

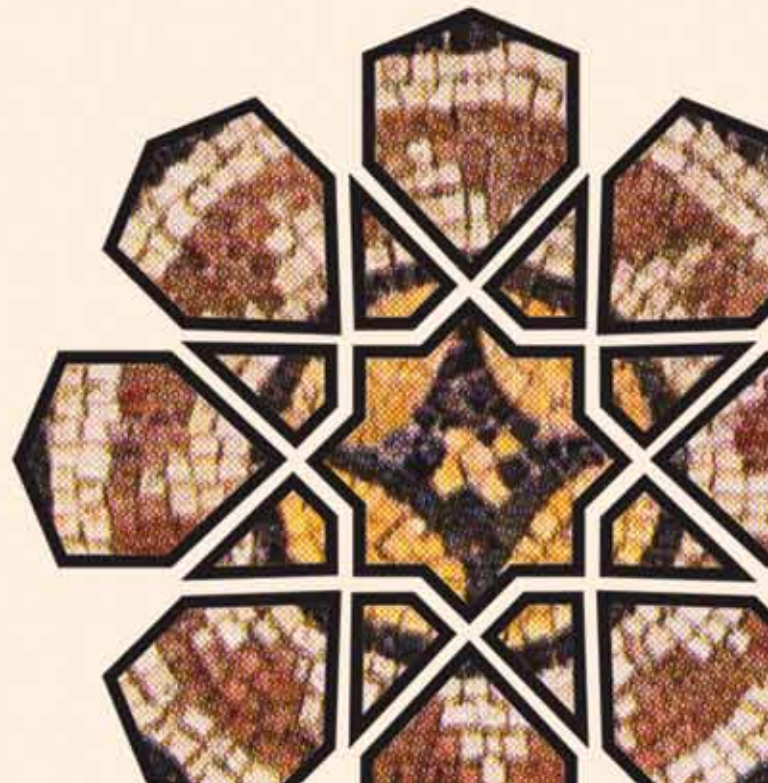


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The JMR (Journal of Mosaic Research) is an international journal on mosaics, annually published by the Uludağ University Mosaic Research Centre. The aim of this journal is to serve as a forum for scientific studies with critical analysis, interpretation 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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RoGeMoPorTur: A Project of Portuguese-Turkish Cooperation in the Area of Roman Mosaics

RoGeMoPorTur: Roma Mozaikleri Üzerine Portekiz-Türkiye İşbirliğinde Bir Proje

Maria de Jesus DURAN KREMER – Mustafa ŞAHİN*

Although the Roman mosaics have been studied for many years, the truth is that the emphasis has always been laid on the study of figurative mosaics, either with mythological themes, (mostly in the East), with a representation of daily life (especially in North Africa), or with scenes of theatre, circus, etc. The mosaics with geometric patterns, supposedly simpler, were methodically relegated to a second level: a common situation, incidentally, to all the provinces of the Roman Empire.

It was only in the mid-2000s that the study of Roman mosaics in Turkey and Portugal entered a new stage, with the parallel creation of the two national sections of the International Association for the Study of the Ancient Mosaic.

APECMA, the Portuguese Association for the Study and Conservation of the Ancient Mosaic, created in 2005 when the 10th AIEMA Colloquium was held in Conimbriga, arose from the desire to boost the knowledge and heritage value of Roman mosaics to the general public through the promotion of the study, conservation, preservation, valorization and dissemination of these documents and the associated materials. Launched thanks to the initiative of Miguel Pessoa, it was confirmed by official deed a year later, on May 23, 2006. At the same time, also in 2006, the Ancient Mosaic Research Center - the Turkish section of AIEMA was created in Bursa, University Uludağ at the initiative of Prof. Mustafa Şahin. This Research Center would take on the priority task of representing Turkish projects at an international level, fostering new projects and publicizing the Turkish heritage on Roman mosaics. With the creation of these two national sections, the two countries opened the way for a strengthening of the research and dissemination of the mosaic heritage of both countries.

In fact, and for Portugal, this step was taken at a time when studies on the Roman mosaic were at an impasse. The first volume, of the Casa dos Repuxos, in Conimbriga (Bairro Oleiro 1992), written by José Manuel Bairro Oleiro, had been published in 1992, starting the Corpus of Roman mosaics in Portugal. In 2000 it was the turn of a Portuguese-French team under the direction of Janine Lancha and Pierre André to publish the second volume of the Corpus, dedicated to the Roman villa of Torre da Palma (Lancha - André 2000). Finally, two years ago, the third volume of the Corpus, dedicated to the Eastern Algarve, was published (Lancha - Oliveira 2013). The first two volumes of the Corpus of the Mosaics of Portugal, assuming the form of an individualized monograph, covered only the mosaics of the studied archaeological sites: the third one included all roman mosaics of the eastern part of the Algarve.

For its part, Turkey is one of the few countries where mosaic production had not been interrupted during centuries. Rich in Greek and Roman mosaics, this country can be considered as the area of the Roman Empire where still today the most beautiful examples of an art that lasted through many centuries, from Romanization to Christianization

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of the Empire, are to be found. A reality not always present in our mind, since, although the country is the cradle of mosaics, the lack of support for research in this field has not allowed it to occupy its international position for many years. Hence one of the first objectives of AIEMA Turkey is to support and foster scientific research in this field.

A first step towards the dynamization of the study of the ancient mosaic was therefore given with the creation of the Roman Mosaic Corpus in Turkey. In collaboration with Professor David Parrish and, in a first stage, also with Professor Werner Jobst (Fig. 1), the foundations of the project were soon laid. It was precisely during this period and in the context of the preparation of the Corpus that the contact between the two countries was established and it was decided to extend the cooperation in the framework of research work, in order to be able to answer some common questions. Finally, with the RoGeMoPorTur project, a Portuguese-Turkish scientific cooperation was established for the first time in the area of study of the Roman mosaic.

The creation of the Corpus of the Roman Mosaics of Turkey gave a fundamental impulse to the investigation, diffusion and publication of the studies on the Roman mosaic (Fig. 2a-b). Since then the volumes on Xantos/Lycia (Raynaud 2009; Manière-Lévêque 2012) have already been published within the scope of the Corpus, the volume on the mosaics of the Peninsula of Halicarnassos is practically finished.

At the same time, the periodical holding of thematic conferences and colloquia, as well as the publication of the respective Proceedings, has greatly contributed to the development of scientific research in the field of Roman mosaics in Turkey. The magazine “JMR - Journal of Mosaic Research” is published annually in cooperation with AIEMA (Fig. 3).

In Portugal, APECMA also took on the role of researcher in the field of Roman mosaics. Two years after its creation, APECMA launched the International Cycle of Lectures, with the organization, in 2008, of the Congress “Architecture, Mosaics and Society of Late and Byzantine Antiquity to the West and East.” The proceedings of this Congress were later published in issue 6 of the Journal of the Institute of History of Art, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. In 2013, APECMA organised the Portugal-Galicia Meeting: Roman Mosaics - Fragments of Culture near the Atlantic, whose minutes were also published in a timely manner (Fig. 4).

Meanwhile the RoGeMoPorTur Project was gaining form, and for the first time Roman mosaics with geometric patterns from both regions became the subject of a systematic and global analysis, revealing their similarities and differences in terms of design, manufacturing, workshops, iconography, chronology. One of the main objectives of the project is to establish an interaction between the building, the mosaics integrated in it, the functions of the room and the decorative grammar chosen for each of them, the solutions found for the relationship space, composition, motif etc., and so obtain important information about both the mosaic art and its evolution in the studied territories as well as individualize the cultural patterns followed by the owners of the building to build.

