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# JMR

Volume 15

2022

Bursa Uludağ University Press  
Bursa Uludağ University Mosaic Research Center  
Series - 3

JMR - 15

BURSA ULUDAĞ ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
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AIEMA TÜRKİYE

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JMR (Journal of Mosaic Research) is an international journal on mosaics, annually published by the Bursa Uludağ University Mosaic Research Centre. The aim of this journal is to serve as a forum for scientific studies with critical analysis, interpretation and synthesis of mosaics and related subjects. The main matter of the journal covers mosaics of Turkey and other mosaics related to Turkey mosaics. Besides, the journal also accommodates creative and original mosaic researches in general. Furthermore, together with articles about mosaics, the journal also includes book presentations and news about mosaics.

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JMR is published each year in November.

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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 - AOrOc 25.2019, La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine IX and Der Kleine Pauly.

Journal of Mosaic Research

ISSN 1309-047X

E-ISSN 2619-9165

Printed by / Baskı

Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi Basımevi Müdürlüğü

Bursa - 2022

Tel: +90 224 2940532

Fax: +90 224 2940531

E-mail: basimevi@uludag.edu.tr

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Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi Mozaik Araştırmaları Merkezi

Serisi - 3

JMR - 15

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AIEMA - Türkiye, prehistorik dönemden günümüze kadar uzanan zaman süreci içerisindeki mozaikler hakkında bilimsel çalışmalar yapmayı, bu mozaikleri tanıtmayı ve söz konusu mozaikler hakkında bir mozaik veri bankası oluşturmayı amaçlayan bir araştırma merkezidir. AIEMA'ya bağlı olarak, Türkiye mozaiklerinin en iyi şekilde sunumu, bu merkezin işleyişinin nihai hedefidir. Türkiye mozaik veri bankası ve Türkiye mozaiklerini de içeren bir korpus hazırlanması çalışmaları, merkezin faaliyetlerinden bazılarıdır. Ayrıca, merkezin, antik mozaikler hakkında özgün çalışmaları içeren JMR (Journal of Mosaic Research) adında bir süreli yayını vardır.

JMR (Journal of Mosaic Research) Dergisi, her yıl Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi Mozaik Araştırmaları Merkezi tarafından, mozaikler konusunda yayınlanan uluslararası bir dergidir. Bu derginin amacı, mozaikler hakkında eleştirel bir analiz, yorumlama, mozaik ve onunla ilgili konuların sentezi ile bilimsel çalışmalar için bir platform oluşturmaktır. Derginin temel konusu, Türkiye mozaikleri ve Türkiye mozaikleriyle ilişkili mozaiklerdir. Bunun yanında, dergi yaratıcı ve özgün mozaik araştırmaları içeren diğer mozaiklerle ilgili makaleleri de kabul etmektedir. Ayrıca dergide, mozaikler hakkındaki makalelerle birlikte, kitap tanıtımları ve haberler de bulunmaktadır.

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Mozaik Araştırmaları Merkezinin izni olmaksızın JMR'nin herhangi bir bölümünün kopya edilmesine izin verilmez. JMR'de makalesi yayınlanan her yazar makalesinin elektronik ve basılı halinin yayınlanmasını kabul etmiş, böylelikle telif haklarını JMR'ye aktarmış sayılır.

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 25.2019, La Mosaïque Gréco Romaine IX ve Der Kleine Pauly dikkate alınarak yapılmıştır.

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Address / Adres:

Bursa Uludağ University / Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi

Faculty of Art and Sciences / Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi

Department of Archaeology / Arkeoloji Bölümü

16240 - Nilüfer / BURSA - TÜRKİYE

Tel: +90 224 2941892

Fax: +90 224 2941677

E-mail: mosaicsjournal@gmail.com / aiematurkey@uludag.edu.tr

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## In Honour of David Parrish

David Parrish was born in Ottawa, Canada, in 1944 and grew up in Poughkeepsie, New York. He has spent most of his professional life in West Lafayette, Indiana, USA, where he has been a member of the faculty of Purdue University since 1973.

After obtaining his BA from Cornell University, majoring in history, David Parrish served for two years in the US Peace Corps in Tunisia, which gave him the opportunity to see the impressive collection of mosaics in the Bardo in Tunis

as well as to visit some of the archaeological sites. He worked at Utica as a graduate student, participating in the project to create a corpus of Tunisian mosaics led by Margaret Alexander.



David Parrish studied in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at Columbia University. He was awarded an MA in 1970, focusing on the art and archaeology of Roman North Africa and including a detailed study of tower tombs from that region. For his PhD thesis under the supervision of Drs Richard Brilliant and Alfred Frazer, he specialised in mosaics of the Seasons in North African mosaics, having noticed how frequently and in how many forms this subject appeared. His doctorate in Classical Art History and Archaeology was awarded in 1977.

David Parrish's work on Season mosaics became a landmark publication for which he is particularly renowned: *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa* was published by Giorgio Bretschneider Editore in Rome in 1984. His interest in various aspects of the iconography of time in Roman mosaics and related artistic media expanded into writing the entry for *Menses* in *LIMC* and numerous journal articles.

Although his book on Season mosaics marked the start of his career, David Parrish has since published extensively on wide-ranging topics relating to ancient Roman and Late Antique mosaics. His work has appeared in the publications of international colloquia and a number of notable journals, including the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Antiquités Africaines*, *TOPOI Orient et Occident*, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, *Antiquité tardive* and *Mouseion*, as well as *JMR*. His contributions to festschrifts include those in honour of Haluk Abbasoğlu, Noël Duval, Recep Meriç, Asher Ovadiah and Henri Stern.

David Parrish's interests in iconography have particularly encompassed images of the god Dionysus and his circle, and depictions of the poet Menander's plays. He also has a special interest in representations of musicians and musical instruments in Roman and Late Roman mosaics and other artistic media, on which he has published two articles with a future monograph on this subject being planned.

Another theme of his research is to look for evidence to help identify individual mosaic ateliers or workshops at various locations in the Roman and Early Christian to Early Byzantine eras. One study proposed the identification of a mosaic workshop of the Severan period at Antioch which showed a particular interest in architectural illusionism and imagery of Dionysiac content. A further article identified a workshop of Early Byzantine date based on Kos, which

was commissioned to decorate several local churches and also ornamented a few basilicas along the western coast of Asia Minor as well as part of a villa at Halikarnassos.

David Parrish has a great interest in viewing and interpreting mosaics and wall paintings within their architectural context, especially in private homes. A site he has studied extensively is the Terrace Houses at Ephesos, where he has made a substantial contribution to the question of chronology. Among the aspects that he explores is how the figural imagery of the mosaics reflects the cultural values of the inhabitants and how the décor of their homes complements the social function of particular rooms. He also looks for visual evidence of decorative ensembles in individual buildings.

Exploration of the sociological meaning of mosaic imagery in domestic settings includes his study of a major room in the second-century villa near Ivailovgrad in Bulgaria. In addition, he has considered the popularity of representations in mosaic of the plays of Menander in Roman houses of the late second and early third centuries in various regions of the empire.

As well as domestic buildings, David Parrish's interest in architecture encompasses Roman urbanism. He is fascinated to observe how individual cities comprise countless variations on standard components such as fora, temples, basilicas, theatres, baths and fountains, as well as colonnaded streets, adapting such features to the local terrain. His passion for the subject is reflected in his role as editor of, and author of the introductory chapter in, *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 45, 2001. The volume contains studies written by leading archaeologists from the sites named in the title.

After shifting his attention from North Africa to the mosaics of Asia Minor, especially those from Ephesos and in the Great Palace of Constantinople, David Parrish became co-director with Professor Mustafa Şahin of Uludağ University in Bursa of the project to create a Corpus of the Mosaics of Turkey with the support of the Getty Foundation. He is joint editor of the Corpus volumes with Professor Şahin and Professor Werner Jobst, who was honoured in the immediately preceding volume of *JMR*, and he translated the French text of one volume into English. As well as his involvement with the corpus for Turkey, David Parrish is helping to compile a corpus dealing with pavements of the Roman period from Bulgaria in collaboration with local colleagues including Professor Vania Popova.

In addition to his extensive scholarly research, David Parrish has played a major role in AIEMA, participating in every international colloquium of AIEMA since 1984. He has been a member of the Administrative Council since 1994, during which time he served as Treasurer from 1994 to 1999. He has been President of the North American Branch of AIEMA since 2004, a role he also held from 1984 to 1989, and has been the North American Correspondent for the *AIEMA Bulletin* since 1981.

One of David Parrish's notable skills, used to good effect in his participation in international projects, is his facility with language. His interest in French began when he was taken to France as a child, with other languages being added as he travelled elsewhere in Europe and throughout the Mediterranean world. He speaks French, Italian and German, and lived in Paris for several months as a Professeur Invité of the CNRS, associated with the AIEMA research team based in the École Normale Supérieure. During this time, he worked as the English translator of Volume 2 of *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine*.

Purdue University has formed David Parrish's main academic base throughout his career, where he is Professor of Art History in the Department of Art and Design, and contributes to the programme in Classical Studies. He has also held positions at other institutions. During a teaching appointment at the University of Paris-Val de Marne in 2001 he organised a colloquium on imagery of the year and other representations of time in ancient Roman mosaics. In 2009 he held a research and teaching fellowship in the Department of Classical Archaeology at the University of Aarhus in Denmark, resulting from his collaboration with the Danish archaeological team working at Bodrum-Halikarnassos.

Courteous, collaborative and committed, David Parrish enjoys a distinguished career, with an impressive publication record of elegantly written books and articles on the ancient world, especially mosaics. His own significant work on the mosaics of Turkey and his encouragement of others is celebrated by the dedication of this volume in his honour. We hope he enjoys the articles and that he will continue to make his distinctive scholarly contributions for many years to come.

Patricia Witts

Wraxall, UK / September 2022

## David Parrish'in Onuruna

David Parrish, 1944'te Kanada, Ottawa'da doğmuş ve New York, Poughkeepsie'de büyümüştür. Profesyonel yaşamının çoğunu, 1973'ten beri Purdue Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi olduğu West Lafayette, Indiana, ABD'de geçirmiştir.

David Parrish, Cornell Üniversitesi'nden tarih bölümünden lisans derecesi ile mezun olduktan sonra Tunus'taki ABD Barış Gücü'nde iki yıl görev yapmış ve bu sayede Tunus'un Bardo kentindeki etkileyici mozaik koleksiyonunu görme ve arkeolojik alanlardan bazılarını ziyaret etme fırsatı bulmuştur. Utica'da, Margaret Alexander liderliğindeki Tunus mozaiklerinden oluşan bir külliyat oluşturma projesine katılarak yüksek lisans öğrencisi olarak çalışmıştır.



David Parrish, Columbia Üniversitesi'nde Sanat Tarihi ve Arkeoloji Bölümü'nde öğrenim görmüştür. 1970 yılında, Roma Dönemi Kuzey Afrika'sının sanat ve arkeolojisine odaklanan ve o bölgenin kule mezarlarının ayrıntılı bir çalışmasını içeren bir çalışma ile yüksek lisans derecesi almıştır. Richard Brilliant ve Alfred Frazer'in danışmanlığında yaptığı doktora tezinde, çok sıklıkla ve pek çok biçimde ortaya çıktığını fark ettiği bir konu olan, Kuzey Afrika'nın Mevsimler hakkındaki mozaikleri konusunda uzmanlaşmıştır. Klasik Sanat Tarihi ve Arkeoloji alanındaki doktora derecesini 1977 yılında almıştır.

David Parrish'in mevsim mozaikleri üzerine yaptığı çalışmalar, özellikle 1984'te Roma'da Giorgio Bretschneider Editore tarafından yayımlan *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa (Roma Dönemi Kuzey Afrika'sı Mevsim Mozaikleri)* isimli yayını ününü kazandığı bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Roma mozaiklerinde ve ilgili sanatsal alanlarda zaman ikonografisinin çeşitli yönlerine olan ilgisi, *LIMC*'de *Menses* için giriş bölümünü ve çok sayıda dergi makalesi yazacak şekilde genişlemiştir.

Mevsim mozaikleri üzerine hazırladığı kitabı kariyerinin başlangıcını oluştursa da, David Parrish o zamandan beri antik Roma ve Geç Antik dönem mozaikleriyle ilgili çok çeşitli konularda geniş kapsamlı yayınlar yapmıştır. Çalışmaları, uluslararası kolokyumların yayınlarında ve *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Antiquités Africaines*, *TOPOI Orient et Occident*, *Bulletin de la Société National des antiquaires de France*, *Antiquité tardive*, *Mouseion* ve *JMR* gibi önemli dergilerin yayınlarında yer almıştır. Armağan/anı kitaplarına yaptığı katkılar arasında Haluk Abbasoğlu, Noël Duval, Recep Meriç, Asher Ovadia ve Henri Stern'in onuruna hazırlanan yayınlar bulunmaktadır.

David Parrish'in ikonografiye olan ilgisi, özellikle tanrı Dionysos ve çevresinin görüntüleri ile şair Menander'in oyunlarının tasvirlerini kapsamaktadır. Ayrıca, Roma ve Geç Roma mozaiklerinde ve diğer sanatsal ortamlarda müzisyenlerin ve müzik aletlerinin temsillerine özel bir ilgi duymaktadır ve bu konuda iki makale yayınlamış olup, gelecekte bu konu hakkında bir monografi yayınlamayacağını planlamaktadır.

Parrish'in araştırmalarının bir başka teması da, Roma ve Erken Hristiyanlık ile Erken Bizans dönemlerinin çeşitli bölgelerindeki bireysel mozaik işliklerini veya atölyelerini tanımlamaya

yardımcı olacak kanıtlar aramaktır. Bir çalışmasında, Antakya'daki Severan dönemine ait, mimari illüzyonizm ve Dionysos içerikli imgelere özel bir ilgi gösteren bir mozaik atölyesinin tanımlanmasını önermektedir. Bir başka makale, birkaç yerel kiliseyi süslemek için görevlendirilen ve ayrıca Küçük Asya'nın batı kıyısındaki birkaç bazilikayı ve Halikarnassos'taki bir villanın bir bölümünü süsleyen Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne tarihlenen Kos'taki bir atölyeyi tanımlamaktadır.

David Parrish, özellikle özel konutlarda olmak üzere, mozaikleri ve duvar resimlerini mimari bağlamları içinde ele almaya ve yorumlamaya büyük ilgi duymaktadır. Kapsamlı bir şekilde incelediği bir saha ise, kronoloji sorununa da önemli katkılarda bulunduğu Ephesos'taki Teras Evler'dir. Araştırma boyutları arasında, mozaiklerin figürlü görselleri ile sakinlerin kültürel değerlerini nasıl yansıttığı ve konutların dekorunun belirli odaların sosyal işlevini nasıl tamamladığı yer almaktadır. Ayrıca münferit yapılarda dekoratif öge topluluklarının görsel kanıtlarını da araştırmaktadır.

Mozaik imgelerinin domestik ortamlardaki sosyolojik anlamının keşfi, Bulgaristan'da Ivailovgrad yakınlarındaki ikinci yüzyıla tarihlenen villadaki büyük bir oda hakkında yaptığı çalışmasını içermektedir. Ayrıca, imparatorluğun çeşitli bölgelerinde, ikinci yüzyılın sonlarına ve üçüncü yüzyılın başlarına tarihlenen Roma konutlarında Menander'in oyunlarının mozaikler üzerindeki temsillerinin popüleritesini de değerlendirmiştir.

David Parrish'in mimariye olan ilgisi, domestik yapıların yanı sıra Roma şehirciliğini de kapsamaktadır. Tek tek şehirlerin forumlar, tapınaklar, bazilikalar, tiyatrolar, hamamlar ve çeşmeler gibi standart bileşenler üzerinde sayısız varyasyonun yanı sıra sütunlu caddeleri nasıl yerel araziye uyarlayarak oluşturduğunu gözlemlemek onu büyülemiştir. Konuya olan tutkusu, *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 45, 2001 isimli yayının editörü ve giriş bölümünün yazarı olarak rolüne yansımıştır. Cilt, yayının başlığında adı geçen alanlardan önde gelen arkeologlar tarafından yazılmış çalışmaları içermektedir.

David Parrish, dikkatini Kuzey Afrika'dan Küçük Asya mozaiklerine, özellikle Ephesos'taki mozaiklere ve İstanbul'daki Büyük Saray mozaiklerine yönelttikten sonra, Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şahin ile birlikte Getty Vakfı'nın desteğiyle yürütülen Türkiye Mozaikleri Korpusu'nu oluşturma projesinin eş yöneticisi olmuştur. JMR'nin hemen önceki cildinde onurlandırılan Prof. Dr. Werner Jobst ve Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şahin ile birlikte corpus ciltlerinin ortak editörüdür ve bir cildin Fransızca metnini İngilizce'ye tercüme etmiştir. David Parrish, Türkiye külliyesi ile olan ilişkisinin yanı sıra, Profesör Vania Popova da dahil olmak üzere yerel meslektaşlarıyla işbirliği içinde Bulgaristan'daki Roma Dönemi döşemeleri ile ilgili bir külliye derlenmesine de yardımcı olmaktadır.

David Parrish, kapsamlı bilimsel araştırmalarına ek olarak, 1984'ten beri AIEMA'nın her uluslararası kolokyumuna katılarak AIEMA'da önemli bir rol oynamıştır. 1994 yılından bu yana AIEMA'nın idari konsey üyesidir ve bu süre zarfında 1994-1999 yılları arasında sayman olarak görev yapmıştır. 2004'ten beri AIEMA'nın Kuzey Amerika Şubesi'nin Başkanıdır ve 1984'ten 1989'a kadar da bu rolü üstlenmiştir, 1981'den beri AIEMA *Bulletin* için Kuzey Amerika muhabiri görevini yürütmektedir.

David Parrish'in uluslararası projelere katılımında iyi etkide bulunduğu dikkate değer becerilerden biri, dil becerisidir. Fransızca'ya olan ilgisi, çocukken Fransa'ya götürüldüğünde başlamıştır, Avrupa'nın başka yerlerinde ve Akdeniz dünyasında seyahat ederken buna başka diller de eklenmiştir. Kendisi Fransızca, İtalyanca ve Almanca bilmektedir ve birkaç ay boyunca CNRS'te davetli profesör olarak, École Normale Supérieure merkezli AIEMA araştırma ekibiyle bağlantılı olarak Paris'te yaşamıştır. Bu süre zarfında *Le decor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine* isimli yayının ikinci cildi için İngilizce tercüman olarak çalışmıştır.

Purdue Üniversitesi, David Parrish'in Sanat ve Tasarım Bölümü'nde sanat tarihi profesörü olduğu ve Klasik Çalışmalar programına katkıda bulunduğu kariyeri boyunca, ana akademik üssü olmuştur. Diğer kurumlarda da görevlerde bulunmuştur. 2001 yılında Paris-Val de Marne Üniversitesi'ndeki bir öğretim görevi sırasında, antik Roma mozaiklerinde yılın görüntüleri ve zamanın diğer temsilleri üzerine bir kolokyum düzenlemiştir. 2009 yılında, Bodrum-Halikarnassos'ta çalışan Danimarkalı arkeoloji ekibiyle yaptığı iş birliği sonucunda Danimarka'daki Aarhus Üniversitesi Klasik Arkeoloji Bölümü'nde araştırma ve öğretim üyeliği yapmıştır.

Nazik, işbirliğine yatkın ve kararlı bir karaktere sahip olan David Parrish, antik dünya, özellikle mozaikler üzerine zarif bir şekilde yazılmış kitaplar ve makalelerden oluşan etkileyici bir geçmişe ve seçkin bir kariyere sahiptir. Türkiye mozaikleri üzerine yaptığı önemli çalışmaları ve bu konuda başkalarını teşvik etmesi, bu cildin onun onuruna ithaf edilmesiyle kutlanmaktadır. Makaleleri beğeneceğini ve uzun yıllar boyunca kendine özgü bilimsel katkılarını yapmaya devam edeceğini umuyoruz.

Patricia Witts

Wraxall, Birleşik Krallık / Eylül 2022



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# The Decorative Repertoire of the Mosaics from the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* and Their Relationships with Other Mosaics of *Hispania*

## *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* Mozaiklerinin Dekoratif Repertuarı ve *Hispania*'nın Diğer Mozaikleriyle İlişkileri

Fátima ABRAÇOS - Licinia WRENCH\*

(Received 10 December 2021, accepted after revision 25 August 2022)

### Abstract

*In this work we intend to extend the comparative study of the mosaics of Conuentus Bracaraugustanus published in the Corpus to the mosaics from Gallaecia and from other regions of Hispania, particularly from the region between the Ebro and Douro rivers, considering different mosaic workshops operating in these areas.*

*We also register punctual relationships between some compositional schemes, themes and motifs that occur in the mosaics of the Conuentus Bracaraugustanus and some of the north African production.*

*We will complement our study with information that resulted from the continuation of our research and that was provided to us after the publication of the Corpus, in 2019.*

**Keywords:** Roman mosaic, decorative repertoire, Conuentus Bracaraugustanus, Gallaecia, Hispanic mosaic workshops.


### Öz

*Bu çalışmada, Conuentus Bracaraugustanus'un Corpus'ta yayınlanan mozaiklerinin karşılaştırmalı çalışmasını Gallaecia ve Hispania'nın diğer bölgelerinden, özellikle Ebro ve Douro nehirleri arasındaki bölgeden ve bu bölgelerde faaliyet gösteren farklı mozaik atölyelerini göz önünde bulundurularak genişletilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.*

*Ayrıca Conuentus Bracaraugustanus'un mozaiklerinde ve bazı Kuzey Afrika üretimi mozaiklerinde ortaya çıkan bazı kompozisyon şemaları, temalar ve motifler arasındaki eş zamanlı ilişkileri de ortaya çıkarılacaktır.*

*Araştırmamızın devamı sonucunda ortaya çıkan ve Corpus'un 2019 yılında yayınlanmasından sonra bize sağlanan bilgilerle çalışmamızı tamamlayacağız.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Roma mozaikleri, dekoratif repertuar, Conuentus Bracaraugustanus, Gallecia, Hispanik mozaik atölyeleri.

\* Maria de Fátima Abraços, Investigadora do Instituto de História da Arte – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa/ Av. de Berna, 26-C/1069-061 Lisboa, Portugal.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0997-9553>. E-mail: maria.abracos1951@gmail.com

Licinia Wrench, Investigadora do Instituto de História da Arte – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa/Av. De Berna, 26-C/1069-061 Lisboa, Portugal.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5780-2018>. E-mail: wrench.licinia@gmail.com

The *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* was one of the three Roman administrative regions included in the *Gallaecia* territory. Most of the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* area is within the current Portuguese territory, being limited to the south by the Douro River and the north by the Minho River, with a small strip of land between this river and the Verdugo River, belonging to the present Spanish autonomous community of Galicia.

The basic forms of Roman administrative policies were established in the NW of *Hispania* in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, namely the ethnic-territorial delimitation in *ciuitates* and the indigenous communities' integration into the Roman model. This is confirmed by the "Edict of Augustus," *Tabula* of El Bierzo, dated from 15 BC, in which the central Roman government approved the limits of the *ciuitas* where an indigenous community was integrated.

At the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, under Emperor Augustus, a new and intelligent restructuring of the territory and its populations was implemented, creating the geographically delimited *Conuentus Iuridici* and founding their respective capitals. The *Tabula Lougeiorum*, dated 1 AD, mentioned the *Conuentus Asturum*, in which the agreement drawn up between C. Asinio Galo and the Lougei is recorded in Latin (Dopico Cainzos – Santos Yanguas 2017: 711-714).

Three *Conuentus Iuridici* were established in *Gallaecia*, with *Asturica Augusta*, *Lucus Augusti*, and *Bracara Augusta* as their capitals. The toponym *Bracara Augusta* derives from the ethnonym *Bracari* and refers to the indigenous population living in that region (Fig. 1).

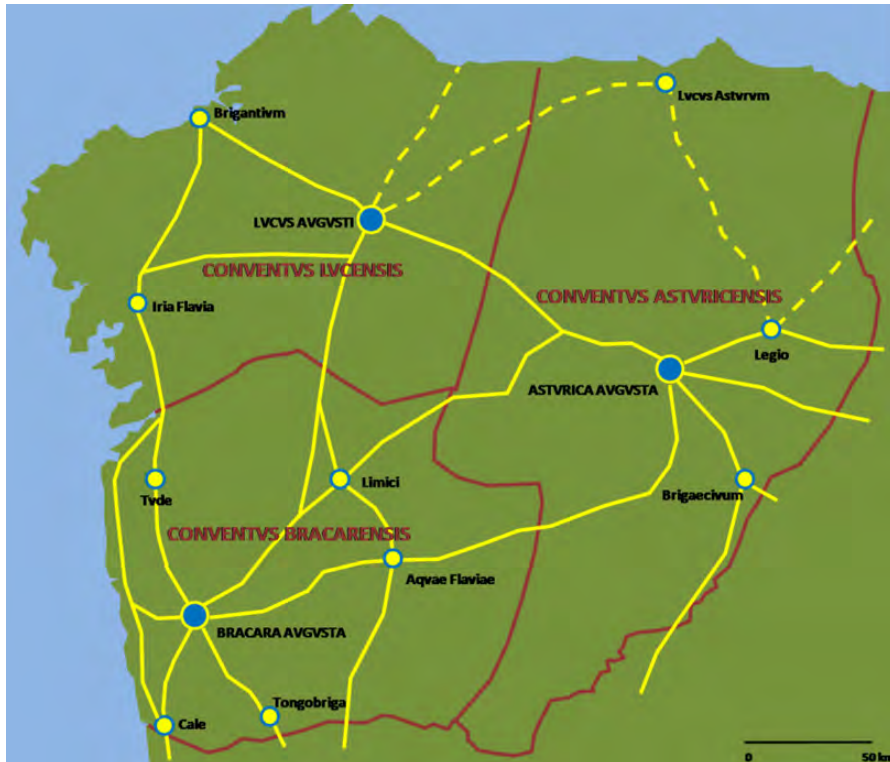


Figure 1  
Map of the Roman administrative division of the Peninsular Northwest, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, roads and urban centers. (Fontes 2011: fig. 75; in Repositório Universidade do Minho: <http://hdl.handle.net/1822/20982>; CMRCB, mapa 2, p. 256).

The *Bracaraugustanus* are mentioned in two honorary monuments dedicated to Augustus and Agrippa Postumus, son of Agrippa, the Emperor's lieutenant. These epigraphic records allow the assumption that, between 3 and 2 BC, the *Bracaraugustanus* community already adopted the customs of Roman citizenship, being integrated into an urban context of Roman architectural features (Martins et al. 2012: 35-36).

Land roads had also been built since the time of Augustus. These roads connected the different cities of the *Conuentus*, facilitating the populations' mobility and transport of goods, contributing to the region's social and economic development, and affirming the central political power.

A general panorama is presented below of the roads that connected the *Conuentus* capitals to the other settlements, *mansiones*, and *uillae*, which supplied many of the mosaics that constitute the object of study of this article.

From the land roads that crossed the *Gallaecia* territory during the High Empire, a highlight is given to the two great state roads that linked *Bracara Augusta*, in the southwest, to *Asturica Augusta* at the western end of the northern Meseta, namely the "Via XVII," dating from the Augustan period, and the *VIA NOVA* ("Via XVIII"), created during the Flavian dynasty. The "Via XVII" went to *Asturica* through *Aqua Flauiae*, crossing from west to east the northern area of western Trás-os-Montes; the *VIA NOVA* left *Bracara* towards *Asturica*, crossing the convergence area of the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus*, *Lucensis*, and *Asturum*. After crossing the Gerês mountain range towards the Lima valley, it headed to the foothills of the S. Mamede mountain range and, always along the Lima riverbanks, passed by the *mansiones Aquis Querquernis* (Baños de Bande), *Geminis* (Sandiás), and *Salientibus* (Xinzo da Costa), close to the gold mining area.

Throughout the High Empire, the road network became more complex with the building of secondary roads and branches that established either transversal connections between the main roads or alternative routes, connecting different types of settlements and reaching important metalliferous areas (*territoria metallorum*), like for example, the building of a wide bypass alongside the "Via XVII" route that reached the nowadays Portuguese districts of Jales and Tres Minas (Tresminas). A secondary route started at *Aqua Flauiae* and reached *Geminis*, a *mansio* in the *VIA NOVA*, connecting the two main roads through this transversal axis. From *Geminis*, a branch road allowed reaching *Auria* (Ourense), in a gold area, thus establishing the connection between *Auria* and *Aqua Flauiae*, two important urban centers located in mining areas. Apart from the "Via XVII," several secondary roads radiated from *Aqua Flauiae*. One connected *Aqua Flauiae* to *Nemetobriga* (Pobra de Trives) and the *Forum Gigurrorum*, *mansiones* in the *VIA NOVA*. The latter *mansio*, located at a short distance from A Cigarrosa (toponym derived from *Gigurrorum*), would correspond to the current A Rúa or Pobra de Valdeorras (Lemos - Martins 2010: 81-89)<sup>1</sup>.

In addition to the "Via XVII" and "Via XVIII," there was another route ("Via XIX") from *Bracara Augusta* to the north. It was the first official route that reached *Lucus*. Passing through *Limia* (Ponte de Lima) and *Tude* (Tui), it continued through *Turoqua* (Pontevedra) and *Iria Flauia* (Padrón), reaching *Lucus Augusti* and then *Asturica Augusta*, after crossing *Bergidium* (Bierzo), an important gold mining area. In the extreme north and coast of the Peninsula, a *Via per loca maritima* ("Via XX"), possibly deriving from the previous one in *Celenis* (Caldas de Reis), went around the Peninsula from *Barbanza* to *Noia* by sea and continued by land to *Brigantium* (A Coruña). From here, it changed south to *Lucus*, with its route to *Asturica* being controversial. From the capital

1 The references made to some of the road routes that crossed the *Gallaecia* territory are based on the article by the authors cited, who, in chapter 6 "As Vias romanas", p. 81-89, present a very detailed description of their routes with the references of the studies carried out on them. With regards to the *VIA NOVA*, the order number (XVIII) was added considering it is the number by which this road is best known.

of the *Conuentus Asturum*, other roads connected the peninsular NW to other areas of *Hispania* (Rodríguez Colmenero (s/d): 94-96 fig. 95). Among these, a special highlight is given to the *Via* that linked *Asturica* to *Caesaraugusta* (“*Via XXVII*”), passing through *Uxama* (Osma), an important urban center, dating from the Imperial Period, and *Clunia* (Peñalba de Castro), in the Province of Burgos.

The “*Via XVI*,” also from *Bracara Augusta*, went south to *Olisipo*, where other land roads connected it to *Emerita Augusta*, the capital of the *Prouincia Lusitania*.

The “Atlantic Way,” which remained active during the Roman period, skirted around *Hispania* from the port of *Brigantium* in its northern end, and connected it to the most important Lusitanian port in *Olisipo*, proceeding to the southern coast to *Gades*, and establishing points of contact between the Peninsula and the North African Provinces and the Romanized Mediterranean world.

The establishment of several *uillae* near the Atlantic coast, as in *Gallaecia*, namely the *Villae* of Toraia, Borreiros (Gondomar, Pontevedra), Praia da Sobreira (Vigo, Pontevedra), Alto do Martim Vaz (Póvoa do Varzim) and Fontão de Antela (Lavra), the last two and Toraia integrated into the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus*, allowed their proprietors to explore sea-related products, such as *garum* production or the salt industry. Some coastal *uillae* were related to the so-called *Via per loca maritima* (“*Via XX*”)<sup>2</sup>.

The interior *uillae* were mostly located near the fluvial and land roads which crossed the territory, as for example the *Villae* of Parada de Outeiro, in the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* near the “*Via XVIII*”, as well as A Cigarrosa, in the *Conuentus Asturum*, near the Sil River; the *Villa* of Porta de Arcos, in Rodeiro, near the “*Via XIX*” that connected *Bracara* to *Lucus*; the *Villa* of Cirro, inside the *Conuentus Lucensis*, located in the influence area of *Iria Flauia* and near the “*Via XX*” (Torres Carro 2015a: 210). In the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus*, also the *Villae* of Fonte do Milho (Canelas, Peso da Régua) and Quinta da Ribeira (Tralhariz), on the Douro Axis, and the *Villae* of Vizela (Guimarães) and Sendim (Felgueiras, Porto), both on the Interior Axis. The latter was in an area surrounded by the valleys of the Jagueiros, Vizela, Sousa and Tâmega rivers, controlling the access to the tin mines in the Seixoso region, key to the bronze metallurgy.

Most of the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* mosaics date from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century or later, from after *Gallaecia* became an autonomous province, and *Bracara Augusta* reached the status of provincial capital. During this period, the *uillae* also underwent major renovations regarding their proprietors’ residence and the enlargement or construction of other spaces, including bath complexes.

2 The *Villa* of Toraia (Toralla) has been completely and scientifically excavated and is accessible to the public. Its plan is dated between the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century. The residential part has a rectangular plan, a porticoed gallery, a thermal complex, and several rooms. Only a few fragments remain of the mosaic pavement found in the thermal area and preserved in the Museo Quiñones from León de Vigo (Museum of Castrelos). The mosaic presents geometric and vegetal motifs, but also some figurative ones, such as the representation of a snake-shaped motif (Torres Carro 2005: 477-479; Torres Carro 2015a: 208-209 and 218; Vale Abad 2015: 317).

There are mosaic fragments from the *Villa* of Fontão de Antela, Lavra, Matosinhos (CMRCB, Mosaic 76-77 a-g) in the Sacred Art Museums of Porto and the D. Diogo de Sousa Museum in Braga, which belonged to the now extinct Ethnology and Municipal Museums of Porto. This heritage’s complex history, partially collected at this relatively important archaeological station and not yet the object of systematic excavations, led to its dispersion, and the location of several objects are still unknown (Couto 2020: 237-249).

The mosaics from this *Conuentus* stylistically reflect the influences of others, as access was facilitated by the roads built throughout the Empire and the natural connections by the sea and rivers. However, among other factors, they were also conditioned by the operating workshops' greater or lesser skill to apply the techniques and copy the models, the taste and financial capacity of those who commissioned them, their execution time, the greater or lesser access to the available materials in a given region, as occurred with the use of granite in two mosaic pavements from *Bracara*, one in *opus tessellatum* and the other in *opus sectile* and *tessellatum* (CMRCB, Mosaics 1 and 2).

The circulation of models and artisans was common practice, both within the Empire and Roman Provinces. Particularly in Late Antiquity, it is possible to observe that, concerning geometric and geometric-vegetal themes, there was a widespread “language” of mosaic art in the Roman world. This generalization makes the detection of the workshops that made most mosaics, ever-changing “kaleidoscopes,” very complex. Nevertheless, certain regional and even local particularities allowed for the identification of workshops and even groups of different artisans working on mosaics from the same *uilla*. Thus, it has been possible to point out, in the extreme peninsular NW and northern Meseta, the so-called “NW *Officina*”, a workshop that also worked in the Provinces of León and Zamora (Balil 1975; Torres Carro 2005; Regueras Grande 2015; Regueras - San José 2017); the “Prado-Almenara workshop” (Torres Carro 1988; 1990; 2011; Regueras - San José 2017), the “Clunia-Uxama workshop” (Fernández-Galiano 1980), extending to *Asturica Augusta* (Regueras - San José 2017) and, in the Alto Douro, the “Cuevas-Valdanzo workshop”, in the current Province of Soria (Fernández-Galiano 1980; Torres Carro 1990; Regueras - San José 2017)<sup>3</sup>.

In the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus Corpus* of Roman Mosaics (Abraços 2019), ninety-three mosaics are distributed over thirty-nine sites discovered in the region between the Douro and Minho Rivers. The present article includes the examples of the few remaining mosaics from nine archaeological sites north of the Minho River, in the territory of Galicia (Torres Carro 2015a).

The compositional schemes, themes, and motifs present in the mosaics of this *Conuentus* are unfortunately very fragmentary and mostly geometrical, excepting some representations of aquatic fauna and vases. The relationships between late antique mosaics of *Hispania* and those from Proconsular Africa and the Mediterranean East are well known, having been studied by different authors who gave important publications about the subject. However, for the mosaics we studied it is only possible to refer to generalized stylistic influences from these geographical areas and some features punctually similar. In opposition to that, the Peninsular mosaics allow establishing more direct and, occasionally, identifiable relationships. The greater affinities are observed above all with the mosaics from *Gallaecia* and northern *Hispania*, from the region between the valleys of the Ebro and Douro Rivers. These relationships, regarding mostly the same compositional schemes and decorative motifs, expand into the Spanish territory to other mosaics from the northern Meseta, being limited to the south by the Tagus River and some Provinces of the extreme NE, central, and even southern *Hispania*. Moreover, parallels are observed between mosaics from the Portuguese territory and others integrated into the *Conuentus Scallabitanus*, *Emeritensis*, and *Pacensis*.

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<sup>3</sup> The references to the location of the different workshops and the study of the mosaics they made are not meant to be exhaustive, but only exemplary.

Some of the mosaics studied at the CMRCB were selected to exemplify these relationships.

1. We begin by mentioning the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup>-century mosaic of a *Domus* in Rua D. Afonso Henriques, nº1 Edifício da Escola Velha da Sé (CMRCB, Mosaic 15-16)<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 2). The compositional scheme of tangent outlined circles and poised squares, forming bobbins, which expanded during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the western part of the Empire, is an almost identical parallel to one of the mosaics from the Quinta da Ribeira, Tralhariz, (Carrazeda de Ansiães), with a scheme applied in a strip, possibly connecting to the wall. This fact leads to the assumption that the artisans who made it applied the same model at a slightly later date (CMRCB, Mosaic 93) (Figs. 3-3a). In other mosaics from the Portuguese territory, the same compositional scheme is observed at the *Villa* of Coriscada, Meda (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century), south of Tralhariz, and, with a more exuberant decoration in the simple guilloche involving the circles and squares, in the *Villa* of Santiago da Guarda, Leiria (*Conuentus Scallabitanus*), whose mosaics have been dated *in genere* to the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century; in the “Casa da Medusa,” Alter do Chão, Portalegre (*Conuentus Emeritensis*), in two lateral panels of the *triclinium*'s figurative mosaic, dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century; and in a mosaic from Boca do Rio, Vila do Bispo (*Conuentus Pacensis*), a mosaic kept in the Santos Rocha Museum in Figueira da Foz.



Figure 2  
Detail of the mosaic from the *domus* of the «Escola Velha da Sé», Braga; (CMRCB, Mosaic 15, fig. 39). ©AFMDDS

In *Gallaecia*, the same type of composition is observed in mosaics from the *Conuentus Lucencis*, Doncide and, perhaps, in Centroña; and from the *Conuentus Asturum*, also in late mosaics, in Camarzana de Tera (Zamora) and, in the Province of León, in Campo de Villavidel, in Quintana del Marco, and Calzada del Coto, here the compositional scheme is applied without decoration in a mosaic dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century; in other mosaics from Navarra and the northern Meseta, in Liédna (Navarra), in the Bacchic mosaic dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the circles and squares surrounded by a simple guilloche, and, in the same *villa*, in a panel on the south side of the peristyle, in black and white, in which the compositional scheme presents a very simple decoration; in the province of Burgos, in Cardeñajimeno, in a mosaic dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Most of the literature on the comparative study of mosaics has been omitted because it can be found in CMRCB.



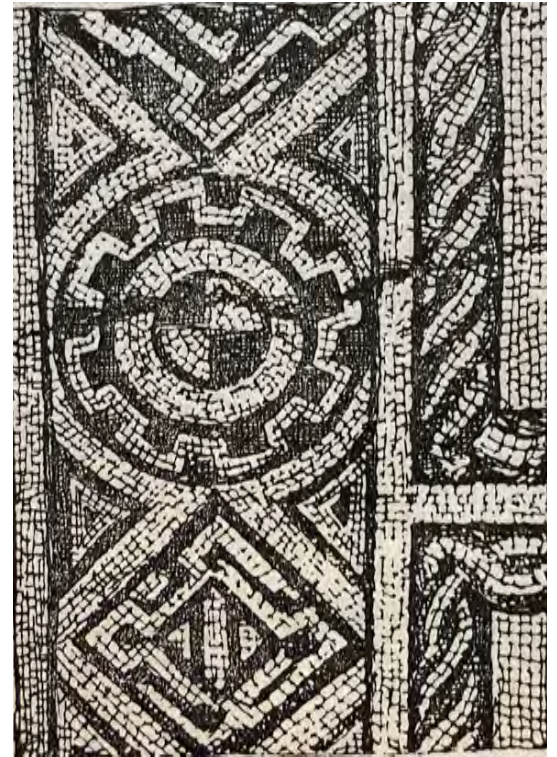
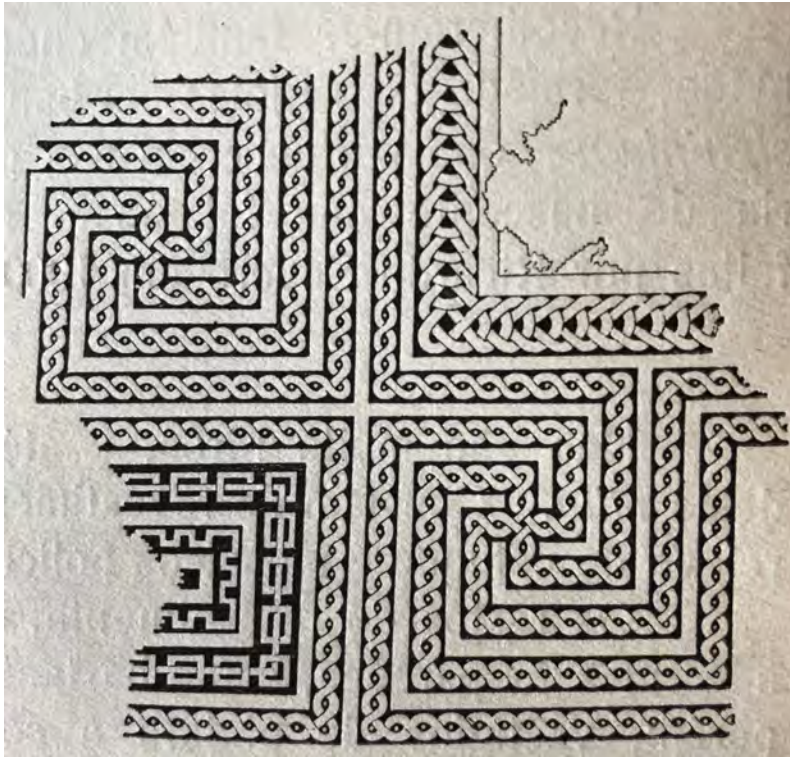


Figure 3  
Mosaic of Tralhariz, Carrazeda de Ansiães, decorated with meanders with swastikas. (Drawings in Russell Cortez 1946: 36-43, fig. 10; CMRCB, Mosaic 93, fig. 142).

Figure 3a  
Detail of the band connecting to the wall. (Drawings in Russell Cortez 1946: 36-43, fig. 18; CMRCB, Mosaic 93, fig.143).

Figure 4  
Mosaic fragment decorated with a rosette from the *domus* on Rua D. Afonso Henriques, n°s 20-28 (CMRCB, Mosaic 17, fig. 44a); *Cliché* by author.

Figure 4a  
Mosaic fragment decorated with a vase from the *domus* on Rua D. Afonso Henriques, n°s 20-28; Braga (CMRCB, Mosaic 21, fig.45c); *Cliché* by author.

century; in a decoratively exuberant mosaic from Cuevas de Soria, in which the sequential decoration of the bobbins creates an effect of crossed bands. Identical relationships extend to the Province of Toledo, such as Talavera de la Reina and Malpica de Tajo or Ciudad Real, Alcázar de S. Juan, in a mosaic kept at the Fray Juan Cobo Museum, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, with diverse decorative motifs filling the geometric figures, and the circles being defined by laurel wreaths.

This compositional scheme is also well documented in mosaics from *Africa Proconsularis*, with examples from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, in El Djem; the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, a black and white mosaic from the XII corridor of the “Maison de la Cascade,” in Utica; and from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in Thuburbo Maius, and the examples of Christian *basilicae* of Sabratha (Corpus España X: 23).

2. The 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup>-century mosaics presented at the CMRCB, Mosaics 17-21 (Figs. 4-4a) are part of a group of about 400 fragments (kept at the MDDS reserves) collected from the rubble created by the successive remodelling of a Roman building.



Among them, the following mosaics were selected: one decorated with a rosette filling a square with concave sides, two with segments of circle delimited by a band of white *tesserae* and a simple guilloche, and three with vases of the same type, with only the bases and part of the bulge visible. All the decoration was done against a background of black *tesserae*. The same execution technique, the approximate size of the *tesserae*, the same type of mortar, the black *tesserae* background, and the decoration on these fragments allow the assumption that they were part of the same mosaic pavement, whose compositional scheme could have had tangent circles forming concave squares.

The type of the compound rosette finds parallels in other rosettes featured in 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>-century mosaics from the Portuguese territory integrated into the *Conuentus Scallabitanus* and *Pacensis*, as in *Conimbriga* (“House of the Swastika” and “House of the Skeletons”); Torres Novas (*Villa Cardílio*); Pisões; Cerro da Vila; Abicada and, particularly, in one of the rosettes that occurs in the Ocean Mosaic from Faro (XII b) (Correia 2005: 33-48, Est. 1-5).

Regarding the compound rosettes in the Ocean Mosaic from Faro, (Lancha - Oliveira 2013: 212) found stylistic similarities with those executed in 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup>-century North African mosaics. According to these authors, these similarities could have originated from a workshop in this geographical area. Thuburbo Majus, Tunisia, is indicated for the XIIb rosette (Corpus Tunisie II, 1, no. 42 A pl. XXIII).

As for compositions based on large circles and squares, these are greatly disseminated in late Hispanic mosaics, notably in the compositional repertoire of Galician mosaics, where most schemes are treated with simplicity (Torres Carro 2015a: 214). These fragments’ compositional scheme relates to some of the mosaics of Lugo’s *Domus Oceani* (the room preceding the *oecus* and one of the wings of the porticoed courtyard), dating between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century (González Fernández 2005: 225). By analyzing the mosaics in the room preceding the *oecus*, Mercedes Torres Carro considered that the Lugo workshop that worked on them executed the same procedures used by North African workshops from a slightly earlier period, specifically from Cherchel, Thuburbo Maius, and Timgad (Torres Carro 2015b: 336).

Although remotely, certain aspects present in these Braga mosaic fragments, such as the black *tesserae* backgrounds, the very simple compound rosette, and the vase figuration, relate to some works by the so-called “Asturica-Clunia-Uxama Workshop” from a period after the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or the “Prado-Almenara Workshop” due to the use of dark backgrounds and a specific type of craters.

3. The late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> century mosaic from the “Casa da Roda,” R. de S. João, Braga (CMRCB, Mosaic 34) (Fig. 5) corresponds to an urbanization phase of *Bracara Augusta*, already as the capital of *Gallaecia* (Abraços - Wrench 2020; Wrench 2020)<sup>5</sup>.

The decoration, both in the strip connecting to the wall and in those bordering the mosaic field, reveals a careful execution, with the well-drawn florets placed at regular spaces, the cuboids with serrated sides, the polychrome shaded row of tangentially inverted bells, these ones with a dentilled simple file, the undulating

<sup>5</sup> This mosaic is *in situ*. It was reburied, after being cleaned, consolidated, and photographed by the MDDS technical team. We think that, at least outside the building where the mosaic was found, there should be a sign with a picture marking the mosaic as it is one of the richest mosaics from the capital of the *Prouincia Gallaecia* discovered so far.

row of alternately inverted *peltae* with a heart on the central point, outlined in black and filled in by red *tesserae*.

Figure 5  
Mosaic of Casa da Roda (House of the Wheel)  
(CMRCB, Mosaic 34, fig. 61); ©AFMDDS.



The decorative themes are widely used in western mosaics, namely from *Hispania*, the Mediterranean East, and North Africa, although the cuboids in perspective and the “undulating ribbon” refer mainly to mosaics from these last two geographical areas. Among the many examples, it is possible to highlight the occurrence of bands decorated with “rows of tangent cuboids” in mosaics from Antioch and Zeugma, dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century and later, or from Apameia in Syria. In *Africa Proconsularis*, this theme is used until a very late period, as observed in a thermal complex of Djebel Oust, from the Byzantine period (Fendri 1963: 161-169 fig. 18 no. 1-5). Fendri considers the representation of aligned or isolated cuboids far from the “mosaic reproduction of an authentic architectural element” (the cornice), as is the theme of the consoles, which occurs in another mosaic of the same *thermae* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup>-centuries.

In *Hispania*, the use of the “row of tangent cuboids” in framings was very common, occurring in mosaics from late *uillae*, often associated with the “polychrome undulating row of bells” theme. Examples are found integrated in the Ebro/Douro area (Comunion, Álava; Cardeñajimeno, Burgos; Los Quintanares, Soria; La Malena, Zaragoza), but also in the Tagus valley (Toledo, *Villa* of Carranque), further south, in the Province of Jaén, *Villa* de Bruñel and, in the extreme peninsular NE, in Gerona (Bell-Lloch), in a middle 3<sup>rd</sup> century mosaic (Corpus España XII: 27, mosaic no. 9 fig 5, from Cardeñajimeno, with references to the mosaics of the *uillae* mentioned above). The hollow cuboids of this mosaic from Cardeñajimeno have larger dentilled laterals, executed using a specific technique in which the *tesserae* are cut into triangles (Corpus España XII: 22 mosaic no. 9). In a mosaic from Urrea de Gaén, province of Teruel (*Conuentus Caesaraugustanus*), dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century considering the archaeological context, the cuboids that frame one of the squares of the composition show dentilled sides, with poised *tesserae*, as in the mosaic from the “Casa da Roda” (Fernández Galiano 1987: 103 Lám. XLV, 172).

In mosaics from the Portuguese territory, while the theme of the “polychrome undulating row of bells” is geographically distributed among the different *Conuentus* that integrate it, the theme of “tangent cuboids” as the example of

the “Casa da Roda”, occurs predominantly in the *Conuentus Scallabitanus*, in mosaics from the *Villae* of Rabaçal and Santiago da Guarda. Only in the mosaic of the “Casa da Roda” the larger sides of the cuboids are serrated.

Concerning the undulating row of alternated *peltae*, with a heart shaped leave in the apex, a widely used theme in the Roman world, the highlight is given to a mosaic from Albalate de Cinca, in the Province of Huesca (*Conuentus Caesaraugustanus*), dating from *circa* the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Fernández Galiano 1987: 62-63 Lám. XXIX).

In the Braga mosaic framing, the lateral tips of the *peltae* are connected through a kind of a knot. In mosaics from the Portuguese territory, in which the theme occurs in areas integrated into the *Conuentus Scallabitanus*, *Emeritensis* and *Pacensis*, in the latter with considerable incidence, the same procedure is only observed in three mosaics from the *Villa* of Quinta das Longas, Elvas (*Conuentus Emeritensis*), in two mosaic pavements dated from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and in another one, from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Oliveira et al. 2011: figs. 10, 13, 16).

The *peltae* interconnection using small knots is also carried out in Sorian mosaics from the *Villae* de Los Quintanares and Santervás del Burgo, in bands decorated with the same theme (Corpus España VI: 27-28 mosaic no. 14 Lam. 28, and mosaic no. 37 Lám. 14). On p. 28, reference is made to the same theme used on two mosaic fragments from Mérida dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 47; 84). Does this *modus faciendi* refers to the same workshop whose artisans worked on the different mosaics? Or to mosaicists who applied the same *modus faciendi* circulating among workshops? Did the artisans of *Bracara Augusta* start this specific procedure?

4. Examples of parallels between structures and mosaic decoration are found in the tanks/pools, with or without steps, with bottom and/or walls covered in white mosaic with black *tesserae* florets, from Braga, Largo Cardoso da Saudade (CMRCB, Mosaic 11), and the *Villa* of Requejo, Zamora. (Fig. 6). The same decoration was executed on the small tank from the *caldarium* of the *Villa* Cuevas de Soria; the contraposed apses pool in the Place of Sta Maria de Lugo, with half- florets, and the small tank with steps in Milreu, Faro (Abraços 2015; Regueras Grande 2015: 299 fig. 19 a; Torres Carro 2019: 38-41 figs. 1, 2, 3).



Figure 6  
Tank/pool with mosaic decorated with black *tesserae* florets (CMRCB, Mosaic 11, fig.29); ©AFMDDS.

5. The figurative repertoire of the mosaics from this *Conuentus*, known so far, is dedicated to sea fauna and vase representation: a *cantharus* on the sepulchral lid of Frende (CMRCB, Mosaic 88), and three very schematic vases, in the mosaics mentioned above (CMRCB, Mosaics 17-21). Concerning the sea fauna, the mosaic from the *impluium* of a *domus*, discovered in the cloister of the Seminary of Santiago in Braga (CMRCB, Mosaic 14), although incomplete, has the largest number of sea species still visible. The representations of four complete fishes have been preserved. (Fig. 7). Several reverses were responsible

Figure 7  
Mosaic discovered at the *domus* of Santiago Seminary and displayed at the Pio XII Museum, Braga (CMRCB, Mosaic 14, fig.36); *Cliché* by author.



for the fact that only fragments with incomplete representations of some species of sea fauna or only traces referring to the aquatic environment remained from other mosaics of this *Conuentus* with the same type of decoration. This is the case of the fragments found in four other sites in Braga: Largo de S. João do Souto, Seminário de Santiago, Cerca (CMRCB, Mosaics 8;10); two tanks from Cardoso da Saudade, Largo de S. Paulo (CMRCB, Mosaic 13) (Fig. 8); Campo das Carvalheiras, under the Seminário dos Órfãos (CMRCB, Mosaic 38); and several fragments originally kept in Fernando Castiço's house in Braga, but relocated to the Martins Sarmiento Museum in Guimarães (CMRCB, Mosaics 41-48). Also fragmented or only known through pictures are the mosaics from the *Villae* of Fonte do Milho (CMRCB, Mosaic 91), Parada de Outeiro, Ourense and Panxón, Pontevedra. In most of them, the aquatic environment is represented by long lines and small parallel lines to which a double V-shaped appendage is superimposed. This motif seems to suggest the undulation of the water surface. The existence of this sign in several mosaics from *Gallaecia*, in addition to other aspects, such as the repetition of some fish species and other sea fauna, points to the possible existence of an itinerant Workshop, active during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which may have operated along the land route that linked *Lucus* to *Bracara* (Balil 1975: 262), a Workshop previously referred to as "NW *Officina*."



Figure 8  
Mosaic fragment of Cardoso da Saudade, Braga, with a fish head (CMRCB, Mosaic 13, fig.34); ©AFMDDS.

If there are strong similarities regarding the geometric and geometric-vegetal themes between the mosaics from *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* and those from the Hispanic NW, the similarities seem evident in the so-called “maritime” themes and representation of aquatic environments. Some fish species, moray eels, bivalves, and urchins are common to the mosaics from Braga, Fonte do Milho, Parada de Outeiro, and Panxón. They are also observed in mosaics from the Portuguese territory part of the *Conuentus Pacensis*, as in Milreu, Faro, and *Villa de Pisões*, Beja, in a small tank in one of the rooms open to the tetrastyle atrium. At the bottom of this tank, fish and a moray eel are depicted, with lines suggesting the aquatic environment, some with poised *tesserae*.

When comparing the sea fauna of Parada de Outeiro with that of A Cigarrosa, *Conuentus Asturum*, Acuña Castroviejo (2013: 149) considers the representation in A Cigarrosa to be more refined, with more precise lines, which may indicate an earlier stage than that of Parada de Outeiro<sup>6</sup>. In this *Villa*, the mosaic found covered the bottom of a pool with 2, 40 m x 1, 70 m. López Cuevillas, in 1953, and Chamoso Lamas, in 1954 (Torres Carro 2015a: 210-211), described the structures and the mosaic at the time of its discovery. Several fish species were represented, organized in parallel strips outlined by horizontal water lines, swimming in opposite directions. The representation of bivalves and sea urchins (or sea flowers) and a dolphin figure that occupied the mosaic center is also mentioned. In a preserved fragment, it is possible to identify a red porgy of the species *pagrus pagrus* (Mendez Fernández 2003; [http://www.musarqourense.xunta.es/es/peza\\_mes/mosaico-romano-parada-de-outeiro/](http://www.musarqourense.xunta.es/es/peza_mes/mosaico-romano-parada-de-outeiro/)). Two curved lines also suggest the water movement under the fish, an element that does not exist in mosaics with a similar theme in the Portuguese territory.

On the hillside of Castro de Panxón, there is probably a Roman *Villa* associated with a *necropolis*. A prospection carried out revealed the existence of some structures and ceramic and granite fragments. These findings can relate to those documented, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in San Joan de Panxón: Roman *amphorae*, mosaics, ceramics, coins, and *tegullae* (Torres Carro 2015a: 204-205). Only

<sup>6</sup> The remaining fragments of mosaic found in this *Villa* of Parada de Outeiro were taken to the Provincial Archaeological Museum of Ourense, where they were restored. A fragment of the lower right part of the entire mosaic, with 1,01 m x 1,25 m was kept (Mendez Fernández 2003; Rodríguez González 2003); Torres Carro 2015a: 210-211; Valle Abad 2015: 317.

a small part of the mosaic is known in which it is possible to observe a fish of the *Mugil labrarsus* species, a pair of bivalves and signs representing the aquatic environment through small lines, some featured with poised *tesserae* and others with parallel lines, finishing perpendicularly with a double V-shaped appendage. The mosaic was studied by Acuña Castroviejo (1974: 35-38), who, in a later publication (Acuña Castroviejo 2013), added new data on its origin and a description of the mosaic group to which the fragment belonged<sup>7</sup>.

The mosaic from Fonte do Milho, Peso da Régua, is known through pictures (CMRCB, Mosaic 91). At the time of its discovery, it was possible to distinguish bivalves (possibly clams), sea urchins, fish (a red porgy and another Teleostei species), a cartilaginous animal, probably a shark, and a cetacean, possibly a dolphin. “Apart from the formal differences, these fish-like representations share with those from Milreu and Braga, as well as with those from Parada de Outeiro and A Cigarrosa, a diagonal *tesserae* arrangement aimed at recreating the visual effect of the scales and their glint, as well as an outline of the forms, especially at the lower level, expressed in the double darker colored row” (Cátia Mourão CMRCB: 82; 235).

As for filling the water backgrounds with parallel or zig-zag lines, this is a common arrangement in North African mosaics, with poised *tesserae* lines. Mercedes Torres Carro (2019: 47-50 and twenty-six illustrative figures) presented her ongoing study of the motif executed via small parallel lines topped by a V as well as variants of it in both Hispanic and North African mosaics. In mosaics from this geographical area, with the motif applied to fill the “aquatic backgrounds,” the author highlights only the mosaic of the Triumph of Venus from Timgad (fig. 9a) and the mosaic from the fountain of a house in Cherchel, with the representation of Ulysses and the Sirens (Fig. 9b).

This sign executed in the backgrounds of mosaics with a sea theme appears in mosaics from the peninsular NW and in *Gallaecia*: in León (in the mosaic fragment from the Roman *balnea* found under the Cathedral), in Braga, Lugo, Panxón, Parada de Outeiro, A Cigarrosa and, in *Lusitania*, in several mosaics from Milreu. It seems evident that this motif belongs to a specific workshop as suggested by Balil (1975) and Acuña Castroviejo (1974), or it was carried out by artisans from different workshops but in possession of the same model.

6. We finish the examples of mosaics from *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* with those from a *domus* of *Bracara Augusta* that features two mosaic-covered rooms, one decorated with a chess composition (CMRCB, Mosaic 1, panel 1, and water mouth frame of this panel) and the other with a square of hourglass lines (CMRCB, Mosaic 1, panel 2). (Fig. 9) The chessboard composition, a *tableau* of houses in color opposition, was used in the eastern Mediterranean on pebbled pavements since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, this type of decoration began to spread not only in the west but also in the region of Greece, and it was widely used in Italy. In Ostia, it was known since 130 BC. In the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, it is represented in Mérida, and at the end of the same century, it is depicted in the Casa del Mitreo. In northern *Hispania*, in the Termas Mayores of *Asturica*, probably dating from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Regueras – San José 2017: 314-315). In the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, it appears in two rooms of Póvoa de Cós. In *Conimbriga*, the House of Fountains has

<sup>7</sup> The mosaic fragment from this *uilla*, studied and published by Acuña Castroviejo (1974), belonged to the Blanco Cicerón family collection, and was later sold to an Antiques Gallery. Acuña Castroviejo 2013: 147 reported that in late 2012 he located it in the Carltonhobbs House of Antiques. Currently, its whereabouts are unknown.

this decoration on a mosaic pavement from the northeast *cubiculum*, dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In the Sociedade Martins Sarmento Museum collection in Guimarães, there is a mosaic fragment with a chessboard pattern in color opposition from Braga (CMRCB, Mosaic 51), with no dating. It also appears in Rio Maior in panel D of mosaic no. 3, dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It is also observed in Torre de Palma in the doorsill of room SE10, in polychrome chess, dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Corpus Portugal II: 246-247 Pl. LXXXVII and Pl. XCIX).



Figure 9  
Mosaic of the crypt of D. Diogo de Sousa  
Museum (CMRCB, Mosaic 1); ©AFMDDS.

Panel 2 and the mosaic frame of the water mouth of panel 1 show a square of hourglass lines, a motif represented in Ostia since the Republican era, in *Stabiae* since the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; in Pompeii, since the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. In Este, Province of Padua, it was depicted since the 1<sup>st</sup> century. In Sicily, in Palermo, in Piazza della Vittoria (?), and in the Tindari baths, the motif was represented later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In Sardinia, in Olmedo, this motif is observed dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. In *Lusitania*, in *Conimbriga*, it is represented in the House of Cantaber (*peristylum* C 23) in a mosaic with a surface composition of discontinuous hourglass lines, dated between the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and in another one (*peristylum* C 27), dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In Torre de Palma, it is observed in a mosaic decorated with a grid of hourglass lines and tangent squares, in contrasting colors, dating from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Corpus Portugal II: 232-233). In *Hispania*, this motif appears in Huesca, dating from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (Fernandez-Galiano 1987: 94-95); in Badalona, Mataró, a high-imperial mosaic (Fernandez-Galiano 1987: 94).

This mosaic composition used in the *domus* of *Bracara* (in the crypt of the MDDS), which results from applying two very different materials (granite and limestone), seems to be a local adaptation of imported classical compositions (Abraços 2008: 69-74).

The mosaics of this *domus*, whose decoration has a very wide chronological spectrum, are dated to the High Empire period through the structure analysis of



the house to which they belong, the *tesserae* dimension and density, the rigor of the motif execution, mainly near the drainage mouth, and the perfection of the plumbing carved in granite, that passed under one of the floors. The interest in these mosaics is increased because they correspond to a development plan of *Bracara Augusta* carried out between the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, being one of the few existing testimonies of this period.

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#### Abbreviations

- AFMDDS – Arquivo Fotográfico do Museu D. Diogo de Sousa  
 APECMA – Associação Portuguesa para o Estudo da Conservação do Mosaico Antigo  
 CMRCB - O Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos do Conuentus Bracaraugustanus  
 MDDS – Museu D. Diogo de Sousa

# Patara Liman Caddesinde Mozaikli Bir Yapı

## A Building with Mosaic in the Patara Harbor Street

Şevket AKTAŞ\*

(Received 06 May 2022, accepted after revision 21 September 2022)

### Öz

Patara kent merkezini limana bağlayan liman caddesinin batı portiğindeki II numaralı mekânda yapılan kazılarla bulunan mozaik, bu makalenin konusunu oluşturur. Söz konusu mozaik ilgili mekânın ikinci katına aittir. Oldukça tahrip olan ve çok sayıda küçük parçadan oluşan bu mozaik, Patara'da Kadın Şapeli ve Liman Hamamı'ndaki örneklerden sonra tespit edilen üçüncü örnektir. 2013 yılında gerçekleştirilen konservasyon çalışmaları ardından mozaik üç bordürle çevrelenen bir panodan oluştuğu anlaşılmıştır. Geometrik desenli mozaik, opus tessellatum tekniğinde yedi farklı renge sahip tessera kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Desenlerin işlenişinde koyudan açığa doğru sıralanan renkler ile motiflere bir derinlik hissi kazandırılmıştır. Dairesel ana desenin boşluklarında kullanılan dolgu motifleri ile de karmaşık bir dekorasyon yaratılmıştır. Patara mozaikinin desen repertuarı ve yapım tekniğinin yanı sıra kazı bulguları, ikinci kata ait bu taban mozaikini MS 5. yüzyıla tarihlenmemize olanak tanır. Patara mozaikleri üzerine ilk detaylı araştırmaya konu olan bu mozaik, başta Patara olmak üzere Likya ve Batı Anadolu'da tespit edilen taban mozaiklerine yeni bir örnek sunar. Bunun yanı sıra bu çalışma, özellikle bölgenin mozaik repertuarı, inşa teknikleri ve olası yeni atölyelerin tespitine ilişkin soruları da tartışmaya açar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Likya, Patara, Liman Caddesi, Batı Portik, mozaik.

### Abstract

This article is about a mosaic uncovered during the excavations in chamber II on the west portico of the Harbor Street of Patara that connects the city center to the harbor. The mosaic in question was located on the second floor of the relevant space. The mosaic, which is heavily damaged and consists of many small fragments, is the third example uncovered after those founds in the Women's Chapel and Harbor Bath at Patara. After restoration work was completed in 2013, it was discovered that the mosaic was made up of a panel surrounded by three borders. Utilizing seven various tessera kinds, this geometric patterned mosaic was created using the opus tessellatum process. With the colors ordered from dark to bright in the pattern processing, the motifs have been given a sense of depth. Filling motifs are utilized in the gaps of the circular main design to produce more intricate ornamentation. The Pataran mosaic's design repertory and building technique, as well as the excavation results, place it in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. This mosaic, the topic of the first comprehensive study of Pataran mosaics, is a unique example of floor mosaics found in Lycia and Western Anatolia, particularly in Patara. Furthermore, this study opens questions about the mosaic repertoire of the region, construction techniques, and the identification of possible new workshops.

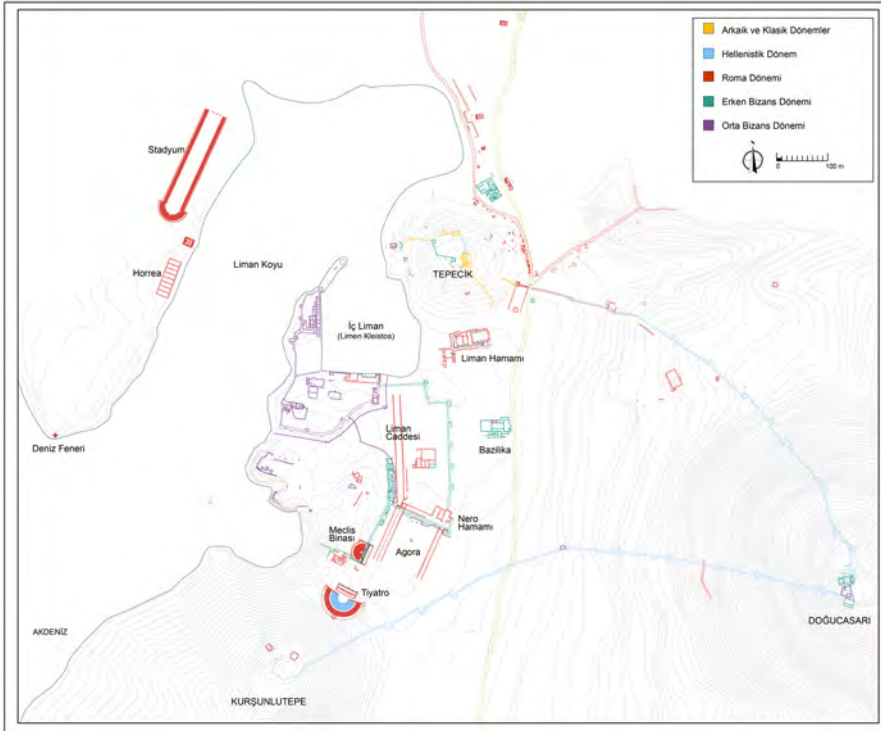
**Keywords:** Lycia, Patara, Harbor Street, West Portico, mosaic.

\* Şevket Aktaş, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Antalya, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8173-971X>.  
E-posta: saktas@akdeniz.edu.tr

Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemlerinde Likya'nın başkentliğini yapmış olan Patara, kuruluşundan Geç Antik Çağ'a dek bölgenin önemli bir ticari, siyasi ve dinsel merkezi olmuştur (İşkan 2020: 11-21). Patara'nın bu konuma ulaşmasında kent merkezini limana bağlayan caddeler önemli rol oynamışlardır (Res. 1, Çiz. 1). Bu bağlamda 1992 yılında Liman Caddesi'nin<sup>1</sup> mimarisi ile inşa ve kullanım



Resim 1  
Liman Caddesi, Genel Görünüş.



Çizim 1  
Patara, Kent Planı.

evrelerini tespit edebilmeye yönelik kazılara başlamış ve 2019 yılına dek belirli aralıklarla çalışmalar sürdürülmüştür (Aktaş 2012: 16 res. 1, 2; 2013: 8-15; 2019a: 253-259; 2020: 63, 64). 2010 yılında Liman Caddesi'nin Batı Portiki'ndeki II numaralı mekânda gerçekleştirilen kazılarda, makaleye konu

1 Kazılara başlandığında bu cadde "Ana Cadde" olarak tanımlanmış ancak sonra konumu ve kullanımı nedeniyle Liman Caddesi olarak ismi değiştirilmiştir. Bu makalede kullanılan bütün resim ve çizimler Patara kazı arşivine aittir.

olan mozaik açığa çıkarılmıştır<sup>2</sup>. Mozaik, mekânın kuzey ve merkezdeki giriş kapısından batıya yaklaşık 7.70x6.65 metrelik bir alanda dağınık bir durumda ele geçmiştir. Doğudan batıya alçalarak uzanan mozaik pek çok parçaya ayrılmış ve toprak içinde düzensiz, ters dönmüş veya birbirinin üzerine binmiş bir durumdaydı (Res. 2, 3, 7). Mozaik imalatında kullanılan yatak harcının ve

Resim 2  
Mozağin Buluntu Durumu.  
Güneyden.



Resim 3  
Mozağin Buluntu Durumu.  
Doğudan.



alt dolguyu oluşturan kaba harç katmanının yapısını koruması sayesinde, zemin pek çok parçaya ayrılmış olsa da desenleri oluşturan tesseralar bu harç katmanı üzerinde kısmen bir arada kalabilmişlerdir. Ancak bir arada kalan parçalarda dahi ciddi anlamda tessera kayıplarının olduğu da kazı esnasında toprağın içinden çıkarılan çok sayıda örnekten anlaşılmıştır. Yoğun tahribat nedeniyle bulunan

<sup>2</sup> Bu makalenin yayın iznini veren Patara Kazıları Başkanı Havva İşkan'a, emeği geçen tüm ekip üyelerine, ayrıca değerli yorum ve önerileriyle katkı sağlayan Süleyman Bulut'a şükranlarımı sunarım.

parçaların boyutları değişkenlik göstermekle birlikte ortalama 10 cm<sup>2</sup> ile 40 cm<sup>2</sup> ölçülmüştür. Mekânın kuzeybatı köşesindeki ocak ile güneybatı köşedeki eklentilerin inşa evresinde, söz konusu alanlara çökmüş olan mozaığın tamamen kaldırıldığı görülmüştür. Taban mozaığının günümüze kalan bölümleri jeotekstil ile örtülerek geçici olarak koruma altına alınmış, 2013 yılında ise bir koruma projesi kapsamında belgeleme çalışmaları sonrasında uzman ekipler tarafından kaldırılarak konservasyonu yapılmıştır<sup>3</sup> (Res. 4).



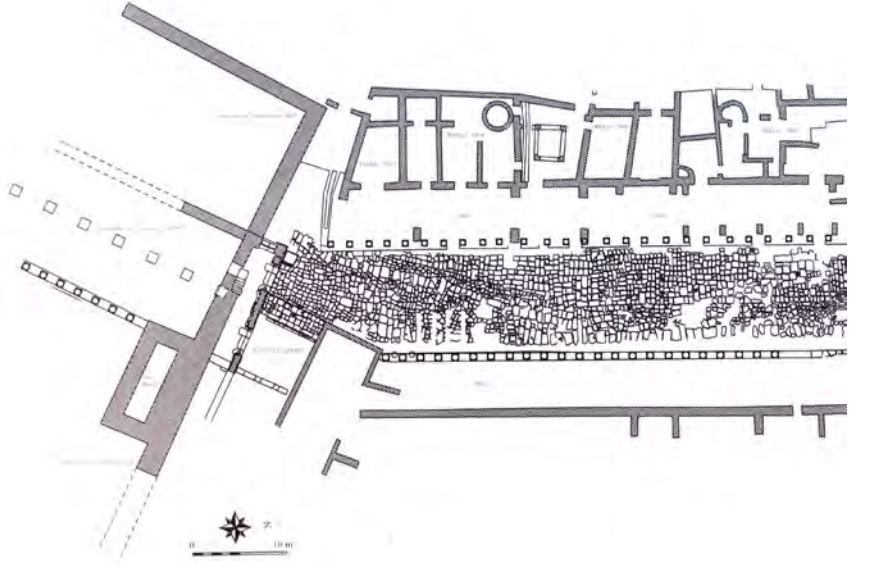
**I ve II Numaralı Mekân** (Çiz. 2, 3): Liman Caddesi'nin batısına inşa edilen ve genel olarak dükkân olduğu düşünülen mekânlar iki katlıdır. Cephelerindeki portik, cadde boyunca kuzeye uzanır. Liman Caddesi'nin güneyinde Merkez Agorası'nın Batı Stoası'na ait anıtsal bir kapı bulunur (Aktaş 2019b: 783-796). Söz konusu kapı geç dönemde sur duvarının bir parçası olmuştur. Doğu-batı yönelimli surun kuzey önünde batıya yükselerek uzanan rampalı yol, portikteki mekânlar ile suru birbirinden ayırır (Res. 5). Bu noktada batı portiğin güney başlangıcındaki I nolu mekânın güney duvarı diğerlerinden farklı olarak hemen önündeki rampa nedeniyle kuzeybatıya yükselerek diyagonal bir şekilde uzanır. Bu nedenle iki bölümden oluşan I nolu mekânın batısındaki yamuk dörtgen formdaki küçük bölüm<sup>4</sup>, doğu bölümün zemininden yaklaşık 3.50 m daha yüksek bir kota sahiptir. Bu bölüme güneyden girişi sağlayan anıtsal kapı 1.42

Resim 4  
Konservasyon Sonrası Mozaığın Genel Görünüşü.

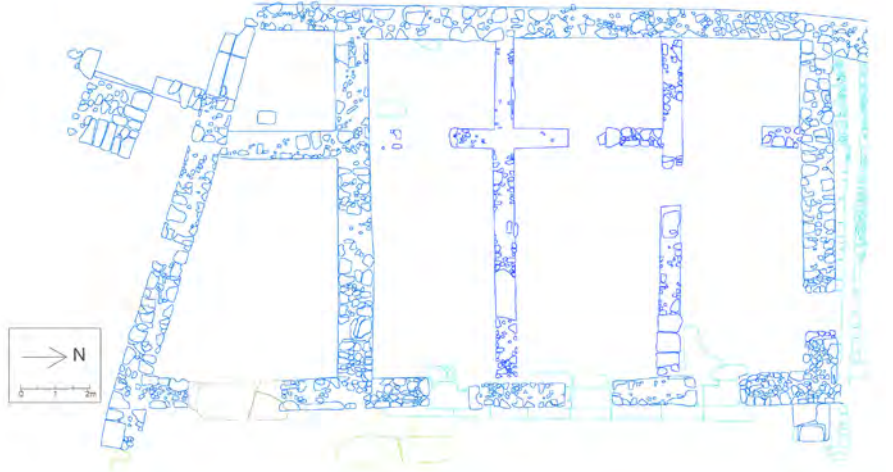
3 2013 yılında yapılan 2012.01.0116.003 numaralı, "Patara Ana Cadde Batı Portik II Numaralı Mekân Zemin Mozaığı Araştırma, Konservasyon ve Restorasyon Projesi" Akdeniz Üniversitesi BAP projesi, Prof. Dr. Havva Işık başkanlığında yürütülmüştür.

4 Bu küçük odanın ölçüleri 3.45x3.00x3.00x2.75 metredir.

Çizim 2  
Liman Caddesi, Plan.



Çizim 3  
I ve II Numaralı Mekân, Plan.



Resim 5  
I - II Numaralı Mekân ve Rampalı Yol.



m genişliğinde 2.53 m yüksekliğinde olup kapı lentosunun cephesinde bir haç kabartması bulunur (Res. 6). Kuzey duvarda kısmen korunmuş olan eşik bloğu, kuzeydeki II nolu mekâna geçişi sağlayan kapıya aittir. I nolu mekânın batısındaki ikinci oda yine yamuk dikdörtgen bir forma sahiptir<sup>5</sup>. Bu bölüme giriş doğudan olup kapı 1.70 m genişliğinde, 2.85 m yüksekliğindedir. Batıdaki duvarda bir niş<sup>6</sup> ile kiler<sup>7</sup>, I nolu bölümün altına uzanır. Bu mekânın hemen bitişiğindeki II nolu mekân 12x10 m ölçülerindedir<sup>8</sup>. Mekâna giriş doğu duvardaki üç kapıdan sağlanır. Kapılar 1.15-1.20 m genişliğinde korunan yükseklikleri ise ortalama 2 metredir ve tümü devşirme malzemeden inşa edilmiştir. Batı duvar önünde görülen seki ilk evreye aittir ve mekân geç döneminde doğu-batı yönelimli duvarlarla üç bölüme ayrılmıştır. Her bölüm batıda küçük birer odaya sahiptir. Son kullanım evresinde mekânın kuzeybatı köşesine bir kireç ocağı, çökmüş mozaikğin üzerine ise güneydeki ilk kapıdan girilen küçük bir oda inşa edilmiştir. Bu son evreye ait niteliksiz duvarlar, statik sorunlar nedeniyle belgelenerek kaldırılmıştır (Res. 7, Çiz. 3).



Resim 6  
Haçlı Kapı.

Resim 7  
II Numaralı Mekân.

Kazılardan elde edilen arkeolojik veriler Liman Caddesi ve Batı Portik'in İS 1. yüzyıldan İS. 7. yüzyılın başına değin kesintisizce kullanıldığını gösterirler. Buna karşın I ve II nolu mekânda 3 inşa evresi tespit edilebilmiştir. Bunlar kısaca şöyledir:

I. Evre: Bu evrede, I nolu mekân kazı sonrası görüntüsüyle benzer bir plana sahipti, iki katlı ve iki odadan oluşuyordu. Batıdaki küçük ve ikinci kata ait odaya yine olasılıkla güneydeki rampadan ulaşıyor ve aynı şekilde buradan giriş sağlanıyor olmalıydı. Bu odanın kuzey duvarındaki kapının varlığına ilişkin bir tespit bulunmak şimdilik mümkün görünmemektedir. II nolu mekân ise tek hacimlidir ve batı duvar önünde bir seki mevcuttur. Doğu duvarındaki üç adet kapının oturtulduğu stylobate beden duvarlarından dışa taşınarak vurgulanmıştır. Mekânın zemini, arka duvardaki seki ile birlikte duvarlar mermer plakalar ile kaplıdır. Bu mimari özellikleri ile II nolu mekân, portikteki

5 Oda 5.65x6.50x3.70x6.57 m ölçülerindedir.

6 Niş ölçüleri 1.05x0.68x0.50 metredir.

7 Kilerin kapısı 1.00x0.82 m ölçülerinde olup derinliği 2.55 metredir.

8 Mekânın güney duvar yüksekliği 3.40 m, kalınlığı 0.90 m; batı duvarı yüksekliği 3.60 m, kalınlığı 0.85 m; kuzey duvarı yüksekliği 3.10 m kalınlığı 0.90 m, doğu duvar yüksekliği ise 1.90 metredir.



diğer mekânlardan farklılık gösterir. Bu özelliği mekânın dükkân dışında bir fonksiyona sahip olabileceğini düşündürür. Liman Caddesi ve Batı Portik'in ilk inşa evresi epigrafik ve arkeolojik verilere göre İS 1. yüzyılın sonlarına tarihlenir (Aktaş 2013: 80, 87, 134).

II. Evre: Bu evrede I nolu mekânın planında bir değişiklik olmamıştır. Ancak, yıkılan bütün duvarlar, aynı temel üzerine yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Güneybatıdaki ikinci kata çıkışı sağlayan haç kabartmalı anıtsal kapı, ya yıkılmış bir dinsel yapıdan alınarak buraya taşınmış ya da bu yapı için özel olarak üretilmiş olmalıdır. Batı duvardaki kiler ve niş bu evreye aittir. Tek hacimli olan II nolu mekân duvarları da tıpkı bir nolu mekândaki gibi yıkılmış ve orijinal evrenin temelleri üzerine yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Bu evrede mekân doğu batı yönelimli duvarlarla üç bölme ayrılmıştır. Her bölüm arkadaki sekiyi de içine alan küçük birer oda barındırır. Taban mozaığının buluntu konumu ve yapım tekniğinden de anlaşıldığı üzere mekân iki katlıdır ve I. evredeki sütunlu portik bu evrede yoktur. Çatıyı taşıyan sütunlar, yerini devşirme malzemelerden inşa edilmiş payelere bırakmıştır. Kuzeydeki ilk bölümün kuzey duvarındaki kapı, olasılıkla bu evreye aittir. Kazıda tespit edilen taban mozaığının kaldırılması sonucunda mozaik altından ele geçen sikkeler (I. Valentinianus İS 364-388, Arcadius İS 395-401 ve I. Justinianus İS 527-565) ile seramikler İS 5-7. yüzyıla tarihlenirler. Buluntular I ve II nolu mekânın İS 7.yüzyılda aktif olarak kullanımda olduğunu kesin olarak belgelemesine karşın yukarıda değinilen inşa faaliyetlerinin tarihine dair bilgi vermezler. Ancak, ikinci kata ait olduğu net olarak tespit edilen taban mozaığı, I ve II nolu mekânlarda birlikte kullanıldığını kanıtlar. Zira, mozaikli mekâna I nolu mekânın batısındaki küçük odanın güney duvarındaki haç kabartmalı anıtsal kapıdan geçilerek ulaşılmaktadır.

III. Evre: Mozaikli zemin üzerinden ele geçen seramikler, diğer mekânlarda ele geçenler gibi İS 5-7. yüzyıla aittirler. Bu veri, Batı Portik'te kullanımda olan yapıların yine aynı yüzyılda yani İS 7. yüzyılda yıkıldığını da gösterir. Yıkımdan sonra, portikteki dükkân ve diğer mekanların fonksiyonlarını yitirerek malzeme temin edilen alanlara dönüştüğü, kuzeybatı köşedeki kireç ocağı ile belgelenir.

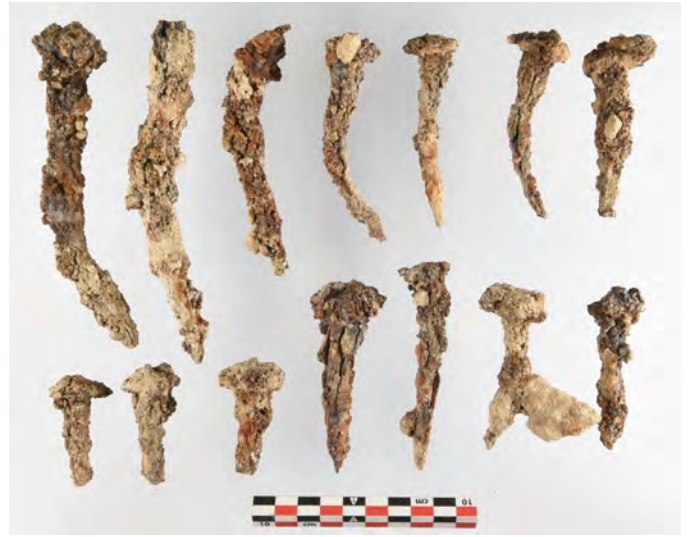
**Mozaik:** 2013 yılında kazı evine taşınan ve konservasyonu yapılan mozaik, 4.55x3.34 m olarak ölçülmüştür. Ele geçen parçalar mozaığın genel olarak *statumen*, *rudus* ve *nucleus* katmanlarına sahip olduğunu gösterir. Ancak bazı örneklerde, *statumen* tabakası tespit edilememiştir. Mozaığın döşendiği zeminin konstrüksiyonundan kaynaklanan nedenlerden dolayı, mozaik yatağının kalınlığı değişkenlik gösterir. İri seramik parçaları ve moloz taş dışında yer yer mureksin de kullanıldığı *statumen* tabakası (Res. 8-9) 3 cm, içinde daha küçük

Resim 8  
Mozaik Altı Harç.

Resim 9  
Mozaik Altı Mureksli Harç.



boyutlu agrega içeren *rudus* 5 cm, tessera yatağını oluşturan daha ince agregalı *nucleus* katmanı ise ortalama 2 cm kalınlığındadır. Mozaik için gerekli olan bu katmanlardan *rudus* içinde görülen yuva, ahşap bir kirişe ait olmalıdır (Res. 10). Açık veya kapalı alanlardaki zemin mozaiklerinde ahşap kullanımı yaygın bir uygulama gibi görülmesi de, Vitruvius mozaiklerin altındaki harç yatağına ilişkin detaylı bilgileri aktardığı bölümde, ahşap kullanımından söz eder (Vitr. VII. I, 1-7). Özellikle çok katlı yapıların taban döşemelerinde kullanılmış olması beklenen bu tarz uygulamanın, arkeolojik delilleri kısıtlıdır. Dolayısıyla, Patara mozağindeki kiriş yuvaları, ikinci kata ait zemin mozağının ahşap bir konstrüksiyon üzerine inşa edilmiş olduğunu göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Bu durumda ahşap zeminin, mozağın ağırlığını taşıyabilecek kadar sağlam yapılmış olması beklenir. Kazı bulguları, ahşap konstrüksiyon hakkında detaylı bilgiler vermese de, *rudus* katmanındaki kiriş yuvaları ile mozaik altından ele geçen 5-10 santimetrelik çiviler, ahşap kaplamaların varlığını düşündürürler (Res. 11). Çok katlı yapıların zemini, taşıyıcı kirişler üzerine ince ahşap kaplamaların



monte edilmesiyle oluşturulur. Bu rutin uygulamanın II nolu mekân içinde geçerli olması beklenir. Ancak, kiriş yuvalarının *rudus* katmanında bulunması, ahşap lataların çiviler vasıtasıyla kirişlere üstten değil de alttan sabitlenmiş olması gerektiğini düşündürür. Diğer bir olasılık ise rutin uygulamada olduğu gibi kirişler üzerine sabitlenen ahşap kaplama ile oluşturulan düz zemin üzerine, zeminin mukavemetini artırmaya yönelik olarak ikinci bir kiriş dizisinin yerleştirilmiş olmasıdır. Böylece, *statumen* katmanı kiriş aralarındaki düz zemin üzerine oturur iken, kirişler doğrudan *rudus* katmanının içinde kalmış olmalıdır. Yani, kirişlerin bulunduğu yerlerdeki harç kalınlığı kiriş arasındaki düz zemin üzerine gelenlere nazaran daha az olmalıdır. Bu durumu, 6-10 cm arasında değişen kalınlığa sahip harç örnekleri kanıtlar niteliktedir. Mozaik, ortalama 1-1.5 santimetrelik kübik tesseraların dm<sup>2</sup> de 49 adet kullanılmasıyla oluşturulmuştur. Sarı, beyaz, lacivert, mavi, açık mavi, bordo ve kırmızı renge sahip tesseralardan; sarı ve beyaz renkliler kum taşı, koyu mavi ve bordo renkliler granit, açık mavi renkte olanlar ise mermerdir.

I ve II nolu mekânın ikinci katına ait *opus tessellatum* tekniğindeki mozaik genel olarak ana hatlarının çoğunu yitirmiş olmasına karşın üç bordürle çerçevelenmiş bir merkezi panodan (Décor I: pl. 235a; Décor II: pl. 305-312) oluştuğu düşünülmektedir (Res. 4). Mozaikte geometrik desenlerin yoğun, bitkisel motiflerin az sayıda, figürlü bezemelerin ise hiç kullanılmadığı görülmektedir. Restore edilen zemin mozağının buluntu durumuna bakıldığında, bordürlerin

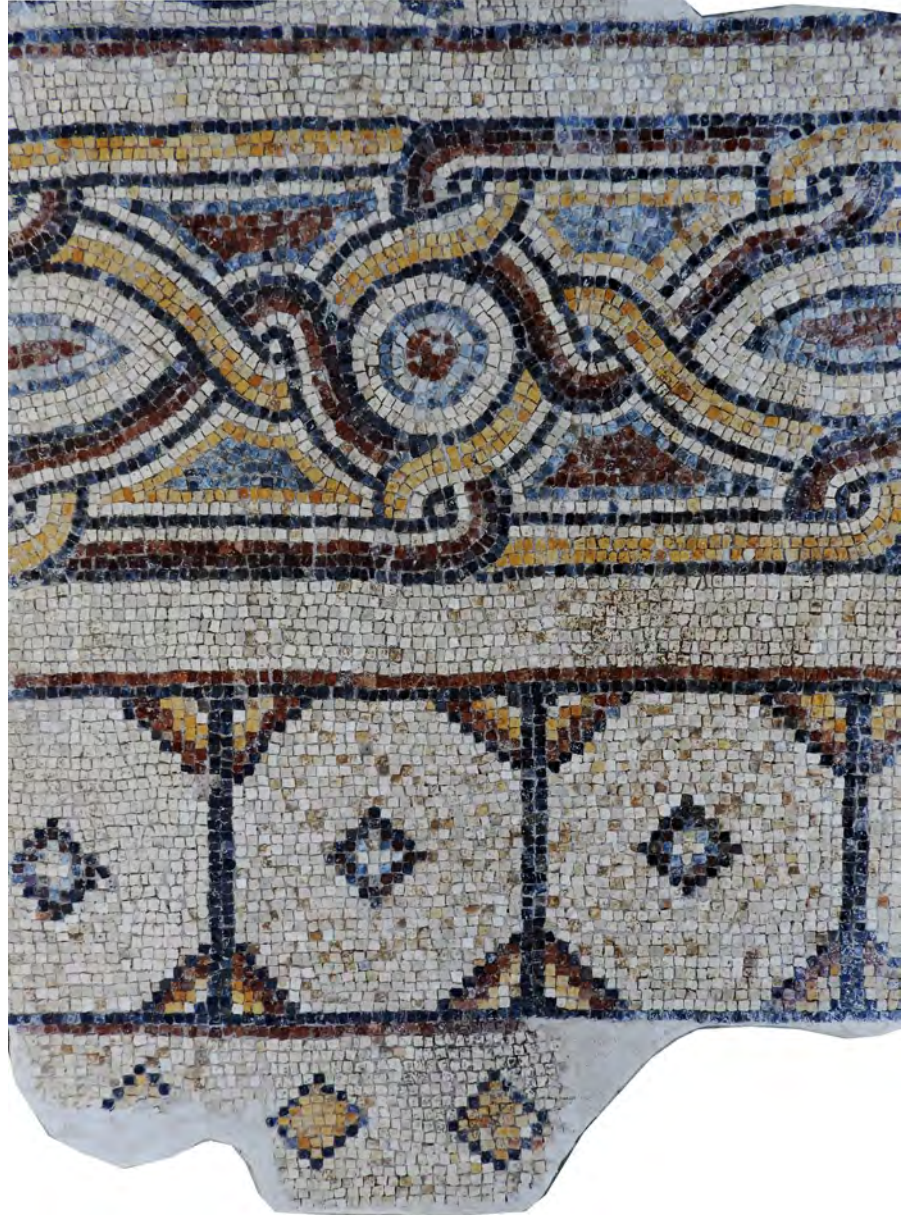
Resim 10  
Ahşap Hatıl Yuvası.

Resim 11  
Demir Çiviler.

kuzey-güney yönelimli oldukları görülür. Batı yöndeki ilk bordürün ölçüleri net olarak tespit edilemese de korunabilen yüksekliği 21 cm ölçülür (Res. 12). Batı konturu tamamen eksik olan bordür olasılıkla bu yönde duvar dibine denk gelmektedir. İkinci bordür ile sınırı oluşturan doğu kontur birer sıra bordo ve lacivert tesseractan yapılmıştır. Bordür beyaz zemin içinde aralıklarla tek sıra halinde ve diyagonal olarak yerleştirilmiş, kenarları tırtıklı kareler ya da elmas motifi dizisinden oluşur (Décor I: pl. 5a). 9.5 santimetrelilik bu motifinin konturu tek sıra lacivert, içi ise tamamen sarı tesseractarla doldurulmuştur.

44 cm yüksekliğindeki ikinci bordürü içte lacivert dışta ise bordo renkli tesseractardan yapılmış bir şerit çevreler (Res. 12). Bordür desenini beyaz zemin üzerine bir sıra lacivert tesseractan yapılmış 40.5 santimetrelilik sekizgen motifleri oluşturur (Décor I: pl. 5e). Sekizgen motiflerinin alt ve üstteki birleşim noktaları arasında kalan boşlukta sarı, bordo ve lacivert tesseractardan yapılmış kum saatini anımsatan bir desen işlidir. Bordür boyunca uzanan bu sekizgen motiflerinin merkezinde diyagonal yerleştirilmiş elmas motifi bulunur. Merkezdeki elmas motifi dıştan içe doğru sırasıyla lacivert, bordo, mavi ve merkezde iki sıra beyaz tesseractan oluşturulmuştur. İkinci bordür ile üçüncü bordür arasında

Resim 12  
Birinci, İkinci ve Üçüncü Bordür.



7 sıra beyaz tesseradan yapılmış 10.5 santimetrelik bir bant bulunur. Banttan sonra alt sınırı lacivert bir şerite sahip 52 cm genişliğindeki üçüncü bordür gelir. Bordür desenini, zincir halkasını anımsatan iç bükey kenarlı üçgen forma sahip organların birbirine eklenmesiyle elde edilen dört ilmekli daire ve elips motifleri oluşturur (Décor I: pl. 82c). Bordür desenlerinde kullanılan polykrom renk düzeni, üç boyutlu bir görünüm sağlamıştır. Halatların dış konturu lacivert olup içleri farklı renge sahiptirler (Res. 13). İlk örnekte içte iki sıra sarı bir sıra beyaz,



Resim 13  
Üçüncü Bordür.

diğerinde ise bordo, kırmızı ve beyaz tessera kullanılmıştır. Farklı iki renge sahip halkalar dönüşümlü olarak bordür boyunca kullanılmış olsa da, bu rutinin mozaik merkezinde bozulduğu görülür. Şöyle ki, bordürün doğusunda bordo ve kırmızı, batısında ise sarı renkli halatlardan ikişer adeti yan yana kullanılmıştır. Dört ilmekli daire içinde iki sıra beyaz, bir sıra mavi, bir sıra açık mavi ve iki sıra bordo renkli tessera ile küçük daireler oluşturulmuştur. Yine aynı şekilde dört ilmekli elips motifinde de üç sıra beyaz, bir sıra mavi, bir sıra açık mavi ve iki sıra bordo renkli tessera ile küçük elipsler yapılmıştır. Her daire ve elips motifi arasındaki boşluklarda doldurma motifi olarak içbükey kenarlı dörtgen ve beşgenler yer alır (Res. 14). Doldurma motiflerinin yapımında dıştaki beyaz tesseradan sonra konturu sarı olanların içi mavi, mavi olanların içinde ise bordo rengindeki tesseralar kullanılmıştır.

Bordürden sonra 5 sıra beyaz tesseradan yapılmış 7.5 santimetrelik bandın doğu konturunu bir sıra bordo bir sıra da lacivert tessera sırası oluşturur. Bandın merkezi pano ile kesiştiği noktadaki bu iki sıra aynı zamanda ana desenlerini çevreleyen 3.90 m çapındaki büyük dairenin batı sınırını da oluşturur. Büyük dairenin kuzey ve güneyindeki boşlukta beyaz zemin üzerinde salt ağzı ve birer kulpu sağlam kalmış ayaklı kadehten çıkan yapraklı sarmaşık motifi bulunur (Décor I: pl. 175 a, 177 b, 216 f). Ayaklı kadehin ağız konturu bir sıra lacivert, iç kısmı ise sırasıyla bordo, kırmızı ve 7 sıra sarı tesseradan yapılmıştır (Res. 15). Kadehin kulpu tek sıra lacivert tesseradan işlenmiştir. Kadehten çıkan iki sıra asma dalı üç yaprakla sonlanır. Asma dalı ve yaprak konturlarında bir sıra lacivert, yaprak içlerinde ise konturu takip eden bir sıra bordo ile merkezde bir sarı tessera kullanılmıştır. Kadehten çıkan sarmaşık dallarıyla oluşturulan bu motif, mozaiklerde köşe doldurma motifi olarak sıklıkla kullanılmıştır.

Resim 14  
Ana Desen ve Doldurma Motifleri.



Resim 15  
Ayaklı Kadeh (Kantharos).



Merkezi desen ile bordürleri birbirinden ayıran bandın doğu konturunda kullanılan renkler ile büyük dairenin konturu aynıdır. Ancak, pano ile bandın kesiştiği noktada, dairenin dış konturu banttaki ile birleşerek tek sıra lacivert tessera sırasına dönüşür. Dıştan içe doğru bordo ve üç sıra beyaz tesseredan sonra ana desenlerde de kullanılmış olan ve lacivert kontura sahip giyoş/örgü motifine gelinir (Décor I: pl. 70 ı, j, 71 a, b). Örgü motifini oluşturan ikili halatta birbirini tekrarlayan üç farklı renk kombinasyonu vardır. İlki dıştan içe doğru sırasıyla; lacivert, beyaz, açık mavi, mavi ve lacivert, ikincisi; lacivert, beyaz, kırmızı, bordo ve lacivert, üçüncüsünde ise lacivert, beyaz, iki sıra sarı ve bir sıra lacivert tessera dizisi kullanılmıştır. İki halat arasındaki boşlukta 1 adet beyaz tessera vardır.

Dıştaki büyük daire içindeki giyoş/örgü motifinden sonra gelen üç sıra beyaz tessera dizisi, aynı zamanda ana desendeki daire ve doldurma motiflerini ayıran bandı oluşturur. Mozaikten günümüze ulaşan parçalardan anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, panonun güneyinde 4 adet daire motifi bulunur. İki tanesi tam olanlardan güney uçtaki dairenin konturunu oluşturan örgü motifini aynı zamanda büyük dairenin

örgü motifi ile kesişir. Bunun doğusunda ve daha büyük olan dairenin örgü motifli bordürü ise hem kuzeydeki hem de batıdaki yarım daire ile birleşir. Görülebildiği kadarıyla güneydeki daire motifinin içinde tek sıra lacivert tessera dizisi ile oluşturulmuş ikinci daire motifini, dıştaki örgüden yukarıda değindiğimiz üç sıra beyaz tesseralardan oluşan bant ayırır. Bu küçük dairenin içi beyaz tessera ile doldurulmuş olup merkezde bir elmas motifi yer alır (Décor I: pl. 5a). Elmas motifi dıştan içe doğru sırasıyla tek sıra lacivert, bordo, kırmızı, iki sıra sarı ve merkezde ise beyaz tesseralardan oluşturulmuştur (Res. 14). Hemen üzerindeki daha büyük olan dairenin dış konturunu oluşturan örgü motifinden sonra merkezi çevreleyen üç sıra beyaz tesseralardan oluşan bant yaklaşık 70 cm çapındadır. Bu bandın içindeki daha küçük dairede dıştan içe doğru bir sıra lacivert ve bordo tessera dizisi kullanılmıştır. Dairenin içi 2 ila 6 sıra arasında değişkenlik gösteren sarı tessera ile doldurulmuş olup merkezinde iki halkadan oluşan Süleyman düğümü yer alır (Res. 16) (Décor II: 42). Halkaların konturu lacivert olup iç düzenlemelerinde farklılık vardır. İlk örnekte dıştan içe doğru mavi, açık



Resim 16  
Hz. Süleyman Düğümü.

mavi ve beyaz, ikincisinde ise bordo, kırmızı ve beyaz tessera kullanılmıştır. Bu dairelerin arasında dolgu motifi olarak kullanılan tek sağlam örnek, içbükey kenarlı beşgendir. Motif, içte farklı renkli tesseraların kullanılmasıyla merkeze doğru kademeli olarak gittikçe küçülen beşgenlerden oluşur. Motifler dıştan içe doğru lacivert, bordo, kırmızı, üç sıra sarı, iki sıra beyaz ve merkezde 2 ila 6 sıradan oluşan bordo tesseralardan yapılmıştır. Mozaığın doğusundaki küçük bir parçası korunan dolgu motifinin teşhisi net olarak yapılamamıştır. İçbükey formlu iki kenarın görülmesi, motifin güneydeki gibi beşgen olabileceğini düşündürür. Beşgen, dıştan içe doğru lacivert ve bordo renkli kontura sahip olup zemin sarı tessera ile doldurulmuştur. Güneydekinden farklı olarak burada iç içe iki küçük daire mevcuttur. Dairelerin sırasıyla lacivert, mavi, açık mavi, iki sıra beyaz, bir sıra lacivert ve merkezde beyaz tesseralardan yapılmış olduğu görülmektedir.

**Tarihleme:** Patara Liman Caddesi, doğu ve batı yönde birer portiğe sahiptir (Res. 1, Çiz. 1, 2). Kentin ana aksını oluşturan Liman Caddesi ve çevresinde gerçekleştirilen kazılar, yapıların mimari özellikleri ve inşa tarihlerinin tespit edilebilmesine katkı sağlamaları yanında kentin mimari gelişiminin

anlaşılmasına da olanak sağlamıştır. Yukarıda özlüce değinildiği üzere arkeolojik veriler, Liman Caddesi ve Batı Portik'in İS 1. yüzyıldan İS 7.yüzyılın başına değin kesintisizce kullanıldığını gösterirler. Dolayısıyla, bu süre boyunca portik ve mekânların defalarca yıkılıp onarıldığı düşünülse de, I ve II nolu mekânda ancak 3 inşa evresi tespit edilebilmiştir. Ne yazık ki bu evreler taban mozaığının inşa tarihini net olarak vermemektedir. Ancak, II. ve III. evredeki hem mimari hem de arkeolojik veriler, mozaığın en azından İS 5-7. yüzyılda kullanımda olduğunu gösterir. Tarihlemeye yardımcı olacak bir mozaik yazıtı ne yazık ki bulunmamaktadır. Geometrik desenlere sahip mozaikte kullanılan giyoş/örgü motifinden yapılmış dairelerin birbirlerine düğümsüz halatlarla bağlanmasıyla oluşturulan sonsuz döngü görüntüsü, çok renkli tesseralar ile motiflere derinlik kazandırılmasının yanı sıra elmas, içbükey beşgen, Süleyman düğümü, ayaklı kadeh gibi doldurma motiflerinin yaygın olarak kullanıldığı örnekler genel olarak İS. 5-6. yüzyıla tarihlenirler. Xanthos Doğu Bazilikası (Raynaud 2009: 164), Rhodiapolis Piskoposluk Kilisesi (Tiryaki 2016: 523), Tlos Kent Bazilikası (Korkut 2021:125), Olympos Mozaikli Yapı (Öztaşkın – Öztaşkın 2012: 335), Antiocheia Koç Başı Evi (Levi 1947: 442), Bodrum Torba Köy Hamamı (Özet 2009: 81) ve İsrail Ozem Kilisesi'ne ait mozaikler (Habas 2018: 116), Patara mozaığını en erken İS. 5. yüzyıla tarihlememize olanak sağlar. Ayrıca, ikinci kata ait taban mozaığının bulunduğu mekâna geçişi sağlayan haç kabartmalı anıtsal kapı, hiç şüphesiz kentin Hıristiyanlaştığı döneme aittir. Bilindiği üzere Likya bölgesindeki bazilikal planlı kiliseler genel olarak İS 5- 6. yüzyıla tarihlenirler (Akyürek 2016: 523). Dolayısıyla, bölgedeki Hıristiyan inancını yansıtan dinsel sembollerin de aynı tarihlerde gelişmeye başladığını düşünmek olasıdır.

**Değerlendirme:** Patara Liman Caddesi Batı Portik II nolu mekânda yapılan kazılarda açığa çıkarılan zemin mozaığının, ikinci kata ait olduğu ve ahşap konstrüksiyon üzerine inşa edildiği kazı bulgularıyla teyit edilmiştir. Likya'da, ikinci kat ahşap zemin üzerine mozaik inşa edildiğine dair ilk bilgi Arykanda'dan rapor edilmiştir. 2006 yılında Atriumlu Yapı'da gerçekleştirilen kazılarda, atriumu çevreleyen odalarda ele geçen çok sayıda demir ahşap çivisi, üst katın ahşap hatıllar üzerine kalın tahtalarla bir zemin oluşturduğunu, bu zemin üzerine loğlanarak kalın bir tabaka meydana getirilip bunun üzerine binanın bazı kesimlerinde mozaik taban yapıldığı tespit edilmiştir (Bayburtluoğlu 2007: 2). İkinci örnek ise Olympos antik kentindedir. Kentte tespit edilen bazı mozaiklerin ikinci kata ait oldukları rapor edilmiş olmasına karşın Mozaikli Yapı'daki örnekler üst örtüye aittirler (Öztaşkın – Öztaşkın 2012: 330, 333). Olympos'taki 3 nolu kilisenin galeri duvarlarında görülen sık giriş yuvaları ile ele geçen mozaik parçaları, galeri katlarının zemin mozaığı ile döşenmiş olabilecekleri yönünde yorumlanmıştır (Olçay-Uçkan vd. 2019: 624; Koşdemir 2022: 75). Dolayısıyla Patara mozaığı tıpkı Efes Yamaç Evleri'nde (Landstätter 2012: 109) ve İsrail/Hippos (Sussita) klisesindeki gibi (Młynarczyk 2002: 74 fig.10) Likya kentlerinde de özellikle çok katlı yapılarda bu tekniğin kullanıldığını gösteren yeni bir örnek olması açısından dikkate değerdir.

I ve II nolu mekânın ikinci katına ait *opus tessellatum* tekniğinde inşa edilen geometrik desenli mozaikte sarı, beyaz, lacivert, mavi, açık mavi, bordo ve kırmızı renkli tesseralar kullanılmıştır. Üç bordürlü çerçevelenmiş ana desende büyük bir daire motifi yer alır. İlk bordürde beyaz zemin içinde aralıklarla tek sıra halinde ve diyagonal olarak yerleştirilmiş, kenarları tırtıklı kare/elmas motifi dizisinden oluşur (Res. 4, 12). Mozaiklerde yaygın olarak kullanılan elmas motifli bordürün benzerlerine başta Patara Kadın Şapeli (Işık 2011: 97) olmak üzere Rhodiapolis (Tiryaki 2016: 509, figs. 2-3, 6-11), Antiocheia (Levi 1947: XXIII a, c, XLV c, LXV a) ve Perge'de (Işıklıkaya 2010: 205, 206 res.

69) rastlanılır.

İkinci bordür desenini, merkezinde diyagonal yerleştirilmiş elmas motifi olan, beyaz zemin üzerine bir sıra lacivert tesseradan yapılmış sekizgen motifleri oluşturur (Res. 4, 12). Sekizgenlerin alt ve üstteki birleşim noktaları arasında kalan boşlukta ise sarı, bordo ve lacivert tesseralardan yapılmış kum saatini anımsatan bir desen işlidir. Patara (Işık 2011: 97), Xanthos (Raynaud 2009: figs. 64-67, 69, 165; Manière-Lévêque 2012: 29-32 figs. 27-30), Olympos (Öztaşkın 2013: 49 lev. 15, 331b) ve Tlos'da (Korkut 2021: 80 fig. 85) benzerlerine rastlanılan bu desen anlaşıldığı kadarıyla Likya'da yaygın bir kullanıma sahiptir. Likya dışındaki benzerleri için ise Haleplibahçe (Üney 2015: fig. 14. 4.1, 2). Antiocheia (Levi 1947: XXI b) ve İsrail Ozem Kilisesi (Habas 2018: 103 fig. 10) örnek gösterilebilir.

Üçüncü bordürdeki zincir halkasını anımsatan iç bükey kenarlı üçgen forma sahip organların birbirine eklenmesiyle elde edilen dört ilmekli daire ve elips motiflerinde görülen polykrom renk düzeni, üç boyutlu bir görünüm sağlamıştır (Res. 12-13). Daire ve elips motiflerinin içindeki küçük daire ve elipslerin iç içe farklı tesseraların kullanılmasıyla elde edilmesi ise motife bir derinlik kazandırmıştır. Bu bordür desenin en yakın benzerlerine, Xanthos ve Tlos'da rastlanılır. Xanthos Doğu Bazilikası'nın kuzey nefindeki daire ve elips motifleri (Raynaud 2009: 141 fig. 63-67, 69, 72, 73, 165), Patara'dan farklı olarak iki düğüme sahiptir ve motifler birbirine geçirilen iki halattan oluşur. Tlos Kent Bazilikası kuzey nefinin I nolu panelinde görülen daire ve baklava dilimine sahip motiflerde (Korkut 2021: 88 figs. 101-102), baklava dilimi farklı olsa da, yapılış teknikleri Patara örneği ile aynıdır ve her iki örnek halka şeklindeki organların birbirlerine bağlanması ile oluşturulmuştur. Antiocheia'da Koç Başı Evi'ne ait mozaığın bordüründe görülen elips ve daire motifleri birebir Patara mozaığı ile benzeşir (Levi 1947: 442 fig. CXXXIIIc).

Üç bordürle çevrelenen panonun merkezinde 3.90 m çapında büyük bir daire yer alır (Res. 4). Gıyoş/örgü motifinden yapılmış bu büyük dairenin içinde, görülebildiği kadarıyla yan yana ve üst üste yerleştirilmiş örgü motiflerinden oluşan yarım ve tam daireler bulunur. Lacivert konturlu ve birbirini tekrarlayan üç farklı renge sahip iki halatlı gıyoş/örgü motifi ile oluşturulmuş söz konusu daireleri, üç tessera dizisinden oluşan beyaz bir bant ayırır. Böylece, dairelerin birbirlerine düğümsüz halatlarla bağlanması sağlanarak, desenlere sonsuz bir döngü görüntüsü kazandırılmıştır. Dairelerin içlerinde Hz. Süleyman Dügümü ve elmas motifi, boşluklarda ise içbükey kenarlı beşgen motifleri kullanılmıştır (Res. 14, 16). Dairelerin içinde lacivert-bordo-sarı, Süleyman Dügümü'nde bordo-kırmızı-beyaz veya mavi-açık mavi-beyaz, beşgen motifinde lacivert-bordo-kırmızı-sarı-beyaz ve merkezde bordo renkli tesseralar kullanılmıştır. Genel olarak mozaikteki geometrik desenlerde kullanılan tesseraların diziliminde koyudan açığa olmak üzere farklı renklerin kullanılması, motiflere üç boyutlu bir görünüm kazandırmıştır.

Mozaiklerde iki halatlı örgü motifinden yapılmış daire motiflerine oldukça sık rastlanılır ve bu desenlerin mozaik repertuarında pek çok farklı versiyonları bulunur (Örnekler için bkz. Décor I: pl. 235a; Décor II: pl. 305-312; Xanthos, Raynaud 2009: 116 figs. 130-131; Rhodiapolis, Tiryaki 2016: 516-518 figs. 14-15; Perge, Işıklıkaya 2010: 205-208 res. 70; Bodrum Torba Köy, Özet 2009: 79- 80 figs. 26-27). Merkezde yer alan büyük daire içindeki yarım ve tam daire motiflerinin iki halatlı gıyoş/örgü motifi ile oluşturulmasıyla sonsuz döngü görünümünün verilmesi, Xanthos Doğu Bazilikası'nda da (Raynaud 2009: 116 figs. 130-131) karşımıza çıkar. Benzer bir desen düzenlemesi Bodrum Torba Köy



Hamamı'nın palestrasındaki (Özet 2009: 79, 80 figs. 26, 27) mozaikte görülür. Likya'dan bilinen diğer bir örnek ise Rhodiapolis'tedir. Piskoposluk Kilisesi'nin güney nefinde, iki halatlı giyoş/örgü motifi yerine kullanılan kordonlar ile aralarında içbükey kenarlı kareler oluşturacak şekilde yan yana ve üst üste yerleştirilmiş daire motifleri oluşturulmuştur (Tiryaki 2016: 516-518 figs. 14-15). Bu dairelerin kesişmeden devam ettirilme tekniği, Patara ile benzerlik gösterir. Dairelerin içlerinde ve aradaki boşluklarda görülen dolgu motiflerinden Süleyman Düğümü (Levi 1947: CLX b; Duliere 1974: Lev. 1; Ennaifer 1994: 236 pl. CLVIII, 1; Décor II: 42; Şahin 2004: 32 res. 25-26; Parrish 2007: 19,163 fig. 9; Işıklıkaya 2010: 185-186, 205, 206 res. 55, 62, 69; Çelik 2013: 61-62 res. 17; Habas 2018: 112 fig. 19) ve elmas motifi (Levi 1947: CXVIIIb; Décor I: pl. 5a; Scheibelreiter 2007: 72, 192 fig. 23; Patacı – Lafı 2019: 55 figs. 58-59) hem Likya'da hem de tüm Akdeniz dünyasında sevilerek kullanılmıştır. Büyük dairenin kuzey ve güneyindeki boşlukta beyaz zemin üzerinde salt ağzı ve birer kulbu sağlam kalmış ayaklı kadehten (Res. 15) çıkan yapraklı sarmaşık motifi, mozaiklerde köşe doldurma motifi olarak yaygın bir kullanıma sahiptir (Benzer örnekler için bkz. Levi 1947: XCI; Özet 2009: 79, 80 figs. 26-27; Raynaud 2009: figs. 67, 68b, 98-100, 102, 165, 172; Işıklıkaya 2010: 259-261 res. 84, 88, 129; Tiryaki 2016: 510 figs. 5; Patacı – Lafı 2019: 138 fig. 166; Korkut 2021: 109 figs. 137-138).

Patara mozaïği büyük oranda eksik ele geçmiş olsa da parçalardan ve yukarıda değinilen benzer örneklerden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla üç bordürle çevrelenen bir panodan oluşmaktadır. Ancak, mekân ölçüleri dikkate alındığında pano sayısının en az 3 olması beklenir. İkinci kata ait olduğu kesin olarak anlaşılan geometrik desenli mozaïğin bulunduğu mekânın, ölçüleri ve mimarisi ile diğer yapılardan farklılık gösterdiği yukarıda değinilmişti. İnşa edildiği ilk evreden beri dükkân dışında farklı bir fonksiyona sahip olduğu düşünülen bu mozaikli yapının İS 5-7. yüzyıldaki kullanımı kesin olarak tespit edilememiştir. İlk olasılık, bir kamu yapısı olduğu yönündedir ve portikteki üst düzey yöneticiler tarafından kullanılan bir ofis olduğudur. İkinci olasılık ise yapının dinsel bir fonksiyona sahip olmasıdır. Mozaïği oluşturan desenlerin yaygın olarak Kiliselerde görülmesi yanı sıra mekânın haç kabartmalı anıtsal bir kapıya sahip olması, bu olasılığı artırır.

Patara'da bugüne değin yapılan kazılarda, değerlendirme yapılabilecek oranda korunmuş üç mozaik tespit edilmiştir. Bunlar Liman Hamamı, Kadın Şapeli ve makaleye konu olan ikinci kata ait zemin mozaïğidir. Dolayısıyla, bu üç örnekle Patara mozaiklerinin desen repertuarı, inşa teknikleri ve atölye tespitine ilişkin detaylı yorumların yapılması mümkün olmamıştır. Gelecek yıllarda başta Yamaç Evleri olmak üzere diğer alanlarda gerçekleştirilecek kazılarda tespit edilecek yeni örnekler ile daha detaylı bilgilere ulaşılması beklenir. Xanthos mozaiklerinin ana desenlerinde ve doldurma motiflerinde görülen benzerlikler, Patara mozaïğinin aynı atölyelerin bir ürünü mü olduğunun sorgulanmasını zorunlu kılar. Bu konunun açıklığa kavuşturulması veri azlığı nedeniyle şimdilik mümkün görünmemektedir. Nihayetinde, Likya'nın mozaik repertuarına katılarak onu zenginleştiren Patara mozaïği, geometrik desenleri, doldurma motifleri ve inşa tekniği ile gelecekte bu konularda yapılacak çalışmalara önemli katkılar sunacaktır.

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# Ayanis Örnekleri Işığında Urartu Anıtsal Mimarisinde Süsleme Elemanı Olarak Taş Halkalar

## Stone Rings as Ornamental Elements in Urartian Monumental Architecture in the Light of Ayanis Examples

Ayşegül AKIN ARAS - Mehmet IŞIKLI\*

(Received 19 July 2022, accepted after revision 10 October 2022)

### Öz

*Bu çalışmada, Argiştı oğlu Rusa'nın kenti, Urartu Krallığı'nın son krali projesi olan Ayanis'te tapınak kompleksinde ortaya çıkarılan bir grup materyal kültür unsurları değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışmamıza konu olan bu unsurlar, Urartu anıtsal mimarisinde ve mimari ile ilintili tasarımlarda karşımıza çıkan taş halkalardır. Yaklaşık 2 cm derinliğinde açılan negatif yuvalara kakma tekniğinde yerleştirilmeleri ile bu taş halkalar, Ayanis tapınak cella duvarlarını süsleyen mitolojik yaratıklar ve hayat ağacı gibi birçok motifin yer aldığı kireç taşından oyma-kakma süslemelere de oldukça benzemektedir. İç içe geçen üç dairesel halkadan oluşan ve uygulanacakları yüzeylere birbirinden bağımsız şekilde dizilen bu taş halkaların, teknik olarak nasıl tanımlanabilecekleri tartışılmıştır. Çalışma özellikle bu tanımlama tahliline odaklı olarak kaleme alınmıştır.*


**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Urartu, Ayanis, taş halkalar, kakma, intaglio, mozaik.

### Abstract

*This article covers a group of cultural material assemblages unearthed in the temple complex of Ayanis city, which is the last royal project of the Urartian empire established by Rusa, son of Argishti. These artifacts in our study are the stone rings that stand out in Urartian monumental architecture and projects related to it. These stone rings which are placed in 2 cm wide niches with inlay technique are similar to the inlaid ornaments made of limestone that adorn the walls of the cella of Ayanis temple with many motifs as mythological creatures and trees of life. These stone rings which have three interlocking circular rings and are arranged independently on the surfaces has been discussed in a technical perspective. This study is particularly focused on this descriptive analysis.*

**Keywords:** Urartu, Ayanis, stone rings, inlay, intaglio, mosaic.

\* Ayşegül Akın Aras, Atatürk Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Erzurum, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6540-7560>. E-posta: aysegul.akinaras@atauni.edu.tr

Mehmet Işıklı, Atatürk Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Erzurum, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6205-4117>. E-posta: misikli@atauni.edu.tr

## Giriş

Dağlık Doğu Anadolu Yaylası'nda anıtsal mimarinin yaratıcısı olan Urartu Krallığı'nın ana kayaya açılan taş temel üzerine yükselen kerpiç üst beden uygulamalarla inşa ettiği kentler, krallık coğrafyasında etkileyici bir peyzaj sunar. Kentler içerisinde yer alan her bir kültürel unsur da bu mimarilere eşlik eder ve dönemin anlatıcısı olur. Bu açıdan bakıldığında Urartu Krallığı'nın son krali projesi olarak dikkatleri üzerine çeken Ayanis kenti de Argiştı oğlu Rusa tarafından inşa ettirilen kentler arasında hem mimarisi hem de sanatsal olarak taşa dayalı materyal kültür unsurları ile her zaman için ayrıcalıklı bir konuma sahip olmuştur.

Krallığın başkenti Tuşpa'ya yakın bir mesafede, Van Gölü'nün hemen kıyısına inşa edilen bu kent tüm Urartu kentlerinde/kalelerinde olduğu gibi doğal bir kayalık üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Ayanis'in, konumlandırıldığı alan göz önüne alındığında sadece askeri ve ticari strateji anlayışı ile inşa edilmiş bir kent olmadığı açıkça görülmektedir. Kutsal olarak atfedilen Süphan Dağı'nın tam karşısında ve gölün hemen kıyısında yer alan izole konumu (Res. 1); çok daha fazlası ile dinî-kralî bir merkez görüntüsü çizmektedir (Çilingiroğlu 2019: 120-133; Baştürk 2021: 211-219; Işıklı baskıda). Otuz yılı aşkın süredir devam eden arkeolojik kazı çalışmaları da bu düşünceleri destekleyici kanıtlar sunmaktadır.



Resim 1  
Ayanis Sitadeli ve Eiduru Kai (Süphan)  
(Ayanis kazı arşivi).

Kentte ortaya çıkarılan yazılı veriler ve yapılan dendrokronolojik analizler, kentin MÖ 673/72 yıllarında inşa ettirilmeye başlandığını gösterir (Çilingiroğlu 2012: 2). Yaklaşık 90 hektarlık bir alana yayılan kent; sitadel ve dış kent olmak üzere iki kısımdan oluşur. Her iki kısımda çalışmalar yürütülmüşse de kentin sitadel alanı otuz yılı aşan süreçte aralıksız olarak çalışmaların odağında yer almıştır. 150x400 m ölçülerinde bir alanı kaplayan sitadelin görkemli sur duvarlarının ardında kralî ve dinî amaçlı çok sayıda anıtsal yapı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Doğu ve batı depoları, doğu payeli salon, evsel mekânlar ve tüm bu mekânların merkezinde; içerisinde Haldi tapınağını, payeli avluyu, tapınak depolarını ve podyumlu salonu barındıran tapınak kompleksi ortaya çıkarılan yapı grupları arasında yerini alır (Çilingiroğlu - Salvini 2001; Işıklı - Akın Aras 2021). Ancak tüm bu yapı grupları içerisinde en önemlisi şüphesiz tapınak kompleksidir ki çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan taş halkalar da sadece bu kompleks içerisinde ele geçmiştir.

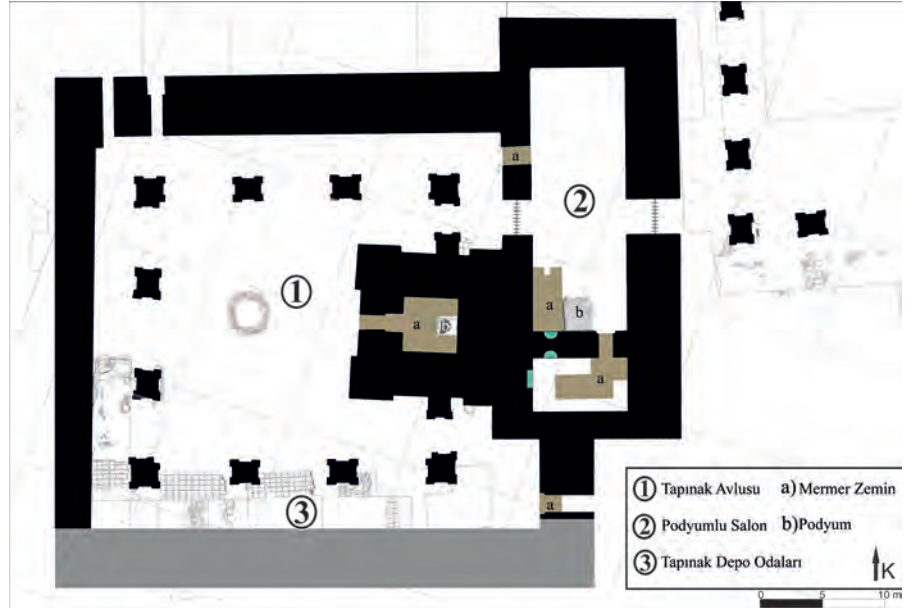
## Tapınak Kompleksi

Anıtsal mimarisi ve mimari ile ilintili göz kamaştırıcı süsleme unsurlarıyla dikkatleri üzerine çeken bu kompleks, Urartu kültürüne ait önemli ve ünik unsurların ele geçtiği bir alandır. Ayanis tapınak kompleksi, ortaya çıkarılan her bir mekân ile bildiklerimizi sürekli sorgulatan yegâne alanlardan biri olmuştur.

1997 yılında keşfedilen tapınak alanında uzun yıllar devam arkeolojik kazı çalışmaları ile birlikte Haldi tapınak *cellası*, tapınak avlusu, tapınak depoları, ardından da oldukça yeni bir keşif olarak 2014 yılında bu kompleksin bir parçası olduğu düşünülen podyumlu salon ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Res. 2).

Resim 2

Ayanis Haldi tapınak kompleksini gösteren plan (Ayanis kazı arşivi).



Sitadelin en üst ve merkezi noktasına konumlandırılan Haldi Kutsal Alanı, ana kayanın düzleştirilmesi ile oluşturulan 33x27 m'lik bir alanı kaplamaktadır (Res. 2.1) (Aras - Köse 2021: 80). On iki adet anıtsal boyutlu paye ile çevrilen bu alanın<sup>1</sup> doğu duvarına bitişik konumda, 13x13 m ölçülerindeki Tanrı Haldi'ye adanan tapınak yer almaktadır. Tapınağın batı yönündeki kapısından 4.58x4.60 m ölçülerindeki *cella* kısmına girilmektedir. Standart Urartu tapınak planına sahip olan bu *cella*, içerisinde yer alan mimari ve mimari ile ilintili süsleme unsurları ile diğer Urartu tapınak *cellalarından* ayrılmaktadır. Giriş koridoruna kazınan tapınak yazıtı, *cella* duvarlarına işlenen oyma-kakma tekniğindeki motifler ve *cellanın* doğu duvarına yaslanan çizi bezekli su mermeri podyum Urartu'nun bu döneminde gelişen tasarımların öncülerindendir (Çilingiroğlu 2001: 37-65; Aras - Köse 2021: 79-104) (Res. 3). Kompleks içerisinde yer alan bir diğer mekân da alanın güney yamacına yerleştirilen tapınak depolarıdır ki bu depolama alanı tamamı ile tapınak kompleksine aittir (Res. 2.3), (Batmaz 2015: 183-195).

Tapınak alanının doğusunda su mermeri eşikli bir kapı ile geçişin sağlandığı podyumlu salon yer alır (Res. 2.2). Mekâna adını veren bu podyum ve *cella* içerisinde yer alan diğer podyum ile Urartu'da çok da yaygın olmayan bir uygulama olan podyumların Ayanis kentindeki sayısı ikiye çıkmıştır. Dikdörtgen bir plana sahip olan bu mekân 22x8 m ölçülerinde ana oda ve güneyinde 4.5x8 m ölçülerinde küçük bir arka odadan oluşur. *Cella* içerisinde yer alan iç tasarımın aksine podyumlu salon oldukça sade bir mimariye sahiptir. Kerpiç duvarların

<sup>1</sup> Anıtsal boyutlu bu payelerden iki tanesi Haldi tapınağına bitişik iken diğer on tanesi bağımsız bir şekilde tapınak avlusunun üç tarafında simetrik şekilde sıralanmaktadır.



Resim 3  
Ayanis Haldi tapınak *cellası* (Ayanis kazı arşivi).

kısmen korunan kısımlarında, koyu kırmızı ve Urartu mavisi renklerinin olduğu bordür sıraları ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Işıklı et al. 2019: 84-98; Işıklı - Aras 2020: 161-170).

Görüldüğü üzere Urartu'nun hem kralî hem de dinî mimarisi ile ilişkilendirilen tapınak kompleksi, önemine ve anıtsallığına koşut olarak özgün mimari uygulamaların ve süsleme unsurlarının bir arada görüldüğü nadir alanlardandır. Şüphesiz çalışma konusunu oluşturan taş halkalar da bu süsleme unsurların başında gelmektedir.

### Tapınak Kompleksi Süsleme Unsurları

Çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan iç içe geçen halkalar, genellikle standart planlara sahip olan Urartu anıtsal mekânlarının içerisine hareketlilik kazandıran uygulamalardan sadece biridir. Bu taş halkalar, yoğun olarak kent tapınak kompleksinde yer alan Haldi tapınak *cellası*nda, tapınak avlusunun kuzeydoğu köşesinde ve podyumlu salonda ele geçmiştir. Daha çok anıtsal boyutlardaki dinî işlevli özel mekânlarda örneklerine rastladığımız bu taş halkaların; tapınak kompleksinde yer alan kerpiç duvarları ve podyumu süslediği düşünülmektedir.

Taş halkaların boyutları kullanım alanlarına göre değişiklik gösterse de formlarının aynı olduğu ve genel tasarımlarının iç içe geçen üç parçadan oluştuğu görülmektedir (Res. 4). Yapımında renk kontrastı dikkate alınarak iki farklı taş türü kullanılan bu halkaların; yapılan analizler sonucunda hammaddelerinin serpantin ve kireç taşı olduğu anlaşılmıştır (Kuvanç 2017: 131; Karabaşoğlu vd. 2021: 219). Bu taş halkaların elde şekillendirilmiş olmaları pek mümkün görünmemektedir. Bu sebeple ilkel torna ya da matkapların kullanılmış olması muhtemeldir<sup>2</sup>.

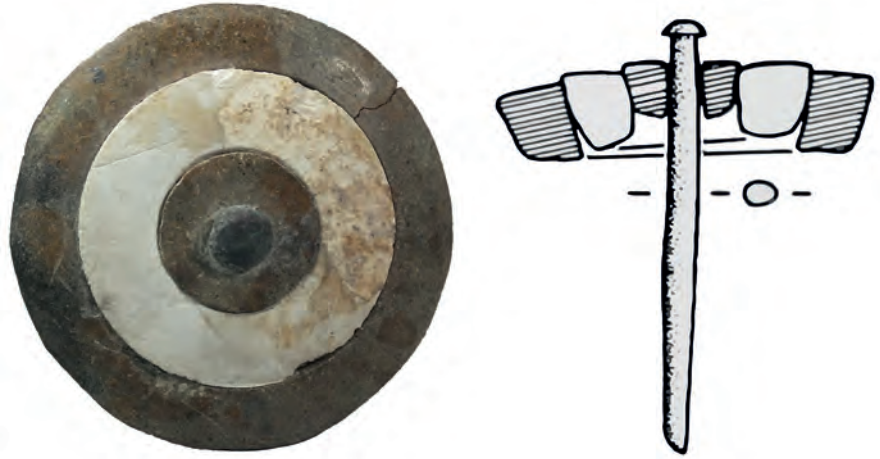
Aynı forma sahip olan bu taş halkaların, uygulanacakları alana göre farklı boyutlarda üretildikleri görülmüştür. Taş halkaların kullanım alanlarından

2 İki punta arasına yerleştirilen işlenecek olan parçalar, desteklik yapan hareketli punta ile hem destek hem de yatak görevi yapan sabit punta arasında dönerek şekillendirilmiş olabilir. Hareketli puntayı döndürme işlemi sırasında da yaylı araçlar kullanılmış olmalıdır. Ayrıca bu hareketli kısmın sabitlendiği düz plakanın da ayak yardımı ile ittirilmesi gerekir. Yani bu işlemi yapan biri için hem el hem de ayak koordinasyonu oldukça önemlidir. Halkaların ortasına açılan deliklerin büyütülmesinde de ilkel matkaplar kullanılmış olabilir.



Resim 4

Ayanis tapınak kompleksi, iç içe geçen dairesel taş halkalar (Ayanis kazı arşivi).



birincisini podyumlar oluşturmaktadır. Podyumların üzerinde *in situ* olarak ele geçen taş halkaların buluntu durumlarından dolayı nasıl kullanım gördükleri net şekilde bilinmemektedir (Çilingiroğlu 2001: 42 fig. 18). Buldukları mekânların duvarlarına yaslı olarak konumlandırılan podyumların yan ve üst yüzeylerinde taş halkaların belirli bir düzende sıralandıkları görülmüştür. Bu dizilimler podyumun yan yüzlerinin alt sıralarında ikişer, üst sıralarında birer sıra olarak devam etmektedir. Hem Haldi tapınak *cellas*ında hem de podyumlu salonda ortaya çıkarılan podyumların su mermeri blokları üzerine yaklaşık 2 cm derinliğinde negatif yuvalar açılmış ve açılan bu yuvalara iç içe geçmiş konsantrik halkalar yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 5). Kakma tekniğinde yerleştirilen ve çapları 5 santimetreden küçük olan bu taş halkaların uygulandıkları yüzeylere tutturulmasında da orta kısımlarından geçirilen bronz çiviler kullanılmıştır.

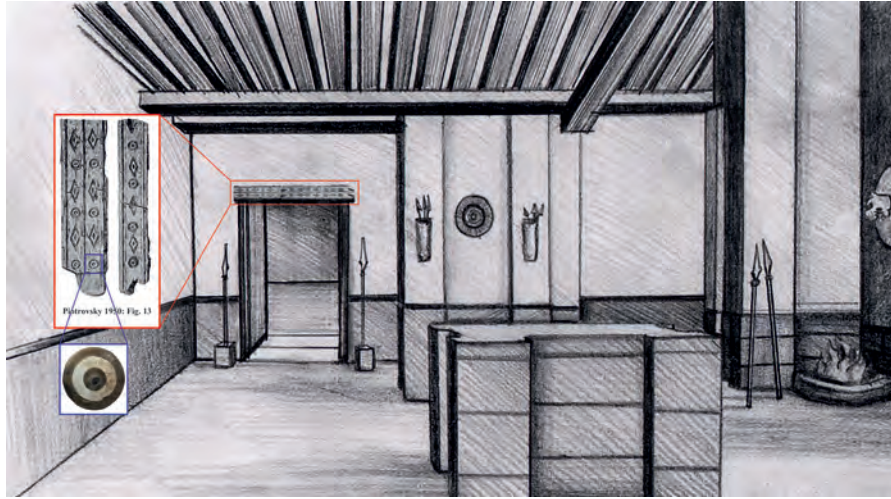


Resim 5

Ayanis podyumlu salon, podyumun üzerine açılan negatif yuvalar ve *in situ* olarak ele geçen taş halkalar (Ayanis kazı arşivi).

Taş halkaların podyumdaki kullanımının dışında bir diğer kullanım gördükleri alan, tapınak avlusunda yer alan duvarlar ya da payelerdir. Tapınak avlusunun kuzey ve kuzeydoğu köşesinde çok sayıda taş halkanın ele geçirildiği ve bunların kuzey duvarda ya doğrudan kerpiç duvar üzerine ya da bir ahşap kaplama üzerine applike edilerek kullanılmış olabileceği belirtilmiştir (Çilingiroğlu - Sağlamtimur 1996: 366; Sağlamtimur et al. 2001: 226-227). Aynı krala ait

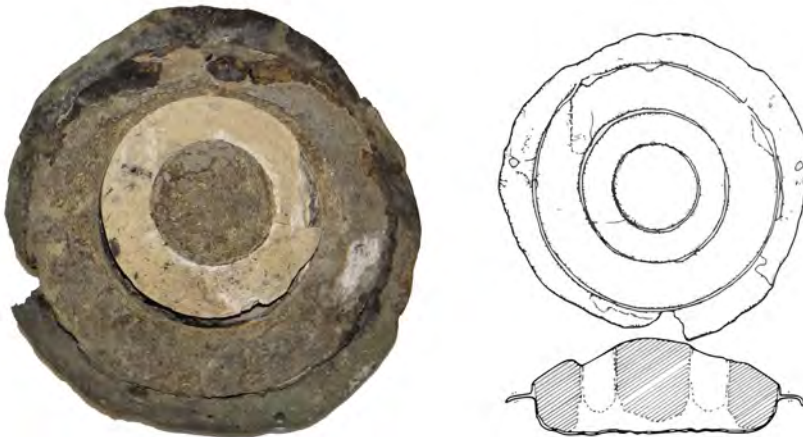
başka bir yerleşim olan Karmir Blur'da ele geçen üzerinde eşkenar dörtgen (baklava dilimi) ve daire şeklinde oyukların bulunduğu ahşap parçası da bu fikrin olasılığını kuvvetlendirmiştir (Piotrovsky 1950: 34-35 fig. 13). Bu öneri mümkün olmakla birlikte taş halkaların; tapınak avlusunun kuzeydoğu köşesinde yer alan su mermeri eşikli kapı açıklığının üzerindeki lento benzeri bir mimari elemana ait olabileceği de düşünülebilir (Res. 6). Ancak bu alanda ele geçen taş halkaların dizilimleri ile ilgili ne yazık ki bilgimiz bulunmamaktadır. Tapınak avlusu içerisinde farklı seviyelerden ele geçen bu bronz çivili taş halkaların, tam olanları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda genellikle 5 santimetreden büyük olmadıkları görülür (Sağlamtimur et al. 2001: 240).



Resim 6

Karmir Blur'da ele geçen ahşap bordür (Piotrovsky 1950: fig. 13) ve Ayanis tapınak avlusunda uygulanabileceği alan (Çizim: Metehan Özgör, Ayanis kazı arşivi).

Duvarda ya da lentoda kullanım gördüğünü düşündüğümüz bu taş halkaların bronz kaplamalı farklı bir örneği, yine tapınak kompleksi içerisinde ele geçmiştir (Res. 7). Boyutları açısından bakıldığında diğerlerine göre daha büyük olan bu örnek, duvar veya lentodan ziyade başka bir malzemeye tutturulmasına olanak sağlayan çivi deliklerine sahiptir (Sağlamtimur et al. 2001: 226-227 pl. VIII-118). Diğer çivili taş halkalardan farklı olarak bu taş halkanın çivi delikleri bronz kaplamasının her iki tarafında yer almaktadır. Bu örnek tekil olsa da bronz kaplamalı örneğin sadece iç kısmından oluşan dört adet çivisiz taş halka daha ele geçmiştir. Bronz kaplamalı olanla hemen hemen aynı alandan ve seviyelerden ele geçen bu örnekler tam olmamalarından ötürü farklı ölçülere sahiptir. Tapınak alanının kuzeydoğusuna kalan kısımda yer alan iki payenin etrafında ele geçen bu taş halkaların, payeler üzerine asıldığını bildiğimiz bronzdan yapılmış bronz adak eşyalarına applike edilmiş unsurlar olabileceği düşünülmüştür. Bu tür bir kullanımın örneği Toprakkale'de ele geçen bir bronz levhada da görülmektedir (Wartke 1990: taf. XV/2).



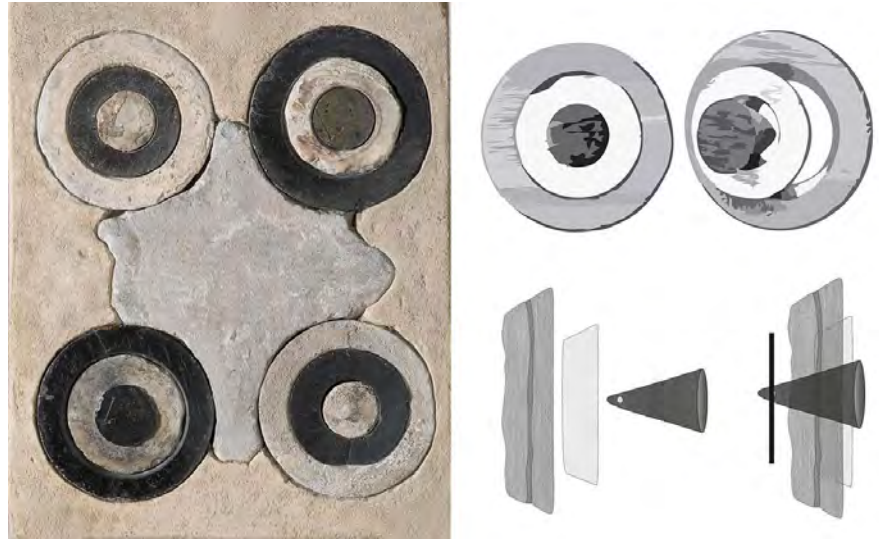
Resim 7

Ayanis kentinden ele geçen bronz kaplamalı taş halka (Resim: Ayanis kazı arşivi, Çizim: Sağlamtimur et al. 2001: pl. VIII-118).

Ayanis kentinde özellikle tapınak kompleksi ile ilişkili mekânlarda ortaya çıkarılan bu eser grubu, genellikle podyumlarda ve duvarlarda kullanılmıştır. Bunlar dışında farklı bir kullanım alanına en azından şu an için Ayanis kentinde rastlanılmamıştır. Ancak diğer kentlerdeki örneklerle bakıldığında zemin döşemesi olarak kullanım gördüğüne dair kanıtlara da ulaşılmıştır (Res. 8). Toprakkale’de tapınak alanında ortaya çıkarılan eş merkezli taş halkaların, bazalt bloklar üzerine açılan yuvarlak negatif yuvaların içerisine kakma tekniğinde yerleştirildiği gözlenmiştir. Ayanis’te ele geçen taşlara oranla daha büyük boyutlu olan bu taş halkaların, ortasının konik bir parçadan oluşması ve ön yüzlerinin düz olması zeminlerde kullanıma uygun olduğunu göstermektedir. (Res. 8/sağ). Ayanis kentinde ele geçen taş halkaların sayısı ile kıyaslanamasa da Toprakkale’de de sayısı yüzlerle temsil edilen taş halka ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Lehmann-Haupt 1931: 551-553; Barnett 1954: 4; Erzen vd. 1962: 33; Dan 2015: 56). Bu taş halkaların Bastam kentindeki varlığı tek örnek ile temsil edilse de kemikten yapılmış örneklerine fazlası ile rastlanmaktadır (Kroll 1979: 103 taf. 49). İç mekânların duvarlarını ve zeminlerini süslediğini bildiğimiz taş halkaların, Armavir Blur’da ele geçen örnekler (Tiratsyan - Karapetyan 1988: 221 fig. 3; Karapetyan 2010: 39 tab. VIII/4; Dan 2015: 55-58) dışında tamamının MÖ 7. yüzyıl ürünü olduğu söylenebilir. Menua oğlu Argiştî’ye ait olan bu kentte ele geçen taş halkaların daha sonraki süreçlerde hiçbir şekilde karşımıza çıkmamış olması da yerleşimin Rusa dönemindeki kullanımı ile ilişkili olabilir.

Resim 8

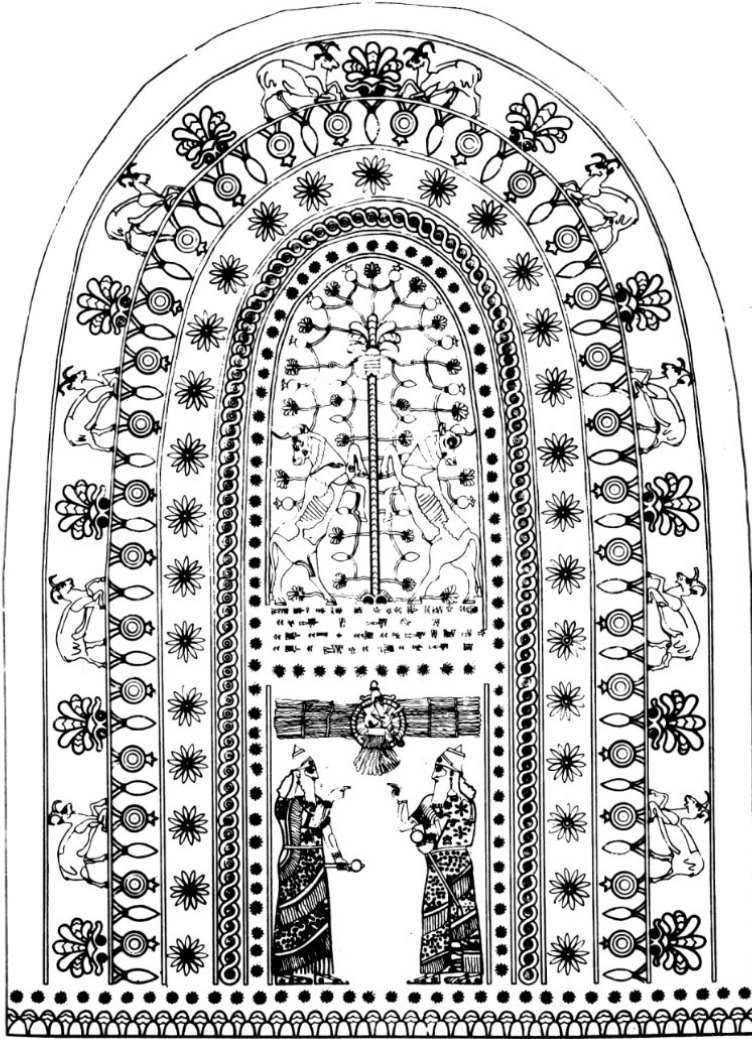
Toprakkale’de ortaya çıkarılan zemin döşemesi (sol), Hermitage Müzesi-ДВ-16133 ve taş halkaların çizimi (sağ) Çizim: Oğuz Aras, Barnett 1954: fig. 2’den türetilmiştir.



Argiştî oğlu Rusa’nın krallık sürecine özgü olduğu düşünülen taş halkalar, görülen o ki Urartuların anıtsal mimarilerine kazandırdıkları estetik boyutun bir yansımasıdır. Sağlamlık ve fonksiyonelliğin yanı sıra estetiğin de mimaride bir kriter halini almaya başladığının göstergesidir. Bu iç mekân tasarım unsurlarının, mimari ile ilintili ve mekânın amacı ile doğru orantılı olarak ortaya çıktığı söylenebilir. Uygulandıkları yüzeylerde monotonluğu gideren bu taş halkalar sayesinde gösterişli bir tasarım elde edilmiştir.

Argiştî oğlu Rusa’nın sanatında yer alan yeniliklerden sadece biri olarak karşımıza çıkan bu taş halkaların benzerlerine Urartu fresklerinde bordür motifi olarak da rastlamak mümkündür (Oganesyan 1961: 63 fig. 31, 3; Özgüç 1966: 13-36; Oganesyan 1973: tab. 8, 10, 11, 27, 46, 49). Aslına bakıldığında bu motif, Urartu’nun çağdaşı ve birçok açıdan model aldığı bir kültür olan Assur’da da

karşımıza çıkar<sup>3</sup> (Res. 9) (Curtis et al. 1993: 25-26 fig. 26; Albenda 2005: 92-93; Dan 2015: 59-60). Sadece Assur'da da değil, daha öncesinde de bu motifin benzerlerini Orta Elam kültürüne ait unsurlarda görmek mümkündür (Afifi - Heidari 2010: 157 fig. 21 a-c). Mezopotamya'da olduğu kadar Mısır'da Yeni Krallık dönemine tarihlendirilen duvar resimlerinde de iç içe geçen dairesel halkalar görülmektedir (Wilkinson 1983: 72, 30.4.127b-c). Ancak şu da belirtilmelidir ki bu halkalar, Urartu'daki gibi bir kullanımın unsuru olarak karşımıza çıkmamıştır. Urartu anıtsal mimarisinde doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak kullanılan bu taş halkalar, Yakındoğu sanatında bir ilk olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.



Resim 9  
Shalmaneser taht odası güney kapısında sırlı kerpiç üzerinde yer alan duvar resimleri ve kenarlarda bordür olarak dönen iç içe geçen halka motifleri (Reade 1963: pl. IX; Winter 2010: fig. 4).

## Tartışma

Urartu kültüründe Ayanis tapınak kompleksinde ve birkaç Urartu merkezinde karşımıza çıkan bu eser grubunun, yapım ve uygulama özellikleri dikkate alınarak değerlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Taş halkalar, dairesel parçaların renk kontrastı oluşturacak şekilde birbirinin içine geçmesi ile yapılmaktadır. Bu taş halkaların uygulanacağı alanlara da yaklaşık 2 cm derinliğinde içbükey formda negatif yuvalar açıldığı ve zemin ya da duvarda kullanımına bağlı olarak uygulanacakları alanlara bronz çiviler ya da pimlerle tutturulduğu

3 Assur saraylarında karşımıza çıkan boyalı ve sırlı tuğlalar üzerinde guilloche (saç örgüsü) motifinin ortalarında bu konsantrik halkalar görülür ki burada da yine duvarları süsleyen bir öge olarak karşımıza çıkar.

görülmektedir. Oyma tekniği ile oluşturulan yuvalara serpantin ve kireç taşı gibi malzemelerden yapılan parçalar yerleştirilmektedir. Burada uygulanan teknik, *inlay* ya da bir başka deyişle kakma tekniğidir. Kakma tekniği, uygulama yapılacak alana açılan yuvaların içine oyulan motifin şekline göre kesilmiş başka cins ve renkte parçaların yerleştirilmesi esasına dayalıdır (Pischel 1981: 778). Aslında kakma tekniğinde yerleştirilmeleri ile bu taş halkalar, Ayanis tapınak *cella* duvarlarını süsleyen ve üzerinde mitolojik yaratıklar ve hayat ağaçları gibi birçok motifin yer aldığı kireç taşı süslemelere de oldukça benzemektedir. Urartu panteonunun baş tanrısı Haldi'ye adanan tapınağın iç duvarlarını çevreleyen bazalt bloklar üzerine açılan yaklaşık 2 cm derinliğindeki yuvaların kireç taşı ile doldurulduğu görülmektedir (Çilingiroğlu 2001: 37-41; Çilingiroğlu 2012: 5-6). Üzerleri mavi ve kırmızı boylarla renklendirilen bu kireç taşlarının dik duran bazalt bloklara tutturulmasında da kurşun kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir<sup>4</sup>. *Intaglio* (oyma) tekniğinde yapıldığı belirtilen bu mimari süsleme unsurları da (Çilingiroğlu 2012: 5-6) aslında tam olarak bu tekniği karşılamamaktadır. *Intaglio* tekniği, değerli taş ya da maden üzerine motif ya da desenlerin oyularak işlenmesi yöntemine dayalıdır (Er 2004: 172). Yani *intaglio* tekniğinde sadece oyma eylemi görülür oysa ki Ayanis *cella* duvarlarında oyulan motifler kireç taşı ile doldurulmaktadır. Bu sebeple hem Ayanis *cella* duvarlarını hem de podyumları süsleyen bu unsurları, oyma-kakma süslemeler olarak tanımlamak daha doğru olacaktır. Benzer teknikle yapılan taş halkalar ve *cella* duvarlarında yer alan kireç taşları; hem uygulanacakları alanın oyulması ve başka bir malzeme ile doldurulmuş olması hem de içlerine kakma tekniğinde yerleştirilen farklı tür taşların şekillendirilerek çivi ya da kurşun ile zemine tutturulmuş olması ile tam bir kakmacılık ürünüdür. Ayanis *cella* duvarlarında yer alan uygulamanın teknik açıdan olmasa da motif ve kullanılan malzeme açısından benzerine Türkmenistan, Gonur Depe'de rastlanılmaktadır (Dubova et al. 2019: 17-35), (Res. 10)<sup>5</sup>. Ancak Ayanis örnekleri hem kakma tekniğinde yapılması hem de birbirleri ile organik bağı olmayan unsurlar şeklinde belli bir düzende uygulanmaları ile Gonur Depe örneklerinden farklılık göstermektedir. Hem taş

Resim 10

Ayanis Haldi tapınak *cella* duvar kakmaları (sol), Ayanis kazı arşivi, Gonur Depe mozaikleri (sağ), Dubova et al. 2019: fig. 14 (sağ).



4 Hem bazalt bloklara hem de kireç taşı bezemelere dışarıdan görünmeyecek şekilde delikler açılmıştır. Açılan bu deliklere de kurşun akıtılarak kireç taşları, dik duran bazalt bloklara tutturulmuştur.

5 Tunç Çağı kraliyet mezar odalarının duvarlarını süsleyen kaplamaların kare, dikdörtgen ya da üçgen formlara sahip farklı taşlarla belli kompozisyonlar oluşturulduğu görülmektedir (Dubova et al. 2019: figs. 12-20). Doğal reçinelerle sıvalı yüzeylere tutturulan bu kaplama tekniği bir çeşit mozaik (*opus sectile*) olarak yorumlanmıştır (Şahin 2014: 24). Klasik *tesellatum* tekniğinden farklılık gösteren *opus sectile*, malzemenin uygulanacak motiflere göre özel bir şekilde kesilerek yap-boz (puzzle) şeklinde yerleştirilmesi esasına dayalı olarak duvar ya da zemin üzerine uygulanan bir döşeme tekniğidir (Dunbabin 1999: 254; Kadioğlu 1997: 352; Salman – Göncü 2012: 124-125). *Opus sectile*ler, geometrik, bitkisel ve figürlü kompozisyonlar şeklinde karşımıza çıkarlar. Çoğunlukla zemin kaplamalarında karşımıza çıkan geometrik *opus sectile*ler, üçgen, çokgen ve daire gibi geometrik biçimlerde kesilmiş yassı taş plakaların belli bir motif oluşturacak şekilde bir araya getirilmesi ve uygulandığı zemine harçla yapıştırılması ile oluşturulur (Salman 2014: 116).

halkaların hem de *cella* duvarlarında yer alan kireç taşların teknik açıdan en yakın örneği ise Mısır'da Tell el-Amarna Büyük Saray duvarlarını süsleyen, 18. Hanedan firavunu Akhenaton dönemine ait (MÖ 1352-1336) fayans üzerine çiçek ve lotus kakmalarda (McArthur 2011: 39 fig. 56; Mahmoud 2017: fig. 13) ve Tell el Yahudiyeh'de sütun kaidelerini süsleyen, 20. Hanedan firavunu III. Ramses dönemine ait (MÖ 1186-1155) rozet disklerden oluşan kakma dekoratif unsurlarda (Webb 2017: fig. 11-13) karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Kakma tekniğinde uygulanan bu taş halkaların mimaride yaratılmak istenilen estetik kaygılar sonucunda ortaya çıkan tekil süsleme unsurları olduğu açıktır. Ancak Ayanis'te ortaya çıkarılan taş halkalara form olarak oldukça benzeyen Toprakkale taş halkaları, iç içe geçmeleri ve renk kontrastı oluşturmalarının yanı sıra tapınak girişinin önündeki zemini kapladığı düşünülmesi sebebiyle mozaik döşeme olarak tanımlanmıştır. Daha sonraki süreçte diğer merkezlerde bulunan taş halkalar da bu sebeple mozaik olarak adlandırılmaya devam etmiştir (Belck - Lehmann Haupt 1898: 582-586; Barnett 1950: 13; Barnett 1954: 4; Erzen vd. 1962: 33; Erzen vd. 1964: 19; Van Loon 1966: 78; Wartke 1990: 13, 19; Çilingiroğlu 2001: 42; Sağlamtimur et al. 2001: 221, 226-227; Işıklı 2014: 134-135; Işıklı et al. 2019: 89, 92). Mozaik, taşın yanı sıra cam, mermer veya pişmiş toprak gibi küçük boyutlu materyallerden oluşan geometrik, bitkisel ve figürlü şekillerin yan yana getirilerek bir kompozisyon oluşturması esasına dayanır (Genç 1994: 87; Şirin 2011: 4). Ayrıca döşeme, duvar ya da tavan kaplaması olarak kullanılan bu yöntemde uygulanması gereken bazı materyal ve aşamalar bulunmaktadır (Hetherington 1967: 27; Şahin 2004: 1). Hellenistik dönem ve sonrasında kübik kesilmiş malzemeden oluşan mozaiklerinin yanı sıra Demir Çağı'nda çeşitli boylarda, herhangi bir yontma/kesme işleminden geçirilmemiş ve kendi doğal renklerinde dere/çay taşlarının desenler oluşturacak şekilde dizilmesi ve sıkıştırılmış toprak alt yapıya tutturulması ile oluşturulmuş mozaiklerin varlığı gözlenmiştir (Young 1965: 4-13; Kargar - Binandeh 2009: pl. 2, 4, 5, 5b; Karaosmanoğlu 2011: 368 fig. 4; Bunnes 2016: 59-70; Matney vd. 2017: 146-149; Blaylock 2018: 384, 386-387 fig. 6-7). Bu örneklerden biri de Urartu mekânlarından birinin zeminini kaplayan ve ilk çakıl taşı döşemelerden biri olan Erzincan Altıntepe örneğidir (Karaosmanoğlu vd. 2014: 80 res. 7; Can 2021: 167). Bu bağlamda uygulanacakları alanlara bağımsız rozetler şeklinde işlenmeleri ve bütüncül bir kompozisyon oluşturmamaları ile Ayanis taş halkalarının mozaik tekniği ya da mozaik sanatı ile ilişkilendirilmesi pek mümkün görünmemektedir.

## Sonuç

Uygulanacakları yüzeylere birbirinden bağımsız rozetler şeklinde belli bir düzende dizilen bu taş halkalar, Urartu anıtsal mimarisinde yer alan süsleme elamanlarından sadece biridir. Podyumlarda, kerpiç duvarlarda ve Toprakkale örneğinden yola çıkılarak zeminlerde kullanıldığını bildiğimiz taş halkaların anıtsal boyutlu mekânlara hareketlilik kazandıran uygulamalar oldukları aşikârdır. *Intaglio* (oyma), *inlay* (kakma) ve mozaik gibi farklı tekniklerin özünde de bu düşüncenin yattığı düşünülmektedir. Aslında hepsi ortak bir düşüncenin ürüne dökülmüş halleridir. Ancak teknik yönden bakıldığında farklılıkların göze çarptığı ve taş halkaların bu doğrultuda tanımlanmaları gerektiği unutulmamalıdır. İç içe geçen üç dairesel parçadan oluşan bu taş halkalar, farklı tanımlamalarla anılsa da oyulan yüzeylere kakma tekniğinde yerleştirilmeleri ile dekoratif amaçlarla yapılan *kakma unsurlar* olarak nitelendirilmelidir.

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# Sectilia Pavimenta at Iasos

## Iasos'ta Sectile Döşeme

Simonetta ANGIOLILLO\*

(Received 15 January 2022, accepted after revision 02 September 2022)

### Abstract

*In Iasos, a town only partially investigated and with a small number of mosaics, three pavimenta sectilia were brought to light, dating from the beginning of the Roman empire to at least the late 3rd century. While the lithostroton at the propylaeum and the one in the prehistoric necropolis belong to the best known type - a white tessellated floor in which polychrome marble or stone crustae are inserted - the third example, located in front of the east gate of the agora, has special characteristics. The white background is reduced to a minimum, the crustae are closely spaced and linked by one or two rows of tesserae and surround an off-centre pseudo-emblema, equally made up of a sectile.*

*The type of pavement of the first two floors mentioned, which are actually the later ones, is very common in Rome and throughout the Italian peninsula; it is known in the western part of the empire and is very rare in the eastern part. The third one, on the other hand, dated between the Augustan age and the second half of the 1st century AD, finds comparisons only on very few specimens, respectively, in Cremona, Lucca, Pompeii, between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, and in Olympia in the 2nd century AD.*

*Faced with the almost total absence of attestations of this type of floor in the eastern Greek part of the empire and in the rest of Asia Minor, one wonders why, on the contrary, the craftsmen active in Iasos showed such a predilection over several centuries. It has been established that sectilia pavimenta were especially popular in Rome and throughout Italy; in Iasos the presence of numerous Italics who resided and worked there is epigraphically documented; also in the tessellated mosaics of the town, for example in the House of Mosaics, it is possible to identify some 'Italicisms' in the decoration and content, and even the presence of a cult dedicated to Heracles as protector of the town leads back to Italic environments.*

*All these elements allow us to think, in my opinion, that the presence of Italics in Iasos had important consequences on the cultural level, including a particular predilection for sectilia pavimenta.*

**Keywords:** *Sectilia pavimenta, tesserae, crustae, Italics, Iasos.*

### Öz

*Sadece kısmen araştırılmış ve az sayıda mozaiği olan bir kent olan Iasos'ta, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun başlangıcından en azından 3. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar uzanan bir aralığa tarihlenebilen üç adet sectile döşeme gün ışığına çıkarılmıştır. Propylaeum'daki ve prehistorik nekropoldeki litostraton en iyi bilinen tipe aitken - polikrom mermer veya taş kabukluların yerleştirildiği beyaz mozaik döşeme - agoranın doğu kapısının önünde yer alan üçüncü örnek, özel niteliklere sahiptir. Beyaz arka plan minimuma indirgenmiştir; kabuklar birbirine yakın aralıktadır; bir veya iki sıra tessera ile birbirine bağlanmıştır ve eşit olarak bir sektileden oluşan bir merkez dışı yarı-emblemayı çevrelemektedir.*

*Bahsedilen ilk iki döşeme daha geç tarihli olup Roma'da ve İtalya yarımadasında çok yaygındır; bu örnekler imparatorluğun batı kesiminde çok sayıda görülürken ve doğu kesiminde çok nadirdir. Augustus çağı ile İS 1. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı arasına tarihlenen üçüncüsü ise, İÖ 1. yüzyıl ile İS 1. yüzyıl arasına tarihlenen Cremona, Lucca, Pompeii ve İS 2. yüzyıla tarihlenen Olympia gibi çok az sayıdaki örneklerle karşılaştırılabilir.*

\* Simonetta Angiolillo, via Boito 3, 09129 Cagliari, Italy.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4093-6845>. E-mail: [simonetta.angiolillo@gmail.com](mailto:simonetta.angiolillo@gmail.com)

*İmparatorluğun doğu Yunan kesiminde ve Küçük Asya'nın geri kalanında bu tip mozaik döşemelerin neredeyse tamamen olmamasına karşın, İasos'ta faaliyet gösteren zanaatkarların birkaç yüzyıl boyunca neden böyle bir tercih gösterdikleri merak uyandırmaktadır. Sectilia pavimenta'nın özellikle Roma'da ve tüm İtalya'da popüler olduğu tespit edilmiştir; İasos'ta burada yaşamış ve çalışmış çok sayıda İtalyan kökenli kişinin olduğu epigrafik olarak belgelenmiştir. Ayrıca şehrin tesellalı mozaiklerinde, örneğin Mozaik Evi'nde, dekorasyon ve içerikte bazı 'İtalizm'ler tespit etmek mümkündür ve hatta şehrin koruyucusu olarak Herakles'e adanmış bir kültün varlığı, İtalyan kökenlere işaret etmektedir.*

*Tüm bu unsurlar, özellikle sectilia pavimenta'ya yönelik bir tercih de dahil olmak üzere İasos'ta İtalyan varlığının kültürel düzeyde önemli sonuçları olduğunu düşündürmektedir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sectilia pavimenta, tesserae, kabuklular (kavkılar), İtalyanlar, İasos.

