The Fate of the Antioch Mosaic Pavements: Some Reflections

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The paper offers a short memory of the spectacular investigations carried out from 1930 to 1939 in the area of the ancient Antioch, and also remembers the fate of the more than a hundred mosaic pavements uncovered and unearthed in that site. The most part of the mosaics had to be cut and removed in sections, so when the campaigns ended with the annexation of the northern Syria to Turkey and with the outbreak of World War II in 1939, they were objects of a sharing among the sponsors of that archaeological project. A disputable division that dismembered an extraordinary cultural heritage of Antioch.

Key words: Antioch, Dispersal, Mosaic, Pavements.

I would like to provide a brief review of the archaeological exploration of Antioch that took place in the 1930s¹. In so doing, I shall offer some observations on the dispersal of the mosaics that were then excavated in and around the city. These mosaics are today to be found not only in the Hatay Archaeological Museum in Antioch, but also at the Louvre in Paris and in various American collections and academic institutions. The dispersal of these mosaics and other materials has proved the unfortunate, bewildering result of an otherwise extraordinary archaeological venture (A suitable point of departure is furnished by Barsanti 1994).

I shall begin by taking note of the excavations. An ambitious project promoted by Princeton University, in conjunction with the Musées Nationaux de France, they were initially achieved with the financial support of the Worcester Art Museum and the Baltimore Museum Art. The Committee for the Excavations of Antioch and its Vicinity, of which they were members, was subsequently enlarged to include other American museums and academic institutions. In the 1936 representatives from the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University and its affiliate Dumbarton Oaks joined the Committee².

Thanks to the unusually liberal regulations of the Department of Antiquity of Syria, the sponsors of the dig were able to divide amongst themselves, according to their financial contribution, a group of nearly three hundred mosaic pavements and also a portion of the other finds. Everything else was housed in the Hatay Archaeological Museum, a building planned by the French architect Michel Ecochard and constructed in the years 1934-1938³ (Figure 1).

Much of the archaeological "loot" that was divided amongst the Committee sponsors ended up overseas. Some 160 mosaics went to the United States, whereas only a dozen or so went to Paris⁴. The mosaics that arrived in the United States are today distributed amongst 29 museums and academic institutions⁵, with the most pieces going to

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¹ The history of the excavations begun in the spring of 1932 and continued annually until the season of 1939 when the outbreak of war in Europe made further work impossible may be found in the Forewords of the first three volume of reports that cover the seasons of 1932-1939, published between 1934 an 1941 (Elderkin 1934; Stillwell 1938; Stillwell 1941).

² In 1930 the Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Prof. Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton University, the guiding spirit of the project. The Committee represented several American Institutions and individuals and the Musées Nationaux de France. Princeton University was made responsible for the direction of the expeditions and the publications of the results. For the composition of the Committee, and its history, see the Forewords to the first three volumes of the excavations reports and Kondoleon 2000: 5-8; Welu 2005: 3-15.

³ The Hatay Archaeological Museum was enlarged between 1969 and 1974; an immense new museum for the antiquities of Antioch is in the process of being realized. Unfortunately there is only a brief tourist guide for the mosaic collection and others objects in the Hatay Archaeological Museum.

⁴ For the 11 mosaics kept in Louvre, see Baratte 1978: 87-130 (cat. 43-53).

⁵ The distribution of mosaics assigned to the Committee is outlined by Campbell and Stilwell in the Catalogue of mosaics in Stillwell 1938 and Stillwell 1941 with a list of 12 Museums and collections possessing Antioch mosaics; the list provided by Levi few years later includes 17 Museums and collections (Levi 1947: XXI). The location of American mosaics given by Jones 1981 is well displayed in the plan published by Cimok 2000: 312.

Museums and collections possessing Antioch mosaics: Mead Art Museum, Amherst College; Atlanta, Georgia Institute of Technology; Baltimore



the following: the Baltimore Museum of Art⁶, the Princeton Art Museum⁷ (Figure 2), the Worcester Art Museum⁸, and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections⁹. Naturally changes have occurred over time as a result of exchanges, sales, and transferrals. In fact, some are still in transit. Most recently the mosaic of the sea goddess Tethys, from the Antiochen bath F, was sold by Dumbarton Oaks¹⁰ to the Harvard Business School¹¹ (Figures 3 a-b).

Figure 1 Antioch, Hatay Archaeological Museum.

Museum of Art; Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum; Denver Art Museum; Detroit Institute of Arts; East Lansing, Michigan State University; Hartford, Wadswoorth Atheneum; Harvard Business School; Honolulu Academy of Arts; Kansas City, Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum; New York, Metropolitan Museum; Norman, University of Oklahoma; Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art; Oberli, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College; Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society; Princeton University; Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design; Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art; Rochester, Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester; St. Louis Art Museum; St. Petersburg, Museum of Fine Arts; San Diego Museum of Art; Seattle Art Museum; Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; Wellesley College Museum; Wilkes-Barre, Wilkes College; Worcester Art Museum.

