local and imported traditions, as suggested by Ovadia and Mucznik (1998).

Mosaics as Evidence of Everyday Life

Although the repetition of certain images in mosaics all around the Mediterranean world could attest to the wide use of templates by the artisans, the depictions could also reflect everyday life. The veracity of the depictions the mosaics studied here may be assessed by observing two cases of tethered animals, not carnivores, seen on contemporary mosaics. Tethered donkeys (*Equus africanus asinus*) and giraffes (*Giraffa camelopardalis*). While the donkeys were a common component of domestic livestock, giraffes were exotic animals and rarely seen. Both are displayed in several south Levantine mosaics. Several donkeys bear a well –depicted functional harness similar to modern donkey gear (e.g. Piccirillo 1993: figs. 203, 253). Unlike the accurate descriptions of the donkeys and their gear, the giraffes, an exotic, totally alien and unusual animal were depicted as being led by a totally nonfunctional, single line linking their muzzles to a man leading them (e.g. Piccirillo 1993: fig. 106). Timotheus of Gaza described two giraffes in Gaza, albeit not tamed, probably captured and on their way to a circus, such as in Constantinople. This happened at the very end of the 5th century CE or the beginning of the 6th. He described 'two giraffes covered with cloths and harnessed with many bridles and nose straps' (and compare Gatier 2005; Kruk 2001: 364, Timotheus of Gaza [trans. Bodenheimer - Rabinowitz 1949: 32]). It might be surmised that such a sight could have influenced the artists that laid the mosaics, but obviously it did not.

The many forces shaping the depictions on the mosaics have been discussed by the scholars cited above. Of prime importance among them seems to be observed factual details. This is accepted here. When the designer(s), the subsidizer

3 The trapping of hounds are collars, leashes and surcingles [broad belly belts strapped on animals for various reasons, especially those used to hunt wild animals – στελμονία]. The collars should be soft and broad....The leashes should have a noose for the hand and nothing else, for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hound is impossible. The straps of the surcingles should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on them to keep the breed pure (Xen. Hunt.V.32–VI.7; transl. Marchant 1925).

of the endeavor and future onlookers would have been familiar with the subject – in this case a working donkey – presumably the artist would have done his best to depict the animal as realistically as possible. However, when depicting an exotic animal (and compare Habas 2009), realism may not have been of prime consideration, the more so when the artist was not familiar with the alien beast. We assume that this was the case with the depictions of carnivores mentioned in this article, which occasionally were seen by the people of the times in real life. Therefore, their depictions could represent reality.

Tethering Devices: Harnesses and Collars

The most common tethering device to control carnivores was the collar, which appears in the earliest depictions of tethering (above) and was later described by Xenophon. Some collars, seen on the mosaics discussed, have a prominent ring protruding up from the back. Such a ring could have been used to tie a detachable leash or to forcefully restrain the animal by hand. Anyone who has ever dragged a dog from a fight will appreciate that such a loop was more functional than the puny rings seen on the undersides of collars in some North African and Sicilian mosaics, e.g. the Little Hunt in Piazza Armerina (Dunbabin 1978: pl. LXXVI, 198).

A less common tethering device depicted in the mosaics was a harness (Tables 1–3; Figs. 2-4, 7). Harnesses discussed here were in use on both sides of the Jordan, and such devices are also seen on few hunting hounds of the many depicted on North African mosaics. One example is the Le Kef hunting scene dated to the early 3rd century CE (Dunbabin 1978: pl. XXII, 54).

Despite the absence of harnesses in Xenophon's description it cannot be claimed that the dog harness was invented *de novo*, somewhere around the Mediterranean, after Xenophon's time. As mentioned above, bearing and perhaps complex hauling harnesses were used in both circumpolar areas and in Spain probably since the Early Bronze Age (2300 – 1300 BC) (Albizuri et al. 2011; Meldgaard 2004). A plausible explanation for the omission by Xenophon, a very early source (lived (430-354 BC) concerning hunting and dogs, could be that the use of such devices was yet unknown to him because of physical or social distance. Perhaps such devices were used by non-Hellenic, borderland and marginal societies, that only later showed themselves on the discussed mosaics. That might have been the reason that such devices were depicted in the Levant and to some extent in North Africa.

As for the significance and reason behind the choice of the different tethering devices, the numbers of tethering types reported upon in this study (Tables 1–3) cannot be used to arrive at quantitative conclusions. The ability to accurately depict reality may have been there, as shown above in the case of the donkey versus the giraffe. The giraffe was possibly chosen because of the most unique literary description of the “harnessing” of an exotic animal in the very same geographic realms where the harnessed donkeys are a most common sight. However, much is unclear regarding the mechanism involved in translation of reality to images in mosaics. Among such possible influences could have been the ability and interest of artists to observe and record minute details of real life; the prevalence of templates and models; technical limitations of the medium and conventions regarding the way to depict common sights. Even if we could identify additional sources of influence we have no idea of their relative magnitude.

The paucity of harnesses suggests that most carnivore owners must have preferred

collars over harnesses. Perhaps, the kind of tethering device symbolized the type of relationship between the owner and the owned. Possibly some Roman-Byzantine owners of tamed or domesticated animals used a harness because of what we would today call 'humane tethering'. The point should be stressed that although gestures of compassion and empathy toward beasts agonizing in the arena were rare, they were occasionally expressed even by the usually blood-thirsty, thrill-seeking crowd (Newmyer 2011: 93–94; Plin.nat VIII.7, 20–21).

To address the question of why collars may have outnumbered harnesses on the mosaics under discussion, we will examine what is known about the tethered animals depicted. The mongoose and the cheetah, the two wild carnivores discussed here, may have been tamed in pre-modern times using methods similar to modern ones. Both animals were probably tamed by professionals who obtained young animals directly from the wild, or alternatively through agents of those who caught them, sometimes soldiers on duty who caught animals mostly for the *venationes* (Epplett 2001: 213-16). Such trainers acted as mediators transferring the animal from the wilderness to the *domus*, the house.

The owner-users of the tamed species differed greatly. In medieval times and later, in the Levant and in India, until the cheetah became extinct, the class of people who habitually or occasionally hunted aided by tamed cheetahs differed greatly from those husbanding tamed mongooses. The same situation seems to have prevailed in antiquity. The cheetah was a prestige animal associated with ceremonial hunting by royalty and nobility. In contrast, as noted above, tamed mongooses were used to control pests, especially snakes, in rural environments and were also owned by itinerant snake-charmers. Of the six mongoose depictions discussed in the present study, three were tethered by a collar (Sede Nahum, Tabgha and Be'er Shema') and another by a harness (Jerusalem). In the two other cases mentioned above (Houarte in Syria and Qabr Hiram in Lebanon), the mongooses wear no restraining device; hence, the renderings may actually show mongooses fighting in the wild rather than tamed animals. In the case of the Jerusalem mongoose, the same harness type was used as on the cheetah in Lod, as well as in tethering some hounds e.g. as in the Lod or Shechem mosaics. We suggest that the distinction between the ubiquitous use of the collar and the selective use of harnesses was perhaps associated with the specific attitude of the owner toward the animal and the uses for which the animal was intended. The existence, in the Lod mosaics, of several bloody animals killed on one hand, and two instances of different harnessed animals, both used in hunting on the other hand, could also indicate the role the owner sought for the animal. Perhaps the mosaics were made for an avid hunter who owned a hunting cheetah and a favorite pack of hounds. In some North African mosaics, the names of favorite hunting hounds were placed above their depictions (Dunbabin 1978: pl. XIX, 44).

A mongoose tethered by a harness appears in a mosaic in the Jerusalem Orpheo mosaic. We recall the abovementioned special status of the mongoose in Egypt and note that replacing the more common collar with a harness to tether the Jerusalem mongoose would have symbolized (and emphasized) its special status. In contrast, mongooses wearing a collar appeared in rural churches on mosaics depicting the world of everyday life. These included such scenes as a nursing woman, a collared hound harassing a rabbit, a donkey, a bovine, a bear and exotic animals, possibly recording visits by itinerant animal shows. In such a mundane social environment both dogs and the mongoose were tethered by collars.

Conclusions

We have shown that the basic tethering devices used in antiquity to control carnivores in the Southern Levant could have come into use long before the time of the discussed mosaics. It is suggested that there were specific purposes for restraining an animal in certain ways. Putting the tethering device on a given animal, either tamed and/or domesticated, as they appeared on the mosaics studied, had two purposes. Besides depicting real life, the act of tethering symbolized, and drew attention to, the social role of the tethered animal in the given scene. That can be seen by the purely symbolic role of the rope leading from the giraffe's head to the hand of the man leading it. Though functionally useless, that dangling rope symbolized and broadcasted the abstraction of control. The abstract idea of 'control' is the message conveyed by all collars and harnesses. Secondly the details of the tethering system also drew attention to the relationships of the specific animal and its specific owner in real life, somewhat similar to the role of noting the names of selected hounds and preferred (winning?) horses in North African mosaic.

Future archaeological discoveries coupled with examination of ancient written sources from new or unconventional points of view could increase the understanding of man-animal relationships in antiquity by bringing up more insight on additional animals and the use and meaning of the tethering devices involved in managing them.

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Early Byzantine Mosaic Floors of the Church at Ozem, Israel

Ozem Kilisesi'ndeki Erken Bizans Çağı Mozaik Zeminleri, İsrail

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Abstract

In the church at Ozem three phases of mosaics were identified, placed on different levels. The early group (A) includes: 1. Part of the carpet of the nave, decorated by a frame depicting a cross with the Greek letters ΑΩΙΧ, flanked by two lions, an amphora, stylized plants, birds, a donkey and peacocks, and a frame of alternating lotus flowers. The carpet consists of geometric medallions, floral patterns, birds and dedicatory inscriptions. 2. A narrow geometric panel. 3. Two geometric inter-columnar panels of the north colonnade. 4. Part of the mosaic of the northern aisle, decorated with a geometric pattern, and an inscription in a medallion dated to the year 430/1 CE.

Mosaic group B (the second stage of the church) has been preserved to the west of mosaic group A. The mosaics were laid at a 13° deviation to the north in relation to group A. This group is decorated with geometric designs.

Mosaic group C (the third stage of the church) is preserved on the western side of the excavation area. This group is decorated with geometric designs.

Mosaic group A includes Christian symbols: a pair of lions, symbolizing the faithful, depicted on either side of a cross with the letters ἄ(λφα) (καί) ὦ(μέγα) and Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) – Jesus Christ - between its arms, and a peacock, which symbolizes the resurrection awaiting the believers. Group A is characterized by a flat and schematic style, and imperfect placement of the designs in the composition. Because of the difference in heights, it is clear that group B is later than group A. The work shows greater care and is of a better quality, evidence of a different group of artists. The mosaics in group C are the latest in the building.

Keywords: Ozem, lions, cross, Greek Letters ΑΩΙΧ, Edict of the Emperor Theodosius II.

Öz

Ozem'deki kilisede farklı seviyelerde yerleştirilmiş olan mozaiklerde üç evre tespit edilmiştir. Erken Grup (A Grubu); 1. Nef döşemesinin bir parçasında çerçeve içinde bir haç ile Grekçe ΑΩΙΧ harfleri ve iki yanında aslan, bir amphora, stilize bitkiler, kuşlar, bir eşek, tavus kuşu ve alması düzende lotus çiçeklerinden oluşan bir çerçeve görülmektedir. Zeminde geometrik madalyonlar; çiçekli desenler; kuşlar ve adak yazıtları görülmektedir. 2. Dar bir geometrik panel. 3. Kuzey sütun dizisinde sütunlar arasında iki geometrik panel. 4. Geometrik desenle bezenmiş ve 430/1 yılına tarihlenen bir madalyon içinde yazıt olan kuzey koridorundaki mozaığın bir parçası.

Bu gruptaki mozaikler geometrik desenler içermektedir. C Grubu Mozaikleri (kilisenin üçüncü evresi) kazı alanının batısında korunmuştur. C Grubundaki mozaiklerde de geometrik desenler görülmektedir. A Grubundaki mozaiklerde Hristiyanlıkla ilgili semboller görülmektedir: Sadakati temsilen bir çift aslan ἄ(λφα) (καί) ὦ(μέγα) ve Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) - İsa Mesih - harfleri ile bir haçın iki yanına yerleştirilmiştir. İsa Mesih'in kollarında inananları bekleyen yeniden dirilmeyi temsil eden tavus kuşu yer almaktadır. A Grubu düz ve şematik

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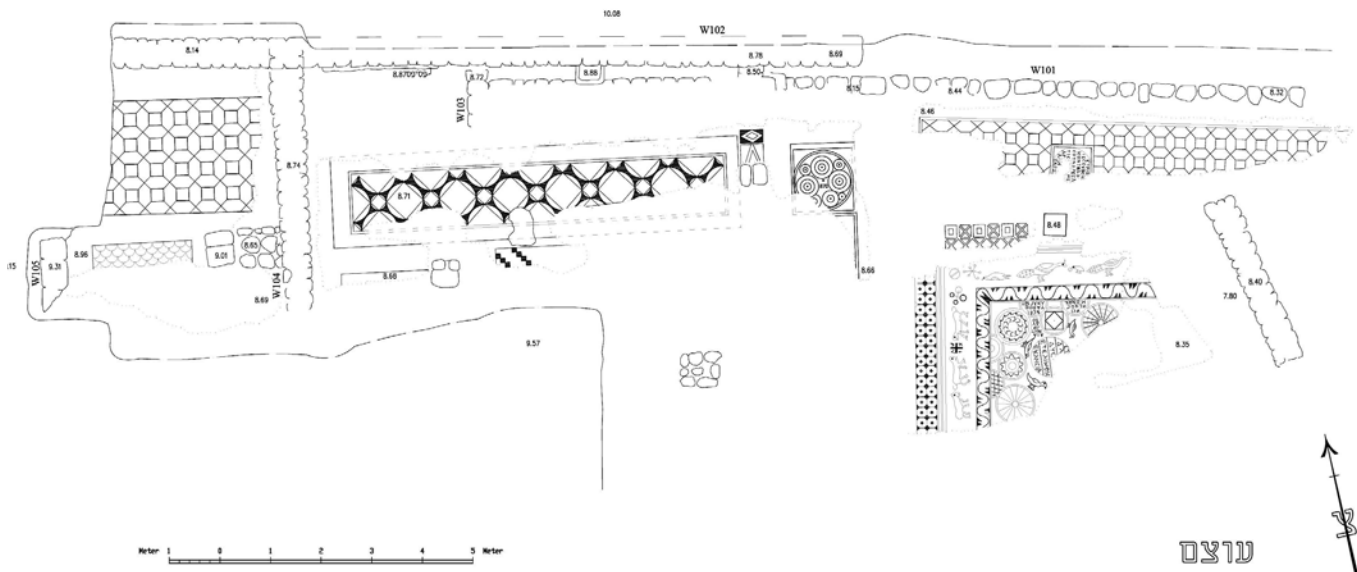
stili, kompozisyondaki desenlerin kusurlu yerleştirilmiş olmasıyla karakterize olmaktadır. Aralarındaki derinlik farkından dolayı B Grubu, A Grubundan daha geç bir döneme aittir. Buradaki işçilik müthiş bir özen ve daha yüksek bir kaliteye sahiptir ve başka bir sanatçı grubuna işaret etmektedir. C Grubu ise yapının en geç tarihli mozaikleridir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Ozem, aslanlar, haç, Grek Harfleri ΑΩΙΧ, İmparator II. Theodosius'un Fermanı.*

The mosaic floors of the basilica at Ozem were uncovered in an unpublished rescue excavation carried out by Ram Gophna on behalf of the Department of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1956¹. The site lies in the southern coastal plain, some 15 km east of Ascalon. There has recently been renewed study of the findings, ahead of their final publication². The partial stratigraphic discussion by the excavator and the limited excavation area make it difficult to reconstruct the church building and its different parts, but the heights of the excavated floor sections appearing in the excavation log make it possible to identify three groups of mosaic floor, laid at different levels, evidence of three stages in the life of the church (Feig 2012; 2016; Habas 2016) (Fig. 1).

This article will first describe the mosaics, and then make a technical and stylistic analysis of the carpets, the design of the motifs, the composition, and the iconographic meaning.

Figure 1
Mosaic floors of the church at Ozem.



1 Antiquities Department archive file, October 8, 1957, Khirbet Beit Mamin, no. 4002. The church is mentioned briefly in Yeivin 1960: 45; Ovadiah 1970: 151-152 no. 151; Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987: 117, pls. CXXIX-CXXXI no. 199; Bagatti 2002: 149; Feig 2012: 151; TIR: 198, s.v. 'Ozem. The inscriptions inset in the mosaic floors have been published at length by Leah Di Segni, who gives references to earlier publications (Di Segni 2012: 153-158 no. 1). My grateful thanks for their cooperation to Nurit Feig, Jacques Neguer, Galeb Abu Diab and ArieH Rochman-Halperin of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), and Ayala Oppenheimer, Mishkan Museum of Art, Ein Harod. The illustrations are courtesy of the Antiquities Authority.

2 Nurit Feig of IAA took part in the renewed research and publication, studying the church plans and the stratigraphy (Feig 2012; 2016). Leah Di Segni of the Hebrew University read and interpreted the Greek inscriptions (Di Segni 2012), and Lihi Habas, also of the Hebrew University, studied the mosaic floors and liturgical furniture (Habas 2016).

Mosaics Group A: The First – Ancient – Phase of the Church (Fig. 2)



Figure 2
Ancient phase A – general view to
the east.

The Nave Mosaics

a. The central carpet (Fig. 3) is surrounded by two borders. The wide outer border has survived in part, and all the motifs are depicted on a white background, with small diamonds between them. An amphora is placed diagonally in the north-western corner, its neck towards the centre of the carpet. Nearby, on the northern side, a bird turns towards a schematic branch with red flowers, sucking nectar from one of the flowers. The amphora, the shrub and the bird are viewed from north to south. Close to them is a pair of peacocks, walking one after another towards the east. Between the peacocks, a small bird faces west towards a small basket. The direction from which the peacocks are viewed is from south to north. By the amphora on the western side is a large flowering branch and by it, a Latin cross with a pair of lions in heraldic array on either side (Fig. 4). Above the horizontal arm of the cross are the letters A Ω, and beneath it are the letters I X. Nearby, a donkey is depicted facing the cross. These motifs are all viewed from east to west.

The inner border is narrower (Fig. 5) and is decorated with a pattern of lotus flowers, lying in alternating opposite directions against the usual dark background (Avi-Yonah 1933: B9; Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987: B9; Décor I: pl. 62a, c)³. This border is common in mosaic floors in the region (Habas 2016: 274 and the reference there).

³ Definitions of the patterns from: Avi-Yonah 1933; Ovadiah 1980; Décor I; Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987.



Figure 3
Mosaics group A: nave carpet.

Figure 4
Lions flanking a cross and the letters A Ω, I, X, in the border of the nave carpet.



Three corners of the rectangular carpet have survived, enabling its dimensions to be determined. It is decorated with geometric medallions. There is a large medallion in the centre of the carpet, and four medium-sized medallions in the corners (of which three have survived), with smaller medallions between them. Semicircles touch the border, in which there are geometric motifs and inscriptions. All the medallions and the semicircles by the border are designed in a double frame, other than the central medallion. In the background and between the medallions there are birds, and alongside them, inscriptions and diamonds randomly filling the area.



Figure 5
Nave carpet: border, medallions and
geometric semicircles, and inscription.



Figure 6
Nave carpet: inscription in the central
medallion.

The inscription in the central medallion has been partially preserved (Fig. 6): “In the year [5]34, in the month Dystros, the church was finished”. Year [5]34 of the era of Ascalon corresponds to AD 430/1 (trans. Di Segni 2012: 153).

Set in the south-western medallion is a radial type ‘harmonic shield’ (Ovadia 1980: pl. XXX fig. 80) (Fig. 7). The shield is made up of ribs in white, grey, light and dark orange, red, and black, separated from each other by white rows. In the centre is a small circle, divided by a brown outline into four coloured quarters (brown, orange and beige). In the north-western medallion (Fig. 5) there are concentric circles decorated with a braid and a schematic laurel wreath, whose design recalls a herringbone pattern, and a ‘Solomon’s knot’ in the centre (Décor I: 42). In the north-eastern medallion (Fig. 8) is a ‘harmonic shield’ of the concentric circle type, each circle made up of coloured squares and rectangles (white, brown and orange). The diameter of the concentric circles gradually decreases towards the middle, where there is a central circle divided into quarters, coloured white and purple (Décor I: pl. 335a).

Between the large medallions on the western side is a medallion (Fig. 9) containing concentric geometric/flower patterns: a schematic flower with edges decorated in alternating grey and orange, and petals coloured orange, brown and black. The centre of the flower is decorated with coloured concentric circles surrounded by a rope pattern.

Between the large medallions on the northern side is a medallion (Fig. 3), in which there is a square containing a diamond designed in a rope pattern. Within the diamond is a circle, divided into four. The corners of the square are decorated with a rainbow pattern in black, orange, grey and purple.

In the space formed between the medallions and the border on the western side are two semicircles. The northern one (Fig. 5) contains concentric semicircles

in grey, brown, and orange. The southern one (Fig. 3) has a colourful net pattern, schematically imitating a shell motif. In the space between the medallions and the border on the northern side are two semicircles containing dedicatory inscriptions. The text written in and outside the north-western circle reads: “Nestabos the reader. Iaia his mother”, and in the north-eastern circle: “Zonenos the monk” (trans. Di Segni 2012: 154-157) (Fig. 3).



Figure 7
Nave carpet: radial harmonic shield medallion.



Figure 8
Nave carpet: harmonic shield medallion of the concentric circles type.

The decoration in the corners of the carpet, that is, the space formed between the medallions and the border, is not precise and in some places spills over and fills the space between the medallions. The south-western and north-eastern corners of the carpet are decorated with a rainbow pattern (Fig. 8). The north-western

corner is decorated with lines/waves in grey, orange and black. The north-eastern corner has not survived.

b. A long, narrow panel has survived to the west of the carpet, which is likely to have extended the entire width of the nave. The carpet is geometric, and decorated with a pattern of a grid of squares containing small diamonds (Fig. 10).



Figure 9
Nave carpet: geometric medallion and bird.

Figure 10
Geometric panel to the west of the nave.



The grid and the diamonds are formed with a black outline, and the diamonds are filled in orange. In the centre of each diamond is a single white stone. Scattered around the panel are simple diamonds of different sizes.

c. On either side of the base of the only column that has survived *in situ* out of the northern row of columns of the basilica, two geometric panels have been preserved (Fig. 11). The panel on the eastern side is partly preserved and is decorated with a grid of dark coloured diamonds containing white circles. Around the edges, white triangles are formed. The panel on the west side (Fig. 12) consists of a grid of interlaced squares and diamonds in the centre (Avi-Yonah 1933: H2; Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987: H2), and a grid of diamonds and triangles at the sides. The grid of squares is populated alternately by small squares and Xs creating four triangles, each decorated in varying colours of red, pale red, beige, grey, light brown, orange, pale yellow, and white. Despite the simple geometric pattern, the use of a variety of colours creates a very rich panel. Nearby, along the western edges are black-outlined lozenge shapes, in which are concentric lozenges in reddish and grey colours.

d. The north aisle is decorated with a geometric mosaic (Fig. 2), of which the north-western corner has survived. The aisle mosaic is surrounded by a simple border of lines, and decorated with a grid of interlaced octagons in which squares are set. The interlacing of the octagons creates hexagons surrounding the squares (Avi-Yonah 1933: H3; Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987: H3; Décor I: pl. 128a). Small lozenges facing in different directions populate the squares and hexagons, and small triangles decorate the opposing corners of each hexagon, thus forming a dense and crowded grid⁴. Inset in the geometric grid is a large square, in which there is a medallion containing a Greek inscription (Fig. 13). The inscription reads from west to east: “Lord Jesus, help thy handmaid Marcella, for she founded [a holy church (?) of - -] and of Virgin Mary” (trans. Di Segni 2012: 157). The space formed between the medallion and the corners of the square is

Figure 11
Ancient phase A –column base – view to the west.

Figure 12
Western panel between columns.



Figure 13
Greek inscription in the northern aisle.

⁴ The carpet was left in situ and covered. Only black and white photographs remain, and therefore it is not possible to note the colours of the carpet.

decorated with a zigzag pattern in grey, orange, light brown, purple, black, and beige. The borders surrounding the carpet are white, and are decorated with small diamonds, far apart from each other at irregular distances.

Technical and Stylistic Analysis of the Central Carpet

The mosaic is made up of figurative, plant, and geometric motifs, schematically and imprecisely designed, and no care is given to proportional relations between the different motifs. The components are designed with a dark outline and have a generally flat appearance, with no attempt to create any illusion of volume. The elements of the composition are carelessly drawn.

Design of the Inanimate Objects

The amphora (Fig. 14) is made up of a round body, short neck, and two carrying handles on the shoulders. All of the details are outlined in black. The spherical body is divided around its width by two parallel lines, between which there are orange, grey, and yellow squares. The lower part of the amphora is reddish in colour, on which an unclear motif is depicted. The upper part of the vessel is divided into a grey area, an orange/light brown area, and a grey neck. The ornamentation is decorative and flat.

Figure 14
Amphora set in the border of the nave carpet.



The cross (Fig. 4) is outlined in orange and filled with yellow and beige tesserae. Light and dark brown tesserae are distributed at random, and do not create the gemstone motif common in *crux gemmata* type crosses.

Design of the Geometric Motifs

The radial and converging harmonic shields (Figs. 7-8), the shell, and the geometric motifs are designed in a variety of colours. However, all the motifs are very flat, other than the Solomon's knot motif (Fig. 5), whose loops are drawn accurately and given volume by the use of graduated colour, from light to dark, and emphasizing the points where the loops meet with single white stones. The absence of a preliminary scheme before laying the mosaic resulted in the motifs being positioned imprecisely and carelessly. The medallions and semicircles

overlap each other, sometimes cutting through each other, and sometimes becoming smaller or larger in order to fill a space. The sides of the squares that are set inside each other are unequal, and a distorted pattern is formed. Thus the design of the rope and laurel wreath pattern is careless to the point where the latter becomes a geometric pattern rather than a vegetal motif (Avi-Yonah 1933: A18). The little birds and diamonds fill the background in a random manner, without prior planning of the composition, and are inaccurately designed. The rainbow pattern and the wave patterns that decorate the corners of the carpet have also lost their characteristic three-dimensional nature, due to the absence of graduated colours. The rows of colours (pink, black, and grey) do not create the necessary sense of volume.

The lack of sophisticated use of colours in the design of the harmonic shields, and the placing of colours at random, rather than graduated as is usual in this pattern, turn the shields into relatively flat patterns, in which the characteristic illusion of circular movement is limited. This contrasts with the typical harmonic shield design made up of colourful squares laid in diagonal lines, gradually increasing towards the outer edge and thus creating the illusion of circular movement, endlessly converging or opening out, such as those that appear in the Antioch mosaics in the 'House of the Amazonomachy', the Bath of Apolausis, and the mosaic from Daphne, dated to the second half of the 5th century AD (Levi 1947: II: pls. LXVIIIb, CXXIa, CXXIIIa; Cimok 2000: 238, 240 figs. on pp. 238, 240). The pattern is similarly found in the centre of the nave in the churches of Israel, sometimes by dedicatory inscriptions, such as in the Church of Bishop John at Gan Yavneh (AD 511) (Habas 2012a: 131 figs. 1, 4; 2012b: 510-511 fig. 15), and in the church at Khirbet el-Shubeika (AD 785/6), where a Greek cross is set in the centre of the shield (Syon 2003: 79 figs. 3, 7). In Jordan, it appears in the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damianus (AD 623/4) at Khirbat Dariya (Karasneh 1997: 28-30, 33-34 figs. 12, 18; Habas 2012b: 508-599 fig. 12). The colourful, flat depiction of the radial harmonic shield in the church at Ozem has similar parallels, where the ribs of the shield are coloured, and each rib is decorated in a different, uniform colour. In these cases, the illusion of circular movement is obtained by means of the curving ends of the ribs of the shield, reminiscent of a weathervane, as in the upper floor of the synagogue at Horvat Susiya (Peleg 2006: 67-68 fig. 98), and the mosaic of the church in the monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir (Talgam 1999: 111 fig. 13). A perfect illusion of infinite circular movement is achieved in radial harmonic shields in which each rib is designed in a colour laid in a diagonal line, creating the illusion of movement, as in the church of Khaldé-Choueifat, Lebanon (Chéhab 1957: 112; 1959: pl. LXXII.2; Donceel-Voûte 1988: I: fig. 351, II pl. 15).

Design of the Vegetal Motifs

In the lotus flowers of the border (Figs. 3, 5), the lower part of the cup is grey and orange, while the upper part is beige and white. The absence of graduated colours creates flat flowers. A flat design, but one which uses two shades for the lower part of each lotus cup, is found in the burial chapel of the Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, dated to the last quarter of the 5th century AD (Talgam 1999: 113, 116 fig. 18), in the nave of the synagogue at Ma'on (Nirim) (Avi-Yonah 1960: 86 pl. 92), and in a floor from Daphne-Antioch, dated to the 5th century AD (Cimok 2000: 48 fig. 9).

The Design of the Figurative Components

The design of the little birds, both in the border and in the carpet (Figs. 3, 6, 9), makes use of black lines to depict the outside of the body and the wing. The upper part is dark, while the abdomen is light in colour. The feet are shown in purple, a black dot denotes the eyes, and the triangular beaks are red. The depiction of the bird to the south-west of the central medallion is slightly different: the bird's body is decoratively embellished by lines of stones in different colours.

The peacocks are designed in the same way (Figs. 3, 15): the body is shades of black, while the upper part is designed as a half-ellipse in orange, and beneath it rows of brown stones follow the elliptical outline. The wing is indicated by two rows of light brown stones, separated from each other by a row of black tesserae. A single grey stone marks the eye. While the head, neck and body are depicted from the side, the peacock's long tail is shown from above, revealing

Figure 15
Peacock set in the border of the
nave carpet.



the decorative eyes of the tail feathers. Each eye appears as a light brown circle, within which there is an orange circle, and at the centre, a single black stone. The depiction of the peacocks combining two viewpoints originates in the accepted formula in use in Roman and Byzantine mosaics (Habas 2016: 279-280 and the reference there).

The pair of lions (Fig. 4) is designed very schematically and the proportions of the body parts are distorted. The body is outlined with a brown line, filled in yellow, with scattered brown and beige stones. The mane is denoted by parallel orange diagonal lines. A small black circle surrounding a white stone marks the eyes. The mouth is open, revealing a red tongue. The paws are shown as alternating black and red dots, and the tail curls up in a semicircle. The donkey (Fig. 3) is depicted with a black outline filled with alternating rows of black and orange following the outline of the body. His tail is short, and his hoofs are shown with black, orange and white dots.

The decorative depiction of coloured rows in the little bird and the donkey, the uniform fill of the bodies of the other birds and the lions, and the lack of varied and graduated colours – all these give the animals a flat and schematic design, far from the natural model. The mosaic tesserae in the empty areas between the motifs were laid in different directions, and as a result the motifs are swallowed up in the background. In only a few cases, it can be seen that the rows of tesserae were laid following the outline of the motifs – a method that could have made the components of the composition more prominent.

The size of the stones is not uniform, varying from one motif to another, between 0.5 cm² and 1.8 cm². Even the cutting of the stones into a general shape of a square or rectangle is characterized by a lack of precision. The density of the tesserae per square decimetre is 64 (the lotus border and the lion), 81 (medallions) or 100 (peacocks).

Researchers determine the quality of laying mosaics according to the density of tesserae per square decimetre. According to Avi-Yonah, group A of the mosaics at Ozem are of high quality (a density of 42 – 100 tesserae per square decimetre), while according to Dauphin, they are of medium quality (a density of 60 – 110 tesserae per square decimetre) (Avi-Yonah 1934: 72; Dauphin 1976: 123-125, 133 fig. 6). Tesserae of coloured limestone were used for the mosaic, while the grey tesserae are made of grey veined marble.

The Compositional Array

The iconographic plan whereby the motifs and inscriptions face in different directions forces the worshipper to move in all directions, in and around the panel, in order to see one motif or another. This movement is heightened by the four large medallions, set in the corners of the carpet and decorated with harmonic shields, which are characterized by the illusion of infinite circular movement, causing the worshipper to stop and focus his gaze on the centre of the carpet – on the inscription set in the central medallion, marking completion of construction of the church, and read from west to east. Turning to the north the worshipper will see a pair of peacocks, and the other inscriptions can be read when standing on the northern side of the panel or in the northern aisle and looking towards the south. The depiction of the lions on either side of the cross on the western side of the border can be seen by the worshipper when standing in the nave and looking west – towards the exit.

The choice of a carpet for the nave that is complex and rich in motifs, by comparison with the simple geometric carpet in the northern aisle, expresses the hierarchic approach that exists in the mosaics adorning the churches and synagogues in the Byzantine period. The hierarchy indicates the importance given to the nave of the basilica, and the tendency to decorate secondary spaces, including the aisles, with simple geometric or vegetal nets (Habas 2016: 280 and the reference there).

The Iconographic Meaning

The Lions in Antithetical Array and the Cross

The antithetical array is very common in mosaic floors in the churches of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (Donceel-Voûte 1988: I: 478-479; Habas 2005: I:

136-139, 154-158, 206-208, 364-378; Hachlili 2009: 199-208). This is a composition that takes the animals out of context, landscape, and movement, and places them facing a central, inanimate motif, dedicatory inscription, vegetal motif, or religious symbol. An antithetical array of lions and lionesses is frequently found in mosaic floors in Israel, such as in the churches at Hazor-Ashdod, Khirbat 'Asida, Horvat Be'er Shem'a, and the burial chapel of Saint Stephen in Mount Zion in Jerusalem, as well as in the synagogues at Hammath Tiberias, Hammath Gader, Na'aran, and Ma'on (Nirim). In Jordan, it can be seen in the Lower Chapel of the Priest John in Khirbat al-Mukhayat, the chapel of Suwayfiyah, the church at Petra, and the Church of the Lions at Umm al-Rasas (Habas 2016: 281 and the reference there).

In the church at Ozem, the pair of lions in antithetical array faces towards a Latin cross. Above the horizontal arm of the cross are the Greek letters *alpha* and *omega*, which are an accepted abbreviation of ἄ(λφα) (καί) ὤ(μέγα), referring to the words of Jesus in Revelation 1:8: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, says the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come"; and in Revelation 22:13: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end". Below the horizontal arm are the Greek letters *iota-chi*, representing Ἰ (ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) (Avi-Yonah 1940: 53, 73).

The choice of placing a lion next to a cross and the Greek letters Α, Ω, Ι, Χ is not coincidental. In ancient cultures the lion is described as having divine qualities, and is a symbol of power and strength. Accordingly, gods and heroes adopted the figure of the lion (Charbonneau-Lassay 1974: 35-37; Pollitt 1986: 26, 36-37). In Judaism, the lion appears on King Solomon's throne as a symbol of government (1 Kings 10: 20) and in Jacob's blessing (Genesis 49: 9-10), and was one of the four creatures in the vision of Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1:10), and in this way passed into Christianity (Revelation 5:8; 6:5-6). The positive qualities of the lion as a symbol of strength and courage in antiquity and its appearance in Jacob's blessing led the Church Fathers to draw an analogy with Jesus Christ, based on John's vision in Revelation 5:5: "Then one of the elders said to me, Do not weep! See, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has triumphed. He is able to open the scroll and its seven seals", and to see it as a symbol of the Resurrection.

Origen, Epiphanius, and the Physiologus quoted a legend from the writings of Aristotle, Pliny and Plutarch, telling of a lioness who gave birth to dead cubs, and for three days the cubs gave no sign of life. On the third day the lion returned and brought them back to life with a roar or exhalation, and the Christian meaning is: "Just so did the Father Omnipotent raise Our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead on the third day" (trans. White 1954: 8; French 1994: 279; Kalof 2007: 46; Salisbury 2011: 86). The Church Fathers also drew an analogy with the story of Christ resurrected after three days (Acts of the Apostles 26:23), and according to Paul, Christ will bring his followers back to life (Epistle to the Romans 6). Another legend describes the lion sleeping in the desert with his eyes open, and the Church Fathers interpreted this thus: "In this very way, Our Lord also, while sleeping in the body, was buried after being crucified - yet his Godhead was awake. As it is said in the *Song of Songs*, 'I am asleep and my heart is awake', or in the *Psalms* 'Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep'..." (Etymologies 12, 2: 4-5; trans. White 1954: 8; Barney et al. 2006: 251). Hilarius and Augustine drew a parallel between the unique way in which the lion slept and the ever-watchfulness of the Messiah, who sees all and protects the souls of the faithful from all harm, like the Good Shepherd keeping his flock (in Charbonneau-Lassay 1974: 37-44). The lion symbolizes the Evangelist Mark,

because he dealt a great deal with the resurrection of the Messiah and emphasized the kingdom of Christ (Ferguson 1961: 21-22), as in the words of Jerome: “Mark is depicted as a lion because his gospel tells mainly of the resurrection; and indeed they say that for three days after they are born, lion cubs sleep like the dead, and then they are woken by the roars of the mother lioness...”. These interpretations were adopted in Christian iconography (Testini 1985: 1147-1150; Baudry 2009: 108-109).

The appearance of crosses in mosaic floors in churches in the Holy Land is common, and mosaic floors that have been exposed show that crosses also adorned the inside of both secular and religious buildings. In ecclesiastical buildings, crosses of different types are found in different areas (Hachlili 2009: 224-226 fig. XI: 2 pl. XI:2), visible to all, in passages between one area and another, at the front of the entrances and liturgical areas, and in the liturgical spaces.

There are many examples from Israel, including two crosses which were uncovered in the Monastery at Umm Deimine, one of them at the entrance to the chapel (Amir 2012: 447, 481 fig. 46: 6; Magen - Batz - Sharuk 2012: 455-456 figs. 4 26-27). Other examples include two crosses set into the nave pavement of the East Church at Mamshit (Mampsis). The first, a Maltese cross, is situated in front of the main entrance. The second, a Greek cross, is situated in front of the bema (Negev 1988: 41-42 photos 40-42). In the Church of Saint Bacchus at Horvat Tinshemet, a cross appears at the entrance to the northern aisle (Dahari 2012: 106 figs. 4, 6). Crosses also decorate the centre of the halls, as in the Northern Chapel of the church at ‘Anab el-Kabir (Amir 2012: 452 fig. 10; Magen - Peleg - Sharukh 2012: 349, 361-362 figs. 1, 4, 24, 39); in the Monastery Church at Khirbet Yattir (Eshel - Magness - Shenhav 2000: 158 figs. 7, 10; Bordowicz 2007: 75-77 figs. 31, 71, 94-95); in the northern chapel of the Central Church at Beit ‘Anun (Amir 2012: 457 fig. 48:3; Magen 2012: 153 figs. 34, 63); and in the northern aisle of the church at Shavei Zion (Avi-Yonah 1967: 49 pls. XXVIII-XXIX, XLb plans 2, 7).

Crosses are frequently located at the eastern end of the halls (the nave and the aisles), and at the front of the liturgical spaces (bema and sacristies), thus emphasizing the transition from the open space intended for lay worshippers to the enclosed space in which the ritual was held, intended only for the clergy: crosses appear at the eastern end of the nave of the church at Khirbet Zur (Batz - Sharukh 2012: 16-17 figs. 13, 19), in the church at Khirbet el-Shubeika (AD 785/6) (Syon 2003: 79 fig. 7), and in the southern aisle of the Church of Saint Bacchus at Horvat Tinshemet (Dahari 2012: 106 figs. 4, 7).

In the liturgical spaces crosses sometimes emphasised the apses, as in the church at Khirbet el-Beiyûdât (Hizmi 1990: 252-254 fig. 6 plan on p. 246); in the church at Khirbet Umm er-Rus (Magen - Kagan 2012: 126 figs. 238:1, 238:3); in the Southern Chapel of the monastery at Beth Hashitta (Aharoni 1954: 212 fig. 1 pl. 7:2); in the Western Church at Tel Keriouth (Govrin 2006: 46-47, 115-116 figs. 31-32, 109 pl. 14); and in the Western Church at Horvat Qastra (Finkielsztein 2005: 442-443 figs. 10-11)⁵. Crosses also mark altar tables or offering tables, as in the church at Shavei Zion (Avi-Yonah 1967: 48 pls. VIIb, X-XI, XXVIIb, XXXVIIIb plans 4, 8). In these depictions in liturgical spaces, the cross emphasizes the Eucharist ritual that takes place in the bema or in the apse, and the sacrifice of Christ.

5 My deepest gratitude for pictures and cooperation to the excavator Gérald Finkielsztein, IAA.

Depictions of crosses accompanied by the Greek letters ΑΩ are also found in Israel, such as in the centre of the southern aisle of the church at Aluma⁶, the church at Tiberias,⁷ the narthex of the church at Nesher,⁸ and the chapel at Horvat Hermeshit (Greenhut 1998: 122 fig. 4). They have been found in Jordan, at the entrance to a private house in Tell Ma'in (Piccirillo - Acconci 1997: 488-489 figs. 1-2), and in the northern apse of the church at Hufa al-Wastiyah (Abu Dalu 1994: 13 figs. 5, 11). A monogrammatic cross appears in the cave/grotto at Nazareth (Bagatti 1967: 99 fig. 55), and in the north-western room of the church at Evron (AD 442/3) (Ovadia - Ovadia 1987: 59-60 pl. XLIX.2 no. 80).

Roussin saw the cross and the Christogram as the most common Christian symbols in the mosaic floors of churches in the Holy Land; however, Talgam drew attention to the fact that despite the discovery of crosses in many churches, they are still few in number by comparison with the hundreds of churches adorned with mosaics that do not contain crosses (Roussin 1985: 59-74; Talgam 2014: 477).

The appearance of crosses in mosaic floors in churches would seem to be surprising, because it contravenes the edict issued in AD 427 by the Emperor Theodosius II prohibiting crosses on floors: "It being our concern to preserve by all means the faith in God Supreme, we hereby decree that no-one shall carve or draw the sign of the Lord our Saviour on the floor or on a slab of marble laid over the ground; those that are found shall be removed, and whoever dares to break this law shall be punished with a heavy fine" (*Cod. Just.* I, viii; trans. Mango 1986: 36). However, this edict had little influence on the mosaics of our region. The lack of compliance with the prohibition of Theodosius is attested to by the archaeological evidence of crosses carved in stone or incorporated in the mosaic floors in churches in Israel and Transjordan (Habas 2005: I: 313-315, 372-373; 2015; in print; Hachlili 2009: 225-226), Syria, and Lebanon (Donceel-Voûte 1988: I: 17-18, 22, 28, 262, 265-266, 428, 436). The survey of crosses in mosaic floors in churches and chapels in the Holy Land, all of which were built and embellished with mosaics after the edict was announced, testifies to the gap between the spirit of the edict and reality on the ground (Habas 2005: I: 370-373, 378-384; 2015, where there is a detailed discussion and references).

Evidence of failure to comply with the edict can also be found in the fact that another edict was published in AD 691, included in the canons of the Ecumenical Council in Trullo. Canon LXXIII renews the edict of Theodosius, and repeats the prohibition against representing and depicting the cross in inappropriate places: "Since the life-giving cross has shown to us Salvation, we should be careful that we render due honour to that by which we were saved from the ancient fall. Wherefore, in mind, in word, in feeling giving veneration to it, we command that the figure of the cross, which some have placed on the floor, be entirely removed there from, lest the trophy of the victory won for us be desecrated by the trampling under foot of those who walk over it. Therefore those who from this present represent on the pavement the sign of the cross, we decree are to be cut off".⁹ This points to the continued existence of crosses in church

6 The church at Aluma has not been published yet. My deepest gratitude for pictures and cooperation to the excavator Daniel Varga, IAA.

7 Not yet published, excavated by M. Hartal, IAA.

8 Not yet published, excavated by S. Kol-Yakov, University of Haifa.

9 H. R. Percival (ed.), *The Seven Ecumenical Councils. The Council in Trullo: Quinisext Council*, Published by P. Schaff, New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886; Trans. <http://mb-soft.com/believe/txud/counci34.htm> ch. Pidalion, *Canons of the Orthodox Church*, Athens, 1957, 283.

floors in practice (Kitzinger 1970: 646-647 note 39; Tzaferis 1971: 61-63). As a symbol of redemption, protection, health and good fortune, the cross has become a powerful divine symbol, and the personal symbol of Christ. These meanings explain why the imperial decree was not upheld, despite the conflict of potential desecration of the sacred symbol because some of the crosses were in places where people would walk and step on them. Hence the opinion of those who consider the date AD 427 as the *terminus post quem* for cross representations must be rejected, since crosses were placed in mosaic floors before, during and after the edicts were issued.

The Peacocks

The cross and the letters ΑΩ and ΙΧ therefore represent Christ. The appearance of the peacocks underlines the salvation and redemption that Jesus brings to his followers, an aspect that stems from the peacock being a symbol of resurrection in pagan cultures. Aristotle and Pliny attributed to the peacock the ability to preserve its body, and not to decay. The peacock loses its beautiful tail feathers before the winter, and grows them again in the spring, and thus became a symbol of resurrection of the dead (Aristot. hist. an. X, 7; Plin.nat. X, XXII, 43-44; Leclercq 1937: 1075-1076; Blanchard-Lemée 1996: 255). In Roman Imperial iconography, peacocks accompany the souls of the Roman Empresses to heaven in scenes of the imperial *apotheosis* (Charbonneau-Lassay 1974: 623; Dunbabin 1978: 166; Testini 1985: 1125). The pagan concept of the indestructible body of the peacock and the fact that it was a symbol of resurrection and eternity were adopted in Christianity, and passed into its iconography. They are manifested, among other things, in the church mosaic floors (Habas 2005: I: 443-447; 2014: 149).

Mosaics Group B (The Second Phase of the Church)

a. In the west of the church at Ozem is a long and narrow carpet (Figs. 1, 16). The carpet is surrounded by a simple double border (Avi-Yonah 1933: A1) in grey and white, and inside it a frame of interlaced circles. The interlaces are made up of two ribbons in graduated colours: one ribbon is grey, white, beige, yellow-light brown, and grey. The other ribbon is grey, beige, pink, orange, and grey. The circles are interlaced in a loop, emphasized in the centre with a single white stone. The carpet is decorated with a rich geometric grid, made up of large and small white circles in a central row, and semicircles touching the border. In the circles of the central row are large and small diamonds, and set in them are various interlaces on a dark background. Set in the semicircles are triangles, and in them are geometric interlaces and patterns.

The geometric grid is complex, and *trompe-l'oeil* illusions are created between its elements, since the space formed between the circles and the semicircles creates a kind of hourglass pattern, emphasized with a dark colour, and the space between the different diamonds and the triangles creates white frameworks in which these hourglasses are set, in alternating yellow and red. The large diamonds are populated by a variety of interlaces: a guilloche made up of three ribbons, a square guilloche with curving ribbons (Fig. 17), and a square guilloche with angular ribbons (Fig. 18). The small diamonds are populated by a Solomon's knot with alternate rounded loops (Fig. 19), and angular loops (Fig. 20) (Avi-Yonah 1933: I11; Ovadiah 1980: I4; Décor I: 42-43 pl. 409e). The triangles next to the border are populated by colourful interlaces and crow-steps (Ovadiah 1980: A5-6). In the surrounding margins are small diamonds.



Figure 16
Mosaics group B: long, narrow geometric carpet.



Figure 17
Long, narrow geometric carpet: square guilloche interlace with curling ribbons.



Figure 18
Long, narrow geometric carpet:
square guilloche interlace with
angular ribbons.



Figure 19
Long, narrow geometric carpet:
Solomon's knot with rounded loops.



Figure 20
Long, narrow geometric carpet:
Solomon's knot with angular
loops and graduated triangle.

Technical and Stylistic Analysis

As in the border, the artist has also used graduated colours to design the ribbons that make up the interlace in the carpet. In this way, a three-dimensional illusion has been created in the patterns.

Most of the tesserae are square or rectangular, cut in varying sizes, and some are cut into triangles as necessary. Their size is between 1, 1.2, and 1.5 cm. The tesserae are laid carefully and well, as is the design of the patterns. The density of the tesserae in square decimetres is 42 and 64 in the border, and 72, 81, and 90 in the carpet interlaces. Similar to mosaics group A, mosaics group B is defined as high quality by Avi-Yonah, and medium quality by Dauphin (Avi-Yonah 1934: 72; Dauphin 1976: 123-125, 133 fig. 6). Most of the tesserae are made of

limestone, in red, pink, white, brown, yellow, and beige; the grey tesserae are veined grey marble, and the red tesserae are terracotta. The background stones are laid in accordance with the nearest pattern, thus emphasizing it.

b. To the south of the long carpet, part of a small panel has survived, decorated with rows of squares laid in colours creating multi-coloured diagonal stripes (Fig. 21).

c. To the east of the long carpet, part of a narrow panel has survived, decorated with lozenges laid in different directions - one light on a dark background, and the other light on a light background.

d. In the east a square panel has survived, inset with a circle populated by eight concentric circles of different sizes, around a square guilloche set in the centre. The corners of the square are decorated with a rainbow pattern. The square panel was originally part of a narrow carpet, made up of several squares and spread across the width of the nave, of which only the remains of the border have survived. Small diamonds were set in the surrounding margins (Fig. 22).

Mosaics Group C (The Third - Late – Phase of the Church)¹⁰

a. On the north-western side a carpet was uncovered, decorated with a pattern of interconnected octagons set with small squares (Fig. 1), which is identical to the north aisle floor of the ancient church (Avi-Yonah 1933: H3; Ovadiah 1980: H3).

b. On the south-western side, the remains of a carpet decorated with a scale pattern were found (Fig. 1) (Ovadiah 1980: J3).

The Date of the Mosaics

Mosaics group A is dated to AD 430/1 – the date of completion of construction of the ancient church, which appears in an inscription in the nave carpet. The palaeography – the square letters – is also characteristic of the 5th century AD. Also characteristic of the 5th century AD is the flat style of the mosaics, the geometric trend, and the different viewpoints. The mention of Virgin Mary in the northern aisle without the title Theotokos also, in the opinion of Di Segni, points to a date prior to the first Council of Ephesus (AD 431), at which Mary was proclaimed Mother of God. Following this declaration, many churches were dedicated to Maria Theotokos (Di Segni 2012: 157).

Due to the differences in heights, it is clear that mosaics group B is later than group A, and there is a clear difference in the quality of laying the mosaics, which is careful and good quality in group B. The different hints at a different group of artists. Mosaics group C is the latest in the building. The date at which the church was abandoned is not clear, and it was destroyed due to building in the Middle Ages.

Conclusions

The three stages in the mosaic floors of the church at Ozem add to our understanding of the internal developments in the history of the church, whose construction began in AD 430/1, and which continued to function through the 5th and the beginning of the 6th centuries, with renovations to its structure and

¹⁰ The carpets remain in situ. No details were found in the Antiquities Department archive file on the mosaics group C, other than their mention in the plan of the church.

Figure 21
Panel of squares creating colored
diagonal lines to the south of the long,
narrow geometric carpet.



Figure 22
Panel of circles.



decoration. We also learn about the choice of motifs, and the technical and stylistic changes that took place between the different stages.

The names of the donors appearing in the dedicatory inscriptions, which include women and men from the Christian community alongside the name of a monk, testify to cooperation between the clergy and the lay members of the community in the construction and adornment of the church – a common phenomenon that appears in many inscriptions found on mosaic floors in the churches of the Holy Land.

The cross and the letters A Ω , and I X in a mosaic floor dated to AD 430/1 provide another example contributing to the survey of crosses in mosaic floors in churches and chapels in the Holy Land, all of which were built and embellished with mosaics after the edict issued in AD 427 by the Emperor Theodosius II prohibiting crosses on floors, and testifies to the gap between the spirit of the edict and reality on the ground.

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Sinop Balatlar Kazısında Ortaya Çıkarılmaya Başlanan Erken Bizans Dönemi Döşeme Mozaikleriyle İlgili İlk Veriler

First Data on the Floor Mosaics of an Early Byzantine Church Being Excavated Recently in Sinop Balatlar

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Öz

Sinop'ta Balatlar Kilisesi adıyla tanınan yapı kalıntısı, aslında Geç Roma Dönemi'ne ait bir imparatorluk hamam kompleksidir. 2010 yılından beri yapılan arkeolojik kazılar, yapının daha erken döneme ait kalıntılar üzerine, Geç Roma Dönemi hamamı olarak inşa edildiğini, buluntuların da İÖ 6. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyıla kadar geçen uzun bir sürece ait olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Hristiyanlığın resmi din olarak ilan edildiği 4. yüzyıl sonu ya da 5. yüzyılda hamamın caldariumu kiliseye, tepidariumu avluya ve frigidarium bölümü de mezarlık / gömü alanına dönüştürülmüştür. 7. yüzyılın ilk yarısında büyük kilisenin tahrip olmasından sonra sıcaklığın güney haç koluna ve palaestranın batısına yeni kiliseler inşa edilmiştir. 13. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyılın ilk yarısına kadar geçen süreçte ise yapı kompleksinin içinde başka bir kilise varlığını sürdürmüştür.

Balatlar'daki en eski kilise 4. yüzyıl sonu ya da 5. yüzyıla tarihlenen VIII no.lu mekândaki (caldarium) kilisedir. Kilisenin içinde, avlusunda ve frigidariumda geniş bir mezarlık alanı bulunmuştur. Bu çalışma kapsamında, 2016-2017 yılı kazı sezonlarında bir bölümü gün ışığına çıkarılmış Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne ait mezarlık alanındaki döşeme mozaikleri tanıtılacaktır. Bağışçı yazıtları içeren ve Hristiyan inancıyla ilişkili ikonografik anlam taşıyan mozaik panolarda çok renkli dekoratif geometrik, bitkisel ve figürlü desenler birlikte kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sinop, Balatlar Kilisesi, mezar mozaikleri, kuş mozaikleri, kartal.

Abstract

The remains of the structure known as the Balatlar Church in Sinop are originally an imperial bath complex from the Late Roman period. The archaeological excavations since 2010 have revealed that the bath was built in the late Roman period on the remains of an earlier structure and the finds that covers quite a wide range of time from 6th century BC to 20th century AD. When the Christianity became the official religion; at the end of 4th century or in the 5th century caldarium of the bath was transformed into a church, while tepidarium was turned into a courtyard and frigidarium into a graveyard/burial area. After the destruction of the bigger church in the first half of the 7th century, new churches were built to the southern cross of caldarium and western part of palaestra. From the 13th century until the first half of the 20th century another church within the building complex continued to exist.

The oldest church in Balatlar is the one in area no VIII (caldarium) dated to the 5th-6th centuries. A large cemetery has been found within the church, in the courtyard and at the frigidarium. In this study, floor mosaics from early Byzantine period unearthed at the cemetery during the 2016-2017 excavation seasons will be introduced. In those mosaics, which also contain inscriptions of the benefactors, we observe that multi-colored decorative geometric, floral and figurative designs that are connected to Christian iconographic repertoire were used together.

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Keywords: Sinop, Balatlar Church, funeral mosaics, birds mosaics, eagle.

Sinop'ta Balatlar Kilisesi adıyla tanınan yapı kalıntısı, aslında Geç Roma Dönemi'ne ait bir imparatorluk hamam kompleksidir (Res. 1-2). 2010 yılından beri yapılan arkeolojik kazılar, yapının daha erken döneme ait kalıntılar üzerine, Geç Roma Dönemi hamamı olarak inşa edildiğini, gün ışığına çıkarılan mimari ve küçük buluntular da İÖ 6. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyıla kadar geçen uzun bir süreçte alanın kullanıldığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Hristiyanlığın resmi din olarak ilan edildiği 4. yüzyıl sonunda ya da 5. yüzyılda hamamın caldariumu kiliseye, tepidariumu avluya ve frigidarium bölümü de mezarlık/gömü alanına dönüştürülmüştür. 6. yüzyıl sonu ya da 7. yüzyılın ilk yarısında büyük kilisenin tahrip olmasından sonra sıcaklığın güney haç kolu ve palaestranın batısındaki mekânlara yeni kiliseler inşa edilmiştir. 13. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine kadar geçen süreçte kent önce Selçuklu ve daha sonra Osmanlı egemenliğindedir. Bu dönemde de bütün yapı kompleksini kapsayan alanda Meryem'in Ölümü/ Uykusu (Koimesis) Manastırı bulunur¹. Roma hamamında tepidarium olan yapı, daha sonra erken Bizans döneminin avlusu olmuş, 13. yüzyıldan sonra da bu



Resim 1
Sinop Balatlar Kilise kazı alanı haritası.



Resim 2
Sinop Balatlar Kilise kazı alanı genel görünüm.

¹ Manastır ayrıca Başmelek Mikail'in adıyla da anılmıştır. Hem Meryem'in ölümü, hem de Hristiyan inançta can alan melek Mikail'in adı özellikle ölümle ilişkili kiliselere verilmiştir. Balatlar'da bu dönemde kentin Rum Ortodoks cemaatinin gömüldüğü önemli bir mezarlık vardır.

yapının kuzeybatı köşe mekânı, Rum Ortodoks manastırının kilisesi olarak 20. yüzyıl ilk çeyreğine kadar hizmet vermiştir. Özellikle 18. yüzyıldan sonra bütün manastır alanı ve çevresi kentin Rum Ortodoks mezarlığı olarak kullanılmıştır.

Balatlar'daki en eski kilise, serbest haç planlı caldariumun (VIII no.lu mekân) doğu haç koluna apsis ve orta bölümün zeminine bir kripta eklenmesiyle (4. yüzyıl ikinci yarısı ya da 5. yüzyıl başları) oluşturulmuştur. Kazı çalışmaları, bu mekânlarda Roma Dönemi'nde var olan havuzların doldurularak gömü alanı olarak kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Çalışmaların 2016 yılında alanın batısına doğru genişlemesiyle birlikte Roma hamamının frigidarium bölümü ortaya çıkarılmaya başlamıştır (Res. 3). 2016-2017 yılı kazı sezonlarında bu alandaki

Resim 3
Plan.



erken Bizans Dönemi'ne ait geniş mezarlığın bir bölümü ile gömülen kişilerle bağlantılı olduğu adak yazıtlarında belirtilmiş olan döşeme mozaikleri bu çalışma kapsamında ilk kez tanıtılacaktır.

2016 kazı sezonundaki çalışmalar sırasında kilisenin güneydoğusunda XVI no.lu mekân olarak adlandırılan frigidarium (IVi plan karesi) yapısının güneydoğu duvar bölümünün hemen batısında dört tarafı döşeme mozaikleriyle kuşatılmış birbirine bitişik ikiz mezar vardır (Res. 4)². İkiz mezarların hemen güneyine sonradan açılmış olduğu anlaşılan üçüncü bir mezar eklenmiştir. Üçüncü mezar mozaik bordürün dışında kalmaktadır. İkiz mezarların üzerinin de orijinalde

2 İki mezarın bütününe toplam kapsadığı alan kareye yakın dörtgen bir alan olup, burada beyaz tesellerden oluşan bir fon üzerinde, Hristiyan ikonografisiyle ilgili bir kompozisyonun yer almış olması mümkündür. Mezarların iç kısımları da sıva üzerine yapılmış resimlerle süslenmiştir. Özellikle güney taraftaki mezarda resimler iyi durumdadır. Dikdörtgen biçimli mezar çukurunu çevreleyen duvarların kapağa yakın olan bölümünde, spiral kıvrımlar yapan, aralarda üzüm salkımları olan asma dalından oluşan bitkisel bezeme bulunmaktadır. Mezar duvarlarının alt kısımlarında ise ortada, üzeri mücevherle süslenmiş, kızıl kırmızı boya ile yapılmış haç (*crux gemmata*) betimleri vardır. Haçların etrafında kardelene benzeyen sarı çiçekler tasvir edilmiştir. İkinci mezarın da resimlerle süslenmiş, tüm sıva parçaları koparak mezar içine düşmüş halde ortaya çıkarılmış olmasından dolayı anlaşılmaktadır.



Resim 4
İkiz mezarlar üzerindeki mozaik döşeme.

mozaikle döşeli olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Ne yazık ki mezarlar tahrip edilerek açılmış, içlerindeki gömüler ve mezar buluntuları soyulmuştur. Bu tahribat sırasında, ikiz mezarların üzerindeki mozaik döşeme panosu da kırılarak parçalanmış; günümüze sadece mezarların etrafını çeviren panolar ulaşabilmiştir.

Mezarların doğusundaki pano temel geometrik motiflerle, kuzey ve güneyindeki panolar bitkisel motiflerle süslenmiştir. Batı yönde ise iki satırlık Yunanca yazıt ve figürlü süslemeler içeren bir pano daha bulunmaktadır. Tesseralar (mozaik küpleri), çeşitli renkte mermer ve taş cinsleri ile pişmiş toprak/kiremitten elde edilmiştir. Döşeme, son derece özenli işçilikleri, maliyeti yüksek malzeme seçimi ile iyi bir atölye ürünü olarak karşımıza çıkar. Tesseraların boyutları 0.6-1 cm arasında değişmektedir. Tesseralar genel olarak düzgün dörtgen şekillidir. Bazı tesseralar, eğri hatlarda dizilmek üzere düzensiz formlarda kesilmiştir. Figürlü süslemelerin detaylarının ise daha küçük boyutlu tesseralarla yapıldığı dikkati çeker. Desenler, sarı, koyu kırmızı, açık mavi, koyu mavi, siyah ve beyaz renklerle işlenmiştir.

Mezarların Doğusundaki Mozaik Pano

Mezarların doğusundaki mozaik pano, iki mezarı da sınırlayacak şekilde planlanmış olup temel geometrik motiflerle süslenmiştir (Res. 5). 253x60 cm boyutlarındaki panonun etrafını dışta, 1.5 cm kalınlığında siyah şeritlerle sınırlanmış biri beyaz, diğeri kırmızı renkli iki bezemesiz bordür çevreler. Beyaz şerit 11.5 cm, kırmızı şerit 10.5 cm genişliğindedir. İç alan, birbirine düğümlerle bağlanmış dairelerle oluşturulmuş örgü desenleriyle doldurulmuştur (Décor I: pl. 69, 119d) Büyük daireler, daha küçük çaplı dairelerle düğüm yaparak ardışık dizilim gösterirler.

Dairelerin konturları açık mavi, sarı, kırmızı ve koyu mavi tesseralar kullanılarak çok renkli çizilmiştir. Küçük dairelerin içleri sarı ve kırmızı renkli tesseralarla dörde bölünmüş; büyük dairelerin içlerine ise bitkisel desenler (dört yapraklı çiçek rozet) yerleştirilmiştir. Dolgu motiflerindeki dönüşümlü uygulama, tıpkı ana desende olduğu gibi süreklilik göstermektedir.

Resim 5
Mezarların doğusundaki mozaik pano.



Dönüşümlü büyük ve küçük dairelerden meydana gelen desen, Geç Antik Çağ'da Akdeniz dünyasında yaygın, temel geometrik motiflerdendir. Dairelerin içleri her ne kadar farklı motiflerle doldurulsa da ana desene benzer örnek olarak, Anadolu'da Pisidia Antiokhiasi'ndeki Büyük Bazilika/Aziz Paulos Kilisesi'nin zemin döşemesi (4. yüzyıl) (Kitzinger 1974: 386 res. 59; Taşlıalan 1997: 243 çizim 1), Anadolu dışında, Nicopolis'teki (Yunanistan/Epirus) A Bazilikası'nın (6. yüzyıl) zemin döşemesi³ verilebilir.

3 Nikopolis örneğinde desende renk uygulaması kırmızı ve siyah geniş bantlar şeklindeyken, Sinop Balatlar Kilisesi'nde sarı-kırmızı-siyah ve beyaz olmak üzere çok renkli şeritlerle yapılmıştır. Nikopolis'teki büyük dairelerin içi kuş figürleriyle doldurulmuşken, Balatlar Kilisesi döşemesindeki büyük dairelerin içleri bitkisel desenlerle süslenmiştir. Nikopolis A Bazilikası'ndaki desen için bk. Kitzinger 1951: 83-122 res. 19; Maguire 1987: 21 res. 11.

Uygulamalarda, buradaki temel desenin daha çok büyük panoların etrafını çevreleyen geniş bordürlere işlendiği dikkat çeker. Balatlar mezar döşemesindeki bordür de aslında mezarların üstünde olması gereken ana panoyu doğu yönden çevreleyen bordürlerden biri olmalıdır. Benzer örneklerde dairelerin içindeki boşlukların dekoratif etki yaratan farklı motif veya figürlerle süslendiği izlense de dolgulardaki motif varyasyonunun, Roma imparatorluk sınırları içindeki atölyelerde çalışan mozaik ustalarının veya siparişi veren patronların beğenileriyle şekillendiği söylenebilir.

Panodaki küçük dairesel motiflerin içleri sarı ve kırmızı renkli tesseralarla dörde bölünmüştür (Décor II: 38). Dairelerin içlerinin 'X' şeklinde bölünerek iki farklı renkle boyandığı dolgu motifi, 4-6. yüzyıllar arasında Anadolu-Balkanlar ve doğu Akdeniz kıyılarındaki merkezlerde karşımıza çıkar. Yakın coğrafyadaki Sinop Çiftlik Kilisesi mozaiklerinde (5-6. yüzyıllar) (Hill 1995: 219-231 pl.XXXIIa; Tatlıcan 1997: 341 res. 17), Zeugma "Gıyoşlu Villa" mozaiklerinde (3. yüzyıl) (Ergeç 2011: 196), Balkanlarda Arnavutluk Byllis, Bazilika E mozaik döşemesinde (6. yüzyıl) (Raynaud 2008: 84 res. 1), Ürdün Yasileh Batı Kilisesi'ndeki mozaik döşemede (5. yüzyıl sonu-6. yüzyıl başı) (Nassar-Al Muheisen 2010: 182-198 res. 16; Nassar vd. 2017: 86 res. 9) bu motif, boş modülleri doldurmak için tercih edilmiş çağdaş örnekler arasında sayılabilir.

Büyük dairelerin içlerini dolduran bitkisel desenler (dört yapraklı çiçek rozet)⁴ ise kendilerine ayrılan alanın neredeyse tamamını kaplamaktadır. Açık mavi ve beyaz zemin üzerine yerleştirilmiş çiçeklerin göbeklerinde sarı-mavi renkli tesseralar kullanılmış, uçları kırmızı tesseralarla renklendirilmiştir. Bu dolgu motifinin benzeri Anadolu'da Antakya mozaiklerinde (5. yüzyıl) (Cimok 1999: 48 res. 28; Cimok 2000: 123) ve Zeugma mozaiklerindeki (3. yüzyıl) (Ergeç 2011: 214) kare ve dairesel alanların içlerini kaplamaktadır. Anadolu dışında Roma İmparatorluğu hakimiyetindeki Akdeniz coğrafyasındaki merkezlerden biri olan Tunus'ta da benzer motiflerle karşılaşılır (Podany 2006: 118 res. 68).

Mezarları Kuzey ve Güney Yönde Çevreleyen Mozaik Panolar

Mezar 1 ve Mezar 2 olarak kodlanan ikiz mezarlar, kuzey ve güney yönden simetrik olarak planlanmış panolarla çevrilmiştir. Döşemelerden Mezar 2'nin uzun kenarında (kuzey) yer alan pano iyi durumdadır. Diğeri, mezarların tahribatı sırasında neredeyse tamamen dağılarak parçalanmış ve mezar soyulurken mezarın içine düşmüştür. Dağılan parçalar temizlik çalışmaları sırasında toplanmıştır.

Kuzey yöndeki panonun etrafı, 1.5 cm kalınlığındaki siyah bantla konturlanmış 9 cm genişliğindeki bezemesiz beyaz şeritle çevrelenmiştir (Res. 6). İçteki alan, 210x41 cm boyutlarındadır. Geniş bordürdeki zemin, sarı renkli tesseralardan meydana gelmektedir. Kıvrım dallar oluşturan sarmaşık sarmalından (Décor I: pl. 64, 114d) çıkan kalp şekilli yapraklar sivri uçludur. Kırmızı tesseralarla konturlanmış filizli kıvrım dallar, mezara bakan yönde mavi renkli tesseralarla gölgelendirilmiştir. Kalp şekilli yaprakların içleri ise mezara bakan tarafta kırmızı; dışa bakan tarafta mavi renkli tesseralarla boyanmıştır. Yaprakların, kıvrım dalların hareketine uygun açılı yerleştirilmesi ve iki yönde farklı renklerle boyanmaları panoda hareketli bir etki yaratmıştır. Sarmaşık dalının volüt yaptığı uç kesimde kırmızı tessera dizisinin kesildiği dikkat çeker.

4 Balatlar Kilisesi'ndeki rozet motifinin en yakın benzeri için bk. Décor II: pl.262a.

Bordürün simetriğinde, mezarın güney yönündeki dekorasyon çok fazla tahrip olmuş halde ortaya çıkmıştır (Res. 7). Günümüze ulaşan parçalardan motifin kuzey yöndeki pano ile aynı boyut ve tasarımı olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Dışta, 1.5 cm kalınlığındaki iki siyah şeritle konturlanmış 9 cm genişliğindeki beyaz bordürle çevrelenmiştir. İç alan burada da kıvrım dallar oluşturan sarmaşık sarmalı deseniyle süslenmiştir. Sarı renkli zeminde kırmızı renkli tesseralarla renklendirilmiş, kıvrım dala ait desen parçası, simetriğindeki panoda olduğu gibi kalp şekli sarmaşık yapraklarını taşıyor olmalıdır.

Resim 6
Mezar 2'nin kuzey tarafında doğu batı yönünde uzanan pano.



Resim 7
Mezar 1'in güneyi boyunca uzanan döşemeye ait mozaik parça.

Sarmaşık sarmalı motifi, gerek dini mimari döşeme mozaiklerinde gerekse sivil mimarlık örneklerinde çoğunlukla ana panoların etrafını çeviren geniş bordürler olarak tercih edilmişlerdir. Kalp şekilli yaprakların bağlandığı dallar bazen sade kıvrımlarla tek ya da iki renkli dekore edilmiştir. Yapraklar şişkin gövdeli ya da daha sivri hatlı ince uzun formlu olabilmektedir. Bazı örneklerde ana daldan daha ince dallar çıkarak yapraklar çoğaltılmış, motif daha dekoratif etkiye büründürülmüştür. Sunumdaki bu farklılıkların imparatorluk merkezlerindeki farklı atölyelerin beğeni ve uygulamalarından kaynaklandığı söylenebilir.

Motif, Anadolu ve Akdeniz havzasında İS 4-6. yüzyıllar arasında yaygın olarak karşımıza çıkar. Sarmaşık sarmalı deseninin geniş bordür dolgusu olarak kullanıldığı Anadolu'daki merkezlerden bazıları şunlardır: Xanthos mozaikleri (5. yüzyıl ortaları - 6. yüzyıl ortaları)⁵, Perge mozaikleri (4-5. yüzyıllar) (Işıklıkaya-Laubscher 2016: 184-185 res. 28-30), Patara Kadın Şapeli mozaik döşemesi (5. yüzyıl) (Işık 1999: 171 res. 6), Arykanda Büyük Bazilika mozaik döşemesi (4-5. yüzyıl) (Bayburtluoğlu 2007: 5 res. 4), Sardes EA Kilisesi mozaikleri (4. yüzyıl) (Buchwald - McClanan 2015: 183 resim 32, 33), Ephesos'ta Kuretlar Caddesine bakan stoa mozaikleri ve Vedius Gymnasiumu Oda III mozaikleri (5. yüzyıl)⁶, Laodikeia Kilisesi mozaikleri (5. yüzyıl) (Şimşek 2015: 49 res. 63-64, 102) ile yakın coğrafyadaki Sinop Çiftlikköy Kilisesi mozaikleri (5. yüzyıl) (Hill 1995: pl.XXXIIIb; Tatlıcan 1997: 345 res. 5) ve daha doğuda

5 Sarmaşık sarmalı deseninin stilistik açıdan Anadolu'daki en yakın benzeri Xanthos Doğu Bazilikası mozaik döşemelerinde görülür. Burada da ana dal siyah ve kırmızı renkle gölgelendirilmiş, yaprakların içleri iki yönde farklı renklerle boyanmıştır. Bk. Raynaud 2009: 36 res. 18; 37, res. 20; 40 res. 25; 49 res. 39.

6 Efes'teki uygulamada sarmaşık dalından çok sayıda filiz ve yaprak çıkararak daha dekoratif etki yaratılmıştır. Bununla birlikte Vedius Gymnasiumu'ndaki oda III döşemesinin sarmaşık sarmalı bordürü daha sadedir ve kıvrım yapan filizleri Balatlar Kilisesi bandına stil olarak daha yakındır. Bilgi ve resim için bk. Jobst 1977: 33-34 res. 41, 54; Quatember vd. 2006:143 resim 22-23.

Gümüşhane/Kelkit'te (Sevim 1993: 376 çizim 1) ortaya çıkan mozaik döşeme. Anadolu dışında doğu Akdeniz havzasında, İsrail Sede Nahum Şapeli mozaik döşemesi (6. yüzyıl) (Hachlili 2009: 131 res. VI-15 pl.VI.9) benzer örnekler arasında gösterilebilir.

Mezarların Batısındaki Mozaik Panolar

Mezarların ayakucundaki pano, yapıya ve mezardaki gömülere ait önemli veri oluşturan iki satırlık yazıt barındırmaktadır (Res. 8). Yazıt, iki mezarı ve mezarların etrafını sınırlandıran panoları kapsayacak uzunlukta planlanmıştır. Yazıtın altında geometrik, bitkisel ve figürlü desen kompozisyonu içeren bir pano daha yer alır. Bu pano, yazıtla birlikte aynı bordür içine alınmıştır. Bordür, dışta, sarı zemin üzerine siyah tesseralarla belirlenmiş 8 cm genişliğindeki dikey dikdörtgen şekilli dış (Décor I: pl.2, 28) motiflerinden oluşur.

Resim 8
İkiz mezarların ayakucundaki adak yazıtı.



Mezarların ayakucunda kuzey-güney doğrultusunda uzanan 222x27 cm boyutlarındaki iki satırlık yazıt, beyaz zemin üzerine siyah renkli tesseralar kullanılarak oluşturulmuştur. Satırlar 1,5 cm kalınlığındaki siyah şeritle birbirinden ayrılmıştır.

1. Satır: ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ἰωάννου ἀναγνώστῃς Ἀρμενίου

Armenios oğlu, *anagnostes* (okuyucu) Ioannes'in adağı için

2. Satır: ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Μαρίνου ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Κοσμᾶ Ζανγαρίου

Marinos'un adağı için; Zangarios oğlu Kosmas'ın adağı için⁷.

Metinden, mezarlarda yatan bireylerin kimliklerini ve adak yazıtı olduğunu anlıyoruz. İkinci satırının sonuna sonradan eklenmiş olduğu görülen “*Zangarios* oğlu *Kosmas'ın adağı için*” ibaresi, mozaik panonun güney tarafına sonradan eklenmiş mezarla ilişki kurulması gerektiğini düşündürmektedir.

Yazıtın altında 210x124 cm boyutlarında dikdörtgen şekilli pano (Res. 9), dışta, iki siyah şeritle konturlanmış 6 cm genişliğindeki kırmızı renkli düz bir bordür ile çevrelenmiştir. Dikdörtgen panonun içine, sınırları siyah-beyaz renkli tesseralarla çizilmiş büyük bir eşkenar dörtgen yerleştirilmiştir. Ana zemin sarı renklidir. Eşkenar dörtgenin merkezine ise 83 cm çapında dairesel bir rozet işlenmiştir. Bu büyük dairesel rozet, iki yanında düğümler yaparak küçük

⁷ Yunanca yazıt Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bülent Öztürk tarafından okunmuştur. Kendisine yardımlarından dolayı içtenlikle teşekkür ederiz.

dairelere bağlanmaktadır. Küçük dairelerin içlerinde herhangi bir süsleme yoktur. Dairelerin sınırları, siyah, kırmızı, beyaz renkli dekoratif çan biçimli dalga motifli (D cor I: pl. 60d) bord rle vurgulanmıřtır. Bord rde çan biçimli dalga motifi kullanımı yaygındır. Anadolu'da benzer  rnek Prusia ad Olympum mozaiklerinde (3. y zyıl) (Okçu 2009: 48-50 res. 27), Zeugma (2. y zyıl sonu-3. y zyıl)⁸ ve Edessa mozaiklerinde (3. y zyıl)⁹ Anadolu dıřında Filistin'de 3. y zyıl sonuna tarihlene Nablus-Shechem mozaiklerinde (Talgam 2014: 59 res. 84) karřımıza çıkar.



Resim 9
Yazıtlı panonun altındaki kartal betimli
fig rl  pano.

Merkez dairenin iinde kanatlarını amıř kartal fig r  yer alır (Res. 10). Beyaz zemin  zerine siyah renkli tesseralarla iřlenmiř kartal fig r , izleyenin dikkatini dođrudan merkeze ekmektedir. Bařı sađa d n k olan kartalın g vdesi, ayak ve peneleri sarı renkli tesseralarla boyanmıř; kuyruđu, kanatları, g z , t yleri ve turnakları siyah tesseralarla vurgulanmıřtır.

Hristiyan ikonografisiyle dođrudan iliřkili olduđu d ř n len kartal fig r ne en yakın benzer iki  rnek imparatorluđun dođu b lgesinde,  rd n mozaiklerinde karřımıza ıkar. Uyn Musa Vadisi'nde Rahip Tomas Kilisesi (6. y zyılın ilk yarısı)¹⁰ ve Madaba, Khirbat al Mukayyat Aziz George Kilisesi'ndeki (535/6)¹¹ kartal betimlemeleri Balatlar Kilisesi'ndeki kartal fig r  ile aynı duruř ve

8 Zeugma mozaik d řemelerinde polikrom dalga motifi yaygın olarak karřımıza ıkar. Danae Evi Oda 4b mozaik d řemesi (3. y zyıl) iin  nal 2009: 59 resim 4; Samosatalı usta tarafından yapılmıř "Aphrodite'nin Dođuđu mozaiđi" iin Erge 2011: 114-119;  nal 2017: 16, "Satiros ile Antiope" villa mozaiđi iin Erge 2011:128;  nal 2013, 45, 46, 65 res. 45,77; Dionysos Villası mozaiđi iin bk. Erge 2011: 50-52; Poseidon Evi, "Aphrodite'nin Talandırılması" mozaiđi iin bk.  nal 2013: 42.

9 řanlıurfa Kızılkoyn mevkiinde bulunan, Osrhoene Krallıđına atfedilen ve "K pler Mozaiđi" olarak isimlenen mozaik d řeme bord r  (3. y zyıl) iin bk.  nal 2017: 57 res. 72-73; Kale eteđindeki kaya mezarının "Abdu Ailesi Mozaiđi" (3. y zyıl 2. yarısı) iin bk.  nal 2017: 119 res. 51-52.

10Rahip Tomas Kilisesi'ndeki kartal, geometrik motiflerle s slenmiř dikk rtgen panonun merkezindeki dairesel rozet iinde betimlenmiřtir. (Piccirillo 1989: 217, 218, 222, 340; Talgam 2014: 201 res. 289; Habas 2015: 45 res. 15). Balatlar Kilisesi'ndeki kartal fig r n n duruřu ve pozisyonu aynı olsa da daha izgisel hatlarla resmedilmiřtir.

11 Aziz George Kilisesi'nde tasvir edilmiř kartal fig r n n bařı sola d n kt r; kanatları aık haldeki fig r n duruř ve pozisyonun aynı olmasına karřın Balatlar Kilisesi'nde olduđu gibi izgisel hatlarıyla daha stilize tasvir edilmiřtir (Habas 2015: 46 res. 16).

sunumdadır. Gerasa'daki Khirbat Muniyah-Asfur Şapeli mozaik döşemesinde (6. yüzyıl)¹² temsil edilen kartal figürü kısmen farklılık gösterse de ikonografik temsiliyle ortak anlam içermesi bakımından benzerdir.

Eşkenar dörtgenin dört tarafında oluşan üçgen alanlara ise çapraz yönlere antitetik yerleştirilmiş kuş figürleri resmedilmiştir (Res. 11-14). Figürler, kendine ayrılan alanın derinliği ile sınırlanmıştır. İkisinin anatomik yapılarından suna ördeği olduğu anlaşılmaktadır (Res. 11, 13). Ördeklerin gagaları ve

Resim 10
Hıristiyan ikonografisiyle ilişkili olduğu düşünülen kartal figürü.



Resim 11
Suna ördeği ayrıntı.

Resim 12
Meke (saz tavuğu/
horozu) ayrıntı.

ayakları kırmızı, gövdeleri ise siyah, beyaz ve sarı tesseralarla renklendirilmiştir. Geniş basık gagalı ve kambur sırtlı diğer iki kuşun meke (saz tavuğu/horozu) olabileceği düşünülmektedir (Res. 12, 14). Kuşların beslenme ve yürüme gibi eylemlerle hareket halinde resmedildikleri dikkati çeker. Ayaklarının altında ve başlarının önünde bitkisel desenler işlenmiştir. Beden konturlarında siyah, detaylarda beyaz, sarı ve kırmızı renkli tesseralar kullanılmıştır.

¹² Gerasa'daki kartal, $\frac{3}{4}$ profilden başı sola dönük hareket edermiş gibi tasvir edilmiştir. Kanatları açıktır. (Piccirillo 1993: 299 res. 584; Talgam 2014: 202 res. 290; Habas 2015: 46 res. 16).

Resim 13
Suna ördeği ayrıntı.

Resim 14
Meke (saz tavuğu/horozu)
ayrıntı.



Mozaiklerin İkonografisi ve Değerlendirme

Sinop Balatlar Kilisesi'nde 2016-2017 kazı sezonlarında ortaya çıkmaya başlayan mozaikler, Geç Antik Çağ ve Erken Bizans Dönemi sanatında yaygın olarak görülen geometrik, bitkisel ve figürlü süslemelerin bir arada kullanıldığı kompozisyonlardan meydana gelmektedir. Mozaik döşemedeki panolar, doğrudan mezarların konumuna ve boyutlarına göre planlanmıştır. Kuzey ve güney yönden mezarların uzun kenarlarını sınırlayan panolar eş boyuttadır ve birbirinin tekrarı gibi simetrik bezenmiştir. Mezarların batısındaki yazıtlı pano ile aynı çerçeve içinde tasarlanmış figürlü süslemeler içeren panodaki kompozisyonun ise Hristiyan inancına ilişkin belirgin bir ikonografik anlam üstlendiği düşünülmektedir¹³. Nitekim araştırmacılar, kanatlarını açmış kartal figürlerinin özellikle imparatorluğun doğu bölgelerdeki bazı mezar şapellerinde resmedildiğini ve mezar yapıları içinde resmedilen kartal figürünün dini mesaj verdiğini kabul etmektedirler¹⁴.

Aslında kartal imgesi hem doğu hem de batı kültürlerinde kullanılmış, uzun geçmişi olan bir geleneğe sahiptir. Örneğin Yunan kültüründe kartal, tanrıların tanrısı Zeus'a özgü bir semboldü. Doğu kültüründe ise mutlu ruhları cennete götürmekte önemli bir rol üstlenmişti. Roma imparatorluğunun doğu bölgelerini ele geçirmesinden sonra kartalın doğulu sembolizmi, yavaş yavaş Roma kültürünü etkisi altına almaya başlamış ve imparatorluk kültürünün bir parçası olarak geliştirilmiştir. Kartal, Pagan Roma imparatorlarının ruhlarını ebedi hayata götüren manevi rehber (*psychopompos*) sembolüne dönüştürülmüştür. Örneğin, imparatorların cenaze törenlerinde bedenleri yakılırken gökyüzüne bir kartal salınırdı. Zamanla imparatorların ilahi statüsünü de temsil etmeye başlayan bu sembolik imge, İmparator Büyük Konstantin'in 313 Milano fermanını yayımlamasından sonra, Hristiyanlığın paganizme karşı zaferinin sembolüne dönüşmüştür. Kartal artık başta, Tanrı'nın oğlu İsa Mesih'i, buna bağlı olarak, evrensel Hristiyan egemenliğinin dünyadaki temsilcisi imparatorları temsil eder hale gelmiştir (Maguire 1987: 65; Habas 2015: 46-47).