In the limited mosaic heritage of Iasos it is striking to find three floors decorated with marble or stone *tesserae* and *crustae*<sup>1</sup>. Brought to light by the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, they are different in type, in the function of the room they decorate, at least in the two cases in which it can be recognized, and, probably, in chronology.

The first one (Figs. 1-2) is located in the middle of the eastern *stoa* of the *agora*, in the columned vestibule in front of the monumental entrance which allows access

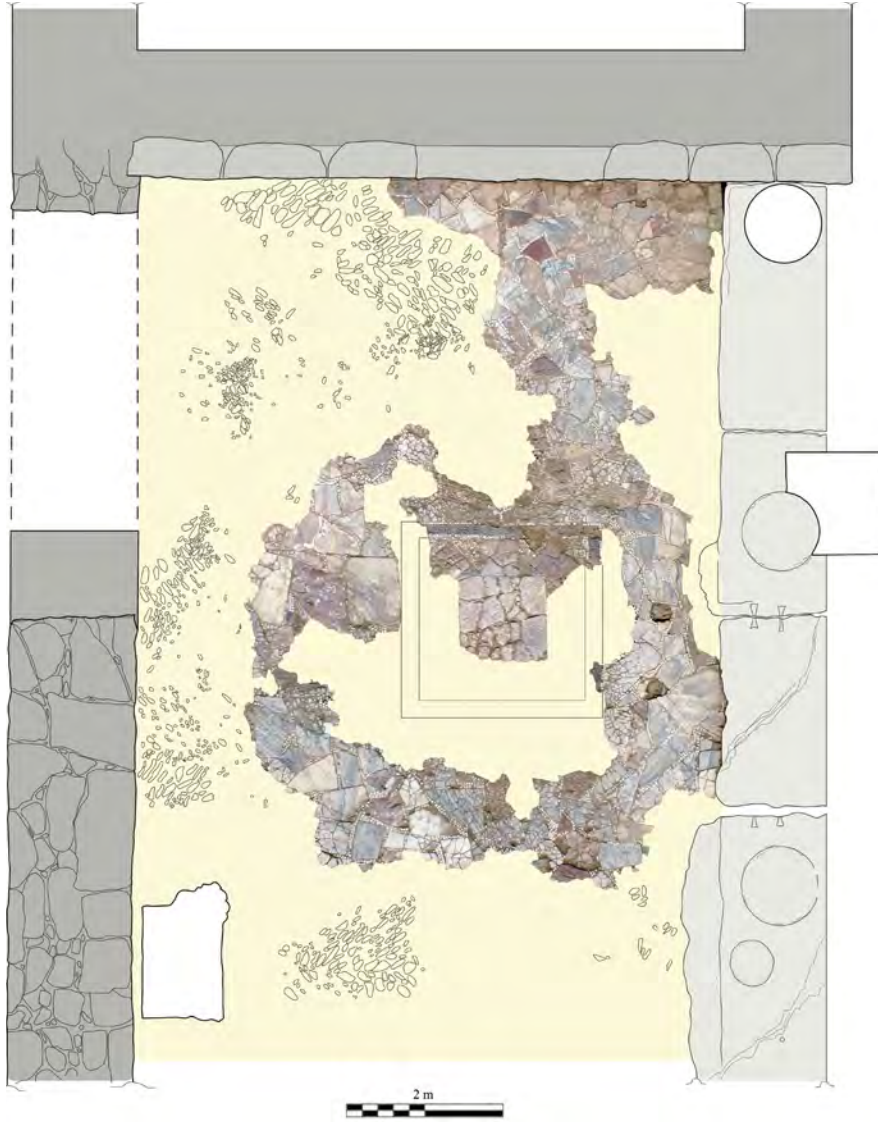


Figure 1  
Iasos, Eastern gate of the *agora*: *pavimentum sectile* of the vestibule in front of it (drawing by Maurizio Molinari, Italian Archaeological Mission).

<sup>1</sup> There is an extensive bibliography dedicated to the terminology to be used for this type of flooring: *lithostrota* (Bruneau 1967), *scutulata pavimenta* (Morricone Matini 1980) and *sectilia pavimenta*, the Latin translation of *lithostrota* (Guidobaldi 2016).

Figure 2

Iasos, the *pavimentum sectile* in front of the Eastern gate of the *agora* (photo by Maurizio Molinari, Italian Archaeological Mission).



to the area of the city where is the theatre<sup>2</sup>. The floor of the room, which rests on a *rudratio* of edgeways stones arranged in a herringbone shape to give solidity to the walking surface, consists of polychrome marble *crustae* of irregular shape and size closely joined together by white *tesserae*, generally one or two rows but sometimes the irregularity of the slabs required more of them. In this *sectile* is inserted, off-centre relative to the sides of the vestibule, an *emblema* framed by rows of white and black *tesserae*.

The *emblema* too (Fig. 3) consists of a *sectile*, but, unlike the rest of the floor, here it is possible to read a design that unfortunately is only partially preserved: at the centre is a white square to which are tangent, in the middle of the sides, a small white square and at the corners a red rectangle. The resulting space between the rectangle and the frame of the *emblema* is occupied by an equilateral triangle in grey *tesserae*, while smaller triangles in black *tesserae* mark the spaces between the central square and the rectangles. The background is made of white *tesserae*. The marbles have not been classified, but F. Berti, who directed the excavation and studied the floor (Berti 1999), recognized the Rosso Antico, the grey of Mylasa and the red of Iasos. One of the slabs is shaped with a double moulding: so reused or waste materials were also employed for this *sectile*.

The lack of a stratigraphic investigation underneath the pavement deprives us of reliable external elements for a chronology; therefore, we have to consider

<sup>2</sup> About the excavation see Baldoni 1995: 7-8. About the floor: Berti 1997: 63-64; 1999; 2015: 273-275; Scheibelreiter 2007: 159.



Figure 3  
Iasos, the *emblema* of the *pavimentum sectile* (photo by Simonetta Angiolillo, Italian Archaeological Mission).

the context in which the floor is placed, the history of the agora and its building phases, the technical data of the *sectile* and the diffusion of this type of flooring.

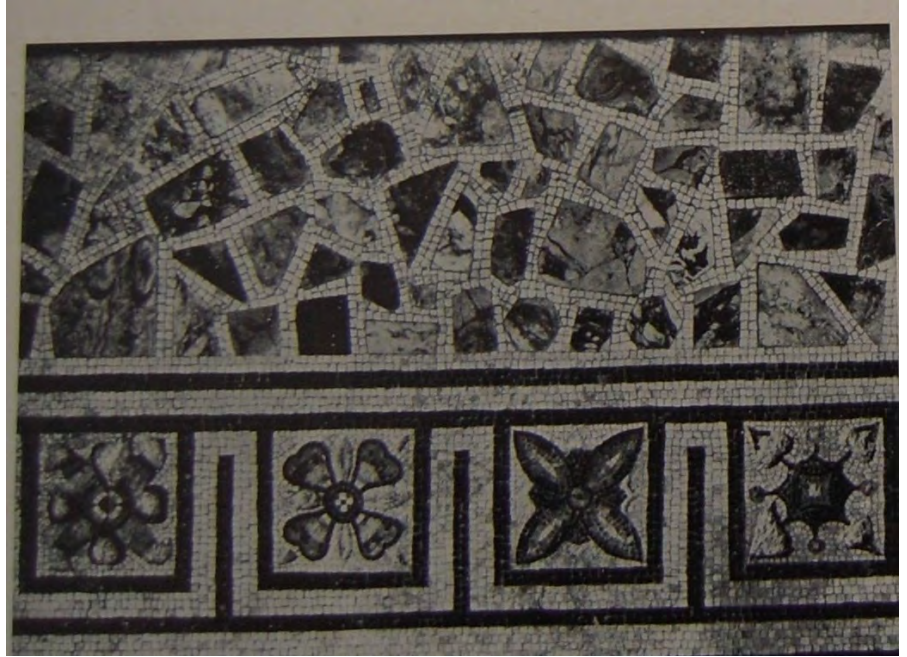
Two inscriptions, respectively dedicated to the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, inform us that under these emperors the colonnades of the eastern stoa were rebuilt, either completely or in part (Blümel 1985: 8-9; Pagello 1985), but the area of the eastern entrance to the square contains evidence of a more ancient life. The vestibule is in fact bordered to the north by a bulging ashlar wall, a masonry technique attested in the district of the theatre in a building that stratigraphic investigations date to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and to the south by a heroon. In its currently visible state it is contemporary to the arrangement of the stoa, but one must postulate a first phase of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, if not even earlier, because it rises above two tombs, one of which is archaic and the other of the Hekatomnid period (Donati 1999).

No help have we from the types of marble used in the *sectile*, since those which have been identified (Rosso Antico, grey marble from Mylasa, red from Iasos) are all already attested before the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Berti 1999: 339).

Nor a noteworthy contribution to the dating of the floor comes from the examination of the other pavements of this type, which are arranged along a chronological arc that goes from at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Compositions of tesserae and crustae are very common especially in the Italic peninsula<sup>3</sup>, rare is on the contrary the particular rendering we find in the agora, of which, to my knowledge, only four close comparisons can be reminded. In Cremona (Fig. 4), in a living room of the Domus del Labirinto, the floor, framed by a metope border with floral motifs, consists of a white mosaic with polychrome marble inserts of various shapes and sizes; the crustae occupy most of the available space and are only outlined by tesserae. For stylistic considerations the floor is dated between 25 BC and 25 AD (<http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/web/scheda/?recid=16285>). In Lucca the pseudo-emblema of a cocchiopesto floor

3 On this kind of flooring see Blake 1930: tables 11-15; Morricone Matini 1980. The bibliography concerning the various specimens of *sectilia pavimenta* in Italy is very extensive, to start with it is useful to see <http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it>.

Figure 4  
Cremona, *pavimentum sectile*  
(Blake 1930, table 15, 4).



is performed according to the technique of marble inlay: the result is very similar to the sectile of Iasos. It has been dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Ciampoltrini - Rendini 1996: 575), once again on the basis of comparisons. In Pompeii too, the impluvium of the atrium of the Casa dei quadretti teatrali, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC with Augustan restorations (Fig. 5, PPM I 6, 11: 367 fig. 7), is decorated with slabs of various shapes and different sizes linked together by rows of tesserae. Finally, very close to the Iasian specimen are also few floors in the Baths of the

Figure 5  
Pompei I 6, 11 Casa dei quadretti  
teatrali; *atrium* (PPM: 367, fig. 7).



Cladeus at Olympia, which is dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Kankeleit 1994: 210-211 kat. 120 D1, Taf. 38; 39, 3; <https://www.kankeleit.de/kladeosthermen.php>): in this case the white background tesserae have a larger space than in the floors examined so far.

Nevertheless, there are many pavements that, despite the fact that their decorative syntax and tessellated-*sectile* ratio are very different from those of the floor of the *agora*, show the same liking for the contemporary use of different techniques and for the decorative function of the marble inlay, often chosen to form an *emblema*.

Many and very interesting are those from Pompeii; let's see only a few ones. In the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus and in the *thermopolium* I 8, 8 the cocciopesto floor of the *triclinium* is embellished with an *emblema* formed by marble tiles and underlined by rows of white *tesserae* (PPM I 7, 7: 589 fig. 4; PPM I 8, 8: 806 fig. 4). We see a similar situation also in the *tablinum* (d) and *triclinium* (e) of the Casa dei Ceii, of the period of the III style (PPM I 6, 15: 439 fig. 47 and 441 fig. 51), while in the floor of the *atrium* of the Casa di M. Fabius Amandio (PPM I 7, 2, 3: 560 fig. 11), of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, a white rectangular tessellated square stands out with quadrangular, triangular, and hexagonal marble inserts, which highlight a central marble disk profiled with black *tesserae*.

Examples of a similar decoration based on the relationships between geometrically shaped *scutula* and tessellated sectors have been also found at Tindari, in the baths, dated to the first centuries of the empire (Boeselager 1983: 113-121). Here in two floors the field is bordered by a high band occupied by *scutula* of different sizes and more or less regular geometric shape profiled by white *tesserae* and it is decorated by a black and white central figure, respectively a triskeles and a bull. In a third case some frames in *opus sectile* surround a black and white tessellated carpet with marble inserts of regular geometric shapes; in the centre there is a white tessellated roundel on which four dolphins swim around a rhomboidal slab.

After reviewing the available data for a dating, I think that the floor of the eastern *stoa* of the *agora* can be attributed to the time span between the Augustan age and the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>4</sup>.

As we have seen above, two other *sectilia pavimenta* have been unearthed in Iasos<sup>5</sup>. The first, still in situ, furnishes the latrine of a *domus* near the Propylaeum, on the southern tip of the island (Fig. 6, Berti 1999: 340-341); the *tesserae* are white, and the *scutula* mainly white and grey. They are not closely joined together by one or two rows of *tesserae*, on the contrary are almost inserted in a tessellated background. The stratigraphic investigations underneath the floor yielded sherds of Hellenistic period, which gives us a very generic *terminus post quem*, but the mosaics that decorate other rooms of the building are later than the middle of the third century.

The last *sectile* was found in the prehistoric necropolis (Fig. 7) and is documented by an archival photo and a brief report in the excavation diary of Clelia Laviosa<sup>6</sup>. Apparently, the decoration is entirely white, while the *scutula* are surrounded only by one or two rows of *tesserae*. The investigation of the area has shown a series of overlapping phases: upon a late Roman agricultural building are set some tombs "alla cappuccina", devoid of funerary equipment and covered by other buildings. Room (s) with the marble inlay work belongs to these late structures, which are regarded as early Christian in the report. On the basis of these indications, therefore, the floor should be ascribed to a definitely late period.

This kind of floor with *crustae* is by far the most widespread, therefore we can examine many comparisons starting from the republican age, in Rome (Morricone 1980) and throughout the Peninsula (<http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it>).

4 For other dating suggestions: 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Berti 1999), Augustan period (Berti 2015).

5 Scheibelreiter 2007: 160, among the other *sectilia pavimenta*, takes into account also two floors located in the Quarter of the Theatre, Is. I, *atrium* 24 and corridor 31, but their state of preservation does not allow to understand whether the *tesserae* and the edgeways stones really make up a single floor, or, on the contrary, the stones constitute the *ruderatio*.

6 Unpublished, preserved in the archives of the Italian Mission.



Figure 6  
Iasos, the *lithostroton* near the Propylaeum  
(photo by Simonetta Angiolillo, Italian  
Archaeological Mission).



Figure 7  
Iasos, *pavimentum sectile* in the prehistoric  
necropolis (SAIA C 14271).



As far as I know, the case of Iasos, with three floors executed in the technique of the marble inlay, is unique in Asia Minor, or more generally in the Greek and Greek-Eastern area, with the only exception of Ephesus, where two pavements of this type have been brought to light; but they are different from those of Iasos because white tessellated bands are separated by marble strips (Scheibelreiter-Gail 2011: 225 Kat. 27). Close to the decorative layout of the *agora* of Iasos, however, is the specimen from Olympia, already examined.

We have now to consider several aspects. First of all, the finding of three white tessellated floors with marble inserts in a city only partially investigated and with not so many mosaics at the present time. Moreover, the floors are of different types and not contemporary with each other. Of sure more ancient is that of the *agora*, probably dating back to a period between the end of the republican age

and the 1<sup>st</sup> century of the empire; it is more refined, polychrome, with a focus on the marble elements. More recent are the other two: after the half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century that of the domus of the Propylaeum and presumably later that of the necropolis. In both cases the interest in polychromy has been lost and the tessellated space has been increased.

How can we explain the liking for this kind of pavement in Iasos, moreover attested over a few centuries?

A first motivation may be economic: it was certainly a resistant type of pavement, impressive and not particularly expensive, as the *crustae* mostly came from spolia or processing waste. We know that Caria in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC had been hit by a serious financial crisis (Delrieux 2010), which therefore could explain the choice of a *pavimentum sectile* even for an important and representative public building like the *agora*.

But these considerations do not seem sufficient to answer our question. Moreover, one may wonder through what channels the models of the *pavimenta sectilia* may have reached Iasos. Cementitious and tessellated floors with stone or marble inserts are frequently found in Rome, throughout the Italian peninsula and in Sicily, although, as we have already seen, the examples close to that of the *agora* are rare, unlike the other two of Iasos. In the rest of the empire, a few cases are known in Gaul (Rebourg 1999: 846 no. 12, Lyon; Balmelle - Darmon 2017: 78 fig. 90, Nîmes) and in the Iberian peninsula (Perez Olmedo 1996: 146-155) for the western area, while in the eastern area they are even rarer. Apart from the specimen already examined from Olympia and two white tessellated floors interrupted by bands of marble in Ephesus (Scheibelreiter-Gail 2011: 225 Kat. 27, SR 14 and SR 22), in the eastern Greek Mediterranean we know mainly chip pavements, a sort of reinterpretation of pebble mosaics: floors of marble chips tightly joined together so as not to allow the bottom to be seen. Starting from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, attestations of these are known in Delos, in Olynthus, in Athens, in Vergina-Palatitsa (Dunbabin 1979).

From what we have seen so far, it is evident that the use of *sectilia pavimenta* is mainly linked to the culture of Rome and Italy, with some extension to the western part of the empire. It is logical to wonder, then, if the unusual liking of the Iasii for this type of pavement could have something to do with the presence of Italics in the city. We know them by inscriptions from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Mastrocinque 1994); mostly are they lists of epebes (Blümel 1985: 270-274, 277-279, 281-282, 284), but many other epigraphs suggest the importance of people from Italy in the Carian *polis*: honours rendered to deserving citizens by Iasian institutions along with the Ρωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἰασῶι πραγματευόμενοι (dedication of a statue to Dionysius, priest of Agrippa Postumo and Hermes, Blümel 1985: 90; Franco 2020) or, conversely, honours rendered by the city to Italics (C. Iulius Capito, Blümel 1985: 99; Delrieux 2013: 183).

But *sectilia pavimenta* are not the only sign of a special attention paid to the culture of Rome and the peninsula by Iasos. In fact, with regard to floor decoration, in the first centuries of the empire the mosaics of Iasos, as has been pointed out by W. Jobst (Jobst 1977: 78-79), are characterized by a closer link and a more rigorous resumption of Italic models than in the rest of the western part of Asia Minor, which, nevertheless, is equally attentive to what happens in Rome<sup>7</sup>.

7 On this aspect see Angiolillo - Pilo 2014.

And in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the hunting scenes, or animal fights, depicted on the floors of the House of Mosaics and in the building near the *Propylaeum*, re-propose traditional Roman values (Angiolillo - Pilo 2014; Angiolillo - Parodo 2020), exalt the *virtus* of the *dominus* and remind observers of the *venationes* that took place in the amphitheatres, and which, together with the gladiatorial *ludi*, symbolically represented the Roman ideology of the victory of the strongest over the weakest, of order over disorder, of good over evil.

Finally, with regard to cults, evidence of a devotion to Heracles as protector of the city (Berti 2013, Delrieux 2018) significantly matches with the cults attested at Pompeii and Delos among the Italics (Malgieri 2008).

So, even with every caution, I do not think we can assume that the various 'Italicisms' we encounter in Iasos are independent of the presence of the Italics. As for the long life of this type of flooring in the Carian city, we can see in it the sign of a tradition, or the perpetuation of a motif dear to a local workshop; the paucity of the mosaic heritage so far known in Iasos does not allow hypotheses of another kind.

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# Kariye Güney Şapeli'ndeki Anastasis Freski'nin Yapıt Çözümlemesi ve Mimari Programla Etkileşimi

## Artwork Analysis of Anastasis Fresco at Khora South Chapel and Its Interaction with the Architectural Program

Sebla ARIN ENSARIOĞLU\*

(Received 19 March 2022, accepted after revision 26 August 2022)

### Öz

*Bu makalede Kariye Manastırı güney şapelinde yer alan Anastasis freskinin ikonografik olarak çözümlenmesi ve bu yapıtın yapının mimari programıyla kurduğu ilişkinin irdelenmesi hedeflenmiştir. İlk olarak eserin yer aldığı Kariye (Khora) Manastırı mimari nitelikleri bakımından incelenmiştir. Eserin sanatçısı ve hamisi hakkında bilgi verilmesinin ardından, esere konu olan Anastasis temasının mitolojik kökeni irdelenmiştir. Anastasis freskinin yapımında kullanılan tekniğin özgün tarafları ortaya konmuştur. Yapıtın ikonografik çözümlemesi yapılırken Erwin Panofsky'nin geliştirdiği yöntemden faydalanılmıştır. Bu kapsamda Anastasis freski incelenirken ilk olarak biçimsel analizi yapılarak kompozisyonda yer alan figürlerin birbirleriyle ilişkileri irdelenmiş; ikinci aşamada teolojik ve alegorik bilgiler ışığında figürlerin temsil ettiği karakterler ve aktarılan kavramlar ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Üçüncü aşamada ise yapıtın, dönemin koşulları içerisinde sahip olduğu anlamlar irdelenirken; yakın döneminde üretilen, benzer temaya sahip eserlerle de karşılaştırılmıştır. Son olarak yapıtın mimari ve ikonografik programları arasındaki etkileşim ele alınmıştır.*

*Kariye Manastırı, mimari programla ikonografinin iç içe geçtiği, hatta ikonografiyle anlatılan hikaye dizisinin mimari elemanları belirlediği bir düzene sahiptir. Bu nedenle Rönesans'a öncülük yapan Bizans Sanatı ikonografisinin incelenebileceği özgün örnekler arasında sayılabilir. Kariye güney şapeli apsis yarım kubbesi üzerinde yer alan Anastasis freski, Hristiyan literatüründe önemli bir yeri olan diriliş temasını işlemektedir. Şapeldeki ikonografik programın bütünü düşünüldüğünde diriliş sahnesi ana temayı oluşturmaktadır. Anastasis freskinin parekklesionda yer alması, mezarı burada bulunan Kariye Kilisesi'nin hamisi Metokhites'in ölümsüzlük / diriliş beklentisini de simgelemektedir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kariye Manastırı, Anastasis freski, Bizans ikonografisi.

### Abstract

*In this article, it is aimed to analyze the Anastasis fresco in the south chapel of the Khora Monastery and to examine the relationship of this work with the architectural program of the building. First of all, the Chora (Khora) Monastery, where the work is located, is examined in terms of its architectural qualities. After giving information about the artist and "ktetor" (patron) of the art-work, the mythological origin of the Anastasis theme, which is the subject of the work, is examined. The original aspects of the technique used in the making of the Anastasis fresco are revealed. The iconographic analysis of the work is based on the method developed by Erwin Panofsky. In this context, while examining the Anastasis fresco, first of all, its formal analysis is made and the relations between the figures in the composition are examined; In the second stage, the characters represented by the figures and the transferred concepts are tried to be revealed in the light of theological and allegorical information. In the third stage, while examining the meanings of the work in the conditions of the period; It is also compared with the works produced in the recent period with a similar theme. Finally, the interaction between the architectural and iconographic programs of the building is discussed.*

\* Sebla Arın Ensarioğlu, Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi, Mimarlık Bölümü, Bursa, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7341-4875>. E-posta: seblaarin@uludag.edu.tr

*Khora Monastery has a layout in which the architectural program and iconography are intertwined and even the architectural elements are determined by iconography. For this reason, it can be examined as an original example of Byzantine Art leading to Renaissance. Located on the Apse half dome of the Khora South Chapel, the Anastasis fresco handles the resurrection theme, which has an important place in the Christian literature. Considering the entire iconographic program in the chapel, the resurrection scene is the main theme. The fact that the Anastasis fresco takes place in the parekklesion also symbolizes the expectation of immortality / resurrection of the patron of the Khora Monastery, Metokhites, whose tomb is located here.*

**Keywords:** Khora Monastery, Anastasis fresco, Byzantine iconography.

## Giriş

Edirnekapı’da bulunan Kariye (Khora) Manastırı’nın güney şapelindeki apsis yarım kubbesi üzerinde yer alan Anastasis Freski (Tablo 1) geçirdiği çeşitli restorasyonların ardından günümüzde de varlığını sürdürmektedir. Bu makale kapsamında söz konusu duvar resminin ikonografik çözümlemesi yapılacak ve bu yapının yapının mimari programıyla etkileşimi irdelenecektir.

YAPIT KÜNYESİ	
İSİM	Kariye Manastırı Güney Şapeli Apsis Yarım Kubbesi Anastasis Freski
BULUNDUĞU YER	Edirnekapı Kariye Manastırı - İstanbul
EBATLAR	Yarım kubbenin korniş hizasında genişliği: 6,78 m Yükseklik: 3,40 m İsa’nın yüksekliği: 1,63 m İsa’nın kafasının yüksekliği: 0.245 m Mandorla genişliği: 1,39 m
TARİH	1316-1321
SANATÇI	Yunanlı Theophanes (?)
HAMİ (KTETOR)	Metokhites

Tablo 1  
“Anastasis Freski” Yapıt Künyesi

Kariye, mimari programla ikonografinin iç içe geçtiği, hatta ikonografiyle anlatılan hikaye dizisinin mimari elemanları belirlediği bir düzene sahiptir (Ousterhaut 1997: 95). Mimari öğeler, strüktürel gereksinimlerin yanı sıra ikonografik hikayenin akışına uyum sağlamak ve yüzey oluşturabilmek için şekillenmiştir. Farklı tarihsel dönemlerde aşamalı olarak inşa edilen Kariye Manastırı’nda dilimli kubbe, tamburlu kubbe, yelken tonoz gibi Roma-Bizans mimarlığının geleneksel atkı ve örtü biçimleri bir arada yer almaktadır. Bu çeşitlilik “resim öncelikli” bir programın getirisi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Bornovalı - Kolay 2009: 53). Mimari bir kompleks içerisinde yer alan bu duvar resmini içinde bulunduğu yapıdan soyutlamak mümkün değildir. Bu nedenle söz konusu yapının çözümlemesine geçmeden içinde bulunduğu yapının konumu ve tarihine kısaca değinmek gerekir.

## Kariye Manastırı’nın Mimari Tarihçesi

Günümüzde Kariye ismiyle tanınmakta olan “Khora Manastırı” Edirnekapı’da bulunmaktadır. Khora, Bizans’ın en önemli manastır kiliselerinden biridir. İmparator I. Konstantinus şehir surlarını (4. yüzyıl) inşa ettirdiği dönemde Kariye, sur duvarlarının dışında kalmaktaydı (Res.1). “Khora” kelimesi Grekçe’de “açık arazi”, “kırlık yer” ve “kent dışı” anlamlarına gelmektedir. Bu nedenle de söz konusu yapıya isim olarak verilmiştir (Gülersoy 1978a: 13). Fetih sonrasında ise buraya yeni bir isim aranırken Osmanlıca’da kent dışı anlamına gelen “Karye” kelimesi kullanılarak Bizans’taki gelenek sürdürülmüştür.

İsmin kökeniyle ilgili bir başka iddia daha bulunmaktadır. “Khora” kelimesi Yunanca’da dinsel ve mistik anlamda “rahim”, “batın” kavramlarına karşılık gelmektedir. Hz. İsa, Bakire Meryem’in rahminde şekillendiği için, aynı zamanda Konstantinapolis kentinin de koruyucusu olarak kabul edilen Meryem

Resim 1

Khora Manastırı Haritası,

Harita: Şükran Çorlu (Akyürek 1996: 221).



Ana'ya adanan bu kiliseye "Khora" adı verilmiştir. Dış nartheks girişinin üstündeki, Meryem'in rahminde İsa'yı taşıırken gösterildiği mozaikte "M(ETE) R TH(EO)U E CHORA TOU ACHORETOU" (Hiçbir yere sığmayan Tanrı'nın vücut bulduğu yer) ifadesinin bulunması da bu tezi güçlendirir (Res. 2). Mozaik



Resim 2

Blachernitissa Meryem'i,

© Yazar.

üzerinde yer alan “IC XC” ibaresi İsa’yı; “MP ΘY” ise Tanrı’nın annesi Meryem’i temsil etmektedir (Ousterhaut 2002: 104-105).

Yapı (Res. 3), günümüzdeki haline çeşitli yapım evrelerinin ardından ulaşmıştır. Binanın ilk yapılışının 4. yüzyılda olduğu ileri sürülse de bu döneme ait bir kalıntı günümüze ulaşmamıştır. Elimizdeki en erken arkeolojik bulgular 6. yüzyıla aittir. Bu da ana apsisin altındaki temel kalıntılarından anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak



Resim 3  
Kariye Manastırı,  
© Yazar.

Theodisius surlarının 413 tarihinde yapıldığı düşünüldüğünde, isminin linguistik kökeni delil gösterilerek, ilk inşası ile ilgili olarak 4. yüzyıla tarihlendirilmektedir. 843’deki Nikaia Konsil’inin ardından İkonoklazma döneminde sürdürdüğü karşıt tavrın meyvelerini toplayan manastır, 9. yüzyılda yeni bir yapım sürecine girmiştir. Ancak bu yapım evresinden günümüze sadece naos döşemesinin altındaki üzeri beşik tonozla örtülü duvar kalmıştır. Komnenoslar döneminde I. Aleksios Komnenos’un kayınvalidesi Maria Dukaina, eski kalıntıların üzerine 1077-1081 arasında dört sütun tarafından taşınan küçük kubbeli Kapalı Yunan Haçı planında bir kilise yapısı inşa ettirmiştir. Bu kilise, Kurtarıcı İsa’ya (Soterios) adanmıştır. Maria Dukaina’nın yaptırdığı kilise çok kısa bir süre sonra büyük çaplı bir tadilat gerektirmiştir. Bunun üzerine Aleksios’un oğlu İsaakios Komnenos 1120 tarihinde binada köklü değişiklikler yapmıştır. Bu kapsamda dış duvarlar olduğu gibi bırakılmış, fakat kubbe ve doğu tarafındaki kısımlar büyük ölçüde değiştirilmiştir. Bu yenileme esnasında ana mekânda kendisi için bir mezar yeri hazırlanmış ve duvarda yaptırdığı mozaik İsa tasvirinin yanına kendi portresini de ekletmiştir. Latinlerin İstanbul’u işgali sırasında Khora Manastırı oldukça fazla zarar görmüştür. İşgalin bitmesinin ardından Sarayın ileri gelenlerinden, Bizans’ın söz konusu tarihteki en aydın ve bilgili kişisi olan Theodoros Metokhites, 1316 yılında İmparator tarafından Khora Manastırı’na “ktetor” yani hami olarak atanmıştır. Bunun ardından, 1321 senesine kadar devam eden bir tadilat ile burayı büyük ölçüde tamir ettirip, genişletip, güney yönüne ek bir şapel (parekklesion), kuzey yönüne iki katlı bir kanat ile batı cephesinin önüne de bir dış nartheks ilave ettirmiştir. Osmanlı’nın İstanbul’u kuşatması esnasında Sarayburnu’nda bir kilisede muhafaza edilmekte olan Meryem ikonası da konumu itibarıyla daha güvenli olacağına inanılarak burada muhafaza edilmiştir. Manastır, fetih sonrasında uzun bir süre boş kalmıştır. II.



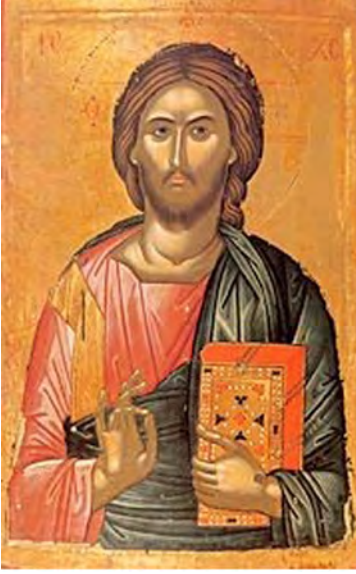
Beyazıt zamanında ise Sadrazam Atik Ali Paşa tarafından 1495-1511 yılları arasında camiye dönüştürülmüştür. Bu dönüşüm esnasında ana apsisin yönü değiştirilip mihrap yapılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra çan kulesi yıkılmış ve bir minare inşa edilmiştir. 1648 ve 1766 depremlerinde, İstanbul'daki birçok yapı gibi Kariye Manastırı da büyük zarar görmüştür. İkinci depremin ardından Mimar İsmail Halife tarafından onarımı gerçekleştirilmiştir. 1875'de ise, bu kez İstanbullu Mimar P. Kuppas'ın yönetiminde bir tadilat daha geçirmiştir. Söz konusu onarım kapsamında batı cephesinin dışında yer alan kemerlerin üstleri düz bir mahya hattıyla kesilmiştir. 1894 depreminde ise binanın minaresi tahribata uğrayarak yıkılmıştır, ancak kısa bir süre içerisinde onarımı gerçekleştirilmiştir. 1945 senesinde ulusal anıt ilan edilmiştir. Bunun ardından Amerikan Bizans Enstitüsü ve Dumbarton Oaks Araştırma Enstitüsü'nün 1947-1958 yılları arasında yürüttüğü restorasyon çalışmasıyla mozaik ve freskleri temizlenmiştir (Gülersoy 1978a: 13-16, Gülersoy 1978b: 18-22; Eyice 1980: 46-51; Akyürek 1996: 22-48).

İstanbul'un fethinin ardından camiye dönüştürüldüğü dönemde freskler üzerinde yer alan Hristiyan semboller, yüz, el ve ayak figürleri mükerrer seferlerde badana uygulanarak örtülmüştür. 1940 ve '50'lerde yürütülen restorasyon çalışmaları esnasında bu tabakaların çeşitli yöntemler kullanılarak temizliği gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kuru fırça ve ıslak süngerle sonradan kullanılan boya katmanından arındırılan fresklerin açılan alanlarında boncuk tutkal ve polivinil asetat kullanılarak sağlamlaştırma yapılmıştır. Bu onarımlar sayesinde fresklerin daha fazla zarar görmesi önlenerek, özellikle nem ve depremin yıkıcı etkilerinden korunmaları sağlanmıştır. Yapılan restorasyon çalışmaları yalnızca fresk ve mozaikler gibi bezemeleri değil, yapısal elemanları da kapsamaktadır. Çürüyen ahşap bağlantı kirişlerinin yerine çelik ve beton takviyeler yerleştirilmiş, hasarlı tonoz, kolon ve kemerler onarılmıştır. Yapısal restorasyon sayesinde, yapı elemanları üzerinde yer alan fresklerin de sağlamlaştırma ve iyileştirilmesi mümkün olmuştur. Fresklerin onarılan kısımlarındaki boyaaların düz ve dokusuz uygulanması sayesinde orijinal freskten ayırt edilebilmeleri sağlanmıştır (Çağlar 2015: 51-54).

### Kariye Güney Şapeli'nde Yer Alan Anastasis Freskinin Sanatçısı ve Hamisi

Çeşitli kaynaklarda (Gülersoy 1986: 8; Cimilli 2009: 134) Kariye'de yer alan fresklerin Yunanlı Theophanes tarafından yapılmış olabileceği belirtilmiştir. Yunanlı Theophanes Geç Bizans döneminin en önde gelen ressamlarından biridir. Duvar resimleri, ikonları ve minyatürleri ile 15. yüzyıldaki Novgorod Okuluyla, Moskova Okulu'nu etkilemiştir. Önceleri Konstantinopolis ve Kırım'da, 1370'den sonra Rusya'da çalışmıştır. Yüzlerce yapıtı olduğu bilinmekle beraber, yalnızca Novgorod'daki İsa'nın Nura Bürünüşü Kilisesi'ndeki fresklerin (1378) kesinlikle onun elinden çıktığı söylenebilmektedir (Dmitrijeva 2009: 132). Kesinlikle kendisine ait olduğu bilinen bazı eserlerle Khora Manastırı'nda yer alan mozaik ve fresklerin üslupları arasında büyük benzerlikler dikkati çekmektedir (Res. 4a-b, Res. 5a-b).

Bu benzerlikler dikkate alınarak ve Theophanes'in Rusya'ya gitmeden önce Kostantinopolis'te birçok eser yaptığı göz önünde bulundurularak Khora Manastırı içinde yer alan fresk ve mozaikler kendisine atfedilmiştir. Ancak kesin doğum tarihi bilinmemekle birlikte Yunanlı Theophanes'in 1340-1405 yılları arasında yaşamış olduğu söylenmektedir (Leek 2005: 8). Kariye parekklesionunda yer alan fresklerin yapım tarihi 1316-1321 yılları arasında



Resim 4a  
"Christ Pantokrator" ikonunu (Yunanlı Theophanes / 14.yüzyıl) <https://www.kunst-meditation.it/en/byzantine-icons/jesus-christ-pantokrator/> (12.02.2022)

Resim 4b  
Kariye "Deisis" mozaiği, © Yazar.



Resim 5a  
The Virgin of the Don (Yunanlı Theophanes /1392/ Tretjakov Gallery / Moskova) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Feofan\\_Donskaja.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Feofan_Donskaja.jpg) (12.02.2022)

Resim 5b  
Kariye "Hodegetria Meryem'i", © Yazar.

olduğuna göre (Underwood 1967: 188; Akyürek 1996: 38, 68), bunların Yunanlı Theophanes tarafından yapılmış olması mümkün değildir. Bu durumda söz konusu fresklerin Theophanes'le aynı ekolden sanatçılar veya onun ustaları tarafından yapılmış olabileceği öngörülebilir.

Sanatçının kimliğinin kesin olarak bilinmemesinin nedeni sanatçı kimliğinin Bizans İmparatorluğu'ndaki konumuna bağlanabilir. Bizanslı ustalar, "uygulamalı sanat"larla uğraşanlar, başkentin entelektüel elitine dahil değillerdi. Entelektüeller uygulamalı sanatlarla bizzat uğraşmaz ancak böyle bir işin patronluğunu yaparlardı ve yapıt bu kişiye mal edilirdi. Yapan ustaların adı anılmazken, "hami"nin adı yapan kişi olarak geçerdi (Akyürek 1996: 36). Bu nedenle Kariye'deki fresk ve mozaikleri yapan sanatçı/sanatçıların kim olduğu kesin olarak bilinmezken; Ktitor Metokhites'in adı birçok kaynakta Kariye ile birlikte anılmaktadır. Kariye Manastırı'nın günümüze ulaşmış olan halini 14. yüzyılda inşa ettiren Metokhites (Res. 6), 1270 yılında doğmuştur. Döneminin en önemli entelektüellerinden biri olan Metokhites, İmparator II. Andronikos (1282-1328) ile tanışmış ve onun maiyetine dahil olmuştur. Kısa sürede logothetes (bakan) ünvanını almış, bir süre sonrada başbakanlığa getirilmiştir. Kızını İmparator'un yeğeni ile evlendirerek, sarayla daha da yakın

## Resim 6

Metokhites, İsa'ya Chora'nın maketini sunarken, © Yazar.



bir ilişki kurmuştur. Çıkan iç savaş sonucu II. Andronikos tahttan inip yerine torunu III. Andronikos imparator olunca, Metokhites gözden düşmüş ve sürgüne gönderilmiştir. Sürgünde olduğu dönemde tüm malvarlığına saray tarafından el konulduğu için döndüğünde İmparator'dan Khora'da keşiş olarak yaşamak için izin istemiş ve bu dileği kabul edilmiştir. 1330'dan öldüğü 1332'ye değin burada yaşamış ve ölümünün ardından 1316-1321 yılları arasında "ktetor" (manastırın inşaatından sorumlu kişi, hami) sıfatıyla kapsamlı bir restorasyona tabi tuttuğu Kariye Manastırı'na yaptırmış olduğu parekklesiondaki mezarına gömülmüştür (Akyürek 1996: 37-44).

### Anastasis Temasının Mitolojik Kökeni

Anastasis öyküsü en ayrıntılı olarak Nikodemus'un apokrif (reddedilen, bibliik kanon tarafından kabul edilmeyen kitaplar) İncil'inde bulunmaktadır (4. yüzyıl) (Ousterhaut 2002: 111). Öykü, Nikodemus İncili'nde geçtiği haliyle kısaca şu şekildedir:

*"Bütün ölüler, karanlıklar içinde ölüler diyarı Hades'te Şeytan'ın esiridirler. Birden bir ışık çakar ve Vaftizci Yahya bunun kendilerini kurtaracak olan aydınlanmanın ışığı olduğunu, İsa'nın gelip doğru insanları ölümün esaretinden kurtaracağını müjdeler. Şeytan, Hades'e İsa'yı ölüler diyarına almak için hazırlık yapmasını buyurur. Ancak hizmetkarlarını İsa'nın gücü karşısında uyarır. Daha sonra İsa'nın Lazarus'u nasıl dirilttiğini hatırlayıp, buyruğunu değiştirir ve bu defa kapıları kilitlemelerini ve İsa'yı içeri almamalarını emreder, çünkü tüm ölüleri kaybetmekten korkmaktadır. Bir ses duyulur ve kapıları açmalarını, İsa'nın geleceğini söyler. Şeytan direnince, kapılar bir anda paramparça olur, ölüler zincirlerinden kurtulup dirilirler. Yerler menteşe, çivi, kilit parçalarıyla dolar. İsa, Şeytan'ı meleklere vererek onu ellerinden, ayaklarından ve boynundan zincirlemelerini buyurur. Sağ elini uzatarak Adem'i tutar, kaldırır, diğerlerine onu izlemelerini söyler. Daha sonra dirilttiği doğru insanları cennete götürmesi için başmelek Mikhael'e teslim eder."*(Akyürek 1996: 101-103).

Anastasis sahnesinin sanatta betimlenmesi, 6. Ekümenik Konsil ve Trullo Konsil'i ile (7. yüzyıl) ilgilidir. 10. yüzyıldan itibaren ise Anastasis'e litürjik bir anlam yüklenmiştir. Bu tarihten itibaren Anastasis betimi, paskalya yortusunun simgesi olarak kullanılmıştır (Kartsonis 1986: 96, 168).

### Kariye Güney Şapeli'nde Yer Alan Anastasis Freskinin Yapımında Kullanılan Teknik

Fresk, İtalyanca "fresco" (taze) kelimesinden gelmektedir. Doğrudan uygulanmış ıslak sıvanın üstüne yapılan duvar resmi olarak tanımlanır. Ezilip toz haline getirildikten sonra suyla karıştırılan boya ile ıslak sıva üstüne yapılan resim, sıvayla birlikte kuruyarak duvarın kalıcı bir parçası olur. İki tür fresk yapım tekniği mevcuttur. En eski fresk tekniği olan Fresco Secco yönteminde, duvar yüzeyi söndürülmüş kireçle sıvanır, sonra bu sıva kurumadan üstüne kirece dayanaklı boya ile resim yapılır. Bu teknikte, fresk kurduktan sonra renkler özgün tonlarından daha soluk bir görünüme bürünür. Boya yüzeye tam anlamıyla emdirilemediğinden yer yer dökülmeler olabilir. Buon Fresco yönteminde ise sıva boyayı tümüyle emer ve resim duvarla tam anlamıyla bütünleşir. Bu teknikte çıplak duvar önce bir kat kaba sıvayla örtülür, bunun üstüne kireç-kum karışımı bir sıva (arriccio) sürülür, yapılacak kompozisyonun ana çizgileri ruletli şablonla veya kazınarak bu yüzeye aktarılır. Sonra kırmızı aşıboyasıyla üstünden gidilerek bu çizgiler daha belirgin hale getirilir. En üste, çizgileri yok etmeyecek kadar ince bir kat sıva (intonaco) daha çekilir. Boyanın bu son kat kurumadan sürülmesi ve resmin hızla bitirilmesi gerekir. Sönmüş kireçle hazırlanan sıva, sulu kireç çözeltilisiyle doymuş duruma gelir; kireç çözeltilisi havadan karbonik asit alarak boyanın dokusuna işler. Böylece oluşan kireç karbonat, kalıcı bir pigment bağlayıcısı özelliği kazanır. Boya, dana ya da domuz kılından fırçayla sürülür. Renklerin tonu çabuk kuruyan sır katlarıyla ayarlanır. Mavi gibi kirece dayanaklı olmayan mineral renkler yüzey kurduktan sonra uygulanır. Fresk tekniğinde son kat ancak o gün boyanacak yere sürülür. Çünkü boyama işleminin sıva henüz ıslakken tamamlanması gerekmektedir (Yılmaz 2012: 96-97).

Khora Manastırı güney şapelinde yer alan fresklerin yapım tekniği bu klasik metotlardan bazı farklılıklar içermektedir. Yapılan incelemeler göstermektedir ki, Khora'da tek bir seferde boyanan en geniş sath, Anastasis freskinin bulunduğu apsis üzerindeki yarım kubbedir. Yaklaşık 14 metre karelik alanı kaplayan fresk üzerinde herhangi bir ek izine rastlanamamıştır.

Yapılan sıva iki kattan oluşmuştur ve boya doğrudan ikinci katın üzerine sürülmüştür. Her iki katı oluşturan sıva; yaklaşık 3 santimetrelik parçalara ayrılmış samanla karışmış kireçten oluşmuştur. Her iki katman da yaklaşık aynı kalınlıktadır ve toplam 2-3 cm bir kalınlığa sahiptirler. Underwood'un (1967: 303) Hermania'dan aktardığına göre ikinci kat sıva ilki henüz tam olarak kurumadan uygulanmıştır. Bu kadar geniş bir sathın tek seferde çalışılabilmesinin bir nedeni de budur. "Buon fresco" tekniğindeki arriccio'nun tersine Khora'da uygulanan sıvanın ilk katı, ikinci kat uygulandığında hala nemli olduğu için toplamda yaklaşık 2,5 cm. kalınlığa sahip olan sıva oldukça fazla miktarda su ihtiva etmektedir. Böylece yüzeyin kuruması geciktirilmiş olur ve sanatçı boyamaya başladıktan sonra, gerekli gördüğü noktada basınç uygulayarak suyun yüzeye çıkmasını sağlayabilir. Ayrıca sıvanın içerisinde bol miktarda saman bulundurulması su emilimini arttırmıştır. Aslında samanın kullanılmasındaki asıl amaç sıva kurduğunda oluşacak çatlamaları önlemektir. Yine Hermania'ya göre, Bizans geleneğinde ressamın eskizlerini son sıva katının üzerine yapmaktaydılar. Ucuna fırça yerleştirilen bir pergelle halelerin yerleri, gerekli

ölçüler ve oranlar tespit edilmekte, sonra aşıboyasıyla hafifçe figürler çizilmekte ve son olarak haleler pergelle daha belirgin hale getirilmekteydi. Boyanacak kısım zımparalanıp, pürüzsüz hale getirilmekte, ilk olarak fondaki siyah renk boyanmakta, daha sonra kostümlerin bulunduğu kısımlar zımparalanıp buraya “proplasma” adı verilen bir katman uygulanmaktaydı. Bu; koyu yeşil, sarı ve siyah pigmentlerin sönmüş kireç ile karışımından oluşan bir baz tabakasıydı. Bunun üzerine kostümlerin drapeleri ve süslemeleri boyanıyordu. Genellikle bu kısımlar asistanlar tarafından yapılırken, eller, ayaklar ve baş; usta ressam tarafından boyanmak için sona bırakılıyordu. Bu; Kariye fresklerinde en çok zarar gören ve yıpranan kısmın neden baş bölgeleri olduğunu da açıklar. Zamanlama olarak en sona kalan bu kısımlar boyanırken sıva artık kurumaya yüz tuttuğu için pigmentler tam anlamıyla sıvayla bütünleşememiş olabilir. Bunun dışında camiye çevrildiği dönemde fresklerin özellikle yüz kısımlarının sarı bir boyayla kapatılması, yer yer tamamen badana ile örtülmesi, zaman içinde taş duvarlar arasından sızan suyun freskler üzerinde kalın bir kalker tabakası oluşturması, oluşan hasarların belli başlı nedenleri arasında sayılabilir.

### Kariye Güney Şapeli'nde Yer Alan Anastasis Freskinin İkonografik Çözümlemesi

Bu çalışma kapsamında Anastasis freskinin ikonografik çözümü yapılarak Panofsky'nin geliştirdiği yöntemden faydalanılmıştır. Panofsky (2012: 25-38), bir sanat yapıtının üç aşamada çözümlenebileceğini ileri sürmektedir. İlk aşama, ön-ikonografik betimlemeyi kapsamaktadır. Bu aşamada birincil / doğal anlam ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılır. Pratik deneyimlerden yararlanılarak çizgiler, renkler ve hacimlerle yapılan temsilin motifler dünyasını oluşturduğu nesnelere ve olaylar betimlenir. İkinci aşama ise uzlaşım anlamının ortaya çıktığı dar anlamda bir ikonografik analizdir. Bu aşama yazınsal kaynakların aktardığı özgül temalara ve kavramlara aşinalığı gerektirmektedir. Tiplerin tarihine ve değişen koşullar altında nasıl ifade edildiklerine dair bir bilgiyi gerektirir. İmgeler, hikayeler ve alegoriler dünyasını oluşturur. Üçüncü aşama ise içsel anlamın ortaya konduğu ikonografik sentezin yapıldığı kısımdır. Bu aşamada sembolik değerler yorumlanmaya çalışılır. Kültürel belirtilerin ve sembollerin tarihini işin içine katan bir yaklaşımı gerektirir. Dolayısıyla yalnızca yorumlanan eserin kendisinin irdelenmesi yeterli değildir. Birden çok sanat eseriyle, tarihsel açıdan bağlantılı diğer pek çok uygarlık belgeleriyle karşılaştırılıp kontrol edilmelidir.

Bu kapsamda Anastasis freski incelenirken ilk olarak biçimsel analizi yapılarak kompozisyonda yer alan figürlerin birbirleriyle ilişkileri irdelenmiş; ikinci aşamada teolojik ve alegorik bilgiler ışığında figürlerin temsil ettiği karakterler ve aktarılan kavramlar ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Son aşamada ise yapıtın, dönemin koşulları içerisinde sahip olduğu anlamlar irdelenirken; yakın dönemde üretilen, benzer temaya sahip eserlerle de karşılaştırılmıştır.

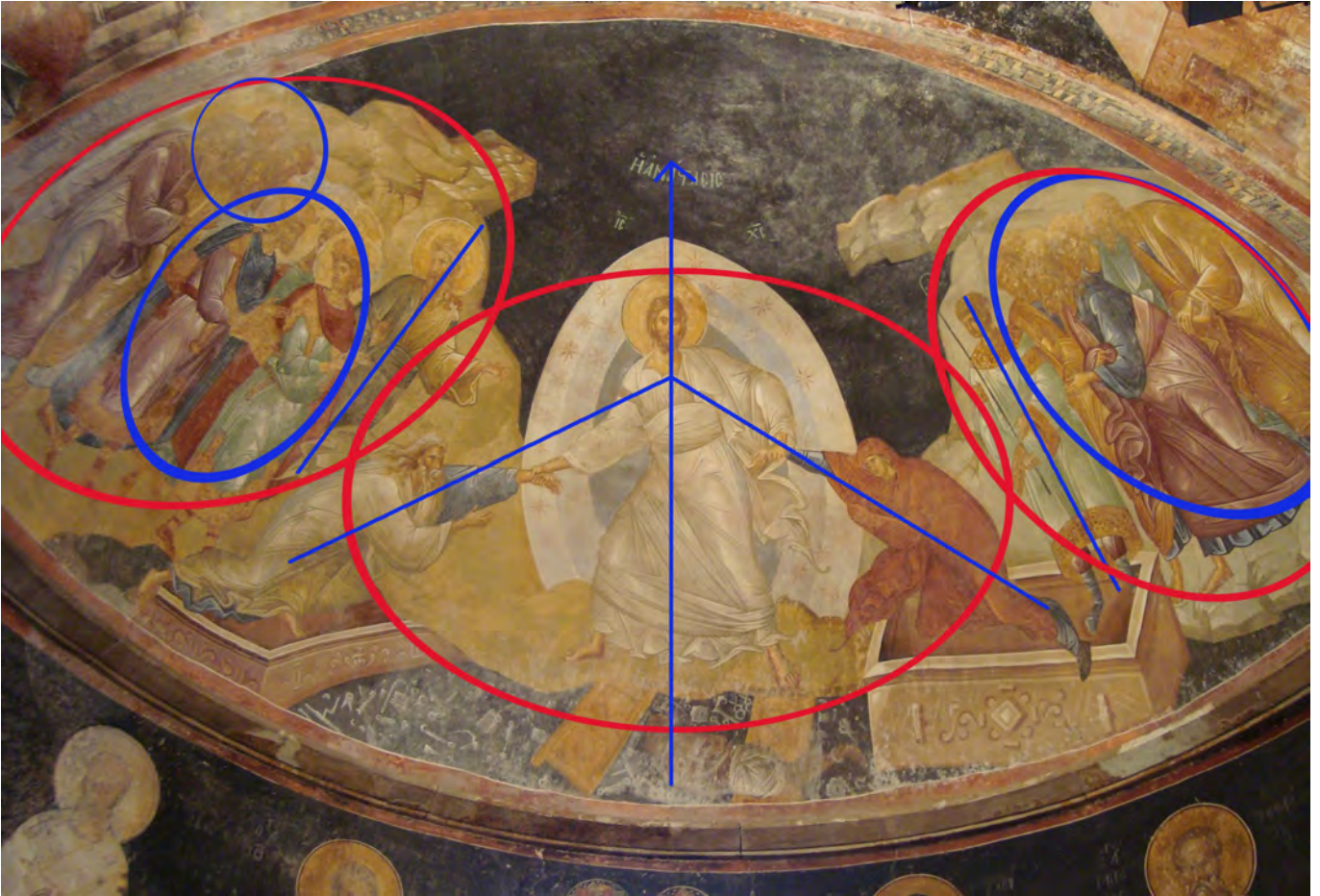
#### 1. Birincil / Doğal Anlam

Apsis'i örten yarım kubbenin üzerinde yer alan freskte üç ayrı grupta bulunmaktadır. Merkezde üçgen bir kompozisyon içinde genç bir erkek figürü, bu figürün solunda bir kadın, sağında ise daha ileri yaşta bir erkek figürü bulunmaktadır. Kadının yan tarafında yedi kişiden oluşan bir grup, yaşlı erkeğin yanında ise dokuz kişiden oluşan bir başka grup bulunmaktadır. Arka fon koyu lacivert - siyah tonlarında boyanmıştır. Merkezdeki genç erkek figürünün hemen üzerinde freskin temasını niteleyen “Anastasis” yazısı ve onun hemen altında “IC XC” harfleri bulunmaktadır. Merkezdeki figürün iki yanındaki kadın ve erkeğin

yan taraflarında bulunan grupların arkasında ise kayalık bir fon resmedilmiştir. Genç erkeğin ayakları altında kırık kapılar, bunlardan arta kalan parçacıklar ve yüz üstü yatmış, elleri arkada boynundan gelen bir iple bağlanmış, ayakları ise ayrıca bağlı durumda olan koyu renkli bir erkek tutsak figürü bulunmaktadır. Temel olarak üç ana gruptan oluşan resimdeki bu gruplar kendi içlerinde de bölümlere sahiptirler. Ortadaki grubun merkezinde ve aslında tüm resmin odak noktasında açık renkli badem formundaki bir fon üzerinde yer alan genç erkek figürü bulunmaktadır. Merkezdeki bu figür ve onun ayaklarının altında bulunan ipler ve zincirlerle bağlanmış yüzüstü yatar pozisyonda bulunan figür dikey bir aks oluşturur. Merkezdeki figürün sağında ve solunda yer alan ve yine bu genç erkeğin bileklerinden tutarak lahitlerinin içinden çıktığı iki figür, bir arada incelendiklerinde bir üçgen oluşturmaktadır. Biçimsel incelemeye devam edersek; merkezdeki figürün sağında yer alan ve dokuz ayrı figürden oluşan grup, kendi içinde üçe ayrılır. Bunların içinden, merkeze en yakın konumda ve grubun diğer üyelerine göre daha yüksekte duran tek bir figür grubun lideri pozisyonundadır. Onun yanında üç kişiden oluşan bir grup ve bu grubun yanında beş figürden oluşan bir başka grup yer alır. Merkezin solunda yer alan grup ise kendi içinde ikiye ayrılır. Yine grubun lideri pozisyonunda ve genç erkeğe en yakın konumda tek bir figür ve onun arkasında altı ayrı figürden oluşan bir başka grup bulunmaktadır (Res. 7).

Resim 7

Anastasis Freski – Biçimsel Analiz, © Yazar.



Grup-1: Merkezdeki genç erkek figürü üç farklı tonlamadan oluşan “badem” şekilli bir mandorla içinde resmedilmiştir. Dıştan içe doğru, beyaz, açık mavi ve koyu mavi tonlarındaki mandorla üzerinde altın rengi yıldız motifleri vardır. Genç erkeğin başının arkasında altın rengi bir hale bulunmaktadır. Bu

figür oldukça çevik bir hareketle iki yanındaki kadın ve erkeği bileklerinden yakalamış ve onları lahitlerinden çekip çıkarmaktadır (Res. 8).

Resim 8  
Grup-1, © Yazar.



Beyaz bir himation (Antik Yunan'dan Helenistik döneme kadar erkek ve kadınlar tarafından giyilen, yünlü veya keten kumaştan yapılmış dikdörtgen biçimli pelerin) içinde resmedilen genç erkek figürünün hareketindeki ataklık elbisesinin kıvrımlarından da hissedilmektedir. Bu figür, kompozisyonda yer alan diğer tüm figürlerden daha uzun ve büyük olarak resmedilmiştir. Beyaz rengin yalnızca bu figür üzerinde ve çevresinde kullanılması kompozisyon bütününde belirgin biçimde öne çıkmasını sağlamaktadır. Bu kıvrımları oluşturabilmek için gri tonları kullanılmıştır. Figürün sağ ayağı yere kararlılıkla basmakta, sol ayağı ise daha rahat bir pozisyondadır. Gövdesi, daha yaşlı resmedilen erkek figürün bulunduğu sağ yanına doğru eğimlidir. Sol kolunun duruş şekli ve elinin kadını kavrayış biçimi onu lahdinden çıkarmak için harcadığı gücü göstermektedir. Merkezde yer alan genç erkek figürünün gözlerinde kararlı ve kendinden emin bir ifade hissedilmektedir. Bakışları ise bizi yanındaki yaşlı erkeğin arkasında bulunan gruba yönlendirir. Ayaklarında bir çift sandalet bulunan genç adam kayalık zemin üzerine basmaktadır ve ayakları altında kırılmış halde görülen turuncu ve sarı renklerde kapı kanatları, menteşe, kilit ve çivi parçaları bulunmaktadır. Bunların arasında yerde, kolları arkasından birleştirilmiş ve ipe/zincirle bileklerinden ve boynundan bağlanmış ayrıca ayak bilekleri de birbirine bağlı olan, üzerinde sadece beyaz bir kumaş parçası (bir tür peştemal) bulunan bir erkek figürü; siyah derili, diğer figürlerle kıyaslandığında oldukça küçük ebatlarda, grotesk bir formda resmedilmiştir. Zeminin koyu renk olması ve diğer figürlerle oranları arasındaki farklılık nedeniyle ilk bakışta oldukça güç fark edilir (Res. 9).

Pembe-kahve tonlarındaki lahitlerinin içinden çekilerek çıkarılan kadın ve erkek figürleri oldukça edilgen bir postüre sahiptirler. Bütün hareketi merkezdeki genç erkek figürünün yaptığı, kadın ve yaşlı erkeğin ise adeta ona itaat ettikleri hissedilmektedir. Her ikisinin gözlerinde de mahmur bir ifade sezilir (Res. 10 a-b).

Yaşlı erkek; sol kolunda ve etek uçlarında görünen mavi bir tunik ve onun üstüne de beyaz bir himation giymiştir. Uzun beyaz dalgalı saçları ve sakalları vardır. Genç erkek tarafından bileğinden kavranan sol eli güçsüz ve cansız bir biçimde durmaktadır ve genç erkeğin tutuşundaki kararlılıkla ve güçle tezat



oluşturmaktadır. Sağ eli ise genç erkeğe doğru yönelmiş ve adeta ondan yardım dilemektedir. Üzerindeki beyaz himationun sol omzundan arkaya doğru uzanan ucundaki kıvrımlar hareketin (yukarı doğru çekilişin) hızını hissettirir.

Kadının sadece yüzü ve merkezdeki genç erkek figür tarafından tutulan sağ eli çıplak bir biçimde görünür. Geri kalan her yeri kıyafetlerle örtülüdür. Sol ayağında siyah bir ayakkabı ve yine sol etek ucunda ve sağ kolunda görünen mavi bir tunik, bunun üzerine başını da kapatan kırmızı bir giysi giymiştir. Giysisinin altında kalan eli genç erkeğe doğru yönelmiştir ve merkezin diğer yanında yer alan yaşlı erkek figür ile simetri oluşturmaktadır.

Grup-2: Yaşlı erkeğin arkasında, merkezdeki figürün sağ tarafında dokuz kişilik bir grup bulunmaktadır (Res. 11). Grubun arka fonunu oluşturan kayalıklar, bej,

Resim 9  
Şeytan Figürü (Underwood 1967: 358).

Resim 10a  
Adem (Underwood 1967: 347).

Resim 10b  
Havva (Underwood 1967: 348).



Resim 11  
Grup - 2, © Yazar.



kum rengi homojene yakın bir tonlamada yapılmıştır. Kayalığın keskin köşeleri grubun başlarının üzerinde yer alan, yukarı doğru sivrilen bölümde hissedilir. Burada koyu kahve kontürler ve beyaz gölgeler ile kaya formu oluşturulmuştur. Bu grup arasında merkezdeki genç erkeğe en yakın konumda bulunan bir figür ön plana geçmektedir. Bu figürün sol eli merkezi gösterirken yüzü grubun diğer üyelerine yönelmiştir. Her iki eliyle de benzer bir jest yaptığı görülmektedir. Üzerinde bol kollu sarımsı kahve bir tunik, onun üstünde de haki bir himation bulunmaktadır. Kumral dalgalı saçları omuzlarına dökülmektedir. Ayrıca uzun bir sakalı vardır. Onun da başının üstünde beyaz bir kontürle sınırlandırılmış altın rengi hale bulunmaktadır.

Lider figürün sağ yanında üç kişiden oluşan bir grup vardır. Bunlardan en öndeki, lider figüre en yakın konumda olan ancak ondan daha küçük ve aşağıda resmedilmiş olan figürün iki eli de merkezdeki genç erkeğe doğru yönelmiş ve onu işaret etmektedir. Bu figürün başı da hemen önündeki lider figür gibi arkadaki gruba doğru çevrilmiştir ancak bakışları merkeze doğrudur. Kulaklarının altına kadar uzanan kumral saçları bulunan figür bıyiksız ve sakalsız olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Diğer yanındaki figürün ise farklı olarak sakalları bulunmakta, onun da her iki eli (biri çok net görünemese de) merkezi işaret etmektedir. Bu iki figürünün arkasında ayakları, yüzünün ve gövdesinin sadece bir kısmı görünen, üçlü grubun diğer üyesi olan bir figür daha mevcuttur. Üç figürün de giysileri diğer figürlerden daha gösterişlidir. Böylelikle diğerlerinden farklılaşmakta ancak kendi aralarında benzeşmektedirler. Hepsinin altın taçları, altın süslemeleri olan kırmızı çizmeleri, manşetleri ve etek uçlarında altın ve inci işlemleri olan ve bellerinden altın bir kemerle toplanmış tunikleri, bunun üstüne giydikleri sağ omuzlarından altın bir fibulayla tutturulmuş pelerinleri bulunmaktadır. Taç takmış iki figürün üzerlerindeki tunik yeşile çalan bir mavi, pelerinleri kırmızı; Diğer taçlı figürün tuniği ise mor, pelerini lacivettir. Bu grubun arkasında ise beş kişiden oluşan bir başka grup bulunmaktadır. Bunların arasından en sondaki figür net olarak seçilebilmektedir. Elleri merkeze doğru uzanmış, adeta genç adamdan yardım dilemektedir. Diğerleri birbirleri arasında konuşuyormuş izlenimi veren bir gruplaşma içindedirler. Hepsinin üzerinde tunik ve himationdan oluşan günlük bir giysi ve ayaklarında sandalet bulunmaktadır. En sondaki figürün tuniği mavi, himationu mor; onun yanındaki figürün tuniği mavi, himationu ise koyu sarı renktedir.

Grup-3: Kadın figürünün arkasında yedi kişiden oluşan bir başka grup bulunmaktadır (Res. 12). Bu grubun arka fonunu oluşturan kayalıklarda ise beyaz ton hakimdir. Arada gri tonlarda kontürler bulunmaktadır. En üstte ise sarı kahve bir kabuk oluşturulmuştur. Grubun en önünde sağ elinde bir baston veya çoban asası bulunan, sol eli serbest şekilde merkeze uzanan genç bir erkek figürü bulunmaktadır. Duruşuyla ve kıyafetiyle içinde bulunduğu grup arasından sıyrılan figür, diğer taraftaki grubun önündeki figür ile simetri oluşturmaktadır. Kısa kumral saçlar ile betimlenmiş olan figürün gözlerinde küskün, kırgın, mağrur bir ifade vardır ve gözleri izleyiciyi arkadaki gruba yönlendirir. Bu genç erkeğin kıyafeti de diğer tüm figürlerden farklıdır. Üzerinde, manşetleri, yakası, etek ucu ve pazu bantları zengin nakış işlemleriyle süslü küf yeşili bol bir tunik vardır. Altında mor bir pantolon ve onun üstüne çıkan, bileklerini ve ayağını tamamen kaplayan bir tür çorap bulunmaktadır. Bu figürün arkasında bulunan grup, diğer yanda taç takmış üçlünün arkasındaki grupta olduğu gibi, tunik üstüne himation ayaklarına ise sandalet giymişlerdir. Bu grubun kıyafetlerinde seçilen renkler; mor, lacivert, mavi, sarımsı kahvedir.



Resim 12  
Grup - 3, © Yazar.

## 2. İkincil / Uzlaşımsal Anlam

Anastasis Freski'nde, Kurtarıcı İsa'nın Hades'e ve Şeytan'a karşı kazandığı galibiyet ve tüm insanlığı sembolize eden insanoğlunun ilk ataları Adem ve Havva'yı mezarlarından çıkarması betimlenir (Ousterhaut 2002: 78). Merkezde yer alan figürün hemen üzerinde freskin temasını niteleyen "Anastasis" yazısı ve onun hemen altında İsa'yı tanımlayan "IC XC" harfleri bulunmaktadır. Bu harfler dışında merkezde bulunan genç erkek figürünün İsa olduğuna dair pek çok gösterge bulunmaktadır. Kompozisyonda yer alan diğer tüm figürlerden daha büyük resmedilmiş olması, saflığın ve temizliğin temsili olan beyaz kıyafetiyle tüm diğer figürlerden ayrışması, başının arkasında yer alan, kutsiyetini simgelen altın hale, figürün arkasında yer alan badem biçimli mandorla bu genç erkek figürün İsa olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Figürün iki yanında bulunan ve içinde yattıkları lahitlerinden çekilip çıkarılan erkek ve kadın figürleri ise Adem ve Havva'yı temsil etmektedir (Gülersoy 1978c: 17). Yüzlerindeki mahmur ifade aniden gelen dirilişin şaşkınlığıdır. Adem ve Havva'nın her ikisinin de içinde aynı renkte (mavi) bir tunik olması her ikisinin de yaradılıştaki eşit olduğunu ancak üzerlerine giydikleri kıyafetlerin renkleri işlenen ilk günahdaki rollerini

simgeler. Havva, günahı işleyen kişi olarak suçludur ve kırmızı bir giysi giyer, Adem ise günaha çekilen kişi olarak aslında masumdur ve bu konum beyaz bir kıyafetle simgelenir. Havva'nın boynu günahkârlığının verdiği mahcubiyetle büküktür.

İsa'nın ayakları altında parçalanmış kapı kanatları, menteşeler ve çiviler; ölümler diyarı Hades'in girişinde yer alan ve az önce İsa tarafından parçalanmış olan kapılardır. Bu parçalanmış kapının altında yatan, elleri ve kollarından bağlanmış vaziyetteki siyah derili grotesk figür Şeytan'ı temsil etmektedir. Artık mağlup olan Şeytan, yüzünde çaresiz bir ifadeyle yatmaktadır. Arkasındaki koyu renk fon hem ölümler diyarının karanlığını simgelemekte, hem de Şeytan'ın mağlubiyet sonrası içine düştüğü çaresizliği pekiştirmektedir.

Adem'in arkasında yer alan grup arasında ön plana geçen figür İsa'ya en yakın konumda bulunan Vaftizci Yahya'dır. Sol eli İsa'yı gösterirken yüzü grubun diğer üyelerine yönelmiştir ve İsa'nın gelişini müjdelemektedir (Underwood 1967: 194). Gerek başındaki halesi, gerekse boyut olarak arkasında kalan gruptan büyük ve yüksekte gösterilmiş olması Vaftizci Yahya'nın kutsiyetine ve önemine delalettir. Yahya'nın arkasında başlarında taçları ve gösterişli kıyafetleri ile krallar yer almaktadır. Bunlar, İsa'nın atalarını ve Eski Ahit insanlarını temsil ederler. Vaftizci Yahya'ya en yakın pozisyonda duran Kral Süleyman'dır. Süleyman'ın sağında bir başka kral, Kral Davut bulunmaktadır (Ogan - Mirmiroğlu 1955: 12). İki kral figürünün arkasında ayakları, yüzünün ve gövdesinin sadece bir kısmı görünen bir başka kral figürü mevcuttur. Underwood'a (1967: 194) göre arkadaki Kral'ın başının üstündeki halenin dağınıklığı, genişliği Kutsal Kitap'ta adı geçen diğer üç kralın da arka tarafta bulunabileceği fikrini vermektedir.

Havva'nın arkasında yer alan grubun ön plana çıkan figürü Habil'dir. Adem'le Havva'nın oğlu olan Habil, ilk öldürülen insandır. Resimde o da annesinin lahdinin içinde ayakta resmedilmiştir. Elindeki çoban asası onun Habil olduğunun kanıtıdır. Adem ile Havva'nın ilk oğlu olan Kabil çiftçi, Habil ise koyun çobanıdır. Giysisinin açık rengi masumiyetinin de bir yansımasıdır. Yüzünde abisi tarafından katledilmenin getirdiği şaşkın ve buruk bir ifade gözlemlenmektedir. Habil'in arkasında yer alan grubun ise eski peygamberleri ve insanoğlunun atalarını temsil ettiği düşünülmektedir (Underwood 1967: 195).

### 3. İçsel Anlam / İkonografik Sentez ve Eserin Diğer Yapıtlarla Karşılaştırması

Bizans Rönesansı'nın en önemli örnekleri arasında sayılan Kariye Fresklerinde önceki dönemlere kıyasla daha insancıl ve yumuşak ifadeler kullanıldığı söylenebilir. Antik çağ sanatçılarından Lysippos'un 1/9 oranı kullanılmış (başın vücudun geneline oranı) ve bu sayede ince uzun figürler ortaya çıkmıştır. Figürler bol ve dökümlü kıyafetler giymiş olmalarına rağmen, hareketleri ve vücut hatları hissedilebilmektedir. Anastasis freskinin merkezinde yer alan İsa figürünün kıyafeti ve mandorlada kullanılan renkler, arka fondaki lacivert/siyah ile tezat oluşturur. İsa'nın açık renk mandorlası adeta ışıldar. İsa cehennem kapısında, insanları ölümden ve karanlıktan kurtaran aydınlık, ışık saçan bir görünüme sahiptir. Mandorla üzerinde yer alan altın rengi yıldızların ve İsa'nın halesinin orjinalinde altın yapraklar kullanılmış olması ve böyle bir malzemenin bu sahnede kullanılmak için seçilmesi de ona verilen önemi gösterir (Akyürek 1996: 111). İsa, acı çeken değil, "kurtarıcı" ve güçlü olan pozisyonundadır. Adem ve Havva burada tüm insanlığı temsil etmektedirler. İsa her ikisinin de elinden kavrayarak adaletini gösterir. Kompozisyon içinde yerleştirilen figürlerin hiçbirinin konumu tesadüfi değildir. Oluşturdukları simetrimin yanı sıra, Adem

İsa'nın sağında, Havva ise solunda yer almaktadır. Litürjik ve filolojik açıdan sağ iyiyi ve sol kötüyü temsil eder. Kıyas gerektiren durumlarda bu kavramlar konumlandırmayı etkilemiştir (Bornovalı - Kolay 2009: 55). Benzer biçimde bema kemeri üzerinde yer alan diriliş sahnelerinde, İsa'nın sağında “*Dul'un oğlunun dirilişi*”, solunda ise “*Jarius'un kızının dirilişi*” sahnesi bulunmaktadır (Ousterhaut 2002: 111).

Bizans Sanatı'nda “Anastasis” teması, İsa ve Adem arasındaki ilişki anlamında farklı kompozisyon tiplerinde ele alınmıştır. Kartsonis (1986: 7-18) Anastasis sahnesinin işlenişini dört ayrı tiplerle sınıflandırmaktadır.

1. Tip: İsa bir eliyle yaşlı Adem'i lahdinden kendine doğru çekerek çıkarır (Res. 13). İsa genellikle profilden görülür. Havva ya yoktur ya da Adem'in arkasında ellerini İsa'ya doğru uzatmış, af diler bir haldedir. Bazı kompozisyonlarda İsa elinde bir haç taşır. Böylece Adem mezarından çıkarken hacın önünden geçmek zorundadır.

2. Tip: İsa bir eliyle Adem'i çekerken diğer elinde bir haç taşımaktadır (Res. 14). Ancak Adem bu kompozisyonda İsa'nın ardındadır. İsa, Adem'i adeta peşi sıra sürükler. Öndeki elinde ise adeta meşale tutar gibi bir haç taşımaktadır. İsa'nın elinde tuttuğu haçtan aldığı güç ile muzaffer bir komutan edasında Adem'i cehennemden kurtarıp peşi sıra sürüklemesi tasvir edilmiştir. Havva ise bu kompozisyonda da İsa tarafından göz ardı edilmektedir.



3. Tip: Bu kompozisyonda İsa bir mandorla içinde ön cepheden resmedilir (Res. 15). Adem ve Havva İsa'nın sağ ve sol yanında simetrik bir biçimde yer almaktadır. Tüm ikon gayet statik, hareketsiz bir kompozisyona sahiptir. Bu tipolojide diriliş sürecinin kendisi değil, sonucu resmedilmiştir. İsa, Adem'in elinden kavramakta diğer eliyle Havva'yı işaret etmektedir. Ya da her ikisiyle de fiziksel kontak kurmadan resmedilir.

4. Tip: Bu, 2. ve 3. tipin birleşimidir. İsa ilk defa Havva'yı da lahdinden çekip çıkarırken resmedilmektedir (Res. 16). Bu kompozisyon diriliş anını anlatır ve 3. tiplerle kıyaslandığında çok daha dinamik ve hareketlidir. İsa hem Adem'i, hem de Havva'yı lahitlerinden çıkararak tüm insanlığa karşı adaletini gösterir.



Resim 13  
Anastasis Kompozisyonu Tip-1 (The Descent into Hell / 11. yüzyıl 2. yarısı Daphni Manastırı, Atina Yakınlarında, Yunanistan), <https://martinhocorreia.com/category/uncategorized/page/7/#prettyPhoto/6/> (19.03.2022).

Resim 14  
Anastasis Kompozisyonu Tip-2 (The Descent into Hell / 12. yüzyıl 1. yarısı / San Marco, Venedik, İtalya), <https://03varvara.wordpress.com/2010/11/30/unknown-artist-the-descent-into-hell-basilica-cattedrale-patriachale-di-san-marco-venezia-italy/> (19.03.2022).

Resim 15  
Anastasis Kompozisyonu Tip-3 (Chloudov Psalter / 9. yüzyıl) (Cross vd. 2006: 13).





Resim 16  
Anastasis Kompozisyonu Tip-4 (Georgios Kalliergis, 1315, Beroia, Church of Christ), [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christ\\_Church\\_in\\_Veria\\_Resurrection\\_Fresco\\_on\\_the\\_SouthSou\\_Wall\\_by\\_Georgios\\_Kalliergis,\\_1315.gif](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christ_Church_in_Veria_Resurrection_Fresco_on_the_SouthSou_Wall_by_Georgios_Kalliergis,_1315.gif) (19.03.2022).

Khora Manastırı güney şapeli apsis duvarı yarım kubbesi üzerinde yer alan Anastasis freski bu kompozisyon tipleri arasında dördüncüye dahil edilebilir. Bizans Rönesans'ı olarak kabul edilen 14. yüzyıl başlarında resmedilen bu yapıt dönemdaşı Giotto'nun eserleriyle, özellikle de Arena Şapelindeki fresklerle mukayese edilir (Gülersoy 1977: 9; 1986: 8).

Giotto, Arena Şapeli'nde gerçekleştirdiği fresklerle (Res. 17) İtalyan resminde yeni bir çığır açmış, Rönesans sanatçıları için öncü olmuştur. Fresklerdeki figürlerin yüzlerindeki ifadeler gerçekçi ve son derece insanidir. “Ölü İsa'ya Ağıt” freskinde Meryem'in ve İsa'yı çevreleyen diğer figürlerin yüzündeki acı rahatlıkla hissedilebilir. Figürler farklı planlarda bir araya getirilmiş bu sayede derinlik etkisi oluşturulmuştur. İnsan bedenleri dökümlü kumaşların altında gizlenmiştir ancak bu kumaşların altında bile olsa insan bedenleri ve duruşları fark edilebilmektedir. Kıvrımlar arasına yerleştirilen gölgelerle kumaşlara derinlik ve hareket kazandırılmıştır. İpşiroğlu - İpşiroğlu (2010: 107) bunu “Gotik'e özgü çizgi nakşının ortadan kaldırılması” olarak tanımlar. Bunun yanı sıra Giotto'nun resminde doğaya öykünme, doğadaki formları olduğu halleriyle resme aktarma çabası görülmektedir.

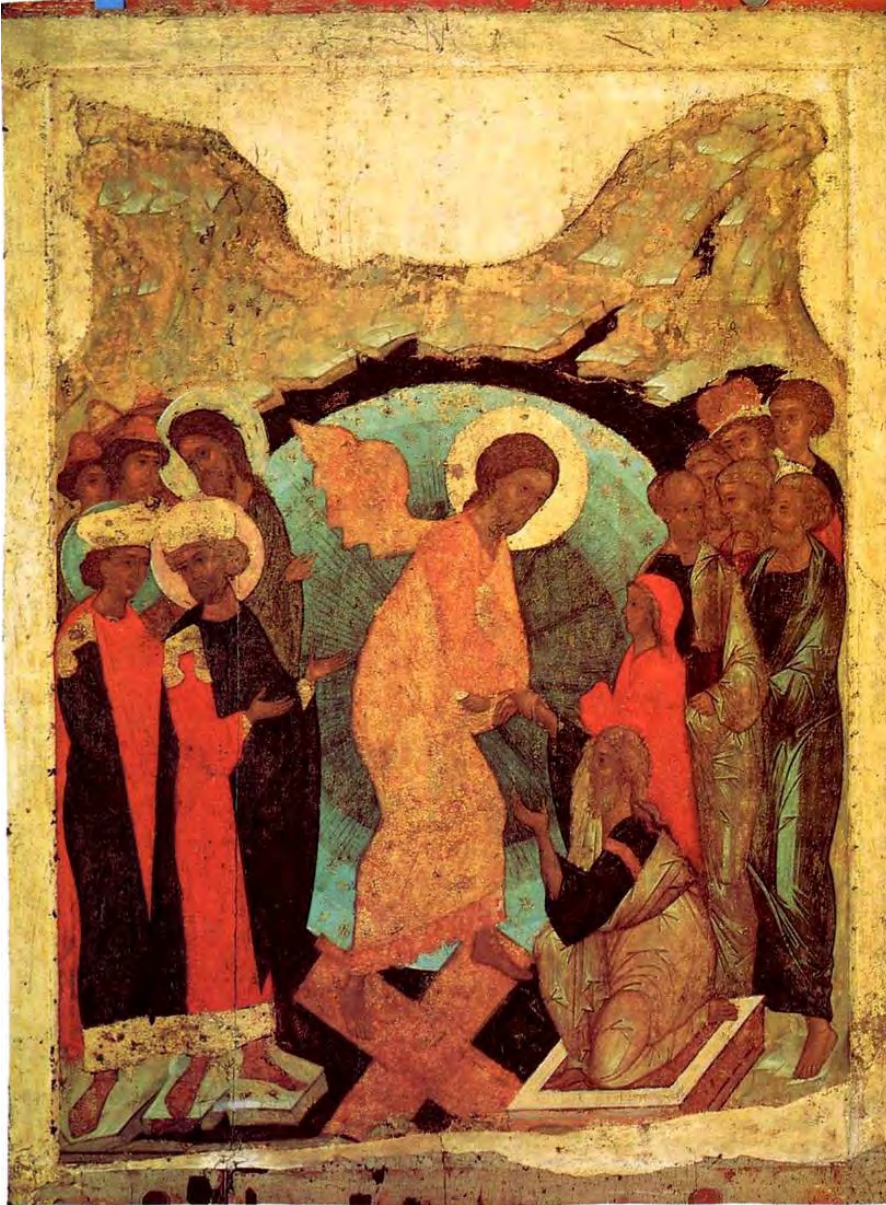


Resim 17  
Arena Şapeli Freskleri - “Ölü İsa'ya Ağıt” / Giotto / 1305-1306 (Gombrich 1997: 203).

Gombrich'e (1997: 198) göre 8. yüzyılın sonuna doğru İtalyan Sanatı sadece Kuzey Avrupa'nın katedral heykelticilerinin başarılarıyla yarışmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda tüm resim sanatında bir devrim yaratmıştır. Bunun en önemli nedeni, Bizans sanatı geleneğinin sağlam temellerinden yararlanıyor olmasıdır. Çünkü tüm katlılığına rağmen Bizans sanatı Helenistik ressamların bulgularını, Batı'nın karanlık çağlardaki resimli olay anlatımlarından daha fazla korumuş ve sürdürmüştür. Khora Manastırı'nda yer alan Anastasis freski de bu anlayışın bir ürünüdür. Bu yapıtta Orta Bizans Dönemi'nin sert ve korkunç ifadesine yer yoktur. Bunun yanı sıra Avrupa'da ancak Rönesans'ta ortaya

çıkaran ve ilk öncüllerini Giotto'nun eserlerinde gördüğümüz derinliği belirten bir takım unsurlar kompozisyonun içinde yer almıştır. Anastasis sahnesinde yer alan figürlerin yüzlerindeki ifadeler; İsa'nın kararlılığı ve kendinden emin hali, Adem'in gözlerindeki mahmur ifade, Havva'nın mahcubiyeti, Habil'in bakışlarındaki kırgınlık, tüm karakterlerin kurtarılmayı bekleyen, İsa'dan medet uman bakışları rahatlıkla fark edilebilir. Bunun dışında farklı planların kullanılması, figürleri gruplandırılmasında oluşturulan perspektif, giysi kıvrımlarını oluştururken kullanılan gölgeler resme derinlik katmaktadır. Giysilerin kıvrımları Rönesans sanatında olduğu kadar gerçekçi değilse de Yunan mirasının izlerini taşımaktadır. Bu mirasın izleri figürlerin boyutlarında Lysippos'un 1/9 oranının kullanılmasında da gözlenmektedir. Giotto'da olduğu gibi arka fonda kayalık bir zemin kullanıldığı ve bu zemini oluştururken doğada yer alan formların kullanılmaya çalışıldığı görülmektedir.

Oysa bundan yaklaşık bir asır sonra Rusya'da yapılan aynı temalı bir ikonda (Res. 18) figürlerin çok daha şematik olduğu, doğaya ve insan anatomisine uygunluğa fazlaca özen gösterilmediği, giysilerin kıvrımlardan arınmış, düz, şematik kumaş parçaları olarak resmedildiği, figürlerin insani ifadelerden



Resim 18  
Anastasis /Andrei Rublev / 1408 / Tretyakov  
Galerisi,  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Harrowing\\_of\\_hell\\_from\\_Vasilyevskiy\\_chin\\_\(1408,\\_Tretyakov\\_gallery\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Harrowing_of_hell_from_Vasilyevskiy_chin_(1408,_Tretyakov_gallery).jpg)  
(10.03.2022).

arınmış olduğu görülmektedir. Bu ikonda, resmin, gerçekliği aktarmaktan çok bir olayı dikt eden yazılı bir metin işlevine büründüğü Ortaçağ sanatı izlerine rastlanmaktadır.

Öte yandan “Anastasis” temasının ele alındığı Rönesans’ın önemli ressamlarından Mantegna’nın “Christ’s Descent into Limbo” adlı yapıtı incelendiğinde (Res. 19), kilisenin klasik formlarının ne kadar dışına çıkıldığı görülebilmektedir. Öncelikle kompozisyon, Kartsonis’in sınıflandırmasının çok dışındadır. İsa, sırtı tamamıyla seyirciye dönük bir biçimde, Adem’i cehennemden kurtarmaktadır. İnsan bedeninin ve anatomisinin kullanılışı, vücutların bol dökümlü giysiler ardına saklanmasıyla tüm detaylarıyla, heykelsi bir ustalıkla işlenmesi, antikitenin izlerini taşımaktadır. Perspektif çok daha güçlü bir biçimde uygulanmaktadır. Işık ve gölge oyunları, yüzlerdeki dramatik ifadeler, bütünsel mekân kullanımı, doğaya ait öğelerin (kayaların) gerçekçi anlatımı Rönesans Sanatı’nın özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır.

Resim 19  
“Christ’s Descent into Limbo” / Mantegna /  
1470-75,  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/  
File:MantegnaDescentLimbo.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MantegnaDescentLimbo.jpg)  
(12.03.2022).



### Yapının Mimari ve İkonografik Programları Arasındaki Etkileşim

Anastasis freskinin yer aldığı parekklesion 14. yüzyıldaki beşinci yapım evresi sırasında Metokhites tarafından kendi mezar şapeli olarak yaptırılmıştır (Cimok 1987: 9). 15,96 x 4,96 m ebatlarındaki şapelin ikonografisi de ölüm teması üzerine kurulmuştur.

Bizans teolojisinde “ölüm” bir son olarak değil, insanın mükemmel yaşama doğru yaptığı yolculuğun başlangıcı olarak kabul edilir. Batı teolojisinin aksine Doğu’da “beden” de “ruh” kadar önemlidir ve diriliş anında tekrar bir araya geleceklerdir. Bu nedenle “beden” diriliş anına kadar korunması gereken saygın bir varlıktır. Metokhites’in hem ölüm sonrası törenlerin yapılması için, hem de kendi bedenini diriliş gününe değin koruyup saklayacak bir mekân olarak yaptırdığı parekklesionun (güney şapelinin) ikonografik programı



Resim 20  
Güney şapeli ikonografik programı,  
© Yazar.

(Res. 20) da “ölümsüzlük” düşüncesi ile şekillendirilmiştir. Özellikle apsis programı tamamıyla diriliş teması üzerine kuruludur (Akyürek 1996: 95-98). Dikdörtgen planlı parekklesion yapısının odak noktası doğu ucundaki apsis yarım kubbesidir. Şapelin en önemli noktası olan apsis yarım kubbesinde Anastasis konulu bir fresk yerleştirilmesinin nedeni de budur. Ayrıca bema kemerinin iki yanında da “İsa’nın Nain’li dul kadının oğlunu diriltmesi” ve “İsa’nın Jarius’un kızını diriltmesi” temalı freskler yer almaktadır. Bu iki mucize sahnesi, İsa’nın diriltme gücünün ispatları olarak programa dahil edilmişlerdir. Anastasis freski, parekklesiondaki yelken tonozun üstünü kaplayan “Mahşer” sahnesini betimleyen freskle komşudur. İki freski birbirine bağlayan bema kemerinin tam ortasında da başmelek Mikhael’in portresi yer alır. Bu freskin yer seçimi de son derece önemlidir. Çünkü Mikhael mahşer günü İsa’nın dirilttiği doğru insanları cennete götürecektir. Karşıdan bakıldığında, tüm bu freskler birbirlerinin üzerinden kayarak aynı anda algılanabilmektedirler. Bunu sağlayabilmek adına yarım kubbe, yelken tonoz, dilimli kubbe, tamburlu kubbe gibi çok farklı örtü biçimleri freskler için gerekli sathları sağlayabilmek adına bir arada kullanılmışlardır. Bu nedenle sanatçı ve mimari ekibin aynı olduğu ya da ciddi bir işbirliği içinde çalıştıkları düşünülebilir (Ousterhaut 1997: 95-97).



Metokhites'in mezarının konumu da bu yerin ciddi bir programlama sonucu tespit edildiğini göstermektedir. Bu nokta, parekklesion programının tamamıyla algılanabildiği en merkezi konumdadır (Ousterhaut 2002: 124). Parekklesionda uygulanan ikonografik programın kilisenin hamisi ve dönemin önde gelen entelektüellerinden olan Metokhites tarafından belirlenmiş olması ve kendine mezar yeri olarak böyle bir nokta seçmesi oldukça manidardır. Bu sayede İsa, Anastasis sahnesinde başlamış olduğu işin devamını biraz sonra Metokhites'in mezarında gerçekleştirecek ve yargı sahnesi tam kurgulandığı biçimde onun leyhinde cereyan edecektir (Bornovalı - Kolay 2009: 54).

Parekklesion bir mezar yapısı olduğu gibi, ölünün ardından gömülmeden önce yapılan son tören olan "prothesis" in de yapıldığı mekândır. Prothesis töreninde ölü herkesin görebileceği yükseklikte bir yere yüzü doğuya dönük olarak yatırılır. Kariye'de yüzü doğu'ya dönerek yatan ölünün baktığı apsis programının tamamı "diriliş" temasına ayrılmıştır (Akyürek 1996: 178). Bu, hayatın ölen kişi için aslında bitmediğini, sadece diriliş gününe değin durduğunu ancak ümidini yitirmemesi gerektiğini simgelemektedir.

2020 yılında Kariye'nin müze statüsünden çıkarılarak camiye dönüştürülmesi ve ibadete açılması ile birlikte fresk ve mozaiklerin açılıp kapanır bir perde sistemi ile örtülmesi söz konusu olmuştur. Söz konusu görsel bölücü ve sınırlayıcılar, adeta sinematografik bir anlatıma sahip olan ikonografik programın mimari mekân içerisindeki bütüncül algısının zedelenmesine neden olmaktadır.

## Sonuç

Bu makale kapsamında yapılan analizler doğrultusunda, Kariye freskleri ve bu freskler arasında en ön planda olan Anastasis freskinin 14. yüzyıl Bizans sanatının en nadide parçalarından biri olduğu ileri sürülebilir. Yapım tekniğinin klasik ikon resminden farklılıkları, Kilise'nin standart formlarının dışına çıkarak yeni bir anlatım dili arayışı, onu farklı kılan özellikler arasında sayılabilir. Diriliş temalı Anastasis freskinin odak noktasında, apsis yarım kubbesinin üzerinde yer alması tematik olarak da son derece önemlidir. Genelde alışlagelen, bu konumda "Mahşer" sahnesinin yer almasıdır. Oysaki Bizans geleneğinde ölüm bir son değil, daha kıymetli bir yaşamın başlangıcıdır (Akyürek 1996: 95). Beden, eninde sonunda ruhla tekrar bütünleşecektir. Şapelin en önemli noktasının diriliş temasına tahsis edilmesi, bu inanışın bir sonucudur ve insanoğluna sonsuzluğa dair ümit vermektedir. Bu anlatımın masalsı, minyatür benzeri ikon resimleri yerine; insan bedeninin ve doğanın gerçeğe yakın formlarda şekillendirildiği, bema kemeri üzerindeki komşu kompozisyonlarda mimari öğelerin de kullanıldığı bir tarzda yapılması da inanılrlığını pekiştirir.

Bu çalışma kapsamında sözü geçen tüm nitelikleri ile Anastasis freski, resim sanatında yeni bir dönüm noktasına yaklaşılmakta olduğunu, Rönesans'ın gelişini müjdelemektedir. Hatta denilebilir ki Rönesans'ın ilk öncülleri Avrupa'dan önce Konstantinopolis'te ortaya çıkmıştır.

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# The Lost Mosaic of the ex Via del Littorio in Ortigia (Syracuse)

## Ortigia'daki (Siraküza) Eski Via del Littorio'nun Kayıp Mozaığı

Dominique Maria DI CARO\*

(Received 16 January 2022, accepted after revision 02 September 2022)

### Abstract


*The oldest residential area of Syracuse is located in Ortigia, in the center of the island the excavations of the 19th century brought to light luxurious Roman houses with mosaic floors and opus sectile of a certain value. In the years 1927-1928, during the construction of the new Banco di Sicilia building, in Piazza Archimede, several walls emerged that also extended to the further north area, corresponding to Via del Littorio, today's Corso Matteotti. Between 1934 and 1936, during the construction works, with the demolition of the old houses, in Via del Littorio and nearby, several sections of aqueducts and ruins of Roman houses were discovered and at about 10 m to the south, at the intersection with Via Giusto Monaco (ex S. Cristoforo), other wall structures and a portion of a large polychrome mosaic (2 x 2 m) with an emblema which represented Venus and Cupid dated to the "very late imperial age". At the time of discovery, the mosaic was detached, as the publisher informs us, but currently the exact location is unknown and it is not recorded in the inventories, it is probably located in one of the museum external deposits. Here is proposed a reinterpretation of the mosaic, based on the details given by the discoverer (Cultrera 1940) and the analysis of the graphic and photographic material provided to me by the Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Siracusa.*

**Keywords:** Sicily, Syracuse, ex Via del Littorio in Ortigia, luxurious Roman domus, Late Antique mosaics.

### Öz

*Siraküza'nın (Syracuse) en eski yerleşim bölgesi, adanın merkezindeki Ortigia'da yer almaktadır ve burada 19. yüzyılda yapılan kazılarda mozaik zeminli ve dikkate değer opus sectileli lüks Roma evleri gün ışığına çıkarılmıştır. 1927-1928 yıllarında, Piazza Archimede'deki yeni Banco di Sicilia binasının inşası sırasında, bugünün Corso Matteotti'si olan Via del Littorio'ya tekabül eden daha kuzeydeki alana uzanan birkaç duvar ortaya çıkmıştır. 1934 ve 1936 yılları arasında, Via del Littorio ve civarındaki eski evlerin yıkılması çalışmaları sırasında, su kemerlerinin çeşitli bölümleri ve Roma evlerinin kalıntıları keşfedildi ve yaklaşık 10 m güneyde, Via Giusto Monaco (eski S. Cristoforo) ile kesişim noktasında, diğer duvar yapıları ve Venüs ve Cupid'i temsil eden bir embleması olan büyük bir polikrom mozaığın (2 x 2 m) bir kısmı tespit edilerek "çok geç imparatorluk çağı"na tarihlendirilmiştir. Keşif sırasında, yayınlayanın bildirdiği gibi mozaik yerinden sökülüştür, ancak şu anda tam yeri bilinmemektedir; envanterlerde kayıtlı değildir ve muhtemelen müzenin dış depolarından birinde olmalıdır. Burada, keşfeden kişi (Cultrera 1940) tarafından verilen ayrıntılara ve Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. tarafından sağlanan grafik ve fotoğraflık materyalin analizine dayalı olarak mozaığın yeni bir yorumu önerilmektedir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sicilya, Siraküza, Ortigia'daki eski Via del Littorio, lüks Roma domusu, Geç Antik mozaikler.

\* Dominique Maria Di Caro, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (in international cotutela with the University of Calabria – UNICAL), Dpto. De Humanidades: Historia, Geografía y Arte. c/ Madrid, 126, 28903 Getafe, Madrid, Spain.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6030-9841>. E-mail: arkeodomi89@gmail.com

The oldest residential district of Syracuse was Ortigia, formed since the Greek-archaic Age of a orthogonal urban plan, of which tracts of a *decumanus* were identified by P. Orsi, G. Cultrera and later P. Pelagatti at the intersection of Via Maestranza and Via Roma and *stenopoi*, aligning in the east-west direction at a distance of 25 m. from each other. They were traced in the Prefecture courtyard near Via Roma that continues in via del Consiglio Regionale, inside the convent of Montevergini and to east of Palazzo Montalto, which delimit residential blocks of m. 25 x 75; the successive levels of use were overlaid onto the above mentioned archaic trackways that follows the current routes (Zirone 2005: 152-160). In the island heart, in Piazza Archimede, the XIX century excavations brought to light luxurious Roman houses with many mosaic floors in *tessellatum* and in *opus sectile* of certain value (Voza 1980-81: 680-685; Bejor 1986: 509 n. 445; Zirone 2005: 152-153).

In the years 1927-1928, during the intense construction activities of the new Banco di Sicilia palace in Piazza Archimede, several and not specified walls emerged, which also interested the northernmost area, corresponding to Via del Littorio (Zirone 2005: 152). The street, today's Corso Matteotti, built according to the bank, starts from Piazza E. Pancali and leading right to the northwestern corner of Piazza Archimede. Between 1934 and 1936, during some construction works and after the demolition of the old houses in Via del Littorio and nearby, several traits of aqueducts and houses ruins were discovered. There were mostly foundation walls, whose orientation corresponded to the topographical plan, probably orthogonal, of the ancient city (Cultrera 1940: 199-214, 220-221). Within the same street, about 10 m. to south from the intersection with the Via Giusto Monaco (ex S. Cristoforo) (Zirone 2005: 153), where a stretch of wall was identified, other structures walls and a portion of a large polychrome mosaic were found by Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Siracusa, under the direction of the archaeologist G. Cultrera (Cultrera 1940: 213, 221-224).

Given the few published excavation data, we know that the walls were dated within the III-IV century AD. They had different orientation than the others found nearby and the floor decorated with mosaic was placed at a higher level (Cultrera 1940: 213, 221).

Most likely the mosaic is located in one of the external warehouses of the Soprintendenza BB. CC. AA. di Siracusa. At the time of discovery, as the publisher informs us, the mosaic was detached, but currently the exact location is unknown, and it does not seem to be recorded in the inventories (unknown inventory number).

In the carton 8 of the container 52/1, containing the photo of the mosaic, identified by the Archivio Fotografico della Regia Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Siracusa, it is showed "room XII", probably in reference to the room of the first Museo Civico of Piazza Duomo, in which it was to be exposed.

In the current contribution, in fact, an accurate description of the mosaic is given, based not only on the details that the discoverer Cultrera gave (Cultrera 1940: 221-224), but also on the analysis of the graphic and photographic material supplied to me by the Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Siracusa<sup>1</sup>.

From the mosaic pavement, that must have belonged to a large quadrangular

<sup>1</sup> I take the opportunity to thank the Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Siracusa for the active and punctual collaboration, in the person of Dr. Daniela Marino of the section Servizi Ausiliari Sicilia, who searched the documentation in the Archivio Fotografico e Disegni with extreme patience, and that has worked with a spirit of collaboration for the selection and sharing of the material by planning virtual meetings.



Figure 1  
Ortigia (SR), ex via del Littorio (current Corso Matteotti). Mosaic with *Venus* and *Cupid* (Container 52/1, carton 8, Photograph 1590B from the Archivio Fotografico, Soprintendenza BB. CC. AA. di Siracusa).

room, a portion (Fig. 1) was brought to light of dimensions m. 2 x 2 (Cultrera 1940: 222 fig. 28). The mosaic presented, within a red meandering frame, a network composition of groups of four ellipses arranged in a cross around a circle forming quadrilobes with concave squares in the resulting spaces (compared *Décor* I: 253). In the center, there should have been one or more *emblemata*, since the found *emblema* was placed in a decentralized position with respect to the composition (Cultrera 1940: 223-224). The vegetal and floral motifs within the circles and ellipses were surrounded by dentil cornices: the circles were filled by bilobed flowers with petals around a cross, while the ellipses contained different elongated vegetal motifs. In the exceeding concave squares there were composite flowers of four tapering petals and four small trifold lotuses (*Décor* II: 268a).

The *emblema* measured m. 0.70 x 0.70 and was framed by a wide band with simple-turn of current wave pattern (*Décor* I: 101b) with red color on white background (Cultrera 1940: 222 -223). At the time of detachment, the *emblema* was damaged, so part of the representation was lost, and the two preserved figures were identified with *Venus* and *Cupid* (Cultrera 1940: 223). The goddess is represented in the center, standing with a gray *nimbus*, adorned with jewelry and dressed by a mantle that left her bust uncovered and that held with her left hand to cover her pubis, while the right arm was raised, probably in the act of holding the mirror. To the right of *Venus* there was a naked and winged boy, also with jewelry of which a red necklace with pendant, who carried an object (jewelry box?). Cultrera indicates blue and gold glass tiles used to highlight the jewelry (Cultrera 1940: 223).

Symmetrically, in the missing left side, as shown from the drawing of R. Carta<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 2), there should have been another amorino, both portrayed in the guise of servants for the toilet of the goddess *Venus*; hypothesis that seems plausible also for the presence in the background, behind the boy, of a table with an open-shaped vessel and a drape-separè in the upper right corner.

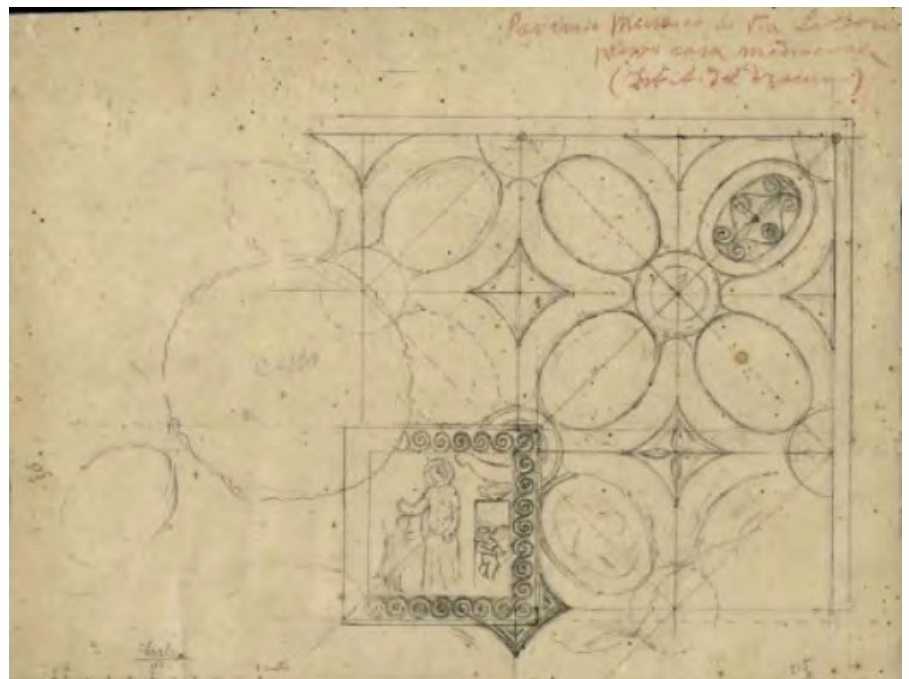


Figure 2  
Ortigia (SR), ex via del Littorio (current Corso Matteotti). Drawing of the mosaic with *Venus* and *Cupid* by R. Carta (Cassettera A, cassetto 2 from the Archivio Disegni, Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Siracusa).

2 In the drawing found in Cassettera A, cassetto 2 of the Archivio Disegni, Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Siracusa, it reads in red the record "Mosaic floor in Via Littorio/ near medieval house/Istituto del Dramma", the latter corresponding to the present Istituto nazionale del dramma antico (also known by the acronym INDA).

The discoverer dated the mosaic to the “very late imperial age”, without any specification (Cultrera 1940: 224). Wilson and Von Boeselager, based on stylistic comparisons with North African examples, dated the artifact between the late II and early III centuries AD (Wilson 1982: 416-417; Von Boeselager 1983: 149-154). It is interesting the comparison identified from Wilson with the triumphant *Venus* represented between two women centaurs in the mosaic coming from the locality of Elles, in the Kef, dated to the III century AD, and exhibited at the Bardo Museum in Tunis (Wilson 1982: 416-417).

Even the composition of the mosaic field finds close similarities with the Tunisian mosaics dated between the end of the II and the III century, including the two mosaics of the house of Ferjani kacem in El Jem (Wilson 1982: 416-417; Vitale 2004: 482 note 18) and another one from Smirat, exposed to the Museum of Sousse, consisting of a quadrilobes composition and a central figured panel, dated to the second twenty-fifth of the III century (Ibba - Teatini 2017: 228 fig. 2, 229, 256).

The so-called “cushion composition” has ancient origin, it is presented in the table 253 of the *Décor* by many variants, consisting of a four ellipses motif arranged to shape a cross and forming many quadrilobes with concave squares/octagons in the resulting spaces. The scholar Vitale includes the mosaic in question in the list of the first Sicilian mosaics with this scheme and dates it at the beginning of the III century; she observes that the composition was born in the north-east of Tunisia between the end of the II and the first decades of the III century, and that would have arrived in northern Italy, later in Albania and at the end of the III century in Spain (Vitale 2004: 482 and note 18). In my opinion, it could be considered a slight delay of this compositional solution in Sicily, as documented by the mosaic of the passage room leading to the apse room of Piazza Armerina thermal baths (Fig. 3), dated to the beginning of the IV century, extremely similar to ours.



Figure 3  
Piazza Armerina (EN), contrada Casale.  
Thermal baths. Mosaic of the passage room  
to the apse room of the Piazza Armerina  
baths (Carandini et al. 1982: F. LIV fig.  
132).

The structural elements, such as the different orientation of the walls, the highest quota of the mosaic concerning the found adjacent structures, as well as the fact that the *emblema* is decentralized compared to the entire mosaic composition, suggest that the artefact is more recent. Moreover, this observation agrees with what was supposed by the epigraphist Manganaro, according to whom the floor belonged to a thermal room of the IV century AD (Manganaro 1965: 208-210). Manganaro refers to a honorary Greek inscription found in the square Largo XXV Luglio (in the past Largo XXVIII Ottobre), about 200 m away from the discovery place of the discussed mosaic, which was made - according to his interpretation - by the city to celebrate the client of a thermal complex (Manganaro 1965: 208-210).

The room had to be small and quadrangular shaped, perhaps used as a dressing room (*apodyterium*) of the female bath section as suggested by the subject and some distinctive objects (mirror, jewels, basin and the ointment or jewellery casket-box) that are closely related to the intimacy and the toilette of the *mundus muliebris*. The iconography of the standing *Venus Pudica*, depicted with the attributes of toilettries, is widespread in Pompeian paintings that decorated the workshops facades, public spaces of the *domus* such as *lararia*, *peristilia*, *tablinia* and rarely *cubicula*. In our case, *Venus* is represented after bathing, in a closed and reserved room, which is rich in details including the drape-separated and the unusual voluminous ablution basin that refers to the use of water. Such elements could induce to interpret it as a female living room, intimate and private, before bathing. This is a pure hypothesis considering that only a part of the presented mosaic has been brought to light. As previously discussed, it presents an *emblema* that is out of center with respect to the saved part, therefore the entire mosaic should have had other figurative panels. The small size of the mosaic portion as well as the absence of a complete perimetral frame and the comparison with similar examples, lead us to agree with Cultrera's proposal about the presence of four *emblemata* (Cultrera 1940: 223-224), according to a compositional scheme conforming to classical criteria of symmetry, balance and proportion. One of these panels could have represented the *dominus*, in view of the celebratory self-representation of the aristocratic elite, so that *Venus* could be interpreted as the deified personification of the *domina*, following the iconographic tradition and the ideology of power in Late Antiquity.

Several mosaic floors propose this classic iconography, among the oldest panels similar to ours there is the one from Thuburbo Maius (Tunisia), now in the Bardo Museum, which represents the toilette of *Venus* with Cupids (III century AD); the later one, dated to the V century, comes from the baths of the Roman villa in Alassa, now in the Archaeological Museum of Limassol (Cyprus), with the bathing goddess and a winged Eros holding a mirror. Contemporary to the latter is the Italian panel of "*Venus* in front of the mirror", found in the *domus* of Palazzo Gioia in Rimini, kept in the Museo della Città "Luigi Tonini", in which the protagonist is no longer *Venus*, but the hostess, half naked among the draperies of the curtains. Oriental influences are not excluded, finding strict comparisons with the central panel of a mosaic, dated around the II century AD, preserved in the Patras Archaeological Museum, comes from a Roman villa located at Psila Alonia Square, in the centre of Patras (Greece). The *emblema*, at the center of a geometric composition, represents *Venus* with a halo holding a mirror in her right hand and a winged Eros kneeling before her. Even here on the right there is a table on which there is an open precious jewellery box, above there are a pair of doves, symbol of marital fidelity. Behind the goddess a tapered column with a hanging curtain that would suggest a peristyle. During

a reworking of the mosaic in the early Christian times - as indicated by the museum signage - the lower part of the naked body of *Venus* was covered in a yellow cloth. The *emblema* of Patras as that of Ortigia, therefore, would have been reused and readapted for a long period of time according to the widespread practice in Late Antiquity.

Among the most representative materials, identified along Via del Littorio and in the immediate vicinity, were reported “fragment of Doric frieze, of Ionic dentil cornices, a Corinthian marble column capital of the Roman Age, bust of a woman statue with drapery referable to a Roman copy of post-fidiac sculpture, a Greek dedicatory inscription to a doctor, and one in Latin of III-IV century AD, which commemorates the restoration of the *praetorium* by Fl. Gelasio Busiride” (Zirone 2005: 153-154). Cultrera points out that in the dirt around the mosaic were found fragments of oil lamps and pottery dated from the Proto-Corinthian to the Late Italic Age (Cultrera 1940: 215-216).

The graphic and photographic materials have been very helpful, but hopefully that the supervisory officials will find the mosaic and that the archaeological excavations in the area will start again. Only in this way my interpretative proposal and those highlighted by the scholars can be confirmed. The idea of a reuse of the *emblema* with *Venus* and Cupid is reliable, as well as the possibility of a delay of the African motif employed in the field of the mosaic, which probably arrived in Sicily at the end of the III - early IV century AD, after all the North African influence reached its peak in the IV-V century.

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# Achilles on Skyros in the *Emblema* from the House of Poseidon at Zeugma: Caracalla and the Power of Images

## Zeugma'daki Poseidon Evi *Emblemasından* Skyros'taki Akhilleus: Caracalla ve Görüntülerin Gücü

Laura CASO\*

(Received 19 March 2022, accepted after revision 29 August 2022)

### Abstract

*This iconographic and iconological analysis has shown the existence of a long tradition about this subject, that is Achilles on Skyros in the emblema from the House of Poseidon at Zeugma. This tradition dates back to the 1st century AD and it concerns the Roman mosaic and painting. The model of Achilles on Skyros travelled from the West to the East, especially from Italy (Rome and Pompeii) towards the eastern part of the Roman Empire. This model arrived in Zeugma on the Euphrates at the beginning of the third century AD, under Caracalla (211-217 CE). The rich owner (dominus) and client of the Poseidon Villa was to be a high officer of Caracalla belonging to Legio IV Scythica or Parthica. In fact Zeugma became the settlement of this Roman legion and the outpost against the Parthians, above all during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 CE) and under his successor Caracalla. The dominus of the Poseidon Villa made the imperial propaganda his own by choosing the subject of Achilles on Skyros, which was very favourite by Caracalla on the ideological level, as the subject of Alexander the Great (Cfr. Cassius Dio, Herodian, Scriptores Historiae Augustae). The myth of Achilles on Skyros is very ancient (Cfr. Cypria, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides) and privileged by Roman (Domus Aurea) and Pompeian painting and mosaic dating back to the emperor Nero, ardent admirer both Achilles and Alexander the Great, as Caracalla.*

**Keywords:** Roman mosaic and painting, ideological analysis, Nero, Caracalla.

### Öz

*Bu ikonografik ve ikonolojik analiz, Poseidon Evi'nin emblemasında yer alan Skyros'taki Akhilleus betimi ile ilgili uzun bir geleneğin Zeugma'daki varlığını göstermektedir. Bu gelenek İS 1. yüzyıla kadar uzanır ve Roma mozaik ve resmi ile ilgilidir. Skyros'taki Akhilleus betimi Batı'dan Doğu'ya, özellikle İtalya'dan (Roma ve Pompeii) Roma İmparatorluğu'nun doğu kısmına doğru yayılmıştır. Bu model, İS 3. yüzyılın başında Caracalla (211-217) döneminde Fırat üzerindeki Zeugma'ya ulaşmıştır. Poseidon Villası'nın zengin sahibi (dominus) ve müşterisi, Legio IV Scythica veya Parthica'ya bağlı Caracalla'nın yüksek bir memuru olacaktır. Aslında Zeugma, her şeyden önce Septimius Severus'un (193-211) ve onun halefi Caracalla'nın saltanatı sırasında, bu Roma lejyonunun yerleşim yeri ve Partlara karşı ileri bir karakol olmuştur. Poseidon Villası'nın sahibi, Büyük İskender'in durumunda olduğu gibi, Caracalla'nın ideolojik düzeyde çok sevdiği Skyros'taki Akhilleus temasını seçerek imparatorluk propagandasını kendine mal etmiştir (Örn. Cassius Dio, Herodian, Scriptores Historiae Augustae). Skyros'taki Akhilleus miti çok eskiye dayanmaktadır (Örn. Cypria, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides) ve hem Roma (Domus Aurea) hem de Pompeii resim ve mozaiklerinde, Caracalla gibi hem Akhilleus hem de Büyük İskender'in coşkulu bir hayranı olan imparator Nero'ya kadar uzanır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Roma mozaik ve resmi, ideolojik analiz, Nero, Caracalla.

\* Laura Caso, Archaeologist, Scholar of Iconography and Iconology, MIUR, Naples, Italy.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8903-4079>.  
E-mail: caso.laura@gmail.com

The historical identity of Zeugma on the Euphrates, which was until then known as Belkis, was discovered in 1975 (Önal 2010: 9). The scientific research and excavations at Zeugma started with the intervention of the Gaziantep Museum<sup>1</sup>. The work was supplemented by a French team in 1995, while the last phase of the rescue operation in 2000 was partly funded by the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI). Finally the restoration and conservation of mosaics have been done by the Rome-based Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (CCA) (Önal 2010: 9).

Zeugma, on the southern slopes of the Taurus and on the border with Syria, was destroyed and burned in AD 252-253 (Abadie-Reynal 2008: 103; Massara 2018: 157) or 256 by the Sassanid army of the King Shapur I. After the Sassanid destruction the city was not rebuilt and except for the damage due to fire and the collapsed roofs the mosaics have survived in almost pristine condition<sup>2</sup> (Önal 2010: 9).

Seleukos Nikator, one of the generals (*diadochi*) of Alexander the Great, founded in 300 BC the settlement, called as the Passageway, on the southern slopes of the Taurus and on the west bank rebuilt in order to protect and control the passage on the Euphrates River at this site, which was named after him as the Seleukeia (*Seleucia*) on the Euphrates and later Zeugma (bridge or link in ancient Greek: see Plin. nat. XXXIV, 43, 150)<sup>3</sup>. Seleukos I Nikator moreover founded a new settlement on the opposite bank called as Apameia, which he named after his wife Apame. Zeugma became a strong bridgehead for armies campaigning in the east, at first in the Hellenistic age and at a later time in the Roman period. With the extension of Roman power to the east towards the end of the first century BC, Zeugma began to serve as a base from which the Roman armies active beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris could be supplied against the Parthians. About the middle of the first century CE the site became a permanent garrison for the Roman Legio IV Scythica (Önal 2010: 9-10). The settlement of a Roman legion was a determining factor in the transformation of an otherwise crossing station settlement into a prosperous military, administrative and commercial centre, with a flow of high military officers and administrators. The Legio IV Scythica, also written as Legio III Scythica, founded by Marcus Antonius after 42 BC, for his campaign against the Parthian Empire, hence its other cognomen: Parthica, likely was still active in Syria in the early 5th century. Under the emperor Traianus, during the Parthian campaign (114-117), Zeugma was playing the role of the most important military logistic center besides Samosata and the Legio IV Scythica placed here enlarged its military bases. The importance of this Roman legion increased under the emperor Septimius Severus who waged war on the Parthians (197-198) from Zeugma. Finally Zeugma again was the logistic center of the Parthian campaign of the army under the command of the emperor Caracalla (216-217) (Ergeç et al. 2007: 17-21).

The Roman Villas of Zeugma, decorated with magnificent mosaics, were built on the slopes of the Belkis Tepe, forming the acropolis and facing the Euphrates

1 There was no information about the Zeugma villas until the first villa was discovered by the Gaziantep Museum in 1992. The plans of some of these buildings were revealed by being entirely excavated and some of the works were carried on as salvage excavations because of illegal digs. Some of the villas are the ones which were noticed due to the mosaic panels (*emblemata*) recovered in the last minute from the rising dam reservoir waters but the excavations of which could not be continued because of lack of time and the difficulty concerning the topography of the site.

2 The absence of plants in the arid climate of the region also played a role in the survival of the mosaics in very good condition.

3 Pliny the Elder remembers in this literary step the construction here of a pontoon bridge by Alexander the Great.

River. The slopes became the natural amphitheatre for building villas each of which was the representation of the ambition and ideology of the rich residents of Zeugma, especially at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and at the beginning of the third century CE (Ergeç et al. 2007: 34-35). In fact the mosaic decoration of these villas dates back to this period, as the decoration of the Poseidon Villa (Fig. 1), that was unearthed in 1999; the works were continued until the end of 2000, when the place was submerged in waters of the dam reservoir (Birecik Dam) (Ergeç et al. 2007: 99). The Poseidon Villa<sup>4</sup>, the most luxurious building, is one of the twin villas unearthed here, that must have belonged to people (*domini* commissioning the magnificent decoration) of high cultural and economic levels<sup>5</sup>, in this period, which can be called as the era of the villas, when the art of mosaics was at its peak.

Figure 1  
The Poseidon Villa plan with the *impluvium*  
18. Photo: According to Ergeç et al. 2007:  
121.



The *emblema* of Achilles on Skyros (Fig. 2), made of local pebbles, was found during the salvage excavations carried out by the Gaziantep Museum in 1999 (Ergeç et al. 2007: 120-123; Önal 2010: 26-27). This mosaic, with the dimensions of 1.70 m x 1.70 m, was at the bottom of the pool with a waterspout (Fig. 3) in the *impluvium* (A2/P4 or 18)<sup>6</sup> (Önal 2012: 67-68) of the Poseidon Villa. The

4 This is a structure found by chance in a pistachio orchard, which was expropriated, when the roots of the trees were being removed during the salvage excavations.

5 I agree with the hypothesis that eventually the idea of identifying the client *dominus* and his family with the gods, goddesses or the heroes, in the mythological scenes, is present in these *emblemata*. See Ergeç et al. 2007: 35. But this aim did not start to appear at this period, because it is much older in the classical antiquity. Cfr in this regard especially some Pompeian frescoes and mosaics of Third and Fourth Style.

6 This *impluvium* was in the eastern part of the house: it was in a room for internal distribution and circulation, in the *domus* public area. Moreover this room was equipped with a fountain on the eastern side and gave access to the large *peristylum* (A6/P9 or 16) in the western area of the villa; this *peristylum* was also embellished with a fountain on the southern side. See Abadie-Reynal 2008: 106.

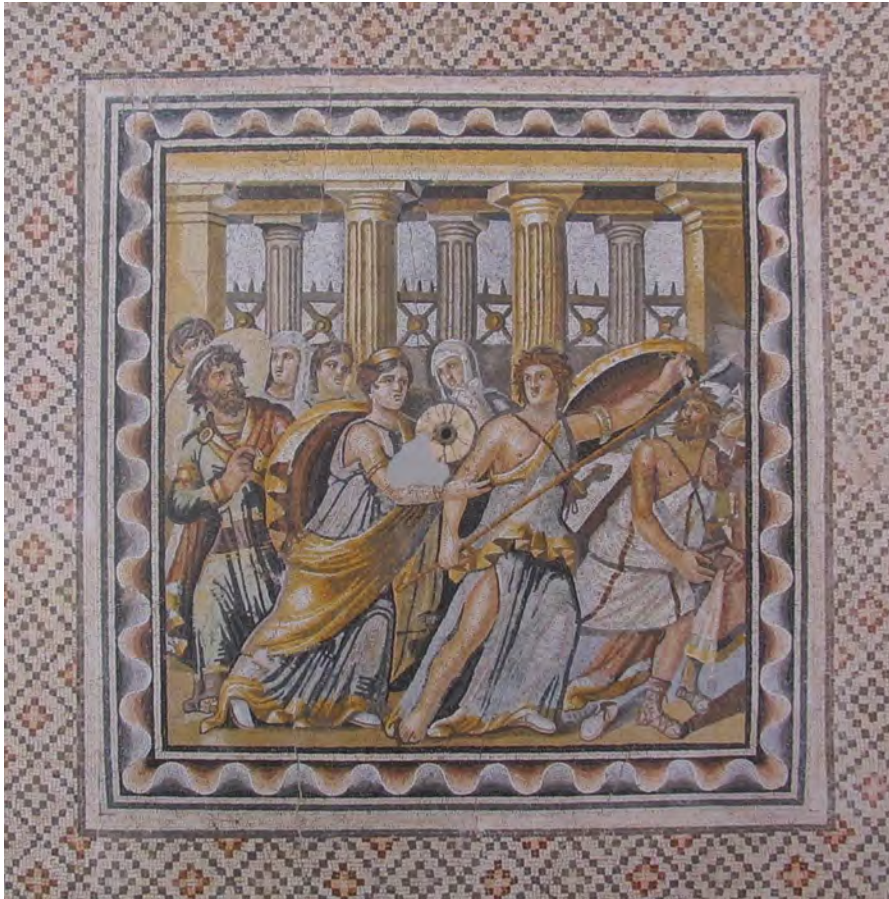


Figure 2  
Mosaic with Achilles on Skyros from the *impluvium* 18 of the Poseidon Villa. Photo: According to Önal 2010: 27.



Figure 3  
The *impluvium* 18 with the floor mosaic on the excavation site. Photo: According to Ergeç et al. 2007: 121.

composition area in the form of a square is bordered with a ruffle pattern made by light and dark colored stones. The *emblema* represents the popular episode related to the myth concerning the Trojan War: the discovery of Achilles, disguised as a girl, by Odysseus in the palace of Lycomedes, king of Skyros. In the centre Achilles, still in a girl's clothes, is depicted advancing to his left (Fig. 4) and as holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. His tunic leaves the right part of the torso and his right leg and foot naked (the foot with the vulnerable heel?), while the right shoe (*calceus*) is shown on the floor. In the centre of the composition area there is also Deidamia (Fig. 5) who is dressed in

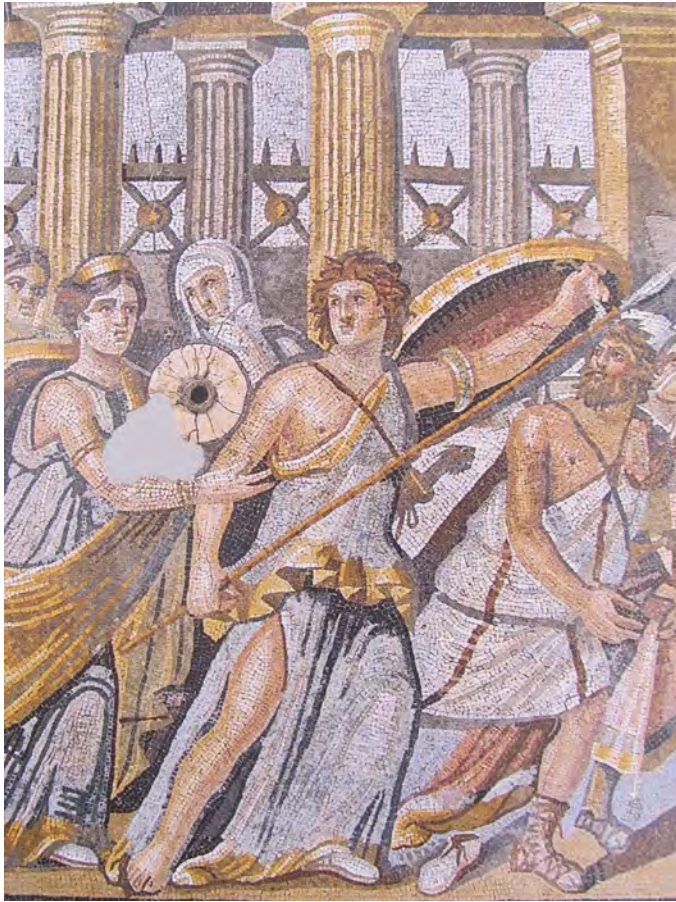


Figure 4  
Detail of Achilles in the centre of the floor mosaic from the Poseidon Villa. Photo: According to Önal 2010: 27.



Figure 5  
Detail of Deidamia in the centre of the floor mosaic from the Poseidon Villa. Photo: According to Önal 2010: 27.

a sleeveless tunic and a mantle which envelops her upper body in a huge circle as if filled with the wind. It is the similar drapery that we can see about the same subject in some frescoes or mosaics, whose archetype dates back to the Hellenistic age: we remember in this regard the *Aura* representation in the Italic coroplastic art. The right arm of Deidamia, adorned by *armillae*, is extended towards Achilles as if to prevent him from joining the Achaean expedition. The princess is also adorned by a gold crown of Hellenistic style. To the left of the scene there is king Lycomedes, while to the right Odysseus is represented, both in the background (Fig. 2). King Lycomedes is depicted in rich clothes with a white band (*stephane*) on his head, symbol of his royalty; the pommel of his sword is in the form of a griffon's head, while Achilles has a sword with a pommel in the shape of a lion's head hanging on his right shoulder. To the right Odysseus, armed with a sword and dressed in white, is portrayed with the *pileus*, wearing his characteristic *exomis*; he moves off to the right, but looks back at Achilles encouraging him to follow. Behind him is a soldier wearing a helmet with cheek guards, military costume and short leather boots; maybe he (*Agyrtes*: cfr. Stat. Ach. I, 875-876)<sup>7</sup> is in the act blowing a trumpet as arranged by Odysseus. In the background the king's daughters or palace women, one probably Deidamia's nurse, with a bodyguard behind Lycomedes, are shown. The scene takes place in a hall with an architectural style having columns with Doric capitals. This hall evokes the *pulpitum* and *scaenae frons* of an ancient theatre, as those of the Roman Theatre of Mérida in Spain, that was built in the years 16 to 15 BC. In fact the subjects of this myth, in the *emblema*, are moving as if on a stage: we have to remember about this the *Skyrioi* by Sophocles and

<sup>7</sup> Stat. Ach. I, 875-876 : "... cum grande tuba sic iussus Agyrtes/insonuit..."

the *Skyrioi* by Euripides (Ghedini 1996: 689). Maybe the owner (the patron *dominus*) expressed his preferences about the classical theatre in this mosaic panel as a status symbol. There is another *emblema* (at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) with a similar background, evoking a theatrical architecture, from the House of the Tragic Poet (Fig. 6) in Pompeii, now in the mosaics collection on display in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN) (Caso 2016: 620; De Caro 2019: 18, 22-23).

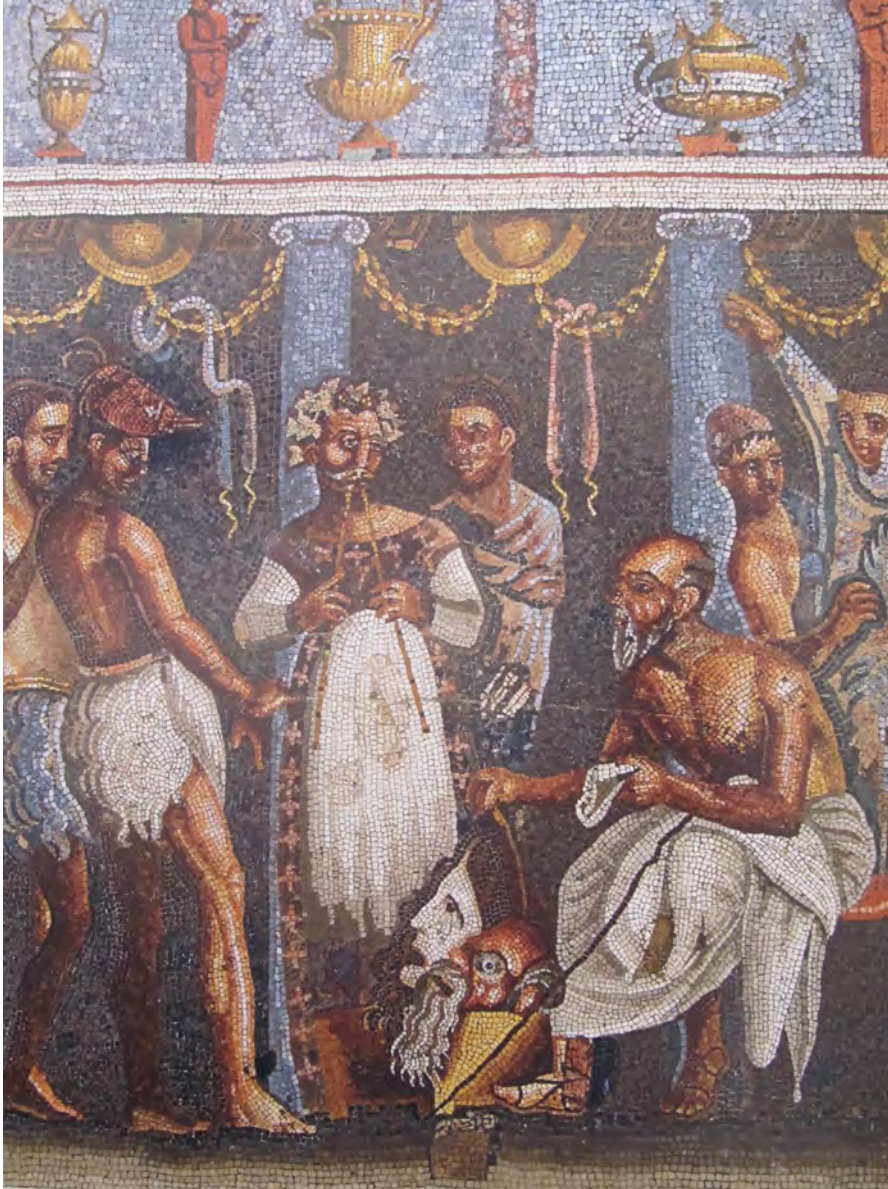


Figure 6

*Emblema* with a tragic poet from the *tablinum* of the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii (MANN, inv. 9986). Photo: According to Pappalardo - Ciardiello 2010: 188.

The myth of Achilles on Skyros was very successful in late antiquity and it is depicted for instance on mosaics from Palmyra, Pedrosa de la Vega, Sparta, Tipasa and Kourion (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: 60 n. 120 n. 121 n. 124; 53 n. 93; Caso 2014: 546). It is found at least fifteen times on late antique mosaics dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. These mosaics are distributed fairly evenly between eastern and western regions of the Roman Empire, including North Africa (Delbarre et al. 2008: 36; Dunbabin 2018: 359). Two late mosaics, both dating from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, are very interesting about the classical theatre. The first panel comes from the antique city of Vienne (Vigenna), in Gaul, while the second mosaic comes from Orbe (Urba), in ancient Germany

(Germania Superior: Switzerland) (Delbarre et al. 2008: 37-38). These panels likely document a keen interest in the theatre, such as the mosaic from Zeugma, revealing the client's literary culture. On the pavement from Vienne the scene significantly gets organized differently: Odysseus and Agyrtes are on a wall in the background, Agyrtes is playing a trumpet, while Odysseus is lifting a *velarium*, revealing the group below in the foreground. In this group Achilles, always armed with his shield and his spear, takes place in the centre of the composition, surrounded by the daughters of king Lycomedes and in action on a kind of *pulpitum*. The mosaic from a *villa* in Orbe, similar to the pavement from Vienne about the composition, is divided in two pictures: in the upper picture we can see Odysseus and Agyrtes on a wall and, in the centre of the second board, appear Achilles and Deidamia. This mosaic was probably in the library of the *villa*, testifying the literary tastes of the owner (*dominus*). In both mosaics the wall in the background evokes a *scaenae frons* of a Roman theatre, while Odysseus, in an elevated position on the wall, is similar to a *deus ex machina*, especially in the pavement from Vienne: in fact he behaves like a *deus ex machina*, in this context, finally revealing Achilles. It is useful to remember the presence of two important Roman theatres at Vienne (an odeon is also attested here) and near Orbe at Aventicum. Therefore we may suppose the representation of plays, like tragedies, comedies and pantomimes too, related to the myth of Achilles on Skyros, in these theatres. We can also suppose a mutual influence between dramatic poetry and visual arts (mosaics) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE both in the western (Vienne and Orbe) and eastern part (Zeugma) of the Roman Empire. The *domini* patrons likely were familiar with themes such as Achilles on Skyros and this knowledge will often have derived not only from works of literature (traditional drama), but especially from the repeated presentation of these themes by dancers of pantomime (Dunbabin 2004: 161-162). These mythological scenes are obviously in no sense rendered as they would have been represented in pantomime, with a single dancer performing a lot of roles; nor do any of them ever contain, in those media such as mosaic and painting, pantomime masks or identifiable costumes. It may be suggested that the artists or craftsmen of these scenes look beyond the actor and the performance, to portray the myth itself. We can observe this phenomenon above all in the mosaic from Zeugma: in this scene more than anywhere else the sacredness of the mythical tale predominates in a solemn atmosphere beyond the agitation of recognition.

The same subject was much appreciated in the Neronian age in *Latium et Campania*, that is the first *regio* of Italy at that time and dating back to the emperor Augustus. It is shown especially in a wall mosaic decorating the *cubiculum* (25) in the House of Apollo (Fig. 7) in Pompeii (Caso 2014: 543-546). In this context there is a greater synthesis: in fact we can see only Achilles in the centre, Deidamia to the left and Odysseus to the right. Moreover it seems that the scene is depicted outside the royal palace on a grassy lawn, according to a different version of the myth. It is possible to notice the impressionistic and quick rendering of this subject in the mosaic from Pompeii which is very different from the statuary rendering of the *emblema* from Zeugma. Above all we can observe Achilles revealed in more than a Pompeian fresco of Fourth Style, dating back to the Neronian age. These frescoes, now in the Pompeian painting collection on display in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN), come from the House of the Dioscuri (Fig. 8) (Bragantini 1993: 908, 910) and the House of Achilles (Bragantini 1999: 393), while two frescoes are *in situ*: the first in the House of the *Postumii* (Dickmann 1998: 513) and the second in the House of the *Vettii* (Sampaolo 1994: 566-567). It seems that these paintings,



Figure 7

Mosaic *in situ* with Achilles on Skyros: *cubiculum* (25) of the House of Apollo in Pompeii. Photo: According to Pappalardo - Ciardiello 2010: 202.

with the wall mosaic decorating the *cubiculum* (25) in the House of Apollo (Fig. 7), depend on a single model or prototype due to *Athenion* of Maroneia, whose peak dates back to 332-329 BC, according to Pliny the Elder (Plin. nat. XXXV, 134). I think that this archetype<sup>8</sup>, very popular because of the copies of Pompeian painting, characterized by an evident eclecticism, is independent of the prototype concerning the wonderful fresco, with the same subject of Achilles revealed, decorating the vault of the room (119) of the Neronian *Domus Aurea* (Fig. 9). In fact this painting involves the vigorous personality of an original painter (Fabullus? Cfr. Plin. nat. XXXV, 120)<sup>9</sup> capable of innovation in the wake of Hellenistic tradition. In the centre the shape and the momentum of the Achilles body in heroic nudity (Fig. 10) evoke the naked bodies of some heroes depicted in the Hunt painting from the Royal Tomb of Philip II in Vergina (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2007: 50-52). We have to observe that the son of Peleus in the Neronian fresco, because of his statuary rendering and attitude, calls to mind Achilles revealed in the *emblema* from Zeugma, which is characterized by a similar composition. This mosaic is one of the finest concerning late antiquity and the myth of Achilles on Skyros, on our present knowledge (Dunbabin 2018: 359): it takes its place in the wake of Hellenistic tradition, a kind of perennial Hellenism, and as *emblema* decorating the floor of a private villa, this however reflects the official art style, that is the Severan art, still adhering to the canons of Hellenistic tradition, under the rule of emperor Caracalla. We can observe this adherence in the balance of the composition, with a rational structure, and in the sense of proportions, that is the same characteristics we can see in the

<sup>8</sup> There was another archetype referring to Polygnotus of Thasos, according to Pausanias (Paus. I, 22, 6): Achilles, in a girl's clothes among the daughters of Lycomedes, was depicted without Odysseus in this painting. Odysseus, on the contrary, was present in Athenion's painting (Plin. nat. XXXV, 134), that is, in all likelihood, the model of the Pompeian frescoes. About the literary sources concerning the myth of Achilles on Skyros (Cypria, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, the *Achilleis* by Statius) see Ghedini 1996: 689.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. nat. XXXV, 120: "... *fuit et nuper gravis et severus idemque floridus ac timidus pictor Fabullus* ..."



Figure 8

Fresco with Achilles on Skyros from the House of the Dioscuri in Pompeii (MANN, inv. 9110). Photo: According to Grasso 2009: 313.



Figure 9

Fresco with Achilles on Skyros from the *Domus Aurea* (119). Photo: According to Iacopi 1999: 60.





Figure 10  
Detail of Achilles in heroic nudity in the fresco from the *Domus Aurea* (119). Photo: According to Iacopi 1999: 60.

magnificent fresco from the *Domus Aurea*, which is the peak of an iconographic and stylistic tradition reaching as far as Zeugma in the wake of official art through the ages. The outcomes are somewhat lower in another mosaic of the same subject. The panel has been found at Palmyra in the small peristyle of the House of Achilles and it is badly damaged but the names of several people are legible and the iconography is generally similar to the Zeugma mosaic; however there is not the same compositional harmony, whilst the *pathos* is greater, in a space with divergent bodies in action causing a dramatic *Spannung*; the date is probably slightly later, the mid third century CE (Delbarre et al. 2008: 36-37; Dunbabin 2018: 359).

The choice of the son of *Peleus* as the main subject in the *Domus Aurea* painting is not accidental. We know well the Neronian propensity for Achilles and consequently for Alexander the Great: this obeys a political and ideological program. Therefore it is possible to argue about *imitatio Achillis et Alexandri* by Nero (Caso 2014: 546-547). At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century the emperor Domitian also shared this imitation. Therefore Statius dedicated the *Achilleis*, his unfinished epic poem, to the emperor (95 CE).

The same *imitatio Achillis et Alexandri* concerns the emperor Caracalla, perhaps with greater awareness. It is well-known that his portraits are in accordance with the portraits of Alexander the Great (Felletti Maj 1959: 337), of which he had a boundless admiration, according to Dio Cassius and Herodian (Dio Cass. LXXVIII, 7-9, 1; Herodian. IV, 8, 1-2; Herodian. IV, 9, 3)<sup>10</sup>. Caracalla as Alexander visited and honored the tomb of Achilles, taking care to imitate the hero (Dio Cass. LXXVIII, 16,7; Herodian. IV, 8, 4-5), but above all he aspired to conquer the universal empire marching to the East on the traces of the Macedonian king. He also aspired to merge the East with the West (Herodian. IV, 10, 1-2). With this in mind Caracalla (216 CE) tried to marry the daughter of Artabanus V king of Parthia (Pagliaro 1929: 629), following the example of Alexander the Great (Galimberti 2019: 104-110, 149-154).

<sup>10</sup> About the imitation of Alexander military exploits see also S. H. A. *Vita Ant. Car.* II, 1-2. Cfr. Ghedini 1984: 153.

The universal empire of Caracalla (Rinaldi Tufi 2001: 360-361) found a legal justification on the basis of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, also called the Edict of Caracalla, that was an edict issued on 11 July in 212 CE by the emperor Caracalla. It declared that all free men in the Roman Empire were to be given full Roman citizenship and that all free women in the Empire were to be given the same rights as Roman women, with the exception of the *dediticii* and freed slaves (Capocci 1930: 925-926; Galimberti 2019: 41-57). It must be recognized that in some respects the policy of Septimius and Caracalla was in fact a genuine confirmation of that of Hadrian. It is notorious that the legislation of the Empire was never more humane than in the age of the Severi. The great jurists of this time Papinian, Ulpian and Paulus were given a free hand to develop their favourite humanitarian ideas of equal law for everybody (Rostovtzeff 1926: 356, 368-369). It was a normal development, inaugurated by the civil wars and gradually worked out by one Roman emperor after another. Septimius took decisive steps in democratizing and provincializing the army and in giving a larger number of provincials access to administrative posts, but in principle he pursued a policy which had long ago been established by the rulers of the Empire. Caracalla continued resolutely the policy of his father, taking this to its extreme consequences. He consequently manifested an appreciable political sense beyond the strong shadows of his tyrannical and bloody personality, forever stained by crime of his brother Geta. In this perspective finds its place the Roman provinces mosaic from Zeugma, belonging to a villa or to a *thermae* building, that is to be referred, in my opinion, to the Caracalla age (211-217 CE) both from a stylistic and ideological point of view (Cfr. Massara 2018: 178, 180-181).<sup>11</sup>

The emperor Caracalla, as a new Achilles and Alexander, had to love a lot the myth of Achilles on Skyros, because he saw, just like Nero, the triumph of warrior virtue and manhood in this mythical tale, which became even more important in the Severan age characterized by the military monarchy. Caracalla consequently had to promote this subject from an ideological perspective in the visual arts and probably in dramatic poetry. It is very likely that the *dominus* patron of the House of Poseidon was a senior army officer at Zeugma, occupying a key position in the Legio IV Scythica or Parthica. He expressed his wish to join the imperial propaganda encouraged by Caracalla, precisely through the choice of this particular subject, in the *emblema* of Achilles on Skyros, which evokes the ostentatious propensity of Caracalla for Achilles and consequently for Alexander the Great, that is for an ideal of immortal glory. Another mosaic is known at Zeugma, with the same subject of Achilles revealed (Fig. 11) (Ergeç et al. 2007: 212-215), but it is mostly damaged and of uncertain provenance (the House of Quintus? Dunbabin 2018: 359). This mosaic floor dates back to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE and in all likelihood it refers to the age of Caracalla. Especially during the reign of this emperor, the Euphrates having become the tentative frontier line against the Parthians, Zeugma, the headquarters of the Legio IV Scythica or Parthica, realistically became the most important military base for the campaign against the Parthians (216-217). Perhaps Caracalla spent the last days of his life right in Zeugma. The *dominus* patron choice, about Achilles on Skyros from the House of Poseidon, calls to mind the similar choice referring to the *dominus* patron of the Roman Villa of La Olmeda at Pedrosa de la Vega. In this mosaic, decorating a *triclinium* and dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE (Delbarre et al. 2008: 37, 39;

<sup>11</sup> D. Massara, against my view, dates back the Roman provinces mosaic to the age of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE) or to the reign of Commodus (180-192 CE). See Massara 2018: 178.



Figure 11  
Mosaic floor with Achilles on Skyros from Zeugma. It is a panel of uncertain context.  
Photo: According to Ergeç et al. 2007: 212.

Dunbabin 2018: 360) the son of Peleus stands in the centre of the composition like a titan, struggling to assert his identity as a male and a warrior against Deidamia and the other daughters of Lycomedes. In panel's rendering, with reminiscences of the Hellenistic baroque, the hero's victory over the enemy (female element) symbolizes the victory of the *kosmos* over the *chaos* and consequently the distinction and opposition of the sexes (Hes. theog., 116-153). On the iconological level it is possible to identify both a cosmological and a political-military significance, referring to the troubled historical context. In this time of crisis the *dominus* client by his choice expressed his adhesion to the state authority, that is to the emperor, who was the guarantor of order and stability (Neira Jiménez 2012: 97-98), possibly influencing the patrons options, in the same way as Caracalla about Zeugma.

In the *emblema* of Achilles on Skyros from the House of Poseidon (Fig. 2) the *dominus* client also expressed very well his aesthetic concepts and literary culture, in all likelihood concerning pantomime<sup>12</sup> and tragic poetry, with reference to the *Skyrioi* by Sophocles and the *Skyrioi* by Euripides. We can notice in this regard a possible reference to literary culture of Caracalla who quoted the Euripides lines by heart during banquets (Galimberti 2019: 17-28). We also know the remarkable literary and philosophical culture of his mother, Iulia Domna (Calza 1960: 922-923), who influenced the prince's education and was identified with Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great (Ghedini 1984: 152-153), sharing the son's ideology about this.

It is known the importance of water in the Roman villas at Zeugma. During the hot summers of the Euphrates valley, cooling in the villas was only possible by wetting the floors of the rooms (Ergeç et al. 2007: 34-35; Massara 2018: 180). The best option was laying the pebbles on the ground and obtaining a hard surface that would not be muddy. The system for this purpose was to make mosaics. Over time these floor mosaics, with the addition of fountains in the *peristylia* and *impluvia*, became a status symbol, especially because of the prevalence of fashions reflecting the Roman mentality, with particular reference to the western part of the empire. We have to remember about it the mosaics from the *impluvium* and the *peristylum* of the House of Poseidon, the first decorated with Achilles revealed (Fig. 3) and the second with the gods of

<sup>12</sup> The title of Achilles on Skyros was present as a pantomime on the list of works by Pseudo-Lucianus. See Neira Jiménez 2012: 98.

the sea: Poseidon, Okeanos and Tethys (Fig. 12); both rooms were equipped with a fountain. We also notice the mosaic, with the depiction of the river god Euphrates (Fig. 13) and water nymphs (Fig. 14), from the Euphrates Villa (Fig. 15) (Ergeç et al. 2007: 156-165): it is the floor mosaic of the shallow pool in the *impluvium* of the house.

Figure 12  
Mosaic floor with Poseidon and marine deities in the *peristylum* of the Poseidon Villa on the excavation site. Photo: According to Ergeç et al. 2007: 111.



Figure 13  
Mosaic panel, after restoration, with the river god Euphrates from the Euphrates Villa. Photo: According to Önal 2010: 48.



Figure 14  
Detail of the water nymphs in the panel with the river god Euphrates. Photo: According to Önal 2010: 50.

There is to believe that, in the context concerning the *emblema* with Achilles on Skyros, moreover the water has a sacral value, with references to the mystery cult of Dionysus, that implies initiation ceremonies or rites of passage. On the iconographic and iconological level the Achilles bare foot is very interesting,



Figure 15  
Detail of the river god Euphrates. Photo:  
According to Önal 2010: 49.

with the matching shoe (*calceus*) (Heuzey 1890: 819; Goette 1988: 401-406) represented near Odysseus in the foreground. In fact Achilles revealed celebrates a passage rite, abandoning women's clothes and taking up arms (Brelich 1955-1957: 478-484). We have to remember about this two mosaics, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE: the first one from Tipasa and the second from Kourion (Balty 2013: 123-127). We can observe in both panels, characterized by the myth of Achilles on Skyros, the same detail, that is the sandal left in the foreground. The removed *calceus* calls to mind the abandoned sandal of Dionysus (Fig. 16) in the Pompeian fresco decorating the *oecus* (5) of the Villa of the Mysteries



Figure 16  
The Dionysus *calceus* removed in the fresco  
decorating the *oecus* (5) of the Villa of the  
Mysteries in Pompeii. Photo: According to  
Veyne 2016: 114.

(Veyne 2016: 113-116) and celebrating the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne as a passage rite. Caracalla himself was very careful about the symbolic and sacral value of water, with special regard to Asclepius cult. It is known that Caracalla felt a great veneration for Asclepius (Galimberti 2019: 127-128), because of his poor health, and likely he had to go to natural springs around Zeugma (Abadie-Reynal 2008: 104)<sup>13</sup>, perhaps in the imminence of his brutal death at the hands of Opellius Macrinus, during the military campaign against the Parthians.

Beyond Asclepius, who is not directly present in the mosaics decorating the House of Poseidon, the predominant divinity is Dionysus in this decoration (Ergeç et al. 2007: 104-109, 128-131, 142-145), because the god is almost omnipresent. We have to highlight above all the panel with Dionysos, Skyrtos and Telete (Ergeç et al. 2007: 132-135), the daughter of Dionysus and especially the goddess who presided the Bacchic orgies, because she was destined by Dionysus to become a follower of himself. She was associated with nighttime festivities and ritual dances in honor of Dionysus, therefore the goddess has been interpreted as a *daimon* of initiation into the Bacchic rites. The choice of this subject probably is a profession of faith on the part of the *dominus* patron who commissioned it, as allusion to initiation and the mysteries play (Dunbabin 2008: 193). It is possible to observe about Telete the return of the feminine element in a context dominated and governed by Dionysus, the deity of opposite principles, ambiguous par excellence and giver of the lifeblood, that is the *ganos*. We have to remember, in connection with this, the fondness of Caracalla for Achilles, Alexander the Great and ultimately for Dionysus, the god who knows no bounds in his unstoppable march to the conquest of the East, just like in Caracalla's ambitions, shared once again by the *dominus* patron.

### Concluding Thoughts

The unknown *dominus* client of the House of Poseidon had to be a very wealthy owner, because of the size and luxury of his villa, the most important on the slopes of the Belkis Tepe. Moreover he had to be a senior army officer belonging to the Legio IV Scythica or Parthica, which had been in place for a long time at Zeugma. The rich and powerful owner was most likely in the service of Caracalla, therefore he knew the emperor very well, whose propaganda, political and military intentions he shared, playing a fundamental role under the military monarchy of Caracalla, especially when Zeugma became the main base and the outpost of military operations against the Parthians (216-217). The making of the mosaic depicting Achilles on Skyros likely dates back to the reign of Caracalla (211-217), just before the military expedition against the Parthians. This *emblema* with Achilles revealed really symbolizes the exaltation of courage and virility and above all the victory of the *kosmos*, that is the emperor, over disorder and enemies, that is the *chaos*; it also evokes the recognition of the opposite sexes and the control of the masculine element (Achilles) over the feminine one (Deidamia and the other daughters of king Lycomedes) (cfr. the panel from the Roman Villa of La Olmeda at Pedrosa de La Vega). We have to remember in this regard the Caracalla's fondness both for Achilles and Alexander the Great and ultimately for Dionysus, the conqueror of the Orient, as Achilles and Alexander the Great, who became the main role models for the emperor before the expedition against the Parthians. The *dominus* patron shared both the ideological and aesthetic propaganda of Caracalla, securing his political

<sup>13</sup> There are now two natural springs located northwest of Belkis-Zeugma; these springs must have fed the Roman villas of Zeugma.

and military support. On the iconological and aesthetic level he accomplished it through the precise choice of the myth of Achilles on Skyros, as another *dominus* client at Zeugma (the owner of the House of Quintus?) did in the same historical context.

The ideological and political manipulation of images by the emperor, about the myth of Achilles on Skyros, started in the age of Nero, who shared the same fondness both for Achilles and Alexander the Great (cfr. the magnificent fresco from the *Domus Aurea* and the mosaic and the frescoes from Pompeii) with Domitian and Caracalla. The Neronian fresco from the *Domus Aurea*, on a stylistic and compositional level, was the starting point of an artistic model, which through time reached Zeugma in the age of Caracalla. This happened in the wake of the Hellenistic tradition, especially evident in the mosaic from the House of Poseidon, superior in the rendering to other panels referring to the same subject in late antiquity (cfr. above all the panel from Palmyra).

The *dominus* patron of the House of Poseidon, who commissioned the *emblema* with Achilles revealed, shared a similar passion for dramatic poetry (Sophocles, Euripides) with Caracalla, whose erudition especially on Greek literature is known. In fact in this mosaic the scene takes place on a stage in a hall which evokes a theatre (*pulpitum* and *scaenae frons*), probably referring to the Skyrioi by Euripides or a pantomime. There are two mosaics with Achilles revealed, dating back to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, the first one from Vienne and the second from Orbe, characterized also in this case by an evident theatrical architecture.

Moreover the evocation of a passage rite is very interesting in this mosaic from Zeugma (cfr. the *calceus* removed, the abandonment of feminine clothing on hero's part, the presence of water or lifeblood, that is the Dionysian *ganos*). We have to remember, about the sandal left in the foreground, two panels, with Achilles on Skyros, dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, the first one from Tipasa and the second from Kourion. But above all we have to remember the *calceus* removed of Dionysus in the Pompeian fresco decorating the *oecus* (5) of the Villa of the Mysteries. The Dionysian presence is once again dominant in the mosaics of the House of Poseidon at Zeugma, evoking the Caracalla's fondness, shared by the *dominus* patron, both for Achilles and Alexander the Great, who set out to conquer the East, carried away by the Dionysian enthusiasm, just like Caracalla on the eve of the military expedition against the Parthians.



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# Zonguldak Kadioğlu Mozağindeki Maskların İkonografik Deęerlendirmesi

## Iconographic Evaluation of the Mask in Zonguldak Kadioğlu Mosaic

Şehnaz ERASLAN\*

(Received 15 April 2022, accepted after revision 31 August 2022)

### Öz

*Zonguldak'ın Çaycuma İlçesi, Kadioğlu Köyü'nde 2008 – 2010 yılları arasında Zonguldak Ereęli Müze Müdürlüğü tarafından gerçekleştirilen kurtarma kazılarında, bir villa rustica yapı kompleksine ait üç adet mozaik panosu açığa çıkarılmıştır. Mozaiklerde av sahneleri, hayvan mücadeleleri, masklar; Eroslar; Psykhele, Lykurgos ve Ambrosia temalarının yanı sıra geometrik motifler de betimlenmiştir.*

*Bu makalede, 2010 yılı kurtarma kazısında ortaya çıkarılan zemin mozağinin bordüründeki masklar, benzer örnekleriyle stilistik ve ikonografik açıdan değerlendirilmiştir. Deęerlendirme neticesinde, bunların dekoratif bir bordür ögesinden öte, Tanrı Okeanos'u temsil eden masklar olduđu üzerine öneri ve kanıtlarımız sunulmuştur.*


**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Zonguldak, Kadioğlu, mozaikler, mask, ikonografi, Okeanus.

### Abstract

*During the rescue excavations carried out by the Zonguldak Ereęli Museum in Kadioğlu Village, Çaycuma District of Zonguldak, three mosaic panels belonging to a villa rustica building complex were unearthed between 2008 and 2010. In these mosaics hunting scenes, animal struggles, masks, Eros, Psyche, Lykurgos and Ambrosia, as well as geometric motifs were depicted.*

*In this article, the masks on the border of the floor mosaic uncovered during the 2010 rescue excavation were evaluated stylistically and iconographically with similar examples. As a result of the assessment, our suggestions and evidences have been presented that these are masks representing Oceanus rather than a decorative element of the mosaic border.*

**Keywords:** Zonguldak, Kadioğlu, mosaics, mask, iconography, Oceanus.

\* Şehnaz Eraslan, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Ulus/Ankara, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1874-9488>. E-posta: sehnaz.eraslan@ktb.gov.tr

## Giriş

Zonguldak ilinin 45 km Güneydoğusundaki Çaycuma İlçesi, Kadioğlu Köyü'nde 2008 – 2010 yılları arasında, Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü tarafından yapılan kurtarma kazılarında, bir villa rustica yapı kompleksine ait son derece iyi korunmuş yüksek kalitede üç adet mozaik pano açığa çıkarılmıştır<sup>1</sup> (Res. 1). Kazı çalışmaları tamamlandıktan sonra *in-situ* durumdaki mozaikler, olumsuz hava şartlarından etkilenmemeleri için jeotekstil, kum ve toprakla kapatılmıştır.



Resim 1  
Villa Yapı Kompleksi Genel Görünüm.  
(Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

Müze Müdürlüğü'nün kazı sonuçları raporlarında, 2008 yılında “Lykurgos ve Ambrosia” temalı bir mozaik panosunu (Mercan - Göçen 2011: 160 res. 5-7); 2009 yılında, geometrik desenli bir mozaik panosunu (Mercan - Göçen 2011: 162 res. 11-12); 2010 yılında ise dört sıra bordürden oluşan ve bordürlerinde Eroslar, Psykheler, av sahneleri, hayvan mücadeleleri ve dört adet maskın betimlendiği mozaik panosunun açığa çıkartıldığı belirtilmektedir (Mercan - Göçen 2012: 136-138 res. 3-10). Aynı raporlarda, mozaikli alan kazılarında, iki adet sikke, bir adet pişmiş topraktan tek kulplu testicik, bir adet bronz iğne ve çok sayıda seramik parçalarının da bulunduğu ve bu seramik parçalarının hem Karadeniz seramiklerine ilişkin bilgi verdiğini, hem de kazı alanını tarihleme konusunda yardımcı olduğu ifade edilmiştir (Mercan - Göçen 2011: 163; Mercan - Göçen 2012: 139).

Ayrıca, söz konusu mozaikler kazının bilimsel danışmanlığını da üstlenen Prof. Dr. Füsün Tülek ve Ereğli Müze Müdürü Ahmet Mercan tarafından 2016 yılında makale olarak da yayınlanmıştır. Yazarlar, makalede villa rustica yapısına ait üç adet mozaik zemininde yer alan betimler hakkında değerlendirmeler yapmış ve kazı alanında bulunan diğer arkeolojik buluntuları da (çok sayıda seramik parçaları, İmparator Valerian'a ait bir gümüş sikke, yapının mimari plan tipi) göz önüne alarak söz konusu mozaikleri İS 3. yüzyılın son çeyreğine tarihlemişlerdir (Tülek - Mercan 2016: 554).

Bu makalede, 2010 yılı kurtarma kazısında bulunan mozağin bordüründeki masklar incelenecektir. Bu konunun seçilmesindeki önemli bir neden, söz konusu maskların ülkemiz mozaiklerindeki akantus sarmalları içinde yer alan

<sup>1</sup> Makaleye konu olan mozaikler, Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü'nün kurtarma kazıları sonunda üzeri jeotekstil, kum ve toprakla kapatıldığından yazar tarafından fotoğrafları çekilememiştir. Bu nedenle makalede kullanılan Kadioğlu mozaiklerinin fotoğrafları Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü arşivine aittir. Söz konusu fotoğrafların yayınlanmasına izin veren Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü ile Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğüne teşekkürlerimi sunarım. Ayrıca, makale ile ilgili değerli tavsiyelerini esirgemeyen Prof. Dr. K. Levent Zoroğlu'na da teşekkürü bir borç bilirim.

masklardan tipolojik, stilistik ve ikonografik ađıdan farklılıklar gstermesidir. Bugne deđin Kadiođlu maskları iin detaylı bir stilistik ve ikonografik alıřma gerekleřmemiřtir. Tlek ve Mercan'ın yukarıda bahsi geen yayınında Kadiođlu masklarına da yer verilmiř, sz konusu masklar Antiokheia (Antakya) ve Zeugma mozaik bordrlerinde betimlenen masklar ıřıđında deđerlendirilmiřtir. (Tlek - Mercan 2016: 553-554 taf. 70-71).

