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AIEMA - Türkiye is a research center that aims to study, introduce and constitute a data bank of the mosaics from the prehistoric times till today. The best presentation of the mosaics of Turkey is the ultimate goal of this center functioning depending on AIEMA. A data bank of Turkey mosaics and a corpus including Turkey mosaics are some of the practices of the center. Additionally, this center also equips a periodical including the art of ancient mosaics and original studies namely JMR (Journal of Mosaic Research).

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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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.

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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.

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Bu dergideki makalelerde kullanılacak olan kısaltmalar Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü yayın kuralları, Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque antique, AIEMA - AOrOc 25.2019, La Mosaïque Gréco Romaine IX ve Der Kleine Pauly dikkate alınarak yapılmalıdır.

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In Honour of Werner Jobst

Werner Jobst - Austrian pioneer of mosaic research

Werner Jobst was born in Tschachoritsch in Carinthia, Austria, in 1945. He set out to study classical archaeology and classical philology in Vienna. There he soon made a name for himself as an ambitious scholar, becoming an assistant at the Austrian Archaeological Institute as well as at the Institute for Classical Archaeology at the University of Vienna. Through his teacher and doctoral supervisor, Prof. Hermann Vettters, the director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute



and head of the Ephesos excavations, Jobst came into scholarly contact with Turkey. These events had decisive influence on the rest of his professional life: His love for this country and its cultural assets not only developed through his participation in the Austrian excavations in Ephesos, but manifested itself in a focus of his research activities after the foundation of the Commission for the Corpus of the Ancient Mosaics of Asia Minor at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 1973: initially Jobst devoted himself to the ancient mosaics of the Roman province of Asia. He undertook research trips to the archaeological museums of Istanbul, Iznik, Izmit and Bursa, as well as to Bithynia and Mysia, in order to document mosaics and to build up an archive.

From 1975 onwards, the organisation and control of the project was the responsibility of the Austrian Academy of Sciences together with the Türk Tarih Kurumu; the commission was chaired by Hermann Vettters and Ekrem Akurgal. In the following years, Jobst successfully continued his documentation of the mosaics in Ionia (Nysa, Kuşadası [Pygela], Miletus and Didyma), as well as in Herakleia Pontike, Amasra, Kastamonu and Eskişehir. He always sought personal contact with those responsible on site. He intensified his efforts to preserve Turkey's mosaic heritage during the 1970s as part of his studies on the mosaics of Ephesos, especially for his publication of the mosaics from Terrace House 2, but also by taking up restoration activities, which he first demonstrated with the help of the Aydın Museum in recovering the mosaic from Pygela.

He was present at the restoration of the mosaic of the Stoa of the Alytarches in Ephesos. In 1980 excavation and restoration works on the mosaics in Erythrai and in the area of the Mimas Peninsula (Karaburun) with the sites of Teos and Klazomenai began under his direction. In Erythrai, the then revolutionary method of preserving mosaics using silicic acid ethyl ester was tested, in which the tessellates did not have to be lifted.

Werner Jobst's untiring efforts to give ancient mosaics the attention that had not been paid to them as art monuments in archaeological research in the German-speaking world for many years were also expressed in his publications on mosaics from Austria (cf. W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken in Salzburg* [Vienna 1982]; W. Jobst, *Antike Mosaikkunst in Österreich* [Vienna 1985]). In doing so, he masterfully understood how to address a broad public and arouse its interest.

It was precisely his experience in the field of restoration science that led Werner Jobst, after receiving the offer from the Turkish Department of Antiquities in Ankara, to become head of the project “The Mosaic of the Great Palace in Istanbul”. Under his management, the mosaic complex, which was threatened by decay, was reinvestigated and permanently conserved from 1983 onwards. In addition to the archaeological and restoration works, Werner Jobst saw to it that all parts of the archaeological monument were reunited at their place of discovery (cf. W. Jobst - R. Kastler - V. Scheibelreiter - E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul: Akten der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 6.-8. November 1991 in Istanbul* [Vienna 1999]). It is largely thanks to Jobst’s efforts that a protective building was erected in 1987 in the Arasta Bazaar of Istanbul, which allowed a modern museological presentation of the mosaic. On 28 November 1997, the restoration measures were completed and the mosaic was presented to the Minister of Culture of the Turkish Republic in a ceremony marking the 150th anniversary of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (cf. W. Jobst - B. Erdal - Ch. Gurtner, *İstanbul Büyük Saray Mozayı: Araştırmalar, Onarım ve Sergileme, 1983-1997 = Istanbul, the Great Byzantine Palace Mosaic: its Exploration, Preservation and Exhibition, 1983-1997* [Istanbul 1997]).

After Werner Jobst had attained the post of Provincial Archaeologist of Lower Austria and his university agendas took him to Vienna, Graz and Salzburg, he became Chairman of the Commission for the Corpus of the Ancient Mosaics of Asia Minor at the ÖAW in 1991. In this capacity, he not only intensified his research activities in Turkey, but also expanded his contacts in international mosaic research and with AIEMA.

Since 2004, he has taken on important tasks within the initiative to found a Turkish branch of AIEMA: Here, he could benefit both from his great experience in the fields of mosaic research and restoration and from his personal networks within in the scientific community. Even more, he could further especially his love for the country and the people of Turkey! Jobst served on advisory committees at all events leading up to the founding of AIEMA Türkiye and is now a member of the scientific committee of the Journal of Mosaic Research (JMR).

We wish the jubilarian and ourselves that he may enrich the study of ancient mosaics with many exciting contributions in the years to come and that he may continue his travels and research – especially in Turkey – with his usual vigour!

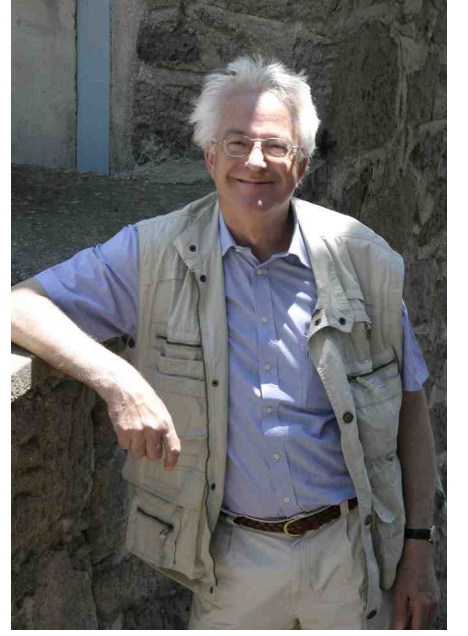
Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail

Vienna, July 1, 2021

Werner Jobst'un Onuruna

Werner Jobst - Avusturyalı Mozaik Araştırmaları Öncüsü

Werner Jobst 1945'te Avusturya'nın Karintiya kentindeki Tschachoritsch'te doğdu. Viyana'da klasik arkeoloji ve klasik filoloji okumaya başladı. Orada kısa süre sonra tutkulu bir bilim adamı olarak adını duyurdu ve Avusturya Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'nün yanı sıra Viyana Üniversitesi Klasik Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'nde asistan oldu. Öğretmeni ve doktora danışmanı, Avusturya Arkeoloji Enstitüsü müdürü ve Efes kazıları başkanı Prof. Hermann Vetters aracılığıyla Jobst, Türkiye ile bilimsel temas kurdu. Bu olaylar, mesleki yaşamının geri kalanı üzerinde belirleyici bir etkiye sahip olacaktı: Bu ülkeye ve kültürel varlıklarına olan sevgisi sadece Avusturya'nın Efes'teki kazılarına katılmasıyla gelişmemiş, aynı



zamanda 1973'te Avusturya Bilimler Akademisi Küçük Asya Antik Mozaikleri Külliyyatı Komisyonu'nun kurulmasından sonra araştırma faaliyetlerinin odak noktasında kendini göstermiştir: Jobst başlangıçta kendisini Roma'nın Asya eyaletinin antik mozaiklerine adanmıştır. Mozaikleri belgelemek ve bir arşiv oluşturmak için İstanbul, İznik, İzmit ve Bursa arkeoloji müzelerinin yanı sıra Bithynia ve Mysia'ya araştırma gezileri yapmıştır.

1975'ten itibaren projenin organizasyonu ve kontrolü Türk Tarih Kurumu ile birlikte Avusturya Bilimler Akademisi'nin sorumluluğundaydı; bu komisyona Hermann Vetters ve Ekrem Akurgal başkanlık etmiştir. İlerleyen yıllarda Jobst, İonia'daki (Nysa, Kuşadası [Pygela], Miletus ve Didyma), Herakleia Pontike, Amasra, Kastamonu ve Eskişehir'deki mozaikleri belgelemeye başarıyla devam etmiştir. Her zaman sahadaki sorumlularla kişisel temas kurmaya çalışmıştır. 1970'li yıllarda Efes mozaikleri üzerine yaptığı çalışmalarda, özellikle Teras Ev 2'deki mozaiklerin yayınlanması için, aynı zamanda ilk kez Pygela'dan mozaığın kurtarılmasında Aydın Müzesi'nin yardımlarla gösterdiği restorasyon çalışmalarını da üstlenerek, Türkiye'nin mozaik mirasının korunmasına yönelik çabalarını yoğunlaştırmıştır.

Efes'teki Alytarches Stoa'sının mozağinin restorasyonundaya almıştır. 1980 yılında Erythrai'de ve Mimas Yarımadası (Karaburun) bölgesinde Teos ve Klazomenai yerleşimleri ile mozaikler üzerinde kazı ve restorasyon çalışmaları kendisinin başkanlığında başlamıştır. Erythrai'de, mozaiklerin kaldırılmasının gerekmediği, silisik asit etil ester kullanılarak mozaikleri korumanın devrim niteliğindeki yöntemi test edilmiştir.

Werner Jobst'un uzun yıllardır Almanca konuşulan ülkelerde arkeolojik araştırmalarda sanat anıtı olarak onlara gösterilmeyen ilgiyi antik mozaiklere vermek için bitmek bilmeyen çabaları, Avusturya'dan mozaikler üzerine yaptığı yayınlarda da ifade edilmiştir (cf. W. Jobst, Römische Mosaiken in Salzburg [Vienna 1982]; W. Jobst, Antike Mosaikkunst in Österreich [Vienna 1985])

Bunu yaparken, geniş bir kitleye nasıl hitap edeceğini ve ilgisini nasıl çekeceğini ustaca anlamıştır.

Werner Jobst'un Ankara'daki Türkiye Eski Eserler Dairesi'nden teklif almasının ardından "İstanbul'daki Büyük Saray Mozaığı" projesinin başına geçmesine yol açan şey, restorasyon bilimi alanındaki deneyimi olmuştur. Onun yönetimi altında, çürüme tehdidi altındaki mozaik kompleksi yeniden araştırılmış ve 1983'ten itibaren kalıcı olarak korunmuştur. Werner Jobst, arkeolojik ve restorasyon çalışmalarına ek olarak, arkeolojik anıtın tüm bölümlerinin keşfedildikleri yerde yeniden birleştirilmesini sağlamıştır (bkz. W. Jobst - R. Kastler - V. Scheibelreiter - E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von İstanbul: Akten der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 6.-8 Kasım 1991, İstanbul [Viyana 1999]). Büyük ölçüde Jobst'un çabaları sayesinde, 1987 yılında İstanbul Arasta Çarşısı'nda mozaığın modern bir müzeolojik sunumuna izin veren koruyucu bir bina inşa edilmiştir. 28 Kasım 1997'de restorasyon çalışmaları tamamlanmış ve mozaik Avusturya Bilimler Akademisi'nin 150. kuruluş yıldönümü münasebetiyle düzenlenen törenle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanı'na takdim edilmiştir (bkz. W. Jobst - B. Erdal - Ch. Gurtner, İstanbul Büyük Saray Mozaığı: Araştırmalar, Onarım ve Sergileme, 1983-1997 = İstanbul, the Great Byzantine Palace Mosaic: its Exploration, Preservation and Exhibition, 1983-1997 [İstanbul 1997]).

Werner Jobst, Aşağı Avusturya Vilayet Arkeologu görevine geldikten ve üniversite gündemleri onu Viyana, Graz ve Salzburg'a götürdükten sonra, 1991'de ÖAW'da Küçük Asya Antik Mozaikleri Külliyatı Komisyonu Başkanı olmuştur. Bu sıfatla, sadece Türkiye'deki araştırma faaliyetlerini yoğunlaştırmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda uluslararası mozaik araştırmaları ve AIEMA ile olan bağlantılarını da genişletmiştir.

2004 yılından bu yana AIEMA'nın Türkiye şubesini kurma girişimi kapsamında önemli görevler üstlenmiştir: Burada hem mozaik araştırma ve restorasyon alanlarındaki büyük deneyiminden hem de bilim camiasındaki kişisel ağlarından faydalanabilir. Dahası, özellikle ülkeye ve Türkiye halkına olan sevgisini daha da ilerletebilir! AIEMA Türkiye'nin kuruluşuna kadarki tüm etkinliklerde danışma kurullarında yer alan Jobst, şu anda Journal of Mosaic Research (JMR) bilim kurulu üyesidir.

Gelecek yıllarda antik mozaik çalışmalarını birçok heyecan verici katkıyla zenginleştirmesini ve özellikle Türkiye'de seyahatlerine ve araştırmalarına her zamanki gücüyle devam etmesini, kendisi ve kendimiz için diliyoruz!

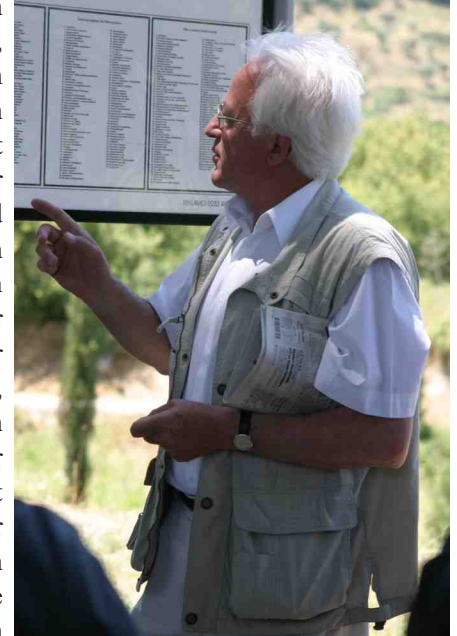
Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail

Viyana, 1 Temmuz 2021

Werner Jobst zu Ehren

Werner Jobst - Österreichischer Pionier der Mosaikforschung

Werner Jobst wurde 1945 in Tschachoritsch in Kärnten, Österreich, geboren. Seine Studien der Klassischen Archäologie und Klassischen Philologie führten ihn nach Wien. Dort machte er sich bald als ehrgeiziger Wissenschaftler einen Namen und wurde Assistent am Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut sowie am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien. Durch seinen Lehrer und Doktorvater, Prof. Hermann Vetters, den Direktor des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts und Leiter des Unternehmen Ephesos, kam Jobst in wissenschaftlichen Kontakt mit der Türkei, die sein weiteres Berufsleben entscheidend prägen sollte: Seine Liebe zu diesem Land und dessen Kulturgütern



entwickelte sich nicht nur durch die Teilnahme an den österreichischen Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, sondern manifestierte sich nach der Gründung der Kommission für das Corpus der antiken Mosaiken Kleinasiens an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW) im Jahr 1973 in einem Schwerpunkt seiner Forschungstätigkeit: Mit dem Ziel, antike Mosaiken für den Aufbau eines systematisch angelegten Bildarchivs zu dokumentieren, unternahm Jobst Reisen in die archäologischen Museen von Istanbul, Iznik, Izmit und Bursa sowie nach Bithynien und Mysien. Die Organisation des Corpusprojekts oblag ab 1975 der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften gemeinsam mit dem Türk Tarih Kurumu; die Kommission wurde von Hermann Vetters und Ekrem Akurgal geleitet. In den folgenden Jahren setzte Jobst seine Dokumentation von Mosaiken in Ionien (Nysa, Kuşadası [Pygela], Milet und Didyma) sowie in Herakleia Pontike, Amasra, Kastamonu und Eskişehir erfolgreich fort, wobei er stets den persönlichen Kontakt zu den Verantwortlichen vor Ort suchte. Seine Bemühungen um die Erhaltung des musivischen Erbes der Türkei intensivierte er in den 1970er Jahren im Rahmen seiner Forschungen zu den Mosaiken von Ephesos, insbesondere für seine Publikation der Mosaiken aus dem Hanghaus 2, aber auch durch die Aufnahme von Restaurierungsarbeiten, die er erstmals mit Hilfe des Museums Aydın bei der Bergung des Mosaiks aus Pygela demonstrierte. Er war bei der Restaurierung des Mosaiks der Alytarchenstoa in Ephesos anwesend, und 1980 begannen unter seiner Leitung Ausgrabungs- und Restaurierungsarbeiten an den Mosaiken in Erythrai und im Gebiet der Mimas-Halbinsel (Karaburun) mit den Stätten von Teos und Klazomenai. In Erythrai wurde unter Jobsts Ägide die damals revolutionäre Methode der Mosaikkonservierung mit Kieselsäureethylester erprobt, bei der die Mosaiken nicht gehoben werden mussten.

Werner Jobsts unermüdliches Bestreben, den antiken Mosaiken die Aufmerksamkeit zukommen zu lassen, die ihnen als Kunstdenkmälern in der archäologischen Forschung im deutschsprachigen Raum lange Zeit nicht zuteil

geworden war, fand auch in seinen Publikationen zu Mosaiken aus Österreich seinen Niederschlag (vgl. W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken in Salzburg* [Wien 1982]; W. Jobst, *Antike Mosaikkunst in Österreich* [Wien 1985]). Dabei verstand er es meisterhaft, ein breites Publikum anzusprechen und dessen Interesse zu wecken.

Gerade seine Erfahrungen auf dem Gebiet der Restaurierungswissenschaft führten dazu, dass Werner Jobst nach dem Angebot der türkischen Antikenverwaltung in Ankara die Leitung des Projektes „Das Mosaik des Großen Palastes in Istanbul“ übernahm. Unter seiner Ägide wurde der vom Verfall bedrohte Mosaikkomplex ab 1983 neu erforscht und dauerhaft konserviert. Neben archäologischen und restaurierungswissenschaftlichen Arbeiten sorgte Werner Jobst dafür, dass alle Teile des Bodendenkmals wieder an ihrem Fundort zusammengeführt wurden (vgl. W. Jobst – R. Kastler – V. Scheibelreiter – E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul: Akten der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 6.-8. November 1991 in Istanbul* [Wien 1999]). Es ist maßgeblich den Bemühungen von Jobst zu verdanken, dass 1987 im Arasta Basar von Istanbul ein Schutzbau errichtet wurde, der eine moderne museale Präsentation des Mosaiks ermöglichte. Am 28. November 1997 wurden die Restaurierungsmaßnahmen abgeschlossen und das Mosaik im Rahmen einer Feier zum 150-jährigen Bestehen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften an den Kulturminister der Türkischen Republik übergeben (vgl. W. Jobst – B. Erdal – Ch. Gurtner, *Istanbul. Das große byzantinische Palastmosaik. Seine Erforschung, Konservierung und Präsentation 1983–1997 = İstanbul Büyük Saray Mozayiği: Araştırmalar, Onarım ve Sergileme, 1983-1997 = Istanbul, the Great Byzantine Palace Mosaic: its Exploration, Preservation and Exhibition, 1983-1997* [Istanbul 1997]).

Nachdem Werner Jobst das Amt des Landesarchäologen von Niederösterreich erlangt hatte und seine Universitätsagenden ihn nach Wien, Graz und Salzburg führten, wurde er 1991 auch Vorsitzender der Kommission für das Corpus der antiken Mosaiken Kleinasiens an der ÖAW. In dieser Funktion intensivierte er nicht nur seine Forschungsaktivitäten in der Türkei, sondern erweiterte auch seine Kontakte in der internationalen Mosaikforschung und zur AIEMA.

Seit 2004 hat er wichtige Aufgaben im Rahmen der Initiative zur Gründung eines türkischen Zweigs der AIEMA übernommen: Hier kamen ihm seine große Erfahrung in den Bereichen der Mosaikforschung und Restaurierung ebenso zugute wie seine Vernetzung in der Wissenschaftslandschaft, vor allem aber seine Liebe zu Land und Leuten der Türkei!

Werner Jobst war bei allen Veranstaltungen, die zur Gründung der AIEMA Türkiye führten, in beratenden Gremien tätig. Heute ist er Mitglied des wissenschaftlichen Komitees des *Journal of Mosaic Research* (JMR).

Wir wünschen dem Jubilar und uns, dass er das Studium der antiken Mosaiken in den kommenden Jahren durch viele spannende Beiträge bereichern möge und er mit gewohntem Elan seine Reisen und Forschungen – vor allem in der Türkei – fortsetzen kann!

Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail

Wien, am 1. Juli 2021



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Çalışmalar Derneği 16. Uluslararası Kolokiyumu Hakkında*

The Late Roman Mosaics from the Villa of Pont del Treball Digne, Barcelona

Barcelona, Pont del Treball Digne Villası'ndan Geç Roma Mozaikleri

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Abstract

The construction of the new La Sagrera high-speed rail line station in Barcelona revealed a new archaeological site whose remains were identified as a roman villa. The studies undertaken have allowed the foundation of the settlement to be dated to the first half of the 1st century BC and to identify different building and refurbishment phases. The most important transformation of the pars urbana was undertaken in the late 4th century AD. We attest the creation of new living spaces dedicated mainly to the social functions of the villa and the representation of the dominus. A new decorative programme was also implemented at this time. It included two mosaic and opus sectile floors and marble wall linings. This process of enriching the domestic space took place in parallel with similar refurbishment programmes documented in the roman town of Barcino. The aim of this study is to conduct the compositional analysis of these late pavements. Moreover, some chronological appreciations about the pavements construction can be made, due to ceramic studies.

Keywords: Roman villae, mosaic, opus sectile, geometric patterns, krater.

Öz

Barcelona'daki yeni La Sagrera hızlı tren hattı istasyonunun inşaatı, kalıntıları bir Roma villası olarak tanımlanan yeni bir arkeolojik alanı ortaya çıkarmıştır. Yapılan çalışmalar, yerleşimin temelini MÖ 1. yüzyılın ilk yarısına tarihlendirilmesine ve farklı inşaat ve tadilat aşamalarının belirlenmesine olanak sağlamıştır. Pars urbana'nın en önemli dönüşümü dördüncü yüzyılın sonlarında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Özellikle villanın sosyal işlevlerine ve dominusun temsiline adanmış yeni yaşam alanlarının yaratıldığını onaylamamız mümkündür. Bu sırada yeni bir dekoratif program da uygulanmıştır. Bu program iki mozaik ile opus sectile zemin ve mermer duvar kaplamaları içermektedir. Ev alanını zenginleştirme süreci, Roma kasabası Barcino'da belgelenen benzer yenileme programlarına paralel olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, bu geç dönem döşemelerin kompozisyon analizini yapmaktır. Ayrıca, seramik çalışmaları ışığında döşeme yapımı ile ilgili kronolojik değerlendirmeler de yapılabilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma villaları, mozaik, opus sectile, geometrik desenler, krater.

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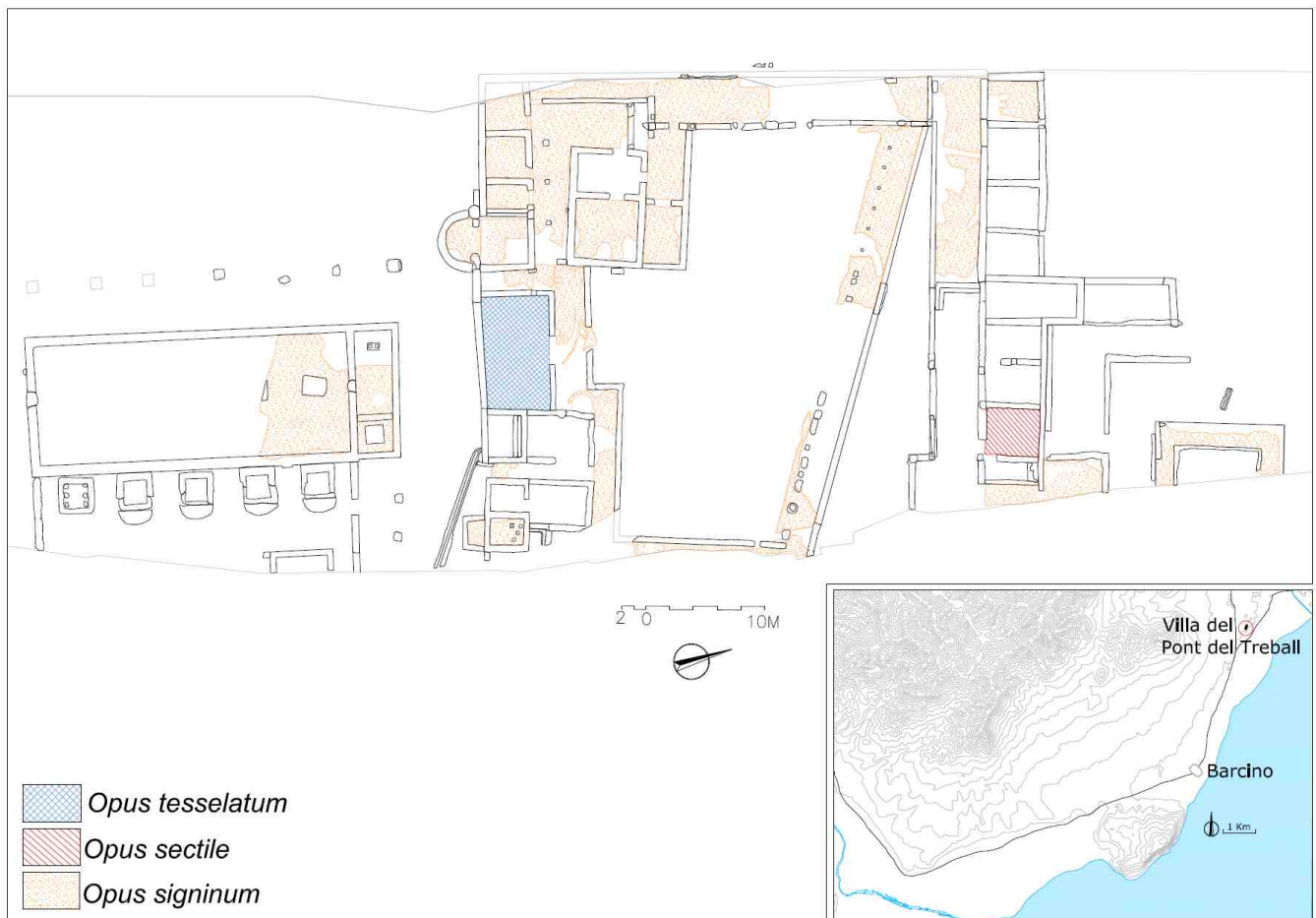
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In 2011 the remains of a very promising archaeological site were discovered during construction of the new La Sagrera high-speed rail line station in Barcelona (Spain). Subsequent excavations revealed structures from the Iberian period and a Roman establishment with an evolutionary sequence spanning many centuries (Alcubierre 2012; Alcubierre et al. 2014; Alcubierre et al. 2016; Alcubierre et al. 2021). The Roman levels were identified as the remains of an imposing peri-urban establishment situated 5 km from the Roman colony of *Barcino* (Fig. 1). This *villa* was 170 m from the branch of the *Via Augusta* that ran along the coast, i.e. the stretch that in Augustan times deviated from the original route to go through *Barcino*, after having passed through Iluro and Baetulo. It was therefore an important hub between the three most important urban areas in the region. The establishment was also near the former estuary of the River Besós –now a delta– with excellent alluvial land for crop growing, marshes and lagoons suitable for animal husbandry, and wooded areas. All these possibilities were no doubt important factors in the decision to build a villa there (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 167-168). A total area of 10,423 m² was excavated during the various campaigns undertaken between 2011 and 2019. Unfortunately, it was not possible to preserve the remains as they were not compatible with railway construction project.

Figure 1
Plan of the Villa of Pont del Treball Digne (s. IV). Insert shows the location of the mosaics. In the corner, map of the situation of the archaeological next to Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain). Elaboration: Technical staff.



The studies undertaken to date have allowed the foundation of the Roman settlement to be dated to the first half of the 1st century BC. (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 167) It was probably established at the same time as the territory assigned to the colony of *Barcino* was being organised, although there are some doubts

as to the chronological correlation between the town and the villa, as the earliest levels of the latter appear to be somewhat prior to the town's foundation.

The earliest remains identified correspond to the villa's *pars fructuaria*. However, between 10 BC and 15 AD we find a fully defined residential area or *pars urbana* (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 168). The residential building was distributed around two open spaces that organised the domestic area and the internal circulation: a large peristyle and a second smaller courtyard, probably corresponding to a *hortus*. Despite the precariousness of the remains corresponding to this phase, the existence of a heated room and abundant pieces of mural painting and *crustae marmorae* lead us to believe that the owners of this villa were very wealthy. The villa's productive area during this architectural phase consisted of a series of buildings devoted to winemaking.

Between 70 and 90 AD, the original production structures were replaced by a large *torcularium* with six presses that can be interpreted as a large-scale wine production facility. This building would have remained in operation until the mid-5th century (Alcubierre et al. 2021:172). The impetus of the winemaking business is reflected in the villa's *pars urbana* which, from that time on, went through successive stages of monumentalisation. (Alcubierre et al. 2016: 364-371; 2021: 168-171).

In the transition from the 2nd to the 3rd century, the peristyle underwent considerable changes with the construction of a building consisting of a room with a square ground plan and an entrance antechamber that occupied the previous open space in the southwestern corner of the peristyle. Its construction and decorative characteristics lead us to believe that it was a unique entity (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 168). A small private *balneum* was also built and subsequently modified.

However, it was in the late 4th century AD, and more specifically around 370-380 AD, that the most important refurbishment was undertaken in the residential part of the villa, leading to its period of maximum architectural and decorative splendour.

In this phase, the residential area continued to be organised around the two aforementioned open areas (Fig. 1). At this time we attest the creation of new living spaces dedicated mainly to the social functions of the villa and the representation of the *dominus*. These included new porticos, a *viridarium* and a thermal baths complex that partially occupied the peristyle area. Also at this time, large, planimetrically outstanding rooms were built. Between them there was a space headed by an *exedra* raised above the rest of the circulation level (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 170-171). A new decorative programme was also implemented at this time. It included two mosaic and *opus sectile* floors and marble wall linings. This process of enriching the domestic space took place in parallel with similar programmes documented in the town of *Barcino*. There we attest a renewed protagonism of the residential areas and considerable construction and ornamental dynamism in some domestic spaces, such as the *domus* in Carrer d'Avinyó (Villardel i Fernández 2008) or Carrer de la Fruita (Fumanal et al. 2011). The architectural transformations in the villa have been analysed in detail in recent publications (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 169). In this study we will focus on the decorative modifications to the large reception rooms that particularly involved the floors, as we will see below.

However, this important refurbishment that enriched the architecture and decoration of the villa did not last for long and further major changes were made to it over the following decades (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 172-173). By the mid-5th

century the traditional production structures had been demolished and the living and representation rooms were being used to house production facilities and storage areas associated with cereal farming, a new activity for the villa. At the same time, new rooms were built, or the existing ones were modified. Thus, some areas that had once been clearly residential or even representational were occupied by utilitarian spaces such as kilns, stores and silos. All this reflects a change in the economic vocation of the agrarian structure and a turning point in the rural settlement pattern.

The Late-Phase Representation Rooms and Their Floors

In this paper, we are referring to the floors from the late phase, given that evidence for those of the first building phase is very sparse. Nevertheless, despite the impossibility of contextualising those data, we can underline that more than 1500 vitreous paste tesserae were found preserved. They were dispersed throughout the different rooms, along with numerous remains of hexagonal (Fig. 2a) and triangular white marble plaques (Fig. 2b) that probably correspond to the same early building phase. The dating appears to be coherent, given the evidence of floors from the first half of the 1st century with the same design preserved in Empúries (Pérez Olmedo 1997: 117-118 n. 71 pl. XXI) and Carthago Nova (Pérez Olmedo 1997: 144-145, 150 ns. 97 and 101 pl. XXXII).



Figure 2a
Hexagonal white marble plaques, probably of a lost *opus sectile* pavement from the early building phase (s. I). Photo: Daniel Alcubierre and Jordi Ardiaca.

The architectural transformation of the villa's late phase dated by ceramological studies to the late 4th century appears to be linked mainly to *opus signinum* flooring in most of the rooms. However, as mentioned above, the floors of two of the representation rooms also had decorative paving. (Alcubierre et al. 2016: 365-370). Such a small number of mosaics could perhaps be due to the fact that the villa's refurbishment remained uncompleted.

The first was an *opus sectile* floor that was completely robbed out in antiquity. It covered a 3.91 x 4.37 m room that was accessed via a distribution area that connected it to the portico of the southern peristyle. At that time this area was rebuilt and widened, giving it the appearance of a vestibule and making it an important space in the planimetry of the reception room. (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 169).

Figure 2b
Triangular white marble plaques probably of a lost *opus sectile* pavement from the early building phase (s. I). Photo: Daniel Alcubierre and Jordi Ardiaca.



The early plundering of the marble paving plaques means that we can now only see the remains of the floor preparation consisting of a layer of lime mortar, fine-grained aggregates, lime nodules and crushed pottery (Alcubierre et al. 2016: 369). However, the imprints of some of the marble plaques can be appreciated on the mortar. Likewise, on the preparation level it is possible to see pottery fragments in a radial pattern, as is habitual in the square modules, as can be appreciated in Maison de la Cascade in Útica (Corpus Tunisie I: 1 n. 27 pls. VII, XLV), as well as marble *crustae* for levelling and supporting the flooring. It is possible to reconstruct the basic paving design by studying the aforementioned imprints and preparatory plaques, according to a well-established methodology verified by research (Guidobaldi 1994).

The remains reveal that there was an *opus sectile* floor with a discontinuous design and two modular combinations that formed a paving with a T+U-shaped decorative pattern (Fig. 3). This composition allows us to interpret it as a *triclinium* floor, in the same way as other examples of *opus sectile* with a U-shaped design are traditionally considered to be from *triclina*. This is the case of the Iberian *opera sectilia* found in Calle Ronda de Tejares 25 (Córdoba) (Gutiérrez Deza 2007: 92-94) or Cabrils (Barcelona) (Pérez Olmedo 1997: 29-91 n. 35 fig. 24). This interpretation of the room as a *triclinium* is further confirmed by the position of this representation area in what is believed to have been the main wing of the villa (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 160).

Most of the surface (U) is decorated with a combination of square plaques (2 x 2 Roman feet) and rectangular plaques (2 x 1 feet) attached to each side of the squares. In the corner there are small squares (1 x 1 foot). These three types of geometric pieces would have formed part of a *modulo quadrato reticolare* (3 x 3 feet) according to Guidobaldi's classification (Guidobaldi 1985: 196-200). On one side of the floor there are two rows of these four modules, with intersections of small squares. On the other side there is only one of these rows of four modules, making the central decoration appear slightly displaced. Here the existing remains show that there were seven rows of four-square modules (Q) (1 x 1 foot).

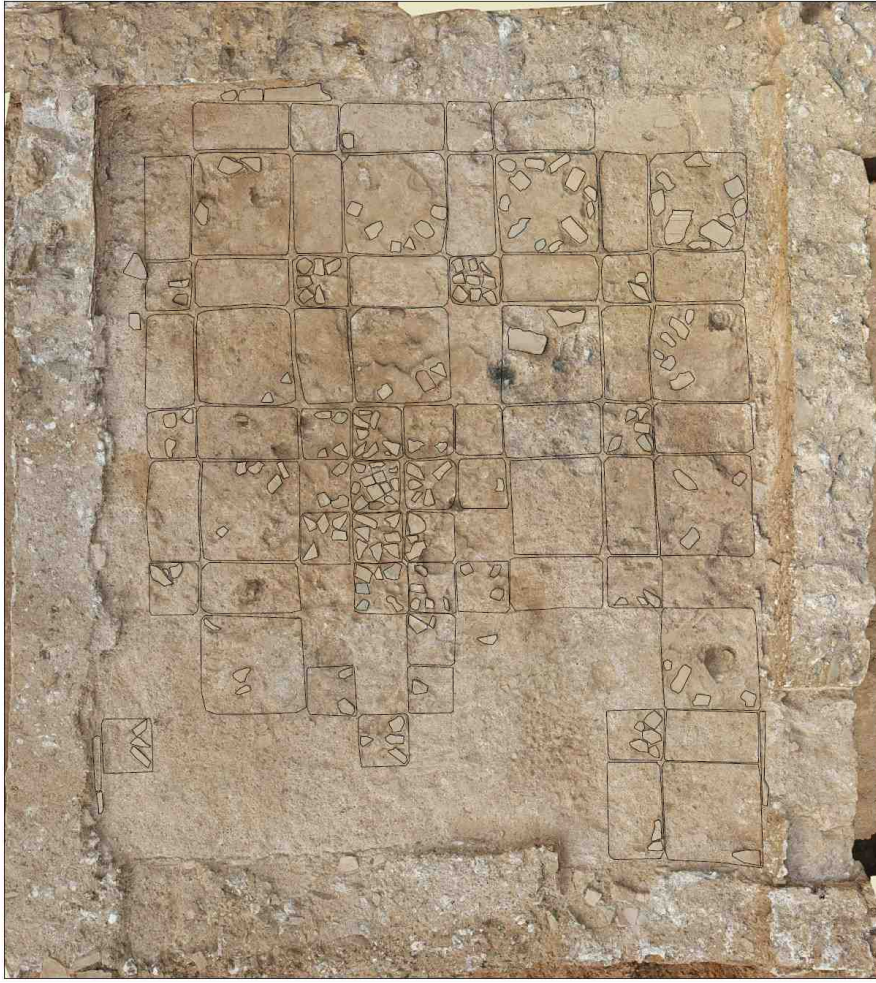


Figure 3
Opus sectile. Remains of the floor preparation and marble *crustae* imprints. Photo by Global Mediterrània. Design: Daniel Alcubierre.

The reticular square module layout was a long-standing decorative scheme. The earliest examples date from the Augustan period and it achieved a new peak of popularity in late antiquity (Guidobaldi 1985: 230). Two of the most representative examples from that time can be found in two examples coming from Ostia: the *domus* del Tempio Rotondo (Becatti 1961: 22 n. 31 22 pl. CCVI) and the *domus* della *Fortuna Annonaria* (Becatti 1961: 217-218 n. 409 pl. CCVI) both dated to the 4th century AD. The *opus sectile* can be added to the marble floors preserved in late antiquity domestic spaces in the urban *Barcino* area, such as in the *domus* of Carrer d'Avinyó (Villardel i Fernández 2008: 68-69) and Carrer de la Fruita (Martín et al. 2000: 284), and the *triclinium* in the suburban *domus* of Carrer de l'Alguer in Tarraco (Macías – Puche 1997: 149-155).

Not a single piece was found that would indicate the varieties of marble used for this paving, leading us to believe that it had been systematically robbed out. Nevertheless, the previous analysed remains show the presence of an *opus sectile* floor that combined small and medium-sized modules, which was very common in private buildings. In this case, the paving shows the decorative importance given to this domestic space.

The most imposing of the villa's representation rooms was on the other side of the peristyle, occupying more than 50 m² between the *balneum* and the apse-shaped *oecus*. It formed part of the major refurbishment of the villa and its construction meant the loss of part of the peristyle area (Alcubierre et al. 2021: 170). It can be dated by the presence of an important pottery assemblage in the preparatory strata and levelling fill of the earlier peristyle walls. The construction of the

room can be dated to between the years 320/325 (by the presence of TSAD H59, H61A and imitation of H61 sherds) and 400 (by TS Lucente Lamboglia 2/37 and TSAD H61A). However, the preparation of the *opus signinum* corresponding to the first phase of the room's paving offers a chronological fork based on TSAD H58B (290-375 AD). This pottery assemblage gives a date of between 320/325 and 375 AD for the room's construction. A few years later (around 380), the mosaic was installed as part of the major refurbishment of the villa.

The mosaic (9.95 x 5.25 m) had been severely affected by modern agricultural work that had caused large voids on its surface, with approximately one third of it missing when it was found (Fig. 4). Nevertheless, the preserved fragments and the graphic restitution give us a rough idea of its geometric and decorative structure. It is currently in the Barcelona Museum of History's Conservation and Restoration Centre (Zona Franca).

Figure 4
Mosaic preserved fragments.
Photo: Global Mediterrània.
Design: Àlvar Mailan.



Thanks to the existing remains we can envisage a rectangular mosaic that covered the whole room and consisted of three juxtaposed carpets separated by wide decorated bands (Fig. 5). Around the exterior of the whole mosaic is a narrow row in reddish tones and undecorated. Successively, on the longer sides of the mosaic there is a band with a multi-strand guilloche motif clearly inspired by a textile design.

On the shorter sides of the mosaic, different ornamental bands can be seen. On the east side, consecutively, a saw-tooth pattern of equilateral triangles row; outlined squares row, and finally, a narrow band divided in three different areas. The central biggest one is decorated with tangent outlined circles and poised squares. The smaller parts in both of its sides preserve a simple square decoration. However, the different colour palette used in each of them gives an entirely different appearance. The band on the west side is only partially preserved, and some remains with a chess polychrome pattern are preserved.

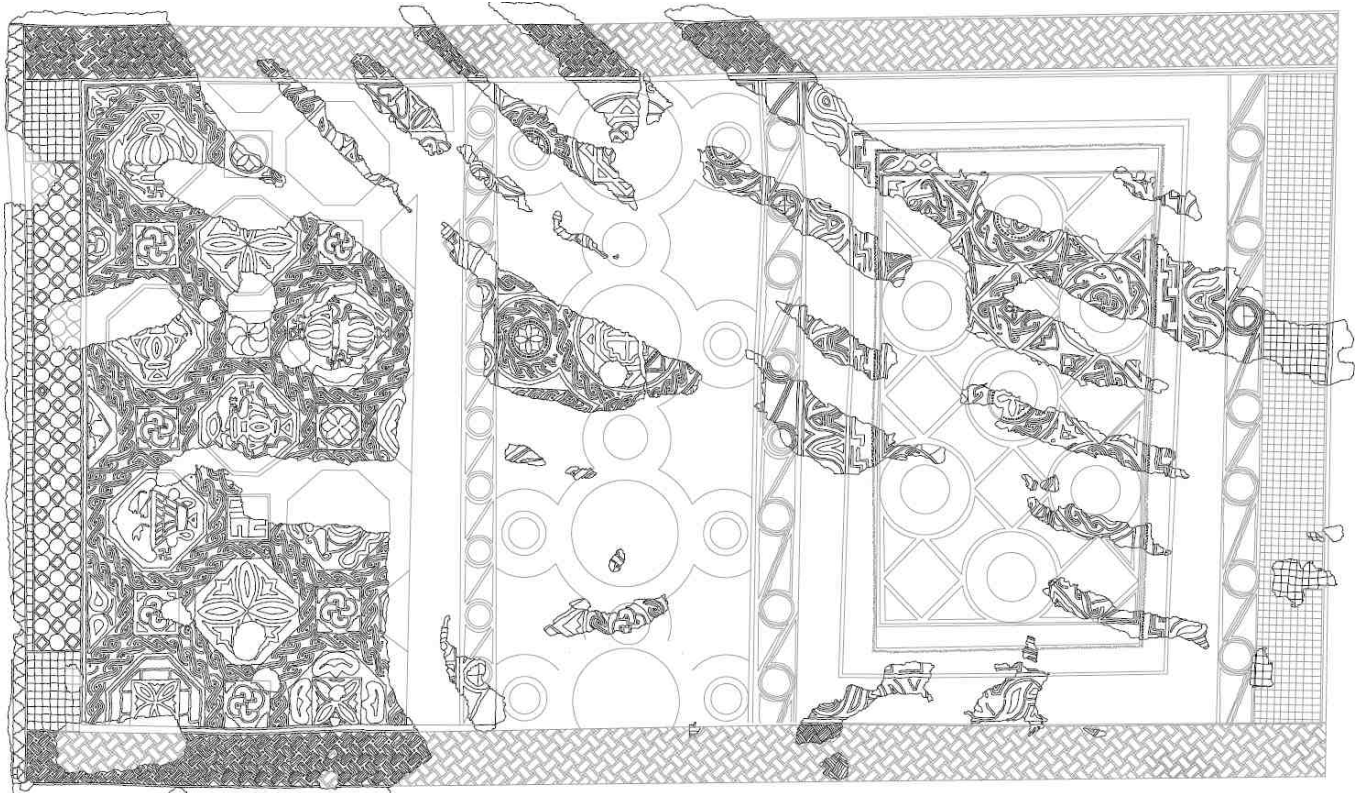


Figure 5
Mosaic graphic restitution.
Design: Alvar Mailan.

The room was entered from the middle of one of the longer sides of the mosaic (north) giving onto the central pattern. This is a polychrome grid pattern of circles of alternate sizes in simple guilloche interlaced tangentially, forming irregular concave octagonal compartments. The same composition can be seen in late-period Roman mosaics such as that of the dome in the Mausoleum of Santa Constanza in Rome (dated with precision to between 337 and 351) and the *Dulcitus* mosaic in the Villa of Ramalete in Navarra (late 4th or early 5th centuries) (Corpus España VII: 69-72, n. 45 pl. 39). The visible remains of the two largest circles that preserve their decoration have an eight-pointed star composition. Inside they are decorated respectively with an eight-ringed loop and a quatrefoil. Also preserved are the remains of two decorations in the smaller circles depicting eight-petalled flowers.

The eastern carpet is better preserved. Bordered by the central pattern, it has a line of adjoining squares with different decorations, some of which we can only surmise today as stylized flowers and Solomon's knots. The main decorative scheme is an orthogonal pattern of adjacent irregular octagons, forming squares. This composition was repeated profusely during late antiquity throughout the Hispanic provinces. Examples can be found at Cuevas de Soria (Corpus España VI: 62 n. 54 pl. 25; 102-105 n. 66 pl. 15), Rielves in Toledo (Corpus España V: 70), Villa del Prado in Valladolid (Corpus España XI: 56-57 n. 23 pl. 22), and Polígono del Arca in Castro del Río, Córdoba (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 143-144 n.19A.7 pl. 66C-D) all from the second half of the 4th century. On this occasion, the geometric figures are traced out by means of a double braid that endows the design with great density. Each of the eleven octagons has a different decoration, either figurative or with stylised vegetation. None of them is identical.

There are six octagons with the remains of figurative decorations depicting six vessels arranged in different orientations in such a way that they can be viewed from different angles in the room. There are two types of vases (Fig. 6). One

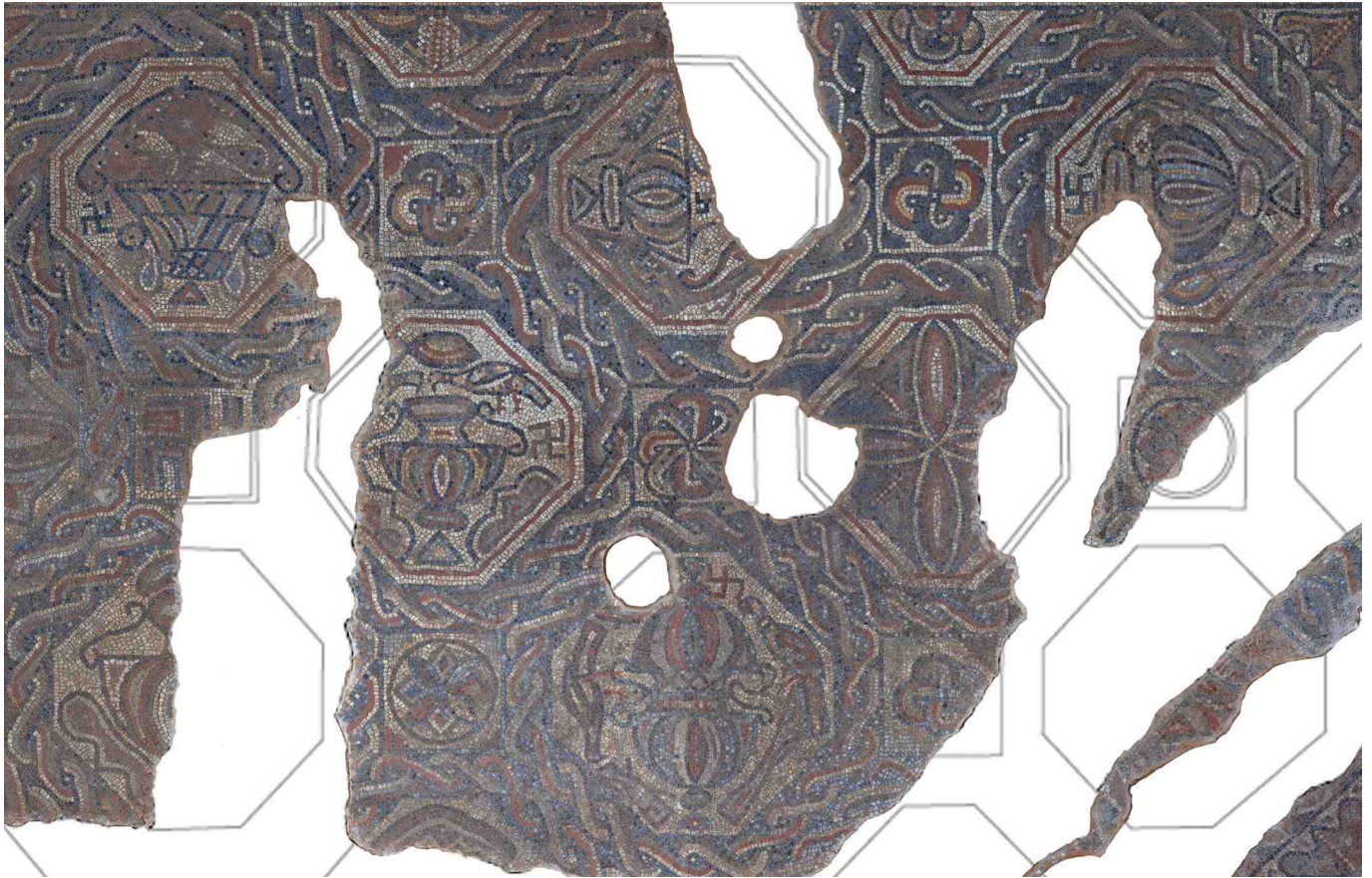


Figure 6
Details of the vases in the mosaic.
Photo: Global Mediterrània.

of them, a unique example, is basket-shaped vessel with a triangular foot and small circular handles with stripes as hangers, as some representations of baskets in mosaics show. Swastikas flank the vessel on both sides. The peculiarity lies in the fact that the krater is covered with a large bowl-shaped lid with sides expanding as scroll-like ornaments, and a central knob. Some flowers and other round-shaped objects can be hardly identified inside.

The other four have can be easily identified as kraters. They have a foot consisting of a triangle and ovoidal button, a large semispherical gadrooned body, a cylindrical top that opens up into a wide oval-shaped mouth, and S-shaped handles. They all correspond to Limaô's Type IV (Limaô 2011: 570), although there are some differences in their modelling. They are very characteristic of the late period and parallels can be found in the central medallion in the Villa of Ramalete in Navarra (Corpus España VII: 69-73, n. 45, pl. 39) or the kraters depicted in various mosaics in the Villa of Almenara de Adaja (Corpus España XI: 19-23 ns. 5 and 6 pls. 7, 8) or Villa del Prado (Corpus España XI: 53-56 n. 22 pls. 20, 39; 57-60 n. 24 pl. 39) both in Valladolid. They can also be found in Vega de Granada (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 88 n.10A.5 pl. 35A-B) from *Baetica*. From north to south, the first of the kraters presents a vegetal decoration on both sides with a swastika over it; the second decoration is also vegetal on both sides; and the third depicts two birds in a symmetrical position drinking from the mouth of the krater. The fourth presents a gap in which it is not possible to perceive this type of decoration. The fifth medallion has not one but two kraters with their mouths facing each other and a dove on the opposite sides of each of them.

It is worth delving a little deeper into the decorative use of the kraters on this floor. As is well known, the krater was ubiquitous in Roman mosaics from the Republican period to late antiquity. This profusion is associated in principle with

its Bacchic qualities and therefore its nature as a benefactory element. However, it appears to have progressively gained in autonomy to become a prophylactic element in itself, which is why it often shares space with other traditional protective symbols such as swastikas (Campbell 1994: 293).

In addition to the typology of the kraters, also particularly interesting is the twin image of the krater in one of the octagons. This complex opposing image visually seems to present both sides of a krater, by using a deep-rooted method. López Monteagudo shows through diverse examples how mosaic art attempted to depict antithetical images (mainly of Bacchus in his juvenile and mature periods, very common in bifrontal sculptural *hermae*) in the same way as in free-standing statues. In other words, presenting the obverse and the reverse of the same figure. According to López Monteagudo, mosaic artists achieved this by using a pictorial technique that consisted of creating a single image by turning both sides in such a way that a different face is observed from each side (López Monteagudo 2008).

In the case of the twin vessel in the Pont de Treball mosaic, it is possible that the two kraters were depicted with the same intention: an attempt to offer two perspectives of a single vessel employing the same visual mechanism and joining them at the top. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that two doves are depicted on each of the kraters in symmetrical and opposing positions. In other words, the intention was actually to depict the same dove on each of its sides.

On the edges of all the kraters there are reclining birds. Albeit remotely, these birds in an attitude of going to drink from a large vessel of wine are possibly a legacy of a very ancient pictorial scheme created, according to Pliny (Plin.nat. 36, 184), by the Greek mosaic artist Sosus of Pergamon that was subsequently widely reproduced in mosaics and paintings (Tammisto 1997: 74). The original depicted three doves drinking from a bowl of water. It subsequently underwent multiple variations up to late antiquity when the doves (one, two or three) started to be depicted drinking from wine kraters.

The five octagons that are still visible and not decorated with vessels contain four-petalled flowers, each of them different from the others.

The third of the carpets borders the central design on its western side. It is separated from it by a wide band of spaced alternately inverted calices framed by alternately reversed oblique Ss, although their fragmentary condition means they cannot be distinguished with complete clarity. This band is on three sides of the third carpet. It is followed by a fringe with an irregular simple meander. The design continues with a grid of circles and poised squares, forming bobbins. This is a very common motif on the Iberian Peninsula in the late period that can also be found in mosaics from the late 4th or early 5th centuries at Cardajimeño in Burgos (Corpus España XII: 29 n. 11 pl. 14), Villa del Prado in Valladolid (Corpus España XI: 53-56 n. 22 pl. 21), Campo de Villavidiel in León (Corpus España X: 23-24 n. 6 pl. 6) in Puente Genil (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 182 n.20A20 pl. 86F-G) and in some other late roman sites, particularly in northern Meseta. Although we can only see a few remains, the decoration of this carpet appears well defined. The squares surrounded by braids are decorated with a square and a four-petalled flower inside. The circles are traced out by braids with Solomon's knots or lanceolate four petalled flowers. The rectangles on the long concave sides are decorated with squares and two denticulate triangles.

This carpet is interrupted at the top and bottom by small strips whose only purpose is to connect it to the fringe to avoid continuing the decoration and

leaving it incomplete as it had no room to develop.

The data appear to indicate that in this case we find ourselves looking at the mosaic of a large reception room whose tripartite division resembles others that were designed to make a deep impression to the visitor. Other Spanish examples can be found at Villa del Prado (Corpus España XI: 48-53, 82 n. 21 pl. 8), Carranque (Mañas 2016: 163 fig. 3) or the Villa du Palat à Sant Emilion in France (Balmelle 2001: n. 50) all of them dated to the 4th or 5th century. This division into carpets in a large room is also typical of that period in late antiquity and is perhaps related to a metonymical approach with the carpets that would have covered many of these large rooms in the late period, as they would have had to be covered by a juxtaposition of mosaic carpets. Many of the rooms that today we find paved with *opus signinum* were probably once covered with carpets, perhaps because the villa's refurbishment remained uncompleted. Indeed, the whole mosaic has the appearance of a heavy carpet with clear textile inspiration. The variegation of the motifs is clear, leaving only a small connecting strip undecorated and producing the effect known as *horror vacui*. Bands and decorated strips multiplied, reducing empty spaces to a minimum. Secondary ornamentation filled all corners of the paving. As a whole it resembles a floor from one of the grand *villae* of the land-owning classes on the northern Meseta or in Navarra, with which they share a common language in both their composition and their decorative and symbolic repertory, which is characterised by prophylactic elements such as swastikas, Solomon's knots, double-eight knots and kraters. This is the characteristic decorative language of late antiquity that is shared by this spectacular floor.

As a final appreciation, we can highlight the wide range of colours used on the mosaic. They are provided by fourteen different types of tesserae, eleven stone and three ceramic, with abundant tones of black, grey, green and red. Petrographic studies using a stereoscopic microscope (CetecPatrimoni) have confirmed a local origin for most of the tesserae (Alcubierre et al. 2016: 367).

In the 4th century, *Barcino* was a centre of religious power (an episcopal see) and a prosperous and commercially active town, as recent archaeological research in the city had pointed out (Martín et al. 2000; Fumanal et al. 2011). As increasing research in the territory is showing, the suburbs also manifested that prosperity, which at that time was still related to viticulture. The different *villae* were heavily involved in intensive grape and wine production and were gradually monumentalised in taking advantage of the wealth generated. In particular, we can document in various residential complexes the multiplication of reception rooms and a considerable investment in decoration, as occurred at the same time in other areas of the Iberian Peninsula (Mañas Romero 2008: 99).

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Determination of the Type and Origin of Stone Tesseras Used in Antiochian Mosaics, Museum Hotel Example

Hatay Mozaiklerinde Kullanılan Taş Tesseraların Türü ve Kökenin Tespiti, Müze Otel Örneği

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Abstract

This study was carried out to determine the type and resources of stone tessera taken from parcel no 4642 (Museum Hotel) mosaics in Hatay province. Archaeometric analysis was performed on 60 tessera samples belonging to 6 different mosaics. In the scope of the study, color analysis, P-XRF and petrographic thin section optical microscopy analysis were performed on tessera samples. As a result of the analyzes, the color components of the tesserae were documented. According to the results of P-XRF analysis; main, artifact, transition and presence of rare earth elements were determined. At the same time, because the majority of tessera is composed of limestone, it is determined that there are high Ca elements in their structures and these results support the results obtained by petrography analysis.

According to petrography analysis; the majority of the tessera are limestone, siltstone, clay stone and radiolarite rock species and just one rock type is not determined. It is concluded that these rock types are found in Antakya and surrounding of the region. When the tissue characteristics of tesserae samples were evaluated, it was seen that the tesserae belonging to the limestone species had micritic and sparitic texture and the other rock types had crystalline and clastic texture. When the hardness levels of tesserae samples were examined, it was found that the hardest tesserae was tesserae of the radiolith rock type (4,5- 5 mohs) and the others were generally (2- 3 mohs).

Keywords: Antioch, Museum Hotel, Mosaic, Color Analysis, P-XRF, Petrographic Analysis.

Öz

Bu araştırma Hatay ili 4642 nolu parselde (Müze Otel) ele geçen mozaikleri oluşturan taş tesseraların türü ve kökeninin tespit edilmesi amacıyla yapılmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında izinli olarak alınan 6 mozaığe ait toplam 60 adet tessera üzerinde renk analizi, P-XRF ve petrografik ince kesit optik mikroskop analizi gibi arkeometrik analizler yapılmıştır. Ayrıca P-XRF analizi sonuçlarına göre; ana, eser, geçiş ve nadir toprak elementlerinin varlığı tespit edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda tesseraların büyük çoğunluğu kireçtaşından oluştuğu için yapılarında oldukça yüksek oranlarda kalsiyum (Ca) elementinin olduğu belirlenirken bu sonuçlar petrografik ince kesit optik mikroskop analizi ile elde edilen sonuçları destekler niteliktedir.

Petrografik ince kesit optik mikroskop analizine göre; tesseraların büyük çoğunluğunu kireçtaşı olduğu az sayıda tanetaşı, silttaşı, kiltası ve radyolarit kayaç türünden oluştuğu ve bu kayaç türlerinin araştırma alanı olan Antakya ilçesi ve civarında bol miktarda bulunduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Tessera örneklerinin doku özellikleri değerlendirildiğinde, kireçtaşı türüne ait tesseraların mikritikve sparitik dokuya sahip oldukları, diğer kayaç türlerinin ise kristalize ve kırıntılı bir dokuya sahip oldukları görülmüştür. Tessera örneklerinin sertlik derecelerine bakıldığında, en sert tesseranın radyolit kayaç türüne ait tesseranın olduğu (4,5- 5 mohs) diğerlerinin ise genel olarak (2- 3 mohs) sertliğinde olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antakya, Museum Otel, Mozaik, Renk Analizi, P-XRF, Petrografik Analiz.

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This research was conducted with the aim of determining the type and origin of the stone tesseras of the mosaics found in the parcel no. 4642 of Hatay province (Museum Hotel). Although Hatay is considerably rich in terms of mosaics, it has been observed that the studies on mosaics are not at a sufficient level in the literature. We believe that this study on the mosaics found in Hatay shall also contribute to filling such gap in the literature.

Color analysis (chromametric analysis), Portable X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometer (P-XRF) analysis and petrographic analysis, which are among the types of archaeometry analysis, were conducted on tesseras within the scope of this research. As is known, the science of archaeometry provides information about the structural, chemical components of the materials obtained through archaeological studies such as all kinds of structures, artifacts, tools, etc. and enables us to attain significant knowledge about the type and origin, the period to which it belongs or was made of the material that is examined.

The aim of this study is to determine the types of stone tesseras used in Hatay Mosaics and to have information about the possible sources of stones. Such archaeometry studies increase our knowledge about mosaics and is also conducted successfully with the development of archaeometry in Turkey (Akyol - Kadioğlu 2011: 265-281).

Historical Background and Examples of the Selected Mosaic

The mosaics found in the Hatay region generally date back to the Roman and Early Byzantine periods (Hopkins 1948: 91). These are the artifacts made during the Antonine Dynasty and the Severan Dynasty between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD in which especially the classical and competent artifacts of Roman art were produced (Hatay Valiliği 2011). During this period, the number of mosaic artifacts and the areas covered by them increased considerably. In that period, the Roman villas, baths and other public buildings were almost completely decorated with mosaic artifacts. Covering the triclinium floors of the Roman villas, which were the foremost among civilian buildings, with mosaics was a tradition in those years.

The subjects used in mosaics were generally inspired by mythology and literature. Dionysus and his procession are the most depicted among the Gods. Another feature of the mosaics of this period is that the opus tessellatum or opus sectile technique was used in the background and overall, while the opus vermiculatum technique is used in emblema and designs (Dunbabin 1999: 298).

The mosaics from which the subject of the study referred to as tesseras were taken, are obtained through a total of 6 mosaic artifacts found in the Museum Hotel construction area in Antakya city center. One of these artifacts belongs to the Roman period and the others date back to the Early Byzantine period between the 5th and 6th centuries AD. The mosaics were generally made by using the opus tessellatum technique and geometric patterns (Fig. 1).

Material and Method

Material

Necessary permissions have been taken from the Hatay Archaeology Museum Directorate in order to sample and to conduct research.¹ Samples were taken

¹ We would like to thank Mrs. Nalan Çopuroğlu Yastı and Mrs. Demet Kara for providing permission for the allowing this study.

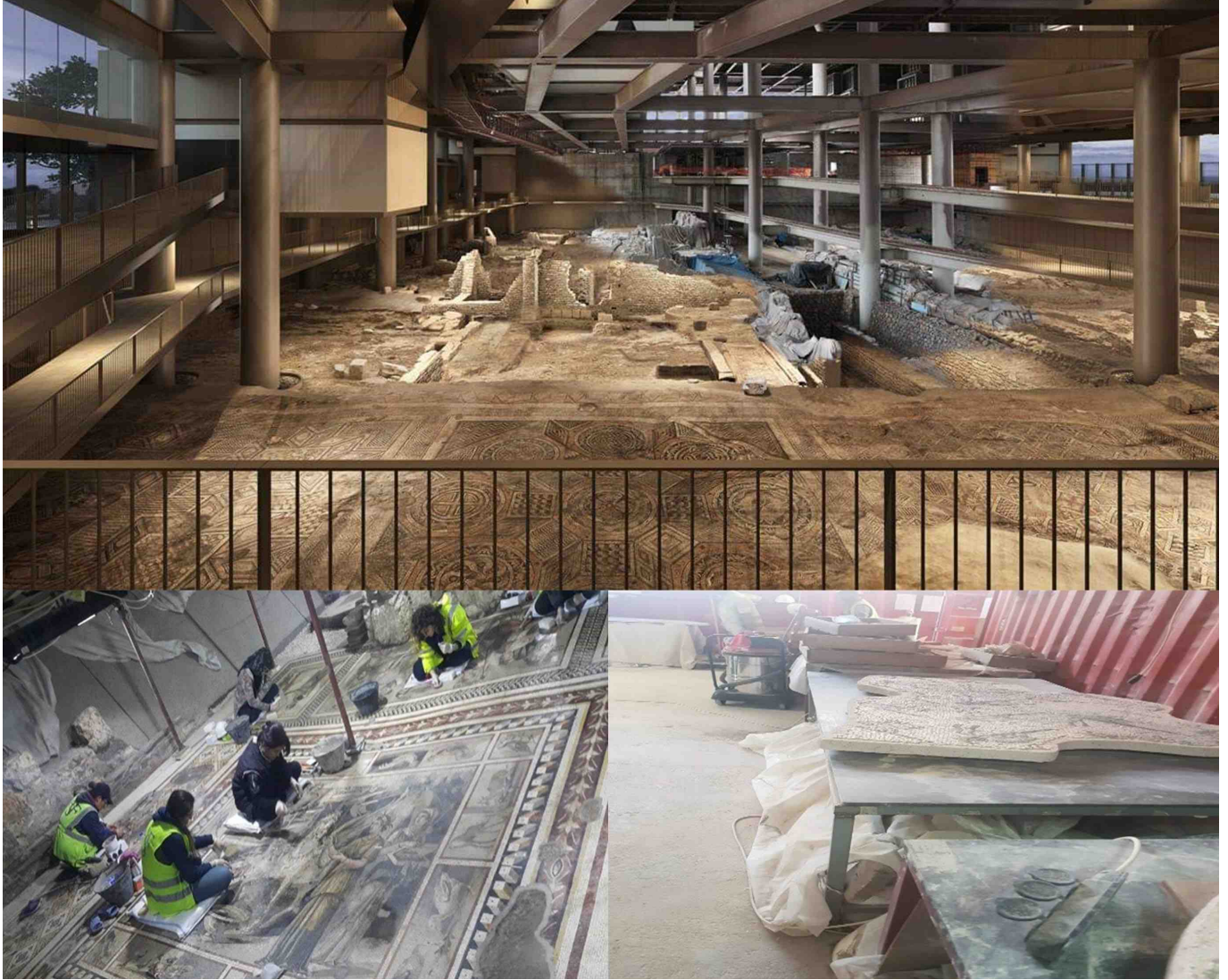


Figure 1
Mosaics in Hatay Museum Hotel.

from the tesseras obtained from amorphous mosaics in the excavation area and classified as shown in Figure 2. While collecting the samples, attention was paid to obtain representative samples from different mosaics and regions and different colors. The total number of tessera samples taken and analyzed is 60 (Table 1, Fig. 2)².



Figure 2
Photos of stone tesseras classified by color.

2 This article has been produced from the thesis titled “Determination of the Type and Origin of Stone Tesseras of Mosaics Captured in Parcel No. 4642 (Museum Hotel) in Hatay Province” by Fatima Kavşut, Batman University Institute of Science, Archaeometry.

Tessera Photo No	Mosaic to which it belongs	Petrography code	CIE Color Result	Tessera Photo No	Mosaic to which it belongs	Petrography code	CIE Color Result
1	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts1	Red	31	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts30	Cream
2	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts21	Cream	32	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts12	White
3	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts2	Cream	33	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts55	Cream
4	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts22	Black	34	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts45	Grey
5	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts39	White	35	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts13	Black
6	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts23	White	36	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts31	White
7	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts3	Black	37	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts46	White
8	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts4	Green	38	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts56	White
9	L8 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts24	Grey	39	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts32	White
10	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts40	Yellow	40	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts14	Grey
11	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts5	Black	41	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts15	Yellow
12	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts6	White	42	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts33	Grey
13	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts25	Grey	43	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts47	Yellow
14	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts26	Black	44	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts57	White
15	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts41	Black	45	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts58	Yellow
16	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts52	Red	46	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts34	Grey
17	Geometric mosaic	hmm-ts7	Yellow	47	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts16	Grey
18	Mosaic number 5	hmm-ts8	White	48	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts17	Red
19	Mosaic number 5	hmm-ts27	Black	49	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts35	White
20	Mosaic number 5	hmm-ts42	Black	50	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts48	Cream
21	Mosaic number 5	hmm-ts9	Grey	51	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts49	Dark Red
22	Mosaic number 5	hmm-ts60	Red	52	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts59	Black
23	J 12 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts10	Black	53	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts36	Black
24	J 12 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts11	Cream	54	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts50	Dark Red
25	J 12 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts28	White	55	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts51	Dark Red
26	J 12 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts43	Grey	56	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts18	Cream
27	J 12 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts53	Black	57	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts37	Yellow
28	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts29	White	58	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts19	Black
29	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts44	White	59	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts38	Grey
30	6- 14 Clear Cut Area	hmm-ts54	Yellow brown	60	Large geometric mosaic	hmm-ts20	White

Method

In addition to the colorimetry technique, two different analysis techniques were used in this study. The first method is petrographic analysis, which is quite common in the identification of stone and ceramic and is also known as a destructive method. The other method is known as X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy, which is most widely used in archaeometry analysis of cultural assets since it is non-destructive.

Colour Analysis

The colors of the colored surfaces of the mosaic tessaras were determined using the portable colorimeter (ColorQA Pro System III program). While determining the colors, defining the visible ones such as primary/ accent color or light/ dark color is not sufficient to fully specify them. Various color systems have been created for many areas in response to this requirement. CEI L * a * b * (Commission Internationale de L'Eclairage) color system is the most widely used, most detailed standard color system for documentation purposes (Akyol - Aydın 2016: 413-431).

Table 1

Samples taken from the mosaics for archaeometry analysis, the mosaics they were taken and their colors.

According to ColorQA Pro System III; the (L) value, which varies between 0 and 100 values, indicates the lightness/ darkness value of the color (Black: 0 and White: 100), (+ a) value indicates the intensity of Red of the color, (-a) value indicates the intensity of Green of the color, (+ b) value indicates the intensity of Yellow and (-b) value indicates the the intensity of blue intensity of the color.

Color analysis of the tesseras, constituting the subject of the research in this study, were carried out in Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University, Faculty of Fine Arts, Department of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage Materials Research and Preservation Laboratory (MAKLAB) (Table 2).

X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) Analysis

It is a method used to determine the chemical composition of the material to be analyzed. X-ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (XRF) Analysis is an analytical method used to determine the chemical components of all kinds of materials by examining the characteristic X-rays emitted from a sample according to their energies or wavelengths. It performs quantitative and qualitative analysis (Aydal 2017).

X-rays emitted from any X-ray source collide with the electrons in the sample and displace them. As a result of this collision, electrons from the upper or higher orbits fill the empty space. During this filling, a second X-ray with an atom-specific energy level is emitted. This phenomenon is called Fluorescence. Qualitative and quantitative analyzes are made as a result of measuring radiation with a detector (Aktürk 2017).

In this study, Olympus, Delta Premium brand portable Energy Dispersive X-ray Fluorescence spectrometer (P-EDXRF) registered in the inventory of Batman University Department of Archaeometry, was used (Figs. 3-4).

Figure 3
The emergence of X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) ray (Arslanhan 2016).

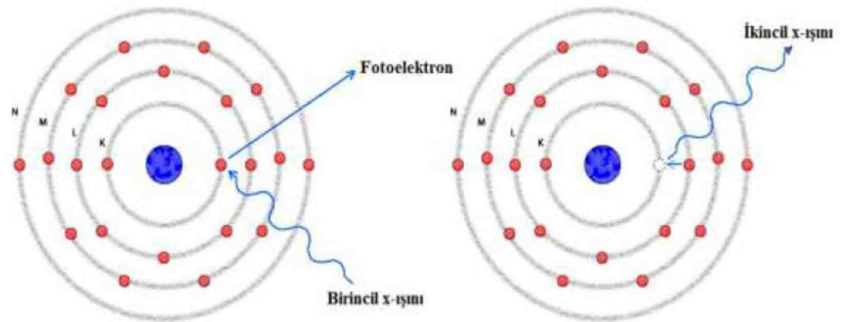


Figure 4
P-EDXRF spectrometer used in this study.



The qualitative and quantitative analysis of all the following elements in the geological material mode were analyzed for 140 seconds for each analysis. This mode analyzes two different rays: 40 KV and 10 KV.

The elements that can be detected in the device's Geochem Mode are:

Vanadium (V), Chromium (Cr), Iron (Fe), Cobalt (Co), Nickel (Ni), Copper (Cu), Zinc (Zn), Platinum (Pt), Tungsten (W), Mercury (Hg), Arsenic (As), Selenium (Se), Gold (Au), Bromine (Br), Lead (Pb), Bismuth (Bi), Rb, Uranium (U), Strontium (Sr), Yttrium (Y), Zircon (Zr), Thorium (Th), Niobium (Nb), Molybdenum (Mo), Light Element (LE), Silver (Ag), Cadmium (Cd), Tin (Sn), Antimony (Sb), Magnesium (Mg), Aluminum (Al), Silicon (Si), Phosphorus (P), Sulfur (S), Potassium (K), Calcium (Ca), Titanium (Ti) and Manganese (Mn).

Petrographic Thin Section Optical Microscope Analysis

Petrographic thin section optical microscope analysis describes the study of rocks and minerals using a microscope. Conventionally, petrography was limited to the identification of rocks, minerals and ores and characterization of their features. However, today petrographic techniques are used to analyze many materials other than minerals, such as ceramics, glass, concrete, cement, soils, biomaterials, polymers (Reedy 1994: 115- 116). By determining the origin of the samples, the natural structure of which is already specified, geological detections can be made and it also helps the researcher in determination of materials in restoration works.

This analysis has some advantages. These can be classified in two groups.

1. Since thin section images are taken, it is possible to see the sample (matrix and aggregate structure). Since the size, shape and distribution etc. of the sample in the matrix/ aggregate structure are visible, it provides the opportunity to examine and compare.
2. It gives the ratio of mineral, rock, porosity and aggregate. The rock ratio gives the volcanic rocks (andesite, basalt etc.). Thus, the geological origin of the samples or where they were brought from can be found. Because the geological structure of each region is different and according to this, inferences such as communication and cooperation etc. between societies can be made through the samples that are archaeologically detected to be brought from different places.

Evaluation of Analysis Results

Color Analysis

In order to document the colors of the tesseras more precisely, chromametric analysis was applied and the colors were expressed with L * a * b * color code values.

While the colors were ordered from dark to light, they were also ordered from dark to light according to the tone of the same color. (Table 2).

When Table 2 is evaluated, the distribution of colors is as follows:

Black tesseras; it has been determined that 13 tesseras (hmm-ts13, hmm-ts3, hmm-ts5, hmm-ts41, hmm-ts27, hmm-ts36, hmm-ts42, hmm-ts59, hmm-ts53, hmm-ts10, hmm-ts22, hmm-ts19 and hmm-ts26) are black colored. A single shade has been identified in black.

Red tesseras; it has been determined that 4 tesseras (hmm-ts1, hmm-ts60, hmm-ts17 and hmm-ts52) are red colored. Three different shades have been identified in red.

Sample Code	L	a	b	Visible Color	Colorimetry Photos
hmm-ts3	12,70	1,72	2,90	Black	
hmm-ts5	13,67	1,70	2,87	Black	
hmm-ts10	10,18	1,71	1,40	Black	
hmm-ts13	15,08	1,47	3,51	Black	
hmm-ts19	6,35	0,001	1,33	Black	
hmm-ts26	7,99	1,23	-0,35	Black	
hmm-ts27	9,30	-0,003	1,56	Black	
hmm-ts36	9,30	-0,003	1,56	Black	
hmm-ts22	12,65	1,67	1,36	Black	
hmm-ts41	12,88	0,47	1,68	Black	
hmm-ts42	11,79	-0,005	1,52	Black	
hmm-ts53	7,28	-0,0005	1,44	Black	
hmm-ts59	12,77	-0,006	1,51	Black	
hmm-ts49	9,18	3,54	5,00	Dark red	
hmm-ts50	7,11	3,34	3,13	Dark red	
hmm-ts51	9,04	7,12	2,83	Dark red	
hmm-ts52	13,65	10,45	8,86	Red	
hmm-ts17	15,39	19,28	13,72	Red	
hmm-ts60	36,62	16,82	22,33	Red	
hmm-ts1	35,91	21,38	22,76	Red	
hmm-ts4	19,54	-0,05	6,43	Green	
hmm-ts54	27,58	7,99	17,87	Yellow-Brown	
hmm-ts24	19,49	1,96	5,02	Grey	
hmm-ts45	19,89	-0,01	1,43	Grey	
hmm-ts25	21,67	1,17	7,49	Grey	
hmm-ts34	21,27	1,54	6,23	Grey	
hmm-ts33	23,37	2,57	7,93	Grey	
hmm-ts38	25,67	1,50	1,22	Grey	
hmm-ts43	26,14	-0,64	3,22	Grey	
hmm-ts16	32,92	3,61	9,93	Grey	
hmm-ts9	34,10	6,91	8,54	Grey	
hmm-ts14	42,12	1,90	6,41	Grey	
hmm-ts21	28,46	3,58	5,39	Cream	
hmm-ts55	28,64	2,08	8,88	Cream	
hmm-ts48	34,84	2,47	12,02	Cream	
hmm-ts30	36,42	2,42	6,75	Cream	
hmm-ts18	39,67	5,13	12,15	Cream	
hmm-ts11	48,12	7,92	12,26	Cream	
hmm-ts15	23,63	10,08	18,40	Yellow	
hmm-ts58	31,83	5,79	16,04	Yellow	
hmm-ts37	31,21	6,49	20,81	Yellow	
hmm-ts47	32,65	6,83	23,90	Yellow	
hmm-ts40	45,89	10,63	30,26	Yellow	
hmm-ts7	51,41	11,65	31,39	Yellow	
hmm-ts46	43,97	0,76	8,47	White	
hmm-ts57	46,44	0,81	9,65	White	
hmm-ts44	47,24	0,81	9,62	White	
hmm-ts35	50,54	1,10	11,44	White	
hmm-ts39	50,58	-0,26	8,51	White	

hmm-ts29	51,45	-0,13	10,96	White	
hmm-ts28	52,55	-0,27	8,44	White	
hmm-ts12	53,92	2,18	10,49	White	
hmm-ts32	53,04	1,79	10,38	White	
hmm-ts56	54,88	1,20	10,71	White	
hmm-ts6	54,25	3,49	12,16	White	
hmm-ts20	56,24	3,75	10,99	White	
hmm-ts8	58,17	3,71	10,91	White	
hmm-ts23	59,42	-0,72	6,90	White	
hmm-ts31	66,15	1,85	10,58	White	

Dark red tesseras, it has been determined that 3 tesseras (hmm-ts49, hmm-ts50 and hmm-ts51) are dark red colored. A single shade has been identified in dark red.

Green tesseras, it has been determined that 1 tessera (hmm-ts4) is green colored.

Yellow- Brown tessera; 1 tessera (hmm-ts54) was found to be yellow brown in color.

Grey tesseras; it has been determined that 10 tesseras (hmm-ts16, hmm-ts9, hmm-ts33, hmm-ts25, hmm-ts14, hmm-ts34, hmm-ts24, hmm-ts43, hmm-ts45 and hmm-ts38) are gray colored. Four different shades have been identified in gray color.

Cream tesseras, it has been determined that 7 tesseras (hmm-ts2, hmm-ts11, hmm-ts18, hmm-ts48, hmm-ts55, hmm-ts30 and hmm-ts21) are cream colored. There is more shade difference in cream. Five different tones were identified in 7 tesseras.

Yellow tesseras; it has been determined that 6 tesseras (hmm-ts7, hmm-ts40, hmm-ts47, hmm-ts37, hmm-ts15 and hmm-ts58) are yellow colored. Three different tones were identified in yellow tesserae.

White tesseras; it has been determined that 15 tesseras (hmm-ts6, hmm-ts35, hmm-ts20, hmm-ts29, hmm-ts8, hmm-ts56, hmm-ts31, hmm-ts12, hmm-ts32, hmm-ts57, hmm-ts44, hmm-ts39, hmm-ts46, hmm-ts28 and hmm-ts23) are in white color. Four different shades of white color are used.

It has been observed that the mosaics are generally made of tesseras consisting of 8 primary colors and 19 different shades.

Petrographic Thin Section Optical Microscope Analysis Results

Petrographic textural and aggregate features of Tessera samples were determined by thin section analysis under optical microscope (Table 3). When the textural and aggregate features of the Tessera samples are examined, it is found that the samples generally consist of limestone (47 pieces), grainstone (4 pieces), siltstone (3 pieces), claystone (3 pieces) and radiolarite (2 pieces), and one rock type that could not be identified (Figs. 5-6, Table 3).

When we examine the texture features of the tessera samples in Table 3, it is figured that the limestones have micritic and sparitic texture. Limestones are the result of calcite grains sticking together with a filling material. If this filling material consists of 1-4-micron microcrystalline calcite, it is referred to as micritic, if it consists of relatively larger (> 10 µm) and transparent calcite, it is referred to as sparitic.

Table 2

Color analysis results of mosaic samples. L: 0/100; Black/White. a: 0/-60; Green and 0/+60; Red. b: 0/-60; Blue and 0/+60; Yellow. Visible Color.

Table 3
Petrographic textural and aggregate features of Tessera samples classified by color.

Tessera No	Rock Type	Texture	Color	Hardness (Mohs)	Rock and Minerals *
hmm-ts 6, 8, 12	Biosparitic Limestone	Sparitic	White	2,5- 3	C matrix, L, H, Fs
hmm-ts 20	Siltstone	Clastic		2,5- 3	C and clay matrix, Q, Ç, Op, Sr, Ms,
hmm-ts 23, 32,56, 57	Biomicrotic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	It contains a high rate of fossils and fossil shells (75%) in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 39	Biomicrotic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	It contains fossils and fossil shells (numulites, alveolina and acilina) in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 28, 29	Pelagic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	It contains a small amount of radiolaria, quartz and opaque minerals in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 31, 44, 46	Clayey Limestone	Crystallized		2,5- 3	It contains aragonite, limonite and slightly opaque minerals in patches in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 35	Micritic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	Mainly calcite-containing structure includes chalcedony and opaque minerals in patches.
hmm-ts 5, 19	Grainstone	Crystallized	Black	2- 2,5	C matrix, Op, clay, Fs
hmm-ts 3	Siltstone	Clastic		2,5- 3	C and clay matrix, Q, Ç, Op, Sr, Ms,
hmm-ts 22, 27, 42	Biomicrotic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	It contains a high rate of fossils and fossil shells (75%) in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 13	Sandy Limestone			2- 2,5	C matrix, Q, Gf, D
hmm-ts 26, 41, 53, 59	Pelagic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	In its mainly calcite containing structure, it contains a small amount of radiolaria, quartz and opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 36	Micritic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	Mainly calcite-containing structure includes chalcedony and opaque minerals in patches.
hmm-ts 10	Biomicrotic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	C matrix, clay, Fs
hmm-ts 16	Biosparitic Limestone	Sparitic	Grey	2,5- 3	C matrix, L, H, Fs
hmm-ts 9	Siltstone	Clastic		2,5- 3	C and clay matrix, Q, Ç, Op, Sr, Ms,
hmm-ts 24, 25, 38, 43	Biomicrotic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	It contains a high rate of fossils and fossil shells (75%) in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 14	Pelagic Limestone			2- 2,5	C matrix, R, Ç, Ks
hmm-ts 33	Pelagic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	Its structure, which mainly contains calcite, contains a small amount of radiolaria, quartz and opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 34, 45	Clayey Limestone	Crystallized		2,5- 3	Mainly calcite-containing structure includes aragonite, limonite and slightly opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 11	Radiolarite			Cream	4,5- 5
hmm-ts 21, 48, 55	Biomicrotic Limestone	Micritic	2,5- 3		It contains a high rate of fossils and fossil shells (75%) in its mainly calcite-containing structure.
hmm-ts 30	Clayey Limestone	Crystallized	2,5- 3		Mainly calcite-containing structure includes aragonite, limonite and slightly opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 2, 18	Biosparitic Limestone	Sparitic	Yellow	2,5- 3	C matrix, L, H, Fs
hmm-ts 47	Biosparitic Limestone	Sparitic		2,5- 3	There are fossils and fossil shells (5%) in its structure containing mainly calcite.
hmm-ts 7	Radiolarite			4,5- 5	R matrix, Ks, Ol, L, H
hmm-ts 15	Sandy Limestone			2- 2,5	C matrix, Q, Gf, D
hmm-ts 37	Pelagic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	Mainly calcite-containing structure contains small amounts of radiolaria, quartz and opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 40, 58	Micritic Limestone	Micritic		2,5- 3	Mainly calcite-containing structure includes chalcedony and opaque minerals in patches.
hmm-ts 1, 17	Grainstone	Crystallized		Red	2- 2,5
hmm-ts 52	Pelagic Limestone	Micritic	2,5- 3		Its structure, which mainly contains calcite, contains high levels of iron hydroxide (limonite) and small amounts of chalcedony and quartz minerals.
hmm-ts 60	Crystallized Limestone	Crystallized	2,5- 3		Mainly calcite-containing structure contains small amounts of aragonite and opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 49, 50, 51	Kilitaşı	Micritic	Dark Red	2,5- 3	Its main clay-containing structure contains small amounts of quartz, chalcedony and opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 54	Crystallized Limestone	Crystallized	Yellow Brown	2,5- 3	Mainly calcite-containing structure contains small amounts of aragonite and opaque minerals.
hmm-ts 4	Crystallized Limestone	Crystallized	Green	2,5- 3	C matrix, Ç, Op

C: Calcite, Ç: Chert, D: Dolomite, Fs: Fossil and Fossil Shells, Gf: Graphite, H: Hematite, Ks: Chalcedony, L: Limonite, Ms: Muscovite, Op: Opaque Minerals, Ol: Opal, Q: Quartz, R: Radiolaria, Sr: Sericite

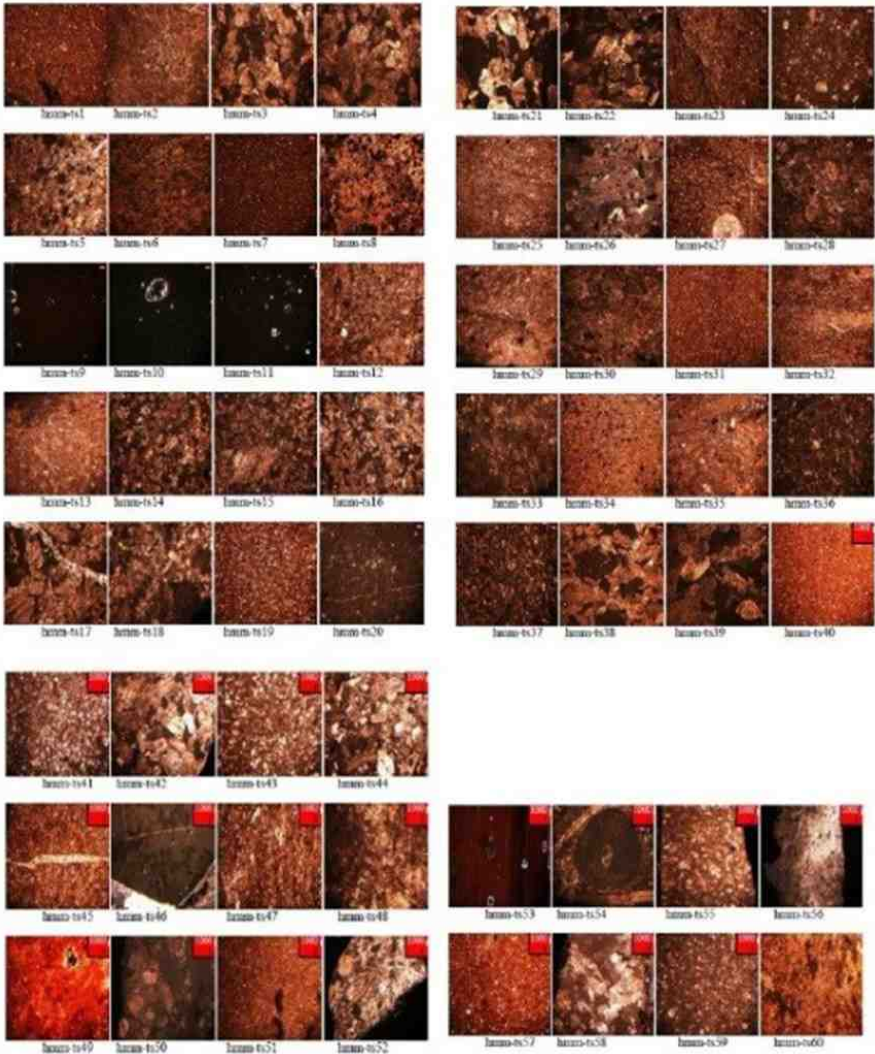


Figure 5
Micro photographs obtained as a result of petrographic analysis.

Breakdown of stone tesseras by their types

- Kireç taşı
Limestone
- Tane taşı
Grain stone
- Silt taşı
siltstone
- Kil taşı
claystone
- Radyolarit
radiolarite
- Tanımsız
Undefined

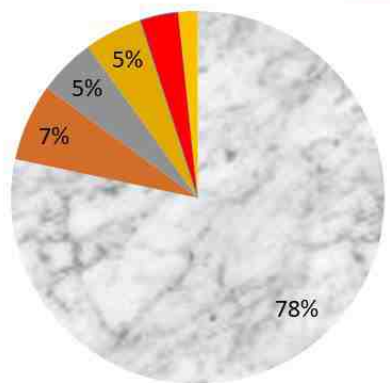


Figure 6
Distribution of tesseras by type.

It has been observed that other rock types have a crystalline and clastic texture. When the hardness levels of the Tessera samples are examined, it is understood that the hardest sample is the samples made of radiolite rock (4,5- 5 mohs) and the others generally have (2-3 mohs) hardness.

There are also various minerals, organic matter, clay, fossil, opaque minerals in the texture of the rocks.

When we examine the color and mineral relationship in Table 3, it is seen that grain stone was used to obtain red and black colors, clay stone was used to obtain dark red tessera, biosparitic and biomicritic limestone were used to obtain light colored tessera, paleogic limestones were used to obtain both light colored and red and black colored tesseras. The reason of obtaining different colors from the same limestone is because the stones are small and coarse grained. As the grain size gets smaller, the color obtained became darker and as the grain size gets larger, the color obtained became lighter (Fig. 5).

The Origin of Mosaic Tesseras

Limestone is one of the most common sedimentary rocks among the rock types. Limestone is formed by the sedimentation of inorganic substances dissolved in water and its main component is calcite (CaCO₃) minerals. Composition of limestone types are similar (Oçakoğlu 2014: 57; Tatar 2015: 295). When the geology-lithology map of Antakya given below (Fig. 7) and the studies in this field are examined, it is found that the limestone rock types in the close vicinity of Antakya have been existing since the Mesozoic period (251-65 million years) (Korkmaz 2006; Özşahin – Özder 2011: 662; Özşahin 2014a: 67; Özşahin 2014b: 88). The grain stone rock type seen in tessera samples is also a kind of limestone. The difference between them is that the limestone texture contains a certain filling material, while grain stone is limestone rocks that do not contain carbonate mud and consist of cemented or uncemented grains (Dunham 1962; Folk 1962). Limestones are classified such as conglomerate, sandstone, claystone based on the size of the material forming the texture and when the geology-lithology map of Antakya given below (Fig. 7) and the studies in this field are examined, it is found that the limestone rock types in the close vicinity of Antakya have been existing since the Mesozoic period (Özşahin - Özder 2011: 662; Özşahin 2014a: 67; Özşahin 2014b: 88). No information could have been obtained showing that grain stone is found in Antakya. However, since there are samples of limestones with different textures, it is thought that grain stone may also exist.

Siltstone and claystone are rock types with similar features. The difference between silt and clay depends on the grain size. Grains in silt are between 63-64 µm in size and clay samples are around <4 µm in size. The difference between siltstone and claystone is the amount of silt or clay material in the rock. Both types of rocks are waterproof (Oçakoğlu 2014: 54- 55). When the geology-lithology map of Antakya given below (Fig. 7) and the studies in this field are examined, it is observed that siltstone and claystone rock types exist in the close vicinity of Antakya (Korkmaz 2006; Özşahin - Özder 2011: 662; Özşahin 2014a: 67).

Radiolarite rock, on the other hand, is a type of rock formed by organic organism residues (radiolaria) (Tatar 2015: 297- 298). When the geology-lithology map of Antakya given below (Fig. 6) and the studies in this field are examined, it is seen radiolarite rock type exist in the close vicinity of Antakya (Korkmaz 2006).

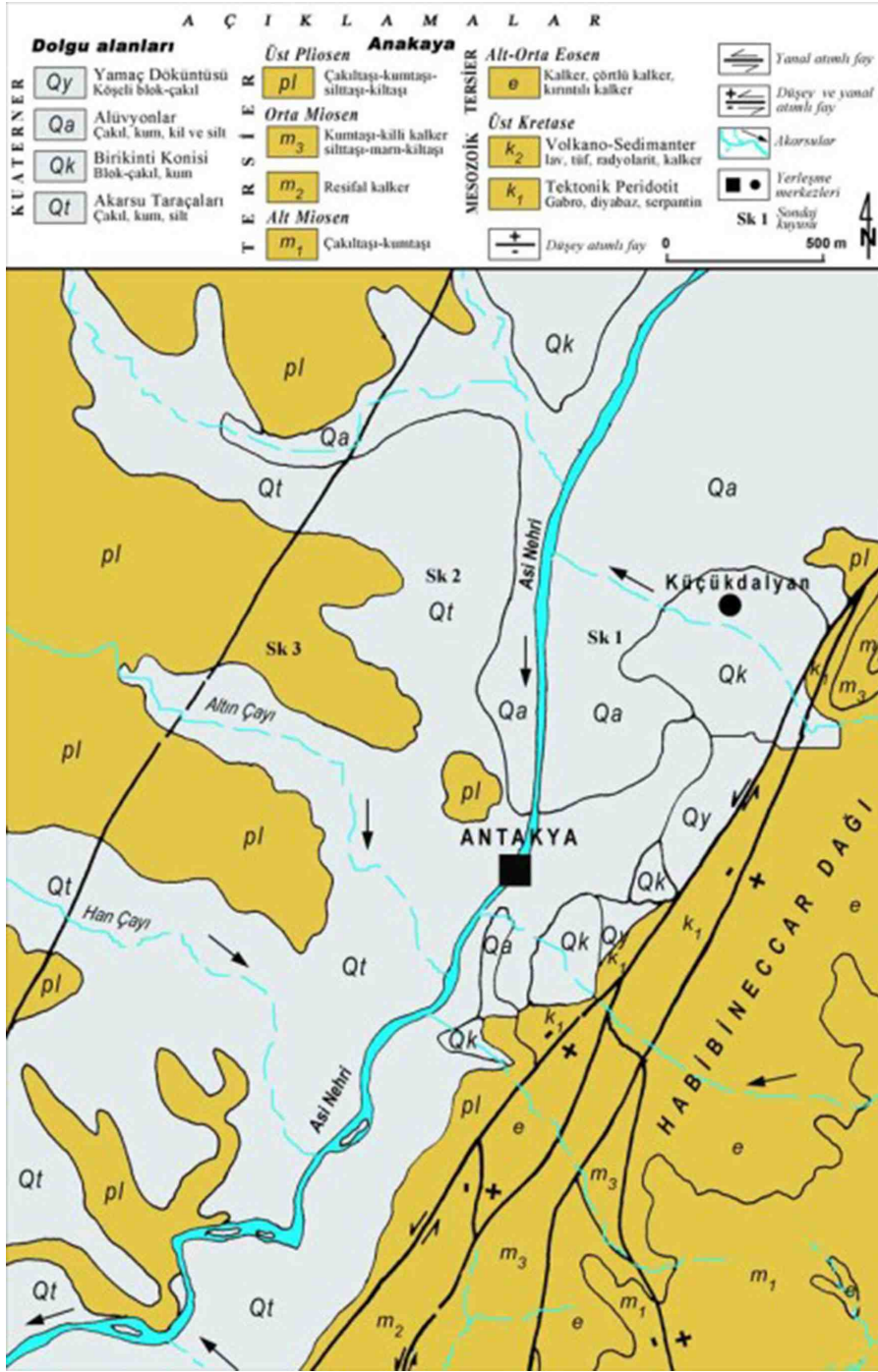


Figure 7
Geology-lithology map of Antakya and its vicinity (Ateş et al. 2004).

Portable X Ray Fluorescence Spectrometer Analysis Results (P-EDXRF)

Petrographic analysis produces more reliable results than P-EDXRF analysis in stone and ceramic analysis. The tesseras that were subjected to petrographic analysis were analyzed by P-EDXRF before petrographic analysis in order to compare the P-EDXRF analyzes with the petrographic analysis results in this study.

When the textural and aggregate features of the tessera samples were examined, it was determined by petrographic analysis that the samples were generally composed of limestone (47 pieces), grain stone (4 pieces), siltstone (3 pieces), Clay Stone (3 pieces) and radiolarite (2 pieces) rock types.

When we analyze the P-EDXRF analysis results of limestones, the following ratios have been observed; calcium (Ca) 88%, silicon (Si) 8%, magnesium (Mg) 1%, aluminum (Al) 1% and the total of other trace elements is 2% (Table 4).

When we analyze the P-EDXRF analysis results of the grain stones, the following ratios have been observed; calcium (Ca) 88.6%, silicon (Si) 4.6%, magnesium (Mg) 4.5%, aluminum (Al) 0.87% and the total of other trace elements 2% (Table 4).

When we analyze the P-EDXRF analysis results of silt stones, the following ratios have been observed; calcium (Ca) 95.9%, silicon (Si) 2.1%, magnesium (Mg) 0.45% aluminum (Al) 0.58% and the total of other trace elements 1% (Table 4).

When we analyze the P-EDXRF analysis results of radiolarite stones, the following ratios have been observed; calcium ratio (Ca) 88%, silicon (Si) 8.4%, magnesium (Mg) 0.95% aluminum (Al) 1.03% and the total of other trace elements is 2% (Table 4).

The chemical composition proportions of clayey limestones differed from others. Calcium (Ca) ratio has decreased significantly compared to other stone groups with an average of 74.4%. Silicium (Si) increased with an average of 16.9 % compared to other groups (Table 4).

Table 4
P-EDXRF analysis results of stone tesseras.

Tessera No	Mg	Al	Si	P	S	K	Ca	Ti	Cr	Mn	Fe	Cu	Sr	Pb	Petrography Results
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(ppm)	(ppm)	(%)	(ppm)	(ppm)	(ppm)	
hmm-ts1	14	1,1	4,17	0,28	0,05	0,09	78,63	0,05	0,04	0,027	1,48	0,002	0,02	0,001	Grain stone
hmm-ts2	0,66	0,5	1,99	0,22	0,06	0,08	96	0,06	0,02	0,014	0,35	0,001	0,01	0,001	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts3	ND	0,2	0,91	0,11	ND	ND	98,45	0,05	0,02	0,009	0,21	0,002	0,01	0,002	Siltstone
hmm-ts4	0,76	0,8	12	0,23	ND	0,12	85,17	0,1	0,01	0,01	0,56	0,002	0,14	0,002	Crystallized Limestone
hmm-ts5	1,6	0,7	7,7	0,54	0,19	0,12	88,69	0,15	0,01	0,01	0,21	0,002	0,02	0,002	Grain stone
hmm-ts6	0,87	0,5	3,19	0,16	0,1	0,04	94,51	0,1	0,01	0,023	0,29	0,002	0,21	0,001	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts7	0,8	1,4	10,3	0,31	ND	0,27	86,05	0,14	0,01	0,01	0,61	0,002	0,14	0,002	Radiolarite
hmm-ts8	1,05	1,6	17	0,34	ND	ND	75,14	0,11	ND	0,386	4,34	0,003	0,02	0,002	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts9	ND	0,7	2,41	0,33	ND	0,06	95,9	0,09	0,01	0,029	0,33	0,002	0,15	0,001	Siltstone
hmm-ts10	0,95	0,7	5,99	0,29	1,1	0,15	89,98	0,09	0,01	0,008	0,5	0,003	0,16	0,007	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts11	1,1	0,7	6,47	0,41	0,55	0,1	90,05	0,08	0,01	0,013	0,31	0,002	0,16	0,005	Radiolarite
hmm-ts12	ND	0,3	1,15	0,35	0,13	ND	97,89	0,06	0,01	0,008	0,09	0,002	0,01	0,002	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts13	0,97	0,6	5,55	0,3	0,13	0,07	91,85	0,08	0,01	0,012	0,26	0,002	0,15	0,006	Sandy Limestone
hmm-ts14	0,72	0,6	1,54	0,3	ND	0,07	96,55	0,06	0,01	0,007	0,14	0,001	0,01	0,003	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts15	0,76	0,9	2,64	0,28	0,05	0,04	94,81	0,07	0,02	0,012	0,37	0,003	0,01	0,008	Sandy Limestone
hmm-ts16	ND	0,8	2,32	0,37	0,04	0,23	96	0,09	0,01	0,01	0,15	0,002	0,01	0,01	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts17	1,19	0,4	1,65	0,41	0,11	0,02	95,83	0,06	0,02	0,007	0,24	0,002	0,01	0,004	Grain stone
hmm-ts18	1,01	0,8	3,42	0,52	0,04	0,2	93,6	0,11	0,01	0,01	0,21	0,001	0,01	0,004	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts19	1,73	1,2	4,72	0,36	0,09	0,02	91,38	0,07	0,01	0,013	0,39	0,002	0,02	0,009	Grain stone
hmm-ts20	1,36	0,9	3,06	0,59	0,05	0,17	93,42	0,07	0,01	0,011	0,33	0,002	0,02	0,009	Siltstone
hmm-ts21	0,96	1,1	4,3	1,04	0,87	0,19	90,49	0,07	0,01	0,031	0,5	0,007	0,03	0,327	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts22	0,86	1	3,3	0,18	0,09	0,01	94,06	0,07	0,01	0,014	0,3	0,003	0,05	0,012	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts23	0,56	1,1	24,3	0,49	ND	ND	72,87	0,07	0,01	0,007	0,57	0,003	0,05	0,003	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts24	0,85	0,8	2,36	0,24	ND	0,07	95,13	0,07	0,01	0,019	0,35	0,001	0,11	0,001	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts25	ND	0,4	2,83	0,3	0,03	0,07	95,61	0,05	0,02	0,022	0,41	0,002	0,21	0,001	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts26	1,36	1,1	3,33	0,1	0,04	ND	93,78	0,06	0,01	0,008	0,22	0,001	0,01	0,002	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts27	0,55	1	17,8	0,71	0,09	0,15	78,98	0,09	0,01	0,009	0,46	0,024	0,06	0,006	BioMicritic Limestone

hmm-ts28	2,27	2,3	6,91	0,13	0,09	0,03	87,62	0,07	0,02	0,012	0,54	0,002	0,01	0,003	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts29	1,46	1,3	4,47	0,42	0,07	0,23	91,57	0,09	0,02	0,014	0,37	0,002	0,02	0,001	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts30	1	0,8	2,59	0,19	0,01	0,04	94,96	0,06	0,01	0,008	0,26	0,001	0,02	0,003	Clayey Limestone
hmm-ts31	0,96	1,1	4,3	1,04	0,87	0,19	90,49	0,07	0,01	0,031	0,5	0,007	0,03	0,327	Clayey Limestone
hmm-ts32	0,86	1	3,3	0,18	0,09	0,01	94,06	0,07	0,01	0,014	0,3	0,003	0,05	0,012	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts33	0,56	1,1	24,3	0,49	ND	ND	72,87	0,07	0,01	0,007	0,57	0,003	0,05	0,003	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts34	0,85	0,8	2,36	0,24	ND	0,07	95,13	0,07	0,01	0,019	0,35	0,001	0,11	0,001	Clayey Limestone
hmm-ts35	ND	0,4	2,83	0,3	0,03	0,07	95,61	0,05	0,02	0,022	0,41	0,002	0,21	0,001	Micritic Limestone
hmm-ts36	1,36	1,1	3,33	0,1	0,04	ND	93,78	0,06	0,01	0,008	0,22	0,001	0,01	0,002	Micritic Limestone
hmm-ts37	0,55	1	17,8	0,71	0,09	0,15	78,98	0,09	0,01	0,009	0,46	0,024	0,06	0,006	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts38	2,27	2,3	6,91	0,13	0,09	0,03	87,62	0,07	0,02	0,012	0,54	0,002	0,01	0,003	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts39	1,46	1,3	4,47	0,42	0,07	0,23	91,57	0,09	0,02	0,014	0,37	0,002	0,02	0,001	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts40	1	0,8	2,59	0,19	0,01	0,04	94,96	0,06	0,01	0,008	0,26	0,001	0,02	0,003	Micritic Limestone
hmm-ts41	ND	1,1	3,47	0,26	ND	0,14	94,39	0,07	0,04	0,011	0,48	ND	0,01	0,003	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts42	ND	1,1	3,44	0,16	ND	0,02	94,61	0,04	0,08	0,016	0,49	0,002	0,01	0,003	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts43	1,52	0,6	2,56	0,18	0,23	0,15	94,21	0,08	0,02	0,011	0,32	0,005	0,07	0,056	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts44	ND	2,4	26,2	0,57	1,02	0,91	59,99	0,05	ND	0,533	4,58	0,658	0,05	2,359	Clayey Limestone
hmm-ts45	ND	2,7	34,2	0,53	0,64	1,31	51,93	0,07	0,17	0,513	5,09	1,356	0,05	1,007	Clayey Limestone
hmm-ts46	ND	3,3	31,7	1,39	0,22	1,73	53,87	0,06	0,01	0,449	5,61	1,328	0,05	0,3	Clayey Limestone
hmm-ts47	1,52	0,5	2	0,66	0,49	0,27	94,01	0,1	0,01	0,013	0,33	0,004	0,02	0,039	BioSparitic Limestone
hmm-ts48	1,28	2,1	30,9	0,68	0,78	0,75	56,29	0,06	ND	0,55	4,49	0,537	0,05	1,167	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts49	1,27	3,4	5,23	0,28	0,03	0,27	86,11	0,21	0,04	0,031	3,07	0,004	0	0,002	Clay Stone
hmm-ts50	ND	1,1	3,47	0,26	ND	0,14	94,39	0,07	0,04	0,011	0,48	ND	0,01	0,003	Clay Stone
hmm-ts51	0,53	1,1	18,9	0,32	0,18	0,1	78,23	0,08	0,01	0,007	0,46	0,004	0,07	0,001	Clay Stone
hmm-ts52	1,28	1,7	4,28	0,35	ND	0,35	90,52	0,11	0,01	0,043	1,31	0,002	0,01	0,003	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts53	1,3	0,7	3,18	0,61	0,31	0,26	92,98	0,07	0,02	0,014	0,51	0,002	0,04	0,004	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts54	ND	0,3	1,13	0,2	ND	0,05	98,01	0,07	0,01	0,006	0,15	0,001	0,01	0,001	Crystallized Limestone
hmm-ts55	1,74	0,7	3,51	0,59	0,15	0,18	92,59	0,09	0,02	0,01	0,39	0,002	0,02	0,002	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts56	0,81	0,4	1,07	0,16	0,01	ND	97,24	0,07	0,01	0,007	0,19	0,001	0,01	0,001	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts57	ND	0,5	1,98	0,23	0,03	0,03	96,84	0,06	0,01	0,008	0,21	0,001	0,04	0,001	BioMicritic Limestone
hmm-ts58	ND	0,8	17,4	0,38	0,12	0,03	80,53	0,05	0,01	0,007	0,57	0,003	0,05	0,001	Micritic Limestone
hmm-ts59	0,69	0,7	14,8	0,23	0,15	0,07	82,82	0,07	0,01	0,005	0,39	0,002	0,06	0,002	Pelagic Limestone
hmm-ts60	0,9	1,2	2,95	0,41	0,08	0,27	92,54	0,12	0,01	0,02	1,48	0,003	0,02	0,001	Crystallized Limestone

Conclusion

Color, P-EDXRF and petrographic analyzes were carried out on 60 stone tesseras belonging to 6 mosaics within the scope of this study to determine the type and origin of the stone tesseras of the mosaics unearthed in Hatay province, parcel No. 4642 (Museum Hotel). The following findings have been obtained by evaluating the data as a result of these studies.

As a result of the color analysis, it was concluded that the ratio of white/ black (lightness / darkness) is in the middle according to the color code values of tesseras (L), but it is closer to white, that is, lightness, (a) that there was no green color tone except for 1 tessera and the red color tone was at low levels (b) that blue color was not found in any sample, yellow color was seen in 6 tesseras and light colors were predominant.

According to the results of P-EDXRF analysis; it was determined that the elements Mg, Al, Si, P, S, K, Ca, LE, Ti, Cr, Mn, Fe, Cr, Sr and Pb exist in all tesseras, the elements such as Th, Bi, Hg, Au, W, Sb, Sn, Mo, Nb, Zr, Rb, Se,

Br are not identified in some of the tesseras, while in others they were found in trace amounts (<0.001), in addition, some elements were determined in all tesseras, albeit in trace amounts ($Y <0.005$, $Zn <0.02$, $Ni <0.03$ and $V <0.025$). At the same time, since the stones are limestone, the average of the element calcium (Ca) was determined to be 88%. These high ratios show that tesseras are generally consist of limestones and this finding also supports the results obtained from petrography. P-EDXRF analysis results revealed that tesseras consist of limestone. Petrographic analysis has supported this finding.

According to petrographic analysis, it was concluded that the vast majority of tesseras consist of limestone (47 pieces), a small number of tesseras consist of grain stone (4 pieces), siltstone (3 pieces), claystone (3 pieces) and radiolarite (2 pieces) rock types and that these rock types are abundant in Antakya district and its surroundings, where the research was conducted.

When the textural features of the tessera samples were evaluated, it is found that the tessera belonging to the limestone type have micritic and sparitic texture, while the other rock types have a crystallized and clastic texture.

When the hardness levels of the tessera samples were examined, it was found that the hardest tesseras belonged to the radiolarite rock type was mohs (4,5- 5), while the others were generally 2-3 mohs hard. Various minerals, organic matter, clay, fossil and opaque minerals were also found in the texture of the rocks.

Limestones are classified as conglomerate, sandstone, claystone according to the size of the material forming the texture. When we examine the origins of the limestones that make up the tesseras, it is stated that limestone rock types have been existing in the vicinity of Antakya since the Mesozoic period. No information has been found on the existence of grain stone in Antakya. However, since there are samples of limestones with different textures, it is also considered that more research is required in relation with the existence of grain stone. As a result, it was concluded that most of the stone tesseras required by the craftsman of mosaic were obtained from different colors of limestone locally.

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The Eagle Symbol in the Mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople

İstanbul'daki Büyük Saray Mozağindeki Kartal Sembolü

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Abstract

This iconographic and iconological research has shown the political value of the eagle symbol in the Palace Mosaic in Constantinople. Thus this subject has both ornamental and political significance, but political meaning is predominant. The chronology (532 as terminus post quem) and the historical-archaeological context have disclosed relations between the eagle symbol and the Emperor Justinian I. The eagle strangling a snake, in this perspective, becomes the symbol of supreme power of Justinian, while the snake is the symbol of all enemies of the empire. We can see these enemies in two masked heads in the frame. The first one evokes a subject very well characterized on the ethnic and physiognomic level, that is a Persian soldier, as Darius III, King of the Persians, and his soldiers in the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii. This masked head recalls to mind the defeat of the Persians and the peace treaty between Justinian and Chosroes I in 532. The second masked head symbolizes Oceanus, the god of the mysterious west, i. e. it invokes the recovery of the Western Empire by Justinian (535-553). Therefore Justinian the Great was a new Augustus and, as the first emperor, politically exploited the language of images, especially the eagle symbol.

Keywords: Iconological analysis, eagle, snake, Justinian I.

Öz

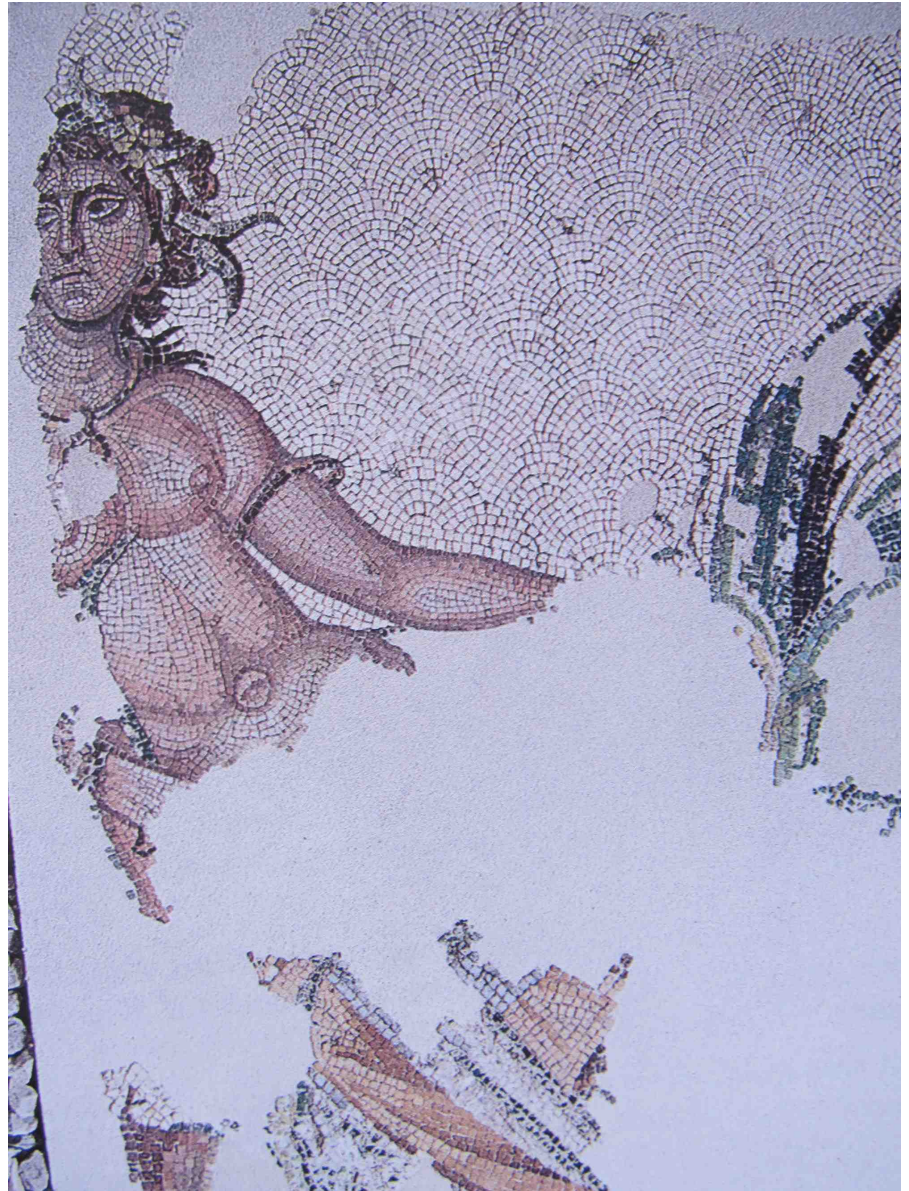
Bu ikonografik ve ikonolojik araştırma, İstanbul'daki Saray Mozağı'ndeki kartal sembolünün siyasi değerini göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla bu konunun hem dekoratif hem de siyasi anlamı vardır, ancak siyasi anlamı daha baskındır. Kronoloji (terminus post quem olarak 532) ve tarihsel-arkeolojik bağlam, kartal sembolü ile İmparator I. Iustinianus arasındaki ilişkileri ortaya çıkarmıştır. Yılan boğan kartal, bu perspektifte Iustinianus'un üstün gücünün sembolü olurken, yılan imparatorluğun tüm düşmanlarının sembolüdür. Bu düşmanlar çerçevede yer alan iki maskeli baş betiminde görülmektedir: İlki, Pompeii'deki Faun Evi'nden İskender Mozağı'nde, etnik ve fizyonomik düzeyde çok iyi karakterize edilmiş bir konuyu, yani bir Pers askeri olarak Perslerin kralı III. Darius ve askerlerini çağrıştırmaktadır. Bu maskeli baş, Perslerin yenilgisini ve 532'de I. Iustinianus ile I. Chosroes arasındaki barış anlaşmasını hatırlatır. İkinci maskeli baş, gizemli batının tanrısı Oceanus'u simgeler; başka bir deyişle de Batı İmparatorluğu'nun Iustinianus (535-553) tarafından yeniden ele geçirilmesini temsil etmektedir. Bu nedenle Büyük Iustinianus yeni bir Augustus'tu ve ilk imparator olarak, özellikle kartal sembolü olma üzere görüntülerin dilini politik olarak kullanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İkonolojik çözümleme, kartal, yılan, I. Iustinianus.

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Figure 2

The spring goddess. North-eastern hall, register 3 (sector E). Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 52.



imperial palace, near the *Chrysotriclinium* (Becatti 1959: 906; Jobst et al. 1997: 24, 27). The floor was covered by a wide and colorful gallery of scenes that fitted the architectural frame and consisted of four strips of friezes. The frame is crossed by an amazingly naturalistic acanthus scroll (0.90 metres in width), which appears to have been regularly interspersed by imposing masked heads (Ronchey - Braccini 2010: 396). This frame, which symbolizes a *paradeisos*², holds four registers of inhabited scenes, ideally to be watched from the courtyard side of the peristyle. The scenes are not limited to a single row, but sometimes stray into a neighbouring row; moreover the pictures are occasionally separated by ground lines, scenic or architectural motifs, but we cannot see drop shadows (Jobst et al. 1997: 44-45). When looking at the pictures we observe a movement from left to right in the north-eastern side, where we can admire the detail of the eagle and the snake, directed towards the Palace *Aula* in the south-east. On the surviving parts of the mosaic we still count 90 different themes populated

² The *paradeisos* is a Dionysian theme that we can observe particularly in Roman painting, i. e. in Pompeian frescoes of Third Style; see the Casa del Bracciale d'oro frescoes at Pompeii, especially the frescoes decorating the *oecus* 32, where the portraits of the owners, with the appearance of Maenads and Sylens, are painted in a luxuriant and naturalistic garden.

by some 150 human and animal subjects (Macchiarella 2005: 1). The pictures represent the labour of herdsmen (Fig. 3) and peasants, the prowess of huntsmen (Fig. 4); there are also children playing (Fig. 5), a herdsman with lute, a fisherman, a breast-feeding mother, grazing animals (Fig. 6): bucolic scenes in the open air (Fig. 7), with a lot of details that we can find as *ekphraseis* in the contemporary *epigrammata* (cfr. the poetry collection of Agathias, especially A.P.VI,167). But these pictures alternate with wild beasts, exotic creatures and mythological motifs, in a cosmogonic and cosmological philosophy of the life, where the myth, according to Plato (cfr. *Timaeus*), is the main synthesis of the two opposite ideas: ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεός. The figural subjects are integrated by scenic, vegetal and architectural elements on an abstract and white background. No inscriptions have been found so that it can be assumed that past citizens, courtiers and viewers understood the images without explanation (Jobst et al. 1997: 45).

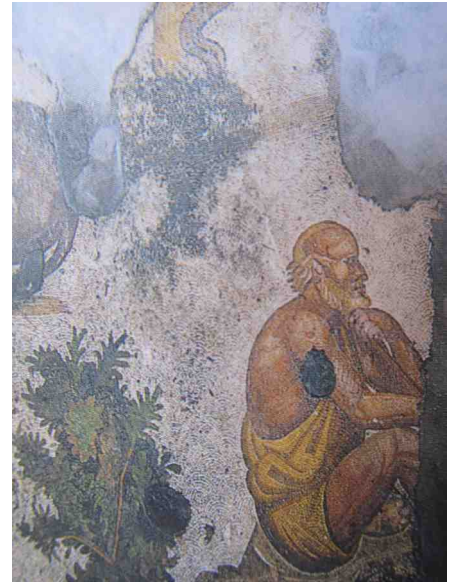


Figure 3
Old herdsman sitting on a rock. North-eastern hall, registers 2-3 (sector B). Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 43.



Figure 4
Tiger hunt. Corner of north-western/north-eastern halls (sector A). Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 39.

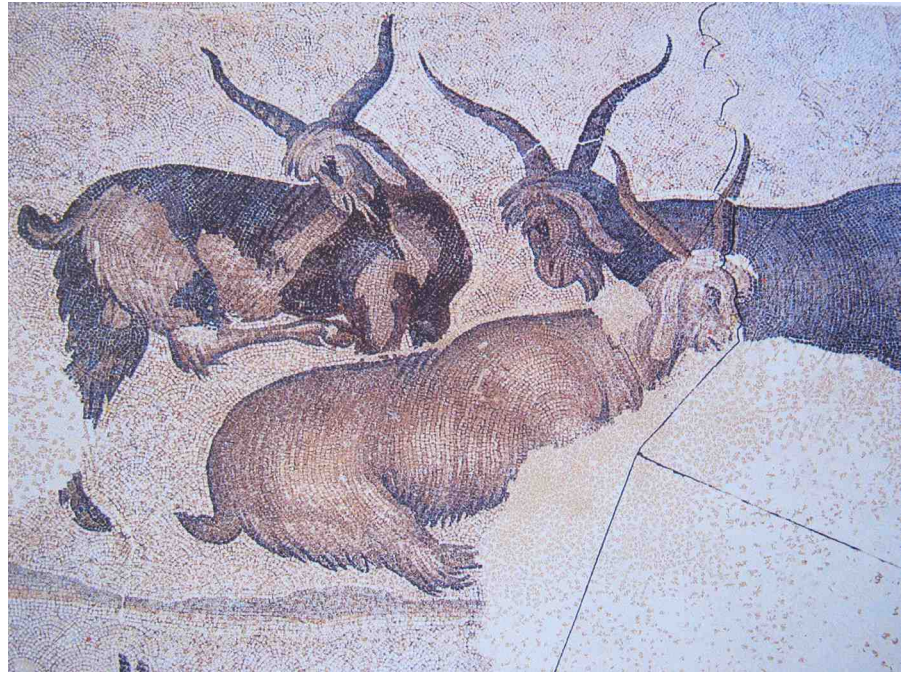


Figure 5
Hoop game in the arena: a boy at the turning column. North-eastern hall, register 1 (sector E). Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 49.

Figure 6
Eagle strangling a snake, grazing animals
and huntsman. North-eastern hall, sector B.
Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 34.



Figure 7
Three long-haired goats reposing. North-
eastern hall, register 2 (sector B).
Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 43.



I think, on some iconological, historical and archaeological data, that the Palace Mosaic can be dated to the reign of Justinian I, exactly after 532, that is after the *Nika* insurrection, when the emperor Justinian, according to Procopius (Prok. aed. I), became the patron for numerous buildings or monuments which were destroyed by the rebels (Pernice 1933: 389). Ever since its discovery the Palace Mosaic has been the subject of controversy about its dating. Previous attempts indicated the late 4th century to the early 6th century, although the majority of scholars inclined towards the 6th century (Becatti 1959: 906; Ling 1998: 97; Dunbabin 2001: 233-234; Pappalardo - Ciardiello 2010: 285)³. A solution to the problem had to await new excavations by Werner Jobst at those places of the

3 J. Trilling dates back the Palace Mosaic to the reign of Heraclius (610-641), while G. Macchiarella dates back the Floor Mosaic to the reign of Theophilus (829-842). See Trilling 1989: 29-31; Macchiarella 2005: 4-6.

north-eastern hall where the mosaic had remained undamaged (Jobst et al. 1997: 58-61). The materials found underneath were expected to clarify the chronology of the mosaic. The findings indicate that the peristyle and its mosaic were made in a period of new construction, when the peristyle court was placed on top of an older structure. This new construction could be dated exactly from the material found in the debris underneath the mosaic. Of this material (a lot of pottery fragments in the insulating layer), pieces of common jars are particularly noticeable which were identified as Gaza amphorae. These amphorae are very frequent in 5th century layers. In addition to the Gaza pottery, the team of Werner Jobst found fragments of African vessels also made in the second half of the 5th century and pieces of fine pottery from the last quarter of the 5th century. Because of these findings it can be stated with some assurance that the Palace Mosaic was made in the first half of the 6th century in the course of major reconstruction works at the Great Palace. The only emperor who could be the patron for this work was Justinian I (527-565). Therefore the long debate about dating the Palace Mosaic has come to a turning point.

The fight between an eagle and a snake (Fig. 8), the object of this research, is represented in the north-eastern hall, register 2 (sector B, panel B5) (Jobst et al. 1997: 42-43). The representation of the bird of prey and the snake is very naturalistic: the bird is still on the ground and about to soar with its prey, a big



Figure 8
Eagle strangling a snake. North-eastern hall,
register 2 (sector B, panel B5).
Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 42.

snake, in its beak and claws. The eagle eyes are truly impressive, because they are fixed on the snake eyes: it is noticeable the dominating gaze of the eagle against the defiant look of the snake. Moreover the size of the bird of prey is majestic and much larger than the size of the second lowest eagle on the right, whose prey is a little bird. We can explain the size much larger of the first bird of prey by means of symbolic meaning. This symbolic meaning is very ancient and has its roots in Mesopotamia and the Near East (Wittkower 1939: 294). It has always been associated with the idea of supreme power, that evokes the idea of divinity of sky and light, i. e. *Zeus* or *Iuppiter* in ancient Greek and Roman religion. Thus the eagle is not only the attribute of *Zeus*, but it is often identified with the god. The very ancient subject of the eagle strangling a snake is also very widespread, either in literary or visual sources (Wittkower 1939: 307-308). The

fighting motif (the eagle and the snake) occurs for the first time in the Iliad (XII, 201 ff), here with a specifically mantic meaning. An eagle with a snake in its beak appears above the Trojans, while they assault the ships of the Greeks. The snake liberates itself from the claws of the bird and falls into the Trojan lines. This is taken as a bad *omen* and in fact the attack on the ships fails. Moreover the eagle appears as a zoological observation in Greek literature (Aristot. hist. an. 609 a/4; Ael. NA 2, 26). The subject is similarly treated by Latin poets (Verg. Aen. 11, 751-756; Ov. met. 4, 362-364) and other writers (Plin. nat. 10, 17), who emphasize the victorious character of the eagle more than the Greeks do.

Apollonius of Tyana tries to get rid of a snake plague by putting on a column, in Constantinople, the statue of an eagle with a snake in its claws. In a rite of sympathetic magic Apollonius employs the symbol of the god to overcome evil. Nicetas Choniates saw the monument in the hippodrome of Constantinople in 1204, when the Crusader army conquered and sacked the city of Constantinople (Wittkower 1939: 308; Paribeni 2010: 254). Nicetas described in *De signis Constantinopolitanis* the bronze group of the eagle and snake which was above the *spina* of the hippodrome, before the looting by the Crusaders (van Dieten 1975: 647-653; Vespignani 2005: 305-310). Consequently Justinian I knew very well the bronze group depicting the fighting motive. This work, which was in the hippodrome very close to the Imperial Palace (Fig. 1)⁴, likely inspired the emperor about his patronage for the same subject in the Palace Mosaic. The eagle becomes the political symbol of the imperial power, while the snake symbolizes the enemies of the emperor. The eagle, that is Justinian, fighting against the snake defeats and annihilates evil, that is all enemies of the empire on the political, military and religious level. The outcome of the victory is order, justice and cosmic harmony, moreover the triumph of reason, beauty and fairness: the main purpose of the imperial government.

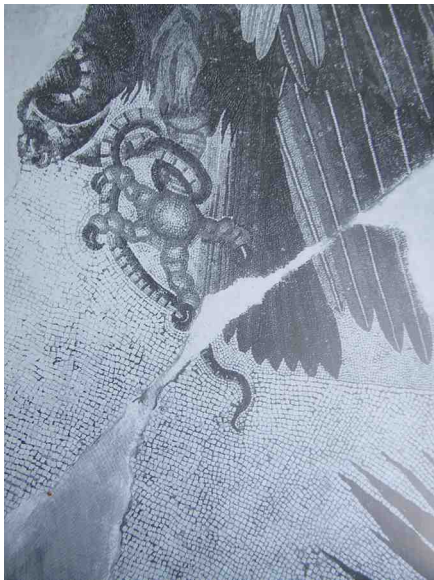


Figure 9
Eagle strangling a snake, mosaic from Nola (Museo Provinciale Campano).
Photo: According to Tammisto 1997: plate 53, fig. 1.

The fight of the eagle and snake also recurs in a magnificent mosaic from Nola (Fig. 9) likely from the Temple of Jupiter (Tammisto 1997: 102-103, 410-411; De Rosa 2015: 491). In its present state, the mosaic (h. 115 cm, w. 81 cm) is composed of two fragments both in good state of preservation. The upper one shows on a white ground the underparts of an eagle holding a snake with its feet, the bird's tail and middle part of the wing. The lower fragment shows on the same white background the tip of the tail and part of the wing and below the tip of the snake's tail, thus undoubtedly belonging to the upper part. Remarkable is also the use of *opus vermiculatum* of good quality in the execution of the parts with the bird and the snake, whereas the surrounding white area with the wedges, supposed to be the bird's shadow, are in coarser *opus tessellatum*. The mosaic dates back to the late second up to the early first century BC; stylistic criteria and fine quality suggest a date before the devastations in the Social War (90-88 BC) and by Spartacus' troops (73 BC). A pebble mosaic in Aigeira shows an eagle in a similar pose strangling a snake (Tammisto 1997: 102). The Aigeiran mosaic is dated to the second quarter of the third century BC, so that the supposed original concerning both mosaics may be an early Hellenistic or even earlier painting.