- 6 Altogether there are 23 mosaics (entire pieces and fragments), Jones 1981: 16-18
- 7 The group of mosaics originally allocated to Princeton University included 45 pieces (entire panels and fragments), but 18 of these were later transferred elsewhere; see Jones 1981.
- 8 Now 12, but originally 18 mosaics (entire pieces and fragments); see Jones 1981: 25-26.
- 9 Originally 18 mosaics (entire pieces and fragments); see Jones 1981: 24-25.
- 10 The Tethys mosaic formerly provided the pavement for the pool in the open courtyard of the Dumbarton Oaks, cf. Wages 1986.
- 11 Reported by Kondoleon 2000: 8. The Tethys mosaic is now installed in the lobby of Morgan Hall of the Harvard Business School.

Figure 2 Princeton University, The Art Museum.







Figure 3a Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection: the Tethys mosaic in the open courtyard;

Figure 3b Cambridge, Harvard Business School: the Tethys mosaic in the lobby of Morgan Hall.

From the very moment of their arrival in the United States, the mosaics of Antioch were the object of a wide variety of cultural events, such as the exhibition "The Dark Ages: Pagan and Christian Art in the Latin West and Byzantine East" that opened at the Worcester Art Museum in February 1937. The mosaics enjoyed pride of place. Thereby trustees were made aware of the museum's sponsorship of the excavations that were yet taking place at Antioch. Ten years later the Baltimore Museum of Art organized a great exhibition "Early Christian and Byzantine Art" in which was also displayed the rich collection of the mosaics from Antioch excavations (see the catalogue edited by Miner 1947).

In the fall of 2000, the Worcester Art Museum organized another exhibition on Antioch: "The Lost Ancient City" 12. During the following year the exhibition moved from Worcester to Cleveland and travelled to Baltimore. More recently another exhibition devoted to the "Scattered Evidence: Excavating Antioch-on-the-Orontes" was presented (from April 7 to October 10 2010) by the Dumbarton Oaks in Washington. As a result of these exhibitions, the objects, on display together for the first time, are a cross section of the discoveries made at Antioch during the 1930s, reveal a wide range of aspects of life in the ancient city, providing also an excellent basis for reflecting upon the fate of the Antiochene mosaics.

¹² Kondoleon 2000; for the exhibitions see the remarks of the review of Brown 2001.



The Worcester exhibition's emphasis on the living of these mosaics reflects a conscious choice on the part of the organisers. They wished to emphasise the fact that the mosaics are valuable not only because they vividly illustrate the end of the Classical world and the start of the Middle Ages, but also because they permit us to glimpse the way in which a handful of leading families in Antioch were committed to the *dolce vita*¹³.

In this respect, a serious attempt was realised through the creation of "Virtual Antioch". That involved rearranging the well-preserved mosaic floor of the Atrium House (720 x 480 cm) of the early second century AD and supplementing this with the reconstruction of an entire *triclinium*. Justly located at the centre of the exhibition, this display was a veritable *tour-de-force*¹⁴ (Figure 4).

Discovered in April 1932, this mosaic was the most significant find of the first season of archaeological investigation at Antioch¹⁵. In the following year, the Committee decided to divide the floor between the four participating museums¹⁶. As a result, it was lifted in sections and these were shipped abroad

Figure 4
Installation of the Atrium House triclinium reassembled for the Antioch exhibition at Worcester Art Musem (after Becker, Kondoleon 2005).

¹³ In the Worcester exhibition were altogether displayed 18 mosaics from Antioch, also from Princeton, Dumbarton Oaks, Baltimore, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design and Louvre.

¹⁴ Kondoleon 2000: 168-175; Becker - Kondoleon 2005: 16-48; Artal-Isbrand 2005: 86-93. The reconstruction afforded scholars and public alike to revised, as it was underlined by Kondoleon 2003: 45-59, the structure with an eye to furthering understanding of haw floor décor functioned in the context of architecture and a view into a rather complicated eastern Roman pictorial space.

¹⁵ Campbell 1988: 19-22, pls. 68-74; Cimok 2000: 25-31. As regards the chronology, see Kondoleon 2000: 170-175; Becker - Kondoleon 2005: 20.

¹⁶ Only a few sections of the geometric pavement from the U-shaped area reserved for the dining couches (*klinai*) were lifted and are now stored in the Hatay Archaeological Museum; Becker - Kondoleon 2005: 22, fig. 7; Artal-Isbrand 2005: 86.

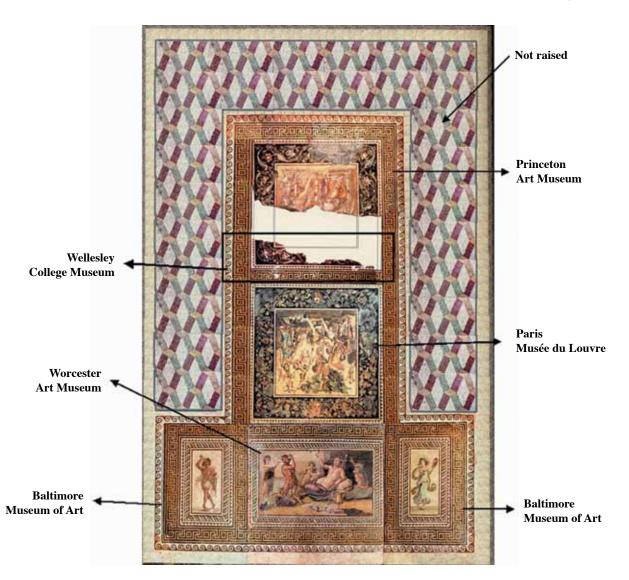


Figure 5 Mosaic floor of the Atrium House *triclinium*, photo composite in which surviving figural panels are recombined with geometric pattern (after Kondoleon 2000).