Bu makalede, Kadiođlu maskların stilistik geleneđi daha geniř bir cođrafya iinde ele alınmakla birlikte ikonografik ađıdan irdelenmesi rneđimizin mozaik sanatı iindeki iřlevinin anlařılması bakımından da byk nem tařımaktadır.

Makalenin ilk blmnde Kadiođlu masklarının detaylı bir tanımı yapılmıř, ardından benzer rnekleleriyle karřılařtırmalı bir deđerlendirmesi yapılarak ikonografik olarak etkileřimi tespit edilmiřtir. Sz konusu tespitler sonucunda, Kadiođlu masklarının Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde sıklıkla betimlenen Okeanos'un masklarından biri olduđu sonucuna varılmıřtır.

## Kadiođlu Mask Betimli Mozaik

### Tanım

Zonguldak Eređli Mze Mdrlđ tarafından yapılan 2010 yılı kurtarma kazısında, villa rustica yapı kompleksine ait apsidal form<sup>2</sup> gsteren bir odanın tabanında iki blmden oluřan mozaik dřemesi bulunmuřtur (Res. 2). Odanın kuzeyindeki exedra blmn oluřturan mozaikli alan yeřil, turuncu, aık sarı renklerin tercih edildiđi tesseralardan oluřan i ie gemiř kk dikdrtgen řekillerden meydana gelmiřtir. Bunun gneyindeki kare řekilli ve 7.30 m x 7.30 m llerindeki mozaikli alan drt sıra bordr ve emblemadan meydana gelmektedir. Emblemadaki bořluk buranın daha nce defineciler tarafından bulunup kesildiđine iřaret etmektedir.

Resim 2  
Apsidal Oda.  
(Zonguldak Eređli Mze Mdrlđ Arřivi).



Emblemanın en dıř erevesini oluřturan bordr kare alanın dođu, batı ve gney kısmını  taraftan evrelemiřtir. Bu bordrde iđ motiflerinden oluřan teđet yarım daireler dzenlenmiřtir<sup>3</sup> (Res. 2). İkinici bordrde, iki ayrı ssleme

2 Kazı sonuları raporlarında, apsidal form gsteren mimari yapı, kabul odası olarak tanımlanmıřtır. bk. Mercan - Gen 2012: 139 iz.1.

3 İđ motiflerinden oluřan teđet yarım daireler iin bk. Dcor I: pl. 45.

kullanılmıştır. Bordürün doğu, batı ve kuzeyini çevreleyen alanda koyu gri ve beyaz tesseralarla oluşturulmuş dalga<sup>4</sup> motifi yer alırken aynı bordürün güney bölümünde ise dalga motifi yerine 1 x 5 m ölçülerindeki alana Eros ve Psykheler, deniz dalgaları arasında yüzen çeşitli balıklar ile köşelerde ve ortada yaban kazlarının betimlendiği deniz teması yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 2-3). Emblemayı çevreleyen üçüncü bordüründe, 80cm x 60 cm ebatlarındaki yirmi adet basit giyoş (örgü)<sup>5</sup> motifi ile sınırlandırılmış dikdörtgen içinde (Res. 2) hayvanların birbirleriyle olan mücadeleleri (Res. 4), av sahneleri (Res. 5) ile köşelerde su perileri (Res. 6) yer almaktadır.



Mozaik'in son bordüründe ise 3.50 x 3.50 m ebatlarında basit örgü motifi ile sınırlandırılmış kare alanın her köşesinde masklar ile bu maskların kulak hizalarından yukarıya doğru kıvrılan akantus sarmalları içinde Eros, domuz ve panter figürleri yer almaktadır (Res. 7). Koyu yeşil, açık kahverengi, turuncu tesseralarla biçimlendirilen dört maskın her biri, köşelere kırk beş derece eğimle yerleştirilmiştir. Maskların yüz stilleri benzer olmasına rağmen saç, sakal ve başlarının üzerindeki akantus çiçekleri farklı stillerde betimlenmiştir.

Bu nedenle, maskları iki ayrı tipe ayırmak mümkündür. Mozaik sanatçısı, aynı tipte olan maskları birbirlerine çapraz olarak yerleştirmeyi tercih etmiştir. Bordürün güneybatı köşesi ile kuzeydoğu köşesindeki maskların akantus yapraklarıyla oluşturulan sakalları içe kıvrım yapmış ve bukleli bir görünüm sağlamıştır. Bu tipin başlarının üzerindeki akantus çiçeği ise henüz yapraklarını

Resim 3  
Apsidal Oda, Eros ve Psykheler.  
(Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

Resim 4  
Apsidal Oda, Hayvanların Mücadeleleri.  
(Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

Resim 5  
Apsidal Oda, İnsan ve Hayvanların  
Mücadeleleri. (Zonguldak Ereğli Müze  
Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

Resim 6  
Apsidal Oda, Su Perisi.  
(Zonguldak Ereğli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

4 Dalga motifli bordür tasarımları için bk. Décor I: pl.101; Patacı 2019: 307-310.

5 Giyoş (örgü) motiflerinin tasarım kitaplarında 51 farklı çeşidi vardır. Daha detaylı bilgi için bk. Décor: pl. 70-76; Patacı 2019: 311.

Resim 7

Apsidal Oda, Mask, Eros ve Hayvan figürleri.  
(Zonguldak Eređli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).



Resim 8

Apsidal Oda, Sakalları Bukleli Mask.  
(Zonguldak Eređli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

Resim 9

Apsidal Oda, Sakalları Yukarı Kıvrık.  
(Zonguldak Eređli Müze Müdürlüğü Arşivi).

tam açmamış görünümünde verilmiştir (Res. 7-8). Bordürün kuzeybatı köşesi ile güneydođu köşesindeki maskların yer aldığı diđer tipte ise, sakallar yaprak biçiminde sıralar halinde oluşturularak uçları yukarı doğru kıvrımlaştırılmıştır. Bu tipin başlarının üzerindeki akantus çiçeđi ise yapraklarını tam açmış biçimde resmedilmiştir (Res. 7, 9).



Apsidal odanın kare şekilli mozaiđi hem deniz hem de karasal yaşamdan konuların bir arada betimlendiđi bir kompozisyon sunmaktadır. Güneye denk gelen bölümünde, Eros ve Psykheleın yer aldığı kayıkların, önde irili ufaklı çeşitli balıklar ile arkada yaban ördekleri arasına resmedilmesiyle üç boyut etkisi vurgulanmıştır (Res. 3). Figürlerdeki gölgelendirme ve renk geçişleriyle de üç boyut hissi güçlendirilmiştir. Üçüncü bordürde, yirmi adet dikdörtgen içine yerleştirilen hayvan ve insanların birbirleriyle olan mücadelelerindeki kızgınlık ve öfke duyguları son derece gerçekçi resmedilmiştir (Res. 4-5). Ayrıca, hayvan ve insanların hareketli gruplar halinde ayrı ayrı dikdörtgenler içinde resmedilmesi mozaiđe görsel bir efekt sunmaktadır. Mozaiđin son bordüründe köşelere yerleştirilen maskların yüzleri turuncu, beyaz ve kahverenginin tonlarıyla renklendirilmiştir. Beyazlarla ışık, koyularla gölge sağlanmıştır. Koyu ve açık renklerin bir arada kullanılması ışık ve gölge yaratmış ve bu da insan yüzünün gerçeđe yakın bir görünümünü sağlamıştır. Benzer renk geçişleri maskların sakal ve saçlarında da uygulanmıştır (Res. 7-9).

Mozaikte genel olarak pastel tonların kullanılması dikkat çekicidir. Renk tonları birbirleriyle uyum içindedir. Kahverengi, yeşil ve turuncu dışında baskın renk yoktur. Hellenistik Resimlerde olduğu gibi, arka plan açık ton renklerle işlenmiş ve ön plandaki figürlerdeki koyu tonlarla da anlatım güçlendirilmiştir.

### Kadıoğlu Masklarının İkonografik Değerlendirmesi

Kadıoğlu masklarının yer aldığı zemin mozaığı genel olarak değerlendirildiğinde, tematik karmaşıklığı dikkat çekmektedir. Emblemayı çevreleyen bordür sayısının çoklu kullanımı ve her bir bordüründe çeşitli temaların betimlenmesiyle eklektik bir özellik göstermektedir. Tematik olarak en dikkate değer özellik iki zıt temanın (deniz teması ve karasal av) tek bir mozaikte ele alınarak bordürlerle ayrıştırılmış olmasıdır (Res. 2). Bu çeşitlilikten yola çıkarak mozaik sanatçısının geniş bir Greko-Roman mozaik kataloğuna sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Ancak, mozaığın sahip olduğu bu çeşitlilik, Roma Dönemi'nin farklı bölgesel tematik unsurlarını da beraberinde getirmektedir. Maskların da yer aldığı mozaığın son bordüründe farklı bölgelerin tematik unsurlar tespit edilmektedir.

Bitkisel ve hayvan figürleri arasında mask betimleri, Antakya ve Zeugma'nın, mozaik bordürlerinde rastlanan bir betimleme çeşididir. Levi, mozaik bordürlerinde insan yüzlerinin bitkisel veya hayvan figürleri arasında yer almasının nedenini, Hellenistik Dönem'de mozaiklerde betimlenen teatral masklardan gelen bir geleneğin yansımaları olarak değerlendirmektedir (Levi 1947: I, 491). Özellikle, Antakya'da İS 2. yüzyıldan itibaren asma dalları arasında mask ve hayvan figürlerine rastlamak mümkündür. Ancak, buradaki kullanım amaçları şans, bereket ve refah şükranlarını sembolize etmesine bağlanmaktadır (Salzmann 1993: 451; Becker - Kondoleon 2005: 24). Asma sarmalları arasındaki en erken tarihlî mask betimleri Antakya'da Atrium Villası'nda "Paris'in Kararı" isimli İS 2. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen mozaığın bordür süslemelerinde yer almaktadır (Levi 1947: 15-20 pls. Ib, CXL Vİb). Bu masklar teatral mask olmamakla birlikte, Dionysiak kültü ile ilişkilendirmiştir (Becker - Kondoleon 2005: 24)<sup>6</sup>. Zeugma'da Poseidon Villası'na ait İS 3. yüzyılın başlarına tarihlendirilen "Eros ve Psykhe" mozaığının (Önal 2002: 27) bordüründe akantus sarmalları arasında yer alan masklar da "Bereket Maskları" olarak nitelendirilmektedir (Görkay 2015: 62)<sup>7</sup>.

Kadıoğlu masklarının en dikkate değer özelliği onların akantus sarmalları içinde Eros ve hayvan figürleriyle birlikte bordür süslemesinde yer almış olmasıdır. Bordürlerde akantus sarmalları içlerinde mask, Eros ve çeşitli hayvan figürlerinin birlikte betimleri, M.S. 3. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Doğu Akdeniz coğrafyasında Shahba-Philippolis (Balty 1977: 24), Antakya (Levi 1947: 364 pl.CXLIVb-c), Zeugma (Önal 2002: 60) ve Haleplibahçe (Karabulut vd.: 2011: 57) gibi birçok yerin mozaik panolarının bordürlerinde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde de akantus sarmalları içerisinde mask betimleri görülmektedir. Ancak, doğudan farklı olarak, masklar bordür süslemesinden ziyade panoların köşe veya merkezinde betimlenmiştir. Kadıoğlu maskları Doğu Akdeniz'in bordür süslemesi içerisinde tercih edilse de, masklardaki iri yüz ve iri göz betiminin yanı sıra kulak hizalarında istakoz

6 Antakya'daki "Paris'in Kararı" isimli mozaik panosunun bordüründe betimlenen erkek maskı Silenos, kadın maskı ise Menad olarak kimliklendirilmiştir.

7 Bordürde, akantus sarmalları arasında, üzüm, incir, elma, armut, nar ve çam kozalağı gibi Akdeniz coğrafyasında bol yetişen meyveler bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca bu meyveler arasında birbirlerine ters yönlere bakan sakallı masklar da yer almaktadır.



kıskacı<sup>8</sup> şeklinin olması Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde betimlenen sakallı maskları çağrıştırmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Kadioğlu masklarının yer aldığı bordür süslemesinde farklı coğrafyaların tematik unsurları bir arada görülmektedir.

Bu tür sakallı masklar, Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde genellikle etrafında deniz teması ile (kayık, balık avlayan Eros, Satyr ve Nereidlerin oluşturduğu deniz thiasos topluluğu) betimlenen Okeanos maskları olarak bilinmektedir. Bu masklarda, Okeanos başının üzerinden yükselen bir çift istakoz kıskacı, saçlarının her iki tarafından çıkan istakoz bacakları, kulaklarına yerleştirilen istakoz kıskaç ya da kabukları, iri yüz ve göz, akantus yaprak ya da yosunlarla biçimlendirilen saç ve sakal gibi atribüleriyle betimlenmiştir.

Okeanos, Antik Dönemin coğrafi anlayışında yuvarlak ve yassı bir diske benzeten yeryüzünün çevresini saran evrensel bir ırmak olarak tasavvur edilmiştir (Erhat 2004: 227). Dolayısıyla, batıya olduğu kadar doğuya, güneye olduğu kadar kuzeye doğru uzanarak, en uzak noktalarına varıncaya kadar yeryüzünün sınırlarını belirleyerek koruyucu özelliğini belirtmektedir (Grimal 1997: 571). Mozaiklerin dış çerçevesinde köşelere yerleştirilmesi onun dış tehditlere karşı ruhani koruyuculuğundan ileri gelmiş olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Voute'un, Okeanos'un mask formundaki betimlerinin mozaiklerde koruyucu bir figür olarak İS 2. yüzyıldan itibaren betimlendiğini söylemesi de bu fikri destekler niteliktedir (Voute 1972: 639–73)<sup>9</sup>.

Kuzey Afrikalı mozaik sanatçılarının Okeanos masklarında üslup olarak iri göz betimlemelerini seçmeleri, Tanrının apotropaik “kem göz önleyen” özelliğine sahip olmasından kaynaklanmış olmalıdır. Roma Dönemi'nde Okeanos'un özellikle gözleri ile apotropaik işlevini gerçekleştirdiği düşüncesi Kuzey Afrika'da genel kabul gören bir inanıştır (Dunbabin 1978: 162-3)<sup>10</sup>. Bu inanişâ göre, Okeanos masklarını evlerinin genellikle giriş bölümlerine yaptıran ev sahipleri, Okeanos'un sabit bir noktaya bakan iri gözlerindeki büyümlü güç ile düşmanlarından korunduklarına inanıyorlardı (Dunbabin 1978: 152). Masklardaki temel özellik iri yüz ve iri gözlerin yanı sıra kimi örneklerde alından yükselen bir çift istakoz kıskacı, kimi örneklerde kulaklardaki istakoz kıskaçları ya da deniz kabuklarıdır. Kadioğlu sanatçısının, masklarda iri göz biçimini betimlemesinin yanı sıra kulak hizasında istakoz kıskacı motifini betimlemesi de Kuzey Afrika üslubuna işaret etmektedir. Bununla birlikte, maskların etrafında deniz kompozisyonu ile birlikte betimlenmesi de Kuzey Afrika üslubunu hatırlatmaktadır. Ayrıca, maskların betimlendiği mozaik misafirlerin giriş bölümünde (kabul odası) yer alması da onların Kuzey Afrika'da Okeanos'a atfedilen apotropaik özelliğiyle betimlendiğini düşündürmektedir.

8 Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerindeki Okeanos masklarında sıkça görülen kulak hizasındaki şekil, konunun uzmanı birçok araştırmacı tarafından istakoz kıskacı veya kabuğu olarak tanımlanmakta ve Okeanos'un atribüsü olarak değerlendirilmektedir bk. Foucher 1957: 1-43 res. 1; Fendri 1963: 6–10; Ben Abed-Ben Khader 2006: 115 res. 6. Kadioğlu masklarında betimlenen kulak hizasındaki şekil de, Kuzey Afrika örneklerindeki istakoz kıskacı olarak nitelendirilen şekil ile oldukça benzerdir. Bu nedenle yazar tarafından istakoz kıskacı olarak tanımlanmıştır.

9 Okeanos'un tam vücut ve büst formundaki betimlemeleri Arkaik Dönem'den başlayarak Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi'nde birçok eserde betimlenmiş olmasına rağmen, mask formundaki betimleri sadece Roma Dönemi'nde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Roma Dönemi'nde Okeanos'un mask betimleri büyük oranda mozaik betimlemelerinde karşımıza çıksa da aynı tarihlerde lahit ve rölyeflerde de görmek mümkündür. bk. Eraslan 2012: 163, 11.

10 Cezayir Ain-Témouchent mozaikinde Okeanos'un ev sahiplerini kötü güçlere karşı koruması için tasarlandığı ve Tanrının ileriye doğru bakan iri gözlerinde hissedilen esrarengiz gücün var olduğu mozaikteki bir yazıtla da anlaşılmaktadır “*Invida sidereo rumpantur pectora visu cedat et in nostris/ lingua proterva locis hoc studio superamus avos gratumque/ renidet aedibus nostris summus apex operis feliciter*”. Dunbabin, *sidereo visu*'nun Okeanos'un gözlerindeki güce imada bulunduğunu ve gözlerin *invida pectora* ve *lingua proterva*'yı kontrol ettiğini ifade etmiştir bk. Dunbabin 1978: 152, 162-163.

Bu nedenle, Kadioğlu maskları aşağıda karşılaştırma örneklerinde değindiğimiz Okeanos'u temsil eden Kuzey Afrika geleneğinden türemiş olmalıdır.

Bu noktada, Dunbabin'in, Kuzey Afrika Okeanos maskları için ikonografik temelli oluşturduğu tipoloji dikkate alınacaktır. Dunbabin, Okeanos masklarının kökenini İÖ 2. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinden itibaren akantus sarmalları arasında yer alan sakallı bir grup masklara bağlamaktadır. Dunbabin ayrıca, İS 2. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren akantus sarmalları içindeki masklarda Okeanos'un atribülerinin görülmeye başladığını, İS 3. yüzyıldan itibaren ise maskların akantus yapraklı sarmal içinde değil, bağımsız bir figür olarak panoların kenar ya da köşelerine betimlendiğini de ifade etmektedir (Dunbabin 1978: 150)<sup>11</sup>. Bu çerçevede, Kadioğlu maskları, aşağıda detaylıca değinilen Kuzey Afrika'dan seçilen benzer örneklerinin yanı sıra İstanbul Büyük Saray Mozaiklerindeki Okeanos maskıyla karşılaştırmalı bir analizi yapılmış ve ikonografik gelişim içerisindeki yeri tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

## İS 2. Yüzyıl Okeanos Masklarının İkonografik Özellikleri

Kuzey Afrika'da İS 2. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine tarihlendirilen örneklerde, masklar bordürlerin köşelerinde veya ortalarında, mozaığın merkezinde Dionysiak tema ile birlikte betimlenmiştir. Triton ve Nereidlerle birlikte işlenen Okeanos teması muhtemelen Dionysiak thiasos ile bağlantılıdır. Örneğin İngiltere'de Mildenhall'da bulunan İS 4. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen gümüş tabağın merkezindeki Okeanos maskının etrafında, Tritonlar üzerine uzanmış Nereidler tasvir edilmiştir. Gümüş tabağın sınırlarını belirleyen alanda ise Satyr, Menadlar ve Dionysos betimlenmiştir (Toynbee 1964: 308).

Bardo Müzesi'nde sergilen Acholla Trajan Hamamının *frigidarium* bölümündeki mozaığın bordür süslemesinde akantus sarmalı içindeki mask, Okeanos masklarının en erken örneği olarak yerini almaktadır (Picard 1959: 81 pl.XVIII.4; Dunbabin 1978: 19, 149 pl.II.3-5) (Res. 10). Mozaığın ana teması Dionysus'un zaferi sahnedir. Merkezde yer alan Dionysos, iki kentauros'un çektiği bir chariot içinde yer alırken, her iki tarafında mevsimlerin kişileştirilmiş büstleri ve onların etraflarında grotesk figürlerden oluşan elementler yer almaktadır. Bu figürlerin etraflarında ise Satyr ve Nereidlerin yer aldığı deniz thiasos



Resim 10

Bardo Müzesi, Acholla Trajan Hamamı,  
Okeanos Maskı. Fotoğraf: Yazar.

<sup>11</sup> Kuzey Afrika'da görülen Okeanos masklarının kökeni, sarmal içinde betimlenen sakallı masklara dayandırılırken Dunbabin (1978: 150), yine aynı tarihlerde Avrupa'da görülen Okeanos masklarının kökeni siyah beyaz mozaiklerde betimlenen masklara dayandırılmaktadır (Wilson 2006: 302). Siyah beyaz masklar hakkında daha detaylı bilgi için bk. Eraslan 2011: 83.

topluluđu yer almaktadır. Bordür süslemesinde ise, grotesk figürler ve panonun üstünde stilize edilmiş akantus dalları arasında Okeanos maskı yer almaktadır. Okeanos'un akantus yapraklarıyla oluşturulan sakal ve bıyıkları yukarı doğru kıvrım yapmaktadır. Saçlarının üstünde ise bitkisel motiflerle süslenmiş çelenk benzeri bir süsleme vardır. Kadiođlu masklarının Acholla maskıyla benzeşen unsuru her ikisinin de bordürde akantus içerisinde yer almasıdır. Acholla maskında Okeanos'a ait herhangi bir atribü görülmezken, Kadiođlu'nda maskın kulaklarına iliřtirilmiř istakoz kıskacı yer almaktadır.

Kadiođlu maskları, Sousse'da Bacchantes ve Satyr temalı İS 2. yüzyılın ikinci çeyređine tarihlendirilen mozaikteki (Dunbabin 1978: pl. LXVIII res. 173) her biri birbirinden farklı iri yüz ve gözlere sahip masklara ikonografik olarak benzemektedir (Res. 11). Her iki eserde de ifade güçleri kusursuz bir Okeanos maskı tasvir edilmiřtir. Okeanos'un ileriye doğru bakan iri gözleri Tanrının apotropaik kimliđini açık bir řekilde dile getirmektedir. Sarmal içinde betimlenen maskların en erken örneklerinden biri olarak kabul edilen Sousse örneđinde, her bir maskın sakallarından çıkan akantus yapraklarının diđer maskların başlarında birleřerek oluşturdukları sarmal alan içinde Satyr ve Menadlar betimlenmiřtir. Maskların başlarının tepesinde ise tıpkı Kadiođlu masklarında olduđu gibi akantus çiçekleri yer almaktadır. Maskların tepelerine yerleřtirilen akantus çiçekleri, dođu mozaiklerinde sadece Kadiođlu'nda tespit edilmektedir. Bir diđer benzerlik akantus yapraklarıyla oluşturulan sarmallar içine figürlerin yerleřtirilmiř olmasıdır. Ancak, sarmallar Sousse mozaiđinde daha geniř, Kadiođlu'nda ise daha küçüktür. Her ne kadar aralarında yüzyıldan fazla zaman olsa da her iki maskın da aynı modelden türetildiđini söylemek mümkündür.

Resim 11  
Sousse, Bacchantes ve Satyr Mozaiđi  
(Dunbabin 1978: pl. LXVIII fig.173).



Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde İS 2. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren akantus sarmalları içindeki masklarda Okeanos'un atribüleri net bir řekilde görülmeye başlar. Bu masklardaki ortak ikonografik özellikler arasında Okeanos'un atribülerinden biri olan alnın her iki yanından çıkan istakoz kısaçları veya Kadiođlu masklarında olduđu gibi istakoz kıskacı řeklindeki kulaklardır.

Tunus'un Thysdrus (El Djem) řehrinde "Dionysiac Tören Alayı Evi" nin A odası örneđindeki masklarda Okeanos'un atribülerinden biri olan alnın her iki yanından çıkan istakoz kısaçları görülmektedir (Dunbabin 1999: 110 res.16,

109) (Res. 12). İS 2. yüzyılın ortalarına tarihlendirilen dikdörtgen şekilli mozağin her bir kenarının ortasında birbirinin aynı olan dört sakallı mask yerleştirilmiştir. Köşelerde figürler aşağıdan merkeze doğru sıraladığında; başlarının üstünde tepsi taşıyan kadın figürleri, mevsimlerin kişileştirilmiş büstleri ve çıplak erkek figürlerinin betimlendiği görülmektedir. Merkezde ise çeşitli meyve ve bitki yapraklarıyla oluşturulmuş madalyon içinde, saçları meyvelerle süslenmiş erkek büstü yer almaktadır. Kadioğlu ve El Djem mozaığının ortak ikonografik yanı ise her ikisinde de akantus sarmal içinde betimlenen masklarda Okeanos'a ait atribülerin görülmesidir. El Djem örneğinde alınından yükselen ıstakoz kıskaçları maskın Okeanos'a ait olduğunu kanıtlarken, Kadioğlu'nda kulaklara iliştirilen ıstakoz kıskaçı şekli de maskın Okeanos'a ait olduğunu aynı şekilde kanıtlamaktadır. Mozaiklerdeki ikonografik benzerliklerden biri de maskların iri yüz ve gözlere sahip olup kenarlarda betimlenmiş olmasıdır. Kadioğlu mozaik sanatçısının tanrının apotropaik niteliğini Kuzey Afrikalı sanatçılar gibi bildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Sanatçı, bu şekilde, her bir taraftan gelebilecek kötü düşüncüyü (kem gözleri) bertaraf etmeyi amaçlamış olmalıdır. Öyle anlaşılmaktadır ki, Roma Dönemi'nde Okeanos maskları, adeta günümüz evlerinin girişlerine asılan bir nazar boncuğu işlevi görmüştür.



Resim 12  
Thysdrus (El Djem), Dionysiac Tören Alayı  
Evi", A Odası Mozaığı (Neira 2018:169  
fig.7).

### İS 3. Yüzyıl ve Sonrası Okeanos Masklarının İkonografik Özellikleri

Okeanos masklarının apotropaik niteliği, Kuzey Afrika'da popüler bir tema olmasını sağlamış olmalı ki, İS 3. yüzyıldan itibaren Okeanos maskları artık akantus yapraklı sarmal içinde değil, bağımsız bir figür olarak mozaiklerin kenar

ya da kőşelerine yerleřtirilmiřtir<sup>12</sup>. Mozaik sanatçıları, büyük bir olasılıkla sarmal geleneđinden kalma alışkanlıkla maskları kőşelere yerleřtirmişlerdir. Okeanos maskının bu řekildeki bir betimi Cezayir'in Hippo Regius (Annaba) řehrindeki İS 3. yūzyılın ilk yarısına tarihlendirilen "Maison d'Isguntus" adı verilen Roma villasının *triclinium* bölümünde bulunmuřtur (Dunbabin 1978: 150-151 res. 142; Johnston 1994: 297 res. 3) (Res. 13). Eski Eserler Ulusal Müzesi'nde sergilenen mozaikte, Okeanos, saçlarının üzerindeki ıstakoz antenleri, kulaklarındaki ıstakoz kısaçları ve sakallarının ucundan uzayan bitkisel motiflerle görölmektedir. Bordür süslemelerinde ise çeřitli türde ve büyüklükte balık motifleri yer almaktadır. Hippo Regius masklarının mozaiđin kőşelerine karřılıklı kırk beř derece eđimle yerleřtirilmesi Kadiođlu masklarıyla benzerdir. Bu eđimin her iki mozaikte de aynı dereceyle sečilmesi büyük bir olasılıkla Okeanos'un apotropaik niteliđine sahip gözleriyle kem gözleri bertaraf etmesiyle ilgili olmalıdır. Diđer bir benzerlik, Okeanos'un atribüsü olan ıstakoz kısaçlarının maskların kulak hizalarında yer almasıdır.

Resim 13  
Cezayir, Maison d'Isguntus Evi, *Triclinium*  
Mozaiđinin Bordürü (Dunbabin 1978: 150-1  
res. 142).



Kadiođlu maskları İS 3. yūzyıldan sonraki örneklere daha fazla benzerlik gösterse de, eski geleneđin bir ögesi olan akantus sarmalı içinde kalmıřtır. Büyük bir olasılıkla bu durumun en önemli nedenlerinden biri, mask betimlemelerinin dođuda genellikle bordür süslemelerinde tercih edilmesi, diđerleri ise Okeanos'un mask betimlerinin Roma'nın dođu eyaletlerinde bilinmemesinden ya da tercih edilmemesinden kaynaklanmış olmasıdır. Örneđin, Antakya (Levi 1947: 38-39 lev. VIa, b lev. XXXV a, CLVIIa, b) ve Zeugma'da (Önal vd. 2006: 80-85) Okeanos, eři Tethys ile birlikte tam vücut veya büst formunda mozaiklerde yerini almıřtır. Bu örneklerde Okeanos'a atfedilen atribüer alnından çıkan bir çift ıstakoz kısaçacı ile omzuna dayadıđı dümendir. Diđer taraftan, her iki figürün de Grek mitolojisine bađlı kalarak betimlendiđi ve mozaiđi süsleyen bir ögeden ziyade, deniz tanrıları olarak sayđı gördüđü ařıkârdır. Nitekim, Dunbabin'in de ifade ettiđi gibi, Antakya mozaikleri klasik konulara bađlı kalan, dekoratif elemanlarda görsel yaklařımın vurgulandıđı Hellenistik sanat geleneđinin devamıdır (Dunbabin 1999: 161).

Kuzey Afrika cođrafyasında İS 3. yūzyılın ortalarından itibaren Okeanos maskları etrafında deniz teması (kayık, balık ve balık avı) ve Eroslar ile birlikte betimlenmiřtir. Bu örnekler arasında Kadiođlu maskına ikonografik olarak en yakın olan örnekler Tunus'un Nebeur (Chelbi 1996: 55) (Res. 14), Themetra (Ben Abed-Ben Khader 2006: 115 res. 6) (Res. 15) ve Althiburos (Ben Abed-Ben Khader - Balanda 2003: res. 329) (Res. 16) řehirlerinde bulunmuş Okeanos masklarıdır. Tüm bu masklarda Okeanos'un güçlü ifadeye sahip iri gözleri, kulaklarındaki ıstakoz kısaçları ve etrafındaki deniz teması ortak

<sup>12</sup> Bu tarihlerden itibaren Okeanos masklarının popölaritesinin Kuzey Afrika cođrafyalarını ařarak Avrupa cođrafyalarında da benimsendiđi bilinmektedir. İspanya'da ve Fransa'da genel olarak bazı mozaik zeminlerinde güçlü Afrika etkisinin kanıtlarını görmek mümkündür. Daha detaylı bilgi için bk. Eraslan 2011: 96-100.



özelliklerindedir. Kuzey Afrika Okeanos masklarında Okeanos'un kulaklarına takılan ıstakoz kısıkcacı tasviri İS 3. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren görülmektedir. Bu atribü, Antakya ve Zeugma'nın Okeanos betimlemelerinde yer almazken sadece Kadioğlu maskında karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Kadioğlu maskları, Nebeur, Themetra ve Althiburos örneklerine stilistik olarak da benzemektedir. Tüm örneklerde Okeanos'un yüz, göz, saç ve sakal kısmındaki tesseraların açık ve koyu tonlarıyla gölgelendirme sağlanmış, böylece açık ve koyu renkler kullanılarak ışığın etkisi verilmiştir. Bu şekilde renk geçişleriyle üç boyutlu formların görüntüsü vurgulanmıştır.

Kuzey Afrika coğrafyaları dışında Anadolu'da Kadioğlu masklarına benzerlik gösteren bir diğer mask betimi İstanbul Büyük Saray mozaiklerinde yer almaktadır. I. Iustinianus (525-565) dönemine tarihlendirilen mozaikler, Geç Antik Dönem'den günümüze ulaşan en görkemli peyzaj betimlemelerindedir (Jobst vd. 1997; Cimok 2000). İstanbul Büyük Saray mozaığının güneybatı tarafındaki bordüründe akantus sarmalı içinde bir Okeanos maskı görülmektedir (Res. 17). Trilling, maskın iri yüz ve iri gözlerle betimlenmesinin Kuzey Afrika Okeanos masklarının üslubuna işaret ettiğini ifade etmektedir (Trilling 1989:

Resim 14  
Tunus, Nebeur , Okeanos Mozaïği (Chelbi 1996: 55).

Resim 15  
Tunus, Themetra, Okeanos Mozaïği (Ben Abed - Ben Khader 2006: 115 res. 6).

Resim 16  
Tunus, Althiburos, Çeşme Yapısı, Okeanos Mozaïği (Ben Abed - Ben Khader 2003: res. 329).

Resim 17  
İstanbul Büyük Saray Mozaïği Bordür, Okeanos. Fotoğraf: Yazar.



39). Kadiođlu ve İstanbul Büyük Saray maskının ortak ikonografik yönü her ikisinin de bordür süslemesinde akantus sarmalları içerisinde yer almış olmasıdır. Maskların iri gözlerindeki ileriye bakan ifadelerinin yanı sıra yüzlerinin irilięi ve sakallarındaki akantus dizilimi de stil olarak yakındır. Bu noktada, Kadiođlu maskı Anadolu mozaiklerinde yer alan mask betimleri arasında İstanbul Büyük Saray maskına stil ve ikonografik olarak benzeyen tek mozaiktir diyebiliriz. Kadiođlu mozaiginin keşfinden önce, Okeanos masklarının sadece İstanbul Büyük Saray Mozaiginde temsil edildięi bilinmekteydi. Bu nedenle, Okeanos'un mask betimlemelerinin Anadolu'da süreklilięinin olmadıęı düşüncesi hakimdi. Kadiođlu mozaigi bu noktada Okeanos masklarının Anadolu'da da İS 3. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren mozaiklerde betimlendięine dair önemli veriler sunmaktadır.

### Sonuç

Bu makalede, Kadiođlu masklarının ikonografik açıdan irdelenmesi örneğimizin mozaik sanatı içindeki işlevinin anlaşılması bakımından katkı sağlamış ve Kadiođlu masklarının Okeanos'u temsil ettięi kanısı ortaya çıkmıştır. Makalenin ilk bölümünde Kadiođlu masklarının, Antakya ve Zeugma mozaiklerinde yer alan masklardan stil ve ikonografik olarak farklı olduęu anlatılmış ardından söz konusu maskların Kuzey Afrika mozaiklerinde betimlenen Okeanos masklarıyla ikonografik benzerlięi dile getirilmiştir.

Okeanos'un büst, mask veya tam vücut tiplerinin Roma Dönemi mozaiklerinde yer aldığı bilinmektedir. Antakya ve Zeugma mozaiklerinde büst ya da tam vücut formunda ve genel olarak eşi Tethys ile birlikte betimlenmiştir. Bu çeşitlilik dięer Roma eyaletlerinde görülmezken Kuzey Afrika'da bulunmuş mozaiklerde, panoların merkezinde ya da köşelerinde sadece mask formunda tasvir edilmiştir.

Kadiođlu masklarının Kuzey Afrika üslubunu yansıtan Okeanos maskları olduęu sonucuna varmamızdaki en önemli sebepler, maskların iri yüz ve iri gözlerle sağlanan apotropaik nitelięi, kulak hizasındaki ıstakoz kıskacı, akantus yapraklarıyla oluşturulan saç ve sakalları gibi atribülelere sahip olmasının yanı sıra maskların deniz kompozisyonu ile birlikte aynı mozaikte yer almasıdır. Ancak, Okeanos maskları her ne kadar Kuzey Afrika üslubunu yansıtsa da, maskların da içinde yer aldığı bordür süslemesi Doęu Akdeniz mozaiklerinde sıklıkla kullanılmıştır. Buradan yola çıkarak, Kadiođlu mozaiginde Roma Dönemi'nin farklı bölgesel tematik unsurlarının bir arada betimlendięi söylenebilir.

Karşılaştırma örnekleri, mozaigin hem stilistik hem de ikonografik olarak İS 3. yüzyılının sonlarına tarihlenebileceęine işaret etmektedir. Kazı alanından bulunan ve İS 3. yüzyılın son çeyreğine tarihlendirilen dięer arkeolojik buluntular da bu tarihllemeyi destekler niteliktedir. Bununla birlikte, Okeanos'un mask betimlerinin mozaiklerde ve dięer sanat dallarında kimi zaman Dionysiak temasıyla birlikte betimlendięi anlaşılmıştır. Bu nedenle, Kadiođlu mozaiginin boş emblemasında büyük olasılıkla Dionysus büstünün tasvir edilmiş olabileceęini düşünmekteyiz.

Dięer taraftan; Kadiođlu mask betimli mozaik, İS 3. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Okeanos masklarının Anadolu mozaiklerinde betimlendięine dair önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Ayrıca, İstanbul Büyük Saray mozaiklerinde de Kadiođlu masklarına benzer üslupta ve desende maskın görülmesi, Anadolu'da Kuzey Afrika ekolüne sahip mozaik atölyelerinin olabileceęini düşündürdüęü gibi, Kuzey Afrikalı gezginci sanatçıların mozaikleri yaptığını da düşündürmektedir.

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# The Mosaics of the *Domus I* of the *Plaza de Armas* of the Royal Alcazar in Roman *colonia Augusta Firma - Astigi* (Écija, Seville, Spain) - I

## Roma Kolonisi *Augusta Firma*'daki Kraliyet Sarayı *Plaza de Armas*'ın *Domus I* Mozaikleri – Astigi (Écija, Sevilla, İspanya) - I

Sergio GARCÍA-DILS DE LA VEGA - Salvador ORDÓÑEZ AGULLA\*

(Received 14 January 2022, accepted after revision 01 September 2022)

### Abstract


*The Domus I of the Plaza de Armas of the Royal Alcazar of Ecija (Seville, Spain) has been object of archaeological excavations and restoration interventions since 2001, which have revealed that this luxurious urban residence was completely reformed in the Severan period, when several rooms and the central courtyard were decorated with mosaic pavements. The first one in being unearthed was the well-known mosaic of the Satyr / Silenus, with the double representation of these two companions of Dionysus in a single head, thanks to a singular visual play. In 2015 was discovered the so-called mosaic of the Loves of Zeus, which decorate the triclinium of the domus, with several scenes from this mythological cycle, along with Bacchic themes and characters, and the representation of the seasons. More recently, in 2019-2020, the monumental central peristyle of the residence was excavated, which perimetral corridor was covered with mosaic decoration. The thematic represented in the new mosaic is varied, including several planets, meteorological phenomena or the god Dionysus himself, together with a panel which contained a scene following a hunt –unfortunately, in this case largely lost, but still recognizable–, all framed by a singular geometric pattern. In this paper is offered the first publication of the remarkable mosaic of the peristyle, just discovered.*

**Keywords:** Roman mosaic, Astigi, Dionysian thematic, geometric pattern, peristyle.

### Öz

*Ecija'nın Kraliyet Sarayı (Sevilla, İspanya) Plaza de Armas'taki Domus I, 2001'den beri arkeolojik kazılar ile restorasyon müdahalelerinin nesnesi olmuştur ve bu lüks kentsel konutun Severan döneminde tamamen yenilediği, bazı odalar ve merkezde yer alan avlunun farklı temalardaki mozaiklerle dekore edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Ortaya çıkarılan ilk mozaik, Dionysos'un bu iki yoldaşının tek bir görsel oyun sayesinde tek bir kafada çifte temsil edildiği, ünlü Satyr / Silenus mozaığıdır. 2015 yılında, domusun triclinium'unu süsleyen Zeus'un Aşkları mozaığı, bu mitolojik döngüden birkaç sahne, Bacchic temaları ve karakterleri ile mevsimlerin temsili keşfedilmiştir. Daha yakın zamanlarda, 2019-2020'de, konutun anıtsal merkezi peristilinin kazılmasıyla, perimetral koridordaki mozaik döşemeler ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu -yeni keşfedilen mozaikte işlenen tema, çeşitli gezegenler, meteorolojik fenomenler veya tanrı Dionysus'un kendisi ile birlikte bir avın devamının işlendiği bir sahneyi içeren bir panel –ne yazık ki bu kısım büyük oranda kayıptır; fakat yine de tespit edilebilir durumdadır– dahil olmak üzere çok çeşitlidir ve hepsi tekil bir geometrik örüntü ile çerçeve içine alınmıştır. Bu makalede, henüz keşfedilen dikkate değer peristil mozaığının ilk yayını sunulmaktadır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Roma mozaığı, Astigi, Dionysos teması, geometrik desen, peristil.

\* Sergio García-Dils de la Vega, National University of Distance Education (UNED), Associated Center in Seville, Spain.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2648-0001>. E-mail: sergarcia-dils@sevilla.uned.es

Salvador Ordóñez Agulla, University of Seville, Spain.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4965-0154>. E-mail: sagulla@us.es

This publication is part of the I+D+i project PGC2018-093507-B-100, financed by MCIN/ AEI/10.13039/501100011033/ and “FEDER – Una manera de hacer Europa”.

## 1. Background and Context

The origins of the fortified enclosure of the *Plaza de Armas* of the Royal Alcázar of the city of Écija (Seville) date to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, to the Almoravid period, while the construction of its main features continued throughout the Almohad period. After the Castilian conquest of the city in May 1240, the urbanistic organization of this space was transformed and the “*casas Palacio o avitazion de los cavalleros alcaydes de los reales alcazares*” were created.<sup>1</sup> The loss of the defensive function of the enclosure led to its abandonment and progressive deterioration throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which finally caused the city to place a request to the Crown, in April 1700, for the demolition of the remaining battered structures in order to convert this space into a “*escuela para los caballos y maestranza para los Cavalleros*”. This use was not long-lived and the *Plaza de Armas* was finally abandoned in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it became a neighbourhood of substandard housing. It was still in this state in 1999, when the city council of Écija undertook a series of urban development actions, focusing on the recovery of the historical fortified enclosure (García-Dils et al. 2004: passim).

After the demolition of the existing buildings, the first archaeological excavations began in 2001. They confirmed the occupation of the area known as *Cerro de San Gil* from at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, with a chronocultural sequence that included Tartessian, Turdetan and Roman remains. During the following years, several urban actions continued to be carried out, aiming to complete the removal of the old housing and the relocation of the inhabitants of this area of the city. In addition, several phases of conservation work were undertaken on the perimeter walls, as well as the restoration of archaeological structures of different chronologies. At present, this process has enabled the recovery of almost the entire walled enclosure of the *Plaza de Armas*, and its opening to the public.

## 2. *Domus* I

During the course of the archaeological work carried out in 2001-2002, the first structures belonging to the building known as *Domus* I were uncovered, consisting of three rooms and a corridor, badly damaged by the earthworks carried out for the construction of the fortified enclosure, by pits made for the extraction of construction materials and by the excavation of cesspools (García-Dils 2003: passim). One of the rooms, identified as a *tablinum*, was decorated with a unique geometric mosaic pavement in which there were originally four figurative squares around a fifth one (Fig. 1). Of the perimeter squares, one of them was completely lost, and a second showed the representation of a human head, the interpretation of which was made impossible by a careless restoration carried out in ancient times. The remaining two contained theatrical masks. The central square was made with great skill, in *opus uermiculatum*, combining tiny tesserae of stone and glass paste, with a rich polychromy and a successful use of shadows (Fig. 2). It contained an image with a double reading, depending on the observer's viewing point: from the entrance to the room –to the north– a young man carrying a *pedum* or shepherd's crook on his right shoulder, and from the interior –to the south–, a bearded old man with a *tympanum* or Bacchic tambourine, with its characteristic fringes, in his right hand. These figures are easily recognisable, respectively, as a young satyr and a mature Silenus, accompanied by their

1 Municipal Archives of Ecija (AME), AC, Book 165, Meeting of January 8, 1748.

characteristic attributes. Both are members of the Bacchic *thiasos*, a particularly popular and recurrent theme in the mosaics of *colonia Augusta Firma* (García-Dils et al. 2005: passim; López Monteagudo - Neira 2010: 67-93; CMRE XIV: n°34, 76-81).

Figure 1  
Mosaic of the Satyr / Silenus. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.



Figure 2  
The central square of the Satyr / Silenus mosaic. View from the north / from the south of the room. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.



### 3. The peristyle of *Domus* I

The first indications of the existence of a mosaic pavement to the north of the room identified as the *tablinum*, where the Satyr/Silenus mosaic was recorded, date back to 2001. At that time, we thought that it could be a new room, which was provisionally called “Room C” (García-Dils et al. 2005: 397 fig. 2a). Unfortunately, the foundation trench of the medieval wall that crosses the central part of *Plaza de Armas* from west to east cut through the mosaic, of which barely a dozen rows of tesserae were preserved in a surface of 40 cm<sup>2</sup>. New archaeological excavations carried out in this sector since 2015 enabled us to suggest that the fragment may have been part of the decoration of the perimeter corridor of the central courtyard of *Domus* I (CMRE XIV: n°36, 81 fig. 69). This hypothesis was confirmed in 2019, when we had the opportunity to excavate the whole of this monumental peristyle, also confirming that the courtyard was the structural centre around which the entire building was organised. The dimensions of the

courtyard are between 11.10 and 12.63 m (N-S) by 11.88 and 12.02 m (W-E), with a total surface of 140.60 m<sup>2</sup>. The central 42.69 m<sup>2</sup> would have been open to the sky, while the remaining 97.91 m<sup>2</sup> would have been a covered perimeter gallery, decorated entirely with mosaic floors (Fig. 3).



Figure 3  
The peristyle of the *Domus I*.  
Orthophotography by Diego Gaspar  
(Arqueocad) for the City Archaeology Office  
of Écija.

From the centre outwards, the peristyle is structured as follows. First, there is a small garden with a fountain in the northern part, of which only the base, with traces of marble cladding, is preserved<sup>2</sup>. The fountain was supplied with water by means of a *fistula plumbea* that ran from the north-west corner of the courtyard and drained through an underground channel towards the north of the house. From the garden area, a large volume of earth has been preserved with abundant traces of organic matter, which is being analysed in order to determine the plant species it contained. Around the garden, in the form of a *nymphaeum*, there is a perimeter channel, made of *opus caementicium* lined with *opus signinum*, which conducted water around the garden on two different levels. From a hydraulic point of view, it should be noted that the courtyard is set approximately 0.50 m lower than the rest of the house, to improve the performance of the fountain spout or spouts and *nymphaeum*. Thus, while the mosaic of the Loves of Zeus, in the *triclinium*, is at an elevation of 107.85-107.87 m above sea level, and the *atrium* at 107.84-107.95 m a.s.l., the mosaic of the peristyle is set between 107.29 and 107.49 m a.s.l. This in turn conditions the elevation of the rooms located to the north, east and south of the corridor, so that the Satyr/Silenus mosaic in the *tablinum* is located at 107.50-107.53 m a.s.l.

Surrounding this open area, is a covered perimeter gallery, roofed with clay *tegulae*, supported by a scheme of 4x4 columns, of which nine of the bases have

<sup>2</sup> For the complexity and ambiguities of the lexicon concerning ornamental ponds in the domestic sphere (*lacus*, *impluvium*, *piscina*, etc.), see Dessales 2013: 54-64.

been preserved, consisting of cubic calcarenite ashlar. Of the twelve that were originally there, three of the supports of the southern side were lost due to the creation of the foundation trench of the wall that runs through this area. Around the bases of the columns on the west and east sides of the courtyard, we have found traces of the looting of the *fistulae plumbeae* that supplied water to the fountains, affecting both the mosaic and the *nymphaeum* in the Late Antique period after the *domus* was abandoned. This situation is repeated with the lead pipe that supplied the central fountain of the peristyle, the looting of which caused the linear destruction of part of the geometric mosaic pattern of the north-west corner of the courtyard.

To evaluate the density of the disposition of the *tessellae*, we carried out a systematic sampling in all the representative and well-preserved sectors of the mosaic and found that it varies considerably according to the motifs represented in the carpet. Therefore, the geometric patterns and the background were made with larger and regularly cut pieces, placed with a scrupulous adjustment between them, with values ranging between 95 and 120 tesserae/dm<sup>2</sup>, occasionally dropping to 80-90 tesserae/dm<sup>2</sup> in the grid of rows of tangent circlelets of the northern corridor of the courtyard. On the other hand, the figured decoration has a density ranging between 180 and 210 tesserae/dm<sup>2</sup>, with a very variable size of *tessellae*, with irregular outlines, depending on their function within the design, leaving a wide separation that, in some cases, exceeds the size of the pieces themselves.

### 3.1 Composition of the Mosaic and Reconstruction of the Geometric Scheme

The composition of the mosaic is conditioned by the meeting in the peristyle of the walls from different phases of the *domus*, with different orientations. Thus, of the four walls that define the courtyard, the oldest are oriented 342.8 (N-S) and 72.8 (W-E), located on the western, southern and eastern sides; while the northern wall, corresponding to the Severan reform of the house, is aligned with the colonial grid, systematically confirmed in the entire Roman city, at 335.4° (N-S) and 65.4° (W-E). Thus, in the north-west and north-east corners of the courtyard, the walls do not meet at right-angles and an attempt has been made to conceal these false squares through the adjustment of the geometric scheme to this irregularity, skilfully simulating a feigned symmetry.

The whole of the mosaic is framed by a succession of interlaced ivy scrolls of three colours, represented in a stereotyped and schematic manner (Balmelle et al. 1985: Pl. 64f). This border runs continuously around the mosaic, closing in two parts to coincide with the courtyard's drainage channel to the north. Its absence on the eastern flank of the western corridor is striking, which can be attributed to an error by the artisans. There are numerous parallels for vegetal scrolls in Écija itself, in different versions. First, in the room immediately to the south of the peristyle, next to the Satyr/Silenus mosaic (Fig. 1) (CMRE XIV: n°35, 81); also, in one pavement of the Plaza de España (CMRE XIV: n°38, 83-84 fig. 71); in the mosaic C of the Calle San Juan Bosco (CMRE XIV: n°67, 114-115 fig. 113); in Calle Avendaño n°3 (CMRE XIV: n°72, 117-118 fig. 122); in Calle Navajas n°3 (CMRE XIV: n°80, 120 fig. 127); in the City Hall, from unknown provenance (CMRE XIV: n°87, 122 fig. 129). To mention an example of this motif from another city in *Baetica*, we can recall here several mosaics in the House of Oceanos in *Hispalis* (Sevilla) (López Monteagudo 2015: 106 figs. 37, 39, 47, 48).

On the inner east and south sides, the band between the ivy scrolls and the *nymphaeum* is decorated with a row of intersecting and tangent semicircles, forming ogives and scales in black and ochre (Décor I: pl. 49b). This motif is widely represented in the mosaics of *colonia Augusta Firma*, appearing in the Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne (CMRE XIV: n°2, 37-41 figs. 4, 6); also, in the two mosaics with the Rape of Europe (CMRE XIV: n°21, 59-62 figs. 40, 41, 43; CMRE XIV: n°65, 110-113 fig. 111A); in the pavement of *Oceanos* (CMRE XIV: n°45, 88-90 fig. 79A); in Calle del Conde (CMRE XIV: n°30, 69-72 figs. 58, 60); in Calle Elvira (CMRE XIV: n°60, 99-103 fig. 97). Also, on the meridional flank of the northern corridor and the oriental side of the eastern corridor, there is a wide band of ochre-colored tesserae with schematic floral motifs in black and white.

The northern corridor is decorated with a grid of rows of tangent circlets and recumbent spindles, alternate circlets at the intersection, the compartments here enclosing a schematic flower, creating the effect of an intersecting diagonal grid (Balmelle et al. 1985: Pl. 131b, 238f). Again, is a very common motif in Écija, present in the Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne (CMRE XIV: n°2, 37-41 figs. 4, 6); also, in Calle Almenillas (CMRE XIV: n°9, 50-51 fig. 16); in Calle Cerro de la Pólvora (CMRE XIV: n°57, 98-99, figs. 91, 93); in the Rape of Europa and Ganymede from Calle San Juan Bosco (CMRE XIV: n°65, 110-113 fig. 111A).

Concerning the rest of the geometric pattern, for a better understanding of the question, we have divided the mosaic into a series of modules, numbered consecutively in Fig. 4, following the stages described below, in Fig. 5, for their

Figure 4

The peristyle of the *Domus I*. References. Orthophotography by Diego Gaspar (Arqueocad) for the City Archaeology Office of Écija; drawing by Sergio García-Dils.



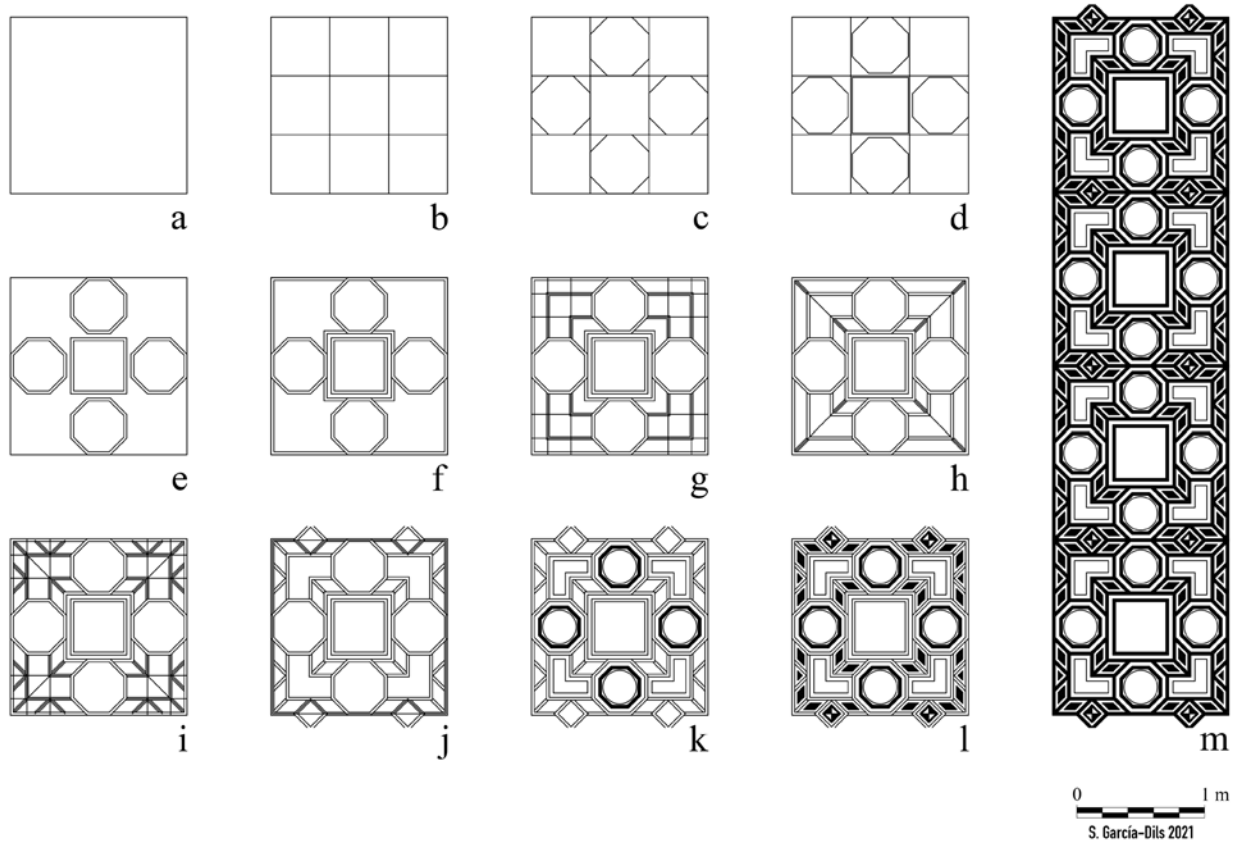


Figure 5  
The peristyle of the *Domus* I. Geometric pattern. Drawing by Sergio García-Dils.

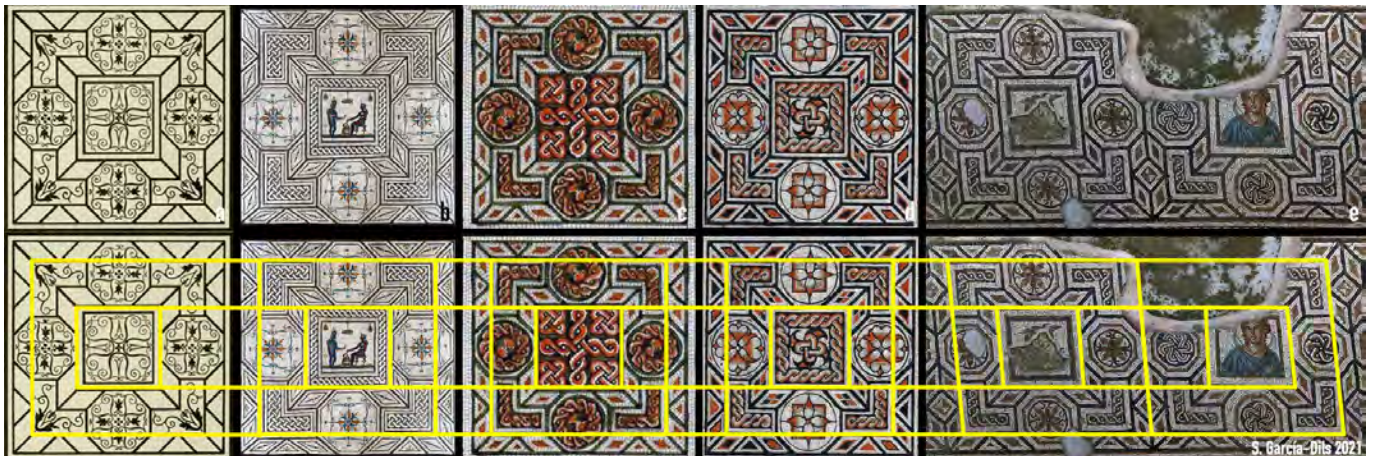
geometric layout. Obviously, some phases were undertaken simultaneously, or were not necessarily carried out in this order, as is the case, for example, of the figurative motifs in modules 4 and 5 –see below– in which it can clearly be seen that the frame surrounding the central character was made after the figure was finished, adapting to its outline, and not the other way round, as might appear to be more functional. First, a square was drawn (Fig. 5a), the edges of which, as noted above, are adapted to the contour of the courtyard. Its dimensions vary between 1.32 m –module 6– and 1.42 m –modules 7 and 10– on the eastern sides; between 1.32 m –module 5– and 1.42 m –module 10– on the western sides; between 1.33 m –module 6– and 1.39 m –module 10– on the northern sides; and between 1.33 m –module 7– and 1.39 m –module 11– on the southern sides. Special mention should be made of module 8, with dimensions 0.84 / 0.94 m x 1.35 m, because it is adapted to the space remaining at the end of the corridor. The square was then subdivided into nine equal squares, forming a 3 x 3 layout (Fig. 5b). Within these squares, four octagons were drawn around the central figure (Fig. 5c). The outlines of these octagons were reduced by one line of tesserae, approximately 1.1 cm, while maintaining their alignment with the outer outline of the module. The central character is also reduced in the same proportion, maintaining its central position (Fig. 5d). An inner band of two *tessellae* was created around the octagons and the outline of the central figurative motif (Fig. 5e). From this outline, the basic outlines of the rest of the composition are drawn, with a width of two *tessellae* (Fig. 5f). The sides of the octagons serve as support for the outline of the adjoining squares (Fig. 5g). Then, the line joining the vertices of the squares establishes the diagonals (Fig. 5h). The extension of the main lines of the squares enables the drawing of the diagonals to be completed (Fig. 5i). Once the diagonals were drawn, the boundaries of the regular rhombi that connect the adjoining modules were established (Fig. 5j). Three rows of *tessellae* were used to create the interior patterns (Fig. 5k). Other

motifs were made from an inner filling of two rows of *tessellae*, reproducing the corresponding geometric figure on a smaller scale and with ochre, red and brown tones. As for the circles inscribed in the octagons, they maintain a margin that varies between one and two *tessellae* (Fig. 5l).

This scheme enables the connection of as many modules as necessary (Fig. 5m). The skill of the craftsmen in adapting the geometric pattern as they went along, depending on the space available and the irregular shape of the courtyard, must be emphasised. The layout of the western corridor shows that the paving was laid out and executed from south to north and from east to west. This is indicated by the drastic surface reduction of module 8 in its contact with the north-west corner of the courtyard, while module 9 could be executed practically in its entirety.

Among the parallels for this type of geometric composition, a mosaic from Stabiae (Fig. 6a; Ruggiero 1881: pl. XVIII), the mosaic with an Egyptian-style scene from the Roman Prima Porta district, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 6b; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254535>, accessed: January 10, 2022) and the mosaic from the *uilla* Scampton in Lincolnshire (Fig. 6c; Illingworth 1810: pl. 6) are noteworthy for their similarity. The same scheme is also found in the mosaic of Orpheus and the Beasts from the *uilla* of Woodchester in Gloucestershire (Fig. 6d; Lysons 1797: pl. IX-X; Smith 1973; Dunbabin 1999: 92-94 fig. 92), where the paving of the perimeter corridor of the main reception room of the *domus* is structured around a large central emblem dedicated to Orpheus. From the comparison, can see that is the same model, although the case of Écija presents a variation in order to adapt to the aforementioned offset of the peristyle walls, reflected in the vertical axis (Fig. 6e)<sup>3</sup>. It is interesting to note the temporal –from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the Severan period– and spatial –Italy, *Britannia*, *Hispania*– scope of this geometric scheme.

Figure 6  
Parallels for the geometric composition.  
Comparative by Sergio García-Dils.



### 3.2 Helios

Module 1 and practically all of Module 2 have been lost due to the construction of the medieval wall (Fig. 4-1, 4-2). In the central square of Module 3 (Fig. 4-3), despite the existing void, we can clearly see the representation of a figure with long, unruly hair, dressed in a richly coloured garment that evokes a rainbow, although the colours –blue, red, green, yellow, navy blue– of the mosaic are not characteristic ones of the meteorological phenomenon (Fig. 7). In addition, we

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 6e is a photogrammetric orthophotography, so that the distortions that can be seen are those of the actual mosaic.



have as an attribute the presence of a whip or *flagellum* that could have been held in the right hand or else represented in the background, behind the right shoulder.

Figure 7  
Helios. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.



There are three arguments that lead us to identify this figure as Helios, in this case without the usual *corona radiata*. First, the depiction as a young figure with abundant, untidy, shoulder-length hair, which he shares with a number of well-documented images of the Hyperionides, including the image of Helios in the mosaic of the Planetarium at *Italica* (Fig. 8), also dressed in a richly

Figure 8  
Helios in the mosaic of the Planetarium at *Italica*. Photography by Daniel González.



coloured cloak (CMRE XIII: n°66, 69-71 pl. XXII - fig. 134 pl. XXIII - fig. 137), a second image also from *Italica* with the radiated bust of the god, originally part of a mosaic of planets, now partially preserved in the Casa de la Condesa de Lebrija (CMRE I: n°12, 36-37 pl. 33), or the image in the Archaeological Museum of Sparta (Yalouris - Visser-Choitz 1990: n°134, vol. 1, 1019). Second, the whip, one of the main attributes of the god, is linked to his characterisation as the driver of the solar chariot. Thus, this element appears, to cite some notable examples, in the Cosmological Mosaic of the Casa del Mitreo in Mérida, in his invocation as *Oriens*, the Rising Sun (Quet 1981; Letta 1988: n°341, vol. 1, 615 and vol. 2, 378); also, in the mosaic of the planets or Mosaik V, of the *uilla* of Orbe-Boscéaz (Gonzenbach 1961: 184, 187 pl. 60-61; Letta 1988: n°272, vol. 1, 610); in the Tunisian mosaic of the Zodiac and the Planets of Da Bir-Chana, in the Bardo Museum (Stern 1953: 60; Dunbabin 1978: 161, 249 pl. LXIV fig. 162; Stern 1981: 171, n° 92, pl. 34,1; San Nicolás 2014: 135). Finally, the presence on the same pavement of Selene (Fig. 4-5), reinforces the identification, as does likely representation of Mercury (Fig. 4-6), in line with the cosmological iconographic discourse in which a Wind (Fig. 4-4) and a *Dioscurus* (Fig. 4-8) are also depicted. As will be seen below in the section on the lunar divinity, it is common to find its association on the same decorative support with Helios-Sun, especially in pavements related to seasonal and planetary themes or, in general, to the passage of time. Indeed, Helios and Selene form a divine pair that embodied the concept of an ordered and comprehensible sky. Thus, among the most notable examples are the pavements of the Planetarium of *Italica* and Da Bir-Chana, as well as the Tunisian mosaic of *Aion* and the Seasons of the House of Silenus at El Djem-Thysdrus (Dunbabin 1978: pl. LXIII fig. 159; Letta 1988: n°400, vol. 1, 619).

The figure of Helios is not common in the mosaic iconography of *Baetica*, nor in *Hispania*. In addition to the parallels already listed in *Italica* and Mérida, we can recall his possible presence in a mosaic from Póvoa de Cós (Mourão 2008: 38-41) and the questionable identification of the seated male figure in the lost central part of the Fernán Núñez pavement (CMRE III: n°32, 50-54; Morand 1994: 245, 308-309 n°39).

### 3.3 Beardless Wind

The figure located in Module 4 is noticeably displaced upwards in the interior of the frame, which reinforces the point already made that, at least in some cases, the images were made before the geometric fields that surround them was finished (Fig. 4-4). This is a youthful figure of a beardless male individual, depicted in profile, with his eyes turned upwards, his hair neatly tied back – unlike the image in Module 11 (Fig. 4-11)– from which his wings are spread (Fig. 9). This, in addition to the representation of the air exhaled from his lips, allows us to identify the character with one of the winds.

The identification of the *Anemoi* is inevitably challenged by their iconographic variety and lack of definition (Simon 1997: *passim*). It would be tempting to relate the winds preserved in this mosaic, located respectively in Modules 4 and 11, to their spatial position in the western and eastern corridors of the peristyle. Thus, the wind described in this section would be the spring wind from the west, Zephyrus, while the one on the opposite side would be the autumn wind from the east, Euro. This interpretation is, however, prevented by the fact that the northern corridor has no figurative representations, and probably the southern neither. Furthermore, a good number of figures have been lost, a circumstance

Figure 9  
Beardless Wind. Photography by Sergio  
García-Dils.



that prevents us from having an overall picture of the iconography of the peristyle, so that we cannot even affirm that the four winds were present on the pavement. Finally, Modules 4 and 11 are not in reality symmetrical or directly spatially balanced.

A similar iconography of busts exhaling winds can be found in a mosaic from Sant'Agata in Petra Aurea on the Via Nomentana, now in the Vatican Museum (Simon 1997: n°4, vol. 1, 188 and vol. 2, 129); also in the mosaic of Aion, Gaea and Prometheus from *Philippopolis* (Shahba), now in the Syrian National Museum in Damascus, in which the epigraphic text identifies the two beardless winds as Noto and Euro (Simon 1997: n°8, vol. 1, 188; Blázquez 2008: 20 fig. 18). To these can be added the representation found in the mosaic of *Oceanus* in the Museu Arqueológico e Lapidar Infante D. Henrique in Faro (Portugal), which has been interpreted as Zephyrus, with which it shares similarities in terms of its execution, although without the exhaled air in this case (CMRP II.2: n°27b, 205, 215-219 pl. XIII-XIV; Lancha 1985: 160-161; Lancha 2008: 83-84).

Finally, it is worth mentioning, not so much for the iconography of the winds, but for the association with Helios and Selene –in addition to the signs of the Zodiac– a mosaic found in Alikakos plot, Triakosion street, in Sparta (Yalouris - Visser-Choitz 1990: n°290, vol. 1, 1026; Panayotopoulou 1998: 114 fig. 10.2, 117; Hachlili 2009: 53 fig. III-15; Panagiotopoulou 2011: 63; San Nicolás 2014: 138).

The well-groomed tied-back hair, as well as the youthful physical characteristics, suggest that this is a calm, gentle wind, perhaps Zephyrus, the west wind of spring, which is coincidentally the identification suggested for the Portuguese parallel. In any case, in the absence of an express epigraphic text, any identification is hazardous, since we have already seen how the beardless winds of the Syrian mosaic are in fact named as Noto and Euro.

As far as Écija itself is concerned, we only find representations of the winds in the Mosaic of the Allegory, documented in Avenida Miguel de Cervantes nº35 (CMRE XIV: nº32, 73-75 fig. 64). They appear in the corners, their habitual location in mosaic pavements, facing ahead, with an iconography of the masks of *Oceanus*, wearing winged helmets.

### 3.4 Selene

In Module 5 (Fig. 4-5), a female figure is depicted, dressed in a blue tunic, closed by a brooch on the right shoulder, wearing a necklace (Fig. 10). The lunar crescent behind the figure refers to Selene, in a composition that became popular in the Hellenistic period, when the form usually present as a circle or semicircle on the head became a crescent placed either on the head itself or behind her back, as is the case in the mosaic from *Astigi*, which is similar to the representations of the lunar goddesses of the Near East (Gury 1994: *passim*). Other attributes typical of the goddess do not appear, such as the torch or the whip (Auson., *Cup. Cruc.* 42), the veil around her head or, her main attribute in Roman times, the chariot with two horses with which she would cross the night sky (Pind.O. 3.19; Hom. h. *Ven.* 32.9-11; *Ov.met.* 2.208-209) and with which she is depicted in several mosaics.



Figure 10  
Selene. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.

The figure exceeds the frame at the top and to the right. Evidently, the figure was created first, and then the frame was adapted around it, resulting in the hairstyle being cut off at the top, which, together with the losses in that area, prevents us from knowing whether she was wearing a high bun and a diadem as is usual in other mosaic representations. She is dressed in blue, in contrast to the poetic descriptions of her brilliant whiteness suggestive of the moon's reflection.

The closest parallel we have, very similar both in iconography and composition and in the attitude of the figure, is found in the mosaic of the Calendar of the

House of the Planetarium at *Italica* (Fig. 11) (CMRE XIII: n°66, 69-71 pl. XXII - fig. 134 pl. XXIII - fig. 138). The most notable difference is that, in *Astigi*, the goddess's hair is tied back and does not fall over her shoulders, as well as the scale of the lunar crescent in relation to the figure. Unfortunately, this image has suffered the loss of the upper part, so we do not know if it would have shown the characteristic curl of hair on the forehead, as in the case of the Selene of *Italica*. Also close in iconography is the mosaic from the House of Silenus at El Djem-Thysdrus, with a similar hairstyle and a lunar crescent on an equivalent scale, although in this case she is covered with a *palla* that leaves her shoulders uncovered (Dunbabin 1978: pl. LXIII fig. 159; Letta 1988: n°400, vol. 1, 619; San Nicolás 2014: 136-137).

Figure 11  
Selene in the mosaic of the Planetarium at *Italica*. Photography by Daniel González.



Recently, San Nicolás has systematised the different figures in which Selene/Moon appears in Roman mosaics from a catalogue of 24 examples, establishing seven compositional schemes through which this deity appears in the pavements (San Nicolás 2014). These are as follows: related to the planets, to the months, to the seasons, her isolated astral attribute, with her brother Helios/Sun, with other gods and, finally, the evocation of her love affair with Endymion. Of all these types, the one that most closely resembles the representation from *Écija* is the one in which Selene appears in a mosaic alongside her brother Helios/Sun, as divinities associated with the ideas of cosmic order and the perpetual renewal of the cycle of life and time.

### 3.5 Mercury

Module 6 is atypical within the mosaic, as it is the only one in the courtyard framed by a triple band of tesserae (Fig. 4-6). This may, again, support the observation that, at least in some cases, the figures were created before the squares and, if there was additional space available here, that three bands were made instead of two. It could also have been a simple oversight on the part of the craftsman.

Almost all this image has been lost, although it is possible to recognise a figure whose head, seen turned three-quarters to the right of the square, is surmounted by two appendages, which can easily be identified as wings (Fig. 12). A small appendage of black tesserae has also been preserved on the figure's left shoulder, which may correspond to one of the figure's attributes or, perhaps, to part of

the cloak he wears or the brooch fastens it. We rule out the possibility that this figure may be a wind, as the other two preserved figures are depicted completely in profile.



Figure 12  
Mercury. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.

The immediate iconographic context, related to the planets, suggests that it is Mercury, the patron of merchants and traders, of business and transactions, and also the messenger of the gods (Baratta 2001), all of which are characteristics that fit the sociological profile of *colonia Augusta Firma* and its ruling elites, easily inclined to identify with this god who guaranteed the success of their commercial and productive enterprises and to use his image in the iconographic repertoire of their mansions. However, up until now, the evidence relating to this divinity in *Astigi* has been limited to the discovery of a small bronze figure of the nude god seated on a rock, based on classical Greek models, found by chance in the vicinity of the modern-day urban centre (Merchán 2015: 49-50 n.º 30, 117-118). It most probably came from a domestic *lararium* (Sáez et al. 2004: 210 n. 95). Also, on the mosaic of the *triclinium* of *Domus I* itself, the god is associated with the initial episode of the Rape of Europa.

Above, we have already mentioned the mosaics whose subject matter and iconography is like the new mosaic from *Écija*. Among them, the most relevant parallel is found, once again, in *Italica*, in the mosaic of the Planetarium, in which the god is represented without the *caduceus*, as the bust of a young man with wings on his head, covered by a cloak gathered with a *fibula* on his right shoulder, which is left uncovered (Fig. 13) (CMRE XIII: n.º66, 69-71 pl. XXII fig. 134 pl. XXIII fig. 140). We should also mention the bust of Mercury in the Tunisian mosaic of the Zodiac and the Planets of Da Bir-Chana, in which this divinity appears with a very simplified *caduceus* but without wings (Stern 1953: 60, 184 and pl. XXXIV.1; Dunbabin 1978: 161, 249 pl. LXIV fig. 162; Stern 1981: 171, n.º 92 pl. 34,1; San Nicolás 2014: 135).

Figure 13  
Mercury in the mosaic of the Planetarium at  
*Italica*. Photography by Daniel González.



It is worth noting in this case that the almost complete destruction of the image can be attributed to an episode of Christian iconoclasm, which would have taken place during the plundering of the *fistulae* that ran through the courtyard. At the time of the removal of the pipes, much of the mosaic was covered by the collapse of the roof of the perimeter gallery. When the area was cleared to remove the pipes, this image and that of Module 7 (Fig. 4-7) were exposed and then destroyed, leaving the *tessellae* scattered around them. A crude chrismon was even engraved on the base of the mosaic in Module 6<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.6 One of the *Dioscuri*

As mentioned above, Module 7 also shows intentional destruction of an iconoclastic nature, chronologically linked to the late-antique plundering of the pipes that ran under the mosaic pavement, on the side corresponding to the base of the columns of the peristyle (Fig. 4-7). In this case, the nature of the act is particularly evident, given that the square and the geometric pattern that surrounded it are perfectly preserved, and only the figurative area is damaged. Module 8, in contrast, due to the offset of the courtyard, contains only half of the geometric module (Fig. 4-8).

Presented as a youthful, long-haired male figure, this is a canonical representation of one of the *Dioscuri* (Fig. 14). His attributes are the usual ones, wearing a *pileus* crowned with a star, covered with a chlamys that leaves both shoulders uncovered and carrying a spear resting on his right arm. The spear is of a different colour in the part that protrudes over his shoulder, to distinguish it from the background.

Two points should be noted in relation to the new appearance of a *dioscurus* in *Domus I*, along with the one found in the *triclinium*. Firstly, it is striking that this is a motif that is especially represented in the works of the mosaic workshop working in *Astigi*, which operated during the Severan period, with known works in this same building and in the so-called mosaic of the Bacchic Triumph in Plaza de Santiago (García-Dils 2015: 295-296; CMRE XIV: n°8, 45-50), which brings to three the number of representations of the *Dioscuri* in *colonia Augusta*

<sup>4</sup> This intentional destruction of an iconoclastic character has been the subject of independent work by the authors of this paper, which is currently being published.



Figure 14  
*Dioscuros*. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.

*Firma*, perhaps due to the prophylactic nature of the twins. This is surprising, given the very few mosaic representations of the brothers. Secondly, in this new mosaic we find the first reliable mosaic representation of a *dioscuros* in this bust format, as opposed to all the other known cases in which they either appear full-length, alone –mosaic of the house of the Dioscuri (III.9.1) in Ostia (Gury 1986: n°10, vol. 1, 613 and vol. 2, 489; Dunbabin 1999: 64-65)– or with a horse –the two examples reported in Écija itself; the mosaic of the *tablinum* (room n°4) of the house of *Dionysos* at Nea Paphos (Daszewski - Michaelides 1988: 26-27 figs. 13-14); the Mosaic of the Horses in the House of Horses at *Carthago* (Gury 1986: n°22, vol. 1, 614 and vol. 2, 490; Dunbabin 1999: 116, 118 fig. 119)–, or only their attributes, such as the *pileus* crowned by a star –mosaic of the central passage of the *Mithraeum* of *Felicissimus* (V.9.1) in Ostia (Gury 1986: n°134, vol. 1, 625 and vol. 2, 500; Dunbabin 1999: 64); mosaic in the baths of *Insula IV* at Tindari (Dunbabin 1999: 130)–, or even still inside the egg from which they hatched –the *Mysteries* mosaic from Kornmarkt (Trier), in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, here shown as triplets, accompanied by Helena– (Gury 1986: n°145, vol. 1, 626 and vol. 2, 501; Dunbabin 1999: 85 fig. 85).

### 3.7 Dionysus

Moving on to the eastern corridor, we find that Module 9 has been lost, due to medieval looting linked to the extraction of materials for the construction of the Alcázar enclosure (Fig. 4-9). Next, we find, partially preserved, Module 10, the geometric pattern of which was the object of a very unfortunate restoration, in Roman times (Fig. 4-10).

In this frame, we are presented with the usual image of Dionysus: beardless,



wearing a crown of vines and carrying the characteristic *thyrsus* (Fig. 15). Thus, the god appears in one of the forms most used in Roman mosaics, that is as a static figure absent of narrative content and, in this case, isolated, unlike other cases in which he is depicted with companions from his singular world –silenes, seasons, etc.–. As such, his image is used as a conventional and decorative motif in the context of the fashion of the times and for visual enjoyment, without any identifiable connection with the religious beliefs or cult practices of the commissioner of the mosaic. At most, this image could be associated with the *domus* owner's taste for Bacchic themes and their connotations, well-expressed in other rooms of the house, with ideas of abundance, prosperity, enjoyment of pleasures and well-being. As C. Dunbabin rightly pointed out in relation to North African Dionysian scenarios, “*in other instances we may suspect that the religious significance of the subject has been dissipated by constant use; in some of the domestic contexts in which it appears, it may well represent nothing more than the triumphant power of the god of wine*” (Dunbabin 1978: 182).

Figure 15  
Dionysus. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.



As for parallels in the province of *Baetica*, this image is reminiscent of the central motif of the mosaic of triangles and water birds in Plazuela de Santo Domingo n°5-7 on the corner of Calle Almonas in Écija itself, in which, despite the loss of part of the floor, the bust of Bacchus can be identified, or, less probably, that of Thetis (CMRE XIV: n°47, 91-92 figs. 81, 83). Its identification in three mosaics from *Italica* in which the bust of the divinity is clearer (CMRE II: n°2, 26-27 pl. 8-10; CMRE II: n°3, 27-28 pl. 11-13; CMRE II: n°14, 38 pl. 37; Blázquez 1984: passim).

Among the iconographic parallels to the image of Bacchus outside the Iberian Peninsula, we should mention the following examples: in the Lugdunensis region, with a *thyrsus* on his back and crowned with ivy, in the *uilla* of Goiffieux in Saint-Laurent d'Agny (Balmelle - Darmon 2017: 90-91 figs. 113-114). He is

also depicted in the *triclinium* of the *domus* of Boulevard de la République in Aix-en-Provence (Balmelle - Darmon 2017: 143 fig. 173). Crowned with vines, his image is present in two mosaics from the Villa Dionysus at Knossos in Crete (Dunbabin 1999: 211-212; Sweetman 2013: 49, 159-160, pl. 1, 162-164, pl. 3). Also, in the Villa Constantiniana in Antioch –today at the Rhode Island School of Design– with his usual bunches of grapes in his hair (Levi 1971: 245-248 pl. CLXII; Augé - Linant de Bellefonds 1986: n°54, vol. 1, 519 and vol. 2, 411). Finally, the one from a shallow pool at Zeugma, now in the Gaziantep Mosaic Museum (Başgelen - Ergeç 2000).

The Dionysian theme is the most frequent one in the mosaics of *Astigi*, in keeping with the immense popularity of this divinity throughout the Roman world. There are numerous mosaics depicting this divinity in his various hypostases, located in halls and public performance spaces inside mansions and *domus*. As a complex divinity, his presence in the iconographic repertoires is justified for various reasons (Dunbabin 1978: 173-187; Detienne 2000: *passim*): his consideration as a foreign god, a *xenos* who must be welcomed in accordance with the sacred laws of hospitality and *xenophilia* of which the god is the patron; the recognition of his role as the saviour of mankind, of which he is considered the privileged protector; as the deity who transmitted the knowledge of vine cultivation and wine production, a facet well-represented in the mosaics of *Hispania* and particularly of *Astigi* (Blázquez 1984; Mañas 2007-2008: 102-103; CMRE XIV: 19-24).

### 3.8 Bearded Wind - Possibly Boreas

Module 11 contains a bearded male figure depicted in profile, with long, untidy hair (Fig. 4-11). The wind itself is clearly represented by the bluish-coloured tesserae exhaled from his lips (Fig. 16). As mentioned above in relation to



Figure 16  
Bearded wind, possibly Boreas. Photography  
by Sergio García-Dils.

Module 4, the identifications of the *Anemoi* are challenged by their iconographic variety and general lack of specificity.

In the iconographic aspect, within the parallels already offered, it is worth emphasising the similarity of the wind represented here with the one identified as Boreas in the mosaic of Oceanus from Faro (Lancha 1985: 161; Lancha 2008: 84; CMRP II.2: n°27b, 205, 215-219 pl. XIII-XIV). It should also be recalled that in the mosaic of Aion, Gaea and Prometheus from *Philippopolis* (Shahba), the epigraphic text identifies the two bearded winds as Zephyrus and Boreas (Simon 1997: n°8, vol. 1, 188; Blázquez 2008: 20 fig. 18). In view of these parallels and the iconographic characteristics of the figure on the new pavement from Écija, we are inclined to identify the fierce north wind, Boreas, here too.

### 3.9 Return from the Hunt

Module 12 is extensively damaged (Fig. 4-5), although it is possible to recognise a series of elements that suggest that it is a scene following a hunting episode – not an *uenatio per se* – in which the hunted games are presented to a seated figure located on the left of the composition (Fig. 17).

Figure 17  
Return from the hunt. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.



We will discuss now about the figures who can be recognised in the scene from right to left. First, we have a figure dressed in a short tunic and wearing boots with laces hanging from the front that allow us to identify them as *cothurni uenatici* (Fig. 4-12A), the boots worn by hunters according to some literary sources (Aymard 1951: 204).<sup>5</sup> He is depicted carrying an animal on his back, whose hindquarters have been preserved. The figure is bent over, to show that he is supporting a heavy weight, throwing back his left arm to better grasp the hunted animal by the belly. Judging by the size of the animal, the stylised proportions of the legs, the cloven hooves, the tiny tail, the brownish colour of the back which turns lighter and whiter on the abdomen and legs, and the mottled skin, it is clearly a fallow deer (*damma*; Aymard 1951: 18-19).

Next to the feet of the previous figure are the hindquarters of a dog seen from the side walking in the direction of march, towards the left, undoubtedly one of the

<sup>5</sup> Serv., *ad Aen.* 1.337: “*coturni sunt calciamenta etiam uenatoria, crura quoque uincientia, quorum quiuus utriusque aptus est pedis*”. In his commentary on Virgil, Probus (*Ad Verg. G.* 2.8) refers to this footwear as the typical one of hunters: “*cothurni sunt calceamentorum genera uenatorum, quibus crura etiam muniuntur, cuius calceamenti efigies est in simulacris Liberi et Dianae*”.

canine participants in the hunt (Fig. 4-12B). Its skin is composed of tesserae of blackish tones. It would be risky to determine the breed based on information as brief as the tail and hindquarters, unlike in other mosaics, where this is feasible, and thus, for example, the presence of greyhounds can be determined in some North African hunting scenes (Aymard 1951: 235-293; Dunbabin 1978: 49, 257 pl. 22). In any case, the silhouette of the dog would be perfectly compatible with that of a Spanish greyhound, a native Iberian breed.

To the right of the two preceding figures, on a small leafless tree, we find a barn swallow perched (Fig. 4-12C), depicted schematically, but with great realism both in terms of its proportions and in the details of its colouring, such as the rufous throat. The presence of the tree and other plant elements is evidence of a rural landscape setting in which the scene takes place.

Next, we can identify a horse (Fig. 4-12D), of which part of the head, the two front legs, and one of the hind legs have been preserved. The right front hoof is slightly raised and overlaps the left rear hoof, which allows us to recognise that the equine is in a static position, practically facing the front, with its body turned to the right, while its head is turned to the left of the scene. Below the horse, a vague shape appears, perhaps corresponding to another hunted animal or one of the instruments used in the hunt. In front of the equine, a barefoot figure advances (Fig. 4-12E), holding a hare in his right hand, in an attitude of offering it to the seated figure (Fig. 4-12F).

The scene is completed, on the far left, by the seated figure (Fig. 4-12F), whose right foot can be recognised, wearing sandals, as well as the right knee, bent and covered by a multicolored cloak in brownish tones. The state of the mosaic prevents us from knowing for sure on what type of piece of furniture or support the figure would have been installed, although from the small volume of black tesserae underneath it, with a right-angled base, it could be suggested that it is a seat with a backrest.

The recognizable vegetation in the painting –scrawny tree, bare bushes– suggests that the scene is set in winter, although the presence of the barn swallow would suggest that we are already in the transition to spring. The figure of the bird perched on the branch of the tree suggests the images surrounding the central emblem of the *Oceanos* mosaic in one of the *domus* in the Plaza de España in Ecija, and in which a seasonal connotation can also be assumed in view of the clear differences in the foliage of the trees (CMRE XIV: n°45, 88-90 figs. 79A, 79B). On the other hand, the schematic and stylised representation of the tree can be directly related to the vegetal elements present in the mosaic of the Loves of Zeus, in the *triclinium* of this same *domus*.

Also, in other Ecijan mosaic pavements, such as those that appear in the Triumph of Bacchus in the Plaza de Santiago, specifically in the scenes of Orpheus and Narcissus, the work of this same Astigitan mosaic workshop, although in these two cases they have been represented with greater exuberance (CMRE XIV: n°8, 49-50 fig. 15). Furthermore, in three of the semicircles surrounding the central scene of the mosaic of the Rape of Europa on Espíritu Santo street (CMRE XIV: n°21, 59-60 fig. 41), where a maenad with thyrsus and two male figures from the Bacchic procession with *nebrys*, syringa and *pedum* appear respectively, around which some bushes or shrubs, or even saplings, are placed, very similar in execution to the one in our mosaic. Finally, a bush of similar conventionality is also found in the central emblem of another Astigitan mosaic, very fragmented, from a *domus* on the Cerro de la Pólvara street (CMRE XIV: n°57, 98 fig. 91-92). All of them are examples of how a specific ornamental motif can allow

different mosaic pavements to be attributed to the same group of craftsmen or to groups linked to each other by their forms of work, in this case in the same urban community of *colonia Augusta Firma*.

Regarding the games hunted, we will not cite here the numerous musive parallels documented for the moment of the hunt itself, or with the animals still in the wild, but specifically those related to the scene we are dealing with. Concerning fallow deer, we count in Roman Hispania textual testimonies on the hunting of Cervidae. For example, on a marble altar dedicated to Diana, in her role as the goddess of hunting, by a legate of *Legio VII Gemina* (CIL II 2660 = *HEp* 2002, 317), the inscribed text reflects the hunting activity of the dedicant, mentioning *capreae* (roe deers) and *cerui* (deers). Martial, on the other hand, states that *dammae* (fallow deers) were hunted in his lands of Laletania in Tarragona, specifying that this was done with the aid of nets (Mart. 1.49.23; cf. Aymard 1951: 67, 165, 212, 252, 353). Aymard, the author of reference in hunting matters, reflects on the introduction by the Romans of the fallow deer into western Europe, coming from central or eastern Europe, in a state of partial domestication, which fits in well with both the chronology of the mosaic presented here, and with the possible relevance given to the piece in the mosaic pavement, perhaps coming from a reserve owned by the commissioning family (Aymard 1951: 18-19, 67, 98, 110, 113, 115, 212, 252, 353). As far as we have been able to document, the way in which the fallow deer is carried by a single individual constitutes a *hapax*. In general, for larger games, such as deer, it is usual to carry them by two people, as can be seen, for example, in a mosaic from the Roman villa of East Coker, in the Museum of Somerset (<https://somersetcollections.org.uk/object/tncm-a-266/>, accessed: January 10, 2022).

As for the hare, we have a good number of parallels for the representation of individuals holding a hunted one. In this context, we have, for example, the mosaic from the Maison de la Chasse at Utica (Dunbabin 1978: 57, 62 fig. 33); also, the mosaic from the Maison de Bacchus at Djemila; also, one of the scenes in the mosaic of the Small Hunt in the villa del Casale in Piazza Armerina, in which we see a bearded hunter holding a hare in his left hand and a *uenabulum* on the other hand, at the end of the hunt (Lavin 1963: fig. 110; Carandini et al. 1982: 178, fig. 95, foglio XXIV; Dunbabin 1999: 133 fig. 137). Similar images are also found in representations related to the grape harvest (Dunbabin 1978: 116-117 n. 27; Hachlili 2009: 154-155), as in the mosaic of the *Dominus Iulius* at Carthage, in the Bardo National Museum (Dunbabin 1978: 119-121 fig. 109; Parrish 1979: passim; Parrish 1984: 111-113 n° 9 pl. 15, 16b; Dunbabin 1999: 118-119 fig. 122), or in the mosaic with vintage scenes from Cherchel (Dunbabin 1978: 116 pl. D fig. 107).

Finally, concerning the games hunted, it can also be noted that the hunting of fallow deer and hares would fit well with the winter dates we propose for the scene, as Virgil, among other authors, expressively recounts when referring to the activities typical of this season: “*the time to set snares for cranes and nets for the stag, and to chase the long-eared hares; the time to smite the fallow deers*” (Verg., *G.* 1.307-308; Aymard 1951: 115, 165, 353). Perhaps the possible presence of the cold north wind, Aquilo / Boreas, in the preceding panel of the mosaic can be interpreted in this sense, as Martial points out: “*And when rimy December and winter wild shall howl with the hoarse Aquilo, you will go back to the sunny shores of Tarraco and your own Laletania. There you will slaughter fallow deers snared in soft-meshed toils and native boars and run the cunning hare to death with your stout horse –stags you will leave to the bailiff–*” (Mart. 1.49.19-26).

Regarding the composition and attitude of the figures and animals present in the Ecijan pavement, they remind us of well-known scenes, such as one of those represented in the aforementioned mosaic of the Small Hunt in the villa del Casale in Piazza Armerina, in that case in relation to the presentation of offerings to Diana. Thus, the position of the horse in the Sicilian scene would be very similar to that which can be reconstructed on the new Astigitan pavement, with the body represented three-quarter length, facing to the right, while turning its head, held by the reins, to the opposite side.

As for the possible seated representation of the *dominus* or *domina* on the left of our composition, to whom the results of the hunt are being offered, it evokes an atmosphere like that contained in the mosaic of *Dominus Iulius*, which shows the lord and lady of the estate seated beside the buildings of their villa, and receiving the gifts of its seasonal produce, a hare among them. The uses and visual conventions used in Roman iconography, in general, and on the musive pavements, in particular, of seating to mark social differentiation and statutory rank are well known: slaves, servants and dependents, standing; lords, ladies, owners of the mansions and dignitaries, seated (Bermejo 2018: 86-88).

In conclusion, this is the first example of a hunting-related scene in the extensive mosaic repertoire of *colonia Augusta Firma*. Hunting as an iconographic motif in mosaics developed especially from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, particularly in North Africa and Italy, with notable examples also in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>6</sup>. In fact, it is the Severan period that saw the decisive projection of the theme in western mosaics, using an expository technique centred on the juxtaposition of narrative paintings presenting various episodes of the hunt as opposed to the use of *emblemata* typical of the Hellenistic world (Blázquez - López Monteagudo 1990: 61; López Monteagudo 1991; Duran 2011: 315-316). Before this, scenes of this type with examples of country life and hunting motifs were rare in the mosaics of Hispania, unlike in the Late Roman period, where this iconographic theme was widely represented from Severan times onwards.

Unfortunately, the scene on our pavement is very damaged and prevents us from being able to go deeper into the idea of the message that the commissioner of the mosaic wanted to express with the use of iconographic references linked to hunting, one of the characteristic interests of the aristocracy and a model of their ideal of life, their personality, their philosophy of life, and their spirit as a privileged and proud social class: an expression of their status of wealth and economic capacity expressed graphically in the musive art, the occupation of sovereigns and dynasts, especially from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards (Morand 1994: passim). The use of this iconographic motif is also related to the invocation of good fortune, or *felicitas temporum*, which gives form to the aristocratic values of the *otium* of the wealthy classes, one of the best reflections of which is to be found in their grand residences. The *uirtus* of the great landowner is manifested, for example, in the hunting activity that members of the ruling classes boast of in so many mosaics in their dwellings. This kind of scene is present on many pavements from all periods, but became more widespread in late imperial times, as a symbol of social status and of the practice of hunting by the great lords on their properties, considered to be one of their main hobbies, and also conceived as one of the most effective mechanisms for identifying their social class (Aymard 1951: passim; Lavin 1963: passim; Levi 1971: 236-244; Dunbabin 1978: 46-64; Blázquez - López Monteagudo 1990: passim; López Monteagudo 1991: passim;

<sup>6</sup> Anyway, representations of hunting scenes are not very numerous at Baetica, cf. López Monteagudo - Neira 2010: 156-158.

Neira 2007: 267-270). Through the representations of hunting in mosaic art, the ruling elites project an image of power and self-representation of their value in the exercise of their virtue, identified with victory and triumph over wild animals and as an allegory of triumphant glory, an ethic of heroic meaning characteristic of the lordly behaviour of the great *dominus*, especially from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onward.

Nevertheless, the little that has survived of the scene allows us to observe a realistic treatment of the figures, both animal and human, with naturalistic details drawn from the interests and everyday reality of the patron who commissioned the pavement, apparently imbued with the new realist tendencies that spread in mosaic art from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, particularly in the Severan period, when the fashion for the representation of themes taken from contemporary life spread (Dunbabin 1978: 112, 114).

Given that this is not strictly speaking the representation of a *uenatio*, it is worth asking whether a mythological episode is being depicted here, following the general tone of the mosaic decoration of this *domus*. In this case, we could consider the possibility of relating the scene to the myth of Atalanta and Meleager, which is usually combined with hunting scenes (Apollod. 1.8.2-3; 3.9.2; Ov.met. 8.270 ff., Hyg.fab. 175). We rule out this option since in the preserved part of the new Astigitan mosaic there is no indication of the presence of the Calidon boar, which should be one of the central axes of the composition. Moreover, the only two figures likely to carry its carcass are already carrying two small animals that have nothing to do with the development of this story.

Another option that we discard is that we are dealing with a ceremony such as the "*honneurs du pied*" that some Greco-Roman literary and iconographic sources recall associated with the more common and better attested practice of dedicating to the divinities of rustic sanctuaries the head, fenders, teeth, or antlers of hunted animals (Aymard 1951: 508-512; *Sch. Ar. Pl.* 943a-c; Chantry 2009: 342-343).

### 3.10 The Summer

In Module 13, the mosaic returns to the general geometric scheme of the rest of the pavement (Fig. 4-13). Although badly damaged, we can recognise here the bust of a female figure, three-quarter length, with a sickle turned inward, superimposed on the figure's right shoulder (Fig. 18). The dress leaves the right shoulder uncovered. She appears to be wearing a deep blue necklace.

It may be proposed that this is the personification of Aestas, the Summer. In that case, by analogy with the figure seen in the neighbouring mosaic of the Loves of Zeus, we would expect the usual cereal spikes to appear behind his left shoulder (Abad 1990: passim; Dennert 2009: passim; for Hispania, Rueda 2011: 161-162).

There are numerous parallels for this stereotypical depiction, as we have already seen in the section dedicated to the seasons in mosaic of the *triclinium*. In Ecija, we can mention again the mosaic of the Plaza de Santiago, where the personification of the summer season wears a blue cloak covering his left shoulder, the sickle on his right shoulder and a cereal wreath on his head (CMRE XIV: n°8, 48 fig. 15); also, the mosaic of the Allegory of Miguel de Cervantes avenue, where the eros representing summer holds a sickle in his right hand (CMRE XIV: n°32, 74 fig. 64). In *Italica*, in the Ibarra mosaic of the Seasons, the corresponding bust, wearing a cereal wreath, has a sickle superimposed on



Figure 18  
The Summer. Photography by Sergio García-Dils.

the right shoulder (CMRE XIII: n°79, 83-84 pl. XXVIII fig. 171); similarly, in the mosaic with Bacchic Busts, we see Summer with a wreath, a sickle on his right shoulder, and a pitchfork on the left one (CMRE II: n°3, 27-28 pl. 11-13). Finally, in the *Corduba* mosaic of Bacchus, where Aestas is symbolised by a bust in bluish robes wearing a cereal wreath, with a sickle on her left shoulder (CMRE III: n°12, 30 pl. 13).

Among the African parallels, we cite here the Algerian mosaic of the Four Seasons from Aïn Babouche, with the cereal crown and the sickle superimposed on the right shoulder, because of the similarity in the representation of this agricultural instrument (Parrish 1984: n°4, 99-101 pl. 6, 7b).

### 3.11 Chronology

In a recent work, Mañas has summarised the main characteristics of musive production in Hispania between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> (Mañas 2019: 154-155): a predilection for polychrome designs as opposed to the black and white bichrome pavements of the previous period, aligned with the Italic taste of the commissioners, centralised compositions around hexagons or octagons, compartmentalisation of the pavement surface into small quadrangular spaces, also hexagonal or octagonal, associated with geometric or vegetal decoration, with the latter preferring designs based on braids, Solomon's knots, *peltae* and schematic vegetal forms. As we have seen in the preceding lines, many of these premises are met in the case of the mosaic we present here, which in principle offers us a first approximation to the chronological delimitation of this pavement.

The study of the ceramic artifacts recovered in the archaeological excavation, together with the stratigraphic relationships of the documented structures,



allows us to narrow this chronology, establishing that the musive decoration of the *domus* corresponds to the general renovation undertaken in the house in the Severan period, linked to the urban transformation of this sector of the city, which included, for example, the repair and enhancement of the water supply (Ordóñez - García-Dils 2021: passim). This chronology fits well with the main panel of the peristyle, which is dedicated to hunting, a theme that, as López Monteagudo (1991: 499) points out, was introduced in the West in Severan times.

### 3.12 Some Conclusions

The mosaics presented in this paper illustrate the interesting question of paving as a hierarchical element of domestic space, as well as an indicator of movement inside the house and a decorative marker of the use of space, as Mañas (2007-2008: 93-99) points out in her studies. Thus, we see a notable contrast between passage areas, such as the atrium, and some secondary rooms, which present a sober paving of calcarenite tamped with lime and sand mortar, and the rich mosaics presented here, corresponding to reception and representation spaces.

It is possible to interpret as areas destined for the installation of furniture those with an exclusive presence of geometric patterns. These would be both the “L” of three-dimensional cubes in the mosaic of the Loves of Zeus in the *triclinium* and the rear part of the room decorated with the Satyr / Silenus pavement, which we identify as the *tablinum*, where we can reconstruct a large panel with geometric decoration from the surviving evidence. Also, in the northern corridor of the peristyle, which suggests the seasonal use of this area, perhaps as a summer dining room. It should be noted that both the *triclinium* mosaic and the northern corridor show notable erosion, with occasional deterioration marks indicating the presence of furniture legs.

In the case of the *triclinium*, the intended effect on the guests is particularly evident, as the orientation of the scenes in the central panel converge towards the corner where the *lecti* were installed, especially in the case of the depictions of the seasons located in the corners.

Regarding the peristyle, it should be noted that the presence of figural panels is striking, especially that of the return of the hunt, in areas eminently for passage, something that seems more typical of the eastern part of the Empire, as can be seen in the House of Dyonisos in Nea Paphos (Mañas 2007-2008: 94).

There is no evident discursive logic in the preserved iconographic ensemble. The winds do not occupy a defined position within the ensemble, as might be the angles of the peristyle, nor are they occupied by the seasons, as evidenced by the presence of a *Dioscuros* in the northwest corner. Winds, stars, planets, etc. alternate indistinctly.

We can see how different mosaic workshops concurred in this *domus* during the Severan period, executing works with similar themes, although they contributed their own points of view and iconographic resources, which are different in the cases analysed. We can once again affirm the stable or, at least, prolonged presence of the *officina* that executed the mosaic of the Loves of Zeus presented here and other pavements in *colonia Augusta Firma*, such as the Triumph of Dionysus from the Plaza de Santiago, the mosaic of Briseis or a scene from the Iliad, from Calle Espíritu Santo, and in the so-called “mosaic of cubes” from Plaza de España. This raises, once again, the suggestive question of the itinerancy of these craftsmen throughout the main cities and *uillae* of *Baetica*, as well as the circulation of cartons of the models represented, as Neira (2019: passim; 2020: passim) and Mañas (2011: passim) have drawn attention to in documented works on the subject.

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# The Lod Mosaics: From Luxurious Roman Mansion to Catalyst for Urban and Social Change

## Lod Mozaikleri: Lüks Roma Konağından Kentsel ve Sosyal Değişimin Katalizörüne

Amir GORZALCZANY - Ram SHOEFF\*

(Received 06 November 2021, accepted after revision 02 September 2022)

### Abstract

*In mid-2021, the Museum and Visitor Centre in the city of Lod, Israel, was inaugurated, housing the remains of the magnificent mosaics discovered in the city, to be finally exhibited to the public. This event, almost 25 years after the beginning of the sporadic excavations of the site by the IAA (Israel Antiquities Authority), seems an appropriate moment to briefly recapitulate on the findings, the history of the research and its scientific and, why not, communal significance. This spectacular site consists of a large Roman domus which includes a lavish colorful mosaic paving a large triclinium, that was exposed in the most prestigious museums in the world. Also includes a peristyle courtyard, and various rooms, all paved with luxurious mosaics. The project (excavated in 1996, 2009, 2014 and 2018) attracted the public attention and enjoyed from its beginning incessant media covering. The mosaics, which depict accurately figures from the animal kingdom, were built in the best style of the time, and boast influences from different parts of the empire.*


*The long process has by no means been simple and the difficulties have been numerous, starting with the chronic lack of funds to finance such a project, the initial resistance and distrust of the inhabitants of the neighborhood and the countless logistical, archaeological, and political impediments.*


*The article summarizes the archaeological findings at the mosaic, and also focuses on the process that went through the modest neighborhood that houses it, from the initial opposition and disbelief of the inhabitants towards the authorities to the recognition of the value of the antiquities. The article also reviews the approach to conservation, the philosophy behind the planning of the museum and the hope for integration into the community framework, to create a sense of belonging and local pride. Beyond its outstanding archaeological, artistic, and scientific value, the Lod mosaic, which began its life in the fourth century CE as part of an elitist and wealthy mansion, can today fulfil an important function as a catalyst for social change and improvement.*

**Keywords:** *Lod Mosaic, Diospolis, Visitors Center, Sinopia, marine scene.*

### Öz

*2021 yılının ortalarında, İsrail'in Lod kentinde şehirde keşfedilen muhteşem mozaikleri barındıran Müze ve Ziyaretçi Merkezi'nin açılışı yapılmış ve nihayet halka sergilenmeye başlanmıştır. IAA (İsrail Eski Eserler Kurumu) tarafından 25 yıldır aralıklı olarak sürdürülen kazılardan sonra, bu yayın, bulguları, araştırmanın tarihi ile bilimsel ve kamusal önemini genel olarak kısaca özetlemek için hazırlanmıştır. Bu muhteşem arkeolojik alan, dünyanın en prestijli müzelerinde sergilenen büyük bir triclinium'u döşeyen cömert renkli bir mozaik içeren büyük bir Roma domusundan oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca peristil avlusu ve tamamı lüks mozaiklerle döşenmiş çeşitli odalar barındırmaktadır. Proje (1996, 2009, 2014 ve 2018'de kazılmıştır) halkın dikkatini*

\* Amir Gorzalczany, Research Archaeologist, Scientific Processing Branch, Publications Department, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), 12 Lavanda St. Tel Aviv, Israel.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6910-6776>. E-mail: amir@israntique.org

Ram Shoeff, Conservation Architect, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), 12 Lavanda St. Tel Aviv, Israel.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8126-7932>. E-mail: ramsh@israntique.org.il

*This article is dedicated to the memory of Miriam Avissar (Hamburg 1940-Jerusalem 2015), friend, colleague and first researcher of the Lod Mosaic.*

*çekmiş ve başından beri aralıksız medyada yer almasının keyfini çıkarmıştır. Hayvanlar aleminden figürleri doğru bir şekilde betimleyen mozaikler, zamanının en iyi tarzında işlenmiştir ve imparatorluğun farklı bölgelerinden gelen etkilere sahiptir.*

*Makalede, mozaik ve arkeolojik buluntuları özetlemekte, aynı zamanda mütevazı yerel halkın yetkililere karşı antik eserlerin değerine karşı gösterdikleri inançsızlıktan eserlerin değerini kabullenişlerine kadar geçen süreç de sunulmaktadır. Makale ayrıca koruma yaklaşımını, müzenin planlamasının ardındaki felsefeyi ve bir aidiyet duygusu ve yerel gurur yaratmak için topluluk çerçevesine uyum umudunu da gözden geçirmektedir. 4. yüzyılda seçkin ve zengin bir malikânenin parçası olarak yaşamına başlayan Lod Mozaïği, olağanüstü arkeolojik, sanatsal ve bilimsel değerinin ötesinde, bugün sosyal değişim ve gelişme için önemli bir katalizör işlevi görebilir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lod Mozaïği, Diospolis, Ziyaretçi Merkezi, Sinopia, deniz sahnesi.

## Introduction

The Shelby White and Leon Levy Fund Museum and Visitor's Centre in Lod, Israel, housing the magnificent mosaics discovered in the city, will be inaugurated and opened to the public at the end of 2021, a quarter of a century after the first Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) excavations at the site. This is an appropriate occasion to summarize the finds and the history of research, as well as the scientific and communal significance of the mosaics.

The inauguration of the museum, built thanks to the generous support of the Shelby White and Leon Levy Fund, is the culmination of a long process that began in 1996 when infrastructure works stumbled on the first traces of what would later become known as the 'Lod Mosaic'. The mosaic was excavated successively in 1996, 2009, 2014 and 2018, from the original IAA excavations directed by Miriam Avissar until the latest excavations directed by Amir Gorzalczany.<sup>1</sup> The process has not been straightforward, and the numerous difficulties included the lack of funds to finance the project, the initial distrust and opposition of the local residents and innumerable logistical, archaeological, and political impediments.

The city of Lod (Hebrew: לוד ; Arabic: al-Ludd, اللد ; Latin: Lidda, Diospolis; Greek: Λύδδα, Διόσπολις, City of Zeus; Fig.1) is located in the coastal plain of Israel, c. 15 km southeast of Tel Aviv (Fig. 1); today it has a population of c. 77,000. Like other cities in Israel, including Ramla and Jaffa (Joppa), Jerusalem, Tiberias and Acre, it is a historic city with a rich cultural heritage, exemplified by archaeological remains dating back to the Neolithic period (Kaplan 1997; Gopher - Blockman 2004) and throughout history (Schwartz 1991: 2015). These cities, however, are living, expanding and developing entities, whose citizens have basic requirements, leading to a conflict between the preservation of the cultural heritage and the construction of housing and the maintenance of modern infrastructures. Consequently, development work in areas of potential

<sup>1</sup> The research of the Lod mosaic (2009, 2014 and 2018 seasons) was carried out under the auspices of the IAA and funded by the Shelby White and the Leon Levy Foundation. In addition to the directors, the participants included Uzi 'Ad, Hagit Torgë, Eriola Jakoel and Yossi Elisha (area supervisors), Assaf Peretz, Ataliá Fadida and Nikki Davidov (photography), Sky View (aerial photography), Peter Gendelman (area supervisor and ceramics), Donald Tzvi-Ariel (numismatics), Eli Bachar and Jonathan Amrani (administration), Ro'ee Liran, Rivka Mishayev (field plans), Natalia Zak (final plans), Anjelina Degot (GIS and maps). The conservation and removal of the mosaics was directed by Jaques Neguer and Ghaleb Abu-Dihab, and the mosaics were studied by Rina Talgam (Hebrew University of Jerusalem). The authors are deeply grateful for the cooperation of Liat Weinblum, Yossi Levy, Anan Azab, Idan Jonish, Israel Kornfeld, Doron-Ben-Ami, Durar Massarwa, Amit Shadman, Gideon Avni, Uzi Dahari, Hilla Berger (IAA), Eitan Ayalon (Eretz-Israel Museum), Ze'ev Weiss (Hebrew University of Jerusalem). Bedouin workers from the village of Bir al-Maksur in the Lower Galilee also participated, as well as archaeology students from the Renmin University (Beijing-China) under the guidance of Wei Jian, through the Confucius Institute in Tel Aviv with the assistance of Ori Sela. We are grateful to the Municipality of Lod for its support, and to the residents of the Nevé Yara neighborhood for their patience and understanding. Figures 1–13, 18–19 are by courtesy of the IAA.

Figure 1  
Sites referred to in this research (Ram Shoeff after Angelina Dagot).

Figure 2  
Plan of the mansion excavated at Lod: The main triclinium excavated in 1996 by M. Avissar (1), the peristyle courtyard excavated in 2009 and 2014 by M. Avissar and A. Gorzalczany (2), and the small triclinium excavated in 2018 by A. Gorzalczany (3) (Natalia Zak).

heritage value is carried out with the archaeological supervision of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). This routine supervision work often exposes important archaeological finds that, as in this case, lead to archaeological salvage excavations.

The excavations at Lod were carried out in 1996, and renewed in 2009 (Avissar 1996; 1998; 1999; 2001; Bowersock et al. 2015), 2014 and 2018 (Gorzalczany 2015; 2016, 2018; 2019; forthcoming; Gorzalczany et al. 2016; 2020; Gorzalczany - Rosen 2018; 2019: figs. 2–3), exposing a luxurious mansion (*domus*) with a large reception room (*triclinium*) (Figs. 2:1; 3:1; 4-5) and a peristyle courtyard (Figs. 2:2; 3:2; 6), both paved with excellently preserved mosaic floors; the 2018

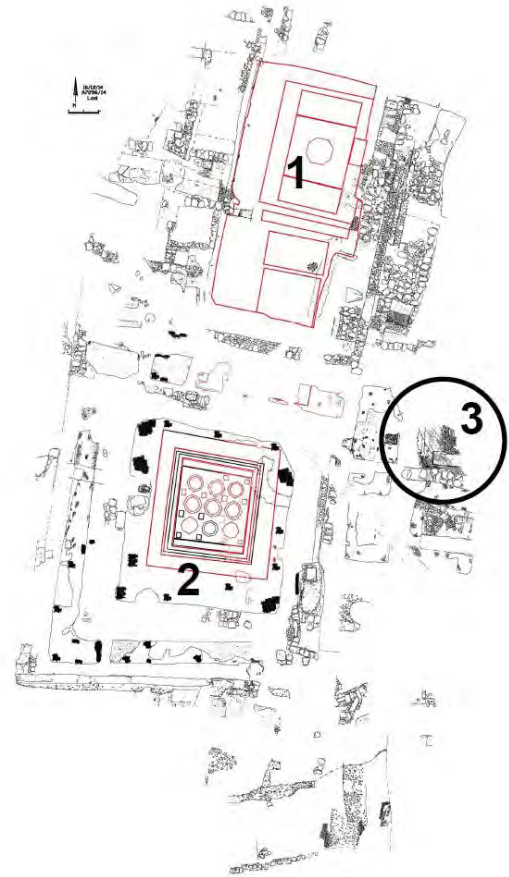
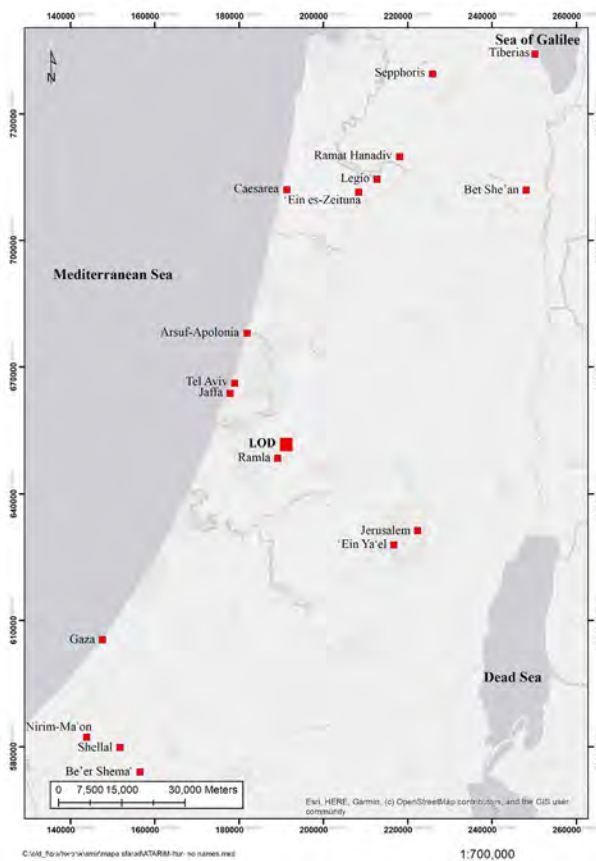


Figure 3  
Air photo of the excavations, view to the east, showing that the mosaic is located on the outskirts of the city. The photograph was taken at the end of the 2014 season. It shows the empty place of the mosaic of the main triclinium, at that time on display abroad (1), the still *in situ* peristyle courtyard (2), and the site of the small triclinium, at that time not yet excavated, as it was discovered in 2018. (3) (photo: Sky View).





Figure 4  
The main mosaic northern carpet (photo Nikki Davidov).

Figure 5  
The main mosaic, central panel (photo Nikki Davidov).

Figure 6  
The peristyle courtyard at the end of excavations in 2014, looking west (photo Assaf Peretz).



excavation season exposed an additional mosaic of this mansion (Figs. 2:3; 3:3; 7). In this article, we briefly describe the former two mosaics in the light of similar mosaics at sites in the Roman Empire, specifically in the southern Levant, and we present the third, more recently discovered mosaic in more detail (Gorzalczany 2015; Gorzalczany et al. 2016). Subsequently we consider the role of the new museum in the present-day city of Lod.

### Roman Villas and Mansions in the Southern Levant

Villas and mansions are characteristic forms of Roman private architecture, exhibiting luxurious examples of the different types (Percival 1988). Rural *villae rusticae* and *villae maritimae*, and the urban counterpart *domus*, dating between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, are found throughout the Roman Empire—in Italy (Graham 1966: 19–20; Ward-Perkins 1981: 210–212; Marzano 2007), North Africa (McKay 1975: 225–233), the Iberian Peninsula (Stephenson 2006), and



Figure 7

The eastern triclinium at the end of the excavations in 2018, looking north. In the lower right corner the remains of the pipe installed on the mosaic, without damaging it, can be seen (photo Nikki Davidov).



in Syria (Stilwell 1961; Kondoleon 2000: 51–61). Similar buildings have been uncovered in Israel and the southern Levant, for example, the maritime villa at Arsuf-Apollonia in the coastal plain (Roll - Tal 2008), a villa in Gaza (Humbert 2000: 117–119), the villa of 'Ein ez-Zeituna along the road from Caesarea Maritima to Legio in the Jezreel valley (Glick 2006; Milson 2006), the *villa rustica* at 'Ein Ya'el, near Jerusalem (Roussin 1995; Weksler-Bdolah 2007; Avner 2015), the *domus* of the Dioscuri' in Caesarea (Porath 2008: 1658; Gendelman and Gersht 2017) and the *villae rusticae* at Ramat Hanadiv (Hirschfeld – Birger-Calderon 1991), the luxurious mansion at Sepphoris in Lower Galilee (Talgam - Weiss 2004) and the impressive peristyle building in Jerusalem (Ben-Ami - Tchekhanovets 2019) (Fig. 1).

### The 1996 Excavation Season

The 1996 salvage excavation was initiated following the discovery of a colored mosaic whilst laying sewage pipes in the Lod Nevé Yaraq neighborhood.<sup>2</sup> The excavation revealed the central mosaic of the reception room (*triclinium*) of a Roman mansion dating from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (9×17 m; Figs. 4; 5; Dunbabin 1994: 165–175; Bowersock et al. 2015). The mansion was located in a wealthy quarter of the Roman city of Lod Diospolis, previously known from a few small excavations that exposed sporadic archaeological remains, including some mosaics (Rosenberger - Shavit 1993; Yannai - Erlich 2015; for the history of Lod, see Oppenheimer 1988; Schwartz 1991: 2015). Although the archaeological potential of the area was known, the previous excavations were

<sup>2</sup> The 1996 excavation season was financed by the Municipality of Lod and directed by Miriam Avissar with the assistance of M. Margalit, Eli Goldin and M. Higgel (area supervisors), Moshe Biton (administration), Sando Mandrea, Clara Amit and Nikki Davidov (photography), Avraham Hagian, Israel Vatkan, Pavel Gertovsky and Tanya Kornfeld (field plans), and the IAA conservation team led by Jacques Neguer .

rescue projects, carried out after the chance discovery of archaeological remains and limited to the areas directly threatened by the development. The result was several individual small-scale projects lacking temporal and spatial continuity, thus precluding the appreciation of the extent and quality of the buried remains.<sup>3</sup> The present site is one of a few notable exceptions<sup>4</sup>, excavated extensively under the direction of Miriam Avissar in 1996 (Avissar 1998; 1999; 2008), jointly by Avissar and Gorzalczany in 2009, and by Gorzalczany in 2014 and 2018 (Talgam 2015b). The remains from the Roman period are presented and discussed here; the later remains from the Umayyad, Abbasid, Ottoman and British Mandate periods are not included.

The style of the main *triclinium* mosaic (9×17 m; Stratum VI) was analyzed methodically in depth and comprehensively published (Talgam 2015b), and given the quality and accuracy of her description it will only be discussed here briefly. It includes carpets with tesserae in 16 different colors, subdivided into different hues, including some glass tesserae, occasionally coated with a thin gold leaf gilding technique called gold gilded glass (Porath et al. 2006; Gorin-Rosen 2015). From the outset, the excavation and the mosaic received exceptional media and journalistic coverage thanks to the remarkable quality of the materials, the realism and perfection of the scenes, and the unusually good state of preservation.

The *triclinium* mosaic floor consists of two rectangular carpets -a northern and a southern one- separated by a narrow band of transverse mosaic. The northern carpet, set on a white background is subdivided into three panels, the northern panel designed of a geometric net comprising nine hexagons and two half-hexagons depicting fish, birds, and scenes of chase and animal combat in two rows, surrounded by a colored guilloche band. Six of the hexagons show terrestrial animals, and three of them display marine fauna, swimming, fighting or presented as fish in a wicker basket. The central panel consists of a central hexagonal medallion surrounded by a dodecagon (twelve-sided) frame. The band between the two polygons is composed of four groups of three adjacent triangles separated by four squares, all depicting fish, birds and hunting chase scenes, apart from the southern square which depicts a pair of felines -probably panthers- in antithetical composition on either side of a krater (Greek: κράτηρ) and climbing over it. The central hexagon, the most important focus of the composition, depicts a pair of male and female lions seated on opposite cliffs facing each other, separated by an intervening body of water. A sea monster (*ceto* or *ketos*, Greek: κῆτος) is visible in the water, with half its body emerging on the surface. A group of African animals at the foot of the cliffs comprises an elephant, a giraffe, a rhinoceros, a tiger and a bovine. The southern panel is a scene portraying a variety of scattered marine fauna in different activities and attitudes. The scene describes fish, some devouring each other, a dolphins, mullets, a snapper, a barracuda, mollusks and two merchant ships sailing in opposing directions, one with its sails billowing in the wind, while the other appears to be damaged. This detailed marine scene has been the subject of much discussion among scholars who evaluated the scene from different perspectives (Avissar 2001; Haddad - Avissar 2003; Rosen

3 According to the IAA archives, 61 archaeological excavations were carried out in Lod since the first seminal archaeological excavation at Lod in 1951 by Jacob Kaplan (1957), 57 by the IAA and the rest by other academic institutions; our thanks to Shahar Krispin, Inspector of Antiquities of the district for his kind assistance in data collection.

4 Other exceptions of medium- and large-scale explorations in the city were the excavations at Tel Lod (3,000 m<sup>2</sup>; see Yannai - Marder 2000; Yannai 2008), the community and educational excavation at the Khan el-Hilu caravanserai (see Gadot et al. 2008) and the late Ottoman period dwellings on Exodus Street (see Jakoel 2016).

2004; Friedman 2004; Gorzalczany - Rosen 2019; Haddad 2019; Gorzalczany et al. 2020). The southern carpet is subdivided into two panels, the northern one is enclosed in a double, braided motifs frame, portraying birds, perched on branches in an interwoven design, and the southern one, only partially preserved is formed by an intricate intertwining design of hexagons in which birds, fish and mythological creatures are depicted facing different directions. The panel is surrounded by a frame formed by braided stripes, which in turn is surrounded by a line of red rhomboids with a white center. These rhomboids stand out against a white background. Between the braided stripes and the mosaic, an internal frame can be distinguished, formed by a line of figures resembling beads separated from each other by thin spools. Scholars compared the mosaics stylistically to North African mosaics (Talgam - Weiss 2004: 14; Talgam 2015b: 79–89; compare Dunbabin 1978: 82, 260; pls. 72–73; Meyboom 1995: 43–50; pl. 6). After the excavation, the mosaic was exposed to the public for a few days and then covered up to protect it, awaiting a decision regarding its future. A heated debate ensued between those who demanded the immediate transfer of the mosaic to an existing museum to guarantee its preservation, and others who argued that the mosaic belonged to Lod and should remain in the neighborhood. The latter view eventually prevailed, and a decision was made to build a museum to house the mosaic on site in order to exhibit it to the general public. It was only in 2009 that the mosaic was removed to build the museum, this temporary removal facing strong opposition from the neighboring residents who mistrusted the authorities and feared that the mosaic would never be returned.

### The 2009 Excavation Season

The 2009 season focused on preparing the mosaic for temporal removal from the site. After cleaning, dismantling and carefully restoration by IAA conservationists (Fig. 8), the mosaic set out on a several-year long journey, during which it was exhibited in some of the most prestigious museums in the world, including the Louvre, the British Museum, the Altes Museum in Berlin (Fig. 9), the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Field Museum in Chicago, the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, the Frost Art Museum in Miami, the Legion of Honor Fine Arts Museum in San Francisco, the



Figure 8  
Specialized IAA personnel removing the mosaic in 2009, to be preserved and sent abroad (photo Amir Gorzalczany).



Figure 9  
The mosaic on temporary display in the Altes Museum, Berlin (photo Uwe Steinert).

Columbus Museum in Ohio, the Waddesdon Manor in Aylesbury, England, and the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. The careful dismantling of the mosaic to protect it whilst building the museum to house it, permitted the exhaustive study of the construction technique, whose *modus operandi* was systematically recreated. Among other critical examinations, the technique employed to build the foundation layer was studied, revealing that it consisted of several superimposed thick layers of stones of decreasing size. Two layers of *statumen* (a gravel bed and a layer of fist-size stones laid on rammed earth) were laid on the ground, followed by *rudus* (a thinner layer of thick mortar made of three parts gravel and one part lime), and finally the *nucleus* (layer of thin mortar, overlain by a fresh layer of mortar) to which the mosaic *tesserae* were stuck. Unexpectedly, footprints of the craftsmen, both barefoot and shod, were exposed imprinted in the still fresh mortar nucleus, directly below the mosaic tesserae (Fig. 10). Some very small footprints were also observed, either of a young apprentice or of a child who accompanied his father on a day's work (Talgam 2015b: 70; fig. 52). A clenched fist impression was possibly imprinted when a kneeling craftsman placing the *tesserae*, leaned on the ground to maintain his balance.



Figure 10  
Footprint of one of the artisans who worked on the mosaic, imprinted in the fresh mortar exposed after its removal in 2009 (photo Nikki Davidov).

Another interesting discovery made after the removal of the mosaic floor, was the outline of the sinopia drawn on the mortar to serve as a guide for the artist fixing the stones in place (Fig. 11; on sinopia in mosaic preparation see Robotti 1983). It is noteworthy that the sinopia included five different hues, attained with various mineral pigments. The investment of such effort in preparing the preliminary sketch is exceptional in mosaics of this nature, as the sketches are usually monochromatic in reddish or ochre tones; it may reflect the value attached to the mosaic. The unparalleled multi-colored sinopia outline of the mosaic aroused great interest, and it was studied intensively in collaboration with the University of Padua (Padova), Italy, whose laboratories identified the mineral pigments composing the colors: dark red ochre, yellow ochre, green earth, carbon black and cinnabar (Piovesani et al. 2012a; 2012b; 2014).

Figure 11  
Outline of the sinopia drawn in several hues on the mortar to serve as a guide for the artist, exposed in places where the tesserae were missing (photo Nikki Davidov).



### The 2014 Excavation Season

Shortage of funding and logistic problems, as well as the lack of a consensus between the authorities and the residents regarding the future of the mosaic, and even open antagonism to the construction of the museum, halted the venture for five years. It was only in 2014 that extensive excavations, involving the closure and deflection of the adjacent streets, exposed the additional southern and eastern parts of the mansion. The new excavations exposed a peristyle courtyard (11×13 m), south of the main triclinium, expanding the total north-south length of the mansion to c. 42 m. The peristyle floor was covered with a high-quality, colorful mosaic (Fig. 6), adorned with geometric network consisting of nine octagons portraying chase scenes, fish, a pair of birds standing on the rim of an amphora and a pair of birds on the sides of a basket. Between the octagons are formed squares and triangles that inhabit fish and birds (Fig. 12; Gorzalczy 2015; Gorzalczy et al. 2016: figs. 4–7; Gorzalczy - Rosen 2018). This mosaic, whose southwestern corner was just visible in the limited probing in 2009, represents an iconography and composition that was popular in North Africa (Africa Proconsularis), characterized by presenting the animal figures and scenes within geometrical networks, rather than in their natural landscape. The



Figure 12  
Archaeology students from the Renmin University in Beijing (RUC), China, cleaning the mosaic in the peristyle courtyard (photo Amir Gorzalczany).

networks and the compositions are geometric, or vegetal, and this representation is part of a trend that climaxed in the later Byzantine-period mosaics. Well-known mosaics displaying figures in populated vine or acanthus scrolls (Fig. 1) include the Bird Mosaic in Caesarea (Reich 1985: 206–212), and several buildings in the western Negev, including the Nirim-Ma'on synagogue (Avi-Yonah 1960; Barag 1993: 946) the Be'er Shema' church (Gazit - Lender 1991; 1993) and the Shellal church (Henderson 1985; 1988: 35–44; Trendall 1957: 13–14). Several mosaics in Jordan also feature this design as the Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, the Lower and Upper Chapels of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Mukhayat; the Church of the Deacon Thomas at 'Uyun Musa Valley; the Church of Bishop Segius and the Church of St. Stephen at Umm al-Rasas (Piccirillo 1993: 164–165, 174, 176, 187, 234–235, 238–239 figs. 201–207, 230, 176, 237, 240, 242, 252–255, 263, 345). Most of these mosaics are characterized by the depiction of animals in vine scrolls, usually sprouting from a krater, amphora, or acanthus leaf as for example, in the mosaics in the funerary chapel of el-Hammam in Bet Shean (Avi-Yonah 1936: 14–17 pl. XIV–XV; Talgam 1998: pl. 2 above right), and the Armenian chapel in the Musrara neighborhood in Jerusalem (Narkiss 1979: 28 figs. 39–40; Talgam 1998: pl. 3 below right).

A noteworthy find in the 2014 season was a small part of an earlier non-figurative mosaic (Stratum VIII), dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, (Talgam 2015a; Gorzalczany 2015: 38, 41 fig. 17). This mosaic comprises geometric designs only, in red, white, and black, and is similar to a mosaic excavated nearby in the past (Yannai - Erlich 2015: 217–218). In addition, a small part of a stratigraphically higher, later mosaic, more poorly produced than the Roman-period mosaics, was attributed to Strata IV–III, and dated to the late Byzantine or Umayyad period (Gorzalczany et al. 2016: fig. 11). Other significant finds included the remains of a floor in *opus signinum* technique - manufactured from small broken pieces of tiles mixed with cement. Important epigraphic finds, including amphorae sherds with commercial inscriptions indicating their contents (*titulus pictus*), were recovered, as well as many pieces of colored stucco that decorated the walls of the building.

Several rooms were excavated in the eastern part of the site, including the

southwestern corner of a colorful mosaic of exceptional quality, the third mosaic at the site attributed to the Stratum VI mansion (Fig. 7). At the time, this mosaic could not be excavated as it was overlain by a functioning parking lot, and it was therefore covered over to preserve it.

### The 2018 Excavation Season

The mosaic corner discovered in 2014 was uncovered again, as were the stone walls delimiting it on the south and west (Fig. 7; Gorzalczy 2018). The walls were constructed of one or two rows of carved stones and were extant for a single course. It transpired that a modern sump pipeline had since been laid southeast–northwest through the excavation area only a few centimeters above the mosaic, fortunately not damaging it. Judging by the many *tesserae* in the backfill of the ditch, the pipe probably damaged a stratigraphically higher mosaic floor, possibly from the Byzantine or Early Islamic periods, when the site was still occupied, as was evident at better preserved areas of the site.

The room is part of the eastern wing of the mansion, and it is adorned with a high-quality white mosaic (*opus tessellatum*) floor with a multicolored quadrangular carpet/panel at its center, portraying figures from the animal and vegetal realm. The east–west length of the emblem is not certain as it extends beyond the excavation limits, but its style and symmetry indicate that it was square. The carpet is composed of high-quality, small *tesserae*, and is framed by several rows of black and white stones and outline three-strand guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: 122 pl. 72d) in various shades of red, yellow, black, and white. The composition consists of centralized pattern in a square: circle in the center surrounded by four lateral semicircles and four quarter – circles (quadrants) in the corners, forming concave quadrilaterals – made of simple guilloche (Décor II: 166, 224 pls. 356:c, 403:a). The central round medallion bordered by concentric red, black, and white circles of increasing size (outer circle diam. 1 m).

The carpet is decorated with marine fauna and birds, the central medallion depicting three different fish species swimming in opposite directions. The semicircles depict fish and dolphins, the quarter-medallions are adorned with birds, and birds perched on branches appear in the concave quadrilaterals. Similar fauna are frequent motifs in the other mosaics in the mansion, as, for example, in the peristyle courtyard (Gorzalczy et al. 2016: Fig. 7) and in the main *triclinium* (Avissar 1998; 1999). It is evident that the person who selected the subjects portrayed in the mosaics was attracted by marine and nautical motifs, including the detailed depictions of ships (Avissar 2001; Haddad - Avissar 2003; Rosen 2004; Friedman 2004; Gorzalczy - Rosen 2019; Gorzalczy et al. 2020).

The mosaic floor is made of various-sized tesserae, the smallest (0.8×0.8 cm) in the center, slightly larger (1×1 cm) in the semicircles, and still larger (1.2×1.2 cm) in the corners and the frame. The panel is surrounded by a white mosaic carpet, on whose southern side a rectangular area was demarcated by a three-row frame made of differently aligned tesserae (length 2.6 m, width at least 1 m). The frame may indicate the position of a *klinē* (κλίνη in Greek), a reception or banquet reclining couch (Dunbabin 1993; 1995; 2003; Hudson 2010). Reclining couches for diners were arranged on three sides of the room (hence *triclinium* from the Greek word τρικλίνιον, ‘three klinē’), the fourth side left free for serving the food and drink. This room was probably also a *triclinium*, of smaller proportions than the opulent one exposed in 1996, possibly for daily

use. This discovery modifies our understanding of the plan of the mansion, as it seems that the residential rooms (*cubicula*) either extended further east or occupied an upper story, and the mansion was thus larger than formerly thought. A *domus* of this type could have comprised several *triclinia*, for specific occasions. Regarding the layout and iconography in the panel, these motifs are not uncommon in the region, for example on the southwestern slope of Mount Zion in Jerusalem, south of the Church of St. Peter at Gallicantu (Fig. 1: 8; Avner 1994: 21\*). The two mosaics are analogous in size, composition, and iconographic themes, and they may even have been created by the same artisans. The only difference is that the Mount Zion mosaic exhibits the bust of a female figure in the central medallion, instead of the fish threesome at Lod. The figure is identified by the Greek letters ΓΗ (Ge) as Gaia or Gaea (Γαῖα), the primeval Greek deity of the earth (Terra of the Romans) and the ancestral mother of all life; the other motifs and fauna are almost identical, only with more birds than fish. The absence of human figures in all the mosaics uncovered to date in the Lod mansion has not been overlooked by researchers, and it is considered that this abstinence may have been ethnically, culturally, or religiously/ideologically motivated. In terms of style and composition, there are several parallels dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD in the Western Empire, for example, in Britain (Morgan 1886: 139; Smith 1975: 279–280 pls. 120–121; Neal 1981: 87 fig. 66), Germany (Hellenkemper-Salies 1983: 339 figs. 3, 4), the Balkans (Mano-Zissi 1965: 289 fig. 4.), Italy (Maioli 1983: 465, 470–471), France (Lancha 1983: 383, fig. 2) and Spain (Corpus España I: 32 n. 9 fig. 12; Corpus España III: 46 n. 23 fig. 89).

These preferences of the mansion residents reinforce the understanding that they had cultivated, sophisticated and cosmopolitan tastes with a predilection for various ornamental artistic styles syncretizing North African aesthetic influences and inspirations (Parrish 1984: 144–146 pl. 33), observed in the main *triclinium* mosaics and the peristyle courtyard (Talgam 2014: 69–70; Gorzalczany et al. 2016: figs. 4–7; Gorzalczany - Rosen 2018), together with western influences (Avner 1994: 21), observed in this mosaic.

Despite its limited size, the 2018 excavation significantly impacted our understanding of the splendid residential mansion at Lod. The finds raised new issues regarding the possible location of the residential and service areas in the so far unexcavated eastern wing, or on an upper story. Although the size of the complete architectural complex is not known, it clearly belonged to residents of a high socio-economic status who refurbished and enlarged it over several generations. We can affirm that the wing exposed in the 2018 excavation was also lavish and luxurious, reflecting the high standard of living and opulence enjoyed by the extremely well-to-do owners. The mosaics discovered in the house, and in adjacent houses in the past, indicate that this area of Roman Lod Diospolis was an affluent neighborhood of the wealthy, cultural, social, political, and economic elite. This heyday came to an end with the Muslim conquest, when the province of *Palaestina Prima* became the district of *Jund Filastīn*, and the new capital was constructed at Ramla during the Umayyad caliphate with the express purpose of substituting Lod as the center of trade and administration. Ramla was designated ‘the most beautiful of cities’ by the Jerusalemite geographer al-Muqaddasī (Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Maqqdisī; c. 946–1000 AD); the voluntary or forced relocation of goldsmiths, craftsmen, and merchants from Lod to the new capital at Ramla weakened Lod and contributed to its decline, from which it never recuperated.



## The Mosaic and the Modern City of Lod

The Museum and Visitors' Centre is located within the present-day city of Lod, near one of its main eastern entrances. In the late Ottoman period, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lod was a small town (Fig. 13) with a mosque, a church and a *khan* (caravanserai), and it was characterized by narrow winding streets, dense crowded construction, and single or two-story stone houses. The unexposed mansion was in an agricultural area northeast of the town, adjacent to one of the unpaved roads that later became a main road of the city.

Figure 13

Lod is a small town in 1917, surrounded by agricultural fields. The mosaic site (marked in blue dot) is located outside the town to the northeast (source: Haifa University).

Figure 14

Lod development plan after the earthquake, in 1929. The city developed to the west and north. The mosaic site (marked in blue dot) remained outside the boundaries of the built area of the town (source: Israel State Archives).

In 1927, when Palestine was under the British Mandate (1917–1948), an earthquake destroyed large parts of Lod (Aloni 2007: 17; Zohar et al. 2016: 979; 2017: 5). Following the earthquake, the Mandate authorities rebuilt and expanded the town, mostly to the west and north, the mansion still beyond the town boundaries (Fig. 14). The new neighborhoods differed from the old town, being built according to principles of modern planning, whereby main and secondary streets, and the location of building plots were defined.



In the 1930s and 1940s, the town's eastern neighborhoods approached the mansion area (Fig. 15), only encompassing it with the development of the northern neighborhoods in the 1960s. Today, the mansion, and thus the new museum, lie in the heart of a residential neighborhood (Fig. 16). Its location near the entrance into the city, whilst also on the edge of the old town, makes the building a conspicuous landmark. The museum building is perceived and planned as a site of interest in itself, and also as a starting point for the visitor touring the historical monuments and attractions in the city, as the main sites are accessible by car or on foot (Fig. 17). The sites include the Ottoman and British Mandate *khan*, the Eastern Oil Press House (an industrial structure producing oil and other products derived from olives and sesame), the Great Mosque, the Church on the burial site of St. George, the Mandate Municipality building, the City Market and more. The planners aim to provide the visitors with an archaeological experience, placing the mosaic as the main focus of attraction and as a central asset of a diverse, multicultural urban space, rich in historical layers.



Figure 15  
The northeastern satellite neighborhood of Lod developed and “approached” the mosaic area (marked in blue dot) in 1946. However, it remained outside the city area (source: Survey of Israel).

Figure 16  
Only with the expansion of Lod’s built-up area to the north in the 1960s was the mosaic site (marked in blue dot) included within the city boundaries, as seen on this picture from 1965 (Source: Survey of Israel).

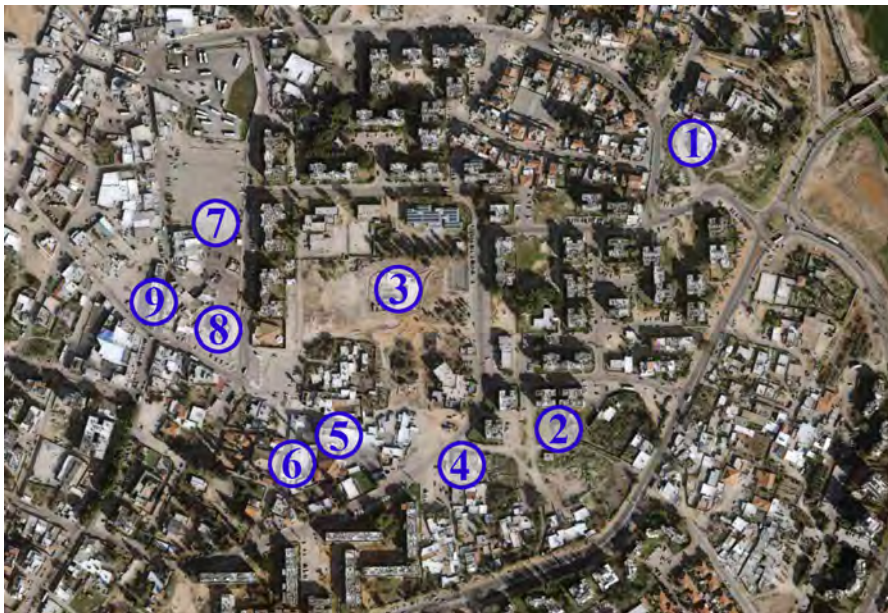


Figure 17  
Historical monuments in the Old City of Lod: 1 - Mosaic Museum, 2 - Eastern Olive Press, 3 - Khan, 4 - “House of Arches”, 5 - Church of St. George, 6 - Al-Omari Mosque, 7 - Central Market, 8 - Soap Factory, 9 - British Mandate Municipality (Ram Shoeff).

### The Museum Building

The design of the building (Fig. 18) was preceded by two planning stages. The original plan proposed after the mosaic was excavated in 1996, was not implemented due to budget constrictions. The second stage took place between 2009–2015, when the main mosaic was conserved in the IAA mosaic workshop and then sent on the worldwide exhibition tour. The new archaeological excavations carried out at the site led to updating the architectural design, adapting it to accommodate the new finds. In 2016, changes were made in the planning team to advance the planning and execution of the project, which was completed in 2021.

The concepts guiding the planning process included the construction of a building as an urban landmark, the inclusion of public open areas, the presentation of the mosaics in their original context, and the use of technology to enable the visitor to interact with the display and encounter a rich experience.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The description of the planning process of the museum building is based on an unpublished article by Ra’anah Kislev of the IAA, former director of the Conservation Department, who led the planning and construction process of the museum; we are grateful for his permission to use the material.

Figure 18

IAA staff putting in place one of the mosaic panels in the new museum, shortly before its opening to the public (Photo Amir Gorzalczany).



A large plaza ascends gradually from the street to the front of the museum building. The building façade's glass walls allow the visitor a view of the interior before entering the building. The architectural concept conveys a feeling of the Roman domus that stood here, by a modern interpretation of the historical space, and by combining various building materials that express and enhance the connection between modern architecture and the archeological remains. Inside the building, the central mosaic may be viewed from different angles and elevations. The peristyle mosaic to its south is an open space (Fig. 19), enabling the visitor to walk on it and experience its primary function as a courtyard floor; other smaller mosaics are displayed on the interior walls of the building. The visitor is encouraged to research the mosaics by means of an interactive exhibition that emphasizes the central mosaic as a work of art with extraordinary aesthetic values and as a historical element linked to the rich history of Lod.

Figure 19

View of the central room of the museum, with the mosaic ready for exhibition. In the background, you can see through the window the open space that houses the mosaic of the peristyle courtyard (Photo Ram Shoeff).



### The Future of the Mosaic

In May 2021, rioting in several of the Jewish-Arab mixed towns in Israel, led to severe clashes in Lod, in the course of which people were wounded and property was damaged. The glass walls of the museum were shattered, and the foyer was

partially burnt; fortunately, the mosaics were not damaged. The building that was envisioned as a house for all and as a symbol of integration and cooperation, became a victim of polarization and intolerance.

Notwithstanding these traumatic events, we consider that the Lod mosaic, can now more than ever, play a leading role as a catalyst for a process of urban, economic, and social change and improvement, unquestionably needed in the city. The mosaic, created 1600 years ago as the luxurious floor in an affluent Roman mansion, bears the intrinsic potential to become an attraction center for research, education, and economic development, while contributing to deepening the ties between the neighborhood residents and the city, encouraging respect, local pride, and identification with the historical heritage. We can only hope that the museum, built primarily for the city, will achieve its role as a bond between the population groups of Lod, and between the residents and their local historical past. It is up to us all to turn this potential into reality.

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# Mosaic Floors of the Church at Ḥorbat Ḥadat, Israel

## İsrail'deki Ḥorbat Ḥadat Kilisesi'nin Mozaik Zeminleri

Lihi HABAS\*

(Received 21 November 2021, accepted after revision 02 September 2022)

### Abstract

*The mosaic floors of the church at Ḥorbat Ḥadat in Israel were uncovered in the nave, along the southern aisle, at the eastern end of the northern aisle, between the columns separating the southern aisle and the nave and in the liturgical space. Some of the panels were removed and are now stored in the Rockefeller Museum, some left in situ. The mosaic floors were laid in the early phase of the church, and they continued in use during the late phase with repairs and changes made of tesserae larger than those of the original floors.*

*All the carpets and panels exhibit geometric and floral patterns made in a variety of colored tesserae. These patterns include geometric grids and interlaces, some of which create trompe-l'œil effects.*

*In the late phase, the western part of the nave's mosaic floor and the northern edge of the westernmost mosaic panel between the columns were replaced by a white carpet with an orange cross. The findings of the cross in the floor will be discussed in the framework of the prohibition (Edict of Emperor Theodosius II, AD 427) against depicting crosses on floors.*

*The early basilica-type dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, and a later phase dated to the end of Byzantine and Umayyad periods (7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries), when the church underwent changes and its dimensions were reduced. The church fell out of use during the Abbasid period.*

**Keywords:** Ḥorbat Ḥadat, geometric and floral patterns, trompe-l'œil, Cross, Edict of the Emperor Theodosius II.

### Öz

*İsrail'de Ḥorbat Ḥadat'taki kilisenin mozaik tabanları, nefte, güney nef boyunca, kuzey nefin doğu ucunda, güney nef ve nefi ayıran sütunlar arasında ve ayin boşluğunda ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Panellerin bazıları kaldırılmıştır ve günümüzde Rockefeller Müzesi'nde muhafaza edilmektedir; bazıları ise in situ olarak bırakılmıştır. Mozaikler kilisenin erken evresinde döşenmiş, geç evrede orijinal döşemelerden daha büyük tesseralardan yapılan onarım ve değişikliklerle kullanılmaya devam etmiştir.*

*Tüm döşemeler ve paneller, çeşitli renklerdeki tesseralardan yapılmış geometrik ve çiçek desenlerini içermektedir. Bu desenler, bazıları trompe-l'œil etkisi oluşturan geometrik ızgaraları ve iç içe geçmeleri içermektedir.*

*Geç evrede, nefin mozaik zemininin batı kısmı ve sütunlar arasında en batıdaki mozaik panonun kuzey kenarı turuncu haçlı beyaz bir döşeme ile değiştirilmiştir. Zemindeki haç buluntuları, zeminlerde haç tasvirinin yasaklanması (İmparator II. Theodosius Fermanı, İS 427) çerçevesinde tartışılacaktır.*

*Erken bazilika tipi İS 5. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına, daha sonraki bir evre ise kilisenin değişikliğe uğradığı ve boyutlarının küçüldüğü Bizans ve Emevi dönemlerinin (7.-8. yüzyıl) sonlarına tarihlenmektedir. Kilise Abbasiler döneminde ise kullanım dışı kalmıştır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ḥorbat Ḥadat, geometrik ve çiçek desenleri, trompe-l'œil, haç, II. Theodosius Fermanı.

\* Lihi Habas, Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0544-7066>. E-mail: habaslihi@gmail.com

## History of the Excavation

The excavations conducted by Rudolph Cohen in 1962–1963 on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums in Ḥorbat Ḥadat (Khirbat el-Hadatheia)<sup>1</sup> revealed a church paved with mosaic floors, a decorated marble chancel screen post made of white marble, and a limestone column capital decorated with a cross (Habas 2020a).<sup>2</sup> The church was accompanied by a complex of rooms. The church was re-examined in 2003 by Uzi ‘Ad, Orit Segal, and Oren Shmueli on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the findings indicate that some of Cohen’s conclusions have to be refined.

## Church Plan

Two phases of construction were identified in the church: an early phase with a basilica-type plan, and a later phase when the original plan of the church was modified and its dimensions were reduced.

The early phase (Plan 1), dated to the Byzantine period, comprised the church and the complex of rooms to its south, north, and west. The church was basilical in plan, comprising a nave, an elongated and narrow apse, two aisles, and an atrium to their west with a cistern. Three entrances led from the atrium into the church. The central entrance to the nave and the entrance to the south aisle have survived. The entrance to the north aisle was blocked in the later phase. Two rows of columns separated the aisles from the nave. The northern row of columns was removed in the later phase, and three bases of the southern row have survived. A column drum and a capital were discovered in the collapsed material inside the church, and two columns drums were discovered in secondary use. Two steps ascended from the nave to the *bema*, in front of which was a panel with a Greek inscription. A chancel screen separated the *bema* from the nave. The *bema* has a long and narrow space, and is an internal apse (‘Ad et al. 2020; Di Segni 2020).

In the later phase (Plan 2) the basilica plan was reduced in size, the atrium and the south aisle were narrowed, and the south aisle became part of the nave. The southern row of columns remained in place, while the northern row of columns was removed and replaced by a wall or a low partition, which cut off the north aisle from the rest of the church and slightly covered the mosaic panel bearing the Greek inscription. A bench was erected along the southern wall of the aisle, covering the northern part of the mosaic floor. The plan of the liturgical area was adapted to these changes with the construction of a semicircular apse.

The mosaics were laid in the early phase of the church, and the original floor continued to be in use, other than some repair work at the western end of the nave which will be discussed below. Some of the panels were removed and are now stored in the Rockefeller Museum,<sup>3</sup> and some were left *in situ*.

## Mosaic Floors in the Early Phase

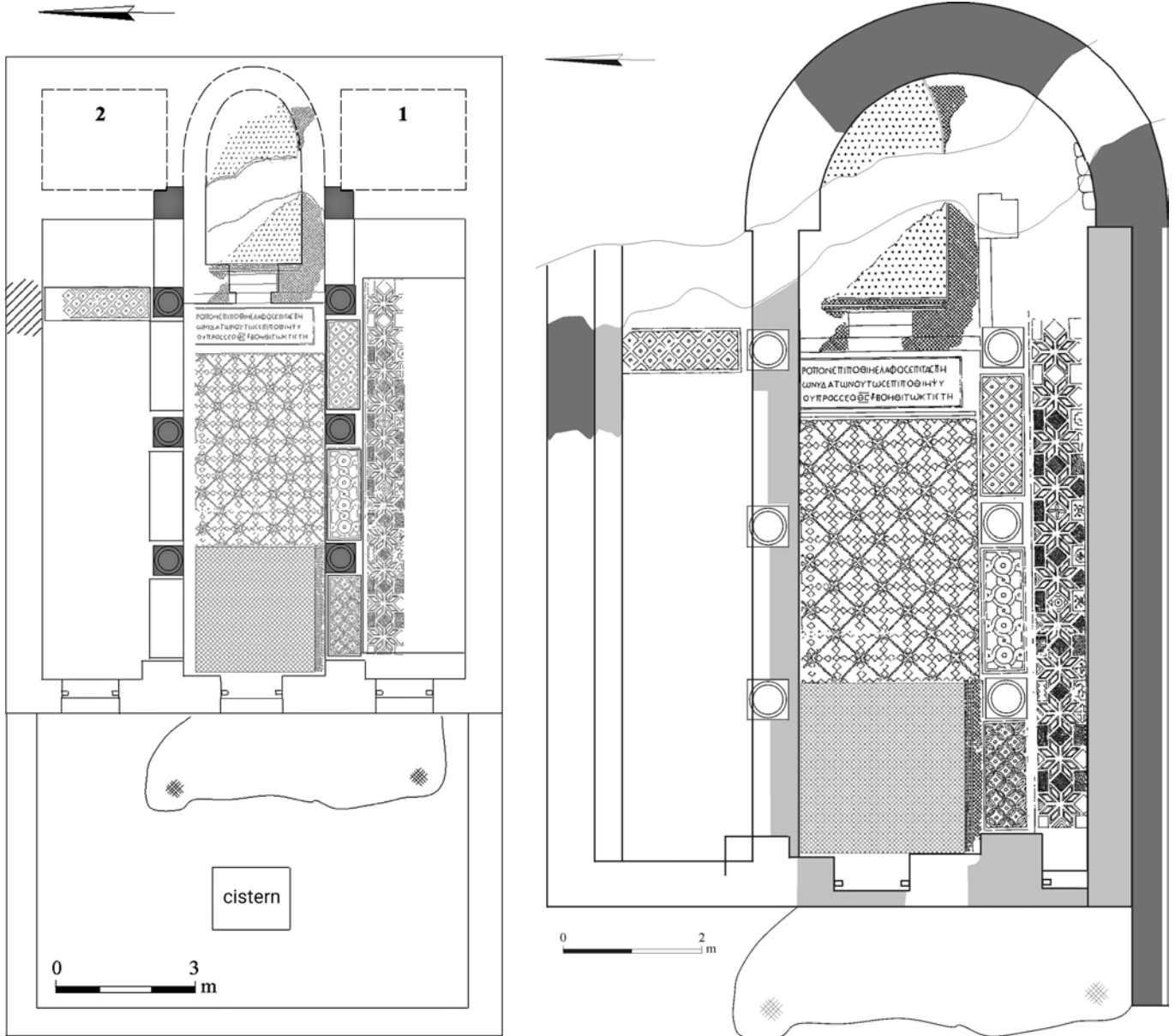
From the early phase, mosaic floors were uncovered in the nave, along the south aisle, and at the eastern end of the north aisle, between the columns separating the south aisle and the nave, and in the liturgical space – the *bema* and the apse (Plan 1).<sup>4</sup>

1 Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) archives file no. 15/1962. Khirbat el-Hadatheia 1963a; 1963b.

2 My grateful thanks for their cooperation to Galeb Abu Diab, Arieh Rochman-Halperin, Silvia Krapiwko, Uzi ‘Ad, Orit Segal, Oren Shmueli of the IAA, and Leah Di Segni of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

3 My deepest gratitude for their cooperation to Galeb Abu Diab and Shmulik Freireich (Mosaic Unit, Conservation Department), IAA.

4 Samuel Moskovitch, Ram Shoeff and Natalia Zak took part in drawing up the plans. Black and



Plan 1  
Reconstructed plan of the early phase of the church (Plan: S. Moskovitch, R. Shoefit and N. Zak, courtesy of IAA).

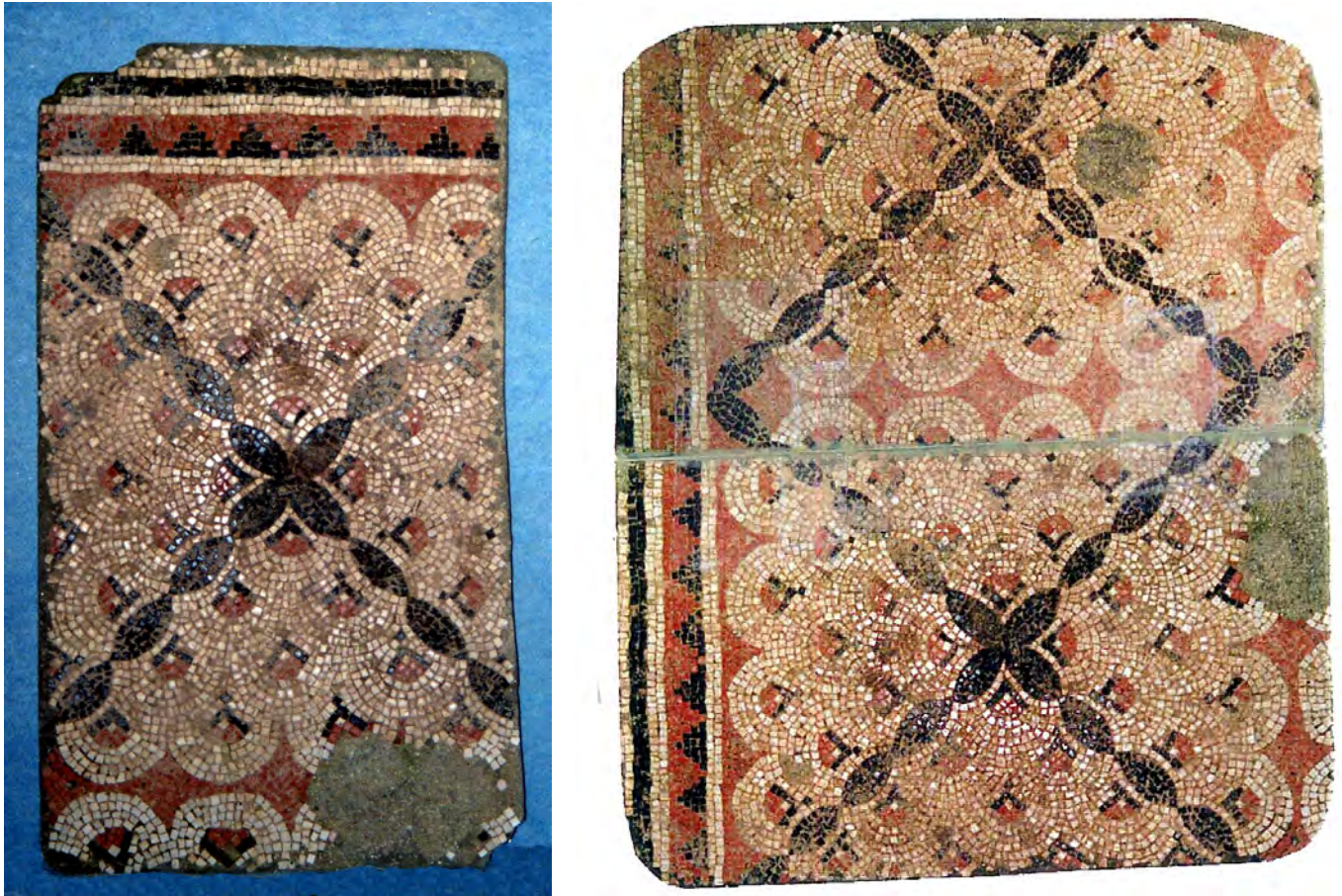
Plan 2  
Reconstructed plan of the late phase of the church (Plan: S. Moskovitch, R. Shoefit and N. Zak, courtesy of IAA).

### The Mosaics in the Nave

The nave is decorated with a carpet adorned with geometric and floral patterns, surrounded by several frames (Plan 1, Figs. 1-2), described below from the outside in: three rows of white stones (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138 Type A2),<sup>5</sup> two rows of black stones (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138 Type A1), two rows of white stones, a row of orange stones, a bichrome serrated saw-tooth pattern in black and orange (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138 Type A6; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 229 Type A5-6), and two white rows. The row of orange stones that is attached to the triangle pattern creates the illusion that the orange triangles are larger, because their base and apex touch the white frames. On the other hand, the black triangles appear smaller because the base touches the white frame, while the apex is integrated in the row of orange stones.

white photographs were taken from the IAA archives file. Colour photographs are by the Mosaics Conservation Department, the IAA excavation expedition of 2003, and Lihi Habas. The plans and illustrations are courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

5 Definitions of the patterns from: Avi-Yonah 1933; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987; Décor I; Décor II.



The carpet is decorated with a polychrome orthogonal pattern of tangent multilobate squares of scales, radiating in four directions from a central quadrilobe of scales, creating the effect of a grid of poised tangent concave squares and a diagonal grid of tangent recumbent spindles. The diamond grid consists of rows of small black-brown ellipses, laid diagonally. At the intersections of the grid, four ellipses form an array that resembles an open flower with four petals. The pattern of scales is formed in white-beige stones, placed according to the shape of the scales (Avi-Yonah 1933: 141 Types J3, J5; *Décor I*: 340 pl. 219:f; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 254 Types J3, J5). At the center of each scale is a bud growing at the end of a branch. The end of the branch is indicated by a single black stone, laid diagonally, from which the base of a black goblet develops, on which sits a bud consisting of a white stone and an orange inflorescence, made of two rows of stones laid diagonally so as to form a round flower (Avi-Yonah 1933: 139 Type F4; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 238 Type F4). The white scales are set on a background of orange stones. This carpet, which combines geometric and vegetal-floral motifs, creates a *trompe-l'œil* effect: it is a geometric grid of diamonds, but at the same time there are schematic floral squares, formed by the orange margins surrounding the scales. Contributing to this illusion is the direction of the buds that surround the intersection of the diamonds on four sides - which is also the center of the floral squares.

The color palette is limited: black, dark brown, white-beige and orange. Cutting of the stones is approximately square or rectangular, and is characterized by inaccuracy (stone sizes: in the frame - 1.0×1.3, 1.2×1.2, 1.2×1.5 cm; in the carpet - 1×1, 1.0×1.5 cm). In addition, small stones, and sometimes even triangular stones (c. 0.5×1.0 cm) are used to form the space between the scales, at the

Figures 1-2

Detail, the mosaic floor in the nave, the early phase (Photos: Abu Diab Galeb, courtesy of IAA).

ends of the buds, and within the ellipses. Laying of the stones varies according to their place: they are horizontal and vertical in the frames, and curving in the scales and ellipses. The buds are usually located in the center of the scales, but their position near the chain of ellipses is not uniform. The density of the mosaic stones per square decimeter is 81-82 in the frame, and 90 in the carpet. This density, according to the yardstick of quality of mosaic execution, is defined by Avi-Yonah as high quality (42-100 tesserae per dm<sup>2</sup>), while Dauphin defines it as medium quality (60-110 tesserae per dm<sup>2</sup>) (Avi-Yonah 1934a: 72; Dauphin 1976: 123-125, 133 fig. 6).