In fact, and aware of the fact that the mobility of craftsmen, trade, contacts between different areas of the Empire, the army, etc., contributed to a cultural exchange and interaction between East and West, the aim of this project is to identify and analyse comparatively the action of culture miscegenation mirrored in the Roman mosaics in Portuguese and Turkish territory, identifying - to the



Figure 1

Figure 2

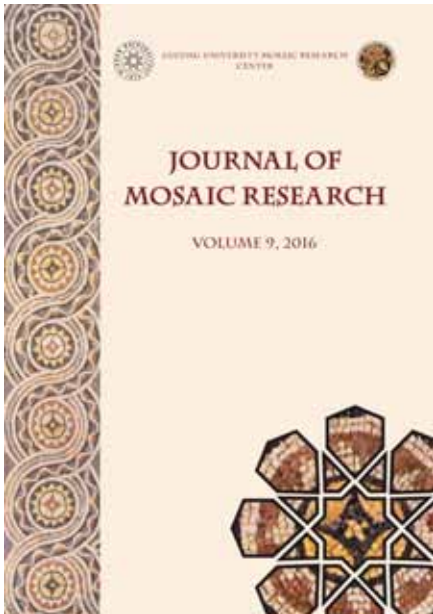
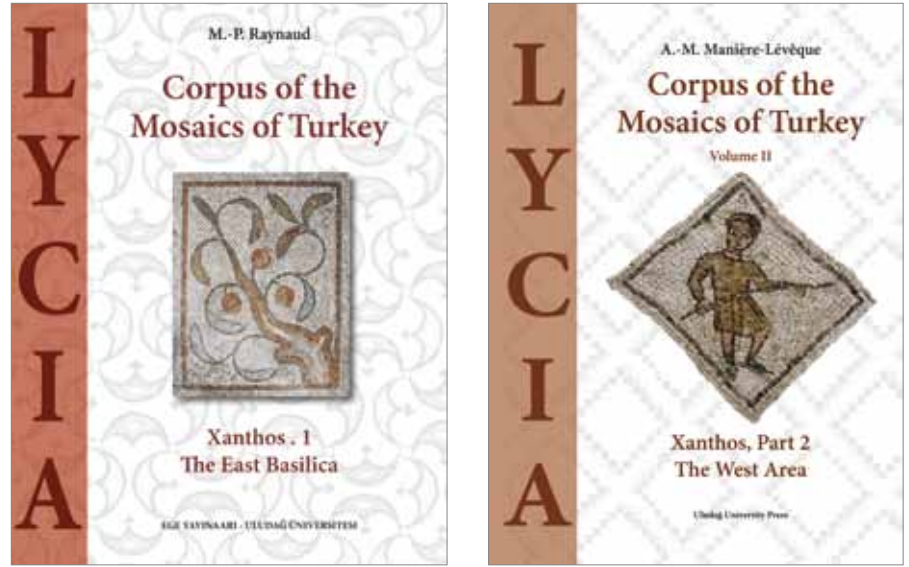


Figure 3

possible extent - the socio - economic origins of the owners and the workshops that built these pavements. An analysis supported by the insertion of all information on mosaics in general and the evaluation of mosaics with geometric patterns in particular on the basis of a systematic database which will allow an easier analysis of the evolution of mosaics with geometric patterns in both the East and the West Roman Empire.

As a result, the priority objective of both teams is, in the first stage of the work, the creation of a database starting with the already published articles on mosaics, collecting all the information thus obtained and placing them, in the course of the project, at the disposal of the scientific community. In a first step and in a collaborative action between the two teams a mosaic record sheet was created to be used by both in the construction of the respective databases (Fig. 5).

In Turkey the works were launched based on the territories marked in the “Tabula Imperii Bizantine” (Fig. 6), which were “distributed” by the members of the team and their collaborators. Thus, Mustafa Şahin and Hazal Çıtakoğlu, from Uludağ University in Bursa, cover the territories of Bithynia and Mysia. Emine Tok, from the University of Ege in Izmir, collects data for the territory of Ionia, Aeolis and Lydia. Mehmet Önal of the Harran University in Urfa is responsible for collecting data from Commagene and northern Syria (Fig. 6).

The recollection of the necessary information for the filling of the record sheets is processed through the debugging of different publications. Firstly, the annual publications following the conference on excavations and research (Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sonuçları Sempozyumu / The International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys and Archaeometry) of the Turkish Ministry of Culture. The Ministry of Culture organizes this conference annually in May. In this conference the results of the work of the previous year are presented by those responsible for these works being published afterwards. With this measure, the Turkish Ministry promotes the dissemination of the results achieved.

Another very important conference is also organized by the Turkish Ministry of Culture to present the results of the rescue excavations carried out by the museums, with only the respective directors participating. Hence, the publications referred to are of utmost importance, especially since, once discovered

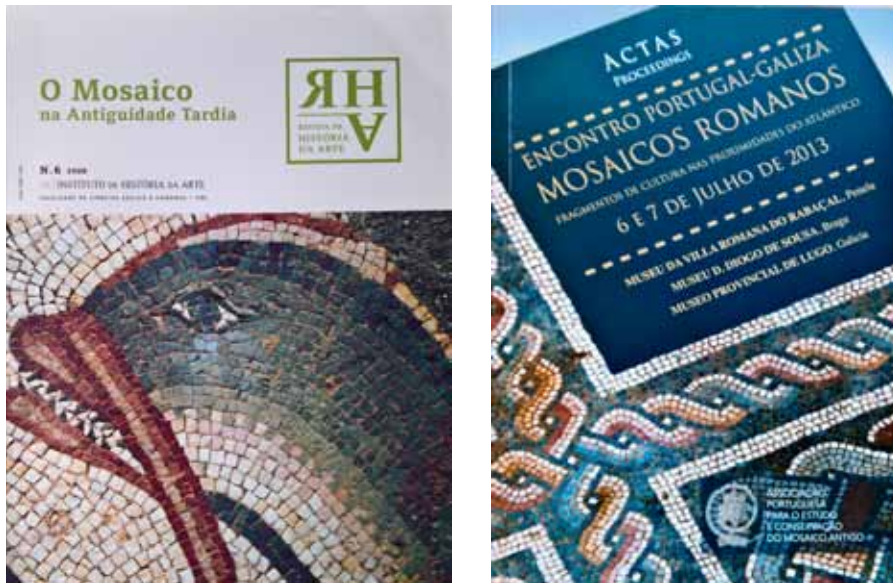


Figure 4

and documented, many mosaics are once again covered with sand or later taken to a Museum, where sometimes they remain inaccessible to the general public for years.

In the future, the database will have a very important role. In fact, in addition to the basic data on each mosaic, it is also expected to include the articles in .pdf format. In this way, it may allow interested researchers an easier access to the information they want. In the frame of this project, in a second phase, other publications from the Ministry of Culture, Research Centers or Universities will also be debugged:

- Uludağ University Bursa: “Journal of Mosaic Research”
- Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism: “Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi”
- Mersin University: “Olba”
- AKMED – Research Centre for Mediterranean Civilizations: “Adalya”
- Ankara University: “Anatolia”
- TTK – Türk Tarih Kurumu: “Belleten”, etc.