The eagle's iconological meaning as a symbol of supreme power mostly relates to the Emperor Augustus. In fact this symbol becomes more powerful on the political and military level under the reign of Augustus, whose political propaganda was

4 In ancient times the palatial hill rose 32.50 metres over a distance of 500 metres from the Sea of Marmara to the Hippodrome. The palatial district extended from Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome to the coast line, where the sea wall played the role of a formidable defence. See Ciancio Rossetto 1994: 157-162.

very careful about the power of images, especially in visual sources. The eagle often appears on coins and artifacts (cameos, reliefs), from this period. We can see the Jupiter eagle holding the palm of victory and the *corona civica* on a very beautiful cameo (after 27 BC), that is after the acclamation of *Augustus* by the Senate (Zanker 2006: 101). It is very interesting a base for tripod, concerning the *collegium* of *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, with a relief depicting in the upper part an imposing eagle and bottom in the corners four sphinxes (Zanker 2006: 130). This is an Apollonian context, due to the presence of the sphinxes: we remember that the empire of Augustus was under protection of Apollo, the patron of the social and political order, the guarantor of justice, as punisher of any form of ὕβρις, and the advocate of cosmic harmony. This supreme idea of beauty, supported by λόγος, is in many artifacts, monuments and masterpieces from this period, first among all the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.

The Emperor Justinian I knowingly looked at the Augustan model, namely at the model of the founder of the empire, because he re-established the Roman Empire for the last time. Thus we can call Justinian I new Augustus and as new Augustus he rebuilt, monumentalized and sumptuously decorated the city of Constantinople. Justinian I or Justinian the Great, as patron for the Palace Mosaic, wanted to celebrate his victory and his triumph over all enemies of the empire, both in the east and in the west, by means of a repertoire of selected images from the iconographic and iconological perspective. Consequently the *musivarius pictor* or rather the *musivarii pictores* made and put in the Palace Mosaic some subjects that were carefully chosen on the historical and symbolic level, especially two masked heads in the acanthus scroll of the frame. Both masked heads relate to the main subject: the eagle strangling a snake, which is the symbol of invincible power of the Emperor Justinian, whereas these masked heads symbolize the enemies of the empire equivalent to the snake i.e. evil. The first masked head (Fig. 10) is in the courtyard side of the north-eastern hall (sector B) (Jobst et al. 1997: 36-37). It depicts in a lush and naturalistic acanthus scroll the very characterized head of a man on the ethnic and physiognomic level. In fact this moustachioed man evokes a Persian soldier, similar to Darius



Figure 10
Moustachioed masked head. Courtyard side
of the north-eastern hall (sector B).
Photo: According to Russo 2015: 107.

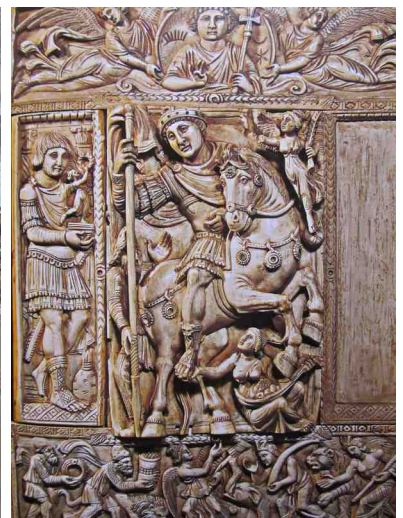
III (Fig. 11) and his Persian soldiers (Fig. 12) fighting against Alexander the Great (Fig. 13) in the Alexander Mosaic⁵ (MANN: The National Archaeological Museum of Naples) from the House of the Faun in Pompeii. The scene depicts one of the battles between Alexander the Great, who charges on horseback bare-headed from left to right, and Darius III on the run in his chariot, on the right. The King of the Macedonians is shaven and has a smooth and idealized face, as the Emperor Justinian in the Barberini Ivory (Fig. 14) (Velmans 2015a: 125-126). The Emperor is, as triumphant victor on horseback, in the main panel, whereas in the bottom panel barbarians, Persians or Scythians on the left and Indians on the right, bring tribute (*aurum coronarium*). In fact the Persian, evoked by this first masked head, relates to the defeat of the enemy by the general of Justinian Belisarius and to the peace treaty in 532 between Justinian and Chosroes I King of the Persians (Pernice 1933: 388).

Figure 11
Darius III in the Alexander Mosaic (MANN).
Photo: According to Pappalardo, Ciardiello 2010: 155.

Figure 12
Persian soldiers in the Alexander Mosaic (MANN). Photo: According to Pappalardo, Ciardiello 2010: 161.

Figure 13
Alexander the Great in the Alexander Mosaic (MANN). Photo: According to Pappalardo, Ciardiello 2010: 160.

Figure 14
Barberini Ivory (Musée du Louvre).
Photo: According to Velmans 2015: 125.



5 This famous mosaic is a copy of one of the great paintings of the early Hellenistic period (the second half of the 4th century BC), but the identification of the original painting is very uncertain, whether it was a work by Philoxenos of Eretria or whether it was a painting by Apelles. See de Vos 1994: 83-85, 123; Moreno 2000: pls. VIII, IX, XI, XVII; Pappalardo - Ciardiello 2010: 152-165; De Caro 2019: 90, 96-100.

The second masked head (Fig. 15), with an acanthus beard, is in wall side of the south-western hall (Jobst et al. 1997: 38-39). It depicts an imposing protome of Oceanus, the primordial Titan god of the great, earth-encircling River Ocean (Hom. Il. XIV, 201; XVI, 151; XVIII, 607). In the Hellenistic age Oceanus was reimagined as the god of the increasingly accessible Atlantic and Indian



Figure 15
Masked head with an acanthus beard (Oceanus). Wall side of the south-western hall. Photo: According to Jobst et al. 1997: 38.

Oceans, but the old cosmological idea of a great, earth-encircling, freshwater stream survived. We have to remember, according to ancient mythology, that the abode of Oceanus was the far and fabulous west, that is the ends of the world (Sichtermann 1963: 619-621). Oceanus is often depicted in ancient mosaics (cfr. Oceanus mosaic in the Archaeological Museum of Antakya dating back to the 2nd century, Oceanus and Tethys mosaic in Antakya Museum dating from the 4th century and Oceanus mosaic in the Archaeological Museum of Sousse/Hadrumetum, probably dating back to the end of the 2nd century) (Fig. 16) (Pappalardo - Ciardiello 2010: 88, 90-91). The masked head of Oceanus,

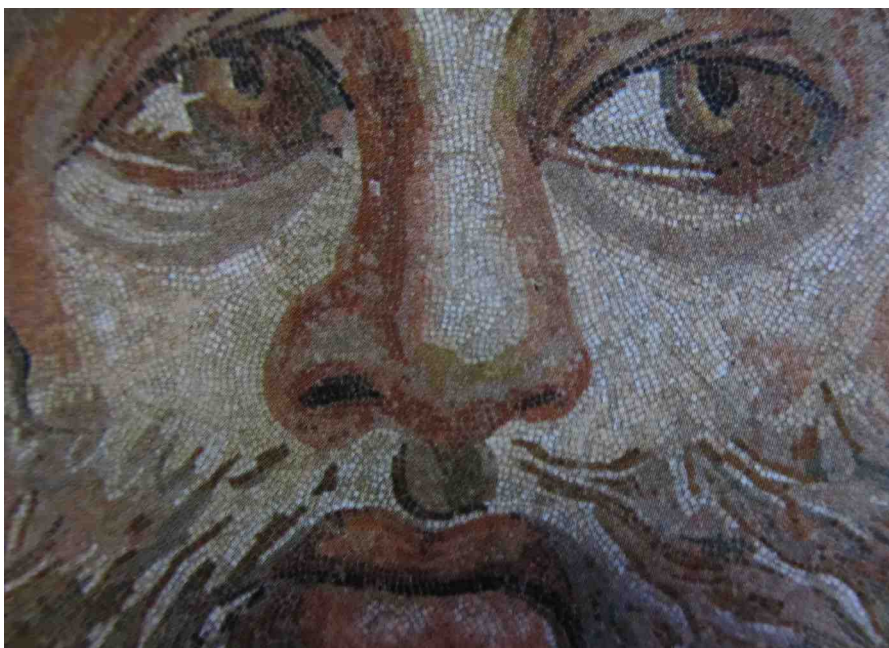


Figure 16
Oceanus detail, mosaic from Sousse (Hadrumetum). Photo: According to Pappalardo, Ciardiello 2010: 88.



Figure 17
The philosopher in the fresco from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (MANN). Photo: According to Grasso 2009: 173.



Figure 18
Sacro-idyllic landscape in a fresco from the Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase. (MANN). Photo: According to Rocco 2009: 212.

evoking the fabulous west, that is the ends of the world, likely relates to the conquest of Italy and Western Roman Empire by Justinian during the Gothic War (535-553). In any case the masked head of Oceanus evokes the great, earth-encircling River Ocean, that calls to mind the circular shape of the *forum* of Constantine in Constantinople, in imitation of the universal empire (Velmans 2015b: 7). It is the same empire pursued by both Augustus and Constantine, of which Justinian is the direct heir from the ideological point of view.

We can observe the reflection of this ideology in the Palace Mosaic, where the eagle symbol controls and dominates the opposite elements, concerning good and evil, depicted in the scenes of the floor mosaic, as fighting animals, e.g. eagle and snake, deer and snake, elephant and lion. The dynamic and violent themes, including hunting scenes, fall into the Dionysian orbit, while others scenes as groups of grazing animals, bucolic subjects, scenes of rural life, children playing relate to the Apollonian sphere dominated by order, rationality and measure. Therefore the eagle in this context becomes the bird of the cosmological and Apollonian light which drives imperial politics. On the other hand Dionysus is invoked in the Palace Mosaic by mythological subjects, especially Pan with a child (the little Dionysus?) and the spring goddess (Fig. 2), a charming Season who reposes on a bed of rock at the banks of a pond. The spectacular griffins, on the contrary, invoke the complementary essence of both gods: Apollo and Dionysus.

These mythological subjects, with different subjects and decorative motifs (cfr. the acanthus scroll), were conveyed by the Hellenistic tradition with regard to contents and forms. Consequently we can rightly recognize in these scenes the legacy of perennial Hellenism (Kitzinger 1977: 22-44). This is noticeable e. g. about the anatomical accuracy and naturalism of the animals, especially wild and exotic beasts, and about the iconography of certain subjects, as the old herdsman (Fig. 3) sitting on a rock, who evokes the philosopher in the fresco of Second Style from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (Fig. 17) (MANN: The National Archaeological Museum of Naples) (Grasso 2009: 172-173, 178). Moreover the legacy of Hellenism is evident in architectural elements also recurring in some Roman paintings of Second Style. The white, abstract, elegant background, common to some African mosaics, calls to mind, going backwards, the harmonious and rational background that we can admire in some frescoes of the Augustan age, as the paintings from the Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase (Fig. 18) (MANN: The National Archaeological Museum of Naples) (Rocco 2009: 216-217). Remarkable is also the fish-scale technique, whose use increases the sense of depth and the propagation of light, as in some floor mosaics from Syria and Lebanon (Russo 2015: 108). This calls to mind the optical studies of that period by Anthemius of Tralles, the architect commissioned by the Emperor Justinian to design Hagia Sophia in Constantinople from 532 to 537.

The memory of the imperial eagle of Justinian the Great, the patron for the Palace Mosaic, survived immortal throughout the Middle Ages reaching up to Dante Alighieri, who celebrates the invincible bird and thus presents Justinian: “Cesare fui e son Iustiniano, / che, per voler del primo amor ch’i’ sento, / d’entro le leggi trassi il troppo e ‘l vano.” (Dante, *Divina Commedia*, Paradiso, Canto VI, 10-12).

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Theodore Metochites Mosaic at Chora and the Relics of the True Cross

Kariye'deki Theodore Metokhites Mozaïği ve Gerçek Haç'ın Kalıntıları

Jasmina S. ĆIRIĆ*

Μήτηρ γὰρ Χριστοῦ ναὸς , Χριστὸς δὲ Λόγος
 ("The Mother was a temple for Christ, while Christ
 was a temple for the Logos", To Nemesius, PG 37, 1565A)

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Abstract


This article aims to analyze the ktetorial composition depicted above the west portal of the Chora Church (Kariye Camii). Although many researchers provided a description of this composition, the representation of the church in the hands of Logothetes tou Genikou, Theodore Metochites, has not been specifically examined. No matter that the church is depicted with the majority of the architectural elements which correspond to the reality, it is interesting to notice that two large crosses are depicted laterally of the west portal. These crosses do not correspond to the elements of the brickwork of the west facade. Nevertheless, careful analysis of the marble portal between naos and narthex area contains quite particular detail: in the lower third of two jambs of the portal were inserted pectoral crosses (encolpia) which testified to the keeping of small particles of the True Cross relic, hope for salvation and inscribing of the ktetor in the circle of the protected by True Faith.

Keywords: Theodore Metochites, the Chora church, ktetorial composition, mosaic, relics of the True Cross, pectoral crosses, marble portal.

ÖZ

Bu makale Khora Kilisesi'nin (Kariye Camii) batı portalının üzerinde tasvir edilen bani sahnesini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Kompozisyon birçok araştırmacı tarafından tanımlanmasına rağmen, Büyük Hazineci (Logothetes) Theodore Metokhites'in elindeki kilisenin temsili özel olarak incelenmemiştir. Kilise gerçeğe karşılık gelen mimari unsurların çoğu ile tasvir edilmesine rağmen, batı portalın yanlamasına tasvir edilen iki büyük haç motifini fark etmek ilginçtir. Bu haçlar batı cephesinin tuğla örgüsünün unsurlarına uymuyor. Ancak, naos ve narteks arasındaki mermer portalın dikkatli analizi oldukça özel bir detay içermektedir: portalın iki sövesine pektoral haçlar (encolpia) yerleştirilmiştir. Bu pektoral haçlar, ktetor'un Gerçek İnanç tarafından korunma ve kurtuluş umuduna tanıklık ederek Gerçek Haç rölik parçalarının kilisede saklandığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, ktetor'un kurtuluş için umudu ve Gerçek İnanç tarafından korunan daireye kaydetmesini simgelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Theodore Metokhites, Khora Kilisesi, bani sahnesi, mozaik, Gerçek Haç, pektoral haçlar, büyük kapı.

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In Byzantium those who had built, restored, reconstructed a church often had themselves portrayed as ktetors in front of the holy figure to whom the church was dedicated (Velmans 1977: 69–97; Kalavrezou–Maxeiner 1991: 1705; Danker 2000)¹.

Within the repertoire of the architectural depictions in later Byzantine art, ktetors and representations of the church in the hands of the commissioners have a specific ideological background (Kazhdan 2000: 1160)². The representation of ktetor portrayed with a model of the church is connected with a deep eschatological model of thinking. The Last Judgement sets the agenda for every Christian. Likewise, the ktetor expresses hope for his salvation and redemption of his soul, whose pledge is the church which he offers to Christ, is one of the basic *stimuli* of the ktetorial activity (Grabar 1971: 106–111)³. The aim of this article is to analyze in detail ktetorial (donor) mosaic composition depicted above the west portal of Chora Church / Kariye Camii (Fig. 1). The art of the Chora has attracted an enormous amount of attention in scholarship over the years. The Chora is the most celebrated monument of the second decade of the 14th century AD (Underwood 1966; 1975; Hjort 1979: 199–289; Ousterhout 1987; Ousterhout 2002; Klein et al. 2011)⁴.

Within the scope of new discoveries it is possible to discuss the Chora Monastery in ways that are simply not feasible at almost any other site.

Theodore Metochites, who was for some years Logothetes tou Genikou (prime minister) of the Byzantine Empire, the richest citizen after the emperor Andronikos II, lavishly and richly restored the church of Chora (Fig. 2). That



Figure 1
Theodore Metochites presenting the church to the enthroned Christ, mosaic above the entrance to the naos, Chora church (Kariye Camii), İstanbul. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

Figure 2
Chora Church (Kariye Camii), west facade. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

- 1 The word ktetor derives from the Greek *κτάομαι*, which in ancient Greek means “to acquire,” and by Late Antique times comes to mean “to possess” or “to own”.
- 2 Kazhdan defined this term also as the ktetorial right (*κτητορικών δίκαιον*).
- 3 Ktetorial composition is also the term which is often used in the historiography. Andre Grabar used to identify this composition also as “offrande de l’empereur”.
- 4 *Chora* (Χώρα), which in Modern Greek means village or the capital of an island. The word *chora* also has other meanings, such as container, dwellingplace, or keep (*donjon* or fortress) and the name of the monastery came to be reinterpreted in a mystical sense. In the pendant images at the entrance, and throughout the building, Christ is entitled as *ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων*: The Dwelling-place of the Living, a reference to Psalm 116:9, a verse that appears in the funeral liturgy, a reference to our heavenly reward - here a play on the name of the monastery. The literature on the building is now voluminous. In this case is quoted only selected titles among many others.

restoration was very extensive. Since only the nave of the Komnenian building remained, at the beginning of the 14th century AD, a dome, pastophoria, and side annexes with narthex and exonarthex with domes were added to it (Ousterhout 1987: 35). Precisely, Metochites provided for the entire space to be redecorated, including the surviving marble revetments and floors, as well as the partially surviving mosaics.

At the same time, he enveloped the older building with new additions. The pastophoria were rebuilt and decorated with mural paintings; a two-storied annex was added to the north side of the naos; two narthexes were added to the west, lavishly outfitted with marbles and mosaics; and a funeral chapel or parekklesion was added to the south, decorated with frescoes. At the southwest corner, where the minaret now rises, a belfry was constructed, also decorated with Metochites' monograms in brick. According to Ihor Ševcenko, Andronicus II gave to Theodore Metochites the title of ktetor. Moreover, Metochites's words provide an intimate assessment of his role as patron (Featherstone 2000: 225)⁵. That is exactly the reason why Metochites holds a model of the church he patronized in the lunette above the west portal with the church in his hands as if he was the one who established the monastic structure and was the founder of the monastery (Fig. 3) (Ševcenko 1975: 29 note 76). Although many researchers

Figure 3
Theodore Metochites presenting the
ktetorial model. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.



5 Metochites described his personal motivations as follows: "Now, Time which carries off all good things in its current had all but consigned this monastery to ruin. But the emperor desired to raise it up and restore it as it had been formerly; and he urged me on to this work with force - desirous as I myself was - to oversee this offering in all ways most pleasing unto God, this exceeding delightful favor to the emperor and gain for our soul and unperishable renown through all ages, if only I could shore it up firmly and make it in all ways more secure than before - as indeed it now is - and thereby bring before God and before the emperor such an immense and right glorious gift". Featherstone 2000: 225.

analyzed this composition, honoured the mosaics and frescoes themselves with many descriptions and intriguing interpretations, the representation of architecture in the hands of Theodore Metochites, ktetor of Chora church, was not of particular scientific interest. It is curious, that in the principal historiography of the Late Byzantine art, ktetorial model - model of the church depicted above the portal, is scarcely mentioned. To explore this question, this essay will consider description of the ktetorial composition. Second and more relevant, this essay will argue what might be depicted within the model of the church - more specifically around the representation of the portal, according to the preserved material remains.

Project of the restoration in Chora embodies the idea of potent symbols of imperial power, and it is for this reason that ktetor is honoured with mosaic depiction with golden tesserae, underlining the inscription of the True Faith (Nelson 1999: 67-101). Cyril Mango recognized this composition as embodiment of Metochites's snobbery (Mango: 1959: 142).

Above the west entrance to the naos, where Metochites is shown with his high hat (Popović 2010: 91–117), offering the church to Christ, the inscription states (Fig. 4): *† Ὁ κτήτωρ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μετοχίτης*: “Founder and Minister of the Treasury Theodore Metochites” (Ševčenko 1975: 19- 55; Magdalino 2011: 169 – 87). “The Living library“ or the greatest scholar of his day, Metochites in both hands holds a model of the Church. This depiction of the church is quite peculiar in later Byzantine art since the church is depicted frontally. Although some authors considered that the church is depicted more symbolically and ideally since the reality of Chora is absent (Azara 2001: 440), e.g. there is no literal connection with the real image of the facade of Chora, it is our assumption that this representation corresponds to the real appearance of the building. The church in the hands of Theodore Metochites, fully and in detail reflects the appearance of the western facade of the church. The representation of the church shows the largest number of elements of the church: the main dome, two lateral domes of the exonarthex, the roof structure depicted with usage of the upper perspective, and the white color of the west façade (Ousterhout 1987: 35-36 pl. 2, 4).

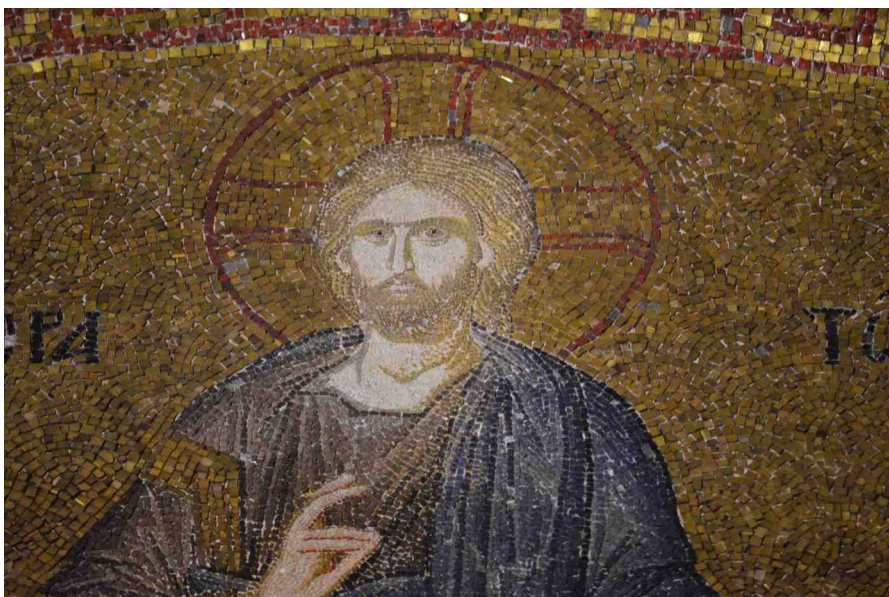


Figure 4
Christ and glittering of the mosaic.
Photo: © David Hendrix / The Byzantine Legacy.

To the side of the main dome are two lateral domes of the same size. In reality, the north dome above the narthex is smaller, has twelve registers and a smaller

number of openings in comparison with the dome compared to the south, which has twenty-four segments. The central dome is depicted realistically, with the same amount of openings that are, from one point, visible on the actual building.

The west façade consists of three registers (Fig. 5). Each register contains one arched pediment which resembles a blind niche or lunette. In midst of the façade predominant is depiction of the portal divided by six rectangular fields, and above is a lunette depicted without a patron of the church. To the side of the portal depicted with golden tesserae are arched fields. To the left and right of the golden door are two crosses of almost the same dimensions as the portal depicted in the center.

Figure 5
Ktetorial model in the hands of
Theodore Metochites.
Photo: © David Hendrix / The
Byzantine Legacy.



Some of the issues involved in defining of the ktetorial model is given by white color of mosaic *tesserae* which is used for the “façade”. On the white background of a model is visible golden portal flanked by two crosses which are almost the same size as the portal. It is completely clear that there are no preserved brick ornaments reminiscent to a cross on the façade. It can be rather said the mosaicist’s tendency was to emphasize these geometric crosses within a model of the church. Yet, in addition to this, another argument seems to indicate a move toward the reading of ktetorial composition and the meaning of a model: the golden portal. As a first step in reconsideration of the image, it is necessary to recall the Golden Gate of Constantinople, but also the Golden Gate of Jerusalem where Joachim and Anne had met (Matheou et al. 2016: 213). The glimmering *tesserae* of the mosaic background and the portal are juxtaposed and much that is visible is that its patron did not spare any expense. Mosaic with glimmering tesserae remains the costliest medium which mirrors the pretensions of the monument and a person who paid for its adornment. Glimmering light of the Golden Door is an active force in the golden picture (*aurea pictura*) creating the impression that the worshippers are embraced by the daylight, “living” light that embedded Christ’s presence even more deeply into the sacred building. Light made of golden tesserae was alive in a more particularly Christian sense, as they played with ideas of incarnation and embodiment that were central to Christian belief (James 1996: 106–107, 121–123; Janes 1998: 18–42; Bühner-Thierry 2004: 521–556; Schibille 2014). The structures of light contained in the background of this mosaic move, bend, spring up, stretch, and even dance. Glimmering works

to produce sacredness of the interior. If we follow the arguments of Nicoletta Isar that the choral pattern happens in the Church leading toward the divine and eternal, it means that golden tesserae turn the image and interior into a container of light in motion (Isar 2006: 59–90).

Last but not least, it is necessary to explain the meaning of the crosses on the model, as the third axis within which it is necessary to interpret this mosaic. Evocative physical evidence is embodied in the west portal of naos. It preserves evidence of keeping the memory of True Cross. During my scholarship at Koç University provided for the Summer Programme “Istanbul through the Ages” held in July and at the beginning of August 2012th, I worked on a detailed photographic study of the ktetorial mosaic at Chora. In the lower third of the marble portal jambs I noticed deeply carved crosses, shaped specifically thinner in the upper part, so that it is quite noticeable that it served to receive precious metal content: votive set of pectoral crosses (Figs. 6, 7, 8). These crosses which

Figure 6
Left cross on the jamb of the west portal to the naos. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

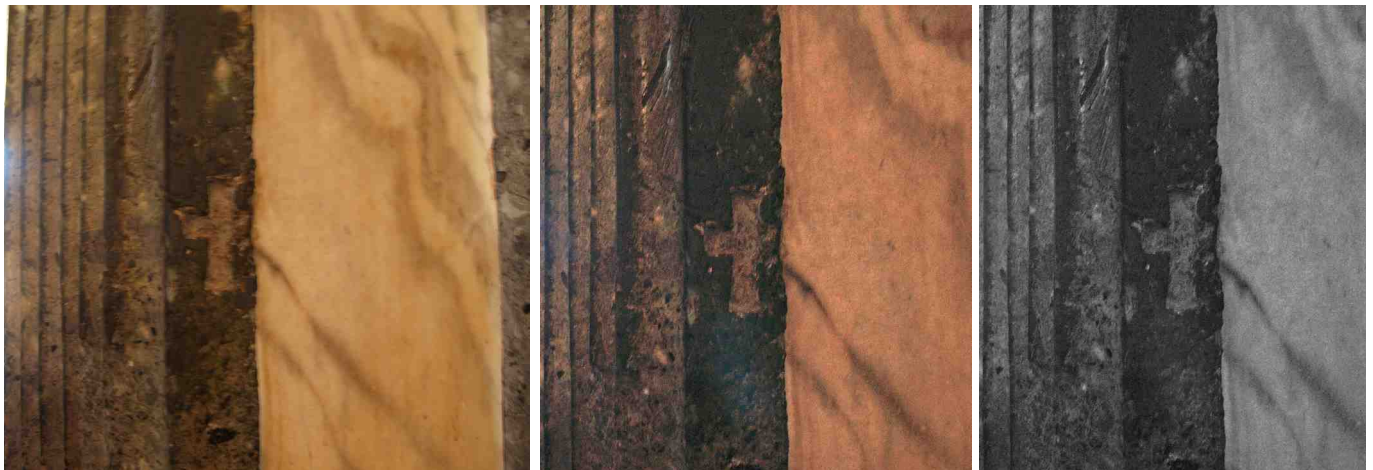
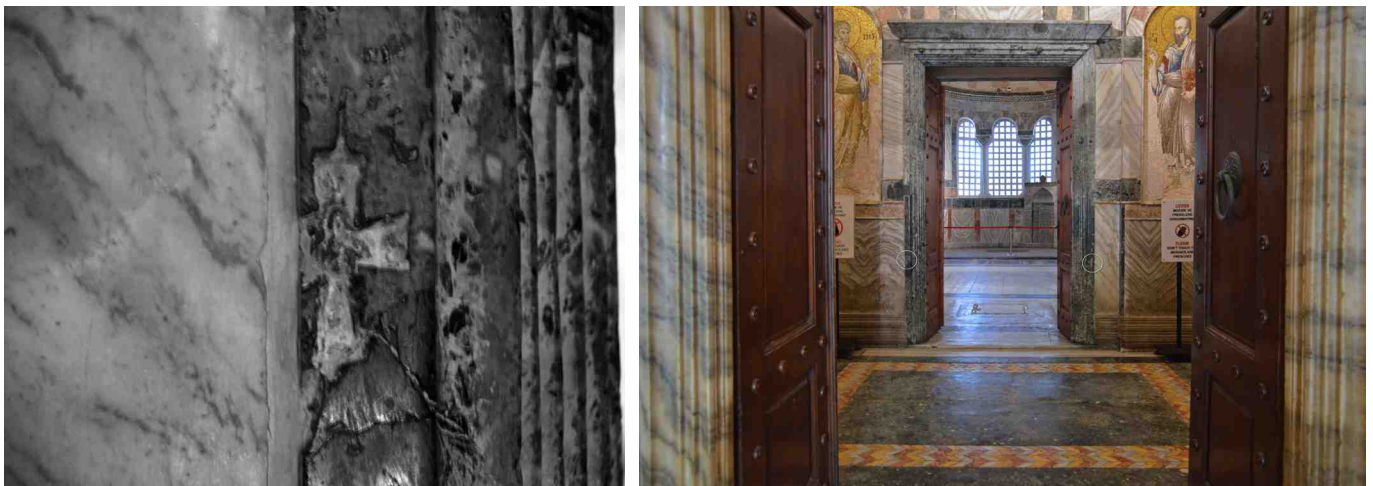


Figure 7
Right cross on the jamb of the west portal to the naos. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

Figure 8
Right cross on the jamb of the west portal and view toward the naos. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

testified to the efficacy of the cult, served as a protective device for keeping and admiration of small particles of the True Cross (Cvetković 2020: 115-123). Crosses refer to Christ as the “light” and “life” (φῶς ζωῆ) of the world, as in John 8:12: “I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness but will have the light of life.” Similar crosses are found at the main portal of St. Catherine church at Sinai (Filotheu 2008: 77-78) but most of all in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Spatially similar to Chora church, two crosses are found in the inner narthex of Hagia Sophia (Figs. 9a, b, c). In the green marble band

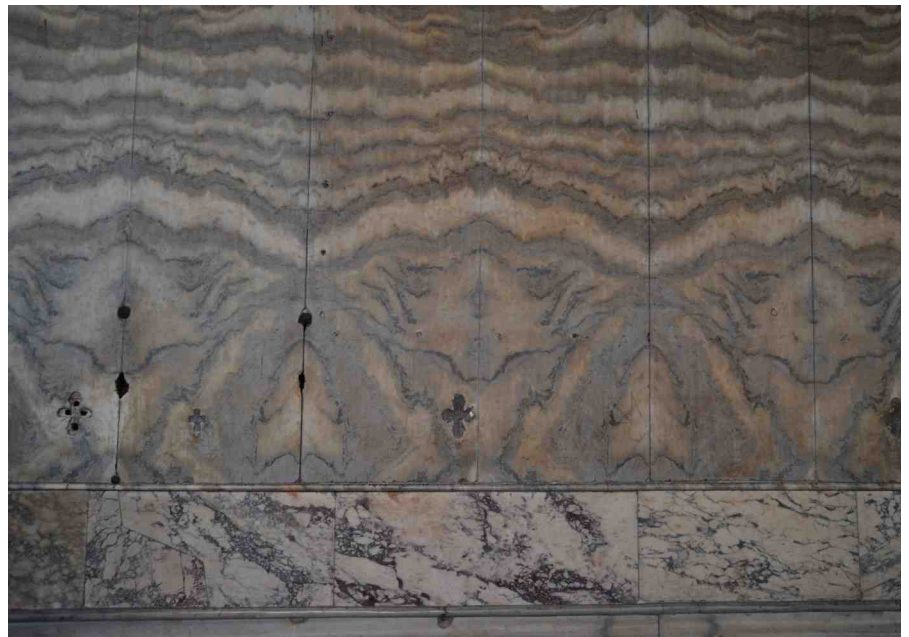
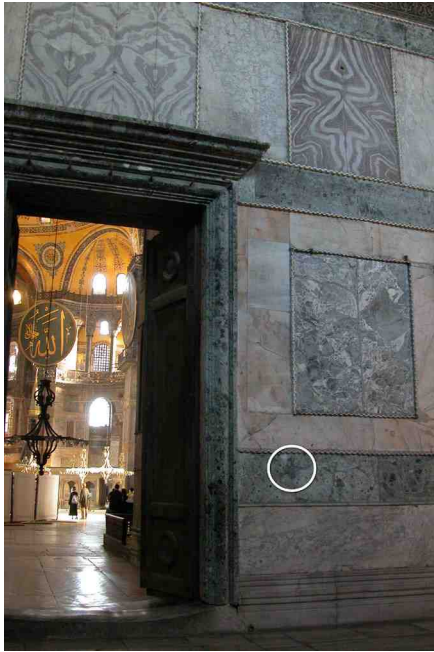


Figure 9a
Portal of the inner narthex with visible cross-shaped cavities, Hagia Sophia, İstanbul. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

Figure 9b
Marble between two portals in the inner narthex of Hagia Sophia. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

Figure 9c
Portal of the inner narthex with visible cross-shaped cavities, Hagia Sophia, İstanbul. Photo: © David Hendrix / The Byzantine Legacy.

Figure 10
Gallery of Hagia Sophia, marble with visible cross-shaped cavities. Photo: ©David Hendrix / The Byzantine Legacy.

between the second and third doors from the north and between the central and fourth doors (Teteriatnikov 1998: 432). Also, cross-shaped cavities are visible at the eastern wall of the western gallery and at the south side of the western gallery (Fig. 10) (Teteriatnikov 2003: 74-92). Intervisual context between two churches, is additionally empowered by the fact that crosses in Chora are found almost in front of the composition Deesis. At the gallery of Hagia Sophia cross-shaped cavities are visible in the spatial unit which follows west wall of the south gallery also known because of the preserved mosaic of Deesis (Nelson 1999: 67-101, esp. 71, 77). Having in mind that the beholder moves from the west toward the east, it means that procession functioned from the interior narthex through the west portal between narthex and naos. In the domical vault above this portal is *Eisodia Theotokou* or the Entrance of Mary to the Temple (Fig. 11), it is relatively easy to understand visual construct with the idea of the entrance underlining (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975: 220–223; Evangelatou 2019: 92). All



of these visual underlining would have resonated in the eyes of the Byzantine viewers. *Eisodia Theotokou* as focal point for the gaze of the viewers evoked the idea of Mary as the variety of exegetical images based on allegory or metaphor of the Temple (naos) of Jerusalem and its gate: “Having opened the gates and entrances, the Temple receives the gate of God, the King of all, and adorns the inner parts. At her entrance, the Temple is illuminated with grace“ (Olkinoura 2015: 281)⁶.

Theodore Metochites before Christ, mosaic in the inner narthex, is flanked by depiction of the Holy Apostles, St Peter and St Paul (Fig. 12). Such mosaics are the closest images to the beholder. The towering figures of Theodore and Christ can hardly be ignored. Theodore in submissive position makes an effort to establish communication before the Christ. That is evident in the manner he proffers the ktetorial model with both hands showing his piety and hope. Worshippers would cross from the exonarthex inside of the area of narthex and through the narthex they would enter in the area of naos through the west portal adorned with pectoral crosses. This triangle, Metochites, model and crosses that flank the west portal, recreate the act of passage and holyness inside additionally underlined with the panel of Dormition of the Virgin above the portal and with

⁶ The fact that *Eisodia* is connected with the idea of portal and the Cross is additionally visible at the south portal of narthex of Chilandar katholikon at Mount Athos. The south portal contains two inserted crosses in the jambs of the portal. Crosses were inserted between the particles of stone, in the mosaic-like picture with the illusion of depth which resembles to the particles of the floor (Bošković 1959: 130). The fact that crosses were inserted in the portals of Serbian churches was not previously researched. It is intriguing the fact that in the axe of the lintel of west portal between narthex and naos of the Virgin’s church in Studenica are preserved traces of two crosses. Most probably these crosses marked the position of pectorals. About marking of the portal with the cross there are several descriptions within Serbian written sources (Trifunović 1973: 172).

Figure 11

The Entrance of the Virgin in the Temple, mosaic in the domical vault above the west portal. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

Figure 12

Apostle Paul, mosaic in the left niche with visible north jamb of the west portal and cross-shaped cavity in the lower third of the jamb. Photo: Jasmina S. Ćirić.

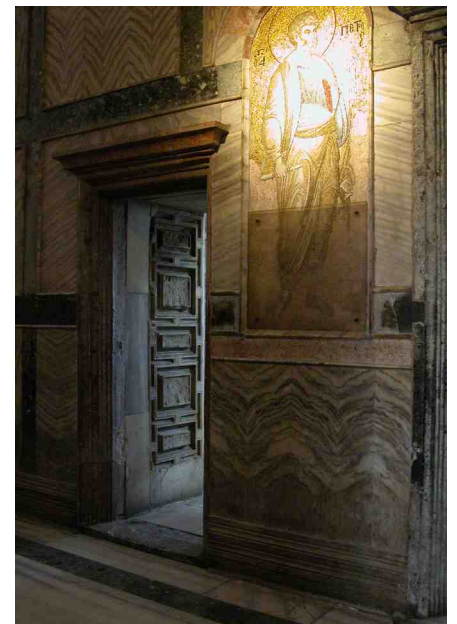


Figure 13
Dormition of the Virgin Mary, mosaic in the naos, above the west portal.
Photo: © David Hendrix / The Byzantine Legacy.

the composition above in the vault where is the mosaic of the Entrance of Mary to the Temple (Fig. 13) (Ousterhout 1995: 91-108). Imagological speaking, this spatial area marked with the portal, pectoral crosses and two mosaics became the embodiment of the solemn Sanctification of the Water. Because of the illnesses



that often occur in August, the custom took root long ago in Constantinople of carrying out the Honorable Wood of the Cross into the streets to sanctify the places and avoid illness. On the eve, July 31, the Wood was taken out of the royal treasury and placed upon the holy table of the Great church (Hagia Sophia). From this day until the Dormition of the Mother of God, processions were served all over the city and the cross was offered to the people for veneration. This is that very procession (*προοδος*) of the Honorable Cross. Another custom was joined to this one: to sanctify the water in the church of the royal court in Constantinople on the first day of each month, with the exception of January, when the water was sanctified on the 6th, and September, in which it occurred on the 14th. These two customs lie at the foundation of the celebration of the All-Merciful Savior, Christ our God, and His Mother the Most Holy Theotokos, Virgin Mary on 1st August. On the same day the "Procession of the Honorable Wood of the Cross of the Lord" was executed when priests evoked *Staurotheotokion* (Σταυροθεοτόκιον; Foley - Bangert 2000: 289; Bulgakov 2009: 69), a hymn commemorating the Blessed Virgin at the cross and the attending solemn sanctification of the water (Klein 2006: 79-99; 2015: 201-212). Through the synergy of spatial articulation, the symbolism of forms and their shaping as choral movement and auditive

image, in presence of the relics of the True Cross as well as a specific mosaic program, the whole church was metaphorically transformed and linked with the image of the Garden of Eden and Land of the Living (*ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων*).

The function of Theodore's portrait and ktetorial model served as preservation of the memory on the relics of True Cross, reflection of the miraculous belief in contact between natural and supernatural, between humanity and divinity, opening of the field of mystery contained in the Cross, the Savior and His victory over death (Evangelatou 2019: 92). Thus, the west portal became not only the container of the mystery of the Crucifixion, but also struggles, temptations and sufferings of the Mother of God at the foot of the Cross since she is hailed as container and provider of eucharistic body of Christ.

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İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaikleri ve Hatay Mozaikleri Arasındaki Yeri

İncirli Village Martyrium Mosaics and the Place of These Mosaics in Hatay Mosaics

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Öz

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaikleri, Hatay İli, Kırıkhan İlçesi, İncirli Köyünde'dir. Martyrium da üç mekân tespit edilmiştir. Plan vermeyen mimari, düzensiz dere taşları ve kalker bloklarla yapılmıştır. Mekânlarda açığa çıkarılan mozaikler üç panodan meydana gelmiştir. Hatay genelinde kilise, bazilika veya martyrium kazılarında ortaya çıkarılan mozaiklerde cennet tasvirli konular sık işlendiği gibi dini olaylar, portreler, hayvan, bitki ve geometrik motifler de işlenmiştir. Hatay'da çıkarılan mozaiklerin kompozisyonlarının İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaikleri ile benzer yanları olduğu gibi farklılıkları da bulunmaktadır. Hatay'da bulunan sivil ve dini mekânlarda yapılan mozaik döşemelerindeki konu, kompozisyon, figür, motif ve bordürler incelendiğinde, İS 2. yüzyılda başlayan sanatsal süreç, Antakya'da bulunan diğer Doğu Roma mozaiklerinde ifade edildiği gibi İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiki'nde de İS 6. yüzyıla kadar izlenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antakya, İncirli, mozaik, martyrium.

Abstract

İncirli Martyrium Mosaics were found in the village of İncirli at Kırıkhan, Hatay. Three room spaces are defined in the martyrium. Riverbed stones and calcareous blocks were used in the architecture, although its plan is incomplete. The mosaics found in the rooms are composed of three panels. In the Hatay region, mosaics found in church, basilica or martyrium contexts are generally depicting scenes of heaven as well as religious events, portraits, animals, plants and geometric motifs. Hatay mosaics share similarities and differences in composition to İncirli Village Martyrium Mosaics. When the subjects, composition, figures, motifs and borders of the mosaic floors made in civil and religious building in Hatay are examined, the artistic process that started in the 2nd century AD is expressed in the other Eastern Roman mosaics in Antakya, as well as in the İncirli Village Martyrium Mosaics. It is traced back to the 6th century AD.

Keywords: Antioch, İncirli, mosaic, martyrium.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiği, Hatay İli, Kırıkhan İlçesi, İncirli Köyü'nde Hatay Müze Müdürlüğü tarafından 08.04.1996 tarihinde tespit edilmiştir. İncirli Köyü, Hatay İli'nin 40 km doğusunda bulunan Kırıkhan İlçesi'ne yaklaşık 25 km mesafededir. Köy, Kurt Dağları'nın eteklerinde kurulmuş, Amik Ovası'na hâkim, Suriye sınırına yakın bir noktadadır (Res. 1).



Resim 1
Hatay İli, Kırıkhan İlçesi, İncirli Köyü.

2007 yılında Müze Müdürlüğü Başkanlığında aynı köyde Martyriumun dışında farklı parselde bulunan kilisede kurtarma kazısı (Çelik 2013: 1) gerçekleştirilmiştir. Her iki dini yapıda mozaik tabanlar bulunmuştur. Kilise, mozaiklerden yola çıkarak İS V. - VI. yüzyıla tarihlendirilmekte, Martyrium ise Grekçe kitabesinde tarih verildiği için İS VI. yüzyıla tarihlendirilmiştir. İki dini yapının aynı dönemler içerisinde varlığını sürdürdüğü düşünülebilir fakat İncirli Köyü'nde ortaya çıkarılan iki dini yapının yakın tarihler içerisinde varlığını sürdürmesi ve aynı köyde bulunmasının dışında arasında tam olarak bir ilişki kurulamamıştır.

Hatay Müze Müdürlüğü başkanlığında, 2007 yılında yapılan kurtarma kazısı (Çelik 2013: 1), Arkeolog Ömer ÇELİK tarafından yapılmıştır. Kazı, köy evinin bahçesinde ve etrafı konutlarla çevrili dar bir alanda gerçekleştirilmiştir (Res. 2). Kazı alanı günümüz yapıları ile çevrili olması sebebiyle mimari tam olarak açığa çıkarılamamıştır. Plan vermeyen mimari, düzensiz dere taşları ve kalker bloklarla yapılmıştır (Res. 3). Üç mekân tespit edilmiştir (Res. 3, Çiz. 1). Güneyde kesme blok taşlarla yapılan zemini pişmiş toprak levha ile kaplı I. mekân yer almaktadır (Res. 4). II. mekân orta bölümde kısmen dikdörtgen şekle benzer bir yapıya sahip olup tam plan vermemektedir (Res. 5). II. mekânın zemini mozaik döşelidir. III. mekân ise kuzeyde olup bu mekânda plan vermemektedir (Res. 6). Bu mekânın zemini de mozaik döşelidir (Çiz. 2 - 3). II. mekânda ortaya çıkarılan mozaikteki yazıtta, yapının “martyrium” olduğu belirtildiği için işlevi anlaşılmıştır. Tespit edilen martyrium mozaiklerinin büyük bölümü tahrip olmuştur. Açığa çıkarılan mozaikler üç panodan meydana gelmiştir (Çiz. 2).

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiklerinde 10 hayvan figürü, 4 bitki motifi işlenmiştir. Teseraların en ve boyları 0,6 cm – 1,2 cm arasında, yükseklikleri 0,5 cm – 1 cm arasında değişmektedir (Res. 7).



Resim 2
Kazı alanı ve çevresi.



Resim 3
Üç mekânı açığa çıkarılan Matriyon,
mimaride kullanılan kalker bloklar ve
düzensiz dere taşları.



Resim 4
I numaralı mekân.

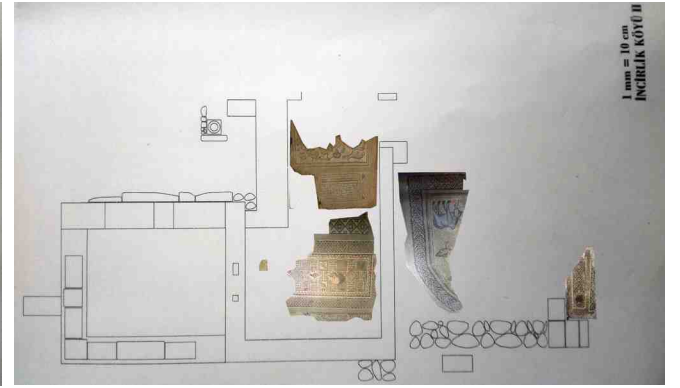
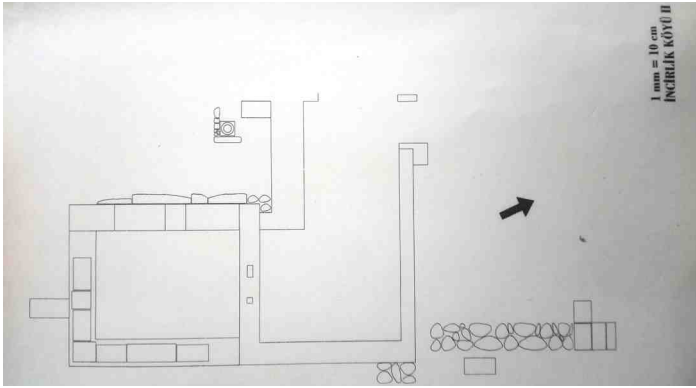


Resim 5
II numaralı mekân.



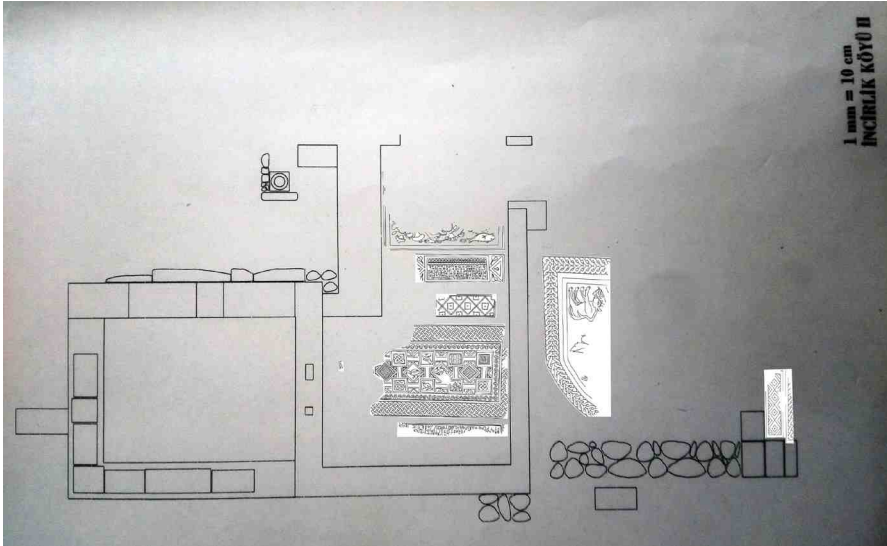
Resim 6
III numaralı
mekân.

Resim 7
Mozaik kesiti.



Çizim 1
Açığa çıkarılan üç mekân.

Çizim 2 - 3
Mozaiklerin mimarideki yerleri.



Mozaiklerde siyah, beyaz, kirli beyaz, çamurlaşmış yeşil, uçuk kahverengi, koyu kahverengi, kıvırmızı, kıvırmızı, açık gri, koyu gri, lila ve oksit sarı olmak üzere 12 renk kullanılmıştır.

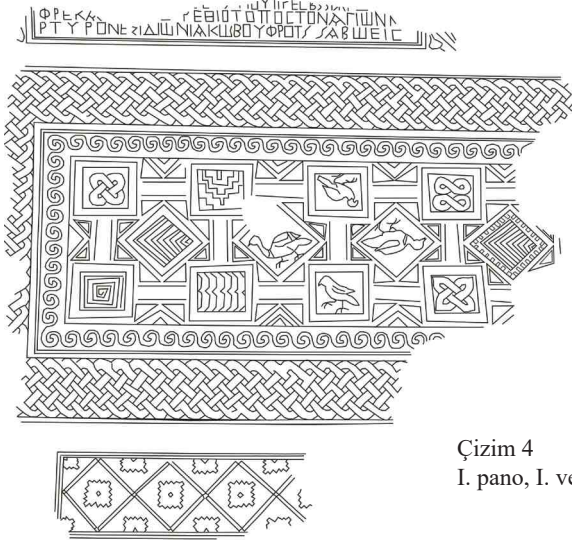
II ve III numaralı mekânlarda ortaya çıkan taban mozaïği üç ana panodan oluşmuştur (Çiz. 2 - 3).

I. Pano

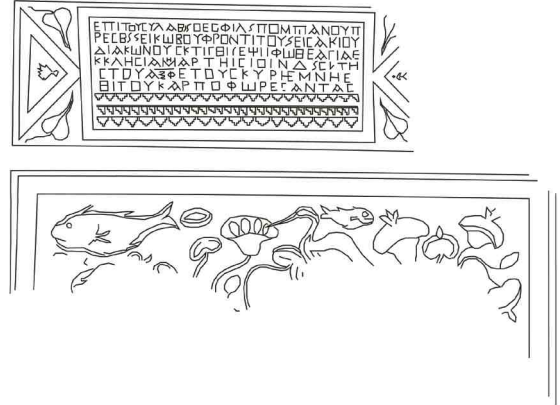
I. pano dört bölümden (Res. 8) meydana gelmiştir. Birinci bölüm kitabe (Res. 9, Çiz. 4), ikinci bölüm geometrik motifler ve kuş figürleri (Res. 10, Çiz. 4),

Resim 8
I. pano.

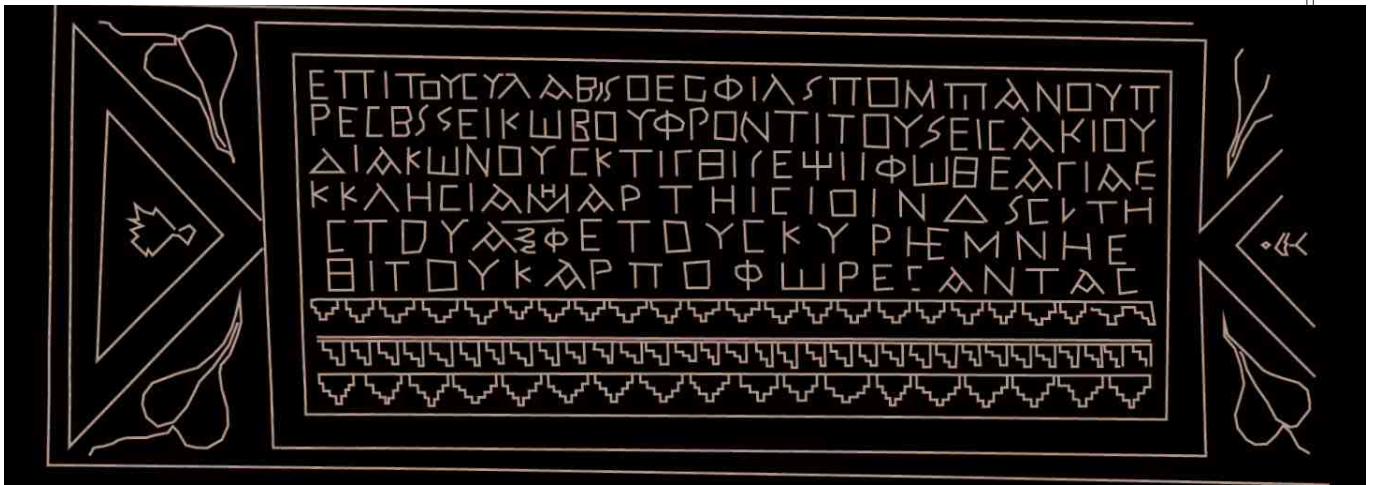
üçüncü bölüm 6 satırlık kitabe (Res. 8, Çiz. 5 - 6), dördüncü bölüm ise kuşlar, balıklar ve nilüferlerden oluşan figürlü panolardır (Res. 8, Çiz. 5).



Çizim 4
I. pano, I. ve II. bölüm.



Çizim 5
I. pano, III. ve IV. bölüm.



Çizim 6
I. pano, III. bölüm.

I. Bölüm

I. panonun doğu bölümünde tahrip olmuş 3 sıra Grekçe yazı bulunmaktadır. Yaklaşık 3 m uzunluğundaki yazıt, beyaz zemin üzerine siyah renk tesseralarla işlenmiş siyah bir çizgi (Décor I: pl.1) ve kalın siyah, beyaz, çamurlaşmış yeşil ve uçuk kahverengi asimetrik bant (Décor I: pl.36c) ile sınırlanmıştır. Kitabenin solunda siyah tesseralarla işlenmiş yaprak motifi ve çerçevenin bir parçası bulunmaktadır. Kitabeye ve merkez pano arasına açık gri tesseralarla işlenmiş tek renkli bant (Décor I: pl.1y) yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 9, Çiz. 4).

Resim 9
I. pano, I. bölüm kitabe.



Mozaikteki yazıt, Prof. Dr. Hamdi Sayar¹ tarafından “.....rahipliği döneminde bu kutsal martyrium'un sorumlusu Yakob kendi kesesinden (yaptırdı)” şeklinde çevrilmiştir.

II. Bölüm

II. bölüm, 1,05 x 2,80 m ölçülerinde, geometrik motifler ve dört kare içerisine yerleştirilmiş kuş figürlerinden meydana gelmiştir (Res. 10 - 11, Çiz. 4).

Pano siyah, beyaz, koyu gri, açık gri, kırmızı, oksit sarı ve koyu kahverengi renk tesseralar kullanılarak yapılmıştır.

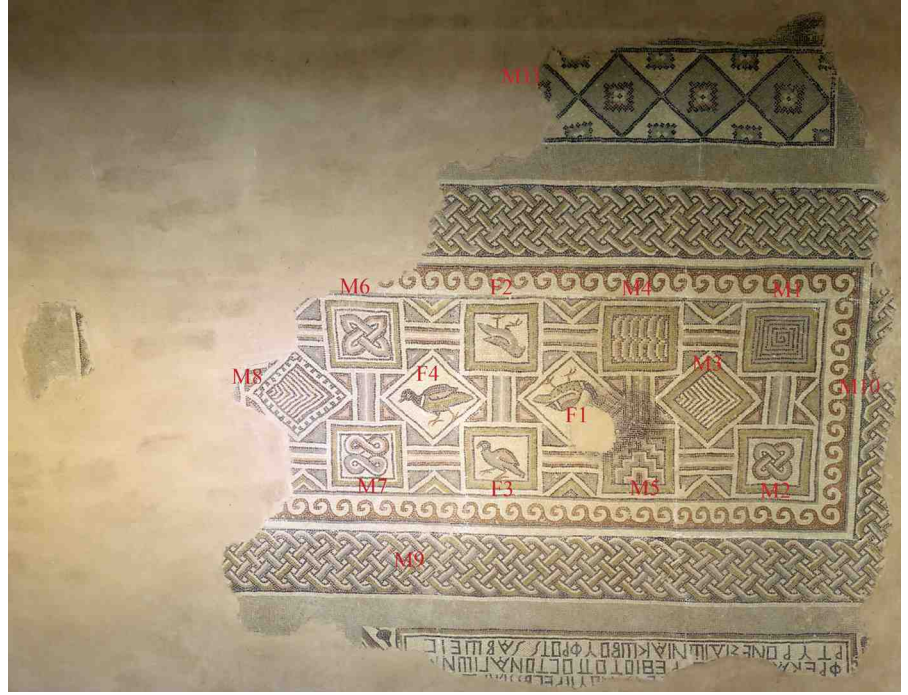
Resim 10
I. pano, II. bölüm.



Pano yatay ve dikey yerleştirilen, birbirine bağlı kare ve karelerin bağlantılarına uçları değen eşkenar dörtgenlerden oluşan geometrik bir tasarımdan oluşmuştur. Kareler arasında oluşan boşluklar üçgen tasarımlarla doldurulmuştur. Kare ve eşkenar dörtgenlerin içerisine kuşlar ve geometrik motifler yerleştirilmiştir. II. bölümde, 4 hayvan figürü ve 8 geometrik motif, 2 bordür kullanılmıştır (Res. 10 - 11, Çiz. 4). Pano basit dalga deseni (Décor I: 101a) ve geniş gölgeli çok kollu guilloche (Décor I: pl. 73f) bordürle sınırlanmıştır.

¹ Mozaikte tespit edilen kitabelerin çevirisi İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Eskiçağ Tarihi Bölümünden Prof. Dr. M. Hamdi SAYAR tarafından yapılmıştır.

Resim 11
Numaralandırılmış I. pano, II. bölüm.



1- Hayvan Figürleri

F1 numaralı ördek figürü, eşkenar dörtgen içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11 - 12, Çiz. 4). Eşkenar dörtgen tek sıra siyah ve çift sıra beyaz tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgiler ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Ördeğin baş bölümü yangın geçirdiği için renk değişimine uğramıştır. Figürde siyah, kırmızı kahverengi, kırmızı, beyaz, kirli beyaz, koyu gri ve oksit sarı olmak üzere 7 renk kullanılmıştır. Ördek sola doğru yönelmiş, sol ayak havada, kanadı kapalı, kuyruk hafif aşağıya doğru eğilmiştir. Gaga üçgen, baş oval formdadır. Göz tahribat sebebiyle belirsizdir. Boyun uzun silindirik şeklindedir. Gövde oval olup sırt hafif yükseltilmiştir. Kuyruk üçgenimsi bir forma sahiptir. Kanat kapalı ve çok renklidir. Kanadın ucu, kuyrukla birleşim noktasında küçük bir çıkıntı yapmıştır. Ayaklar kısa, üç parmaklı ve uçları sivridir (Res. 12).

Resim 12
F1 numaralı ördek figürü.



F2 numaralı kuş figürü, kare içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 13, Çiz. 4). Kare siyah, beyaz, oksit sarı, açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlanmıştır. Figürde siyah, kırmızı kahverengi, kırmızı, beyaz, kirli beyaz, koyu gri olmak üzere 6 renk kullanılmıştır. Kuş sola doğru yönelmiş, bir ayak havada, kanadı kapalı, kuyruk hafif aşağıya doğru eğilmiştir. Gaga üçgen, baş oval formdadır. Göz yuvarlaktır. Boyun çok kısadır. Gövde ovaldır. Kuyruk üçgenimsi bir formda olup ucu sivridir. Kapalı olan kanat çok renklidir. Kanadın ucu sivri ve kuyrukla birleşim noktasında küçük bir çıkıntı yapmıştır. Ayaklar gövdeye göre uzun, üç parmaklıdır (Res. 13).



Resim 13
F2 numaralı kuş figürü.

F3 numaralı papağan figürü, kare içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 14, Çiz. 4). Kare siyah, beyaz, oksit sarı, açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlanmıştır. Figürde siyah, kırmızı kahverengi, kırmızı, beyaz, kirli beyaz, koyu gri ve açık gri olmak üzere 7 renk kullanılmıştır. Papağan sola doğru yönelmiş, bir ayak havada, kanadı kapalı, kuyruk hafif aşağıya doğru eğilmiştir. Gaga üçgen, baş oval formdadır. Göz yuvarlaktır. Boyun çok kısadır. Gövde ovaldır. Kuyruk üçgenimsi bir formda olup ucu sivridir. Kapalı olan kanat çok renklidir. Kanadın ucu sivri ve kuyrukla birleşim noktasında küçük bir çıkıntı yapmıştır. Ayaklar gövdeye göre uzun, üç parmaklıdır (Res. 14).



Resim 14
F3 numaralı papağan figürü.

doğru yönelmiş, bir ayak havada, kanadı kapalı, kuyruk hafif aşağıya doğru eğilidir. Baş yuvarlak, gaga üçgen formdadır. Göz ovaldır. Boyun kısa ve silindir şeklindedir. Gövde ovaldır. Sırt yukarı doğru kalkıktır. Kuyruk uzun dikdörtgenimsi bir formda olup ucu sivridir. Kanat kapalı ve çok renklidir. Kanadın ucu sivri ve kuyrukla birleşim noktasında küçük bir çıkıntı yapmıştır. Ayaklar gövdeye göre uzun, üç parmaklıdır (Res. 14).

F4 numaralı ördek figürü, eşkenar dörtgen içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 15, Çiz. 4). Eşkenar dörtgen tek siyah ve çift beyaz tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlanmıştır. Figürde siyah, koyu kahverengi, kırmızı, beyaz, kirli beyaz, koyu gri ve oksit sarı olmak üzere 7 renk kullanılmıştır. Ördek sola doğru yönelmiş, sol ayak havada, kanadı kapalı, kuyruk düzdür. Baş yuvarlak, gaga üçgen formdadır. Göz yuvarlaktır. Boyun kısa silindir şeklindedir. Gövde oval olup sırt hafif yükseltilmiştir. Kuyruk üçgenimsi bir forma sahiptir. Kanat kapalı ve çok renklidir. Kanadın ucu kuyrukla birleşim noktasında küçük bir çıkıntı yapmıştır. Ayaklar kısa, üç parmaklı ve uçları sivridir (Res. 15).

Resim 15
F4 numaralı ördek figürü.



2- Geometrik Motifler

M1 numaralı geometrik motif kare düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 16, Çiz. 4). Beyaz, siyah ve oksit sarı renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlanmıştır. Motif siyah ve beyaz tesseralarla yapılmış, iç içe geçmiş köşeli hatlarla, sarmal biçimde, büyükten küçüğe doğru yerleştirilmiş düzenektir.

M2 numaralı Süleyman'ın Düğümü (Décor II: 42) motif kare düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 17, Çiz. 4). Beyaz, siyah, oksit sarı ve açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlanmıştır. Süleyman'ın Düğümü beyaz zemine işlenmiştir. Düğümde iki farklı renk düzeneği bulunmaktadır. Birinci düzene siyah ile sınırlanmış koyu gri, açık gri ve beyaz renklidir. İkinci düzene siyah ile sınırlanmış, kırmızı kahverengi, kirli beyaz ve beyaz renklerle işlenmiştir.



Resim 16
M1 numaralı geometrik motif.

Resim 17
M2 numaralı geometrik motif.

M3 numaralı motif eşkenar dörtgen düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 18, Çiz. 4). Siyah, beyaz, oksit sarı, açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Yatay yerleştirilmiş üst üste binmiş köşeli ayrıçlardan oluşan motif (Décor I: pl.8e) siyah, beyaz ve kırmızı kahverengi renk tesseralarla işlenmiştir.

M4 numaralı motif kare formulu düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 19, Çiz. 4). Motif beyaz, siyah, oksit sarı ve açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Üst üste yerleştirilmiş, basamaklı, çift ayrıçlardan oluşan ikili motifte (Décor I: pl.112e)² siyah, beyaz, koyu gri, açık gri, oksit sarı ve kırmızı kahverengi renkler kullanılmıştır.

M5 numaralı motif kare formulu düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 20, Çiz. 4). Motif siyah, beyaz, oksit sarı ve açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Şeritlerden oluşan gökkuşağı desenli kademeli dişlere sahip basit meander (Décor I: pl.200c) motifinden oluşmuştur. Motif kırmızı kahverengi, kirli beyaz, beyaz, koyu gri renklerle işlenmiştir.

M6 numaralı Süleyman'ın Düğümü (Décor II: 42) motifi kare düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 21, Çiz. 4). Beyaz, siyah, oksit sarı ve açık gri renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Düğümün uç kısımları sivri ve iki farklı renk düzeneğinde işlenmiştir. Birinci düzenek siyah ile sınırlandırılmış koyu gri, açık gri ve beyaz renklerle, ikinci düzenek siyah ile sınırlandırılmış, kırmızı kahverengi, kirli beyaz ve beyaz renklerle işlenmiştir.

M7 numaralı motif kare düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 11, 22, Çiz. 4). Beyaz, siyah ve oksit sarı renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlandırılmış ve birbirine teğet, yatay konumda çift burğu³ motifinden oluşmuştur. Motif iki farklı renk düzenekte işlenmiştir. Birinci düzenek siyah ile sınırlandırılmış koyu gri ve beyaz renklerle, ikinci düzenek siyah ile sınırlandırılmış, kırmızı kahverengi, kirli beyaz ve beyaz renklerle işlenmiştir.

M8 numaralı motif eşkenar dörtgen düzeneğin içerisine yerleştirilmiş, siyah ve beyaz renkli tek ve çift sıra tesseralarla işlenmiş çizgilerle sınırlandırılmıştır (Res. 11, 23, Çiz. 4). Motifin çevresi ayrıca siyah ve beyaz renk tırtıklı çizgi⁴ (Décor I: pl.2) ile de sınırlandırılmıştır. Yatay yerleştirilmiş üst üste binmiş köşeli ayrıçlardan (Décor I: pl.7e) oluşan motif, siyah, beyaz ve kırmızı kahverengi renklerle işlenmiştir.

2 Morey bu desene "çift köşeli ayrıç" ismini vermiştir (Morey 1938: 98).

3 Benzer motifler için bk. Décor I: pl.2j.

4 Balmelle bu desen tırtıklı çizgi (Décor I: pl. 2) derken Morey dişler adını vermiştir (Morey 1938: 85).



Resim 18
M3 numaralı geometrik motif.

Resim 19
M4 numaralı geometrik motif.

Resim 20
M5 numaralı geometrik motif.

Resim 21
M6 numaralı geometrik motif.

Resim 22
M7 numaralı geometrik motif.

Resim 23
M8 numaralı geometrik motif.

3. Bordürler

Pano sırayla beyaz bir çizgi, sonra siyah, beyaz, açık gri, koyu gri, oksit sarı, kızıl kırmızı renk tesseralarla yapılmış M9 olarak adlandırılan çok kollu guilloche (Décor I: pl.73f) motifi, tekrar beyaz daha sonra koyu gri ve siyah çizgi, son olarak kızıl kırmızı ve beyaz renk tesseralarla işlenmiş M10 olarak adlandırılan basit dalga motifi (Décor I: pl.101a) bordür ile sınırlandırılmıştır (Res. 11, 24, Çiz. 4).

II. bölümden sonra gri tesseralarla yapılmış geniş bant ve banttan sonra M11 olarak adlandırılan geometrik⁵ düzenleme bulunmaktadır. Geometrik düzenleme siyah ve beyaz renkle işlenen iki çizgi arasına yerleştirilmiştir. Uçları birbirine ve çizgilere değen eşkenar dörtgenlerden ve bunların arasına ve ortalarına yerleştirilen geometrik motiflerden meydana gelmiştir. Eşkenar dörtgenlerin dış hatları siyah, birleşim noktaları beyaz, iç yüzeyi gri renk tesseralarla işlenmiş ve merkezine kare motifler yerleştirilmiştir. Kare motif dıştan içe doğru siyah, kızıl kırmızı, kirli beyaz, beyaz ve siyah renk düzeneğine sahiptir. İki eşkenar motifin birleşmesinden ortaya çıkan üçgen boşluklara ise dış çizgiler üzerine yerleştirilmiş dikdörtgen motifler konumlandırılmıştır. Dikdörtgenler dıştan içe doğru siyah, gri, beyaz ve siyah renk düzeneğinde işlenmiştir. Motiflerin çizgilerle birleştiği noktalar, üçgen formda siyah, gri ve beyaz renk düzeneğinden meydana gelmiştir (Res. 11, 25, Çiz. 4).

III. Bölüm

III. bölümde beyaz zemine işlenen tabula ansata içine işlenen Grekçe kitabe bulunmaktadır (Res. 26-27, Çiz. 5-6). Kitabenin sol bölgesindeki üçgen çerçeve

5 Benzerleri için bk. Décor I: pl.15f.



Resim 24
M9 ve M10 numaralı, I. pano, II. bölüm
bordürler.



Resim 25
M11 numaralı geometrik düzenleme.



Resim 26
I. pano, III. ve IV. bölüm.

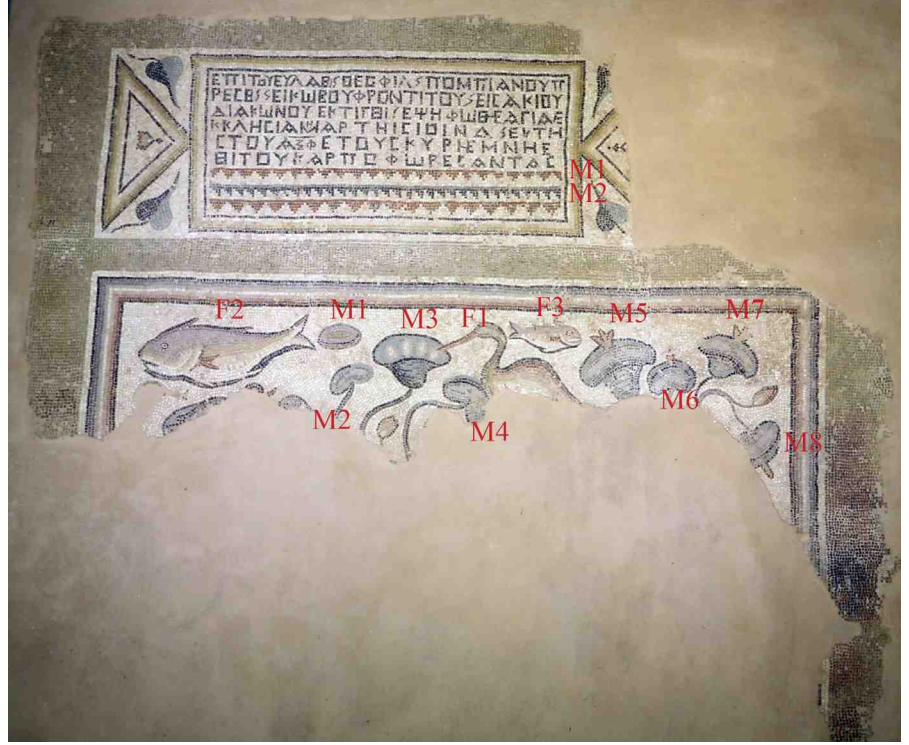


Resim 27
I. pano, III. ve IV. bölüm.

siyah, beyaz ve oksit sarı bordürle şekillendirilmiş ve ortasına siyah, beyaz ve kırmızı kahverengi tesseralarla gül tomurcuğu işlenmiştir. Üçgen çerçeve ile dikdörtgen çerçeve arasında oluşan boşluklara kısa sapları olan iki yaprak motifi

yerleştirilmiştir. Yapraklar siyah ve yeşil olarak iki renkli yapılmıştır. Yapraklı ve üçgen tasarım kitabenin sağ tarafında da işlenmiştir. Fakat sağ taraftaki tasarımın yarısı tahrip olmuştur. Dikdörtgen kitabenin içerisinde beyaz zemine siyah tesseralarla işlenmiş altı sıra yazı bulunmaktadır. Yazıların altında sırasıyla kırmızı ve aralara serpiştirilmiş kahverengi tesseralarla işlenmiş M1 olarak adlandırılan testere dişli (Décor I: pl.10g) motif (Res. 28 - 29, Çiz. 5 - 6), altında gri çizgiye yerleştirilmiş siyah renk tesseralarla işlenmiş M2 olarak adlandırılan düz zemine işlenmiş renklendirilmiş üçgenler (Décor I: pl.12d) (Res. 28 - 29, Çiz. 5 - 6), onun da altında ilk sıradaki tasarımın aynısı yerleştirilmiştir. Kitabenin altında figürlü pano bulunmaktadır.

Resim 28
Numaralandırılmış I. pano,
III. ve IV. bölüm mozaik panolar.



Resim 29
Numaralandırılmış I. pano,
III. ve IV. bölüm mozaik pano.



Mozaikteki yazı, Prof. Dr. Hamdi Sayar⁶ tarafından “Çok saygın Pompeianus oğlu Theophilos’un rahipliği döneminde Yakob’un sorumlu olduğu ve İsak’ın diakon olduğu dönemde bu kutsal kilisenin zemininin mozaik döşemesi 561 yılı Artemision (=Artemision) ayının 4. Gününü tanrıya bağlılığın göstergesi olarak yaptırıldı” şeklinde çevrilmiştir.

6 Mozaikte tespit edilen kitabelerin çevirisi İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Eskiçağ Tarihi Bölümünden Prof. Dr. M. Hamdi SAYAR tarafından yapılmıştır.

IV. Bölüm

IV. bölüm 3 x 2,91 m ölçülerindedir. III. bölüm ile IV. bölüm geniş gri renk bantla ayrılmaktadır. IV. bölüm büyük oranda tahrip olmuştur. Pano, balıklar, leylek ve göl nilüferlerinden meydana gelmiştir (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5).

1-Hayvan Figürleri

F1 numaralı leylek figürü, nilüferlerin arasında, sola yönelmiştir. Leylek kızıl kahverengi, lila, siyah, beyaz, kirli beyaz ve çamurlaşmış yeşil renk tesseralarla olmak üzere 6 renkle işlenmiştir. Leyleğin başı ovaldir. Gagası uzun, kapalı ve çift renklidir. Göz tek tessera ile verilmiştir. Boyun ince uzundur. Gövde geniş fakat tahrip olmuştur (Res. 26, 28, 30, Çiz. 5).



Resim 30
I. pano, IV. bölüm. F1 numaralı leylek figürü ve F3 numaralı balık figürü.

F2 numaralı balık (sazan) figürü, panonun solunda ve sola yönelmiştir. Balık siyah, kahverengi, lila, uçuk sarı, kirli beyaz ve beyaz renk tesseralarla olmak üzere 6 renkle işlenmiştir. Sazanın başı ve gövdesi geniş olup kuyruk dardır. Balığın üst ve alt kısımlarında ikişer yüzgeç, baş ile gövdenin birleştiği yerde iki çıkıntılı bir yüzgeç bulunmaktadır. Göz yuvarlak, ağız düz çizgi şeklindedir. Balığın altında figür veya motif olduğu anlaşılabilen parçalar bulunmaktadır (Res. 26, 28, 31, Çiz. 5).



Resim 31
I. pano, IV. bölüm. F4 numaralı balık figürü.

F3 numaralı balık (sazan) figürü, leyleğin üstünde sağa yönelmiştir. Balık siyah, beyaz, yeşil, açık kahverengi, kızıl kahverengi, kirli beyaz renk tesseralarla olmak üzere 6 renkle işlenmiştir. Balığın başı ve gövdesi bir bütün gibi olup baş oval formdadır. Göz yuvarlak, ağız geniş uzun düz çizgi şeklindedir. Kuyruk kısa ve iki çatallıdır. Balığın sırtında iki, karnında ve gövdede bir yüzgeç bulunmaktadır (Res. 26, 28, 30, Çiz. 5).

2- Bitkiler

Nilüferler siyah, beyaz, yeşil ve lila renklerle işlenmiştir. Nilüferin sapları siyah ve yeşil olarak iki renklidir. M1 numaralı nilüfer tek başına ve sapsız olarak yapılmıştır (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5). M2 numaralı nilüfer oval formdadır (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5). M3 numaralı nilüfer geniş olup iç kısmında dört adet beyaz yaprak motifleri yerleştirilmiştir (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5). M4 numaralı nilüfer de oval şekildedir (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5).

M5 numaralı nilüferlerin üst kısmında üçlü yaprak bulunmaktadır (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5). M6 numaralı nilüferin üstünde ise tek yaprak bulunmaktadır (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5). M7 numaralı nilüfer (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5) M5 numaralı nilüfer gibi üç yapraklıdır. M8 numaralı nilüferin yarısı tahrip olmuş fakat gövdesinden yapraklı bir dal çıkmıştır (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5).

3- Bordür

Figürlü pano geniş gri, ince beyaz çizgi ile çevrilmiş olup iç kısmında siyah, koyu gri, açık gri, beyaz, kirli beyaz, lila ve kırmızı kahverengi renk tesseractlarla asimetrik gölgeli bant (Décor I: pl.6c) bulunmaktadır (Res. 26, 28, Çiz. 5).

II. Pano

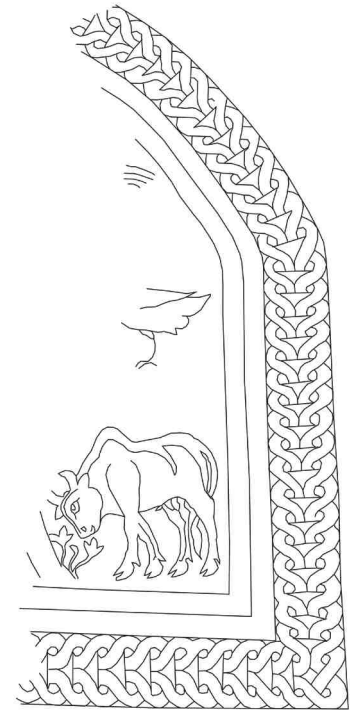
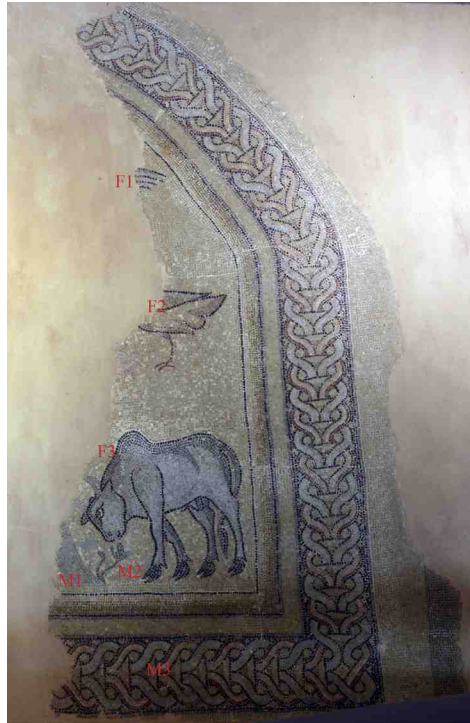
II. pano martyriumun farklı bir mekânında olup tahrip olmuştur. II. pano oval forma yakın 1,85 m x 3,37 m ölçülerindedir (Res. 32, Çiz. 7).

Panonun yarısı mevcut olup bir kuşun sadece kuyruğu, altında başka bir kuşun gövdesi, en altta ise boğa yer almaktadır. Boğanın önünde tahrip olan ağacın gövde parçası ve otlar bulunmaktadır (Res. 32, 33, Çiz. 7).

Resim 32
II. pano.

Resim 33
Numaralandırılmış II. pano.

Çizim 7
II. pano.



1-Hayvanlar

F1 numaralı figür, panonun en üstünde olup cinsi belirsiz bir kuşun sadece kuyruk bölümüdür. Kuyruk siyah, gri ve beyaz renk olmak üzere 3 farklı renk tesseractla işlenmiştir (Res. 32, 33, 34, Çiz. 7). F2 numaralı kuş figürünün kafa,



Resim 34
II. pano. F1 numaralı tahrip olmuş kuşun
kuyruk kısmı.

Resim 35
II. pano. F2 numaralı tahrip olmuş kuş
figürü.

boyun ve gövdesinin bir bölümü tahrip olmuştur (Res. 32, 33, 35, Çiz. 7). Kuş siyah, beyaz, koyu gri, kızıl kahverengi ve oksit sarı renk olmak üzere 5 farklı renk tessera ile işlenmiştir. Kuş, sola doğru yönelmiş, kanadı kapalı, kuyruğu yukarıya doğru kalkmıştır. Öndeki ayak havada ve açık renkli, gerideki ayak yere basıyor ve koyu renklidir. Üç parmaklı işlenmiştir. Parmaklar hafif kavisli, ucu sivri şeklindedir. Parmakların üstünde küçük bir tırnak çıkıntısı bulunmaktadır.

F3 numaralı boğa, siyah, beyaz, koyu gri ve açık gri renk olmak üzere 4 farklı renk tessera ile işlenmiştir (Res. 32, 33, 36, Çiz. 7). Boğa sola doğru yönelmiş, başı önündeki ota eğilmiştir. Sırtında bir çıkıntı bulunmakta, kuyruğu aşağıya sarkmış ve ayaklarının arasındadır. Ayaklar hareketlidir. Boğanın boynuzları yukarıya doğru ve hafif iç bükeydir. Kulaklar yanlara açılmış ve üçgen formundadır. Göz oval, burun nokta, ağız çizgi şeklindedir. Gövde dolgun ve iridir. Kuyruk hafif dalgalı, ucu geniştir. Ayaklar gergin, toynaklar çatallıdır.



Resim 36
F3 numaralı boğa figürü.

2- Bitkiler

M1 numaralı ağacın gövdesi hafif sola eğimli ve gri renk tesseraıyla işlenmiştir (Res. 32, 33, Çiz. 7). M2 numaralı ot figürleri ağacın kök kısmındadır (Res. 32, 33, Çiz. 7). Otların biri gri diğeri siyah renk tesseraıyla işlenmiştir. Açık olan otun gövdesi kısa, hafif dalgalı ve ucunda üçlü yaprak bulunmaktadır. Koyu renkli otun iki gövdesi bulunmaktadır. Birinci gövde, hafif dalgalı olup ucu gövdeye göre daha geniştir. İkinci gövde, sağa doğru hafif yatmış ve ucunda üçlü yaprak bulunmaktadır.

3-Bordür

Pano iki bordürle sınırlandırılmıştır. Dıştaki bordür M3 olarak adlandırılan guilloche (Décor I: pl.74h) motifidir. Bordür siyah, koyu gri, açık gri, kirli beyaz, kırmızı kahverengi, açık pembe, oksit sarı renklerle işlenmiştir. İç bordür asimetrik gölgeli bant ve simetrik gölgeli bant (Décor I: pl.6b) şeklinde siyah, beyaz ve oksit sarı renklerle işlenmiştir (Res. 32, 33, Çiz. 7).

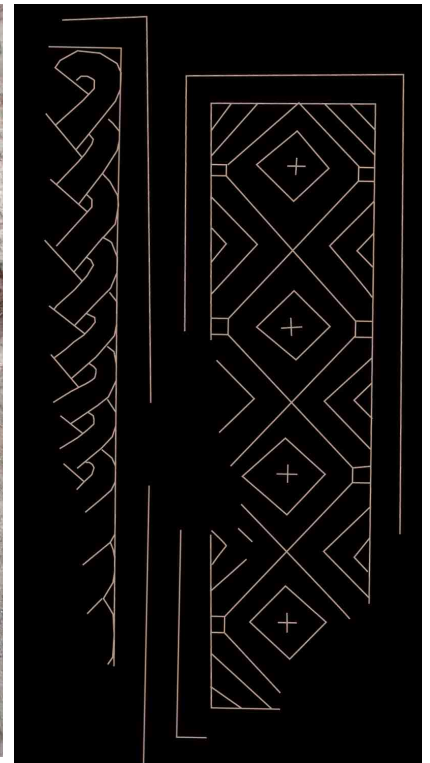
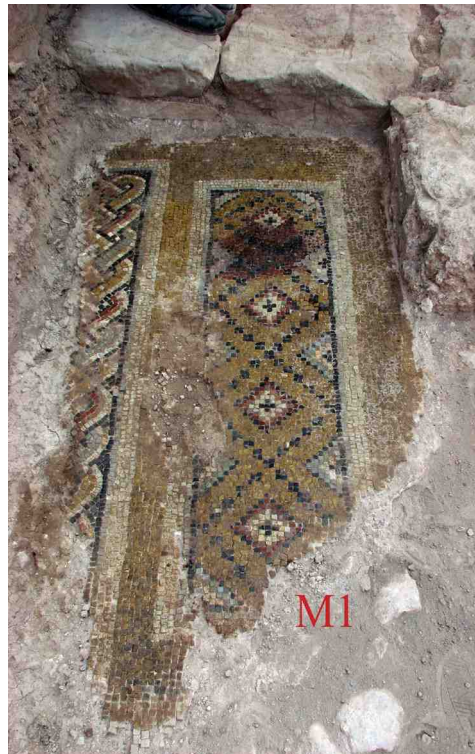
III. Pano

1-Bordür

III. pano bordür parçası (Res. 37, Çiz. 8), II. pano ile aynı mekân içerisinde. III. panonun parçası olan bordür, 1,11 m x 0,83 m ölçülerindedir. Bordür geometrik olup tahrip olmuştur. Siyah, beyaz, kirli beyaz, açık gri, koyu gri, oksit sarı, kırmızı kahverengi ve açık sütlü kahverengi renklerle işlenmiştir. Geometrik bordür oksit sarı bir bantla sınırlandırılmıştır. Merkeze yerleştirilen geometrik motifin dış bordürü beyaz, açık gri, siyahla işlenmiş asimetrik gölgeli bant ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Merkezdeki geometrik şekiller oksit sarı zemine işlenmiştir. Uçları birbirine ve bordüre değen eşkenar dörtgenler ile ortasına yerleştirilen daha küçük eşkenar dörtgenler ve bordüre değen üçgen geometrik şekillerden meydana gelmiştir. Büyük eşkenar dörtgenler siyah tesseralarla çizgisel yapılmıştır. Küçük eşkenar dörtgenler ise siyah, kırmızı kahverengi, kirli beyaz,

Resim 37
III. pano geometrik bordür parçası.

Çizim 8
III. bölüm.



beyaz renklerle işlenmiş olup merkeze “+ (artı)” şeklinde motif yerleştirilmiştir. Bordüre yerleştirilen üçgenler ise siyah, açık gri, koyu gri ve beyaz renklerle işlenmiştir. Dikdörtgen formdaki geometrik panodan sonra beyaz, gri ve siyah renklerle işlenmiş asimetrik renkli banttın sonra tahrip olmuş guilloche motifini bulunmaktadır.

Hatay Mozaikleri Arasındaki Yeri

Kompozisyon - Konu - Figür - Motif - Ölçü - Renk - Cins

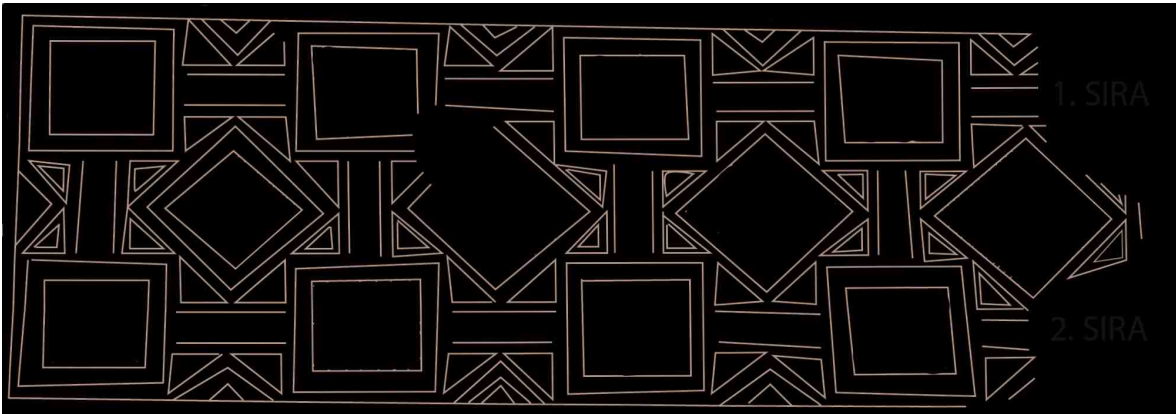
Hatay İli sınırları içerisinde 1932 yılında arkeolojik kazılar başlamış (Morey 1938: 27; Barsanti 2012: 25-42) ve günümüze kadar olan süreçte çok sayıda arkeolojik kazı yapılmıştır. Kazılarda ortaya çıkan mozaikler genelde sivil ve dini mimari içerisinde yer almaktadır. Sivil yapılarda olduğu gibi dini yapılarda ortaya çıkarılan mozaiklerde kompozisyon, konu, motif ve figür çeşitliliği bulunmaktadır.

Hatay genelinde kilise, bazilika veya martyrium kazılarında ortaya çıkarılan mozaiklerde cennet tasvirli konular sık işlendiği gibi dini olaylar, portreler, hayvan, bitki ve geometrik motifler de işlenmiştir. Yapının işlevi yani dini yapı ile mozaik panoların konusu bütünlük içerisinde olup İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği de bu bütünlüğün bir parçası olarak Hatay’da bulunan mozaiklerin içerisinde yerini almaktadır. İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği’nin, Hatay Mozaikleri içerisindeki yerini anlamak için İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği’ni özellikle İS II. - İS V. yüzyıl arasına tarihlendirilen bazı mozaiklerle konu, kompozisyon, figür ve motifleri ile karşılaştırmak gerekmektedir.

Hatay’da çıkarılan mozaiklerin kompozisyonlarının İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği ile benzer yanları olduğu gibi farklılıkları da bulunmaktadır.

1937 yılında Hatay - Harbiye’de bulunan İS IV. yüzyıla tarihlenen “Masklar” (Levi 1945: 307 fig. 126) mozaïğinin genel kompozisyon tasarımı İncirli Mozaïği I. pano II. bölüm (Res. 10, Çiz. 9) ile benzer olup bazı farklılıklar da vardır. Masklar Mozaïği’nde kompozisyonun şablonunda üç sıralı geometrik bir düzenleme, Martyrium II. bölüm mozaïğinde ise iki sıralı (Çiz. 9) bir düzenleme mevcuttur. Tasarım olarak birbirine bağlı kareler ve dört karenin oluşturduğu boşluğa yerleştirilen eşkenar dörtgen düzenlemesi ve karelerin bordür bağlantısının olduğu bölgelere yerleştirilen üçgenler her iki mozaik panoda aynıdır (Res. 10).

Çizim 9
I. pano, II. bölüm şablonu.



İncirli Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümde kullanılan kareler içerisine yerleştirilen M4 (Res. 19) ve M5 (Res. 20) geometrik motifler, Masklar Mozaïği’ndeki geometrik motiflerle benzer olup diğer geometrik motifler farklıdır. İki mozaik panoda

bulunan eşkenar dörtgenler içerisinde; Martyrium II. bölümde kompozisyon tasarımında kuş (Res. 10), Masklar Mozaïği'nde ise masklar işlenmiştir. Martyrium II. bölüm mozaïği iki bordürle sınırlandırılırken (Res. 10), Masklar Mozaïği ise tek geometrik bordürle sınırlandırılmıştır. II. bölüm ile Masklar Mozaïği'ndeki kompozisyon tasarımındaki önemli bir fark ise Martyrium II. bölüme yerleştirilen kitabedir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği, I. pano II. bölüm (Res. 10, Çiz. 4, 9) tasarımına benzer tasarım Antakya'da Kuş Sarmalı (Levi 1945: 257, 258) Evi'nde bulunmaktadır. Kuş Sarmalı Mozaïği'nde kompozisyon tasarımı, Martyrium II. bölümden farklı olmasına rağmen genel özellikler benzerdir. Kuş Sarmalı Evi'ndeki panonun merkezine geniş geometrik motif yerleştirilmiş olup Martyrium II. bölümdeki gibi tasarım geometrik panonun çevresini sarmıştır. Kuş Sarmalı Evi'ndeki mozaik panoda kare ve eşkenar dörtgenlerin içi tamamen geometrik motiflerle doldurulmuş olup hiç figür kullanılmamış olup martyrium II. bölüm mozaïğinde geometrik motifin yanında figürler de kullanılmıştır. Martyrium II. bölüm mozaïğinde M3 (Res. 18) ve M4 (Res. 19) numaralı motifler Kuş Sarmalı Mozaïği'ndeki düzenlemelerle benzerdir. Kuş Sarmalı Evi'ndeki mozaik tek geometrik bordürle sınırlandırılmıştır. II. bölüm ile Kuş Sarmalı Evi Mozaïği arasındaki önemli bir kompozisyon tasarım farkı ise II. bölümüne yerleştirilen kitabedir.

İncirli Mozaïği'nde, Martyrium I. pano II. bölüm tasarımına benzer tasarım Ananeosis Mozaïği'nde de görülmektedir (Campbell 1940: 419 fig. 5). Bu mozaik, Antakya'da bulunmuş ve İS V. yüzyıla tarihlendirilmiştir. Ananeosis Mozaïği'nin kompozisyon tasarımı, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïğinin I. pano II. bölümünden (Res. 10, Çiz. 4, 9) farklı olmasına rağmen genel özellikleri benzerdir. Ananeosis Mozaïği kompozisyonunda altı sıralı bir düzenleme, İncirli Mozaïği II. bölümde ise iki sıralı bir düzenleme mevcuttur. Martyrium I. pano II. bölümdeki tasarımın benzeri Ananeosis'in çevresini sarmıştır. İki mozaikte tasarım olarak birbirine bağlı kareler ve ortalarına yerleştirilen eşkenar dörtgen düzenlemesi aynıdır. Kare ve eşkenar dörtgenlerin içi tamamen geometrik motiflerle doldurulmuş olup hiç figür kullanılmamıştır. Eşkenar dörtgenlerde ise Martyrium II. bölümde kuş, Ananeosis Mozaïği'nde ise geometrik motifler işlenmiştir. Karelerin bordür bağlantısının olduğu bölgelere yerleştirilen üçgenler de aynıdır. II. bölüm mozaïğinde kareler içerisine yerleştirilen M2 (Res. 17) ve M4 (Res. 19) gibi iki geometrik motif, Ananeosis Mozaïği'ndeki motiflerle benzer olup diğer motifler farklıdır. II. bölüm iki bordürle sınırlandırılırken, Ananeosis Mozaïği ise bir bitkisel üç geometrik bordürle sınırlandırılmıştır. İncirli Mozaïği II. bölüm ile Ananeosis Mozaïği arasındaki önemli bir kompozisyon farkı ise II. bölümün güneydoğu bölümüne yerleştirilen kitabenin Ananeosis Mozaïği'nde bulunmamasıdır.

Antakya'da bulunan İS IV. yüzyıla tarihlenen E Hamamı'nın (Campbell 1938: 10 pl. 37) bir odasında bulunan mozaik panonun kompozisyon tasarımının İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümden (Res. 10, Çiz. 4, 9) farklı olmasına rağmen genel özellikleri benzerdir. Hamam E'de, oda tabanında bulunan mozaikte kompozisyon dört sıralı, Martyrium II. bölümde ise iki sıralı bir düzenlemeye sahiptir. Eşkenar dörtgenlerin ortasına Martyrium II. bölümde kuş, Hamam E'de ise geometrik motif yerleştirilmiştir. Hamam E'de hiç figür kullanılmamıştır. İki mozaik panoda tasarım olarak birbirine bağlı kareler ve ortalarına yerleştirilen eşkenar dörtgen düzenlemesi aynıdır. Karelerin bordür bağlantısının olduğu bölgelere yerleştirilen üçgenler aynıdır. İncirli Mozaïği'ndeki kareler içerisine yerleştirilen kısmen M2 (Res. 17) ve M5 (Res.

20) olmak üzere iki geometrik motif Hamam E Mozaïği'ndeki motiflerle benzer, diğer motifler ise farklıdır. II. bölüm iki bordürle sınırlandırılırken, Hamam E Mozaïği'nde ise bir geometrik bordürle sınırlandırılmıştır. İncirli Köyü Mozaïği Martyrium II. bölüm ile Hamam E Mozaïği arasındaki önemli bir tasarım farkı ise II. bölümün güneydoğu bölümüne yerleştirilen kitabenin Hamam E Mozaïği'nde bulunmamasıdır.

Antakya'da bulunan İS IV. yüzyıla tarihlenen Hamam D (Campbell 1938: 15 pl. 49) oda 3 ve 28'de bulunan mozaik panoların, kompozisyon tasarımlarının genel özellikleri, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölüm (Res. 10, Çiz. 4, 9) ile benzerdir. Hamam D, oda 28'de bulunan mozaikte kompozisyon dört sıralı bir düzenleme şeklinde yapılmıştır. Oda 3'deki panolar tahribat nedeniyle belirsiz olup Martyrium II. bölümde iki sıralı bir düzenleme şeklinde yapılmıştır. Hamam D mozaiklerinde, kare ve eşkenar dörtgenlerin içi tamamen geometrik motiflerle doldurulmuş olup hiç figür kullanılmamıştır ancak Martyrium I. pano II. bölümde kullanılmıştır.

II. bölümdeki karelerin bordür bağlantısının olduğu bölgelere yerleştirilen üçgenler, Hamam D'de bulunan panolarda görülmemektedir. Tasarım olarak birbirine bağlı kareler ve ortalarına yerleştirilen eşkenar dörtgen düzenlemesi her iki mozaikte de aynıdır. II. bölüm ile Hamam D Mozaïği arasındaki önemli bir tasarım farkı ise II. bölümün güneydoğu bölümüne yerleştirilen kitabenin Hamam D Mozaïği'nde bulunmamasıdır.

Antakya'da saha 25/L'de (Levi 1945: CXXb) bulunan mozaik panonun kompozisyon tasarımının İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümden (Res. 10, Çiz. 4, 9) farklı olmasına rağmen genel özellikleri benzerdir. Saha 25/L'de bulunan mozaikte kompozisyon, Martyrium II. bölümdeki gibi iki sıralı bir düzenleme şeklindedir. Her iki mozaik panoda tasarım olarak birbirine bağlı kareler ve ortalarına yerleştirilen eşkenar dörtgen düzenlemesi aynıdır. Saha 25/L Mozaïği'nde kare ve eşkenar dörtgenlerin içi tamamen geometrik motiflerle doldurulmuş olup hiç figür kullanılmamıştır fakat Martyrium I. pano II. bölümde figür kullanılmıştır. II. bölümdeki karelerin bordür bağlantısının olduğu bölgelere yerleştirilen üçgenler, saha 25/L'de bulunan panolarda görülmemektedir. Saha 25/L'de bulunan mozaikte dış bordür geometriktir. Martyrium II. bölüm ile Saha 25/L Mozaïği arasındaki önemli bir tasarım farkı ise II. bölümün güneydoğu bölümüne yerleştirilen kitabenin Saha 25/L Mozaïği'nde bulunmamasıdır.

Martyrium I. pano II. bölümde M2 (Res. 17) olarak adlandırılan Süleyman'ın Düşümü geometrik motif ile İS V. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen (Campbell 1940: 419 fig. 5) Ananeosis Mozaïği'ndeki motif aynıdır. İS II. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen (Jones 1981: 6) İçki Yarışması Evi'ndeki oda 1'de (Levi 1945: pl. CI, b), Psykheler Kayığı Evi'nin (Levi 1945: pl. XXXVIII,d) ön oda mozaïğinde, İS II. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Trajan Akvadüğü Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. XCIV,a) ve Büfe Mozaïği'nin (Levi 1945: pl. XLVIII,d) batı kompleksinde bulunan odadaki mozaikte M2 motifine benzer motifin kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Anka Kuşu Evi (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXIII,b) Mozaïği'nin bordür bölümünde M2 motifine benzer motifin bulunmasının yanında farklı versiyonda işlenen motif de bulunmaktadır. M2 olarak adlandırılan geometrik motif çok az farklı düzenleme ile Kuş Sarmalın Evi Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. XCII,b), İS IV. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Hamam E Mozaïği'nde (Campbell 1938a: 10 fig. 38), Hamam A Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. CX,d) ve İS IV. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Hamam C Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. CXVIII,d) işlenmiştir.

Martyrium I. pano II. bölümde M3 (Res. 18) olarak adlandırılan geometrik

motifin benzeri Ananeoisis Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: plate CXXXI,c) işlenmiştir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümde M4 (Res. 19) olarak adlandırılan geometrik motif ile Masklar Mozaïği'ndeki (Levi 1945: 307) motif benzer olup Masklar Mozaïği'ndeki daha büyük işlenmiştir. M4 olarak adlandırılan motifin benzerleri Constatin Villası (Levi 1945: pl. LIII,a), Ge Evi (Levi 1945: 307 pl. LXXXII), Büfe Mozaïği (Levi 1945: pl. CXXV,a), Ananeoisis Mozaïği (Campbell 1940: 419, 421 fig. 5; Levi 1945: pl. CXXI,b) ve Kuş Sarmalı (Levi 1945: pl. XCII-b) mozaiklerinde görülmektedir. İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümde M5 (Res. 20) olarak adlandırılan geometrik motif ile Masklar Mozaïği'ndeki (Levi 1945: 307) motif benzer olup Masklar Mozaïği'ndeki daha büyük işlenmiştir.

M5 (Res. 20) olarak adlandırılan geometrik motif ile Ge Evi Mozaïği'ndeki (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXII,a) ve Hamam E'de oda 10'da (Campbell 1938a: 10; Levi 1945: pl. CIX) bulunan mozaikteki motif benzerdir. İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümde M8 (Res. 23) olarak adlandırılan geometrik motif aynı pano içerisinde çok az tasarım farkıyla M3 (Res. 18) motifine benzemektedir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümde F1 (Res. 10, 11, 12, Çiz. 4) ve F4 (Res. 10, 11, 15, Çiz. 4) olarak verilen ördek figürüne birebir benzer figürler Antakya Mozaikleri içerisinde bulunmamakla birlikte Mevsimler Evi'nde oda 4'de (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXII,b) bulunan mozaikte, Rasim Adalı (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXIV,b) arazisindeki mozaikte, Samandağ Martyrium (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXVIII,a,b) Mozaïği'nde ve İS VI. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Kitis Evi'nde oda 2'de (Levi 1945: pl. CXXXVII,c) ördek figürleri işlenmiştir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümde gölgeli çok kollu guilloche motifinin (M9) (Res. 11, 24, Çiz. 4) benzer versiyonunu pano şeklinde Hamam C'de (Levi 1945: pl. CXIX, a) görmekteyiz. Fakat gölgeli çok kollu guilloche motifinin daha dar örneği Comus Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. XCIV), DH 24-S Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. XCVII) ve Büfe Mozaïği'nin (Levi 1945: pl. CVII,a) bulunduğu güney kompleksindeki panoda görülmektedir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği'nde panoların çevresini sınırlayan M10 olarak adlandırılan basit dalga bordür (Res. 11, 24, Çiz. 4) Hatay Mozaiklerini sınırlayan basit dalga bordürlerle birebir uyumaktadır.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği I. pano II. bölümü sınırlayan bordürün benzerlerinin en erken örneklerini Polyphemus Evi (Levi 1945: pl. II,b,c) Mozaïği'nde görmekteyiz. İS II. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Polyphemus Evi'ndeki Polyphemus ve Galatea (Levi 1945: pl. III,a) ve Nehir Tanrısı (Levi 1945: pl. III,b) Mozaikleri'nde, İS II. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Takvimler Evi (Levi 1945: pl.V,b) Mozaïği'nde, Trajan Aquadüktü Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl.V,a), Okeanos Tethys Mozaïği'nde (Campbell 1938b: 211 fig. 5), Kresis Mozaïği'nde (Campbell 1938b: 213 fig. 8), Bakha Dansı (Morey 1935: 9 fig. 1) Mozaïği'nde benzer bordür işlenmiştir.

I. pano, II. bölümdeki M11 olarak adlandırılan geometrik düzenlemenin (Res. 25, Çiz. 4) benzer örnekleri olmasına rağmen birebir örtüşen geometrik düzenleme bulunmamaktadır. Fakat farklılıkları ile birlikte benzerleri İncirli Köyü I Kilise Mozaïği'nde (Çelik 2013: 4), Psykheler Kayığı Evi oda 3'de (Levi 1945: pl. XXXVII,a), İphigenya Evi oda 5'de (Levi 1945: pl. XCIV) bulunmaktadır.

Martyrium I. pano III. bölüm mozaïği olan kitabede kullanılan ve M1 olarak adlandırılan tırtıklı testere dişli (Res. 27 - 29) geometrik motifin en yakın örneğini, Antakya'da Polyphemus Evi'ndeki Polyphemus ve Galatea (Levi

1945: pl. III,c) Mozaïği'nde, Takvimler Evindeki Sarhoş Dionysos (Levi 1945: pl. VII,b) Mozaïği'nde, Bacchic Thiasos Evi'nde (Levi 1945: pl. VII,c), Anka Kuşu Evi (Levi 1945: pl. IX,a) Mozaïği'nde, Kilikya Evi (Levi 1945: pl. IX,b) Mozaïği'nde, Narkisos Evi (Levi 1945: pl. X,b) Mozaïği'nde, Kırmızı Döşemeli Evi Oda 5'de (Levi 1945: pl. XIV,a) bulunan mozaikte, Atrium Evi, Paris'in Hükümü (Levi 1945: pl. I, a) Mozaïği'nde görmekteyiz.

Martyrium I. pano III. bölüm mozaïği olan kitabede kullanılan M2 olarak adlandırılan geometrik motifin (Res. 29, Çiz. 6) en yakın örneği Hamam F'de (Campbell 1938a: 97) kullanılmıştır.

Martyrium I. pano IV. bölüm mozaiklerinin bazı özellikleri Hatay mozaikleri içerisinde Balıklar ve Ördekler Mozaïği'ndeki (Levi 1945: pl. 79) motiflerle birtakım benzerlikler göstermektedir. Balıklar ve Ördekler Mozaïği'ndeki nilüfer çiçeği motifleri ile IV. bölümdeki M3 (Res. 26, 28) ve M4 (Res. 26, 28) olarak adlandırılan nilüfer çiçeği motiflerinin bazı özellikleri benzerdir. Martyrium I. pano IV. bölüm mozaïğindeki M2 (Res. 26, 28) ve M3 (Res. 26, 28) nilüfer çiçeği motifine benzer motif Kitis Evinde oda 2'de (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXV,b) bulunmaktadır. Martyrium I. pano IV. bölüm mozaïğinde yer alan F2 (Res. 30) olarak adlandırılan balık figürünün benzeri Yürüyen Aslan (Levi 1945: pl. LXXIV,a; Lavin 1963: fig. 13) Mozaïği'nde görülmektedir.

II. panoda yer alan F3 (Res. 32, 33, 36) olarak adlandırılan boğa figürüne benzer figür, Hatay mozaikleri içerisinde şu an itibarı ile bulunmamaktadır.

Phila Salonu'nda (Levi 1945: pl. LXXII, a) ve Megalopsychia (Levi 1945: pl. LXXVIII,a; Downey 1963: fig. 45; Dunbabin 1999: 182; Kondoleon 2000: 8 fig. 6) Mozaïği'nde boğa figürü ise çok farklı şekilde işlenmiştir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği, II. panoda yer alan M3 (Res. 33) olarak adlandırılan guilloche bordürü, Topografik (Levi 1945: pl. LXXIV,b) bordür parçasında, Ananosis Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. CXXXI,d) ve Yakto Mozaïği'nde (Campbell 1934: pl. XXII-A; Morey 1935: 11) benzer şekilde kullanılmıştır.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği, III. panoda kullanılan geometrik motif (Res. 37) biraz farklı olsa da benzeri Psykheler Kayığı Evi oda 3'de (Levi 1945 pl. XXXVII,a), Psykheler Kayığı Evi Hermaafroditi (Levi 1945: pl. XXXIX, a) koridorunda, Menander Evi oda 1'de (Levi 1945: pl. XLIV,b), Mevsim Mozaïği'nde (Levi 1945: pl. L, d), Aion Evi'nde (Levi 1945: pl. LXXXIV,c) ve Hamam F (Levi 1945: pl. CVIII,f) binasında bulunan mozaikte işlenmiştir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium'da bulunan mozaik panolar farklı mekânlardadır. Mozaik panoların tahrip olması ve tabanında buldukları mekânların tam olarak sınırlarının ortaya çıkarılamaması sebebiyle mozaiklerin ölçüleri sağlıklı değildir. İncelenen Hatay Mozaiklerinin tek panodan oluşması ve Martyrium Mozaiklerinin üç farklı panodan oluşması birbirleriyle ölçü olarak kıyaslama problemini doğurmuştur. Bu sebeple, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği ile yukarıda karşılaştırılması yapılan Hatay Mozaiklerinin ölçüleri arasında bir kıyaslamaya gidilmemiştir.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaïği'nde siyah, beyaz, kirli beyaz, çamurlaşmış yeşil, uçuk kahverengi, koyu kahverengi, kızıl kahverengi, kızıl kırmızı, açık gri, koyu gri, lila ve oksit sarı olmak üzere 12 renk kullanılmıştır. Tessera cinsi olarak kalker kullanılmıştır. Hatay Mozaikleri içerisinde tessera renklerine ve cinslerine bazı örnekler verecek olursak Hamam D, oda 3-b'deki renkler beyaz, siyah, kırmızı, mavi, yeşil, açık yeşil, pembe, gri, mor, menekşe (Campbell

1938a: 10) şeklinde olup tessera cinsi kalkerdir (Campbell 1938a: 17), Ananeoisis Mozaığı'nda tessera renkleri ise beyaz, siyah, koyu kırmızı, hardal sarısının iki tonu, yeşil grinin iki tonu, pembe, yeşil, kahverengi, mavi, gri, gümü, mor menekşe, turkuaz olup cinsi kalker, camdır (Campbell 1938a: 28).

Bu durum bize kullanılan tessera cinsi ile tessera renkleri konusunda İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaığı ile Hatay Mozaikleri arasında uyum olduğunu göstermektedir.

Sonuç

Sonuç olarak; İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiklerinde kullanılan süsleme öğeleri Hatay Mozaiklerinin genelinde bulunmaktadır. Sivil yapılardaki mozaik süsleme öğelerinin benzerini veya farklılaşmış düzenlemesini İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiklerinde görmekteyiz.

Genel olarak Hatay Bölgesinin Roma ve Geç Roma Dönemi Mozaiklerine baktığımızda İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiklerinin Hatay Mozaikleri içerisinde süsleme öğelerine benzer en erken ve en geç dönem örnekleri ele alındığında; İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaiklerinin genel kompozisyon düzenlemesinin, Hatay Mozaikleri kapsamındaki sivil ve dini yapılarda ortaya çıkarılan mozaik panolar içerisinde bulunmadığını görmekteyiz. Bununla birlikte, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaığının I. pano II. bölümün kompozisyonundaki şablon, bazı Hatay Mozaikleri ile benzerlik göstermektedir. Martyrium I. pano II. bölümde işlenen panonun geometrik düzenlemesi şablon (Çiz. 4, 9) olarak bugünkü bilgiler ışığında en erken Masklar Mozaığı ile Hatay'da İS IV. yüzyılda görülmeye başlamıştır.

Konu olarak ele alındığında, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaığı'ndeki I. pano IV. bölümdeki göl tasviri, Hatay Mozaikleri içerisinde, bir yerde, balıklar ve ördekler mozaığında kullanılmış fakat kilise zemini olarak işlenmiştir. Konu olarak iki mozaik pano birbirinden farklıdır. İncirli Mozaığı'ndeki II. panoda yer alan ağaç gövdesi yanındaki boğa ve üstteki kuşlarla işlenen bir konu, diğer Hatay mozaikleri içerisinde yoktur fakat Philla Salonu'nda bulunan mozaikte, ağacın önünde boğa ve karşısında bir aslan ile işlenen pano bulunmakla birlikte bu pano dini mekânda değildir. Ayrıca her iki mozaığın konu ve tasarımı birbirinden tamamen farklıdır.

Figürler ele alındığında, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaığı, I. bölüm IV. panodaki "F2" (Res. 31) olarak gösterilen balık figürüne benzer olan en erkene tarihlendirilen örneği, İS V. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Yürüyen Aslan Mozaığı'nda görmekteyiz.

İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaığında kullanılan, Süleyman Düğümü motifinin (Res. 17), benzer, en erkene tarihlendirilen örneğini İS II. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen İçki Yarışması Evi'ndeki oda 2' de olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Bordür örnekleri ele alındığında, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaığı, I. pano III. bölümdeki "M1" (Res. 29) olarak adlandırılan bordür benzeri en erkene tarihlendirilen örneğini İS II. yüzyıla tarihlenen Atrium Evi'nde görmekteyiz.

Hatay mozaiklerine baktığımızda, İS VI. yüzyılda kilise ve martyrium mozaikleri içerisinde konu olarak, hayvan ve bitki figürlü cennet tasvirinin çok sık kullanıldığı gibi cennet tasvirlerinde de çeşitlilik görülmektedir. Samandağ Matriyon Mozaığı (Campbell 1941: 43), Kırıkhan İncirli Köyü I Kilise Mozaığı (Çelik 2013: 4, 5), Arsuz Arpaçiftliği Kutsal Havariler Kilise Mozaığı'nda (Çelik 2018: 269, 271, 273) olduğu gibi cennet tasviri versiyonları birçok mozaik panoda

kullanılmıştır. Hatay mozaiklerinde kullanılan cennet tasviri içerisinde, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaği'ne benzer göl tasviri bulunmadığı gibi dini mekân mozaikleri arasında, geometrik şablon içerisinde kuşlar düzenlemesi ayrıca ağaç önünde boğa düzenlemesi görülmemektedir. Bu durum Hatay'ın ortaya çıkarılan dini mekân mozaiklerinde kullanılan figürlerin benzer fakat kompozisyon olarak yorumlarının farklı olduğu sonucunu doğurmaktadır. Hatay'da ortaya çıkarılan dini mekânlardaki mozaiklerde kullanılan figür ve motiflerin çevresel etkilere göre yapıldığını, İncirli Köyü Martyrium Mozaği'nde görmekteyiz. Martyrium'un bulunduğu İncirli Köyü'ne kuş uçuşu yaklaşık 7 km mesafede Aygır Gölü (Res. 38), yaklaşık 9 km mesafede ise Gölbaşı (Balıklı Göl) Gölü (Res. 39) bulunmaktadır. Mozaiklerde kullanılan gölde yaşayan balıklar, leylek, ördek ve nilüfer çiçekleri bu etkiyi kanıtlar niteliktedir. Yine İncirli Köyü I Kilise Mozaği'nde (Çelik 2013: 4, 5, 6) kullanılan gazel, ördek, keçi gibi figürler bu çevresel etkiyi desteklemektedir. Fakat çevresel etkiyi Hatay'da bulunan dini mekân mozaiklerinin tamamı için kullanmak hatalı olacaktır. Dini mekânlardaki mozaiklerde kullanılan figürlere baktığımızda mozaik ustalarının elinde katalog olduğu ve figürleri bu katalogdan seçtikleri Hatay ve çevresinde yaşamayan hayvanların kullanılmasından anlaşılmaktadır.



Resim 38
Aygır Gölü.



Resim 39
Gölbaşı Gölü.

Hatay’da bulunan sivil ve dini mekânlarda yapılan mozaik döşemelerindeki konu, kompozisyon, figür, motif ve bordürler incelendiğinde; İS II. yüzyıldan başlayan sanatsal süreç Antakya’da bulunan diğer Doğu Roma mozaiklerinde takp edildiği gibi, I. Iustinianus (İS 561) dönemine tarihlendirilen İncirli Köyü Mozaığı’nda de İS VI. yüzyıla kadar izlenilmektedir.

Bu durum Hatay’da mozaik ustalarının mozaik sanatındaki birikimlerinin yüzyıllarca kuşaktan kuşağa aktarıldığını gösterdiği gibi mozaik sanatındaki değişiklikleri ve yenilikleri de yansıtmaktadır.

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Hadrianoupolis Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi'nin Bema ve Apsis Mozaikleri

Mosaics of Bema and Apse in Northwest Necropolis Church from Hadrianoupolis

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Öz


Paphlagonia sınırlarındaki Hadrianoupolis Antik Kentinde, 2003-2020 yılları arasında, Geç Antik Çağ'a tarihlenen altı yapıda kazı çalışması yapılmış ve bu çalışmalarda dönemin süsleme karakterini yansıtan zemin mozaiklerine rastlanılmıştır. Kazısı hâlen devam eden, yayınlarda daha çok Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi olarak tanıtılan, kentteki konumu itibarıyla Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi şeklinde adlandırılabilir yapının, apsis ve bema zemininde de kaliteli işçilikte zemin mozaikleri tespit edilmiştir. İki farklı inşa evresine sahip kilisenin zemini her iki dönemde farklı teknik ve üsluptaki mozaikle bezenmiştir. Bir kısmı geçmiş dönemde gerçekleşen kaçak kazılar ve yol yapım çalışmaları esnasında tahrip olan, 2017-2018 yılındaki kazılarda tamamen ortaya çıkarılan mozaikler; İS 4.-6. yüzyıl Bizans mozaik sanatı karakterini yansıtmaktadır. Dönemin hemen her zemin mozağinde görülen geometrik, bitkisel ve figüratif desenleriyle donatılmış mozaiklerde, bani bilgisi içeren bir de yazıt bulunmuştur. Restoratör ve konservatörler eşliğinde sağlamlaştırma çalışması yapılan mozaikler; uygun teknikler doğrultusunda koruma altına alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada, kilisenin apsis ve bema zeminlerini süsleyen mozaikler; bölge ve farklı coğrafyalardaki benzer örneklerle kıyaslanmış ve değerlendirilmesi yapılarak ayrıntılı şekilde açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır.


Anahtar Kelimeler: Paphlagonia, Hadrianoupolis, Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi, Bizans, mozaik, katekimen.

Abstract

Excavations were carried out between 2003-2020 in the Hadrianoupolis from the Paphlagonia Region six buildings dated to the Late Antiquity and floor mosaics were found that reflect the period's decoration characteristics. High quality workmanship floor mosaics were found on the apse and bema floors of the building, in which excavation is still ongoing, and which can be named as the Northwest Necropolis Church due to its location in the city, which is mostly referred to as Northwest Necropolis Church in publications. The floor of the church, which has two different construction phases, was decorated with mosaics in different techniques and styles in both periods. The mosaics, some of which were destroyed during illegal excavations and road construction works in the past, and completely unearthed in 2017-2018 excavations, reflect the 4-6th AD century Byzantine mosaic art style. In the mosaics decorated with geometric, floral and figurative patterns seen on almost every floor mosaic of the period, an inscription containing information about the constructor was found. The mosaics, which were strengthened under the supervision of restorators and conservators, were preserved in accordance with appropriate techniques. In this study, the mosaics adorning the apse and bema floors of the church were compared and evaluated with similar examples in the region and different geographies and explained in detail.

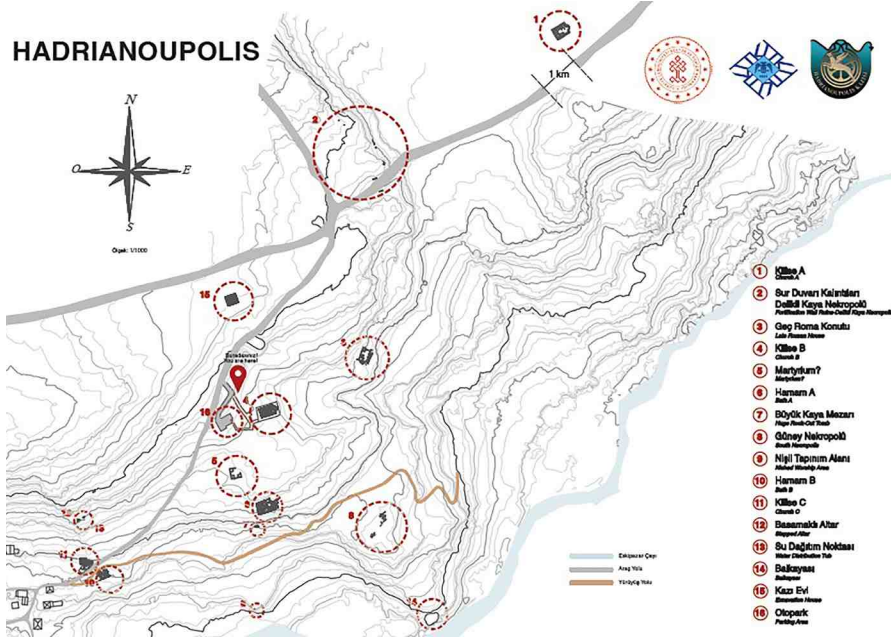
Keywords: Paphlagonia, Hadrianoupolis, Northwest Necropolis Church, Byzantium, mosaic, catechumen.

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Giriş

“Paphlagonia Hadrianoupolis’i” olarak adlandırılan yer bugün Karabük ili, Eskipazar ilçe merkezinin 3 km batısında “Viranşehir” olarak adlandırılan mevkide, Budaklar Köyü ve Hacamatlar Mahallesi arasındaki derin bir vadide yer almaktadır. Günümüze ulaşan kalıntılar Budaklar, Büyükyayalar, Çaylı ve Beytarla köyleri ile Hacamatlar Mahallesi’nde yoğunlaşmaktadır (Res. 1).



Resim 1
Hadrianoupolis Kent Planı (Kazı Arşivi).

Paphlagonia Hadrianoupolis’inin tarihsel sürecine bakıldığında, özellikle Roma İmparatorluk (İÖ 2. - İS 4. yüzyıl) ve Geç Roma - Erken Bizans Dönemi’nde (İS 330-565) hem idari hem de dini açıdan en parlak dönemini yaşadığı söylenebilir (Leonhard 1915: 147; Schultze 1922: 228-229; Belke 1996: 156; Kan Şahin 2019: 15; Verim 2019: 277-280). 2003 yılında bilimsel kazı çalışmalarının başladığı antik kentte günümüze kadar altı yapı kalıntısı ortaya çıkarılmış olup, yapıların hepsinin Geç Roma – Erken Bizans Dönemi’ne ait oldukları anlaşılmıştır (Kılavuz – Çelikbaş 2013: 163-175; Keleş vd. 2014: 271-290). Ortaya çıkarılan yapılardan üçü kilise, ikisi hamam, biri de konut yapısıdır. Çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan mozaikler de kentte ortaya çıkarılan üçüncü dini yapı olan Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi’nin bema ve apsisinde gün yüzüne çıkarılmıştır.

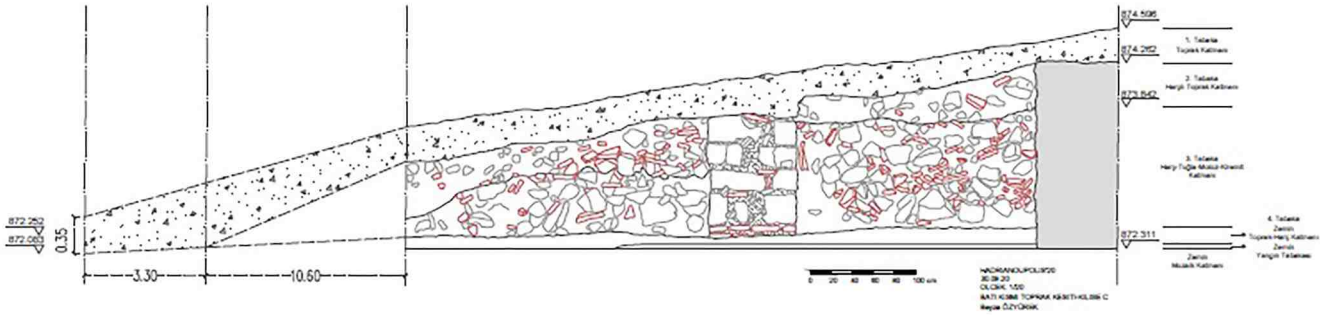
Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi’ndeki Bilimsel Çalışmalar

Doğu-batı doğrultusunda inşa edildiği anlaşılan kilisenin doğusundan asfalt köy yolu geçmektedir. 2007 yılı öncesinde gerçekleştirilen yol kazısı esnasında apsisin bir bölümü ile güneydoğu köşesi tahrip edilmiştir. 2007 yılında, E. Lafli başkanlığında yürütülen kazı çalışmalarında apsis bölümü kısmen ortaya çıkarılmış (Lafli – Zâh 2009: 654), ilk bulgular ışığında yapı kalıntısı “Apsidal (Apsisli) Yapı” olarak tanımlanmış ve bazı yayınlarda mevcut kalıntılar, mozaik zemini hakkında kısa bilgiler sunulmuştur (Lafli – Zâh 2008: 654; Patacı 2012: 165-166; Patacı – Lafli 2019: 209). 2012 yılında yapının apsis beden duvarları ortaya çıkarılmış, mozaik zemininde restorasyon çalışmaları gerçekleştirilmiştir. 2013 yılında yapı kalıntısının bulunduğu alanda arkeojeofizik çalışmalar yapılmış, Apsisli Yapı olarak adlandırılan yapının kilise olduğu saptanmıştır.

Ortaya çıkan bulgular bazı yayınlara konu olsa da kazısı yapılmadığı için kilise hakkında detaylı ve net bilgiler sunulamamıştır (Kılavuz - Çelikbaş 2013: 175-176; Keleş vd. 2014: 276; Keleş vd. 2015: 662-663). 2017 yılında yapıda kapsamlı bilimsel kazı çalışmaları başlatılmış olup yapının apsis, bema ve kuzey nefinin bir kısmı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. 2018-2020 yılları arasında yapıdaki kazıları E. Verim yönetmiş; kilisenin naos, apsis, bema kısımları tamamen, nartheksi ise batı duvarı haricinde büyük oranda ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Çelikbaş 2019a: 73-82; Çelikbaş 2019b: 290-295; Verim 2019: 283-284). Bu kazılarda kilise haricinde, yapının kuzeyinde şarap işliği ve işlevi henüz belirlenemeyen ek mekânlar, cam atölyesi?, cadde kalıntısı ve bir yapı kalıntısı (tapınak veya nymphaeum?) olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Kilisenin yapıldığı düzeltilmiş arazide çok tabakalı bir yerleşim olduğu, kilisenin altında çıkan daire formulu yapı kalıntısından anlaşılmaktadır. Farklı dönemlere ait yapıların inşa edildiği bu arazinin sürekli tercih edilmesinde, arazinin kentin en merkezi noktalarından bir tanesi ile hazır teraslandırılmış bir alan olmasının payı büyüktür.

Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi

Yapı kalıntısı Hacahmatlar Mahallesi'nin girişinde, Hadrianoupolis'in güneybatısında bulunur. Hamam B yapısının 20 m kuzeybatısında yer alan kilise, günümüzdeki adıyla Budaklar Köyü Topraklık Mevkii'nde, 40°55'25.26 K-32°29'16.17 D koordinatlarında yer almaktadır. Kilisenin özgün adı, inşa tarihi veya kime ithaf edildiğine dair net veriler bulunmamaktadır. İnşa edildikten yaklaşık 100 yıl sonra çok büyük bir değişikliğe uğrayarak işlevine devam eden kilisede yapılan kazı çalışmaları sonucunda kilisenin dört tabakadan oluşan bir stratigrafiye sahip olduğu tespit edilmiştir (Res. 2). Sikke, seramik, madeni eserler ve mozaik gibi buluntular ile mimari özellikleri ışığında I. tabaka İS 8.



Resim 2
Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi Kazı Alanı
Stratigrafisi (Kazı Arşivi).

yüzyıla, II. tabaka İS 7. yüzyılın sonu – 8. yüzyıl arasına, III. Tabaka İS 5. – 6. yüzyıl arasına, IV. Tabaka ise İS 4. – 6. yüzyıl arasına tarihlendirilmektedir. I. Tabaka, kilisenin yıkılmasından sonraki yüzyıldan günümüze kadar devam eden süreci kapsamaktadır¹. II. Tabaka kilisenin fonksiyonunu yitirip yıkıldığı döneme ve bu dönemden sonraki yüzyıla dair buluntuların görüldüğü, içeriğinde kiremit, tuğla, ahşap parçalarının yoğun olarak görüldüğü katmandır. III. Tabaka, kilisenin ikinci inşa evresi ile yıkım süreci arasındaki buluntulara rastlanılan tabakadır. Bu tabakada İS 6. – 7. yüzyıl arasına tarihlenen sikke, seramik, cam ve madeni eser parçalarına sıklıkla rastlanılmıştır. IV. Tabaka, ilk inşa evresi zemini ile ikinci inşa evresi zemini arasındaki tabakadır. İki zemin arasındaki tabakada, İS 4.- 6. yüzyıl arasında tarihlenen sikke, seramik, tuğla ve cam buluntulara rastlanılmıştır (Çelikbaş 2019a: 76; Oyarçin 2019: 442-446). Stratigrafi ve mimari detaylar, kilisenin ilk inşa evresinin İS 4. – 5. yüzyıl arasında olduğunu, kilisenin bir deprem ya da yangın sonucunda yıkıldığına işaret etmektedir. Burada bahsi

¹ Bu katmanda Geç Osmanlı Dönemi'ne (18. yüzyıl - 1922) tarihlenebilecek at nalı ve seramik parçaları ile Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ne ait pantolon düğmeleri, gazoz kapakları gibi buluntulara rastlanılmıştır.

geçen deprem, muhtemelen İS 443 yılı civarında Heracleia Pontica başta olmak üzere Honorias eyaletinde büyük yıkımlara sebebiyet vermiş deprem olabilir. (Schultze 1922: 231; Hoepfner 1966: 97; Roueché 1986: 130; Belke 1996: 65-66). Bu yıkımın hemen ardından, hızlı bir inşa programıyla yeniden yapılmıştır².

İki farklı inşa evresine sahip Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi'nin ilk inşa evresine dair pek fazla veri bulunmamaktadır. İlk inşa evresine dair bulgular, ikinci inşa evresi zemininin 29 cm altında tespit edilen bema ve apsis mozaiklerinden ve bemaadaki kiborium izlerinden ibarettir. 2017-2020 yıllarındaki kazı çalışmalarında, daha çok ikinci inşa evresine dair bulgulara ulaşılmıştır. Mevcut bulgulara göre kilise, her iki inşa evresinde de doğu-batı doğrultusunda, üç nefli bazilikal planlı düzenlenmiştir (Res. 3). Yapı, ikinci inşa evresinde 25 x 15 m ölçülerinde düzenlenmiştir³. Kilisenin dikdörtgen formulu olan nartheksi, 13 x 2.70 m ölçülerinde, içte yarım daire formunda dışta beş kenarlı düzenlenen, cepheden 4 m dışa taşkın apsisi ise içten 4.70 x 3.85 m ölçülerindedir. Naosun ana mekânı niteliğindeki orta nef, 15 x 2.45 m ölçülerindeki yan neflere oranla daha geniş olup, 11.50 x 6.70 m ölçülerindedir⁴.