(Figure 5). The Louvre acquired the largest and finest piece of the five figural panel that formed the traditional T-shaped composition of the *triclinium*, the Judgement of Paris¹⁷. Worcester received the second most important panel, the Drinking Contest between Herakles and Dionysos¹⁸. Princeton University received the section depicting Aphrodite and Adonis¹⁹, but the upper border of the panel was presented to Wellesley College in honour of William Alexander Campbell's contributions to the Antioch excavation²⁰. Lastly, the Baltimore Museum of Art acquired two panels representing a Dancing Satyr and a Dancing Maenad²¹.

¹⁷ The panel measures 186,5 x 186,1 cm, cf. Baratte 1978: 87-92 (cat. 43); Kondoleon 2000: 172-174 (cat. 58).

¹⁸ Guests saw upon entering the *triclinium* this panel that measures 183,5 x 186,4; cf. Kondoleon 2000: 170 (cat. 55); Kondoleon 2005a: 178-181.

¹⁹ Unfortunately the upper portion of the mosaic panel was destroyed when it was covered by a later wall, cf. Kondoleon 2000: 174-175 (cat. 59).

²⁰ The fragment in the Wellesley College Museum measures 71,1 x 185,4 cm, cf Campbell 1988: 20; Kondoleon 2000: 174 (cat. 60).

²¹ The panel with Maenad measures 189,2 x 111,8 cm, the panel with Satyr measures 193 x 137,2 cm, cf Kondoleon 2000: 170, 172 (cat. 56-57).



The Worcester exhibition of 2000 was the first time, since their excavation, that all the figural panels and their surrounding border in the pavement of the *triclinium* of the Atrium House had visible as an ensemble with a simple, but elegant installation. The decision is praiseworthy, for it put together again and re-contextualised an important artistic work. On the other hand, it also revealed the unwitting damage that had been perpetrated by prior dismemberment. Cavalier is a fitting label for the decision to dismember one of the most beautiful and ancient pavements to decorate the lavish urban dwellings of Antioch.

The Worcester Hunt is another striking mosaic that was displayed alongside other material culture from the city of Antioch at the Worcester exhibition. Dating to the late 5th or early 6th century, this splendid, enormous mosaic (625,5 x 866,5 cm) captures the attention of any and all visitors²² (Figure 6). Upon its arrival at Worcester in 1937, this mosaic was situated upon the floor of the majestic Museum's main hall, the Renaissance Court (see Welu 2005: figs. 2, 10-11 and Artal-Isbrand 2005: 103-104, figs. 47-49, 56-59). However, it was not accompanied there by its fragmentary border consisting acanthus vines inhabited by a variety of animals. Indeed, some of the *tesserae* of the border were re-employed in order to make good losses to the central portion! The remaining border fragments were put back into crates and stored, until they were brought out of storage, restored, and joined with the hunt panel in 1995 (in particular, Artal-Isbrand 2005: 109-110, figs. 65-68, and Kondoleon 2005d: 231-232, figs. 8-9).

22 The large panel was divided for raising in nine sections. Cf. Stillwell 1938: 200-202 (n. 90), pl. 73; Artal-Isbrand 2005: 102-113; Kondoleon 2005d: 228-237.

Figure 6
Worcester Art Museum,
the mosaic of the Worcester Hunt
in Renaissance Hall (after Becker
– Kondoleon 2005).