The geometric-vegetal grid pattern is very common in our region. This is an infinite pattern that suits large carpets in halls, aisles, and passages, as well as small panels. It is neutral in nature, and does not require a particular point of view. Parallels have been found in many churches from the Byzantine and Umayyad periods, and among the many examples, large carpets in church naves will be mentioned below. In Israel they are found in 'Ajjur (Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 11 pl. I, no. 1), in Bethany (Saller 1957: 15-17 pls. 2, 14-15), in Khirbet el-Hebeileh (Abel 1925: 281 fig. 8; Avi-Yonah 1934a: 28, no. 206; Vincent 1939: 88 pls. III, IV:1), in Umm er Rūs (Avi-Yonah 1934a: 45 no. 326.2), in the Northern Church at Herodium (Netzer 1990: 166-168 figs. 3, 5; Habas forthcoming), in Horvath Hesheq (Aviam 1990: 366-367 fig. 25), and in Suhmātā (Avi-Yonah 1934b: 95 pl. XXX fig. 2). In Transjordan they are found in the Upper Church of Saint Kyriakos at al-Quwaysmah, south of Amman (Piccirillo 1984: fig. 3; 1993: 268 fig. 489), and in the Church of Saint Menas at Rihab (AD 635; Lux 1967a: 35 plan 2:I taf. 14:a; Piccirillo 1980: fotos 18, 21; 1993: 313 figs. 634-635).

### The Greek Inscription

The panel at the eastern end of the mosaic floor in the nave, in front of the steps leading up to the *bema*, incorporates a three-line Greek inscription (Fig. 3). The inscription is set in a simple rectangular frame, made of two rows of black mosaic stones (length 2.3 m, width 0.72 m). On its west side, the frame of the

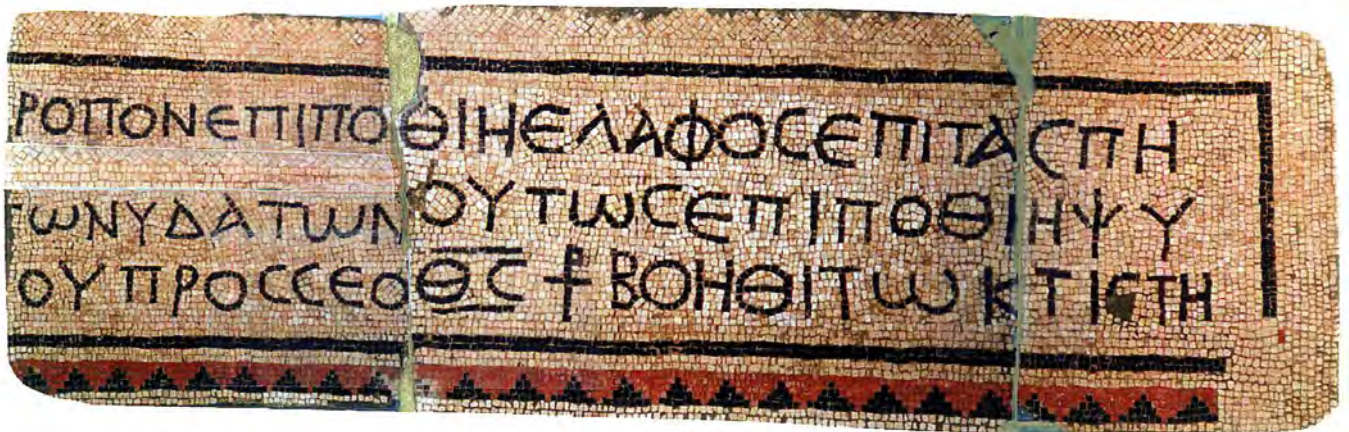


Figure 3  
Greek inscription (Photo: Abu Diab Galeb,  
courtesy of IAA).

inscription is integrated into the simple black frame that surrounds the carpet of the nave. The southwestern corner of the panel appears to have been repaired at some stage, as it is missing the black frame, and the white stones of the repair were laid in slight deviation from the horizontal lines of the original tesserae. The letters are made of black tesserae set in a white-beige background, about 10 cm high, with a density of 90 stones per dm<sup>2</sup>. The northern part of the inscription was damaged when the later wall was built, and as a result the first three letters in each of the rows are missing. The text is a quotation from Psalms 41:2 in

the Septuagint version (42:2 in the Masoretic Text): “As the hart longs for the streams of water, so longs my soul for Thee, O God! Christ, help the founder”.<sup>6</sup> The letters belong to the round alphabet, and the shape of the letters indicates a date in the second half of the fifth century AD (translation and discussion Di Segni 2020).

### The Mosaic in the South Aisle

In the early phase of the church, the south aisle (original length 6.5 m, original width 2.2 m) was decorated with a complex and rich geometric carpet (Plan 1, Figs. 4 - 6).<sup>7</sup> In the later phase of the church, the southern part of the south aisle was damaged during the construction of a new wall, and its width in the later phase was only 0.7 m.

The carpet is surrounded by two simple frames, consisting of two rows of black stones and two rows of white stones (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138 Type A1). The carpet is made in a geometric grid pattern: rows of stars, and between them geometric shapes. Each star consists of eight parallelograms; their contours are shaped from two rows of white stones and a row of black stones, and they are filled with white or orange stones alternately. Between the stars large diamonds and squares are formed, and along the frame - triangles and rectangles (Avi-Yonah 1933: 139 Type H6; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 245 Type H6; Décor II: 98 pl. 296:a).



Figure 4  
The mosaic floor in the south aisle (archives file no. 15/1962, courtesy of IAA).



Figure 5  
Detail, the mosaic floor in the south aisle (Photo: Abu Diab Galeb, courtesy of IAA).

Figure 6  
*In situ* section of the mosaic floor of the south aisle, looking south (Photo: Tzila Sagiv, courtesy IAA).

6 Old Testament, Authorized King James Version; <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org>

7 Parts of the mosaic were removed and are in the IAA Mosaic Unit and Conservation Department in the Rockefeller Museum; other parts were left *in situ* and were uncovered again in the re-excavation in 2003.

The triangles, diamonds and squares are filled with simple geometric patterns, such as chess, zigzag (zigzag; Avi-Yonah 1933: 139 Type G2), and rainbow. They also feature two types of interlace: the Solomon knot (Avi-Yonah 1933: 140 Type I4; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 249 Type I4), formed by ribbons made of a row of black stones, a white row, and an orange row on a black background, with a few white stones in the spaces between the loops; and a chain interlace in a square array, made of two interlaced ribbons — one consisting of two orange-pink rows, a white row and a black row, and another consisting of two gray rows, a white row and a black row. In the spaces between the loops a few white stones have been laid, and in the center of the interlace — a white square with a single black stone in the center. In addition to these, four-petalled flowers are depicted in some of the diamonds, in alternate black and orange on a white background. In the center of each side of the diamond are small serrated triangles (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138 Type A4) in varying colors: white and orange-pink, or black, orange and white. The carpet is rich and laden with motifs, and in this grid *trompe-l'œil* effects are created, in which the eye picks out the main pattern, but at the same time also the secondary patterns, similar to the quadrangular perspective prism. Only four colors are used in the carpet: black, gray, white-beige and orange-pink. The way the stones are laid — in straight, horizontal rows, diagonally, or in curved rows — varies depending on the pattern, in order to emphasize it. The filling of the parallelograms that form the stars is usually in straight and horizontal rows, but in some place the filling is in diagonal lines, a method that highlights the pattern. The limited color palette and the avoidance of graduated colors create a rich but flat geometric grid. The size of the stones (1×1, 1.0×1.3, 1.5×1.5 cm) and their density (81 per dm<sup>2</sup>) indicates good quality work in laying the tesserae — high quality by Avi-Yonah's method (42-100 tesserae per dm<sup>2</sup>), or medium quality according to Dauphin (60-110 per dm<sup>2</sup>) (Avi-Yonah 1934b: 72; Dauphin 1976: 123-125, 133 fig. 6).

Parallels to this pattern are known from the Roman period. The pattern is used in secondary carpets in floors in East Asia Minor for mythological depictions: in Zeugma parallels are found in the mosaics of the Okeanos Villa, Poseidon Villa, and Euphrates Villa (Ergeç 2007: 90, 104 figs. on pp. 91-93, 105-107, 148-151; Önal 2009: 16, 24, 76 figs. on pp. 17, 25, 78-79); in Daphne/Antioch they are found in the House of Dionysus and Ariadne (Levi 1947: II: pls. XXVIIa, CIa; Cimok 2000: 124 fig. on p. 125), in the House of the Drinking Contest, in the House of the Boat of Psyche, and in the lower level of the House of Aion (Levi 1947: II: pls. XXXa, XXXb, XXXVIII d, XLIII c, CI b, CIII e). This geometric grid also appears in mosaic floors from the Byzantine period. Similar, but not identical, parallels have been found in our area. In Israel, parallels can be found in the first church in Bethany (Saller 1957: 20-21 pls. 4, 18), and in Khirbet Is-hā (Avi-Yonah 1934a: 29, no. 212 pl. XVIII:1), where a variant of this grid appears. The parallels in Transjordan are a grid of stars made up of eight parallelograms surrounding a large octagon in which there is an interlace and an inscription in the church at Shunat Nimrin (Piccirillo 1982: fig. 1 pls. CIII:1, CVIII:2; 1993: 322 figs. 662, 664-665); a grid of stars made up of four parallelograms in the Glass Court of the Cathedral Complex and the northwest chapel of the Procopius Church (AD 526/27) at Gerasa (Biebel 1938: 309-312, 340 pls. LVIII:a, LVIII:b, LXXXIV:a; Piccirillo 1993: 284, 292-293 figs. 526, 560); and in a church in the village at Jubaiha in the Philadelphia/Amman area (Mhaisen 1976: pl. 4:a-b; Piccirillo 1993: 314 fig 645).

## The Mosaic in the North Aisle

Rudolph Cohen hypothesized that the north aisle (width 2.2 m in the early stage) was decorated with several panels organized in a row, one after the other, rather than a single, continuous carpet as in the south aisle. Of the mosaics of the north aisle, only part of the eastern panel (0.6×1.7 m) has survived, as the northern part was cut off when a later bench was constructed; it seems that in the early phase it was about 2 m long. The mosaic remains *in situ* and the description of the mosaic is based on the plan drawn up following Cohen's excavation (Plan 1).<sup>8</sup> The panel has a frame made of three rows of black stones, which surrounds a grid of diamonds in which small diamonds are set (see Plan 1; Avi-Yonah 1933: 139 Type H1; Décor I: 188 pl. 124:b-c; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 242 Type H1).

The diamond grid was a common pattern in mosaic floors in the Roman and Byzantine periods in both secular and religious contexts, populated with diverse motifs. In churches, the pattern appears in different parts of the structure but it is common in the secondary spaces, such as the aisles, both as a uniform and continuous carpet, and as one in a series of panels. Similar to the church in Ḥorbat Ḥadat, a diamond grid populated by small diamonds adorns the eastern carpets of the two aisles in the Church of Saint Peter at Khirbat al-Samra (Piccirillo 1993: 307 figs. 606-608), and the eastern panel of the south aisle of the Basilica of the Memorial of Moses at Mount Nebo (Piccirillo 1993: 148 fig. 193; 1998: 289-293 figs. 2, 43-44), both in Transjordan.

## The Southern Intercolumnar Panels

Three panels were laid between the pillars of the southern row, separating the nave and south aisle:

### The Western Panel (Fig. 7)

This panel, bounded between the western wall of the church and the western pillar, is decorated with a frame made of a row of black stones. The pattern inside the panel creates a *trompe-l'œil* effect: it is an orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of black quasi-tangent solid spindles and white concave diamonds, but at the same time it is a pattern of four black petals (Avi-Yonah 1933: 141 Type J4; Décor I: 370 pl. 237:g; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 254 Type J4). Biebel calls this pattern “four-leaf decoration”, while Levi calls it “intertwined circles forming four leaves” (Biebel 1938: 310; Levi 1947: I: 374). At the intersection of the four petals is an orange or black stone. Set in the concave diamonds are small serrated diamonds in orange-red and black colors, each with a white stone in the center. Near the frame, the diamonds are cut in half, forming serrated triangles in the same colors that touch the frame. The stones are laid so as to emphasize these motifs: black stones form convex contours that follow the shape of the leaves, and concave lines in white form the shape of the concave diamonds.

The size of the stones in this panel is 1.0×1.1 and 1.0×1.5, 1.5×1.5 cm, their density is 56 per dm<sup>2</sup>, and the color palette is limited: white, black, and orange-red. The panel was damaged, and there are several repairs attributed to the later phase of the church: its area was extended northward by a white strip (0.9×1.7 m) and a cross was incorporated into this strip (see below).

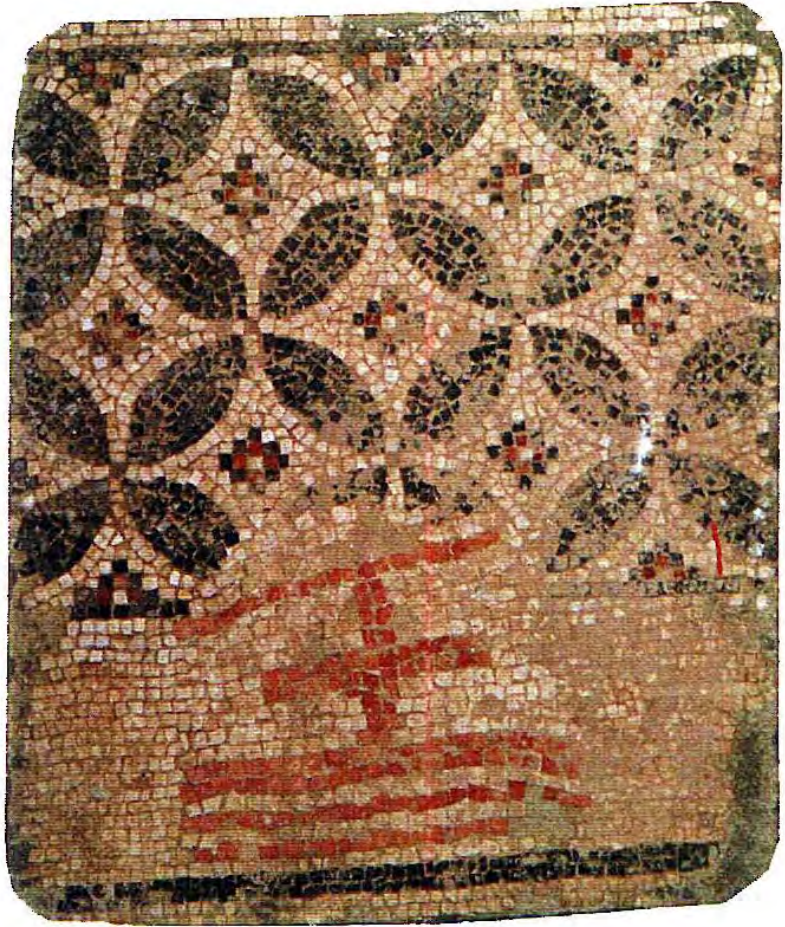
An orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles is very common in mosaic floors from the Roman and Byzantine periods. In a secular context, the pattern appears

<sup>8</sup> Since the mosaic was left *in situ*, it is not possible to discuss the technical and stylistic aspects.



Figure 7

The western panel between the southern row of columns, and a cross in the mosaic floor of the nave in the late phase (Photo: Abu Diab Galeb, courtesy of IAA).



in the mosaic of the eastern wing of the Nile Festival Building at Zippori (Weiss – Netzer 1994: 39 color ill. A). Prominent examples of this pattern in an ecclesiastical context in Israel are the mosaics in the Monastery near Sha'ar ha-'Aliya (Dothan 1955: 98-99 figs. 1-2 pl. 19:B); in the refectory and the Chapel of the Three Priests at the Monastery of Saint Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim (Magen – Hizmi 1985: 72-74, 77-78 figs. on pp. 73, 77 pl. 3 and the title page of the booklet; Magen 1993: 181-184, 186-188 figs. on pp. 182, 187 pl. XI); in the north aisle of the Eastern Church of Herodium (Netzer – Birger – Peled 1987: figs. on p. 38; Netzer et al. 1993: fig. on p. 226); and in the north aisle of the Church at Suhmātā (AD 555; Avi-Yonah 1934b: 94, 97, 101 pl. XXVII:2). Similar examples in Transjordan are the mosaics of the *bema* in the Church of Saint George at Khirbat al-Mukhayyat (AD 535/6; Piccirillo 1993: 178 figs. 244-245), and of the *bema* in the Chapel of Bishop Marianus at Gerasa (AD 570; Gawlikowski – Musa 1986: 141-143 fig. 2 pl. II:a; Piccirillo 1993: 298 figs. 579, 581).

An orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles is common in panels between rows of columns and pillars in basilicas, similar to where it is found in Ḥorbat Ḥadat church. Examples from Israel are the church at Tell Ḥassān, Jericho (Baramki 1936: 84 pls. L:2, LII:4); the church at Khirbet el-Beiyūdāt (Hizmi 1990: plan on p. 246); the Northern Church of Herodium (Netzer – Birger – Peled 1987: figs. on p. 33, 36; Netzer et al. 1993: fig. on p. 222 pl. XVI:a); the church at Emmaüs (Vincent – Abel 1932: pls. XII:2, XXIV); and the synagogue at Na'aran (Vincent – Benoit 1961: 163-177 pl. VII). In Transjordan this decoration is familiar in the Church of the Apostles (AD 578) at Madaba, in the Memorial of Moses Basilica

at Mount Nebo, in the Church of the Deacon Thomas in ‘Uyun Musa Valley, in the church of al-Dayr at Ma’in, in the Church of the Lions (AD 574 or 589) and the Church of Bishop Sergius (AD 587/8) at Umm al-Rasas (Piccirillo 1993: 106, 148, 187, 202-203, 234-236 figs. 91, 95, 193, 269, 319, 365, 369, 373, 376; 1998: 289-293 fig. 49), and in the church at Khirbat ad-Duwayr/Jinīn as-Şafa’ Church in Irbid area (Melhim 1998: 28-33, 36 figs. 2, 16).

#### The Central Panel (Fig. 8)

This panel (0.6 × 1.7 m) has a simple rectangular frame, made of two rows of black stones and two rows of white stones, featuring a pattern of a strapwork of circles interloped tangentially, in asymmetrically shaded bands (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138 Type B11; Décor I: 132 pl. 82:f; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 235 Type B11). The interlace includes four circles, within which are concentric circles. Four connecting links join the circles and join them to the frame, thus becoming part of the pattern. One ribbon of the interlace consists of a row of black stones, a white row, a pink row, a red row and a black row, while the other ribbon consists of a row of black stones, two yellow rows, a white row and a black row. In the center of each connecting link is one white stone. The concentric circles consist of two rows of white stones, a pink row, a red-brown row, a brown-gray row, a black row and a white row, and in the center of each circle — one pink stone. Between the circles, buds are depicted on a white background; the base of each bud is pink, and the inflorescence is red.

The stones are laid according to the contours of the patterns, so that they emphasize the shape of the interlace and the concentric circles; in the background, the stones have been laid as needed. The size of the stones is 1.2×1.5 cm in the frame and 0.8×1.0 cm in the interlace, and their density per square decimeter is 72 in the frame and 64 in the interlace. The color palette includes black, white, yellow, pink, red, shades of brown, and gray.

The pattern of interlaced circles is very common in mosaic floors in the Roman and Byzantine periods. It appears in frames, panels, and large carpets (Avi-Yonah 1933: 141 Type J1), and the motif set within it varies and is diverse. Similar to Ḥorbat Ḥadat, the pattern appears in many panels in the spaces between the columns or pillars in the rows of columns in basilicas. In Israel, this pattern is found in the church at Khirbet el-Beiyūdāt (Hizmi 1990: plan on p. 246), and in the Church of Saint Étienne in Jerusalem (Avi-Yonah 1933: 177, no. 157.A.2). In Transjordan this pattern appears in the old Diakonikon-baptistery and the Memorial of Moses Basilica in Mount Nebo (Piccirillo 1993: 146, 148 figs. 182, 193; 1998: 289-293 fig. 50); in the Church of the Holy Fathers at Khattabiyah (Piccirillo 1993: 244 figs. 405, 407); in the Church of the Rivers (Church of Bishop Sergius) in Kastron Mefaa at Umm al-Rasas (Bujard et al. 1992: 295-296 fig. 1; Piccirillo 1993: 240-241 fig. 392); in the Church of Saint George at Khirbat al-Samra (Piccirillo 1993: fig. 600); and in the church at Khirbat Sa’ad in the Mafraq area (AD 572/3; Sari 1995: 527-529 fig. 4). This pattern appears also in a frame that surrounds the carpet of the nave of the church at ‘Ain Fattier (Chambon – Strus 1992: 432 fig. 2; 1993: 76 ill. 99).

#### The Eastern Panel (Fig. 9)

The panel remains *in situ*, and therefore its description is based on the plan drawn up following Cohen’s excavation, and black-and-white photographs from the area. The panel (0.6×1.7 m) is surrounded by a simple frame, made of two rows of black stones and two rows of white stones, and decorated with a grid of bichrome serrated triple filets, which create a grid of diamonds containing small



Figure 8  
The central panel between the southern row of columns (Photo: Abu Diab Galeb, courtesy of IAA).



Figure 9  
In situ the eastern panel between the southern row of columns, looking west (archives file no. 15/1962, courtesy of IAA).



Figure 10  
In situ the mosaic floor of the *bema* and apse, looking northeast (archives file no. 15/1962, courtesy of IAA).

serrated diamonds (Avi-Yonah 1933: 139 Type H1; Décor I: 188 pl. 124:b-c; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 242 Type H1).

The pattern is identical to the pattern in the eastern panel in the north aisle of the church – a geometric pattern common in mosaic floors from the Roman and Byzantine periods in secular and religious contexts, populated with diverse motifs, and appearing in both small panels and large carpets. This pattern appears in various locations in churches and in synagogues that are basilical in plan, but as in the church in Ḥorbat Ḥadat, it is common in the panels between the columns in the rows of columns. Examples in Israel are the church at Ḥorvat Ḥesheq in Upper Galilee (AD 519; Aviam 1993: 62 fig. on p. 62), and the synagogue at Na'aran (Vincent – Benoit 1961: 163-177 pl. VII). In Transjordan the pattern appears in the Church of the Apostles (AD 578; Piccirillo 1993:106 fig. 95), and the Church of the Holy Martyrs (Church of al-Khadir; Lux 1967b: taf. 40:b; Piccirillo 1993: 129-131 fig. 146) at Madaba; Church of Bishop Sergius at Umm al-Rasas (AD 587/8; Piccirillo 1993: 234-235 figs. 365, 369); Church of Saint Menas at Rihab (AD 634/5; Lux 1967a: plan 1; Piccirillo 1993: 313 fig. 633); the church at Shunat Nimrin (Piccirillo 1982: fig. 1; 1993: 322 figs. 664-665), and the Western Church at Yasileh (the panels between the columns in the southern row and the northern row; al-Muheisen 1990: 460-461 fig. 2; Piccirillo 1993: 341 fig. 754).

### The Mosaic of the *Bema* and Apse

The mosaic carpet has been partially preserved and remains *in situ*, so the description is based on photographs from Cohen's excavation (Fig. 10).<sup>9</sup> The carpet is surrounded by two simple frames: the outer one consists of a row of black stones, a red row, a white row, a red row and a black row, while the inner one consists of a row of black stones. The carpet is designed in a pattern of scales, created by the way in which the mosaic stones, white-beige in color, are laid; in the center of each scale is a red bud (Avi-Yonah 1933: 141 Type J3; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 254 Type J3).

### The Mosaic Floors in the Late Phase

Although the ancient mosaic floors remained in the late phase, some were cut off during the construction of the late phase walls (Plan 2): the walls cut off the northern end of the two carpets in the nave — the central carpet and the eastern panel containing a Greek inscription, as well as in the southern part of the south aisle. In addition, construction of a bench affected the northern part of the eastern panel in the north aisle. The mosaic carpets in the western part of the church appear to have been damaged to a greater extent than the other mosaics in the church; it is possible that damage occurred during the construction work at the later stage. Following this damage, a new mosaic floor, made of white stones, was laid in the western part of the nave. The new carpet, whose stones were laid diagonally, extended from the entrance to the western bases of each of the two rows of columns. This carpet was apparently surrounded by two black frames made of one row of stones each, as is preserved in its southern part, and at this stage the northern side of the southern panel was also repaired. The mosaic stones in this phase (1.5×2.0, 1.6×2.0 cm) are larger than those of the original carpets in the church (1×1, 1×1.5 cm), their density is lower (36/39 per dm<sup>2</sup>), and although the stones in this phase were laid horizontally it is apparent that the work was inaccurate.

<sup>9</sup> The photograph shown here is the clearest of those found in the report on Cohen's excavation.

In the new carpet, near the southern row of columns, a repair can be seen that slightly damages the ancient pattern: a cross is depicted on a background of white stones, slightly tilted to one side (Figs. 7, 11), but with a general north – south axis. The arms are not equal in length (the length of the horizontal arm is 0.22 m, the vertical arm is 0.16 m), and they are made of two rows in orange. The cross stands on a kind of rectangular base, consisting of six rows of stones: an orange row, a white row, an orange row, a white row and two orange rows. Above the cross is a stripe, made of a row of orange stones, which also tilts to the side. The cross is visible to an observer standing in the nave and facing the south aisle.



Figure 11

A cross in the mosaic floor of the late phase of the nave near the western panel between the southern row of columns (Photo: Lihi Habas, courtesy of IAA).

The incorporation of crosses in mosaic floors in churches, chapels and private homes is a common phenomenon in the Holy Land - Israel and Transjordan in the Byzantine and Umayyad periods (Habas 2005: 1: 313-315, 372-373; 2016: 282-283; 2015; 2020b and there discussion and references; Hachlili 2009: 225-226). The same is true in Syria and Lebanon (Donceel-Voûte 1988: 17-18, 22, 28, 262, 265-266, 428, 436). Crosses in mosaic floors decorate the vestibules of church and monastery complexes, inside the churches, independence chapels and chapels attached to churches, crypts, martyrion chapels, funerary chapels, and baptisteries. They are not hidden, and are not limited to a specific part of the church or chapel building; on the contrary, the crosses are open to view and appear in the apse, the *bema*, the sacristy, halls, the narthex, vestibules, and passageways or entrances between spaces (Hachlili 2009: 224-226 fig. XI:2 pl. XI:2). Some crosses have also been discovered in secular buildings.

The repertoire of crosses is rich, and crosses have been found of the equal-armed Greek cross type (+) (*crux quadrata*), the Latin cross (†), the Maltese cross (✠), the monogrammatic cross, or a geometric interlace in the form of a Greek cross. There are also crosses of the *crux clipeata*, *crux gemmata* and *crux decussate* types. In some places the letters *alpha* and *omega*; *chi* and *rho*, symbolizing Jesus Christ, are shown between the arms of the cross, or suspended from the vertical arm. In other places the cross is shown on a graduated mound symbolizing the hill of Golgotha.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> On the types of crosses and their origin, see: Tzaferis 1971: 49-52, 57-60, 88-95.

The combination of a cross and the letters A, Ω, I, X is very common in Christian art: *iota-chi* represents Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. The letters *alpha* and *omega* are an accepted abbreviation of ἄ(λφα) (καί) ὤ(μέγα), referring to the words of Jesus in Revelation 1:8: “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.”; and in Revelation 22:13: “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end” (Avi-Yonah 1940: 53, 73).<sup>11</sup>

Among the many known examples of crosses in mosaic floors in Israel it is worth mentioning the Greek crosses in the chapel of the monastery at Beth Ha-Shitta and in the church at Shavei Zion, the Greek cross and monogram in the north-western room in the church at ‘Evron (AD 415; 442/3), Maltese and Greek crosses in the East Church at Mamshit (Mampsis-Kurnub), the monogram in the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth and in Church/Chapel C at Magen, and Latin crosses in the North-East Church at Hippos-Sussita and in Church A at Magen (Aharoni 1954: 211-215 fig. 1 pl. 8:1; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 20, 59-60, 104, 127, nos. 18, 80, 173, 215 pls. XIII.1, XIV.2, XLIX.2, L.1, CXIII.2, CXLIV.1-2, CXLVI; Hachlili 2009: 224-225 pl. XI.2 fig. XI-2; Tsaferis 1985a: 6, 8 figs. 2, 9-10, 15; 1985b: 19-21 fig. 6). Crosses accompanied by the letters AΩ and IX and pair of animals were found in the church at Ozem (AD 430/1), and in the northern hall (AD 506/7) of the church at Hazor-Ashdod (Habas 2016: 274 figs. 1-2; 2019: 111\*, 114\* figs. 14-15, 18-19). A Latin cross as a *crux gemmata* is depicted standing on the hill of Golgotha with the letters AΩ and peacocks in heraldic pose on either side of the cross in the northern apse of the church in Hufa al-Wastiyah (Abu Dalu 1994: 13 figs. 5, 11; Habas 2005: I: 314, 345-347).

As mentioned, crosses of different types are found in different areas in the ecclesiastical structures. Crosses decorate the mosaic floors of the courtyard, atrium and narthex, as in the monastery at Khirbet Deir Sam’an (Magen 2012a: 23 figs. 8-10, 22; Magen – Kagan 2012a: fig. 34.2) and the western side of the north aisle of the Church of Saint Bacchus at Horvat Tinshemet (Dahari 2012: 105, 124 fig. 1); crosses are set close to the entrance threshold leading to the nave, aisles and chapel, as in the Monastery at Umm Deimine (Amir 2012: 447, 481 fig. 46:6; Magen – Batz – Sharuk 2012: 455-456 figs. 4, 27; Magen – Kagan 2012b: 287-289 fig. 347:2, 4) and in the Church of Saint Bacchus at Horvat Tinshemet, mentioned above (Dahari 2012: 106, 124 figs. 4, 6); crosses appear in the center of the halls, such as in the center of the nave of the Monastery Church (area C) at Khirbet Yattir (AD 588/589; 631/632; Eshel – Magness – Shenhav 2000: 158 figs. 7-8, 10; Bordowicz 2007: 75-77 figs. 31, 71, 94-95; Magen – Kagan 2012b: 297-299 fig. 354:2), and the nave of the church of Saint John at Khirbet Umm er-Rus (Magen – Kagan 2012b: 126 figs. 238:1, 238:3). They are also found in the center of the chapel hall, as in the northern chapel of the church at ‘Anab el-Kabir (Amir 2012: 452 fig. 10; Magen – Kagan 2012b: fig. 345.2; Magen – Peleg – Sharuk 2012: 349, 361-362 figs. 1, 4, 24, 39), and in the center of the chapel hall (building I) in the monastery at Qasr Khalife (Magen 2012b: 208-212 figs. 2-3, 5, 14; Magen – Kagan 2012b: 191 fig. 283.1); in the center of the north aisle of the North-West Church at Hippos-Sussita (Segal et al. 2004: 88-89 fig. 90) and in the center of the north aisle in the church at Shavei Zion (Avi-Yonah 1967: 49 pls. XXVIII-XXIX, XLb, plans 2, 7; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 127 pl. CXLVI, no. 215). Crosses also appear in the liturgical spaces, as in the apse floor of the chapel in Mount Olives, Jerusalem (Séjourné 1896: 274-276 fig. on p. 275), in the apse and *bema* of the church at Khirbet el-Beiyûdât (c.

11 New Testament, Authorized King James Version; <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org>

AD 570; Hizmi 1990: 252-254 figs. 6, 10 plan on p. 246; 1993: 160 figs. on pp. 156, 159 pl. VIIa–b), and in the Western Church at Ḥorvat Qastra (Finkielsztejn 2005: 442-443 figs. 10-11).

The incorporation of a cross in a repair to a mosaic floor, as occurred in the church at Ḥorbat Ḥadat, is also known in Israel in the church at Ḥorvat Ḥanot (Shenhav 2003).<sup>12</sup> A parallel is found in the Upper Church at Massuh in Transjordan, and it can identify the religious identity of the artist who carried out the restoration of the damaged mosaic floors in the eighth century AD, in which the mutilated figures in the nave were replaced by images of a Christian nature (a church and single cross), making use of the original tesserae (Piccirillo 1983: 336-338 foto 20; 1993: 252-253 fig. 443; Habas 2005: I: 489; 2015: 43-44).

The appearance of crosses on mosaic floors in churches is ostensibly surprising, because it contravenes the edict issued in AD 427 by 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). In the past, researchers discussed and raised various claims that aimed to bridge the gap between the wording of the decree and the archaeological reality. Kitzinger claimed that overt crosses were not common on mosaic floors, and suggested that they were not placed on the axis of traffic or on the entrance route into the building, for fear of desecrating the sacred symbol (Kitzinger 1970: 640-644 nos. 12, 13, 21-23, 27). Avi-Yonah also held that the crosses were situated in places on which people did not tread, or in places where they walked barefoot, or in places where only the priest would walk over them, that is, in the liturgical spaces (Avi-Yonah 1934a: 63; 1957: 270). Brandenburg also held this view, and related to the topographic role of the Christian symbols (*signa Christi*), marking the position of furniture connected with the liturgy (altar table, lectern, or offering table), or a sacred spot, and the crosses were seen as apotropaic motifs of secular origin, a kind of superstition – rejected by the edict (Brandenburg 1969: 96, 98, 104, 111-110, 127-129, 132-133). These explanations may have been appropriate based on the evidence available to these researchers, but they no longer hold true in light of the discovery of many more churches and mosaic floors as a result of the archaeological excavations of recent decades throughout Israel and Transjordan. Hence the opinion of those who consider the date AD 427 as the *terminus post quem* for the cross representations must be rejected: crosses were placed in mosaic floors before, during, and after the edict was issued. Evidence of failure to comply with the edict can also be found in the fact that in AD 692 another edict was published, included in the canons of the Ecumenical Council in Trullo. Canon LXXIII renews the edict of Theodosius, and repeats the prohibition against presenting and depicting the cross in inappropriate places (Percival 1900: 398). The archaeological evidence shows unequivocally that the edict of Theodosius had scant influence on the mosaics of our region (Kitzinger 1970: 646-647, note 39; Tzaferis 1971:61-63; 1993: 285).

<sup>12</sup> Shenhav, in his publication of 1998, does not refer to this. My thanks to Shmulik Freireich, IAA, for bringing this to my attention.

## Summary and Conclusion

A basilica was uncovered at Ḥorbat Ḥadat in Israel. The church was decorated with mosaic floors, and each part was designed in a different polychrome geometric or floral pattern. Identical patterns are found in mosaic floors from the Roman and Byzantine period in secular and religious contexts, and these are very common in our region. Some of the patterns are simple, while some are complex and rich, creating a *trompe-l'œil* effect.

The style and technique are uniform in all parts of the church. The floor mosaics belong to the group of mosaics that are made to a medium to high technical standard. Although the color palette is limited, by technical means the artist has managed to create rich and impressive floors.

The text of the Greek inscription at the eastern end of the nave and in front of the steps leading up to the *bema* quotes a verse from Psalms relating to the hart longing for the stream, and creates an explicit parallel with the Christian believers and their souls. Visual depictions of this text are known in floor and wall mosaics and illustrated manuscripts from the Byzantine period. In addition, in the renovation of the late phase a cross was incorporated in the new floor.

Two phases of construction were identified in the church, the early basilica-type dated to the second half of the fifth century AD, and a later phase dated to the end of Byzantine and Umayyad periods (seventh–eighth centuries), when the church underwent changes and its dimensions were reduced. The church fell out of use during the Abbasid period.

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# The Mosaics from the Roman *Villa* of Pisões (Beja, Portugal). The Decorative Programme and Its Significance in the Spatial Organization of the *Villa*

## Pisões Roma Villasından Mozaikler (Beja, Portekiz). Dekoratif Program ve Villanın Mekânsal Organizasyonundaki Önemi

Maria de Jesus DURAN KREMER - Miguel SERRA\*

(Received 14 January 2022, accepted after revision 29 September 2022)

### Abstract

*Located in the Conventus Pacensis, about 7 km southwest of the Roman Pax Julia (today: Beja), this imposing Roman villa is a reference point in the study of the Roman settlements in the south of present-day Portugal. Within this group of constructions in Pisões only the pars urbana has in large part been uncovered: the existence of the wall of a dam, an aqueduct and some peripheral constructions has already been ascertained over the years.*

*It is here that one of the most relevant sets of mosaics with figurative, vegetal and geometric motifs for the study of Roman mosaics can be found and allow the identification of possible mosaic workshops in the current territory of Portugal. Apart from a very concise description by Fernando Nunes Ribeiro in 1972, these mosaics have not yet been studied in depth.*

*In the scope of this work the mosaics of this villa uncovered till today - most of them unpublished - are inventoried using a methodological approach of registration, study and publication, highlighting the interrelation of the pavement and the spatial planning.*

**Keywords:** Roman mosaics, inventory, decorative programme, interaction decoration/architecture, mosaic workshop.


### Öz


*Conventus Pacensis 'te, Roma Dönemi Pax Julia 'nın (bugünkü: Beja) yaklaşık 7 km güneybatısında yer alan bu görkemli Roma villası, günümüz Portekizinin güneyindeki Roma yerleşimlerinin incelenmesinde bir referans noktasıdır. Pisões 'teki bu yapı grubu içinde yalnızca pars urbana büyük ölçüde ortaya çıkarılmıştır: bir baraj duvarının, bir su kemerinin ve bazı çevre yapılarının varlığı yıllar içinde tespit edilmiştir.*

*Roma mozaiklerinin incelenmesi için figüratif, bitkisel ve geometrik motiflere sahip en uygun mozaik gruplarından biri burada bulunmaktadır ve günümüzdeki Portekiz sınırları içinde olası mozaik atölyelerinin tanımlanmasına olanak tanımaktadır. 1972 'de Fernando Nunes Ribeiro 'nun çok kısa bir açıklaması dışında, bu mozaikler henüz derinlemesine çalışılmamıştır.*

*Bu çalışma kapsamında, bu villanın bugüne kadar ortaya çıkarılan - çoğu yayınlanmamış - mozaiklerinin envanteri, metodolojik bir kaydı, çalışma ve yayın yaklaşımı kullanılarak, mozaik döşemeler ve mekânsal planlama arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki irdelenmektedir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Roma mozaikleri, envanter, dekoratif program, etkileşimli dekorasyon/mimari, mozaik atölyesi.

\* Maria de Jesus S. Duran Kremer, Integrated Researcher at the Institute of Art History, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Colégio Almada Negreiros, Campus de Campolide 1070-312 Lisboa, Portugal. PI and coordinator of the international project RoGeMoPorTur.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4276-9988>. E-mail: mjesuskremer@hotmail.com

Miguel Serra, Culture and Heritage Division of Serpa City Council. Centre of Studies on Archaeology, Arts and Heritage Sciences - University of Coimbra, Portugal.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1247-8621>. E-mail: miguel.antonio.serra@gmail.com

## Introduction

To speak of the Roman mosaics of Pisões means, for scholars of Roman mosaic that have been following - even if from afar - the fate of this beautiful Roman *villa* since the 80's of the last century, to remember more or less happy moments, according to the state of conservation of the mosaic pavements, of the paintings still visible on the walls of several rooms, and finally the firm desire to make available to the scientific community the documentation gathered along the years.

A firm desire common to both authors of this article: the first, considered by his peers as “one of the greatest authorities on the knowledge of the site”<sup>1</sup>, participated from very early on in the work of prospection and individualization of the structures; the second, for having the *villa* of Pisões, with its mosaics, been determinant to define from the very first moment her field of work and research par excellence.

In the present article we will try, therefore, to present as complete a vision as possible of the Roman *villa* of Pisões and its mosaics, as it presents itself today, without, however, pretending to substitute an in-depth study of its architecture and decoration.

In doing so, we will use as base the plan of the *villa* published for the first time by Fernando Nunes Ribeiro (1972), to which we introduce small alterations that correspond to precisions registered during the works carried out along the years. This is because all the works carried out since the 1970s have followed this plan and the numbering of the rooms provided for in it: a reorganisation of this numbering, although more coherent with the analysis made by the authors in their study, would make the reading of it and the comparison with the works already published extremely difficult.

## Location

The Roman *villa* of Pisões is located in Herdade de Almocreva, a rural area integrated in the União of Freguesias of Santiago Maior and São João Batista, belonging to the municipality of Beja (Portugal) (Fig. 1). It is an archaeological site currently managed by the University of Évora, owner of the land where most of the *villa* remains are located, namely the *pars urbana*<sup>2</sup>. Previous publications indicate that it belongs to the Herdade da Algramassa, a property integrated in the Herdade de Almocreva (Ribeiro 1972: 15).

It is located at a distance of about 7 km as the crow flies from the city of Beja, the former *Colonia Pax Ivliia* - seat of the *Conventvs Pacensis* - and a little over 3 km from the village of Penedo Gordo, the nearest locality. The *villa*, which is open to the public, can be accessed via the N18 and IP8 roads, from which there are several rural paths, some with signs indicating the archaeological site.

The *pars urbana*, the main excavated and visitable area (Fig. 2), develops along a gentle slope in a northwest-southeast direction, with elevations between 181 and 175 m, bordered to the southeast by the Ribeira da Chaminé (stream), and in the remaining directions by flat agricultural land (Figs. 2-3).

1 Professor Bento Caldeira (University of Évora), 2 November 2021, to whom we thank for all the support given in the preparation of this article.

2 Collaboration agreement between the University of Évora, Beja Municipality and the Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo: [https://cms.cmbeja.pt/upload\\_files/client\\_id\\_1/Viver/Municipio/Cmara\\_Municipalbeja.pt/upload\\_files/client\\_id\\_1/website\\_id\\_1/Viver/Municipio/Camara\\_Municipal/Atas/2019/Ata\\_n\\_09\\_2019-05-08.pdf](https://cms.cmbeja.pt/upload_files/client_id_1/Viver/Municipio/Cmara_Municipalbeja.pt/upload_files/client_id_1/website_id_1/Viver/Municipio/Camara_Municipal/Atas/2019/Ata_n_09_2019-05-08.pdf) (policopied document).

Figure 1  
Lusitania @ Carlos Sanchez  
(Casa de Velazquez).

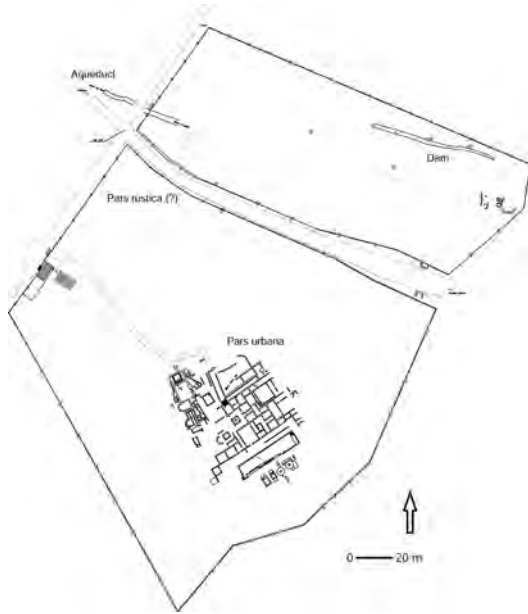


Figure 2  
General plan of the *Villa* (adapted from Serra 2007) @ Serra.



Figure 3  
Aerial view of Pisões @ Arrow4d -  
Consultores de Engenharia e Geofísica.

The surrounding area is occupied by recently established intensive or super-intensive almond groves and olive groves, whereas traditionally this land was used for cereal crops.

### History of Investigation

The discovery of Pisões is reported in 1967 in the pages of the *Diário de Notícias*, where, in a short interview with Fernando Nunes Ribeiro, who was to be the author of the archaeological works that followed, the *villa*'s appearance is mentioned as the result of agricultural works (AAVV 1967: 115). In the monographic work published later (Ribeiro 1972: 14), the author is more detailed, indicating that the clearing of the land to prepare it for cultivation uncovered a fragment of mosaic in February 1967, and shortly afterwards work began to evaluate the remains.

The area where the *pars urbana* of the Roman *villa* of Pisões was discovered was not exactly unknown to Fernando Nunes Ribeiro, as a few 150 m to the

northeast was the wall of a Roman dam, identified and published by Abel Viana years before (Viana 1947: 20), clearly related to the water supply to Pisões (Quintela et al. 1986: 85), as well as an underground canal located in a nearby area (Viana 1947: 20). Fernando Nunes Ribeiro also mentions the appearance of many Roman ceramics in an area 200 m south of the dam site, which he prospected with Abel Viana in 1962 (Costa 1988: 98), and which corresponds to the location of the *villa* of Pisões. He regrets that it was not possible to devote more attention to these finds at the time (Ribeiro 1972: 13).

Shortly after these events, in 1964, new Roman remains appeared in the same area, this time three press weights, which the researcher asked the owner, José Fernandes, to keep in the agricultural premises of the Herdade de Almocreva, where other architectural elements would be collected on later occasions (Ribeiro 1972: 14). With the excavation works in 1967 a new phase of the investigation of Pisões begins, which ran continuously until 1973 (Pereira et al. 2013: 304).

The first works focused on carrying out several diagnostic soundings to evaluate the site's potential and were financially supported by the landowner, Carolina Fernandes, and a private. The start of the excavations took place at the same time as the site was being classified as a Property of Public Interest in 1970<sup>3</sup>, and the work attracted the attention of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which subsidised the intervention (Ribeiro 1972: 14).

In 1968, 1969 and 1971 archaeological excavations continued, which brought a large part of the *pars urbana* to view, contemplating actions of conservation and restoration of various structures, with particular attention given to the mosaic pavements, with some even being removed from the site (Ribeiro 1972: 14) and resulting in the publication of a small descriptive work of the *villa* (Ribeiro 1972), and which remains to date as the most complete on the site (Pereira et al. 2013: 305). From this phase there are also two publications concerning a first study dedicated to mosaics (Sardica 1971-75) and a *terra sigillata* dish (Soares 1971-75).

Works were also carried out in 1972 and 1973, whose results were not published, and then there was a halt in excavations until 1977 (Pereira et al. 2013: 305).

In 1978 new excavations were carried out, close to the thermal area and to the South of the great *natatio* (Parreira 1979: 27) and they would continue in 1979, still under the direction of Fernando Nunes Ribeiro together with other collaborators, allowing, among other results, to document the area of the *villa*'s necropolis (Pereira et al. 2013: 305).

Between 1980 and 1984 some short-term campaigns were carried out, already without the presence of Fernando Nunes Ribeiro and directed by various other researchers, with only the results of 1980 being published (Sardica - Soares 1984).

The stop in the excavation works leads to a phase of interventions of structure consolidation and during this period some more publications are published, including a more complete analysis of the mosaics that focuses its execution in a time span between the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. (Costa 1988). The period of stagnation in the fieldwork led to the abandonment of the site, as referred to during the 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of Archaeology of the Beja Region, in January 1986 (Monteiro - Sardica 1986), and the theft of a large part of the estate that was stored in an agricultural warehouse was even regretted (Mestre - Toucinho 1986: 217).

3 Decreto n.º 251/70, Diário do Governo, 1ª série, n.º 129, de 3 de Junho de 1970.

Between 1985 and 1992 maintenance, protection, conservation and restoration of structures were carried out, as well as the delimitation of the area to be fenced and the preparation of a visiting circuit, within the project for the Safeguarding and Recovery of the Roman *Villa* of Pisões. Many of the restoration works of this period focused on the mosaics, either by sealing and protecting them to avoid damage or by occasional consolidations, since most of the mosaics were subjected to removal and replacement of the support by another in cement during the interventions of the 1960s and early 1970s (Beloto 2010: 194).

In 1997, new archaeological excavations were carried out as part of the Itinerários Arqueológicos do Alentejo e Algarve project, with the aim of assessing the location of the Interpretation Centre, to support visitors, and some conservation and restoration work, which was not published. This equipment was to be built in an area distinct from that which was the object of the archaeological excavation and, in 2003, the archaeological monitoring of infrastructures to connect to the Interpretation Centre took place. This involved archaeological excavations in an area outside the *villa*'s fenced-off area, documenting the presence of structures possibly related to the *pars rustica* (Serra 2007: 505).

In recent years there have been no excavations in Pisões (Fig. 3), mainly developing archaeometric work, focused on mortar analysis (Borsoi et al. 2019) and the application of non-invasive analytical methods (Davies 2018; Caldeira et al. 2019).

Following the transfer of the management of the *villa* of Pisões from the Alentejo Regional Culture Directorate to the University of Évora, the Action Plan for the Roman *Villa* of Pisões was presented, aimed at developing the areas of research, enhancement and dissemination through the creation of an Experimental Field for Archaeosciences and Heritage Sciences at the University of Évora (AAVV 2016), and its full realisation is awaited for the desired affirmation of Pisões in the national archaeological panorama.

### The Spatial Planning of the *Villa*

Despite the long history of work in Pisões, few scientific studies have been produced over the years, lacking above all a global and profound analysis<sup>4</sup> of the structures and the spatial arrangement of this *villa*. An analysis so much more necessary, as the frequent works of consolidation of the structures, for not being documented in its almost totality, demand a global approach that allows the definition of the different phases of construction - and therefore also of occupation - of the *villa*<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the fact that the *pars urbana* has not been completely excavated, and that work has not even begun on the *pars rustica*, does not allow a reasoned appreciation of the spatial arrangement as a whole<sup>6</sup>. However, and in a methodological approach to the existing structures, we put forward a hypothesis to define the distribution and purpose of some spaces, in order to allow a first approach to the relationship floor/space to be decorated (Fig. 4).

4 As an example, we can mention some publications that have been made in more recent times, after the fieldwork in Pisões was finished and that have focused on different aspects, such as the mosaics (Duran Kremer 1998, Wrench 1998), the baths (Reis 2004; Couto 2007), the remains, namely the amphorae (Lagares Rivero et al. 2013), or brief reports on missing sculptural pieces (Borrela 2008), as well as the inclusion of epigraphic analysis in José d'Encarnação's unavoidable study on the *Conventus Pacensis* (Encarnação 1984).

5 We do not have any information about the wall reconstruction work carried out in parallel with the excavation of the *villa* by F. Nunes Ribeiro, so we will stick strictly to the structures as they are today.

6 In this work we follow the classification of J-G Gorges (1979), which we consider basic for the study of the Roman *villae* of the Iberian Peninsula. (Gorges 1979: 109-151).

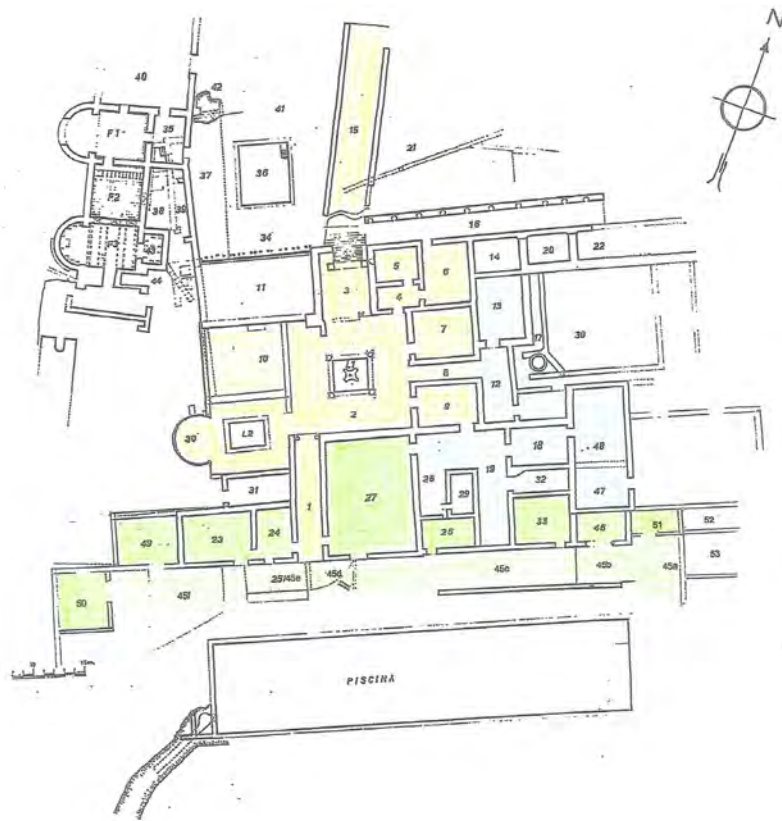


Figure 4  
Updated plan of the *villa* (Ribeiro)  
@ Duran Kremer.

The architectonic structures of the *pars urbana* of Pisões uncovered until today show us that we are dealing with a complex monumental *villa*, type G, (Gorges 1979: 131), considered as “the most representative of the luxurious and monumental character of the great aulic *villae*” (*ibid*). Built on a gently sloping terrain, it shows a frequent unevenness between the different rooms, overcome by the use of steps and spaces to reinforce the upper level of the terrain, when very steep<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, these reinforcements would give rise to interior green spaces, very characteristic of this type of *villa*. In fact, and as Gorges correctly underlines when characterising the *villa* type G and referring to Pisões, “dans les pays du” Sud-Ouest ou de la Méditerranée, la *villa* aulique s’ouvre plus largement sur ses jardins, tout en conservant le goût des perspectives intérieures. Près de Beja, la *villa* de Pisões étagée sur différents niveaux sa cour d’honneur avec bassin, son atrium d’entrée, ses thermes et ses parterres à galeries portiquées”<sup>8</sup> (Gorges 1979 :132 pl.XLVIII ).

In a first analysis of the spatial arrangement of the *villa*, the existing structures point to a definition of four distinct sectors<sup>9</sup>. The first, constituted by the access corridor, with its monumental staircase, the vestibule that opens for the peristyle, and the distribution of what can be considered as more representative rooms from this one (spaces 15, 3, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 30), would have probably corresponded

7 This would be the case in space 22, where we can still see today the reinforcements of the wall that supports the portico 16.

8 “In the countries of the south-west or the Mediterranean, the *aulic* *villa* opens up more widely onto its gardens, while retaining the taste for interior perspectives. Near Beja, the *villa* of Pisões has a courtyard of honour with a pool, an entrance atrium, thermal baths and flowerbeds with porticoed galleries on different levels” (translation by de author). Alarcão (1988: 114) raises the hypothesis that the Roman *villa* of Pisões is “a step in the creation of another architectural model”, which is followed by Couto 2007: XXVII.

9 The present analysis is based, as said before, on the structures as they are at the moment, without identifying possible construction phases, modifications or enlargement of the initial plan.



to the area destined to the social life of the landowner<sup>10</sup>. The second, turned to the South, gathers structures that point specifically to an area of leisure, next to the *natatio*<sup>11</sup> (spaces 46, 33, 26, 27,24, 23, 49, 45, 25). The third would correspond probably to the sector reserved for family life (13, 12, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29, 32, 48, 47), where the space 28/19 would correspond to the access of this sector to the gallery and to the south *natatio* of the *villa*<sup>12</sup>. The fourth would be constituted by the baths built in a northwest-southwest axis.

This almost tight definition of the different living sectors in the *villa* is clearly present in the choice of the accesses from one sector to the other: the indirect access to the south sector from the peristyle is only possible through corridor 2 and, from there, through rooms 24 and/or 27<sup>13</sup> from where the gallery and, from there, all the rooms of this sector can be accessed.

This special arrangement broadly respects the Vitruvian principles of axiality (corridor 15 - room 3 - peristyle 2 - corridor 1), symmetry (portico 16 - south gallery<sup>14</sup>; rooms 7+9 - 10+30) and the orthogonality of the main rooms, attributing to the peristyle “in the architectural organization of the villa or the urban house, the function of domestic space planning and circulation between the different “sectors” as foreseen in the Vitruvian norm of separation of the common and private parts of the building, adapting the house to the function and the status of the owner” (Duran Kremer 2021: 141).

The aspect of the interior perspectives is also respected in the southern part of the *villa*: thus, to the south of the peristyle, a space probably for leisure is introduced (rooms 28, 29, 19) as well as a prioritization of the accesses to the rooms further to the east of the central body.

### The Mosaics: Catalogue

“The decoration of the floor of a room obeyed, yesterday as today, a prior choice of all the decoration, in order to achieve a harmonious and coherent global effect. Decorating a floor with mosaic required, *a priori*, an initial choice between a merely geometric, figurative or mixed decoration, with or without plant or animal elements to fill the spaces created. Whatever the choice, the floor was treated as a uniform surface, which had to be decorated according to the iconography chosen by the owner. In the case of a non-figurative composition a predefined geometric scheme is generally used, which may provide for the use of different compositions: if it is a surface composition, a single geometric scheme is used for the entire surface to be decorated; if different priority areas are individualized within the same flooring, different schemes may be used. The choice made, linked to the argumentative syntax of the flooring, often allows it to be situated in time and in the musive environment in which it is set” (Duran Kremer 2008: 61).

10 About farming see Alarcão 1974:104-118; Gorges 1979:40 (“Thus, many great estates in Lusitania were created or flourished during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Around Pax Julia, there are the villas of Monte do Meio, Fonte de Frades, Quintos, Pisões with important rustic outbuildings or, further north, Beringel”, translation by the author).

11 On *natatio* see Couto 2007: XLI -XLIII

12 Couto 2007: XXXII

13 It is possible that there was a connection between space 26 and 19/28: the lack of data on the construction of the walls outlined in some plans reduces this possibility to a mere hypothesis to be considered.

14 Considered by some authors as a south-facing portico (Alarcão 1974:112; IPPAR: Guia) we think we are dealing with a “gallery” that, although constituting the south façade of the *villa*, is accessible from the outside but at the same time allows access to the rooms that constitute the façade and, indirectly, to the central body of the house (Gorges 1979:122).

An almost impossible task, when - as in the case of Pisões - not all pavements are accessible and some are deeply degraded if not destroyed by the action of time and Man. Therefore, the present Catalogue is mainly the result of a collection and analysis of publications and information collected by the authors - published or not - about the pavements in question, without, therefore, pretending to be exhaustive. The lack of stratigraphic data in relation to the pavements surveyed and consolidated in the 1970s or later, together with the non-identification of structures corresponding to possible phases of construction of the *villa*, do not allow for a dating of the different pavements based on archaeological evidence. Thus, the advanced dating should be considered as a working hypothesis, based on merely stylistic criteria<sup>15</sup>.

In the same way, the almost impossibility, in some cases, of definitively confirming the correct location of certain mosaic fragments (documented by photographs from the 1980s) is underlined in the corresponding sheet: However, whenever possible, an attempt is made to identify them on the basis of the data at our disposal<sup>16</sup>.

## Catalogue

### Mosaic Room 15 (Fig. 5)



Figure 5  
Room 15 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

**Architectural context:** North entrance/ corridor of the *villa*; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 18.20 x 3.20 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (white, black, red and yellow in different shades)

15 Costa 1988: 118 considers a chronology for the mosaics of Pisões between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century, which is followed by Couto 2007: CXXXV. The merely stylistic criteria, however, have to be combined with other factors: it is common knowledge that motifs and styles could continue over time, depending on the geographical area where the mosaic was placed, the mosaic workshop that executed it and, last but not least, the iconographic programme chosen by the commissioner of the work and his economic power.

16 Special thanks are due to Carlos Beloto, who very early on made his personal files available to us for the Inventory of the locations of Roman mosaics in Portugal (Duran Kremer 1999: 176-189, with 189 entries), and which we took as a complement to the information given by Ribeiro (1972: 17-40). We have also used photographic material and information collected by us since the 1980's, as well as during the authors' study visits to Pisões in September and November 2021.

**Technique of setting:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete

For the decoration of the floor of room 15, a single geometric system of ordering of the space to be decorated was used, placed in all over pattern, in two variants of the octagonal system, thus giving rise to three panels: Panel A, next to the North entrance, placed orthogonally (Oktogonsystem II, Salies 1974: 10; Décor I: pl.169 a), Panel B, between Panel A and Panel C (Oktogonsystem I b, Salies 1974: 10), placed diagonally; Panel C, following Panel B, repeats the geometric system of Panel A.

**Panel 15A (Fig. 6)**

Figure 6  
Room 15, Panel A @ Serra / Duran Kremer.



Dimensions: 5 x 3.20 m (Caldeira et al. 2019: 6 fig. 4)

The geometric system of ordering of the space to be decorated is used as the determining element of its decorative grammar: secant octagons, forming in the centre of each octagon a square, bordered on all sides by hexagons of unequal sides. The octagons are outlined on a white background by a row of black *tesserae*, the panel is bordered to the outside by an outline simple guilloche on a coloured ground (Décor I: pl. 70 d). This is followed by a row of black *tesserae* and a wider band of white *tesserae*, without any additional decoration, which ends the composition close to the wall: this delimitation of the composition follows uninterruptedly the three panels decorating room 15.

In the squares formed in the centre of the octagons are inserted smaller squares, decorated with alternating geometric motifs (poised squares and chessboard pattern) in alternating colours of red/yellow or black/yellow.

The hexagons are filled by a smaller hexagon outlined by a row of black *tesserae*, in the centre of which a new hexagon is inserted, outlined by a black or red serrated simple filet, in some cases even without this line. The interior is filled with *tesserae* that follow the movement of the serrated filet. In the centre we can, in some cases, see a serrated simple filet.

At the point of connection to panel B, the composition is finished by a simple row of black *tesserae*.

The lateral finishing of the composition shows that there was no adaptation of the geometric system to the surface to be decorated: while to the south and east the composition ends laterally in triangles filled with smaller triangles in alternating colours, to the north and west the basic motifs are extended until the guilloche framing the composition<sup>17</sup>.

**Panel 15B** (Fig.7)



Figure 7  
Room 15, Panel B @ Duran Kremer.

**Dimensions:** 5.5 x 3.20 m (Caldeira et al. 2019: 6 fig. 4)

Situated between panels A and C, panel B presents an all-over pattern decoration structured on the basic system of octagons (whose sides, in panel B, are not equal) that alternate with small squares formed by aligning the octagons diagonally.

The composition is delimited, as we said above, by a row of black *tesserae*, a outlined simple guilloche on a coloured ground and a band of white *tesserae*.

The decorative syntax of this panel is very carefully established in order to create movement and underline the polychromy of a relatively simple composition. Thus, always on a white background, the geometric shape is repeated inside by a row of black *tesserae*, forming a second regular octagon with a flower made up of 4 lotus calyxes in tinged red and yellow, and 4 lanceolate leaves in shades of black (Correia 2005: 40 fig. 4, fig. 8).

**Panel 15C** (Fig. 8)

**Dimensions:** 5 x 3.20 m (Caldeira et al. 2019: 6 fig. 4)

Panel C repeats the decorative grammar of panel A. Much destroyed, it seems to present an execution in the filling of the hexagons and squares qualitatively not as perfect as in panel A.

**Floor/space relationship to be decorated:** Access corridor to the *villa*, fills the entire surface to be decorated in all over pattern in a composition by differentiated carpets in alternation (in analogy to Duran Kremer 2021: 157).

<sup>17</sup> Type of finishing of geometric compositions that is found with a certain frequency in Roman mosaics (Duran Kremer 2019: 37-46).

Figure 8  
Room 15, Panel C @ Serra / Duran Kremer.



**Dating:** The octagonal system as an element of spatial arrangement of a space to be decorated appears very early, in its simplest form, in the black and white style. Often used as an all over pattern, placed both orthogonally and diagonally, it gradually evolves into a system that accommodates a decorative syntax of progressively richer chromaticism and motif richness. Very frequent in African pavements, it is also found in Gaul, in Germania and in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>18</sup>.

It is precisely in a pavement from Mérida - Mosaic No. 2. Solar de la antigua Ermita de la Piedad (Alvarez Martinez 1990: 34-37 fig. 2 pl. 6-7) that we find the closest parallel to panel B from Pisões<sup>19</sup>, as far as the filling of the octagons with a flower with lotus calyxes (also here in red, ochre and black) is concerned. However, the filling of the remaining octagons and the squares formed by them resorts to more complex motifs that absorb more of the composition's white background. Dated by the author in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, it is clearly later than the mosaic in Panel B.

For panels A and C we find in Écija (Blázquez Martinez - López Monteagudo 2017: 55 fig. 28) a term of comparison: here too the geometric figures are filled inwardly by the repetition of the same figures, alternately in red or ochre. Although the chronology of this mosaic has not been established, we think that this is also a mosaic chronologically posterior to the two panels: the filling is more absorbing of the interior space, introducing a very strong chromaticism in the composition.

In the *cubiculum* (mosaic 5, A-27) of the House of the Waterfountains (Casa dos Repuxos) in *Conimbriga* we find the pavement whose decorative syntax presents the dialogue space/decoration that is closer to that of the panels A and C (Oleiro 1992: 91-93 pl. 33), despite the use of more varied filling motives. Bairrão Oleiro dated it in the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, first of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, bringing it closer to the chronology proposed by us: first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

<sup>18</sup> The reference to a high number of parallels for the different mosaics of this *villa* will be presented in the Inventory of Roman Mosaics of Portugal, currently being elaborated. We will only refer here some examples chosen for the pavements that we consider more expressive.

<sup>19</sup> The work of Mac Millan 1985 will not be discussed here: the publication presents some errors of figure/pavement attribution, a correction of which would go beyond the scope of this paper.

### Mosaic Room 3 (Fig. 9)



Figure 9  
Room 3 @ Duran Kremer.

**Architectural context:** room/vestibule; Current location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 6.70 x 4.35 m

**Chromaticism:** (polychrome white, black, red, yellow and ochre)

**Technique of setting:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** reinforced concrete; Conservation status: much destroyed, it was subject to numerous repairs both in antiquity and during the excavation.

This pavement presents a spatial arrangement in carpeting (composition of centered surface elementary 547, Blanchard et al. 1973: 100; variant Kreisystem Iib, Zentralkomposition, Salies 1974: 15), with an inscribed square and circle, whose geometric shapes are repeated towards the centre of the composition, with motifs filling the free spaces thus created, probably in symmetry. The pavement is currently in a very poor state of conservation, so we have based the description of it on photographs from the 1980s.

The decorative programme chosen for this room is based on a central carpet-like composition, framed externally by a frame of an outlined three-strand guilloche on a dark ground. This is followed by a concentric frame, in pseudo-guilloche, within which a square frame is again defined, in three-strand guilloche and, finally, a circular frame in tightly braided shaded simple guilloche on a dark ground. In the centre of this composition is a vase, too destroyed for its possible decoration to be identified. From what we can still see, the lines that define its foot and belly are in all comparable to the vase of room C 2 of the *villa* of Abicada (Duran Kremer 2007: 221) and of the *villa* of Boca do Rio (Lagos, Museum) (Fig. 10).

Between the central circle and the inner square are two small squares of black *tesserae* edged in red. Between this square and the outer circle, filling motifs were certainly inserted: the only one we can identify with any certainty consists of a pelt outlined by two rows of black *tesserae*, with the ends extended in a

Figure 10  
Boca do Rio: Detail @ Duran Kremer.



wavy line and a red bud flower at the apex. The original fragments still existing next to the remaining sides of the square point to a symmetrical repetition of this motif.

The entire composition is externally bounded by a continuous line of two rows of black *tesserae* and, in the strip thus bounded between the composition and the wall by a single, monochrome square meander (Duran Kremer 2016: 138).

**Floor/space relationship to be decorated:** The composition chosen for the decoration of room 3 fills the entire surface in a well-defined space/function dialogue: access room to the peristyle introduces iconographic reference elements that will later, in one way or another, come to be seen developed in the rooms adjacent to the peristyle.

**Dating:** Despite occupying all the space to be decorated, the composition has managed to maintain its almost pictorial character. From a luminosity marked by the white background only cut out by the defining elements of the decorative grammar, we see an element of perspective introduced through the different geometric forms which end in an underlining of the central vase.

The multiple repairs carried out on this pavement make it difficult to establish a chronology. However, based on what we can still see of the original pavement, we place this mosaic in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

#### Mosaic Room 2<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 11)

Figure 11  
Room 2 @ Duran Kremer.



**Architectural context:** peristyle; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 11.15 x 10.90 m

**Colouring:** bichromatic (black and white)

**Technique of setting:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Support:** reinforced concrete; Conservation state: incomplete

For the decoration of the peristyle, an orthogonal system of secant octagons was chosen, forming in the centre of each octagon a square, bordered on all

<sup>20</sup> For a more detailed analysis see Duran Kremer 2021: 146-149

sides by hexagons of unequal sides (Oktogonsystem II: Salies 1974: 10; Décor I: pl.169 a), thus giving rise to an all over pattern composition (Duran Kremer 2021: 146-147). The geometric system constitutes, like the floor of room 15, the decoration itself: outlined in black on a white background it is delimited by a line of two black *tesserae*. The strip separating the composition from the walls and the central tank is filled with an undulating line with a poised serrated square in black with a white *tesserae* in the centre, in each undulation (Décor I variant 63b: 113).

Although, at first sight, the linear decorative grammar seems relatively simple, the filling of the squares with different motifs (pair of backed rows of quasi-tangent juxtaposed *peltae*, an outlined posed square with poised serrated square in the centre, quatrefoils, knots, quarter-circles in the inner corners forming a square with concave sides with serrated square in the centre) placed alternately so as to form motif diagonals, introduces an element of movement and complexity into the composition. A movement underlined by the crosselets of 5 poised *tesserae* inserted in the centre of each hexagon.

The placement of the pavement was careful: as far as we can see, the geometric scheme was adapted to the surface to be decorated. There is however a detail that we want to focus on: in the west wing of the peristyle, near the wall that limits the access stairs to room 3, there is still today a fragment of mosaic consolidated in situ, but showing small motivic differences with the rest of the floor. With the information we have we cannot tell if it is an ancient, modern restoration or simply a misplacement of the support plates.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated:

The decoration scheme chosen in all over pattern (Peristyle Decoration Schemes I, Duran Kremer 2021: 142) for the peristyle, linear but diversified in its decorative syntax, of a simple bichromy but which allows the identification of lines of movement within the composition adapts perfectly to a space conceived as an axis of ordering of the different surrounding spaces.

**Dating:** As noted earlier, this system appears very early on in *schwarz-weiss* pavements, mostly as a simple, linear all over pattern. In the peristyle of this *villa*, although maintaining the bichromy and the original linearity of the octagon, the composition expresses a complexity achieved not through recourse to polychromy but through the creation of diagonals of movement within it<sup>21</sup>. For this pavement we therefore propose a dating at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

### Mosaic Room 6 (Fig. 12)

**Architectural context:** room; Current Location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 6.00 x 4.15 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (black, white, red and ochre)

**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics?

**Support:** reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete; with restored areas from the Roman period.

21 An example of the use of this space management system in a relatively simple, though chronologically later, bichrome decorative discourse is found in the mosaic H of the Roman *villa* of Torres Novas (also known as *villa Cardilio*) (Duran Kremer 2008: 70).



Figure 12  
Room 6 @ Duran Kremer.



The spatial arrangement of the floor to be decorated was based on the system of band cross braiding (Bandkreuzgeflecht II, Salies 1974: 2): In this system, the overlap square of the bands is greatly enlarged, so that a second field is created for larger decorative motifs<sup>22</sup>. The composition is divided into two carpets, of different size and decorative syntax.

The first, polychrome, situated at the entrance to the room, occupies more than two thirds of the floor (unfortunately we do not have the correct measurements for each of the carpets in the composition). The decorative syntax of this panel is characterised by the fact that to fill the space between the squares we use a diamond, in white *tesserae*, flanked by triangles alternately in blue and red *tesserae*. In the central area thus delimited is a regular octagon, in white *tesserae*, which is in turn always filled by a flower with four petals in red (outer part of the petals) and yellow (next to the chalice, in black). The alternating and staggered use of red and black to fill in the triangles flanking the lozenge connecting each two squares, in white *tesserae*, gives the observer an effect of movement and complexity of representation. The squares are filled with Solomon knots in red, yellow and white outlined in black.

In the centre of this composition we would have found an emblematic composition on a white background, of which nothing remains except for small fragments in the upper left and right corners, in which we can certainly identify the tip of a bird's wing (Fig. 13). It is bordered by a shaded simple guilloche on a black ground (variant of Décor I: pl 71c). The whole carpet is defined all around by a three-stranded guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: pl 72 d).

The second carpet located between this carpet and the wall, was also executed based on the ribbon cross bands system, in black and white on a white background. Here, the connection between the squares is made by a simple row of black *tesserae* in the middle of each of them, creating crosses of equal sides in the centre. Both the crosses and the squares are decorated with a simple jagged

<sup>22</sup> It can be considered a variant of Bandkreuzgeflecht II and a modular system of four-pointed stars tangent to each other by one of the vertices (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 261), the square being wider so as to allow the insertion of a rhombus between them.



Figure 13  
Room 6, detail @ Duran Kremer.

square or a crosselet, alternately and diagonally, thus creating lines of directional alternation for the observer. The whole composition of this room is bordered by a composition of corded leaves associated with scrolls.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated

This room, for the decoration of its floor, can be considered a *cubiculum*, whose access would be made by the room 4 from the peristyle. The stairs connecting to the porticoed gallery 16 seem to us to be posterior to the placement of the mosaic, superimposed on it - an interpretation supported by what can still be seen of the painting of the wall, covered at a certain height by the construction of the steps.

**Dating:** The pronounced polychromy and the complexity of its distribution among the geometric motifs created by the chosen decorative grammar place this mosaic in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> - first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

### Mosaic Room 16

**Architectural context:** porticoed gallery; Current location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 23.60 x 1.80 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black and white)

**Technique of setting:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Support:** original; Conservation state: very destroyed

The little information we have does not allow us any analysis of this mosaic: we only know its dimensions (Ribeiro 1972: 23; Beloto 1985: Bej.39), and that it is a bichrome mosaic - black and white - in very bad state already when it was found, and that it had been the object of cleaning and conservation works in March 1983 (Beloto 1985: Bej.39).

### Mosaic Room 8

**Architectural context:** corridor; Current Location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 7.00 x 1.25 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black and white)

**Laying technique:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Support:** original; Conservation status: incomplete

The little information we have does not allow us any analysis of this mosaic: we only know its dimensions (Ribeiro 1972: 23; Beloto 1985: Bej.35), and that it is a bichromatic mosaic - black and white - in very bad state already when it was found, and that it had been the object of cleaning and conservation works in March 1983 (Beloto 1985: Bej.35).

### Pavement Room 13 (Fig. 14)

Figure 14  
Room 13 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.



**Architectural context:** room; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 6.20 x 4.60 m

**Chromaticism:** difficult to define without a previous deep cleaning of the floor where the *scutulae* are encrusted. These are variable shades of white, light grey, dark grey.

**Technique of setting:** *opus scutulatum*; *scutulae* of different shapes and sizes

**Material:** marble

**Support:** original; Conservation status: much destroyed

This type of surface pavement decoration can be defined as a “soil made up of fragments of *scutulae* arranged in no particular order on a background of other material (*Signinum*, *Tesselatum*, *Fliglinum*, etc.) (Décor I 1985: 22). It is debatable whether this is a mosaic pavement: it is certainly a composition of a pavement surface, conceived and executed according to an original programme. Hence its inclusion in this Catalogue.

As far as we can recognise, we are dealing with a floor of *opus signinum* where *scutulae* of different sizes, shapes (triangular, square, rectangular) and of grey and white marbles were inlaid (Décor I: 159 pl.103 a).

The access to this room is made through the corridor 8 and room 12.

**Floor/space relationship to be decorated:** The surface composition covers the entire floor.

**Dating:** Without further information it is not possible to date this floor.

### Mosaic Room 9 (Fig. 15)



Figure 15  
Room 9 @ Duran Kremer.

This mosaic has been the subject of several studies already published (Duran Kremer 1998; Duran Kremer 2021: 148 - EA Room) so we will limit ourselves here to the essential descriptive aspects

**Architectural context:** room; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 5.75 x 4.05 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (in black, grey, white, red, pink, yellow and ochre; blue, green and gold glass)

**Technique of setting:** *opus tessellatum*;

**Size of the tesserae:** 10 x 10 mm for the white background; smaller for the depictions of the seasons and, in part, the laurel wreath, and for filling in the central motif of the composition.

**Material:** limestone, ceramics and glass

**Support:** Reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete

The spatial arrangement of the surface to be decorated defined four panels of distinct dimensions and decorative syntax.

### Panel 9A (Fig.16)

**Dimensions:** 0.70 x 0.50 m (Sardica 1971, 75 - 65)

This panel, polychrome, is located at the entrance to room 9 from the peristyle, and the threshold is probably filled with white *tesserae*.

Figure 16  
Room 9, Panel A @ Duran Kremer.



The chosen motive represents a rhombus with an inscribed circle and two *peltae* whose ends are coiled in tight scrolls. The *peltae*, the inscribed circle and the triangles formed by it within the rhombus are filled symmetrically in yellow and ochre. In the circle, the inner quarters of the circle are defined by a black jagged line, with the opposing teeth filled in white.

This motif is followed by a rectangle formed by a row of black *tesserae* on a white background: we have no information about a possible motif filling it.

#### Panel 9B (Fig. 15)

**Dimensions:** 1.28 x 2.38 m (Sardica 1971-75: 65)

Situated immediately after the previous panel, it shows a geometric decoration in orthogonal pattern of quasi-tangent alternative reversed *swastika-peltae* with a central polychrome knot on a white background (Decor I: 348 pl.223 b), the *peltae* outlined by a row of black *tesserae*. The vertical branch of the knot is alternative reversed.

The decorative system was not adapted to the dimensions of the surface to be decorated, so that the motifs chosen for the composition are “cut” in the southern border of the composition.

#### Panel 9C (Fig. 17)

**Dimensions:** 2.45 x 2.38 m

For the iconographic programme of this panel a section of Kreissystem Ia (Salies 1974: 14) was chosen, with a circle in the centre, half and quarter circles at the edge of the mosaic field, resulting in a central composition in what has been called a “compass drawing scheme”<sup>23</sup>.

The entire composition and its circle and half-circles are defined by an asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: 120 pl.

Figure 17  
Room 9, detail Panel C @ Duran Kremer.



<sup>23</sup> A very recurrent scheme in *Hispania*, it was soon studied by Dimas Fernández Galiano (1980), becoming known as “esquema a compás”.

70j). The central circle (Fig. 15) is bordered by a crown of laurel leaves (Décor I: 141: pl. 89 c), interrupted on the direct axis of the room's entrance by the representation of a face, interpreted as a depiction of Medusa (Duran Kremer 1998: 449 fig. 4). In the centre is another circle, concentric, with an inscribed hexagon, whose diagonals form triangles filled with alternating colours. In the external space between this and the laurel wreath, strips and triangles. In the small semicircles thus built, one can also recognise *tesserae* of blue glass paste.

In the four lateral semi-circles are represented two birds flanking a vase with water (semi-circle in front of the entrance through the peristyle and under the representation of the face of Medusa), probably two birds pecking a bunch of grapes (on the south-facing side) (the mosaic, much destroyed, only allows us to identify one bird), a basket with rosebuds (to the East) and, finally, two birds in a nest guarded by an adult bird (North side of the composition) (the representation of this one still existing points to a stork, very common in the whole region): We are before an allegorical representation of the seasons of the year, represented not by busts or full-body figures with their respective attributes, but by punctual images of those same attributes as they appear in the eternal cycle of Nature (Duran Kremer 2011:195-196 fig.15-18). Unique until now in mosaics from *Hispania*, this dialogue between theme/representation of theme - space to be decorated shows a strong influence of mosaic art in Roman Africa<sup>24</sup>. It should be stressed, however, that the pavements where the combination of birds and plant attributes assume by themselves the representation of the seasons of the year are relatively rare<sup>25</sup>.

Of the quarter-circles that form the corners of the composition only two exist, although one partially destroyed. However, from what we can see, they were filled with different motifs (polychrome pelt with the vertices extended laterally, hedra leaf).

We can assume that, for the filling of the concave squares identified by the compass scheme, 4 different motifs were also chosen. Of the three motifs that have come down to us, we can identify a swastika cross in red *tesserae*, with the repetition of the motif in the space defined by the arms of the cross, probably filled with *tesserae* in blue glass paste (Fig. XX), the poised square filled with concentric lines in colour opposition. The third motif shows a 'quadrilobule of peltae, with the median vertices joined together, forming a cross Fig. XXI. Four cordiform leaves are connected, with their vertices pointing to the centre, to the joining points of the peltae. The quadrilobule is ornamented externally by eight triangular petals' (Correia 2005:66).

### Panel 9D (Fig. 18)

**Dimensions:** 1,28 x 2.38 m

The decorative grammar chosen to decorate the third panel gave rise to a simple, linear, bichromatic composition in black and white, using the square itself as the decorative theme: a row of black *tesserae* defines the squares on a white background, in the centre a crosselet of 5 poised *tesserae*.

The whole composition is bordered laterally by a wide band of white *tesserae*, probably of different dimensions that we cannot partly determine due to the state

24 See La Chebba (Parrish 1984: kat. 49 pl. 67; kat. 30 pl.45).

25 El Jem, Musée National du Bardo, Inv. Nr. 2751 : « this pavement is the only example in the African repertory wich shows a combination of birds and plants as its exclusive seasonal symbols” (Parrish 1984: kat. 41, 186-188, pl. 58).



Figure 18  
Room 9, detail Panel D @ Serra / Duran.

of conservation of the mosaic. On the northern side this band presents a line of semis of serrated bichrome squares in chessboard pattern. (Fig. MS/DK)

**Relationship floor/space to be decorated:** The iconographic programme of this floor was chosen so as to allow a differentiated reading, whether the room was accessed from the peristyle or from space 19. In fact, the compass drawing scheme has, inherent in itself, the capacity to allow a “circular” reading of the composition. In the case of room 9 in Pisões, this characteristic is fundamental, allowing a differentiated reading of the representations of the seasons of the year, ordered in relation to the peristyle according to the priority given to each of them by the commissioner of the work and underlining the meaning of the apotropaic protection granted by Medusa’s head.

This dialogue between composition/space to be decorated/observer is emphasised by the non-repetition of motifs filling the different geometric figures created by this system of ordering of the surface to be decorated.

**Dating:** For the dating of the mosaic we rely mainly on the composition of Panel C, certainly the most complex and presenting the greatest degree of chromaticism and variety of motifs. The geometric compass scheme, which appears in *Hispania* between the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> and mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century. (Salies 1974: 14), probably comes from Africa where the greatest number of examples of this scheme can be found.

For their part, Blázquez Martínez and López Monteagudo attribute to this mosaic from Pisões a date in the second half of the second century, in analogy to the “square mosaic of a compás scheme” (2017: no. 2, 42 - 43 fig. 9). A dating that is confirmed by another mosaic, in Liédena, very close to the decorative syntax of panel B (Blázquez - Mezquiriz 1985: 36-41, Lam. 24, Num.15), and by its situated in the second century.

On the other hand, the iconographic programme chosen for Room 9 in Pisões uses the asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche continues as a defining element of all the central spaces to be decorated, the predominance of the white background on which the different motifs are “cut out”; the theme chosen for the figurative representations - the seasons of the year, the use of the jagged line to highlight the non-figurative motifs of the squares with convex sides, are all defining elements of a possibly later date, between the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

### Mosaic Room 19 (Fig. 19)

**Architectural context:** L-shaped room; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 11.30 x 6.30 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black, white)

**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** original; Conservation state: very damaged

On the basis of the photograph available<sup>26</sup> (the mosaic is now covered with gravel as a protective measure) it can be seen that, for the decoration of this floor,

<sup>26</sup> Between our identification of the decorative composition of this pavement and that published by Costa 1988: 107 there is a disparity that can only be resolved when the gravel covering the mosaic is surveyed.



Figure 19  
Room 19 @ Duran Kremer.

the same geometrical system was used as for the decoration of halls 15 (panels A and C) and 2: octagons, forming a square in the centre of each octagon, bordered on all sides by hexagons of unequal sides. The octagons are outlined on a white background by a row of black *tesserae*. The interior decoration of the squares formed by the secant octagons was eventually similar to that of the peristyle: visible are only a pair of backed rows of quasi-tangent juxtaposed *peltae* and an outlined posed square. The decoration of the hexagons and the finishing row of the central composition is reduced to a poised serrated square in the centre of the figure.

The composition, probably in all over pattern, would have been limited near the wall by a strip with an undulating line. However, a part of the floor still visible shows an interruption of this strip and its replacement by a uniform carpet in black *tesserae*, perhaps due to an old patch made on the floor.

**Floor/space relationship to be decorated:** Room 19 is, from an architectural point of view, a connecting room with room 9 and of interior ordering of the accesses to the adjacent rooms to the east (18, 48 and 47 and 32) and to the west (27). The existence of a surface of about 8m x 2,25m in ground (28), allows to raise the hypothesis of finding here a pseudo-peristyle or interior green space, characteristic of this type of *villa*.<sup>27</sup>

**Dating:** The motivic and stylistic proximity to the floor of room 2 points to a dating in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>, first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

**Mosaic Room 48 and 47 (Fig. 20)**

**Architectural context:** living room; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 11.40 x 5.00

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (black, grey, white, red, ochre)

<sup>27</sup> See Note 10. However, the IPPAR plan establishes a connection, at a certain point, with room 26, which would imply a direct access to the porticoed gallery from the peristyle and room 9. Although it is not currently possible to confirm this possibility or not, we consider it pertinent to draw attention to it.



Figure 20  
Room 48/47 @ Duran Kremer.



**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** original; Conservation state: very damaged

This mosaic pavement was not identified as such by Ribeiro (1972: 37). However, at the time of the visit in 1989 this mosaic was still visible, although much destroyed. As far as it is possible to reconstruct, for the decoration of the floor, recourse was made, as in room 19, to the geometric system also chosen for the decoration of rooms 15 (panels A and C) and 2: secant octagons, forming in the centre of each octagon a square, bordered on all sides by hexagons of unequal sides. The octagons are outlined on a white background by a row of black *tesserae*. The interior decoration of the squares formed by the secant octagons may have been relatively similar to that on panels 15 and 16, although without the use of the chessboard pattern.

The composition, probably in all over pattern, would have been bounded by a band with an undulating line, followed by two lilacs of black *tesserae* and between this and the wall a wide band of grey *tesserae*.

**Relationship floor/space to be decorated:** Everything indicates that the pavement, in a surface composition, would cover the entire space to be decorated. However, the impossibility of attributing it without any doubt to one of the rooms does not allow us any additional information in this sense.

**Dating:** By analogy with the compositions of room 15 and 19 leads us to point out for this pavement a dating between the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century.

#### **Mosaic Room 37**

**Architectural context:** corridor; Current Location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 13.20 x 2.95 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black, white)

**Laying technique:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Support:** original; Conservation state: destroyed

Identified as “mosaic with black squares on a white background. Inside the squares there is a small motif in black. This mosaic is in a very bad state, really crumbling, only small pieces remain” (Ribeiro 1972: 32) and was progressively destroyed by time. In March 1983, when the pavement was cleaned and conserved by Carlos Beloto, there was only a “very small fragment of mosaic and even then in complete disintegration” (Beloto 1985: Bej. 044).

Today this mosaic is completely destroyed.

### **Mosaic Room 34 (Fig. 21)**



Figure 21  
Room 34 @ Duran Kremer.

**Architectural context:** area surrounding an outdoor swimming pool; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 13.20 x 2.95 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black, white)

**Technique of setting:** opus tessellatum; Size of the tesserae: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Conservation state:** much destroyed

The photograph in our possession shows a bichrome composition, in orthogonal pattern of intersecting black circles, forming saltire of quasi-tangent dentilled spindles and concave squares, with a square of four *tesserae* at the centre of the saltire (Kreissystem Iia Salies 1974, 15; variation of Décor I: 370: pl 239 b)). In the centre of the concave squares a floret.

The pavement shows ancient repairs, with a differentiated (not dentilled) spindel treatment.

**Relationship floor/space to be decorated:** Without further evidence we cannot

state whether this was a surface or carpet composition<sup>28</sup>.

**Dating:** Kreissystem probably appeared during the second Pompeian period, soon becoming an almost generalised all over pattern (Salies 1974: 15). Without further elements and from the stylistic point of view, we can consider a dating of this mosaic in the second half of the second century, first half of the third century.

### **Mosaic Room 10**

**Architectural context:** living room; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 8.75 x 6.50 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black, white)

**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Conservation state:** very much destroyed

The photograph taken in the 80's of the few existing fragments from the upper left corner of the room does not allow an analysis of them, however primitive it may be. A future cleaning of the floor may eventually allow more information to be gathered.

### **Mosaic Room 30**

**Architectural context:** living room; Current Location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 8.75 x 6.50 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (black, white, pink)

**Laying technique:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support (floor of the room):** original; Conservation state: very destroyed

**Support (floor of the tank):** Reinforced concrete; Conservation state: very incomplete

The decorative grammar chosen for this pavement was probably based on a system of differentiated carpets. According to Ribeiro (1972: 29-30), there were found “mosaics” of various types - see compositions: black outlined petals filled with red on a white background black squares on a white background, probably destroyed and small black squares, with a rose cross in the centre, on a white background. Still according to the same author, “this room has the western wall in curve”, forming an apse in the vertical axis of the entrance and equally paved with mosaic.

The identification of the floor(s) of this room is very difficult if not almost impossible due to the state of disintegration. Based on the published description one could eventually “identify the mosaics of various types” in Fig. 22. On the other hand, to the west of the room an apse floor was identified (Fig. 23), whose dimensions would match those of room 30.

On the other hand, the photograph of the floor in mosaic described by Ribeiro as

<sup>28</sup> Concerning pavements 34 and 37, Couto mentions two fragments of mosaic found next to the north wall of the *apoditerium* and on the north side of the external pool of the baths (2nd phase): “The visible mosaics seem to have formed a fence around the surrounding area of the pool”: Couto (2007: XLVI). The published photographs don't allow us a comparison with the available data, so we will keep our classification, subject evidently to a posterior verification, if and when possible.



Figures 22 - 23  
Room 30, detail @ Duran Kremer.

“small squares in black, with a rose cross in the centre, on a white background”, dated from the early 1980’s, shows a composition in all over pattern, at least in the east wing of the room (with start still for the north wing), near the connecting door with the peristyle<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 24). Between the door and the apse, centred, a rectangular tank, with marble-lined walls and with a mosaic with fishes as flooring<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 25). Much destroyed, one can still identify a moray eel swimming from right to left, a fish swimming opposite it and the tentacles of a squid’s head. The water is represented by intermittent strokes. This composition is bordered by an asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche on a black ground.



Figure 24  
Room 30, detail @ Duran Kremer.

Figure 25  
Room 30, fish mosaic @ Cátia Mourão.

Like the previous composition, this pavement raises some unknowns. Ribeiro (1972: 30) describes it as a “mosaic pavement on a white background, ornamented with fish...The mosaic frame is made of complex braids”. Nowadays, however, this pavement presents itself with a central composition of marine *thiasos*, distributed between it and the walls of the tank are carpets with different motives placed symmetrically (shaded multi-strand guilloche on a coloured ground, a composition of small squares and rectangles in contrast of colour, probably a square on a white background with the diagonals underlined by a row of black *tesserae*). The mosaic has old patches.

<sup>29</sup> Room 30 is an example of the near impossibility of identifying some floors with the rooms they originally decorated: only future methodological cleaning works of the still existing floors, accompanied by a detailed study and chronology of the existing structures may facilitate this task.

<sup>30</sup> For Bibliography: See Mourão 2008: 102-103.

**Floor/space relationship to be decorated:** The state of conservation of the floor of this room and the unknowns existing in what concerns the identification of possible compositions do not allow us a careful interpretation of the iconographic programme chosen for it or of the alterations introduced afterwards. In view, however, of the description of the floor made by Ribeiro, one could raise the hypothesis of an ordering of the floor in carpets, an ordering that would be repeated in the mosaic of the tank, giving special prominence to the representation of the marine *thiasos*.

**Dating:** The elements that we have do not allow us to establish a substantiated chronology for the pavement as a whole, since from the stylistic point of view, we find elements that point to a chronological window from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

### Mosaic Room 1 (Fig.26)

Figure 26  
Room 1 @ Duran Kremer.



**Architectural context:** Corridor; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 11.50 x 2.3 m

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic (black, white)

**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone

**Support:** original; Conservation state: very destroyed

The decoration of this pavement is based on a relatively clear basic geometric scheme: an orthogonal rapport of paratactic (?) circles (?), on which a second one is placed. The circle centres of the second, superimposed rapport lie in the centre of each of the recessed spherical squares (Kreissystem II: Salies 1974: 15). The spindles thus formed are separated by a small square. This is a system for arranging the surface to be decorated that allows for numerous differentiated decorative syntaxes both in terms of the polychromy and the composition itself.

In Room 1 at Pisões, the geometric scheme chosen to of the structuring of the

surface to be decorated was used as the basic decorative motif: linear, with only two rows of black *tesserae* on a white background delimiting the intersections of the circles, allows us to underline both the flower with four petals thus obtained and the spherical square formed by them. In the centre of the square is a poised serrated square, with alternating rows of black and white *tesserae*. The petals thus obtained are the spherical square formed by them. In the centre of the square is a poised serrated square, with alternate rows of white and black *tesserae*.

The composition is delimited by a border of two black *tesserae*, in which are inserted, towards the interior, triangles defined linearly by a row of black *tesserae*, on one side and black half saltires of tassels, on the other. Between this enclosure and the wall, a wide band of white *tesserae*, without ornaments.

The flooring was carefully laid: as far as we can see, the motif was adapted to the dimensions of the surface to be decorated.

Both the composition and the chosen bichromy, with the overall predominance of the colour white, allow great luminosity to a space that, in itself, would probably have been an enclosed space.

**Floor/space relationship to be decorated:** According to the current structures, room 1 had a function as a corridor for access, to the south, to rooms 24 and 27, from the peristyle, overcoming the existing unevenness through a step flanked by two columns, all in marble. This corridor was bounded to the south by the gallery wall.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 2<sup>nd</sup> century - 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

**Mosaic Room 46**<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 27)



Figure 27  
Room 46 @ Duran Kremer.

**Architectural context:** living room; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 4.60 x 3.90 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (black, white, red, pink, yellow)

<sup>31</sup> This room is mistakenly described by Costa as room 33 (Costa 1988: 106).

**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete

The floor of this room presents two distinct compositions: at the entrance, a carpet in running-pellet pattern, bichrome, the pellets outlined in black on a white background; and then a carpet that covers the entire surface to be decorated.

Based on a geometric system of octagons, placed diagonally and forming small squares between them, the decorative syntax of this composition was specifically created with the purpose of - using only variations of a central motif filling the octagons (a saltire of spindle) inserted in different decorative spaces - creating an image of a very rich polychrome, full of movement, with a luminosity marked by the transparency of the white background, always present.

Both the composition as a whole and the geometric motifs are enclosed by a tightly braided shaded simple guilloche on a dark ground. The squares between the octagons are filled with knots on a dark background, the side rectangles with a small tightly braided shaded simple guilloche on a dark ground. The octagons, in turn, present in their centre the saltire of spindle of various colours and fills, inserted either in a simple circle, outlined by a single row of black *tesserae*, or in a square above the vertex inserted in a larger square, or in two concentric circles defined individually by a row of black *tesserae*. Inside, a row of red (interior) and yellow (exterior) calices, alternately inverted, *une fleurette de cubes sur la pointe* occupying the spaces thus alternately created. The central octagons are defined inside by a line of black triangles, the two octagons still visible on the left of the composition by a jagged line in black *tesserae*.

The composition is delimited to the outside by a bar of three lines of white *tesserae*, followed by two lines of black *tesserae*. Then a wide row of intersecting and tangent semicircles, forming ogives and scales, in black on white background. Two rows of black *tesserae* finish and finally delimit the whole composition.

Unfortunately, it is precisely on this floor where one of the most serious mistakes in the placing of the cement tiles can be found: the two tiles near the upper right corner of the room have been inverted during their placement, precisely in the part of the mosaic most destroyed, not allowing the identification of a possible symmetry in the distribution of the filling motifs. Nevertheless, and on the basis of the arrangement of the motifs in the right half of the floor, we think we can conclude that the different motifs filling the octagons were distributed symmetrically throughout the composition.

The execution of this pavement was done in a very careful and expert way, the geometric scheme was previously adapted to the surface to be decorated.

**Relationship floor/space to be decorated:** From an architectural point of view, this room presents the widest entrance of all the rooms flanking the south gallery. The use of a carpet for the entrance to the room, followed by the laying of a “carpet-like” mosaic underline, for its part, the significance that would probably have been attributed to this space.

**Dating:** Recourse to the orthogonsystem for the spatial ordering of the surface to be decorated was undoubtedly used frequently in the western Roman world: numerous examples from *Germania*<sup>32</sup> to *Hispania*<sup>33</sup> attest to this phenomenon.

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32 Hoffman et al.1999.

33 In general: CME ; also Oleiro 1992.

However, the style of this flooring, combining a rich chromaticism with the differentiated variation of a single motif framed individually, and its luminosity, which prevents any baroque style in the composition, certainly place it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when chromaticism not only occasionally enters into exclusively or mainly black and white compositions, but also occupies determining elements of them, without however expressing the horror of vacuity that will be established mainly from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

### Mosaic Room 26

**Architectural context:** room; Present location: *in situ*

**Size (living room):** 5.20 x 2.90 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (black, white, red, yellow)

**Technique of emplacement:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** original; Conservation state: very destroyed

Having identified “some mosaic fragments” by the archaeologist in charge (Ribeiro 1972:28), we were able to photograph one last fragment still in the 1980s. This fragment presents a composition based on the geometric squareness of ordering of the space to decorate, used here as base element of the decoration: in the squares formed by the grid of filets of black *tesserae* on a white background, spaced saltires of shaded tassels were inserted, alternatively in shades of black and red or yellow and red.

On the basis of this fragment, it is not possible to establish either a reasoned chronology or the type of floor/space relationship to be decorated.

### Mosaic room 45 (Fig. 28)



Figure 28  
Room 45 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

**Architectural context:** south gallery; Present location: *in situ*

**Dimensions:** 19.60 x 3.30 m

**Chromaticism:** polychrome (black, white, red, pink, yellow)

**Technique of setting:** *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm



**Material:** limestone and ceramics

**Support:** original (tapestry 45 a); conservation status unknown

**Support:** Reinforced concrete (remaining carpets); Conservation status: incomplete

Described by the archaeologist who first excavated this Roman *villa* as being “the corridor that lies between the dwelling and the swimming pool” (Ribeiro 1972: 36), it actually corresponds to the south gallery, to which all the rooms of this sector open. We should therefore add to the dimensions calculated by him those of room 25 and the spaces next to rooms 23, 49, 50, despite the fact that, following corridor 1, there is a wall that would probably have divided this gallery into two wings. As it is impossible to make a correct measurement of the length of all or each of the wings of the gallery, we will limit ourselves to introducing the approximate measurements of the different compositions still visible.

For the decoration of this space - and as far as we can ascertain - a composition by differentiated carpets was chosen (Duran Kremer 2021: 157): The floor is divided into several “carpets”, each with a different decorative syntax, generally placed along the entire length of a room, demarcating not only the entrance to it but also differentiating it from the next room. All the carpets point to an all over pattern decoration. In Pisões there are few remaining carpets which allow an analysis of them: our analysis is based on the documentation collected since the 1980s and on the study visits of the authors in the autumn of 2021. For a better structuring of the analysis, we list the carpets in alphabetical order from east to west.

The composition is bordered by a tightly braided shaded (red and yellow) simple guilloche on a black ground, with different finishes from mat to mat for the strip separating it from the wall.

#### **Panel 45 a**

Located at the eastern end of the porticoed gallery, it would be opposite the rooms we have given the numbers 51 and 53<sup>34</sup>. Covered with protective gravel, we have no information or photograph of it.

#### **Panel 45 b** (Fig. 29)

This panel was certainly situated along the façade of room 46 with the gallery, so that it could have originally occupied a surface of 4.60 x 3.30 m. We have no indication of the exact place where it was originally located, so its repositioning in situ after the consolidation could have been done in a haphazard way, and even suffered from mistakes of placing them in order, modifying the motive.

**Chromaticism:** bichromatic black and white, it uses the geometric system of arranging the surface to be decorated - octagonal secant octagons placed orthogonally - as decoration. The geometric figures are outlined on the white ground by two rows of black *tesserae*, without any inscribed decoration. The mosaic shows several probably ancient patches and is bordered by two rows of black *tesserae*, which separate it from a more or less wide, white band to the wall.

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<sup>34</sup> These rooms, as well as room 50 and other spaces in the eastern part of the *villa* were found during the various archaeological prospection and conservation works carried out over the years: due to the multiplicity of plans of the *villa* and to facilitate the consultation and understanding of the analysis of the same, we gathered them in a single plan, adapting Fernando Ribeiro’s original plan



Figure 29  
Room 45, Panel 45 b @ Duran Kremer.

In the same way, the composition is not delimited next to the following panel which, itself, does not have a border in that place either, which could suggest that the cement tiles have been placed in alignment, one after the other, covering eventual gaps left by a destroyed mosaic. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the hypothesis that this was a pavement placed after the next one (to replace a destroyed pavement?).

**Panel 45 c (Fig. 30)**



Figure 30  
Room 45, Panel 45c @ Duran Kremer.

Located along the facade of rooms 33, 19 and at least part of room 26, it extends for 7.77 x 3.30 m. Polychrome, it presents a composition in running-pelta pattern: on a white background, backed black *peltae* line up on a central point, white, touching each other by one of the ends and forming a wheel of *peltae*. At the central point, a flower in alternating yellow and red buds.

The decorative grammar of this carpet is quite complex, certainly demanding a lot of skill from the mosaists. To prove it there are numerous old patches, surely made by different hands in different moments, which largely explains the “variations” of *peltae* used, partly just outlined and with a serrated triangle on the central point, or the abandon of the wheel of *peltae* in favour of filling the empty spaces.

The composition was delimited by a simple guilloche and by a row of superposed right-angled black triangles on a white background, both separated by narrow bands of white *tesserae*.

Although it is not possible to verify the existence of a lateral border of the composition with regard to the carpet 45b, and given the high quality of execution of the original mosaic, it is likely that this demarcation would also have extended to the lateral borders of the same.

**Dating:** The decorated pavements, either on the surface or on a panel, using different combinations of the *peltae* with each other or with other motifs are very common in mosaic pavements<sup>35</sup>. In panel 45 c, the *peltae* alternately display a red or yellow flower bud at their apex, stylistically similar to the inscribed *pelta* in room 3.

For this pavement we propose a date in the III century.

#### Panel 45 d (Fig. 31)

Figure 31  
Room 45, Panel 45 d @ Serra / Duran  
Kremer.



The paving between the previous panel and panel 45 d is totally destroyed.

Of the panel 45d only a simple guilloche border is visible, which would delimit the composition near the connecting strip to the wall (in grey *tesserae*) and a separating panel from the following composition, decorated with a voluted stylized scroll (Decor 1985: 114, 64b) black on a white background. This enclosure would extend to the wall that separates this panel from the following one, also delimiting the wide band in grey *tesserae* that constitute the lateral finishing of the composition.

<sup>35</sup> Selected examples: Hoffmann et al. 1999: Nr.74:124; Neira/Mañanes 1998: Nr. 15 b: 30.

**Room 25** (Ribeiro 1972: 28)

In this gallery space we identify at least two panels, conventionally called Panel 45e and Panel 45f, which roughly correspond to Ribeiro's description of them. Also, here the raising and consolidation of the pavements in cement plates and their relocation in the place would not have occurred in the best way: while carpet 45e allows us an identification coherent with the original description, the second carpet demands a graphic reconstruction work that would exceed the frame of the present article.

**Panel 45 e** (Fig.32)

This panel would occupy a surface of 5.80 x 2.40 (Ribeiro 1972: 28). Carried out in an all over pattern composition based on the geometric squareness of the space to be decorated, it uses this as the basic element of the decoration: in the squares formed by the grid of filets of black *tesserae* on a white background, spaced saltires of shaded tassels were inserted, alternately in tones of black and red or yellow and red. The composition is delimited by a simple guilloche, which is followed by a band of grey *tesserae* up to the wall of room 24 and, probably, of rooms 23 and 49: the state of conservation and cleanliness of the mosaic in this sector of the gallery makes it difficult to identify with certainty the decorative syntax chosen for the western part of the gallery. From what we can see on site, this carpet would extend in L shape in front of room 49.

The floor presents several old repairs, which in some cases imply a chromatic change of composition.

**Dated:** second half of the III century.

**Panel 45 f** (Fig. 33)

Identified by Ribeiro (1972: 28) as being part of room 25, this panel should be considered individually, although its state of conservation does not allow a correct identification of the composition itself: the placing of the original floor in reinforced concrete slabs and, finally, the placing of these in situ gave rise to a too confusing image of the composition. However, we believe we can identify in a fragment at least part of the eight-pointed stars referred to by that archaeologist, as well as other unidentified motifs. Cleaning the mosaic and



Figure 32  
Room 45, Panel 45 e @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

Figure 33  
Room 45, Panel 45 f @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

drawing the different motifs *tesserae* by *tesserae* could possibly contribute to an adequate identification of the composition.

### The Roman *Villa* of Pisões: Final Considerations

The systematized analysis of the different mosaic pavements of this *villa*, as hypothetical as it may be since it is carried out on mere stylistic parameters, given the state of deep destruction of most of the pavements and the lack of original documentation about them, confirms the initial hypothesis of the interpretation of the architectonic structures as they are presented today.

In fact, the existence of an iconographic programme for the decoration of the pavements adapted to the spatial separation of the different sectors of social and family life of the landowner who would have commanded the work and of his descendants can be confirmed.

Thus, the space destined for the ‘social life’ of the owner, bearing witness to his economic power and social class, was arranged around a peristyle, whose ornamental syntax identified it as a space of passage and access to the rooms most representative of the message to be conveyed to the visitor: room 30 and, above all, room 9. Unique, so far, in *Hispania*, in the iconographic choice made for the representation of the seasons of the year shows some unusual aspects that give this mosaic a special place within Hispanic mosaics. Apart from the fact that floors on which the combination of birds and plant attributes of the different seasons takes over the representation of the same in isolation are rare, the composition of the mosaic of Pisões unites elements of a “nature morte”- the basket of rose petals as an allegory of spring, the wine as a specific characteristic of autumn, the water vessel as an allegory of winter, the small birds in the nest, fed by their mother or under her observation, ready to fly, as an allegory of summer. If we note that the head of Medusa inserted into a small square located directly in front of the connecting door between the room and the *peristylum* is the only figural representation besides these allegorical figures, the iconographic programme of this room is revealed with greater clarity: The owner of the *villa* of Pisões used the theme of the seasons in an allegorical way to convey as a message the permanent recurrence of life (rose petals opening, young birds flying out into life and protected by the preceding generation) and the close connection with nature (water for field irrigation and to quench the thirst of man and animal, fruit as a source of food and economic prosperity) in an unbroken cycle, protected by the single anthropomorphic representation of the whole *villa* – the Medusa head - whose apotropaic power was undisputed.

This attachment to the earth and nature also certainly show the African influence that dominated, so to speak, the choice of forms of representation of the seasons, although in this last case it should be noted that we are faced with an exceptional form within the totality of seasonal representations in Hispanic mosaics<sup>36</sup>.

Another aspect concerns the sector of the *villa* probably reserved for family life. With accesses designed to preserve the “intimacy” of family life, it follows an iconographic programme which, from what we can see, almost exclusively uses different variants of the octagonal system of ordering the area to be decorated, using different motifs to fill in the geometric figures, a greater or lesser chromaticism, and the introduction or not of vegetal and sinusoidal motifs.

The area near the pool seems to delimit a third sector of the owner’s daily life,

<sup>36</sup> See, in this respect, Duran Kremer 1998: 454; Duran Kremer 1999: 106.

facing the *nataio*, with rooms open to a gallery originally richly decorated but which have suffered wear and tear and repair over the years.

An area that fits perfectly into the role that water would have played in the life and economy of this estate. The first expression of this meaning is found in room 3, where the vase, placed in the centre of the composition, besides its apotropaic aspect, “introduces” the dominant message of this *villa*: water, source of life and well-being (rooms 9 and 30), not only supplies the thermal springs situated to the northwest of the main body of the urban pars and object of remodelling and enlargement around the second century<sup>37</sup>, remaining as a function during all the time of occupation of the *villa*. It is also the conductor of the aeration and cooling process of the environment during the summer months. Brought to the *villa* from the aqueduct that connected the dam to the baths and the open pool next to it, the water would be channelled to the central tank of the peristyle, from where a conduit under the floor would lead to the opening that still exists today in the north wall of room 27, in marble (Fig. 34) and from where it would drain to the floor of this room, all in marble slabs<sup>38</sup>. From here, two small canalizations still existing today would give out this water in the swimming-pool.



Figure 34  
Room 37 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

The quality of execution and the decorative syntax used in the mosaic pavements of the Roman *villa* of Pisões is consistent in the different pavements: with the exception of the mosaic of room 6 and, eventually, of room 30 (tank and apse), we believe to be facing the work of a local mosaic craftsman. Or at least regional: the comparison of the pavements with those of other *villae* of Lusitania in general and of the *conventus pacensis* in special can certainly confirm this identification (António 2017: 45-70; Duran Kremer 2017: 161-174).

To go further in the interpretation of the structures of this *villa* would be, given the current state of knowledge on structures and their dating, stratigraphic data, etc. to enter the field of the imaginary.

37 Couto 2007: CXLV mentions that the baths would have remained until the 4<sup>th</sup> century. We believe, however, that they could have been used during the entire period of habitation of the *villa* which, according to Alarcão, in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries was still inhabited “not only by the servants but also by the owners” (Alarcão 1974: 112).

38 Carneiro 2017: 122 note 15, the author refers to what could probably be considered a second example of this type of room in the Roman *villa* of Rabaçal

We prefer not to do so and, putting all our documentation at the disposal of an interested public, contribute to a “rethinking” of the Roman *villa* of Pisões as what it really is: a manor house, with probably all the *pars* inherent to a land exploitation that knew how to maintain its peculiarity through the centuries. Probably the object of modifications, enlargement of structures, eventual replacement or repair of floors, it has come down to us as testimony to that phenomenon which Dunbabin classifies as a “specifically Hispanic characteristic”: in the course of the second century AD a specifically Hispanic characteristic makes its appearance: the use of limited touches of colour in otherwise bichrome mosaics” (Dunbabin 1999: 146). A characteristic present in the iconographic programme chosen for the Pisões mosaics, where the use of a limited number of schemes for arranging the spaces to be decorated, on the one hand, and the parsimonious use of chromaticism on the other, give this *villa* a character of beauty in sobriety, one more element in the “search of the dominus for a harmonious ideal in the fusion between the human world and natural or cosmic order” (Carneiro 2017: 123).

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# Revisiting the Leda Mosaic Found at Kornmarkt, Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*)

## Kornmarkt, Trier’de (*Augusta Treverorum*) Bulunan Leda Mozaiğini Yeniden Ziyaret Etmek

Luz NEIRA\*

(Received 07 January 2022, accepted after revision 01 September 2022)

### Abstract

*This article aims to review the representations of the exceptional mosaic found in the vicinity of the Kornmarkt in Trier, which, since its discovery, has been subject to different interpretations.*

*Undoubtedly, the unique character and the inexplicable, at least in appearance, conjugation of the two main scenes, with various inscriptions, in the two large concave octagons that stand out in the geometric scheme of the field, that is, a scene perhaps of sleight of hand and another of mythological inspiration with the birth of Helena, have given rise to theories, among others, as opposite as the representation of a mystery cult and, in the completely opposite sense, another that identifies it as an expression of the mockery of traditional cults from the most critical Christian sectors of Augusta Treverorum.*

*In this paper, however, the analysis of the figures contained in the geometric compartments in the shape of a circle and a spindle, with servants and saltatrices, who are also identified by epigraphs with their own names, sheds light on the interpretation of the mosaic. In this regard, the consideration of some parallels for the figures of servants and saltatrices, as well as information from literary sources and the context of the ancient Augusta Treverorum in which the mosaic was commissioned are equally revealing when drawing our conclusions. on the identification of a banquet, including the entertainments of the comissatio*

**Keywords:** *Banquet, servants, saltatrices, prestidigitation, Helena’s birth.*

### Öz

*Bu makale, keşfedildiği günden bu yana farklı yorumlara konu olan Trier’deki Kornmarkt civarında bulunan sıradışı mozaikteki temsilleri incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.*

*Kuşkusuz, alanın geometrik şemasında öne çıkan iki büyük içbükey sekizgende benzersiz karakter ve en azından görünüşte, iki ana sahnenin çeşitli yazıtlarla birleşimi, iki büyük konkav oktagonunda yer alan bir sihirbazlık ve Helena’nın doğumundan ilham alan bir mitolojik sahnenin yer aldığı sahneler, bir gizem kültürünün temsili ya da Augusta Treverorum’un en eleştirel Hristiyan kesimlerinin geleneksel kültürlere karşı takındıkları alaycı tavır gibi birbirine zıt yöndeki pek çok teorinin ileri sürülmesine neden olmuştur.*

*Ancak bu makalede, kendi isimleriyle kitabelerle de tanımlanan daire ve iç şeklindeki geometrik bölmelerde yer alan hizmetli ve saltatrice figürlerinin analizi, mozaığın yorumuna ışık tutmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, hizmetçi ve saltatrice figürleri ile edebi kaynaklardan alınan bilgiler ve mozaığın yer aldığı antik Augusta Treverorum’un bağlamı için bazı paralelliklerin dikkate alınması, comissatio eğlenceleri de dahil olmak üzere bir ziyafetin tanımlanması hakkında sonuçları çıkarırken eşit derecede açıklayıcıdır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Ziyafet, hizmetçiler, saltatrice, prestij, Helena’nın doğumu.*

\* Luz Neira Jiménez, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Getafe, Madrid, Spain.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2421-6792>. E-mail: [ineira@hum.uc3m.es](mailto:ineira@hum.uc3m.es)

Two female figures contained in the very interesting pavement found in 1950 near the Kornmarkt in Trier (Parlasca 1951: 109-125)<sup>1</sup> are among the representations of Visual Culture, object of study in a recent book on music and dance in the Roman world which has just been published (Neira 2021: 105-110 figs. 25-27). In concrete, due to the inscription with their name, they are Eleni and Criscentia, the two young women depicted dancing to the sound of the *crotala*<sup>2</sup>, in two of the seven geometric compartments in the shape of spindle in the mosaic field.

The mosaic from the ancient *Augusta Treverorum* (Fig. 1) is dated to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>3</sup> and is based on a composition scheme with the alternation of six circular and six spindle-shaped medallions, arranged on the four sides of the rectangular field, and a seventh spindle in the center, that results in two large irregular octagons with concave sides, all of them well delimited by a guilloche.

Figure 1  
Leda mosaic Trier. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.



A similar scheme is documented in a polychrome pavement found in the Esquiline (Fig. 2), from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. (Blake 1940: 99-100 pl. 19,1)<sup>4</sup>. However, the seven spindles are smaller and all the geometric compartments are decorated with vegetal motifs.

Another version is reproduced on a large mosaic of Dionysus and the Four Seasons at *Volubilis* (Fig. 3), from the first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. (Thouvenot 1948:

- 1 Parlasca 1951: 109, recorded just a year after its discovery all the news that had been published about the mosaic, all of them echoing the interest that its figurative representations aroused.
- 2 Doubtless by mistake, Gindsberg-Klar 1981: 318 pl. 80, calls them “clapper cymbals.”
- 3 By virtue of archaeological finds, Eiden 1950: 52-71; Petrikovits 1950: 500; Parlasca 1951: 117-118; Parlasca 1959: 56-57 pl. 54-55; Moreau 1960; Dunbabin 1999: 82-86 note 22 fig. 85; Ghetta 2007: 224.
- 4 Currently this mosaic is preserved in the deposits of the Museo Nazionale Romano, with inventory number 124703.



Figure 2  
Pavement found in the Esquiline. Museo Nazionale Romano. According to Blake 1940.



Figure 3  
Mosaic of Dionysus and the Four Seasons at Volubilis.

348-353; Étienne 1951: 93-118), where, also with smaller spindles without space for figural depictions, there are the circular medallions and concave octagons that contain the aforementioned figures of Dionysus and the Seasons, as well as several members of the Dionysian *thiasos*. As a distinctive characteristic presents the reproduction of eight circles and twelve spindles and, consequently, four concave octagons, although the adaptation to the rectangular field has not been carried out correctly, since the scheme lacks symmetry on the smaller sides of the field, with the circles cut off, unfinished, in one of them, while the Four Seasons do not occupy the corners as might have been expected.

In this regard, it seems that the original scheme, based on six circular and seven elliptical medallions, with two octagons, where the Four Seasons would appear in the circles at the corners of the field, would have been modified and expanded in a decision on the terrain, which proves and documents a certain autonomy of the mosaicists and their freedom to modify a scheme, although not always in a successful way<sup>5</sup>, and, therefore, the adaptation of the mosaics to the space to be paved, resulting unique and exclusive works.

Another similar pattern is documented in the fragmentary mosaic of the Seasons *Ostia* (Fig. 4), which Becatti located from the so-called Suburban Villa in Reg.

<sup>5</sup> Thouvenot 1936: 9 and Étienne 1951: 113-114, already influenced this fact, pointing out as a defect of some African mosaicists not knowing how to adapt the model to the surface to be decorated.



Figure 4  
Seasons mosaic from Ostia. Photo: Luz Neira.

I. Is. IV, from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. (Becatti 1961: no. 438 tav. CCII, CCXVII). Its state of conservation does not allow confirming the original surface of the field or the complete development of the scheme, but the guilloche and the laurel wreath, which delimits circles and spindles of similar size as in the Trier mosaic, does, resulting in irregular octagons concaves, at least two in the preserved part, in which a square decorated with a figurative scene is inscribed, respectively. Judging by the identification of the female bust in a circular medallion as a representation of one of the Seasons and the interpretation of the two scenes as festivities celebrated in certain months (Becatti 1961: 235-240; Salzman 1990: 89; Parodo 2014: 31), presumably the mosaic originally would have had much larger dimensions.

So, the adaptation of the scheme, including enlargement, presents different solutions, as can be seen in one of the panels that are part of the great pavement of the famous Basilica of *Aquileia* (Fig. 5), also from the 4th century (Bertacchi 1994), where the composition of circles, decorated with a Solomon's knot and perhaps with the figure of a bird, and spindles, smaller in size, with a floral motif, results in eight irregular octagons of concaves sides, with figures of animals, although the adaptation to the rectangular field does not offer a symmetrical arrangement on one of the larger sides and on the other of the smaller ones, with an unorthodox culmination<sup>6</sup>.

Returning to the Trier mosaic in question and specifically to its figurative representations, there are the busts of six men appearing, holding with the hands raised on the head great platters full of diverse foods in the six circular medallions arranged on the four sides, at the angles and in the center of the larger sides, towards the outside. They are also identified by an inscription with their first name, Peregorius, Eusebius and Felix, names that are repeated to designate each of them two males (Figs. 6-9), although with the distinction between Felix (Fig. 10) and Felex (Fig. 11). Likewise, there are the full-length figures of four more men, in four other spindle-shaped compartments. They are dressed in long robes, except one that wears a short one, carry a skylight, a jug, another jug, and a bowl and an amphora. Also they are identified, respectively, as Secundus (Fig. 12), Theodulus (Fig. 13), Calemer (Fig. 14) and Andegasus (Fig. 15), and a fifth, in the spindle located in the center of the composition, named Florus, apparently captured in the instant of pouring incense on a tripod (Fig. 16).

Figure 5  
Pavement of Great Basilica *Aquileia*. Detail.  
Photo: Luz Neira.

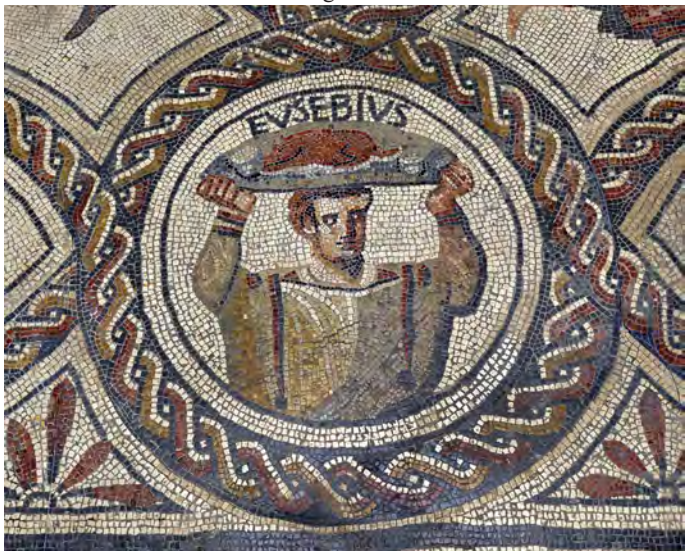


<sup>6</sup> In this respect, it seems that the faulty adaptation of a scheme would not have been exclusive to the Mosaists who practiced their profession in the North African provinces. See previous note.



Figures 6-7

Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Paregorius. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.



Figures 8-9

Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Eusebius. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.



Figure 10 Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Felix. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.

Figure 11 Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Felex. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.



Figure 12  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Secundus.  
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Photo: Th. Zühmer.

Figure 13  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Theodolus.  
© GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier,  
Photo: Th. Zühmer.



Figure 14  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Calemer.  
© GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier,  
Photo: Th. Zühmer.

Figure 15  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Andegasus.  
© GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier,  
Photo: Th. Zühmer.

Figure 16  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Florus.  
© GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier,  
Photo: Th. Zühmer.

In the two irregular octagons with concaves sides, larger than the rest of the geometric compartments in the form of circles and spindles, the two main scenes are located.

At first, with a mortar and three characters, QODVOLDEVS carries in his right hand a long-handled spoon and in his left a dead bird<sup>7</sup> on a bowl held by another male, with an inscription flanking his head - FELOXSO / MEDIX - (Fig. 17). Both wear a short tunic and a kind of small wings on their back, while the third, smaller, kneeling on the ground, appears very attentive with his left hand on his head in a gesture of absolute astonishment and supports with his right a bowl with an egg. Another inscription in two lines ANDEG / ASIPONE completes the scene. According to Moreau “Qodvoldevs said: Felix put it down; Andegasi take it” (Moreau 1960: 13-14).

In the second scene (Fig. 18) there is a unique and equally enigmatic representation of the legend about the birth of Helena, with common characters from the mythological episode, identified with their names by inscriptions, such as Jupiter

<sup>7</sup> According to Parlasca 1951: 118-119, a goose; according to Städele 2008-2009: 343, a plucked chicken.





Figure 17  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of scene with Qodvoldeus. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.



Figure 18  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of scene with Leda. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer.

- IOBIS - under the image of the eagle, Leda - LYDA - and Helena - AELENA, with the Dioscuri Castor - CASTOR - and Pollux - POLVS -, the three together in the same egg<sup>8</sup>, as an amniotic bag, in the presence of Agamemnon, identified as such by the inscription AGAMEMNON-, like the rest of the characters. Had he not been designated as Agamemnon, his image of strangeness in the episode, questioning Leda with his gaze, would rather have led us to identify Tindareo<sup>9</sup>.

Due to the unique character of both scenes and their unusual conjugation, the mosaic has given rise to different interpretation since its discovery. Parlasca alluded to the link between Leda and Isis, proposing in this sense the hypothesis that the composition could reflect the survival of a cult of the Egyptian deities, of a mysterious nature, as can already be seen in the title of his paper (Parlasca 1951: 118-119).

On the contrary, Grégoire and Louis (Grégoire 1953: 454-457; Louis 1953: 222-224) already raised in the 1950s its possible relationship with the Christian cult.

However, in the line of Parlasca, Moreau defended the interpretation of the scenes as extracts from the ritual of a mysterious cult, including the preparation of the ceremonial banquet, and attributed the pavement to a building that may have been the seat of that place of cult, although this author identified it with the mysterious cult dedicated to Nemesis, very popular in late Antiquity, and, according to a variant of the legend, the biological mother of Helena, while Leda would have been her adoptive mother (Moreau 1960: 20- 29).

The theory about the role of Nemesis was questioned by Brandenburg (Brandenburg 1964: 149-155), as well as later by Schwartz and Hatt, who proposed the interpretation of the aforementioned scene of the birth of Helena and the Dioscuri and the image of "prestidigitation" starring by Qodvoldeus, Felex and Andegasivs as a parody, putting forward the figurative ensemble of the mosaic as a criticism, not without mockery, from Christian sectors towards

8 On the variants of the legend, Ruiz de Elvira 1974: 107-109, already referred that the version about the birth of Helena and the twins from the same egg dates back to the Cypria (fragm. 8,3), citing in schol. Callim.in Dian 232, schol. Arat. 273 and Eustath. 1321.38, and later by Ausonius (Epigr. 54). See, more recently, Marcos Pérez 2000: 203-221

9 According already Parlasca 1951: 112.

some of the pagan rites, developed within the framework of ritual banquets and sacrifices (Schwartz - Hatt 1987: 37-45; Hoffmann 1999: 70; Ghetta 2007: 224)<sup>10</sup>.

Against this hypothesis, Hunter has argued that it is unthinkable to regard the mosaic scenes as expressions of mockery and criticism of Christians, and has proposed that, in the context of perceptible Christianization at *Augusta Treverorum*, the mosaic might reflect the need of reaffirming and vindicating themselves on the part of certain pagan sectors and those initiated in ancient mystery cults that even include their name (Hunter 2013: figs. 16-18).

In my opinion, there is no evidence that shows the intellectual authorship of a militant Christian, nor so much effort to identify and give prominence to each of the members represented in the mosaic as supposed devotees practicing pagan rites, object of caricature, in the two main scenes of uncertain identification. Nor are there any clear elements to interpret the composition as the reflection of mystery cults.

From my point of view, the study of the figures inscribed on the circular medallions and on the spindles is key. Thus, when analyzing these representations, it should be taken into account that the two designated as Eusebio and the two identified as Pregorius, as well as those called Felix and Felex, appear carrying a platter full of food with both hands on their heads, while Calemer, Theodolus and Andegasus carry utensils related to drinks, and Floro and Segundo other objects, in my opinion unequivocally, like servants in the context of a banquet.

Remember that, in the setting of a banquet, depictions of domestic servants are documented in the fragmentary parietal mosaic of Sant'Angelo in Formis (Campania) (Robotti 2005: 1171-1173 fig. 4), on a pavement, also fragmentary, from *Carthago*, preserved in the Louvre (Fig. 19), with servants carrying various dishes and baskets (Dunbabin 2003: 446-447 fig. 5), and on another large pavement in *Carthago*, found at Douar Chott (Fig. 20) from the late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries (Yacoub 1995: fig. 126, ac; Blanchard-Lémée et al. 1995; Neira 2011: 405-406 figs. 9-10), with the recreation of a magnificent banquet, in which

Figure 19  
Fragment of Mosaic from *Carthago*. Louvre.

Figure 20  
Mosaic of Douar Chott (*Carthago*). Bardo Museum. Photo: Luz Neira.



<sup>10</sup> According to these authors, the kitchen utensils represented would play a special role (Schwartz-Hatt 1987: 39).

numerous diners participate, seated “at the table” in several groups and attended by a series of servants who also carry jugs and huge trays on their heads.

Some years ago, in a work on the self-representations of the *domini* and their universe in Roman mosaics (Neira 2011: 387-410), we reflected on the presence of servants and, among them, on those of the domestic sphere that appear with a certain prominence in scenes of magnificent banquets. It was argued that they had been included to highlight the wealth, power and prestige of the *domini*, in such a way that the incorporation and presence of the employees responds to a uniformity and homogeneity, not accidental, but premeditated and conscious when trying to offer an idyllic image of the “domains”, in the most literal sense, of an owner, where submission is part of a conception of power and rules that they guarantee peace, prosperity and, in summary, the fruits of civilization.

Along these lines, in addition to the servants who carry the food and to the cupbearers, other events in the context of a banquet are offered and depicted to further highlight the power of a *dominus*. Although it is not known with certainty if the banquet starring in the parietal mosaic of Sant’Angelo in Formis (Campania) and in the fragmentary pavement from *Carthago* preserved in the Louvre was enlivened by music and dance (Neira 2011: 400; Neira - Rodríguez 2021: 224 fig. 7), the aforementioned pavement found in Douar Chott (Fig. 20) preserves at least two musicians – a man and a woman - sounding the *crotala* and a third, elderly-looking, the *sirinx*, attesting that the *dominus* had as its objective the demonstration of its economic and social high status, not only through the number of invited guests and delicacies, but also by the contract of musicians, whose practice was not limited to the *scaena* (Neira 2021: 108).

A scene of this type is also documented in a pavement from the ancient *Germanicia* (currently Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), found very recently in the course of excavations under the leadership of Safinaz Acipayam, director of the Museum of the aforementioned town, which has been dated in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. In process of publication, as Cottet advances (Cottet 2022: 29, notes 92-93), the images that we have been able to contemplate (<https://www.dailysabah.com/gallery/party-like-its-522-1500-year-old-feast-mosaic-found-in-turkey/images>) show a magnificent representation of a banquet in the open air, where, despite a large gap, it seems to be appreciated, in addition to a table with glass jars, the figures of three couples reclining around a semicircle, similar to a *stibadium*, accompanied by two servants, who contemplate with great prominence, the performance of a man playing a *sirinx* and three female figures dancing to the sound of instruments, two of them the cymbals and the from the center the *crotala*.

Regarding the performances commissioned by a *dominus*, a mosaic panel that is paved the center of the entrance hall to the main salle of the Baths E of *Antiocheia*, also from the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Levi 1947: 273-277 pl. LXIII e), show the preparations for another series of entertainments with which the guests, perhaps the users of the baths, were entertained, with three young men, dressed in a short tunic, who standing in the same direction carry on their left shoulder an animal of long tail, identified with a monkey, although its tail seems mottled, the second in the center a stool, perhaps for the animal, and the third in the right hand a rope from which small balls seem to hang (Dunbabin 2016: 126; Tedeschi 2019: note 96), of those used in juggling numbers, funambulism and animal training (Dasen 2019: 129 fig. 1).

Returning, however, to the pavement of Douar Chott and the one recently found in *Germanicia*, their depictions are the most illustrative when interpreting

the *Augusta Treverorum* mosaic, since, despite the partial destruction of the *crotalistrinae* in the North African mosaic, it is still perceptible how the one located in the center also danced, probably the same as her partner, showing in the three mosaics the combination of servants and *saltatrices* that outline her body to the sound of the *crotala*.

In this regard, Eleni<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 21) and Criscentia (Fig. 22), also identified with their name, are dressed in a long tunic, showing loose hair, the first blond and the second saffron, a detail described by ancient authors as an unmistakable sign of their dedication to the prostitution, to the point that women who practiced this trade were forced to dye their hair this shade to be clearly identified, although it is also possible that the origin of this trend is due to an old cliché about the type of traits of those slave women from certain territories who would have survived practicing prostitution and to whose immoral customs many authors attributed moral degradation in Rome.



Figure 21  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Eleni.  
© GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier,  
Photo: Th. Zühmer.

Figure 22  
Leda mosaic Trier. Detail of Criscentia.  
© GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier,  
Photo: Th. Zühmer.

To this is added that percussion instruments, such as the *crotala*, with negative connotations, always linked to *saltatrices*, sometimes of strange origin, who due to their sensual body movements were classified as not very respectable and even as prostitutes since the end of the Republican era (Neira 2021: 58-59).

Just like the *cinaedi* were associated with foreigners, dancers and effeminate, the figure of the prostitute-dancer, such as Quintia and Telethusa - originally described as prostitutes who dance-, was also disseminated in the Roman imaginary to a point that any woman associated with performances, such as mimes, musicians, or dancers, was potentially considered as a prostitute (Naerebout 2009: 156-157). This derogative character was emphasised if women danced in a *commissatio*: they would be considered prostitutes for moral, social and cultural reasons, according to the already noted preconceived prejudices (Péché 2002: 134-135; Webb 2002: 284-285; Perea 2004: 14; Vesterinen 2007: 66-77).

<sup>11</sup> Cited in the referenced bibliography on the mosaic, it was also the object of attention in a work on music (Melini 2008: 48).

This issue is analyzed in the study of a mosaic of Aventine's *domus*, which has just been published (Neira – Rodríguez 2021: 217-233 figs. 1, 4-6). In this work the success of the performances by *saltatrices* of non-Roman origin from the late republican period and throughout the imperial period is remembered, by virtue of the description in Appendix Vergiliana (App. Verg. Copa, 1-4), the Priapea (Carm. Priapea I.27.1 -5), Martial (Mart. Ep. 1.41.12), Juvenal (Sat. 11.3.62)<sup>12</sup>, Statius (Silv. 1.6.67-74) and Suetonius (Dom. 4), as well as references to Pliny (Epist. 3.12; 9.17.1-4), Lucian (Symp. 18-19) and particularly Clement of Alexandria, contemporary author of the mosaic.

The mentions to Quintia and Telethusa in the Appendix Vergiliana and the Priapea and the epigraphic testimonies of *embolia*, among others, evoked a scene of performance / prostitution in the vicinity of the Circus Maximus. However both the numerous references of Martial (Ep. 10.40; 9.77.5-6; 6.71, 1.41.12), the critical account of Pliny the Younger in his Letters and that of Luciano, which include a precise description of the “performances” with dwarfs and dwarves and buffoons, during the *comissatio* of some, as well as some depictions of banquets in mosaics have led us to identify the scene of the pavement found in the Aventine not as a sequence of mime, according to some researchers<sup>13</sup>, but as the representation of one of those lascivious dances in the celebration of a great banquet (Neira- Rodríguez 2021: 222-224).

Since the last century of the Republic and the first centuries of the Empire, it is certainly revealing the excessive interest of some people to attend one of them performances, even cancelling a previous appointment to attend a last-minute invitation to this type of events, as Pliny the Younger (Epist. 3.12) reproaches Clarus. Although the same author confesses that other guests at the beginning of these *comissationes* do not leave the *domus* out of respect for the host (Epist. 9.17.1-4). A diversity of situations that would persist over the centuries.

The critical text by Clement of Alexandria, between the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries AD, the mosaic image faithfully represents the performances in one of those banquets that continued to be organized in Rome and in other urban centres of the Empire (Neira-Rodríguez 2021: 226-229). It is to be assumed that the owner of the *domus* del Aventino, the architect of the commission for the decoration of the pavements found on the grounds of Santa Sabina, would have belonged to the sector that favoured these performances, maybe trying to boast his patronage of the *venationes* with the preserved figurative representations (Berthier 1910: 19-20; Nogara 1910: 6-7; Blake 1940: 115-116. pl. 31, 1-4). The owner would also appear to be the organiser and host of a great banquet and in this context, of a *commissatio*, which would include every type of entertainment expected by his guests, although they are not represented in the *stibadium*. In addition to the delicacies and wine, the attendees would be delighted by the graces of a dwarf as a jester, as well as the sensual and lascivious dances of three *cinaedi* and two *saltatrices*, dressed in transparent silks, who contort to the rhythm set by the *crotala*, the *scabellum* and the *tibia* played by the two musicians.

Later, the success of the *saltatrices* does not seem to have decreased. On his

12 Identified as prostitutes, the *puellae gaditanae* and the *Syrian ambubaiae* appeared related in Schol. Iuv. 11: *id est, speras forsitan, quod incipiant saltare delicatae ac pulchrae puellae Syriae, quoniam de Syris en Afris Gades condita est.*

13 Guidobaldi 1992: fig. 18; Kondoleon 1999: fig. 5. Dunbabin, judging by a text by Plutarch (Mor. 712E), thinks that perhaps it could be the staging of a mime during a banquet (Dunbabin 2004: 161-182 notes 27-28). See below.

popularity in Rome at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc. 14.6.19) is very revealing when he refers to an event that affected him personally and of which he himself gives a good account in the following passage:

*“Postremo ad id indignitatis est ventum, ut cum peregrini ob formidatam haut ita dudum alimentorum inopiam pellerentur ab urbe praecipites, sectatoribus disciplinarum liberalium inpendio paucis sine respiratione ulla extrusis, tenerentur mimarum adseclae veri, quique id simularunt ad tempus, et tria milia saltatricum ne interpellata quidem cum choris totidemque remanerent magistris”*

He mentions that, due to a famine, he himself was part of the group of foreigners forced to leave Rome in 383<sup>14</sup>, while, despite the shortage, 3.000 *saltatrices* and numerous members of the world of the *scaena* obtained permission to remain in the city, by virtue, no doubt, of the predilection that even certain aristocratic sectors felt for these diversions rather than for study and erudition. For this reason, Ammianus writes from disappointment and resentment, not only when he was expelled from the city, but especially because of the comparison that supposed to be undervalued in front of the *saltatrices* and other people on the scene, with whom he was always very critical, without any of the members of the most privileged circle to which he belonged had prevented it.

Even more critical is a fragment of the Latin Anthology, where likewise the infamous character of *saltatores*, *saltatrices*, and second-rate artists is outlined. Because of their itinerant way of life and because of the movements and gestures of the body, they were considered indecent, against *decorum*, and they did not have the same economic and social position as other artists or professional actors. Some Artists even received fierce criticism for their lousy art:

*In psaltriam foedam  
Cum fallas misero, Gatlula, corpore  
Nec cui (iuam libiilo est, liorritla, quod facis,  
Insauam potius te probo psaltriam,  
Quae foddani faciem motibus iigraues  
Et, dum displiceas, (iuos(ue feras iocos.  
Credis, (luod populos cymbala mulceant,  
Nemo iudicium tale animi gerit,  
Pro te ut non etiam gaudia deserant?*

(AL, Epigr. 361).

Something similar is observed in the eastern part of the Empire at that time, since between 386-395 the most radical homilies of John Chrysostom in *Antiocheia* against spectacles and, specifically, against the theater, were pronounced furiously against those who act in the *scaena* and against the Christians who were attending as spectators, because, as a paradox, the officially Christian state maintained the organization of most of the spectacles, even under the presidency of the maximum responsible of the official conversion, Theodosius. He himself is represented in the company of his two sons in the reliefs of the base created in 390 to erect the obelisk from Egypt at Constantinople, where the organ, scenes of mime and the *saltatrices* playing the *crotala* are documented, as a reflection of the *interludi* held in the *circus* (Kiilerich 1998: 57-60, 163 fig. 71; Simpson 2000: 633-639; Nelis-Clément 2002: 265-302).

14 Guzmán 2006: 427-438; Harto 2016. However, it is known that, despite having been effectively expelled from Rome, he soon returned thanks to the help of Simmaco, of whose cult circle with Eunapio, Oribasio or Libanio he was part.

Even more revealing, John Chrysostom in another of his writings also condemns anyone who “invites mimes and pantomimes and prostitutes to the banquets of his house, turning his house into a theater” (*Expositio in Psalmum* 41), and documents the characteristic practice of pagan banquets from centuries ago<sup>15</sup> that, according to Chrysostom’s reference, continued to be held in Antioch at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Regarding the evenings organized in the domestic and private sphere of the “pagan” banquets, it is worth highlighting the exceptional depiction of a concert of music in a mosaic found in a *villa* in Mariamin (Zaqquq-Duchesne-Guillemin 1970: 93- 125 figs. 1-28; Duchesne-Guillemin 1975: 99-111; Balty 1977: 94-100; Balty 1995: 72 pl. XVII; Neira 2021: 160-165 fig. 39), in the former province of Syria, which has also been dated to the Theodosian period<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 23).

Figure 23  
Mariamin mosaic. Hama Museum.  
Photo: Public domain.



Originally, the mosaic paved a reception salle, the villa’s *triclinium*, where diners would occupy the apse head, possibly the *stibadium*, and contemplate the scene represented in the rectangular part of the room. Framed by an acanthus border decorated with hunting *erotes* on a black background, the field included six standing female musicians with several instruments. From right to left, a young woman plays the cymbals, while, judging by her right foot, according to Kiilerich (Kiilerich 2011: 91 figs. 1, 12 and 18; Kiilerich 2017: 107) dance; another the *kythara*, a third with individual chopsticks in his hands on two of the eight metal bowls, on a table completely covered with a large tablecloth down to the ground, which have been identified by Böhm as an *oxybaphon* (Böhm 1998: 47-73), the fourth the double *tibia*, the fifth the *hydraulis*<sup>17</sup>, aided by two erotes, in an attitude of stepping on the bellows of the organ, and behind them in the background, finally, the sixth with the *crotales* (Cottet 2022: 1-43).

15 From the late republican to the imperial times, Cf. Neira 2021: 43-44; 100 note 109, respectively.

16 Against the earliest date given by its discoverer, Balty 1977: 98; Balty 1995: 77; and Dunbabin 1999: 171-172 note 21, highlight the style known as Theodosian and advocate a dating to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. However, by virtue of one of the instruments depicted, the *oxybaphon* that one of the musics plays, Böhm 1998: 65, he finds it impossible for the mosaic to be earlier than 400/450 AD. See below.

17 On this type of organ, Perrot 1973: 99-105.

Among these instruments, the so-called *oxybaphon*<sup>18</sup> stands out for its singularity. Only is documented in a depiction of the identified as the pharaoh's banquet in the illuminated manuscript known as the Vienna Genesis<sup>19</sup>, from 500/550 AD, where, however, there are four bowls on a table those who play with a stick in each hand one of the songs, also together with another with the double flute (Fig. 24).



Figure 24  
Genesis Vienna. Österreichische  
Nationalbibliothek. Photo: according to P.  
Gavrili.

In this miniature a passage from Genesis (Gen. 40.20) is evoked about the banquet offered by the pharaoh, in which he replaced the chief of his butlers and condemned the chief of the bakers, according to the interpretation and prediction of Joseph, but the image shows a banquet with the diners around a *stibadium* in the typical way of Late Antiquity and the figures of three other men in an attitude of offering and serving the wine to the diners, so they can be identified as the servants, although they are represented with theatrical masks.

Despite illustrating a biblical episode that took place in the Egyptian past, the scene responds in the late-ancient way<sup>20</sup> and, in this sense, reminds us of those banquets to which John Chrysostom alluded when he criticized and condemned “everyone who invites mimes and pantomimes and prostitutes to the banquets of his house, turning his house into a theater”. Based on this image, musicians would also have been invited, in this case female musicians, as Neiiendam suggested (Neiiendam 1992: 104).

Returning to the depiction of the Mariamin mosaic, several researchers have interpreted it as a staging of a concert of female musicians in the theater (Balty 1977: 94-100; Dareggi 1993: 19-30; Kiilerich 2011: 88, 103-105), by as the performance is developed on a *podium*, reproduced in detail, formed by individual wooden boards joined by nails, well perceptible, on three partially visible arches, probably with an acoustic function, in the manner of the *hypopodia*<sup>21</sup> for *symphonia*, while several panels appear arranged as a backdrop,

18 The *oxybaphoi* described by Chappell 1874: 293, as small cymbals with the same shape as those metal bowls destined for vinegar, which the Romans also used silver, designating them for this reason *acetabula*, are the object of analysis by Gavrili 2006: 49-65.

19 Preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. Theol. Gr. 31, fol. 17 v. See Zimmermann 2003.

20 Expositio in Psalmum 41. Not in vain it responds to a prototype from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. cf. Weitzmann 1978; Gavrili 2006; Gavrili 2010: 11, who calls it the banquet of Herod Antipas.

21 Gebhard 1996: 119-120, “hypopodia for the symphonia (musicians) and ventures that they could have been large wooden platforms to provide better acoustics for the musicians and to separate them for



movable walls, which, nevertheless, give an appearance of provisionality to the stage, according to Böhm<sup>22</sup>.

In favor of this interpretation of the concert of female musicians in a theater and before a large audience, some of the aforementioned authors indicate the complexity and, therefore, the training required to play several of these instruments, specifically, the *hydraulos*, the *kythara* and the *oxybaphon*, for which a special skill worthy of a professional is needed, as well as their correct depiction in the mosaic (Perrot 1973: 103-104), and others allude to precedents such as contracts documented in papyri, in particular from Egypt, although from previous centuries, which attest to the hiring of female musicians, *krotalistris*, identified with their name, also pantomimes, dancers and musicians, to perform in various functions for a few days within the context of local festivals (Westermann 1924: 137; Kiilerich 2011: 98-99).

On the contrary, Böhm (Böhm 1998: 60-63) ruled out that they were in fact authentic music professionals, since far from having been captured in the instant of playing the instrument, they seemed to show them, as a reflection rather of the style of cultured life and privileged status, that arises from the appearance and attitude of the six female figures. Along these lines, Molholt (Molholt 2005: 201, 222-227) also rejected the professional nature of female musicians and advocated its belonging to a high-level family group, which, by virtue of the physiognomic characteristics between 15 and 30 years, seems to be posing; while Gavriili (Gavriili 2010: 8-12) interprets the Mariamin scene, apart from *agones* and public or semi-public festivals, as the representation of a concert during a private banquet, exposing as arguments the survival of this custom of organizing banquets enlivened with various entertainment even in Late Antiquity.

In this regard, it should be remembered the quotation of Macrobius (Macr. Sat. 3.14.4), when he said that before the table had been used for entertainment, probably alluding to the space, the room, where the food of the banquet itself was tasted, and the mention of Gregory of Nyssa when expressing that musicians, female musicians, *saltatrices* and mimes performed in an extravagantly rich house (Greg. Nyss. Paup. I).

According to Böhm the appearance of the six female figures, their costumes, hairstyles and jewels and, in particular, their solemnity, in the way of the wives and daughters of a notable male in Syrian society, just like six other women depicted in a banquet in a Antioch tomb's mosaic from the same period (Dunbabin 2003: pl. 14; Cimok 2000: 230-231; Gavriili 2010: 10 note 11), seems to be moving away from the image of a musical company, hired to perform in a theater before a large audience, since the stage as an argument would not justify the identification with a theatrical building in the strict sense, since, judging by the provisional nature of the background, based on mobile panels that can be easily placed or removed, it could well be an improvised montage for this genre of musical interventions in reception rooms of a *domus* in the urban or rural environment.

At this point, it could then be considered a group of female musicians hired to give a concert on the stage composed for the occasion in the context of a banquet at the residence of a *domus* or *villa*, from whose patronage the *dominus*

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others performers"; Kiilerich 2011: 88

<sup>22</sup> Böhm 1998: 49. Also Kiilerich 2011: 88, in order to be able to change the scene with certain speed for the exhibition of another later number.

would have wanted to leave constancy<sup>23</sup>, in the same line of different events of other *domini*. However, the prominence given to the six female figures and their instruments, as well as the detail of their faces and features, the redheads seem to be the youngest, who play the simplest instruments, the *crotala*, the cymbals and the double flute, the older brunettes the more complex instruments, the organ, the *kythara* and the *oxybaphon*, which would require more training and experience (Kiilerich 2011: 94-95) could also be an indication of their belonging to the *dominus* family of the town of Mariamin and at the time of his degree of knowledge, training, ability and specialization in an instrument<sup>24</sup>, perhaps as a reflection of the cultural tradition, in which the study of music together with other sciences servants of philosophy had a fundamental role, and in opposition to the Christian vision and postulates that considered not only dance, but also song and music inappropriate and dangerous for Christian morality<sup>25</sup>.

Despite the obvious differences between the women who appear linked to different instruments in the Mariamin mosaic and the *saltatrices* Eleni and Criscentia on the Trier pavement, the testimony of ancient authors and the representations of Visual Culture about servants, musicians and female dancers, among others, that have been cited seem to confirm the custom, current still at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. C. and in Late Antiquity, to celebrate banquets enlivened by various attractions, among which music and dance played an important role.

Considering that both the servants and the *saltatrices* in the *Augusta Treverorum* mosaic were part of the celebration of a banquet, the next question is what type of banquet. In this regard, it must be remembered that Moreau, by virtue of the scenes documented in the irregular octagons with concaves sides, defined it as a ritual feast in the context of a mystery cult.

In this regard, on the theory later defended by numerous authors, which advocates the identification of the figurative representations in the Trier mosaic as allusive to a mystery cult, it could be objected that precisely the mystery character of this type of cults implies a secrecy, even hermeticism, which in our opinion clashes with the representation of the rituals in the mosaic of a room, whose context has been linked according to this hypothesis to a building destined for this supposed mystery cult, without providing any evidence about its original functionality.

In my view, the identification of the main scenes as the expression of criticism, even mockery, on the part of a Christian *dominus*, belonging to a rising sector in the *Augusta Treverorum* at the end of the fourth century, should be discarded, since, in addition to the non-existence of parallels regarding this procedure, how a Christian *dominus* or a Mosaic artisan could have known the rituals of a mystery nature, and in this sense, exclusively for initiates. A convert, perhaps? However, even in this case, even from a critical perspective, the representation of rituals would not have made sense, which in this way would have been given more diffusion and publicity.

23 This was already expressed by González Galera 2016: 114.

24 Admitting that it was depiction of a real concert, it is logical to ask then, if it is presumable that the sound of the instruments represented here was combined and, ultimately, if the image is credible as a sequence of the beginning of a concert. Today it is impossible to answer this question rigorously, although in principle the sound seems strange and alien to what is known to date, since the sound of the organ would make the sound of the rest of the instruments inaudible, except that, as Perrot 1973: 103-104, estimated in their detailed description of the organ only a pressure of 10 cm was achieved of water, away from 30 cm most common, producing a sweet and elegant sound.

25 According to Ashbrook-Harvey 1983: 293, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Christians considered heretics and those who were delighted with this type of music, wrote hymns that were sung in Edessa by girls' choirs. The Church Fathers, however, reacted against female singing and denied women any participation in church songs and readings (Hannick 1980: 368). See Resta 2014: 215-237.

The study of the onomastic of servants and *saltatrices* reflects Greeks *cognomina* - Calemer (us), Eusebius, Paregorius, Theodulus and Eleni - and Latin *cognomina*, Criscentia, Felix, Florus and Secundus, names in common use in Late Antiquity, often carried, mainly by servants and slaves (Städele 2008-2009: 346 note 12), some surely from other provinces. This is the case, among others, of Calemerus, a servant's name, common in the Greek provinces, although not in the north-western (Moreau 1960: 13), and that of Andegasus, a name of Gallic origin (Eiden 1950: 61; Städele 2008-2009: 347). Theodulus and Qodvoldeus probably referring to Quodvultdeus - attested in *Augusta Treverorum*, but also in Sardinia, Sicily and North Africa - are undoubtedly Christian names, probably also Crescentia and Eusebius (Städele 2008-2009: 346 note 8).

However, much more complex is, by virtue of their names, the religious affiliation of those represented on which various speculations have been made (Städele 2008-2009: 346 note 12). In this line, the equalization of the origin of the name with the beliefs of the designated person would lead us to identify Christians participating in rituals of mystery cults or, on the contrary, Christians who make fun of the pagan rituals practiced by characters identified as Christians.

But then, what would have been the significance of the main scenes located in the two great irregular octagons with concave sides that, since the discovery of the mosaic, led to their identification as ritual images of a mystery cult?

At this point, if, judging by the analysis of the figures of servants and *saltatrices* on the Trier pavement and the parallels exposed, we identified the context of a banquet, it would be possible to think of both scenes as images of other activities of the convivial atmosphere and suggest if the two scenes represented, of confused interpretation, do not really allude to scenic representations, perhaps mime, since they are images that combine one the daily nature of entanglement and the other the mythological theme, as part of the entertainment offered at the banquet.

Regarding the scene of "prestidigitation" starring Qodvoldeus, Felex and Andegasivus, that was identified as a parody (Schwartz - Hatt 1987: 37-45), if its link to practices of a mystery cult is disregarded, it could well be explained as one of the attractions destined to the amusement of the guests at a banquet, along the lines indicated above in the aforementioned Antioch mosaic and in the fragmentary of *Carthago*, preserved in the Louvre.

In relation to the diversity of attractions and numbers offered to the delight of those attending a banquet, let us not forget the famous story of the *Cena Trimalchionis* (Petr. Sat. 27-78), from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Despite being work of fiction, it seems unanimous that the description is at least plausible. In this regard, in addition to the extensive references and details about the setting, the crockery, the food, the glasses, the wines and the conversations held between the host and the guests, it is worth highlighting the starring of the musicians at different moments of the evening (Petr. Sat. 28, 5; 31, 5-7; 32, 1, 4; 34, 1; 36, 1, 6; 53, 11-13; 68, 5; 78, 5), and, in particular, the scenic presentation of the delicacies, according to which nothing is what it seems to the surprise and astonishment of the diners, as can be seen in the case of the wooden hen that had turkey eggs inside it, in reality works of pastry, and the case of the mythological decoration based on Pegasus and Marsyas in another of the foods served on a large tray (Petr. Sat. 32, 3-7; 36, 1-4).

The rise of the *praestigia* transcended the circle of banquets. This is how remembered by Tedeschi (Tedeschi 2019, notes 100 and 23, respectively), who

recalls that Quintilian (Inst. X.7.11) describes the exhibitions of *praestigiatores* y *ventilatores*, while Apuleyo (Flor. 18) confessed how in the Carthago theater it was possible to attend numbers of different types: in addition to recitals of tragic and comic actors, exhibitions of mimes, pantomimes, funambulistes and *praestigiatores*. In this same line, Dasen (Dasen 2019: 134 note 56) insists by placing the *praestigiator* in the same universe of the mime, citing Pliny. It is not surprising, if we consider the criticisms, later, by Arnobio, who in his *Adversus Nationes* does not limit himself to a generalized rejection of the spectacles, with affirmations in which he expresses his desire to “demolish, destroy these theaters, where they are made public daily in representation infamies against the gods”, since in his condemnation he offers a detailed repertoire of all the varieties (Arnob. Nat. 2.42) that took place there, from the “obscene” songs sung by the musicians, as well as the “lascivious” movements of the dancers, “lifting the buttocks and thighs” and “wagging the waist”, identifying of course the women dedicated to music and dance and the actresses with prostitutes, and listing all the professionals linked to the entertainment world, “The pantomime comedians, the mimes, the histriones, the singers, those who play the trumpet, the flutes, the reed, the runners, the boxers, the charioteers, the acrobats, the who walk on stilts, acrobats, *praestigiatores*” (Arnob. Nat. 2.38).

On the mythological representation, the interest arisen by this legend in theatrical performances is already attested by Juvenal, who literally quotes a pantomime entitled Leda (Sat. 6.63-66):

*“chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo  
Tuccia uesicae non imperat, Apula gannit,  
[sicut in amplexu, subito et miserabile longum.]  
Attendit Thymele: Thymele tunc rustica discit.”*

Nor can it be forgotten that the mythological scene about the birth of the Dioscuri and Helena, where the name of Clytemnestra is omitted, is with the same omission the title and subject of a epigram - De Castore, Polluce et Helena - by Ausonio (Epigr. 54), the famous poet from *Burdigala*, who lived several years in *Augusta Treverorum*, who, according to several researchers, could have written it by looking at the pavement<sup>26</sup>.

*Istos, tergemino nasci quos cernis ab ovo,  
patribus ambiguis et matribus assere natos.  
hos genuit Nemesis, sed Leda puerpera fovit;  
Tyndareus pater his et Iuppiter – hic putat, hic scit.*

Regardless of whether Ausonius had written his epigram when he saw the mosaic, it is true that the inclusion of epigraphs identifying the protagonists of the mythological scene could be an indication in favor of its interpretation as depiction of a mime, since both the male figure designated under the name AGAMEMNON as the female named LYDA have been captured in a truly scenographic attitude, which perhaps, by appearing without a mask, it could suppose that we are really facing the depiction of a *mimus* and a *mima* in the course of a performance during the celebration of a great banquet.

<sup>26</sup> The reference to Ausonio is already contained in Schwartz - Hatt 1985: 37. Although Green 1991: XIII, 61, 81-82, does not consider it necessary, the epigram De Castore, Polluce et Helena, would have been written when seeing the mosaic according to Cagian de Azevedo 1976: 89-91. On Ausonio and Trier, see Kröner 1979: 10-19. Regarding the various variants of the legend, Ruiz de Elvira 1974: 107-109, refers that the version about the birth of Helena and the twins from the same egg dates back to the *Cypria* (fragm. 8,3), citing it in schol. Callim. In Dian 232, schol. Arat. 273 and Eustath. 1321.38, and later by Ausonius (Epigr. 54). More recently, Marcos Pérez 2000, 203-221.

On these performances, Suetonius (Aug. 74) tells that Augusto liked to entertain the intervals of the banquets “*et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos*” (Perea 2004: 26, note 100). Dunbabin (Dunbabin 2004: 161-182 notes 27-28) recalls that Domitian allowed the actors to perform in the houses, she mentions Ummidia Quadratilla who, with her own company, in her case, of pantomimes, was exhibited so much in the theater as in the houses, and, in the same line, the author also alludes to a text by Plutarch (Mor. 712E) that, by criticizing in the words of one of his characters certain mimes - *paignia* - as inappropriate for a *symposium*<sup>27</sup>, documented and confirmed the staging also mimes in the context of a banquet.

As has already been mentioned when referring to the protagonists of music and dance at banquets, far from limiting these mentions to the first centuries of Empire, the custom of acting in the private and domestic sphere would have survived at the end of the 4th and early 5th centuries, judging by the critic of John Chrysostom condemning in one of his discourses everyone who “invites mimes and pantomimes and prostitutes to the banquets of his house, turning his house into a theater” (Chrys. Expositio in Psalmum 41), and by the comment of Gregory of Nyssa when expressing that in an extravagantly rich house musicians, female musicians, *saltatrices* and mimes performed (Greg. Nyss. Paup. I).

Likewise, from another perspective, Macrobius mentions that before the table, the room had been used for entertainment, probably alluding to the space, the room, where the food banquet itself was tasted (Macr. Sat. 3.14.4) and Olympiodoros quotes Constancius<sup>28</sup>, “joking at table with the mimes performing before him”

Ἐν δὲ δείπνοις καὶ συμποσίοις τερπνὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς, ὡς καὶ ἐρίζειν τοῖς μίμοις πολλάκις, παίζουσι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης” (Olymp. fr. 23 =*FHG* IV,6,2).

Mentions of Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa document a typical practice of pagan banquets that continued to be celebrated in Antioch in the late 4th century AD. and in general in the eastern part of the Empire, while the quotations from Macrobius and Olympiodoros refer to the survival of this tradition also in the western part of the Empire, even into the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

To the verification of this custom by ancient authors, being of particular relevance the mentions of those contemporaries of the *Augusta Treverorum* mosaic, it is also necessary to add its representation in the visual arts.

In this sense, the most representative is the aforementioned miniature of the so-called Pharaoh's banquet in the illuminated manuscript known as the Vienna Genesis, with the unmistakable image of a banquet with four assistants around a *stibadium* in the typical way of Late Antiquity and, in addition to the characters alluding to the episode and the two female musicians mentioned, three figures that, captured in an attitude of offering and serving the wine to the guests, could be identified as the servants, although they appear represented with theater masks, alluding to the celebration of a scenic representation during the *symposium*.

And perhaps also, although reflecting a different context, we should mention the mosaic of the *villa* of Noheda in the *Carthaginensis*, from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. (Fernández-Galiano 2010: 111-136; Valero 2015; Neira in press),

<sup>27</sup> According to a character of Plutarch, because these *paignia* were so full of *bomolochia* and *spermologia* that they were not fit even for the slaves who look after their masters' shoes; but he adds that *hoi polloi*, even when there are women and children present, exhibit *mimémata* of words and deeds that are more disruptive even than drunkenness” (Dunbabin 2004: notes 27-28).

<sup>28</sup> Obviously, this is Constantius III, who, having reached the dignity of patrician, briefly became co-emperor of the Western Roman Empire in 421 with Honorius.

which paves the great room of the residence. Specifically, the allusive scenes to the *certamina athletarum* and the scenic and musical representations that appear in two registers in two panels, to the left and right of the central pond, as part of an *agon gymnicus* (Lancha 2011: 127-170; Valero 2011: 103-126; Neira 2018: 307-308 pls. 29-30), a *musical agon* and an *agon scenicus* (Valero 2015; Dunbabin 2016: 120-122).