Resim 3
Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi Havadan
Görüntüsü (Kazı Arşivi).



- 2 İkinci inşa evresinde kullanılan mimari parçalar ve duvar işçiliğinde bir özensizlik göze çarpar. Templon stylobatını oluşturan bloklar farklı ölçülerdedir ve kentteki diğer templon stylobatlarına göre daha kalitesiz işçiliğe sahiptir. Ayrıca templon stylobatına yatay-dikey düzlemde bakıldığında hafif eksen kayması da görülür. Benzer hususlar diğer mimari elemanlar ve duvar işçiliği için de geçerlidir. Duvardaki yapı malzemelerinde bakıldığında çok sayıda devşirme malzeme kullanıldığı da görülmektedir.
- 3 İlk inşa evresi zemin mozaiklerinin ikinci inşa evresi beden duvarlarına doğru devam etmesi, ilk inşa evresinde bema ve apsisinin daha büyük boyutlu düzenlenmiş olması gibi hususlar, yapının ilk inşa evresinde, ikincisine göre daha büyük boyutlu düzenlenmiş olduğunu göstermektedir.
- 4 Orta nefin önemli kısmını kaplayan bema, ölçülere dahil edilmemiştir. Neflerin ölçüleri verilirken bunları birbirinden ayıran sütunların oturduğu 70 cm genişlikteki nef stylobatları dahil edilmemiştir.

Bema ve Apsis Mozaikleri

Çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan bema ve apsis zemin mozaikleri, kilisenin inşa evreleri baz alınarak iki evrede incelenmiştir. İlk evrede, bema ve apsis zemini bitişik ele alınmıştır (Res. 4). Orta ekseninde, iki panelin kesiştikleri alanda (apsisin batısı-bemanın doğusu) kiboriumla örtülü altanın bulunduğu bölüm yer

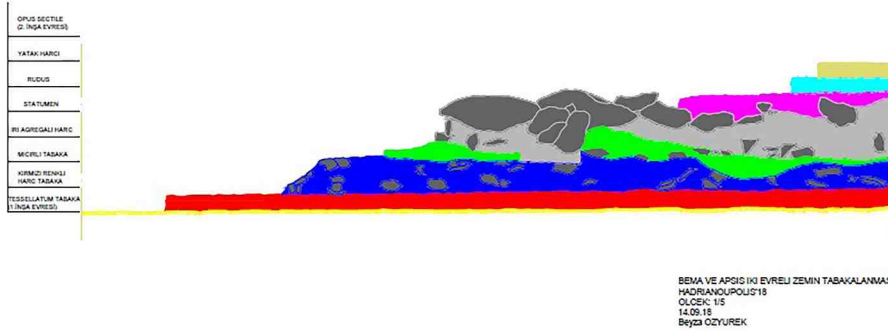
Resim 4
Apsis ve Bema Genel Görünüm
(Kazı Arşivi).



alır. Kilisenin yeniden yapımı esnasında bu bölüm ortadan kaldırılmış olmasına rağmen, kiborium ayakları ve altanın bulunduğu dikdörtgen alanı çevreleyen bordür kısmen korunmuştur. Kiboriumun kuzeydoğu ve güneydoğu ayakları, kaçak kazılar sonucu tamamen ortadan kaldırılmış olmakla birlikte kuzeybatı ve güneybatı ayaklarının kaide kısımları ise kısmen görülebilmektedir. İkinci evrede bema ve apsis zemini, ilk evreye göre 29 cm yüksek tutulmuştur. Bazı kısımları tahrip olmasına rağmen ilk evre zemin mozaïği büyük oranda korunmuş, hatta iyi bir şekilde korunması için ilk evre zemini üzerine bir koruma tabakası yapılmıştır. Bu durum ikinci evre mozaik tabakasının, Bizans Dönemi'ndeki diğer mozaik tabakalarına göre farklı olmasını sağlamıştır. Roma ve Bizans Dönemi'nde mozaik döşemeler, alttan üste doğru sırasıyla; statumen, rudus, nucleus, yatak harcı ve tessellatum tabakalarından oluşmaktadır. Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi bema bölümünün ikinci evre mozaik döşemesinin tabakasına bakıldığında ise nucleus'a yer verilmediği, bununla birlikte yedi katmandan oluştuğu görülmektedir (Res. 5). En alt tabaka kırmızı renkli bir harç tabakasından⁵, ikinci katman yoğun mıcırdan, üçüncü katman agregalı bir harçtan oluşmaktadır. Bunların üstünde sırasıyla statumen, rudus, yatak harcı ve opus sectile katmanları yer alır. İkinci evrede, bema ve apsisin kesiştikleri noktada kuzey-güney doğrultusunda, 170 cm uzunlukta, synthronon basamakları

5 İlk evre tessellatum tabakası, sarı renkli kumsu kapıdaki bir harçla kaplanmıştır. Bu harç katmanı çok ince olması sebebiyle bir katman olarak değerlendirilmemiştir.

eklenmiştir. Birinci evrenin apsis ve bema mozaikleri içerik ve şekil açısından birbirinden ayrılmaktadır. Bundan dolayı zemin mozaikleri, “Bema Zemin Mozaiği” ve “Apsis Zemin Mozaiği” adı altındaki iki başlıkta incelenmiştir.

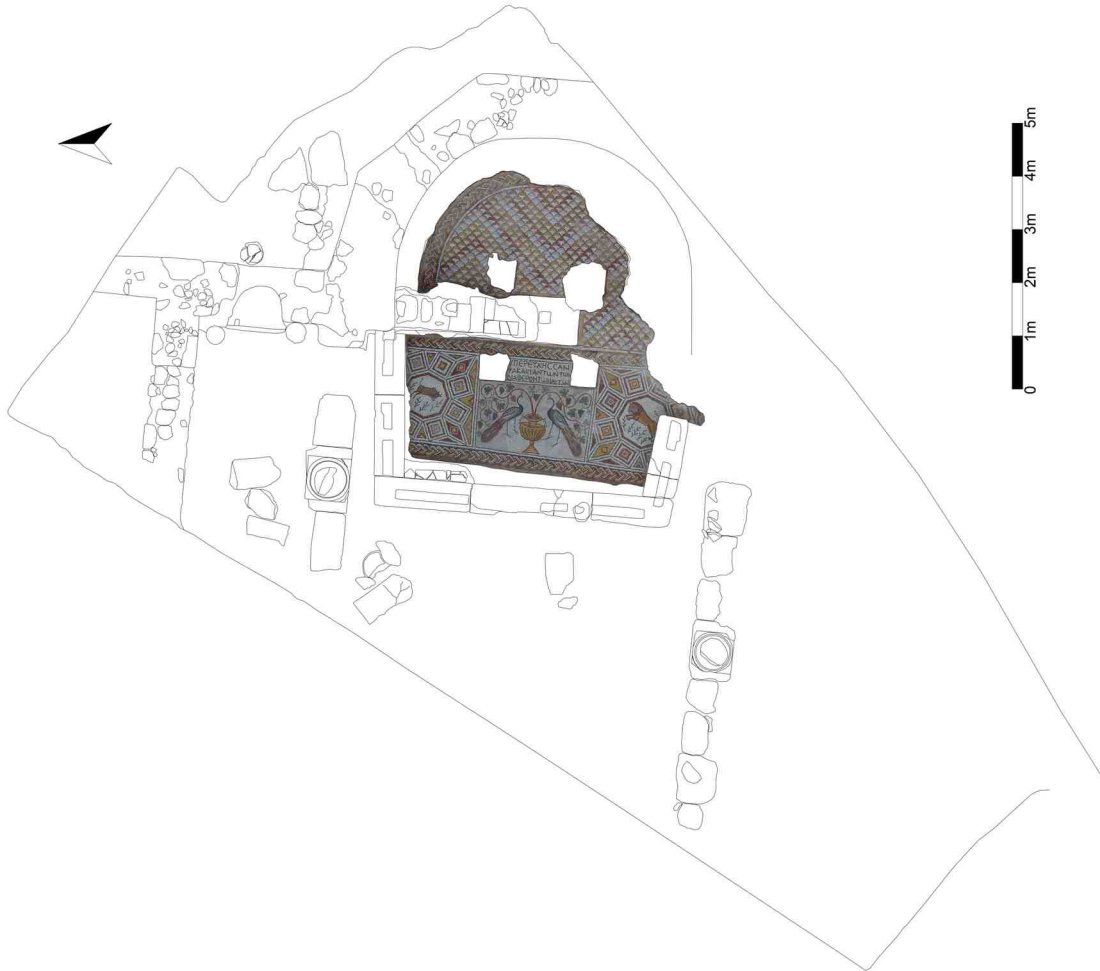


Resim 5
İki İnşa Evresi Zemini Arasındaki Tabaka
(Kazı Arşivi).

Bema Zemin Mozaiği

İlk Evre: İlk inşa evresine ait bemanın kuzey ve güney kenarları, ikinci inşa evresinin orta nef zemini ile templon stylobatının altında kalmasından dolayı görülememektedir. Ortaya çıkarılan bema zemin mozaiği 5.61 x 2.66 m ölçülerinde olup, mevcut kalıntılar ve yapılan hesaplamalara göre, olması gereken ölçüleri 6.50 x 2.70 metredir⁶ (Res. 6). Panel kuzeyden güneye doğru hafif daralmaktadır; kuzeydeki genişlik 2.40 m, güneyde ise 2.66 metredir.

Resim 6
Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi Bema ve Apsis
Rölövesi (Kazı Arşivi).



6 Sunulan ölçüler en uzun ve en geniş noktalar arasında alınan mesafelerdir.

Bema zemin mozaïği, tek panel ve bu panelde yer alan üç panodan ibarettir (Res. 7). Panel, dört yönden siyah-gri zemin üzerine giyoş (Décor I: pl. 72d) motifinin işlendiği, toplam 30 cm kalınlıktaki çok renkli bordürle çevrelenmiştir⁷. İki-üç sıra beyaz renkli tesseraların yan yan dizilmesiyle oluşturulmuş, 4-6 cm genişliğindeki şerit, bordürün doğu konturunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu şerit aynı zamanda panelin içindeki panoların doğu ve batı sınırını oluşturmaktadır. Bordürün batı kenarını ise turuncu renkli traverten tesseralardan oluşan, çok az kısmı görülebilen şerit sınırlamaktadır. Bu bordürün, panelin doğu ve batı kenarlarında neredeyse tamamı, güney kenarda ise çok az bir kısmı görülebilmektedir. Kuzey kenarı ise templon stylobatı altında kalmasından dolayı görülememektedir. Bordürün içindeki 7 cm kalınlıktaki halatlar açık sarı, altın sarısı ve vişne çürüğü renkli tesseralardan oluşmaktadır. Halatların konturları tek sıra siyah ve beyaz tesseraların dizilimiyle oluşturulmuş çizgilerle belirlenerek ışık – gölge kontrastı vurgulanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Resim 7
Bema İlk Evre Zemini Genel Görünüm
(Kazı Arşivi).



Bema ile apsisin birleştiği bölümde 125 x 45 cm ölçülerinde bir vakıf yazıtı yer alır (Res. 8). Beyaz zemin üzerine koyu gri-siyah renkte Grek harfleriyle yazılmış, üç satırdan oluşan yazıtın, her satırı ortalama 10 cm yüksekliktedir. Bu yazıtın transkripsiyonu şu şekildedir:

ὕπερ εὐχῆς Σαν-
ψα καὶ παντῶν τῶν
διαφέροντων αὐτῷ
Sanpsa'nın ve
tüm ona ait olanların
*selameti için*⁸

⁷ Bordürün kalınlığı, farklı noktalarda 29-33 cm arasında değişmektedir, ortalama 30 cm kalınlıkta olduğu söylenebilir.

⁸ Yazıtın çevirisini gerçekleştiren Prof. Dr. Mustafa Hamdi SAYAR'a teşekkür ederiz.



Resim 8
Bema ile Apsisin Birleştiği Bölümdeki Adak
Yazıtı (Kazı Arşivi).

Yazıttan *Sanpsa* isimli bir şahsın ailesinin selameti için mozaikleri yaptırdığı anlaşılmaktadır. Benzer bir yazıt Dört Nehir Kilisesi'nin mozaik zemininde de yer almaktadır. Yazıtta “*Sadık Scholarios Himerios ve onurlu ve saygın Valentina'nın yeminine/adağına göre*” ifadeleri geçmektedir (Lafli - Christof 2012: 45). Yazıttan anlaşıldığı kadarıyla Dört Nehir Kilisesi'ndeki zemin mozaiklerini ismi geçen şahısların yaptırdığı anlaşılmaktadır. Her iki kilisede benzer şekilde adak yazıtlarının olması Hadrianoupolis'in Erken Bizans döneminde bir gelenek olarak kentin önde gelenleri tarafından kiliselerin mozaiklerinin yaptırıldığı ya da kiliselere hizmet için çalışan vakıfların varlıklı kişiler aracılığıyla kiliselere bağışta buldukları ihtimallerini doğurmaktadır. Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi'ndeki yazıtın karakter özellikleri İS 5.-6. yüzyıl aralığını işaret etmektedir.

Bema panelinin ortasındaki tavus kuşu figürlü, refrigerium sahnesinin işlendiği pano, 220 x 130 cm ölçülerindedir (Res. 9). Panonun zemini beyaz renkli

Resim 9
Tavus Kuşu Figürlü Refrigerium Sahnesinin
İşlendiği Pano (Kazı Arşivi).



tesseralardan oluşur, merkezinde üzüm bağına filizlendiği çift kulplu krater yer alır⁹. Bunun iki yanında antitetik yerleştirilmiş, durağan tasvir edilmiş tavus kuşu figürleri görülür¹⁰. Bizans ve Hristiyan ikonografisinde; panonun merkezindeki krater biçimli kap, kutsal suyun çıktığı veya bulunduğu çeşmeleri, bundan çıkan üzüm, İsa'nın kanı ve komünyondaki (ökaristi ayini) şarabı sembolize eder (Ferguson 1961: 31-32; Anđelković vd. 2010: 231-248). Refrigerium sahnesi ve tavus kuşu figürü, Geç Antik Çağ ve Bizans Dönemi'ne ait resim örneklerinde sıklıkla uygulanmıştır. Tavus kuşunun öldükten sonra etinin geç çürümesi hem Roma hem de Bizans Dönemi'nde ölümsüzlükle ilişkilendirilmesine sebebiyet vermiştir. Tüylerinin dökülmesinin sonra, daha parlak ve güzel biçimde yeniden çıkması ise yeniden dirilişin (doğuşun) sembolü olmuştur. Kuyruğunun kapanmasının ardından oluşan göz şekli, gökyüzündeki yıldızlar, her şeyi gören Tanrı ve kilisenin sembolüdür. Eden Bahçesi'nde (cennet bahçesi) yer alan kuşlardan olan tavus kuşu, genel olarak yeniden diriliş, ölümsüzlük ve iyi ruhların sembolüdür (Ferguson 1961: 42; Parman 1993: 387-412; Gilhus 2006: 103; Anđelković vd. 2010: 233-240; Karademir 2019: 216-217). Tavus kuşlarının olduğu kompozisyonu sanatsal açıdan da incelemek gerekmektedir. Anatomik açıdan incelendiğinde tavus kuşlarının görkemli kuyruklarının varlığı nedeniyle erkek oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Figürlerin anatomik orantılarının genel anlamda başarılı olduğunu söylemek gerekir. Kuşların baş, boyun bölümleri profilden, göğüs ve bacakları $\frac{3}{4}$ oranında cepheden, kuyrukları ise tam cepheden verilmiştir. Bacaklardan biri önde diğeri arkada verilmiş, arkadaki bacak kısa öndeki bacak daha uzun işlenerek sahneye derinlik verilmeye çalışılmıştır. Tavus kuşları ile kraterin bulunduğu sahne kapalı kompozisyona sahiptir. Kare örüntü içerisinde kompoze edilen sahne devam ediyormuş hissine sahip değildir. Kompozisyon, kare örüntünün ortasına eşit mesafede ve boşlukta yerleştirilmiştir. Belirli bir düzende ve kapalı kompozisyon olan kurgu genelde dönemin edebi ve dini hikâyelerini içeren çalışmalarda belli bir düzende yer almaktadır. Bu aynı zamanda bir örüntü kompozisyonudur ve sembolik değerlerle zemine yerleştirilmiştir. Sahnedeki objelerin ve tavus kuşlarının çizgisel organizasyonu yatay kurgulanmıştır. Bakıldığında sahne yatay yönde ilerlemekte olup, izleyici ilk baktığında tavus kuşlarının görülmesi sağlanmıştır. Bu durum için de kompozisyon renk ve gölgelendirme ile desteklenmiştir. Simetrik dengeye sahip sahne çizgisel desen prensibi çerçevesinde biçimlendirilmiş ve izleyiciye hazır verilmiştir. Böylelikle sahne izleyiciye doğrudan gösterilmiştir. Kompozisyonda renk çok etkileyici şekilde sunulmuştur. Fizyolojik ve psikolojik olarak kırmızı, sarı, mavi, gri, turuncu, yeşil, pembe, vişne çürüğü renkleri genel olarak gözlemlenebilen renklerdir. Kırmızı, sarı ve mavi gibi ana renklerin hepsi mevcut olup, ara renklerden de turuncu ve yeşil kullanılmıştır. Nötr renk olarak da gri, beyaz ve siyah görülmektedir. Analog renk armonisi mevcuttur; sarı-turuncu ve mavi-yeşil yan yana kullanılmıştır. Kuyrukta kırmızı, yeşil, mavi ve turuncudan oluşan dörtlü renk armonisi mevcuttur. Monokrom renk armonisi de vazoda ve tavus kuşu gövdesinde işlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Kompozisyonu oluşturan tavus kuşlarında, kraterde, sarmaşık dalı ve yapraklarında ışık gölge uyumu verilmek istenmiştir. Bir rengin açık ve koyu değerleri modle edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda farklı tonda renklere sahip unsurlarda da modülasyon değeri de görülmektedir. Kendi ışık değerleriyle de kromatik, rengin kendi ışığından faydalanılmıştır. Tüm kompozisyondaki ışık-gölge dengesi incelendiğinde,

9 Kraterde açık ve koyu sarı, siyah, bağımlarında sarı, vişne çürüğü ve siyah, yapraklarda açık ve koyu yeşil, üzümde sarı, turuncu, kırmızı, vişne çürüğü, pembe ve siyah renkli tesseralar kullanılmıştır.

10 Tavus kuşunun boyun, göğüs, sırt ve ayaklarında koyu gri ve siyah, kanatlarında gri, beyaz, siyah ve yeşil, kuyruğunda mavi, firuze, vişne çürüğü, kırmızı, sarı, beyaz, yeşil ve turuncu renkli tesseralar kullanılmıştır.

ışığın karşıdan geldiği anlaşılmaktadır. Gölge ile ışık dengesi sahnede en bariz şekilde asma yapraklarında işlenmiştir. Sahnenin solundaki asma yaprakları ikiye bölünerek siyah ve yeşil renklerle, sahnenin sağındaki asma yaprakları ise yeşil ve mavi renklerle ikiye bölünerek gölge-ışık oyunu gösterilmiştir. Sahnede dikkat çeken bir sanatsal özellik de tüm figüratif unsurların hacimli gösterilmiş olmasıdır. Örneğin kraterin kaidesinde ve gövdesinde orta kısım sarı, kenarları turuncu verilerek kabın dairesel hacmi işlenmiştir. Aynı uygulamayı asma dallarında da görmek mümkündür. Dalların yarısı kahverengiye yakın vişne çürüğü, yarısı ise turuncu renkte verilerek dalların dairesel kesitli bir hacme sahip olduğu izleyiciye vurgulanmak istenmiştir. Genel anlamda bakıldığında ise sahnede mekân olgusunun olmadığı görülmektedir. Figürlerde zemin-mekân ilişkisi kurgulanmamıştır. Tavus kuşları havada gibi durmaktadırlar. Kompozisyonda dikkat çeken bir diğer husus ise sahnenin sağ ve sol tarafında detayların birbirinden farklı olmasıdır. Sahnede ilk bakışta bir simetri var gibi görünse de detaylar sahnede tam bir simetri olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Sahneyi kraterin tam ortasından sağ ve sol olmak üzere ikiye ayırıp incelemek gerekmektedir. Sahnenin sağındaki tavus kuşu soldakine göre daha hacimlidir. Sağdaki tavus kuşunun bacakları ve kuyruğu soldakine göre daha uzundur. Sağdaki kuşun başındaki sorgucunun üçlü, soldakinin ise dörtlü olduğu görülmektedir. Sağdaki kuşun gagası düz, soldaki ise kanca formundadır. Sağdaki kuşun kanatlarının bitiminden göğse kadar olan bölümde beyaz, açık yeşil, mavi ve siyah olmak üzere dört renk; soldakinde ise beyaz, açık yeşil ve siyah olmak üzere üç renk kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca sağdaki kuşların kuyrukları hem renk hem de form olarak birbirinden hafif farklılıklar içermektedir. Sahnenin sağ tarafındaki asma yaprakları ile sol taraftaki asma yaprakları da birbirinden farklılıklara sahiptir. Soldaki asma yaprakları tam ortadan ikiye ayrılarak siyah ve mavi renklerden; sağdaki asma yaprakları da tam ortadan ikiye ayrılarak mavi ve yeşil renklerden oluşmaktadır. Sağ bölümdeki üzüm salkımları sol bölümdeki üzüm salkımlarına göre daha hacimlidir. Asma dallarına dikkatli bakıldığında ise sağ ve sol bölümün tam simetri olmadığı da anlaşılmaktadır. Son olarak ise soldaki tavus kuşunun sağ ayağının bitiminden itibaren beyaz renkli zeminde ton farklılığı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu durum sahnede kullanılan beyaz renkli tesseraların farklı dere yataklarından, ocaklardan elde edilmiş olmasıyla ya da daha sonraki bir tadilat çalışmasıyla açıklanabilir. Sahnede tüm bu farklılıklar iki olasılığı ortaya çıkarmaktadır. İlk olasılık sahnenin sağ ve sol bölümünün farklı sanatçılar tarafından yapılmış olması; ikinci olasılık ise farklılıklarla kompozisyona hareketlilik kazandırılmak istenmiş olmasıdır.

Panelin kuzeyindeki boğa figürlü pano 132 x 170 cm ölçülerindedir; ama olması gereken ölçüsü 195 x 170 cm'dir (Res. 10). Kuzey yarısı büyük oranda tempon stylobatının altında kalmıştır. Panonun merkezinde, kenarları 37 cm uzunlukta, konturu ikişer sıra vişne çürüğü ve beyaz renkli tesseraların dizili ile oluşturulmuş iki şeritle belirlenmiş bir sekizgen yer alır¹¹ (Décor II: pl.373a). Sekizgenin içerisinde, beyaz zeminli ve bitkisel dekorlu kurgusal bir alanda, saldırı (şahlanmış ya da koşar) pozisyonunda gösterilmiş boğa figürüne yer verilmiştir¹². Bu sekizgen kare, dikdörtgen, eşkenar dörtgen ve üçgen gibi çok renkli geometrik şekillerle çevrilmiştir¹³. Panoda kalan boşluklar, farklı ölçü

11 Bu iki şerit, tek sıra tesseraların dizilimi ile oluşturulan siyah-koyu gri renkli bir çizgiyle birbirinden ayrılmıştır.

12 Bitkilerin hepsi yeşil ve tonlarındaki tesseralardan oluşur. Boğa figüründe ise siyah, vişne çürüğü, kırmızı, sarı, turuncu ve beyaz renkli tesseralar kullanılmıştır.

13 Kareye benzer dikdörtgenler 35 x 99 cm, 35 x 38 cm ölçülerindedir. Karelerin kenar uzunlukları 38 ve 39 santimetredir. Eşkenar dörtgenlerin kenar uzunlukları 39 cm, toplam uzunluğu 72 santimetredir. Kare ve dikdörtgen zemini beyaz, bunların ortasında yer alan karelerin zemini ise sarı renklidir.

Resim 10
Boğa Figürlü Pano (Kazı Arşivi).



ve renkteki üçgen motifleriyle doldurulmuştur¹⁴. Boşlukları dolduran üçgenler, aslında sekizgeni çevreleyen kare, dikdörtgen ve eşkenar dörtgenin yarım kalmış halleridir. İçlerinde yer alan, yarım kalmış haç ve kare motifleri de buna işaret eder. Bu hususlar panoların sonsuzluk prensibinde tasarlandığını göstermektedir. Tüm geometrik şekilli motiflerin konturları, beyaz ve siyah renkli çizgilerden oluşan şeritlerle belirlenmiştir. Karelerin merkezinde, ortasına Yunan haçı motifi yerleştirilmiş kareler yer alır¹⁵. Bunun haricinde, en dış hat ile ortadaki kare motifi arasına, beyaz, vişne çürüğü, siyah renkli çizgi ve şeritlerle, kare şekilleri oluşturulmuştur. Böylece iç içe geçmiş kare motifleri oluşturulmuştur. Benzer husus dikdörtgen ve eşkenar dörtgen için de geçerlidir. Panonun esas figürü olan boğanın uzunlarının orantı uyumu konusuna özen gösterilmiştir. Sahnede işlenen bitki detayları nedeniyle doğada olduğu anlaşılan boğa saldırı halinde ya da koşarken verilmiştir. Başını hafif aşağıya doğru eğerek koşmaktan ziyade saldırı anında olduğu hissettirmektedir. Boğanın vücudu profilden, başı ise $\frac{3}{4}$ oranında cepheden verilmiştir. Ön bacaklarını öne doğru atarak hamle yapmış, arka bacaklarını yere tam basarak ileri doğru atılmıştır. Bacakların perspektif anlayışıyla resmedilmiş olmasıyla sahnede derinlik az da olsa sağlanmıştır. Gözler daire formunda ve yüze göre iridir. Burun iki adet siyah renkli tessera ile gösterilmiş, ağız ise gösterilmemiştir. Yüzünün yarısı daha koyu tessera ile resmedilerek gölge-ışık kontrastı oluşturulmuştur. Ön bacakların hafif göğse doğru çekilerek öne doğru uzatmasıyla göğüs üzerinde oluşan kas hatları yay şeklindedir. Ense bölümü iri bir yumru şeklinde olan figürün kahverengi renkli tesseralarla yapılmış karnı da yay şeklinde olup, alt kısma işlenen bir sıra sarı renkli tessera ile bu bölüm hacimlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Karnın ile arka bacaklarının birleşme noktasında erkeklik uzvu görülmektedir. Arka bacaklarının gövdeyi ileri itmeye yönelik olarak yerden güç almasıyla kalça bölümünde açık kahverengi renkli kas hattı ortaya çıkmıştır. Kuyruğunu “S”

Eşkenar dörtgenlerin zemini vişne çürüğü, ortasındaki karelerin zemini ise sarı renklidir.

14 Üçgenlerin zemini sarı renklidir. Alt kısımlarında, kare ve dikdörtgenlerin içindeki kare motiflerine renk ve şekil açısından benzeyen, ancak bunların yarım kalmış halleri şeklinde ele alınmış, üçgenlere yer verilmiştir.

15 Kare ve dikdörtgenlerin merkezindeki haçların kolları 4,5 santimetredir. Renk açısından birbirinden farklı düzenlenmişlerdir. Bütün haçların merkezinde siyah ve beyaz renkli tek bir tessera yer alır. Ortasında siyah renkli tessera olan haçın kolları beyaz, beyaz renkli olanın kolları ise siyah renkli tek bir tesseredan oluşur.

yaparak yukarı doğru uzatmıştır. Kuyruğun bitim noktasındaki damla formlu tüylü uç, kahverengi renkli tesseralardan oluşur. Sekizgen geometrik pano içerisinde kompoze edilen figür; devam ediyormuş hissine sahip değildir. Boğa sanki hareket halindeyken tıpkı bir fotoğraf karesi gibi anlık dondurulmuş gibi kompoze edilmiştir. Kompozisyon sekizgen örüntünün ortasında eşit mesafede ve boşlukta yerleştirilmiştir. Kurgu belirli bir düzende ve kapalı kompozisyondur. Kompozisyonda coğrafyaya ait olduğu düşünülen yeşillik, bitkiler boğanın etrafında ayaklarının altına gelen kısımda yer almaktadır. Solda bir adet, sağda üç adet olmak üzere dört adet bitki yerleştirilmiştir. Zemin ile ilgili bilgi veren tek şey bitkilerdir; onun dışında zeminde herhangi bir gölge vb. kurgulanmamış ve modle edilmemiştir. Yüzeyin çizgisel organizasyonu yatay kurgulanmıştır. Bakıldığında figür yatay yönde ilerler ve izleyicinin ilk görmesini istediği boğanın sağa gidiş hareketidir. Bu durum renk, gölgelendirme, anlık olma hareketiyle ve jest ile desteklenmiştir. Boğa kompozisyonunun formu kapalı, çizgisel desen prensibi çerçevesinde biçimlenmiş, izleyiciye hazır bir şekilde sunulmuştur. Merkeze konuşlanmış asimetrik bitkilerle desteklenmiş bir denge algısı sunulmuştur. Boğa kompozisyonunda turuncu, kırmızı, yeşil, beyaz ve toprak tonlarında krem renkleri genel olarak gözlemlenebilen renklerdir. Ana renklerden sadece kırmızı, ara renklerden ise sadece yeşil kullanılmıştır. Kompozisyonda ışık ve gölge dengesi vurgulanmıştır. Bir rengin açık ve koyu değerleri modle edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Aynı zamanda farklı tonda kontur çizgileri oluşturularak modülasyon değerleri de görülebilmektedir. Kendi ışık değerleriyle de kromatiktir, yani rengin kendi ışığından faydalanılmıştır. Kompozisyonda ışık karşıdan gelmektedir.

Panelin güneyindeki aslan figürlü pano (Décor II: pl.373a) 195 x 185 cm ölçülerindedir (Res. 11). Kuzey yarısı sağlamdır, ancak güney yarısı templon stylobatının altında kalmasından dolayı büyük oranda tahrip olmuştur. Boğa



Resim 11
Aslan Figürlü Pano (Kazı Arşivi).

figürlü panoya göre daha büyük boyutlu ele alınmıştır. Dekorasyon açısından boğa figürlü pano ile benzerdir, ancak daha büyük boyutlu olmasından dolayı içerisindeki geometrik şekilli motiflerin ölçülerinde birtakım farklılıklar görülür. Bir diğer farklılık ise güney panodaki eşkenar dörtgen zemininin vişne çürüğü, bu panodaki eşkenar dörtgen zemininin ise sarı renkli olmasıdır. Panonun merkezindeki sekizgenin içerisinde, beyaz zeminli ve bitkisel dekorlu kurgusal bir alanda, saldırı (şahlanmış) pozisyonunda gösterilmiş aslan figürüne yer

verilmiştir. Aslanın vücudu profilden başı ise $\frac{3}{4}$ oranında cepheden verilmiştir. Ön bacakları ileri atılır vaziyette, arka bacakları yere tam basar durumda gösterilen aslan saldırı pozisyonundadır. Bacakların işleniş biçimi perspektif anlayışı içerisindedir. Gözler elips formda, kaşlar çatıktır. Keskin olduğu izlenimi veren üçgenimsi dişlere sahip aslanın ağzı açık, kükrer şekildedir. Sakalı beyaz ve gri tesseralardan meydana gelir. Yanaklardaki turuncu renkli tesseraların farklı tonları işlenerek, gölge-ışık kontrastı oluşturulmuştur. Yeleleri dalgalı gösterilen aslanın erkek olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Aslanın karın kısmı hafif yay çizmektedir. Aslanın tüm gövdesi turuncu renkli tesseralardan oluşmaktadır. Fakat karın alt kısmı ile arka sol bacağın bir bölümü sarı renkli tesseralarla yapılarak bu bölümlere hacim kazandırılmıştır. Karın ile arka bacaklar arasında, tek sıra siyah renkli erkeklik uzvu gösterilmiştir. Kuyruğunu havaya doğru “S” şeklinde kaldırarak belinin ortasına kadar uzatmıştır. Aslan figürünün kompozisyonu ve kurgusu boğa ile neredeyse bire bir aynıdır. Tıpkı boğada olduğu gibi kapalı kompozisyona sahiptir. Sekizgen panel içerisinde kompoze edilen aslan, devam ediyormuş hissine sahip değildir. Aslan sanki hareket halindeyken tıpkı bir fotoğraf karesi şeklinde anda dondurulmuş gibi kompoze edilmiştir. Ayrıca aslan kızgın bir şekilde avına saldırıyor gibi bir andadır. Kompozisyon sekizgenin ortasına eşit mesafede ve boşlukta yerleştirilmiştir. Kompozisyonda coğrafyaya ait olduğu düşünülen yeşillik, bitkiler aslanın etrafında ayaklarının altına gelen kısımda yer almaktadır. Bitki sayıları boğa kompozisyonunda olduğu gibi dört adettir. Aslanda da zemin ile ilgili bilgi veren tek şey bitkilerdir. Onun dışında zeminde herhangi bir gölge vb. kurgulanmamış ve modle edilmemiştir. Aslan kompozisyonunun yüzeyinin çizgisel organizasyonu yatay yönde kurgulanmıştır. Bakıldığında figür yatay yönde ilerler ve izleyicinin ilk görmesini istediği aslanın sola yöneliş (saldırı anındaki yönelme) hareketidir. Bu durum renk, gölgelendirme, anlık hareketiyle ve jest ile desteklenmiştir. Aslan dişlerini gürler pozisyonda gibi açıp dişlerini göstermiştir. Kompozisyonun dengesi ve formu kapalıdır. Merkeze konuşlanmış asimetrik bitkilerle bir denge algısı verilme istenmiştir. Kompozisyonda bitkilerin hepsi yeşil ve tonlarındaki tesseralardan; aslanın gövde, göğüs, sırt, ayakları ve kuyruğu altın sarısı, açık sarı, vişne çürüğü ve siyah, yelesi vişne çürüğü ve siyah, baş kısmı beyaz, gri, altın sarısı, açık sarı, vişne çürüğü ve siyah, pençeleri siyah ve dişleri beyaz renkli tesseralardan oluşturulmuştur. Ana renklerden kırmızı, ara renklerden yeşil kullanılmıştır. Kompozisyonda ışık ve gölge uyumu vurgulanmak istenmiştir. Bir rengin açık ve koyu değerleri modle edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Aynı zamanda farklı tonda tesseralarla da kontur çizgileri oluşturularak modülasyon değerleri de görülebilmektedir. Işık, boğa kompozisyonundaki gibi karşıdan gelmektedir.

Kuzey paneldeki boğa figürü, Hristiyan ve Bizans sanatında güç, barış, koruyuculuk ve yeniden dirilişi sembolize eder. Aynı zamanda İncil yazarlarından Lucas'ın sembolüdür (Audsley – Audsley 1865: 102; Clement 1886: 190; Ferguson 1961: 22; Gilhus 2006: 104-107; Simitopoulou vd. 2015: 222-223) Aslan ise yeniden diriliş, güç, Hz. İsa ve Marcus'un sembolüdür (Audsley 1865: 40, 87, 102; Clement 1886: 219; Ferguson 1961: 21) Bema paneline uzaktan bakıldığında aslan ve boğanın özel birer pano içerisinde betimlenmesi ve bunların çevresinde başka bir figür görülmemesi, ilk olarak İncil yazarlarından Marcus ve Lucas'ın sembolize ettiklerini düşündürmektedir. Bununla birlikte Hristiyan sanatında, Marcus ve Lucas'ın kanatlı gösterildiği, kutsal kitap veya ruloyla betimlendiği bilinir (Audsley 1865: 97; Ferguson 1961: 21-22) Sadece Ravenna San Vitale Kilisesi (İS 545-549 tarihlerindeki mozaikleri) bemasının kuzey ve güney duvarındaki, “İncil Yazarları” sahnesinde, kanatsız ve kitap-ruloyla betimlenmeyen aslan ve boğa figürleri görülür (Deliyannis 2010: 237-246).

Bununla birlikte bu sahnenin alt kısmında İncil yazarlarının personifikasyonları yer alır. Dolayısıyla şu ana kadar yapılan araştırmalara göre İncil yazarlarını sembolize eden aslan ve boğanın, kanatsız ve kutsal metin olmadan resmedilmiş örneğine pek rastlanılmamıştır. Bu şekilde yapılan örnekler daha çok günlük yaşam veya hayvan mücadelesi sahnelerinde görülür. Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi bema panelindeki aslan ve boğanın birbirine yönelmiş olması, her ikisinin saldırı pozisyonunda gösterilmesi, bu sahnede hayvan mücadelesi konusunun işlendiğini düşündürmektedir, ancak her iki hayvan da ayrı kurgusal mekânlarda betimlenmiştir. Ayrıca iki pano arasında tavus kuşu figürlü pano da yer alır. Aslan ve boğa figürünün birlikte kurgulandığı bir kompozisyon Heraclea Lyncestis'te yer alan Episcopal Bazilika'da karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Dimitrova 2015: fig. 3). Kompozisyonda aslan ve boğa birbirine doğru hamle yapar gibi görünmektedir. Hayvanların sanatsal özellikleri Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi örneğiyle büyük benzerlikler göstermektedir. Dimitrova, kiliselerde boğa ve aslan figürlerinin kullanılmasını şöyle ifade etmektedir: *“Eski Ahit ayetlerinin kompozisyonlarının illüstrasyonu, Hristiyan kiliselerinde sembolik imgelerle ifade edilmeye başlanmıştır. Hristiyanlıktaki kutsal ayinlerin ölümsüz yaşam verdiği inanırdı. Hristiyan toplulukların dünya hayatının son bulacağı kıyamet çağrışımları mozaiklerde tasvir edilen sahnelerle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bir antilopu yiyen panterin alegorik imgesiyle bedensel ölümü simgelemesinin yanında hayatın zaferi, fedakârlık, yeniden diriliş anlamlarını içeren bir zıtlıkta kompozisyon yardımıyla görselleştirilmiştir. Ölümü yenen Dionysos kültüyle ilişkilendirilen asma ve antilop, aslan ve boğa, panter ve yaban keçisinin sembolik imge olarak kullanılması katekümenlerin (farklı dinlerden Hristiyanlığa geçen, üç yıllık dini eğitim sonucunda vaftiz edilerek kiliseye girebilen grup/halk) mitoloji konusundaki bilgileriyle ilişkilendirmesini sağlamıştır. Sembolik Hristiyan ikonografisi, pagan kökenli katekümenlere aşına oldukları imgelerle aktarılarak vaftiz, ökaristi ve yeniden diriliş inancının kavranılması sağlanmıştır”*. Bu ifadelerden anlaşıldığı gibi Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi bema mozaiginde ölümsüzlüğün illüstratif ifadesi olan tavus kuşlarının, yeniden dirilişin imgesel ifadesi olan aslan ve boğa işlenmiş olması tesadüf değildir. Kullanılan tüm figürler Hristiyanlık inancındaki öbür dünyada yeniden dirilişi ve ölümsüz olmayı vurgulamaya yönelik olmalıdır. Erken Bizans dönemindeki paganizm figürlerinin sıklıkla görülmesinin sebebi de katekümenlerin Hristiyanlık inancını tam kavramasını sağlamaya yönelik olarak hafızalarındaki paganist imgelerin yardımcı olarak görülmesinden kaynaklanmış olmalıdır.

İkinci Evre: Bemanın ikinci evresine ait zeminin neredeyse tamamı tahrip olmuştur (Res. 12). Bemanın iç kısmında yapılan kazılarda ikinci evreye ait zeminin alt yapısı tıpkı mozaik zemin döşemesinde olduğu gibi tesviye edilmiştir. İkinci evre zemini aşağıdan yukarıya doğru statumen, rudus, yatak harcı tabakalarından oluşmaktadır. Zemindeki tesviye tabakaları, ikinci evrenin zemininin de mozaikle süslendiğini işaret eden verilerden biridir. İkinci evrenin bema zemin döşemesine dair diğer bir iz ise bemanın kuzeydoğu köşesinde dikdörtgen şekilli bir panonun içerisindeki derz izleridir. Derz izlerine bakıldığında yaklaşık olarak 125 x 135 cm boyutlarındaki dikdörtgen panonun içerisine 5 sıra yan yana 5 sıra üst üste olmak üzere simetrik şekilde dizilmiş altıgen formlardan oluşan zemin süslemesi yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır (Res. 13). Ortalama 16 cm genişliğinde olan altıgen formların plakalarından herhangi bir parça günümüze ulaşmamıştır. Pano içerisindeki sökülmüş olan altıgen plakaların yatak harcındaki yuvalarından anlaşıldığı kadarıyla plakaların kalınlığı 3-4 cm arasında olmalıdır. Altıgen formların yan yana dizilmesiyle birbirini kesen daire formlar oluşturulduğu izlenmektedir. Opus sectile zeminden günümüze bemanın

Resim 12
Bema İkinci Evre Zemini Genel Görünüm
(Kazı Arşivi).



Resim 13
Opus Sectileli Pano İzleri
(Kazı Arşivi).



kuzeybatı köşesinde, gri damarlı Prokennesos (Marmara Adası) benzeri mermer plakalar ulaşmıştır¹⁶ (Res. 14). Mermer plakaların formuna ve konumuna bakıldığında ikinci evre zemin mozağindeki dörtgen panonun çerçevesi olarak düzenlendiği anlaşılmaktadır. İçerisi altıgen formlarla düzenlenmiş dörtgen pano şeklindeki opus sectile döşemenin benzeri Tarsus Roma Hamamı'ndaki zeminin 8 nolu panosunda (Adak Adıbelli 2020: 55-56 res. 4-6) ve Olympos Antik Kenti'ndeki İS 5. - 6. yüzyıla ait olan Episcopal Kilisesi'nde (Evcim – Öztaşkın 2019: fig. 20/c) karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

¹⁶ Kuzeybatı köşesindeki mermer kaplı zeminin 120 x 30 cm, kuzeydoğu köşedeki zeminin ise 90 x 87 santimetrelilik kısmı korunabilmiştir.



Resim 14
Bema İkinci Evre Zemini Kuzeybatı Köşesi
(Kazı Arşivi).

Apsis Zemin Mozaïği

İlk Evre: Kilise apsisinin ilk inşa evresindeki şekli kesin olarak bilinmemektedir, bununla birlikte kalan izlerden anlaşıldığı üzere içten yarım daire biçimli olduğu söylenebilir. İkinci evre apsis duvarının ilk evre zemini üzerine oturtulması, kilisenin doğu kısmından geçen modern karayolu yapımı esnasındaki çalışmalar ve kaçak kazılar sonucunda, apsis ve zemininin bir kısmı tahrip olmuştur. Özellikle batı kenarının orta kısmı, güney yarısı ve ana kompozisyonu çevreleyen bordür büyük oranda tahrip edilmiştir. Tahribatlara rağmen ilk evre zemin mozaïği büyük oranda sağlam vaziyettedir. Kalan izlerden anlaşıldığı üzere ilk evre apsis zemini, yarım daireye yakın bir alanı kaplar, içten 4.60 m genişlik ve 3.50 m derinliğe sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Balık pulu (Décor I: pl. 219b) dekorasyonundan oluşan ana süsleme alanı üç yönden, siyah-koyu gri renkli zemin üzerine üç halatlı giyoş (Décor I: pl. 72d) motifinin işlendiği, 30 cm kalınlıktaki ana bordürle çevrelenmiştir (Res. 15). Ana bordürün hemen dışında,



Resim 15
Apsis İlk Evre Zemini Genel Görünüm
(Kazı Arşivi).

sarı renkli 10 cm kalınlıkta monokrom bordür yer alır. Bu bordürler bema'yı çevreleyen bordürlerle aynı özelliktedir. Bu sebepten dolayı bema bordürü ile birleştiği düşünülmektedir, ancak bordürlerin kesiştikleri noktalardan kuzeyde yer alan ikinci evre zemini altında kalması ve güneydeki noktanın ise tamamen tahrip olmasından dolayı kesin bilgi verilememektedir. Ana kompozisyonda balık pulu dekorasyonu görülür, bu dekorasyon peltae ve yarım daire motiflerinin diyagonal yerleştirilmesinden oluşmaktadır¹⁷. Her diyagonal sırada, peltae ve yarım daireler farklı renklerdeki tesseralardan yapılmıştır¹⁸. Bu şekilde apsis zemininde balık pulu dekorasyonunun içinde zikzak motifi de oluşturulmuştur. Ana dekorasyonun alt kısmında, orta eksene denk gelen noktada, monokrom sarı renkli bordürle çevrelenmiş, dikdörtgen bir panonun izleri görülmektedir (Res. 16). Bu kısım kiboriumla örtülü altarnın bulunduğu alana denk gelmektedir. Panonun olması gereken ölçüsü 137 x 95 cm'dir. Bu panonun bir kısmı ikinci evre zemininin altında kalmış, geriye kalan kısmı da yol yapım esnasında veya kaçak kazılar sonucu tahrip edilmiştir. Panodan geriye kalan izler; doğu ve güney kenarında görülebilen 10 cm kalınlıktaki bordürden ibarettir.

Resim 16
Apsisin Batısındaki Dikdörtgen Pano ve
Kiborium İzi (Kazı Arşivi).



İkinci Evre: Apsis ikinci evre zemin mozaïği büyük oranda tahrip olmuştur, sadece bema-apsis arasındaki geçişte, mermer plakalarla kaplı bir bölümü görülebilmektedir. Bema ikinci evre zemini ile olan benzerliğinden dolayı ya opus sectile ile döşendiği ya da sadece mermer plakalarla kaplandığı düşünülmektedir. Kalan izlerden anlaşıldığı üzere, kilise ikinci evresinde, 1.70 m genişlikteki syntonunun, apsisin üç yönünde büyük alan kapladığı görülmektedir. Bu durum, ikinci evre apsis zeminin, ilk evreye göre daha küçük boyutlu tasarlandığını gösterir. Mevcut kalıntılar ve yapılan hesaplamaya göre, ikinci evre apsis zemini, yaklaşık 2 m çapındaki yarım dairesel bir alandan oluşmaktadır.

17 Yarım dairelerden yola çıkılarak, balık pulu dekorasyonun aslında kesişen dairelerden oluştuğu söylenebilir, ancak daireler kesiştiği için bir kısmı gösterilmemiştir. Bu şekilde oluşan motife ise peltae adı verilmiştir. Dekorasyondaki yarım dairelerin çapları, 17-20 santimetredir. Peltaelerin uzunlukları 18-20 cm, genişlikleri 17-18 cm arasında değişmektedir.

18 Dekorasyona yukarıdan bakıldığında; vişne çürüğü-beyaz, gri-beyaz ve sarı-beyaz renkli peltae-yarım daire şeritler görülmektedir.

Değerlendirme ve Sonuç

Bema ve apsis zeminini, ikonografik açıdan genel bir değerlendirmek gerekirse, cennet bahçesi (Eden) ve sonsuz yaşam konusunun işlendiği söylenebilir. Bema ortasındaki refrigerium sahnesi, antitetik yerleştirilmiş tavus kuşları ve kap içinden filizlenen panoyu dolduran asma bitkisi cennet bahçesi temasını oluşturan öğelerdir. Bordürlerde görülen, sonsuzluk prensibinde ele alınmış örgü motifli, aslan ve boğa figürlü panoların kenarlarında işlenen yarım kalmış kare ve dikdörtgen motifleri (üçgenler), apsis dekorasyonunda, kenarlarda yarım kalmış biçimde ele alınan peltae ve daire motifleri ise sonsuz yaşam konusunu yansıtan unsurlardır. Yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere aslan ve boğanın, kilisenin en kutsal bölümlerinden biri olan bemade, özel panolar içerisinde resmedilmesi, bunların İncil yazarlarından Lucas ve Marcus'u sembolize ettiklerini düşündürmektedir. Ancak İncil yazarlarının aslan ve boğa olarak betimlendikleri örneklerde saldırı pozisyonunda resmedilmediği görülmektedir. Yine yukarıda değinildiği üzere, bu hayvanlara Bizans ve Hristiyan sanatından farklı anlamlar yüklendiği bilinir. Dolayısıyla panolardaki tasarımın, sanatçılar tarafından hem dekoratif hem de sembolik amaçla yapıldığı söylenebilir.

Bema paneli ortasında yer alan, Eden bahçesi ve refrigerium konulu, kraterden filizlenen asma bitkisiyle doldurulmuş sahnenin, üslup ve içerik açısından benzer örneklerini Bizans İmparatorluğu Dönemi'nde inşa edilmiş birçok kilise ve yapıda görebilmek mümkündür. En yakın örneği, Hadrianoupolis Dört Nehir Kilisesi'ndedir (Res. 17). Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi'nden farklı olarak Dört



Resim 17
Hadrianoupolis Dört Nehir Kilisesi Apsis
Zemini (Kazı Arşivi).

Nehir Kilisesi Mozaïği'nde, asma dalları arasında, beslenme pozisyonunda farklı kuş figürlerine yer verilmiştir (Verim 2019: 288) İmparatorluğun farklı bölgelerinde yer alan, Ma'on-Nirim Sinagogu (İS VI. yüzyıl) (Dunbabin 2003: 123), Elbeyli Köyü'nde hipoje mezar odasında (İS IV. yüzyıl) (Parman 1993: 394 res. 1), Apameia Kilisesi'nde (Balty vd. 1969: 13 fig. 4.2), Beth Shean Sinagogu (İS V. yüzyıl) (Hachlili 2009: 201 fig. IX.2-c,d), Sabratha Justinian Bazilikası (İS VI. yüzyıl) (Maguire 1987: fig. 70), Apollonia Batı Kilisesi (İS VI. yüzyıl) (Widrig - Goodchild 1960: 70-90), Düziçi Yapı Kalıntısı (İS VI. yüzyılın ilk yarısı) (Tülek 2006: 116), Altın-tepe Kilisesi (İS VI. yüzyıl. ortası) (Can 2009: 8-9), Heraclea Lynkestis Bazilikası (İS VI. yüzyıl sonu) (Maguire 1987: fig. 43; Dimitrova 2015: 203-218), Nikopolis St. Demetrius Şapeli (İS VI. yüzyıl.) (Kitzinger 1951: 85), Butrint Vaftizhanesi (İS VI. yüzyıl.)

(Maguire 1987: fig. I; Gilkes 2003: fig. 1.6), Durres-Arapaj Bazilikası gibi yapıların naos, apsis ve tonoz mozaiklerinde, benzer sahneler karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Hadrianoupolis Chora Kilisesi, orta nef zemin mozaığında de bu sahnenin benzerleri görülür (Patacı 2012: 78-79). Ancak buradaki kraterin içinden asma bitkisi filizlenmemektedir. Ayrıca sahnelerde, kapların iki yanında, tavus kuşu haricinde, ördek ve kaz figürleri de betimlenmiştir.

Hadrianoupolis Kuzeybatı Nekropol Kilisesi kazıları stratigrafik değerlendirmeye bağlı kalınarak yapılmaktadır. Stratigrafik açıdan şu ana kadar dört katman belirlenmiştir. Sikke, seramik, metal eserler ve cam eserler gibi kontekst buluntular ile mimari özellikleri ışığında I. tabaka İS 8. yüzyıla, II. tabaka İS 7. yüzyılın sonu – 8. yüzyıl arasına, III. tabaka İS 5. - 6. yüzyıl arasına, IV. tabaka ise İS 4. - 6. yüzyıl arasına tarihlendirilmektedir. Mozaik zemin IV. tabakanın içerisinde yer almaktadır. Yani mozaik zeminin İS 4. - 6. yüzyıl arasındaki bir dönemde yapıldığı stratigrafik çalışmalar aracılığıyla anlaşılmaktadır. Yukarıda bahsedilen başka merkezlerdeki mozaik örnekler ve kontekst eserler ışığında bema ve apsis mozaikleri İS 5. yüzyıla ait olmalıdır.

Hadrianoupolis Antik Kenti, Paphlagonia olarak adlandırılan coğrafi bölgenin Helenistik, Roma ve Bizans dönemine ışık tutacak önemli arkeolojik verilere sahip bir kenttir. Özellikle antik kaynaklarda adı geçen Aziz Stylianos Alypius'un (Alypius Stylites) önemli bir figür olarak öne çıktığı dinsel hac yeri olarak ilgi gören kent, rahip ve rahibeler manastırları ile tanınmış, ayrıca Iustinianus döneminde önemli bir piskoposluk merkezi konumuna ulaşmıştır. Hadrianoupolis Antik Kenti, dini yapılar ve bu yapılarda ortaya çıkarılan mozaikler üzerinde tasvir edilen çeşitli mitolojik yaratıklar, hayvanlar, bitkiler ve insan tasvirleri bakımından bölgenin en zengin mozaik çeşitliliğine sahip kentlerinden birisidir. Mozaikler antik dönem insanların duyularını, düşüncelerini, kısacası tüm hayatlarını geleceğe aktaran çok önemli vesikalardır. Dolayısıyla Hadrianoupolis'teki yapıların zeminlerini süsleyen eşsiz mozaikler bölgenin sanatsal ve kültürel tarihini de aydınlatmaktadır. Kentteki devam eden restorasyon çalışmaları neticesinde, mozaiklerin gelecek kuşaklara aktarılacak geçmiş ile gelecek arasında köprü kurulması amaçlanmaktadır.

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The Peopled Scroll of the Great Palace Mosaic in Constantinople. New Perspectives

İstanbul'daki Büyük Saray Mozağının Akantus Dalları Motifi. Yeni Perspektifler

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Abstract


Many studies have been devoted to the mosaic of the Great Palace peristyle in Constantinople / İstanbul. To its style, influences and models, as well as to its dating or to the function of the room it decorated. But there is one element that has so far not aroused much interest: the peopled scroll that circumscribes the central panel. The iconographic, chromatic, and technical richness of this border make it much more than a simple ornamental frame. It is even a key element of the pavement. This type of border developed towards the end of the 2nd century AD in workshops on the Levantine coast on the basis of a Hellenistic pattern. The presence of foliate heads at regular intervals in the border contributed to the revival of this pattern inherited from the Greek world. Four heads of this type are partially preserved in the Great Palace Mosaic. But what is it really about? The analysis of the corpus of the Roman foliate heads and the contextualising of this pavement allow to specify the origin and meaning of these heads, but also to confirm the dating of the 6th century AD, and to shed new light on the interpretation of the decorative program.

Keywords: Mosaic, Great Palace, peopled scroll, foliate head, Late Antique – Early Byzantine Art.

Öz

İstanbul'daki Büyük Saray peristilinin mozağı üzerine birçok çalışma yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmalar mozağın tarzına, etkilerine ve modellerine, tarihlendirmesine veya dekore ettiği odanın işlevine dairdir. Ancak şimdiye kadar pek ilgi uyandırmayan bir unsur bulunmaktadır: Orta paneli çevreleyen akantus dalları motifi. Bu bordürün ikonografik, kromatik ve teknik zenginliği, onu basit bir dekoratif çerçeveden çok daha fazlası haline getirmektedir. Hatta döşemenin önemli bir unsurudur. Bu tip bordür, İS 2. yy'ın sonlarına doğru Levanten sahilindeki atölyelerde Helenistik bir desen temelinde gelişmiştir. Çerçevede düzenli aralıklarla yapraklı başların bulunması, Yunan dünyasından miras kalan bu desenin yeniden canlanmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu tipten dört baş, Büyük Saray Mozağı'nde kısmen korunmuştur. Ama bunlar asıl ne hakkındadır? Roma yapraklı başlarının korpusunun analizi ve bu döşemenin bağlamsallaştırılması, bu başların kökenini ve anlamını belirlemeye, aynı zamanda İS 6. yüzyıla tarihlendirmeyi doğrulamaya ve dekoratif yapıların yorumlanmasına yeni bir ışık tutmaya izin vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaik, Büyük Saray, akantus dalları motifi, yaprak baş, Geç Antik – Erken Bizans Sanatı.

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The mosaic of the Great Palace peristyle in Constantinople (Figs. 1-2) is one of the most important artworks of Late Antique and Early Byzantine art, as well by the composition scale as by the variety of subjects or the technical mastery of the mosaicists. W. Jobst is familiar with this pavement, as director of the research and preservation project carried out jointly by the Turkish Ministry of Culture's General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, between 1983 and 1997 (Jobst - Vettters 1992). He published several articles about the mosaic, providing a complete study in terms

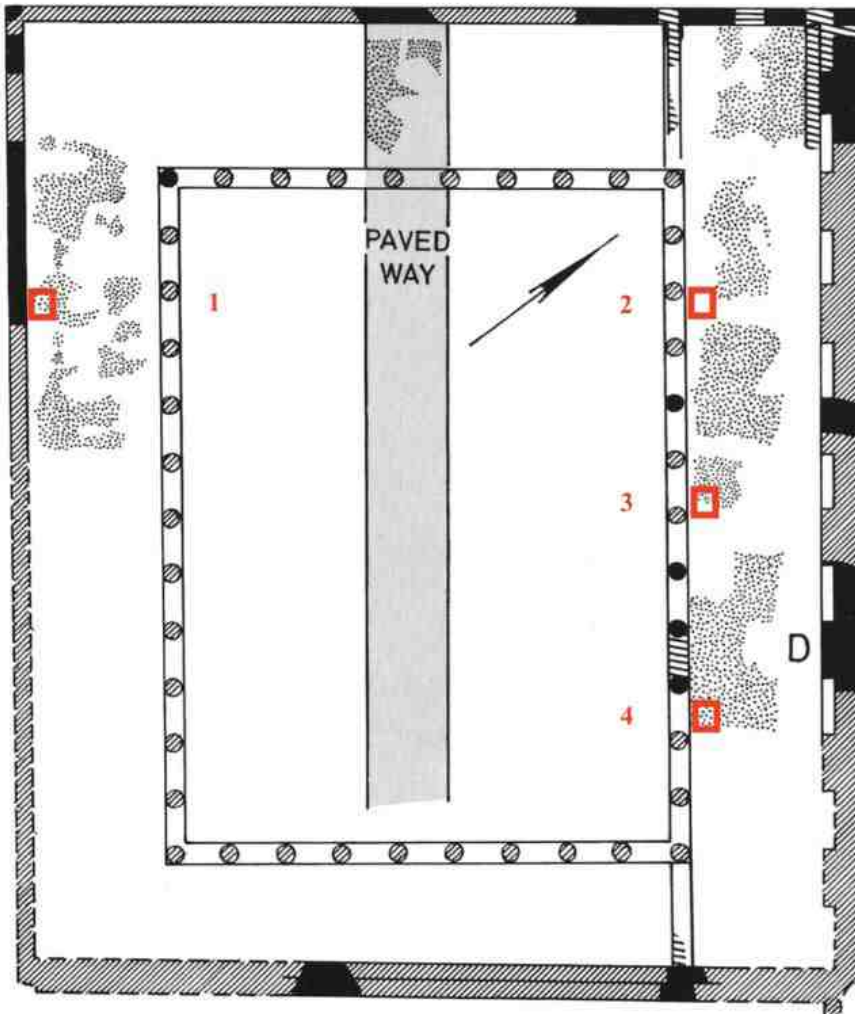


Figure 1
Map of the Great Palace peristyle with location of the four remaining foliate heads of the border, Constantinople (scale 1:500). 1) Fig. 3; 2) Fig. 4; 3) Fig. 5; 4) Fig. 6. (Map from Hellenkemper-Salies 1987: fig. 2; annotations in red added by Stéphanie Derwael).

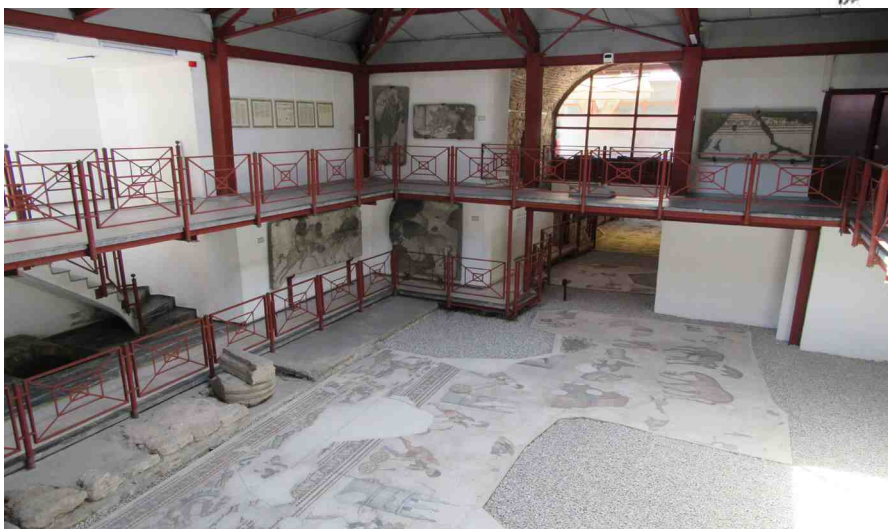


Figure 2
View of the Mosaic Museum, İstanbul.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.

of its implementation, iconography, and stratigraphic analysis of the area (Jobst 1987; 1995; 2005; 2006; Jobst et al. 1997). Many other researchers studied the subject (Brett 1942; Brett et al. 1947; Talbot Rice 1958; Trilling 1989; Cimok 2005; Parrish 2005; 2006; Bardill 2006; Westbrook 2019). However, two major issues still divide the scientific community: the dating of the mosaic and the meaning of its decoration. An element hitherto neglected by research has shed new light on these issues: the scroll border which circumscribes the central panel. Its iconographic, chromatic, and technical richness make it much more than a simple ornamental frame. Four of the foliate heads that mark its scrolls have survived (Figs. 3-6). Seemingly anecdotal in appearance, this motif is a key element of the rinceau. An element which helps to clarify the place of this pavement in the corpus of oriental and Late Antique mosaics, and which is part of the message conveyed by the decorative program (Derwael in print)¹.

Figure 3
Foliate head of the Great Palace mosaic,
Constantinople.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.



Figure 4
Foliate head of the Great Palace mosaic,
Constantinople.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.



¹ This research was the subject of a PhD, now being published. I would like to thank those in charge for this issue of the JMR for giving me the opportunity to present some of the results of this survey here. For the illustrations and bibliography of the foliate heads cited in this article, and for the typology of the motif, please refer to this publication. The foliate heads inventoried in the Roman world can be found on the online database *Diphuès*, available on the website of the Université de Liège.



Figure 5
Foliate head of the Great Palace mosaic,
Constantinople.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.



Figure 6
Foliate head of the Great Palace mosaic,
Constantinople.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.

The Great Palace mosaic is made up of a multitude of isolated scenes and figures organised in several registers on an even white background: hunting scenes, animal fights, children's games, bucolic, rural, or mythological scenes, or even fabulous creatures. This central panel is 6 m wide (20 Roman feet). It is placed between two borders of 1.50 m wide (5 Roman feet), each decorated with a wide rinceau, between two strips composed of simple blue, white and red filets, a saw tooth pattern with a poised tessera on the apex of the triangles, and a central three-dimensional polychrome undulating and twisted ribbon with a tendril terminating in an ivy leaf alternately inverted in each undulation.

The rinceau stands out against an even white background. It consists of long acanthus leaves in the codified colours of nature and seasons: green, blue, red, and golden ochre. The scrolls, alternately facing upwards and downwards, emerge from leafy windings resembling a *cornucopia*, sometimes adorned with thin golden rings. Young sprouts emerge here and there from the foliage, spawning into fine flowers or fruits, while all sorts of animals evolve in the foliage. In this rich and colourful vegetal environment, there is one more incongruous pattern: human heads with a vegetalisised hair system (Figs. 3-6). The richness of the colours and the small size of the tesserae bear witness to the high quality of the work carried out: no less than 420-440 units per 10x10 cm make up the faces. In 1958, D. Talbot Rice had already noted the exceptional character of the motif (Talbot Rice 1958: 130):

The most important feature of the border, however, is the presence at intervals of great heads framed in the scrollwork; before the war two bearded heads representing Oceanus were unearthed; subsequently the great moustached head has been found. (...) the moustached head is virtually a portrait, one would almost think that of some barbarian chieftain, who had found his way to the Byzantine court either as an ambassador or as a prisoner. The physical appearance is that of a 'barbarian' rather than an inhabitant of the Roman world, and one would seek for parallels in Parthian or Sarmatian rather than in classical art.

The archaeologist's enthusiasm does not fail to arouse curiosity. However, the freedom of terminology he uses in this case, 'Oceanus', 'barbarian chieftain', reveals a poor understanding of the motif, which still leads to misinterpretation today. Although the face with the large moustache is no longer associated with the portrait of a so-called 'foreign' ruler, the identification with Oceanus has become firmly established in people's minds. But what is it about? How should we interpret this motif and what does it reveal about the Great Palace mosaic?

The foliate head appears in Rome in the second half of the 1st century BC (Derwael in print: n°P-A.It-R.1). It is a combination of different iconic units inherited from Greek art, such as the foliage skirt of the *Rankenfrau* and *Rankengott*, applied here to the beard of a neckless head. This process is related to an inclination for mixing past forms, which is characteristic of Late Republican and Early Imperial eclecticism. It testifies to a valued reclaim of the Greek iconographic heritage. But the reworking of existing forms here results in an original creation, whose ornamental potential will then be fully exploited.

During the 1st century AD, the foliate head benefits from the standardisation and diffusion of Italic wall decorations, to establish itself permanently in Roman visual culture. It then penetrates the various regions of the Empire as a result of their economic, socio-political, and urban development. Its transmission is part of the reclaim of a prestigious repertoire that functions as a marker of identity. In this respect, it is part of the Mediterranean cultural heritage common

to the various provinces of the Empire and spread through Romanity. The ‘Romanisation’ of the living environment does not, however, imply the disavowal of local substrates. The assimilation of Italic decorative trends differs from one region to another, and local cultural specificities and iconographic traditions determine different levels of appropriation of the motif. Alongside the relatively homogenous trends common to the Empire, particular tendencies emerge. In North Africa, the mosaicists thus enrich the oceanic form of the foliate head, which celebrates the benefits of the sea and the cultivated land from which the region draws its economic wealth (Fig. 7).



Figure 7
Mosaic from the House of Bacchus and Ariadne, Thuburbo Majus.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.

On the East side of the Mediterranean Sea, the craftsmen of the Levantine coast seem to have quickly specialised in another specific use of the foliate head: its insertion in a rinceau frieze. This pattern appears in the carved decoration of some public buildings of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, such as the so-called ‘Bacchus temple’ in Baalbek (Derwael in print: n°P A.Sy-R.2). Mosaicists seem to have paid the most attention to it.

From the second half of the 2nd century AD this type of foliage was used in the borders of domestic pavements. It seems to have been favoured by craftsmen in the province of Syria, who used a relatively standardised composition (Fig. 8). The tendril is composed of acanthus and is usually set on a black background. Its rendering, more or less schematic depending on the style of representation, is naturalistic. Scenes of hunting or fruits occupy the scrolls, which are formed by the opposition between the leaves and plant windings forming a *cornucopia*. The foliate heads merge into the vegetal environment, through the homogenisation of their leaves’ colours with the foliage. Bearded and beardless heads often coexist and are usually placed on an upside-down acanthus leaf (Fig. 9). The types of vegetalisations employed differ to a slight extent. The ‘enveloping vegetalisation’ is almost exclusively limited to oriental pavements: the heads are either enshrouded by the leaves of the foliage that make up the hair or are covered with a composition resembling a vegetalised helmet. Naturalistic hair constituted of short or long leaves, and a splayed or trifid beard are also widely used. Mosaic artists diversify this basic pattern by playing with the number of heads, their orientation and position, or by varying the motifs that people the scrolls. How did such a specific use of the foliate head develop?

Figure 8
Mosaic of a *triclinium*, Naplouse.
Photo from Talgam - Weiss 2004: fig. 6.

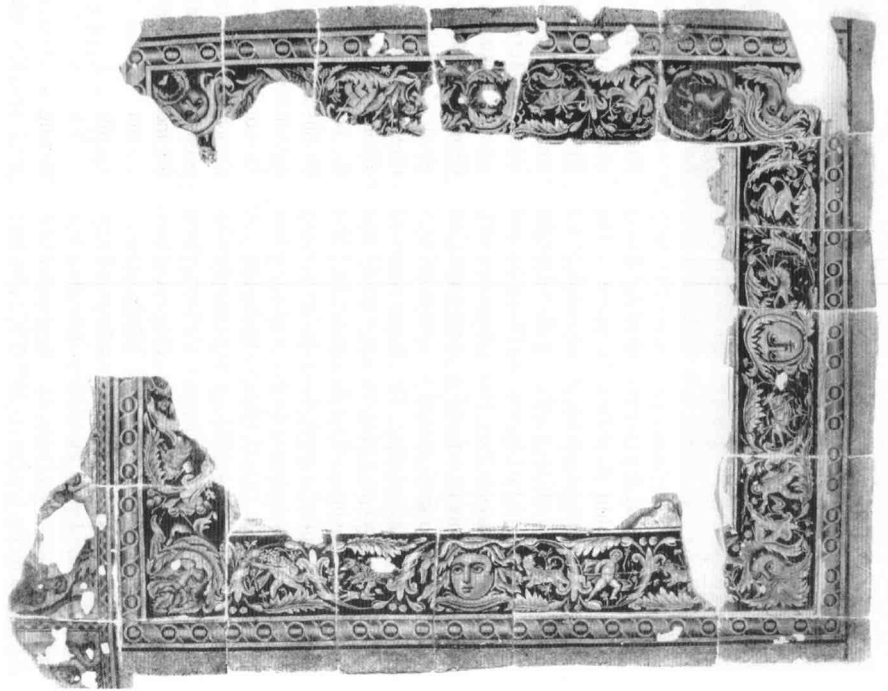


Figure 9
Mosaic of the House of Poseidon, Zeugma.
Photo from Önal 2009: 40.



As early as the 2nd century AD, some cities in the Eastern Mediterranean acquired a new status and the rising elite adhered to the culture of their new social class, conforming to the aesthetic taste they thought attached to it. The pictorialising tradition inherited from the Hellenistic period is thus highlighted in the public rooms of rich houses where the local elites claim the continuity of a collective cultural heritage (Balty 1995: 148; Roe 1995: 30; Swift 2009: 44-45; Bianchi Bandinelli 2010: 328-333). The central panels and borders of the pavements are the privileged witnesses of this. In this context, the illusionist foliate border on a black background appears as the transposition and adaptation of a Hellenistic pattern that enjoyed a certain success in the Late Republican and Imperial periods. The earliest known example of this pattern appears to be the frieze of the mosaic from the Palace V in Pergamon, dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC (Fig. 10) (Toynbee - Ward Perkins 1950: 36; Coarelli - Sauron 1978: 717-719 fig. 28; Sauron 1978: 729-730). This frieze is characterised by the use of different shades of colour between the inner and outer surfaces of the plants, a trick that inscribed the scrolls in a three-dimensional illusionistic space.



Figure 10
Mosaic of Palace V, Pergamon.
Photo from Coarelli - Sauron 1978: fig. 28.

The foliate heads, by their insertion in this type of peopled scroll, a strong motif of the claimed Hellenistic tradition, become a key element of the repertoire of mosaicists. In the plastic field, they bear witness to the importance of Roman influence on the Eastern provinces, despite the strong local Greek identity. They are used in the domestic context, in the public rooms of rich houses where the luxury and culture of the local elites manifested themselves, elites who could have been truly Hellenised or just eager to display their wealth by following a trend (Balty 1995: 159). The panel around which the pavements of these houses are organised, are often taken from great painting. They function as ‘owned and exhibited artworks’ (Darmon 2008: 490)² which manifest the cultural and material wealth of their owners and testify to their belonging to the social elite (Darmon 2008: 490-492). The mosaic of the *triclinium* of the Synaristôsai house in Zeugma (Derwael in print: n°Mo.Sy-D.2), for example, provides an illustration of the comedy ‘Women lunching together’ by Menander (Darmon 2011: 43). This painting is signed by Zôsimos of Samosata, a mosaicist active in Zeugma at the beginning of the 3rd century AD (Darmon 2005). This certainly contributes to the value of this type of domestic art gallery (Darmon 2008: 490). In this corpus, paintings and borders are therefore part of the same claim to cultural heritage. However, apart from the affirmation of the social status of the owner in the most important rooms of his house, what message do these pavements, decorated with a border of foliage with foliate heads, convey?

Some pavements are organised around mythological scenes. In Homs (Derwael in print: n°Mo.Sy-Ind.3), for example, the four paintings relate to the cycle

2 « œuvres d’art possédées et exposées ».

of Heracles, the civilising hero, and reflect the taste of that time for the personification of abstract ideas (Abdallah 2011: 12). However, it is the hunting scenes that are the most frequent. Of course, they exalt the owner's comfortable lifestyle, but they generally also have a moral dimension (Aymard 1951: 319; Anderson 1985: 147; Badel 2009: 44-47). It is thus logical that the dangerous hunts, which mobilise audacity and courage, and are similar to real warlike fights, testify to this hunting *virtus*. Representations of feline, bear or wild boar hunts can thus be perceived as a form of heroism. They also represent the victory of order over chaos. On a mosaic in Palmyra (Fig. 11), the heroism of the figures takes place in a specific historical context. The acanthus border encloses two paintings depicting a horse archer killing two tigers, and Bellerophon defeating the Chimera. The Palmyrean cursive inscription *Dyds 'bd // psps d'hw // wbnwhy MR*, the last two letters of which designate the title 'Our Lord' worn by Odeinat and his son Herodian, links these scenes to the victory of the two rulers over the Persians between AD 260 and 267 (Gawlikowski 2005; Balty 2011a: 75). However, the most frequent hunting scene in our corpus is that of the Calydonian boar, perhaps due to the success of Euripides' play (Balty 1999: 75; Balty 2013: 214). The theme of Meleager and Atalanta is popular on late domestic pavements, where the episode often serves more as a self representation of the commissioner (Raeck 1992: 71-98; 1997; Balty 2013) than as an evocation of the mythological episode (Balty 1999: 76). On a mosaic in Sôran (Derwael in print: n°Mo.Sy-D.10) dated to the 5th century AD, the scene is situated, besides being mythical and tragic, in a specific domestic context: that of a rich estate whose dogs, horses, and staff are valued and identified by inscriptions (Balty 2013: 213-214). As is often the case, the border itself is furthermore decorated with hunting scenes that develop in the volutes of the scroll. It is then Erotes who chase the ferocious beasts.



Figure 11
Detail of a mosaic from
Palmyra- Bellerophon defeating
the Chimera. Photo from
Gawlikowski 2005: fig. 4.

In the 'Seasons mosaic' of the Constantinian Villa at Daphne (Figs. 12-13), real and mythological hunting scenes are associated with the theme of abundance. The scroll is made of acanthus roots from which the figures of the Seasons, charged with their respective gifts, emerge. Vine sprouts, bunches of grapes, and golden tendrils decorate the acanthus here and there, while fruits and flowers fill the scrolls. The two preserved foliate heads are beardless here. The outer edge of the room is decorated with Virtues and pastoral scenes with banqueting Erotes, peasants making flowers garlands, or shepherds with their flocks.



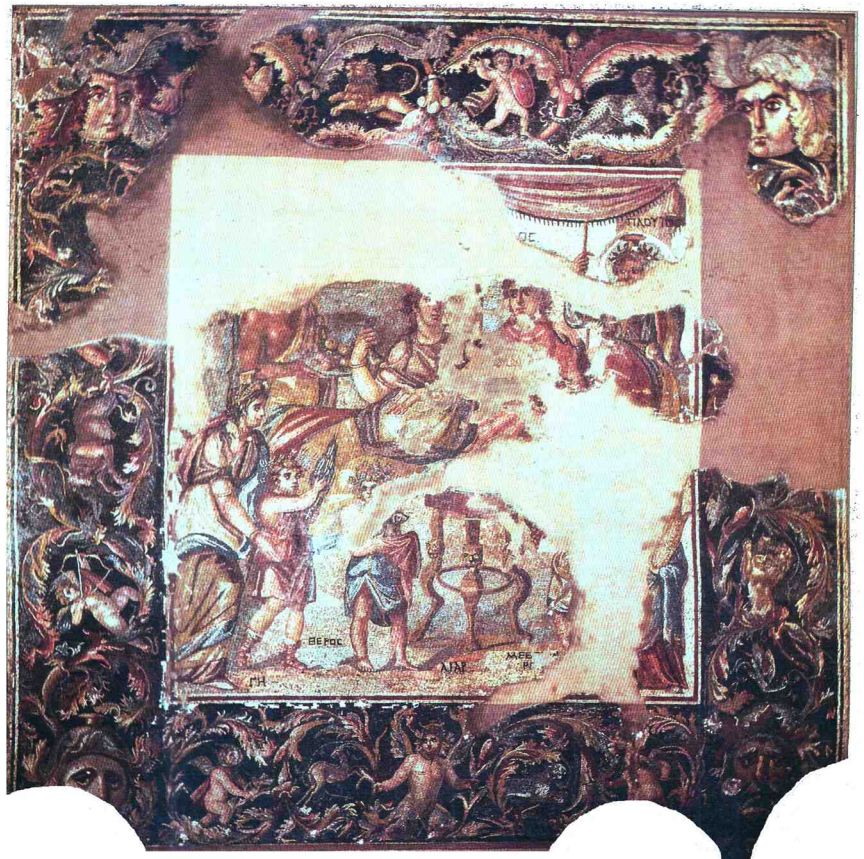
Figure 12
Mosaic of the Seasons, Constantinian Villa, Daphnè (© Musée du Louvre (distr. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski).



Figure 13
Detail of the border of the Mosaic of the Seasons, Constantinian Villa, Daphnè (© Musée du Louvre (distr. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski).

Finally, some pavements are exclusively centred on the theme of abundance and reflect a desire to attract and maintain inside the house the benefits of the earthly powers guarding fertility. Shahba's 'Plutos mosaic' (Fig. 14), dated c. AD 250 (Duchesne-Guillemin 1975: 107; Balty 1977: 24; Talgam - Weiss 2004: 109-110; Balty 2011b: 85)³, glorifies an agrarian couple that can probably be identified with Opora, the force of summer, and Agros, the field (Duchesne-Guillemin 1975: 106-109). Pluto, the Earth, and the Seasons complete the scene, identified by their names written in Greek capitals. A *calathos*, attribute of the fertility deities, caps Pluto and Gê, but also some of the foliate heads of the border⁴.

Figure 14
Mosaic of Plutos, Philippopolis.
Photo from Balty 1991: pl. D.



In this corpus of oriental mosaics, the rinceau border, which is part of a valorising reclaim of Hellenistic heritage, sometimes echoes the motifs of the central panel. The hunting scenes come to mind in particular. But the relationship does not always seem so explicit. Could it be a simple decorative fantasy? The acanthus scroll does not exist in reality; it is a creation of craftsmen of the Greek world. If its development corresponds to the flowering of ornamental values, it also seems to refer to the spontaneous, luxuriant, and even supernatural growth of vegetation. The acanthus, a weed that grows even in the most arid lands, appears to be a guarantee of rebirth, of the triumph of life over death (Gros 2010: 133). Its vital power manifests a form of hope, sustainability, and prosperity. The

3 The upper border may be evidence of a later repair. The leaves are thicker and less flexible than on the rest of the foliage. According to M. Duchesne-Guillemin, this difference can be explained either by the cooperation of two craftsmen on the mosaic or by an antique restoration of the pavement. J. Balty as well as R. Talgam and Z. Weiss follow the latter hypothesis. J. Balty first dates this restoration to c. AD 320, but then opts for a dating from the Tetrarchic period.

4 Unless it is an upside down *cantharus*.

fruits, flowers and young sprouts that emerge from the foliage evoke the gifts of the Seasons and of a nature in constant renewal⁵. The vegetal windings that punctuate the grid of the foliage, a sort of chalice or corolla, form real horns of plenty. They thus evoke the opulence of the *cornucopia*, which concentrates all the seasonal wealth in them (Chappuis Sandoz 2004: 362-363). Flowers can also refer to the fragility of human destiny, as many ancient authors remind us by comparing the death of a person to that of a flower (Auger 1995; Chappuis Sandoz 2004: 102).

The scrolls, promptly associated to divine power (Cagriotti 1995: 58), give a superhuman dimension to the decorative program of the pavement, an add symbolic value along with the notions of prosperity and abundance, that derive from the owners' lifestyle, and ensure its continuity. However, the themes of the panels, whether civilising heroes, heroic hunts, pastoral, mythological, or interior scenes, also celebrate a virtuous and moderate way of living, a pious relationship with nature, and the benefits of civilisation, marking the victory of order over chaos. In Zeugma's 'mosaic of the Provinces' (Derwael in print: n°Mo.Sy-Ind.2), the scroll border is part of a political and geographical allegory of the Empire (Parlasca 1983; Darmon 2008: 494-495), as Poseidon on a chariot appears as the *cosmocrator* of the Roman *oikoumene*, surrounded by busts representing the provinces. This pavement can thus be interpreted as a marker of adherence to the established order, and to Romanity. Order and virtue are the conditions for the prosperity celebrated by the scrolls.

In this context, what value can foliate heads have? From their appearance in the second half of the 1st century BC, the foliate heads, which are formally situated at the crossroads of the Roman *monstra* and the 'Masters of Vegetation' inherited from Greek culture, symbolise the mastery of a vital impulse. They celebrate a prosperous nature, feared but revered, a prodigious original nature made beneficial and calling for a rebirth. They can therefore evoke, and call for, an idyllic golden age. The fact that only a head is depicted, and not the whole body, is also meaningful. The Latin term *caput* refers to the human head, but it can sometimes also refer to the root of a plant, or the source of a river (Onians 1951: 125; Vadé 1977: 35). It symbolises the origin, the very essence of the vital impulse. The parallels established between the human and vegetal natures, and in particular between botanical growth and hair growth (Brulé 2008; King 2008; Brulé 2015), have long since invaded the mythical, cultural, semantic, literary, and medical fields (Forbes Irving 1990: 133-137; Aubriot 2001). Although the entirety of the body can be covered with hair, it is often the beard and hair that serve as a starting point for hairy demonstrations. In Roman society, as in the Greek world, the beard is a sign of masculinity (Gleason 1990: 400-401; 1995: 69; King 2008: 154-155). It is also a manifestation of sexual activity and an expression of the strength of age (Brulé 2015: 290). The absence of a beard therefore characterises both young men, and women (King 2008; Brulé 2015: 39-41).

The foliate beardless heads are, with few exceptions, a specific oriental feature. They are also found on the decoration of a contemporary box found in Haifa (Derwael in print: n°O Ap.J-F.1) and are therefore not limited to the repertoire of mosaicists. The alternation of the two types, bearded and beardless, could evoke the two genders, or refer to a form of natural cycle, to the succession of ages of life put in parallel with the seasons (Brulé 2008: 139-142; 2015: 82-86). However, some have identified the beardless heads with the *gorgoneion*

5 Fruit, a gift of nature, could also evoke the goods offered to guests by the owner of the house.

(Balty 2011b; 2016), and the bearded ones with Oceanus (Ovadiah - Turnheim 1997; Balty 2011b; 2016). It is true that the vegetal hybridity of the foliate heads serves as an 'iconographic epithet', as it is already the case for the 'Masters of Vegetation' inherited from the Greek world. It thus makes it possible to plastically translate a field of activity or an intrinsic quality of the represented person (Pensabene 2007: 256). Certain attributes or singular plants can then be used to identify Oceanus, Pan, or Jupiter Ammon. In the case of Oceanus, these are claws, antennae, or legs of crustaceans, marine animals, or seaweeds. In the corpus of oriental mosaics, however, Oceanus is always represented as a bust or a full figure, in the manner of river gods, wearing temporal crustacean claws and holding a rudder. Tethys accompanies him, his forehead encircled by a pair of wings, and escorted by *Keitos*⁶. In the rinceau borders, no foliate head bears such attributes, but formal influences may have occurred. On a pavement from Bithynia (Derwael in print: n°Mo.Bi-D.1), which follows the pattern of the scroll border from the Levantine coast, the heads have ears that are reminiscent of those of Western oceanic heads, and maritime motifs decorate the borders. This example attests to the malleability of the foliate head in the Eastern provinces. But this is an exception, and formal analogies do not necessarily imply the maintenance of a semantic content.

Some researchers link the foliate heads to the cult of Bacchus (Mendel 1914: 547; Mazza 1982: 23; Piccirillo 1986: 224; Ovadiah 2001: 4). It is true that the god presides over renewal and guarantees abundance. He is the one who is reborn with spring (Plut. De Is. et Os. 69; Him. or. III, 6). He is also at the origin of a new golden age in which nature does not have the borders of the ordered cosmos but helps to maintain cosmic order. The vital impulse, if not channelled, constitutes a danger to the order of the city, as much in its vegetal form, as in its erotic or Bacchic form (Gury 2014: 173). Bacchus embodies the mastery of this subversive nature. His prerogatives as a deity of vegetation have thus been represented, most likely since the beginning of the 4th century BC, in the form of the *Rankengott*. As an agrarian god, he was also associated with Demeter in Eleusis as early as the 5th century BC, the two deities being at the origin of the two gifts that constitute the condition of civilised culture (Pind. I. VII, 3-5; Moreux 1970: 6-12; Versnel 1990: 167-169; Isler-Kerenyi 2015: 245), wine and wheat. Could the alternation of bearded and beardless foliate heads in the borders of oriental pavements refer to such deities? Unless it serves to represent the different facets of the same deity, such as the Dionysos *dimorphos*, who Diodorus defines as "a double epiphany, bearded and beardless, of the same god" (Diod. IV, 5, 2; Turcan 1958: 2007)? In some borders, vine sprouts and bunches of grapes decorate the foliage, while golden tendrils surround it (Fig. 13). In the mosaic in Room 4 of the Constantinian Villa in Daphnè (Derwael in print: n°Mo.Sy-D.5), foliate heads topped with a fine ivy tendril with corymbs even give rise to a vine scroll with birds, grape clusters, and grape-picking lovebirds. The Bacchic identification is therefore quite plausible. Bacchus is not only associated with vine and ivy, it can also be accompanied by the sole acanthus (Guimier-Sorbets 2004: 918-919). In Baalbek, the acanthus frieze with foliate heads decorates the so called 'Bacchus temple' (Derwael in print: n°P A.Sy R.2). The question arises, however, as to whether it is always appropriate to speak of Bacchus' heads, or whether they are heads that refer more broadly to the world of the god and the prosperity that results from it.

Foliate heads of the oriental mosaic borders are part of the message conveyed

6 I.e.: mosaic of the Antioch "calendar house".

by the scroll. They reinforce the general message of the pavement. The few examples found in Bithynia and Cyprus show that this pattern is not strictly limited to the Levantine coast, but also inspired mosaicists in other Eastern provinces. Figurative productions from the Eastern Mediterranean constantly enrich the Roman iconographic repertoire. Compositions such as the scroll with foliate heads spread to Italy and the West, where they were copied and renewed. Some pavements from North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, and Italy, attest to this circulation of craftsmen and patterns. But these are exceptions. Although the workshops on the Levantine coast do not have exclusivity over the motif, they do make it a specific feature of their repertoire. In fact, while the use of the foliate head diminishes in the various regions of the Roman world from the 4th century AD onwards, sculptors and mosaicists in the Eastern provinces continue to show a certain creativity, paving the way for a medieval usage of the motif, enriched by earlier experimentations.

In Judea and Arabia, mosaicists in charge of decorating Christian churches and funerary monuments of the 6th century AD inherit the repertoire used by their predecessors in the domestic context. This revival corresponds to a resurgence of the classicising taste, which finds its climactic expression and diffusion at the time of Justinian. The pastoral, harvest, and hunting scenes, the Nilotic motifs, and the peopled foliage are all part of this context. The 6th century AD corresponds to the blossoming of the Madaba school, from which originated most of the pavements of this period that incorporate foliate heads in their borders⁷ (Figs. 15-16) (Piccirillo 1984a-b; 1989a-c; 1995; 2002; 2003). The heads are bearded and beardless. They occupy the corners of an acanthus scroll on a black background, increasingly stylised, which acts as a geometrical vegetal grid. The mosaicists no longer seek to render depth and perspective and

Figure 15
Details of the mosaic of the Deacon Thomas Church. Photo from Piccirillo 2002: 186-187.



7 The Madaba school is active from the second half of the 5th century AD until the Umayyad period.

are no longer concerned with illusionism. The chromatic range is limited to a few colours, generally red, ochre, and green, but the craftsmen always ensure a certain homogeneity between the heads and the scrolls, although these latter are no longer spawning the heads. The vine occupies the centre of the pavement, on a white background, and forms volutes decorated with pastoral, hunting, or harvest scenes.



Figure 16
Orpheus Mosaic, Jerusalem.
Photo from Cimok 2005: 210.

Although it has no apparent theological content, this repertoire is being reread in the light of biblical texts and Christian faith (Avi-Yonah 1936; Van Elderen 1970; Piccirillo 1982; Ovadiah 1984; Piccirillo 1984a-c; Ovadiah - Ovadiah 1987; Piccirillo 1989a-c; 1995; Hachlili 2009: 229). Scenes from daily life, animals, and fruit trees evoke the multiplicity of creation and suggest that God is visible through the things he has created. The scenes of hunting, or of the capture of wild animals, seem to refer to the idea of defence against hostile beings, which are naturally ferocious, but whose return, once tamed, will manifest the coming of the 'Peace of God' (Grabar 1963: 79; 1979: 53). As Saint Gregory the Great reminds the bishop of Marseille, the mosaic decorations contribute to the teaching of Christian doctrine for the faithful who cannot read (Lavagne 2000: 224). Motifs and syntax of the decoration echo the texts of the Bible and the gospel. The abstract nature of the decoration is often linked to the spiritual dimension of the decoration (Trilling 1989: 29). In this context, the foliate heads are presumably part of the celebration of God's power and goodness⁸.

During the 5th and 6th centuries AD, the foliate head is also used in the repertoire of Eastern architectural sculpture. In the field of mosaics, workshops using the motif are almost exclusively located in the Levantine region, whereas in architectural sculpture the territory of present day Turkey seems to have the exclusivity. The motif is mainly used on capitals in the Bosphorus and its surroundings, especially in Constantinople⁹. Three main patterns are used for the integration of the motif: four heads develop around the circumference of a basket, where they alternate with a *cornucopia* emerging from acanthus leaves, loaded with fruits, and topped with a vine leaf (Fig. 17); two heads alternate with *gorgoneia* instead of abacus flowers, while busts of griffins act as volutes; or a single head unfolds on the front of a pilaster capital. This use of the motif is not new. During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, sculptors from the West coast of Asia Minor, and possibly even from Aphrodisias, were already using it in the decorations of public buildings in cities such as Ephesus, Hierapolis of Phrygia,



Figure 17
Capital from Değirmenkapı, Constantinople.
Photo from Fıratlı 1990: fig. 224.

⁸ Some have seen representations of the Seasons or Rivers of Paradise.

⁹ The Constantinopolitan workshops exported their products to the Mediterranean, therefore spreading the capitals with foliate heads to Italy, Egypt, and Syria.



Figure 18
Parapet pillar from İzmit.
Photo from Fıratlı 1990: fig. 290a-b.

and Laodicea on the Lycus. However, the typology is different, as sculptors of the 5th and 6th centuries AD mainly use 'radiant vegetalisation'. The leaves circumscribe the face, forming a regular leafy pattern.

The intense production of capitals in Constantinople corresponds to the architectural renewal that has been ongoing in the city since the rule of Constantine (Betsch 1977)¹⁰. Until the middle of the 5th century AD, many public monuments are erected, several *fora*, and no less than fifty two colonnaded streets (Betsch 1977: 338-339)¹¹. A large part of the local workshops' activity then consisted of producing capitals for these porticoes, which led to a search for simplification in the production chain and the implementation of the decorations. On Arcadius' column, which stands in the eponymous forum, the foliate head does not decorate the capital, but the frieze above the torus at the base (Derwael in print: n°P-A.Th-HT.1). It develops into an acanthus scroll that resembles a mosaic border¹². From the second half of the 5th century AD, new buildings are mostly churches and their complexes. The cross on the rear side of a capital in the İstanbul Archaeological Museum (Derwael in print: n°P-A.Th-Ind.1) shows that the motif could have been used in a Christian context, as is the case with mosaics from Judea and Arabia at the same time. The parapet pillars decorated with the motif (Fig. 18) probably belong to chancels or barriers separating naves in churches (Grabar 1963: 77-79; Fıratlı 1990: 140-141). The foliate head is located in the lower part, and spawns into a vine or acanthus scroll with harvest scenes, or animals eating grapes. A shepherd or an orant is added to the composition. The portraits in the upper part of the pillars may represent donors, who would have given these pillars as offerings to churches (Grabar 1963: 77), as is the case with the portraits inserted in the mosaics of these same buildings. The heads show a radiant vegetalisation, as on the Constantinopolitan capitals, or are topped by the leaves of the foliage, as on the mosaics.

At the end of this panorama of foliate heads of the Eastern provinces, it is time to return to the Great Palace of Constantinople. The mosaic of the peristyle (Figs. 3-6) is the culminating, but also the most controversial, document of the corpus of foliate heads in the Roman world. It is controversial, particularly because of its dating. The discoverers of the pavement suggest that it should be dated to the beginning of the 5th century AD, as it is not stylistically compatible with a later date. The reign of Theodosius II (408-450) seemed the most appropriate, as the emperor was considered to be a patron of the arts (Brett et al. 1947: 91-97). The elegance of the forms and the naturalism of the motifs give this mosaic a classicising character which has often led to a high dating. This point of view reflects an outdated perception of Late Antique and Early Byzantine art, according to which classicism did not survive long (Nordhagen 1963: 53-54).

Stratigraphic examination of the area allows this point of view to be put into perspective, and the dating of the pavement to be further clarified (Bardill 2006: 12-20; Westbrook 2019: 222-223). Several structures have been identified in the terrace level under the peristyle: a collapsed brick wall incorporating a 'Phocean red slip 3F' ceramic fragment, a type not found before AD 500 (Bardill - Hayes 2002); a two-storey structure made of bricks from the 4th and early 6th centuries AD; and under the south-eastern portico, a cistern made of bricks stamped with a

10 According to W. E. Betsch, the formal evolution of these capitals reflects four main phases, each corresponding to a particular 'dynastic design': the Constantinian period (324-379), the Theodosian period (379-457), the Leonian period (457-518) and the early Justinian period (518-550).

11 This is considerable, as Eastern Mediterranean cities generally have no more than two or three.

12 The opposition between the leaves and the *cornucopia*-shaped plant scrolls determines the volutes.

cruciform monogram not found before AD 518 (Bardill 2004). The peristyle and the colonnade are built on this terrace. The ground level is then raised somewhat, the colonnade redone, and the mosaic installed. The mosaic is later covered with a marble slab paving, which explains its good preservation. Finally, pottery and coins dated at the latest to c. AD 700 were found in a trench dated from after the laying of the marble slabs. If these finds correspond to the trench, the paving should not be posterior to this date. Just below the mosaic, an insulating layer consisting of stones and numerous terracotta fragments was also uncovered (Turnovsky 1992; 1999; Jobst 2006: 11). These shards belong to amphorae from Gaza, used in Constantinople from the second half of the 5th century AD, North African amphorae in the form of KEAY LXIIQ and LXIIA, used until the 6th century AD, Late Roman 1 and Late Roman 3 amphorae produced at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century AD, as well as fine ceramics of the Late Roman C and African sigillata types dated AD 460-475. In addition, no fragments of Late Roman 2 amphorae, which appeared in Constantinople from the second half of the 6th century AD, and of ‘spatheia’ from the 6th and 7th centuries AD, have been found. Based on these elements, the mosaic is today legitimately dated to the reign of Justinian I (AD 527-565) (Jobst et al. 1997: 58-61; Parrish 2005; Jobst 2006), and possibly even to the 530s. Indeed, the emperor is the initiator of numerous renovation and construction works in Constantinople following Nika’s uprising in AD 532.

J. Bardill suggests dating the pavement to the end of the 6th century AD or even to the beginning of the 7th century AD. The stamps on the bricks found below the level of the mosaic indicate, according to him, a possible post Justinianic date (Bardill 2006; Dark 2007). He attributes the peristyle to the reign of Mauritius, while the mosaic, which would have replaced the original floor of the peristyle, would date from the reign of Mauritius (582-602), Phocas (602-610), or Heraclius (610-641). It would thus predate the period when the large-scale construction of the city came to a halt. Some researchers agree, for their part, with the stylistic dating of J. Trilling, who dates the mosaic from around AD 630, during the reign of Heraclius (Trilling 1989; Dark 2007). Indeed, he recognises a predominance of North African models dating back to the High Empire in the various motifs preserved, an influence which he believes can be explained by the African origin of the emperor. However, only fifteen percent of the pavement is preserved today, and many of the motifs have clear parallels with Late Antique mosaics from the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly in the province of Syria (Hellenkemper Salies 1987; Parrish 2005). The mosaic appears moreover as a concentrate of Graeco Roman classicism, marked by the revival of iconographic forms and scenes (Hellenkemper Salies 1987; Parrish 2005; 2006; Jobst 2006). The omnipresence of historical quotations is typical of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine period¹³. Therefore, the revival of older iconographic themes does not, in any way, constitute an argument for dating.

‘Late Antique’, ‘Early Byzantine’, the period itself does not facilitate the dating of decorations. The 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries AD form a period of intense change. However, a period in the making is not a break with the past, but rather a simultaneous recourse to several cultural trends which, once confronted, create favourable grounds for change (Golsenne 2012: 17). Late Antiquity is thus characterised by the gradual intertwining of Roman, Christian, and ‘barbarian’ traditions. Opinions differ as to the chronology of Late Antiquity, depending on the criteria used (Inglebert 2006), but its end is generally thought to have been

¹³ See the works of Weitzmann, Kitzinger, or Nordhagen.

around the 6th-7th centuries AD. From an artistic point of view, the 5th and 6th centuries AD generally serve as a transitional period, the reign of Justinian (527-565), constituting its 'Golden Age' and appearing, according to A. Grabar, as "an essential stage" between the ancient and medieval traditions (Grabar 1966).

Exceptional in more than one respect, the Great Palace mosaic is struggling to find its place in art history due to the lack of archaeological data enabling its dating, and the absence of satisfactory comparisons in terms of quality of execution, decorative program, and dimensions. As J. Trilling points out, "instead of being accepted as a central monument, a touchstone of Byzantine taste, it is treated as an anomaly" (Trilling 1989: 28). In order to really understand this pavement, it must be understood for what it is: a Late Antique floor mosaic, of very high technical quality, made to decorate an official area of the imperial palace of the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, and consisting of a juxtaposition of motifs and scenes from the Graeco Roman heritage.

But the very function of the piece that the mosaic decorates is a subject of debate. The peristyle is adjacent to a hall with an apse, a frequent configuration in palaces and villas of Late Antiquity (Nordhagen 1963: 65; Parrish 2005: 1104; Bardill 2006: 20; Jobst 2006: 7-8; Westbrook 2019: 51-88). These two structures are considered to be contemporary. In the tradition of the Roman peristyle house and palatial villas, this ensemble must have had a public function. It may have been an audience hall or a ceremonial space where the emperor would have received acclaim from dignitaries, the army, or other groups. Perhaps the *Augusteus* mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*¹⁴ is to be found there, unless it was an area that was no longer used for ceremonies by the 10th century AD (Bardill 2006).

The form and function of the peristyle determine the structure and message of the decor. There is no need to apprehend the composition in its entirety or in a specific direction, and therefore no need to move along the peristyle to perceive its logic (Trilling 1989: 68; Jobst 2006: 17-18). The motifs move freely on an even, neutral background, offering what W. Jobst describes as a polyperspectived structure, a structure which is associated with the long tradition of landscape representations practised since the Augustan period (Jobst 2006: 17-18). This pavement could evoke an imperial garden in the Constantinople region, in the tradition of the ancient *paradeisos*, with the addition of some fantastic elements (Parrish 2006). But the combination of rural, violent, and mythological scenes seems rather to symbolise a prosperous empire in peace, a new golden age. The hunting and fighting scenes represent the victory of order over chaos. Motifs such as the eagle killing the snake (Fig. 19) are symbols of victory and protection (Brett 1942: 41; Kellum 1994: 31). The detail of the elephant, an animal formerly linked to the *Concordia* (Kellum 1994: 31), is also worth mentioning. The glorification of rural life is for its part reminiscent of the golden age transmitted by Virgil in his *Georgics* (Trilling 1989): peace and stability reigning in the countryside, and work and respect for nature generating prosperity and constant renewal. Bucolic literature from the Augustan period is still read in Late Antiquity, and knowledge of Virgil is attested to as far back as the 6th century AD (Trilling 1989: 61-63; Soler 2019). Following Augustus, each emperor's reign is furthermore presented as a new golden age. This concept is still valid in Late Antiquity, especially since Augustus is considered to be the instrument of the divine will, as his reign of peace made the spread of Christianity possible (Trilling 1989: 61).

¹⁴ Protocol of the ceremonies held in the palace written during the 10th century AD under Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus.



Figure 19
Detail of the Great Palace Mosaic,
Constantinople. Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.

In the context of an imperial palace in the capital, the choice of the symbolic program for the Great Palace mosaic is therefore easily explained. The purpose of this floor is certainly to convey the image of the world over which the emperor reigns. A world torn between violence and ferocity on the one hand, and a peaceful and generous nature on the other, a dichotomy implying that one must fight for order and tranquillity (Dunbabin 1999: 235). The hunting theme is often used in this type of hall preceded by a peristyle, as are references to the Bacchic world (Parrish 2005: 1104). The aim is to celebrate a prosperous way of life, but also the benefits attached to it, illustrated by scenes from daily life and allusions to the peasant world, through the simplicity of rural life. Nature and landscape govern the iconography, expressing an idealised landscape, an imperial *vivarium* and a royal garden (Jobst et al. 1997: 56). They evoke, by metonymy, an idyllic empire to which the emperor brings peace and prosperity.

This pavement reflects the tastes and values of an elite whose education and lifestyle are still imbued with the thought system of the Antiquity (Parrish 2005: 1117; 2006). The mosaicists juxtapose themes specific to this cultured environment, drawn here and there from the arts, literature, or the model of contemporary royal gardens, and assemble them in a composition of unprecedented size, which testifies to their ability to juggle with motifs of secular origin (Dunbabin 1999: 235; Parrish 2006).

The pavement is also exceptional when compared to other mosaics in the city, which do not seem to attest to the presence of flourishing mosaic workshops (Dunbabin 1999: 232)¹⁵. Thematic and stylistic parallels, however, abound throughout the Mediterranean, not only in the field of mosaics but also in silverware and textiles, and it is known that craftsmen from all over the Empire flocked to Constantinople from the time of its foundation (Talbot Rice 1958: 148; Dunbabin 1999: 233-234; Parrish 2005; 2006: 593-594). The most eloquent parallels are to be found in the rural, bucolic, and hunting scenes, which flourish in the repertoire of mosaicists from the Eastern provinces. The border with

¹⁵ A production of sumptuous opus sectile pavements nevertheless exists in Constantinople: Guiglia Guidobaldi 2011.

foliate heads has never really been considered in the analysis of the pavement's pictorial references. However, it is also part of a formal corpus which offers many points of comparison and helps in the general interpretation of the iconographic program.

In Constantinople itself, architectural sculpture offers precise parallels, where radiant foliate heads, combined with a peopled scroll or leafy *cornucopia*, can be found. These sculptures, and the mosaic, date from the 6th century AD and seem to reflect a period of renewed interest in the motif. This type of border also appears in Christian pavements of the Levantine coast at the same time. The typology of these heads is identical to that of the two types of heads in the Great Palace: radiant vegetalisation, and heads inscribed in a scroll. Examination of the corpus of earlier Levantine pavements from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries AD shows that this type of border was already associated with various scenes emphasising prosperity, the victory of order over chaos, and a virtuous life. Similarly, the use of the motif in the imperial sphere is not new, and Arcadius' column offers a Constantinopolitan example of this¹⁶.

Within this vast corpus of foliate heads, there is one example that constitutes a particularly interesting point of comparison: the House of the Falconer in Argos (Akerström-Hougen 1974). The mosaics 'of the lion fight', 'of the hawk hunt' (Fig. 20), and 'of the months' date from the early 6th century AD and decorate the room to the south east of the building, and the west and south porticoes of the courtyard, respectively. The elongated arrangement of the porticoes and the variety of scenes framed by the border are particularly noteworthy, although they are pictured on isolated panels and not on an even background like in Constantinople. The scrolls, although very stylised in Argos, are also identical: flowers, fruits, and hunting animals are here assorted with lizards, snakes, or even a turtle.

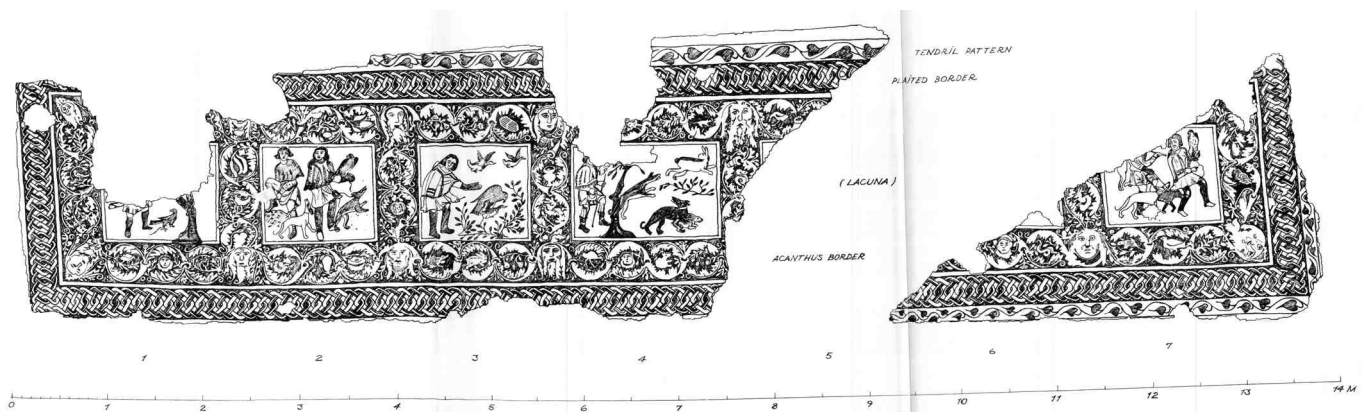


Figure 20
Mosaic of the Hawk Hunt, House of the Falconer, Argos. Drawing from Akerström-Hougen 1974: pl. IV.

As demonstrated by D. Castriota, this type of polycarpophoric (a mixture of several plant species) and polytheriotrophic (a mixture of several animal species) rinceau, inherited from the Attalid Pergamon, had great success in the Roman world, and was even used on a key monument of the imperial propaganda, the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Castriota 1995). It is a metonymic allusion to the divine, expressing a concord (*homonoia*). The border of the mosaics evokes an eternal golden age and includes the topical elements of abundance. The colours of the scroll - green, blue, gold, and purple - could moreover evoke the four seasons. In the Great Palace, the detail of the open flower on which cherries seem to

¹⁶ See also the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, a statue of Trajan of Gabies, or Nero's Domus Aurea for earlier examples.

be offered up for tasting, illustrates a generous nature offering men all its gifts (Fig. 21). The symmetry and regularity of the composition express the order and mastery of a nature that has been made beneficial. The small animals and insects that populate the acanthus are symbols of fertility and apotropaic motifs that represent a fragile but balanced ecology, where animals live alongside fellow creatures, fruits, or insects, in harmony instead of eating them (Kellum 1994: 34-37).



Figure 21
Detail of the border of the Great Palace
Mosaic, Constantinople.
Photo: Stéphanie Derwael.

In his analysis of the scrolls, D. Castriota also identifies the theonomous tendril (Castriota 1995: 58-586), where deities in action evolve. This presence is embodied here by the foliate heads. In any case, an examination of the foliate heads of the Roman world puts D. Talbot Rice's 1958 description of the motif into perspective. In this Constantinopolitan context, the heads, although impressive for the delicacy of their execution and the liveliness of their features, probably do not constitute a more important motif than the foliage that hosts them, or the animals, flowers, and fruits in the volutes. The absence of aquatic elements encourages the rejection of their oceanic identification. The physiognomy of the heads with the large moustache seems to be the result of different hands, as the size of the pavement necessarily implies the collaboration of several mosaicists on the border alone. The meanings that the foliate heads of the Roman world may have assumed do not fit well with the notion of portraiture, and it is difficult to see how representing 'barbarians' in a hybrid form would serve the general message of the pavement. As with the corpus of late Levantine pavements, however, it is difficult to give them a precise identification. But is it necessary?

The mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople is the product of an era and an environment whose tastes and values it reflects, offering a rich synthesis of Mediterranean artistic trends. Whether it is the border or the central panel, this pavement, which is at the crossroads of Eastern and Western influences, appears as the vector of a classical tradition in a context of claiming the ancient culture and heritage of the Roman Empire. In such a program, the use of foliate heads is significant. While their hybridity can certainly reinforce the message of prosperity and idyllic harmony conveyed by the central panel, they appear more as a strong motif of peopled scrolls, and thus of this ancient cultural tradition which is valued here. They are part of a repertoire considered as representative of Roman iconography by the Byzantine craftsmen of an imperial workshop.

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Concordantia Veteris et Novi Testamenti in the Mosaic of the Funerary Basilica of Via Dottor Consoli in Catania

Katanya 'daki Via Dottor Consoli Mezar Bazilikası 'nın Mozaikinde *Concordantia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*

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Abstract

In 1930, it was discovered in the area of Via Dottor Consoli, in the northwestern sector of current urban centre of Catania, a cemetery complex used from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine era, by the Superintendence of Antiquities of Syracuse, under the direction of then Inspector G. Libertini. In that occasion, portions of the perimeter strip of a floor mosaic inside the basilica were brought to light, which during later excavation campaigns was completely excavated and detached in 1957 to be exhibited in the "salone di San Giorgio" of the Castello Ursino. Currently, it is kept in the storerooms of the ex-Manifattura Tabacchi (site of the future Regional Interdisciplinary Museum of Catania).

The mosaic of the basilica nave, dated to the middle of the sixth century AD, represents common secular themes on three registers: running felids, animals in combat and the marine scene with two men on a boat in front of a dragon with red coat dotted with white eyelets. In a panel there is a snake twisted around the trunk of a tree, in my opinion, to be identified with the Tree of knowledge mentioned by the sacred texts. In the Apocalypse, "the old serpent, which is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world" (Revelation 12, 9) becomes a great red dragon, who appears in the marine scene. An interpretative reading of the mosaic is proposed in the light of the rhetorical procedure of "significant inclusion" to enhance the unity and narrative continuity between the Old and New Testament.


Keywords: Sicily, Via Dottor Consoli of Catania, cemetery basilica, Late Antique mosaics.

Öz

1930 yılında Müfettiş G. Libertini yönetiminde Syracuse Eski Eserler Müfettişliği tarafından Via Dottor Consoli Bölgesi 'nde, Helenistik Dönem 'den Bizans Dönemi 'ne kadar kullanımda olan bir mezarlık kompleksi, Katanya 'nın mevcut şehir merkezinin kuzeybatı kesiminde keşfedilmiştir. Bu vesileyle, bazilikanın içindeki mozaik zeminin dış şeridinin bazı kısımları gün ışığına çıkartılmıştır. Daha sonraki kazı çalışmaları sırasında ise tamamen kazılmış ve 1957 'de Castello Ursino 'da yer alan "Salone di San Giorgio" da sergilenmek üzere alınmış olup, eski Manifattura Tabacchi (şimdiki Katanya Bölgesel Disiplinlerarası Müzesi 'nin bulunduğu yer) binasında tutulmaktadır.

İS 6. yüzyılın ortasına tarihlenen Bazilika nefindeki mozaik, üç bölmede genel dünyevi temaları temsil etmektedir. Bunlar koşu alanları, mücadele eden hayvanlar ile beyaz delikli gözlü ve kırmızı derili bir ejderhanın önündeki gemide iki adamın olduğu deniz sahnesidir. Bir panelde ise bir ağacın gövdesinde bükülmüş bir yılan bulunmaktadır ve kanımca bu, kutsal metinlerin bahsettiği bilgi ağacıyla tanımlanabilir. İncil 'in sonuncu faslında (Apocalypse) (12, 9) "yaşlı yılan ki iblis ve şeytan olarak bilinen, tüm dünyayı aldatan" olarak anılır ve deniz sahnesinde beliren büyük bir kırmızı ejderha haline gelir. Eski ve Yeni Ahit arasındaki birliği ve anlatı sürekliliğini artırmak için retorik prosedürü ışığında mozaik'in yorumlayıcı bir okuması önerilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sicilya, Katanya Dottor Consoli Sokağı, mezarlık bazilikası, Geç Antik Mozaikleri.

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Relevant for the knowledge of the first Christian community in Catania is the funerary epigraph of *Iulia Florentina* which, to date, constitutes the oldest Sicilian testimony regarding the experience of martyrdom (Rizzone 2008: 176-177, 180-181). The newborn, prematurely dead after 18 months and 22 days in *Hybla* (today Paternò), was buried in Catania “near the tombs of martyrs”, probably the patron saints Agatha and Euplius (Rizza 1964: 608-610), according to the widespread practice of *ad sanctos* burial. The epigraph is dated between 274 and 320, when Zoilo was *Corrector* of the province (Pincherle 1965: 554; Rizzo 2005: 37-38) and mentioned for the first time a presbyter (Rizzone 2008: 177). The tomb was found in 1730 in the farm of Don Ignazio Rizzari and more precisely in the central-southern part of the quarter bordered by the streets Androne, Tomaselli and Doctor Consoli (Soraci 2018: 26-29).

The area of archaeological interest, covered and partly demolished for the construction of modern buildings, is located in the northwest sector of today’s historic centre of Catania, less than 1 km to northwest from the Roman amphitheater of Piazza Stesicoro, on the west side of Via Androne, at the intersection with Via Doctor Consoli. In ancient times the sacred complex was *extramoenia*, the limit of the Roman city was defined by the Amphitheater, while the Greek-Roman urban centre was developed on the hill of Montevergine.

The terraces of the hill, site of the Greek acropolis, in Roman times were occupied by a rich residential quarter with luxurious *domus*, served by aqueducts and paved roads, of which were found parts, especially in the courtyards of the ex-Benedictine Monastery in Piazza Dante and along Via Crociferi, which designed a regular orthogonal plant, which maintained the same characteristics at least until the fifth century (Privitera 2009: 59; Branciforti 2010: 139-183, 209-219, 240-247). As for the various burial areas, they “are laid out in relation to a road axis with north-south orientation that probably connected the acropolis to the Via Pompeia” (Trapani 1999: 78), coastal consular road that linked Messina to Syracuse.

In the area of Via Dottor Consoli, starting from 1930, structures related to a cemetery complex (various necropolis, a tricora, a basilica, mosaics and funerary epigraphs), in use from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine era, were brought to light by the Superintendence of Antiquities of Syracuse, under the direction of G. Libertini, professor of archaeology and Honorary Inspector of the Superintendence of Syracuse, in collaboration with G. Rizza, who took over from 1954, becoming Inspector (Trapani 1999: 77 and notes 2, 3; 78). In 1930 Libertini discovered portions of the perimeter strip of a floor mosaic inside the basilica (Trapani 1999: 77 and note 3; 83 and note 22), which in the course of subsequent excavation campaigns was completely brought to light and together with it also the entire mosaic (Rizza 1955: 1-11), detached in 1957 to be exhibited in the “salone di San Giorgio” of the Castello Ursino (Trapani 1999: 728 and note 4, 726). Currently, it is kept in the storerooms of the Ex-Manifattura Tabacchi (site of the Regional Interdisciplinary Museum of Catania)¹.

In the years 1950-51, 1953-57, in particular in the area near Via Androne, Via Nino Martoglio and Via Sant’Euplio, in connection with the upgrading of the

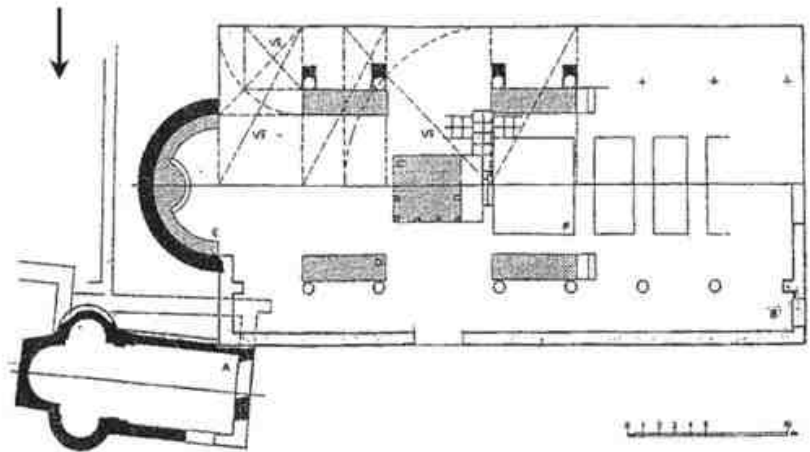
¹ I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr Gioconda Lamagna, the building manager, who, during a recent conversation, told me that the mosaic in question was originally exhibited in a room of the Civic Museum of Castello Ursino, but following the mosaic restoration, the various panels were packed and deposited in the storerooms of the ex-Manifattura Tabacchi. While waiting for an appropriate exhibition project and museum opening, unfortunately, at the moment it is not possible to view it.

road surface and the construction of some buildings, numerous investigations were carried out, while parts of necropolis with Christian burials and funeral enclosures were found (Libertini 1956: 170-189). Other sections connected to the necropolis of via Dottor Consoli were identified in via Plebiscito / corner via Antico Corso, via S. Euplio / la Rinascente department store and later, in 1968, in the area of via Orto S. Clemente (Rizza 1987: 157-166).

Between 1994 and 1999 other late antiquity necropolis were found under Palazzo Tezzano and in the ex-monastery of Santa Caterina, recently to the east of the Amphitheatre, in the area of Palazzo San Giuliano and Teatro Machiavelli (Rizzo 2005: 154-155).

The funeral complex (Fig. 1) included a basilica dated to the sixth century, to the southwest of it, near the apse, a small tricora with the function of *martyrium* of the fourth century and large funeral areas within communicating fence walls of various periods of use (Libertini 1956: 170-189; Rizza 1964: 593 - 612). The basilica, oriented to the east, had three naves and an apse with inside an annular row of *formae*, a *synthronon* with masonry benches to high espalier and episcopal chair in the centre, according to a North-African recurrent typology (Trapani 1999: 82 and note 15).

Figure 1
Catania. Plan of the funerary complex in via
Dottor Consoli (Sgarlata 2017: 54 fig. 7).



The nave, covered with polychrome mosaic, measured m 11.30 x 42 m, in the centre there was a lava stone altar, of which few fragments remain and it was surrounded by transennas and raised with the addition of a podium with two steps and floor decorated with marble *crustae*, with a tomb beneath (Trapani 1999: 83). The basilica lost its function as a *martyrium* at a later stage, as attested by the displacement of the floor level of the presbyteral area, totally damaged (Trapani 1999: 83).

For a long time, it had to be a pilgrimage destination, probably under the table of the altar, bodies' remains of Saint Agatha and Saint Euplus were placed, originally kept in the nearby tricora. It is a certain fact that the sepulchral complex was dedicated to the cult of martyrs and the above-mentioned epigraph by *Iulia Florentina* (CIL X, 7112) is a clear proof (Rizza 1964: 608-610), in which the expression "*pro foribus martXPorum*" suggests that *Iulia* was buried in a privileged area connected to the martyral tombs, the remains of the child were found in the garden of Villa Rizzari, which is located in the central-southern part of the quarter bordered by today's streets Androne, Tomaselli and Doctor Consoli and therefore close to our basilica (Rizza 1964: 595).

The polychrome mosaic, dated to the middle of the VI century (Pautasso 2015: 726, with previous bibliography: Rizza 1953; 1954; 1955; 1964; Trapani 1999), covered the entire floor of the basilica: stretched from the beginning of the apse until, almost entirely, the central nave for about m. 31, except for the base of the altar (Rizza 1964: 593-612; Trapani 1999: 83-84; Pautasso 2015: 730 note 7. Pautasso reported the recent studies of A. Tempio, who identified with greater precision the area of discovery of the epigraph, confirming the hypothesis of Rizza).

The mosaic, as it is visible from a 50s photo, published from Pautasso in 2015 (Fig. 2), is composed of more figurative units, delimited from a wide perimetral band. The band (Fig. 3) is decorated by a double strapwork of alternating squares and circles interlooped tangentially by a polychrome cords with eyelets (D cor I: 81d), containing various species of birds drawn in profile, stepping toward different directions.



Two figurative units can be identified in the mosaic field, the first (5,68 x 5,10 m) one better preserved, is divided into three registers: at the bottom right there is the scene with felids running in an arid landscape with sparse shrubs, we can distinguish a cheetah and a deer going to opposite directions (Fig. 3); the second register shows fighting animals and thick bushes in the background, you can see a tiger biting a deer. The last register is richer: on the right side, on the sides of a luxuriant tree with a snake twisted around the trunk, there are a cheetah and a

Figure 2
Catania. Funerary basilica in via Dottor Consoli, mosaic of the central nave (archeological excavations of Rizza, years 1953-54, 1956-57) (Pautasso 2015: 724 fig. 3).

Figure 3
Catania. Funerary basilica in via Dottor Consoli, detail of the mosaic in the central nave (Pautasso 2015: 724 fig. 4).



deer going to the left, in the background various shrubs and small birds; finally, in the left part there are a big bird with high and robust legs, walking towards the left, probably an ostrich, in front of which a dog stands on the lower legs, the remaining part is incomplete.

A second unit (5,68 x 10 m), framed by the same band, but more incomplete, represents a marine scene (Fig. 4): on a small boat there are two men, of which one naked sitting, probably an erote, in the act of rowing and one standing, of greater dimensions, with short tunic and long pole. In front of the two figures, there is a sea monster with a big dragon head and a red coat dotted with white eyelets and on top of it a large polychrome fish. The background is blue, while the movement of the waves is represented by undulating rows of white tesserae. The religious theme of *navigatio vitae* goes beyond the boundaries of the Christian iconographic repertoire of the origins, starting from the popular profane art, which then changes its meaning: the image of the sea, symbol of cosmic chaos, of the unknown and of the evil, in the New Testament it will become the surface on which Christ walks, among his followers he will choose fishermen and the figure of fish will acquire a deep Christological significance.



Figure 4
Catania. Funerary basilica in via Dottor Consoli, detail of the mosaic in the central nave (Pautasso 2015: 724 fig. 5).

In addition to the rural and marine scenes, Rizza describes two other panels also delimited by the same frame, one of which with scenes of pastoral life and hunting and the other, particularly incomplete, near the entrance of the basilica, with the representation of life in the fields (Rizza 1955: 5-7). The first one (5,68 x 3,48 m) has a central composition, where a young man with a short tunic sits on a rock behind which emerges a shrub on which he hung his mantle on a shrub, represented in the act of playing a horn (Rizza 1955: figs. 11, 7). At his feet two sheep and a goat lie, while a dog turns its head towards him. On the right of the group is represented a cow suckling the calf and on the left a man on a horse, in the act of striking with a spear an animal now no longer visible; finally in the corner two dogs on the sides of a tree that probably had to be represented symmetrically even in the lost right corner (Rizza 1955: 5-6). The central group refers - as the scholar suggests - to the iconographic model of Orpheus that enchants fairs (Rizza 1955: 8-9). The pagan image of the singer, widespread in the Christian tombs of the first centuries, is assimilated to that one of Christ the Good Shepherd who “enchants” men with his word (John 10: 1-18). The first panel for those who entered in the basilica represented probably the harvest, since one of the two figures that are identified carried a bundle of wheat ears (Rizza 1955: 6-7).

The mosaic production of the Sicilian places of cult is essentially aniconic, probably to be interpreted as a form of caution in anti-pagan function.

The mosaics of the funerary basilicas of Contrada San Miceli in Salemi (TP) (Lesnes – Younker 2018), of Caucana (Pelagatti - Di Stefano 1999: 21-30 figs. 19-22) and Contrada Pirrera (Pelagatti - Di Stefano 1999: 36-38; Di Stefano 2000: 31-36; Di Stefano - Ventura 2012: 155-165) in the Santa Croce Camerina territory (RG) present zoomorphic and vegetal motifs within reticulates, as in the band of the mosaic of Catania, alluding to the garden of Paradise and the pacification of animals (Isaiah 11: 6-9 and 65: 25). The mosaic of Catania is an exception, along with that one of the bema in the funerary basilica of Nunziata di Mascali (late V - middle VI century) (Buda 2015), always in the territory of Catania, because attributable to a mature phase of Christianity. The mosaic of Mascali (Buda - Taormina 2014: 209-218) presented in the centre a *kantharos* or a water source (unfortunately the central part is extremely full of gaps) and symmetrically on the sides a couple of deer, tufts of acanthus leaves and peacocks, represented in reference to the pacification of the Messianic era, prophesied by Isaiah (Isaiah 11: 6-9 and 65: 25). The deer and peacocks allude to the triumph of the good over the evil, both in fact are enemies of the snake (= sin, temptation). The latter is represented in the mosaic of via Doctor Consoli twisted around the tree trunk, which according to my interpretative reading could be “The Tree of Knowledge” mentioned in the sacred texts.

The tree, which is morphologically a vertical axis, implies that it represents the relationship between three levels: the subterranean, the terrestrial and celestial world recalling a spiritual evolutionary process. While in the pagan world the image of the tree has a positive value: the apple tree given as gift by Gaea to Hera, kept in the Garden of the Hesperides, produced golden fruits that bestowed immortality; in the book of Genesis, in the centre of Paradise there was the Poisonous Tree of “knowledge of good and evil” from which it was forbidden to eat (Genesis 2: 9; 16), as well as the Tree of life that God made sprout in the middle of the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2: 9), symbol of immortality.

The duality of the tree will lead man to transgress and lose to the eternal life (Genesis 3: 22). In the mosaic panel of the cemetery church in via Dottor

Consoli the Tree is represented leafy with a “triumphant” snake twisted around the trunk, narrow is the visual reference to the snake of Asclepius wrapped around a stick, however symbol of medicine and salvation. The ambivalence of the snake is found in the New Testament tradition (in John 3: 14 and following verses: the copper serpent that Moses raised in the desert is a prefiguration of the resurrection of Christ), but the negative connotation, in which it is an image of perfidy, destruction and evil, reappears with emphasis in the Apocalypse, where “the ancient serpent, the one we call the devil and satan and who seduces the whole earth” (Revelation 12: 9) becomes a great red dragon.

It is not a coincidence that “the beast of the sea” appears in another scene of the mosaic in a marine context, suggesting therefore the hypothesis that it may refer to the verses of Revelation 12: 17-18, which narrate that “The dragon was furious [...] and went off to fight against the rest of her descendants, all those who obey God’s commandments and are faithful to the truth revealed by Jesus. And the dragon stood[a] on the seashore”; in verse 13: 1 “Then I saw a beast coming up out of the sea.” and again in verse 17: 8 “That beast was once alive, but lives no longer; it is about to come up from the abyss and will go off to be destroyed”. If the interpretative reading is correct, it appears plausible the use of the rhetorical procedure of “significant inclusion” to enhance the unity and narrative continuity between the Old and New Testaments, the last book closes the loop: the end joins to the beginning and the latter is a prophetic prefiguration of salvation history.

The Edenic dimension narrated in Genesis is found at the end of times, John writes “and flowing down the middle of the city’s street. On each side of the river was the tree of life, which bears fruit twelve times a year, once each month; and its leaves are for the healing of the nations” (Revelation 22: 2). Thus the Old Testament serpent constitutes the archetype of the dragon, its mythological transposition, which both are malefic figures; another present element in our mosaic is the sea with floating waves, also in the biblical texts personification of the evil that will disappear in the Johannine Revelation (Revelation 21: 1).

Returning to the mosaic of the Nunziata, that of the nave (Fig. 5), better preserved, represents the marine bestiary whose subjects (fishes, octopus, cuttlefishes, shells) are arranged to form a double square plot, overlapped and with offset lines. The field is bordered by a band of circles interlaced by red and green cords with eyelets (Décor I: 69f) delimited by rows of black and white tesserae (in the mosaic of the bema there is the simple variant with a band of only circles, Décor I: 68b), the circles containing birds and marine animals facing inwards and there are in the corners four small *kantharoi*. In the resulting spaces, there are tangent semicircles at the edges of the band, with contrasting colours.

The motif is similar to that one of the mosaic in via Dottor Consoli (Fig. 3), where the circles are alternately interlaced with straight squares. The animals in the band are all birds, considered “pure animals” by Genesis (Genesis 7: 8), symbol of the soul and its elevation to God (Massara 2007: 169). The birds are represented in numerous Christian basilicas contexts, mostly with funerary function. The choice does not appear random or simply decorative, it is influenced by the North African funerary mosaic tradition which represented, within dense geometric reticulates, the birds in the mosaics that covered the tombs probably to symbolize the souls of the dead in Paradise or in general the Creation (Massara 2007: 224-230).

Thanks to its geographical position and its political-religious role, even in the Byzantine era, Catania was a centre of meeting and reviewing of ideological, cultural and artistic international models, perfectly fitting into a Mediterranean



Figure 5
Catania. Funerary basilica in Nunziata of Mascali, mosaic of the central nave (Buda 2015: 50 fig. 44).

koinè, of which the mosaic art of Catania is a clear expression. The mosaics of the basilica in via Dottor Consoli in fact are aligned with the mosaic productions of the sixth century permeated by African and Middle Eastern elements. In the first case the main comparisons, selected by Bonacasa Carra, are found in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (today's Libya), in the latter the central basilica of Cyrene and the eastern basilica of Gasr-el-Lebia present similarities both in the planimetric structure and in the mosaic composition (Carra Bonacasa 2019: 25-28). Alongside the North African influences, new oriental trends emerged, coming mainly from the Greek and Syrian-Palestinian areas. In the figurative scenes of running animals and hunting there are stringent comparisons with the Antiochene mosaics (House of Ktisis, Dumbarton Oaks Hunt, Worcester Hunt) dating back to the first twenty-five years of the sixth century (Rizza 1955: 7-8); while the motif of the frame with circles interlaced with squares recurs in the Greek-Oriental mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries (mosaics of Astypalaia and Aphrodisias of Caria) (Buda-Taormina 2014: 211) and in the Jordanian-Palestinian (Al-Quwaysmah near Amman, mosaic of Orpheus of Jerusalem, Umm Jerar) datable to the full sixth century (Rizza 1955: 8-10; Buda-Taormina 2014: 213), whose archetype was found in Cyprus, in the mosaic of the Basilica of Agia Kyriaki Chrysopolitissa in Paphos, dated to the fourth century (Carra Bonacasa 2019: 27 note 3).