Eski Ahit metinlerinde zaten sıkça söz edilen kartal, yavrularını koruyan,

13 Motiflerin dizilişi ve konumları çoğu zaman ipucu sunsa da kimi zaman anlatımsal mı yoksa dekoratif amaçlı mı işlendiği tartışmalıdır. Örneğin; özellikle katakomp, hipoje ve mezar şapellerinde sıkça rastlanan tavus kuşlarının da benzer bir anlama büründüğü görülmüştür. Bu hayvanlar pagan ve Hristiyan mezarlarında ölümsüzlük ve sonsuz yaşamı ifade ederler.

14 Yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi örneğin, Uyn Musa Vadisi'ndeki Rahip Tomas Kilisesi'nde (6. yüzyılın başları), Madaba, Khirbat al Mukayyat'teki Aziz George Kilisesi'nde (6. yüzyıl başları) bulunan kanatları açık kartal figürlerinin, bu öngörünün doğruluğuna şüphe bırakmadığı kabul edilir (Hachlili 2009: 287; Talgam 2014: 201, 202; Habas 2015: 45). Özellikle Rahip Tomas Kilisesi'nde kartalın başının iki yanındaki Alpha ve Omega harfleri, ezelden ebede Hz. İsa'nın varlığını işaret eden verilerdir. Burada Rahip Tomas'ın adının, kartalın ayakları altına yazılması da mezar yapılarında resmedilen kartal figürünün, ölüm kültüründeki sembolik yerini aldığına işaret eder.

onları yaşama hazırlayan, toplulukları kurtaran, kanatları üzerinde taşıyan, gençliğin ve ölümsüzlüğün ve hatta yenilenmenin sembolü olarak görülüyordu¹⁵. Ortak yönetim altında toplanmış farklı inanç ve kültürlerin birbirinden çok etkilendiği açıkça görülmektedir. Kadim mitlerdeki kartalın dirilmesiyle İsa Mesih'in dirilmesi arasındaki paralellik son derece dikkat çekicidir. Büyük kilise babalarından Sardes Piskoposu Melitos (190) açık bir şekilde "*Kartal Mesih'tir*" diye yazmış; Ayasofya Piskoposu Ioannes Khrysostomos (347-407), Aziz Augustine (354-430), Aziz Ambrosio (339-397) ve Aziz Gregorius (540-604) ise kartal hakkında, "İsa'nın ve cennete yükselişin sembolü" olduğunu bildirmişlerdir. Aziz Ambrosio, "*Bir tek kartal vardır, o da bizim Tanrımız İsa Mesih'tir.*" diyerek kartalın en kutsalı betimleyen sembol olduğunu vurgulamıştır (Maguire 1987: 51, 52, 59; Habas 2015: 46-47).

Bu açıdan bakıldığında, Balatlar Kilisesi döşeme mozaiğindeki kartal ve çevresine yerleştirilmiş kuş figürlerinin de bağışçı yazıtı ve mezarlar ile birlikte değerlendirilmesi gerektiği; figürlerin ölüm kültü ile alakalı sembolik anlam içerdiği düşünülmektedir¹⁶. Zira, merkezde konumlanmış kartal, çevresine yerleştirilmiş diğer kuş figürlerinden farklı olarak boşlukta, beyaz arka plan üzerinde resmedilerek vurgulanmıştır. Toprak, su ya da bitkisel desen gibi belirleyici topografik öğeler olmaksızın tüm heybetiyle uhrevi bir evrende kanatlarını açmış haldedir. O, bu dünyaya ait bir canlıyı değil kutsal bir imgeyi temsil ediyor gibidir. Buna karşın kartala doğru yönelmiş kuşlar, kendilerine ayrılan alanlarda bitkisel desenler içinde, İsa Mesih'in kanatları altında belki de cennetlerinde, sonsuz huzurla dolaşırken kompozite edilmişlerdir. Bu kompozisyon, mezarlarda yatan Hristiyanların ruhlarının sonsuz yaşamlarında, kurtarıcının kanatları altında huzur bulma arzusuna işaret ediyor olmalıdır.

Yazıtta adı geçen Armenios oğlu Ioannes'in, *anagnostes* (okuyucu) ünvanıyla verilmesi, onun muhtemelen Balatlar Kilisesi'nde görevli ruhban sınıfına mensup biri olduğunu göstermektedir. *Anagnostes*'lik; İS 7 yüzyıla kadar kilise hiyerarşisinde karşımıza çıkan ve rahiplikten piskopos'luga ulaşma yolunda ilk adım sayılan makamdı. *Anagnostes*lerin ayin sırasında Eski ve Yeni Ahit'ten ilgili pasajları ve Aziz Paulus'un mektuplarını okumakla vazifelenirilmiş kişilerdi. Bu din görevlileri aynı zamanda Piskoposların bürosunda yazıcılık (notarios) veya mektup taşıyıcılığı da yapabiliyorlardı. Öte yandan yazıtta adı geçen Marinos ve Zangarios oğlu Kosmas'ın kimlikleri ve mesleklerine dair herhangi bir kayda ulaşılamamıştır¹⁷.

Geç Antik Çağ'da özellikle doğu Akdeniz dünyasındaki kilise ve sinagoglarda yer alan zemin mozaiklerinde, simetrik yerleştirilmiş antitetik bileşimdeki

15 Bu inancın Yeni Ahit geleneğinde de devam etmesi hiç de şaşırtıcı değildir. Mısır'dan Çıkış (19:4): "Mısırlılar'a ne yaptığımı, sizi nasıl kartal kanatları üzerinde taşıyarak yanıma getirdiğimi gördünüz"; Yasa'nın Tekrarı (32:11): "Yüvasında yavrularını uçmaya kıskırtan, Onların üzerinde kanat çırpan bir kartal gibi, kanatlarını gerip onları aldı ve kanatları üzerinde taşıdı"; Mezmurlar (103:5): "Yaşam boyu seni iyiliklerle doyuran O'dur, Bu nedenle gençliğin kartalinki gibi tazelenir"; Yeşaya (40:31): "RAB'be umut bağlayanlarsa taze güce kavuşur, kanat açıp yükselirler kartallar gibi. Koşar ama zayıf düşmez, yürür ama yorulmazlar". Ayrıca bk. Ferguson 1961: 17; Habas 2015: 46.

16 Gömü yerlerinde işlenen kartal figürü, Rahip Tomas mozaiği örneğinde olduğu gibi, ölen kişinin Hz. İsa'nın kanatları altında güvende olması ve sonsuz yaşamını ifade ediyor olmalıdır. Aslında bu, ölüme karşı mutlak ölümsüzlüğün, yeniden dirilişin zaferidir. Rahip Tomas mozaiği örneğindeki kartal figürüne ilişkin bir diğer görüş, tıpkı yavrularını gözetken koruyan kartal gibi İsa Mesih'in kilisenin koruyucusu olması düşüncesidir. Ayrıca kartalın yenilenmeyi de temsil ettiği fikrini savunanlar bulunmaktadır (Piccirillo 1989: 222, 340; Talgam 2014: 200-202).

17 Anagnostes'lik hakkında bilgi için bk. Magdalino 1991: 84. Yazıtla ilgili ayrıntılı çalışma, Bülent Öztürk tarafından "Sinop Balatlar Kilisesi'nden Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne Ait Bir Mozaik Yazıtı" başlıklı makale ile yayına hazırlanmakta olan Balatlar Kilisesi Kazı Kitabı'nda sunulacaktır. Kendisine katkılarından dolayı teşekkür ederiz.



Resim 15
Mozaik üretiminde kullanıldığı
düşünülen amorf parçalar.

hayvanlar, özellikle yazıtların bulunduğu alanlarda sevilerek uygulanmış, 6. yüzyılda zemin döşeme dekorasyonunun karakteristik sunumu olmuştur¹⁸. Tasarım genellikle bir nesnenin ya da bir yazıtın iki yanında, birbirine dönük, bazen özdeş bir çift hayvan şeklindedir. Farklı görüşler panolarda mevcut olan uzun ve/veya dar alanlar nedeniyle birbirlerine bakan hayvanlar kullanıldığını ileri sürse de yukarıda sayılan nedenlerle sanatçıları bu konuların seçimine yönlendiren bazı ideal kavramların da varlığı yadsınmaz. Balatlar Kilise örneğinde olduğu gibi böylesi simetrik kompozisyonlarda çoğu kez, pozlardaki ufak farklar dışında figürler genelde aynıdır ve yaygın bir görüşe göre, bu kurgunun bir alegori olduğu, altın çağa veya cennete ulaşmak için umudu temsil ettiği (Hachlili 2009: 199, 203, 205, 207).

Tüm veriler birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, Sinop Balatlar Kilisesi kazılarında ortaya çıkmaya başlayan mozaiklerin gerek desen, gerek sunum, gerekse içerikle riyle, Anadolu'nun yanı sıra daha çok doğu Akdeniz hinterlandındaki merkezlerde karşımıza çıkan mozaiklerle benzeş olduğu söylenebilir¹⁹. Mozaiklerde seçilen desenler 3. yüzyılda gelişerek 4-6. yüzyıllar arasında yaygın olarak kullanılan bezeme repertuarının bir parçasıdır. İkonografik içerikli hayvan figürlü motif repertuarının 5. yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren döşemelerde daha yoğun uygulanması ve kazı çalışmalarında Iustinianus dönemine (527-565) ait bir sikke ele geçmesi nedeniyle Balatlar Kilisesi mozaiklerinin 6. yüzyıl başlarına tarihli olduğunu düşünmekteyiz²⁰.

Öte yandan önceki kazı sezonlarında, kilisenin güney batısında, IVf olarak kodlanan alanda çok sayıda kırık mermer plakalar ile bu plakalardan kesildiği anlaşılan düzgün küp şeklinde biçimlenmiş tesseralar ve amorf mermer parçalar toplanmıştır (Res. 15). Tesseraların üzerinde harç izlerinin bulunmayışı, bu parçaların zemine dönecek mozaik panolar için hazırlığını ve hiçbir zaman kullanılmadığını düşündürmektedir. Mozaik döşemelerin ortaya çıkmasından sonra, döşemede kullanılmış malzemenin, daha önce ele geçen söz konusu amorf parçalarla aynı olması iki ihtimali akla getirmiştir: Ya buradaki mermer hammadde ve bir kısmı düzgün şekilli, bazıları amorf olan parçalar, bir mozaik atölyesine ait kalıntılardır²¹ ya da üretimden arta kalan atıkları veya onarımlarda kullanılması için ayrılmış yedek malzemeyi işaret etmektedirler. Ne yazık ki, bu sorulara şimdilik net bir cevap verememekteyiz²².

18Geç Antik Çağ'da Doğu Akdeniz havzasındaki kilise ve sinagogların mozaik döşemelerinde farklı sunumlarla karşımıza çıkan kompozisyonlar için bk. Hachlili 2009: 205 vd.

19Balatlar Kilisesi mozaik döşemelerinin batı yönde devam ettiği anlaşılmıştır. Gelecek kazı sezonlarında ortaya çıkacak verilerle bu öngörümüzün daha da netleşeceği düşünülmektedir.

20Alanda ele geçen mimari plastik parçalar da 6. yüzyıla tarihlenmektedir. Kazı çalışmaları ve buluntular hakkında daha fazla bilgi için bk. Köroğlu 2012: 65-76; Köroğlu vd. 2014: 511-534.

21Belki de burası, hamam yapısı kiliseye dönüştürülürken, iç dekorasyonunun hazırlığı sırasında mozaik ustalarının kullandığı işlik alanı bile olabilir.

22Mozaik ticaretinin organizasyonu hakkında neredeyse hiçbir bilgiye sahip değiliz. Mozaik ustalarının hammaddelerini nasıl elde ettiğine dair görüşler de ne yazık ki birer öngörüdür ileriye gidememektedir. Tartışmalar, mozaik ustalarının hammadde tedarikinde taş ocaklarının yanı sıra mermer veya heykel atölyelerindeki atıklardan da faydalanmış olabilecekleri yönündedir. Ancak farklı atölyeler arasındaki böylesi organize bağa ilişkin herhangi bir ipucu da yoktur (Dunbabin 1999: 281 vd.). Oysa ki, mozaik döşemenin moda olduğu dönemlerde pek çok şehirde talebin büyük olması beklenir. Yani belli başlı önemli kentlerde en azından bu iş koluna mensup atölye ve ehil işçiler bulunmuş olmalıdır. Sorun şu ki, arkeolojik kazılarda bir mozaik atölyesini tanımlayabilecek mekân organizasyonu konusunda da bilgilerimiz yetersizdir. Buna sebep olarak söz konusu iş koluna ait ekipmanın çok pratik olması, işin yapıldığı mekân içinde işlevi belirleyici bir birimin bulunmayışı gösterilebilir.

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The “Opusmusium - Roman Mosaics in Portugal” Academic Project: from Teachers’ Lab to Public

Portekiz'deki “Opusmusium - Roma Mozaikleri” Akademik Projesi: Öğretmenlerin Laboratuvarından Halka

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Abstract

This paper will briefly describe an online academic project about Roman mosaics in Portugal created by students and a teacher during the Spring Semester 2011 at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, NOVA University, Lisbon. The project is titled “Opusmusium- Roman Mosaics in Portugal” and just as the muses have inspired the work of mosaics, students were enthusiastically involved in making their idea come to light i.e. preparing quality information about Roman mosaics found in Portugal either in situ or in museums for a website catalogue. The contents would be displayed to students, researchers and lay public through short videos, audio recordings and short texts. Eventually, this website would fulfil a gap in the specialized Portuguese literature on this topic.

On June 2011, Professor José Maria Blázquez Martínez attended the V. International Symposium of the Mosaic Corpus of Türkiye in Kahramanmaraş, Turkey, where a group of Portuguese and Spanish researchers met. His enthusiasm for the potentialities of the study of mosaics and the joy for new discoveries have always motivated students and colleagues to continue investigation. In Kahramanmaraş, his inspiring example made me think about academia as an exciting place where ideas are born and shared, a challenging environment I would call, a “teachers’ lab.” The “Opusmusium- Roman Mosaics in Portugal” project was the result of a teachers’ lab and now that seven years have passed since it was devised in a classroom I think that its goals, achievements (though incomplete) and values of good scientific practice are worthy of paying tribute to an inspiring Professor. Like Professor Blázquez, we persevere in this task hoping one day the Opusmusium will meet its public.

Keywords: Roman mosaics, Roman mosaics in Portugal, Opusmusium - Roman Mosaics in Portugal, Roman mosaics in Portugal online catalogue.

Öz

Bu makalede, Lizbon'daki NOVA Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Fakültesi'nde 2011 yılının bahar yarısında öğrenciler ve bir öğretmen tarafından oluşturulan Portekiz'deki Roma Mozaikleri ile ilgili çevrimiçi bir proje kısaca tanıtılacaktır. Proje "Opusmusium - Portekiz'deki Roma Mozaikleri" olarak isimlendirilmiştir ve tıpkı musaların mozaiklerin bezenmesi için ilham vermesi gibi öğrenciler de fikirlerini hayata geçirmek için projeye hevesli bir şekilde katılım göstermişlerdir. Örneğin, bir web sitesi kataloğu oluşturmak için Portekiz'de in situ olarak bulunan ya da müzelerde korunan Roma mozaikleri hakkında bir bilgi bankası oluşturmuşlardır. Hazırlanan içerikler, öğrenciler, araştırmacılar ve tüm halka açık olacak şekilde kısa videolar, ses kayıtları ve kısa metinler aracılığıyla kullanıma sunulacaktır. Bunun neticesinde de, oluşturulan web sitesi ihtisaslaşmış konuyla ilgili Portekizce literatürde bir boşluğu dolduracaktır.

Haziran 2011'de, Profesör José Maria Blázquez Martínez, Portekizli ve İspanyol bir grup araştırmacının bir araya geldiği Kahramanmaraş'taki V. Uluslararası Türkiye Mozaik Korpusu Sempozyumu'na katılmıştır. Kendisinin mozaik çalışmalarının potansiyeline olan inancı ve yeni keşiflere olan ilgisi, öğrencileri ve

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meslektaşlarını araştırmaya devam etmeleri için her zaman motive etmiştir. Martínez'in Kahramanmaraş'ta ilham veren bir örnek olması, akademiye "öğretmenler laboratuvarı" olarak isimlendirdiğim zorlu bir ortam, aynı zamanda yeni fikirlerin doğduğu ve paylaşıldığı, heyecan verici bir yer olarak düşünmemi sağlamıştır. "Opusmusium - Portekiz'deki Roma Mozaikleri", "öğretmenler laboratuvarı"nın bir sonucu oldu. Projenin bir sınıfta tasarlanmasından bu yana yedi yıl geçti. Bu projenin amaçlarının, başarılarının (tamamlanmamış olsa da) iyi bir bilimsel uygulamanın değerlerinin ilham veren bir Profesöre saygı göstermeye değer olduğunu düşünüyorum. Profesör Blázquez gibi, Opusmusium'un bir gün kamuoyuna kavuşmasını umuyoruz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma mozaikleri, Portekiz'deki Roma mozaikleri, Portekiz'deki Opusmusium - Roma Mozaikleri, Portekiz'deki Roma mozaikleri çevrimiçi kataloğu.

A Tribute to an Inspiring Professor

In June 2011, I had the privilege of meeting Professor José Maria Blázquez Martínez in person when I went to Kahramanmaraş in Turkey to attend to the V. International Symposium of Mosaic Corpus of Türkiye. To my knowledge, Professor Blázquez was a distinguished professor and researcher committed to the study of Ancient History. Professor Blázquez's work privileged the analysis of our past by means of various sources inspiring students and academics and contributing to the development of Ancient History far beyond Spanish frontiers. One of the sources of research Professor Blázquez handled successfully were the Roman mosaics. Considered by him as an historical document, the analysis of Roman mosaics would widely surpass their first functionality of covering the floors to become a medium of interpretation of Roman society. Professor Blázquez's passion for traveling gave him the knowledge of mosaics in their spatial context whenever possible. His lifetime investigation led him to publish valuable syntheses allowing him to compare the features of Roman mosaics produced in the western and eastern parts of the Mediterranean. This reveals a broad capacity for visualizing the Roman world through mosaics, an art and craft not invented by them but certainly developed and extensively used in the Roman Empire.

The study of Roman mosaics in their various potentialities provides several lines of enquiry not only for Ancient History but also for the History of Ancient Art. Therefore, Roman mosaic pavements show visual compositions adapted to architecture combining figurative scenes of different natures (daily-life scenes, historical, mythological) with geometric patterns, using and reusing motifs some of them dating far back from the Roman context. Despite the obvious importance of figurative mosaics in the process of mosaics study, geometry is largely used with increasing relevance in the Roman repertoire. Geometric patterns with vegetal motifs frame figurative scenes and eventually geometry becomes itself one of the main subjects. Experts discuss the intention supporting the choice of a certain composition or motif, the place it occupies in the room, the relevance it gains in the overall design of the household floors¹. Mosaics are to be observed and considered in its intentionality² as they are an important part in the study of Roman decoration. This is only one amongst many other reasons why the study of Roman mosaics is so appealing.

Professor Blázquez's inspiring presence in Kahramanmaraş was full of enthusiasm for new discoveries, for the pleasure of meeting different people and experiencing new places. Figure 1 captured one of those happy moments gathering

1 Mosaic compositions tell us about the message Romans wanted to transmit. The way they have chosen to pass the message through allows us to try to understand how they visualized space. See, Limão - Morgado 2016. Also, Bermejo Tirado 2015.

2 The mosaic pavements guide the viewer's look through domestic spaces. See Clarke 1991; Swift 2009.



Figure 1
Kahramanmaraş, 2011. Professor José Maria Blázquez surrounded by (from left to right) Javier Cabrero, Luz Neira, Licínia Wrench and Filomena Limão.

researchers and professors from Spain and Portugal around Professor Blázquez.

My coming to Kahramanmaraş would be a major contribution for the development of my own studies on Roman mosaics and a source of information for my work as a professor of History of Classical and Late Antique Art at the History of Art Department of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, NOVA University, in Lisbon. I was fortunate enough to inherit the motivation and methodological procedures implemented by Professor Justino Maciel in the History of Art Department of the Faculty. Moreover, undergraduate History of Art students were given the opportunity to choose the curricular unit “Roman Mosaics in Portugal” where they could intensively experiment with this topic for a Semester, a rather unique circumstance in the Portuguese panorama of Roman Art and Archaeology. I followed Professor Justino Maciel and Professor Licínia Wrench in the teaching of the “Roman Mosaics in Portugal” unit in 2010/2011. The coincidence of having worked with my students on Roman mosaics in Portugal that year and my coming to Kahramanmaraş and meeting Professor Blázquez is the main reason why I am writing this text about an academic project then born in my classes: “*Opusmusium*- Roman Mosaics in Portugal”. I strongly believe that academia should be a place where people can exchange ideas, discuss their projects, display them to classmates and teachers and engage in teamwork. The *Opusmusium* project is a good example of the fine collaboration there can be among students and between them and teachers in a challenging classroom environment I would like to call “teachers’ lab”. The ultimate intention of learning and researching is to disclose the information to the public either academic or lay public. Accordingly, the *Opusmusium* project aims at providing an accurate and trustworthy information about Roman mosaics in Portugal to a wider public, fostering new investigation and contributing to a higher responsibility towards the safeguarding of our cultural heritage.

Writing about the “*Opusmusium* -Roman Mosaics in Portugal” academic project in a publication dedicated to Professor Blázquez means that this project is valid enough to pay tribute to an inspiring professor who truly practiced the values of a “teachers’ lab” according to the most reliable sources there can be: his students’ words³.

Opusmusium - Roman Mosaics in Portugal

This paper briefly describes the academic project “*Opusmusium*- Roman Mosaics in Portugal” that came to light during my 2010/2011 undergraduate classes of the optional curricular unit “Roman Mosaics in Portugal” at the History of Art Department of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, NOVA University in Lisbon (<http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/cadeiras/opusmusium/mapa.html>)⁴.

At the beginning of our classes, students put to me a straightforward question:

3 For example: Luz Neira and Luis Alberto de Cuenca.

4 For the making of and complete description of the “Opusmusium- Roman Mosaics in Portugal”, see the text by my former students, Luís Campos Ribeiro e Mafalda Marcos, “Projecto Opusmusium - O Mosaico Romano em Portugal” in Horizontes Artísticos da Lusitânia: Dinâmicas da História da Arte da Antiguidade Clássica e Tardia em Portugal (Século I a VIII) or Artistic Horizons of Lusitânia: Dynamics of the History of Classical and Late Antique Art in Portugal (1st c to 8th c CE) to be published in 2018. Luís Campos Ribeiro was the person responsible for the technical support of the website and designed the logo. He also edited the videos and dealt with the first site hosting. The following students described the mosaics and recorded the description on the videos: Luís Campos Ribeiro, Mafalda Marcos, Mónica Queiroz, Begoña Farré, Maria Mayer, Dácil Pérez, Maria Gabriela Simões, Vera Trigo, Joana Carretas, Cláudia Pancadares, Ana Maria Vale, Maria Helena Gabriel, Inês Rodrigues, Samya Bruçó, Daniela Simões, Amanda Santos, Inês Vieira e Sara Cardoso.

Where can we see and get information about the Roman mosaics that there are in Portugal? The answer took me a while longer than I had thought. In fact, students had just been introduced to an extended bibliography to support their study. The four *Corpora of the Roman Mosaics of Portugal* (CMRP), a comprehensive study of mosaics from key places in the country providing full descriptions, photos, drawings, parallels and proposing chronologies. Volume one (Oleiro 1992) concerns the “Casa dos Repuxos” or the House of the Fountains in the Roman city of *Conimbriga*⁵ (central Portugal); in volume four (Pessoa 2017), the Roman *Villa* of Rabaçal (central Portugal); in volume two (Lancha - André 2000), the Roman *Villa* of *Torre de Palma* (Alentejo, in the south of Portugal) and the Roman Mosaics from the Eastern coast of the Algarve (Lancha - Oliveira 2013) also in the south of the country. So, the use of CMRP is mandatory in every research assignment on Roman mosaics in Portugal. AIEMA’s proceedings (International Association for the Study of Ancient Mosaics), History of Art Journals, dissertations and theses are also to be considered together with a large range of scattered bibliography. However, I was forced to recognize that there was no far-reaching book available to students written in Portuguese addressing key places where Roman mosaics can be found either *in situ* or in exhibitions or museum stores from North to South Portugal providing descriptions and comparisons, including quality photographs with an updated bibliography.

The idea was to prepare a website with a catalogue comprising the places where we could find Roman Mosaics in Portugal prioritizing the use of audio and visual means of information. As every student in the curricular unit had to develop research on Roman mosaics found in Portugal, the first draft of the *Opumusium* site was made available on a temporary server eventually transferred to the Faculty server where it still is now and can be accessed (Fig. 2). Most of the places displayed were those visited during school trips that Semester and so a wide range of quality photographs taken by the students themselves were available.



Figure 2
The Opumusium site: the home page. On the left, a list of places to consult; on the right, the map of Portugal where those places should be located. This work is still incomplete. <http://www.fctsh.unl.pt/cadeiras/opumusium/mapa.html>

The objective was to display useful and interesting scientific-based information for students, teachers, researchers and lay public. The site should be user-friendly and display an attractive design. A list of places with mosaics was provided

5 For a brief introduction to the site of Conimbriga, see Limão 2015.

(Fig. 2) on the left of the page and on the right side an orange coloured map of Portugal. When choosing an option, a text, photos and a video would appear on the screen. The voices heard in the videos belong to students and they describe the mosaic as it is displayed. Different types of mosaics are presented either figurative or mainly geometric in black and white or polychrome (Figs. 3 - 4) from noteworthy places of the Roman presence in Portugal: two ancient Roman cities, *Conimbriga* and *Ossonoba*, the Roman name of the modern city of Faro in the Algarve (south of Portugal). The other Roman entries of the *Opusmusium* site are *Villae*: Rabaçal, Póvoa de Cós (central Portugal), Pisões (Alentejo, south), Cerro da Vila and Milreu (Algarve, south).

Figure 3

The Opusmusium site: the mosaic at the entrance of the Roman Villa of Cerro da Vila, in the Algarve, south of Portugal. On the left, a description of the mosaic; upper right, a photograph of a mosaic and bottom right, a short video narrated by a student. <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/cadeiras/opusmusium/m.cerrodavid0001.html>

Mosaico do vestíbulo de entrada de Cerro da Vila

Por Ségola Farré e Maria Mayer

Mosaico *in situ*, pavimentando o vestíbulo de entrada da villa de Cerro da Vila, em Vilamoura. O mosaico é bicromo e compõe-se de duas partes: a soleira e o tapete do vestíbulo.

O mosaico que reveste a soleira, incompleto, apresenta, sobre fundo branco, um meandro de sústias e quadrados pretos em alternância, com a excepção do extremo direito da soleira, em que aparecem dois quadrados seguidos.

O tapete, rectangular, apresenta uma faixa exterior branca que faz a ligação do mesmo com a soleira. No interior desta faixa desenrola-se uma cercadura formada por um filete preto de três elementos, uma fiada de escamas oblongas justapostas, determinado ogivas brancas, e outro filete preto de três elementos seguido de uma faixa branca rematada por um último filete de dois elementos que delimita o padrão central.

O padrão central é uma composição ortogonal de estrelas tangentes de quatro pontas, em preto, com um quadrado branco inscrito. O centro de cada quadrado está decorado com uma pequena flor geometrizada ou um pequeno quadrado denteado.

O espaço residual entre as estrelas cria losangos brancos em linhas ortogonais que, junto ao filete da cercadura, reduzem-se a triângulos isósceles.

Tratando-se de um mosaico geométrico, podem ser feitas outras leituras do padrão, por exemplo a formada por três cruzes de malta tangentes e diagonais, de braços fendidos, no centro da composição, rodeadas por meias cruzes do mesmo tipo.

Alternativamente, o padrão pode ser visto como uma composição ortogonal de linhas com quadrados e losangos verticais oblongos, de cor branca sobre fundo preto, separadas por uma linha central de losangos oblongos na horizontal, de cor branca, com os referidos triângulos isósceles no exterior do padrão.

Mosaico bicromo do vestíbulo
Cerro da Vila

Figure 4

The Opusmusium site: a mosaic panel from the peristyle of the “Casa dos Repuxos” or the House of the Fountains in the Roman city of Conimbriga, central Portugal. On the left, a description of the mosaic; upper right, a mosaic’s photo and bottom right, a short video narrated by a student. <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/cadeiras/opusmusium/m.conimbriga0001.html>

Tapete do peristilo da Casa dos Repuxos em Conimbriga

Por Maria Gabriela Simões e a Vera Falcão Trigo

NOME: Labirinto quadrado com cabeça de Minotauro no centro

LOCALIZAÇÃO: Conimbriga, Casa dos Repuxos - Ala oeste do pátio porticado - peristilo, *In situ*

ESTADO DE CONSERVAÇÃO: Apresenta-se sem falhas

MATERIAIS UTILIZADOS: Calcário

CORES: Branco, preto, amarelo e vermelho

DIMENSÕES: 1,50 X 1,42 entre molduras.

TEMAS: O mosaico representa o lendário labirinto de Creta com o busto do Minotauro. Conta a lenda que Theseus, filho do Rei de Atenas, foi à cidade de Cnosos em Creta, para se iniciar na prova do salto do Touro e que tendo superado a difícil prova conseguiu, ainda, sair o labirinto

DESCRIÇÃO:
O painel é delimitado por moldura, não fechada de trunça de duas pontas, nas cores preto, branco e dois tons de amarelo.
No interior da moldura um filete branco contorna todo o painel que representa um labirinto, quadrado, de quatro sectores e, com a cabeça do Minotauro ao centro.
O labirinto é bicromo, apresenta a forma quadrangular e, é constituído por meandros com uma única saída, que se encontram estruturados em quatro sectores simétricos muito semelhantes entre si. Da periferia para o centro, podemos observar filetes de tesselas pretas de redonda dimensão, alternadas com faixas lisas de tesselas brancas.
Ao centro da composição, sobre um pequeno quadrado de tesselas brancas, assenta a vermelho e em leitura muito toca, a cabeça de um Minotauro. Nesta demarcan-se os olhos através de duas tesselas brancas, o focinho que é desenhado por tesselas da cor amarela ocre, as narinas que estão assinaladas por duas tesselas pretas, e as orelhas onde uma tessela branca pontua o contorno vermelho.

OBSERVAÇÕES:
O meandro é um motivo de origem helenística que chega à Itália através do opus sectile. Foi muito usado nos tempos da República tendo perdido popularidade a partir do século I d.C. Desde aí raramente foi usado excepto em molduras ou orlas ou em casos como o dos labirintos.
O labirinto é uma imagem representativa de uma tipologia arquitectónica, aqui a do palácio de Cnosos onde inúmeros espaços alguns sem saída se distribuíam em torno de um pátio central.
A utilização de um Labirinto no espaço nobre de uma casa, como o é um peristilo, deve-se seguramente à leitura iconográfica de boa hospitalidade que estava associada a este tema, não sendo de excluir que uma segunda leitura, a associada à protecção, tenha conduzido à sua colocação neste espaço, onde então cumpriria simultaneamente funções apotrópicas.

REFERÊNCIAS:
O tema do labirinto aparece na pintura dos vasos áticos, em moedas e em mosaicos de diversas cidades.
As representações do Minotauro também abundam, já que se apresentam em moedas, pinturas de vasos, escultura de pedra e bronze e em mosaicos.

Tapete do peristilo da Casa dos Repuxos em Conimbriga

From Teachers’ Lab to Public

Seven years have already passed since the *Opusmusium* site came to light and was displayed on the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities server. It remains unaltered and unfinished. Nevertheless, its mission and goals are solid and alive. There is still no guide for the study of Roman mosaics in Portugal

available for students and the general public. My intention is to make it real as a tool for knowledge of the Roman heritage in Portugal and to kickstart the progress of the investigation of Roman mosaics.

In 2011, in Kahramanmaraş, Professor Blázquez spread enthusiasm and encouraged each and every one of us to proceed with the study of Roman mosaics. His example shows us how much there is always to know despite the exiguity of the sources or the hardness of the path. Above all, he proved to us how the joy of discovery never ceases despite age, fatigue or disappointment. Actually, it all depends on us and on the new perspectives we find to understand better and move forward with our questioning.

The *Opusmusium* academic project was born in a “teachers’ lab” environment where hard work didn’t hinder students’ or teacher’s energy. We hope and strive for the day it may become real and finally meet its public⁶. Through the *Opusmusium* values and goals we pay tribute to Professor Blázquez’s inspiring passion for the study of mosaics. Like him, we persevere in what we believe.

Web

The *Opusmusium* project website:

<http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/cadeiras/opusmusium/home.html>

⁶ This project would need funding to be continued and finished.

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New Reading of the Mosaic in Noheda (Cuenca, Spain)

Noheda'dan Bir Mozaik'in Yeniden İncelenmesi (Cuenca, İspanya)

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Abstract

In the Roman villa of Noheda (Villar de Domingo García, Cuenca), the most distinguished of the structures excavated, is the so-called tri-apsidal (triconch) room, belonging to the residential part of a 4th and 5th century villa, with its 290.64 m² dimensions and its extraordinary figured mosaics. Many of the mythological themes represented are connected with loving partners: Pelops and Hippodameia, the story of Paris and Helen, the Triumph of Bacchus in the company of Ariadne. The scenes related are also represented to the mime "the jealous husband", and Venus is evoked through mythological characters associated with her which appears next to the fishing scenes. The interpretative analysis of the ensemble mosaics found in Noheda is based on the mythological and allegorical scenes depicting certain characters. For instance the Eroses or the typical dextrarum iunctio gesture by lovers, Dionysus and Ariadne's hierogamia as the divine couple manifest the allegory of the exaltation of love, of the union of divine and human. Together with decorative elements, such as garlands and gardens, related with Venus, goddess of love, leads to an alone interpretation in allegorical lines as the subliminal messages are revolving around the triumph of love. So far, the mosaic in the triclinium of Noheda can be proclaimed as a great exponent of love; of lawful and unlawful relationships, of happy endings with couples' weddings or punishment inflicted on adulterous characters. It all of it presided over by the spirit of Venus as inspirer of love.

Keywords: Reading, messages, mythological characters, allegorical scenes, loving partners, dextrarum iunctio, hierogamia, garlands, erotes, gardens.

Öz

Noheda'da yer alan Roma villasında (Villar de Domingo García, Cuenca), kazılan yapılardan en seçkini, 4. ve 5. yüzyıla tarihlenen bir villanın konut bölümüne ait 290.64 m² boyutundaki ve olağanüstü figürlü mozaiklere sahip olan tri-apsidal (triconch) odasıdır. Betimlenen mitolojik temaların çoğu, sevgi dolu çiftlerle bağlantılıdır: Pelops ve Hippodameia, Paris ve Helen'in hikayesi, Ariadne'nin de yer aldığı Bacchus'un Zaferi sahnesi gibi. İlgili sahneler aynı zamanda "kıskanç koca" mimi ile temsil edilir ve Venüs, balık avlama sahnelerinin yanında ortaya çıkan, onunla ilişkili mitolojik karakterlerle birlikte görülür. Noheda'da bulunan mozaik topluluğunun yorumsal analizi, belli karakterleri betimleyen mitolojik ve alegorik sahneler temel alınarak yapılacaktır. Örneğin, Eroslar ya da dextrarum iunctio mimiğinde tasvir edilmiş sevgililer, aşkın yüceliğinin bir simgesi olarak, hem ilahi bir çift hem de ilahi olanla insani olanın birleşmesini temsilen Dionysos ve Ariadne'nin hierogamia sahneleri bulunur. Çelenkler ve bahçeler gibi diğer dekoratif bileşenlerle birlikte görülen aşk tanrıçası Venüs, aşkın zaferi etrafında dönen bilinçaltı mesajlar şeklinde alegorik olarak tek bir yönde yorumlanır. Şimdiye kadar Noheda'nun tricliniumundaki mozaikte, büyük bir aşkın; meşru ve gayrimeşru ilişkilerin, çiftlerin evliliği ile simgelenen mutlu sonların ya da zina yapan karakterlerin cezalandırılmasının betimlendiği söylenebilmektedir. Tüm bunlar, aşkın ilham kaynağı olan Venüs'ün ruhu tarafından yönetilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnceleme, mesajlar, mitolojik karakterler, mecazi sahneler, aşık çiftler, dextrarum iunctio, hierogamia, çelenkler, eroslar, bahçeler.

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The figurative scenes of Noheda site –presented to the public in 2013 (Valero 2013: 307-330) stand out within the Spanish-Roman mosaic art as a whole and in the South Meseta in particular. The large decorated surface and the technical and artistic quality of the pavement, as its allegorical content, make this mosaic a *unicum*.

The mosaics of Noheda pave a triconch room belonging to the residential part of a 4th and 5th century villa with an adjoining *nartex* with two *exedrae* and an octagonal room (Valero 2013: fig. 2; Valero 2015: 439-443). According to the archaeologists this room was used as *triclinium*.

The rectangular area of the pavement is bordered with a frame of acanthus scrolls, is divided in six decorated panels with mythological and allegoric-themed scenes. There are also everyday-life scenes, such as the chariot race in the circus (panel A), boxing contests in the amphitheatre and extolling of the winning athletes with the victor's palm and the crown of triumph (panels B and E), probably evoking the proprietor's Euergetism. Additionally, there are aquatic scenes surrounding a grand central fountain or pool, featuring fishermen with various fishing gears together with mythological figures. A cheerful evocation of gardens is also present in the compositions of archways with ornamental flower insets paving the octagonal room and North *exedra* (Valero 2013: fig. 10, 11a-b, 12).

In the W area of the floor, at the entrance to the room, the myth of Pelops and Hippodameia is represented (panel A) (Valero 2013: fig. 13, 14; Valero 2016: 125-160). To the left, a group of two men and two ladies surround Oenomaus, seated in an armchair and reaching out with his right hand towards Pelops. In the striking upper strip there are two garlands and the heads of three dead suitors dangling gruesomely from a perch. The middle part depicts a race of *quadrigae* in the circus, where one of the chariots has suffered a *naufragium* and a wheel shoots up. From the other, driven by Eros, Pelops descends as the winning charioteer and is embraced by Hippodameia –with both characters in a *dextrarum iunctio* stance– who presents him with the victor's palm, while another character on the right side points at him as the winner.

In the upper part of the panel the *spina* of the circus has been represented in small scale to evoke the races appearing in Spanish-Roman mosaics in Italica, Paradas, Écija, Mérida, Barcelona and Bell-lloc (López 1994: 343-367). All of it is accompanied by garlands as a symbol of Venus.

The story of Paris and Helen is represented in the East part (panel C), divided in three scenes: the Judgement of Paris to the left, the Abduction of Helen, and the arrival in Troy by a ship with unfurling sails (Valero 2013: fig. 17, 18). In this panel the garlands –symbol of Venus– have been substituted with Erotes. The scene constitutes a *hapax* in Roman mosaic art as it conjoins the Judgement of Paris with episodes never represented before, such as the Abduction of Helen and the arrival of the protagonists to Troy.

The Judgement of Paris has been represented to the left in a conventional manner, with significant examples in the Hispanic pavements of Castulo and Casariche, *Ulpia Traiana* (Transylvania), Cos (Greece), Antioch (Turkey) and Cherchel (Algeria) (San Nicolás 2015: 563-571). In the Noheda mosaic Paris is featured sitting on a rock with a cupid at his feet before the three goddesses. The centre of the panel shows the Abduction of Helen, who, accompanied by three servants –one of them holding up a parasol over her head– is taken by the hand in a typical *dextrarum iunctio* gesture by Paris, who ushers her to a ship with four sailors and a cupid near the oars, as if proclaiming that love is what drives the journey to

Troy. The same ship is used to depict the arrival in Troy of Paris and Helen and the celebration of the *dextrarum iunctio* by the lovers, still escorted by a cupid and the three servants, one of them holding the sunshade over the princess as in the preceding episode, and by four small figures who celebrate the event dancing in front of the walls of the city.

In the easternmost zone of the pavement, the Triumph of Bacchus is pictured (panel D). The god, crowned by the *Victoriae*, rides a chariot drawn by centaurs in front-view in the company of Ariadne –under a parasol held by a servant– and his full cortege of satyrs, maenads and Silenus on his donkey (Valero 2013: fig. 19). The figure of Bacchus as *loutrophoros*, holding a pitcher full of wine, would illustrate Ptolemy II Philadelphus's famous pompé, described in Atheneo (*Athen.deipn.* V 200 ss.), where one of the triumphs in which Dionysus offers a libation –symbol of divine power– to celebrate his triumph is mentioned (San Nicolás 1997a: 405-420).

There are no garlands or Eroses in this scene, but love is present in the figure of Ariadne, redolent of happy and unhappy love (San Nicolás 2011: 47-60). At the time of his triumphant return from India, Bacchus finds Ariadne in the island of Naxos, where Theseus had abandoned her while she was asleep. She is found there by a satyr from the god's retinue, according to Nonnus's (*Nonn.Dion.* XLVII 265-471) and Philostratus's accounts (*Philostr.imag.* I, 15), at the end of the night, at the time of the "morning sleep", as described by Nonnus (*Nonn. Dion.* XLVII 282-283, 292). Dionysus and Ariadne's encounter appeared in the mosaic of Mérida created by Annibonius's workshop, and in the one recently discovered in Écija (*CMRE XIV 2017: n° 37 fig. 70 A-B*), and is a recurrent topic in North African and Eastern mosaics.

Dionysus takes Ariadne onto his chariot, weds her and drives her to Olympus. From that moment on Ariadne will appear inside the chariot next to Dionysus, in allusion to her divine condition, and the arts have managed to show it very clearly in Hispanic representations of the Bacchic Triumph in Noheda, Écija, Cabra, Fuente Álamo, Plaza de la Encarnación in Seville, Andelos, Liédena and Baños de Valdearados, and in North Africa in Orange, Sant-Leu and Sabratha, with just one mosaic documenting it in the East, in Gerasa. In Noheda this episode constitutes a final apotheosis for the whole content of the mosaic.

To the N and S of the central pool or fountain an array of scenes related to the theatre are displayed (panel B) by means of figures representing musicians, musical instruments, singers, masked actors and, most interestingly, a mime, whose name is known through an inscription by his side: *MIMV ZELOTIPI NVM/FI*. The title can be translated as "the jealous husband" and features two characters in chains –symbolising adultery– on a stage hung with profuse garlands evoking Venus, goddess of love, in this case sinful love (Valero 2013: fig. 15, 16, 20; Valero - Gómez 2013: 87-106; Lancha - Leroux 2017: 199-216).

Venus is also evoked in panel F through mythological characters associated with her which appear next to the fishing scenes (Valero 2013: fig. 21): Eros riding a dolphin, also featured in the Hispanic mosaics of *Barcino*, *Corduba*, *Astigi*, Santa Vitória do Ameixial (Portugal) and frequently in Eastern pavements, and that often accompanies Venus in statuary (*LIMC* III, "Eros"; "Eros/ Love, Cupid"); Nereid with a veil arching over her head resembling Europe, sitting on a Triton, whose iconography bears a heavy erotic charge. The connection of Venus with fishing is explicitly documented in Algerian pavements from the 3rd-5th centuries showing the Triumph of the Marine Venus in Khenchela, Kamissa

and Djemila, which include fishing scenes in their lower section, revealing the goddess's relation with fishing activities (López 2010: 160-186).

The goddess of love is also made present in the Noheda pavement through the presence of gardens, evoked by means of compositions of imbricated archways with flowery ornaments within, paving the octagonal room and the North exedra adjacent to the great rectangular pavement (Valero 2013: figs. 11, 12). The mosaic in the octagonal room is decorated with eight rows of kraters joined by garlands, alternating with stems crowned with lotus flowers. A similar composition –with analogous pieces in North African mosaic art– decorates a mosaic in the Portuguese villa of Torre de Palma (San Nicolás 1997b: 137-175; San Nicolás 2016: 270-288).

The presence of Erotes and garlands as an allegory of Venus and of love seems to be a constant in some South Meseta workshops, also characterized by scenes of amorous content. The garlands appear in the upper part –just like in Noheda– of the *Complutum* mosaic of Leda and the Swan (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid), accompanied by the inscription ADVLTERIVM IOVIS LEDA, alluding to the episode of Leda's seduction by Jupiter metamorphosed into a swan, and the subsequent union of the couple (Fernández 1984: 203-213). Also in *Complutum* in the mosaic Cupids 2 at Bacchus's House, two Erotes grasp garlands whose other ends are held by two doves. In Sisapo (Ciudad Real) (Zarzalejos et al. 2011: 69-83 fig. 23, 26-29), in the mosaic of Room no. 12, garlands held by gallinaceous birds decorate the angles created by the insertion of a circle inside a square, while a basket full of roses decorates the central emblem. This is a “reduced” representation typical of the Spanish-Roman mythology-themed mosaic art, where Venus is symbolised through her most characteristic elements, namely birds, garlands and roses (López 2006: 271-292).

Some other pictures from different places in Hispania, similar in iconography and contents, are found in the villa de la Estación (villa of the Station), in Antequera (Málaga), from the late 3rd or early 4th century, only one is an octagon decorated with two garlands Erotes carrying, one of them offering his companion a basket, is preserved. One another, is the mosaic of Panes Perdidos (Badajoz), in the former Lusitania, by the craftsman Dexter, with seasonal Erotes carrying baskets with fruits, associated to a female figure who is weaving garlands.

Venus's connection to Eros and garlands is documented in the mosaic of Fraga (Huesca). Venus together with Eros is present in the mosaic of the Casa del Anfiteatro (House of the Amphitheatre) in Mérida and in another example in Fraga, while there are two Erotes in the scene of the Marriage of Cadmus and Harmony belonging to the mosaic of Azuara (Saragossa). Garlands and roses can be added together with other mythological characters as well, as with Europe and the Nereids, symbolising the feeling insuflated by the goddess of love. The same affectionate symbolism of garlands appears in the pictures of Mars and Rhea, and of the she-wolf and the twins in the company of Mars in the circus mosaic of Bell-lloc (Girona), as well as in Bacchic mosaics found in the East, such as the ones in Zeugma, Shahba Philipopolis and Sheik Zouede.

This same loving dynamic, but with a different meaning, can be found in the iconographic setup of Carranque (Toledo) apparently alluding to the fateful consequences of forced or unrequited love. Scenes of Diana and Actaeon, Pyramus and Thisbe, Neptune and Amyone, Hylas and the Nymphs, are represented in the lunettes of the mosaic about Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and presided in the

central circle by a portrait of Venus. The death of Adonis before Venus and Mars, as a consequence of the god's jealousy, or the return of Briseis to Achilles in the context of the Trojan War, are also represented in Carranque (Fernández 1994: 199-210; Blázquez 2008: 91-125).

The message that this splendid mosaic of Noheda is trying to convey through the scenes depicted and the presence of certain details like the garlands and roses, symbols of Venus, the repeated appearance of Eros and the evocation of the goddess in the fishing scenes, is the extolling of love and marriage, the praise of Pelops and Hippodameia's and Paris and Helen's *dextrarum iunctio*, opposing the adultery of the characters in the mime panel, even if it also stems from love as attested by the presence of garlands.

Although at first sight the images represented could be considered to have an ethical content –a warning about the morality of lawful and unlawful relationships–, the presence of *dextrarum iunctio* scenes, the garlands, the Erotes and the dancers celebrating the betrothals all epitomize the extolling and full triumph of love. Even the profusion of garlands in the mime scene refers to the secret love of the characters in chains, half-hidden between two latticework panels which remind of the episode of adultery involving Venus, Vulcan's wife, and Mars. They are caught in bed by the husband betrayed and entangled by him in a metallic mesh, of his own making and exposed to public scorn (Hom.Od. VIII 266 s.).

In the same context of reality and mythology, the *domini* have been considered to appear as protagonists in the *dextrarum iunctio* scenes taking the gods and mythological heroes' place or identifying themselves with them. The aim was to use these weddings as a family portrait, the image par excellence of the Roman matrimony as a substantial component of the social order established within the principles of civilization. These are the same values that prevail in some mosaics in Antioch or at the House of the Dionysian *Telete* (or Poseidon House) in Zeugma: Virtue (*Arete*) and Wisdom (*Sophia*), that must come together with the education (*Paideia*) of children, as pointed out by J. P. Darmon (Darmon 2005: 1279-1300). Referring to three scenes related to marriage from a single *domus* in Shahba-Philippopolis, J. Balty reflects that fertility (*Eutekneia*), Wisdom (*Sophia*) and Justice (*Dikaiosine*) are essential values of the *paideia*, the children's education, in an iconographic and ideological program which, going beyond myth, is designed by the household *domini* to emphasise the value of matrimony (Balty 2005: 1307-1316).

In this allegorically-oriented reading, the Triumph of Bacchus, accompanied by Ariadne and his retinue and cheered by pervasive rejoicing and gleeful frenzy, constitutes the apotheotic climax of the whole contents of the mosaic, of the symbolism implied in letting love take control and carry us away. It is the end of the mythological tale that concludes with Dionysus and Ariadne's *hierogamia* as the divine couple enacts the allegory of the exaltation of love, of the union of divine and human, of the *telete* that lends its name to the mystery, of the civilising nature of marriage over wild beasts and semi-human creatures such as centaurs and fauns.

So far the mosaic in the *triclinium* of Noheda can be proclaimed as a great exponent of love, lawful or unlawful –but in any case romantic– relationships, of happy endings with couples' weddings or punishment inflicted on adulterous characters. The spirit of Venus as inspirer of love, also represented in several statues in the site, is key for an interpretative reading of the mosaic.

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On the Interpretation of Pothos in a Mosaic from the Antiquities Market with the Representation of Pelops and Hippodameia

Antika Müzayedesinden Pelops ve Hippodameia Betimli Bir Mozaikteki Pothos'un Yorumlanması Üzerine

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Abstract

This paper analyzes a representation of Pothos in a mosaic auctioned in the antiquities market, –from a private collection after being acquired at Asfar Brothers, Beirut, in the late 60's. –, today in J. Bagot Archaeology-Ancient Art in Barcelona. More specifically, we will discuss, its interpretation within a scene related to Pelops and Hippodameia. Even the three characters are represented, with an unusual iconography, their identification is undoubtedly established on the base of inscriptions in Greek. To proceed with this discussion, this study analyzes the ancient literary sources and the images of Pothos depicted in the other mosaics, among others, on a mosaic of Pelops and Hippodameia from London antique market in 1979, that had been part of a private collection of California until the 1990s, being auctioned at Christie's in New York on 2010, and in the mosaic of the Weddings of Dionysus and Ariadne from Philippiopolis.

In connection with the references of some literary sources, the representations of these two mosaics are very revealing to understand the mosaic scene currently conserved in J. Bagot.

Keywords: Pothos, Pelops, Hippodameia, mosaic, antiquities market.

Öz

Bu makale, 60'ların sonunda Beyrut'tan Asfar Kardeşler (Asfar Brothers) özel koleksiyonunda yer alan, günümüzde ise Barselona'daki J. Bagot Arkeoloji ve Antik Sanat'ta bulunan, antika müzayedesinden bir mozaikteki Pothos betimini ele almaktadır. Özellikle de, Pelops ve Hippodameia ile ilgili bir sahnede Pothos'un yorumlanması tartışılacaktır. Üç karakterin de sıra dışı bir ikonografi ile betimlenmesine rağmen, karakterlerin teşhisi hiç kuşkusuz Yunanca yazıtlara dayanılarak yapılmıştır. Bu tartışmaya devam etmek için, bu çalışmada, antik yazılı kaynakların yanı sıra başka mozaiklerde betimlenen Pothos tasvirleri de ele alınacaktır. Ele alınacak mozaikler arasında 1979'da Londra Antika Müzayedesinde yer alan, 1990'lara kadar Kaliforniya'da özel koleksiyonun parçası olan ve 2010'da New York'ta Christie's'te açık artırmaya çıkarılan Pelops ve Hippodameia betimli bir mozaik ve Philippiopolis'ten Dionysos ve Ariadne'nin evlenmesi sahnesinin görüldüğü bir mozaik de yer almaktadır.

Günümüzde J. Bagot Arkeoloji ve Antik Sanat'ta korunan mozaik üzerindeki sahneyi anlayabilmek için bazı yazılı kaynaklardan alınacak referanslar ve bu iki mozaikteki tasvirleri yorumlamak gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pothos, Pelops, Hippodameia, mozaik, antika müzayedesi.

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The mosaic studied in this paper is curated in the J. Bagot. Archaeology-Ancient Art Antiquities House in Barcelona, in whose website appears documented precedent a private collection after being acquired, in the late 60's, from Asfar Brothers, Beirut. In the image, the winged and naked *eros*, that is identified by an inscription with its Greek name -ΠΟΘΟΣ-, is holding in his left hand over his shoulder a flaming torch, while turning his head towards the main characters of the scene, *Hippodameia* and *Pelops*, also identified by its names in inscriptions, and draws their attention with the right hand extended towards an architectural structure, perhaps an access to a building, on the right side of the picture (Fig. 1). The presence of *Pothos* in the representation of this love myth, whose union was achieved after several vicissitudes, has been recently explained as indicative of negative repercussions and impacts, alluding to the death of *Oinomaus* and the curses of Mirtilo on the descendants of the couple (Valero 2016: 157 fig. 10), although no literary source echoes the symbolism of *Pothos* as personification of a love whose consummation causes destruction.

Figure 1
Mosaic of Pelops and Hippodameia.
Photo: According Bayot.



It should be remembered that the appearance of *Pothos* in a depiction, although very different, of the myth of *Pelops* and *Hippodameia* is documented in a red-figures vase from Apulia, dating from 360 BC, with Aphrodite, where both, identified by inscriptions like the rest of the personages, have been included in the scene of the *Pelops*' arrival before *Oinomaos* in presence of *Hippodameia* (Pipili 1990: 436 núm.4). It is not surprising, considering that *Pothos* (Bazant 1994: "Pothos" I) is mentioned as the son of Aphrodite and a member of his entourage by Aeschylus (Suppl 1035-1037), although it was Sophocles (Trach. 631 -632), the first author who described him as a personification of love for an absent person, a line followed by Plato in his *Cratylus* (400d & 419e-420b), who clarified the meaning of some *erotes*, which, uniquely identified with a name, are represented in Greek vase painting¹:

*"[Of the Loves:] ...The name ἠμεροσ
(longing) was given to the stream (ῥουσ) which
most draws the soul; for because it flows with
a rush (ἰεμενοσ) and with a desire for things and
thus draws the soul on through the impulse of
its flowing, all this power gives it the name of ἠμεροσ.
And the word ποθοσ (yearning) signifies that it
pertains not to that which is present, but to that
which is elsewhere (ἄλλοθι του) or absent, and there-
fore the same feeling which is called ἠμεροσ when its
object is present, is called ποθοσ when it is absent."*

The significance given by Sophocles and Plato on *Pothos*, as the personification of the loving desire of a person who, being absent, cannot be satisfied, causing pain, suffering and longing according to Pliny (Plin.nat. 33: 4.7), would explain the inclusion of *Pothos* with Aphrodite, while *Hippodameia* experienced the loving desire of each young suitor, and then the frustration at the attitude of her father, who would have made her a longing for the missing before *Pelops*'s arrival.

However, it seems opportune to revise *Pothos*'s other representations in mosaics and their context in the framework of different mythological episodes. *Pothos* attracted my interest while investigating the parallels of the scene of Selene and Endymion in a pavement from *Castulo*, in particular the representation in an unpublished mosaic (Neira 2015: 69-72 fig. 4), with provenance, context and location unfortunately unknown. This mosaic (Fig. 2) had appeared on the London antiquities market in 1979 and had been part of a private collection from California until the 1990s, being auctioned at Christie's in New York on June 10, 2010, according to the brief information of the catalog, which also provides the measurements - 167.6 cm x 177.8 cm - and a dating from the third century AD.

Keeping in mind that in the figurative picture, in spite of its characteristic iconography, two inscriptions in Greek with the names of ΕΝΔΨΜΙΩΝ and ΣΕΛΗΝΗ identified the young sleeping and the beautiful Selene, with its characteristic crescent moon, in a *biga*, with only the edge of the curved box and an eight-spoke wheel driven by two bulls advancing toward the right, well

1 www.theoi.com/Ouranos/ErosPothos.html.

documented in other images of Selene (Gury 1994: nr. 58-66). In a tough position, with bent knees, the goddess seems to be represented descending the chariot, although it is not well appreciated if she has done so or is standing on the ground, but instead of focusing on Endymion, Selene moves her eyes and a flaming torch (Gury 1994: nr. 58, 61, 66) towards to a naked winged *eros*, located in the upper right part of the image, whose index aims to draw attention of the goddess to the young sleeping. It would not be surprising, if we take into account the comparable presence of an *eros* in the Isola Sacra mosaic (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 29), in Nîmes mosaic (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 5), and in several scenes documented, among others, in paintings and sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 52-54, 58, 61, 63, 64, 67, 69-70, 73, 77-78, 81, 83, 85, 92, 93, 94), except that this *eros* is identified as the main character by an inscription in Greek with the name of ΠΟΘΟΣ.

Evidently in the mosaic of Christie's auction, *Pothos* points with his finger to the sleeping Endymion who, given his everlasting deep sleep and in spite of

Figure 2
Mosaic of Selene and Endymion.
Photo: According Christie's.



the loving desires of the goddess, makes impossible the carnal union, causing in Selene the yearning, longing and pain by an "absent" love, as has been pointed out by several of the aforementioned ancient authors².

In studying the representation of *Pothos* in the mosaic of Christie's auction, we highlight the figure of another *eros*, also identified by an inscription in Greek with the name of ΠΟΘΟΣ, in the mosaic of the Weddings of Dionysus and Ariadne from *Philippopolis* (Neira 2015: 71-72 fig. 5), dating from the second quarter of the fourth century AD, preserved in the Shahba Museum (Balty 1977: 50-56) (Fig. 3). But here, instead of personifying love for the absent, as sleeping and unconscious and unable to correspond, and therefore longing and suffering pain, *Pothos* stands between the couple, carrying a flaming torch that usually symbolizes the *hymeneo*, the amorous union, according to the narrative of the myth about nuptials, which led us to ask the meaning of *Pothos*'s incorporation into this scene (Neira 2015: 71 fig. 5). It could be argued that the mention given by Euripides, who in his *Hippolytus* (525-526) refers to *Pothos* as the son of *Eros*, while in another of his works (Bacch. 414) places him in the kingdom of Dionysus.

Figure 3
Mosaic of the Weddings of Dionysus and
Ariadne from Philippopolis.
Photo: Luz Neira.



The most revealing reference, however, is found in a passage by Nonnos (Nonn. Dion. XLVII, 442, 15), when the author from Panopolis, referring to the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne, mentions that the previous experience of love desired and not achieved with Theseus plunged Ariadne into great pain, but it was this unfulfilled love, Pothos, which finally made possible the union with Dionysus:

[Dionysos addresses his future bride Ariadne:]

“Not for nothing did that fleet [of Theseus] sail

*from my Naxos [abandoning Ariadne on the island], but Pothos (Sexual Longing) preserved you for a nobler bridal.”*³

² Except in Propertius (Prop. II, 15, 13-24), where explicitly stated otherwise: *“Paris himself is said to have burned at the sight of Helen naked, when she rose from the bed of Menelaus; and it was naked that Endymion enraptured Phoebus’s sister and naked, they say, lay with the goddess.”*

³ In another passage Nonno (Nonn.Dion. 25, 150, 31, 103) states that Pothos is a son of Zephyrus and

In this sense, in the mosaic of Bagot, *Pothos* could be representing Hippodameia's longing for love towards each of the many pretenders successively eliminated by her father, making her to fear that she could not fulfill her dream of marriage, but, as in the Syrian mosaic from *Philippopolis*, it would be this previous experience - of love longed for and not finally achieved by *Pothos* - which, in the line of Nonnos on Ariadne, would finally make possible its union with Pelops. For this reason, it is *Pothos*, still with the flaming torch on his shoulder, who points to the building where the famous race must be decided, indicating the way to reach that union, while the young *Hippodameia*, quietly seated but animated by the intervention of *Pothos*, raised the palm for the victors before the presence of *Pelops*, indicating the action that the young pretender should perform to achieve his love, the feat of triumph over *Oinomaos* in the race of chariots.

Iris; while, in contrast, later on (Nonn.Dion. 33, 112): "[*Aglaia calls upon Eros to assist his mother Aphrodite:*] 'Allvanquisher unvanquished, preserver of life coeval with the universe, make haste! *Kythereia [Aphrodite] is in distress. None of her attendants has remained with her; Kharis (Charis, Grace) has gone, Peitho (Seduction) has vanished, Pothos (Sexual Longing) the inconstant has left her; she had none to send but me. She needs your invincible quiver!*'"

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The Roman Villa of Tirana (Albania) and Its Mosaics

Tiran Roma Villası ve Mozaikleri (Arnavutluk)

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In memory of Prof. Dr. José María Blázquez

Abstract

Tirana, the capital city of Albania, in Antiquity did not exist as an inhabited centre, simply it was considered a rural area, the residential territory of Dyrrachium patricians, as was Ercolano for Pompeii. In 1972 in Tirana, during the construction of a building, the remains of a rustic villa built in Roman Period were brought to light accidentally, and some of the rooms were decorated with polychrome mosaics. This villa was used for more than four centuries and it has several phases of life, for this reason it was dated by the archaeologists between the end of the 1st and the 5th century AD.

The principal goal of the research is the punctual analysis of the mosaics motifs and their contextualization in the Balkan and Adriatic area, to identify the owner and the craftsmen who live and work in it. The second goal is to present to the international scientific community this rustic villa, a unique case for Tirana.

Keywords: *Tirana mosaic, rustic villa, domus ecclesiae, Roman Albania, Christian Albania.*

Öz

Arnavutluk'un başkenti Tiran, Antik Çağlarda bir yerleşim merkezi olarak var olmamış, basit bir şekilde, Pompei için Ercolano'nun olduğu gibi, Dyrrachium'un asilzadelerinin kırsal yerleşim bölgesi olarak kabul edilmiştir. 1972'de Tiran'da, bir binanın inşaatı sırasında, Roma döneminde inşa edilen rustik bir villanın kalıntıları tesadüfen ortaya çıkarılmış ve bazı odaların çok renkli mozaiklerle dekore edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu villanın dört yüzyıl aşkın bir süre boyunca kullanıldığı ve birkaç nesli barındırdığı anlaşılmış ve bu nedenle arkeologlar tarafından İS 1. yüzyılın sonları ile 5. yüzyıla tarihlendirilmiştir.

Bu araştırmanın asıl amacı, mozaiklerin ve mozaiklerde kullanılan motiflerin dikkatli bir analizinin yapılması, mozaiklerin Balkanlar ve Adyatik coğrafyasındaki yerinin belirlenmesi, mozaiklerin sahiplerinin ve mozaikleri işleyen zanaatkarların tespit edilmesidir. İkinci amaç, Tiran için eşsiz bir örnek olan bu rustik villayı uluslararası bilimsel topluluğa sunmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Tiran mozaiği, kırsal villa, domus ecclesiae, Roma Çağı'nda Arnavutluk, Hristiyan Arnavutluk.*

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A Roman Vila in the Centre of Tirana

The research will focus on a structure found in the capital of Albania, Tirana (Fig. 1), which in the beginning was used exclusively as a residential and productive structure, but, later on, part of the building became public (Anamali - Meksi 1972: 12; Omari 2013: 373-384).

The ancient *villa* is located in the middle of the modern centre of the city, not far from the principal square, “Scanderbeg Square”, and between two important roads: “*Rruga e Durrësit*” and “*Rruga e Kavajës*”, connecting Tirana with the port of Durrës, from which the most important road of Balkan *Via Egnatia-Eγνατία Όδός* starts, and its hinterland, Kavaja, also located on the route leading to Byzantium.

From the research carried out in the last years, Albanian archaeologists have identified in the hinterland between Durrës (*Dyrrachium*) and Elbasan (*Scampia*), in the area that today we can consider the territory of Tirana, several castles and sites already inhabited in the Illyrian period. The sites that are better known are those of *Mali i Vilës* and *Dorëzi*, where the castles built in the 6th-5th century BC were used and restructured respectively till to the 6th and to the 4th century AD (Ceka 2006: 62-66; Cabanes et al. 2008: 254-258). As the recent studies have not been systematic and many details are missing, it is difficult to reconstruct precisely the ancient landscape. Surely, this area of ancient Albania, after the Roman occupation, became a busy region with mercenaries, soldiers and merchants traveling both to the East and to the West (Ceka 2006: 62-66). Another testimony, although unclear because of the lack of precise details, can be found in the 4th book of *Περὶ κτισμάτων* of Procopius of Caesarea where castles are listed that were built *ex novo* or reconstructed in the territory of *Epirus Nova* by Emperor Justinian. On the list of the new castles we find that of *Τιτιάνα* – Titiana, while on that of restructured castles that of *Τυρκανός* – *Tyrchanus* (Procopius 1961: 251) is mentioned. Perhaps the latter is the castle of our centre that over the centuries became *Tyrana* – Tirana, as was mentioned by Eduard Lear in his travel diary in Albania (Destani - Elsie 2008: 42-54, 79-82). Until now, nothing is known on these mentions, and therefore the information remains to be checked. However, in Tirana, not much time ago, during the reconstruction of a central street, close to the Parliament, archaeologists found the remains of the Ottoman castle. Maybe the Justinian walls are preserved under them? In this case, we are not so far from the Roman *villa*, which was found by chance in 1972, during the construction of a building in the neighbourhood called “*Partizani*”. Approximately -0,30 /-0,40 meters below the city’s modern trekking level, were discovered the remains of a residential structure decorated with mosaics. Immediately after the discovery, the work for the construction of the palace were interrupted and the excavations started, coordinated by the Institute of Cultural Monuments and the Institute of History of Tirana. The archaeological investigations brought to light only the south-east part of the ancient building, with their different phases, the floors decorations, several fragments of ceramics and bricks, and various funeral steles that identify the building with a rustic *villa* and, at the same time, include the period of its first construction between the 1st and the 2nd century AD (Fig. 2).

Two centuries later, in the 4th century AD, based on some structural data, archaeologists think that the owner of the *villa* performed some changes. In this second phase the building was transformed from a unitary structure in two separate parts: one exclusively residential and one for productive activities, aimed at working the fields. It is in this moment that the Christian message begins

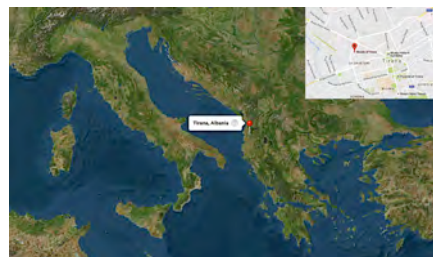
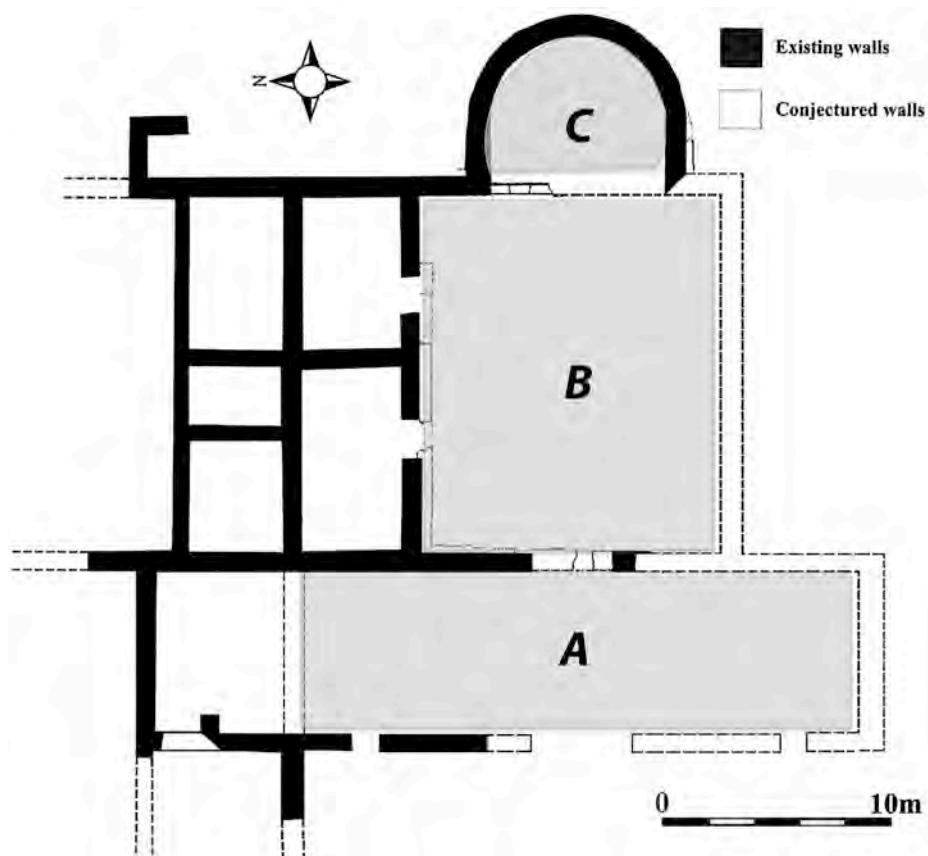


Figure 1
Tirana location with the mosaic site in the centre of the modern city (re-elab. by E. Omari).

Figure 2
Plan of the rustic villa of Tirana (from Gilkes 2004: 286 fig. 119, re-elab. by E. Omari).



to spread in the territory of Albania and with more probability the owners of the *villa* became Christians. In this historic phase the celebrations of the first Christian communities took place in private buildings or in catacombs (Bowes 2008: 4-11; Sfameni 2014: 99-112). Until today in all the Albanian territory the catacombs have never been found. Consequently, the owners, converted to the new religion, reorganized the *villa* making further structural changes, as it happen in all Mediterranean area (Volpe 2002: 26-63; Chavarría Arnau 2009: 11-13; Chavarría Arnau 2010: 639-662). In this case, in order to have a larger room to hold the community meetings and to celebrate the sacrifice of Christ, in the east side, where the main room of the *villa* is, was added an apse, while on the west side, on the mosaic of the room which will be the narthex of the Christian building, the figures of two pairs of fishes were inserted and counterpoised.

Indeed in Albanian literature the building is known as the “*domus ecclesiae*” or as the “rustic *villa*” of Tirana. The Albanian archaeologists have interpreted the last changes as adaptations to carry out a structure for the celebrations of the new Christian community that gravitates around it (Gilkes 2004: 284-286).

The architecture of the part that becomes *ecclesia* is simpler: on the west side two doors permit the entry into the narthex, of rectangular shape. Two other doors carry out on the eastern wall of the narthex, allow guests to enter into the main room, which ends in east side with an apse. These three rooms at the moment are the principal rooms of the rustic *villa* as they are decorated by polychrome mosaics, with geometric patterns; motifs which are used both in the Roman and late antique period (Fig. 3). Here, as in the whole Adriatic and Mediterranean area, the artisans used geometric patterns that are neutral and employ them to decorate structures that have a double value, private and religious. Only on the mosaic of narthex elements are inserted that can be connected to the new

religious tradition, fish and birds, the latter mentioned by Anamali (1993: 460), but no longer visible.

During the excavations other environments were found on the north side of the structure, perhaps rooms linked to the private activities of the *villa*, some of which still display bricks floors with monograms (Omari 2009: 81-89). This shows that in the phase of the conversion of the rustic *villa* into *domus ecclesiae* the craftsmen used blocks with the symbol of the cross, dating back to Constantine I (306-337 AD).

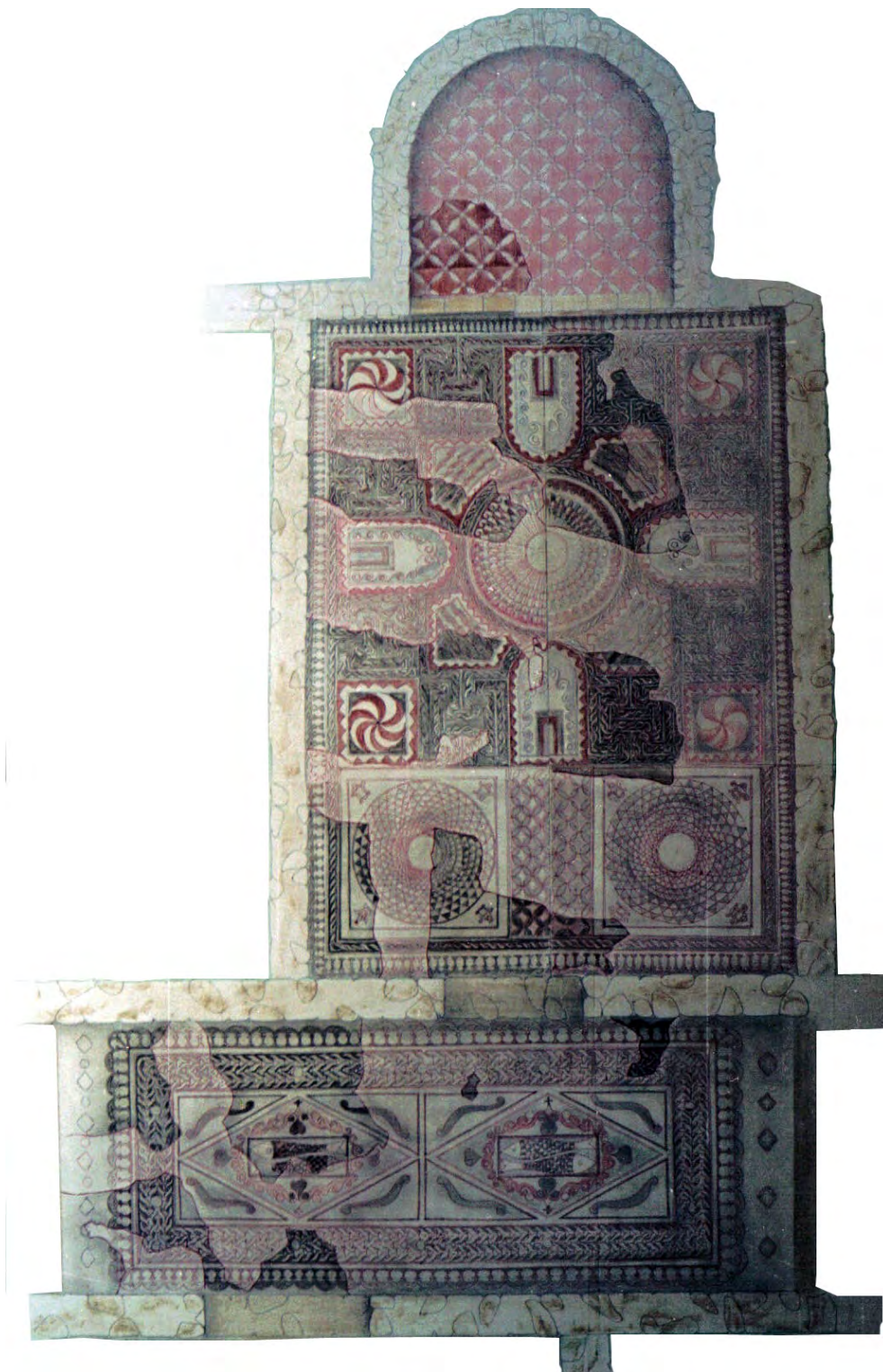


Figure 3
Reconstructive design of mosaics
of rustic villa (photo E. Omari).

The Mosaics of Villa

The mosaics realised in tessellates, as already mentioned above, decorate important rooms and have polychromatic and bi-chromatic geometric and geometric-figurative patterns. The material used for the mosaics, with most probability, is local. From a visual examination it was possible to note that in it prevail limestone tesserae in white, beige, black, grey, pink, violet colour, whereas the red tesserae are made by ceramic material-terracotta.

Starting from room "A", which must have mainly been an access room, it is visible that during the late antiquity period it went through structural and decorative modifications, which lead the archaeologists suggest that these changes are due to the use made of the room that became the narthex of the new *ecclesiae* (Fig. 4a-d). The south part of this environment was destroyed during the opening of the foundations of the modern palace. Therefore, today almost two-thirds of the wall structure is preserved (12,9x4 m). From a recent study done by the University of Siena, as part of a Master thesis, the scholar hypothesises a much larger environment where the length is 25.51 m and the width is 4,56 m (Miti 2005: 24-31).

Figure 4 a-d
Mosaics fragments in the room "A"
(photo E. Omari).

The floor decoration of the room, brought to light in fragmentary conditions, present a tessellate with juxtapose texture of the mosaic surface (Omari 2011:



679), where perhaps there were two connecting bands, one to the north and another one to the south of the room, but only a small fragment was found in the north corner. This white monochrome band was decorated by row of spaced and poised serrated polychrome squares (Décor I: pl. 5a). There are two edges, preserved in part, consisting in polychrome stylized arcade of peltae with a column supporting the central point of pelta, forming twin arches (Décor I: pl. 97e) and three interbraided bands of polychrome round-tongued guilloche opened from eyelets, running in opposite directions (var. Décor I: pl. 75c). The edges enclose the field composed of two rectangular panels inscribed by lozenge loaded by current waves; on the triangles, formed by the lozenge, curved ribbons are presented with Hedera or heart-shaped leaves, in the centre of this lozenge another rectangle with two contrasting fishes was inserted (Décor I: pl. 299e).

The second room decorated with mosaics is room "B", rectangular (11,20x9,45 m), both for the size and for the floor decoration must be identified with a representation environment that in the second phase, after structural changes it became the hall /nave used for the religious ceremonies (Fig. 5a-g).

Figure 5 a-d. Mosaics fragments in the room "B" (photo E. Omari).



a



b



c



d

Also in this room the artisan uses the juxtapose texture to make the floor mosaic, where the first edge defining the entire surface is composed of arcade of peltae with a column supporting the central point of pelta, forming twin arches (Décor I: pl. 97e) followed by a simple guilloche in contrasting colours (Décor I: pl. 70d). They enclose two panels, one is small and is divided into three parts and another one is larger. The first panel is limited by a triple line with black tesserae, which in turn divides it into three distinct areas. This part of the field presents three motifs decorations: two squares, with equal decoration to the sides



Figure 5 e-g
Mosaics fragments in the room “B”
(photo E. Omari).

of the carpet, and a central one. Inside of the lateral squares, on a white surface, a shield of triangles with opposite colours (Décor II: pl. 327b) are inscribed, which on the sides of the square form four triangles loaded by *kantharoi*. The pattern of the central decoration has an orthogonal shape of intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent solid spindles and concave squares, the colours counter changed (Décor I: pl. 237a). The second panel, which covers most of the room, presents a centralized pattern, in a square and around a circle, made up of 4 lateral arches interlaced tangentially with the circle, and of 4 chevrons in the corner. These are adjacent to the arches (here in simple guilloche, the chevrons with meander and swastika in opposite direction with a double “T” (Décor II: pl. 367c). The central circle in the inside is defined by a simple wave (Décor I: pl. 101b) and is loaded by a shield of scales with radial flower effect (Décor II: pl. 333b). The four arcades that are formed at the side of the central circle are adorned with simple waves and by geometric elements, while the four squares placed between the circle and the arcades are loaded by zigzag rainbow-pattern of simple filets (Décor I: pl. 199b).

On the east side the large room is close to the apse, room “C”, which is a semi-circle and has a diameter of 5.16 m. Added to the structure of the home and the environment that preceded when the building became a *domus ecclesiae*, so at the end of 4th century AD, not only the construction technique, but also the size of the wall are different from the set of the *villa*, they vary from 0.67 to 0.75 m of thickness. The apse mosaic, of which only a small part can be found, has another texture, which is iterative (Fig. 6). It presents an orthogonal pattern of

intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent solid spindle and concave squares, and the colours are changed (D cor I: pl. 237a).



Figure 6
Mosaics fragments in the room "C"
(photo E. Omari).

The Comparisons of the Motives of Mosaics

The following analysis of decorative patterns used in the mosaics of Tirana, being they employed to decorate the edges or the fields or as filler elements of the basic motif, will not be considered as dating elements for the floor mosaic and for the architectural structure. They are indeed very common throughout the Mediterranean area, but they will help us to understand the tastes of the territory. Given the vastness of their distributions in different places and times, we will give only examples from neighbouring areas of Albania: the Balkan and Italian area. It should also be specified that where the motives are widespread and the testimonies exceed a certain number they will be mentioned in general without specifying the structure or the environment they decorate.

The Edges Motifs

D cor I: pl. 5a: *row of spaced and poised serrated polychrome squares.*

Although in part visible in the mosaics of Tirana, this pattern is known but not very frequent. In the Albanian territory, the second example comes from the room with the apse in the Athena *domus* in Apollonia, which is dated between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD (Omari - Bonini 2016: 32-33). If we look at the neighbouring areas of Albania, the pattern is absent. Currently it was found in Greece and specifically in few churches of Cos island, dated at 5th-6th century AD (De Matteis 2013: 48-68). In Italy, there is only one example in Rome; the floor decoration now is preserved and exhibited in the *Capitolina* Collection. Also in this case, as in the Tirana mosaic, the row of spaced and poised serrated polychrome squares mark the central panel of the threshold of an unknown room only on two sides; this mosaic is dated by the scholars back to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Salveti 2013: 283-285). If we wanted to expand the comparison



area, which looks like the pattern that had origin and fortune in the East, it is enough to consider that many edges, in different rooms of the Roman *domus* excavated in Antioch, dated between the 2nd and 3rd century AD, were decorated with it (Levi 1947: 66-281), such as the church of Bishop Martin in Gerasa, erected in the 4th century (Picirillo 1989: 1704-1711).



Décor I: pl. 97e: *polychrome stylized arcade of peltae with a column supporting the central point of pelta, forming twin arches.*

Currently the pattern with pelta on columns forming twin arches seems to be unknown in Albania and the example of Tirana can be considered unique for this territory. In addition to use in the edges of the rooms “A” and “B”, the pattern was employed with a single arch and carried out with inferior quality only in another site, in the mosaic of the Acropolis church of Butrint (Mitchell 2008: 85). This design, although not so recurring, in the Balkan area was found in Istria, on two occasions: in a rustic *villa* discovered in S. Simeone and in the Christian basilica of Orserio (Zovatto 1971: 58) and in Bulgaria, at Stara Zagora, on the edge of the large room of the late antique *domus*. In the Bulgarian mosaic, the motif was used only on one side of the room, just in the west (Valeva 2011: 930-932). By contrast, in Italy this pattern is used both in roman tradition, in a mosaic excavated in Vatican, dated between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD, with arches that more elaborated than the one in Tirana, (Blake 1936: 121), in Christian tradition in north Adriatic area, on the Grado island, used to decorate the edge of the baptistery mosaic, dated to the beginning of the 4th century AD (Zovatto 1971: 63).



Décor I: pl. 75c: *a variant of two interbraided bands of polychrome round-tongued guilloche opened to form eyelets, running in opposite directions.*

The pattern with three interbraided bands, running in opposite directions, in Albania’s territory prove to be used only in Tirana mosaic, but it is a variation of the original motif found in Costanza, in Romania (Barnea 1977: 183). The pattern of the edge of the Tirana mosaic is a triple and is unique for the area. In Albania, the archaeologists have always found this design with one band starting from the 2nd-3rd century AD, in the roman *domus* of Apollonia and Butrint, until reaching the religious structure of the 6th century AD, specifically in Lin and Bylis basilica and in the Saranda synagogue (Omari 2009: 132-133). However, in the Balkan area, in Greece, the pattern is widespread as a single braid, both in edges of the private *domus* of the 2nd-3rd AD and in edges that decorate the floor of the early Christian basilicas, then of the 5th-6th century AD. Exemplars were found in the basilica of Managitas, in the basilica “A” of Elitas and in the basilica “B” of Chersoneso on the island of Crete (Atzakà 1988: 123-137). A punctual comparison with our pattern, three interbraided bands of polychrome round-tongued guilloche opened to form eyelets, running in opposite directions was discovered in a small church of Cterio Castron in Amfissa (Atzakà 1987: 187-188). If we observe the Italian mosaics it is known that, in this area, the motif is privileged with polychrome round-tangent double guilloche opened to form eyelets too. From the census carried out throughout the country many braid examples were found, with all the nuances that the pattern can undergo, except for the triple band. The similar edges to our example were found accidentally in Rome, in Tiburtina road, locality Settecaminì. The mosaic discovered without context was dated by the archaeologists, based on stylistic data, between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD (<http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/web/home/>).