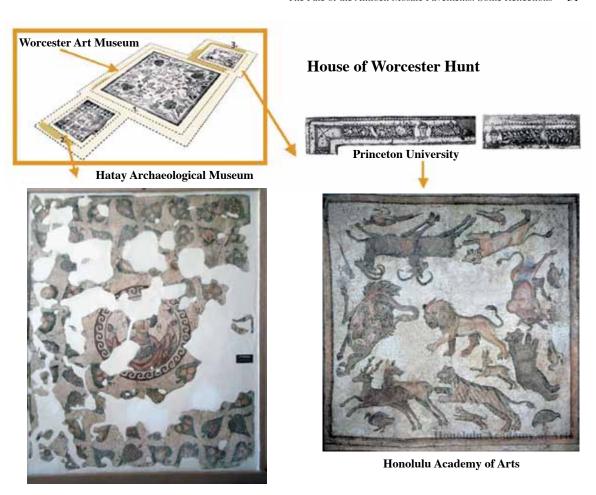


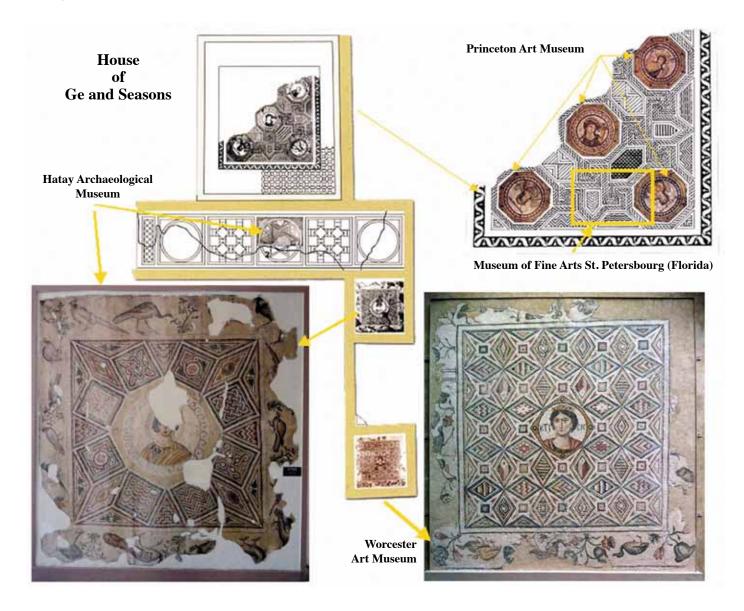
Figure 7
Daphne, House of the
Worcester Hunt (revised after
Kondoleon 2005).

Together with the pavements of two other rooms that flanked it, the Worcester Hunt had been removed from a house in suburb of Daphne that had been partially excavated in May 1935 south of the theatre (the building seems to have been destroyed in the earthquake of 526 and not rebuilt). The Worcester Hunt, designed by the excavators as room 1, was the grandest of the three rooms of the house (Figure 7). At one end of the large hunt was a much smaller room 2 decorated with a circular medallion containing an allegory of the Earth (identified by a greek label Γ H) surrounded by leaves serving as background for various fruits. This mosaic is now in the Hatay Archaeological Museum (the mosaic measures nearly 280 x 260 cm, Stillwell 1938: 202 (91), pl. 74.). The other, in the adjacent room 3, known as the Honolulu Hunt, decorated with wild beast hunt ended up in the Hawaiian Islands in the middle of the Pacific²³. Both have appeared only as a photograph in the catalogue, where they are reunited to their original complex thanks to a photomontage. Oddly, this photomontage does not show the two surviving segments of border that once framed this mosaic. Decorated with garlands of leaves and fruits with small medallions containing female busts, these are in theory today in storage at Princeton University (Jones 1981: 12, fig. 27; Kondoleon 2005d: 237 (note 4).

The pavement containing a circular medallion with a bust of the allegory of the Ktisis (inscribed $KTI\Sigma I\Sigma$) has also been contextualised afresh by means of photomontage²⁴ (Figure 8). The allegory is situated at the centre of an elegant

²³ The mosaic in the Honolulu Academy of Arts measures 268,6 x 281,9 cm; see Stillwell 1938: 202 (n. 92), pl. 74; Kondoleon 2000: 158-160 (cat.43), fig. 1; Cimok 2000: 298-299.

²⁴ Stillwell 1938: 194-195 (n. 81), pl. 58; Cimok 2000: 281; Kondoleon 2005b: 208-215.



geometrical composition of stars and lozenges framed by a broad border with Nilotic motifs (285,5 x 276,5 cm). The mosaic comes from the upper level of the partially excavated House of Ge and the Seasons in Daphne and therefore dates to the late 5th century. Only the four octagonal panels with allegories of Earth and the Seasons (to which the House gave the name) remain. They were part of an elaborate interlace design of the larger space, which have been a *triclinium*, from which were lifted only a bit. All of these pieces were apportioned to Princeton University, which subsequently ceded this last panel to the Museum of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg, Florida²⁵.

The mosaic in room 3 with an unknown female personification²⁶ and a small portion of the middle panel having a stellar motif removed from the mosaic in Room 2 are today in the Hatay Archaeological Museum (corridor with a floor

25 The medallions are inscribed: TPOΠH KIMEPINH (Winter); ΓΗ (Earth); TPOΠH ΕΛΡΙΝΗ (Spring); TPOΠH ΘΕΡΙΝΗ (Summer). Stillwell 1938: 193-194 (77), pls. 56-57; Jones 1981: 7-8, 23, fig. 13; Cimok 2000: 276-280.

Figure 8 Daphne, House of Ge and Season (revised after Kondoleon 2005).

²⁶ The panel decorated with a star of squares and lozenges is surrounded by a band of birds flanking bushes and flowers; the female personification is luxuriosly dressed; Stillwell 1938: 194 (n. 80), pl. 58; Cimok 2000: 282.



Figure 9 Worcester Art Musem, Mosaic of Women's Funerary Banquet (revised after Molholt 2005).

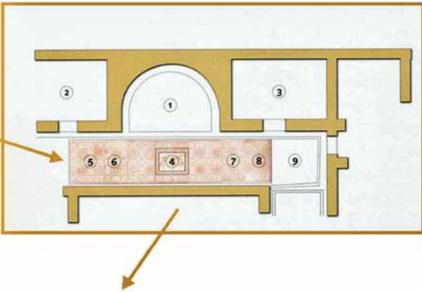
consisting of five square panel: Stillwell 1938: 194 (79), pl. 57). To cite another instance: thanks to a computer reconstruction there was a virtual reality visit allowing one to see the six sections of the splendid border of a large floor mosaic (95,50 x 6,50 cm) coming from the House of the Bird Rinceau, which was excavated at the end of 1934 in the suburb of Daphne and dates to the second quarter of the 6^{th} century. Three sections were allotted to the Baltimore Museum, while the others were apportioned to Princeton University, to the Louvre, and to the Worcester Art Museum²⁷.