On the *agon scenicus*, it is noteworthy that in both panels appears the representation of a Roman theater, with the colonnaded *proscenium*, a wooden stage, with curtains on the sides and garlands in the upper area, where the characters appear, practically the same in both panels, although in different poses and attitudes. Among them, judging by the mask and the characteristic attitude, stands out a pantomime, accompanied, on the left side, by a group, among whom is a man playing the *scabellum*, two women probably playing the *chorus*, and two children with the hydraulic organ, while to the right is a *citharista*, a child and a group made up of a *tibicen* with a double *tibia*<sup>29</sup> with a mask and a man in a white dress, probably a poet or an orator, and at the end two figures, whose heads are affected by a deterioration, on two high platforms, undoubtedly the characteristic *cothurni* of tragic actors (Fig. 25). Except for the organist that is preserved in the second panel B, to the north, the most notable difference is the group located on the far right, where, instead of the tragic actors, there is a scene identified by an inscription in Latin letters such as the mime of the jealous husband.



Figure 25  
Noheda mosaic. Detail panel with depiction  
*agon scenicus*. Photo: Courtesy of J. Latova.

In this regard, in addition to containing the only representation of a pantomime in mosaic, really two (Neira 2021: 165-167 figs. 35, 41), the Noheda mosaic documents the survival of adultery mimes until Late Antiquity, being the object of the critic by Augustine of Hippo<sup>30</sup>. Named by an inscription in Latin letters, *MIMUS ZELOTYPI NUMFI*, the staging of the mime of the jealous husband<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 26) contains, as has been masterfully described by Dunbabin (Dunbabin

29 Pécché 1995: 71-91, on this instrument in comedies and pantomimes.

30 It should be remembered that *Historia Augusta* (HA. Heliog. 25.4) refers to how the emperor Heliogabalus ordered that “in mimic functions adulteries be actually consumed, and not in a simulated way as they used to be” (*In mimis adulteriis ea quae solent simulato fieri effici ad verum iussit*), a custom that must have continued until two centuries later, since it was the object of fierce criticism by Augustine of Hippo (Agust. Civ. Dei 2.26, written between 412 and 426. See Rodríguez Gervais 1999: 263-273; Neira 2021: 122-123; 134-137). Also Puchner 2002: 311.

31 Lledó 2010; Valero 2013: 316; Uscatescu 2013: 382-384, who recalls that Juvenal (Sat. 8, 196-197) is the only author who explicitly mentions *zelotypus*, a role played by the actor Thymeles; Lancha-Le Roux 2017: 201-217.

Figure 26  
Noheda mosaic. Detail panel with depiction  
of *mimus*. Photo: Courtesy of J. Latova.



2016: 120-122), the most characteristic characters and elements of this type of mime<sup>32</sup>, with the spouses, sitting side by side, with a prosperous appearance, he dressed in a toga, bald and with large ears, as typical features of the *stupidus* in mime<sup>33</sup>, she well dressed, combed and jeweled. Despite a gap, it is still possible to appreciate that the wife is chained with a chain on her left wrist to the left wrist of her husband, who, exchanging their glances, points with his extended right hand, as if indicating the reason for his mistrust, towards the left part of the scene, where, behind a screen or a door, a half-dressed young man waits hidden, the same as in the background a figure emerging from a bed<sup>34</sup>, apparently prevented by another woman, almost as elegant than the one in the foreground. At the husband's feet a young child appears sitting with his hands over his eyes, undoubtedly crying.

But, beyond the traditions and novelties of the mime depicted in Noheda, its inclusion among the events organized and selected by the *dominus* to leave a mark on the memory of its generosity and culture raised some questions for Dunbabin (Dunbabin 2016), who wonders to what extent this image reflects the real survival of representations of mimes in the West and, specifically, in *Hispania*. In this regard, at the same time of the Noheda mosaic, we echo the quote from Perea (Perea 2004: 43. Salvian. *gub. Dei* 6.8; 6.31; Paul. Nol. *Epist.* 14.1; 15.4; 19.1; 31.5; and Vict. Vit. *De pers. vand.* 1.159), who mentions how Salvian<sup>35</sup> in Germania attacked the performance of a mime or Pauline of Nola against another in southern Gaul around the year 398, while in Hispanic lands, around the year 428, an archimimus named Mascula, possibly a eunuch, acted.

Analyzing the two panels, with the representation of *certamina athletarum*, the

32 As Dunbabin 2016: 121, note 54, and Lancha-Le Roux 2017: 208-209 clearly point out, it is about the representation of the mime actors and actresses who embodied the characters of the work, not the *dominus* of the *villa*, no matter how fond that he was at mime, as proposed by Valero - Gómez Pallarès 2013: 97-103, since in no case would he want to be represented in the role of the stupid cuckold. See Neira 2021: 135 note 192.

33 Particularly documented in terracotta figurines (Dunbabin 2016: 122-127).

34 A couple and a bed are also seen in a relief from Ephesos (Uscatescu 2013: 284).

35 For Salvian, as Blázquez 1990: 59, cited "las obscenidades del teatro son tales que no se pueden contar decentemente; manchan al actor y al espectador. Todos los espectadores aprueban y contemplan con satisfacción estos espectáculos: son actores al aprobarlos".

musical *agôn* and various scenic modalities, among which the two pantomimes and the mime stand out, the evocation of *agones* of great tradition in the festivals organized in cities of the eastern part of the Empire seems unquestionable, but also of games such as those referred by Claudian (Claud. De Consulatu Fl. Malli. Theodori, 316-320), who describes the games organized in Mediolanum in 398 to celebrate the election of Flavio Manlio Teodoro as consul, mentioning, along with gladiators, buffons, funambulistes and tightrope walkers, auletes, lyre and *hydraulis* players, pantomimes, comical and tragic actors, and also citing mimic representations in the water in which the naked young women, when swimming, formed with their lewd bodies, boats. In short, some *agônes*, of which the rich and culted *dominus* of Noheda obviously wanted to put on record, evidencing a generosity typical of the most evergetism (Neira 2021: 134-137 fig. 35, 41).

Having documented the survival of these events, among others, in the western part of the Empire, it is worth wondering if the aforementioned representations in the Noheda mosaic allude to the desire of his *dominus* to record the sponsorship of these competitions and performances in the building for this purpose in the public context of a city, not always clearly identified, as has been generally assumed when studying the *circus ludi* scenes in mosaics, several *ludi* in the amphitheater's *arena*, theatrical performances, Greek games, etc. However, it is also worth asking if some of these representations could reflect the sponsorship of one of these events in a more private context, specifically those whose organization was possible in the context of a residence in urban or rural areas, such as the *lutta*, the *pugilato* and the *pancratio* between the *certamina athletarum*, for whose modalities were not a *conditio sine qua non* a great infrastructure, and musical competition and the staging of a comedy, a tragedy, a pantomime or a mime, for whose representation could be performed in temporary stage, with mobile structures. Along these lines, it is possible to consider whether the events represented in the two mentioned panels of the Noheda mosaic could be the demonstration of some *ludi* organized in the context of their own *villa*<sup>36</sup>, since on the one hand the epigraphy testifies to the amount dedicated by certain members of the elites to the organization of small *certamina athletarum* (Neira 2018: 300-308), while on the other hand the aforementioned mentions by ancient authors about the custom of inviting mimes and pantomimes to perform in the domestic enclosure from high imperial times to Late Antiquity documents a practice that the *dominus* of Noheda could have exercised, especially if the setting with wooden planks is considered, well visible, perhaps in reference to the configuration of a provisional scene, articulated for these occasions.

Be that as it may, the Noheda mosaic documents and confirms the survival, among others, of scenic representations also in the western part of the Empire at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. and its expression among the events sponsored by a *dominus* comes to highlight the prestige that the organization and financing of it supposed for the members of the elites.

In this sense, it is possible to propose that from the diversity, some *domini* would have preferred the depiction of a great banquet, with the explicit figuration of the diners, as in Sant'Angelo in Formis, *Carthago* (Douar-Chott) and *Germanicia*, where in the latter the inclusion of servants carrying all kinds of delicacies and drinks is very significant - also present in the fragmentary *Carthago* pavement

36 Lancha-Le Roux 2017: 201, begin their article by describing that the mosaic paves pavimenta "une pièce à trois absides qu'il faut qu'il faut identifier à un *triclinium* de *villa urbana* (l'un des plus grands jusqu'ici attestés: 290,64 m<sup>2</sup>), dont le modèle se diffuse à partir de la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. pour accueillir banquets et spectacles selon un rituel hiérarchisé".



that is preserved in the Louvre - as well as musicians and dancers. An image completed by actors in the Vienna Genesis, on whose performance, among others, the powerful *dominus* of Noheda puts the emphasis.

Along these lines, it is worth asking whether the *dominus* of the pavement found in *Augusta Treverorum* would not have also wanted to boast, like the *domini* of *Carthago*, of the expense made in organizing a great banquet, not hesitating to show details of the preparations and the varieties offered - delicacies, wine, music and dance - through the numerous repertoire of male servants represented in various occupations and the two dancers to the sound of the *crotala* that enlivened the *comissatio*, so in vogue even at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, who, all of them, through identification with a name, Calemer, Eleni, Eisebvs, Paregorivs and Theodvlvs of Greek origin, Criscentia, Felix, Florvs and Secvndvs, Latin names in common use in Late Antiquity, often carried mainly by slaves (Städele 2008-2009: 346 note 12)<sup>37</sup> personalize the mosaic, give it greater verism and further highlight the *status* of the *dominus* (Neira 2011: 399-406). But, in addition, the Trier's *dominus* would have liked to record one of the greatest attractions of the *symposia* held in the domestic sphere, perhaps a *praestigatione* and the stellar depiction of a mime of those based on a mythological legend, such as that of Leda and the birth of Helena and the twins, of marked scenographic character.

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37 Binsfeld - Ghetta 2019: 190-260. On the names of the male servants and the *saltatrices* in the pavement found in Trier, as well as on the epigraphs that appear in the main scenes, the most detailed study is that of Städele 2008-2009: 343-351, with the bibliography more complete.

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# Ellipses, Cushions and Bells. A Family of -Mostly- North African Mosaic Pavements

## Elipsler, Yastıklar ve Çanlar. -Çoğunlukla- Kuzey Afrika Mozaiklerinde Yer Alan Bir Familya

Bernard PARZYSZ\*

(Received 14 December 2021, accepted after revision 04 September 2022)

### Abstract

*The purpose of this article is to characterize a family of geometric mosaic decors which are especially well represented in North Africa (17 pavements on 24) and especially in Tunisia (14 pavements), extending from the second to the fourth century AD. Their common feature is to include three shapes not very frequently found in mosaic, namely the so-called “ellipse”, “cushion” and “bell”. We assume that these “ellipses” are in fact ovals, similar to those used for building the Roman amphitheaters. In the present case they are inscribed in a square and most often carried out following a same process, quite easy to implement (23 pavements). The general pattern of these pavements is set on a grid of bands, the ovals being inscribed in the larger squares of the grid. The other arcs of circles, delineating the cushions and bells, are also carried out in close relationship with this grid. A major element of –relative– variability is the ratio between the widths of the two sorts of bands, thus leaving more space or less for the bells and cushions, and consequently for their respective inner decors.*

**Keywords:** North Africa, grid of bands, ellipse, cushion, bell.

### Öz

*Bu makalenin amacı, İS 2. yüzyıldan 4. yüzyıla kadar uzanan dönemde, özellikle Kuzey Afrika’da (17 döşeme üzerinde 24) ve özellikle Tunus’ta (14 döşemede) iyi temsil edilen bir geometrik mozaik familyasını karakterize etmektir. Bu mozaiklerin ortak özelliği genelde mozaikler üzerinde çok sık rastlanmayan üç şekli, yani “elips”, “yastık” ve “çan”ı içermeleridir. Bu “elipslerin” aslında Roma amfi tiyatrolarının yapımında kullanılanlara benzer ovaler olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Mevcut durumda, bunlar bir kare içinde yer almaktadır; çoğu zaman aynı işlemi izleyerek gerçekleştirilir ve uygulanması oldukça kolaydır (23 döşeme). Bu döşemelerin genel deseni, bir şerit kafesi üzerine kuruludur; ovaler kafesin daha büyük karelerine işlenmiştir. Yastıkları ve çanları betimleyen diğer daire yayları da bu kafesle yakın ilişki içinde yürütülür. Göreceli değişkenliğin önemli bir unsuru, iki tür bandın genişlikleri arasındaki orandır; böylece çanlar ve minderler ve dolayısıyla ilgili iç dekorları için daha fazla veya daha az yer bırakır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kuzey Afrika, şerit kafesi, elips, yastık, çan.

\* Bernard Parzys, Université d’Orléans & Université Paris Cité, France.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5340-4418>. E-mail: parzys.bernard@wanadoo.fr

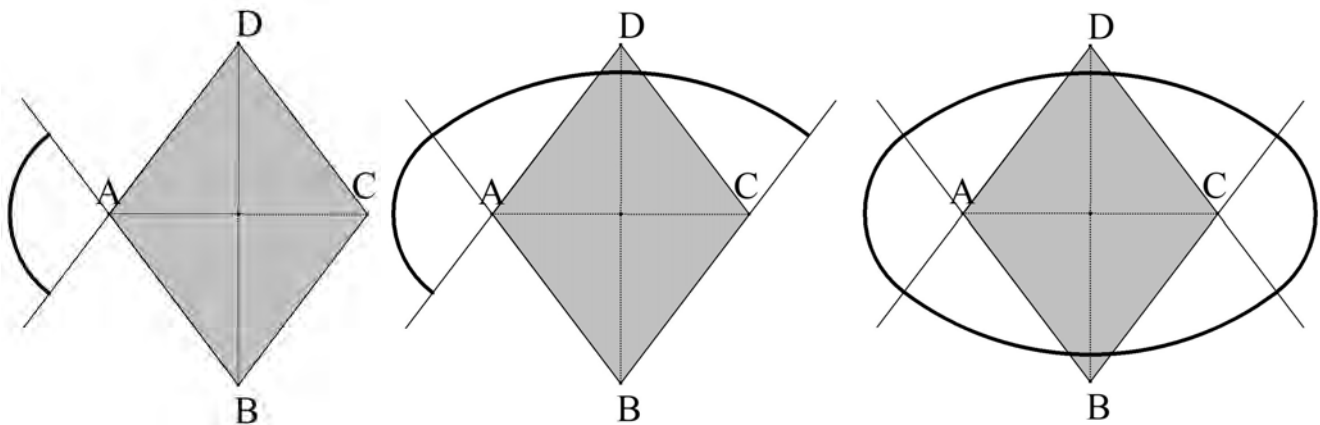
The closed surfaces which are to be found in Roman mosaic geometrical decors are mainly polygons and circles. This is connected with two facts: on the one hand, the ‘scholarly’ geometry of the time –*i.e.* Euclid’s– referred only to rule and compass constructions; on the other hand, a universal tool for the *pictor* was the (chalk)line, an instrument allowing drawing straight lines and circles, and also transporting lengths. A much rarer shape to be found in mosaics is the closed curve named ‘ellipse’ by the collective reference book *Décor* (Décor II: 34). The subject of this article is to identify and characterize –as we did some time ago for another one (Parzys 2012a)– a family of decors based on a “*centralized pattern, in a square, of four ellipses in the corners, along the diagonals, and four lateral bells, these motifs adjacent and forming an irregular concave octagon in the center*” (Décor II: pl. 363c). More precisely, for a corpus constituted by 24 mosaics<sup>1</sup> answering this definition, for which reliable graphic documentation could be obtained, the question was to try to bring out and characterize the set. By the way we could state that this family is particularly well represented in Tunisia (14 items), and more especially in Thysdrus–El Jem (6 items).

### 1. Ellipse or Oval?

The reasons justifying the fact that the so-called Roman ‘ellipses’ are in fact ovals have already been made explicit elsewhere (Golvin 2008; Parzys 2008, 2012 b). Let us just recall here that a four-centered oval is a closed curve constituted of four arcs of circles linked up with each other and centered at the vertices of a lozenge. The construction process runs as follows (Fig. 1).

A lozenge ABCD being given, let us begin with drawing an arc of circle centered at A between the sides AB and AD. Then, let us draw a second arc connected with the first one between the sides BA and BC, centered at B<sup>2</sup>. The same process is then repeated from C and D, producing this way a closed curve having the same symmetry axes as the initial lozenge (that we shall name the *source lozenge* of the oval).

Figure 1  
Construction of an oval.



One can see that this process has nothing to do with anyone used to construct an ellipse, though an oval curve is indeed very close to an elliptic one. The oval has a worthy advantage, which proves very useful for mosaicists (and for architects as well): with the same source lozenge and the same process, just by changing the radius of the initial circle, one gets another oval, equidistant with the first on *all its circumference*, which is not the case with an ellipse, for which one has to

<sup>1</sup> See Annex for list and references.

<sup>2</sup> The alignment of the centers of the circles with the common point of the arcs ensures the smoothness of the connection.

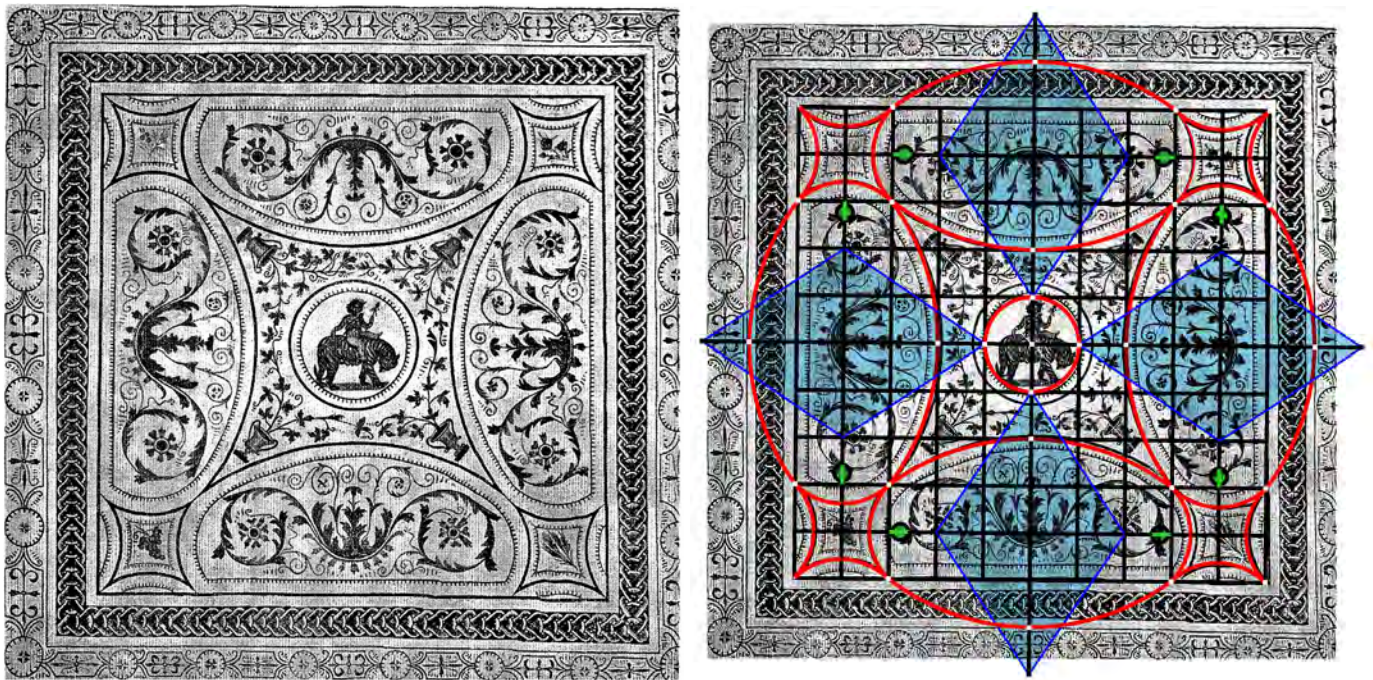
find new foci. For this reason –most useful for designing bands and guilloches, together with a simpler construction process– we shall assume that the “ellipses” found on Roman mosaics are in fact four-centered ovals, and the following study will contribute to strengthen this assumption.

## 2. First Example. Child Dionysus Mosaic (Thysdrus, Tunisia)

To illustrate and justify the above assumption, let us consider the Child Dionysus mosaic of Thysdrus, dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius (Fig. 2 A), and show that the elongated curved shapes surrounding the central figurative subject are parts of ovals. Preliminary research undertaken with the help of a geometry software led to make the hypothesis that the entire square panel is built on a grid obtained by dividing its sides into 10. This is confirmed by the fact that each one of the large curves passes through 5 knots of the grid, making its drawing quite easy. Assuming that these curves, which can easily be completed by symmetry (Fig. 2 B), are ovals, one notices that the vertices of their source lozenges (in blue on the figure) are also located on knots of the net. If now one assumes that these curves are ellipses, one can see that their foci (in green) are not located on specific points related to the net. This strengthens both the relevancy of the grid for the setting up of the decor and the curves being most probably parts of ovals, not ellipses. This assumption is reinforced by the curves being outlined by two parallel lines (see above).

Figure 2 A  
Thysdrus (Child Dionysus). Geometry of the panel (proposal). General view (Yacoub 1995: fig. 9).

Figure 2 B  
Thysdrus (Child Dionysus). Geometry of the panel (proposal). Ellipses vs ovals.



## 3. Second Example. Orpheus and Arion Mosaic (La Chebba, Tunisia)

This mosaic from the third century AD (Fig. 3) will be used as an introduction to the family of decors which are the subject of this article. It is displayed in Tunis, in the Bardo museum, and its measures are about 4.0 m by 3.4 m (not including the borders). Its decor can be described as “*outlined grid-pattern of adjacent cushions and recumbent [ovals], adjacent (the cushions at the intersections), forming irregular concave octagons*” (from *Décor I*: pl. 253f).

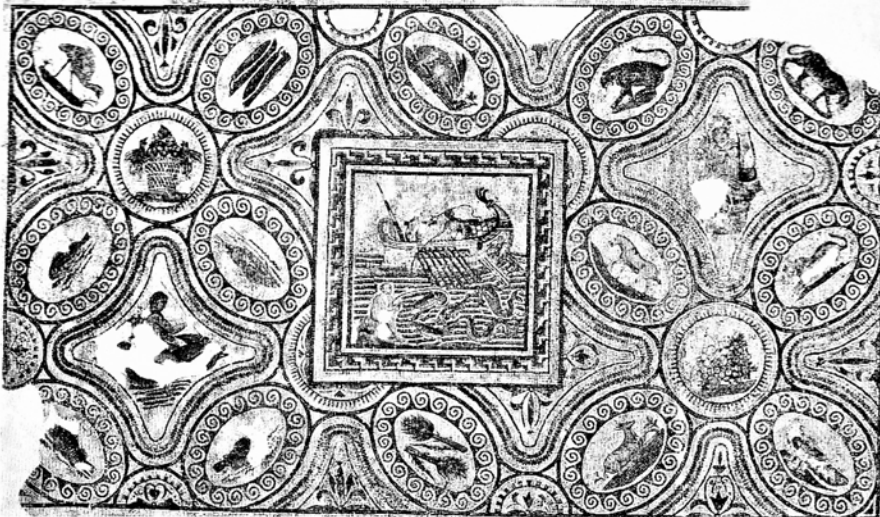


Figure 3  
La Chebba. Orpheus and Arion mosaic  
(Yacoub 1995: fig. 60).

### 3.1. Grid of Bands

This mosaic appears to be built on a grid of bands, the length of the broader bands being twice that of the narrower ones (Fig. 4). More precisely, the grid is based on a unit subdividing the length of the field into 14 and its width into 8. By the way we can notice that the central scene is perfectly inserted into this grid, since it is inscribed in a square, the side of which is 4 units. This corroborates the fact that this figurative scene was most probably set up together with the rest of the decor, thus strengthening Picard's assumption refuting Gauckler's idea that the central scene was "*an addition subsequent to the rest of the pavement*"<sup>3</sup> (Picard 1968: 120).

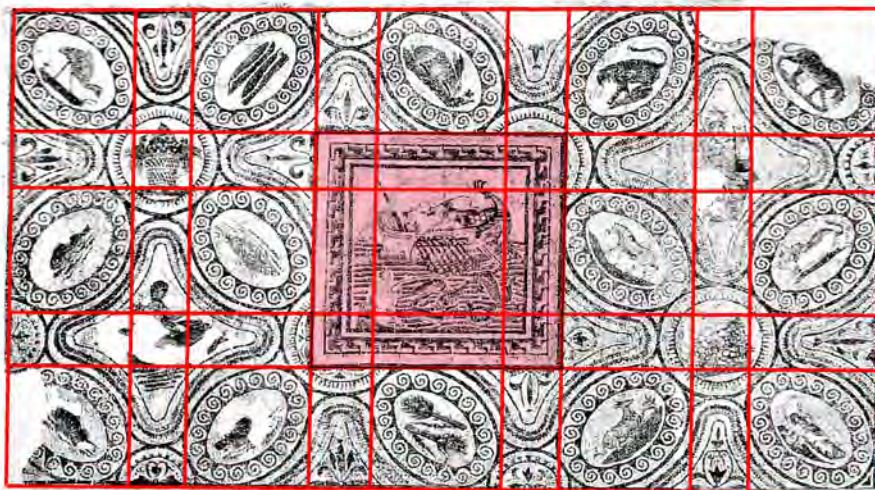


Figure 4  
La Chebba. Grid of bands.

This type of decor constitutes the Kreissystem VII as defined by Salies: "*On the whole the pattern rests on a sequence of [concave octagons] set along diagonals, constituting the basic elements of the decor. But in the intervals there are not circles but ellipses*"<sup>4</sup> (Salies 1974: 17). Relying most certainly on the axes of the 'ellipses', she considers the structuring element of the pattern to be a diagonal grid of bands, each band including alternately concave octagons and ellipses.

3 My translation.

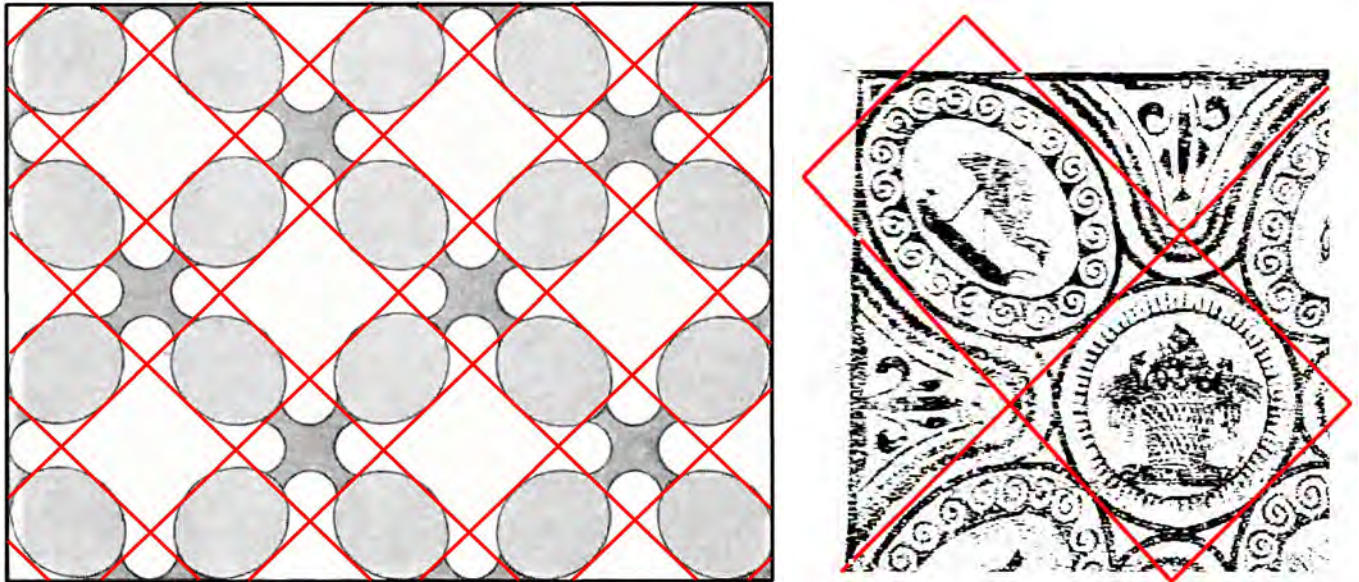
4 "*Das Gesamtbild des Schemas ist ebenfalls durch die in der Diagonalen aufeinanderfolgenden sphärischen Quadrate bestimmt, die bei der Dekorierung als Hauptfelder gelten. Dazwischen aber liegen statt der Kreise Ellipsen.*"



Figure 5 A  
A diagonal grid for La Chebba?  
From Salies 1974: 64 pl. IV.

Figure 5 B  
A diagonal grid for La Chebba?  
Adaptation to La Chebba.

This general reference to a diagonal grid (Fig. 5 A) contradicts the above analysis of the pattern of La Chebba, but at least in this discussed case the overall pattern seems to be more in accordance with a longitudinal grid, if only for the knots of the diagonal grid and its intersections with the edges, which do not appear to be noticeable points (Fig. 5 B). Moreover, as we shall see, what we brought out about the structure of the ovals of the entire corpus reinforces the idea that the associated grids are not diagonal.



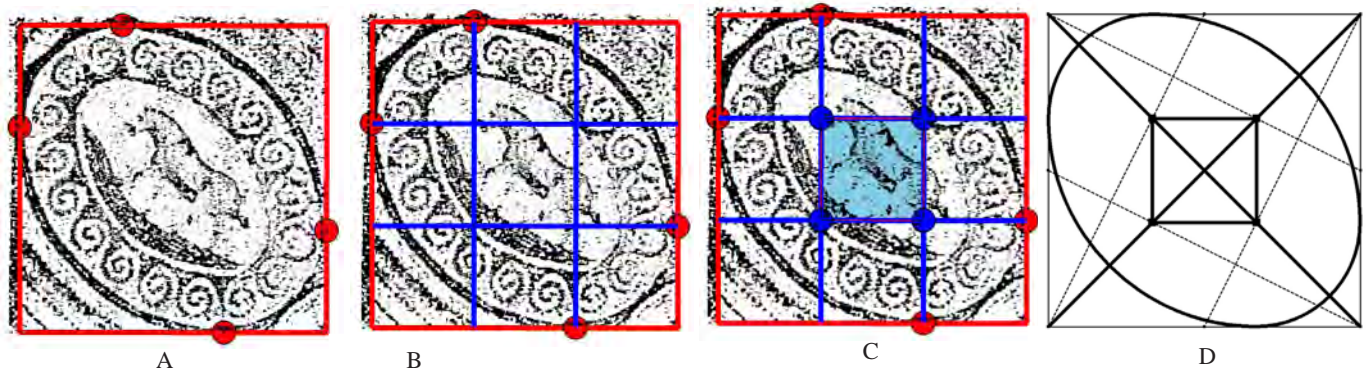
### 3.2. Ovals

As seen above (Fig. 4), the grid of bands, except for the central part, includes 14 large squares, an oval being inscribed in each of them.

N.B. The inscription in a square implies that the axes of the source lozenge are the diagonals of the square.

All the ovals are identical. We have undertaken experimentally to determine their characteristic elements, the conclusion being that the contact points of the inscribed oval with the square were located at the third on each side (Fig. 6 A). This led us to subdivide the square into 3×3 smaller squares (Fig. 6 B). Then, looking for the centers of the circles constituting the oval, we found that the source lozenge was in fact the central square of this 3×3 grid (Fig. 6 C). In other words, the vertices of the source lozenge are the points dividing the diagonals of the square into three equal parts<sup>5</sup>. (Fig. 6 D).

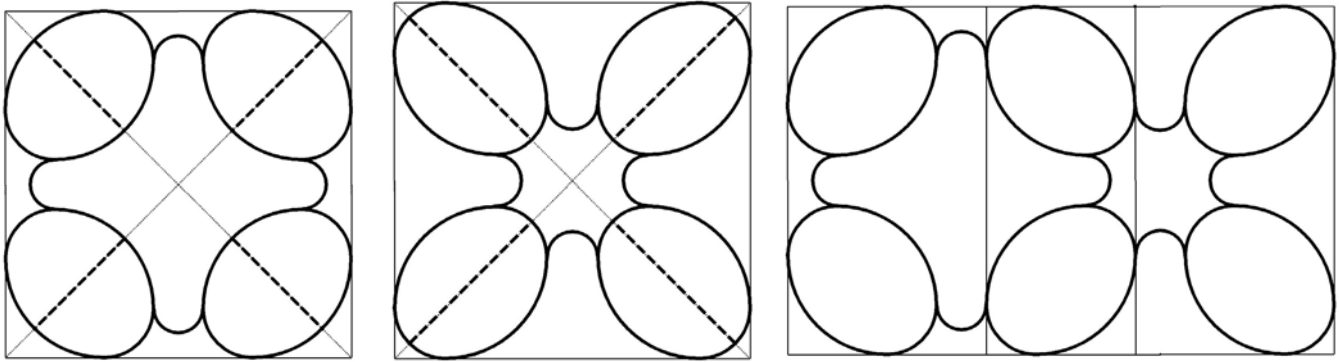
Figure 6  
La Chebba. Determining the source lozenge of an oval (in blue).



<sup>5</sup> Finding these points is quite easy (see fig. 6D), and most mosaicists certainly knew this construction.

### 3.3. Cushions and Bells

The overall decor of La Chebba is an alternance of two different square motifs, partially overlapping. They both have four ovals in their corners: one of them includes a central ‘cushion’ and the other one four lateral ‘bells’ (Fig. 7). They can be considered dual of each other, since any one of them can be deduced from the other.



## 4. Generalization

### 4.1. Ovals

#### *General case*

Ovals identical to those of La Chebba are by far the most widespread in our corpus (20 items on 24). Let us recall that such an oval is characterized by two elements:

- it is inscribed in a square belonging to the net from which the entire panel is built;
- its source lozenge is a square, the vertices of which are located at the thirds on the diagonals of the circumscribed square (Fig. 8).

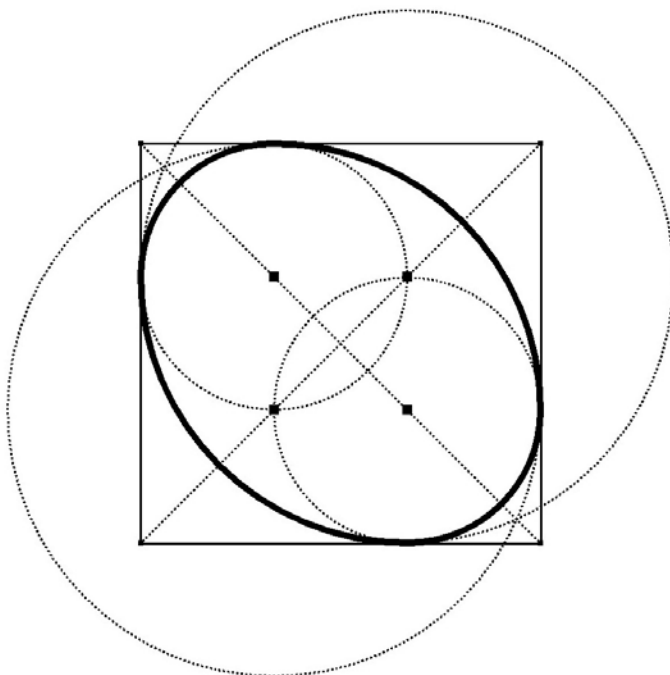


Figure 7A  
La Chebba. The two dual square motifs. ‘Cushion’ square.

Figure 7B  
La Chebba. The two dual square motifs. ‘Bell’ square.

Figure 7C  
La Chebba. The two dual square motifs. ‘Cushion’ + ‘bell’.

Figure 8  
La Chebba. Construction of the ovals (proposal).

N.B. Figure 6 D can be considered a ‘key diagram’ of the oval (Parzysz 2009), *i.e.* implicitly showing how it can be constructed in a square.

As seen above with the mosaic of Thysdrus, the ovals may sometimes be incomplete, but nevertheless recognizable as such. This is namely the case for a mosaic of Timgad, in which the ovals show only their larger arcs, the smaller ones ‘vanishing’, so to speak, within an exuberant vegetal decoration (Fig. 9).



Figure 9A  
Timgad. Connection with the studied corpus.  
Photo: A.A. Malek.

Figure 9B  
Timgad. Connection with the studied corpus.  
Superimposition of the model.

### Particular Cases

A rectangle (possibly square) being given, let us now notice that, in spite of this, the inscribed oval is not determined. For instance, on Figure 10 the blue and red ovals (respectively associated with the blue and red source lozenges) are both –among an infinity of others– inscribed in a same rectangle.

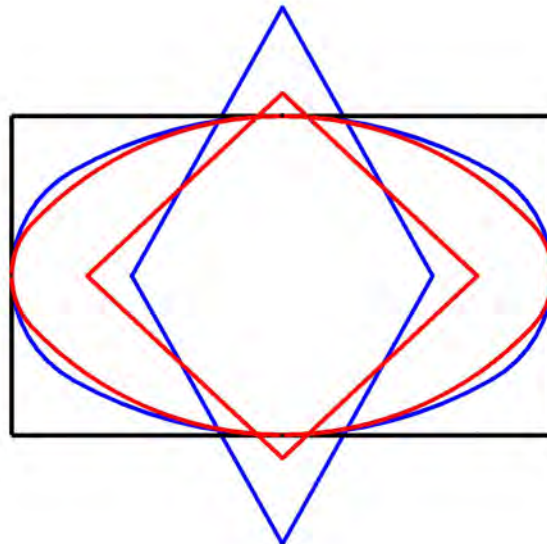


Figure 10  
Two ovals inscribed in a same rectangle.

In fact, although inscribed in squares, the ovals of two of the elements of our corpus are obviously of a different type, since they are visibly thinner. One of these two pavements comes from Volubilis, Morocco, and the other from Thuburbo Majus, Tunisia.

Preliminary tests on several ovals of the Labours of Hercules mosaic (Volubilis) showed that the vertices of their source squares were most probably located, not at the thirds of the diagonals, but at the fourths<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 11).

<sup>6</sup> This, joined to the fact that the width of the narrower bands of the grid is half that of the broader ones, suggests for the entire panel an overall 22×22 square grid.

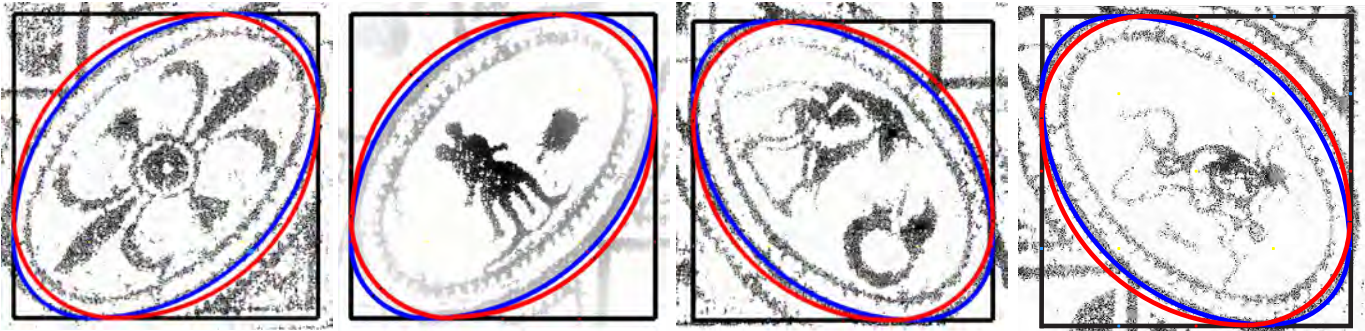


Figure 11  
Volubilis. Search for the shape of the ovals (photos from Thouvenot 1948: pl. 11) (red = vertices located at the thirds of the diagonals; blue = vertices located at the fourths).

A similar study undertaken on the ovals of the Bound Animals mosaic pavement (Thuburbo Majus), dated to the first half of the third century AD, led to suggest –with reservation– a different construction process, in which (Fig. 12):

- the smaller arcs would belong to circles inscribed in the triangles bounded by a diagonal
- the larger arcs would belong to circles centered at points located at the sixth of this same diagonal.

N.B. Contrary to all the other mosaics of the corpus, in this last case the source lozenge would not be a square.

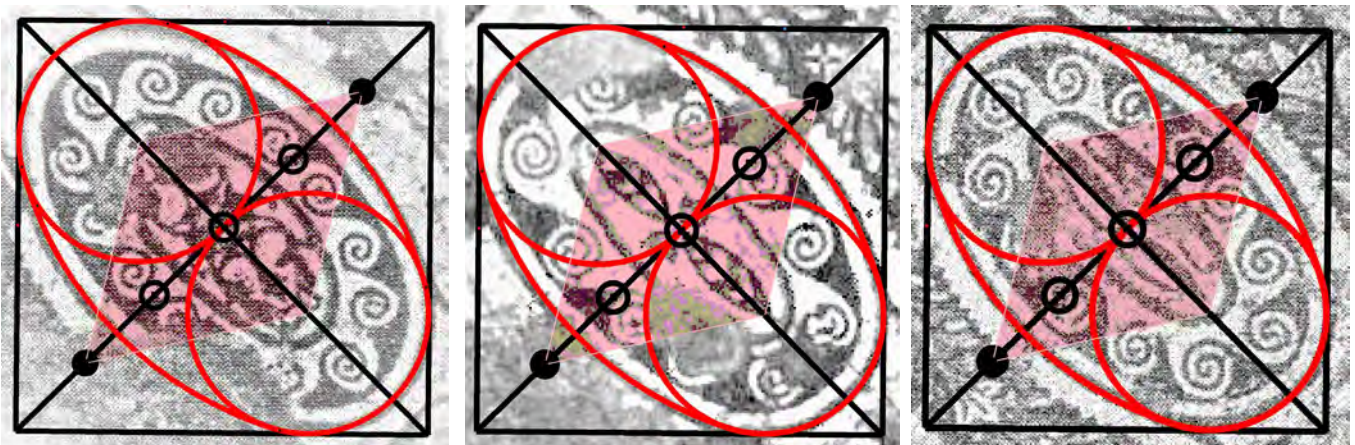


Figure 12  
Thuburbo Majus. Superimposition of the model to three ovals (photo from Alexander – Ennaïfer 1980: n° 81).

At any rate, we can conclude from the study of this corpus that the ovals of a given mosaic, on the one hand are obviously not the result of freehand drawing, and on the other hand, except for one case–Thuburbo Majus– are the result of a same simple precise process, which may change from one mosaic to another but is nevertheless well defined for each of them. The source lozenge is a square homothetic to the circumscribed square, and for the *pictor* the only remaining question is to decide about the location of its vertices on the diagonals.

A particular case of this process has been particularly successful: the one observed at La Chebba, the construction of which is illustrated on Figure 6. In some cases the mosaicist modified this prototype by locating the vertices of the guiding square at other places than the thirds of the diagonals, but nevertheless the same for all (*e.g.* Volubilis). This resulted in changing the shape of the ovals; more precisely, nearer were the vertices from the extremities of the diagonals and thinner was the oval (Fig. 13).

On the contrary, the mosaicist could implement a more general process by using any lozenge as source instead of a square, but this seems to have been uncommon (Thuburbo Majus, Bulla Regia).

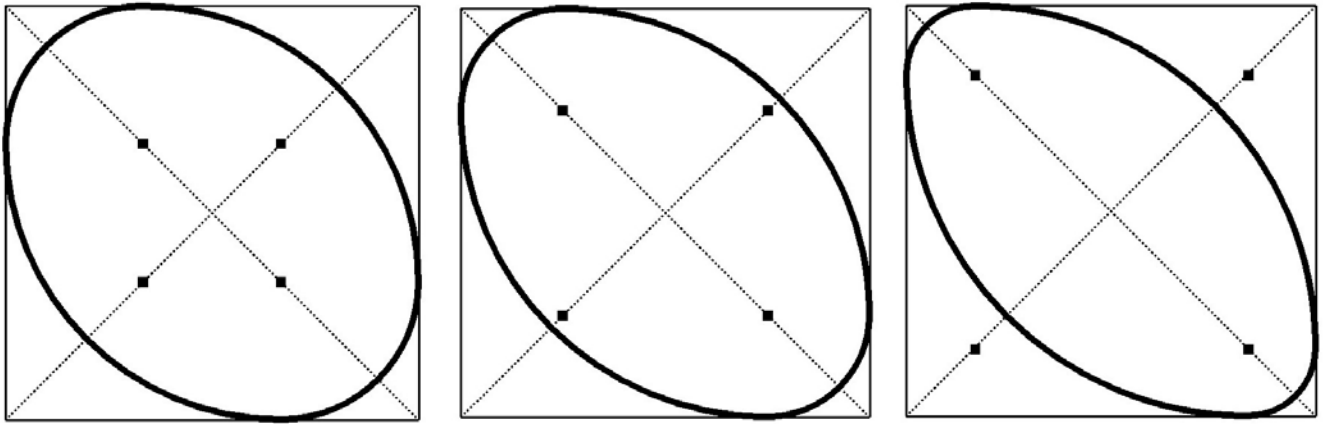


Figure 13  
Shape of the oval, according to the location of the centers on the diagonals.

#### 4.2. Grid of Bands

As said above, a grid of bands is determined by the ratio between the narrower and the broader bands. This ratio is variable for the mosaics of our corpus; for instance, in La Chebba (Fig. 4) the width of the narrower bands is half that of the broader ones, whereas in Timgad (Fig. 8 B) it is two-thirds, and for the House of the Fancy Dress Banquet (Thysdrus) it is only one-third.

In fact, two among these three ratios are by far the most frequent: in the corpus, we have 7 items with  $1/2$ , 7 items with  $2/3$ . Moreover, five other pavements can be added to them:

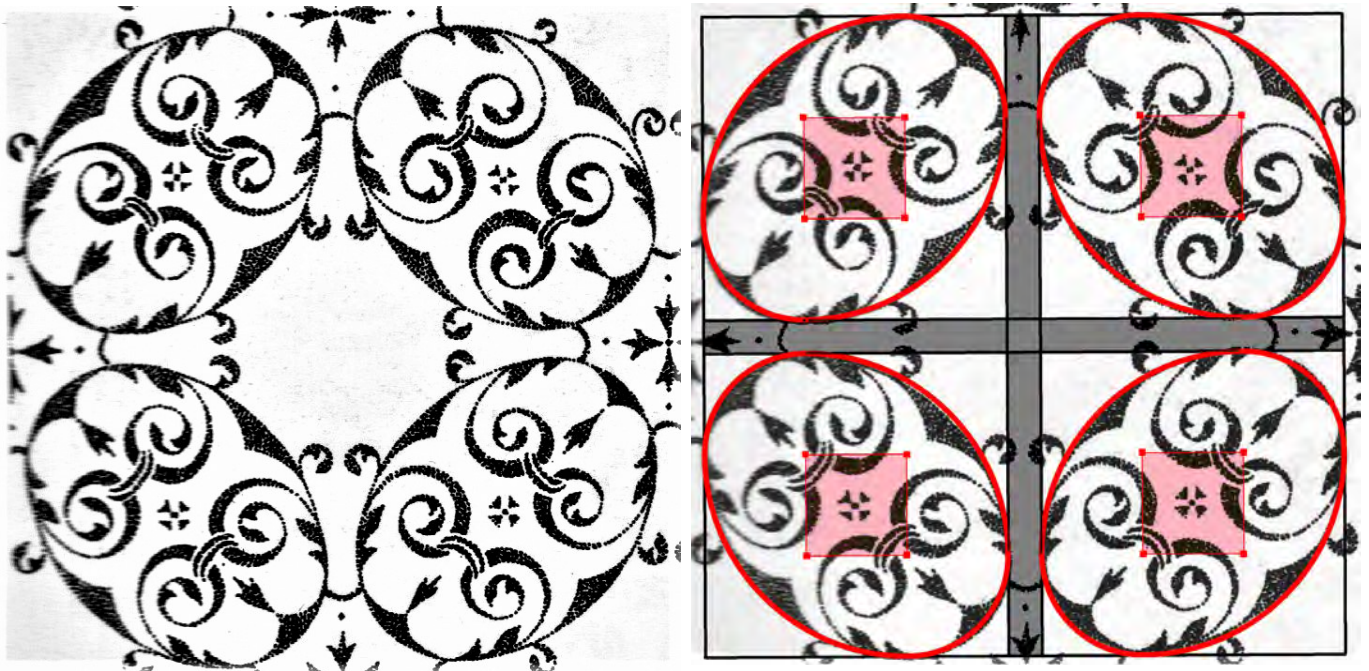
- 3 for which the ratio is  $1/3$  (Althiburos and Thysdrus, Tunisia; Loano, Italy).

- 2 for which the ratio is  $1/1$  (Nîmes, France and Trier, Germany). In this last case, the grid of bands is in fact a regular square net.

Figure 14A  
Rome. Nearly adjacent ovals (Balmelle et al. 1985 : pl. 253d).

Figure 14B  
Rome. Nearly adjacent ovals.  
Superimposition of the model.

In the last five mosaics the ratio is null, or nearly, meaning that the narrower bands nearly, or even completely, disappear. This is namely the case in Rome, with the most frequent type of ovals (Fig. 14).



To end with, let us notice that the choice of 1/3 or 2/3 as a ratio (10 items) made it possible to get all the guiding lines and points on a single square net, a possible reason for their relative success.

### 4.3. Cushions

Both the ratio between the bands of the grid and the type of ovals have of course an influence on the shape of the cushions. A third significant element is the arc of circle joining two neighboring ovals, since the cushion will be broader or narrower according to its position. Namely, this arc can either be in contact with the edges of the square circumscribing the motif (7 items) or be located inside (13 items). The center of the circle supporting this arc is most often situated, either in the middle of the segment joining the nearest points of two neighboring ovals, or at the center of a rectangle of the grid of bands.

N.B. When the ovals are adjacent, the cushions are reduced to ‘concave squares’.

### 5. Related Patterns. In Search of Possible Origins

The decors of this family can be paralleled with similar compositions including circles instead of ovals, according to “*a scheme mostly frequent in Europe, where it appears as soon as the beginning of the second century*”<sup>7</sup> (Picard 1968: 121). Examples of this scheme can be found in Thysdrus itself, dated to AD 222-235 (Picard 1968: fig. 17) and in Saint-Émilion, France, dated to the fourth or fifth century AD (Balmelle et al. 1999: pl. CCXXXVII/2). The similarity is even more obvious between a mosaic from Bologna, Italy, and another one from Trier, Germany (ca AD 250), both built on a square 3×3 grid (Fig. 15).

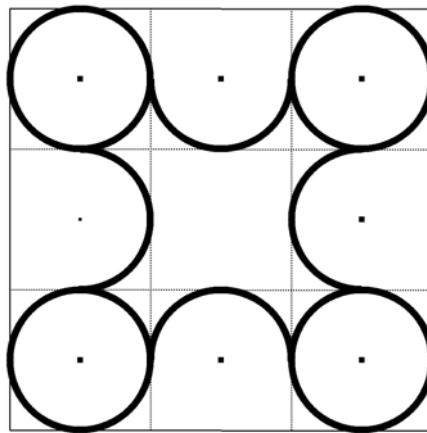


Figure 15A  
From circle to oval.  
Bologna (Blake 1936: fig. 19).

Figure 15B  
From circle to oval.  
Theoretical pattern (proposal).

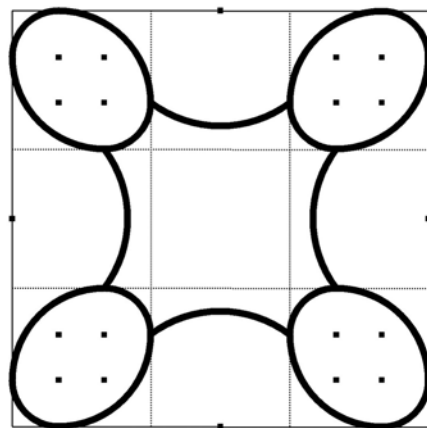
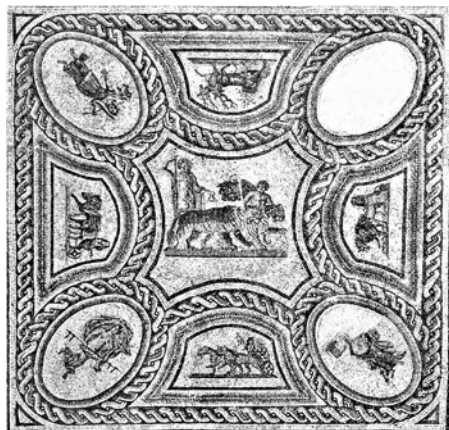


Figure 15C  
From circle to oval.  
Trier (Hoffmann et al. 1999: pl. 88).

Figure 15D  
From circle to oval.  
Theoretical pattern (proposal).

7 My translation.

Figure 16A  
Related pattern from Thysdrus.  
(Décor II: pl. 358b).

Figure 16B  
Related pattern from Thysdrus.  
Theoretical model (proposal).

Going even a little beyond, one can also discern a similarity between the pattern of Bologna and one from Thysdrus (Fig. 16 A). In the proposed model of this pattern (Fig. 16 B, C) the ratio between the bands of the grid is 2/3 and there are straight lines in place of the arcs of the cushions. Consequently, we find “trapezoids with two concave sides” (Décor II: pl. 358b) instead of bells.

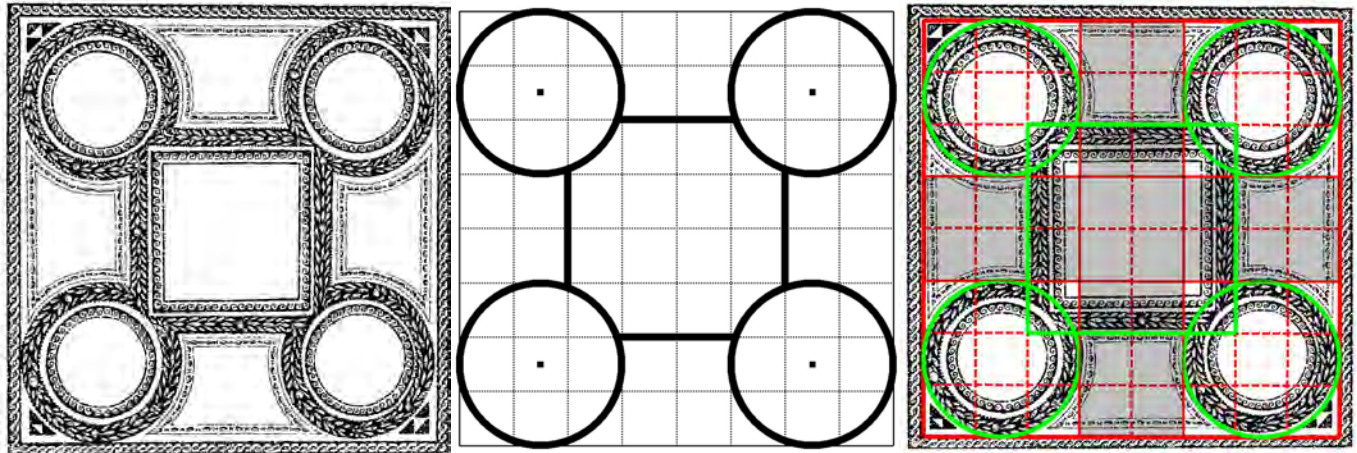


Figure 16C  
Related pattern from Thysdrus.  
Superimposition.

A pavement from Apollonia, Albania, shows a pattern quite similar to the one in Bologna, not as a single pattern but featuring on an orthogonal composition (Fig. 17 A). Should some circles be replaced with ovals, this decor would belong to our family: it would be similar to that of the mosaic of Nîmes<sup>8</sup>, but with no figural scenes and slightly different intermediate arcs (Fig. 17 B).

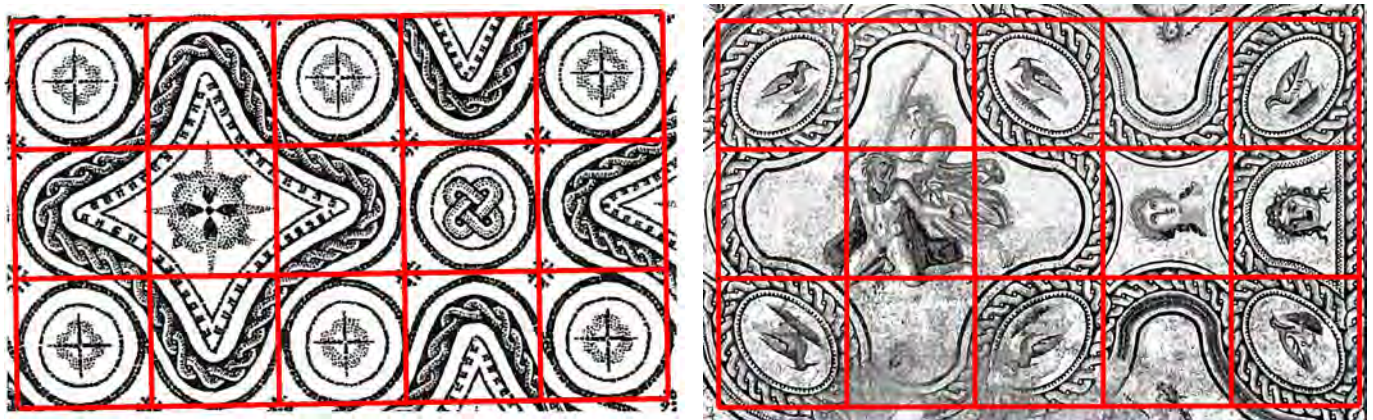


Figure 17A  
Ovals vs. circles.  
Apollonia (from Décor I: pl. 253 g).

Figure 17B  
Ovals vs. circles.  
Nîmes (from Parzys 2009: fig. 1).

Nevertheless, although being real, these formal similarities do not imply any filiation between the pavements.

Besides, could the idea of a shift from circles to ovals have emerged from a comparison with the shape of amphitheatres? In both cases there was indeed a need for obtaining equidistant parallel curves: rows of seats in the case of public monuments, borders (guilloche and others) in the case of mosaic. But for amphitheatres the starting point was an open tract of land, generally a rectangle, the axes of which were the same as those of the intended curve. This –as we have seen– is not the case with mosaic decors, for which the starting point was a square.

In mosaic the original idea (When? Where?) might have been a wish for introducing another shape, more attractive and multipurpose than the ‘banal’

<sup>8</sup> The study of this mosaic, and namely its ‘ellipses’, was the starting point of the present study.

circle. Hence the idea of introducing in a mosaic decor an elongated curved shape. Nevertheless, inscribing an oval in a square instead of a rectangle, and using a guiding square instead of a lozenge, seems to have been an original idea of mosaicists, in contrast to amphitheaters, in which the guiding lozenge was frequently made of four joined ‘Egyptian’ triangles (Golvin 2008; Parzysz 2008). For the moment this is still an open question.

## 6. Conclusions

1- A first conclusion which can be drawn from this study is that the so-called ‘ellipses’ included in the decors of this family – and most certainly in others – are actually four-centered ovals, *i.e.* sets of four arcs of circles connected with one another, the centers of the circles being the vertices of a ‘source’ lozenge. Besides, this is confirmed by the commonness of equidistant parallel curves included in borders (Figs. 4, 12) and by a much better integration in the general composition (Fig. 2 B). In the specific case of the family here studied, the ovals are inscribed in a square and the source lozenge is a smaller homothetic square (22 items on 24), the vertices of which are located on the diagonals of the larger square, most often at the thirds (21 items). Anyway, since the official term for these curves is ‘ellipse’, let us go on with this name, although remembering that they are in fact ovals.

2- A second conclusion is that the squares containing the ovals are the larger squares of a grid of bands for which the ratio between the widths of the narrower and broader bands is very simple, most frequently  $1/2$ ,  $1/3$ ,  $2/3$ ,  $1$  (19 items overall).

3- A third conclusion can also be proposed, related to the implementation of this type of pattern. We assume it likely to take place according to four successive stages, once the surface assigned to the mosaic is identified:

1° Setting up a grid of bands in which the widths of the narrower and broader bands are in a simple ratio.

2° Constructing the ovals in the larger squares of the grid, with a homothetic source square.

3° Setting up the cushions (and, consequently, the bells) as arcs of circles connecting neighboring ovals.

4° Carrying out ornamental motifs (geometrical, vegetal or figural).

4- Another conclusion is that ‘cushion’ and ‘bell’ squares are almost always associated in a ‘natural way’ to form a composition (Fig. 18), except for two cases in which they are found isolated: Bulla Regia (cushion square) and Trier (bell square, Fig. 15 C).

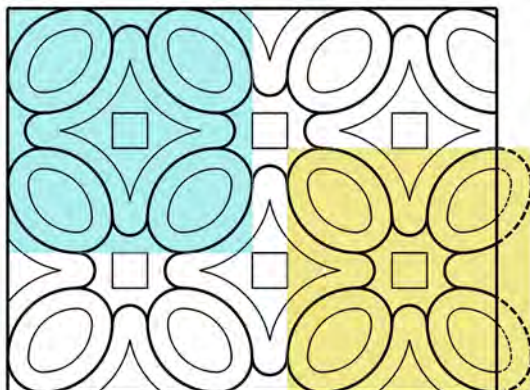
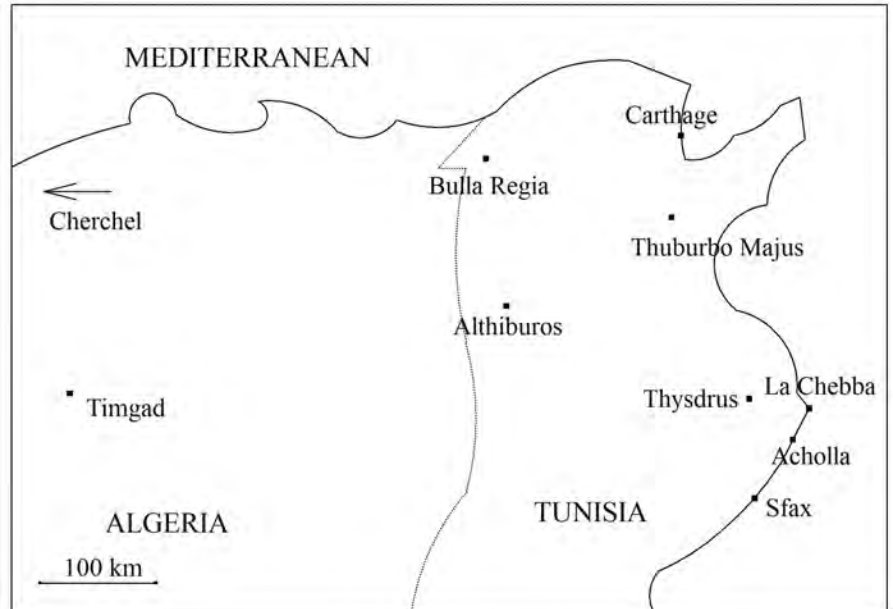


Figure 18  
Althiburos. Theoretical scheme (blue = ‘cushion’ square, yellow = ‘bell’ square).



5- From a geographic point of view, the Annex shows that all the mosaics belonging to this family are restricted to the Western part of the Mediterranean basin, with an obvious concentration (14 items) in Tunisia (Fig. 19), the latter constituting Picard's "Byzacenian series" (Picard 1968: 117). All the pavements date from the second century to the end of the fourth century AD, this span of time being even attested on a single site like Thysdrus (most represented site in our corpus).

Figure 19  
Locations of the Tunisian and Algerian sites.



A structural link (oval + cushion + bell) between the mosaics of the corpus having thus been established, it would now possibly be of some interest that specialists of ornamental design could establish stylistic links between some of them, with the aim of identifying the existence and locations of possible workshops in this area, thus extending the results of earlier research (Picard 1968; Dunbabin 1978; Corpus Tunisie II/1, Corpus Tunisie III,1; etc.).

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## Annex. Corpus of mosaic pavements

Coding:

Grid of bands:  $a/b$  = width of the narrower bands / width of the broader bandsOval:  $n/p$  = one diagonal of the source lozenge is divided into  $n$  parts, the other into  $p$ 

Cushion: T = arcs tangent to the circumscribed square, I = arcs inside the square

N°	Site	Mosaic	Reference	Date AD	Bands	Oval	Cushion
1	Acholla (T)	Neptune	Picard 1968 : fig. 14	160-170	1/2	3/3	I
2	Acholla (T)	Marine Thiasos	Picard 1968 : fig. 12	ca 130	1/2	3/3	I
3	Althiburos (T)	Navigation	Picard 1968 : fig. 18	b. 4 <sup>th</sup> c.	1/3	3/3	I
4	Bazoches (F)		Stern 1979 : n° 75	200-250	2/3	3/3	T
5	Carthage (T)	Triconch	Alexander-Ennaïfer 1999: n° 95 pl. 32		0	4/4	–
6	Cherchel (A)	Minerva	Décor I: pl. 253c	3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	≈0	3/3	I
7	La Chebba (T)	Orpheus&Arion	Picard 1968 : fig. 22	3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	1/2	3/3	I
8	Liedena (E)		Blazquez-Mezquiriz 1985 : n° 18	2 <sup>nd</sup> c.	1/2	3/3	T
9	Loano (I)		Picard 1968 : fig. 22	b. 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	1/3	3/3	I
10	Nîmes (F)	Pentheus	Parzys 2012 : fig. 1	b. 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	1/1	3/3	T
11	Rome (I)		Blake 1936 : pl. 14	2 <sup>nd</sup> c.	≈0	3/3	–
12	Rome (I)	Villa Casali	Grazian 2017 : 422	ca. 200	2/3	3/3	I
13	Sfax (T)	Oceans	Picard 1968 : fig. 20	3 <sup>rd</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c.	2/3	3/3	T
14	Thuburbo (T)	Bound animals	Alexander-Ennaïfer 1980 : n° 81	b. 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	1/2	X/6 *	I
15	Thuburbo (T)	Commons	Alexander-Ennaïfer 1980 : n° 322B	200-250	0	3/3	–
16	Thysdrus (T)	Banquet	Picard 1968 : fig. 19	3 <sup>rd</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c.	1/3	3/3	I
17	Thysdrus (T)	Ferjani Kacem	Picard 1968 : fig. 16	3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	1/2	3/3	I
18	Thysdrus (T)	Isaona	Dunbabin 1978 : fig. 70	b. 4 <sup>th</sup> c.	2/3	3/3	T
19	Thysdrus (T)	Procession	Picard 1968 : fig. 13	140-150	2/3	3/3	T
20	Thysdrus (T)	Sollertiana	Alexander-Ennaïfer 1996 : pl. 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> c.	≈0	3/3	–
21	Thysdrus (T)	Tertulla	Picard 1968 : fig. 15	193-200	2/3	3/3	I
22	Timgad (A)		photo A.A. Malek	3 <sup>rd</sup> c.	2/3	3/3	T
23	Trier (D)		Hoffmann et al. 1999 : n° 144	ca 250	1/1	3/3	I
24	Volubilis (M)	Hercules	Thouvenot 1948 : pl. 11	?	1/2	4/4	I

\* With the assumption made in the body of the article, for this mosaic  $X = 2 + \sqrt{2}$  (≈3,4). In other words, the centers of the smaller arcs would be located somewhere between the third and the fourth on their diagonal of the square, the centers of the larger arcs being located at the sixth on their own diagonal.



# Chrismons and Crosses on the Late Antique Mosaic Pavements from Bulgaria

## Bulgaristan'dan Geç Antik Mozaik Döşemelerinde Krismonlar ve Haçlar

Vania POPOVA\*

(Received 17 January 2022, accepted after revision 01 October 2022)

### Abstract

*The article examines the cases of placing of the Early Christian Christograms/Staurograms and crosses in diverse iconographies and different number on the Late Antique mosaic pavements from the ancient provinces of the present-day Bulgarian lands/ mostly in the Central and Eastern Balkans. The history and the criteria of the cross in Late Antiquity are traced in the Early Christian liturgy, decoration and art, the official and tacit regulations, laws and bans in that aspect, the exceptions and the reasons causing them.*

**Keywords:** *The Early Christian Christogram (Chi-Rho sign), the Early Christian cross, iconographies, laws and regulations.*

### Öz

*Makale, çoğunlukla Orta ve Doğu Balkanlar bölgesinde yer alan günümüz Bulgar topraklarının antik vilayetlerden Geç Antik dönem mozaik döşemeleri üzerine farklı ikonografilerde ve farklı sayılarda Erken Hristiyanlık Kristogramları/Staurogramları ve haçların yerleştirilmesini incelemektedir. Geç Antik Çağ'da haçın tarihçesi ve kriterleri, Erken Hristiyanlık ayininde, dekorasyon ve sanatta, resmi ve zımni düzenlemelerde, bu yöndeki kanun ve yasaklarda, istisnalar ve bunlara neden olan sebeplerde izlenebilmektedir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Erken Hristiyan Kristogramı (Chi-Rho işareti), Erken Hristiyan haçı, ikonografiler, kanunlar ve düzenlemeler.*

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\* Vania Popova, 1359 Lyulin block 405, Sofia, Bulgaria, E-mail: popova.vania@gmail.com

In the recent decades there appeared several articles devoted to the pavement mosaics, dealing with the problem of the official prohibition of representations of crosses (either by some emperors, or by the decisions of the Church Councils) on the floors (Habas 2015; Habas 2018, with references, esp. note 5; Popova 2018). The studies have proved that in some of the areas of the Eastern Mediterranean there are exceptions, in spite of the official regulation, while in the Balkans, for instance, the crosses are generally missing on the floors.

Several purposes will be aimed in our article: first, to trace when the Christogram and the cross are to be met on the Late Antique mosaic pavements of Bulgaria; what kind of iconography was used for them; where namely they have been placed in the mosaic composition; finally, is the official prohibition valid for these lands, are there exceptions and what should be the explanation for them. In this aspect, we should remember that the classification of the kinds and forms of crosses is not all contemporary to the mosaics, but much later and sometimes even modern, so we cannot rely on it as true criteria instrument. Instead, we should reveal what role is playing the cross or the pseudo-cross in the whole mosaic composition, is it single or numerous, is it distinguished and underlined in a special way, does it look like some real, for instance liturgical cross, etc. The number of represented crosses has to do with the scene of the Crucifixion and with the numbers considered as sacred in the Early Christianity; also with the role and importance of the representation, since the multitude diminishes and equalizes them; or, on the opposite, in other beliefs increases the strength of action and its influence.

The appearance and representation of the Christogram and the Early Christian Cross in the liturgy, culture and art of Antiquity has been a subject of special interest in scientific literature for many centuries.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, there is no need to remind of its relatively late appearance in Late Antique art and of its very limited usage in the written sources of 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century. The 4<sup>th</sup> century and the Constantinian period marked a significant change in this aspect due to several important events and historical circumstances. First, these were the two visions/dreams of Constantine the Great of the Chi-Rho sign, after which he ordered the sign to decorate the military standards and shields, and won with its help the battle at the Milvian bridge. Immediately this kind of Monogrammatic cross (=staurogram) appeared on the coins of many Late Antique and Early Byzantine emperors, on liturgical objects and relics, architectonic decoration (chancel screens, capitals, ambo, etc.), wall paintings, pavement and wall mosaics, sepulchral decoration, lamps, jewellery etc. In 4<sup>th</sup>- 5<sup>th</sup> century, the Christogram was mainly a sign of a military and religious triumph, of the victory over the death, of the Resurrection, of Christ and the Christian religion, and of the everlasting life in the Paradise of the faithful Christians. Only later, since the second half of 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Cross of Golgotha and the Crucifixion began to be represented, and up to the Medieval period to obtain the passionate character of pain, torment and slow death, replacing the previous picture of the flourishing and joyful Paradise. The mosaic pavements from the Balkans are still full of namely this flourishing picture and adoration of the Cross as triumph and victory.

The other important event for the widespread of the cross in various forms, kinds and techniques was the finding of the True Cross by Helena in Jerusalem around the middle of 4<sup>th</sup> century, the miracles happening with it, the partition

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<sup>1</sup> Except the literature mentioned in my note 1, on the history of the Early Christian cross see mainly Marucchi 1908; Sulzberger 1926; Frolow 1961; Dowley 1977: 56; Cotsonis 1994.

into thousands of small pieces, even 'atoms' of this Holy Relic, sending such parts and nails of the Cross of the Crucifixion to Constantine the Great, the treasuries of basilicas, baptisteries and churches, to some of the popes, bishops, monasteries, and many emperors and empresses. The processional cross called *stationalis* was used in the stationary liturgy, and carried by a clergy man, called *draconarius*, by that reminding the Lord on His way to Golgotha. This cross was made of bronze, silver or gold/or gilded, but in 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century also can be decorated with precious stones, enameled or in the *cloisonnée* technique (Jensen 2017). Such holy parts of the Wood of the Cross and of many other Early Christian relics have caused the appearance of the *encolpia* and *pectoralia* crosses for private use, especially in everyday Christian rituals and as pilgrimage objects made of simple materials.

This new development of the cult of the Cross received a special Church Feast in the East and West Church, widely reflected in the decoration with the Cross of the wall and vault mosaics in the official Christian monuments and in the private sepulchral ones in the whole Mediterranean (Jensen 2017). Up to the end of 4<sup>th</sup> century, the Christians freed from the restraint to use the cross as a sign of torment and shameful pagan death, and with no fear to be any longer ridiculed. The cross since 5<sup>th</sup> century is shown either as the central element on the crowns and the coins of the Early Byzantine emperors and empresses, or as the so-called stepped cross, or with the addition of the letter C(H), a shortening probably for the Greek word 'golden', or associated with the golden coin known as *solid* (Pillinger et al. 2016: 125-130; Popova 2016b: 62). In these two centuries the cross can be met already in the sacerdotal vestments on the wall paintings and wall mosaics, and on pavement mosaics, and in the chains with lighting hanging from above together with the lamps and the apocalyptic *A and Ω*. Thus, the cross became the glorious emblem of Our Lord and the Redemption; it not only entered and dominated entirely the official and private culture, it penetrated deeply also the folk beliefs as a talisman instead of the previous apotropeions. Such use of the cross was strongly criticized by the Christian fathers and caused the appearance of the official imperial attitude, the adequate laws of Valentinian I and Theodosius II, and almost constant discussions and issue of special rules of the Church councils (Habas 2015: 55 note 18). According to them, the Christians should not worship the material cross itself as it happens with the pagan idolatry, but to do it in favour only of the Christian spirituality and notions.

One of the first appearance of the cross in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century on the floor in the ancient provinces in the present-day Bulgarian lands is the pavement of the urban house (*domus*) in Augusta Traiana-Beroe, probably from the Late Tetrarchic - the Early period of Constantine' I rule together with Licinius I (Pillinger et al. 2016: 125-131). The composition represents a cosmogonic picture, with the Paradise and God, symbolized by the Fountain of Life; with the land and water spheres represented by the adequate seasons as chasing animals and combats, and the flora and fauna around the piscine, including nereids, fishes and different kind of fruits and vegetables as *xenia*. The cross *patée*, a form with equal arms with flaring ends, and unusual dark middle band (nielo ?), met for the first time in the period, and the *cantharos* with wine (Figs.1-2) are placed in one of the outer borders. In the whole composition these Early Christian liturgical objects and symbols are at the same time somehow hidden, not so obvious, which can be understood in the light of the end of the period of the strongest persecutions of the Christians, with the first ever Edict of Tolerance issued by Galerius in 311 in *Serdica*<sup>2</sup>, and the Edict of Milan of Constantine the Great and Licinius I from

2 On the edict of Galerius see Ando 2014, with references.



313. The small dimensions, the place of the cross (and of the other Christian symbols as well) and the concrete colour of the representations show that the purpose is discretely to reveal the Christian belonging of the owner of the domus. The example from the domus in Augusta Traiana-Beroe is not only the earliest from the period of both Edicts of Tolerance, but also interesting for the concrete iconography, type and decoration of the cross used probably officially in the liturgy and the other Christian rituals in that part of Thrace.

The other important circumstance is that the cosmogonic composition of the mosaic, the abundance of representations, scenes and Early Christian symbols find close parallels in Asia Minor monuments, which gave the base to consider at least the mosaicist coming from this area (Popova 2016a: 173-174). The trade and professional connections of the cities in Thracia, and generally in the Balkans with Asia Minor craftsmen and its artistic, cultural and theological milieu is well witnessed in scientific literature (Popova 2016b: 62, 70, 75; Petrova 2020: 65-67, 69). Also very important is the fact that the pavement mosaic from Augusta Traiana-Beroe is earlier than the ones in Asia Minor, establishing earlier ties and presence of mosaicists from there in Thracia, a new fact in the artistic and theological life of the province and the Eastern Mediterranean. And the last observation is that not only the Central and Eastern Balkans have given a great number of martyrs during the Tetrarchic persecutions, but also immediately after the end of them, with the Edict of Galerius, and later of Constantine I and Licinius, the official Christianity was openly demonstrated, since this house near the supposed agora of Augusta Traiana demonstrates freely, although still not on the most important part of the composition, the Christian liturgical cross and the symbols of the new religion.

The pavement mosaic from the House of Felix in Serdica (Sofia) is also taught to contain a very modest and small Greek cross (Fig. 3), (Ivanov 2016: 188). hidden in the abundance of geometric schemes, motifs and colours, but shown with 'golden' central cube and arms in turquoise, maybe also resembling the cross of precious metal decorated with precious gem or stones. As a whole, it is a very small cross with dimensions 4.5x4.5 cm, represented only with 5 tesserae (one in the centre and two pairs for the arms) The date of this mosaic is the middle - the beginning of the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> century. The coins found in that building and the stylistic of the mosaic coincide chronologically. The archaeologist supposes that this sign has been laid additionally, but in my view it may be done from the very beginning exactly in order to denote the Christian belonging of the house, together with the special imperial diadem, revived in art during the Constantinian period in the form of a golden wreath with golden

Figure 1

Cross pattée. Detail from the outer border of the pavement mosaic of the domus on Ruski str. in Augusta Traiana-Beroe. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

Figure 2

The Eucharistic cantharos with wine. Detail from the outer border of the pavement mosaic of the domus on Ruski str. in Augusta Traiana-Beroe. After Pillinger et al. 2016.



Figure 3

The small Greek cross from one of the non-figural panels of the mosaic in the House of Felix in Serdica. Detail. After Ivanov 2017.



leaves decorated with precious stones (emeralds and amethysts) and falling red teniae/ribbons (Fig. 4) (Popova 2016a: 159-160). By that it is underlined the connection of the room with the Constantinian house.

Figure 4

The emblem with the imperial diadem. Drawing of the Mosaic of Felix in Serdica. After Ivanov 2017.



The next in time mosaic with crosses (Figs. 5-6) probably belongs to a Late Antique building in Pautalia (now Kyustendil in Southwestern Bulgaria), and has received in literature different dates: 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the first half of 4<sup>th</sup> century (Pillinger et al. 2016: 394-399). In fact, the mosaic is a little bit amorphous from stylistic point of view, nevertheless it is surely Late Antique, in my opinion from the Constantinian period – the Valentinians. The composition and the separate motifs are inherited from the earlier Roman art, except one important novelty – the small red Greek cross, placed inside a square. The cross configuration is repeated several times around the central red cross, increasing the dimensions to the outside, and changing the colours of the background, with dominating golden one in the second outer frame of the squares. The golden colour gives lustre to the whole composition and together with the red cross' colour accents namely on the latter. Ten such crosses are shown in the reconstruction, and the central medallion probably contained also a cross, instead of the habitual pagan Medusa. The presence of so many obvious Early Christian crosses and the late Antique parallels for the composition with central cross in a medallion point namely to a basilica, and not to a private dwelling of a Christian.

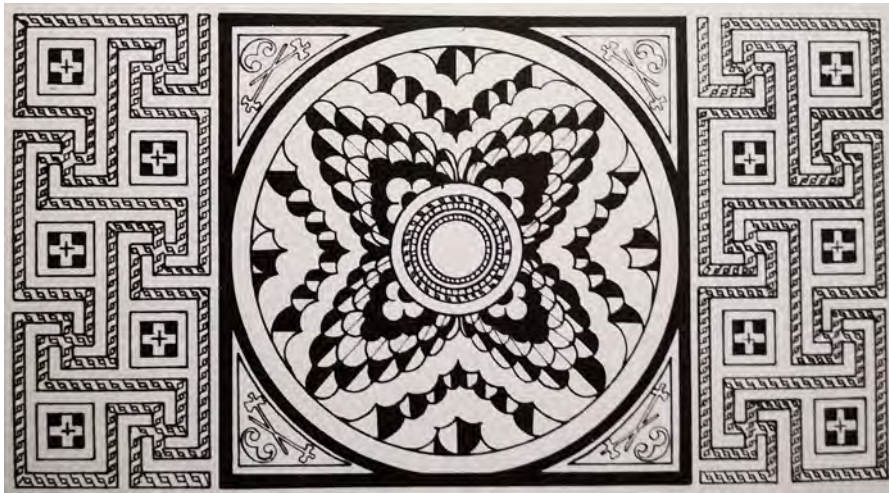


Figure 5  
The reconstructed scheme of the mosaic of the supposed Early Christian basilica in Pautalia. After Pillinger et al. 2016.



Figure 6  
Detail of the Greek cross in the mosaic composition of the supposed Early Christian basilica in Pautalia. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

A very long and unusual monumental inscription found also in Pautalia is speaking of the worship of the cross. According to K. Markov, the inscription reveals the Arianic worship of the Cross in Pautalia, probably erected in some of its Early Christian basilicas (Марков 1995: 79). It can be imagined, after his proposal, the cross together with the inscription installed at its base probably in this basilica. Of course, we should provide in this case for the earlier Arianism in the Balkans, due to the influence of the official Christianity of the Constantinian and Valentinian dynasties, with its Arianic trend and hesitation between it and the Nicene creed. The Orthodox period of Theodosius I should be taken as *terminus ante quem* for the end of the earlier Arianism in the central and Eastern Late Antique provinces of the Balkans and for the mosaic with the crosses from Pautalia. It should be confessed that such a scheme with many crosses is not only rare but also the only one so far in such a colour and size treatment, reminding probably the real liturgical crosses made of silver and gold. The cross in the aforementioned monuments from Augusta Traiana and Serdica are not in the focus of composition, but a single one, identifying the Christian belonging. Already in 4<sup>th</sup> century different kind of crosses are represented, the most important of them feature the liturgical ritual of the Eucharist accompanied by a real metal cross, the blessing and the cross sign of the bishop and the faithful Christians. However, the numerous small Greek crosses in the supposed basilica of Pautalia seem to be rather an exception explained by the Arianic worship of the Cross.

The next period of the wide spread of Arianism in the Balkans was a sequence of the massive Gothic invasions and settlement, especially after 378 and during the whole 5<sup>th</sup> century (Stanev 2014: 66-86). The Goths were *foederati* of the Early Byzantine imperia, guarding in well-invented defending systems the main roads, fortresses, passes, the accesses to the big centres, harbours etc., while their families were living in small enclaves in the villages in the same areas. A very unusual composition with Chrismons is shown in the small basilica No 1, rather church, unearthed at the beginning of last century in the locality 'Kailuka' near Storgosia/Pleven in Central North Bulgaria (Figs. 7-8) (Pillinger et al. 2016: 80-86). Unfortunately, the mosaic is lost, as well as its drawings, except several old and bad photos. The staurograms are probably five in number, occupying a whole row in the middle of the very small surface of the nave. A row with tabula

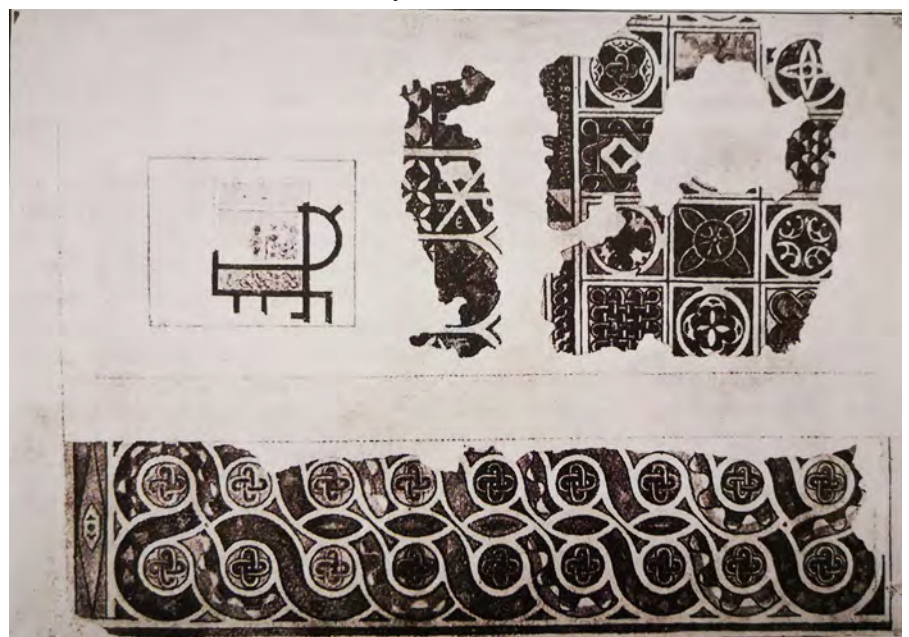


Figure 7  
Drawing of the basilica/church No 1 at Kailuka in Storgosia. After Pillinger et al. 2016.



Figure 8  
Enlarged drawing of the row with Chrismons and the tabula ansata with the liturgical psalm of text 42.1. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

ansata, citing the first two verses of psalm 42,1 of the Saint Liturgy in Latin, is occupying the front row before the Chrismons. They are alternately shown either in white or in black arcades, accompanied by Alpha and Omega and the letters of a text, which V. Gerassimova reads (with the help of computer enlargement of the photoes) as the name of the mosaicist, a part of the name of the donator and the surface of the laid mosaic according to the usual formula for this action: '50 steps has laid Lalius on the order of Sal..' (Герасимова 2002). The placing of such information around each Chrismon is quite unusual and non-canonical, together with the big number of such figures and its place in the western part of the nave, maybe because this was a very small church. That's the reason to be sure that at least the clergy was stepping over the holy signs during the liturgy and the other rituals, since they are not isolated in the chancel or the apse, or in any other special way because of the lack of the usual enormous space of the basilica. Nevertheless, it is obvious the adoration of the cross, and the general desire to make a whole symbolic wall of Monogrammatic crosses, protecting the church building, the ecclesia as community and every single Christian soul.

The date proposed for this mosaic is not firmly established so far, including the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> - the first quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> century. Comparing with the later pavements mosaics of the middle and the second part of 5<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>3</sup> it can be proposed a new date in the second half of 5<sup>th</sup> century, not long after the law of Theodosius II with the prohibition of putting the sacred representations on the floor. Storgosia at that time was a small fortress with many villas and farms around (Stanev 2014: 65-67, with references). The Goths are known to guard and dwell the area, as well as the fact, that being Arians, they worshiped and represented mainly and only the Cross and the Bible. This may be one of the most possible explanation for the unusual multiplication of the holy sign up to five in number, by that underlying the cult of the cross, and strengthening its effect of protection and holiness. The dimensions of the small church, also met in other Gothic churches in North Bulgaria,<sup>4</sup> as well as the Latin for the Bible psalm citing, and the multification of the Chrismons also support the explanation concerning the Gothic congregation in this settlement.

The two examples from Pautalia and Storgosia demonstrate a different attitude towards the sacred Chi-Rho and the Early Christian cross, ignoring the tacit earlier and the official later law regulations and prohibitions. Again it should be underlined that the Arians of the Pautalian mosaic were from the local Late Antique Balkan Christian community under the influence of the ideas in the imperial courts of Constantine I, his heirs and the Valentinians, while the Arians from Storgosia were Goths-Arians. Their church rituals and art in the period

3 The left and right compositions flanking the nartex mosaic with peacocks of the Metropolitan basilica of Philippopolis, see Pillinger et al. 2016: Taf. 159 Abb. 413; the so-called upper mosaic under St. Sophia in Serdica, Pillinger et al. 2016: Taf. 241.

4 For instance, the small churches in the village Tsar Krum near Shumen (Stanev 2014: 69).

4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century probably also provoked additionally the issuing of the laws of Valentinian I and Theodosius II, although it is very doubtful that namely these Goths would and were in fact following the official regulations. Nevertheless, the cross or the Chi-Ro was obligatory on the first place in the Early Christian art of the Goths.

Except the listed examples of wide and early usage of the Christogram and the cross, we should point to another important monument, the mosaics of the Cathedral basilica (No 4) in Parthicopolis/ in Macedonia I/ present-day Sandanski in Southwestern Bulgaria. The I building period usually relate the basilica and its adequate mosaics with terminus ante quem the Hunnic invasions in 447, and the II building and its mosaics with terminus post quem the second half of the same century. But on the ground of several arguments, the dates should be changed. These are: the architectural plans of the basilica and its baptisterium from both periods, the appearance of the ambo, the found coins, the iconography and style of the reliefs on the cancel screens of the I period, finely the iconography and the style of the pavement mosaics in the nave and the aisles (Popova 2022: 194 fig. 12a). They reveal that the I building period and the earliest mosaics of the south aisle and the nave should be placed in the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> century, with parallel the earliest mosaics in opus tessellatum from the Constantinian period in the Metropolitan basilica of Philippopolis in Thracia (Popova 2022: 188-190), while the II building period with the later mosaic of the nave date from the first half of 5<sup>th</sup> century, with terminus ante quem the mentioned invasions of the Huns in 447.

Figure 9a  
The Cathedral basilica (No 4) in Parthicopolis, south aisle, general view of the mosaic pavement from I building period. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.

Figure 9a  
Detail of 9a, the pavement of the south aisle of basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.



The pavements of the south aisle from the I period (Fig. 9a) and of the nave from the second period (Fig. 10a; Fig. 13) are abundant in small Greek crosses in several forms, colours and sizes, and are included in diverse mosaic schemes and its borders. The first type (Fig. 9b) is consisting of six cubes, and each arm – of nine ones four central tesserae, and each arm is also made of the same number

of tesserae. The centre is alternatively changing from black to white or red, and all these colours are repeated in the also cross-form outlines from the outside. The identical configurations or alternations and colours can be followed in the diagonal rows. The second type of Greek cross in the same mosaic panel is X-like oriented (Fig. 9a), like the cross of St. Andrew, but one should also have in mind the four central tesserae changing to some extent the impression of such a cross. The third already thinner type of cross is shown in one of the borders in the



nave of the II-period mosaic (Fig. 13). It may be entirely white or even entirely pink-reddish, alternating with a red cross, outlined with black, with one central cube and arms of also one (instead of four) cubes. The fourth most interesting and already monumental form of a cross (Fig. 10; Fig. 14a) is also with equal arms, but the tesserae are placed in oblique position, standing on one its corner, and in several rows. Inside the central row of white cubes is followed by a row in brownish ones outlined from the outside by black specially prepared triangle tesserae, thus generally achieving the sculptural three-dimensional effect of a sharp-pointed backs of a wooden stick. It should be also paid attention to the fact that there are depicted three such crosses, maybe allusion of the three crosses of Golgotha. Still the only parallel I have found as a slide<sup>5</sup> shows a medallion with

Figure 10  
Basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis, nave, mosaics from II period, general view. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.

Figure 11  
Basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis, nave, mosaics from II period, panel with swastika-meander scheme and Greek crosses, detail. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.



the same kind of an engrailed cross (Fig. 14b), while for the other three ones could be supposedly copied real liturgical crosses and forms, and also personal jewellery (encolpia and rings, see Fig. 14c). In this sense, the nave pavements of the Episcopal basilica (No 4) in Sandanski is the richest example of Greek crosses, the climax of its number and variety of the configuration and colour treatment among the monuments from Bulgaria. We can suppose that namely crosses are represented having in mind the parallel from the House of Felix in Serdica (Fig. 3), the personal ring in the same form (Fig. 15), the allusion to the three wooden crosses on Golgotha, the liturgical chalice represented in the aisle (Fig. 14c), the symbolic battle between the forces of God and Evil in the form of a bird and a snake (Fig. 13), as well as the extremely richness of diverse configurations and colouring of these mainly Greek crosses. They are

Figure 12  
Basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis, aisle, mosaics from II period, panel with birds, detail. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.

Figure 13  
Basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis, aisle, mosaics from II period, one of the borders mainly in pink. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.

<sup>5</sup> Google, without any data for the provenance, but it seems to be Late Antique monument.



Figure 14a  
Basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis, aisle, mosaics from II period, panel with the 'wooden crosses', detail. Archaeological museum in Sandanski.



Figure 14b  
Medallion with engrafted /wooden cross. After Google.

Figure 14c  
Mosaic representation of a liturgical chalice with wine from the aisle of basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis. Archaeological museum Sandanski.

not occasionally represented, but on purpose, although not so obvious among the schemes and the other numerous motifs.

It can be observed one important trend in the development of the Late Antique mosaic schemes and its separate motifs, connected in one or another way with the cross. Some traditional schemes and motifs are consciously compared and likened to crosses, but the process is made in a delicate and not direct way. Inevitably, the problem of identifying a Christogram and a real cross arises, since in the Roman and Late Antique mosaic art there are traditional schemes and figures similar to the cross, which in fact are not connected with or originating from the Early Christianity. Such is the Chrismon-like figure (the so-called 'double cross'), appearing several times in two modifications in the mosaic panels of the Late antique villa in Filipovtsi (Figs. 16a-16b), now a quarter of Sofia (Pillinger



Figure 15  
Early Christian ring in the form of a Greek cross. After Google.

Figure 16a  
Villa at the village of Filipovtsi near Serdica. The exedra. Detail with the 'Double cross'. After Pillinger et al. 2016.



Figure 16b  
Villa at the village of Filipovtsi near Serdica. The exedra, colour reconstruction of the panel with the 'double cross'. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

et al. 2016: 320-325). In spite of the strong resemblance with the Chi-Ro sign, they don't have the letters Ro, Alpha and Omega<sup>6</sup>. In the same way, because of the numerous cross-configurations, for instance bare crosses in the general scheme, this figure from the episcopal basilica in Marcianopolis (Fig. 17) is still not a Christian cross, but inherited from the traditional Roman pagan mosaics. Another mosaic from Augusta Traiana-Beroe (Fig. 18) has the same kind of a cross, but this time filled in alternation in two ways: with guilloche and with elements of 'the rainbow style'. In one Transjordan's funerary chapel (Habas 2015: fig. 13) the single cross is filled also with a guilloche, but in Augusta Traiana they are numerous, not single. The observations on the other fillings of this pavement show that other kinds of crosses have been also included in the octogons, among them cross with the Greek type, but with doubled arms

<sup>6</sup> We don't know if the mosaic was found in a good state or these letters were really absent; or the designer has not noticed the letters or its remnants.

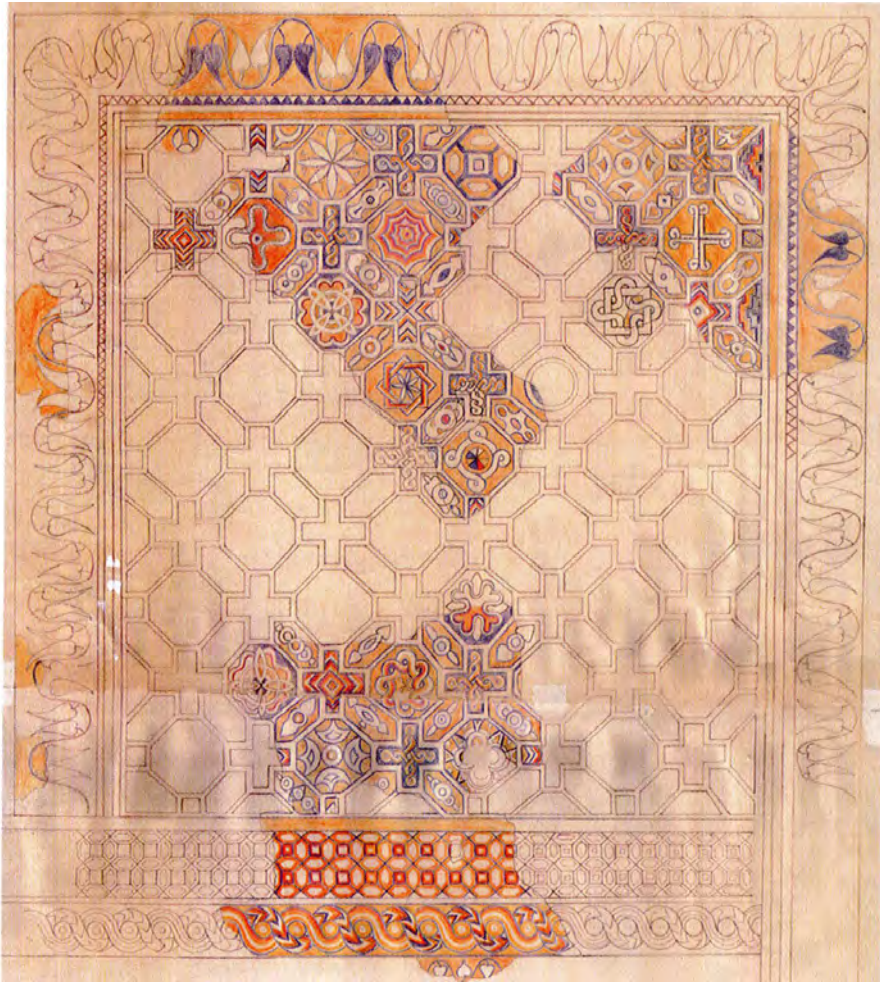


Figure 17  
The Episcopal basilica in Marcianopolis/  
Devnya, detail of the cross-configuration of  
the mosaic scheme.

Figure 18  
Mosaic pavement of the bath of the building  
of the crossing of Graf Ignatiev str. and Ruski  
bul. in Stara Zagora. Drawing of K. Kalchev.  
Regional Historical Museum Stara Zagora.

and rounded and plaited in their ends; also small crosses inside a compound rosette; x-like cross, etc. In this case the inherited pagan scheme is to some degree Christian inserting the Early Christian notion in many repeated forms and decoration of the Greek cross. All they are either equal by size, or very similar, also with inserted contemporary 'fashionable' colouring and design. In that sense the monument from Augusta Traiana-Beroe is very dualistic: it copies the pagan scheme, but gives a tendentious Christian turn. However, its decorativeness and bright colours both mask and balance the effect of the crosses, which only distantly remind the liturgical and the personal ones.

The criteria for a cross in the usual, non-Arianic milieu or non-heretical one depends on the configuration, distinguished by the colour or the size of the contour; by the metal colour/s (bronze, silver and gold); by the number of repetitions of the cross; by any technical, iconographic or colourist accents distinguishing this element from the others, and by the whole repertoire, including the Early Christian symbols and its general message, revealing the main trend of the adequate period. This may be checked on the examples of the compound rosette, so often shown on the Late Antique pavements from 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century: usually they are very veristic and artistic representations of the botanic elements, but not Christian crosses (Pillinger et al. 2016: Taf. 139, Abb. 362; Taf. 169, Abb. 435; Taf. 269, Abb. 645). The only certain cross representation is shown in one rosette from the Episcopal basilica on 'Khan Krum' str. in Varna/Odessos (Fig. 19), (Pillinger et al. 2016: 25-36) where the cross-like central configuration is with 'flourishing ends'. The cross form is repeated several times in diminishing size to the centre, and in the change of the colour and the





Figure 19  
Mosaic detail from the Episcopal basilica of Odessos. Compound rosette with the cross in the centre. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

Figure 20  
The so-called Small basilica of Philippopolis in Thrace. The ringed mosaic cross, detail. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

background. As a real cross should be also identified the single represented motif of the so-called ringed cross (placed in a circle, or nimbus, or sun-cross) from the Small basilica of Philippopolis (Fig. 20) (Pillinger et al. 2016: 227-238). It is very well underlined/distinguished by its design, colour, and repetition of the configuration, very distinctively and plastically treated by its general dimensions and the large-scape elements of the guilloche in comparison to the other figures. The increasing number of the dominant Greek cross and other kinds of crosses and Chi-Ro signs, and the general trend to liken some traditional inherited forms to the Christian cross in the pavement mosaics most probably caused the official reaction. It was expressed both by the church and the Early Byzantine emperors, namely in the appearing of the laws of Valentiian I and Theodosius II with the ban of putting the cross on the floor, worshipping it like idolatry representation and using as apotropeion. That's why these signs could be used according to the new regulations only on the walls, vertical surfaces, of the liturgical furniture and objects, cancel screens, and only as exclusion on the floor in the cancel and the altar. The Christogram was placed in the apse of the stibadium of the urban houses and villas already in the Constantinian period and it remained in the apse of the basilicas, martyria and churches till the end of Late Antiquity, seen also from basilica No 1 in Mikrevo, not far from Sandanski (Figs. 21-22) (Pillinger et al. 2016: 382-384). The remnants east of the staurogram reveal that there were more representations and symbols in the compositions, unfortunately not preserved in that part of the mosaic composition. The rich, but very formal and unclearly represented motifs flanking the Chrismon aside remind to some

Figure 21  
The remnants of the Chi-Rho sign in the apse of basilica No 1 in Mikrevo, After Pillinger et al. 2016.

Figure 22  
Reconstruction of the mosaic composition of the cancel and the apse with the Chi-Rho of basilica No 1 in Mikrevo. According to Pillinger et al. 2016.





Figure 23  
The Hetoimasia. Wall mosaic in the Arian baptistery of Ravenna. After Google.

Figure 24  
The mosaic of the baptisterium of basilica No 1 in Mikrevo. After Pillinger et al. 2016.

extent the Hetoimasia/Hetimasia/ Etimasia, the prepared Throne for Christ and the Last Judgement, shown on some Early Christian reliefs and on wall mosaics in Ravenna, Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, etc. (Fig. 23). In this way, it seems that the apse mosaic pavement of basilica No 1 from Mikrevo is somehow influenced by the Italian wall compositions usually represented on the triumphal arc or on the walls of central-planned buildings. Additionally, the baptistery of the same basilica in Mikrevo (Fig. 24) is formed as cross with four petals, the flaring ends of each petal covered with four circles differently coloured as if precious stones in the bejewelled style. In this way, the architectural form of the cross of the baptistery contains mosaic decoration in the form of a special cross, i.e. cross in the cross. They both express here the death of the previous pagan soul, the birth of the neophyte for a new life in Christianity; the victory over death, the resurrection of Our Lord, the cosmic essence etc. Generally, this image reminds the form and decoration of the golden crosses, represented on the wall mosaics of the official monuments, known also from the refined liturgical processional crosses and personal Christian crosses (Fig. 25). The proposed date of the mosaic baptistery in Mikrevo is the second half of 5<sup>th</sup> century. Naturally, this baptisterium mosaic has been also stepped over during the ritual. Thus, when the ritual itself acquires the movement over the mosaic, the contradiction between the holiness of the cross and the stepping over it is decided in favour and compromise with the ritual.

In the Early Byzantine Parthicopolis, a long mosaic building inscription of bishop Ioannes has been excavated in the exonarthex of basilica No 2 (Figs. 26a-26b) (Pillinger et al. 2016: 356-370). The inscription begins with the Latin cross. The exonarthex was the first room (although at that I building period opened from the west with colonnade), sanctifying the space of the basilica with Christian holiness after the non-sacred atrium, the latter accessible both for Christians and non-Christians. The holiness is gradating, increasing from the entrance towards the chancel and the apse in horizontal direction, and from the floor to the ceiling/vault in vertical direction, according to the notions of gradation and holiness of the supreme spheres of Heaven, Paradise and God, after the preceding them lower levels of the Earth and the Ocean, comparing the church building to the cosmos structure. In this way, from the entrance all the members of the ecclesia taking part in the liturgy and the other rituals were passing through and over the inscription. However, the cross, being placed at the utmost left end of the inscription, remains unreachable, but readable. The mosaic inscription of bishop Ioannes is dated around 451, the year of the Chalcedonian Council, i.e. the last years of the rule of Pulheria and Marcian, or the immediate post-Theodosian period, very near to the date of issue of the

Figure 25  
A gold cross with flaring ends, after Google.





Figure 26a  
The mosaic inscription of bishop Ioannes from the exonartex of basilica No 2 of Parthicopolis. Photo Archaeological museum Sandanski.



Figure 26b  
Detail from 26 a. Photo Svetla Petrova.

prohibition of Theodosius II on the cross' use on the floor.<sup>7</sup> The exception and regulation of such usage has been made namely for the bishop's inscriptions, for the cited texts with liturgical purposes from the Old and New Testament, for the decisions made in the name of the Christian God, and in the Christian tomb inscriptions; they all begin often with the cross denoting the religion, the church and the church institution issuing it. But in the case with the inscription of bishop Ioannes, the most important function was to sanctify the space, in order to form the hierotopia of the Christian temple, and also to confirm the authority of the bishop in the city of Parthicopolis by his building act (Lidov 2006). Another result of placing the inscription with the cross on the floor is that it becomes not only words of the speech, the Christian literature and the religion, but also a teaching material monument (Leathebury 2019: 205-220). The inscription is integrated fully in the material architecture, among the stones, the bricks, the mosaic tesserae (made of stone, brick and smalti), in the light of the candles, the sun rays piercing through the glass windows, the glittering of the bronze, silver and golden liturgical crosses etc. From the end of 4<sup>th</sup> – first half of 5<sup>th</sup> century, the Latin cross is also widely used and dominating in the wall paintings, tomb and mosaic inscriptions.

### Conclusions

In the historical development, the cross passes through several periods. For the moment, in the cited cases from Bulgaria, the reasons for placing the mosaic crosses on the floor each time were different. We can suppose that the explanations may be connected with some historical, liturgical and cultural circumstances in the Balkan provinces. During 4<sup>th</sup> century, the traditional mosaic schemes and motifs have been inherited but its symbolic changed in the spirit of Christianity: the swastica-meander protected already the church interior, the lozenge symbolizes the four-element-structure of the Christian Universe, the previous pagan fons vitae, place of dwelling of the river and ocean deities, and the Tree of Life connecting the land with the heaven, have gained new Christian

<sup>7</sup> The relating of the inscription to 6<sup>th</sup> century in some studies is not correct, because it has been laid during the first period in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century, see Leathebury 2019.

connotations and new topography in the Heavenly Paradise. The new cult of the Chi-Ro sign and the Christian cross since the Late Tetrarchic - Constantinian periods developed a lot of its new forms, iconographies and technique of making, especially under the influence and presence of mosaicists from the Eastern Mediterranean, with its very rich figural and liturgical repertoire, as in the case of the cosmologic mosaic in the domus of Augusta Traiana-Beroe. In this domus the appearance of the cross is due to the lack of any regulation at the moment of acknowledgement of Christianity as official religion equal to the existing pagan one. At the time of the Edicts of 311 and 313, there still were no rules and restrictions, except the secret and symbolic language developed in the Early Christian liturgy and art in the period 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

The rare appearance of the cross as a symbol of Christ in the first half of 4<sup>th</sup> century on the mosaic pavements can receive a plausible explanation in the traditional paidea of the classification and significance of deities as supreme ones, or just as important either secondary ones, or as natural forces and personifications. It should be taken into consideration that even in paganism the supreme gods have been rarely represented on the floor, except in few large Late Antique cosmogonic compositions. Usually Zeus/Jupiter and Hera/Junona are shown mainly in monumental round sculptures in the interior and or as reliefs on the walls, but not on the floors, especially in the pagan temples. Preferred for the pavements are the secondary gods, personifications and the heroes and heroines 'suffering' in the myths from the supreme or important gods, but not the latter themselves in anthropomorphic form. For instance, more often Zeus in the myth of Ganimed is represented as eagle; Ariadna is often without Dionysos; Marsyas without Apollo, etc. Often the accent is on the breaking of the ban and the adequate punishment of the hero/heroine. This earlier classification of sacredness and tradition of piety to the supreme pagan gods was most probably continued in at the beginning of Late Antique times, however transformed and applied to the Early Christian God, to his main symbol the Cross, all the personalities from the Bible, the Christian narratives, the martyr stories etc. without a special law at the beginning, just as an inherited 'paidea' tradition in culture and art.

In 4<sup>th</sup> century, this revealing of the cross is still modest, it is still not dominating, except the Chi-Ro sign, introduced by Constantine I on the official level. From the very first appearing, this sign was considered as the main one, first in the official, and after that in the private art. The Chi-Ro was intended for the main decoration on the wall, and on the most important place in the basilica – the apse, accessible only to the clergy, and the sign free from profanation by putting it on the extremity of any composition and isolated from the walkers. The second exception has been made quite understandable also for the decoration of the baptismal fons, where the neophytes and the priest stay during the ritual. The multi-layered symbolic of the cross allowed this form to be doubled: in the form of the piscine itself and in its mosaic decoration.

From the middle of 4<sup>th</sup> century and probably almost up to the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century a new trend has arisen to represent one or numerous small Greek crosses and the Chi-Ro sign in the basilicas, urban houses and the monuments created by the Arians, under the influence of the emperors-Arians or the Goths-Arians living in the Balkans. The issue of the regulation laws and prohibitions of several emperors was a reaction namely to the increasing number of the cross representations and the incorrect way of worshipping. But generally, from the analysis of the monuments it becomes obvious, that the crosses at that period are small-sized and mostly repeating elements, not especially underlined, looking like the other geometric and floral elements and fillings, and part of

the general mass repertoire. Another trend was to make some traditional cross-like pagan configurations similar to the Early Christian cross. For that reason, sometimes the firm determination of a real cross from them becomes impossible or doubtful. The similarity of some traditional cross-like elements to the cross is very discrete and made in the motifs, scattered among the other ones and the Early Christian symbols.

However, from the second half of 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards we can note a new trend of increasing the size of the cross on the important liturgical places and the Chi-Ro sign in the apse. In May 2022 a paper was read on the mosaic representations of crosses from 6<sup>th</sup> century found in the area of Hadrianopolis.<sup>8</sup> After the expected publication, it probably will become clear if this is due to the wide spread of the cross on the crowns of the emperors and empresses, on the coins etc., especially in the period of Justinian I, or to another reason. It is also an interesting problem why this happened only in the territory of Hadrianopolis.

It seems that the obvious trend of increasing the non-correct usage of the cross as a mean of magic and the inappropriate place and attitude to the cross caused the prohibitions of Valentinian I and Theodosius II. In spite of them, new non-announced tacit regulation was made concerning the official inscriptions of bishops, judging by the putting of the cross at the beginning of the Christian inscriptions made by the representatives of the church authorities, or citing the Holy Scripture, or sanctifying the church space, or praying for the dead, etc. Of course, the Christians would never step over the cross itself, placed on purpose at the extreme edge of the inscription. By this, the cross is well seen for grasping and reading, but not accessible for stepping over it and profanation.

But soon after the laws have been issued, no other mosaics pavements appeared in the ancient provinces of present-day Bulgaria with obviously shown crosses, except at the beginning of official and building inscriptions, and the cited monument from Storgosia supposedly Arianic. Finally, the Christogram from the very beginning has been inserted in the most holy and far from the laity and profanation places: in the chancel and the apse, on the chancel screens, ambo, capitals and impost, on the walls and the vault, on the martyrs' relics, sacerdotal vestments etc.

In comparison to some Eastern provinces, in most of the lands of Thracia, Moesia, Scythia, Dacia and Macedonia the cross and the Chrismon, with the exception of basilica No 4 in Parthicopolis, were rarely put on the mosaic pavements as a single or numerous signs, following the tacit agreement they to be unreachable for walkers and only seen, but not stepped and profaned. Some sporadically and isolated monuments do not change the picture, especially after the laws have been issued, the further tacit regulations and the arising new tradition allowing in some liturgical cases and on special occasions the cross to be used on the floor too.

The observations show that most of the represented crosses in diverse iconographies are woven in the general composition, they don't play a leading role, and are equal in its significance to the other Early Christian symbols, and geometric or plant motifs. The spread of the cult of the cross has invoked the mild including of several types of crosses (cross patée, Greek crosses, cross with round ends, ringed cross, Latin cross, 'wooden' cross) in the schemes in a harmonious, not striking and discrete way. It should be noted that the Greek cross is dominant till the end of 4<sup>th</sup> century. The exceptions when the cross is

<sup>8</sup> Ercan Verim, Ersin Çelikbaş. Cross Motifs on Mosaic Floors in Hadrianopolis. 6<sup>th</sup> Symposium on Mosaics, Mudanya, Turkey, 2022, Abstracts, p. 101.

bigger and underlined in a special way concerns the Chi-Ro sign or the cross at the beginning of a mosaic building inscription of the bishop. A strong influence and dependence of the cross representations from the real liturgical and personal crosses and encolpia can be found in the Late Antique mosaic pavements of Bulgaria.

The cross became the quintessence of the new Christian Orthodox religion and the piety to it was quite adequate including the prohibition of placing the cross on the pavement mosaics and the regulation of the exceptions in the rituals and in sanctifying use.

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# Claudiopolis Ganymedes Mozaïği

## The Ganymede Mosaic of Claudopolis

S. Sezin SEZER\*

(Received 15 November 2021, accepted after revision 28 September 2022)

### Öz


*Claudiopolis (Bolu), Antik Dönem'de Bithynia Bölgesi sınırları içerisinde yer alan önemli bir kenti. 2011 yılında kent merkezinde yapılan kurtarma kazısı çalışması esnasında Ganymedes mozaïği açığa çıkarılmıştır. Ganymedes mozaïği kentteki bir Roma villasının zemininde yer almış olan bir taban mozaïğidir ve dikdörtgen bir biçimde düzenlenmiştir. Mozaik tabanı 3,60 m. x 6,70 m ölçülerindedir. Ölümlülerin en güzeli sayılan Ganymedes, Dardanos soyundan ve Troya kral ailesindedir. Zeus, İda dağı'nın yamaçlarında sürülerini otlatırken gördüğü genç Ganymedes'e aşık olmuştur. Kartalını göndererek ya da bizzat kendisi kartal kılığına girerek Ganymedes'i Olympos'a kaçırmış ve onu tanrılar sofrasına şarap sunucusu yapmıştır. Hellenistik Dönem sanatında ve edebiyatında favori bir konu olan Ganymedes'in kaçırılması olayı daha sonra Romalı mozaik sanatçıları için de popülerliğini devam ettirmiştir. Mozaik sanatçıların repertuvarlarında Ganymedes'in efsanesine ilişkin olarak en çok tercih edilen tasvir Zeus'un kartal kılığına girerek Ganymedes'i Olympos'a kaçırmaya sahnesidir. Claudopolis mozaïğinde ise bu popüler sahnenin bir sonraki aşamasında Ganymedes Olympos'da şarap sunucusu olarak devam eden hayatında kartal'a içki sunarken tasvir edilmiştir. Bu sahnenin tasvirinin oldukça az bulunmuş olması da yine Claudopolis Ganymedes mozaïği'nin önemini arttıran diğer bir unsurdur. Dikdörtgen biçiminde düzenlenmiş olan sahnenin sol tarafına kartal, sağ tarafına ise Ganymedes yerleştirilmiştir. Bu figürlü panonun etrafında bir sıra basit örgü bandı, bir sıra düz bant ve iki sıra kesişen dairelerden oluşan bordür düzenlemesi yer almaktadır. Figürlü sahnede doğal ortamın göstergesi olan kaya, ağaç ve bitki motifleri kullanılmamıştır. Claudopolis mozaïği, sahip olduğu stilistik ve ikonografik özellikler itibarıyla MS 3. yüzyılın sonu - 4. yüzyılın başlarına tarihlendirilebilir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Claudopolis, mozaik, Ganymedes, Zeus, kartal, Olympos.

### Abstract

*Claudiopolis (Bolu) was a prominent city in Bithynia during the Ancient Period. The Ganymede mosaic was discovered during a rescue excavation at the city center in 2011. The Ganymede mosaic is a floor mosaic arranged in a rectangle and situated on the ground of a Roman villa in the city. The size of the mosaic base is 3.60 m. x 6.70 m. Ganymede, considered as the most beautiful of mortals, was descended from the Dardanians and belonged to the Trojan royal family. Zeus saw and fell in love with the young Ganymede while he had been tending sheep on the slopes of Mount Ida. Zeus either summoned an eagle or turned into an eagle himself to transport the youth to Mount Olympus where he was appointed as cupbearer of the gods. The story of the abduction of Ganymede became popular in Hellenistic art and literature and continued to be so among Roman mosaic artists. The most preferred depiction with regard to the myth of Ganymede in the repertoire of mosaic artists was the scene of Zeus turning into an eagle to abduct Ganymede and bring him to Olympus. The mosaic of Claudopolis depicts the following stage of the events in which Ganymede, during his life as a cupbearer in Olympus, offers a drink to the eagle. The depiction of this scene has rarely been found, which also adds to the significance of the Claudopolis Ganymedes mosaic. The scene arranged in a rectangle shows the eagle on the left side and Ganymede on the right side. The panel with figures is surrounded by a border consisting of a line of simple guilloche, a straight band and two lines of intersecting circles. The scene does not involve any bolder, tree or plant motifs as indicators of a natural environment. Due to its stylistic and iconographic characteristics, the mosaic of Claudopolis is estimated to date back to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century or early 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.*

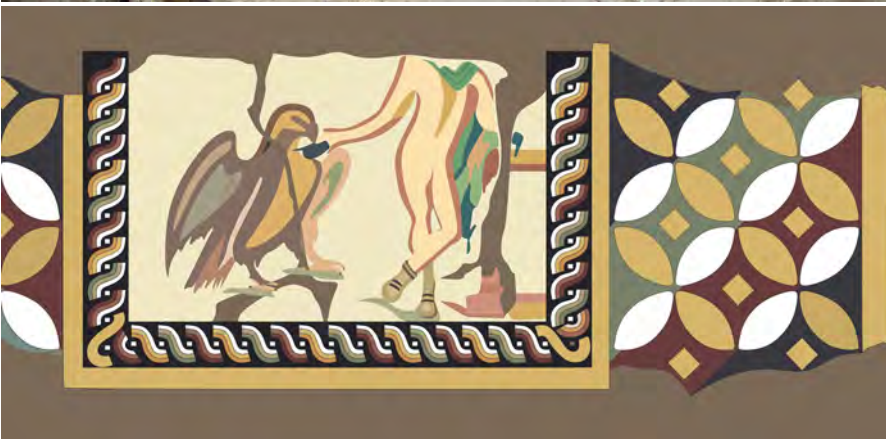
**Keywords:** Claudopolis, mosaic, Ganymede, Zeus, eagle, Olympus.

\* S. Sezin Sezer, Kafkas Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Kars, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2844-0513>. E-mail: sezinsezer1@hotmail.com

Bithynion-Claudiopolis (Bolu), (Kent hakkındaki kaynakça için bk. Magie 1950: 307, 546, 590, 596, 614, 622, 1190-1191; Dörner 1952: 32-67; Vermeule 1968: 317-318, 151; Boatwright 2000: 100, 105) Antik Dönem’de Bithynia Bölgesi sınırları içerisinde yer alan önemli bir kentti. 2011 yılında kent merkezinde yapılan kurtarma kazısı<sup>1</sup> çalışması esnasında Ganymedes mozaïği açığa çıkarılmıştır (Res. 1, Çiz. 1). Dikdörtgen panolar biçiminde kesilen mozaik, plakalar halinde Bolu Müzesi’nin deposuna kaldırılmıştır. Mozaik tabanı 3,60 x 6,70 m ölçülerindedir. Mozaïğin yapımında 1 cm küplük doğal taşlar ve asıl sahne bölümünde de 0,5 cm. küplük daha küçük boyutlu tesseralar kullanılmıştır. Mozaik döşemenin neredeyse tümü yok olmuştur. Yalnızca merkezde yer alan figürlü pano ve geometrik bordüre ait çok az bir parça korunmuştur. Figürlü panoda üç adet derin çatlak oluşmuştur ve Ganymedes’in başı eksiktir. Mozaik döşemenin belli yerlerinde düşen sütun gövdesi ve sütun başlığı sebebiyle çökme meydana gelmiş ve buna bağlı olarak kabarmalar oluşmuştur.



Resim 1  
Claudiopolis Ganymedes Mozaïği (Bolu Müzesi Arşivi).



Çizim 1  
Claudiopolis Ganymedes Mozaïği’nin çizimi.

Ölümlülerin en güzeli sayılan Ganymedes, Dardanos soyundan ve Troya kral ailesindedir. Babası Troya’ya adını veren Troya kralı Tros iken annesi ırmak tanrı Skamandros’un kızı Kallirhoe’dur. Homeros onun serüvenini şöyle anlatır (Hom.II. XX. 230-235):

<sup>1</sup> Bolu ili, Merkez İlçe, Akpınar Mahallesi, “III.Derece Arkeolojik Sit Alanı” içinde kalan 12 pafta, 194 ada, 32 numaralı parsel.



“Erikhthonios'tan Tros doğdu, Troyalılar'ın kralı.  
Kusursuz üç oğlu oldu Tros'un da:  
İlos, Assarakos, tanrılara denk Ganymedes.  
En güzeliydi Ganymedes ölümlü insanların,  
tanrılar kaçırdı onu Olympos'a,  
Zeus'a şarap sunan olsun diye,  
dediler güzelliğiyle yaşasın tanrılar arasında,”

Ganymedes'e vurulup onu kaçırın ya da kaçırın tanrı Zeus'tur. Ganymedes'i İda dağı'nın yamaçlarında sürülerini otlatırken görmüş ve delikanlıyı kaçırıp Olympos'a getirmesi için kuşu olan kartalı göndermiştir. Ya da kendisi bizzat kartal biçimine girmiş ve oğlanı pençelerinin arasına alıp kaçırmıştır. Bunun karşılığı olarak Zeus, çocuğun babasına ölmez atlar<sup>2</sup> armağan etmiş ve Ganymedes'i de tanrılar sofrasında Hebe yerine şarap sunucusu olarak kullanmıştır (Erhat 1997: 116). Bunun yanı sıra Ganymedes'i yıldızlar arasında *Aquarius* (Su Taşıyıcı) olarak ölümsüzleştirmiştir (March 2014: 292).

### 1. Ganymedes'in İkonografisi

Antik Dönem sanatında Ganymedes mitolojisi ile ilgili tasvirler ilk olarak M.Ö.6.yüzyılın ikinci yarısında seramikler üzerinde (Sichtermann 1988: 157-158 no. 57-60 pl. 80-81) ortaya çıkmış ve Roma Dönemi sonuna kadar devam etmiştir. MÖ 5. yüzyıl boyunca seramikler üzerinde görülen en yaygın tasvir Zeus tarafından peşinden koşulan Ganymedes'in yer aldığı sahnedir (Sichtermann 1959: 13-15 pl. 6-11; Sichtermann 1988: 156-157 no. 8-50 pl. 76-79). Bu tasvirlerde Zeus asası ile yer alırken Ganymedes bir horoz ile tasvir edilmiştir<sup>3</sup>. MÖ 470'de Olympia'dan terrakotta bir grupta Zeus'un sağ kolu ile kavradığı Ganymedes'i kaçırıldığı sahne betimlenmiştir (Sichtermann 1959: 10 pl. 5; Furtwängler 1964: pl. K fig. K 1; Sichtermann 1988: 157 no. 56 pl. 80). İlk kez MÖ 4. yüzyılda Ganymedes, bir kartal tarafından taşınırken tasvir edilmiştir. Plinius; MÖ 4.yüzyılın ortalarında heykeltıraş Leokhares'in, Ganymedes ve kartaldan oluşan bronzdan bir grup yaptığını aktarmış ve bu grubu tanımlamıştır. Vatikan Müzesi'nde yer alan ve bir masa ayağı işlevine sahip olan mermer grup Leokhares'in söz konusu eseri ile ilişkilendirilmiştir (Richter 1950: 285 fig. 737; Sichtermann 1988: 166 no. 251 pl. 95; Ridgway 1997: 247 pl. 58). Antik Dönem sanatında Ganymedes genç bir delikanlı olarak tasvir edilmiştir (Res. 2). Genellikle bir desteğe yaslanmış ve bacaklarını çaprazlamış biçimde ayakta durmaktadır (Amelung 1903: fig. 589 a Taf. 75; Phillips 1960: figs. 20-23; Gazda 1981: 56; Sichtermann 1988: 161 no. 124 pl. 84). Vücudunun büyük bölümünü açıkta bırakan tek omuzu üzerinde tutturulmuş bir khlamys (Amelung 1903: 702-703 no. 587 pl. 75; Gazda 1981: 56) giymiştir, başına Phryg başlığı (Amelung 1903: fig. 589a pl. 75; Phillips 1960: figs. 20-21, 23; Gazda 1981: 56) yerleştirilmiştir ve ayaklarında bot (Phillips 1960: figs. 20-21; Gazda 1981: 56) bulunmaktadır. Elinde tuttuğu nesnelere arasında pedum (Amelung 1903: fig. 589a pl. 75; Phillips 1960: figs. 21-23), mızrak (Phillips 1960: fig. 20) ve kadeh (Amelung 1903: fig. 589 a pl. 75; Phillips 1960: fig. 21) yer almaktadır. Genellikle açık havada doğal bir kayalık (Phillips 1960: figs. 20-23) üzerindedir. Etrafında kartal (Amelung 1903: fig. 589a pl. 75; Phillips 1960: figs. 20-23; Gazda 1981: 56), köpek (Phillips 1960: figs. 21-23; Gazda 1981: 56), keçi (Gazda 1981: 56) ve syrinx (Phillips 1960: fig. 23) yer almıştır.



Resim 2

Ganymedes ve kartal heykeli

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ganymede\\_eagle\\_Chiaramonti\\_Inv1376\\_n2.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ganymede_eagle_Chiaramonti_Inv1376_n2.jpg)

2 Bunlar “güneşin altında yaşayan atların en iyileriydi” der Homeros (İlyada V.265-267).

3 Burada horoz, orijinalde erotik bir sembol değil, evcil hayvan dövüşünün hediyesi olarak yer almıştır.

## 2. Ganymedes Mozaikleri'nin Genel İkonografik Özellikleri

Ganymedes, mozaikler üzerinde ilk olarak Hellenistik Dönem'de tasvir edilmeye başlanmıştır (Morgantina Ganymedes mozaïği bk. Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4; Tsakirgis 1989: 399-400 no.3 figs. 11-13; Dunbabin 1999: 21-22, fig. 19). Hellenistik Dönem sanatında ve edebiyatında favori bir konu olan Ganymedes'in kaçırılması olayı daha sonra Romalı mozaik sanatçıları için de popülerliğini devam ettirmiştir. Mozaikler üzerindeki tasvirlerde Ganymedes bir khlamys (Phillips 1960: 256 fig. 12; 257 fig. 13; 257 fig. 14; 257 fig. 15; 258 fig.16; 258 fig.17; 259 fig.18; Cimok 2000: 145) giymiştir, başına Phryg başlığı (Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 13; 257 fig. 15; 258 fig.16; 258 fig.17; Topçu 1986: 511 fig.12; Cimok 2000: 145) yerleştirilmiştir, ayaklarında bot (Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4; 256,fig. 12; 257 fig. 13; 257 fig. 14; 257 fig. 15; 258 fig.16; Topçu 1986: 511 fig.12; Cimok 2000: 145) yer alır, bazen de ayakları çıplaktır (Phillips 1960: 258 fig. 17), elinde bir pedum (Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4; 256 fig. 12; 257 fig. 13; 258 fig.16; 258 fig.17; 259 fig.18) ya da mızrak (Phillips 1960: 256 fig. 12; Kondoleon 1995: 138 fig. 83; Cimok 2000: 145) tutmaktadır. Mozaik sanatçılarının repertuvarlarında Ganymedes'in efsanesine ilişkin olarak iki farklı sahne yer almıştır. Birinci sahnede; Zeus'un kartal kılığına girerek Ganymedes'i Olympos'a kaçırması tasvir edilmiştir. Bu sahne kendi içerisinde kartal'ın Ganymedes'i yerde iken yakaladığı sahne (Phillips 1960: 256 fig. 12 (Sousse-Trocadero mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 13 (Sousse-Arsenal mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 15 (Roma-Baccano mozaïği); Waywell 1979: 303-304 fig. 47 (Thessalonika mozaïği); Topçu 1986: 511 fig.12 (Seleukeia-Kalykadnos mozaïği) ve kartal'ın Ganymedes'i gökyüzünde uçarak taşıdığı sahne (Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4 (Morgantina mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 136 fig. 81 (Nea Paphos mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 126-127 fig. 74 (Volubilis mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 139 fig. 84 (El Jem mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 259 fig. 18 (Viyana mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 140 fig. 85 (İtalya mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 258 fig. 16 (Bignor mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 258 fig. 17 (Orbe mozaïği); Cimok 2000: 145 (Tarsus mozaïği) olmak üzere iki farklı ikonografik gruba bölünmüştür. İkinci sahnede; Olympos'a kaçırılmasından sonra Zeus'un tanrılara içki sunucusu yaptığı Ganymedes, yeni görevini yerine getirirken betimlenmiştir. Bu sahne de yine kendi içerisinde Ganymedes'in kartal'a içki sunduğu sahne (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 145 fig. 6 (Antiocheia mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 8 (New York mozaïği) ve Ganymedes'in Zeus'a içki sunduğu sahne (Lavin 1963: 264 fig. 131; Canciani 1997: 447 no. 305 pl. 296) olmak üzere iki farklı ikonografik gruba ayrılmıştır.

## 3. Ganymedes ve Kartal Panosu

Antik dönem mozaiklerinde çoğunlukla tasvir edilen Ganymedes efsanesi; bir kartala dönüşmüş olan Zeus'un genç adamı kaçırması sahnesidir. Ganymedes'in, kartal'a içki sunduğu sahnenin tasviri çok daha azdır. Claudiopolis mozaïğinde bu ikinci sahne tasvir edilmiştir. Sahnede; Ganymedes, edebi kaynaklarda anlatıldığı gibi Olympos'daki tanrılara şarap sunucusu olarak görevini yerine getirmektedir ve mekan olarak Ganymedes ve kartal Olympos'dadır.

Claudiopolis mozaïğinin merkezindeki dikdörtgen biçimindeki krem rengi zemine sahip figürlü panonun sağ tarafında yer alan Ganymedes, bir pedestal'e dayanmış şekilde ayakta durur iken tasvir edilmiştir (Res. 3). Vücudu hemen hemen çıplak gösterilmiştir. Sağ omzunda tutturulmuş yeşil ve koyu mavi renginde bir khlamys giymiştir. Önde boyun kısmını örten khlamys buradan arkaya atılmıştır. Yana açtığı sol kolunu dirsekten bükmüş ve pedestal üzerine

Resim 3  
Claudiopolis Ganymedes Mozaïği figürlü  
panel detayı (Bolu Müzesi Arşivi).



yerleştirmiştir. Arkadan gelen khlamys sol el bileği üzerine atılarak buradan aşağıya sarkıtılmıştır. Sol elinde bir pedum tutmaktadır. Sağ kolunu yana doğru açmıştır ve sağ elinde tuttuğu kadeh ile kartal'a içki sunmaktadır. Vücut ağırlığını sabit olan sağ bacak taşımaktadır. Bu nedenle kalça konturu belirli bir kavisle bu yanda dışa doğru çıkmıştır. Sol bacak dizden bükülerek önde sağ bacağın üzerinden çapraz olarak atılmış ve bot giymiş olan ayak yalnızca parmak uçları ile yere basmıştır. Krem rengi olan botlarının, bağcıkları ise koyu kahverengindedir. Duruşu itibariyle "S" çizen bir vücut hareketi ortaya çıkmıştır. Benzer örneklerde olduğu gibi başında bir Phryg başlığı taşıyor olmalıdır. Duruş biçimi ve hareketi dikkate alındığında başını kendi sağına doğru çevirmiş yani sol tarafında yer alan kartal'a doğru bakmakta olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Ganymedes'in çıplak teni açık pembe ve krem rengi ile gölgelendirilmiştir. Ayaklarının altındaki gölge yeşil renkte iki sıra tesseradan oluşmuştur.

Figürlü panonun sol tarafında yer alan kartal ayakta durmaktadır. Kartal, sağa  $\frac{3}{4}$  profilden işlenmiştir. Sol ayağı önde sağ ayağı ise geridedir. Hafifçe yukarı doğru kaldırdığı kanatlarını yarım açmıştır. Bu durum da ona bir hareket kazandırmıştır. Başını hafifçe öne doğru eğmiş ve gagasını kadehin içine daldırarak içki içmekte iken tasvir edilmiştir. Kartalın; kuyruk, kanat, karın, bacak ve ayak konturları bordo renktedir. Kanatlarındaki tüyler yeşil ve pembe renkte iken beyaz ve sarı renk ile gölgelendirilmiştir. Krem rengi ile gölgelendirilmiş olan kuyruğu pembe ve sarı renklere sahiptir. Karın kısmı pembe ve sarı renkte iken krem rengi ile gölgelendirilmiştir. Bacaklar ve ayaklar koyu pembedir. Baş konturu koyu sarı, başı açık sarı, göz konturu koyu kahverengidir. Bacak ve ayakları pembe ve sarı, tırnakları bordo rengindedir. Ayaklarının altındaki gölge yeşil renkte iki sıra tesseradan oluşmuştur.

Kadehin ağız kısmı koyu mavi iken gövdesi mavinin tonları ile gölgelendirilmiştir. Pedestal'ın alt ve üst profili pembe ve sarı renklerde iken gövdesi krem rengindedir. Gölgesi ise bordo renkte iki sıra tesseradan oluşmuştur. Ganymedes ve kartal zemin üzerinde farklı seviyelere yerleştirilmiştir. Ayaklarının altında gölge çizgisi işaretlenmiştir. Pedestal'in gölge çizgisi de gösterilmiştir.

#### 4. Ganymedes'in Kartal'a İçki Sunması Sahnesinin Tasvir Edildiği Mozaikler'in Genel İkonografik Özellikleri

Ganymedes'in kartal'a içki sunması sahnesinin konu edildiği mozaikler üzerinde iki farklı kompozisyon söz konusudur.

##### 4. a. Ganymedes'in Ayakta İken Kartal'a İçki Sunması Sahnesi

Ganymedes sahnenin sağında iken kartal solundadır (Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği) ya da Ganymedes sahnenin solundayken kartal ise sağındadır (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği). Ganymedes genellikle ayakta bağımsız durur iken (Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) bazen de bir pedestal'e yaslanmış (Claudiopolis mozaïği). Vücudunun büyük bölümünü açıkta bırakan bir khlamys giymiştir. Khlamys çeşitli biçimlerde düzenlenmiştir: ya sağ omuz üzerinde tutturulup arkaya atılmış (Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği), önde sol kol üzerinden sarkıtılmış (Claudiopolis mozaïği) ya yalnızca sol kol üzerine atılmış ve buradan sarkıtılmış (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği) ya da sol omuz üzerinden arkaya atılmıştır (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği). Başında Phryg başlığı taşımaktadır (Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği). Ayakları bazen çıplaktır (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) bazen de bot giymiştir (Claudiopolis mozaïği). Sol elinde bir pedum (Claudiopolis mozaïği) ya da bir mızrak (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği) sağ elinde ise bir kadeh tutmaktadır. Kartal ya direkt olarak zeminde (Claudiopolis mozaïği) ya da küçük bir pedestal veya altar üzerinde ayakta durmaktadır (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği). Bazen kanatlarını yarım açmış (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği) bazen de tamamen kapatmıştır (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği). Olayın açık havada Olympos'da geçmesi sebebiyle mekanda ya doğal ortamı yansıtan yapraklı bir ağaç yer almıştır (Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği) ya da doğal ortam (ağaç, bitki, kaya) tamamen ortadan kaldırılmıştır (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği). Sahnede bazen mızrak ve kalkanın yanı sıra Zeus ile Ganymedes arasındaki aşkı simgeleyen diğer bir mitolojik figür olarak Eros da yer almıştır (Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği). Bazen zemin çizgisi gösterilmiş (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) bazen de yalnızca ayakların gölgesi (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği) belirtilmiştir. İki örnekte sahnenin etrafını bordür olarak basit örgü motifi çevirmiştir (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği).

##### 4. b. Ganymedes'in Oturur Durumda İken Kartal'a İçki Sunması Sahnesi

Doğal bir kayalık üzerine oturmuş olan Ganymedes, sol koldan atılan ve buradan aşağıya sarkıtılmış olan bir khlamys giymiştir. Başında Phryg başlığı yer alır ve ayağında botları vardır. Sol elini kartalın sağ kanadının üzerine yerleştirmiştir ve sağ elinde kadeh tutmaktadır. Açık alanda kayalıklara ve yeşilliklere yer verilmiştir. Olay açık havada geçtiği için kartal kayalık bir zemin üzerinde ayakta durmaktadır. Kanatlarını hafifçe yukarı kaldırmış ve yarım açmıştır, içki içtiği kadehe yukarı doğru kaldırdığı sağ ayağı ile destek vermektedir (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 8 (New York Mozaïği).

## 5. Geometrik Motifler

### 5.1. Basit Örgü Motifi

Döşeme üzerinde Ganymedes ve kartal'ın yer aldığı krem rengi zemine sahip olan figürlü panelin etrafını çeviren dikdörtgen siyah bir çerçevenin içerisinde yer alan çok renkli, gölgeli basit örgü bandı bordür olarak kullanılmıştır. Basit örgü bandını dört farklı renk grubuna sahip olan ilmekler oluşturmuştur. Birinci ilmek: koyu mavi-açık mavi-krem, ikinci ilmek: bordo-pembe-krem, üçüncü ilmek: koyu sarı-açık sarı-krem ve dördüncü ilmek: koyu yeşil-açık yeşil-krem renklerinden oluşmuştur ve bu düzenleme dönüşümlü olarak devam ettirilmiştir. Koyu renkten açık renge doğru giden bu sıralama sonucunda ışık-gölge etkisi yaratılmıştır. Her iki ilmeğin aralarındaki orta bölüme kare biçiminde olan krem renginde bir tessera yerleştirilmiştir.

Basit örgü motifi Klasik Dönem ve Hellenistik Dönem çakıl mozaikler (Salzmann 1982: 90, no.34, pl.17,3 (Elaios mozaïği); Salzmann 1982: 90, no.36, pl.27,2 (Eretria mozaïği); Salzmann 1982: 98 no.74 pl. 60,1 (Olbia mozaïği); Salzmann 1982: 105-106 no.98 pl.31,4 (Pella mozaïği); Salzmann 1982: 108 no.104 pl.32,1-2 (Pella mozaïği); Salzmann 1982: 113 no. 125 pl. 63,3-4 (Tarsus mozaïği) ile Hellenistik Dönem'de tessellatum tekniğindeki mozaiklerin Joyce 1979: 256 pl.34 fig.10 (Delos mozaïği); Dunbabin 1999: 35, fig.36 (Delos mozaïği); Dunbabin 1999: 224 fig. 235 (Pergamon mozaïği) özellikle çerçevelerinde yaygındır. Claudiopolis mozaïğinde olduğu gibi basit örgü motifi Antiocheia (Cimok 2000: figs. 27, 57, 121, 136, 146, 185, 194), Adana (Budde 1972: 20-24 fig.5), Tarsus (Budde 1972: 121-126 fig.147) Zeugma (Önal 2009: 48, 59, 106), Ephesos (Dunbabin 1999: 226 fig.238), Milet ve Prusias ad Hypium (Sezer 2015: 126 fig. 2) mozaiklerinde figürlü panelin çerçevesi olarak kullanılmıştır.

### 5.2. Düz Çizgi

Basit örgü bandı ile kesişen dairelerin arasında yer alan düz çizgi üç sıra krem rengi tesseralardan oluşmuştur.

### 5.3. Kesişen Daireler Motifi

Düz çizgiden sonra kesişen dairelerden oluşan bordür yer almaktadır. Merkez panonun sağ kenarında korunmuş olan kalıntılardan kesişen dairelerin iki sıra olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Dört iç motifinden oluşan teğet yarım dairelerin sol üst ve sağ altı krem rengi iken sağ üst ve sol altı çaprazlama bir biçimde sarı renkli tesseralar ile oluşturulmuştur. Dairelerin merkezine çaprazlama olarak üçer sıra bordo, üçer sıra yeşil ve üçer sıra siyah zeminli içbükey kareler yerleştirilmiştir. Bu içbükey karelerin ortasında sarı renkli tesseralardan oluşan bir kare yer almıştır.

Kesişen daireler motifi Claudiopolis mozaïğinde olduğu gibi Antiocheia (Cimok 2000: 42), Korykos (Budde 1972: 101-104 fig. 101), Zeugma (Önal 2009: 40, 45, 55, 70-71, 80), Ephesos (Dunbabin 1999: 226 fig.238) ve Prusias ad Hypium (Sezer 2015: 124 fig. 1) mozaiklerinin bordüründe kullanılmıştır.

## 6. Claudiopolis Ganymedes Mozaïği'nin Diğer Ganymedes Mozaikleri ile Karşılaştırılması

Claudiopolis Ganymedes mozaïği; Ganymedes'in merkez panonun sağ tarafında kartal'ın ise sol tarafında yer almasıyla, sağ kolunu yana doğru açarak sağ tarafında yer alan kartala sağ elindeki kadeh ile içki sunmasıyla Antiocheia

Ganymedes mozaïği (Res. 4), (Cimok 2000: 111) ve Sevilla Ganymedes mozaïğiyle (Res. 5), (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7) khlamys'in sağ omuz üzerinde tutturulması, arkaya atılması ve öne alınarak sol kolun üzerinden sarkıtılmasıyla Antiocheia Ganymedes mozaïğiyle (Cimok 2000: 111), Ganymedes'in ayaklarına bot giymesiyle New York Ganymedes mozaïğiyle (Res. 6), (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 8) kartal'ın hafifçe yukarı doğru kaldırdığı kanatlarını yarım açmasıyla Astigitanus Ganymedes mozaïği (Res. 7), (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5) ve New York Ganymedes mozaïğiyle (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 8), doğal ortamın göstergesi olan kaya, ağaç ve bitki motiflerinin hiçbirinin kullanılmamış olmasıyla Astigitanus Ganymedes mozaïği (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5) ve Sevilla Ganymedes mozaïğiyle (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7), figürlü panelin etrafını çeviren bordürde basit örgü motifinin kullanılmış olmasıyla Sevilla Ganymedes mozaïği (Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7) ile ortak özellikler taşımaktadır.



Resim 4

Antiocheia Ganymedes Mozaïği (Antioch Expedition Archives, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University).

Resim 5

Sevilla Ganymedes Mozaïği (flickr.com).

Resim 6

New York Ganymedes Mozaïği (Jiménez 2020: fig. 8).

Resim 7

Astigitanus Ganymedes Mozaïği (Jiménez 2020: fig. 5).



Resim 8  
Yivli Lahit üzerinde Ganymedes ve Kartal  
Sahnesi (Bartman 2000: fig. 11.12).

## 7. Genel Değerlendirme

Ganymedes ve kartalın hikayesi Roma mozaiklerinde ve diğer sanat dallarında popüler bir konudur. Klasik Dönem sanatında efsanenin tasvirleri bilinmemektedir. Ganymedes'in Zeus tarafından Olympos'a kaçırılması efsanesinden en erken olarak Homeros (Hom.II.V,265) bahsetmiştir. Bu efsaneyi mozaikler üzerine ilk olarak Hellenistik dönem sanatçıları uyarlamıştır. Morgantina'daki Ganymedes Evi'nin *oecus*'unda<sup>4</sup> yer alan döşeme mozaïğinde genç Ganymedes figürü büyük bir kartal tarafından çevrilmiş olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Ganymedes'in bir kartal tarafından kaçırılması efsanesinin orijinali bilinmemekle birlikte döşeme mozaiklerinin teknik ve ikonografisini inceleyen Phillips, Morgantina mozaïği'nin duvar resimlerindeki bir prototipten türetildiği sonucuna varmıştır (Phillips 1960: 261).

Antik dönem mozaikleri üzerinde Ganymedes efsanesine dair iki farklı sahne bulunmaktadır. Birinci sahnede; İda dağında bir çoban olan Ganymedes'in Zeus'un kartalı tarafından ya da bizzat bir kartala dönüşmüş olan Zeus tarafından Olympos'a kaçırılması tasvir edilmiştir. İkinci sahnede; edebi kaynaklarda anlatıldığı gibi Ganymedes artık Olympos'dadır ve ölümsüzlüğe kavuşmuştur. Bundan sonraki yaşamında tanrılara şarap sunucusu olarak hizmet edecektir. Claudiopolis mozaïğinde bu ikinci sahne yani efsanenin kaçırılma sonrasındaki yaşananları tasvir edilmiştir. Olympos'da yer alan Ganymedes, karşısında bulunan kartal'a içki sunarak görevini yerine getirmektedir.

Mitolojik geleneğe göre, Ganymedes ruhun ölümsüzlüğünün bir sembolü olmuştur (Gazda 1981: 59). Roma Dönemi'nde yivli lahitler üzerinde de Claudiopolis mozaïğine benzer sahneler tasvir edilmiştir. Bu lahitlerde Ganymedes'in kartal tarafından kaçırılmasından önceki ve sonraki durum olmak üzere iki farklı yer ve zaman birleştirilmiştir (Huskinson 2015: 164). İda dağının personifikasyonu olan nymphe ve ağaç tasviri ile vurgulanan kırsal alan, Ganymedes'in Skamandros'un kıyısında bir çoban olduğu daha önceki yaşamına işaret eder iken sahnede kartalın yer alması onun Olympos'da Zeus'a şarap sunucusu olduğu daha sonraki yaşamını tasvir etmiştir (Res. 8), (Huskinson 2015: 165 fig.1.4; Sichtermann 1988: 161 no. 109 pl. 83).

Bir diğer gelenekte Zeus'un aşkı Ganymedes erkek homoseksüel ilişki için bir prototip olarak görülerek mitin erotik yönü vurgulanmıştır (Gazda 1981: 59). Buna rağmen tasvirlerde öykünün erotik yönü çok daha az tercih edilmiştir (Ostia'da Jüpiter ve Ganymedes Evi'nin doğu duvarında yer alan duvar resmi üzerinde Zeus ve Ganymedes tasvir edilmiştir. bk. Sichtermann 1988: 158 no. 76 pl. 82).

Ganymedes'in kaçırılması efsanesini tasvir eden mozaiklerin tümünün döşeme planı ve fonksiyonu belirlenememiş olmasına rağmen döşemelerin bazılarının evlerin *triclinium*<sup>5</sup> ve *cubiculum*<sup>6</sup> bölümlerinde yer almış olduğu tespit edilmiştir (Triclinium örneği için bkz. Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 13 (Sousse (Arsenal) mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 126-127 fig. 74 (Volubilis mozaïği); *Cubiculum* örneği için bkz. Phillips 1960: 256 fig. 12 (Sousse (Trocadero) mozaïği). Antiocheia'daki Açık Büfe Akşam Yemeği Evi'nin apsidal bir odasında bulunan mozaik; işlenen konu ile mekanın fonksiyonu arasındaki doğrudan ilişkinin muhtemelen en

4 Hellenistik evlerde ana kabul salonu ve toplantı salonu, Roma evlerinde ise yine büyük kabul salonu işlevi gören *oecus*, akşam yemeği için de kullanılmış olmalıdır. bk. Dunbabin 1999: 343.

5 Roma evlerinin yemek odaları için kullanılan standart bir terimdir. Genellikle duvarlarda karşılıklı olarak ve duvarların yanları boyunca üç yatak içermektedir. bk. Dunbabin 1999: 343.

6 Roma evinin yatak odasıdır, uyumak için kullanılması yanı sıra dinlenmek için de kullanılmıştır. bk. Dunbabin 1999: 342.

açık örneği olmalıdır. Yan tarafına kalkanı ve mızrağı yerleştirilmiş olan ve bir madalyon içerisinde yer alan Ganymedes, Zeus'un kartalına içki sunmaktadır. Bu sahnenin etrafına mutfak eşyaları ve yiyecekler ile tamamen dolu olan bir ziyafet masası yerleştirilmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu sahne; Zeus'un şarap sunucusu tarafından servisin yapıldığı Olympos'daki bir şölen ile ev sahibinin yemek öğününün birleştirilmiş olduğu anlamını taşımaktadır (Kondoleon 1995: 142). Akşam yemeği ile bağlantısı açık olmamasına rağmen diğer Roma evlerinin resepsiyon odasında Ganymedes kompozisyonlarının kullanılmış olması benzer çağrışımlar taşıyor olmalıdır. *Triclinium*'da yer almış olan Ganymedes sahneleri ve Antiocheia örneği Ganymedes mitinin akşam yemeği aktivitesine uygun olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Mozaikler üzerinde Ganymedes'in kaçırılmasının (Kondoleon 1995: 126-127 fig. 74 (Volubilis mozaïği), Kondoleon 1995: 139 fig. 84 (El Jem mozaïği), Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4 (Viyana mozaïği) ve Olympos'daki yaşamının (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) anlatıldığı tasvirlerin etrafında yer alan figürlü sahneler incelendiğinde Mevsim motiflerinin tercih edilen figürler arasında yer aldığı görülmektedir. Söz konusu bu kombinasyonda yani Ganymedes, dört mevsim figürleri ile birlikte tasvir edildiğinde; mutluluğu arttıran ve iyi şansın sembolü olarak kabul edilmiş olmalıdır (Huskinson 2015: 141). Bunun yanı sıra Ganymedes tasvirlerinin etrafında yer alan diğer figürlü sahneler arasında Zeus'un aşkları (Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği), vahşi hayvanlar (Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 13 (Sousse (Arsenal) mozaïği) ve Kondoleon 1995: 140 fig. 85 (İtalya mozaïği), dans eden Maenadlar (Phillips 1960: 244, fig. 4 (Bignor Mozaïği) ve Herakles'in işleri (Kondoleon 1995: 126-127 fig. 74 (Volubilis mozaïği) yer almaktadır. Ganymedes sahnesini çeviren geometrik motifler içerisinde en çok basit örgü motifi tercih edilmiştir (Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4 (Orbe mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 136 fig. 81 (Nea Paphos mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 140 fig. 85 (İtalya mozaïği), Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği). Döşeme mozaiklerinde Ganymedes sahnelerinin dikdörtgen biçiminde (Phillips 1960: 244 fig. 4 (Morgantina mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 15 (Roma-Baccano mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 144 fig. 5 (Astigitanus mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 8 (New York mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 136 fig. 81 (Nea Paphos mozaïği) ve Claudiopolis mozaïği) olmasının yanı sıra daha çok bir madalyon içerisinde (Phillips 1960: 256 fig. 12 (Sousse (Trocadero) mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 257 fig. 13 (Sousse (Arsenal) mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 258 fig. 16 (Bignor Mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 258 fig. 17 (Orbe mozaïği); Phillips 1960: 259 fig. 18 (Viyana mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 139 fig. 84 (El Jem mozaïği); Kondoleon 1995: 140 fig. 85 (İtalya mozaïği); Cimok 2000: 111 (Antiocheia mozaïği); Jiménez 2020: 146 fig. 7 (Sevilla mozaïği) yer alması tercih edilmiştir.

Claudiopolis Ganymedes mozaïği; kentteki bir Roma villasının zemininde yer almış olan bir taban mozaïğidir. Dikdörtgen bir biçimde düzenlenmiş olan mozaïge kompozisyon enlemesine yerleştirilmiştir. Mozaïğin tek panodan oluşması, figürlerin açıklı-koyulu gölgelendirmelerle tonlanarak hacimlendirilmesi dolayısıyla kuvvetli ışık ve gölge oyunları mozaikteki Hellenistik Dönem sanat geleneğinin etkisine işaret etmektedir. Sahne açık havada geçmektedir. Doğal zemin Ganymedes ve kartal'ın ayaklarının altındaki gölgelendirmelerle belirtilmiştir. Doğal ortamın göstergesi olan kaya, ağaç ve bitki motifleri tamamen ortadan kaldırılmıştır. Kartal'ın 4/3 duruşu, sol ayağının önde, sağ ayağının geride olması, kanatlarının hafifçe yanlara açılması; Ganymedes'in sol bacağını sağ bacağının önüne yerleştirerek bacaklarını çaprazlaması, sol



kolunu pedestala yaslaması ve sağ kolunu yana açması ile mekan derinliği sağlanmıştır. Ganymedes'in bacaklarını çaprazlayarak yaslanma pozunu; orijinali Hellenistik Dönem'e dayanan ve Roma döneminde kopya edilmiş heykellerinin (Sichtermann 1988: 155, no. 4, pl. 76) yanı sıra Roma dönemine ait yivli bir lahit üzerindeki sahnede (Huskinson 2015: 13 fig.1.5; Sichtermann 1988: 161 no. 110 pl. 83) de yer almıştır. Ganymedes'in bu duruş biçimi mozaikler üzerindeki diğer figürlere de uygulanmıştır (Antiocheia Kırmızı Döşeme Evi mozaïği üzerinde yer alan Adonis figürü bkz. Levi 1947: pl. XIV; Tarragona, Perseus ve Andromeda mozaïğindeki Perseus figürü bkz. Blazquez 2011: 147 fig.17; Zeugma'daki Dionysos ve Ariadne'nin evliliğinin tasvir edildiği mozaik üzerindeki genç erkek figürü bkz. Önal 2009: 80-81).

Antiocheia Açık Büfe Akşam Yemeği Evi'ndeki Ganymedes mozaïği'nin (İS 3.yüzyılın başları), (Cimok 2000: 111) Ganymedes'in, merkez panonun sağ tarafında yer alması, khlamys'in sağ omuz üzerinde tutturulması, arkaya atılması ve öne alınarak sol kolun üzerinden sarkıtılması, sağ kolunu yana doğru açarak sağ tarafında yer alan kartala sağ elinde yer alan kadeh ile içki sunması ve kartal'ın merkez panonun sol tarafında yer alması gibi Claudiopolis Ganymedes mozaïği ile ortak olan özellikleri onların aynı orijinalin kopyaları olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Antiocheia mozaiklerinde de basit örgü motifi Claudiopolis mozaïğinde olduğu gibi figürlü panelin çerçevesi olarak yer almış (Cimok 2000: figs. 27, 57, 121, 136, 146, 185, 194) ve aynı zamanda kesişen daireler motifi bordürde kullanılmıştır (Cimok 2000: 42). Bunun yanı sıra Antiocheia Adonis mozaïğinde yer alan Adonis figürünün (Res. 9 a-b) bacaklarını çaprazladığı yaslanma hareketi ve sol kolu üzerindeki khlamys düzenlemesiyle Claudiopolis mozaïğindeki Ganymedes figürü ile taşıdığı benzerlik bu iki figürün aynı kopya kitabından kopya edilmiş olduğu düşüncesini akla getirmektedir.



Resim 9a-b  
Antiocheia Adonis Mozaïği (Antioch Expedition Archives, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University).

Farklı bir mitolojik konu işlenmiş olmasına rağmen Prusias ad Hypium Orpheus mozaïği (Res.10-11), (İS 3.yüzyılın sonu-4.yüzyılın başları), (Sezer 2015: 124 fig. 1) figürlü panelin etrafını basit örgü bandının ve kesişen dairelerin çevirmesinin yanı sıra basit örgü motifinin ilmeklerindeki renk tonlamaları ve ışık-gölge etkisinin oluşturulmasıyla Claudiopolis Ganymedes mozaïği ile ortak özellikler taşımaktadır.



Dolayısıyla Claudiopolis Ganymedes mozaïği sahip olduđu stilistik ve ikonografik özellikler itibariyle İS. 3.yüzyılın sonu-4.yüzyılın başlarına tarihlendirilebilir.

Claudiopolis ve Prusias ad Hypium kentlerinin Bithynia Bölgesi'nde yer alması dolayısıyla coğrafi yakınlıkları gözönüne alındığında Prusias ad Hypium ve Claudiopolis mozaïğinde tercih edilen ortak motif kombinasyonu sebebiyle bu mozaikleri aynı ustanın ya da aynı atölyeye ait ustaların üretmiş olması ihtimal dahilindedir.

Sonuç olarak Claudiopolis mozaïği güneyin etkisi altında Antiocheia civarından gelen bir usta tarafından veya güneyden getirtilen bir kopya kitabı dikkate alınarak Claudiopolis civarındaki bir atölye tarafından yapılmış olmalıdır.

Resim 10  
Prusias ad Hypium Orpheus Mozaïği (Foto: Yazar).

Resim 11  
Prusias ad Hypium Orpheus Mozaïği basit örgü bandı detayı (Foto: Yazar).

Ganymedes Figürü									
Ganymedes Mozaikleri	Merkez panonun sol tarafında	Merkez panonun sağ tarafında	Ayakta	Oturur	Khlamys	Phryg başlığı	Ayaklarında bot ile	Ayakları çıplak	Pedum
Claudiopolis	-	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	x
Antiocheia	-	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	-
Sevilla	-	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	-
Astigitanus	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	-
New York	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-

Kartal Figürü				
Ganymedes Mozaikleri	Merkez panonun sol tarafında	Merkez panonun sağ tarafında	Zeminde	Pedestal üzerinde
Claudiopolis	x	-	x	-
Antiocheia	x	-	-	-
Sevilla	x	-	-	x
Astigitanus	-	x	-	x
New York	-	x	x	-

Tablo 1  
Ganymedes'in Kartal'a İçki Sunarken Tasvir Edildiği Döşeme Mozaikleri'nin Karşılaştırılması.

Geometrik Bordür				
G a n y m e d e s Mozaikleri	Basit Örgü Motifi	Kesişen Daireler Motifi	Figürlü Bordür	Mimari Dekorasyondaki Yeri
Claudiopolis	x	x	-	?
Antiocheia	-	-	-	?
Sevilla	x	-	Zeus'un Aşkları - Mevsimler	?
Astigitanus	-	-	Zeus'un Aşkları - Mevsimler	<i>Triclinium</i>
New York	-	-	-	?