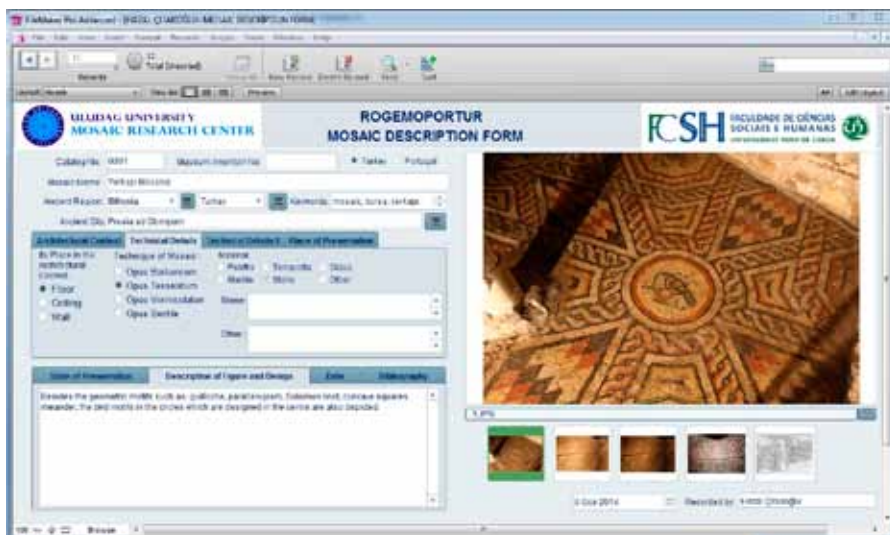


Figure 5



Figure 6

In a final phase, a search will be made in the newspaper archives in order to collect as much information as possible on the discovery of mosaics in the past, often disappeared without being published. Their inclusion in the database will complement the information on the mosaic landscape of the territory in question.

In Portugal, the work follows the structure agreed for the project, although it added some aspects that proved being of the greatest importance at the national level. The methodology followed in Turkey for the collection of information on mosaics is common to Portugal: here too, the existing publications are searched methodically, however long they may be, in search of information on existing mosaics or the past (Fig. 7), as for example: *O Arqueólogo Português*, *Conimbriga*, *Noticiário Arqueológico Hispanico*, *Informação Arqueológica*, *Revista Al Madam*, *A Revista de Guimarães*, *O Arquivo de Beja*, *Trabalhos da Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses*.

For the work of the Portuguese team it is also extremely important to consult the reports of excavations in the Municipal Councils, the Regional Directorates of Culture and the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage, as well as the archives of the Museums, of the different Universities and the regional newspapers¹.

In the first phase specific areas are defined for the systematic survey of the existing Roman mosaics, all of them located in the *conventus pacensis*, except for *villa Cardilio*, already belonging to the *conventus scallabitanus* (Fig. 8). Thus, Virgílio Lopes will cover the territory of Pax Julia and Myrtilis, Jorge António the territory of Abelterium und Eborra, Maria de Jesus Duran Kremer

¹ It was thanks to the collaboration of, for example, the Regional Directorate of Culture of Alentejo and the Câmara de Beja that we were able to recover, among others, some information about the mosaics of Quinta de S. Pedro, now completely destroyed.



Figure 7

- in addition to *villa cardilio* - the whole territory of the Eastern and Western Algarve. However, all the information obtained in the field of bibliographical research and referring to other territories will also be collected, gradually widening the area studied. An additional specificity of the project in Portugal is the elaboration of an inventory of Roman mosaics, updated and containing the basic information on each mosaic².

If, on the one hand, for national scholars, the absence of a more or less complete catalogue of Roman mosaics found in Portugal has always been a very important obstacle to overcome, for the international scientific community on the other hand, the fact that most of the news about Roman mosaics in a more or less

² As part of the process of collecting information on existing or missing mosaics, I was led, among others, to consult some excavation reports on archaeological sites inventoried in the Roman Domain in Portugal (Alarcão 1995), completed 1999 in an inventory of the Roman villae of Portugal in my doctoral thesis (Duran Kremer 1999), updated by the inventory included in the doctoral thesis of Fatima Abracos (Abraços 2005) and by the many news of which we are aware.



Figure 8

recent past are scattered in articles, conferences and master's or doctorate theses makes it impossible to include them in their investigation work.

Elaborating a descriptive inventory of all pavement mosaics found so far in Portugal has proved to be of the utmost importance for the knowledge of our cultural heritage in this area, thus providing a solid basis for future scientific projects within the framework of History of the Art and Archeology. The insertion of this information on the mosaics in general and the evaluation of the mosaics with geometric patterns both in a systematic base date common to the project and in a descriptive inventory in paper format, following the model of the Corpus of Mosaics of Spain, will be of extreme advantage to allow more detailed information on registered floors. To fulfill this objective, a bilingual inventory sheet was created, and its publication is initially planned exclusively in Portuguese.

Another specificity of the RoGeMoPorTur team's work is the systematic construction of catalogues of geometric motifs in the territory studied, creating a quick and permanently updated database of different variants of the same motif within a given territory - in this case the Roman sites in Portuguese territory³.

In a next step, when both teams have finished completing the respective Database, the members of both teams of RoGeMoPorTur will meet and, together, will analyze the work done and the database created.

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³ An example: the meander. At this moment with 49 entries, this is the most advanced catalogue of geometric motifs, followed by the catalog of pelts and consoles. Presented for the first time during the AIEMA Colloquium in Madrid ("Inventing of Roman Mosaics of Portugal: Cataloging and Analysis of Geometric Movements", 2015, in press) this and other catalogs will be successively complemented as the bibliographic survey of Roman mosaics takes place. Nevertheless this catalogues will always be of a provisional nature due to the progress of the archaeological studies in Portugal.

The Roman Mosaics of Bracara Augusta: Re-Reading and Reinterpretation of Decorative Motifs

Bracara Augusta'nın Roma Mozaikleri: Dekoratif Motiflerin Yeniden Okunması ve Yeniden Yorumlanması

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Abstract

The earliest news about mosaics discovered in the Roman city of Bracara Augusta, dating from the second half of the nineteenth century, were mostly published in local newspapers. Only in 1976, after the creation of the Archaeological Field of Braga, the body responsible for carrying out rescue archaeology in the urban area, were some dozens of archaeological interventions performed, which allowed mapping, safeguarding remains and proceed a cultural heritage. This allowed us to have a systematic knowledge of the mosaics of Bracara Augusta.

Our work aims to provide an overview of the mosaics displayed in D. Diogo de Sousa Museum of Braga and remaining in situ (the mosaic of “Escola Velha da Sé” (Cathedral’s Old School) and the mosaic of the “Casa da Roda” (House of the Wheel), to undertake a new reading and interpretation of them, looking for their relationships with the mosaics of the eastern and western Mediterranean.

Keywords: Bracara Augusta, Roman mosaics, patterns, decorative motifs, re-reading.

Öz

Bir Roma kenti olan Bracara Augusta’da çoğunluğu 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenen mozaiklerle ilgili ilk bilgiler yerel gazetelerde yayınlanmıştır. Ancak 1976 yılında, Braga Arkeolojik Alan Projesi ile, kentsel alanda kurtarma kazılarının üstlenilmesi, birçok arkeolojik çalışmanın gerçekleştirilmesiyle haritalama, kalıntıların korunması ve kültürel mirasa kazandırılması mümkün olabilmıştır. Bu sayede, Bracara Augusta’nın mozaikleri hakkında sistematik bir bilgiye sahip olunmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, D. Diogo de Sousa Müzesi- Braga’da sergilenen mozaikler ile in situ olarak korunan “Escola Velha da Sé” Mozaiği (Eski Cathedral Okulu) ve “Casa da Roda” (Çark Evi) mozaikleri ele alınarak yeniden okumaları ve yeniden yorumlamaları yapılacak, aynı zamanda Doğu ve Batı Akdeniz’deki mozaiklerle ilişkileri irdelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bracara Augusta, Roma mozaikleri, desenler, dekoratif motifler, yeniden okuma.

Since the 1970’s, some of the archaeological interventions undertaken by the archaeological team of the City Council of Braga and the Recovery Team of *Bracara Augusta*, under the responsibility of the Archaeology Unit of Minho University, have revealed a set of information which has allowed the reconstitution of the urban development of *Bracara Augusta*¹ (Fig. 1).