The case of another mosaic displayed in the Worcester exhibition is different. Dating to the mid- to late 4th century, the panel known as the Women's Funerary Banquet was discovered in a funerary chamber in a necropolis just outside the Daphne Gate of Antioch in April 1935 (Stillwell 1938: 193 (n. 76), pl. 55; Kondoleon 2005b: 196-207). The entire ensemble, the rectangular panel (inscribed MNEMOΣINH AI'ΩXI) and its border, representing allegories of the Seasons and Turning-Points of the Year (*Tropai*), broken into three sections when it was removed from its original site, was apportioned to the Worcester Art Museum (Figure 9). However, one of the three sections of the border, that with the allegories of Winter (XEIMωN) and Winter Solstice (TPOΠΗ XEIMEPINE), was missing from the exhibition because it had been ceded by the Worcester Art Museum to the Mead Art Museum in

²⁷ Stillwell 1938: 186-187 (n. 55), pl. 40. Originally the section today in St. Louis has been assigned to Baltimore Museum of Art. As regard the chronology, see Kondoleon 2000: 208-210; Gonosova 2005: 238-243.



Aion House



Worcester Art Museum

Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College

Worcester Art Museum



Amherst²⁸. This affair is exemplary of the administrative style of Francis Henry Taylor, the director of the Worcester Art Museum. In 1940, while attending to the last embarkation of mosaics destined for the United States, he started to offer some mosaics to other American museums from the abundant resources of his collection²⁹. This policy of museum management was a constant over the following decades. Thus, the Worcester Museum without any apparent reason dismembered the panels from the corridor of the Aion House (selling three of the seven to the Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College in Ohio)³⁰ (Figure 10) and sold off to the J. Paul Getty Museum all five of the panels coming from the vestibule of the little Bath of Apolausis, dated around 400 A.D.³¹. The same

Figure 10 Antioch, House of Aion (revised after Molholt 2005).

²⁸ The other two section are decorated with personification inscribed AFWPA and with personification inscribed EYKAPIIIA, see Kondoleon 2005b: 202-204 and 206 (note 4), fig. 5.

²⁹ James A. Welu, Director of Worcester Art Museum remember "Worcester still arranging for its last shipment of mosaics in 1940 when, like Baltimore, it began offering mosaics to other museums. Over subsequent years the Museum sold the mosaics to Amherst College, Oberlin College and the J.Paul Getty Museum and in few cases also exchanged them for other works of art, as it did with the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design" (2005: 12, 14).

³⁰ The central panel with the personifications of Earth (Inscribed ΓH) and the two lateral geometric panels. The mosaics, dated to the early 6th century, were removed from a house partially excavated near the Justinianic wall on the western edge of Antioch; Stillwell 1941: 175-176 (109), pl. 50; Campbell 1988: 57-59, pls. 168-173; Molholt 2005: 222-227.

³¹ Stillwell 1941: 182-183 (n. 123), pl. 58; Jones 1981: 20; Cimok 2000: 234-238: The Baths of Apolausis were built on the slopes near the city of Antioch. The square panel from an absidal room with the

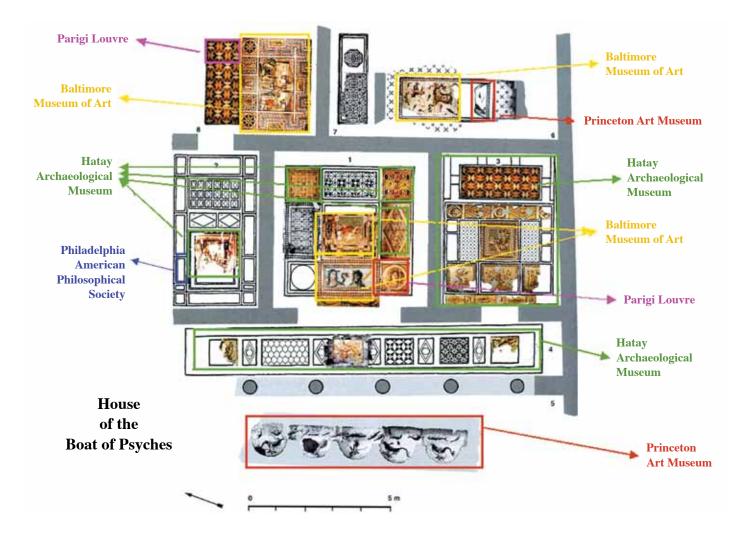


Figure 11 Daphne, House of Boat of Psyches (revised after Kondoleon 2000).

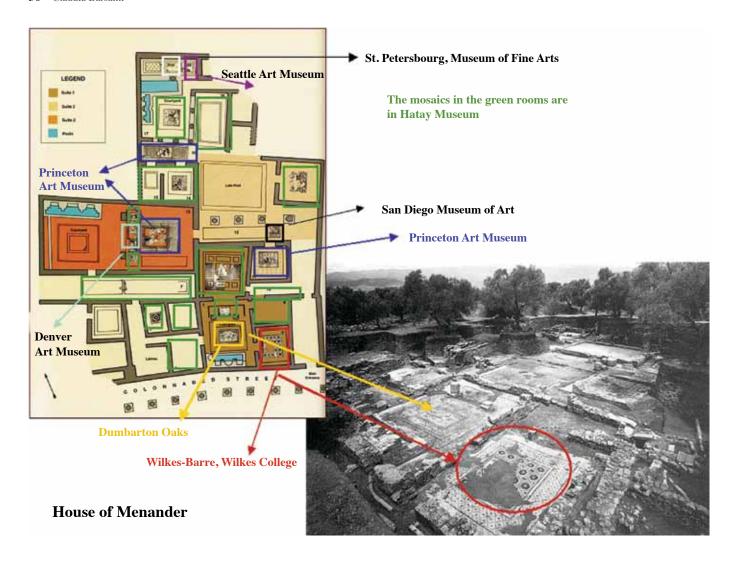
hard-boiled museum policy has characterised the management of the Baltimore Museum of Art and Princeton University, both of which institutions have also let go of some of their mosaics.