In our mosaic the typical characteristics of Byzantine art can be seen both on the executive level since the mosaic covered the floor entirely and the craftsman employed smaller *tesserae* for the rendering of faces and details to obtain a pictorial definition and on a purely stylistic-compositional level. The last level is identified by the decorative motifs of the frame that act as dividing elements modulating the mosaic into several registers, the use of the marked contour line of dark-gray colour that draws the anatomical details and detaches the figures from the background, the chromatic richness used to obtain “chromatic accords” that soften and blend the contrasts for a unitary composition (Rizza 1955: 4-6), the absence of spatial perspective and naturalistic proportions (Rizza 1955: 10: the main characters have larger size than the secondary ones as in the case of the sitting shepherd figure 1.25 m high, compared to that of the horseman 0.90-0.95 m high) together with a dematerialization of the figures that appear floating in space in the absence of a support plane, order to compose a “continuous representation”, reproducing different subsequent episodes of the same “story”.

The panel with a marine scene near the entrance of the basilica, in the light of the available archaeological documentation, should be included in the “exceptional” group of Christian mosaic representations, because it is a *unicum* in Sicily, since it represents a New Testament theme, as proposed in this discussion, or an Old Testament theme. Bonacasa proposes to identify the scene with the biblical episode in which Jonah is thrown into the sea, associating the dragon with the water monster that swallowed and spewed the prophet (Carra Bonacasa 2019: 28). The interpretation does not appear plausible because it is not represented the usual storm scene during which Jonah is thrown by the sailors into the monster’s jaws, and on the boat together with the main character, of higher size, positioned at the stern and represented in the act of bringing in front of himself the oar, there is only a seated naked man, from whom no action is predictable and recognizable. Moreover, the red dragon is different from the classic iconographic type of *ketos*, a cold-colored marine creature with a snake-like or a fish body with fins/wings, a crocodile head with an elongated snout, a long and twisted neck, front legs and a tail wrapped in spirals that recalls the classic *hippocampus* of marine *thiasos*.

The prophet is frequently represented in the paintings of the necropolis of Syracuse and in particular in those ones of the Ex Vigna Cassia, in which in a *loculus* of unknown location in the ancient *nucleus* of St. Diego, the scholar Germanà reported the presence of a “fragmentary mosaic with the representation of a ship suspended over the waters, on which there is a robust sailor probably naked trying to keep himself in balance while he is hurling Jonah, also represented naked, into the sea. On the right, near the ship, we can see the *ketos*, whose body is fantastically decorated with fins and the final part of the body with serpentiform appearance, heavy legs, curved neck and wide open jaws in a head turned back” (Germanà 2018: 73). The known mosaic examples are very few, evidently the theme of the story of Jonah in mosaic production was not particularly successful (it was more popular in early Christian painting and sarcophagi) and it was probably preferred to represent the entire trilogy rather than a single episode. It is found in the mosaic floor of the eastern span of the Teodorian mosaic located in the southern hall of the basilica of Aquileia (second decade of the fourth century), and in the panels, very fragmentary, of the dome of the roman villa of Centelles, near Tarragona (fourth century). At the moment it seems useless to dwell on possible comparisons, the discovery of Syracuse mosaic and direct studies will provide scientifically solid solutions.

To conclude, regarding to the sea monster, although there are different iconographic variants, only in the Middle Ages it was assimilated to the dragon (most common is the version that portrays it as *pisces grandem*), therefore this identification hypothesis should be excluded; it's also unlikely that it could portray the Leviathan, mentioned in the Book of Psalms (74: 14; 104: 26), in that one of Isaiah (27: 1) and in that one of Job (40: 25-32; 41: 1- 26), which is described as a "tortuous serpent" of the sea, therefore without legs, with brutal ferocity so that "No one is fierce enough to rouse it" (Job 41: 10). The advanced typological interpretation observes dialectical allegorical and compositional equivalences on the basis of which the snake in the panel of the first span is the archetype of the red dragon, mentioned in the Apocalypse, which lies in the panel of the third span (see *supra*), "demonstrating" visually - as Eusebius of Caesarea did theoretically in the apologetic work "*Demonstratio Evangelica*" - the continuity and concordance between the Old and New Testaments, forming the biblical theology.

The question of testamentary dualism was a prerogative of exegetes since the time of Philo of Alexandria (about 20 BC - about 45 AD) and was defined by the calabrian abbot Gioacchino da Fiore (1130-1202 AD), who wrote *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, based on the hermeneutic system of the patristic and medieval tradition, which reviews, through the *allegoricus intellectus* (allegorical-spiritual reading) and the *intelligentia typica* (historical-typological reading), a series of variants: historical, moral, tropological, contemplative and anagogical, which in correlation with each other converge to the notion of "*concordantia*" (Mottu 1983: 70-102). This doctrinal work involved figurative art and in particular the mosaic cycles of Western churches for their pedagogical function of *Biblia pauperum*: the mosaic of Via Dottor Consoli in Catania - in the light of these reflections - might have been one of the earliest examples.

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The Mosaic Decoration of *Peristylia* in Roman *Villae* and Domus of Western Lusitania (Portugal). The Interrelationship between Domestic Space Planning and the Chosen Peristyle Flooring

Batı Lusitania'nın (Portekiz) Roma Villaları ve Domus'unda Peristylia'nın Mozaik Dekorasyonu. Eysel Alan Planlaması ile Seçilen Peristil Döşeme Arasındaki İlişki

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Abstract

Within the RoGeMoPorTur project, a specific approach was adopted to analyse the importance of the peristyle not only as a central element of communication and link between the different architectural components of the villa, but also as an expression of a vision very specific to its owner as a member of a Roman or Romanised elite: The peristyle, as the entrance to the villa from outside, was at the same time the first recipient of its cultural message and socio-economic power.

This study aims at a typologisation of the spatial dialogue chosen by the landowner for the introduction to that message through the pavement decoration of the peristyle.


Keywords: Peristyl, domestic space planning, roman mosaic, spatial dialog, decorative program.

Öz

RoGeMoPorTur projesinde, peristilin sadece villanın farklı mimari bileşenleri arasında merkezi bir iletişim ve bağlantı unsuru olarak değil, aynı zamanda sahibinin çok özel bir vizyon ifadesi olarak önemini analiz etmek için özel bir yaklaşım benimsenmiştir. Romalı veya Romalulaşmış seçkinlerin bir üyesi: villaya dışarıdan giriş olarak peristil, aynı zamanda kültürel mesajının ve sosyo-ekonomik gücünün ilk alıcısıydı.

Bu çalışma, peristildeki döşeme aracılığıyla bu mesajın tanıtımı için arazi sahibi tarafından seçilen mekânsal diyalogun bir tipolojisini amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Peristil, ev içi mekân planlaması, Roma mozaiği, mekânsal diyalog, dekoratif program.

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Introduction¹

The study of Roman mosaics found to date in the different provinces of the Roman Empire, has progressively become more differentiated and comprehensive: Concentrating initially almost exclusively on the study of figurative mosaics and their significance for the identification of reciprocal influences of different cultures, it has only recently begun to highlight the significance and importance of mosaics with geometric motifs for the spatial and regional identification of cultural trends, often linked to the socio-economic status of the commissioner responsible for the construction of the building where they were found.²

In the Iberian Peninsula, and more precisely in the territory of present-day Portugal, most of the Roman mosaics that have been discovered, come - with the exception of the paving of urban residences in Conimbriga (Casa dos Repuxos, Casa de Cantaber, etc.) - from *villae* scattered throughout the territory, most of them directly linked to an economic activity, be it the exploitation of land or maritime resources. Their location was generally chosen according to the economic activity to be carried out on the property where it was located: “When you go to buy a farm, visit the chosen place several times and take a good look around you. Make sure you have good weather, not prone to storms. The terrain must be good, with natural strength. If possible, it should be at the foot of a hill, facing noon, in a healthy place where it is easy to find farm workers. It must have abundant water and be near a blossoming town, or the sea or a navigable river or a good and frequent road” (Cato agr. I: 1, 3, author’s translation).

The same care was, in principle, given to the architectural design of both the manor house, first intended to receive the owner during his visits to the economic exploitation and then, from the third century AD onwards and following the economic and fiscal reforms of Diocletian, it became the owner’s permanent residence and that of his family (Fensterbusch 1981: 283; Maciel 2006: 232). This care applied also to the *villae rusticae* (Fensterbusch 1981: 285; Maciel 2006: 233)³. It is also at this time, that an architectural restructuring and, above all, an embellishment of the *villae*, object of a richer decoration, could be witnessed - as foreseen centuries before in the Vitruvian rules for domestic architecture⁴: “Thus, there will be nothing to point out if, fulfilling these rules, the buildings are arranged according to the different categories of people, as it was written about convenience in the first book; because this will be advantageous and correct in all circumstances. These rules, on the other hand, apply not only in the city, but also in the countryside, with the difference that in the city the atriums are usually closer to the doors and, in the countryside, peristyles of an urban type come first and only then come the atriums, surrounded by paved porticos presenting around paved porticos facing lectures and walks” (Fensterbusch 1981: 283-285; Maciel 2006: 233).

1 My sincerest thanks to Dr. Virgílio Hipólito Correia and MMC-MN, Dra. Cátia Mourão, Dr. Miguel Pessoa and Dr. Miguel Serra for the plans, photos and information they put at my disposal for this research.

2 ‘La décoration somptueuse d’une villa (y compris les mosaïques, fresques, sculptures) reflète le pouvoir et le gout romanisé du propriétaire.’ (Curchin 1990: 271).

3 In this article we will not enter into the debate on the different characteristics of the Roman *villa* (urban, rural, urban-rustic, maritime, etc.): we use the term Roman *villa* for a “domestic construction outside the city...the *villa* is a building on the farm, but, in short, a rural construction that serves as a dwelling. This destination of “house” and “farm” is what virtually defines the great majority of *villas*” (Fernandez-Castro 1982: 273; translation by the author).

4 For a better comparative scheme, we use here the concept of “domestic architecture” as opposed to “public architecture” and “sacral architecture”, bringing together not only the “*villae*” (rustic, rustic-urban, urban) but also some peristyle houses of Conimbriga.

With this phrase, Vitruv defined in a few words, what would become the central point in the architectural planning of the classical Roman *villa*: the peristyle (Gorges 1979: 136). Integrated into the architecture of the building, following the basic principles of symmetry, axiality and orthogonality, the peristyle assumes the task of identifying and distributing the spaces where family life, social and representative life and, in some cases, access to the housekeeping area take place, and thus concurrently provide a spatial planning without any unused surfaces. The same phenomenon can also be seen in some examples of domestic architecture in Conimbriga, where the spatial planning of most of the “houses” discovered to date is determined by the peristyle (Correia 2013).

When we review the Hispano-Roman *villae* that have been discovered until today and whose ground plan can be reconstituted and interpreted with some certainty, we can see, that in the Iberian Peninsula, three basic types of *villae* can be identified: the linear plane *villae*, the peristyle *villae* and the monumental aulic *villae* (Gorges 1979: 120). However, in the Roman *villae* situated in the territory of present-day Portugal, it must be noted that most of them are peristyle *villae*, regardless of whether they are linked to an agricultural or fish farm or not.

It is precisely from these *villae* and their mosaic floors, and to which must be added some examples of domestic architecture in Conimbriga, that we have the best testimony of the meaning of the iconographic programme chosen by the commissioner for the floors of each of the spaces of his residence: a fundamental choice for the identification of the socio-cultural stratum to which he belonged. This is because, especially since the 3rd century AD, with the permanent establishment of a Roman or Romanized elite in their latifundia in the province, the *villa* becomes even more a place of representation and development of social and political contacts, of ostentation of the economic and cultural wealth of its owner, of identification of his belonging to an elite that, although far from Rome, has transposed the apparatus and way of life of the *Urbs*⁵ to the province. In fact, as Luz Neira (Neira 2008: 56) rightly pointed out: “its value (of the mosaic in a domestic context, the author’s note) is rooted precisely in offering us “reality”, a concrete reality in virtue of its geographical, cultural and chronological context, as well as the vision of the elite, of the best. It is their pretension to have a determined image of very different subjects, among which, it is to be supposed, their tastes and preferences also fall, which gives the mosaic an extraordinary value as a documental source on the elites in the Roman Empire”.

Thus, the iconographic programme chosen for the decoration of all or only some of the rooms in the *villa*, the decorative grammar and stylistic discourse chosen for each of them, the presence or absence of light inherent to the chosen chromatic cycle, the use of linearity or the introduction of perspective into the composition, shows in itself the increase in value of this “unity” which is the Roman *villa* with all the multiple functions attributed to it.

The Peristyle

Considered as the Roman evolution of the Greek patio, the peristyle assumes, 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 (Fensterbusch 1981: 283; Maciel 2006: 232).

5 ‘Les propriétaires romains se sentaient également à l’aise à la ville ou à la campagne. Le témoignage de l’élite rurale procède principalement des villas’ (Churchin 1990 :270).

Located immediately after the vestibule, the peristyle is by excellence the first point of reference of the social status of the owner and, at the same time, the instrument of subjective orientation of the visitor to the rooms of representation and (public) reception. It is around the peristyle that, as a general rule, we will find the rooms with the most complex mosaic floors, often with representations allusive to paintings, scenes of mythology or simply with a more complex decorative grammar. Also, often paved with mosaic, it presents mostly compositions of geometric scheme, with or without recourse to vegetal, zoomorphic, apotropaic motives, etc.

An analysis of these mosaic floors, their arrangement in the peristyle and integration in the surrounding architecture, the linearity of the composition, the use of *all over pattern* or the construction of “carpets” for the different wings, the choice of symmetry in axiality, the choice of the chromatic cycle for each wing of the peristyle, allows us to collect elements for the understanding of the choice of a certain iconographic programme and the (presumed) addressees of the underlying message.

To this purpose, and to allow a more structured classification of the different concepts of “social discourse” chosen by the owner, without exceeding the limits of this paper, we will focus on the comparative analysis of the decorative syntax chosen for the peristyle floors of some *villae* and urban houses in Portuguese territory. It is a non-exhaustive analysis, by taking into consideration only those *villae* which, being more accessible, allow the individualisation of a coherent typology of the peristyle and therefore a first proposal for typologisation⁶.

On the other hand, the – generally accepted – temporal allocation of these mosaics to the period of the greatest economic development after the crisis of the 3rd century - the end of the 3rd century, the first half of the 4th century - allows them to be placed in a clearly defined temporal and socio-cultural window.

Catalogue of Peristyle Decoration Schemes

I. Composition in *all over pattern*

The Roman Villa of Abicada

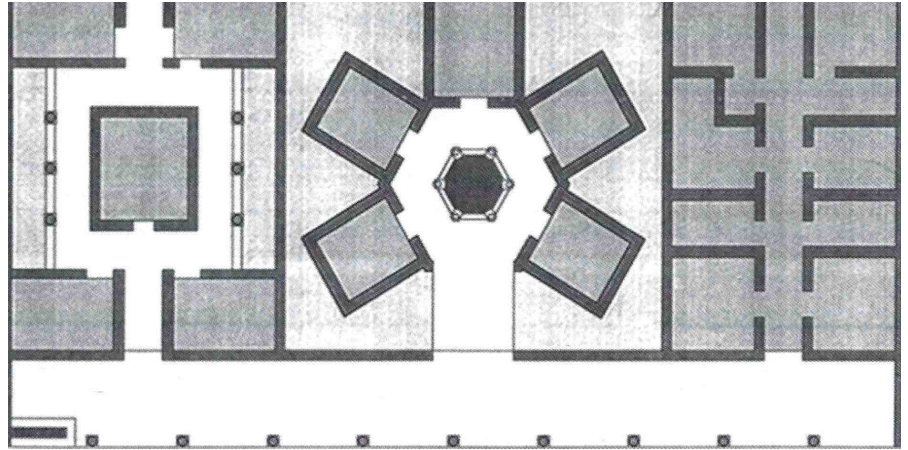
Due to the purity of its architectural layout and the harmony and coherence of the iconographic discourse chosen for the mosaic floors, a prominent place in the sector of domestic architecture in the territory we study, object of several studies and publications in the past⁷, the Roman *villa* of Abicada is considered a remarkable and unusual example of domestic architecture in the territory considered (Fig. 1).

Situated in the south of Portugal, on the southern border of the former Lusitania, about 7 km from *Portus Hannibalis* (Portimão) and 10 km from *Lacobriga* (Lagos), the *villa* was built on a muddy platform between two streams - the Ribeira do Farelo and the Ribeira da Senhora do Verde, over the River Alvor - today silted up but at the time probably navigable. According to Mantas (Mantas 2016: 44) there could have been a private port next to this *villa*, where “no traces

6 In order to typify the different basic principles of interaction architecture - pavement, we will exclusively focus on the “central peristyles” of each of the studied *domus* or *villa*: the decorative programme of the secondary peristyles as well as “partial” peristyles (with only three wings) will be the subject of a forthcoming paper.

7 Chosen bibliography: Duran Kremer 2008a, b, c; 2011; Teichner 2008.

Figure 1
Abicada.
Plan of the Roman *villa*
(© IPPAR).



of facilities related to economic activities” would have been identified, which could lead to classify it as “an establishment exclusively dedicated to receive the owner of the farm during his regular visits or resting periods”.

On the other hand Formosinho Sanches - discoverer and responsible for the first excavation campaigns of the *villa* - had noted in 1942 in his field diary the existence of “a building formed by large tanks, placed to the east and south, on the north side ran an aqueduct of masonry that extended to the newly opened well” (Teichner 2008: 446, translation by the author), a description that could indicate the existence of *cetacea* and, therefore, of facilities for the production of *garum*, and the corresponding identification of this *villa* as belonging to an economic exploitation of maritime resources, so frequent on the Algarve coast and on the west coast of Lusitania.

However, only future excavations extending to the whole of the areal to the north and east of the *villa* may give us more reliable information about this archaeological site, about the possible existence of an agricultural and livestock farm, two types of economic activity which, given the fertility of the land and the abundance of water, have lasted through the centuries to the present day.

The existing and uncovered structures show a strictly symmetrical and axial arrangement of the *pars urbana*, consisting of three distinct sectors - the public, the private and the service sectors, linked to each other by the portico common to all of them, situated to the south. While the western part would contain the rooms intended for the social and public life of the owner, the central module would have been reserved for family life. All the rooms had mosaic floors, though there was no indication of the type of floor chosen for the hexagonal patio or the access to it. In the same way we don't have any indication about the pavement of the south portico.

The west module shows an axial architectural arrangement centred on the peristyle, with the reception room placed in the centre, immediately in front of the entrance to this sector of the *villa* (Fig. 2). To the left and right of the entrance there are two rooms, which mirror each other symmetrically in the northern part of the module⁸. They were probably paved with mosaics⁹.

The decorative programme chosen for the peristyle, which at first sight may seem repetitive in its surface composition, obeyed well-defined specifications.

8 Vide Duran Kremer 2011b for the stylistic analysis of the different pavements.

9 The only fragment of the mosaic indicating the probable existence of mosaic compositions in these two rooms, was found right at the entrance from the peristyle to the room on the left of the entrance.



Figure 2
Reception room (© M. J. Duran Kremer).

Thus, the entrance from the outside to the public sector is clearly defined by a composition showing a shield of triangles in contrasting colours, such as bluish grey, red and yellow on a white background (Décor II: pl. 327b) (Fig. 3). The badly destroyed composition is delimited in carpet by a jagged line, alternating the colours grey and white, and by a row of grey tesserae. In the corners, a floral element on a white background.

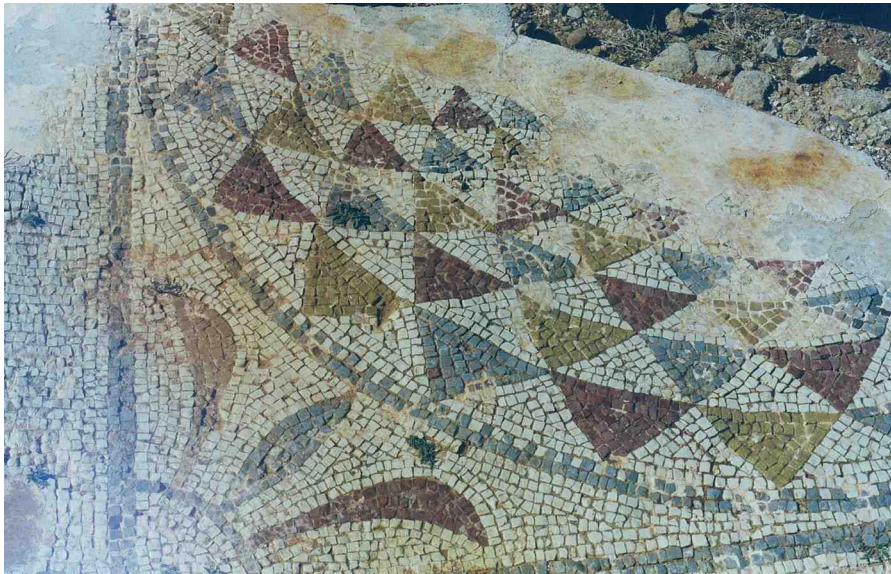


Figure 3
Entrance panel (© M. J. Duran Kremer).

Clearly identified as a “carpet” and separated from the mosaic composition chosen for the peristyle, this composition introduces an element of movement directed at the peristyle and the main room, which was certainly already visible from that point.

Still at the entrance to the peristyle and therefore to the public sector of the *villa*, this carpet is followed by a composition in a simple diagonally laid grid, defined by lines of tangent spindles in yellow and red on a white background, the inner circle being composed of two lines in dark grey and light grey, with a smaller circle in grey with a red inscription, under a white background (Décor I: pl. 230b). This composition extends throughout the peristyle, in an *all over pattern*, without any interruption.

In the northern part of the peristyle (Fig. 4) the entrance to the two rooms is marked by a carpet which, in a very sensitive way, stands out from the surface composition chosen for the peristyle. Thus, although using the same compositional scheme, it uses colour as the distinguishing element: the circles and the *peltae* are made up exclusively of bluish grey, a colour also chosen for the delimitation of the carpet (Fig. 5).

Figure 4
The northern part of the peristyle
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).



Figure 5
Detail (© M. J. Duran Kremer).



The mosaics of the peristyle of the Roman *villa* of Abicada, in their capacity as “a hierarchical element of the domestic space” (Mañas Romero 2007: 93) do not establish a standing priority between the rooms which they give access to. The use of primary colours, in different shades, on a white background to create movement in a relatively simple geometric composition extending all over the surface, implies a decorative discourse based on both light (the white colour) and movement (reinforced by placing the lines of red and yellow spindles diagonally). Thus, the peristyle is conceived as a continuous space of circular orientation of the visitor around it, a “fluid” orientation conceived from and to the centre of the activity which this sector is destined for - the social and public aspect of domestic life - the reception room (Fig. 6).

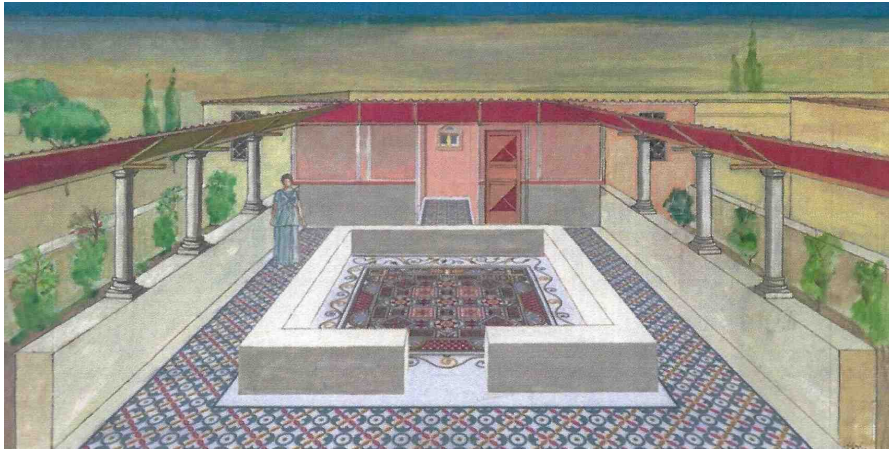


Figure 6
Proposal for the hypothetical aspect of the *pars urbana* (© Drawing of José de Sousa / Jorge Vidal)

An architectural discourse of this kind, supported and underscored by the decorative grammar of the chosen mosaic programme, defines in itself the personality of the contracting owner of the work: aware of the basic norms for the architectural division of the different sectors of daily life, although open to an unhindered social life, it separates social life completely from day-to-day life, for which it reserves an architectural part of the building, equally coherent with the principles of symmetry and axuality, open to the light of the South, with a mosaic floor decoration perhaps richer than that of the public sector.

In another *villa* in the south of Portugal we find the same concept of surface decoration in an atrium that assumes, here, the functions of domestic space planning intrinsic to the peristyle: we are referring to the *villa* of Pisões (Beja), also in *conventus pacensis* (Nunes Ribeiro 1972; Gorges 1979: 475; IPPAR 2000).

The Roman Villa of Pisões

Located about 7 km south of Beja, in Herdade da Argamassa, the Roman *villa* of Pisões is located about 200 m from a Roman dam on the river of the same name. The structures discovered until today would probably correspond to an *urban villa* and the baths of a *fundus*, which is estimated to have covered an area of 200 to 420 hectares and would certainly have extended north, south and east¹⁰ (Fig. 7). Most of the 40 rooms uncovered so far, as well as the two corridors are richly decorated with mosaic pavements with geometric and vegetal motifs, with two exceptions: the rooms EA and No. 4 of the *villa* plan published by IPPAR. Two exceptions of greater importance when considered in their interaction with the peristyle (Fig. 8).

When we analyse the plan of the *villa* of Pisões we find that, in principle, we are faced with two possibilities of identifying the main access to the *villa*: by a narrow corridor which, from the porticoed façade on the South side would lead to the peristyle or, as we defend, by the wide corridor to the North which ends on a wide scale, with 14 steps in grey marble. They lead directly to the vast vestibule adorned with a polychrome mosaic of great decorative richness. This vestibule, whose walls were lined with marble at the bottom and red and black plaster painting on a white background¹¹ at the top, opens onto the peristyle,

¹⁰ Not having been analysed in depth in the past, this archaeological site is today at the centre of an olive grove with intensive cultivation. It is unclear if and when it will be possible to continue the excavation work. See: Sardica 1971-75; Nunes Ribeiro 1972; Alarcão 1974: 111-112; Gorges 1979: 474-475; IPPAR 2000; Couto 2007).

¹¹ This type of wall panelling at the bottom of the wall, next to the ground, in grey marble, followed by



Figure 7
Pisões. Aerial view
(© Arrow4d – Consultores de Engenharia e Geofísica).

Figure 8
Pisões.
Plan of the roman *villa* (© IPPAR).

Figure 9
Entrance (© M. J. Duran Kremer)



from which it is separated by two steps, also in grey marble (Fig. 9).

The peristyle floor was decorated with a composition in a black and white bichrome *all over pattern*, in an outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular adjacent octagons and intersecting on the shorter sides forming squares and oblong hexagons (Décor I: pl.169a) (Fig. 10). The composition is delimited both by the pond and by the side walls by a wide band of white *tesserae* with a sinusoid line and serrated polychrome squares inscribed. Though being linear, the composition acquires a movement which is transmitted by the distribution of the different motifs filling the inscribed squares, forming a diagonal line from the inside - tank - to the outside.

Although the architecture of this *villa* cannot be characterized as a whole by

Painted stucco could be seen in many rooms of this *villa* at the end of the 70's, beginning of the 80's. In our frequent visits at the time, we still could see the existence of painted stucco walls, with the predominance of red, yellow and blue on a white background.



Figure 10
Mosaic of the peristyle
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).

symmetry and axially, there is no doubt that it was designed to be the most representative space of the taste and economic power of its owner. Thus, when we analyse the plan of the IPPAR, we find that - regardless of whether we place the entrance at the north or south façade of the building, the peristyle defines a horizontal axis parallel to both hypotheses: the east wing, with the entrance to rooms 5 and EA, with an intermediate corridor leading to the more interior rooms; and rooms 3 and 4, on the west wing, defined respectively as *tablinum* and *triclinium*. It is precisely in the EA room and in room 3 that we will find the discourse defining the social position of the owner: a landowner with possessions that would allow him to build a *villa* of considerable size and to a certain extent influenced by at least the mosaic art in Roman Africa and the type of decoration often prioritised by the large landowners and directly related to their economic activity: water, as a source of life and the seasons of the year (Duran Kremer 1998; idem) as an irrefutable testimony to the cycle of life, that repeats and renews itself eternally.

The mosaics that covered the floor of room 3, being in very poor condition, are no longer existent: We only know that they probably had a composition combining geometric and vegetal motifs, in black, red and pink on a white background (Nunes Ribeiro 1972: 30). In the centre of the room, we find a tank, “covered with marble and mosaic pavement of white background, with central fountain and hole of dumping” (idem) (Fig. 11), in a composition whose theme is also present in other *villae* of the considered territory.

For its part, the mosaic of the EA room - the mosaic of the seasons - is, until today, unique in its symbolism (Fig. 12): the use of water, flowers, fruits and, above all, birds give it a prominent place among the representations of the seasons of the year far beyond the borders of present-day Portugal. The fact that the composition includes the head of Medusa right after the entrance to this room, underlines the meaning that this room and the message of the pavement would assume in the axially with rooms 3 and 4. An axially closely linked to a peristyle where the floor, in its compositional simplicity, scheme and polychromy reduced to the use of two colours did not establish a hierarchy of architectural moments linked to other rooms.

The peristyle of the Casa de Cantaber in Conimbriga could possibly be assigned to this group.

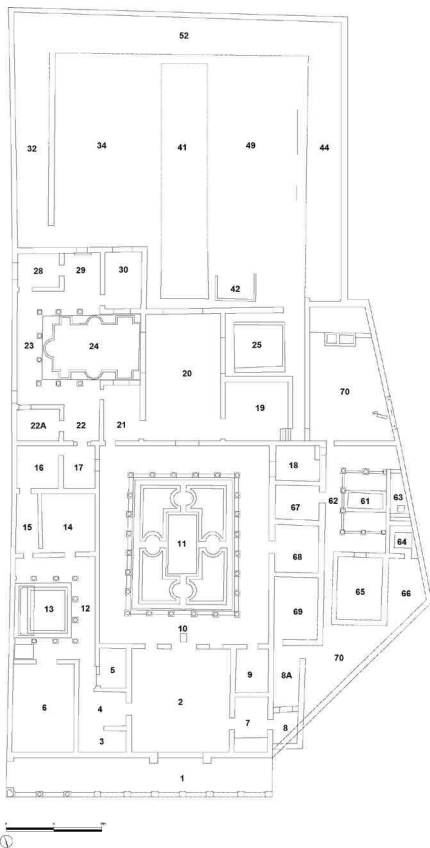
Figure 11
Mosaic of the tank in room 3
(© Cátia Mourão).



Figure 12
Mosaic of room EA
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).



Figure 13
Domus of Cantaber. Plan: V. H. Correia
© MMC-MN/DGPC.



The Domus of Cantaber

From the point of view of spatial planning of architectural structures, we are dealing with an urban peristyle house (Fig. 13). The vestibule, open from a portico façade and placed axially with the triclinium, was not only the obligatory point of passage for visitors and family members but also established a well-defined separation between the social and the family part of the house.

In fact, the access to the private sector of the house was made first by the vestibule, secondly by the North wing, next to the triclinium. From the highly damaged mosaic peristyle floor, some fragments of a polychrome composition of outlined lattice-pattern of adjacent hexagons and lozenges (creating the effect of adjacent and intersecting large irregular hexagons) can still be seen (Decor I: pl.213) (Fig. 14).

The information we have received - "The little that remains of the peristyle of Casa de Cantaber seems to be all of the same composition of hexagons, with only a few floral "rugs" dividing the wings" - allows a hypothetical reconstitution of a decorative syntax of the peristyle floor in an *all over pattern* with small elements



Figure 14
Mosaic. Detail
(D. Pavone © Mediaprimer / MMC-MN).

of separation between the wings and eventually leading to the entrances of the private sector. We would thus be faced with a variant of this group, using small plant elements to “cut the monotony” of a composition on an uninterrupted surface. This decorative principle would be consistent with the nearly complete isolation of the private sector allowing us to underline the only two connections between this sector and the peristyle. However, this hypothesis is merely speculation and a simple work proposal.

II. Composition of *All Over Pattern* Differentiated by Parallel Wings

The Roman Villa of Torre da Palma

It is also in the *conventus pacensis*, in the Roman *villa* of Torre da Palma, that we will find another decorative syntax in the floors covering the peristyle of the house of the same name - Pristyle House (Maloney - McNabb 2014: 36 – 63) - which would correspond to the *villa urbana* of the end of the 3rd century, the beginning of the 4th, when the whole domestic architecture of this *fundus* was profoundly remodelled and the manor house was built (Fig. 15). Discovered in 1947 and excavated by Manuel Heleno until 1956, this *villa* was the object of several archaeological interventions and of careful documentation and bibliography, which have already been published. Since this is not the purpose of the present analysis, we will not enter into a debate about the different construction stages of the various architectural structures of the *fundus*, nor of their dating and chronology¹².

According to Lancha (Corpus Portugal II: 39) the structures of the *pars urbana* as they are known today, would correspond to the last phase of occupation of

¹² For these see Corpus Portugal II (with previous Bibliography) and Maloney - McNabb 2014.

Figure 15
Torre da Palma.
Plan of the roman villa (© DRCA).



the villa. The peristyle, the organising element of the domestic space and around which the reception and living rooms were located, had a vast tank in the centre, surrounded by a garden (Maloney - McNabb 2014: 38) (Fig. 16). The peristyle wing floor was decorated with two polychrome compositions of geometric motifs on a white background (*all over pattern*), distributed over the parallel wings:

Figure 16
The peristyle of the Peristyle House.
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).



- the north and south wings have a composition in a variant of outlined grid-pattern of adjacent cushions and recumbent ellipses, forming irregular concave octagons (the axial sides the shorter) (Décor I: pl. 253e). Both pavements are badly damaged (Fig. 17);



Figure 17
The mosaic of the north and the south wings
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).

- the east and west wings show a composition in a variant of an orthogonal pattern of tangent crosses of interlaced scuta with concave ends, forming circles and lozenges (Décor I: pl. 153a) (Fig. 18).



Figure 18
The mosaic of the east and west wings
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).

Of great decorative and polychrome richness (pink, ochre, blue-grey, dark-grey, various shades of rose, cream-white, light red, orange-red, red, dark red), the compositions occupied the entire length of the wing they were decorating, without interconnection with the next wing, marking - despite the parallelism in the decorative dialogue - the passage from one sector reserved for the public life to another, probably used both for social and family life. Marked by a great richness of colours and secondary motifs integrated in the determining motifs of the two geometric schemes chosen, the decorative grammar of this peristyle does not establish a hierarchy of the rooms surrounding the peristyle. On the contrary, neutrality is established in relation to them: it is, for example, through the south wing that one has access to the service area - kitchen - situated near the *triclinium*.

III. Differentiated *All Over Pattern*

This type of decorative programme of these peristyle floors is characterised by an individualisation of the different wings of the peristyle using a differentiated *all over pattern* composition for each one. In this decorative system, the floor of each wing of the peristyle is the object of a very specific space - function - decoration dialogue. The two most remarkable examples of this group are in the *conventus scalabitanus* - in Conimbriga and Rabaçal.

The House of the Swastika Cross

In Conimbriga, the house of the Swastika Cross is, from the point of view of the architecture of private residences, relatively 'unimposing' (Fig. 19). Built on a relatively modest plot of land, it sees the triclinium and adjacent rooms placed axially at the main entrance, the private part and the service part of the house to the right and left of it.

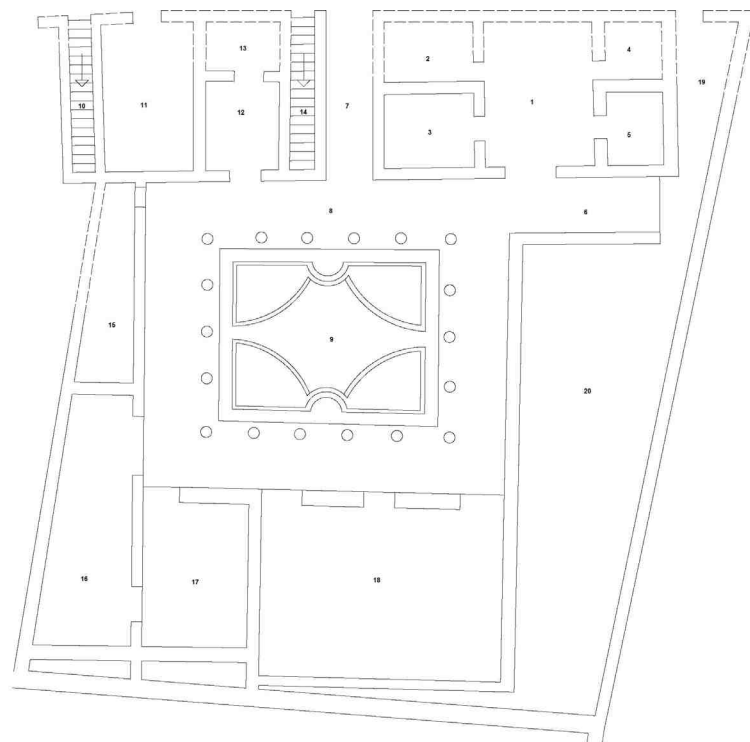


Figure 19
Domus of the Swastika Cross.
Plan: V. H. Correia
© MMC-MN/DGPC

At the same time, the iconographic programme of the floors of this house testifies to a careful reflection and a choice of decorative grammar based on the simplicity of complexity, using highly decorative themes but only partially - when the size and importance of the room justified it - including perspective as an element of decoration.

The peristyle mirrors this iconographic programme (Fig. 20): the *all over pattern* surface compositions (west wing - Décor I: pl.161b; east wing - Décor I: pl.213a; and south wing - Décor I: 205c) show schemes with motifs of a marked polychromy on a small scale, originating movement and perspective. The north wing highlights this effect, both in terms of colour, movement and perspective (Décor I: pl. 174b). As a whole, it is a coherent programme, an expression of the knowledge of the owner with regards to the meaning of colours as a vehicle of light and movement in a composition.



Figure 20
The peristyle (D. Pavone © Mediaprimer / MMC-MN).

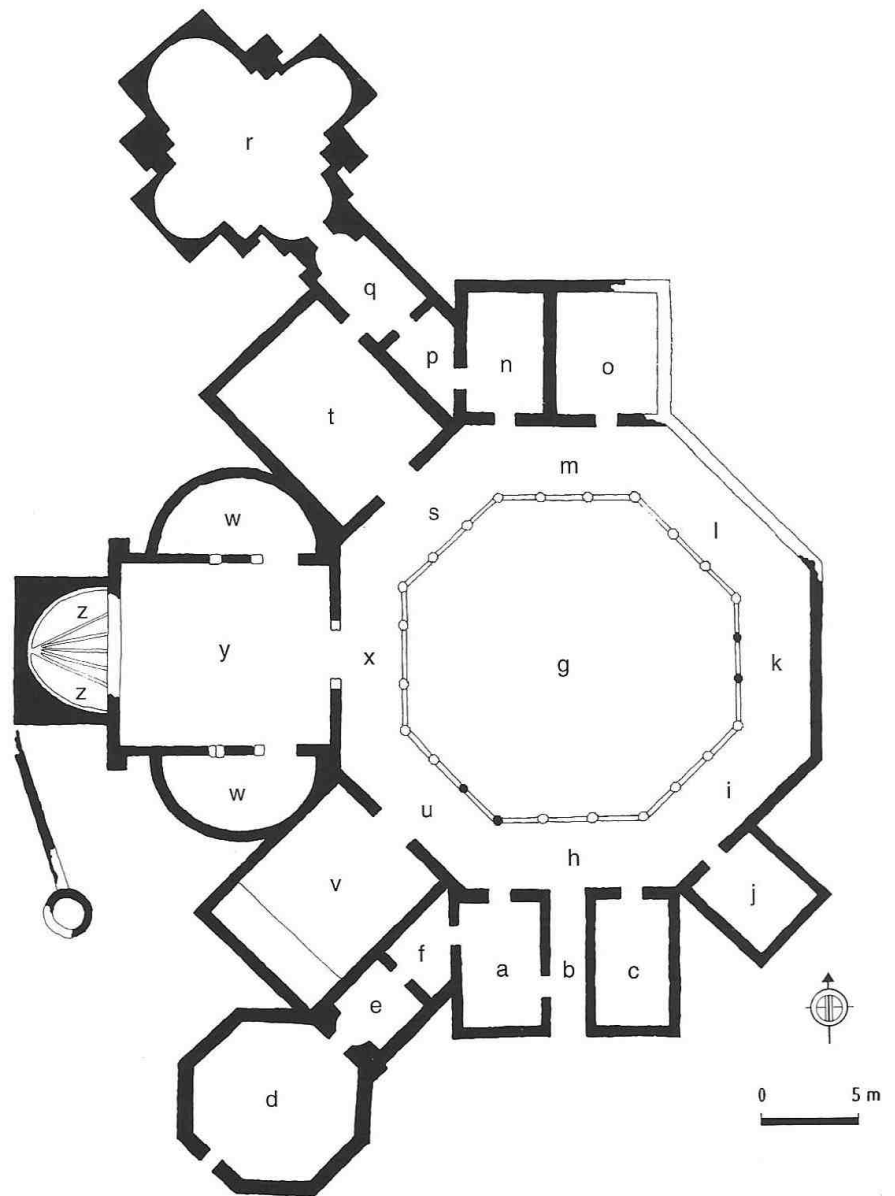
Another element testifies to the intrinsic significance of the compositions chosen for the floors of the different wings of the peristyle as a determining element of spatial planning and their direct relationship to the rooms for which they marked the entrance in a perspective of continuity: the mosaic composition of the east wing of the peristyle extends northwards beyond the perimeter of the peristyle itself, including room 1, from which the private part of the *villa* (rooms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) could be accessed. At the height of room 5 - which would be closed to the peristyle, the composition ends and is continued by a simpler compositional bichrome pattern, in a grid of bands with a square at the intersections, the colours counterchanged (variant of Décor I: pl. 143).

The Roman Villa of Rabaçal

The second example of this type of *all over pattern* composition comes from the Roman *villa* of Rabaçal (Fig. 21).

When Roman remains were discovered at the beginning of the 20th century, it was only in 1984 that the first surveys were carried out on the ground as part of an archaeological research programme. Launched by Miguel Pessoa, the work of

Figure 21
Rabaçal. Plan of the roman *villa*
(© José Luís Madeira, *Mosaicos de Conimbriga* 2005).



discovery and investigation of this exceptional *villa* has continued to the present day and an exhaustive study of Roman architecture and mosaics discovered so far has been published (Pessoa: 2017). We will thus limit ourselves to the analysis of the decorative programme of the peristyle as an ordering and hierarchizing element of the domestic space.¹³

The peristyle of the *villa* of Rabaçal differs in its layout from the classic, Vitruvian, rectangular peristyle, “one third longer than wide” (Maciel 2006: 229 VI. 7). On the contrary, we find here an octagonal peristyle, with corridors of slightly approximate dimensions. The symmetrical arrangement of the different uncovered structures allows us to assume an overall symmetry of all the rooms surrounding the peristyle. The recovery work of this *villa* and its mosaics has brought to us, even though fragmented, the mosaic compositions of the peristyle with geometric *all over pattern* motifs of the corridors k, i, h, g, s, as well as the figurative composition x.

¹³ We will not go into the stylistic analysis of the floors: studied and analysed down to the last detail by the head of this archaeological station, Miguel Pessoa, it was published in 2017 in the *Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos de Portugal*. We will also not address the theme or style of the mosaics, very rich, found in several rooms of this *villa*.

The analysis of the iconographic programme of this peristyle could allow its classification either in the group of peristyles with all-over pattern panels or geometric or figurative carpets - or both. However, it should be stressed that, with the exception of mosaic x, we are faced with two unique geometric compositions: that of the corridors i, k, h, u, with small variations in the number of motifs represented due to the adaptation of the composition to the dimensions of the surface to be decorated (Décor I: pl. 135a) and those of the wings s, m and l (variety of Décor I: 169) (Fig. 22). The pavement of the corridors h and m, situated on the axis which, crossing the peristyle, connects the entrance to the rooms n and o, still has a swastika-meander strip with single returns in reciprocal opposition. From a strong polychromy and linearity, they all “lead” the visitor to the west corridor and to the x mosaic, gateway so to speak to the most important representation sector of the whole *villa*: “We attribute (to this architectural space, note of the author) the specific function of *triclinium*, noble hall for banquets and large receptions, taking into account the fact, that it presents itself as the largest room of the residence, endowed with three apsis (spaces available in case the number of guests makes its use necessary) and gather the most elaborate architectural decoration” (Pessoa 2017: 270 II. 5 .1.3). The various compositions are separated by irregular lozenges, necessary to fill in the free spaces left by the rectangular wings between them.

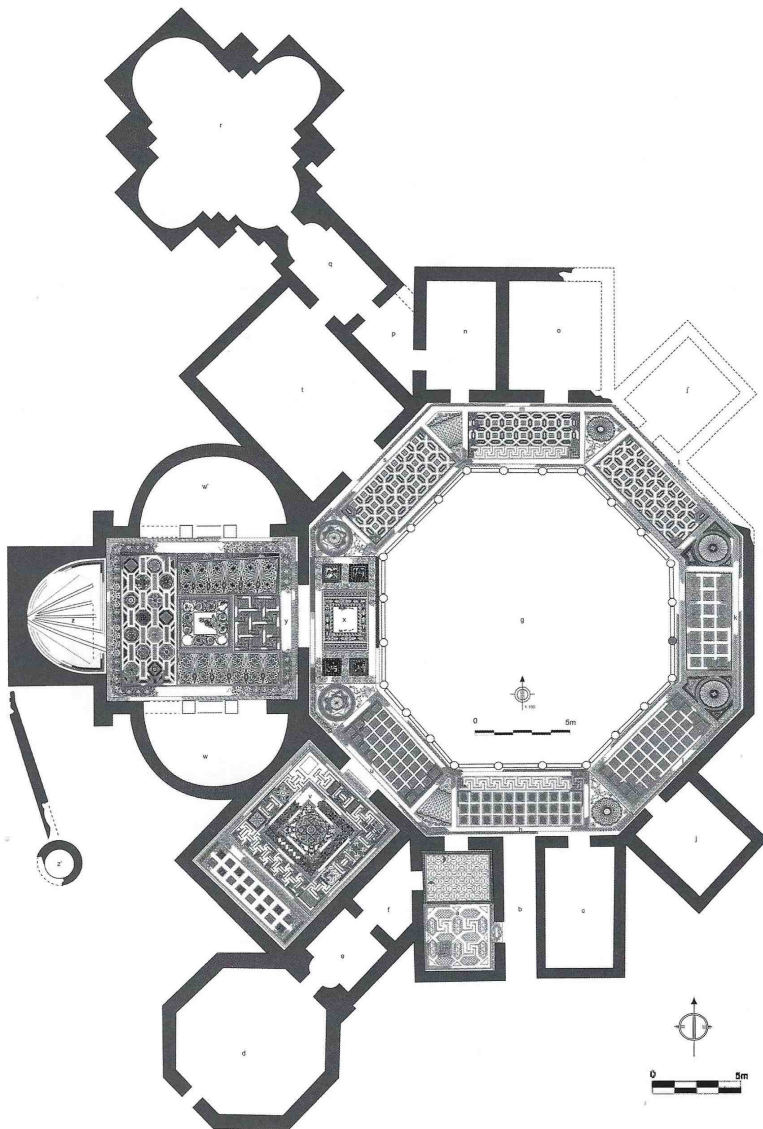
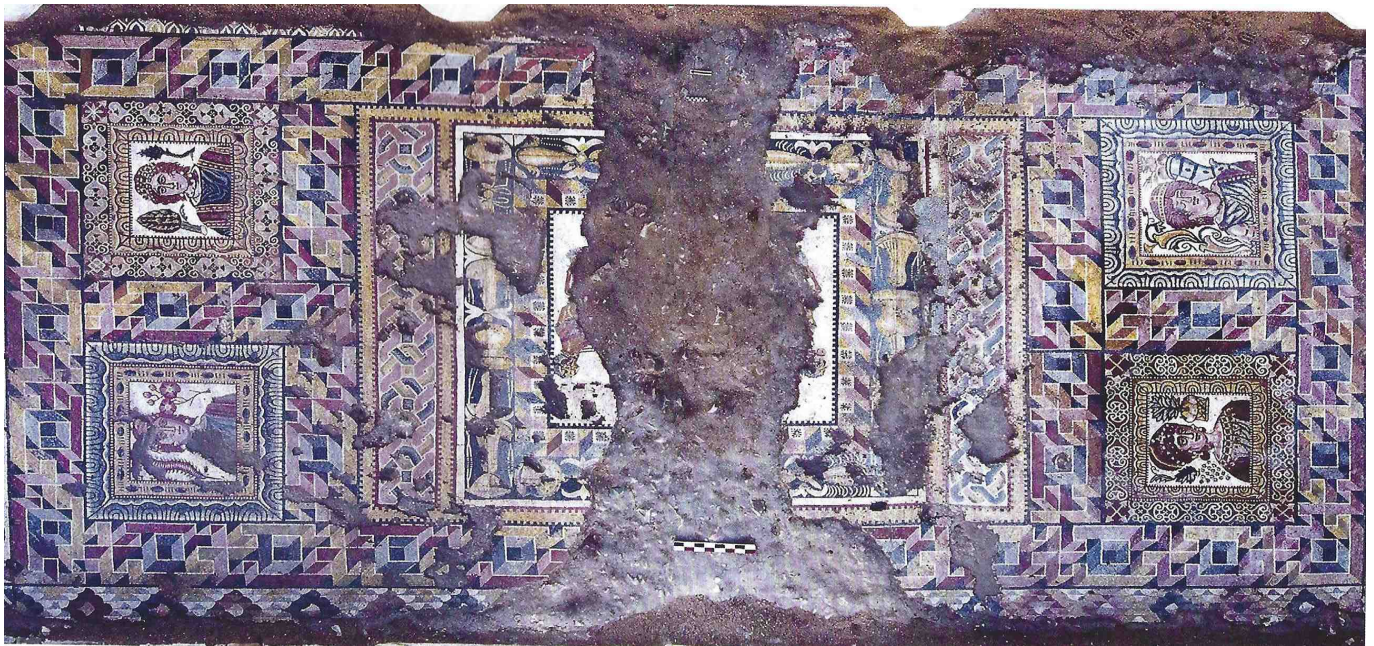


Figure 22
Graphic reconstitution of the composition and motifs of the mosaics. Drawing: © José Luís Madeira. Digital print: © Daniel Pinto.

The decorative grammar of mosaic x was designed to unequivocally underline the cultural level and the economic and social power of the owner of the *villa*, as a clear introduction to perhaps the richest decorated space in the entire *villa*: the *triconch room* (Fig. 23). It does not only show a very careful technical execution, but also a clear allusion to oriental or orientalisng models chosen for the figures of the seasons of the year, introduced in an orthogonal polychrome pattern of spaced three-dimensional swastika-meanders with single returns, the spaces staggered and containing a square, in lateral perspective (D cor I: 305 pl. 193f) in profusely decorated frames. In the centre of the composition, a panel with probably a representation of a quadriga (see Pessoa 2017: 268-309).

Figure 23
The mosaic x, west wing of the peristyle
(  Francisco Pedro).



IV. Composition by Differentiated Carpets

Although we have not yet found a decorative programme based exclusively on a floor-mosaic dialogue without perceptible reciprocal interaction in peristyles of *villae* in the considered territory, we still have to take into consideration this form of artistic-cultural expression.

An example of this type of discourse can be seen in the west wing of the peristyle of the House of the Water Fountains (Casa dos Repuxos) in Conimbriga.

The House of the Water Fountains – west wing

Discovered in 1907 when farm work on the site unearthed - as it so often did in the past and still does today! - the remains of a building with columns, mosaics, plumbing, “swimming pools or tanks”, etc. (Corpus Portugal I: 9)¹⁴.

The mosaic floors covering the different wings of the peristyle of the House of the Water Fountains, no matter how badly destroyed, could lead to the classification of this iconographic programme as a variant belonging to group II - Composition *all over pattern* differentiated by parallel wings (Fig. 24). In fact, the North

¹⁴ This *domus* was the subject of the first volume of the Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos de Portugal and, since then, of numerous studies and scientific publications, so we will not focus on architecture, chronology or even the stylistic or motif analysis of peristyle floors or others.

and South wings have the same decorative grammar (although enriched with figurative medallions next to the entrances to the rooms that surrounded it) which - applying the principle of symmetry between opposite wings - would allow to assume that the floor of the West and East wings present the same compositional system.

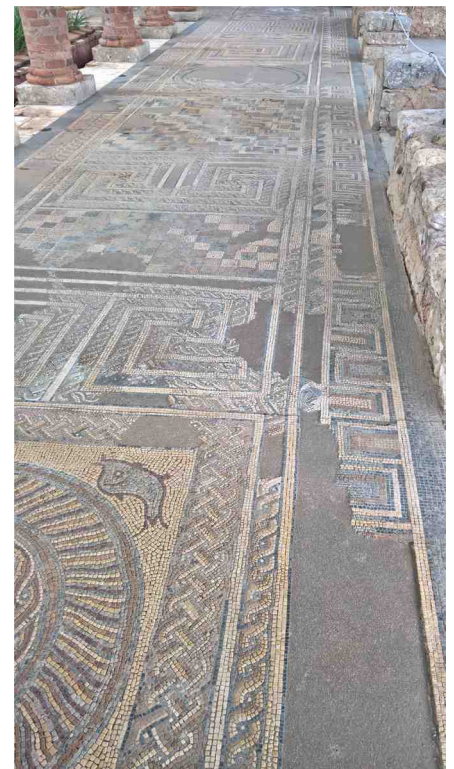


Figure 24
Domus of the water fountains.
 Plan: V. H. Correia © MMC-MN/DGPC.

However, the current west wing presents a totally different decorative principle (Fig. 25): most probably due to a need for floor renovation (all wings show numerous restorations in their compositions, made over the centuries with more or less skill of the craftsmen), it mirrors a radical change in decorative discourse.

Thus, the surface to be decorated is divided into panels of different dimensions and motifs. Starting from the meeting point of the North and West wings, there is a clear iconographic and even mythological division of the chosen themes: half-recumbent double-latchkey meander (Décor I: pl. 37), checkered (Décor I: pl. 8b), irregular geometric composition with chevrons, squares, rhombuses, expressed in a strong and not always very harmonious polychromy (Décor I: pl. 119g). It is followed by a medallion with an inscribed circle and filled by intercrossed “eights” and, in the outer corners of the circle, stylised ivy leaves coming out of a kantharos.

Figure 25
 Peristyle. West wing
 (© M. J. Duran Kremer).



This rug is located right in front of the main entrance of the atrium to the peristyle. It is followed by a carpet with the representation of a polychrome labyrinth in a simple rope pattern, a separation carpet with a line of inverted *peltae* as delimitation and a central line of triangles and filled circles. This composition is repeated after the last carpet, whose composition takes up the motif of the labyrinth, enriched with the representation of the head of the minotaur in the centre. The two medallions at the ends of the wing still belong respectively to the composition of the North and South wings, as can be seen from the delimitation strips of the composition near the wall and the garden.

The dichotomy between the exclusively geometric decoration of the north-western part of this wing and the south-western part, loaded with mythological symbolism, makes us recognize a clear intervention of the owner in the choice of the decorative syntax of this wing.

V. Composite Composition

The last group that we identified in the analysis of the iconographic programmes chosen for the mosaics of the peristyle floors is perhaps the most complex and difficult to define.

In fact, we have gathered in this group those peristyles, whose mosaic floors have characteristics common to different previously defined groups. So, when we talk about an *all over pattern* composition, which almost always shows a geometric scheme, with inserted medallions - be they vegetal, figurative - alluding to a certain mythology or not - or even geometric, are we faced with a variant of the unique composition in surface or *all over pattern*? Or are we faced with a composition made up by differentiated carpets? And how to interpret the presence of two different semantic fields in the same peristyle?

For the present work of typologizing the peristyle floors, which is an essential element in the architectural planning of the Roman *domus* or *villa*, and given the different combinations of possible iconographic programmes, we have included the studied peristyles of the House of the Water Fountains (east wing, north and south, seen in conjunction with the west wing) treated as an example in the previous group, the House of the Medusa (Casa da Medusa, Alter-do-Chão) and the Roman *villa* of Torres Novas - better known as *villa cardilio* in this group.

The House of the Water Fountains

The peristyle floors of this house, as they can still be seen today, are defined by two distinct decoration programmes: that of surface decoration (south wing, east wing and north wing) and that of carpet decoration (west wing, treated above). If, on the one hand, the chronological factor plays an important role in the choice of decorative programmes, this is always the result of a deliberate decision by the owner. Thus, when renovating the floor of the west wing of this domus, the owner could have chosen - had he so wished - a decorative discourse similar to that existing in the other wings. He did not do so and introduced another type of semantic reflection into this architectural structure. Hence the correct inclusion of the House of the Water Fountains in this group.

As regards the east, south and north wings, they probably constitute a variation of the *all over pattern* composition differentiated by parallel wings: in these cases, we are dealing with a surface composition, in which panels, indicating the entrance to the rooms around the peristyle, were introduced, and were certainly intended to underline the cultural richness and the social and public activities of the owner.

The south and the north wings (Fig. 26) would have hosted a diagonal grid composition of outlined bands, with a lozenge inscribed in the rectangles and a posed square in the intersection, forming cruciform compartments (variant of Décor I: 146b), decorated with vegetal motifs. Probably due to a necessary restoration of the pavement in the northeast, the north wing shows a lattice-pattern carpet of biconvex adjacent scales in four colours (variant of Décor I: 218c). The east wing has the same decorative scheme, but led orthogonally (Fig. 27).

Figure 26
Peristyle. North wing
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).

Figure 27
Peristyle. East wing
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).



Unlike in the west wing, the decorative programme of these three wings is based on an active discourse between the pavement and the adjacent rooms: the visitor is led to them by a unified composition, in a richness of motifs, that uses polychromy to underline the movement and the direction to follow. The movement is only interrupted in front of the access door to each of the most important rooms in each wing by a figured tondo.

The fact that they show a clear allusion to mythological scenes, combined with the fact that these representations are framed by a cyrillic frame without edges, underlines the welcoming gesture of the owner to his visitors, leading into the rooms they point to¹⁵.

15 In this article we are not going to address the scenes represented in the tondos, which have been largely destroyed. See *Corpus Portugal I*: 32-80; Correia 2013: 290-309.

The House of Medusa

Located in Alter-do-Chão - the *Roman Abelterium*, the House of Medusa is, so to speak, the best example for the existence of a very cultured and economically powerful elite in the territory taken into consideration, settled in the most western region of Lusitania.

When, in 1954, the first mosaic was uncovered by Bairrão Oleiro, one could not imagine the true mosaic treasure hidden beneath the earth. Although the excavations of António Brazão, in 1980 and 1982, had brought to light several other mosaic floors, it was Jorge António, archaeologist of the municipality of Alter-do-Chão, who unearthed what is now considered to be not only the most beautiful figurative mosaic in Portugal, but also the ultimate proof of the influence of Eastern mosaic tradition in the westernmost part of the Roman Empire¹⁶.

The most updated plan of the Casa da Medusa shows us the part of the structures corresponding to the wings of the peristyle and the atrium, that have already been excavated, as well as the rooms distributed around them. Among them is a large apsidal room (37) (Fig. 28).

Figure 28
Alter-do-Chão: Casa da Medusa.
Plan: ©Jorge António,
drawing: ©Hermínia Santos.

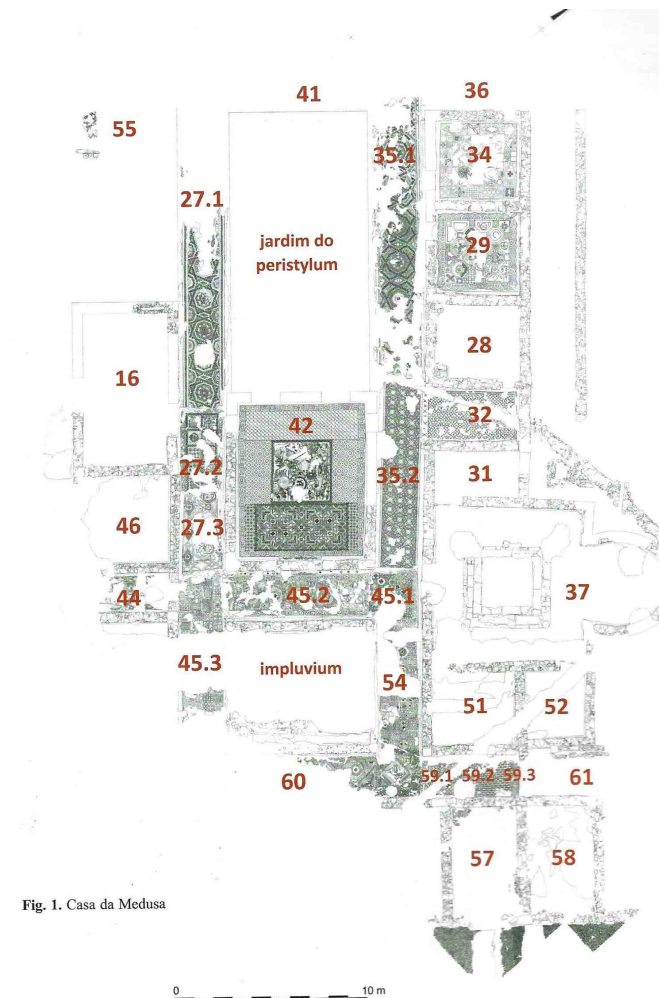


Fig. 1. Casa da Medusa

¹⁶ The mosaics of this *domus* are currently the subject of the doctoral thesis of our colleague Jorge António, so that we will only deal with the geometric mosaics of peristyle, already published by him, as they are an example of this architecture-mosaic dialogue. Similarly, we will not address issues related to the dating of mosaics. The illustration and plan we have used here has already been published by our colleague (António 2017).

According to this plan, the Casa da Medusa is a classic Roman house, with an atrium and peristyle, around which the most representative and ostentatious rooms, showing its owner's wealth would be concentrated. In the centre of the peristyle, and similarly to the architectural discourse followed in the Roman *villa* of Abicada, is the reception room /triclinium, with the image of Alexander and the battle of Idaspes.

The analysis of the mosaics that decorate the surface of the peristyle to date excavated, shows that we are faced with a complex decorative programme: while in the North wing we will find two geometric compositions (35.1 and 35.2), in an *all over pattern* that is not interrupted in the access to the rooms that surround it, the South wing contemplates a geometric surface composition (27.1) and two carpets (27.2 and 27.3). For its part, the atrium has four geometric *all over pattern* compositions in its 4 wings, the west wing being common to the peristyle (45.2).

It is not up to us here and now, to try to interpret the architectural layout of the existing structures: in due course, the responsible archaeologist will, when in possession of all the data already obtained and those he will obtain in future campaigns, give answers to all the open questions: what is there in the “peristyle garden” space? Where and how would it end? What is the decorative grammar chosen for (41)? Why are there two carpets (27,2 and 27,3)? What we can conclude, is the fact, that the whole programme obeyed a clear vision of the spatial planning role which, also in the House of Medusa, was attributed to the peristyle and the mosaics that adorned it. A possible example is the carpet 45.1, which is inscribed between two *all over pattern* compositions (35.2 and 54), with the specific purpose of marking the entrance to the apsidal room (37).

The Roman Villa of Torres Novas – villa cardilio

Known for its existence in Casal de Santo Antoninho da Caveira (Torres Novas) since 1932, it was in 1936 that work on the site brought to light a mosaic floor that covered the floor of a square room of 7 metres in side: it was a geometric mosaic of the white-black type, with a polychrome central carpet¹⁷. After the responsible authorities had been alerted, the site was immediately visited by Manuel Heleno, director of the Lisbon Ethnographic Museum (the current National Museum of Archaeology), who took over the excavation and publication of the findings. In the course of the works, a second, unidentified mosaic was found, the most complete description of it dating from 1959: “In Santo António da Caveira, in the same place where the aforementioned mosaic appeared, Prof. Manuel Heleno gave us the news of another mosaic found on 9 May 1938, south of the previous one and 10 m away. It must have belonged to a hypocaustum because the characteristic arches appeared. The mosaic was on a pavement to which three steps went down. The part exposed when Prof. Manuel Heleno visited was polychromic, with white, yellow and red *tesserae*. It was the geometric type with concentric circles, squares and other fantasy decorations”¹⁸. The floors were recovered with earth, recommending the owner of the land not to touch the site. However, years went by without any follow-up work, so that the existing structures were razed to the ground and the site was used as a quarry by the inhabitants of the region.

In 1963 and 1964 two excavation campaigns were carried out at the site and all

¹⁷ This is the mosaic designated by the letter H in Afonso do Paço's plan.

¹⁸ Sá 1959: Appendix. It is important to underline the undoing of the dates pointed out for the discovery of the second mosaic.

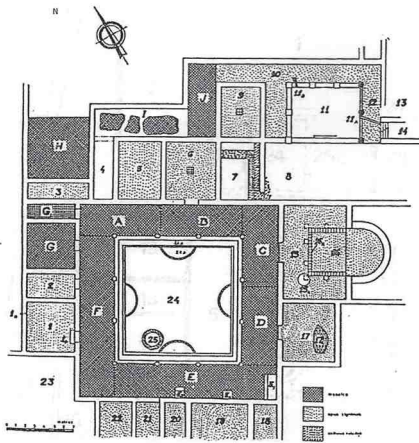


Figure 29
Torres Novas: *villa cardilio*. Plan.
@ Afonso do Paço (in Duran Kremer 1999:
plan 1).

the mosaics known today, were unearthed (Fig. 29): the discovery of the panel with the inscription *VIVENTES CARDILIUM ET AVITAM FELIX TURRE* made this archaeological station known as the *villa Cardilio*. In 1968 the death of Afonso do Paço put an end to the works and the *villa* fell back into oblivion. In 1979 the City Hall of Torres Novas decided to re-launch the works, contacting the Institute of Archaeology of the Faculty of Coimbra. Under the technical direction of Dr António João Nunes Monteiro and with the support of Prof. Dr Jorge de Alarcão several campaigns of excavation of the *villa* were carried out (from 1980 to 1984, 1985), extending the prospecting area to the west and south, which allowed the discovery of *pars rustica* of the *villa*.¹⁹ Afterwards, apart from a few case - by - case works, no more excavation work was carried out on the Roman *villa* of Torres Novas. Since then, this archaeological site has been the object of preservation measures and opened to the general public. The peristyle mosaics are still in situ (with the exception of the west wing mosaic, removed in the 1980s) and covered with sand²⁰.

The non-publication so far of a detailed study of the different phases of occupation of this *villa* and the resulting architectural changes has limited in the past and still limits our observations regarding the currently visible structures. Thus, it can be seen that the rooms of this *villa* are distributed in two different levels, the lower level - housing the peristyle and directly adjacent rooms - being probably reserved for the social and public activities of the owner, while the private sector would be concentrated around the patio, whose access from the peristyle would be through the corridors (4), I and J. In the southeast corner of the peristyle, there is still a staircase leading to the upper-level compartments, all of which have *opus signinum* flooring. In the east corner of the patio, we find three steps leading to at least one room on the upper level, also with *opus signinum* flooring.

The peristyle mosaics, polychrome and of geometric scheme, occupy an area of 240 m² and constitute the most elucidative example of a coherent iconographic programme in a composite composition.

In fact, the plan of the *villa* shows us a regular square peristyle, around which several rooms are distributed in the north, east and west wing. In the south wing the compartments visible today are at a higher level. The entrance to the peristyle, from a portico located in the existing façade on the west side (Duran Kremer 1999: 11-12 figs. 32 -34), was through room G, where one can find the most programmatic mosaic of all those found until today and which, besides mentioning the names of the possible owners, makes a stylised reference to the seasons of the year, due to the iconographic programme chosen for them (Duran Kremer 1999: 98-121; 2011: 189 -202).

On the axis of it we find an apsidal room of remarkable dimensions and a central tank surrounded by a *porticus* supported by 6 columns. The floor of the *porticus*, the apsis and the tank are in *opus signinum*, the centre of it being marked by brick slabs. Still in situ the water drains of the pond, in marble. Next to this room, to the south, a room of considerable dimensions, also with pavement in *opus signinum*.

19 Agricultural work of greater depth on the land 400 m south of the already discovered structures brought to light materials that proved the existence of a building. In 1985 the land was excavated and located in the *pars rustica* of the *villa Cardilio*. According to the report published in *Informação arqueológica* 7, Lisboa 1986, these p.79-80 "...there was collected a lot of rubble, fundamentally ceramic, which attests to a continuity of occupation from the middle of the 1st to the end of the 4th century".

20 The study of these mosaics was the subject of the PhD thesis of the author (Duran Kremer 1999). See Duran Kremer 2011a, idem 2008.

The peristyle mosaics mirror the order pre-established by the owner for access to the different parts of the house, as well as their hierarchy, by choosing an individual geometric decoration with clearly delimited carpets, centred on each of the rooms in the North and East wings. With them, he defines the access path to the rooms destined for his “public” life (Figs. 30-33); on the contrary, the floors of the West and South wings are made in *all over pattern*, and surely conceived as the corridors doing access to the rooms on the upper level (Figs. 34-35).

Figures 30-35
Peristyle. Panel A-B-C-D-E-F
(© M. J. Duran Kremer).



All peristyle floors were executed with quality and expertise. Very rich in their polychromies, they play with the movement introduced by the different geometric schemes, combined with the palette of colours used and alternately placed orthogonally or diagonally. In all of them there is a linear view of the composition, without perspectivation of the different motifs.

Due to the clarity of the architectural layout of the open structures, the Roman *villa* of Torres Novas can, in our view, be considered the best example of a very clear conception of the role of the peristyle as an ordering element of the domestic space, differentiating the different sectors - public and private - of which it is composed, using a complex but very clear, decorative discourse.

Conclusion

The analysis of the peristyles of *villae* and *domus* which, for this purpose, we considered representative for a typologisation of the decorative discourses followed by the owners when choosing the iconographic programmes, they wanted to see portrayed in what is the central point of public and family life, from where and to where everything converged, showed us that we can reduce the different types of discourse to five main groups of decorative grammar:

- I. Composition in *all over pattern*
- II. Composition of *all over pattern* differentiated by parallel wings
- III. Differentiated *all over pattern*
- IV. Composition by differentiated carpets
- V. Composite composition

The analysis of each of them, together with the study of other determining elements - architecture, mural decoration, statuary, ceramics, coins - certainly contributes to a better individualisation of the socio-economic and cultural stratum which the owner belonged to.

However, the meaning of the peristyle cannot be underestimated as “the structural nucleus with the greatest impact on the Spanish-Roman *villa*” having been “at a later Roman time systematically conforming to the central nucleus of the residential *villa*” (Fernandez-Castro 1982: 273). It is an element that organizes the domestic space, it is a pivotal point between the representation rooms, destined to the public facet of daily life and the rooms destined for the private and family life of the owner and his family.

The discourse architecture – functionality, is underlined by the decorative grammar chosen for the paving of the peristyle and by the type of arrangement of this same decoration in the space to be decorated. When trying to identify the most marked types that this choice can assume, we must bear in mind the fact that “Roman domestic architecture is a privileged vehicle of conscious transmission, on the part of the owners, of a set of values assumed as their own and recognised as positive” (Correia 2013: 249), and that “Roman life, especially that of the elite, is a deeply “theatricalised” life, turned outwards, towards its peers, towards its dependents, towards those higher up on the social scale, towards “the others”, in short” (Correia 2013: 250).

In other words: the choice of the semantic discourse in which he wanted to see this first image of himself given to the visitor when he entered his home is very much linked to the social and economic position he enjoyed, the respect he wanted to receive both from his peers and from his economic and subordinate interlocutors

- in short, from others. At the same time, he defined by this decorative program his vision of the contact he wanted to cultivate with visitors, friends, customers: from an uninterrupted one - through a decoration without “visible limits” - all over pattern - until the clear delimitation of the accesses to the reception and reception rooms, through the decoration by differentiated panels or carpets.

The choice of the decorative grammar for each surface, with a geometric structure more or less complex, with the use of more or less filling motifs, with the use of a more or less rich polychromy and the light captured by the different colours, the possible inclusion already in this space of figurative motifs sometimes linked to mythology corresponds to a very personal vision of the *villa* owner. Being so, the choice of the type of decorative discourse for the peristyle - the first moment of communication and reception of the message from the outside - by the owner is, per se, an identifying factor of the fundamental values valid for him, and which - with his choice – he fixes indelibly in stone for himself and for future generations.

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The Mosaic Floors of the House of Kyrios Leontis in Nysa Scythopolis (Beth Shean)

Nysa Scythopolis 'teki (Beth Shean) Kyrios Leontis Evi 'nin Mozaik Zeminleri

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Abstract

The House of Kyrios Leontis in Nysa Scythopolis (Beth-Shean) was partially excavated by two expeditions and at different times, and the mosaic floors have been published only in preliminary publications. Two halls were discovered in the complex. The first hall is decorated with a mosaic pavement of three panels: the Homeric story of Odysseus and the Sirens; beribboned parrots surrounding a dedication inscription; the Nile god, Nilometer, the city of Alexandria, and a Nilotic landscape. The second hall served as a prayer room or a small synagogue. A pair of animals decorated the two entrances, and the hall itself is decorated with populated vine scrolls with animals. Jewish ritual objects appear in the central medallion: the seven-branched candlestick, citron, censer, and ram's horn. The mosaic floors are inlaid with dedication inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, with the names of the donors and prayers for the holy congregation.

The iconography, incorporating mythological subjects, the god of the Nile and Nilotic landscape, Jewish ritual objects, common animal chase scenes, and the use of the three languages that were customary in Byzantine Palestine, expresses the character of the city of Nysa Scythopolis as a cultural city inhabited by a mixed, well-educated population.


Keywords: Nysa Scythopolis, Odysseus and the Sirens, Nilotic landscape, Synagogue, Seven-branched candlestick.

Öz

Nysa Scythopolis 'teki (Beth-Shean) Kyrios Leontis Evi, iki seferde ve farklı zamanlarda kısmen kazılmış ve mozaik zeminlerden sadece ilk yayınlarda bahsedilmiştir. Yapı kompleksinde iki salon keşfedilmiştir. İlk salon üç panelden oluşan bir mozaik döşeme ile dekore edilmiştir: Odysseus ve Sirenler 'in Homeros hikâyesi; bir ithaf yazıtını çevreleyen şeritli papağanlar; Nil tanrısı, Nilometer; İskenderiye (Alexandria) şehri ve Nilotik bir manzara. İkinci salon bir dua odası veya küçük bir sinagog olarak hizmet veriyordu. İki girişi bir çift hayvan süslemektedir ve salonun kendisi hayvanlarla dolu asma dallarıyla süslenmiştir. Yahudi ritüel nesnelere merkezi madalyonda görünür: Yedi kollu şamdan, ağaç kavunu, buhurdan ve koç boynuzu. Mozaik zeminler, adayan kişilerin isimleri ve kutsal cemaat için dualar ile İbranice, Aramice ve Yunanca ithaf yazıtlarıyla işlenmiştir.

Mitolojik konuları, Nil tanrısı ve Nilotik manzarayı, Yahudi ritüel nesnelere, ortak hayvan kovalama sahnelerini ve Bizans Filistininde geleneksel olan üç dilin kullanımını içeren bu ikonografi, Nysa Scythopolis şehrinin karakterini karma ve iyi eğitilmiş bir nüfusun yaşadığı kültürel bir şehir olarak yansıtmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nysa Scythopolis, Odysseus ve Sirenler, Nilotik manzara, Sinagog, Yedi kollu şamdan.

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Introduction

The House of Kyrios Leontis in Nysa Scythopolis (Beth Shean) was partially excavated by two expeditions at different times, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities and Museums. The site was first excavated by N. Zori in 1964, and in 1970–1972, another excavation was conducted by D. Bahat and A. Druks. The original plan of the complex is still unclear, but the excavations revealed that the complex included a system of rooms surrounding a courtyard (Fig. 1). This house was part of a wealthy quarter of the city¹.

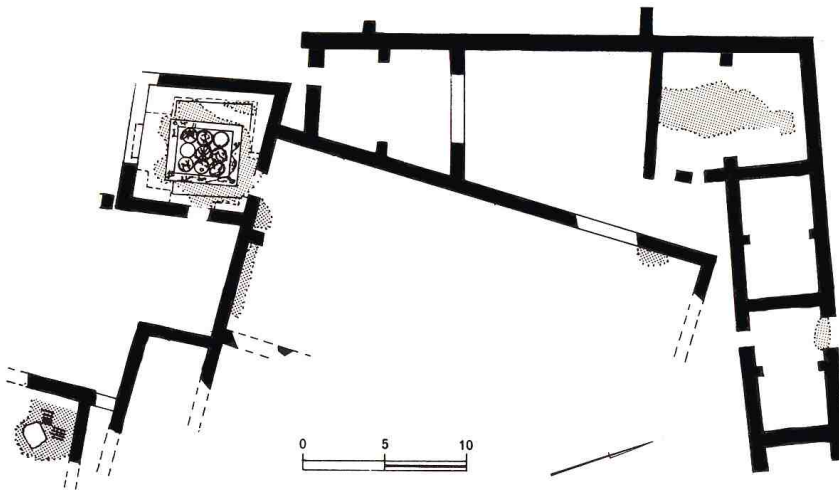


Figure 1
Plan of the house of Kyrios Leontis complex
(after Bahat 1981: fig. on p. 83).

Hall 3

Zori's excavation uncovered part of the complex (Level V – dated to the middle of the fifth century AD). This consists of a courtyard surrounded by rooms, three of which have been excavated, and within them Hall 3 (8.50–9.95 × 7.10–7.70 m), which is paved with a mosaic floor². The hall is decorated with a mosaic pavement of three panels (Fig. 2), surrounded by an edge adorned with small diamonds, and a unifying frame of simple shaded bands of guilloche on a black ground, and white dots. One band is made of black, white and red rows, the other of red, white and black rows (Avi-Yonah 1933: 138, Type B2; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 233, Type B2; Décor I: 121 pl. 71c)³.

The upper panel (Fig. 3) depicts the Homeric story of Odysseus and the Sirens (Hom. Od. XII), and especially the verses: "... and they bound me in the ship hand and foot, upright in the step of the mast and made the ropes fast at the ends of the mast itself..." (Hom. Od. XII, 178-179)⁴. Odysseus is tied to the mast of the ship sailing in stormy waters. He is standing, his body shown schematically with grey contours, and he is wearing a kind of net skirt. Black contours shape his wavy brown hair, the arched eyebrows are black, the upper eyelids and the pupils are grey, and he is looking sideways and down towards the figure of the Nereid. The boat riding the waves has a rounded bow and a paddle.

1 My grateful thanks for their cooperation to the excavator Dan Bahat and Ayelet Dayan, editor of *Hadashot Arkheologiyot*, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photographs Dudi Mevorah, Israel Museum and Lihi Habas.

2 The mosaic was first published by Zori (1966; 1967; 1973), and there is a short description in Ovadiah – Ovadiah (1987: 34-36). The panels are now displayed in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. My deepest gratitude to Nelly Beyman, visual archives, IAA, and Dudi Mevorah, Israel Museum, for their help and cooperation.

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

4 Homer, *The Odyssey* with an English translation by A. T. Murray, London, 1999, 160-200.

Figure 2
The mosaic floor of room 3
(after Zori 1966: fig. 3).



Figure 3
Room 3: Upper panel – Odysseus and the
Sirens (Courtesy of D. Mevorah, Israel
Museum, Jerusalem).



Below is a naked Nereid riding on a sea centaur (Ichthyocentaur), both of their heads are missing. Light brown outlines shape the details of the Nereid's body, depicted in a 3/4 position - her hips and legs in profile and her upper torso frontal. Black and grey contours form a kind of vertebra that shapes the body of the monster. Brown contours outline the horse-like front legs, and grey outlines the fish tail that completes its body.

Another ship is sailing below, whose prow curves upwards, with a folded sail hanging from the mast by two cords. A young man, identified by Talgam as Odysseus fighting Scylla (2014: 376-377), is seated in the ship fighting a sea-monster with an oar or other weapon, and behind it two pithoi are depicted. In front of the young man is a Siren, her upper body is human and naked, and the lower part has a bird's legs. She has a long hair that falls onto her shoulders, and she is playing a flute. Light brown contours depict the bodies of the Siren and the youth, grey-black stripes form her hair, and short black, grey, and white stripes shape the young man's curls. Both have black eyebrows, upper eyelids, and pupils, their lower eyelids are brown, and their gaze is turned upwards. Waves in black, white and grey stripes connect and unite all the details of the composition.

Depicted between Odysseus and the Siren are a bird in flight, fish in the sea, and a Greek inscription: "Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) Λεοντί/ου κλουβ(ᾱ)" – 'Lord, help Leontis Kloubas' (Zori 1966: 132-133 pl. 11; 1973: 234 pl. 47:1; Roth-Gerson 1987: 34-35 fig. 12 no. 6). The formula 'Κύριε βοήθει' is common in Jewish and Christian inscriptions, as found in the marble slab in the synagogue at Caesarea (Suknik 1951: 29-30 pl. XV); and in the mosaic floors of churches, such as the chapel of Khirbat al-Kursi (Piccirillo – 'Amr 1988: 365-367 figs. 12-13; Piccirillo 1993a: 265 fig. 477), the church at Suf (Piccirillo 1993a: 315 fig. 650), the Lower Church of al-Quwaysmah (Piccirillo 1993a: 266), and the Church of St. Mary at Rihab (Piccirillo 1980a: 340-341 fig. 18 foto 42; 1980b: 154 pl. XCVIII: 2; 1993a: 311 fig. 625). The same formula appears in Aramaic inscriptions in Ma'on, Eshtamo'a, Horvat Susiya, El-Hammeh, and Na'aran synagogues (Roussin 1981: note 2 and references therein). Above the head of Odysseus and outside the panel, the end of a Greek inscription '...AMP' has been preserved.

Mythological Depictions in Secular Mosaic Floors in the Holy Land

Mythological depictions in Byzantine secular mosaic floors have been discovered in the Holy Land. In Madaba, there are a few mythological scenes such as the tragedy of Phaedra and Hippolytus and the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis in the Hippolytus Hall, Banche and a satyr in Bacchic procession, Achilles, Patroclus, Eubriseis and a Bacchic procession with a satyr playing a flute, and Heracles strangling the Nemean lion (Piccirillo 1993a: 66, 76-77, 80 figs. 3, 6, 32-33, 40, 43-44, 48, 80); and there is a fragmentary mythological scene in a villa at Gerasa with a Bacchic procession, Pan, Dionysus, a bacchante, and Aphrodite (Z'ubi et al. 1994: 540-546 fig. 2 photos 1-2). At Sheikh Zuweid the first panel depicts the tragedy of Phaedra and Hippolytus, with Eros, the nurse and the hunters. The second panel is divided into two registers, the top depicting Dionysus' triumph and the thiasus, which includes Dionysus, Eros, centaurs, a panther, a silenus, a satyr and a maenad. In the lower register is the drunken Heracles resting on the shoulder of a satyr with a panther, Pan, a satyr and a bacchante (Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 51-53 pl. XL, no. 69; Ovadiah et al. 1991: 122-126 figs. on p. 123-125; Ovadiah 1997: pl. 37 figs. 1-2); Dionysus' triumph also appears in the Erez mosaic, with a man holding two tigers (Rahmani 1973: 263-264 pl. 56:1; 1975: 21-42 pls. 3-4); a centaur and dancing Amazons are depicted in Sepphoris (Weiss – Talgam 2002: 73-74, 77-80 figs. 12, 15-17); Pan and Orpheus in Jerusalem (Vincent 1901: 436-448 figs.; Bagatti 1952: 145-160 fig. 2); and Helios in his chariot in Hammath Tiberias, Sepphoris, Beth Alpha and Na'aran (Ain-Douq) synagogues (Vincent 1921: 442-443; Sukenik 1932: 35 pls. 1b, X; 1949: 9-11 pls. I-II; Dothan 1983: 39-40 pl. 29:1; Weiss 2005: 104-110 figs. 46-48).

The middle panel (Fig. 4) depicts beribboned parrots, with a ribbon tied to the neck and waving in the wind, facing each other, creating an array of diamonds, and within them small diamonds and buds. Dark green contours shape the head and wings, the body is in green stones, a row of grey stones marks the area under the wing, the beak, ribbons, and legs are light brown/orange, and the pupils are black on a white background.

In the centre is a Greek dedication inscription within a medallion, 100 cm in diameter. The medallion is made of an outer row of black stones, while the



Figure 4
Room 3 – Greek dedication inscription surrounded by beribboned parrots (Courtesy of D. Mevorah, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

interior is a dentillated circle in light brown/orange. From the centre of the lower part two branches extend, ending with heart-shaped leaves. The inscription reads: “Μνησθη / εις αγαθὸν κ(αι) ις / εὐλογίαν ὁ κύριος Λεόντις / ὁ κλουβᾶς ὅτι ὑπὲρ (menorah - candlestick) / σοτηρίας αὐτοῦ κ(αι) τοῦ / ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωναθᾶ / ἐψήφισεν τὰ ὅδε / ἐξ ἡδύων” – ‘Be remembered for good and for praise Kyrios Leontis Kloubas because he paved this with mosaic at his own (expense) for his own salvation and that of his brother Jonathan’ (Zori 1966: 130, 132-134 pl. 13:B-C; Lifshitz 1967: no. 77b; Zori 1973: 236 pl. 47:2-3; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 35 pl. XXXI:1-2, no. 31; Roth-Gerson 1987: 37-38 fig. 14). As noted, on the right side of the fourth line of the inscription is a candlestick. Zori identified five branches, but during the reconstruction of the mosaic made at the Israel Museum, it turned out that the candlestick had seven branches, of which only five flames remain⁵. The formula ‘Μνησθη εις αγαθὸν’ is common, and is known in mosaic floors in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in synagogues such as Beth Alpha, Hammath Tiberias, and Jericho, and on the marble chancel screen from Ashdod (Foerster 1981: 18-28; Roth-Gerson 1987: 19, 29, 69 figs. 1-2, 9, 29).

The motif of beribboned parrots, a ribbon tied to the neck and waving in the wind, originates in Persian and Sassanian art, where the waving ribbon *-fative-* symbolises the Persian/Sassanian dynastic power and royal glory. It is unclear whether the Persian symbol was transformed in Roman and Byzantine mosaic floors into a merely decorative element - an exotic appearance, or whether it maintained its symbolic value and meaning (Levi 1947: I: 358, 479; Kondoleon 2000: 137). Beribboned parrots, facing each other with the ribbons around their necks waving in the wind, appear in one of the rooms of Imhof Monastery, nearby in Nysa Scythopolis (Habas 2021 - forthcoming). In Madaba in Transjordan, the same parrots are found among other motifs in a diamond net made of rosebuds in the Upper Baptistery Chapel in the Cathedral complex (Piccirillo 1981: 312-313 fotos 41, 43-44; 1989: fig. on p. 31; 1993a: 118 figs. 104, 116, 119), in the Church of Sunna’ (Piccirillo 1993b: 286-288 fig. 4 fotos 16, 21), and in a *scuta* net in the Chapel of the Martyr Theodore (AD 562) in the Cathedral complex (Qandil 1969: 64 pl. 33:a; Saller 1969: 149-150 figs. 1, 13, 15; Piccirillo 1981: 304 fotos 11, 29; 1993a: 117 fig. 97). Sometimes it appears as an individual motif in a frame, as in the church at Horvat Berachot (Tsafrir – Hirschfeld 1979: 305-307 fig. F pls. 15-17, 19), in the church at Umm-Jerar (Drake 1918: 122-124 fig.; Dalton 1919: 4 fig. on p. 7), and in the Church of the Lions at Umm al-Rasas (Piccirillo 1992: 213-214 fotos 31, 37 pianta I; 1993a: 236 figs. 338, 342-343, 376). A composition of parrots facing each other with collars on their necks appears in the nave of the Church of the Apostles (AD 578) at Madaba (Lux 1968: 113, 119 taff. 14: a-b, 20:a-d, 21:a-d, 22:a-d, 30:a; Piccirillo 1989: 98 figs. on pp. 97-98, 102; 1993a: figs. 80-81, 95). All the parallels from Israel and Transjordan are dated to the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

The third panel (Fig. 5) depicts a panoramic Nilotic landscape. In the upper part the Nile god is sitting on a crocodile (Zori 1966: 131) or hippopotamus (Roussin 1981: 7; Balty 1984: 828), and resting on a globular jug from which water flows, as is customary in the depictions of river gods. The image of the god is large and prominent, his upper body is unclothed and his lower body is wrapped in a folded cloak. In his left arm he holds a plant, and in his right hand a fowl, and he points in the direction of a pillared building, with a pediment roof covered with tiles and a tower, above which is written ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ – Alexandria. On the left side a Nilometer is depicted, standing on a rectangular base, with a

5 My thanks to Dudi Mevorah, Israel Museum, for bringing this to my attention.

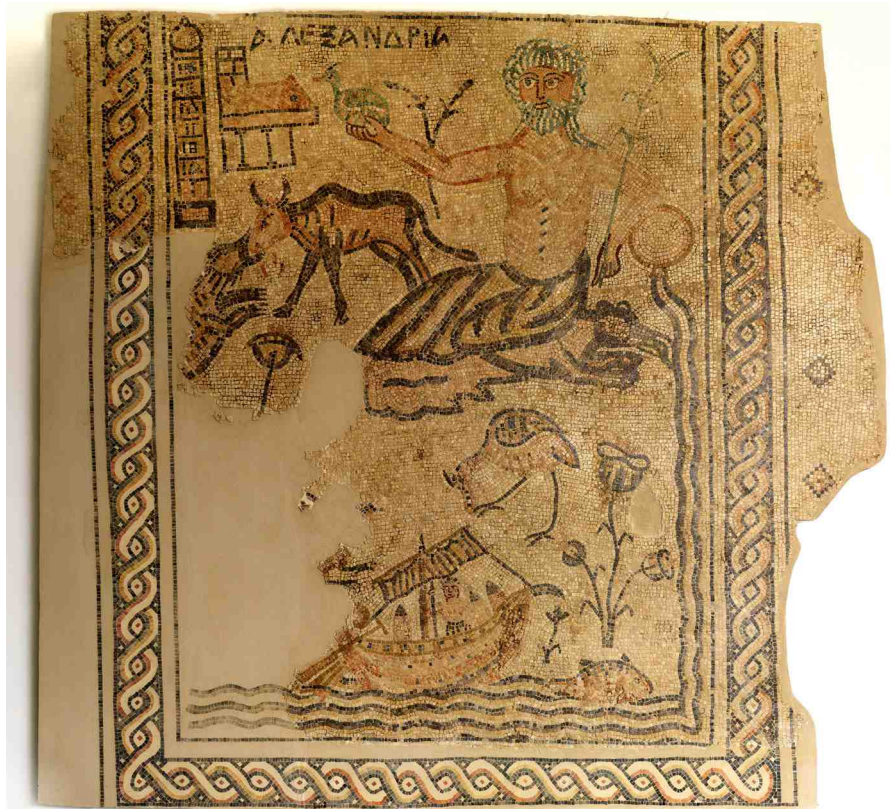


Figure 5
Room 3 – Nilotic landscape (Courtesy of D. Mevorah, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

round upper end marked 11-16 (IA IB II IΔ IE IZ) for measuring the water level during the flood season. Between the god and the Nilometer is a combat scene between a leopard and a bleeding bullock. The lower part of the composition depicts the Nilotic landscape - the Nile River, on which a boat sails, its sail tied to the yardarm, spread out and fixed to the prow by ropes, with a wide rudder, and prominent, rounded prow. A young man is standing in a boat near the mast and holding a rope, and there is a cargo of three wine jugs covered with pointed lids. Above is a stork, bending down, and a flying bird, and on the right there are papyrus plants and big fish swimming in the river (Zori 1966: 131-133 pl. 12; 1973: 233, 236 pl. 48). All the elements that make up the composition are to be viewed from a single orientation, and the large size of the figures is also characteristic.

Brown/orange contour lines shape the upper body, and dark brown lines outline the palms and fingers of the Nile god, while broad black and white stripes indicate the folds of the robe. Short white and grey/green stripes form his curly hair, falling down to his shoulders, and his short beard. Dark brown lines form the arched eyebrows, elongated nose and lips. His eyes are large, with black pupils on a white background. His body is frontal, but his gaze is turned to the side. The water jug is designed in concentric circles in dark brown, orange and white colours. The details of the city of Alexandria and the Nilometer are designed in black lines, the tiles are orange. Black and grey contours form the body of the bullock (back, legs, hooves, tail and horns) and the body is a uniform light brown/pink colour. Black and grey contours shape the body of the leopard, including the spots, legs and claws. The boat has a dark brown mast, the folds of the sail are designed in black and brown stripes, the rounded sides are brown, and the bow is black, while the body of the boat is designed in rows of rounded stones in black, brown/orange, beige and light brown, with scattered black stones. The young boy is depicted schematically from the front but his gaze is turned to the side, his upper body is naked and he is wearing a kind of black skirt. His short

hair is black. The wine jars are brown, with black lids. The waves of the river are shaped in rows of white, black and light brown stones. Black contours shape the stork's body (back, wing, tail and legs) and its body is light, in white, light brown and white. Black/grey outlines shape the lotus flowers (stem, leaves and calyx) and orange and pink flowers grow from the calyxes.

The Nilotic Landscape in the Mosaic Floors in the Holy Land

The Nilotic landscape is depicted in the mosaics of Israel and Jordan in a secular context in public buildings and private homes, and in a religious context in churches and chapels. As in the House of Kyrios Leontis, it may be depicted in a large panel that includes most of the components of the composition (the Nile, the city of Alexandria, the Nilometer, an animal fight, a boat sailing on the river, and the typical flora and fauna). The expanded composition has, in addition, the personification of Egypt, and celebrations and processions of the Nile Festival held in honour of the flooding of the river. In other cases only details from the composition appear, such as the vegetation typical of the Nile River environment, and architectural depictions (Hachlili 1998; Habas 2005: 340-343; Michaeli 2013).

The Byzantine artists took up the rich Nilotic depiction that had developed in the Hellenistic period and had become a popular genre in the Roman period⁶. Cities and people engaged in fishing are often depicted, and pygmy people provide a humorous atmosphere against the backdrop of the Nile landscape. The crocodile devouring an animal belongs to the Nilotic repertoire, and is described by ancient sources (Plin. nat. XXXV.142; Timotheus of Gaza, On Animals 42: 19). From among the variety of visual depictions, I will mention Hellenistic and early Roman works such as the mosaics from Paestrum (81 BC), from the Aventine Hill in Rome, and the mosaics and frescoes from Pompeii and Herculaneum (Reinach 1922: 161, 375, 377 figs. 1-3, 5; Foucher 1965: 137-139; Meyboom 1995: 20-42 figs. 6-29, 47; Tammisto 1997: 48-68 pls. 16-22, 24-28; Empereur 2000: 16 fig. 22). On mosaic floors of North Africa in the second and third centuries, the Nilotic landscape is depicted as a panoramic view, including details of the fauna (cranes, herons, ducks, fish) and the flora (lotus and papyrus), genre scenes, celebrations and rituals, like the mosaics in El Alia, Zliten and El Djem. At the same time, and against the background of the Nilotic landscape, there are humorous episodes with pygmy people hunting, fishing, and sometimes even preyed upon by a crocodile, as in the mosaics from Sousse, Timgad, Tripolitania, and also in Italica and Alcasaba in Spain (Lafaye 1911: nos. 82, 93; Foucher 1965: 138-141 figs. 4-9, 13-16, 18; Dunbabin 1978: 17, 48, 87, 109-110, 257-258, 269, 275, 278 pl. III fig. 6; Freijeiro 1978: 30-32 lám 18-19 núm 9; Fradier 1994: figs. on pp. 74-75; Dunbabin 1999: 146 fig. 152). The personification of the Nile appears in a tomb at Carthage, along with putti and fruits of the season, while in the bathhouse at the 'Nile Villa' in Lepcis Magna, the Nile god rides a hippopotamus and holds a cornucopia in its hand symbolizing the abundance and fertility of the river (Foucher 1965: 137-138 figs. 1-2; Dunbabin 1978: 126, 138, 250, 264). The Roman depictions of the Nile, in addition to their decorative quality, express a symbol of the abundance and fruitfulness bestowed on humans by the River Nile.

6 It originates in Alexandrian research literature such as the Topography of Demetrius; the *Aigyptiaka* of Manetho the Egyptian priest in Heliopolis; "On the Egyptian" of Hecataeus of Abdera, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus; "Journey Up the Memphis River" by Amomatos; and the literary genre of the *Nilotica* that described the Nile and the fauna found on its banks. Brown saw the Nilotic subject as an exotic topic that actually developed outside Alexandria, since not many works were found there (Brown 1957: 88; Meyboom 1995: 372-373; Tammisto 1997: 45, 61, 251).

As mentioned, the Nilotic landscape continues in the art of the Byzantine period, and I will focus on depictions on mosaic floors in the Holy Land. A panoramic view extending over a wide carpet that includes the Nilometer and the Nilotic landscape, as well as walled structure with towers, a pavilion, and the characteristic fauna and flora, including birds struggling against snakes, is depicted on the mosaic floors of the transepts of the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha (Schneider 1937: 58-63, 68-73, 78-79 tables A-B, 2-17, 30-31, 68; Whitehouse 1979: 140-141, M46); and in a rich composition in the 'Nile Festival Building' at Sepphoris, which includes a male personification of the River Nile, reclining on a hippopotamus and holding a cornucopia, accompanied by five putti, two of them engraving the number IZ on the Nilometer which express the optimal and successful yearly rising of the Nile (*semesion*). There is also a female personification of Egypt leaning on a basket of fruit and holding a cornucopia, as well as the city of Alexandria, the Pharos, the lighthouse of Alexandria, with a flame at the top, and the arrival of Semasia to Alexandria to announce that the flood has reached its peak, at the head of a procession of horsemen approaching the city to celebrate the festival of the inundation of the Nile promising a successful crop, along with crocodile and animal combat, a cow attacked by crocodile, a sailing boat with a man and wine-jars, fish, birds, and lotus flowers (Netzer-Weiss 1992a; 1992b: 76-79 figs. on pp. 75-80; 1995: 166-171; Weiss - Netzer 1996: 128-131 figs. 60-64; Weiss - Talgam 2002: 61-73 figs. 2, 5-11). The walled cities of Alexandria with the Pharos and Memphis appear in special panel in the centre of the nave of the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Gerasa, where the river view is concise and includes only lotus flowers (Biebel 1938: 333-336 pl. LXXV: a; Crowfoot 1938: 251-254 plan XXXIX; Piccirillo 1993a: 292 figs. 554, 556). The central panel of the nave of the church at Umm al-Manabi contains a walled city, the personification of the Nile, a Nilometer, a boat, and fish (Whitehouse 1979: 141-142, M47; Piccirillo 1993a: 341 fig. 752). Part of a Nilotic landscape has survived in the hall of chapel A at Zay al-Gharby: the composition contains two sail boats, with two figures in one of the boats, and a crocodile, fish, and aquatic birds are shown in the waves of the river (Piccirillo 1993a: 324 figs. 660, 670, 672, 676). A Nilotic panel is integrated within the geometric aisle in the church at Khirbet Madras, with birds, fish, nymphaea and lotus flowers (Ganor et al. 2011: 118 fig. 15; Zissu et al. 2016: fig. 17b).

The Nilotic landscape is common, as well as a decoration of frames and borders, in villas and churches, such as at El-Maqerqesh along with hunting and pastoral scenes (Beth Guvrin; Vincent 1922: 265, 272 pl. X:4; Schneider 1937: 70-72 ills. 12-14); in the later mosaic of the Dionysius Villa at Sepphoris with water plants, naked hunting figures, a crocodile, birds, and lotus flowers (Netzer - Weiss 1994: 37; Hachlili 1998: 107 fig. 5); in the chapel of Haditha together with a depiction of a walled city, ΕΓΥΠΤΟΣ – Egypt, people sailing on the river, and typical Nilotic flora and fauna (Avi-Yonah 1972: 118-120 pls. 20B, 21-23B; Whitehouse 1979: 138-139, M44); the walled city of Alexandria accompanied by two Nilotic scenes in the mosaic of the Church of St. John (AD 531) at Gerasa (Biebel 1938: 350-351 pl. LXVIIc; Piccirillo 1993a: 288 figs. 535, 542); in the Church of St. Stephen (AD 756) in Umm al-Rasas, including depictions of a river with fish, geese, and lotus flowers, a bird sitting in a lotus flower cup, long-legged waterfowl, boats, a crocodile, and boys fishing or hunting, as well as a series of ten cities in the Nile Delta identified by name, among them the city of Alexandria (Piccirillo 1993a: 238 figs. 345, 354-358, 380, 383, 385; 1994: 141-144 figs. 23, 29, 33-34, 58; Duval 1994: 190-191 tav. XX: 2). The Nilotic

landscape also appears in panels in intercolumnar spaces, for example in Umm al-Rasas, in the Church of the Priest Wa'il (AD 586), where the scene includes two boats, and fish and aquatic flowers in the river (Piccirillo 1993a: 242-243 figs. 396, 398, 400; 1993c: figs. 3, 43-44, 47). In the Church of Bishop Sergius (AD 587/8), the Nilotic scene depicts two fishermen sitting on rocks and fishing, and between them a boat with oars in the river (Piccirillo 1993a: 234-235 figs. 365; 1994: 132 figs. 3, 18); and in the Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius at Khirbat al-Mukhayyat two fantastical animals face a papyrus plant on which a duck is nesting, there are two geese on either side of lotus flowers, fish, a cormorant, and ducks swimming on a river with leaves and lotus flowers (Piccirillo 1993a: 164-165 figs. 208, 211, 215).

The Nilotic landscape is also found as a part of geometric composition, such as the birds, lotus flowers, and bird resting in a lotus cup within an octagon in Emmaus (Avi-Yonah 1934: 53 no. 346; 1992: 38 fig. on p. 38) and in the church at Kursi (Tzaferis 1983: 24-25); Nilotic motifs such as a stork and ducks resting in lotus cups in a diamond net appear in the North Church at Esbus (Piccirillo 1993a: 250 figs. 423, 433, 434), and in the Hippolytus Hall at Madaba (Piccirillo 1993a: 66 fig. 25); there is a single turtledove within two nilombos flowers in the chapel of Khirbet Munyah near Gerasa (Piccirillo 1983: 355-359 figs. 2, 6, 13; 1993a: 299 figs. 585, 589); and a single nilombos and lotus flowers decorate the geometric composition in the lower church of Quweismeh in Philadelphia-Amman district (Piccirillo 1984: 329-340 fotos 16, 18; 1993a: 266 fig. 485). Lotus flowers decorate the western portico of the agora in Beth shean in the depiction of animals and scattered plans and bushes⁷.

The Technique

The density of the stone is 50-60 per dm², and tesserae of coloured limestone were used for the mosaic (black, dark and light brown, blue, grey, white, red, reddish, orange and yellow), as well as coloured glass tesserae (blue, green, greenish, yellow, brown and red). The use of uniformly-sized tesserae and the laying of the background tesserae in horizontal rows emphasizes the flatness of the floor (Talgam 2014: 162).

The Meaning of the Descriptive Depictions

The depiction of Odysseus and the Siren in a Jewish context has been discovered so far only in the House of Leontis. A Jewish interpretation of the subject is unknown, but in early Christian literature it was interpreted allegorically as the voyage of the Christian's earthly life, with its perils and temptations that prevent the attainment of heavenly life (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 9:86-88, *Stromata* 6:2:89; Hippolytus, *Elenchus* 7:13:2, 3). In Neoplatonic thought, Odysseus' rejection of the Sirens symbolized victory over death, and this theme appears on early Christian sarcophagus lids. But it should be noted that in the mosaic of the House of Leontis, Odysseus is looking at the Nereid, and not at the Siren playing the flute as in traditional depictions. While the Sirens are a symbol of evil forces, the Nereids are symbols of immortality associated with the conduct of happy souls. Roussin (1981: 15-16, 18) suggests that the substitution is deliberate, and that its purpose is to express the journey of the soul into the world to come - thus the scene of Odysseus and the Siren can be interpreted as an allegory of the passage from this world to the next, and the inscription indeed seeks God's help for the landlord and expresses his wish

⁷ The excavations have not yet been published. My deepest gratitude for pictures and cooperation to the excavators Gaby Mazor and Walid Atrash, IAA.

for salvation. Odysseus and the Siren, and maybe the Scylla episodes near the inscription, should be understood in an allegorical interpretation – therefore, the battle against monsters and asking God for help.

Nilotic depictions are popular in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and originated from the Hellenistic Roman prototypes, but in the Byzantine period they lost the ritual significance of the Nile (Balty 1984: 827-834; Piccirillo 1993a: 34; Hamarneh 1994: 235). However, both the depiction of the ‘Nile Festival Building’ at Sepphoris, and the Talmudic literature indicate that the Byzantine population was still aware of the cult, and the Jewish sources connect the Nile events to the theatre (Dvorjetski – Segal 1995: 100-105, and references there). Some scholars have seen the Nilotic depictions as exotic decorative scenes taken from pattern books, without symbolic meaning (Dauphin 1978: 408-409; Hachlili 1998: 119); Biebel (1938: 302, 342-349) explains the introduction of the subject into the churches of Gerasa in order to add beauty to the mosaic floors; Hamarneh (1999: 185, 188-189) notes the richly decorative character that attracted the attention of the donors, and referred only generically to elements of creation, becoming purely decorative compositions. Some researchers state that Nilotic motifs were themes of geography and topography, with no symbolic meaning, that were part of the Renaissance that took place in the time of Justinian (Kitzinger 1965: 10; 1976: 52, 54, 59; Michaeli 2013: 130), while Avi-Yonah suggests (1972: 121-122) that for Greeks and Romans, the Nilotic scene represented the exotic landscape of Egypt, but in the Christian perception the Nile valley represented earthly delights, part of the earth-bound world. Contrary to these approaches, other scholars have given symbolic explanations, since in antiquity the Nile Valley was a symbol of the prosperity of nature and fertility, appearing also in ancient sources (Hdt. 2.14), and the annual flooding turned Egypt into the granary of the Roman world (Lewis 1983: 111). A similar explanation can be given for the depictions of fishing, and sailing ships laden with wine jars, while the appearance of the walled cities is explained by Hunt (1994: 111) as a prayer for continued prosperity. According to the Christian conception, the Nile was one of the four rivers flowing from Paradise, thus the Nilotic scenes have been considered as Paradise on earth and sacred geography (Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980: 51; Piccirillo 1993a: 37). Maguire (1987: 43-44, 50-55, 81-84; 1999: 179-181), relying on ancient sources, considers the Nile as bringing fertility and prosperity, both material and spiritual, and as a sign of earth and water; he explains that they have allegorical meaning in connection with the creation, and the geographical role of the four Rivers of Paradise. The same interpretation is expressed by Meyboom (1995: 77-90) when he analyses the Palestrina mosaic (second century BC) - the scenes of the Nilotic landscape were perceived as symbols of fertility resulting from the flooding of the Nile, and in Christian period they were understood as illustrations of the creation. Weiss and Talgam’s (2002: 72) interpretation of the mosaic at Sepphoris takes both approaches that the Nile was chosen because of its fertility, abundance, and prosperity, but also because of its exotic-decorative value. The Nile as a symbol of spiritual revival and as metaphor for wealth explains its long existence and prevalence in both secular and religious contexts, especially for people who lived in a desert or semi-desert country, and the idyllic landscape is actually heavenly bliss on earth (Foucher 1965: 143; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1975: 152; Alföldi-Rosenbaum - Ward-Perkins 1980: 5, 49, 51; Maguire 1987: 42, 44, 51). Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1975: 151) also explains the theme as a symbol of the struggle between good and evil.

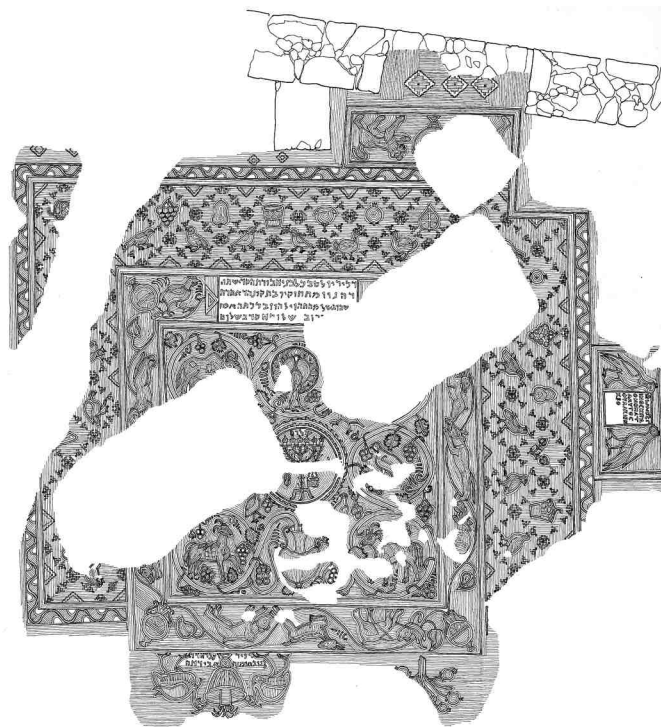
The flora (lotus, papyrus, oleander, reed) and fauna (cormorants, doves, ducks,

geese, herons, cranes, crocodiles) of the Nile, beyond being decorative-exotic motifs, express the richness of nature and the hope for fertility and prosperity, as mentioned. The crocodile was a characteristic and sacred animal in Egypt, and although the religious-ritual aspects of Nilotic descriptions are absent from the depictions in the Holy Land, other than the unusual depiction in Sepphoris, it was considered in Roman period as part of the Nilotic repertoire, and was symbolic of Egypt, and for Christians it was a symbol of the powers of evil (Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1975: 152; Alföldi-Rosenbaum and Ward-Perkins 1980: 51). Roussin (1981: 6-9, 12, 18) gives an eschatological interpretation to the crocodile - cow/ox combat by drawing a parallel with the combat between Leviathan and Behemoth according the Jewish tradition - one is a creature that belongs to the sea and the other to land (Job 40; Isaiah 27; Midrash Rabbah, *Leviticus* 13:3; Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Batra* 74a, 75a). This battle will take place in the End of Days, and after it the Messianic Era will be celebrated by a banquet, at which the righteous will eat the Leviathan and Behemoth. She also explains the duck in the hand of the personification of the Nile as the goose that will be provided at the Messianic banquet (Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Batra* 73b-74a). So, both panels – Odysseus and the Siren and the Nilotic depiction - are united in the same idea of expressing hope for salvation in the End of Days.

Prayer Hall or a Small Synagogue

The second hall, excavated by D. Bahat and A. Druks (Bahat 1972; 1981; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 36-37), probably served as a prayer hall or a small synagogue, and is arranged in an unclear plan and a different orientation. This part of the complex lies to the east of the gates in the city wall, apparently on a street leading to one of them. The prayer hall is square in plan, 7 x 7 m, decorated by a mosaic floor (Figs. 1, 6, 7). There were probably benches around the hall, which explains the distance of the mosaic from the walls of the room. The mosaic floor has been partially preserved⁸.

Figure 6
Plan of the Synagogue
(after Bahat 1972: plan on p. 56).



⁸ The mosaic floor is displayed now in the Hecht Museum, University of Haifa. My deepest gratitude to Shunit Mermelstein and Peri Harel for their help and cooperation.



Figure 7
The mosaic floor of the Synagogue (Photo:
Lihi Habas).

The hall has two entrances, on the north and the east, and a pair of animals decorated the two thresholds.

On the northern doorway (Figs. 8.1-8.2) the white margins are wide, and decorated with row of serrated polychrome diamonds (Avi-Yonah 1933: Type E; Décor I: pl. 5a; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: Type D). Of these, three diamonds remain, formed by a black outer contour with pink and white stones inside, and four black stones in the centre. Nearby is the threshold panel, surrounded by a simple frame consisting of a row of black stones, three rows of white, and a row



Figure 8.1
Panel of the northern doorway: pair of lion-
cubs flanking a chalice, right side
(Photo: Lihi Habas).

of black. The panel depicts two lion-cubs flanking a chalice, in heraldic array. The right one has survived intact while only the back paw has survived of the left cub. The lion cub raises one front leg towards the chalice, and its tail turns



Figure 8.2
Panel of the northern doorway: pair of lion-cubes flanking a chalice, left side
(Photo: Lihi Habas).

up and twists towards the corner. A black line forms the outline and details of the body. Rows of grey, light brown, orange, and black dots fill the body. The ears are small and round, a rounded black line forms the upper eyelid, the pupil is black on a white background. The mouth is open, the teeth are white triangular stones, and a red tongue protrudes. The neck is short and designed in diagonal black/brown and white lines. Only the lower part of the chalice has survived, shaped in black outline with a triangular base, above which is a kind of button that connects to the round body of the cup. The panel with the lion cubs and calyx faces the viewer entering the prayer room from the north. In the design of the background, it can be seen that one row follows the outline of the lion cubs and the chalice, and the rest of the rows are laid horizontally.

The threshold panel is surrounded by a simple frame consisting of a row of black stones, three rows of white, and a row of black. Set in a panel and within a simple frame of a row of black stones is a Greek dedication inscription of anonymous donors between two pheasants (34 x 45 cm), in black letters (Fig. 9): “Π(ροσ)φ(ορά) ὧν Κ(ύριος) γ / ινόσκι τὰ / ὀνόματ / α αὐτὸς / φυλάξι ἐν / χρο(νῶ)” – ‘The gift of those of whom the Lord knows the names, He shall guard them in times ...’ (Bahat 1972: 58; 1981: 85; Roth-Gerson 1987: 41-43 fig. 16, no. 9)⁹. According to the excavators this inscription was inserted at a later time, since the frame cuts into the beaks and tops of the birds. The lower part of the inscription has been removed and replaced by plain and cruder tesserae.



Figure 9
Panel of the Eastern doorway: pair of pheasants flanking Greek inscription
(Photo: Lihi Habas).

The pheasants are depicted in profile, and are designed in the same way: the body, wing and tail are outlined in black. The head is decorated with pink stones, the upper eyelid is black, and the pupil is black on a white background. The neck is brown and separated from the body by a black line. The wing is highlighted

⁹ Anonymous donors are common in Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions, and appear in the synagogues at Hammath Tiberias, Husifah, Ma'on, Na'aran and Jericho (Naveh 1978: 48, 66-68, 92-93, 103-105 figs. on pp. 48, 66, 92, 104, nos. 6, 26, 39, 57, 69; Foerster 1981: 12 note 2), and in Greek inscriptions such as the marble panel from Caesarea (Roth-Gerson 1987: 111-112 fig. 57 no. 25).

and separated from the body by a black outline and a white line, and is designed in short and irregular rows of stones in black, pink, light brown, and beige. The body is shaped by curved rows of pink and a row of brown with scattered black stones. The legs and claws are brown. The panel with the inscription and the pheasants faces the person going out of the prayer hall.

The south margin is partially preserved: on the right side are a pair of guinea-fowl in heraldic array, flanking a chalice or bowl from which a plant is growing, and accompanied by an Aramaic inscription: "Remembered be for good the artisan who made this work" (Figs. 7, 10) (Bahat 1972: 57; 1981: 85; Naveh 1978: 78-79 fig. on p. 78 no. 47). On the left a pomegranate tree survives.



Figure 10
The south margin: pair of guinea-fowl flanking chalice or bowl and Aramaic inscription (Photo: Lihi Habas).

A black contour shapes the upper body, head, neck, wing, and tail of the guinea-fowl, while a light brown contour shapes the lower part of the bird. The head, open beak and neck are light pink-brown, and the pupil is black on a white background. Vertical rows in white, pink, black, brown, and beige fill the wing, and a row of white stones separates the wing from the body. Short and irregular rows in brown, beige, and pink fill the bird's body, and the legs are orange. A black outline shapes the chalice and its parts: the base is semi-circular in pink and white, and a round button in the same colour connects the base with the vessel's polygonal body, which is shaped in black, pink, white, and orange rounded lines. The inside of the cup is depicted in a 3/4 view, so that its contents can be seen, formed by diagonal rows of black, white, beige and pink, and in the middle a column rises up, from which black branches grow. The trunk and branches of the pomegranate tree are black, and the reddish pomegranates are sprinkled with white stones. The two lines of the Aramaic inscription extend between the legs of the birds and the base of the vessel. The letters are black, and it is to be read facing north, by contrast with the other depictions that face south.

The hall itself is decorated with vine scrolls populated by animals, surrounded by several borders. The outer frame is narrow and encompasses only three sides (east, north, and west), decorated with a three-dimensional, undulating, polychrome ribbon in frontal perspective on a black background (Fig. 11) (Avi-Yonah 1933: Type B1; Décor I: pl. 65a; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: Type B1). The outline of the ribbon is bounded by two rows of black stones, and is formed by a white/pink outer stripe, the outer part is rows of diagonal stones in red, pink, white, and brown, and the inner part is diagonal rows of stones in dark brown and light brown, white, and light pink. Between them and on the black background are small pink flowers with a white stone in the centre.

Figure 11
The outer frame: undulating ribbon
(Photo: Lihi Habas).



The middle frame also encompasses the same three sides. It is composed of a simple frame of black and white rows, and inside, a wide frame decorated with a diamond network made of buds, with four buds in the shape of open flowers formed at the meeting points (D cor I: pl. 15j; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: Type H7). The net is populated with birds (guinea-fowls, doves, and ribboned parrots with a ribbon tied to the neck and waving in the wind), fruit (pomegranates, citrons, cluster of grapes), baskets of fruit, lotus flower, leaves, and serrated triangles (Figs. 12.1., 12.2, 13.2). The buds are made of a black calyx and a reddish-pink blossom. The serrated triangles are designed with a black outline, and the interior is varied: brown and white rows, or brown stones in different shades, grey, pink and white. A black outline shapes the body of the guinea-fowl, the wings and tail, legs and beak are in a light pink/brown colour, a checked pattern of black and white/beige shapes the wings, and a white line separates the wings from the body. A black contour shapes the birds' bodies and



Figures 12.1 - 12.2
The middle frame: populated diamond network (Photo: Lihi Habas).

wings. The head and wing are light brown in colour, with eyes formed by black and white triangular stones, and a white row separates the wings from the body. The body is designed in pink, brown, and grey rows with black stones, and the legs and beak are pink. The beribboned parrots are similarly designed with a pink ribbon, and there are also birds with a tassel on their head. The fruits are outlined in black/brown and are gradually filled with rows of pink, grey, yellow, and white/beige stones. Some of the woven baskets are empty, some are full of bunches of grapes, and others have a handle: black lines shape the patterns of the woven baskets with rows of pink and white stones. A black outline shapes the lotus flower and the interior with grey and brown stones and a beige centre. A brown contour shapes the pomegranate and interior in concentric rows of red and beige.

The inner frame surrounds the carpet all sides: there are four amphorae at the

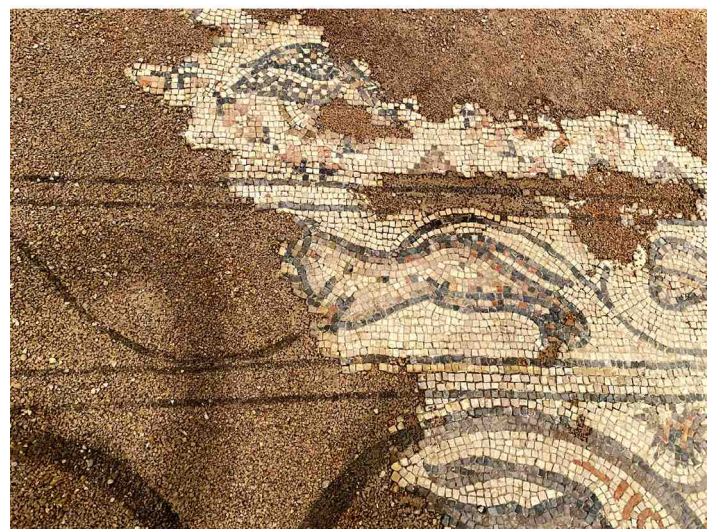
Figure 13.1

The inner frame: amphorae at the corners and a rooster (Photo: Lihi Habas).

Figure 13.2

The inner frame: undulating ivy branches populated with animals chasing scenes (Photo: Lihi Habas).

four corners, laid diagonally (Figs. 6, 13.1), from which undulating ivy branches with tendrils issue in either direction (D'Écor I: pl. 64d). Among the leaves there are animal chase scenes, including a dog chasing a hare, a fox chasing a fawn, a bear chasing a fawn, and an elephant (Figs. 13.2 - 13.3). In the middle of the northern part of the frame is a large Aramaic inscription in a *tabula ansata*, 47 x 140 cm, flanked by a pair of roosters, of which only the left has survived: "Remembered be for good all the members of the Holy Congregation who endeavoured to repair the holy place. In peace shall they have their blessing, Amen! ... Peace! Piety in peace!" (Figs. 12.1 - 13.1 top) (Bahat 1972: 57; 1981: 85; Naveh 1972: 186 figs. on pp. 186-187, no. 184; 1978: 77-78 fig. on p. 77 no. 46). The reading direction of the inscription is from south to north, and it can be read from the centre of the carpet.



The ivy branch is a simple black outline. The leaves are shaped by a black line and a central stripe, a row of alternately black and pink stones follows the outline of the leaf, and it is filled with mixed white, pink, and black stones. The amphorae are simple and schematic with black contours shaping the triangular base, a semicircle connecting the base to the spherical body, neck, and rim of the vessel. Two amphorae have two curled handles in the form of volutes, the third amphora has no handles, and the fourth amphora has not survived. Red stones fill the base and hemisphere. A row of black stones and two horizontal pink rows divide the spherical body into two, the bottom is decorated with a row of alternating black and pink stones, a light pink row, and white rows laid in a semicircle, and the top of the vessel body is divided into three by rows of black, pink and white stones. The neck is decorated with pink and white stones.



Figure 13.3
The inner frame: undulating ivy branches
populated with animals chasing scene
(Photo: Lihi Habas).

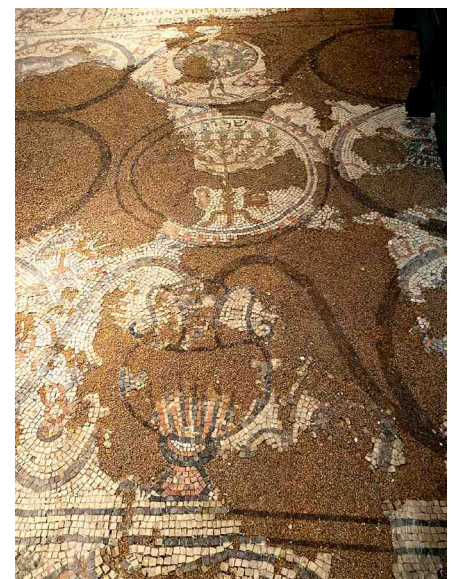
Black lines outline the body, horns, tails, and hooves of the animals. Long and short rows of grey, brown, pink, orange, white, and black shape the body parts. The design of the rooster uses black and reddish contours that shape the body, tail and wing. The face, cockscomb and legs are red. Light brown, black, white, and red stones are scattered all over the body. The animals move around, and the viewpoint for looking at them is from the centre of the carpet to the frame. The movement of the animal chase is lively, the attackers leap with open mouths and a protruding red tongue, and the victims flee, and sometimes even look back. The dog has a red collar around its neck and its teeth sink into the rabbit's hind legs.

The carpet is decorated with populated vine scrolls creating three rows, each with three scrolls (Figs. 6-7), and the viewing direction is from south to north. In the first row, the vine scrolls sprout from an amphora that is located at the middle of the southern row, flanked by a pair of goats in heraldic array (Figs. 14.1-14.2). In the second row is a central medallion, flanked by a pair of pheasants of which only the right has survived. This central medallion is populated with Jewish ritual objects, including a *menorah* (seven-branched candlestick), an *ethrog* (citron), a censer hanging from chains, and a *shofar* (ram's horn), with an inscription "peace" in Hebrew above the candlestick (Figs. 14.1, 14.3). In the third row is a peacock with spread wings in the centre, flanked by a pair of bulls, of which only the left has survived (Figs. 14.1, 14.4, 14.5).

The vine scrolls are formed by a row of black stones, and two brown/grey rows, and these form round medallions. The branches and tendrils are pink or grey, and on the twigs hang clusters of grapes and vine leaves. These fill the scrolls and spaces between them. The bunches of grapes are each designed of grapes in different colours (brown, red, pink, black) and filled with pink or beige stones or in several colours. The vine leaves are shaped from jagged leaves in black/grey with reddish veins.

Black contours outline the amphora and its parts, the triangular base is reddish, a half-button connects the base to the body of the vessel, shaped in concave white, black, grey, red, and white lines. The body of the vessel is round and polygonal,

Figure 14.1
Populated vine scrolls carpet: central
column – amphora, seven-branched
candlestick, and peacock
(Photo: Lihi Habas).



and vertical rows in black, pink/beige, and red form the ribs. A horizontal black line separates the neck from the body of the vessel, and the handles are curled in the shape of volutes (Fig. 14.1). The goat is depicted in motion, a black outline shapes the wavy back, tail and front parts of the legs, and a brown/orange and yellow outline shapes the head, the small ears, front of the neck, lower body, and back of the legs. The pair of rounded horns are formed by two rows of black and orange. A black pupil is depicted at the edge of the eye on a white background. Curving rows of beige, red, brown, and black follow the back of the goat and form its upper body, while short, pink, brown, and black rows on a white background outline its lower body. The hooves are grey (Fig. 14.2).

Figure 14.2
Populated vine scrolls carpet: goat
(Photo: Lihi Habas).



Figure 14.3
Populated vine scrolls carpet: seven-
branched candlestick, citron, censer, and
ram's horn (Photo: Lihi Habas).



The central medallion of the second row is not part of the vine scrolls, and is made of several frames: the outer frame consists of a simple file of black tesserae

with black leaves facing outwards; a simple filet of red tesserae with dentils of squares of four tesserae (Avi-Yonah 1933: Type A3; Décor I: pl. 2j; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: Type A3); and a simple filet of black tesserae. The candlestick is made of dark and light brown tesserae, and stands on a tripod base. The stem and branches of the candlestick are made of buds, in imitation of the ‘bud-and-flower’ pattern noted in the Bible. The branches terminate in a horizontal bar, and above this are small brown cups and green beakers from which wicks and red flames with yellow cores emerge. The letters of the inscription are black, and the liturgical objects are made of dark and light brown tesserae (Figs. 14.1, 14.3).

The pheasant’s body is outlined by a red contour, the upper eyelid is black, the lower eyelid is white, and the black pupil is at the edge of the eye. A white stripe separates the wing from the body. Black, white, red, and green stones shape the wing, and the body is formed of short vertical rows in white and black (Fig. 14.3). The peacock is shown in 3/4 view, and its outspread tail surrounds its body in concentric circles. A black outline shapes its body and tail. The eye appears in the centre of the head, with a black upper eyelid and a lower red eyelid, and the pupil is green, at the edge of the eye. The neck is black-grey, the body is shaped by rows of light brown, pink and white/beige, and the legs are brown. The feathers are colourful - the base of the feathers is white and the ‘eyes’ are made of a black circle surrounded by a green circle made of glass, a brown/reddish circle, a black circle, and a red circle (Figs. 14.1, 14.4). A black/grey contour shapes the body of the bull, its tail and legs. Grey and brown rows



Figure 14.4
Populated vine scrolls carpet: peacock
(Photo: Lihi Habas).

follow the upper back, thighs and lower abdomen. The body parts are separated by light brown and black lines, and between them areas of white, brown, and black. The curved horns are yellow, the small ears are black, and the pupil of the eye is black. The male genitalia are marked by a red outline with white stones in the centre (Fig. 14.5).

The design of the mosaic expresses richness and density (*horror vacui*), the spaces between the scrolls are filled with grape leaves, grape clusters, tendrils, and different types of birds.

Figure 14.5
Populated vine scrolls carpet: bull
(Photo: Lihi Habas).



The viewpoints in the mosaic vary: in some places the threshold panels refer to the direction entering the hall, in others, the exit from it. The events of the chase scenes of the inner frame can be seen from the centre of the carpet. The populated vine scrolls containing the inscription found in the inner frame are oriented from south to north. In the southern frame, the motifs are oriented from south to north while the inscription is read upside down. These different directions of the carpet cause the viewers to move in different directions to observe the different parts that made up the composition.

The Technique

The size and density of the tesserae vary depending on location: in the northern doorstep the tesserae are square or rectangular, 1x1, 1x1.5, 1x2 cm, and triangular stones are also used for depiction of the teeth. The density of the stone is 49 per dm². In the eastern doorstep the tesserae are square or rectangular, 1x1, 1x1.5, 2x2 cm, and triangular stones are also used. The density of the stone is 36-42 per dm². In the frame the tesserae are square, 1.5x1.5 cm, and triangular stones are also used for the eyes. The density of the stone is 49 per dm². In the vine scroll the tesserae are square and rectangular, 1.5x1.5, 1x2 cm and triangular stones are also used for the eyes. The density of the stone is 60 per dm². Tesserae of coloured limestone (black, dark and light brown, grey, white, beige, red, reddish/pink, orange and yellow), and coloured glass tesserae (green, greenish, yellow, and red) were used for the mosaic.

The Parallels of the Motifs and Composition and Their Frequency

The composition and the motifs of the prayer hall are common in mosaic pavements in the Holy Land in a secular and religious context. Some adorn carpets, others are in frames or appear as individual motifs.

Frames of polychrome three-dimensional undulating ribbon appear in the Church of Bishop Sergius (AD 587/588) and the Church of the Priest Wa'il (AD 586) at Umm al-Rasas (Piccirillo 1993a: 234-235, 242-243 figs. 365, 369, 396, 399-400; 1993c: figs. 15-16, 23, 47; 1994: figs. 2-3).

Frames of populated diamond network made of buds, with four buds in a shape of open flowers at the meeting points, are very common and are populated with a wide variety of motifs (fruits, vegetables, flowers, animals, birds, and geometric patterns), as in the Monastery of Lady Mary at Beth Shean (Fitzgerald 1939: 8-9 pls. XIII, XVIII); the churches at Shavei Zion (Prausnitz 1967: plan 7 pls. XXVIII-XXIX, XL: b), Kafr Kama (Saarisalo – Palva 1964: figs. 5, 16), and Kursi (Tzaferis 1983: pl. XI: 6). In Madaba in Jordan, this network is typical of the workshops that operated in the area, populated by many motifs, and appearing in a religious context, such as in the northeastern chapel of the Church of the Apostles, and the Upper Baptistery Chapel in the Cathedral complex, as well as in a secular context, such as the Hippolytus Hall, the Burnt Palace, and the Mosaic of Birds and Fish (Piccirillo 1993a: 66, 78, 106, 118, 132 figs. 25, 49-50, 54, 90, 104, 116, 119, 162-163).