Décor I: pl. 70d: *outlined simple guilloche on a coloured ground.*

This decorative pattern has been known since the origins of the mosaic and throughout the Mediterranean area. In Albania we find it almost everywhere since the imperial period to the late antiquity both in private buildings (Apollonia and Butrint *domus*) and in public buildings (Lin, Bylis, Mesaplik and Saranda basilica) (Omari 2009: 132-133). In the Balkan area the comparisons are so many, therefore, in this analysis we are going to mention a few of them. Starting from the Greek area, the outlined simple guilloche on a coloured ground can be found on the island of Delos (Bruneau 1972: 53) and on Kos island. Here it is used to decorate the edges of the major basilica of Kephalos and the Baptistery of Zipari (De Matteis 2013: 40-44, 67-68); in Macedonia it is present in the mosaic decorations of the episcopal basilica of Stobi, into the Thyrsus Bishop basilica in Tegea and in Nea Anchialos basilica, all of 5th-6th century AD (Kolarik 1989: 372-439). In the italic area it is witnessed throughout the area from the 1st to the 5th-6th century AD. Only in the area of *X Regio* there are seventeen mosaics between Adria, Este, Padova and Verona, which have had a decorative element of the edge this pattern (Rinaldi 2007: 33-35). In the central-northern area of Etruria there are fourteen edges carried out between the end of 1st century BC and 4th century AD where the outlined simple guilloche on a coloured ground is used (Bueno 2011: 211).

**Décor I: pl. 10g:** *serrated saw-tooth pattern.*

This pattern used in the mosaic of Tirana doesn't present any limits in space and time. Being so well-known within the Albanian territory, we find it in Apollonia in a *domus* from the 3rd century AD and in a late antique basilica of the city; the pattern was also used in the floor decorations of the so-called Triconch palace of Butrinto and in the mosaics of the basilica *extra muros* in Elbasan (Omari 2009: 134-135). If we turn our gaze to the Balkan area, the serrated saw-tooth pattern is present in Greece, in Delos, in the *domus* of the northern quarter (Bruneau 1972: 50). By contrast, on the western shore of the Adriatic, in Italy, it has been attested already in the republican era in Rome (Morricone Martini 1967: 48-49), in Sirmione in so-called *Grotta di Catullo* (Roffia 1997: 157-159), in Este in a Roman *domus* excavated in the *Albrizzi Villa*, in Padua in an unclear context, excavated in the centre of the city (Via 8 Febbraio – *Palazzo degli Anziani*), in Verona in two *domus* (Rinaldi 2007: 29). Four attestations can be found in the Tuscany area: two in Arezzo, one in S. Liberata in Grosseto and one in Volterra, all framed in a period of time between the 2nd to the 4th century AD (Bueno 2011: 201-202).

**Décor I: pl. 101b:** *wave pattern (normal).*

This decorative motif is one of the oldest and the well-known in Greek (Salzmann 1982) and Aegean areas, especially on Delos island (Bruneau 1972: 266). The pattern, used to define pebble mosaics already in the 4th century BC, has a very long life and wide diffusion across the Mediterranean, and as this pattern doesn't know space and time limits it is impossible to lose all the archaeological evidence. In Albania, beyond the Tirana example, other seven edges decorated with this motif were identified. In this territory the theme appears at the dawn of floor decorations, in the 4th century BC in Durrës; once again in Durrës we find it employed in a mosaic of the 2nd century AD and later in the decorations of Roman houses of the 3rd-4th century AD in Apollonia, Saranda, Butrint. It can also be found in the late antiquity basilicas "D" and "E" of Bylis, both built in the 5th-6th century AD (Ceka - Muçaj 2005: 73-75; Omari 2009: 131-132). The same



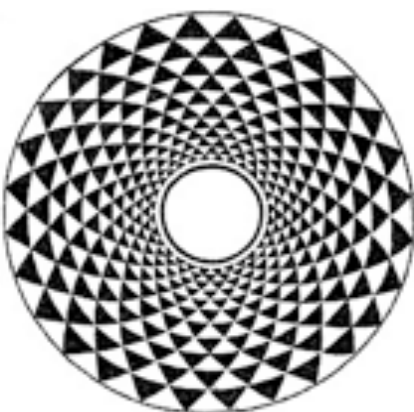
happened in the Macedonian and Greek area. The development and the distribution of the pattern go from the 4th century BC to the 6th century AD. We just need to think of the Hellenistic mosaics of Corinth and Olinto (Salzmann 1982: 95-103); of Pella (Guimier-Sorbets 2004: 1163-1172), the mosaics of Delo's houses (Bruneau 1972: 172-303), the *domus* of Peristeria (Kolarik 1989: 140-154), the Roman houses and the early Christian basilicas of Crete dating back to the middle of the 2nd and the 6th century AD (Markoulaki - Christoudoulakos 2004: 366). Still in Italy, the normal wave pattern is widely spread throughout the territory. In this respect we can give the example of what was found near Foggia, in a late antique villa dating between the 3rd and the 4th century AD (Fiorella et al. 2006: 454); the two testimonies found in Este and Padua dated between the middle of the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD (Rinaldi 2007: 50-51), and those found in Lucca, Populonia and Volterra, dated from the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC (Bueno 2011: 226-227).

The Field's Motifs



Décor I: pl. 299e: (*variant*) of lozenge inscribed in a rectangle (here outlined).

This pattern that in Tirana is used to decorate the central part of the floor mosaic of room "A" in Albania is known but not widespread. Currently, in addition to the mosaic of Tirana, in this Balkan area it was used to decorate the threshold of the north nave of the basilica "A" in Bylis (Muçaj 1987: 173-190), whereas in Greece it is highly appreciated by the client and has been used in the mosaics decorations since the Hellenistic era, for example in Delos, in the mosaic which adorn the Italian agorà, in one of the rooms of the "House with a column" and in the "House III Q" located in the theatre neighborhood (Bruneau 1972: 141, 218, 283). Still in Greece, two examples coming from Oikia and Tasos (Atzakà 1998: 233-234, 335-336) were found in a private building built during the imperial era. However, they are not missing in the late antiquity basilica. Here we can mention the mosaics of the basilica "A" of Chersonisos and the basilica of Eleutherna (Sweetman 2013: 213-216, 225-227). In the italic area some mosaics testify that this pattern, drawn in two-toned colours (black and white), was found in Rimini, in the threshold of room "C" of a Roman house close to the arch of Augustus. The mosaic is dated by the archaeologist back to half /end of the 1st century (Riccioni 1994: 80-81). It was also found in Desenzano, again used to adorn the threshold of one of the rooms of a Roman house (Mirabella Roberti 1994: 109). Based on the edited data we can say that the lozenge pattern inscribed in a rectangle had better luck in the Eastern area than in the West: numerous are the exemplars which come not only from the Greek but also from the Roman houses discovered in Antioch (Levi 1947: 37-219).



Décor II: pl. 327b: shield of triangles, in contrasting colours (here with 28 triangles per row, in 11 rows).

The shield of triangles pattern, which decorates part of the main room of the rustic *villa*, is well-known and diffused throughout the area of the Roman Empire. Therefore, even in this case, it is very difficult to bring all the examples documented. The most immediate comparisons are among those within the Albanian territory, in important sites such as Durrës, in the "*hippocampus* thermal bath" dating 1st century AD; in Apollonia, in the Athena *domus*, dated between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD; in the Triconch Palace at Butrint, dated between the 2nd and the 4th century AD (Omari 2009: 181). Even though there is no scheme that is much appreciated by the customer, in the Balkan area the examples are not

missing. A testimony to the use of the scheme comes from Bulgaria, from a private building of the 3rd century AD, excavated at the ancient site of *Philippopolis* (Plovdiv) (Kessiakova 1994: 166-167). In Greece, currently, the pattern can be found both in private houses built during the imperial era (2nd-3rd century AD) and in public structures, as are the early Christian churches. The following are some examples found on the island of Crete. The first one comes from the so-called *Dionysus villa* (2nd century AD), the second from a residential building of Mitropolis of Gortina dated between the 3rd and the 4th century AD, the third from the *triclinium* of the Roman house found in the Kypriotaki properties of Chersonisos (4th-5th century AD), while in the late religious context the pattern was found in three basilicas at Poros, at Klapsi and at Antichira (Atzaka 1984: 51; 1987: 149, 164-169; 1988: 83-85). On the west shore of the Adriatic see, in Italy, the motif is mainly documented in Rome, with five attestations all carried out between the 1st and 4th century AD. However, the item in Italy that shares more similarities with the Tirana pattern was excavated at Narni in Umbria and was part of a mosaic fragment which decorated the field of the Roman *villa* room dating back to the 1st century (<http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/web/home/>).

Décor I: pl. 237a: *orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent solid spindle and concave squares, the colours are counter changed.*

The pattern is quite simple and therefore very diffused throughout the Empire. From Albania, in addition to the testimonies of Tirana, there are eleven other attestations, all carried out in red and white (two-toned), which come from the Roman houses and the early Christian basilica brought to light at the sites of Berat, Bylis, Saranda and Butrint. The buildings that are located in a time span that goes from the 2nd to the 6th century AD. Therefore, in this territory the orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles circulated for four centuries (Omari 2009: 177-178). There are many samples in the surrounding area as well. Not so far from Tirana, on the ancient way *Dyrrachium-Naissus*, at *Ulpiana* (Kosovo), the motif was used to decorate three environments of a Roman house from the imperial era with mosaics (Cvetković Tomašević 1994: 145-146). In other parts of Balkan area, in Macedonia, we find it on the mosaics of the Episcopal Church at Stobi and of the great basilica at Heraclea (Kolarik 1989: 97-98). In Greece it was found on the island of Kos as part of the mosaic of the early Christian basilica of Zipari (De Matteis 2013: 64). Also the italic examples are numerous and here we can cite only a few. In Rome only, until today three mosaics floor adorned with the orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles are known: the first sample comes from the port of Rome, Ostia, from the Insula of Aquila, the floor of the corridor of one of these houses was covered with this pattern (Becatti 1961: 194). The second mosaic was found in Via Rusconi, in the heart of Rome, which decorated the floor of an undocumented structure; the third mosaic with this scheme was found in the Roman suburb, in the hypogeum of the so-called *Villa Lucchina*. The archaeologists dated all these examples to the 3rd century AD (<http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/web/home/>).

Décor II: pl. 367c: *Centralized pattern, in a square and around a circle, with 4 lateral arches, interlaced tangentially with the circle, and with 4 chevrons in the corner adjacent to the arches (here in simple guilloche, the chevrons with meander and swastika in opposite direction with a double T).*

This motif, which currently decorates most of the carpet of the great room of the rustic *villa* in Tirana, results to be an *unicum* for Albania, which suggests that his diffusion was very restricted. In the Balkans, until today, there are only three



mosaics decorated with this pattern and specifically there two are in Greece: in the narthex of the basilica of Aigion and in the central nave of the basilica of Delfi (Atzakà 1987: 180-82, 94-197). The third one, which is more similar to the mosaic of Tirana, was recently discovered in Bulgaria, at Stara Zagora. Here the centralized pattern, in a square and around a circle, was used in the carpet of the great room of a late antique *domus*. Based on the stylistic analysis, Bulgarian archaeologists date this mosaic between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century AD (Valeva 2011: 927-934). On the Western side of the Adriatic Sea, this pattern is completely absent in Italy. From a study done by M-P. Raynaud on three examples found in France, it seems that the motif has late antique origin and is well known in the Middle East, between Syria and Turkey (Raynaud 1996: 69-102).

Filler Elements

Besides the decorative patterns of edges and fields, with all the other Roman mosaics the mosaic of Tirana also shares the so-called filling elements, the geometric or figurative decorations that fill the empty spaces of the geometric scheme. In our case, in the narthex room filling elements are used on the mosaic ad: a curved ribbon with *Hedera* in the end and fish in opposite directions. Both are known elements but not widespread. In Albania, opposite fish are found only in the Tirana mosaic, while the ribbon with *Hedera* in the end is present in another carpet, the one found in the entrance of the “G” *domus* at Apollonia (2nd – 3rd century AD).

Other filler elements are found in the geometric motifs that decorate the large room inside the two side panels those with triangle-shaped shields. Four *kantharoi* have been employed to fill the four triangles of the result and the hexafoil (flower with six petals) in the middle. Both the *kantharos* and the flower were widespread throughout the Mediterranean area already from the Hellenistic period until the late antiquity era. Let us just consider the mosaics of Delos (Bruneau 1972: 69-70) and the pebble mosaics studies by Salzmann (Salzmann 1982: 76, 113, 119-121, 124-126). In Albania a similar pattern is found in the mosaic of the apse room in the Triconch Palace at Butrint (Mitchell 2011: 242-251). Instead, in the big panel, the one with the centralized pattern, in a square and around a circle, the filler elements are: the turning wheel in contrasting colours, a shield of oblong bipartite polychrome scales which appears to be windswept (Décor II: pl. 333b) and the zigzag rainbow-pattern of simple filets (Décor I: pl. 199b) at the sides of the central circle. Also these patterns are very common in the Mediterranean area, however some of them were carried out in later periods, for example the turning wheel in contrasting colours is witnessed in Greece, in the late antique basilica of Dietomo (Atzaka 1987: 151-152). On the contrary, the zigzag rainbow-pattern of simple filets has been certified to date back from the imperial era to the late antiquity both as a filler element and as a real decoration of the carpet. Currently it was found employed in the Christian basilica of Crete (Sweetman 2013: 210-212, 225-227) and on the mosaics that adorn the late antique *domus* of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria (Valeva 2011: 934-936). This zigzag pattern was also discovered in Italy, in a mosaic at Desenzano (Mirabella Roberti 1994: 109). Also the comparisons related to filler patterns are important engagements for the reconstruction of their temporal development. Elements such as *kantharos* and hexafoil have a very long life and distribution (3rd century BC – 6th century AD), while other elements such as shields of oblong bipartite polychrome scales, appearing windswept and the turning wheel in contrasting colours seem to be mostly employed during the 3rd and the 6th century AD.

Conclusions

In the end of this research the questions that emerge are more numerous than the solutions. First of all, the location of the *villae* is never chosen by chance but because of rural and productive reasons as well as because of the business conducted by the clients. Rich clients whose families had been living in the *villae* for some generations, making renovations and, as seen, also changes could afford high expenses. Being the mosaic of Tirana an *unicum* for the city, some questions arise spontaneously: who are the clients of this *villa*? Are they merchants who travelled and comprehended the new religion or are they landowners who received Christian guests? Were they indigenous people or did they come from other parts of the Empire? All this is hard to say. Moreover, how big was this Christian community to establish a *domus ecclesiae* and to adorn it with mosaics? Providing answers with accurate data to all these questions has not as yet been possible for various reasons, especially because the modern Tirana has been greatly enlarged and the presence of the new buildings does not allow any archaeological investigation. Other issues emerge if we think of the artisans who used to work there. Who are they? Where did they come from? From the analysis illustrated in this study, it is possible to observe that some decorative patterns, such as Décor I, pl. 5a (row of spaced and poised serrated polychrome squares), Décor I, pl. 75c (variant of two interbraided bands of polychrome round-tongued guilloche opened to form eyelets, running in opposite directions), Décor II, pl. 299e (lozenge inscribed in a rectangle), and Décor II, pl. 367c (centralized pattern, in a square and around a circle, of 4 lateral arches) are mostly widespread in the eastern Adriatic region. This data stresses the fact that part of the motives come from this part of the Empire and the artisans, in their itinerary, move the wave of motive fortune, which fades when they meet their clients different taste, which the craftsman try to respect. In this landscape of mosaic patterns, it is curious that pattern Décor II, pl. 367c is documented in Albania in the end of 4th century AD and has a precise comparison in the mosaic of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria. They were used to adorn a *domus* built at the end of 4th century AD as well (Valeva 2011: 927-934), which runs against all the examples proposed by Raynaud (Raynaud 1996: 69-102) as they mostly come from early Christian basilicas. Can it be that the craftsmen who carried out the mosaics of Tirana were local people who altered move, with the patterns, in to work in the East part of the peninsula? Another peculiarity of the Tirana mosaics is the use of the three interbraided bands of polychrome round-tongued guilloche opened to form eyelets, running in opposite directions, which, as seen from the comparisons, find a precise comparison in Greece, but here they were carried out later in the 6th century AD. What can be said about this? Within a vast territory like that of the Roman Empire, where everything and everybody used to travel: people, goods, culture, and so did also cartoons with decorative patterns. It seems that Albania had developed a typical taste for the decoration of their buildings and conducted a filtering role for the capital of the Empire, Rome. Albania has its own craftsmen's workshops that developed their own decorative motifs and know-how maybe they also import it.

In conclusion, the archaeological data, the excavation materials, the level quotas and the stylistic analysis of the floor mosaics allow us to confirm the various phases of the building, the wealth of the clients and above all its use: from the end of the 1st until the 5th century AD, when the barbaric invasion started in this territory.

Unfortunately, from a structural and decorative point of view, the needs associated with the modern buildings around and the road do not allow further excavations for a more accurate knowledge of the complex. The mosaic fragments of Tirana, unlike other Albanian mosaics, are preserved *in situ*. Thanks to the conservation work carried out in 2009 by the Institute of Cultural Monuments of Tirana, the archaeological site has been consolidated and made available to visitors and scholars (Fig. 7), so the mosaic is visible and accessible.



Figure 7
The archaeological site of Tirana with
the new mosaic protections
(photo E. Omari).

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New Documentation Technologies: The “Mosaico de Otoño” of the “Casa del Anfiteatro”, Mérida, Spain

Yeni Belgeleme Teknolojileri: “Amfityatro Evi’nden Sonbahar Mozaïği”, Mérida, İspanya

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Abstract

The graphic documentation of a mosaic preserved in situ is a laborious job. Nowadays, with the advance of new technologies, it is feasible to elaborate a detailed and accurate documentation. To do this, two technologies must be combined: Orthophotography and a Geographic Information System (GIS). The application of these new tools allows qualitative and quantitative studies based on the knowledge of the geographical space. You can make measurements and identify each tessera in its exact location, with geographic coordinates, and, in addition, you can see all the details of the mosaic and the entire room, with a single digital file.

With this objective, we have designed and put into practice this new documentation methodology. We have applied this method in the Archaeological Site of Mérida, in Spain. In particular, we have studied one of the most emblematic mosaics of Augusta Emerita: the “mosaico de Otoño”. This pavement is located in the famous “Casa del Anfiteatro”, which stands out for the quality and quantity of its Roman mosaics. The management and conservation of the archaeological site is carried out by the Consorcio of the Monumental Ciudad of Mérida, institution from which we have carried out this investigation.

With this work we have obtained the first study on the reintegration of tesserae, getting a map with the old interventions (from Roman times) and modern ones that had not been documented since the discovery in the 60s. Also, from the drawings on the orthophotography, we also get the first results for the analysis of the iconography, identifying the figures and the geometric motifs in their whole. This digital analysis is, in addition, a fundamental document to certify the current state of conservation and keep track of deterioration over time.

Keywords: Conservation in situ, orthophotography, Geographic Information System (GIS), documentation, Emerita Augusta.

Öz

Yerinde korunan mozaiklerin grafik belgelemesi oldukça zahmetli bir iştir. Günümüzde, yeni teknolojilerin gelişmesine paralel olarak, ayrıntılı ve doğru bir belgelemenin detaylandırılması mümkündür. Detaylı bir belgeleme yapabilmek için ortofotografi ve Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri (CBS) teknolojilerinin birlikte kullanılması gerekmektedir. Bu yeni araçların uygulanması, coğrafi alan bilgisine dayalı nitel ve nicel çalışmaların yapılmasına imkan sağlamaktadır. Böylelikle, tek bir dijital dosya üzerinden her bir tesseraın ölçüleri alınabilmekte ve tanımları yapılabilmekte, coğrafi koordinatlar yardımıyla da mozaığın ve tüm mekânın detayları görülebilmektedir.

Bu amaçla, bu yeni dokümantasyon metodolojisi tasarlanmış ve uygulamaya geçirilmiştir. Bu yöntem İspanya'daki Mérida Arkeolojik Sit Alanı'nda uygulanmıştır. Özellikle de, Augusta Emerita'nın en sembolik mozaiklerinden birisi olan “Sonbahar Mozaïği” (Mosaico de Otoño) üzerinde çalışılmıştır. Bu mozaik döşeme, içinde barındırdığı Roma mozaiklerinin hem nitelik hem de nicellik açısından öne çıkan bir niteliğe sahip olan ünlü “Amfityatro Evi’nde” (Casa del Anfiteatro) yer almaktadır.

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Arkeolojik alanın yönetimi ve korunması, bu araştırmayı yürüttüğümüz alandan sorumlu olan Mérida Anıtsal Kent Konsorsiyumu tarafından yürütülmektedir.

Bu yöntem sayesinde tesseraların yeniden entegrasyonu ile ilgili ilk çalışma yapılmış, aynı zamanda Roma Dönemi'nden itibaren yapılan eski müdahaleler ve 1960'lardaki keşfinden günümüze kadar yapılmış müdahaleler hakkında bir harita elde edilmiştir. Ayrıca, ortofotografi çizimleri sayesinde ikonografi analizi yapılabilmüş, figürlerin ve geometrik motiflerin bir bütün olarak tanımlanması ile ilgili ilk sonuçlar elde edilmiştir. Bütün bunlara ek olarak, böyle bir dijital analizin yapılması mevcut koruma durumunun belgelenmesi ve zaman içindeki bozulmanın takip edilmesi için temel bir belge elde edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *İn situ koruma, ortofotografi, Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemi (CBS), dokümantasyon, Emerita Augusta.*

Introduction

The *in situ* conservation of mosaics is a complex task and carries a great responsibility for institutions and professionals. The mosaics are part of our archaeological heritage, and therefore we know that we have to guarantee its accessibility in the present and its permanence in time for future generations.

Thanks to international organizations as important as the ICCM or the AIEMA, much progress has been made in the knowledge and safeguarding of mosaics. Criteria and methodologies for conservation and restoration have been established, *corpus* has been made, and research has been carried out on materials, execution technique, history and iconography, spreading knowledge through congresses, workshops, publications, social networks and other institutions.

Graphic documentation is one of the issues that have been addressed, due to its complexity and importance. Specific manuals have already been published on the methodology that must be carried out (Alberti et al. 2013: 11-20). It is done by careful photomontage of digital images. The photo camera and Adobe Photoshop software are the necessary tools to create a complete image of the entire surface. However, the results depend to a large extent on the skill and time of the professional.

In this article, we present a new methodology that improves the accuracy of this type of documentation. The same photomontage principles are followed, but applying the science of photogrammetry and topography. That is, the mosaic is treated as a spatial object, with its cartographic coordinates and is located on a map of the city. For this it is necessary to apply a Geographical Information System.

We have applied this project on one of the best and best-known Roman mosaics in Mérida: the “mosaico de Otoño” of the “Casa del Anfiteatro”. The Consorcio of the Ciudad Monumental of Mérida is the institution that protects the entire site of the city and from where we have done this work.

Description of the Mosaic

The mosaic of Autumn is one of the main pavements that decorate the Roman House of the Amphitheatre of Merida. It was discovered in 1963 (García 1966: 23-25, 33), during this decade the *domus* was excavated, and since then the mosaics have been preserved *in situ*.

It is a work that is known for its iconographic motifs (Blanco 1978: 44). It consists of two juxtaposed central carpets, each one with representation of human figures. In the first carpet (or higher) appear the personifications of Venus and Cupid child, and in the second (or lower), the scene of winemaking is represented by three men who tread the grapes. Vegetable scrolls appear, figures of animals

such as lions and birds, craters and children collecting the grape from the vines. The perimeter carpet is geometric combining different squares in white, red and black. The mosaic stands out for its technical quality and the variety of colours. In addition to the stone, the vitreous paste is used for certain details such as the feathers of the birds or the mantle of Venus, and it also consists of a reintegration with gold *tesserae*, reserved for the jewels worn by Venus: a bracelet and a diadem. It occupies a room commonly interpreted as *triclinium* with a total area of 45 m².

After the works of archaeology during the 60s, the conservation ones followed one another. At this time, *in situ* conservation was already contemplated and it was also intended to include this magnificent *domus* within the archaeological site of the city. To date, it is still the house with the largest area of mosaics, which also stands out for its historical and artistic quality.

The conservation works in this period consisted in removing the mosaics from their original stratigraphy and transferring them to a new support of reinforced concrete. Thus, the fastening of the *tesserae* to a new material of great hardness was ensured, at the same time that it allowed the power to step on them as if it were a new floor.

Since then, different works have been carried out for its maintenance. The last restoration was carried out in 2005. As of this date, the need to improve the registration system for the documentation of this type of pavement was verified and a new methodology on this same mosaic was investigated. In 2009, the first orthophoto of this mosaic was obtained (Pérez 2016: 21-22).

Today, you cannot visit because the house is closed. Since 2011, the construction of a roof has been carried out and the integral adaptation project is currently being developed, from the Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental de Mérida. To reopen the site in optimal conditions for the visit of the public and ensure the conservation of this magnificent *domus*.

Description of the New Methodology for Documentation

The proposed methodology involves an interdisciplinary work, at least a team that includes the works of: a restorer (manipulation and care of the mosaic), a photographer (taking photographs), a topographer (taking geographic coordinates) and a computer drawer (drawing and processing of digital images). With this equipment you can get the orthophotography of the mosaic, that is, the zenith image of the pavement and that serves as a study document.

Once this orthophotography or zenithal image of the mosaic has been obtained, it is possible to work through a Geographic Information System (GIS). At the present, this registration system is used for the documentation of territory areas and is also applied in archaeology (Pizzo 2005: 592-593; Ortiz – del Pino 2013: 90-93). This documentation procedure allows the photographic assembly of the whole, from a grid of continuous photos as a single image. The inclusion of coordinates allows to work at the desired scale and with the real measurements without distortion of the image.

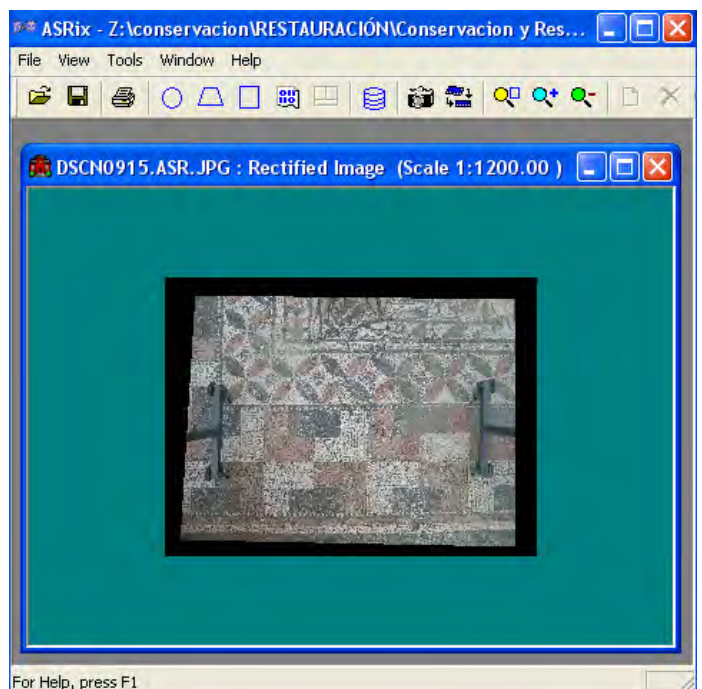
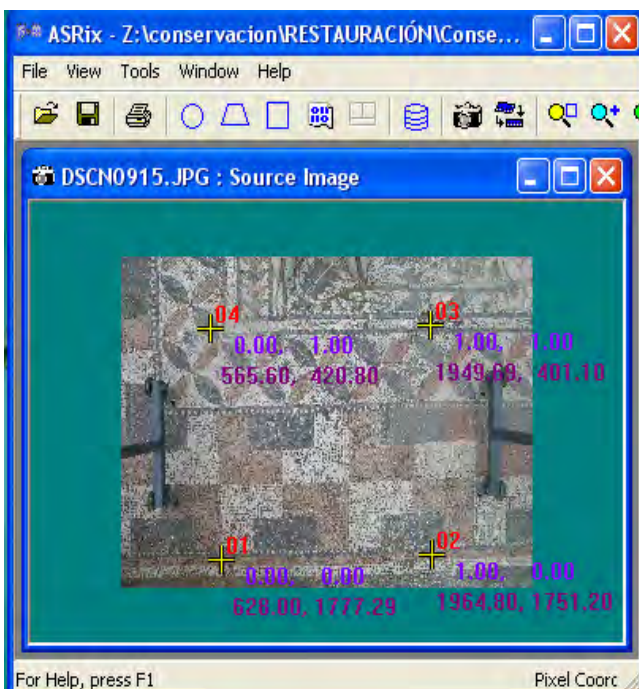
From this generated image, which functions as a mosaic plane, multiple maps can be made. The possibility of study is open to any desired research path: history, iconography, materials, conservation interventions, deterioration, etc. From here, any scientist can contribute with their knowledge and enrich the results obtained.

The steps are the following:

- Planning mosaic data collection
 - Elaboration of a grid in situ, placing numbered stickers in the vertices of each square. The dimensions of each square may vary, it is recommended that they be homogeneous and not exceed one square meter.
 - Choice of time of day with optimal light, avoiding shadows.
 - Light superficial cleaning of accumulated deposits.
- Data collection
 - Setting up of the photo camera on the tripod or support to be used and parameter settings.
 - Capture of photos following the order of the grid, must be agile to avoid changes of light.
 - Geographical coordinates taking by total station or GPS.
- Processing of images and preparation of orthophotography
 - Download pictures on computer.
 - Correction of the distortion of each photograph using photogrammetry software (AsRIX) and inclusion of the measurements according to the grid (Figs. 1 - 2).
 - Assembly by drawing software (AutoCAD) of each rectified image to obtain the complete mosaic.
 - Export of the assembly as a single image and only file, PDF example.
- Preparation of maps using GIS
 - Dumping of data in geographic information software (ArcGIS):
 - Mosaic image
 - UTM coordinates of the mosaic

Figure 1
Example of the methodology of geographic coordinates. Mosaico de Otoño of the Casa del Anfiteatro. Image by M. Paz Pérez.

Figure 2
Example of the methodology process: rectified photography after entering the geographical coordinates. Mosaico de Otoño of the Casa del Anfiteatro. Image by M. Paz Pérez.



- Drafting for the analysis and identification of:
 - Motifs of iconography and
 - Roman and modern reintegration lacunae (Fig. 3)
- Design of data presentation through maps (Fig. 4).

Figure 3
Detail of the reintegration drawing for the study on orthophotography. Mosaico de Otoño of the Casa del Anfiteatro. Map by M. Paz Pérez.

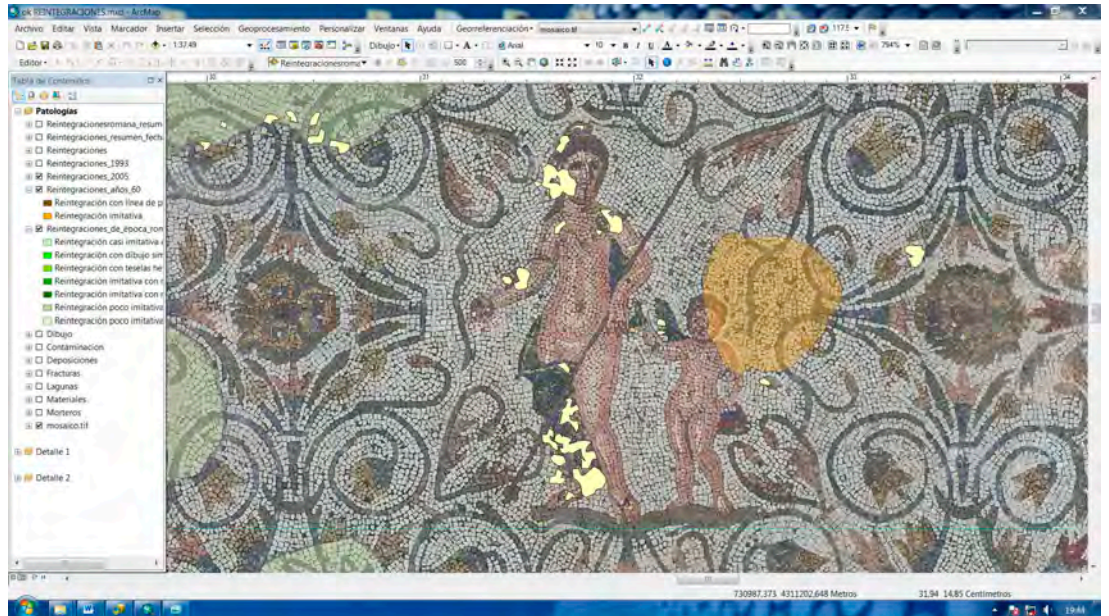


Figure 4
Example of finished map with study of drawing of the compositional scheme on orthophotography. Mosaico de Otoño of the Casa del Anfiteatro. Map by M. Paz Pérez.

MOSAICO DE OTOÑO

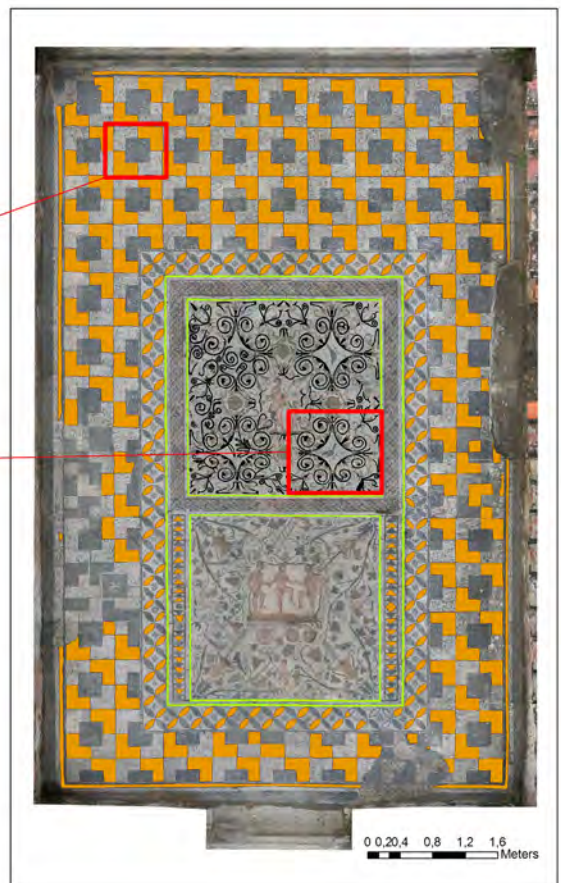
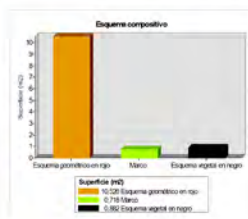
Dibujo compositivo



Leyenda

Dibujo compositivo

- Marco de teselas de piedra negra
- Teselas de piedra negra
- Teselas de piedra roja



Results and Conclusions

The result is a single image, with the zenith view of the entire mosaic. The margin of error is minimal due to the reduced size of the grid and the rectification by coordinates. The process, although it can be slow, allows to obtain a high quality and metric precision and colour. The orthophotography of this mosaic allows the observation of the entire pavement with a sufficient level of detail to identify the tiles. For example, we have been able to verify and draw in plan, that only three of the gold leaf *tesserae* of the Venus bracelet are conserved.

From here, and through work with a GIS, the possibilities are endless for multiple studies. In this case, studies of the iconographic scheme and of reintegration gaps have been carried out (Ardovino 2003: 17-26).

From the iconographic analysis by means of the drawing of the composition, the modifications and the irregularity of the geometry can be detected. It is very easy to identify the original layout of the *tesserae*.

In turn, the reintegration map allows detecting the additions and changes that could be made at the origin or during the course of the stay. And also contrast with the current existing documentation.

Therefore, we believe that digital orthophotography is a fundamental tool for the analysis of large surfaces. To obtain this document it is necessary to resort to photogrammetry techniques and have an interdisciplinary team. Spatial calculations are achieved working through a geographic information system (GIS), this entails great precision and objectivity when it comes to issuing results.

So, after presenting these results, we demonstrate that it is feasible to carry out this type of work and that it greatly improves the knowledge of the mosaics. At the same time, the possibility of future and multiple investigations for professionals is broadened.

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Common Aspects of the Mosaics of Sardinia, North Africa and Iberian Peninsula in the Light of Recent Discoveries

Son Arařtırmalar Iřıęında Sardunya, Kuzey Afrika ve İber Yarımadası'nda Bulunan Mozaiklerde Görülen Ortak Özellikler

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Abstract

The article aims at understanding the common aspects of the new mosaics discovered comparing them to mosaics of North Africa and Iberian Peninsula. For the writing of this work, the teachings of the late Prof. Jose Maria Blázquez were handed down through a myriad of publications: A scholar who has always been busily occupied with all the mosaic art of the Mediterranean.

The first part is dedicated to the geometric mosaics, two from “Domus dei Mosaici” and “Domus di Orfeo” (Turrıs Libisonis) and one from Sant’Imbenia, Alghero.

The second part is dedicated to the figurative mosaics: Orpheus discovered in Turrıs Libisonis and a Head of Medusa discovered in Sant’Imbenia, Alghero.

The ancient mosaics of Sardinia show the influence of nearby North Africa, not only in the figured mosaics but also and above all in the geometric mosaics. The cities in which we find more evidence of mosaics in Sardinia are: Nora, Porto Torres and Cagliari. But the city that in the last year is returning the greatest testimonies in terms of mosaics is the ancient Turrıs Libisonis.

This article will not take into account all the recent discoveries, only the most significant and comprehensive to better explain the North African and Iberian influences: The mosaics that are not taken into consideration, in any case, are very similar to those examined here. It is hoped that in the future the archaeological excavations will bring to light new mosaics: So we can have more evidence to establish how much the North African influence was present in Sardinia.

Keywords: Roman mosaic, Sardinia, Hispania, North Africa, Roman Provinces.

Öz

Bu makale, yeni keşfedilen mozaiklerin Kuzey Afrika ve İber Yarımadası'nda yer alan benzer mozaiklerle karşılaştırıp ortak özelliklerinin anlaşılmasını amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın yazılması için, Prof. Jose Maria Blázquez'in geç dönemdeki çalışmaları sayısız yayınlar aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Kendisi, Akdeniz'in tüm mozaik sanatı ile her zaman meşgul olan bir alimdi.

İlk bölümde, “Domus dei Mosaici” ve “Domus di Orfeo”dan (Turrıs Libisonis) iki mozaik ve biri de Sant’Imbenia, Alghero'dan bir mozaik olmak üzere geometrik mozaikler ele alınacaktır.

İkinci bölümde ise figürlü mozaikler yer almaktadır: Turrıs Libisonis'te keşfedilen Orpheus ve Alghero'daki Sant’Imbenia'da bulunan bir Medusa Başı.

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Sardunya'nın antik mozaikleri, yakınındaki Kuzey Afrika'nın etkisini sadece figürlü mozaiklerde değil, aynı zamanda geometrik mozaiklerde de göstermektedir. Sardunya'da daha fazla mozaik kanıtı bulunan şehirler şunlardır: Nora, Porto Torres ve Cagliari. Ancak geçen yılki mozaikler açısından en büyük tanıklık eden şehir antik Turris Libisonis'tir.

Bu makale, Kuzey Afrika ve İberya etkilerini daha iyi açıklamak için yalnızca en önemli ve kapsamlı olan tüm keşifleri dikkate almayacaktır: Göz önünde bulundurulmayan mozaikler, her durumda, burada incelenenlere çok benzemektedir. Gelecekte arkeolojik kazıların yeni mozaikler ortaya çıkaracağı beklenmektedir: Bu yüzden Kuzey Afrika etkisinin Sardunya'da ne kadar bulunduğunu tespit etmek için daha fazla delilimiz olabilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma mozaïği, Sardunya, Hispania, Kuzey Afrika, Roma Eyaletleri.

Introduction

On September 14-16, 1990, the 8th Conference of Studies “L’Africa Romana” was held, whose acts were published the following year. On that occasion, Prof. José María Blázquez Martínez (Blázquez Martínez 1991: 911-926) spoke of the “Aspectos comunes de los mosaicos de Cerdeña, África y España”.

Almost three decades have passed, and it’s worth going back to that topic. Indeed, the publications following the corpus edited by S. Angiolillo in 1981 (Angiolillo 1981) sometimes came in irregular succession, and addressed specific cases or broader issues (Angiolillo 1984: 451-460; Angiolillo 1985: 68-70; Angiolillo 1986: 603-614; Mureddu – Stefani 1986: 339-361; Angiolillo 1987: 157-195; Boninu et al. 1987: 17-23, 84; D’Oriano 1991: 126; Angiolillo 1994: 97-102; Ghedini 1996: 219-232; Angiolillo 1999: 751-758; Novello 2001: 125-136; Colavitti 2002: 1221-1233; Sangiorgi 2002: 341-363; Ghedini 2003: 3-8; Cicu – Pianu 2004; Ghiotto – Novello 2008: 245-255; Boninu – Pandolfi 2008: 1777-1818; Miedico 2013: 16-37; Quattrocchi 2014: 247-252; Salvi – Carboni – Cruccas 2014: 243-272; Ferri 2015: 557-564; Quattrocchi 2015a: 317-234; Quattrocchi 2015b: 139-145; Angiolillo et al. 2016a: 507-516; Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 323-328; Quattrocchi 2016: 517-522; Quattrocchi –Rivano 2016: 277-281; Angiolillo 2017: 16-24; Quattrocchi 2017a: 367-379; Quattrocchi 2017b: 1295-1300; Quattrocchi 2017c: 161-168).

We will examine some new mosaics discovered in Sardinia in these last decades which, for temporal reasons, could not be the subject of Prof. Blázquez’s studies.

They are not many new discoveries, indeed, and the most significant ones come with no doubt from Turris Libisonis, a small town where some very remarkable mosaics were discovered.

We will then study the two great classes of mosaics: the geometric ones, by examining two different geometric patterns, and the figurative ones, by analyzing an Orpheus and a head of Medusa.

Geometric Mosaics¹

In Sardinia, the majority of the mosaics found are geometric, sometimes very simple and some other times more complex.

Recently, some invaluable geometric mosaics have been brought to light in the so-called “*Domus dei Mosaici*” in Turris Libisonis (Angiolillo et al. 2016a), as well as in the “*Domus di Orfeo*” (Angiolillo et al. 2016b), still in the same town.

In the territory of Alghero, the Villa of Sant’Imbenia (Costanzi Cobau – Nardi 2015) was recovered, restored, musealized, an interesting geometric mosaic.

¹ The geometric motifs will be cataloged according to Décor I–II with the abbreviation DG.

Not so recent is the discovery² of the tomb mosaic of *Fl(avius) Rogatianus*, in the Basilica of S. Lussorio at *Forum Traiani*, but still offering some interesting food for thought.

Continuing more to the south, the most interesting discoveries were made in Villaspeciosa (Cicu – Pianu 2004), in Settimo San Pietro (Angiolillo 2007: 10-23), and a mosaic fragment was found in *Sulci* (Quattrocchi 2016: 517-522), though little indicative and very fragmentary.

DG 145c schema

The DG 145c schema³ (Décor I: 220-221) in Sardinia can be found, with some variants, in several contexts: in *Turrus Libisonis* in the “*Domus dei Mosaici*” (Angiolillo et al. 2016a: 510) (Fig. 1) dated to the second half of the 3rd century; still in *Turrus Libisonis* in the “*Domus di Orfeo*”⁴ (Angiolillo et al. 2016a: 510) (Fig. 2); in Cagliari⁵ (Angiolillo 1981: 101-102) only a fragment remains (Quattrocchi 2017b: 1295-1300), datable to the half of the 3rd century; in Nora in the “Vano I” of the “*Casa dell’Atrio Tetrastilo*” (Angiolillo 1981: 53-55; Quattrocchi 2017b: 1295-1300) (Fig. 3) with the same dating; lastly, in *Sulci* (Angiolillo 1981: 68-69; Quattrocchi 2017b: 1295-1300), still datable to the half of the 3rd century. We can also include the mosaic found in *Tharros* in the “*Terme di Convento Vecchio*”, in the *frigidarium* B, which reproduces a very similar yet simplified schema (Angiolillo 1981: 136-137).

These five mosaics all share the same geometric schema, but present differences in some details.

The mosaic from the “*Domus dei Mosaici*”, having a frame with ogives (DG 49b)⁶, presents an alternation of squares with different frames inside the geometric schema, alternation often not respected⁷ (Décor I: 158): DG 101g⁸ (Décor I: 158), DG 31b⁹ (Décor I: 72). Inside such squares we can find Solomon nodes and four-petal flowers. In the bands, opposite peltae are represented instead, joined with a square, together with Solomon nodes at the intersection points with semicircles on the sides.

The mosaic of the “*Domus di Orfeo*” still presents the frame with ogives (DG 49b) but the whole floor is finer and more elegant. In the frames of the above mentioned squared we don’t find the DG 31b, but DG 71c¹⁰ (Décor I: 121) and DG 9a¹¹ (Décor I: 36). On the inside, the squares are decorated with plants and a singular yin-yang instead. In the bands, the more elegant peltae have a heart-shaped motif with a conflicting color in the inside, and the square thins and becomes concave. At the intersection points, instead of the Solomon nodes,

2 Excavation campaign: 1959-60; 1970-80; 1994-99; 2003-09.

3 “Grid of outlined bands, here with the squares at the intersections bearing an inscribed bearing poised squares, with the squares at the intersections enclosing a knot as saltire, the rectangles containing a central poised square tangent to two opposed peltae”.

4 This mosaic is dated a few decades earlier than the previous one.

5 Probable origin in Viale Trento, the mosaic was considered lost.

6 “Row of intersecting and tangent semicircles, forming ogives and scales, the ogives concentrically striped”. In Angiolillo et al. 2016a: 510, it is stated that this frame is the DG 49f.

7 “Squared convoluted wave pattern”.

8 “Squared convoluted wave pattern”.

9 “Irregular simple meander, forming a long dentilled filet and an embattled filet, opposed and staggered”

10 “Shaded simple guilloche on a dotted ground”.

11 “Band of a shaded zigzag”.

we can find squares having a circle with fillet cross inside, surrounded by semi-circles. In the bands placed on the long exterior sides, there are accurate floral arrangements, including a variant of the DG 265f¹² (D cor II: 64).

In the case of Cagliari it's not possible to observe the alternation of motifs inside the squares¹³, which have floral patterns anyway. In the bands, the decoration is identical to the mosaic of the "Domus dei Mosaici", as well as for the decoration at the intersection points. The only difference is the heart-shaped motif inside the peltae.

In Nora we can find the very same situation, some rectangles placed on the bands present an elegant floral decoration of the same type found in the "Domus di Orfeo".

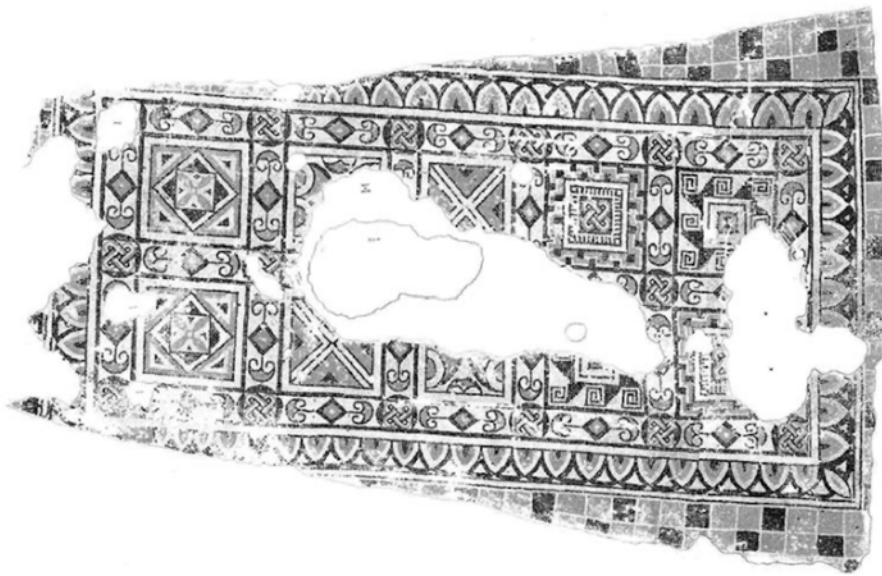


Figure 1
Geometric mosaic, Domus dei Mosaici,
Turris Libisonis (Photo by Angiolillo et. al.
2016a).



Figure 2
Geometric mosaic,
Domus di Orfeo, Turris
Libisonis
(Photo by Author).

12 "Compound elongated rosette of 4 noncontiguous elements, 2 as spindle-shaped petal and 2 as bracket".

13 The frames of the squares are DG 71c and DG 9a.

Figure 3
Geometric mosaic, Casa dell’Atrio
Tetrastilo, Nora (Photo by Author).



Lastly, in *Sulci*¹⁴ there are the same decorations of the mosaic of Cagliari.

As suggested several times (Angiolillo 1981: 210; Angiolillo et al. 2016a: 510; Quattrocchi 2017b: 1286-1297), the three mosaics found in Southern Sardinia, in Cagliari, Nora and *Sulci* would indicate the same workshop operating in that area¹⁵. In my opinion, the differences in decorations, mostly inside the squares and in some rectangles placed on the bands, are not due to different workshops, but the reason should be sought in the choices of the copybooks based on the taste of the buyers (or may also indicate different hands in the workshop). Interesting to note is that the peltae illustrated in the mosaics with schema DG 145c of Cagliari, Nora, *Sulci* and of the “*Domus di Orfeo*” are of type E5 (Torres Carro – Parzys 2016: 51-56), while the ones of the “*Domus dei Mosaici*” are of type E4 (Torres Carro – Parzys 2016: 54).

The copybooks, indeed, are very probably from North Africa, from the Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan areas. In this regard, we can mention the cases of Djemila (Blanchard-Lemée 1975: 170-171, 173), whereby the peltae and the squares are identical to the ones of Cagliari and *Sulci*.

In the Iberian Peninsula we can find this composition, with or without variations, in Teruel in the Roman villa called “El Regadío” (Blázquez Martínez et al. 1993: 234) of the IIIrd century. The geometric schema can also be found, albeit more simplified: in Liedena, in a mosaic of the IInd century (Blázquez Martínez – Mezquiriz 1985: 40-41); in the Roman villa of “Los Quintanares” in Soria (Blázquez Martínez – Ortego 1983: 29-32); in Merida in a bichrome mosaic of the IInd century; in Merida in the peristyle of the “Casa del Mitreo” (Blanco 1978: 15-17).

Specifically, in the villa “El Regadío” we can see how the copybook is reinterpreted. The peltae are missing and are replaced, in the short bands, by rectangles containing lozenges placed inside a decoration made up of triangles; in the long bands we can find squares instead. The Solomon nodes stay unchanged, as are the semicircles around the nodes themselves. More interesting are the frames of the squares: apart from the already mentioned twist (DG 71c) and the band of

¹⁴ Only a pretty old photograph remains.

¹⁵ S. Angiolillo believes that the mosaic of Nora was produced by African craftsmanships: Angiolillo et al. 2016a: 510. I don’t agree with this statement and I think, instead, that the main workshop could be in Cagliari: Quattrocchi 2017b: 1286-1287.

shaded zigzag pattern (DG 9a), we can find the DG 99f¹⁶ (Décor I: 155). The inside of the squares, on the other hand, is filled with a flower together with a cross.

Identical seem to be the mosaics found in the villa of “Los Quintanares” (Fig. 4), with the only differences consisting in the Solomon nodes inside the semicircles being replaced by a flower similar to the Cross of Malta. These examples are very close to the previously mentioned mosaic, found in *Tharros*.

For what we can understand from these examples, the bound to the originally North African copybook seems to be stronger in Sardinia than in the Iberian Peninsula.



Figure 4
Geometric mosaic, Los Quintanares
(Photo by Blázquez Martínez – Ortego
1982).

DG 332b Schema

In the Roman villa of Sant’Imbenia, near Alghero, an interesting mosaic was discovered depicting the head of Medusa which, after a careful restoration (Costanzi Cobau – Nardi 2015), can now be admired in the Museo Archeologico di Alghero.

The head of Medusa¹⁷ is located inside a circle from which a shield of oblong bipartite scales radiates, in contrasting colors (Décor II: 140) (Fig. 5). It’s then a geometric composition based on a main central figurative decoration. The peculiarity of this mosaic, however, is not the use of oblong bipartite scales, since they’re very common also in the Sardinian territory (Angiolillo 1981), but the geometric schema. In North Africa this schema can be found in Sousse, in a polychrome mosaic of the end of the IInd century (Yacoub 1995: 185) with the head of Medusa in the center. The main difference is in the oblong bipartite scales of this mosaic having alternate colors: black/white, red/white and green/white. This geometric schema, however, seems really very used to represent the head of Medusa: we can notice the same schema, with an increased movement in the oblong bipartite scales, in a mosaic of the IIIrd century preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, probably bought in Italy (Cabrera 2001: 116) (Fig. 6).

We can find further parallels in North Africa in Tolemaide, in Libya and Alexandria of Egypt.



Figure 5
Detail of geometric mosaic,
Sant’Imbenia, Museo Archeologico di
Alghero (Photo by Author).

¹⁶ “Row of tangent cuboids with serrated sides”.

¹⁷ We will talk about this later, in part on figurative mosaics.



Figure 6
Mosaic of Medusa, Museo Arqueologico Nacional Madrid (Photo by Author).

Figurative Mosaics

Just in the latest years, the number of figurative mosaics found in Sardinia has increased. Until recently, indeed, the testimonies of figurative mosaics were very few, which to a potential wrong underestimation of the job done by Sardinian artisans. In this work we will take into account the four mosaics which are most representative of the discoveries of the last years: Orpheus, Three Graces, head of Medusa, and the marine settings of a spring.

Orpheus

The mosaic of Orpheus from *Turris Libisonis*, recently published (Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 323-327), is probably the most interesting finding of the latest years (Fig. 7).



Figure 7
Mosaic of Orfeo, Domus di Orfeo, Turris Libisonis (Photo by Author).

Inserted within a complex geometric pattern, the musician is placed in an octagon, sitting with his left hand holding a lira and placing his right hand on the right thigh. The left leg not covered by the dress, with evident proportion issues, while the chest is naked and slightly twisted. Orfeo is looking at the lira and has subtle curly hair and the classic Phrygian cap. Around Orpheus, arranged in semicircle: a crow laying on the lira, a bird¹⁸ (Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 325), a lion, a roe deer¹⁹ (Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 235), a lizard, a leopard, a bull, a snake twisted on a tree and owl on it. The landscape is made only by some trees, in the form of branches. The composition, despite being of high quality, suffers from some slovenliness and cannot be compared to the elegant Orpheus of Cagliari (Angiolillo 1981: 99-101, half of 3rd century; Quattrocchi 2015a: second half of 3rd century). As recently stated (Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 235), the two Sardinian mosaics are linked by the same posture of the right arm, a technical expedient that makes the representation of Orpheus more fluid (Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 235).

The study of the copybooks, especially the ones related to Orpheus, which is always accompanied by animals, suggests that there were two types of copybooks the artisans could draw from. If we consider the example of the animals of the Orpheus from *Turris Libisonis*, for instance, we realize that the different animals revolving around the main character have exact comparisons with other mosaics. The lion is closely related to the ones of Cos (Blázquez Martínez 1989: 353-363), of *Thaenae* (Dunbabin 1978: 273), Chahba (Balty 1977: 44-49). The cheetah, instead, has precise comparisons with the just mentioned mosaics of Cos and Saragozza, and with the one of Palermo (Michaelides 1986: 478). The bull is not only closely related to Palermo, *Thaenae* and Cos, but has also similarities with the one from Cagliari (Angiolillo 1981: n. 101) and from *Carnuntum* (Panyagua 1973: 469).

Orpheus's pose instead, thanks to the technical expedient we mentioned earlier, may be associated to the mosaics of Palermo, La Chebba (Dunbabin 1978: 135, 254), Djemila (Blanchard-Lemée 1975: 23-106) and Ptolemais (Harrison 1962: 13-18).

It is worthy to note that the two Orpheus of *Turris Libisonis* and Cagliari can be associated by the same typology that I. Jesnick called "Type II", namely "The Greek Orpheus"²⁰, which is also the most common one in *Hispania La Alberca* (4th century): Blázquez Martínez 1981: 81; El Pesquero (350 AD): Álvarez Martínez 1994: 217-224; Santa Marta de Los Barros (360 AD): Álvarez Martínez 1994: 36-37; Saragozza (4th century, Fig. 8): Fernandez Galiano 1987: 49-52; Arnal (late 4th century): Serpa Pinto 1934: 169, with five samples, and the second most common one in North Africa (*Uthina* (230-250 AD): Michaelides 1986: 479; Sakiet-Es-Zit (first half of 4th century): Dunbabin 1978: 135, 268; *Thaenae* (300-350 AD): Dunbabin 1978: 273; Cherchell (4th century): Ferdi 2005: 205-206; Ptolemais (4th-5th century): Panyagua 1973: 492; Tobruk (4th century): Panyagua 1973: 493; *Lepcis Magna* (3rd century): Aurigemma 1960: 52-54) with seven samples. Apparently, this typology originated in the East, in *Asia Minor*, Syria, Cyprus, Greece and Israel. The earliest evidences of the "Greek Orpheus" come from Cyprus, a Paphos in a mosaic dated 220-230 AD (Blázquez Martínez et al. 1995/1997: 70; Jesnick 1997: 140), from *Tarsus* in *Asia Minor* (Michaelides 1986: 478) dated to 225 AD, Edessa (227-228 AD) (Jesnick 1997: 141) and from

18 Interpreted as a parrot.

19 It is said to be a deer, but the horns are smaller.

20 In opposition to "The Thracian Orpheus" and "The Phrygian Orpheus": Jesnick 1997: 70-72.

Sparta (250-300 AD) (Waywell 1979: 302). The copybook was used in the East until at least the V century, as evidenced by the mosaics of Seleucia (García Gelabert 1987: 34) and Antalya (Blázquez Martínez – López Monteagudo 1986: 233-252). We can therefore suppose that the origin of this kind of Orpheus is in the micro-Asian territory, that it will be soon adopted in Tunisia (as proved by the example of 230-250 AD in *Uthina*), later transferred in Sardinia, and finally in *Hispania* (Oriental influences can be found in the mosaics of *Hispania* since the 1st-2nd centuries: Durán Penedo 2016: 64).



Figure 8
Mosaic of Orfeo, Saragozza,
(Photo by Author).

Head of Medusa

The head of Medusa (Fig. 9) found in the Roman villa of Sant'Imbenia (Alghero) is an important evidence of the Sardinian mosaic heritage. Its importance does not surely rely in its stylistic rendition but, instead, in it being one of the few figurative mosaics found on the island.



Figure 9
Mosaic of Medusa, Sant'Imbenia,
Museo Archeologico di Alghero
(Photo by Author).

The head, almost oval, has a marked contouring made of darker tiles in the edge of the face up to lighter colors that become white near the lips, forehead and eyes. This use of white, especially in the eyes area, seems to recall the mortal look of the Gorgone. Even the nose is rendered with a degradation of colors and looks sketched. The same can't be said for the lips, which appear slightly open. The hair is made up of the classic snakes (10 in total), but being the mosaic very incomplete, it's difficult to figure out how they were made. Some snakes have a white tile near the head, suggesting it should represent the eye.

As a whole, the figurative mosaic is not elegant, nor refined, unlike the geometric schema in which the *pseudo-emblema* is inserted, which is made cleanly and tidily instead. The head is sloppy with very few details.

The prototype used for the head of Medusa of Alghero doesn't seem to find comparisons with other mosaics having the same representation (Neira Jiménez 2015). We can mention, however, the contouring used to make the look more visible.

In *Hispania*, for instance, we can find a Medusa with an use of tiles similar to the one of Alcolea del Río (Sevilla), in a mosaic dated to the IIIrd century (Neira Jiménez 2015: 50). Still in the Iberian Peninsula, in Palencia (Mondelo – Balil 1983: 267-275), a head of Medusa was found, technically more advanced than the two earlier mentioned ones, and having a clear contouring.

We can however think that this particular treatment of the Medusa's physiognomic traits should be researched in the Tunisian area. Indeed, a stylistically advanced Medusa, presenting an excellent chiaroscuro on the face, comes from the area of Sousse (Yacoub 1995: 184-185). We can suppose that this technique will then be transmitted to the Sardinian and Iberian mosaic artisans.

In Sardinia, the lesson seems to have been approximately assimilated. In *Hispania*, instead, apart from the Palencia and Sevilla examples, we can also mention the beautiful head of Tarragona (Fig. 10) which reproduces finely and elegantly the facial contouring.



Figure 10
Mosaic of Medusa, Tarragona
(Photo by Author).

Conclusions

The Sardinian mosaic heritage is lacking in the great stone carpets with mythological scenes we can abundantly find in North Africa and *Hispania* instead. In Sardinia there are mostly individual subjects such as Nereids, Orpheus, Medusa, the Three Graces (Angiolillo et al. 2016b: 323-325), but the figurative scene is not continuous.

There is therefore no figurative narration in the mosaics, to which the representation of single subjects, free from epic and mythological stories, is preferred.

However, there are several points of contact both with North Africa and *Hispania*. In addition to the ones already analyzed by Prof. Blázquez Martínez (Blázquez Martínez 1991: 911-926), in this work we could see how some geometric copybooks reappear in the three areas analyzed, and how that same influence is evident in some mosaics featuring Orpheus. This is an interesting fact because it tells us how these copybooks circulated within (and not only) the Western Mediterranean and were accepted, more or less deeply, by the local workshops. They're also a proof of the lively trade flowing between the three areas. Nowadays we can't fully understand the region in which the copybook exported from Africa arrived first.

Our hope is that the intensification of the mosaic discoveries will arrange the tiles of this interesting and fascinating mosaic *koiné* in these three areas, so different from each other from an economic and social point of view.

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Technical and Artistic Aspects of the Roman Mosaic of Castulo (Jaén, Spain)

Castulo Roma Mozaiğinin Teknik ve Sanatsal Açılardan İncelenmesi (Jaén, İspanya)

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Abstract

This paper is a comprehensive study of the Roman mosaic named “the Loves” found in Cástulo (Jaén, Spain) in 2012, which is conserved in situ.

The pavement shows a known variation of the so called compass design, much appreciated in the mosaic art of Baetica. Here it consists of two central circles instead of one, around which six half circles, four quarter circles and six squares with concave sides are placed. The repertoire of scenes consists of allegoric representations. Placed inside the four circles in the corners of the mosaic, are the busts of the Seasons with their characteristic attributes as symbols of the passing of time and the fertility of the year. This is a motif widely spread among Roman mosaics and especially in Baetica. The six squares with concave sides show representations of mammals, both herbivores and carnivores. While the half circles show putties in different poses, all with the peculiarity that their necks are invisible according to a fashion in the mosaic production of Baetica in the second century AD.

One of the central circles of the mosaic shows the Judgement of Paris, which is represented in two planes. The other circle shows the myth of Selene and Endymion. Here the goddess appears at the side of her carriage drawn by two horses; an iconography which constitutes an exception in this series of representations.

The technique of the pavement is of high quality, particularly concerning the mythological scenes; the use of colour to create background and mark the different planes is eminent.

Keywords: Mosaic, Roman workshop, Cástulo, Baetica, Hispania.

Öz

Bu makale, 2012 yılında Cástulo’da (Jaén, İspanya) bulunan ve in situ olarak korunan “Aşkılar” adlı Roma mozaiğinin kapsamlı bir çalışmasıdır.

Mozaiik döşeme, Baetica’nın mozaiik sanatında çok beğenilen ve pusula adı verilen tasarımın bir varyasyonundan oluşmaktadır. Burada, bir tane yerine iki merkezi daire yer almaktadır ve etrafına altı tane yarım daire, dört tane çeyrek daire ve içbükey kenarları olan altı tane kare yerleştirilmiştir. Sahnelerdeki repertuar alegorik temsillerden oluşmaktadır. Mozaiğin köşelerinde bulunan dört dairenin içine zamanın akışını ve yılın bereketliliğini temsil eden karakteristik atribüleri ile birlikte verilmiş olan mevsim tasvirleri yerleştirilmiştir. Bu motifler, Roma mozaiiklerinde ve özellikle Baetica’da yaygın olarak kullanılmıştır. İçbükey kenarları olan altı kare, hem otçullar hem de etçiller gibi memelilerin temsillerini göstermektedir. Yarım çemberler içinde farklı pozlarda sazan balıkları görülürken, İS 2. yüzyılda Baetica’nın mozaiik üretimindeki modaya uygun olacak şekilde hiçbirinin boyunları görülmemektedir.

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Mozaiğin merkez çemberlerinden biri, iki düzlemde temsil edilen Paris'in Yargısı sahnesini içermektedir. Diğer daire içinde ise Selene ve Endymion efsanesi yer almaktadır. Burada tanrıça, iki at tarafından çekilen arabanın yanında görülmektedir ki bu sahne repertuvar içerisinde istisna teşkil eden bir ikonografidir.

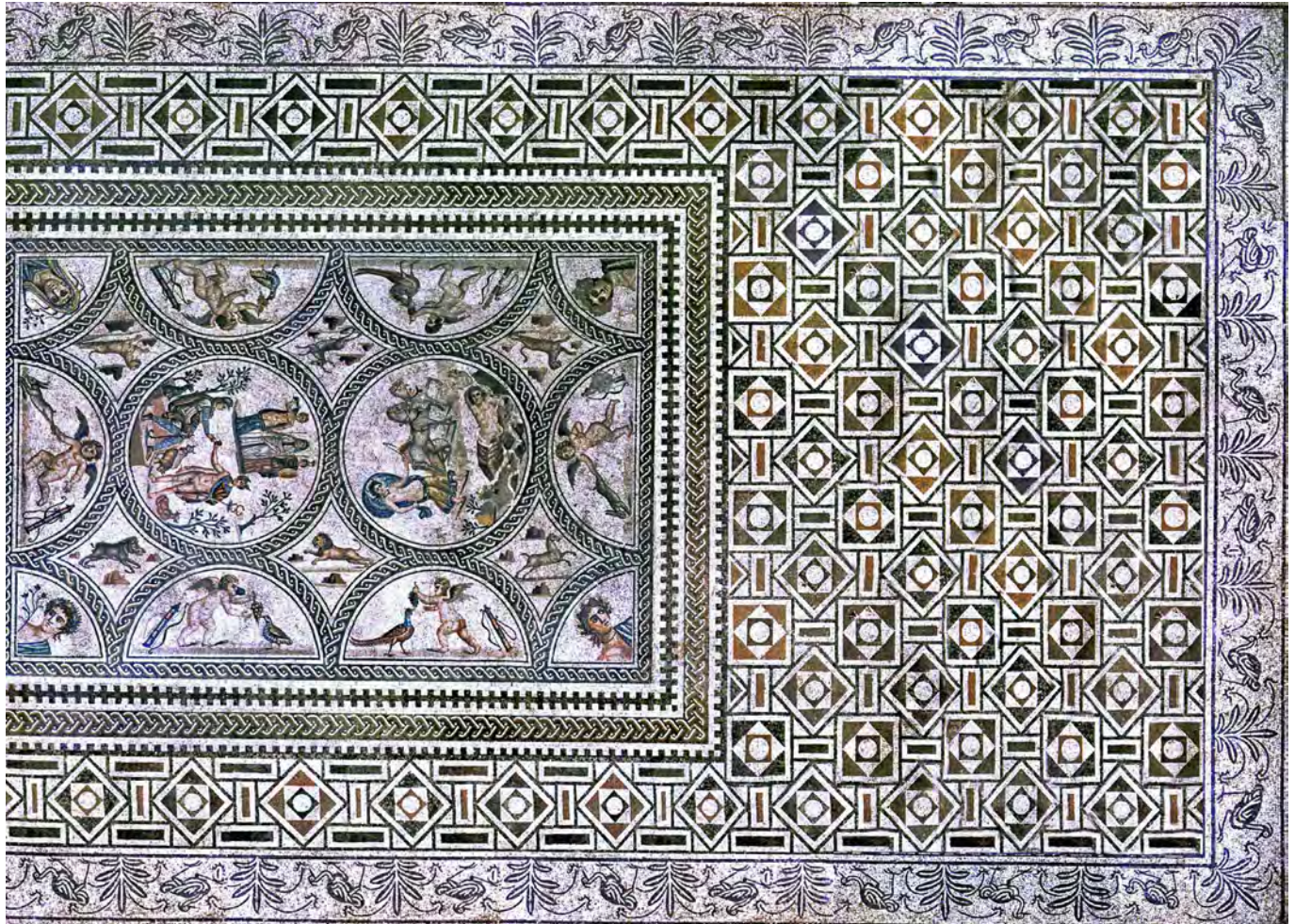
Mozaiğin tekniği özellikle mitolojik sahneler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda yüksek kalitededir. Arka plan oluşturmak ve farklı düzlemleri işaretlemek için farklı renklerin kullanılması da niteliklidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Mozaik, Roma atölyesi, Cástulo, Baetica, Hispania.*

The Hispano-Roman mosaic of Cástulo, in Jaén, has aroused, since its discovery in the year 2012, a strong interest among the experts, who have conducted several studies given its singularity (López Monteagudo – San Nicolás Pedraz 2012-2013: 62-63, 19-25; Blázquez Martínez 2014: 109-116; López Monteagudo 2014: 117-125; Neira Jiménez 2015: 61-79). The pavement is preserved in situ, measures 11,65 m length x 5,75 m width, and according to its excavators, could belong to a public building's room. Its composition is a notable and special variation of the compass scheme or "a oculi", containing two central circles instead of the usual one, reason why it is divided in six crescent-shaped areas, two on each one of the long sides, keeping a semicircle on the short ones and increasing to six the quadrangular areas, compared to the original four, while the four quarter-circles remain in the corners (Salies 1974: 1-178; Décor II: pl. 356c,d) (Fig. 1).

In the quarter-circles of the corners are depicted the allegorical busts of the seasons with their characteristic attributes: Spring with a bouquet of flowers,

Figure 1
Amores (Erotes) Mosaic. Cástulo, Jaén
(courtesy of G. López Monteagudo).



Summer wearing a garland of sprigs, autumn with a cluster of grapes, Winter with millet twigs on the head and carrying an olive branch. They represent the passing of time and the yearly fertility, which for the man in Ancient times was not just a philosophical theme but also a matter of well-being, and widely spread within the Roman mosaics (San Nicolás Pedraz 2015b: 50-53), in particular in Baetica¹. The six quadrangular areas are taken up by mammals, both herbivores y carnivores: on one side, wild boar, lion and horse; on the other, tigress, deer and lioness. The semicircles of the long sides are decorated with four Erotes seen from the side and offering bunches of grapes to a partridge and to a pheasant. The other two semicircles of the short sides are also illustrated with Erotes, but here hunting a hare: one of them facing the observer and the other one sideways, the latter bearing in his left hand a *lagobolon* o *pedum*. In all the scenes the Erotes are depicted standing on the floor and behind them, the bow and the quiver. In one of the two central circles is depicted the Judgement of Paris, and in the other the myth of Selene and Endymion, mythological scenes to which we have recently devoted two specific studies within the varied iconographic repertoire of the Roman mosaics².

The composition of this mosaic is a notable variation of the compass scheme. Its origin is to be found in Italy, in designs in black and white from Pompeii, Ostia and Lucera, and from there it spread to the provincial workshops at the end of the first century (Fernández Galiano 1980). In Hispania, among other regions, it is introduced in the black and white as well as in the polychrome compositions of the Peninsular South since the second century (López Monteagudo 2006: 85-91; López Monteagudo 2014: 119-120). It is documented in the mosaic of the Medusa in Marbella, the Abduction of Ganymede in Itálica, the she-wolf and the twins in Alcolea, Córdoba, two in Écija: one with remains of a maenad, and the other with the theme of the Abduction of Europa, the Oceanus from the villa of Casariche, Seville, as well as in the one with Erotes from the villa of Marroquies Alto in Jaén (*infra*) and the one of Venus in La Quintilla, Murcia (López Monteagudo - Neira Jiménez 2010).

The pavement's technique is of high quality, and in particular the one used in the mythological scenes. The birds facing each other are very similar to the aforementioned b/w mosaic of the Medusa in Marbella using the compass scheme. Another peculiar characteristic of the mosaic is the use of colour to mark the different planes of the half-moons, in the case of the birds' legs, one is darker than the other, stressing the light in the leg closer to the spectator, or the Season's faces to mark the chronological differences (López Monteagudo 2014: 117-125). The scene of the Judgement of Paris³ is depicted in two planes, like

1 Blázquez Martínez pointed out already in 1982 that just in Baetica 17 mosaics had been found showing the theme of the seasons, vid. Blázquez Martínez 1982: 21-22; Parrish 1984; De Rueda Roigé 2005: 157-174; Kremer 2005: 189-202.

2 There is a total of seven mosaics showing the theme of the encounter of the goddess and Endymion, Ostia, Nîmes, Piazza Armerina, Oudna, El Djem, Henchir Thina, Cástulo, with a chronology spanning from the end of the first century to the fourth century, vid. San Nicolás Pedraz 2014: 133-144. At present there are also seven mosaics of the Judgement of Paris, Antioch, Cherchel, Transilvania, Casariche, Noheda, Cos, Cástulo, dated from the second to the sixth century, vid. San Nicolás Pedraz 2015a: 558-566. To these must be added the mosaic of a private collection from California (<http://www.christies.com/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=5321865>).

3 The first mention to the Judgement of Paris, without allusion to de incident of Eris or the apple is in Homer's Iliad (Hom.II. XXIV 25-30). It is narrated afterwards by other authors like Euripides (Eur. Andr. 274-292; Eur.Tro. 924-931, 971-981; Eur.Hel. 23-31), Isocrates (Isokr. 41), Apollodorus (Apollod. epit. III 2), Propertius (Prop. II 2, 13ss.), Ovidio (Ov.her. V 35; XVI 65- 88, 165-170, XVII 45), Lucian (Lucian.dial.deor XX; Lucian.dial.mar. V 1), Apuleius (Apul.met. X 30-35). This last author says that it was one of the themes of the mythological pantomimes.

in the one from Antioch, dated to the beginning of the second century⁴ and in some Pompeian paintings like the one in the House of Meleager (VI, 9, 2, 13) (Colección Internacional 1993: 773; Kossatz-Deissman 1994: n° 73. In the upper part of the scene the three standing goddesses are facing the spectator. From left to right: Aphrodite, half-naked, is wearing a cloak that falls down her back and covers her legs, and is holding up one end of the cloak with her right hand; she is followed by Hera wearing a tunic and a draped cloak that covers her left arm and her head, and holding the long torso with her left hand; and Athena adorned with the aegis showing the Gorgon on her breast, wearing a helmet and holding the spear in the right hand and the shield in the left. In the lower part appears Hermes facing the spectator, wearing the winged cap and half-naked, with a cloak that covers his back and his left shoulder, holding with this hand the caduceus while giving with the right hand the golden apple to a foreshortened Paris sitting on a rock by a tree. He wears the usual oriental attire holding with his left hand the *pedum*. The scene is completed with some trees, some animals from his flock around the young man, like in the mosaic from Antioch, and the watchdog behind him paying attention to the scene, like in the mosaic from Kos, dated to the end of the second century (Morricone 1950: 227; Waywell 1979: 293; Theophilidou 1984: 247; Gazda 1992: 109 n° 20 lám. 59; De Matteis 1993: 111-124; De Matteis 1999: 62 lám. VIII, 4; Blázquez Martínez et al. 2004: 351 fig. 31).

Although the nudity of the goddesses in the scene of the Judgement of Paris is partially documented in the literary sources, found in Propertius, (Prop. II 213), Ovidio (Ov.her. V 35 - XVII 116), Lucian (Lucian.dial.deor XX 90) and Apuleius (Apul.met. X 31), the gesture of Aphrodite uncovering just her breasts as in Cástulo is mentioned by Coluthus (vv. 154-157).

The presence of the Gorgon on Athena's chest is visible in all the mosaics of the Judgement of Paris, as well as in the majority of the Vesuvian paintings in which it has its parallels, alluding to the trophy given to the goddess by Perseus, after the death of the monster guarding Andromeda and freeing her from the rock to which she was chained, eavesdropping on the words uttered by her mother Cassiopeia boasting that her daughter was more beautiful than the the Nereids (Apollod.bibl. II, 4,3, 2-6; Tzetz. ad. Lycophr. 836-839; Prop. 3, 22.29; Ov.met. IV 663 ff.) (Vargas Vázquez 2012: 79). Furthermore Athena is depicted armed, detail that is found since Homer (Hom. h. 28, 5, 915).

The mention to the apple is not included in all the ancient texts narrating the myth. It appears for the first time in Apollodorus (Apollod. III 13,5) and afterwards, among others, in Hyginus (Hyg.fab. 92), Lucian (Lucian.dial.mar. V 1) and Apuleius (Apul.met. X 35). These three last authors explain that it was made of gold, as it is perceived in this mosaic, in the one from Casariche, Seville, dated to the first half of the fourth century (Buero Martínez 1985: 59-60; Blázquez Martínez 1985: 115-117; Balil 1989: 132-144; López Monteagudo - Neira Jiménez 2010: 132-134) and possibly it would be represented in Noheda, Cuenca, from the fourth century (Fernández Galiano 2010: 119-122 fig. 24; Lledó Sandoval 2010: 145; Lledó Sandoval 2011: 233-234 figs. 79-80; Valero Tévar 2013: 314 figs. 17, 18), and Cherchel, from the end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth (Durry 1928⁵; Ferdi 1986: 214; Ferdi 2005: 58-59 n° 42

4 Levi 1947: 16-21, with a N. Duval, paper; with previous bibliography; Baratte 1978: 90-92; Dunbabin 1978: 254; López Monteagudo 2004: 182-183 figs. 1, 2; Blázquez Martínez et al. 2004: 306.

5 This scholar describes that the Apple is placed in the lower part of the Paris tunic.

lám. XI). Coluthus (vv. 59-61) points out that it was Eris⁶ who picked it among the golden apples of the Hesperides. On the other hand, the gesture of the god giving the Apple of Discord to Paris seems to indicate that the verdict is going to be pronounced.

Regarding the other scene of the mosaic from Cástulo, the love of Selene/Moon for Endymion, of whom is estimated that had more than fifty daughters⁷, and in particular the moment of the encounter of both characters on Mount Latmus (Mythog. I 229; II 28; III 3) is one of the most famous in the mythological repertoire, as much in the Roman mosaics as in the painting, especially the pompeian (Gabelmann 1996: 726-742). In the Hispano-Roman mosaic the goddess has arrived by the young man, who appears in the foreground lying on his side, sleeping and half-naked, with his left arm rested on the ground and the right arm lifted towards the head, gesture called by Gury "availability towards the Other", which typifies in some characters delirium and other forms of mental disorder, temporary or not (Gury 2006: 267-283; Gury 2007: 49-57)⁸, here it would be love. Selene, appears beside her chariot drawn by two horses, iconography which constitutes an *unicum* in this series of representations and comparable, although with another composition, to the mosaics from Orbe and Mérida, dated to the third century⁹, in them the goddess is shown riding the chariot. She is wearing a crescent-moon diadem and billowing cloak falling down her back and covering her legs, leaving her body naked. She is holding the cloak with her right hand, while with the other bears the torch like in the pavement from Itálica pertaining to the Countess of Lebrija, from the middle of the second century (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 36-37 n° 12 láms. 31-33). The iconography *velificante sua manu* of the goddess is characteristic of the pictorial repertoire of the series of seated Endymion and would represent the firmament recalling her astral simbology as the lunar goddess, at the same time that constitutes one of the most characteristic elements of the beginning of the couple's loving moment, not unknown in other myths like Europa's (Babelon 1943: 125).

In the mosaic of a private collection in California, from unknown origin (<http://www.christies.com/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=5321865>), despite its distinctive iconography (in fact, it is an *unicum*), there is an inscription in Greek by the name of Endymion. To the young sleeping Selene goes enraptured with its characteristic crecent, however, also identified by an inscription in Greek in the upper left corner with her name -Selene- in a *biga*, but two bulls moving toward

6 The legend told how Eris, the goddess of discord, infuriated for not being invited to the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, tossed into the party a golden apple to be given to the most beautiful among the olympian goddesses, Athena, Hera and Aphrodite. Zeus commanded Hermes to escort them to Mount Ida where Paris, son of Príam and Hecuba, would select the winner. The goddesses attempted with their powers to bribe Paris -Athena offered victory in the battles, Hera offered ownership of Asia and Aphrodite offered the love of the most beautiful woman on Earth. Paris chose Aphrodite and after the judgement went to Sparta accompanied by Aeneas, where he fell in love with Helen, wife of Menelaus, this way starting the Trojan war between Achaeans and Trojans, which ended with the Achaean victory, whose side took Athena.

7 Traditionally Selene/Moon, queen of the stars as is invoked by Horace (c.s.35-36), is depicted as a young and beautiful woman (Hom.h. Ven. 90; Paus. IX 40,6; Nonn.Dion. X.216) who goes over the sky on her chariot (Pind.O. 3,19; Hom.h. Ven. 32,9-11; Ovid.met. II 208-209). She was also famous for her love affair with Zeus/ Jupiter, giving birth to Bacchus (nat. III, 58) and two daughters Pandía (Hom.h. Lun. XXXII 14) and Ersa.

8 This attitude was a creation of archaic Greek art, particularly, in Athens, where it appears in figures from the ceramic of the later fourth BC century, and was highly publicized in classical times, transferring the Roman artistic plastic reliefs, paintings, and mosaics, *vid.* San Nicolás Pedraz 2011: 49-53; San Nicolás Pedraz 2013: 49-58.

9 Orbe: Gonzebach 1961: 184-194 n° 95 láms. 60-67; Gonzebach 1997: 38-40. Mérida: Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 36 n° 17 lám. 29; Alföldi 1979; Quet 1981; López Monteagudo - Blázquez Martínez 2000: 137-138.

the right. Instead of devoting his gaze Endymion, Selene leads her eyes and a flaming torch to a naked winged *eros*, located in the upper right of the picture, whose index aims to draw attention of the goddess to the young Sleeping. *Eros* is identified as the protagonists by an inscription in Greek with the name of *Pothos* (Neira Jiménez 2015: 61-79 fig. 4).

G. López Monteagudo pointed out in her study about the mosaic in Cástulo that the Erotes' heads were roughly inserted into the naked bodies, making the necks not visible, and breaking that way the harmony and beauty of the whole, supposing that it could be an apprentice's work. Without invalidating this supposition, given that occasionally some mosaics reveal the existence of different hands, masters and apprentices, where the latter execute motifs showing a worse design, as is the case in some pavements from the villa of Fuente Alamo in Córdoba (Vargas Vázquez 2013-2014: 353-357; Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 185-226; Vargas Vázquez, 2016b: 301-304), however we want to remark that the way to execute the Erotes' heads represented in the semicircles is not unknown in the mosaics of Hispano-Roman artists, particularly in the production of Baetica in the second century, as in the mosaics of the House of Bacchus' fountain of the Cruz Conde Collection in Córdoba, with an Eros riding a dolphin (Blázquez Martínez 1981: 31 n° 13 lám. 17) (Fig. 2), in a fragment from the villa of the Station in Antequera, Málaga (Romero Pérez et al. 2006: 239-258; Romero Pérez et al. 2010: 3569-3590; Mañas Romero- Vargas Vázquez 2007: 315-338; López Monteagudo - Neira Jiménez 2010: 126 fig. 155; Vargas Vázquez 2016b: 72-73 lám. 25C) (Fig. 3), in two squares of the lost pavement in Fernán Nuñez, Córdoba (San Nicolás Pedraz (2011: 57) (Figs. 4 - 5), in a fragment of a mosaic in Écija, Seville (Vargas Vázquez et al. 2017: 43 n° 6 fig. 11), with Eros carrying a garland (Fig. 6), in the pavement of the Wedding of Ariadne and Bacchus in Córdoba (Figs. 7 - 8), in the mosaic of the Birth of Venus in Itálica (Cantos 1976: 293-338) (Fig. 9) and in the one in the villa of Marroquíes Alto in Jaén, with an Eros in a boat rowing and remains of another one flying, dated to the fourth century (Blázquez Martínez 1981; San Nicolás Pedraz 2008: 315-320)¹⁰ (Fig. 10), which -because of its style and composition- we would classify in the second century. This fragmentary mosaic from Jaén shows the composition called "compass scheme", so appreciated, as we have already pointed out, in the execution of Baetica's mosaics. All these representations of Erotes contrast with others executed in a more stylized and careful way from the same chronology and area, all of which leads to think that this singular practice of executing these figures under study could have been adopted by a permanent local workshop or by itinerant artisans from the Peninsular South in the second century. Here fits the "Escuela del Medio Guadalquivir proposed by Irene Mañas, on the basis of the originality of the mosaics of Itálica and other areas of Baetica, mainly in places close to the river and to the land route from Córdoba to Seville, which would develop in the third quarter of the second century (Mañas Romero 2010: 124-125) and whose peculiarity, both in certain geometric motifs as well as in the different mythological scenes, was already remarked by G. López Monteagudo for all the Peninsular South (López Monteagudo 2006: 85-91)¹¹, opinion that we share, existing, as the author indicates, different workshops or itinerant artisans who work in various places. On the other hand, it is not surprising that two different

¹⁰ In 1990 M. Torres Carro took down the chronology, middle of the third century, for the mosaic of Thetis in this same villa (Torres Carro 1990: 132). This last mosaic was object of study by the author's article, was identified as Talassa and Eastern parallels were found in the second century.