The dismemberment and dispersal of the mosaics of Antioch in the twentieth century is perhaps most dramatically exemplified, however, by the case of the pavements from the House of the Boat of Psyche³². Dating to the latter half of the third century and rediscovered in eight rooms, these have been divided up amongst the sponsors of the Committee (as can be seen from the image)³³ (Figure 11). Treated as though they were loot, they have suffered even the breaking up of unitary compositions.

female personification identified by an inscription as Apolausis is in Dumbarton Oaks (Richter 1956: 61, pl. XXVII); from the pavement of the frigidarium was removed only the central panel with the personification of Soteria, which is now in Hatay Archaeological Museum.

³² For the architecture of the house of Antioch see Stillwell 1961 and Lassus 1984. In the catalogue of the Worcester's exhibition it is made a seriuous attempt to set the mosaics in their architectural contest. Dobbins, in particular, have showed haw mosaic pavements, like carpets, worked within a Roman house, Dobbins 2000:51-62.

³³ Stillwell 1938: 183-186 (nn. 46-54), pls. 34-40; Levi 1947: 167-191, fig. 64, pls. XXXV-XLII; Cimok 2000: 151-171; Kondoleon 2000: 71-74, figs. 5-7. The mosaic of Tethys, today in the Baltimore Museum of Art, was displayed in the Worcester exhibition (Kondoleon 2000: 152-153).



A similar dismemberment (highlighted in the image) occurred in the case of the pavements for the Severan-period House of the Drinking Contest at Seleucia Pieira³⁴ (Figure 12). But even more shocking is the division of the pavements discovered in the immense House of Menander at Daphne (as we can see in the image) (Figure 13). That structure had more than 20 rooms and its mosaics belonged to two different levels of the Antonine period and Tetrarchy³⁵. Some mosaics from the nearby House of the splendid Red Pavement, today in the Hatay Archaeological Museum, dated to late second century (Stillwell 1941:192-196 (n. 140), pls. 67-69; Levi 1947: 68-69, figs. 32-34; Cimok 2000: 70-85), were also dismembered: a panel with the head of Medusa was assigned to Princeton University (Stillwell 1941: 196-198 (nn. 142-145), pls. 69-70; Jones 1981: 8, fig. 14; Cimok 2000: 88-89), another panel with geometric pattern is in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design at Providence (Stillwell 1941: 197 (n. 144), pl. 70; Jones 1981: 22.), a third panel with geometric pattern formerly allocated to Dumbarton Oaks is today in the Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge (Stillwell

Figure 12 Daphne, House of Menander (revised after Dobbins 2000).

³⁴ Stillwell 1941: 207-211 (nn. 166-172), pls. 80-83; Levi 1947: 156-163, fig. 59, pls. XXX-XXXI; Dobbins 2000: 53-57, figs. 1-4; Cimok 2000: 134-143.

³⁵ Stillwell 1941: 182-192 (nn. 128-139), pls. 61-65; Levi 1947: 66-67, 198-216 pls. XLIV-XLVII; Dobbins 2000: 57-59, figs. 5-6; Kondoleon 2000: 74-77, figs. 8-9. The mosaic of Menander, Glykera, and Comedy, found in the room 11, today in Princeton Art Museum, was displayed in Worcester exhibition: Kondoleon 2000: 156 (n. 40).