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# Piazza Armerina. Les soi-disant personnifications de *Mauretania* et *India* aux extrémités du portique de la Grande Chasse

## Piazza Armerina. Büyük Av Portiğinin Her İki Ucunda *Mauretania* ve Hindistan'ın Sözde Kişileştirmeleri

Brigitte STEGER\*

(Received 14 January 2022, accepted after revision 22 September 2022)

### Abstract

#### *Piazza Armerina. The So-Called Personifications of Mauretania and India at Each End of the Great Hunt Portico*


*What is the meaning of the images in the apses on the Great Hunt Corridor? Are the personifications in the center of the two mosaics alluding to geographical entities, as has been the case put forward so far? If so, this begs the question "which ones?". The analysis of each pavement is followed up by a short round-up and discussion of current hypotheses. By taking support from a set of iconographical and textual parallels, we have sought to achieve a better understanding of these images. Lastly, we provide some insights to show how these mosaics fit into the decorative program of the Great Hunt corridor to which they pertain.*

**Keywords:** *Mosaics, iconography, personification, geography, barbarians, climates, late Antiquity, animals.*

### Öz

*Büyük Av koridorundaki apsislerdeki görüntülerin anlamı nedir? İki mozağin ortasındaki kişileştirmeler, şimdiye kadar ortaya konulduğu gibi coğrafi varlıklara mı gönderme yapmaktadır? Eğer öyleyse, bu "hangileri?" sorusunu akla getirmektedir. Her bir döşemenin analizi yapıldıktan sonra, mevcut hipotezlerin kısa bir özeti verilecek tartışılacaktır. Bir dizi ikonografik ve metinsel paralellikten destek alarak, bu görüntülerin daha iyi anlaşılması sağlanmaya çalışılacaktır. Son olarak, bu mozaiklerin ait oldukları Büyük Av koridorunun dekoratif programına nasıl uyum gösterdiğini açıklamak için bazı bilgiler sağlanacaktır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Mozaikler, ikonografi, kişileştirme, coğrafya, barbarlar, iklimler, Geç Antik Çağ, hayvanlar.*

\* Brigitte Steger, chercheur associé, AOrOc Archéologie et philologie d'Orient et d'Occident UMR 8546 (CNRS-ENS-EPHE-PSL) Centre Henri Stern de recherche sur la mosaïque antique, CNRS-ENS, Paris 45 rue d'Ulm, F-75230 Paris Paris Cedex 05. 19 rue de Rome, 75008, Paris, France.  
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0783-4687>. E-mail: [coderestegeer@yahoo.fr](mailto:coderestegeer@yahoo.fr)

Le décor du portique de la Grande Chasse à la villa du Casale<sup>1</sup> (Fig.1) se compose d'un ensemble de trois pavements. Sur la mosaïque centrale qui mesure 60 m de long sur 4 m 50 de large, nous voyons la capture d'une variété de bêtes sauvages au moyen de divers pièges et leurres. Les animaux captifs sont

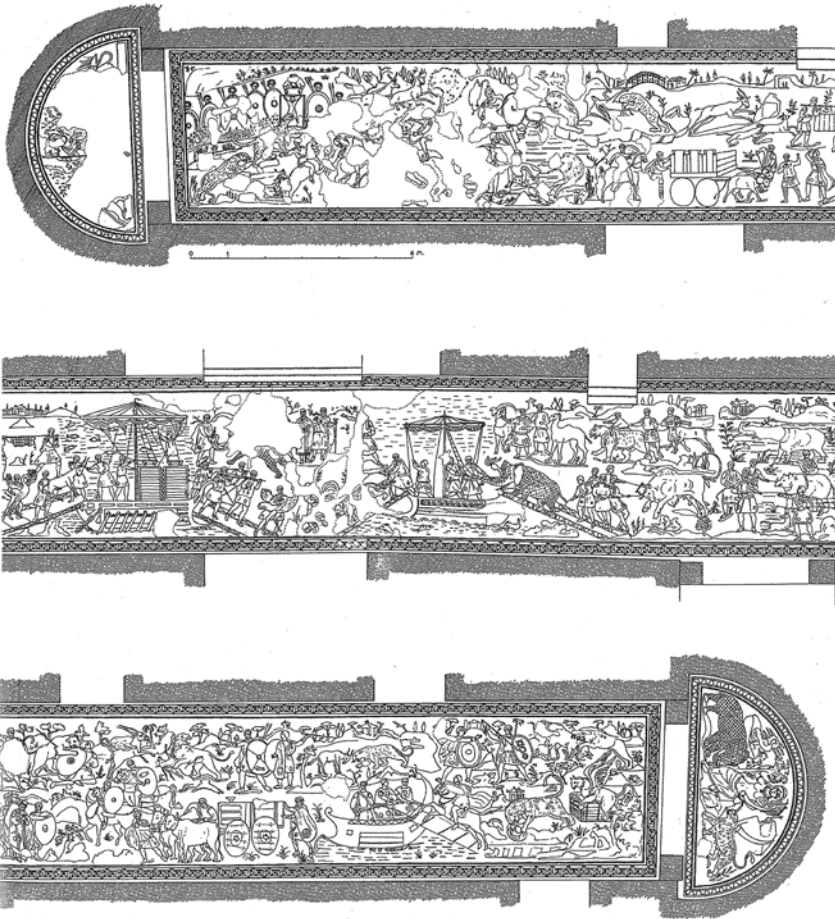


Figure 1  
dessin ; les trois pavements du portique de  
la Grande chasse d'après Steger 2017 : 77  
fig. 62.

ensuite acheminés vers deux navires pour une traversée maritime, évoquée au moyen du raccourci visuel de l'embarquement et du débarquement des animaux de part et d'autre d'un même navire. Le débarquement des animaux est figuré vers le centre du portique, au niveau de l'entrée d'une vaste salle d'apparat de plan basilical, sans doute l'espace au statut le plus important de cette villa. Carandini - Ricci - de Vos (1982 : 50-52) ont avancé l'hypothèse que le thème de la capture des animaux sur le pavement de la Grande Chasse, faisait allusion à la préparation de jeux offerts au peuple de Rome. De nombreux détails sur la mosaïque évoquent le *cursus publicus* (Carandini et al. 1982 : 96 ; Jones 1964 : 830-833) tels que le type de charriot, certains types de chevaux et de navires. Parmi les nombreux personnages mis en scène dans ce grand tableau, beaucoup portent des uniformes sans ceinturon. L'absence du *cingulum* indique qu'il ne s'agit pas d'uniformes militaires mais, plutôt de livrées. Or, les *hippocomii* ou *muliones*, esclaves qui constituaient la main d'œuvre attachée aux relais de poste du *cursus publicus*, auraient porté de telles livrées de fonction (Carandini

<sup>1</sup> Principales monographies: Carandini - Ricci - de Vos 1982 ; Pace 1955 ; Wilson 1983 ; Gentili 1999 ; Steger 2017 ; Pensabene-Barresi 2019. Sur ces pavements : Gentili 1962 ; Daltrop 1969 ; Carandini et al. 1982 : 94-103(*addendum*) et 194-230 ; Mielsch 1989 : 459- 466 ; Muth 1999 :189-212 ; Pensabene 2009 :71-75 ; Settis 1975 : 944-956 ; Wilson 2005 :153-170 ; Steger 2017 :75-127. Je remercie le professeur David Parrish de m'avoir permis de présenter certaines idées développées dans cet article lors du colloque organisé par l'AIEMA North American Branch, au Baltimore Museum of Art en octobre 2017.

et al.1982 : 96 ; Jones 1964). Sur le pavement, les scènes de captures et de transport animalier se déroulent dans divers territoires que différencient certains éléments de paysages et quelques structures architecturales miniaturisées (Settis 1975 : 955). En raison de sa forme très allongée et de l'inclusion de certains détails similaires à ceux qui étaient en usage en cartographie, le pavement peut faire songer aux cartes antiques (Settis 1975 : 945-956) même s'il ne s'agit pas d'une carte géographique véritable (Mielsch 1989 : 459-466 ; Dunbabin 1999 : 133 n.12 ; Steger 2017 : 82-84). Il n'est cependant pas impossible que cette représentation d'un vaste territoire composé de différents types de paysages, traversé par le *cursus publicus* puisse évoquer l'étendue de l'Empire romain.

Les pavements qui nous intéressent, se situent à chaque extrémité de la mosaïque de la Grande Chasse avec laquelle, ils constituent un ensemble tripartite. Ces deux mosaïques absidales possèdent une composition similaire (Fig. 2 a et b) : un personnage féminin de grande taille que tous s'accordent à identifier comme une personnification, occupe le centre du tableau, des animaux d'espèces différentes figurant de part et d'autre de la personnification centrale. Les avis divergent, toutefois, sur l'identification plus précise de cette dernière. Plusieurs provinces de l'Empire et régions du monde ont été proposées, chacune de ces hypothèses présentant une ou plusieurs difficultés.

Figure 2 a - b

a : dessin ; la mosaïque de l'abside sud d'après Gentili 1959.

b : dessin ; la mosaïque de l'abside nord d'après Gentili 1959.



### La mosaïque de l'abside sud (Fig. 3)

Ce tapis mesure 3,10 m. de hauteur sur 5,58 m. de large. La personnification centrale est assise parmi des rochers, à l'ombre d'un arbuste. Hormis ce végétal, le paysage alentour est aride et minéral. La personnification possède l'apparence d'une femme de couleur, à la longue chevelure luxuriante et sombre. La texture des cheveux est souple et bouclée. La personnification a les pieds nus et son costume se résume à un tissu très léger de couleur brun rouge enroulé autour de la moitié inférieure du corps. Un pan de ce vêtement remonte à l'arrière du personnage pour retomber sur son épaule gauche. L'extrême finesse du tissu qui rend ce vêtement presque transparent suggère une étoffe de soie ou de mousseline de coton. Nous observons aussi qu'un écheveau de



Figure 3

Piazza Armerina ; portique de la Grande Chasse, mosaïque de l'abside sud, d'après Steger 2017 : 89 fig. 72.

même couleur est suspendu à une branche fichée entre les rochers à droite de la personnification. Contrairement à ce qui a été avancé nous ne croyons pas qu'il s'agisse de *formidines* destinés à effrayer les éléphants pour les rabattre en direction de chasseurs (*contra* Settis 1975 suivi par Carandini et al. 1982 : 230 et Wilson 2005 : 164). Cette proposition ne s'intègre pas véritablement au contexte de la mosaïque de l'abside sud dont l'image ne fait pas directement référence à la chasse. Les fils de l'écheveau présentent de très petites marques d'indentation comme s'ils venaient d'être dévidés d'une pelote ou d'un cocon. Au nombre des bijoux qui complètent le costume de la personnification, figurent notamment un diadème constitué d'une fine bande argentée, un collier agrémenté d'un médaillon circulaire et trois bracelets. Les grands yeux noirs de la personnification sont tournés vers l'arbuste auprès duquel elle est assise. Son bras droit s'enroule autour du tronc et, de sa main levée, le personnage semble indiquer quelque chose parmi les branches de l'arbre. Or, nous ne repérons aucun fruit et pas le moindre oiseau dans la ramure de l'arbre (*contra* Toynbee 1973 : 29). Selon R. J. A. Wilson (2005 : 153), la personnification est en train de montrer une goutte de sève de couleur jaune perlant de l'une des branches, avant de couler le long du tronc. Bien que son feuillage ne soit pas très différencié, la forme générale de l'arbuste peut effectivement faire songer à celle de l'oliban, espèce productrice d'encens, présente aussi bien dans la péninsule arabique que sur la côte orientale de l'Afrique (Wilson 2005 : 162-164). En guise d'attribut, la personnification soulève au creux du bras gauche une grande défense d'ivoire, tandis qu'une seconde défense d'ivoire repose à proximité, calée par les rochers et légèrement en arrière-plan du personnage central. À l'extrémité droite de la mosaïque, figurent un tigre femelle et, à l'extrémité gauche, un éléphant. Les grandes oreilles et le dos concave de ce dernier permettent de l'identifier comme un éléphant de type africain (Toynbee 1973 : 29 ; Wilson 2005). Au-dessus de l'éléphant, au niveau supérieur de la mosaïque, à gauche de l'arbuste, un petit bûcher se consume sur un rocher. Parmi les flammes, nous distinguons un oiseau à la tête radiée, identifiable au mythique phénix, originaire de l'Inde (Van den Broeck 1972). Il se racontait aussi qu'au terme d'une durée de vie de 500 ans, cet oiseau gagnait l'Égypte pour s'immoler par le feu à Héliopolis et mieux renaître de ses cendres. En ce qui concerne la mosaïque de l'abside sud, le symbole de l'astre solaire autour de la tête de l'oiseau, combiné aux motifs de flammes induit l'idée d'intense chaleur et de soleil brûlant. Le costume, la couleur de peau, la posture de la personnification installée à l'ombre de l'arbuste, l'aridité du paysage, essentiellement composé de rochers renforcent cette impression.



### Hypothèses relatives à la mosaïque de l'abside sud

La personnification de l'abside sud est-elle identifiable à *Africa* comme l'ont proposé plusieurs chercheurs (Cultrera 1940 : 130 ; Gentili 1959 : 22 ; Carandini 1967 : 104) ? Sont absentes la coiffure courte ou mi longue, à bouclettes (boucles libyques) et la coiffe à la tête d'éléphant (*proboscis*) qui caractérisent *Africa* sur les images (Leglay 1981 : 250-255) (Fig. 4 et 9). En outre, la

Figure 4  
Mosaïque de la déesse *Africa* et des saisons, détail *Africa*, El Jem, musée d'El Jem, d'après Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1996 : 16 fig. 1.



tigresse, le phénix et l'oliban ne figurent sur aucune représentation identifiée d'*Africa*. Enfin, la couleur de peau de la personnification ne correspond pas non plus à celle d'*Africa* telle qu'elle est ordinairement figurée, par exemple sur les mosaïques d'El Jem (Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1996 : 16 fig. 1 et 29 fig. 8). L'identification de la personnification à *Libya* proposée par Catani (1987 : 398-399) ne fonctionne pas non plus. En étudiant les représentations attestées de *Libya*, telles qu'elles figurent sur plusieurs monnaies du règne d'Hadrien, on ne repère aucun des attributs spécifiques à la personnification de l'abside (Zagdoun 1992 : 286 n. 14 ; Wilson 2005 : 158). À cause de l'oliban, certains ont avancé que la personnification était identifiable à *Arabia* (Neutsch 1954 : col. 578 ; Gentili 1999 : 90-1). Si le chameau est l'animal parfois représenté à ses côtés, on ne trouve la tigresse et l'éléphant sur aucune représentation attestée d'*Arabia*

(Balty 1984). Donc cette hypothèse est également à écarter. L'Égypte a aussi été proposée pour la personnification de l'abside sud, avant changement d'avis par Carandini (1970-1971 : 131). Mais cette hypothèse, temporairement adoptée par Gentili (1959 : 22) ne fonctionne pas non plus. L'un des attributs le plus fréquent de l'Égypte, le sistre (Fig. 5) ne figure pas sur la mosaïque de l'abside



Figure 5  
Mosaïque de l'allégorie de Rome et des provinces ; détail : l'Égypte, El Jem, Musée d'El Jem, d'après Blanchard- Lemée et al. 1996 : 30 fig. 9.

sud. De plus, la coiffure traditionnelle d'*Agyptos* et sa couleur de peau ne correspondent pas non plus à celle de la personnification au centre du pavement de la villa sicilienne. Enfin, ce n'est jamais la tigresse mais parfois l'ibis que l'on voit aux côtés des représentations attestées de l'Égypte (Jentel 1981). L'Orient avancé par L'Orange (1965 : 93-94), a été envisagé comme une possibilité par Carandini (1970-1971 : 131), Kähler (1973 : 33), Settis-Frugoni (1975 : 22), Wilson (1983 : 24) et Salcedo (1996 : 117-121). Pourtant l'image ne correspond pas vraiment aux représentations antiques attestées d'*Oriens* (Balty 1994). Sur la mosaïque cosmologique de Mérida, par exemple, le personnage d'*Oriens* est coiffé d'une couronne radiée, allusion aux rayons du soleil levant (Fig. 6), or, ce n'est pas le cas de la personnification de l'abside sud. Sans compter que l'éléphant africain n'aurait pas sa place auprès d'une personnification d'*Oriens*. L'hypothèse d'*Asia* a été proposée par Kähler (1973 : 33) et Marrou (1978 : 285). Cependant, l'éléphant d'Afrique qui figure auprès de la personnification, ne plaide pas en faveur de cette supposition. Optant pour une évocation d'ordre plus général, B. Pace (1955 : 67-68) avait émis l'hypothèse qu'il s'agissait de Gé, *Tellus* à l'époque romaine, c'est-à-dire la Terre mère, fertile. Cependant cette hypothèse de Pace n'a guère emporté l'adhésion. Il suffit, en effet, de considérer le paysage sec et rocailleux autour de la personnification au centre de l'abside sud et l'absence de *cornucopia*, de fruits, de fleurs et de bambins, éléments qui figurent ordinairement sur les représentations attestées de *Gé* (Ghisellini 1994). Même si *Gé* est représentée assise et, parfois, la poitrine nue, comme cela est le cas sur une mosaïque syrienne de Philippopolis où elle est entourée de quatre *karpoi* (Fig. 7), cette supposition peut être écartée. Toutes les hypothèses

Figure 6  
Mosaïque cosmologique de Mérida ; détail : *Oriens*, ENS-CNRS /photothèque Henri Stern.



Figure 7

Mosaïque d'Aïon de Shaba Philippopolis ;  
détail : *Gé*, ENS-CNRS/photothèque Henri  
Stern.



antérieures s'avérant problématiques, sur une proposition initiale de Settis (1975 : 951), Carandini et al. (1982 : 103 et 228 fig. 131) a finalement opté pour *India*. Mais, plus récemment R.J.A. Wilson (2005 :165-167) a argumenté en faveur d'*Aethiopia*. Concernant la personnification de l'abside sud, il est pourtant parfaitement impossible de trancher en faveur de l'Inde ou de l'Éthiopie, la représentation d'un éléphant de type africain auprès d'*India*, ou celle d'une tigresse auprès d'*Aethiopia* s'érigeant manifestement en porte-à-faux par rapport à l'une et l'autre de ces hypothèses. À l'issue de ce récapitulatif des différentes hypothèses avancées jusqu'à ce jour, nous en déduisons qu'il est impossible d'identifier la personnification de l'abside sud à une province romaine. En se référant à la couleur de peau mais aussi au costume de la personnification, on peut affirmer que cette dernière est représentée comme barbare (Steger 2017 : 88-92). En outre, elle est figurée comme une commerçante proposant à la vente l'ivoire, l'encens et la mousseline de coton ou la soie (Steger 2017 : 90). Nous savons que les élites romaines étaient particulièrement friandes de ces produits de grand luxe en provenance d'ailleurs lointains. Le décor de l'abside n'a probablement pas été créé pour correspondre à l'évocation d'une seule région géographique. Plusieurs études récentes mettent, par ailleurs, en lumière une confusion récurrente, dans les sources textuelles gréco-romaines, entre l'Inde et l'Éthiopie (Muckensturm-Poule 2015 : 71-89; Schneider 2016 : 184-202). Dès la période hellénistique, ces deux contrées ont été présentées comme des terres de merveilles, similaires par leur climat et leur position géographique. Ainsi, pour les Anciens, l'Inde et l'Éthiopie appartenaient à la zone climatique chaude et constituaient les limites orientales et méridionales du monde habité, loin du monde civilisé situé dans la zone climatique tempérée. En conséquence, nous pensons que le pavement de l'abside sud fait à la fois référence à l'Inde et à l'Éthiopie, limites orientales et méridionales du monde habité. Nous croyons, en outre, que ce décor renvoie à une tradition savante, largement inspirée par la théorie environmentaliste ou théorie des climats (Ferrary 2014 : 382-394 ; Steger 2017 : 88-92) selon laquelle le monde connu est divisé en trois zones principales, ce qui est précisément le cas du programme décoratif du portique de la Grande Chasse. De part et d'autre, au-delà du monde civilisé qui occupe la partie centrale du monde et correspond aussi à la zone climatique tempérée, il existe des mondes barbares situés dans les zones climatiques extrêmes. Lorsque nous considérons la légèreté du vêtement et la peau noire de la personnification, il est raisonnable de penser que le décor

de l'abside sud évoque les mondes barbares issus de la zone climatique chaude. L'image du légendaire phénix renvoie sans doute aussi à la chaleur brûlante qui caractérise cette partie du monde habité.

### La théorie environnementaliste

La théorie environnementaliste ou théorie des climats se rencontre dans de nombreux textes antiques. Vitruve (*De architectura* VI, 1, édition dirigée par P. Gros : 388-395) en fournit un exemple lorsqu'il écrit à propos des barbares issus de la zone climatique chaude :

« en revanche les habitants des régions voisines de la partie sud de l'axe du monde et placés sous la trajectoire du soleil reçoivent, de l'énergie solaire, une taille plus petite, un teint brun, des cheveux frisés, des yeux noirs, des jambes torsées, peu de sang. Il s'ensuit également que ce peu de sang leur fait redouter d'affronter une arme, mais ils ne redoutent ni la canicule, ni les fièvres, la chaleur étant le milieu où leurs membres se sont développés. » (Vitruve *De architectura* VI, 1, 4 : 391).

« C'est pareillement à cause de la légèreté de l'air que les populations du Sud, auxquelles la chaleur donne un esprit vif, manifestent une grande facilité et une grande rapidité de réflexion et de discernement ; » (Vitruve VI, 1, 9 : 395)

« Mais si les populations du Sud ont une intelligence très vive et une immense capacité de discernement, elles se retrouvent sans force dès l'instant où elles ont à faire acte de courage : leur bravoure et leur énergie sont taries par le soleil. » (Vitruve VI, 1, 10 : 395)

En ce qui concerne le décor de l'abside sud, nous aboutissons au constat qu'il s'agit d'une image globalisante, constituée d'un agrégat de détails pittoresques. Cette image qui a été très soigneusement structurée, reprend et véhicule un certain nombre des poncifs relatifs à la barbarie vivant en Éthiopie et en Inde, aux confins méridionaux et orientaux du monde habité, c'est-à-dire la barbarie issue de la zone climatique chaude selon la théorie environnementaliste. Cette théorie pseudo-scientifique était fondée sur la croyance que les climats auraient possédé une influence déterminante, non seulement sur le physique mais aussi sur les capacités intellectuelles et les caractéristiques morales des peuples.

### La mosaïque de l'abside nord (Fig. 8)

Ce tapis qui mesure 5,73 m de large sur 3,20 m de haut, est malheureusement moins bien préservé que celui de l'abside sud. En arrière-plan, nous distinguons une forêt dense composée de feuillus sur la gauche et de résineux sur la droite. Du haut de son imposante stature, le personnage féminin qui se dresse au centre de l'image, pose sur le monde un regard d'une fixité inquiétante. Cette personnification a la peau claire, les yeux gris et les cheveux longs et roux. Son costume se compose de plusieurs couches de vêtements chauds : une chemise à manches longues, une robe de laine très épaisse et une cape en fourrure à poil long. Outre le diadème en or qui orne sa chevelure, elle porte des anneaux aux oreilles et, à son cou, un torque d'or semblable à ceux portés par les guerriers des tribus celtes et germaniques. Ce type de bijou en était venu à symboliser la valeur guerrière chez les romains qui l'utilisaient en tant que distinction honorifique attribuée aux soldats émérites. Au niveau de la poitrine, la cape de la personnification est maintenue fermée par une grande fibule discoïde dont la large tête plate et circulaire est ornée d'un umbo central bleu gris. Les fibules discoïdes étaient

Figure 8  
Piazza Armerina ; portique de la Grande Chasse, mosaïque de l'abside nord d'après Steger 2017 : 88 fig. 71.



en usage chez certaines tribus barbares germaniques et wisigothiques. Une large ceinture dorée, incrustées de cabochons colorés à la mode wisigothique, ceint la taille de la personnification. Cette dernière tient une lance dans la main droite. Nous remercions Jean-Pierre Laporte d'avoir attiré notre attention sur le fait que la personnification portait également sur le dos un carquois dont l'extrémité se distingue au-dessus de son épaule gauche. Malgré l'état lacunaire de la partie basse du tableau, de part et d'autre de la personnification, il est possible de restituer la moitié inférieure du corps, la queue et les pattes arrière d'un lion à l'extrémité gauche et d'une panthère à l'extrémité droite de l'image. Le costume, en particulier, la cape fabriquée dans la fourrure épaisse et ocellée d'un félin et les bijoux ethniques permettent d'identifier la personnification en tant que barbare. Dotée d'une lance et d'un carquois, la personnification a été figurée comme une valeureuse guerrière, ce que signale aussi le torque à son cou. Sa posture et son regard fixe laissent penser que ce personnage belliqueux, hostile et borné ne va pas tarder à en découdre.

#### Hypothèses relatives à la mosaïque de l'abside nord

Plusieurs chercheurs ont proposé d'identifier la personnification de l'abside nord à *Africa* (L'Orange 1965 ; Kähler 1973 ; Marrou 1978 ; Dunbabin 1978 : 203 note 32 qui a aussi proposé l'Occident). Mais, *Africa* qui est volontiers représentée sous les traits d'une mère nourricière, est ordinairement identifiable grâce à la dépouille d'éléphant dont elle est coiffée, la trompe et les défenses de cet animal encadrant son visage comme sur les mosaïques d'El Jem (Fig. 9). Or, ce n'est pas ce que nous voyons dans l'abside nord. Par conséquent, cette

Figure 9  
Mosaïque de l'allégorie de Rome et des provinces ; détail : *Africa*, El Jem, Musée d'El Jem, d'après Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1996 : 29 fig. 8.



hypothèse est à écarter. Une identification à *Armenia* avait aussi été avancée sans justification probante (Gentili 1952 ; 1966 : 31) mais l'hypothèse qui est revenue le plus fréquemment pour la personnification de l'abside nord est celle de *Mauretania* (Carandini 1964, 1967, 1970-1971 ; Settis 1975 : 951 ; Carandini et al. 1982 : 84 et 195 fig. 103). Cette identification présente néanmoins plusieurs

difficultés. Les représentations de *Mauretania* dans l'art romain ont été bien étudiées (Ostrowski 1990 ; Ganschow 1997 ; Laporte 2010). Si l'on se fonde sur les représentations attestées de *Mauretania*, notamment sur monnaies (Fig. 10), celle-ci a ordinairement l'apparence d'une jeune-fille, vêtue d'une simple et courte tunique (*exomis*). Sa chevelure, souvent courte ou mi-longue, est constituée de bouclettes circulaires, appelées boucles libyques qui recouvrent le front et tombent librement sur les épaules (Fig. 11). L'Afrique ou l'Égypte possèdent parfois, elles aussi, ce même type de coiffure bien identifiable, notamment sur les mosaïques romano-africaines d'El Jem (Fig 4 ; Fig. 5). Or, le costume et la coiffure de la personnification de l'abside nord ne correspondent pas du tout à cela. Contrairement au personnage de la mosaïque sicilienne, les représentations attestées de *Mauretania* ne portent aucun bijou. Sur certaines monnaies, *Mauretania* tient un cheval par la bride et d'autres fois un *vexillum* (Fig.10). Hormis la présence d'un cheval, on note parfois celle d'un chevreau ou un bouc, destinés à être sacrifié sur l'autel figuré au centre de certaines compositions sur lesquelles figure *Mauretania*. Finalement, le carquois constitue l'unique élément commun à la personnification de Piazza Armerina et à plusieurs représentations attestées de *Mauretania* (Fig. 11). Ce détail mis à part, force est de le constater : le type physique, le costume, les bijoux et la coiffure de la personnification de l'abside nord évoquent plutôt la barbarie germanique, wisigothique ou vandale. Nous en déduisons que le décor de l'abside nord, comme celui de l'abside sud, est composé d'un agrégat de détails relatifs à plusieurs peuplades barbares. Nous supposons que cet assemblage de détails réalistes et de poncifs ne fait pas simplement allusion à la Maurétanie. Ce décor fait référence à la barbarie issue des confins septentrionaux et occidentaux du monde habité, barbarie provenant de zones froides et humides, souvent montagneuses et assurément boisées.

Comme l'explique Vitruve, à propos de la barbarie originaire de ce type d'environnement :

« Dans les régions froides au contraire, très éloignées du Sud, l'humidité n'est pas absorbée par la chaleur : l'eau, dont est chargée l'atmosphère, imprègne les corps d'une humidité qui donne de plus fortes corpulences et un timbre de voix plus grave. De là, vient aussi que les populations vivant au Nord ont une taille gigantesque, le teint blanc, des cheveux raides et roux, des yeux bleu clair et beaucoup de sang, conformation qu'elles doivent à la saturation en humidité et au froid du climat. » (Vitruve VI 1, 3 : 391).

« Et il s'ensuit que, physiquement, les natifs du Nord redoutent, eux, la fièvre à laquelle ils sont vulnérables, mais qu'ils doivent à l'abondance de leur sang d'affronter une arme sans la redouter. » (Vitruve VI, 1, 4 : 391).

« Ceux qui, en revanche, naissent dans les régions froides sont, eux, parfaitement aptes à la violence des armes ; leur bravoure est grande et ils sont sans peur ; mais, lents d'esprit et se précipitant sans réfléchir, ils font échec, par leur manque de finesse, à leurs propres entreprises. » (Vitruve VI, 1, 10 : 395).

### Occurrences de la théorie environmentaliste à la période tardive

S. Settis (1975 : 944-956) avait naguère suggéré un rapprochement entre les décors des absides du portique de la Grande Chasse et une image qui figure sur un petit panneau tardif situé dans la zone inférieure de l'ivoire Barberini conservé au musée du Louvre (Fig. 12). On y voit des personnages que leurs costumes, coiffures et parures permettent immédiatement d'identifier en tant que



Figure 10  
*Mauretania* ; revers de monnaie commémorant l'*Adventus* d'Hadrien en Maurétanie d'après Laporte 2010 fig. 1.



Figure 11  
*Mauretania* ; relief sur l'*Hadrianeum* de Rome d'après Laporte 2010 fig. 3.



Figure 12  
L'ivoire Barberini, d'après Engemann 2014 :  
63 fig. 54.

barbares. Partant de chaque extrémité, groupés en deux processions distinctes, ils se dirigent vers le centre du panneau. Comme sur les mosaïques siciliennes, nous identifions en partant de l'extrémité gauche du panneau, les barbares issus de la zone climatique froide, comme l'indiquent leur vêtement épais, leurs bonnets de fourrure et leurs lourdes chaussures. À partir de l'extrémité droite, revêtus d'un simple pagne, les barbares issus de la zone climatique chaude s'avancent. Parmi cette double procession convergente, nous distinguons aussi des animaux exotiques. Des confins du monde habité, peuplades barbares et bêtes sauvages se pressent pour prendre part au triomphe d'un empereur romain, non identifié, dont l'image occupe largement le centre du panneau principal de l'ivoire Barberini. Ce décor est une mise en image de l'*aurum coronarium*, motif que l'on retrouve aussi sur la face nord-ouest de la base de l'obélisque de Théodose à Constantinople. Sur l'ivoire Barberini, la différence de proportions entre l'image de l'empereur et celle des peuplades barbares est très frappante. Outre ces proportions hiérarchiques, les barbares avancent courbés, dans une attitude servile alors que l'empereur se dresse majestueusement sur un fier et puissant destrier. Les barbares se dirigent vers un espace central qui donne l'impression d'être directement situé sous les sabots du cheval impérial. Espace dans lequel une victoire ailée nous invite du geste à lever les yeux vers l'image glorieuse de l'empereur triomphant. Aux côtés des barbares porteurs des tributs d'or et d'ivoire, cheminent une tigresse et un éléphant auprès des humains issus de la zone climatique chaude, tandis qu'un lion s'avance auprès de ceux originaires de la zone climatique froide. Le lion fait ici allusion à la sauvagerie et à la bravoure des peuplades barbares de la zone froide. De façon similaire, la tigresse et l'éléphant qui peuvent, certes, se rapporter à l'Inde et à l'Éthiopie, évoquent peut-être aussi des caractéristiques, supposément spécifiques à ces animaux et aux peuplades sauvages aux côtés desquelles ils figurent. En observant les bêtes sauvages sur ce bandeau d'ivoire, on repère, du reste, que leurs attitudes ont été délibérément calquées sur celles des humains auprès desquels elles cheminent. Ainsi, le lion avance en courbant l'échine comme le barbare immédiatement à ses côtés. De même, la trompe dressée de l'éléphant fait écho au geste de présentation, bras levé et main ouverte du barbare qui figure auprès de cet animal. Tandis que le mouvement de la patte antérieure, tendue vers l'avant, de la tigresse, semble dupliquer le bras tendu du barbare qui avance auprès d'elle et ferme la marche à l'extrémité droite du tableau. Nous supposons que la création de ces analogies visuelles n'a d'autre but que de suggérer la similitude. Barbares et bêtes sauvages se ressemblent. Dans les textes de l'Antiquité, l'éléphant est caractérisé par son intelligence (Elien *NA*, II, 11 ; III, 44 ; III, 45 ; VI, 56 ; VIII, 15) et la tigresse par sa férocité (Ambroise *Hexaemeron* VI : 4-21, in Migne *Patrologie Latine* XIV, col : 264-265 ; Pline *HN*, VIII, 18, 25). Dans la théorie environmentaliste, les barbares de la zone climatique chaude sont aussi caractérisés ainsi. S'ils font preuve de suffisamment d'intelligence pour tirer parti des trésors offerts par la nature, ils sont invariablement décrits dans ces textes, comme des êtres dépourvus de bravoure et peu enclins à l'effort. Cette mollesse supposée entraînant, selon les poncifs en circulation à Rome, un sens moral déficient, les barbares issus de cette zone climatique sont souvent présentés comme des êtres lascifs, sournois et cruels (Chauvot 2008 : 156-158). Comme sur l'ivoire Barberini, sur les mosaïques de la villa sicilienne, les barbares sont assimilés à certaines espèces animales. Les fauves figurés aux côtés de la barbarie de la zone climatique froide constituent autant d'allusions à la dangerosité des tribus issues de cette partie du monde. Comme le lion, ces barbares sont particulièrement belliqueux. Or cet animal, s'il fait preuve de bravoure et d'une remarquable ardeur guerrière, est malheureusement doté

d'une regrettable impulsivité (Elien, *NA*, IV, 3 et V, 39 ; Platon *Lachès* 196<sup>e</sup> ; République, X, 620b et XI, 588<sup>e</sup>). Des caractéristiques partagées par la panthère qui ne recule jamais et se bat jusqu'au bout, quelle que soit l'issue prévisible du combat (Elien, *NA*, XVII, 43). Par conséquent, cet animal, comme la barbarie issue de la zone climatique froide, a tendance à faire preuve de plus de courage que d'intelligence.

Au fil de l'Antiquité, la théorie environnementaliste, théorie pseudo-scientifique a été relayée par de nombreux auteurs tels qu'Aristote, Claude Ptolémée, Galien ou Vitruve dont nous citons plusieurs passages dans cet article. Aux environs de la période où les mosaïques de Piazza Armerina ont été créées, son influence est également repérable dans l'*Historia Augusta*, par exemple, dans un passage qui décrit le défilé des prisonniers barbares à l'occasion du triomphe d'Aurélien (*Hist. Aug., Div. Aur.* XXXIII, 4 et XXXIV, 1 : 1004-10005). Dans ce petit texte qui revêt la forme d'une énumération, le premier groupe de barbares mentionné est manifestement issu de la zone climatique chaude, les barbares issus de la zone climatique froide constituant un second groupe de prisonniers :

« Blemmyes, Axoumites, gens de l'Arabie Heureuse, Indiens, Bactriens, Sarrazins et Perses portant chacun leurs présents, Goths, Alains, Roxolans, Sarmates, Francs, Suèves, Vandales, Germains... »

## Conclusion

Les personnifications au centre des absides sud et nord du portique de la Grande Chasse évoquent la barbarie aux confins du monde habité. À travers le choix des vêtements et des bijoux, les personnifications expriment une identité autre que romaine, une altérité. Outre les stéréotypes physiques, les vêtements typiques, et les bijoux ethniques, nous avons pu relever la représentation de produits de luxe spécifiquement issus du commerce entre Rome et certains de ces mondes lointains. Le décor des absides fait allusion à des peuplades situées loin du monde civilisé, dans des zones reculées où la nature des sols, le relief ainsi que le climat sont défavorables au développement de l'agriculture et à celui des cités. Ces images, largement fondées sur des stéréotypes véhiculés par la théorie environnementaliste, témoignent d'une vision du monde ancrée depuis longtemps dans la culture et les écrits d'auteurs savants gréco-romains. Le contenu des images répercute des poncifs qui ont circulé à Rome pendant des siècles au sujet des mondes barbares. Pour les Romains, ces derniers sont, au mieux, perçus en tant que fournisseurs de produits de luxe, d'animaux exotiques et associés à de merveilleux récits, truffés d'anecdotes hautes en couleur, largement imaginaires. Mais le plus souvent, les mondes barbares sont considérés comme chaotiques car dépourvus de lois, des mondes effrayants, saturés de violence, de cruauté et de danger. Pour quelles raisons le commanditaire de ces décors sophistiqués a-t-il choisi de mettre en scène la théorie environnementaliste dans l'un des espaces d'apparat majeur de sa demeure ? Il est vrai que ces images traduisent un goût marqué pour l'exotisme que l'on retrouve aussi à cette période dans bien d'autres décors figurant des animaux originaires de pays lointains. À travers ce programme décoratif, on perçoit aussi l'intérêt et le goût de ce commanditaire pour une certaine forme d'érudition et de culture savante. Ces décors mettent également en exergue des différences essentielles qui séparent les Romains, peuple civilisé, de la barbarie et des bêtes sauvages. Comme les animaux, les barbares sont incapables de contrôler les passions qui les traversent, ce qui les empêche de privilégier la raison dans leur rapport au monde. En partant de sa partie centrale, ce programme met largement en scène la capture et la maîtrise des bêtes sauvages, un thème platonicien connu, une métaphore célèbre sur



la nécessité de la maîtrise des passions humaines (Settis 1975 : 981 ; Steger 2017 : 88-92 ; Steger à paraître ; Cicéron : *Rep.* II, 67-68). Par conséquent, ces images font également allusion à la nécessité pour chacun de dompter sa propre sauvagerie en exerçant le contrôle sur les passions de l'âme. Si les décors des absides renvoient, comme nous le croyons, aux mondes barbares issus des zones terrestres climatiques extrêmes, zones situées aux confins du monde habité, le décor du pavement principal, quant à lui, peut être interprété en tant que référence à l'étendue territoriale de l'empire romain. Comme autant de passions maîtrisées, les bêtes sauvages entravées sont conduites sous la contrainte jusqu'à la Ville pour y célébrer la victoire de Rome. À travers les multiples références au *cursus publicus*, vaste réseau routier, outil indispensable à la maîtrise territoriale par Rome de ses conquêtes, Rome est évoquée, ici, en tant que civilisatrice, garante de l'ordre du monde et de la raison. Au livre VI du *De Architectura*, Vitruve conclut ainsi le passage qu'il a dévolu à la théorie environmentaliste :

« Les dispositions que la nature a établies dans l'univers étant donc telles, et toutes les nations étant différenciées par le déséquilibre de leurs composantes, le territoire idéal, sur l'étendue de la terre entière et de ses régions, est celui qu'occupe, au centre du monde, le peuple romain. C'est de fait dans les populations d'Italie qu'en matière d'endurance, et sous le double rapport de la constitution physique et de la force morale, se rencontre l'équilibre le plus achevé. De même en effet que la planète Jupiter, se déplaçant à mi-distance entre la planète brûlante de Mars et la planète glacée de Saturne, est elle-même tempérée, de la même manière l'Italie, située entre Nord et Sud, possède, par la combinaison de cette double influence, un équilibre de qualités insurpassables : sa sagesse politique brise le courage des barbares, la force de son bras, les calculs des habitants du Sud. C'est ainsi que l'Intelligence divine a établi l'État romain dans une région tempérée exceptionnelle, de manière qu'il assure sa domination sur toute l'étendue du monde. » (Vitruve VI, 1, 10-11 : 395).

Comme l'indique ce texte, en relayant la théorie environmentaliste, les auteurs anciens l'ont, souvent intégrée à un discours de nature plus politique. Ce raisonnement pseudo-scientifique a commodément servi à expliquer et à justifier la domination que certains peuples de la zone tempérée, les Grecs puis les Romains, ont prétendu exercer sur le reste du monde. Le programme décoratif du portique de la Grande Chasse répercute, à plusieurs siècles de distance, la même vision romano-centriste et impérialiste du monde que le texte de Vitruve, affichant ainsi le conservatisme politique de ce *dominus*. Face à l'incertitude des temps, ce personnage réaffirme, en image, la supériorité immuable de Rome, de sa civilisation et de sa culture. La structure du programme décoratif possède un aspect rassurant dans la mesure où la place assignée aux peuples barbares, repoussés aux extrémités du portique, se limite clairement aux absides sans venir empiéter sur le monde civilisé.

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# The Late 4<sup>th</sup> - Early 5<sup>th</sup> c. Mosaic Pavements in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana in Thrace

## Trakya'daki Philippopolis ve Augusta Traiana'dan Geç 4. - Erken 5. Yüzyıla Tarihlenen Mozaik Döşemeler

Ivo TOPALILOV\*

(Received 15 January 2022, accepted after revision 28 September 2022)

*amico et collegae optimo*


### Abstract

*The present paper deals with the mosaic pavements that embellished the public buildings, semi-public and private houses between the 80s of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the first two decades of 5<sup>th</sup> c. in the two most important cities in late antique province of Thrace - Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana that are unearthed so far. This was a period of great significance for the mosaic development in both cities which though developed in different way until that time, were now united with the use of the full geometrization. Although already entered in the private mosaic pavements in Thrace in the time of the Tetrarchy, the full geometric composition did not receive wide acceptance in the aulæ of the private houses and the figural compositions with real emblema or pseudo-emblem are persistent. The inclusion of the Christianity into the new imperial ideology in the time of Theodosius I and Arcadius and the establishment of the symphonia between the State and Church reflected on the importance of the Christian bishop, but also impacted on the stylistic development of the mosaic art in both cities with the abrupt abandonment of any other compositions and motifs than the geometric in order to avoid any link with the paganism and its art. The examples studied reveal that the full, 'orthodox' geometric composition and motifs, with humble colouring, were distributed in the private houses of the Christian clergy, while these geometric mosaics with the inclusion of few specific symbols – in the Christian basilicas, related to the liturgical need. It is without any doubt that the mosaic pavements in the Christian basilicas inspired the mosaic pavement decoration of the aulæ of the elites in both cities since the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> c. onward and therefore the Christianity dominating the official and private culture. At last, but not at least are the figural compositions that with the inclusion of specific Christian symbols gained Christian connotation. The present study reveals the still underestimated importance of the mosaic pavements for the study of the development of the political process in Thrace in the Late antiquity and link them with specific historical events as it is attested also elsewhere.*

**Keywords:** Christianity, geometrization, mosaic pavement, aula, palatium.

### Öz

*Bu makale, Trakya'nın şimdiye kadar ortaya çıkarılmış Geç Antik Çağ'daki en önemli iki kenti Philippopolis ve Augusta Traiana'da 80'li yıllarda bulunan ve 4. yüzyıl ile 5. yüzyılın ilk yirmi yılına tarihlenen kamu binaları ile yarı resmi ve özel konutları süsleyen mozaik döşemeleri ele almaktadır. Bu, o zamana kadar farklı şekillerde gelişmiş, ancak bahsi geçen dönemde tam geometrik motif kullanımı ile karakterize olan her iki şehirde de mozaik gelişimi için çok önemli bir dönemdir. Trakya'daki özel mozaik döşemelere Tetrarşi döneminden itibaren rastlanılmasına rağmen, tam geometrik kompozisyon özel evlerin aulalarında geniş kabul görmemiştir ve gerçek amblemli veya sahte amblemli figürlü kompozisyonlarla karşılaşılmaktadır. I. Theodosius ve Arcadius döneminde Hristiyanlığın yeni imparatorluk ideolojisine dahil edilmesi ve Devlet ile Kilise arasında*

\* Ivo Topalilov, Institute of Balkan Studies with Center of Thracology "Prof. Alexander Fol" - Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 13 Moskovska Str., 1000 Sofia, Bulgaria  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0565-2054>. E-mail: ivo.topalilov@balkanstudies.bg; itopalilov@yahoo.com

uyumun sağlanması, Hristiyan piskoposunun önemini yansıttığı gibi, aynı zamanda paganizm ve sanatı ile herhangi bir bağlantıdan kaçınmak için geometrik öğeler dışındaki diğer kompozisyon ve motiflerin aniden terk edilmesiyle her iki şehirde de mozaik sanatının üslup gelişimi etkilenmiştir. İncelenen örnekler, mütevazı renklere sahip, tam, 'ortodoks' geometrik kompozisyon ve motiflerin Hristiyan din adamlarının özel evlerine dağıtıldığını, birkaç özel sembolün dahil edildiği bu geometrik mozaiklerin - litürjik bir gereksinim olarak Hristiyan bazilikalarında, Hristiyanlık ile ilgili olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Hiç şüphe yok ki, Hristiyan bazilikalarındaki mozaik döşemeler, 5. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren her iki şehirdeki seçkinlerin aulalarının mozaik döşeme süslemelerine ilham kaynağı olmuştur. Dolayısıyla resmi ve özel kültüre Hristiyanlık hakimdir. Sonucusu ama en önemlisi de, belirli Hristiyan sembollerinin dahil edilmesiyle birlikte Hristiyan çağrışımı kazanan figürlü kompozisyonlardır. Bu çalışma, Geç Antik Çağ'da Trakya'daki siyasi sürecin gelişiminin incelenmesi için mozaik döşemelerin hala hafife alınan önemini ortaya koymakta ve başka yerlerde de kantlandığı gibi bunları belirli tarihsel olaylarla ilişkilendirmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hristiyanlık, geometrizasyon, mozaik döşeme, aula, palatium.

With the completion of the administrative reform undertaken by Diocletian at the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> c., the old province of *Thracia* was split into six new provinces, the centre of which was the new late antique province of *Thrace* (Fig. 1). It consists of at least five major urban centers, two of which with clear Roman

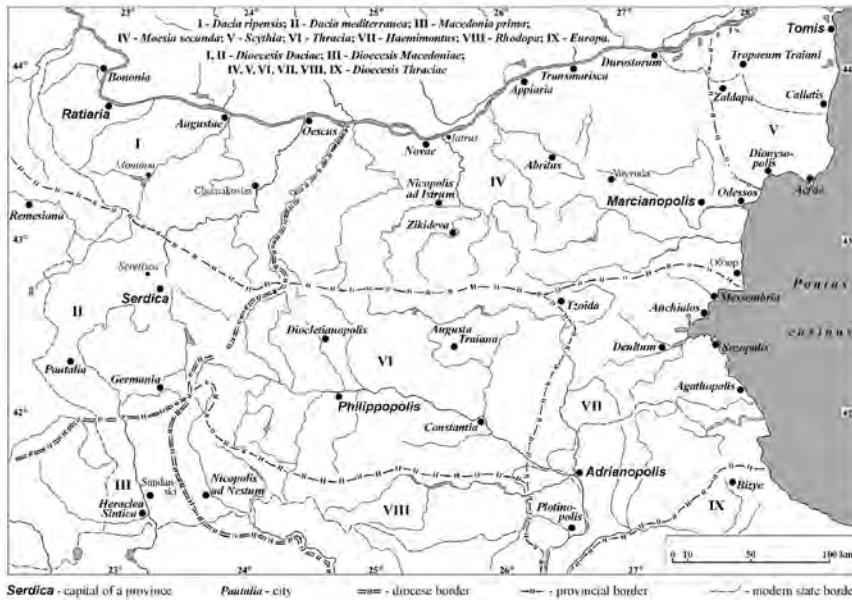


Figure 1  
Map of the Late antique provinces in Thrace  
(Dintchev 2021: 37 fig. 2).

past – Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana (Beroe), both of which retained their importance with Philippopolis established as a provincial capital. Unsurprisingly, Philippopolis is mentioned in the written sources with Serdica as ‘civitates amplas et nobiles’ (Amm. Marcellinus 21.10.3). This seems also to have reflected on the status of the Christian leaders because the Philippopolitan bishop became metropolitan, while the Beroean bishop became the head of an autonomous archiepiscopate. Both cities also retained their status as cultural and trade centers with elites that preserved at least until the time of Theodosius I the pagan traditions expressed in one way or another, e.g., the mosaic pavements.<sup>1</sup> This should not be surprising as it is clear that the one of the most effective material manifestation of the wealthy class of the cities were the vast and richly decorated with mosaic pavements rooms of the public and private buildings. In fact, it may be assumed that the mosaic pavements become one of the most distinguished features of the late antique society in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana when compared with the other urban centers and elites in Thrace as we

1 On this attitude attested by Ammianus Marcellinus about the revival of the myth of the mythical founder – see Topalilov 2018a. On the mosaic pavements as mediator for these beliefs in Augusta Traiana – see the study of V. Popova and M. Kamisheva in Pillinger et al. 2016: 157-158.

can conclude from the numerous mosaic pavements discovered so far (they are all published and discussed most recently in Pillinger et al. 2016: 122-270). Based on the local traditions, the development of the mosaic art in these cities had its own path. Despite this, however, a certain common layer in the heterogeneous mosaic production in both cities may be observed whose beginning may be dated to the later years of Theodosius I's rule and its completed form to the early years of Theodosius II at the latest, viz. the second decade of 5<sup>th</sup> c. after which, with very rare exceptions, the development of the mosaic art in both cities followed an almost identical way. It is therefore the goal of this paper to study the nature of this layer and the possible grounds for this.

The mosaic art in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana in the period under consideration had a great base to develop upon from the time of Principate and the Tetrarchy onward. The examples, although not numerous, show the use of both geometric and figural compositions with clearly attested Italic and North African influence, respectively. Both types of mosaic composition gained acceptance in the private as well as the public buildings in black-and-white as well as in polychrome style. A preference of the geometric mosaics in the decoration of the public buildings and the figural – in the private houses may be observed. In fact, the figural mosaic composition that embellished a room in the public building such as the so-called Western *Thermae* in Philippopolis is the only one dated to the middle of 2<sup>nd</sup> c.; the mosaic pavements of the so-called Eastern *Thermae* dated to the beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> c., seem to be entirely geometric. As for the private houses, with one exception up to now in Philippopolis - the *domus* that was found on 'Knyaz Tseretelev Str 10/10a' and it is assumed to be that of a curial (Pillinger et al. 2016: 252-254), they were decorated with figural mosaics. Not much changed initially in 4<sup>th</sup> c., but at the second quarter of the century at earliest, certain Christian symbols were embedded in the bordure of the mosaic compositions as revealed by the mosaic from Augusta Traiana that embellished the *aula* of possibly a wealthy merchant from Asia Minor who settled in the city.<sup>2</sup> Such cases are, however, still very rare, and this is the only one known from both cities. The figural mosaic pavements are made in *opus tessallatum* and *opus vermiculatum* and are characterized with abundance of colours and motifs – figural, ornamental, geometric and floral with the use of the real *emblema* or in most of the cases – of the pseudo-emblem, filled with either Christian or non-Christian scenes made in the traditional mosaic repertoire. Such is for example the Dionysian *thiasos* (Θίασος) scene found in Augusta Traiana or the Mediterranean water landscape with corresponding fauna and flora and the boat with two cupids on the real *emblema* mosaic in Philippopolis. These monuments are among the most distinguished in Thrace, the first one dated to the time of emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (known as Julian the Apostate in Christian tradition (361-363), and related to the revival of pagan mythological and other Greek-Hellenistic content in the Syrian region (Pillinger et al. 2016: 152-159). If the date is correct, it may suggest that in this case we may be dealing with one of the rare cases when a certain historical event may have found its place in the art. Although under discussion, the date of the marine mosaic is most likely close to that and therefore will not be included in the present study.<sup>3</sup>

2 On the building found on 'Gen. Stoletov Str' in Stara Zagora – see most recently Kalchev 1992, 53; Ivanov 2012: 485; On the mosaic – see Kalchev 2009: 70-74; Pillinger et al. 2016: 125-131; Popova 2016: 170; Popova 2018: 149.

3 The marine mosaic in Philippopolis is dated between the middle of 3<sup>rd</sup> – middle of 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Koranda 1990: 67–70; Koranda 1991/1992: 97-98), at the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Pillinger et al. 2016: 227), at the end of 4<sup>th</sup>- beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Tankova 1980: 34) or early 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Valeva 1995: 262).

The geometric compositions continued its use in the public buildings such as the *thermae*, some of which were partly repaired during that period, and which might have provided some inspiration for the mosaic geometric carpet in the private houses as a case in Philippopolis may reveal (Topalilov 2016). At that time, however, the geometrization entered the mosaic pavements of the Christian basilicas as the case with the *thermae-gymnasion* partly transformed into a Christian basilica in the middle – second half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. in Augusta Traiana shows (Popova 2017: 81).<sup>4</sup> They are characterized by a modest colour scale and the mosaic pavement has not become yet an essential decoration of the Christian basilicas.

These cases clearly reveal that until the time of Theodosius I and possibly the first years of his rule the geometric composition had gained less acceptance in the mosaic pavements of the private houses in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana, and the figural compositions are still favored despite the fact that the entire geometric composition had already entered other kinds of public houses such as for example the *aula* of the so-called Constantinian imperial villa near Serdica (Dinchev 2003). It seems that the *aulae* of the similar complexes in Thrace such as the *praetorium/palatium* of the provincial governor in Philippopolis and the city's governor in Augusta Traiana remained without mosaic pavement decoration.<sup>5</sup>

The complexity of the processes with the weaving together of various styles, including the official imperial, personal preferences, religiosity, as well as the skillfulness of the mosaicists, combined with the wealth of the owner of the *domus*, have produced an amalgam of different in style and iconography mosaic pavements with a vast number of diversity among them. The Episcopal (Metropolitan) basilica in Philippopolis may provide an example for this with the insertion of a kind of *emblema* in the nave (see on bordure of the *emblema* – Kantareva-Decheva et al. 2021) if this mosaic pavement belonged to the Christian basilica at all, and not to the previous pagan building. It is without any doubt that some of the owners of these *domus* were distinguished members of the local provincial elite, and some of them might have also belonged to the newly established senate in Constantinople which also gives an artistic inspiration for the development of the mosaic art in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana.<sup>6</sup>

The archaeological excavations in Plovdiv and Augusta Traiana unearthed numerous mosaic pavements that are dated to a period of four decades between the 80s of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and 20s of 5<sup>th</sup> c. revealing a certain period of flourishing of the mosaic industry and the next examples will make this clear.

Among the most important cases of that time which is still unparalleled in the

4 On the mosaic pavements of the *thermae-gymnasion* – see most recently in Pillinger et al. 2016: 122-125; Kamisheva - Karamanova-Zlatkova 2017: 169-180.

5 A complex that is a peristyle-organized and enclosed a whole insula (67/32 m) located between the agora and the Episcopal complex along *cardo maximus* westward and along southward the *decumanus* that enclosed from south the Metropolitan basilica was significantly transformed in the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> c. with the establishment of a new imposing official part with a huge reception hall (13/9 m) (*aula*) and *triclinium* with *stibadium* heated by hypocaust. The *decumanus* that flanks the *aula* from south was shut up in the cross with the *cardo maximus* by a monumental entrance (Kesyakova 2008: 238-240). It is assumed that by this the street was turned into a distinct antechamber (vestibule) of the *aula* as may be also deduced by masonry benches on the north side. The complex is interpreted as *praetorium* or *palatium* (Dinchev 2002: 216, 224 n. 36). Possibly, at the middle-third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> c. the *aula* and one of the room attached received mosaic pavements – on the description of the pavements – see Kesyakova 2009: 137-162; Pillinger et al. 2016; on the new date – see Topalilov 2022.

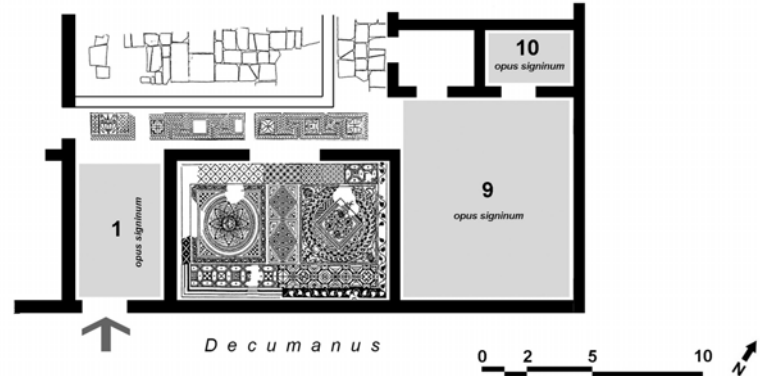
6 The development of the mosaic art in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana between the Tetrarchy and Theodoisan time has been studied most recently in Topalilov 2022.



mosaic production of the Late Antique Philippopolis, excluding the mosaics of the Metropolitan basilica from the middle-third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> c., is the mosaic pavement that embellished the *aula* of the peristyle organized house known as '*domus Eirene*' (Fig. 2). It has enclosed a whole insula located some 30 m

Figure 2

*Domus Eirene*: the first period of the mosaic pavements (after <https://mosaictourplovdiv.balkanheritage.org/en/ancient-residential-building-%d0%b5irene-en/>, last consulted on 14 January 2022).



northward to the entrance of the Metropolitan basilica of which the official part was unearthed. As the mosaic pavements in *opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum* have already been a matter of several studies since its publication, I am not going into detail here with their description and problems.<sup>7</sup> It is assumed that at the beginning of 80s of 4<sup>th</sup> c. the main room of the uncovered part of the *domus*, room 3, received its mosaic pavement with two panels – east and west, surrounded from north, west and south by a wide bordure. The composition is geometric with dominating ornamental and geometric motifs, but a figural image is also included. Thus, the eastern panel consists of the image of the head of the personification Eirene inserted into an octagon. At the corners two *kantharoi* and geometric ornaments are cited. The other panel consists of a kantharos full of water, with a floral motif coming out in the center; all the rest are geometric elements. The head of the personification is presented with slightly asymmetric nimbus. Although the existence of two panels, it is clear that the focus of the mosaic lays on the image of Eirene that was turned to the entrance from the peristyle courtyard, which may be secondary. Both images enable to identify the room as multifunctional *triclinium*, incorporating the function of reception hall (*aula*) in the Eirene area. At the end of 4<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. a transformation was done with the construction of a new *triclinium* with *stibadium* eastward and the room 3 become solely the reception hall. Within a few decades, ca. 40s of 5<sup>th</sup> c. it is assumed that the *aula* was embellished with an octagonal piscine (Pillinger et al. 2016: 184). The image of Eirene was subjugated into *interpretatio christiana* (Bospachieva 2003: 86; Pillinger et al. 2016: 182-184), although the cross-like element is in fact an essential element of the personification's diadem, and the nimbus was known and used earlier for non-Christian personages (Topalilov 2018b: 280-282). I believe that with the construction of a direct link between the entrance of the complex and that of the Metropolitan basilica by a special *cardo* regardless the existing urban infrastructure (on the *cardo* – Kesyakova 1989: 120), the *domus Eirene* in fact was transformed at that time at the latest into *domus episcopalis*.<sup>8</sup> The new *domus* has no parallel in term of its lavish mosaic

<sup>7</sup> On the mosaic pavements – see Bospachieva 2003: 83–105; Valeva 2011: 36–41; Bospachieva – Kolarova 2014: 210–226; Pillinger et al. 2016: 174–198; Topalilov 2018b: 273–285; Ivanov 2019: 79–89; Popova 2021: 299–324.

<sup>8</sup> The interpretation of *domus Eirene* as *domus episcopalis* has been questioned recently due to the significant distance between the *domus* and the Metropolitan basilica – see Dinchev 2020: 215 n. 4. Indeed, the distance is not like the other similar examples, but in the Philippopolitan case one

decoration when compared with the other *domus* found so far in Philippopolis, although not interpreted as *praetorium* or *palatium*.

In sharp contrast in composition, style and colour abundance are the other mosaic pavements from Philippopolis that are dated to the time under question. One of them embellished a building that is located on the Three hills, specifically on Dzambaz tepe, just over the theater and dominated the city's landscape. Although the area excavated and therefore the mosaic uncovered is very small (3/2 m), it is clear that the composition is geometric composed by a grid of bands with circles inscribed, creating the pattern of bobbins (Décor I: pl. 144e) (Fig. 3). The border is a two-strand braided ribbon, while the inner fields are filled with a pointed square pattern, a large rosette and a bulbous vase with vine tendrils probably growing out. The individual elements are imprecise and careless, but the colour scale is specific, made up of pastel shades, that can only be found on the present mosaic: white, lilac, red, ochre-colored, brown-green and black. It is assumed that the mosaic belongs to an Early Christian basilica which finds also arguments in the architecture decoration discovered on the site (Борушарова 1960: 166, fig. 3). The date proposed varies between second half/late 4<sup>th</sup> c. – first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Koranda 1991/1992: 86; Pillinger et al. 2016: 249). The archaeological evidence concerning the end of the Acropolis that is linked with the construction of this basilica supports the later date (Topalilov 2021: 130-135).



Figure 3  
The mosaic pavement of the basilica on Dzambaz tepe (Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 180 Abb. 464).

At least one mosaic pavement in Philippopolis is analogous to this by style and colour density. It covered the floor of the reception hall (*aula*) with *stibadium* in a courtyard – organized *domus* south of the Metropolitan basilica which replaced an earlier building made of bricks. The latest coins found in the latter of 364-378 provide a certain *terminus post quem* for the construction of the new *domus* and the mosaic pavement.<sup>9</sup>

The mosaic which is still unpublished, is made in *opus tessellatum* and consists of entirely geometric composition of one wide bordure and an additional sector in the *stibadium* (Fig. 4). The bordure is filled with round-tongued guilloche (Décor I: pl. 75) and panel with the grid of bands with circles inscribed creating

should have in mind the construction of the *cardo* that provided the direct link between the *domus* and the Metropolitan basilica located some 110 m southward as well as the density of urbanization in the center of the provincial capital that limited the perspective of the construction of the 'typical' Episcopal residence immediately next to the basilica.

<sup>9</sup> On the results of the archaeological excavations at the site 'Leonardo da Vinci Str. 13' – see Bozhinova - Stanev 2020: 787-791; Bozhinova - Topalilov 2021.

Figure 4

The mosaic pavement of the *domus* located in the southern quarters of Philippopolis at modern 'Leonardo da Vinci Str. 13' (Bozhinova - Stanev 2020: 788 fig. 3).

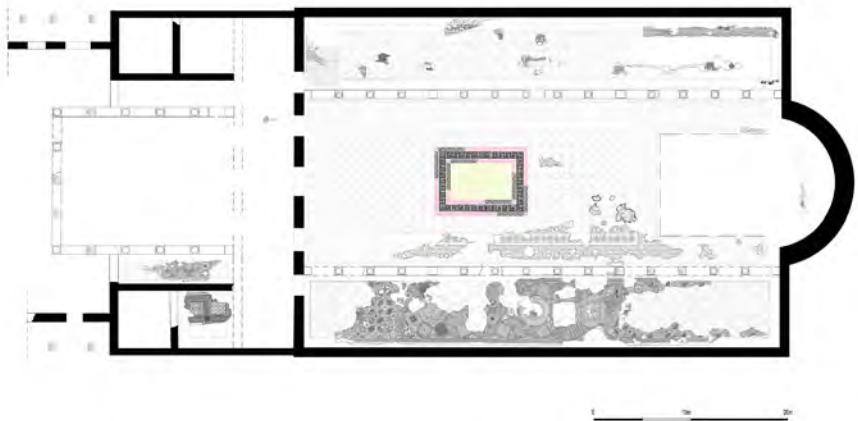


the pattern of bobbins (Décor I: pl. 144e-variant). In the inner squares a highly stylized four-leaf colored rosette with an X-shaped center is inserted. The mosaic in the apse consists entirely of a diagonal lattice. The colour scale is limited, using white, navy and dark blue, green, black, yellow and red tesserae. The execution is inaccurate, the schemes are poorly proportioned and composed, as if the usual tools for the case were not used. Given the close similarities with the mosaic pavement at Dzambaz tepe, the date proposed for this is the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Besides, the aforementioned basilica, the Metropolitan basilica in Philippopolis also was embellished with a mosaic floor at that time (Fig. 5). Although some details are published and the vast mosaic pavements still await its full publication, it is clear that the composition was geometric, filled with non-figurative motifs with an exception – that of the *tabula ansata* in the south aisle that is flanked by vases, those beneath the *tabula* with stylized vines coming out. The photos published reveal that the mosaic pavement has a large scale of colour abundance (Fig. 6).<sup>10</sup>

Figure 5

The first mosaic pavement of the Metropolitan basilica in Philippopolis (after Kantareva – Decheva et al. 2021: 27 fig. 4).



Several are the mosaic pavements known from Augusta Traiana dated to the period under consideration. As one of the most impressive building in the city not only in that period, is the huge *domus* located *extra muros* and identified as *villa suburbana* (Fig. 7). Although not entirely unearthed, it is clear that it was a

<sup>10</sup> On the earlier mosaic pavements of the Metropolitan basilica – see most recently in Kesyakova et al. 2011: 176, 191-192, 198; Pillinger et al. 2016: 201-203; Kantareva-Decheva et al. 2021.



Figure 6  
The *tabula ansata* in the southern aisle of the Metropolitan basilica in Philippopolis (after <https://mosaictourplovdiv.balkanheritage.org/en/the-episcopal-basilica-en/> last consulted on 8 January 2022).

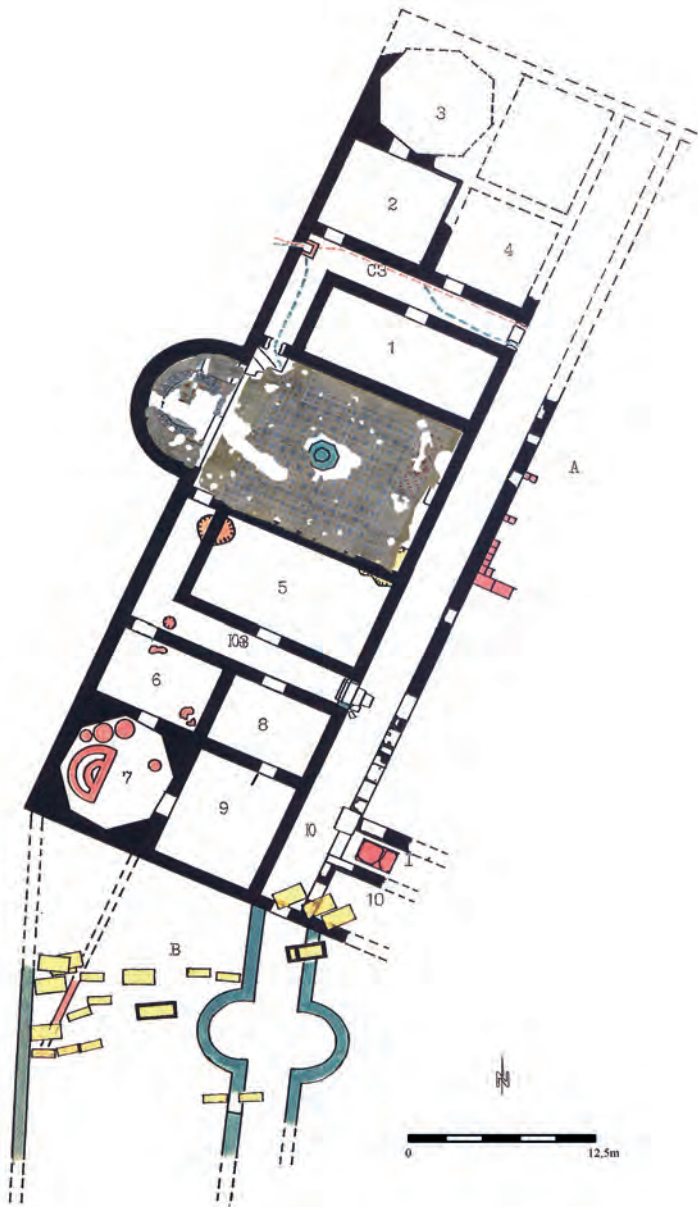


Figure 7  
The *palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *extra muros* (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 108 Abb. 296).

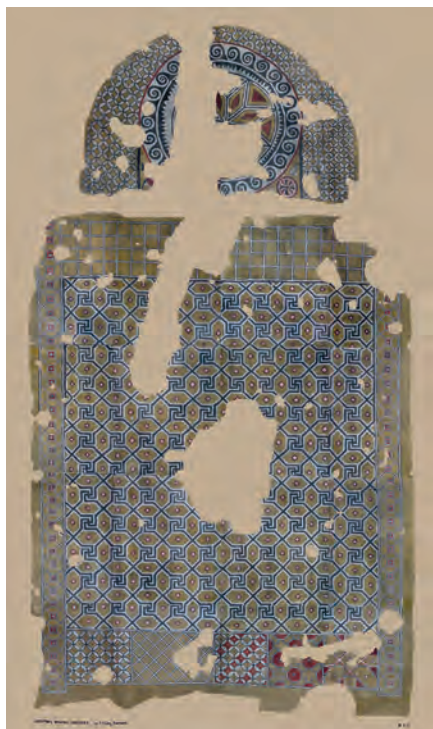


Figure 8  
The *aula* of the *palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *extra muros* (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 109 Abb. 297).

huge peristyle complex of ca. 3000 m sq whose main room (*aula*) was lavishly decorated with mosaic pavement and wall paintings at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>11</sup> The mosaic is strictly geometric by which this iconography is clearly distinguishable from that used in the rest of the mosaic pavements in the city at that time, which enclose also non-geometric elements, and rarely figural. It should be stressed that such a geometric iconography is not to be found elsewhere so far in Augusta Traiana. The mosaic pavement in the 20 m-long *aula* (15 x 10.80 m and the apse with 5 x 4 m) is executed in *opus tessellatum* with an outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons intersecting and adjacent to shorter sides, making swastika-meander in the center (Décor I: pl. 171d) surrounded by a bordure in various width and a composition of geometric schemes. The mosaic in the *stibadium* (apse) consists of a large circle with a central eight-pointed star made up of eight diamonds, surrounded by two bordures filled with triangular and wave patterns respectively.<sup>12</sup> The colours used are white, ocher, dark red, blue-gray and black, and yellow of which the yellow is predominant (Fig. 8). The complex is interpreted as *praetorium* or *palatium* (Dinchev 2002: 216). The archaeology reveals that soon after the embellishment of the *aula*, the hall was turned into a Christian church at the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. with the construction of *synthronon* in the *stibadium* that was turned into an basilica's apse, the fulfillment of the piscine in the center of the room and the establishment of the *cancelli* and certain repairment of the mosaic pavement (Kalchev 2009: 87).

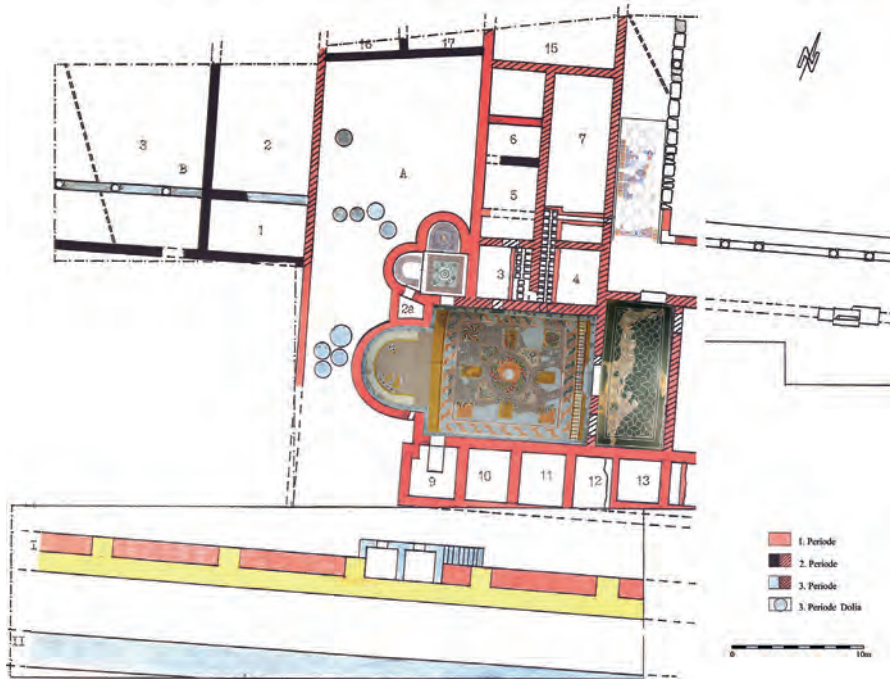
Unlike this mosaic are the others known from Augusta Traiana that have less geometrization in their composition. An example for this are the mosaic pavements that embellished several rooms in another *domus* of this rank, also interpreted as *praetorium* or *palatium* – that located in the SW corner of the city, *intra muros*, partly preserved now under the modern Post office (Dinchev 2002: 216). As the previous *domus*, this was also a peristyle complex with possibly ca. 3200 m sq of which one-third has been excavated, precisely the inner courtyard surrounded by a monumental portico and the official part of the complex with the reception hall, reduced two-conch *triclinium* as well as antechamber (*vestibulum*) of the *aula* (Fig. 9). It is assumed that the complex was built at the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and was in usage at least until the middle/end of 5<sup>th</sup> c. with the *aula* and the *triclinium* received mosaic floors at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the reception hall also with marble cladding.<sup>13</sup> The mosaics have been made in *opus tessellatum*, *opus vermiculatum* and *opus sectile* and already described and commented in details in the recent Corpus on the Late antique and Early Christian mosaics in Bulgaria as well as some additional articles and therefore no extensional description is required (Kalchev 2009: 74-80; Pillinger et al. 2016: 138-147;).

Undoubtedly, the core of the complex was the apsidal hall (*aula*) (12.40 × 10 m) that was embellished with mosaic pavements covering ca. 131,5 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 10). The central composition consists of a circle enclosed in a square with U-shaped arcades on four sides and four adjacent angles in the corners. The circle was filled with a scale pattern, horseshoe-shaped elements with vine with grapes, vegetal elements, tree of life framed by two birds, and fruit basket with apples and a plant with two grain stalks and two ducks, and the strip of the square – with swastika-meander knots with inscribed circular motifs in the corners of

11 On the building – see Kalchev 1992: 53; 68; Dinchev 2002: 211-212, 223 n. 17; Kalchev 2009: 86-87.

12 On the detailed description of the mosaic pavement – see Kalchev 2009: 86-89; Pillinger et al. 2016: 160-163.

13 On the building – see Kalchev 1992: 53; Dinchev 2002, 212; Kalchev 2009: 74-75; On the interpretation of the rooms – see Dinchev 2002: 212. The mosaic pavements covering the vestibule and the northern portico should be dated to a much later period, ca. the middle-third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> c.



the field. The four pentagonal spandrels formed between the central medallion and the U-shaped elements in the axes have *kantharoi* with two symmetrical vines sprouting out and a bird sits on each of its oppositely arranged handles. The panel is framed by a bordure with laurel ribbons, and a second frame with a row of arcades on the west. As for the mosaic in the apse, here one encounters a geometric mosaic composition with vegetable and triangular or trapezoidal elements.

The mosaic in *opus sectile* embellishing the *triclinium* (3.10 × 3.15 m) has a geometric composition with a central medallion and two narrow bands: the outer border consists of two rows of cruciforms, while the inside – of squares placed on top of each other with two alternating, geometric filling motifs. The motif of the outer band decorates also the conches. The mosaic is made of white marble, red terracotta plates, and green breccia.

In a later period, the mosaic pavements extended to the south portico as well, consisting of interlooped tangentially small and big circles, forming irregular concave octagons filled with geometric motifs, and various birds turned towards a fruit-bearing plant respectively. A white songbird is inscribed on a medallion (Fig. 11).

The mosaics are dated to 80s of 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Kalchev 2009: 80) or at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Pillinger et al. 2016: 147) and the complex is identified as the *praetorium* or *palatium* of the ‘governor of the city’ in 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>14</sup> or of the local bishop (Yankov 1993: 145-146).

The images inserted into the U-elements are interpreted as the four seasons, and the fields enclosed between these elements containing floral motifs as well as the stylized arcade presented into the entrance bordure (the *peltae* element) (Fig. 12) create the illusion of a rich garden or park (Valeva 2011: 45). Recently, however, another interpretation is proposed revealing the Christian meaning of the composition. Thus, the images of plants and fruits flanked by two birds that are enclosed into the U-shaped elements are interpreted as *fons vitae* and related

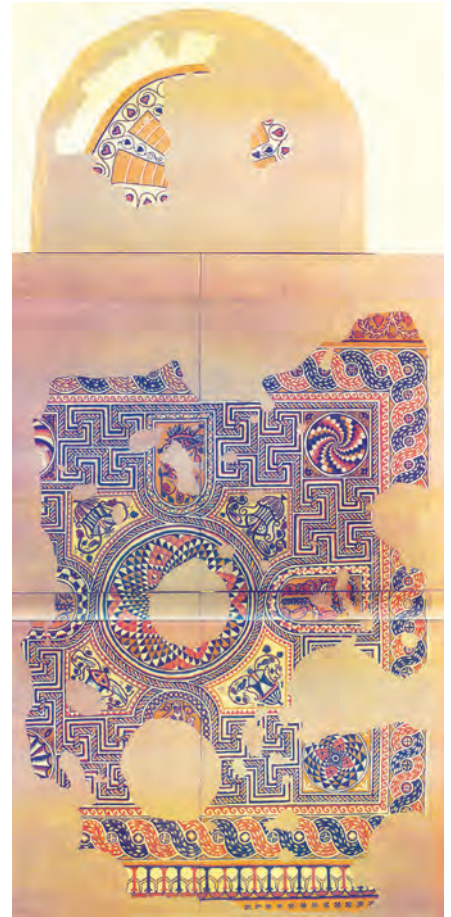


Figure 9  
The *praetorium/palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *intra muros*, now under the modern Post office (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 88 Abb. 245).

Figure 10  
The *aula* of the *praetorium/palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *intra muros* (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 89 Abb. 246).

<sup>14</sup> On the interpretation as *praetorium* or *palatium* – see Dinchev 2002: 216. On the interpretation of the complex as the *domus* of the ‘governor’ of the city – see Kalchev 1992: 53.



Figure 11  
The later dated mosaic pavement in the portico of the inner courtyard of the *praetorium/palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *intra muros* (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 100 Abb. 274).



Figure 12  
The mosaic pavement of *aula* of the *praetorium/palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *intra muros* (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf.90 Abb. 247).

to the Christianity (Pillinger et al. 2016, 141). Three of the vases also represent the *fons vitae*. As a Christian fountain of life are interpreted the scenes that are enclosed in the pentagonal panels (formed between the U-shaped elements with the *kantharoi* and the flower stalks and vines and the two flanking birds), and it is suggested that the overall composition could have a Christian connotation and can be interpreted as a representation of the paradise garden (Pillinger et al. 2016: 142) with the fountain of life symbolizing the heaven with the Eden (Popova 2016: 168). It is most likely that in this iconography are implemented the seasonal motifs combined with Early Christian elements. The mosaic finds a kind of parallel in an earlier seasonal mosaic attested in Augusta Traiana, that of the *domus* from the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> c. which also has a Christian connotation with the image of *fons vitae* in the form of scene with deers and flowers and other strictly Christian symbols such as the *kantharos* full of wine, and the several crosses scattered on the mosaic border (Fig. 13). It is very tempting to

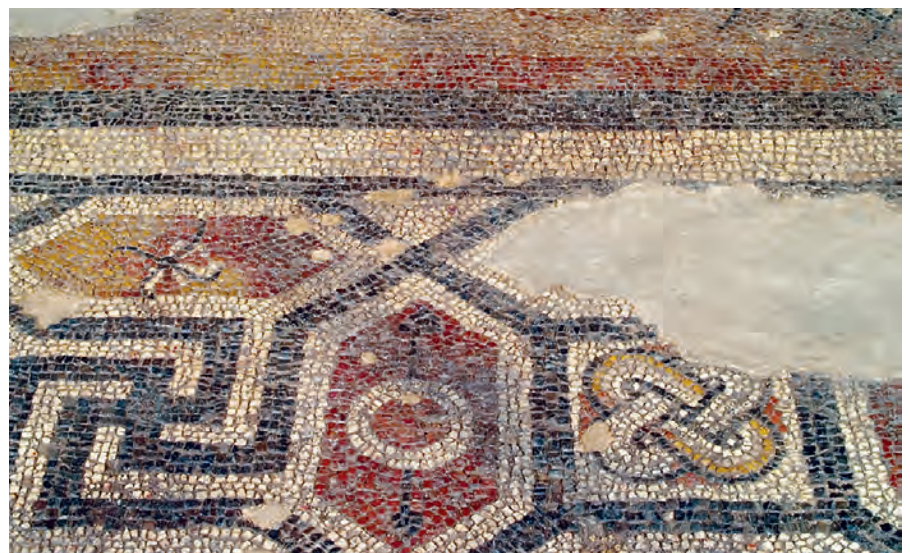


Figure 13  
The Christian cross embodied into the bordure of the mosaic of an *aula* in a *domus* in Augusta Traiana discovered on 'Gen Stoletov Str No. 117' (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 75 Abb. 209).

see in the U-cross composition in the *aula* a cross-shaped element inscribed into a square with therefore Christian connotation, but it should be noted that this composition is to be found in Early Christian basilicas as well as private houses (Raynaud 1996). It seems, however, that its beginning should be sought in Syria in late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and given the proposed date the mosaic in Augusta Traiana would be among the earliest examples of its spreading in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans and may reveal the origin of the owner of the *domus* from Syria. It seems, however, that its beginning should be sought in Syria in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and given the proposed date the mosaic in Augusta Traiana would be among the earliest examples of its spreading in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans and may reveal the origin of the owner of the *domus* from Syria.

The mosaic pavement of one more *villa urbana* has been dated to the period under consideration.<sup>15</sup> It is also a peristyle house, partly discovered, with one of the rooms around decorated with mosaic pavement. The complex enclosed partly or entirely an insula framed from the east by *cardo maximus*. The mosaic is partly preserved in the southern part of the room and consists of a geometric composition of adjacent octagons forming small squares (Décor I: pl. 163b). The octagons are filled with geometric motifs, but also with figural ones such as a duck, a jug with a volute-shaped handle, a kantharos and a wicker basket with fruit. More representations (figures) are placed in the irregular hexagons: pairs of fruits (apples and pears), a hammer and two braids (Kalchev 2009: 84-86; Pillinger et al. 2016: 150-151) (Fig. 14). Based on the parallels, the mosaic is dated to early 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Kalchev 2009: 86; Pillinger et al. 2016: 151), but it is very likely that the date is later – ca. middle or even third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 14  
The *aula* of *villa urbana* in Augusta Traiana discovered on 'Ruski Blvd. No 51' (after Pillinger et al. 2016: Taf. 103 Abb. 283).

Another mosaic that belongs to this time is the one which covered the floor of a partly discovered *villa suburbana*, located *extra muros* near the modern 'Ayazmoto', of which only a small fragment has been preserved (Fig. 15). It is laid in *opus tessellatum* with white, black, brick red (light and dark red), ochre and light blue tesserae, with geometric and stylized vegetable motifs visible. The inner border consists of a composition of overlapping octagons, with a four-leaf, light blue and dark red contoured cross rosette. A distinguishing feature of the mosaic is the huge stylization of the motifs, including flowers in the form

<sup>15</sup> The archaeological site is known as 'Ruski Blvd No. 51' in Stara Zagora.



Figure 15

A fragment of a mosaic pavement from *villa suburbana* near Augusta Traiana (modern 'Ayazmoto') (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 107 Abb. 295).



of dark red, cross-shaped objects (Pillinger et al. 2016: 159). The mosaic is dated generally to 4-5<sup>th</sup> c., and compared with the mosaic that covered the floor of the *aula* in the *villa suburbana*, presented above, indicating the work of a certain mosaic atelier in Augusta Traiana (Pillinger et al. 2016: 160). But the highly stylized manner calls this proposition under question as although strictly geometric, the manner of execution of the mosaic in the *aula* as well as the style is more refined, and refers to a different execution and style. I would hardly believe that the reception hall of a certain *praetorium* or *palatium* would have been decorated by a city's modest mosaic atelier while the rest of the houses in Augusta Traiana, including the private ones, used more qualified mosaic ateliers. It may be supposed that the mosaic pavement under consideration should be dated to the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. as the mosaic is not entirely geometric, but with the inclusion of floral motives as well.

After this short introduction some observations may be ascertained on the development of the mosaic art during the period under consideration in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana. First, it should be underlined that at that time still the 'classical' mosaic construction techniques such as *opus tessellatum*, *opus vermiculatum* and *opus sectile* continued to be in use, with the latter two rarely. The *opus vermiculatum* mosaics are dated to the earlier years of the time of Theodosius I and may belong to stylistic development of the mosaic art of the pre-Theodosian time that continued till a certain point during Theodosian reign.<sup>16</sup>

At this point, however, a significant change is attested in the decoration of the

<sup>16</sup> A special study on the use of *opus vermiculatum* in the mosaic pavements in Late Antique Thrace will be made by the author.

mosaic pavements in both cities with the abandonment of the figural and similar representational motifs and elements alike and the preference of the entirely geometric compositions and elements. This geometrization, however, should not be regarded as a part of the process with the geometrization of the mosaic compositions in Thrace which began at the time of the Tetrarchy, but it seems to be a consequence of a certain historical event that happened in the time of Theodosius I and Arcadius with the new role that Christianity gained at that time as an essential part of the new imperial ideology and the *symphonia* proclaimed between the empire and Christian Orthodox church. As already suggested, the absence of figurative images should be accepted as an attempt of the Christians to drop the pagan figural traditions in mosaics and concentrate only on the Early Christian separate representations, scenes and symbols (Popova-Moroz 1987a; Popova-Moroz 1987b; Caraher 2003), although the process seems to be more complex, as the Christians continued to use old schemes and motifs to give a Christian connotation to the composition (Popova 2018: 140) and the mosaic pavements in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana are the material manifestation for this. A study of them reveals that at least three groups of mosaic compositions common for both cities may be distinguished.

The first group consists of mosaic pavements in an entirely geometric composition that decorate the Christian basilicas and some *aulae* of the private houses, although some of the latter may be interpreted as public as well. Two main sub-styles can be established – the one with entire homogenous geometrization in composition and motifs that may be called ‘orthodox’ geometric style, and the other with entirely geometric composition and motifs, but with the inclusion of few specific figural elements inserted on specific places of the building. The mosaic pavements that embellished the *aulae* of the *praetorium/palatium* located *extra muros* Augusta Traiana and that of the *domus* in the southern quarters of Philippopolis are the most significant examples of the ‘orthodox’ geometrization style, and the only so far discovered, which reveals that this style had not received wide acceptance on the mosaic pavements of the reception halls in both cities. Indeed, this may be due to the stage of studying the mosaic iconography and some future discovered mosaics will deny or prove this.

The case in Augusta Traiana is of particular interest given the importance of the complex as a whole. It should be underlined that this mosaic composition and style is in sharp contrast to the figural mosaic that embellished the *aula* of the other synchronous and similarly identified as *praetorium* or *palatium* complex in the city, the *intra muros*. The transformation of the reception hall into a Christian church shortly after the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. raises the question of the interpretation of this complex as the *palatium* of the local Christian archbishop, which may also shed some light on the origin of composition of the mosaic pavement itself. The humble and light colour scale as well as the geometric monotones in the mosaic pavement differentiate from the geometric carpet that had been used till that time full of geometric motifs and a certain colour diversity and may refer to the creation of a new sub-style that given the nature of the owner of the complex should have been deliberately sought. If so, this case is clearly attesting an example for the desire of the Christians to drop as much as possible and when possible the pagan figurative tradition in the mosaics. One should also recall in this case the plain burials of the Christians and their bishops at that time and may see also the abandonment of the figural and colourful mosaic style in terms of the will of the Christians to live in a more modest manner.

The interpretation of this *villa suburbana* as the *palatium* of the Christian

archbishop may be also deduced from the subsequent construction activity within the complex, obviously in ruins, in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> c. with the construction of a Christian church in the courtyard and the development of a necropolis around (Kalchev 1992: 53; 68; Kalchev 2009: 86-87) revealing the importance of place for the local Christians. This type of activity is similar to those attested at the conch-martyrium located near the East gate of the city after the Hunnic invasions in 40s of 5<sup>th</sup> c. with the transformation of the martyrium into martyrial basilica and the spread of burials *ad sanctos* (on the complex – see Pilinger 1991; Nikolov - Buyukliev 1992; Kalchev 1992: 53-54). It remains unclear, however, if the date is correct, why the *aula* was turned into a Christian basilica very shortly after being decorated with mosaic pavement and since when the complex itself was the archbishopric *palatium*?

The interpretation proposed raises another question – that of the establishment of a new *Episcopion* at the last quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> c. to the contrary of the previous, Arianic one, a type of replacement which is also attested in Philippopolis. It may be, however, simply the redecoration of the Arianic *episcopion* as a part of a program aiming at the transformation of the complex into Orthodoxy or even the establishment of a secondary archbishopric residence on the place probably donated to the Christian Church by a wealthy member of its community and local urban elite. The transformation of the *aula* at the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. itself may indicate the establishment of an imposing bishopric chapel. This may be true if the complex remained as *Episcopion* at that time. It is very tempting, however, to assume that with the transformation of the *aula* the whole complex also underwent significant changes being transformed into a Christian monastery of which the old *aula* become the *catholicon*, and which may have been mentioned in the written sources for the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Yankov 1993: 139) The burials *ad sanctos* that are attested around the later basilica built in the courtyard in ca. middle of 5<sup>th</sup> c. reveal the basilica as martyrial. Nonetheless, this example indicates the spread of the *full* geometrization in the mosaic pavements of the reception halls of the *domus* of the high Christian clergy at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. onward and may be regarded as a distinctive mark for the importance of the owner at the Christian church. One more such example is known – that of an *aula* of a *domus* in Philippopolis whose owner was obviously with more limited material opportunities as we may deduce from the caliber of the *aula* and the quality of the mosaic pavement itself. In this case, we should see him as a high-ranking Christian clergy or a highly-Christianized member of the urban elite who followed strictly the abandonment of the old figural and other pagan traditions in the art not only because of the abandonment of the pagan symbols, but also of the desire to live instead in a lavish life, in a more ascetic, godly manner.

The second style in the geometric mosaic compositions comprises of two groups of mosaics with the use of a limited number of specific figures, such as vases, rosettes, leaves and the scene of 'The Fountain of life' (*fons vitae*). They are inserted in definite and specific places (on this – see Popova 2016; Popova 2018). During the period under consideration, the known cases of the first group derive from the Christian basilicas: one of the best examples is the described already mosaic *tabula ansata* from the south aisle of the Metropolitan basilica in Philippopolis revealing a strong Christian symbolism. As Popova has observed, the figures inserted in this type of mosaic mark significant for the liturgical rites places in the Early Christian basilicas which reasonably shows the organic tie between the liturgy and the new mosaic pavement decoration whose focus was on the rites (Popova 2018: 140). Not surprisingly, this type of iconography is to be found in the Christian basilicas alone and only later moved to other Christian

buildings such as the *martyria* for example, but again liturgical, and still not in the private houses. It is without doubt that the development of the geometric composition in the late 4<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. should be clearly linked to the Christianization of the mosaic art (not only in the Christian buildings) which goes in line with the new role that the Christianity gained under the rule of Theodosius I and Arcadius as an essential part of the new imperial ideology and the *symphonia* established between the state, the emperor and the Christian god. For the first time it was attested in 394 with the active participation of the Christian clergy into the preparation for the Theodosian war against Eugenius and Arbogast to the West. Thus, the emperor and his army left the Kampos under the psalms sang by the Christian clergy.

The second group of mosaic pavements that is also connected with the Christianization of the society and the municipal and provincial elite in Thrace consists of a kind of hybrid mosaic art – the geometric base with the inclusion of figures and Christian symbols or scenes that allow the indisputable Christian interpretation of the mosaic composition. It should be underlined that the Christian symbols appeared in the private as well as public buildings (see the examples in Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2017). Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana present significant examples in this group such as possibly the *domus Eirene* (*domus episcopalis*) in Philippopolis and the complex identified as *praetorium/palatium* in Augusta Traiana, *intra muros*. These pavements are in sharp contrast to those in the first group with its exuberant colour scale, unprecedented and unparalleled at that time not only in both cities, but in the province as a whole. Both mosaics find strong parallels in the Eastern Mediterranean, and might had been made by travelling mosaicists as for instance that the one who has made the Eirene mosaic is assumed to have come from the island of Cos. These mosaic pavements, however, clearly link the owners of both complexes to the Eastern Mediterranean, and especially Syria, where the seasonal scenes and personifications gained wide acceptance in the mosaic art (see in Balty 1995) which also influenced the mosaic art in the island of Cos (on the mosaics in Cos – see most recently in De Matteis 2004). If this is so, given the tied links between the Syrian and Thracian high clergy known we may suppose that both *domus* were owned by members of the Syrian high clergy, most probably bishops. This fits well with the Arianic period for which such tied links are attested in the written sources, but unfits with the date proposed for both mosaics in post-Arianic period, ie. the time of Theodosius I and early Arcadius.

Unlike the case with *domus Eirene* whose interpretation as *domus episcopalis* at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. at the latest does not raise any objections among the prevailing number of the scholars, the interpretation of the *praetorium/palatium* in Augusta Traiana as such is still under discussion. As noted above, the interpretation of the complex varies from that of the palace of the city's governor and of the Christian bishop as both interpretations remain unjustified. Indeed, the Christian interpretation of the mosaic composition may imply the latter possibility, but up to now we have no other similar complex discovered to compare with in Thrace. The possible interpretation of the complex *extra muros* as the *Episcopeion* or as a secondary archbishopric residence with its specific mosaic decoration<sup>17</sup> makes me more inclined to the interpretation of the *praetorium/palatium* initially as the complex of the city's governor or of a distinguished member of the local municipal elite that become at that time the archbishop. The lavish decoration of the mosaic pavements that embellish private houses with figures, high

17 This idea was kindly shared with me by V. Popova to whom I express my sincere gratitude.

quality style, and colour abundance is not typical for the mosaic pavements that embellished the Christian clergy' space at that time which are humbler, plain, and even ascetic. Thus, at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> – first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. the secular mosaic compositions are with broader context and motifs than the Christian basilica's. The change in the Christian mosaics in this aspect may be clearly observed in Augusta Traiana itself with a mosaic pavement that is dated to the second quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and is linked to a wealthy merchant possibly coming from Syria (on the mosaic and interpretation – see Pillinger et al. 2016: 125-131; Popova 2016: 166-170; Popova 2018: 149).

In the middle-third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> c. some parts of the *praetorium/palatium* such as the vestibule of the reception hall and two *portici* received new mosaic floors. The iconography of the mosaic pavement in the vestibule is strictly geometric with pattern of staggered rows of superimposed groups of three adjacent lozenges, forming squares (Décor I: pl. 161f). The elements that fill the spaces are non-figural. On the entrance area to the *aula* an inscription reads: ΥΓΙΕΝΩ[Σ Ε]ΛΘΕ (Enter healthy!).

The mosaic pavement in the western portico is also a geometric composition, which is primarily reminiscent of the mosaic in the *vestibulum*, but with the inclusion of elements found in the mosaic in the *aula* among which are for example the *peltae* arcades as well as water-filled *kantharos* surrounded by vine leaves. A goblet filled with four-leaf rosettes is among the specific elements. All of the mosaics described so far have the same colouring in white, ochre, dark red, light blue and blue-gray mosaic stones.

The eastern portico also received mosaic floor whose decorative scheme consists of a geometric base filled with organic and floral motifs, i.e. breaking up the solidity of the style, is to be observed in various Christian basilicas dated to that time, and the most important among them – the Metropolitan basilica in Philippopolis. The new mosaic pavements covered the area that was exposed to the guests of the *domus* who they reached the *aula* through the decorated vestibule and *portici*. I believe that this reconstruction clearly reveals the increasing of the importance of the owner of the *domus* and coincides in time with the abandonment of the extramural residence and may therefore be in a direct link. If so, it is plausible to suggest that the Christian archbishop who moved inside the curtain walls of the city after the destruction of his extramural residence by the Huns might had settled in the *praetorium/palatium* under consideration. If so, this complex may be also interpreted as the new *Episcopeion* established in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> c. The case with the prevailing number of similarities in the mosaic compositions of the Christian basilicas and secular houses in the middle – third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> c., with certain distinction in some specific figures, is significant and shows that at that time it was the mosaic pavement of the basilica that served for inspiration in the mosaic pavements composition that embellished the *aulae* of secular buildings. Good examples for this are the new mosaic pavements in *domus Eirene* and that of the so-called 'Residence' in Philippopolis (Fig. 16) compared with the mosaic pavements of the Metropolitan basilica of second half of 5<sup>th</sup> c., a practice which continued in the next century (see Topalilov 2020: 271-275).

The third group of mosaic pavements consists of 'dissidents' mosaic pavements that preserved the mosaic iconography in the entirely old pagan figural tradition. These mosaics are rare in that period, and it may be only one of the mosaic pavements discovered so far in both cities that belong to this group – the marine mosaic in Philippopolis if the mosaic pavement is dated to that period at all. If,



Figure 16

The mosaic pavement of the *aula* of the so-called 'Residence' in Philippopolis (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 113 Abb. 303).

however, the marine mosaic should be dated to the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. which seems unlikely to me I would link it to the process that undergone at that moment attested in Rome and the western part of the empire with the revival and manifestation of the old pagan traditions by some members of the senatorial elite in the last decades of that century. Our case may refer to such instances in Thrace and Philippopolis, and one should recall the *Passio* of St. Theodota that was possibly compiled at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. in which Philippopolis is mentioned as the 'city of Apollo' (on the *Passio* – see Sharankov 2015).

The processes observed in the mosaic art are not unique for Thrace, but clearly demonstrate the certain change that is to be observed in the mosaic art with the new role of the Christianity in the political life of the empire. This change is so abrupt and overwhelming that that even unified the mosaic art in both cities although so different in its development and the non-acceptance of the geometrization as a whole until that time in the private houses. The new mosaics lost its colour abundance and become in a sense even ascetic, especially those decorated the Christian buildings. By the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., however, under the Syrian influence the mosaics become more vividly, more picturesque, but despite this and the insertion of various figural and floral motifs and ornaments, the mosaics in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana never fled away from the geometric base of their mosaic pavements till the end of the antiquity. Unlike Syria and even Continental Greece and Constantinople, Thrace did not accept the figural mosaics in such a great scale any more, and the geometric composition remained as central. The time of the figural mosaics such as that in Augusta Traiana of the merchant or second quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the marine one in Philippopolis from the 60s of 4<sup>th</sup> c. has been passed.

Certainly, these are not all the questions that the mosaic pavements in Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana raise. It is my hope, however, that this short review would provoke the interest not only of the art historians, but also other scholars that study other aspects of the ancient life as the importance of these and other mosaic pavements as well should not be confined within the limits of the iconography, style, patterns, and manner of construction, as some of the articles in the recently published Corpus on the Late antique and Early Christian mosaics from Bulgaria reveals (Pillinger et al. 2016). Instead, the mosaic pavements should be studied

in a broader context with their place in the life of the owner of the *domus*, and therefore their importance for the society or at least a part of its elite. In fact, in those mosaics that embellish the private *aulae*, one would get the rare chance to come across the informal manifestation of the personal preference and attitude of the owner of the *domus* to the world and the processes, which makes those type of sources, although still underestimated in this aspect, as one of most important for study of those societies with scanty written evidence available. It is without any doubt that the importance of the mosaic pavements discussed above should not be confined only for those two cities, but also the region, and in several cases – even Constantinople which seems to have impacted these processes as well. These mosaics clearly reveal the domination of the Christianity in the public and private culture of the aristocratic elite in Thrace at that time.

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# Seasonal Animals in Roman Mosaics

## Roma Mozaiklerinde Mevsim Hayvanları

Patricia WITTS\*

(Received 15 January 2022, accepted after revision 27 September 2022)

### Abstract

*Animals were popular subjects for Roman mosaics, featuring in many contexts. In his influential book, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, David Parrish included a short section on animals symbolising the Seasons, appearing either with personifications or representing the Seasons by themselves.*

*This article widens the discussion and looks beyond North Africa. It begins by examining mosaics on which personifications of the Seasons ride animals and continues with those in which the association is progressively less direct, with a view to analysing which animals can be shown to carry seasonal connotations and whether those animals were associated with more than one season.*

*Mosaics in which four animals appear without personifications are also considered in order to assess whether or not they represented the Seasons. The presence of other seasonal imagery supports this idea, while factors such as the context in which the animals appear and the order in which they are shown can suggest an answer one way or the other.*

*The aim of the article is to demonstrate that whenever four animals are depicted in a mosaic it is worth considering whether they might have seasonal associations, while bearing in mind that this will not necessarily be the case in every instance.*

**Keywords:** Seasons, animals, Parrish, Hanfmann, Abad Casal.

### Öz

*Hayvanlar, birçok bağlamda yer alan Roma mozaikleri için popüler konular arasındadır. David Parrish'in etkileyici kitabı *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*'da, mevsimleri simgeleyen, ya kişileştirmelerle ortaya çıkan ya da Mevsimleri kendi başlarına temsil eden hayvanlar hakkında kısa bir bölüm yer almaktadır.*

*Bu makale tartışmayı genişletmekte ve Kuzey Afrika'nın ötesini ele almaktadır. Hangi hayvanların mevsimsel çağrışımlar taşıdığı gösterilebileceğini ve bu hayvanların birden fazla hayvanla ilişkilendirilip ilişkilendirilmediğini analiz etmek amacıyla, mevsimlerin kişileştirmelerinin hayvanlara bindiği mozaikleri inceleyerek başlanacak ve ilişkilendirmenin giderek daha az doğrudan olduğu mozaiklerle devam edilecektir.*

*Mevsimleri temsil edip etmediklerini değerlendirmek için dört hayvanın kişileştirilmeden görüldüğü mozaikler de dikkate alınmıştır. Diğer mevsimsel görüntülerin varlığı durumu desteklerken, hayvanların görüldüğü bağlam ve gösterildikleri sıra gibi faktörler şu ya da bu şekilde bir cevap verebilir.*

*Makalenin amacı, bir mozaikte dört hayvan tasvir edildiğinde, bunların mevsimsel birlikteliklerinin olup olmadığını düşünmeye değer olduğunu göstermek, ancak bunun her durumda böyle olmayacağını farkında olmaktır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mevsimler, hayvanlar, Parrish, Hanfmann, Abad Casal.

Seasonal imagery in mosaics is so rich and widespread that it is easy to focus on the main figures of the Seasons themselves and to overlook the smaller details with seasonal significance. Quadrupeds and birds are often noted when they appear as seasonal attributes helping to identify the figures with whom they are shown, such as the ducks commonly held by Winter or swallows accompanying Spring. Rather less attention has been paid to animals appearing with Seasons but not as such attributes, or to animals that might themselves represent the Seasons in mosaics in which images of traditional male or female Seasons are not present. It is these that form the subject of this study.

It is a pleasure to offer this article in honour of David Parrish, whose prolific and important work on images relating to seasons and time includes the entries for *Menses* in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* and his influential book, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*. My aim is to build upon his section on seasonal animals in the latter (1984: 26-28) by looking beyond North Africa, expanding upon the examples he cites in one of his footnotes (1984: 27 n.67). I will also consider why particular animals were linked with specific seasons, the starting point again being the useful comments in Parrish's book.

Hanfmann's two volumes entitled *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* were published in 1951, thus preceding Parrish's work which was able to take it into account. In his catalogue, Hanfmann listed around 120 Seasons mosaics of which three-quarters showed female Seasons and the rest male. Drawing from such a wealth of material, his focus was on the human figures with only occasional mention of any quadrupeds or birds accompanying them; there was no separate category for seasonal animals. His comments about statuary, but of wider application, emphasise that identification of Seasons 'is beset with difficulties ... Complete certainty can be achieved when the whole set of four Seasons, or at least part of it is found ...' (1951: II, 159).

Despite the length of the list he compiled, Hanfmann's catalogue was not intended to be exhaustive and there have, in any event, been many discoveries of Seasons mosaics in the 70 years since his work appeared. The entries for *Horae*, the female Seasons, and *Tempora Anni*, the male Seasons, were included in *LIMC* in 1990, written by Lorenzo Abad Casal (1990a and 1990b). They include nearly 200 mosaics, including those featuring in sections for Seasonal Activities, Birds, Other Animals, Animals pulling Wagons, and Plants and Fruit<sup>1</sup> (1990b: sections L.-P., nos 191-194, 203-205, 209-212, 216-217, 223-230, 234-238). The literature has since been expanded for the mosaics of the late Roman period, including the Dair Solaib mosaic included in this article (Decriaud 2011).

This study brings together and discusses over 30 mosaics, drawing on the information amassed by Hanfmann, Parrish and Abad Casal, and supplemented by more recent discoveries. Of these, I consider that 24 can reasonably be regarded as showing Seasonal animals. While this cannot pretend to be a complete list, it is sufficient for some conclusions to be put forward. The seasonal significance of the animals in the remaining mosaics is uncertain or disputed, but they merit discussion and I hope that the issues raised will be helpful in assessing other examples in future.

I begin by examining mosaics in which personifications of the Seasons ride animals or are directly adjacent to them to the extent that they are almost in contact, and then turn to animals that pull chariots containing seasonal imagery,

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1 My translation from the German.

followed by those appearing in scenes in association with Seasons. The discussion then moves to animals appearing in mosaics with figures of the Seasons but in separate compartments, concluding with those in mosaics without depictions of Seasons, either with seasonal plants or without any other seasonal imagery. After collating these examples, I end with some depictions where the seasonal nature of the animals is uncertain or problematic. I have not attempted to discuss the dating of the mosaics, which is a complex topic for which information is not always readily accessible or definitive, but this would form an interesting direction for future research.

Some general conclusions follow the discussion. Throughout, numbers and letters refer to the Catalogue entries at the end of this article which provide a select bibliography for works relating to the animals in the mosaics in question. References to images of all of the mosaics are contained in the bibliography: this article is a synthesis of information drawn from key publications about Seasons mosaics throughout the Roman empire and it has not been possible to study all the mosaics at first hand. I am grateful to the persons and institutions named in the figure captions for help with illustrations but unfortunately it has not been possible to illustrate all the mosaics discussed. A series of Tables sets out the depictions of the various quadrupeds and birds, and then tabulates them according to the Season they represent.

### Animals Ridden by or Placed Directly Adjacent to Seasons

Arguably the mosaic with the clearest link between Seasons and animals is the Calendar Mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal in which each Season rides a different quadruped (1) (Fig. 1). One of four compartments originally at the centre of the mosaic shows Winter as a heavily draped woman seated on a boar, while the other three compartments each have a depiction of a *putto* respectively riding a bull for Spring, a lion for Summer and a tiger or tigress for Autumn; the latter is likely as there is the hint of a teat.

Figure 1  
Seasonal animals in the Calendar Mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal, now in the Musée d'Archéologie nationale at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Photo: Patricia Witts.



Evidently the Monnus-Mosaik from Trier also showed Seasons riding quadrupeds although in this case they were placed at the corners of the mosaic (2) (Fig. 2). The surviving *putto* is labelled AVTVMNVS, making his seasonal identity explicit. He rides a leopard, or probably a leopardess as the animal has a row of teats, with the adjacent compartment containing the bust of October.

Traces of a second *putto* were found in the next corner. Although his mount was lost, he can be identified with Summer as he had the bust of July in an adjacent compartment and the zodiac symbol of a lion in a compartment to the side (cf Hanfmann 1951: II no. 304, Winter).



Figure 2  
Autumn from Monnus-Mosaik, Trier.  
Public Domain Source: TimeTravelRome,  
CC BY 2.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rheinisches\\_Landesmuseum\\_Trier\\_DSC03197\\_\(51290482147\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rheinisches_Landesmuseum_Trier_DSC03197_(51290482147).jpg).

The female figures in the Littlecote mosaic lack the usual seasonal attributes but have generally, if not unanimously, been accepted as Seasons (Hanfmann 1951: II no. 104; Toynbee 1981: 3; *contra* Smith 1977: 150 no. 139; and see Abad Casal 1990a: no. 57) (3) (Fig. 3). Their seasonal nature is supported by the different amounts of drapery they wear, appropriate to the season in question. They have been tentatively identified by Walters as Aphrodite holding a mirror, representing Spring; Nemesis/Leda holding a swan, representing Summer; Demeter with a



Figure 3  
Part of the Littlecote mosaic. From Samuel  
Lysons, *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*  
1813-1817 Vol. I.IV pl. IX.

staff entwined with leaves, representing Autumn; and Persephone extending her arm towards Demeter, representing Winter (1984: 436-437; Demeter's staff might be a torch). Although the figures have been regarded by some scholars (for instance, Toynbee 1981: 2, 3) as riding the beasts with which they are represented, Walters points out that this does not seem to be the case: they do not have a leg drawn up onto the flank of their mount or an arm embracing the animal's neck but instead their feet are firmly on the ground (1984: 435-436; Witts 2011: 151). Using the Latin names more appropriate to the British location and adopted by Abad Casal (1990a: no. 57), Venus is in front of a deer, Leda a leopard, Ceres a bull and Proserpina a goat, in an anti-clockwise sequence. I have argued elsewhere that a more traditional arrangement of the animals is evident if they form a sequence that is separate from the female figures, this time clockwise: the deer for Winter, the goat for Spring, bull for Summer, and leopard for Autumn (Witts 2011: 151).

### Animals Pulling Chariots Containing Seasonal Imagery

As Hanfmann suggests in relation to such scenes generally, 'To represent the four Seasons, different animals must be used in each team, or the charioteers must have the usual attributes of Seasons' (1951: II, 161). In the case of the mosaics, not only are there four pairs of different animals but their chariots, or they themselves, carry seasonal symbols.

The Bacchus mosaic from Walramsneustrasse in Trier shows pairs of animals pulling chariots in the compartments between the full-length figures of female Seasons (4). Summer, Autumn and Winter are respectively approached by chariots drawn by lions, leopards and boars, whose chariots each contain a mask. Foliage and wheat are also depicted in the chariot drawn by the lions, and a beribboned staff and fruit in the chariot drawn by the leopards, while the chariot drawn by the boars lacks any produce. The lost figure of Spring (Hanfmann 1951: II no. 122; Abad Casal 1990a: no. 31) was associated with a chariot drawn by stags which is shown moving away from the compartment in which she was depicted. This chariot lacks a mask but contains flowers (?) and thin leaves. Hoffmann, Hupe and Goethert identify this Season as Summer and regard the Season approached by the lions as Spring, interpreting her attribute as a flower basket (1999: 159). This is, however, contradicted by the linear shapes in her basket which are more consistent with Summer's wheat, an interpretation followed by Abad Casal (1990a: no. 31).

Pairs of birds pulling chariots appear in the Dionysosmosaik from Cologne (5) although they are not prominent and the mosaic does not include depictions of the Seasons themselves. In a small compartment at upper right, a chariot pulled by purple gallinules (*porphyrios*) contains vines indicating Autumn, while in a comparable compartment at lower right a chariot pulled by birds usually described as parrots, but perhaps Indian ring-necked parakeets, contains a rake and sickle appropriate to Summer. The corresponding compartments on the other side of the mosaic are lost save for the remains of a wheel in one of them which confirms that the scheme was the same. Although the imagery in the chariots is clearly seasonal and gallinules appear as symbols of Autumn elsewhere, the parakeets are unusual and recall the Indian Triumph of Dionysos.

In the Bird Circus, also known as the Small Circus, at Piazza Armerina, chariots driven by young boys are drawn by four pairs of birds wearing seasonal plants around their necks (6). Winter, whose charioteer is being presented with a palm branch to indicate that he is the winner, is represented by doves (wood-pigeons)

wearing a necklace of olives. Spring is represented by flamingos who wear roses, Summer by geese who wear ears of wheat, and Autumn by purple gallinules who each wear a bunch of grapes. These identifications are adopted by Parrish (1984: 28 n.77) but Abad Casal takes a slightly different view. He regards the flamingos as red geese representing Winter, and the doves as representing Spring (1990b: no. 217), but this is contradicted by the roses and olives respectively associated with these birds.

### Animals in Scenes Associated with Personifications of Seasons

Only two panels survive of the mosaic of the Four Seasons from Carthage but each features a seasonal animal beside a seated female Season. One has a goat and was formerly identified as Autumn (Dunbabin 1978: 253 no. 42; Yacoub 1993: 56) but is now regarded as Spring (Parrish 1984: 120), her identity confirmed by the attribute of a swallow perched on a nearby pillar. The other, identified as Summer, has two partridges, one of which is pecking wheat (7).

In the beautiful and exceptionally interesting mosaic of Neptune and the Seasons from La Chebba, the full-length female Seasons in the corners are each flanked by a seasonal animal and an activity appropriate to the season in question (8). The Seasons are surrounded by sinuous vegetation: olives for Winter, roses for Spring, wheat for Summer and vines for Autumn. Winter, who carries two ducks as an attribute, is accompanied by a boar and a man collecting olives; Spring by a hound on a leash tied to one of the rose branches and a man collecting roses; Summer by a lion and a man harvesting wheat; and Autumn by a leopard and a man with baskets presumably containing grapes. In each case the vegetation around the Seasons matches that flanking the animals save for Winter's boar, which has reeds equally appropriate to the winter season and showing a sensitive appreciation of the animal's habitat.

A similar concept, although with thicker, denser, vegetation, is found in the mosaic of the Zodiac and Seasons from Haïdra (9). Seasonal *putti* in the corners are depicted within flowing scrolls of the same plants seen in the La Chebba mosaic, but they are flanked solely by pairs of birds: ducks with Winter, who carries more ducks as an attribute; peacocks with Spring; pheasants with Summer; and purple gallinules with Autumn.

The same basic design and vegetation were used in a mosaic which originally featured Tellus in the centre, of which two fragments are displayed in the National Museum of Carthage (10). One fragment depicts Winter as a warmly dressed young man surrounded by a scroll of olives, holding attributes of a duck and an olive branch. In the surviving volute immediately to the left is a duck. The second fragment shows parts of the volutes with roses and wheat. Pheasants appear with the roses and partridges with the wheat, respectively accompanying the lost figures of Spring and Summer.

### Animals in Separate Compartments Between the Seasons

The main part of the Allegorical Mosaic discovered at Écija in 2003 shows an enthroned figure thought to be Annus-Aion flanked by winged Victories (11) (Fig. 4). Winged *erotes* represent the Seasons in the corners, with further *erotes* between them symbolising Winds. Each Season is flanked by a quadruped and a pair of birds. The boar and ducks with Winter at top left are easy to recognise. At bottom right, Summer appears between a lion and a partridge with a bee-eater (Rueda Roigé - Lopez Ruiz 2011: 795). The Season at top right is lost along with his flanking animals. The remaining Season is flanked by a bull and a dove

Figure 4  
Allegorical Mosaic, Écija. Photo: Dave Mill,  
courtesy of Museo Histórico Municipal de  
Écija.



with a swallow. These are appropriate animals for Spring and he is identified as such by Rueda Roigé and Lopez Ruiz who consider that there are flowers in his wreath, in the basket he holds, and in the larger basket in the compartment above him (2011: 794). Vargas Vázquez, López Monteagudo and García-Dils de la Vega, however, regard this Season as Autumn, identifying grapes instead of flowers (2017: 74). The contents of the large baskets above this figure and the lost figure diagonally opposite are not drawn with clarity. The greater use of colour in the basket above the lost Season could suggest flowers, making the identification as Spring an understandable one, but the putative flowers are far from certain and can plausibly be regarded as vine leaves and grapes. The presence of the bull and swallow on either side of the surviving Season indicate that he is the figure who must be Spring.

In a mosaic from Caerwent, the centre of which did not survive, female busts in the corners, now mostly lost, represented the Seasons, with animals in rectangular compartments at the sides (12) (Fig. 5). They can be identified as a boar on the left for Winter, a hound at the top for Spring, a lion on the right for Summer, and

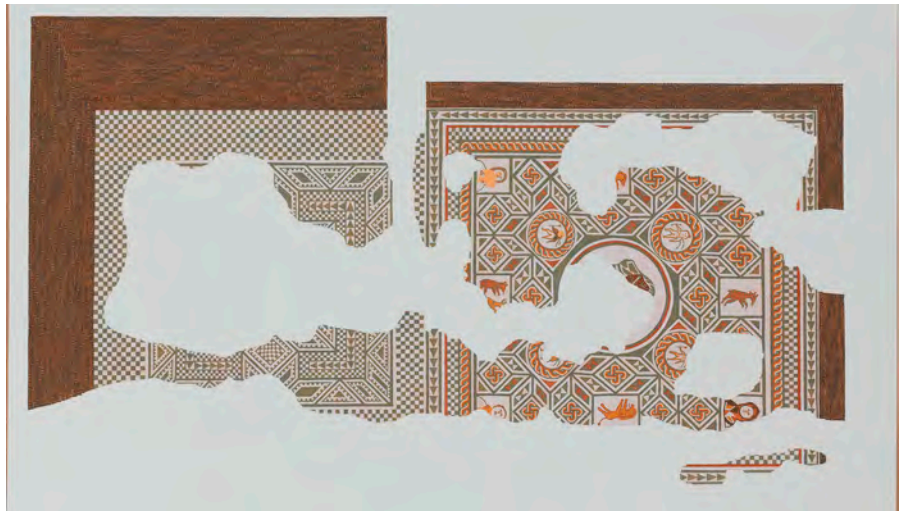


Figure 5  
Painting by David Neal of the Seasons  
mosaic from Caerwent. © David S. Neal.

a hound hunting a hare at the bottom for Autumn (Witts 2011: 151-152; cf Neal 2005: 13, suggesting that the animal on the left is either a boar or another lion). The animals appear in chronological order but not next to the appropriate busts: Winter is at top right; Spring and Summer were at bottom left and bottom right respectively and were so similar that it was impossible to differentiate between them; and Autumn was presumed in the lost corner at top left. Like the Littlecote mosaic, there appear to be two separate sequences in this mosaic.

The mosaic from Church A at Dair Solaib, also known as Dar Soleib or Deires-Sleib, showed female busts of the Seasons in the middle of each side of a nine-square mosaic whose centre had been lost (13) (Fig. 6). They were named in Greek and shown with appropriate seasonal attributes but were not in sequence: Winter was at the top, Summer on the right, Spring at the bottom and Autumn on the left. A pair of horses occupied the top left and top right compartments, respectively labelled in Greek. The name of the horse at top left, 'AGATHOPHERON', perhaps means 'bringer of good things', while 'NIKE' ('victory'), is easily recognised.<sup>2</sup> A leaping bull for Spring at bottom left was complemented by a leaping lion for Summer at bottom right, the latter with a bird. Arguably the two horses also held seasonal as well as circus connotations. Caroline Mackenzie points out (pers. comm.) that the horses are not identical: the horse at top left is plumper and seems livelier than the horse at top right. If, as seems to be the case, the animals relate to the Season preceding them in a clockwise direction, the horse 'AGATHOPHERON' as bringer of good things would be appropriate for Autumn, while 'NIKE' perhaps alluded to victory over the winter season. It is notable, however, that both the seasonal busts and the animals are not arranged chronologically, with Summer directly following



Figure 6  
Mosaic from Dair Solaib. After G. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* 1951 fig. 121 (after a drawing in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph Beyrouth* XXII (1939) pl. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Translations suggested by Caroline Mackenzie, to whom I am grateful for putting her knowledge of Classics at my disposal and discussing the inscriptions. I also thank her for useful observations about the horses and for discussing the out-of-sequence seasonal order.



Winter. Perhaps the context within a church influenced how the mosaic was viewed.

The animals around Orpheus in the mosaic from Fôret de Brotonne are harder to interpret since most of the mosaic did not survive (14). They occupied rectangular compartments on the sides of the mosaic, separating the female busts of Seasons in the corners. The only complete Season and animal were Summer and an adjacent lion, but Darmon has recognised the hoofs of a stag and tail of a feline in other compartments. On this basis, he proposes that the lost animal – probably a boar – alluded to Winter and was at the bottom, with the lion for Summer on the right, a stag for Spring at the top, and a leopard for Autumn on the left (1994: 85-86). While these animals would match those found symbolising Seasons on other mosaics, the order is not chronological but has Spring and Summer reversed.

The mosaic depicting the Rape of Proserpina found at Rome in 1885 shows Winter at bottom left, Spring at top left, and Autumn at bottom right; Summer did not survive (15) (Fig. 7). The busts of the Seasons were separated by birds of which a duck and a peacock survive (Parrish 1984: 28 n.76). The duck was placed on the left between Winter and Spring, with the peacock at the top between Spring and the lost Summer (Jones 1926: 276-277 pl. 106), giving an appropriate seasonal placement in chronological order. The position of the birds has evidently since been reversed (see Blake 1936: pl. 9,4) and the reversal



Figure 7  
Mosaic of Rape of Proserpina and Seasons from Rome, as displayed. © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Archivio Fotografico Capitolino.

continues in the mosaic as currently displayed in Centrale Montemartini, with the peacock on the left and the duck at the top.

### Animals Associated with Seasonal Plants

Four different animals in mosaics that do not include depictions of the Seasons can reasonably be interpreted as Seasonal if this is indicated by their association with appropriate plants. One of the clearest examples is a mosaic from El Jem showing Diana the huntress in the centre (16). Between the corner compartments with animal hunts are smaller roundels each with a bird. A duck at the bottom, representing Winter, is framed by olive branches; a partridge on the left, representing Summer, is framed by ears of wheat; a pheasant at the top, representing Autumn, is accompanied by a vine with large bunches of grapes; and a dove on the right, representing Spring, is flanked by roses. As Parrish notes, the birds are not shown in chronological sequence (1984: 187) but the presence of the distinctive products of the seasons confirms their significance.

The mosaic from the coincidentally-named Lion Walk in Colchester (17) has not been fully excavated but the design envisages four similar compartments generally accepted to have featured seasonal animals. The only animal uncovered to date is a lion interpreted by Smith as representing Summer because of its association with a basket (1984: 60-62). Although the contents of the basket are indistinct and were tentatively regarded by Smith as fruit and leaves, they include pointed shapes consistent with ears of wheat. The choice of grey-green tesserae rather than yellow is not indicative of foliage since the same colour was used to enliven the lion's mane. It is probable that the shade was chosen to make the wheat stand out from the basket and background (Witts 2016: 31).

The basket in the Colchester mosaic recalls those found with animals in a mosaic from Bavay known only from eighteenth-century records (18). The figures in the centre have been interpreted as Dionysos discovering Ariadne (Stern 1957: 73), while the corners show canthari or craters. The mosaic featured four quadrupeds all described as having a basket of flowers or fruit and shown with baskets sketched into a drawing, but in a more accomplished plate only three had baskets while the fourth was depicted in a leafy setting (Stern 1957: pls. XXXIXa and b). The baskets are not identical and the quadrupeds, while superficially similar to one another in the plate, are in different poses, suggesting that four species were intended. An early written description quoted by Biévelet (1956: 581) referred to: 'Les quatre côtés de cette pierre sont formés par quatre demi-cercles qui se joignent au centre, dans l'un desquels est représenté un tigre, dans l'autre un léopard, dans le troisième un sanglier and dans le quatrième un ours.' Another early description quoted by Hanoune (1976: 194) referred to 'un lion un elefant un sanglier et un leopard'. Precise identification is not wholly certain, but the animal on the right of the plate and drawing was depicted facing the viewer. This is a characteristic way in which lions are represented. The next animal, proceeding clockwise, is shown in the plate with a paw raised to touch the rim of the basket, which could suggest a leopard or tiger pawing at a basket of grapes. If these animals represented Summer and Autumn, they were in a clockwise sequence which would be completed by the boar for Winter, leaving the fourth animal to represent Spring. Hanoune suggests that the tiger and bear in the first account were mistaken for the lion and elephant in the second (1976: 196). As all animals had long tails in the drawing and plate except for the animal whose tail was obscured by the frontal pose, it seems likely that this was the animal regarded as a bear, a creature that does not have a long tail. I suggest that this was the lion in the second account, leaving Spring to be represented by the remaining

tiger or leopard of the first account or the elephant of the second. As there is no evidence for an elephant in the visual records and another feline would be unexpected, perhaps a feline was confused with a canine. Possibly the fourth animal was a hound which would be consistent with symbols of Spring in other mosaics.

Birds appear in the lunettes around the central bust of Dionysos in the mosaic in Room D of the villa at Knossos (19) (Fig. 8). There are seasonal plants in the interspaces; in each case the plants occupy the interspace to the rear, and slightly above, the bird with which they are associated. The peacock for Spring on the right has roses, while the partridge for Summer at the bottom has ears of wheat. The purple gallinule on the left represents Autumn in other mosaics but is associated here with olive leaves. It appears, as Sweetman suggests (2013: 164), that the gallinule and olives represent Winter, with the gallinule standing for a watery Season. Sweetman tentatively identifies the bird at the top as a parrot, a plausible identification in view of its long, forked tail and green colouring (2013: 164) (cf Parrish 1984: 28 n.76 suggesting 'perhaps a wood-pigeon', followed by Abad Casal 1990b: no. 204, who identifies the purple gallinule as a quail). It is associated with a bunch of grapes appropriate for Autumn.

Figure 8  
Dionysos Mosaic from Room D of the villa at Knossos. Photo: Iannis Papadakis, by courtesy of Sara Paton.



Figure 9  
Part of the narthex pavement in the Large Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis. Public Domain Source: Silfirieli, CC BY-SA 3.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mosaic\\_in\\_Heraclea\\_Lyncestis.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mosaic_in_Heraclea_Lyncestis.jpg)

The narthex pavement in the Large Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis has been thoroughly studied by a number of scholars, most recently by Ruth Kolarik (20) (Figs. 9-10). Unlike the other mosaics in this article, the Heraclea pavement shows six different animals: a goat, bull, lion, an animal that is mostly lost (probably a boar), a red dog tied to a tree, and a leopard which is depicted attacking a deer, all associated with trees appropriate to the season (Kolarik 2011: 139). Kolarik convincingly argues that the first three animals relate to Spring and Summer, replicating the zodiac signs of Aries (albeit with a goat rather than ram), Taurus and Leo. She points out how they adopt the poses seen in the constellations (2011: 138-139). The remaining three animals, which were





Figure 10  
Part of the narthex pavement in the Large Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis. Public Domain Source: Rašo, CC BY-SA 3.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mozaici\\_vo\\_Heraclea\\_Lyncestis\\_14.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mozaici_vo_Heraclea_Lyncestis_14.JPG)

placed on the other side of the central motif, related to Winter and Autumn, with the putative boar and leopard traditionally associated with these Seasons. They are separated by the unique red dog, which Kolarik links with the constellation of Canis Major, associated with late summer/early autumn and including Sirius, the dog star and the brightest star in the heavens (2011: 140). The order is therefore chronological from left to right for the first three animals but reversed for the fourth and sixth, with the dog placed somewhat curiously between the animals for Winter and Autumn.

A mosaic from the House of Lycurgus and Ambrosia at Aquileia depicts Lycurgus and Ambrosia in the central hexagon surrounded by six other hexagons (Fig. 11). Oceanus appears in the one above and Tethys in the one below. At lower left is a boar between reeds for Winter; at upper left a bull associated with flowers for Spring (Fig. 12); and at upper right a lion with a garland of wheat for Summer (Fig. 13); the fourth animal did not survive (21).



Figure 11  
Mosaic from the House of Lycurgus and Ambrosia at Aquileia. After L. Bertacchi, *Da Aquileia a Venezia* 1980 fig. 138. [In this photograph, the central scene is viewed from the right.]



Figure 12  
Detail of the bull in the mosaic from the House of Lycurgus and Ambrosia at Aquileia. Photo: Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, published with the authorization of Ministry of Culture (ITA), Regional Directorate of Museums of Friuli Venezia Giulia and preserved in the Archive of the National Archeological Museum of Aquileia (Ud).

### Seasonal Animals with No Other Seasonal Imagery

The animals in roundels at the corners of the mosaic showing the procession of the child Dionysos from El Jem are widely accepted as symbolising the Seasons although the figures of the Seasons themselves do not appear, nor are there any other indications of seasonal imagery (22) (Fig. 14). At top right is a boar for Winter, at bottom left a lion for Summer and at top left a leopard for Autumn; the animal for Spring at bottom right did not survive.

Figure 13  
Detail of the lion in the mosaic from the House of Lycurgus and Ambrosia at Aquileia. Photo: Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, published with the authorization of Ministry of Culture (ITA), Regional Directorate of Museums of Friuli Venezia Giulia and preserved in the Archive of the National Archeological Museum of Aquileia (Ud).



Figure 14  
Mosaic of the child Dionysos from El Jem. Photo: Patricia Witts, © INP-Tunis.

The main compartment of a mosaic found at Chania in 1977 shows Dionysos discovering Ariadne (23). Placed in spaces between the interlaced squares containing the mythological scene and the surrounding foliate wreath are four masks and four animals: a stag at lower right for Winter, a bull at lower left for Spring, a lion at upper left for Summer and a tiger at upper right for Autumn. Three surviving pairs of birds of different species flank winged figures in the spandrels and these also appear to be seasonal, albeit in a separate sequence: although hard to make out in the published photographs, they resemble doves for Spring at upper left, partridges for Summer at upper right and pheasants for Autumn at lower right.

Although the association is less clear, it is possible that the birds in the late mosaic of Theodoulos from Sousse might similarly have carried seasonal connotations (Parrish 1984: 67, 255-256) (24). Four pairs of birds flank a centrally placed crater from which a date palm and vine scrolls are growing. The overall theme appears to be fruitfulness. The prominent bunches of grapes and dates are appropriate for Autumn but there is no foliage linked to the other seasons. Nevertheless, the birds are carefully and symmetrically arranged. They follow the chronological order of the seasons from top to bottom: pheasants for Autumn, ducks for Winter, peacocks for Spring, and partridges for Summer. All are birds that appear as symbols of those Seasons elsewhere, and it is notable in the context of this mosaic that Autumn, the season of fruitfulness, appears at the top.

### Uncertain or Disputed Examples of Seasonal Animals

The mosaic of Africa and the Seasons at El Jem shows the personification of Africa in a large square compartment in the centre, with female busts of Seasons in the corners in an anti-clockwise sequence starting with Winter at top left (A). In the centre of each side is a small bird with a seasonal plant appropriate to the Season after which it is placed: olives for Winter, a flower for Spring, an ear of wheat for Summer, and grapes for Autumn. While the seasonal nature of the mosaic is clear, it is uncertain whether the birds were intended to represent the individual Seasons: they are similar to one another but not identical, and were perhaps not meant to be specific, identifiable birds. It is notable that they do not seem to include the birds commonly associated with Seasons elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

Rueda Roigé suggests that the animals in the semicircular compartments of the Bacchus mosaic from Calle de Cruz Conde at Cordoba are Seasonal (2011: 167) (B). The mosaic contained busts of the Seasons in the corners and animals in the centre of each side, which Rueda Roigé identifies as a duck for Winter, a peacock for Spring (cf Blazquez 1981: 30, a heron), and a bull for Summer (2011: fig. 10). While the duck, peacock and bull appear as symbols of such Seasons in other mosaics, it would be unusual, although not unique, for seasonal symbols to comprise a mixture of quadrupeds and birds (cf the Four Seasons mosaic from Carthage (7), a different design in which the animals share the same space as the Season they accompany). In the Cordoba mosaic, the bull not only has a seasonally appropriate basket of wheat but also a trident which it is holding in an upraised front hoof, and the fourth animal appears to be a second bull. These factors distinguish the mosaic from traditional representations of seasonal animals. While seasonal allusions are evident, the symbolism of the four animals is uncertain and perhaps carried a more complex message.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Stephen Cosh for discussing the birds on this mosaic.

A mosaic from the Villa of Awza'i shows Ge surrounded by four animals accepted as seasonal by Abad Casal (1990b: no. 211) (C). At upper left is a bull, at lower left is a leopard identified by its spots, and at lower right is a lion identified by its mane. These animals could represent Spring, Autumn and Summer, although not in chronological sequence, but the fourth animal is problematic. Its surviving foreparts indicate another feline identified by Abad Casal as a tiger which he associates with Winter. This would be an exceptional seasonal association. By comparison with the feline at upper right in the mosaic of Leontius from the same site (Chéhab 1957-1959: pl. LXXXVII), the apparent 'stripes' of the tiger could represent shading of the animal's body. It is possible that this figure represents a lioness and that the animals were not intended to carry seasonal allusions. It is easier to argue a seasonal significance for the animals in the mosaic of Leontius as it shows a bull and lion (or lioness) – animals that commonly represent Spring and Summer elsewhere – with a bear and hare. The bear's winter hibernation and the hare's association with the grape harvest could suggest Winter and Autumn but I exclude this mosaic because the symbolism of the bear and hare is not traditional and the significance of these animals is uncertain.

The mosaic found at Clos de la Tour, Fréjus, featured animals that appear as symbols of Seasons elsewhere, but the main subject of the mosaic suggests that this is not their significance here (D). The stag (Lavagne 2000: 344, gazelle), bull, lion and leopard respectively represent Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn in other mosaics and are accepted as possibly seasonal here by Abad Casal (1990b: no. 209). They are disposed in the correct chronological sequence anti-clockwise but are all in poses more suited to the amphitheatre: the stag is running, the bull has its head lowered, and the lion and leopard are leaping. The animal-combat theme is made explicit in the central compartment, which shows two confronted cocks with a palm branch above and a crater or cantharus below. Lavagne, who has written the volume of *Recueil Général des Mosaïques de la Gaule* that includes this mosaic, does not mention any seasonal allusions. Instead, he concludes that: 'Les quatre animaux sauvages évoquent des combats de fauves (*venationes*) dans l'amphithéâtre, peut-être pour souligner la férocité du combat de coqs qui pourrait avoir été donné par le commanditaire de la mosaïque' (2000: 345).

Noting that the animals in the Rudston Venus mosaic are the same as those depicted at Fréjus, and also bearing in mind the Saint-Romain-en-Gal and Trier mosaics above ((1) and (2)), Smith suggested that 'it seems at least possible ... that the animals of Rudston were specifically chosen as symbols of the Seasons' (1980: 135; *contra* Witts 2011: 149-150) (E) (Fig. 15). This theory is supported by Darmon who has referred to them as beasts of the amphitheatre 'symbolisant les Saisons' (2003: 305; 2005: 309). Around the figure of Venus in the centre, the stag appears on the left, the leopard at the top, the bull on the right, and the lion at the bottom. This order does not follow the chronological sequence of seasons and the beasts are clearly shown in the context of the amphitheatre. It is particularly notable that the lion has been penetrated by a spear; the mosaic includes *bestiarii* and amphitheatre accoutrements; and two of the animals are accompanied by inscriptions apparently referring to their stage names (discussed in Witts 2016: 32, with references). The amphitheatre link is unprecedented in any of the other mosaics in this study save only for the mosaic from El Jem (F) discussed below, where a seasonal interpretation is also rejected. A better comparison is the mosaic of gladiators and wild beasts from Reims, which includes the same animals as appear at Rudston including some that have been speared (Stern 1957: 33-35 no. 38 pls XI-XIV). While hunting animals in the wild can carry



Figure 15  
 Painting by David Neal of the Venus mosaic  
 from Rudston. © David S. Neal.

seasonal associations, as it does most markedly in the paintings in the Tomb of the Nasonii, the artificial setting of the arena changes the interpretation placed upon animals in amphitheatre scenes. Hunted animals are akin to crops, being natural products generally used for food so that the pleasure of the pursuit is not the only purpose served by the hunt. Neither the Fréjus, Rudston nor El Jem mosaics features personifications of the Seasons themselves or any conventional seasonal imagery, and any link between the animals and seasons is unproven.

Ennaïfer suggests that the four animals ranged along one side of the xenia mosaic from El Jem, now in The Bardo, symbolise the Seasons (1995: 72) (F). They are placed in a row beneath the well-known scene of dice players and comprise confronted pairs of leopard with lion and bull with bear, each animal being encircled by a millet stalk. Arguably these animals relate simply to the amphitheatre (Dunbabin 1978: 260 no. 28), with the game of chance above them reflecting the risks inherent in combats in that setting. This is the antithesis of the predictability of the seasonal cycle.

The final mosaic to discuss in this survey is the Atrium pavement from Basilica A at Ayios Yeoryios in Cyprus, whose animals Abad Casal includes in his list of Seasonal beasts (1990b: no. 212) (G). The mosaic lacks any seasonal imagery but simply shows confronted pairs of animals: a boar with a bear, and a lion



with a humped zebu, ox or bull (Daszewski and Michaelides 1988: 94, bull; Michaelides 1992: 99, zebu or ox). Although the boar and lion appear as symbols of Winter and Summer in many of the mosaics discussed in this article, and the fourth animal could be interpreted as a bull linking it to Spring, the bear does not feature at all. Daszewski and Michaelides suggest that the animals ‘ultimately derive from the hunting scenes of North Africa’ (1988: 94). There is nothing in the context of this mosaic to suggest a seasonal connotation.

## Conclusions

The geographical spread of the mosaics with seasonal animals shows that they were popular throughout the Roman Empire, especially in North Africa.

In most cases four different species were shown, making it less likely that there is a seasonal significance if more than four appear. For instance, the leopard, lion and boar on the side of basin in a mosaic from Sousse are interpreted as beasts of the amphitheatre (Dunbabin 1978: 269 no. 7; cf Steer 2003: 371 fig. 3, regarding them as representing the Seasons) although they are animals that, in other contexts, often represent the Seasons; the presence of other animals in this mosaic undermines any seasonal connection. In the special case of Heraclea Lynkestis (20), however, there were six seasonal species but at Dair Solaib (13) only three (plus a bird shown beneath the leaping lion). It is perhaps significant that these were late mosaics found in ecclesiastical contexts.

The seasonal animals were most frequently depicted as single examples representing each season, but pairs of the same species were sometimes used, especially if they were birds. As well as a pair of ducks, the recent discovery at Écija (11) is noteworthy for including at least two dissimilar pairs: a partridge with a bee-eater and a dove with a swallow. The Dair Solaib mosaic (13) is a special case, not only for the repetition of an animal, but because the creatures in question are horses which do not feature in the other mosaics discussed in this article. They make explicit a link with the circus, seen also in the mosaic from Piazza Armerina (6).

Duplication of a particular animal, while unusual in mosaics depicting the Seasons, is not unknown in other media. For instance, the situla found at Tourdan, near Vienne, and now in the British Museum, shows figures of the Seasons reclining on a boar and a bull, interspersed with two felines conventionally described as panthers but probably to be identified as lionesses<sup>4</sup> (Hanfmann 1951: II, 145 no. 105 fig. 106; Parrish 1984: 27 n.67; Painter 1989: 224-225 no. 183; Abad Casal 1990a: no. 86; Abad Casal 1990b: no. 214; [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1859-0321-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-0321-1), accessed 14 January 2022). Walters has suggested that the resting boar and bull could symbolise the stationary position of the sun at the Summer and Winter Solstices, while the moving panthers could indicate the equinoxes (1921: 20 no. 74 pls. X-XI).

The seasonal animals appear most often in mosaics either entirely devoted to the Seasons or whose main imagery related to time. These range from the straightforward Four Seasons mosaic at Carthage (7) to the mosaics with Aion from Haïdra (9) and Écija (11). The zodiac, along with months, also featured at Trier in a mosaic in which the Muses and Greek and Latin authors were prominent (2). Constellations are shown at Heraclea (20), while on a more down

<sup>4</sup> ‘Panther’ is a generic term often used to describe large felines (discussed in Witts 2016: 11) but it is usually possible to be precise. Those shown on the Tourdan situla lack the spots or stripes that would indicate a leopard or tiger, but have a ruff of fur around the neck consistent with a lioness. The presence of teats confirms that they are female.

to earth level the mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal featured the animals at the centre of a series of scenes showing seasonal activities (1).

Where the seasonal animals surround a deity, they frequently appear with Dionysos/Bacchus, who was the leader of the Seasons. Examples include mosaics from Trier (4), Cologne (5), Bavay (18), Knossos (19), El Jem (22) and Chania (23), along with characters associated with Bacchic myth – Lycurgus and Ambrosia – from Aquileia (21). Neptune is prominent in the La Chebba mosaic (8), and Diana the huntress is the main subject at El Jem (16), with the seasonal birds representing species hunted during the season in question (Parrish 1984: 188). The Orpheus mosaics from Littlecote (3) and Fôret de Brotonne (14) included animals that not only formed Orpheus's audience but also represented the Seasons.

Unsurprisingly, mosaics alluding to the earth and to fruitfulness included seasonal animals – Carthage (10) and the tomb mosaic from Sousse (24) – but such animals are more evident in fairly complex designs. One direction for future research is to study mosaics in which numerous animals appear to form purely decorative elements to see whether or not any subtle seasonal links are apparent. However, just because certain animals were favoured in Seasons mosaics, it does not automatically mean that the animals represented the Seasons as such. For instance, the Lord Julius mosaic from Carthage includes a number of attractive animals appearing as attributes or as part of seasonal activities in three of the seasonal scenes rather than representing the Seasons themselves (Dunbabin 1978: 119-120, 252 no. 32 pl. 109; Dunbabin 1999:118-119 fig. 122; Abad Casal 1990b: no. 191). Parrish explains that in this mosaic the seasons are not sequential, with Winter and Summer at the top and Spring and Autumn at the bottom, the latter seasons being those when aristocrats left the city and visited their estates (1984: 22 n.38, 55-56, 111-113 no. 9 pls. 15-16).

### Chronological Sequence and Starting Point

Where the chronological sequence of the seasonal animals is known, there was a preference for a clockwise arrangement, with 10 examples ((1), (3), (4), (9), (12), (15), (18), (21), (22), (23)) as opposed to five for anti-clockwise ((2), (5), (6), (8), (11)).

Traditionally the seasonal cycle started with Winter (Ovid, *Fasti* I, 145; Julian *Orationes* IV (*Hymn to King Helios*), 156A). Assuming the imagery in the central compartment of the mosaic was viewed from the correct direction, and starting with the animal for Winter, there was a clear preference for the seasonal sequence to start on the left, with 12 examples ((1)-(5), (8)-(9), (11)-(12), (15), (18) and (21)), as opposed to two starting on the right ((6), (22)).

The sequences of female and animal Seasons are distinct from each other in the Littlecote (3) and Caerwent (12) mosaics. Similarly, the chronological orders of the quadrupeds and birds in the Chania mosaic (23) do not seem to be aligned.

### The Animals

The various quadrupeds in this study are set out in Table 1. Of those that survive, the lion occurs in the greatest number of mosaics, with 14 examples from 13 mosaics. Next are leopards/tigers along with their female equivalents, which account for 11 examples from 10 mosaics. There are seven bulls from seven mosaics, and potentially at least ten boars from nine mosaics. The other species appear far less frequently. The traditional seasonal beasts of boar, bull, lion and leopard/tiger account for some three-quarters of all the animals in this study.

Table 2 assesses the quadrupeds by the Season to which they were assigned. It shows that the boar, bull, lion and leopard/tiger were not only the most commonly used, but that they appeared almost exclusively as symbols of Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn respectively. At Littlecote (3), the bull unusually symbolises Summer, but this recalls the bull at Heraclea (20) which perhaps represented late Spring, since the goat also appearing in this mosaic was typically associated with the beginning of Spring (Kolarik 2011: 139). The inclusion of the bull at Littlecote apparently as a symbol of Summer might be explained by the first day of summer being when the sun is in Taurus (Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum* I, XXVIII).

The use of birds was more varied although some patterns can be observed from Table 3. The partridge is the most common, appearing ten times in seven mosaics. The duck appeared as a seasonal symbol potentially ten times in six mosaics and in many more as an attribute, and the pheasant potentially eight times in five mosaics. There were seven purple gallinules in four mosaics, and six peacocks in four.

Table 4 assesses the birds by the Season to which they were assigned. It shows that most birds were associated mainly or exclusively with a single season, such as the duck with Winter, the peacock with Spring, and the partridge with Summer.

Several factors link the various animals and birds with the seasons in question, most of which have been discussed by Parrish and Kolarik (Parrish 1984: esp. 26-40, 56; Kolarik 2011). For the main quadrupeds, the bull for Spring and the lion for Summer are drawn directly from the zodiac. The leopard/tiger for Autumn is associated with Dionysos, the protective deity of the grape harvest. The boar is associated with Winter because that is the season in which it was hunted (Horace, *Epode* II, 29-33, noted by Parrish 1984: 2, n.62, 31). The deer hunt was also a winter activity (Virgil, *Georgics* I, 307-309) but could take place in the Spring, as indicated by the scenes in the Tomb of the Nasonii (Parrish 1984: 56 n.226; Abad Casal 1990a: no. 42). The goat was traditionally associated with Spring (Parrish 1984: 26, 31, 35). It was the time when goats led sheep to their pastures and the goat was regarded along with the swallow as an indication of this season (Kolarik 2011: 139, quoting the Calendar of 354; for this, see Stern 1953: esp. pls. VIII,2, XVI,2 and XVIII,1; Parrish 1992: no. 17). Kolarik notes an association between the hound and shepherds in the spring (2011: 141). This perhaps explains the use of hounds as a symbol of Spring on several of the mosaics, with the special case of the Heraclea hound having a link with a constellation (2011: 140). The hare hunt was an autumn or winter activity, the hare being particularly related to autumn as scavenger of the vine (Parrish 1984: 33, 37, 39).

For the birds, the association of ducks with Winter and partridges with Summer is explained by these being the seasons in which they were hunted (Parrish 1984: 27, 31, 33; Parrish 1995: 174), while the peacock is symbolic of the renewal of nature in the Spring (Parrish 1995: 174, 176). The other notable seasonal link in this study is the purple gallinule which appears almost exclusively as representing Autumn. A paper discussing the habits of this water-bird explains that the gallinule settles in and nests in the autumn, as soon as marshlands become wet after drying out in summer (Vielliard undated: 231).

It is evident that the quadrupeds appearing less often – deer, goat, hare, horse, hound – are gentle and/or domesticated animals. Those with the traditional association with specific Seasons – boar, bull, lion, leopard/tiger – are more

dangerous beasts. As well as indulging in hunting and keeping birds such as peacocks and gallinules, the patrons who commissioned the mosaics might well also have kept the more unusual birds such as the parakeet and flamingo. Personal familiarity and preference could easily have played a part in the choice of species that appear infrequently in seasonal contexts.

The animals in this study, often relatively small and easily overlooked, not only enliven the mosaics in question but play a far more than decorative role: they link the pavements to the heavens as well as earth, recalling constellations and earthly pursuits as well as the reassuring repetition of the seasonal cycle.

## Catalogue

### (1) Calendar Mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal

Boar, bull, lion, tigress, clockwise from bottom left. Personifications of the Seasons riding the animals. Depictions of seasonal activities.

Hanfmann 1951: II no. 303

Smith 1980: 135

Lancha 1981: 208-225, no. 368, esp. 210-211 pls. CVIII-CXI

Parrish 1984: 25, 27 n.67 pl. 103

Abad Casal 1990a: no. 80

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 57

Dunbabin 1999: 76 fig. 79

Steer 2003: 369

Balmelle and Darmon 2017: 186 figs. 239-242

### (2) Monnus-Mosaik from Trier

AVTVMNVS rides a leopardess at top right; other ridden Seasons lost apart from trace of putto, evidently Summer from adjacent imagery. Sequence presumed to be anti-clockwise from top left. Personifications of the months, zodiac, Muses and authors.

Hanfmann 1951: II no. 304

Parlasca 1959: 41-43 pls. 42,1, 43-47

Smith 1980: 135

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 58

Hoffmann, Hupe and Goethert 1999: 138-141 No. 103 pls. 64-65, 68-69

Balmelle and Darmon 2017: 199 fig. 249

### (3) Orpheus mosaic from Littlecote

Deer, goat, bull, leopard clockwise from bottom left, with personifications of Seasons around Orpheus.

Lysons 1813-1817: I.IV, 4 pl. IX

Hanfmann 1951: II no. 104

Smith 1977: 150, no. 139 pl. 6.XXIa

Toynbee 1981: 1-5 pl. 1

Walters 1984: 435-437 figs. 1-3

Abad Casal 1990a: no. 57

Cosh - Neal 2005: 351-355 Mosaic 248.1 figs. 371-374

Witts 2011: 150-151 fig. 5

Witts 2016: esp. 137, 181-182 no. 92 figs. 7, 72, 83, 94

(4) Bacchus mosaic from Walramsneustrasse, Trier

Boars, stags, lions, leopards, clockwise from centre left, around Bacchus in chariot drawn by tigers, with personifications of Seasons in corners.

Hanfmann 1951: II nos 122 and 299

Parlasca 1959: 40 pls. 40-41

Parrish 1984: 27 n.67

Abad Casal 1990a: no. 31

Hoffmann – Hupe - Goethert 1999: 158-160 No. 144 pls. 88-90

Balmelle - Darmon 2017: 142 fig. 171

(5) Dionysosmosaik from Cologne

Surviving chariots drawn by parakeets and purple gallinules in small compartments in a Dionysiac mosaic: drunken Dionysos with satyr; satyrs, maenads, Pan, Silenus; large baskets/craters with fruit; quadrupeds and birds. Anti-clockwise, presumably starting top left.

Parlasca 1959: 78 pls. 66, 75,1, 77,1

Parrish 1984: 28 n.76

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 216

Dunbabin 1999: 81 fig. 83

<https://roemisch-germanisches-museum.de/Permanent-Exhibition> (accessed 10.09.22; second image under third heading 'View pictures')

(6) Bird Circus at Piazza Armerina

Doves, flamingos, geese, purple gallinules, anti-clockwise from bottom right, around spina.

Carandini – Ricci - de Vos 1982: 76, 282 colour pl. XLI

Parrish 1984: 28

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 217

Steger 2017: 16 fig. 7

<https://villaromana.mused.org/items/9322/vestibolo-del-piccolo-circo-vestibule-of-the-small-circus> (accessed 10.09.22)

(7) Mosaic of the Four Seasons from Carthage

Two surviving panels, personifications of Seasons respectively with goat and partridges.

Dunbabin 1978: 120, 253, Carthage no. 42

Parrish 1984: 26, 27, 120-122 no. 12 pls. 20-21

Abad Casal 1990a: no. 102

Yacoub 1993: 56 fig. 50

(8) Mosaic of Neptune and the Seasons from La Chebba

Boar, hound, lion, leopard, anti-clockwise from centre left, around Neptune, with personifications of Seasons in corners.

Hanfmann 1951: II, nos 118 and 445

Dunbabin 1978: 20, 110, 254, La Chebba 1, pls. 97-98

Parrish 1984: 25, 26, 27, 201-204 no. 49 pls 66b-68

Abad Casal 1990a: no. 29

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 192

Yacoub 1993: 134 fig. 98

Parrish 1995: 170 fig. 4

Slim 1995b: 56-57, 134 figs. 22-24, 29, 33-34, 90

Dunbabin 1999: 111-112 fig. 114

Vollkommer 2001: 215-216 figs. 1-9

Steer 2003: esp. 368-369 figs. 1-2

Kolarik 2011: 140 fig. 4 colour pl. V

(9) Mosaic of Zodiac and Seasons from Haïdra

Ducks, peacocks, pheasants, purple gallinules, clockwise from top left, around Aion holding the circle of the zodiac, with personifications of Seasons in corners.

Dunbabin 1978: 158, 261, Haïdra 1, pl. 155

Parrish 1984: 27, 47, 190-193 no. 44 pls. 59b-61a

Abad Casal 1990b: nos 85 and 205

Parrish 1995: esp. 170, 174, 176 fig. 1

Steer 2003: 373 fig. 4

<https://www.un.org/ungifts/content/mosaic-four-seasons> (accessed 10.09.22)

(10) Tellus Mosaic from Carthage

Duck(s), pheasants, partridges, anti-clockwise around Tellus, with personifications of Seasons in corners.

Dunbabin 1978: 254, Carthage no. 46

Parrish 1984: 27, 122- 125 no. 13 pls. 22-23

Abad Casal 1990b: nos 134, 194

Parrish 1995: 176 fig. 8

(11) Allegorical Mosaic from Écija

Boar and ducks, bull and dove with swallow, lion and partridge with bee-eater, anti-clockwise from top left around Aion with winged Victories in centre; the animals flank personifications of Seasons in corners.

López Ruiz 2005: esp. 308, 310 fig. 3 pls. I, V

Rueda Roigé - Lopez Ruiz 2011: 791-796, Mosaic 1 figs. 1-8

Vargas Vázquez - López Monteagudo - García-Dils de la Vega 2017: 73-75, Mosaic 32 fig.64

(12) Seasons mosaic from Caerwent

Boar, hound, lion, hound hunting hare, clockwise from centre left, with busts of Seasons in corners.

Neal 2005: 12-14

Witts 2011: 151-152 figs. 6-10

Cosh - Neal 2010: 359-364, Mosaic 483.30 figs 367-368

Witts 2016: esp. 137, 157-158 no. 25 figs. 22, 49-50, 99

(13) Mosaic from Church A at Dair Solaib

Horse, bull, lion, horse, not in chronological sequence.

Hanfmann 1951: I, 162; II no. 192 fig. 121

Decriaud 2011: 312, no. 12 fig. 12 [Deir-es-Sleib]

(14) Orpheus mosaic from Fôret de Brotonne

Lion plus traces of stag and feline, not in chronological order, around Orpheus.

Hanfmann 1951: II no. 168

Darmon 1994: 85-86 no. 875 pls. LI-LX

(15) Rape of Proserpina and Seasons from Rome

Surviving duck and peacock, clockwise from centre left originally, between busts of Seasons.

Jones 1926: 276-277 pl. 106

Blake 1936: 131, 180 pls. 9,4, 45,4

Parrish 1984: 28 n.76

(16) Mosaic of Diana the Huntress from El Jem

Duck, partridge, pheasant, dove, not in chronological sequence, around Diana.  
In corners, animal hunts.

Dunbabin 1978: 261, El Djem no. 31

Parrish 1984: 27, 56, 186-188 no. 41 pl. 58

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 203

Yacoub 1993: 273 fig. 201

Ghedini 1994: 256

(17) Mosaic from Lion Walk, Colchester

Lion with basket of wheat; rest of mosaic unexcavated.

Smith 1984: 57-62 figs. 48-49

Neal - Cosh 2009: 122-123, Mosaic 291.52 fig. 78

Witts 2011: 152-153 fig. 11

Witts 2016: esp. 31, 137, 164-165 no. 43 fig. 25

(18) Mosaic of Dionysos discovering Ariadne from Bavay

Boar, ? hound, lion, leopard or tiger, clockwise from centre left, around scene of  
Dionysos discovering Ariadne.

Biévelet 1943: 168 fig. 6

Biévelet 1956: 581 pl. XIII fig. 6

Stern 1957: 73-74 no. 109 pls XXXIXa and b

Hanoune 1976: 191-201 fig. 1

(19) Mosaic of Dionysos from Room D, Villa at Knossos

Purple gallinule, ? parrot, peacock and partridge, not in chronological sequence,  
around bust of Dionysos.

Payne 1935: 164 pl. XI,2

Hanfmann 1951: II no. 219

Sanders 1982: 51-53 pl. 13 (not including the birds)

Parrish 1984: 28 n.76

Abad Casal 1990a: no. 114

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 204

Sweetman 2013: 162-164, Mosaic 3 pl. 3 colour pl. 2

(20) Mosaic from the Large Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis

Linear arrangement of goat, bull, lion, boar (?), red dog, leopard attacking deer.

Tomašević 1975: 389-390 pls. CLXXXIVb and CLXXXV



Maguire 1987: esp. 36-40 figs. 42-47

Kolarik 2011: 137-146 incl. figs. 1-2, 5

(21) Mosaic in House of Lycurgus and Ambrosia at Aquileia

Boar, bull, lion, fourth animal lost, clockwise from lower left, around hexagon with depictions of Lycurgus and Ambrosia, with Oceanus above and Tethys below.

Bertacchi 1964: 258 pl. 7

Bertacchi 1980: 165-166, colour pls 137-138

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 210

(22) Mosaic showing procession of the Child Dionysos from El Jem

Boar, second animal lost, lion, leopard, clockwise from top right, around child Dionysos riding tigress and accompanied by maenad and satyr.

Foucher 1963: 104 pl. XXb

Dunbabin 1978: 176, 186, 261, El Djem no. 32 pl. 177

Parrish 1984: 26, 44, 182-184 no. 39 pl. 57a

Slim 1995c: 96-97 fig. 59

Steer 2003: 371

(23) Mosaic of Dionysos discovering Ariadne from Chania

Stag, bull, lion, tiger, clockwise from lower right, in spaces between the central interlaced squares and the enclosing roundel; the interlaced squares contain a scene of Dionysos and Ariadne.

Markoulaki 2011: 58 incl. fig. [printed in reverse]

Sweetman 2013: 241-244, Mosaic 135 pl. 40 colour pl. 9

(24) Mosaic of Theodoulos from Sousse

Linear from top to bottom, pairs of pheasants, ducks, peacocks, partridges on either side of central date palm and vine scrolls.

Dunbabin 1978: 169, n. 174, 193, n. 29, colour pl. F. tomb mosaic

Parrish 1984: 67, 254-256 no. 75 pl. 101b

*Uncertain or not seasonal*

(A) Mosaic of Africa and Seasons from El Jem

Small birds associated with seasonal plants between busts of Seasons around personification of Africa.

Slim 1995a: 18-22 figs. 1-3

(B) Mosaic of Bacchus and the Seasons from Cordoba

Duck, peacock, bull with trident, second bull, in mosaic of Bacchus and busts of Seasons.

Blazquez 1981: 29-30 figs 13-16

Rueda Roigé 2011: 167 fig. 10

(C) Mosaic of Ge from Villa of Awza'i

Tiger or lioness, bull, lion, leopard, around bust of Ge.

Chéhab 1957-1959: 128-129 pl. LXXXIX

Balty 1995: 132

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 211

(D) Mosaic of cock fight from Clos de la Tour, Fréjus

Stag, bull, lion, leopard in active poses. In centre, confronted cocks with palm branch and cantharus or crater.

Février 1975: 298 pl. CXXX

Smith 1980: 135

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 209

Lavagne 2000: 344-345 no. 965 pls. CXVI-CXVII

(E) Venus mosaic from Rudston

Stag, leopard, bull, lion, around Venus, with bestiarii and amphitheatre objects.

Smith 1980: 134-136 pls. XIb-XII

Dunbabin 1999: 98-99 fig. 99

Neal and Cosh 2002: 353-356, Mosaic 143.2 figs. 325-327

Darmon 2003: 305

Darmon 2005: 309

Smith 2005: 9-13 fig. 3

Witts 2011: 149-150 figs 1-4 colour pl. VI

Witts 2016: esp. 32-33, 137, 190 no. 115 figs. 11, 27, 76, 97

(F) Xenia mosaic from El Jem

Leopard and lion confronted, bull and bear confronted, each encircled with millet, in mosaic with many xenia items, in row immediately below rare scene of dice players.

Dunbabin 1978: 125, 170, 260, El Djem no. 28 pl. 118

Yacoub 1993: 138 fig. 105

Ennaïfer 1995: 72

## (G) Atrium mosaic at Ayios Yeoryios, Peyia

Boar and bear confronted, lion and ox/zebu confronted.

Daszewski and Michaelides 1988: 94-95 fig. 9

Michaelides 1992: 99, figs 56, 56a, 56b

Abad Casal 1990b: no. 212

Table 1 - Quadrupeds as Seasonal Animals, Listed by Quadruped

Mosaic	Boar	Bull	Deer (Stag/ Hind)	Goat	Hare hunt	Horse	Hound	Leopard/ Leopardess/ Tiger/Tigress	Lion
1 Saint-Romain	x	x						x	x
2 Trier								x	
3 Littlecote		x	x	x				x	
4 Trier	x (2)		x (2)					x (2)	x (2)
7 Carthage				x					
8 La Chebba	x						x	x	X
11 Ēcija	x	x							X
12 Caerwent	x				x		x		X
13 Dair Solaib		x				x (2)			X
14 Fôret de Brotonne			x					x	X
17 Colchester									X
18 Bavay	x						x?	x	X
20 Heraclea Lynceſtis	x?	x		x			x	x	X
21 Aquileia	x	x							X
22 El Jem	x							x	X
23 Chania		x	x					x	X
<b>Total: mosaics</b>	9?	7	4	3	1	1	4?	10	13
<b>Total: animals</b>	10?	7	5	3	1	2	4?	11	14

Table 2 - Quadrupeds as Seasonal Animals, Listed by Season

Quadruped	Winter	Spring	Summer	Autumn
Boar	1 Saint-Romain 4 Trier 8 La Chebba 11 Ēcija 12 Caerwent 18 Bavay 20 Heraclea ? 21 Aquileia 22 El Jem			
Bull		1 Saint-Romain 11 Ēcija 13 Dair Solaib 20 Heraclea 21 Aquileia 23 Chania	3 Littlecote	

Deer (Stag/Hind)	3 Littlecote 23 Chania	4 Trier 14 Fôret de Brotonne		
Goat		3 Littlecote 7 Carthage 20 Heraclea		
Hare hunt				12 Caerwent
Horse	13 Dair Solaib			13 Dair Solaib
Hound		8 La Chebba 12 Caerwent 18 Bavay ?		20 Heraclea
Leopard/Leopardess/ Tiger/ Tigress				1 Saint-Romain 2 Trier 3 Littlecote 4 Trier 8 La Chebba 14 Fôret de Brotonne 18 Bavay 20 Heraclea 22 El Jem 23 Chania
Lion			1 Saint-Romain 4 Trier 8 La Chebba 11 Écija 12 Caerwent 13 Dair Solaib 14 Fôret de Brotonne 17 Colchester 18 Bavay 20 Heraclea 21 Aquileia 22 El Jem 23 Chania	

Table 3 - Birds as Seasonal Animals, Listed by Bird

Mosaic	Dove/Pigeon	Duck	Flamingo	Goose	Parrot/ Parakeet	Partridge	Peacock	Pheasant	Purple gallinule
5 Cologne					x (2)				x (2)
6 Piazza Armerina	x (2)		x (2)	x (2)					x (2)
7 Carthage						x (2)			
9 Haïdra		x (2)					x (2)	x (2)	x (2)
10 Carthage		x (2?)				x (2?)		x (2?)	
11 Écija	x (& swallow)	x (2)				x (& bee- eater)			
15 Rome		x					x		
16 El Jem	x	x				x		x	
19 Knossos					x	x	x		x
23 Chania	x					x		x	
24 Sousse		x (2)				x (2)	x (2)	x (2)	
<b>Total: mosaics</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Total: animals</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10?</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8?</b>	<b>7</b>

Table 4 - Birds as Seasonal Animals, Listed by Season

Bird	Winter	Spring	Summer	Autumn
Dove/Pigeon	6 Piazza Armerina	11 Écija (& swallow) 16 El Jem 23 Chania		
Duck	9 Haïdra 10 Carthage 11 Écija 15 Rome 16 El Jem 24 Sousse			
Flamingo		6 Piazza Armerina		
Goose			6 Piazza Armerina	
Parrot/Parakeet			5 Cologne	19 Knossos
Partridge			7 Carthage 10 Carthage 11 Écija (& bee-eater) 16 El Jem 19 Knossos 23 Chania 24 Sousse	
Peacock		9 Haïdra 15 Rome 19 Knossos 24 Sousse		
Pheasant		10 Carthage	9 Haïdra	16 El Jem 23 Chania 24 Sousse
Purple gallinule	19 Knossos			5 Cologne 6 Piazza Armerina 9 Haïdra

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# Antakya Mevsimler Mozağının Arkeometrik Yönden İncelenmesi

## Archaeometric Investigation of the Seasonal Mosaic of Antiochia

Ali ARGUNHAN - Mahmut AYDIN\*

(Received 17 May 2021, accepted after revision 03 September 2022)

### Öz

*Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesinde sergilenen Mevsimler Mozağı dokuz panelden oluşur ve dört köşesinde mevsimler tasvir edilir. Mevsimler Mozağının üzerinde bulunan cam ve taş tesseraların renkleri Munsell Renk Kataloğu esas alınarak, dijital Odak marka Capsure Portatif Renk Eşleştirme cihazı ile belirlenmiştir. Taş tesseraların petrografik analizleri ince kesit optik mikroskop analizi ile cam tesseraların kimyasal analizi de Polarize Enerji Dağıtımli X-Işını Floresan Spektrometresi kullanılarak, arkeometrik yönden karakterize edilmiştir. Elde edilen sonuçlar ışığında taş tesseraların kayaç türü, dokusu, sertlik derecesi, agregayı oluşturan kayaç ve mineraller tanımlanmıştır. Cam tessera analizlerinin sonuçları çerçevesinde bulunan elementlerin kimyasal kompozisyonu belirlenmiş ve renk özellikleri hakkında öngörülerde bulunulmuştur. Taş tesseraların petrografik analizi ile kayaç türleri biyospartik, biyomikritik ve mikritik kireçtaşı olarak belirlenmiştir. Cam tesseraların PED-XRF analizi sonucunda soda kireç camı olduğu, bitki külünün kullanılmadığı, bünyesinde bozulmanın ve direncinin düşük olduğu belirlenmiştir. Cam tessera yeşil rengi veren elementin bakır olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Stronsiyum (Sr) ve zirkonyum (Zr) içeriklerine bakılarak cam tesseraların yapısında karasal hammadde kullanıldığı sonucuna varılmıştır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Arkeometri, mozaik, tessera renkleri, PED-XRF, petrografi.