¹¹ This author dedicates some pages to the study of Baetica's workshops in López Monteagudo - Neira Jiménez 2010: 39-49, 56-58.



Figure 2
Mosaic of the Triumph of Bacchus, Cruz Conde Collection, Córdoba (courtesy of G. López Monteagudo).

workshops could work in the same mosaic, one of them on the better manufactured figures and another on the Erotes, given that in a mosaic of the villa of Carranque, in Toledo, two different workshops are mentioned working in the same house, the one of Iulius Prudentis and the one of Mascuriani (?) to which belongs Hirinus, the pictor imaginarius (Blázquez Martínez 2008: 107-108).

In the second century Baetica's workshops produce a large number of mosaics with mythological themes, standing out the cities of Itálica, Córdoba, Écija and



Figure 3
Octagon with erotes. Villa Station, Antequera, Málaga (courtesy of G. López Monteagudo).

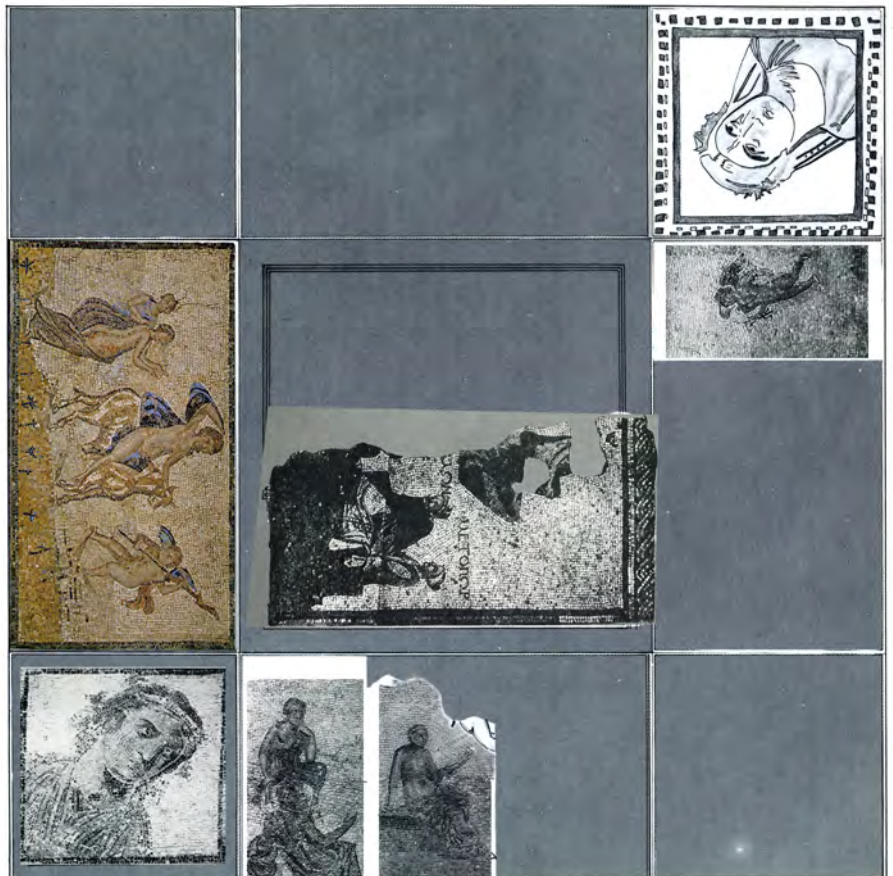


Figure 4
Reconstructed mosaic of the Rapture of Europe, Fernán Nuñez, Córdoba (Photo P. San Nicolás Pedraz).



Figure 5
Detail of the reconstructed mosaic
of the Rapture of Europe, Fernán
Nuñez, Córdoba (courtesy of G.
López Monteagudo).

Figure 6
Fragment of the mosaic from Écija,
Sevilla (courtesy of G. López
Monteagudo).



Figure 7
Mosaic of the Wedding of Ariadna and
Bacchus, Córdoba (courtesy of G. López
Monteagudo).

adding as well, undoubtedly, Jaén. In this last one, besides the mosaic under study, of which we have pointed out its originality and its being *unicum* piece in Hispania, both due to its composition as well as its figurative scheme, other pavements must be added for their characteristics, whose designs are documented also in Baetica: on the one hand, those found in the same building as the mosaic of Cástulo under study, like the pavement with continuous scheme of eight-pointed stars (Itálica, Carmona, Córdoba and Málaga), and the one of the octagons; on the other hand, those located in the same province of Jaén, like the mosaic of

Dehesa de Murga, with rosette made with curved triangles, design very deep-rooted in Baetica in the second century (Itálica, Écija, Carmona, Herrera, Puerto Real, Alcolea del Río and Niebla) (Luzón 1988: 213-241; Vargas Vázquez 2014: 43, 122 mosaic 1,45 lám. 30; Vargas Vázquez 2015: 580-590; Vargas Vázquez 2016b: 221), the notable theme of the She-wolf and the Twins of Villacarrillo, in Jaén, that is equally repeated in the mosaic of compass scheme of Alcolea in Córdoba¹², or the mosaic with arcades in Antequera, Málaga, and in the villa of El Ruedo, Almedinilla, Córdoba. All these mosaics denote the influence of the Italian Peninsula in this area of Hispania, but at the same time, and as G. López Monteagudo points out, Hispania imposes its own characteristics with an specific treatment that distinguishes it from the rest of the Roman provinces, and from a common background –Rome’s legacy–develops its peculiarities and its own originality from early dates. Each one of Baetica’s workshops radiates to other places related themes and compositions and imposes in every city a personal signature, as happens in Jaén in the case of this mosaic, without discarding the Greek influence (the Judgement of Paris has been located in Cos in the same time period) and Antioch’s influence (the composition in two different planes), which is especially visible in the mythological scenes of the two central circles.

Figure 8
Detail of the mosaic of the
Wedding of Ariadna and Bacchus,
Córdoba. (courtesy of G. López
Monteagudo).



12 Blázquez 1981: 72-73 n° 52 lám. 60. This autor points out that it belongs to the same workshop as the one of Cordoba with the same theme, and the she-wolf with long skin is repeated in the mosaic of the Abduction of Ganymede in Itálica, also made using the “compass scheme”.



Figure 9
Birth of Venus
Mosaic, Itálica.
(courtesy of
Antonio Pérez
Pat. Director
the Itálica
archaeological
site).



Figure 10
Pavement from
the village of
Marroquíes
Altos, Jaén
(courtesy
of G. López
Monteagudo).

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Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği

The Achilles Mosaic of Prusias ad Hypium

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Öz

Akhilleus Mozaïği, 1950'li yıllarda Prusias ad Hypium kentinin güney tarafındaki bir tarlada tesadüfen bulunmuştur ve kentteki bir Roma villasının zemininde yer almış olan bir taban mozaïğidir. Çok az bir kısmı korunmuş olan mozaik parçası üzerinde üç adet yazıt bulunmaktadır. Bu yazıtta sol başta Genç Kızlar (παρθένου), ortada Deidameia (Δηιδάμεια) ve onun sağında Purrhos (Πύρρο ο[ς]) yazmaktadır. Yazıtlardan da anlaşıldığı gibi bu mozaikte Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lycomedes'in Sarayı'nda Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması tasvir edilmiştir. Sahnenin sağ üst köşesinde en üstte yazılmış olan Parthenoi yani Antik Yunanca anlamıyla "Genç Kızlar" hikâyesinin geçtiği Lykomedes'in Sarayı'ndaki mozaikte arka planda bulunan Lykomedes'in genç kızlarını ima etse de aslında bu sahnenin bu temayı işleyen ve Parthenoi (Genç Kızlar) olarak adlandırılmış tragedya veya pandomim için yazılmış ve günümüze kadar ulaşmamış bir edebi tiyatro eserinin adı olduğunu bize göstermektedir. Aynı durum Zeugma Akhilleus Mozaïği'nde (Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki) de görülmektedir. Bu sahnenin etrafını dalgalı kurdele bandı çevirmektedir. Bundan sonra mozaïği, günlük hayattan iki sahne olan av ve ziyafet sahnesi çevirmiştir. Mozaik en dışta ise geometrik bir bordür ile sonlandırılmıştır. Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus mozaïği sahip olduğu stilistik ve ikonografik özellikler itibariyle İS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına ait olmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Prusias ad Hypium, Akhilleus, mozaik, Deidameia, Skyros.

Abstract

The Mosaic of Achilles was discovered coincidentally in a field in the southern region of Prusias ad Hypium in the 1950s. It is a floor mosaic situated on the ground of a Roman villa in the city. Only a very small part of the mosaic remains on which there are three inscriptions. These inscriptions involve words Young Girls (παρθένου) on the left, Deidameia (Δηιδάμεια) in the middle and Pyrrhus (Πύρρο ο[ς]) on the right. As understood from the inscriptions, this mosaic depicts the discovery of Achilles by Odysseus in King Lycomedes' palace in Skyros Island. The word Parthenoi meaning Young Girls in ancient Greek written at the top of the upper right corner of the scene implies the young daughters of Lycomedes at the background of the mosaic in Lycomedes' palace where the story takes place, however it in fact shows the title of a lost literary drama written about this theme for tragedy or pantomime which did not reach the present day. The same situation applies to the Zeugma Achilles Mosaic (at the house of Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes). The scene is surrounded by a wavy ribbon band. This is followed by hunting and feast scenes both from daily life. Finally, the outermost border is a geometric one. Due to its stylistic and iconographic characteristics, the Prusias ad Hypium Achilles mosaic is estimated to date back to mid-third century AD.

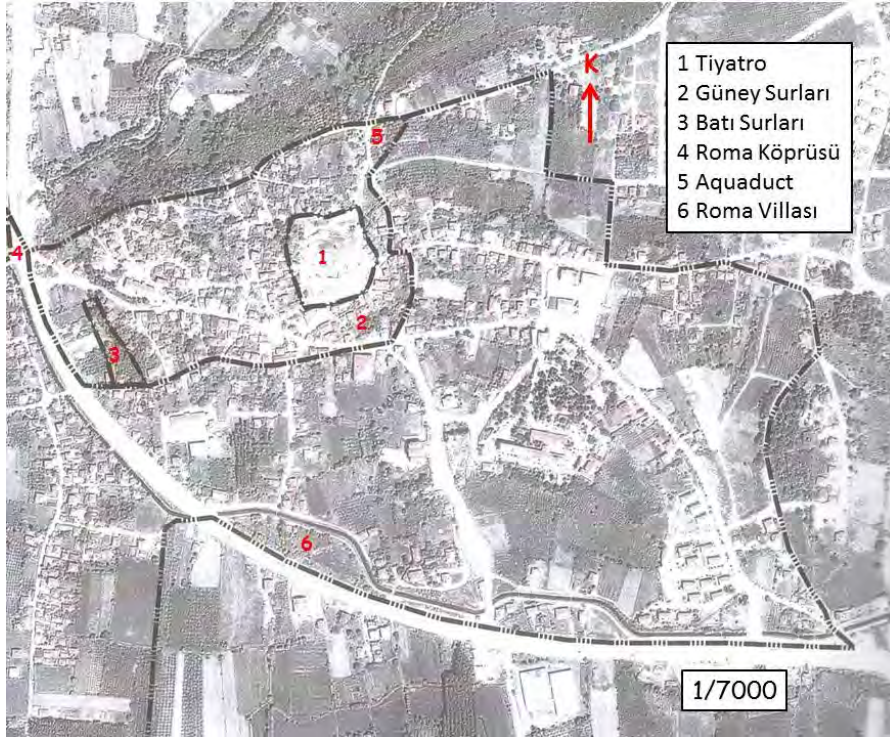
Keywords: Prusias ad Hypium, Achilles, mosaic, Deidameia, Skyros.

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Antik dönemde Bithynia Bölgesi sınırları içerisinde yer alan Prusias ad Hypium (modern Düzce) antik kenti, Düzce Ovası'nın kuzeyinde Hypios Dağ Sırası'nın güney yamacında kurulmuştur (Res. 1). Kentin güneyinde Hypios (Melen) Çayı bulunmaktadır. Kent, Antik Dönem'de Nikomedia'dan başlayıp Bithynium-Claudiopolis ve Kretia-Flaviopolis kentleri üzerinden Ankyra'ya oradan da doğuya giden yol üzerinde yer almaktaydı. Günümüzde ise Düzce-Akçakoca yolu üzerinde, Düzce'nin 8 km kuzeyinde Konuralp/Üskübü adını taşıyan modern küçük bir yerleşmenin genişlediği alanda bulunmaktadır¹ (Res. 2).



Resim 1
Bithynia Bölgesi Haritası
(Vermaseren 1987: fig. 18).



Resim 2
Prusias ad Hypium Antik Kenti Uydu
Haritası (Konuralp Müzesi Arşivi).

Çalışmaya konu olan mozaik, modern Konuralp yerleşmesinin güneyinde, Akçakoca yolu yakınlarında 1950'li yıllarda kentin güney tarafındaki bir tarlada² tesadüfen bulunan ve iki odasının zemini mozaik ile döşeli olan Roma villası olarak tanımlanan yapı kalıntılarına aittir. Bu alanda, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri adına B. Rüstem Duyuran tarafından kazı yapıldıktan sonra kalıntıların üstü tekrar kapatılmıştır (Rollas 1967: 10). Ancak elde edilen bilgi ve buluntular herhangi bir yayında ayrıntılıca ele alınmamıştır. Kazı ekibince üstü toprakla kapatılarak koruma altına alınan zemin mozaikine, 1998 yılında kazı alanı yakınında yapılan bir sulama kanalından su basması sonucu Bolu Müzesi yetkililerince müdahale edilmek zorunda kalmıştır. Bunun sonucunda 32 parça dikdörtgen pano biçiminde kesilen mozaik, plakalar halinde Konuralp Müzesi'nin deposuna kaldırılmıştır (Tülek 2009: 143). İstanbul Restorasyon ve Konservasyon Merkez Laboratuvarı Müdürlüğü tarafından 2012 yılında mozaik'in geometrik bordürünün bir kısmına ait olan 6 parçadan oluşan 9,8 m² lik

1 Kent hakkında genel kaynakça için bk. Boré 1840: 407; Ainsworth 1842: 31 vdd.; Leonhard 1915: 40; Magie 1950: 307, 340, 590, 614, 640, 658, 690, 1190, 1539, 1553, 1567; Dörner 1952: 28-31; Taşlıkoğlu 1955: 81-97; Tuğrul 1962: 42-48; Rollas 1967: 1-18; Vermeule 1968: 254, 263, 317, 416, 453-454; Tunay 1969: 14, 29; Gülsevil 1971: 17-18; Cramer 1972: 175-176; Ameling 1985; Işık 2001: 27; Sevin 2001: 38; Strobel 2001: 492-493; Marek 2003: 131; Dmitriev 2005: 142; Zeyrek - Çelik 2005; Madsen 2009: 70; Ramsay 2010: 197.

2 Düzce ili, merkez ilçe, Çiftepınarlar mahallesi, 7 pafta, 2705 parsel.

bölümünün konservasyonu yapılmış ve bunlar Müze'nin taş eserler salonunda sergilenmektedir. Mozaïğin; Akhilleus sahnesi, ziyafete hazırlık sahnesi ve av sahnesinden oluşan geri kalan 50,8 m²'lik bölümü 26 panodan oluşmaktadır. Konservasyonu yapılmamıştır ve depoda korunmaktadır³. Müzenin deposunda plakalar halinde üst üste duran bu sahneler üzerindeki tesseralar, dağınık bir halde olduğu ve konservasyon yapılmadan bir bütünlük oluşturmadığı için fotoğraf çekme imkânı mümkün olmamıştır. Dolayısıyla üzerlerinde bir inceleme yapılacak durumda değildir. Bu nedenle söz konusu sahneler Dörner'in 1952 yılında kente yaptığı gezi sırasında çekerek kitabında yayınladığı fotoğraf (Dörner 1952: taf. 10) (Res. 3) üzerinden incelenerek değerlendirilmiştir.

Resim 3
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği, 1952
yılındaki genel görüntüsü
(Dörner 1952: taf. 10).



Mozaïğin ortasındaki merkez panoda Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması sahnesi tasvir edilmiştir (Res. 4). Merkez panonun etrafını ziyafete hazırlık sahnesi (Res. 5) ve av sahnesinden (Res. 6) oluşan geniş figürlü bir bordür çevirmiştir. Figürlü bordürün etrafı geniş bir geometrik bordür (Res. 7 - 11), (Çizim 1) tarafından çevrilmiştir.

Mozaïğin yapım tekniği: Opus Tessellatum

Mozaïğin ölçüsü: 60,6 m²

Tessera cinsi: Mermer

Mozaikteki tessera renkleri: Krem rengi, kahverengi, yeşil

Mozaikteki 1 dm²'deki tessera sayısı: 50

1. Akhilleus'un, Odysseus Tarafından Ortaya Çıkarılması Sahnesinden Oluşan Merkez Pano (Resim 4)

Mozaïğin merkezinde yer alan ana panonun çok az bir kısmı korunmuştur. Ana panoda, beyaz tesseralarla örülen arka fon üzerinde üç adet yazıt bulunmaktadır. Bu yazıtlarda, sol başta Genç Kızlar (παρθέναι) ortada Deidameia (Δηίδαμεία) ve onun sağında Purrhos⁴ (Πύρρο[ς]) yazmaktadır. Yazıtlardan da anlaşıldığı

³ Müze'deki çalışmam esnasında hiçbir yardımcı esirgemeyen Konuralp Müzesi Müdürü Sayın Yunus Reyhan Taşçıoğlu'na çok teşekkür ederim.

⁴ Kızıla çalan sarı saçlarından dolayı kralın kızları Akhilleus'a Pyrrha adını vermişlerdir. Bk. Grimal 1997: 43.

gibi bu mozaikte Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması sahnesi tasvir edilmiştir. Ana panonun sol köşesinde 3/4 profilden işlenmiş genç bir kız yer almaktadır. Üç boyut perspektiften verilen genç kız başını hafifçe kendi soluna doğru çevirmiştir. Genç kızın hemen önüne kocaman bir kalkan yerleştirilmiştir. Vücudunu tamamen kapatan bu kalkanın arkasından yalnızca baş kısmı görülebilmektedir. Kalkanın üzerinde oldukça tahrip olduğundan ne olduğu anlaşılabilen bir tasvir bulunmaktadır. Sahnede güçlü ışık-gölge kullanımı ve resimsel düzenleme görülmektedir. Bu ana panonun etrafını tek sıra halinde dalgalı kurdele bandı çevirmiştir. Kurdelelerin aralarına üç nokta biçiminde doldurma motifleri yerleştirilmiştir. Dalgalı kurdele bandı üzerinde farklı renkte tessera kullanımı ile sağlanan ışık-gölge etkileşimi görülmektedir.



Resim 4
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus
Mozaïği ana panosu
(Dörner 1952: taf. 10).

1.1. Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda Saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus Tarafından Ortaya Çıkarılması Sahnesinin Tasvir Edildiği Mozaiklerin Genel İkonografik Özellikleri

Teselya'daki Phthia kentinin kralı Peleus ile deniz tanrıçası Thetis'in oğlu olan Akhilleus dokuz yaşındayken Akhalar'ın kahini Kalkhas, annesi Thetis'e Troia'nın ancak Akhilleus savaşa katılırsa alınabileceğini ama Akhilleus'un Troia önünde öleceğini bildirmiştir. Bu nedenle Yunanlar'ın Troia'ya karşı savaşa gitmesi söz konusu olunca Thetis, Akhilleus'a kadın elbiseleri giydirmiş ve onu Skyros kralı Lykomedes'in sarayında saklamıştır. Akhilleus burada kralın kızlarının hayatını paylaşmış ve dokuz yıl kalmıştır. Akhilleus, Lykomedes'in kızlarından biri olan Deidameia ile birlikte olmuş ve bu birliktelikten oğlu Neoptolemos doğmuştur. Ne var ki kaderi aldatmak için bu kılık değiştirmenin bir yararı olmamıştır. Odysseus kahin Kalkhas'tan, Akhilleus olmadan Troia'nın alınamayacağını öğrenmişti. Kehanetin hemen ardından onu aramaya koyulmuş ve sonunda Akhilleus'un saklandığı yeri öğrenmiştir. Satıcı kılığında girerek Skyros sarayına gelmiş ve orada kadınlar bölümüne sızarak mallarını sunmuştur. Kadınlar nakış araçlarını ve kumaşları seçmişlerdir. Ama Odysseus bu eşyaların arasına değerli silahlar da gizlemiştir. Akhilleus silahları görünce hemen onlara yönelmiştir. Odysseus genç adamı kimliğini açıklamaya ikna etmekte güçlük çekmemiştir (Grimal 1997: 38-39). Odysseus bir kurnazlık düşünmüş ve Lykomedes'in sarayında birdenbire borazan sesleri duyulmaya başlanmıştır. Kralın kızları korku içinde kaçışmış iken Akhilleus'un savaşçı ruhu ortaya çıkmış ve tek başına kalan Akhilleus silah istemiştir. Böylece Akhilleus'un savaşçı eğilimi artık bastırılmamıştır (Grimal 1997: 39).

Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması olayı Akhilleus'un Troya savaşına katılmadan önceki bilinen en erken serüvenidir. Homeros'un İlyada'sında anlatılmayan bu hikâye İS 1. yüzyılda yaşayan Latin şair Publius Papinius Statius'un "*Achilleis*" adlı bitmemiş bir epik şiirinden bilinmektedir (Trimble 2002: 230; Görkay 2015: 65). Bu konunun İÖ 5. yüzyıl ve 4. yüzyılda Grek sanatında işlendiğini edebi kaynaklardan öğrenebilmekteyiz. Pausanias (Paus. I, 22, 6) ressam Polygnotos'un, Akhilleus'u Lykomedes'in kızları arasında resmettiğini aktarmıştır. Yine Plinius (Plin.nat. XXXV, 134) İÖ 4. yüzyıl

sanatçısı Athenion'un yaptığı Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından bulunduğu anı gösteren ve altı figürü içeren bir resmi olduğu bilgisini vermiştir (McCann 1978: 68). Bu konunun en erken örneklerinin İS 1. yüzyılda Pompei'deki duvar resimleri⁵ üzerinde tasvir edilmiş olduğu görülmektedir.

Antik dönemde oldukça sevilen bir konu olan Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılmasının mozaiklerde (Tablo 1) duvar resimlerinde (bk. dipnot 5), lahitlerde⁶ ve sanatın diğer dallarında da (Weitzmann 1979: nr. 208, 211-212, 237; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 166-175) işlendiği görülmektedir.

Roma Dönemi'nde mozaik sanatçıların repertuvarlarında yer alan Akhilleus'un diğer efsanelerinin içinde en çok Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanırken Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması sahnesi tasvir edilmiştir. Bu konunun işlendiği günümüze kadar gelmiş olan 18 adet duvar ve döşeme mozaïği bilinmektedir (Tablo 1). Bunlar: Pompei duvar mozaïği (İtalya, İS 1. yüzyıl), (Dunbabin 2012: fig. 260); Tipasa mozaïği (Cezayir, İS 4. yüzyıl), (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 117; Ling 1998: fig. 60); Nimes mozaïği (Fransa, İS 2. yüzyıl.), (Houix vd. 2011: fig. 19); Saint-Romain-el-Gal mozaïği (Fransa, İS 2. yüzyıl), (Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 4); Orbe-Bosceaz mozaïği (İsviçre, İS 2. yüzyıl), (Ling 1998: fig. 51; Delbarre vd. 2008: figs. 5-6); Thysdrus-El Jem mozaïği (Tunus, İS 2. yüzyıl), (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 123; Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 7); Ptolemais (Libya, İS 3. yüzyıl.), (Houix vd. 2011: 461); Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (Türkiye, İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 2; Önal 2009: res. 35); Shechem-Nablus mozaïği (Filistin, İS 3. yüzyılın ortaları), (Dauphin 1979: pl. 2 C); Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (Türkiye, İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 90); Palmyra mozaïği (Suriye, İS 3. yüzyıl ortaları - 4. yüzyıl başları), (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 120; Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 3); Caesarea-Cherchel mozaïği (Cezayir, İS 4. yüzyıl.), (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 118); Sparta mozaïği (Yunanistan, İS 4. yüzyıl), (Waywell 1979: fig. 39; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 124); Kourion mozaïği (Kıbrıs, İS 3. yüzyıl ya da 4. yüzyıl), (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 127); Pedrosa de la Vega (Villa de la Olmeda) mozaïği (İspanya, İS 4. yüzyıl), (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 121; Dunbabin 1999: fig. 161; Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 8); Santisteban del Puerto mozaïği (İspanya, İS 4. yüzyıl), (Delbarre vd. 2008: 37; Blázquez 2011: fig. 8); Keynsham mozaïği (İngiltere, İS 4. yüzyıl), (Cosh - Neal 2001: fig. 1; Delbarre vd. 2008: 37); Brading mozaïği (İngiltere, İS 4. yüzyıl.), (Beeson 1997: fig.1)'dir.

Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılmasını konu alan mozaikler üzerindeki bu sahnenin farklı bölgelerde yer alan versiyonları (Tablo 1) ile tamamen aynı olanlar bulunmasa da çoğu ortak özelliklere sahiptir. Buna göre uzaktan da olsa bu sahnelerin temelinde ortak bir modelin yattığı öne sürülebilir. Bu sahnelerin genelinde benzer bir şema olmasının yanı sıra bazı farklılıkların da

5 Pompei'de bu konunun işlendiği toplam 11 adet duvar resmi günümüze gelmiştir. Bunlar: Casa dei Dioscuri (VI.9.6-7), Domus Uboni (IX.5.2), Domus Postumiorum (VII.4.4), Casa dei Vettii (VI.15.1), Casa di Modesto (VI.5.13), Casa di Sirico (VII.1.25 ve 47), Casa delgi Epigrammi (V.1.18), Casa della Caccia Antica (VII.4.48), Casa della Fontana d'Amore (IX.2.7), Casa del Centauro (VI.9.3-6), Casa d'Apolline (VI.7.23)'dir. Bk. Trimble 2002: 246, dipnot 58); McCann 1978: 69 fig. 74; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 105-116; Zimmermann-Ladstatter 2011: 84-85 res. 127, 3.

6 Özellikle 2. yüzyıldaki Roma lahitleri üzerinde oldukça popüler bir konudur ve kaynağının duvar resimleri olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bk. Budde - Nicholls 1964: 102-103 nr. 162 pl. 56; McCann 1978: 67-69 figs. 72-73; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 128-165; Walker 1990: 21 nr. 13 pl. 5; Angelicoussis 1992: 88-90 nr. 66 fig. 277; Koch 2001: 142-143 res. 54; Zanker - Ewald 2012: 285-287 nr. 1.

bulunduğu görülmektedir. Bu konunun işlendiği ve tüm sahnenin korunmuş olduğu örnekleri incelediğimizde sahnede genellikle Akhilleus merkezde olmak üzere onun etrafını saran figürlerin Skyros kralı Lykomedes, Akhilleus'un eşi Deidameia, kralın diğer kızları, Odysseus ve askerler olduğu görülmektedir⁷. Bunun yanı sıra bazı örneklerde bu sahneye Diomedes ve borazan çalan bir asker de dahil edilmiştir⁸. Şüphesiz bu durum mozağin yapılacağı mekânın boyutlarıyla alakalı olmalıdır. Yine örneklerin bazılarında figürlerin kimlikleri, başlarının üzerine yazılmış olan yazıttan açıkça bilinmektedir⁹. Bazen de arka planda Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nın mimarisi yansıtılmıştır¹⁰.

2. Figürlü Bordür

2.1. Ziyafete Hazırlık Sahnesi (Resim 5)

Ana panonun etrafı geniş bir figürlü bordür ile çevrilmiştir. Dört tarafında da farklı konulara yer verildiği anlaşılan bordürün bir kenarında ayakta duran dört adet figür tasvir edilmiştir. Bu, bir ziyafete hazırlık sahnesi olmalıdır.

Sol baştaki birinci kadın figürü ayakta durmaktadır ve giyimlidir. Ayak bileklerine kadar uzun tunik üzerine himation giymiştir. Himationun kenarları kalın şeritlerle süslenmiştir. Gövdesi hafifçe sağma dönük iken başı ise kendi soluna dönüktür. Başına bitkisel bir çelenk yerleştirilmiştir. Sağ kolunu yukarıya doğru kaldırmış ve yana açmıştır, sol kolu tahrip olmuştur. Soldan ikinci kadın figürü ise ayak bileklerine kadar uzun bir tunik üzerine himation giymiştir. Himationun kenarları kalın şeritlerle süslenmiştir. Gövdesi hafifçe soluna dönük iken başı ise kendi sağma dönüktür. Başına bitkisel bir çelenk yerleştirilmiştir. Her iki kolunu dirsekten bükerek öne uzatmıştır ve elinde taşıdığı tepsisi içerisinde muhtemelen et (?) bulunmaktadır. Soldan üçüncü kadın figürü de ayak bileklerine kadar uzun tunik üzerine himation giymiştir. Himationun kenarları kalın şeritlerle



Resim 5
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği
ziyafete hazırlık sahnesi
(Dörner 1952: taf. 10).

7 Bk. Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 2; Önal 2009: res. 35).

8 Bk. Pedrosa de la Vega (Villa de la Olmeda) mozaïği (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 121; Dunbabin 2012: fig. 161; Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 8); Palmyra mozaïği (Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 3); Orbe-Bosceaz mozaïği (Ling 1998: fig. 51; Delbarre vd. 2008: figs. 5-6); Tipasa mozaïği (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 117; Ling 1998: fig. 60); Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 90) ve El Jem mozaïği (Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 7).

9 Bk. Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 90) ve Shechem-Nablus mozaïği (Dauphin 1979: pl. 2C).

10 Bk. Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 2; Önal 2009: res. 35); Pedrosa de la Vega (Villa de la Olmeda) mozaïği (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 121; Dunbabin 2012: fig. 161; Delbarre vd. 2008: fig. 8) ve Sparta mozaïği (Waywell 1979: fig. 39; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: nr. 124).

süslenmiştir. Gövdesi hafifçe sağına dönük iken başı ise kendi soluna dönüktür. Başına bitkisel bir çelenk yerleştirilmiştir. Her iki kolunu dirsekten bükerek öne uzatmıştır ve elinde içerisinde muhtemelen et (?) bulunan bir tepsi taşımaktadır. En sağda yer alan kadın figürü ise ayak bileklerine kadar uzun tunik üzerine bir himation giymiştir. Gövdesi sağ profilden işlenmiştir. Başı ise kendi sağına doğru çevrilmiş ve arkaya doğru döndürülmüştür. Başında bitkisel bir çelenk yer almaktadır. Dirsekten büküğü her iki kolunu öne doğru uzatmış ve yukarı doğru kaldırmıştır. Sol kolu biraz daha yukarıda iken sağ kol daha aşağıdadır. Her iki elinde bir cymbals¹¹ tutmaktadır. Baş ve gövdenin zıt hareketi bir dansa işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu kadın çaldığı cymbals eşliğinde dans eden bir dansçı olmalıdır.

2.2. Av Sahnesi (Resim 6)

Figürlü bordürün diğer bir kenarında av sahnesi tasvir edilmiştir. Çok az bir kısmı korunmuş olan bu sahnede ayakta duran bir avcı yer almaktadır. Kısa bir tunik üzerine bir khlamys giymiştir. Ayağında çizmeleri bulunmaktadır. Sol ayağı önde sağ ayağı geridedir. Öne doğru hamle yapmıştır. Hareket halinde olduğu için khlamys arkadan uçmuştur. Avcının hemen önünde iki adet hayvan bulunmaktadır. Sahnede çeşitli yeşilliklere yer verilmiştir bu da olayın açık havada geçtiğine işaret etmektedir.

Av sahneleri mozaikler üzerinde İÖ geç 4. yüzyıldan itibaren görülmeye başlamış¹² ve oldukça sık tasvir edilmiştir¹³.



Resim 6
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği av sahnesi (Konuralp Müzesi Arşivi).

3. Geometrik Bordür (Resim 7-11), (Çizim 1)

Ziyafete hazırlık sahnesinin ve av sahnesinin etrafını yedi adet eşkenar dörtgen oluşmuş yıldız motifinin işlendiği geniş bir geometrik bordür çevirmiştir. Bu yıldızların her kolunun içerisinde yine küçük eşkenar dörtgenler bulunmaktadır. Her bir yıldızın iki yandan birbirleriyle birleşim noktasında bulunan ve yıldızın yedinci kolunu oluşturan eşkenar dörtgenlerin içerisine ayrıca yıldızların

11 Yunan ve Roma'da genellikle bronzdan yapılan iki adet yarım küre şeklindeki birbirine vurularak çalınan bir müzik aletidir; bk. Karatağ 2013: 112; Bu müzik aleti Pompeii'de Cicero Villası'nda yer alan "Şokak Müzisyenleri" mozağında da tasvir edilmiştir; bk. L'Orange - Nordhagen 1960: taf. 8; Fischer 1971: fig. 17; Ling 1998: fig. 6; Dunbabin 2012: fig. 45.

12 Bk. Pella'dan aslan avı mozaïği, Dunbabin 2012: fig. 9; Pella'dan geyik avı mozaïği Dunbabin 2012: fig. 12.

13 Dunbabin 2012: figs. 115-116, 137, 142-143, 147, 160, 169-170, 196.



Resim 7
Prusias ad Hypium
Akhilleus Mozaïği
geometrik bordür
(Konuralp Müzesi
Arşivi).

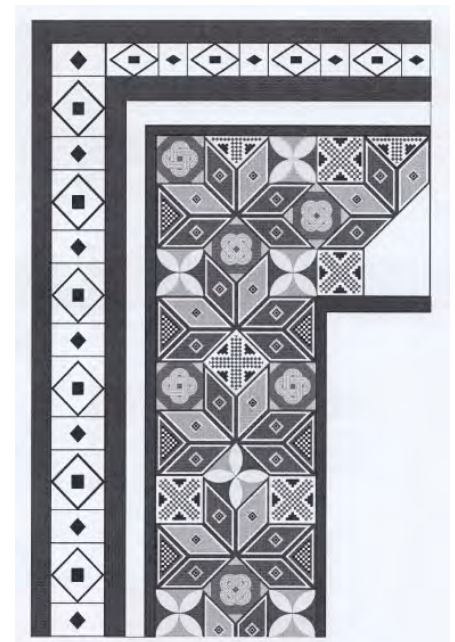
birbirleriyle aralarında kalan kare şeklindeki boşlukların içerisine dönüşümlü olarak Süleyman Düğümü, dört yapraklı rozet ve çapraz biçimde dama tahtası motifi yerleştirilmiştir. Yıldızların üst ve alt kolları arasında kalan üçgen şeklindeki boşlukların içerisinde yine üçgen biçiminde dama tahtası motifi bulunmaktadır.

Dört yapraklı rozetin yaprakları krem rengi iken yaprak aralarındaki boşluklar dönüşümlü olarak kahverengi ve yeşildir. Dama tahtası motifindeki küçük kareler dönüşümlü olarak kahverengi ve yeşildir. Süleyman Düğümü'nde de yine kahverengi ve yeşil renkler mevcuttur. Yıldızın diğer kollarında krem rengi, kahverengi ve yeşil renklere yer verilmiştir. Bordürleri ve motifleri ayıran kalın ve ince düz bantlarda koyu kahverengi kullanılmıştır.



Resim 8
Prusias ad Hypium
Akhilleus Mozaïği
geometrik bordür ayrıntısı
(S. Sezin Sezer).

Çizim 1
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği
Geometrik Bordür (Çizen: Rabia Gören).





Resim 9
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği
geometrik bordür ayrıntısı (S. Sezin Sezer).



Resim 10
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği
geometrik bordür ayrıntısı (S. Sezin Sezer).



Resim 11
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği
geometrik bordür ayrıntısı (S. Sezin Sezer).

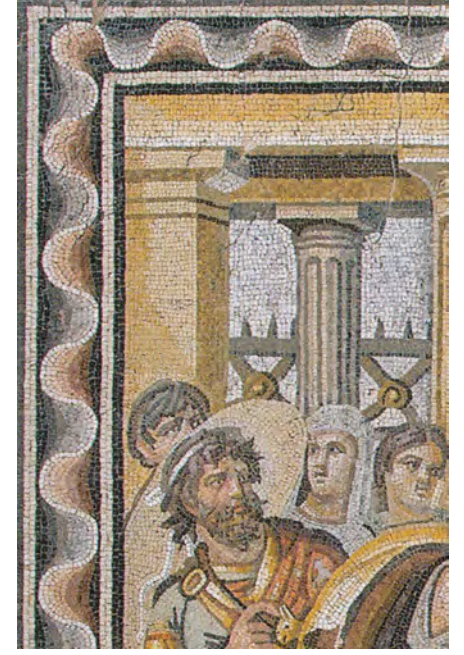
Mozaïği en dıřta çevreleyen bordürde tek sıra halinde dönuřümlü olarak ilerleyen dar ve geniş metoplara yer verilmiřtir. Hem geniş metoplar ierisindeki eřkenar dörđgenlerin ortasında hem de dar metopların iinde kahverengi tessellerarla oluřturulan karo ve kare rozetler bulunmaktadır.

4. Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaığının Diğer Mozaikler ile Karşılaştırılması (Tablo 1 - 2)

Pompei'deki Dioscuri Evi'nde (VI.9.6-7), (Trimble 2002: 230 fig. 10.6) yer alan ve üzerinde Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması sahnesinin tasvir edildiği duvar resminde 3/4 profilden işlenmiş ve bir kalkanın arkasına yerleştirilmiş olan figür ile mekân derinliğinin sağlanması uygulamasını Prusias ad Hypium mozaığının Akhilleus sahnesinde de görmekteyiz. Bu durum Hellenistik Dönem sanatının mozaik üzerindeki etkisini göstermektedir.

Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaığı (Res. 12), (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 35) merkez panosunun sol köşesinde 3/4 profilden işlenmiş olan figürün üç boyut perspektiften verilmesi, hemen önüne kocaman bir kalkan yerleştirilmiş olması, yalnızca baş kısmının görülmesi geri kalan kısımlarının bu kalkan ile kaplanmış olması, başını hafifçe kendi soluna çevirmesi, bakışlarını da sola yönlendirmesiyle ve yine merkez panosunun etrafını çeviren dalgalı kurdele bandı üzerinde farklı renkte tessera kullanımı ile ışık-gölge etkileşimi sağlanmasıyla Prusias ad Hypium mozaığıyla (Res. 13) benzerdir.

Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaığı (Res. 14), (İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 90) ile Shechem-Nablus mozaığı (Res. 15), (İS 3. yüzyılın ortaları), (Dauphin 1979: 21 pl. 2C) ana panolarında yer alan Akhilleus sahnesindeki figürlerin isimlerinin üzerlerinde yazılı olmasıyla, Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaığı (Res. 12), (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 35) ve Shechem-Nablus mozaığı (Res. 15), (İS 3. yüzyılın ortaları), (Dauphin 1979: 21 pl. 2C) ana panolarında yer alan Akhilleus sahnesinin etrafını dalgalı kurdele bandı çevirmesiyle Prusias ad Hypium mozaığıyla ortak özelliklere sahiptir.



Resim 12
Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaığı ana pano detayı (Önal 2009: res. 35).



Resim 13
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaığı ana pano detayı (Dörner 1952: taf. 10).

Resim 14
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaığı ana panodan yazıt detayı (Önal 2009: res. 90).

Prusias ad Hypium mozaığının ana panosunun etrafını tek sıra halinde çeviren dalgalı kurdele bandının Antiokheia ve Zeugma mozaikleri üzerinde özellikle ana panoyu çeviren bir bant olarak oldukça sık kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Bunlar arasında Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaığı (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 35); Shechem-Nablus mozaığı (İS 3. yüzyıl ortaları), (Dauphin 1979: pl. 2C); Zeugma Aphrodite'nin Doğuşu mozaığı (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 33); Zeugma Orpheus mozaığı (İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Görkay 2015: 87); Antiokheia Oceanus ve Tethys mozaığı (İS 2. yüzyıl), (Cimok 2000: res. 46-47); Antiokheia Revellers ve Hetaerae mozaığı (İS 3. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı), (Cimok 2000: res. 121); Tarsus Ganymedes mozaığı (İS 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Cimok 2000: res. 145); Tarsus Orpheus mozaığı (İS 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Cimok 2000: res. 147); Antiokheia Eroslar mozaığı (İS 3. yüzyıl), (Cimok 2000: res. 173); Antiokheia Oceanus ve Tethys mozaığı (Cimok 2000: res. 187) ve Antiokheia balık tutan Eroslar mozaığı (İS 3. yüzyıl), (Cimok 2000: res. 188) bulunmaktadır.



Resim 15
Shechem-Nablus Mozaığı ana pano detayı (Dauphin 1979: pl. 2C).



Resim 16
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaïğine bitişik olan Theonoe Mozaïği'ndeki kadın figürü detayı (Önal 2009: res. 89).

Mozaiklerin üzerindeki tasvirlerden ziyafet hazırlıklarını (Rodgers 2007: 225; 233; Dunbabin 2012: 85 fig. 85) ve ziyafetteki servisleri (Abed 2007: fig. 11; Rodgers 2007: 113; Dunbabin 2012: 135 fig. 137) kölelerin yaptığını görmekteyiz. Gerek ziyafete hazırlık esnasında gerekse ziyafetteki servis sırasında yiyecekleri genellikle tepsi içerisinde taşıdıkları görülmektedir (Abed 2007: fig. 11; Dunbabin 2012: 82, 85 fig. 85). Yine ziyafetlerde müzik yaparak dans eden kişilerin de yer aldığı mozaikler üzerindeki tasvirlerden bilinmektedir (Abed 2007: fig. 11; Rodgers 2007: 233; Dunbabin 2012: 82, 85 fig. 85). Mozaikler ve duvar resimleri (Zimmermann-Ladstätter 2011: res. 232-238) üzerinde tasvir edilen kadın (Dunbabin 2012: 134 fig. 138) ve erkek kölelerin (Dunbabin 2012: 152 fig. 159) Prusias mozaïğindeki hizmetkârlar/köleler ile aynı tarz giysi giydikleri görülmektedir. Kölelerin servis yaparken genellikle başlarına bitkisel bir çelenk taktıklarını yine duvar resimlerinde (Rodgers 2007: 232) görüyoruz. Zeugma Pasiphae ve Daedalos mozaïğine bitişik olan Dionysos mozaïği (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 25) üzerindeki Bakkha figürü ile Antiokheia Maenad ve Satyr mozaïğindeki (İS 2. yüzyılın sonları ya da 3. yüzyılın başları), (Cimok 2000: res. 130) Maenad figürü baş ve vücut hareketlerinin yanı sıra bir *cymbals* çalarak dans ediyor olmalarıyla Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğinin ziyafete hazırlık sahnesindeki *cymbals* çalarak dans eden kadın ile ortak özellikler taşımaktadır. Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği ile bitişik olan Theonoe mozaïğinde (Res. 16), (İS 2. yüzyıl-3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 89) Theonoe'nin sağ tarafında yer alan ve olasılıkla *pantomim* oyunu sırasında müzik eşliğinde şarkı söyleyen koroya ait iki kadın figüründen sol baştaki ilk kadın figürü ile Amisos Akhilleus ve Thetis mozaïğinde, Akhilleus-Thetis panosunun bir köşesine yerleştirilmiş olan ve ilkbahar mevsiminin kişileştirilmiş formu olan kadın figürü (Şahin 2004: res. 18), (Res. 17) başlarının hafif soluna dönük oluşu, bakışlarının sola ve karşıya doğru olması, saçlarının alnın ortasında ikiye ayrılıp dalgalı bir şekilde yanlardan arkaya doğru taranıp arkada toplanmasıyla ve başlarına bitkisel bir çelenk yerleştirilmiş olmasıyla Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğindeki ziyafete hazırlık sahnesinde yer alan soldan üçüncü kadın figürü (Res. 18) ile ortak özelliklere sahiptirler.



Resim 17
Amisos Akhilleus ve Thetis Mozaïği'ndeki ilkbahar figürü (<https://tarihvearkeoloji.blogspot.com>).

Zeugma Pasiphae ve Daedalos mozağine bitişik olan Dionysos mozaği (Res. 19), (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res.25) geometrik bordüründe yer alan sekiz kollu yıldızların her iki yandan birbirleriyle birleşim noktasında bulunan eşkenar dörtgenin içerisine çapraz biçimde dama tahtası motifi yerleştirilmesiyle, yıldızların kolları arasında kalan kare şeklindeki boşlukların içerisinde çapraz biçimde dama tahtası motifi bulunmasıyla, mozağin ana panosunun etrafını çeviren geometrik bordürde yer alan meander motiflerinin aralarında bulunan karelerin içerisine Süleyman Düğümü yerleştirilmiş olmasıyla; Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaği (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 35) geometrik bordüründe eşkenar dörtgenlerden oluşan yıldız motifine yer verilmesiyle, mozağin geometrik bordüründe bulunan büyük karelerin ortasında yer alan küçük karelerin içerisine süleyman düğümü yerleştirilmesiyle; Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaği (Res. 20), (İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 90) ana panosunu çevreleyen geometrik bordüründe yer alan meander motiflerinin aralarında bulunan karelerin içerisine çapraz biçimde dama tahtası motifi yerleştirilmesiyle, mozağin geometrik bordüründe



Resim 18
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaği ziyafete hazırlık sahnesindeki kadın figürü detayı (Dörner 1952: taf. 10).



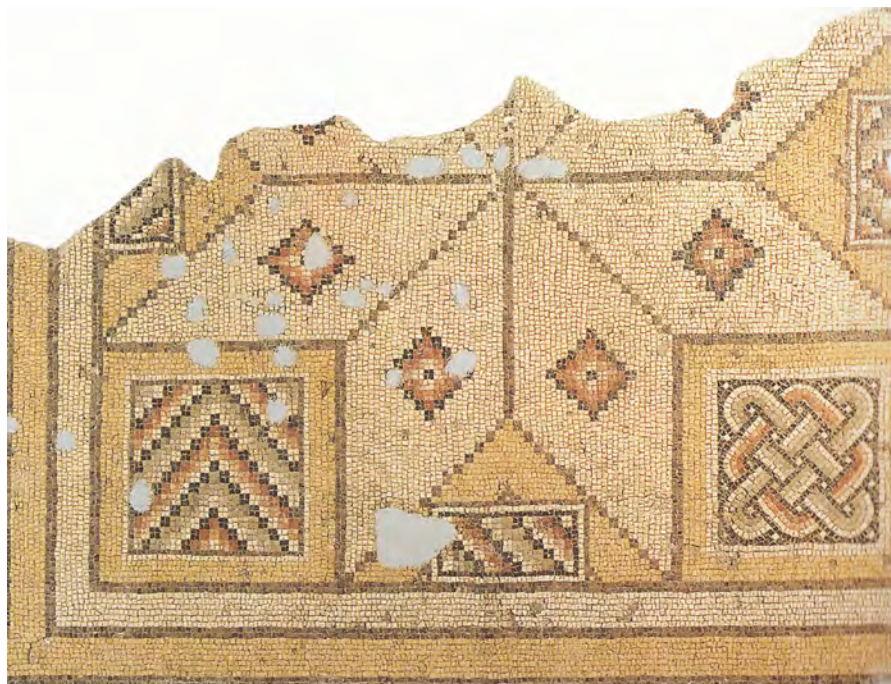
Resim 19
Zeugma Pasiphae ve Daedalos Mozağine bitişik olan Dionysos Mozaği geometrik bordür detayı (Önal 2009: res. 25).



Resim 20
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaği geometrik bordür detayı (Önal 2009: res. 90).



Resim 21
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaği'ne bitişik olan Theonoe Mozaği geometrik bordür detayı (Önal 2009: res. 89).



Resim 22
Antiokheia Revellers ve Hetaerae Mozaği geometrik bordür detayı (Cimok 2000: res.120).

yer alan karenin içerisinde bulunan dairenin merkezindeki eşkenar dörtgenin ortasında dört yapraklı rozet yer almasıyla; Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïğine bitişik olan Theonoe mozaïği (Res. 21), (İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 87) ana panosunu çevreleyen geometrik bordüründe yer alan meander motiflerinin aralarına yerleştirilmiş olan karelerin içerisinde dönüşümlü olarak Süleyman Düğümü ve çapraz biçiminde dama tahtası motifi bulunmasıyla; Antiokheia Oceanus ve Tethys mozaïği (İS 2. yüzyıl), (Cimok 2000: res. 46-47) geometrik bordüründe yer alan karenin içerisinde bulunan eşkenar dörtgenin merkezindeki dairenin ortasına dört yapraklı rozet yerleştirilmesiyle; Antiokheia Revellers ve Hetaerae mozaïği (Res. 22), (İS 3. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı), (Cimok 2000: res. 120-121) geometrik bordüründe eşkenar dörtgenlerden oluşan yıldız motifine yer verilmesiyle, sekiz adet eşkenar dörtgenden oluşan yıldızların her kolunun içerisine yine küçük eşkenar dörtgen yerleştirilmesiyle, yıldızın kolları arasında kalan kare şeklindeki boşluğun içerisinde üçgen biçiminde dama tahtası motifi bulunmasıyla; Amisos Akhilleus ve Thetis mozaïğinin geometrik bordüründe (Şahin 2004: res. 25-26) yer alan eşkenar dörtgenlerin içerisindeki dama tahtası motifinde farklı renk tessera kullanımı ile üç boyutlu derinliğin oluşturulmasıyla Prusias ad Hypium mozaïği ile benzerdir.

5. Sonuç

Bir Roma villasının zemin döşemesi olduğu düşünülen Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğinin *emblemata*'sında, Skyros Adası'nda Kral Lykomedes'in Sarayı'nda saklanan Akhilleus'un, Odysseus tarafından ortaya çıkarılması olayı tasvir edilmiştir. Bu olay, Yunan ve Roma dünyasında oldukça popüler bir *pantomim*¹⁴ oyunu konusudur. Bu sahneyi konu alan mozaiklerin farklı bölgelerdeki 18 örneğini (Tablo 1) incelediğimizde Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğine en yakın örneklerin Anadolu'dan iki Zeugma mozaïği olduğu görülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra Antiokheia ve Zeugma mozaiklerinde mitolojik konulu figürlü sahnelerin etrafını geometrik bordürlerin çevirdiği Hellenistik sanat geleneğini devam ettiren üslubun Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğinde de uygulandığını görmekteyiz.

Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (İS 2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları), (Önal 2009: res. 35) merkez panosunun sol köşesinde 3/4 profilden işlenmiş olan figürün üç boyut perspektiften verilmesi, hemen önüne kocaman bir kalkan yerleştirilmiş olması, yalnızca baş kısmının görülmesi geri kalan kısımlarının bu kalkan ile kaplanmış olması, başını hafifçe kendi soluna çevirmesi, bakışlarını da sola yönlendirmesinin yanı sıra merkez panosunun etrafını çeviren dalgalı kurdele bandı üzerinde farklı renkte tessera kullanımı ile ışık-gölge etkileşimi sağlanmasıyla, geometrik bordüründe sekiz adet eşkenar dörtgenden oluşan yıldız motifine yer verilmesiyle ve yine bordüründe bulunan büyük karelerin ortasındaki küçük karelerin içerisine Süleyman Düğümü yerleştirilmesiyle Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğiyle benzerdir.

Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği ile bitişik olan Theonoe mozaïğinde (Res. 16), (İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 89) Theonoe'nin sağ tarafında yer alan ve olasılıkla *pantomim* oyunu sırasında müzik eşliğinde şarkı söyleyen koroya ait iki kadın figüründen sol baştaki ilk kadın figürü ile Amisos Akhilleus ve Thetis mozaïğinde, Akhilleus-Thetis panosunun bir köşesine yerleştirilmiş olan ve ilkbahar mevsiminin kişileştirilmiş

14 Romalılarda bir sahne gösterisi biçimi. Bu tür gösterilerde tek bir oyuncu/dansçı hiç konuşmadan salt hareketlerle bir öyküyü canlandırır bütün rolleri kendi oynardı. Gösteriye şarkıcılar korosu ile küçük bir orkestra eşlik eder. Öyküler tamamıyla mitolojiden veya novella'lardan seçilirdi. Pantomimi bu şekliyle Roma'ya İÖ 22'de Kilikia kökenli Pylades ile İskenderiyeli Bathyllus getirmiştir; bk. Görkay 2015: 158.

formu olan kadın figürünün (İS 3. yüzyıl ortaları), (Şahin 2004: res. 18), (Res. 17) Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğindeki ziyafete hazırlık sahnesinde yer alan soldan üçüncü kadın figürü (Res. 18) ile ikonografik ve stilistik açıdan olan benzerliği bu kadın figürlerinin aynı modelden kopya edilmiş olduklarına işaret etmektedir. Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği (İS 2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı), (Önal 2009: res. 90) merkez panoyu çevreleyen geometrik bordürde yer alan meander motiflerinin aralarında bulunan karelerin içerisine çapraz biçiminde dama tahtası motifi yerleştirilmesiyle, yine mozaïğin geometrik bordüründe yer alan karenin içerisinde bulunan dairenin merkezindeki eşkenar dörtgenin ortasında dört yapraklı rozet yer almasıyla dikdörtgenlerin içerisindeki eşkenar dörtgenlerin içindeki dairenin ortasında Süleyman Düğümü bulunmasıyla, merkez panoda yer alan Akhilleus sahnesindeki figürlerin isimlerinin üzerlerinde yazılı olmasıyla Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğiyle ortak özelliklere sahiptir. Akhilleus sahnesinin üst kısmında Akhilleus'un kalkanının iki yanında korunmuş olan yazıt (Res. 23) aslında Parthenoi yani Antik Yunanca anlamıyla "Genç Kızlar" olarak tamamlanmıştır. Bu yazıtta bahsedilen "Genç Kızlar" hikâyesinin geçtiği Lykomedes'in Sarayı'ndaki *gynaikieon*'da bulunan ve mozaikte arka planda görülen Lykomedes'in bakire genç kızlarını ima etse de aslında bu sahnenin bu temayı işleyen ve Parthenoi (Genç Kızlar) olarak adlandırılmış tragedya veya *pantomim* için yazılmış ve günümüze kadar ulaşmamış bir edebi tiyatro eserinin adı olduğu kabul edilmiştir (Görkay 2015: 67). Bundan yola çıkarak Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğinde yer alan ana panodaki Parthenoi (Genç Kızlar) yazıtının da (Res. 24) Zeugma örneğinde olduğu gibi bir edebi tiyatro eserinin adı olduğu düşünülebilir.

Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïği ve Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi Akhilleus mozaïği ile Prusias ad Hypium mozaïği arasındaki benzerlik bir atölyenin faaliyetini yansıtır ki bu da Zeugma atölyesi olmalıdır. Atölyelerin olasılıkla Akhilleus sahnesi gibi popüler konuları içeren temel şemalardan oluşan bir tür kopya kitap, büyük olasılıkla parşömen üzerine çizilmiş bir çizim serisi mevcut olmalıdır. Ayrıca bu popüler konunun etrafını çeviren bordürlerde ise yine atölyenin geometrik repertuarında yer alan geometrik motifler kullanılmış olmalıdır. Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus mozaïğinin, Prusias mozaïğinin merkez panosuna ikonografik ve stilistik olarak en yakın örnek olması, Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğinin geometrik bordüründe kullanılan geometrik motiflerin Zeugma mozaiklerindeki geometrik bordürlerde de kullanılmış olduğunun görülmesi sonucunda Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğinin Zeugma atölyesinde çalışmış onun geometrik repertuarındaki geometrik motifleri kullanan ve Akhilleus gibi popüler konuyu da kopya kitaptan uygulayan bir gezgin usta tarafından yapılmış olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Aynı biçimde Amisos mozaïğinde kullanılan motif kombinasyonları özellikle bordür dizaynındaki motiflerin Zeugma mozaikleri ile olan benzerliği nedeniyle Amisos mozaïğinin Zeugma veya civarından gelen bir gezgin usta tarafından yapıldığı kabul edilmiştir (Şahin 2004: 39-40). Yine Amisos mozaïği ile Prusias ad Hypium mozaïği arasındaki ortak özellikler de bu gezgin usta ifadesini güçlendirmektedir. Dolayısıyla Amisos ve Prusias ad Hypium kentlerinin mozaiklerinde görülen Zeugma etkisi, bu gezgin ustaların Karadeniz Bölgesi'ne gelerek çalıştıklarına işaret etmektedir.

Zeugma mozaikleri ile ikonografik ve stilistik karşılaştırmalarından yola çıkarak Prusias ad Hypium mozaïğini, İS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına tarihlendirebiliriz.



Resim 23
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaïği ana pano yazıt detayı (Önal 2009: res. 90).



Resim 24
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği ana pano yazıt detayı (Dörner 1952: taf. 10).

Buluntu Yeri	Tarihi	Ana Pano'daki Figürle- rin Yerleşiriliş Biçimi	Ana Pano'daki Yazıtlar	Ana Panoyu Çeviren Dalgalı Kurdele Bandı	Ziyafete Hazırlık Sah- nesi	Av Sahnesi	Yedi Kollu Yıldız Motifi	Dama Tahtası Motifi	Süleyman Düğümü	Dört Yapraklı Rozet
Pompei (İtalya)	1. yüzyıl									
Tipasa (Kuzey Afrika)	2. yüzyıl									
Nimes (Fransa)	2. yüzyıl									
Saint-Romain-el-Gal (Fransa)	2. yüzyıl sonu									
Orbe-Bosceaz (İsviçre)	2. yüzyıl sonu									
Thysdrus-El Jem (Tunus)	2. yüzyıl sonu									
Ptolemais (Libya)	3. yüzyıl									
Zeugma Poseidon Evi (Türkiye)	2. yüzyıl sonları - 3. yüzyıl başları	X		X					X	
Shechem-Nablus (Filistin)	3. yüzyıl ortaları		X	X						
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi (Türkiye)	2. yüzyıl - 3. yüzyıl ilk yarısı		X					X	X	X
Palmyra (Suriye)	3. yüzyıl ortaları - 4. yüzyıl başları									
Caesarea- Cherchel (Cezayir)	3. yüzyıl ya da 4. yüzyıl başlangıcı									
Sparta (Yunanistan)	4. yüzyıl									
Kourion (Kıbrıs)	4. yüzyıl ilk yarısı									
Pedrosa de la Vega (İspanya)	4. yüzyıl					X				
Santisteban del Puerto (İspanya)	4. yüzyıl									
Keynsham (İngiltere)	4. yüzyıl									
Brading (İngiltere)	4. yüzyıl									

Tablo 1
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği
ile diğeri Akhilleus Mozaiklerinin
Karşılaştırılması.

Buluntu Yeri	Tarihi	Dalgalı Kur- dele Bandı	Kollu Yıldız Motifi	Dama Tahtası Motifi	Süleyman Düğümü	Dört Yapraklı Rozet
Zeugma Pasiphae ve Daedalus Mozaïği.	2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları				X	
Zeugma Pasiphae ve Daedalus Mozaïğine bitişik olan Dionysos Mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 25).	2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları		X	X	X	
Zeugma Poseidon Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 35).	2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları	X	X		X	
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 90).	2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı			X		X
Zeugma Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes Evi'ndeki Akhilleus Mozaïğine bitişik olan Theonoe Mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 89).	2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı			X	X	
Zeugma Aphrodite'nin Doğuşu Mozaïği (Önal 2009: res. 33).	2. yüzyıl sonları- 3. yüzyıl başları	X				
Zeugma Orpheus Mozaïği (Görkay 2015: 87).	2. yüzyıl- 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı	X				
Antiokheia Oceanus ve Tethys Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 46-47).	2. yüzyıl	X				X
Antiokheia Revellers ve Hetaerae Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 121).	3. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı	X	X	X		
Tarsus Ganymedes Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 145).	3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı	X				
Tarsus Orpheus Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 147).	3. yüzyılın ilk yarısı	X				
Antiokheia Eroslar Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 173).	3. yüzyıl	X				
Antiokheia Oceanus ve Tethys Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 187).	3. yüzyıl	X				
Antiokheia balık tutan Eroslar Mozaïği (Cimok 2000: res. 188).	3. yüzyıl	X				
Amisos Akhilleus ve Thetis Mozaïği (Şahin 2004: res. 25-26)	3. yüzyıl ortaları			X	X	
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïği.	3. yüzyıl ortaları	X	X	X	X	X

Tablo 2
Prusias ad Hypium Akhilleus Mozaïğinin Geometrik Bordüründe yer alan Motiflerin diğere Mozaiklerle Karşılaştırılması.

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Roma Mizah Anlayışının Roma Dönemi Mozaiklerine Yansıması

Reflections of Roman Humour on Roman Mosaics

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Öz

Bu makalenin konusunu, Roma Dönemi mizah anlayışının Roma Dönemi zemin mozaikleri üzerindeki yansıması oluşturmaktadır. Roma Dönemi mizah anlayışı çerçevesinde, Roma'nın eyaletlerine de yansımış eğlendirici öğelerin, zemin mozaiklerinde oldukça etkili bir biçimde kullanıldığı izlenir.

İnsanların eğlenmesine, gülmesine ve keyifli zaman geçirmesine sebep olan ifadeler, hareketler ya da objeler mizah olarak tanımlanabilir. İlerleyen teknoloji ve artan okuma yazma oranı, günlük yaşantımızda sözlü mizahın daha çok yer tutmasına sebep olmuştur. Mizah anlayışının geçmişi incelenmek istendiğinde, Antik Çağ'da yazılı kaynakları ve önemli filozofların eserlerini incelemek ve bunları arkeolojik verilerle birleştirmek yararlı olacaktır.

Roma halkının ya da eyaletlerdeki Roma kültürüne adapte olmuş toplumların mizah anlayışının tamamen birbiriyle benzerlik taşıdığı söylemek mümkündür. Geç Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nden başlayarak, İS 5. yüzyıla kadar, halkın komik bulduğu öğeler, özellikle mozaik döşeme örnekleri gibi görselliğe hitap eden sanatlarda, açık ve net bir şekilde görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antik Çağ, mozaik, mizah, yazılı kaynaklar, filozoflar.

Abstract

The subject of this article is the reflection of Roman humour on Roman mosaic pavements. In the framework of the sense of humour in the Roman Period, it is seen that the entertaining elements also reflected in the Roman provinces are used in floor mosaics quite effectively.

Expressions, gestures or objects that cause people to have fun and laugh can be described as humour. Modern technology and increased literacy rate have created oral humour to take up more space in our daily lives. When it is desired to study the history of humour, it will be useful to examine the ancient written sources and the works of famous philosophers and combine them with archaeological evidence.

It is possible to say that the sense of humour of the Roman people or the communities that have been adhered to the Roman culture in the provinces is entirely similar. Beginning from the Late Republican period to the 5th century AD, the elements that the public find funny can be seen in visual arts, especially in the examples of mosaic pavements.

Keywords: Antiquity, mosaic, humour, written sources, philosophers.

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Araştırmanın konusunu, Roma Dönemi mizah anlayışı içinde Roma'nın eyaletlerine yansımış eğlendirici unsurlarının zemin mozaikleri üzerindeki tezahürü oluşturmaktadır.

İnsanları eğlendiren, onların gülmesini ve keyifli vakit geçirmesini sağlayan ifadeler, hareketler ya da nesnelere mizah olarak tanımlanabilir. Gelişen teknoloji ve okuryazarlık oranının artması hayatımızda sözlü mizahın daha çok yer tutmasına neden olmuştur. Mizah anlayışı için daha geriye bakmak istersek Antik Çağ'da yazılı kaynakları, filozofların eserlerini ve arkeolojik buluntuları incelemek gerekir.

Örneğin Platon gibi bazı büyük filozofların mizaha değindiklerini biliyoruz. En etkili kahkaha eleştirmenlerinden biri olan Platon, mizahı rasyonel kontrolün üzerindeki bir duygu olarak ifade eder. Platon, Devlet adlı eserinde (388e) devletin muhafızlarının kahkaha atmaktan kaçınması gerektiğini söyleyerek, "*biri şiddetli kahkahadan kaçınırsa, şartları onu şiddet reaksiyonuna yönlendirir*" der. Platon, ayrıca, komediyi analiz ederken, gülünç şeylerin biraz kötülükten beslendiğine dem vurarak, komik olan şeylerin gayri ahlaki olduğunu ve bilhassa hor görünerek küçümsenmesi gerektiğini ileri sürer (Plat.Phil. 48-50). Bir şeylerle alay eden, onlara gülen insanlar, kendilerini daha zengin, daha iyi görünümlü olarak hayal ederler, çünkü kötü, cahilane ve ahlaklı olmayan şeylere gülmektedirler. Platon, bu nedenle ideal devletlerin kahkaha ve mizahı engellemek için komediyi sıkı bir şekilde kontrol altında tutması gerektiği düşünülmektedir (Plat.nom. 7: 816e; 11: 935e).

Platon'dan sonra gelen bazı Yunan filozoflarının da benzer şekilde komedi üzerine olumsuz yorumlarda bulduklarını görüyoruz. Durum komedisinde mizah büyük ölçüde özellikle bağlantılara ve şartlara bağlı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kimi zaman izleyici kitlesi verbal esprilere anında geri bildirim yaparken, mizahın herhangi bir nesne üzerinden kişilere sunulmasındaki süreçler oldukça farklı işlemektedir¹.

Yunan kültüründe genellikle hoş karşılanmayan mizah Romalılarda nasıldı? Nelere gülüp, nelere kızıyorlardı? Bu sorulara cevap verebilmek için öncelikle o dönemi tahlil edip Roma vatandaşlarını anlamamız ve onlar gibi düşünmeye çalışmamız gerekir. Çünkü bir toplumun mizah anlayışı tamamen onun kültürel yapısına bağlıdır. Hayatı daha çekilir kılmak için etrafta eğlenceli bir şeyler aramak, insanlar için son derece önemli olmuştur. Tiyatro maskeleri, bir evin duvarında komik oyunları temsil eden sahneler, graffito yüzler, iskelet mozaikleri, banliyölerin hamamlarında bulunan cinsel içerikli betimler olasılıkla mizahın bir yansımasıdır.

Eğer Romalıları tanımak istiyorsak onların nelere güldüğünü iyi anlamamız gerekir. Mizah araştırması yapmanın tek yolu antik metinler üzerine çalışmak ve bunları arkeolojik verilerle birleştirmekten geçer. Ancak bu antik metinlerin çoğunda elitlerin neyi komik bulduğuna yer verildiğini görürüz. Bu açıdan bize en iyi kaynak arkeolojik buluntulardır². Özellikle görsel sanatlar elit olmayan kesimin mizah anlayışını çok güzel yansıtmaktadır. Pompeii ve Herculaneum evlerinin duvarlarında yer alan freskolar, karikatürize edilmiş kompozisyonlar ile konunun anlaşılmasına en güzel örneklerdir. Roma mizahı üzerine kapsamlı bir çalışma yapmış olan J. R. Clarke'a göre, Roma'nın neredeyse her yerinde mi-

1 Özellikle Grek vazo resimleri üzerindeki mizah anlayışını irdeleyen çalışma bu konuyla bağlantılı olarak oldukça dikkate değerdir. Detaylı bilgi için lütfen bk. Mitchell 2004: 3-32.

2 Görsel mizah anlayışı örneği hakkında yapılan ve Roma Afrika mozaiklerinden bir örnek içeren benzer bir çalışma için bk. Carucci 2011: 235-245.

Kompozisyonun Oluşturulması		Kompozisyonun İletilmesi	
Siparişi verenler kimlerdi?	Sanatçıların Özelliği?	Görsel Konteks	Hedef Kitle?
Sipariş Verenlerin Sosyal Statüsü: Elit Elit olmayan: Azatlı Özgür Köle Yabancı	Eğitim ve yetenek	Kompozisyonun Bulunduğu Yapı/Mekân Cadde Tapınak Triclinium / Yemek odası Mezar Ev Taverna Latrine Yürüyüş yolu	Seyircinin sosyal statüsü: Elit Elit olmayan: Azatlı Özgür Köle Yabancı
Sipariş Verenlerde Cinsiyetinin Rolü Sipariş Verenlerin Motivasyonları Mal/Servis reklamı Kutlama Töreni Eğlence Toplumdaki gerginliğin çözümü için ara buluculuk Kefaret Yarışma/Üstünlük sağlama Halk yararı		Kompozisyonu İzleme Şekli Yürürken Çalışırken Dururken Oynarken Yemek yerken Alışveriş esnasında Üzülürken Ziyaret ederken Defekasyon esnasında	Seyirci Cinsiyetinin Rolü: Seyircinin geçmiş deneyimleri. İmajın daha önce nerede görüldüğü. Tapınak Forum Tiyatro Sikke Ev Desen kitabı Alay/zafer
Patronların Kompozisyon Anlayışı: Bilinen/bilinmeyen model ya da kastedilen	Modele sahip olma: Modelin anlaşılması/ anlaşılmaması Modelin olmadığı durumlar: Gözlemlerden elde edilen yaratım. Çeşitli eserlerden alınarak ya da esinlenilerek oluşturulan model yaratımı.	Kompozisyonun boyutu ve ölçek Yakın görüş Uzak görüş	Seyircinin imajı anlaması: Modelin bilinmesi/bilinmemesi Tanrı ve tanrıçalar hakkında inanç ve inançsızlık imajları.
Eğitimli/eğitimsiz Sipariş Verenlerin meşguliyeti/mesleği	Eğitimli/eğitimsiz	Maliyet ve Kompozisyon durumu Kompozisyon üzerinde yazı kullanılması	Eğitimli/eğitimsiz Hedef Kitlenin meşguliyeti/mesleği

Tablo 1. Clarke'a göre Antik Roma görsel sanatının kabul ve üretim model şeması (Clarke 2007: 11 fig.1)

zah ve kakhaha ile karşılaşmak mümkündür (Clarke 2007: 52). Clarke, Roma mizahını kompozisyonun oluşturulması ve hedef kitleye aktarılması olarak iki ana başlıkta ele almaktadır (Tablo 1).

Kompozisyonun oluşturulmasında en önemli rolü sipariş veren ve sanatçı üstlenmektedir. Sipariş veren öncelikle sosyal statüsüne göre elit ya da özgür köle gibi elit olmayanlar olarak iki ana gruba ayrılmıştır. Bu arada sipariş verenlerin cinsiyetleri de tasarımda önemli olmuştur. Mizah konusunun belirlenmesinde sipariş verenin reklam, kutlama, eğlence gibi gayesini de göz önünde bulundurmak gerekmektedir. Modelin seçilmesinde ise bilinen bir örnek ya da mevcut olmayan bir model sipariş olarak verilebilmektedir. Elbette kompozisyonun tercihinde siparişi veren şahsın eğitim durumu veya mesleği gibi potansiyeli de önemli rol oynamaktadır. Sanatçılarda ise özellik olarak eğitim ve yetenekleri ön plana çıkmaktadır. Sanatçıların eğitilmiş olup olmamasından ziyade yetenekleri, özellikle hâlihazırda olmayan bir modelin sipariş olarak verildiği durumlarda kendini göstermektedir. Oluşturulan kompozisyonun iletilmesinde ise görsel konteks ve hedef kitle önemlidir. Öncelikle kompozisyonun tercihinde cadde, ev, taverna gibi bulunduğu yer önemlidir. Diğer göz önünde bulundurulması gereken bir husus izleyicinin yürürken, oynarken, yemek yerken gibi hangi pozisyonda kompozisyona maruz kalacağıdır. Boyut seçiminde ise tercih edilen mimariye dikkat edilmelidir. Örneğin tiyatro gibi seyircinin daha uzaktan algılayabileceği mekânlarda tasarımın büyük boyutlu, triclinium gibi daha küçük gruplara hitap edeceği mekânlarda ise daha küçük ölçekli olmasına dikkat edilmiştir. Eğer hedef kitle eğitilmiş ise görsel mizah verbal mizah ile de desteklenmiştir. Görselin kalitesini sipariş verenin mali durumu da etkilemiştir. Siparişi veren kadar hedef kitlenin de sosyal statüsü önemlidir. Hedef kitle gördüğü kompozisyonu yorumlarken geçmiş deneyimlerinden de faydalanmış olmalıdır. Bu durum betimin izleyici tarafından anlaşılmasını kolaylaştıran en önemli unsurdur. Elbette hedef kitlenin eğitim durumu veya inançlı olup olmaması da mesajın anlaşılmasında etkilidir.

Roma'daki mizahi anlayışın çok fazla değişime uğramadan Orta Çağ Avrupası'nda da devam ettiğini görüyoruz. Örneğin, saray erkânı, kifoşlu, lordozlu insanlar veya cüceler gibi vücut anomalisi olan insanlar tarafından eğlendirilmişlerdir. Bu durum yakın geçmişte de benzer anlayışın değişmeden devam ettiğini ve farklı veya anormal olanı komik bulduklarını açıkça gösterir.

Bu nedenle Antik Çağ mozaik sanatında mizah anlayışını Nilotik sahneler, apotropeik ve küçük insan betimleri, aethiopes imgeler, elit sınıf mizahı, alt sınıf mizahı, cinsel temalı mizah gibi alt gruplara ayırmak mümkündür.

Aethioplular (Siyahi Afrikalılar) ve Küçük İnsan (Pigme) Betimleri

Aethioplular terimi farklı anlamlarda kullanılmaktadır. Aethioplular, Yunan mitolojisinde Hephaistos'un oğlu olarak da geçer. Yaşlı Plinius ise Aethiopia'nın "Zeus Aethiops"dan geldiğinden bahsetmektedir (Plin.nat. 6.184-187). Aethioplular yani ten renkleri koyu siyahi halklar ve küçük insan betimleri görsel sanatlarda ilk ne zaman yapılmaya başlanmıştır? Diğer bir ifade ile pigmeler Mısır Eyaleti'ne ne zaman yerleşmeye başlamışlardır? Bu sorular son yirmi yılda en fazla üzerinde durulan konular olmuştur.

Siyahi insanlar ve pigmelere ait betimler Roma sanatında ilk olarak Geç Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde ortaya çıkar ve İS 5. yüzyıla kadar varlığını devam ettirirler. Bunlar, kompozisyonlarda genellikle önemsiz işler yaparken görül-mektedirler. Bu durum aethiopl ve pigmelerin sanatçılar ve dolayısı ile görsel

sanat sayesinde toplumda kendilerine belli bir yer edindiklerine işaret etmektedir (Clarke 2007: 87).

Her iki betim aynı zamanda Romalıların, dolayısıyla Romalı sanatçıların Mısırlılara bakış şekline de işaret etmektedir (Res. 1). Böylece Romalılar kendi kültürlerindeki baskın yapının tam zıddını yaratmış olmaktadır. Daha açık anlatımla, sanatı kullanarak kolonilerinde “öteki” olarak gördükleri fertlere de toplum içerisinde şans vermiş olmaktadır (Clarke 2007: 87). Roma yaşantısında ötekiler ile ilgili tezatlıkları; medeniyet/barbarlık, beyaz/renkli, sakın/vahşi, akıllı/aptal, temiz/kirli, resmi din/batıl din, iffetli/iffetsiz gibi ifadelerde de görmek mümkündür.

Resim 1
Pigme Mozaiği, Menander Evi - *oecus*,
Pompeii.



Romalılar Akdeniz kıyılarında ele geçirdikleri toprakları yüzyıllar boyunca etkili şekilde kolonize etmişlerdir. Ötekinin, yani Romalı olmayanın tanımı sanatçılar tarafından oldukça farklı biçimde yorumlanmıştır. Bu nedenle “öteki” olarak kabul edilenler, görsel sanatlarda mutlaka “ideal Romalı tipinden farklı” gösterilmişlerdir. Bu amaçla ötekilerin proporsiyonları ve renkleri Romalı tipinden ayrıştırılmıştır (Clarke 2007: 88). Bu farklı görüntü ile Romalılar aynı zamanda kendilerini yüceltme fırsatı bulmuş olmaktadır. Bununla birlikte farklı renk ve görünüş diğer taraftan yeni bir mizahın doğmasına da neden olmuştur. Bilindiği gibi, Romalılar için siyahiler, pigmeler ya da vücut deformasyonları (lordoz, kifoz vb.) olan kişiler komiktirler (Levi 1947: 33 pl. IVa; Campbell 1988: 60-61 pl. 175) (Res. 2-3).

Ölüme Karşı Zevk

Roma günlük hayatında ölüm fikri yaşamdan zevk almanın (*yaşam conviviumları*) artmasına neden olmuştur (Dunbabin 2003: 132-140). Pseudo-Vergilian, “*copa*” şiirinde, Suriyeli bir hancının ağzından festivale katılanların hayatın tadına vararak keyif almalarını, bu arada ölüm imgesinin unutulmaz tınılarını duymayı öğütlemektedir. Bu dünya görüşü, Roma’da oldukça popüler olmuş, hatta abartılmıştır. Söz konusu mübalağa ile ilgili en güzel örnekler, büyük bir bölümü İÖ 1. yüzyıl ile İS 1. yüzyıla tarihlenen iskelet mozaikleri üzerinde bulunmaktadır (Dunbabin 2003: 133).



Resim 2
Şanlı Kambur Mozaïği, Kem Göz Evi,
Antiocheia, Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi
(Cimok 2000: 35).



Resim 3
Siyahi Balıkçı Mozaïği, Takvim Evi,
Antiocheia, Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi
(Cimok 2000: 44-45).

Pompeii’de bir evin *tricliniumunda* bulunan bir örnek üzerinde iskelet elinde içki kapları tutar şekilde betimlenmiştir (Res. 4). Bu tür kompozisyonlar olasılıkla insanlara ölümü hatırlatarak, onlara kısa ömürlerinde daha fazla zevk almayı telkin etmiştir (Dunbabin 2003: 133-134 fig. 78). Böylece Roma sanatında ölüm ve zevk gibi birbirinden farklı iki zıt kavram büyük bir başarı ile birlikte kullanılmıştır.

Ölüm korkusunun zevki tetiklemesi ile ilgili olarak Hatay’da 2013 yılında bulunan taban mozağına de vurgu yapmakta fayda vardır (Pamir - Sezgin 2016: 251-280). Bir otel inşaatının temel kazısında tesadüfen ortaya çıkan yedi mekândan birisi *triclinium*’a aittir. Odada kısmen tahrip olmuş yan yana üç panelden oluşan mozaik döşemenin ilk panosunda güneş saatinin önünde duran iki figür, diğer bir panoda Afrikalı bir figür ve sonuncu panoda ise bir yastığa dayanmış ve elinde içki kabı tutan iskelet betimi yer almaktadır. Kazıyı yapanlar tarafından İS 3.-4. yüzyıllara tarihlenen mozaiklerde, hem görseller, hem de yazıt ile ölüme vurgu yapılarak, mümkün olduğunca hayatın keyfinin çıkartılması tavsiye edilmektedir (Pamir - Sezgin 2016: 251, 266).

Resim 4
Şarap Sunan İskelet Mozağı, Vesta
Rahibeleri Evi, Pompeii, Napoli Ulusal
Arkeoloji Müzesi (Fotoğraf: Yazar).



Apotropeik Betimler

İnsanları kötü ruhlardan ve olumsuzluklardan korumak için yapılan ve insanlarda olduğu gibi yapıları veya mekânları da kötü göz ve nazardan koruduğuna inanılan tılsımlı sembol ya da figürlerden oluşan betimlere “apotropeik” denmektedir. Bu tür betimlerin insanları veya mekânları kem/kötü gözlere karşı koruduğuna günümüzde bile inanılmaktadır. Bu konuya en güzel örneklerden biri, Roma dünyasının en doğusunda yer alan Antiocheia’da bulunarak Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi’nde korumaya alınan “Kem Göz Mozaïği”dir (Levi 1947: 33-34 pl. IVc; Dunbabin 1978: 161-162). Söz konusu mozaik panel üzerinde irice yapılan bir göz bulunmaktadır; üst göz kapağının üzerinde kuzgun, trident, pala ve akrep, gözün altına ise göze doğru ilerlemekte olan leopar, çıyan, köpek ve yılan betimlenmiştir (Res. 5). Aynı panoda sola doğru çift flüt çalarak ilerleyen fallik bir pigme de bulunmaktadır. Bu betimin hemen üzerinde “sen de” anlamına gelen *KAICY* yazısı yer almaktadır. Kıskaçlık, nefret ve düşmanlık anlamına gelen *INVIDUS*’a işaret eden bu kavram Ostia’da iki mozaik üzerinde daha karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Becatti 1961: 361, 191 pl. CXVII, CLXX). Apotropeik figürler koruyucu unsur olarak özellikle Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde sık tercih edilmişlerdir (Dunbabin 1978: 162).

Resim 5
Kem Göz Mozaïği, Kem Göz Evi,
Antiocheia, Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi
(Cimok 2000: 37).



Kem gözlerden koruyucu silah olarak kullanılan apotropeik betimler arasında Gorgon Başı, gamalı haçlar, tridentler ve beşli çatallar, bazı tanımlanamayan bitki dalları, yunus, balık ve küçük deniz yaratıkları, kuşlar, *kantharoi* gibi betimler de bulunmaktadır (Dunbabin 1978: 164).

Tabu olarak Kabul Edilen Erotik Betimler

Antik dünyada Priapus ve Hermaphrodite gibi tanrılar ve onların etrafında geçen uydurma cinsel içerikli sunumların yanı sıra insanlar arasında geçen cinsel konular da mizah repertuarı içerisinde yer almıştır. İnsanlar tarafından oldukça eğlenceli bulunduğunu düşündüğümüz bu tür kompozisyonlara, genellikle evlerde veya taşra hamamlarında rastlanmaktadır (Clarke 2007: 163-227). Konuşulana nasıl kulaklar duyarsa, gözler de mizahı fark etmiştir. Mizah,



Resim 6
Afrikalı Banyo Hizmetkârı,
Menander Evi, Pompeii (I,10,4)
(Clarke 2007: pl. 1).

günümüzde olduğu gibi, imparatorluk evlerinde veya elitlerin kontrolünde değil de bizzat sıradan halk tarafından şekillendirilmiştir. Bu nedenle mizah içerikli tabu sayılabilecek erotik betimler tanrılar için yapılmış tapınım alanlarından, halk hamamları veya latrinalarına kadar her yerde karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Res. 6).

Nilotik Sahneler (Resim 7)

Nilotik sahnelerle ilgili en önemli soru, bu sahnelerin pagan inancında bir manası olup olmadığıdır. Bu tür kompozisyonların kökeni Hellenistik Çağ'a kadar uzanmaktadır. Bu nedenle çoğunlukla realist tasvirlerden uzak olup daha çok refah ve zenginliği ön plana çıkarmaya çalışan Nil ile ilgili sahnelerin egzotik özellikte olduğu ve dekoratif amaçlı kullanıldığı ileri sürülmektedir (Kitzinger 1965: 10). Yunanlar ve Romalılar için Nilotik sahneler Mısır'ı ve onun manzaralarını temsil etmektedir. Mısır kendisiyle övünen ve kendisini geri kalandan farklı gören egzotik bir ülke olmuştur. Anastasios gibi antik yazarların bahsettiği Nil, gübreyi getiren ve alegorik bir anlamı olan nehir olarak görülmüştür (Maguire 1987: 43-44; Hachlili 2009: 106-108). Bu nedenle de Nilotik sahneler de mizah konusu içinde ele alınmaktadır (Clarke 2007: 89).