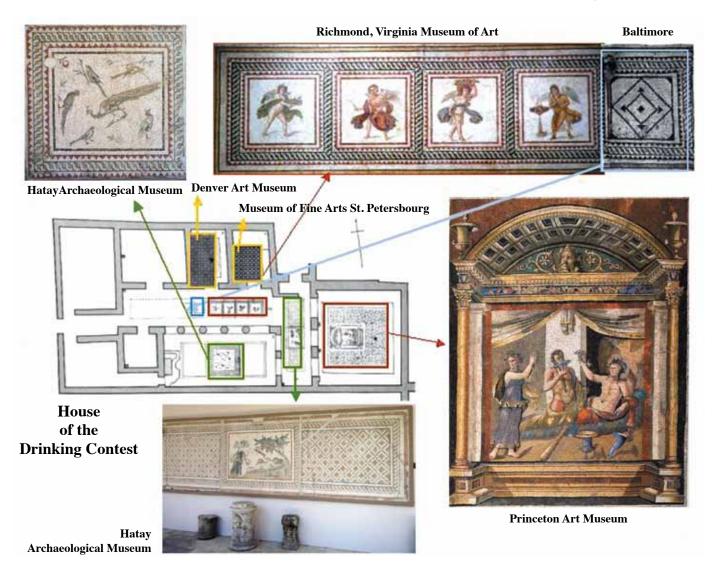
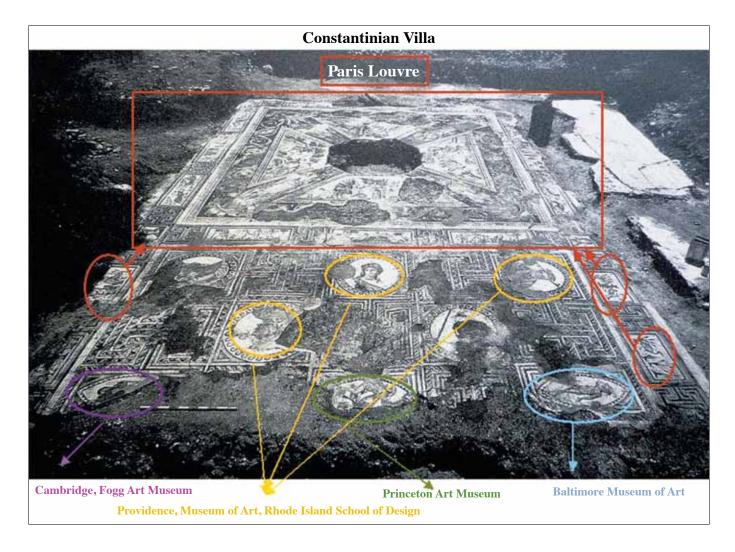


Figure 13 Seleucia Pieira, House of the Drinking Contest (revised after Dobbins 2000).

1941: 198 (n. 144), pl. 70; Jones 1981: 24; Cimok 2000: 69). I would like to remember also the mosaics, dated mid-to late second century, from the House of Cilicia at Seleucia Pieira. The mosaics with the bust of the personification of the Pyramos river and the Tigris river, only extant of the four panels that framed the central large composition of a triclinium (room 1) with personifications of provinces, the one preserved is labelled KILIKIA. These mosaics are today split between the Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton (Pyramos)³⁶, the Detroit Institute of Art (Tigris) (Jones 1981: 19, 21; Cimok 2000; 64-67), and the University of Oklahoma, Norman, the personification of Cilicia (Stillwell 1941: 213-214 (nn. 177a-d, 178a-b, 179), pls. 88-89; Jones 1981: 21; Cimok 2000: 63), former assigned to Princeton (Stillwell 1941: 219 (n. 177, panel A)).

Not even the large mosaic that once adorned the superb pavement of an openair courtyard in the Constantinian Villa managed to escape this archaeological treasure-hunt. Dated to about 350, the mosaic contains allegories of the seasons and hunting scenes and is framed by a border the panels of which contain scenes of bucolic life. This mosaic was allotted to the Louvre (Stillwell 1938: 197-199; Baratte 1978: 99-118 (n. 45); Cimok 2000: 201-217). By contrast, eight of the

³⁶ Stillwel 1941: 214 (n. 177), pl. 88. The panel with the bust of identified by a Greek inscription was presented in Worcester exhibition, see Kondoleon 2000: 152 (n. 38).



medallions containing busts and inserted within the geometrical design of the adjacent panel (Figure 14) were cut up and divided between the Museum of Fine Art of the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence³⁷, the Fogg Art Museum of Cambridge (Fragmentary panel with female figure: Stillwell 1938: 200 (n. 87z), pl. 68; Jones 1981: 18), the Baltimore Art Museum (Panel with Satyr Stillwell 1938: 200 (n. 87Ab) pl. 67; Jones 1981: 17), Princeton University (Panel with reclining Herakles Stillwell 1938: 200 (n. Aa), pl. 68; Jones 1981: 8, fig. 15), and the Louvre (Baratte 1978: 114, figs. 106-107). The eight circular or oblong medallions served as filling motifs for a meander and square pattern that formed the rectangular section of a lage pavement covering the reception hall. To return to the mosaic with allegories of the seasons and hunting scenes, I should like to draw your attention to the unusual way in which its border was restored upon arrival at the Louvre. For reasons of display and with a view to rendering the figures more legible, especially those in the small panels at the edge, it was decided to change their original orientation, rotating them and turning their direction from the centre outwards³⁸!

Figure 14 Daphne, Constantinian Villa (revised after Stillwell 1938).

³⁷ Panels with Dionysos, Silenus and Satyr; Stillwell 1938: 199 (nn. 87vwy), pl. 67; Jones 1981: 22; Cimok 2000: 220-222. The mosaic with the bust of Dionysos was displayed in Worcester exhibition: Kondoleon 2000: 205-206. (n. 92).

³⁸ Baratte 1978: 99 "les sections de bordure des côté est, nord et sud ont été retournées, de façon à ce que tous les tableaux figurés soient visible depuis l'extérieur ».