### Abstract

*The Seasons Mosaic exhibited in Hatay Archaeology Museum consists of nine panels and the seasons are depicted in its four corners. The colors of the glass and stone tesserae on the Seasons Mosaic were determined by the digital Focus brand Capsure Portable Color Matching device based on the Munsell Color Catalogue. The petrographic analyzes of the stone tesserae were characterized archeometrically by thin-section optical microscopy analysis and the chemical analysis of the glass tesserae using the Polarized Energy Distributed X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometer. In the light of the results obtained, the rock type, texture, hardness level, rocks and minerals forming the aggregate of the stone tesserae were defined. The chemical composition of the elements found within the framework of the results of the glass tessera analysis was determined and predictions were made about the color properties. By petrographic analysis of stone tesserae, rock types were determined as biospartitic, biomicritic and micritic limestone. As a result of the PED-XRF analysis of the glass tesserae, it was determined that it was soda lime glass, that plant ash was not used, and that it had low deterioration and resistance. It has been understood that the element that gives the green color to the glass tesserae is copper. By looking at the strontium (Sr) and zirconium (Zr) contents, it was concluded that terrestrial raw materials were used in the structure of glass tesserae.*

**Keywords:** Archaeometry, mosaic, tesserae colors, PED-XRF, petrography.

\* Ali Argunhan, Batman Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma ve Onarım Bölümü Lisans, Batman Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Arkeometri ABD Tezli Yüksek Lisans Mezunlu, Batman, Türkiye. <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2481-6402>. E-posta: argunhanali@gmail.com

Mahmut Aydın, Batman Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Arkeometri ABD, Batman, Türkiye. <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4707-5387>. E-posta: aydinm135@gmail.com

## Giriş

Tarihi ve kültürel değerlerin korunup sonraki nesillere aktarılması önemli bir husustur ve bilimsel faaliyetlerin toplumların gelişimi yönünde önemli bir yeri vardır. Bu açıdan tarihi eserler üzerinde yapılan arkeometrik karakterizasyonlar bizlere tarihi eserler ve eserlerin üretildiği dönemler hakkında kapsamlı bilgiler vermektedir. Çalışmamız bu doğrultuda bir mozaikle ve incelemeler mozaikteki tessera türleri üzerinde yapılan bir incelemeyle sınırlıdır. Özellikle geçmiş toplumların sosyokültürel ve sosyoekonomik yapıları hakkında geniş anlamda bilimsel bilgiler edinebilmek için arkeometrinin başta ülkemiz olmak üzere dünya çapında yaygınlaşması gerekmektedir. Bu çalışmada antik çağda yapılmış mozaiklerin, mitolojik ve mineralojik dünyası içerisine girilip, antik çağ insanların yaşamlarında kullandıkları mozaiklerin yapımında kullandıkları malzemelerin hammaddeleri ve yapısal özellikleriyle ilgili bilgi edinilmesi amacıyla, mevsimler mozaïği ışığında ele alınmıştır.

## Mevsimler Mozaïği

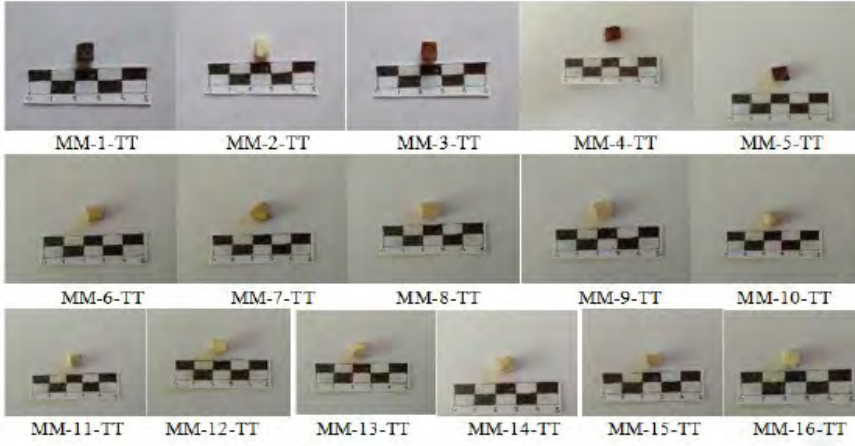
Dokuz sahneden oluşan mevsimler mozaïğinin sekiz sahnesi, kırmızı fon üzerine işlenmiştir. Orta sahne ise beyaz bir fon üzerine sahnelenmiştir. Mozaïğin isminden de anlaşıldığı üzere, mozaïğin dört köşesi çeşitli hareket ve sembollerle mevsimleri temsil etmektedir. Diğer sahnelerde ise Atalanta, Meleagros, Hippolytos, Theseus, Phedra, İason, Medeia, Assyrtos gibi mitolojik karakterler sahnelenmiştir (Res. 1). Mevsimler mozaïği İS 2. yüzyılın ortalarına tarihlenmektedir ve Daphne'deki Kırmızı Döşeme Villası olarak adlandırılan bir konutta bulunmuştur (Levi 1947: 68-80). Mozaik, 4,87 m x 4,83 m boyutlarındadır ve günümüzde Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde sergilenmektedir (Özdemir 2018: 48-49, 166).



Resim 1  
Mevsimler Mozaïği.



temsili 16 taş tessera (Res. 6) ve 5 yeşil cam tessera (Res. 7) detaylı olarak incelenmiştir<sup>2</sup>.



Resim 6  
Mevsimler Mozaïği temsili taş tesseraları  
(Petrografik analiz numuneleri).



Resim 7  
Mevsimler Mozaïği temsili cam tesseralar  
(PED-XRF analizi numuneleri).

## Yöntemler

Bu çalışmada tesseraların incelenmesinde üç farklı yöntem kullanılmıştır.

- Petrografik İnce Kesit-Optik Mikroskop Analizi
- PED-XRF Analizi
- Renk Analizleri

### Petrografik İnce Kesit-Optik Mikroskop Analizi

Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi Mevsimler Mozaïği taş tessera örneklerinin ince kesitleri hazırlanmış ve optik mikroskopta incelenmiştir. İnce kesitler, örneklerde dıştan içe doğru tüm tabakaları gösterecek şekilde doğrudan hazırlanmıştır. İncelemelerde LEICA Research Polarizan DMLP Model alt ve üstten aydınlatmalı optik mikroskop kullanılmıştır. Fotoğraflamalar mikroskoba bağlı Leica DFC280 dijital kamerayla, değerlendirmeler de Leica Qwin Digital Imaging Programı kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Agregayı oluşturan kayaç ve mineraller Point Counting Programı ile tanımlanmışlardır.

### Polarize Enerji Dağıtımli X-Işını Floresan Spektrometri Analizi (PED-XRF)

Yeşil cam tessera örneklerinin element içerikleri Polarize Enerji Dağıtımli X-Işını Floresan Analizi yöntemi (PED-XRF) kullanılarak belirlenmiştir. Analiz

2 Bu makale Ali Argunhan'ın Batman Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Arkeometri ABD'de yaptığı "Antakya Mevsimler Mozaïğinin Arkeometrik Yönden İncelenmesi" isimli tezden üretilmiştir (Argunhan 2019).

için seçilen cam tesseralar toz haline getirildikten sonra 32 mm'lik bir disk oluşturulup, XRF analizinde kullanılan bir kimyasal ile (wacks) karıştırılarak spektrometrenin örnek bölgesine yerleştirilmiş ve analizi yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, X-LAB 2000 model PED-XRF spektrometresi kullanılmıştır. X-Lab 2000 PED-XRF spektrometresi atom numarası 11 olan sodyumdan (Na), (dahil) 92 olan uranyuma (U) (dahil) kadar olan elementleri analiz edebilme özelliğine sahiptir. Cihazın duyarlık sınırı, ağır elementlerde 0,5 ppm ve hafif elementlerde ise 10 ppm kadardır. Analizde temel ve az elementler oksit yüzdeleri (%) halinde, iz elementler ise milyonda bir (ppm) derişimle verilmiştir. Analizde USGS (Birleşik Devletler Jeolojik Araştırma) standartları ve referans olarak GEOL, GBW-7109, ve GBW-7309 kullanılmıştır.

### Capsure Portatif Renk Eşleştirme Cihazı

Dijital munsell renk katalogu esas alınarak renk ölçümleri, Odak marka Capsure Portatif Renk Eşleştirme Cihazı ile yapılmıştır (Res. 8-9). Capsure Portatif Renk Eşleştirme Cihazı, renk ve renk kodu ile görüntüleme özelliğine sahip olduğu için, renklerin belirlenmesinde önemli bir cihazdır.

Resim 8-9  
Tessera renklerinin dijital Munsell renk değerleri kullanılarak ölçülmesi.



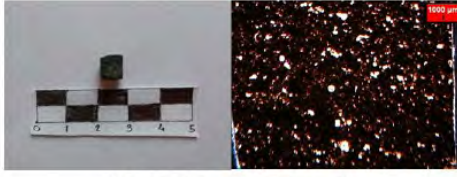
### Analiz Sonuçlarının Değerlendirilmesi

Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde sergilenen Mevsimler Mozağı'nın arkeometrik analizleri Petrografik İnce Kesit Optik Mikroskop ve Polarize Enerji Dağıtım X-Işını Floresan Spektrometresi ile yapılmıştır. Tüm örnekler, yüzeylerinde bulunan ve analiz sonucunu olumsuz yönde etkileyeceği düşünülen kirlilik, kalker, kimyasal koruyucular vb. maddeler restorasyon etiği çerçevesinde temizlikleri yapılmıştır. Petrografik analiz için hazırlanan 16 numunenin ince kesitleri optik mikroskopta incelenmiştir. Polarize Enerji Dağıtım X-Işını Floresan Spektrometresi (PED-XRF) ile yeşil renkli 5 adet cam tesseralar toz haline getirildikten sonra analizi yapıp tüm sonuçlar detaylı olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

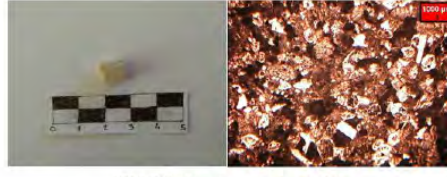
### Petrografik İnce Kesit Optik Mikroskop Analizi Sonuçları

Mevsimler Mozağı'nda temsili olarak belirlenen 16 adet taş tesseraın Petrografik ince kesit-optik mikroskop analizi doğrultusunda mikrofotografı çekilip, sonuçlar ışığında taş türleri belirlenip gruplandırılmıştır (Res. 10).

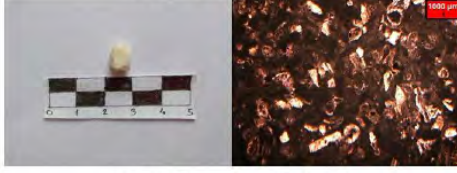
Petrografik analiz sonucunda dört grup olarak belirlenen taş tesseraların kayaç ve mineralleri, kayaç türü, doku ve sertlik dereceleri belirlenmiş (Tablo 1) ve yüzde dağılımları grafik üzerinde gösterilmiştir (Res. 11).



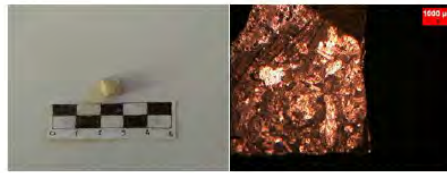
MM-1-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



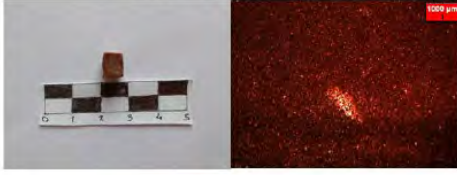
MM-9-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-2-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



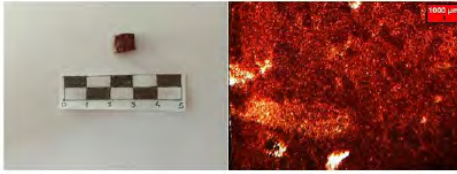
MM-10-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-3-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



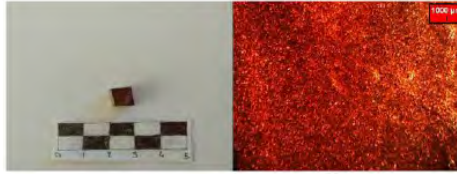
MM-11-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



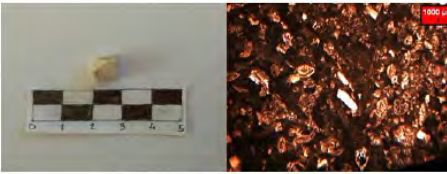
MM-4-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



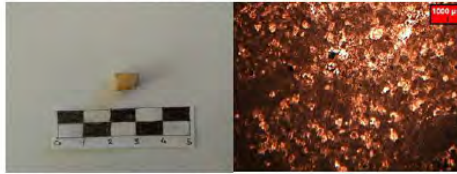
MM-12-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-5-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



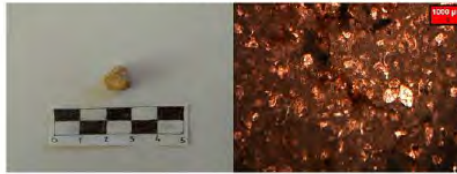
MM-13-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



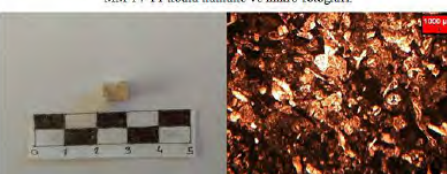
MM-6-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-14-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-7-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-15-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-8-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.



MM-16-TT kodlu numune ve mikro fotoğrafı.

Resim 10  
Temsili taş tesseralar petrografik  
ince kesit optik mikroskop  
görüntülemeleri.

Taş Örnekler	Kayaç Türü	Doku	Sertlik (Mohs)	Renk Ölçümü	Kayaç ve Mineraller
Grup 1 (1 adet Taş)	Biyosparitik Kireçtaşı	Sparitik	2,5 – 3	N3. 73/ Siyah	Başlıca kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites) yer alıyor.
Grup 2 (1 adet Taş)	Biyosparitik Kireçtaşı	Sparitik	2,5 – 3	10 TR 7/12 Sarı	Başlıca kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites), daha az oranda dolomit ve opak mineraller yer alıyor.
Grup 3 (11 adet Taş)	Biyomikritik Kireçtaşı	Mikritik	2,5 – 3	2.5 Y 8/2 Beyaz  (MM-7-TT 10 TR 7/12 Sarı)	Başlıca kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites) ve daha az oranda opak mineraller yer alıyor.
Grup 4 (3 adet Taş)	Mikritik Kireçtaşı	Mikritik	2,5 – 3	2.5 YR 5/10 Kırmızı	Başlıca kalsit içeren yapıda daha az oranda kuvars, çört ve opak mineraller yer alıyor.

Tablo 1  
Mevsimler Mozağı tessera örneklerinin petrografik özellikleri.



Resim 11  
16 adet taş tessera türünün yüzdelik dağılımı.

#### Grup 1:

Numune kodu MM-1-TT

Grup 1’de yer alan MM-1-TT kodlu siyah renkteki örnek doku olarak sparitik dokuda ve kayaç türleri biyosparitik kireçtaşıdır. Kayaç ve mineral içerikleri incelendiğinde, kalsit içeren yapısında fosiller bulunmaktadır.

#### Grup 2:

Numune kodu MM-6-TT

Grup 2’de yer alan MM-6-TT kodlu sarı renkteki örnek doku olarak sparitik dokuda ve kayaç türü biyosparitik kireçtaşıdır. Kayaç ve mineral içerikleri grup 1’de kalsit içeren yapısında fosil bulunurken grup 2’de kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites), daha az oranda dolomit ve opak mineraller yer almaktadır.

#### Grup 3:

Numune kodu MM-2-TT, MM-7-TT, MM-8-TT, MM-9-TT, MM-10-TT, MM-11-TT, MM-12-TT, MM-13-TT, MM-14-TT, MM-15-TT, MM-16-TT

Toplamda 11 numune bulunan grup 3’te yalnızca MM-7-TT kodlu örnek sarı, diğer numuneler ise beyaz renktedir. Kayaç türü biyomikritik kireçtaşı olan grup 3’teki örneklerin mikro fotoğrafları incelendiğinde, başlıca kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites) ve daha az oranda opak mineraller yer almaktadır.

## Grup 4:

Numune kodu MM-3-TT, MM-4-TT, MM-5-TT

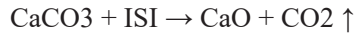
Grup 4'te yer alan MM-3-TT, MM-4-TT, MM-5-TT kodlu 3 örnek kırmızı renktedir. Kayaç türü mikritik kireçtaşı olarak belirlenen Grup 4'teki örnekler aynı şekilde mikritik dokudadır. Kayaç ve mineral içerikleri diğerlerinden farklı olarak, başlıca kalsit içeren yapısında daha az oranda kuvars, çört ve opak mineraller yer almaktadır.

Taş türlerine bakıldığında taşların %69'u biyomikritik, %19'u mikritik ve %12'si biyosparitiktir (Res. 11).

## Biyosparitik, Biyomikritik ve Mikritik Kireçtaşları

Kireç antik çağlardan beri bilinen ve çok yönlü kullanımı olan bir maddedir. Kireç üretiminin hammaddesi kireçtaşıdır. Kireçtaşları yüksek kalsiyum içeren kireçtaşı ve dolomitik kireçtaşı olmak üzere kabaca iki sınıfa ayrılabilir. Yüksek kalsiyumlu kireçtaşları % 97-99 CaCO<sub>3</sub> içermektedir. Dolomitik kireçtaşlarında MgCO<sub>3</sub> oranı %43'e kadar yükselebilmektedir. Oluştığı yere, içerdiği safsızlıkların cinsi ve miktarına, kullanım alanlarına göre 40 kadar kireçtaşı cinsi bulunmaktadır (Boynton 1980: 10-50; National Lime Association 1990: 53-66 ;Oates 1998: 169; Erol et al. 1998: 1-6).

Kireç, kireçtaşının fırınlarda 900 °C civarındaki sıcaklıklarda kalsine edilmesi ile elde edilmektedir.



Kireç üretiminde, kireçtaşı veya dolomitik kireçtaşı, irice bloklar halinde özel fırınlarda 900- 1000 °C sıcaklıkta kızdırılarak (kalsine edilerek), sönmemiş kirece (CaO veya CaO+MgO) dönüştürülmektedir (Kılıç 2005: 171; Kılıç – Anıl 2005: 19-28; Kılıç – Anıl 2006: 655-666).

Sparitik ve mikritik doku, okrotepler (bağlayıcı malzeme) olarak bilinirler.

Mikrit: Karbonat çamuru (matriks), tane boyutu genellikle 10 µm.

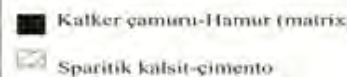
Sparit: Taneler arasındaki gözenekleri dolduran, şeffaf duru kalsit çimentosu (mikrosparit 4-10 µm, sparit >10 µm) (Boggs 2009: 313-381).

Karbonat kayalarının sınıflanması biyosparitik, biyomikritik ve mikritik yapılarının doku yelpazeleri detaylı olarak verilmiştir (Res. 12).

% Allokem	2/3 Kalker çamuru-Hamur (Mikrit)				Eşit oranda siparit ve mikrit	2/3 Sparitik çimento ( Sparit )		
	0-1 %	1-10 %	10-50 %	50% den çok		Kötü boylanma	İyi boylanma	Yuvarlak
Temsilci kaya isimleri	Mikrit & Dismikrit	Fosilli mikrit	Seyrek paketlenmiş Biomikrit	Sık paketlenmiş Biomikrit	Kötü yıkanmış Biosparit	Boylanmamış Biosparit	Boylanmış Biosparit	Yuvarlaklaşmış taneli Biosparit
Terminoloji	Mikrit & Dismikrit	Fosilli mikrit	Biomikrit		Biosparit			
Klastik kayaç karşılıkları	Kiltası		Kumlu Kiltası	Killi ve olgunlaşmamış kumtaşı	Yarı olgunlaşmış Kumtaşı		Üst olgun Kumtaşı	
Dunham	Çamurtaşı		Vaketası	İstiftası	Tanetaşı			

Resim 12

Doku yelpazesine göre karbonat kayaların sınıflanması (Dunham 1962: 108-121).

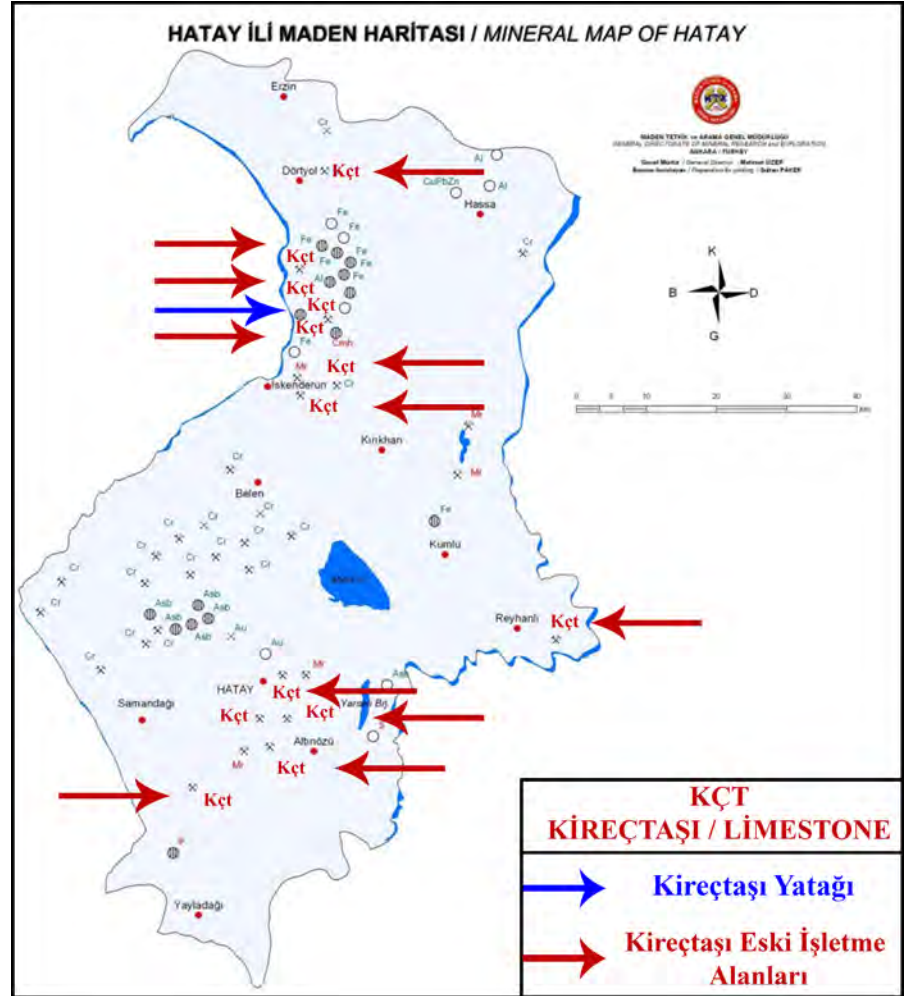




### Hatay Bölgesi Kireçtaşı Yatağı ve Eski İşletme Alanları

Hatay bölgesi, Doğu Torosların güneye uzantısı olan, Amanos dağları ile temsil edilir. Amanos dağları, yaklaşık kuzey-güney gidişli bir dağ kuşağı olup, Alt Paleozoik'ten günümüze kadar yaygın bir çökel istifini kapsar. Suriye sınırı yakınında Ölü Deniz Rifti boyunca uzanan Amanos dağları 200 km uzunluğunda, 25 km genişliğindedir. Bu bölge esas olarak Üst Kretaseofiyolitleri, üç fazlı volkanikler ve Alt Paleozoyik'ten Kuvaterner'e kadar uzanan sedimanlardan oluşur (Kaldırım 2016).<sup>3</sup> Bölgenin metalik maden ve endüstriyel hammaddeleri kireçtaşı yatağı ve eski işletme alanları detaylı olarak verilmiştir (Res. 13).

Resim 13  
Hatay ilindeki metalik maden ve endüstriyel hammaddeler Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü <http://www.mta.gov.tr/v3.0/sayfalar/hizmetler/maden-haritalari/Antakya.pdf> (05.02.2019'den yeniden düzenlenerek hazırlanmıştır).



### Polarize Enerji Dağıtımlı X-Işını Floresan Spektrometresi (PED-XRF) Analizi Sonuçları

Tahribatlı bir analiz yöntemi olan PED-XRF analizinde toz haline getirilmiş 5 adet cam tessera analiz edilerek sonuçları detaylı olarak ele alınmıştır (Tablo 2). Arkeolojik kazılarla gün yüzüne çıkarılan mozaikler ve bu mozaiklerde gerek malzemelerin yapım teknikleri gerekse işlenen kompozisyonun teknik ve sanatsal açıdan betimlenmesine bakılarak mozaik sanatının altın çağının Roma döneminde yaşandığı aşikârdır. Diğer tüm mozaiklerde olduğu gibi

<sup>3</sup> Hatay ili jeolojik özellikleri, Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü Doğu Akdeniz Bölge Müdürlüğü <https://docplayer.biz.tr/132528-Maden-tetkik-ve-arama-genel-mudurlugu-dogu-akdeniz-bolge-mudurlugu-hatay-ili-jeolojik-ozellikleri.html> (04.02.2019).

Element	Oran	MM-1-CT	Element	Oran	MM-1-CT
Na <sub>2</sub> O	%	1,81	Co	ppm	6,5
MgO	%	0,166	Ni	ppm	2,2
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	%	0,505	Cu	ppm	9270
SiO <sub>2</sub>	%	54,09	Zn	ppm	0,7
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	%	0,002	Ga	ppm	13
SO <sub>3</sub>	%	0,009	Ge	ppm	3,1
Cl	%	0,312	As	ppm	50
K <sub>2</sub> O	%	0,477	Se	ppm	4,6
CaO	%	3,81	Br	ppm	25,8
TiO <sub>2</sub>	%	0,066	Rb	ppm	36,4
V <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	%	0,001	Sr	ppm	325,5
Cr <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	%	0,004	Y	ppm	6,9
MnO	%	0,352	Zr	ppm	80,8
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	%	0,546	Nb	ppm	4,8
LOI	%	31,73	Mo	ppm	5,3
Toplam	%	93,87	Cd	ppm	3,4
			In	ppm	4,7
			Sn	ppm	3176
			Sb	ppm	5831
			Te	ppm	3,2
			I	ppm	13
			Cs	ppm	7,7
			Ba	ppm	196,1
			La	ppm	13,2
			Ce	ppm	33
			Hf	ppm	490
			Ta	ppm	68
			W	ppm	8
			Hg	ppm	5,3
			Tl	ppm	56,6
			Pb	ppm	51220
			Bi	ppm	18
			Th	ppm	247,9
			U	ppm	13

Tablo 2

Cam tessera PED-XRF analiz sonuçları yüzde ve PPM oran sonuçları.

Mevsimler Mozaği'nde de cam tesseraların önemli bir yeri vardır. Kullanılan cam tesseralardan biri olan yeşil cam tessera, kullanıldığı bölgeler bakımından büyük önem arz etmektedir.

Bilindiği üzere soda-kireç camlarında ana bileşenler SiO<sub>2</sub>, Na<sub>2</sub>O ve CaO'dir. Miktar olarak modern camlar %73 SiO<sub>2</sub>, %12 Na<sub>2</sub>O, %10 CaO, %4 MgO ve %1 Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>'den oluşmalıdır. Bu sonuçlar ışığında MM-1-CT kodlu örneğinde, camlarda temel element olan SiO<sub>2</sub> miktarı %54,09 ile ortalama bir değerdedir. Bu durum, Mevsimler Mozaği'nde bulunan cam tesseraların makro olarak gözlemlendiğinde, yüzeyde gözeneklerin bulunması cam tesseraların yapısında bir bozulmaya işaret etmektedir. Camlarda dayanım artırıcı öge olarak kullanılan CaO miktarında ortalama değer % 10 olmalı iken, MM-1-CT kodlu örnekte CaO %3,81 oran ile düşük sonuç vermiştir. Bu sonuçta dayanıklılığının düşük olduğuna işaret etmektedir (Akyol vd. 2011: 161-174 ; Akyol vd. 2014: 6-10). Camlarda erime noktasını düşürücü eleman olarak kullanılan alkali oksitlerden Na<sub>2</sub>O %1,81 oranı ile düşük sonuç vermiştir. K<sub>2</sub>O değerinin yüksek olması bitki külünün kullanıldığını göstermektedir lakin, MM-1-CT kodlu örnekte K<sub>2</sub>O değeri % 0,477 (Tablo 2) ile bitki külünün kullanılmadığına işaret etmektedir (Freestone et al. 2003: 19-32; Silvestri et al. 2005: 797-816; Silvestri et al. 2006: 415-432; Tite et al. 2006: 1284-1292; Silvestri 2008: 1489-1502). Cam tesseralarda genellikle renge etki eden ana elementler Co, Fe, Mn ve Cu'dır. Analizi yapılan örnekte boyar madde olarak 9270 ppm değerinde olan Cu yeşil rengin, bakır içeren kompleks bileşiklerden kaynaklandığı anlaşılmaktadır. 51220 ppm değerindeki Pb, Cu ile birlikte kullanılır. 3176 ppm değerinde olan kalay (Sn), cam tesseralarda camın bozunumuna etki edebilecek koşullar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda camlarda oksitlenmeleri önlemek amacıyla kullanıldığı düşünülmektedir. 5831 ppm değerindeki antimon (Sb) yüksek değerdedir bu da beyazlaştırıcı etkinin antimon'dan geldiğine işaret etmektedir

(Akyol vd. 2008: 13-28). Antimon antik çağlarda olduğu gibi günümüzde de cam boyamalarında ve seramik malzemelerde kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. Örneklerin hammadde kökeni açısından stronsiyum (Sr) ve zirkonyum (Zr) içeriklerinin bilinmesi önemlidir. Sr jeokimyasal olarak Ca'ya benzer ve kireç içeren maddeler (deniz kabuğu, kireçtaşı, bitki külü gibi) içerisinde bulunur. Kireçtaşı içeren karasal kumlarda ise Sr miktarı genellikle 150 ppm'den azdır. Sr'nin 400 ppm'den fazla olması camın yapımında kullanılan kumun denizel olduğunu düşündürmektedir (Freestone et al. 2003: 19-32). Bununla beraber üretimde karasal kumun kullanılması halinde Zr'nin 160 ppm'den az olması beklenmektedir (Akyol – Kadioğlu 2015: 31-35). Analizi yapılan cam tessera örneğinde (Tablo 2) görüldüğü üzere Sr miktarı 325,5 ppm ve Zr miktarı ise 80,8 ppm değerindedir. Bu sonuçlar ışığında cam tesseraların üretiminde karasal hammadde kullanıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

### Capsure Portatif Renk Eşleştirme Cihazı Analiz Sonuçları

Tablo 3

Mevsimler Mozağında belirlenen renklerin tamamı.

Capsure Portatif Renk Eşleştirme Cihazı ile mevsimler mozağında toplamda 51 renk Munsell renk kodu ile tahribatsız bir şekilde belirlenmiştir (Tablo 3-4).

Petrografi Kodu	No	Munsell Renk Kodu	Renk	No	Munsell Renk Kodu	Renk	PED-XRF Kodu
MM-3-TT MM-4-TT MM-5-TT	1.)	2.5 YR 5/10	Kırmızı	26.)	10 GY 3/2	Esmer Sarımsı Yeşil	
MM-2-TT MM-8-TT... MM-16-TT	2.)	2.5 Y 8/2	Beyaz	27.)	2.5 YR 5/10	Kırmızı	
MM-1-TT	3.)	N3. 75/	Siyah	28.)	10 YR 8/1	Beyaz	
MM-6-TT MM-7-TT	4.)	10 TR 7/4	Sarı	29.)	10 R 4/4	Hafif Kırmızı	
	5.)	5 YR 7/4	Pembe	30.)	2.5 YR 3/2	Esmer Kırmızı	
	6.)	5 Y 6/1	Gri	31.)	10 YR 5/4	Sarımsı Kahverengi	
	7.)	5 Y 3/1	Çok Koyu Kahverengi	32.)	2.5 Y 6/2	Açık Sarımsı Kahverengi	
	8.)	10 YR 7/2	Açık Gri	33.)	10 GY 5/2	Yeşil	
	9.)	7.5 YR 5/2	Kahverengi	34.)	5 Y 3/1	Çok Koyu Gri	
	10.)	10 YR 6/2	Açık Kahverengimsi Gri	35.)	10 YR 7/4	Çok Soluk Kahverengi	
	11.)	5 YR 6/4	Açık Kırmızımsı Kahverengi	36.)	10 YR 6/4	Açık Sarımsı Kahverengi	
	12.)	N 3.5	Siyah	37.)	10 PB 3/1	Gece Yarısı Mavisi	
	13.)	10 GY 5/2	Soluk Sarı	38.)	5 PB 4/1	Mavi	
	14.)	10 YR 5/4	Sarımsı Kahverengi	39.)	2.5 G 5/2	Turkuaz	
	15.)	2.5 Y 8/2	Soluk Sarı	40.)	2.5 G 3/2	Yeşil	MM-1-CT
	16.)	2.5 Y 7/2	Açık Gri	41.)	10 B 3/1	Açık Mavi	
	17.)	10 YR 5/1	Gri	42.)	10 YR 4/1	Koyu Gri	
	18.)	10 YR 6/2	Açık Kahverengimsi Gri	43.)	7.5 Y 4/2	Açık Zeytin Yeşili	
	19.)	10 R 4/4	Hafif Kırmızı	44.)	10 GY 3/1	Koyu Yeşilimsi Gri	
	20.)	5 Y 3/1	Çok Koyu Gri	45.)	10 R 4/2	Hafif Kırmızı	
	21.)	N 2	Koyu Siyah	46.)	10 R 5/2	Hafif Kırmızı	
	22.)	10 YR 6/6	Kahverengimsi Sarı	47.)	5 YR 6/2	Pembemsi Gri	
	23.)	5 YR 6/4	Açık Kırmızımsı Kahverengi	48.)	5 Y 6/4	Soluk Zeytin Yeşili	
	24.)	5 Y 6/1	Gri	49.)	10 YR 7/2	Açık Gri	
	25.)	7.5 G 3/2	Koyu Yeşil	50.)	2.5 Y 6/2	Açık Sarımsı Kahverengi	
				51.)	10 YR 6/2	Açık Kahverengimsi Gri	

No	Munsell Renk Kodu	Renk	Petrografi Kodu	PED-XRF Kodu
3.)	N3. 75/	Siyah	MM-1-TT	
4.)	10 TR 7/4	Sarı	MM-6-TT MM-7-TT	
2.)	2.5 Y 8/2	Beyaz	MM-2-TT MM-8-TT MM-9-TT MM-10-TT MM-11-TT MM-12-TT MM-13-TT MM-14-TT MM-15-TT MM-16-TT	
1.)	2.5 YR 5/10	Kırmızı	MM-3-TT MM-4-TT MM-5-TT	
40.)	2.5 G 3/2	Yeşil		MM-1-CT

## Sonuç

Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde sergilenmekte olan Mevsimler Mozaïği'ne ait 5 adet yeşil cam ve 16 adet taş tesseralar üzerinde yapılan arkeometrik karakterizasyon çalışmaları ile elde edilen veriler ışığında kapsamlı bir değerlendirme yapılmıştır.

## Taş Tessera

Petrografik ince kesit optik mikroskop yöntemi ile ilk olarak taş tessera örneklerin ince kesitleri hazırlanmış ve optik mikroskopta incelenmiştir. İncelemeler sonucunda kayaç türü biyosparitik, biyomikritik ve mikritik kireçtaşı olarak belirlenmiştir. Sertlik dereceleri Mohs sertlik skalası referans alınarak, taş tesseraların sertlik dereceleri 2,5 – 3 olarak saptanmıştır.

Sparitik dokuda olan Grup 1'deki MM-1-TT kodlu siyah renkteki örnekte agregayı oluşturan kayaç ve mineraller incelendiğinde kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites) de yer almaktadır ve kayaç türü biyosparitik kireçtaşı olarak saptanmıştır.

Sparitik dokuda olan Grup 2'deki MM-6-TT kodlu sarı renkteki örnekte agregayı oluşturan kayaç ve mineraller incelendiğinde kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites), daha az oranda dolomit ve opak mineraller yer almaktadır ve kayaç türü Grup 1'deki örnekte de olduğu gibi biyosparitik kireçtaşı olarak saptanmıştır.

Mikritik dokuda olan Grup 3'te yer alan 10 adet beyaz (MM-2-TT, MM-8-TT, MM-9-TT, MM-10-TT, MM-11-TT, MM-12-TT, MM-13-TT, MM-14-TT, MM-15-TT, MM-16-TT) 1 adet sarı (MM-7-TT) renkteki örneklerde agregayı oluşturan kayaç ve mineraller incelendiğinde kalsit içeren yapıda fosiller (numulites), daha az oranda opak mineraller yer almaktadır ve kayaç türü mikritik kireçtaşı olarak saptanmıştır.

Mikritik dokuda olan Grup 4'teki (MM-3-TT, MM-4-TT, MM-5-TT) kırmızı renkteki örneklerde agregayı oluşturan kayaç ve mineraller incelendiğinde kalsit içeren yapıda az oranda kuvars, çört ve opak mineraller yer almaktadır ve kayaç türü mikritik kireçtaşı olarak saptanmıştır. Temelde kireçtaşı olarak belirlenen taş tesseralar, bölgede bulunan kireçtaşı yatakları ve eski kireçtaşı işletme alanları değerlendirildiğinde hammadde kaynak temininin bölgesel olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda bölgeyle alakalı jeolojik araştırmalar incelendiğinde kireçtaşı rezervlerinin Antakya ve çevresinde yoğunlukta olduğu bilgisine dayanarak, Mevsimler Mozaïği'nde kullanılan taş tesseraların Antakya ve/veya çevresinden temin edildiği düşünülmektedir.

## Cam Tessera

Polarize Enerji Dağıtım X-Işını Floresan Spektrometresi (PED-XRF) yöntemi ile beş adet yeşil cam tessera toz haline getirildikten sonra tek örnek olarak kimyasal karakterizasyonu belirlenmiş ve belirlenen sonuçlar kapsamlı

Tablo 4

Petrografi ve PED-XRF analizleri yapılan numunelerin renk ve Munsell renk kodları.

olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Cam tesseralar yapısal olarak taş tesseralardan daha dayanıksız ve az ömürlüdür. Beş adet yeşil camın öğütülmesinden oluşan MM-1-CT kodlu örnekte de görüldüğü üzere silisyum dioksit (SiO<sub>2</sub>) miktarı %54,09 ortalama bir değer ile yapısında bir bozulmanın olduğu saptanmıştır. Camlarda dayanım artırıcı öge olarak kullanılan CaO %10 Oranında olması beklenirken, MM-1-CT kodlu örnekte CaO, %3,81 oran ile olması gerekenden düşük tespit edilmiştir ki bu da camların üretim safhasından gelen dayanıklılığının düşük olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Erime noktasını düşürücü eleman olarak kullanılan alkali oksitlerden sodyum oksit (Na<sub>2</sub>O) %1,81 oranı ile düşük değerdedir. Potasyum oksit (K<sub>2</sub>O) değerinin %0,477 olması sonucunda bitki külünün kullanılmadığı anlaşılmıştır. Cam tesseraya yeşil rengi veren elementin (9270 ppm) bakır (Cu) olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Son olarak analizi yapılan cam tesseranın üretiminde kullanılan hammaddenin, stronsiyum (Sr) ve zirkonyum (Zr) içeriklerine bakılarak karasal hammadde kullanıldığı anlaşılmıştır (Tablo 2).

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# Laodikeia Antik Kenti (Denizli) Kuzey Kutsal Agora Zemin Mozaiklerindeki Tesseralar Üzerinde Mineralojik ve Petrografik İncelemeler: Hammaddelerin Kaynağına Yönelik İlk Görüşler

## Mineralogical and Petrographic Investigations on the Tesserae in North Sacred Agora Ground Mosaics from Laodikeia Ancient City (Denizli): First Insights into the Provenance of Raw Materials

Tamer KORALAY - Gözde KIYMAZ\*

(Received 20 August 2021, accepted after revision 01 September 2022)

### Öz

*Laodikeia'daki Kuzey Kutsal Agora Batı Portik (KKABP) yer mozaikleri 20x14 metre karelik alanda kısmen tahrip olmuş durumdadır. Mozaik yer döşemesi statümen (şist, mermer, kuvarsit, metagabro, tuğla-kiremit ve lisvenit çakılları), rudus (3-4 santimetrelik kaba harç), nükleus (2-3 santimetrelik ince harç), yatak harcı (1-2 mm kalınlığında) ve tessera katmanlarından oluşmaktadır. Katmanlar arasındaki geçişler keskin değildir. Başlıca 14 farklı desenin Opus Regulatum, Opus Tessellatum ve Opus Vermiculatum tekniklerinin birlikte kullanılmasıyla meydana getirilen KKABP yer mozaiklerinde 1x1x1, 1x1x2 ve 2x2x2 cm arasında değişen boyutlarda, farklı renk tonlarında kristalize kireçtaşı, mermer, dolomitik mermer, traverten, oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli kayaç ile tuğla-kiremit parçalarından oluşan tesseralar kullanılmıştır. Petrografik incelemelerde dolomitik mermer ve beyaz renkli mermer olarak adlandırılan tessera örnekleri köken kayalarının sırasıyla dolomit-kireçtaşı ve kireçtaşı olduğu belirlenmiş, sonuçlar XRD çalışmaları ile de desteklenmiştir. Farklı renkli tessera örneklerinin Üst Kıta Kabuğu (ÜKK) değerlerine göre normalleştirilmiş çoklu element dağılım diyagramında, benzer dağılım desenleri gösterdikleri, bununla birlikte Cs, Ta ve La dışındaki bütün elementlerde ÜKK değerlerine oranla fakirleşme gösterdikleri belirlenmiştir. Sonuç olarak KKABP mozaik yer döşemesinde kullanılan tessera örneklerinin minero-petrografik özelliklerinin bölgenin jeolojik yapısı ile uyumlu olduğu ve olası kaynak alanlarının antik kent ve yakın çevresindeki jeolojik birimler olabileceği değerlendirilmiştir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Tessera, Laodikeia, mozaik, minero-petrografik özellikler.

### Abstract

*The ground mosaics of the West Portico of the North Sacred Agora (WPNSA) in Laodicea cover an area of 20x14 meters and are partially deteriorated. There are five different layers at ground mosaic which consist of statumen (schist, marble, quartzite, metagabbro, brick-tile and lisvenite pebbles), rudus (rough mortar in 3-4 cm thickness), nucleus (fine mortar in 2-3 cm thickness), bedding mortar (1-2 mm in thickness) and tessellatum. Transitions between these layers are not obvious. The ground mosaic of the WPNSA were created by using of Opus Regulatum, Opus Tessellatum, and Opus Vermiculatum techniques of 14 different patterns. Tesserae,*

\* Tamer Koralay, Pamukkale Üniversitesi, Mühendislik Fakültesi, Jeoloji Mühendisliği Bölümü, Denizli, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8353-3501>. E-posta: tkoralay@pau.edu.tr

Gözde Kıymaz, Pamukkale Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Jeoloji Mühendisliği ABD, Denizli, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3705-6342>. E-posta: gozde.kiyamaz@hotmail.com

Bu çalışma Pamukkale Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Jeoloji Mühendisliği Anabilim dalı Mineraloji-Petrografi programında Gözde Kıymaz tarafından yüksek lisans tezi olarak hazırlanmıştır. Çalışma kapsamındaki verilerin bir kısmı yüksek lisans tez çalışmasından türetilmiştir.

sizes ranging from 1x1x1, 1x1x2 cm in different color tones, are composed of marble, dolomitic marble, recrystallized limestone, travertine, oolitic sandstone rocks, and brick-tile fragments. In petrographic examinations, the origin rocks of tessera samples, which are called dolomitic marble and white marble, were determined to be dolomite-limestone and limestone, respectively, and the results were supported by XRD studies. It was determined that different colored tessera samples showed similar distribution patterns in the multi-element distribution diagram normalized according to the Upper Continental Crust (UCC) values, however, all elements (except Cs, Ta, and La) showed depletion compared to the UCC values. As a result, it has been evaluated that the minero-petrographic properties of the tessera samples used in the KKABP mosaic flooring are compatible with the geological formation of the region and that possible source areas may be geological units in the vicinity of Laodikeia.

**Keywords:** Tessera, Laodikeia, mosaics, minero-petrographic properties.

## 1. Giriş

Antik dünyanın yapı süsleri olarak tanımlanabilecek mozaikler kayaç, cam, mine ve benzeri malzemelerden özel olarak üretilen, farklı renkli ufak parçaların kireç ya da çimento harcı ile belli bir yüzeye yapıştırılması suretiyle figürlü şekillerin meydana getirildiği resim veya dekoratif süsleme yöntemidir (Üstüner 2002: 156; Sander 2012: 4-58; Alberti et al. 2013: 64). Farklı malzemeler kullanılarak yapılmış bilinen en eski mozaik örnekleri Mezopotamya'nın Ubeyd kentinde bulunan bir tapınak binasında bulunmuştur ve İÖ 3. bin yılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenmektedir. Bu mozaikler renkli taş, deniz kabuğu ve fildişi parçalarından oluşmaktadır. İÖ 4. yüzyıla ait mozaikler Makedonya'nın saray-kenti Aegae'de bulunmuş ve Britanya'dan Dura-Europos'a kadar Helenistik villaların ve Roma konutlarının zeminlerini süslemişlerdir. Kuzey Afrika'da Kartaca bölgesindeki Roma villalarında görkemli mozaik zeminler bulunmaktadır ve Tunus'taki Bardo Müzesi'ndeki geniş koleksiyonda hala görülebilmektedir. Roma döneminde Nero ve mimarları İS 64'te inşa edilen Domus Aurea'da duvarların ve tavanların yüzeylerini kaplamak için mozaikler kullanmışlardır (Üstüner 2002: 156; Sander 2012: 4-58). Roma döneminde de bitki motifleri, hayvancılık, denizcilik gibi konular üzerinde çalışmalar sergilemişlerdir. Sicilya'daki Piazza Armerina yakınlarındaki Villa Romana del Casale mozaikleri, dünyadaki en büyük in situ Roma mozaik koleksiyonudur ve UNESCO Dünya Mirası olarak korunmaktadır. Muhtemelen İmparator Maximian'a ait olan büyük villa rustica, büyük ölçüde İS 4. yüzyılın başlarında inşa edilmiştir. Mozaikler, 12. yüzyılda meydana gelen heyelanla 700 yıl boyunca örtülmüş ve korunmuştur. En önemli parçalar Sirk Sahnesi, 64 m uzunluğundaki Büyük Av Sahnesi, Küçük Av, Herkül'ün İşçileri ve modern görünümü bikiniyle egzersiz yapan kadınları gösteren ünlü Bikinili Kızlar'dır (Sander 2012: 4-58). Hristiyanlıktan sonra Bizanslılar diğer çalışmalardan farklı olarak dini motifler üzerinde parlak, renkli cam kullanmışlardır. Hristiyanlık için önemli olan kişiler başta Hz. Meryem ve Hz. İsa olmak üzere İncil'de yer alan olayları da canlandırmışlardır. Mozaik sanatının zeminden farklı duvar ve tavan uygulamalarına bu dönemde rastlanılmaktadır. Son olarak Anadolu'da karşılaşılan mozaik sanatında seramik ve çininin de aralarına katıldığı uygulamalara yer verilmiştir. Mavi, yeşil, altın yıldız gibi canlı renkler kullanılmıştır (Üstüner 2002: 156; Sander 2012: 4-58).

Bu makalenin konusunu, Laodikeia Antik kenti (Denizli) KKABP yer mozaiklerinde kullanılan tessera örneklerinin mineralojik-petrografik ve jeokimyasal analiz yöntemleri kullanılarak malzeme karakterinin ortaya çıkarılması oluşturmaktadır. Yapıldığı dönemde (İS 4. yüzyıl) kutsal bir mekân olarak kullanılan alandaki desen türleri, dizilim tekniği, tesseraların petrografik bileşimi, desenlerdeki % dağılımları ve olası kaynak alanları belirlenmiş, devam eden koruma ve onarım çalışmaları için yardımcı veriler üretilmiştir.



## 2. Laodikeia Antik Kenti ve Kuzey Kutsal Agora

Laodikeia antik kenti Denizli İli'nin 6 km kuzeyinde yer almaktadır (Res. 1a). Kuzey doğusunda Lykos (Çürüksu), güneydoğusunda Kadmos (Gökpinar) ve kuzeybatısında Asapos (Gümüşçay-Goncalı deresi) olmak üzere ırmaklarla çevrili yüksek bir alanda yer almaktadır (Res. 1b). Laodikeia adına tarihte ilk kez III. Seleukos'un İÖ 323 yılında öldürülmesinden sonra yaşanan taht

Resim 1

- a) Laodikeia antik kentini yerbulduru haritası,  
b) Laodikeia antik kentinin coğrafi konumu,  
c) KKABP yer mozaiklerinin görünümü.



kavgalarının anlatımında rastlanılmıştır. Kent adını II. Anthiokhos'un eşi kraliçe Laodike'den almaktadır. Byzantionlu Stephanus'un anlattığı bir diğer hikâyeye göre ise; I. Antiokhos ya da III. Antiokhos'un rüyasında gördüğü üç kadın (annesi, kızkardeşi, eşi) kendileri için kraldan Karia'da kent kurmasını istemişlerdir. Kral eşi için Nysa, annesi için Antiokheia, kızkardeşi için Laodikeia kentini kurmuştur. Plinius Laodikeia kentinin önce Diopolis ve sonra Rhoas olarak adlandırılan daha eski bir köyün Seleukos kralı II. Antiokhos Teos (İÖ 261-247) tarafından kurulduğundan söz eder. Strabon Hellenistik dönemde Laodikeia adında pek çok kent kurulduğu için bu yüzden kent yanında bulunan Lykos nehri ile anılarak (Laodikeia ad Lycum) aynı isimli diğer kentlerden ayrıldığından bahseder. Kent, birbirini dik açılarla kesen ana caddeler ve ara sokaklardan oluşan hippodamik (ızgara) planlı olarak düzenlenmiştir. Yaklaşık 5 km<sup>2</sup>'lik alana yayılan Laodikeia'nın önemli ve günümüze kadar gelebilen yapıları içinde; Anadolu'nun en büyük stadyumu (258x70 m), 2 tiyatrosu, 4 hamam yapısı, 5 agorası, 5 nymphaeumu, 2 anıtsal giriş kapısı, bouleuterionu, tapınakları, kiliseleri ve anıtsal caddeleri sayılabilir. Kentin dört tarafında ise nekropol (mezarlık) alanları bulunmaktadır (Şimşek 2007: 55-299; 2014: 33-71; 2019: 1-89). Laodikeia'daki kazı çalışmalarında ortaya çıkartılan Kuzey (Kutsal) Agora, en önemli yapıların başında yer almaktadır. Agora Suriye Caddesi'nin kuzey yanından başlamak üzere dikdörtgen planlı olarak iki tiyatro arasındaki düzlükte etrafı kuzey, güney, doğu, batı portikleri ile çevrili olan yaklaşık 33.920 m<sup>2</sup>'lik bir alanda konumlandırılmıştır. Bu alan, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Temenos, İS 4. yüzyıl'dan itibaren ise Agora olarak kullanılmaya başlanmıştır.

Agora'ya geçiş, Suriye Caddesi üzerinden üç anıtsal kapıdan sağlanmaktadır (Şimşek 2014: 55-299; 2019: 1-89). Kuzey (Kutsal) Agora'nın kuzeybatı dönüşünü ortaya çıkartarak mevcut halini tespit etmek amacıyla Batı Portik'in Kuzeybatısında 847 metre karelik alanda kazı çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Kuzey ucunda traverten bloklar ile oluşturulmuş apsisli bir mekân tespit edilmiştir. Traverten bloklu bu duvar Kuzey Kutsal Agora'yı kuzey yönde sınırlandırmakta ve İS 5. yüzyılda sur duvarları olarak kullanıldığı düşünülmektedir. Çalışma alanını oluşturan mozaik döşeme kazı çalışmalarıyla ortaya çıkarılan apsisli alanı doğu batı yönlü kesen duvarın güneyinde yer almaktadır. Kısmen bozulmaların ve eksikliklerin bulunduğu mozaik döşeme 20x14 metre karelik alan içerisinde doğuda traverten duvar örgüsü ile sınırlandırılmış bir şekilde görülmektedir (Res. 1c). Bu mozaikli alanın daha erken dönemde bir kilise olduğu düşünülmektedir (Şimşek 2014: 55-299; 2019: 188-221).

### 3. Materyal ve Metot

KKABP yer mozaiklerinin yapımında kullanılan farklı renkli tessera (15 adet) örneklerinden ince kesitler hazırlanmıştır. Tessera örneklerinin ince kesitleri üzerinde mineralojik bileşim, kristal boyu ölçümü, doku tanımlaması ve petrografik adlandırmalar yapılmış, mikro fotoğrafları çekilmiştir. İncelemeler Pamukkale Üniversitesi Jeoloji Mühendisliği Bölümü'nde "Carl-Zeiss Primotech" marka alttan ve üstten aydınlatmalı polarize mikroskop kullanılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Tessera örneklerinin renk tanımlamaları "NR60CP Portable Renk Ölçer" cihazı ile belirlenmiştir. Birbirine yakın renklerde görülen tessera örneklerinin optik mikroskop çalışmalarıyla ortaya çıkarılmayan benzerlik/farklılıklarını belirlemek, mikroskopta tanımlanamayan mineral bileşenlerini saptayabilmek için X-Işınlı Difraktometre (X-Ray Diffractometer-XRD) ölçümleri gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu kapsamda 8 adet tessera örneği XRD incelemeleri için, halkalı değirmende 150-200 mesh boyutuna kadar öğütülerek toz haline getirilmiştir. Tessera örneklerinin XRD analizleri, Pamukkale Üniversitesi İleri Teknoloji Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (PAÜ-İLTAM) Laboratuvarı'nda "GNR APD 2000" marka cihazla yapılmıştır. XRD analizlerinin gerçekleştirildiği cihazın teknik özellikleri şöyledir; Cu-K $\alpha$  katot tüp (1,54 Å dalga boyu), 10-60 kV gerilim, 5-60 mA akım, 0,1°(2 $\theta$ /s) tarama hızı ve -111° < 2 $\theta$  < 168° tarama aralığı.

KKABP yer mozaiklerinin yapımında kullanılan benzer renklerdeki tessera örneklerinin ana ve iz element içeriklerini belirleyebilmek, benzerlik/farklılıklarını ortaya çıkarabilmek için X-Işınlı Flüoresans (X-Ray Fluorescence-XRF) analizi yapılmıştır. XRF analizi için tessera örnekleri halkalı değirmende 150-200 mesh boyutuna kadar öğütülmüştür. Daha sonra her bir örnek tozundan 6,25 gram alınarak, 1,4 gram bağlayıcı wax ile homojen bir şekilde karıştırılmıştır. Karışım halindeki örnek tozu 15-20 N/m basınç altında, 40 mm çapında bir tablet şeklinde sıkıştırılmış ve analize hazır hale getirilmiştir. XRF analizleri Pamukkale Üniversitesi İleri Teknoloji Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (PAÜ-İLTAM) Laboratuvarı'nda "Spectro XEPOS-PEDXRF" cihazı kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Analizler USGS'in sedimanter ve metamorfik kayalar (kumtaşı, kireçtaşı, mermer) için oluşturduğu standartlar kullanılarak kalibre edilmiştir.

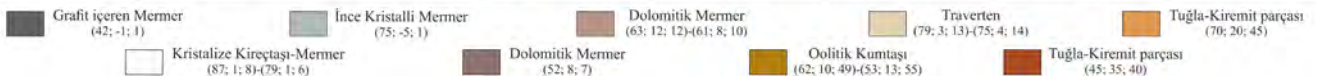
### 4. Yer Mozaiklerindeki Desen Çeşitleri ve Özellikleri

Görsel bir etki yaratmak amacıyla taş, tahta, çini, kâğıt ve kumaş üzerine yapılmış, çizgi resimler olarak tanımlanan desen, mozaik sanatının en önemli özelliklerinden birini oluşturmaktadır. Bir desen, aynı şekillerden oluşmuş, sık

Resim 2  
KKABP yer mozaiklerinde görülen desen çeşitleri ve tessera bileşimleri.

sık tekrar eden ve bir araya gelince bir bütün oluşturan motifler içermektedir. KKABP yer mozaiklerinde 14 farklı desen belirlenmiş olup, desen özellikleri Resim 2'de detaylı olarak verilmiştir. KKABP yer mozaiklerinde Resim 2'de detaylı olarak açıklamaları yapılan desenler dışında, küçük boyutlu, çoğunlukla tahrip olmuş, 3 boyutlu küp, Süleyman düğümü ve dama motifleri de bulunmaktadır.

Desen Numarası	DESEN 1	DESEN 2	DESEN 3	DESEN 4	DESEN 5	DESEN 6	DESEN 7		
<b>Desen Görünümü</b>									
<b>Desen Boyutları</b>	120 x 120 cm	120 x 120 cm	120 x 110 cm	122 x 145 cm	120 x 141 cm	120 x 140 cm	120 x 145 cm		
<b>Uygulama Teknikleri</b>	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Vermiculatum		
<b>TESSERA</b>	<b>Boyutu</b>	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm		
	<b>Renk (L, a, b)*</b>	Bordo (52; 8; 7) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Açık gri (75; -5; 1) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)
	<b>% Dağılımı</b>								
<b>Kullanılan Motifler</b>	Geometrik motifler Dalga motifi	Geometrik motifler	Yuvarlak dilimli çift örgü motifi	Süleyman düğümü motifi.	Spiral motifi	Geometrik motifler Dalga motifi	Çiçek kutusu motifi		
<b>Bozulma Durumu</b>	Tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir	Kısmen tanımlanabilir	Kısmen tanımlanabilir	Kısmen tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir		
<b>Desen Numarası</b>	DESEN 8	DESEN 9	DESEN 10	DESEN 11	BAĞLANTI DESENİ	İÇ BORDÜR DESENİ	DIŞ BORDÜR DESENİ		
<b>Desen Görünümü</b>									
<b>Desen Boyutları</b>	120 x 140 cm	120 x 110 cm	120 x 118 cm	120 x 125 cm	-	-	-		
<b>Uygulama Teknikleri</b>	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Tessellatum	Opus Regulatum Opus Vermiculatum	Opus Tessellatum Opus Vermiculatum		
<b>TESSERA</b>	<b>Boyutu</b>	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm	1 x 1 cm 2 x 2 cm		
	<b>Renk (L, a, b)*</b>	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Sarımsı turuncu (70; 20; 45) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Bordo (52; 8; 7) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Bordo (52; 8; 7) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1)	Bordo (52; 8; 7) Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Beyaz (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1)	Bej-1 (79; 3; 13) Bej-2 (75; 4; 14) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Açık gri (75; -5; 1) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8) Beyaz-2 (79; 0; 6) Pembe-1 (63; 12; 12) Pembe-2 (61; 8; 10) Sarımsı kahverengi-1 (62; 10; 49) Sarımsı kahverengi-2 (53; 13; 55) Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41)	
	<b>% Dağılımı</b>								
<b>Kullanılan Motifler</b>	Geometrik motifler An peteği motifi	Süleyman düğümü motifi	Kaba yıldız motifi	Haç motifi Pelta motifi	Menderes motifi	Üç kollu örgü motifi	Çiçek kutusu motifi		
<b>Bozulma Durumu</b>	Kısmen tanımlanabilir	Kısmen tanımlanabilir	Kısmen tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir	Tanımlanabilir		



## 5. Minerolo-Petrografik ve Jeokimyasal Özellikler

Mozaik yapımında başlıca üç seviyenin bulunduğunu belirten Vitruvius (İÖ 25) ilk seviyenin mozaik döşemesindeki suların sızabileceği şekilde dik olarak yerleştirilen "Statümen" tabakasından oluştuğunu belirtmiştir. İkinci seviye 15 cm kalınlığında  $\frac{1}{4}$ 'ü kireç  $\frac{3}{4}$ 'ü çakıl parçalarından oluşan ve "Rudus" olarak adlandırılan harç seviyesidir. Üçüncü seviye  $\frac{3}{4}$ 'ü kiremit  $\frac{1}{4}$ 'ü kireç karışımından















oluşan ve “Nükleus” olarak adlandırılan seviyedir. Mozaiği oluşturan tessera parçaları bu tabaka üzerine harç yaş iken yerleştirilmektedir (Üstüner 2002: 62-63; Alberti et al. 2013: 64). Bazı mozaik yapılarında nükleus üzerinde ince bir tabaka halinde yatak harcı katmanı bulunmaktadır.

Çalışma konusunu oluşturan KKABP mozaik yer döşemesinde kullanılan tesseralar 1x1x1, 1x1x2 ve 2x2x2 cm arasında değişen boyutlarda ve genellikle düzgün yüzeylere sahiptirler. Mozaik yer döşemesi, alttan itibaren sert toprak üzerine yerleştirilmiş çok iri-iri boyutlu dere çakıllarından oluşan statümen, 3-4 cm kalınlığında kaba harç (Rudus), ve 2-3 cm kalınlığındaki ince harç (Nucleus) ve üzerinde 1-2 mm kalınlığındaki yatak harcı üzerinde yer alan tessellatum katmanlarından oluşmaktadır. Katmanlar arasındaki geçişler çoğu zaman belirgin değildir. Toprak örtü altında kalan KKABP’te kazı çalışmaları öncesinde yoğun tarım faaliyetleri (sulama, ekim, sürüm vb.) yapılması nedeniyle yatak harcının bağlayıcılık özelliğini kaybettiği ve yer döşemesinin bazı kesimlerinde tesseraların koptuğu düşünülmektedir.

### 5.1. Tesseraların Renk Özellikleri

Renk, ışığın cisimlere çarparak yansımaya bağlı olarak gözde oluşturduğu duyum olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Dolayısı ile aynı bir cisimden yansıyan ışığın farklı kişilerde farklı duyumlar oluşturması olağan bir durumdur. Bilimsel çalışmalarda kişiye bağlı renk tanımlamalarından doğacak sorunları ortadan kaldırmak amacıyla son yıllarda modern ve hassas renk ölçüm cihazları geliştirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada tessera örneklerinin renk tanımlamaları “NR60CP Portable Renk Ölçer” cihazı ile belirlenmiştir. Ölçümler sonucu tesseraların renk tanımlamaları standart CEI L\*a\*b\* (Commission Internationale de L’Eclairage) renk sistemine göre yapılmıştır. L\*a\*b\* renk değerleri, coğrafi

Tablo 1  
Tessera örneklerinin L\*a\*b\* renk ölçüm sonuçları.

Tessera Rengi	L*	a*	b*	Tessera Rengi	L*	a*	b*	Tessera Rengi	L*	a*	b*	Tessera Rengi	L*	a*	b*
 Bordo	45,79	8,87	8	 Bej-1	79,42	1,91	10,49	 Sarımsı kahverengi-1	62,72	10,01	48,58	 Mavimsi Beyaz	68,51	-0,40	0,15
	52,68	7,62	7,52		77,74	4,49	15,82		60,32	10,93	50,2		73,92	-0,85	0,73
	54,55	5,44	7,96		80,77	3,37	13,81		64,24	9,78	48,38		75,9	-0,40	0,78
	50,73	7,92	7,26		79,17	1,89	10,69		61,95	10,35	49,57		73	-0,34	1,18
	58,33	8,27	6,64		76,88	2,18	13,19		61,46	10,18	49,2		69,88	-0,69	0,79
Std. Sapma	4,65	1,31	0,56	Std. Sapma	1,52	1,14	2,24	Std. Sapma	1,46	0,43	0,74	Std. Sapma	3,01	0,22	0,21
Ortalama	52,42	7,62	7,48	Ortalama	78,80	2,77	12,80	Ortalama	62,14	10,25	49,19	Ortalama	72,24	-0,54	0,87
 Beyaz-1	87,11	1,01	8,19	 Pembe-1	59,77	12,64	11,75	 Sarımsı kahverengi-2	52,49	12,08	55,08	 Bej-2	72,92	4,39	15,39
	87,53	0,66	7,32		61,45	13,07	12,23		53,5	10,74	55,18		73,91	4,17	13,73
	84,45	0,89	6,11		62,21	13,13	12,27		54,14	10,6	55,66		76,67	2,92	13,19
	87,43	0,56	6,88		63,85	13,63	13,15		51,65	17,42	53,97		78,2	3,71	13,04
	86,15	1,63	9,84		63,71	7,53	8,33		54,85	13,86	53,33		75,56	3,81	14,42
Std. Sapma	1,29	0,42	1,43	Std. Sapma	1,69	2,52	1,87	Std. Sapma	1,28	2,83	0,96	Std. Sapma	2,11	0,56	0,97
Ortalama	86,53	0,95	7,67	Ortalama	62,20	12,00	11,55	Ortalama	53,33	12,94	54,64	Ortalama	75,45	3,80	13,95
 Beyaz-2	79,00	0,46	4,53	 Pembe-2	63,05	7,14	9,39	 Açık gri	72,41	-4,68	1,13	L: Açıklık (lightness) koordinatı (0 siyah rengi ve 100 beyaz rengi tanımlanmaktadır.)	78,68	-5,63	1,89
	79,63	0,51	4,51		60,59	8,1	11,15		77,65	-6,43	0,12		71,19	-4,66	1,08
	79,01	0,45	7,19		60,79	7,08	8,8		71,19	-4,66	1,08		76,76	-5,73	0,94
	79,45	0,82	8,19		60,19	10,09	12,01		72,41	-4,68	1,13		77,65	-6,43	0,12
	78,13	0,29	5,22		62,41	8,86	9,77		72,41	-4,68	1,13		77,65	-6,43	0,12
Std. Sapma	0,58	0,19	1,67	Std. Sapma	1,25	1,26	1,32	Std. Sapma	3,33	0,76	0,63	a*: Kırmızı/yeşil koordinatı (+a kırmızı rengi, -a ise yeşil rengi belirtmektedir.)			
Ortalama	79,04	0,51	5,93	Ortalama	61,41	8,25	10,22	Ortalama	75,34	-5,43	1,03	b*: Sarı/mavi koordinatı (+b sarı, -b ise mavi rengi belirtmektedir.)			
 Koyu gri-Siyah	43,13	-0,68	0,49	 Kırmızımsı Turuncu	44,55	31,96	41,37	 Sarımsı Turuncu	69,42	19,39	45,38		70,89	23,98	43,87
	43,84	-0,6	1,28		43,21	32,06	40,49		70,47	19,35	43,67		72,27	19,29	52,58
	42,02	-0,41	0,92		51,37	34,91	40,14		72,27	19,29	52,58		69,16	18,79	43,9
	39,9	-0,32	0,6		44,48	34,09	41,23		69,16	18,79	43,9				
	41,04	-0,36	1,33		43,71	36,44	42,25								
Std. Sapma	1,58	0,16	0,38	Std. Sapma	3,35	1,91	0,82	Std. Sapma	1,25	2,15	2,97				
Ortalama	41,99	-0,47	0,92	Ortalama	45,46	33,89	41,10	Ortalama	70,44	20,16	45,28				

koordinat sistemine (enlem, boylam ve yükseklik) benzer şekilde her bir rengin tek bir nokta ile temsil edildiği koordinat sistemidir. Tessera örneklerinin düzgün yüzeyleri üzerinde 5 farklı noktadan ölçülen  $L*a*b^*$  değerleri, standart sapma ve ortalama değerleri Tablo 1'de verilmiştir. Tesseralarda başlıca 9 farklı renk tonunda 4 farklı kayaç türü ve 2 farklı renkte tuğla-kiremit parçası belirlenmiştir. Beyaz renkli (86,53; 0,95; 7,67) tesseralar kristalize kireçtaşı, beyaz (79,04; 0,35; 5,93), bordo (52,42; 7,62; 7,48), koyu gri-siyah (41,99; -0,47; 0,92), pembe (62,20; 12,00; 11,55 ve 61,41; 8,25; 10,22), açık gri (61,34; -0,83; 1,83) ve mavimsi beyaz (72,24; -0,22; 0,87) renkli tesseralar farklı doku özellikleri gösteren mermerler, bej renkli (78,80; 2,77; 12,80 ve 75,45; 3,80; 13,95) tesseralar traverten, sarımsı kahverengi renkli (62,14; 10,25; 29,19 ve 53,33; 12,94; 24,64), tesseralar kumtaşı, sarımsı turuncu (51,04; 17,16; 23,88) ve kırmızımsı turuncu renkli (45,46; 13,89; 14,70) tesseralar tuğla-kiremit bileşimli kayaç/malzemelerden kesilerek yapılmışlardır.

### 5.2. Tessera Örneklerinin Petrografik Özellikleri

KKABP yer mozaiklerini oluşturan desenlerde kullanılan tesseraların ayrıntılı mineralojik ve petrografik özellikleri Resim 3'de verilmiştir. Yer mozaiklerini oluşturan tüm desenlerde baskın olarak beyaz ve koyu gri-siyah renkli tesseraların kullanıldığı, sadece bağlantı motifinde kullanılmadıkları belirlenmiştir. Benzer şekilde açık gri renkli tesseraların sadece desen 3 ve iç bordür'de kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Tessera örneklerinin petrografik incelemeleri sonucunda beyaz renkli tesseraların kristalize kireçtaşı ve mermer, koyu gri-siyah renkli tesseraların grafit içeren mermer, pembe ve bordo renkli tesseraların dolomitik mermer, bej renkli tesseraların traverten, sarımsı kahverengi renkli tesseraların oolitik kumtaşı, açık gri renkli tesseraların ince kristalli mermer, sarımsı turuncu ve kırmızımsı turuncu renkli tesseraların tuğla-kiremit parçası bileşimli oldukları belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca KKABP yer mozaiklerinin kazı çalışmaları sırasında kopan ve renklerine göre tasnif edilen tesseralardan alınan örnekler içerisinde mavimsi beyaz renkli ve gri damarlı mermer örneklerine de rastlanılmıştır.

Desenlerde kullanılan beyaz renkli, kristalize kireçtaşı ve mermer bileşimli tesseraların içerisinde yer yer bej renkli traverten bileşimli tesseraların bulunması, benzer şekilde sarımsı kahverengi renkli oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tesseralar içerisinde sarımsı turuncu renkli tuğla kiremit parçası, bordo renkli dolomitik mermer bileşimli tesseralar içerisinde kırmızımsı turuncu renkli tuğla kiremit parçası bileşimli tesseraların varlığı desen oluşturma sırasında tesseraların özelliğinden çok renk uyumuna dikkat edildiğini düşündürmektedir.

### 5.3. Tesseraların XRD İncelemeleri

Mermer bileşimli tesseraların baskın olarak kullanıldığı yer mozaiklerinde renk farklılığı gösteren tesseralar için kolaylıkla ayırım yapılabilenken, benzer/yakın renklerde görülen tesseralar için ayırım yapmak oldukça zordur. Bununla birlikte optik mikroskop incelemelerinde petrografik tanımlamaları birbirine benzeyen tessera örneklerinin bileşim benzerlikleri/farklılıklarını ortaya çıkarabilmek için XRD ölçümleri gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bordo renkli (52; 8; 7) ve pembe renkli (62; 12; 12) tesseralar renk olarak birbirine yakın örnekler olup, petrografik incelemelerde benzer mineralojik bileşim gösterdiği belirlenmiştir. XRD incelemeleri sonucunda bu iki mermer örneğinin mineralojik olarak dolomit  $[CaMg(CO_3)_2]$  ve kalsit ( $CaCO_3$ ) bileşimli karbonat minerallerinden oluştuğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Resim 4). Beyaz renkli (79; 1; 6) ve mavimsi beyaz (72; -1; 1) tessera örneklerinin XRD grafikleri incelendiği zaman örneklerin baskın olarak kalsit bileşimli karbonat minerallerinden oluştuğu, bununla birlikte daha az miktarda dolomit içerdikleri görülmektedir (Res. 4).

DESEN VE MOTİFLERDE KULLANILAN TESSERA ÖRNEKLERİ						
Makroskopik Görüntüsü						
Renk (L, a, b)*	Bordo (52; 8; 7)	Beyaz-1 (87; 1; 8)	Beyaz-2 (79; 1; 6)	Koyu gri-Siyah (42; -1; 1)	Bej (79; 3; 13)	Pembe (62; 12; 12)-(61; 8; 10)
Boyutu (cm)	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2
Özgül Ağırlık	Ortalama 3.16	Ortalama 2.99	Ortalama 2.86	Ortalama 2.97	Ortalama 2.73	Ortalama 3.05
Görüldüğü Desenler	Desen 1, Desen 7, Desen 10, Desen 11, Geçiş Motifi, İç ve Dış Bordür	Desen 1, Desen 2, Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 6, Desen 7, Desen 8, Desen 9, Desen 11, İç ve Dış Bordür	Desen 1, Desen 2, Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 6, Desen 7, Desen 8, Desen 9, Desen 11, İç ve Dış Bordür	Desen 1, Desen 2, Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 5, Desen 6, Desen 7, Desen 8, Desen 9, Desen 10, İç ve Dış Bordür	Desen 1, Desen 4, Desen 5, Desen 9, Desen 10, Desen 11, Geçiş Motifi	Desen 1, Desen 2, Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 5, Desen 6, Desen 7, Desen 8, Desen 9, Desen 10, İç ve Dış Bordür
Diğer Özellikleri	İnce kristalli yapıda olup, kırıldığında hafif çürük yumurta kokusu verir.	Çok ince kristalli yapıda olup, kristal yüzeyleri güneş ışığını yansıtır.	İnce kristalli yapıda olup, kristal yüzeyleri güneş ışığını yansıtır. Oldukça saf beyazıktadır.	İnce kristalli yapıda olup, kristal yüzeyleri güneş ışığını yansıtır.	Mikritik bir yapısı vardır. Kırık yüzeyleri konkoidal kırınma sahiptir.	İnce kristalli yapıda olup, kırıldığında hafif çürük yumurta kokusu verir.
Mikroskop Görüntüsü						
Mineral Bileşimi	Dolomit, Kalsit, Ankerit, ±Opak Min.	Kalsit, ±Opak Min.	Kalsit, ±Dolomit	Kalsit, Grafit, ±Dolomit, ±Kuars	Mikrit, Mikrospatit, ±Kalsit, ±Opak Min.	Dolomit, Kalsit ±Opak Min.
Kristal Boyutu	88 - 286 µm	36 - 117 µm	77 - 722 µm	82 - 854 µm	< 5 µm	152 - 488 µm
Kristal Sınırları	Kavisli	Oldukça pürüzlü	Kavisli, Kısmen doğrusal	Kavisli, Kısmen doğrusal	-	Kavisli, Kısmen doğrusal
Dokusu	Homoblastik	Homoblastik Mozaik	Heteroblastik Poligon	Lepidognoblastik	Mikritik	Homoblastik Poligon
Petrografik Özellikler	Ankeritleşme kalsit kristallerinin kenarları boyunca yaygındır. Kayacı oluşturan bileşenlerde belirgin yönelim görülüyor.	Kristal boyutları oldukça küçük olup, spatik çimentolu kireçtaşın metamorfizma geçirmesiyle oluşan bir kayac olarak değerlendirilmiştir.	İri karbonat kristallerinde deformasyon göstergesi basınç izleri ve kink-bant yapıları görülmektedir.	Kalsit kristalleri arasında siyah renkli grafitler oldukça belirgin.	Kayaç içerisinde belli bir geometrik şekli olmayan, bağlantısız boşluklar yaygındır.	Karbonat minerallerinde deformasyon göstergesi basınç izleri görülmektedir.
Petrografik Tanımı	DOLOMITİK MERMER	KRİSTALİZE KİREÇTAŞI	MERMER	GRAFİT İÇEREN MERMER	TRAVERTEN	DOLOMITİK MERMER
Kimyasal Bileşimi	CaO :33.57 Ba :479.9 MgO :13.43 Sr :128.1 MnO :0.03 Ni :53.6 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :0.36 Cu :4.8 SiO <sub>2</sub> :0.06 Zn :22.5 Ca/Mg :2.9 Th :1.9		CaO :51.86 Ba :139.1 MgO :0.52 Sr :175 MnO :0.01 Ni :43.1 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :0.09 Cu :0.4 SiO <sub>2</sub> :0.08 Zn :4 Ca/Mg :118.8 Th :3.4		CaO :54.78 Ba :187 MgO :0.52 Sr :296.3 MnO :0.009 Ni :51 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :0.11 Cu :4.2 SiO <sub>2</sub> :1.02 Zn :3.6 Ca/Mg :125.5 Th :4	CaO :33.68 Ba :328.6 MgO :12.51 Sr :122.1 MnO :0.01 Ni :41.3 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :0.07 Cu :2.5 SiO <sub>2</sub> :0.09 Zn :3.5 Ca/Mg :3.2 Th :2.2

\*Ortalama (L\*, a\*, b\*) değerleridir.

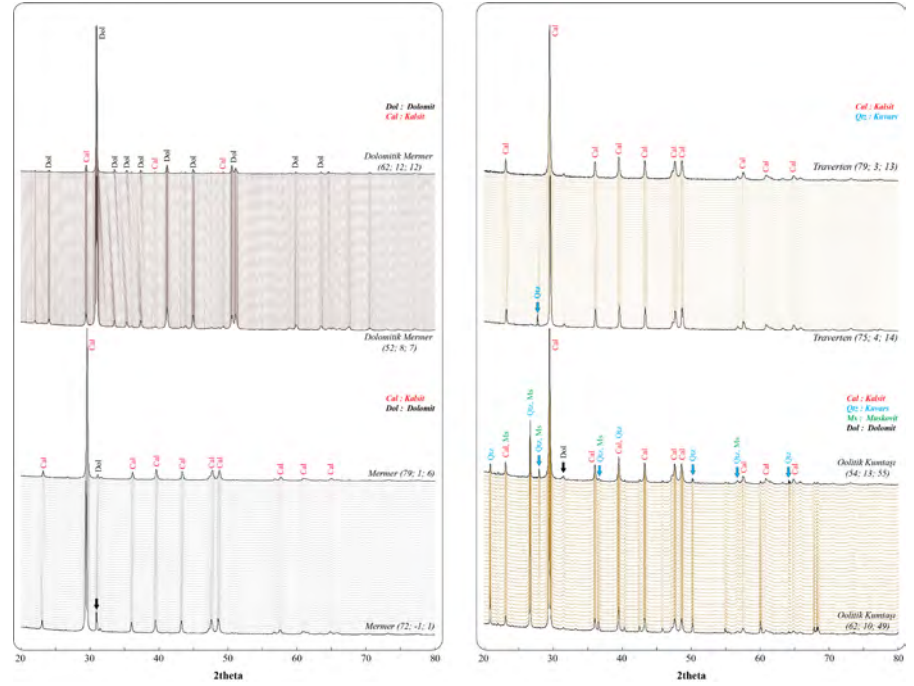
DESEN VE MOTİFLERDE KULLANILAN TESSERA ÖRNEKLERİ						
Makroskopik Görüntüsü						
Renk (L, a, b)*	Kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 35; 40)	Sarımsı kahverengi (62; 10; 49)(53; 13; 55)	Açık gri (75; -5; 1)	Sarımsı turuncu (70; 20; 45)	Mavimsi beyaz (72; -1; 1)	Griimsi bej (75; 4; 14)
Boyutu (cm)	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2	~1.5*1.5*2
Özgül Ağırlık	Ortalama 2.66	Ortalama 2.66	Ortalama 2.93	Ortalama 2.47	Ortalama 2.85	Ortalama 2.76
Görüldüğü Desenler	Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 5, Desen 6, Desen 7, Desen 8, Desen 9, Desen 10, Desen 11, Geçiş Motifi, İç ve Dış Bordür	Desen 2, Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 7, Desen 10, Desen 11, Geçiş Motifi, İç ve Dış Bordür	Desen 3, İç Bordür	Desen 1, Desen 2, Desen 3, Desen 4, Desen 5, Desen 6, Desen 7, Desen 8, Desen 9, Desen 10, Desen 11, İç Bordür	Özellikle gri renkli ve beyaz renkli tesseralar olduğu desenlerde kullanılmıştır.	Özellikle gri renkli ve beyaz renkli tesseralar olduğu desenlerde kullanılmıştır.
Diğer Özellikleri	Renklerine göre 650-700 °C firm sıcaklığında pişirilmiş oldukları değerlendirilmiştir.	Kumsu bir yapıda olup, ince tanelidir.	İnce kristalli yapıda olup, kristal yüzeyleri güneş ışığını yansıtır.	Renklerine göre 750-800 °C firm sıcaklığında pişirilmiş oldukları değerlendirilmiştir.	İnce-orta kristalli yapıdadır. İçerisinde gri renkli damarlar görülebilmektedir.	Mikritik bir yapısı vardır. Kırık yüzeyleri konkoidal kırınma sahiptir.
Mikroskop Görüntüsü						
Mineral Bileşimi	Mikrit, Biotit, Kuvars, Opak Min.	Kalsit, Kuvars, Mika Min., ±Opak Min.	Kalsit, Kuvars, ±Opak Min.	Mikrit, Biotit, Kuvars, Opak Min.	Kalsit, ±Grafit, ±Dolomit, Opak Min.	Mikrit, Mikrospatit, ±Kuvars, ±Kalsit
Kristal Boyutu	0.063 - 0.25 µm	72-363 µm	46 - 506 µm	0.063 - 0.25 µm	82 - 854 µm	< 5 µm
Kristal Sınırları	-	-	Kısmen doğrusal	-	Kavisli, Kısmen pürüzlü	-
Dokusu	-	Tane destekli	Heteroblastik Poligon	-	Heteroblastik Mozaik	Mikritik
Petrografik Özellikler	Boşluk miktarı az olup, tane boyu bakımından homojen bir dağılım görülmektedir.	Oolit taneleri yaklaşık eşit büyüklükte olup, merkezlerinde köşeli mineral taneleri bulunmaktadır.	Kayaç içerisinde yuvarlaklaşmış kuvars taneleri yaygındır. İri kalsit kristallerinde polisentetik ikizlenmeler belirgin.	Boşluk miktarı fazla olup, tane boyu bakımından homojen bir dağılım görülmektedir.	Kalsit kristalleri arasında siyah renkli grafit damarları görülüyor.	Kayaç içerisinde belli bir geometrik şekli olmayan, bağlantısız boşluklar yaygındır. Ayrıca pellet türü bileşenler görülmektedir.
Petrografik Tanımı	TUĞLA-KİREMIT PARÇASI	OOİTİK KUMTAŞI	MERMER	TUĞLA-KİREMIT PARÇASI	MERMER	TRAVERTEN
Kimyasal Bileşimi		CaO :35.99 Ba :449 MgO :0.42 Sr :229.7 MnO :0.06 Ni :126.5 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :2.32 Cu :11.3 SiO <sub>2</sub> :21.67 Zn :15.3 Ca/Mg :102.5 Th :4.6			CaO :54.10 Ba :412 MgO :0.81 Sr :182 MnO :0.01 Ni :44.1 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :0.28 Cu :0.4 SiO <sub>2</sub> :0.12 Zn :12.8 Ca/Mg :79.3 Th :3.5	CaO :52.68 Ba :218 MgO :0.63 Sr :408.2 MnO :0.012 Ni :57.8 Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> :0.31 Cu :8.2 SiO <sub>2</sub> :2.88 Zn :9.5 Ca/Mg :98.8 Th :1.9

\*Ortalama (L\*, a\*, b\*) değerleridir.

Resim 3  
KKABP yer mozaikleri tessera örneklerinin mineralojik ve petrografik özellikleri.

Resim 4

Farklı renk tonuna sahip dolomitik mermer, mermer, traverten ve oolitik kumtaşı örneklerinin karşılaştırmalı XRD grafikleri.



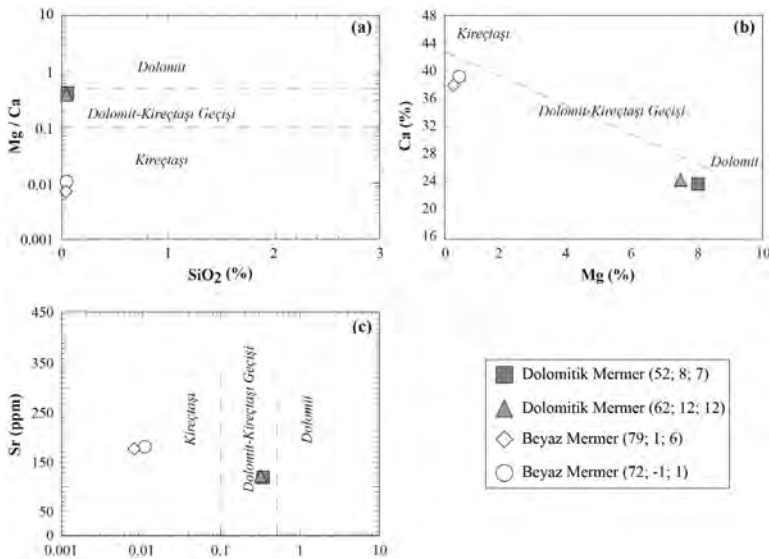
Makro gözlemlerde çok az renk tonu farklılığı gösteren iki farklı traverten bileşimli tessera belirlenmiştir. Optik mikroskop incelemelerinde her iki tür traverten örneğinin benzer mineralojik bileşimde oldukları, (75; 4; 14) renk kodlu travertenin bileşiminde az miktarda köşeli kuvars taneleri içerdiği görülmüştür. XRD incelemelerinde her iki traverten örneğinin benzer XRD desenine sahip oldukları ve kalsit bileşimli karbonat minerallerinden oluştuğu belirlenmiştir (Resim 4). Ayrıca (75; 4; 14) renk kodlu travertenin XRD grafiğinde kuvars piki belirlenmiştir. Sarımsı kahverengi (62; 10; 49 ve 53; 13; 55) renkli tessera örneklerinin, petrografik incelemelerde oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli oldukları ve bileşen miktarı olarak küçük farklılıklar gösterdikleri belirlenmiştir. Oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tesseralarda başlıca kalsit (çoğunlukla bağlayıcı çimento olarak), kuvars, muskovit ve nadiren dolomit pikinin varlığı belirlenmiştir (Res. 4).

#### 5.4. Tesseraların Jeokimyasal Özellikleri

Birbirine yakın renklerde görülen tessera örneklerinin kimyasal analiz sonuçları Tablo 2'de verilmiştir. Petrografik incelemelerde mermer (dolomitik mermer ve beyaz renkli mermer) olarak adlandırılan tessera örnekleri Melezhik et al. (2008: 540-558) tarafından önerilen Mg/Ca-SiO<sub>2</sub> ve Sr-Mg/Ca diyagramlarına yerleştirilmiş, bordo (52; 8; 7) - pembe (62; 12; 12) renkli tessera örneklerinin (dolomitik mermer) dolomit-kireçtaşı sınırına, beyaz (79; 1; 6) - mavimsi beyaz (75; 4; 14) renkli tesseraların kireçtaşı alanına düştüğü belirlenmiştir (Res. 5a, b). Benzer şekilde Ca-Mg diyagramında bordo - pembe renkli tessera örneklerinin dolomit, beyaz - mavimsi beyaz renkli tesseraların kireçtaşı tarafında kümelenedikleri belirlenmiştir (Res. 5c).

Tessera (L*; a*; b*)	Dolomitik Mermer		Mermer		Traverten		Oolitlik Kumtaşı	
	(52; 8; 7)	(62; 12; 12)	(79; 1; 6)	(72; -1; 1)	(79; 3; 13)	(75; 4; 14)	(54; 13; 55)	(62; 10; 49)
Na <sub>2</sub> O (%)	0,16	0,17	0,14	0,14	0,35	0,35	0,45	0,46
MgO (%)	12,51	13,43	0,52	0,81	0,52	0,63	0,4	0,42
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> (%)	0,003	0,004	0,004	0,017	0,198	0,701	0,676	0,829
SiO <sub>2</sub> (%)	0,09	0,06	0,07	0,12	1,02	2,89	7,14	21,67
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> (%)	0,05	0,04	0,04	0,05	0,09	0,07	0,1	0,08
K <sub>2</sub> O (%)	0,001	0,001	0,001	0,001	0,001	0,083	0,084	0,127
CaO (%)	33,68	33,57	51,86	54,1	54,78	52,68	47,19	35,99
TiO <sub>2</sub> (%)	0,001	0,001	0,002	0,002	0,012	0,045	0,097	0,106
MnO (%)	0,010	0,030	0,010	0,010	0,010	0,010	0,060	0,060
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> (%)	0,070	0,360	0,090	0,280	0,110	0,310	1,19	2,32
V (ppm)	1,0	1,3	1,0	1,0	1,0	3,0	15,2	31,4
Co (ppm)	3,0	9,8	16,3	15,0	16,0	3,0	3,0	50,4
Ni (ppm)	41,3	53,6	43,1	44,1	51,0	57,8	116,5	126,5
Cu (ppm)	2,5	4,8	0,4	0,4	4,2	8,2	8,5	11,3
Zn (ppm)	8,5	22,5	4,0	12,8	8,6	9,5	16,8	15,3
Ga (ppm)	0,5	2,5	2,0	2,3	2,8	5,8	4,2	4,3
As (ppm)	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	1,4	14,8	23,2
Rb (ppm)	0,8	0,9	1,0	1,0	4,6	12,6	6,8	6,9
Sr (ppm)	122,1	121,8	175,0	182,0	296,3	408,2	304,7	229,7
Y (ppm)	0,1	1,3	3,3	6,1	0,5	1,3	3,4	6,1
Zr (ppm)	1,8	1,4	3,0	1,6	9,0	19,9	29,1	57,9
Nb (ppm)	2,2	1,4	2,0	1,3	2,2	2,8	3,7	4,8
Mo (ppm)	4,4	4,9	2,4	4,5	3,9	3,4	4,4	5,5
Cs (ppm)	263,6	406,9	4,0	396,7	4,0	4,0	4,0	397,6
Ba (ppm)	328,6	479,9	139,1	412,0	187,0	218,0	105,0	449,0
La (ppm)	2,0	696,0	2,0	573,0	298,0	313,0	200,0	774,0
Ce (ppm)	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	169,0	2,0
Nd (ppm)	21,9	24,3	31,2	26,2	36,6	30,6	49,7	25,8
Hf (ppm)	0,8	1,0	2,0	2,1	2,1	1,0	1,0	2,1
Ta (ppm)	28,4	23,9	29,7	29,0	29,1	18,5	23,7	24,8
Pb (ppm)	3,9	12,1	3,8	6,5	10,4	14,3	15,2	19,2
Th (ppm)	2,2	1,9	3,4	3,5	4,0	3,8	3,9	4,6

Tablo 2  
Tessera örneklerinin kimyasal analiz sonuçları.



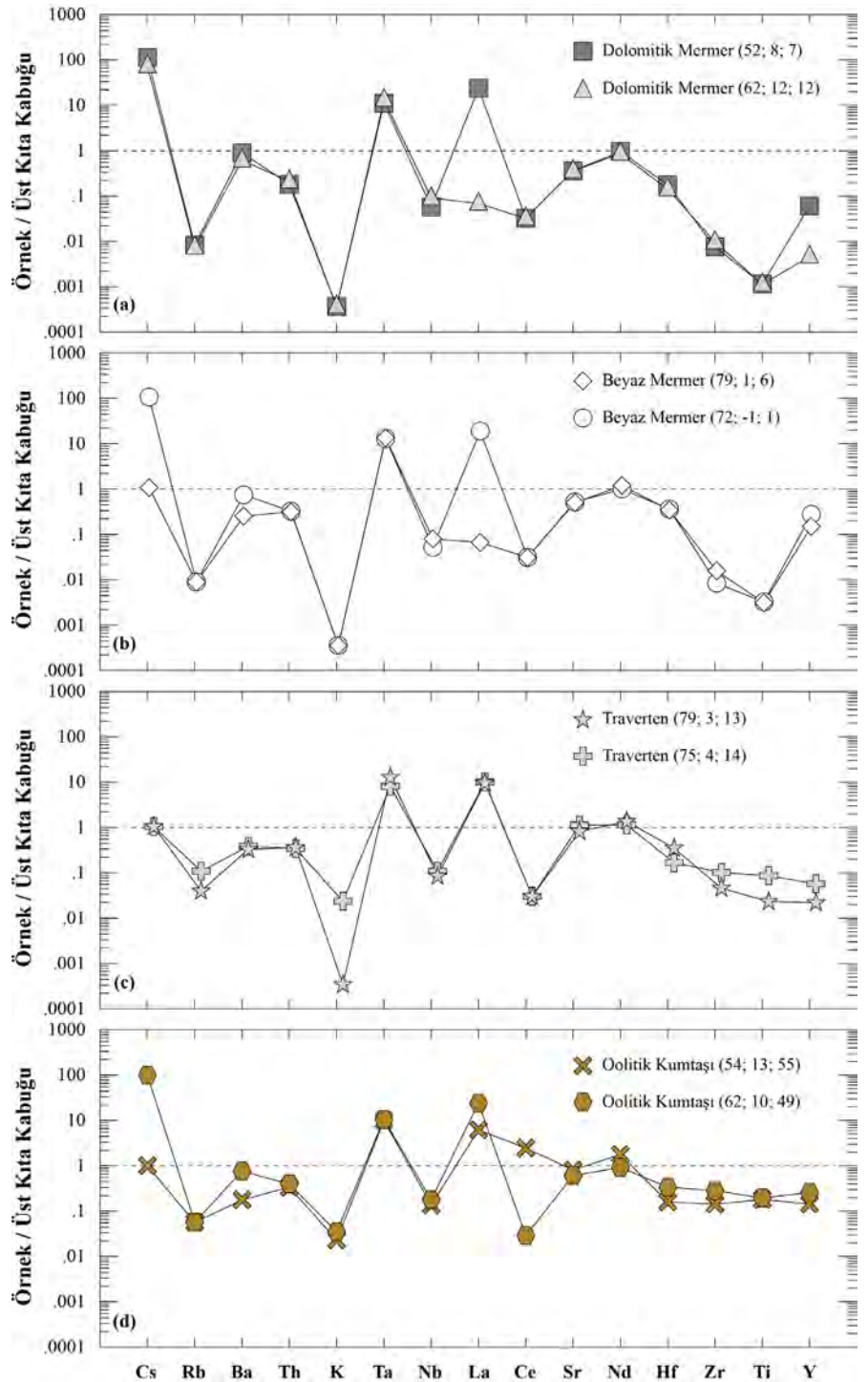
Resim 5  
KKABP yer mozaikleri dolomitik mermer ve mermer bileşimli tessera örneklerinin Melezhiç ve diğ. (2008) tarafından önerilen ayırım diyagramlarındaki konumları.



Bordo-pembe renkli dolomitik mermer bileşimli tessera örneklerinin Üst Kıta Kabuğu (ÜKK) iz element değerlerine göre normalleştirilmiş çoklu element değişim diyagramında, Cs ve Ta elementleri haricindeki iz elementler bakımından ÜKK değerlerine oranla fakirleşme gözlenmektedir. Bununla birlikte Ba ve Nd elementleri bakımından zenginleşme ve/veya fakirleşme görülmemektedir (Res. 6a, b). Bej renkli, traverten bileşimli ve sarımsı kahverengi renkli, oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tessera örneklerinin ÜKK iz element değerlerine göre normalleştirilmiş çoklu element değişim diyagramında, Ta ve La elementleri haricindeki iz elementler bakımından ÜKK değerlerine oranla fakirleşme gözlenmektedir. Bununla birlikte Cs, Sr ve Nd elementleri bakımından zenginleşme ve/veya fakirleşme görülmemektedir (Res. 6c, d). Ayrıca sarımsı

Resim 6

Farklı renk tonuna sahip dolomitik mermer, mermer, traverten ve oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tessera örneklerinin ÜKK (Taylor - McLennan 1981: 381-399) değerlerine göre normalleştirilmiş olduğu çoklu element dağılım diyagramları.

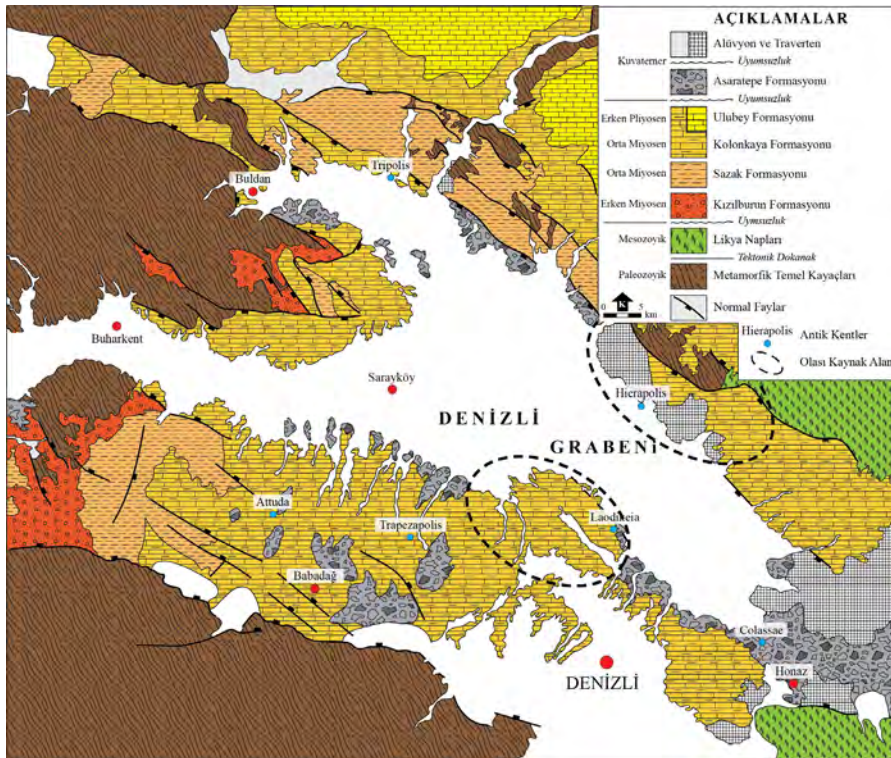


kahverenkli, oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tessera örneklerinin ÜKK çoklu element değişim diyagramında Cs, Ba ve Ce gibi elementler bakımından farklılıklar gösterdikleri görülmektedir (Res. 6d). Bu farklılıklar oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tesseraların kırıntılı sedimanter kayaç olması ve içerisindeki bileşenlerin miktar bakımında değişiklik göstermesi ile açıklanabilir.

Sonuç olarak çoklu element değişim diyagramlarında renk olarak birbirine benzeyen tessera örneklerinin benzer element içeriklerine sahip oldukları görülmektedir. Bu durum örneklerin aynı taş ocaklarından alınmış olabileceği görüşünü desteklemektedir.

### 5.5. Tesseraların Olası Kaynak Alanları

Antik dönem yerleşimlerinde önemli ve kült yapılar (tapınak, kilise, tiyatro, anıtsal çeşme vb.) belirli yapıtaşlarının uzak kaynaklardan getirilmesi sıklıkla karşılaşılan bir durum olmakla birlikte, yapıtaşlarının çoğunlukla yerel kaynaklardan karşılandığı bilinen bir gerçektir (Koralay 2017: 145-163; Sezgin - Koralay 2019: 363-378; Koralay et al. 2021). Bu makalede, Laodikeia antik kenti KKABP mozaik yer döşemesinde kullanılan tesseraların tamamen yerel kaynaklardan temin edildiği değerlendirilmiştir. Bununla birlikte KKABP mozaik yer döşemesinde kullanılan tessera örneklerinin minero-petrografik özellikleri ve bölgenin jeolojik yapısına bakılarak olası kaynak alanlarına yönelik yaklaşımda bulunulmuştur. Mermer bileşimli tesseraların olası kaynak alanları olarak antik kentin yaklaşık 10 km kuzeydoğusundaki Hierapolis antik kenti kuzeyinde yüzeyleme veren temel kayaçları gösterilebilir (Res. 7). Literatürde Denizli grabeni ve çevresinde görülen temel kayaçlarını Menderes Masifi ve Likya naplarına ait kaya topluluklarının oluşturduğu ve grabeni sınırlayan yüksek rakımlı alanlarda yaygın olarak yüzeyletiği ifade edilmektedir. Batı Anadolu'da geniş alanlar kaplayan temel kayaçları (Menderes Masifi) içerisinde metamorfizma derecesine göre başlıca iki farklı kayaç topluluğu ayırt edilmektedir. Bunlar sırasıyla yüksek derecede metamorfizmaya uğramış gözlü gnays, migmatit, amfibolit ve eklojit bileşimli kayaçlardan oluşan metamorfitletler



Resim 7  
KKABP yer mozaikleri tessera örneklerinin olası kaynak alanlarını gösteren jeoloji haritası (Sun 1990'dan değiştirilerek alınmıştır).

ile ince-orta tabakalı kuvarsit, mikaşist, fillit ve mermerlerden oluşan düşük dereceli metamorfittlerdir. Mermerler; beyaz, gri damarlı, gri, bordo, pembe renklerde olup, yer yer şist ara seviyeleri ve mercekleri içermektedir. (Konak et al. 1987: 42-53; Sun 1990: 1-92; Alçiçek 2007; Candan vd. 2011: 123-167). Benzer şekilde traverten bileşimli tessera örneklerinin Hierapolis antik kenti çevresindeki Kuvaterner yaşlı antik traverten ocaklarından temin edilmiş olabileceği değerlendirilmektedir (Scardozi 2017: 141-165; Koralay - İmre 2019: 7-8). Oolitik kumtaşı türü tesseraların olası kaynak alanı için ise antik kentin yakın çevresinde yüzeylenme veren Kolonkaya formasyonu içerisindeki kumtaşı seviyeleri olası görülmektedir (Res. 7). Kolankaya formasyonu sığ-derin göl ve kıyı-alüvyon yelpazesi ortamında çökelmiş olup, 500 m kalınlığa sahiptir. Formasyon marn, çamurtaşı (kil-silt ardalınması) ve egemen olarak kumtaşlarından oluşmaktadır. Kumtaşları açık kahverengi, sarımsı ve gri renklerde yer yer az pekleşmiş, orta-kalın tabakalı, bol miktarda Gastropod ve Lamellibrans fosilleri içermektedir (Sun 1990: 1-92; Alçiçek 2007; Topal - Özkul 2014: 1-13).

Ancak antik dönem yapıtaşlarının kaynak alanlarını belirleme çalışmalarında minero-petrografik özelliklerinin yanısıra bir dizi aletsel analiz tekniklerinin (*Katadolüminesans, ICP-MS analizleri, C-O duraylı izotop analizleri, Elektron Paramanyetik Rezonans*) birlikte değerlendirilmesi ile sağlıklı sonuçların elde edilebileceği bir gerçektir.

## 6. Tartışma ve Sonuçlar

İS 1-3 ve 4-6 yüzyılları arasında gücün ve refahın hüküm sürdüğü Laodikeia antik kentinde taş işçiliğinin en güzel örneklerinin sergilendiği birçok sosyal (tiyatro), dini (tapınak ve kilise), ticari (agora ve dükkân), yönetim yapıları ile sivil konutlar inşa edilmiştir. Bu kadar fazla sayıda taş yapının bulunduğu antik kentte KKABP gerek yapısı gerekse barındırdığı yer mozaikleri ile dikkat çekmektedir. Çalışmada elde edilen bulgular aşağıda maddeler halinde verilmiştir.

1) KKABP yer mozaikleri 20x14 metrekairelik alanda kısmen tahrip olmuş durumdadır. Mozaik yer döşemesi doğuda, kuzey-güney doğrultulu uzanan bir duvar örgüsü ile sınırlandırılmış olup, tabanında İS 610 depremine ait olduğu değerlendirilen fay kırıkları belirgin olarak görülmektedir.

2) Mozaik yer döşemesi tabanda çok iri-iri boyutlu dere çakıllarından oluşan statümen, üste doğru 3-4 cm kalınlığında kaba harç (Rudus), ve 2-3 cm kalınlığındaki ince harç (Nucleus) ve üzerinde 1-2 mm kalınlığındaki yatak harcı ve tessellatum katmanlarından oluşmaktadır.

3) Tessellatum katmanında belirlenen 14 farklı desende, 9 farklı renk, 4 farklı kayaç türü ve 2 farklı tuğla-kiremit parçasından oluşan tesseralar kullanılmıştır. Tesseraların boyutları 1x1x1, 1x1x2 ve 2x2x2 cm arasında değişmektedir. Tessera örneklerinin renkleri ve desenlerdeki % dağılım oranları şu şekildedir; koyu gri-siyah (42; -1; 1) %28, beyaz (87; 1; 8 ve 79; 1; 6) %23, bej (79; 3; 13 ve 75; 4; 14) %12, pembe (62; 12; 12 ve 61; 8; 10) %11, sarımsı kahverengi (62; 10; 49 ve 53; 13; 55) %10, bordo (52; 8; 7), kırmızımsı turuncu (45; 34; 41) %6, sarımsı turuncu (70; 20; 45) %3 ve açık gri (75; -5; 1) %2.

4) Optik mikroskop incelemeleri sonucunda koyu gri-siyah renkli tesseraların grafit içeren mermer, beyaz renkli tesseraların rekristalize kireçtaşı ve ince kristalli mermer, bej renkli tesseraların traverten, pembe ve bordo renkli tesseraların dolomitik mermer, sarımsı kahverengi renkli tesseraların oolitik

kumtaşı, kırmızımsı turuncu ve sarımsı turuncu renkli tesseraların tuęla-kiremit parçası, açık gri ve mavimsi beyaz renkli tesseraların ince kristalli mermer bileşimli oldukları belirlenmiştir. Optik mikroskop çalışmalarında belirlenen mineralojik bileşimlerin, benzer renk tonlarına sahip dolomitik mermer, mermer, traverten ve oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tesseraların XRD sonuçları ile de uyumlu olduğu belirlenmiştir.

5) Desenlerde kullanılan benzer renk (beyaz renkli, kristalize kireçtaşı ve mermer bileşimli tesseraların içerisinde yer yer bej renkli traverten bileşimli tesseraların, sarımsı kahverengi oolitik kumtaşı bileşimli tesseraların içerisinde sarımsı turuncu renkli tuęla-kiremit parçalarının varlığı gibi) tonuna sahip tesseraların kayaç bileşimi olarak küçük farklılıklar göstermesi desen oluşturma sırasında tesseraların petrografik özelliklerinden çok renk uyumuna dikkat edildiğini düşündürmektedir.

6) Mermer bileşimli tessera örneklerinin köken kayasını belirlemek için Melezhik ve dię. (2008) tarafından önerilen Mg/Ca-SiO<sub>2</sub> ve Sr-Mg/Ca diyagramlarına yerleştirilen bordo-pembe renkli tessera örneklerinin (dolomitik mermer) dolomit-kireçtaşı sınırına, beyaz-mavimsi beyaz renkli tesseraların kireçtaşı alanına düştüğü belirlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte sözü edilen tessera örneklerinin ÜKK çoklu element deęişim diyagramlarında benzer dağılım desenleri gösteriyor olması aynı lokalitelerden alınmış olabileceğini düşündürmektedir.

7) Tessera örnekleri üzerindeki detaylı petrografik inceleme sonuçları ile bölgenin jeolojik yapısı birlikte deęerlendirildiğinde KKABP yer mozaiklerinde kullanılan tesseraların yerel kaynaklardan temin edildiği deęerlendirilmektedir. Kentin etrafında bulunan antik mermer ocaklarının varlığı da bu görüşü desteklemektedir.

#### *Teşekkür*

Bu makale, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma Projeler Müdürlüğü 2019FEBE045 numaralı Yüksek Lisans projesi kapsamında yapılmıştır. Makalenin yazarları Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü'ne bildirilen Laodikeia Antik Kenti kazısı 2019 yılı ekip üyeleri olup, makale konusu tessera örneklerinin kazı alanından temin edilmesinde kolaylıklar sağlayan Laodikeia kazı başkanı Prof. Dr. Celal Şimşek'e teşekkür ederler.

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# On the Provenance of the Tesserae in the Mosaic Pavements of Parthicopolis (4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> c.). Local Quarries, Deposits and Import (*Preliminary Report for Some Mosaic Tesserae from Basilica No 2*)

## Parthicopolis'in Mozaik Döşemelerinin Tesserae Kökeni Üzerine (4.- 6. Yüzyıl). Yerel Ocaklar, Yataklar ve İthalat (2 Numaralı Bazilika'dan Bazı Mozaik Tesseralar için Ön Rapor)

Svetla PETROVA\*

(Received 16 March 2021, accepted after revision 22 September 2022)

### Abstract

*This article examines several mosaic tesserae from the mosaic panel of the exonarthex of the early Christian basilica No 2 in Parthicopolis (today's town of Sandanski).*

*The studied mosaic tesserae are made of glass, brick and stone - marble and sandstone. After the analysis: micro- and macroscopic, method applied: EDS; XRD analysis of the mineral phases and others. The composition and possible production of glass for the smalta tesserae has been established, the composition of the brick tesserae; of two types of white marble tesserae, of sandstone tesserae has been determined.*

*In antiquity, and especially in the early Byzantine period, several marble quarries of very good quality were exploited in the Middle Strymon area. It has been established that the stone tesserae were mined from deposits around the ancient and early Byzantine city, quarries Ilindentsi ('The marble quarries of Trajan'), and the glass is imported. An assumption has been made about the possible production on site in the city of a type of glass tesserae - with a degree of crystallization. The chemical and structural analysis of the tesserae reveals the origin of the material, stone and glass, the latter in the form of a finished product distributed as an import by Thessaloniki merchants and undergoing only the final stage of heating, cutting and polishing in local workshops. Although research on the origin of tesserae from mosaic panels from the early Christian basilica complexes in Parthicopolis is only in the beginning, research proves the origin of tesserae materials, the supply of mosaic workshops mainly with local stone material, and trade in imported glass for enamel mosaic and its final stage of in situ preparation in Parthicopolis.*

**Keywords:** *Mosaic pavement, analysis, tesserae, quarries, local production and import.*

### Öz

*Bu makalede, Parthicopolis'teki (bugünkü Sandanski Kasabası) 2 numaralı erken Hristiyan bazilikasının eksonarteksinin mozaik panelindeki birkaç mozaik tessera incelenmektedir.*

*İncelenen mozaik tesseralar cam, tuğla ve taş - mermer ve kumtaşından yapılmıştır. Analizden sonra, ki bu analizde mikro ve makroskopik yöntemler uygulanmıştır: EDS; Mineral fazların XRD analizi ve diğerleri yapılmıştır. Smalta tessera için camın bileşimi ve olası üretimi belirlenmiştir; ve tuğla tessera'nın bileşiminin, beyaz mermer tessera, kumtaşı tessera olmak üzere iki tipte olduğu tespit edilmiştir.*

*Antik çağda ve özellikle erken Bizans döneminde, Orta Strymon bölgesinde çok kaliteli birkaç mermer ocağı işletilmiştir. Taş tesseraların antik ve erken Bizans kenti, Ilindentsi taş ocakları ('Trajan'ın mermer ocakları') çevresindeki yataklardan çıkarıldığı ve camın ithal edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Şehirde bir tür cam tesseraanın*

\* Svetla Petrova-Dineva, Archaeological Museum Sandanski, 55 Str. Macedonia, Sandanski, Bulgaria.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7815-9754>. E-mail: svetlapetrova57@gmail.com; svetlapetrova57@abv.bg

bir dereceye kadar kristalleşme ile üretildiği olasılığı üzerine bir varsayım yapılmıştır. Tesseraların kimyasal ve yapısal analizi, malzemenin, taş ve camın kökenini ortaya koymaktadır; ikincisi, Selanik tüccarları tarafından ithal olarak dağıtılan ve yerel atölyelerde yalnızca son ısıtma, kesme ve cilalama aşamalarından geçen bitmiş bir ürün biçimindedir. Parthicopolis'teki erken Hristiyan bazilika komplekslerindeki mozaik panellerdeki tesseraların kökenine ilişkin araştırmalar henüz başlangıç aşamasında olmasına rağmen, araştırmalar tessera malzemelerinin kökenini kanıtlamaktadır. Ağırlıklı olarak yerel taş malzeme ile mozaik atölyelerinin temini ve mine mozaik için ithal cam ticareti ve Parthicopolis'te yerinde hazırlığının son aşamasıdır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mozaik kaplama, analiz, tessera, taş ocakları, yerli üretim ve ithalat.

The Roman and the Early Byzantine city Parthicopolis, now hidden under the present-day town of Sandanski in Southwestern Bulgaria is situated in the most northeastern part of the province of Macedonia I (Fig. 1). It received its name around 116-117 in honour of the victory of the emperor Trajan in the Parthian war. The first biggest economic and cultural flourishing was in the period from the first quarter of 2<sup>nd</sup> up to the middle - the third quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In the next period 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century Parthicopolis becomes a famous bishopric in the eparchy of Macedonia I. In this way, the new flourishing of the most important economic, religious and cultural center in the valley of Middle Strymon begins from the third quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 1  
Location of Parthicopolis (Sandanski) on the modern map of the Republic of Bulgaria (after Petrova - Petkov 2015: 341).

Four of the six basilicas in the center of the ancient city (No 1, 2, 3 and 4) are determined as urban episcopal ones<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 2). They are built from both sides of the main Early Christian/Early Byzantine street (*Via sacra*). Three of them (No 2-4) and the receiving room of the supposed episcopal residence between basilica No 1 and No 2 have mosaic pavements. The *baptisterium* to the magnificent main basilica No 4 is decorated with wall mosaics. In spite of the vast surfaces with mosaic floors and wall mosaics, no special study on the mosaic tesserae has been done so far for Parthicopolis<sup>2</sup>, except for the sculpture and the architectonic

1 Generally, 10 basilicas have been excavated in Sandanski so far (urban, monastery and cemeterial ones), in different degree of preservation. On them see Petrova 2015: 161-184.

2 Relatively small number of marble monuments has been analyzed so far. These are mainly architectural elements (bases, columns and capitals), used as spolia in the building of the main basilica No 4 of Parthicopolis, see Petrova, Petkov 2008: 120-122). Few samples of marble from basilica No 1 and Roman sepulchral steles have been also studied for its provenance from concrete quarries and deposits (see Petrova 2017: 152-169).



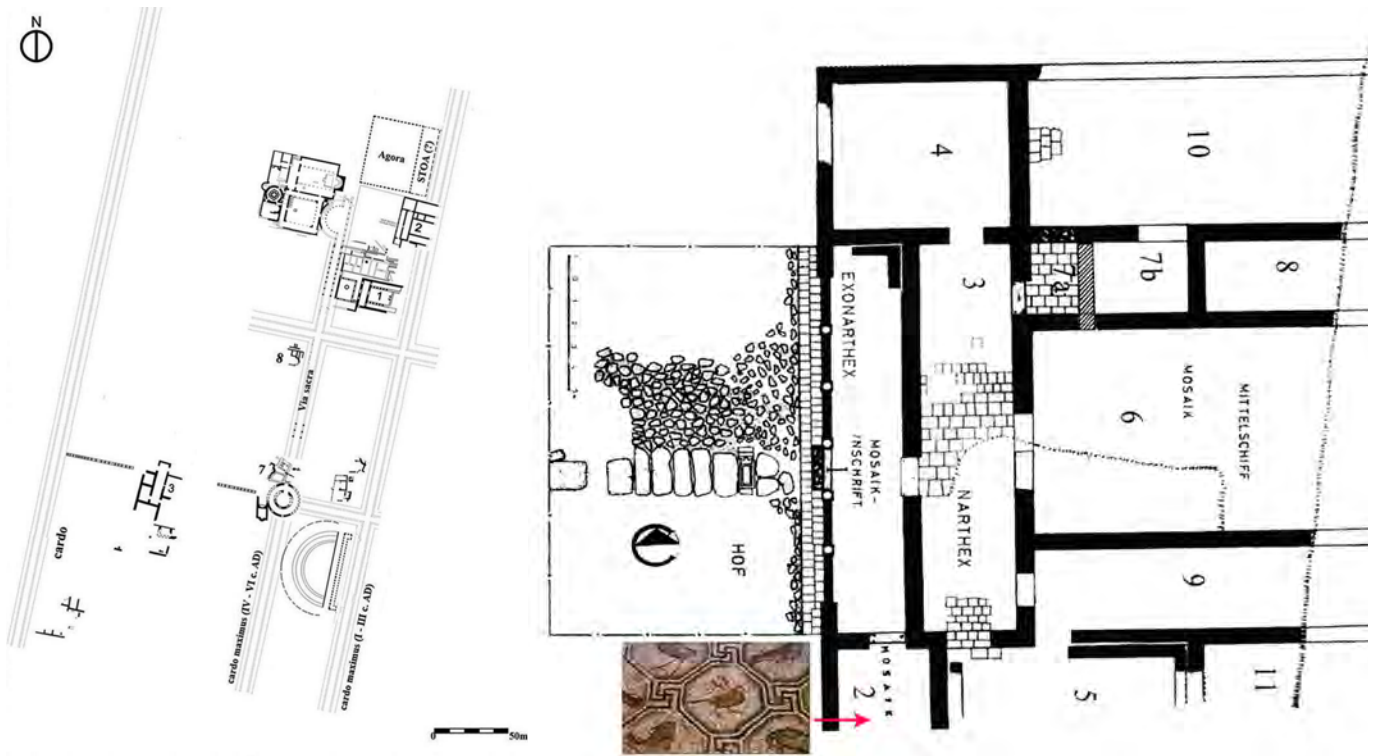


Figure 2  
General plan of the discovered archeological structures in Parthicopolis: the early Byzantine main street - *Via sacra*, the basilicas, the theater, The North round(?) piazza, the South Rotunda (Fountain/Nimphaeum), the Baths and the quarter of glass and pottery workshops (after S. Petrova).

Figure 3  
Plan of basilica No 2 (after R. Pillinger 2006: Abb. 6).

elements and its provenance from the quarries in the area of Middle Strymon and Middle Nestos (generally in Southwestern Bulgaria, about 130 and 170 km north from Thessaloniki), and also from the quarries of Thassos and Proconessos. The offered here observations and analyses of several tesserae from basilica No 2 in Parthicopolis are putting the beginning of such a study in honour of Prof. David Parrish. The attention is concentrated on the provenance and the composition of a small number of tesserae used in the mosaic of the exonarthex of basilica No 2. Traditionally, the white and grey tesserae are referred by the researchers to the so-called 'Trajan's quarries' for extraction of marble<sup>3</sup>. In them are established several deposits for making architectural elements, round cult sculpture and sepulchral sculpture. The research on the mosaic tesserae has been done by a team under the direction of Denka Yanakieva from the Earth and Man National Museum in Sofia, Bulgaria to whom I express my deepest gratitude.<sup>4</sup>

Only half of basilica No 2 is preserved in its western and central parts (Ivanov et al. 1969: 105-209), while its eastern part together with the chancel and the apse come under the contemporary level of the main town street of Sandanski (Fig. 3). The basilica is erected on the remnants and debris of earlier Roman buildings from 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The first researcher considered that the basilica was built in the first half of 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the destruction happened in the last quarter of the same century (Ivanov et al. 1969: 105-209). V. Popova in her study on the mosaics of basilica No 2 relates the basilica and its pavements according

3 The popular name of these quarries is 'the quarries at Ilindentsi', with several different deposits. They are situated north of Sandanski, in the valley of Middle Strymon (now Struma), in the skirts and the first heights of Pirin Mountain. Its large dimensions-organization and activity on a large scale led to the growing of its significant importance namely in the period of Trajan, in connection with his urban policy in the Balkans, therefore I have named them 'the quarries of Trajan'.

4 I am also grateful to my colleague Dr. Anastasia Cholakova for the consultation on the glass.

5 The basilica has an atrium from west paved with medium-sized boulders, with a path of marble and granite plates in the middle axis, leading to the center and the entrance of the colonnade of the exonarthex. Then follows the narthex (esonarthex); the naos, separated by two colonnades in three aisles, and the back rooms sticking to the basilica from north and south.

to the mosaic inscription of bishop Ioannes and the style to the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century (Popova 1981: 174 ff.; Pillinger et al. 2016: 356-371 (V.P.)); the same dating is accepted also in the next publications, with the addition of B. Asamer for a second phase of part of the mosaics dated in the second half - end of 5<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century (Asamer-Zimmermann 1998: 31-44; Petrova 2012: 107; Pillinger et al. 2016: 367-368 (V.P.)). In my opinion, the erecting of the basilica and the first mosaics may be referred to the last years of the second quarter - the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century, supported by the other archaeological data, the architectural decoration, the liturgical planning and furniture and the urban planning and building of Parthicopolis in the first half of 5<sup>th</sup> century (the other basilicas, the main plaza and the street for church processions)<sup>6</sup>. The later mosaics in basilica No 2 from the new phase of mosaic decoration most probably relate to the second half of 5<sup>th</sup>- end of 5<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>.

The three-aisled basilica of the Hellenistic type is similar to the other basilicas of Parthicopolis, and probably had one semi-circular apse from the east, not found (under the modern main city street). Both aisles are comparatively narrow, but the south one is a little bit wider (Ivanov et al. 1969: 119-165). Only the halves of two mosaic panels are preserved in the naos. The western one is of geometric character filled in the same way (Fig. 4a). The panel east of it depicts birds, fishes and vessels (Fig. 4b). The exonarthex, first colonnade and opened,



Figure 4a  
Western panel of the mosaic in the middle nave of the basilica 2 (photo by S. Petrova).

Figure 4b  
Eastern panel of the mosaic in the middle nave of the basilica 2 (photo by S. Petrova).

later was closed. Its floor was covered with several mosaic panels of geometric character, while the central one reveals the famous mosaic building inscription of bishop Ioannes<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 5). The floor of the room No 2 south of the exonarthex is determined as transitional from the basilica to the near the Episcopoeion (the episcopal residence) between basilica No 1 and No 2 (Fig. 6). This panel is covered with a splendid mosaic with different kind of birds and fishes placed in octogons, each connected with the others with swastika-meander (Popova 1981: 173-181; Pillinger et al. 2016: 356-371 (V.P.)).

6 See: Petrova 2015: 161-184; Petrova 2018: 103-120.

7 In the first period the floors of the exonarthex and room 2 were covered with mosaic panels, and in the second period - the floor of the central nave. V. Popova dates the mosaic in the exonarthex and the mosaic in room 2 in the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The mosaic in the central nave dates from the time of Anastasius I (491-518) or Justin I (518-527), the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. See Pillinger et al. 2016, 370 and cit.lit. (V.P.).

8 The inscription announces that the basilica was built by '...Ioannes, a man reasonable and wise who got the care for the hierarch's throne, and his predecessor was the pious man whose name was 'O...' (Иванов et al. 1969, 140-141). The inscription is not preserved at the southwestern corner therefore the name of the preceding bishop cannot be restored. But it could begin with 'O' or 'C' according to the opinion of the epigraphists (Pillinger et al. 2016: 360 and cit. lit. (V.P.)).



Figure 5  
The mosaic floor in exonarthex (photo by V. Vasilev, AM Sandanski).



Figure 6  
The northern part of the mosaic floor in room 2 (photo by V. Vasilev, AM Sandanski).

The mosaic pavements of the exonarthex and the naos are placed over a thin mortar layer (3,5-3,6 cm) directly over the layers of the previous existing and ruined massive representative Roman building, without the presence of *statumen* and *rudus*. Only the *nucleus*, the *bedding layer* and the *tessellatum* can be distinguished very clearly. The preparing of the *statumen* and the *rudus* have been omitted intentionally, and their technological role have been played by the walls of the preceding ruined building. It would be only hypothetical speculations to affirm which namely were the reasons for this: the lack of time, finances or simply the desire to avoid the hard removing of the remnants of the solid Roman building. Most probably this was a casual technological practice and possibility to diminish the volume of work, the time of laying the mosaic and the necessary sum by using the debris and the walls of the preceding buildings, seen also from the example of the Metropolitan basilica of Philippopolis in Thrace (Kantareva-Decheva - Decheva 2018: 230-240 fig. 1).

In our study are published the results of the study of six samples of mosaic tesserae coming from the exonarthex of basilica No 2, i. e. only from the earlier

mosaics. The tesserae are made of glass<sup>9</sup>, brick and stone. After the mechanical and chemical cleaning of the tesserae, the samples are differentiated by the following designations: T-1(S B-2 en)<sup>10</sup> – a tessera of pale green color; T-2(S B-2 en) – a tessera, yellow-greenish; T-3(S B-2 en) – a tessera, brick-colored; T-4(S B-2 en) – a tessera, white; T-5(S B-2 en) – a tesserae, white; T-6(S B-2 en) – a tessera, black. The methods applied in the research on the samples are: macroscopic and microscopic characteristics<sup>11</sup>; X-ray-diffraction (XRD) analysis<sup>12</sup> and SEM/EDS – elemental analysis<sup>13</sup>. Geological attachment of the material to possible natural sources according to literature data has also been performed<sup>14</sup>.

Macroscopic characteristic of sample T-1(S B-2 en)<sup>15</sup>: a tessera of pale green color, of glass to pearl brilliance, and subconchoidal fracture up to uneven surface (Fig. 7). The tessera possesses diverse transparency, from non-transparent up to half-transparent, in separate thin strips. The coloring is mostly mobilized on the horizontal surface of the tessera. It can be observed not the same coloring under the binocular microscopes: from pale green up to almost white main aggregation, with friable dark green spots and points. There are numerous small gas bubbles in the whole mass of the non-colored strips. Under microscope are seen crystal phases. The microscopically sample has the characteristic of an amorphous phase, with abundance of bubbles of different micrometer dimensions, needle-like crystals and rare fine skeletal crystals (Fig. 8 a-c).

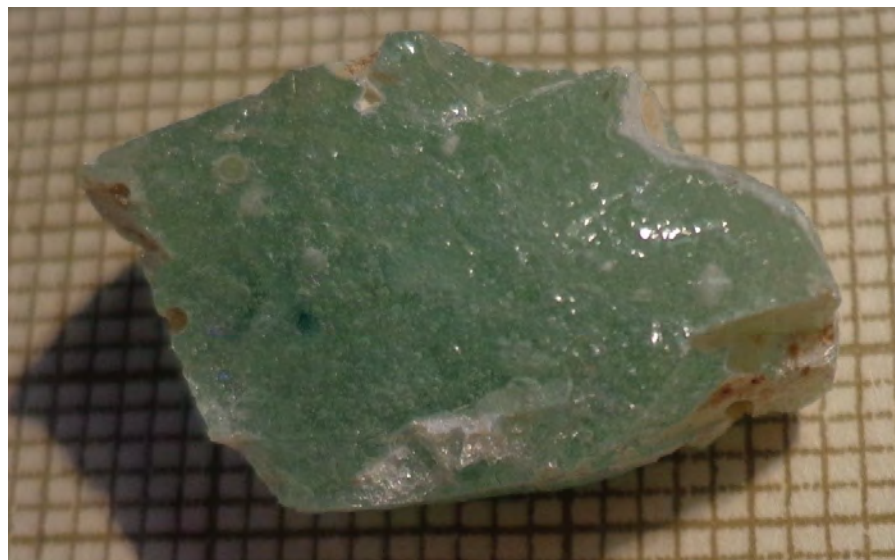


Figure 7  
Macroscopic photography of sample T-1(S B-2 en) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

9 The non-transparent glass is known as smalta.

10 (S B-2 en), where S = Sandanski, B-2 = Basilica No 2, en = exonarthex.

11 All the microscope observations are done by polarization microscope Amplival Pol D with camera ProgRes CT3 of Jenoptic, Germany.

12 XRD analysis of the mineral phases are performed using TUR M 62 diffractometer (Germany) with a standard two-circle goniometer in Bragg-Brentano geometry with secondary graphite monochromator using CuK $\alpha$  radiation ( $\lambda=0.15418\text{nm}$ ) with the following measurement conditions: tube voltage of 32 kV, tube current 15 mA, step scan mode with a step size of 0.02 $^\circ$  2 $\theta$  and a counting time of 2 s per step.

13 The analyses are made on the scanning electronic microscope JEOL JSM 35 CF upgrade DISS 5 with Rhoentgen microanalyser of company SAMx. The method applied: EDS.

14 The identification of the sources of the material is done on the base of references to the geological literature. The points of starting were the Map lists and the Description Notes to them of the Geological map of Bulgaria M 1:100 000. The next detail work was done by using publications. The local binding is relative. More correctly, it is done in single cases, when peculiar rocks are exposed in limited areals, or there are well-known quarries or typical deposits with a possible certain correlation.

15 A tessera with dimensions 1x1x0.5 cm.

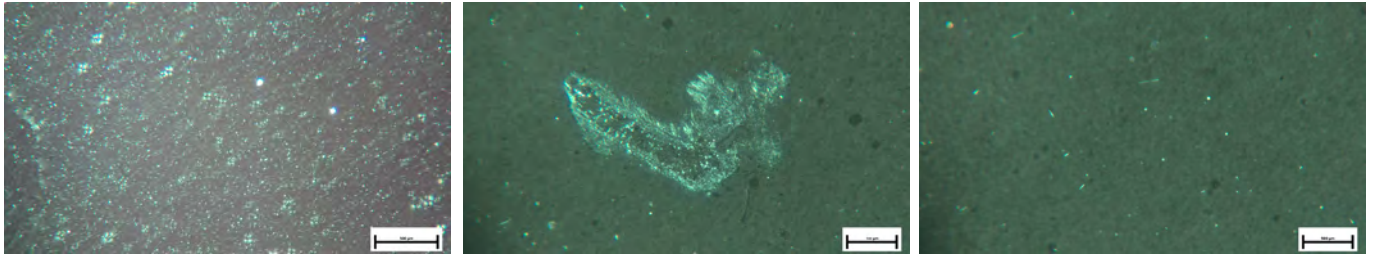


Figure 8a-c  
Microscopic photos of sample T-1(S B-2 en): a) amorphous phase with many bubbles – crossed polars; b) amorphous phase with many bubbles and fine crystalline phases – parallel polars; c) skeletal crystal – crossed polars (photos by D. Yanakieva).

The XRD analysis: – the quality one outlines very strongly expressed amorphous halo in the area 20-30° 2θ, but also the presence of crystal phases (Fig. 9). The analysis reveals the presence of devitrite (56.0%), tridymite (24.8%) and wollastonite (19.2%). The amount of amorphous phase is not taken into account by the method of determination.

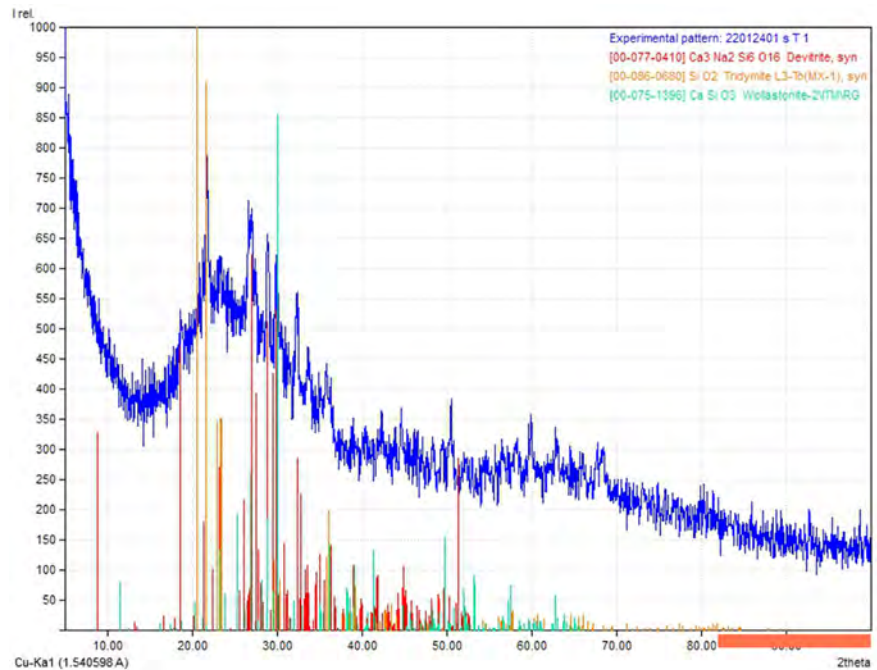


Figure 9  
Diffractogram of sample T-1 (S B-2 en) with phase analysis.

The analysis of elements (SEM/EDS) of sample T-1 reveals the presence of the chemical elements: Na, Mg, Al, Si, S, Cl, K, Ca, Cu and Pb. Additional analyses have been done on the surface of another small piece of s.T-1(S B-2 en) with the presence of separate fine black holes (Fig. 10): T-1a (the surface of the tesserae-hole), which showed an increased amount of sulfur, which is evident from the analysis (see Table 1).

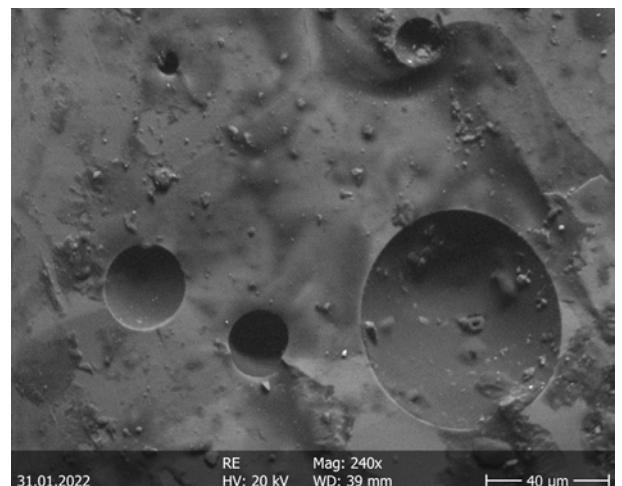


Figure 10  
SEM/BSE surface photo - bubbles (photo by D. Yanakieva).

The macroscopic characteristic of sample T-2(S B-2 en)<sup>16</sup> is with yellow-greenish color and from brilliant to lustrous black one. The tesserae are homogeneously colored, non-transparent, with conchoidal fracture. The observation under binocular microscopes, over the crushed small pieces (prepared from the samples for analysis), prove that they have absolutely identical coloring and appearance (Fig. 11). The microscopic characteristic of the samples reveal features of an amorphous phase, with the presence of bubbles with micronic dimensions (Fig. 12). The diffractogram of the XRD-analysis outlines a very strongly expressed halo typical for the amorphous phase of the area 20-30° 2 $\theta$ . There were no crystal phases (Fig. 13). Quantitative chemical EDS analysis is richer than that after coating the samples with carbon, finding the disappearance of sulfur, chromium and lead from the substances. The information got from the physical qualities, the behavior during the research by polarized microscope and the data from XRD-analysis proves indisputably that the material the tesserae are made is glass. The chemical composition and the relationship of its main elements allow relate the tesserae s.T-1(S B-2 en) s.T-2(S B-2 en) to the Roman glass of the type Na<sub>2</sub>O- CaO - SiO<sub>2</sub>.

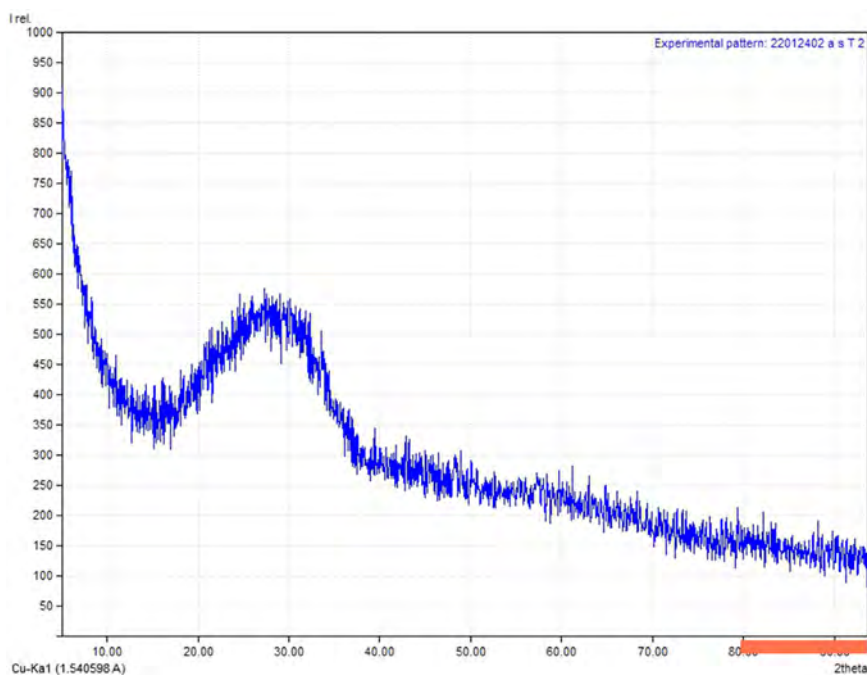


Figure 11  
Macroscopic photography of sample T-2(S B-2 en) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

Figure 12  
Photomicrograph of sample T-1(S B-2 en): amorphous phase with many bubbles – crossed polars (photo by D. Yanakieva).

Figure 13  
Diffractogram of sample T-2(S B-2 en) with phase analysis.

<sup>16</sup> Two tesserae, with dimensions 1x1x0.5 cm; 1 tessera with dimensions 1x1x0.25 cm.

Table 1  
Quantity chemical EDS – analysis of the glass samples tesserae. General Plate.

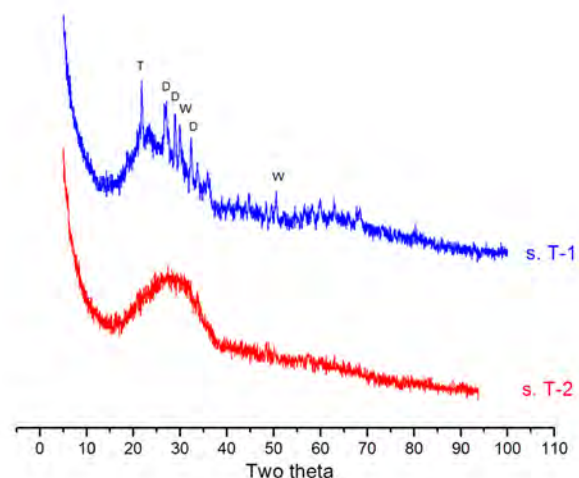
	T-1	T-1	T-1a glass	T-1a hole	T-2	T-2
Na <sub>2</sub> O	16.28	16.87	12.19	1.49	20.85	20.05
MgO	4.31	4.20	0.89	0.48	1.58	0.91
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	2.47	2.22	3.32	1.29	3.49	3.02
SiO <sub>2</sub>	70.46	69.20	65.13	34.64	60.53	60.19
SO <sub>3</sub>		0.20	7.52	59.01		0.65
Cl			1.34	1.57	0.91	0.84
K <sub>2</sub> O			1.10	0.56	0.63	0.59
CaO	6.48	7.31	7.45	0.98	5.54	6.87
MnO					0.73	1.01
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>			0.62		0.51	1.02
CuO			0.37			
PbO					5.12	4.77
Cr <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>						0.06

The presence of S and Cl points to the idea of using in the composition of the natural soda, the trona Na<sub>3</sub>H(CO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub>·2H<sub>2</sub>O, with the constant admixtures of thenardite – Na<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>4</sub> and halite – NaCl. The fluctuation of the content of Mg and S is obvious. It may be due to the specific of the pre-preparation, as well as to the local processes of non-homogeneity during fusion; it may also reflect secondary processes applied on the surface. The lack of correlation between K and Mg excludes of the usage of plant ash.

It is difficult to affirm in relation to the other chemical differences assuring the particular color and non-transparency in referring Fe, if they are the result of using different raw materials, or have been included additionally for receiving the coloring. Supposedly, Mn is applied additionally for getting the color, and Pb also for the same purpose and the assurance of non-transparency. It may be supposed that the reason of the color of s.T-1(S B-2 en), are the ions of Fe and Cu, and in the case of of s.T-2(S B-2 en) these are Fe, Cr and Pb (Arletti et al. 2006: 28-36; Palomar et al. 2011: 635).

The tesserae s.T-1(S B-2 en) and s.T-2(S B-2 en) are quite different in the structure of forming the material, while the material of s.T-2(S B-2 en) is entirely amorphous (Fig. 14). Sample T-1(S B-2 en) is formed by the combination of an amorphous and a crystal phase - devitrite, tridymite and wollastonite<sup>17</sup>.

Figure 14  
Aggregate graphics from XRD- tesserae analysis s. T-1 и s.T-2. Phase designations: D - devitrite, T - tridymite, W - wollastonite.



<sup>17</sup> Wollastonite has a thermal resistance of 1050-1250°.

Principally, the aforementioned crystal phases are among the possible non-wished crystal admixtures during the fusion, forming, heating or secondary work of the sodium-lime-silicate window glass (Georgieva et al. 2003: 145), which is the result of breaking the technology connected with the temperature behavior in some of its stages.

The abundance of bubbles and crystal phases assures to a great degree the non-transparency of the material. In this case, the most logical supposition is that specific conditions have been created for getting the special effect of the non-transparency of the material of the tessera s.T-1(S B-2 en). That means that during the production of glass s. T-1(S B-2 en) intentionally has been applied the technology of elongated period of cooling different from the one of production of glass in the case of s.T-2(S B-2 en). While in the latter s.T-2(S B-2 en) is relied on the chemical processes assuring the non-transparency, in the former s.T-1(S B-2 en) – on the effects in the structure.

The serious differences in the structure of the tesserae s. T-1(S B-2 en) and s. T-2(S B-2 en) give enough ground to suppose the provenance from different production centers or workshops. Can semi-finished glass be considered to come from one or different production centers or workshops? It is not possible to say with certainty whether it is one or several production centers, because the compositions of the main elements - silicon oxide, calcium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate are close.

Then, at the final working of the glass ‘cakes’ in situ a new heating with a slow cooling is possible, achieving the crystallization we found in s. T-1(S B-2 en). However, the numerous variations of the chemical composition of glass in s. T-1(S B-2 en) are due to its chemical non-homogeneity. Therefore, it can’t be excluded the possibility the glass of these tesserae to be of local production, or of a local workshop with more primitive methods of work having in mind the lower quality of the end product, the glass for smalta tesserae.

The second kind of tesserae from the exonarthex are the brick ones – s. T-3(S B-2 en). The macroscopic characteristics reveal a solid brick-colored tessera. The appearance under the binocular microscopes is of a strongly-sanded, fine-sanded and sanded brick (Fig. 15). The microscopic characteristic shows that the sample is built of sand fraction, strongly-sanded in the whole volume, and of clay binder of red color due to the ferrous oxides-hydroxides (Fig. 16). The relation sand fraction-clay binder is approximately 70%:30%. The main components of the sand fraction are quartz, plagioclase, potassium feldspar and mica (biotite and muscovite). Amphibole and minerals of the epidote group can be observed in a subordinated quantity. Its dimensions are predominantly from 100-200  $\mu\text{m}$  up to the rarer 300-400  $\mu\text{m}$ , and separate ones up to 500  $\mu\text{m}$ .; of different-grained and not sorted kind, mainly ribbed and solid, with separate spores in the clay binder.

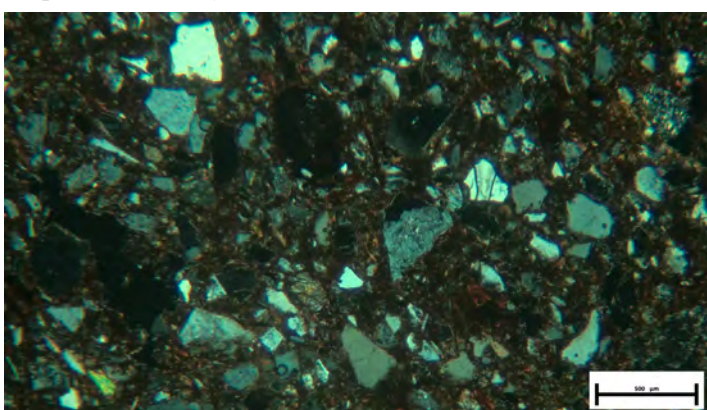


Figure 15  
Macroscopic photography on a sample T-3(S B-2 en) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

Figure 16  
Microphotograph of the sample s.T-3(S B-2 en): pieces of sand and binder in the brick – crossed polars (photo by D. Yanakieva).





Figure 17  
Macroscopic photography on sample T-4(S B-2 en) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

From the stone tesserae have been analyzed the one made of white and black stones. The macroscopic characteristic of s. T-4(S B-2 en) reveals from middle-grained to coarse large-grained white rock with massive texture (Fig. 17). The structure is irregular grained granoblastic. The main rock-forming minerals are the dolomite and the calcite, and the accessory mineral is the mica – muscovite (Fig. 18 a-b).

The calcite-dolomite grains are of different dimensions: from 0,1 mm up to 2,0 mm, thus determining the structure as heteroblastic. Typical are the dynamogenic poly-synthetian lamels, characteristic of the metamorphic calcite-dolomite. The XRD analysis shows the presence of dolomite and calcite (Fig. 19). The quantitative (half-quantitative) analysis reveals the following relation of the phases: dolomite [97.6% -  $\text{Ca Mg} (\text{C O}_3)_2$ ], calcite [2.4% -  $(\text{Ca C O}_3)$ ].

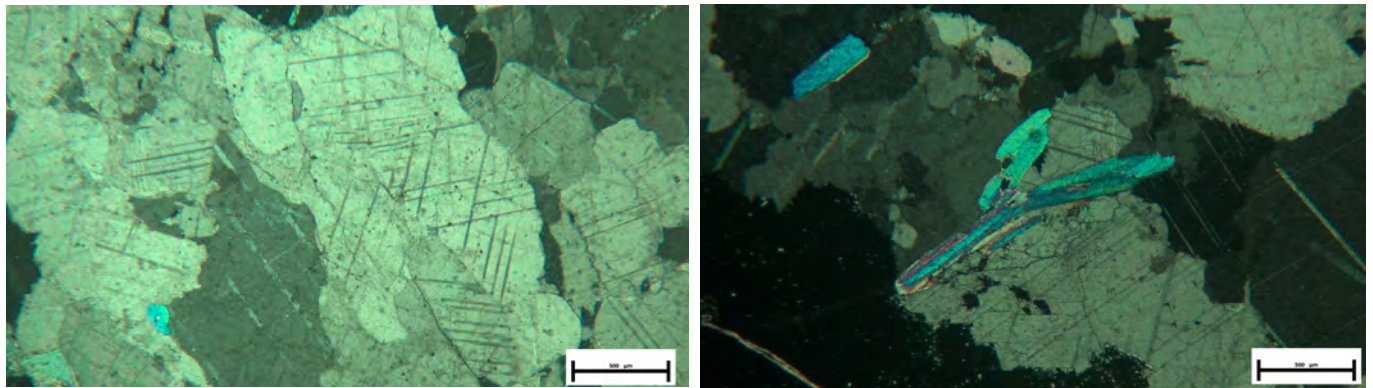


Figure 18  
Sample photomicrograph T-4(S B-2 en):  
a) dolomite-calcite crystalblasts with sizes from 0.2 mm to 1 mm and characteristic dynamogenic lamellae - crossed polars.  
b) flakes of white mica in the center – crossed polars (photo by D. Yanakieva) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

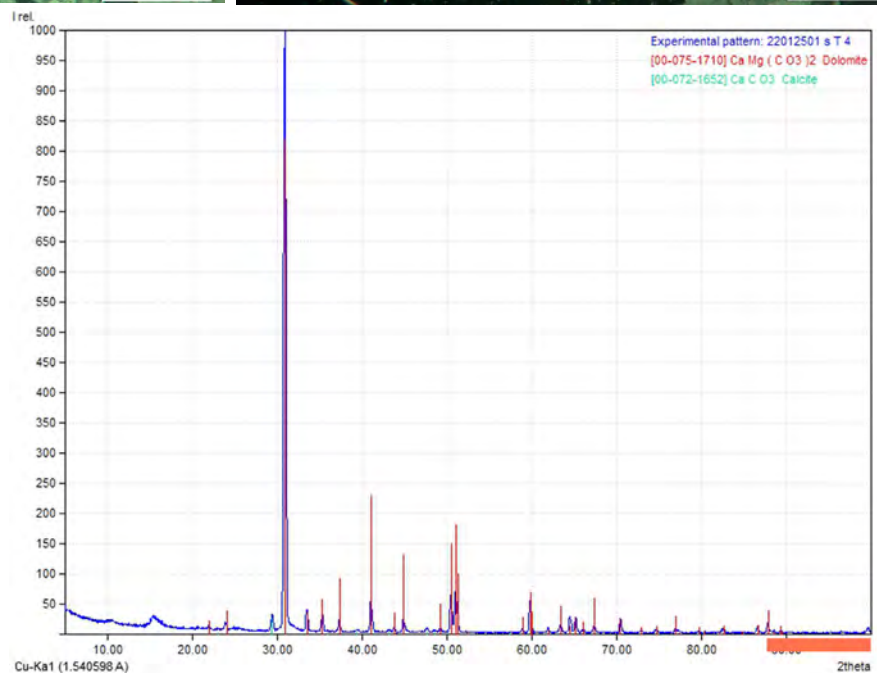


Figure 19  
Diffractogram of the sample T-4(S B-2 en).

The analysis of the provenance of the sources of rock material establishes its characteristics: white-snow, with scales of muscovite, small-grained up to middle-grained, made of dolomite-calcite. The marble is adequate to decorative type 'И-1-2' (Petrov 1994: 80), established in the quarries of Ilindentsi, municipality of Strumyani, situated in the massive marbles of the Dobrostan marble formation (Marinova - Zagorchev 1990, k.l. Razlog; Marinova - Zagorchev 1993, k.l. Razlog). In Antiquity, this marble was extracted in 'the quarries of Trajan', the deposit Ermilovets (Petrova 2017: 153-154).

The macroscopic characteristic of s. T-5(S B-2 en) demonstrates white tesserae<sup>18</sup>. They were taken out from a mosaic fragment, then cleaned mechanically and also by HCl (Fig. 20). In appearance, the rock is medium-grained. The texture is massive; the structure is unevenly grained granoblastic. The dolomite and calcite are the main rock-forming minerals. Absent are the accessory minerals (Fig. 21 a-b).

The calcite-dolomite crystalblasts are of different dimensions: from 0,1 mm up to 0.5 mm, by that determining the structure as heteroblast. Typical are the dynamogenninan poly-synthethian lamels, characteristic of the metamorphous calcite-dolomite. The XRD analysis confirms the presence of dolomite and calcite in the following relation of the phases: dolomite (73.3%), calcite (26.7%) (Fig. 22).



Figure 20  
Macroscopic photography on a sample T-5(S B-2 en) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

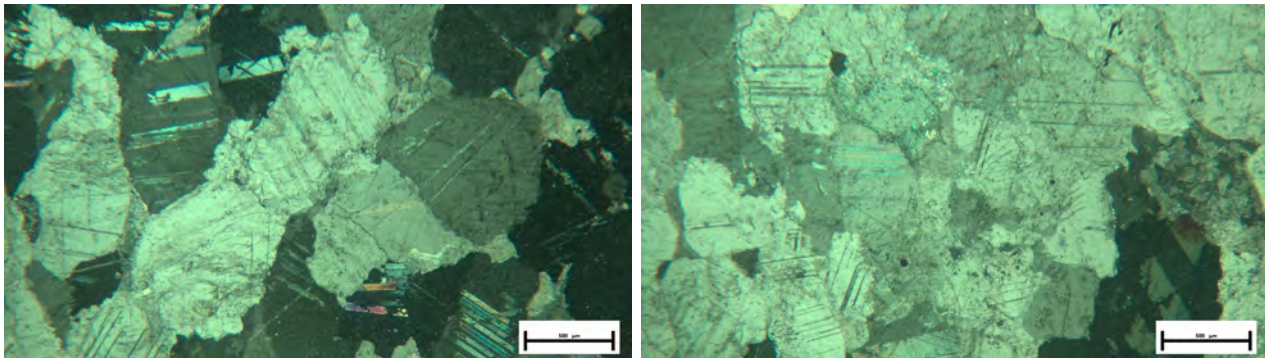


Figure 21  
Microphotographs of a sample T-51(S B-2 en):  
a) dolomite-calcite crystalblasts with dimensions from 0,1 mm to 0.5 mm and characteristic dynamogenic lamellae – crossed polars (photo by D. Yanakieva).  
b) dolomite-calcite crystalblasts with dimensions from 0.05 mm to 0.5 mm and characteristic dynamogenic lamellae - crossed polars (photo by D. Yanakieva).

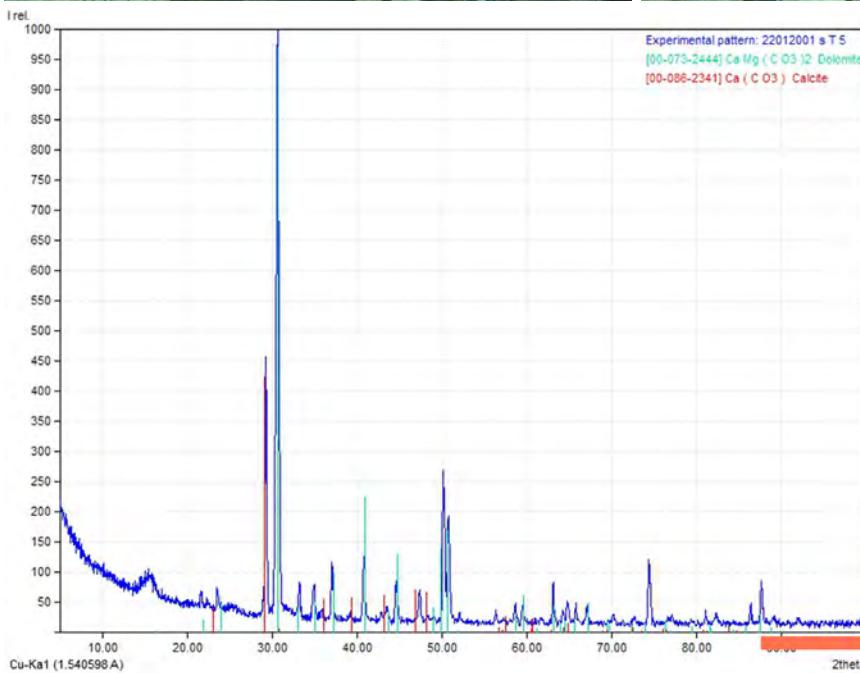


Figure 22  
Diffractogram of sample T-5(S B-2 en) with phase analysis.

The indexes of the qualitative chemical EDS analysis and the microscope studies of the sample allow to make the analysis of the initial rock material which can be characterize as snow-white, middle-grained, dolomite-calcite type. The marble of the tesserae corresponds to the decorative type ‘И-2’ (Petrov 1994: 85-90) established in the quarries of Ilindentsi, municipality of Strumyani, situated in the massive marbles of the Dobrostan marble formation (Marinova - Zagorchev 1990, k. l. Razlog; Marinova- Zagorchev 1993, k. l. Razlog), or the so-called

<sup>18</sup> The dimensions of the tesserae 1x1x0.6 cm.



Figure 23  
Macroscopic photograph on a sample T-6(S B-2 en) (photo by D. Yanakieva).

'Marble quarries of Trajan', deposit Galchovo gnezdo-Gingera (Petrova 2017: 154).

On the ground of the analyses made can be affirmed that both samples s.T-4(S B-2 en) and s.T-5(S B-2 en) represent dolomite-calcite marbles with a strong domination of the dolomites. The half-quantitative XRD analyses reveal 97.6% dolomite and 2.4% calcite for s.T-4(S B-2 en) and 73.3% dolomite and 26.7% calcite for s.T-5(S B-2 en); however, the EDS elemental analysis reveals almost equal content: 19.57% Mg and 47.88% Ca for s.T-4(S B-2 en) and 19.79% Mg and 47.55% Ca for s.T-5(S B-2 en). The differences among the marbles are most of all in the dimension of the grains and in the presence of accessory minerals. Middle to large-grained, with the presence of scales of muscovite for s.T-4(S B-2 en), and middle-grained dolomite-calcite marble without accessory for s.T-5(S B-2 en). The features of both materials correspond to the highly decorative types of dolomite-calcite marbles in the quarries of Ilindentsi, municipality of Strumyani, situated in the massive marbles of the Dobrostan marble formation, the decorative type 'И-1-2' for s.T-4(S B-2 en), and decorative type 'И-2' for s.T-5(S B-2 en).