Frames of undulating ivy branches without any additional depictions appear in the church at Ashkelon-Barne'a (Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 13-14 pl. III:1, no. 7); in Beth Shean in the Samaritan Synagogue, and a variant is found in a villa (Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 34, 40 pls. XXIX:2, XXXV nos. 30, 42); in the south chapel at Kafr Kama with lotus flowers (Saarisalo – Palva 1964: 7 pls. 7-8; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 88 pl. C no. 138); and in the church at Sede Nahum (Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 125 pl. CXXXVIII no. 212). In Jordan, such a frame appears in the Basilica of Moses at Mt. Nebo, the Central Church at Ma'in, the Church of John and Elias, and the Church of the Holy Fathers at Khattabiyah (Piccirillo 1993a: 148, 202, 244 figs. 190, 193, 314-315, 402, 405).

Pair of animals flanking an inscription: a pair of lions flanking an inscription appears in some of the synagogues, such as at Hammath Tiberias (Dothan 1983: 49 pls. 17:1, 34), Hammath-Gader (Naveh 1978: 54 fig. on p. 54), Beth Alpha (Suknik 1932: 42 pl. XII: 1), and Na'aran (Vincent 1919: 532-563 fig. 1; 1961: 169 pl. VII).

Animal chases are a common theme in frames and carpets. Animals chasing between trees appear in a frame in the villa in Caesarea Maritima (Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 48-49 pl. XXXVIII:1, 3 no. 62; Spiro 1992: 250 fig. 8). In a populated vine scrolls carpet, this theme appears along with other motifs or episodes in the Synagogue in Gaza Maritime (Ovadiah 1969: 124 pl. 3; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 61 pls. LII:1, LIII, no. 83); in the church at Hazor Ashdod (Habas 2019: 103 figs. 1, 9; 2020: 116-118 figs. 10-12); in the Church of Bishop John at Khirbet Barqa (Gan Yavneh; Habas 2012: 132 fig. 1); in the church at Shellal (Trendall 1957: 20 fig. 5: b pls. I-II); in the Church of St. Stephen at Horvat Be'er-shem'a (Gazit – Lender 1993: 275-276 figs. on p. 273); and in the Funerary Chapel at el Hammām (Beth-Shean; Avi-Yonah 1936: 15 pls. XIV-XV).

Populated vine scrolls with an amphora in the centre of the first row: the layout of a scroll sprouting from an amphora/kantharos located in the centre of the first row is defined by Dauphin as Type IV:b (1976: 116-117 fig. 2). This composition is very common, and has many parallels in the Land of Israel: in the Monastery of Lady Mary at Beth Shean (Fitzgerald 1939: 9 pls. XVI-XVII) and the Monastery of St. Martyrius in Ma'ale Adummim (Magen 1993: 179, 184 figs. on p. 179 pls. X:a, XI:a); the churches at Hazor Ashdod (Habas 2020: 112-115 figs. 2, 6), Shellal (Trendall 1957: 16-21 fig. 5:b), Tel Keriouth (Derfler 2003: 42 figs. 1, 5), Khirbat 'Asida (Baramki – Avi-Yonah 1934: 17-19 pls. X, XI:2), the Church of St. Stephen at Horvat Be'er-shem'a (Gazit – Lender 1993: 275-276 figs. on p. 273 pl. XXI:d); the chapels in El-Maqerqesh (Beth Guvrin; Vincent

1922: 259-281; Abel 1924: 583-604), Horbat Sokho (Gudovitch 1996: 19 plan 1 fig. 1), and the Armenian mosaic in Jerusalem (Schick – Bliss 1894: fig. on p. 259), and also in the synagogue at Ma'on (Nirim; Avi-Yonah 1960a: 26 fig. 13 pls. III:1). Foerster saw the appearance of populated vine scrolls in synagogues as echoes of Christian iconography (Foerster 1988: 202-204), but in fact this composition continued from the Roman tradition to both communities.

Pair of animals flanking an amphora in heraldic array: this pattern appears in many mosaic floors: the animals are peacocks in the church at Shellal (AD 561/2; Trendall 1957: 12-21 figs. 3-4, 5: b pls. I-IV), in the Armenian 'Mosaic of the Birds' in Jerusalem (Schick – Bliss 1894: 257-261 figs. on pp. 258-259), and in the synagogue of Ma'on (Nirim; Avi-Yonah 1960a: 26 fig. 13 pls. III:1); there are lions/lionesses in the church at Hazor-Ashdod (AD 511/2) (Habas 2019: 101-103 figs. 1, 5-6; 2020: 114-115 figs. 2, 6-7), and in the Church of St. Stephen at Horvat Be'er-shem'a (Gazit – Lender 1993: 275 fig. on o. 273); there are panthers in the Church of Deacon Thomas at 'Uyun Musa Valley (Piccirillo 1993a: 187-188 fig. 263); and sheep and stags in the Church at Khirbat 'Asida (Baramki – Avi-Yonah 1934: 17-19 pls. X, XI:2) and in el-Maqerqesh (c. AD 527) (Beth Guvrin; Abel 1924: 592-598 fig. 4 pls. XIII:2, XIV).

Jewish ritual objects and their meaning: the seven-branched candlestick, citron, censer hanging from chains, and ram's horn appear in a group of synagogues in a special panel in front of the *bema* along with a depiction of the Ark, such as in Hammath Tiberias (Dothan 1983: 33-39 plan E pls. 10, 25-28), Susiya (Gutman – Yeivin – Netzer 1981: 126 plan on p. 123, fig. on p. 125), Na'aran (Vincent 1961: pls. VII, XXIII), the Samaritan Synagogue at Beth Shean (Zori 1967: 152-154 figs. 3-4 pl. 29:5), and Beth Alpha (Sukenic 1932: pl. IX); they are part of an array in a rich composition in the synagogue at Sepphoris (Weiss 2005: 65-77 figs. 2, 11-15). They appear flanked by a wreath and inscription within in a frame close to the entrance in the synagogue at 'Isfiya (Huseifa; Makhoully – Avi-Yonah 1934: 120-122 pl. XLVII; Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987: 72 pls. LXXXIV-LXXXV no. 103); flanked by pair of lions at the east end of populated vine scrolls at the synagogue at Ma'on (Nirim; Avi-Yonah 1960a: 29-30 fig. 13 pls. VII:4, VIII:1); and within a medallion in the centre of the carpet near the Ark in the synagogue at Jericho (Baramki 1938: 73 pl. XIX). Some of the four species appear in Huldah (Avi-Yonah 1960b: 57-58 fig. 1 pl. XII:3). Finally, depicted in the synagogue at Gerasa are a seven-branched candlestick, Jewish ritual objects, and an inscription, flanked by a pair of lions turning their backs to the symbols (Biebel 1938: 318-323 pl. LXIII: b; Piccirillo 1993a: 290 figs. 546-548).

The candlestick represents the New Year, Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles that take place at the beginning of the Jewish New Year, which is the Fall harvest time. The Jewish Midrashim (Biblical commentaries) explain that the Four Species reflect redemption of the penitent from sin, salvation, and the promise of new life after death, just as the ritual brings the long-awaited rain after the dry summer. Together with the depictions of the Holy Ark that are common in synagogues, they have eschatological meaning.

Conclusions: The Identity of the Complex, the Owner of the House, and His Spiritual and Cultural World

The plan and the identity of the complex are not clear. Zori (1973: 233) identifies the building as a private home, while Hüttenmeister – Reeg (1977: 62–64 no. 8) refer to the possibility that the house was a private home, but according to the wording of the inscription they prefer the interpretation that it was a synagogue. Foerster (1988: 202) recognizes the building as a public building – a hostel for passers-by, as implied by a Greek dedication inscription, since the courtyard adjacent to the synagogue with a water-cistern in the centre was paved with white mosaic, and near the cistern, there are two Greek inscriptions: one mentions the completion of the cistern, and the other: “[Yo]se the great innkeeper and his children made the mosaic of this place. Peace (in Hebrew)”. Yose and his children were probably the donors. According to Ruth Ovadiah and Asher Ovadiah (1987: 37), the word ‘place’ in the inscription does not refer to the synagogue, but to the paved courtyard, which is located more than 10 m to the south of the synagogue and is separated from it by two walls, and Foerster assumes (1992: 220–221) that the prayer room and Hall 3 served as part of an inn. The identity of the house in my view still remains unresolved, and since the building has not been excavated in its entirety, other than the courtyard, a few small rooms, and two decorated halls, it is likely that this was a wealthy house with a prayer hall.

The name of the owner of the house, Leontis, appears twice in the inscriptions. ὁ κλουβᾶς maybe indicates a profession – cage maker - or a nickname (Zori 1966: 134; 1973: 234; Roth-Gerson 1987: 165). Lifshitz (1967: no. 77b) also considers that it is the name of a profession derived from the word cage, and that the donor was a craftsman who installed cages and perhaps also engaged in their sale, and he offers another interpretation that the landlord may have made stoves.

Leontis was a common name in the Christian and Jewish communities, for example Leontius Bishop of Madaba in the Chapel of the Theotokos at Mt. Nebo (Saller 1941: 255, 257 pl. 116.3 no. V; Di Segni 1998: 433–434, 465 no. 14), and it was a common name among Jews in the Holy Land and the Diaspora in both Hebrew and Greek, as found in Beth She‘arim, Caesarea, Jaffa, and Tiberias (Schwabe – Lifshitz 1967: 21, 33 and there references; Roth-Gerson 1987: 35 note 3, 124 note 27, and there sites and references), and in the synagogue of El-Hamme (Sukenik 1935: 129–137). According to the inscription ‘Alexandria’ in the third panel, and depictions of the Nilotic landscape in Hall 3, Zori and Roth-Gerson suggest identifying the origin of Leontis and his brother Jonathan in the city of Alexandria (Zori 1973: 238; Roth-Gerson 1987: 165).

The mosaic floors of the House of Leontis complex in Nysa Scythopolis (Beth Shean) indicate the use of a common repertoire of both secular and religious motifs and scenes, themes borrowed from Classical mythology together with Jewish symbols.

Kyrios Leontis was an educated man, with knowledge of Jewish literature as well as of classical literature. The use of the three languages was customary in Byzantine Palestine, and also expresses the character of the city of Nysa Scythopolis as a cultural city inhabited by a well-educated, mixed population of Jews, Christians and pagans. The iconography that combines mythological characters with Jewish symbols, and the use of three languages (Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek) indicate the multicultural identity of the landlord, but the two candlesticks, and one accompanied by a ritual object (with part of the Four

Species) in the mosaic floors in the complex emphasize his Jewish identity.

There is no absolute date for the complex, and on the basis of technical and stylistic analysis, the use of uniformly-sized tesserae and the flat design in Hall 3 may give the mosaic a date from the middle of the fifth century to the early sixth century AD. However, differences in the size and shape of tesserae in the prayer hall, and the semi-voluminous style, reminiscent of the plastic effect portrayals known as the “Justinianic Renaissance” style, allow us to date this mosaic floor to the second half of the sixth century AD, and it is therefore possible that the two halls belong to different complexes¹⁰ or to an internal development in one complex.

¹⁰ In the opinion of Dudi Mevorah, who told me this while discussing the mosaic floors.

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Unraveling the Interplay between Inscriptions and Images: The Cosmological Mosaic of Mérida

Yazıtlar ve Görüntüler Arasındaki Etkileşimi Çözme: Mérida Kozmolojik Mozaığı

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Abstract

The cosmological mosaic in Mérida is a complex and unique pictorial creation. Due to the remarkable quality and the intricate depicted cosmological scene, the mosaic has often been the focus of research. In this paper, attention is drawn to the fact that the factors iconography and inscriptions are not always as congruous as they usually are. As a result, different associations are triggered in the recipient, which make the respective figures more multifaceted. Consequently, however, the identification and interpretation of the figures becomes more demanding.

Different modes of combining iconography and writing can be observed on the cosmological mosaic. This shall be demonstrated exemplarily with the aid of the figures Saeculum, Caelum, Chaos and Polum. Those personifications serve as a case study, since they show four different strategies of combining images and writing. It can be illustrated how variable the relationship of the iconography and inscriptions was staged and how specific intended statements were conveyed by this.


Keywords: *Cosmological mosaic, Mérida, personifications, iconography, inscriptions.*

Öz

Mérida kozmolojik mozaığı, karmaşık ve benzeri olmayan bir figürlü sanat eseridir. Bu döşeme, betimlenen kozmolojik sahnenin üstün kalitesi ve karmaşık niteliği dolayısıyla birçok araştırmaya konu olmuştur. Bu makalede, söz konusu mozaikte kullanılan ikonografik betimler ile bunlara eşlik eden yazıtların nasıl tutarlı olarak birbiri ile örtüşmediği tartışılmıştır. Bu durum, izleyicide farklı çağrışımlar uyandırmış ve mozaikte betimlenen figürlere çok katmanlı bir anlam yüklemiş olmalıdır. Bu tespit doğrultusunda mozaikte betimlenen figürlerin yeni bir bakış açısıyla tanımlaması ve yorumu mümkündür.

Merida kozmolojik mozaığında ikonografi ve yazıtların bir araya getirilmesinde farklı yöntemlerin uygulandığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu yöntemler, makalede Saeculum, Caelum, Chaos ve Polum personifikasyonları örneğinde tartışılacaktır. Bu personifikasyonların incelenmesi sonucunda Merida kozmolojik mozaığında figürler ile yazıtların bir araya getirilmesinde dört farklı yöntemin izlendiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu durum, aynı zamanda ikonografi ile yazıt arasındaki ilişkinin ne kadar değişken olabildiğini ve aktarılacak istenen mesaja göre şekillendiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kozmolojik mozaik, Mérida, kişileştirme, ikonografi, yazıtlar.*

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Introduction

The cosmological mosaic from the Casa del Mitreo in Mérida (Fig. 1) is one of the most famous Roman mosaics in the western Mediterranean. The mosaic is dated to the late 2nd / early 3rd century AD. It features a multi-figured decorative panel in which unique references are formed by the combination of the depicted personifications (Quet 1981: 22-23; Gómez Pallarès 2011: 268). However, it is not only the cosmological motive which makes this mosaic an exceptional pictorial work but also the way *how* it was imparted to the viewer. The complex way in which the factors iconography and inscriptions of some figures have been put in relation has attracted attention. Thereby, different modes of combining iconography and writing can be observed. In some places, iconographic elements have been assigned supposedly unsuitable inscriptions; therefore, image and text are not always as congruous as they usually are¹. As a result, tension for the viewer is created. However, exactly from this tension the actual intended statement can be extrapolated through a thorough observation and reflection by the viewer.

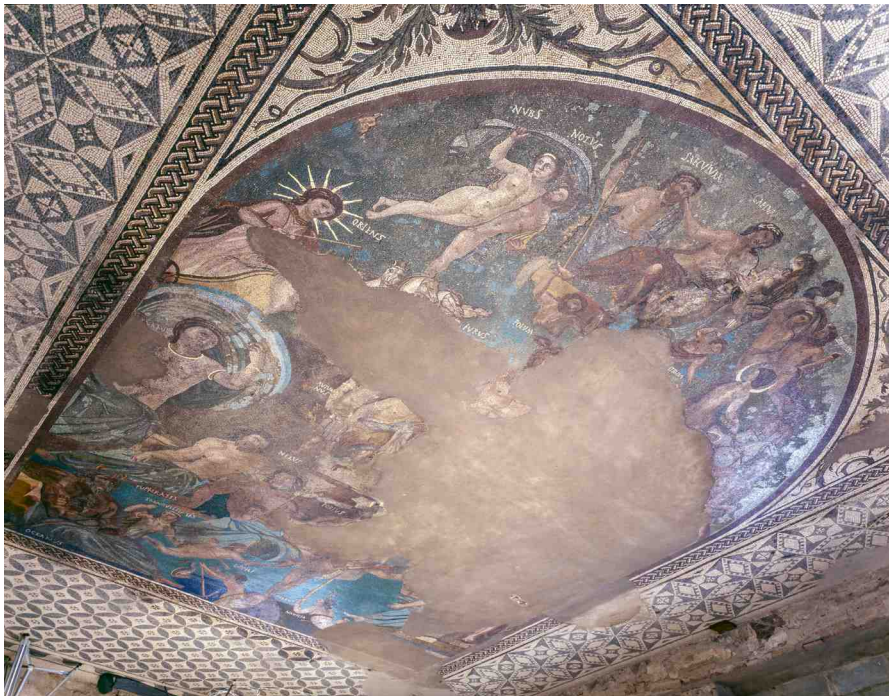


Figure 1
Cosmological mosaic in Mérida.
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Photo: Peter Witte.

The relationship between image and writing of the personifications Saeculum, Caelum, Chaos and Polum, which have up to now mainly been investigated due to their possible philosophical or cosmological associations, shall be thoroughly analysed in this paper. The celestial group especially qualifies for a case study, since these closely connected personifications show four different modes of how image and writing have been put in relation to each other. Using this example, it is possible to demonstrate the fact that not only the interpretation of the cosmological scene but already the identification of the mythological figures was demanding.

Research History

In regard to the cosmological mosaic in Mérida, there is a high density of publications, which is mainly due to its high-quality elaboration and the

¹ On this see also Honikel (in print), will presumably be published 2021 within the Madrider Mitteilungen 62.

singularity of the depicted cosmological scene. The first publication, which was published by the excavator in 1969 (García Sandoval 1969), was followed by many more over the years. Among the pivotal works are the papers by Antonio Blanco Freijeiro (Corpus España I), Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum (Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979) and Janine Lancha (Lancha 1983), who have developed essential results particularly concerning technical and stylistic aspects and the chronological classification. The contribution of Marie-Henriette Quet also needs to be highlighted at this point. In her study she thoroughly analyses the possible philosophical meaning and cultural backgrounds of the cosmological mosaic (Quet 1981)².

Anyhow, the more ‘traditional’ issues of mosaic research, as for example a thorough iconographic analysis of the figures, faded into the background, since the complexity of the motive and the connected question of interpretation had highly stimulated the archaeological research. Of particular interest were the decoding and interpretation of the possible philosophical or cosmological backgrounds of the figural panel. To approach this endeavor, research has concentrated on a few supposed key figures on the mosaic. In order to analyze these and to decipher their references, research has often worked with ancient written sources. Many different interpretive approaches were developed from these analyses³.

However, the uneven distribution of research interest has led to personifications such as Saeculum or Aeternitas being examined in much more detail than the majority of the figures on the mosaic, which received significantly less scholarly attention. Therefore, there is only a short description of Chaos, for example, but no thorough iconographic or interpretive analysis.

The want of a careful iconographic analysis also means that it has not yet been researched how the factors iconography and inscription were put into relation to one another and how the intended statement could be conveyed from this. This is to be changed in this contribution. Here the previous approach is reversed, and the iconography and inscription of the figures come into focus. With the aid of four personifications on the cosmological mosaic, the complex interplay between iconography and inscription is examined and it can be shown how differently both factors were staged.

The Cosmological Mosaic in Detail

The cosmological mosaic is 8.09 x 5.92 m large and has mainly been laid with *tesserae* from limestone, quartzite and glass paste using the techniques of *opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum*. Unfortunately, the mosaic is considerably damaged. As the result of a fire, the *tesserae*, especially those in the upper part of the mosaic, have in part darkened irreversibly and due to various defects, approximately one third of the decorative panel is lost (Corpus España I: 22. 36; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 27-31)⁴.

The cosmological scene is clearly structured and can be divided into three compositional levels: maritime, terrestrial and celestial. The mythological figures who can be found in the respective levels *naturally* belong into the depicted environment.

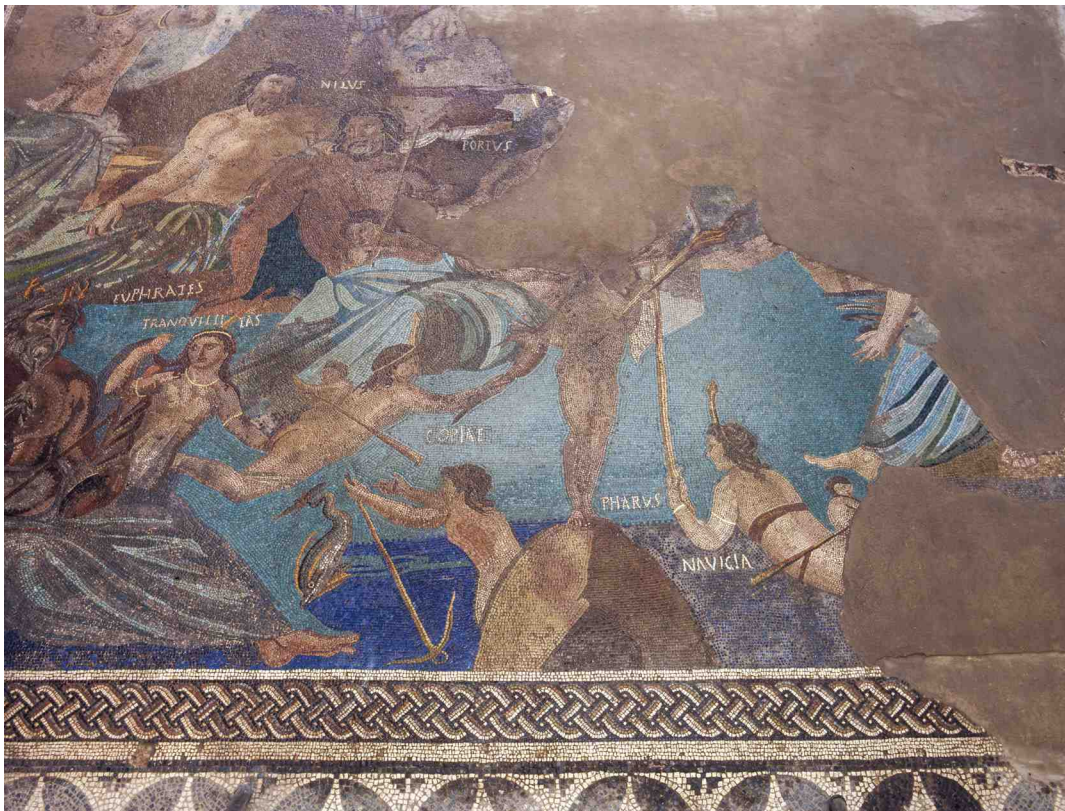
2 On the cosmological mosaic see among others also Alföldi 1979; Musso 1983/4; Fernández-Galiano 1990; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1993; Arce 1996; Gómez Pallarès 2011.

3 On the different interpretive approaches see among others Blanco Freijeiro 1971: 175-178; Alföldi 1979; Quet 1981: 51-72, 187-196; Fernández-Galiano 1990; Arce 1996: 102-106, 109-110.

4 For all restoration measures in detail and the materials used see Lancha 1983: 18-30, 31-37.

In the left corner of the maritime level (Fig. 2) lies Oceanus with his characteristic pincers growing from his head. As further attributes, he carries a spear, a sea serpent and a conch shell horn. In contrast to most other figures, his carnation is very dark. The naked but richly adorned Tranquillitas emerges from behind him. Beside them swims the personification of abundance and plethora, Copiae. She is steered like a ship by a rowing boy sitting on her back. Her outstretched hand holds a cornucopia and on her head sits a diadem which ends in an extension in the form of a ship's bow. Below her is another female figure who holds an anchor in her outstretched hand. This figure does not have an inscription of her own. On the one hand, it is possible that the respective name inscription is not preserved⁵. On the other hand, it is also thinkable that this female figure belongs to the inscription Copiae as well, since this term is given in plural and might thereby also be used for two figures⁶. Pharus appears as a naked young man who stands on a rock holding a burning torch. Navigia is depicted similar to Copiae. She also wears a diadem in the form of a ship's bow and is steered by a rowing boy. As an additional attribute, she holds a sailing mast⁷. In the right corner, there are three heavily fragmented figures. Only the inscription of the figure at the edge of the decorative panel is preserved; its left lower leg belongs to the personification of Pontus.

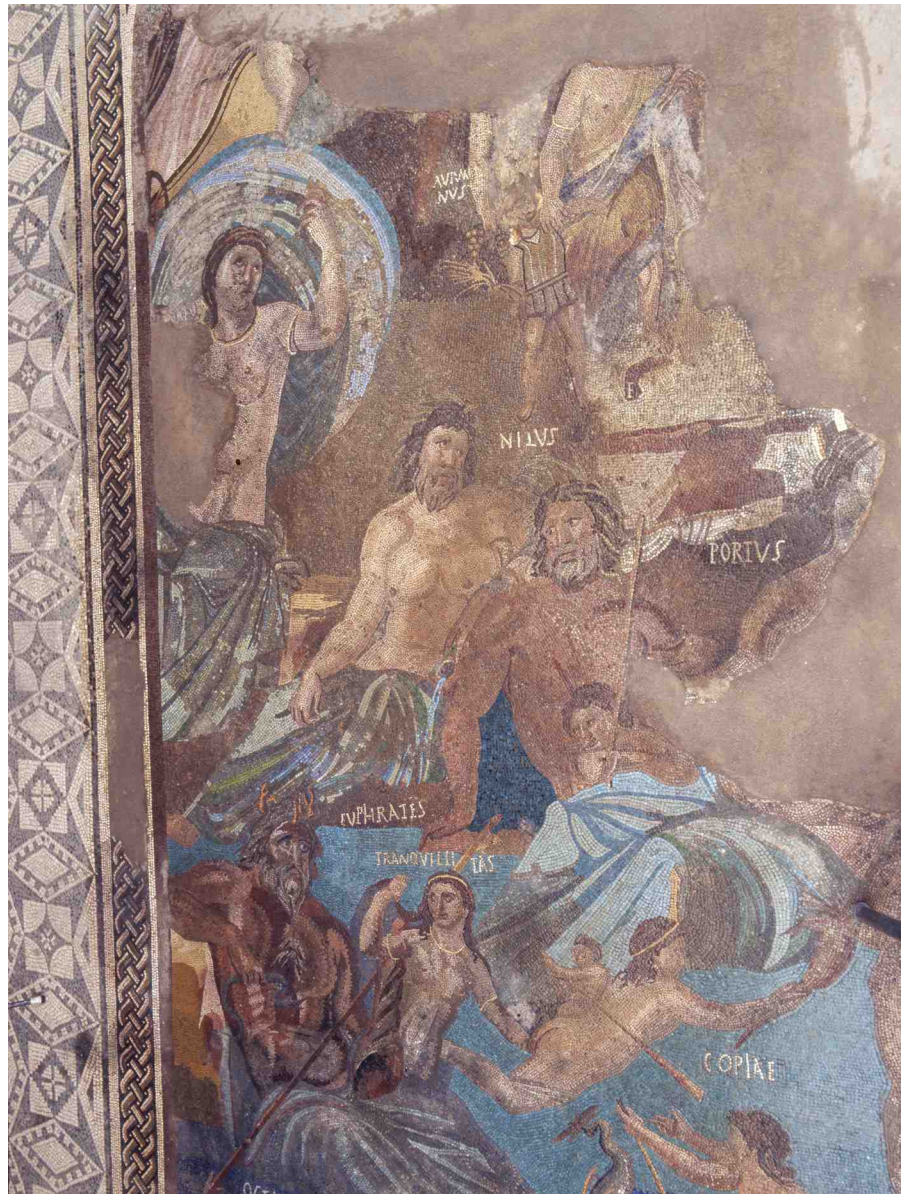
Figure 2
Maritime level of the cosmological mosaic.
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Photo: Peter Witte.



- 5 Parts of the mosaic's background around this figure had to be restored in modern times, since they were only badly preserved (Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 30 fig. 4.).
- 6 The term Copiae as name for a personification is irritating because in general, the base form of the noun which is to be personified is used. A personification with the name Copiae is unknown in antique written sources, and apparently there are no further images of this figure. In contrast, coins featuring a mythological figure with the legend Copia are documented. From a linguistic point of view, the usage of the plural Copiae is also far less common in Latin sources than the base form Copia. This is why it is indeed imaginable that here the unusual plural form of the inscription names two figures. On the personification of Copia see Hernández Iñiguez 1986a: 304. On Copiae see Hernández Iñiguez 1986b: 305.
- 7 As is the case with the inscription Copiae, Navigia also seems to have been put in plural (Quet 1981: 25).

In the middle, terrestrial level (Fig. 3) sits Natura, whose *velum* flutters up behind her. Beside her are the lying river deities Euphrates and Nilus, both wearing wreaths of reed on their heads. Euphrates holds a jug from which water is flowing out and a boy with a sailing mast in his hand sits on Nilus' lap. The figure Portus is hardly preserved; all that is left is a part of the head with a mural crown and parts of the upper body. Beside Natura's *velum* are the seasons Autumnus and Aestas carrying their usual attributes; they are about to walk through the zodiac ring, which is not preserved (Alföldi 1979: 6-8)⁸. The latter is held by Aeternitas, who inhabits the central position on the mosaic. Only the naked muscular upper body and the head with a head wing is preserved from the personification of eternity⁹. The large defect around Aeternitas continues all the way to the bearded Mons, who is depicted at the outer edge of the decorative field. The sleeping figure Nix – snow – lies on the lap of the personification of the mountains.

Figure 3
Terrestrial level of the cosmological mosaic.
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Photo: Peter Witte.



8 For an iconographic parallel see the Aion mosaic from Silin, *in situ* (?) (AD 150-200) (Dunbabin 1999: 122-123).

9 Contrary to custom, the personification Aeternitas is depicted as a male figure corresponding to the iconography of Aion. See also Honikel (in print).

In the uppermost, celestial level of the mosaic (Fig. 4), Oriens guides his quadriga. He is dressed in the usual garb of a charioteer, and an aureola is featured around his head. In front of Oriens' white horses flies the wind god Eurus, from whom only the left lower leg and the inscription are preserved¹⁰. Above the quadriga, Nubs and Notus hover together, while Nubs' cloak bulges above both of them. Directly beneath the apex of the semi-circular border of the figural panel, the three personifications Saeculum, Caelum and Chaos are sitting enthroned. The god of the sky has put his feet on a platform which is supported by Polum. A figure whose inscription is not preserved has their right arm entwined around the leg of Caelum's throne, the left is raised above the head. The figure's gender cannot be determined without a doubt, although it is possibly to be interpreted as female due to the manner of representation¹¹. Beside the unknown figure, Tonitrum is hurling a thunderbolt. Like Nubs and Notus, Nebula and Zephyrus are depicted hovering. Below them, Occasus is riding a biga. A crescent moon is featured around the head of this personification. At the right border of the figural panel, the wind god Boreas is depicted.

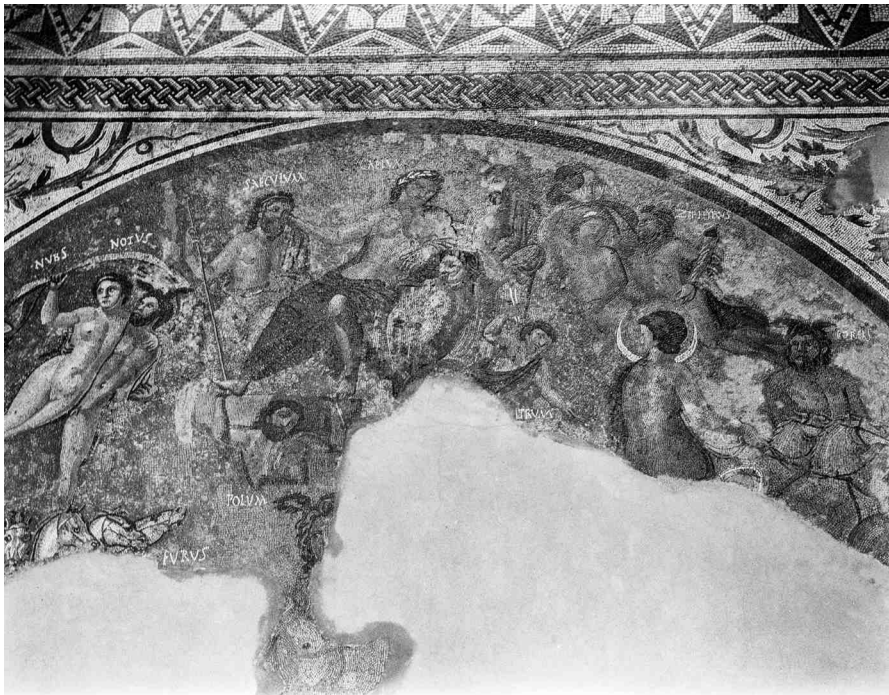


Figure 4
Celestial level of the cosmological mosaic.
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Photo: Peter Witte.

¹⁰ For a possible reconstruction of Eurus see Alföldi 1979: 8 fig. 1.

¹¹ Various defects as a result of a fire and the missing piece beneath the figure complicate the identification of the gender. Since the lower body cannot be seen and particularising attributes are missing, only the upper body and the hair style can be adduced. The curvy arrangement of the *tesserae* in the chest region is noticeable, although does not necessarily speak for a female figure. Such an emphasis on the chest can be found on the mosaic both in female and male figures – for example in *Natura*, *Portus* or *Caelum*. The hair style however – carefully coiffured out of the face – mostly corresponds to the one of *Nubs* or *Occasus*. Because of this, a female interpretation of the unknown figure suggests itself. Archaeological research has also dealt with the gender and the identity of this figure. Blanco Freijeiro (*Corpus España I*: 37) supposes that it could be the goddess of night, *Nox*. He reasons with the similarity between the unknown figure on the mosaic and the representation of *Nox* on an imperial frieze sarcophagus. However, both depictions differ considerably. By contrast, Alföldi (1979: 4) thinks this figure is to be identified as *Aether*. The only (unverified) depiction of *Aether* on the south frieze of the Pergamon Altar does not exhibit any similarities to the figure on the cosmological mosaic either. *Nox* and *Aether* as celestial deities surely suit the other mythological figures in the immediate compositional proximity – but neither *Nox* nor *Aether* show any significant iconographic congruity to the representation of the figure in Mérida.

Relationships Between Image and Writing

As can be seen, the large number of mythological figures leads to a great complexity of the decorative field and the cosmological motive. Personifications – that is, anthropomorphic impersonations of abstract nouns – can become identifiable by means of their form of representation (attributes, iconographic conventions or context). Additionally, inscriptions can also take part in the identification¹².

At this point it should be mentioned that the determination of a personification with the aid of inscriptions is only seemingly unambiguous. As has already been introduced briefly, the relationship between the depicted figures and the respective (name) inscriptions is complex and, in some cases, needs a more thorough observation. This is especially true in cases where image and writing are not completely congruent. Discrepancies of that kind have nevertheless up to now been hardly considered in research, although relationships between image and writing play an important role in pictorial sciences. However, there are some publications which deal with the relationship between image and writing in general¹³. The factors image and writing particularly on mosaics have only been investigated recently¹⁴.

Induced by the partly tension-filled interaction of pictorial schemes and associated inscriptions on the cosmological mosaic, the viewer is coerced to deal with the individual figures more intensively. Both the iconography and the inscriptions evoke certain associations which need to be put in order, evaluated and correlated. These associations help in relieving the initial irritation, which is felt by the viewer due to a seeming contradiction of iconography and text, and in deducing the intended statement. The images and inscriptions on the cosmological mosaic can be connected to certain mythological figures or to actual cosmic or natural phenomena. What exactly the recipient might originally have associated with the depictions or the writing can of course not be reconstructed with certainty and will have depended on individual and personal experiences (Borg 2002: 70). However, the preoccupation with the decorative panel certainly encourages a reflection on what is perceived, what is already known and what it can be connected to.

Below, it shall be demonstrated exemplarily with the aid of the personifications Saeculum, Caelum, Chaos and Polum how variable the relationship of the iconography and inscriptions was staged and how specific intended statements were conveyed by this.

Iconographic Analysis of the Celestial Group

Research has up to now approached these personifications mainly starting from the inscriptions. Furthermore, the focus was often on determining which cosmological or philosophical ideas might be best to associate them with. Parallels for the associations connected to the inscriptions were searched in other pictorial

12 Referring to pictorial personifications. For details see Borg 2002: 82; Meyer 2007: 184-186, 191; Weil 2005: 79.

13 Examples for this from recent years: see among others Newby - Leader-Newby 2007; Squire 2009; Beltrán Lloris et al. 2017. On relationships between image and writing in general also Elsner 1996; Rutter - Sparkes 2000; Giuliani 2003.

14 For this see for example Notermans 2007, who has published an extensive collection of material on this topic. Gómez Pallarès (2011: 263-278) and Mayer (2004: 109-125) deal with a focus on Hispanic mosaics. For a comprehensive systematic analysis of the relationships between image and writing on mosaics of the 3rd – 5th centuries AD see Schmieder (in print); it will presumably be published in 2021 within the series *Materiale Textkulturen* (Heidelberg).

works, ancient myths or written sources. Thereby, attempts to put the celestial group into a certain context partly led to highly complex interpretations¹⁵.

The iconography of the personifications faded into the background. Thus, this is an attempt to approach the figures from another angle and to first work out the references created by the combination of iconography and inscription. Only on this basis and in a second step it will be possible to deduce deeper levels of meaning and to pursue possible cosmological explanation attempts.

Saeculum: The first figure of the celestial group, which is named Saeculum by the inscription, is dressed in a blue cloak (Fig. 5). He is in a sitting position and turns slightly to the right while he looks at Caelum who is enthroned in the middle. Saeculum has long hair, a full beard and wears a diadem on his head. With the right hand, he holds a sceptre which is propped on the podium supported by Polum.



Figure 5

Detail of the personification Saeculum on the cosmological mosaic.

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Verified comparisons of a personification with the designation Saeculum can exclusively be found on Roman coins (López Monteagudo 1997: 1071-1072). Nevertheless, they hardly share iconographic equivalents with the figure of

¹⁵ See for example *Corpus España* I: 22-23; Alföldi 1979: 2-12; Blázquez 1993: 381-385.

Figure 6
Saeculum Frugiferum with trident and winged caduceus, American Numismatic Society. © American Numismatic Society.

Figure 7
Enthroned Saeculum Frugiferum, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. © Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18203717. Photo: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke (Lübke und Wiedemann).



Saeculum on the cosmological mosaic. On some coins, the standing Saeculum appears without a beard and with an aureola. He is dressed in a cloak which he has draped loosely around his hips. In his left hand, he holds a trident, in his right hand a winged caduceus (Fig. 6)¹⁶. On other coins, however, he appears with a full beard and is enthroned between two sphinges. He wears a long garment and a modius on his head. In his left hand, he holds ears of grain (Fig. 7)¹⁷. This is a representation which corresponds to the Punic fertility god Ba'al Hammon¹⁸. Although the manners of representation on the coins differ, both are labelled Saeculum Frugiferum on the legends. Therefore, the personification of the age of fertility is depicted (López Monteaugado 1997: 1072-1073; Heckel 2002: 707-708).

Another comparison to a mythological figure with the designation Saeculum can be found on *aurei* of Hadrian. On the reverse images, a beardless male figure is standing amidst the Zodiakos. He holds a globe in his left hand with a phoenix sitting on top of it (Fig. 8)¹⁹. The legend designates him as Saeculum Aureum, thus the personified Golden Age²⁰. Both the personification of the age of fertility and the one of the Golden Age are thematically suitable for the established repertoire of coinage, for they imply that exactly these ideal times exist during the reign of the emperor. Personifications on coins often visualise virtues of the emperor, political tendencies or promises and were therefore a popular medium of propaganda and the imperial self-representation (Weil 2005: 79).

16 Saeculum Frugiferum with trident and caduceus on an as (AD 194–195); RIC IV Clodius Albinus 61A.

17 Saeculum Frugiferum enthroned on an aureus (AD 194–195); RIC IV Clodius Albinus 10.

18 See for example the figurine of Ba'al Hammon from Thinissut, Musée National du Bardo (1st century AD) (Driss 1966: 12-13). For the similarity between some representations of Saeculum Frugiferum to those of Ba'al Hammon see Bonacasa Sáez 2014: 455-457.

19 Saeculum Aureum with Zodiakos, globe and phoenix on *aurei* (AD 119–122); RIC II Hadrian 297.

20 In literature, the figure is also interpreted as the genius of the Golden Age or as Aion (Le Glay 1981: 404). The interpretation as Aion probably derives from the Zodiakos, which is held by Aion on numerous depictions (see for example the so-called Tellus mosaic from Sentinum, Glyptothek München, GI 504 (ca. AD 200) (Wünsche 2005: 164; Şahin 2009: 98). However, the characteristic head wings of Aion are missing on the coin and the attributes globe and phoenix also seem quite unfamiliar in this context.



Figure 8
Saeculum Aureum with Zodiakos, globe and phoenix, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. © Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18204693. Photo: D. Sonnenwald.

This now raises the question which specific manifestation of Saeculum is meant on the cosmological mosaic. The personification Saeculum, who we otherwise only know in combination with an epithet, embodies two different meanings and possesses three different determined pictorial schemes. The figure of Saeculum on the cosmological mosaic mostly corresponds to the iconography of the enthroned Saeculum Frugiferum/Ba'al Hammon²¹. Nevertheless, the personification on the mosaic appears without the particularising attributes modius, sphinges and ears of grain, which have been substituted by the nonspecific attributes diadem and sceptre. Thereby, this generic manner of representation only reminds of very common father gods which the antique viewer could connect to several different deities, like for example Zeus, Poseidon or Asklepios²². The 'sitting enthroned' and the attributes diadem and sceptre are also quite unspecific, since they can appear in a number of (father) gods.

The inscription Saeculum on the mosaic appears, as far as it is known, for the first and only time without the particularising epithets frugiferum or aureum. This means that not only the iconography but also the inscription has been generalised. Due to this twofold generalisation, the figure might at first appear unspecific. However, the viewer was able to deduce the intended statement exactly because of it: the generalised factors image and writing imply a disengagement from the

21 Blanco Freijeiro supposes that the way of representation of Saeculum is inspired by the iconography of the deities Jupiter and Pluton-Serapis (Blanco Freijeiro 1971: 158-159; Corpus España I: 22). By contrast, Alföldi (1979: 2-3. 5) compares the iconography of Saeculum to that of Kronos-Saturnus, Zeus, or Baal. However, neither Blanco Freijeiro nor Alföldi quote any iconographic parallels. Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1993: 258) sees similarities between the iconography of Saeculum and that of Jupiter-Caelus, Jupiter-Aion from the Villa Albani, or Aion on the mosaic from Nea Paphos.

22 On the iconography of father deities see for example Thiemann 1959.

established associations and at the same time a reduction to the basic meaning of the term saeculum. This would mean that here the personified age or saeculum was depicted²³. A saeculum constitutes a period of 100 or respectively 110 years.

Caelum: Beneath the apex of the semi-circular edge of the figural field, a figure named Caelum (Tam Tinh 1994: 132-136) sits enthroned between Saeculum and Chaos (Fig. 9). He wears a wreath on his beardless head and is dressed in a red cloak which has slid down to his lap and reveals his upper body. His posture is relaxed: he leans back, his left arm is supported by the armrest. The right hand rests on Saeculum's shoulder and his feet are loosely propped up on the platform which is supported by Polum.

Figure 9
Detail of the personifications Caelum and
Chaos on the cosmological mosaic.
© Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Madrid, D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-18-75-07,
Photo: Peter Witte.



Iconographic parallels for the sky god can be found on different media. There, he is depicted with a cloak which billows out over his head and is probably meant to indicate the vault of the sky (Tam Tinh 1994: 135). Usually, he is featured from the upper body up, undressed and bearded (Fig. 10)²⁴. There are also parallels on Roman sarcophagi where he appears with the characteristic cloak, albeit younger, that is, beardless. However, such depictions are far less common²⁵. As can be seen, Caelum possesses a determined iconographic convention including a particularising attribute without which he never appears. The Greek pendant of Caelum, Ouranos, also conforms to this convention (Tam Tinh 1994: 133).

23 In research, the figure Saeculum has so far been interpreted differently. Blanco Freijeiro connects the personification with the orphic cosmogony and equates Saeculum with the Greek god Chronos. In connection with this, he identifies the enthroned personifications next to Saeculum as his sons Aither (Caelum) and Chaos. Alföldi (1979: 4-5) assumes that the figure could be the personified Saeculum Aureum. Quet (1981: 96-100) disagrees by emphasising that neither the way of representation nor the inscription suggest an interpretation as Saeculum Aureum. She interprets Saeculum as a personification of the beginning of a new universe in the context of stoic philosophy and draws her analysis on iconographic parallels and written sources.

24 On this, see for example: Caelum on the cuirassed statue of Augustus of Prima Porta, Musei Vaticani Rome, 2290 (ca. AD 20) (Montiel Alvarez 2015: 127-133); Caelum on a Roman frieze sarcophagus from Amalfi, DAI Rom, 65.1213 (first half of the 2nd century AD) (Sichtermann 1992: 90).

25 On this, see for example beardless Caelum on a Roman sarcophagus, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Naples, 6705 (ca. AD 300) (Sichtermann– Koch 1975: 62-63). For further parallels see Tam Tinh 1994: 134.



Figure 10
Detail of Caelum on the cuirass of Augustus
Prima Porta, Museum für Abgüsse
Klassischer Bildwerke München, Inv. 274.
© Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer
Bildwerke München, Abguss Inv. 274.
Photo: Roy Hessing (Detail).

The depiction of Caelum on the cosmological mosaic differs fundamentally from his usual way of representation. The figures are of a different age (beardless/full beard), posture and motive differ distinctly (leaned back and enthroned, hand loosely put on Saeculum/holding his cloak over his head with raised arms) and the particularising attribute was substituted with an unspecific wreath. Due to the generalisation of the iconography of Caelum, he can no longer be identified by means of his form of representation alone. On the basis of his youthful appearance and his relaxed posture while sitting enthroned, Caelum could have instead been connected to other mythological figures, like for example Dionysos²⁶.

Without the inscription, the viewer had hardly been able to explicitly identify this personification on the cosmological mosaic²⁷. Whereas the inscription Caelum is also quite common, it is far less frequent than the usually used form Caelus (Blanco Freijeiro 1971: 156)²⁸. Nevertheless, it clearly refers to the sky god²⁹. The generalisation of the iconography suggests that the personification Caelum in Mérida is pictorially clearly set off against the personification to which the inscription is usually connected.

Chaos: The third figure of the enthroned trio, named Chaos by the inscription, has a full beard and is dressed with a cloak which he has pulled over the back of his head (see Fig. 9). Parts of his upper body remain uncovered. His face with clearly accentuated brows is turned in the direction of Caelum, who is sitting to his right. Since Chaos' lower body is covered by other personifications, it is

26 On this, see for example depictions of Dionysos on the Villa of the Mysteries frieze in Pompeii or on the Aldobrandini Wedding in Rome (Davis 2000: 84-85, 89-93; Müller 2019). The similarity to Dionysos was also pointed out by other scholars (Alföldi 1979: 4; Quet 1981: 89).

27 However, after the identification, Caelum's positioning becomes more prominent. Possibly, the god sitting enthroned beneath the semi-circular border of the decorative panel, which arches over him, is meant as reference to his fluttering cloak. Such a conclusion could only have been drawn by the viewer after he had consulted the inscription for an identification.

28 On pictorial media, the inscription seems to be testified only once. However, the inscription C(A)ELUM on a Mithras stele from Nida-Heddernheim does not refer to a personification but to the depiction of a lightning-carrying eagle sitting on a celestial sphere (CIMRM 1127; Huld-Zetsche 1986: 72).

29 In contrast to this identification, Alföldi interprets Caelum as a personification of eternity and the well-ordered state of the cosmos. Furthermore, he and later also Alföldi-Rosenbaum point out that both Saeculum and Caelum would show different aspects of eternity or rather of the god Aion (Alföldi 1979: 3-5; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1993: 259).



Figure 11
Bust of the god Saturn, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. Sk 256.
© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Inv. Sk 256. Foto: Universität zu Köln, Archäologisches Institut, CoDArchLab, 105701,01_FA-SPerg-000044-02_Philipp Groß. Photo: Philipp Groß.

not possible to determine if he is depicted standing or sitting down. However, due to the fact that his head is on the same level as the heads of the sitting figures Saeculum and Caelum, it can be assumed that he is also enthroned. Other pictorial sources of this mythological figure are not known (Cruz Fernández Castro 1986: 189).

The iconography of Chaos is similar to the one of Saturn, who is usually also depicted bearded and with his cloak pulled over the back of his head (Fig. 11)³⁰. The established attribute of Saturn, his harpe, has not been featured on the cosmological mosaic, however. Saturn, one of the oldest deities of Rome, is characterised by his functional diversity. Due to his identification with the Greek Kronos, he, too, is to be understood as the god of sowing and agriculture. At the same time, he, like his Greek pendant, is connected to the Golden Age which he is supposed to have ruled over. In addition, the connection to these paradisiac times gives him a temporal and a cosmic character (Baratte 1997: 1078; Baudy 1999: 864-869; Heckel 2002: 707-708).

However, the inscription unambiguously names the personification on the mosaic as Chaos, who has been described as an original deity by Hesiod. Connected to cosmogony, he is designated as the void from which everything else has originated – the primordial state (Hes. theog. 116-125³¹; Kirk 1994: 38-40). Therefore, Chaos and Saturn share a semantic overlap, since both possess distinct cosmic and temporal references. Since the figure on the cosmological mosaic seems to be a newly introduced pictorial creation whose iconography can be associated with Saturn by the cloak pulled over the back of the head, the inscription in this case constitutes an indispensable factor for the identification³².

Polum: The figure designated as Polum by the inscription is featured from the naked upper body upwards. He is fully bearded and carries the platform on his shoulders on which the above-described figures are sitting enthroned (Fig. 12). As was the case with Chaos, there seem to be no further preserved images of a personification with the name Polum. Yet obvious parallels can be found in the iconography of Atlas. Above all else, the motive of supporting or carrying reminds of the Titan carrying the celestial sphere³³.

Here, only the inscription serves for the required differentiation and was therefore essential for the identification of the figure Polum. The grammatical gender of the term is conspicuous: instead of using one of the common designations *polus* or *polos* (πόλος), the otherwise not attested form *polum* was featured on the cosmological mosaic (Alföldi 1979: 4; Quet 1981: 22). Thereby, even two personifications of the celestial group who usually carry the ending *-us* are now ending in *-um*. In contrast to Polum, however, Caelum is indeed a recorded word form, although far less frequently used than Caelus.

30 On Saturn extensively Baratte 1997: 1078-1089.

31 Hesiod Theogony, Works and days, Testimonia, edited and translated by Glenn W. Most, Hesiod 1, Cambridge.

32 In contrast to the personifications Saeculum and Caelum, the figure of Chaos has, as far as I know, hardly been dealt with so far. As already noted, Blanco Freijeiro embeds Chaos in the orphic context and identifies him as the son of Saeculum (Chronos). Alföldi 1979: 4 briefly goes into the description from the Theogony of Hesiod and refers to Chaos as the dark figure of the confusion of the primeval beginnings.

33 The remarkable parallel to the iconography of Atlas has already been noticed by many scholars but has not been further analysed yet (Blanco Freijeiro 1971: 160; Quet 1981: 106-107; Díez de Velasco 1994: 425). On Atlas extensively: De Griño et al. 1986: 2-16; Scheer 1997: 217-218. For iconographic comparisons see for example Atlas Farnese from Rome, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Naples, 6374 (copy of the 2nd century AD after a Hellenistic original) (Cappelli – Lo Monaco 2010: 28).



Figure 12
Detail of the personification Polum on
the cosmological mosaic. © Deutsches
Archäologisches Institut Madrid, D-DAI-
MAD-WIT-R-105-78-15, Photo: Peter Witte
(Detail).

Image and inscription share a semantic overlap. Both Polum and Atlas embody similar geographic or astronomic phenomena: the first carries the celestial sphere, the latter embodies the pole³⁴. Since no iconographic comparisons are known for Polum, this shared semantic field might have facilitated the identification for the viewer.

Interim Conclusion

The four introduced personifications feature four different strategies on how the respective intended statement was conveyed.

In the case of Saeculum, one could speak of a double generalisation. The term Saeculum as designation of a personification for once appears here without the particularising epithets *frugiferum* or *aureum*. Although the figure's way of representation on the cosmological mosaic draws back on the iconography of Saeculum Frugiferum to a certain extent, it borrows it only in such a reduced manner that it is no longer specific. The alternatively provided attributes sceptre and diadem are worn by a variety of mythological figures and therefore do not serve to further specify the depiction. Image and writing are here used in a generalising way, whereby the personification is restored to its basic meaning. Therefore, it is apparently supposed to mean not a saeculum of a specific quality but the timespan as such.

In the case of the personification Caelum, there are several iconographic comparisons which follow a determined iconographic convention. On the cosmological mosaic, the common pictorial scheme has almost been reversed: Caelum appears beardless instead of bearded, relaxing on a throne instead of holding the celestial sphere above him and instead of the characteristic cloak spanned above his head, his attribute is a simple vegetal wreath. Thereby, the way of representation of Caelum is downright alienated; without the inscription, the personification could not be identified.

³⁴ Polus is probably to be understood as the Roman pendant of the Greek Titan Koios (Hyg. praef. 10. fab. 140, 2; Scherling 1951: 1424; Díez de Velasco 1994: 425).

Concerning the two figures Chaos and Polum, the strategy is a similar one. For both personifications, new pictorial creations seem to be used. In the case of Chaos, the iconography was based on the one of Saturn/Kronos. Thereby, the viewer cannot immediately grasp the connection of Saturn/Kronos (image) and Chaos (inscription). Whereas both deities are connected to temporal phenomena, they embody totally different aspects of time. With Polum, the specific drawing on the representation of the semantically closely connoted Atlas makes sense both regarding content and in a narrative way³⁵. Both are embodiments of geographic/astronomic phenomena. The Titan Atlas is above all connected to carrying the celestial sphere, while Polum on the mosaic in Mérida supports the platform on which the god of the sky sits enthroned in the middle. In contrast to Chaos, Polum became more easily identifiable through the orientation towards the iconography of Atlas.

This orientation towards familiar motives or the iconography of well-known mythological figures, which can be observed in all four personifications discussed, is not to be seen as a mere help to identification. Since both the way of representation and the inscriptions evoke different associations in the viewer, the depictions of Saeculum, Caelum, Chaos and Polum become more complex and multifaceted. It is notable that these personifications function on two levels and that the different references were combined in a totally new constellation. Provided that one was supposed to proceed from the level of images, one associates the personifications with an unspecific father god (Saeculum), a deity sitting relaxed on a throne reminding of Dionysos (Caelum), Saturn/Kronos (Chaos) and Atlas (Polum). Such a combination of these figures has so far been unknown. It is the same if one proceeds from the inscriptions – this combination of Saeculum, Caelum, Chaos and Polum seems to be unique.

Only after the identification of the personifications and their respective references which they possess due to the interaction of image and writing, it becomes clear that the mosaicist indeed adverts to already familiar associations. In the case of Saeculum, it is made evident that it is a matter of the basic meaning and not of a specific epiclesis by the adoption of a generalising father god iconography. The combination of the sky god and Polum/Atlas was easy to decode for the viewer, since Atlas carried the celestial sphere on his shoulders. Also, the connection of Saturn/Kronos to the sky god was not new, for they are father and son and especially known for Caelus'/Ouranos' emasculation by his son Saturn/Kronos (Hes. theog. 175-182).

Even if these different associations are evoked in the viewer, they are not the sole intended meaning but are rather only a nuance of the meaning of the respective personification. This becomes evident through the fact that, for example, the iconography of Atlas and Saturn/Kronos is taken up, but the associations explicitly do *not* refer to their names but designate Polum and Chaos. Perhaps it is for this reason that the way of representation of Caelum is set off so clearly from the usual iconography of the sky god because its neighbouring personification Chaos iconographically adverts to the deity Saturn/Kronos and can therefore also be associated with this figure to a certain extent. Through the visual differentiation, possible negative connotations connected to the father/son relationship of Caelus/Ouranos with Saturn/Kronos were to be avoided.

The composition of the celestial group is T-shaped. It is noticeable that

³⁵ On the recourse to the iconography of established and semantically close mythological figures see Shapiro 1986: 5-6; Meyer 2007: 184-186, 202.

the personifications Polum (respectively Atlas) and Caelum both embody geographic/astronomic phenomena. They are surrounded by three different concepts of time: Saeculum indicates a time span of 100 or 110 years which string together cyclically. Chaos is the primordial state and Saturn/Kronos, who can be associatively connected to Chaos on the mosaic, represents an ideal time long gone.

Conclusion

On the basis of the figures of the celestial group it could be demonstrated how variably image and inscriptions on the cosmological mosaic could be combined with each other by generalisation and specification. In the four personifications discussed, four different modes of putting image and inscription into relation could be detected. Both factors – way of representation and inscriptions – explain each other and are therefore both essential for the decoding of the intended statements. The different multifaceted associations with other mythological figures which were evoked by the iconography or by the inscriptions make the identification and interpretation of the personifications very demanding for the viewer. Due to the evoked associations, the mosaic on the one hand features completely new references and a new combination of figures. On the other hand, it plays with established references and connotes to the viewer that these established references were modified here.

This contribution could only touch on how sophisticatedly iconography and inscriptions were put into relation to each other and which impact the interplay of both factors has on the discussed personifications. It is possible to build on the basis of these examinations in the future and to develop an interpretation of the celestial group or respectively of the complete pictorial work.

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Reflections on Music Performance and Dancing in a Roman Mosaic Found on the Aventine

Aventine’de Bulunan Bir Roma Mozağında Müzik Performansı ve Dans Üzerine Düşünceler

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Abstract

This paper focuses on a figurative scene with musicians and dancers in one of the mosaics found in the grounds of Santa Sabina garden on the Aventine, currently preserved in the Vatican Museums. This representation has been the object of different interpretations and chronological analysis within the context of mime or, more recently, that of a banquet.

This contribution delves into whether, judging by the analysis of the iconography and literary sources, these are images that respond to a stereotyped repertoire or they reflect customary practices of that time. Finally, we will also reflect upon to what extent the representation of the protagonists of the event is reliable.

To address these questions, it has been necessary to date the mosaic to the beginning of the third century AD, establishing this chronology by comparing the geometric pattern of the mosaic with another found nearby, while also considering the revealing testimonies of contemporary authors, such as Clement of Alexandria.

Keywords: *Tibicines, saltatrices, saltatores, dwarf, convivium, literary sources, Clement of Alexandria.*

Öz

Bu makale, Aventine’deki Santa Sabina bahçesinin arazisinde bulunan ve şu anda Vatikan Müzeleri’nde korunan mozaiklerden birinde betimlenen müzisyenler ve dansçıların olduğu figüratif bir sahneye odaklanmaktadır. Bu temsil, mim veya daha yakın zamanda bir ziyafet bağlamında farklı yorumların ve kronolojik analizlerin konusu olmuştur.

Bu katkı, ikonografi ve edebi kaynakların analizine göre, bunların kalıplaşmış bir repertuvara yanıt veren görüntüler mi, yoksa o zamanın geleneksel uygulamalarını mı yansıttığını araştırmaktadır. Son olarak, olayın kahramanlarının temsilinin ne kadar güvenilir olduğu üzerinde de durulacaktır.

Bu soruları ele almak için, mozağın geometrik desenini yakınlarda bulunan bir başka mozaik ile karşılaştırarak kronoloji oluşturulacak ve aynı zamanda İskenderiyeli Clement gibi çağdaş yazarların açıklayıcı tanıklıklarını da göz önünde bulundurarak mozağın İS üçüncü yüzyılın başlarına tarihlendirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Tibisimler, saltatrisler, saltatores, cüce, convivium, edebi kaynaklar, İskenderiyeli Clement.*

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While breaking the news about the discovery of certain mosaics in the grounds of Santa Sabina on the Aventine in 1711, during the pontificate of Clement XI, Lanciani refers to previous information present in the Eton Collection and the Cod. Corsini¹: he mentions some musive panels preserved in the Vatican Museums (Lanciani 1895: 189). According to the famous Italian archaeologist, there are four *emblemata* of *venationes* and one scene of “revelry”, in which several individuals seem to celebrate and dance to the sound of music. These pavements were later included in other publications (Nogara 1910: 7 pl. IX fig. 5; Ashby 1914: 40 no. 38) and after several decades, in Blake’s works on the mosaics of Rome and its vicinity (Blake 1936: 174-175; 1940: 84, 115-117 pl. 30 fig. 6 pl. 31 fig. 1-4). The American scholar named the scene of interest in our article “Vaudeville Performers” and mentioned the different hypotheses about the chronology of the *domus* found under Santa Sabina, citing Muñoz, author of three works on the basilica (Muñoz 1914: 332- 334 figs. 1-4; 1919: 31-32 pl. XII; 1924: 36-37). He was the first author to propose a date between the second and third centuries and, later, its adscription to the third century. For this reason, Blake did not openly include the mosaics of the Aventine *domus* in her extensive work on mosaics of the second century (Blake 1936: 67-214), but in her work on those of the Late Empire (Blake 1940: 115- 117).

In order to propose a date for these mosaics, it is critical to analyse those with *venationes*: in the larger rectangular panel there is a fight between an elephant and a bull, and the capture of a lion at the hands of a *venator* riding on a dromedary; in the second panel, a confrontation between a bull and a bear; in the third panel, a horseman chasing a bull; in the fourth panel, two standing *venatores* facing a bear (Berthier 1910: 19-20; Nogara 1910: 6-7; Blake 1940: 115-116. pl. 31, 1-4). These panels include animals that have been well documented since Antiquity, especially in the *arena* of amphitheatres, such as bulls, lions and bears - and even the elephant, whose representation fighting against a bull also appeared in a coin issued by Gordian III to commemorate the *Ludi Saeculares* (Nash 1968: 269 fig. 317), and in another by Philip the Arab. This was the argument used by Blake to date the musive scene to the time of these rulers or to the period that goes between Gordian and Constantine (Blake 1940: 116). However, Pliny (Plin. nat. 8.19) already referred to the confrontation of an elephant and a bull in the arena in 75 BC, being *aedilis* Lucullus. Martial also alluded to this type of animal fights (Spect. 19.2), as was stated many years ago (Blázquez et al. 1990: 167-169 note 32).

In addition, both Muñoz and Blake reported that, among the musive finds from the *domus* on the Aventine, there was a black and white pavement with a geometric pattern, based on “undulating lines as white ribbons meeting and parting on a black ground in such a way as to leave spaces roughly circular, in the center of which are Maltese crosses” (Blake 1940: 84 pl. 12 fig. 3), adding that it was one of the characteristic motifs of the mosaics found in the Palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine.

In this line of research, it should be noted that a pattern of sine waves in opposite colours – a composition of bichrome outlined pattern of opposed tangent undulating lines – is already documented in one of the pavements found in the Baths of Caracalla (Décor I: pl. 249b). This would imply a certain success of the design in Rome², which would allow us to offer a chronology for the paving of

1 Richard Topham Drawings, which went to the Eton College Library in 1736, cf. Eton III, 50; IV, 34-38, y Cod. Cors. 137-145.

2 To be considered its representation in the Palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine, cf. Muñoz

the *domus* around the time of Caracalla, at the beginning of the third century AD - or in the following decades, in the first half of the century.³

The scene that focuses our attention “(Fig. 1)”, is depicted within a rectangular area: in the middle, there is a semi-circular structure that surrounds a small table (*mensa delphica*), a wine amphora and, in the foreground, the figure of a dwarf facing left dressed in a short tunic while carrying a jug in his hand. This scene is flanked by two groups that bear some resemblance between them. On the left, a *tibicen* with the double *tibia* is simultaneously playing the *scabellum*⁴ with his foot, easily identified as it was represented sideways. A young *saltatrix* seems to be dancing –actually contorting– to that rhythm, while playing the *crusmata* (or *crotala*)⁵ dressed in a very transparent tunic that reveals her buttocks. This young woman is in presence of another male who is facing her, holding sticks in his left hand. The group on the right has another *tibicen-scabillarius* in the same position as the one on the left, whose rhythm and pace are followed not by a couple but by a trio: the *saltatrix* with a transparent tunic shows her back to the viewer, revealing the movement of her glutes with the hands raised over her head and playing some *crotala*. She is flanked by two men who also hold sticks and perhaps, at least the one on the right, seems to be playing *crotala* with one of his hands.

Figure 1
Aventine mosaic in Vatican Museum.
Photo: Luz Neira.



There are some interesting details of the mosaic that need to be highlighted, especially the garments worn by the two *tibicines/scabillarii* and the male figures that hold sticks. The first ones are dressed in short tunics, while the second ones are only covered with a cloth resembling short pants, exposing the rest of their torso, legs and feet, conveying an attitude of movement - perhaps like the *cinaedi*⁶ while dancing. Such instruments and their attire could be indicative

1924 and Blake 1940. Although not identical, it has four-petal flowers in the intervals, in Djebel Oust (Décor I: pl. 249e).

3 Wardle (1981: 32, 145), who includes the instruments of this scene in his thesis, assigns the mosaic to the Temple of Diana on the Aventine while dating it between the third and fourth centuries AD.

4 Cicero (Cic. Cael. 65) used the word *scabillum*, just like Quintilian later on (Quint. inst. 1.4.12), as did in our times (Dunbabin 2016: 86). However, Bélis (1988: 323-329), used the word *scabellum*, which most authors and scholars seem to follow. According the author of this paper, *scabillarii* were first and foremost, *tibicines*, although not always. In this regard, as noted by Jory (1970: 224-256), both *tibicines* and *scabillarii* joined independent *collegia*.

5 Latin texts refer to these instruments as *crusmata*. Based on their iconography, we prefer to use the word *crotala* from now on, not without certain doubts regarding the literary sources.

6 The *cinaedi* came from Egypt and other Eastern provinces of the Empire and were associated with local divinities whose ritual celebrations included percussion instruments and dances (Vesterinen

of their origin, foreign to Rome⁷, and even different from that of the musicians who play the double *tibia* and the *scabellum* at the same time, who are dressed as Roman slaves.

This very same difference can be appreciated in the paintings of one of the *columbaria* from Villa Doria Pamphili⁸, with *tibicines* blowing the double *tibia* and dressed in a long tunic, while most of the *cinaedi* wear a cloth as short pants (Figs. 2-3). Likewise, a *cinaedus* in another painting from the *columbarium* in the Villa Doria Pamphili, that of *Scribonius Menophilus*⁹, who is dancing to the sound of sticks in his right hand, has been captured in the same position as the one represented on right side of the mosaic found on the Aventine. A *cinaedi* couple is also documented in the corner of the third century AD black and white mosaic that paved a tavern, the so-called Caupona of Alexander in *Ostia Antica* (Becatti 1961: 205-207 n°391 pl. CXIV)¹⁰. They are both dancing completely naked, the one on the left is a grotesque figure, endowed with an enormous *phallus*, just like the one that appears in the frescoes of the first *columbarium*, represented in the lewdest attitude before the viewers dancing to the rhythm of the double pair of sticks he carries in his hands.

Figure 2
Painting of one of the *columbaria* from Villa Doria Pamphili in British Museum.
Photo: (B.M. N° 1873,0208.1).



2007: 39-43). For this reason, the term *cinaedi* was used to designate Eastern or Egyptian dancers that apparently used to dance naked and appeared in Plautus' comedies. Later, the term was applied to any dancer, just like those who annoyed Pliny the Younger, according to a passage in his letters Cf. Plin. epist. 9.17.1-4. These *cinaedi*, who usually wear a characteristic cone-shaped cap (Apul. met. 8.27), are frequently represented in minor arts. Characterized by explicitly lascivious gestures and ambiguous sexuality, their representations abound, especially in the Republican period. From the Principate onwards, however, although the *cinaedi* shows remain as part of the entertainment for the *commissatio*, the fame of the pantomime manages to eclipse their daring performances. In fact, some scholars have assimilated the cinaedic dances to the so-called "Ionian dances", another type of entertainment based on the obscene movement of the body and suggestive gestures, to which Horace also refers.

- 7 Castaldo (2014: 318 figs. 1-3, 5-7), notes certain resemblance between the *cinaedi* and the renowned relief from Ariccia, in a cultic context, which she dates to the beginning of the second century AD. She also proposes an Ethiopian origin for those represented in the Aventine mosaic, which she dates to the second century AD, just like Wooton 2004: 247.
- 8 Partially preserved, some in Museo Nazionale Romano, others in the British Museum. Paintings are known thanks to the drawings by Ruspi made in the mid-nineteenth century and estimated to be from the first century BC, according to Dunbabin (2004: 166-168 figs. 4-7), with all the previous bibliography on the dancers with sticks. Also; King 1997: 77-80.
- 9 Catalli 1992: 120-125, with the same brief clothing, but wearing the characteristic cone-shaped cap that also appears in some paintings of the aforementioned *columbarium*, under Doria Pamphili Villa, cf. Previous note and, in ceramics, small bronzes and oil lamps, especially those found in the shrine of Demeter in Cnidus, from the second century AD, preserved in the British Museum cf. Bailey 1980: 60-62 fig. 64.
- 10 In this mosaic, Venus, Eros and *pancratio competitores* are also represented.

Figure 3
Detail of painting of one of the *columbaria*
from Villa Doria Pamphili in Museo
Nazionale Romano.
Photo: Luz Neira.



Nevertheless, the most characteristic feature in the performances of the majority of the *cinaedi* - and therefore of those represented in the aforementioned paintings of the *columbaria*, the three on the Aventine mosaic and, in particular, the *cinaedus* with the large *phallus* in the mosaic from Ostia, although less evident in the *cinaedi* with sticks featured alongside dwarfs and skippers in the dance outside the temple dedicated to *Diana Nemorensis* in the fragmentary relief of Ariccia (Lembke 1994: 97-102; Castaldo 2014: 316-317 figs 1-3) - is the depiction of a characteristic posture with the buttocks outwards that generated a quick and easy assimilation of his dance with homosexual practices (Alonso 2011: 431). The best description is found in Aulus Gellius (Gell. 6.12.5)¹¹, who paraphrased Cornelius Scipio the African's vision about them:

“uerba sunt haec Scipionis: ‘nam qui cotidie unguentatus aduersum speculum ornetur, cuius supercilia radantur, qui barba uulsa feminibusque subuulsis ambulet, qui in conuiuuis adulescentulus cum amatore cum chirodyta tunica interior accubuerit, qui non modo uinosus, sed uirosus quoque sit, eumne quisquam dubitet, quin idem fecerit, quod cinaedi facere solent?’”

Scipio's words are these: *“For one who daily perfumes himself and dresses before a mirror, whose eyebrows are trimmed, who walks abroad with beard plucked out and thighs made smooth, who at banquets, though a young man, has reclined in a long-sleeved tunic on the inner side of the couch with a lover, who is fond not only of wine but of men — does anyone doubt that he does what wantons commonly do?”*

Thus, it is not surprising that under the name of *cinaedi*, three words were combined in a pejorative way: foreigner¹², dancer, and effeminate (Williams 1999: 178). Returning to the mosaic of Santa Sabina, the two *saltatrices* show their hair in a bun, the one on the right, certainly saffron-coloured (Figs. 4-6).

¹¹ Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, Loeb Classical Library, 1927, Translation by J.C. Rolfe.

¹² Regarding the foreign origin, cf. Perea 2004: 11-46.

Both seem to evoke the description of Quintia, *expert in shaking her vibrant buttocks* in one of the *Priapea* (Priap. I.27.1-5)¹³, that of the *puellae gaditanae* by Martial (Mart. apoph. (epigr. 14) 1.41.12)¹⁴ and Juvenal (Iuv. 11.3.62)¹⁵ and that of other foreigners by Statius (Stat. silv. 1.6.67-74)¹⁶ and Suetonius (Suet. Dom. 4)¹⁷.



Figure 4
Detail of Aventine mosaic.
Photo: Luz Neira.



Figure 5
Detail of Aventine mosaic.
Photo: Luz Neira.

13 Appendix Vergiliana. Priapea, Loeb Classical Library, 1918, Translation by H. R. Fairclough.
14 Martial, Epigrams, Volume I: Spectacles, Books 1-5, Loeb Classical Library, 1993, Translation by D. R. Shackelton Bailey.
15 Juvenal and Persius, Heinemann & G.P. Putnam's Son, 1918, Translation by G. G. Ramsay. The *puellae gaditanae* were identified as prostitutes, as well as the Syrian *ambubaiae*, that appeared to have a certain link in Schol. Iuv. 11: *id est, speras forsitan, quod incipiant saltare delicatae ac pulchrae puellae Syriae, quoniam de Syris in Afris Gades condita est*.
16 Publius Papinius Statius, Silvae, Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis, 1992, Translation by E. Courtney.
17 Suetonius, Life of the Caesars, Vol II, Loeb Classical Library, 1914, Translation by J. C. Rolfe.

Figure 6
Detail of Aventine mosaic.
Photo: Luz Neira.



All references to the performances of the *puellae* offered by *Carmina Priapea*, Martial, Juvenal, and, most notably, Statius' mention¹⁸ of the most sensual and lascivious dancers who move to the rhythm of the *crusmata* (alluding to a banquet organised by Domitian during the *Saturnalia* with the participation of *puellae* from Lydia, Syria and Gades) can shed some light on the scene represented in the Aventine mosaic. Despite the supposed prominence of the musicians with different instruments, the *cinaedi* and the dancers, the scene in question does not include the participation of actors or *mimae*¹⁹, which allow us to identify it not as a sequence of *mime*²⁰, but as the performance of one of those lascivious dances at the celebration of a great banquet.

18 According to Lindgren (2015: 136), the same celebration that Suetonius (Suet. Dom. 4) places during the *ludi* dedicated by the Emperor to Jupiter Capitolinus. Cf. Léveder Bernard - Calero 2015: 107-120.

19 Regarding the difference between *mimae* and *saltatrices*, and although much later see, from the end of the fourth century AD, the text by Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.14.6.19): *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*. Ammianus Marcellinus, History. Books XIV-XIX, Loeb Classical Library, 2005, Translation by J.C. Rolfe.

20 Guidobaldi 1992: fig. 18; Kondoleon 1999: fig. 5, interpret the scene as that of a mime. About the nature of these performances, Dunbabin 2004: 161-182 notes 27-28, mentions that Domitian allowed actors to play in private houses, and recalls the case of Ummidia Quadratilla, that with her own pantomime company performed both in theatres and houses, and taking into account Plutarch's text (Plut. mor. 712E), he believes that it might be a representation of a mime during a banquet "That we tend to hear more of the higher-end and cultured forms of dinner entertainment naturally reflects the prejudices of our sources. Indeed, Plutarch has one of his characters explicitly describe certain mimes – *paignia* – as unsuitable for a symposium, because they 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 *mimēmata* of words and deeds that are more disruptive even than drunkenness". Cf. Dunbabin 2016: 130 fig. 5.16.

The semi-circular structure, in a *sigma* shape, also contributes to this identification, typical of a banquet, as it is documented in a fragmentary parietal mosaic in Sant'Angelo in Formis (Campania) (Robotti 2005: 1171-1173 fig. 4; Neira 2011: 400) "(Fig. 7)" and in a mosaic of *Thysdrus*, with the members of the *sodalitates* at the dinner prior to the *ludi* (Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1995: 210 fig. 155) (Fig. 8).



Figure 7
Fragmentary parietal mosaic
in Sant'Angelo in Formis (Campania).
Photo: Robotti 2005: fig. 4.



Figure 8
Mosaic of *Thysdrus*.
Photo: Blanchard-Lémée et al. 1995: fig.
155.

Regarding the success of these *convivia*, Pliny the Younger (Plin. epist. 3.12)²¹ recriminates in one of his letters to Clarus that he did not accept his invitation to an elegant dinner but instead attended another one, a dinner of *luxuria*, because of the served food and the *Gaditanae puellae* that were going to perform at the banquet.

Hence, the mosaic reflects the atmosphere that, just a century before, Pliny the Younger described in a certainly revealing paragraph from his Letters, when he expressed the displeasure caused among many educated guests by this type of *commissationes*, which were attended out of respect for the hosts of the banquets. These events included performances of *cinaedi*, buffoons and dwarves²², who would be flitting around the tables, doing - the stupidities of the dwarves (*stultum a morione*), - a key notion for the interpretation of the Aventine musive scene:

1. Recepi litteras tuas quibus quereris taedio tibi fuisse quamvis lautissimam cenam, quia scurrae cinaedi moriones mensis inerrabant.

Vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis? Equidem nihil tale habeo, habentes tamen fero. Cur ergo non habeo? Quia nequaquam me ut inexpectatum festivumve delectat, si quid molle a cinaedo, petulans a scurra, stultum a morione profertur.

3. Non rationem sed stomachum tibi narro. Atque adeo quam multos putas esse, quos ea quibus ego et tu capimur et ducimur, partim ut inepta partim ut molestissima offendant! Quam multi, cum lector aut lyristes aut comoedus inductus est, calceos poscunt aut non minore cum taedio recubant, quam tu ista - sic enim appellas - prodigia perpessus es!

4. Demus igitur alienis oblectationibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus. Vale.

"I have received your letter in which you complain how offensive to you a really magnificent banquet was, owing to the fact that there were buffoons, dancers, and jesters going round from table to table. Ah! will you never relax that severe frown of yours even a little? For my own part, I do not provide any such entertainments like those, but I can put up with those who do. Why then do I not provide them myself? For this reason, that if any dancer makes a lewd movement, if a buffoon is impudent, or a jester makes a senseless fool of himself, it does not amuse me a whit, for I see no novelty or fun in it. I am not giving you a high moral reason, but am only telling you my individual taste. Yet think how many people there are who would regard with disfavour, as partly insipid and partly wearisome, the entertainments which charm and attract you and me. When a reader, or a musician, or a comic actor enters the banqueting-room, how many there are who call for their shoes or lie back on their couches just as completely bored as you were, when you endured what you describe as those monstrosities! Let us then make allowances for what pleases other people, so that we may induce others to make allowances for

21 Pliny the Younger, Letters, Volume I: Books 1-7, Loeb Classical Library, 1969. Translation by B. Radice.

22 Propertius (Prop. 4.8.37-42) already referenced a joint performance of a *tibicen* and *crotalistris* called *Phyllis* and a dwarf in a tavern:

Lygdamus ad cyathos, utriusque aestiva supellex / et Methymnaei Graeca salvia meri. / Nile, tuus tibicen erat, crotalistris Phyllis, / et facilis spargi munda sine arte rosa; / Magnus et ipse suos breuiter concretus in artus / iactabat truncas ad caua buxa manus. Lygdamus was cup-bearer, with a set of summer glassware/, and Greek wine that tasted Methymnian./ Nile, the flute-player was yours, Phyllis was castanet dancer,/ and artless elegant roses were nicely scattered;/ Magnus the dwarf, himself, tiny of limb/waved his stunted hands to the boxwood flute. Cf. Propertius, Elegies, Loeb Classical Library 2006, Translation by G. P. Goold.

us! Farewell! (Plin. epist. 9.17.1-4)²³.

The participation of dwarves²⁴ in performances, such as the one referred centuries ago by Propertius, is also documented in a passage from Lucian (Lukian. symp. 18-19) in the same context as the one described by Pliny the Younger, that of a *convivium*. The star of the performance is a *gelotopoiros*, a dwarf jester named Satirion who, among other acts, contorted to the sound of music²⁵.

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 mimes²⁶, 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).

Judging by the degree of specialisation, the *saltatrices/crusmatistriae* such as those of the Aventine mosaic would not have required much training to play the *crotala*, as they are easy to handle (Vesterinen 2007: 110). Just like other percussion instruments (cymbals and tympana) that due to the simplicity of their technique, easily follow the dance steps. It should be noted that the highest level of virtuosity was demanded, for both men and women, to play the *tibia*, and to a lesser extent for the chordophones (zither, lyre and psaltery), as well as the dance itself, which would have required a learning methodology and practice²⁷.

In our opinion, nevertheless, the most significant aspect about the image of this *commissatio* (or its rehearsal) in the Aventine mosaic is undoubtedly its documentary value about society at the beginning of the third century AD. It evokes the entertainment documented in other artistic media, as well as attested by literary sources since the first century BC until the beginning of the second century AD. According to the aforementioned passage by Lucian, before 180 AD, and the critical text by Clement of Alexandria, between the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries AD, the musive image faithfully represents the performances in one of those banquets that continued to be organized in Rome and in other urban centres of the Empire²⁸. Thus, in book II of his *Paedagogus*²⁹, on the basis that “Let revelry keep away from our rational entertainments, and foolish vigils, too, that revel in intemperance. For revelry is

23 Pliny the Younger, Letters, Volume II: Books 8-10. Panegyricus, Loeb Classical Library, 1969, Translation by B. Radice.

24 Cf. Dasen 2013: 268-272, who studies the presence of dwarves among musicians and dancers in Antiquity and their apotropaic character against the evil eye.

25 Lucian, Works, Vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library, 1913, Translation by A. M. Harmon.

26 Perea (2004: 14), interestingly notes that in her role of “merry girl”, the mime was barefoot. This emphasises the cliché of a free woman, the one that has neither husband nor home, a prostitute, which would continue until Byzantine times, cf. Puchner 1983: 311-317; 2002: 304-324.

27 Vesterinen 2007: 111, he collects a series of contracts that appeared on a papyrus from Roman Egypt that mention what could be a school for flautists and dancers, a kind of academy-workshop that at the same time served as an agency to hire professionals. Cf. Alonso Fernández 2011: 443; 2015: 310.

28 About Clement’s life, he travelled to the south of the Italian Peninsula and other territories of the Roman state finally settling in Alexandria, a synthesis in Alonso Venero 2013: 450-463.

29 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paedagogus*, Translated by William Wilson. From *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 2. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0209.htm>>.

an inebriating pipe, the chain of an amatory bridge, that is, of sorrow. And let love, and intoxication, and senseless passions, be removed from our choir”, he predicts “For if people occupy their time with pipes, and psalteries, and choirs, and dances, and Egyptian clapping of hands, and such disorderly frivolities, they become quite immodest and intractable, beat on cymbals and drums, and make a noise on instruments of delusion; for plainly such a banquet, as seems to me, is a theater of drunkenness”, emphasising on the syrinx and flute, “Let the pipe be resigned to the shepherds, and the flute to the superstitious who are engrossed in idolatry. For, in truth, such instruments are to be banished from the temperate banquet, being more suitable to beasts than men, and the more irrational portion of mankind. For we have heard of stags being charmed by the pipe, and seduced by music into the toils, when hunted by the huntsmen. And when seas are being covered, a tune is played on the flute - a nuptial song, as it were. And every improper sight and sound, to speak in a word, and every shameful sensation of licentiousness - which, in truth, is privation of sensation - must by all means be excluded; and we must be on our guard against whatever pleasure titillates eye and ear, and effeminates. For the various spells of the broken strains and plaintive numbers of the Carian muse corrupt men’s morals, drawing to perturbation of mind, by the licentious and mischievous art of music³⁰”.

In addition to the instruments, Clement also criticises those who participate in these banquets. He disapproves women (Clem. Al. Paid. 2.11.; Conde 1986: 337-354), in particular their clothing, the custom of dyeing their hair – he seems to be describing the *saltatrices* of the mosaic and the potential female spectators who would emulate them – while also giggling like teenagers:

“And silly women, who dye their grey hair and anoint their locks, grow speedily greyer by the perfumes they use, which are of a drying nature. Wherefore also those that anoint themselves become drier, and the dryness makes them greyer [...] bidding farewell to embroidery of gold and Indian silks and elaborate Bombyces (silks), which is at first a worm, then from it is produced a hairy caterpillar; after which the creature suffers a new transformation into a third form which they call larva, from which a long filament is produced, as the spider’s thread from the spider. For these superfluous and diaphanous materials are the proof of a weak mind, covering as they do the shame of the body with a slender veil. For luxurious clothing, which cannot conceal the shape of the body, is no more a covering. For such clothing, falling close to the body, takes its form more easily, and adhering as it were to the flesh, receives its shape, and marks out the woman’s figure, so that the whole make of the body is visible to spectators, though not seeing the body itself. Dyeing of clothes is also to be rejected. For it is remote both from necessity and truth, in addition to the fact that reproach in manners spring from it.”

He returns to this aspect that haunts him in the third book (Clem. Al. Paid. 3.2.), in which he states his own views that clearly show how similar pagan and Christian intellectuals are - and the critical tradition -when speaking against women:

“The woman who dyes her hair yellow, Menander the comic poet expels from the house: Now get out of this house, for no chaste. Woman ought to make her hair yellow, nor, I would add, stain her cheeks, nor paint her eyes. Unawares the poor wretches destroy their own beauty, by the introduction

30 Clem. Al. Paid. 2.4 alluding to its presence in pagan sacrifices and rituals.

of what is spurious. At the dawn of day, mangling, racking, and plastering themselves over with certain compositions, they chill the skin, furrow the flesh with poisons, and with curiously prepared washes, thus blighting their own beau (...) These, then, who are disgusting even to the heathen poets for their fashions, how shall they not be rejected by the truth?"

In the same line, Clement continues about the behaviour of those who partake in this type of celebrations:

"For the seemly relaxation of the countenance in a harmonious manner — as of a musical instrument — is called a smile. So also is laughter on the face of well-regulated men termed. But the discordant relaxation of countenance in the case of women is called a giggle, and is meretricious laughter; in the case of men, a guffaw, and is savage and insulting laughter. A fool raises his voice in laughter; Sirach 21:20 says the Scripture; but a clever man smiles almost imperceptibly. The clever man in this case he calls wise, inasmuch as he is differently affected from the fool. But, on the other hand, one needs not be gloomy, only grave. For I certainly prefer a man to smile who has a stern countenance than the reverse; for so his laughter will be less apt to become the object of ridicule.

Smiling even requires to be made the subject of discipline. If it is at what is disgraceful, we ought to blush rather than smile, lest we seem to take pleasure in it by sympathy; if at what is painful, it is fitting to look sad rather than to seem pleased. For to do the former is a sign of rational human thought; the other infers suspicion of cruelty. We are not to laugh perpetually, for that is going beyond bounds; nor in the presence of elderly persons, or others worthy of respect, unless they indulge in pleasantries for our amusement. Nor are we to laugh before all and sundry, nor in every place, nor to everyone, nor about everything. For to children and women especially laughter is the cause of slipping into scandal and even to appear stern serves to keep those about us at their distance. For gravity can ward off the approaches of licentiousness by a mere look. All senseless people, to speak in a word, wine: Commands both to laugh luxuriously and to dance, changing effeminate manners to softness. We must consider, too, how consequently freedom of speech leads impropriety on to filthy speaking. And he uttered a word which had been better unsaid. Especially, therefore, in liquor crafty men's characters are wont to be seen through, stripped as they are of their mask through the caitiff licence of intoxication, through which reason, weighed down in the soul itself by drunkenness, is lulled to sleep, and unruly passions are roused, which overmaster the febleness of the mind" (Clem. Al. Paid. 2.5.).

Clement confirms in his works the validity - even in his time - of customary practices transmitted long ago by the *Appendix Vergiliana* (App. Verg. Copa, 1-4), from the first century BC, when describing a sensual and lascivious dance in the context of Roman *convivia*. The dance was performed by foreign dancers, who were dressed in silk³¹ dresses, transparent, looking almost naked, who played a musical instrument at the same time. Apuleius, in addition, offers us an earlier story about the garments worn by the actress who played Venus in the staging of the Judgment of Paris in a Corinthian theatre that, through the eyes of Lucius, turned into an ass (Apul. met. 10.31.1-2)³²:

31 The movement of the flying silk from Cos or Arabia is a recurring theme in Propertius' poetry (Prop. 1.2.2; 2.1.5-6) and Horace (1.2.101-102), among others. It is very likely that the dancers were dressed in similar fabrics since they were a perfect complement to the style of their dances. Cf. Alonso Fernandez 2011: 446.

32 Apuleius, *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*, Volume II, Books 7-11, Loeb Classical Library, 1989, Translation by J. A. Hanson.

“Her exquisite naked form was bare except for a piece of silken gauze with which she veiled her sweet charms. An inquisitive little breeze kept blowing this veil aside in wanton playfulness so that it lifted now to show her ripening bud, or now pressed madly against her, clinging tightly, smoothly delineating her voluptuous limbs. The goddess’ very colouring offered interest to the eye, her body the white of heaven from which she came, her veil the cerulean blue of the sea from which she rose.”

With his criticism, Clement of Alexandria documents the rejection that this type of *commissationes* provoked and, at the same time, the success that they continued to have in certain sectors. It is certainly revealing the excessive interest of some people to attend one of them, even cancelling a previous appointment to attend a last-minute invitation to this type of events, between the last century of the Republic and the first centuries of the Empire. Pliny the Younger discusses this with Clarus and recriminates those who would not leave the *domus* out of respect for the host. This diversity of situations would persist over the centuries.

It is possible that the owner of the Aventine *domus*, who commissioned the musive 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.

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The Revival of Interest in Representing Plays of Menander in the Late 2nd and Early 3rd Centuries AD: A Historical and Art-Historical Phenomenon

İS 2. Yüzyıl Sonları ve Erken 3. Yüzyıllarda Menander Oyunlarının Temsil Edilmesine İlginin Yeniden Canlanması: Tarihsel ve Sanat-Tarihsel Bir Fenomen

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Abstract


An important revival in representing plays of Menander in private homes, in the form of both mosaics and frescoes, occurred primarily in the eastern part of the Roman empire in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, with a limited echo felt in the west. The present article tries to explain why and how this artistic phenomenon took place, and a review of the relevant works of art and their chronology is presented in this interpretation. The discussion also refers to the frequent depiction of theater masks in well-to-do households, and the related custom of presenting theatrical entertainment at the banquet or "dinner theater." Also significant for our purpose are the continued vitality of theater festivals throughout the Greek-speaking provinces during the first half of the 3rd century, and the retrospective attitude of the Second Sophistic, with its high esteem for classical drama of the past. This outlook was focused on Athens, and it had great admiration for the plays of Menander and Euripides. One additional feature influencing the artistic renewal in question is the high value placed on Menander's plays as models of literary expression in the curriculum of schools, especially for training students in rhetoric and declamation. Collectively, all of the factors mentioned above contributed to the Menander revival in the visual arts during the period specified.

Keywords: Menander, Ephesos, Antioch, Zeugma, Mytilene, theater festivals, theater masks, Second Sophistic, school curricula.

Öz

Menander oyunlarının özel konutlarda yer alan hem mozaik hem de fresklerde temsil edilmesinde önemli bir canlanma, esas olarak İS 2. yüzyılın sonlarında ve 3. yüzyılın başlarında Roma İmparatorluğu'nun doğu kesiminde meydana gelmiş ve batıda sınırlı bir yankı hissedilmiştir. Bu makale, bu sanatsal olgunun neden ve nasıl gerçekleştiğini açıklamaya çalışmakta ve bu yorumda ilgili sanat eserlerinin ve kronolojilerinin bir incelemesi sunulmaktadır. Tartışma aynı zamanda hâli vakti yerinde evlerde tiyatro maskelerinin sık sık tasvir edilmesine ve buna bağlı olarak ziyafette ya da "akşam yemeği tiyatrosunda" teatral eğlence sunma geleneğine atıfta bulunmaktadır. 3. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Yunanca konuşulan eyaletlerde tiyatro festivallerinin devam eden canlılığı ve geçmişin klasik tiyatrosuna büyük saygı duyan İkinci Sofistlerin geriye dönük tutumu da amacımız için önemlidir. Bu bakış açısı Atina'ya odaklanmıştı ve Menander ile Euripides'in oyunlarına büyük bir hayranlık duyuyordu. Söz konusu sanatsal yenilenmeyi etkileyen ek bir özellik de, okulların müfredatında, özellikle öğrencileri retorik ve nutuk konusunda eğitmek için, edebi anlatım modeli olarak Menander'in oyunlarına verilen yüksek değerdir. Toplu olarak, yukarıda belirtilen faktörlerin tümü, belirtilen dönemde görsel sanatlarda Menander canlanmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Menander, Ephesos, Antiocheia, Zeugma, Midilli, tiyatro festivalleri, tiyatro maskeleri, İkinci Sofistler, okul müfredatı.

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This article is offered as a contribution to the Festschrift honoring Werner Jobst, and I hope he enjoys reading it. The article's purpose is to explain why illustrations of Menander's plays enjoyed a revival in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, primarily in the eastern, Greek-speaking part of the Roman empire. It is a phenomenon seen principally in mosaic pavements and in a few wall paintings, works previously discussed by other authors. My interpretation builds upon and adds to the excellent analysis in the book by S. Nervegna, *Menander in Antiquity: The Contexts of Reception* (2013)¹. I wish to suggest that various factors, artistic, cultural, historical, and social, underlay the revival in imagery, and also to propose how the visual representation of the plays may have spread, geographically, in the process. I shall review the relevant monuments and their chronology.

Menander's popularity as an author remained consistent in the Roman imperial era, not only through public performances on the stage, but also in private settings, especially for the reading and discussion of his plays among the educated social elite. The poet was one of the most admired Classical Greek writers, comparable in reputation to Homer and Euripides (Nervegna 2013: 2, 4, 201)². One has the testimony of writers such as Plutarch (Plut. *Mor.* 673e, 712b-d) in the 2nd century AD, and Athenaeus³ in the early 3rd century about the pleasure of reciting passages from Menander, because of the plays' very accessible language, clever plots, and practical moral instruction. Scenes of the poet's works also very likely were performed as "dinner theater"⁴ in wealthy households, and a favored location for such entertainment was a *triclinium*; some homes had accomplished actors among the proprietors' slaves⁵. Moreover, individual houses at Pompeii occasionally were decorated with mosaics showing ancient Greek theatrical activities, such as an *emblema* from the *tablinum* of the House of the Tragic Poet (Fig. 1), that represents the cast of a satyr play preparing for a performance (Bergmann – Victoria 1994: 235, 237, 254-255 fig. 2; Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010: 188-193 figs. on 188-189, 191-193). The actors and an elderly *choregos* or chorus leader, who gives the performers instructions, appear within a columned building ornamented with garlands. This image not only indicates the patron's appreciation of classical drama, but also it may allude indirectly to actual, small-scale performances that occurred in the space where the mosaic was found. Other familiar mosaic *emblemata*, from the Villa of Cicero at Pompeii (Figs. 2 - 3), signed by Dioskurides of Samos, feature scenes both from Menander's *Theophoroumene* (*The Domonic Girl*) and his *Synaristosai* (*Women Lunching Together*) (see Bieber 1961: 95-96, 105-106 figs. 346-347; *MNC* 3rd ed. 1995: 94, 2: 3 DM 1-2; Csapo 1999: 165 fig. 1; Andreae 2003: 218-227; Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010: 36 photo on 34; Dunbabin 2016: 58, 61 figs. 3.3, 3.4). One scholar⁶ claimed that that these panels, dated to the

1 To date this remains the most comprehensive interpretation of Menander's plays and their visual representation.

2 Csapo (2010: 143), states that Menander initially was third in popularity among the most acclaimed Greek authors, but Menander's reputation increased significantly in the first three centuries AD.

3 E.g., Athen. 6.243a, 247f (*Synaristosai*), 258e, 270d (Athenaeus III, trans. C. B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library, 1967).

4 See esp. Jones 1991: that scholar's discussion focuses on visual and dramatic entertainment at the *symposium* in aristocratic Roman households following dinner, and it draws a link between a host's private benefaction and generous public spectacles that he might also sponsor. Fantham (1984: 306) referred to a letter by Pliny to his friend Septicius Clarus, in which the Latin author alluded to comic performance at dinner. Whole plays were sometimes presented, Jones 1991: 193.

5 See Nervegna 2013: 178, who noted epigraphic evidence about slave actors in well-to-do households that comes from family *columbaria*.

6 Csapo (1999: 165, 175-176), who discussed these panels as part of an iconographic tradition related

Figure 1
Pompeii, House of the Tragic Poet, mosaic with cast of a satyr play. Photo after Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010: fig. on 188.



Figure 2
Pompeii, Villa of Cicero, mosaic of *Theophoroumene*. Photo after Dunbabin 2016: fig. 3.4.





Figure 3
Pompeii, Villa of Cicero, mosaic of
Synaristosai.
Photo after Dunbabin 2016: fig. 3.3.

late 2nd century BC, were transplanted to Pompeii from elsewhere. The imagery follows an iconographic tradition reaching back to the early 3rd century BC, and forming a “set” or cycle of illustrations that served as a prototype for later works of art of Menandrian content.

Another type of theatrical reference common to mosaics at Pompeii and elsewhere, and represented abundantly in the high and late empire, is images of actors’ masks⁷, which have been documented at many locations. From Pompeii itself come the finely rendered tragic masks adorning a richly fruited garland in a mosaic from the *fauces* of the House of the Faun (Bieber 1961: 158-159 fig. 574; Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010: 136 figs. on 138-139, 142-143; Guimier-Sorbets 2019: 185 fig. 202). Also of great interest is a 2nd-century pavement from the Aventine Hill in Rome (Fig. 4) signed in Greek by Heraklitos (Dunbabin 1999: 26, 271, 274 fig. 26; Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010: 36 figs. on 39-41). On three sides it represented a wide frieze with an *asarotos oikos* or unswept floor showing the discarded elements of a meal, whereas on the fourth side appears a horizontal row of theatrical masks. Some of the latter rest on low plinths, and

to the mosaics with illustrations of Menander’s plays found at Mytilene (see below in this article).

⁷ On the ubiquity of representations of theater masks in Roman mosaics, see among others Huskinson 2002-2003: 132; Balmelle – Darmon 2017: 148-149, 199-200; Raynaud – Islami 2018: 220-223.



Figure 4
Rome, Mosaic of Heraklitos. Photo after
Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010: fig. on 40
(edited).

short ornamented columns punctuate the group. K. Dunbabin suggested that the mosaic decorated a *triclinium*, because of the food illustrated (Dunbabin 1999: 271). But we can go a step further and propose that the presence of theater masks refers to entertainment performed in the same space on festive occasions. We also note a single mosaic panel kept today in the Cummer Museum of Art in Jacksonville, Florida⁸ (Fig. 5). This panel, dated to the 1st century AD and said to come from the western empire, depicts the mask of a grimacing old man with a wide-open mouth and staring eyes, probably to be identified as a lead slave in New Comedy⁹. He wears a wreath tied by a ribbon, and the mask rests on a low plinth. This image so closely resembles a mask in a mosaic from Ampurias (Emporiae) that the two examples derive from the same artistic model (for the Spanish work, see Raynaud - Islami 2018: fig. 270).

A very useful inventory of masks illustrated in pavements from across the empire occurs in an appendix to a recent book dealing with mosaics at the site of Butrint in Albania (Raynaud – Islami 2018: 220-223). The Triconch Complex at that location, one phase of which is dated to the 2nd century AD, contains a few noteworthy pavements with masks. The Room of the Masks with Mosaic 12 in this residence (Fig. 6) exhibits five panels with individual tragic and comic masks (Raynaud – Islami 2018: 71-80 figs. 75, 79-82, 86-87, illus. on book's back cover). From that space a corridor leads to the building's largest room, apparently a *triclinium*, containing Mosaic 13, located in the apse and displaying a shield pattern with a fragmentary mask at its center; the latter faces toward the main part of the room (Raynaud – Islami 2018: 80-90 figs. 88, 100-102). It is possible that actors in the larger square area entertained banqueters reclining in

⁸ I thank Holly Keris, Chief Curator of the Cummer Museum of Art, for information about and a photograph of this object, previously identified as a mask of Silenus and thought to have been part of a larger mosaic.

⁹ On this type of mask, see *MNC* 3rd ed. 1995: I, 26-29, mask 22; on terracotta examples and statuettes with such masks, I, nos. 1 AT 5, pl. 2; AT 37e, pl. 5; 1 AT 58d, pl. 8; 1 NT 4, pl. 13; 1 TT 5, pl. 14; RT 6b, pl. 20; 3 XB 3, pl. 36.



Figure 5
Jacksonville, Cummer Museum of Art:
Artist unknown (Roman), mosaic with mask
of Silenus [previous identification],
1st century A.D., stone tesserae and cement,
12 ¼ x 12 ¼ x 2 ½ in. Purchased with funds
from Morton R. Hirschberg Bequest, AP.
1990.19.1. Photo courtesy of H. Keris, Chief
Curator.

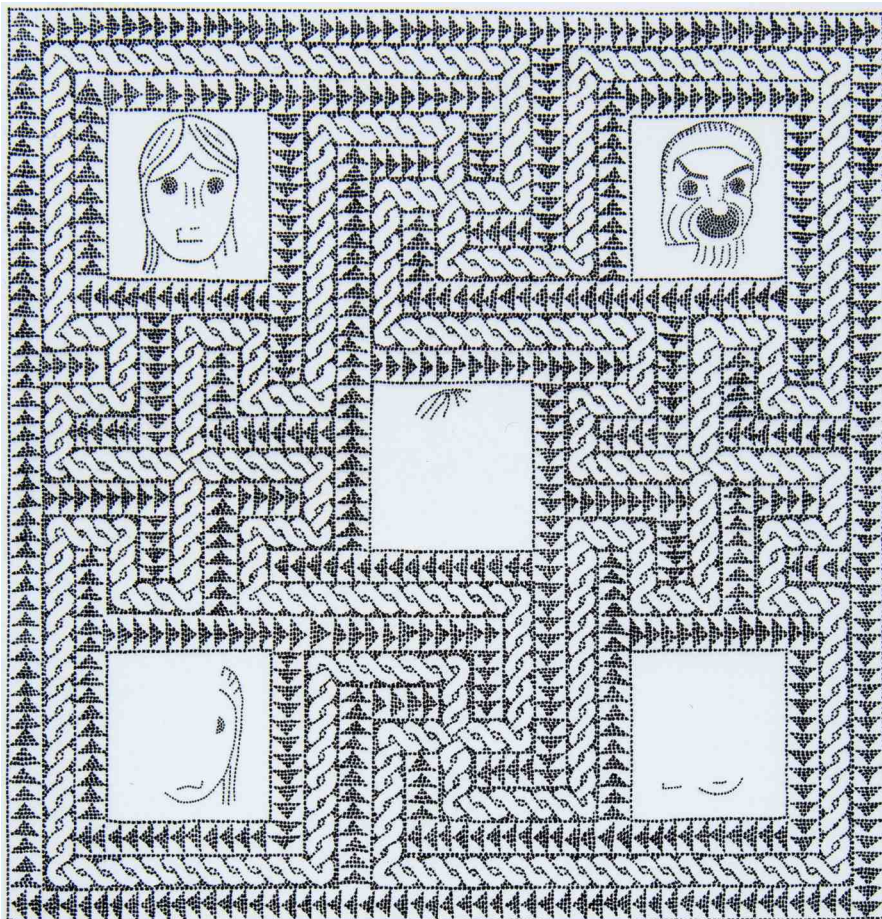


Figure 6
Butrint, Triconch Complex, drawing of
mosaic of masks. Photo after Raynaud –
Alami 2018: fig. 86.

Figure 7
 Villa Armira, mosaic with family group and
 mythological figures.
 Photo courtesy of V. Popova.

the apse. At a different eastern residence, the Villa Armira near Ivailovgrad in ancient Thrace (modern Bulgaria), a pavement of early 2nd-century date (Figs. 7, 8, mask in lower right panel) represents several theater masks and mythological figures, as well as lifelike family portraits of a father and his two very young offspring (Mladenova 1983: 153-156 figs. 8-10; Kabakchieva 2012: 33 figs. on 32-35; Valeva 2015; Parrish 2020: esp. 220-224, 231-232 figs. 2, 17-19). This arrangement suggests that the room (No. 10 in the villa), of fairly large size, was used for dramatic presentations, perhaps literary recitations. These activities and the mosaic's mythological imagery apparently were intended to instruct the two young children depicted in the family group about classical culture, as they grew up.





Figure 8
Villa Armira, detail of mosaic with family
group and mythological figures.
Photo courtesy of V. Popova.

One of the most extensive displays of theatrical masks in Roman mosaics occurs in a pavement that adorned the *triclinium* (Room 12) of the House of the Masks at Hadrumetum-Sousse (Fig. 9) in Tunisia (Foucher 1965: 23-24, 51-56, 61-72, figs. 37, 88-120, fold-out plan of the house after 80). Interspersed among the masks are figures of birds, fish, quadrupeds, and fruits. It is implied by the excavator that this mosaic dates to the later 2nd or early 3rd century AD. Moreover, the mosaic floor in an adjacent salon or *oecus* (Room 6) in the same dwelling represents, inside a large medallion, a seated poet holding a bound *volumen*, with a tragic mask placed alongside. In front of him appears a *capsa* filled with other scrolls, and on the right stands an actor holding a comic mask (Foucher 1965: 15-16 figs. 20, 87; Dunbabin 2016: 81 fig. 3.23). Three more masks embellish the threshold of Room 6 (Foucher 1965: 13-15 fig. 19; Yacoub 1995: 145-147 fig. 67). The combination of numerous masks with items appropriate to the banquet, seen in the *triclinium* pavement, suggests that “dinner theater” was performed in this space, matching what we concluded about the Heraklitos Mosaic from the *triclinium* of the house on the Aventine in Rome (Fig. 4). Additional dramatic activity, such as recitations of plays, may have occurred in the *oecus* (Room 6) of the dwelling at Sousse. The strong emphasis on the theatrical theme in the House of the Masks at Sousse led Foucher to propose that this structure, if not a private residence, may have been the meeting place of an association or guild of professional actors (Foucher 1965: 78-79). In my view, the former identification as a private home seems more likely.

It is against this artistic backdrop that there appeared, in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, several other mosaics and a group of frescoes representing the plays of Menander, initially seen in Asia Minor and Syria and echoed elsewhere. We shall summarize these works of art, which have been carefully described and analyzed by other scholars, and then offer an explanation for their occurrence. Two sites are especially important in this regard, Ephesos and Antioch, cities with a strong theatrical tradition (on the well-preserved theater at Ephesos, see Scherrer 2000: 158-160 figs. 1-2). At Ephesos, in Apartment I of Terrace House 2, exists a reception space (SR 6) decorated with paintings illustrating plays of both Menander and Euripides, which was labeled the *Theaterzimmer* by archaeologists of the Austrian team (Strocka 1977: 48 figs. 64-69; Parrish 1995: 154-155 fig. 13; Blanchard 2009: xxvi-xxvii, xxxi, xxxiii-xxxv, figs. bet. xxx and xxxi; Zimmermann – Ladstätter 2011: 115 figs. 204-205). Altogether,

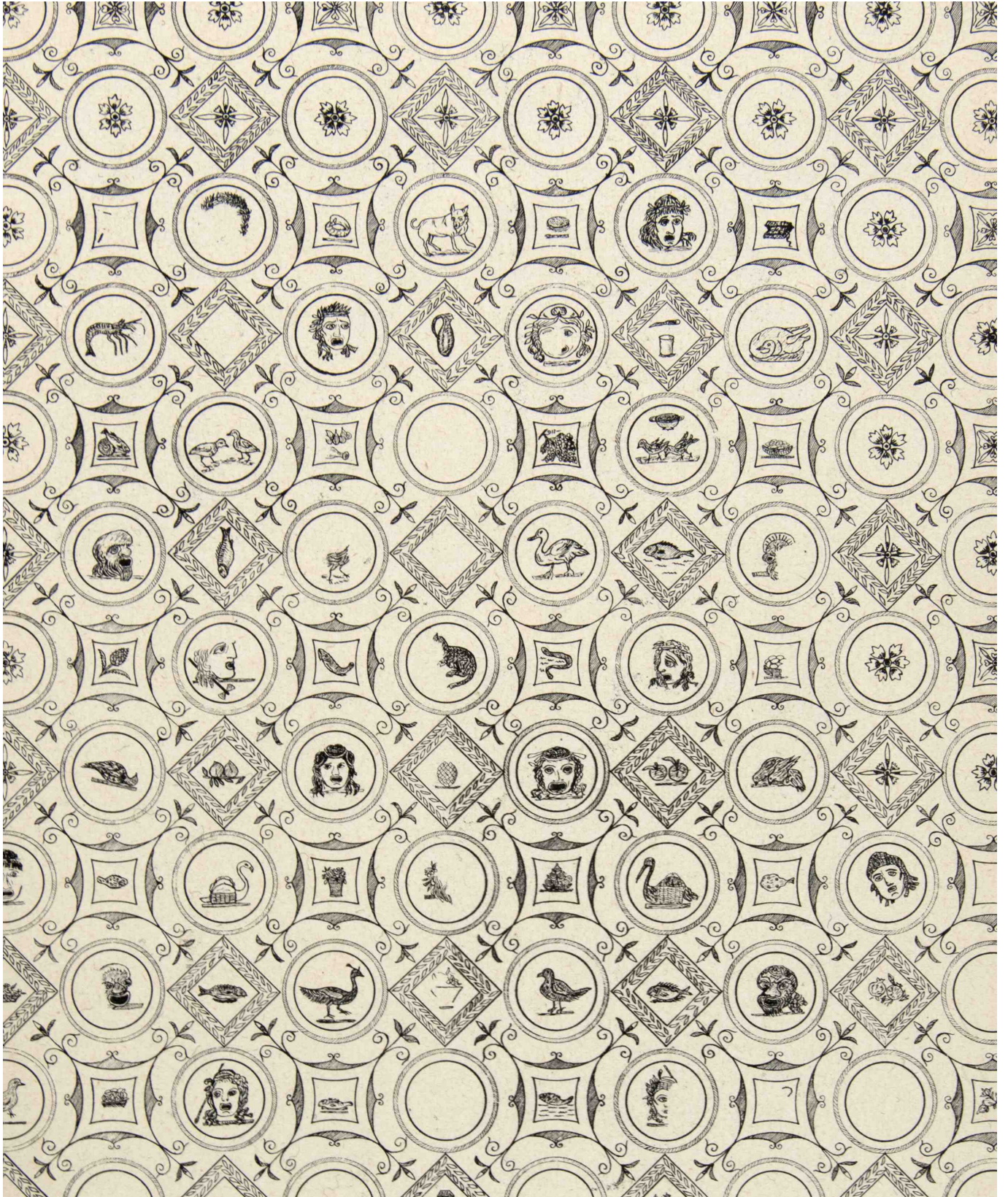


Figure 9
Hadrumetum-Sousse, House of the Masks,
Room 12, drawing of mosaic of masks.
Photo after Foucher 1965: fig. 37.

five comedies and five tragedies are paired in this ensemble, although only two such groupings are well enough preserved to be identified: those of Menander's *Sikyonioi* (the *Sicyonians*) (Fig. 10) and Euripides' *Orestes* (Fig. 11), in addition to the *Theophoroumene* and *Iphigenia* by the same two authors. As noted by A. Blanchard and others, such pairings have earlier precedents and are not



Figure 10
Ephesos, Apartment I of Terrace House 2,
fresco with *Sikyonioides*.
Photo after Strocka 1977: fig. 64.



Figure 11
Ephesos, Apartment I of Terrace House 2,
fresco with *Orestes*.
Photo after Strocka 1977: fig. 67.

uncommon, since Menander admired Euripides' works (Blanchard 2009: xxxiv). In fact, in the papyrus text of the *Sikyonioides* which Blanchard studied and translated, there are two direct references to the *Orestes*. These frescoes in a rich dwelling in central Ephesus reflect the vitality of stage performance of classic Greek drama in the local theater, and the fond appreciation of such plays by the city's social elite. In addition, the *Theaterzimmer* contains other frescoes with monumental figures, perhaps deities and heroes, who carry food items suitable to the banquet, whereas the walls' upper frieze exhibits theater masks. All of the

painted imagery suggests that dramatic entertainment accompanied meals served in this room, similar to what we have noted in other domestic contexts (on this point, see Parrish 1995: 157-158). The wall paintings at Ephesos are dated to the late 2nd or, more likely, early 3rd century AD (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 580, date the frescoes to ca. AD 230), when the red-ground style of paintings, evident in the scenes of Menander’s and Euripides’ plays, was popular at Ephesos (cf. the Socrates fresco in Apartment IV of Insula 2, and a fresco of an Eros driving a *biga* pulled by leopards in Apartment III, Zimmermann – Ladstätter 2011: 85 fig. 127; 111 fig. 190).

The other key archaeological site for revived interest in representing Menander’s plays in the early 3rd century, namely, Antioch, displays that interest in a few different mosaics, most importantly, the pavement with four scenes of the poet’s dramas (Fig. 12) published by K. Gutzwiller and O. Çelik (Gutzwiller - Çelik

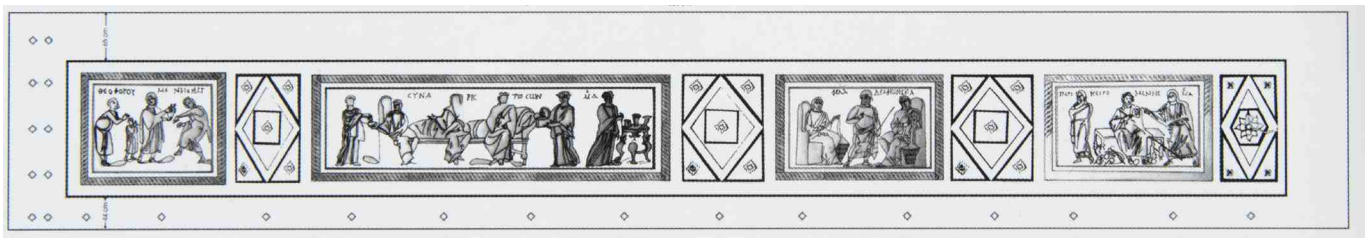


Figure 12
Antioch, House at Daphne, drawing of
mosaic with scenes of Menander’s plays.
Photo after Dunbabin 2016: fig. 3.8.

2012: 573-623; see also Dunbabin 2016: 64-66). These two authors believe the pavement decorated a corridor or portico of a luxurious home in the wealthy residential quarter of Daphne, where the mosaic was found (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 575, 577, for the pavement’s location; cf. other Menander mosaics, ornamenting the portico of a home at Mytilene, Charitonidis et al. 1970: 53-62, discussed below). The findspot at Antioch occurs approximately 200 m from the main theater in that city. This pavement is assigned to the first half of the 3rd century (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 579, 617), a chronology which I claim can be narrowed down to the early decades of that century, contemporary with many other mosaics of varied subject from Antioch. In a horizontal format, the four aligned figural panels of the floor from Daphne, separated by single, large, upright lozenges, illustrate from left to right Menander’s *Theophoroumene* (Fig. 13), the *Synaristosai* (Fig. 14), the *Philadelphoi* (*Sisters Who Love Brothers*), and the *Perikeiromene* (*The Girl Who Gets Her Hair Cut Short*). The panels are discussed individually (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 606-617 figs. 29, 32-34 [*Theophoroumene*]; 597-606 figs. 21, 25-26 [*Synaristosai*]; 590-597 figs. 17-21 [*Philadelphoi*]; 581-590 figs. 10-13 [*Perikeiromene*]). I thank K. Gutzwiller for the photo reproduced in Fig. 14 of this article. Each panel is inscribed with the play’s title and, in abbreviated form, the number of the act depicted. The figures’ costumes reflect contemporary Roman fashion, and the masks worn by these individuals are traditional comic types. As both K. Gutzwiller and K. Dunbabin emphasized, some of the imagery derives from artistic models related to the Dioskurides *emblemata* from Pompeii (Figs. 2 - 3) and, more distantly, to Hellenistic Greek antecedents that were adapted and manipulated in the later Roman empire, as historical circumstances changed (see the finely nuanced interpretation of the process of artistic transmission in Dunbabin 2016: 72-77). In some mosaics depicting scenes of comedy, a different episode apparently was substituted for the standard image of a given play. The Antiochene mosaic patron was familiar enough with the content of the plays shown in his home to recognize the individual characters and episodes portrayed. Gutzwiller provided a very informative analysis of each of the four scenes illustrated in that pavement.



Figure 13
Antioch House at Daphne, mosaic panel
with *Theophoroumene*.
Photo after Dunbabin 2016: fig. 3.9.



Figure 14
Antioch, House at Daphne, mosaic panel
with *Synaristosai*.
Photo courtesy of K. Gutzwiller.

Gutzwiller also referred to the often reproduced and inscribed mosaic from a different location at Antioch, the House of Menander, which represents the poet, his female companion Glykera, and the personification of Comedy (Komodia) (Fig. 15), and which offers further visual evidence of the poet's popularity in that city (see Levi 1947: 201-204, 625 pl. XLVc; Cimok 2000: 180-181 fig. on 181; Kondoleon 2000: 156 no. 40, fig. on same page; Gutzwiller - Çelik 2012: 574 fig. 2). The fact that the romantic couple in this example reclines at a banquet or *symposium* with Comedy present, and that this pavement adorned a *triclinium*, underscores the suitability of the poet's plays for entertainment on convivial occasions (on the mosaic's architectural setting, Dobbins 2000: 57-58 [Room 1] pl. on 50). Following D. Levi's chronology, C. Kondoleon assigned this pavement to the third quarter of the 3rd century, but in my view, that date should be revised upward to the Severan period. One reason is the design and rendering of the geometric panels framing the *emblema*, which display a diagonal grid or checkerboard of serrated filets with enclosed elements (see *Décor I*: pl. 24a-g). This type of design has several artistic counterparts in the Antiochene mosaic repertory (cf. Cimok 2000, borders of mosaics representing Narcissus and Echo,



Figure 15
Antioch, House of Menander, mosaic with Menander, Glykera and Comedy.
Photo after Kondoleon 2000: fig. on 156.

114-115 fig. on 115; Perseus and Andromeda, 132-133 fig. on both pages; Thetis, 196-197 fig. on 197).

What the preceding discussion indicates is that at Ephesos and Antioch, there originated an artistic fashion of depicting Menander's plays in well-to-do homes of the early 3rd century, which spread to other locations. This artistic phenomenon can be linked to the continued popularity of theater festivals in the Greek-speaking part of the empire, a topic to be discussed below. One direction in which this fashion traveled is northeastward to Zeugma, situated approximately 100 km from Antioch in ancient Syria (for a map locating both Zeugma and Antioch, see Liebeschuetz 1972: fold-out map after 302). C. Abadie-Reynal and J.-P. Darmon first published the well-preserved pavement displaying Menander's *Synaristosai* (Fig. 16), found in the House of the Mosaic of the *Synaristosai* at Zeugma (Abadie-Reynal – Darmon 2003: 81-83, 87-99 figs. 4 [plan of Zeugma house], 10, 12-23; Darmon 2018b: 581-582 figs. 3-4). The play's title appears in the *emblema*'s upper zone, and in the lower part occurs the mosaicist's signature, Zosimos of Samsat¹⁰, a craftsman who was active at Zeugma around the year AD 200. The pavement of the *Synaristosai* was oriented toward the interior of the *triclinium* it adorned, so that it could be easily observed by diners reclining on couches on the mosaic's U-shaped frame (Fig. 17). This border has a geometric design resembling that of the Menander panel in the House of Menander at Antioch (Fig. 15), as noted by Darmon, and therefore both works seem contemporary. It is further evidence of the influence exerted by mosaicists from Antioch on craftsmen working at Zeugma.

In my view, the renewed interest in representing plays of Menander in the mosaic medium at Antioch and Zeugma, together with the Menander frescoes at Ephesos,

¹⁰ For a second mosaic at Zeugma signed by Zosimos and representing the Marine Venus, see Abadie-Reynal – Darmon 2003: 99 fig. 27; also Darmon 2018b: 579, 581, 583-586 figs. 1-2, 5, 7.



Figure 16
Zeugma, House of the
Synaristosai, mosaic emblem
of *Synaristosai*. Photo after
Abadie-Reynal – Darmon
2003: fig.23.



Figure 17
Zeugma, House of the
Synaristosai, mosaic of
Synaristosai with its U-shaped
frame. Photo after Dunbabin
2016: fig. 3.2.

sparked a diffusion of this type of imagery to other sites in the Greek-speaking part of the empire, and to a much lesser extent in the west. We find examples at two sites on Crete, one of them the House of Pheidias at Kissamos, probably to be dated to the early 3rd century and depicting respectively Menander's *Sikyonios* (*sic*) (Fig. 18) and his *Theophoroumene* (Fig. 19) (Nervegna 2013: 141-142, 150-151, 166; Markoulaki 2015: esp. figs. 3-5; Dunbabin 2016: 65,

Figure 18
Kissamos, mosaic panel of *Sikyonios*.
Photo after Dunbabin 2016: fig. 3.12.



Figure 19
Kissamos, mosaic panel of *Theophoroumene*.
Photo after Dunbabin 2016: fig. 3.11.



67, 69 figs. 3.11-3.12). The former panel is signed by a mosaicist from Antioch. A different pair of mosaic panels from Chania, a nearby site on Crete, has been dated somewhat later, around the mid- to late 3rd century (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 580 no. 3 figs. 6-7; Nervegna 2013: 138-139, 154, 158 figs. 9b,

17b; Dunbabin 2016: 64 fig. 3.7). The better-preserved of the two *emblemata* in this pavement illustrates Menander's *Plokion* (*The Necklace*). It also seems likely that an important mosaic from the site of Ulpia Oescus in Bulgaria, which represents Menander's play the *Achaioi* (*The Achaeans*) in its central panel (Fig. 20) and is inscribed with the poet's name (written in the genitive), dates to the Severan period (Ivanov 1954: including pls. 2, 8-13; Mihailov 1958: II no. 597 bis; Barov 1970; Charitonidis et al. 1970: 98-99 pl. 27,1; *MNC* 3rd ed. 1995: II 468, 6 DM 1; Nervegna 2013: 138, 142 fig. 19; Slavova 2021: 19-33 figs. 1-6). This pavement was the only known record of that drama until there was found a papyrus fragment (P. Oxy. XXVII 2462) which mentioned the same text by Menander. It confirmed that the subject is contemporary to that author's time and not a parody of a historical theme. A new interpretation of this mosaic's imagery has been published by M. Slavova, and in her article that scholar reaffirmed the pavement's dating to Severan times (Slavova 2021: 33; see also Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 58 on this pavement).

Figure 20
Ulpia Oescus, mosaic of *Achaioi*.
Photo after Ivanov 1954: pl. 8.



Other mosaics with scenes of Menander’s plays from eastern locations are dated to the later 3rd century and after, and they include the magnificent ensemble (Fig. 21) with illustrations of his plays, eleven in all, discovered in the House of Menander at Mytilene (Charitonidis et al. 1970: 26-62 fig. 4, pls. 2-24; Csapo 1999: 154-188 figs. 2, 4, 8-9, 11-12; Csapo 2010: 140-167 fig. 5.1; Nervegna 2013: 137-138, 140, 143, 149-150, 154-156, 165-166 figs. 9a-11a, 12, 13a, 14-16a). This group of mosaics is shown here in an overall drawing, because the pavement was divided into several separate panels after its excavation. Seven of the dramas ornamented the home’s *triclinium* (Room T) and faced diners inside the room (Fig. 22), while four more were displayed in a horizontal row in an adjacent portico (P). One of the plays represented in the dining room, the

Figure 21
Mytilene, House of Menander, drawing of mosaics in *triclinium* (T) and portico (P).
Photo after Charitonidis et al. 1970: fig. 1.

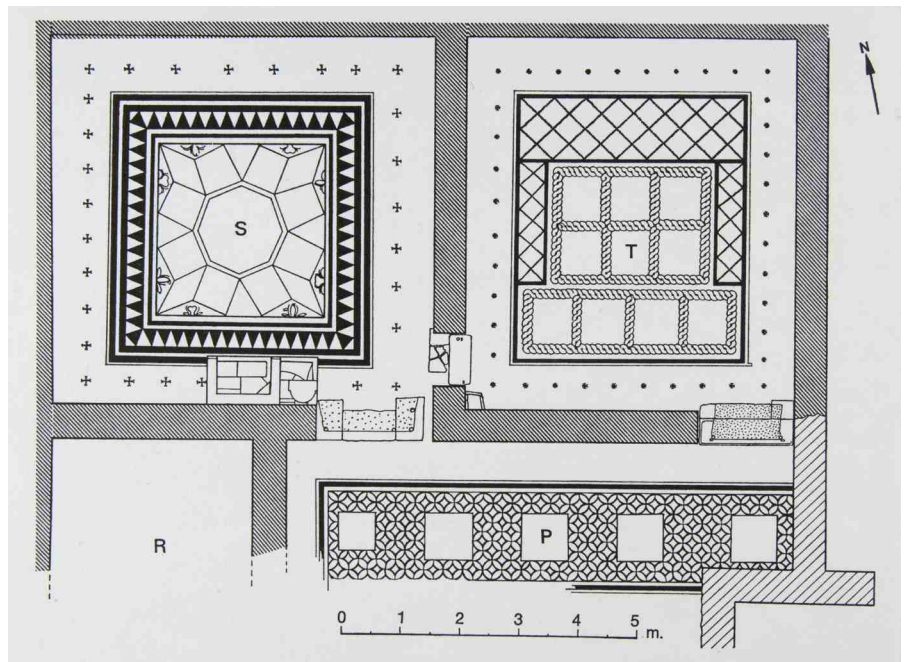
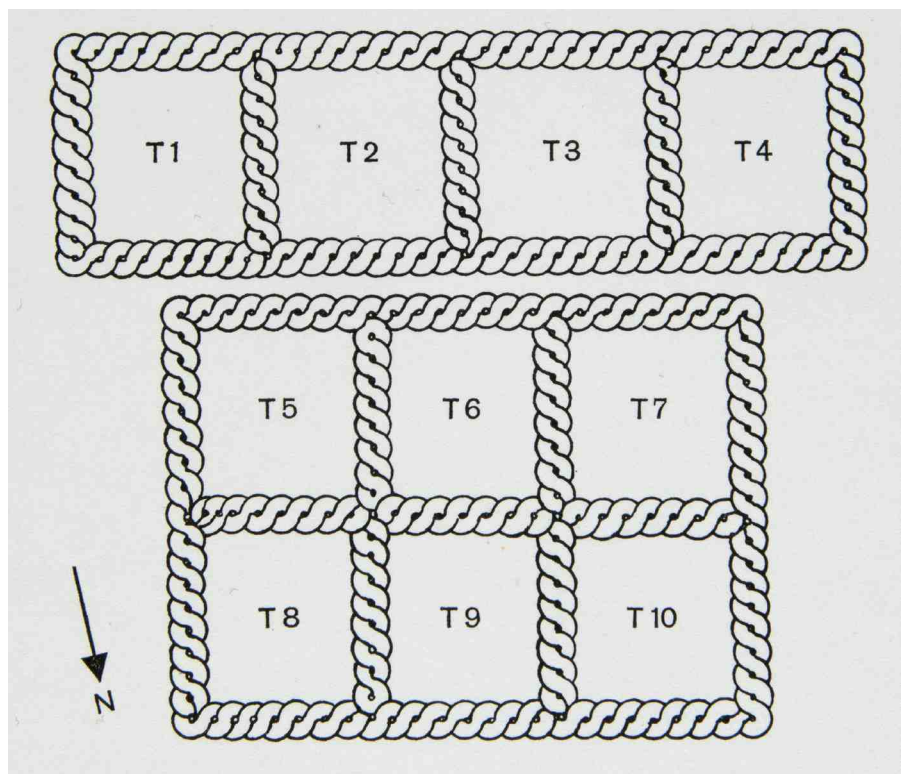


Figure 22
Mytilene, House of Menander, drawing of *triclinium* mosaic with numbered panels.
Photo after Charitonidis et al. 1970: fig. 4.



Synaristosai, Panel T6 in the drawing, is reproduced in our Fig. 23 (Charitonidis et al. 1970: 41-44 pl. 5,1), and the *Theophoroumene*, Panel T3, appears in our Fig. 24 (Charitonidis et al. 1970: 46-49 pl. 6,1). In the cross-bar of the T in the *triclinium* mosaic, there also were shown busts of Menander and the Muse Thalia, in addition to a scene of the *Plokion* and a panel depicting small, standing portraits of Socrates and his disciples Simmias and Kebes (Charitonidis et al. 1970: Panel T1, 27-31, pl. 2,1 [Menander portrait]; Panel T4, 36-38, pl. 3,3 [Thalia]; Panel T2, 31-33, pl. 3,1 [*Plokion*]; Panel T3, 33-36, pl. 3,2 [Socrates and his disciples]). E. Csapo convincingly traced the iconography of the Mytilene mosaics with Menander scenes ultimately to Early Hellenistic sources, namely, a pictorial cycle created shortly after the poet's death (Csapo 1999: 163).



Figure 23
Mytilene, House of Menander, mosaic panel
with *Synaristosai*.
Photo after Charitonidis et al. 1970: pl. 5,1.

Besides their impressive number, what is especially noteworthy about the Mytilene panels is their very full inscriptions, including not only each play's title and the particular scene depicted but also the names of the principal characters; see, for example, the episode of music-making from the *Theophoroumene* (Fig. 24). The mosaic patron was well aware of the poet's literary prestige, and he apparently wished to be recognized as person of high culture by ornamenting his home with a plethora of the poet's works (see Csapo 1999: 161; Nervegna 2013: 193-194). The proprietor may not have been very familiar with individual plays' contents, and for that reason he may have had the main characters identified by name (a suggestion of M. Slavova, shared with me). By contrast, K. Dunbabin claimed that the ample inscriptions in the Mytilene panels reflect a special liking for the written word in the later Roman empire (Dunbabin 2016: 71). We note in passing that that the plays represented in the house's portico, which are somewhat different in style from those in the *triclinium*, do not specify individual characters. Some scholars have dated the pavement ensemble at Mytilene to the later 3rd or early 4th century (e.g., Dunbabin 2016: 68, caption of image), whereas Nervegna placed it in the later 4th century (Nervegna 2013: 137).

Figure 24
Mytilene, House of Menander, mosaic panel
with *Theophoroumene*.
Photo after Charitonidis et al. 1970: pl. 6,1.



Representations of Menander's plays circulated widely in the Roman empire, and examples have been identified at various sites in the west, most notably at Grand (Fig. 25) in eastern Gaul (Balmelle - Darmon 2017: 47, 49, 147 figs. 50, 179). The now fragmentary work discovered there has been interpreted as a depiction of Menander's *Phasma* (*The Apparition*). This pavement decorated a very large apsidal room in a building of uncertain function, and this room perhaps is to be identified as the main reception space of a luxurious residence. The mosaic is dated to the first half of the 3rd century, when the Menander revival was at its height. There survives the left end of the elongated mosaic panel that ornamented the center of the reception room at Grand, and it shows a male figure who wears a tunic and a mask with a wide open mouth, standing within a doorway and facing to the right, as he carries a long stick. The same play also was illustrated in a mosaic panel at Mytilene (Fig. 26), in which this type of individual occurs outside a doorway and faces to the left, reversing the placement of his counterpart in the panel from Grand (see Charitonidis et al. 1970: Panel P5, 60-62 pl. 8,2). As Darmon observed, such a reversal of an actor's position in a given scene typifies the dramatic episodes illustrated at Mytilene.