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¹ “Based on the available archaeological remains, it is possible to note that the city had axles oriented 1 *actus* (120 feet), observable modulation in the archaeological area of Carvalheiras (Martins 2004: 154). The city streets measure between 10 to 12 feet, having been identified, so far, a single road with 25 feet wide, which allowed access to the *forum*.” (Magalhães 2015: 18).



Figure 1
Location of *Bracara Augusta*,
capital of *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus*,
northwest of *Hispania*.
(Google earth)

Among the different archaeological sites already excavated a set of old *domus* has been selected for being in a central area of the Roman city. Some of these *domus* have been paved with mosaic in different periods of their occupation. Supporting this choice is the attempt to find and interpret a repertoire of the geometric patterns present on the mosaic fragments discovered in these houses.

These interventions have brought to our attention a number of mosaic floors which we have been studying and publishing². Between the last quarter of the first century and early second century, a programme of works, well testified by the important remains of public and private buildings, was carried out in the city. In this period, the city would have reached its maximum extension. In the following period, between the end of the second century and mid-third century, the city knew some stagnation in terms of construction. However, the city registered again an important programme of urban renewal, between the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century, a period during which the city acquired a greater importance in the context of the cities in the northwest of the Peninsula, with its elevation to capital of the new province of *Gallaecia*. In this period, important renovations on public and private buildings were carried out,

² See Bibliography: Abraços 2005; 2008; 2011; 2014; 2015; 2015a; Abraços in print and Wrench 2014; Wrench in print.

Since the beginning of the nineties, when we integrated the project of the *Corpus of Roman Mosaics in Portugal*, directed by Janine Lancha and Adília Alarcão, we realized the lack of a specific study on conservation and restoration and an updated inventory of Roman mosaics discovered in the Portuguese territory. Due to this, in 2001, we presented to the Faculty of Letters of the Classic University of Lisbon a Doctoral research project that included the study of the mosaics in the whole territory. We elaborated a work (Ph.D. thesis) divided into 3 volumes (Abraços 2005). In the first volume, we drew a brief perspective of the history of the mosaic, conservation practices, lifting techniques, consolidation, conservation and restoration of the mosaics in Portugal up to the recent methodologies and the best preventive solutions; we looked to do a review of the situation in relation to the state of conservation of the mosaics in museum collections and of mosaics *in situ*. In the second volume (Annex I), we presented the study of the mosaics of museum collections, described in 429 files, with graphic and photographic documentation according to the model of files from the *Corpus of Roman mosaics in Portugal*. In the third volume (Annex II), we introduced the Roman mosaics from archaeological sites in the Portuguese territory, those *in situ*, in museums or in private collections, for a total of 254 sites with mosaic floors and 832 fragments of mosaics. Since that, we have been completed this inventory in partial studies published in specialized magazines or in the proceedings of Congresses (Abraços 2008; 2011; 2014; 2015; 2015a; Abraços in print). Our objective is to collect this mosaic heritage, systematically studying and giving it continuity, including the new findings within a *corpus*: “The Corpus of Roman mosaics from *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus*”. To reach this goal we are developing a project with other researchers.



Figure 2
City Map of Braga. Location of the archaeological sites with mosaics analysed. 1 - Casa da Roda, Rua de S. João; 4 - Rua D. Afonso Henriques, 1 (Escola Velha da Sé); 5 - Rua D. Afonso Henriques, 20-28.
© AMDDS.

with a powerful wall being built, very well documented by the archaeological remains from different excavations.

The late imperial city is characterized by a building dynamic that led to the narrowing of the roads and to the disappearance of some of them. On the other hand, the refurbishment of the houses registered some loss of orthogonality, failing to respect the characteristic orientation of the early imperial city. This tendency persisted in the buildings of the fifth century, a period during which the city became the capital of the Suebic Kingdom. (Ribeiro 2008: 265)

In addition to public buildings, the city had its residential quarters where prestigious *domus* were built, attesting to the richness of the urban population, well documented through their late renovations, generally characterised by the introduction of *balnea* and mosaic floors (Magalhães 2010: 19-21).

In most cases, it has been the practice to lift the mosaic fragments and direct them to the Conservation and Restoration Team of the D. Diogo de Sousa Regional Archaeological Museum (MDDS), in Braga, where, after treatment, the fragments are deposited for later studies; other fragments, whose conditions of protection allow them to stay integrated in the architectural structures where they were discovered, remain *in situ*³ (Fig. 2).

The mosaics that we are going to present remain *in situ* the Mosaic of “Escola Velha da Sé” (Cathedral’s Old School) and the Mosaic of the “Casa da Roda” (House of the Wheel).

The mosaic of the “Escola Velha da Sé” (“Cathedral’s Old School”), D. Afonso Henriques Street, n° 1

In 1998, due to a proposed remodelling of the building of the former “Escola Velha da Sé” an archaeological intervention was carried out by the Archaeology Office of the City Council of Braga, under the direction of Armandino Cunha, whose works took place during different phases up to 2003.

The area of intervention, located in the underground of the building, occupies a total area of 720 m², where the southern part of a Roman house with remains of a *hypocaustum* and floors covered with tiles and mosaics was uncovered (Fig. 3). Three phases of construction were distinguished for this house, based on the stratigraphy and the archaeological materials analysed. The first phase can be dated from the first century and it is represented by the several walls that define the rooms that relate to the private part of the building. The second phase corresponds to a significant remodelling of the house, which can be dated between the late third century and the early fourth century (Fig. 4). The remodelling of the *domus* that defines this second phase of occupation was characterized by the construction of baths, in the southwest area of the building. The construction of the baths complex sacrificed the area of the house previously occupied by a possible *peristylum*. Related to this remodelling, there is a mosaic pavement which

³ Most of the Roman mosaics of *Comuentus Bracaraugustanus*, discovered from 1883 onwards, were found in architectural structures in the area of the city of Braga: City; Seminary of Santiago; Cerca; Cardoso da Saudade/ Quintal of Fernando Castiço; Carvalheiras; Casa da Roda (House of the Wheel); Cathedral; Gualdim Pais Street Block; Quinta of Fужacal; D. Afonso Henriques Street n. 1; 20-28 and 42-56; Cavalariças (Horse stables) in the area of the D. Diogo de Sousa Museum and also in S. Martinho of Dume (2 Km north of Braga). It is already known that there are two dozen sites with mosaics. These interventions have allowed the documentation of the orthogonal layout of the Roman city and the characterization of their public and private equipment.



Figure 3
General view of
“Escola Velha da Sé”.
(Photography Abraços, 2014)



Figure 4
General view of the *domus* of the
“Escola Velha da Sé” with the
mosaic pavement. © AFMDDS

covered an extensive corridor and allowed access to the new area of the house, enabling the interaction of the baths space with the other rooms of the house (Magalhães 2010: 50-51) (Fig. 5).

This mosaic of bicolour *tesserae* (black and white limestone) is decorated with geometric motifs (Fig. 6). The connection of the mosaic carpet with the walls

Figure. 5
General view of the mosaic
from the *domus* of the
“Escola Velha da Sé”.
© AFMDDS



is made through a frieze of 1 cm white *tesserae*⁴. The compositional scheme, “orthogonal pattern of tangent outlined circles and poised squares, forming bobbins” (Décor I: pl. 156a), would have spread in the western part of the Empire since the second century AD, occurring in mosaics from Switzerland, Germany and France. It would be a variety of a diagonal grid – *cancellum* – a pattern known in Pompeii since the first century BC. This pattern evolved into the composition in which the circles alternate with the squares occurring in the first half of the second century AD in an example at Aquileia (Lancha 1977: 98). In *Hispania*, as well as in North Africa, this scheme had a wide dissemination until a quite late period.