Resim 7
Nilotik Sahne, İÖ 3. yy, Kuzey Afrika
<https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-mosaic-panel-with-pygmy-roman-in-a-nilotic-scene-roman-italy-3rd-50939571.html>



Mısır topraklarının en erken tasvirleri muhteşem bir cennet şeklindedir. İÖ 100 civarına tarihlenen birçok ünlü örnekte, gösterişli çeşme yapıları, kamu yapılarının bir parçası şeklinde planlanmıştır. Yukarı Mısır'daki Nubia, yabani ve fantastik yaratıkların birlikte sunulmasını ifade etmektedir. Bu nedenle Nilotik sahnelerde Aethioplolar genellikle avcı olarak görülmektedir. Nehir etrafında duran veya balık avlayan kayıkçılar tapınak ve saraylarla birlikte betimlenmişlerdir.

Süpürülmemiş Zeminler

Mizah konusu içinde almak istediğimiz bir diğer kompozisyon "*asarotos oikos*" adı verilen ziyafetten sonra henüz süpürülmemiş odanın zeminini gösteren betimdir. Bu gruba ait en güzel örneklerden birisi Vatikan Müzesi'nde sergilenen Heraklitos'un imzasını taşıyan mozaiktir (Res. 8). Muhtemelen bir yemek odasına ait olan ve İS 2. yüzyıla tarihlenen mozaik adını üzerinde yer alan yemek artıklarından almaktadır. Son derece yüksek bir gerçekçilikle betimlenen yemek artıkları arasında; balık kılçıkları, tavuk kemikleri, deniz kabukluları, ıstakoz kısıkaçları, yemişler, üzüm çöpleri ve atılmış bazı yiyecek parçaları yer almaktadır. Bu kompozisyonun orijini, olasılıkla lüks bir yemek ziyafetinden artakalanların konu edildiği Sosos örneklerine dayanmaktadır (Dunbabin 1999: 26 fig. 26).



615). Mozaikler üzerinde yer alan bu tasarım, diğer bir ifade ile mizahın, geleneksel mozaik tasarımı için alışılmamış bir uygulama olduğunun altını çizmek konunun anlaşılmasını kolaylaştıracaktır (Gutzwiller - Çelik 2012: 616).

2000 yılında Zeugma antik yerleşiminde Gaziantep Müzesi Başkanlığı ve Nantes Üniversitesi'nden bir ekibin katılımı ile yapılan kazılarda Zozimos Villası olarak isimlendirilen bir villada bulunan zemin mozaïği de bu gruptaki örnekler arasında gösterilebilir (Res. 9). Üç nişli ve akroterli sahne binası önünde kadın maskesi takan üç figür yer almaktadır. Başlarının üzerinde “*synaristosai* / kahvaltıdakiler” yazmaktadır (Görkay 2015: 132). Bu oyun Menandros'un günümüze ulaşamayan bir oyunu olmalıdır.



Resim 9
Kahvaltıdaki Kadınlar Mozaïği,
Zeugma, Gaziantep Arkeoloji Müzesi
(Önal 2002: 60-61).

Değerlendirme ve Sonuç

Sonuç olarak Roma halkının ya da kolonilerdeki Roma kültürüne entegre olmuş toplumların mizah anlayışının tamamen birbiriyle örtüştüğünü söylemek mümkündür. Merkezdeki anlayış farklılaşmadan eyaletlere de nüfus etmiştir. Geç Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nden, İS 5. yüzyıla kadar, elit olmayan halkın komik bulduğu unsurlar özellikle mozaik örnekleri gibi görsel sanatlarda açık bir şekilde izlenebilmektedir.

Aethioplular ve pigmeler, iskelet mozaikleri ile yaşamsal kutlamalarda ölüm imajının kullanılması, kötü ruhlara ve olumsuzluklara karşı tercih edilen apotropeik betimler, halk hamamlarında ve latrinalarda yoğun olarak kullanılmış erotik tasvirler, Mısır Nehri manzaralarının yer aldığı nilotik konular, komedi oyunlarından anlık hafıza tasvirleri ve son olarak tricliniumlardaki yemek artıklarının gösterildiği “*asarotos oikos*” temalı betimler Roma halkının mizah anlayışının en iyi temsil edildiği mozaikler olarak gösterilebilir. Gözler mizahi fark etmiş, dudaklar gülümsemiştir. Mizahi betimler ayrıca sınıfsal fark gözetmeksizin neredeyse tüm sınıfların eşitlenmesini sağlayan bir anlayışı da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bizi güldürebilen her şey bir zekâ göstergesidir. Belki de insanların hayata tutunabilmesi için, yaşamı biraz daha çekilir hale getirmesi için geçmişte olduğu gibi bugünde mizaha ihtiyacımız çok elzemdir.

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Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde Sergilenen Edessa Kökenli Bir Grup Mozaik Pano

A Group of Edessa Oriented Mosaic Panels Exhibited in Royal Ontario Museum

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Öz

Çalışmanın konusunu, Toronto kenti Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen ve Edessa (Şanlıurfa) kökenli olduğunu düşündüğümüz mozaik döşemeler oluşturmaktadır. Sözü edilen üç mozaikten ilki "Genç Kız Mozaığı" olarak isimlendirilmektedir. Bu mozaik, Edessa kentine has kaya mezarlarında bulunan ve yerel üretim özellikleri gösteren mozaik döşemelere çok benzemektedir. İkinci mozaik panonun üzerinde yer alan Artemis betimi, Haleplibahçe Mozaikleriyle çağdaş tasarım özellikleri yansıtmaktadır. Makale kapsamında incelenen son panoda ise aslan figürü betimlenmiştir. Aslan figürünün temel özellikleri, Edessa yerel mozaik atölyesi özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır.

Yukarıda bahsi geçen opus tessellatum döşemelerden ikisi yani Genç Kız Mozaığı ve Aslan Mozaığı, İS 3. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine, Artemis Mozaığı ise İS 6. yüzyılın başlarına tarihlenmekte ve stil ile teknik özelliklerinden hareketle Edessa'ya lokalize edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaik, mezar mozaığı, Edessa, opus tessellatum, Toronto Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi.

Abstract

The theme of this article is the three mosaic pavements and we think that they are oriented from Edessa (Şanlıurfa) which are exhibited in Toronto Royal Ontario Museum today. One of the three mosaics mentioned here called the Young Girl Mosaic. This mosaic is very similar to the mosaic pavements found in Edessa rock tombs and showing local production characteristics. Artemis Mosaic, which is the second mosaic panel, reflects contemporary design features with Haleplibahçe Mosaics from Edessa (Şanlıurfa). The last panel reviewed in the article is the Lion Figure Mosaic. The basic characteristics of the Lion figure reflect the characteristics of Edessa local mosaic workshop.

Two mosaic pavements, Young Girl Mosaic and Lion Mosaic, are dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD and Artemis Mosaic is dated to the beginning of the 6th century and is localized to Edessa with its style and technique characteristics and they are made in opus tessellatum technique.

Keywords: Mosaic, grave mosaic, Edessa, opus tessellatum, Toronto Royal Ontario Museum.

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Giriş

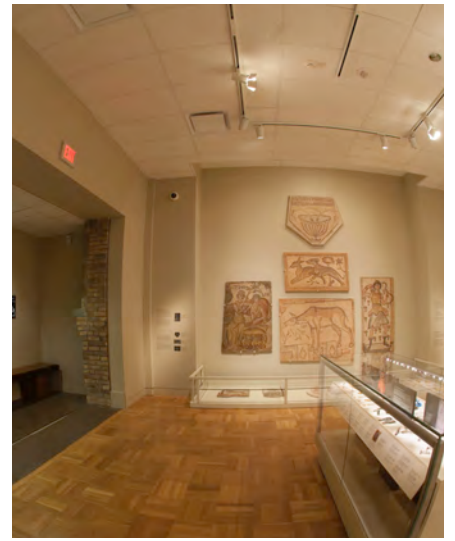
2014 yılında Kanada'nın Toronto şehrinde bulunan Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'ne (Res. 1) yaptığımız bir ziyaret esnasında, müze sergisinde yer alan bir grup mozaik pano dikkatimizi çekmişti. Sözü edilen müzenin, arkeoloji sergisinde bulunan mozaikler salon girişinin solunda duvar üzerinde dikey olarak, yatay olarak ise camlı vitrini süsleyecek şekilde yerleştirilmişlerdir (Res. 2). Mozaiklerin yanlarına yerleştirilen tanıtım levhalarında kireç taşından üretilmiş oldukları ve kökenlerinin ise Doğu Akdeniz olduğu yazılmıştır. Makalenin amacı, tanıtım levhalarında geliş yerleri açık bir şekilde gösterilmemiş olan, sadece genel bir ifade ile "Doğu Akdeniz" ifadesi yazılmış olan mozaiklerin kökenlerini belirlemeye çalışmaktır.

Bilindiği gibi, müze sergilerinde bulunan eserler, geliş yerleri açık bir şekilde gösterilirlerse ve yasa dışı satın alma yolu ile müzeye alındıkları belgelenebilirse uluslararası anlaşmalar gereği, getirildikleri ülkenin başvurusu sonucunda, eserlerin bulunduğu müzenin söz konusu eserleri geri gönderme zorunluluğu bulunmaktadır¹. Bu sebeple müzeler, bu tür sorunlarla karşı karşıya gelmemek için, genellikle yasa dışı yollarla yurtdışına çıkartılan eserleri satın aldıklarında, geliş yerlerini açık bir şekilde göstermekten kaçınmaktadırlar. J. B. Segal'in 1956 yılına kadar olan Edessa çalışmalarında ortaya çıkarttığı mozaiklerin 1969 yılına kadar olan süreçte yağmalara maruz kalması ve parçalanarak satıldıkları bilinmektedir (Parlasca 1983: 227-229).

Bu makale kapsamında incelenen üç mozaik panonun, teknik ve stilistik özellikleri bize döşemelerin doğrudan Şanlıurfa kentinden geldiğine işaret etmektedir. Urfa, Seleukos hakimiyetinde olduğu dönemlerde "Edessa" olarak bilinmektedir². Edessa Mozaikleri'nin küçük bir bölümü Segal tarafından yayınlanan farklı makalelerde ana hatları ile incelenmiş³, 2007 yılında ise Barış Salman tarafından doktora tezi olarak daha kapsamlı değerlendirilmiştir⁴ (Salman 2007). 2017 yılında, Mehmet Önal, Urfa-Edessa Mozaikleri kitabında söz konusu mozaikleri çok detaylı olarak yayınlamıştır (Önal 2017). Aşağıda Edessa kökenli olduğunu bu çalışma ile belgeleyeceğimiz bir grup mozaikin katalog ve değerlendirme bilgileri yer almaktadır.



Resim 1
Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi, Toronto, Kanada.



Resim 2
Mozaiklerin Sergi Alanından Genel Görünüşü. © Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi.

1 1995 UNIDROIT Sözleşmesi, çalınmış veya yasa dışı yollarla yurt dışına çıkarılmış kültür varlıklarına ilişkin uzun soluklu bir çalışma sonucunda elde edilmiş uluslararası bir hukuk belgesidir. 1982 yılında UNESCO'ya sunulan ve hukuka aykırı kültür varlığının hareketliliğinin önlenmesine yönelik ulusal düzenlemelerin ve hukuki tedbirlerin incelendiği bir raporda, UNESCO'ya bu düzenlemelerin uyumlaştırılması için özel hukuk alanında uzman bir kuruluş ile çalışılması tavsiye olunmuştur. Bu girişimle birlikte on yıldan daha uzun bir süre sonucunda 24 Haziran 1995 tarihinde UNIDROIT Sözleşmesi Roma'da kabul edilmiştir. Bu sözleşme 1970 UNESCO Sözleşmesinden farklı olarak, sadece kurumsal envantere kayıtlı kültür varlıklarının iadesi ile sınırlı iken, 1995 UNIDROIT Sözleşmesi, çalınmış veya yasadışı yollarla ihraç edilmiş bütün kültür varlıkları bakımından uygulama alanı bulmuştur (Katoğlu 2017: 156-162).

2 Edessa, iki önemli antik yol bağlantısı üzerinde konumlanmıştı. Bu bağlantılardan birincisini, Kuzeydoğu ve Samasota, diğeri ise Çin ve Hindistan'dan, Küçük Asya'ya uzanan ve önemli bir ticaret yolu olan, İpek/Baharat Yolu oluşturuyordu. Bu nedenlerle Edessa, Seleukoslar için ekonomik ve stratejik açıdan önemli bir kent olmuştur. Kent, Seleukos Nikator tarafından kurulmuştur. İÖ 2. yüzyılın geç 2. yarısından başlayarak devam eden yüzyıllar içerisinde de önemini koruyarak arttırmıştır. Edessa ismi Latin, Suriye ve Arap kaynaklarında defalarca geçmektedir. Bu bölge aynı zamanda Hellenistik Dönem'de ayrıca Hristiyanlıkla ilgili ve Süryani Edebiyatı'nın çıkış yeri olarak da oldukça önemli bir merkez olma özelliğine sahiptir. Edessa erken dönemlerde Romalılar ve Partlar, geç dönemde ise Araplar ve Haçlılar arasında tampon bölge olma rolünü üstlenmiştir. Ancak kentin Seleukos öncesi dönemle ilgili bilgiler çok yetersizdir (Harrak 1992: 209). Değişik dönemlerde kentte gerçekleştirilen kazılar ise kentin tarihini aydınlatmak açısından oldukça sınırlı ve yetersiz kalmıştır.

3 J. B. Segal, "New Mosaics from Edessa", "A Note on a Mosaic from Edessa", başlıklı çeşitli makalelerde detaylı incelemeler yapmıştır (Segal 1959; Segal 1983).

4 Kırşehir Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Yrd. Doç. Dr. Barış Salman, 7 Ekim 2014 tarihinde, aramızdan çok zamansız ayrılmıştır. Kendisini burada, özellikle "Antik Mozaik Sanatı" alanında yaptığı çalışmaları ve verdiği emekleri anımsatarak saygıyla anıyoruz.

1. Genç Kız Mozaïği (Resim 3, Çizim 1)

Katalog Bilgileri⁵

Adı: Kadın Büstlü Mozaik Parçası.

Müze Envanter Numarası ve Korunduğu Yer: 994.220.21, Roma ve Yakın Doğu Joey ve Toby Tanenbaum Galerisi (ROM), Temmuz 2011'den günümüze değin sergilenmektedir.

Joey ve Toby Tanenbaum'un bağıışı.

Bulunduğu Yer: Doğu Akdeniz, muhtemelen Türkiye, Edessa'dan.

Ölçüler: Yükseklik: 53,8 cm; Genişlik: 44 cm.

Figür Ölçüleri: Müzeden alınan katalog bilgilerinde verilmemiştir.

Malzeme: Kireçtaşı ve cam *tessera*.

Tessera Renkleri: Pembe, kahverengi, sarı, yeşil, beyaz/krem ve siyah.

Tarih: Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi; İS 200-225.



Resim 3
Genç Kız Mozaïği.
© Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi.

⁵ Katalog bilgileri, Royal Ontario Müzesi tarafından tarafımıza talebimiz üzerine gönderilmiştir. Makalede verilen katalog bilgileri, müzenin katalog bilgilerini içerir. Müze çalışanları Paul Denis ve Nicola Woods'a sağladıkları bilgiler, görseller ve destek için çok teşekkür ederiz. Ayrıca Arkeolog Serkan Demir'e mozaiklerin titiz çizimlerini yaptığı için teşekkürü bir borç biliriz.

Çizim 1
Genç Kız Mozaïği.
© Serkan Demir.



Tanım: Toronto Genç Kız Mozaïğinde, genç yaşta tasvir edilen bir kız göğüs altına kadar bir portre şeklinde işlenmiştir. Buradaki genç kız figürünün saçları, özellikle Edessa mezar mozaiklerinde bekâr genç kız tasvirlerinde kullanılan saç modasına uygun olarak, üç adet toka ile tutturularak topuz formu şeklinde verilmiştir. Elbisede ve saçta, dış konturlar siyah ve kalın olarak tanımlayıcıdır. Figürün teninde ise daha koyu renkte bordo renkli *tesserae* kontür olarak kullanılmıştır. Baş ve gözleri hafif sola ve yukarı doğru dönmüştür. Kaş, göz işlenişi tamamen Doğu'lu özellikler taşımaktadır. Genç kızın bakışındaki etki göz bebeklerinin dikkat çekici bir şekilde yapılmasından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Edessa mozaiklerinin etrafını çeviren kuşaklar genel olarak standart mozaik repertuarında yer alan süsleme elemanlarıdır (Dunbabin 2002: 173). Genç Kız Mozaïği'nin etrafını, bordür olarak kalan bölümden izlendiği kadarıyla, stilize edilmiş gonca/yaprak ve rozet (Décor I: pl. 85e,g) motifleri çevrelemektedir. Mozaik etrafını çeviren bordürün büyük oranda korunması karşılaştırma yapmamıza olanak sağlamaktadır. Bu motif, üç yapraklı su damlacığı ya da püskül motifi olarak da tanımlanır.



Resim 4
Şamaş Mozaïği benzer bordür motifleri
(Parlasca 1983 abb. 3; Colledge 1994: pl. CXIII-1.2.3).



Resim 5
Edessalı Kadın Mozaïği benzer bordür motifleri
(Parlasca 1983 abb. 3; Colledge 1994: pl. CXIII-1.2.3).

Edessa mozaiklerinde bugün Almanya'da bir koleksiyoner elinde bulunan iki farklı parçada da Genç Kız Mozaïği bordürüne benzer detaylar (Res. 4 - 5) izlenmektedir (Parlasca 1983: 230-231 abb. 3; Colledge 1994: pl. CXIII-1.2.3; Salman 2007: 220-221 şekil 140-141). Ayrıca Zeugma Euphrates Villası'nın yemek odasının taban mozaiklerinden olan Arete - Paideia - Sophia Mozaïğinde de benzer bordür tasarımının süslü bir varyasyonu, kırmızı çift dalga dizisi arasında bulunmaktadır (Önal 2013: 107 fotoğraf 130; Uysal - Bulgan 2016: 65). Ek olarak Antiokheia Mozaikleri bordür tasarımlarında da söz konusu motifin benzerleriyle karşılaşılmaktadır (Cimok 2000: 227).

Üzerinde durduğumuz Genç Kız Mozaïği'nin sol üst köşesindeki siyah noktalar yazıttan kalan izler olabilir. Edessa Mozaikleri'ndeki bazı örneklerde figürün adı, başının hemen yanında Estrangelo Süryanice olarak yazılmıştır⁶. Ancak Toronto Genç Kız Mozaïği'nde sözkonusu yazının çok küçük bir bölümü belli belirsiz görülmektedir. Muhtemelen parça yarım olduğu için, yazı kopan kısımda kalmış olabilir.

Benzer özellikte olan genç kız portrelerini yine aynı bölgeden **Balay Mozaïği** (Res. 6) (Euting 1909: 231-239; Levi 1947: 248 fig. 93; Leroy 1957: 312-315 fig. 2; Segal 1970: res. 27; Drijvers 1972: 34-36; Drijvers 1980: 187; Colledge 1994 pl. CXI, 2; Drijvers - Healey 1999: 166-169 pl. 48.2; Salman 2007: 194-197 şekil 122; Önal 2017: 53 fotoğraf 68), **Aile Portresi ya da Mukimi Mozaïği'nde** (Res. 7) (Segal 1953: 117-118 pl. XII.1; Segal 1954: 29-30; Leroy 1957: 315 vd. pl. XXII; Günel 1970: 102 şek. 12; Drijvers 1972: 36-37; Drijvers 1980: 187 pl. XIII; Balty 1981: 388; Colledge 1994: 193 pl. CIX. 2; Balty 1995: 15 pl. V.1; Drijvers - Healey 1999: 170-171 pl. 49; Dunbabin 2002: 173 fig. 182; Ross 2001: 113 fig. 5.7; Çelik - Güler 2002: 184 res. 140; Segal 2002: 59-60 res. 1; Salman 2007: 194-197 şekil 123-125; Önal 2017: 46-47 fotoğraf 63) ve **Barhadad Mozaïği'nde** (Res. 8) (Drijvers 1972: 154-159; Drijvers - Healey 1999: 189-190; Çelik - Güler 2002: 186 res. 143; Salman 2007: 165-166 şekil 81; Önal 2017: 51-52) görmek mümkündür. Bu mozaiklerde kızların baş ve yüzlerinin cepheden verilmesi, farklı saç kuaförü, kalın kaş ile iri göz yapısı, kapalı ağız ve tatlı bir ciddi ifade ile giysi özelliklerindeki benzerlik ortak noktalarıdır. Ancak Toronto örneğindeki genç kız, kolyesi ve sallantılı küpeleri ile farklılık göstermektedir.

Benzer stil özelliğine sahip tasvirleri, Edessa mezarlarındaki mozaiklerde buluyoruz⁷. Mezar yapıları, yaklaşık 300x300 cm ebatlarında kare planlı olarak tasarlanmışlardır. Girişleri birkaç basamakla ulaşılan merdivenli olarak düzenlenmiş olup, yuvarlak şekilli taş kapıların kapatılmıştır. Bu yuvarlak şekilli kapıların yanlarına bir niş oluşturularak, hareketli kapağın açıldığında bu alana yerleşmesi sağlanmıştır. Bu mezarların en önemli özelliği arkosolium (arcosolium)⁸ denen duvarlara açılan ve cenazenin yatırıldığı sekilere sahip olmasıdır (Salman 2007: 67). Mezarlarda bulunan mozaiklerin, bu arkosoliumların arasında kalan zeminlere döşendiği izlenir. Mezarlarda yer alan bu mozaikler üzerinde mezar sahibinin ve diğer aile üyelerinin portreleri betimlenmiştir. Bu mezarlar, Palmyra'da olduğu gibi "ebediyet evleri" olarak isimlendirilmiştir (Segal 2002: 60).

6 Edessa Mozaiklerinde yer alan portrelerin üzerinde Süryanice yazılmış yazıt örnekleri için bk. Drijvers - Healey 1999; Önal 2017.

7 Benzer mozaiklerin çıktığı kayadan oyma oda mezarlar, şehir surları dışındaki güney, güneybatı, kuzey ve kuzeybatı kayalık alanlarında oluşturulan nekropol bölgesinde bulunmuştur. Salman 2007: 66-69; Önal 2017: 18-22.

8 Arkosolium tip mezarların genel özellikleri için bk. Köse 2005: 135.

Genel olarak hiyerarşik bir düzen içerisinde baba, anne, erkek evlatlar, evli ise erkek evlatların eşleri ve bekâr kız ya da kızlar şeklinde planlanan kompozisyonlarda aile portreleri yer almaktadır. Görüldüğü üzere, çocukların Edessa Mozaiklerinde yer alması ailenin bütünlüğünü göstermesi açısından oldukça önemli bir detaydır (Salman 2007: 141). Hiyerarşik plan içinde ve cepheden portreleri yapılan aile bireyleri bazen tüm vücutlarının betimlenmesiyle, bazen de mozaik döşeme üzerinde bölümlere ayrılmış kare alanlar içinde yine hiyerarşik olarak yukarıdan aşağıya doğru inen göğüs ya da bele kadar olan portre betimleriyle kendini göstermektedir. Figürlerin genel özellikleri incelendiğinde başında köfü (köfi) bulunan örtülü ve gösterişli kıyafetlerle gösterilen kadınların evli, Toronto örneğinde olduğu gibi başı açık ve saçları üçe ya da ikiye bölünerek topuz yapılan genç kızların ise bekâr oldukları düşünülmektedir.

Toronto örneğinde gördüğümüz yukarıda sözü edilen mozaiklere benzeyen ancak aile portresinden sadece genç kızın korunduğu döşemenin geri kalan parçalarının olmaması niteliğinin tam olarak anlaşılmasına sebep olmaktadır. Ancak Edessa kökenli nekropol alanlarında yerel ustalar tarafından yapılan aile portreleri mozaikleri başka herhangi bir yerle karıştırılmayacak kadar net ve yerel atölye özelliklerini gösterdiğinden, Toronto Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen Genç Kız Mozaığı'nın Edessa nekropolü kökenli olduğu, hiç bir şüpheye meydan vermeyecek şekilde iddia edilebilir.

Edessa Mozaikleri, Greko-Romen sanat anlayışının bilindik özelliklerinden farklı bir alanın üretimi olarak farklı bir atölye üslubu ile karşımıza çıkmaktadırlar⁹. Bölgesel özelliklere göre uyarlanmış, yerel sanatçıların üretimleri oldukları öğrenilmiş mozaik yapma tekniğinin, özgün üsluptaki tasvirlerin görüntülerinden belli olmaktadır (Dunbabin 2002: 173-174; Salman 2007: 74).

Büyük bir ihtimale, Balay Mozaığı, Barhadad Mozaığı ve Mukimi ya da Aile Portresi Mozaığı'nda saç üç yuvarlak toka ile tutturulan küçük kız çocuğunun bu görüntüsü belirgin bir modayı ifade etmekteydi (Segal 2002: 75). Kız çocukları, diğer evli hanımlara göre daha sade kıyafetler içerisinde resmedilmişlerdir. Üzerlerinde yetişkin kadınlarda olduğu gibi kaftan yoktur. Giydikleri tunikleri ise geniş bir kemerle tutturulmuştur (Segal 2002: 74). Aile mozaiklerinde belirgin bir enstantane, figürlerin sanatçıya poz verircesine duruşları söz konusudur. Bu durum fotoğraf sanatındaki kompozisyonları düşündürmektedir (Salman 2007: 85).

Balay Mozaığı'nda, Balay adındaki erkek, annesi, çocukları ve akrabalarından oluşan on beş kişilik bir grupla birlikte tasvir edilmiştir. Günümüze sadece gerçekçi olmayan bir çizimi ulaşmış Balay Mozaığı'nda bordür elemanları çizimde verilmiştir. Burada da figürler büst şeklindedir. Büst şeklinde bireylerin işlendiği mozaikler, tamamen aile bireylerini tanıtm amaçlıdır. Bu tip mozaikler, üstündeki figürlerin belden yukarı kısımları tasvir edilmiş ve isimleri de, diğer tip mozaiklerde olduğu gibi, başlarının yanına yazılmıştır (Salman 2007: 236; Önal 2017: 53 fotoğraf 68). Toronto Genç Kız Mozaığı'nda de genç kız, tıpkı Balay Mozaığı'nda (Res. 6) olduğu gibi köşede ve bordüre yakın işlenmiştir.

Karşılaştırma açısından önemli olan diğer bir örnek, 1952 yılında tespit edilmiş olan Aile Portresi ya da Mukimi Mozaığı'dır (Res. 7). Bordür tasarımı siyah zemin üzerine iki renkli olarak düzenlenmiştir. Bu döşemede Mukimi, eşi Ga'u ve çocukları ile birlikte toplam yedi kişi tasvir edilmiştir (Önal 2017: 46-47 fotoğraf 63). Yüzü oldukça tahrip olmuş soldan ikinci figür olarak gördüğümüz genç kız diğer figürlere göre biraz arka planda kalmıştır. Kızın bedeni bele kadar tasvir edilmiş olup, başının ortasında ve iki yanda yapılan topuz saç özelliğiyle Toronto örneğindeki Genç Kız Mozaığı ile yakın benzerlik göstermektedir.

9 Atölyeler hakkında detaylı bilgi için bk: Campbell 1979: 287-292; Dunbabin 2002: 269-280.

Resim 6
Balay Mozaïği (Leroy 1957: fig. 2;
Segal 1970: pl. 16b;
Önal 2017: 53 fotoğraf 68).



Resim 7
Aile Portresi Mozaïği (Segal 1970: pl. 1;
Önal 2017: 46-47 fotoğraf 63).



Karşılaştırma örneği olarak incelediğimiz son mozaik olan Barhadad Mozaïği'nde ise genç iki kız ile sınırlanan sahnenin merkezinde iki erkek sohbet ederken verilmiştir. Bu tasarımdaki iki genç kız, dolgun oval yüzlü, geniş alınlı, kalın kaşlı, iri gözlü ve küçük ağızlı olarak tasvir edilmişlerdir. Saçları, band diademli, başın her iki yanında ve üstünde olmak üzere üç topuzludur (Önal 2017: 51-52 fotoğraf 66) (Res. 8).



Resim 8
Barhadad Mozaïği,
Haleplibahçe Mozaik Müzesi
(Önal 2017: 51 fotoğraf 66).

Edessa kökenli bu figürlü döşemelerin hepsinde görülen önemli bir özellik figürlerin hepsinin aynı hizada yapılmış olmalarıdır (Dunbabin 2002: 173; Salman 2007: 73). Diğer önemli bir ikonografik özellik ise, aynı zamanda İran sanatının da ayırt edici bir özelliği olan frontal duruş yani figürlerin cepheden tasvir edilmeleridir (Dunbabin 2002: 173; Segal 2002: 65; Salman 2007: 74). Bir düşünceye göre bu şekildeki tasvir anlayışı mantıksız bir anlayış olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Ancak buradaki amacın net bir şekilde betimlenen figürlerin seyirciye daha çok yaklaştırma gayreti olduğu anlaşılmaktadır (Wheeler 2004: 161; Salman 2007: 74 dipnot 258). Bu katı cepheselliğin içinde, figürlerin bulunduğu poz bozmama gayretleri, mağrur bakışları ve kapalı ağızları ile ortaya çıkan ciddi duruş, ortak karakterlerdir (Salman 2007: 140). Aslında bu mozaiklerin ölüm, cenaze ve mezar ile doğrudan ilişkili olarak tasarlanmaları nedeniyle bu şekilde işlenmiş olmaları doğaldır. Bu şekildeki tasvirlerin, Palmyra'daki mezarlardaki tasvirlerin mozaik sanatına uyarlanmış şekilleri olduğu düşünülebilir.

Maalesef aile tasvirli nekropol mozaiklerinden Mukimi ya da Aile Portresi Mozaïği ve Gavsı oğlu Balay Mozaiklerinin günümüzde nerede olduğu bilinmemektedir (Önal 2017: 18).

Genç Kız Mozaïği neredeyse eşit kesilmiş *tesserae* ve *opus tessellatum* tekniğinin kullanılması ile oluşturulmuştur. Bu düz teknik, figürlerin iyice ön plana çıkmasına ve cepheden tasvir edilen figürlerin izleyiciye daha çok yaklaştırılmasına sebep olmaktadır (Salman 2007: 73).

Edessa şehrine özgü birçoğu figürlü mezar mozaiklerinin en belirgin özelliği kuşkusuz döşeme üzerindeki figürlerin ya bir aileyi oluşturması ya da aralarında kan bağı olan kişilerin bir arada verilmesidir. İncelenen Genç Kız Mozaïği de böyle bir aile mezar mozaïğinin parçası olmalıdır. Karşılaştırmalı olarak verilen stilistik ve ikonografik özelliklerinden hareketle, "Edessa işi" ya da "Edessa atölyesi" özellikleri taşıdığı kesindir. Yine stil özelliklerinden hareketle döşemenin bir mezar odasında kullanıldığını çekişmesiz söylemek mümkündür.

2. Artemis Mozaïği (Resim 9, Çizim 2)

Katalog Bilgileri

Adı: Artemis/Diana Mozaïği

Müze Envanter Numarası ve Korunduğu Yer: 994.220.181, Roma ve Yakın Doğu Joey ve Toby Tanenbaum Galerisi (ROM), Temmuz 2011'den günümüze değin sergilenmektedir.

Joey ve Toby Tanenbaum'un bağışı.

Bulunduğu Yer: Doğu Akdeniz (?).

Ölçüler: Yükseklik: 152 cm; Genişlik: 77 cm (Derinlik 3 cm - 2003).

Figür Ölçüleri: Müzeden alınan katalog bilgilerinde verilmemiştir.

Malzeme: Kireçtaşı *tessera*.

Tessera Renkleri: Beyaz/krem, açık/koyu kahverengi, sarı, yeşil, gri, siyah, koyu kırmızı.

Tarih: Erken Bizans Dönemi.



Resim 9
Artemis Mozaïği.
© Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi.



Çizim 2
Artemis Mozaïği.
© Serkan Demir.

Tanım: Artemis/Diana olarak ifade edilen figür, cepheden ve ayakta durur vaziyette, sol elinde bir yay tutarken ve sağ taraftaki sadağından ok alırken betimlenmiştir. Üzerinde kemerli bir tunik bulunan Artemis'in ayaklarında uzun bağcıklı bir sandalet, başında bir diadem ve kollarında bilezikler yer almaktadır. Figür, her iki tarafında birer sütunla çerçevelenmiştir. Sanatçı, figürün yanakları ve bacakları gibi bölümlerinde gölgelendirme yapmak için daha küçük *tesserae* kullanmıştır. Figür dışında sahnede doldurucu motif olarak arka plana yerleştirilen gonca motifleri (Décor I: 219c) oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Zemini gonca motifleri ile düzenlenen pek çok mozaik döşemeyi karşılaştırma için kullanılmaktadır. Özellikle Urfa/Haleplibahçe Mozaiklerinde¹⁰ de (Karabulut vd. 2011: 54 fotoğraf 59; Önal 2017: 58-112) mevcut tasarımın yoğun bir şekilde kullanıldığı görülür. Ayrıca Artemis Mozaığı'nın arka zemin uygulamasında kullanılan gonca motifi, Antiokheia, Daphne Phoenix Evi zemin döşemesi (Cimok 2000: 288-289) ile ve yine aynı bölgeden daha kompleks bir tasarım olmasına rağmen, daireler içindeki beyaz zeminde kullanılan İS 6. yüzyıla tarihlenen "Magdou Mozaığı" adı verilen geometrik mozaik döşemedeki gonca motifleri ile karşılaştırma açısından önemlidir (Cimok 2000: 303).

Toronto Artemis Mozaığı'ni karşılaştırmak için kullanacağımız ilk örnek, özel bir müze koleksiyonunda yer almaktadır. Bugün Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde sergilenen mozaik üzerinde (Res. 10-12), Azizos ve Monimos'un özelliklerini taşıyan figürler betimlenmiştir¹¹. Figürlerin stil özellikleri, döşemenin, İS 4.-5. yüzyılda yapıldığını ve tıpkı Haleplibahçe Mozaikleri'ndeki teknik ve figür özelliklerindeki benzerliklerden dolayı Edessa kökenli bir mozaik olduğu düşünülmektedir. Azizos ve Monimos Mozaığı, Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen Artemis Mozaığı ile neredeyse birebir benzer stil özellikleri taşımaktadır. Figürlerin vücutlarının cepheden verilmesi, ayakta duruşu, kısa kıvrıkcık saçlar ve başındaki taç, abartılı ve asimetric kaş ve iri göz yapısı, tatlı bir ciddi ifade ile kapalı ağız ve giysi özellikleri, ayaklarındaki sandaletlerin benzerliği bu düşünceyi desteklemektedir. Yine benzer giysi ve sandalet özelliklerini Haleplibahçe Mozaikleri'nde de bulmak mümkündür¹². Her iki mozaikte de figürlerin arka plandaki *tesserae*'dan farklı olarak, koyu renkte verilmiş bir platform üzerine yerleştirilmiş olmaları karşılaştırma örneğinin benzerliği konusunda elimizi güçlendirmektedir. Tahminen İS 4.-5. yüzyıla tarihlenen Azizos ve Monimos Mozaığı üzerinde yer alan savaşçı erkek figürleri ellerinde mızrak ile betimlenmişlerdir (Salman 2007: 49 şekil 114). Ontario ve Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde sergilenen bu iki mozaik pano karşılaştırıldığında, figürlerin yüz hatları ve ifadelerindeki benzerlik iki döşemenin birbiriyle bağlantılı olduğunu hatta aynı mozaik döşmeden dahi olabileceğini düşündürmektedir. Bölgedeki Azizos ve Monimos kültü konusunda bazı tartışmalar olsa da genel olarak kabul edilen görüş, bunların ikiz tanrılar olduğu ve gezegen kültleri içerisinde Venüs gezegenini simgeledikleri ve bu gezegenin sabah ve akşamları görülen parlak yıldız hallerini sembolize ettikleri üzerinedir (Drijvers 1980: 150; Salman 2007: 47). Bölgedeki ikiz tanrı konsepti ay kültü içerisindeki parçalardan bir detay

10 Haleplibahçe, Villa'da oda 7'nin mozaik tabanı ve Salon 2'nin döşemesinde (Karabulut vd. 2011: 82 fotoğraf 103) siyah çizgisel dikdörtgen bir şerit ile çevrelenmiş, gül goncaları zemine beyaz *tesserae* balık pulu biçiminde döşenen kafes desenlerinin ortasına yerleştirilmiştir.

11 İS 5-6. yüzyıllara tarihlenen Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde yer alan mozaığın; Envanter no: SHM 10575-ARK 325, Ölçüsü: Genişlik 122 cm, Uzunluk 160 cm'dir. Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'ne söz konusu mozaığın görselini ve katalog bilgilerini sağladığı için çok teşekkür ederiz.

12 Haleplibahçe Mozaikleri'nde, konuk odası olarak adlandırılan oda 2'de avlanan Amazonlar Mozaığında de Amazon Hippolyte ve Thermodosa figürünün yüz ve ayakları Artemis Mozaığı ile benzerlik göstermektedir. Detaylı bilgi için bk. Karabulut vd. 2011: 55-56 fotoğraf 60-61; Önal 2017: 92-101 fotoğraf 116, 121.



Resim 10
Azizos ve Monimos Mozaïği. © Sadberk
Hanım Müzesi.



Resim 11
Azizos ve Monimos Mozaïği. Detay.
© Sadberk Hanım Müzesi.

olarak da görülebilir¹³ (Bailey 1968: 344; Salman 2007: 47 dipnot 136).

Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen Artemis Mozaïği için, diğerk bir karşılaştırma örneđi olarak Serrin Artemis'i gösterilebilir (Balty 1990: pl. 2). Serrin, Osrhoene Bölgesi'nde Edessa'nın güney batısında, Euphrates üzerinde yer alan bir yerleşimdir. Kentin tarihsel gelişimi ile ilgili bilgiler mevcut değildir. Bilinenler sadece bu yerleşimin, Edessa Krallığı döneminde var olduđu ve burada ele geçen İS 6. yüzyıla ait mozaik ile geç dönemlerde de iskan gördüğü üzerinedir. Maalesef karşılaştırma örneđi olarak kullanılan Serrin Mozaïği'nin ait olduđu yapı ile ilgili herhangi bir bilgi yoktur. 1983 yılında mozaïğin ortadaki panel kısmı bulunmuştur ve sergilenmek üzere Halep Müzesi'ne götürölmüştür. Bulunan parçalar muhtemelen döşemenin kenar bölümlerine ait olmalıdır. Bu dört taraftaki panellerde altı mitolojik sahne yer alır (Balty 1990: 74-75; Balty 1995: 255-262; Dunbabin 2002: 184). Burada Artemis ve onun beraberindekiyle bir av sahnesi betimlenmiştir. Ortada Artemis öldürdüğü aslanın üzerine çıkmış ve bir ok darbesi ile yaraladığı geyiğe yeni bir darbe için sadađından



Resim 12
Azizos ve Monimos Mozaïği. Detay.
© Sadberk Hanım Müzesi.

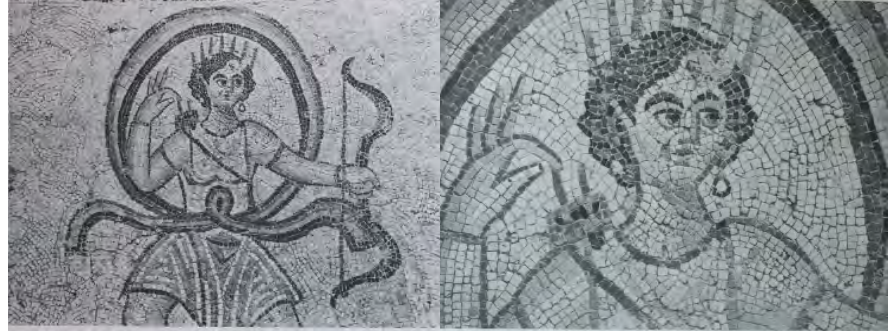
13 Hz. İsa'nın öğretilerini yaymasından kısa bir süre sonra İsa'ya iman eden ve onun öğretilerini kabul eden krallık içinde dahi paganist inançlar ve ritüeller İS 5. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar kesintisiz devam etmiştir (Ross 2001: 86).



Resim 13
Serrin Artemisi (Balty 1990: pl. II.1).

bir ok çıkarmak üzeredir¹⁴ (Res. 13-14). Artemisin giydiği hareketli kısa peplos ve başındaki tacı Ontario örneğine oldukça yakındır. Ancak Serrin Artemisi'nin başındaki tacın dikey kısımları daha uzun olarak tasvir edilmiştir.

Yüksek kalitede, *opus tessellatum* tekniği ile yapılmış Ontario Artemis Mozaïği'nin kompozisyonundan hareketle nasıl bir yapıya ya da mekâna ait olduğu konusunda varsayımda bulunmak oldukça güçtür. Haleplibahçe Mozaikleri ile çağdaş olduğunu düşündüğümüz döşeme, muhtemelen onun bir konutun iki ayrı özel döşemesi olarak kullanıldığını düşündürmektedir. Karşılaştırma örneklerinden hareketle bu mozaik İS 6. yüzyılın başlarına tarihlenebilir.



Resim 14
Serrin Artemisi
(Balty 1990: pl. XXXVI.1, pl. XXXVII.1).

3. Aslanlı Mozaik Parçası (Resim 15, Çizim 3)

Katalog Bilgileri

Adı: Aslan Mozaïği

Müze Envanter Numarası ve Korunduğu Yer: 994.220.22, Roma ve Yakın Doğu Joey ve Toby Tanenbaum Galerisi (ROM), Temmuz 2011'den günümüze değin sergilenmektedir.

Bulunduğu Yer: Doğu Akdeniz, muhtemelen Türkiye, Edessa'dan.

Ölçüler: Yükseklik: 42 cm; Genişlik: 54 cm.

Figür Ölçüleri: Müzeden alınan katalog bilgilerinde verilmemiştir.

Malzeme: Kireçtaşı *tessera*.

Tessera Renkleri: Kahverengi, sarı, turuncu, yeşil, beyaz/krem ve siyah.

Tarih: Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi; İS 200-225.

Tanım: İnce bir işçilikle işlenmiş aslan, profilden tasvir edilmiş olup sola doğru koşar vaziyettedir. Aslan Mozaïği'nin ana sahnesini basit siyah bir çizgisel hat çevirir. Tek sıra siyah *tesserae* ile oluşturulan bu basit çizgi (Décor I: pl. 1a) içerisinde arka ayakları üzerinde yükselen bir aslan betimlenmiştir. Döşemenin korunan kısmından hareketle, muhtemelen ana tasarımın siyah çerçevelerle bölümlendiğini ve bu çerçevelerin her birine ikonografik olarak bazı anlamlar içeren hayvan figürlerinin yerleştirildiğini söylemek mümkündür. Ya da Milet Orpheus Mozaïği'nde olduğu gibi, yine panolara ayrılmış ana tasarımda ortada Orpheus her iki tarafta ise çerçeve içinde hayvan figürlerinden oluşan bir başka tasarım da önerilebilir (Tülek 1998: 53-54 fig. 8).

14 Panelin kenarlarında yaban domuzu ve leopar avlayan üzerlerinde tunik bulunan figürler yer almaktadır. Ağaçlar ile kuşların yer aldığı bu floral sahnede, Artemis ve diğer iki avcı, neredeyse cepheden verilmiştir. Ağzları kapalı olarak ve ciddi bir ifade içinde bulunurlar (Salman 2007: 21).



Resim 15
Aslan Mozaïği. © Ontario Kraliyet
Müzesi.



Çizim 3
Aslan Mozaïği.
© Serkan Demir.

Çalışmamızda yer alan Aslan Mozaïği'ni karşılaştırabileceğimiz ilk örnek Şanlıurfa Orpheus Mozaïği'dir. Bir kaya mezarı taban mozaïği olan bu döşeme, Şanlıurfa'dan Amerika'ya kaçırılmış ve 2012 yılında tekrar Türkiye'ye getirilmiştir. Bu mozaikte Orpheus'un etrafında betimlenen yırtıcı etçil hayvanlardan biri de aslandır. Orpheus'un sağında en alt sırada işlenen hareket halindeki aslanın yanında diğer vahşi etçil hayvanlardan yaban domuzu, leopar ve ayı da bulunmaktadır (Healey 2006: 313-327; Önal 2017: 30-31 fotoğraf 42). İS 194 yılına tarihlenen Orpheus Mozaïği (Önal 2017: 31 fotoğraf 42), Toronto Aslan Mozaïği'yle çağdaş bir örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Ancak yukarıda bahsedilen her iki örnekte de kullanılan aslan figürü, Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde

sergilenen aslan betiminden hem vücut ölçüsü, sağrısı ve yeleleri hem de ağız detayları bakımından oldukça farklıdır.

Haleplibahçe Mozaik Müzesi'nde teşhir edilen ve Hayvanlı Mozaik olarak adlandırılan mozaik panoda beyaz zemin üzerinde çeşitli hayvan figürleri yer almaktadır. Burada ağız açık olarak betimlenen aslan, arka ayakları üzerinde yükselerek, dağ keçisi üzerine zıplar vaziyettedir. Söz konusu mozaik, İS 5.- 6. yüzyıla tarihlenir (Önal 2017: 115 fotoğraf 148). Ancak detaylı karşılaştırma yapıldığında, bizim örneğimize göre oldukça geç bir tarihten olan Haleplibahçe aslanı, adeta metal bir diken formunda yapılmış pençe tasarımı açısından Toronto Mozaığı ile benzerlik gösterir.

Genel olarak bakıldığında, Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen aslanlı döşeme ile kronolojik ve kompozisyon bakımından bağlantı kurabileceğimiz başka bir örnek yoktur. Ancak makalede incelenen aslan figürünün oldukça geniş ve üst kısımda üçgensel bir açı oluşturan göz kapakları, göz bebeğinin yukarıya bakar şekilde işlenmesi, kullanılan *tesserae* renkleri, kombinasyonları, *tesserae* ölçüleri gibi bazı temel özellikleri, Edessa yerel mozaik atölyeleri tarafından üretildiği kesin olarak bilinen mezar yapılarındaki kadın ve erkeklere ait portreler başta olmak üzere diğer mozaik tasarımları ile oldukça benzerdir. Aslanlı Mozaik döşemenin kullanıldığı yapı ve mekân konusunda da maalesef kesin bir şekilde ifade bulunmak mümkün değildir. Aslan mezar yapılarında çok kaşımıza çıkan bir hayvandır. Zira bu tip bir tasarım mezarlarda olabileceği gibi herhangi bir özel ya da kamu yapısında da kullanılmış olabilir. Hatta paganizmden sonra bile aslan figürlerinin, Geç Antik Çağ'da hem kiliselerin hem de özel konutların dekorasyonunda uzun bir süre tercih edildiği bilinmektedir.

Makale kapsamında incelediğimiz Aslanlı Mozaığı lokalize ettiğimiz Şanlıurfa ilinin, Birecik ilçesinde, 1880 yılında bir aslanın vurulduğu kaydedilmiştir. Ayrıca Harran ve çevresinin aslanlarıyla ünlü olduğu seyyahlar tarafından belirtilir¹⁵. Edessa mezar mozaikleri ile yapılan karşılaştırma sonucu, aslan figürlü döşeme, müze katalog bilgilerinde de yer verildiği üzere, İS 3. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine tarihlenebilir.

15 Söz konusu bilgi için Prof. Dr. Mehmet Önal'a çok teşekkür ederiz. Aslan, kedigiller familyasından, Afrika ve Asya kıtalarında yaşayan, erkekleri yelesi, yırtıcı, tüyleri sarı renkli güçlü bir memeli hayvandır. Aslanlar, hayvan mücadele sahnelerinde koç, geyik, ceylan gibi hayvanları avlarken de betimlenmişlerdir. Aslan imgesi, güçlü ve egemen bir sembolik anlama sahip olup tasvir sanatında bu amaçla kullanılmıştır. Erkek aslan, tipik olarak görülen yelesinden tanınır ve aslan yüzü önemli hayvan sembelleri arasında bulunmaktadır. Aslan, pek çok coğrafyada ve uzun bir zaman dilimi içerisinde hayvanlar dünyasının en güçlü bireyi olarak kabul ve ilgi görmüş olup sembolik gücünü birçok kültürde devam ettirmiştir. Hitit Çağı'nda kentlere giriş kapılarında, kapının her iki yanında yer alan aslanlar, kentin koruyucusu özelliğine sahip olup, ürktütücü, güçlü kuvvetli nitelikleriyle betimlenmişlerdir (Akurgal 1987: 109 şek. 27 a, b; Ünal 2002: 70). Frigler, aslanları kaya mezarlarında, ortostatlarda ve heykel sanatında çok sık kullanmıştır. Frig kaya anıtlarında kullanılan aslanlar, mezarı koruma görevinde oldukları izlenimini vermektedirler (Sivas 2013: 206-287). Urartular da, aslanların korkutucu özelliklerine özellikle fildişi eserlerde yer vermişlerdir (Akurgal 1987: 183 şek. 197-199). Yunan ve Roma mitolojisinde de, aslan figürüyle genel olarak, Herakles'in Nemea aslanını öldürmesi ve tanrıça Hera'nın ve Kybele'nin kutsal hayvanı olması konularıyla ilgili karşılaşılmaktadır. Hristiyan inancında ise İsa'nın çocukluk mucizeleri içerisinde "Aslanlar ve Panterler Mucizesi" bulunmaktadır (Tükel – Yüzgüller 2018:184). İtalya- Ravenna, San Vitale Kilisesi'nde betimlenen aslan mozaığı, St. Mark'ın sembolü olarak düşünülmüştür (Beydiz 2016: 20-21 res. 10).

Değerlendirme ve Sonuç

Günümüzde Toronto Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen üç mozaik, Edessa üretimi olarak lokalize edilmiş ve bu her üç döşemede figürler açık renkli zemin üzerine yapılmışlardır. Buna gerekçe olarak, figürler ve figürlerden oluşan konunun, izleyici açısından en vurgulu anlatımını sağlayacak beyaz zeminler üzerine tasvir anlayışı gösterilebilir. Beyaz zeminlerin tümü ve mozaığın bütünü hemen hemen eşit boyutlarda kesilmiş *tesserae*'ın düzenli olarak dizilmesiyle, yani *opus tessellatum* tekniği ile yapılmıştır. Ancak incelenen örneklerde saçlarda ve yelelerde *tesserae* sadece kare formda olmayıp üçgen, dikdörtgen şekildedirler. Bu sebeple *opus vermiculatum* tekniği de kullanılmıştır. Sahnedeki konunun yine ön planda olması amacıyla, bordür motiflerinin yer aldığı sahne kenarları dar tutulmuştur, diğer bir ifade ile ikinci planda bırakılmıştır.

İncelenen örneklerde sadece ilk örneğimiz olan Genç Kız Mozaığı'nda bordürün sadece bir kısmı korunmuştur. Bu durum özellikle koleksiyonerlerdeki ve yurtdışındaki müzelerde yer alan, kaçakçılık sonucu çıkarılmış örnekler için geçerlidir. Dolayısıyla bilinçsizce kaldırılan döşemelerin zeminden alınması sırasında, esas sahnelerin çıkarılıp kenar detaylarının önemsenmemiş olması ile açıklanabilir. Mozaik üzerinde kullanılan genç kız tasvirinden hareketle, Toronto Genç Kız Mozaığı'nın Edessa mezarlarından birine ait olduğu düşünülmektedir. Genel olarak benzer özellikte olupta Edessa kentine özgü kaya mezarlarında bulunan pek çok mozaik, belli bir yerel üretim sahasının özgün karakterlerini istikrarlı bir şekilde yansıtmaktadır.

Şanlıurfa'da iki ana kireçtaşı kaynağı bulunmaktadır: Fatik ve Tek Tek kayac kaynakları. Bunlar kent çevresinde en yaygın karbonatlı kayac kaynaklarıdır¹⁶.

Edessa Mezar Mozaikleri'nde genel olarak çizgisel anlatım söz konusudur. Yani figürlerin ve kıyafetlerin hatları kalın, vurgulu ve tanımlayıcı şekilde verilmiştir. Çizgisel anlatımın içinde yer alan figürlerin giysi konturları, giysinin kendi renk düzeninin dışına çıkılmadan koyu renkle oluşturulmuş bir stil içindedir (Salman 2007: 85). Renk kullanımı koyudan açığa doğru, uzun salımlı bir renklendirmeye ifade edilmiştir. Hacimsellik, perspektif ve derinlik gibi teknik özelliklere çoğunlukla rastlanmaz. Bu, Suriye ve İran etkisinin bir uzantısı olabilir. Yapılan bir çok çalışmada, Edessa'nın İS 3. yüzyılda farklı, özgün özelliklere sahip bir atölye olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bölgedeki mozaiklerin neredeyse

16 Şanlıurfa'daki bu iki ana kireç taşı kaynağından ve Kanada-Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'ndeki Edessa kökenli olduğu düşünülen mozaiklerden alınacak örnekler üzerinde aşağıdaki analiz ve tetkikler yapılarak daha kesin neticelere ulaşmak mümkündür:

I- Ham madde belirlemesi,

II- Örneklerde iz element analizleri,

III- Örneklerde, makro elementlerin oksitler halinde (SiO, Al₂O₃, CaO, MgO vb. gibi) belirlenmesi,

IV- Örneklerde, X-ray analizleri (Difraktogramları)(mineral yapıları ve varsa kil minerallerinin cins ve oransal katkıları için) yapılması,

V- Seçilen bazı örneklerde ise karbon izotoplarının belirlenmesi.

Bu belirlemelerden sonra kaynaklar ve *tesserae* verileri uzmanlar tarafından karşılaştırılarak, köken tahmininin yapılabileceği düşünülmektedir. Ek olarak yukarıda *tesserae* ve bölgeden alınacak örnekler için önerilen analiz ve tetkiklerin aynısı, eğer *tesserae* için kullanılan nucleus tabakasındaki malzeme orijinal ise yani restorasyon sırasında müdahale yapılmadı ise, Kanada'daki panoların *tesseraları* birbirine ve zemine yapıştıran çimento maddesinde de yapılabilir ve bulgular, Edessa'ya ait olduğu %100 bilinen mozaiklerin benzer çimento maddesi ile ve çevredeki çimento ham maddelerinin analize bulunacak değerleri ile karşılaştırılabilir. Yerli örnekler, Kanada-Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'ndeki tarza benzer tarzdaki mozaikler bulunup onlardan alınırsa sonucu pekiştirme açısından önemli veriler sağlayabilir. Kireçtaşı kaynakları ve köken analizi konusunda yukarıdaki değerli bilgileri bizimle paylaşan sayın Prof. Dr. Selim Kapur ile Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Savaş Başkaya'ya çok teşekkür ederiz.

tümü figüratif olmakla birlikte Haleplibahçe Geometrik Villa ve Edessa Hamamı Mozaikleri tamamıyla geometrik desenlerden oluşur. Edessa Kaya Mezarlarında da çok sayıda geometrik desenli taban mozaikleri mevcuttur.

Toronto Artemis Mozaığı, Haleplibahçe Mozaikleri ve Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde sergilenen Azizos ve Monimos Mozaığı ile oldukça benzerdir. Artemis kompozisyonundan hareketle nasıl bir yapıda ve mekânda kullanıldığı konusunda kesin bir fikir ileri sürülemezle birlikte, Kuzey Suriye ve özellikle de Antiokheia, Serrin ve Apameia Geç Roma Dönemi mozaiklerinin stil özelliklerini gösterir. Diğer iki mozaik örneğe göre daha geç bir tarihe verilen Artemis örneği de çağdaşı olan Haleplibahçe Mozaığı gibi özel bir konuta ait olabilir ve İS 6. yüzyılın başlarına tarihlenebilir.

Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen aslanlı döşemenin kullanıldığı yapı ve mekân konusunda net bir önerimiz yoktur. Aslanlı döşeme, bir mezar zemininde kullanılmış olabileceği gibi herhangi bir özel ya da kamu yapısında da kullanılmış olabilir. Ancak stil ve teknik özellikler, Edessa mezar mozaikleri ile çağdaş olduğundan, Aslanlı Mozaik'te İS 3. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine tarihlenmektedir.

Edessa'nın Roma Dönemi mozaikleri kentin bu dönemdeki yerel Osrhoene Krallığı'na bağlı olduğu dönemdedir. Bu dönem mozaikleri tamamen özgün bir stil gösterirler. İS 4. yüzyılın ortalarında Hristiyanlığın resmi din oluşu (İS 381), paganların mezarları için üretilen mozaiklerin sonunu da getirmiştir. Ancak diğer yapılarda mozaik kullanımı dönüşerek devam etmiştir.

Edessa Mozaikleri içerisinde, Roma ve Doğu Roma Dönemi'ne tarihlenen ve hayvanların betimlendiği döşemelerden bazıları Şanlıurfa Müzesi'nde görülebilir.

Toronto Ontario Kraliyet Müzesi'nde sergilenen ve Edessa kökenli olduğuna inandığımız üç mozaik döşeme üzerinde yapılan bu çalışma stil kritik yoluyla lokalizasyon tespiti niteliğindedir. İlaveten *tesserae* ve kireçtaşı kaynaklarından alınacak örnekler üzerinde yapılacak arkeometrik analiz ve tetkikler sonucunda da mozaiklerin kökenlerini araştırmak mümkündür. Arkeolojik eserler buldukları yerde tutulduğunda kıymetlidir ve bir anlam ifade ederler. Yerlerinden kopartılarak götürülen eserler konteksleri bozulduğundan yalnızlaşır ve bilimsel anlamlarını yitirirler.

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The Mosaics from Abicada and Boca do Rio (Portugal) - A New Perspective Thirty Years Later

Abicada ve Boca do Rio (Portekiz) Mozaikleri - Otuz Yıl Sonra Yeni Bir Bakış Açısı

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Abstract

In this paper we deal with some mosaics found in two seaside settlements in the Algarve (Portugal), Boca do Rio (Vila do Bispo, Faro) and Abicada (Mexilhoreira Grande, Portimão). Mosaics from Boca do Rio were found in 1870 by Sebastião Philippes Martins Estácio da Veiga, and just one of them is preserved today, though we know some others through two detailed drawings and a plan made by Amélia Claranges Lucotte. The villa of Abicada has been known since 1917 and its sophisticated pars urbana was excavated between 1937–38 by José Formosinho. The mosaics of both archaeological sites were studied in 1987 by Prof. José Maria Blázquez who offered a first stylistical approach to some of the most outstanding floors. The progress of research produced in current years in the fields of archaeological research, Roman architecture and mosaics of the Algarve enable us to address these mosaics again, to study them from a broader perspective. We analyse their stylistic and compositional characteristics, paying special attention to the similarities with mosaics in other rural settlements in the area, like the best-known examples of Milreu and Cerro da Vila. They all share some stylistic and technical characteristics that enable us to place them in a common chronological and productive horizon, next to the mosaic production of other Roman sites of the Algarve. Thus, close parallels of geometrical and ornamental style in neighbour mosaics is useful both for suggesting a date to these non-stratigraphically dated mosaics and for defining the features of the widespread mosaic production in the Algarve.

Keywords: Mosaics, Roman villae, maritime settlements, Algarve, Portugal, geometric patterns.

Öz

Bu çalışmada deniz kıyısı yerleşimleri olan Algarve (Portekiz) ve Boca do Rio (Vila do Bispo, Faro) ile Abicada (Mexilhoreira Grande, Portimão)'da yer alan bazı mozaikler ele alınacaktır. Boca do Rio'daki mozaikler, 1870 yılında Sebastião Philippes Martins Estácio da Veiga tarafından bulunmuş ve bunlardan sadece birinin günümüze kadar korunabilmiş olmasına rağmen söz konusu mozaiklerden bazıları Amélia Claranges Lucotte tarafından hazırlanmış iki detaylı çizim ve plandan bilinmektedir. Abicada Villası, 1917 yılından beri bilinmektedir ve villanın oldukça sofistike olan pars urbanası 1937-1938 yılları arasında José Formosinho tarafından kazılmıştır. Her iki arkeolojik mevkide yer alan mozaikler, 1987 yılında Profesör José Maria Blázquez tarafından çalışılmış ve en seçkin mozaikler üzerine ilk stilistik yaklaşım önerileri yapılmıştır. Algarve'nin Roma Dönemi mimarisi ve mozaikleri üzerine son yıllarda gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik çalışmalarda elde edilen bulgular sayesinde bu mozaiklerin tekrar ele alınması ve daha geniş bir perspektif ile değerlendirilmesi mümkün hale gelmiştir. Mozaikler, stilistik ve kompozisyonel karakterleri bağlamında analiz edilirken, Milreu ve Cerro da Vila gibi en iyi bilinen örnekler ve bölgede yer alan başka kırsal yerleşimlerdeki mozaiklerle aralarındaki benzerliklere özellikle dikkat çekilmektedir. Tüm mozaiklerin belli stilistik ve teknik özellikleri paylaşması,

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mozaiklerin, Algarve'nin diğer Roma Dönemi yerleşimlerinin mozaik üretimi yanında, ortak bir kronolojik ve üretimsel düzlem üzerine oturtulmasına imkan sağlamaktadır. Böylelikle geometrik ve bezeme stilleri açısından yakın paralellikler gösteren birbirine komşu bölgelerdeki mozaiklerin değerlendirilmesi hem stratigrafik olarak tarihlenmemiş mozaikler için bir tarih hem de yayılmış olan mozaik üretiminin bileşenlerinin tanımlanmasında önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaikler, Roma villaları, kıyı yerleşimleri, Algarve, Portekiz, geometrik desenler.

In 1987 Prof. José Maria Blázquez offered to his colleagues of the Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics held at Bath (England) a presentation about the not well-known mosaic floors at two Roman sites located in the Algarve (southern Portugal). This work was published in 1994 (Blázquez 1994: 187-198) under the title “Mosaicos de Boca do Rio y Abicada (Lusitania)”. In his paper, he dealt with some of the most interesting examples located in these two maritime settlements, offering a first stylistic approach to some of the most outstanding floors.

In the first place, Prof. José Maria Blázquez studied a mosaic found in 1870 in Boca do Rio (Villa do Bispo, Faro) by Sebastião Philippes Martins Estácio da Veiga (Veiga 1910) and preserved today at the Museo de Lagos (Portimão). Secondly, he analyzed some mosaics from the villa of Abicada (Mexilhoiera Grande, Portimão). Those were found in 1918 by José Leite de Vasconcelos (Vasconcelos 1918: 128) and twenty years later, in 1938, by José de Formosinho during his archaeological fieldwork (Formosinho 1942: 107-110).

The effective progress of research produced in current years in the fields of archaeological research, Roman architecture and mosaics of the Algarve (Teichner 2007; Duran Kremer 2007; Teichner 2008a-b; Duran Kremer 2011; Lancha – Oliveira 2013; Teichner 2017a-c) makes it necessary to address these mosaics again, to study them from a broader perspective. They all share some stylistic and technical characteristics that enable us to place them in a common chronological and productive horizon, next to the mosaic production of other Roman sites of the Algarve. Thus, close parallels with the geometrical and ornamental style in neighbouring mosaics will be very useful both for suggesting a date to these non-stratigraphically dated mosaics and for defining the features of the widespread mosaic production in the Algarve.

Boca do Rio (Vila do Bispo, Faro)

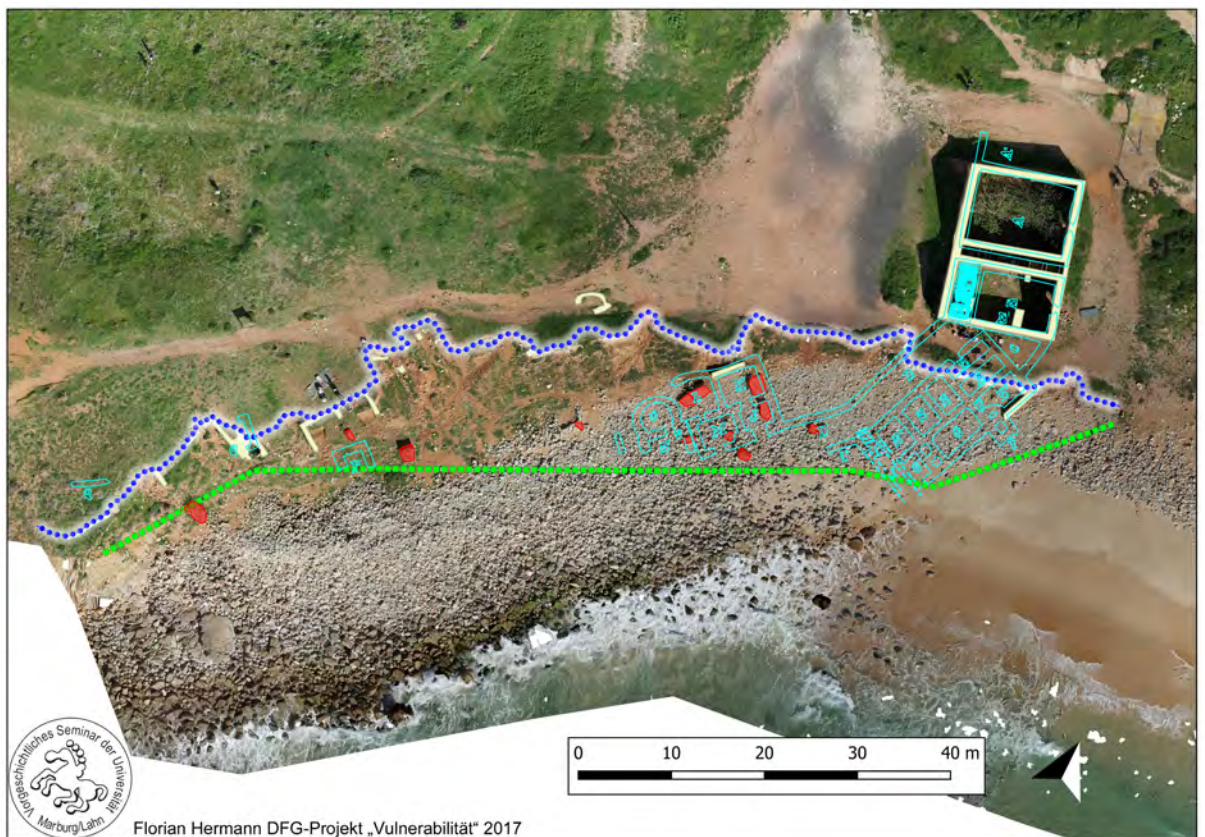
The Roman settlement of Boca do Rio, located on the Ribeira de Vale, lies 15 km west of the ancient *Lacobriga* on the section of the Algarve coast that faces the rough Atlantic winds. In 1878, the Roman coastal settlement was identified by S. P. M. Estácio da Veiga (Veiga 1910; Santos 1971: 78-106). As can be seen from the plan of the ruins drawn up back then (Fig. 1), several groups of rooms, situated along the steep bank above the beach, could be identified on the right bank of the Ribeira that flows into the sea at this point. These groups of rooms formed a long building object that followed the terrain contours. The connecting element is clearly a corridor or portico (Fig. 1, D) which, interestingly, links the separate parts of the building on the inland side of the building, the side furthest away from the sea. For a long time, the building was thought to be part of a typical *villa maritima* with a *balneum*. Based on ongoing geoarchaeological investigations by the universities of Marburg (Germany) and Faro (Portugal), however, it can be understood as the residential quarter of a much larger fishing settlement (*agglomération secondaire* or *vicus*) dating from the first to the fifth century AD. Its economic basis existed of fishing and the production of fish sauces (Medeiros – Bernardes 2012; Teichner 2016: 243-244; Teichner et al. 2018).

The mosaic floor published by Prof. José Maria Blázquez (Blázquez 1994: 187 fig. 1) belonged to the building structures that were oriented towards the sea shore and found in 1870 by Estácio da Veiga. In 1933, the notary José Formosinho decided, because of the continuous threat of the sea to the building structures of the site, to translate it to the regional museum, founded by himself in the city centre of Lagos (Igreja de Santo Antonio). How well-considered this decision was from a conservation point of view, shows a look at the shape of today's shoreline (Fig. 2): The overwhelming part of the buildings still documented in the 19th century

Figure 1
Plan of the Roman secondary maritime agglomeration of Boca do Rio (Veiga 1910).



Figure 2
Aerial picture taken in the spring of 2017 showing the section of the coastline of the Roman fishing station Boca do Rio. It becomes clear that buildings which were still existing in the late 19th century have been claimed by the sea since then. The dotted green line shows the 19th century shoreline documented in Fig. 1.



is already gone. Only the two suites of rooms A-D have survived under the walls of a royal Portuguese fishing station that was erected after the Lisbon seaquake (tsunami) of 1755. These can be investigated at the moment.

In fact, the mosaic presented by Prof. José Maria Blázquez on his first figure, i.e. the one that can still be seen in the Lagos Museum today (Fig. 3), was found next to two other floors not preserved today and which we only know through two detailed drawings and a plan made by the wife of Estácio da Veiga, Amélia Claranges Lucotte (Veiga 1910) (Figs. 4, 6, 7). They all paved a modest bathing area in the *pars urbana* of the settlement, probably the *frigidarium* (García Entero 2003: 441). They were situated in the rooms labelled on the plan with the letters K (the mosaic studied by Prof. José Maria Blázquez), J, C and D.

Figure 3

Mosaic from room K at the Roman site of Boca do Rio. Today at the Museo de Lagos, Portimão.

<<http://vila-do-bispo-arqueologica.blogspot.com.es/2014/01/villa-romana-da-boca-do-rio-budens.html>>



Veiga (Veiga 1910: 213-214) offered a description of those rooms furnished with mosaic floors:

“J Casa no mesmo plano inferior do corredor D, com pavimento de mosaico. Mede 3m,96 por 4m,65.

K Casa contigua á antecedente e comunicada por porta central, com bello pavimento de mosaico. Mede o mesmo da antecedente.

C Casa de fôrma triangular, com pavimento de mosaico, tendo uma estreita passagem no angulo superior para o corredor D.

D Corredor com pavimento de mosaico igual ao da casa antecedente, cuja extensão, ainda apreciavel, é de 24m,05, sendo a sua largura de 3m,52. Este corredor dividia um grande estabelecimento de banhos em dois corpos distinctos, o primeiro construido junto á praia, e o segundo em plano superior mais afastado do mar.”

Figure 4

Design of the mosaic of room K at the Roman site of Boca do Rio. Made by Amélia Claranges Lucotte (Veiga 1910). <<http://vila-do-bispo-arqueologica.blogspot.com.es/2014/01/villa-romana-da-boca-do-rio-budens.html>>

Figure 5

Watercolor painting from the beginning of the 20th century of the floor mosaic in the entrance area (Teichner 2008a: 127 fig. 46 rooms A1-2) of the *pars urbana* of the Roman villa of Milreu. Made by F. Tavares Bello in the course of the archaeological fieldwork conducted by S. P. Martins Estácio da Veiga (Archive of the MNA Lisboa, Teichner 2008b: 1053 fig. 2).

In our days, only one third of the mosaic K is preserved (Fig. 3), so the drawing of Amélia Claranges Lucotte (Fig. 4) is of great help to know its original appearance. Originally, polychrome mosaic floor K had two black frames, separated by a white line. The first one was decorated with serrated triangles, the second one with an undulating row of inverted *peltae*. These, too, are adorned with serrated triangles in their centre. The square centre panel exhibited an orthogonal pattern with semicircles on the sides, outlined with a guilloche, and one krater occupying each of the four corners. In the drawings, Estácio da Veiga presented the central area of the floor as an empty space, without any geometrical figure. Each semicircle is outlined with a line of serrated triangles and in its centre it has a vegetal decoration of *hedera* foils and *peltae* with ivy scrolls. The kraters in the corners have S-shaped handles and triangular bases. The body and the neck show a major distinction. This type of vase (form I after Limão 2011: 577) remained the same through time, from the 2nd century AD until the 3rd/4th century AD. Water seems to come from the mouth of each krater, spurting to the krater in the opposite corner. Kraters are a popular decoration in mosaics and very similar examples also appear in the nearby *villae* of Milreu (Fig. 5) (Teichner 2008a: 124-125 rooms A1-2 fig. 46; Teichner 2008b: fig. 2) and Abicada (Blázquez 1994: 190 fig 5; Teichner 2008a: 438-440 room B7 fig. 258). Similarities with nearby mosaics do not end here. The same undulating row of inverted *peltae* and serrated triangles can be seen in Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 124-125 rooms A1-2 fig. 46 146-150 room A41 fig. 64; 159 room A51 fig. 68) and Cerro da Vila (Teichner 2008a: 305 room A37 fig. 162).



The chosen pattern seems to constitute one of the very common variations of the “esquema a compás” (López Monteagudo 2004: 188). However, the present reconstruction (Fig. 5) seems incorrect, because this kind of pavement usually exhibits a central circle, as we can see in mosaic K.

Regarding mosaic floor J, we only know of it through the drawing of Amélie Lucotte, because it was probably destroyed by the sea (Formosinho 1942:

107-110). It is, according to this delicate design, a polychrome mosaic (Fig. 6). It has two white frames, one inside the other, the second one with a line of intersecting circles. We can also see a narrow frame decorated with a line of serrated triangles. In the central carpet, a design of a central circle, semicircles on the sides and ovals in the corners can be seen. These are decorated, alternatively, with *peltae* with foils and heart-shaped leaves and ivy scrolls. The central circle was decorated with a floret with four heart-shaped petals surrounded by scrolls.

As an exact parallel to the central carpet pattern we can cite one mosaic floor in Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 159 room A51 fig. 68) which constitutes the best reflection of the close affinities in mosaic production of these settlements. We can also appreciate the similarities in the vegetal decoration of both mosaics (heart-shaped leaves and ivy scrolls). The line of intersecting semicircles also appears in some mosaic floors in this area like in Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 161-164 room A53 fig. 70) and Cerro da Vila (Teichner 2008a: 292 room A3 fig. 157).

Figure 6

Design of the mosaic of room J at the Roman site of Boca do Rio. Made by Amélia Claranges Lucotte (Veiga 1910). <<http://vila-do-bispo-arqueologica.blogspot.com.es/2014/01/villa-romana-da-boca-do-rio-budens.html>>

Figure 7

Design of the mosaic in room D at the Roman site of Boca do Rio. Made by Amélia Claranges Lucotte (Veiga 1910). <<http://vila-do-bispo-arqueologica.blogspot.com.es/2014/01/villa-romana-da-boca-do-rio-budens.html>>



Finally, a third drawing is preserved (Fig. 7) documenting a mosaic *in situ* heavily damaged by the sea as Estácio da Veiga explained in 1910. It decorated the floor of corridor D. However, in 2009 some parts of this mosaic were found again and extracted (Medeiros – Bernardes 2012: 13).

“O inverno rigoroso de 2009/2010 teve grande impacto na destruição das ruínas. O recuo da linha de costa foi particularmente evidente e em consequência disso, em Março de 2010, numa das visitas regulares ao sítio, João Pedro Bernardes deu conta das consequências da abrasão marítima ao descobrir parte de um pavimento de mosaico. No corte do talude, em frente aos antigos armazéns, era visível uma linha de tesselas in situ, e na zona de preia-mar, alguns fragmentos do rudus do ao qual pertenceriam. Tratava-se de parte do pavimento correspondente ao

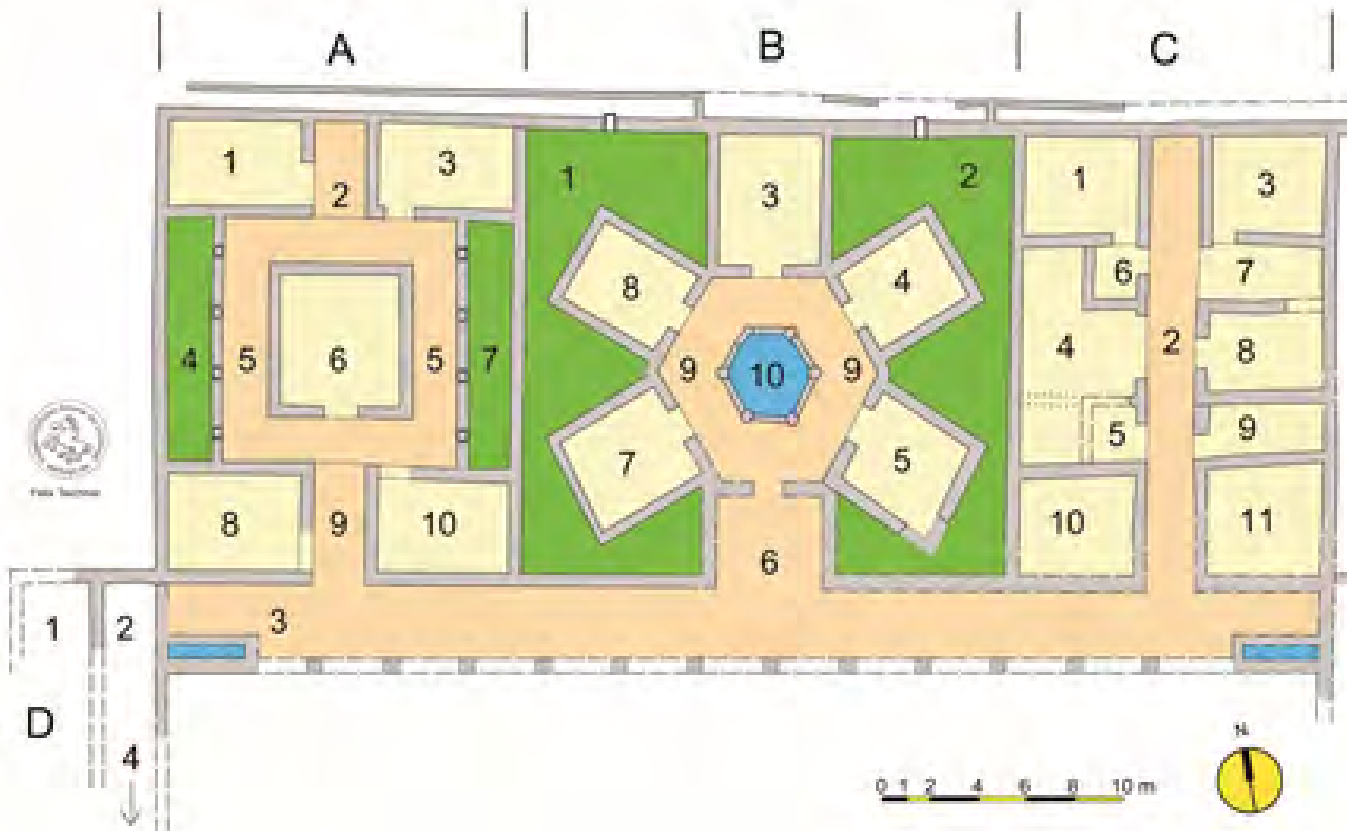
desenho do mosaico da planta de Estácio da Veiga que acompanhava o ângulo do corredor D e que se prolongava ao longo do mesmo e do compartimento C. Com vista ao seu salvamento, entre os meses de Julho e Agosto do mesmo ano, teve lugar uma nova intervenção de emergencia. O mosaico, que já se encontrava muito destruído, foi levantado por uma equipa especializada e ficou a cargo da autarquia local.”

According to the drawing, it is a black and white bichrome mosaic that paved both a triangular space (?) and a long corridor that linked two areas of the *pars urbana* of the villa. The floor shows an orthogonal pattern with white convex-sided rectangles outlined in black, forming big squares and small concave squares. Ivy scrolls decorate the triangular spaces between both arms of the corridor. A very similar pattern can be seen in Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 161-164 rooms A53-A54 figs. 70-71) but in those cases the rectangles do not have convex but straight sides.

The *villa maritima* of Abicada (Mexilhoreira Grande, Portimão)

The second main topic of Prof. José Maria Blázquez 1987 article which was taken as a starting point concentrated on the villa of Abicada that lies about 10 km east of *Lacobriga* (Lagos) between the lower reaches of the Ribeira do Farelo and the Ribeira da Senhora do Verde. The villa has been known since 1917 and its *pars urbana* was excavated between 1937–38 by José Formosinho, the notary who also rendered services to the conservation of the mosaics of Boca do Rio. The residential quarter with more than 30 rooms covering 1,200 m² and a sophisticated architectural plan with a hexagonal inner courtyard is located on a spur that juts far to the south and is situated almost 8 m above sea level. In our description of the rooms we can follow the 2008 monograph of the complete site (Fig. 8) (Teichner 2008a: 419-447 fig. 246; Teichner 2017c: fig. 2).

Figure 8
Groundplan of the residential part (*pars urbana*) of the *villa maritima* of Abicada (Portugal) with the living areas A-C, portico D3, situated along the southern front, and the corridor D1-2, leading downhill to the *pars rustica* and the shore (Teichner 2017c).



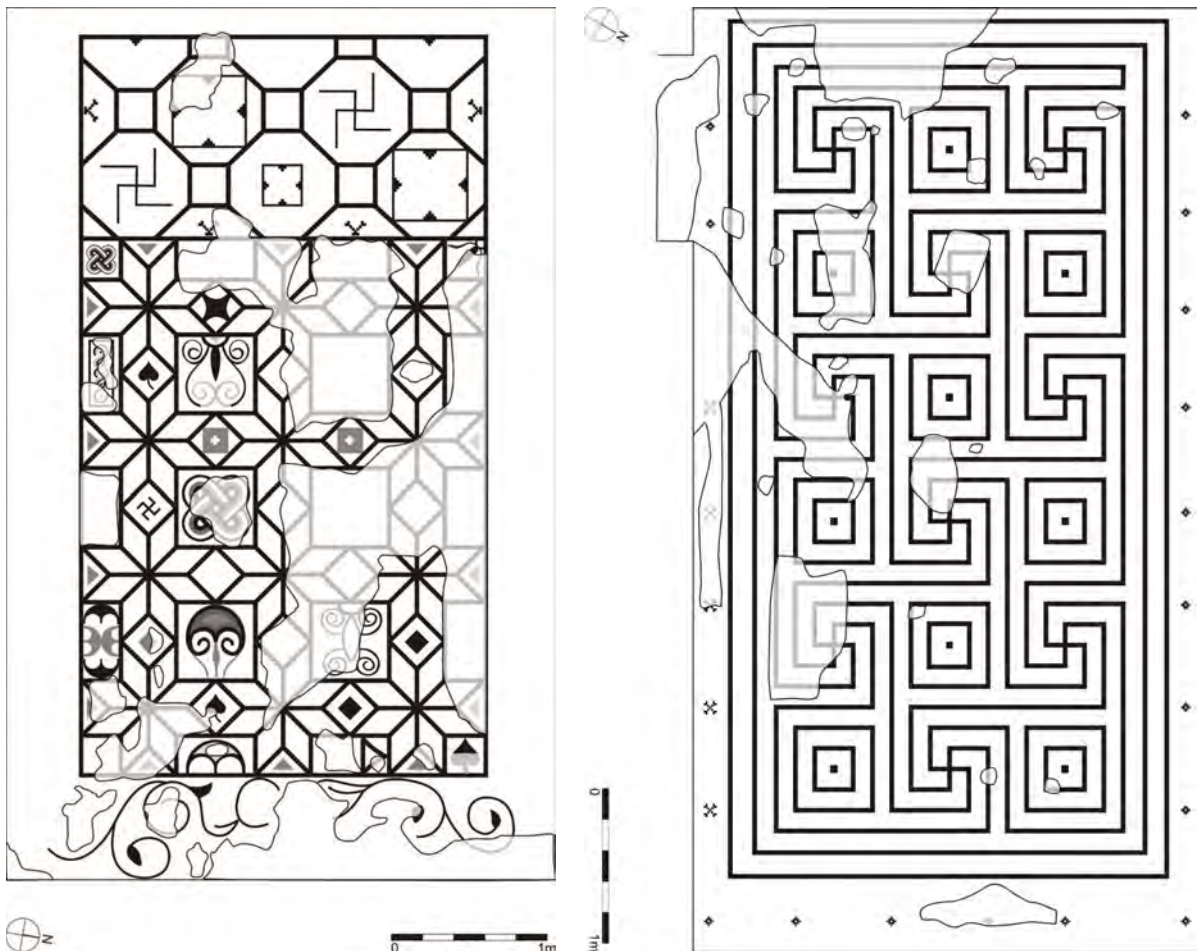
The first building section, subsequently called Unit A, lies in the western part of the triform complex. The rooms A1-4 and A7-10 cluster symmetrically around the central room A6 and its surrounding portico A5. Access to the 250 m² building complex was granted from the south through room A9, i.e. via the portico D3. The structural design is orientated along a centreline formed by rooms A2 and A9. The corridor A2 and the symmetrical rooms A1 and A3 form the north wing, mirrored by rooms A8 and A10 which form the south wing. The middle of the building was occupied by a central hall (A6) and its surrounding portico A5. While all these rooms feature mosaic floors, there were no such remains detected in rooms A4 and A7, which were separated by narrow parapet walls with superimposed brick columns. They are likely to have been two ornamental gardens visible from portico A5 (Teichner 2017c: 3).