In my opinion, the entire Menander revival that started in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD would not have occurred to the extent that it did without contemporary stage performances of Menander's plays, in local theaters and at theater festivals. As other scholars have demonstrated, there is abundant evidence, literary, archaeological, and epigraphic, for the persistent performance of classical drama in the eastern empire during the first half of the 3rd century. The theater at Athens remained particularly active (on this point, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 91-93, 301-303)¹¹. Evidence of this activity comes from

¹¹ Pickard-Cambridge underscored the continued flourishing of guilds of the Artists of Dionysos into the late 3rd century; these professional associations included poets, actors of various types (among them comedians), chorus singers, and other types of performers.



Figure 25
Grand, building with large reception room,
left end of mosaic panel with *Phasma*.
Photo after Balmelle – Darmon 2017: fig.
179.



Figure 26
Mytilene, House of Menander, mosaic panel
with *Phasma*.
Photo after Charitonidis et al. 1970: pl. 8,2.

objects excavated in the Athenian Agora, including terracotta statuettes and reliefs of 3rd-century date, that apparently were produced in response to a genuine demand for such items on the part of the theatergoing public (Grandjouan 1961: 21 nos. 498-506, 110 pls. 11, 32). More significant is archaeologists' discovery of admission tickets in the form of inscribed lead tokens (Fig. 27), that show masks resting on altars, and that were used for live performances of Menander's *Theophoroumene* (Lang – Crosby 1964: 122, L329a-e, pl. 30 [illus. of L329]; Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 271-272, fig. 140 below; Charitonidis et al. 1970: 49 pl. 25,6-8; *MNC* 3rd ed. 1995, II, 6AC 1a-d). The tokens can be dated to the period just before the Herulian attack of AD 267. Another relevant artifact, from Thessaloniki, is a marble gravestone honoring the actor Marcus Verenius, which has been assigned to the late 2nd or early 3rd century (Green 1994: 157-158 fig. 6.11). The individual portrayed wears a crown and an elaborate costume and gestures with one raised hand, as a comic mask appears at his side.



Figure 27
Athens, lead tokens for performances of *Theophoroumene*. Photo after Charitonidis et al. 1970: pl. 25,7-8.

But the most compelling evidence for the continued vitality of stage performance in this period is the records of theater festivals held in numerous locations in ancient Greece and Asia Minor and in other provinces. The financing of festivals by generous local individuals of high rank superseded the construction of buildings as a form of civic donation and patriotic benefaction (Mitchell 1990: 189-190). These festivals include, among others, the Mouseia at Thespiai, the Lysimacheia at Aphrodisias, and of special interest the Demostheneia at Oinoanda in Cilicia. The latter are known through a lengthy inscription, published by M. Wörrle and describing their occurrence from AD 221-233 (Wörrle 1988: esp. 228-237; Mitchell 1990: 123-127, with English translation of the inscription). All of these festivals continued to flourish during the first half of the 3rd century. The Demostheneia, named after a wealthy local benefactor, were a penteteric event (presented every four years), and were funded by a large endowment. The festival was supervised by a specially chosen *agonothete* who was obliged to wear a purple robe and a gold crown during the festival. Moreover, we have precise information about the prize money awarded to the winning contestants, including those ranked first, second, and third in various categories, as summarized in a chart by Wörrle (1988: 234). The winners played various types of musical instruments, and actors (*komoidoi*) performed classical

comedy and classical tragedy (*tragoidoi*), which were presented as scenes or episodes of plays or as recitations (on the schedule of prizes for actors in a contest at Aphrodisias of the late 2nd century, see Dunbabin 2016: 54). It is inconceivable that the actors did not present, at a minimum, excerpts from Menander's and Euripides' plays. Even though the prize money awarded to the victorious comedians at Oinoanda was only one-fourth of the amount offered to their counterparts in the more prestigious Lysimacheia at Aphrodisias, this activity sustained the theatrical tradition in the former city. In the view of J. Liebeschuetz, who drew upon evidence from Libanios's orations, occasional live performances of classical drama apparently persisted at Antioch, albeit in a limited (probably excerpted) form, into the 4th century, along with performances of mime (Liebeschuetz 1972: 144).

An underlying motivation in the popularity and survival of these local festivals is that they were native products and a focus of Greek cultural identity (Green 1994: 156). Moreover, the Second Sophistic, which attained great prominence among the intellectual elite in the mid- and later 2nd century AD, helped promote the general enthusiasm for classical Greek literature in the high and late empire, because of its retrospective, archaizing attitude (see esp. Bowersock 1969: 15-16, 22, 27, 44; Nervegna 2013: 199). The Sophists looked back with pride to Athens's earlier cultural prominence and glorious achievements. The cities of Athens, Ephesos, and Smyrna produced many of the most eminent Sophists, who typically came from notable, wealthy families, and who were expected to donate generous funds for the adornment of their chosen towns. The Sophists were at the height of their influence in the later 2nd and early 3rd centuries, the latter being the time when Philostratus wrote his *Lives of the Sophists* and lived primarily in Athens.

We further note that besides Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria, another province of the imperial east, Roman Egypt, also remained active in sponsoring theatrical performance, as demonstrated by E. G. Turner (Turner 1963: 120-122). He persuasively interpreted a 3rd-century AD papyrus (P.Oxy. 2458) as a guide to actors preparing to perform a play of Euripides, his *Cresphontes* (for a useful summary of other scholars' reactions to Turner's interpretation, see Dunbabin 2016: 55 n. 32). It is likely that similar "acting copies" existed for individuals performing plays of Menander, although such a text had not been found at the time of Turner's writing. There came to light a papyrus of this type by a different author of New Comedy (P.S. I. 1176), suggesting that an example by Menander himself may surface in the future (Turner 1963: 127).

One other social and cultural factor, reinforcing Menander's reputation as an author to emulate and a model of literary expression in the later empire, is the teaching of his works in the curriculum of schools, a topic examined closely by Nervegna (Nervegna 2013: esp. 201-224). Collections and anthologies of the poet's writings began to be compiled a few generations after his death, and in the Roman imperial era of the 1st century, Quintilian (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.69) claimed that Menander's texts were of primary importance for training students in oratory. The goal was to have them learn rhetoric and public declamation, as explained by E. Fantham (1984: 305-306). Quintilian specifically recommended studying scenes of disputes in some of Menander's plays, while other dramatic passages by the poet provided insights into various social types and temperaments. Menander's plays also offered valuable lessons about ethics, and they inspired teachers to make compilations of wise maxims, called *gnomai*, culled from the texts of his plays; Nervegna provides several examples (Nervegna 2013:

204-206). Indeed, copies of *Menander's Maxims* survived into Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Besides Menander, Euripides was a favorite source of these truthful sayings, and the maxims of the two poets often overlapped, since Menander frequently borrowed ideas from his tragic counterpart. The favored themes include those dealing with wealth, virtue, and personal luck (Nervegna 2013: 206, 210). The mining of Menander's plays for maxims greatly affected the poet's literary reception in schools, and by extension also made him a source of wisdom among adults. This attitude must have influenced the renewed interest in representing Menander's plays in private homes, since their dramatic content offered an all-round education or *enkyklios paideia* (Nervegna 2013: 258). In fact, the educational role of mosaic images in private households of the imperial era, for transmitting cultural values to posterity, also applies to numerous other themes that were illustrated, as explained by Darmon among others (see Darmon 2018a: esp. 368-370).

In conclusion, I have proposed in this article that various factors collectively stimulated the Menander revival in the visual arts of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. This imagery was a means of reaffirming Greek cultural identity, and it helped sustain an essential part of a rich literary tradition inherited by citizens of the eastern empire. The Second Sophistic also influenced the development of this artistic phenomenon, indirectly. More important, however, were the continued and uninterrupted popularity of theater festivals at numerous locations in the eastern provinces, and the high value placed on the teaching of Menander's plays in local schools. The resulting artistic fashion signified heightened cultural awareness and social prestige, and this fashion was spread both by itinerant mosaicists and (very probably) by the circulation of artists' model books. All of these factors combined to promote a reawakened interest in representing pavement tableaux and mural images of literary works by one of classical antiquity's most revered poets¹².

¹² I wish to thank Kathy Evans of the Department of Art and Design at Purdue University for her kind help in preparing the illustrations of this article.

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Des expressions et des sentiments sur des pavements dionysiaques de l'Algérie romaine

Roma Cezayiri'nin Dionysiak Döşemeleri Üzerindeki İfadeler ve Duygular

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Abstract

Expressions and Feelings on Dionysian Pavements of Roman Algeria

The figurative ancient mosaics often represent "living" paintings which depict mythological, historical or real personages who manage to express various feelings thanks to the ingenuity of the mosaic craftsmen.

Indeed, the art of ancient mosaic has not ceased to evolve since the Hellenistic period in the direction of the translation of the emotions and feelings that give life to the myths and legends represented.

The mosaics which decorated the ceremonial and reception rooms in luxurious domus did not only play an ornamental role, they entertained the guests, stimulated all their senses and provoked the exchange of conversations around the table. The Dionysian mosaics were particularly intended for this function because Dionysus is the god of the banquet!

By admiring some of the many pavements of the Dionysian legend of Roman Algeria, one can detect the rendering of emotions and soak up an unreal and almost real atmosphere at the same time! ...

This article is an invitation to discover a whole range of sometimes contradictory feelings that appear on mosaics; we will thus be able to see how the African mosaicists from the end of the 2nd to the 5th century A.D. used various methods to make their personages more expressive and alive.

Keywords: *Feelings, rendering of emotion, visual logos, gesture, Dionysian pavement.*

Öz

Figüratif antik mozaikler; mozaik ustalarının hünerleri sayesinde çeşitli duygularını ifade etmeyi başaran mitolojik, tarihi veya gerçek kişilikleri betimleyen "canlı" resimleri sıklıkla temsil etmektedir.

Nitekim antik mozaik sanatı, temsil edilen mit ve efsanelere hayat veren duygu ve hislerin tercümesi doğrultusunda Helenistik Dönem'den bu yana gelişmeyi bırakmamıştır.

Lüks domustaki tören ve kabul odalarını süsleyen mozaikler, sadece bir dekorasyon görevi üstlenmemiş, misafirleri eğlendirmiş, tüm duyuları harekete geçirmiş ve masa etrafında karşılıklı sohbetlerin yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. Dionysos mozaikleri özellikle bu işlev için tasarlanmıştır çünkü Dionysos ziyafetin tanrısıdır!

Roma Cezayiri'nin Dionysos efsanesinin birçok döşemeden bazılarında hayran kalınarak, duyguların yorumlanması algılanabilir ve aynı anda hem gerçek dışı hem de neredeyse gerçek bir atmosfer kişiyi içine çekebilir! ...

Bu makale, mozaiklerde ortaya çıkan, bazen birbiriyle çelişen bir dizi duyguyu keşfetmeye bir davettir; 2. yüzyılın sonundan 5. yüzyıla kadar Afrikalı mozaik ustalarının kişiliklerini daha etkileyici ve canlı kılmak için çeşitli yöntemler kullandıklarını böylece görebiliriz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Duygular, duygunun sunumu, görsel logolar, jest, Dionysiak döşeme.*

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Introduction

Au jour d'aujourd'hui, seul l'art de la peinture en céramique et celui de la sculpture ont retenu l'attention des chercheurs dans l'étude du rendu des émotions et l'expression des sentiments¹.

Les recherches sur la céramique grecque peinte ont mis l'accent sur le corps humain comme le moyen le plus efficace pour exprimer et transmettre les émotions qui l'animent, par les mouvements ou les attitudes que le corps adopte ou encore les expressions faciales (Toillon 2014 : III).

A partir de l'époque grecque les artistes (sur tous les supports) s'intéressent également au visage où se peignent vraiment les sentiments de l'âme et petit à petit, ils réussissent à mettre en harmonie les traits du visage avec les mouvements du corps. Les gestes, les attitudes, les postures associées aux regards sont autant d'expressions corporelles qui révèlent des comportements et des relations entre les hommes, les dieux et les animaux. Il y a donc un lien très étroit qui unit les émotions aux mouvements corporels et aux expressions faciales, ces derniers sont des outils de décryptage efficaces des sentiments et émotions qui animent les personnages représentés dans l'iconographie.

L'art de la sculpture grecque est ainsi arrivé, dans un premier temps, à se focaliser sur le visage où se peignent tous les sentiments de l'âme. Puis dans un second temps, il a réussi à harmoniser les traits du visage avec les mouvements du corps, sous la notable influence des grands maîtres (*Phidias, Praxitèle, Lysippe*) qui ont largement contribué à l'évolution de l'expression de l'art grec².

Ainsi à partir du IV^e siècle avant JC, la sculpture évolue dans la direction de la traduction des sentiments et une sorte de hiérarchie est adoptée aussi bien pour les sujets mythologiques que pour les sujets humains ; par exemple la beauté et le calme impassible d'Apollon s'oppose à la brutalité déchaînée des centaures et à la bestialité et la laideur physique des Silènes (Collignon 1915 : 481-492).

Dans le domaine de la céramique grecque, dès le VI^e siècle avant JC, les peintres adoptent la technique du visage frontal ce qui leur a permis d'étendre la gamme des traits expressifs. Ainsi, la représentation frontale du visage a été utilisée pour impliquer et interpeller directement le spectateur, chose qui n'était pas possible avec les visages de profil. Des artistes comme *Exékias* ou le peintre de *Penthésilée* ont alors recours à l'expressionnisme pour traduire des sentiments forts et des tensions dramatiques en céramique (comme la vengeance de Dionysos sur les pirates tyrrhéniens³).

Les peintres grecs cherchent à donner de l'intensité au regard et ils réussissent à traduire l'âme des personnages à travers les yeux. La maîtrise du regard est telle que l'œil d'un sujet représenté peut exprimer ses multiples états d'âme. Pour la peinture et, par extension la mosaïque qui s'en rapproche beaucoup, à un tel point que *Plin* (Plin. nat. XXXV, 3) l'a comparée à de la « peinture de pierre » (Blanc-Bijon 2016 : 1003-1017), ce sont d'abord les yeux et la physionomie qui rendent les affections de l'âme, auxquels viennent se greffer les mouvements du corps.

Devant l'existence de ces études citées plus haut et l'absence de recherches comparables dans le domaine de la mosaïque romaine figurée qui pourtant nous

1 Voir les études de Deonna 1914a, b et Toillon 2014.

2 Pour plus de détails voir Collignon 1915 : 481-492.

3 Kylix de Dionysos par Exékias, 540/530 avant JC. Voir Beazley 1956 : 686 n°146.21.

offre un immense répertoire notamment les représentations mythologiques, des questions s'imposent :

- Qu'en est-il pour le rendu des émotions dans *l'ars musivaria* ?
- Peut-on déchiffrer des sentiments en contemplant une mosaïque figurée comme c'est le cas pour une statue ou une céramique peinte ?
- Quels ont été les moyens utilisés par les artisans en mosaïque (*pictor-imaginarius, musivarius, tessellarius*) pour rendre les émotions sur la surface plane et inerte d'un pavement ?
- Peut-on parler de techniques semblables à celles des sculpteurs ou des peintres en céramique pour « faire parler un pavement » et lui insuffler des sentiments ?

Nous allons exposer des réflexions et émettre quelques hypothèses qui se sont imposées à nous à travers cette modeste recherche pour tenter de répondre à ces questions qui nous taraudent l'esprit et ne cessent d'attiser notre curiosité. Ainsi, nous proposerons des lectures iconographiques de différents pavements dans un contexte mythologique et parfois même littéraire propre à la légende dionysiaque. Cet article n'est que le début d'un projet de recherches sur le rendu des émotions dans l'art de la mosaïque mythologique africaine et on ne traitera ici que des pavements dionysiaques.

L'art de la mosaïque antique n'a pas cessé d'évoluer depuis la période hellénistique, en emboitant le pas au décor en peinture, afin de traduire tous les sentiments et expressions qui animent et donnent vie aux scènes et aux légendes représentées puisées dans la mythologie grecque. A travers la représentation des gestes effectués par des personnages peints en mosaïque, l'artiste mosaïste crée une représentation d'un mythe à un moment bien précis.

La mosaïque était un important élément du décor architectural, elle est à la fois revêtement de sol utilitaire et artisanal et parfois œuvre d'art avec une image plane déformée par la perspective qui donne une illusion de profondeur.

Par le décor mosaïqué, le commanditaire le plus souvent riche propriétaire dans la société romano-africaine, exprimait ses croyances et sa vision de la vie idéale, de l'amour sous toutes ses formes et du bonheur dans la vie quotidienne. Les mosaïques qui ornaient les pièces d'apparat et de réception (*triclinium, oecus*) avaient un rôle au-delà de l'ornemental, elles divertissaient les convives, stimulaient leur imagination, excitaient leurs sens et provoquaient d'interminables discussions animées autour de la table (l'art du banquet, du *convivium*). Il est évident que les pavements dionysiaques étaient particulièrement destinés à cette fonction, *Dionysos* étant le dieu du banquet par excellence !

En effet, les nombreux pavements africains témoignent de la faveur particulière dont a joui le dieu *Dionysos/Liber-Pater* dans la classe aisée en Afrique romaine. Ces pavements représentent souvent des tableaux presque " vivants " qui mettent en scène des personnages de la légende dionysiaque qui expriment leurs sentiments et ressentiments grâce à l'ingéniosité des maîtres-mosaïstes.

I- Techniques utilisées pour le rendu des émotions en mosaïque :

Plusieurs paramètres rentrent en compte pour donner de l'âme, un grand réalisme et de l'expression à une mosaïque qui est à la base une surface plane inerte et « froide » :

- La gestuelle (les mouvements donnés aux personnages, la posture, l'expression des mains...). Un lien évident unit les émotions aux mouvements corporels ; le

corps humain est le moyen le plus efficace pour transmettre les émotions qui l'animent par des mouvements, souvent associés à des attributs qu'il adopte (vêtements, accessoires, symboles...) en plus des expressions faciales.

- L'attitude des personnages (position du corps) et l'action accomplie (comme le geste de libation, un geste violent, un pas de danse exprimant la joie...)

- Le marquage des émotions sur les visages (rictus, grimace, rides, sourire...)

- La frontalité des visages et des corps et l'emploi des détails anatomiques (musculature, transparence des vêtements et nudité). Les visages de face soulignent la tension et l'émotion du sujet et facilitent le rendu de l'expression.

- La souffrance / la douleur est exprimée en plaçant la pupille sur la partie supérieure de l'œil, la bouche ouverte, un rictus douloureux, les rides sur le front et à la base du nez ou par un simple froncement des sourcils.

- La crainte de l'action à venir est obtenue par un œil plissé et une bouche crispée (voir l'exemple de la nymphe *Ambrosia* et la candidate à l'initiation dans le pavement de Djemila).

- Les sourcils soulignent aussi certains sentiments comme marquer un ordre ou une défense, la joie ou la douleur. La surprise est également traduite par les sourcils relevés (comme la candidate à l'initiation à Djemila ou le *Satyre* de la mosaïque *d'Ariane à Naxos à Lambèse*).

- Utilisation de la technique de l'« *opus vermiculatum* » et de tesselles de 4 à 5 mm de côté pour les motifs centraux et les visages.

- Une source de lumière (pour le jeu des ombres et la perspective comme pour la peinture).

- Mise en valeur visuelle des personnages par l'utilisation des dégradés de couleurs (le jeu de couleurs) et une gamme chromatique développée pour nuancer les marques d'expression (palette variée et nuancée).

- Le recours à l'instrumental : l'accessoire et l'attribut représentés avec les personnages (un thyrsos dans les mains d'un satyre ou d'une ménade suggère une connotation différente de celle qu'offre la représentation du thyrsos chez le dieu *Dionysos*, le van renfermant le phallus nous plonge dans une atmosphère mystique du rituel à mystères ou encore la hache en arme dans les mains du meurtrier *Lycurgue à Cuicul*)...

- Un mouvement rapide et brusque donné à un vêtement aide à exprimer des sentiments intenses, voir même violents tels la frayeur et/ou la surprise (comme la femme en phase d'initiation dans le pavement de Djemila).

Sur toutes les mosaïques dionysiaques sélectionnées dans cet article, nous allons voir comment les mosaïstes africains de la fin du II au Ve siècle ont eu recours à tous ces procédés pour faire humaniser les personnages représentés et les rendre plus expressifs.

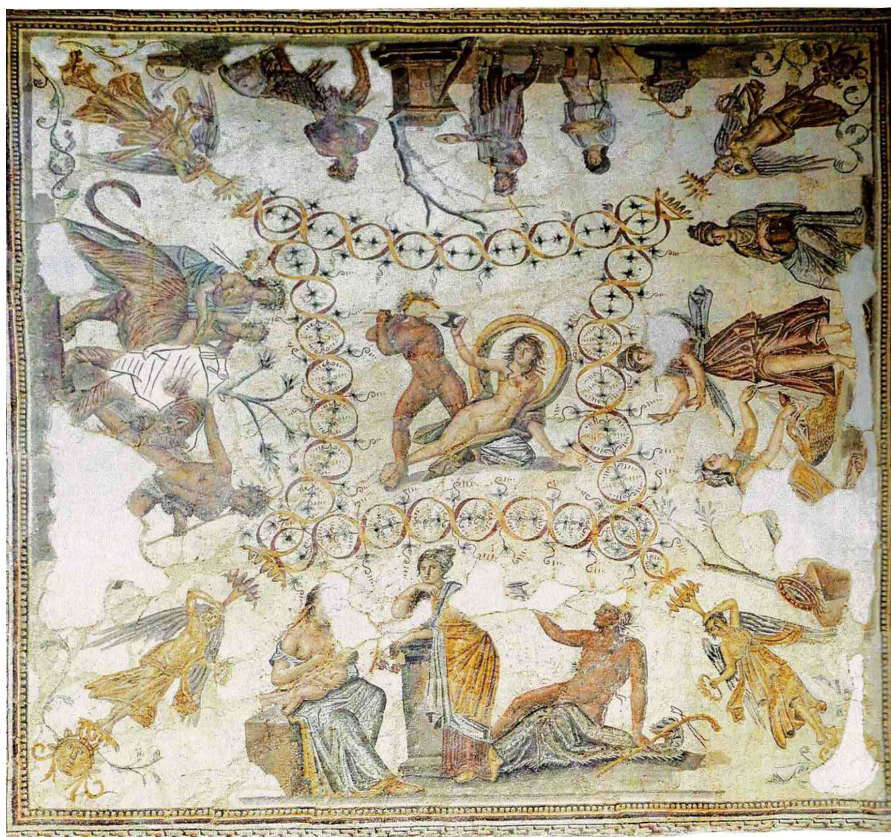
II- Mosaïque dionysiaque de Djemila antique *Cuicul* (Numidie) :

Elle ornait dans un vaste édifice (maison de *Bacchus*⁴), le sol d'une grande salle dotée d'une alcôve rectangulaire garnie d'un bassin semi-circulaire qui serait probablement un symposium ; c'est-à-dire un local où se réunissaient les fidèles et les initiés au culte bachique autour d'un banquet dionysiaque (Blanchard-Lemée 1998 : 185-197).

4 La maison de *Bacchus* a connu une longue existence du IIe au Ve siècle AD.

La mosaïque, datée du deuxième siècle, se distingue d'abord par l'originalité de sa construction d'ensemble, qui reproduit au sol l'aspect d'une décoration de voûte d'arêtes. Ainsi, on ne peut embrasser le pavement d'un seul regard, la lecture devant se faire par circumambulation (Fig 1a). C'est également une représentation du mythe dionysiaque qui est loin d'être conventionnelle et qui reste un modèle unique dans le monde romain. Avec lui, on retrace d'un côté, différentes étapes de la vie de Dionysos depuis la tendre enfance et de l'autre côté, des étapes clés du culte mystérieux. Nous allons donc aborder ces scènes dans le bon ordre tel que l'aurait voulu le *pictor imaginarius* qui a conçu cette œuvre d'art.

Figure 1a
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Musée de Djemila.
Photo : B. Odoux.



Scène de l'allaitement de *Dionysos* nourrisson :

Le convive qui pénétrait dans la salle par la porte Est de la maison de Bacchus découvrait cette scène en premier et était d'emblée imprégné par l'atmosphère de paix et de tendresse qui s'en dégage. Le regard est immédiatement attiré par la nymphe nourrice *Nysa* qui montre toute son attention avec son visage tendrement penché sur *Dionysos* enfant auquel elle donne le sein. Cette expression attentive d'amour maternel (d'une nourrice qui a allaité l'enfant orphelin) contraste un peu avec la pose nonchalante de la Nympe spectatrice qui adopte ici la pose de la muse *Polymnia*⁵ (muse de la pantomime et de la rhétorique). Celle-ci arbore une posture en même temps méditative et attendrie par l'image du nourrisson dont elle prend soin étant, elle aussi, impliquée dans son éducation. Son attitude et sa position centrale font d'elle le témoin attentif et bienveillant d'une étape de l'éducation de l'enfant *Dionysos* (Février- Blanchard-Lemée 2019 : 127).

5 Leschi 1935-1936 : 139-172 pl. IX, 2 quant à lui l'a identifiée en tant que la muse *Polymnia*.

Un *Satyre au rhyton*⁶ (Fig. 1b) placé au troisième plan, complète le groupe en tant que compagnon de jeu de l'enfant dieu, chargé de le distraire et de l'empêcher de pleurer. Il est figuré ici buvant à longs traits du vin jailli d'un rhyton dans une pose abandonnée car la boisson dionysiaque lui procure la joie et l'euphorie et lui procure une « ivresse positive et agréable »⁷. Son état d'ivresse est par ailleurs imagé par sa nudité (pardalide à terre) et sa position de banqueteur allongé, ce qui est normalement en contradiction avec la tâche de surveillance du dieu enfant mais reste en accord avec la nature indisciplinée des satyres...

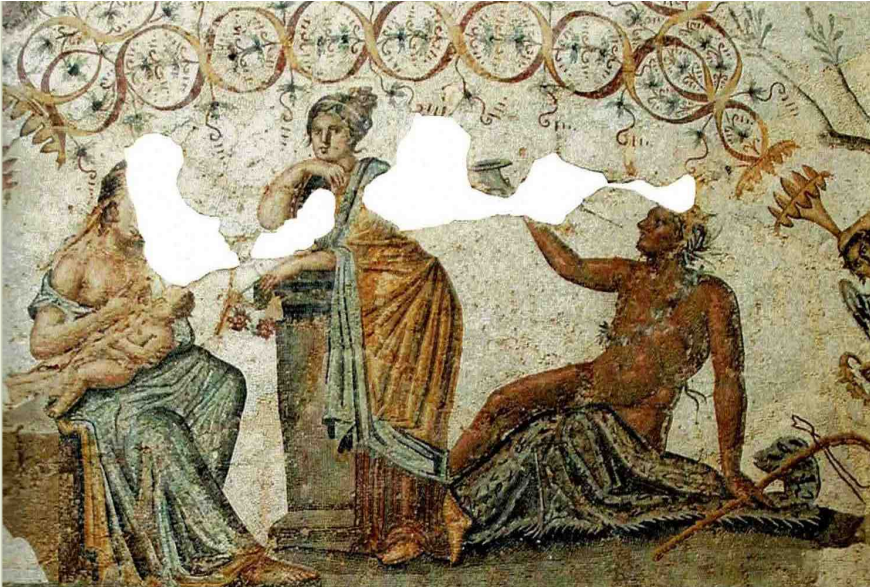


Figure 1b
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Détail « Scène de l'allaitement de Dionysos enfant »
Photo : B. Odoux.

Scène de l'initiation au domptage des fauves :



Figure 1c
Mosaïque dionysiaque, détail « Scène de l'initiation au domptage des fauves ».
Photo : B. Odoux.

6 On retrouve un autre *Satyre au rhyton* au banquet de noces de *Dionysos* à *Lambèse* dans la mosaïque dionysiaque (Fig. 7a).

7 Au sujet de l'ivresse voir la thèse de Toillon 2014 : 45.

On est toujours dans la continuité de la scène précédente dans les étapes de l'enfance de *Dionysos* et son apprentissage.

L'enfant dieu apprend ici à monter un fauve soutenu par la nymphe *Mystis* qui tient dans sa main droite le frêle poignet de son maître légèrement penchée vers lui avec beaucoup d'attention et de gravité, elle le maintient en équilibre sur sa monture sauvage. Elle veille sur lui maternellement et sérieusement ! On note même de l'inquiétude dans le regard qu'elle lance aussi vers le *Satyre* comme pour lui exprimer sa crainte de voir l'enfant dieu perdre l'équilibre et tomber de la puissante monture qui arbore un regard plein de courroux. On distingue des émotions contradictoires chez la tigresse qui paraît certes, docile et déjà domptée mais exprime malgré tout son mécontentement dans son regard tourné vers le spectateur et sa gueule entrouverte !

Dionysos a un visage rond empreint de sérieux pour son jeune âge (il se prépare déjà à être le dieu *Pantocrator*) et il porte d'ailleurs la *mitra* dionysiaque signe de son initiation.

Le *Satyre* au visage humanisé loin de la bestialité qui le caractérise habituellement, se retourne pour fixer l'enfant d'un regard attentif et en même temps tente de rassurer la nymphe lui montrant qu'il maîtrise bien la situation (en tenant les rênes du félin). Il traine ainsi la puissante bête grâce à la vigueur de sa musculature. *Dionysos* est le centre de ce tableau car tous les regards convergent vers lui. Cette scène représente, d'un côté la force merveilleuse du jeune *Dionysos Pantocrator* et, de l'autre côté, la douceur « forcée » du puissant fauve soumis malgré lui au rôle de monture docile !

Scène du sacrifice du bouc :

Figure 1d
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Djemila, détail
« Scène du sacrifice du bouc ».
Photo : B. Odoux.



Cette scène était située face à l'alcôve orientée vers d'éventuels banqueteurs (Février - Blanchard-Lemée 2019 : 128) ou membres d'une association secrète, les immergeant ainsi dans une atmosphère de rituel sacré. La gestuelle sacrificielle se fait dans cette scène avec une douce violence à travers les acteurs suivants :

A droite d'un autel, le victimaire un *Satyre* qui traine un bouc récalcitrant (l'arrière-train de l'animal est arc-bouté sur les pattes arrière) par les cornes « *cornu ductus* » comme le décrit *Virgile* en relatant le sacrifice de l'animal à *Dionysos*. « Conformément au rite nous dirons les honneurs dus à Bacchus dans les hymnes de nos pères et nous lui porterons plats et gâteaux sacrés, conduit par la corne, le bouc voué au sacrifice sera conduit auprès de l'autel, et nous

rôtirons ses viscères gras sur des broches de coudriers » (Verg. *georgica*. Livre 2). On voit bien que l'animal résiste vigoureusement, son refus d'avancer rentre dans la représentation des attitudes et gestes prêtés aux animaux. Le Satyre contraint donc la victime préposée au sacrifice à avancer en la tirant par son collier, toutefois sans grande violence.

A gauche de l'autel, on peut voir le *Sacrificateur* richement vêtu avec le même costume « *Bassara* » que porte *Dionysos* triomphant sur son char⁸. Il est majestueux avec un port altier, le visage sévère, grave et solennel justifié par l'action d'immolation qui l'attend et la libation qu'il entreprend déjà sur l'autel. Les regards de l'officiant et du Satyre victimaire convergent tous deux vers l'autel comme pour insister sur l'imminence de l'acte sacrificiel.

Derrière lui, se tient un jeune serviteur habillé en *Camillus*, intimidé au regard craintif et à la bouche crispée devant le sacrifice qui va se dérouler sous ses yeux.

Le dieu *Dionysos* à qui est destiné le sacrifice n'est pas présent physiquement dans cette scène, comme c'est souvent le cas dans les représentations du rituel sacrificiel, mais sa présence est suggérée par la grappe de raisin posée sur un socle bas derrière le serviteur. Le dieu peut paraître entièrement habillé d'une grappe de raisin « *Dionysos Botrys* » comme sur la fresque d'un laraire pompéien (Bruhl 1953 : 151). La grappe de raisin, symbolisant Dionysos, inspire également le sentiment victorieux du dieu qui triomphe de tous ceux qui osent s'en prendre à lui, du pauvre bouc qui a brouté les pousses de la vigne, au roi *Lycurgue* qu'on retrouvera dans le dernier tableau.

Scène de l'initiation aux mystères dionysiaques :



Figure 1e
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Djemila, détail
« Initiation aux mystères dionysiaques ».
Photo : B. Odoux.

Cette scène qui vient compléter les précédentes relatives à l'éducation de *Dionysos* et celle du sacrifice rituel est entièrement féminine contrairement aux autres : on y voit d'abord une femme assise à droite identifiée comme une **initiée aux mystères** dionysiaques (Leschi 1935-1936 : 139-172). Elle est assise en retrait et observe le rituel d'initiation avec une expression quelque peu pathétique et méditative rendue par les sourcils contractés et la bouche

⁸ Comme sur le pavement de Cherchell (Figure 3) ou à Sétif (Figure 2c).

aux commissures tombantes. On retrouve aussi la même gravité que dans l'expression de la nymphe qui observe la scène d'allaitement qu'on a vu plus haut (Février- Blanchard-Lemée 2019 : 124).

La candidate à l'initiation (Fig. 1e) se tient debout devant la myste qui va l'initier et esquisse un mouvement de rejet et d'effroi avec ses mains⁹ tout en détournant la tête du spectacle qui cause son trouble (les plis tumultueux de sa robe et l'écharpe flottante suggèrent un mouvement rapide et violent). En effet, il est connu que la contemplation du phallus, étape obligatoire pour être initié, suscite souvent étonnement et effroi chez celui qui le contemple. La révélation du phallus dans le *liknon* sacré avait pour but de rendre le myste assez fort pour regarder ce signe sacré de la forme divine. A travers l'initiation, le mortel s'élève vers son dieu et le dieu prend possession de lui ! Nous avons là une réaction vive et spontanée devant l'épiphanie du phallus divin qui est doublement soulignée ; d'un côté par le refus de voir et de l'autre par la position du corps penché vers l'arrière et la gestuelle des mains.

L'initiante « la phallophore »¹⁰ (Fig. 1e) est bien concentrée sur la jeune femme qu'elle doit initier, elle est déterminée dans son regard à accomplir sa mission et elle semble l'encourager du regard ! Cette scène est très proche de celle de la révélation du van sur la fresque de la villa des mystères à Pompéi¹¹. Ici le maître mosaïste a eu recours à la technique de l'orientation des regards, technique introduite d'abord dans la céramique attique par l'artisan *Sosias*¹² à la fin du VIe avant JC; on voit bien l'œil de la phallophore qui se dirige vers la candidate à l'initiation d'un côté, et l'œil de cette dernière (de profil) fuyant le *liknon* de l'autre côté sans vraiment se croiser.

Scène du meurtre d'Ambrosia par Lycurgue :

Figure 1f
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Djemila, détail
« Lycurgue et Ambrosia ».
Photo : B. Odoux.



9 Le mosaïste a utilisé ici « l'imagerie de la peur » (voir Turcan 1989 : 307) qui traduisait les sentiments du candidat à l'initiation.

10 Celle qui porte le *liknon* ou est gardé le phallus sacré.

11 Voir Sauron 1998.

12 Cette technique est discutée dans un article de Jacquet-Rimassa 2013 : 29-35.

C'est la scène centrale du pavement qui tranche avec les scènes précédentes par l'intense mouvement et le sentiment d'extrême violence qui s'en dégage. Le mosaïste y a représenté avec habileté et force la fureur et la rage meurtrière du roi *Lycurgue* qui frappe d'un geste très violent la nymphe *Ambrosia*, tout son corps musclé et vigoureux est tendu par l'effort et ses gestes sont amples et pleins de rage ! Ses cheveux, légèrement hérissés, montrent qu'il est entièrement habité par une rage destructrice et implacable. Cette scène représente également une double menace : celle de *Lycurgue* menaçant la nymphe de sa hache et celle de la vigne vengeresse qui s'apprête à étouffer le roi, et toutes deux sont imminentes (la mort et la transformation) !

La *nymphe* tombée à terre dévêtue, sa nudité exprimant sa vulnérabilité, est en position de victime vaincue cherche à parer les coups de la hache de son bras droit. Nous sommes là devant une nudité dénuée de toute connotation sexuelle ou érotique et qui renforce le sentiment de vulnérabilité d'Ambrosie. Cette dernière arbore un visage horrifié et ses cheveux défaits et dressés sur la tête expriment l'épouvante devant la mort imminente matérialisée par la hache brandie au-dessus de sa tête. De sa main gauche contre le sol, elle prend appui et invoque la terre mère qui va la recevoir dans son sein lorsqu'elle se transformera en vigne et étouffera *Lycurgue*.

La métamorphose d'*Ambrosia* en vigne à Djemila est discrètement soulignée par des rinceaux de vigne qui commencent à naître autour de son cou (contrairement au pavement de Sainte-Colombe, antique Vienne. Rhône¹³ en France où le processus de transformation s'est accompli, la nymphe n'étant plus visible).

Cette scène reflète une tension dramatique et véhicule une charge émotive puissante ou transparait la menace de la mort imminente. La violence de cette scène nous fait osciller, nous spectateurs, entre la vie et la mort, ou plutôt entre la « survie » ou la réincarnation d'*Ambrosia* sous la forme d'une vigne après sa métamorphose et sa mort en tant que nymphe.

La place centrale (Fig. 1a) dédiée à cette scène prouve que le commanditaire et/ou le maître *Pictor* ont sciemment focalisé le pavement sur l'exemple du châtiment qui attend les adversaires de *Dionysos* (*Zeus* a frappé de cécité *Lycurgue* après que *Ambrosia*, transformée en vigne, l'ait étouffé). Le mythe de *Lycurgue* illustre aussi les émotions de fureur dangereuses dont l'initiation délivre l'âme du myste. (Turcan 1966 : 408-410). *Blanchard-Lemée* dans son analyse de cette mosaïque a d'ailleurs établi les liens entre la scène du sacrifice du bouc qui vient précéder celle de l'initiation et la scène centrale (*Blanchard-Lemée* 1980 : 161-181).

Les victoires :



Figure 1g
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Djemila, détail « Les Victoires ». Photo : B. Odoux.

¹³ Voir Héron de Villefosse 1907: 5-18. La mosaïque est exposée au Musée archéologique de Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Les quatre victoires « en cariatides », aux angles de la mosaïque (Fig. 1a), sont humanisées par le mosaïste à travers l'aspect de leurs draperies flottantes suggérant leur envol et la vivacité de leurs mouvements en contradiction avec la couleur bronze de leur corps qui fait allusion au métal des statues. Elles ont toutes les quatre le regard tourné vers leur droite, dans le sens de la lecture des scènes de la mosaïque, à partir de l'entrée de la pièce. Elles participent ainsi au « *logos* visuel » en invitant le spectateur attentif qui contemple le pavement et en établissant un contact à découvrir les scènes dans le bon sens (Février-Blanchard-Lemée 2019 : 119).

Enfin, les victoires mettent l'accent sur la thématique triomphale de *Dionysos* sur l'arrogance et l'impiété de ses ennemis « incarnés ici par *Lycurgue* » tout en structurant l'espace du tableau. Elles tiennent dans leurs mains une couronne qui ferait également allusion au sentiment de bonheur éternel promis aux initiés du culte dionysiaque.

Conclusion

Le message principal (selon la position de la scène centrale) de cette mosaïque qui inspire un sentiment profondément mystique à quiconque l'admire est le châtimement impitoyable des impies, garant du bonheur éternel promis aux fidèles de *Dionysos*. L'image du dyonysisme qu'elle donne est tempérée, sans angoisse et équilibrée même dans la scène centrale pourtant fort violente (Blanchard-Lemée 1980 : 181). Cet équilibre harmonieux et cette douceur dans le modelé du pavement de Djemila a également été facilité par une palette de couleurs très douce, riche en dégradés et en délicates nuances.

L'auteur de cette mosaïque a tenté « d'humaniser » les scènes divines des légendes dionysiaques qu'elle retrace : le dieu enfant est représenté en simple nourrisson tétant le sein de sa nourrice et les Victoires en Cariatides sont dans le mouvement. On note aussi l'utilisation de tesselles très petites pour faciliter le rendu des émotions dans les visages (4 à 5 mm) et les yeux (1 à 2 mm).

III- Mosaïque du Triomphe indien de Dionysos de *Sétif* antique *Sitifis* :

La mosaïque dionysiaque de Sétif découverte dans une riche demeure de l'antique *Sitifis*, capitale de la nouvelle province de Maurétanie Sétifienne au IVE siècle, représente le thème du retour victorieux de *Dionysos* après ses victoires en Inde. Elle ornait une luxueuse salle d'apparat *triclinium*, d'où la disposition en U du tapis à décor géométrique accueillant les lits de banquet placés le long des trois côtés de la pièce. La datation la plus tardive proposée pour ce pavement donne un terminus post quem au début du IVE siècle AD, voir même à l'époque Constantinienne (Donderer 1988 : 781-799).

Figure 2a
Triomphe indien de Bachus, Musée National
de Sétif. Photo : B. Odoux.



On voit tous les membres du thiasse de *Dionysos* défilant gravement et dignement devant le char divin dans la scène triomphale sétifienne. Les deux tigresses tirant le char sont majestueuses et puissantes tout comme le lion au bout du cortège (mufle puissant et crocs ouverts) et sont un parfait exemple du « paroxysme des attitudes » décrit par des auteurs¹⁴, symbolisant par-là, la maîtrise du dieu sur la nature sauvage ! Même les animaux ont été mis à contribution par le mosaïste pour faire ressortir le paradoxe émotionnel entre la fureur bestiale et la force tranquille des émotions dans ce cortège (bestiaire inclus).



Figure 2b
Triomphe indien de Bachus, Sétif.
Détail « Ménéade et Dionysos ».
Photo : B. Odoux.

- *Ménade* : C'est la seule qui est représentée en mouvement dans le vif de l'action extatique, en pleine danse, ses voiles gonflent en arrière, son chiton est ouvert par le geste vif de ses jambes et sa chevelure se soulève. La ménade ainsi représentée exécuterait la danse qui la mènera à l'extase mystique atteste aussi du recours de l'artisan à la technique du « paroxysme des attitudes » utilisée pour le rendu des émotions fortes comme nous l'avons noté plus haut. Même si la tête n'est pas brutalement renversée en arrière comme symptôme de la transe ménadique, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'elle adopte ici la posture connue par le bras gauche surélevé et le droit vers le sol tenant le même thyrsos que sur une amphore grecque du VI^{ème} siècle avant JC¹⁵. L'artiste a probablement représenté la Ménade, au moment de la marche qui constitue un des différents pas effectués lors de la danse dionysiaque qui durait des heures. Par ailleurs, l'image des Ménades combattantes est liée au mythe de la conquête de l'Inde par *Dionysos* durant lequel l'état de transe leur permet d'accomplir des exploits surhumains (Delavaud-Roux 2006 : 153-163). La ménade de *Sitifis* communique également avec son dieu par le tendre regard d'adoration qu'elle lui lance, on a là un exemple du contact visuel actif d'un seul côté (pas de réciprocité de la part du dieu) !

¹⁴ Balty (1977 : 44) utilise cette terminologie pour parler des cous exagérément tendus ou tordus et des gueules entrouvertes par l'émotion par exemple.

¹⁵ Pour l'amphore voir Delavaud-Roux 2006 : 158 fig. 4a.

Figure 2c
Triomphe indien de Bachus, Sétif. Détail
« Dionysos avec la Victoire ».
Photo : B. Odoux.



- *Dionysos* parait calme, impassible, majestueux avec sa somptueuse tenue d'apparat et son allure triomphante. Son regard semble rêveur et lointain, un peu mélancolique comme s'il regrettait déjà les lointaines contrées qu'il venait de quitter. A ses côtés, la *Victoire* qui concentre toute son attention sur le Dieu qu'elle s'apprête à couronner.

Figure 2d
Triomphe indien de Bachus, Sétif. Détail
« Pan ». Photo : B. Odoux.



- *Pan* à l'aspect caprin sauvage et effrayant sépare et rassemble en même temps le cortège en tenant les rênes des fauves d'une main et les chaînes des captifs de l'autre. Il lance un regard fort menaçant aux deux tigres qui semblent un peu récalcitrants. Il est positionné entre une *Liknophore* qui porte le *liknon* sacré et qui se distingue par un doux regard rêveur et lointain et une *Ménade* en bleu, gaie qui convoite du regard le butin sur le dos des chameaux (Fig. 2a).



Figure 2e
Triomphe indien de Bacchus, Sétif. Détail
« Les captifs ». Photo : B. Odoux.

- Un couple de *Captifs* (en position d'infériorité du dominé face à son dominateur) de sang royal semblent déçus, l'humiliation de la défaite se lit sur leur visage. La reine a un regard saisissant de tristesse, les pupilles placées sur la partie supérieure de l'œil et un rictus douloureux sur la bouche et le roi baisse les yeux de honte. Les deux jeunes captifs (probablement les enfants du couple royal) juchés sur le dos d'un chameau expriment, eux aussi, leur situation de prisonniers ; yeux baissés pour l'un et regard craintif et admiratif envers la girafe derrière lui, pour l'autre.

- *Silène* conduit le char divin arborant un visage sévère, deux rides lui barrent le front désignant le *Silène* pédagogue à l'allure Socratique muni du bâton des philosophes et vêtu du pallium. Il lève les yeux vers son dieu saluant respectueusement et solennellement sa victoire.

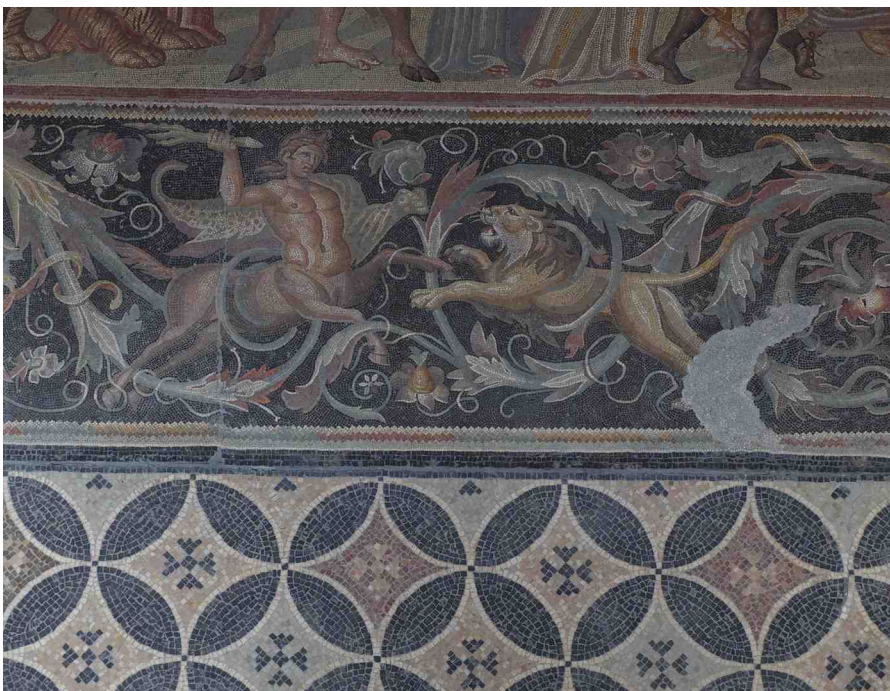


Figure 2f
Triomphe indien de Bacchus, Sétif. Détail
« Centauro-machy ». Photo : B. Odoux.

La bordure du tableau dionysiaque prolonge la thématique de la victoire de Dionysos sur la nature sauvage avec des scènes de Centauremachies qui opposent la brutalité et la laideur physique des *Centaures* armés de simples branches à la puissance malfaisante des fauves. Cette bordure délimite donc la scène mythologique qui représente la pompé triomphale de Dionysos se dirigeant vers l'entrée de la salle juste en face de « *l'imus lectus* », la place d'honneur (probablement destinée au *dominus*) étant ainsi proche du char divin. Cette disposition devait être le fruit d'un commun accord entre le maître *pictor* et le commanditaire du pavement et afin que ce dernier soit d'emblée imprégné par l'atmosphère de majestueux triomphe qui se dégage de la scène. Celle-ci lui procurait sûrement une grande satisfaction et un motif de fierté devant ses invités.

Figure 2g
Triomphe indien de Bacchus, Sétif. Détail
« Mascarons ». Photo : B. Odoux.



- Les *Mascarons* : Le pavement dionysiaque est encadré par une riche bordure très particulière faite de rinceaux d'acanthé fleuris, issus de grands mascarons végétalisés barbues et coiffés du *calathos* au niveau des angles et encadrant des centauremachies. Ces mascarons arborent une expression sévère et extatique.

Conclusion

Cette mosaïque représente le cortège du triomphe indien de *Bacchus/Dionysos* qui incarne la joie, la gaieté triomphale et l'exaltation de l'abondance à travers le butin de guerre ramené des Indes (armes, cratères en or et bestiaire exotique). Cette joie dionysiaque s'exprime, ici à Sétif, avec une majesté et une décence rares et remarquables, inhabituelles sur les représentations du triomphe de *Dionysos* (Blanchard-Lemée 2011 : 291-300).

On note une sorte de hiérarchie dans l'expression des sentiments dans la mosaïque de Sétif : le calme impassible et majestueux de *Dionysos* contraste avec la brutalité déchaînée et bestiale des *centaures* et des fauves. Sans oublier la mise en scène d'attitudes suffisamment explicites et visibles des animaux (tigres qui grondent, regard furieux de l'éléphant, dromadaire calme, girafe au regard curieux) pour exprimer la notion de la victoire du dieu civilisateur et *Cosmocrator* sur le monde sauvage.

IV- Mosaïque du triomphe bachique de Cherchell antique *Caesarea* :

Figure 3
Triomphe bachique, Musée National Public
de Cherchell. Photo : B. Odoux.

Ce pavement ornait la salle de réception (Ferdj 2005a : 122 n°99) d'une *domus* de l'antique *Caesarea* capitale de la Maurétanie Césarienne au IV^e siècle AD. Dans un riche décor fleuri se détache un pseudo *emblema* représentant une version simplifiée du cortège triomphal de *Bacchus*. Le dieu se tient seul debout sur son char, richement vêtu de la *bassara* orientale comme à Sétif. Il apparaît ainsi dans toute sa splendeur avec une allure majestueuse exprimant la fierté que l'on note dans le geste ample du bras gauche tendu et la main retenant son voile flottant, mais aussi dans son regard fier et lointain. *Dionysos* est accompagné d'un *Satyre* musclé et vigoureux occupé à exciter les tigres à l'aide d'un javelot pour les faire avancer surtout que l'un des deux félins se désaltère dans un grand cratère. En contemplant ce tableau réalisé en *opus vermiculatum* (tesselles de 4 mm) on est immédiatement interpellé par l'évident état de soumission des félins domptés par *Dionysos* et réduits à l'état d'attelage, dans leur regard las et leur aspect passif. On a l'impression que le deuxième tigre s'apprête lui aussi à goûter le doux nectar tout en redoutant son maître qu'il surveille du coin de l'œil.

V- Mosaïque de *Thétis* et *Pelée* - Cherchell antique *Caesarea* :

Cette mosaïque qui remonte au IV^e siècle a été découverte dans une riche *domus* où elle ornait une vaste salle de réception à abside (probablement un *stibadium*). Elle se compose de deux panneaux distincts, l'un au nord et l'autre au sud, celui au nord se subdivisant lui-même en deux tableaux : A l'ouest, *le cortège de Thétis* et à l'est *la cérémonie du mariage*, les autres panneaux sont en très mauvais état de conservation.

De gauche à droite sont donc figurés *Hyménée* et les *Moires*, *Thétis* et *Pelée* et *Silène* accompagné de trois ménades. Les personnages des différents tableaux sont disposés en sens opposés, ainsi les scènes sont découvertes par les convives au fur et à mesure qu'ils avancent dans la salle au plan longitudinal.

Figure 4a
 Mosaique de Thétis et Pélée, Nouveau
 Musée de Cherchel . Détail « rituel
 dionysiaque ». d'après S. Ferdi 2005b : 46.



La partie la mieux conservée du tableau de la cérémonie des noces de *Thétis* et *Pelée* représente (après *Hyménée* et les *Moires* aux visages empreints de gravité) un rituel dionysiaque mené par quatre membres du thiasse dionysiaque qui semblent recueillis vu le caractère sacré de la cérémonie solennelle. Il se dégage un profond sentiment religieux tant la gravité du moment est décelable sur les visages qui sont sereins et idéalisés comme c'est l'usage sur les vases attiques décorés dans la deuxième moitié du Ve avant JC¹⁶.

Les *Ménades*, au nombre de trois, sont situées à droite du couple de mariés (aujourd'hui en mauvais état) arborant un visage empreint de sérieux et de gravité et regardant du coin de l'œil en direction du couple nuptial. Celle du milieu se distingue par un regard particulièrement sévère et une bouche légèrement pincée, signe de pudeur dans l'expression faciale, qui pourrait correspondre ici à une retenue face au cortège nuptial. La ménade à sa gauche est la seule qui ne regarde pas dans la direction du cortège mais dans la direction opposée avec un air absent (déjà absorbée par le rituel auquel elle participe) et empreint de mélancolie. Toutes les trois sont placées derrière *Silène* qui apparaît ici pour la première fois en Afrique, sous des traits socratiques (Canivet-Darmon 1989 : 10). Il dégage une impression faite en même temps de force et de douce sérénité, en tant que père nourricier du dieu *Dionysos* et le mystagogue chargé du rituel dionysiaque sacré comme le prouve le canthare dans lequel il puise le vin. Ce vase symbolise ici l'esprit qui enivre le mystique et l'initié et le rouge du vin fait allusion à la connaissance ésotérique interdite aux non-initiés (Ferdì 2005a : 67).

Le tableau de *Thétis* et *Pelée* se poursuit au Nord par une *scène de vendanges* qui pouvait être admirée par les convives dès leur entrée dans la salle et par ceux qui étaient assis au fond de l'abside outrepassée. Ils bénéficiaient ainsi d'une vue en perspective focalisée sur la treille (Ferdì 2005b : 51) sous laquelle s'affairent des

16 Voir Tsingarida 2001 : 5-30.

Bacchoi vendangeurs et de jeunes danseurs qui agitent joyeusement des crotales (Fig. 4b) en célébration de ce qui semble être les fêtes des *Vinalia*¹⁷. Il se dégage de tout ceci une ambiance festive et légère. Pas loin d'eux, se trouvait un *Silène* à l'allure caricaturale (nu et bedonnant) à l'opposé du mystagogue de la scène du rituel, il est endormi ivre inconscient alors que de malicieux petits *Amours* semblent l'attacher avec des guirlandes¹⁸.



Figure 4b
Mosaïque de Thétis et Pélée. Cherchel,
Détail « Danseurs de crotales cdeaux ».
d'après S. Ferdi 2005b : 56.

Les autres scènes sont très mutilées pour être étudiées dans le détail ; on peut encore voir dans le tableau Ouest qui illustre « la présentation de *Téthys* à *Pelée* » les personnages suivants en partant de la droite:

17 Hypothèse émise par Balmelle-Brun 2011 : 906- 907.

18 Cela nous rappelle « le Silène ligoté » d'El Jem au Musée d'El Jem (Foucher 1961 : pl. XI-XII).

Figure 4c
Mosaïque de Thétis et Pélée, Cherchel.
Détail « Mercure et les porteuses de cadeaux ».
d'après S. Ferdi 2005b : 42.



Pelée au visage très mutilé garde encore sa main sur son menton, signe probable de son émoi devant l'arrivée de sa promise. Derrière lui, se trouve *Mercur*e qui lui montre le cortège de la mariée de sa main droite levée avec un regard protecteur plein de bienveillance. Le cortège s'avance avec des porteuses de coffret dont l'une arbore un regard fier et heureux et se concentre sur la boîte qu'elle brandit. La mariée *Thétis* est majestueuse et un peu hautaine (serait-ce une allusion du mosaïste à son statut de divinité contrainte d'épouser un simple mortel, elle, qui a eu suscité le désir des plus grands dieux de l'Olympe, comme le dit Catulle¹⁹ ?). Elle écarte gracieusement son voile d'une main et arbore un regard intense (il ne reste qu'un œil) dans un visage serein avec un léger sourire qui se dessine sur sa bouche. Des *néreïdes* complètent le tableau dans une ambiance de joyeuse légèreté²⁰ et un regard admiratif envers la beauté de la mariée (pour la Néréïde au voile flottant voir Fig. 4d).

Figure 4d
Mosaïque de Thétis et Pélée, Cherchel.
Détail « Néréïde au voile ».
d'après S. Ferdi 2005b : 41.



19 « ...*Pelée* s'enflamme d'amour pour *Thétis*, alors que *Thétis* ne dédaigne pas l'hymen d'un mortel... » Catull. 64.

20 Comme le décrit *Catulle* en parlant des invités qui assistent au mariage « ...l'allégresse est peinte sur les visages... » Catull. 64

Tout ce programme décoratif (scène hiérogamique, rituel sacré, ivresse de *Silène* et *Amours vendangeurs*) exalte l'amour conjugal (qui unit *Thétis* à *Peléé*) et la *felicitas* dionysiaque dans une nature heureuse et luxuriante, promesse d'un bonheur suprême et éternel au contemplateur initié sous la conduite de *Dionysos*. Ceci n'est pas étonnant si on rappelle le lien direct entre le mariage de *Thétis* et *Peléé* et l'histoire d'amour de *Dionysos* et *Ariane* brodée sur la somptueuse tenture du lit nuptial de *Thétis*. Cette double histoire d'amour nous est relatée dans l'Epithalame de *Thétis* et *Peléé* de *Catulle* : « ...Sur une autre partie (de la tapisserie), on voyait *Iacchus* florissant voltiger au milieu du thiasse de *Satyres* et de *Silènes*. Il te cherchait, *Ariane*, car son cœur brûlait d'amour pour toi... » (Catull. 47-75, 64 : 62-63).

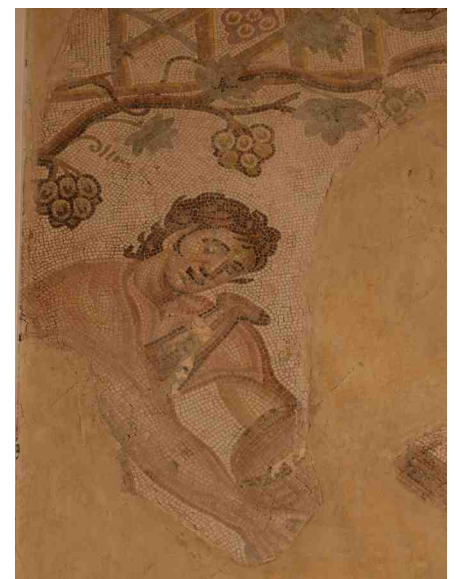
VI- Mosaïque de la Bacchante et des vendangeurs-Cherchel :



Figure 5a
Bacchante et vendangeurs, Musée National
Public de Cherchel. Photo : B. Odoux.

Figure 5b
Bacchante et vendangeurs, détail « Satyre
vidant une corbeille de raisin ».
Photo : B. Odoux.

Ce pavement, daté entre l'IIIe-IVe siècle, ornait la salle de réception d'une riche demeure à Cherchell (antique *Caesarea*). Le registre supérieur qui est le mieux conservé représente une scène de foulage du raisin par trois Satyres sous une treille dansant en cadence en se tenant par les bras pour fouler le raisin dans une atmosphère d'allégresse. L'état mutilé de leurs visages nous prive malheureusement de la possibilité de rechercher une quelconque émotion ! Fort heureusement, le visage du quatrième Satyre, à gauche (Fig. 5b) occupé à vider dans la cuve une corbeille de raisins, a été sauvegardé. On y déchiffre un grand sentiment de joie souligné par le marquage des sourcils et de la bouche esquissant un léger sourire. Cette scène est perçue comme une invitation lancée par le *dominus* (au spectateur) à goûter aux joies de l'ivresse dionysiaque (Ferd 2005a : 60) qui est procurée par le vin, la boisson bachique qui s'écoule du raisin écrasé. Il faut souligner que le vin, don de Dionysos à l'humanité, apporte la joie et l'oubli de la souffrance ! En plongeant dans la contemplation de ce tableau « si vivant » on pourrait presque entendre les joyeuses rumeurs des vendanges et ressentir l'excitation des *Satyres calcatores* comme dans le passage des *Bucoliques* :



« ...et ce raisin qui vous est inconnu soyez les premiers à le fouler...Ils détachent les grappes de la vigne, les emportent dans des corbeilles et s'empressent de les écraser de leurs pieds nerveux sur des roches creuses : la vendange bouillonne...le raisin éclate sous les pieds nombreux et les poitrines rougissent sous les éclaboussures du moût écarlate. » (Nemes. 39-45)²¹.

Le deuxième registre de ce pavement (en mauvais état) représentait, sous les *dolia* et séparé par une double rangée de tesselles, une *bacchante* endormie avec la main nonchalamment posée sur le front. Nous avons (comme à Lambèse) soit la représentation de la gestuelle de séduction passive et de disponibilité sexuelle, soit une image de l'ivresse ? Quel que soit le message délivré ici, le corps de la belle est bien convoité par un *Satyre* dont il ne reste que la main à côté d'elle, et par le regard admiratif du vieux *Silène* penché par-dessus le mur qui le sépare d'elle.

VII- Mosaïque d'*Ariane* de Tébessa antique *Theveste* :

Cette mosaïque datée entre le IIIe et le IVe siècle (Lassus 1962 : 127), a été découverte dans une grande demeure connue sous le nom du *vieux palais* à Theveste (Tébessa) en Proconsulaire²². Ce pavement se présente en « tapis de vigne » typiquement Africain avec au centre un pseudo-*emblema* circulaire en *opus vermiculatum*. Le champ représente à l'angle encore visible un culot d'acanthé sur lequel repose *Pan* avec la nébride, couronné de pin et tenant une corbeille de raisin et un faon. Dans le pseudo-*emblema* on voit *Ariane* endormie sur une couche rayée reposant sur un rocher dans la position classique, offrant sa nudité sur la plage de *Naxos* avec une gestuelle connue. C'est le geste d'*Ariane* qui lève le bras et le replie autour de sa tête et qui est fondamentalement un geste de repos et d'exhibition physique, de séduction passive, de disponibilité érotique et d'ouverture et d'accueil de l'autre (en l'occurrence de *Dionysos* qui deviendra son époux). Ce geste est interprété dans l'iconographie antique (sur les reliefs et sarcophages romains et sur la céramique grecque) comme étant celui du repos, de l'abandon, de l'exhibition, de l'absence à soi-même, de l'ivresse, de l'extase érotique ou mystique, du sommeil et de la mort. Huet²³ en souligne bien la polysémie avec un dénominateur commun à toutes les scènes qui est la perte de la conscience. Le mosaïste de Tébessa a su représenter l'épiphanie d'*Ariane* endormie, droguée par *Hypnos* sur l'île de *Naxos* après avoir été abandonnée par son fiancé *Thésée*. La princesse apparaît ici endormie de désespoir symbolisant ainsi l'amour douloureux « la douleur de la délaissée ». L'artisan mosaïste a semble-t-il délibérément associé la scène de la découverte d'*Ariane* à *Naxos* avec des rinceaux peuplés de *Bacchoi* car ces derniers sont presque toujours présents lors de l'éblouissement de *Dionysos* à la vue de son aimée comme à *Volubilis* au Maroc (Dunbabin 1978 : 277 n°5) et à *Ptolémaïs* en Libye (Mikocki 2004 : 19-21 fig. 1). Même si *Dionysos* et ses suivants (excepté *Pan*) sont absents dans ce pavement²⁴, une forte connotation érotique (de par la nudité) et hiérogamique s'en dégage. L'épiphanie d'*Ariane* endormie renvoie ici à « l'amour douloureux » toutefois annonciateur d'un « amour triomphant » qui est juste suggéré en ce lieu

21 Nemes. 39-45. (in : *Némésien, Œuvres*, Trad Pierre Volpilhac, Paris, Les belles lettres 1975.)

22 Elle a été déposée en cinq morceaux en très mauvais état et est actuellement en cours de restauration au Musée de Tébessa d'où l'impossibilité de la prendre en photo.

23 Voir Huet 2006 : 253-265.

24 A contrario de la mosaïque d'*Ariane* à *Naxos* de Lambèse qui illustre la scène de l'épiphanie d'*Ariane* avec *Dionysos* avec son thiasé qui apparaissent émerveillés tous sous le charme de la belle. Pavement découvert en 2006 (CNRA /CNRS-ENS, UMR 8546) : Malek 2011 : 26-31.

par les *Amours vengeurs* qui apportent une note de joie entre les rinceaux de vigne et par l'allégresse de *Pan*. *Ariane* est endormie de désespoir mais *Dionysos* viendra bientôt la sauver grâce à son amour, c'est le miracle qui va métamorphoser la délaissée en triomphatrice.

VIII- Mosaïque de l'épiphanie d'Ariane à Naxos de Cyrène²⁵ (Cyrénaïque):



Figure 6
Epiphanie d'Ariane à Naxos, Musée de
Cyrène-Lybie. Photo : M. Olszweski.

Un autre pavement africain de l'Antique Libye en Cyrénaïque inscrit dans la même thématique a été découvert dans ce qui semble être un *gynécée* d'une riche demeure et a été dédié à une femme dont le nom est écrit sur l'inscription grecque qui y apparaît (Olszweski 2010 : 315-322). Cette représentation est, toutefois, plus complète que celle de Tébessa car on y retrouve *Ariane* avec le thiasse dionysiaque. Il s'agit donc de l'épiphanie d'*Ariane* avec *Dionysos* et *Ariane* est représentée avec la gestuelle connue et déjà vue à Tébessa : le geste d'*Ariane* qui lève le bras et le replie autour de sa tête. On peut dire que cette gestuelle féminine « érotique et sensuelle » est représentée ici à Cyrène comme le marqueur éveilleur du désir masculin que le mosaïste a su montrer dans le regard et la posture de *Dionysos* et ses compagnons.

Le dieu est figuré, ici, surpris et admiratif devant la beauté de la belle dont il tombe immédiatement sous son charme ! C'est la naissance du désir et de la passion amoureuse (du dieu) devant la vision de la beauté (d'une mortelle).

Silène et *Pan* sont également admiratifs face à l'épiphanie d'*Ariane* et invitent leur dieu du regard à s'approprier la belle, à l'aide d'un discours visuel utilisé par l'artiste mosaïste « *logos visuel* ». Enfin, le groupe est complété à droite par une *Ménade* qui danse et joue joyeusement.

À côté de son dieu, *Satyre* est représenté en licencieux effronté qui dévoile la belle à son maître, comme à Lambèse (Malek 2011 : 26-31), pour exacerber son ardent désir amoureux. Il faut rappeler ici la grande valeur expressive et la forte symbolique du geste du dévoilement qui dérive de l'*anacalypsis* du mariage grec, un des rites du mariage dans la Grèce antique (Gury 2006 : 268). Ce qui

²⁵ Bien que ce pavement ne soit pas en Algérie, nous l'avons inclus de même que les deux mosaïques tunisiennes suivantes, à titre comparatif.

concorde parfaitement avec le contexte mythologique de la légende *d'Ariane et Dionysos* : c'est un raccourci que le mosaïste aurait utilisé pour faire allusion aux futures noces du couple légendaire. Le thème hiérogamique et érotique de ce tableau aurait été le décor idéal du gynécée de Cyrène, sachant que cette pièce était, dans la tradition grecque, l'endroit où le maître de maison retrouvait son épouse comme Dionysos avec Ariane (Olszewski 2010 : 315-322). Nous aurions donc là le parfait exemple du rôle que pouvait jouer une mosaïque dans la stimulation des sens et l'entretien de la flamme de l'amour conjugal...

Par ailleurs, un autre gynécée, également en Cyrénaïque à *Ptolémaïs*, était orné d'un pavement très proche de celui-ci : « La mosaïque de Dionysos et Ariane » qui selon Olszewski *représente le début de la vie d'un couple mythique inséparable et de leur amour durable* » (Olszewski 2007 : 89-95).

IX - Mosaïque des noces *d'Ariane et Dionysos -Thuburbo-Majus* (Musée du Bardo -début IVe) :

Après leur rencontre sur l'île de *Naxos*, l'union de *Dionysos* avec *Ariane* est célébrée ici à *Thuburbo-Majus* en Proconsulaire sur ce pavement tardif qui ornait un triclinium principal (Dunbabin 1978: 274 n°1 (a)). Le couple est réuni sous une treille de vigne où les pampres, associés aux vases à boire, symbolisent la joie de l'ivresse divine promise par *Dionysos* à ses fidèles. Ces puissants symboles dionysiaques évoquent ainsi la joie de l'ivresse extatique procurée par la divine pharmacopée qui verse l'oubli et ouvre l'accès à un monde merveilleux (Vatin 2004 : 15).

Le *Dionysos* de *Tuburbo-Majus* symbolise l'euphorie à travers le vin contenu dans le canthare qu'il partage avec sa compagne dans une position alanguie. Son ivresse se confond avec son amour passionnel pour *Ariane*, ce sont deux états de nature identique qui mènent tous deux à l'absence de soi-même (ivre d'amour et de vin)...

Nous avons donc là une représentation d'un bonheur paisible, après la passion assouvie, dans laquelle les personnages du thiasos, célèbrent la joie des noces hiérogamiques dans les registres inférieurs.

Hercule, lui, s'adonne au vin qui le mène à l'ivresse aidé par un *Satyre*. *Ariane* tourne le dos aux autres convives, figurés plus bas, concentrant toute son attention sur son époux qu'elle couve d'un regard langoureux en prenant une pose de séduction doublement soulignée par la sensualité et l'érotisme de sa nudité.

Le contemplateur de ces scènes ne peut que ressentir ici la représentation d'un bonheur paisible sans aucune tension passionnelle, mais non sans une touche d'érotisme apportée par *Ariane* !

X - Mosaïque d'Ariane et Dionysos enlacés. *Thuburbo-Majus* (IIIe siècle)

Avec le rideau relevé, cette scène est interprétée comme une représentation théâtrale du banquet des noces dionysiaques qui symbolise la fête de l'amour et l'aspiration au bonheur conjugal. Le thème de ce pavement (Dunbabin 1978 : 274 n°8)²⁶ semble s'inspirer du banquet de *Xénophon*²⁷ dans lequel le couple d'acteurs mimant *Dionysos* et *Ariane* faisaient un grand effet sur les spectateurs comme l'atteste la littérature : « ...Lorsqu'enfin les convives les virent se tenir

26 Le pavement est conservé au musée du Bardo de Tunis.

27 Voir Xenophon. IX, 299.

enlacés et marcher vers la couche nuptiale, ceux qui n'étaient point mariés firent le serment de se marier, et ceux qui l'étaient montèrent à cheval et volèrent vers leurs épouses, afin d'être heureux à leur tour... Ainsi se termina le banquet... ». On relève dans la mosaïque tunisienne une gestuelle de la tendresse conjugale dans le geste d'enlacement de *Dionysos* que partage avec lui *Ariane*, et dans l'échange de regards d'affection entre les deux protagonistes (*logos visuel*). Les époux se tiennent par le cou dans une image classique de la tendresse conjugale, ce couple légendaire étant l'emblème de l'amour légitime. L'image de la joie conviviale est assurée par la *bacchante* dansante, à droite du couple et le *Silène* gras à gauche.

XI- Mosaïque dionysiaque de *Lambèse* Antique *Lambaesis* (Numidie) :

Cette mosaïque²⁸ (malheureusement fort détériorée) est un bel exemple de la représentation du bonheur conjugal (avec le couple idéalisé de *Dionysos* et *Ariane*) dans une ambiance de célébration festive. La treille qui nous rappelle le « tapis de vigne Africain » du pavement de Tébessa se développe ici sur toute la surface du pavement. Elle réunit dans son espace les personnages du thiasse dionysiaque qui se délectent de la boisson divine (notamment le *Satyre au rhyton* en position de banqueteur à l'instar de celui de Djemila) et folâtrent avec les petits *Amours*. Ils semblent être là pour mettre en valeur le couple hiérogamique considéré comme l'emblème de l'amour éternel, de la joie et de la prospérité insouciance.

Il arrive que le thème même du pavement (ou d'une scène) soit porteur d'un message émotionnel fort comme c'est le cas pour la *scène de la lutte qui oppose Eros à Pan* dans cette mosaïque (Fig. 7a). Elle est le symbole par excellence de la confrontation entre l'instinct sexuel primaire et l'amour spirituel et elle fait pendant à la scène de *Dionysos* et *Ariane* pour mieux souligner l'ambivalence de cette composition, de même que *Dionysos* est le dieu ambivalent. L'allégorie de la victoire d'*Eros* sur *Pan*, connu pour ses unions furtives et ses amours malheureuses, souligne aussi le thème principal de ce pavement : la célébration de l'amour à travers les noces d'*Ariane* et de *Dionysos* dans une ambiance de festivité champêtre (Malek 2003 : 188-193).

Figure 7a
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Musée de Lambèse.
Photo : B. Pradillon.



²⁸ Elle provient de la « maison des monstres marins » ou a été également découvert le pavement de la Nymphé *Cyrène*.

L'image de la *Ménade* (Fig. 7b), étendue quasiment nue, sous une treille dans un coin serait-elle un message « corporel » pour signifier qu'elle est sexuellement disponible (aux assauts des *Satyres*) dans un geste de séduction passive ? Ou bien est-elle simplement ivre, ou au repos (Gury 2006 : 274) ?

Figure 7b
Mosaïque dionysiaque, Musée de Lambèse,
détail « Ménade étendue ».
Photo : B. Pradillon.



XII- Mosaïque de la Nymphé *Cyrène*, Lambèse :

Figure 8
Cyrène, Musée de Lambèse.
Photo : B. Odoux.



Cette mosaïque, de style classique et pictural, provient du même édifice que le pavement précédent (maison des monstres marins) représentant les noces de *Dionysos* et *Ariane*. La bordure somptueuse est caractéristique de l'art du décor végétalisé, développé par les ateliers de Lambèse (*Lambaesis*) et de Timgad (*Thamugadi*) au début du III^e siècle AD.

La nymphe *Cyrène*, divinité d'une source, penche la tête vers la gauche, détournant pudiquement son regard triste et mélancolique d'*Apollon* dont subsiste un bras tendu vers elle. Son attitude est calme et on décèle une expression de retenue, mêlée à de la crainte probablement devant le destin qui l'attend (sa séduction par le dieu *Apollon* et son exil en *Lybie* loin de sa patrie). La scène se situe dans un *topos* à trois composantes (eau, arbre, rocher) qui évoque le *locus amoenus* chanté dans les poèmes antiques²⁹. A l'origine, dans la partie droite disparue³⁰, se trouvait *Pan* avec une *Néréide* sur dauphin et une *Ménade* nue en compagnie d'un *Satyre*, ce qui donne une connotation dionysiaque au pavement. Le rendu des émotions est obtenu en partie par l'emploi de teintes douces et de tesselles très petites (de 2 à 4 mm de côté) et par le traitement très pictural de la nymphe.

XIII - Mosaïque des *Philadelphes*-Timgad (Numidie) :

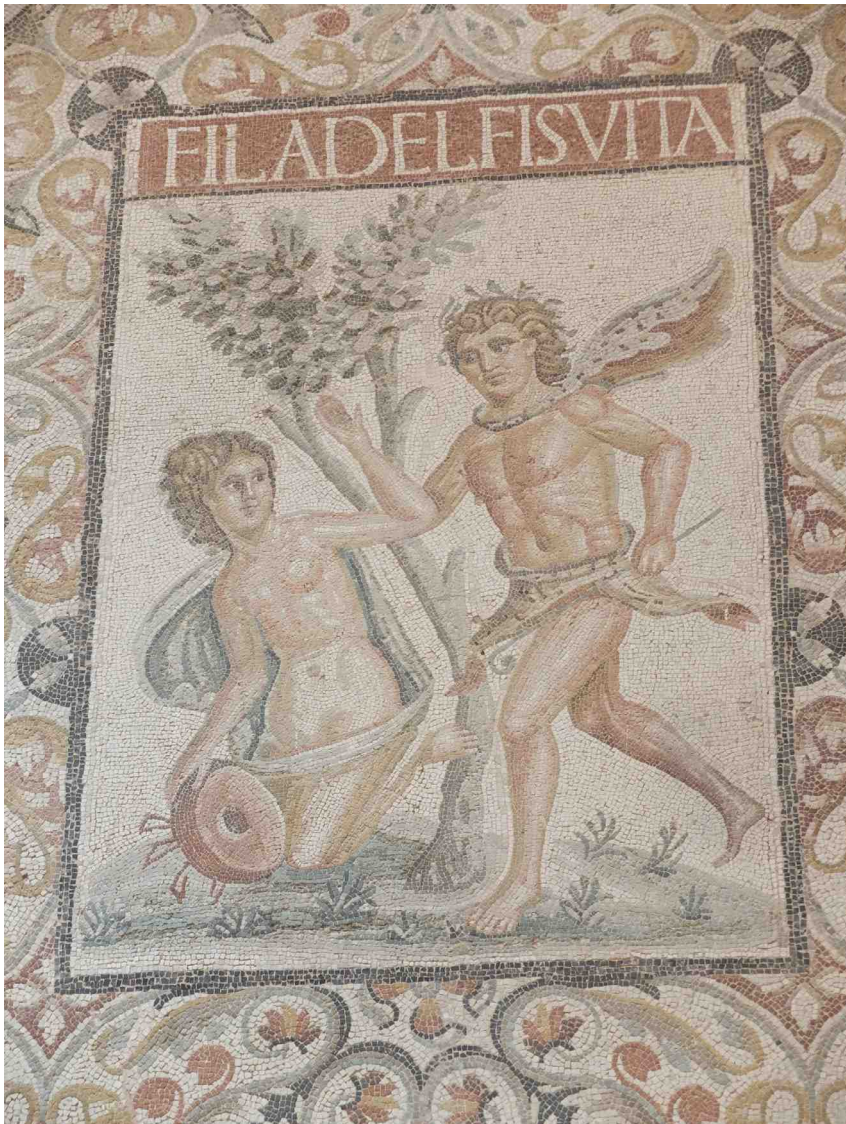


Figure 9
Mosaïque des *Philadelphes*, Musée de Timgad. Photo : B. Odoux.

²⁹ Les *Eglogues* de Virgile, *Bucoliques*.

³⁰ Décrite par : Pachtère 1911 : n°192.

Cette mosaïque (Germain 1969 : 77-79 n°96 pl. CXVIII) datée de la fin de l'époque sévérienne a été découverte dans le *caldarium* des thermes privés dits « de *Filadelfes* »³¹ à Timgad, antique *Thamugadi*. Ce grand pavement de style floral à fond blanc représente une scène amoureuse entre deux membres du thiasse dionysiaque, un *Satyre* et une *Ménade* (Lévi 1947 : I, 182)³².

La *Ménade*, nue à l'exception d'une draperie transparente, est tombée à genoux en fuyant un *Satyre* qui la poursuit et la lutine, bien déterminé à arriver à ses fins. Elle a l'air surprise et repousse son assaillant de la main gauche levée tout en tournant vers lui son visage aux yeux rieurs. Même si elle esquisse un geste de répulsion ou de rejet, son regard n'exprime aucune crainte face à un *Satyre* qui ne semble pas si terrifiant ni rustre comme c'est la coutume avec ces créatures monstrueuses. Ce pavement d'inscrit dans les représentations amoureuses érotiques, l'érotisme étant d'ailleurs bien souligné par la nudité de la *Ménade*. Cela n'est pas sans nous rappeler une série de scènes de séduction d'El Jem (antique *Thysdrus*) dans la *Domus Sollertiana*, notamment un tableau avec un *Satyre* se jetant sur une *Bacchante* nue qui n'oppose aucune résistance (Foucher 1961 : pl. XI-XII). L'artiste a savamment employé les couleurs et la lumière pour opposer la force et la puissante musculature du *Satyre* (brun et rouge) au gracieux corps vulnérable de la *Ménade* (blanc rosé).

Conclusion

A travers cette panoplie de représentations dionysiaques figurées dans les provinces africaines, nous avons pu déceler comment est-ce que l'artiste mosaïste, à l'instar du peintre en céramique grecque, a eu recours à la combinaison iconique du regard associé à la gestuelle. Le couple très efficace « œil/main » équivalent au couple interprétatif « regard/gestuelle » va ainsi permettre de mettre en place le *logos visuel* également nécessaire pour le rendu des émotions dans l'art de la mosaïque. Dans ce *logos* se distingue l'œil, c'est-à-dire le regard, indispensable pour établir tout contact visuel (intra ou extra-iconique). D'ailleurs, *Platon* (Plat. rep. IV, 420c) qualifiait l'œil comme « *le plus bel ornement* » car il traduit les mots que l'œuvre ne peut prononcer. Ne dit-on pas que les yeux sont le miroir de l'âme...Je pense qu'il serait possible d'appliquer ce principe à l'art de la mosaïque ou le regard, associé à une gestuelle et au génie chromatique du maître *pictor*, constitue un « transmetteur » des émotions et des sentiments que dégagent les personnages représentés...

Ainsi le combinatoire iconographique « œil-gestuelle » produit un *logos visuel* qui véhicule des sentiments et des émotions qui transparissent et interpellent le spectateur qui contemple une mosaïque, en l'invitant à une immersion au cœur de l'intrigue ou de la scène représentée.

Jacquet-Rimassa (2013 : 29-42) qui a étudié le *logos visuel* dans l'imagerie attique distingue trois niveaux de regards que l'on peut aisément appliquer à la mosaïque romaine. Le premier regard, l'originel, serait celui du maître *pictor* sur le canevas à reproduire et à animer en tesselles composées. Le second serait le regard « extra-iconique » du spectateur sur l'ensemble du pavement depuis son achèvement jusqu'à sa découverte de nos jours, et qui a forcément suscité un ressenti, une réaction variable selon la personne qui admire l'œuvre et l'époque. On pourrait par exemple distinguer les sentiments de fierté et de

31 Une inscription trouvée dans les thermes mentionne le nom des *Filadelfes* qui désignerait peut être l'association à laquelle l'édifice appartenait (Germain 1969 : 74).

32 Germain quant à elle identifie « *Jupiter et Antiope* ».

satisfaction qu'a dû éprouver le *dominus* de la maison des temples à *Sitifis* devant le magnifique tableau qui ornait son triclinium, de l'admiration et du plaisir qu'on ressent aujourd'hui en admirant cette œuvre au musée de Sétif. Le dernier, enfin, représenterait les regards « intra-iconiques », ces regards qui peuvent être échangés ou évités, ou croisés à l'intérieur de la scène peinte sur le pavement en structures visuelles plurielles (sauf en cas de portrait unique-*emblema*) créés par l'artiste. Plus cette construction visuelle est soulignée grâce au génie du mosaïste, mieux le message émotionnel est transmis du pavement vers le spectateur. En un mot, le regard se fait « *parole visible* » (Gombrich 1982 : 63-77).

A mon avis, les scènes dionysiaques peuvent être classées parmi les mosaïques les plus « expressionnistes » dans lesquelles la charge émotive est la plus forte avec une tension psychologique évidente. Nous avons toutefois noté une variété et une différence dans le traitement de ces pavements selon la thématique prédominante. Certains thèmes iconographiques sont traités de manière plus émouvante que d'autres (la mort, l'amour...) abordés dans un contexte de légèreté (ivresse, folâtreries du thiasse dionysiaque...).

L'association du personnage (actif ou passif) et du décor (technique et architectural) est un atout majeur qui atteste de l'ingéniosité remarquable du maître mosaïste pour mettre en scène des moments de la vie de *Dionysos* comme s'il s'agissait d'une représentation théâtrale humaine ! Les tableaux représentés dans les deux pavements de Sétif et de Djemila représentent des figures qui évoluent dans un décor qui instaure une profondeur dans la mosaïque, avec des personnages étagés sur trois plans (pour Sétif) et une orientation circumambulatoire qui reproduit au sol l'aspect d'une décoration de voûte (pour Djemila). Tous ces éléments associés au combinatoire « expression corporelle / logos visuel » ont favorisé ou facilité le rendu de l'émotion.

Je voudrais conclure cet article avec une citation de J-P. Darmon³³ s'exprimant sur un pavement dionysiaque de la Gaule Narbonnaise : « *Les mosaïques sont des images qui contribuaient à l'éducation en famille* ». Toujours selon le même auteur, « ...tous les tableaux en peinture ou en mosaïque présents dans la maison et qui donnent à celle-ci son caractère de pinacothèque auraient une valeur pédagogique en tant qu'exemples d'œuvres célèbres et rappels de récits fabuleux. » (Darmon 1987 : 99). Selon nous, cette éducation devait sûrement provoquer une « stimulation sentimentale » et véhiculer des émotions qui étaient suscitées en direction du contemplateur par l'imagerie des mosaïques ...

Enfin, des questions qui méritent réflexion restent, pour le moment, encore posées : L'intérêt pour le rendu des émotions dans les mosaïques présentées ici, répond-t-il aux goûts des maîtres mosaïstes, à ceux des commanditaires, à la société de l'époque ou serait-il aussi un trait d'atelier ? Probablement les quatre facteurs à la fois....

33 Lamosaïque de *Penthée*. <https://www.facebook.com/373805796513/posts/10159175848941514/>

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Dionysian Eros or Erotic Dionysus? Sources and Meanings of Hybridization in the Bacchus Mosaic at the Naples Museum

Dionysiak Eros mu, Erotik Dionysos mu? Napoli Müzesi'ndeki Bacchus Mozağindeki Melezleşmenin Kaynakları ve Anlamları

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Abstract

The splendid mosaic exhibited at the Archeological Museum in Naples presents two enigmatic hybrid images: a feline composed of a tiger and a lion, and a figure that combines the characteristics of both Dionysus and Eros.

This study seeks to decipher the hybridization of these two mighty gods of the Roman world, Dionysus and Eros, as presented in the Naples museum mosaic. The main assumption is that two features link these two gods: madness, and the illusion of merging with the Divine. The hybridization of the two gods would seem to strengthen the significance of both and of their role as gods of transcendence, as revealed through an examination of Classical literary and philosophical sources.

Keywords: *Dionysus, Eros, Platonic Philosophy, Neo-Platonism, Dionysian Mysteries.*

Öz

Napoli'deki Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde sergilenen muhteşem mozaik, iki esrarengiz melez görüntü sunmaktadır: Kaplan ve aslandan oluşan bir kedi ve hem Dionysos hem de Eros'un özelliklerini birleştiren bir figür. Bu çalışma, Napoli Müzesi mozağında sunulduğu şekliyle Roma dünyasının bu iki güçlü tanrısı Dionysos ve Eros'un melezleşmesini çözmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ana varsayım, bu iki tanrıyı birbirine bağlayan iki özelliğin olmasıdır: Delilik ve İlahi olan ile birleşme yanılsaması. Klasik edebi ve felsefi kaynakların incelenmesiyle ortaya konduğu üzere, iki tanrının melezleştirilmesi, her ikisinin de aşkınlık tanrıları olarak rollerinin önemini güçlendiriyor gibi görünmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Dionysos, Eros, Platoncu Felsefe, Neo-Platonizm, Dionysos Gizemleri.*

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Introduction

The splendid mosaic exhibited at the Archeological Museum in Naples (Fig. 1; Dunbabin 1999: 43-44)¹, presents two enigmatic hybrid images: 1. a furred tiger with a lion's mane on a steep cliff. The hybrid is adorned with a vine wreath and appears to be ferocious, a typical Dionysian beast; and 2. a hybrid feline being ridden by a dual-nature figure featuring a plump childish body and wings as Eros, together with a vegetal wreath and a huge drinking cup as Dionysus. On the ground lies an object resembling a pole adorned with ribbons (*taenia*) that might be the Dionysian *thyrsus*, similar to that seen in a wall painting from Pompeii (Fig. 2). The *thyrsus* as an object is intensely connected with violence and ferocity and especially with the Maenads, and the pole features an unidentified object, seemingly an animal skin, at its top. As told by Euripides, at the height of the frenzy, the Maenads tore to pieces the young of hares and deer, and Pentheus's mother affixed her son's head atop her *thyrsus*, assuming it to be a fawn (Eur. Bacch. 1140-1141; For the relation of the *taenia* to the Dionysian context see: Plat. symp. 212d.e, 213d).



Figure 1
Young Dionysus on a Tiger, a mosaic from the house of the Faun, Pompeii.
Height: 165 x 165 cm, around 100 BCE.
Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli - foto di Giorgio Albano (inv. 9991).

The depictions of the images in the mosaic are highly mimetic and vivid, as if seeking to become tangible to the beholder. Such mimesis was perceived by Longinus as a manifestation of the Sublime (Long. sublim. 13, 22).

This hybridization of the two divinities, Eros and Dionysus, is quite rare and uncommon. However, a precedent for this representation appears in a Hellenistic Greek mosaic at the Archaeological Museum of Delos dating from the 2nd century BC. This mosaic presents the god Dionysus with wings, holding the *thyrsus* with *taenia*, and riding a feline with the fur pattern of a tiger and the mane of a lion, while a golden cup is thrown in the side (Dunbabin 1999: 32).

However, hybridization had prevailed from the very beginning of Greek art, such

¹ The mosaic technique is in *Opus vermiculatum*. It was created around 100 BC and located in a *triclinium* (Room 34) in the House of the Faun.

Figure 2

Dionysus and mount Vesovius, fresco, from the Lararium of the House of the Centenary, Pompeii, First Century AD. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli - foto di Giorgio Albano (inv. 112286).



as in the images of griffins and sphinxes depicted in an Oriental style in Greek vase paintings of the 7th Century BCE (Cook 1972: 41-153). Hybridization became increasingly common in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, mostly in the Dionysian image of the Satyr, as a mythological as well as hybrid artistic image. Hybridization was manifested too in the Satyrs in their portrayal as humans with animal ears, tail, and hooves. Their behavior is portrayed as lascivious and promiscuous, and they dance with abandon. This behavior, as depicted on Attic pottery, was meant to represent the opposite of the principle of *aidos* – the moderation and self-restraint to which the Greek citizen was obliged, and was thus connected with Otherness in xenophobic Athens of the 5th century BCE (Durand et al. 1989; Lissarague 1990: 66; Lissarague 1992: 66; Cherry 1995: 139-140; Hedreen 2000: 292; On the principle of *autochthon* see: Hdt. I, a56; Loraux 1986: 148-150).

In addition to their social symbolism, and as Dionysian creatures, the satyrs were perceived as mediators between the earthly and the Divine, and hence they are demons (Mourão 2010: 183-184).

The ecstasy that the Satyrs bring about during the Dionysian ritual was aimed at generating and consecrating exultation (Dettienne 1981: 224, 226; Durand et al. 1989: 126).

Another hybrid image in the Classical period is that of the Centaur, which appears in temple sculptures such as on the western gable of the temple to Zeus at Olympia, and on the Parthenon's metopes, as a savage and aggressive hybrid. Featuring an upper human torso and the body and legs of a horse, in addition to its fierce expression and deformed face resembling a mask, the Centaur was perceived as a brutal beast, savage and *aischros* (ugly), lacking the traits of *Sophrosune* (restraint, moderation) and *Enkrateia* (self-control). While the Centaurs embody *hubris* and *pathos*, the Lapiths, who fought the Centaurs, represented *sophrosyne* and *arête* (Hom. Od. 21. 289-315; Ov. met. 12.210-535; Robertson 1989 (1981): 86-87; Stewart 1990: 142-146; Cherry 1995: 139-140). Hybridity, in both the Satyrs and the Centaurs was thus aimed at strengthening their bestial features, and hence their particular social and religious roles, with the exception of Chiron, who was considered as wise and spiritual (Monteagudo 2012: 61-65).

Another hybrid, prominent mostly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, is the hermaphrodite that is actually a metamorphosis resulting from the conjunction of a male and a female. This hybridization, manifested in androgyny, has been understood as reflecting the blurring of mental and geographical boundaries typical to the Hellenistic period. The hermaphrodite thereby invites a voyeuristic gaze that examines the weird and the Other (Stackelberg 2014: 404). This Other too might be perceived as Divine, since it is not only associated with the dangers of watching something that is taboo but, furthermore, androgyny constitutes a totality in which the Divine is manifested (McNally 1985: 174; Pollitt 1986: 149; Stewart 1997: 228-230; Platt 2002: 92-101; Elsner 2007: 22-24; Taylor 2008: 5-8, 57-58).

The image of the hermaphrodite was also interpreted as a manifestation of the desire for domestic harmony that mirrored the political concord ushered in by Augustus and Livia's reconciliation of the political factions following the civil wars. As a hybrid, the hermaphrodite was perceived as an omen of the divine order; and since the divine order establishes social order, the merging of male and female in the hermaphrodite mirrored the domestic order in Augustan times (Stackelberg 2014: 422-423).

In this study I discuss the fusion of the two mighty gods of the Roman world, Dionysus and Eros, as represented in the mosaic in the Naples museum, in an attempt to uncover the significance of this merging.

Common characteristics link these two gods: madness is a typical condition that attacks those who are influenced both by Dionysus and by Eros; and both confer transcendence upon their devotees. According to Socrates, madness is essentially positive and a gift from the gods, since it was Apollo who gave the gift of prophecy; Dionysus gave the mysteries; the Muses gave poetry; and Aphrodite gave love that is implemented by Eros (Plat. Phaidr. 265). Madness is therefore a common denominator of these two divinities, and hence their merging into one image here would seem to be the consequence of a deliberate and rational choice. The following discussion will focus on the significances of madness and of reaching transcendence in regard to these two gods.

Eros: Madness and the Sublime

The image of the chubby winged child seems to reflect too the figure of the mighty and cosmic divinity of Eros. The potency of Eros derives from his connection with the creation of the universe as a result of pairings between gods and goddesses, as described by Hesiod and Ovid (Hes. *theog.* 120-122; Ov. *met.* 5. 380-384). Eros, as associated with sexual desire, is first and foremost a Creator and one of the mightiest gods in Antiquity.

Eros's mighty nature is portrayed in the *Phaedrus* dialogue by Plato. Eros is a mediator god who bestows the madness of love upon the souls in the mundane world. According to the parable in the dialogue, the human soul had witnessed the sublime and awesome beauty of the heavenly beings before she entered the corporeal sphere. After allegedly being "imprisoned" in a physical body, she forgot those astounding sights, other than a dim memory and an extreme yearning to witness them once more. Consequently, the soul is in a state of constant pursuit of this dim memory and, whenever she finds beauty in another soul, the memory of the wonderful divine beauty she had once witnessed returns to her, and she fills with love for this soul and an immense desire to merge with it (Plat. *Phaidr.* 251-252).

This perception of Eros as a mediator was preserved in the Neo-Platonic thought of Plotinus. Accordingly, the origin of the soul is the *hen* – the Absolute One, which is the origin of all, and the soul constantly yearns to return to this origin. Eros was perceived by Plotinus as a mediator between the soul and the wisdom that stems from the Divine, for which the soul yearns (Plot. *enn.* IV b 4, III 5 b, c, d).

The Platonic parable and its Neo-Platonic interpretation allude to a relation between Eros and madness, since the soul falling in love enters into a state of madness. This feeling is similar to that caused by wine intoxication, hence the comparison between Eros and Dionysus (see Ov. *ars.* I. 229, 244). The parable also alludes to the relation between Eros and death, since only death can release the soul from its corporeal prison and enable it to return to its origins and merge with the Divine. Both madness and death relate to the aspects of violence and boldness of this mighty god.

Indeed, Eros was portrayed in Greek literature as a bold hunter and trickster magician who takes over those who become trapped in his charms and dulls their senses, as manifested in Plato's *Symposium*: "[...] he is brave, impetuous, and intense, an awesome hunter, always weaving snares, resourceful in his pursuit of intelligence, a lover of wisdom through all his life, a genius with enchantments, potions, and clever pleadings" (Plat. *symp.* 203d-e; Thornton 1997: 18-20).

As noted by Jean Pierre Vernant, both love and death are related to Eros (Vernant 1991: 100). Emily Vermeule too has noted the affinity between love and death as a fundamental principle in certain Greek myths, as in the myth of Persephone and of Helen of Troy (Vermeule 1979: 159). The violent aspect of Eros and the relation between love and death is attested also in the myth of Ganymede: when a god is seized by the beauty of a human, he abducts that human from mortal life (Hom. *Il.* 20. 235-231; Ov. *met.* 10. 155-161; Vernant 1991: 102). The many abduction myths and portrayals in Greek and Roman art likewise reflect the relation between love and violence (Stewart 1995: 74-90; Cohen 1996: 117-135). These myths and portrayals were interpreted on several levels. From the socio-political point of view abductions were related to the perception of women as savage beings that needed to be tamed by men; their subordination to

men; and as metaphors of colonialism and settlement (Sourvinou-Inwood 1987: 138-140, 145, 152; Sutton 1992: 31; Keuls 1993: 51; Stewart 1995: 80; 1997: 156, 174-177). From a spiritual-religious point of view, and in relation to Eros, abductions were perceived as symbolizing the human desire to unite with the Divine (Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979: 5, 43-58; Stewart 1995: 78).

The unity between a god and a mortal is therefore a violent one, and Eros is the mediator who instills within the human the passion to merge with the Divine.

In this context, it is important to note the story of Psyche and Cupid, and the tough initiation journey that Psyche went through until she was able to regain her love, metamorphosed into a butterfly that symbolizes the transformation of the soul, and gaining immortality. This myth has been interpreted as an allegory for the ancient mysteries. Cupid (Eros) is therefore the guide for the initiation, Psyche is the spiritual and transitory soul, and they both represented the union between the body and soul. The images of psyche in mosaics appear with bird or butterfly wings. Both kinds of wings symbolized the human soul, and the bird's wing may refer to Psyche's role as the loving spouse of Eros. Psyche rarely appears with bat wings, which indicate her as being a night creature (Mourão 2013: 59-63).

A particular myth that combines love, madness, and death caused by Eros is that of Phaedra and Hippolytus (Eur. Hipp.; Sen. Phaedr.). Phaedra was filled with an intense and uncontrollable love as a result of Aphrodite's revenge for Hippolytus's blasphemy against the goddess. Phaedra's mental state became one of madness and of such helplessness that her muscles failed her (Eur. Hipp. 198-199). Seneca's words refer to death as a result of this illness and mental state. Phaedra's nurse reveals to the chorus Phaedra's signs of illness: her fever, torments, restless, weakness, crying, and imbalance (Sen. Phaedr. 360-383). Phaedra asks her nurse to ruffle her hair, and expresses her sexual fantasies, while the shocked nurse begs her to stop (Eur. Hipp. 241). Phaedra admits to her nurse that this madness and terrible illness were caused by a powerful deity and that she has lost her reason (Eur. Hipp. 131-140, 176, 214, 239-241, 248, 765-66; Sen. Phaedr. 177-179, 184-185, 365). Phaedra is used as a tool by the goddess, and her suffering and death, and even the fact that she builds a temple to Aphrodite, do not touch the goddess at all (Thornton 1997: 62). The arrow, which is the attribute of Eros, constitutes his violent aspect, and indeed Phaedra is injured by his arrows that have pierced her with the madness of love (Thornton 1997: 28, 35).

The madness of love is discussed profoundly in Platonic dialogues such as *Phaedrus* and *The Symposium*. From a negative perspective, love was perceived as a disease that causes insanity and lack of control (Plat. Phaidr. 231-233, 239-241). However, from a positive perspective, the madness of love inspired by Aphrodite and Eros causes the yearning to approach and merge with the divine sublime (Plat. Phaidr. 251-252). This dualism is embodied in the influence of these two gods – Aphrodite and Eros: *Aphrodite Ourania*, the motherless daughter of Uranus, together with Eros the mediator, transcends the human and instills within him the yearning to merge with the sublime; while *Aphrodite Pandemos*, the daughter of Zeus and Dione, instills the human cravings for the pleasures of the body; and Eros attacks reason and moderation. Hence, together they cause obsession, imbalance, and disaster (Plat. symp. 180-181; Plat. Phaidr. 243, 255; Thornton 1997: 17, 26). The destructive influence of Eros was described by Archilochus as such: "Miserable with desire, I lie lifeless, my bones shot through with thorny anguish sent by the gods" (Archil. 29); and: "Desire the limb-loosener, O my companion, has beat me down" (Archil. 267).

Sappho portrays the influence of Eros as a disease: “[...] my tongue is broken. A delicate fire runs under my skin, my eyes see nothing, my ears roar, cold sweat rushes down me, trembling seizes me, I am greener than grass. To myself I seem needing but little to die [...]” (Sappho, 31); “Love shook my senses, like wind crashing on mountain oaks” (Sappho, 47). and: “Once again Love, that loosener of limbs, bittersweet and inescapable, crawling thing, seizes me” (Sappho, 130). Diotima, the mysterious woman from Mantinea, determines in *The Symposium* that the motive for mating is common to both humans and animals and makes them sick (Plat. symp. 207); while in *Timaeos* by Plato, Eros is considered as conferring a mental illness (Plat. Tim. 91 b, 86 d, 73 c).

Indeed, mythological wars, quarrels, and debates were the result of passion instilled by Eros, as declared by Socrates (Plat. Phaidr. 66). As a destructive force, Eros was also associated with fire, as *thermos Eros*, poetically portrayed by Sappho: “A delicate fire runs under my skin” (Sappho, 31).

The response of melting caused by heat and humidity was used to characterize the influence of Eros, since passion melts reason and causes delusions and catastrophe, as in the case of Medea (Eur. Med.; Ov. met. VII 421-4). Delusions are related too to intoxication, and thus to the realm of Dionysus. Accordingly, Dionysian intoxication could function as an aphrodisiac, inflaming sexual passion (Thornton 1997: 22).

In spite of Eros's distinct connection with violence, his image in the mosaic from Pompeii lacks the arrow, his militant attribute. This tends to strengthen the relation between Eros and Dionysus and their fusion as being, rather, in the sense of exultation and transcendence, as will be shown below.

Dionysus: Savagery and Mystery

The image of Dionysus in the mosaic is associated with the large cup held by the figure, his ivy wreath, the hybridization of the tiger with the lion adorned with vines, the red ribbons on the ground, and the masks within the vegetal scrolls at the margins.

The savage aspect of Dionysus is embodied in the mosaic by the huge cup that alludes to the influence of wine, and by the hybrid feline with its ferocious facial expression, open mouth, and lolling tongue. Felines appear in relation to Dionysus in Greek iconography and to Bacchus in Roman iconography as either being ridden or as pulling the chariot of the god. In general, the god is depicted followed by all kinds of felines: tigers, lions, panthers, and lynxes. The role of these beasts is triple: they are his acolytes, namely assisting him in the religious cult and protecting him; they serve him for transport; and they are one of his metamorphoses (Jacome 2013: 526, 529-530). His disguise as a lion or a leopard reveals the fierceness and savagery of the god (Eur. Bacch. 1017-1019; Anton. Lib. 10.2; Nonn. Dion. 40.43-60; Otero 2013: 333-334).

The merged image of the tiger and lion seems eccentric, although each features individually in Roman Bacchic mosaics: e.g. a savage lion bears the infant Dionysus in a mosaic of a procession from El Djem (Fig. 3)²; a tiger bears the infant Dionysus on his back in a mosaic from Bardo (Fig. 4); and four tigers lead a chariot in a mosaic from Sousse (Fig. 5)³. The image of Dionysus mounted or led by a panther or tiger also appears in mosaics from the Iberian Peninsula (Blázquez 1984: 1-2, 8, 10).

2 Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1996: 88-89 fig. 57. See also in the public domain: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:El_Jem_Museum_dionysos_procession_mosaics.jpg

3 Blanchard-Lemée 1996 et al.: 89-96, 100-101 figs. 58, 64. See also in the public domain: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sousse_museum_mosaic_animals.jpg



Figure 3
Dionysus procession, mosaic, Second Century AD, 120 x 260 cm. Found at the House of Dionysian Procession, Thysdrus (El Djem, Tunisia). El Djem (Tunisia), Archaeological Museum. Public Domain
Source: originally posted to Flickr as el jem museum mosaic dionysos procession
Author: Damian Entwisle https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:El_Jem_Museum_dionysos_procession_mosaics.jpg



Figure 4
Infant Dionysus riding tiger, mosaic from Acholla, Tunisia, Second Century AD, National Archeological Museum, Bardo, Tunisia. Public Domain
Source: Own work
Author: Jerzystrzelecki [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bardo\(js\)077.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bardo(js)077.jpg)

The hybrid image of the tiger and the lion discussed here presents an extreme representation, seemingly aimed at strengthening the savage Dionysian aspect.

This portrayal in the mosaic from Pompeii is reinforced by the images of the eight masks depicted between the vegetal marginal scrolls. The mask is a salient Dionysian object, appearing on Greek pottery and frequent in Roman mosaics. The mask symbolized the omnipresence of the god, his power, and the frenzy he induces upon his devotees, and the link between Dionysiac Mysteries and the ancient Theatre (Nilsson 1975: 74-78, 97-98; Otto 1981: 87-91; Frontisi-Ducroux 1989: 152-156, 163; See also in Villa of the Mysteries: Maiuri 1953:

Figure 5

Triumph of Bacchus, Ancient Roman mosaic, Third Century AD, Sousse Museum, Tunisia. Public Domain Source: <http://www.stoa.org/gallery/album21/P4140087>
 Author: Unknown https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Triumph_of_Bacchus_-_Sousse.jpg



50-63; Meyer 1987: 63-65; Hedgeson 1996: 235-276; Ling 1998: 101-104; Varone 2000: 106; Clarke 2003: 47-56).

Dionysian savagery is closely related to the main Dionysian practice – the Mysteries, which were secret rituals intended to bring about an illusion of merging with the Divine and of eternity in the afterlife. The Mysteries were widespread during the late Roman period, in the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD. During the ritual a great secret was revealed to the participants – the *mystai*, promising them proximity to the god and everlasting happiness after death. The procedure of consecration required entering a state of ecstasy in order to reach the state of *enthousiasmos* – of being one with the god. This ecstasy finds expression in the wild dancing of the Maenads and Satyrs, as depicted accompanying the believers to their sanctification on Greek Archaic and Classical pottery. The debauchery of the god's companions conveys the frenzy and ecstasy that overcome the devotees in order for them to unite with the Divine (Frontisi-Ducroux 1989: 154, 156; Kerényi 1996 (1976): 122, 123, 127, 128, 129, 130). In the course of the ritual a wild tumult erupts - *pandemonium*, which is the physical manifestation of the religious ecstasy. The wine, whose presence is dominant in the mosaic in the huge cup, is the device that enables this wild atmosphere. The intoxication caused by wine liberates the soul and induces an ecstasy that leads to the illusion of merging with the Divine. Dionysus is therefore a liberating god who enables the soul to regain its divine nature; and hence the god who realizes the Platonic vision of the illusion of uniting with the Divine (Bordoy 2013: 389, 391, 394, 398-399).

While Eros represents the urge of the human soul to experience the pursuit of the sublime, wine is the Dionysian device that enables realization of this urge. Since in his sober corporeal condition the human cannot view and experience the Divine, he needs some means by which to enter into the illusion of release from corporeality, as expressed by Plato:

“For all good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed. And as the Corymbantian revelers when they dance are not in their right mind, so the lyric poets are not in their right mind when they are composing their beautiful strains: but when falling under the power of music and

movement they are inspired and possessed; like Bacchic maidens who draw milk and honey from the rivers when they are under the influence of Dionysus but not when they are in their right mind” (Plat. Ion, 533-534).

The madness caused by Dionysus is a positive madness, since it enables the devotee to become *entheos* – to assimilate with the Divine (Eur. Bacch. 298-299; Plat. Phaidr. 264-265). Intoxication that derives from wine, being a controlled delusion, is therefore considered by Plato as a gift from the gods, and one that leads to *catharsis* – purification of the soul (Plat. Phaidr. 244-245; Lonsdale 1993: 79).

This view was expanded by Plotinus in Neo-Platonic thought. Accordingly, the origin of the soul is in the One (*hen*) in heaven, to which she constantly yearns to return. However, being corporeal, the only opportunity to experience an illusion of contemplating the One is through the removal of consciousness by means of a mysterious ecstasy, and wine is the device necessary to attain this ecstatic condition (Plot. enn. 5.8.10, 11; 6.9.4; 6.7.34-35; 6.9.9-11).

Conclusions

This study has focused on two kinds of hybrids depicted in the splendid mosaic from the Archeological Museum in Naples, and has sought to decipher the significances of these hybrids and their merging: a tiger with a lion; and its rider, which merges Eros with Dionysus and his attributes.

The premise underlying this study is that madness is a common feature to both Dionysus and Eros, and both divinities confer transcendence upon their devotees. These two common denominators would thus appear to be the reason for the merging of these two divinities, as examined here through an examination of classical literary and philosophical sources.

The image of the chubby, winged child seems to portray the figure of Eros, one of the mightiest gods in Antiquity, and under whose influence the soul enters into a state of madness, a state that is also the realm of the mighty god Dionysus.

The image of Dionysus in the mosaic is reinforced by the various attributes given to the figure. Savagery, as associated with Dionysus, is manifested in the mosaic by the hybrid feline and was part of the Dionysian practice, the Mysteries. The Dionysian ritual liberated the soul by means of intoxication attained through wine; and hence brought about ecstasy that led to an illusion of merging with the sublime Divine. Thus, Dionysus and his cult served as the means by which the Platonic and Neo-Platonic vision was realized, reinforced by Eros, whose attributes strengthen the spiritual role of Dionysus in connecting between the earthly and the Divine. In light of all the above, the image in the mosaic originally from Pompeii could be equally intended to represent a Dionysian Eros or an Erotic Dionysus.

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The Impact of Constantinopolitan Liturgy on the Mosaic Pavements in the Christian Basilicas in Thrace during the Second Half of 5th C.

5. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Trakya'daki Hristiyan Bazilikalarında Konstantinopolis Litürjisinin Mozaik Döşemelere Etkisi

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Abstract

The present article deals with changes that occurred in the arrangement of the mosaic floor decorations of two important basilicas located in the capitals of two provinces in Thrace – the Episcopal basilica at Philippopolis and the basilica at Herakleia, which are both dated to the second half of the 5th c. The study reveals that in these cases the changes were not a purely decorative issue with the introduction of a new trend in mosaic decoration. Instead, these were innovations that reflected the new importance of the areas marked by mosaic decoration, such as the 'entrance' in the atrium or narthex and the side aisles and their middle portions. It seems they were part of the introduction of the Constantinopolitan liturgy that emerged after the reassignment of Thrace to the jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan church pursuant to canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451. In order to avoid any misunderstandings, the new sites were marked by specific and clear Christians images. Dating to the second half of the 5th c., the Thracian examples are among the earliest so far attested and reveal the evolution of the Constantinopolitan liturgy before its completion, which is eventually attested in the monuments of the 6th c. in the capital and elsewhere.

Keywords: Liturgy, Constantinople, Thrace, Fourth Ecumenical council, Christian basilica.

Öz

Bu makale, iki eyaletin başkentinde yer alan ve her ikisi de 5. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenen Trakya'daki iki önemli bazilikanın, Philippopolis'teki Piskoposluk Bazilikası ve Herakleia'daki Bazilika'nın, mozaik zemin süslemelerinin düzenlenmesinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri ele almaktadır. Çalışma, bu durumlarda, mozaik süslemede yeni bir akımın ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte değişikliklerin salt dekoratif bir mesele olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bunun yerine, bu özellikler atrium veya narteksteki 'giriş' ve dış nefler ile bunların orta kısımları gibi mozaik bezeme ile işaretlenen alanların yeni önemini yansıtan yeniliklerdir. Görünüşe göre bunlar, 451'de Kalkedon'daki Dördüncü Ekümenik Konsil'in 28. kanonu uyarınca Trakya'nın Konstantinopolis kilisesinin yargı yetkisine yeniden verilmesinden sonra ortaya çıkan Konstantinopolis litürjisinin tanıtımının bir parçası gibi görünmektedir. Herhangi bir yanlış anlamadan kaçınmak için, yeni kentler belirli ve net Hristiyan sembolleri ile işaretlenmiştir. 5. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenen Trakya örnekleri, şimdiye kadar onaylanmış en erken örnekler arasındadır. Bu örnekler Konstantinopolis litürjisinin tamamlanmadan önceki evrim sürecini ortaya koymaktadır ve bu süreç sonunda başkentte ve başka yerlerde 6. yüzyıla ait anıtlarda kanıtlanmıştır.

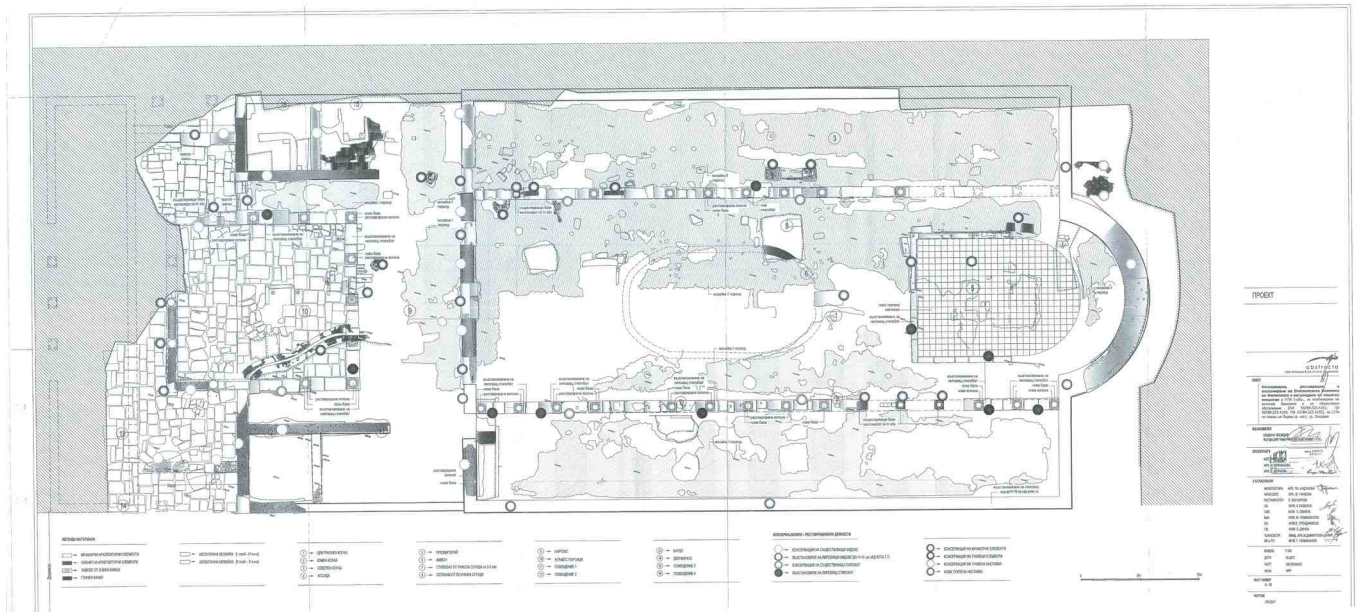
Anahtar Kelimeler: Liturji, Konstantinopolis, Trakya, Dördüncü Ekümenik konsil, Hristiyan bazilikası.

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It seems that the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis received a new mosaic pavement decoration very soon after the end of the Huns' invasions of Thrace in the third quarter of the 5th century. The mosaic covered the previously geometric ones in the naos, narthex, and rooms in the southern and northern part of the atrium (Fig. 1). As the new mosaic pavement still awaits full publication¹, a brief description is needed for the purpose of this study.²

Figure 1
General layout of the uncovered mosaic pavement in the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis (after Tankova 2017: 324 fig. 1).



The mosaic floor was carried out in mixed techniques: *opus vermiculatum*, *opus tessellatum*, and *opus sectile*. While the *opus sectile* was used only once in the altar area, the combination of the other two techniques featured in the decoration that covered the rest of the complex's floors. The new pavement surface was broken up in a sequence of three panels in the side aisles and central nave. Some other smaller panels are located on both sides of the altar area to the north and south and in the apse (Pillinger et al. 2016: 216). The iconography of the first panel in the nave consists of two compositions: a small entirely geometric scene at the center of the ambo and geometric patterns combined with images of birds, a vessel (a krater or kantharos), and a bucket. A certain sequence in the inclusion of these items cannot be established in either the horizontal or vertical row. The birds are presented individually or as a pair, free or caged, with and without plants, etc., within geometrically framed squares (Décor I: pl. 69f). Despite the numerous images (more than 70), only a few species are presented: an eagle, a peacock, a galeeny, a hen, and a duck. The second panel is filled with polychrome orthogonal pattern of circles interlooped tangentially (Décor I: pl. 235a) with a 'diamond' and a stylized rosette. The third panel consists of a polychrome orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, which form saltires and concave squares with circles (Décor I: pl. 238e - variant). All of the panels are framed by a general border filled with ivy scroll pattern with or without grapes. The first panel has a frame of its own.

The iconography of the mosaic pavements in the side aisles is symmetrical, with

1 The mosaics have been published in Kesjakova 2011: 173-210; Pillinger et al. 2016: 198-220; Popova 2016: 163-166; Kantareva-Decheva 2017: 220-227; 2018: 365-372; Popova 2018: 138-140 and bibliography cited there.

2 An aerial view of the mosaics in the nave and north aisle is available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Basilica,_Plovdiv#/media/File:Basilica_Philippopol_3.png (consulted on March, 6th, 2021).

two heavily elongated panels on both sides of a smaller square in the center (Fig. 2). The overall motif is the image in the central panel - that of the 'Fountain of Life' (*fons vitae*) with two peacocks resting on both sides of a fountain in the form of a kantharos (Fig. 3). The picturesque nature of this scene is achieved through polychromy as well as redundantly decorated organic elements. The orientation of both scenes is west-south. As in the first panel in the nave, these panels have another frame of their own.

Figure 2
The south aisle of the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis with the small square panel in the center (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 154 Abb. 401).



Figure 3
The *Fons vitae* in the south aisle of the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis (after Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 158 Abb. 409).



These central panels were without a doubt the focus of the side aisles' mosaic floor decoration. In the other panels in which figural motifs are presented, they are in much smaller scale and more humbly presented as an ordinary element of the whole decoration (Fig. 4). These images consist of a polychrome grid-pattern of Heracles' knots (Décor I: pl. 254f) with the space between filled with a kantharos, a wicker basket of fruits (probably pears or apples), birds, and stylized rosettes with four petals.



Figure 4
A detail from the western panel of the mosaic pavement in the south aisle of the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis (Pillinger et al. 2016: taf. 156 Abb. 405).

The same iconography filled the eastern panel in the northern aisle. The decoration in the western panel in the northern aisle is different. It is a variant of the polychrome orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, which form saltires and concave squares with circles that are similar to those in the western panel of the nave (Décor I: pl. 238e - variant).

The mosaic floor in the narthex is more elaborate. It focuses on a central panel located in front of the main entrance. This panel holds the representation of a peacock with a spread tail facing eastward (Fig. 5) (Popova 2018: 158 pl. IV, 1).

Although the mosaic decoration of Philippopolis' episcopal basilica has not yet been entirely published, it has already been discussed with regard to several aspects such as its date (Kesjakova 2011: 193-194; Pillinger et al. 2016: 220; Popova 2018: 164-165; Topalilov 2020b: 259-262), the sequence of its respective panels' construction (Kantareva-Decheva 2018: 370-372), its importance for liturgical practices (Popova 2016: 163-166; 2018: 138-142; 147-150), defining mosaic ateliers (Kesjakova 2011: 194; Popova 2016: 164-165; Topalilov 2016a: 185-186), and problems of iconography and parallels (see most recently in Pillinger et al. 2016: 198-220; Popova 2016: 163-166; 2018: 138-140, 144-148). It is now assumed that the whole basilica received a new mosaic floor in the third quarter of the 5th century and more specifically in the 50s-60s of the century.³ This new flooring covered the old mosaic pavement in all parts of the complex. It is also suggested that two different mosaic ateliers were involved in the mosaic pavements' construction. Thus, the first panel with figures in the naos is thought to be the work either of a metropolitan mosaic atelier or of a local Thracian atelier with strong Constantinopolitan influence (Popova 2016: 165). The mosaic

³ Until the full publication of the results of the latest archaeological excavations the dates as well as the phases proposed in the literature – see Kantareva-Decheva 2018 remain unverifiable.



Figure 5
The image of the peacock in the atrium
(after <https://www.enjoy-plovdiv.com/en/blog/great-basilica-of-philippopolis>) (last consulted on March, 5, 2021).

pavement in the north and south aisle are considered to be the work of another similar atelier. To these craftsmen should be also attributed the panel with the image of the peacock in the narthex (Popova 2016: 165 n. 41). It is noteworthy that both of these mosaic ateliers are still unattested archaeologically. It has been suggested, however, that all of the geometrical panels in the northern aisle and central nave were made by local mosaicists (Topalilov 2021).

The replacement of the almost entirely preserved, earlier geometrical mosaic pavement raises the question of the reasons for this change. The large dimensions of the new mosaic program (more than 800 m sq.) suggests that it was a deliberate change that was intended to convey a new message rather than to simply repair the previous floor. This impression is also prompted by the fact that in another basilica that was built in Philippopolis around 475 CE, the so-called 'Small basilica,' geometrical compositions not only prevail in the iconography of the basilica's mosaic floors but figural motifs are also entirely missing (Fig. 6) (Bospachieva 2002: 55-76; Pillinger et al. 2016: 227-239). Moreover, a major feature of the new program is the focus on the centers of the side aisles and of the narthex where the entrance is located. Specific images are placed at these key junctions in the mosaic decoration, such as the 'Fountain of life' and the full peacock, respectively, which present a sharp contrast to the rest of the mosaic decoration.

Indeed, these type of changes in mosaic decorative programs did not spread widely. For instance, they are not attested in the mosaics of the Christian basilicas in central and southern Greece, on the islands (see the corpora of Atzaka 1974; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987), or along the West Asianic coast

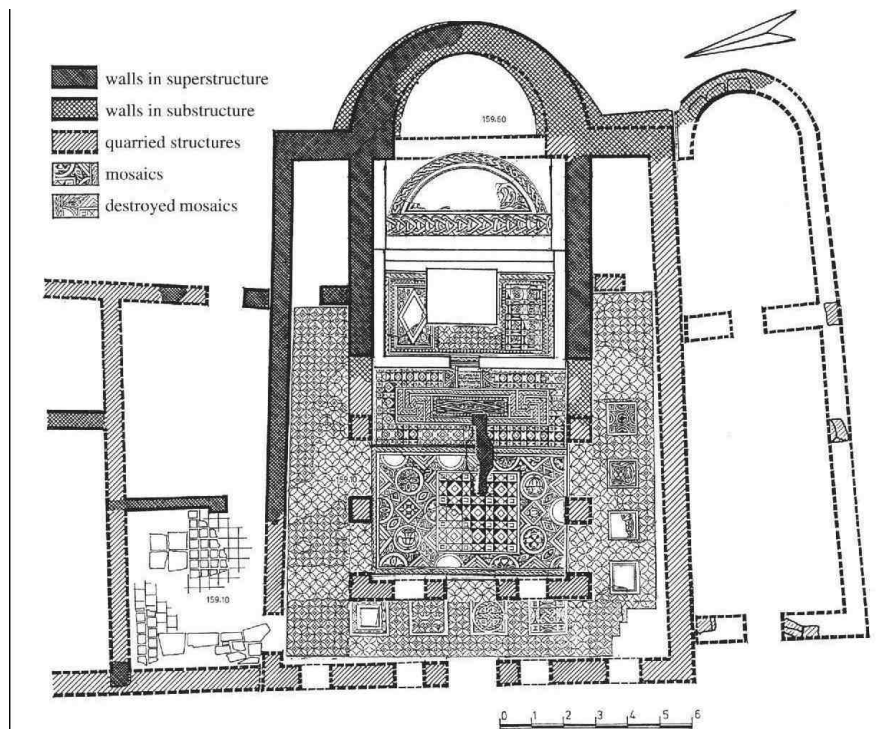
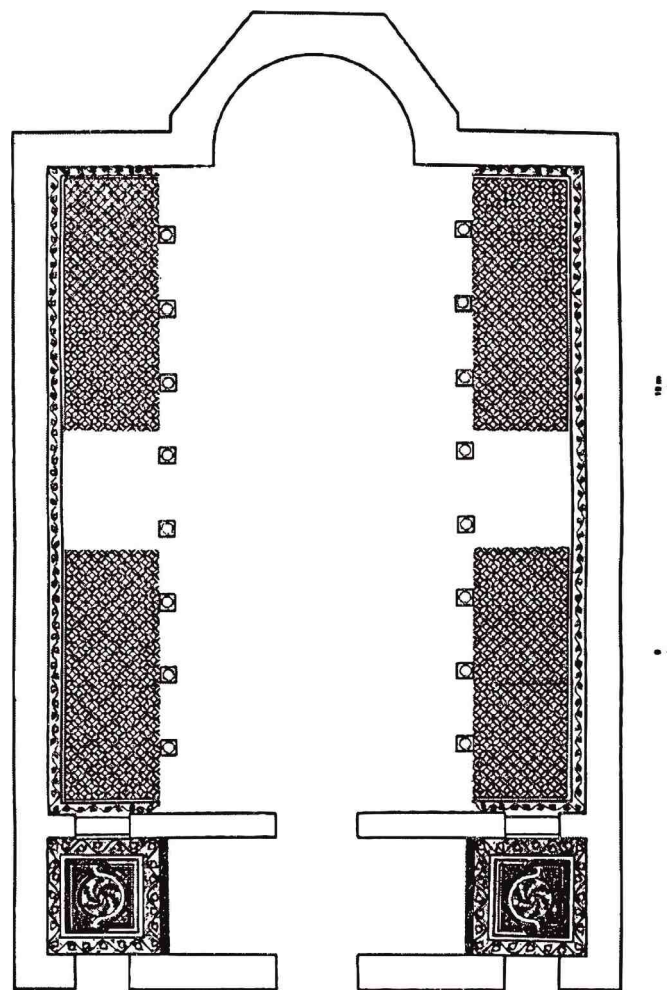
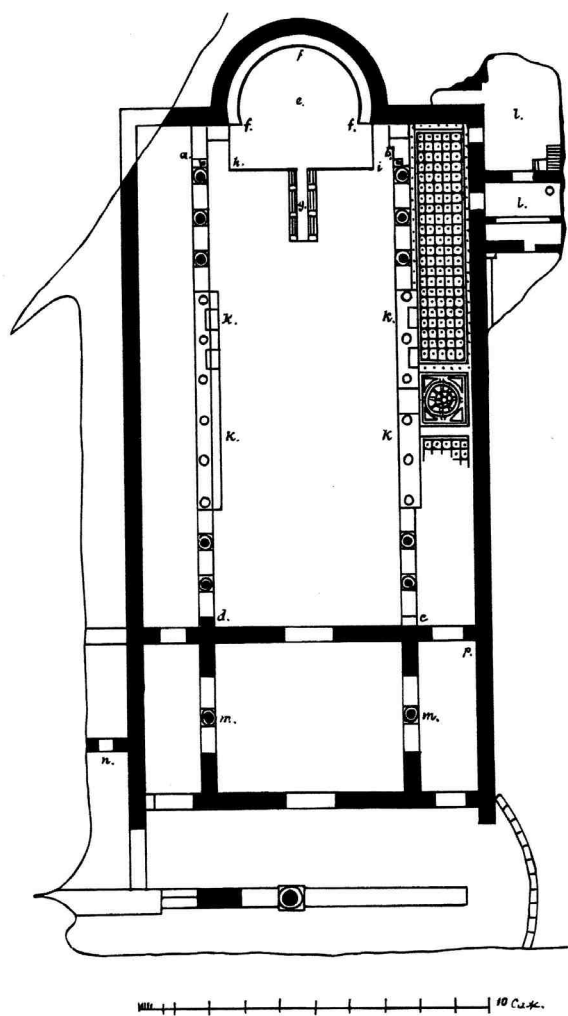


Figure 6
General layout of the mosaic pavements of the so-called "Small basilica" in Philippopolis (after Pillinger et al. 2016: Taf. 164 Abb. 422).

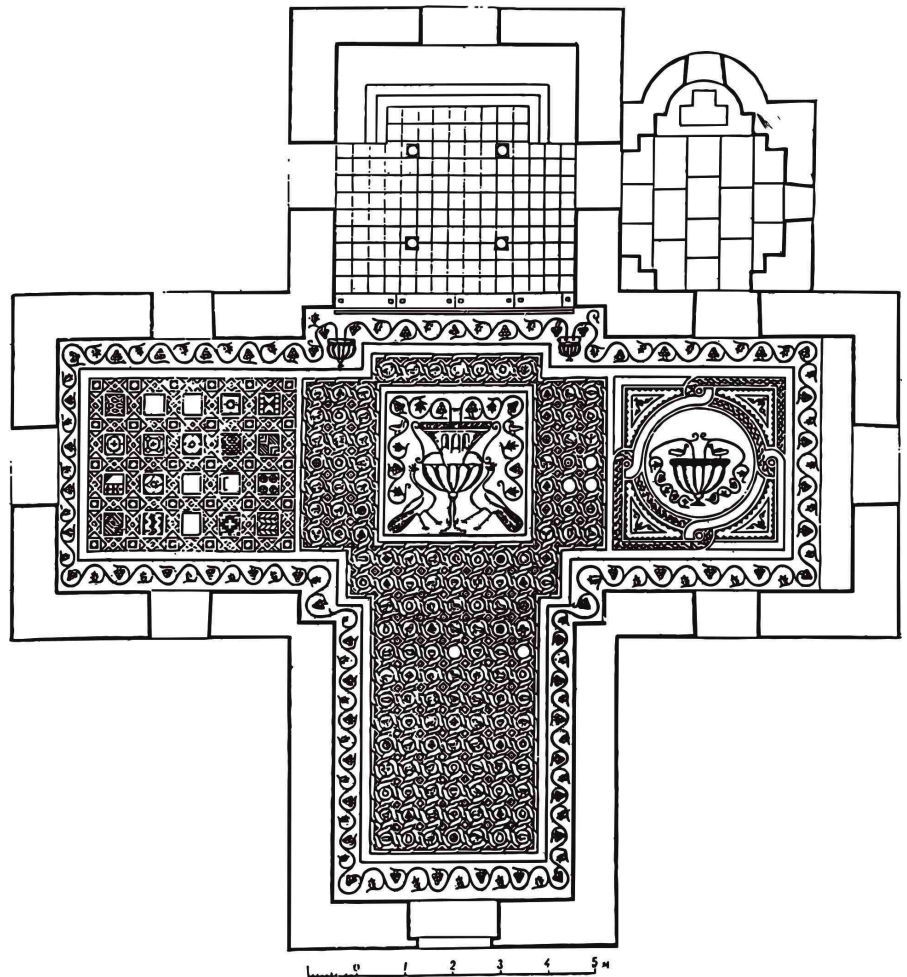
Figure 7
General layout of mosaic pavement of the "basilica Uvarov" at Chersonesus Taurica (after Dombrovskii 2004: 31).

Figure 8
General layout of mosaic pavement of the basilica No 14 at Chersonesus Taurica (after Biernacki et al. 2004: 46).