In this mosaic from Braga, black and white, the scheme occurs with considerable visibility and the filling decoration slightly emphasized (Fig. 7). The squares are outlined by a double file of black *tesserae*, enclosing squares with a central small square. The circles enclose circles bearing a kind of an irregular corolla with a central small square of poised *tesserae*, or alternately bearing black or white small squares. The rectangles with facing pairs of concave and straight sides (bobbins) enclose, also, a bobbin.

In mosaics from the Portuguese territory, we find a similar composition, decoratively more simplified, in two side panels of the *triclinium* figured mosaic of the *Villa* of Alter do Chão, Portalegre, *Conuentus Emeritensis*. It is “an orthogonal scheme of white concave circles and squares, with blue filling. From the tangency of these elements, double-axes result with ochre filling and differentiated guidelines. It is also important to point out that the circles are centred in crosses made of five white *tesserae* and the squares filled only by one white *tessera*.” The geometric mosaics from this *uilla* were dated, *in genere*, from the third-fourth century (António 2015: 46, 49-50 fig. 13).

In the *Villa* of Coriscada, Meda (Légier 2015: 193 fig. 9) the same scheme from the mosaic of Braga is used in wide bands enveloping the figured panel, dated from the third-fourth century. Although the decoration in the circles

⁴ In addition to this mosaic, in the neighbouring rooms, other small fragments with *tesserae* of various colours have been identified, but due to their fragmentation, it has not been possible to characterize them. (Magalhães 2010: 57).



Figure 6
Partial view of the mosaic
from the *domus* of the
“Escola Velha da Sé”.
© AFMDDS



Figure 7
Detail of the pattern decoration
of the mosaic from the *domus*
of the “Escola Velha da Sé”.
© AFMDDS

is more emphasized than the one featured in the mosaic of Braga (Cathedral’s Old School) they are quite similar. Also very similar to the mosaics of Braga and Coriscada is the mosaic fragment from the *Villa* of Boca do Rio, Budens, conserved in the Santos Rocha Museum, from Figueira da Foz, with inventory number: MMSR 4227 (Abraços 2005: annex I 68-69). The same scheme, with a simple guilloche involving the circles and squares, occurs once again in a mosaic of the *Villa* of Santiago da Guarda, Ansião, Leiria, *Conuentus Scalabitanus* (Ribeiro 2015: 88 fig. 14). The mosaics of this *uilla* are dated from the end of fourth century to the beginning of the fifth (Pereira 2008: 174).

In Spain, we begin by highlighting the Roman province of *Galaecia*, where the same scheme appears in Doncide and, probably, in Centroña (Torres Carro 2015: 214).

In the northern Meseta, this scheme is quite frequent, especially in late mosaics (Monteagudo et al. 1998: 29). In the province of León, in a black and white mosaic from Calzada del Coto, dated from the second-third century, the scheme

is used with decorative simplicity, exclusively geometric (Blázquez et al. 1993: 20-21 mosaic n. 4 fig. 4 lam. 3); with more emphasized ornamentation, bearing rosettes in the circles, with the scheme in a simple guilloche, a mosaic from the Campo de Villavidel in a *uilla* dated from fourth century (Blázquez et al. 1993: 23-24 mosaic n. 6 (south room mosaic) fig. 6 lams. 6 and 25). Also executed in a simple guilloche, the same scheme is featured in a mosaic from Cardeñajimeno (Burgos), corresponding to the floor of a room close to a *hypocaustum*, maybe belonging to the *uilla*'s baths, dated from the late fourth century (Monteagudo et al. 1998: 29 mosaic n. 11 lam. 14).

In the *Villa* of Prado (Valladolid) the scheme is used as a band of the pavement number 2, chronologically corresponding to the expansion phase of the *uilla* in the fourth century (Torres Carro 1988: 181-192; 201-202 fig. 3 lams. II-III).⁵

We can see the same pattern, circles and squares in a simple guilloche, in the mosaic of Liédena (Navarra), in room 13, dated from the third century (Blázquez - Mezquiriz 1985: 44-48 mosaic n. 24 lams. 28-29; Mezquiriz 2004: 344 lam. XV) and, in the same *uilla*, with a simpler decoration, in black and white, in a panel on the south side of the peristyle (Mezquiriz 2004: 335-336 fig. 9 lam. IX, 1). With a more emphasized ornamentation, the scheme is used in a mosaic from Valencia de Alcántara (Caceres), from the late third century or early fourth (Blázquez et al. 1993: 23). In other late imperial mosaics with an emphasized *horror uacui* the same pattern occurs, among other examples: in a mosaic from Cuevas de Soria (Blázquez - Ortego 1983: 63-65 mosaic n. 55 fig. 6), in which the sequential decoration of bobbins creates the effect of crossed bands with poised squares at the intersections, and ensconced circles⁶; in a mosaic from Azuara (Zaragoza); in a mosaic from Saint Cristina de la Polvorosa (Zamora) and, with some variation, like the substitution of the squares by octagons with concave sides, in a mosaic from Complutum, as the composition envelopes the central panel with the depictions of Leda and the swan/Jupiter, from the late fourth or early fifth (Fernández Galiano 1984: 213 Zeus and Leda mosaic fig. 13); from Alcázer de San Juan (Ciudad Real), in a mosaic conserved in the Fray Juan Cobo Museum, dated from the fourth century, with a varied filling decoration of different geometric figures, with the circles of the composition as laurel wreaths (Blázquez 1982: 17 mosaic n. 21 fig. 17); from Talavera de la Reina and from the *Villa* of Las Tamujas, Malpica de Tajo (Toledo) (Blázquez 1982: 43-47 mosaic n. 31 fig. 21 lam. 35 and mosaic n. 33 fig. 22; Blázquez et al. 1993: 23).

Even later than in the above mentioned *uillae*, the same scheme is used in the mosaic of the church choir of San Pedro in Egara (Terrassa), Catalonia, showing us “the passage into the medieval world and, at the same time, the survival of the ancient world” (Barral i Altet 1975: 257 pl. XCVIII).

In North Africa, this scheme is also well documented, with, sometimes, the simple guilloche replaced by garlands of laurel leaves, with examples from the mid-second century, from El Djem; from the third century, in Utica, an example of a black and white mosaic of the “Maison de la Cascade”, corridor XII (Alexander - Ennaïfer 1975: 37 pl. XIV); from the fourth century, from Thuburbo Maius, from Leptis Magna or the examples from the Christian Basilicas of Sabratha (Blázquez et al. 1993: 23)⁷.

⁵ The enveloping band shows a row of circles and tangent poised squares, framed by a simple guilloche. The mosaic field presents a centralized pattern, with the corners bearing a crater.

⁶ The authors point out to the composition of bands with squares and circles, among other examples, a mosaic from the *uilla* of Abicada, Portimão (Portugal).

⁷ For the mentioned African mosaics, the authors quote the corresponding bibliography.

The Mosaics of D. Afonso Henriques Street, N. 20-28

At the XIII AIEMA Conference held in Madrid in 2015, for the first time, a brief description was presented of the mosaic fragments that were discovered in the building of D. Afonso Henriques Street, numbers 20-28 (Abraços in print). The archaeological excavations carried out in this site have revealed a more or less continuous occupation since the last quarter of the first century BC until the end of the twentieth century, as proved by the construction phases presented in the excavation report. From that set, it is important to give relevance to phases I, II and III, whose structures focus on the northeast corner of a Roman *insula*, where numerous fragments of multi-coloured mosaics were collected, having been deposited as debris from the documented remodelling in phase III and that show the existence of houses with mosaic paving and late Empire dating⁸. The numerous fragments of the mosaic were raised and directed to the MDDS, where they were cleaned and consolidated.