The mosaics of the two inland-oriented rooms A1 and A3 are the best-preserved ones. The rectangular *cubiculum* A1 (Fig. 9) was furnished with a 550 cm x 350 cm mosaic (Blázquez 1994: 293 fig. 8; Teichner 2008a: 428 A1 fig. 248; Duran Kremer 2011: 356 figs. 4-6; Teichner 2017c: fig. 4) divided into two carpets as typically seen in rooms described as *cubicula*. Both of them are framed by a double black line and a broad white field, which is filled with tendril scrolls at one end, highlighting the eastern doorway.

The main carpet, polychrome, presents an outlined orthogonal pattern of tangent eight-lozenge stars forming squares (rectangles in the edges) between them and smaller poised squares. These geometrical figures exhibit a rich repertoire of multi-coloured blossoms, very stylized vegetation, Solomon's knots, *peltae*, lyre-shaped knots and swastikas. The rear western part shows a black and white

Figure 9
Mosaic floor in Room A1 of the *villa maritima* of Abicada, Portugal (Teichner 2008a: fig. 248; Teichner 2017c: fig. 4).

Figure 10
Mosaic floor in Room A3 of the *villa maritima* of Abicada, Portugal (Teichner 2008a: fig. 249; Teichner 2017c: fig. 5).



outlined orthogonal pattern of adjacent irregular octagons forming small squares between them. Some octagons are decorated with swastikas, while others present an inscribed small or big square inside. In the partial octagons on the edges there are also bisected crosslets. Close parallels can be found in Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 154-155 room A44 fig. 66).

Room A3 (Blázquez 1994: 188 fig. 3; Teichner 2008a: room A3 fig. 249; Duran Kremer 2011: 355 figs. 2-3; Teichner 2017c fig. 5) forms the axisymmetrical counterpart to A1 (Fig. 10). The bichrome mosaic measures 560 cm x 355 cm. The unique carpet is framed by a white field with black crosslets in this instance and covered with an orthogonal pattern of spaced swastika meanders with single returns and adjacent squares, the spaces staggered and containing a simple delineated square. This simple design has an exact parallel in the nearby villa of Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 132 room A13 fig. 52) but also in the so-called Casa del Mitreo and Casa del Anfiteatro in Mérida (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 37-38). Unfortunately, we still do not have reliable stratigraphic chronologies for these pavements.

The portico A5, granting access to Unit A, as well as the two corridors A2 and A9 are all embellished with tricoloured mosaic floors. A2 and A5 (Fig. 11) are furnished with a mosaic with a simple isotropic design composed of a repetitive pattern of rosettes of quatrefoils framed by four adjacent *peltae*, and circles at the intervals. Combinations of *peltae* seem to be very frequent in this villa and in other sites of the Algarve as a subordinated decoration, frequently destined to

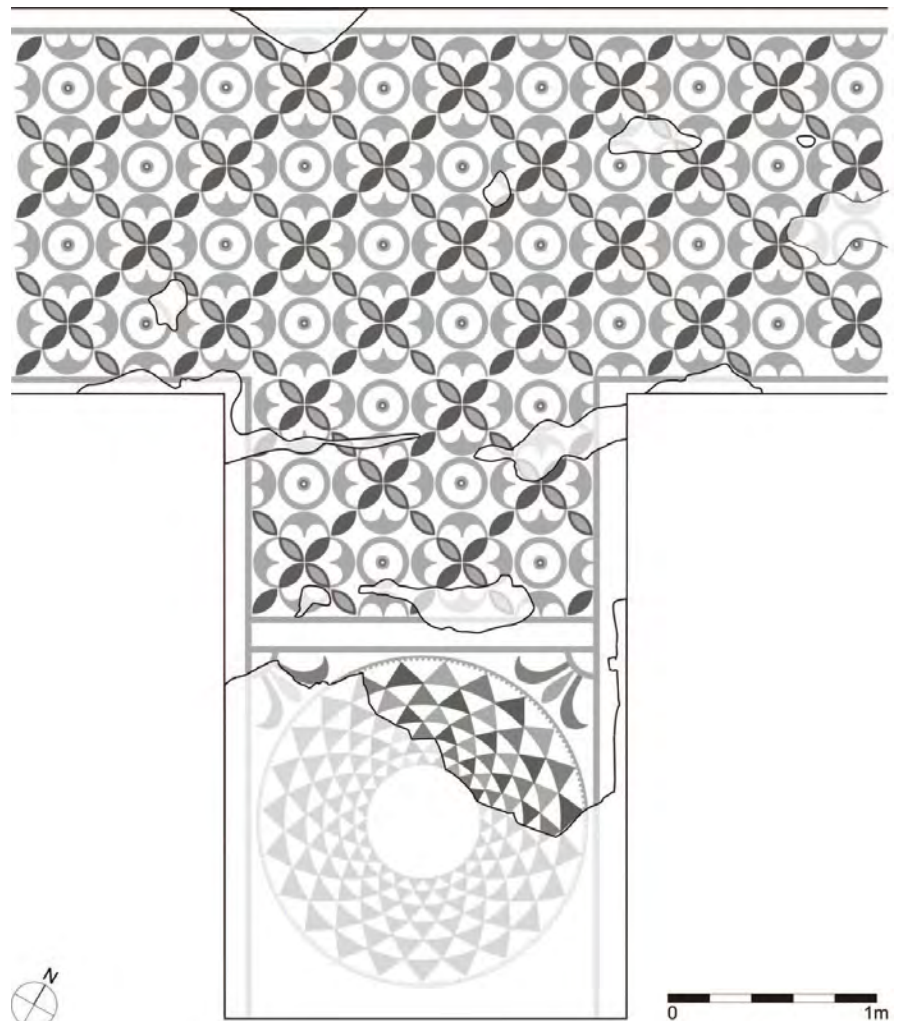


Figure 11
Mosaic floor in the entrance (*vestibulum* A9) and corridor A5 of the *villa maritima* of Abicada, Portugal (Teichner 2008a: fig. 253; Teichner 2017c: fig. 6).

embellish geometric patterns, although in this case we can see the way in which they acquire prominence as they become the main motif of the decoration.

Vestibulum A9 (Fig. 12) displays a panel with a round shield of triangles in contrasting colours in its entrance area (Teichner 2008a: 431-435 figs. 253-254). This decoration (Luzón 1988: 213-241) seems to be typical of vestibules and other dynamic spaces in Roman times, due to the absence of a privileged perspective in the design (Mañas Romero 2010: 47), therefore inviting to roam the space. A similar use of a shield of triangles used as a mosaic for a *vestibulum* can be seen in the Roman *villa* of Carranque (Fernández Galiano et al. 1994: 317-326).

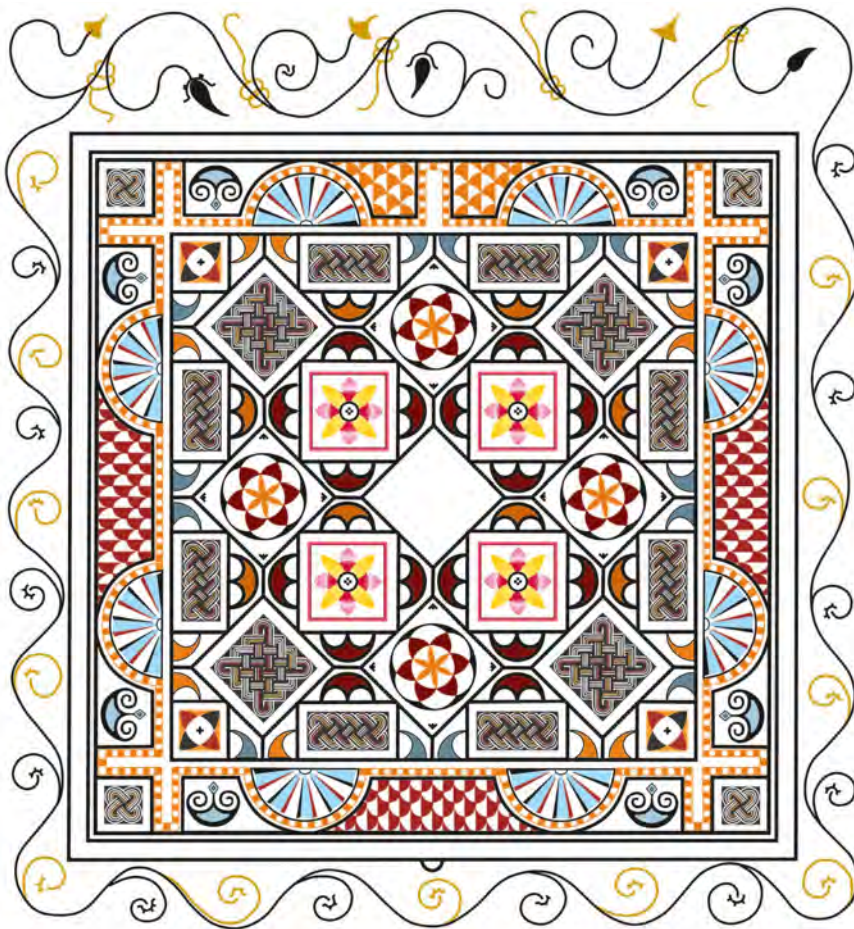


Figure 12
Mosaic floor in Room A3 of the *villa* *maritima* of Abicada, Portugal (Teichner 2008a: fig. 249; Teichner 2017c: fig. 5).

Mosaic A6 (Blázquez 1994: 196-197 n. 10 figs. 12a-b; Teichner 2008a: 431-432 pl. 102 A-B; Duran Kremer 2011: 359-360 fig. 20; Teichner 2017c: fig. 7) furnished the central banquet room. Unfortunately, it is currently under restoration *ex situ* and thus could not be re-analyzed in detail, but it was probably the finest mosaic in the villa. The excavator José Formosinho wrote in his private excavation diary:

“A diversidade do seu desenho e colorido, tornam quási impossível a sua descrição; forma como que um tapete que por completo cobre o chão, numa área de cêrca de trinta metros quadarados, teme m volta uma ceradura de entrelaçados, emoludurados por rectângulos multicolores.”
(Quoted by Teichner 2008a: 432 fn. 523).

On ancient photographs a beautiful geometric and ornamental mosaic can be seen. A graphic reconstruction has been recently proposed (Fig. 12) (Teichner

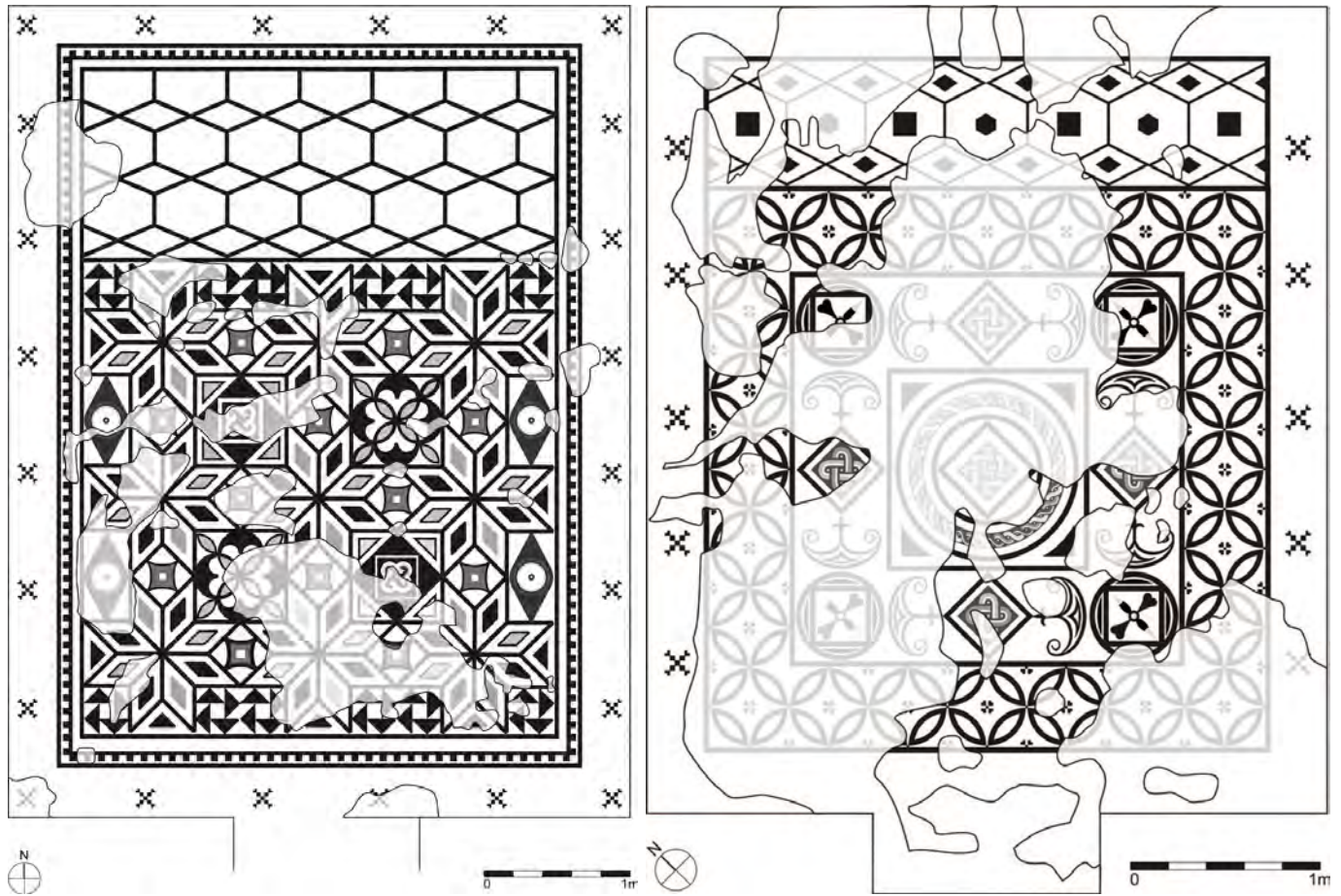
2017c: 6 fig. 17). The mosaic floor presents a white band with tendril scrolls, framing a white band with double black line. The central carpet has a pseudo-fringe decorated with small squares with Solomon's knots in the angles and forming rectangles decorated with stylized *venerae*. The centre exhibits a geometrical composition developed around a central square with four poised squares in the corners, forming eight-lozenge stars. We deal in this case with one simple variation of the orthogonal grid pattern of eight lozenges (Salies 1974: 5-6, Rautensternsystem I pl. 2,18). The certainly overladen decoration (*peltae*, quatrefoils, Solomon's knots, *venerae*, stylized vegetal decoration) shows an inspiration close to one mosaic floor of Cerro da Vila (Teichner 2008a: A12 fig. 159) and also evokes some examples coming from the nearby province of *Baetica* (Mañas Romero 2010: 111; 2011: 39-40; López Monteagudo 2016: 54-56).

The central Unit B (20 m x 19.5 m) measures 390 m² and lies between Units A and C in the west and east respectively. The rooms B3 to B8 cluster around portico B9 which forms a hexagonal corridor encircling the central hexagonal basin B10 (*impluvium*). At least some of the rooms around this corridor were furnished with mosaics. During the first excavation in December 1938, partial surfaces of the heavily damaged mosaic in room B8 were extracted. Room B7 is much damaged but its decoration can be partially reconstructed. Rooms B3 and B4 are the best-preserved ones. The plainer mosaics found in the rear areas of the rooms, opposite the entrance, give a hint of the function of these chambers (*cubicula*) – obviously, they were designated to hold *klinai* (*lecti*) or other furniture.

Mosaic B3 (Blázquez 1994: 194 fig. 9; Teichner 2008a: fig. 256; Duran Kremer 2011: 357 figs. 9-10; Teichner 2017c: 7 fig. 9) covers a space of 22 m² and was worked in red, white and black (Fig. 13). A surrounding white frame with black spaced crosslets softened by light red *tesserae* encloses a simple monochrome border of wide-spaced dentils. The central panel is decorated with black lines forming eight-lozenge stars. The square and rectangular spaces in between are filled with multi-coloured diamonds ornamented with a radial eye pattern, triangles or inscribed squares. Some of those squares are decorated with the same rosette formed by quatrefoils and *peltae* seen in spaces A2 and A5. The rear carpet shows a bichrome lattice pattern of adjacent oblong hexagons forming lozenges on white ground. It was probably used as a place for a bed (*lectus*). It is remarkable because of its geometric simplicity and the reference to common classical Italic models, as we will see in room B4.

Room B4 (Blázquez 1994: 192 figs. 6-7; Teichner 2008a: fig. 257; Duran Kremer 2011: 358 figs. 11-12; Teichner 2017c: 7 fig. 10) also presents a double division of space with two parts framed by a white simple band with black spaced crosslets (Fig. 14). The rear part is decorated with a bichrome lattice pattern of adjacent hexagons forming lozenges. The main carpet has a centralized composition with two successive bands. The most external one presents a pattern of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils. The next one shows a composition of two *peltae* facing each other with a poised square in the centre of each side. The corners are occupied by circles with inscribed squares and stylized vegetal decoration with a floret composed of two pointed leaves and two heart-shaped petals. The main panel surrounds a central medallion of 90 cm diameter. The inner roundel, enclosed within a simple twisted guilloche, is completely destroyed today.

The last of the mosaics preserved in the villa belongs to room B7 (Fig. 15) (Teichner 2008a: fig. 258; Teichner 2017c: 8 fig. 11) It is a much damaged decorated floor, whose partial reconstruction has been proposed by Teichner considering the preserved areas. Running *peltae* can be seen in the 1.45 m wide



doorway. The centre panel was surrounded by a white outer border displaying stars made of red, yellow and black *tesserae* and an inner frame showing alternating poised squares and lozenges. Of the centre panel, surrounded by a simple twisted guilloche, only one of the kraters with S-shaped handles in the corners has survived. We can also make out the swastika decorating its body.

Prof. José Maria Blázquez analyzes in his study two more mosaics (Blázquez 1994: 189-191 figs. 4-5), but this is an error since these two floors belong neither to Abicada nor to Boca do Rio, but to the furnishings of the richest Roman villa of the Algarve coast, the nearby villa of Milreu (Teichner 2008a: 155 room A45 fig. 66; 161-164 room A53 fig. 70).

Conclusions

As we have seen earlier, mosaics floors in Boca do Rio and Abicada constitute an excellent example of the mosaic production in the Algarve and show a widespread taste for mosaics in late antiquity in this area.

They all share some stylistic and compositional characteristics among them and in relationship with other villas and Roman settlements in the area, like the best-known examples of Milreu and Cerro da Vila. The most outstanding features are the recurrence of a compositional scheme (a single big carpet or two, if we deal with *cubicula*) and the repetition of certain decorative patterns (orthogonal lattice pattern, central circle in a square carpet, swastikas) and the repetition and combination of ornamental motifs (vegetalized *peltae*, swastikas, kraters, quat-foils, Solomon's knots). These mosaics exhibit a great decorative sobriety. The

Figure 13
Mosaic floor in Room B3 of the *villa maritima* of Abicada, Portugal (Teichner 2008a: fig. 257; Teichner 2017c: fig. 10).

Figure 14
Mosaic floor in Room B4 of the *villa maritima* of Abicada, Portugal (Teichner 2008a: fig. 257; Teichner 2017c: fig. 10).

Figure 15
Mosaic floor in Room B7 of the *villa*
maritima of Abicada (Teichner 2008a:
fig. 258; Teichner 2017c: fig. 11).



treatment of geometrical schemes is extremely simple: often just polychrome twisted guilloches or, in most cases, simple fillets. We can also appreciate the absence of figured mosaics even in reception rooms and the widespread taste for bichrome or faint polychrome mosaics, using a scarce variety of soft shades from local quarries (as also demonstrated by Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 544 and 546 for the mosaics of the east Algarve). As M. Jesús Duran Kremer pointed out some years ago when referring to Abicada (Duran Kremer 2011: 345) many stylistic and iconographic similarities can be detected with the *partes urbanae* of the Roman settlements at Milreu and Cerro da Villa. We believe that this brief study shows that also the mosaics floors from Boca do Rio are within this very same productive horizon, even if, at the present moment of research, we cannot state that they are the work of the same workshop.

The subordinate decoration shows also important similarities with mosaics from the provinces of *Baetica* and southern *Lusitania*. Therefore, the conclusion of Prof. José Maria Blázquez (Blázquez 1994: 198) who compared these pavements with the mosaic floors from the northern Meseta in Spain and the present provinces of León and Navarre in France should be revised because recent excavations have provided a great number of new examples.

Even if we do not have stratigraphic data for providing a reliable chronological study of these mosaics, the remarkable resemblance of the villa at Abicada to some of the building phases of the third and fourth century at the neighbouring settlements of Milreu and on the Cerro da Vila (Teichner 2008a; 2017a; 2017b) invite us to consider a similar chronology. In Milreu, the comparable floors belong to building parts most of which were probably only erected during a big restructuring of the middle Imperial villa between the end of the third and the middle of the fourth century (phase E: Teichner 2008a: fig. 43). In the residential building A on the Cerro da Vila, the two rooms with comparable mosaic floors – the vestibule and the *biclinium* – were already erected during a building phase dating to the second century (phase II). At least for the mosaic in the *biclinium*, however, we can assume that it was only laid out during the extension in the course of the third century (phase IIIa; Teichner 2008a: fig. 154). Finally, the current ongoing stratigraphic investigations at Boca do Rio also confirm that the mosaics found by Estácio da Veiga belong to a later construction period (Teichner et al. 2018). This phase seems to follow an earlier building phase that was then destroyed during the course of the third century.

At the same time, all the stylistic features related earlier and the absence of depictions of figures dissociate them sharply from the later mosaic floors of the late fourth and fifth century, thus making a tetrarchic date most likely for Abicada (Teichner 2008a; 2017c). Duran Kremer, too, proposed a date in the second half of the third century (Duran Kremer 2007: 222) – and this *terminus post quem* for Boca do Rio seems to be confirmed by the recent investigations on the site, too.

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On the Eirene Mosaic from Philippopolis, Thrace

Trakya, Philippopolis Eirene Mozaiği Üzerine

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Abstract

The present article deals with the mosaic pavements of one of most significant residential complexes in Late Antique Philippopolis – the Domus Eirene. The name of the complex refers to the personification that is the main element in the decoration not only of the reception hall, but the entire building. An analysis of two main aspects is made: one concerning the transformation of the image of the personification into a Christian saint, and another which concerns the transformation of the complex itself into a domus episcopalis and how that is reflected in the mosaic pavements. In the case of Eirene the image may have well been connected with historical events, contemporary or nearly contemporary with the time when the mosaic was produced, and also with political and religious propaganda.

Keywords: Mosaic pavement, Late Antiquity, Philippopolis, personification, Christianity, Eirene.

Öz

Bu makalede, Geç Antik Philippopolis'in en önemli konut komplekslerinden birinin, Domus Eirene'nin mozaik döşemeleri ele alınmıştır. Kompleksin adı, sadece resepsiyon salonunun değil, tüm binanın dekorasyonunda ana unsur olan Eirene kişileştirmesinden gelmektedir. İlk olarak kişileştirme imgesinin bir Hristiyan azizine dönüşümü ve ikinci olarak da kompleksin bir Domus Episcopalis'e dönüşmesi ve bunun mozaik döşemelere nasıl yansıtıldığı ile ilgili olarak iki temel noktanın analizi yapılmıştır. Eirene örneğinde, bu tasvir, mozaığın üretildiği tarihle çağdaş veya neredeyse çağdaş olan tarihsel olaylarla, aynı zamanda politik ve dini propagandayla da bağlantılı olabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaik döşeme, Geç Antik, Philippopolis, kişileştirme, Hristiyanlık, Eirene.

The so-called 'domus Eirene' is one of the most distinguished residential complexes in Late Antique Philippopolis, Thrace, located in the town center (Fig. 1). Although discovered several decades ago (an extensive report of the results of the archaeological excavation has been published in Karov - Bospachieva 1989: 129-164), the *domus* continues to attract the attention of scholars from different fields such as Late Antique urbanism (Dinchev 2002: 210; Topalilov 2012: 419-420; Topalilov 2014: 228-229), Late Antique art in the case of mosaic pavements (Kolarova - Bospachieva 2014: 210-226; Pillinger et al. 2016: 174-198) and even Early Christianity, as some of the images may imply a possible *interpretatio christiana* (Pillinger et al. 2016: 182-184). The mosaic pavements are also of interest as they reveal the clear process of transformation of the residential complex itself which eventually became a *domus episcopalis*. In fact, the *domus Eirene* is the only complex among all those known from Late Antique Philippopolis where such transformation can be detected and studied. Thus in the following paragraphs some features of these mosaics will be discussed in detail as well as their possible link with an *interpretatio christiana*.

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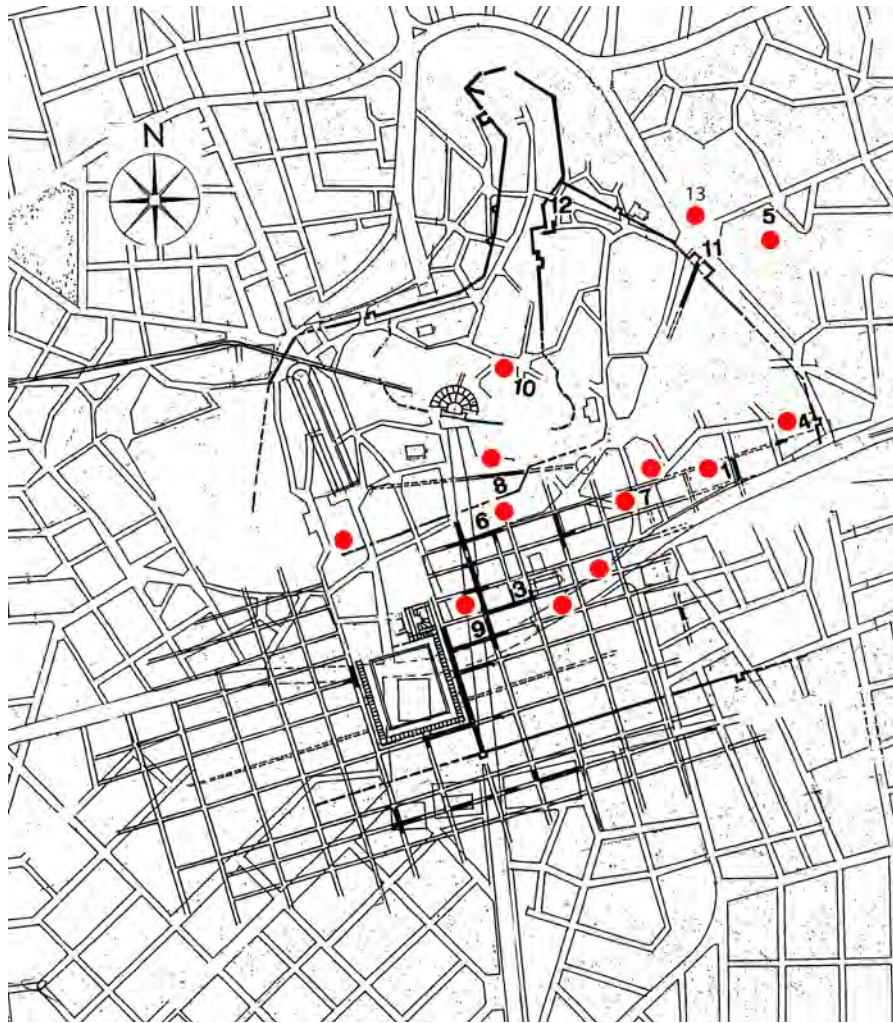


Figure 1
The location of the most representative residential and Christian complexes in Late Antique Philippopolis (Domus Eirene is located under No.6).
Map by Ivo Topalilov.

It is not my intention here to discuss all aspects of the mosaic pavements of the *domus Eirene*, as this has already been done. A brief description, however, is needed for our study.

The mosaic pavements covered almost the whole representative part of the complex (Fig. 2). They decorate the vestibule (room 1), the south and east porticos of the inner courtyard, and rooms 3, 9, 10 and 11. They were not, however, installed simultaneously, as a recent study reveals, detecting at least four phases. The earliest of them dates to the second half of the 3rd c. CE to the beginning 4th c. CE; the second phase, which consists of the mosaic pavement only in room 3, is dated to the last quarter of the 4th c. CE. The third phase, which includes a portion of the greeting inscription from the mosaic in room 3 and also the mosaic pavement in both porticos, the vestibule (room 1), and room 10, is dated to the first quarter of the 5th c. CE with a *terminus ante quem* of 441/442 CE; and the final fourth phase, which is detected only in room 9, is dated to 471-476 CE (Pillinger et al. 2016: 197). The proposed chronology is acceptable in general, although some details are not yet entirely clear. They will be discussed below in the course of studying the dynamics of the transformation of functions of the rooms and how that is reflected in the mosaic decoration.

The centerpiece of the whole building is certainly room 3. It is the biggest room (8,8/6 m), and the most richly decorated with not only a mosaic floor, but also an octagonal-shaped fountain in the center (Fig. 3). The mosaic itself consists of two major parts presented by two *emblemata* – the eastern one with the image of

Figure 2
The mosaic pavements of Domus Eirene
(after Bospachieva 2003: 87 fig. 3).

Figure 3
The mosaic pavements of Domus Eirene,
closer view (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf.
120 abb. 319).

a female personification (Fig. 4), and the western one with the image of a crater (Fig. 5). The image of the personification is rendered in *opus vermiculatum*, with a light-blue nimbus and a diadem. An inscription on both sides of the head identifies the personification – EIPHNH. The image itself is the first to be seen when entering the room from the south portico.

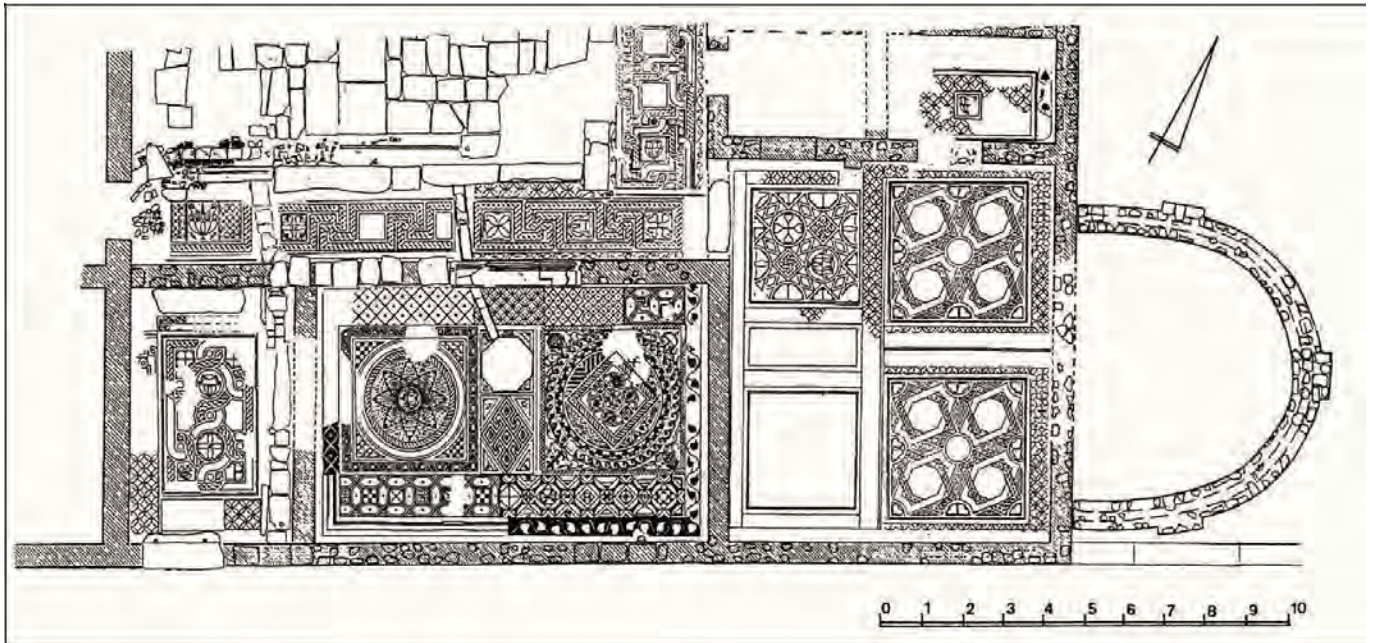




Figure 4
Domus Eirene, the
medallion with the image
of Eirene.
Photo: Ivo Topalilov.



Figure 5
Domus Eirene, the
emblem with cantharos.
Photo: Ivo Topalilov.

The crater, by contrast, is orientated toward the west where an earlier entrance, later blocked, might have existed. The different character of the mosaic in the middle of the west border may be an argument for such an entrance (Fig. 6) (Pillinger et al. 2016: 176, 185). This emblem, however, divides the room into two parts, a division that is also observed in the borders of the mosaic pavement. The southern border is a good example of this, and the northern one, despite having been repaired several times, has similar indications (Fig. 3). Here the question arises of whether these images indicate two parts of the room with different functions, considering that we are not dealing with *pseudo-emblemata*. Up to now we have no clear example of any *pseudo-emblemata* and the rest of the known *aulae* from this time in Philippopolis also contain an *emblemata*, as for instance in the Nilotic scene found in the *aula* of a residential complex located close to the *domus Eirene* (Tankova 1980: 27-35; on this mosaic, see also Pillinger et al. 2016: 220-227). It is not surprising therefore that the excavator of the *domus Eirene* proposed that room 3 was a *triclinium* based on the image of the crater (Kolarova - Bospachieva 2014: 206). Conversely, V. Popova believes that it was the *tablinum* (Pillinger et al. 2016: 179-180). The answer to this question is found in the transformations that occurred not only in the decoration of the rooms, but also the interior reconstructions.

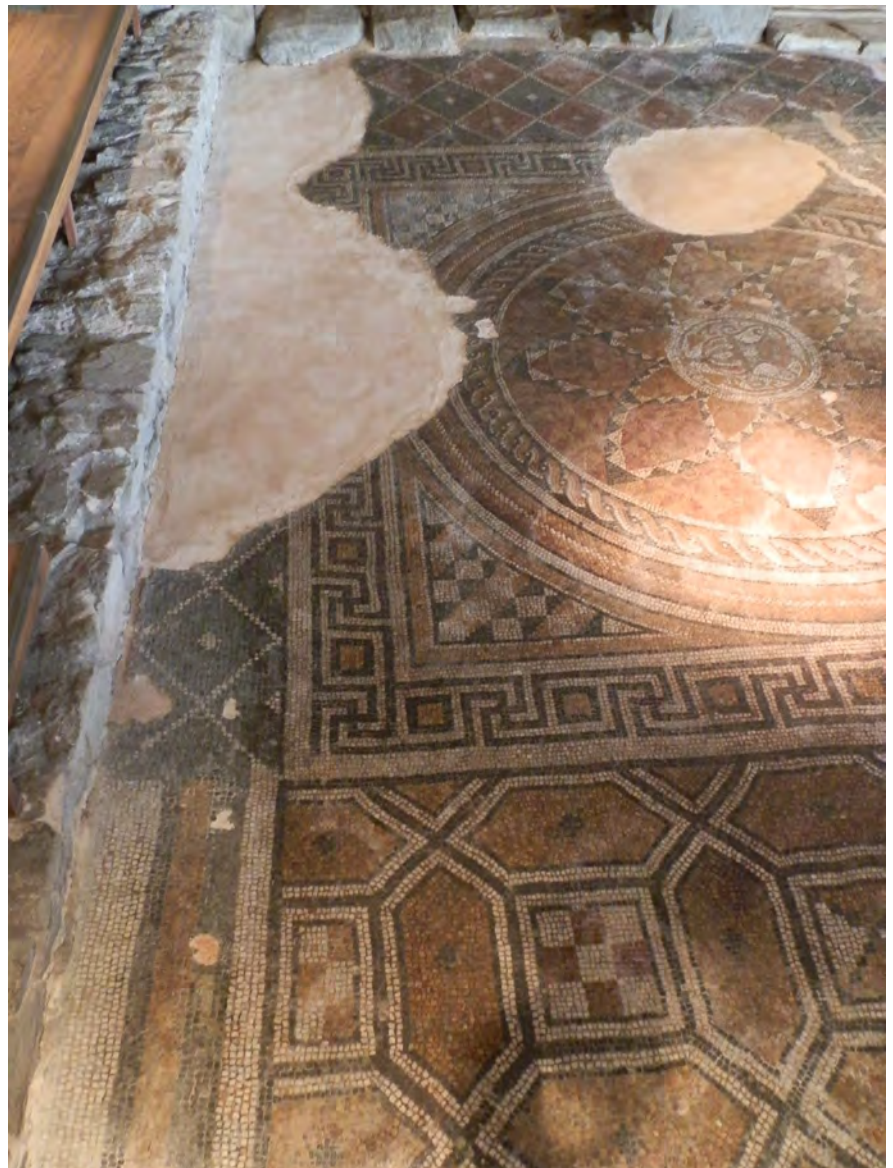
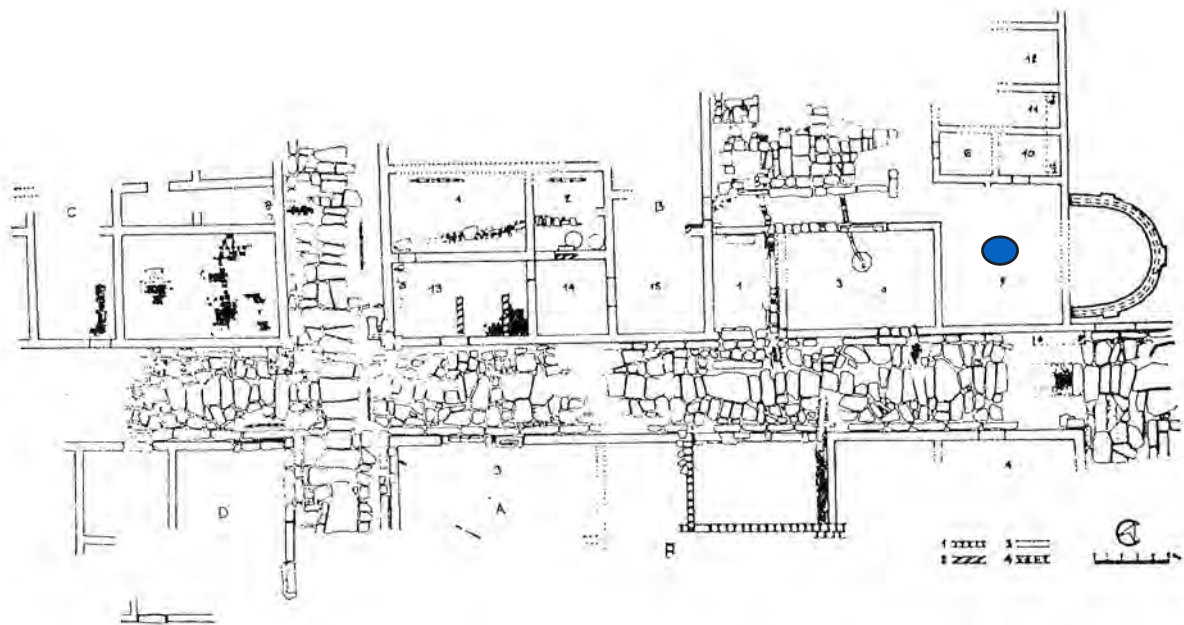


Figure 6
Domus Eirene, the western
border in room 3.
Photo: Ivo Topalilov.

An excellent example of a *triclinium* in the *domus Eirene* can be found in room 9 (Fig. 7). It seems to have been transformed on a large scale, as not only was a *stibadium* added to the initial room, as may be inferred from the apsidal addition (Dinchev 2002: 207), but the room itself was almost doubled in size by incorporating the adjacent one (Fig. 8). The iconography of the mosaic floor as well as the pilaster which, along with the mosaic, divides the room into two parts are arguments for this. Unfortunately, the mosaic in the apse is not preserved but the elements in the decoration such as the crater (Fig. 9), are indicators of the purpose of this room. The date of the enlargement of the room and its new functions are still under discussion, and V. Dinchev is inclined to date it to the late 4th – beginning of the 5th c. CE (Dinchev 2002: 210), while the excavators place it in the second half of the 5th c. CE (Karov - Bospachieva 1989: 136, 149). It seems that initially the room as a *triclinium* was not decorated with a mosaic floor, in accordance with V. Dinchev's date of the construction of the *stibadium*. It acquired that feature later, after the 440s, as the burnt layer found beneath the mosaic floor in room 9 and 10¹ gives that *terminus post quem* and links the destruction of the *domus* with the Hunnish invasions (Topalilov 2014: 229, 232). In both cases there was an undisputed change of function for the room in a period later than the decoration of room 3. It is most probably for this purpose that the vestibule and the south porticos were also paved, indicating the new axis of entry leading to the new *triclinium*. The mosaic pavement in neighboring room 10 also reflects the new function of room 9.

Figure 7
Domus Eirene. The second and third construction periods.
(Karov - Bospachieva 1989: fig. 3).



It seems that during that time the western entrance of room 3 was closed and the room changed its functions. If initially it was partly used as a *triclinium*, as the mosaic decoration suggests, it seems that near the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th c. CE at the earliest, it lost this function which was transferred to room 9. It is not surprising to find that this change also affected the decoration of the room. It was at this time that the octagonal fountain was installed in the middle of

1 On this layer – see Bospachieva 2003: 102.

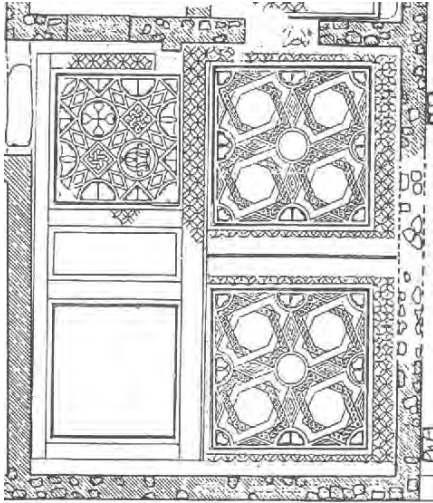


Figure 8
Domus Eirene, room 9.
(after Kolarova - Bospachieva 2014: 207).

the room with the greeting inscription: ΚΑΛΩC ΗΛΘΕC/ΕΥΤΥΧΩC. Room 3 remained, as previously, strictly an *aula*, an official audience room for the owner of the complex, rather than a *tablinum* or *triclinium* as proposed in the existing scholarship. Another supporting argument may be found in the construction of the fountain itself.

The appearance of the octagonal fountain in a room is not unusual for Thrace, as there are similar examples from neighboring Augusta Traiana. For instance, in a *domus* decorated with mosaic floors dated to the beginning of 4th c. CE, in a room interpreted as a *triclinium* situated around an inner courtyard, an octagonal structure was discovered along with the mosaic floor and an inscription:

ΚΑΛΩ[C ΗΛΘΕ] and ΕΝ ΥΓΙ[Α] [---]Ν *vacat* Π [---] (Pillinger et al. 2016: 125-131 taf. 72 abb. 202-203; taf. 73 abb. 204-205). This tradition seems to have continued and another example was found in a *domus* dated to the third quarter of the 4th c. CE (Pillinger et al. 2016: 152-159 taf. 105 abb. 289-290). In a *villa suburbana* of 4th-5th c. CE it is not entirely clear (Pillinger et al. 2016: 160-163 taf. 108-110 abb. 296-298).



Figure 9
Domus Eirene, room 9,
fragment of mosaic pavement.
(after Kolarova - Bospachieva 2014: 223).

These examples clearly reveal that an octagonal fountain may be regarded as an essential part of the decoration of *aulae* and *triclinia* in the residential complexes of Late Antique Thrace. They also reveal that no *interpretatio christiana* should be seen in every such case, despite the fact that octagonal fountains gained a major role in Early Christianity and baptism (see most recently in Jensen 2011: 225-229). In the case of Philippopolis, such an idea has been proposed (Bospachieva 2003: 103), but it is under strong scrutiny, as no proof for this has yet been

found. It is very likely that in the case of the *domus Eirene* we are dealing with an *aula* decorated with a fountain with a dolphin, as reconstructed by V. Popova (Popova 2016: 159), rather than a room linked with baptism or other Christian rituals. In fact, an earlier example from Augusta Traiana reveals that a fountain of this type was constructed with a mosaic floor which contains pagan as well as Jewish/Early Christian elements (Popova - Moroz 1987: 266).

These transformations within the *domus Eirene* were not the only ones carried out at that time. According to archaeological excavations, a new *cardo* south of the building was paved without reference to the existing street grid-system and therefore passed through one of the *insulae* located to the south (Karov - Bospachieva 1989: 141-142). As a result, a direct link between the *domus Eirene* and the Episcopal basilica was established². Although the bishop's basilica was constructed as early as the time of Theodosius I from an imperial initiative (Topalilov 2016: 108-109), it seems that the establishment of a direct link with the *domus Eirene* happened after 442-447 CE. At that time it seems that the city drastically altered its urban design (Dinchev 2002: 223 n. 15), contemporary with the mosaic floor in the *triclinium* and when the *aula* was redecorated as discussed above. These transformations and the construction of the *cardo* indicate the new importance of the *domus Eirene*, an importance clearly linked with Christianity. By this period, at the latest, we are dealing with the *domus Eirene* as a *domus episcopalis*, since the establishment of such a direct link with the Episcopal basilica is among the most common features of the Late Antique *domus episcopalis*³. This new status may have emerged earlier, as has been suggested (Pillinger et al. 2016: 193-195), but the full transformation was completed during the time when the episcopal basilica was restored and redecorated.

The interpretation of the *domus Eirene* as a *domus episcopalis* may find further support from the presentation of the personification Eirene in the mosaic pavement of the *aula* (Fig. 10). Thus the upper edge of the diadem of Eirene, which is interpreted as a cross (Bospachieva 2003: 94, 99), as well as the nimbus which seemingly surrounds her head, have led to an *interpretatio christiana* (Pillinger et al. 2016: 182-184). For instance, according to M. Bospachieva, this personification is the symbol of the Resurrection, and as such she finds an association with the idea of Jesus Christ presented with 'divine names' such as Tenderness, Wisdom and Peace (Bospachieva 2003: 98-99, 105).

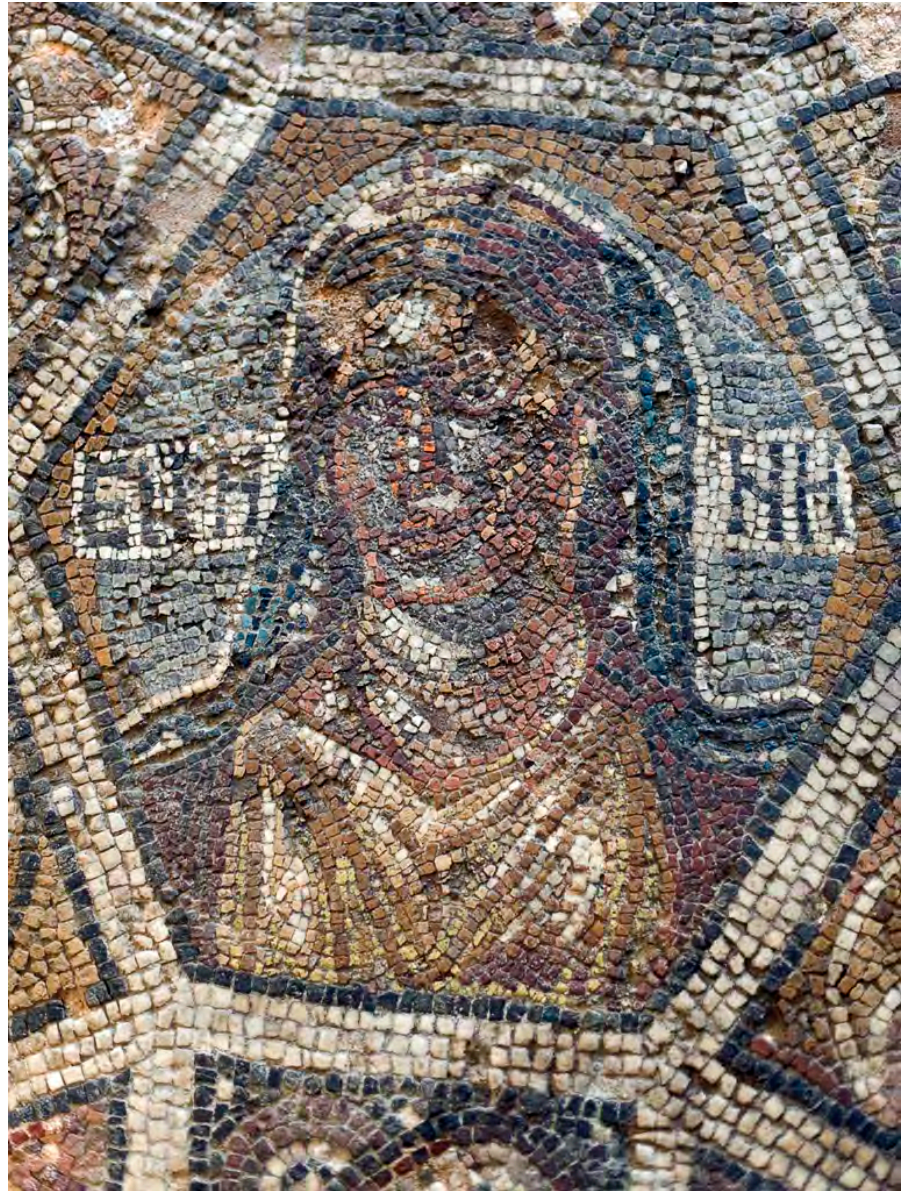
Another interpretation is suggested by V. Popova, who believes that a significant link can be established between this image and the Second Ecumenical Council held in the Constantinopolitan Church of 'St. Irene' in 381 CE. According to her, by this gesture the owner of the *domus Eirene* declared his desire for Peace in the Christian Church, in response to the intense dispute between Arians and Orthodox Nicenes. The presence of 'St. Irene' in the *domus Eirene* in Philippopolis symbolizes the Peace that had come to the Church by the time the mosaic was laid (Pillinger et al. 2016: 193-195).

It is certain that the diadem belongs to the initial image of Eirene, notwithstanding objections that have been raised (Valeva 2011: 41), but the diadem itself is depicted in an unusual way. It is important to establish whether it is a 'cross' and whether the nimbus had a clear Christian meaning at that time.

2 On the bishop's basilica – see Kesjakova 1989: 113-127; Chaneva-Dechevska 1999: 253-254; Kesjakova 2006: 148-149; Topalilov 2016: 108-109. On the mosaic pavements – see Kessiakova 1989: 2539-2559; Kessiakova 1994: 165-170; Bospachieva 2005: 41-43; Kesjakova 2011: 173-210; Pillinger et al. 2016: 198-220; Topalilov 2016a: 591-600.

3 On them see Müller-Wiener 1988: 103-145.

Figure 10
Domus Eirene, the image of Eirene.
<http://romanplovdiv.org/en/building-eirene>



The depiction of various personifications on mosaic pavements was a widespread practice within the Eastern part of the Roman Empire in the 4th c. CE. The mosaic pavements found in Halicarnassus and Syria are good examples of this (Balty 1995: pl. XV). Unlike the Syrian mosaics, however, whose influence over the Philippopolitan mosaics was indirect (Topalilov 2016b: 118-129), those found in Halicarnassus are of greater importance for our study, since a proper link may be established between them and those in the *domus Eirene*. The link between them is the master craftsmen coming from the mosaic workshop on the island of Cos, one of major mosaic centers on the Asiatic coast (on them – see most recently in De Matteis 2004) who produced the mosaics in Halicarnassus, as well as those in the *aula* of the *domus Eirene*⁴. It is not surprising to learn that the mosaic pavements in Cos also contain image of personifications, such as for instance Tyche (Brouscari 1997: 69 fig. 3; on other personifications from Halicarnassos – see also Poulsen 1997: 9-23), and others which allows a comparison to be made between them and the Philippopolitan examples. Close examination reveals that the modeling of the face and the type of diadem the personifications wear are

4 This idea is advanced by Vanja Popova in personal communication.

identical to that of Eirene in Philippopolis, which is contemporary. Unlike other similar images in Syria, the diadem from the mosaics of Cos ‘appeared’ only on the top of the head like the one at Philippopolis and did not cover the whole head (De Matteis 2004: 168, 212, 217, 222, 344). The only difference that can be observed between them is that the diadem in Philippopolis is presented more schematically, and the upper end is not elaborated. So far no nimbus, however, is attested in the images of personifications in Cos. Neither are nimbuses attested on similar and contemporary images of Gaea and the Seasons in the mosaics found in Apamea, which are cited in the bibliography as parallels to the Philippopolitan Eirene (Balty 1995: pl. XIV-XVI).

Nimbuses, however, appear in many other mosaic pavements and wall paintings from the 2nd c. CE onward. I will not refer to all of them, only those found in mosaic pavements in the regions that concern our study and which are closest in time. The nimbus, which was used generally for Greco-Roman deities in the regions under consideration, was quite often used in images of Ariadne and Dionysus, as we can see in mosaics found in Syria dated to the second half of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th c. CE (Canivet - Darmon 1989: 1-28), and also in Philippopolis, Syria, from 325-350 (Balty 1995: pl. XV, 2), and others (Balty 1995: pl. XIII), including the island of Cos (De Matteis 2004: tav. 5). This iconography gained acceptance and spread to Naxos, Pamphylia and Cyrene (Venturini 2005: 119-124 fig. 6; Venturini 2006: 508-511 figs. 51-52; Olszewski 2010: 315-322). It seems that the presentation of the nimbus was typical for figures other than personifications, especially in the 4th-5th c. CE⁵. In the 4th c. CE the nimbus already adorned Christian images, but not personifications.

The representation of Eirene with a nimbus in Philippopolis, which is in sharp contrast to similar personifications found in Cos itself as well as in other places where the masters of the mosaic workshops of this island worked, raises the question of whether or not the original image was adorned with a nimbus. In looking at the image placed in the hexagon, we can observe that initially no space was intended to be left for the nimbus, and as a consequence its circular form is irregular. The shade of the light-blue color of the tesserae that fill the nimbus distinguishes them from the blue-colored tesserae used in the original image. Besides, Eirene’s halo also differs from other known mosaics in its odd shape. In mosaics of the 4th and 5th c. CE the shape of the nimbus is quite correctly presented, unlike those from the later period. It should be noted that some other examples, albeit few, of personifications adorned with a nimbus are attested in mosaic pavements, but not Eirene herself.

With these observations in mind, I suggest that in the composition of the personification Eirene in Philippopolis a symbiosis of two different traditions is presented – one, characteristic of the presentation of personifications in the 4th – 5th c. CE generally and the other regarding the use of a nimbus. As the nimbus was already considered in the 4th c. CE to be a Christian symbol, its addition to the image of Eirene gave her a clear *interpretatio christiana*. It seems that this new meaning was quite clear for the owner of the house and his guests so no other Christian symbols were required, even at the time when the *domus* was in fact the *domus episcopalis* itself.

So, the question becomes when the addition of the nimbus happened and why the initial image of Eirene was produced. The latter question seems easier to answer.

⁵ An example of this could be the feminine personification found in the House of the Boat of Psyches in Daphne, Antioch from the 3rd c. CE, but it is not clear since the ‘nimbus’ does not have a correct form.

It is well known that on August, 9th, 378 CE, the Roman army was defeated near Hadrianopolis, Thrace, and the Emperor Valens was murdered. After this, Thrace was left in the hands and at the mercy of the Goths⁶, who destroyed almost 2/3 of the whole army of the Eastern Empire. The defeat of the Romans threw the Balkans and some of the Asiatic provinces into chaos, as we may judge from the letters of Gregory of Nyssa⁷. The Roman state was likened to a bloody man lying down near the road, neither alive nor dead (Zos. 4.21.1-3). It was believed that this was a sign of the decline of Roman power (Jerome Ep. 60.16; Jerome Ep. 123; Chron. Marcell. s.a. 327, of the state (Rufinus, Eus.hist. eccl. 11.13), and even of the end of the world (Ambr. in Lc. 10.10 . Cf. 10.14; *De excessu fratris* 1.30, *totius orbis excidia, mundi finem*). The battle itself was compared to the Romans' defeat near Cannae more than six centuries before (Amm. Marc. 31.13.18 f.) and comparisons with the Iliad gave it epic gravitas (Themistius, *Or.* 1 6.206d-207a).

The decline of imperial power and the Roman state increased after the failure of Theodosius I, the new Eastern emperor, to cope with the problem of the Goths (Lenski 1997: 129-168). Apocalyptic beliefs prevailed even after 382 CE when a humiliating treaty was signed between the Roman state and the Goths, which legitimized their exceptional status within the empire (Heather 1991: 158-165). By this act, the Roman state in fact recognized a barbarian protectorate within the limits of the empire (Lenski 1997: 143).

Although Philippopolis seems not to have suffered during the Gothic Wars as the barbarians were '*inexperienced in conducting a siege*', and their leader Fritigern '*kept peace with walls*' (Amm. 31.6.3-6), it is beyond doubt that the surrounding area and the nearby countryside in Thrace were heavily affected (Topalilov 2014: 222-229). This led to the decline of Roman estates in Thrace, where the villas were destroyed, abandoned, and never restored (Dinchev 1997: 125-126). It was at this time that residential houses with a richly decorated *aula* suddenly appeared in Philippopolis, demonstrating not only the wealth of the owners, but also their significant place in provincial and municipal society. One of them was undoubtedly the owner of the *domus Eirene* (Topalilov 2012: 419-420). I would not therefore hesitate to suggest that the presentation of Eirene in the decoration of the *triclinium* of *domus Eirene* is in fact an echo of the recent events that had happened in Thrace itself, and shows the desire of owner of the *domus* for peace to be established in the province and empire. Belonging to the elite of Philippopolis, which was the capital, the owner of the *domus Eirene* would have been personally affected by the uncertainty caused by the Gothic Wars. We can speculate further by saying that the decoration with Eirene in the *triclinium* may have referred to the treaty between the empire and the Goths in 382 CE, by which at least the Gothic plundering in rural Thrace ceased. From this perspective, the subsequent defeat of some Gothic troops and the triumph of Theodosius I and his son Arcadius on October, 12, 386 CE⁸ may be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* of the mosaic decoration with Eirene. As a provincial capital located in the hinterland of Constantinople, Philippopolis seems to have been directly impacted, which may be observed not only in the imperial initiatives mentioned above, but also in local initiatives copying metropolitan prototypes, such as for instance the famous *Porta aurea* etc. (Topalilov 2016c: 3-19).

6 See for instance the description in Libanius *Or.* 24.15: Ambr. exc. Sat. 1.30 (CSEL 73).

7 Greg. Nyss. Theod., Gregorii Nysseni Opera (GNO) X. 1, *Sermones* 2.70. Cf. GNO X. 1 *Sermones* 2.61. See also Greg. Nyss. *De iis qui baptismum differunt* (PG 46.424).

8 Chron. Marcell. 386, 1. See also Zos., 4.35.1, 38; Cons. Const., s.a. 386.1 [IX, 244].

The date of the transformation of the personification Eirene into the Christian St. Eirene by adding the nimbus can be determined when considering the transformation of the room itself. The middle of the 5th c. CE, when the new *triclinium* is clearly attested and room 3 was turned into the *aula* of a *domus episcopalis* provides a *terminus ante quem* for this transformation. There is, however, a possibility that this may have happened earlier. For instance, if we accept the date of the mosaic pavement in the vestibule and the south portico which, according to V. Popova, are simultaneous with the new decoration in room 3 as shown above, we should date the transformation of Eirene to the first half of 5th c. CE.

The questions posed by the *domus Eirene* residential complex in Philippopolis, Thrace, are many. They concern the work of various mosaic workshops over a few centuries, starting with that of the island of Cos, and the later work of the metropolitan and local workshops. They provide examples of the iconographic and stylistic features of mosaic decoration, which are often connected with the importance and functions of the room they decorated. They also demonstrate how the *domus Eirene* was transformed into a *domus episcopalis*, and how the new features were established, reflecting the increased political, social and religious standing of the owner of this *domus*. Of special interest is the image of the personification Eirene which, if the interpretation above is correct, may well have been connected with historical events contemporary or nearly contemporary with the time when this mosaic was produced. The mosaic with Eirene is thus among very few examples, if not the only one, of this kind among the mosaics found in Thrace, but it also provides useful information about how this kind of art may have been used for political and religious propaganda.

The transformation of the *domus Eirene* into a *domus episcopalis* allows the observer to understand how the decoration of the audience hall was also transformed accordingly. Thus the mosaic of Eirene provides a good example of how a particular image was given an *interpretatio christiana* at a time when typical Christian symbols were not yet entirely incorporated into art and pagan ones were still in use. If so, this example may be useful when studying similar cases contemporary with that in Philippopolis and found in similar contexts.

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A New Insight into the Iconography of the Civitas Classis Mosaic at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo'daki Civitas Classis Mozaïği İkonografisi Üzerine Yeni Bir Bakış Açısı

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Abstract

Ravenna boasts a high number of mosaics dating from the Late Antique period. Scholars have often considered these artworks in isolation, often within historical and topographic studies, and only from a very limited symbolic and iconographic perspective. This paper provides a new interpretation on the iconography of the Civitas Classis mosaic at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, from the early 6th century AD. The first section of the paper explores the iconography of the mosaic by investigating both topographic and symbolic details represented in the port scene of the Civitas Classis mosaic. The second section examines the aspects of symbolism, identity and metaphors for power expressed by the iconography of the Civitas Classis mosaic. This paper also provides an entry point, written in English, into the study of the mosaics from the Adriatic region in antiquity.

Keywords: Civitas Classis, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Adriatic Sea, Late Antiquity.

Öz

Ravenna'da, Geç Antik Dönem'den kalma çok sayıda mozaik bulunmaktadır. Akademisyenler genellikle bu sanat eserlerini çoğunlukla tarihsel ve topografik çalışmalardan ayrı olarak ve sadece sınırlı bir sembolik ve ikonografik perspektifle değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu makalede, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna'da Civitas Classis Mozaïği'nin, İS 6. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren, ikonografisine dair yeni bir yorum sunulmaktadır. Makalenin ilk bölümü, Civitas Classis Mozaïği'nin liman sahnesinde temsil edilen hem topografik hem de sembolik detayları araştırarak mozaığın ikonografisini incelemektedir. İkinci bölümde, Civitas Classis Mozaïği'nin ikonografisi ile ifade edilen sembolizm, kimlik ve metaforların yönleri ele alınmaktadır. İngilizce olarak yazılmış bu çalışma, aynı zamanda, Antik Çağ'da Adriyatik Bölgesi'nden gelen mozaiklerin giriş noktasının incelenmesini de sunmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Civitas Classis, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Adriyatik Denizi, Geç Antik.

Ravenna is well known for its mosaics which date from the end of the Imperial and Late Antique periods (Ricci 1927: 27-53; Deichmann 1969: 170-175; Manzelli 2000: 85-114; Montevecchi 2004: 75-89; Deliyannis 2010: 160-161). Of these, the so-called 'Civitas Classis' mosaic, which dates to the early 6th century AD represents a port scene (Bovini 1961: 67-86; Gentili 1979: 49-51; Penni Iacco 2004: 36-41; Deliyannis 2010: 160). This is displayed along the northern wall of the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, located along via Roma, near the port area. This mosaic depicts a scene of ships and a hypothetical harbour mouth, and some port facilities (quay, towers). Several details depicted in the *Civitas Classis* mosaic have prompted scholars to associate it with Classe's harbour (Ricci 1933: 57-63; Lehmann Hartleben 1963: 177; Gentili 1979: 49; Maioli 1989: 338) (Fig. 1). However, the evidence does not

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seem to be particularly useful for the topographic reconstruction of Classe's harbour; although, the mosaic reveals interesting aspects of the legacy and identity of the Roman port structure in the Late Antique period.

Although ports along the Mediterranean are not commonly depicted during late antiquity, the artistic evidence available illustrates how a specific case of Adriatic port was recorded and perceived during this period. In the *Civitas Classis* mosaic, the structures were probably depicted either to celebrate their magnificence after restoration works, or simply to record these places as privileged, or to emphasise the glory and the tradition of the past. The meanings of this representation remain central to developing the argument of how, in late antiquity, ports and harbour facilities were intended to be received by late Romans, Byzantines, and beyond, and how their fame was then bequeathed.

This paper explores the iconography of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, from the Late Antique period. The first section provides initial hypotheses and a short introduction to the subject. It examines the iconography of the mosaic by investigating the topographic and symbolic details recorded and represented in the port scene, of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic. The second section provides a final discussion of the symbolism (celebratory and propagandistic aspects), identity and metaphors for power expressed by the iconography of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic.

Figure 1
Civitas Classis mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (early 6th century AD.) (IBC Regione Emilia-Romagna).



Reading the Iconography of the Civitas Classis Mosaic: A Port Scene from the Late Antique Period

The mosaic represents the harbour site of Classe, as also confirmed by the lettering '*Civitas Classis*', and it is depicted as a walled circuit made of 'golden' ashlars and buildings and porticos (or perhaps arch-shaped port structures). The mouth of the port basin is equipped with two towers and another white tower within the harbour wall (that Bovini erroneously interpreted as a lighthouse), together with three ships, one of which is sailing (Bovini 1970: 73). In the background of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic, buildings are depicted within the urban centre. These buildings, which are made of square blocks with crenelated elements, represent three styles of architecture (Von Thiersch 1909: 183; Muratori 1916: 59). Beginning from the left-hand side, the building with the cupola (perhaps a Theodorician building) and a series of windows is perhaps identifiable as a religious building or an administrative centre of the port. There is also a portico, an amphitheatre and an undefined rectangular building, which is likely a



Figure 2
Left-hand sector of the Civitas Classis
mosaic: harbour mouth, ships, towers,
harbour and city buildings (IBC Regione
Emilia-Romagna).

market centre (Ricci 1933: 57; Bovini 1951: 57-62; Bovini 1966a: 83) (Fig. 2).

The mosaic, which was probably commissioned by Theodoric, dates between AD 495 and 550, and it was made by workers from Ravenna or Syria (Andaloro 1993: 572). The church was planned by Theodoric, after the conquest of Ravenna, as a religious building for the Arians, and the works were still in progress after his death in AD 526. After that, in AD 561–569 the basilica was re-consecrated by Bishop Agnellus, under the supervision of Justinian, who converted it into a Catholic church (Farioli Campanati 1977: 102-104; Deliyannis 2010: 161). He ordered the restoration of the mosaic decorations, removing all the elements that acted as reminders of the Arians, such as the presence of the three men walking in procession. Kurth also thought that other Christian motifs and characters occupied the background of the harbour-mouth scene, a hypothesis that has not, however, found favour with other scholars (Kurth 1912: 174; Bovini 1961: 67-69; Susini 1990: 128).

The right-hand sector of the mosaic which is the richest in details related the harbour, was restored by Kibel, who omitted some details but also recovered some others such as the towers (Bovini 1961: 67; Bovini 1966a: 83; Bovini 1966b: 51-53; Penni Iacco 2004: 36-41). The white tower, thanks to its almost total restoration, can be identified as part of a defensive wall or as a building that marked the harbour mouth; however, the reason that the ancient port was depicted as equipped with two (or three) towers instead of one is still unknown (Maioli 1989: 334). There are also doubts as to the real number of the towers (in the mosaic): for instance, a Canina drawing, dated to AD 1846, does not record the left tower, and the argument for the depiction of a single tower found fertile ground in Flaminio da Parma's report (AD 1760), which mentions only the tower located on the right-hand side (Flaminio di Parma 1760: 240; Canina

1846: 89; Farioli Campanati 1977: 102-104). The coexistence of two towers has, in contrast, been supported by Ciampini's drawing (AD 1699) and by an oil painting at Vanvitelliana Library (Rome) (Ciampini 1699; Ricci 1933: 57; Penni Iacco 2004: 36-41). Furthermore, the analyses of the mosaic tesserae confirm the existence of two tower buildings. Therefore, the purposes of the towers should perhaps be thought of as a probable harbour gate into the port (Ricci 1927: 19-26).

The other building on the far-right side of the mosaic, with the lettering '*Civitas Classis*' above, consists of a monumental gate, reminiscent of earlier honorific arches (Fig. 3). A free-standing arch, known as *Porta Aurea*, was located between Ravenna's southern side and Classe but no longer exists (Manzelli 2000: 118-124). An inscription that was found near the gate consists of a dedication made by Claudius in AD 43, recording that the arch was constructed as a gift to Ravenna (CIL XI, 5: *Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) Germanicus / pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) II / co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) III imp(erator) III p(ater) p(atriciae) / dedit*; Manzelli 2000: 99-104; Cirelli 2013b: 125). This gate was identified in the excavations carried out in the early 20th century AD that revealed the existence of foundations; these foundations supported two brick circular towers, with a diameter of 8 m, which marked the gate with two arches. This gate manifests striking similarities to Roman buildings such as the *Porta Palatina* in Turin, the *Arch of Augustus* in Fréjus and the *Porta Pretoria* in Como, all which date to the Augustan period (Maioli 1989: 335-338; Susini 1990: 128; Cirelli 2013a: 122). Renovation works that occurred in AD 1582 inhibit fuller comprehension of this monument, but the legacy left by sketches from the Renaissance period onwards testify to its function and form (Manzelli 2000: 54).



Figure 3
Right-hand sector of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic: city buildings, harbour wall, the gate, also known as *Porta Aurea*, and the lettering *Civitas Classis* (IBC Regione Emilia-Romagna).

The towers, walls and arch depicted in the Civitas Classis mosaic therefore render the setting of the harbour at Classe and the gate, the so-called 'Porta Aurea' (Cirelli 2013b: 124-125). Leaving aside the suggestion that the towers were lighthouses, the mosaic influenced generations of local antiquarians, who reproduced visual representations of the harbour site, emphasising the features of the harbour mouth and its walled circuit (Susini 1990: 129). The connection between Ravenna and Classe, through the representation of the Porta Aurea arch, served as a reminder of the location of the Fossa Augusta canal (which probably ran near the arch area) and its role as a connector of the city and the harbour. The mosaic scene, therefore, celebrates Ravenna and the prestige attained by the city through its port. The image presents the city and its port as a single element, linked in their role and prestige. Given that Classe, the port basin and, in part, the southern side of Ravenna suffered from hydraulic and geomorphological instability from the 5th century AD onwards, its port was almost completely buried at that time; the new Theodoric port was perhaps situated near Ravenna's centre (Deliyannis 2010: 162-165; Cirelli 2013b: 124). Therefore, the mosaic reveals the manipulation of the Roman Imperial as indicating and re-animating past glories.

The Ravenna mosaic clearly conveys a symbolic (and religious) message that celebrates the earlier Roman port within the city context. The mosaic alludes not only to the port structures but also reveals their role within the city decades or centuries after their abandonment. Further evidence sheds more light on the Christian message of the mosaic such as the procession along the harbour/city walls, but, nonetheless, the portrayal of the past Roman city and its port were undoubtedly more relevant. Theodoric, who presumably commissioned the artwork, would have emphasised the prestige of Roman Ravenna and its role during the Imperial period. He would also have celebrated the former military harbour as a means of controlling and demonstrating power, as exemplified by his attempt to establish a new port to host a new fleet in Ravenna (Deliyannis 2010: 160-161). Despite the fact that the mosaic was made almost two centuries after the first eclipse of the structures and their fall into ruin, the desire to recall the legacy of the military harbour is central. The lettering '*Civitas Classis*' is itself a clear reminder of the military settlement and its role within the city of Ravenna and the wider Roman Empire. Thus, Theodoric sets out to follow the path of his ancestors through the renovation of the port and the celebration of its features; the depiction is clearly linked to the economic and military purposes of the new port established in Ravenna, and the controlling of the Adriatic which was enabled by it.

Interpreting the Iconography of the Civitas Classis Mosaic: Symbolism, Identity and the Metaphor of Power

The *Civitas Classis* mosaic is a unique artwork from the Adriatic region in Late Antique period. The study of the iconography of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic allows us to consider the representation of port structures, which has been partly neglected as a result of studies focusing predominantly on topographic aspects. Although the presentation of port structures, with their platforms, quays and harbour walls, is central, the port buildings are rendered in a generic manner, where these are portrayed in a naïve style, as the accurate rendering of individual details was not the aim (Zanker 1997: 182-183; Cuyler 2014: 129; De Angelis 2014: 89-95). Nonetheless, elements such as arched vaulted structures that indicate building techniques during the Imperial period are well evidenced, thus

demonstrating the care with which they were constructed. The depiction of port buildings, in tandem with the rendering of the ships, presents messages of power and control over waters, and of abundance, wealth and prosperity resulting from commercial connections (Pensa 1999: 93-97; Cuyler 2014: 128).

The new Adriatic world is also partly expressed within this artwork, and we may link this work with a potential context of sustenance of the population and the prevention of shortages. The security of the cargo and the celebration of the arrival indicates not only prosperity derived of vital foodstuffs. The ships, which are one of the focus of this representation, likely symbolise their safe voyage and return. Fear of navigation is not however expressed: the sea in these scenes is represented, of course, as imposing and moved by the winds, but is controlled by the vessels, sailors and ruler(s), thus conveying a sense of mastery of the water and of the obstacles posed by troubled waters (Pensa 1999: 95-96; Cuyler 2014: 129) (Fig. 4).

Figure 4
Details of the Civitas Classis mosaic:
harbour basin, ships, waters and waves
(IBC Regione Emilia-Romagna).



The ruler(s) who commissioned both the port renovation and the iconographic representations of the same promoted local fortunes, for instance by commissioning the ports' reconstruction and the improvement of facilities. The presence of urban structures in the scenes suggests connections between the city and its port and also offers an homage to the ruler's achievements (Mikocki 1990; Pensa 1997: 689-700; Pensa 1998: 113-138; Burnett 1999; Liverani 2007: 20) This homage also fits well with aspects of navigation, as a safe port represents a secure mooring-place. Moreover, the details on landing, easy navigability and return suggest the ruler's success in making the waters more navigable and peaceful. The ruler's sponsorship likely indicates his care for and interest in reinforcing and promoting new infrastructures within the Adriatic trade network.

This image may have held multiple meanings for and awakened many emotions in the crowd who participated in the ceremonies and religious activities at the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, in Ravenna. Although it is challenging to associate individual topographic detail with those of Adriatic cities, it is possible to explore alternative meanings. The skilled rendering of the port facilities, the representation of the function of the ships within the harbour convey a message of renowned prosperity, abundance and the extraordinary potential of the sea, which, through the port, is now controlled and perceived as a partner. Thus, by improving and reinforcing its structures, the late Romans understood the power achieved over the sea and the Adriatic waters. Immediately after the fall of the Roman authority, these contained risks and provoked fears, but now are perceived as allies after the establishment of the port.

By emphasising individual elements of the ports, in this case port iconography aimed to celebrate the scale and importance of maritime structures across the Adriatic. This representation responds to the propagandistic interests of ruler(s), but also respond to the needs of observers and viewers (Pensa 1999: 94-100). The viewers, therefore, observed the creation of structures that linked the Adriatic, and in particular Ravenna, with the broader pan-Mediterranean world and were also given the opportunity to expand their cultural horizons, by observing artistic representations that combined ordinary life (e.g. port facilities and seafaring activities) with extraordinary events (e.g. military achievements and patronage of rulers) (Liverani 2007: 20; De Angelis 2014: 89-106).

The presentation of religious rituals, as exemplified by the location and the procession scene in the *Civitas Classis* mosaic, are clear references to the deities and saints (Arian or Christian) presiding over the port, and the people and their thanksgiving for safe voyages, achievements and prosperity. Furthermore, the same legacy is bequeathed centuries later, where the port at the end of the Roman Empire is still perceived as a means of control, power and domination of lands and seas. This legacy, at the end of the Roman Empire, was impressed on the minds of the rulers, locals and visitors, who saw in this ancestry a means of perpetuating glory and power. More explicitly, the *Civitas Classis* recalls the glory of the recent past: the buried military port of Classe is recovered in this visual representation that emphasises the fame and importance of Ravenna's maritime structures, and it is an allusion to the symbolism and the identity of the former port structures. The legacy of the Adriatic ports continued throughout the Late Antique period, when the harbour remains became the subject debates among several rulers and competitors.

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New Representations of the Myth of Pelops and Hippodamia in Roman Mosaic Art

Roma Mozaik Sanatında Pelops ve Hippodamia Efsanesinin Yeni Tasvirleri

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Abstract

Although the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia became very popular in the classical mythological tradition, to date, representations of it have been scarce. The few existing examples consisted of the sculptural ensemble of the pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, some 3rd century sarcophagi, and a number of ceramic vessels. The sole mosaic representation was that held by the Museum of Damascus.

However, in recent years, the number of mosaic representations has greatly increased. The discovery of the mosaic at Noheda, featuring, for the first time, the entire narrative sequence of the myth, coupled with the discovery of a possible new specimen, in which Pothos is portrayed as a main character for the first time, not only makes it possible to reconstrue hitherto misinterpreted ancient tapestries, but also furthers understanding of the legend's iconography in Classical Antiquity.

Keywords: Roman villa, mosaic, mythology, challenge, quadriga.

Öz

Pelops ve Hippodamia efsanesi klasik mitolojik geleneklerde son derece popüler olmasına rağmen, şimdiye kadarki bilinen temsilleri pek fazla değildi. Bilinen mevcut örnek niteliğindeki eserler sadece Olympia Zeus Tapınağı'nın alınığında yer alan yontu topluluğu, 3. yüzyıla tarihlenen bazı lahitler ve bir dizi seramik kapıdır. Mozaik formunda ise, Damascus/Şam Müzesi'nde sadece bir örnek bulunmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte, son birkaç yılda mozaiklerde yer alan Pelops ve Hippodamia temsiline sayı büyük ölçüde artmıştır. Böylece, Noheda'daki mozağin keşfiyle birlikte, ilk kez, mitin tüm anlatı dizilimini, ana karakter olarak Pothos'un varlığının ortaya çıktığı olası yeni bir temsiline de keşfi gerçekleşmiştir. Bu sadece yanlış yorumlanmış eski resimli duvarların yeniden yorumlanmasına izin vermez, aynı zamanda efsanenin Klasik Antik Çağ'da sahip olduğu ikonografisinin daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma villası, mozaik, mitoloji, meydan okuma, quadriga.

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1. Introduction

Research on Roman mosaic art is a constantly evolving and growing discipline. Archaeological interventions are intermittently but gradually increasing the number of unearthed mosaics. With each new discovery, knowledge of the tastes of the *domini* with regard to the ornamentation of floors and the ideas they sought to convey by depicting certain images or scenes on them is broadened. Thus, the increasing number of available mosaic representations – and, in particular, the appearance of certain elements – furthers the development and depth of research. This makes it necessary to revisit elements analysed years ago.

To this end, the present paper presents two new specimens offering relevant data to enable a better understanding of the iconography of the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia in Antiquity. This, in turn, facilitates the interpretation of the various known representations of the legend. Furthermore, the study of both surfaces provides an excellent opportunity to simultaneously review representations of the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia in other formats, such as reliefs or ceramics.

2. Representation of the Myth of Pelops and Hippodamia in New Mosaics

2.1. Figurative Panel A of the Noheda Mosaic

In recent years, the discovery of the Roman *villa* of Noheda, and, specifically, of the remarkable mosaic found in the complex's *triclinium*, has served as a wake-up call for the study of Late Antiquity in general and for research on mosaic art in particular (Valero 2014a: 526).

The surface's ornamental morphology consists, first, of a wide central area with six panels showing scenes of a mythological and allegorical nature boasting more than 160 figures grouped into scenes. It also includes a frame, edged with a spiral of acanthus leaves by the three exedras, featuring geometric designs.

The figurative images are organised in six rectangular panels. For the purposes of their description and study, here they will be called, in order of appearance from the viewpoint of a visitor to the room: A, B, C, D, E and F.

Figurative Panel A (discovered in 2008) depicts the struggle between King Oenomaus and Pelops for Hippodamia, the subject of the present paper. A smaller scene above the main one brings to mind a circus (Valero 2017: 77-79).

Figurative Panel B shows a theatre company and the succession of all the components of the pantomime (Valero - Gómez 2013: 87 ss.), as well as another smaller succession of scenes whose characters allude to the *ludi* (Valero 2011: 99-109). Figurative Panel C shows the judgement of Paris and the abduction of Helen. Figurative Panel D depicts a Dionysian procession. Figurative Panel E, located at the southern edge of the room, is very similar to panel B, with only slight variations as to the position and movements of the figures. Finally, Figurative Panel F shows a variety of marine motifs.

The piece stands out for its meticulous technical and stylistic features, its elaborate execution, its great artistic quality, its iconographic richness and the complexity of its composition. These aspects, together with its large size and good state of conservation, make it exceptional, a true *unicum*. The mosaic has turned out to be a wellspring of information and scientific discoveries (Valero 2009:

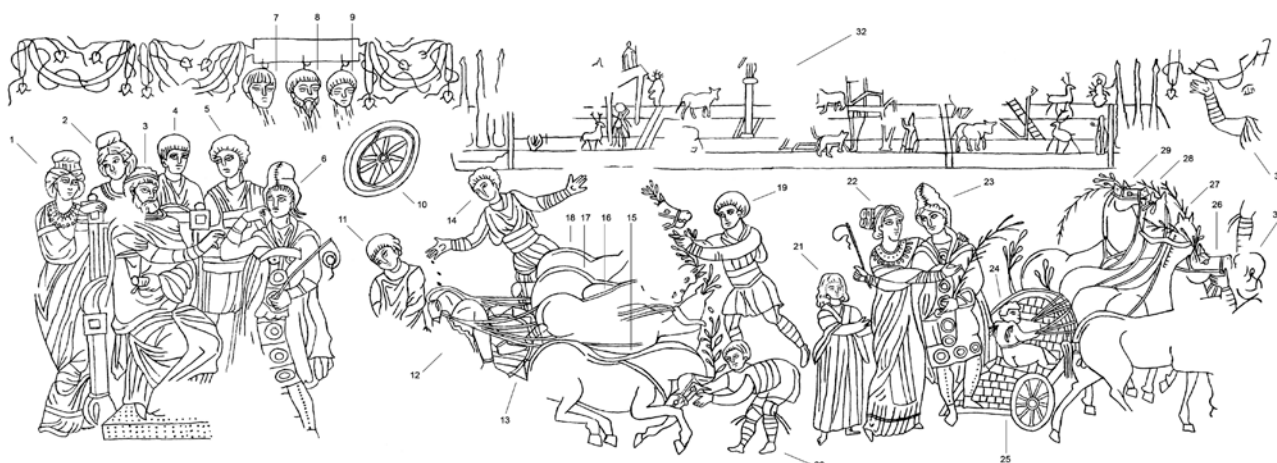


Figure 1
Indication of the location of Figurative Panel A in the mosaic of the *triclinium* of Noheda (image by M. Á. Valero over photograph of the mosaic by José Latova).

54; 2010: 6; 2011: 91-105; 2013: 312-327; 2014b: 54-60; 2014c: 81 ss.; 2015a; 2015b: 1347 ss.; 2015c: 439-444; 2016a: 131-152; 2016b: 10-12; 2017: 79-80; Valero - Gómez 2013: 87 ss.), prompting the development of multiple theories (Fernández Galiano 2010: 111 ss.; Ucatescu 2013: 375 ss.; Lancha - Le Roux 2017: 202-212).