(Scheibelreiter-Gail 2011). They are, however, attested in some particular places such as the basilica at Heraklea (former Perinthos), the so-called basilica 'A' at Amphipolis dated in the second quarter of the 6th c. (Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2017: 362-364 pls. 333-337), and the basilicas at Chersonese Taurica in Crimea, which include the so-called 'basilica Uvarov' dated to the second half of the 5th c. (Fig. 7) (Pülz 1998: 48-50; Biernacki et al. 2004: 74), the so-called 'basilica No 14' (Fig. 8) (Biernacki et al. 2004: 45), and the cross-shaped *memoria* dated to the second quarter of the 6th century (Fig. 9) (Pülz 1998: 70-71; Biernacki et al. 2004: 94). Of particular interest for our study is the basilica at Herakleia since it is not only closer geographically to the basilica in Philippopolis – it is in the same diocese – but also chronologically. In fact, the similarities in the iconography of both basilicas' mosaic pavements has already been observed in the literature (Popova 2016: 165; Topalilov 2016a: 185-187; Westphalen 2016: 108-110). For the need of this study, a brief overview of the mosaic pavements of Herakleia's basilica is called for.

Figure 9
General layout of the cross-shaped *memoria*
with mosaic floor at Chersonesus Taurica
(after Dombrovskii 2004: 66 plan 10).



The mosaic of Herakleia's basilica, which St. Westphalen recently published in full (Fig. 10), was carried out in *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile*, the latter of which was found in the atrium's chapel (Yeşil-Erdek 2014: 63, 69, 71-73; Westphalen 2016: 86). In the side aisles, the mosaics present a three-panel floor decoration with a central square as its focal point. The south aisle holds an image of a full peacock (Fig. 11) while the north one is filled with a *fons vitae* with two peacocks resting on both edges of a chalice (Fig. 12) (Westphalen 2016: Abb. 176-181). In comparison to the mosaic decoration of Philippopolis'

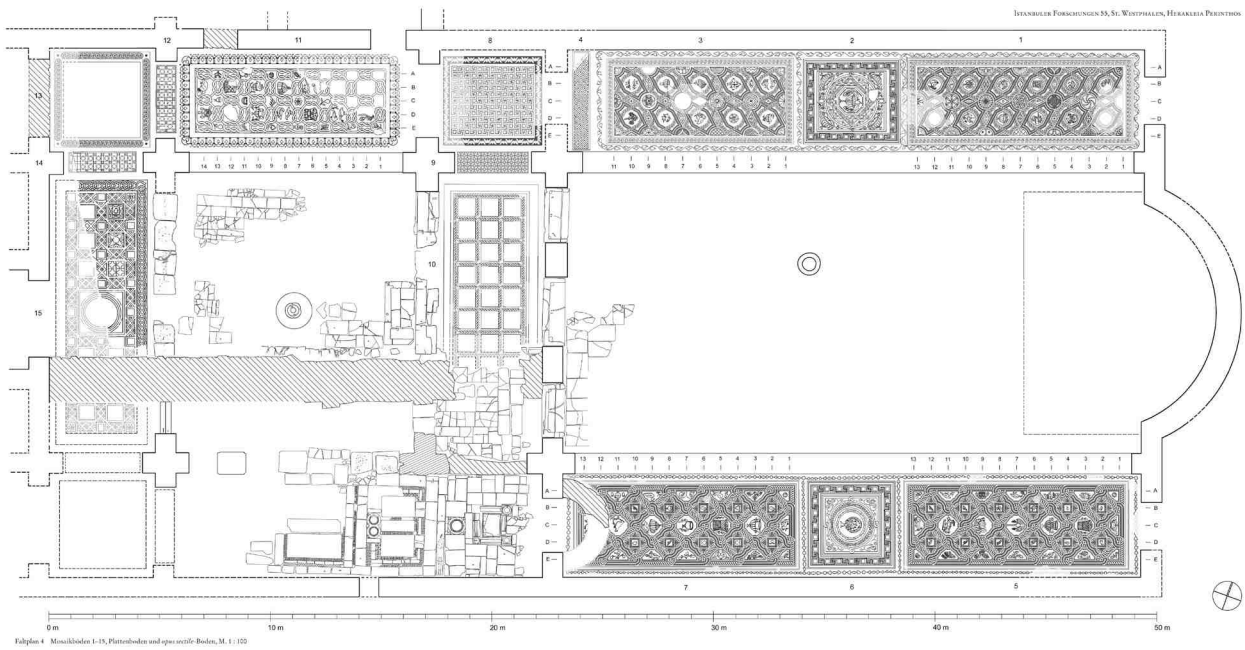


Figure 10
General layout of the mosaic pavements of
the Herakleian basilica



Figure 11
The medallion in the center of the south
aisle in the Herakleian basilica
(after Westphalen 2016: Abb. 177).



Figure 12
The medallion in the center of the north
aisle in the Herakleian basilica (after
Westphalen 2016: Abb. 176).



Figure 13
The “entrance” medallion image of the atrium of the Herakleian basilica (after Westphalen 2016: Abb. 236).

basilica, there are some differences in the geometric schemes and some of the figures included in the mosaics of Herakleia’s basilica. These mosaics’ central panels are also somewhat different. For example, a peacock is set at the center of the southern aisle of Herakleia’s basilica, and the *‘fons vitae’* motif appears dissimilar to that which appears in the mosaics of Philippopolis’ basilica. Despite these differences, it is clear that the main idea remains the same: the mosaic decorations at both basilicas center on key scenes in the side aisles.

Another point of focus is the ‘entrance’ panel of the mosaic pavement in the atrium, which is oriented toward the atrium and decorated with a chalice with a small pouring stream (Fig. 13) (Yeşil-Erdek 2014: 71 fig. 7; Westphalen 2016: 197 Abb. 236). A discrepancy may also be observed between both examples under consideration in terms of the image of a full peacock, which is in the narthex in Philippopolis and the chalice which is in the atrium in Herakleia.

The construction of the Herakleian basilica is dated to 450-480 CE based on the significant similarities between this basilica and the monastery basilica of St. John in Studion (Westphalen 2016: 27-77).⁴ This date is supported by the archaeological material and specifics of the architectural decoration of Herakleia’s basilica (Westphalen 2016: 15). Despite the lack of the typical polygonal outer wall of the apse, the measurements, plan, proportions, and architecture of Herakleia’s basilica follow those of the basilica of St. John in Studion in Constantinople, which undoubtedly reveals that the construction of the Herakleian basilica was heavily influenced by Constantinople.

The atelier that made the mosaic pavement of Herakleia’s basilica, however, is still under debate. Thus, St. Westphalen believes that the mosaic pavements in both Philippopolis’ and Herakleia’s basilicas were produced by a Thracian atelier (Westphalen 2016: 109 n. 149). V. Popova expresses a different opinion. As mentioned above, she believes that the mosaic in the side aisles was laid by a still archaeologically unattested metropolitan atelier⁵ or one strongly influenced by Constantinople. She further asserts that this craftsman produced some mosaics in Philippopolis – viz. the south aisle of the Episcopal basilica and on Puschkin Str. (Popova 2016: 165 n. 41). The mosaics of Philippopolis and Herakleia’s basilicas, however, differ iconographically in some aspects and perhaps chronologically as well. For example, the Philippopolis mosaics are more nuanced in terms of shading, viz. the figural passages, with a greater range of geometric patterns. The Philippopolis and Herakleia peacocks are also differently conceived, with the former featuring straight feathers and the latter curved ones. It remains unclear to me which scenario is more likely: that an itinerant atelier influenced by Constantinople and based in Thrace executed the jobs or that they were carried out by ateliers based in the capital who travelled around to execute high-level projects.⁶ In either case, different completion dates for these projects would explain differences in style and execution. What is clear, however, is that in the second half of the 5th century in some specific areas like both provincial capitals in the diocese of Thrace and Crimea, a new iconographic program was introduced in important Christian basilicas that later also spread

4 On the date of construction of the monastery in Studion – see Mango 1978: 115-122; Peschlow 1982: 429-334.

5 On the archaeological record of floor mosaics in Constantinople - see Dalgıç 2008; 2010: 127-134; 2011: 223-235; 2015: 15-48.

6 Indeed, texts do not support the idea of floor mosaic ateliers based in the capital travelling around to execute high-level projects, but this possibility should not be excluded as we are aware of similar cases with the wall mosaic ateliers, such as the Umayyad wall mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus, though debated.

other areas such as around Thessalonica. In this program, important locations in the basilica – the ‘entrance area’ in either the narthex or atrium and the centers of the side aisles – are highlighted through the introduction of specific images. Such images prominently include a kantharos or chalice with two peacocks resting on both edges, a peacock with a spread tail, and a single chalice, all of which are emphasized by their placement at the center of a special medallion and by their bigger size, polychromy, and lavishness. It seems, then, that the mosaic programs of both Philippopolis and Herakleia’s basilicas belong to an intermediate period in the development of the iconography of the ecclesiastic floor mosaic. This decorative flooring was initially treated as a unit with a purely ornamental pattern but in the 6th c. was commonly subdivided into a sequence of panels dominated by various enclosed animals, plants, fruits, and objects (Maguire 1987: 83; Raynaud 2009: 138-139 n. 24, 31). The mixed figural and geometric designs of the mosaic programs in Herakleia and Philippopolis’s basilicas corroborate a date in this transitional span of time.

The interpretation of these motifs in both places have already been discussed in the literature. Thus, for the Herakleian motifs St. Westphalen suggested that the peacocks should be associated with the common symbolism of immortality and eternal life, and the chalice and wine in the northern medallion can be understood in the Eucharistic sense (Westphalen 2016: 109-110).⁷ On the other hand, the *fons vitae* in the southern aisle of Philippopolis’ basilica is interpreted by V. Popova in connection with the new cult to Mary that emerged during the reign of Leo I (457-474) – that of Mary the Life-Giving Spring (or Life-giving Font). Popova believes that the dimensions of the vessel and its dominating presence is reminiscent of the basin with the Virgin blessing and embracing the Child that is found in Medieval and Revival period icons. As it was not appropriate at the time to depict the Mother of God on the floor, she assumes that the image of the kantharos itself symbolized this cult of Mary and that the entire aisle was devoted to Mary (Popova 2016: 164-166, 174). Given the nature of the cult, its introduction and spread in Thrace should undoubtedly be regarded as a direct influence from Constantinople (Popova 2018: 148). As for the image of the peacock in the narthex of the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis (Fig. 5), this image is linked with the Eucharist, and the reverse orientation of the image is in accordance with the position of a bishop facing the laity that gathered in the atrium during the rite (Popova 2018: 140).

Certainly, the Christian reinterpretation of the motifs dominating the mosaic pavements in the side aisles, narthex and atrium in both basilicas is not a foregone conclusion. As is well evidenced, the use of various motifs (including those from the everyday life) in ecclesiastical floor decoration is not uncommon practice, and both mosaics under discussion provide good examples for this with the incorporation of local birds and other motifs in the geometric patterns. The fact that the scenes of the kantharos/chalice with two peacocks resting on both edges, of a peacock with a spread tail, and of a single chalice dominate the mosaic floor in particular areas of the basilica complex in the manner described above clearly points out to me that they have been placed due to their *interpretatio christiana* and belong to a new iconographic repertoire for ecclesiastic mosaic decoration. If we accept, however, the above-mentioned interpretation regarding the cult to Mary, the image of the cup (chalice) depicted at the center of the northern aisle of the Herakleian basilica is more suggestive of this cult rather than the image in the Philippopolitan mosaic with its two-stage structure. The depiction of the

7 The image of the kantharos turned into a fountain by the depiction of a small stream, which is enclosed in the medallion of the “entrance” mosaic to the atrium, remains undiscussed.

kantharos-fountain may also resemble the Eucharistic chalice in a form that is attested elsewhere.⁸

Although the Christian interpretation of the motifs under consideration is debatable⁹, it seems that the new iconographic program emphasizes the greater importance that the entrance and side aisles gained in the second half of the 5th century in a way that became common in the next century.¹⁰ The deliberate use of figural ornamentation and scenes in special medallions in these areas is in sharp contrast to the geometric decoration floor that covered the rest of both basilicas.

These newly decorated parts, however, played important roles in some rituals that were vital to the Constantinopolitan liturgy, such as the processions revealed by the writings of its bishops Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom. Unsurprisingly, Christian basilicas at that time “consisted of a succession of expansive spaces opening into one another and lighted from all sides: atrium, aisles, galleries, and nave,” and the liturgy itself was a “liturgy of processions” (Mathews 1982: 125). This is clearly visible in one of the most important ceremonies, that of the “First Entrance,” in which initially all the faithful participated. The bishop received acclamation by the laity that gathered at the atrium, and after the clergy performed the rites of entry in the narthex, everyone simultaneously entered the naos led by the bishop (Mathews 1971: 144-145; Taft 1992: 33-34).¹¹ The laity entered the church through several doors, the so-called “Little Entrance,” at the same time as the clerical procession led by the bishop, which allowed them to witness the procession itself (Mathews 1971: 138-145; Taft 1992: 33-34; 1998: 59-60). In the case with Philippopolis, we may assume that the bishop entered the naos through the main entrance, while the rest of the clergy by the side doors of the main entrance.¹² Similar is the ‘Great Entrance’ when bread and wine was carried in and the deacons also carried in holy elements with incense and candles, around which the faithful prostrated (on the ceremony and its development – see Mathews 1971: 155-176; Taft 1975; Mathews 1982: 125-126).

The processions, however, were not only confined only to the limits of the basilica. Herakleia and Philippopolis were without any doubt among these cities where the lithian and other type of processions were practiced, such as the stationary liturgy led by the local bishop. The proximity of Constantinople where these processions were very popular (Baldovin 1987: 167-226), the direct influence of the Constantinopolitan bishop over that of Philippopolis (which is attested in the literary sources as is noted below), and the specific development of the political and religious process in Thrace, viz. the Gothic wars and Arianic past, were all crucial factors for the implementation of the Constantinopolitan liturgy in local religious life. Archaeology provides a clue for one of these processions in Philippopolis, which started from the imposing conch martyrion that was located some 70 m off the *porta triumphalis* and dedicated to the 38 martyrs of Philippopolis and Byzie. This procession continued through the gate and up the new main street of the city, which was 24 m wide and lavishly decorated on

8 See the examples and literature provided in Raynaud - Islami 2018: 234-236.

9 See for this Bisconti 2000; Bisconti - Gentili 2007.

10 See for example Kitzinger 1977; Cvetković-Tomašević 1978; Perseng 2021: 338-348.

11 This is also proved by the lack of numerous additional entrances in the north and south wall in both basilicas. Unlike the naos, however, this may be applied to the atrium of the Herakleian basilica. On the examples from Greece, see Caraher 2003: 100-101.

12 The three entrances of the naos in the Philippopolitan basilica are clearly distinguished in the mosaic floor – the central marked with the image of the peacock while the rest – by geometric panels.

both sides with double-stored porticoes, and then finally reached the Episcopal basilica directly or via the *domus episcopalis* that is located just 30 m north of the basilica and linked by a special *cardo*, which was constructed regardless of the existing street-grid.¹³ The procession reached the monumental *propylaea* of the Episcopal basilica's main entrance and ended in the atrium where some liturgical actions were pursued, as we can assume by the altar found there *in situ* (on the inscription on the altar - see Sharankov 2018: 731).¹⁴ The gathering of the laity at the atrium allowed the bishop to address them, and the image of the full peacock in the central medallion in the narthex mosaic may mark his place given the orientation of the figure itself.

Although there is no direct evidence yet for these processions at Herakleia, the mosaic floor decoration implies the involvement of the basilica in such liturgical activities. As was already mentioned, the Herakleian 'entrance' mosaic is decorated with a chalice with a small pouring stream and is oriented toward the atrium (Yeşil-Erdek 2014: 71 fig. 7; Westphalen 2016: 197 Abb. 236). This "*sacro fonte*" clearly marks the entrance of the basilica for processions of the faithful that began outside the basilica under the guidance of the bishop or another member of the clergy (Mathews 1971: 138-147). The symbol on the floor mosaic indicates the solemn entrance of the faithful and processions into the basilica. It is known that the ceremony itself was among the spectacular events that drew crowd's eager to see how the clergy entered the church (John of Ephesus HE, 3.3).

As was noted above, the Constantinopolitan liturgy was the 'liturgy of processions.' The simultaneous entrance of the laity with the bishop in the 'First entrance' and the 'Little entrance,' the former in the side aisles and the latter in the central nave, allowed the people to witness the clerical procession and so reveals the importance that the side aisles of the basilica gained at that time. By this, the laity were undoubtedly included in the liturgy, especially given the fact that they also experienced the liturgy when they watched the clergy walk down the nave and around the altar (Caraher 2003: 106-110). Processions are now an important part of the liturgy itself. It is unclear, however, if this area was also a processional space as suggested in the literature in the case of the southern aisle of the Episcopal basilica in Philippopolis.¹⁵

Although fragmented, this evidence reveals a possible connection between the mosaic floor decoration and the liturgy. Both the mosaics and the liturgy emphasize particular parts of the basilica in the side aisles and narthex/atrium, the former by focusing attention on specific areas through the use of charged Christian symbols and the latter by including these areas into various rituals. This novelty is clearly attested when compared with the iconography of the older, entirely geometric mosaic pavement in the Philippopolitan basilica, which still found its place in the new iconography.

If all this is correct, we may go further and discuss the function of one of the rooms in the atrium of the basilicas at both Philippopolis and Herakleia. The so-called "room C" located in the southern portico at Philippopolis received

13 On the bishop's residence – see Dinchev 2002: 223 n. 15; Bospachieva 2003; Valeva 2011: 36-41; Pillinger et al. 2016: 174-198; Topalilov 2018; Popova 2021, on the Eastern Gate complex – see Martinova-Kjutova - Sharankov 2014; Topalilov 2016c; 2020a, on the road - see Martinova-Kjutova - Pirovska 2011; Topalilov 2016b.

14 On monumental entrances and churches see Yasin 2017.

15 See for this V. Popova who assumes that the Fountain of Life mosaic implies glorification through a procession that stopped at this place and after that entered the naos from the south aisle (Popova 2016: 164).

geometric decoration that held images of a kantharos and a basket with breads (Fig. 14), and the room in the northern portico of the Herakleian basilica had a mosaic that had depictions of a kantharos and basket among other figural motifs (Figs. 10, 15). The mosaic decoration of both places is in sharp contrast to that of the rest of the atrium, which was decorated entirely with geometric mosaics. The exact function of these ancillary rooms remains unclear, but this may have been the place where the wine and bread for the Eucharist was stored before it was carried into the naos.¹⁶

Figure 14
Fragment of the mosaic floor of room "C"
in the atrium of the Episcopal basilica in
Philippopolis (Archive: E. Kessjakova).



¹⁶ Indeed, the wine and bread were typically stored in a side room on the east side of the basilica, usually at the end of the aisles. However, no indication of such subdivision is attested at both basilicas, nor implied somehow, for example, by the floor decoration or the lack of it, as is well attested in other similar cases including in Philippopolis itself with the so-called 'Small basilica'.



Figure 15
The mosaic floor of the room in the northern room of the atrium in the Herakleian basilica (after Westphalen 2016: Abb. 231).

Indeed, this review of the changes that occurred in the mosaic decoration in two basilicas in two important provincial capitals in Thrace – Herakleia and Philippopolis – from the middle to third quarter of the 5th c. is far from complete. Although the exact meanings of the symbols used in the basilicas' mosaics are debatable, it is clear that their use underlined the importance of the side aisles and the 'entrance' area. It is also clear that these parts of the basilicas gained new importance in the Constantinopolitan liturgy that was established in the late 4th century. Given the close geographic proximity and the influence of the Constantinopolitan bishop in both centers, which in Philippopolis is attested in the literary sources,¹⁷ one wonders if these changes are not due to the spread of the metropolitan liturgy in the hinterland. It should be underlined that these are not the only novelties found in Thrace that have been heavily affected by innovations at Constantinople.¹⁸ The almost simultaneous appearance of these changes in the third quarter of 5th century may imply that they were deliberately introduced and spread in Thrace and so were a part of a well-organized process rather than phenomena that were accidentally introduced. The structures in which these changes were found, in our case the Episcopal basilica in the Thracian capital Philippopolis and a basilica in Herakleia the capital of the province of *Eurōpē*, were among the most important in the provinces. In fact, the former basilica is probably the biggest in the diocese of Thrace while the latter is closely linked architecturally to Constantinople. The introduction of the new concept in the iconography of the mosaic pavement was made either by metropolitan ateliers or ateliers influenced by them; the former scenario seems preferable. It seems a full integration of Thrace into the metropolitan liturgy was sought, which could be regarded as a consequence of the expansion of the metropolitan jurisdiction officially after canon 28 at the Fourth Ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451 CE. This canon states:

'so that, in the Pontic, the Asian, and the Thracian dioceses, the

17 In this case it is about the request of the Philippopolitan bishop Sylanus who asked the metropolitan bishop Aticus to be removed from Philippopolis to another place with a mild climate, which dates to the first half of the 5th century – see for this Sokr. 7.36, 37.

18 The introduction of the polygonal outer shape of the apse, for example, is one of best attested, and accordingly the semi-circular shape of already existing basilicas were remodeled to obtain the new form – see for these churches in Chaneva-Dechevska 1999. The example with the so-called 'basilica no. 3' is very significant in this aspect – for the basilica see Madzharov 1993: 130-132. Among the other novelties is the emergence of the small chapel attached to the narthex that also dates to this time – see the examples in Chaneva-Dechevska 1999: 102-104.

metropolitans only and such bishops also of the Dioceses aforesaid as are among the barbarians, should be ordained by the aforesaid most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople; every metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses, together with the bishops of his province, ordaining his own provincial bishops, as has been declared by the divine canons; but that, as has been above said, the metropolitans of the aforesaid Dioceses should be ordained by the archbishop of Constantinople, after the proper elections have been held according to custom and have been reported to him'.¹⁹

By this decision, the council confirmed *de jure* an already existing situation with the appointment of the highest church clergy in the area by Constantinople's bishop. The aforementioned case with the Philippopolitan bishop Sylvanus is a good example of this. The already established close link between Thracian Christian communities and Constantinople may date back to the time of Theodosius I when firm control over the provinces in Thrace was required due to their "Arianic" past and the so-called "Gothic Wars." It seems that if it was not the emperor himself, it was the bishop in Constantinople, whom he installed, who was involved in the process of appointing local Thracian bishops loyal to the emperor and to the Nicene creed and who therefore controlled church matters and communities in Thrace. The result of this development can be observed in the support that the Christians in Thrace provided to the metropolitan bishop Nestorius (428-431) and his doctrine, which may also be due to the "Arianic" past of these lands.

With canon 28, this Constantinopolitan domination was embodied also in the local liturgy, which was subject to some change because of the simple reason that new clergy came from Constantinople with different liturgical rites. On top of the fact that Thrace was under the official jurisdiction of Constantinople's bishop, all the events and changes echoed in Thrace, including the establishment of new cults, rites, and evolution of the liturgy and architecture, concerned new liturgical demands. In fact, we may assume that from the second half of the 5th c. onward, the provincial structures may provide a good deal of information of metropolitan prototypes that are not preserved or have not yet been discovered.

The evidence available, although scanty, promotes questions concerning the material manifestation of the mechanism of integration in the traditions of certain provinces and respective churches and their liturgical life and concerning the direct and indirect metropolitan influences on art in the hinterland. In our case the importance of the latter question is exemplified by the introduction of new iconography in mosaic flooring that was executed either by a metropolitan mosaic atelier or by ateliers under the influence of Constantinople. Above all, though, it is clear enough that mosaic floor decoration started to play a significant active role in the liturgy of the Christian basilicas in certain regions. Indeed, some skepticism is expressed in the literature about the possible link between the images and liturgy, as is the case with the chalice and kantharos decorating the aisles of the Herakleian basilica (Westphalen 2016: 109-110). There is also the unclear case of the chalice and wine scene in the northern medallion of this basilica (Westphalen 2016: 109-110). The possible correlation between the particular

19 Canon 28: Ut et Ponticae, et Asianae, et Thraciae dioeceseos metropolitani soli: praeterea et qui sunt in barbarico, episcopi praedictarum dioeceseon ordinentur a praedicto sanctissimo throno sanctissimae Constantinopolitanae Ecclesiae. Nimirum unoquoque metropolita earum ipsarum dioeceseon, una cum episcopis provinciae ordinante provinciae episcopos, ut divinis canonibus promulgatum est. Metropolitans vero earum dioeceseon, sicut dictum est, ordinari a Constantinopolitano archiepiscopo, electionibus convenientibus secundum morem factis, et ad eum perlatis (Schwartz 1936).

areas that received more remarkable floor decoration and those that gained more importance in the Constantinopolitan liturgy since the last quarter of 4th century is a crucial for understanding the proposed link between the decoration and liturgy. Examples dating to the third quarter of the 5th century, such as those in Herakleia and Philippopolis' episcopal basilicas, are among the first such cases when these innovations were not yet conceptualized. It was done as late as 475 CE as the iconography of the so-called 'Small basilica' in Philippopolis reveals, for which also a metropolitan influence is also suggested in the literature. The examples under consideration here thus present an intermediate period in this development that would find its complete form in the next century. Thrace and Chersonesos Taurica provide examples for these new changes that were inspired by Constantinople, given also the direct influence of the metropolis in the northern region. I have no doubt that examples of these changes can also be found in other regions in the empire, especially these included in canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical council. One should here call to mind the so-called 'Constantinopolitan' type of churches that spread in Syria at that time and later (see for example the study of Mulholland 2014). One should also look to other regions that were linked closely with Constantinople at that time, such as the area of Thessalonica and its hinterland. In this area, changes in mosaic floor decoration like those discussed here may be observed in monuments from the 6th century. I admit that the scanty evidence now available is not yet compelling, but I do hope, however, that this study will help address questions concerning the links between the Constantinopolitan liturgy and episcopal architecture and floor and wall decoration in Thrace.

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Roman Mosaics of Antequera. An Overview

Antequera'nın Roma Mozaikleri. Genel Bir Bakış

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Abstract

The present-day city of Antequera, in the province of Malaga, Spain, dominates an extensive territory encompassing numerous archaeological sites from different eras. The urban centres of Singilia Barba, Anticaria and Aratíspi, belong to the Roman period, now only offering us two mosaics, and a good number of rural properties, from which most of the set of Antequera mosaics come.

Within the Antequeran mosaic repertoire, the geometric mosaic occupies a special place, with specimens of great beauty and excellent design, for example those in the majestic Roman villa of La Estación. From a figurative point of view, Antequera has beautiful specimens, such as the Oceanus mosaic of the baths of Santa María and that of the Eroses and Priapus figures of the Roman villae of La Estación and Bobadilla, respectively. Particularly, the Roman villa of Caserio Silverio has a heritage consisting of a large number of figurative representations, highlighting the imposing, although poorly preserved, pavement of the triclinium. This mosaic must have contained a scene related to the mythology of water, of which singular fragments are preserved, such as the representation of the Tiber River and some epigraphic verses extracted from book IV of Vergil's Georgics.

Keywords: Baetica, Roman villa, Roman mosaic, Oceanus, Priapus, Vergil's Georgics.

Öz

İspanya'nın Malaga eyaletinde bulunan günümüz Antequera şehri, farklı dönemlerden çok sayıda arkeolojik alanı kapsayan geniş bir bölgeye hâkimdir. Singilia Barba, Anticaria ve Aratíspi'nin kent merkezleri Roma Dönemi'ne aittir ve şimdi bize yalnızca iki mozaik ve Antequera mozaiklerinin çoğunun geldiği çok sayıda kırsal mülk sunmaktadır.

Antequeran mozaik repertuarında, örneğin La Estación'un görkemli Roma villasında bulunanlar gibi, harika güzellik ve mükemmel tasarım örnekleri ile geometrik mozaik özel bir yere sahiptir. Figüratif bir bakış açısından, Antequera, Santa María hamamlarının Oceanus mozaiği ve sırasıyla La Estación ve Bobadilla'nın Roma villalarının Eroslar ve Priapus figürleri gibi güzel örneklerle sahiptir. Özellikle, Caserio Silverio'nun Roma villası, çok sayıda figüratif temsilden oluşan bir mirasa sahiptir ve tricliniumun kötü korunmuş olmasına rağmen heybetli döşemesini vurgulamaktadır. Bu mozaik, Tiber Nehri'nin temsili ve Vergilius'un Georgics'in IV. kitabından alınan bazı epigrafik dizeler gibi tekil parçalarının korunduğu su mitolojisiyle ilgili bir sahne içeriyor olmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Baetica, Roma villası, Roma mozaiği, Oceanus, Priapus, Vergilius'un Georgics'i.

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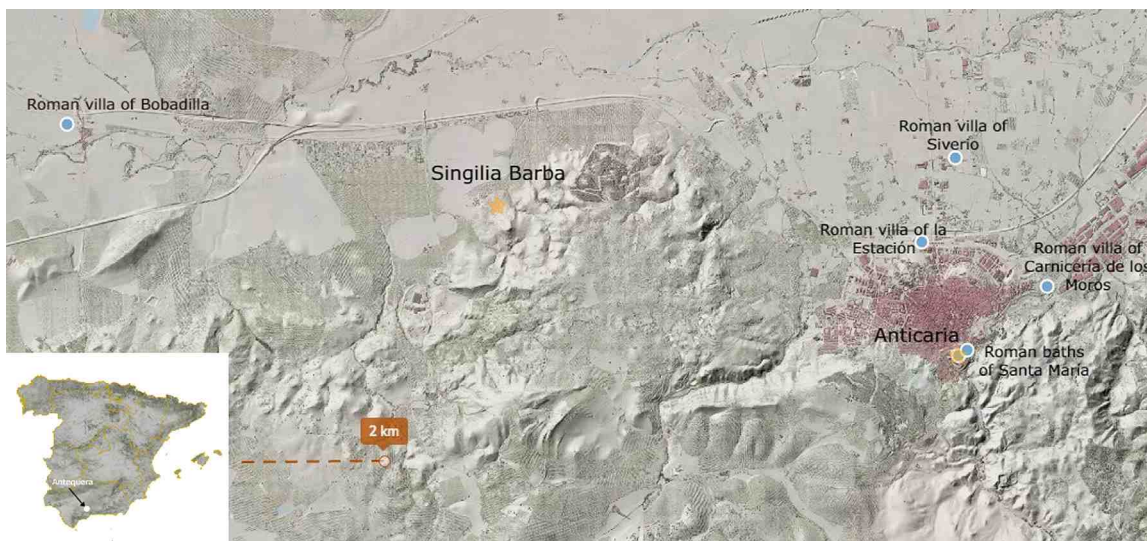
Antequera is situated in the provincia de Málaga (Southern Spain), in the ancient and rich territory of *Conventus Astigitanus* within the territorial limits of the ancient Roman Baetica. Part of this province coincide with the present-day Andaluzia (Fig. 1). Within its municipal boundary, it encompasses the former territories dependent on *Anticaria*, *Singilia Barba* and *Aratispi*. Next to these cities, a large number of Roman *villae* structured and gave cohesion to their vast and extensive territory, revealing, once again, the richness of the *Baetic* countryside, in which one of their key products, olive oil, acquired a main role. Up to a total of 203 Roman *villae* and / or rural structures have been documented in the Antequeran countryside, and olive oil production has been stated in 41 of them; among these, 27 belong to the *ager anticariensis* and *singiliensi*. Olive oil production is also documented at other sites in the surrounding area, now related to the Iberian Roman city of *Aratispi* and of the Laguna de Fuente de Piedra (Romero 2011-2012: 381-399)¹.

The Roman remains documented today in Antequera are multiple and varied. Among them the rich mosaic heritage stands out, originating from the previously mentioned luxurious *villae*. Although to a lesser extent, the Roman city of *Anticaria* has also contributed to this heritage, showing that not only in urban areas but also in the countryside was mosaic one of the preferred types of pavement. In the case of the three cities documented today in the territory of Antequera, it has only been possible to document mosaic pavements in the old city of *Anticaria*, located under the current city of Antequera (Fig. 1). In the city of *Singilia Barba*, on the other hand, despite the monumentality manifested by its archaeological remains, the total absence of mosaics, so far, is significantly surprising.

In the case of the rural environment, the presence of mosaics is revealing, given that some of its Roman *villae* offer a rich and varied pavement catalogue.

In total, mosaics have been documented in the Antequeran *villae* of Bobadilla, Carnicería de los Moros, La Estación and Caserío Silverio (Fig. 1), while in other rural properties the presence of this type of pavement can only be suggested with the help of one's imagination. Such is the case of the *villae* of Huerta del Ciprés (Cisneros et al. 2016: 453, 456), where the *pars urbana* is still to be excavated, and La Quinta, where remains of a mosaic were documented nearby.

Figure 1
Antequera in Spain's Map and location of the Antequeran archaeological sites cited in this paper on relief Map Iberpix IGN. 2021



¹ For a more accurate knowledge of the Roman *villae* of Antequera, particularly their definition, location, production features, etc., see Romero 1998: 115-141; 2001: 278-279; 2011: 53-80.

Documented Mosaics in Urban Settings

Roman baths of Santa María

The Roman baths of Santa María, located next to the current Collegiate Church of Santa María, belong to the city of *Anticaria* (Atencia et al. 1990: 220-226; Atencia 1991: 157-159).

This is a spectacular public bath complex where two mosaics dated to the first half of the third century are preserved (Fig. 2). One of them paves a large area interpreted as the *apodyterium* of the bath, and is characterized by its wide field of ceramic *tesserae* (Fig. 3). In this mosaic, two small spaces are reserved for emblems or symbols that contain representations of a goblet crater (Fig. 4) and a dolphin with a trident or pitchfork (Fig. 5), which could allude to the Roman god Neptune, although not necessarily. The particularity of mosaics that have a wide field with abundant ceramic *tesserae*, *opus figlinum*, is very significant in Roman *Baetica*. One of our team members is currently studying and cataloguing them. They are also documented in other Antequeran *villae*, such as in Caserío Silverio, and in other areas of *Baetica* like Écija and Sevilla (Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 304-305).

Figure 2
Orthophoto of the baths of Santa María de Antequera. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.



Figure 3
Baths of Santa María de Antequera: *Apodyterium*'s mosaic. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.





The other mosaic paves a distribution room and presents an elegant geometric field with a central emblem depicting the bust of Oceanus (Fig. 6). The god, with a serene and expressive face, seems to emerge from the sea, which is subtly depicted with simple blue strokes. His thick beard and long hair are drawn in pronounced waves, with crab or crustacean claws and legs protruding from between them².

Figures 4 - 5
Details of the *Apodoteryum*'s mosaic of the baths of Santa María de Antequera. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.



Figure 6
Mosaic of water distributor of the baths of Santa María de Antquera. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

² To deepen the study of this mosaic, see Atencia et al. 1990: 220-226; Atencia 1991: 157-159; Romero 1992: 56-62; López Monteagudo 2006: 485-491; Mourão 2010: I, 342-345, 351; II, 174; López Monteagudo 2011: 287-302; Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 60-61; 2018: 315-331. On the iconography of Oceanus see: Foucher 1975: 48-52; Paulian 1979: 115-133; Rodríguez 2011: 541-549; Eraslan 2012: 157-166; 2015: 195-200.

This wonderful emblem is framed by a well-crafted cube composition. Besides its great sense of character, it is the subtle sensation of undulating and fluid movement that stands out. This is reminiscent of the waves of the sea and it is cleverly achieved by the rotation of the composition, which emphasises the knowledge of the artisans who created it (Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 60-61; 2018: 325).

The decorative elements located in the space that occupies one of the thresholds that gave access to the room are also remarkable and are clearly linked to the thermal activity. They represent a container for oils and/or ointments, a *strigilis* and part of a sandal. The other sandal was lost due to a breakage of the tessellated surface (Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 60; 2018: 324).

Documented Mosaics in Rural Areas

Roman *villa* of Bobadilla

One of the greatest Roman *villae* located in Antequera is Bobadilla (Romero – Vargas-Vázquez 2017: 119-138); the mosaics³ were discovered in 1891 by Mr. Antonio Aguilar y Correa, Count of Bobadilla and also Marquis of Vega de Armijo, on the land of his property (Aguilar 1892: 100). From the moment of their discovery, the mosaics were subjected to many alterations and changes, which in some cases resulted in the loss of some of the perimeter borders. On another note, the fact that they were extracted without being part of any documented study makes the configuration of the *villa* itself very difficult to understand. In contrast, the archaeological work carried out in 2004 prior to the construction of the Córdoba-Málaga High Speed Line led to the discovery of the Necropolis and the Alfa of Arroyo Villalta; these are well-studied complexes that have been clearly associated with the Roman *villa* of Bobadilla (Fernández – Romero 2007: 401-432; Fernández et al. 2010: 177-200).

At the time of the discovery of this *villa*, four mosaics were found (Rodríguez 1988: 141), of which only three are currently preserved; these were deposited in the warehouses of the Archaeological Museum of Córdoba, except for the emblem with the representation of Priapus. This is displayed in a completely separated way from the rest of the mosaic in the 'Customs Museum' in Málaga.

Among the three preserved mosaics, one is a black and white exclusively geometric. Its geometric composition shows a grid of intersecting horizontal and vertical bands. The other two are polychrome and had two central emblems. In one of them the emblem has completely disappeared and was framed by concentric borders of interlacing capes, chainlets, ogives and swirls of peltas with Solomon's knots in the interior. The mosaic also has a geometric field of secant and tangent octagons. The second emblem is located inside a geometric design of crosses framed by rhomboids and cubes, which gives the pavement a clear and marked three-dimensional effect. As a secondary decorative element, Solomon's knots and braids of two strands stand out (Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 78-81).

The emblem, which stands out for its rich polychromy, shows a representation of the god Priapus, standing in a frontal position, young and beardless (Figs. 7-8). The god is holding up his cloak with both hands, in the manner of a basket, to contain fruit and flowers, revealing his large erect phallus. The image of the god

3 An examination of these mosaics in Rodríguez 1987; 1988: 137-169; Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 78-81; Romero – Vargas-Vázquez 2017: 119-138.

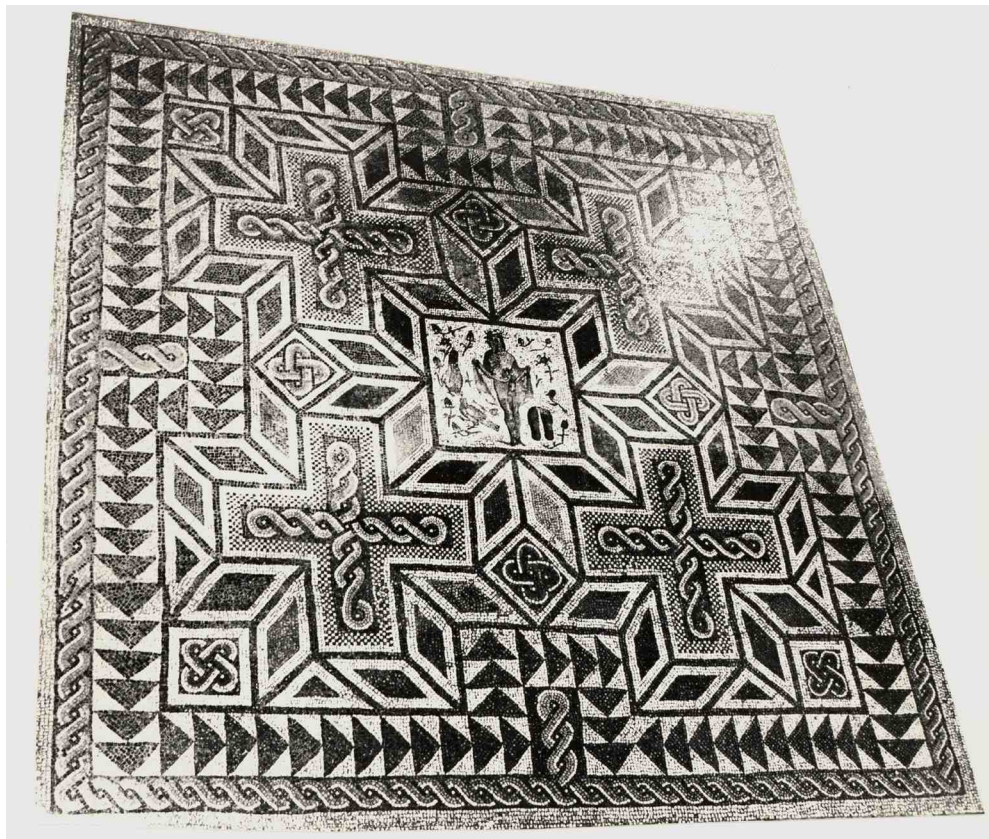


Figure 7
Priapus Mosaic in the Roman villa of Bobadilla. Courtesy of P. Rodríguez Oliva.



Figure 8
Detail of Priapus Mosaic in the Roman villa of Bobadilla. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

is accompanied by two birds facing each other with their beaks joined together and red rosebuds that symbolically complement the allusion to fertility as they may stand as a female symbol, like Priapus stands as a male symbol, and the representation of a pedum plant, which enhances the prophylactic and beneficent nature of the representation. To this could be added, as symbolic elements, the Solomon's knots and the braids of capes. These mosaics have been dated to a period between the end of the second century and the first half of the third century, probably during Severian times⁴.

With regard to the rooms these mosaics may have paved, we cannot say anything about them for the reasons stated above. However, it is very likely that the Priapus mosaic paved one of the noblest spaces of the Roman *villa*. In the case of the mosaic with the disappeared emblem, judging from the configuration of its pavement, with a less decorative geometric mosaic surface on one side, we could venture to say it could be the pavement of a bedroom. This area would then have been the place where the bed stood, although such a placing is not necessarily always the case.

As it has been possible to verify in the mosaics of the Roman *villa* of Bobadilla, geometry acquires great prominence and especially so in the case of pavements with figurative emblems, acting here as an unsurpassed framework. As for the vegetation decoration, it is practically absent; it is only seen framing and accompanying the representation of the god Priapus.

Along with the findings of the mosaics, the Marquis of la Vega de Armijo refers to other outstanding materials found in the surroundings of the *villa*. Among them we can find some vessels and a white marble mask (Aguilar 1892: 100), a copper cup, a ram-shaped façade-crowning made of bronze, the base of a herm with an inscription (Rodríguez 1988: 140-141) and pieces of mosaics, which show that the *villa* originally contained more spaces paved with mosaics.

Roman *villa* of Carnicería de los Moros

The Roman *villa* of Carnicería de los Moros was partially excavated in 1984 by Mr. Antonio Riñones Carranza (Riñones 1987: 251-256; 1989: 1081-1090). It is very likely that when the excavation is completed it will become one of the most wondrous *villae* of the Iberian Peninsula. At the moment, little it is known about it, but it shows evident signs of luxury and monumentality. With its extraordinary and grand front formed by a front wall with a series of apses, the *villa* is reminiscent of the Mysteries of Pompeii; this is definitely its most impressive part. From this wall a large pond extends, 53.85 x 11.55 m, which at other end, borders a large porticoed gallery, paved with the only mosaic of the *villa* that has been found so far, a large tessellated surface over 50 m long and 3.70 m wide. The mosaic, which turns 90° at one end, could constitute the pavement of a large peristyle, although the current state of the investigation does not allow ensuring or expanding in this regard. Of this large pavement, only a number of isolated pieces are preserved, such as a perimeter band of ceramic *tesserae*, a white line decorated with equidistant knots and a polychrome border decorated with a three-strand braid. Its interior section is defined by a wide smooth carpet of ochre or yellow *tesserae* (Fig. 9), in which the complete absence of decoration stands out strongly (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2016: 418-422).

Figure 9
Mosaic of the Roman *villa* of Carnicería de los Moros. Riñones 1989.



⁴ For the study of this mosaic, see Rodríguez 1987; 1988: 137-169; Blázquez 2008: 107-115; López Monteagudo 2010: 160-161; Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 79-80; Vargas-Vázquez – López Monteagudo 2016: 430 fig. 15; Romero – Vargas-Vázquez 2017: 119-138.

Roman *villa* of La Estación

The residential complex of this majestic Roman *villa*, of suburban character, is imposing. The complex is partially excavated and is articulated around a peristyle with a large pond, in which four islets were found (three of them were excavated). These islets were built with circular and decorated *alcorques* with a diameter of 4 m probably decorated with vegetal motives and sculptures. In the immediate vicinity, a few metres beyond the residential complex, is the *balneum*. In between, probably surrounded by a garden area, a beautiful *nymphaeum* is located (Fig. 10). All of the mosaics documented in this *villa* are concentrated to the residential complex, while in the case of the *balneum* they have not been preserved. *Tesserae* made of glass paste were found in the *nymphaeum*, which may have been covered by them.



Figure 10
Plan of the Roman *villa* of La Estación.
Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

The pavements of the *villa* are distributed almost throughout all the spaces, *oecus*, galleries and corridors - mosaic of the peristyle gallery, ramp gallery mosaic, mosaic of the porticoed gallery, mosaic of the great gallery or corridor, and a more private area of the villa that contains the *compluvium* mosaics of the small *atrium*, that of the corridor and others probably associated with *cubicula*⁵.

All these paved areas are characterized by the use of geometric mosaics, which in some cases denote impeccable work, as evidenced by the mosaics of the *oecus* (Fig. 11) and the porticoed gallery (Fig. 12), as well as by the predominance of polychromy. As an exception those of the most private area could be mentioned; these are characterized by a more extensive use of black and white, although in some of them slight colour notes are introduced into the decorative elements (Fig. 13).

5 An examination of these mosaics in Romero et al. 2006: 239-258; Mañas – Vargas-Vázquez 2007: 315-338; Romero et al. 2010: 3569-3590; Romero – Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 437-447; Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 62-77.

Figure 11
Oecus mosaic of the Roman *villa* of La Estación. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.



Figure 12
Mosaic from the porticoed gallery of the Roman *villa* of La Estación. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.





Figure 13
Mosaics from the private area of the Roman villa of La Estación. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

This difference in the polychromy of the pavements could simply be due to the aforementioned differentiation of spaces, because the least colourful were reserved for the most private spaces and were less trodden by people invited to the villa. It could also be due to the fact that different workshops were involved in their making. The chronology of the whole complex would be framed between the end of the third century and the first half of the fourth. The latter date would almost certainly be the period when the pavements of the private area were in use. Within the mosaics of the villa de La Estación, the floral element is located only in the geometric spaces of the mosaics, and in the borders. An exception is the mosaic of the *atriolum*, in which the rinceau of *hedera* that sprout from the craters surround the entire space (Fig. 14).



Figure 14
Mosaic from the *Impluvium* of the small atrium of the Roman villa of La Estación. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

Apart from this last case, we can say that there are no mosaics with large fields of foliage, neither with geometric-floral patterns nor with a clear predominance of floral elements. This is not common to find in the rest of Roman *Baetica*. A remarkable decorative element in these mosaics can be seen on the craters of one of its pavements; the sides of the craters are decorated with swastikas.

From the figurative point of view, the only mosaic that shows a small representation of Eros is located in an area immediately next to the pond and adjacent to the porticoed gallery (Fig. 15). It is covered and abandoned



Figure 15
Erotes mosaic of the Roman *villa* of La Estación. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

and belongs to an earlier time frame of the *villa*, still undetermined today. The representation in question shows two erotes inside an octagon that was surely part of a much broader modular composition of a mosaic; more than 80% of this has disappeared (Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 72-73). Thus, it is quite certain that the repertoire of figurative representations of this pavement were greater. They may have been related to Dionysian representations, considering the attitude of both of the Erotes figures, who seem to play with a glass of wine. One of them seems flushed and/or intoxicated (Mourão 2010: I, 258-259; II, 175; Vargas-Vázquez – López Monteagudo 2016: 427). Both winged erotes are depicted standing, with straight hairstyles that seem to be inspired by Constantinian or Theodosian images. They hold a garland or diadem in one of their hands (Mañas – Vargas-Vázquez 2007: 324-325).

Outside this area of the *villa*, also covered and abandoned during its last time frame, the figurative element is entirely absent in the mosaics discovered so far. It is reserved for sculpture and other elements such as antefix, and also most likely for parietal decoration, as the parietal *sectile* documented in the northern *cubiculum* shows (Fig. 16). It was also reserved for a wall painting that was obviously lost to a large part with the deterioration of the walls, although there are some fragments left with another type of decoration. It is also an interesting possibility that some of the walls of the *villa* were covered with parietal mosaics, at least partially. This could be suggested by some fragments of dissociated mosaics that have been preserved and that show a completely different typology to those that pave the different spaces of the *villa*. To this is added the presence of numerous glass paste *tesserae*, of different colours, which are completely absent in the mosaics documented until now in the architectural complex. In this sense, the presence of a good number of translucent tesserae coated with a thin layer of gold paste is tremendously significant to attest the wealthiness of the landlord and the luxurious decoration of the *villa* (Romero – Vargas Vázquez 2012: 823-828; Vargas-Vázquez 2016: 305-307). If it is admitted these *tesserae*



Figure 16
Parietal *opus sectile* of the Roman *villa* of La Estación. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

and fragments of mosaics were not part of wall coverings, then it must exist elsewhere luxurious mosaics that was not found until now. Currently only 20% of the excavation is completed, and presumably preserved spaces and mosaics more luxurious than those already discovered, could be found.

Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio

Another of the *villae* near the city of Antequera is the one of Caserío Silverio-Mayorga (Fig. 17), subject of a preventive archaeological intervention motivated

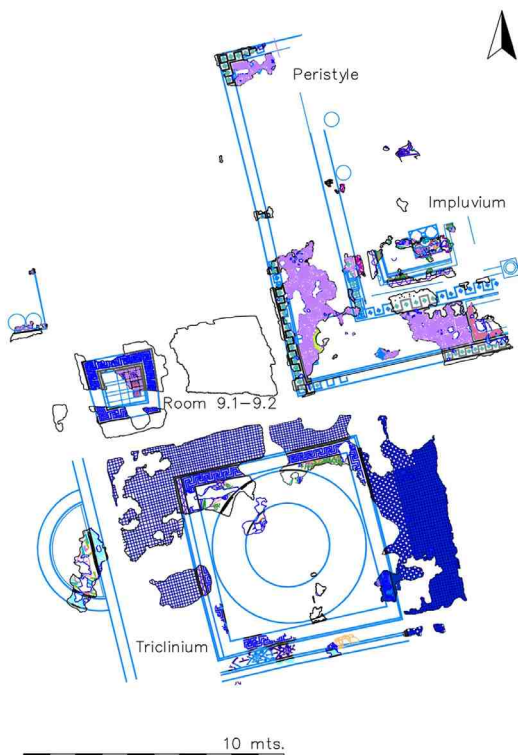


Figure 17
Pars urbana of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

Figure 18
Mosaic fragment from the peristyle's gallery
of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio.
Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de
Antequera*.

Figure 19
Detail of the mosaic fragment from the
peristyle's gallery of the Roman *villa* of
Caserío Silverio. Courtesy of *Oficina
Arqueológica de Antequera*.

by construction of the high-speed train line between the years 2011 and 2012 (Espinar et al. 2014: 66-97; 2016: 423-430). It is a large rural complex in which the mosaics once again are assigned great importance⁶. This new *villa* has an interesting mosaic repertoire, dated to a period between the third and fourth centuries (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 164). Figurative representations, more numerous than in any other Antequeran *villa*, played a leading and very prominent role, especially the paving of the *triclinium* (room 6). Other mosaics were found in the peristyle galleries, in the *impluvium* zone, in the rooms 9.1-9.2 and in the *triclinium* (Fig. 17). In other spaces, minimal although relevant signs of mosaic decoration are preserved, which show that the *villa* had many more mosaics (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 138-167).

In the peristyle galleries, a wide geometric frame covers the entire surface. In it, some spaces are reserved for figurative representations; circular medallions are found in the corners of the galleries, as well as quadrangular emblems located in the centre of the latter. Only one of the four medallions that must have belonged to the mosaic retains minimal clues to the presence of a female character (Figs. 18-19). Its hairstyle is reminiscent of certain muses and also of the hairstyles usual for the nymph Amymone or the nereid Amphitrite, with hair in a high bun, headband or crown, and, at the same time, with hair that falls on her shoulders. The goddess Venus is sometimes also presented with this type of hairstyle, and even Tethys, so it is probably a character related to water. The remaining medallions, currently lost, must have similar representations (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 152-156). In the case of the boxes located in the centres of the peristyle galleries, only one has been preserved, but the representation that it contained is practically all lost.



6 For a broader view of this *villa*'s mosaics, see Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 138-167.

The *impluvium* mosaic, shows a less noticeable colour than the rest of the mosaics of the *villa*. The same difference in polychromy is also detected in the execution of representations exhibited on the pavement, which denote less dexterity and realism. In the deteriorated pavement was found a scene without internal divisions related to water; the scene could depict a dolphin, the water is represented by small serrated lines, and a circle circumscribes a flower with six petals. Another section, which is a continuity of the former, is also poorly preserved. Its decoration has a prominent composition of tangent octagons. Judging by the preserved elements, it is probable that geometric figures, fish and waterfowl were represented inside these octagons (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 156-159).

The mosaic of room 9.1-9.2 appears to have numerous lost parts and no evidence of figurative representation can be discovered. However, its general configuration, composed of a small geometric field inserted in a large carpet of ceramic *tesserae* is attractive, as in the case of the mosaic of the baths of Santa María.

Room 6, identified as the *triclinium* (Figs. 20-21), is the one that undoubtedly has the most significant mosaic of the entire architectural complex (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 139-148). The room also has two exedras opening in the southern and western wall. In the latter, mosaic remains have been preserved, while in the other no remains have been left even if they may ever existed. In the mosaic of the exedra, the figurative representation is distributed throughout the mosaic surface, contoured by a border with waves or poles, and without any geometric division.

Figure 20
Triclinium of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.



Figure 21
Drawing of the *triclinium* of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

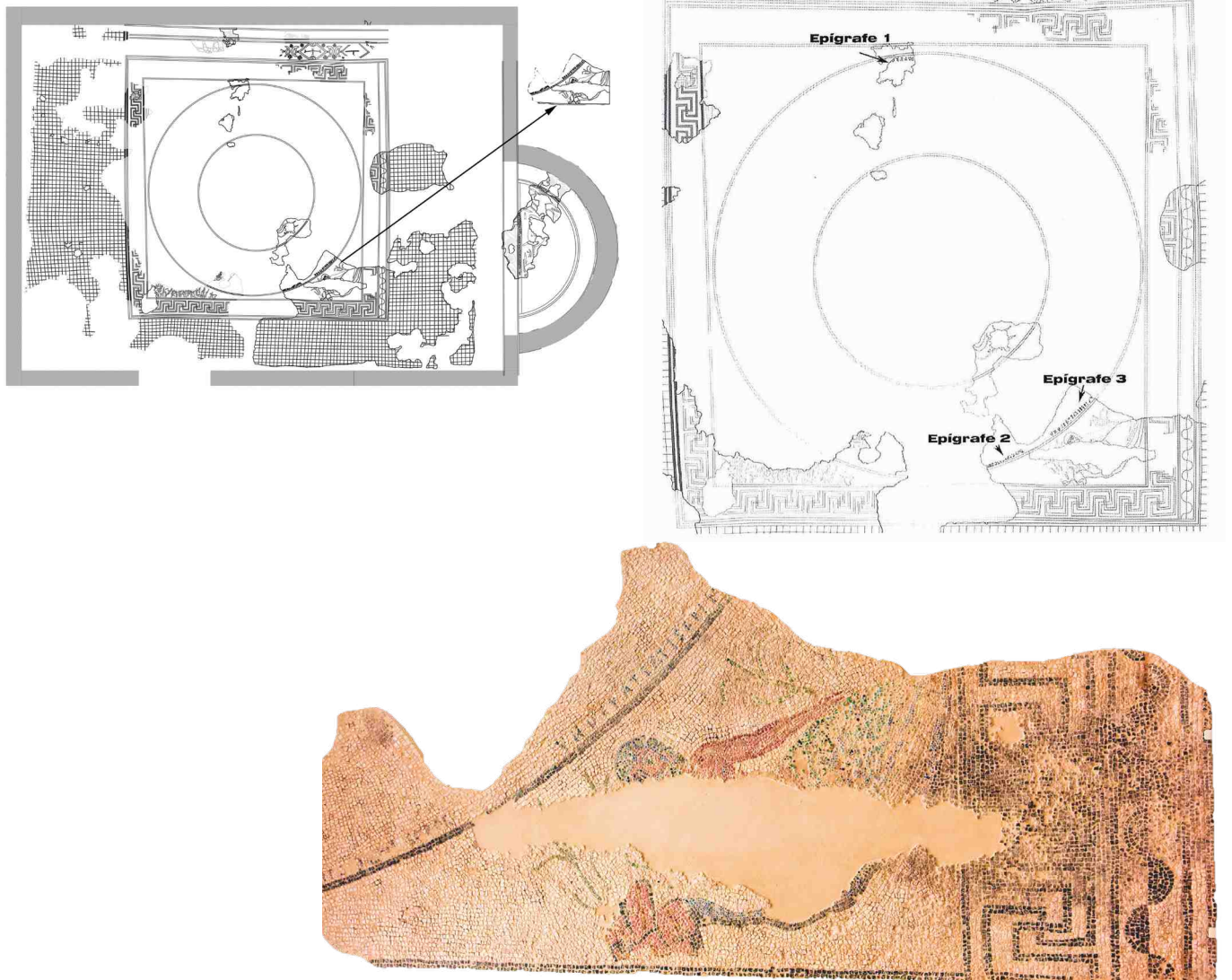
Figure 22
Detail of the *triclinium* of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio. Location of epigraphs. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

Figure 23
Mosaic fragment from *triclinium* depicting Tiber and inscription. Courtesy of *Oficina Arqueológica de Antequera*.

The preserved remains of the mosaic show elements from a clear marine environment, such as a dolphin; a fish and the remains of another; the tail of what could be a hippocampus; and figures that are difficult to define, perhaps molluscs such as razor clams. All this surrounds a semi-circular compact element that could well represent an islet or the underground cave itself where Cirene and the nymphs live. This is a clear attempt to continue the discourse and theme represented in the mosaic that paves the entire *triclinium*, which we will consider in the following.

The *triclinium* mosaic is undoubtedly the most impressive of the *villa* (Fig. 20). The pavement has a U-shaped perimetral geometric field, conceived as a large black and white checkerboard, which clearly demonstrates its configuration as a *triclinium*.

After this, a series of borders give way to a square-shaped central field in which two large concentric circles are drawn, which serve as a framework for figurative representations, unfortunately largely lost (Figs. 20-21). Within this square-shaped, the representation of a river god is preserved in one of the corners or spandrel of the mosaic. Its identification with the river Tiber is easy to define thanks to the partially preserved inscription present on the pavement, which can be seen inside the outermost circle (Figs. 21-23).



The river god⁷ is shown as an elderly bearded man. His torso is uncovered and surrounded by riverside vegetation and reclining next to a rock from which water flows, which would represent the source of the river itself, the *Atria Tiberina*. His thick hair stands out, with tesserae of blue vitreous paste, as well as the cloak that covers his legs. This depiction would mimic the course of water that rises from the rock and flows beneath the god, serving as a bed for him.

This kind of representation is unknown to us in Hispanic Roman mosaics, although it is the only one whose identification is beyond doubt thanks, as stated before, to the inscription preserved on the pavement. In Roman Hispania, apart from the one we are analyzing, only the mosaic from the House of Medusa at Ferragial d'El Rei (Alter do Chão, Portugal) was identified with the river Tiber (Mourão 2010: I, 327-330; II, 65-66; Caetano – Mourão 2012: 210, 213-216).

Regarding the subject of the mosaic inscription, it can be stated without much doubt that it is a *unicum* within the Roman mosaic technique. The verses identified are taken from Vergil's *Georgics*' Book IV (Verg. georg. 337, 353-354, and 369)⁸. The following fragments are preserved (Fig. 22):

Fragment 1 (Fig. 24):

(---)m per c(an?)d(ida---?) (Verg. georg. 4. 337).



Figure 24
Mosaic of *triclinium*. Inscription.
Fregment 1. Courtesy of *Oficina
Arqueológica de Antequera*.

In this fragment, the nymphs are spinning near Cyrene and warned her how Aristeo was showing up with his laments. In addition, the poet describes the headdress of some of these nymphs.

“...*Caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla...*” (Verg. georg. 4. 337).

7 Further reading about the river gods: Gais 1978: 355-370; Ostrowski 1991; Brewster 1997; Montero 2012.

8 See Gómez 2014: 168-178; Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 139-148.

Fragment 2 (Fig. 25):

“(---t) anto cyrene soror” (Verg. georg. 4. 353-354).

Figure 25
Mosaic of *triclinium*. Inscription.
Fregment 2. Courtesy of *Oficina
Arqueológica de Antequera*.



This fragment belongs to the verses where the author describes the moment when Arethusa tells Cyrene that her son is calling her grievously near the river:

*“O gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto,
Cyrene soror, ipse tibi, tua maxima cura,
tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam
stat lacrimans et te crudelem nomine dicit.”* (Verg. georg. 4. 353-356)

Fragment 3 (Fig. 26):

“Vnde pater tiberinv (s ---)” (Verg. georg. 4. 369).

Fragment belonging to the part of the text in which Cirene orders the river to open itself to let her son pass. Other rivers are named in it.

*Et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus,
Unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluenta’* (Verg. georg. 4. 368-369).

From this part of the text, it can be deduced that the other three spandrels of the mosaic contained other representations of rivers, which, following the guidelines of Vergil’s text, could well be the Enipeus, the Aniena and the Eridanus. In one of them, remains of vegetation associated with the river were preserved.



Figure 26
Mosaic of *triclinium*. Inscription.
Fregment 3. Courtesy of *Oficina
Arqueológica de Antequera*.

In the rest of the mosaic, the preserved fragments show remains of marine animals, so it is more than likely that nereids were represented riding on a fantastic sea-horses or on sea monsters (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 145-146); characters that would also be present in the exedras that open on the sides of the room, at least in one of them. This would be the previously mentioned exedra located on the west side, where the remains of what could have been the tail of another sea monster can be seen, allowing us to discern again the possibility of the representation of nereids (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 148-152), all accompanied by an interesting marine fauna.

One of the most significant elements of the figurative decoration of this *villa* is the frequent allusion to water. This is repeated in the central space of the peristyle, where different representations of fish, dolphins and water birds can be seen (Vargas-Vázquez – Romero 2014: 156-159).

Conclusions

The study of Antequeran mosaics shows once again the richness of the Roman *Baetica*, which is clearly evident in the urban and rural environment. In the latter, the great Roman *villae* reveal wealth and splendour with the construction of large building complexes that make use of prestigious elements such as sculpture and mosaic.

As we have seen, most of the Roman mosaics in Antequera were found in *villae*. The mosaics found in the baths of Santa Maria suggest that they were used in

urban areas. It is also noteworthy that mosaics, types of pavement preferred by the wealthiest layers of society, and were also used to pave public spaces.

Considering the entire Antequeran Mosaic ensemble and a comparison between the pavements of the different *villae*, and also between them and those preserved in the Baths of Santa Maria, one can postulate that there are no clear elements to define common features or connections between them. No relation can be seen in preference, nor fashion or tendencies within the same chronology; neither is it possible to delimit the activities of the same workshop geographically.

This lack of a clear reference occurs even considering that there are common elements that are generally found in Roman mosaics. The reason can mainly be that the mosaics of the *villae* do not coincide in the temporal frame. Moreover, the lack of a greater number of pavements limits the possibilities of establishing more precise comparisons.

In this sense, we must not forget that the number of pavements that still exist in Antequera are no more than a small sample of those that originally paved their *domus* and *villae*. From a chronological point of view, only the mosaics of the baths of Santa Maria would be in a time frame close to those of the Roman *villa* of Bobadilla. Nevertheless, apart from the detail of framing the figurative representation in a small central box, their stylistic differences are noticeable and evident.

Regarding the mosaics of the *villa* of La Estación and those of Caserío Silverio, these are also chronologically close to each other and show much more significant typological and stylistic differences.

Among all Antequeran mosaics, geometry is commonly the most prominent and used element, either as an individual adornment or as the dominant decoration, especially in the mosaics of the *villa* of La Estación. In that sense, its presence is also documented in one of the pavements of the Roman *villa* of Bobadilla and in another Roman *villa* at Caserío Silverio. The latter is surrounded by a broad field of *opus figlinum*.

Geometry is a perfect framework to present and to experience the main scenes or representations, figurative or of any other type. This is the model chosen for the mosaic of the Baths of Santa María, where the cube field encompasses a beautiful representation of Oceanus. It also occurs in the mosaic of the Roman *villa* of Bobadilla, in which the majestic representation of Priapus predominates. Both specimens are conceived as geometric fields that surround a single central emblem. Although similar, the other mosaic of Bobadilla, with the lost emblem, is of a different type. This can be understood since the main representation, which is now lost, was set inside a large box framed by borders; all this was accompanied by a secondary field of octagons.

Geometry, also conceived as a framework, is designed in more extensive sections and with a greater number of spaces reserved for figurative representations. Geometrical patterns occur in many mosaics, such as in the mosaic of the erotes figure of the *villa* of La Estación, in which the composition of *scuta* crosses dominates. Furthermore, it is part of the mosaic that paves the porches of the peristyle of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio, in which the chosen design is straight and oblique squares. It can also be seen in the *impluvium*, where the main design is an octagon composition.

Nevertheless, the depiction of extensive figurative scenes in large spaces was the formula chosen in the *villa* of Caserío Silverio for the pavements of the

triclinium and a sector of the *impluvium* mosaic.

The pavement of the *apodyterium* of the baths of Santa María contrasts with this type of mosaics because of the two emblems located inside a broad field of ceramic *tesserae*. Here, the geometric element is absent. This type of pavement in which a wide field of ceramic *tesserae* surrounds smaller mosaic surfaces is also identified, as we have already noted, in the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio, despite the chronological difference between the two sites. All in all, this shows that the model was used in the Baetica province for a long time.

The mosaic of the Roman *villa* of Carnicería de los Moros is unique in the Antequeran area. It presents a contour of ceramic *tesserae* in which a line of white *tesserae* intersected with equidistant knots is inserted, and a border decorated with a richly coloured three-strand braid. This braid is well executed and delimits an apparently non-compartmental inner field of yellow or ochre *tesserae* without decoration. These types of pavements, far from constituting a rarity, are documented in other places, such as in Ecija, the old *Astigi*. As in our case, they can also be seen decorating corridors and galleries in some pavements of Villa Adriana in Tivoli. Furthermore, this is found in other outstanding and emblematic spaces. It is assumed that beautiful and richly decorated carpets were placed on those pavements to embellish them.

Within the figurative representations of the Antequeran mosaics, mythology is by far the predominant theme, conceiving the scenes in an isolated way and with a simple representation, as we have already seen, like in the case of the emblems of Priapus and Oceanus. These scenes appear in several shared spaces that contain different parts of the same theme, which is the intention of the mosaic of the erotes of the *villa* de La Estación, and in the *impluvium* of the *villa* of Caserío Silverio. In the *triclinium* mosaics of the Roman *villa* of Caserío Silverio and in one of the sectors of the *impluvium* mosaic, a broader space reflects a much wider scene. It is likely that all the figurative mosaics of this *villa* had as a common feature the depiction of the mythology of waters. That was also a feature of the mosaics found in the Roman baths of Santa María⁹. Within the *villa* of Caserío Silverio, the inscription of the *triclinium* mosaic, aside from constituting a rarity within the mosaic ensemble in general, highlights the cultural concerns and taste of a rich and surely cultured *dominus*.

Finally, we can only point out that vegetation is not a particularly recurring element among the Antequeran mosaics, since it is used predominantly in a secondary way, as part of the decoration of borders, as isolated figures accompanying emblems or decorating the occasional geometric figure. However, inside the whole complex, the mosaic of the *atriolum* of the *villa* of La Estación stands out. Here, the rinceaus or scrolls of *hedera* that flow from the craters, covering the entire space, can be appreciated.

⁹ In other Antequeran and *Baetican* sites, it is not usual to find figurative mosaics in the same building centred in one theme.

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La fleur de lotus ou *Nelumbo nucifera* dans les mosaïques gréco-romaines

Greko-Romen Mozaiklerinde Lotus Çiçeği veya *Nelumbo Nucifera*

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Abstract

The Lotus Flower or Nelumbo Nucifera in Greco-Roman Mosaics

Numerous mosaics from the Hellenistic and imperial periods with Nilotic decoration have been recorded, both in the West and in the East. Almost all of them have a vegetal decoration illustrating the flora of the Nile. Among this lush vegetation, the lotus is reproduced in various forms and it is worth studying some of these representations in detail. Some examples seem to be part of an Alexandrian tradition, but particularities may evoke the world of Pharaonic Egypt. We have endeavoured to highlight how the expression of these traditions in iconography has manifested itself as well as in the treatment of the decoration.

In the first instance, we thought it would be useful to go back over a few notions of botany and the characteristics of water lilies in Egypt. Different species are very similar, which leads to multiple risks of misunderstanding when using iconographic or literary sources.


In the second instance, we have tried to show how Greco-Roman mosaic artists rendered the different stages of the growth of these flowers through their art. The naturalistic aspect, very present in Hellenistic mosaics, seems to have changed during the imperial period. Does the lotus retain something of the earlier floral vision, when it adorned the pavements of the Roman provinces?

In the House of the Fauna in Pompeii, the mosaic of the Battle of Alexander and Darius decorated an exedra. The threshold, delimited by two Corinthian columns, was decorated with a mosaic consisting of several panels depicting scenes of life on the Nile, dating from the end of the 2nd century BC. These have been widely described and we have only focused here on the representation of lotus flowers. The illustration seems to visually describe the different stages of the flower's life cycle. This is, in particular, the case as regards the Barberini mosaic in Préneste. The lotus sometimes appears from the front with its petals outspread. The nelumbo then consists of several corollae, the petals of which display shades of colour ranging from dark pink to light pink. This treatment is reminiscent of the fragment from the mosaic of the Canope baths, where a large nelumbo with two corollae unfolds in a circular composition.

Keywords: Mosaics, Nile, lotus, *Nelumbo*, duck.

Öz

Hem Batı'da hem de Doğu'da, Helenistik ve İmparatorluk dönemlerine ait çok sayıda Nil konulu mozaik kaydedilmiştir. Hemen hemen hepsinde Nil'in florasını gösteren bitkisel bir bezeme vardır. Bu yemyeşil bitki örtüsü arasında nilüfer çeşitli şekillerde yeniden üretilmektedir ve bu temsillerden bazılarını ayrıntılı olarak incelemeye değer. Bazı örnekler İskenderiye geleneğinin bir parçası gibi görünmektedir, ancak bunların özellikleri Firavun dönemi Mısır dünyasını çağrıştırmaya olabilir. Bu geleneklerin ikonografideki ifadesinin, süslemenin işlenmesinde olduğu kadar kendini nasıl gösterdiğini de vurgulamaya çalıştık.

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İlk önce, birkaç botanik kavramına ve Mısır'daki nilüferlerin özelliklerine geri dönmenin faydalı olacağını düşündük. Farklı türler birbirine çok benzemektedir, bu da ikonografik veya edebi kaynakları kullanırken birden fazla yanlış anlama riskine yol açmaktadır.

İkinci etapta ise, Yunan - Roma mozaik sanatçılarının bu çiçeklerin gelişiminin farklı aşamalarını sanatlarıyla nasıl işlediklerini göstermeye çalıştık. Helenistik mozaiklerde çokça görülen natüralist husus, imparatorluk döneminde değişmiş görünmektedir. Lotus, Roma kentlerinin döşemelerini süslerken daha önceki çiçek görünümünden bir şeyler koruyor mu?

Pompeii'deki Faun Evi'nde, İskender ve Darius Savaşı'nın mozaiği bir eksedrayı süslemektedir. İki korinth sütunuyla sınırlanan eşik, İÖ 2. yüzyılın sonlarından kalma Nil'deki yaşam sahnelerini gösteren birkaç panelden oluşan bir mozaikle süslenmiştir. Bunlar geniş çapta tanımlanmıştır ve biz burada yalnızca lotus çiçeklerinin temsiline odaklandık. Çizim, çiçeğin yaşam döngüsünün farklı aşamalarını görsel olarak tanımlıyor gibi görünmektedir. Bu durum, özellikle Préneste'deki Barberini Mozaiği için geçerlidir. Lotus bazen önden yaprakları yayılmış hâlde görünmektedir. Lotus çiçeği (nelumbo) daha sonra, yaprakları koyu pembeden açık pembeye kadar değişen renk tonları sergileyen birkaç taçtan oluşur. Bu işleme, iki taçlı büyük bir lotus çiçeğinin dairesel bir kompozisyon içinde açıldığı Canope Hamamlarının mozaiklerinden gelen bir parçayı andırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaikler, Nil, lotus, Nilüfer Çiçeği, ördek.

De nombreuses mosaïques d'époque hellénistique et impériale à décor nilotique ont été répertoriées, aussi bien en Occident qu'en Orient. Presque toutes ont un décor végétal qui illustre la flore du Nil. Parmi cette végétation luxuriante, le lotus est reproduit sous différentes formes. Nous nous proposons d'étudier précisément quelques-unes de ces représentations. Certains exemples semblent s'inscrire dans une tradition alexandrine, mais des particularités peuvent évoquer le monde de l'Égypte pharaonique. Nous nous attacherons à mettre en évidence quelques-unes des manifestations de l'expression de ces traditions dans l'iconographie comme dans le traitement du décor.

Les lotus et les nénuphars en botanique

Revenons tout d'abord sur quelques notions de botanique et sur les caractéristiques des nymphéas en Égypte. En effet, les nénuphars ont été classés dans l'ordre des *Nymphaeales* et dans la famille des *Nymphéacées* que l'on nomme improprement « lotus ». Le lotus bleu¹, *Nymphaea caerulea* Sav., possède des pétales fins se terminant en pointes. Les feuilles sont rondes, plates et hydrofuges. Les nombreux documents égyptiens – stèles funéraires, bas-reliefs, peintures de tombe – attestent que cette fleur occupait une place importante. Le lotus bleu flottait sur les eaux ; s'ouvrant dès les premiers rayons du soleil, il se refermait le soir venu et de sa fleur épanouie, s'échappait un parfum délicat. Particulièrement apprécié pour ses qualités sédatives et médicinales², il était également utilisé pour orner les parures funéraires³, mais symbolisait aussi la Haute-Égypte (Janick 2002 : 1, 3-4). Le *Nymphaea caerulea* ne doit pas être confondu avec le *Nelumbium speciosum* Willd connu également sous le nom de *Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertner plante aquatique vivace rhizomateuse qui pousse dans les eaux stagnantes et se classe dans la famille des *Nélumbonacées*. Il s'agit du seul lotus rose probablement introduit en Égypte de l'Inde⁴.

Les racines sont appelées des rhizomes, des sortes de tubercules de nature

1 Seulement mentionné par Athen. deipn. XV, 677 : « Le lotus qui là porte le nom Antinoeios, ... pousse dans les marais pendant l'été. Il est de deux couleurs. Un ressemble à la rose et c'est avec lui qu'est tressée la guirlande... L'autre est appelé lotus et sa couleur est bleue ».

2 Apomorphine : dérivé de la morphine.

3 Vers 1883, le botaniste allemand Georg Schweinfurth étudia les guirlandes de fleurs déposées sur la momie de Ramsès II. Il constitua des herbiers dont six planches sont aujourd'hui conservées au Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Paris. Ces dernières attestent de l'utilisation des fleurs de *Nymphaea caerulea* Sav. sur des parures funéraires. Voir Morat 2004 : 176-180.

4 Espèce venant d'Inde, voir Li et al. 2014 : 288. Dans les textes anciens, il est parfois confondu avec le colocasia (*Colocasia esculenta*), voir Whitehouse 2003 : 252-259 ; Grimaldi 2018 : 6.

spongieuse d'une dizaine de centimètres de long. Ces rhizomes sont liés entre eux par un petit renflement qui porte le nom de nodosité. De ces structures naissent les tiges aériennes ou pédoncules qui vont porter des fleurs de couleur rose, des feuilles planes, dont le limbe flotte à la surface de l'eau, et d'autres orbiculaires à bords relevés (Fig. 1 a-b-c-d-e).



Figure 1
Pompéi, Maison du Faune, détail de l'un des panneaux devant l'exèdre de la mosaïque d'Alexandre et Darius. Figure 1 a-b-c-d : *Nelumbo nucifera* a-lotus en bouton ; b-fleur épanouie ; c-feuille plane à la surface de l'eau ; d-réceptacle ; e-champs de lotus et feuilles orbiculaires.
Photo : V. Vassal.

Ces différentes espèces se ressemblent énormément, ce qui conduit à de multiples risques de méprise lorsque l'on utilise les sources iconographiques ou littéraires.

Le lotus apparaît sur les décors de peintures grecques, comme à Mieza dans la tombe des palmettes, vers la fin du IV^e et le début du III^e siècle avant J.-C. (Fig. 2). En architecture, il décore la base d'une colonne du temple de Didymes datée vers 300 avant J.-C. (Wiegand 1941) (Fig. 3), enfin, sur les mosaïques, la fleur se manifeste en compositions linéaires alternant avec des palmettes comme sur la bordure de la mosaïque de l'*amazonomachie* de Pella, datée de la fin du IV^e siècle avant J.-C. (Ginouvés 1993 : 128-129, 132-136 fig. 113, 118) (Fig. 4). Les lotus sont stylisés et composés de plusieurs calices. Selon John Boardman (1998 : 16) : « *Lotus friezes and palmette friezes were common in Mesopotamia centuries before. Combining them in a botanically incorrect manner in one frieze was a Greek conceit which became enormously popular through the whole Greek world from the later seventh century B.C.* ». En dehors de ces compositions, on remarque la présence du *nelumbo nucifera* sur les scènes nilotiques des périodes hellénistiques et romaines, souvent associé à une faune (canards, oies, hippopotames...) ou à des pygmées (Lancha 1980 ; Versluys - Meyboom 2000 ; Versluys 2002 ; Guimier-Sorbets 2009 : 664-663 ; 2013 : 141-154 ; 2019b : 101-110).

Nous tenterons de montrer ici, comment les mosaïstes gréco-romains rendaient par leur art les différentes étapes de la croissance de ces fleurs.

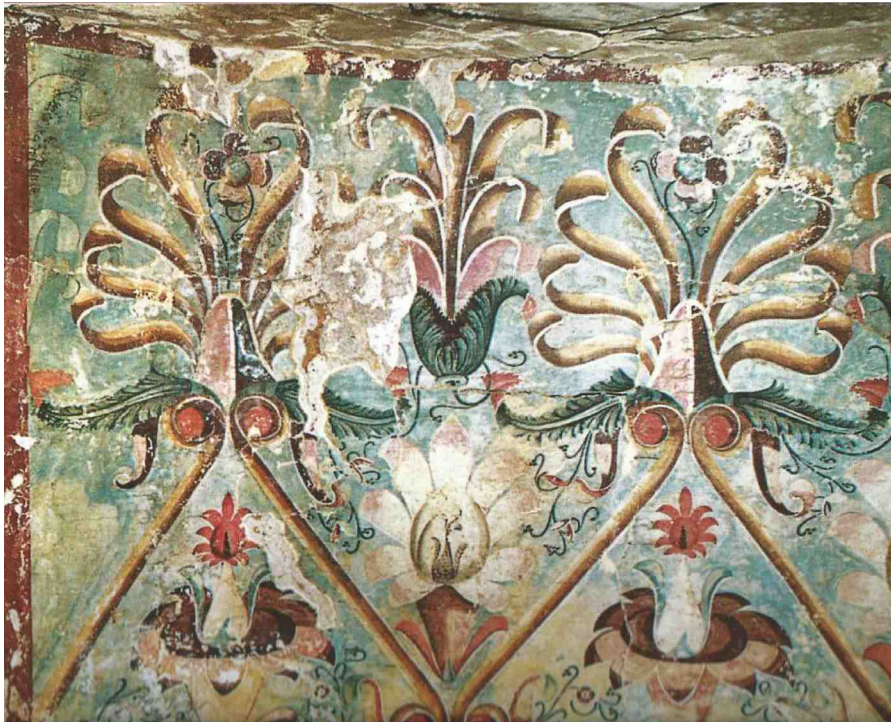


Figure 2
Mieza, peinture de l'antichambre de la tombe des palmettes. Photo : V. Vassal.

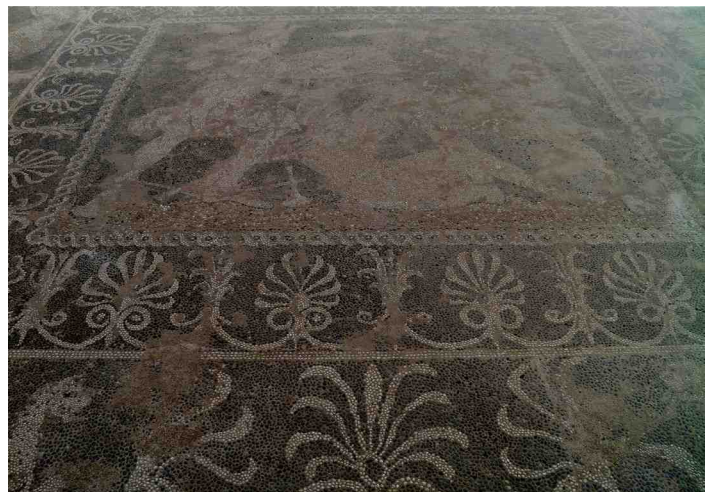


Figure 3
Didymes, base d'une colonne du temple. Photo : V. Vassal.

Figure 4
Pella, bordure de la mosaïque de l'Amazonomachie. Photo : V. Vassal.

L'aspect naturaliste, très présent sur les mosaïques hellénistiques semble se transformer à l'époque impériale. Le lotus conserve-t-il quelque chose de la vision florale antérieure, lorsqu'il orne les pavements des provinces romaines ?

Les scènes nilotiques

Dans la maison du Faune à Pompéi, la mosaïque de la *Bataille d'Alexandre et de Darius* décorait une exèdre. Le seuil, délimité par deux colonnes corinthiennes, était orné d'une mosaïque, composée de plusieurs panneaux illustrant des scènes de vie sur le Nil, datés de la fin du II^e siècle avant J.-C. Ces derniers ont été largement décrits et nous ne nous intéresserons ici qu'à la représentation des fleurs de lotus.

L'illustration qui en est faite semble décrire visuellement les différents stades du cycle de vie de la fleur. Ainsi on remarque à droite de l'un des panneaux⁵ (Fig. 1) un bouton épais, de forme conique, protégé par des sépales (qui semble

5 (MN, Naples, 9990).

être au nombre de quatre). L'ensemble de ces sépales, de couleur vert amande, forme le calice et le bourgeon est rose pâle. Ce bouton est porté par un long pédoncule qui l'élève au-dessus de l'eau. La fleur est légèrement penchée vers la gauche. À côté d'elle, une autre excroissance qui contient en germe une seconde fleur suit la même inclinaison. Un petit peu plus bas sur la mosaïque, une fleur éclose et partiellement fanée laisse apparaître une rangée de cinq pétales alternativement rouge et rose. À l'origine la fleur devait porter plusieurs rangées de pétales extérieurs et intérieurs formant ainsi une double corolle. Au centre, un nombre important d'étamines prend naissance autour du réceptacle de forme conique. Une autre fleur semblable décore le centre de la scène. Quatre carpophores⁶ sont dépourvus de pétales et portent un certain nombre d'alvéoles à ouverture circulaire. Chacun de ces orifices est censé comporter un fruit, un akène. Signalons la façon dont ces réceptacles ont été traités quant au choix des couleurs ; deux ont la partie extérieure verte, et la face supportant les fruits de couleur rose clair ; les deux autres présentent un ciboire vert/ brun et la partie alvéolaire est rouge. Cela correspond à la fin du cycle de vie de la plante. La fleur s'est fanée, les pétales et les étamines sont tombés, seul le réceptacle au sommet du pédoncule continue à mûrir afin de libérer les fruits. Chez les Égyptiens, l'association du lotus et de l'immortalité est sans doute liée à la longévité exceptionnelle de ses graines, capables de rester en dormance durant des siècles avant de germer lorsque les conditions sont propices. On sait d'après les textes⁷ que les habitants du Delta se nourrissaient de ces graines (Amigues 1995 : 51-52 ; 2007 : 101)⁸. Les Grecs nommaient le lotus « fève d'Égypte » et Théophraste le décrit très précisément :

« La fève d'Égypte pousse dans les marécages et les lacs. Sa tige atteint au maximum quatre coudées de longueur sur un doigt d'épaisseur ; elle ressemble à un roseau tendre et sans nœuds, mais présente intérieurement des interstices répartis sur tout son diamètre comme les rayons de cire. Cette tige est surmontée de la tête qui ressemble un peu à un petit nid de guêpes arrondi. Chacune des alvéoles contient une fève légèrement proéminente ; on en compte trente au maximum. La fleur est le double d'un pavot et sa couleur un rosé saturé. La tête se dresse au-dessus de l'eau. À côté de chacune des fèves poussent de grandes feuilles de dimensions égales à celles d'un feutre thessalien, qui ont une tige identique à celle des fèves. Quand on brise chaque fève, on en voit bien la partie amère, contournée, d'où naît la feuille en forme de feutre » (Theophr. h. plant. IV, 8, 7).

La présence de cette fleur en Égypte ne semble pas être antérieure à l'époque perse (Woenig 1971 : 34-44 ; Germer 1985 : 39-40). Les éléments d'architecture comme les colonnes lotiformes pourraient être liés à l'image du lotus blanc (*Nymphaea lotus* L.) indigène en Égypte (Amigues 1995 : 51). Il s'agirait d'une variété à fleurs blanches de l'espèce *Nymphaea caerulea* (Amigues 2010 : 164 note 118).

6 Cette partie est aussi comparée à un ciboire qui donnera naissance au mot « ciborion » pour désigner le fruit.

7 Hdt. II, XCII : « Il y a une autre espèce de lis, ressemblant aux roses, et qui croît aussi dans le Nil. Son fruit a beaucoup de rapport avec les rayons d'un guépier : on le recueille sur une tige qui sort de la racine, et croît auprès de l'autre tige. On y trouve quantité de grains bons à manger, de la grosseur d'un noyau d'olive : on les mange verts ou secs. »

8 Voir Grimaldi 2018 : 5 : « Carbonized fruits of *N. nucifera* have been recovered from a late 4th century BC necropolis at Salamis in Cyprus. Desiccated seeds of sacred lotus have also been found at Berenike (Egypt) and dated to the 1st-2nd century AD ».

Dans les peintures égyptiennes, il n'est pas rare d'observer des fruits à différents stades de maturité, comme sur l'un des fragments provenant de la chapelle tombale de Nebamon⁹ (Fig. 5) (Strudwick 2006 : 176 ; Middleton - Uprichard 2008). Différentes espèces d'arbres fruitiers sont représentées comme les palmiers-dattiers, les figuiers-sycomores ou les palmiers doums. Au centre du fragment, un étang rectangulaire présente une faune marine, des canards et des lotus (probablement la variété de *Nymphaea caerulea*, comme le suggère l'aspect pointu des pétales de la fleur, bien différent de ceux du *Nelumbo nucifera*). L'eau est de couleur bleue ; de fines lignes horizontales marquent l'ondulation et aucune ombre n'est apparente. Les fleurs et les oiseaux sont dessinés de profil sur le fond azur (Fig. 6). Il en est de même, pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple, de l'une des parois peintes de la tombe de Menna (TT69) à Thèbes¹⁰. Une scène de chasse dans un marais y est finement traitée. Il s'agit d'un thème classique qui n'a pratiquement pas évolué depuis l'Ancien Empire. Un homme se tient debout sur une barque en papyrus et roseaux ligaturés dont on remarque les extrémités en bouton. La partie inférieure de la paroi laisse entrevoir les eaux fourmillant de vie animale. Les canards nagent, se posent au milieu des lotus ouverts, ou en bouton. L'eau est symbolisée par des lignes brisées, disposées horizontalement et de couleur bleue (Fig. 7).



Figure 5
Thèbes, fragment provenant de la chapelle tombale de Nebamon. Photo : V. Vassal.



Figure 6
Thèbes, détail d'un fragment provenant de la chapelle tombale de Nebamon. Photo : V. Vassal.

⁹ Daté de la XVIII^e dynastie et conservé au British Museum (ES. 177).

¹⁰ Daté de la XVIII^e dynastie. Pour l'ensemble du décor peint de la tombe voir Hartwig 2013.

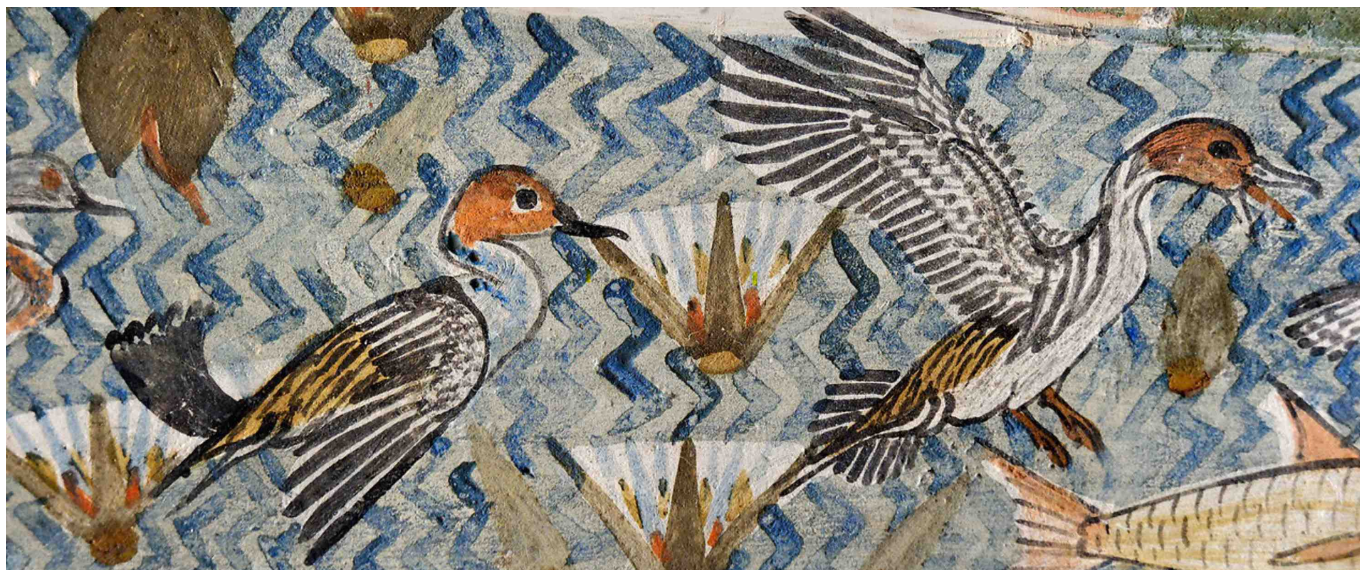


Figure 7
Thèbes, détail de la paroi de la tombe de Menna (TT69). Photo : V. Vassal.

Sur les décors de mosaïques, à l'époque hellénistique, nous retrouvons presque toujours, des végétaux figurés de façon plus ou moins schématisée, mais empreint d'un grand naturalisme. Les lotus peuvent être identifiés, cette fois, comme des *nelumbo nucifera*, représentés en bouton, en fleur, sans étamine... C'est le cas, notamment, sur la mosaïque Barberini à Préneeste, où les divers stades de la vie de la fleur défilent, de même que sur le panneau provenant de la maison du Faune, cité précédemment. Le lotus apparaît parfois de face, ses pétales déployés. *Le nelumbo* se compose alors de plusieurs corolles, dont les pétales arborent des dégradés de couleur allant du rose foncé au rose clair (Fig. 8). Ce traitement n'est pas sans rappeler celui du fragment de la mosaïque des bains de Canope



Figure 8
Préneeste, détail de la Mosaïque Barberini. Photo : V. Vassal.

où un large nénulmo à deux corolles se déploie, vue du dessus, en composition circulaire (Daszewski 1978 : 125-126 fig. 113-114 ; Guimier-Sorbets 2009 : 650 fig. 8 ; Guimier-Sorbets - Redon 2017 : 149, 168 fig. 33 ; 2019a : 108-109 fig. 110, 226 ; Vassal 2018 : 74-75 fig. 9a). À Préneste, le réceptacle n'est plus visible, seules les fleurs s'épanouissent au bout de longs et fins pédoncules, ils sont disposés en plans successifs afin de créer un effet de profondeur. Le même traitement est présent sur la mosaïque de Privernum, daté entre le II^e et I^{er} avant J.-C. dont le seuil à décor nilotique ornait le *triclinium* d'une *domus*. La scène est savamment orchestrée par des éléments d'architecture, où des pygmées évoluent au milieu d'une faune ordinaire évoquant le Nil : canards, poissons, crocodiles, oiseaux.

À Privernum les motifs végétaux prennent une importance indéniable au vu de leurs répétitions sur le seuil et dans les compartiments du pavement qui décorait le *triclinium* (Cancellieri 2010 : 86, 89 fig. 23). Le premier motif à considérer est la fleur en bouton ; elle se situe à peu près au centre du panneau, juste à droite du crocodile en train de croquer la jambe de l'un des pygmées (Fig. 9). Le bouton floral ovale et pointu apparaît enveloppé de deux sépales bleu vert.



Figure 9
Privernum, détail du seuil nilotique.
Photo : V. Vassal.

La corolle placée à sa droite est plus avancée dans son développement. Les pétales s'élargissent progressivement ; ils ne sont pas à leurs extensions maximales mais ils révèlent néanmoins le cœur de la fleur et la couleur jaune suggère les étamines serrées contre le réceptacle. Le lotus est tourné vers le spectateur, il n'est plus représenté de profil. Enfin le troisième nénulmo est parfaitement ouvert, étalant de plus en plus ses pétales, libérant probablement le pollen afin d'attirer les insectes pollinisateurs. Les hautes feuilles protectrices orbiculaires à bords relevés qui accompagnent généralement les nénulmos sont ici éloignées de l'inflorescence. Ces dernières sont réalisées à l'aide de tesselles de calcaire de différentes couleurs afin de matérialiser les courbes des limbes et accentuer les effets de perspective illusionniste. Tout comme sur les pavements de la maison du Faune à Pompéi et de Preneste, l'utilisation de tesselles de verre est également à souligner (Boschetti 2011 : 65, 69 fig. 12, 71-72 fig. 15). Pour les propriétaires, la représentation de ces fleurs pouvait évoquer, le présent,

le passé et le futur en raison de la présence simultanée de la plante en bouton, de la fleur et du fruit, marquant ainsi, par analogie, le caractère éphémère de la vie humaine¹¹.

Sur les quelques exemples que nous avons cités, le lotus est très souvent accompagné de couple de canards, mais aussi d'oies du Nil, d'oiseaux et d'autres espèces marines. Le canard reste cependant dans l'univers mental, un gibier, lié à l'*aucupium*, la capture des oiseaux dont les Romains étaient très friands (Vendries 2009 : 119-140). Il n'en demeure pas moins un animal familier de la faune et des représentations nilotiques. Les canards nagent côte à côte, sont nichés dans une fleur de lotus, dans le creux d'une feuille, portent à leur bec une tige de lotus¹².

Figure 10
Nîmes, Détail de l'un des panneaux de la mosaïque de Bellérophon. Photo : Musée de la Romanité – Ville de Nîmes.

En Gaule, l'un des rares exemples présentant des végétaux ressemblant à des feuilles de lotus, associés à des canards, décore l'un des panneaux de la mosaïque de Bellérophon à Nîmes datant du III^e siècle après J.-C. (Fig. 10). J. Aymard dans son article de 1953 décrit très précisément les oiseaux aquatiques, qu'il identifie comme des canards sauvages (Aymard 1953 : 256). En ce qui concerne



les deux végétaux de la partie supérieure, il précise que : « [...] se dressent deux tiges hautes et flexibles, sommées d'une large feuille hélicoïdale. » (Aymard 1953 : 255). À aucun moment il n'identifie ces deux végétaux, à des feuilles de lotus. Il est vrai que nous sommes dans un contexte régional, bien éloigné des thématiques nilotiques très prisées en Italie. Cependant, le thème

11 Il peut également s'agir d'une évocation du temps cyclique et d'un rapprochement établi entre la vie de la fleur et la vie humaine. Pour la conception circulaire du temps, voir Chenet 2000 : 47-51.

12 Aymard 1953 : 265 et notes : « [...] développant ainsi leur pouvoir grâce à la manducation de végétaux prophylactiques ».

de cette mosaïque peut être rapproché du décor provenant du châle de Sabine, toile copte de laine rouge à décor de tapisseries, découvert à Antinoé, et daté entre les IV^e et V^e siècles après J.-C. (Fig. 11)¹³. Des petits *putti* s'ébattent dans un paysage nilotique composé de touffes de lotus roses entre lesquels évoluent des couples de canards. Le médaillon central présente Bellérophon aux prises avec la Chimère (Calament - Durand 2013 : 374-387). Parmi les pavements à sujets mythologiques qui nous sont parvenus, ceux qui illustrent l'histoire de Bellérophon sont assez peu nombreux. Nous connaissons au IV^e siècle avant



Figure 11
Antinoé, fragment du châle de Sabine.
Photo : V. Vassal.

J.-C., le pavement d'Olynthe (Salzmann 1982 : n°79 11, 23, 99-100 pl.15.2) puis le mythe semble disparaître pour resurgir dans le courant des II^e-III^e siècles en Occident : Autun, Reims, Avenches et Herzogenbuchsee (Delbarre-Bärtschi 2014 : 108, 205 pl. 15, 247 pl. 35,4) Ravenne, Conimbriga, Lullingstone, Parndorf (Toynbee 1955 : 91-97 ; Amandry 1956 : 155 - avec mention de la bibliographie antérieure) en Orient à Constantinople et Palmyre (Gawlikowski 2005 : 1293-1304). D'après les éléments stylistiques identifiés, seul l'exemple de Nîmes présente un couple de canards accompagné de feuille de lotus, comme sur les médaillons entourant Bellérophon sur le châle de Sabine. Les analyses effectuées sur des fragments de tissu mettent en évidence des colorants utilisés par les Égyptiens : la garance, l'indigo ou la gaude (Rutschowscaya 2004 : 59). Il semble donc que notre panneau nîmois évoque un paysage nilotique extrêmement stylisé, dont l'origine nous échappe. Mais les thématiques des panneaux associés au mythe de Bellérophon semblent toutes avoir un lien. À Nîmes, Bellérophon et les Saisons peuvent s'interpréter dans le sens prophylactique ou eschatologique. La Chimère terrassée par Bellérophon représente l'allégorie du bien contre le mal ou la mort domptée qui peut être revendiquée aussi bien par la Rome impériale que par la chrétienté. L'évocation du Nil, c'est le renouveau et la promesse d'une vie meilleure.

¹³ Les fragments sont dispersés dans trois musées (musée du Louvre, musée des tissus de Lyon, musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon). Un ensemble de quatorze motifs a été mis en vente aux enchères en 2013. Ces motifs sont aujourd'hui au Louvre Lens.

Dans l'église de la multiplication des pains à Tabgha, datée du V^e siècle après J.-C. (Versluys 2002 : 228-230), la mosaïque est agrémentée d'oiseaux aquatiques entourés de larges et grands nénubos stylisés (Fig. 12). Les motifs végétaux représentés ne sont pas réalistes et sont traités dans un tout autre esprit que ceux des mosaïques précédemment étudiées. Les fleurs, les fruits et les feuilles semblent disproportionnés ; il n'y a pas d'éléments de paysage. Ni la couleur, ni le traitement de la surface ne trahit la présence de l'eau, pourtant un nilomètre rappelle le Nil. Le mosaïste remplit l'espace à l'aide de motifs de fleurs, de canards, d'oiseaux et subordonne ainsi, la composition à l'effet décoratif. Ce traitement vient probablement de l'Orient.

Figure 12
Tabgha, détail de la mosaïque de l'église de
la multiplication des pains.
Photo : V. Vassal.



Nous pourrions multiplier les exemples et approfondir notre propos, mais les quelques remarques exprimées montrent l'intérêt que portaient les Romains aux scènes nilotiques et particulièrement à la faune et à la flore du Nil.

L'exemple du lotus est prégnant puisqu'il est omniprésent sur toutes les mosaïques à décor de scènes nilotiques. Mais étonnamment, les fleurs sont toujours des *Nelumbos nucifera* et jamais des *Nymphaea caerulea* (bleu), ni même des *Nymphaea lotus* bien identifiés dans l'iconographie égyptienne¹⁴. Si les mosaïstes ayant conçu les pavements d'époque hellénistique - comme ceux de Pompéi et Préneste - étaient originaires d'Alexandrie (Meyboom 1995 : 91-95), on s'étonne de ne jamais voir de confusions entre les différentes fleurs. Sauf si les *Nymphaea caerulea* avaient, à cette époque, totalement disparu du paysage égyptien. Or Athénée (Athen. deipn. XV, 677) rapporte qu'au cours du II^e siècle après J.-C., on tressait à Alexandrie des couronnes de lotus bleu. Comment est-il possible que les mosaïstes alexandrins ou de formation alexandrine n'aient pas reproduits les variétés de fleurs aux pétales étroits *Nymphaea caerulea*. Ces fleurs n'étaient-elles plus en vogue, limitées à des cultures dans des jardins privés ?

Si l'on considère maintenant la représentation de l'eau sur les mosaïques nilotiques, on remarque que le traitement est réalisé à l'aide de fines lignes de tesselles en dégradé de couleur, sur un fond gris-bleu, bleu-clair, tout du moins pour les œuvres de la période hellénistique. Ce traitement est très proche des exemples des tombes de Menna et Nebamon où la transparence, les frissonnements de l'eau sont dépeints, pour l'un, avec de fines lignes parallèles

¹⁴ Il n'est pas possible de voir des *Nelumbo nucifera* sur les œuvres de l'Égypte pharaonique puisque ces derniers ont été introduits par les Perses.

gris-bleu, et pour l'autre avec des lignes brisées horizontales bleu foncé. La comparaison entre mosaïques et peintures est évidemment rendue délicate par le décalage chronologique qui les sépare.

Nous avons évoqué très brièvement le décor chrétien de l'église de Taghba où la couleur de l'eau a totalement disparue. Lorsque l'on se tourne vers la partie orientale de l'Empire, cette caractéristique semble être un principe. Le Nil et ses bienfaits sont caractérisés par les végétaux stylisés et la faune ; cela donne aux scènes, un aspect très décoratif mais plus du tout naturaliste.

Ces quelques remarques montrent que les mosaïstes ont cherché à représenter avec grande précision la flore égyptienne, tout du moins à l'époque hellénistique. L'aspect naturaliste a disparu au fil du temps, mais la symbolique devait toujours être présente en fonction du lieu où se situait la mosaïque dans la maison, de l'origine du commanditaire, du contexte chronologique et géographique. Les nénubos ne peuvent être dissociés des scènes nilotiques qui symbolisaient le renouveau, la luxuriance ; ces scènes souvent à fonction apotropaïque, pouvaient être également interprétées, comme nous le mentionnions précédemment, d'un point de vue eschatologique.

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Mozaiklerin Yerinde Sergilenmesi ve Korunmasına Yönelik Tasarımlarda İlişkisel Anlam Çözümlemesinin Katkıları

Contributions of Relational Meaning Analysis in Designs for the Exposure and Conservation of Mosaics

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Öz

Günümüzde yerinde koruma ve sergileme giderek önem kazanmaktadır. Bu durum sergilenen eserin değerini ortaya çıkarırken, en ideal koruma koşullarını sağlayacak mimari ve endüstriyel sergi elemanlarının gerekliliğini de beraberinde getirmiştir. Tasarlanan elemanın işlevsel olduğu kadar görsel olarak da sergilenen kültür varlığının önem ve değerini yansıtır nitelikte olması gerekmektedir. Tasarlanan sergi elemanları, eserleri korurken görmeye gelenlere farklı duylulara hitap eden deneyimler yaşatabildikleri ölçüde başarılı olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu başarı eserlerin korunabilme oranı, tasarımın farklı kullanıcıların gereksinimlerine cevap verebilmesi ve ekonomik katkı sağlayabilecek mekânsal niteliklere karşılık verebilmesiyle ölçülür.

Bu çalışma kapsamında yerinde korunması uygun görülen mozaiklerin korunması ve sergilenmesine yeterli ve nitelikli öneriler getirebilmek için düşünülmesi gereken ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilerin bileşenlerinden bahsedilecek ve tasarım sürecinde göz önünde bulundurulması önemli olan koşulların altı çizilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arkeolojik peyzaj, mozaik, koruyucu örtü tasarımı, ilişkisel çözümleme.

Abstract

Today, on-site preservation and display are gaining more importance. While this situation reveals the value of the exhibited work, it has necessitated architectural and industrial exhibition structures that will provide the ideal protection conditions. The designed element should be functional and visually reflect the importance and value of the cultural heritage exhibited. While preserving the works, the designed exhibition structures are considered successful to the extent that they provide experiences appealing to different senses to those who come to see them. This success is measured by the preservation rate of the artefacts, the design's ability to respond to the needs of different users, and its ability to respond to spatial qualities that can contribute economically.

Within the scope of this study, the relations that need to be considered to make adequate and qualified suggestions for the preservation and display of mosaics that are deemed appropriate to be preserved in situ will be mentioned, and the conditions that are important to be considered in the design process will be underlined.

Keywords: Archaeological landscape, mosaic, protective structure design, relationship analysis.

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Giriş

En özgün anlamlarıyla anıtlar; insanın yaptığı işleri, sahip olduğu hüneleri ve gelecek kuşaklara aktarmayı uygun bulduğu bilgileri iletmek amacıyla inşa ettiği, taşınır ve taşınmaz eserlerdir. Tarihi anıtlar ortaya çıktıkları çevrelerde tarihi süreç içerisinde gelişerek gelen kültürün anlık bir kesitini yansıttıkları için eskilik değerine, geçmişini anlamak ve aydınlatmak için birer araç olduklarından dolayı anımsatma değerine ve ortaya çıktıkları andan itibaren insanoğluna ait birer bilgi kaynağı olduklarından dolayı da kullanım değerine sahiptirler. Anıtların anımsatma değeri, insanın duysal ve ruhsal ihtiyaçlarını tatmin etme yetisine sahip olması dolayısıyla ortaya çıkar. Bu değer bakımından insan anıtın oluşturulduğu andaki halini deneyimlemeyi ve onun tam bir kapalılığa, doğanın ve insanın yıkıcı etkilerine karşı bir dokunulmazlığa sahip olmasını istemeye yatkındır (Reigl 2015). Bu yatkınlığın sonucu olarak koruma kavramı ortaya çıkmıştır. Koruma yaklaşımlarını taşınabilir kültür varlıklarında uygulamak yerleşimler, yapılar, mozaikler ve duvar resimleri gibi taşınmaz kültür varlıklarına göre görece daha kolaydır. Anıtlardan geriye kalan kalıntıları yerinde, orijinal ortamlarında ve bağlamlarında korumak ve sunmak, değerlerini en üst düzeye çıkarmak ve onlardan faydalanmak için en iyi yoldur. Ancak tarihi kalıntılar kendilerini atmosferik koşullardan koruyamaz ve orijinal kabuklarının gevşemesi ve malzemelerinin kırılabilirliği nedeniyle yaşlanma faktörlerine karşı savunmasızdırlar (Rizzi 2007). Bu nedenle her ne amaçla üretilmiş olursa olsunlar uzun zaman yer altında kalmış kalıntıların, araştırılmak ve sergilenmek üzere ortaya çıkarıldığı andan itibaren değişen iklimsel ve fiziksel koşullara karşı zarar görmeden korunabilmesi ve üretim amacı olan çeşitli türdeki bilgiyi aktarabilmesi açısından, koruma yöntemlerine başvurmak büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Taşınmaz mirasın korunması son yıllarda birçok uluslararası platformda tartışılmaya başlanmış ve doğal veya insan yapımı unsurları açısından yenilenemeyen karakterleri nedeniyle birçok uluslararası belgenin parçası haline gelmiştir. Uluslararası platformlarda ilk defa 1666'da İsveç Beyannamesi'nde yer bulan "yerinde koruma" kavramı, Anadolu coğrafyasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Tanzimat Döneminde taşınmaz eserlerin yerinde korunması olarak görülmeye başlanmış olsa da yöntem ve gereklilikleri günümüzde yeni yeni tartışılmaya ve uygulanmaya başlamıştır (Ertosun 2010).

ICOMOS 1990 yılında yayınladığı Arkeolojik Mirasın Korunması ve Yönetilmesi Tüzüğünde, arkeolojik mirasın bütün insanlığın malı olduğunu ve bu nedenle korunması için gereken kaynakların sağlanmasının her ülkenin görevi olduğunu vurgulamıştır (ICOMOS 1990). Arkeolojik mirasın korunmasına yönelik bilimsel davranış başta arkeoloji olmak üzere birçok bilim dalının ortak sorunudur. Bu ortak çalışma gerekliliği, Venedik Tüzüğünde anıtların korunması ve onarımı için mimari mirasın incelenmesine ve korunmasına yardımcı olabilecek bütün bilim ve tekniklerden yararlanılması gerektiği ifadesiyle vurgulanmıştır. Yine Venedik Tüzüğü'nün 4. Maddesine göre arkeolojik mirasın yerinde korunması ve sergilenmesinin önündeki çözülmesi gereken en büyük problem, koruma ve sergileme amacı ile kullanılacak ürünün veya yöntemin kalıcı ve sürdürülebilir olmasıdır (ICOMOS 1964). Sürdürülebilir olmak için üretilen eserin uzun ömürlü malzemeler içermesi ya da yapıldığı günkü halini koruması yeterli değildir. Yani çözümün değişen iklimsel koşullar, kullanım gereksinimleri ve bürokratik yaklaşımlara karşı kendi bağlamını koruyarak uyum sağlayabilecek esneklikte olması da gerekir.

Taşınabilir arkeolojik buluntuların çeşitli koruma ve birleştirme teknikleri kullanılarak uzun süreli koruma altına alınmaları mümkündür. Fakat duvar resimleri, mozaikler gibi yerinde korunması ve sergilenmesi daha uygun olan kültür varlıklarının, koruma çalışmalarına rağmen olumsuz hava koşulları ve insanların fiziksel etkisi gibi yollarla zarar görmeleri söz konusudur (Zeren - Uyar 2012). Bu tip anıt eserlerin muhafazası daha farklı koruma çabalarını gerektirir. Farklı niteliklerde koruyucu örtü ve strüktürler önerilen yöntemlerden birisidir. Taşınamaz arkeolojik mirasın korunmasında kullanılacak koruyucu örtü ve strüktürler, bozulma faktörlerine karşı koruma sağlamanın ötesinde araştırma ve sunuma yönelik olanaklar sağlarlar. Taşınır ve/veya taşınamaz eserlerin ortaya çıkarıldığı neredeyse bütün kazılarda, kolay etkilenen ve bozulan malzemenin nemden, ani kurumadan ve mekanik hasarlardan korunması için örtüye ihtiyaç duyulur (Schmidt 1988). Koruyucu yapılar, bozulma faktörleri üzerinde kontrol sağlayan ve sistemin sunumuna izin veren örtülerden biri olarak düşünülebilir. Koruyucu yapıların tasarlanma ölçütleri, yasal yükümlülükler ile kullanılacak teknolojik olanakların kullanımı ve ekonomisi açısından her ülkeye göre değişkenlik göstermektedir.

Bu çalışma kapsamında mozaik buluntularını doğru mekânsal koşullarda deneyimleyebilmek ve koruyarak aktarabilmek için üretilecek üst örtü ve koruyucu yapıların tasarımları aşamasında mimarlar, arkeologlar ve konservatörler tarafından üzerinde durulması gereken ölçütleri belirleyebilme aşamasında düşünülmesi gereken ilişkiler ve tasarım sürecinde göz önünde bulundurulması önemli olan koşulların altı çizilecektir.

Mozaik Buluntuları için Koruyucu Örtü Tasarmlarken Göz Önünde Bulundurulması Gereken Süreçler

Mozaik kazıları; buluntunun kırılma riski, uzun süre zemin altında kaldıktan sonra toprak üzerine çıkarıldığında birleştirici malzemenin karşılaşacağı ani değişimlerden etkilenip hasar görme olasılığı ve açmalar ile alandaki hareketliliğin zeminde ani çökmeler ve kaymalar oluşturup buluntuya zarar verme ihtimali gibi risklerden dolayı özellikle dikkat ve özen gerektiren çalışmalardır. Bu hassasiyet gereksinimi hem kazı çalışmaları hem de sonrasındaki sergileme sürecinde yapılacak koruyucu örtülerin de tasarımını yakından ilgilendirmekte ve tasarımcının karşısına çözülmesi gereken bir problem olarak çıkmaktadır.

Mozaikleri korumak ve sergilemek amacıyla tasarlanacak olan koruyucu örtü ve strüktürlerin duyarlı olması gereken iki farklı süreç vardır. Bunlardan ilki kazıların ve araştırmaların devam ettiği “Araştırma Süreci” dir. Bu süreç bakanlığın kazıya izin verdiği sezonlar ve buluntuların henüz sergilemeye açılmasının uygun olmadığı ve araştırmaların devam edemediği sezon arası zamanlardır. Araştırma sürecinde koruyucu elemanların karşılık vermeleri gereken korumaya yönelik ihtiyaçlar da değişkenlik gösterir.

Araştırma sürecinde ortaya çıkan mozaiklerde yapılan koruma uygulamaları, önleyici uygulamalar ve etkin koruma uygulamaları olarak sınıflandırılmıştır (Şener 2012). Önleyici koruma uygulamaları buluntunun ortaya çıkartılmasından önce temizlik aşamasına gelene kadar geçen süreçte gereken uygulamalardır ve bu uygulamalar daha çok iklimsel koşulların buluntu ve kazıda çalışanlar için idealize edilmesine gereksinim duyar. Öncelikle mozaığın yeni bir ortamla karşılaştığında zarar görmemesi, ardından da kazıda çalışan araştırmacılar ve destek elemanlarına verimli çalışabilmeleri için ideal ortamın sağlanması amacıyla düşünülmesi gereken, örtünün ani hava değişimlerine karşı koruyucu

olması ve çalışan kişilerin buluntulara zarar vermeden hareket etmeleri ile kazıda kullanılan araç gerecin hızlı ve güvenli bir şekilde ulaştırılmasına olanak sağlayacak zemin elemanı ihtiyacına karşılık vermesi gerekmektedir. Mozaik buluntuları mimari buluntulara nazaran daha ince ve özenli çalışma gerektirdiğinden, buluntuların korunabilmesi için toprak çökmelerine, ani ısı değişimlerinde ve zemin suyuna yönelik önlemler alınması gerekmektedir (French 1987).

Etkin koruma uygulamaları ise mozağin incelendiği, temizlendiği, belgelendiği ve iyileştirilerek araştırmalar ve sergilenmesi için hazırlanması sürecinde yapılan uygulamalardır. Bu uygulamalar hem buluntu için hem de araştırmacılar için daha detaylı mekânsal ihtiyaçlara cevap verilmesine gereksinim duymaktadırlar. Bu sürece yönelik olarak tasarlanacak olan mimari elemanın taşınabilir buluntuların saklanması ve temizlenmesi için güvenli alanlara, mozaiklerin tortu, bitki kökleri ve eski harçlardan temizlenmesi için olanak sağlayacak nitelikte sirkülasyon aksları ve temizleme sürecinin gerektirdiği araçları saklamak için hacimler içermesi, belgeleme çalışmaları için olanak sağlayacak nitelikte olması gerekmektedir.

Araştırma süreci boyunca alanda çalışacak arkeolog ve araştırmacılara hizmet etmek üzere dinlenme alanları, ıslak hacimler ve istendiği takdirde konaklama birimlerinin de tasarlanacak mimari elemanın bir parçası olarak düşünülmesi gerekmektedir. Kazı çalışmaları bilimsel araştırmalar olmakla beraber aynı zamanda eğitim alanı olma işlevi de taşırlar. Bu nedenle tasarlanan elemanın farklı tipte eğitimlere cevap verebilecek nitelikte olması da önemlidir.

Genelde araştırma sürecinde kullanılan koruyucu örtüler geçici olarak tasarlanmaktadır. Fakat bu durum günümüz teknolojileri ve sürdürülebilirlik kavramının gereklilikleri ile birlikte değerlendirilip değiştirilmesi gereken bir durumdur. Sürecin ikinci aşaması olan sezon arası dönemlerde de buluntuların değişken hava koşulları ya da insan eliyle verilebilecek zararlardan korunabilmesi için örtünün mozağı tamamen örtecek ve dışarıdan erişimi engelleyerek koruma için ideal, sabit hava şartları oluşturan ve insan erişimini tamamen engelleyecek biçimde tasarlanması uygun olacaktır.

Koruyucu örtü veya yapının duyarlı olması gereken ikinci süreç "Sergileme Süreci"dir. Bu süreç, mozağın kazılarla ortaya çıkarılıp temizlik ve belgelenmesinin tamamlanmasının ardından, insan deneyimine açıldığı süreçtir. Bu aşamada tasarlanan örtünün artık sadece koruyucu olmak ve ideal şartları sağlamaktan farklı ihtiyaçlara da cevap verebilecek nitelikte bir forma dönüşmesi gerekmektedir. Bu aşama artık örtünün kalıcı formuna ulaştığı ve yeni buluntular ve farklı deneyim önermeleri olmadan değiştirilmesinin zorlaştığı aşamadır.

Sergileme süreci için yapılacak tasarımlara yönelik birçok farklı tüzük ve yönetmelik bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan önde geleni olan Venedik Tüzüğü (1964) arkeolojik peyzajlara yapılacak eklemelerle ilgili olarak; yapılacak eklemelerin mevcut dokudan ayırt edilebilir nitelikte, modern yapılar olmaları ve ancak çevreleriyle beraber buluntulara zarar vermediği durumlarda yapılmalarına izin verilmesi gerektiğinin altını çizmektedir.

Arkeolojik peyzajlar farklı mekânsal ölçeklerde yaşayan insanların farklı eylemleri ile şekillenen oluşumlardır (Tuna 2016). İçindeki buluntuların korunması kadar peyzajın da korunması geçmişi anlamak için büyük önem taşımaktadır. Dolayısıyla arkeolojik peyzajların kültürel ve tarihi değeri üzerlerinde yer alacak koruyucu örtü ve strüktürlerin tasarımlarına yönelik ölçütler belirlenmesi için farklı yaklaşımlar içeren birçok araştırmanın yapılması

kaçınılmaz ihtiyaçtır. Araştırmalar sonucunda belirlenen ölçütler arasında arkeolojik peyzaj üzerinde tasarlanacak örtülerin; buluntuları çevre ve iklim koşullarına karşı koruyan, bozulmaya neden olacak etkenleri en aza indiren, yeni bozucu etkenlere neden olmayan, buluntuları öne çıkaran, çevre ile uyumlu, dönüştürülebilir, kaldırılabilir ve kalıntılara zarar vermeyen yapılar olması gerektiği fikirleri öne çıkmıştır (Zeren - Uyar 2010; Ertosun 2012; Yılmaz vd. 2019). Ayrıca kazı alanı ölçeğinde öncelikle alanın drenajının sağlanması yoluyla su döngüsünün kontrol altına alınması, araştırma ve izlemeye yönelik erişim-dolaşım hattı oluşturulması, ani çevresel değişimlerin etkilerini azaltmak ve insan kaynaklı tehditlere karşı buluntuları korumak için güvenlik önlemlerinin alınması ile buluntunun sunumu ve yorumlanmasına katkıda bulunacak önerilerde bulunmak (Ertosun 2012) da önerilen ölçütler arasındadır.

Mozaik- Koruyucu Örtü ve Mekânsal Deneyim İlişkisinin Tasarımda Yönlendirici Rolü

Mimari tasarım; tasarlanacak mekân, mekânın içeriği, mekânı kullanacak kişiler ve mekânın yaratması istenen etki gibi birçok farklı değişkenin aralarındaki ilişkiler ile yönlendirilen karmaşık bir süreçtir. Zamanın sürekliliği içinde mimar, geçmişini geleceğe bağlamak yoluyla uygun bir yaşam ve çevre oluşturabilir. Bunu başarmak içinse geçmişini ve şimdiki anlamak zorundadır (Thiry 1959). Tasarlanan şeyin varoluşunu anlamak için onu oluşturan, etkileyen ve ondan etkilenen aktörler arasındaki ilişkileri anlamak önemlidir. Çünkü bu ilişkileri anlamak yapılacak tasarımın daha nitelikli, kalıcı ve sürdürülebilir olmasına olanak sağlar.

Tasarlanacak mekâna yönelik farklı aktörler arasındaki ilişkilerin çözümlenmesi yoluyla tasarımla ilgili belirleyici veriler elde edilebilir. Çalışma kapsamında gereksinimlerini belirlemeyi amaçladığımız mozaiklere tasarlanacak koruyucu örtülerin tasarımı için kullanılacağı süreçlere yönelik ihtiyaç programlarının belirlenmesinin ardından, korunması ve sergilenmesi için tasarlandığı mozaikler ile koruma ve sergileme amacı taşıyan koruyucu örtüler ve mozaikçi görmeye gelen kişilerin yaşamları istenen mekânsal deneyimin arasındaki ilişki çözümlenmiştir.

Burada bahsedilen ilişkisel çözümleme, J. G. Bennett'in 1956 yılında araştırılan fenomenin bütüncül anlamını anlayabilmek için tasarladığı Basit Sistematik modelinin ilişkisel anlamı kavrayabilmek için kurgulanmış triad aşamasının uygulanması yoluyla yapılmıştır. Triad herhangi bir fenomenin dinamik bileşenleri arasındaki ilişkileri anlayarak fenomenin doğasını anlamayı hedefler (Bennett 1993). İlişkisel anlamın tasarlanacak mimari elemanlar için tasarım aşamasında uygulanması, elemanın doğru kurgulanmasına imkân vererek onun daha kalıcı ve sürdürülebilir olmasına olanak sağlar.

	Etki	İlişkisel Çözümleme	Çıktı
İlerleme Örtü-Mozaik-Deneyim	Destekleme, Güçlendirme	Örtü buluntunun deneyimleyende yaratması istenen deneyime göre biçimlenir.	Şekillenme
Etkileşim Örtü- Deneyim-Mozaik	Anımsama Deneyimi, Tarih Deneyimi	Örtünün formu ve kurgusu buluntunun değerini aktarmada rol oynar.	Mekânsal Deneyim
Toplanma Mozaik-Örtü-Deneyim	Deneyimin Özgünlüğü	Örtü ve buluntunun bağlamsal olarak uyumlu olması deneyimi güçlendirir.	Ziyaretçide mekâna bağlılık oluşturma
Kimlik Mozaik-Deneyim-Örtü	Kişiselleştirme	Ziyaretçiler mozaığın anımsatma değeri ve örtü ile desteklenen mekânsal deneyim yoluyla arkeolojik alanı kişiselleştirirler.	Arkeolojik peyzajı anlamak
Düzen Deneyim-Örtü-Mozaik	Bağlılık	Deneyimleyenlerin (araştırmacı, ziyaretçi) örtü ile desteklenen ören yerine olan bağlılığının artması.	Ziyaret ve yeniden ziyaret sayısında artış
Özgürlük Deneyim-Mozaik-Örtü	Yenilenme, Devanim	Ziyaretçi sayısının artması ekonomik getiriye arttırır, alana kendine ait bir gelir akışı oluşturur.	Güçlenme

Mozaığın sahip olduğu sanat ve mesaj içeriğinin örtünün formunu biçimlendiren önemli etkenlerden biri olduğu söylenebilir. Mozaik ile örtünün birbirlerini destekleyen şekilde tasarlanması örtüyü bağlamsal olarak kuvvetlendirirken, mozaığı ön plana çıkararak değerini aktarabilmesi için de destekleyici rol oynar. Bu karşılıklı fayda durumu mekânsal deneyim yoluyla, mozaığın tarihi ve anımsatma değerini öne çıkararak örtünün kullanım değerini de arttırır.

Örtünün sergilenen mozaığe göre biçimlenmesi onu benzerlerinden farklı kılar ve mekânsal deneyimi özgünleştirir. Yere ait özgün deneyim ve tasarımın üzerine uygulandığı arkeolojik peyzaja uygunluğu da alanın ziyaretçi tarafından bütüncül olarak anlaşılmasını kolaylaştırır. Kolay anlaşılın mekanlar kişilerin kendilerini o mekânda güvende hissetmelerini sağlar. Kişiler güvende oldukları yerlerde daha çok zaman geçirmeye ve o mekanlara yeniden gelmeye yatkınlık göstermektedirler.

Bilinirliğin artması ziyaret sayısını arttırır, artan ziyaretçi sayısı arkeolojik peyzajın bulunduğu yerleşimde turizm altyapısının sağlanması ya da varsa güçlendirilmesi ihtiyacını doğurmakta ve bölgesel bir gelir kaynağı oluşturmaktadır.

Sonuç

Yerinde korunması planlanan mozaiklerin korunması ve sergilenmesi ihtiyacına karşılık vermek için tasarlanacak mimari ve endüstriyel elemanların sahip olması gereken nitelikleri belirlerken, incelenmesi ve anlaşılması gereken üç temel ilişki vardır. Bunlar sergilenen ve korunan elemanın; insanla, iklimsel koşullarla ve bilimsel araştırmalara sağlanacak olan olanaklarla olan ilişkileridir. İnsanla olan ilişkiyle ilgili olarak, mozaığın insan hareketi ve fiziksel temasından korunması ve bu korumayı gerçekleştirirken görsel ilişkinin kesintisiz olarak sağlanması gerekmektedir. Sergi elemanlarının görsel ilişkiyi sağlamanın ötesinde, deneyimi tamamlamak için sergilenen eser ile ilgili gerekli bilgiyi hem işitsel hem görsel ve mümkünse farklı duylara hitap edecek biçimde sağlanması ideal olur. İklimsel koşullarla olan ilişkide birden çok bileşen düşünülmelidir. Öncelikle mozaığın korunması için ideal ısı, ışık ve akustik koşullarının sağlanması gerekir. Bu koşulların korunan eser için olduğu kadar, deneyimleyen insan ve araştırma yapan bilim insanları için de değiştirilebilir ve

Tablo 1
Örtü-Mozaik-Mekânsal Deneyim İlişkisi
Çözümlemesi.

ideal hale getirilebilir olması uygun olur. Mimari elemanın izleyicilere kontrollü görsel ve fiziksel erişim sağlarken, bilimsel araştırmalar sürecinde daha fazla erişim ve müdahaleye olanak sağlayacak şekilde esnek tasarlanması önemlidir.

Ayrıca tasarlanan mimari elemanın parçası olduğu çevre ile uyum içerisinde olması önemlidir. Bunu sağlayabilmek için izlenecek yollardan biri; tasarlandığı yerin etnik malzeme ve iklimlendirme çözümlerini, tasarımın bir parçası olacak şekilde yeniden yorumlayarak kullanmak olabilir. Bu çevreye duyarlı ve saygılı tasarım yaklaşımı 1994 yılında Japonya’da hazırlanan Nara Özgünlük Belgesinin vurguladığı; *“Bir anıtın ya da sitin doğasına ve kültürel bağlamına bağlı olarak; özgünlük yargısı çok çeşitli bilgi kaynaklarına bağlıdır. Bu kaynaklar; tasarım ve biçimi, malzeme ve nesneyi, kullanım ve işlevi, gelenek ve teknikleri, konum ve yerleşimi, ruh ve anlatımı, ilk tasarım ve tarihsel evrimi içerir. Bilgi kaynakları yapının bünyesinde olabileceği gibi, dışında da olabilir. Bu kaynakların kullanımı kültür mirasının, sanatsal, teknik, tarihsel ve toplumsal boyutlarıyla tanımlanmasına olanak verir.”* yaklaşımı ile kavramsal olarak uyumludur (Asatekin 2004: 82-85).

Günümüz iklimsel sorunları düşünüldüğünde, sergi elemanının çevreci ve sürdürülebilir olması eskiye nazaran çok daha önemli hale gelmiştir. Değişen koşullara uyum sağlayabilecek ve değiştirilmeye, yeniden şekillendirilmeye olanak sağlayacak esneklikte tasarımlar, varlıklarını daha uzun sürdürürler. Ayrıca mimari eleman yeterli gelmediğinde genişleyebilecek, gerekliliğini kaybettiğinde çevresine zarar vermeden kaldırılabilir ve başka bir alanda yeniden kullanılabilir nitelikte olmalıdır.

Mozaiklerin korunması ve sergilenmesine yönelik olarak tasarlanacak örtülerin uyması gereken tasarım ölçütlerini dikkate alarak tasarlanacak, alan ve korunacak elemanlarla ilgili farklı ilişkiler ile gereksinimleri çözümleyerek belirlenecek stratejiler yoluyla nitelikli ve uzun süre değiştirilmeden kullanılabilir eserler oluşturmak mümkündür. İncelenecek ilişkiler ne kadar çeşitlendirilirse, belirlenecek stratejiler o kadar çok probleme çözüm sunabilir. Bu çözümler yoluyla sadece tasarıma yönelik değil koruma ve geliştirme yöntemlerine yönelik veriler de elde etmek mümkündür.

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Reburial of Mosaics: Field Experiment Comparing Six Different Systems Based on the Results of Monitoring Station in Perge

Mozaiklerin Tekrar Gömülmesi: Perge’de Kurulan İzleme İstasyonu Sonuçlarına Göre Altı Farklı Gömme Sisteminin Karşılaştırılması

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Abstract

The effectiveness of six different reburial systems was investigated by means of a monitoring station installed on a part of approximately 110 square meters of mosaic, defined as basilica thermarum in the Southern Baths of the ancient city of Perge. The scope of the study covers the monitoring of six different reburial systems consisting of only soil filling on the tessellatum layer; only sand filling on the tessellatum layer; sand filling on geotextile laid on the tessellatum surface; sand and gravel, respectively on geotextile laid on the tessellatum surface; geotextile and pozzolana on the tessellatum surface, and finally, approximately 5 cm sand, geotextile, and 15 cm sand on the tessellatum surface. Key parameters, which lead to deterioration such as moisture content in these systems, system response to the precipitation, temperature change, acidity, salt content, and plant formation were evaluated comparatively.


In these systems, Decagon 10HS soil moisture sensor for moisture measurements and Apogee ST100 soil temperature sensor for temperature measurements were employed. Atmospheric humidity, atmospheric temperature and precipitation data were collected with a Davis® Vantage Vue™ Wireless Weather Station set. Data of salt content, acidity and elemental composition were obtained through conductivity analysis, pH tests, X-ray fluorescence (PED-XRF) analysis. Having reached under the reburial system, species analysis of plants that cause mosaic deterioration was realized, and the coverage degree of those plants was determined according to the Braun-Blanquet cover-abundance scale. This research, in which data for the years 2017-2018 were evaluated, showed that each monitored reburial system had certain advantages and disadvantages according to the above-mentioned parameters.