Recent bibliography invites us to complete, with a new approach, the themes of this mosaic. These fragments are part of the same mosaic, where circular medallions are predominant, outlined by white bands, four *tesserae* wide, bearing rosettes composed of white, ochre, yellow and pink *tesserae* over a black *tesserae* background. From this set, we highlight a fragment which features a unitary rosette of four (4) non-contiguous elements, as lanceolate petal with volutes, here the centre as a circle (Décor II: pl. 255f, variety). The density of the *tesserae* is 135/dm² (Fig. 8). This rosette is similar to the one number XII b from the Ocean mosaic from Faro. Janine Lancha and Cristina Oliveira (Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 212) while describing the rosettes from the Ocean Mosaic, refer the existence of stylistic approaches to rosettes from North Africa and claim that the likely source of these rosettes would have come from an African *officina*.

All rosettes that are identifiable in this set of fragments discovered in Braga belong to the category of unitary rosettes with one corolla and appear integrated in an outlined orthogonal pattern of tangent circles, forming poised concave squares (Décor I: 233, variety) with parallels in North Africa and dating from the third-fourth century AD⁹.

Mercedes Torres Carro, by analysing the geometric structure of the decoration of the antechamber mosaic from the *oecus* of the *Domus Oceani* of Lugo, similar to the composition of the Braga mosaic, infers that the sources of inspiration and learning of the Lugo's *officina* would have been imported from North Africa, more specifically, from places like Cherchel, Thuburbo Majus and Timgad (Torres Carro 2015: 336).

Another fragment of the same mosaic shows a circular medallion of about 70 cm in diameter, in a polychrome simple guilloche which presents the partial bulge of a crater with a very rudimentary base (Fig. 9). A kind of volute is visible in white *tesserae* on either side of the base of the crater. We found the exact parallel for the base of this vase in a mosaic in the church of Zahrani, in Lebanon (Balty 1995: 374). The craters could be used in different types of compositions, but the most common was the positioning in the angles; it was also very much used in the centre of the apses or in the central medallions (Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 232). That may be the case with the crater represented here.

⁸ Leite et al. 2012: Archaeological works from UAUM/Memoirs, 25, 2012, Excavation report of 2009 fig. 2. (repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/bitstream/1822/19004/1/Memorias_25.pdf).

⁹ In relation to the rosette, see Thuburbo Majus, Tunisia, Alexander et al. 1980: 1, n. 42 A, pl. XXIII.



Figure 8
Mosaic of D. Afonso Henriques
Street, numbers 20-28.
Fragment with a rosette
(25X22 cm). © AFMDDS



Figure 9
Mosaic of D. Afonso Henriques
Street, numbers 20-28.
Fragment decorated with crater.
(23X30 cm). © AFMDDS

This mosaic of Braga is very interesting due to the repertoire of illustrated rosettes in a composition of circles, as well as to the presence of a crater. Until this moment, it is the only mosaic from *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus* with the representation of a vase, which associated with rosettes, can refer us to different meanings (Dionysian? Christian?).

The Mosaic of the “Casa da Roda” (House of the Wheel), San John Street, Braga (Figs. 10-11)

The mosaic of the “Casa da Roda” was mentioned for the first time by Fátima Abraços (Abraços 2005: 218-219; Annex I: 339-340). It remains *in situ*, covered with a suitable material, after being consolidated by the Team from the D. Diogo de Sousa Museum and inventoried with number 2003.0515 (Fig. 12). We had the opportunity to approach it, together with other Portuguese mosaics, in the context of the first International Olympos (Uludağ) Studies Workshop, held in Olympos in 2014 (Wrench 2014: 49-59) and deepen the analysis of the same mosaic in the context of the XIV *AD SAECVLVM AVGVSTVM* International Conference, held in Lisbon in 2014 (Wrench in print).

Therefore, we have already had the opportunity to describe and analyse, in comparison with other mosaics, the geometric themes present in it, pointing as likely chronology for its execution the end of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century, a period in which *Bracara Augusta* undertakes considerable constructive works, after its passage to capital of *Galaecia* (Wrench 2014: 57).

In this text, we will highlight some stylistic aspects and make reference to a few more parallels which meanwhile we noted (Fig. 13).

Concerning the frame of an undulating row of alternately inverted *peltae* with *hederae* on the *apices* (Décor I: pl. 58e, variety) and its use in mosaics of the Portuguese territory, we mention the example of the mosaic of Martim Gil, Leiria, *Conuentus Scalabitanus*, with probable dating from the fourth century (Costa 1905: 49-50; Correia Wrench 2005: 65-67 fig.19 est. 23), and the frames of three mosaics from the *Villa* of Quinta das Longas, Elvas: mosaics from rooms numbers 12 and 17, with trilobe *hederae*, dated from the early fourth century and the one from the apse of room 5, dated from the early fifth century (Oliveira et



Figure 10
General view of the
“Casa da Roda”.
(photograph of the authors)

al. 2011: 907-908 figs. 10, 13, 16). Another Portuguese example of frames of alternately inverted *peltae* with a heart on the central point comes from Mértola, from the area of the *forum/citadel*, as the band of a much destroyed panel, near the one of the defied Lions, in mosaics dated from the Justinian period (Lopes 2003: 106-107 fig. 74; Lopes 2015: 27 fig. 4). It is important to note that in the mosaic of the “House of the Wheel”, as in the examples of the *Villa* of Quinta das Longas, the side points of the *peltae* are united by a small group of *tesserae*, interrupting the undulating row that appears continuous in other examples of Portuguese mosaics with an undulating line of *peltae*. The same individualisation of each *pelta* through a group of *tesserae* is used in the mosaics of Soria



Figure 11
Detail of the Mosaic from
the “Casa da Roda”
(House of the Wheel).
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Figure 12
General view of the mosaic
from the “Casa da Roda”.
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Figure 13
Detail of the band with
inverted *peltae* of the mosaic
from the “Casa da Roda”.
© AFMDDS



from the *uillae* of Los Quintanares and Santervás del Burgo. In this last case the *peltae* band is associated with a narrow frame of polychrome tangent juxtaposed bells¹⁰, as it appears in the mosaic of the “House of the Wheel”.

In relation to the detail of the *modus faciendi* of the *peltae* junction, this could indicate the use by the mosaicists of the same model that, in this particular

¹⁰ See Blázquez – Ortego 1983: 27-28 lám. 28 mosaic n. 14 from Los Quintanares; Blázquez – Ortego 1983: 41-42 lám.14 mosaic n. 37 from Santervás del Burgo.

decoration, is used in Braga and the mosaics of Soria. It is important to highlight the existence, in the aforementioned Hispanic regions, of the Roman roads *Asturica-Caesaraugustana* and *Bracara-Asturica* which would have been important vehicles of circulation for models and mosaicists. Such exchanges would have allowed the repetition of the procedure regarding the *peltae* junction in the aforementioned mosaics of the *Villa* of Quinta das Longas, *Conuentus emeritensis*¹¹.

In regard to parallels in the eastern part of the Empire, a similar frame to the mosaic from the “House of the Wheel” is found in *Apollonia* (in modern-day Albania), involving squares from the mosaic field, dating from the third century AD (Anamali - Adhami 1974: 41-42) (Figs. 14- 15).