As noted, the present paper will focus on Figurative Panel A. The array of characters it depicts leaves no room for doubt with regard to its interpretation. It tells the tale of King Oenomaus (LIMC VII s.v. Oinomaos: 19-23), his daughter Hippodamia and her suitor, Pelops (LIMC VII s.v. Pelops: 282-287) (Fig. 1).

The appearance of the scene alluding to the Eastern myth in the Noheda mosaic has given rise to two new developments in the study of mosaic art. First, it adds another specimen to the scant number of representations of this mythological passage. Second, the profusion of iconography and narrative style make its analysis straightforward, which, in turn, facilitates the reinterpretation of other works, as will be seen below (Fig. 2).



1: Hipodamía; 2: Estérope; 3: Enómao; 4: Dispondeo ó Leucipo; 5: Mirtilo; 6: Pélope; 7: Cabeza de pretendiente vencido; 8: Cabeza de pretendiente vencido; 9: Cabeza de pretendiente vencido; 10: Rueda; 11: Mirtilo; 12: Enómao; 13: Barquilla de cuádriga; 14: *Circensium ministri*; 15: Yegua *funalis* derecha de Enómao; 16: Yegua *iugalis* derecha de Enómao; 17: Yegua *iugalis* izquierda de Enómao; 18: Yegua *funalis* izquierda de Enómao; 19: *Circensium ministri*; 20: *Circensium ministri*; 21: Doncella; 22: Hipodamía; 23: Pélope; 24: Eros; 25: Barquilla de cuádriga; 26: Caballo *funalis* derecho de Pélope; 27: Caballo *iugalis* derecho de Pélope; 28: Caballo *iugalis* izquierdo de Pélope; 29: Caballo *funalis* izquierdo de Pélope; 30: *Circensium ministri*; 31: *Circensium ministri*; 32: Representación del circo.

Figure 2
Drawing of Figurative Panel A indicating the figures.

Consisting of a series of figurative scenes, it was originally 10.80 m long by 3.05 m wide. However, the right edge of the mosaic was lost due to agricultural activities. Consequently, the preserved length is about 8.80 m.

The careful layout of the panel's scenography indicates a meticulous assessment of the lighting. Light flows from the top left area of the group of characters, giving the scene a theatrical appearance. This, in turn, allows for the depiction of a wide array of details, thereby affording the piece a more pictorial, as opposed to mosaic, feel (Fig. 3).

The story depicted by the scenes must be read from left to right, resulting in three groups of figures. The first covers one fourth of the depiction. It is presided over by an elderly, bearded, crowned figure sitting on a throne. It is Oenomaus, who is shown wearing a *pallium*. In his right hand he holds a small *capsa* tied with braids, the lid of which is sealed. It contains a *volumen*, probably recording the ownership of his kingdom, the object to be disputed in a race.



Figure 3
Figurative Panel A (photograph by J. Latova)

In front of him, and with a clearly similar prominence, is a young man dressed in a green long-sleeved tunic with yellow stripes and a row of *orbiculi*. Beneath his tunic, he is wearing *anaxyrides* and on his feet are *carbatinae*. Over the *tunica manicata*, he wears a reddish cape draped over his back and both shoulders; it is held in place by and tied to a sort of *cingulum* located below his chest. He wears a vermilion Phrygian cap decorated with a double vertical band on the front. He holds a riding whip in his left hand, while touching his face with his right in a gesture of doubt as he considers the magnitude of the struggle that awaits him. It is Pelops, challenging the monarch to the ill-fated race (Fig. 4).

A succession of characters behind the throne sheds further light on the scene. To the left of the first group of figures is a young lady standing with her right hand resting on the royal throne. She wears a white *stola* (Edmondson 2008: 24) covered with a yellow *palla* and matching *carbatinae* trimmed with a fillet of red tesserae. The high lineage of the young lady is indicated by a number of jewels and the adornments in her hair. She can thus be identified as Hippodamia.

To her right, another woman wears a reddish *palla* and a short necklace, as well as golden earrings. Her face shows that she is older than Hippodamia. It is clearly Sterope, Oenomaus's wife, tenderly looking at her daughter.

Next, and also standing, is a young, clean-shaven man dressed in a green tunic covered by a reddish *pallium* that leaves his left shoulder bare. His youth and position behind the King and next to the second female character suggests that he may be one of the royal couple's sons, i.e. either Dysponteus or Leucippus.

Finally, on the right side of the composition of the first group of figures is another young man. This man is wearing a long-sleeved white tunic over a light brown *subucula*, both tightly cinched with a wide *cingulum*. His attire, which is totally different from that of the royal figures, identifies him as Myrtilus, the monarch's charioteer.

In the top right area of the scene, near a garland, three decapitated heads hang from hooks on a *tabula ansata*. The eyes are closed and blood flows from their necks. These are clearly some of Hippodamia's former suitors, whom Oenomaus has had killed¹ and whose heads he has hung in his palace as a dissuasive measure against future suitors.

¹ Thirteen suitors were defeated prior to Pelops's arrival: Memnon, Eurylochus, Automedon, Acan, Pelops of Opuntia, Hippothoon, Eurymachus, Chalcodon, Lasius, Tricolonus, Alcahous son of Porthaon, Crotalus and Aristomachus (Alvar 2000: 296).

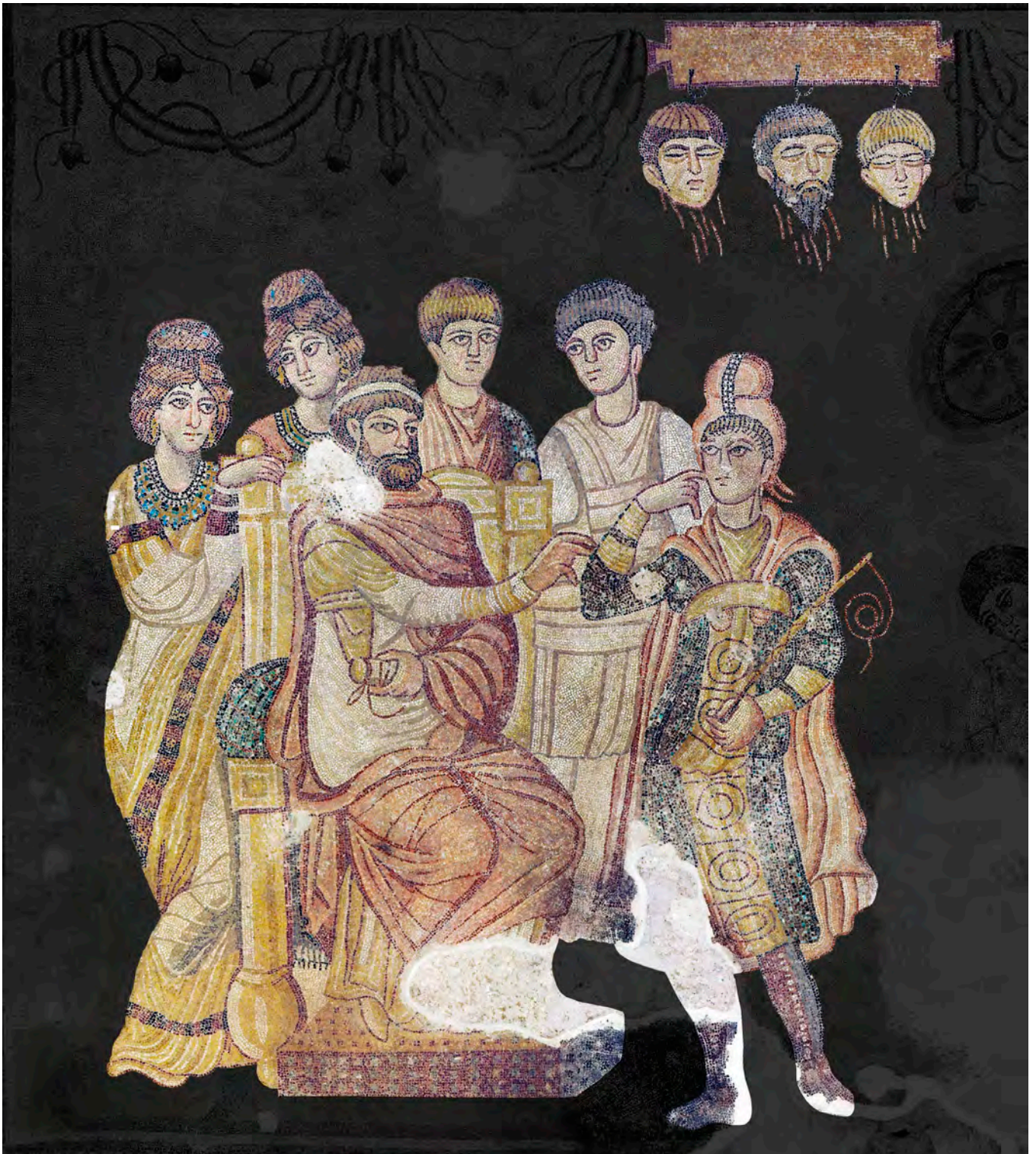


Figure 4
Detail of the first group of figures of
Figurative Panel A, based on the photograph
by J. Latova.

The second grouping is the largest, spanning 6.40 m by 2.09 m and located in the central position. It shows two quadrigae that have met different fates. The first shows a *naufragium*. One of the chariot's wheels has broken away from the shaft, resulting in a mortal accident involving one of the characters. His arched legs and left hand, clinging to the reins of the chariot, are all that can be seen of him. He is wearing a yellow tunic that reaches to his knees over long reddish breeches and amber-coloured *carbatinae*. These are Oenomaus's limbs. The grim omens predicted by the oracle have come to pass: he has died entangled in



the reins of his chariot (Fig. 5).

Above him, a young man lowers his hands to help him, ignoring the horses. The boy wears a white long-sleeved *subucula*, covered by a second light-brown one, with no cuffs, belted with a wide *cingulum*. Around his neck he wears a fringed white *mappa* embroidered with maroon *orbiculi*.

This character, wearing the same attire, was already analysed in the first scene; specifically, he was the fourth figure, Myrtilus. Myrtilus has committed a terrible act of treason by replacing the wheels' pegs with pegs made out of bees' wax, causing Oenomaus to become entangled in the reins (Humbert 2010: 166), precisely the action being evoked. The charioteer's look of terror is most likely due to the fact that, according to the myth, at that moment the monarch is calling for his death at the hands of Pelops (LIMC VII s.v. Pelops: 285).

To his right is a quadriga being pulled by four aligned mares. The first is the right *funalis* horse, which appears with flexed legs, its head lowered and adorned with a green laurel wreath, and its tail tied up in a braid. The rest of the horses have similar characteristics, including both the two *iugalis*, joined by a yoke linked to the chariot's shaft, and the horse located on the left-hand side of the quadriga, which is being tied up by a young man.

In fact, three assistants are present to help hold the mares or run to the aid of the monarch and charioteer. They all wear long-sleeved *subucula*, whose edges are trimmed with two thick stripes and which are covered by another sleeveless tunic kept in place with a wide *cingulum*. Below the hem of the tunic, they can be seen to be wearing dark vermilion and black knee guards over off-white tights or shin guards decorated with horizontal grey-toned fillets. They are wearing black-soled *calcei* with reddish uppers. These characters' features, youth and attire – including the eye-catching knee guards as necessary equipment for jobs involving a lot of kneeling – suggest that they could be three *circensium ministri*.

Next, there is a second chariot, from which the third character from the first grouping, who seemed to be conversing with the monarch, descends in triumph. It is Pelops, dressed in the same Eastern fashion described above, with a long palm leaf of various shades of green, symbolising his victory in the tragic race. The Phrygian prince is looking at his beloved, who is dressed exactly as she was in the first scene. The only change in this female figure with regard to the first depiction is that, because she is seen from the side, the viewer can clearly see

Figure 5
Detail of the second group of figures of
Figurative Panel A, based on the photograph
by J. Latova.



Figure 6
Sub-group B of the second scenic ensemble showing the winning quadriga based on the photograph by J. Latova.

how her hair is dressed: a double bun tied with a black and yellow braid (Fig. 6).

Behind Hippodamia, one of her servants is smoothing her dress. The girl has blond hair and wears a necklace of white pearls. She is wearing a short-sleeved orange *stola* (Edmondson 2008: 25) with red and black *clavi*. She covers herself with a *palla* of similar colours to those of the *stola* and wears white *carbatinae* on her feet.

Pelops descends from a quadriga led by a small blond winged character who is nude. It is one of the classical Erotes, possibly Eros². The infant is the charioteer that has led Pelops's quadriga to victory.

The chariot is drawn by four horses shown in profile, with lively legs that still show signs of the tension of the settled race. Their heads are upright and ornamented with wreaths of laurel leaves in shades of green, to which their respective palm fronds of victory have been added, as befits victors. These horses are being assisted by, at least, two young men wearing long-sleeved *subucula*, the lower sleeves of which are decorated with two lines of stripes made of red and

² However, the possibility that it might be the Erotes Pothos, as the god of desire, which the youths are about to consummate, cannot be ruled out. This possibility would have to be explored once the authenticity of the second mosaic analysed in this paper is verified, as the latter includes a text identifying this little winged god.

light brown tesserae. This garment is covered by another sleeveless off-white tunic and is cinched with a wide *cingulum* showing three bands of white cloth. As in the previous scene, their knees are protected with dark red and black knee guards from which two braided ties dangle. One of the youths holds the head of the first *funalis* of the quadriga, and it looks as if he is blowing water into the horse's mouth. He could thus be a *sparsor*.

This figurative image is completed by a small circus, providing perspective on the scene as a whole, as well as an appropriate setting. It is located in the top central area, coinciding with the dimensions of the second scene. It is portrayed in the classical manner, showing the *cavea*, *arena*, *spina*, *metae*, *ovaria*, and *phala*, together with a number of sculptures portraying gods and animals, as would have decorated the building (Valero 2017: 75-78).

2.2. A New Piece?

Not long ago, proof came to light of the existence of another possible mosaic representing this myth at an auction house³. As the piece was to be part of the collection on display at an exhibition, arrangements were made to visit the venue. It was explained that the tapestry comes from a private collection in Beirut, although the piece could be Syrian in origin. It is worth noting that the analysis carried out to date is based solely on the observation of the tapestry at that event. As there was no opportunity to study the piece in detail, its authenticity can therefore neither be confirmed nor denied.

The piece in question is a tapestry measuring 2.01 m long by 2.04 m high, made with *opus tessellatum*. The tesserae, which are, on average, 0.8 cm in size, were made of stone, marble and glass paste to obtain the desired colours.

The main scene is framed by a double fillet of black tesserae. The fillets give way to an additional triple fillet of white pieces, which, in turn, gives way to a band of serrated brown isosceles triangles (Décor I: 36-37). They precede a frame with a succession of serrated squares over the tangent point (Décor I: 44-45) with oblique rainbow stripes (Décor I: 34-35).

The central emblem is done in an Eastern style, and the figures are identified with Greek characters. A young lady on the left-hand side of the group sits on a wooden chair. Only two of the chair legs are visible. The shapes are notably different. A circular decoration in the middle divides the quadrangular top half of the left leg from the bottom half, whilst the right leg lacks any such elliptical ornamentation or, at least, it is half-hidden behind the folds of the lady's garments. The chair has a simple, dark quadrangular seat that, in keeping with the rest of the object, lacks all perspective and detail (Fig. 7).

The presence of an off-white *oinochoe* with a prominent base is worth noting. It is located between the chair legs and stands out against a black background framed by the aforementioned chair legs.

The lady's garments are ill-defined. She seems to be wearing a sort of *stola* that is red on the top and white at the bottom with vermilion trim. The garment is covered by a light-brown *palla* that clings to her body at the top. Oddly, the part of the garment covering her left arm is white. She is raising that arm over the shoulder of the young man in front of her whilst, at the same time, extending her bare right arm to offer him the palm of victory.

3 <http://www.jbagot.com/obra/mosaico-con-escena-de-pelope-e-hipodamia>.



Figure 7
Mosaic of Pelops and Hippodamia
in Casa Bagot
(image from their site).

The lady's lower limbs are likewise not well depicted, as only one of her legs is shown, the foot shod in a simple, chestnut-coloured *solea*, whilst the other leg is not visible⁴. The figure's hair is gathered in a bun and further kept in place with a golden diadem. The inscription above her clearly identifies her as Hippodamia. In front of her, facing forwards, is a young man dressed in a brown tunic with

⁴ Interestingly, the depicted perspective shows neither the aforementioned leg of the young woman nor, as will be seen below, any of the young man's extremities. No possibilities should be ruled out until an exhaustive analysis of the mosaic can be performed to establish the possible causes of such mistakes in the portrayal.

greenish stripes on the arms. Of his lower limbs, only the right thigh can be seen. It is clad in green *anaxyrides*. Interestingly, neither his left foot nor his right leg, both of which should be visible behind the princess's limbs, are shown in the mosaic.

The young man has curly hair that sticks out from beneath a greenish hat that covers his head. He is extending his left arm to take the triumphal branch. His right limb, which is rather disproportionate in size, remains close to his body, leaving the hand unseen. This character is clearly Pelops, who is explicitly named in the allusive text.

In front of them both is a blond-haired winged boy, in a walking position, turning his head to gaze at the two lovers. The child carries a golden torch in his left hand; the torch rests on his left shoulder. With his right hand, he is showing the two youths the way towards a shadowy rectangular area that could be a door. As in the previous cases, the sign with his name makes it possible to identify him as Pothos.

However surprising the piece's rough manufacture might be, the appearance of this Erote is no less so, and it offers quite a bit of interpretative information with regard to the mosaic. According to mythological tradition, Pothos was Aphrodite's son⁵ (Bazant 1994: 501-503) and was part of her entourage, together with Eros and Himeros (Esq. Suplic., 1035-1037). Other authors assign Pothos's paternity to Eros himself (Plat.symp. 197d; Eur.Hipp. 525-526), linking it to Dionysian festivities (Eur.Bacch. 414).

Sophocles (Soph.Thrac. 631-632) and Plato (Plat.Krat. 400, 419-420b) identify him as the representation of absent or nostalgic love, or even the sort of romantic desire that can lead to death. The latter is confirmed by Pausanias (Jones 1978: 43, 6; Pretzler 2007: 45 ss.) when he describes the temple of Aphrodite in Megara and sets out each of the Erotes' attributes: Eros personifies love, Himeros desire and Pothos longing, thus reflecting the many facets of love.

In contrast to another recently discovered mosaic featuring an emblem depicting Selene and Endymion (Neira 2015: 71), the image analysed here shows that the love between the two youths has been consummated. It thus does not seem to suggest the suffering and longing created by an attraction that cannot be fulfilled, unlike with the myth depicted in the mosaic floor of Cástulo.

The case under study here tells of a love that is complete, but whose realisation has negative consequences, such as the death of Hippodamia's father. Hence, the figures' longing for an all-encompassing happiness, something they will never achieve, as, in addition to the patricide, the young couple's descendants will be haunted by Myrtilus's curses⁶.

In this regard, another mosaic documented at Philippopolis depicts the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne (Balty 1977: 50-56). That mosaic also depicts Pothos carrying a torch, symbolising that, despite the woman's happiness at marrying the god, she will never be fully satisfied due to her longing for the love of Theseus.

The discovery of this possible new piece is a novel development due to the addition of the little winged god to the scene, which enables a better understanding

5 Although some authors consider the Erote to be the son of Zephyros and Iris.

6 It should be recalled that Myrtilus cursed the descendants of Pelops and Hippodamia as he died, which would cause many a misfortune to befall the couple's lineage. For instance, incited by their mother, the couple's sons, Atreus and Thyestes, killed Chrysippus, leading Pelops to banish his wife.

of how the myth's iconography must have been and which aspects would have been depicted in Antiquity.

However, as noted, since it has not yet been possible to study this new mosaic in detail, it cannot be confirmed whether it is a Latin work or a reproduction. It is thus crucial to carry out such research in order to further knowledge of mythological representations in mosaics.

3. Comparative Analysis

As explained above, even though the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia was highly appreciated in the classical mythological tradition (Alvar 2000: 865), it was not widely depicted in art in general, let alone in mosaics in particular.

One of the most spectacular compositions to have been traditionally identified as alluding to the myth is that of the sculptures in the round, on a scale of 1.5, decorating the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, dated to the mid-5th century BC (Frontinos 1989: 60). Thanks to the description of the building by Pausanias (*Periegesis*), it is rather well known what this building, which was destroyed in the time of Theodosius (García 2013: 70 ss.), looked like. This same Greek traveller also recorded a detailed description of the pediments adorning the temple, attributing the creation of the set of sculptures on the east side to the artist Paionios.

The German scholar Treu drew on this text to facilitate his interpretation in the 19th century (Treu 1897). In his reconstruction, Zeus can be made out in the central area of the scene, holding a lightning bolt in his right hand and presiding over the struggle like a judge. This character divides the scene into two nearly symmetrical parts. To the right of the god is a bearded Oenomaus next to Sterope. Beside her, a kneeling assistant is holding the reins. Behind him are the horses and then Myrtilus, who is kneeling behind the nacelle. He is followed by another character and, finally, a figure representing the River Alpheus. To the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodamia. Beside them, a maid kneels before the horses. She is followed by a succession of characters, including the River Kladeos (Säflund 1970: 35) (Fig. 8).

Also, on stone bases, although in this case as reliefs, some representations have been found on sarcophagi dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries (Cumont 1943: 56 ss.). The plethora of themes depicted on these objects includes a number of allusions to the myth under study, ranging from specific moments of the race to the entire sequence of events making up the legend on a piece currently held at the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (Fig. 9). Another piece, discovered in Belgium in 1843, illustrates the successive passages of the tale in a narrative style (Roulez 1855: 3-11). A number of depictions of various scenes of the myth have also been found on pottery, as in the case of a vase with red figures held by the Museum of Athens (Sparkes 1996: 125).

However, mosaics depicting scenes from this myth are rare. The most eloquent one is a piece of unknown origin held at the Museum of Damascus (Balty 1989: 498). As is commonplace in Syrian floorings, in that tapestry all the characters are identified with a sign in Greek.

That mosaic depicts two scenes. The main one is located in the lower part of the work and is divided into two groups of figures. In the first, Oenomaus is sitting on a simple chair, interacting with a young man before him. The king wears a maroon tunic with yellow embroidery on the shoulders, chest and wrists. He is



also wearing a reddish *pallium* that seems to be fastened to his right shoulder with a golden fibula. He wears amber *carbatinae* on his feet, outlined with a simple edging of red tesserae (Fig. 10). Hippodamia is shown behind the monarch with a white *stola* and a matching *palla* trimmed with red and black fringe. The garment covers her head, leaving only her face and right hand visible. Standing in front of the monarch is Pelops, who holds a riding whip in his left hand and is dressed in Eastern fashion, with reddish garments and a yellow Phrygian cap. In the second group of figures, the princess – whose attire is similar to that described above but now yellow – entwines the fingers of her right hand with those of the Phrygian prince, whose attire and attributes remain unchanged.

The second scene is situated at the top of the depiction. Its proportions have been reduced, in order to create perspective and a suitable scenic setting. Between the two *metae* alluding to the circus are two quadrigae that have met different fates. The one on the left has suffered a *naufragium*, and Oenomaus is depicted as

Figure 8
View of the central area of the group of sculptures that decorated the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia.

Figure 9
Sarcophagus held at the Museum of Naples depicting the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia.



Figure 10
Mosaic of Pelops and Oenomaus at the
Museum of Damascus.

having fallen and become entangled in the reins. The detached chariot's wheel can be seen beside the monarch. This is followed by a depiction of Myrtilus raising his right hand and dressed in a white *tunica manicata* and a red cape. Finally, we see the quadriga of Pelops, the victor, who is turning his head to witness the tragic conclusion (Blázquez et al. 2004: 292).

It is worth noting that the writing includes some mistakes and omissions. For instance, the sign identifying Pelops, located above the quadriga, is missing a letter.

This eastern mosaic clearly does not have the same quality or level of detail as other pieces found in the area (Duchesne-Guillemin 1975: 99-101; Balty 1977: 94-98). Nevertheless, it is on a level with Syrian tapestries as a whole, which are characterised by a certain simplicity (Balty 1977).

In Spanish territory, the interpretation of the Noheda mosaic enables the reinterpretation of the famous mosaic located in the exedra of the *oecus* of the late period *villa* of Arellano. The emblem shows a young woman with blond hair gathered in a bun. She is adorned with earrings and a necklace and wears a red *stola* with black stripes. She is also wearing *carbatinae* and carries an *umbrella*,

which she holds with both hands and with which she shades the lady in front of her. The latter's attire is similar to that of her servant, although her necklace is much bigger. A gap in the piece makes it impossible to see her face, but she is holding out her left hand to offer a young man the palm of victory, whilst he holds her right hand in his.

The young man pulls the princess closer, whilst holding his riding whip in his left hand. He is wearing a short, green, long-sleeved *tunica manicata* with embroidered yellow stripes on the sleeves. Beneath his tunic, he is wearing *anaxyrides* and yellow *caligae* (Fig. 11). Over the tunic, a reddish cape is draped over his



back. It is tied at his right shoulder, revealing a sort of *cingulum* at breast height. He is wearing a vermilion Phrygian cap on his head over chestnut-coloured hair.

The similarity between the attire and attributes of this character and the one at Noheda is striking. In fact, as noted earlier, following the analysis of the piece in Cuenca it seemed essential to revisit the characters depicted in the mosaic of Arellano. Thus, although it was initially interpreted as depicting the wedding of Attis and the daughter of the King of Pessinus (Mezquíriz 2003: 234)⁷, today, as a result of the discovery of the Noheda mosaic, there is no doubt regarding the link between the characters depicted at the site in Navarre and the passage of the myth in which Hippodamia, with the help of a servant, offers the palm of victory to Pelops, who takes it, although not without sorrow at having caused his

Figure 11
Mosaic of the exedra of the oecus at the *villa* of Arellano (Mezquíriz 2003: 233).

⁷ Initially, this object was taken to be a *pedum* (Mezquíriz 2003: 234), no doubt due to the image's lack of context. However, the interpretation of the Noheda mosaic facilitates the analysis of the mosaic in Navarre.

father-in-law's death. This reinterpretation was suggested some time ago (Valero 2010: 10; 2013: 315; 2015c: 439-440; 2017: 153; Neira 2011: 16-17), emphasizing that it was due to the array of characters depicted in the mosaic at Noheda, which has clearly facilitated the explanation of other surfaces.

4. Conclusions

As noted above, until recently, it was believed that the myth of Pelops, Oenomaus and Hippodamia, although widely accepted in antiquity, had rarely been depicted in art. Except for the exceptional scene adorning the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the examples of this iconography were limited to several vases and some sarcophagi dating from the third century depicting various scenes from the myth. Few mosaics alluded to it. The most significant was a mosaic of unknown origin held at the Museum of Damascus.

However, the discovery of the only known specimen in Noheda so far, which depicts all the episodes of the myth in a magnificent narrative sequence, has made it possible to document the iconography of each episode and the different characters involved. This has facilitated the reinterpretation of other known mosaics, as well as the identification of a possible new example.

These developments serve to underscore the importance of the Noheda mosaic, which is the only figurative mosaic of its size known to exist in the territory of Hispania. It is moreover difficult to find other examples from the Empire of similar characteristics to this piece of art, i.e. with such an abundance of iconography and such a complex and varied structure. Moreover, it is in an excellent state of repair, missing, as noted, only a small part of the surface that in no way affects the overall interpretation of the depicted scenes. In short, it is a *unicum* amongst preserved mosaics, in both Hispania and the rest of the Roman Empire.

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Cube Designs in Roman Baetica Mosaics

Roma Çağı Baetica Mozaiklerinde Küp Tasarımları

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Abstract

The cube and the prism are frequent components of geometrical compositions featured in Roman mosaics. They can be found as free elements belonging to the secondary decoration of many pavements, or as part of friezes or mosaic panels, sometimes mixed with other geometrical figures to shape various compositions and sometimes used as exclusive motifs and single theme, forming unitary and/or modular panels. This paper will focus on the latter.

In our catalogue of Geometrical Designs, these modular compositions with three-dimensional cubes or “tumbling blocks” and with elongated cubes or prisms define models E3 and E3A respectively. Even though these are present in a significant number of pavements in the Roman Baetica, we cannot assume their widespread use since they are so far absent from sites with a well-established mosaic tradition, such as Italica, Hispalis or Carmo. In contrast, Astigi and Corduba are the cities where more pavements with these designs have been found.

In this paper we will also analyse the process of development of both models, and how these compositions, dominant and solid by their own characteristics despite the sense of movement they transmit, can produce diverse effects and create different optical perceptions by simply changing the point of view from which they are observed or with a slight colour change. This last aspect is essential to allow the design its main feature, which relates to a three-dimensional effect.

Keywords: Roman Baetica, geometric mosaic, geometric design, composition, cube.

Öz

Küp ve prizma, Roma mozaikleri içinde yer alan geometrik kompozisyonlar arasında sık görülen bileşenlerdendir. Çoğunlukla birçok döşemenin ikinci plandaki süslemesine ait serbest elementler olarak görülen bu desenler, mozaik frizlerinde ya da panellerinde kimi zaman diğer geometrik desenlerle beraber farklı kompozisyonları şekillendirmek için, kimi zaman özel bir motif ve tek bir tema olarak üniter ve/veya modüler paneller olarak da görülmektedir. Bu makale ikincisine odaklanacaktır.

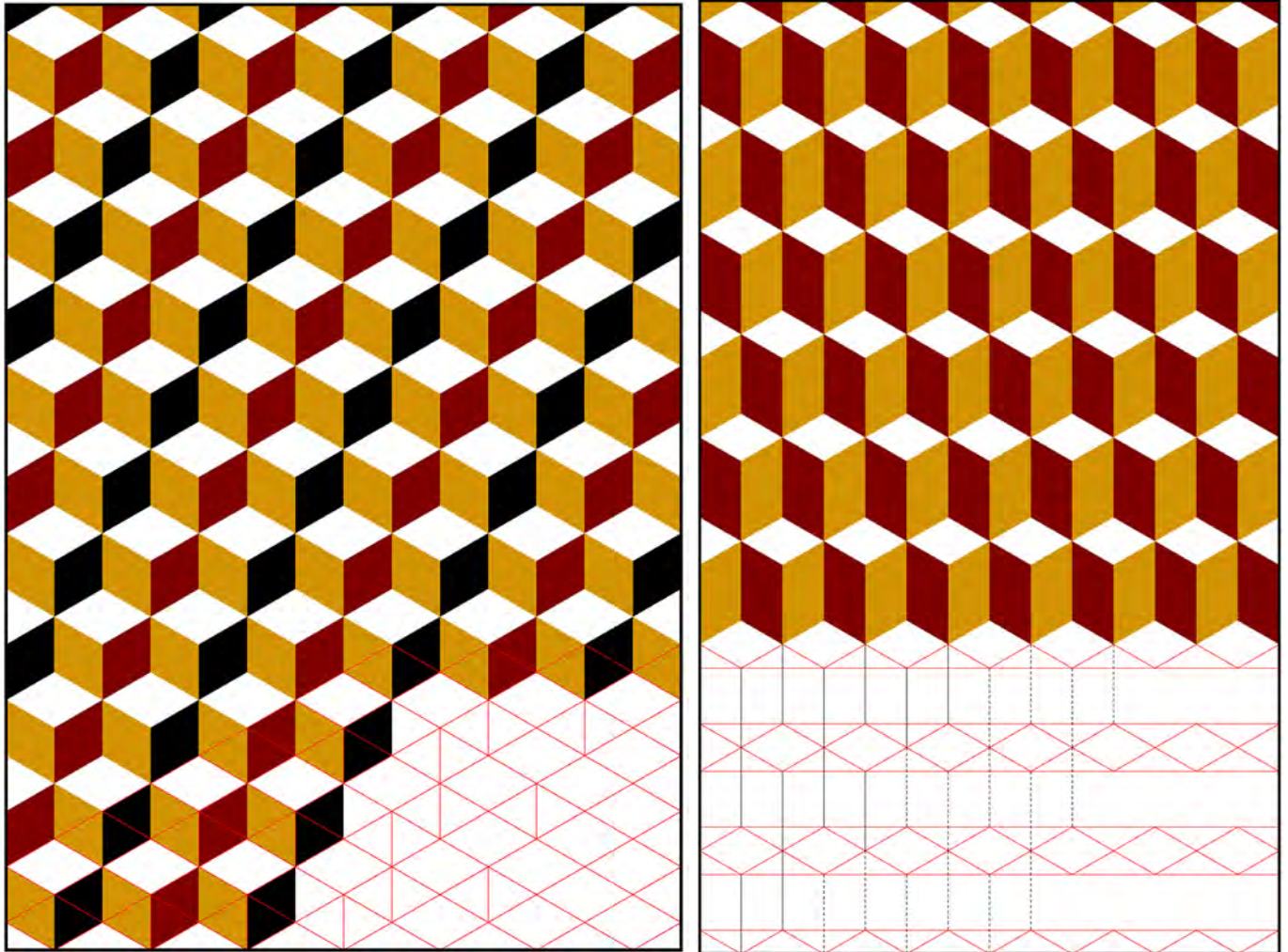
Geometrik Tasarımlar, kataloğumuzda, üç boyutlu küpler veya “devrilme blokları” olan bu modüler bileşimler ve uzun küpler veya prizmalar, sırasıyla E3 ve E3A modellerini tanımlamaktadır. Bunların Roma Çağı Baeticası'nda önemli sayıdaki döşemede mevcut olmasına rağmen, Italica, Hispalis veya Carmo gibi köklü bir mozaik geleneğine sahip olanlarda görülmedikleri için yaygın olarak kullanıldıkları düşünülemez. Aksine, Astigi ve Corduba bu tasarımların görüldüğü mozaiklerin en çok tespit edildiği yerlerdir.

Bu makalede her iki modelin gelişim süreci de analiz edilecek ve bu kompozisyonların aktardıkları hareket duygusuna rağmen, kendi karakteristiklerine göre baskın ve sağlam olarak nasıl farklı etkiler yaratabileceği, gözlemlendikleri açığa göre veya hafif bir renk değişimi ile nasıl farklı optik değişimler yarattıkları ele alınacaktır. Bu son özellik, tasarımın üç boyutlu bir etki ile ilgili ana özelliğine izin vermek için gereklidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma Çağı'nda Baetica, geometrik mozaik, geometrik desen, kompozisyon, küp.

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The cube, taken as main motif in the composition of unitary or modular fields, constitutes model E3 (Fig. 1) in our catalogue of designs, while model E3A (Fig. 2) is a direct variant from the former achieved by elongating the figures (Vargas Vázquez 2014: 126, 171; 2016a: 237-238).



Model E3 represents a modular composition of tangent cubes joined by their vertices and their straight and oblique sides. Its pattern is easily and quickly achieved by using a geometrical base made up of a grid of hexagons tangent to each other on their straight and oblique sides (Fig. 3). This composition constitutes by itself our model E1, generally known as a honeycomb design. This, again, can be easily obtained from the geometrical base represented in figure 4A -which curiously reproduces our rhombus design (Design Vargas-Vázquez D20). In order to ensure regular hexagons in the composition, it is built taking into account that the distance between the lines of the structure on a vertical axis must be equal to the side of the hexagons we want to build, while its slant must be at a 60° angle, half of the interior angle (120°) of a regular hexagon; the angle of those lines to the horizontal axis will be 30° . The said structure allows us to build the model simply by drawing vertical lines at certain points to define the hexagons clearly, as shown in Fig. 4B. Once the weave of hexagons has been established, the cube pattern is obtained by following the steps shown in Fig. 4C, namely, dividing each of the hexagons into three identical diamonds or rhombus.

Figure 1
Desing by Vargas Vázquez E3.

Figure 2
Desing by Vargas Vázquez E3A.

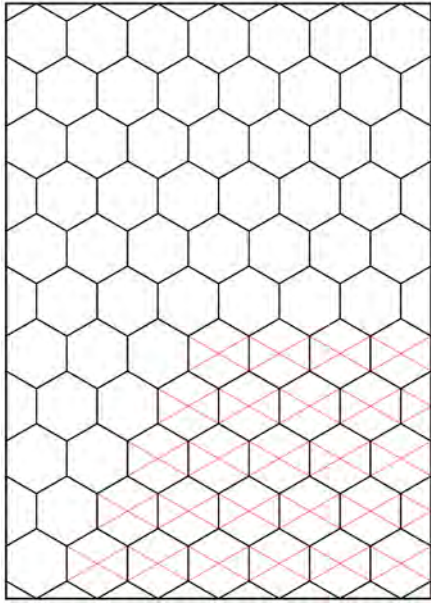


Figure 3
Desing by Vargas Vázquez E1.

A direct variant of Design E3 is our Design E3A (Fig. 2), characterized by the inclusion of elongated cubes or prisms. Now, the base to build this new design consists of a composition of irregular or oblong hexagons, instead of the one with regular hexagons. In order to build it, the structure used in Design E3 has been modified. Its appearance should be as shown in the lower part of the picture of Design E3A (Fig. 2). It is formed by parallel lanes within which the structure of oblique lines slanting 60° in relation to the vertical axis, or 30° in relation to the horizontal axis, can be created. The distance between the lanes will depend on the desired size of the prisms.

It can be inferred from all of the above that the construction procedure for both models is simple and easy if the methods described are used, without having to resort to more toilsome and/or complex geometrical operations, which would, at the least, delay the work considerably. The use of templates and frames or geometrical bases, such as those shown here, make it possible to build models like the one at hand without the need of applying cumbersome geometrical formulae or procedures. This has been a key topic in the research we have undertaken for the last few years, where we also look for examples to ascertain its veracity and demonstrate the use of this kind of shortcuts in the manufacture of some Roman mosaics (Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 275-290).

The presence of these cube and prism designs in Roman mosaic art is fully established and reaches nearly the whole of the Roman world. In the case of *Baetica*, the southernmost province of *Roman Hispania*, their appearance is equally confirmed from the examples we will readily present, with the regular tumbling blocks model as the most ingrained (Design Vargas-Vázquez E3). However, in spite of all the evidence and based upon the mosaics documented to date, we cannot confirm at the current point in the investigation, that it was a design in high demand throughout *Baetica*, since it seems to be absent in mosaic ensembles as relevant as Italica, Seville or Carmona. The inverse case happens in the cities of Córdoba and Écija, and with them other areas within the *Conventus Astigitanus*, where several examples have been documented.

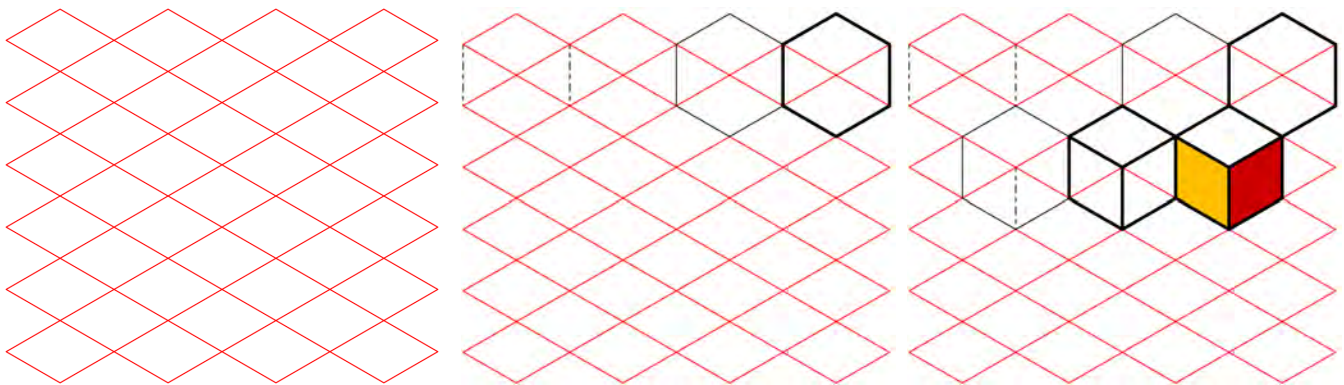


Figure 4 A-B-C
Desing by Vargas Vázquez.

In the case of Écija, Design E3 is documented in four pavements, although it is important to keep in mind that certain peculiarities present in all of them suggest, as we will see further on, the possibility of a single workshop as authors of all these mosaics.

In the mosaic known as The Triumph of Bacchus (Fig. 5), from the second half of the 2nd century, the composition with cubes is found in a secondary field bordering or framing the central panel on its right side, and it is most likely that, assuming a certain symmetry for the mosaic, the same was true for the left side,

now lost, in the likeness of the mosaic of Briseis (Figs. 7-8). In this case the picture is completed by means of a chromatic range based on white, ochre, red and black, giving the mosaic the distinctive depth of this kind of composition.



In this wonderful mosaic of The Triumph of Bacchus -besides the composition with cubes- the iconographic repertoire is noteworthy, with its main element displayed in the -partly lost- central emblema, in the form of a triumph drawn by male and female centaurs. It is a Bacchic scene completed with other depictions belonging to the same genre: we can see a bacchante lying on her back and a satyr running towards her, and Pan and Silenus's heads, as well as three Bacchic animals -gazelle, lion and panther- running to the right.

Figure 5
The mosaic of "the Triumph of Bacchus"
in Écija (Écija, Sevilla).

The Seasons are also represented in this mosaic, specifically Summer and Autumn, so it is safe to guess that Spring and Winter used to occupy the two circles symmetrically placed in the upper part of the emblemata that was lost. Leda, standing with her back to the viewer, while possessed by the swan (San Nicolás 1999: 347-387; San Nicolás 2005: 975-985), is an icon repeated -as we will see later- in the mosaic depicting Zeus's affairs. One of the Dioscuri -the offspring of the union between Leda and Zeus shapeshifted into a swan- standing in front of a horse in a stance similar to the Dioscurus portrayed in the mosaic of Zeus's affairs (Fig. 6). Orpheus is standing between two trees, playing his lyre and accompanied by a female figure who sits on a rock in the background with her back towards the viewer, identifiable as Eurydice. Narcissus is sitting on a rock between two trees, contemplating his own reflection in the water of the fountain (López Monteagudo 2005: 959-973; López Monteagudo 2013: 193-208). In addition to these representations, the mosaic still shows a fragmentary marine scene, of which only the tail of a sea animal -that could be a *kethoi*, judging by its shape- has been preserved (Vargas Vázquez et al. 2017: 45-50).

Another of the pavements in Écija where the cube design can be found is the recently uncovered mosaic of Zeus's affairs (Fig. 6), a magnificent specimen paving the *triclinium* of the *domus* where it was set. In this case the composition covers the length of an L-shaped panel.

The mosaic has a surface of 40m², and stands out for its technical mastery and decoration, consisting of several figurative panels and a geometrical L-shaped panel. The general layout of the pavement is peculiar as it simplifies the typical *triclinia* outline in "T" + "U", featuring instead a design made up of angle brackets or inverted Ls pitted against each other.

The cube design is carried out in this case in a very similar manner to the previous one, including the chromatic range and the serrated fringe that runs all around the edge of the field.

Together with the geometrical cube field, the mosaic displays a highly interesting set of figurative scenes, distributed along two fields. One of them, the vertical one, contains a Bacchic scene with a central area devoted to the production of wine, performed by four satyrs foot-crushing the grapes, which a fifth one is pouring into the *lagar* (treading vessel). The wine obtained flows into two *dolia* through a couple of orifices decorated with feline heads. To the left of this scene there is a female figure leaning back on a stone, her naked body partly covered with a drapery pinned to her head, crowned with a flower wreath and wearing a bracelet; an *eros* or Cupid accompanies her in a downcast attitude that seems to be a reference to the young woman's languor as she looks to her right, aware of her lover's betrayal. There is a basket behind the Cupid with some fronds sticking out, and a vine as a division element parting this scene from the winemaking one. The same happens on the right side of the winemaking scene; this time the vine is related to a goat who tries to reach a bunch of grapes. After this bucolic scene, a character appears in a short tunic and crown escorted by an old satyr holding a *pedum* who is pointing at the female at the other end. It is an enormously interesting representation through which the artisan wanted to recreate the myth of the moment when Bacchus, attended by the old satyr, spots his future wife, Ariadne, lying in Naxos Island after having been abandoned by Theseus. The Cupid standing beside Ariadne evokes the love about to be born. In any case, the tableau is perfectly in accordance with the rest of the mosaic, with a clear prevalence of love scenes, with Zeus as the protagonist in this case.



Figure 6
The mosaic of “Zeus’s affairs” in Écija-
(Écija, Sevilla). (Vargas Vázquez et al.
2017: fig. 70A).

The other field also displays different scenes, the most prominent is an abduction of Europa where the princess is already riding the bull but still stationary, as indicated by the flowery meadow, the presence of two of her companions feeding flowers to the bull, the flower basket on the ground, the stillness of the animal and the position of Europa holding her mantle above her head. In the background, the personification of a river occupies the upper area with its source slightly to the right and flowing -or channelled- towards a building that could well be a water mill; Mercury running, a Cupid to the left and another architectural representation, similar to the first one, maybe of a rural nature. Flanking and showcasing Europa and the bull’s scene, there are two female characters; the one on the left, with her back turned to the viewer, is bejewelled with bracelets, wristlets and necklace; of the right one, facing out, only the arms and parts of the head, hips and legs have been preserved. The absence of bracelets could hint at a male character albeit the remaining parts of the hips and belly suggest the opposite. The square frames surrounding the main scene are filled with representations of the seasons, one of a Dioscurus leading his horse, and various episodes related to Zeus as a lover: Leda and the swan, a satyr running after a maenad, remembering Zeus’s transformation or metamorphosis into a satyr to seduce the Theban princess Antiope, and Ganymede hounded by Jupiter’s eagle.

The mosaic displays formal features very similar to those found in the previously seen pavement of Plaza de Santiago -The Triumph of Bacchus- (Fig. 5), hinting at the possibility of them both belonging to the same workshop (Vargas Vázquez et al. 2017: 81-83).

The third mosaic from Écija where the presence of the cube design can be found is the one known as mosaic with an Iliad scene or of Briseis (Figs. 7-8). In this case, the composition is displayed in two fields distributed along the entrance and the back of the room they floored, again with a noteworthy execution that includes the chromatic range, virtually identical to the one used in both previous mosaics.

In this particular case, the two geometrical panels frame a third one that was set in the middle, of which only a few remnants of a figurative scene -almost lost- have survived, with only three figures remaining. To the right, a veiled female figure standing, covered head-to-toe in a wide, blue draped tunic; in the centre -virtually lost-, another character sitting or kneeling, dressed also in a pleated robe, holds a gold coloured sceptre in his left hand; behind him, to the left of the panel, a figure of which only part of the head with a winged helmet remains. Comparison with a mosaic found in Antioch (Turkey) dated to the same epoch as the one in Écija, where the characters are identified by their Greek names, leaves no doubt about the interpretation of the scene in Écija as an episode from the Iliad (Hom.II. I 320-347), the one in which a messenger from Agamemnon, Taltybios, surrenders Briseis to Achilles (Vargas Vázquez et al. 2017: 67-68).

The fourth and last of the Écija mosaics, where a composition with perspective cubes is documented, was part of the paving of a *domus* found in Écija’s Plaza de España (Fig. 9). This mosaic is only partially preserved, very fragmented; its overall measures are unknown and it appears devoid of any trace of figurative elements (Vargas Vázquez et al. 2017: 84-85).

As in the three previous pavements, this specimen is completed with a very similar chromatic range and is trimmed with a serrated fillet, following execution guidelines that are virtually identical to the ones established for all the others.



Figure 7
Mosaic with an Iliad scene or of Briseis in
Écija (Écija, Sevilla).
(photo courtesy E. Nuñez Pariente de León).

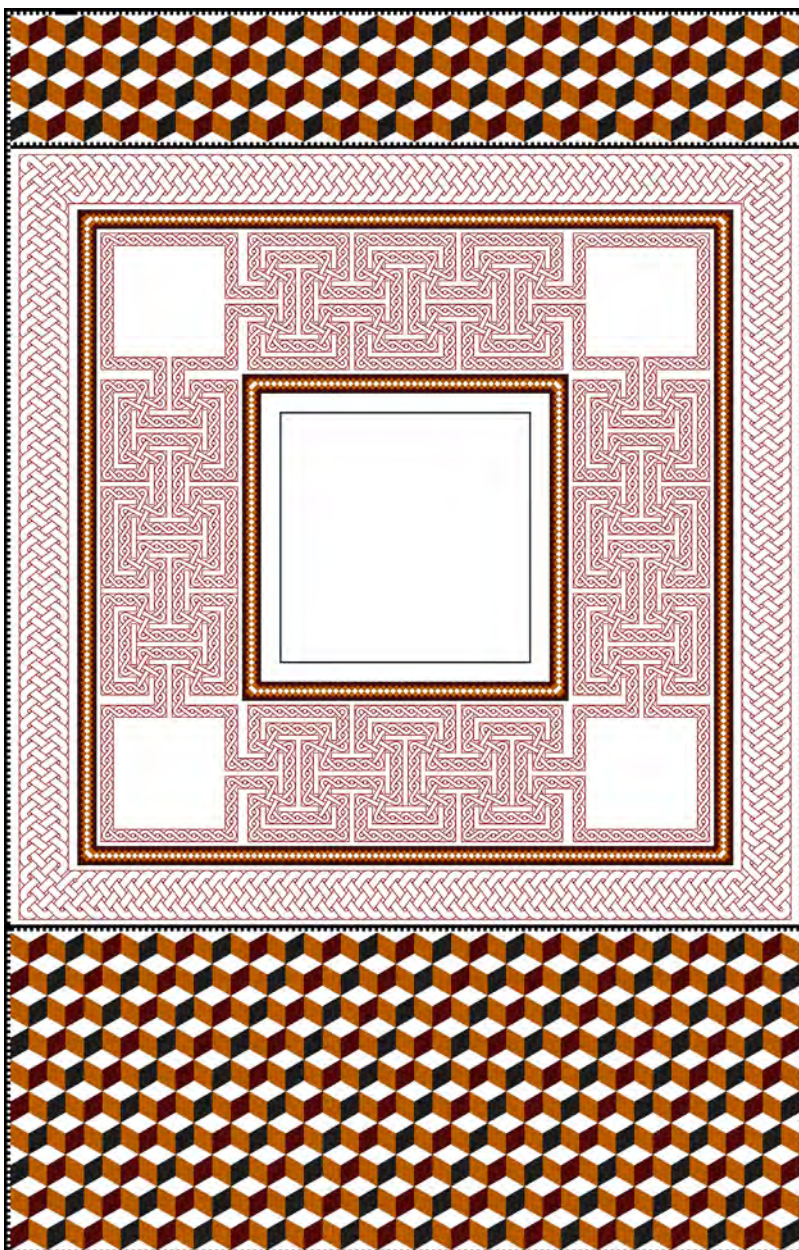


Figure 8
Mosaic with an Iliad scene or of Briseis in
Écija (Écija, Sevilla). (By Vargas Vázquez).



Figure 9
Geometric mosaic discovered in the Plaza de España de Écija (Écija, Sevilla).
(photo courtesy S. García-Dils).

The cube designs present in all these mosaics in Écija have curiously been developed in a very similar way, repeating the colour patterns in the figures (white, black, ochre and red) and the detail of framing the whole field with a black serrated trim fillet. This is an element that appears in a very analogous way in the four sites, following a thin line of three white tesserae and is totally adjoined to the composition. All of this, together with other details, establishes an undeniable evidence of a connection existing among the various pavements, hinting at the possibility that all belong to a single workshop (Vargas Vázquez 2014: 191). It is also interesting to ascertain that in the case of the first two mosaics, the use of a wave border or a multi-stranded braid border is repeated, the latter appearing again in the Briseis mosaic. In the cases of the Triumph of Bacchus and the Zeus's affairs mosaics, similarities increase with the resemblance perceived in the rendition of some of the characters, depicted in an almost identical manner, and even in the way the shades are executed.

Taking the Bacchic mosaic as a reference, all these pavements could be dated to around the second century AD, at some stage during Hadrian's rule, or immediately after that.

Outside the capital of *Conventus Astigitanus*, although within its administrative borders, the tumbling blocks design is also found -again ascribed to an urban area, in Antequera- in one of the mosaics that used to decorate what is currently known as the Roman *Thermae* of Santa María.

Specifically, we refer to the mosaic of Oceanus (Fig. 10), a polychromatic pavement with geometrical, plant and figurative decorations with a notable geometric field of cubes around a central emblem within which the god Oceanus is represented as a bust with its most recognizable attributes: crab legs and pincers protruding from his thick curly mane. The god's head emerges from the sea,

rendered as two lines of blue tesserae distributed below the bust. Worthy of mention are also other decorative elements set along one of the side bands of this mosaic, namely a pot for oil or ointment, a *strigilis* and possibly a pair of sandals, all of which could be associated with some sport activity.

Figure 10
The mosaic of Oceanus in Antequera-
Antequera, Málaga. (photo courtesy M.
Romero Pérez).



With regard to the tumbling blocks -or cubes- composition, it is interesting to highlight again the use of colour as a fundamental strategy to emphasise the effect of deepness and to achieve a correct perspective, and even more importantly, the change of orientation format, turned with respect to the central emblem and Oceanus's portrait itself, to obtain a marked effect of movement that evokes the flow of water (Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 60-61, 300). This mosaic is dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries (Atencia et al. 1990: 220-226; Atencia 1991: 157-159; Romero 1992: 56-62; López Monteagudo et al. 1999/2000: 509-542; López Monteagudo 2006: 485-491; López Monteagudo - Neira 2010: 1-189; López Monteagudo 2011: 287-302; Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 60-61).

Two other pavements where the cube design can be documented, still located to the boundaries of the *Conventus Astigitanus*, belong in this context to a rural entourage, as they pave rooms in the Roman villas of Martos (Martos, Jaén) and Fuente Álamo (Puente Genil, Córdoba).

In the mosaic from the Roman villa of Martos (Fig. 11), unearthed in 1959, the colour is, once again -as in the Écija and Antequera specimens- the tool to achieve the much desired and very characteristic perspective effect. However, the difference compared with the others -apart from the different colour range, this time based on white, black and grey- is a remarkable elongation of the figures, which now compose a configuration of prisms or elongated cubes (Design Vargas Vázquez E3A). The pavement has been dated to the second half of the 2nd or early 3rd century (Recio 1973: 625-647; Blázquez 1981: 61; Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 103).

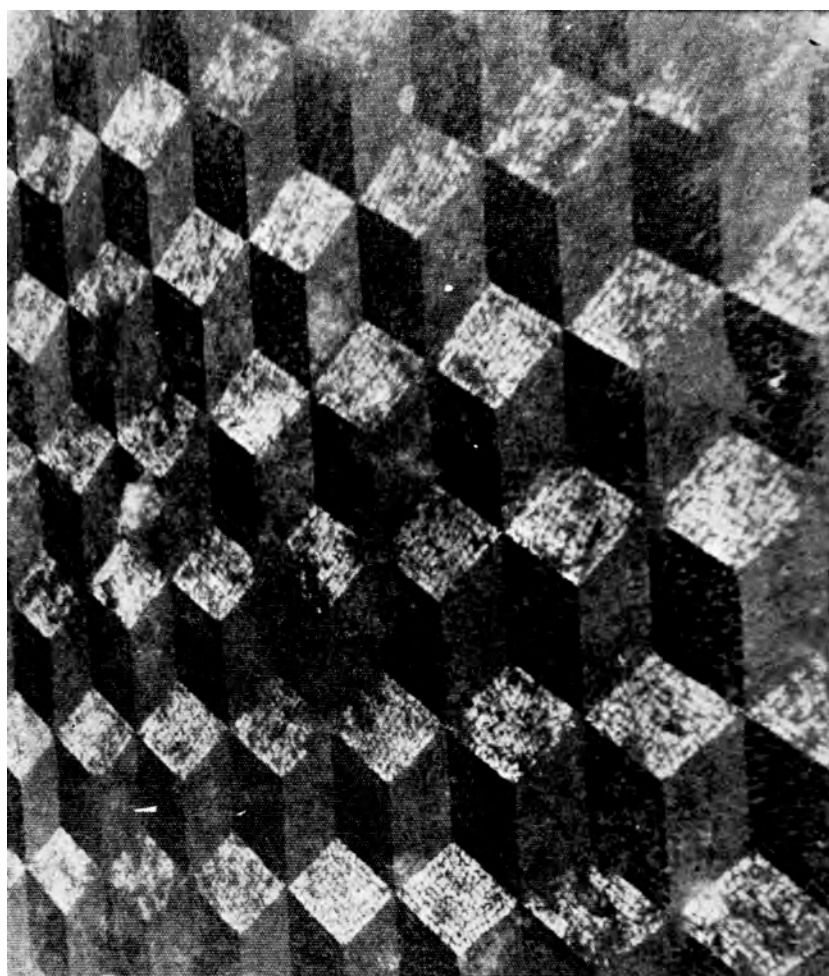


Figure 11
Geometric mosaic from the Roman villa of Martos (Martos, Jaén). (Recio 1973).

In the case of the Roman villa of Fuente Álamo, the mosaic -dating from the late 4th or early 5th century- paves a side space in room n°.10 (Figs. 12-13). In contrast to the ones we have seen so far, the execution of the design is very simple, just in black and white and with very little profundity, due to the absence of a colour range and the sharp contrast between the different fields composing the cubes. All of this, in turn, highlights the oblong hexagons formed in the composition. The presence of secondary decorative elements, such as the squares with four-petaled flowers inlaid in the squares, which give shape to the composition and the lozenges inserted inside the rhombi or rhomboids, help disguise the three-dimensional effect of the design (Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 168-169; 2016b: 185-226).



This new manner of developing the design, in black and white, which is -at least partly- devoid of the perspective effect, cannot be attributed to an artisan's lack of knowledge on the technique to obtain the said effect. It is due, instead, to new fashions or tastes, which is confirmed in the Roman villa of Fuente Álamo by the intentional pursuit of a more or less homogeneous whole, in line with the rest of the mosaics in the room and with most other pavements in the house; all rendered in the same black and white scheme (Vargas Vázquez 2016a: 156-195; 2016b: 185-226).

Out of the *Conventus Astigitanus*, the tumbling blocks design is not very common and is apparently only present -so far- in Córdoba, ancient *Corduba*, the capital of the old *Roman Baetica*¹.

¹ In the case of Córdoba, the existence of more mosaics with the same design is very likely, since many of the mosaics uncovered there are locked in the storerooms of the city's Archaeological and Ethnological Museum, and have not been studied yet.

Figure 12
Room n°. 10 from the Roman villa
of Fuente Álamo (Puente Genil,
Córdoba).

Figure 13
Geometric mosaic from the Roman villa of
Fuente Álamo (Puente Genil, Córdoba).



In this case, the design is carried out in variant E3 (Fig. 1), as in one example, using a chromatic range close to the Écija specimens -based on white, black, ochre, sienna and red, to obtain the quite characteristic depth effect in the design- as shown in the mosaic discovered in the Palace House of the Herruzos (Fig. 14), located in San Fernando de Córdoba Street, from the late 2nd or early 3rd century (Secilla - Márquez 1991: 337-342; Moreno 1995: 151-152 láms. 55, 57). In another example, as shown in Fuente Álamo, the design is performed in black and white without the adequate distribution of colours in the different facets of the cube, partially depriving the design of its three-dimensional effect, as shown in the mosaic documented in the Plaza de San Juan (Fig. 15), dated to the mid-2nd century (Moreno 1995: 62 lám. 7B). Here, in the total absence of secondary decorative elements in the lozenges or rhomboids that make up the prisms, the rhombi are only decorated over with smaller lozenges, thus highlighting

even more -if possible- the lack of perspective. Even though that mosaic is only known through a drawing by De Los Santos Gener (Moreno 1995: 62), it probably corresponds to the prism composition (Design Vargas-Vázquez E3A).



Figure 14
Mosaic discovered in the Palace House of the Herruzos, Córdoba (photo courtesy G. López Monteagudo).

The pavement discovered in José Cruz Conde de Córdoba Street is interesting as well (Fig. 16); it dates from the 2nd century, and the colour contrast in the various blocks areas is missing, resulting in the absence of a clear and evident perspective effect. The development of this pavement is also noteworthy, with alternating *opus sectile* and tesserae; the squares produced by the composition, specifically between the rhomboids, were created in marble, while the rest of the pavement was tessellated (De Los Santos Gener 1955: 89 fig. 40 plano V, j; Blázquez 1981: 27-28 figs. 9, 12; Moreno 1995: 108 láms. 34, 37B, 38A). Like in the mosaic of the villa in Fuente Álamo, the presence of rhomboids with a very linear plant motif introduced in the composition of rhomboids help obscure even more the perspective in the design. As for the typology of the composition, judging by De los Santos Gener's drawings, it seems obvious that this pavement displays the E3A variant design of elongated cubes or prisms.

In the light of all this, we can deduce that the cube design performed in a continuous or modular composition, in either a regular or irregular format (Designs E3 and E3A), was well accepted in *Baetica*, especially in the period between the second half of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 3rd. However, its use still holds good centuries later, as exemplified by a specimen from the Roman villa of Fuente Álamo dated to sometime between the mid-4th and early 5th century. Nevertheless, at the current point of the research we cannot claim that it was one of the most frequently demanded or most widespread designs in the Southern Hispania's province, since it is clearly missing so far in highly relevant mosaic ensembles such as the ones in Italica, Seville or Carmona. Écija and Córdoba are, so far, the urban areas with a higher demand for this specific type of decoration. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that, in the case of Écija, its four mosaics were very likely -two of them with almost total certainty- manufactured by artisans from the same and single workshop, specialised or having a special mastery in a composition they would apply to high-end mosaics. The presence of the tumbling blocks and the prisms design in two Roman villas bear witness to the acceptance of this design in the rural world, too.

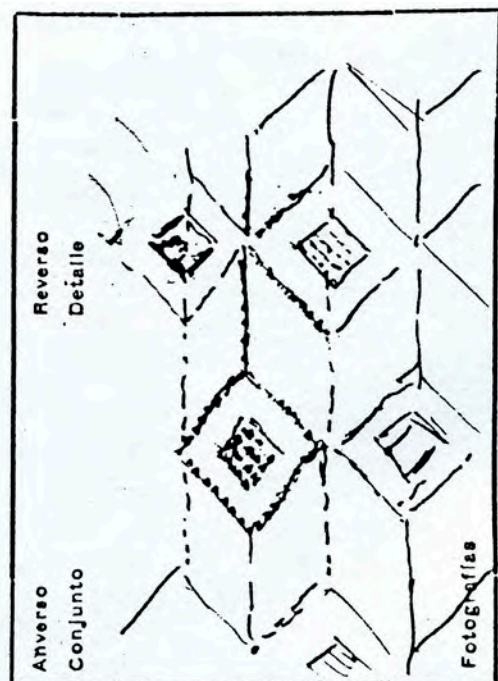


Figure 15
Mosaic discovered in the Plaza de San Juan,
Córdoba (Moreno 1995: 62 lám. 7B).

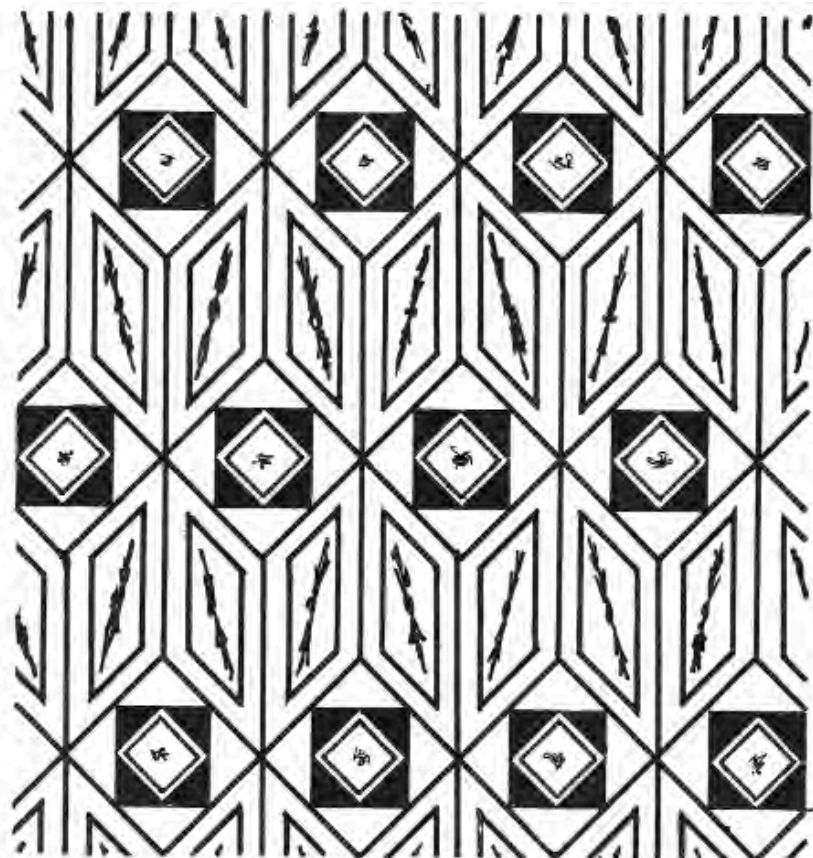


Figure 16
Mosaic discovered in José Cruz Conde de
Córdoba Street (Blázquez 1981: 114 fig. 12).

The most widely accepted form of laying the cube design in *Baetica* is in its regular version (Design Vargas-Vázquez E3), as exemplified by the four specimens in Écija, the one in the Santa María de Antequera Thermae, the one in the Palace House of the Herruzos in Córdoba and the one in the Roman villa of Fuente Álamo. If we talk about the mosaic from the Roman villa in Martos and those discovered in San José and José Cruz Conde streets in Córdoba, the chosen variant is the one with elongated cubes or prisms (Design Vargas-Vázquez E3A).

The issue of colour is quite significant, since the absence of an appropriate chromatic range -thus evading the necessary contrast between the different facets of the cube or prism- subtracts depth from the designs and strips them partly of their characteristic perspective. That same effect is enhanced, as we have seen, by the addition of secondary decorative motifs in the squares, diamonds or rhomboids that form the main figures. The manner of representing the composition, with a prevailing flatter quality, makes the rest of the figures -such as the oblong hexagons produced by the pattern and even the lozenges inserted inside them- stand out. This can be noticed in the mosaic of the Roman villa in Fuente Álamo and in those unearthed in San José and José Cruz Conde streets, in Córdoba. All the other specimens display a colour scheme distribution appropriate to generate the characteristic three-dimension effect.

This striking peculiarity, founded on perspective and no other, is what defines this type of design and almost monopolizes it, as happens with other compositions where a similar effect is achieved, or where the artist provokes a feeling of movement and/or distraction by prioritizing some figures or motifs above others. In any case, they seek to involve the viewer in order to be admired in their full

glory². We have already seen that, in order to obtain the desired effect, the use of colour is necessary; although, occasionally, a turn or change in the orientation of the composition can produce a new sensation and a new effect, more or less different from the original one. This is what happens, for instance, in the mosaic of Antequera, where the artisan who laid it knew that by turning the composition 90 degrees with respect to the main axis -coincident in this specific case with the gaze of the god Oceanus- the blocks would acquire a special mobility, creating the effect of a ribbon unfolding in a zig-zag pattern. Concurrently, this strategy provided the composition with a feeling of fluid, cadenced and at the same time continuous movement. Maybe the aim was to evoke the flow of running water and the rhythm of the waves, perfectly integrating this rather characteristic and outstanding design, normally so cut off from that kind of feeling, in the aquatic environment of the baths.

All the above makes the power of geometrical motifs and colour perfectly apparent, especially when both are combined. It proves that a simple change in the point of view or the orientation of the compositions, or the addition or removal of small parts, can arouse various feelings and even create different compositions, sometimes quite removed from the original (Vargas Vázquez 2009: 199-225; 2016a: 277, 321-322).

2 We have studied in depth the geometry play based upon the creation of visual effects which need a certain level of attention and interaction on the part of the observer, thanks to ambiguity, the changing appearance and the mobility or dynamism the figures gain within a single composition. The study can be found in the article: Vargas Vázquez 2009: 199-225. The obvious similarities of some of these creations with those born out of the artistic movement known as Op Art (short for optical art) -an art style that reached its top splendour in the 1960s, and that could boast the adherence of renowned artists such as Víctor Vasarely and the British artist Bridget Riley- are also highlighted in that paper. Those connections had been previously underlined and analysed by Gisela Salies in her master essay "*Irritations optiques dans l'ornementation pavimentale romaine*", published in the minutes for the 6th International Colloquium on ancient mosaics (Salies 1994: 423-430).

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Iconographie et relecture d'une mosaïque gallo-romaine à décor multiple de Vienne (Narbonnaise)

Narbonne'dan Çok Dekorlu Bir Gallo-Roma Mozaïği'nin İkonografi ve Yeniden Okuma Çalışmaları

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Abstract

Iconography and Re-Reading of a Gallo-Roman Mosaic with Multiple Decor of Vienne (Narbonensis)

A large number of isolated panels of mosaics, discovered during the nineteenth century, have been preserved, sometimes forgotten in private collections and have not been studied. In many cases, we do not know their exact provenance. In the present article, we propose to study a panel of mosaic representing a deer, whose provenance is probably Vienne (Gallia Narbonensis) and is now kept in a private collection.

This panel, according to comparisons with the other mosaics found at Vienne and in the two suburbs of Sainte-Colombe and Saint-Romain-en-Gal, seems to belong to a multiple decor pavement mentioned by Adrien Blanchet in the Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule in 1909. The mosaic of the deer is certainly a panel disappeared after its discovery in 1867. We propose a new interpretation of the decor placing our panel with those from the same pavement still preserved in the archaeological museum, (church Saint-Pierre de Vienne): The four seasons, a lion, a dog, Theseus abandoning Ariadne and Ariadne asleep.

Keywords: *Mosaics, opus tessellatum, deer, Roman Gaul, Gallia Narbonensis, Vienne.*

Öz

19. yüzyılda keşfedilmiş pek çok ayrılmış mozaik paneli, günümüze kadar korunmuş olup kimi zaman ise özel koleksiyonlarda unutulmuştur ve incelenmemiştir. Bu mozaiklerin pek çoğunun menşei ise tam olarak bilinmemektedir. Bu çalışmada muhtemel buluntu yeri Vienne (Narbonne) olan ve hâlihazırda özel bir koleksiyonda saklanan geyik betimli bir mozaik paneli ele alınacaktır.

Vienne ile Sainte-Colombe ve Sain-Romain-en-Gal kentlerinde bulunan diğer mozaik döşemelerle karşılaştırma yapıldığında bu mozaik, Adrien Blanchet'nin 1909 yılında yayınladığı Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule isimli çalışmasında sözü edilen çok betimli bir mozaığe ait olmalıdır. Geyik betimli bu panel, mozaığın 1867 yılında bulunduktan hemen sonra kaybolan eksik kısmıdır. Bu makalede, geyik betimli bu döşemenin, mozaığın Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde (Saint-Pierre de Vienne Kilisesi) korunan diğer parçalarıyla, yani dört mevsim, bir aslan, Theseus'un Ariadne'yi terk etmesi ve Ariadne'nin uyurken betimlendiği parçalarla birlikte değerlendirilerek yeni bir yorum getirilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Mozaik, opus tessellatum, geyik, Roma Galyası, Gallia Narbonensis, Vienne.*

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Les XIX^e et XX^e siècles furent un tournant dans le domaine de l'étude de la mosaïque (Darmon 2010: 161-165). En France, dès 1909 Georges Lafaye et Adrien Blanchet publièrent pour la première fois un *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*. Henri Stern qui fut l'instigateur et l'auteur des quatre premiers fascicules du *Recueil général des Mosaïques de la Gaule* publia les programmes iconographiques des mosaïques antiques et médiévales de Belgique et de Lyon. Parallèlement à cette remarquable entreprise qui permit de rassembler de nombreuses découvertes¹, un grand nombre de panneaux isolés ou provenant de mosaïques à décor multiple découverts généralement au XIX^e siècle ont été conservés, parfois oubliés dans des collections privées et n'ont pas fait l'objet d'étude. Dans de nombreux cas, nous ne connaissons pas leur provenance exacte (Lemaître 2009).

Henri Lavagne, directeur de la collection du *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, édité sous l'égide de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, m'a confié le relevé et l'étude des mosaïques antiques du Centre de la France. C'est dans le cadre de cette recherche, en cours, que j'ai pu examiner dans une collection privée, un panneau de mosaïque (Fig. 1). Le propriétaire en avait hérité de son grand-père mais, il ne possédait hélas que peu d'information. Seule une inscription manuscrite révélait deux provenances possibles: Sainte-Colombe et Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Ces deux communes françaises sont situées dans le département du Rhône en région Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, sur la rive droite du Rhône, correspondant à la Narbonnaise après la réorganisation des Gaules par l'empereur Auguste. Sainte-Colombe et Saint-Romain-en-Gal sont à la périphérie de la ville de Vienne, capitale du peuple Allobroge au II^e siècle avant J.-C., promue en 50 ou 28-27 avant J.-C. colonie latine.

Vienne a livré avec ses faubourgs, Sainte-Colombe et Saint-Romain-en-Gal, un très vaste ensemble de mosaïques – plus de 150 pavements ou fragments recensés à ce jour² –, qui témoigne de l'intense activité des ateliers locaux, sans équivalent dans une autre ville de Gaule.

Le panneau au cerf

La mosaïque étudiée est un panneau isolé dont on ne connaît pas la provenance archéologique exacte. Il s'agit d'une composition centrée représentant un animal herbivore, un cervidé. Les dimensions actuelles sont de 75 x 75 cm. D'après une observation visuelle, il semble que les tesselles blanches soient en marbre; les

1 13 Volumes publiés du *Recueil général des Mosaïques de la Gaule* de 1957 à 1987 couvrant la Belgique, la Lyonnaise, la Narbonnaise et l'Aquitaine: Belgique - Belgique, I-1: Partie ouest, par Henri Stern (1957); Belgique, I-2: Partie est, par Henri Stern (1960); Belgique, I-3: Partie sud, par Henri Stern (1963). Lyonnaise - Lyonnaise, II-1: Lyon, par Henri Stern (1967); Lyonnaise, II-2: Partie sud-est, par Henri Stern et Michèle Blanchard-Lemée (1975); Lyonnaise, II-3: Partie centrale, par Jean-Pierre Darmon et Henri Lavagne (1977); Lyonnaise, II-4: Partie occidentale, par Michèle Blanchard-Lemée (1991); Lyonnaise, II-5: Partie nord-ouest, par Jean-Pierre Darmon (1995). Narbonnaise - Narbonnaise, III-1: Partie centrale, par Henri Lavagne (1979); Narbonnaise, III-2: Vienne, par Janine Lancha (1981); Narbonnaise, III-3: Partie sud-est, par Henri Lavagne (2000). Aquitaine - Aquitaine, IV-1: Partie méridionale (Piémont pyrénéen), par Catherine Balmelle (1980); Aquitaine, IV-2: Partie méridionale, suite (les pays gascons), par Catherine Balmelle (1987). Plusieurs autres fascicules sont en cours de préparation: cités d'Arles, de Marseille et de Glanum par H. Lavagne et V. Blanc-Bijon, cité de Nîmes par J.-P. Darmon, cité de Bordeaux par C. Balmelle, cités de Périgueux et de Saintes par A.-A. Malek, cités des *Arvernes* et des *Ségusiaves* par V. Vassal.

2 Nous mentionnons la découverte récente d'une vingtaine de mosaïques à Sainte-Colombe. Ces vestiges ont été découverts lors d'une fouille préventive réalisée d'avril à décembre 2017 (responsable scientifique du chantier Benjamin Clément). Le site de Sainte-Colombe a été classé "découverte exceptionnelle", le matériel est actuellement en cours d'étude.



Figure 1
Mosaïque au Cerf. Collection particulière. Photo V. Vassal.

vertes en calcaire; les tesselles bleu foncé, en pâte de verre? Il n'y a pas eu de prélèvement qui permettrait de procéder à l'analyse des matériaux. Les tesselles mesurent 0,3 à 0,5 cm de côté environ.

La mosaïque ayant été coulée dans un béton moderne, il est impossible d'observer le lit de pose original.

L'encadrement du panneau est constitué de deux filets, l'un triple, l'autre double qui dessinent des cadres noirs sur fond blanc; un cercle est inscrit dans les carrés composés alternativement d'un filet double noir, d'une tresse à deux brins (noir, rouge, jaune, sur fond blanc) et d'un second cercle concentrique composé d'un filet double noir.

Au centre du panneau, un cerf, reconnaissable par ses bois est réalisé dans un

camaïeu d'ocre, de brun, de jaune et de rose. Dressé sur ses pattes, de profil, la tête baissée, il broute des herbes placées à sa droite. Le sol est suggéré par deux lignes de tesselles superposées de couleur jaune. Les éléments naturalistes à l'intérieur du médaillon sont presque inexistant, seule l'herbe consommée par l'animal suggère une scène située à l'extérieur.

Aux quatre écoinçons sont placés des éléments décoratifs variés qui ne semblent pas avoir de lien avec la représentation centrale: un cratère, deux *scuta* et un trident superposé à une double hache.

Les représentations des écoinçons

- Un cratère (Fig. 2)

À l'angle supérieur gauche, un vase profond est identifié comme un cratère. Il est représenté avec un pied court et une panse large où se développent deux grandes anses se terminant en volutes et fuseaux dans la partie supérieure.

Figure 2
Détail du cratère. Collection particulière.
Photo V. Vassal.



Le vase est cerné de noir mais la panse est composée de trois couleurs (rouge, jaune, blanc) donnant l'impression d'une vaisselle précieuse grâce à des reflets dorés, suggérés par l'alignement vertical des tesselles de couleur, rouge aux extrémités de la panse, puis jaune et enfin blanc au centre. La partie extérieure est

traitée "au trait" à l'aide de tesselles noires. On peut noter une petite maladresse dans la réalisation de l'une des anses. En effet, elle ne reproduit pas à l'identique la volute inférieure de l'anse gauche mais, au contraire cette dernière est tournée vers l'intérieur de la panse. De même la volute supérieure est moins bien exécutée, l'enroulement de la spirale est beaucoup plus refermé.

- Les boucliers (Fig. 3a - 3b)

Des éléments d'armement sont successivement placés à l'angle inférieur gauche et supérieur droit du panneau. Il s'agit probablement soit du bouclier du gladiateur, très cintré, s'adaptant à la forme du bras auquel il était fixé par des liens³, soit le *scutum* grand bouclier oblong de l'infanterie romaine, doté d'un *umbo* central.

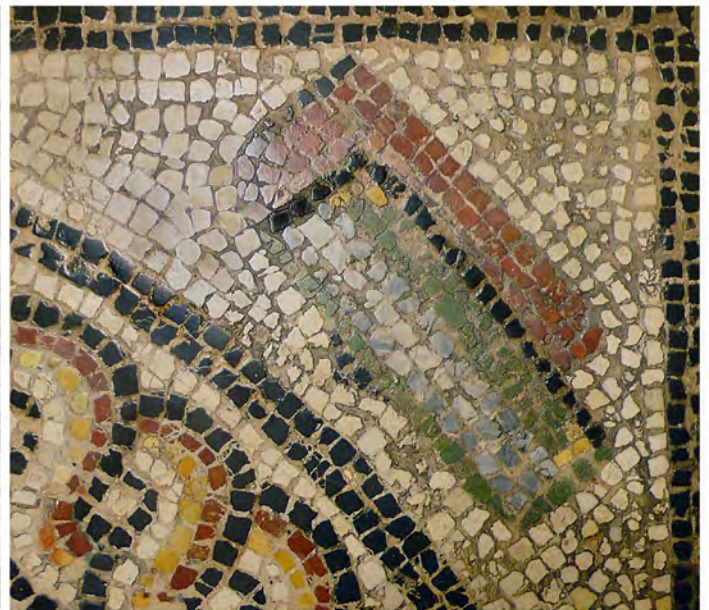
Figure 3a - 3b

Détail des boucliers. Collection particulière.
Photo V. Vassal.

Les deux boucliers sont vus selon différents axes, ourlés d'une ligne de tesselles noires. Le traitement des couleurs des parties concaves (rouge, rose) et convexes (bleu-clair, vert) suggère d'une manière un peu maladroite, la troisième dimension. Seul un *umbo* de couleur noire est visible sur la surface extérieure du bouclier placé dans l'angle supérieur droit.



3a



3b

- Trident et hache bipenne (Fig. 4)

À l'angle inférieur droit, un trident noir dont le manche se termine en fer de lance est disposé sur une hache à double tranchant, bipenne ou *labrys*, formant une croix de Saint-André. Le manche de la hache est réalisé à l'aide de tesselles jaunes symbolisant le bois, tandis que le fer est noir avec une bordure bleu ciel afin de rendre l'aspect du métal. Dès le IV^e siècle av. J.-C., le trident est ordinairement associé aux scènes marines: mosaïque de Triton et Scylla, (Erétrie – BCH, 124, 2000, Chron., 966 fig. 255); aux dauphins (Délès – Bruneau 1972: 214 fig. 166; Rome – Concetta Laurenti 2005: 316-317 figs. 1-2, 320-322 figs. a-d; Phonniké – De Maria - Mercuri 2007: 168 fig. 16; Avignon – Recueil Gaule III,

³ Dont il existe de nombreux exemples: mosaïque des gladiateurs Römerhalle, Bad Kreuznach (Allemagne), III^e siècle ap. J.-C.; mosaïque aux gladiateurs, conservée au Musée de la Cour d'Or, II^e-III^e s. ap. J.-C (Metz).

1: 56-58 pls. X-XI); à Poséidon (mosaïque de Poséidon et Amphitrite, Pompéi – PPM, IX, 1999: 118-119 fig. 3) puis aux combats entre gladiateurs.



Figure 4
Détail trident et hache bipenne. Collection particulière. Photo V. Vassal.

La hache bipenne est un motif rare sur les mosaïques de Gaule romaine. En Italie, on a un témoignage datant de l'époque républicaine dans la Fullonica de Cagliari (Angiolillo 1981: 85; Mureddu 2000: 1-4; Colavitti 2003: 63-64; Colavitti – Tronchetti 2003: 37-39 fig. 7; Quattrocchi 2015: 222-223 fig. 6) ainsi que sur la mosaïque au chien, placée dans les *fauces* de la maison de Paquius Proculus à Pompéi, datant du I^{er} siècle et qui présente une imagerie apotropaïque: une hache bipenne, un bouclier et une lance.

Le médaillon central

La tresse qui entoure le cerf forme une composition centrée polychrome (noir, rouge, jaune, blanc) faite de deux brins disposés en entrelacs sur fond clair, de 7 cm. La tresse est entourée de deux filets doubles de couleur noire. Certaines tesselles ont manifestement été "perturbées", comme le montrent notamment la légère rupture dans l'alternance des couleurs représentant le pelage de l'animal, on note également une différence de teinte dans les joints interstitiels, laissant supposer une restauration ancienne au début de XX^e.

Le médaillon mesure 40 cm de diamètre: un cerf est campé au centre. Ses bois à six cors ainsi qu'une partie de la ligne de sol touchent le filet double noir.

La taille des tesselles et les nombreuses couleurs (ocre, jaune clair, jaune foncé, rose, gris) animent le pelage de l'animal. Le cou porte une crinière, sous la gorge, réalisée avec des tesselles grises. La coloration du pelage des cerfs varie fortement selon les saisons. L'animal mue deux fois par an. Au printemps, il revêt une peau fine et claire d'une teinte brun-roux et à l'automne, apparaît un pelage plus épais et plus foncé pour supporter les froids d'hiver. Sur le panneau, les teintes du pelage de l'animal sont claires, laissant supposer que la scène se déroule au printemps ou en été.

On trouvait en Gaule, dès l'époque gallo-romaine, des cerfs de très grande taille, comme en témoignent les fouilles menées en 1856, par les archéologues MM. Métayer et Gardin qui découvrirent plusieurs squelettes de cerfs dans un puits funéraire gallo-romain, daté du IV^e siècle ap. J.-C. sur la commune de Menneval, près de Bernay dans l'Eure (Coutils 1916: 298-299; Alonso 2006: 196).