The macroscopic characteristic of the next tesseræ, from the rock material s. T-6(S B-2 en), reveal black (brown-grey-black) tesseræ<sup>19</sup>; they are extracted from a mosaic fragment and cleaned both mechanically and by HCl. They look like sandstone (Marinova - Zagorchev 1990, k. l. Petrich; Marinova - Zagorchev 1993, k. l. Petrich) (Fig. 23). It can be clearly seen under the binocular microscopes different in size white grains and brown to black binder with numerous bubble-like holes in it (Fig. 24 a-b). The macroscopic characteristic

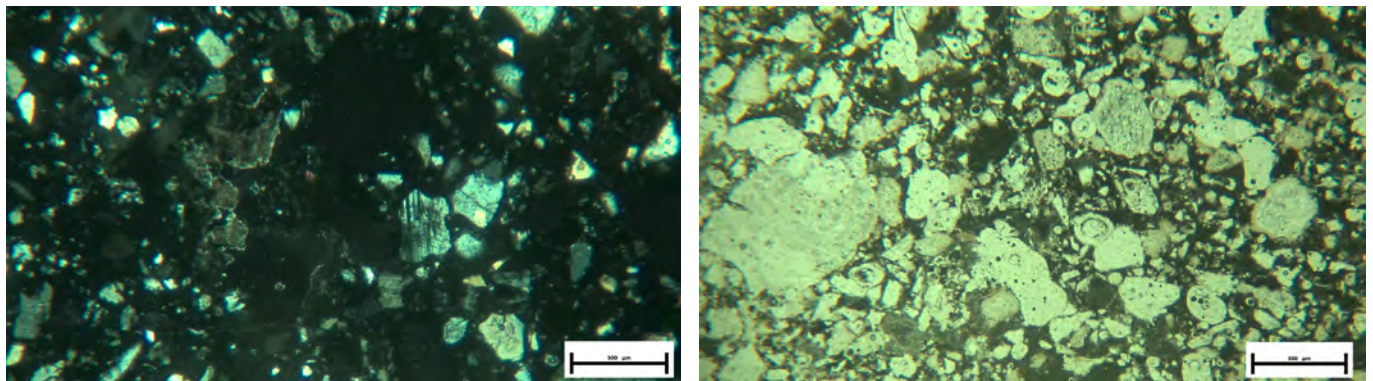


Figure 24  
Microphotographs of a sample T-6(S B-2 en):  
a) multi-grained, mainly fine-grained, rounded clastic component and irregular pores – crossed polars (photo by D. Yanakieva).  
b) multi-grained, mostly fine-grained, rounded clastic component, dominant (90-95%), black-brown binder (5-10%), perfectly round and irregular pores – parallel polars (photo by D. Yanakieva).

determines the sample as sandstone. The clastic fragments dominate in quantity, occupying 80 – 90% of the surface of the thin section. Its dimensions vary strongly: from very fine sand (0,01 – 0,02 mm); through the fine sand ones, correspondently small-grained (0,1 - 0,2 mm), medium sand (0,25 – 0,5 mm), and very rarely grain of coarse sand (0,5 – 1,0 mm). Its forms are irregular, more often rounded and rarely ribbed. The main components of the sand fraction are: plagioclase, potassium feldspar, quartz, mica. The binder is of black-brown-red color, probably due to the ferrous and mangan oxide-hydroxides. It is crypto-grained and indeterminable. The pores are numerous: the round and evenly distributes are dominating, with varying dimensions from 0.05 mm up to 0.1 mm. The quantitative Rhoentgen-Diffraction analysis (XRD) reveals the presence of albite and orthoclase (feldspare), quartz, biotite and goetite (Fig. 25). It is read the presence of an amorphous phase, expressed as halo in the region of 20-30<sup>0</sup> 2Θ. The quantitative (half-quantitative) analysis reveals the

<sup>19</sup> Its dimensions are 1,5x1x0.6 cm.

following relation of the phases<sup>20</sup>: albite (46.5%), orthoclase (22.2%), quartz (20.7%), biotite (5.4%), goethite (5.2%).

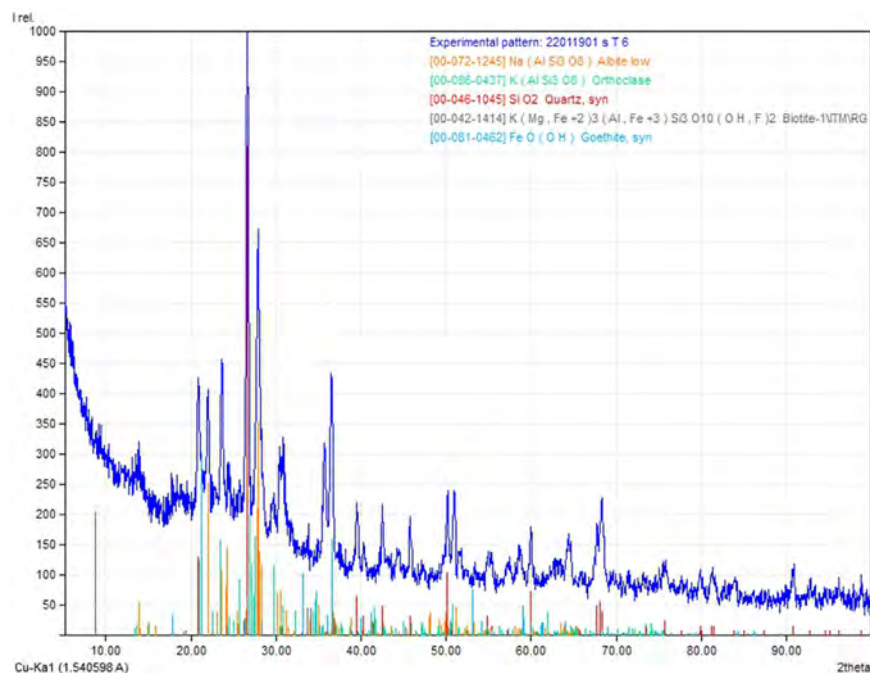
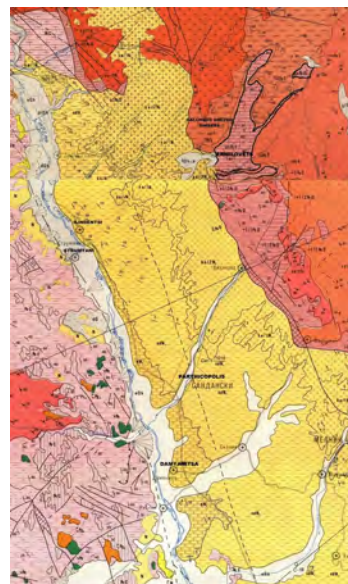
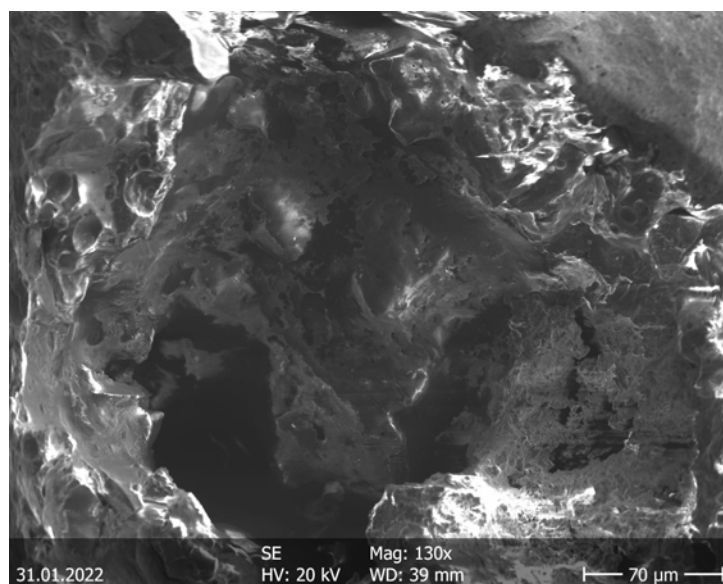


Figure 25  
Diffractogram of sample T-6(S B-2 en).

The elemental (SEM/EDS) analyses show: Na, Mg, Al, Si, K, Ca, Ti, Mn and Fe. The material represents black-brown sandstone with a ferrous binder (Fig. 26). The binder is of black-brown-red color, due to the ferrous and mangan oxide-hydroxides. The element composition reveals a high content of Fe – 4.75%, Mn – 0.17% and Ti – 0.55%. The pores are numerous. The round ones distributed regularly dominate, and the dimensions vary from 0.05 mm up to 0.1 mm. The established characteristic of the material corresponds to the seams of the reddish-brown medium-grained to fine-grained sandstones of the Delchev formation, in the limits of the map list ‘Petrich’ (Marinova - Zagorchev 1990, k. I. Petrich; Marinova - Zagorchev 1993, k. I. Petrich). The Delchev formation is spreading over a narrow long strip on the left bank of the river Struma, beginning south from Strumyani to south of Damyanitsa (Fig. 27).

Figure 26  
SEM/BSE photos: sample T-6(S B-2 en). Round pores in the sandstone binder (photo by D. Yanakieva).

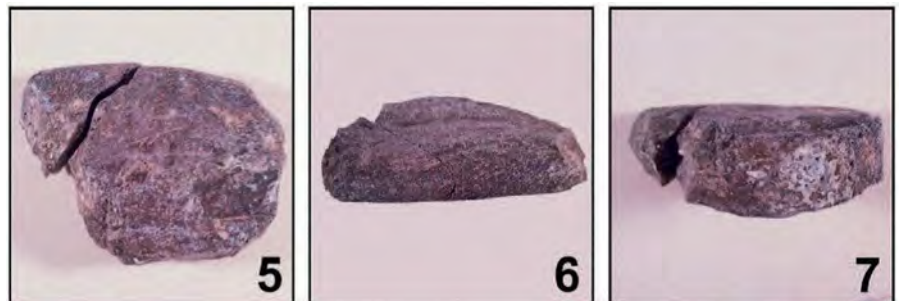
Figure 27  
Geological map: Dobrostan marble formation; Delchev formation – sandstone (by S. Petrova).



<sup>20</sup> The content of the amorphous phase is not read by the method.

The observations and the analysis of the stone and the brick tesserae from the earlier mosaics in the exonarthex of basilica No 2 established that its provenance is local. In Antiquity, particularly in the Roman and Early Byzantine period in the area of Middle Strymon, several quarries have been exploited with a very good quality of white marble.<sup>21</sup> The quarries at Ilindentsi, or 'the Trajan's quarries', are situated around 12 Roman miles from Parthicopolis (now Sandanski). Up to the present moment the provenance of the sandstone of the mosaic tesserae was unknown, but supposedly descending somewhere from the area of Southwestern Bulgaria. The analysis proved that it comes really from a narrow strip alongside the left bank of the river Struma<sup>22</sup>, long around 11 Roman miles. The glass tesserae reveal some particularities in the technology of frosting the glass aiming at receiving its non-transparency. A quarter of craftsmen existed in the western fortified area of Parthicopolis: immediately under the church St. George was excavated a glass tank furnace for making glass vessels, and ceramics from a supposed pottery workshop. Also imported half-manufactured glass pieces have been both excavated, and occasionally found in Sandanski (see Popova 2017: 267-284, Plates: III 1-4, IV 1-4, V 1-10). Such 'cakes' (Popova 2017: Pl. V 5-10) (Fig. 28) or bigger glass half-manufactured pieces have been a subject of trade, brought by sea to Thessaloniki from the ancient glass workshops situated in present-day Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Israel. Thessaloniki was the most important artistic and trade center of North Greece and Macedonia. From there, by land the route of half-manufactured glass trade passes alongside the river Strymon up to Parthicopolis and higher to the modern town of Pernik and the city of Sofia (ancient Serdica). The 'cakes', colored beforehand, or in the ancient city itself, where the mosaic should be laid, are used for cutting the necessary smalta tesserae, used in the pavement and wall mosaics. In the analysis is also supposed on the base of some more primitive technological features, that some of the smalta tesserae could be prepared by local workshops, not imported.

Figure 28  
Ingot/cake A from Sandanski (Popova 2017:  
pl. V 5-7).



In this way, the chemical and structural analyses of the tesserae reveal the provenance of several stone, brick and glass tesserae. The stone material of the most frequent white stone tesserae, come from the local quarries of Ilindentsi. The black sandstone was also local, extracted from a very narrow strip alongside the river Strymon near to Parthicopolis. The brick material is also locally made, which is evident from the mineral composition of the sandy component of the bricks. The half-manufactured smalta was most probably imported from Asia Minor and Middle Asia. In Parthicopolis it should pass through the final working: heated once more in a tank furnace, sometimes additionally colored, then poured out, cooled down, polished and cut into tesserae. We hope that the future research on the stone and mosaic tesserae in rich palette from basilica No

21 'The quarries of Trajan' at Ilindentsi with its deposits and the ones at the village of Petrovo, with its deposits Solishte and Chrevenkovitsa southeast of the site (see Petrova 2017: 152-164).

22 Parthicopolis (and the contemporary town Sandanski) is situated also very near to the left bank of the river Struma.

2, 3 and 4 will enlarge our knowledge on the production and trade of stone and smalta tesserae in Parthicopolis, Macedonia I, and the western parts of the nearly situated Thrace and Rhodope. This is only the beginning of a long study on the mosaic tesserae in Parthicopolis and Southwestern Bulgaria.

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# Design Proposal for a Protective Shelter to be Used in the Archaeological Excavation and Exhibition Phases of Housing Settlement and Mosaics of Myrleia

## Myrleia Antik Kenti Konut Yerleşimi ve Mozaikleri'nin Arkeolojik Kazı ve Sergilenme Aşamalarında Kullanılmak Üzere Bir Koruyucu Üst Örtü Önerisi

Gözde KIRLI ÖZER - Sebla ARIN ENSARIOĞLU\*

(Received 15 March 2022, accepted after revision 06 September 2022)

### Abstract

*Information about the ancient city of Myrleia, which is of great importance for the history of Bithynia and Mudanya, is minimal since the ancient ruins are buried under olive groves and the written sources about its construction in the ancient period are scarce. However, along with the ruins unearthed in 2015 and 2016, information about the ancient period of the city began to emerge. Therefore, it is essential to preserve the unearthed remains and their information and transfer them to the future in-situ, within the architectural and cultural context.*

*Within the scope of the study, a protective shelter design proposal is developed on the residential settlement discovered in Ömerbey District in 2016 and the mosaics discovered in the settlement. The designed shelter aims to protect the remains from various adverse effects, provide the team's comfort carrying out the study (thermal, security, etc.), and fulfill the functions of providing ideal conditions for the visitors. In addition, the sustainability of the top shelter and its flexibility to expand to include new finds discovered around the excavation area also played a significant role in the shelter design.*


**Keywords:** *Myrleia, protective shelter design, sustainable design, in-situ protection, urban archaeological sites.*


### Öz

*Bithynia ve Mudanya tarihi açısından büyük önem taşıyan Myrleia antik kenti ile ilgili bilgiler antik kalıntıların zeytinlikler altında gömülü olması ve antik dönemdeki yapılanmasına dair yazılı kaynakların azlığı nedeniyle oldukça kısıtlıdır. 2015 ve 2016 yıllarında ortaya çıkan kalıntılar ile birlikte kentin antik dönemine yönelik bilgiler de ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. Ortaya çıkan kalıntıları ve bu kalıntıların içerdikleri bilginin korunması ve geleceğe buldukları yerde, içinde buldukları mimari ve kültürel bağlam içerisinde aktarılması büyük önem taşımaktadır.*

*Çalışma kapsamında 2016 yılında Ömerbey Mahallesinde keşfedilmiş olan konut yerleşimi ve yerleşim içerisinde keşfedilmiş olan mozaiklerin üzerine koruyucu bir üst örtü tasarımı önerisi geliştirilmiştir. Tasarlanan üst örtünün; devam eden arkeolojik kazılar sırasında kalıntıların olumsuz çeşitli etkilerden korunması, çalışmayı yürüten ekibin konforunun (ısı, güvenlik, vb.) sağlanması ve ziyaretçiler için ideal şartların sağlanması işlevlerini yerine getirmesi amaçlanmıştır. Üst örtünün sürdürülebilir olması ve kazı alanı çevresinde ortaya çıkan yeni buluntuları da kapsayacak şekilde genişleyebilmesine olanak sağlayacak esneklikte olması da örtünün tasarımında büyük rol oynamıştır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Myrleia, koruyucu üst örtü tasarımı, sürdürülebilir tasarım, yerinde koruma, kentsel arkeolojik bölgeler.*

\* Gözde Kırılı Özer, Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi İznik Meslek Yüksekokulu, Bursa, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4921-3958>. E-mail: gozdekrli@uludag.edu.tr

Sebla Arın Ensarioğlu, Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi, Bursa, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7341-4875>. E-mail: seblaarin@uludag.edu.tr

## Introduction

The ruins of the ancient settlement of Myrleia were unearthed in 2015 at Mudanya. Following these excavations, in 2016, the remains, which are thought to be part of the ancient period residence settlement, were discovered in the south of the same region. After the evaluations, the first group of ruins were opened to structuring. The parcel in which the second group of remains was found, was included in the 3rd degree protected area. As it was determined that the structures discovered during the trenches continued in the surrounding parcels, the legal process was initiated to include these parcels in the conservation area. When the expropriation process is expected to be completed, excavation works are planned to continue in the protected area.

During the excavations carried out in the settlement area, it became clear that the remains that have been underground for a long time and have now been unearthed need to be protected to maintain their integrity. In addition, it is among the priorities of the excavation to work on using new information about this region and its ruins within the scope of research. Another important point about these ruins is to reveal this area's heritage value and ensure its reflection on the urban identity. In order to ensure this reflection, it is of great importance that the region is open to visitors and the service of researchers from different fields. In addition to all these, providing optimum comfort conditions for archaeologists, researchers, experts and workers who will participate in the archaeological excavations planned to continue here is among the priorities. As a result; it has become necessary to develop a conservation method that will meet the needs of uncovering, protecting the unearthed, obtaining information on this subject and experiencing the region while meeting these needs, which will cause minimal damage to the ruins while making the area more attractive and not disrupting the urban context.

It is possible that cultural assets such as building ruins, wall paintings, mosaics, which are suitable and necessary to be preserved and exhibited in situ, may be damaged by adverse weather conditions and the physical effects of humans, despite the conservation efforts (Zeren - Uyar 2010: 55-64). Protective shelters and structures designed -in different qualities according to the need- to preserve these works are frequently used as protection tools. In almost all excavations where archaeological artifacts are unearthed, a cover is needed to protect the easily affected and deteriorated material from moisture, sudden drying, mechanical damage and human influence (Schmidt 1988: 121). Protective structures can be considered one of the tools that allow the presentation of the ruins while providing control over the deterioration factors. The design criteria of the protective shelters to protect the immovable archaeological heritage vary according to each country and region in terms of legal obligations, the use of technological opportunities to be used and the economy.

Within the scope of the study, a protective shelter design proposal is developed to preserve and display the building remains and mosaics unearthed during the excavation of the ancient city of Myrleia. In order to develop this proposal, first of all, the design criteria of the protective shelters are determined. After these determinations, samples applied in different countries and climates are evaluated according to these criteria. After the research and examinations are completed, the historical and physical features of the ruins are examined, and the climatic features of Mudanya are evaluated. Based on all these research and evaluations, a shelter and sightseeing area proposal is developed to protect the building remains and mosaics during the ongoing excavations, to facilitate the studies



and research, and to prevent the people who will visit the site from damaging the remains while experiencing the entire excavation area.

### The Design Criteria of Protective Shelters at an Archeological Site

A shelter at an archaeological site has to be multi-functional. Therefore, there are various factors affecting the design of a protective shelter. Each of these factors is important in determining the protective structure's success. During the design of a shelter at an archaeological site, many aspects have to be taken into consideration, including technical aspects (construction systems, durability of the materials, costs), conservation aspects (effectiveness of protection, new microclimate induced by the shelter), aesthetic aspects (the choice of materials, forms, overall effect of the new structure), the impact on the site as a whole, interpretation and presentation aspects in which the collaboration of the architects and the archaeologists is essential (Rizzi 2018: 51-57).

The primary function of a shelter is to protect the site and findings from climatic effects and vandalistic damages. As most archaeological sites are actively used in summer, the shelter has to supply climatic comfort for the workers and visitors. Therefore, the natural ventilation of the space created under the shelter is an important issue. On the other hand, protecting the findings buried under soil for many centuries from atmospheric conditions is also essential (Vasic-Petrovic - Momcilovic-Petronijevic 2015: 113-121). The climatic conditions of every archaeological site and location are unique. Therefore, the design criteria of each site might differ in terms of creating optimal comfort (Büyüköztürk - Oral 2020: 679-691). Draining the rainwater and snow is another problem the shelter has to cope with. The water itself might damage the excavated remains, whereas the chemical reaction between the construction material and water (such as corrosion and oxidation) might cause irreversible damages. Therefore, the microclimatic condition created under the shelter should be considered for all seasons. The humidity level also affects the archaeological remains and the climatic comfort level of the visitors and people working on the site.

The structure of the shelter ought to be attractive besides its functionality. It should neither be over designed nor underqualified. Because in both ways, it would affect the visitor's interaction with the findings and the overall perception of the site. The shelter should highlight the qualities of the archaeological site and the structures found in the area. Also, it needs to have the potential to present the qualities of the remains displayed in situ. The shelter's structure should not limit the vision and holistic perception of the site.

Meanwhile, it should not have a dominant design surpassing the archaeological findings (Ahunbay 1999: 106). The main reason for a shelter structure at an archaeological site is to attract visitors' attention to the findings. So, the differences between the remains and the protective shelter period should be perceived clearly in terms of building techniques and materials.

Most of the archaeological excavations long for many years. The parts discovered and the areas excavated enlarge through years. Therefore, the shelter structure should have the potential of expanding and need to be adaptable to the process. On the other hand, it should not create a barrier against the development of the excavation area. All new structures in the archaeological site, including the ticket offices, storage units, toilets, walking platforms, must be designed as temporary units (Zeren - Uyar 2010: 55-64). Meanwhile, most of these structures become permanent (Balderrama - Chiari 1995; 101-112), especially when those sites are open to cultural tourism. Therefore, both parameters should be kept in mind

during the design process of a protective shelter at an archaeological site. It should be flexible, reproducible, easily removable and light enough; on the other hand, it should be durable enough to resist all kinds of effects caused by natural and human sources.

The materials used and the design principles should be sustainable and cause non or minimal damage to the site and environment. The materials chosen for the shelter design is also vital in terms of the supply process. If local materials are chosen, the sustainability of the shelter will increase. This would also be beneficial for keeping the budget reasonable and accelerating the construction process. Pesarasi and Stewart (2018; 58-82) state that designing a cost-effective and low-maintenance shelter can present a challenge to archaeological sites, which often suffer from a systematic shortage of financial and technical resources. Zeren - Uyar (2010: 55-64) claim that shelter materials should have a long-life span. They should be resistant to corrosion and structurally stable enough to cope with seismic loads. Timber and steel are frequently used for protective shelters and walking platforms in archaeological sites. The critical thing is to make these materials resistant to atmospheric conditions by applying various processes such as lamination. The main principle is to use durable materials and require low maintenance time and costs.

Also, the budget is another crucial factor for the shelter's design. In most cases, the construction of a protective shelter is financed by state agencies which must stay within a limited budget. However, considering that archaeological remains belong to world cultural heritage, international contributors might be included in the process (Thompson - Abed 2018: 13-39). Also, some sponsorship agreements can be made. This would increase the budget's limits and allow realizing more effective designs. The maintenance costs are as high as the initial construction costs. Therefore, a long-term plan should be made to maintain shelter structure while choosing the materials according to their durability under local conditions and supply chain management issues.

The structural elements carrying the shelter load should attach to the ground with minimal connections to avoid damaging the archaeological remains. Furthermore, the minimal number of vertical constructional elements widens the field of view. Also, the adaptability of the structural schema to the ancient plan is vital for strengthening the visual perception (Zeren - Uyar 2010: 55-64).

Pesarasi - Stewart (2018: 58-82) states that protective shelters at an archaeological site should be monitored periodically. In this way, the effectiveness of the shelter in protecting ancient remains over time might be determined, and its performance might ultimately be improved as required. Also, the changes in the condition of the ancient fabric and the shelter might be detected, and its performance during heavy storms and other atmospheric conditions might be determined. All those periodic audits should be done by specialists, and necessary precautions should be taken before causing irreversible damage to archaeological remains. These audits become crucially important, especially during the winter season while the site is being used and visited by a few people or non.

Besides all the mentioned aspects; full enclosure with roof and wall insulation with highly reflective external materials, good controllable artificial lighting where necessary, controllable ventilation, access to archaeological features for routine cleaning and conservation, screens in ventilation points to prevent rodents or insects, ensuring that fragile archaeological material is out of reach of the visitor access route are also important factors that ought to be kept on mind during design (Ha'obsh 2018: 112-126).

## The Protective Shelters Built in Archeological Sites

There is a wide range of construction methods of protective shelters built in archaeological sites to protect the remains and constitute an ideal display for the findings, providing optimal conditions for the visitors and the team members working on-site while creating tourist attractions. To present various approaches of designing protection shelters in archaeological sites, four examples are examined, two of which are in Turkey, one in Greece and the other one in Spain. However, having approximately similar climatic conditions, the design approach, the materials used, the constructional systems, the characteristics of the location differ.

In examining each case, a table mentioning identical features of the projects is presented. Also, the project's design approach, the interaction with the existing site, and the construction principles are explained.

### *Cartagena Archaeological Site Shelter*

The Roman remains, including thermal baths, forum and domus, are located in the urban area of Cartagena (Table 1). The protection shelter over the archaeological site was designed as a single canopy covering the whole area. The design of the canopy differs from the existing urban texture. In this way, the design distinguishes structures built in different periods, respecting the antic remains while existing as an aesthetic landmark, creating tourist attraction. The main principle in the design process is to create a light holistic structure enabling visitors to perceive the site continuously while supporting the sculptural roofing with a minimum number of vertical constructional elements. The nature of the materials used for roofing (perforated steel panels and corrugated translucent polycarbonate sheets) enables it to take controlled daylight beneath the structure for natural lighting while protecting the remains from rain. This semi-transparent texture also brings out the lightness of the structure. The floating elevated walkway creates a route for the visitors, including disabled people, to wander around the archaeological site (Michler 2012).

Table 1  
Cartagena Archaeological Site Shelter  
details.

<b>Location</b>	Cartagena / Molinete / Spain	<b>Area</b>	1847 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Designer</b>	Amann, Canavas, Maruri Architects	<b>Climatic Cond.</b>	Tropical and Subtropical Steppe Climate (BSk)
<b>Opening Date</b>	2011	<b>Budget</b>	\$ 977,719
<b>Material</b>	Steel, perforated steel panels & corrugated polycarbonate		

The zig-zag hollow wall structure defines a frontier between the antic city and urban area while presenting a blurry silhouette of the archaeological park for the visitors (Figs. 1-3). The artificial lighting of the canopy and the separating walls reveal an appealing image, especially at nighttime. In addition, the void between the linear modules constituting the outer separation wall and the openness under the roof cover lets the air in, generating natural ventilation in the area (Fig. 4). This creates a thermal comfort zone in the archaeological site.

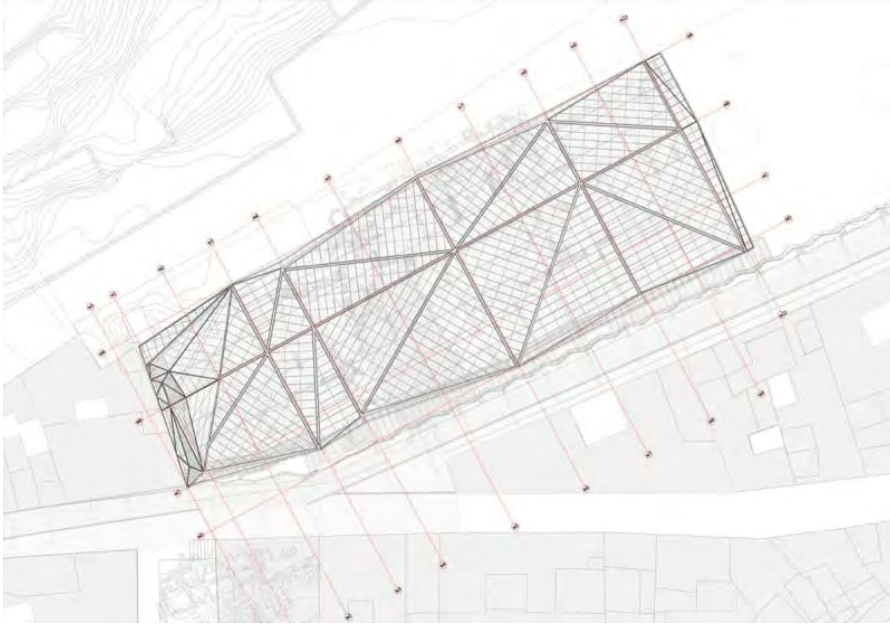


Figure 1

The plan drawing of the Cartagena shelter.  
<https://divisare.com/projects/217930-amann-canvas-maruri-david-frutos-bis-images-deck-over-a-roman-site-in-cartagena-spain>  
(Access Date: 29.01.2022).

Figures 2-3

The interaction between the Cartagena shelter and the urban texture.  
<https://divisare.com/projects/217930-amann-canvas-maruri-david-frutos-bis-images-deck-over-a-roman-site-in-cartagena-spain>  
(Access Date: 29.01.2022).



Figure 4

The space beneath the Cartagena shelter.  
<https://divisare.com/projects/217930-amann-canvas-maruri-david-frutos-bis-images-deck-over-a-roman-site-in-cartagena-spain>  
(Access Date: 29.01.2022).

### *Akrotiri Archaeological Site Shelter*

The protective shelter covering the whole archaeological site of Akrotiri ancient city has a base area of 13000 m<sup>2</sup> (Table 2). The excavations started in 1967, and the site was covered by a single shelter made from a metal construction system with corrugated asbestos cement sheets. However, as this structure has had corrosion damage through the years, a new protective shelter was designed by Nikos Fintikakis.

Table 2  
Akrotiri Archaeological Site Shelter details.

<b>Location</b>	Akrotiri / Santorini / Greece	<b>Area</b>	13000 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Designer</b>	Nikos Fintikakis	<b>Climatic Cond.</b>	Mediterranean Climate (Csa)
<b>Opening Date</b>	2012	<b>Budget</b>	\$ 80,000,000
<b>Material</b>	Steel, glass, timber, natural volcanic materials		

The design approach is creating a shelter that introduces natural ventilation and lighting to the archaeological site and comfortable temperature for those who move inside it without any energy-consuming mechanical support. The landscape and the location's climatic conditions are determinant factors in the design. The volcanic land surface is used as a roof covering which absorbs the different seasons' greening and, at the same time, is a natural protector for the remains of the ancient city (Fig. 5). Another feature of the roof is collecting

Figure 5  
Bird Eye view of the Akrotiri Shelter structure.  
[https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cghfz/nikos\\_fintikakis\\_creates\\_a\\_bioclimatic\\_shelter\\_for\\_akrotiri\\_archaeological\\_site\\_in\\_greece.html](https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cghfz/nikos_fintikakis_creates_a_bioclimatic_shelter_for_akrotiri_archaeological_site_in_greece.html) (Access Date: 30.01.2022).



rainwater which supplies the freshwater reserve needed for the excavation. Natural ventilation generates the renewal and cooling of the air inside for users' thermal comfort. The massive shelter preserves prehistoric city and creates room for additional functions of the excavation team (Fig. 6). These functions include storage facilities, safe-keeping and easy access for study and maintenance, the excavation archives (notebooks, inventories, drawings, photographs), library and computer room. Other facilities concerning the public function are toilet facilities, a refreshment counter, first aid medical station (Doumas 2013: 109-120). Besides creating comfortable accommodations for the visitors and the staff, the shelter attracts tourists with the sustainable character of its unique structure (Fig. 7).



Figure 6

The inner space of the Akrotiri Shelter.  
[https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cghfz/nikos\\_fintikakis\\_creates\\_a\\_bioclimatic\\_shelter\\_for\\_akrotiri\\_archaeological\\_site\\_in\\_greece.html](https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cghfz/nikos_fintikakis_creates_a_bioclimatic_shelter_for_akrotiri_archaeological_site_in_greece.html) (Access Date: 30.01.2022).



Figure 7

The section drawing of the Akrotiri shelter.  
[https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cghfz/nikos\\_fintikakis\\_creates\\_a\\_bioclimatic\\_shelter\\_for\\_akrotiri\\_archaeological\\_site\\_in\\_greece.html](https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cghfz/nikos_fintikakis_creates_a_bioclimatic_shelter_for_akrotiri_archaeological_site_in_greece.html) (Access Date: 30.01.2022).

### Çatalhöyük 4040 Area Archaeological Site Shelter

This shelter was built on the northern part of the East mound of Çatalhöyük (4040 Area), lying in the south-north direction (Table 3).

<b>Location</b>	Çatalhöyük / Konya / Turkey	<b>Area</b>	1300 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Designer</b>	Sinan Omacan, Rıdvan Övünç	<b>Climatic Cond.</b>	Mediterranean Climate (Csa)
<b>Opening Date</b>	2008	<b>Budget</b>	\$105,000
<b>Material</b>	Laminated timber, polycarbonate panels, concrete foundation		

Table 3

Çatalhöyük 4040 Area Archaeological Site Shelter details.

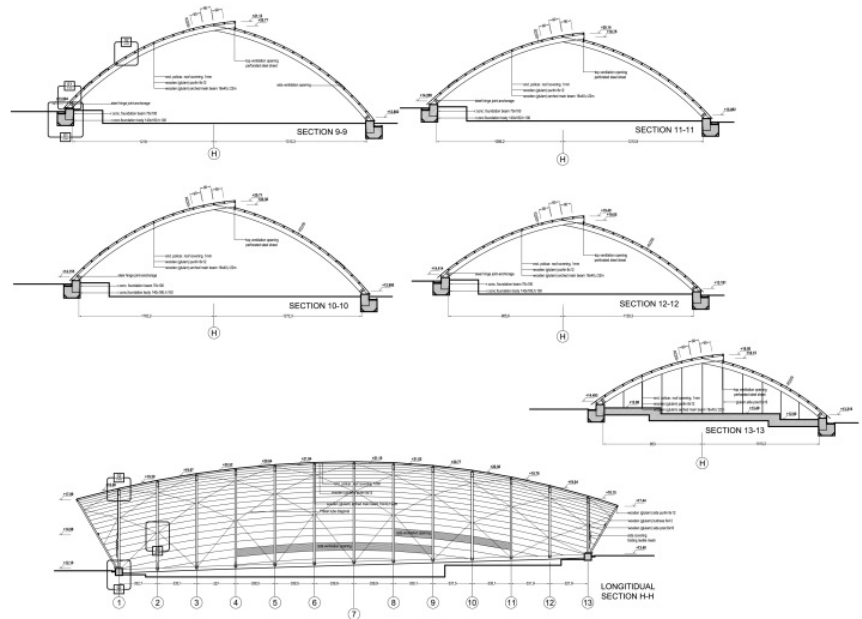
The shelter's primary purpose was to protect the discovered earthen architecture, paintings, reliefs and undergoing excavations. The initial construction process started with implementing a one-meter-wide continuous plinth that would carry the timber structure's load. This type of foundation was chosen as it required minimal excavation on the archaeological site. The following year, the main body of the protective shelter, which consisted of 14 laminated timber arches with various heights having the same diameter, was built. As far as it is located on the top of the mound, the shelter's design has a softer form, which can blend in with the natural topography while having an aesthetic character (Figs. 8-9). The timber skeleton is covered with polycarbonate panels which let the daylight in and support the visual comfort beneath the shelter (Fig. 10). The higher parts of the shelter provide natural ventilation (with folding side panels), while the lower sections create a slope for an effective drainage system (a channel made of pre-cast cement). This structure is also beneficial for making the shelter durable against the heavy wind in winter (Ertosun 2012: 104-109, 160-163; Çamurcuoğlu Cleer 2008). Although the shape of the shelter is in harmony with the existing



Figure 8  
The shell structure of Çatalhöyük 4040 Area Shelter. <https://archaeologicalshelters.wordpress.com/2012/06/24/catalhoyuk-site-north-shelter-atolye-mimarlik/> (Access Date: 05.02.2022)

Figure 9  
The inner space beneath the Çatalhöyük 4040 Area Shelter. <https://archaeologicalshelters.wordpress.com/2012/06/24/catalhoyuk-site-north-shelter-atolye-mimarlik/> (Access Date: 05.02.2022)

Figure 10  
The technical drawings of Çatalhöyük 4040 Area Shelter. <https://archaeologicalshelters.wordpress.com/2012/06/24/catalhoyuk-site-north-shelter-atolye-mimarlik/> (Access Date: 05.02.2022)



landscape, the relative humidity beneath the shelter causes a regular action of drying/wetting, which activates the soluble salts through the groundwater, causing mudbrick and plaster layers to erode, delaminate and detach constantly. These impracticalities might reveal a need to change the 4040 shelter in the long term (Çamurcuoğlu Cleer 2010).

### *Göbeklitepe GT1 Area Archaeological Site Shelter*

The Göbeklitepe ruins dating back 12,000 years are located on the highest hills of the Germuş Mountains. The location is surrounded by the silhouette of Toros, Nemrut and Karacadağ Mountains. The remains in the site have a vast spread. The shelter mentioned in this paper covers the GT1 Area, where the excavations are completed, and the bedrock has been descended. The GT1 Area is also open to visitors; therefore, there is a steel and timber walkway following the borders of the elliptic roof structure (Fig. 11). The main principle of the design is to carry the loads of the roof construction by using the minimum number of fixing points to the ground. The steel skeleton of the roofing structure has a hyperbolic paraboloid form covered with a membrane to present both an attractive and functional cover (Fig. 12). All the vertical constructional elements are located on the outer side of the structural frame. In this way, the column-free inner space is wide open without any visual disturbance. The form of the structure is resistant to the local solid winds while creating natural ventilation beneath the shelter and

providing thermal comfort (Fig. 13). The membrane is semi-transparent, letting the daylight in, in order to increase the visitors' visual comfort (Fig. 14). The rainwater is drained with pipes hidden inside the steel structure (İrepoğlu 2019: 20-23) (Table 4).

<b>Location</b>	Göbeklitepe /Şanlıurfa / Turkey	<b>Area</b>	1750 m2
<b>Designer</b>	Kleyer – Koblitz –Letzel -Freivogel Architects	<b>Climatic Cond.</b>	Hot-summer Mediterranean climate (Csa)
<b>Opening Date</b>	2018	<b>Budget</b>	€ 4,800,000
<b>Material</b>	Steel construction, PTFE Mesh membrane roofing, timber		

Table 4  
Göbeklitepe GT1 Area Archaeological Site Shelter details.

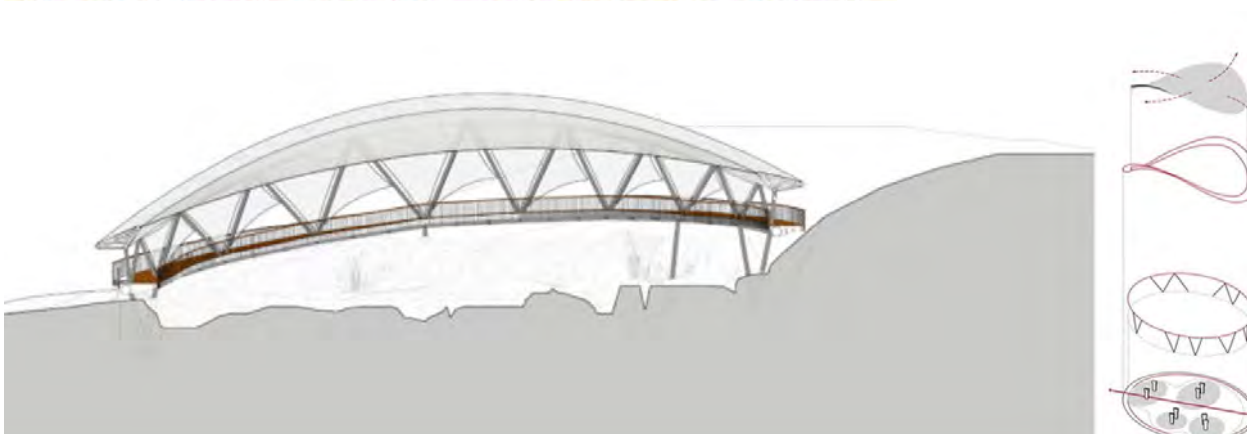


Figure 11  
The interaction between Göbeklitepe GT1 Area shelter and the landscape. <https://www.kklf.de/schutzdach-goebekli-tepe-tuerkei> (Access Date: 05.02.2022).

Figure 12  
The hyperbolic paraboloid structure of the roofing. <https://www.kklf.de/schutzdach-goebekli-tepe-tuerkei> (Access Date: 05.02.2022).

Figure 13  
The inner space beneath the shelter. <https://www.kklf.de/schutzdach-goebekli-tepe-tuerkei> (Access Date: 05.02.2022).

Figure 14  
The technical drawings of Göbeklitepe GT1 Area shelter (İrepoğlu 2019).





## Project Area – Myrleia Apameia

Myrleia/Apameia BC It is a colonial city founded by the people of Kolophon in the Cius Bay, which is the region where Mudanya district was located in Inner Bithynia in the 8th century (Doğancı 2007: 14-21; Şahin 2013: 101). The Macedonian King Philip V (221-179 BC) gave Myrleia to Prusias I for his support in the war with Pergamon and King Prusias I, and he changed the name of the city to Apameia in honour of his wife. The city, located within the borders of Bithynia, was founded in BC. In 74, King of Bithynia IV. After the death of Nicomedes, it was transferred to the Roman Empire by inheritance (Arıcı 2021: 227-245). The city joined the Byzantine lands after the division of the Roman Empire. (Güner 2014: 7). Apameia was used as a logistics support base of Byzantium during the Crusades, and in this period, it started to be called 'Moutagnac/Montaniac', which indicates its topographic nature and means 'mountainous region' (Akkılıç 2002: 1181). The city, which left the Byzantine domination for a short time between 1081-1097 and came under the rule of the Seljuks, was added to the Ottoman lands by Orhangazi in 1321 (Aydoğan 1994: 13).

The city is important because it was the first colony of the Roman Empire in the Anatolian geography and the commercial port city of Prusa Ad Olympium (Bursa), located in the southwest of Kent Kios (Gemlik) Bay (Gündüz 2015: 105-146; Arıcı 2021: 227-245). Although Bursa had many ports during the Ottoman Period, the region, which was used as the main port of the raw silk trade, continued to maintain its importance (Çiftçi 2004: 153-171).

The ancient city of Myrleia is in the Mudanya district of Bursa, 1 km southwest of the town center. Information on the history and structures of the city of Myrleia and its construction in the ancient period is minimal due to the scarcity of written sources on the archaeological excavations carried out in the city. More information about the history of the city has begun to emerge in the light of the ruins with a shopping center on it today, which were unearthed during the excavations carried out by the Bursa Museum Directorate at the request of the property owners in 2015, and the ruins unearthed during the work carried out for a residential building nearby (Fig. 15).



Figure 15

Location of the excavation area relative to Mudanya.

Google Earth Coordinates: 40°22'3.45"N, 28°53'38.18"E / 13.02.2022.

The area (Fig. 16) where the structures belonging to the residential ancient settlement was revealed during the foundation excavations carried out during the planning studies of a residential site built in Mudanya Ömerbey Mahallesi in 2016. The privately-owned land has been included in the 3rd degree archaeological site with the studies carried out by the Bursa Museum Directorate.



Figure 16  
Residential settlement findings (Aerial photography was provided by Derya Şahin and Hazal Çıtakoğlu from Bursa Uludağ University Department of Archaeology Archive).

Based on the unearthed structures, it is thought that the structures in this area are residential structures with a columned entrance reached by steps (Fig. 16-A) and rooms located around the porticoes (Fig. 16-B). A mosaic with geometric patterns was unearthed in one of the building rooms (Figs. 16-C, 17), and a



Figure 17  
The mosaic with geometric patterns (Photography was provided by Derya Şahin and Hazal Çıtakoğlu from Bursa Uludağ University Department of Archaeology Archive).

mosaic with a different pattern was found in another part of the building (Figs. 16-D, 18), but not all of it could be uncovered because the rest of it remained in the neighboring parcel. Again, a drainage system thought to be connected to the toilets was determined around the building (Fig. 16-E). The portico typology of the building and the nature of the mosaic are thought to be property belonging to the upper economic class. Again, the location of the building and the sea view it has, are found to support this idea (Şahin - Çıtakoğlu 2016: 85-94). Due to the private ownership of the lands around the excavation area, all the structures



Figure 18  
The mosaic with blue pattern (Photography was provided by Derya Şahin and Hazal Çıtakoğlu from Bursa Uludağ University Department of Archaeology Archive).

found could not be revealed. Due to the lack of an archaeological context, this residential settlement cannot be dated precisely, but it is thought to belong to the late antique period (Şahin - Çıtakoğlu 2016: 85-94). These finds are of great importance both for the history of Mudanya and Bursa and for future scientific studies, as they provide data on the architectural structure of the city of Myrleia, of which there is minimal information, in the late antique period. This importance necessitates preserving the finds and opening them to visitors for both touristic and academic studies.

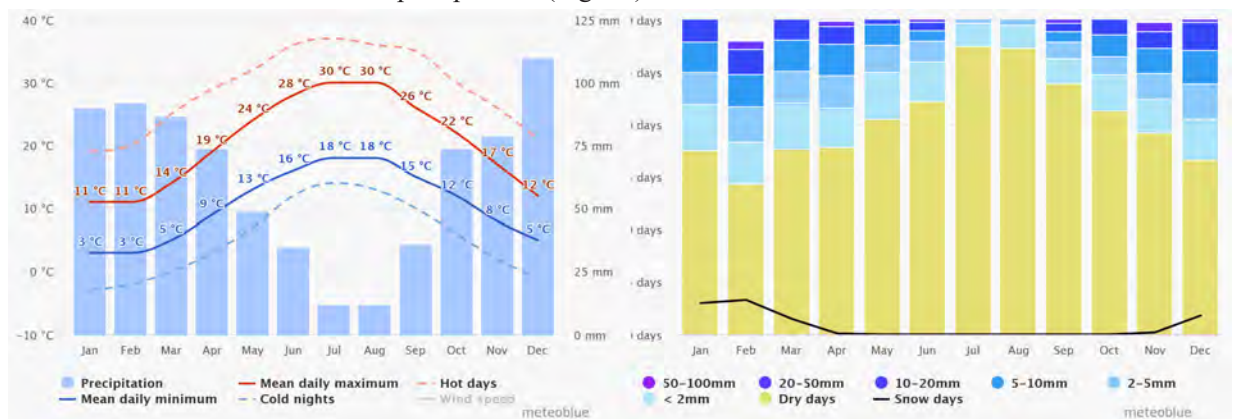
Bursa's Mudanya district is located between 28°32' - 28°58' east longitudes and 40°16' - 40°24' north latitudes (Fig. 19). It is surrounded by Karacabey in the west, Osmangazi and Nilüfer in the south, Gemlik in the east, and stretches along the southern shores of the Gemlik Gulf in the north. Covering the south face of the Gemlik Bay and separating the Bursa Plain from the sea, the Mudanya Mountains extend in the east-west direction. The highest peak, extending from the west to the point where the Susurluk Stream empties into the sea, reaches up to Karatepe, 600 meters high. The land has a rough structure<sup>1</sup>.



Figure 19  
Location of Mudanya relative to Bursa.  
Google Earth Coordinates: 40° 5'47.75"N, 29° 1'2.70"E and 40°22'17.19"N, 28°53'15.57"E / 13.02.2022.

The Marmara Sea borders the district in the north and the Nilüfer Stream in the south. Therefore, the district has a transitional climate between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. While the winters are warm and rainy due to the sea in the north, the surrounding hills from the south and the height, the summers are at an average temperature (30 °C) and dry (Güner 2014: 6). Therefore, while the most precipitation falls in the district in December, July and August have the least precipitation (Fig. 20).

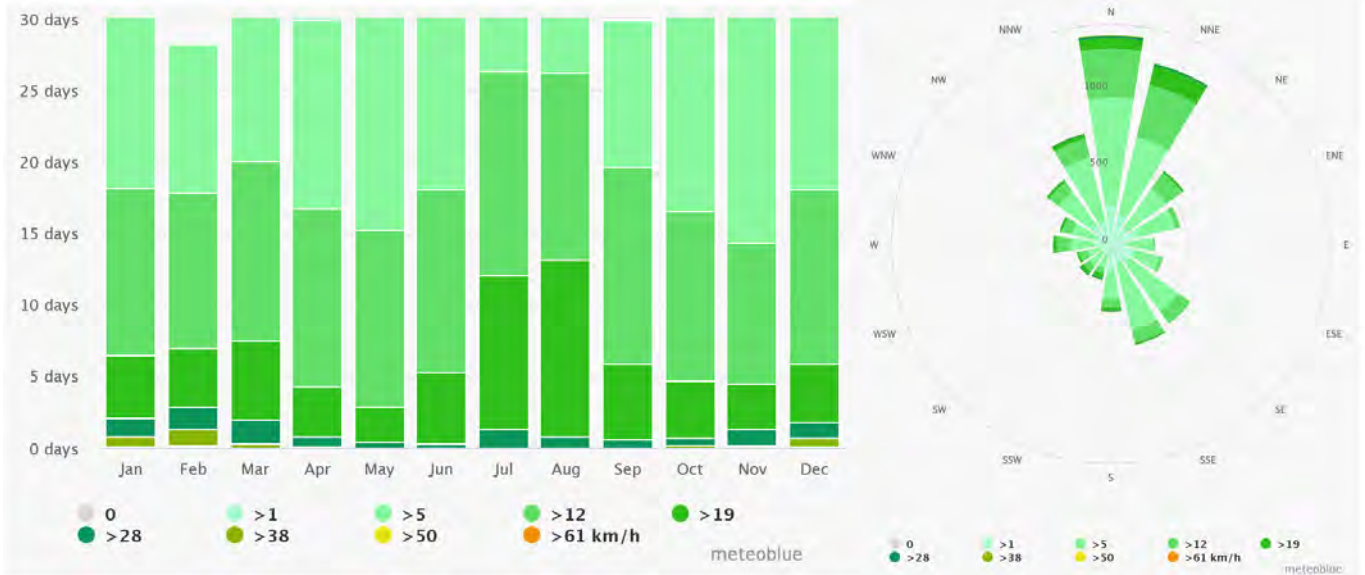
Figure 20  
Tables of annual average temperatures and precipitation in Mudanya. [https://www.meteoblue.com/tr/hava/historyclimate/climatemodelled/mudanya\\_türkiye\\_741487](https://www.meteoblue.com/tr/hava/historyclimate/climatemodelled/mudanya_türkiye_741487) 14.02.2022 (Access Date: 14.02.2022).



<sup>1</sup> <https://mudanya.bel.tr/hakkinda> 14.02.2022 /14.02.2022 (Access Date: 14.02.2022)

West and north winds (Summerwind, southwestern, sea breeze, northwest wind, northeastern winds) dominate the city. While the effect of the İmbat wind blowing from the north is felt between June and September, it enters the effect of Summerwind and Northwest wind winds at the end of September. With the effect of these winds, the temperature begins to decrease. In the winter months, the district, mainly under the influence of southeastern winds, starts to receive heavy rains (Yalman 2013: 29) (Fig. 21). In Mudanya, the climate is warm and temperate. This location is classified as Csa by Köppen and Geiger.

Figure 21  
Annual wind direction and speed tables of Mudanya.  
[https://www.meteoblue.com/tr/hava/historyclimate/climatemodelled/mudanya\\_turkiye\\_741487](https://www.meteoblue.com/tr/hava/historyclimate/climatemodelled/mudanya_turkiye_741487) 14.02.2022 (Access Date: 14.02.2022)



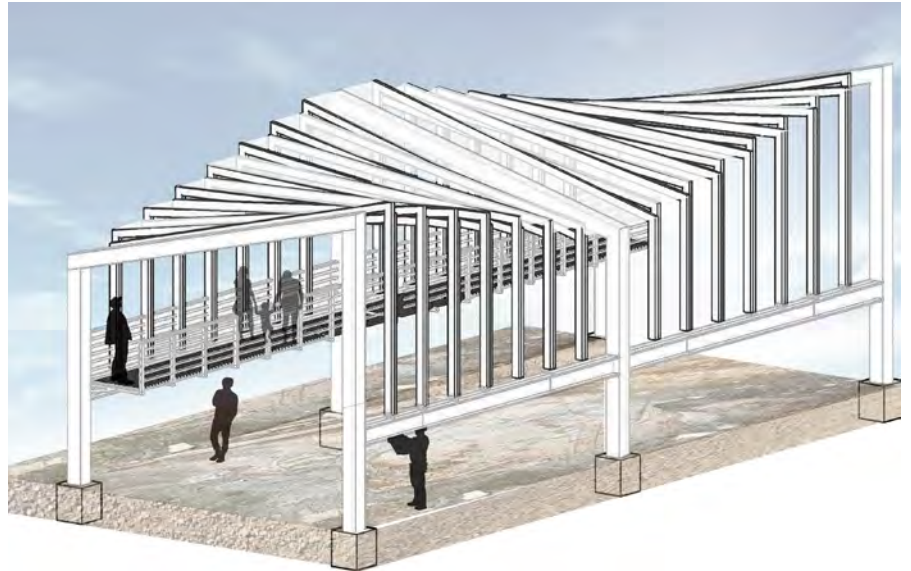
### Protective Shelter Design Proposal for Myrelia Archeological Site

Several criteria are taken into account in the design proposal of Myrelia Archeological Site. The shelter aims to present:

- comfortable working space for the excavation team and the academic staff
- comfortable and secure path along the whole site for the visitors
- constructional system corresponding to the unearthed remains
- characteristic design which is appealing for the visitors while being easily distinguished from the ancient remains
- sustainable design approach

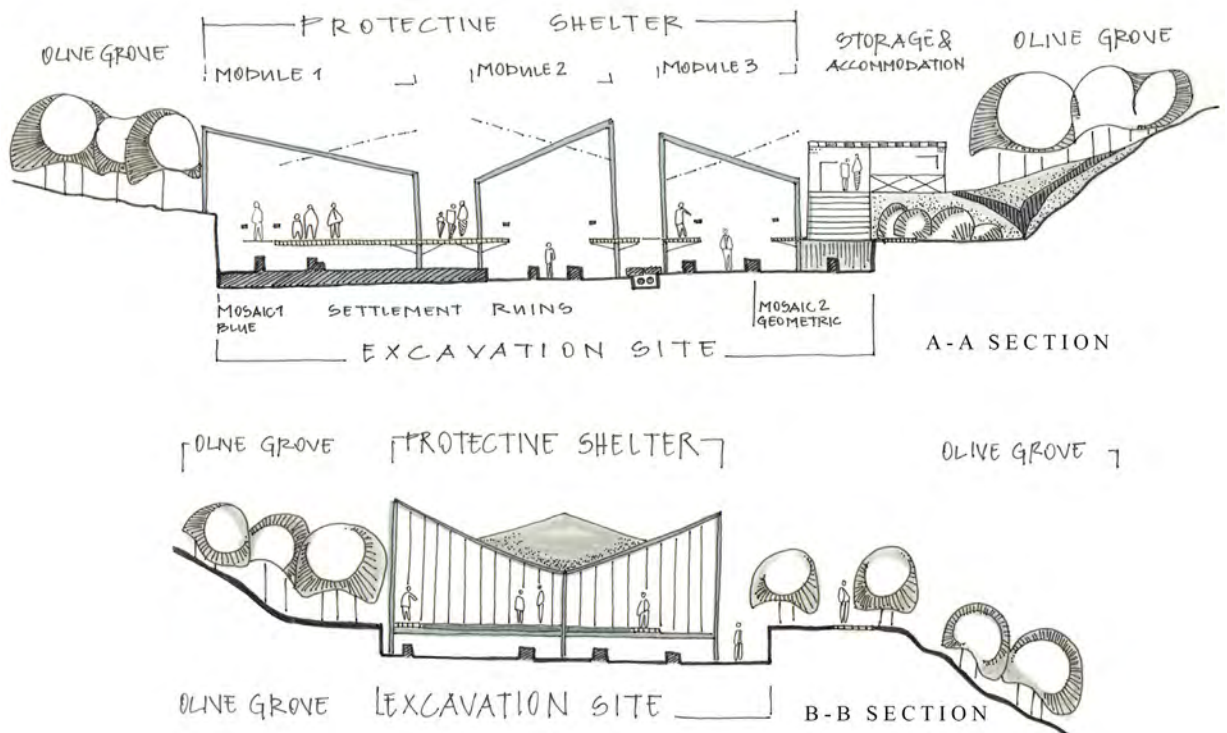
The main concern is to locate the constructional system with minimal number of fixing points to the ground. The primary load bearing elements are steel while secondary elements are laminated timber. The primary steel columns are connected to each other by I shaped steel-beam profiles. The constructional elements of the walking path are also connected to the mentioned beams. The primary steel columns are located on concrete footing elements which constitute the connection points of the structural system to the ground. These footing elements are positioned precisely on the points where the excavation is finished and no remaining structures are found. Each steel column has a box section and the void inside the column is used for draining rainwater. The rainwater is collected and saved for posterior use. The secondary timber load bearing elements are equally spaced with varying heights differing parametrically. This repetition system generates a rectangular shredded pattern. Each shred is covered with textile membrane. The translucent texture of the membrane provides a controlled level of natural lighting beneath the shelter. Some of the rectangular inclined shreds are covered with solar panels which help to meet the energy need of the excavation site (Fig. 22).

Figure 22  
Perspective of protective shelter Module 2.



There is also a suspended walking path sharing the same constructional system with the shelter. The timber path, which expands and forms viewing platforms at several points, circuits the whole excavation area and enables visitors to wander around the site, observe unearthed mosaics and other remains. As far as the walking path is elevated, the excavation team may continue working on the ground level under the path. At the entrance of the site, there is a small info-unit which is repeating the design language of the shelter. In this reception area, the visitors may get information about the site, observe some of the remains excavated from this site and the posters presenting the excavation process, use the rest-rooms and slot machines, enjoy the scenery at the deck area in front of the unit. The ground level of the excavated site on the north side is approximately 3 meters under the entrance level, whereas the walking path is elevated 2 meters from the ground level (Fig. 23).

Figure 23  
Sections of protective shelter.



The walking path starts from the info-unit and reaches to the excavation area by ramp with a mild slope. There is also a shortcut which connects the entrance to the excavation area with a few steps. Inside the site, the path enlarges at some points for resting and observing (Fig. 24).

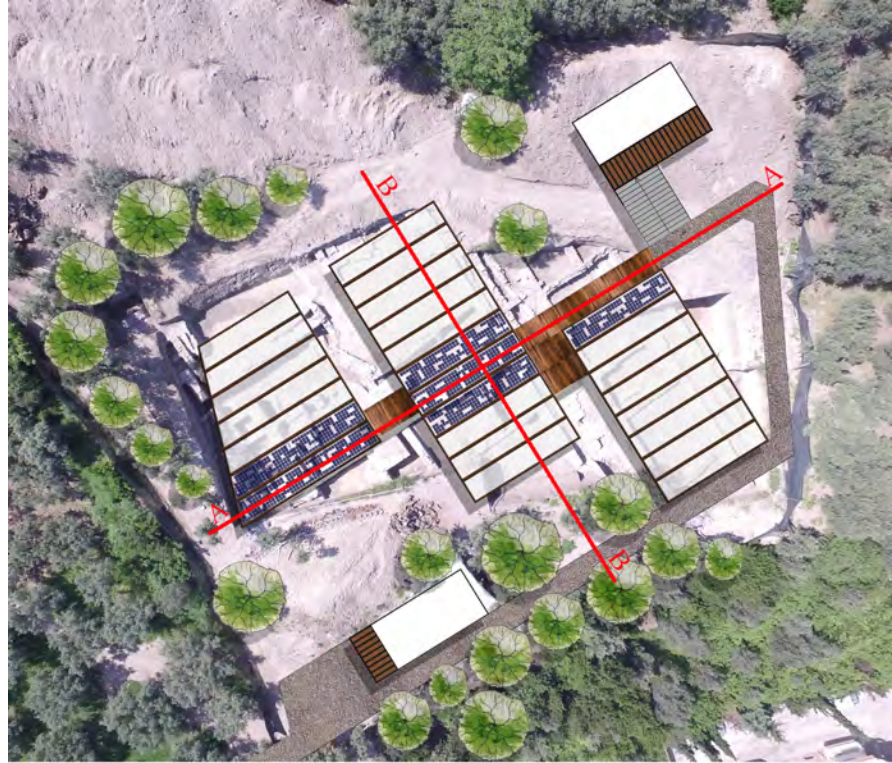


Figure 24  
Plans (layout and platform) of protective shelter design.



The sheltering system is divided into three parts which cover the main zones where the remains are located, two of which embody the mosaics found. These zones are connected to each other by the continuity of the walking path. The

sides of the shelter are designed as open surfaces in order to support natural ventilation. Anyhow, if it would be necessary, the gaps between the vertical structural timber elements which repeat at regular intervals might be closed by textile membranes. By this way, it might be possible to protect the site from both climatic factors and vandalism, especially during the off-season.

The excavation house is planned to be located on the south part of the site. Currently, this is the highest elevation of the site, therefore a simple stairs and a ramp connect the excavation house to the walking path and ground level. This unit involves accommodation, catering, working, WC, storage facilities for the staff and also designed in the similar design language with the shelter. If needed, the structural elements forming this unit might be disassembled and transferred to a new location.

It is aimed to construct the protective shelter as a system that is largely self-sufficient and sustainable by the use of energy obtained from solar energy panels, the accumulation of rainwater collected by the drainage system and the use of passive air conditioning methods. The repetitive character of the protective shelter's design approach has the potential to enlarge in case of the emergence of a new demand.

### Conclusion

The criteria to be considered in the design processes of protective shelters for the remains and artifacts to be preserved in-situ can be evaluated within the framework of the concepts of (1) identity, (2) comfort, (3) sustainability and (4) flexibility (Table 5). The protective shelter to be designed should be attractive while preserving the holistic perception of the area without breaking its relationship with its surroundings. The diversity of material used and the construction system between the existing remains and the new structure, the minimum contact with the ground while meeting these criteria are of great importance for preserving the area's identity and transferring its heritage value. Furthermore, the shelter should provide suitable thermal and lighting conditions for people who work for different purposes (excavation, research, protection, documentation, etc.) and those who visit the site while providing optimal comfort conditions by providing comfortable movement. Another essential criterion for the protective shelter is its flexibility to be expanded and reshaped in line with new finds and information. The shelter should provide the necessary comfort conditions and have a flexible design while preserving the area's identity. Also, it is important to design with the responsibility of current economic conditions and the climatic crisis.

Table 5  
Design Criteria for Protective Shelters.

<b>Identity</b>	Attractiveness, Distinguishability, Minimum contact
<b>Comfort</b>	Climatization, Lightning, Movement comfort
<b>Flexibility</b>	Adaptability
<b>Sustainability</b>	Materials and structure systems, Periodical monitoring, Affordability

Depending on all of these criteria a proposal for the design of a protective shelter for Myrelia archeological site is presented in this paper. In the scope of "identity" criterion, the proposed design has a parametric pattern which can easily be distinguished from the current condition of the site and the ancient ruins found. The appealing design of the structure has the potential to attract the visitors. Also the construction system is designed with a minimum number of connection points to the ground in order not to harm the excavated remains. In the scope of "comfort" criterion, the cover material of the shelter is chosen as

textile membrane whose translucency enables controlled daylight beneath. Also the form of the design creates natural ventilation. The continuity of the walking path makes the visitors wander around the whole site starting from the entrance unit. The connection between different elevations is established with ramps and security measures are taken, therefore the site is also suitable with universal design principles. There are some enlarged resting and observing platforms on the walking path in order to increase the comfort level of the visitors. The info-unit and the excavation house are designed to provide facilities both for the visitors and the staff working on the site. In the scope of “flexibility” criterion, the structural system is composed of steel and laminated timber elements connected with dismountable fixings. By this way the structure might be transferred to a new location if needed. Also the parametric design approach enables to enlarge the shelter area if new sections are excavated and a need to cover these parts occurs. In the scope of “sustainability” criterion, the system is designed to be self-sufficient. Solar panels are used in order to supply energy for the site, rainwater is collected and passive air conditioning methods are used.

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# Modern Bir Hatay (Antiocheia) Mozaïği “Ortak Varoluş” - I

## A Modern Hatay (Antiocheia) Mosaic: “Ortak Varoluş” (Co-Existence) - I

H. Onur TIBIKOĞLU - Banu ÖZDİLEK\*

(Received 27 January 2022, accepted after revision 13 September 2022)

### Öz

*Bir dünya organizasyonu olan “Expo”, 2022 yılı Nisan ayında Hatay ile buluşacak. “Medeniyetler Bahçesi” başlıklı konusuyla, kentnin derin ve çok kültürlü tarihsel serüvenini, kendi coğrafyasının zengin botanik çeşitliliğiyle birlikte sunacak bu organizasyon, kültür; sanat; ekolojik tarım; gastronomi; turizm alanlarında çok yönlü çıktılarla planlanmıştır. Bu alanlara ilişkin bileşenler, ilgili disiplinlerdeki bilim insanlarının değişen ölçülerde katılımları ile müstakil projeler olarak hayata geçirilmektedir. Bu yaklaşımın önemli ayaklarından biri olarak, Antakya fuar alanına batıdan giriş sağlayan kapının ardında ziyaretçileri karşılayacak 45 m çapında, 1600 m<sup>2</sup> alana sahip daire şeklindeki bir meydanın, Antik Çağ’dan günümüze Hataylı’nın ilgi alanlarından biri olan mozaik sanatının bu topraklarla özdeşleşen kalite ve zenginliğine atıf yapacak bir görkemle, Hatay’ı tarihsel derinliği ve kültürel çeşitliliğiyle anlatacak bir mozaik ile süslenmesi planlanmıştır. Boyutları ve üretim tekniğinde kullanılacak –örneğin yalnızca Anadolu’dan temin edilen doğal kayalardan opus tessera tekniğinde uygulanacak olması gibi- ilkeler açısından dünya çapındaki ilklerden biri olacak bu projenin yürütülmesi adına, mozaik görselinin tasarımında ve alan uygulamasında bilim uzmanlığı rehber olarak seçilmiştir. Bu kapsamda hazırladığımız “Ortak Varoluş” isimli görsel tasarımın, kentnin zengin kültürel varlığını, bilimsel bilgiye dayanan tarihsel bir derinlikle, özgün bir biçimde anlatması amaçlanmıştır. Tasarım kentnin eski ve modern değerlerine ilişkin bir kesiti, Antik Çağ sembolizmiyle; Antiocheia mozaiklerinden ilham alan geometrik motifler ve dokularla desteklenen fakat büyük oranda figür temelli olarak, bilimsel bilgiye dayanan bir hikaye bütünlüğünde sunmaktadır.*


**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hatay, Antiokheia, Mozaik, Antik Çağ’da Antakya Mozaikleri, Expo Hatay 2021, Ortak Varoluş Mozaïği.

### Abstract

*Hatay Expo 2021, with the subject of “The Garden of Civilizations” on the basis of botany, is a project that is planned and carried out with multi-dimensional outputs in the fields of culture; art; tourism-economy and agriculture-ecology. In the fair area, right behind the “Main Entrance” on west, a 45 m diameter circular square that will welcome the visitors was designed and it was decided to decorate this area with mosaics. In order to make reference to the quality and richness of the mosaic art, which is one of the areas of interest of Hatay people from the past to the present, it was decided to realize this design, which reflects the old and modern basic values of the city, in this large area of 1600 m<sup>2</sup>. This mosaic design, which we call “co-existence”, combines the old and new styles in this area as an original work that includes ancient symbolism and is largely figure-based. For the first time in its field, the design reflects the geographic and cultural values of the region with a historical depth supported by scientific knowledge. By combining the symbolism of art with the figurative iconographic expression style in ancient mosaic art, it reveals a unique figural design with a holistic story based on scientific reality. In addition to the value created by the visual effect of design alone in terms of urban culture, the story of the city it hosts will be conveyed to the visitors by various means, and the people will gain memory at the level of consciousness.*

**Keywords:** Hatay, Antiokheia, Mosaic, Ancient Antioch Mosaic, Expo Hatay 2021, Co-Existence Mosaic.

\* H. Onur Tıbikoğlu, Bağımsız Araştırmacı, Arkeolog, Hatay, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7046-0094>. E-mail: hsonur@gmail.com

Banu Özdilek, Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Hatay, Türkiye.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5803-5386>. E. Posta: ozdilek.banu@gmail.com

Hatay Expo 2021, “Medeniyetler Bahçesi” başlıklı konusuyla botanik temelinde, kültür; sanat; ekolojik tarım; gastronomi; turizm alanlarında çok yönlü çıktılarla planlanarak yürütülmekte olan bir projedir<sup>1</sup>. Hatay ilinin subtropik Akdeniz ikliminin sunmuş olduğu zengin flora çeşitliliğinin tanıtıldığı, pek çok faaliyet ve cazibe mekanlarına sahip olacak bu rekreasyon ve eğitim alanında, kentin derin bir zamanda süreklilik göstermekle birlikte baş döndürücü bir çeşitlilik arz eden zengin kültürünün bir yandan modern kentli nezdinde farkındalığının dolayısıyla sahiplenilmesinin sağlanması; diğer yandan dünya ilgisine doğru şekilde sunulması amaçlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda Hatay Büyükşehir Belediyesi (HBB) tarafından Expo 2021 Antakya fuar alanında, “Ana Giriş”in hemen ardında ziyaretçileri karşılayacak olan daire şeklindeki bir meydan projelendirilmiş ve bu alanın Hatay’ın kültürel zenginliğini tarihsel bir derinlik içerisinde bilimsel yaklaşımla anlatacak antik gelenekli bir mozaik ile süslenmesine karar verilmiştir. Bu amaçla HBB ile Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi arasında tesis edilen kamu-üniversite işbirliği kapsamında patentli bir görsel tasarlanması ve bunun mozaik olarak alana uygulanması aşamalarını içeren proje bu makalenin yazarlarının yer aldığı bir bilim ekibi tarafından sürdürülmektedir<sup>2</sup>. Bu makale söz konusu projenin tamamlanan ilk aşamasını; bilimsel bilgiye dayanan bir Hatay hikayesini tarihsel arka planı ile birlikte sunmayı ve bu hikayenin mozaik olarak yansıtılışında antik-modern bakışı bir araya getiren “Ortak Varoluş” ismini verdiğimiz görsel tasarımı (Res. 1) açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır<sup>3</sup>.

Resim 1  
Ortak Varoluş Görseli.



- 1 Organizasyon ile ilgili detaylı bilgi için bk. <https://expo2021hatay.com>
- 2 “Ortak Varoluş” hikayesinin temelini oluşturan arkeoloji, tarih ve modern kültür araştırmaları ve antik-modern sanat bakışıyla bir görsel olarak tasarlanması, Dr. H. Onur Tıbikoğlu ve Doç Dr. Banu Özdilek tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Tasarımın bilgisayar destekli grafik uygulamasında ise projenin bir diğer akademik danışmanı olan Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Grafik Tasarım Bölümü öğretim elemanı Arş. Gör. Kürşat K. Özkemahlı ile birlikte çalışılmıştır. Proje, “Sosyal Bilimler” içerisinde değerlendirilen bir disiplin olmakla birlikte doğasından kaynaklanan geniş etki ve etkinlik alanı; kullandığı yöntem ve yaklaşımlardan elde ettiği teknik nitelikleriyle her geçen gün bu başlığı aşan arkeoloji biliminin, kamu ve sanayi kuruluşları aracılığıyla doğrudan hayata dokunabileceğine dair ender bir örnek oluşturmaktadır. “Ortak Varoluş” görsel tasarımı, Türk Patent ve Marka Kurumu tarafından 2020 07240 numara ile tescillenerek Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi’nin ilk ticarileşmiş patentli ürünü olarak Hatay Büyükşehir Belediyesi kanalıyla halkın kullanımına sunulmuştur.
- 3 Projenin ikinci aşaması, görselin 1600 m2 alanda “Opus tessellatum” tekniğinde bir mozaik olarak uygulanmasını içerir. Yazarlar tarafından “Modern Bir Hatay (Antiocheia) Mozaığı, “Ortak Varoluş” – II” başlığıyla hazırlanmakta olan yayında “Ortak Varoluş” mozaığının üretim süreci ve montajına

### “Ortak Varoluş”un Kısa Hikayesi:

Hikaye Hatay’ın kültürel zenginliğinin kaynağını oluşturan eşsiz coğrafyası üzerine kuruludur; bu coğrafyanın çizdiği yolda insanın tarihsel yürüyüşünü anlatır. Öyle ki İbn Haldun’un *Mukaddime*’sinin (İbn Haldun, *Mukaddime*) özüne atfen sloganlaşan sözde olduğu gibi coğrafya kader ise eğer, her daim en çok bu topraklar insana parlak bir yazgı çizer. Hep kutsal, yüce, baba olmuş dağlar, Kel Dağ ve Habib-i Neccar; bereket ve bilgiyi taşıyan Asi ve Akdeniz’in suları, Amik Ovası’nın uçsuz bucaksız bereketli toprakları ve Torosların ardında eşsiz bir körfez ile tarih derinleşmiş, kültür çeşitlenmiştir. Çınarlar, defneler ve zeytin gibi daha niceleriyle, bitye öylesine insan yaşamının içindedir ki birer mucize sayılır, söylenceleri dilden dile yayılır. İşte yenide adı “hoşgörü” sanılan, aslı ise eski bir gelenek olarak beraber, kardeşçe yükselmek olan yaşam kültürü, bu gönenç dolu yazgının ürünüdür. Hatay gök kubbesinde ilk insanın bakışı hala durur; İslam Hilali ile Davud Yıldızı, Hristiyanlık adının ilk yankıları (Acts 11: 26) arasında burada parlar. Doğu ve Batı, “aleph-beth” ile “alfa-beta” arasında burada köprü kurmuş, kimi zaman III. Darius ve Büyük İskender isimleri ile bir savaşta çatışmış, kimi zaman ise burada hemhal olmuştur. Ve 1939’da Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’ün dehasıyla Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin asil toprağı olarak, gökte parlayan hilalin yanındaki yıldızın içi özgürlük sevinciyle dolmuştur.

### Tasarımın İkonografisi: Temel Değerleri Yansıtan Geometri, Biçim, Figür, Motif ve Anlam

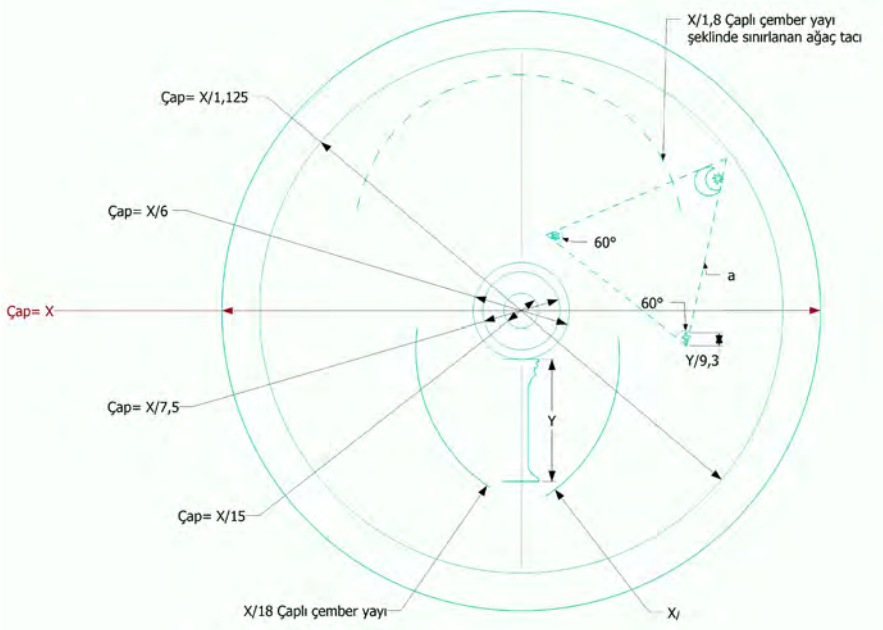
Uygulama alanının şekil, boyut ve peyzajı, kentin önemli bir değeri olarak geçmişten günümüze Hataylı’nın ilgi alanlarından biri olan mozaik sanatının bu topraklarla özdeşleşen kalite ve zenginliğine atıf yapması amacına hizmet eden niteliklerle planlanmıştır. Kent botaniğinin örneklerini içeren bir “koruluk” ile çevrelenen mozaik meydanı, 45 m çapıyla, 1600 m<sup>2</sup> gibi aşkın boyuta sahip bir daire biçimindedir (Res. 2) Tasarım (Res. 1) ilk bakışta kendisini bu temel

Resim 2

Ortak Varoluş Mozaığının Expo Alanı İçerisindeki Yeri. Canlandırma.



altılığa uygun bir geometri (Res. 3) ile ortaya koyar: Görselin daire biçimi Hatay antikitesinden sürgün veren kardeşlik geleneğinin; “Ortak Varoluş”un



Resim 3  
Görselin Tasarım Geometrisi.

potasıdır. En dışta, kapalı bir meander ile süslü kalın bir halka bordür bu varoluşu çevreleyerek, onun ova; dağlar; sularla simgeleştirilen bolluk ve bereketle olan sonsuz ilişkisine atıf yapar. Bu bağlam ortada iç içe halkalardan oluşan tondo ile barış kavramına odaklanır. Barış tondosu, kentin ortasından yükselerek onun biricikliğini ve medeni halini simgeleyen bir sütun üzerinde taşınır. Kenti besleyen tatlı su kaynakları ve Akdeniz'in tuzlu suları, bir yanda bir su kemeri ve diğer yanda dalgalar ile oluşturulan birer yay ile kent peyzajını kucaklar. Bu bereket ağından beslenerek barış tondosundan köklenen ulu bir hayat ağacı gök kubbeye yükselir; Hatay'ın derin geçmişini ve geleceğe dair beslediği güçlü umudu simgeler. Kentin esenliği onun gökte bir yay çizen tacı altında güvencededir. Dini inançların Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin laiklik geleneğiyle, kardeşlik temelli bir uzlaşma zemininde özgürce yaşamakta oluşu, tasarımda üç büyük dinin sembollerinin bir eş kenar üçgen oluşturacak biçimde konumlandırılmasıyla yansıtılır.

### Meander Motifli Dış Halka Çerçeve

Sahneyi çevreleyen geniş bordür, kenarlarda bordo renkte ince birer konturla sınırlanır ve içte kalan alan, beyaz fon üzerine bordo renkli stilize bir "T tipli" meander kuşağı ile süslenmiştir (Res. 4).

Adını ve form esinini Batı Anadolu topraklarındaki Menderes nehrinin akışından alan meander motifi, Antik Çağ'dan günümüze kadar sanatın birçok dalında farklı çeşitlemeleriyle sıkça kullanılan bir örgedir. Antik Çağ sanatında mimari bezeklerde (Rumscheid 1994: Lev. 36, 4, Lev. 110, 1), vazo resim sanatında İÖ 11. yüzyıldan itibaren (Boardman 2016: 29-42) fresko ve mozaik sanatında da yaygındır. Antiocheia mozaiklerinde de meander bordür sıkça kullanılmıştır (Cimok 2000: 25).

Meander temelde sonsuz bir akışı sembolize eder. Tasarımımızda bu olgu, meander kuşağının bir daire oluşturarak kapanmasıyla vurgulanır. Doğa anada birleşmiş birbirine dönük bir kadın ve erkeği stilize eden birim motifi ile oluşan meander bordür, Hatay kültür çeşitliliğinin birlik içindeki devamlılığını simgeler. Bordürde kullanılan bordo ve beyaz, günümüz kent yaşamında önemli bir değer olarak benimsenmiş Hatayspor futbol takımının resmi renkleridir. Böylece, 2020 senesinde Süper Lig'e yükselerek halk nezdinde bir gurur kaynağı olan

Resim 4  
Meander Kuşağı, Birim Motif.

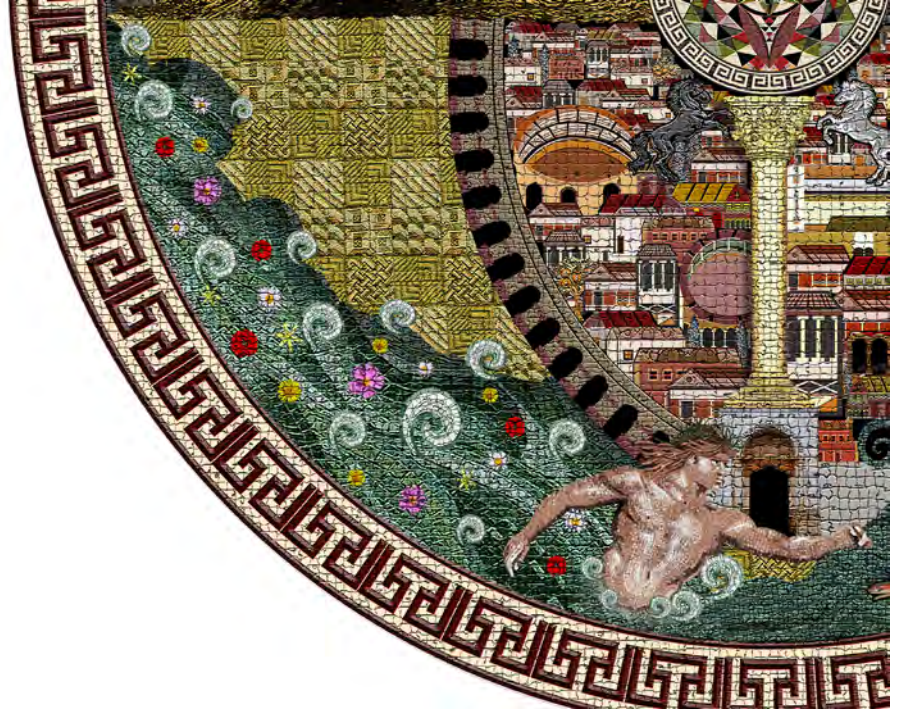


Hatayspor’un kentin yaşam kültürüne kazandırdığı olumlu katkılara da atıf yapılmaktadır.

### Arrantu / Orontes / Asi Nehri ve Umq (Umqı) / mç / Amik Ovası

Sahnenin sol alt çeyreğinde, sol üst köşeden alt orta kısma kadar genişleyerek uzanan Asi Nehri kişileştirmesi (*personifikasyon*) ve onun arka planında Amik Ovası’nın tasviri yer alır (Res. 5).

Resim 5  
Asi Nehri ve Amik Ovası.



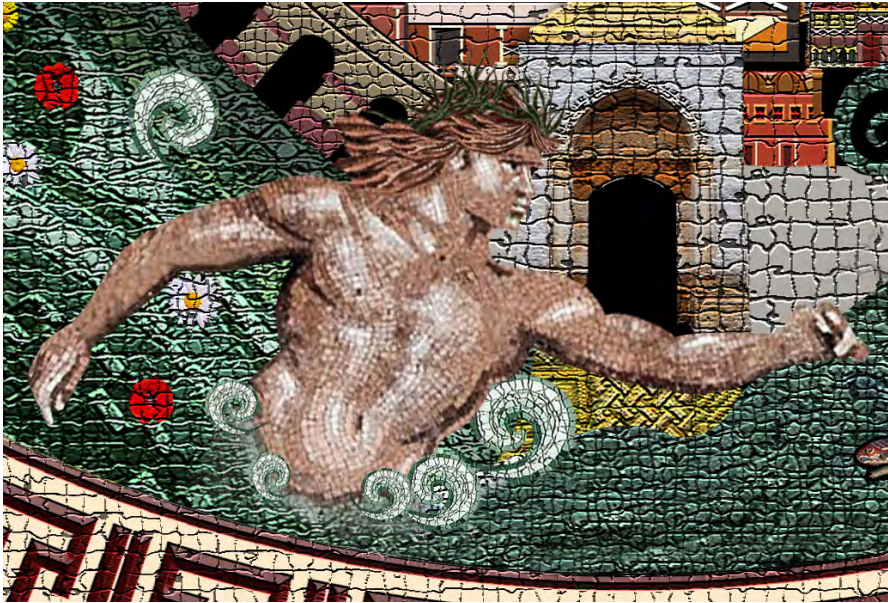
Asi, antik Levant coğrafyasının en önemli nehirlerinden biridir. İlk kez II. bin Mısır yazılı kaynaklarında Kadeş Savaşı ile ilgili bir anlatıda, “r-n-t” / ‘Ia-ro-n-ṯ / ‘Irnṯ” = *Arantu* / *Araunti* olarak adlandırılır (Yıldırım 2017: 79). Daha sonra Asur yazılı belgelerinde benzer biçimde, “ı-da-ra-an-tu nār” = *Arantu* / *Aramtu* olarak okunan isim etimolojik bir devamlılıkla Antik Çağ’da sıkça kullanılan karşılığı olan E. Yunanca “Ορόντης”e (Strab. XVI. 2. 7) evrilir. Hellenistik Dönem’de “*Antiocheia*” ismini alan kent nehrin doğu yakasında gelişir ve Roma Dönemi’nde nehrin ismiyle anılır: “*Antiochia ad Orontem*”. Günümüzde “Asi” ismiyle anılan nehir, Lübnan Bekaa Vadisi’nden doğarak coğrafyada kuzeye doğru akar. Hatay sınırları içerisinde ülkeye girer ve Aramice belgelerde “Umq / mç” olarak anılan Amik Ovası’na (Yıldırım 2017: 80) bereket aşılar. Buradan güney-güneybatıya doğru yönelen bugün Habib-i Neccar (Silpius / Staurin / Haç Dağı) adıyla anılan dağın önünden geçer ve zamanın tüm yerleşim planlarında, yaşam kültüründe önemli bir etken oluşturacak bir akışla burada kentle buluşur. Kentten ayrılışı kırsala hayat verir ve daha güneyde Kel Dağ’ın (Hazzi / Dio Cassius / Cebel Akra / Kılıç Dağı) tanıklığında Samandağ sahillerinden Akdeniz’e kavuşarak mal ve bilgi değişiminde deniz ile karayı birbirine bağlar. Nehrin Hatay coğrafyası için Neolitik’ten günümüze değin tarihsel önemi, Amik Ovası’ndan Samandağ’a uzanan bu akışı boyunca, pek çok noktada çevresinde yer tutan antik yerleşim izlerinden anlaşıldığı gibi eşsiz bir kültür devrimine güç vermiş olmasıdır. Öyle ki sadece Amik Ovası’nda 400’e yakın höyük yerleşimi bulunmaktadır (Yener 2005a: 1; Dodd vd. 2012: 205-223). Amik çevresinde 1 milyon yılı aşkın süredir avcı-toplayıcı olarak yaşayan insanlar Neolitik Dönem (Özbal 2014: 43-60) ile birlikte tarım

ekonomisine geçer. Amik Ovası'nın Asi ile sulanan bereketli toprakları böylece ilk yerleşimlere sahne olur ve kültür zaman ilerledikçe, devletler; krallıklar; imparatorluklar ve cumhuriyetle medeniyete dönüşür.

Tasarımda nehir ve ova, kentin medeniyet inşasının hazırlayıcısı ve dayanağı olarak onun yanında konumlanır. Asi ağırlıklı olarak yeşil ve su yeşilinin tonlarıyla renklendirilerek; ton geçişleri ve irili ufaklı dalgalar yardımıyla hareketli bir akış karakteriyle yansıtılmıştır. Hatay florasından seçilmiş, papatyalar, gelincik, ladin (Ocak vd. 2014) ve yöreye özgü (*Scorzonera pacis*) "barış çiçeği" (Res. 6) (Güzel vd. 2013: 417-422 fig.1.B) türü çiçeklerin tasvirleri, bu akış arka planı ile bütünleşerek nehrin bitey üzerindeki gücünü vurgular. Nehrin, önde akış yönüne -Akdeniz'e- doğru bakış ve hareket halinde, kaslı torsosuyla uzun saçlı, genç bir erkek figürü ile kişileştirilmesi (Res. 7), Asi'nin Hatay kültür tarihi içerisindeki belirleyici rolüne atıf yapar. Antik Çağ sanatında insan yaşamına etki eden olguların temsilinde sıkça başvurulan bu sembolik anlatım, nehirler özelinde genellikle erkek figürlerle temsil edilir. Buna rağmen Antiocheia kökenli eserler dahil olmak üzere bilinen hiçbir antik mozaikte Asi'nin bu şekilde kişileştirildiği bir örneğe rastlanmaz. Yine de Asi'ye özel bu tür bir anlatım antik sanatta az sayıda imge ile tanınır. Genellikle sikkeler üzerindeki tasvirler olasılıkla, Hellenistik Dönem'e tarihlenen özel bir Tyche heykelinden kaynaklanır. Eutykhides'in Antiocheia'yı temsil eden bu eserinde talih ve refah içindeki kenti simgeleyen tanrıça Tyche (Özdilek 2014: 116, 168-169) Silpius Dağı'nın (Habib-i Neccar) kayalıkları üzerine oturmuş halde, bir ayağıyla Asi'yi simgeleyen genç bir erkek üzerine basmaktadır (Özdilek 2014: 22).



Resim 6  
Barış Çiçeği (*Scorzonera Pacis*).



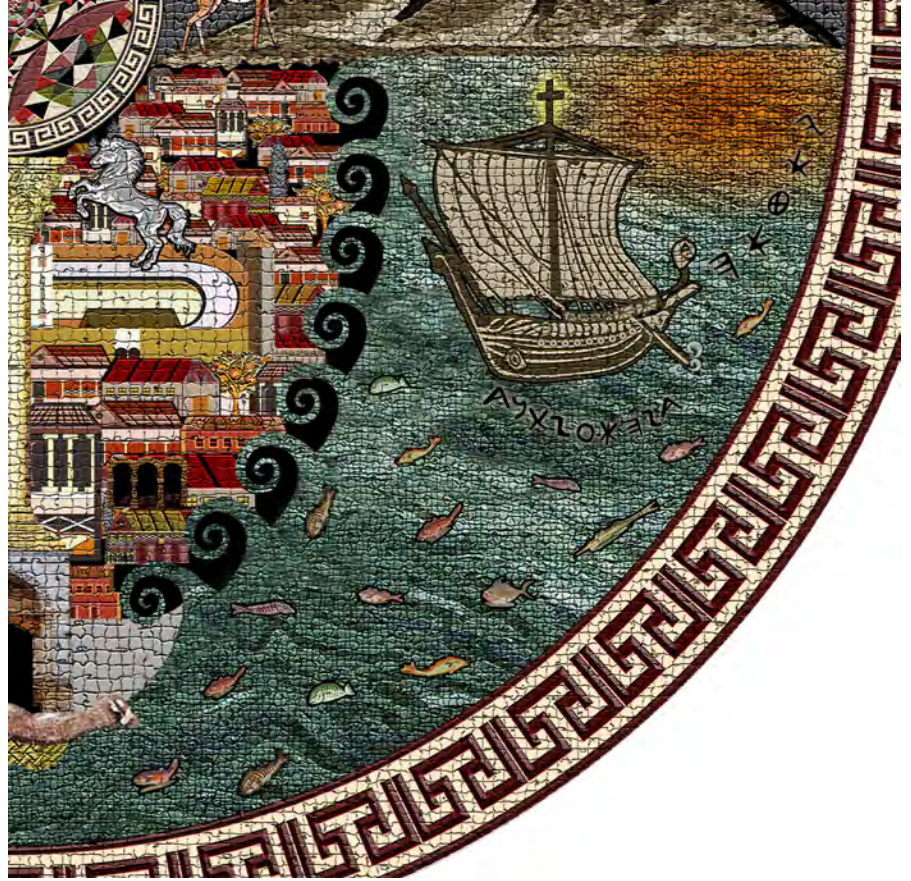
Resim 7  
Asi Adam.

Amik Ovası ise nehrin arka planında kültüre alınmış bereketli bir toprak parçası olarak tasvir edilir. Anlatımda antik mozaik sanatından esinlenen geometrik motiflerle süslü kare birimlerin kolajlanarak, sarı-yeşil renk tonlarının ağırlıklı kullanılması ekili tarlalardaki verimliliği yansıtmaktadır.

### Mare Mediterranean / Akdeniz

Sahnenin sağ alt çeyreğinde Akdeniz tasvir edilir. İç kenarı yay biçiminde bir bördür şeklinde dalga motifleri ile süslenmiştir. Antik bir ticaret gemisi deniz üzerinde seyir halindedir. Arkasından doğan güneşin ışıkları üst köşede deniz yüzeyinden yansımaktadır. Çeşitli balık türleri suda yüzmektedir (Res. 8).



Resim 8  
Akdeniz.

Akdeniz insanlık kültürünün sürekliliğinde önemli bir rol üstlenir. Dalgalarıyla üç kıtanın sahillerine zenginlik taşıyan bu kültür havuzu, eşsiz konumuyla bilginin taşınmasında ve dolayısıyla çeşitlenerek gelişmesinde etkili olmuştur. Akdeniz dalgalarının, Antik Çağ’da o güne dek görülmemiş bir denizcilik bilgisiyle Fenikeliler tarafından aşılabilmesi, egzotik ticari mallarıyla birlikte doğunun bilgisinin de hızlıca yayılabilmesini sağladı. Fenikelilerin denizcilik becerileri ve bu alanda geliştirdikleri teknolojiyi örnek alan Akdeniz havzasındaki pek çok halk böylece bu denizin medeniyet inşası için sunduğu olanakları kullanabildi. Hatay, E. Bradford’un doğusu ve batısı arasındaki -coğrafik- karakter farklılığına atıf yaparak iki yüzlü tanrı *Janus*’a benzettiği (Bradford 1971: 22) bu denizin, özellikle ilk çağlarda doğudan batıya akan ticaret ve kültür rotası üzerindeki kilit bir noktada yer alır. Öyle ki Demir Çağı’nda Amik Ovası’ndaki Tell Tayinat Höyüğü / Kunulua’nın da limanı olan ve Asi’nin Akdeniz’le buluştuğu noktada bugün dahi “Liman” anlamındaki *Al-Mina* olarak bilinen (Woolley 1938a: 1-30; Woolley 1938b) bir -ticaret yerleşimi- “*emporium*” (Woolley 1948; Boardman 1980; Boardman 1990: 169-190) İÖ 8. yüzyıl sonrasında, Yakın Doğu kökenli -Fenike- alfabenin batı dünyasına aktarılmasına aracılık etmiştir (Cook 1946). Akdeniz’in sunduğu bu etkileşim olanaklarının yarattığı cazibe Hatay’daki Sabuniye Höyük’ün (Woolley 1938b; Pamir - Nishiyama 2002; Pamir 2014: 137-156) daha İÖ 15. yüzyıl gibi erken bir tarihte iskan edilmiş olmasıyla karşılığını bulur. Amik Ovası’nın Tunç Çağı merkez yerleşimi Alalakh’ın İÖ 2. bin sonlarında limanı olan bu yerleşimden ele geçen Mısır, Kıbrıs, Miken kökenli ithal mallar (Pamir 2014: 137-156), Hatay toprağının çok kültürlü Akdeniz dünyasıyla olan kadim ilişkisini ortaya koyar. İÖ 300’de I. Seleukos Nikator (İÖ 301-281), krallığının başkenti olacak Seleukia Pieria’yı (Downey 1961: 56 vdd.) yine bu kıyılarda, sahilin batı tarafında yükselen Musa

Dağı'nın eteklerinden Akdeniz'e hakim olacak bir konumda kurmuştur. Bu girişim Antakya'nın kuruluşu için bir zemin oluşturmuş, kısa bir süre sonra bölge hakimiyetini sağlamak adına karanın iç kesimlerinde seçilen stratejik alan, Hellenistik medeniyetin imar faaliyetleriyle Antiokheia (Downey 1961: 68 vdd.) adıyla kentleşmiştir.

Tasarımda, kentin tarihsel gelişiminde Akdeniz'in bu belirleyici rolü, onun sağ yandan kenti çevrelemesiyle tasvir edilir. Hâkim renk su yeşili ve tonlarıdır. Diğer renk tonlamaları deniz yüzeyine hareket kazandırır. Doğunun öncü medeniyet bilgisinin batıya taşınmasında Akdeniz'in önemi, güneş ışığının su üzerinde kırmızı; turuncu; sarı renklerle bezeli yansımaları ile simgeleşir. Akdeniz'in sunduğu ekonomik bereket ve kültür bilgisi, kente yönelen spiral dalga motifleriyle sembolize edilir. Antakya mozaiklerinde genel olarak bordürleri süsleyen bu motif Antik Çağ sanatında sıkça kullanılır. Zargana, iskorpit, lüfer gibi Antiocheia mozaiklerini de süsleyen balık türleri bereketin diğer sembolleridir (Res. 9). Malların ve bilginin Akdeniz kültürleri arasındaki



Resim 9  
Balıklar.

dolaşımını simgeleyen, antik Fenike-Yunan unsurlarıyla hibrit tarzda biçimlendirilmiş bir ticaret gemisi (Res. 10) batıya doğru seyrinde Hatay



Resim 10  
Gemi.

kıyılarına yaklaşmaktadır. Geminin arkasında Fenike harfleriyle “Hatay” ve önde erken E. Yunanca harflerle “Antiocheia” yazmaktadır. Böylece antik Fenike alfabesinin batıya aktarılmasında Hatay’ın Akdeniz kıyısındaki antik “Al-Mina” yerleşiminin aracı rolüne gönderme yapılır. Hristiyanlığın Roma coğrafyasına yayılışında Antiocheia’nın önemi ve havarilerin Akdeniz yolculukları, gemi sereninin ucunda yer alan ışıldayan bir haç ile sembolize edilir.

Resim 11

Silppius / Staurin / Habib-i Neccar / Haç Dağı ve Antakya Surları.

Resim 12

Aziz Petrus Mağara Kilisesi.

### Silppius / Staurin / Habib-i Neccar / Haç Dağı ve Antakya Surları

Sahnenin üst yarısında, solda, surlarla tahkim edilmiş Habib-i Neccar dağı tasvir edilir (Res. 11). Dağın aşağı kısmında, tepe noktasında yuvarlak bir taş pencere bulunan Aziz Petrus mağarası görünmektedir (Res. 12).



Hatay kent topoğrafyasına eşsiz bir karakter kazandıran bu dağ Antik Çağ’da Silpius adıyla anılır. Antiocheia’nın kuruluş mitosunda I. Seleukos Nikator (İÖ 301-281)’a kentin yerleşeceği alan olarak Zeus tarafından işaret edilen Silpius Dağı, erken evresi Hellenistik Dönem’de (İÖ 300) mimar Xenarius tarafından inşa edilen (Downey 1963: 70) ve kentin tarihsel sürecinde pek çok kültür evresinde onarım ve tadilatlarla uzun süre kullanılmış olan (De Giorgi 2016: 55, 58 vd.) Antik Çağ’ın en uzun sur sistemlerinden (Hat.Kült.Env. I 2011: 52) biriyle donatılmıştır. Kentin gücü, Eutykhides Tyche’sinin tacında bu sur sistemiyle sembolleşir. Geç Antik Çağ ile birlikte dağın kuzey ucunda yer alan bölümü, Hristiyanlığın Anadolu’daki ilk mabedine, Aziz Petrus kilisesine mekan oluşturması nedeniyle Staurin “Haç” Dağı olarak adlandırılır. İlk kez burada İsa’ya inanlara “Hristiyan” isminin verildiği bilinmektedir (Habercilerin İşleri, Acts 11: 26). Tüm Hristiyan dünyası için oldukça önemli bir inanç merkezi olan bu kilise, özellikle Ortodoks mezhebine inananlarca bir hac merkezi niteliği taşır. Kilise’nin ön cephesi 1863’de Kapuçin rahipleri tarafından taş mimariyle inşa edilmiştir. “Sevgili-Dost Marangoz” anlamına gelen Habib-i Neccar, dağın son adıdır. Habib-i Neccar, İncil (Habercilerin İşleri, Acts 11: 26) ve Kur’an-ı Kerim’de pagan Antiocheia’nın<sup>4</sup> semavi dinle buluşmasını konu eden bir olayın (Türk 2012: 86; Demir 2016: 50) sembolleşmiş ismidir: O Hristiyan elçilerin Antiocheia’daki yeni inanç çağrılarını kulak verir ve kızgın paganlara karşı havarileri korumaya çalışırken katledilir. Bu toprakların kardeşlik tutkusuyula, bir Hristiyan şehidi olarak onun ismi, Antakya’da, “Yuhanna, Pavlos, Petrus-Yahya, Yunus, Şem’un Sefa” adındaki Anadolu erenleriyle bir alanda duran mezarında hala saygı görür (Kreinath 2017: 271-299). Öyle ki pagan inanç geçmişine sahip bu hristiyan kişiliğin mezarının yanı başında yükselen ve ilk inşa evresinin MS 638 tarihine kadar dayandığı düşünülen cami hala onun adıyla yaşar (Türk 2012: 85).

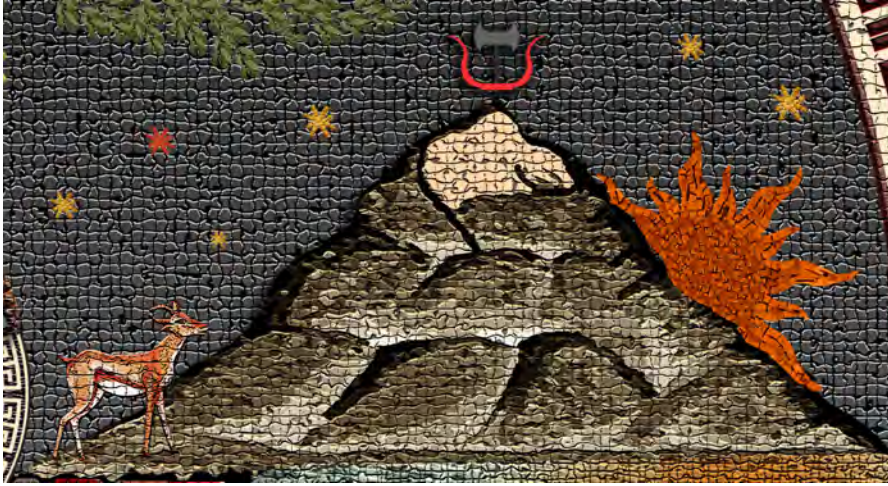
Tasarımda Habib-i Neccar Dağı, karakteristik biçim özellikleriyle tasvir edilir

4 Kur’an-ı Kerim’de Yasin Suresi 13 ile 27. ayetleri arasında ismi anılmadan bahsedilen kentin, gelenek olarak Antakya olduğu kabul edilir.

(Res. 11). Görselin alt yarısında odağında kentin bulunduğu Asi Nehri ve Amik Ovası ile birlikte oluşan peyzajın arka planında yükselir. Dağın sırtı boyunca uzanarak, her iki yanda eteklerden düzlüğe doğru yönelen surlar bir yandan kendi içlerindeki devamlılıklarıyla Antik Çağ'daki güçlü yapılarına dair bir görüntü sunarken diğer yandan uçlarda eksik-bağlanmamış halleriyle şimdinin romantik manzarasını sunarlar. Dağın ortasında, tabandan yükselen mağara Hristiyan adının ilk kez yankılandığı ilk Anadolu kilisesini doğal peyzajıyla tasvir eder. Tepe noktasında Kapuçin rahipleri tarafından 19. yüzyılda mağara önüne yaptırılan taş fasadın yuvarlak penceresini gösteren bir tasvir (Res: 12) yer alır: Tanrı'nın tecelli ettiği bir çerçeve olarak sembolleştirilmiştir.

### Hazzi / Sapan-Zaphon Dağı / Casios-Casius Dağı / Cebel Akra / Kılıç Dağı / Kel Dağı - Boğa Boynuzları ve Labrys:

Sahnenin üst yarısında, sağda Kel Dağ tasvir edilmiştir (Res. 13). Doruğunda kırmızı boğa boynuzları arasında çift ağızlı balta bulunur. Dağın arkasından kızıl bir güneş doğmakta ve bir ceylan (Gazella Gazella) dağın eteklerinden doruğa doğru bakmaktadır.



Resim 13  
Hazzi / Sapan-Zaphon Dağı / Casios-Casius Dağı / Cebel Akra / Kılıç Dağı / Kel Dağı - Boğa Boynuzları ve Labrys.

Keldağ Hatay'ın Akdeniz sahilinin doğu ucunda, Asi deltasına, denize ve ovaya egemen sönmüş bir volkanik dağdır. 1730 metreye ulaşan doruğunun sivri morfolojik yapısı nedeniyle günümüzde Kılıç Dağı olarak da adlandırılır. Antik Yakın Doğu'nun göklere değen bu kutsal zirvesi Bronz Çağ'da Hurri Fırtına Tanrısı Teşup'un evidir (Schwemer 2008). Hurriler tarafından Hazzi olarak isimlendirilen dağın eril tanrısal güç ile aynı isimde algılanışı Hitit zamanında da sürer. Geç Bronz Çağ'da güneyindeki Ugarit limanında "Sapanu" olarak bilinir ve Ba'al adıyla yine bir fırtına tanrısının tahtı olarak görülür. Mezopotamya ve Kıbrıs halklarınca kıyıda yüce yükselişiyile bir nirengi olarak izlenen (Lane Fox 2009: 243-258) bu dağ doruğu, etrafına topladığı bulutların denizde yarattığı fırtınalar ile özellikle antik denizciler için adına kurbanlar sunulan kutsal bir seyir işaretidir. Kıyıda İÖ 8. yüzyıl yerleşimi "Al-Mina" zamanında yerli ismi Hazzi'den türemiş görünen Kasios adıyla anılır. Hellenistik Dönem'de I. Seleukos Nikator (İÖ 301-281), İÖ 300'de krallığının Akdeniz'deki ilk başkenti Seleukia Pieria'yı kurmadan önce kentin esenliğini dağa adadığı bir kurbanla, o dönemde adı Zeus Kasios (Şahin 2001: 70-73) olan tanrısal güce bağlar. İS 2. yüzyılda Roma imparatorları Traian ve Hadrian yine bu tanrı dağa kurban sunarlar. İS 114-115'de Antiocheia'yı yıkan bir depremden kurtulan İmparator Traian bu kaderi, dağın tanrısı Zeus Kasios'la ilişkilendirerek o günün anısına, üzerinde baitylos –kutsal kaya- tasviri bulunan sikkeler bastırır (Cohen 2006:

134). Hristiyanlık döneminde dağın kutsal geçmişi Aziz Barlaam manastırıyla (İS 6.-10. yüzyıl) tezahür eder (Djobadze 1986).

Antik Çağ'da yüce dağlar tanrının kendisi olarak görülür; bir baba tanrı ile ilişkilendirilir (Çevik 2007: 176-193). Eril baş tanrıların karşı konulmaz gücü çoğu kez boğada algılanır. Zira boğa üreme, güç ve yönetim erkini temsil eder (Gardin-Olorenshaw 2014: 118-120). Çatalhöyük gibi Neolitik bir merkezde aşkın boyutlarıyla duvar resimlerinde ya da boynuzlarıyla duvar plastiğinde (Hodder 2017: 137 vdd.), insan yaşamında önemli bir gücün yansıması olarak belirir. Tunç Çağı Anadolu'sunda ise tanrısal gücün kurumsallaştığı merkezlerde siyasal otorite meşruiyetini tanrısal güce bağlar. Tanrısal otoritenin en erken sembollerinden biri, Amik Ovası'nın Mukiş Krallık başkenti Alalakh'taki sarayın, olasılıkla kült amaçlı kullanılan bir odasında karşımıza çıkar. Burada bir duvar üzerinde fresko olarak işlenmiş boğa boynuzlarına (Woolley 1955: 231 pl. XXXVIII) çift ağızlı bir balta (Labrys) (Yener 2005b: 198) sembolü eşlik eder.

Tasarımda, karakteristik morfolojik özellikleriyle tasvir edilen Kel Dağ, Akdeniz ve kent peyzajının arkasında yükselen, coğrafyadaki gerçek konumuyla gösterilir. Modern adının esinleyicisi olan kıraç doruğu, tasarımın genel renk kullanımı içerisinde yarattığı kontrast ile ön plana çıkar. Dağın kadim kutsallığı, Orta Tunç Çağı Alalakh resim sanatına ait boğa boynuzları arasındaki çift ağızlı balta sembolü ile anlatılır. Dağın arkasından doğmakta olan güneş, doğunun bilgisini temsil eder. Hatay coğrafyasının da mekan oluşturduğu antik doğu kültürlerinin birçok ilki gerçekleştirdiği ve bilginin buradan batıya yayılarak modern medeniyet değerlerine temel oluşturduğu gerçeği doğan güneşle sembolize edilir. Hatay faunasının efsanelere konu olmuş önemli türlerinden biri olan Gazella gazella türü bir ceylan, dağın kıyısında doruğa doğru yönelmiş halde tasvir edilir. Türkiye'de yalnızca Hatay topraklarında özgürce yaşamlarını sürdüren bu hayvanlar, onları katledenlerin amansız bir hastalığa yakalanacaklarına dair eski bir halk inancının koruyuculuğundadır (Dolapçioğlu 2017: 52-56). Bu esinle Gazella gazella, Expo 2021 Hatay'ın resmi maskotu olarak belirlenmiştir.

### Antiocheia'dan Hatay'a Kent

Sahnenin alt yarısında, Asi Nehri, Amik Ovası ve Akdeniz tarafından çevrelenen çanak formu merkez alanda kent peyzajı yer alır (Res. 14). Kent sol yanda bir su kemeri (Aquaduktus) ve sağ yanda deniz dalgalarıyla sınırlanır. Ortada kemerli bir taç kapı bulunmakta ve onun üzerinden bir korint sütunu yükselmektedir. Sütun başlığının sol yanında siyah ve sağ yanında beyaz olmak üzere şahlanmış birer at tasviri bulunur (Res. 15).

Antakya'lı tarihçi Libanius, sonradan Antiocheia adıyla kurulacak kentin bulunduğu alanda, Hellenistik öncesinde İone (Iopolis), Bottia, Herakleia ve Kasiotis adında dört yerleşim bulunduğundan bahseder (Downey 1961: 46-53). İÖ 4. yüzyılda Büyük İskender'in, doğu seferi sırasında bugün Hatay'ın Erzin ve Payas ilçeleri arasında gerçekleşen İssos Savaşı (İÖ 333) ile Pers Kralı III. Darius'a karşı kazandığı zafer (Droysen 2020: 237-254), bu toprakların Hellenistik kültürle buluşmasına yol açar ve ilk Hellenistik kentleşme faaliyeti “Antigoneia” ismiyle İÖ 306 yılında Büyük İskender'in komutanlarından Antigonos I. Monophtalmos (İÖ 382-301) tarafından gerçekleştirilir. Bugün kesin konumu tespit edilememiş olmakla birlikte Antakya yakınlarında olduğu düşünülen (Downey 1961: 60 vd.) bu yerleşim Ipsos Savaşı (İÖ 301) sonrasında statüsünü kaybetmiş görünmektedir. Öyle ki I. Seleukos Nikator (İÖ 301-281) bu savaşta elde ettiği zafer sonrasında bölge üzerindeki hakimiyetini, önce



Resim 14  
Antiokheia'dan Hatay'a Kent.



Resim 15  
Boukephalos ve Beyaz Kısarak.

Akdeniz kıyısında kurduğu ilk başkenti Seleukia Pieria (Günümüzde Samandağ ilçesi sınırlarında) ve hemen sonra daha stratejik bir alanda kurduğu yeni başkent Antiocheia ile sağlamıştır (Downey 1961: 54).

Bu dönemle birlikte "Antiokheia Ad Orontem" (Strab. XVI), olarak da anılan kent, daha önce Antigoneia'da yerleşik Girit, Kıbrıs, Atina ve Makedonlardan oluşan topluluklarla birlikte aralarında yahudilerin de bulunduğu yerli halktan oluşan kozmopolit bir nüfusu (Le Camus 1890) bir araya getirdi. İlk planlanma ve inşasında Attaeus, Perittas ve Anaxicrates ve özellikle şehir surlarında Xenarius isimli kişilerin görev aldığı (Downey 1963: 70), kentin Hellenistik bir yerleşim görüntüsüne dönüşümünde hippodamik sistem temel alınmıştır. Silpius ve Staurin dağları (Habib-i Neccar Dağı'nın güney ve kuzey kısmı) ile Orontes (Asi Nehri) Nehri arasındaki alan boyunca uzanan yerleşim, bir duvar sistemi ile birbirinden izole dört birime ayrılmıştı (Strab. XVI.2.4-5.) ve yaklaşık olarak kuzey-güney yönelimli bir ana cadde ile ona dik uzanan sokaklar arasında kalan insulalar ile planlanmıştı (Demir 2016: 12). Kentin surları düzlükte Asi Nehri'ne dayanmakta ve her iki taraftan dağ sırtlarına doğru ilerleyerek iskan edilmemiş

geniş bir araziye de çevreleyerek kenti kuşatmaktaydı. Hellenistik kentin şekillenmesi 150 yılı aşkın bir süre devam eder (Le Camus 1890; Najbjerg - Moss 2014: 27); geleneksel olarak İÖ 3. yüzyılın başında I. Seleukos Nikator ile başlayan Hellenistik yapılaşma, Antiochos IV. Epiphanes (İÖ 175-164)'in kendi adıyla kurduğu yeni bir yerleşim birimi olan Epiphaneia ile sonlanır.

Coğrafik konumunun sağladığı stratejik avantaj ve Hellenistik Dönem krallarının yatırımlarıyla önemli bir ticaret ve kültür merkezi haline gelen Antiokheia, İÖ 64'de Roma Cumhuriyeti'nin egemenliği altına girer. Bu dönemde metropolis ünvanı taşıyan yerleşim, Roma hakimiyeti boyunca buna mukabil görkemde bir kentleşme gösterir. Kent, su kemerleri, köprüler, kent kapıları, sütunlu cadde, agora, forum, meclis binası, hamamlar, tiyatrolar, amphitiyatro, hipodrom gibi kamu yapıları ile tapınak ve saray gibi pek çok sakral-sepukral ve profan yapı ile donatılmış, meşhur mozaikli konutlar Antiokheia çevresinde; Daphne ve Seleukia Pieria'da inşa edilmiştir. İmparator Augustus Dönemi'nde (İÖ 23 - İS 14) Roma ve Alexandria'dan sonra üçüncü büyük kent statüsüne erişen yerleşimde, İmparator Traianus (İS 98-117) ve ardılı İmparator Hadrianus (İS 117-138) tarafından su kemerleri (Aquaduktus) ve rezervuar inşa ettirilmiş (Downey 1961: 223; Yamaç 2010); Antoninus Pius (İS 138-161) bir sütunlu caddeyi granitle kaplatmıştır (Downey 1961: 224). İS 2. yüzyılın sonunda Olimpik müsabakalar için çeşitli yapılar inşa edilmiştir (Downey 1961: 230). Yıkıcı deprem ve işgal hareketlerinden zarar görmesine rağmen yeni inşa faaliyetleriyle önemini koruyan kent, İmparator Diokletianus Dönemi'nde (İS 284-305) tekrar ihtişamına kavuşmuş, bu evrede Ada mevkiinde bulunan hipodromun yanına büyük bir saray inşa edilmiştir (Demir 1996: 49).

Geç Antik Çağ'a gelindiğinde Antakya doğumlu Romalı tarihçi Ammianus Marcellinus, kenti “Antiocheia Orientis Apicem Pulcrum” (Amm. XXII. 9, 4) “Doğunun Kraliçesi” olarak tanımlar. Roma'nın İS 395'te ikiye ayrılması ardından, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nda Hristiyanlığın devlet dini olarak kabulüne kadar bu inancın gelişmesi ve yayılımında kritik rolü olan Antiokheia'nın zamanın antik coğrafyası içerisindeki tanınırlığı ve önemi oldukça artmıştır. İS 4. yüzyılda Suriye Eyaleti'nin başkenti olarak bir patriklik merkezidir ve doğunun en önemli ticari ve eğitim merkezi haline gelmiştir. Bu süreçte kente yeni yapılar eklenmiş, İmparator Constantin Dönemi'nde (İS 306 - 337) ahşap kubbesinin altınla kaplı olmasından dolayı Domus Aurea ismi verilen sekizgen planlı, iki katlı bir kilise inşa edilmiştir (Demir 1996: 49). Kentin yüksek entelektüel seviyesi akademik eğitim veren kurumların varlığından anlaşılır. Antiokheialı ünlü hatip Libanius'un (İS 314 - 393) agorada kiraladığı bir dükkanda ve daha sonra Antiochus adı verilen şehir meclisinde dersler verdiği bilinmektedir (Sayar - Önder 2014: 121 vd.). İS 365 yılında yaşanan deprem sonrasında, İmparator Valens (İS 364 - 378) adına sütunlu caddelerin kesişme noktasına bir forum ve hipodrom yakınında bir hamam inşa edilir (Demir 1996: 50). İmparator I. Theodosius döneminde (İS 379-395) kentin yerleşim alanı genişlemiş; bu dönemde Orontes (Asi Nehri) üzerindeki adayı kente bağlayan köprü büyütülerek üzeri kapatılmış ve çeşitli spor alanları (plethrion) yeniden planlanmıştır. Daphne'de (Defne) bir saray inşa edilmiş ve yasaklanan pagan tapınaklarının yapı taşları, köprüler; su kemerleri; yollar gibi şehrin kamu yapılarının onarımları için kullanılmıştır (Demir 1996: 50).

İmparator II. Theodosius döneminde (İS 408-450) Antiocheia yeni bir imar sürecine girer. Şehrin içinden Daphne'ye giden yol üzerinde “Altın Kapı” yanı sıra St. İgnatius Kilisesi ile çeşitli bazilika ve stoalar inşa edilmiştir (Demir 1996: 50). Bu dönemin kentsel hayatına ilişkin önemli bilgi sunabilecek bir

konut mozaiği, Antiocheia yakınlarındaki Daphne (Defne) yerleşiminde ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Yakto Mozaiği olarak anılan ve İS 4. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenen eserin “Megalopsychia” panelinin dış bordürü çeşitli yapılar ve insanların tasvir edildiği bir kent peyzajı ile süslenmiştir (Lassus 1932: 115-156).

Bölgede çeşitli felaketlerin ardı ardına yaşandığı İS 5. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ile 6. yüzyılın ilk yarısı arasında geçen süreçte özellikle Antiokheia yanı sıra Daphne ve Seleukia Pieria yeniden iskan için yapı onarımlarına odaklanan yoğun faaliyetlere sahne olur. İmparator Leo (İS 457-475) ve İmparator I. Justinus (İS 518-527)'in maddi yardımıyla bulunduğu bu çabalara rağmen, Orontes üzerindeki ada yerleşimi gibi kentin bazı bölgeleri eski önemini yitirdi (Demir 1996: 51). Doğal felaketler yanı sıra İS 540 yılında yaşanan Pers istilası (Downey 1961: 503-571; Demir 1996: 52) gibi çatışmalar da kente zarar verdi. İstilalara karşı surların güçlendirilmesi yanı sıra, Silpius'dan (Staurin) kente doğru düzlüğe inen Parmenius (Hacı Kürüş Deresi) deresi üzerinde bugün Demir Kapı olarak adlandırılan sur bölümünün –su bendi- inşası gibi (Demir 1996: 4) imar faaliyetleri bu dönemde tekrar yoğunlaşmıştır. Kent için yıkıcı ve halkı için oldukça sıkıntılı geçen bu süreçte, Hristiyan dünyasının en önemli simge yapılarından biri bugün Samandağ yakınlarındaki bir tepe üzerinde inşa edilmeye başlandı. Stlyitlerin temsilcisi (Genç) Aziz Symeon tarafından, kendisinin “Harika Dağ” olarak adlandırdığı bir dağ sırtında MS 540'dan hemen sonra yaptırılmaya başlanan bu dini kompleksin (Henry 2015) merkezindeki sekizgen planlı bir mekanın ortasından, bugün yalnızca ana kayadan kaidesi korunmuş bir aziz sütunu yükselmekteydi.

İS 7. yüzyıldaki Arap akınları sonucunda kent Ebu Ubeyde bin Cerrah tarafından ele geçirilir (MS 638). Yaklaşık 300 yıl süren Müslüman idaresi sırasında ardından İmparator II. Nikephoros Phokas döneminde Bizans egemenliği (İS 968) altına girer. Her iki dönemde şehrin savunma sistemi yeni eklemeler yapılarak güçlendirilir (Demir 1996: 57). Bu dönemle birlikte şehrin ızgara biçimli yerleşim planı değişime uğramaya başlar (Topçu 2003: 40 vd.).

11. yüzyılda Selçukluların Anadolu topraklarındaki etkin faaliyetleri sırasında Selçuklu beyleri Antakya'ya birçok akın düzenleyerek kısa aralıklarla şehre hakim olmuşlardır. İS 1084'de Süleyman Şah tarafından fethedilen kentin en büyük kilisesi Mar Cassianus camiye çevrilirken, Hristiyan nüfusun ibadetleri için Meryem Ana ve St. George kiliseleri inşa edilmiştir. Antakya 1098'de Haçlılar'ın eline geçer (Demir 1996: 70). Haçlı Prensligi döneminde (Bahadır 2017) kent dokusu hakkında yalnızca St. Jean Kilisesi, pazar yeri, çeşme ve evler gibi Cenevizliler için özel olarak sunulan yapıların varlığından bahsedilmiştir (Demir 1996: 76).

Yaklaşık yüzyetmiş yıl süren Haçlı Prensligi hakimiyetinin, 1268'de Memlük Sultanı Zahir Baybars (1260-1277) tarafından sonlandırılmasıyla Antakya tekrar İslam egemenliği altına girmiştir (Demir 1996: 79). Antik Çağ'daki bir pagan tapınağı üzerinde yükselen kilisenin yerine (Demir 1996: 80) ilk olarak Ebu Ubeyde bin Cerrah tarafından İS 7. yüzyılda yaptırıldığı belirtilen (Şancı 2006: 17 vd.) Habib-i Neccar Cami'nin, yapı üzerindeki bir kitabeye dayanılarak Memlüklüler döneminde yeniden inşa edildiği iddia edilmektedir (Şancı 2006: 16, 18 dn. 60). Antakya Ulu Cami'nin ise Osmanlılar Dönemi'nde bir çok kez onarılarak yenilediği tarihsel olarak bilinmekle birlikte ilk olarak Sultan Baybars tarafından 13. yüzyılda inşa edildiği önerilmektedir (Şancı 2006: 42 vdd.).

Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512-1520) Mısır seferiyle Antakya'daki Memlük



hakimiyetine son (1516-17) vermiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yönetimindeki 400 yıla yakın bir sürede Antakya, idari açıdan önce bağımsız daha sonra Şam Beylerbeyliği'ne bağlı bir sancak ve 1523 yılından itibaren Halep Sancağına bağlı bir yerleşim statüsündeydi (Gündüz 2009: 191). Bu dönem boyunca çeşitli imar faaliyetleri ile kentsel dokusu değişen (Gündüz 2009: 213-223) yerleşimde bazı kamu ve sivil yapılar, Antik Çağ ve Orta Çağ binalarından devşirilen malzemeler ile inşa edilmiştir (Topçu 2003: 47). Tanzimat Dönemi'nin (1839-1876) Osmanlı hayatına getirdiği değişimler Antakya'nın kentleşmesinde de etkili olur; hükümet konağının inşa edilmesi ve ona yönelen - Saray Caddesi- yolun genişletilerek çeşitli ticarethanelerle donatılması bu döneme denk gelir (Demir 1996: 91). 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Süveyş Kanalı'nın hizmete açılması ve ardından Bağdat Demiryolu'nun tamamlanmasıyla (1903-1930) Orta Doğu ile Anadolu arasında yeni bir ticaret rotası oluşması, Antakya'nın Mezopotamya'dan Akdeniz'e uzanan ticaretin kavşak noktasındaki konumundan ileri gelen tarihsel önemini giderek yitirmesine yol açmıştır (Demir 1996: 86, 96). I. Dünya Savaşı sonunda Antakya'yı işgal eden ve Ankara antlaşması ile İskenderun, Kırıkhan, Reyhanlı, Altınözü ve Samandağ'ı içine alacak biçimde kentin yönetimini ele geçiren Fransızlara karşı, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk önderliğinde verilen siyasi ve askeri mücadele, kentin 1938 yılında önce Hatay Devleti adıyla bağımsızlığını kazanması ve nihayetinde (23 Haziran – 23 Temmuz) 1939'da bir vilayet olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne bağlanmasıyla zaferle sonuçlandı (Hatipoğlu 2013: 309-392).

Tasarım, Antakya'nın yaklaşık 2300 yıllık bu kentsel serüvenini kompozisyonun orta aksındaki çanakta konu eder (Res. 14). Bu alanı bir tarafıyla, bugün kent merkezinde ve yakın çevresinde kalıntıları görülebilen az sayıda antik yapıdan biri olan su kanallarının kentin varlığı için önemini temsil eden bir Aquaduktus sınırlar. Diğer tarafta ise kentin zenginliği ve refahını sağlayan Akdeniz bereketi dalgalarıyla kente dokunur. Yerleşimin bu hayati unsurları, her iki yandan birer yay çizerek aşağıya uzanır ve taştan bir kapıya bağlanır. Bu abidevi kapı, Antakya Ulu Cami'nin avlusuna batıdan (Asi Nehri tarafından) giriş sağlayan kemerli taç kapıdan esin alır ve hemen üzerinde yükselen tek bir sütun ile birlikte medeni bir yerleşimin girişini simgeler. Merkezde, arka plandaki kent peyzajının dikey simetrik aksında yükselen sütun, temelde devleti; kenti, onun gücünü ve bekasını sembolize eder. Sütunun temsil ettiği teknik ve estetik bilgideki mükemmellik (Gardin - Oleranshaw 2014: 561) böylelikle kentle ilişkilendirilir. Kent tarihi açısından taşıdığı özel anlam ise Antakya'da Aziz Symeon (Genç) ile simgeleşen, bir sütun tepesinde dünyevi zevklerden uzak, çileci bir yaşam anlayışına dayanan stylit ritüelinin ikonik bir belirteci olarak kent kültürünün eşsiz yanlarından birini temsil etmesidir. Bu geometrik çerçeve antik ve modern dokuyu harmanlayan kentsel bir peyzaj tasviriyle bütünleşir. Yazılı kaynaklar ve arkeolojik çalışmalardan elde edilen verilere dayanarak kent tarihindeki varlıkları ve mimarileri hakkında bilgi sahibi olduğumuz hipodrom, tiyatro, amphi-tiyatrodan oluşan kamu yapıları; Samandağ, Seleukia Piera nekropolünde bulunan seçkin bir kaya mezarı (Beşikli Mağara) yanı sıra Defne'de gün yüzüne çıkarılan Yakto Mozaïği'nde tasvir edilen binalardan (Cimok 2000: 245, 254-275) ilham alarak tasarlanan kentin antik mimari stoğu, bugün modern Antakya'nın “Dağ Mahallesi” olarak adlandırılan merkez yerleşim biriminin Habib-i Neccar Dağı eteklerine teraslar halinde üst üste yayılışıyla oluşan panoramik manzarasına atfen benzer bir dokuyla düzenlenmiştir.

Binlerce yıldır kendine özgü kültür çeşitliliğini ortak bir varoluşla sunan bu kentin, Antiocheia adıyla ilk kuruluşuna doğrudan etki eden ve daha da önemlisi “Doğu ve Batı”nın tarihsel mücadelesinde en önemli iddia alanlarından biri

olarak Hatay'da tarihe geçen İssos Savaşı (İÖ 333) ve bu savaşta Büyük İskender'in Pers Kralı III. Darius'a karşı elde ettiği üstünlük (Droysen 2020: 237-254), sütunun her iki yanında birbirine dönük durumda şahlanmış at figürleri ile anlatılır (Res. 15). Büyük İskender'in Boukephalos isimli atına (Winkes 2000: 101-107) atfen siyah donda tasvir edilmiş at, zaferi temsilen bir toynağıyla sütun başlığına dokunurken karşısında, Kral III. Darius'un savaş alanını terk ederken son anda bindiği yeni doğum yapmış beyaz bir kısrağa (Bosworth 2005: 83) gönderme yapan şahlanmış diğer at, başlığa dokunmayan eğik durumdaki toynaklarıyla savaşın yenilen tarafını sembolize etmektedir.

### Hayat Ağacı – Zeytin, Çınar, Daphne / Defne

Sahnenin üst yarısında, “barış tondosu”ndan köklenen ulu bir gövdeden, gök kubbede taçlanan üç ağaç türü tasvir edilir. Ortada çınar, solda zeytin ve sağda defne ağaçlarının yeşil yapraklı dallarından oluşan taç geniş bir yay çizerek gök yüzünü kaplar (Res. 16).



Resim 16  
Hayat Ağacı – Zeytin, Çınar, Daphne / Defne.

Varoluş bilgisinin doğaya atfedildiği antik kültürlerde ağaç, yaşama dair kutsal bir simge olarak görülür. Ağaç, hayatın; zamanla ilişkili olarak sonsuz gelişimin, mevsimlerle ilişkili olarak yaşamın döngüsel yenilenmesinin (Belli 1982: 237), fiziksel olarak yer ve gök arasındaki bağın, tanrı ve insan arasındaki ilişkinin (Elliade 2020: 328 vd.), kozmosun (Elliade 2020: 295 vd., 299 vdd., 309, 349 vdd.) sembolüdür. Bu bağlamlarda kazandığı kutsallık tanrının yeryüzündeki yansıması olarak görülmesine; yaşam ve ölümsüzlüğün tanrı-ağaçta odaklandığı düşüncesine yol açar (Elliade 2020: 308-312, 313-316 ). “Hayat Ağacı” olarak kavramlaştırılan çeşitli ağaç tasvirleri, Anadolu ve Yakın Doğu kültürlerinde henüz protohistoryadan itibaren kullanılmıştır. İlk imgelerinden biri Kahramanmaraş yakınlarındaki Domuztepe höyüğünden ele geçen Geç Neolitik Dönem seramikler üzerinde karşımıza çıkar (Tekin 2017: 48, 49; Tekin 2020: 679-685). Doğanın yaygın güçleri ile ilişkili betimleri Mezopotamya’da İÖ 4. bine (Özkaya 1996: 3-11) ve Anadolu’da İÖ 3. bine dayanır: Aşağı Mezopotamya’da Sümer, Akkad, Assur, Babil sanatında sıkça kullanılırken, Assur ve Hurri kökenli olarak (Çevik 1999: 335-367) Anadolu’da Hitit, Urartu, Frig kültürlerinde (Öztürk Ateş 2012: 25-52) yer bulur. Hayat

ağacı ile sembolleşen biteyin ölümsüzlükle ilgili gücüne dair ilk yazılı değiniler Sümer Gılgamış Destanı’nda geçer (Sandars 2003; Öztürk Ateş 2012: 25-26). Hitit metinlerinde sınırsız ve geniş yapraklanan, sonsuz yaşamla ilişkili bir ağaç olarak adı *GIŞeya* ya da *GIŞeia*’dır (Puhvel 1984: 253-257). Urartu ölü kültü törenlerinde hayat ağacı, tanrısal bir canlılık, yeniden doğuş istemi için ölü tapınağında fiziksel olarak kullanılır (Çevik 1999: 335-367). Frigler’de doğanın döngüsel ilerlemesinin sembolü olarak Attis ile kişileştirilerek saygı görür (Özkaya 1996: 8-11). Ağaç örgesi, antik mitolojide tanrı ve tanrıçalarla ilişkili olarak sıkça yer bulur: Gök; su; yerle bağıntılı tanrı Zeus’un kutsal ağacı bir meşe (Elliade 2020: 309), Apollon’un defne, Artemis’in defne ile birlikte servi, Athena’nın zeytin, Aphrodite’nin mersindir (Smardz 1979: 12, 22 vd.; Hamilton 2003: 14, 16-19) ve asma, elma, çam ve incir Dionysos ile ilişkilidir (Smardz 1979: 11). Roma’da dökülmeyen yapraklara sahip ağaçlar hayatın devamlılığını temsil eder.

Varlık ve yaşam olgusunun anlamlandırılmasına dair alegoriler için önemli bir sembol olarak kullanılan ağaçlar, geniş bir antik kültür dünyasından etki alan ve kültür üreterek etki eden bir kent olarak Hatay’ın tarihsel kültür coğrafyası içinde de zamana karşı direnen anlam temelleriyle toplum bilincinde yer tutar. Zira halklar ekonomik olarak çevredeki doğal kaynaklara bağımlıdır ve daha önce önemine değinildiği gibi bu coğrafyanın zengin suları insanı için gerekli toprak verimliliğini sağlar. Böylelikle verimliliğe yani yaşama hizmet eden sular yanı sıra ağaçlar gibi doğal oluşumlar zamanın kültürel gelenekleri çerçevesinde anlatılarla kimlik kazandırılarak kutsallaştırılır, anıtsallaştırılır.

Bu bağlamda çınar, defne ve zeytin ağaçları kentin efsanelerine konu olan doğal kültür varlıkları olarak önem arz etmeleriyle tasarımda yer alır. Bugün Samandağ ilçesinde, Musa Dağı’nın eteklerindeki Hıdırbey köyünde bulunan ulu bir çınar (*Platanus orientalis*)<sup>5</sup> Büyük İskender’den İlyas’a, Mar Corcus (St. George)’dan İlyas, Hızır, Hıdır ve Musa’ya uzanan bir inanç ortaklığının iç içe geçmiş renkli anlatılarının<sup>6</sup> (Eraslan 2019: 71-94; Kreinath 2020: 229) kutsal bir motifi, Ab-ı Hayat (Yaşam Suyu) kaynağının (Kreinath 2020: 228-230) yanı başında ondan beslenen bir hayat ağacı olarak, 2000 yılı geçkin olduğuna inanılan yaşıyla göklere yükselmekte ve her dini inanca mensup Hataylı, yaşamında kutsamaya gerek duyduğu anları hala onun gölgesinde gerçekleştirdiği ritüeller yoluyla edinmektedir.

Ağaçlar kentin kuruluş mitlerinde de rol oynar. I. Seleukos Nikator (İÖ 301-281) İpsos savaşında elde ettiği zaferin ardından önce Akdeniz kıyısında Seleukia Pieria (Günümüzde Samandağ ilçesi sınırlarında) ile hemen ardından Zeus’a adadığı Antiocheia’ı kurmuş, sonrasında başkentin yanı başında Daphne olarak adlandırılacak yeni bir kenar yerleşimin çekirdeğini oluşturacak defne ağaçlarından oluşan bir koruluğu, soyunun tanrısal babası, ocağının koruyucu tanrısı olarak gördüğü Apollon’a adadığı bir tapınak ile kutsallaştırarak düzenlemiştir. I. Seleukos bu bölgenin, Apollon’un tutkuyla peşinden koşmasına rağmen ona karşılık vermeyen Daphne isimli bir nymphenin bu durumdan kurtulmak için tanrılara dua ederek bir ağaca dönüşmesini<sup>7</sup> (Libanius 11.94) konu eden ünlü

5 Söz konusu ağaç bir “Doğu Çınarı”dır, (*Platanus Orientalis*). Gövde Çapı: 7,5 m; Tepe Çapı: 35 m; Boyu: 17 m, bk. <https://www.anitagaclar.gov.tr/detail/dogu-cinari-platanus-orientalis/84> (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2022).

6 Bu konudaki söylenceler genel olarak söz konusu çınarın Mar Corcus (St. Georges)’un kaynak civarında bulunan bir ejderhayı öldürdüğü mızraktan ya da Ab-ı hayat suyunun yanı başında Hz. Musa’nın yere sapladığı açısından sürgün verdiğiğine işaret eder.

7 Geç antik dönem yazarları Libanius ve Sozomen, Apollon’un belirteçlerinden biri olan defne tacının ona bu olay neticesinde miras kaldığını belirtir.

mitin geçtiği yer olduğuna inanmaktaydı. Öyle ki Antiocheialı Libanius (İS 4. yy)'un aktardığına (Downey 1959: 663–664) göre atı ve köpekleriyle birlikte ava çıkan I. Seleukos, daha sonra Daphne olarak adlandırılacak bu alanda bir ağaçla karşılaşır. Atı birden durarak toynağıyla yere vurur ve –Tanrı Apollon'un belirteci olarak üzerinde “Phoebus” yazılı- altın bir ok ucu belirir. I. Seleukos ok ucunu eline aldığı sırada yerden çıkarak ona yaklaşan bir yılan ona hafifçe bakar ve daha sonra gözden kaybolur. Bugün bölge halkı bu efsaneyi hala dillendirerek (Reyhanoğlu - Özcan 2021) bölgeyi Defne ismiyle adlandırır ve yaygın defne ağacı korulukları –ticari olarak da sunulan yağ, sabun gibi ürünlerin hammadde kaynağı olan- ekonomik değeriyle de Hatay halkının yaşamında önemli yerini korumaktadır.

Hatay'ın bir parçası olduğu Doğu Akdeniz, doğal bitki örtüsünün yaygın türlerinden biri olarak zeytin ağacına – özellikle yabani zeytin (*Olea europaea oleaster*) için yaklaşık Pleistosen Çağ'a uzanan bir zamandan bu yana- ev sahipliği yapar ve araştırmalar genel olarak ilk kez Kalkolitik Dönem içleri ile erken Bronz (Tunç) Çağı arasındaki zamanda bu coğrafyada – özellikle Levant'ta- ehlileştirildiğini (*Olea europaea sativa*) gösterir (Salavert 2008: 17)<sup>8</sup>. Zeytin yetiştiriciliğine dair bu erken kanıtlar Hatay'ın tarihsel coğrafyası içerisinde de karşılığını bulur. Amik Ovası'ndaki Aççana Höyük'te bulunan Bronz (Tunç) Çağı yerleşimi Alalakh'ın özellikle Orta Tunç Çağı'na tarihlenen VII. tabaka ve yanı sıra Geç Tunç Çağı IV. tabakaya tarihlenen yazıtları, bölgedeki bazı yerleşimlerin de içinde yer aldığı uzmanlaşmış bir zeytin ve zeytin yağı üretim faaliyetlerine dair – özellikle vergilendirmeye dayanan- merkezi bir mali idari organizasyonun varlığına işaret eder (Akar - Kara 2018: 99). Öyle ki bazı bilimsel analizler, Geç Tunç Çağı'nda Alalakh merkezli Mukiş Krallığı'nın hakimiyeti altındaki topraklarda teorik bir potansiyel olarak yıllık 1.269.000 litre zeytinyağı üretilebileceğini ortaya koymaktadır (Akar - Kara 2020: 81). Bölgede sürdürülen arkeolojik araştırmaların odaklandığı zaman ve alanlar paralelinde ortaya koyduğu bulgular, Roma Dönemi'nde Antiocheia kenti ve çevre yerleşimlerinde zeytincilik ve zeytinyağı üretiminin (Pamir 2010) yaygın bir şekilde sürdürüldüğünü göstermektedir. Zira Antiocheialı Libanius (İS 4. yy) kentin bereketli topraklarında, Athena'nın çiçek açan zeytin ağaçlarından bahsederek, bunlardan elde edilen zeytinyağının tüm dünyaya gönderilen bir ihraç ürünü olduğunu aktarır (Libanius XI. 20.). Bugün kentin güney, kuzey ve doğusunda büyük ölçüde Altınözü ilçesi ile Yayladağı ve Samandağ ilçelerindeki kalker masif platonun tepe yamaçlarını kaplayan geniş alanlarında zeytin ağacı yetiştirilmeye devam edilmekte, elde edilen hasat kent gastronomisine ve ekonomisine önemli katkılar sunan ürünlere dönüştürülmektedir. Antik dönemden günümüze Hatay toprağındaki halkların esenliğine katkısı ve yüksek refahına etkisi, zeytin ağacının neden evrensel olarak barış, zenginlik ve zaferi simgelediğine (Gardin - Olorenshaw 2014: 664) dair önemli bir gösterge olarak karşımıza çıkar. Öyle ki kent merkezinin kuzeyindeki Payas ilçesinde itinayla korunarak bin yılı geçkin yaşıyla anıtlaşmış ehli bir zeytin ağacı (*Olea europaea sativa*)<sup>9</sup> bu kavramların kentin toplumsal bilincinde hala yaşatılmakta olduğunu gösterir.

Çınar, defne ve zeytin ağaçlarının Hatay için yukarıda açıklanan evrensel ve yerel bağlamlarda ortaya konulan tarihsel önemi, tasarımda ortada yer alarak tüm değerlerin bileşkesini oluşturan barış tondosuna kökleriyle sarılmış ulu

8 Ayrıca bk. aynı yerde, Yabani zeytinlerin en erken Paleolitik dönemde, günümüzden yaklaşık 19000 yıl önce kullanıldığına dair veriler bulunmaktadır.

9 Bk. <https://www.anitagaclar.gov.tr/detail/zeytin-oleae-europaea/83> (Erişim Tarihi 14.01.2022)

gövdeden, kenti saran gökkubbeye yükselerek bu topraklara canlılık veren dev bir hayat ağacı ile simgeleştirilmiştir (Res. 16). Onun ulu ve güçlü gövdesi kent insanının tarihsel varoluşuna, göğe yükselen ve onu genişçe kaplayan tacı bunun döngüsel ilerleyişine atıf yapar. Tacın ortasında yer alan doğu çınarı (*Platanus orientalis*) bir yandan bugün gölgesi altında farklı inançları kardeşçe toplayan Musa Ağacı'nı ve kadim kent kültürünü simgeler. Ağaç tacında, kent coğrafyasındaki dağılım alanlarına ve esin kaynağı olduğu efsanelerin mekanlarına atıf yaparak zeytin dalları sola ve defne dalları sağa doğru yayılır.

### Gökkubbe – 39 Yıldız - Davud Yıldızı, Hilal ve Haç

Görselin üst tarafında alacakaranlıktan dönmekte olan gece göğü yükselir (Res. 17). Sağda henüz doğmakta olan kızıl bir güneş ile beraber ağırlıkla sarı ve bir kısmı kırmızı renkte, 39 adet yıldız gökyüzüne dağılmıştır. Bunlardan biri altı (köşeli) kollu yıldızdır. Sağ üstte “azalan hilal” evresindeki -hilal biçimini almış- kırmızı ay, kırmızı bir yıldız ile birlikte tasvir edilir.

Resim 17  
Gökkubbe – 39 Yıldız.



Bilinç mirasımızda izleri bulunan “ilk(s)el” zihniyet için, gök nerede ise Tanrı oradadır<sup>10</sup> (Elliade 2020: 65.). Gökyüzünün yüksek ve sınırsız görünümü insan zihninde onun aşkın bir güç olarak kutsallaştırılmasına yol açmış, yazılı kültürler içerisinde Yakındoğu’dan Anadolu’ya ve oradan Yunanistan’a uzanan (Babil: King 1902; Hurri-Hitit: Güterbock 1948: 123-134; Anadolu-Hellen: Hes. theolog.) benzer bir kozmogoni anlatısında ona tanrısal bir anlam yüklenmiştir. Anadolu soylu (Kyme), büyük ozan Hesiodos’un (İÖ 8. yy) kozmogonisi (Hes. theolog.), evrenin oluşumunu Khaos yani boşluk-hiçlik ile başlatır. Ondan geniş göğüslü “Toprak Ana” Gaia, ardından Eros, “Aşk, arzu, cinsellik” oluşur. Daha sonra Erebus, -yer ile Hades arasındaki- “derin karanlık” ortaya çıkar ve Khaos ile birleşerek, Nyx “Gece” meydana gelir. Ancak sonra, Gaia kendine eşit, her yeri saran yıldızlı gökyüzünü, Uranos’u yaratır. Uranos aşk içinde, gece yardımıyla yeri –Gaia’yı- örter ve gök yer ile birleşir. Bir Homerik ilahide (Hom. h. XXX) anlatıldığı gibi yıldızlı cennet olarak işaret edilen gökyüzü ile toprak ananın bu kutsal evliliği, doğanın insanoğluna sunduğu bereketi; buğday dolu toprakları, tarlaları kaplayan sürüleri ve evlerdeki zenginliği getirir. Gökyüzünün fiziksel özelliklerinin manevi bir anlam olarak fizikötesi algılanışı, -üç “semavi” dinde- Yahudilik, Hristiyanlık ve İslam’da da yer bulur. Eski Ahit’te tanrının gücü gök olaylarıyla anlatılır, Yahve’nin sesi gök gürültüsü, şimşek onun ateşidir ve

10 Nerede gök, orada Tanrı” sözü Afrika’da Ewe kabilesinin bir üyesine ait duadır.

kutsamaları (Levililer 26: 3-4)<sup>11</sup> gökyüzünden kaynaklanır (Elliade 2020: 119 vd.). Katolik Hristiyan doktrininde İsa'nın krallığı ruhani nitelikte ve gökte yer alır. İsa'ya inanarak ibadet edenlerin başışlanarak ebedi kurtuluşa erişmeleri göksel seçilmişlik ile bağlantılıdır. Kur'an'da sema arzla birlikte yaratılır. Yükseklik anlamıyla ilişkilidir ve görünenin ötesinde olan yedi katmana sahiptir (Baş 2009: 453-455). İslam tanrısı Allah'ın da lütfunu ve azabını göklerden indirdiğine inanılır (Kur'an- Kerim, Zuhur Suresi: 11. Ayet)<sup>12</sup> (Kur'an- Kerim, Mülk Suresi 67, 17. Ayet)<sup>13</sup>.

Tasarımın ana geometrisi yıldızlı gökyüzünü, altında yer alan Hatay coğrafyası üzerinde bir kubbe şeklinde sınırlayarak onun sunduğu uygun iklim koşulları ile kentin başarılı kaderi arasında kapsayıcı bir ilişki kurar. İÖ 4. yüzyılda hatip Libanius, Antiocheia açısından bu ilişkiyi şu sözlerle dile getirir:

“(16) ...doğduğum şehirle ilgili olarak şunu söyleyebilirim ki, göğün altındaki en güzel yerin en güzel süsüdür. (19) ...bizde her şey birbirleriyle, toprakla, akarsularla, iklimin ılıman karışımıyla rekabet eder. (29) Bizimki gibi çok güzel bir ülkede mevsimler ahenkle dans eder ve uygun-suz davranarak cazibesini bozamaz. Çünkü ne kış, kıskançlıkla kendine has bir çekiciliği olduğunu iddia ederek baharın zamanına tecaviüz eder, ne de yaz aynı şekilde, ikisi arasında gelen mevsimi dışlayarak kışa uzar; her biri kendi sınırları içinde kalır ve yılı eşit bir ölçüde böler ve bir sonraki mevsim yaklaştığında yerini alır. Ve en muhteşem olan da biri aşırı soğuktan, diğeri aşırı sıcaktan dolayı bedene ızdırap veren en uç halleri bizde yumuşamış ve böylelikle daha ılıman mevsimlere benzemek isterler.” (Libanius XI.)

Göğün, kozmogonilerde zamana direnen bu evrensel anlamları, adeta tümüyle Hatay gökkubbesinde yankılanmaktadır. Öyle ki Paleolitik Dönem'de, Ali Efendi Deresi'nde ele geçen yaklaşık iki milyon yıllık geçmişe dayanan kültür malzemelerinin (Yalçınkaya vd. 2000) yaratıcılarından, Samandağ, Çevlik sahiline bakan İncili Mağara'da ortaya çıkarılan elli bin yıl öncesinin modern insanı “Homo Sapiens Çevlikiyensis”e (Bostancı 1971: 29-56) Paleolitik insanın ilk adımlarından günümüze, neredeyse kesintisiz süregelen kültür izleri bugün Hatay'da İslam Hilali, Davud Yıldızı, Hristiyanlık Haçı'nın yaydığı ışıkla birlikte parlar. Tasarımda, açık gökyüzünü bezeyen 39 yıldız göksel bir kaderin habercileridir ve kentin tarihsel olarak seçkin bir yerleşim oluşuna dolayısıyla iyi talihiine işaret ederler. Bunlar arasında tasvir edilen altı köşeli yıldız “Davud (Kalkanı) Yıldızı”dır (Zeyrek 2014). Altı kol, Yahudi kozmogonisindeki dünyanın altı günlük yaratılış sürecini ve –merkeziyle- “şabat”ı temsil eder, yahudi kimliğinin simgesidir. Onun tasarımı Hatay gökkubbesinde yer alması, Yahudiliğin, kentin kuruluşundan itibaren asli bir unsur (Kraeling 1932: 130-160; Downey 1961: 79-80) olduğuna işaret eder. Tasarımda Akdeniz'de seyir halindeki gemi serininin ucunda parıldayan Haç, İsa'nın göğe yükselişinin hazırlayıcısı, böylelikle insanlığı kurtuluşunun simgesi (Gardin - Oleranshaw 2014: 261-265) olarak Hristiyanlığı temsil eder. Onun serinle bütünleştirilerek tasvir edilmesi yeni dinin ilk zamanlarında, kendilerine yapılan zulümlere karşı inanların temkinli davranışına gönderme yapar ve kentin kıyılarına yaklaşan bir

11 “Kurallarına göre yaşar, buyruklarını dikkatle yerine getirirseniz, yağmurları zamanında yağdıracağım. Toprak ürün, ağaçlar meyve verecek.”

12 “O, gökten bir ölçüye göre yağmur indirendir. Biz onunla ölü araziye canlandırdık. İşte siz de böyle diriltileceksiniz.”

13 “Yoksa kudreti ve emri; gökte bulunan, yüce olan mâbûdun, size taşlar yağdıran bir rüzgâr yollama-yacağından emin misiniz? Derken yakında bilirsiniz nasılmış benim korkutmam.”

gemi ile birlikte tasviri Hristiyanlığın evrensel bir din oluşunun temellerinin atıldığı yer olarak (Downey 1961: 189) uygun bir ortam sağlayan Antiocheia'nın seçilmiş olmasını (De Giorgi - Eger 2021: 91) simgeler. İS 7. yüzyıl ortasında Arap-İslam Devleti'nin kuruluşunu takip eden müslüman akınları, özellikle Yermuk Savaşı'nda kazanılan zafer sonrası Şam ve Halep'i ele geçirilmesiyle, İmparator Herakleius (İS 610-641) yönetimindeki Bizans Anadolu'su için tehdit oluşturmaktaydı. Bu durum Bizans kontrolündeki Antakya'da bir savunma hattı kurulmasını gerektirdi. Buna rağmen Ebu Ubeyde b. Cerrah komutasındaki İslam orduları İS 636'da Antakya'yı fethetti (Bahadır 2013: 59-63). Göğün daha yukarısında, sağda yer alan hilal, zamanın bu devinimini, değişim ve aynı zamanda kalıcılık anlamlarıyla (Gardin - Oleranshaw 2014: 281) kentin İslam ile tanışmasını sembolize eder.

Bu üç büyük semavi dinin sembolleri, Hatay'da sevgiyle temellenen inaç kardeşliğinin anlatısı olarak, tasarımda görünmeyen bir eşkenar üçgen oluşturacak şekilde konumlandırılmıştır (Res. 3, 18). Tüm renkleriyle kardeşçe birlikte yükselmenin asli bir değer olarak içselleştirildiği bu kent kültürü, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün şahsi meselesi olarak gördüğü Hatay'ın anavatana katıldığı 1939'dan beri Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin laiklik ilkesi çatısı altında güvenle geleceğe taşınmaktadır. M. K. Atatürk'ün vizyonerliğiyle Türkiye'nin Doğu Akdeniz kıyılarındaki kara sınırının Kel Dağ'ın güneyine taşınarak “Ortak Varoluş”un güvenceye alınması, tasarımda Kel Dağ'ın hemen sağ tarafında, gökte parlayan ay ve yıldızla sembolleştirilmiştir.

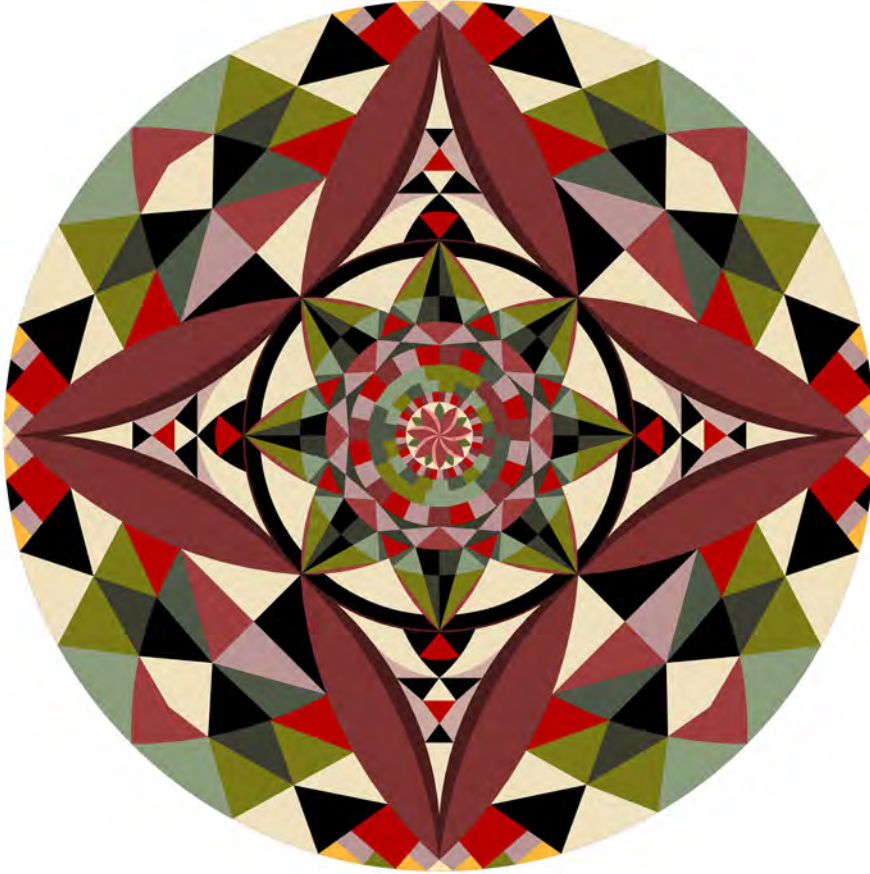
Resim 18  
Davud Yıldızı, Hilal ve Haç.



### Barış Tondosu

Görselin merkezinde, “barış tondosu” olarak adlandırılan daire şeklindeki alan geometrik motiflerle süslenmiştir (Res. 19). Dışta bej ve siyah renkli meander motif ile çevrelenmiş alanın fonu farklı renklerdeki üçgenlerden oluşur. Dört

yöne simetrik olarak uzanan, bordo tonlarındaki ana motif siyah renkli bir çember ile daire oluşturacak biçimde yan yana dizilmiş sekiz adet yay kenarlı üçgenden oluşan merkez motiften ayrılır. Merkez motif, siyah ve yeşilin tonlarında renklendirilmiş dış kollardan ve ortasında iç içe geçen çemberlerden oluşur. Dört adet çemberden her biri renk ayrımlarıyla kendi içinde bölünmüştür. En dıştaki çemberde 23, sırasıyla 7 ve 19 ve iç çemberde 39 adet dörtgen bölüm bulunur. Çemberler, tasarım geometrisinin odağını oluşturan, yeşil ve bordo tonlarında renklendirilmiş bir çiçek motifini çevreler.



Resim 19  
Barış Tondosu.

İlkçağ yazınından yansıyan toplumsal bakış, zıtlıklardan doğan çatışmanın beslediği savaş kavramını varolmanın ana odağı olarak görür (Herakl. Frag. 52-53). Bu yaklaşım, çağın düşünce ikliminde de sıklıkla karşımıza çıkar nitekim yukarıda değinilen kozmogonilerin de ana motifidir. Platon ve Aristoteles için savaş eğer temelde ona üstün olan barış içinse meşrudur (Plat. polit. 469; Aristot. pol. I-8, VII-14). Fakat onlar barış kavramını yalnızca iç barış, ulusal barış çerçevesinde üstün tutar; Aristoteles *barbar* milletlere karşı yürütülen savaşı gerekli görür ve adil sayar (Plat. *Yasalar*, 628 a-e, 29 a-e; Aristot. pol. I-8, VII-14). Bu dar bağlamdaki savaşın karşıtı olarak barış kavramı, ancak Stoacı filozofların bakış açısıyla gerçek anlamına, evrensel değerine kavuşur. Evrensel kardeşlik fikri üzerinden temellenen yaklaşım, herhangi bir ayrıma tabi tutmadan insanları eşit ve özgür olarak tanımlar; ideal toplum tüm insanlığı kabul eder (Arslan 2001: 22 vd.). Bu ilkeler, modern felsefenin önemli düşünce akımlarından Hümanizm (Abbagnano 1967: 60-70) öğretisinin temellerini oluşturur. Hümanistler için özgürlük doğada ve toplumda hayat bulmalıdır. Özgürlük kavramının bireyden topluma yayılması beraberinde hazzı (zevki) getirir ve liberal alanların –sanat, edebiyat, mimarlık, hukuk- hakim olmasına

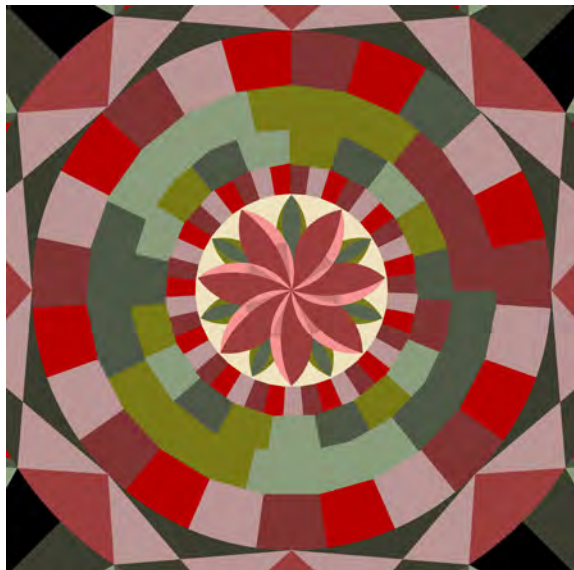


fırsat verir. Böylelikle insan özgürlüğünü merkez alan estetik değerleri üstün, adaletli bir ortamda dinsel ve etnik kimlik farklılıkları savaşın bahanesi olamazlar.

Olivier Klein, barış maddesi (Gardin - Oleranshaw 2014: 102) altında şunları belirtiyor:

*“Barış sadece bir durumu değil peşinde koşulan bir kavramı, bir amacı da tanımlar.”*

Hatay, derin tarihine dayanan dini ve etnik farklılıklarını ortak değer olarak içselleştirerek barışçıl bir ortam yaratmış; aynı zamanda barışı korumayı da amaç edinmiş bir yaşam kültürüne sahiptir. Bu zenginlik, coğrafyasının sunduğu eşsiz doğal olanakların çekiciliğinde gelişmiş, bereketli doğasının sunduğu ekonomik refah ve medeni tavır demografisinde yer alan etnik ve dini kimliklerin belirginliklerini yitirmeden kardeşçe var olabilmelerini sağlamıştır. Zira dünya üzerinde bu denli farklı kültür kimliklerinden oluşan bir halk kitlesi barındırmasına rağmen anlaşmazlıklarını savaş yerine barışçıl tavırla çözüme taşıma olgunluğu gösteren başka hiçbir yurt yoktur. Barış tondosu (Res. 19), tasarımın genelinde sembolleştirilen tüm değerlerin bileşkesi olarak, bu hümanist kentin açık, özgür karakteriyle kazandığı ve koruduğu bu barış ortamını merkezde çok renkli, çok parçalı bir odak oluşturarak simgeler. Parçalar barışın tezahürü olan iç içe geçmiş çiçek motiflerini meydana getirir. Tondonun ortasında, Hatay’ın Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin bir parçası olduğu 23.07.1939 tarihine atfen dıştan içe doğru 23, 7, 19 ve 39 adet dörtgene bölünmüş çemberlerin ortasında en derinde bulunan motif (Res. 20) tasarım esinini “barış” olarak adlandırılan kentin endemik bitki türünün (*Scorzonera Pacis*) (Güzel vd. 2013) çiçeğinden alır ve Hatay’ın varoluş enerjisinin kaynağı olarak özü simgeler. Bu öz, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kuruluş ilkelerinden biri olarak “Yurtta Barış, Dünyada Barış” hedefi (Gönlübol 1992: 9-26) içerisinde insanlığı evrensel olarak kucaklar. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’ün çağdaş toplum hedefi çerçevesinde gerçekleştirdiği eşitliği, adaleti, inanç ve düşünce özgürlüğünü tesis eden devrimler ülkemizde barışı bir durum olarak tesis etmenin ötesinde onu amaç olarak koruyan ve evrensel anlamda ulaşılması gereken bir ilke olarak belirlemiştir. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’ün diplomatik çabaları sonucunda Hatay’ın 23 Temmuz 1939’da anavatan topraklarına katılmasıyla bu toprakların yaşam kültüründe önemli tarihsel değeri olan barış kentin kalbinde, cumhuriyetin bu temel kuruluş ilkeleriyle korunarak güçlenmektedir.



Resim 20  
Barış Çiçeği Motifi.

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