Keywords: *Perge, reburial, mosaics, conservation, archaeometry, in situ conservation.*

Öz

Perge antik kenti, Güney Hamam'daki basilica thermarum olarak tanımlanan mekân mozaığının yaklaşık 110 metre karelik bir bölümü üzerinde kurulan bir izleme istasyonu ile altı farklı tekrar gömme sisteminin etkinliği araştırılmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında, 1. tessellatum tabakası üzerine sadece toprak dolgu malzemesi; 2. tessellatum tabakası üzerine sadece kum dolgu malzemesi; 3. tessellatum yüzeyine serilen jeotekstil üzerine kum dolgu malzemesi; 4. tessellatum yüzeyine serilen jeotekstil üzerine sırasıyla kum ve çakıl; 5. tessellatum yüzeyine jeotekstil ve pozzolana ve son olarak; 6. tessellatum yüzeyine sırasıyla, yaklaşık 5 cm kum, jeotekstil ve tekrar 15 cm kum ile oluşturulan tekrar gömme sistemleri incelenmiştir. Bu sistemlerdeki nem kapasitesi, sistemlerin yağışlara verdiği tepki, sıcaklık değişimi, asidite, tuzluluk ve bitki oluşumu gibi bozulmaya yol açan anahtar parametreler karşılaştırmalı olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Sistemlerdeki nem ölçümleri için Decagon 10HS toprak nem sensörü, sıcaklık ölçümleri için Apogee ST100 toprak sıcaklık sensörü kullanılmıştır. Atmosferik nem, atmosferik sıcaklık ve yağış verileri Davis® Vantage Vue™ Wireless Weather Station meteoroloji istasyonu seti ile toplanmıştır. İletkenlik analizi, pH testleri, X-

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ışını floresan (PED-XRF) analizleri ile tuzlanma, asidite ve elemental kompozisyon verileri elde edilmiştir. Tekrar gömme sistemi altına ulaşarak mozaiklerin tahribine yolaçan bitkilerin cins ve tür analizleri yapılmış; bitkilerin örtme dereceleri Braun-Blanquet skalasına göre saptanmıştır. 2017-2018 yıllarına ait verilerin değerlendirildiği araştırma, izlenen her gömme sisteminin yukarıda belirtilen parametrelere göre belli avantaj ve dezavantajlar taşıdığını göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Perge, tekrar gömme, mozaik, konservasyon, arkeometri, in situ koruma.*

Introduction

Mosaics are laid in architectural structures for insulation, for creating a flat surface, and for decoration. The conservation of ancient mosaic pavement together with the architectural structure on which they are laid has gained increasing importance, beginning from the middle of the 20th century. This was especially true from the last decade of the century, when it had become a standard practice in conservation works, except for cases such as where there was failure to provide preservation and security in the field. The use of shelters or protective buildings is common in terms of *in situ* conservation. It has always been a controversial issue in terms of the impact from the placement of pillars and mechanical loads of the building on the site. Besides this, the large masses of such structures often conflict with the archaeological landscape. Construction and maintenance costs are high for these structures. Further their applicability to a limited number of mosaics in the field creates an ethical conflict around availability. Due to these restrictions, reburial is the most commonly used method, especially for mosaic pavements covering very large areas.

Reburial is the conservation of archaeological objects or architectural elements by covering them with different fill and separation materials against atmospheric, environmental, and mechanical damages, as well as vandalism and theft. The methods of reburial and the selection of materials thereof vary according to the conditions, such as climatic conditions, the display and presentation approach in the archaeological site, the decision-making process regarding budget and conservation, countries, archaeological sites, and even the unique conditions of the mosaic within the same archaeological site. It is common to use soil, sand, gravel, *pozzolana*, and clay pellets as fill material for the reburial of mosaics. Fill materials are used alone or in combination with separation materials. The most preferred separation materials are plastic sheets, tarpaulins, various types of fabric, geomembranes, and geotextiles. Especially after the 2000s, there seems to be an increase in the use of geotextiles. Separation materials are often laid directly on the mosaic surface or used between two or more layers of fill materials.

Reburial is a method that has been practiced almost from the beginning of archaeological excavations (Demas 2004: 137). The application of a rigorous methodology, such as that applied to other types of conservation treatments, is still rare in practice for reburial interventions, and this is largely due to the lack of data regarding which materials should be used for reburial and how they should be utilized (Burch - Agnew 2004: 347). Little is known about the process of conservation, especially in areas with high or low levels of oxygen exposed to a wetting-drying cycle (Agnew et al. 2004: 134). A review of the literature concerning the reburial of archaeological sites reveals that a significant proportion addresses the issue of mosaics (Roby 2004: 229; Demas 2012). However, the number of studies investigating the behavior of shallow reburial systems (Burch - Agnew 2004; Roby 2004; Stewart 2004), especially against ecological deteriorative factors, as used in mosaics, is extremely limited. The common argument of scientific studies in the field is that the subject needs

to be examined experimentally. A new field experiment method has been developed for research in terms of water/moisture content, temperature, acidity, salt content, and plant formation, which are the key parameters that lead to the deterioration of mosaic pavements, taking into account local conditions and the lack of knowledge in the field. A monitoring station was established on a part of approximately 110 square meters of mosaic in an area defined as the *basilica thermarum* in the Southern Bath of the ancient city of Perge. The aim behind the station's creation is to contribute to the practical development of the conservation method by reburial. It supports this goal by identifying advantages and disadvantages of six different reburial systems in line with the parameters in question through the data obtained from this monitoring station.

Deterioration Factors in the Reburial Environment

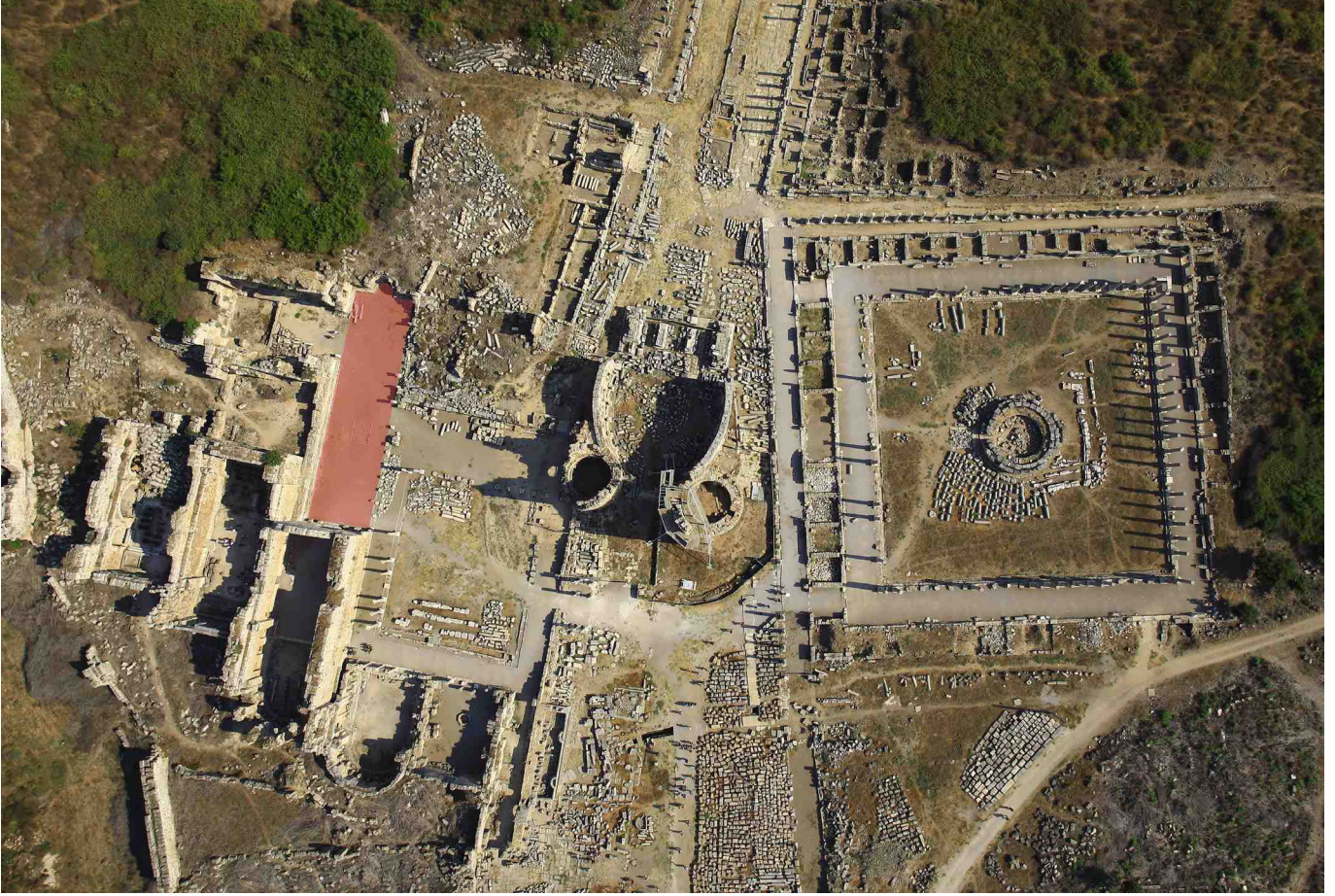
Mosaic pavements may be subject to deterioration in a reburial environment, mainly due to environmental factors, static or dynamic mechanical loads, or excavation, inappropriate restoration interventions, and human-induced reasons. The environmental disruptive/ deterioration factors that this research focuses on are interrelated. **Water/moisture** alone can cause physical and chemical damage; it is also directly related to acidity and salinity and is an important factor in promoting biological growth that is active in the deterioration of archaeological objects (Caple 2004: 158). Similarly, as **temperature** change plays an active role in pH and Eh change (Caple 2004: 157) in the reburial environment, chemical reactions and biological growths are accelerated at high temperatures (Cronyn 1990: 23). **Acidity** can dissolve calcium carbonate in stones and mortars, and also other minerals in stones. In addition to deterioration due to the crystallization pressure, **salinity** also leads to degradation by crustation on the surface. **Plants** cause deterioration by mechanical pressure of the roots, from carbon dioxide released from the roots, increasing organic components, causing stains and color change. In addition, carbon dioxide released from the roots has the potential to change the acidity in the environment (Caneva et al. 1991: 87-112). Measures to be taken against the degradation factors described above and the development of a new reburial system according to the climatic conditions of the region may be possible by understanding the ambient conditions and behavior of reburial systems against these conditions.

Selection of the Experimental Area and the Place Where the Monitoring Station Will Be Established

Field tests were carried out at a monitoring station established on a section of approximately 110 square meters of mosaic in an area defined as *basilica thermarum* (Özdizbay 2012: 37-38) (so-called Claudios¹ Piso Hall) (Room VII) in the Southern Bath of the ancient city of Perge, located in Aksu District of Antalya (Fig. 1).

In systematic excavations in Perge, mosaic pavements covering large areas (Colonnaded Street, Southern Bath, South Basilica, *Macellum*) were unearthed in the 1970s and 1980s (Işıklıkaya-Laubcher 2016: 170) and partially restored between 1977-1987. All of the mosaics were reburied and taken under protection. After 2003, approximately 3000 square meters of mosaic pavements in the ancient city of Perge in *Macellum*, the portico along the east of the Late Antique town square (also called portico of the South Basilica) and the Southern Bath

¹ The use of the Latin name Claudius Piso as Klaudios Peison in Greek is also common in publications (Özdizbay 2012: 38).



were examined comprehensively for the first time, and their documentation and archaeological research were carried out (Işıklıkaya 2010). According to this research, pavements generally dated to the 4th to 5th centuries AD and attributed to 8 workshops (Işıklıkaya-Laubscher 2016: 191-193).

There are two pavements that are large enough to set up the monitoring station and are attributed to the same workshop (Işıklıkaya-Laubscher 2016: 177). One of these is the Claudius Piso Gallery, and the other is the Northern Gallery of the *Palaestra* in the Southern Bath. According to characterization analysis, Claudius Piso Gallery mosaic mortars were examined in more detail in terms of density and porosity, which will have a greater effect on the moisture factor that is increasing by capillarity, and it was understood that the porosity of the samples taken was closer to each other (Uğur 2011: 112 table 21). Again, due to the destruction of the *tessellatum* layer (*lacunae*) and the original mortar on the same pavement, it was seen that, there was enough space for the test areas to be placed without damaging the mosaics (Erdek 2012: 111 cat no. 12). Unlike the pavement of the Northern gallery of the *palaestra* (Erdek 2012: 103 cat. no. 8/4), which was excavated in 1984, and restored according to the understanding of that period, and had a secondary restoration in 2006, the Claudius Piso Gallery was uncovered for the first time (Işıklıkaya 2010: 274 cat. no.14) and restored in 2017 (Erdek 2012: 119-120). Since we have more information about the restoration of the pavement of Claudius Piso Gallery and the materials used during the application (Erdek 2012: 111-114 cat. no. 12), it has led to the decision to continue the experiment in this area.

Figure 1
Ancient City of Perge, Southern Bath,
Basilica Thermarum (Claudius Piso
Gallery), Istanbul University, Perge Archive,
2011.

Selection of Reburial Systems Evaluated

In terms of reburial, excavation reports published annually usually without interruptions, and presenting the work done during the excavation season are important for understanding the trend. Technical details are not included in the proceedings of “Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları (KST, En: Excavation Results Meeting)”, where the results of excavations and research projects carried out each year since the 1980s are presented. But despite this, in addition to KST, there are three other sources that are important in terms of reporting the reburial application; “Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (AST, En: Research Results Meeting)”, published since 1983; “Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı (ArkST, En: Archaeometry Results Meeting)”, published since 1985, and “Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sonuçları Sempozyumu (MKKS, En: Museum Studies and Rescue Excavations Results Symposium)”. In the “Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri” (ANMED, News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas), which has been published since 2003 and where the excavations carried out in the Mediterranean Region, the reburial application has been reported briefly. In addition, the “Journal of Mosaic Research” is one of the periodicals that directly targets mosaic research and provides data on the topic². A comprehensive literature review on the aforementioned periodicals and specific publications on mosaic conservation provides us with an idea of the methods used in reburial of *in situ* mosaics and the used/preferred separation/horizon marker materials and fill materials in Turkey. These publications also provide clues about the decision-making process for reburial, the criteria for selection of reburial systems, and the change of these preferences³. Reburial systems to be monitored in Perge have been selected according to the criteria that they are the most preferred/used methods in Turkey to date.

Installation of Monitoring Station and Measuring Devices

The experiment is based on a comparative investigation of six different reburial systems (systems 1-6) in terms of moisture, temperature, acidity, salinity and plant diversity, and density. In this experiment, systems using only fill material⁴ and systems in which fill materials and geotextile⁵ are used together as separators were tested.

Within the scope of the experiment, only soil as fill material on the *tessellatum*

2 A total of 83 volumes between the numbers 2. and 38-3 of KST, 62 volumes between the numbers 1. and 34. of AST, 38 volumes between the numbers 1. and 32. of ArkSt, all numbers between 1. and 26. of MKKS, all numbers printed between 1. and 13. of ANMED, and numbers 1. and 9. of JMR (1066 articles in total) were reviewed. Since the most frequently used reburial systems in Turkey were determined according to this screening in the experiment carried out in Perge, Southern Bath, *basilica thermarum*, where reburial systems were mutually evaluated, the study is limited to the numbers published until 2016.

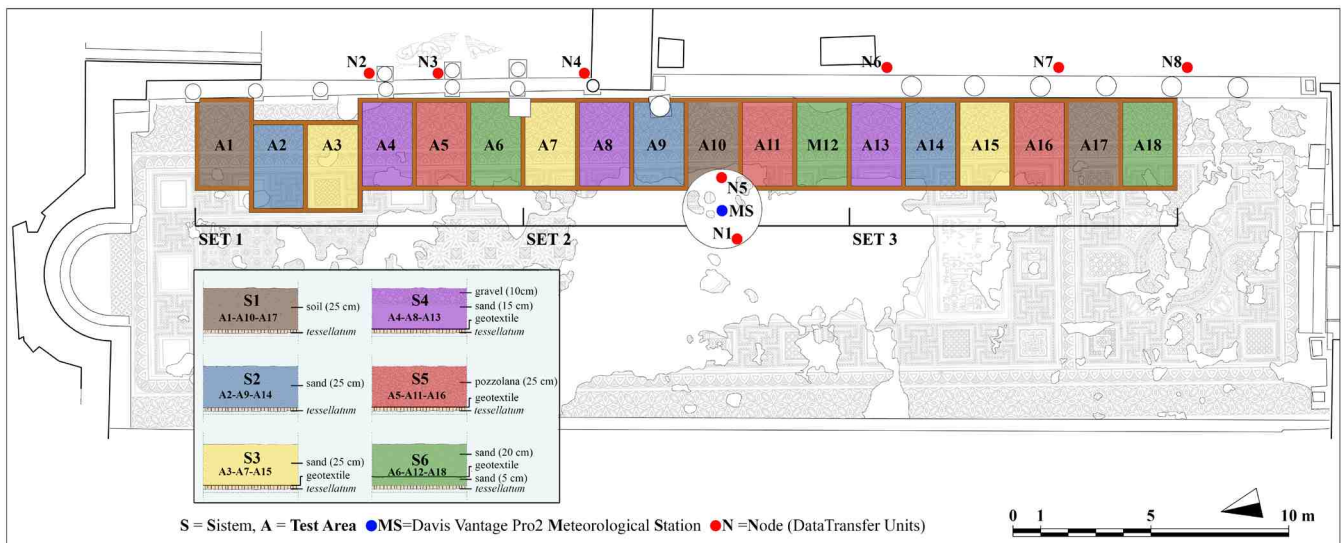
3 This comprehensive literature review will be published.

4 The fill materials used in the experiment are soil, sand, gravel, and *pozzolana*. The soil is excavated soil extracted from the archaeological site, obtained by sieving with a 2 mm sieve. Sand is 2 mm under-sieve stream sand, and gravel is stream gravel with 8-30 mm grain size. *Pozzolana* is a natural volcanic tuff with a grain size of 8-30 mm. Sand, gravel, and *pozzolana* were obtained from the local service provider.

5 It has been determined by the above-mentioned literature research that geotextile is used as a separation material in the majority of reburial applications in Turkey, especially after the 2000s. Despite that, no technical features of geotextile are mentioned in any of the reports in the literature reviewed. For this reason, the selection of geotextiles to be used in the experiment was based on information obtained from the main manufacturers in the field and companies providing restoration materials to the excavation sites. Accordingly, 200 gr/m² type of white geotextile produced by heat treatment method of non-woven, pure polypropylene-based fibers, which are stated to be most preferred by excavations, was chosen.

layer (system 1), only soil as fill material on the *tessellatum* layer (system 2), sand as fill material on the geotextile laid on the *tessellatum* surface (system 3), sand and gravel on the geotextile laid on the *tessellatum* surface, respectively (system 4); geotextile and *pozzolana* (system 5) on the *tessellatum* surface *pozzolana* as fill material on the geotextile laid on the *tessellatum* surface (system 5) and, finally reburial systems on the *tessellatum* surface with approximately 5 cm of sand, geotextile and again 15 cm of sand (system 6) respectively, were investigated⁶. In order to collect statistical data, three sets representing the investigated six reburial systems were formed; the 1st set was installed consecutively, the 2nd and 3rd sets were installed mixed-in their own set. In all field and laboratory analyses, the investigated systems are shown with “S” and the test areas with “A” (Fig. 2).

Figure 2
The Monitoring Station in the Claudius Piso Gallery, the Diagram Showing the Installation of Reburial Systems and Measuring Devices in the Test Areas. (Işıklıkaya-Laubscher 2016: 208, Fig. 8. Drawn by Ş. Yeşil).



Accordingly, for system 1 (S1), data were obtained from test areas 1, 10, and 17 (A1, A10, A17), for system 2 (S2) from test areas 2, 9, and 14 (A2, A9, A14), for system 3 (S3) from test areas 3, 7, and 15 (A3, A7, A15), for system 4 (S4) from test areas 4, 8, and 13 (A4, A8, A13), for system 5 (S5) from test areas 5, 11, and 16 (A5, A11, A16), for system 6 (S6) from test areas 6, 12, and 18 (A6, A12, A18) (Fig. 2).

In August 2015, test areas began to be placed. First of all, after restoration works carried out in August 2007, the reburial system which was only on part of the floor, where the test is to be placed, and consisting of geotextile and sand filling, was removed (Fig. 3a). The test areas are separated from each other by dry-walls approximately 25 cm-high *in situ* location of unknown, which are formed by placing broken ancient brick pieces on top of each other (Fig. 3b). Accordingly, a monitoring station of about 110 square meters was created in total (Fig. 3c).

Ground moisture content was measured with Decagon 10HS soil moisture sensor at a depth of 60 cm from the points in the north and south of the experimental area, and approximately in the middle. Atmospheric temperature (°C), relative humidity (%), precipitation amount (mm) and precipitation rate (mm/h.) data

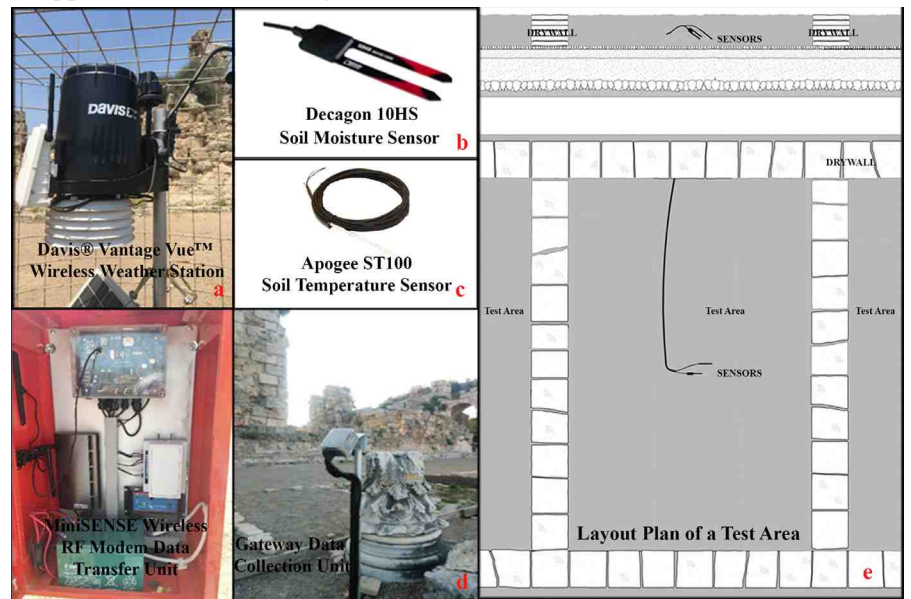
6 In the literature review, system 1 was reported 16 times; system 2, 19 times; system 3, 24 times; system 4, 7 times; and system 5, 12 times. System 6 was represented only once (Yeşil-Erdek 2014: 74-75) in publications in Turkey. However, in the case of laying geotextiles directly on the mosaic surface, it was found appropriate to be included in the experiment, taking into account the findings (Roby 2004: 234) that the geotextile adheres to the *tesserae* and increases the growth of capillary plant roots.



Figure 3
Installation of Monitoring Station, Test Areas and Measuring Devices.

were obtained with the Davis® Vantage Vue™ Wireless Meteorology Station set (Fig. 4a). In reburial systems, moisture measurements were made with Decagon 10HS soil moisture sensor (Fig. 4b) and temperature measurements were conducted with an Apogee ST100 soil temperature sensor (Fig. 4c). The devices were installed approximately in the middle of each test area, at a point approximately 5 cm above the *tessellatum*, with an inclination of approximately 30 degrees. These are connected to the MiniSENSE wireless RF modem data transfer unit (Fig. 4d). When planning the size of the test areas, attention had been paid to them to ensure they were large enough to minimize the systems being affected by each other in terms of moisture content and temperature, and to ensure that the moisture and temperature sensors can be placed as far from each other as possible. Accordingly, each of the test areas is designed with a size of approximately 3x2 m (Fig. 4e).

Figure 4
Measurement and Data Transfer Devices and Layout Plan of a Test Area.



Since the devices and techniques used in different fields of science were tried for the first time to investigate shallow reburial systems used in pavements, the study started with testing the effectiveness of the devices in August 2015; then

the malfunctions in data flow were resolved. Since July 2016, data transferred to the website of the service provider company could be tracked at 10 minute intervals.

Evaluation of Findings

Data for 2017-2018 were evaluated within the scope of the research. The average of the data taken from three separate test areas representing the same reburial system was used to evaluate their findings in the reburial systems. In the evaluation of the ground moisture content (%) findings, the average of the moisture data taken from the north and south of the monitoring station and three points approximately in the middle of these (approximately 60 cm below the ground) was used. Since it was determined that the highest temperature values of the day were reached at 16:00 in reburial systems, the four hours to be evaluated during the day were determined at six-hour intervals starting from 16:00 by dividing the 24 hours of the day into four. Data at 04:00, 10:00, 16:00 and 22:00 were evaluated for each day. In relation to this, data obtained at the same time of day were also used to evaluate temperature (°C) and atmospheric relative humidity (%) data obtained from the meteorological station. The evaluations were made over the annual minimum and maximum values and their average in order to see the difference in reburial systems, as well as atmospheric temperature (°C) and atmospheric relative humidity (%) between 2017 and 2018. In addition, monthly minimum values, monthly maximum values, and the average and standard deviation of daily data obtained during the month were determined in order to compare and evaluate the differences that occurred by months in the annual flow in 2017 and 2018.

The precipitation (mm) and precipitation rate data (mm/h) taken from the meteorology station were recorded as days and hours of precipitation according to year. In addition, monthly and annual total precipitation, precipitation rate and number of rainy days were examined based on monthly values to provide a comparison by months during the year. In order to evaluate the daily change of data for two years, the annual flow was reflected with charts and the reburial systems were examined comparatively with these charts.

Atmospheric Temperature (°C) in the Monitoring Station

When the atmospheric temperature values of 2017 and 2018 are examined (Table 1), it is understood that there is an increase of 1.2°C in 2018. For both years, the month when the temperature values are the lowest is January, and the month when the temperature values are the highest is July. The highest temperature measured in the two-year test period is 44.4°C (July 2017, 16:00), the lowest temperature is 1.6°C (January 2017, 04:00).

When the temperature changes during the day are monitored over the annual and monthly averages, the lowest values of the day are taken at 04:00 and the highest values are observed at 10:00. The fastest increase is observed between these two hours, with some increase at 16:00 in the cold months, while a small decrease is observed during warm months. At 22:00 there is a significant difference in the direction of the decrease, and the values approach to data of 04:00. Based on data from both years, it can be stated that the temperature change during the day in the cold months is about 6°C and 10.5°C in the warm months. The temperature difference between the coldest and the warmest month in 2017 is about 22°C, while it is 18.4°C in 2018. Although there is a difference of approximately 3.5°C between these two years, it can be said that a temperature difference of approximately 20°C occurs between the hottest and the coldest months.

Table 1. Atmospheric Temperature (°C) Findings for 2017 and 2018								
	2017				2018			
Time	Annual Average	January Average	July Average	Temperature Difference Between January and July	Annual Average	January Average	July Average	Temperature Difference Between January and July
04:00	14.7	6.1	24.4	18.3	15.9	8.3	24.3	16.0
10:00	22.5	8.3	36.0	27.7	24.0	12.7	33.8	21.2
16:00	23.3	12.5	34.7	22.2	24.2	14.2	33.5	19.3
22:00	16.7	7.0	27.1	20.1	17.8	9.6	26.7	17.1
Temperature Difference Throughout the Day		6.4	11.6			5.9	9.5	
Average of the Temperature Difference Between January and July				22.1				18.4
Average Day Temperature Difference in January (Coldest) in 2017-2018	6.1							
Average Day Temperature Difference in July (Hottest) in 2017-2018	10.6							
Temperature Difference Between the Coldest and Hottest Months of 2017-2018	20.2							

Table 1
Atmospheric Temperature (°C) Findings for
2017 and 2018.

Since all temperatures are above 0°C, there is no risk of freeze-thaw, which is one of the important deterioration factors in our experimental area.

Atmospheric Relative Humidity (%) in the Monitoring Station

In 2017, the lowest relative humidity values were measured in July, and the highest values were measured in December. Data of 2018 presented quite different values when compared to 2017 data. As is known, the relative humidity of the air, the capacity of the air to absorb water vapor, evaporation rate, temperature, air pressure, wind etc. depend on many complex factors. Therefore, it is common for the relative humidity to differ according to these two years, during which data is collected as a part of the experiment, and the months of these years. On the other hand, since the data will directly depend on the temperature changes during the day, the change during the day offers clearer results. Differences up to 75% were read at the same time of day within a month. However, the examination of the averages shows that while the lowest relative humidity is observed at 10:00 and 16:00 during the day, the highest relative humidity values are consistently measured at 04:00 and 22:00 due to the decrease in the temperature.

Precipitation (mm) in the Monitoring Station

511 mm of precipitation was observed in 69 rainy days in 2017, and the annual average precipitation is 46 mm. In the 70 rainy days in 2018, 786 mm

of precipitation was observed, and the annual average precipitation is 66 mm. Accordingly, although the number of rainy days per year is almost the same, the amount of precipitation increased significantly in 2018 (Table 2).

Table 2
Precipitation (mm) Findings for 2017 and 2018.

Table 2. Precipitation (mm) Findings for 2017 and 2018				
Year	Month	Number of Rainy Days	Precipitation (mm)	Precipitation Rate (mm/h)
2017	January	10	22	119.4
	February	5	4	26.8
	March	10	115	759.8
	April	5	49	287.6
	May	6	78	503.4
	June	2	1	0.0
	July	0	0	0.0
	August	1	0*	0.0
	September	1	1	4.8
	October	6	47	314.8
	November	11	74	512.6
	December	12	119	763.0
	Annual Total	69	511	
	Average		46	274.4
2018	January	12	115	769.0
	February	12	130	965.6
	March	6	98	756.6
	April	0	0	0.0
	May	3	10	65.2
	June	2	70	425.0
	July	1	2	18.6
	August	0	0	0.0
	September	3	15	94.2
	October	5	46	365.6
	November	10	84	573.8
	December	16	216	1411.6
	Annual Total	70	786	
	Average		66	453.8

* Precipitation observed but below 1 mm.

Ground Moisture Content (%) in the Monitoring Station

There is no significant change in the rate of ground moisture content (%) during the hours in the day. The change in average annual values among the four hours evaluated during the day in 2017 (04:00, 10:00, 16:00, and 22:00), $\leq 0.3\%$ while it is $\leq 0.6\%$ in 2018. Accordingly, it can be said that changes in the ground water rate during the day are quite slow (Table 3).

Table 3. Ground Moisture (%) Findings for 2017 and 2018								
Time	2017				2018			
	Annual Average	January Average	September Average	Ground Moisture Difference between January and September	Annual Average	July Average	December Average	Ground Moisture Difference between December and July
04:00	21.9	28.0	17.0	6.1	20.3	15.0	26.9	11.9
10:00	22.0	28.5	17.1	6.5	20.7	15.3	26.4	11.1
16:00	21.7	28.1	16.7	6.4	20.1	14.4	26.1	11.7
22:00	21.7	27.8	16.8	6.1	20.2	14.5	27.6	13.1
Ground moisture difference during the day	0.3	0.7	0.4		0.6	0.9	1.5	
Difference between low and high months				6.3				12.0

Table 3
Ground Moisture Content (%) Findings for 2017 and 2018.

Evaluation of Moisture Content (%) Findings in the Reburial Systems

Despite the ratio differences in the moisture content (%) and temperature (°C) values in the reburial systems, it was observed that in 2017 and 2018, they acted jointly according to seasons, precipitation, and ground moisture content levels. A general evaluation can be made when the moisture rates of the systems are compared based on the 2017 and 2018 annual average moisture content findings (Table 4).

According to table values, the highest annual moisture content values in all burial systems in 2017 were measured in the S1 reburial system (24.9 at 04:00, 25 at 10:00, 25.1 at 16:00 and 24.9 at 22:00) created with soil fill material. This system is followed by the S2 system (20.4 at 04:00 and 10:00, 20.3 at 16:00 and 22:00), which is formed by sand fill material. The values of the S6 system (20.2 at both 04:00 and 16:00, 20.4 at 10:00, and 20 at 22:00), created on the *tessellatum* layer first with sand, geotextile, and sand again, are very close to the S2 system, but somewhat lower. The values of the S4 reburial system (19.4 at 04:00, 19.5 at both 10:00 and 16:00 and 19.4 at 22:00) created by geotextile, sand, and gravel on the *tessellatum* layer provided slightly lower values than the S1, S2 and S6 systems.

Table 4. Annual Average Moisture Content (%) Findings in the Reburial Systems								
System	2017				2018			
	04:00	10:00	16:00	22:00	04:00	10:00	16:00	22:00
S1	24.9	25.0	25.1	24.9	25.3	25.4	25.5	25.4
S2	20.4	20.4	20.3	20.3	15.1	15.1	14.9	15.1
S3	15.7	16.0	15.7	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.1	15.2
S4	19.4	19.5	19.5	19.4	19.6	19.7	19.6	19.7
S5	17.3	17.2	17.5	17.3	17.8	17.8	17.9	17.9
S6	20.2	20.4	20.2	20.0	21.6	21.9	21.6	21.5

Table 4
Annual Average Moisture Content (%) Findings in the Reburial Systems.

Slightly lower moisture content values compared to these systems are obtained from the S5 system (17.3 at 04:00, 17.2 at 10:00, 17.5 at 16:00 and 17.3 at 22:00) made with geotextile and *pozzolana*. In 2017, S3 reburial system made with geotextile and sand on the *tessellatum* layer gave the lowest humidity values among all systems (15.7 at both 04:00 and 16:00, 16 at 10:00 and 15.5 at 22:00). It can be said that there is a parallelism in annual average humidity values in **2018** as well, although there seems to be a slight increase due to the increase in precipitation. The only exception is the S2 reburial system made with sand fill material. In 2017, when data was obtained from the experimental area, the S2 system showed the highest moisture content values after the S1 soil reburial system. In 2018 the humidity values of the S2 system showed a significant decrease (15.1 at 04:00, 10:00 and 22:00, and 14.9 at 16:00) and reached approximately same values (15.5 at both 04:00 and 10:00, 15.1 at 16:00, and 15.2 at 22:00) with the S3 system created with geotextile and sand, which gave the lowest moisture content. In these systems, where the fill material is sand, it was observed that geotextile provided a significant advantage in moisture transfer in 2017, while the values were almost equal in 2018, which indicates that the effectiveness of geotextile in systems using sand as fill material should be investigated in a long-term and comprehensive manner. However, in the S6 system, where sand fill material is used, but the geotextile is not laid directly on the *tessellatum* layer, rather used after the 5 cm sand layer, the moisture content is higher compared to the S3 system, where the geotextile is used directly on the mosaic surface and is very close to the S2 system. This finding indicates that the use of geotextile as a separator between two layers of the fill materials rather than on the surface of the *tessellatum* is not as effective as using it directly in contact with the mosaic. The fact that the moisture rate in the S4 system, which has a sand and a gravel layer on the geotextile laid directly on the *tessellatum*, is higher than in the S2 and S3 systems can be explained by the fact that due to the large porous structure of the upper gravel layer, it breaks the capillarity that allows the moisture content in the system to evaporate. In the S4 system, the top layer of gravel is thought to reduce the evaporation of the water contained in the reburial system, just as is expected from the process of reducing the loss of water in the deep layers by evaporation through breaking the capillarity in the soil with shallow soil cultivation (digging of the soil) after planting seedlings in afforestation processes (Boydak - Çalışkan 2014: 284).

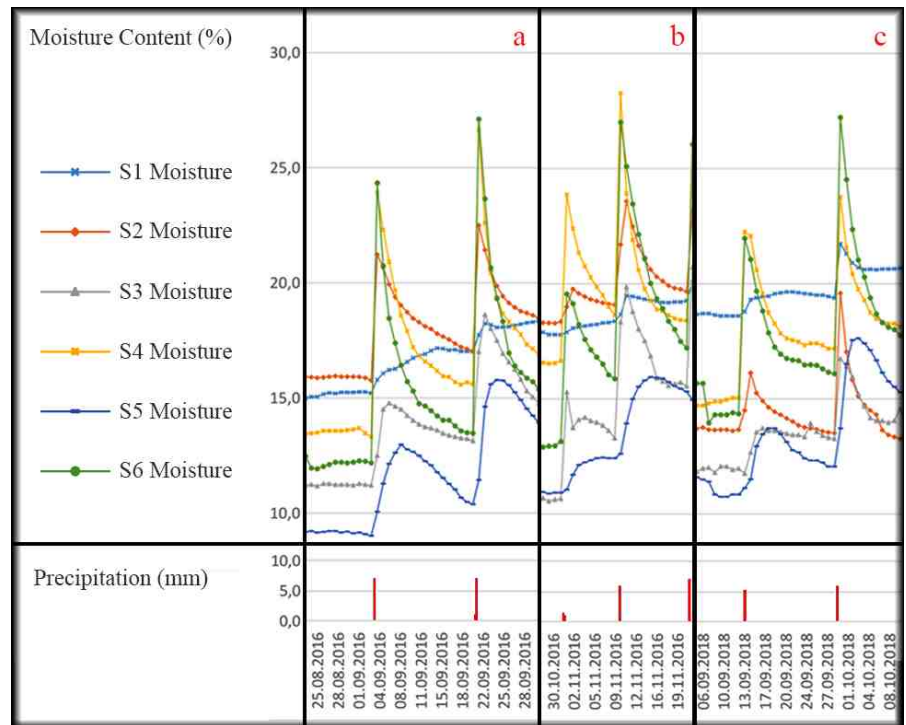
In 2017, the highest moisture content values were observed in January (Table 5). In this month, the highest moisture content in the S1 system is about 35% every four hours. Approximately 29.1% moisture content was measured in the S2 system at four hours of the day, 24% in the S3 system, 24.6% in the S4 system, 24.5% in the S5 system and 28.6% in the S6 system. These values are parallel between reburial systems in terms of the highest and the lowest moisture rates. In 2018, the highest moisture content values were detected in the S1, S4, and S6 systems in January and in the S2, S3, and S5 systems in December. In January, the highest moisture content in the S1 system is about 33% every four hours. Values of about 24% were obtained in the S4 system at four hours of the day and 28.5% in the S6 system.

System	Highest			Lowest					
	2017	2018		2017			2018		
	January	January	December	July	August	September	May	July	August
S1	34.9	32.9			16.8				18.9
S2	29.1		24.3	15.0			10.2		
S3	24.0		26.1		10.1				11.8
S4	24.6	24.2		14.5	14.5				14.8
S5	24.5		27.8			10.4			11.9
S6	28.6	28.5		13.6				14.6	

Table 5
Monthly Moisture Content (%) Findings in the Reburial Systems.

Moisture content was measured at the rate of 24.3% in S2 system, 26.1% in S3 system, and 27.8% in S5 system. These values show that the highest moisture content is again measured in the S1 system. This is followed by the S6 system, similar to annual rates. The most important factor determining the effectiveness of a reburial system is its lack of sudden response to precipitation (Roby 2004: 234). In other words, changing the moisture content balance as slowly as possible is one of the important features expected from a reburial system. The response of the reburial systems to the first precipitation following a dry period can be monitored with graphs, in which moisture content changes in six systems tested over four hours of data during the day can be monitored collectively⁷. Here, the data obtained at 04:00 on 25 August-28 September 2016 (Fig. 5a), 30 October-19 November 2016 (Fig. 5b) and 6-24 September 2018 (Fig. 5c) are shown as an example.

Figure 5
Graph showing the moisture content (%) and precipitation (mm) data obtained from the Reburial Systems at 04:00 on 25 August-28 September 2016, 30 October-19 November 2016, and 6-24 September 2018.



⁷ The charts where the moisture content changes, atmospheric temperature, atmospheric humidity, ground moisture content, and precipitation data can be monitored collectively in the six systems tested on daily four-hour data from July 2016 to the end of December 2018 are too large to be published here. For this reason, sample date ranges are shown here where changes can be clearly seen. For detailed information, Erdek 2019: Ek. 3 Lev. 1-12

Accordingly, it can be observed that the S5 reburial system created by geotextile and *pozzolana* filling reacts more slowly to the first precipitation after a dry period than other systems. In this regard, it can be said that the S3 system is also somewhat more advantageous than other reburial systems. From this point of view, the S4 system created with geotextile, sand, and gravel, the S6 system created with 5 cm sand, geotextile, and sand again on the *tessellatum* layer and S2 systems created using only sand fill react more rapidly to precipitation than other systems and are disadvantageous in this respect.

Evaluation of Temperature (°C) Findings in the Reburial Systems

The temperature findings in the 2017 and 2018 reburial systems show that the systems act jointly according to seasons, precipitation, and ground moisture content levels. The annual average temperature findings of 2017 and 2018, according to the four hours of the day, are reflected in Table 6. A general assessment can be made when the temperature ratios of the systems are compared over the annual findings.

System	2017				2018			
	04:00	10:00	16:00	22:00	04:00	10:00	16:00	22:00
S1	20.6	19.8	23.3	22.4	22.2	21.0	24.4	23.5
S2	20.4	20.5	25.4	22.8	21.5	21.4	26.0	23.6
S3	19.6	22.6	26.4	22.2	22.4	22.9	28.1	25.0
S4	19.0	18.9	23.4	21.1	20.2	20.2	24.4	22.2
S5	19.6	19.2	22.0	21.1	20.9	20.7	23.5	22.1
S6	18.5	22.6	27.0	21.2	20.5	24.0	28.9	23.1

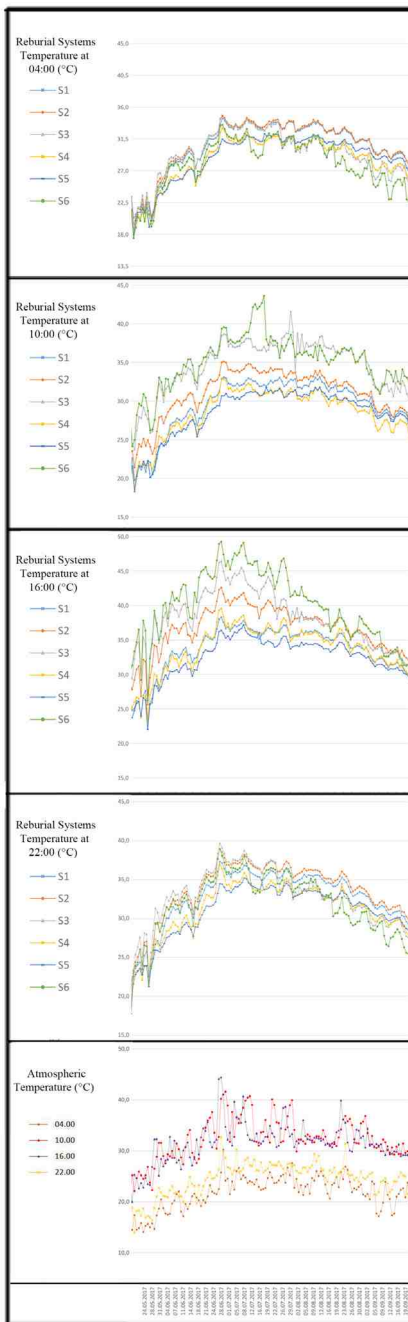
Table 6
Annual Temperature (°C) Findings in the
Reburial Systems.

According to values of Table 6, in 2017 and 2018, the highest temperature values (27°C at 16:00 in 2017, 28.9°C at 16:00 in 2018) were measured in the S6 reburial system, which was created on the *tessellatum* layer first with sand, then geotextile, and again with sand. The lowest values were observed in the S4 system (18.9°C in 2017 at 10:00) created by geotextile, sand, and gravel on the *tessellatum* layer and in the S5 reburial system (20.2°C in 2018 at 04:00 and 10:00) created by geotextile and *pozzolana*. In all reburial systems, measured values from reburial systems vary in relation to atmospheric temperature data.

Examination of the difference between the annual averages of the highest and the lowest values obtained from the reburial systems during the day provides an idea of the reburial system that least reflects the atmospheric temperature differences to the mosaic pavement. According to values of Table 7, when examining the annual average of four hours of daily data in 2017 and 2018, it can be observed that the temperature change during the day is the highest (8.4 in 2017 and 8.5 in 2018) in the S6 reburial system created on the *tessellatum* layer first with sand, then geotextile, and again with sand. The difference in change in the S4 system, which is created with geotextile, sand, and gravel on the *tessellatum* layer, is about half of the S6 system, but at the same time is high (4.4 in 2017 and 4.2 in 2018). These systems are followed by the S1 system, which is created with soil fill material. In 2017, the temperature difference during the day was lower (2.3 in S2 and 3.1 in S3) in the S2 system created only with sand, and the S3 system created with geotextile and sand. The two-fold increase of these values in 2018 (4.6 in S2 and 5.6 in S3) should be due to the decrease in the thickness of the fill layers of these systems over time. It was determined by observation that the decrease in the thickness of the fill layer in the test areas, representing the systems in question, was caused by the mechanical effect of precipitation

Table 7
Temperature Differences During the Day
According to Annual Averages.

Figure 6
Graph showing atmospheric temperature
(°C) and the temperature data obtained
from the reburial systems at 04:00, 10:00,
16:00 and 22:00 between 25 May and 19
September 2017.



System	2017	2018
S1	3.4	3.4
S2	2.3	4.6
S3	3.1	5.6
S4	4.4	4.2
S5	2.8	2.8
S6	8.4	8.5

The reburial system that least reflects the temperature differences during the day is the S5 reburial system, made with geotextile and *pozzolana* on the *tessellatum* layer. According to these findings, among the six reburial systems considered in the experiment, it can be said that the S5 system using *pozzolana* fill is the reburial system that least reflects temperature differences during the day to the pavement. This is followed by the S1 reburial system, which is created with soil fill material.

When the graphs showing daily temperature data from July 2016 to the end of December 2018 are examined over four hours a day⁹, it is possible to compare the systems to each other. The data obtained at four hours of the day between the dates of 25 May and 19 September 2017 are provided as an example here.

When the temperature data at 04:00 (Fig. 6a) and at 22:00 (Fig. 6d) are examined, it shows the lowest temperature values in the S6 system; it can be observed that it shows the highest values depending on the increase in atmospheric temperature at 10:00 (Fig. 6b) and 16:00 (Fig. 6c). Accordingly, it is understood that the system that gives the most sudden response to atmospheric temperature changes is the S6 system and it can be said that it is disadvantageous in maintaining a temperature balance.

Although it varies less than the S6 system, the S3 system is also sensitive to daily temperature changes. It is understood that the S5 reburial system made with *pozzolana* on the *tessellatum* layer reacts more slowly to temperature than other systems. It can be said that the reaction of the S1 system created by soil fill to temperature is also more balanced than other systems.

Evaluation of Vegetation in the Reburial Systems

The determination of the families, genus and species of plants found in the area and which led to the destruction of the mosaics by reaching under the temporary reburial system, and the measures to be taken against these were investigated. The first stage of the study is to collect plant samples in the area systematically and to record them on the vegetation sampling table (Kavgacı 2007: 28).

8 In the three test areas representing S2 and S3 systems, the thickness has decreased at different rates and although a common dimension has not been provided, it has been determined that the fill, which was initially made as 25 cm, thinned up to 18 cm in places.

9 The charts where the temperature changes, atmospheric temperature, atmospheric relative humidity, ground moisture content and precipitation data can be monitored collectively in the six systems tested on daily four-hour data from July 2016 to the end of December 2018 are too large to be published here. For this reason, sample date range is shown here where changes can be clearly seen. For detailed information, Erdek 2019: Ek. 3 Lev. 1-12.

Table 8a. Plant Species in the Test Areas, Their Number, and the Rate of Covering the Test Areas with Plants According to the Braun-Blanquet Cover-Abundance Scale				
System	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Average degree of covering
S1	A1 (5= 75-100%)	A10 (5 = 75-100%)	A17 (3= 25-50%)	4.3
S2	A2 (2= 5-25%)	A9 (1= < 5%)	A14 (1= < 5%)	1.3
S3	A3 (2= 5-25%)	A7 (2= 5-25%)	A15 (1= < 5%)	1.7
S4	A4 (3= % 25-50)	A8 (2= % 5-25)	A13 (2=% 5-25)	2.3
S5	A5 (3= % 25-50)	A11 (1= < %5)	A16 (1= < %5)	1.7
S6	A6 (3= % 25-50)	A12 (1= < %5)	A18 (1= < %5)	1.7

Table 8a
Plant Species in the Test Areas, Their Number, and the Rate of Covering the Test Areas with Plants According to the Braun-Blanquet Cover-Abundance Scale.

Table 8b. Number of Taxa in the Test Areas					
System	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Total number of taxa	Average number of taxa
S1	A1 (9)	A10 (12)	A17 (8)	28	9.3
S2	A2 (6)	A9 (6)	A14 (5)	17	5.7
S3	A3 (6)	A7 (9)	A15 (7)	22	7.3
S4	A4 (7)	A8 (6)	A13 (12)	25	8.3
S5	A5 (4)	A11 (8)	A16 (4)	16	5.3
S6	A6 (11)	A12 (6)	A18 (2)	19	6.3

Table 8b
Number of Taxa in the Test Areas.

S: System, A: Test Area

Species diagnoses obtained were examined by being transferred to TURBOVEG software, species analyses were made¹⁰; and the degree of covering¹¹ of plants was determined according to the Braun-Blanquet cover-abundance scale (Braun-Blanquet 1928; 1932; 1964).

Among the six reburial systems tried, the highest degree of vegetation and number of species (Table 8 a-b) were seen in the S1 system created by soil fill. High plant growth is expected in the S1 system because the soil is rich in organic matter. In addition, the fact that this system has the highest moisture content compared to all other systems is also one of the factors that increase plant development. Although the degree of vegetation covering in geotextile, sand, and gravel reburial system S4 is almost half that of the S1 system, it is quite high compared to the other systems. Since the moisture content is one of the top priority factors that will restrict the vegetation in the experimental area in the Mediterranean climate, excess moisture content in the S4 system (according to S3 and S5 in 2017, and according to S2, S3, and S5 systems in 2018) can have an effect on increasing vegetation rate. According to the degree of vegetation, S1 and S4 systems seem to be disadvantaged compared to other reburial systems. In S3, S5, and S6 systems, the common feature of which is a geotextile and a

¹⁰ Genus-species analysis of plants collected from the field was carried out by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Kavgaçlı at the Batı Akdeniz Ormançılık Araştırma Enstitüsü (En: Western Mediterranean Forestry Research Institute). In vegetation studies, the main source was "Flora of Turkey and the East Aegean Islands" (Davis 1965-1985; Davis et al. 1988; Güner et al. 2000) and Tubives: Turkish Plants Data Service (Bakış et al. 2011), which is an online data bank prepared for plants in Turkey, was used.

¹¹ The degree of covering is the ratio of the vertical projections of the above-ground organs of the plants to the sample area (Aksoy 1978: 36). Since it is impossible to measure the above-ground parts of each plant species separately, the degree of covering is determined based on estimates (Kavgaçlı 2007: 29).

single fill material, the total covering degrees are very close to each other, and are considerably lower than the S4 system. Since the lowest result in terms of vegetation covering is obtained in the S2 system where the mosaic pavement is only buried with sand, it can be said that it is more advantageous compared to the others in this respect. In test areas buried with sand (S2) and *pozzolana* filling (S5), both the degree of covering is low, and the number of taxa is less. In this respect, it can be said that they are more suitable choices in terms of protecting mosaics from deterioration caused by plants. The degree of covering and the number of taxa are higher in the S3 reburial system made with geotextile and sand on the *tessellatum* surface than the S2 reburial system made with sand. This finding supports the observations in the literature that geotextile promote lateral root growth (Roby 2004: 234). In terms of preventing the destructive effects of plants, it is understood that the S2 reburial system, made with only sand, is more suitable under Perge conditions. In the S3 system, which is buried with geotextile as the first layer on *tessellatum* and sand on the mosaic pavement, and in the S6 burial system, which is made with 5 cm sand, geotextile, and sand respectively on the *tessellatum* surface, a higher number of plants are seen than reburial (S2) which is made only with sand. However, the number of species in the S6 system is less than in the S3 system. In light of this finding, it is thought that the use of geotextile as a separation after a thin layer of fill, rather than as the first layer on the mosaic pavement, may have an effect on the decrease of the number of species. This has led to the need for a longer-term comparison between the two systems.

Of the 39 plants identified in the Perge monitoring station, 37 are herbaceous plants and 2 are shrubs. The capers (*capparis ovata sp.*) in the study test areas are one of the plants with the most potential to cause damage with its deep taproot. Dog's tooth grass (*cynodon dactylon*) shows a wide and rapid spread both on the soil surface and on the fill and within the fill with its rhizomes as roots. The root length exceeds 1.50 m, and the root thickness exceeds 2 cm. capillary or main roots of species such as *cynodon dactylon* that manage to pass through the geotextile can directly reach the *tessellatum* in S2, S3, S4, and S5 systems, where geotextile is laid directly on the mosaic pavement. In these samples, it has been observed that the roots sometimes move into the mosaic pavement, but mostly run parallel to the surface between the *tessellatum* and the geotextile. In the S6 system, where first a thin layer of sand and geotextile and again sand fill was applied on the *tessellatum*, it was observed that the roots passed through the geotextile but moved in a horizontal direction parallel to the geotextile. Accordingly, it takes longer for the root to reach the *tessellatum* surface. In this regard, the S6 system seems to be more advantageous than the other systems with geotextile.

Evaluation of Archaeometric Findings

Archaeometric analyses within the scope of the research focused on the evaluations of salinity and acidity. For this purpose, fill materials used in the reburial systems were examined by conductometric analysis to determine the soluble salt content (%w/w), X-ray fluorescence (PED-XRF) analyses to determine the element contents (%) and pH tests. While the investigated systems are indicated with "S", and the test areas with "A", archaeometric analysis samples taken from the fill materials are coded by specifying the type of fill material (Fig. 7). Samples taken from test areas representing the S1 system created with soil fill material are coded as A1so, A10so and A17so. Samples taken from test areas representing the S2 system created with sand fill material are coded as A2s,

A9s, A14s. Samples taken from the test areas representing the S3 system with geotextile on the *tessellatum* layer and sand as fill material are coded as A3s, A7s and A15s. In the S4 system, which has two fill layers consisting of sand and then gravel on the geotextile placed on the *tessellatum* layer, two samples are taken from the lowest point of both fill layers. Samples taken from the sand layer of the test areas representing the S4 system are coded as A4s, A8s and A13s; samples taken from the gravel layer are coded as A4g, A8g and A13g. Samples taken from the test areas representing the S5 system having geotextile on the *tessellatum* layer and *pozzolana* as fill material, are coded as A5p, A11p, and A16p. In the test areas representing the S6 system, where the geotextile is placed on the sand layer pre-laid, rather than the *tessellatum* layer, samples are taken from two layers. Samples taken from the lowest point of the 5 cm sand layer on the *tessellatum* are coded as A6s1, A12s1 and A18s1; samples taken from the geotextile layer were coded as A6s2, A12s2 and A18s2.

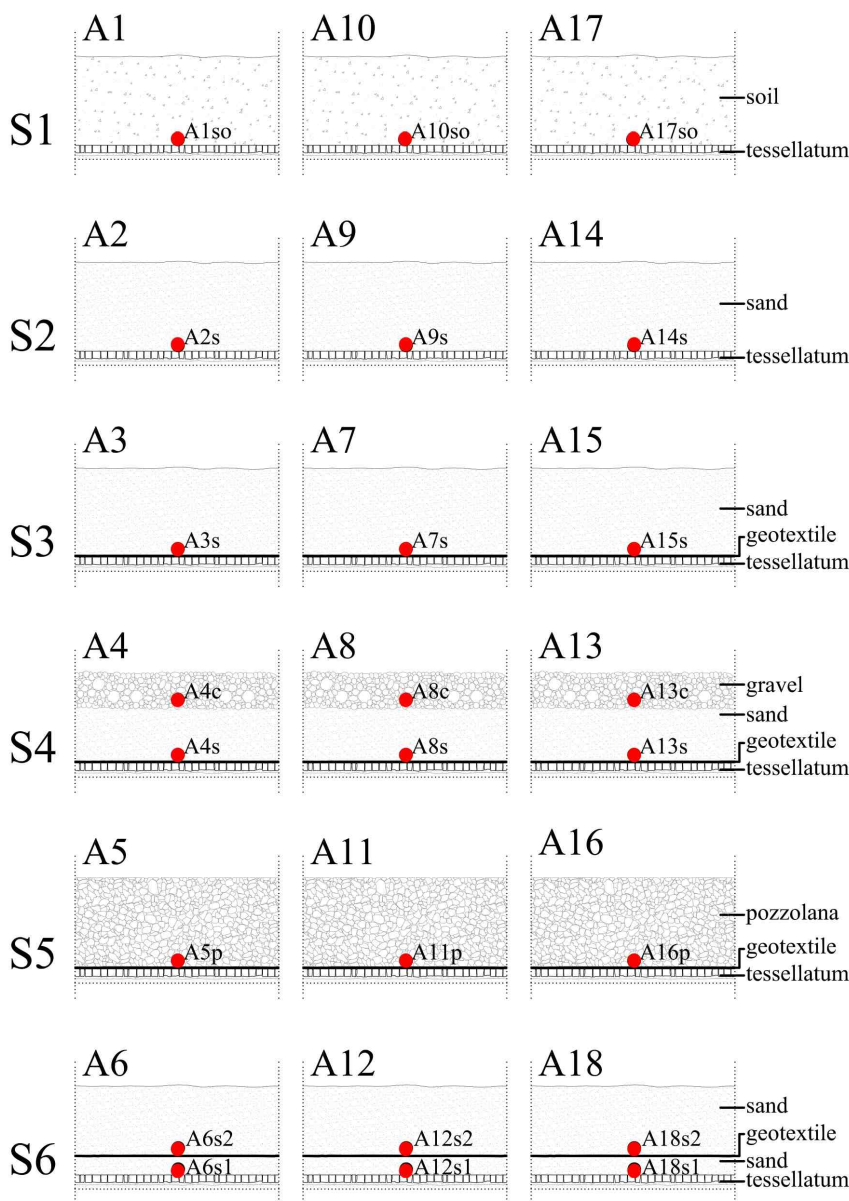


Figure 7
Explanations of Archaeometric Analysis
Samples and Sample Points.

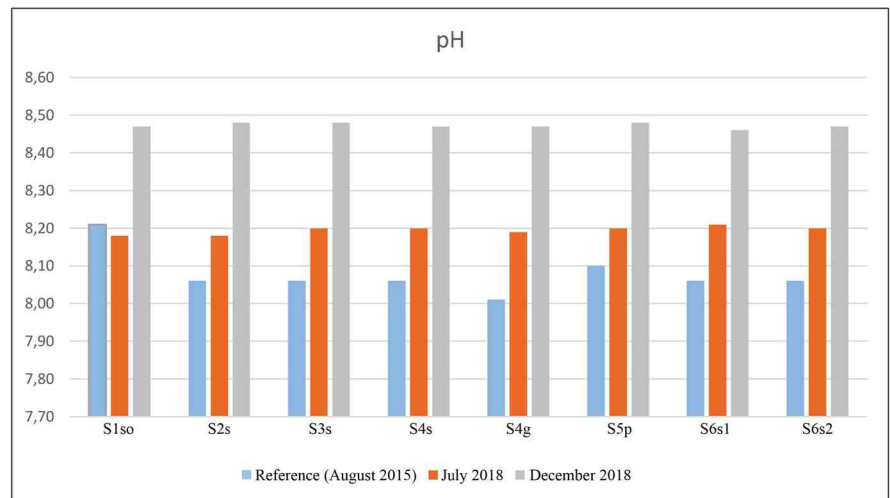
Coding: S = System (1-6); A = Test Area (1-18); so: soil, s: sand, g: gravel, p: pozzolana.

Sand, gravel, and *pozzolana* (supplied by purchase) and soil (sifted excavated soil) were tested with the above-mentioned methods before being placed in the test areas (reference samples, August 2015). Subsequently, samples taken from the fills in the systems in July and December 2018 were tested and analyzed comparatively. It is impossible to make a comparison between fill materials obtained from different sources. The measurements made in July 2018 and December 2018 were compared before the materials were placed (reference samples, August 2015) in the test areas and after three years of use as fill material. The average of the data taken from three test areas representing the same reburial system was used to evaluate their findings in reburial systems in order to reach statistical data.

Evaluation of pH Findings

The highest pH value was measured in soil samples (8.21) in the reference samples. The pH values measured in *pozzolana* samples (8.10) are slightly lower than the soil samples. The lowest pH values were measured in sand (8.06) and in gravel (8.01) samples. The greatest difference between pH levels was gravel (8.01), which has the lowest pH values in reference samples, and soil, where the highest value was 0.20. However the values got closer to each other and the difference decreased to 0.11 in July 2018. In all systems except the S1 system created with soil (8.18), pH values increased in July 2018 measurements. In December 2018, values got closer to each other; the difference decreased to 0.06.

Figure 8
Findings of pH Analysis of Fill Material
Samples Taken from Test Areas.



Coding: S = System (1-6); A= Test Area (1-18); so: soil, s: sand, g: gravel, p: *pozzolana*. **Reference:** Values taken before fill materials were placed in August 2015, **July:** Values taken in July 2018, **December:** Values taken in December 2018.

Accordingly, at the end of three and a half years after the test areas were placed, the systems became more alkaline; there were scarcely any pH differences between them (Fig. 8). Accordingly, it can be said that systems start to become homogenized and will act on similar values over a long period of time. This finding shows that external effects in the experimental area of the ancient city of Perge are not at a level that will significantly change the pH level.

Evaluation of Soluble Salt Content Findings

According to the findings, the soluble salt content values in the samples taken before the fill materials are placed in the test areas and considered as reference values are different from each other. Soil reference value is 2.08%, *pozzolana* value is 8.03%, sand reference value is 3.12% and gravel reference value is

2.36%. Accordingly, the initial highest soluble salt content value is seen in *pozzolana* material (Fig. 9). The soluble salt content value in *pozzolana* is approximately 4 times the soil values, 2.5 times the sand, and about 3.5 times the gravel. However, in July 2018 measurements, it is seen that the values taken from *pozzolana* have decreased by about half. In December measurements, the values dropped to similar values with all other reburial fills. This suggests that *pozzolana* was initially at a disadvantage in terms of salinity when it came to using it as a fill material. The decrease in salt values of *pozzolana* at the end of three and a half years indicates that if this material is to be preferred, it must be used after desalination.

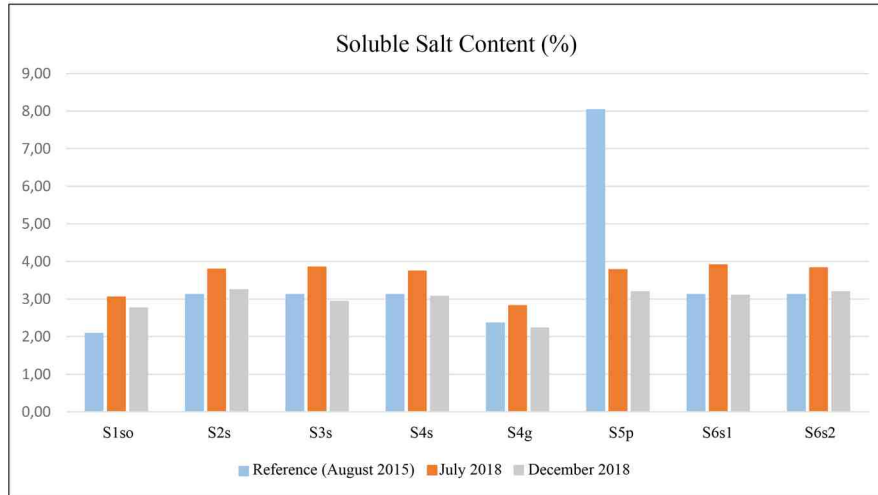


Figure 9
Total Salt (%) Analysis Findings of Fill Samples Taken from Test Areas.

Coding: S = System (1-6); A= Test Area (1-18); so: soil, s: sand, g: gravel, p: *pozzolana*. **Reference:** Values taken before fill materials were placed in August 2015, **July:** Values taken in July 2018, **December:** Values taken in December 2018.

The increase in the total salinity in almost all the test areas in July is related to the concentration of salt on the geotextile and *tessera* surfaces formed after the rainy period. A decrease in total salinity in all test areas during the humid season in December indicates that salts dissolved by wetting then move into the mosaic pavement.

Evaluation of X-Ray Fluorescence (PED-XRF) Analysis Findings

According to the PED-XRF analysis findings, sodium salts, which are known to penetrate the environment mostly with the effect of seawater (Cronyn 1990: 22), were detected in low rates in sand and gravel fill materials, including excavated soil other than *pozzolana* (Fig. 10a). Compared to the reference values obtained in December 2015, the sodium ratio did not show a significant change in the measurements made in the dry period in July 2018 at the end of three years (Fig. 10b) and, following that, in the measurements made in the humid season in December (Fig. 10c). The reason why the sodium content in the *pozzolana* fill is quite high is due to the volcanic mineral/rocks (such as andesite) in its content. While there was a slight decrease in the rate of sodium salt in the *pozzolana* fill in Perge monitoring station in July 2018, a significant decrease was observed in December 2018.

Phosphate salts increase due to plant development and animal waste (Cronyn 1990: 22). The highest phosphate ratio in reference samples was found in *pozzolana* samples (Fig. 10a). The phosphate ratio detected in the *pozzolana* fill is approximately 1.5 times that of soil and about 8.5 times that of sand. Again, the rate of phosphate in the soil is approximately 5.5 times that of sand. The amount of phosphate salt in gravel samples is slightly lower than sand samples, but it is close.

Salt Findings Obtained According to PED-XRF Analysis

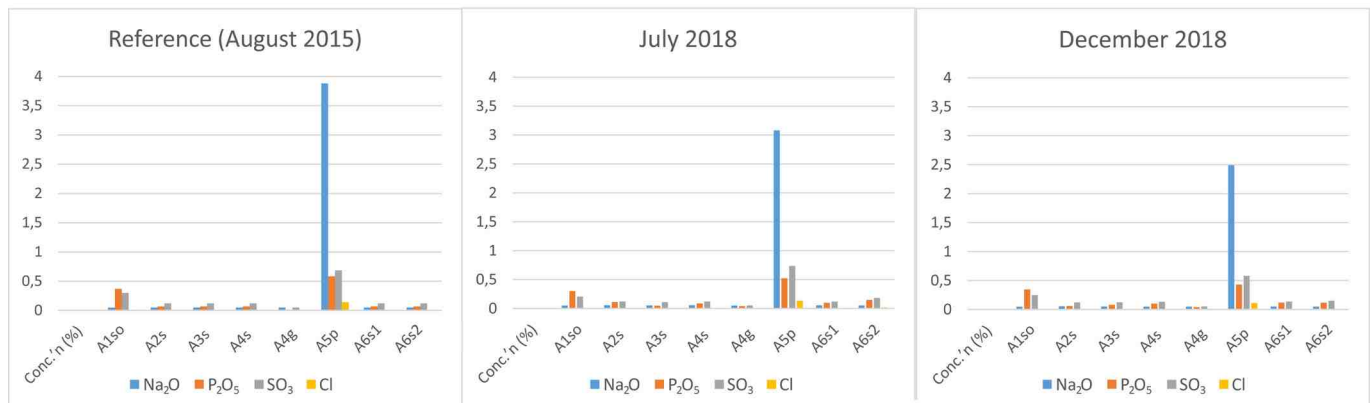


Figure 10
Salt Findings Obtained According to PED-XRF Analysis.

Coding: S = System (1-6); A = Test Area (1-18); so: soil, s: sand, g: gravel, p: *pozzolana*. **Reference:** Values taken before fill materials were placed in August 2015, **July:** Values taken in July 2018, **December:** Values taken in December 2018.

Accordingly, the gravel and stream sand samples from the fill materials used in the reburial systems in Perge monitoring station provide more positive results in terms of containing less phosphate salt before the fill is placed on the mosaic. When the July 2018 and December 2018 values, which are the dry season of the phosphate salt, were examined mutually, a decrease was observed in the soil compared to the reference value in July 2018 (Fig. 10b). This suggests that some salt found in the excavated soil had dissolved and transferred to the mosaic pavement. On the other hand, some increase in December (Fig. 10c) may be related to the fact that the test area (S1) representing the soil system has higher values in terms of vegetation degree, diversity, and plant growth than other reburial systems. In addition, the dissolution of phosphate salts, which may have been carried due to animals' waste matter transiting to the experimental area in the humid season, may have increased this effect. The decrease in *pozzolana* fill material compared to the reference values both in July and in December must be related to the fact that the reburial system (S5) made with geotextile and *pozzolana*, in contrast to the soil fill, showed low values in terms of vegetation degree, diversity, and development. The reference phosphate value of sand fill material is 0.069%. In the July measurement, this ratio decreased slightly to 0.048% in the A3s sample, which represents the reburial system (S3) formed by geotextile and sand from the *tessellatum* layer to the surface. Beside this, an increase was observed in all systems using sand. The increase is about 1.5 times the phosphate ratio in the reference material in the A2s sample, which represents the (S2) system created only by sand; about 2 times in the sample (A6s2) taken from the sand layer on the geotextile (A6s2) of the S6 system formed by sand, geotextile, and sand from the *tessellatum* to the surface. This ratio is lower in samples taken from A4s, representing the reburial system S4, which is formed by geotextile, sand, and gravel from the *tessellatum* to the surface and sand layer of A6s under geotextile representing the S6 system.

The source of **sulphate** salts may be the ground waters reaching the surface with the moisture rising from the reservoir in the ground as well as atmospheric pollution (Cronyn 1990: 22). As mentioned above, the soil fill material is sifted excavated soil. The reference sulfate value in the soil fill material is 0.301% (Fig. 10a). This rate decreased by about 1.5 percent in the A1so July sample (0.205%) (Fig.10b). It increased slightly to 0.250 in December but remained below the reference value (Fig. 10c). While the reference sulphate value for *pozzolana* was

0.686%, the A5p sample increased a little (0.736%) in July, and this increase must be related to its condensation reaching the fill material, with the moisture rising in the dry season. Following this, the rate fell below the reference value of 0.582% in December. There are no significant changes in the sulfate values of sand samples in samples other than A6s2. This indicates that very little or almost no sulfate salt is carried to reburial systems.

The A6s2 samples, representing the S6 system formed by 5 cm thick sand, then geotextile and again 20 cm sand on the mosaic pavement, were obtained from the sand layer under the A6s1 geotextile, just above the *tessellatum*, and the A6s2 sample was taken just above the geotextile layer. The reference phosphate value of sand, which is 0.069%, increased by about 1.2% in July in the A6s1 sample, while A6s2 reached approximately twice the reference value. While the rate in A6s1 increased, it decreased in A6s2 in the humid season, which is December 2018. The same can be observed in the sample of sulfate salt. The sand reference sulfate value (0.122%) remained approximately the same (0.120%) in A6s1, while it increased in A6s2 (0.182%). While A2s1 phosphate and sulphate values increased in December, a decrease was observed in all three salts in A6s2 samples. This indicates that with the moisture rising by capillarity, the salts were carried on the geotextile layer and condensed there, and in the humid season, which is December, it dissolved and moved towards the *tessellatum* layer again.

The main source of **chloride** salts is seawater spray. In addition, ground waters also carry a certain amount of chloride (Cronyn 1990: 22). While chloride was 0.015% in the soil reference sample (Fig. 10a), it decreased to 0.006% in the M1so sample (Fig. 10b) in July, and this rate did not change in December (Fig. 10c). The rate of chloride salt, which was 0.141% in the *pozzolana* reference sample, decreased in M5p samples in July (0.135%) and December (0.112%). Chloride salt showed no significant change in sand samples other than P6s2. This indicates that the chloride salt flow is extremely low in the reburial systems.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This research, conducted in Perge, is one of the rare studies conducted on reburial studies of mosaics and the results of which can be evaluated. Soil moisture content and temperature sensors previously used in soil agriculture development research have previously been tried in testing deep burial systems. However, they were used for the first time in this study in shallow-depth burial systems, which are generally preferred for reburial of the mosaics in outdoor conditions and precise and consistent findings were obtained. Climatic measurements obtained from the monitoring station and data taken from the reburial systems coincide with archaeometric data.

Research results have shown that each reburial system has certain advantages and disadvantages. The S1 reburial system, created with the soil fill, provided a certain advantage in terms of not showing a sudden reaction to temperature changes, but had a negative result in terms of all other parameters tested. It seems to be disadvantageous, especially in terms of staying at a constant high moisture content level, having higher values than other reburial systems in terms of vegetation degree, diversity, and plant growth, and possibly in connection with this, especially in terms of the increase in phosphate salts. In these aspects, it is not considered suitable for use in Perge compared to all other reburial systems.

From the initial data, obtained from the monitoring station in 2017, it is the S2 system (created only with sand fill) that showed the highest moisture content values, which was followed by the S1 burial system (created only with soil

fill). In 2018, there was a significant decrease in the moisture rate in the S2 system and it reached approximate values, and instead it was the S3 system created with geotextile and sand that provided the lowest moisture rate. In these systems, where the fill material is sand in both, it was observed that geotextile provided a significant advantage in moisture transfer in 2017, while the values were almost equal in 2018, which indicates that the effectiveness of geotextile in systems using sand as fill material should be investigated in a long-term and comprehensive manner. Although the sand used in these systems is advantageous in terms of salinity values, it has a disadvantage in terms of allowing plant roots to directly reach the mosaic pavement.

The fact that the moisture rate in the S4 system, which has a sand and gravel layer on the geotextile laid directly on the *tessellatum*, is higher than in the S2 and S3 systems can be explained by the fact that due to the large porous structure of the upper gravel layer, it breaks the capillarity that allows the moisture in the system to evaporate. This system also exhibits negativity in terms of its sudden response to precipitation.

The S5 reburial system, which was created with geotextile and *pozzolana* on the *tessellatum* layer, provides positive results in terms of not showing a sudden reaction to precipitation, and maintaining the temperature balance, as well as remaining at low moisture content levels. However, it contains a high amount of salt depending on the raw material source it comes from. If it is preferred to use the *pozzolana* due to its advantages, then it must be subjected to a desalination process, as the *pozzolana* contains more sodium, sulphate, phosphate, and chloride salt than all other fill materials.

The S6 system, where a thin layer of sand is first applied to the *tessellatum* layer and geotextile and sand fill is applied on it again is the most advantageous system in terms of slowing the plant roots to reach the mosaic. However, it showed a performance that can be called negative in terms of almost every other parameter in question.

Soil, sand, *pozzolana*, and gravel materials show the characteristics of raw material sources in terms of total salinity. According to the findings of total salt analysis, pH analysis and PED-XRF analysis, a decrease was usually observed following a relatively long period of 3 years after the placement of the test areas in all fill materials, except soil fill in the reburial systems. Accordingly, it is understood that the salt and pH in the environment depend on the source from which the material comes, rather than on external factors in the experimental area. Reducing the salt and pH rates in the reburial environment indicates that the material supplied for use as a fill layer must be tested according to these criteria when selected.

The flowering periods of the plants detected in Perge monitoring station are based on the variety, lasting from February to December. Changing the 2 cm part of the soil after the majority of plants have shed their seeds, for example in October, can be beneficial for preventing the plants from growing again. Total effective herbicides with systemic effect entering from tissues in contact with the plant and moving from here to other plant organs can be used for biennial, perennial, bi- or perennial, mono or biennial species, as well as single annual plants. Given the variety of flowering and life expectancy of plants detected in the monitoring station, it is recommended that disinfection processes be performed at least three times a year. In addition, the removal of species such as caper (*capparis ovata sp.*) and dog's tooth grass (*cynodon dactylon*) in the protection area from overgrowth with regular maintenance will be the most appropriate solution in terms of protection.

Acknowledgement

Field tests were carried out in the ancient city of Perge under the supervision of the Antalya Archeology Museum with the permission of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums. The thesis was financially supported by the Istanbul University Scientific Research Fund (Project coded SDK-2016-3775) and Işık University Scientific Research Fund (Project coded 15B701). The author expresses her gratitude to her thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Işıl ÖZSAİT-KOCABAŞ for her support in this research carried out within the scope of the doctoral thesis, to Prof. Dr. Melih BOYDAK who provided full support throughout the whole research as well as his guidance in vegetation studies, to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali KAVGACI who conducted the analysis on the species-genus/taxa and degree of coverage of plants and to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Akın AKYOL for his support in conducting archaeometric analysis.

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Kitap İncelemesi - Book Review


Işıl R. IŞIKLIKAYA-LAUBSCHER*

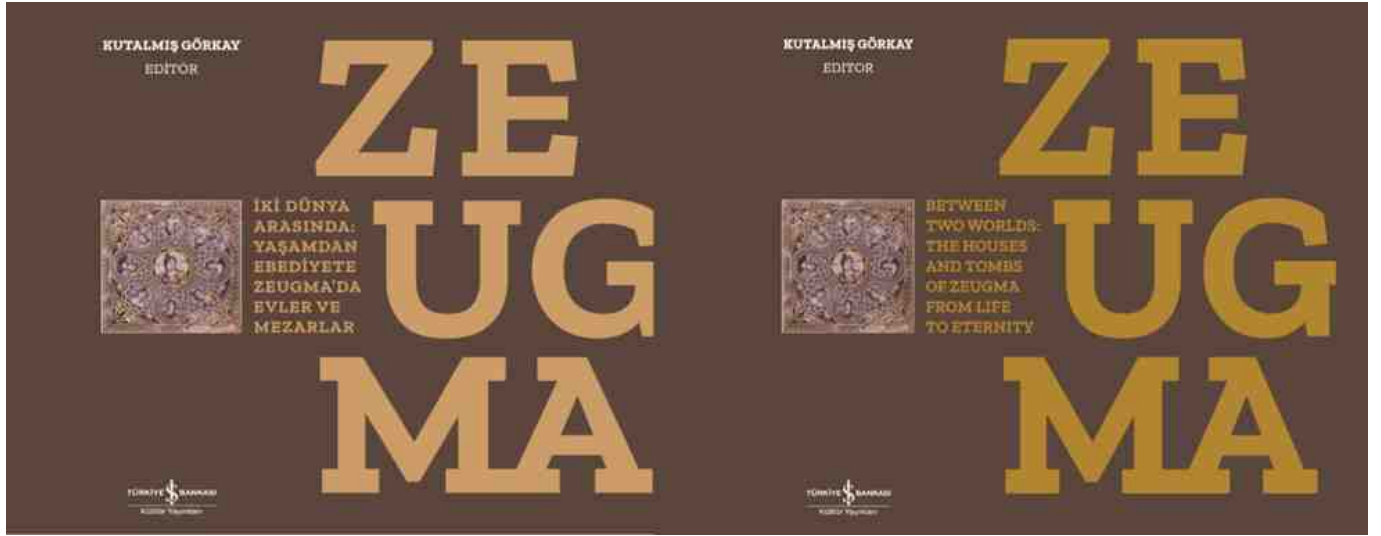
İki Dünya Arasında: Yaşamdan Ebediyete Zeugma'da Evler ve Mezarlar, Kutalmış Görkay (ed.), 412 sayfa, renkli resimli, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, ISBN: 978-625-405-170-8.

Between Two Worlds: The Houses and Tombs of Zeugma from Life to Eternity, Kutalmış Görkay (ed.), Serra Somersan (trans.), 412 pages, colour pictures, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, ISBN: 978-625-405-171-5.

Zeugma'da yürütülmekte olan arkeolojik çalışmaların sonuçlarını genel okuyucuya sunmayı hedefleyen bu yayında, kentteki evler ve ebediyet evleri olarak adlandırılan mezarlar kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Editörlüğünü Zeugma kazı başkanı Prof. Dr. Kutalmış Görkay'ın üstlendiği eserin ilk bölümlerinde Zeugma evlerinin genel özellikleri, mimarisi, bu evlerdeki yaşam biçimi, *graffitolar*, mozaikler ve duvar resimleri K. Görkay tarafından kaleme alınmış; bunu takiben sikke, seramik, cam ve pişmiş toprak figürinler gibi kontekst buluntuları ile Geç Antik dönem evleri, bu konuların uzmanlarınca ayrı başlıklar altında değerlendirilmiştir. Kitabın son iki bölümünde ise Zeugma'daki nekropoller ve mezarlar ile son yıllarda ortaya çıkarılan bir aile mezarı tanıtılmıştır. Türkçe ve İngilizce olmak üzere iki dilde basılmış olan kitap çok sayıda renkli fotoğraf, üç boyutlu canlandırma ve çizim içermektedir, ayrıca metnin sonunda arkeolojik terimleri ve özel isimleri içeren geniş bir sözlük, güncel yayınların listelendiği bir kaynakça ve dizin yer alır. Sert kapak ciltte 412 sayfadan oluşan eser, ikinci hamur kağıda tümüyle renkli olarak basılmıştır ve 32,8 x 24,3 cm ölçülerindeki yatay formatıyla keyifli bir okuma deneyimi sunmaktadır.

Sunuş kısmında Zeugma'nın coğrafi konumu ve tarihsel önemi vurgulanmış, ayrıca kentte yaşayan ve farklı etnik kökenlere sahip grupların kültürel özelliklerinin arkeolojik kalıntılara nasıl yansıdığına dikkat çekilmiştir. Bunu, "**Tarihte Zeugma**" başlıklı bir bölüm izlemektedir. MÖ yaklaşık 300'de Fırat Nehri üzerinde Seleukeia ve Apameia olmak üzere karşılıklı iki kent olarak kurulmuş olan ve Eski Yunanca'da "geçit" anlamına gelen Zeugma, Hellenistik dönemde Seleukos Krallığı'na ait önemli bir askeri ve ticari merkezdir. MS 17 yılında Roma hakimiyetine giren kent, bu dönem boyunca ticaret merkezi, lejyon yerleşkesi ve Fırat'ın karşı kıyısındaki Parthlar'la diplomatik görüşmelerin yapıldığı bir sınır kenti olmanın yanı sıra, fiziki ve görsel mimarisi ile bölgede Roma İmparatorluğu'nun gücünü temsil eden bir propaganda merkezi olarak öne çıkar. MS 252/253'teki Sasani saldırısı kenti büyük ölçüde tahrip etmiş, daha sonraki yüzyıllarda bu alandaki yerleşim ancak kırsal nitelikli olarak devam etmiştir. MS 4. yüzyıldan sonra Hıristiyanlaşan kentte Iustinianus döneminde mevcut sur duvarlarının onarıldığı bilinmektedir. MS 7. yüzyılda kısa bir süre İslam orduları tarafından fethedildiği düşünülen kentteki yerleşim olasılıkla MS 9. - 11. yüzyıllara kadar sürmüştür ve MS 11. yüzyılda nihai olarak sona ermiştir.

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Kentin “Araştırma tarihçesi” ve “Zeugma’da yürütülen yeni araştırmalar” iki ayrı bölüm halinde sunulmuştur. Araştırma tarihçesinde 18. yüzyıldan bu yana Batılı gezginlerin kentte ve yakın çevresinde yürüttüğü araştırmalar özetlenmiş, ayrıca 1987 yılından itibaren Gaziantep Müze Müdürlüğü denetiminde yürütülen ve Birecik Barajı’nın inşaaı ile hız kazanan kurtarma kazıları kısaca tanıtılmıştır. 2005 yılından bu yana kentteki araştırmalar T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı adına Ankara Üniversitesi Klasik Arkeoloji Ana Bilim Dalı öğretim üyeleri tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu kapsamda kentte Hellenistik dönem öncesine ait kalıntıların araştırılması, yerleşimin Hellenistik ve Roma dönemleri boyunca değişen karakterinin tespit edilmesi, kozmopolit toplumsal ve kültürel yapısının incelenmesi ve buluntuların ait oldukları tarihsel kontekst içinde yorumlanması amaçlanmıştır. Son dönemdeki kazı ve yüzey araştırmalarının öne çıkan sonuçlarından bazıları şunlardır: Kentte Hellenistik, Erken Roma İmparatorluk ve Iustinianus dönemlerine tarihlenen üç sur sistemi tespit edilmiştir. Kentin akropolisini oluşturan Belkıs Tepe’de gerçekleştirilen sondajda ele geçen ve M.Ö. 10./9. yüzyıllara tarihlenen hiyeroglif yazıtlı parçalar, bu alandaki yerleşimin Demir Çağı’na uzandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Belkıs Tepe’de yer alan tapınak yapısında üç mimari evre tanımlanmış olup bunlar sırasıyla MÖ 2./1. yüzyıllar, MS 1. yüzyıl ve MS 9./10. yüzyıllara tarihlenmiştir. Aynı alanda varlığı daha önceden bilinen kült heykelleri üzerinde yapılan yeni tespitler ile son dönem çalışmalarında bulunan anıtsal heykel parçalarının değerlendirilmesi sonucunda Belkıs Tepe’deki kutsal alan ile burada tapınım gören tanrılar ve Hellenistik dönem kraliyet ailesi üyeleri hakkında yeni görüşler ileri sürülmüştür.

Zeugma evlerinin ele alındığı bölümler kitabın ağırlık noktasını oluşturur. Bu kapsamda öncelikle “Zeugma Roma dönemi evlerine genel bir bakış” sunulmuştur. Zeugma’nın konut alanları, kozmopolit yapıya sahip kent sakinlerinin özel hayatlarına ışık tutmanın yanı sıra ev sahiplerinin etnik ve sosyal kimliklerine dair izler taşıması bakımından önemlidir. Kentteki evlerin büyük bir kısmı MS 1. yüzyıldan MS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar kullanılmış olup planları zaman içerisinde değişikliğe uğramıştır. Zeugma evlerinde Yunan ve Roma ev tiplerinin harmanlanarak yöresel iklime uygun hale getirildiği görülmektedir. Bitişik nizamlı ve kısmen kayaya oyulmuş olan bu evler, peristil şeklinde düzenlenmiş bir orta avluya açılan kışlık ve yazlık yemek salonları (*triclinium*), yatak ve dinlenme odaları (*cubiculum*), evin beyine ait çalışma odaları ile mutfak ve kilerden oluşur. Yazlık yemek salonları ile yatak odalarının zemini genellikle mozaik, duvarları ise fresklerle kaplanmıştır; ayrıca artan su ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla MS 2. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren evlerin

açık avlularının (*impluvium*) da mozaikle döşendiği, bu sayede yağmur sularının sarnıçlara aktarıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Roma döneminde, evlerdeki en önemli sosyalleşme ve eğlence aracı sayılan yemek davetleri, kitapta “**Convivium’lar ve mekânlar**” başlıklı bir bölümde ele alınmıştır. Zeugma evlerinde elit misafirlerin ağırlandığı yemek salonları olan *triclinium*lar, *convivium* kültürünün mimariye ve mimari dekorasyona nasıl yansıdığını en iyi gösteren örnekler arasında yer alır. Eski Yunanca’da “birlikte içmek” anlamına gelen *symposionun* Roma kültüründeki karşılığı olan *convivium*, “birlikte yaşamak” anlamına sahiptir. Yemek salonlarında genellikle U formunda yerleştirilen divanlara (*kline*) uzanan misafirlere yemek ve şarap ikramı yapılır; katılımcıların antik Yunan kültürüne uygun eğitimlerini (*paideia*) yansıtabilecek şekilde edebiyat, tarih, felsefe ve mitoloji gibi entelektüel konularda sohbet edilir ve davet sahibi tarafından kiralanan müzik, mim ve tiyatro gösterileri seyredilirdi. Zeugma evlerindeki *triclinium*lar da buna uygun olarak dekore edilmiş olup buradaki taban mozaiklerinde tragedya ve komedyya oyunları ile edebi *novellalardan* etkileyici sahneler betimlenmiş, duvarlarda ise sahne cephesini çağrıştıran çok katlı düzenlemeler ve hizmetkar betimleri tercih edilmiştir. Zeugma evlerindeki bu zengin mimari dekorasyon dili, ev sahiplerinin eğitimini, maddi imkanlarını, sosyal ve entelektüel birikimini yansıtanın yanı sıra kentin bölgede eğlence sektörü için önemli bir merkez olduğunu göstermesi bakımından önem taşır.

“**Evlerin sakinleri, bölünmüş evler, mekanlar ve yaşantılar**” başlıklı bölümde kentte elde edilen arkeolojik veriler doğrultusunda Zeugma evlerindeki yaşam tarzı tarihi bağlam içinde irdelenmiştir. Yazarın ‘evlerin sakinleri’ olarak adlandırdığı insanlar hem ev sahiplerini hem de onların geniş çevresine ait kişileri içerir. MS 252/253 yıllarında gerçekleşen Sasani saldırısı Zeugma’daki yaşamı ani bir kesintiye uğrattığından özellikle evlerdeki birçok buluntu dönemin donmuş tanığı niteliğindedir. Yazıtlar, günlük kullanım eşyaları ve duvarlardaki *graffitolar* başka olmak üzere kentte ele geçen buluntular, Sasani saldırısı öncesinde ev sakinlerinin çoğunlukla Eski Yunanca konuşan, Yunan-Roma kültürünü benimsemiş kişiler olduğuna işaret eder; ayrıca Sami ve Latin kültürünün etkileri de görülmektedir. Evlerin mimarisi, özellikle evlerdeki bölünme ve genişlemeler de Zeugma’daki aile yapısını yansıtır. Buna göre Zeugma’daki evlerin çoğu, birkaç kuşağın bir arada yaşadığı geniş aileler tarafından kullanılmıştır. Diğer taraftan bazı evlerin farklı dönemlerde bölündüğü ve daha küçük alanlara sahip alt yaşam birimlerinin oluşturulduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Kentin Romalılaşma sürecinde Zeugma’da konuşlanmış iki lejyonun büyük rolü bulunmaktadır. “**Evlerde ve mezarlarda askeri kültürün izleri**” başlıklı bölümde kentteki bu askeri varlığın, sivil yaşam içerisindeki yeri irdelenmiştir. Evlerde ele geçen buluntular arasında yer alan askeri eşya, ekipman ve teçhizatlarla, duvarlara kazınmış olan *graffitolar* ve tekil define buluntuları bunun en belirgin örnekleridir. Kentte, askeriyede görev yapmış ve buradan emekli olmuş kişilere ait mezarlara da rastlanır. Mezar sahibinin askeri kimliği buradaki yazıtlarla ya da mezar sahibinin betiminde kullanılan askeri pelerin (*khlamys*) ve fibula (*tutulus fibula*) gibi görsel öğelerle vurgulanmıştır. Roma lejyonlarının, buldukları kente maddi, mimari ve kültürel alanlarda katkısı olduğu bilinmektedir. Bununla birlikte askeri kültürün Zeugma’nın sivil yaşamındaki varlığı, Roma askeri birliklerine mensup kişilerin buradaki yerel halk ile etkileşim içinde olduğuna, kentteki elit ailelerin kızlarıyla evlenebildiğine, hatta kimilerinin kent içerisindeki evlerde yaşamış olabileceğine işaret etmesi bakımından önemlidir.

“Konuşan duvarlar: Evlerde resimsel ve yazılı graffito’lar” başlıklı bölümde ev sakinleri ya da onların yakınları tarafından fresklerin ve mimari öğelerin üzerine sonradan yapılmış olan resim ve yazılar ele alınmıştır. Kazıma (*graffito*) ya da boyama (*dipinto*) tekniğinde yapılmış bu ifadelerin içerikleri, buldukları mekanın işlevinin yanı sıra yapan kişinin yaş grubu, kimliği, etnik kökeni, eğitimi, kullandığı dil, sosyal statüsü ve ilgi alanları ile duygu ve temennilerini birinci elden yansıtır. *Graffito*lar evlerin hemen hemen tüm odalarında karşımıza çıkmaktadır. *Triclinium*larda ağırlıklı olarak *convivium*a dair metin ve görseller, Yunan ve Latin edebiyatından dizeler, gladyatör ya da süvari betimleri gibi askeri içerikli sahneler ile tekerleme, bulmaca ve övgüler tespit edilmiştir. *Cubiculum*larda ve özellikle yeni evli çiftler için hazırlanan odalarda, çifte hayırlı yaşam ve aile reisine soyunun devamı yönünde iyi dilekler yer alır. *Gynaikeion*larda günleri ifade eden çentik biçiminde kazımalar, Antik Yunan edebiyatında iyi meziyetleriyle tanınan kadın kahramanların (*heroine*) betimlerine eşlik eden isimler ve çocuk sahibi olmak ya da uzaktaki eşin sağ salim dönmesi gibi endişe ve dilekler görülür. Yazılı *graffito*larda anılan isimler çoğunlukla Eski Yunanca olmakla birlikte Latince ve Sami isimler ile bir adet Musevi kökenli isim de tespit edilmiştir. Resimsel *graffito*ların ortak özelliği ise avlu ve koridor gibi açık mekanlarda yer almalarıdır; bu durum yazar tarafından söz konusu çizimlerin gökyüzündeki tanrılar ve demonlar tarafından daha kolay görülmesinin arzulandığı şeklinde yorumlanmıştır.

“Renklerle yaşamak: Zeugma evlerinde duvar dekorasyonları” başlıklı bölümde Zeugmalılar’ın zengin ve lüks yaşantısına tanıklık eden duvar dekorasyonları incelenmiştir. Çeşitli tekniklerde uygulanmış duvar resimleri ile mermer ve taş izlenimi veren üç boyutlu *stucco*lardan oluşan duvar ve tavan dekorasyonları, Zeugma’daki evlerin tahmin edebileceğimizden çok daha renkli bir şekilde ve ender bulunan hammaddelerle bezenmiş olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır. Uygulanan konu ya da motifler mekanların işlevlerine göre belirlenmiş ve renk seçiminde mekan içerisindeki ışık dengesi dikkate alınmıştır. Buna göre evlerin umuma açık bölümlerindeki duvarlar genellikle daha gösterişli bir şekilde bezenmişken, mahrem nitelikli dinlenme ve yatak odalarında daha sade düzenlemeler tercih edilmiştir. Açık avlularda bahçe izlenimi veren bitki ve kuş motifleri ile evin bereketini simgeleyen konular, misafirlerin ağırlandığı *triclinium*larda hizmetkar betimleri ile sahne cephesini çağrıştıran çok katlı düzenlemeler, *gynaikeion*larda ise kadınların dünyasına ait sembolik figürlerin kullanılmış olması dikkat çekicidir.

“Zeugma Roma evlerinde mozaikler” başlıklı bölümde bugüne kadar kentte ortaya çıkan ve gerek in situ halde korunan gerekse Zeugma Mozaik Müzesi’nde sergilenmekte olan mozaik döşemeler mimari bağlamlarına göre tek tek ve detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Kitabın en kapsamlı bölümünü oluşturan bu bölümde her mozaik için öncelikle döşemenin buluntu yeri ve koruma geçmişi aktarılmış, ardından mozaik’in mimari ve arkeolojik kontekstine dair gözlemler, döşemeyi oluşturan panoların genel tanımı, figürlü sahnelerin ikonografik ve ikonolojik değerlendirmesi ile yazar tarafından sunulan tarihlendirme teklifleri sunulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, yeni buluntular ve halihazırda bilinen figürlü sahnelerin kapsamlı birer incelemesinin yanı sıra bu sahnelerin edebi metinler doğrultusunda yeniden yorumlanması kitabın bilimsel anlamda en önemli katkılarından biridir. MS 2. yüzyıl ile 3. yüzyılın başlarına tarihlenen Zeugma mozaiklerinde işlenen konular mekanların işlevlerine uygun olarak seçilmiş olup ev sahibinin eğitim, ilgi alanı ve kişisel tercihlerini yansıtmaktadır. *Triclinium* mozaiklerinde dönemin sevilen edebiyat eserlerinden sahnelerin betimlenmiş olması, Zeugma’daki eğlence sektörünün önemini vurgular, ayrıca söz konusu

eserlerin sahnelenmek suretiyle sonraki kuşaklara aktarıldığına işaret eder. Yatak odası gibi mahrem sayılan mekânlarda genellikle aşk ve evlilikle ilgili sahneler betimlemiş olup bunların bir bölümünün çiftlere hediye olarak evlilik öncesinde aileler tarafından yaptırılmış olabileceği belirtilmektedir. Peristil ve *impluvium*larda ise genellikle deniz tanrıları ve suyla ilgili sahneler tercih edilmiştir.

Çiğdem Gençler-Güray tarafından kaleme alınan “**Küçük şeylerin büyük anlamı: Evlerdeki küçük buluntular**” başlıklı bölümde ev kontekstlerinden ele geçen ve boyutları itibarıyla küçük buluntu olarak tanımlanan objeler incelenmiştir. Kemik, metal, ahşap, taş, cam, ya da pışmış toprak gibi farklı malzemelerden yapılmış olan bu objeler zengin bir form yelpazesine sahiptir. Metinde mimari aksamlar, mobilya ve mobilya parçaları, temizlik ve kişisel bakım aletleri, oyuncaklar, yazı gereçleri, tarım, ticaret ve zanaatla ilgili aletler ile askeri silah ve teçhizatlar olarak gruplandırılmış olan buluntular, Zeugma’da yaşayan insanların günlük hayatları hakkında birinci elden bilgi sağlaması bakımından önemlidir.

“**Dinsel bayramlar ve gelenekler: Terrakotta figürinlerin ev yaşantısı bağlamında değerlendirilmesi**” başlıklı bölüm İlder Tanrıverdi tarafından hazırlanmıştır. Zeugma’da ele geçen figürinler MÖ 4. yüzyıl - MS 4. yüzyıl arasına tarihlenir. Terrakotta figürinlerin genel olarak tapınak ve kutsal alanlarda, mezarlarda ve ölüyle ilişkili ritüellerde, ev içi kült ritüellerinde, oyuncak olarak ya da *apotropeik* amaçlı olarak kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. Buna uygun olarak Zeugma’da ele geçen örnekler de evin koruyucu tanrıları, ev içindeki kült ritüelleriyle ilişkilendirilen tanrısal figürinler, ata kültü ile ilişkilendirilen ya da tanrı heykelcikleri olarak yorumlanan yarı uzanmış halde *symposion* katılımcısı olarak betimlenmiş figürinler, dekoratif amaçlı masklar, *apotropeik* ya da şifa dileme amaçlı grotesk figürler, minyatür altınlar ve Hellenistik döneme tarihlenen Pers atlı figürinlerinden oluşmaktadır. Geniş bir yelpazeye yayılan bu buluntu grubu, Zeugmalılar’ın kent kültürü ve inanışlarının yanısıra günlük yaşamın bir parçasını oluşturan bayram ve ritüellerin açıklanması bakımından önem taşır.

“**Roma’nın doğu sınırında değişen ekonomik dengeler: Sikke buluntuları ışığında Zeugma**” başlıklı bölümde Fatih Toumpan, 1992 yılından bu yana kentte yürütülen kazılarda ortaya çıkan sikkeleri değerlendirmiştir. Kentte tekil veya define niteliğinde toplu olarak ele geçen toplam 6.300 sikkenin yüzde 81’i Erken Roma dönemine (MS 1.-3. yüzyıllar), geri kalan yüzde 19’u ise Hellenistik, Part-Sasani, Geç Roma, Bizans ve İslami dönemlere aittir. Ağırlıklı olarak Roma evlerinde ele geçen ve defineler dışında büyük bölümü bronz sikkelerden oluşan bu buluntu grubunun en erken örnekleri Seleukoslar dönemine ait Antiokheia darplarıdır. MS 1.-3. yüzyıllar arasında tarihlenen sikkeler ağırlıklı olarak Roma eyalet sikkeleri olup darp yerleri itibarıyla zengin bir coğrafi çeşitlilik göstermekte ve kentte Roma hakimiyetiyle birlikte artan askeri ve ticari hareketliliğe işaret etmektedir. Bu buluntular arasında 3.750 gümüş sikkeden oluşan ve MS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına tarihlenen Tetradrachmi Definesi öne çıkar. Zeugma, Antoninus Pius döneminden (MS 138-161) MS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar aralıklarla kendi kent sikkelerini de basmıştır. Kentte ele geçen Roma İmparatorluk sikkelerinin sayısı ise oldukça azdır. MS 252/253’teki Sasani saldırısından sonraki döneme ait az sayıdaki sikke buluntusu arasında *antoninianus* ve *folles* öne çıkmaktadır. MS 4. yüzyılda sayıca artan ve ağırlıklı olarak Antiokheia darbu olan sikke buluntuları MS 5. yüzyıldaki ekonomik kriz nedeniyle yeniden azalır. Bizans sikkesi olarak Anastasius dönemine (özellikle

MS 498 sonrasında) ait Konstantinopolis darpları görülür. MS 636'da bölgenin Arap hakimiyetine girmesinden sonraki sikke buluntuları ise sırasıyla Emevi, Abbasi ve Osmanlı dönemlerine aittir.

“Seramik buluntuları ışığı altında Zeugma’da mutfak ve beslenme kültürü” başlıklı bölüm Ayşe Fatma Erol ve Safiye Aydın tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Kentte ele geçen seramiklerin yanı sıra arkeobotanik ve arkeozoolojik incelemeler, Erken İmparatorluk döneminden Geç Antik döneme kadar olan zaman diliminde Zeugmalılar’ın mutfak kültürü ve değişen beslenme alışkanlıkları hakkında bilgi sağlar. Roma İmparatorluk dönemine (özellikle MS 1.-3. yüzyıllar arasında) tarihlenen buluntular arasında gıdaların karıştırılması ya da ezilmesi için kullanılan *mortarium*lar, açık ve kapalı formlardan oluşan Suriye kökenli pişirme setleri *Brittle Ware* ve *Pompeii Kırmızı Astarlı Kapları* olarak adlandırılan seramik grupları öne çıkmaktadır. Karbonlaşmış tohumlar üzerine yapılan analizler kentte buğday, mercimek ve bezelyenin yanı sıra bol miktarda zeytin ile çeşitli meyve ve sebze türlerinin tüketildiğini gösterir; hayvansal gıda olarak ise sığır, koyun, keçi ve domuz etinden yararlanılmıştır. Bu buluntular, Roma döneminde kozmopolit bir nüfusa sahip olan Zeugma’da, geleneksel beslenme alışkanlıkları ile Romalı yaşam tarzının bir arada sürdürüldüğüne ve yeni lezzetlere açık bir beslenme kültürünün varlığına işaret etmektedir.

“Işığı ve rengi şekillendirmek: Zeugma cam buluntuları” başlıklı bölümde Öznur Semiz, Zeugma antik kentinde ele geçen cam buluntuları dönemlerine ve işlevlerine göre incelemiştir. Antik dönemde lüks tüketim malzemesi niteliğindeki cam buluntuların değerlendirilmesi, bu malzemenin Zeugma’daki kullanım yoğunluğunu, kullanım alanlarını ve kentin bölgesel / bölgelerarası ilişkilerini yansıması bakımından önem taşır. Döküm ve üfleme olmak üzere iki farklı teknikle üretilmiş olan cam buluntular, sofraya kapları (özellikle içki kapları), kozmetik şişeleri, saklama kapları, aydınlatma gereçleri ile diğer objeler (örn. oyun taşı, *tessera* ve emaye) şeklinde gruplandırılmıştır. Teknik ve üslup özelliklerinin yanı sıra kentteki iki önemli tahribat tabakası (MS 252/253 Sasani saldırısı ve MS 636 Arap istilası) esas alınarak tarihlenen bu buluntular Hellenistik dönem, Erken ve Orta Roma İmparatorluk dönemleri, Geç Roma / Erken Bizans dönemi ve İslami döneme ait örnekler içerir. Buna göre MS 1.-3. yüzyıllar arasında ve MS 4.-6. yüzyıllar arasında kentte cam tüketiminin yoğunlaştığı ve çeşitlilik kazandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Öne çıkan örnekler arasında Roma dönemi cam ustalarından Ennion’un kalıbından çıkmış “Sidon tarzı”nda bir cam kap parçası, Doğu Akdeniz stilinde işlenmiş damlacık şişeleri ve hurma biçimli şişeler ile Roma dönemine ait Sasani işi şarap kaseleri sayılabilir. Zeugma ve Dura-Europos’ta ele geçen cam malzemenin genel olarak benzerlik göstermesi ise bu iki kent arasındaki yakın ilişkiye ve Fırat havzasında bölgesel üretim yapmış atölyelerin varlığına işaret etmesi bakımından önemlidir.

Mesut Dilaver tarafından kaleme alınan **“Zeugma’nın Geç Antik dönem evleri: Sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik değişimler”** başlıklı bölümde öncelikle tarihsel arkaplan sunulmuş, ardından kentin Geç Antik dönemdeki sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik değişimi irdelenmiş ve son olarak Zeugma’daki Geç Antik dönem evleri genel özellikleriyle tanıtılmıştır. Kentin Geç Antik dönem tarihini etkileyen iki önemli olay MS 252/253’teki Sasani istilası ve MS 636’daki Yermük Savaşı’nı takiben bölgenin Arap hakimiyetine girmesidir. MS 4.-6. yüzyıllar arasında Zeugma’daki yerleşimin en belirgin özelliği, Yunan-Roma kültürünü benimsemiş entelektüel halkın yerini tarımla uğraşan, kırsal nitelikli bir nüfusun almış olması ve artık resmi din olan Hristiyanlığın etkisidir. Bu dönemde daralan kentin sınırları Iustinianus dönemine tarihlenen yeni

bir sur sistemi ile belirlenmiştir. Kent genelinde dağınık bir yerleşim modeli tercih edilmiş olup basit planlı evler, peristil ya da açık bir avlu etrafında düzenlenmiş evler, çiftlik evleri ve villalar gibi farklı ev planları tespit edilmiştir. Zeugma evleri, peristil ve avlu kullanımı ile çok katlılık açısından Anadolu ve Suriye'deki örneklerle benzeşirken apsidal formlu toplantı salonları, hamam ve *latrina* gibi mekanlar ya da taban mozaikleri ve *opus sectile* gibi mimariye bağlı dekorasyon öğelerinin bulunmayışı ile bu örneklerden ayrılır. Mimari dekorasyonda kullanılan Hıristiyan motifleri kentte yaşayanların dini ve kültürel kimliklerini yansıtmaları bakımından önemlidir; diğer taraftan Zeugma'daki Geç Antik dönem evlerinde Antakya ve Haleplibahçe'deki gibi pagan kültürünü sürdüren entelektüel bir zümreye ait izlere rastlanmaması dikkat çekicidir. Seramik buluntuları doğrultusunda yerleşimin MS 7. yüzyılda Erken İslami dönem saldırıları ile sekteye uğradığı ancak belirli alanlarda MS 9. yüzyıla kadar devam ettiği anlaşılmaktadır. MS 11. yüzyıla kadar kilise kayıtlarında adı geçen kent, bu tarihte askeri önemini kaybetmiş ve buradaki yerleşim nihai olarak sona ermiştir.

“Ebediyet evleri: Zeugma’da nekropoller ve mezarlar” başlıklı bölümde Hüseyin Yaman sembolik bir yakıştırma ile *domus aeterna* (ebediyet evi) olarak tanımlanan mezarlar ve burada ele geçen plastik eserler doğrultusunda Zeugma halkının ölümle ilgili inanç ve ritüellerini, toplumsal ve kişisel tercihlerini, ve mezarların kentin sosyal yapısını nasıl yansıttığını incelemiştir. MÖ 3. yüzyıldan MS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar kullanılan Zeugma nekropollerinde ana kayaya açılmış basit sanduka mezarlar (*khamosorion*), ana kayaya açılmış oda mezarlar (*hypogeum*), tümülüsler, lahitler ve urneler gibi çeşitli mezar tipleri tespit edilmiştir. Yaygın mezar tipi, çoklu gömülerin yapıldığı, tek ya da iki odalı *hypogeum*lar olup bu mezarların ön odası Roma evlerindeki *vestibulum*, bunun gerisindeki ana oda ise *triclinium*u andıracak şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Gömüler, duvarlardaki *arcosolium* ve/veya *loculus*ların yanı sıra zeminde oyulmuş basit teknelerin içine yerleştirilmiştir. Mezar stelleri, kabartmalar, büstler ve tam boy heykellerde genellikle ölen kişinin portre betimi işlenmiştir; bunun yanı sıra kartal ve sepet gibi cinsiyeti ifade eden semboller ve yazıtlar da mezar sahibi hakkında bilgi sağlamakta ve bu kişilerin nasıl hatırlanmak istediklerine işaret etmektedir. Buna göre Zeugma'daki mezarlar ve mezar buluntuları kentin kozmopolit yapısını doğrular niteliktedir. Mezar yazıtları ağırlıklı olarak Eski Yunanca olup az sayıdaki lahitte Latince kullanılmıştır; buna uygun olarak mezar sahiplerinin isimleri de Yunan-Makedon, Latin ve Sami isimlerinden oluşur. Mezar stelleri ve kabartmalarda erkekler Yunan-Roma kıyafetleri ile betimlenmiştir; kadınların ise hem batı hem de doğu geleneğinde giyimli oldukları görülür. Bu durum, Zeugma'da yaşayan ya da buraya yerleşen Yunan-Roma kökenli erkeklerin yerel kökenli kadınlarla evlendiklerini ve bu kadınların öz kimliklerini giyim tarzlarıyla ifade ettiklerini göstermesi bakımından dikkat çekicidir.

Kutalmış Görkay tarafından kaleme alınan **“Areisteos’un aile mezarı”** başlıklı bölümde 2019 yılında Zeugma'nın güney nekropolünde ortaya çıkarılan bir mezar yapısı tanıtılmaktadır. *Hypogeum* tarzındaki bu mezar, arka duvarı kayaya oyulmuş bir *vestibulum* (ön oda) ve tümüyle kayaya oyulmuş bir mezar odasından oluşmaktadır. Ölen kişilerin anıldığı taziye odası niteliğindeki *vestibulum*da bazıları portre betimi içeren toplam 24 mezar steli ve tam boy heykel tespit edilmiştir. Betimsel soyağacı (*mnemeion*) niteliği taşıyan bu portre galerisindeki heykeller üslup özellikleri doğrultusunda Traianus döneminden (MS 98-117) Severus dönemine (MS 193-211) kadar uzanan geniş bir aralığa tarihlenir. Mezar yazıtları genellikle Eski Yunanca olup Suriye bölgesine özgü

bir şekilde ölen kişiler hakkında fazla bilgi içermez. Bunlar arasında muhtemelen aile mezarının ilk sahibi olan Aristeos ve eşi ile *legio III Scythica* mensubu olarak Zeugma'ya gelen ve Aristeios'un ardıllarından biriyle evlenerek bu aileye dahil olduğu anlaşılan Vales öne çıkmaktadır. Gerideki mezar odasında *arcosolium*lar içine oyulmuş mezar tekneleri bulunur, ortada ise ölünün üzerine yerleştirilerek taziyelerin kabul edildiği bir platform yer almaktadır. Aristeos'un aile mezarı, Zeugma'daki mezar yapıları ile evler arasındaki benzerlik, ölü gömme ritüelleri, nesiller arası aktarım ve aile içerisindeki hiyerarşiye dair ilginç veriler sağlamanın yanı sıra söz konusu mezar alanının askeriye hizmet etmiş Zeugmalı aileler için kullanılmış olabileceğine işaret etmesi bakımından önemlidir.

Sonuç olarak, "İki Dünya Arasında: Yaşamdan Ebediyete Zeugma'da Evler ve Mezarlar" başlıklı kitapta kentte yürütülen ilk araştırmalar, 1990'lı yıllarda gerçekleştirilen kurtarma kazıları ve 2005 yılından bu yana yürütülen sistematik kazı ve yüzey araştırmalarının sonuçları kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınarak bir arada sunulmuştur. Bu çalışmalar sırasında elde edilen veriler Zeugma'nın tarih sahnesindeki yeri, kentsel gelişimi, Zeugmalılar'ın yaşam tarzını ve ölümle ilgili inanış ve uygulamalarını yansıtan tematik başlıklar halinde irdelenmiştir. Zengin mozaik buluntularına bağlı olarak günümüzde öncelikle mozaik varlığı ile gündeme gelen Zeugma antik kentindeki evlerin ve mezarların bir bütün olarak ele alınması ve mevcut verilerin tarihsel bağlamları içerisinde yorumlanması kitabın en önemli katkılarından biridir. Metin, bilimsellikten ödün vermeksizin genel okuyucunun anlayabileceği yoğunlukta hazırlanmıştır. Kitap, bazıları özel ışıklandırma yöntemleriyle çekilmiş çok sayıda fotoğraf ve çizimin yanı sıra bilimsel veriler doğrultusunda hazırlanmış 3 boyutlu canlandırmalar ile zenginleştirilmiş olup bu görseller, kentin antik dönemdeki görünümünün okuyucunun gözünde canlanmasını mümkün kılmaktadır. Sonuç olarak her seviyede okuyucu, öğrenci ve uzmanın keyifle yararlanacağı bir kaynak kitap ortaya çıkmıştır.

About the 16th Colloquium of the International Association for the Study of the Ancient Mosaic AIEMA in Conímbriga, Rabaçal, São Simão and Santiago da Guarda, with excursion to Alter do Chão, Mértola, Milreu and Faro, 11th to 15th July 2025

Alter do Chão, Mértola, Milreu ve Faro'ya Yapılacak Gezilerle Birlikte Conímbriga, Rabaçal, São Simão ve Santiago Da Guarda'da 11 – 15 Temmuz 2025 Tarihinde Düzenlenecek Uluslararası Antik Mozaikler Üzerine Çalışmalar Derneği 16. Uluslararası Kolokyumu Hakkında

Miguel PESSOA - Lino RODRIGO - Pedro SALES*

Abstract

The announcement of the 16th International Colloquium of the International Association for the Study of the Ancient Mosaic AIEMA in Conímbriga (Condeixa-a-Nova), Rabaçal, São Simão (Penela) and Santiago da Guarda (Ansião), with excursion to Alter do Chão, Mértola, Milreu and Faro, (11 to 15 July 2025), led the event's proponents, members of the Portuguese Association for the Study and Conservation of the Ancient Mosaic - APECMA, the Portuguese section of the International Association for the Study of Ancient Mosaic - AIEMA (based in Paris), to consider the availability of each one of the archaeological site teams involved to prepare this International Meeting in a timely and efficient way, and propose the Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage (DGPC) to take the opportunity provided by this event to present the new Conímbriga Mosaic Restoration Centre - which would strengthen the Movement for the Promotion of the Nomination of Conímbriga to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Keywords: Congress, Roman Mosaic, Conímbriga, Restoration Centre, UNESCO.


Öz

Alter do Chão, Mértola, Milreu ve Faro gezisi dahil, Conímbriga (Condeixa-a-Nova), Rabaçal, São Simão (Penela) ve Santiago da Guarda'da (Ansião) düzenlenecek (11 - 15 Temmuz 2025) uluslararası antik mozaikler üzerine çalışmalar derneği AIEMA 16. uluslararası kolokyumunun duyurulması, etkinliğin taraflarının, Portekiz Antik Mozaiklerin Araştırılması ve Korunması Derneği - APECMA üyelerinin, Uluslararası Antik Mozaikler Üzerine Çalışmalar Derneği – AIEMA (Paris merkezli) Portekiz bölümünün bu uluslararası toplantıyı zamanında ve verimli bir şekilde hazırlamak için dahil olan arkeolojik alan ekiplerinin her birinin mevcudiyetini değerlendirmesine, ve Kültürel Miras Genel Müdürlüğü'ne (DGPC) bu etkinliğin sağladığı fırsattan yararlanarak Conímbriga'nın UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesine Aday Gösterilmesi Hareketini güçlendirecek olan yeni Conímbriga Mozaik Restorasyon Merkezi'nin sunumunu önermesine yol açmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kongre, Roma Mozaığı, Conímbriga, Restorasyon Merkezi, UNESCO.

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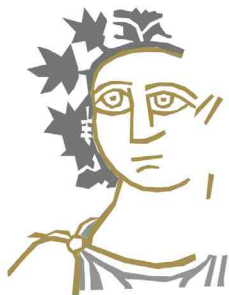
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The site of Conímbriga is today a complex where the built heritage and its harmonious and functional integration with the natural and cultural surroundings appeal to the visitors' senses and understanding. The same happens with those that visit the Roman *Villae* of Rabaçal and São Simão, in Penela, and Santiago da Guarda, in Ansião, in the Lands of Sicó.

The luxurious manor houses of these farm estates have mosaic pavements that in some cases exceed the artistic value of their urban counterparts. They constitute a way of showing visitors how some of the wealthy landowners of the municipality or the *ciuitas* of Conímbriga lived. In fact, if they remain protected, as much as possible, from the corrosive effects of tourism, these *Villae*, easily integrated in the same circuit, will be a great complement to the visit to the Roman city. In addition, the holistic valorisation of this heritage can become an important social, cultural, and economic development factor in our region and country.

Conímbriga is a man-made territory that bears witness to the relationships between peoples of various historical, social, and cultural backgrounds. Thus, in the context of Conímbriga's spirit of hospitality, we would like to ask the Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage, the entity responsible for this unique and universal heritage, to give priority to the rehabilitation of the Conímbriga Mosaic Restoration Workshop and to the implementation of the project for the future Mosaic Restoration Centre, prepared in 2017 by the referred Directorate-General. The possibility to make these projects come true would greatly strengthen the Movement for the Promotion of the Nomination of Conímbriga to the UNESCO World Heritage List (Figs. 1 - 2 - 2a).



MOVIMENTO
PARA A PROMOÇÃO DA CANDIDATURA
DE CONIMBRIGA
A PATRIMÓNIO MUNDIAL
DA UNESCO

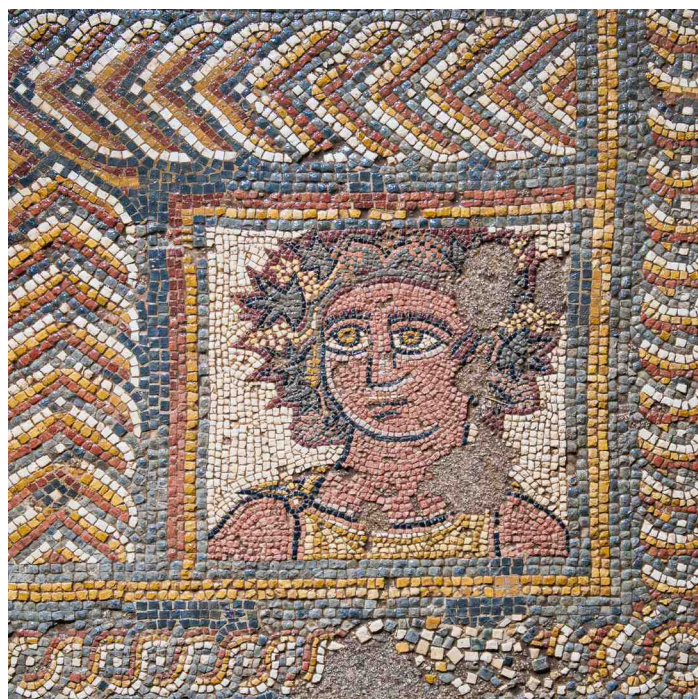


Figure 1
Promotion logo for the Nomination of Conímbriga to the UNESCO World Heritage List. Drawing of a bust, viewed from the front, with the head turned $\frac{3}{4}$ to the right and looking in the same direction, from the Roman mosaic of Autumn (also identified as Bacchus, due to the common features represented: bunch of white and red grapes, and vine leaves), dating from the last quarter of the 3rd century (Oleiro 1992: 117-125), conserved, in situ, at the House of the Fountains, in Conímbriga, and discovered, in 1939, at the time of Professor Vergílio Correia (1888-1944). Author: José Luís Madeira, 2014.

Figure 2
Mosaic depicting Autumn, conserved, *in situ*, at the House of the Fountains, in Conímbriga. 2nd and 3rd century. Local limestone. Dimensions: 30 x 30 cm. Photograph: Delfim Ferreira, 1980. (Oleiro 1992: 117-125).

Figure 2a
Proposed reconstruction, tessera by tessera, of the Autumn Season Mosaic, as a young woman crowned with grape bunches and vine leaves, wearing a sleeveless yellow tunic. Drawing by João Pocinho. Computer model by Flávio Simões, José Carvalho and Mariana Simões

The Mosaic Restoration Workshop was installed in the late 1970s¹ in a temporary building. However, it has been in the same location for more than 30 years (Fig. 3.1). The Mosaic Workshop was the place and school of renowned mosaicists and many conservation and restoration students, as well as a unique reference in the restoration panorama of Roman heritage in Portugal. The Workshop suffered severe damages after Storm Leslie hit the municipality of Condeixa-a-Nova and several coastal municipalities on 13th October 2018. It lost part of the fibre cement slabs, possibly containing asbestos, that were part of its roof.

Figure 3.1 - 3.2

Aerial view, from East to West, of the Monographic Museum of Conímbriga / Condeixa-a-Velha / Condeixa-a-Nova.

Photograph taken during a paramotor flight, which took off from the neighbouring Monte de Pega. Francisco Pedro. September 2018.

3.1. Conímbriga Mosaic Workshop affected by Storm Leslie on 13 October 2018.

3.2. Planned site for the installation of the new Conímbriga Mosaic Restoration Centre.



This Workshop has been fulfilling its duties as far as possible, but there are risks in terms of safety and health at work. Also, the conditions it provides for completing the necessary conservation and restoration works are insufficient. The building, adjacent to the visiting route of the archaeological site, can provide the public with a negative image which is not consistent with the ongoing commitment to the recovery, defence, and valorisation of Conímbriga and its heritage.

The year 2021 may be a turning point in the revitalisation process of Conímbriga. For this to happen, among other initiatives, it will be important, as mentioned, to start the implementation of the already existing project for the expansion and remodelling of the Museum, which includes the installation of the new Mosaic Restoration Centre.

Considering that the 16th Colloquium of the International Association for the Study of the Ancient Mosaic AIEMA will take place in Conímbriga, Rabaçal, São Simão and Santiago da Guarda, 11th to 13th July 2025 (Communications), as well as in Alter do Chão, Mértola, Milreu and Faro, 14th to 15th July 2025 (Excursion), it would be important to match this moment with the implementation of the new Conímbriga Mosaic Restoration Centre (Fig. 3.2) if it cannot be done earlier.

¹ In place of the previous one that was at the entrance of the Ruins since the 1950s. However, measures regarding the conservation of the mosaics were already implemented in Conímbriga: first, at the time of Master António Augusto Gonçalves, in 1899; later, in the 1930s, during the works done under the coordination of Professor Vergílio Correia, with for example, the reinforcement works aimed at securing the borders of the mosaic pavement, using mortar and a mason's trowel, carried out by António Duarte and by the then young mosaicist, José de Oliveira Loreto and other colleagues (Pessoa - Rodrigo 2005: 186-189, 222-224, 235).

We recall that the last International Meetings on Ancient Mosaic coincided with important advances in the study and valorisation of this type of heritage. They were held at the Bursa Uludağ University in Turkey, in 2009, Ca'Foscari University in Venice, in 2012, the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid, in 2015, and the University of Nicosia, Cyprus, in 2018. The 15th Colloquium of the International Association for the Study of the Ancient Mosaic AIEMA will be held in Lyon and Saint Romain en gal, France, in 17th to 21th October 2022, while the 16th Colloquium will take place, as mentioned, in Conímbriga, Rabaçal, São Simão, Santiago da Guarda, Alter do Chão, Mértola, Milreu and Faro, in 11th to 15th July 2025, promoted by the Portuguese Association for the Study and Conservation of the Ancient Mosaic - APECMA and the International Association for the Study of the Ancient Mosaic - AIEMA.

Great value has been added to the studies on the Heritage of Conímbriga, its territory, the country and beyond. The Meeting on Mosaics in the West and East, held at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in 2008, the Portugal - Galicia Meeting, in 2013, and the Portugal - Algeria Meeting, in 2017, all played their part. Recently, the Portugal - England – Wales Meeting was held on 13th July 2019, in Conímbriga, the PO.RO.S Museum, the Roman *Villa* of Rabaçal (Fig. 4), the Roman *Villa* of St. Simão and the Roman *Villa* of Santiago da Guarda. This international meeting was attended by authors from Pontypool and

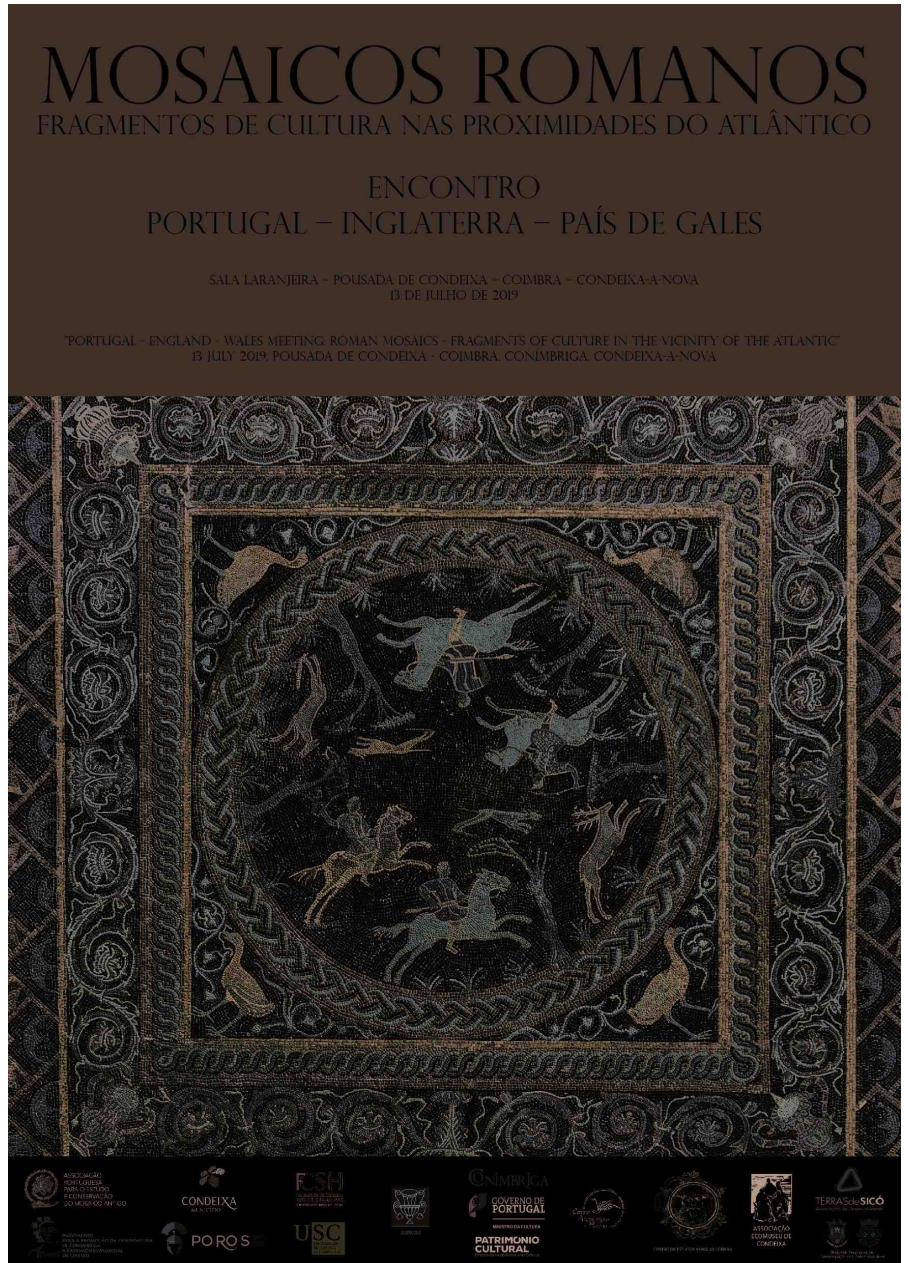


Figure 4
Cleaning, tesserae repositioning and consolidation of a section of the mosaic from the southern corridor of the *Pars Urbana* peristyle of the Roman *Villa* of Rabaçal, with a polychrome braid motif in swastika. It is possible to see the essential tools used in this procedure. These tools include a blower, brushes, scalpel, spray, spatulas, mortar shovel, sponge, several containers for products, toolbox, and protective pad. 2015 (Pessoa – Rodrigo - Madeira 2009: 13-14).

Djemila, cities of Wales and Algeria, twinned with Condeixa-a-Nova, as well as from the capital of Byzantine mosaic, the Italian city of Ravenna, classified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, since 1996, with which pre-twinning agreements have already been signed, in 2016. Attached are the “Notes” read at the end of this Portugal-England-Wales Meeting (Fig. 5 - Poster), by Professor Carolyn Cemlyn Jones, Director of the British Council, Coimbra, between 1979 and 2008.

Figure 5

Poster of the Portugal - England - Wales Meeting: Roman mosaics, fragments of culture near the Atlantic, held on 13 July 2019 | In the centre, a polychrome mosaic pavement with a Deer Hunting Scene - Detail of the central carpet of the Roman mosaic room of Conímbriga with Deer Hunting Scene, displaying a figurative medallion and birds in the corners (Oleiro 1992: 104-109 no. 9). Design authorship: Unknown. Execution: Unknown. Dating: Last quarter of the 2nd century and 1st quarter of the third century (Idem). Overall dimensions of the room pavement: 7, 5 x 5,8 m. Tesserae density: about 116 per dm². Average size of tesserae: 1 cm. Material: local limestone, white, black, grey, pink, red and yellow. Support: cement, sand, and wire mesh. Location: in situ. Conímbriga. House of the Fountains, discovered, in 1939, at the time of Vergílio Correia (1888-1944). Compartment with east wing access from the small yard south of the central garden or peristyle. Conservation and restoration: Raised and consolidated, around 1958/59, on reinforced concrete slabs. Theme - In the middle of a large pavement covered with geometrical and vegetal motifs, a square panel with rich and varied frames is drawn, enclosing a hunting scene. Among trees and thickets, two hunters, armed with spears, and two scouts, wielding reeds, chase on horseback, a deer, and a doe, assisted by two dogs. The scene inscribed in a circle created difficulties that the mosaicist knew how to overcome, displaying a developed sense of movement. The common moorhens, which decorate the open spaces between the circle and the rectangular frame, contribute to the perfect balance of the composition. Photography: Francisco Pedro, 2015. Promotion of the Nomination of Conímbriga to the UNESCO World Heritage List.



Finally, we believe that the present weaknesses regarding the infrastructure, as well as the lack of technically skilled workers in Conímbriga, will be resolved. This is needed to properly dignify the work and status of all who work there and to respond to those who look for solutions to protect the Heritage, particularly mosaics, present in cities, towns, and villages.



Figure 6
Participants of *Portugal - England - Wales Meeting: Roman mosaics, fragments of culture near the Atlantic*, held on 13 July 2019, visit the Mosaic Restoration Workshop in Conímbriga, hit by Storm Leslie, on 13 October 2018. Photograph: Francisco Pedro 2019.

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