The other two frames present in the mosaic of the “House of the Wheel” are decorated with an “undulating polychrome band” (Décor I: pl. 60e, polychrome variety; Viegas et al. 1993: 74), simplified designation used by Cristina Oliveira (Oliveira 2003: 98ff), and with «a row of tangent cuboids with serrated sides” (Décor I: pl. 99f; Viegas et al. 1993: 96)¹². These geometric themes of a pictorial/ volumetric nature refer us to Greek and Hellenistic mosaic. About them, we can highlight the following:

- The row of tangent juxtaposed shaded bells, forming tangent inverted bells and an undulating line, possible derivation from the ribbon, which visually connects to the row of adjacent calices, alternately inverted, horizontally shaded in late performances (Oliveira 2003: 98), in the mosaic of the “House of the Wheel” presents little volume if compared, for example, with the undulating polychrome bands carried out in the mosaics from the *Villa* of Santiago da Guarda, Ansião, Leiria or from the “House of the Medusa” in Alter do Chão, in the frame surrounding the figured panel of the *triclinium*. The one from the mosaic of the “House of the Wheel”, among other Hispanic examples¹³, is compared to the undulating polychrome bands used in some panels of the *oecus* mosaic from the *Domus Oceani* of Lugo, dated from the same period of the mosaic from Braga (González Fernandez 2005: 94, 103, 128 figs. 104, 105, 124). If we take into account, in addition to the geographical proximity of the two cities, the possible existence of an itinerant *officina*, active in the second half of the third century, in the area of the Roman road which connected *Lucus* to *Bracara Augusta* (Balil 1975: 262), we can consider these creations as coming from the same *officina*.

In Portuguese mosaics, this decoration presents a wide geographical distribution, being used both in panel frames, as defining the geometric figures of the mosaic field or even as surrounding some of the geometric figures from the surface

¹¹ Oliveira et al. 2011: 907 consider that the *peltae* with trilobe leaves on the central point featured in the mosaics from rooms 12 and 17 of the *uilla* of Quinta da Longas can be a distinguishing mark of the *officina* that carried them out, since the possible model from Merida from the fourth century presents the *peltae* decorated with simple heart leaves. However, we can consider it an interchange of “models” or mosaic makers among *officinae*, since we note a parallel for the trilobe leaf, in the angle of a frame of *peltae* alternately inverted, in a mosaic from Albalate de Cinca, Province of Huesca, dating from the last quarter of the fourth century (Fernandez-Galiano 1987: 62-63 lám. 29 mosaic n. 96). The relationship between a mosaic from the *uilla* of Quinta das Longas (mosaic from room n. 5 with a *crismon*) and a mosaic of the *Villa* of *Fortunatus*, also in the Hispanic Province of Huesca, is pointed out by Oliveira et al. 2011: 908. So we can see particular procedures, as the connection of the *peltae* and the trilobe leaves in mosaics from Braga, Los Quintanares and Santervás del Burgo, Quinta das Longas, Albalate de Cinca, procedures that can be more exchanges than distinguish marks of *officinae*.

¹² These two decorative themes in bands occurring in Portuguese Roman mosaics were specifically handled in the presentation we gave in the XIII AIEEMA Congress, Madrid, 2015.

¹³ The “undulating row of tangent juxtaposed bells”, bichrome or polychrome, is common in Hispanic mosaics, being the polychromatic variety a characteristic of the later mosaics. Both in Portuguese territory, as well as in Spanish, its occurrence has a wide geographical distribution.

Figure 14
Detail of the band with polychromatic inverted bells of the mosaic from the “Casa da Roda”. © AFMDDS



Figure 15
Detail of the band with tangent cuboids of the mosaic from the “Casa da Roda”. © AFMDDS.



compositions. In a mosaic from the *Villa* of Milreu, Estói, Faro, a polychrome undulating band fills a rectangle framed by a simple guilloche of a panel at the entrance of the *domus* (Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 224-229).

Cristina Oliveira (Oliveira 2003: 100; Oliveira et al. 2011: 908; Lancha - Oliveira 2013: 229) mentions, apart from some of the mosaics from the *Villa* of Rio Maior, other Portuguese archaeological sites where this type of mosaic decoration occurs: the *Villa* of Prado Galego, Pinhel; the *Villa* of San Pedro de Caldelas, Tomar, *Conuentus Scalabitanus*; the *Villa* of Quinta Longas,

Conuentus Emeritensis and, in *Conuentus Pacensis*, the *Villa* of Monte do Meio, Beja, and a mosaic coming from Lagos, in a bicolour version of the undulating band (Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 228-229)¹⁴.

- The row of tangent cuboids (Décor I: pl. 99e; Viegas et al. 1993: 96)¹⁵ also occurs in mosaics from the *Villae* of Rabaçal, Penela, Coimbra and from Santiago da Guarda, Ansião, Leiria, both integrated in the *Conuentus Scalabitanus*. Used in frames, the solids are aligned, either all facing the angles of the square polygon which they involve, as in this mosaic of the “House of the Wheel”, in Santiago da Guarda and in one of the mosaics from the *Villa* of Rabaçal, or they are placed converging to the midpoint of the frame (as in other mosaics from the *Villa* of Rabaçal).

In Spain, this geometric decoration occurs with a wide geographical dispersion, although it seems more frequent in later mosaics from the Meseta.

Among other parallels present in mosaics of late Hispanic *villae*, we can point the mosaic of Bellerophon and the Chimera of Bell-Lloch (Gerona) from the mid-third century; mosaics from the fourth century, as the ones from Quintanares de Soria (Blázquez – Ortego 1983: 13 lam. 7 mosaic n. 13), from Carranque (Toledo), in the mosaic of the Ocean (Fernández-Galiano et al. 1994: 325 fig. 6) or the mosaic of Atalanta and Meleagro from Cardeñajimeno (Burgos), from the late fourth century (Monteagudo et al. 1998: 21-28; 35-42 fig. 5 lams. 7-12, mosaic n. 9)¹⁶.

This type of decoration is also quite common in North African and East Mediterranean mosaics, including those from Antioch and Zeugma, dating from the second-third century and later¹⁷, or those from Apamea, in Syria (Balty 1977: 90-91).

In regard to the Portuguese Roman mosaics with this frame decoration, it is possible to observe that, as far as we know, in contrast with the dispersion of polychrome undulating bands, the bands with tangent cuboids are concentrated in mosaics from the *Conuentus Scalabitanus*¹⁸, widening, with the mosaic from the “House of the Wheel”, to the *Conuentus Bracaraugustanus*.

In this late mosaic from Braga, the row of cuboids, a representation already very distant from the architectural cornice which would have inspired it, is associated with the decoration of the polychrome undulating band that is also quite distant from the volume of the ribbon which could have been in its origin.

¹⁴ Oliveira refers the example of this dichromatic variety of the undulating band, originating from the House of Mitreo, in Merida, from the second century (quoting Freijeiro 1978: 38-39 n. 18). For the polychromic version, several examples from the African provinces are pointed out, especially from the period of its greatest expansion, in the third and fourth centuries. See, also, Oliveira 2003: 98-101.

¹⁵ This theme should be distinguished from the “row of consoles in lateral perspective” (Décor I: pl. 99i; Viegas et al. 1993: 27), as it appears in two mosaic floors from *Conimbriga*, dating from the second century, which are exhibited at the entrance of the Ruins of Conimbriga. Oleiro 1973: 76-110 dates the mosaic, which later was considered to have paved the *cenatio* of the “House of Cantaber”, from the middle or third quarter of the second century, with reserves (p. 92) and the mosaic, whose original location is unknown, from the end of the Antonine period (p. 110). See also Oliveira 2005: 51 mosaic n. 32 (from the “House of Cantaber”); 84 mosaic n. 60 (from an unknown location).

¹⁶ The examples referred to by the authors concerning the mosaic study from Cardeñajimeno, n. 9.

¹⁷ See Cimok 2000: 79, 81, 83, 92, among other examples.

¹⁸ The use of isolated solids, placed in the centre of the squares of a surface composition, occurs in a mosaic from the *Villa* of Coriscada, Meda, Guarda (Légier 2015: 191).