Des médaillons en bois de cerfs de l'époque gallo-romaine furent également découverts à Lyon (Béal 1983: n°830), ces derniers avaient certainement une fonction d'amulettes et pouvaient être portés sur des vêtements ou attachés à des parois (Fig. 5). En effet, grâce à sa mue et à la repousse annuelle de ses bois, le cerf symbolise la force, la puissance, l'abondance et la virilité (Alonso 2006: 213; Alonso 2007).



Figure 5
Médaille en bois de cerf. Musée Gallo-Romain de Fourvière (Béal 1983: n°830).

Le cerf est un ongulé artiodactyle; il marche sur la pointe de ses quatre doigts, garnis de sabots. Ces derniers sont réalisés sur la mosaïque en deux teintes, gris et noir, soulignant les différentes parties de l'anatomie du cerf: pince et talon de la patte. Un élément attire notre attention: ce sont les trois petits appendices placés au niveau du cou. Le rendu, un peu grossier, suggère le hérissément des poils sur le dos de l'animal, afin d'animer sa silhouette un peu rigide. Quelques tesselles noires sous la queue, sous le ventre, le cou, les oreilles, mais, aussi, les articulations des pattes ourlent la silhouette de l'animal afin de créer une profondeur et un aspect naturaliste.

Ce panneau étant sorti de son contexte archéologique, il m'a semblé intéressant de tenter de le replacer dans des séries gallo-romaines connues. La provenance supposée mais aussi le style de la mosaïque m'ont conduit à rechercher des parallèles en Gaule et plus particulièrement à me tourner vers des exemples de Vienne et de Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Les représentations de cerf en Gaule

Nous nous proposons de rechercher des comparaisons permettant d'étayer la provenance rhodanienne de ce panneau au cerf. Nous étudierons quelques mosaïques présentant les mêmes types de motifs décoratifs afin de vérifier leur

proximité stylistique. Le motif du cerf est-il rare ou abondant dans l'iconographie de Gaule-romaine, apparaît-il isolé ou bien associé à d'autres animaux?

Une mosaïque, incomplète a été trouvée en 1985, sur le site des Nymphéas dans la Maison de l'*Atrium* à Vienne, datée de la fin du II^e siècle. Elle ornait une pièce de réception chauffée par hypocauste. Orphée assis sur un rocher se trouvait au centre du pavement, charmant avec sa lyre les animaux inscrits dans des octogones. Il s'agit pour la plupart de quadrupèdes d'origine africaine, mais on note également la présence d'un cerf debout.

À Saint-Romain-en-Gal, dans la Maison aux cinq mosaïques, datant du début du III^e siècle, une pièce était décorée d'une mosaïque aux *xenia* (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 260-274 pl. CL). Cette dernière présente un ensemble de sujets de grande qualité, disposés dans les carrés d'une composition quadrillée. Les motifs se rapportent en majorité aux plaisirs de la table: perdrix, pintade, poissons, champignons en nature morte. On trouve également des représentations dionysiaques, des figures du répertoire marin, comme la néréide, le dauphin et des animaux comme le cerf. On peut noter dans les carrés, la présence de cerfs, l'un aux trois-quarts détruit (carré XI) (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 266), l'autre couché (carré XV) (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 267) représenté à l'aide d'une riche polychromie (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 267 pl. CLIIb).

En dehors de la région de Vienne, le cerf est notamment attesté sur deux mosaïques datant du III^e siècle: à Pont d'Ancy en Picardie où quatre panneaux carrés ornés d'animaux ont été découverts, aujourd'hui conservés au musée des Antiquités Nationales à Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Sur l'un des panneaux, évolue un cerf au galop, vu de profil. Le panneau est entouré d'une tresse à deux brins, d'une bande d'épines, noires sur fond blanc, et d'une autre tresse à deux brins (Recueil Gaule I, 1: 54-55 pl. XXX). À Lillebonne, la grande mosaïque datant du III^e-IV^e siècle est ornée de panneaux trapézoïdaux historiés représentant plusieurs scènes dont un départ pour la chasse et une chasse à l'appelant (Recueil Gaule II, 5: 90-102 pls. LXVII-LXXXIX). Le cerf est reproduit trois fois dans deux panneaux: deux cerfs apprivoisés et un cerf sauvage, majestueux accompagné de deux biches. Un autre exemple de scène cynégétique incluant une chasse au cerf, peut-être signalé sur la mosaïque de Diane et Callisto de Villelaure, remontant au III^e siècle (Recueil Gaule II, 5: 312 fig. CII, CIII).

La représentation du cerf sur les mosaïques en Gaule romaine est principalement liée au mythe d'Orphée, à des *xenia* ou à la représentation de scènes de chasse. Dans les mosaïques rhodaniennes, l'animal est très souvent isolé dans un caisson ou un médaillon. Sa représentation semble plus décorative que symbolique.

Autres exemples de l'emploi des boucliers en écoinçon

En ce qui concerne les motifs des écoinçons, on peut constater la présence du bouclier sur plusieurs autres mosaïques de la région de Vienne, soit en motif de remplissage, soit comme armement du gladiateur. Sur la mosaïque de la pièce 10, du site des nymphéas à Vienne, datant du 1^{er} quart du II^e siècle, Janine Lancha décrit:

“Aux écoinçons, dont l'un est conservé, et un second partiellement, un bouclier semi-cylindrique dessiné par un filet noir, de couleur ocre, blanche, rose, rouge, l'intérieur gris-bleu, est suspendu par une bandelette rouge en accolade de part et d'autre d'un clou”. (Lancha 1981: 90 fig. 53).

Dans la propriété Petit à Saint-Romain-en-Gal, une mosaïque aujourd'hui détruite, datée de la fin du II^e siècle était composée de cercles, de carrés droits

et de carrés sur la pointe (Lancha 1974: 80 fig. 17). Un motif de remplissage représentant un bouclier semi-cylindrique, incliné vers la droite à côté d'une *sica* (arme du gladiateur Thrace) ornait un carré (Christophe - Pelletier 1967: 100 fig. 11b). À Sainte-Colombe, une mosaïque à décor multiple, découverte à la Terre des Fouseaux en 1811, dont le seul témoignage connu est un dessin, sans échelle d'Artaud (Christophe - Pelletier 1967: 102 fig. 12), possédait sur l'un de ses caissons:

“[...] un bouclier de peltes noires sur fond blanc réservant un cercle central dans lequel est inscrit un cratère [...]. Aux 4 écoinçons un bouclier semi-cylindrique à courroies vu sous des angles divers : extérieur rouge, intérieur gris bleu avec un poignard recourbé dans l'angle supérieur gauche ou droit, une *sica* d'un gladiateur Thrace (lame gris bleu, manche rouge)”. (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 149 pl. LXVIII).

Il en est de même sur une autre mosaïque de Sainte-Colombe (chemin des Missionnaires), dont 5 caissons sont conservés, datés de la fin du 3^e quart du II^e siècle. La mosaïque adopte une forme particulière: le décor géométrique est traité en polychromie, il ne présente pas l'alternance habituelle entre un disque et un caisson à décor géométrique couvrant comme la mosaïque précédente. Concernant les écoinçons de deux panneaux, on lit:

“[...] sur les diagonales un bouclier semi-cylindrique, extérieur jaune, rouge, intérieur gris bleu, vu sous un angle différent et muni de courroies rouges de l'autre côté rhyton”. (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 172 pl. XCII, b).

Il n'existe pas à ma connaissance d'autres représentations de bouclier seul ou avec une *sica* en dehors de la région de Vienne. Les autres représentations se rapportent à la gladiature comme le Myrmillo de Flacé-lès-Mâcon aujourd'hui conservé au Musée de Mâcon (Fig. 6), et daté des II^e-III^e siècles. Le gladiateur identifié comme le Myrmillo, abrite son corps derrière un *scutum* beige bordé de noir et de rouge sur deux côtés et s'apprête à frapper le *palus* (Recueil Gaule II, 2: 115 pl. LXI-LXII).



Figure 6
Myrmillo de Flacé-lès-Mâcon, conservé au
Musée de Mâcon. Photo V. Vassal.

En ce qui concerne le cratère et la hache bipenne, ces décors apparaissent dans les carrés d'une mosaïque à décor multiple d'Arbin, déposée et installée en 1869 dans la chapelle du château de la Bâthie (Recueil Gaule III, 3: 31-35 pl. I-III). Cette mosaïque a été étudiée par Janine Lancha (Lancha 1974: 71) qui en a justement souligné "*le caractère spécifiquement viennois*". Les motifs sont polychromes, mais la gamme de couleur n'est pas très étendue: "*gris-bleu, rouge-brique, ocre-jaune*". Tous les motifs sont ourlés par un filet noir. Son schéma et ses remplissages peuvent être mis en parallèle avec plusieurs mosaïques de la capitale des Allobroges, ce qui laisse supposer qu'il s'agit du travail d'un atelier itinérant, venu de Vienne (Recueil Gaule III, 3: 34).

Aucun des motifs d'écoinçons du panneau au cerf ne peut être considéré comme original. Le décor semble lié au répertoire viennois qui appartient le plus souvent à la nature, au monde de la gladiature ou à la mythologie.

Le motif de la tresse

La tresse en bordure intérieure, tout comme les motifs des écoinçons, nous pousse à rapprocher ce panneau de plusieurs autres mosaïques connues à Vienne et à Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Il faut surtout rapprocher notre pavement d'un fragment de mosaïque de Saint-Romain-en-Gal, uniquement connu aujourd'hui par une photographie ancienne (Recueil Gaule III, 2: pl. CXLII) autrefois conservé au musée archéologique de Vienne (Fig. 7). Cette mosaïque lacunaire reprend les mêmes motifs d'écoinçons, avec un traitement exactement identique au panneau actuellement étudié, mais inversé, tout du moins dans la présentation faite dans le (Recueil Gaule III, 2: pl. CXLII). Or si l'on bascule vers la droite la photographie du panneau disparu: le bouclier, la hache bipenne et le trident se retrouvent disposés exactement aux mêmes angles que le panneau au cerf (Figs. 8a-b). Si nous observons attentivement les deux photographies, nous pouvons en conclure qu'il s'agit d'une seule et même mosaïque. L'analyse poussée des détails présents sur les deux panneaux confirme qu'il s'agit bien de la même œuvre. Pourquoi est-elle incomplète sur la photographie en noir et blanc provenant du volume de Recueil Gaule? Peut-être comme le précise Janine Lancha, parce que la mosaïque était présentée derrière un sarcophage (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 251) et que seule une partie était visible au moment de la prise du cliché. La figure du cerf était donc complètement cachée et n'apparaissait pas sur ce qui semblait être une mosaïque fragmentaire.



Figure 7
Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Fragment non identifié, d'après J. Lancha, Recueil III-2: notice 387, 251-252, pl. CXLII.



Figure 8a - 8b
Fragment non identifié et panneau au Cerf.

Quatre autres mosaïques découvertes à Vienne au XIX^e siècle, un lévrier (Fig. 9) et trois figures de saisons (Figs. 10a-c) reprennent le même schéma que le panneau au cerf: composition circulaire, tresse et motifs d'écoinçons. Deux autres caissons provenant de la même mosaïque représentent un lion (Fig. 11) et la figure de Thésée (Fig. 12), malheureusement très endommagée. Ces panneaux conservés au Musée archéologique de la ville de Vienne, dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Vienne (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 127-132 pl. LI-LIII), appartenaient à une mosaïque plus importante, composée de 22 compartiments à décor multiple dont J. Lancha a proposé un essai de restitution (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 128 fig. 14).

Figure 9
Panneau au Lévrier. Musée archéologique,
église Saint-Pierre (Vienne).
Photo V. Vassal.



Depuis la découverte de la mosaïque en 1867, 5 panneaux sur 12 ont disparu: un archer, une panthère, un sanglier, un onagre, mais aussi un cerf (Recueil Gaule III, 2: 128). Selon Janine Lancha: "*leur mauvais état explique qu'ils n'aient pas été déposés*". Actuellement, la mosaïque est réduite à 6 caissons: l'Été, l'Automne, l'Hiver, Thésée, un lévrier, un lion, conservés au Musée archéologique, dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Vienne.



10a



10b



10c

Figure 10a
Panneau de l'Eté. Musée
archéologique, église Saint-Pierre
(Vienne). Photo V. Vassal.

Figure 10b
Panneau de l'Hiver. Musée
archéologique, église Saint-Pierre
(Vienne). Photo V. Vassal.

Figure 10c
Panneau de l'Automne. Musée
archéologique, église Saint-Pierre
(Vienne). Photo V. Vassal.



Figure 11
Panneau au Lion. Musée archéologique,
église Saint-Pierre (Vienne).
Photo V. Vassal.

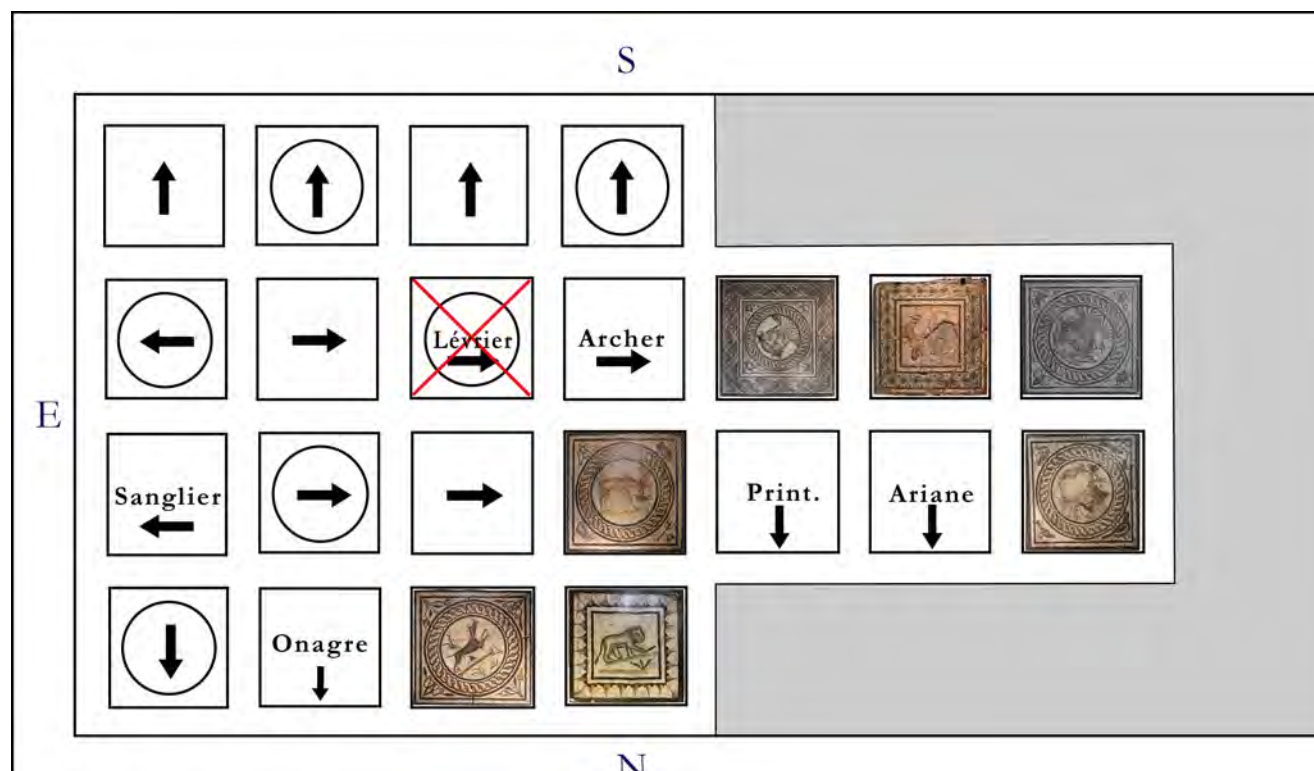


Figure 12
Panneau représentant le départ de Thésée.
Musée archéologique, église Saint-Pierre
(Vienne). Photo V. Vassal.

En reprenant l'*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule* de 1909, à la notice n°187, correspondant à ces 6 panneaux conservés à l'église Saint-Pierre, Adrien Blanchet nous indique que, dans les médaillons, il y avait: "un lévrier attaché à un arbre et aboyant contre un cerf broutant". Il semble donc bien que notre panneau au cerf fasse partie de ce pavement. Nous proposons de le restituer dans la mosaïque à décor multiple en disposant le panneau du lévrier dans la partie inférieure de la mosaïque et non pas comme dans la proposition du *Recueil*. La diagonale souligne l'affrontement entre le chien et le cerf. Si l'archer était placé à proximité du cerf, il s'agissait très probablement de la représentation d'une chasse. Le cerf au repos, broutant, tournait le dos à ces deux attaquants. Ceci m'amènerait donc à restituer 7 panneaux sur les 22 découverts au moment de la fouille et à retrouver l'un des 5 panneaux disparus en 1867 (Fig. 13). La présence d'une photographie prise dans le musée archéologique, dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Vienne reste énigmatique et nous n'avons pas d'information sur le déplacement de cette mosaïque, néanmoins ce fragment non identifié dans le *Recueil* peut-être aujourd'hui rapproché des panneaux cités plus haut (*Recueil* Gaule III, 2: 127-131).

La partie ouest de la mosaïque représentait sans doute, l'abandon d'Ariane par Thésée, sous la forme de deux caissons, entourés par des représentations des Saisons. Il existe, semble-t-il, en dehors de notre mosaïque de Vienne, deux autres mosaïques représentant l'abandon d'Ariane par Thésée: l'une à Orbe, l'autre provenant de Lambèse (Delbarre-Bärtschi 2014: 104). Ici, le sujet est traité sur deux caissons - Ariane endormie (panneau disparu) et Thésée s'appêtant à embarquer (panneau fragmentaire conservé à Vienne) - tandis que les modèles picturaux pompéiens réunissent les deux généralement en une seule scène⁴: Ariane endormie et à ses côtés, Thésée le pied posé sur une échelle s'appêtant à embarquer. La mosaïque Suisse d'Orbe est très proche de notre mosaïque viennoise. Les médaillons reprennent les mêmes décors: bustes des Saisons, animaux dont le cerf et lion, Ariane endormie et Thésée abandonnant cette dernière (Delbarre-Bärtschi 2014: 105 pl. 43, Orbe 95.1 III). Sur les 12 décors connus de la mosaïque de Vienne, 8 sont également présents sur la mosaïque d'Orbe.

4 Pompéi, V, 1, 26, *triclinium* de la maison du banquier L. Caecilius Jucundus, Musée archéologique de Naples (inv. 115396); Pompéi, VII, 4, 51, *oecus* 33 de la maison d'Ariane, maison des Chapiteaux colorés, Musée archéologique de Naples (inv. 9052).



Conclusion

Ce panneau représentant un cerf appartient très certainement à la mosaïque à décor multiple de Vienne dont nous connaissons cinq panneaux isolés, conservés au musée archéologique situé dans l'église Saint-Pierre. La riche polychromie et la finesse des tesselles montrent une mosaïque de belle facture, même si l'on remarque quelques maladresses stylistiques. Elle a été exécutée par un atelier de mosaïstes rhodaniens.

Nous confirmons par comparaison stylistique la datation donnée par J. Lancha, soit le 3^e quart du II^e siècle. À cette époque, les ateliers rhodaniens reproduisent des thèmes à la mode et un répertoire décoratif très varié, représentant des animaux, des natures mortes, des fleurons, des vases... Sur certaines mosaïques, l'effet est essentiellement ornemental, les éléments de décor finissent par ne plus présenter aucune homogénéité thématique avec l'image centrale. Les animaux sont souvent traités, comme une succession de motifs décoratifs isolés. Parfois, ils peuvent être disposés les uns par rapport aux autres évoquant une scène de chasse comme on peut le proposer pour le lévrier aboyant contre le cerf.

Cette recherche permet de démontrer, une nouvelle fois l'intérêt de constituer des corpus de mosaïques. En effet, c'est grâce aux relevés systématiques de toutes les découvertes que nous pouvons parfois retrouver des panneaux isolés, conservés dans différentes collections et les replacer dans leur mosaïque d'origine. Il est donc très important de se replonger dans les archives, d'identifier les fonds mais aussi les collections privées afin d'étudier des documents remarquables par leur intérêt historique, esthétique, unique.

Figure 13

Essai de restitution V. Vassal. Tableau, d'après celui de J. Lancha, Recueil III-2: 128.

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The Modernization of Mosaic Art in Turkey

Türkiye’de Mozaik Sanatın Çağdaşlaşması

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Abstract

In Turkey, improvement of the mosaic art started in the Republic period with the help of far-sighted Atatürk who has attached great importance to history and art. The first excavation and restoration works started with foreign archaeologists. During that period, local archaeologists were also trained in order to keep these excavations up and running. Again in this period, Architect-Painter Association was founded after the “Fine Arts law”. The philosophy of the Bauhaus school, which aims to integrate the fine arts with architecture, has influenced our 1960 artists by the mosaics brought to light by our archaeologists. With the introduction of this law, between 1955 and 1970, Turkish artists applied the first original modern mosaic works to architecture. The “applied fine arts” (Today’s Marmara University Faculty of Fine Arts) was established under the influence of Bauhaus Art School. This school has trained artists who produced very successful works in architecture. In the 1960s Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu transferred the Plastic Art to architecture through the mosaic, as a pioneer. In 1990s H. Vurnal İkizgül pulled out mosaic art from architecture and carried it to today’s art.

Today, mosaic art is re-experiencing and renewing itself with several new techniques and materials. Therefore we must aim to acquire the innovative mosaic education institutions that will pioneer in the world. The emergent artistic production and accumulation by the new generation will raise us on the international platform and underpin of our Contemporary Mosaic Museum.

Keywords: Fine arts, contemporary mosaic, original art, mosaic training, Bauhaus School, architectural.

Öz

Türkiye’de mozaik sanatının gelişimi Cumhuriyetle birlikte, Atatürk’ün sanata ve tarihe verdiği önem ve öngörüsüyle başlamıştır. İlk kazı ve restorasyon çalışmaları, yurtdışından getirilen arkeologlarla başlatılmıştır. Kendi arkeologlarımızın da yetiştirilip çalışmaların sürekliliği sağlanmıştır. Yine bu dönemde çıkan “Güzel Sanatlar Kanunu” ile mimar ressam birlikteliğine yer verilmiştir. İtalyan Kültür Heyeti 1960 ve 1970’de antik ve modern olan iki Ravenna sergisini Türkiye’ye getirmiştir. Arkeologlarımızın gün ışığına çıkardığı mozaikler, güzel sanatları mimariyle kaynaştırmayı amaçlayan Bauhaus okulunun felsefesi 1960 sanatçılarımızı etkilemiştir. Bu kanun vesilesiyle 1955-1970 yılları arasında sanatçılarımız ilk özgün modern mozaik eserlerini, mimariye uygulamışlardır. Bauhaus etkisiyle “Tatbiki Güzel Sanatlar” (bugünün Marmara Üniversitesi GSF) kurulmuştur. Bu okul mimaride çok başarılı eserler üreten sanatçılar yetiştirmiştir.

1960’larda Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, mozaik aracılığıyla Plastik Sanatları mimariye taşımıştır. 1990’larda H. Vurnal İkizgül mozaik sanatını mimariden bağımsız günümüz sanatına taşımış, çağdaş mozaik resim ve heykel sergileriyle, bu sanatın “mimariyle bir bütündür” tabusunu yıkmıştır.

Bugünün mozaikçi birçok teknik ve malzemeye kendini sürekli deneyimlediği, yenilediği bir yeredir. Bu nedenle dünyada ekol olacak, yenilikçi mozaik eğitim kurumlarını hedeflemeliyiz. Yetişen yeni nesil ile çıkacak olan sanatsal üretim ve birikim bizi uluslararası platformda yükseltecek ve Çağdaş Mozaik Müzemi’nin tabanını oluşturacaktır. Ancak özgün eserler, bizi de gelecekte hatırlanır kılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güzel sanatlar, çağdaş mozaik, özgün sanat, mozaikte eğitim, Bauhaus Okulu, mimari.

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We inherited mosaic as a form of art from the art of Mesopotamia. If we choose Alexandria as the starting point of mosaic development, then we can call Anatolia, Syria and Byzantium, the eastern branch, and Greece and Italy, the western branch. Mosaics were able to maintain their existence throughout the Byzantine period and pre-renaissance Italy. These developmental periods are made up of three stages:

- 1 - The stage from Justinian to the Iconoclasts which spans VI – VIII centuries AD.
- 2 - The stage matching the Macedonia and Ducas lineage (Middle Byzantium-the Macedonian Renaissance).
- 3 - The Paleologos Renaissance period from 1261-1453.

Christian art was heavily influenced by the Greek culture and later, Asian art. In addition, the art form was easternized by way of Syria and spread into the Levant, Europe and North Africa. The art of mosaic developed further through the education offered in mosaic schools in Africa, Gaul, Germany, Syria, Venice and Sicily. Renaissance artists saw the copying and reconstruction of previously made mosaics as sufficient. When this custom of copying continued at the mosaic school in Ravenna, it led to stagnation and loss of originality. Once the Ravenna school realized the importance of originality, it opened a division where original designs were encouraged and to this day it is considered as a school which contributed to the development of mosaic as a true fine art.

As Anatolia (Turkey) was under the pressure of Islam during the 8th-9th c. CE, coupled with the “Iconoclast” influence, it chose to separate from Eastern Byzantine art and formed a closer relationship with Greek art. It was in this period, due to their importance in architecture, that paintings and mosaics became the prioritized branches of Byzantine fine arts. It was a poor decision to cover up frescoes and mosaics during the Iconoclastic movement. Once the movement was defeated in the middle of the 9th c. CE, Byzantine Art regained momentum.

Turkey, which is the eastern arm of the art of mosaic is very important because it contains the most valuable mosaics. The unearthing of these mosaics started with the work of specialist archaeologists who came from Germany and the USA under the orders of Atatürk. From the start of that period, our own archaeologists began to get educated and through their conscious efforts, the continuity of their work lasted until today. With the conquering of İstanbul, the mosaics of Hagia Sophia and Kariye mosque were covered with plaster after the two churches were converted into mosques. For the first time in 1932 significant restoration work was initiated in several buildings and the layers of plaster covering the mosaics were removed, thus bringing the mosaics to light. The Byzantine institute of America directorship assumed the task of cleaning the Hagia Sophia and Kariye mosaics. Hagia Sophia was converted into a museum in 1934 by the order of Atatürk. During the initial periods of the republic, a Fine Arts Legislation was passed giving priority to the cooperation between architects and artists. The mastery dominion of fine arts was to be allotted a big part in the great national economic development and construction effort. Thanks to this legislation, the practice of creating artworks and encouraging artists to construct them, as well as providing the freedom for the art to reach its own true personality was finally realized. Breaking established traditions and moving forward to new applications, this legislation aimed to integrate art with public and residential environments. The restoration of historical works was the result of the sensitive and enthusiastic interest the government of that time period displayed towards art; as

such, it became very significant for the artists of the time. The valuable mosaics brought to light after the plaster removal and cleaning, would influence many artists from then on, and mosaics became much appreciated by all people who valued art.

After studying Roman Byzantine mosaics at Hagia Sophia and Kariye in İstanbul, the artists of that period were given the opportunity to gain knowledge and information by viewing the Ravenna mosaic exhibition (copies of the antiquity pieces of Ravenna mosaics) brought to Turkey by the Italian Culture Committee. Exactly ten years later, they were faced with a mosaic exhibition once again opened by the Italians, now also including modern mosaics. The second Ravenna mosaic exhibition called for the much needed modernization of mosaic art, while at the same time, the Italians attempted to strengthen their links with Anatolia - the Eastern branch of Ravenna. With the cooperation of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education, the Italian Cultural Committee opened a mosaic exhibition at Little Hagia Sophia (Hagia Irene) on December 7th, 1961; subsequently, the exhibition was presented to the public in Ankara and İzmir. This exhibition comprised copies of antique pieces of Ravenna mosaics which brought the mosaics from the golden age of the Eastern Roman - Byzantine Empire to the Western artists of the 1960s.

The modern and original works displayed in the second exhibition opened by the Italians in which antique works visibly influenced the artists' ideas in this subject area, showed that mosaic art could be elevated to contemporary modern values; taking a secure step forward from the past (which luckily prevented the extinction of this valuable art form) and comfortably going on to contemporary interpretation, these artists produced mosaics that influenced their peers - the artists of the 1960s.

Regarding the increase of artworks created by modernizing mosaic designs and techniques, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu wrote in an article for the Cumhuriyet newspaper saying "Wishing the same for my country which holds the best mosaics in the world". He passed his enthusiasm onto young artists, tutoring several of them as future masters. In the 1950s thanks to Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu people were able to see local mosaic art with an original language and a modern interpretation.

The Bauhaus School was established in 1919 by the German architect Walter Gropius. A new period had begun in architecture and in the fine arts. The Bauhaus School aimed to fuse architecture with the fine arts, and also aimed at mass production by way of master-apprentice relationships in a unification of art and technique. The school provided endless possibilities to architects and artists in which to conduct new experiments with the objective of keeping creative design in the foreground. Because aesthetics and functionality concerns were kept at the same level, a connection was established between art and technology, and this connection elevated the everyday living to an unprecedented aesthetic level; there was an increase in functionality in the fine arts, as well as an aesthetic level in architecture. Architect-artist togetherness was the agenda of the day. Fine arts became the can't do without component of the architectural whole and through its involvement in everyday life it acquired a new dimension. The architect-artist togetherness in Europe and USA started to spread at maximum speed resulting in excellent works of modern architecture being realized.

Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, an instructor at the State Fine Arts Academy, together with a team of his students (who together make up today's most important

artists), contributed to the forming of modern wall mosaics. It is through their work that Turkey encountered modern wall mosaics for the first time. Bedri Rahmi adopted the view that mosaics would be the best form of art to complement paintings which were non-existent in great buildings. Artists of that period adopted the Bauhaus school's philosophy that focused on architecture and plastic arts, defending the standpoint that the art of painting should be integrated with architectural structures. For years they pioneered the developments in this area in our country. Additionally, these artists were interested in every kind of tool that came along with the developing architecture when trying wall mosaics, using these new tools that were not even considered at that time in Turkey.

Between the years 1955 and 1970, Bedri Rahmi, together with his spouse Eren Eyüboğlu, his son Eren Eyüboğlu, his assistant Devrim Erbil, his students Teoman Sudor and Mustafa Pilevneli, the artists of that period Ferruh Bassag, Sabri Berkel, Nurullah Berk, Turan Erol, Neşet Gural, Nedim Gunsur, Fethi Arda, Mehmet Özel, blazed a trail in Turkey with their large size wall mosaics. They took on the art of mosaic by assigning new shapes to old techniques and made the art develop further again by establishing links to traditions in Turkish architecture. They unified art with the living environment, they proved that the integration of architectural structures and buildings with artwork was a necessity, especially with the addition of colorful mosaics to adorn plain "dead" walls. Therefore, Bedri Rahmi and the 1960s artists who gave meaning to words such as, beautiful, art, artisanship, High art - Low art (art majeur - art mineur) are the first representatives of our country who adopted the Bauhaus philosophy. In choosing this direction, they promoted the understanding that mosaic art blended with everyday living, and along with the mosaics, reliefs, skraffito boards, they also contributed to our architecture. This increased the public's appreciation level as well as their interest in mosaic art. Their innovating ideas and the grounds they prepared for us younger artists can't be overlooked.

The Applied Fine Arts School for further development of wall mosaics (today's Marmara University Fine Arts) was founded along the principles of the Bauhaus school, after the State Fine Arts Academy. This school trained many architects who created masterpieces in architecture. However, after being brought under Marmara University administration, the Applied Fine Arts School departed from its main aim, the Bauhaus principles, and the studies with academic potential continued to thrive while the interest shown to applied workshops decreased. The artists chose individuality, yet they created works of art connected to architecture for economic reasons.

Although the art of mosaic is treated with great respect in Turkey, because it requires skill and mastery of a difficult technique along with the idea that it can't keep up with today's contemporary mosaic art, it is less popular. For centuries, the art of mosaic that developed as part of architecture, has not been able to get out of its historical framework. And although our art historians have covered the artistic importance of this art, mosaic art has been unable to find the place it deserves in our current art forms.

We already mentioned the two Ravenna mosaic exhibitions by the Italians. Aside from these two exhibitions which were brought from abroad, we do not come across a mosaic exhibit by a Turkish artist in Turkey. This is the result of the belief that mosaic art should remain part of architecture and continue to develop along with it. The 1960's artists who were influenced by the Italian exhibits once again created their works for architectural purposes.

Therefore, my first personal contemporary mosaic exhibition that opened in 1992 in Hagia Sophia is the first of its kind in Turkey. In this exhibition I had large size wall mosaics and sculpture. As all were completely independent from architecture, were of monumental size, some with moveable parts despite being heavy, this exhibit surprised many viewers. These works totally separated from architectural features and characteristics, while proclaiming their individuality and independence, also demolished “This art is integrated with architecture” taboo.

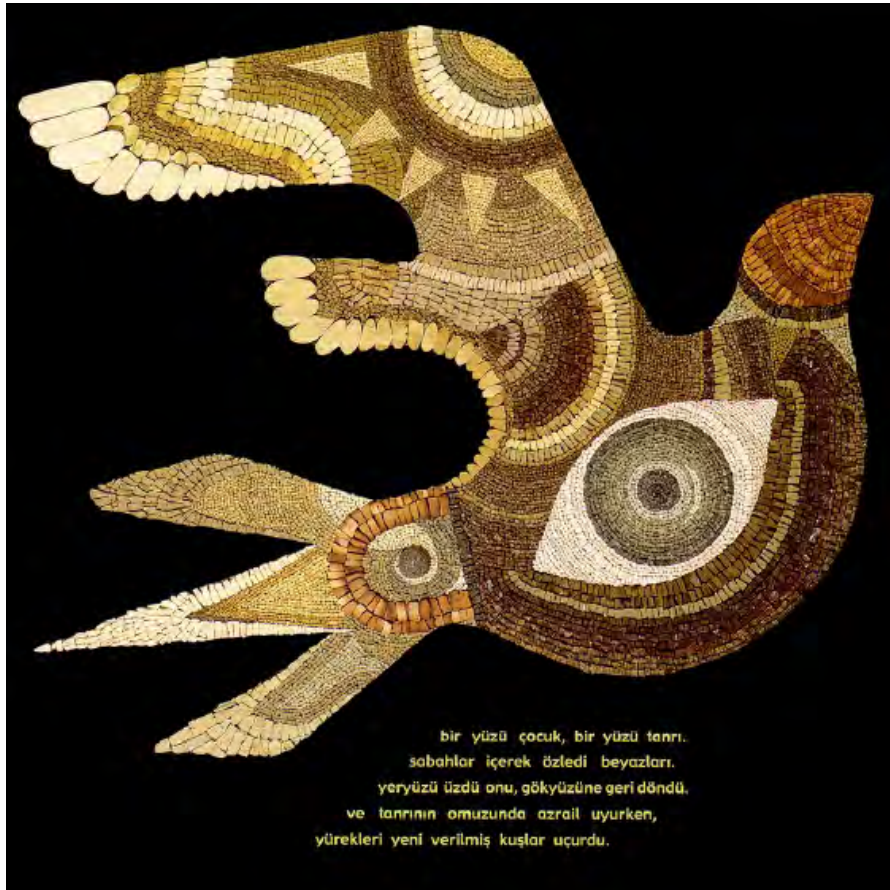
My exhibition with its important historical value along with its artistic value, made a tremendous impact. Consequently, it travelled to the Marseille Istres Art Museum by special invitation from the French government. While our art critics still defend the idea that “the necessity of this art form to stay within the bounds of architecture”, the French government not only acquired many of my works for the museum permanent collection, but also awarded me with the title “European Contemporary Mosaic Artist” (Figs. 1-2).

Figure 1
Moving pendulum. Ayasofya Museum 1992.
Size 1,55 x 1,55 m.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



Figure 2
Marseille Istres Archaeology Museum in
France. Mosaic exhibition 1994.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.

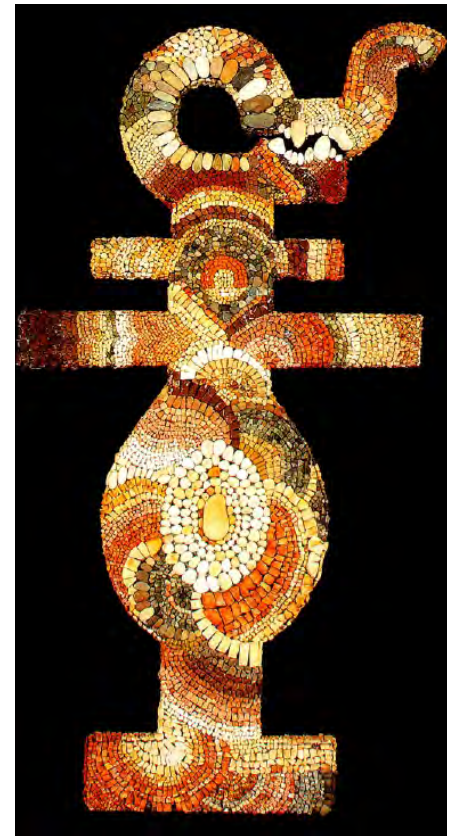
Modernizing the art of mosaic (which was not considered to be separate from architecture) and bringing it to commercial art galleries was something totally foreign to Turkish Mosaic Art. I stripped mosaic from its classical technique and made it acquire new techniques which could keep up with today's international contemporary art. While introducing the art of mosaic at a modern art gallery, my aim was to give it independence and to make it world known that "mosaic is an art form independent from architecture but at the same time it can have a say in architecture"; this view was accepted in Turkey for the first time (Figs. 3-5).



bir yüzü çocuk, bir yüzü tanrı.
sabahlar içerek özledi beyazları.
yeryüzü üzdü onu, gökyüzüne geri döndü.
ve tanrının omuzunda azrail uyurken,
yüreklere yeni verilmiş kuşlar uçurdu.

Figure 3
Vakko Art Exhibition in İstanbul 1996.
Natural stone on wood. Size 1,50 x 1,50 m.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.

Figure 4
Vakko Art Exhibition in Ankara 1997.
Sculpture Crocodile. Natural stone on wood.
Size 1,95 x 1,50 m. Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



The fact that mosaic exhibitions increased in number after my exhibition shows that I have achieved this difficult task; and although it is not enough by world standards, it brings hope to see mosaic exhibitions and mosaic artists increase in number when compared to the past.

In the 1960's the Plastic Arts were making an effort to enter the field of architecture with Bedri Rahmi; in 1990, Hülya Vurnal İkizgül with the art of mosaic was attempting to exit architecture and turn it into an individual form of art. Bedri Rahmi believed that he gave his mosaic art longevity by applying mosaic to architecture with mosaic technique; I defended my view that mosaic is a language of painting and it should keep pace with today's Plastic Arts by exiting the architecture realm. Bedri Rahmi became the first of his kind through the requirements of his time period, I became the first of my kind with my artistic attitude, naturally, taking into consideration today's conditions. The never ending change of conditions and requirements of time shape an artist's creativity.

When one supplies an ancient art with new techniques and adapts it to the current time period, it is difficult to change its contained point of view and its taboos.

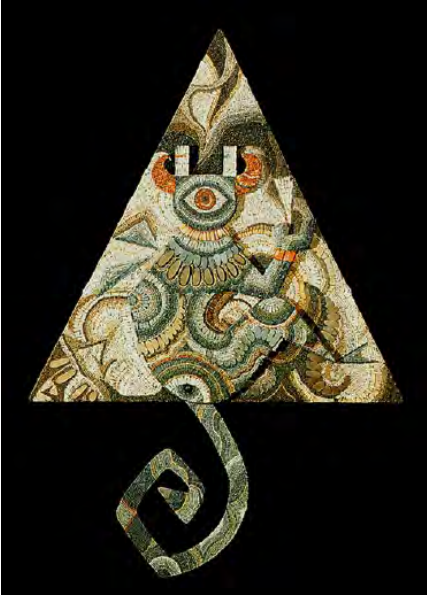


Figure 5
Devrim Erbil Modern Art Museum. Natural
stone on wood. Size 1,50 x 1,50 m.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.

In mosaic, the technique has become the forefront in the language of the mosaic and therefore it has been questioned whether it is Art or Craft; there exists a conceptual confusion in this dilemma. Art? Craft? Usually the value of the art itself is known, nevertheless there exists a substantial concern with its skill or craft. Every artist chooses the material closest to his/her artistic preference and creates his/her work of art; thus, the attributes of the creative artistic method manifests itself in the choice of material used. The important aspect of the final result is the structural harmony and manual dexterity in the use of the material. Therefore, importance of the manual skill in the use of the material and the technical knowledge should be acknowledged without raising concerns about craft. Art should not be evaluated as a distinct and separate part of life, it should be evaluated as one that is integrated, complementary with and within life itself. The increase in new kinds of material along with the advance of technology, created exciting possibilities for researching unknown techniques. The artist has an original view specific to themselves in every time period. In order to keep up with the development of art in every era and art form, the artist should never lose his/her research interest and enthusiasm. In addition to that, the artist should develop his/her skill with new skills and applications of material. Art and craft are siblings. The art of mosaic is not a different field of art, it is a different discipline with its own technique. When one follows the international art scene from here, it is possible to see the rising importance given to mosaic art, the artists whose numbers grow and new modern applications. For the art of mosaic to keep pace with today’s painting discipline, its slow technique should be made more practical. We need to see more mosaics as individual art works independent from architecture exhibited in art galleries. It is my belief that only in this way can mosaic take the place it deserves in today’s art (Figs. 6-8).



Figure 6
G-Art Modern Gallery 2007. “Anatolian
Goddesses” mosaic exhibition.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.

The classical definition of mosaic: the coming together of different materials such as glass or stone pieces, large or small, in a formalized tradition which conveys the period’s language of painting. The artistic definition of mosaic in today’s art: the artist picks one or several different materials such as stone, nails, metal, wood, glass, leather, ceramic, cloth, etc., and places these together in a way that expresses his/her language in making art. Today, the art of mosaic has moved outside the strict rules of the past, and as such, is continuously renewing itself in both materials and technique. Today’s mosaic utilizes many languages.



Figure 7
G-Art Gallery 2007. Anatolian Goddesses.
Natural stone, concrete mosaic.
Size 1,45 x 0,65 m. Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



Figure 8
G-Art Gallery mosaic exhibition 2007.
Concrete mosaic. Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.

We live in a period in which original works using new techniques and material are increasing in number. I believe that it is against mosaic's universal language to categorize mosaic strictly by material and technique. We should respect traditionalism but also keep pace with the new. What makes an artist an artist, is design! (Figs. 9-11).

The world places great importance on both ancient and contemporary mosaics. Turkey is a country rich in ancient mosaics and today, realizing that the rest of the world is now aware of our wealth, Turkey is learning to assess the situation correctly. The South East region of our country has a deep rooted history and culture, especially Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay and Kahramanmaraş are at the crossroads with the historical Silk Road, as well as housing all of the civilizations that had existed in Anatolia. Thanks to this awareness, new cultural inheritance projects are being brought to life. These South East region projects have

Figure 9
Topkapı Museum Darphane-i Amire 2002.
Natural stone tree Sculpture.
Size 1,55 x 0,90 m. Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



Figure 10
Cat Sculpture. İstanbul Modern Art Gallery
2008. Natural stone 1,10 x 0,70 m.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



Figure 11
International Cow Parade Exhibition
2007. Size 2,15 x 1,45 m. Natural stone on
fiberglass. Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



become the forefront with their mosaics increasing our tourism and presentation potential. Our only drawback is that we are living with a conceptual confusion caused by the lack of enough original artists. Confusing the copying and decorative ornamentation style - which repeats the old - with original attitude, placing the mosaic artists and the mosaic technicians in the same group, causes us to diverge from world standard mosaic art agenda.

Mosaic art is a branch of the fine arts division all over the world, yet it has its own schools. Just as the Ravenna school trains its own mosaic artists as an international school, just as Barcelona is a brand name with its mosaic city identity,

if we are in possession of the world's greatest ancient mosaic museum we have a duty to contemporise and renew ourselves. We should become aware and proud of our good fortune and realize that the rest of the world is observing us. In the past, mosaic art was indeed a branch of the fine arts department at our universities, but unfortunately, with the growing lack of interest in mosaic art and in new students, the departments were obliged to close. But now, newly growing attention and importance is being given to mosaics after the realization that the rest of the world is seriously pursuing the art of mosaic. In order to close this gap as soon as possible, I suggest that we open international mosaic schools as part of the Fine Arts departments at our universities. Our country possesses the world's largest ancient mosaic collection at the Zeugma Mosaic Museum, the most significant institution in world culture mosaic heritage. We should aim for educational institutions that will train progressive, dynamic, contemporary mosaic artists, who reflect the universal values we possess. Specialized educational projects aimed at young students could and should enrich visual memories of future generations. We should train not only citizens above a certain age as part of vocational training projects in the cities, but also the mosaic artists of the future, beginning with Fine Arts high schools where students would be encouraged to follow this direction. These locally trained artists using contemporary designs and techniques will infuse new life into the art of mosaic; they will become the bridge between the past and the future. If only we had realized this ten years ago at the time efforts were made to change the status quo, by now we would have succeeded in training two generations of students. In Turkey mosaic art has been until today perceived superficially, only as a craft, with conceptually confused educators and curators. For this reason, it has stayed behind world's contemporary mosaic art. Only the artistic production and experience in new educational institutions will enable us to compete on the international platform. These newly created contemporary mosaics by Turkish artists will form an admirable basis for the Contemporary Mosaic Museum.

Just like the mosaic examples in the rest of the world, the art of mosaic should escape its boundaries and flow into contemporary interpretations, original to living areas. The art of mosaic should not only remain in museums, in no interact zones, it should also be spread in cities, in public places where their colorful, modern images would be seen, touched and felt by countless fingers. However, I believe that in order for a city to be remembered as a mosaic haven and a pioneering example to other cities, it is necessary to make readily available to the public both ancient mosaics and contemporary mosaics. My wish is for our country to be remembered as a place where both ancient and contemporary works are exhibited from the past to the future (Figs. 12-14).

I started learning and creating mosaic art when I was nineteen years old. I devoted thirty years (six at the university) to this art, promoting its need to become a contemporary activity. Presently, I am still fighting this battle while acting as a guest lecturer at universities and other institutions. It makes me sad to see that mosaic is still perceived as a craft rather than an art form. Due to its ancient beginnings, it is not easy to demolish its archaeological and technical taboos.

Today, we have a miracle called the Internet; with all the instant information at our fingertips, we are able to move from the dated old customs and embrace the new. Having the chance to see contemporary mosaic work, it is sad and disadvantageous to produce repetitive works, void of design and creativity. The project we have started in south-east of Turkey called "Mosaic art education" is very crucial. Education is the only answer for the new generation. Naturally, we would also like to see people of all ages (be it as a hobby or as a vocational

Figure 12
Four Seasons Hotel in Sultanahmet İstanbul
1996. Natural stone. Size 2,50 x 1,40 m.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül.



Figure 13
Four Seasons Hotel İstanbul.
Artist H. Vurnal İkizgül 2017.



Figure 14
Four Seasons Hotel İstanbul 1996. Detail
from the mosaic panel.



pursuit) to be attracted to mosaic making’s charm. Where there is no education there is no chance of raising the bar and catching up with the world standards. The apprentice-master relationship, which has continued for centuries, is significant. One can’t become a master without first being an apprentice; its most important aspect is the dedication and hard work on that required journey to become a master.

Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu once said “No cultural experience can be as effective, influential and shaping as life, which constantly changes itself and others”. Every artist harbors traces that belong to his/her time period and era. These traces form the basis for future artists and move us into the future. If we only repeat the past, we cannot keep up with today and thus, leave our mark for the future. We should get away from the repetitive copying of mosaic works, as that activity is an impediment to the development of mosaic; only original works will allow us to be remembered in the future.

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Book Review - Kitap İncelemesi

Maja KRAMER*

Los mosaicos de la Plaza de la Encarnación. Roma a Seville, Guadalupe López Monteagudo, 117 pages, 59 figures, bibliography. (Colección Patrimonium Hispalense) ICAS (Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes de Sevilla) 2015, €13,30, ISBN 978-84-9102-024-0.

Plaza de la Encarnación in the heart of the historic center of Seville was excavated between 2003 and 2009. Starting as a rescue excavation 1998, in connection with the planning of a parking area, four phases from over five centuries of buildings with mosaics, from the Roman *Hispalis* and the late antique *Ispali*, came to light. This book presents the mosaics which have a unique quality and diversity unmatched in its kind in the city, where otherwise only few mosaics have been found, unlike the other Roman cities in the region, Itálica, Ecija and Cordoba.

The text, accompanied by magnificent color photos, is divided into four parts, presentation, introduction, main text which carries the book's title, as well as a selection of bibliographic references. Seville's Mayor, J. Espadas, opens with a presentation (pp. 9-10) of the Antiquarium, the archaeological space which was inaugurated on the site in 2010. Today it currently displays findings from the Roman period, together with archaeological remains of Seville's medieval period into the 14th century. In the Introduction (pp. 11-25) F. Amores, who from 2003 to 2010 was responsible archaeologist for a total of four excavation campaigns, presents a synthesizes of the findings and situates the Roman history of the place, from the first to the seventh century AD, in a chronological and regional context.

The Roman city, whose splendor reached its peak during the second and third centuries AD, undergoes a decline from the fourth and the fifth centuries CE. At that time, the Plaza de la Encarnación also underwent large changes, which for example can be observed in the mixed zone of residential areas and industrial production, a new phenomenon which points to the middle ages. The houses have continually been rebuilt, extended and modified, as was common during the Roman period, but rarely before displayed as visibly as here. The many different levels of flooring that were found as a consequence made it a complex process to create the exhibition area, which nevertheless today comprises a total of 7000 m² floors from five centuries (as shown on a plan).

In the area, there are six peristyle domus, two constructions with vestiges of industrial activities, as well as a type of building lacking a peristyle, here named hospitium. A total of 47 floors were found, 33 with mosaics. Most of these were restored or had replaced older mosaics from the beginning of the construction in the middle of the first century. When the book was published, there were 13 mosaics, in situ on the floor, or exposed as vertical panels, while eight pieces were waiting to be arranged.

The third part, The Mosaics of Plaza de la Encarnación. Rome in Seville. (The title is the reviewer's translation) (pp. 27-121), by G. López Monteagudo, presents a selection of the collection's mosaics, which consist mainly of geometric, but include several figurative, motifs, the majority of *opus tessellatum*.

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The following text is organized as a single flow presenting the mosaics found on the site when walking a scheduled itinerary, but can nevertheless be divided into three parts. First, an overview of the approach and purpose (pp. 27-33), followed by an exploration of the figurative motifs (pp. 33-90), and of the geometric and decorative motifs (s. 90-121) along with a short summary.

With a poetic tone that combines a delight for telling with great knowledge, and with plenty of references and quotations from ancient and modern authors, the author takes us on an inspiring guided tour through the site, starting by emphasizing that we get a unique access to another era, frozen in time through this particular art form. With a focus on style, iconography, and symbolism, the mosaics we pass along the route are made the starting point for an excursion into the Roman imagination with its values, mythology and lifestyle. In this way the mosaics uncover a wider context, both of their practice and in terms of ideas, giving us an insight into the role they had in their world even if, as mentioned in the text, it always eludes us.

The walk takes two parallel tracks. At the same time as we go through a fictitious, but typical Roman House with its ideal construction, with reference to Vitruvius, where the placement of mosaic floor stood in relation to the room's function and the subject's symbolism, we progress through these specific houses where the individual motifs are interpreted and explained. The period in which each individual motif appears in the Roman repertory is mentioned and there are frequent references to parallels in the region, the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, and to the Roman world as a whole, especially the Western parts.

For example, at the first stop, building D, there is the warning and protective Medusa in a geometric composition, as was common in a Roman house. Her fate is told, which the author stresses is essential to understand why and how a mythological figure or pictorial scene is depicted. In this case, it can for example explain the different facial expressions on different versions, which in turn shows the close connection between the literary sources and the artistic representations. Medusa here is depicted with an unhappy facial expression which the author relates to the passage of Apollodorus (Library 2, Chapter 4), telling the story of when she fell in love with Perseus the moment he was to behead her. This is an approach that puts focus on the knowledge and understanding of the myths as well as the interpretative capacity of both the craftsmen and the viewers.

In a majority of the houses there are abundant motifs of winding plants or borders depicting animals, birds, divinities, baskets, flowers, clover and other leaves, fruits, marine fauna and fountains, which all contribute to a sense of nature and garden. It was common in Roman houses, particularly in the so-called dynamic areas intended for passage, like the atrium, peristyles, patios, galleries, halls and corridors, that there were mosaics with figurative or decorative patterns, which alluded to the plants and animals of nature.

However, this is particularly the case in the passages leading to the halls and private rooms in Plaza de la Encarnación. In this way, the indoor is metamorphosed to outdoor and the illusion was spread to all the corners of the houses. Especially curved borders of leaf loops or of olive or ivy leaves created a natural transition between outer or inner spaces and according to the author, these can also be interpreted as propelling a fictional movement forward.

Motifs alluding to water are abundant and are treated in a particularly inspirational way, which functions as a true eye opener for the reader and viewer. In addition to the mythological figures of Oceanus and Medusa, there are abundant

numbers of mosaics with marine fauna such as dolphins, fish, and water birds. Together with the winding plants mentioned earlier, the water creates symbolic ties to nature that are so apparent in the buildings in Plaza de la Encarnación. Some of them are especially interesting; very skillfully made geometric patterns, which create intricate illusions of water and its movements, with the help of contrasts, for example forming winding meanders and zig-zag patterns. In the Casa de los Damos (House of Checkerboards), a pattern of logs of different shapes and colors create an impact similar to the minute motions of almost stagnant water, or of the trail that water leaves in the sand when it withdraws.

The water motifs were often placed in relation to the peristyle, at the fountains or other small courtyards with water containers in various forms, and in the spaces, that open into them. In the Hospitium de los Triclinia (Hospitium of the Triclinium) there is, for example, a perfectly executed geometric composition with two birds on a crater in a small square panel as the central motif. In the two surrounding borders of the mat, an inner and an outer, an illusory movement of water is formed through the opposition of leaves and a stylized wave created by plant rolls. Inside the composition two smaller panels with zig-zag patterns form a similar wave effect.

In the presentation of the Hospitium de los Delfines (Hospitium of the Dolphins), the viewer may experience the feeling of visiting a Roman House and the role played by the mosaics. Apart from housing many motifs with water effects, fish and birds, the building also contains a unique motif, an *asotos oikos* in a geometric composition, a motif otherwise only represented a few times in Hispania with the most famous example in Marbella. Presented from an unusual and unexpected angle, the food scraps depicted are suggested to be remnants of a particular event, i.e. something we cannot know anything about and which therefore awakes ourthe viewer's imagination. In a flashback, the origin of the painting by Sosos of Pergamon (Plin.nat. XXXVI, 184) is told, which becomes a starting point on a section on what they ate and drank during the Roman period, as well as a presentation of the diverse dining habits in Greece and Rome.

Another example of the book's approach with comprehensive overviews of various themes is when it makes a move from food to wine. A version of Bacchus triumph with the presence of Ariadne is the main motif in the triclinium in Casa de Baco (House of Bacchus).

It becomes the starting point for an overview of the different elements of the Bacchic cycle, which were especially common in the wealthy agricultural region of Baetica and which are depicted in various scenes. Bacchus as Cosmocrator, the god of agriculture that spreads the civilization, is best understood together with the triad of olive oil, cereals and wine; agricultural products which required processing to become nutrients, and therefore, symbolically, were an expression of civilization versus barbarism. The wine's symbolic value in the Bacchus cult is in this way set in a larger context than through just his generally well-known cross-border role in a cult with notions of drunkenness, ecstasies, rebirth and immortality.

As the version with Bacchus triumph with Ariadne in the carriage was the most common motive in Baetica for a long time, this part of the Bacchic cycle and its entanglements is recapitulated. Moreover, the presence of Ariadne binds it together with two other myths; the Minotaur of Crete and the escape with Theseus to Naxos; as well as the meeting between Ariadne and Bacchus, his offer of divine love and their divine marriage, which represents a victory over a wild and uncivilized world.

The last part of the book is devoted to the geometric and decorative compositions and motifs that are present in large numbers and in many variations and sizes, with or without figurative elements. While some of these patterns are similar, others are variations which indicate that each domus had an individual taste, style and most likely a separate decorative program. The patterns are sometimes made with astonishing illusory three-dimensional shapes and optical effects, and appear both in color and black and white. Black background often occurs both in borders and panels and is, incidentally, one of the features on the site. Rare in the rest of Hispania, it is especially prevalent in North Africa.

Although there are frequent mistakes and confusion in the execution of the compositions, the geometric mosaics are generally of a very good quality, both technically and concerning the geometric understanding. Here we would like to add that the geometric mosaics consistently are of better quality than the figurative mosaics and some, especially those of larger format, are made with an astoundingly good technique and are never repeated twice. In general, these designs were popular for a long time and are consequently complicated to date. Several motifs continue into Christian times, which shows an even longer continuity of certain shapes and patterns, although with a new meaning.

The guided tour is summed up with the statement that the many and various motifs on the Plaza de la Encarnación provide unique information about the choice of entire decorative programs and of an urban development in a limited area. The mosaics have a special character, the result of mixing and using influences from global fashion trends to make something of their own. It is clear that the intention has been to create mosaics with a distinct and personal accent out of the Roman *koiné*, as the author so well puts it. At the same time, the mosaics show consistency with other cities in Baetica, especially from the third and fourth centuries AD.

The mosaics were often improved or remade and new ones were placed over the old, this reminds us that these mosaics were once floors and everyday life for the people who lived there. However, it makes them very difficult to date based on iconography, which also applies to the differences in technique, e.g. simplified, incompletely finished or technically incorrect versions of a motif, which, as stressed, may depend on the quality of the craft rather than differences in time.

The book is aimed both for a broad general audience and for professional readers as it provides an overview and an in-depth introduction to the mosaics and the environment on the site, as well as to Roman mosaic art and imagination in general.

Through its unusual approach, the reader is drawn into the flowing and vivid prose, which skillfully weaves together the facts of the mosaic, including interpretations and excursions into different connected topics. This contributes greatly to making the walk through the rooms so alive, and creates the feeling of presence in relation to buildings and mosaics. At the same time, it is a demanding text that requires the engagement of the reader because of the concentrated amount of substantive information.

Considering the small collection of mosaics, it is cleverly done to succeed in holding the text together despite the arrangement with continuous digressions. Despite the challenge, the author has succeeded to explain how different types of motifs and patterns (figurative, geometric, naturalistic or decorative) in the collection played different and important roles in the Roman home and imagination.

As a final comment, one can consider whether the text might have been benefited by including subtitles. The point of the current prose, however, is that it creates movement and drive in the text. All in all, it is a very successful achievement, offering a different kind of presentation of an especially interesting mosaic collection.

PATRIMONIUM
HISPALENSE

LOS MOSAICOS DE LA PLAZA
DE LA ENCARNACIÓN
ROMA EN SEVILLA



Guadalupe López Monteagudo

Book Review - Kitap İncelemesi

David PARRISH*

Corpus of the Mosaics of Albania, Vol. 1, Butrint intramuros, Balkans' Mosaic¹, Marie-Patricia RAYNAUD and Agron ISLAMI, with co-authors Elisabetta NERI and Anne-Orange POILPRE, drawings by Astrid MARECHAUX, illustrations by Didier DUBOIS, collaboration of Ornela DURMISHASHAJ and Klejdi ZGURO, English trans. by Anna J. DAVIES, Bordeaux: Ausonius Editions, published with the assistance of the Butrint Foundation, Labex RESMED Paris, IMK Tirana, Collège de France, CNRS, Orient et Méditerranée, Monde de Byzance, UMR 8167, J. Dubois-Thot, 292 pages, 319 illustrations color & black and white, 2018, €40.00, EAN 978-2-35613-221-5.

Scholars will welcome this new contribution to art and archaeology of the Balkans documenting mosaics at Butrint, a major site on the Albanian coast of the Adriatic near the island of Corfu, in the ancient province of Illyricum. Other volumes are expected to follow in an ambitious project to record all of the mosaics of Albania, an effort directed by a Franco-Albanian team led by Marie-Patricia Raynaud and Agron Islami. The present book's publication in English makes its contents easily accessible to the scientific community and to others with a more general interest in its subject. The volume has 25 mosaic entries, mostly pavements in addition to a few wall mosaics, all of which are described and analyzed thoroughly and illustrated beautifully with photographs and drawings. The format parallels that used by M.-P. Raynaud in Vol. I, 1 of the *Corpus of the Mosaics of Turkey*, dealing with mosaics of Xanthos, specifically of the East Basilica there (2009).

Known in antiquity as the Colonia Augusta *Buthrotum*, Butrint was dependent upon the city of Nicopolis (Actium) to the south, and it became a popular summer retreat for wealthy Romans who built homes there. One attraction besides the site's physical beauty was Butrint's natural springs with medicinal qualities, causing the construction of a Sanctuary of Asklepios on the acropolis of the Hellenistic town, which became a pilgrimage site with a theater, thermal baths, and gymnasium, in addition to other civic structures. A waterway, the Vivari Channel, leads from the coast to a large interior lake, whose shifting water level has caused hydraulic problems for many centuries. After its Roman phase, Butrint (which is located near the Via Egnatia) became an episcopal city with several Christian monuments erected in Early Byzantine times, enduring until the 7th century. There was a partial renewal in the Medieval era, and much later Butrint was controlled by the Venetians and Ottomans. Archaeological excavation of Butrint, after initial surveys in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, began in earnest during the interwar period, when Albania was an Italian protectorate. After World War II, there was joint exploration by British and Albanian archaeologists, which in the late 20th and early 21st centuries was funded by the Butrint Foundation, which has

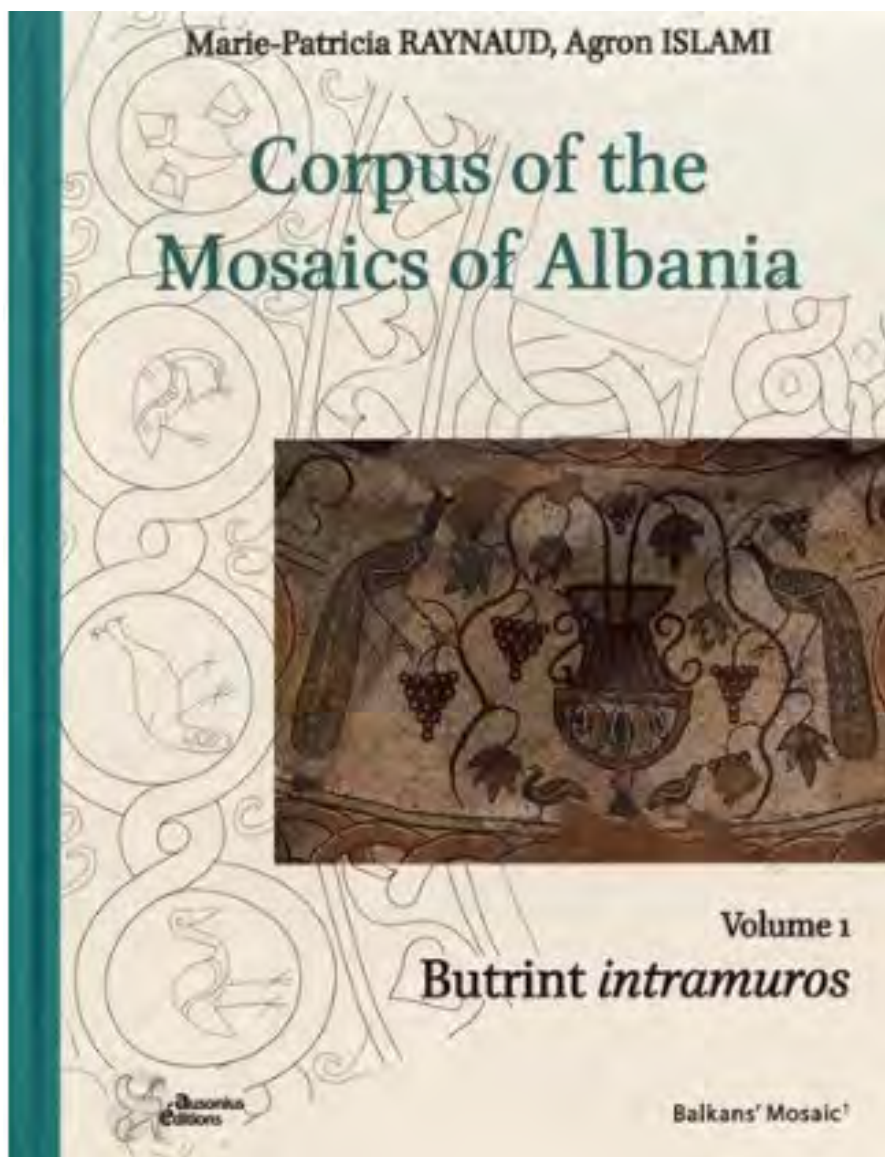
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continued its financial support. Current research of the site started in 2013, with a formal agreement between research institutions in Albania and France (the IMK, CNRS, and University of Paris-Sorbonne). This project is intended not only to make a complete corpus of Albanian mosaics but also to preserve and restore these works of art. Today Butrint forms a national park (it is a World Heritage Site) visited by many tourists.

The volume's contents, following a foreword, introduction, and acknowledgements, are comprised of three main sections: a detailed catalogue of the mosaics found at Butrint; a section of "reflections" or interpretive essays dealing with iconographic questions and physical properties of the mosaics (for example, an analysis of glass mosaic material from the site, and methods of mosaic conservation); and a summary of the main text written in Albanian. There also occur annexes with a bibliography, a list of illustrations, and a model descriptive fiche. Each catalogue entry documents a mosaic's architectural setting, the exact technique of execution, the type of foundations, the density of tesserae, the materials and colors employed, and the current state of preservation. This is followed by a description of the mosaic's outer margin, borders, and field. For abstract patterns, reference is made to the two-volume *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine* (1985, 2002), and there are mentioned relevant comparisons and a proposed date, along with an iconographic discussion of figural images. The abundant illustrations include not only building plans to locate mosaics (with successive chronological phases indicated) but also excellent photos (overall views and details) and very precise drawings of mosaic patterns. All of the information brings these works of art vividly to life.

I shall now describe a few highlights of the Butrint mosaic repertory to demonstrate its richness and variety. Of Hellenistic date, probably the end of the 3rd or beginning 2nd century BCE, is a fragmentary mosaic panel (no. 1-2) that decorated the space immediately in front of the marble base of a statue (representing Asklepios?) and depicts a coiled serpent, appropriate to Asklepios's cult. A mixed technique of *opus signinum* dotted with white cubes for the ground and *opus tessellatum* for the serpent, with thin lead strips to outline its contours, was used. Neatly laid rows of red, blue, and yellow tesserae model the serpent, with shades of pink, white, and yellowish-green appearing on its underside. The execution is refined, and the panel, once removed from its original setting, is now displayed in the Butrint Museum.

On the site's south side occurs an imposing residence of Roman date, the Triconch Complex, that was built in phases over a few centuries from the early 3rd to early 5th centuries and in the latest phase spread over two *insulae*. Several fragmentary mosaics from the building's various phases exhibit great originality of geometric design and in some cases include figural elements, in addition to an inscription found at the entrance to one room (mosaic no. 14). The partially preserved inscription indicates the owner's high official status, using the Greek term *to lamprotato*, equivalent to the rank of *clarissimus* in the Latin west. From the 3rd century phase come several pavements including a very long mosaic that paves the residence's gallery overlooking the lake (mosaic no. 11) and shows a repetitive black and white pattern of tangent octagons forming squares worked in swastika meander; small triangles in a star-like, checkerboard design fill the octagons. In another room of the same building, the Mosaic of the Masks (no. 12, thought to allude to theatrical performances in this space) shows polychrome theater masks inserted into a black and white grid formed by rows of triangles and guilloche bands, that is surrounded by pairs of peltae and circles; all of this



is framed by a border of colored consoles. Variations of a pattern of paired peltae turned at right angles to each other occur in other rooms of the Triconch Complex (mosaic nos. 13, 14), and in at least one other building at Butrint (mosaic no. 5). Finally, for the latest decorative phase of the Triconch Complex, we note a mosaic carpet (no. 15) in one portico of the peristyle, dated to ca. 400 CE and showing a design in red, pink, and black that forms a type of “*décor multiple*” of lozenge stars and large poised squares containing varied motifs. Other, smaller squares terminate the lozenges and create an effect of three-dimensional solids.

The crowning achievement of the ensuing Protobyzantine or Early Byzantine Period at Butrint is the Baptistery Complex with a large, well preserved mosaic pavement adorning the Baptistery that was completed in the late 6th century. Like several mosaics in other monuments in the surrounding city, the tesserae materials include assorted hues of glass in addition to marble and terracotta. A remarkable feature of the Baptistery is its size, exceeding that of many other baptisteries in the east and recalling Early Christian examples from the western Mediterranean. Other noteworthy features of the Baptistery at Butrint are its two concentric rows of columns inside, creating paths for the neophytes to follow, and the shallowness of its font, apparently designed primarily for the baptism of

children. The latter underwent affusion or pouring of water over the head rather than immersion.

The Baptistery's mosaic pavement (no. 17) displays no less than seven circular friezes, two of them consisting of interlooped pink circles filled with single animals symbolizing God's creation in the air, land, and sea, plus a few floral motifs. There are many birds, alternating with quadrupeds, and fish, and occasionally, pairs of birds (of which numerous species appear) face each other in adjacent circles. The quadrupeds include lions, goats, and hares in addition to many other types of creatures. Each animal is illustrated with photographs and drawings, and they all exhibit a simplicity of form and are easily identifiable. Other friezes in the Baptistery floor show chains of medallions formed by interlooping pink strands as well as ivy scrolls, leading to a mat of interlooped circles around the font. It is believed that a mosaic workshop originating at Nicopolis (cf. especially Basilica A there) executed the pavement at Butrint. Finally, the floor in the Baptistery at Butrint includes two panels that interrupt the friezes and are aligned with the building's entrance. Respectively, they depict a large crater (a term alternated with "cantharos" in describing the vessel shown) with emerging grapevines, inward-turned peacocks and two other birds, as well as a pair of stags flanking a damaged feature framed by trees and placed under an arch with a cross. Both panels lead to the building's font. A very informative essay by E. Neri interpreting the Baptistery's design and decoration complements the illuminating discussion by M.-P. Raynaud about multiple workshops at Butrint (she identified five from the Roman and Early Byzantine periods), including that which ornamented the Baptistery.

Overall, one is grateful to the authors of this book for providing a very complete and well researched picture of the history of mosaic art at Butrint, allowing readers to appreciate its impressive and distinctive development over a span of several centuries, and placing it in a broad art historical context. This volume forms a pendant to a recent publication of mosaic art in another region of the Balkans, Vol. I of the *Corpus der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Mosaiken Bulgariens* by R.J. Pillinger, A. Lirsch, and V. Popova (2016). We now look forward to the next volumes in the Albanian series for which the first monograph sets a very high standard.

Guidelines for Authors

This journal is going to be published annually, henceforth. The articles going to be sent must be written according to these guidelines. Thank you for your involvement and attention.

The abbreviations in this journal are based on German Archaeological Institute publication criteria, *Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque antique*, AIEMA - AO-ROC 24.2016, *La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine IX* and *Der Kleine Pauly*.

The Editor-in-Chief and the Editorial Board are in charge of the scientific content and writing standards relating to the journal. The JMR is intended to be read by archaeologists, classicists, historians, epigraphers, scientists, heritage management specialists, restorators, conservators, modern mosaic artists and others concerned with mosaics found around the world. In addition to analyze the archaeological data from excavations, surveys and laboratory research, the JMR publishes technical and methodological studies of general significance and reviews articles that appeal to a wide professional readership. The JMR also publishes book reviews, brief articles, etc.

Articles should not be sent simultaneously to the JMR and to another publication. JMR does not accept translations of articles that have already been published elsewhere. Contributors should be aware that the JMR retains the copyright for materials appearing within its pages.

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Journal of Mosaic Research is requesting from the authors to obtain an approved document from the head of excavation or museum if they use photographs of excavations, archives of excavations or archives of museums in their article, and to send them to Journal of Mosaic Research.

Abstract and Keywords

The manuscripts can be written in English, German, French or Turkish. The title of the manuscripts must be written in both original language, English and Turkish. Two short abstracts (in English and Turkish) must identify the aim and the method of the article and summarize the thesis and conclusions of the article. The abstract must be capable of standing alone and so may contain no text or figure references, no bibliographic citations, and no footnotes.

Five key words must be provided under the line of the abstract. Keywords should be given in English and Turkish.

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The title page of the paper should contain the titles, the author(s) name, the keywords, an abstract and the author(s) address(es) in a footnote. The text must be in a 12-point typeface of the Times font family and 1,5-spaced throughout, from the first line of the title through to the last line of the figure captions. Margins on both sides and at the top and bottom of each page should measure at least 3 cm.

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The digital text should be in a format that can be processed in Microsoft Word. Figures for review purposes should be provided as ".tiff" or ".jpeg" files at a resolution sufficient to retain the information in the illustration: 300 dpi for photographs and 600 dpi for drawings are usually suitable. The names for the figure files should begin with the author's last name, e.g., Akurgal_01.tiff, Akurgal_02.tiff, Akurgal_03.tiff, etc.

Dates before Christ (also “before the common era”) should be written as “BC” following the actual year (e.g., 255 BC). Historical dates after Christ (in the Common Era) should be written with “AD” preceding the year (e.g., AD 1071); alternatively write “7th century AD”.

References and Citations

The bibliography must contain an entry for each work cited in the text are to appear in the bibliography.

A reference within the text takes the form of a parenthetical citation. For example, “(Dunbabin 2002: 181-183)”. All quotations must have specific page citations.

The use of “et al.” is restricted to text citations of works for which there are three or more than three authors. Example: “(Akurgal et al. 1984: 80)”.

An example of a text reference to a figure or table in another published work is “(Akurgal 1996: fig. 5 table 7).” When referring to figures and tables in the present manuscript, use “Figure” and “Table” in the text and captions; in parentheses use “(Fig. 3)” and “(Table 1).” For figures with separate parts, use lower case letters in the text and upper case letters when the reference is enclosed in parentheses. For example, “(Figure 10a)”.

If a manuscript has been accepted for publication, the text citation is “(Jobst in print).” The bibliographic entry should put “in print” where the year would normally appear.

The abbreviation list of “Der Kleine Pauly” should be used for the references of ancient authors. The list is attainable on JMR webpage.

Full citations, including the names of all of the authors, complete titles, and page numbers for articles or chapters, are to appear in a bibliography at the end of the text, alphabetized by the first author’s last name including publishers and place of publication for books and monographs. Authors’ names should be given as they appear on the work being cited; avoid reducing first names to initials. The bibliography should be typed as in the following examples.

Article

Barringer 1991 J. M. Barringer, “Europa and the Nereids: Wedding or Funeral?”, *AJA* 95, 657-667.

Book

Dunbabin 1999 K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge.

Unpublished Dissertation or Thesis

De Puma 1969 R. De Puma, *The Roman Fish Mosaic*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania.

Published Dissertation or Thesis

Reitz 1979 E. J. Reitz, *Spanish and British Subsistence Strategies at St. Augustine, Florida, and Frederica, Georgia, between 1563-1783*, PhD Thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Monograph in a Series

Jobst 1978 W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I, Die Hanghäusern des Embolos, Corpus der antiken Mosaiken in der Türkei I*, *FiE* 8, 1, Vienna.

Article in an Edited Book

Abadie-Reynal 2006 C. Abadie-Reynal, “Roman Domestic Architecture at Zeugma”, R. Ergeç (ed.), *International Symposium on Zeugma: From Past to Future*, Gaziantep, 1-6.

Reprints

Cobo 1964 B. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (Original date of publication) *Biblioteca de los Autores Españoles*, vols. 91-92, Madrid.

Figures and Tables

Figures

1. The word “Figure” is used to refer to all photographs, maps, charts, and graphs that accompany an article. Every illustration is to be given a figure number. Every figure must be referred to in the text, and initial references to them must be in numerical sequence (“1, 2, 3,” not “1, 3, 2”).
2. If a map is necessary, Figure 1 should be a map locating the site or study area within its wider geographical context. The JMR has an international readership that needs to be kept in mind when designing Figure 1. Field reports should include at least one photograph that depicts the terrain and environment of the site or study area.
3. A simple graphic scale, when necessary, should appear in the image area of the figures; do not give scales such as “3×” or “1:50.000” in the captions. When an object is placed on the picture and there is no scale, the dimensions of the figure can be written in the figure title. Such as “The pot on the left is 21 cm tall”.
4. The list of captions should be typed in upper and lower case letters, double-spaced, all lines justified left, and the word “Figure” should be the first word in each caption. For example;

Figure 1. Map of the Weicker site and environs. Inset shows the location of the site in NW Mexico. Map by Patricia Parker.

Each component in such a figure should be referred to in the text but, as with figures, these may be combined, e.g., “(Fig. 6c-f).”

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Tables and special fonts should be sent as a printed PDF page separately, because of their original form could be easily distorted.

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Reviews in the JMR should be max. 2500 words and are expected to be critical and analytical in order to place the book under review in context. Book reviews, normally solicited by the Editor, do not require all of the details of manuscript preparation involved for a research report. Any references should follow the system given below. Footnotes and illustrations should not be used. Books being reviewed should be cited in the manner of the examples given below, followed by the reviewer’s name and full mailing address.

Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World, K. M. D. Dunbabin, 357 pages, 318 figures, 8 tables, 3 plates, 10 appendices, bibliography, index. Cambridge University Press, 2002. \$40.50 paper. ISBN 0-521-00230-3.

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The JMR provides the article in “.pdf” format at no charge to each author.

Yazarlar için Yazım Kuralları

Journal of Mosaic Research, yıllık olarak yayınlanan hakemli bir dergidir. Dergiye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilecek olan makaleler aşağıda belirtilen kurallara göre hazırlanmalıdır. İlginiz ve katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Bu dergideki makalelerde kullanılacak olan kısaltmalar, Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü yayın kuralları, Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaique antique, AIEMA - AOROC 24.2016, La Mosaique Greco Romaine IX ve Der Kleine Pauly dikkate alınarak yapılmalıdır.

Editör ve yayın kurulu dergiyle ilişkili bilimsel içerik ve yazım kurallarıyla ilgilenir. JMR, arkeologlar, tarihçiler, epigraflar, bilim insanları, kültür mirası yönetimi uzmanları, restoratörler, konservatörler, modern mozaik sanatçıları ve mozaik buluntularıyla ilgilenen kişilere ulaşmayı hedeflemektedir. Kazılar, yüzey araştırmaları ve laboratuvar araştırmalarından elde edilen bilgilere ek olarak JMR bünyesinde, mozaik konusundaki teknik ve metodolojik çalışmalar, kitap eleştirileri gibi konular da yayınlanabilir.

Makaleler JMR dışında bir dergiye eş zamanlı olarak yayınlanmak üzere gönderilmemelidir. Başka bir yerde yayımlanan makalelerin çevirileri JMR'de yayınlanmak üzere kabul edilmez. Yazarlar, JMR'nin içerisinde yer alan materyallerin telif hakkının JMR dergisine ait olduğunu bilmelidirler.

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Uygun bulunan çalışmalar uluslararası kabul gören benzerlik tarama programlarınca (akademik kurallara uygun bir biçimde atıf yapılan bire bir alıntılar, kaynakça ve dipnot dışarıda tutularak) taranır. %15'den fazla benzerlik tespit edilen çalışmalar hiçbir işlem yapılmadan, tarama sonuç raporu ile birlikte yazar / yazarlarına geri gönderilecektir.

Journal of Mosaic Research, makalelerde, kazıların, kazı arşivlerinin veya müzelerin arşivlerindeki fotoğrafların kullanılması durumunda, yazarlardan Kazı Başkanlığı veya Müze Müdürlüğünden onaylı bir izin belgesi almasını talep etmektedir.

Özetler ve Anahtar Kelimeler

Makaleler İngilizce, Almanca, Fransızca ve Türkçe dillerinde yazılabilir. Makalenin başlığı orijinal dilinin yanı sıra Türkçe ve İngilizce dillerinde de olmalıdır. Özet, makalenin amacını, yöntemini, değerlendirme ve sonuç kısmını içermelidir. Makale özeti 200 kelimeyi geçmeyecek şekilde Türkçe ve İngilizce dillerinde yazılmalıdır. Özet bölümü, metin veya figür referansları, alıntı veya dipnot içermemelidir.

Özetin altında beş anahtar kelime yer almalıdır. Anahtar kelimeler Türkçe ve İngilizce hazırlanmalıdır.

Yazım Kuralları

Makalenin ilk sayfası, makale başlıkları, yazar isim(ler)i, özetler, anahtar kelimeler ve dipnot olarak yazarın adresi ve iletişim bilgilerini içermelidir. Metin, Times New Roman fontunda, 12 punto, baştan sona 1,5 satır aralıklı yazılmalıdır. Her iki yandaki kenar boşlukları, üst ve alt kenar boşlukları en az 3 cm olmalıdır.

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soyadı ile başlamalı ve sırasıyla numaralandırılmış olmalıdır. Örnek: Akurgal_01.tiff, Akurgal_02.tiff, Akurgal_03.tiff vb. İsa'dan önce ve sonraki tarihleri belirtmede “İÖ” ve “İS” ifadeleri kullanılmalıdır.

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Metin içerisinde atıf yapılan her bir yayın kaynakçada yer almalıdır.

Metin içinde yapılan atıflar parantez içerisinde kısaltma olarak verilmelidir. Örnek: (Dunbabin 2002: 181-183). Bütün alıntılarda özgün sayfa numaraları belirtilmelidir.

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Makale

Barringer 1991 J. M. Barringer, “Europa and the Nereids: Wedding or Funeral?”, *AJA* 95, 657-667.

Kitap

Dunbabin 1999 K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge.

Yayınlanmamış Tezler

De Puma 1969 R. De Puma, *The Roman Fish Mosaic*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania.

Yayınlanmış Tezler

Reitz 1979 E. J. Reitz, *Spanish and British Subsistence Strategies at St. Augustine, Florida, and Frederica, Georgia, between 1563-1783*, PhD Thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Monografiler

Jobst 1978 W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I, Die Hanghäusern des Embolos, Corpus der antiken Mosaiken in der Türkei I, FiE 8, 1*, Vienna.

Editörlü Bir Kitaptaki Makale

Abadie-Reynal 2006 C. Abadie-Reynal, “Roman Domestic Architecture at Zeugma”, R. Ergeç (ed.), *International Symposium on Zeugma: From Past to Future*, Gaziantep, 1-6.

Tekrar Basımlar

Cobo 1964 B. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (Original date of publication) Biblioteca de los Autores Españoles, vols. 91-92, Madrid.

Resimler ve Tablolar

1. “Resim” ifadesi makalede yer alan bütün fotoğraflar, haritalar, tablolar için kullanılır. Her bir görsel için bir resim numarası verilir. Her resmin metin içerisinde bir karşılığı olmalı ve ilgili atıflar sıralı bir şekilde gitmelidir (“Resim 1, 2, 3,” şeklinde “Resim 1, 3, 2” değil).
2. Eğer bir harita kullanılacaksa, Resim 1 makalenin konusu olan bölgenin veya çalışma alanının coğrafi konumunu belirten harita olmalıdır. Resim 1’in tasarımı yapılırken JMR dergisinin uluslararası bir okuyucu kitlesine sahip olduğu göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Alan raporlarının yer aldığı makalelerde kazı alanı ve çevresini gösteren en az bir fotoğraf yer almalıdır.
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Resim 1. Bursa Suriçi ve çevresini gösteren harita. “Harita: Nur Deniz Ünsal”.

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Tablo ve Özel Fontlu Yazılar

Tablo ve özel font kullanılan yazıların kolaylıkla orijinal düzenleri bozulduğu için her bir tablo veya yazılı metnin, ayrıca “.pdf” formatında basılı bir örneğinin gönderilmesi gerekmektedir.

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Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World, K. M. D. Dunbabin, 357 sayfa, 318 resim, 8 tablo, 3 levha, 10 ek, kaynakça, indeks. Cambridge University Press, 2002. \$40.50. ISBN 0-521-00230-3.

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