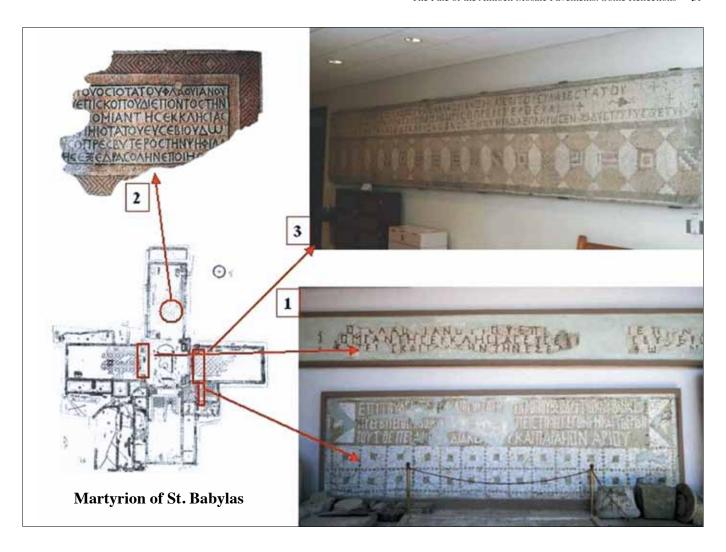


Figure 15 Antioch, Kaoussie Church, Martyrion of St. Babylas (revised after Stillwell 1938).

The last case to be remarked in this brief review of atrocities is that of the *martyrion* of St. Babilas. Situated close to the inhabited centre of the city of Antioch, the remains of this building were excavated in the spring of 1935³⁹. This case reveals yet another aspect of the fate of the mosaics of Antioch and its environs. There is no record as to what happened to the hundreds of square meters of mosaic that were uncovered by excavation, but then left to their destiny. Amongst these figure the mosaics of the enormous cruciform *martyrion*. In view of their extraordinary documentary importance, they ought to have been preserved *in situ*. Alas, as things now stand, only a few scrappy remains in *opus sectile* and four dedicatory inscriptions carrying the date of 387 survive today, and these are to be found two in the Hatay Archaeological Museum of Antioch (Figure 15.1)⁴⁰, at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library

³⁹ Lassus 1939: 5-44; Downey 1939: 45-48; Campbell 1988: 43-47, pls. 125-139; Donceel-Voûte 1994: 21-31. Have also disappeared the remains of the great tetraconch church at Seleucia Pieira located just inside the Roman wall of the city. Only the pavement of the north side of the deambulatory has survived in very poor fragmentary condition. They were removed and set in the courtyard of the Hatay Archaeological Museum: Donceel-Voûte 1994: 290-297; Kleinbauer 2000: 217-218; Kondoleon 2000: 218-219.

⁴⁰ It runs as follows: "Under the most holy Bishop Flavian, the priest Eusebius having charge of the administration of the building, the priest Dorys paved this exedra also with mosaic". The mosaic, from the south aisle, measures 245 x 45 cm. See Campbell 1988: 44, pls. 129-130; Donceel-Voûute 1994: 23. In the second inscription from the Pistikon, dated 420-429, we read "Under the most holy and most venerable Bishop Theodotos and under Athanasius, priest and administrator, the mosaic of the pistikon was made, under Akkiba, deacon and administrator", see Campbell 1988: 45, pl. 138; Donceel-Voûte 1994: 28.

and Collections in Washington (Figure 15.2)⁴¹, and at Princeton University⁴² (Figure 15.3). Poignant in this respect are the regrets expressed by Jean Lassus, French archaeologist who served as assistant field director, about the necessity to dismember a number the pavements in order to excerpt inscriptions and extract figural panel from an expanse or geometric or floral backround!⁴³

Although the former Sanjak of Alexandretta was formally ceded to the Republic of Turkey in 1938⁴⁴ and the commencement of the hostilities of the Second World War brought archaeological investigation to a rapid close, it is extremely surprising that there has been no systematic attempt to resume work at Antioch since then. It is quite likely that with the passage of time and thanks to the general neglect the mosaics that did remain *in situ* fell victim to the urban expansion of the modern city. Nevertheless, Antioch was one of the most important *metropoleis* of the ancient and medieval Mediterranean⁴⁵, and its material culture demands justice.

⁴¹ We reed: "Under the most holy Bishop Flavian, the very honourable Eusebios having been charged with the administration of the church, the priest Dorys had paved the whole exedra with mosaic". The mosaic, from the west aisle measures 176 x 125 cm. See Richter 1956: 60-61 (cat. 41), pl. XXIV,B; Campbell 1988: 44, pls. 131-132; Donceel-Voûte 1994: 22, fig. 3.

^{42 &}quot;Under our most holy Bishop Flavian, and the very venerable Eusebius, administrator and priest, Dorys the priest, in fulliement of a vow, has finished also the mosaic of this exedra, in the month of March of the year 435 (=387 A.D.). The inscription, from the north aisle, measures 45 x 300 cm. See Jones 1981: 3, fig. 1; Campbell 1988: 43, pls. 126-128; Barsanti 1994: 589-590, fig. 2. A second fragment of an inscription ("Lord protect thy servants Marthana and Theodos and Ma...") from the same north aisle is kept in the Princeton Art Museum, Jones 1981: 12, fig. 26; Campbell 1988: 43.

⁴³ Very significant in this respect are some considerations of Lassus 1984: 362.

⁴⁴ Hatay, in rapid succession, became first an autonomous republic under Turkish control (september 1938) and then was annexed to Turkey on July, 23, 1939.

⁴⁵ For an introduction to the history and culture of the ancient city, see Downey 1961; for the documentary vaûlue of the mosaics of Antioch: Levi 1946; Levi 1947; Donceel-Voûte 1994; Kondoleon 2000; Balty 2001.

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