Final Considerations

Taking into account the work developed and published by the Recovery Team of *Bracara Augusta*, it is possible to conclude that the period corresponding to the end of the third century-early fourth century represents a period of great constructive activity in *Bracara Augusta*, confirming numerous renovations in many buildings and also registering great transformations in the urban layout.

In the excavations carried out in the various archaeological sites where the above mentioned mosaics were found, archaeologists have found that they relate to a remodelling phase attributed, generically, to the late Antiquity. This phase would have been contemporary to the great transformations of Braga's urban area, associated with the construction of the first Paleo-Christian Basilica on the site of the current Cathedral, during the fifth century. This fact would have determined the concentration of the urban fabric in the northeast quadrant of the city and the abandonment of some central and southern areas of the ancient Roman city (Leite et al. 2012: 42).

As for the decorative grammar present in mosaics from the region of Braga, it is noted that, for the most part, it consists of geometrical and vegetal motifs, but five archaeological sites that feature mosaics decorated with marine fauna are also known. To the figurative motifs, it is possible to add the fragment decorated with the crater.

This decorative grammar of Hispanic, North African and Eastern Mediterranean inspiration features in local particularities of *Bracara Augusta*. The crossroads of influences present in the mosaics of Braga were certainly consolidated by the relationships of this northwest region with southern *Hispania*, made through the Atlantic route.

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Abbreviations used in the text

AFMDDS	Photographic Archive of D. Diogo de Sousa Museum
AIEMA	Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Antique
AMDDS	Archive of D. Diogo de Sousa Museum
MDDS	D. Diogo de Sousa Museum of Braga
MMSR	Santos Rocha Municipal Museum of Figueira da Foz
APECMA	Portuguese Association for the Study and Conservation of Ancient Mosaic
ICCM	International Committee for the Conservation of Mosaics

The Mosaic Production of Augusta Emerita (Merida)

Augusta Emerita'nın (Merida) Mozaik Üretimi

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Abstract

The archaeological site of the ancient colonia Augusta Emerita (Merida, Spain), offers one of the most spectacular mosaics sets in the Roman West. However, a study in detail about the mosaic production of Merida is still necessary, which should consider its workshops as well as the evolution of both the techniques and the style. This paper aims to offer an overview about how Emeritensian workshops, itinerant or not, evolved from the end of the 1st century AD to the 5th century AD.

Keywords: Roman Hispania, Emerita Augusta, mosaic workshops, iconography, Mediterranean influences.

Öz

Antik colonia Augusta Emerita (Merida, İspanya) kenti, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun batısında yer alan önemli mozaik gruplarından birini göstermektedir. Ancak, Merida'daki mozaik üretimi ile ilgili olarak hem atölyelerin hem de tekniklerin ve stillerin gelişimleri göz önünde bulundurularak detaylı bir çalışma yapılması gerekmektedir. Bu makale, gezici ya da gezici olmayan Emerita atölyelerinin, İS 1. yüzyılın sonundan İS 5. yüzyıl'a kadar olan süreçteki gelişimleri ile ilgili genel bir değerlendirme yapmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma Dönemi'nde Hispania, Emerita Augusta, mozaik atölyeleri, ikonografi, Akdeniz etkisi.

The archaeological site of Merida, ancient *colonia Augusta Emerita*¹, offers one of the most spectacular mosaics sets in the Roman West, arousing the interest of many scholars² (Fig. 1).

Even if there are remarkable synthetic publications, such as those of Antonio Blanco Freijero, Alberto Balil (1967: 117-129; 1973: 277-280) and Lancha (1990: 275-291), a study in detail about the mosaic production of Merida is still necessary, which should consider its workshops as well as the evolution of both the techniques and the style.

Nevertheless, it is possible to offer an overview about how Emeritensian workshops, itinerant or not, evolved from the end of the 1st century AD to the 5th century AD. Technical analysis of the Emeritensian floors betray rather interesting data about, for instance, their material, which was predominantly local in provenience (Fig. 2). A similar uniformity can be seen in their stylistic evolution, not only because of the chosen scenes, but especially because of their personal way in which they were made.

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¹ More than 130 mosaics, most of them fragments, have been recorded since the 19th century until the present day. During the last decade new mosaics have been discovered, such as those from the 'Asamblea de Extremadura' (Palma 2005) and the mosaico of Opora in the 'Calle Sagasta' (see López Monteagudo 2006-2007). With regard to the studies about the *colonia Augusta Emerita* there is a good amount of bibliography. Its references have been collected, until the year 2010, in Velázquez Jiménez 2011. After this, new titles have been published. Among all of them, stand out: Álvarez Martínez - Nogales Basarrate 2003; Dupré Raventós (ed.) 2004; Nogales Basarrate (ed.) 2005.

² The bibliography about the Emeritensian mosaic production is abundant (see Velázquez Jiménez 2011: 191-209 n° 742-832), although most of the works use to deal with it in a general way, including other materials, such as stucco and painting. Besides the recent discoveries, few in fact, the mosaics set of Merida is gathered in two catalogues: Blanco Freijeiro 1978; Álvarez Martínez 1990a.



Figure 1
Ideal restitution of the *colonia Augusta Emerita*, according to Álvarez y Nogales. Jean-Claude Golvin del.



Figure 2
Detail of the mosaics of the villa of "Las Tiendas".

The mosaic technique changed in each period. First of all, during the 1st century AD and in most of the 2nd one, there are several examples of the bichrome technique, combining black and white colours with their respective shades (Fig. 3). This can be seen in several mosaics, such as "Casa de la Torre del Agua" (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 45 n° 40-42 pl. 75a, b) or those from the "Casa-Basílica (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 46 n° 44 pl. 80a; 46-47 n° 46 pls. 81b, 82a, b, 83a). Moreover, even if few examples are preserved, it must be noted the existence in this first



Figure 3
Mosaic of *Baritto* with bichrome technique.

Figure 4
Mosaic of the “kidnap of Europe”:
bichrome and polychrome
technique.



period of pavements made in *opus signinum*, which mixed mortar and brick either in small fragments or crushed; *tesselae* creating different compositions as ornament were included in this type of mosaics *tesselae* creating different compositions as ornament (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 48 n° 53 pls. 85a, b).

Later, in the 2nd century AD, a new way of making mosaics, the polychrome technique, arrived to the *Colonia*. This was the predominant technique until the end of the mosaic production in Merida. That does not mean that the previous bichrome technique was totally abandoned. In fact, examples of bichrome mosaics appear in some moments, such as an specific period that can be framed between the Antonine dynasty and the first decades of the 3rd century AD, when the craftsmen of Augusta Emerita alternated both techniques in an almost perfect combination (Fig. 4).

Regarding the North-African influences of either the Emeritensian or the Hispanic workshops, there is a good amount of bibliography that defends such influence, sometimes without strong arguments enough.

In Merida, both the schemes and the motifs used from the beginning of the mosaic production clearly betray an Italic influence, just like the rest of the Western part of the empire. Sometimes, the compositions are themselves a clear reflect of

well-known Italic examples. This influence, as we said, can be tracked all around the Roman West; for instance, the Emeritensian pavements show similarities with others from Gaul.

Those Italic peculiarities become visible in the black and white pavements, in both their motifs and their schemes that, even if Hellenistic in origin, were re-elaborated in the Italic peninsula, spreading from there to the aforementioned Western regions. This is quite revealing in the figurative scenes, such as the mosaic of the 'Calle Sagasta' with the representation of a Nile landscape that includes pygmies and animals, which shows a strong influence from well-known mosaics of Ostia (Becatti 1961: n° 213 113-114 pls. CXV, CXVI, CXVII; n° 74: 59-60, pl. CXVIII; n° 289: 151-152 pls. CXVII, CXIX, CXX, CXXI) (Fig. 5), also similar to the border of another mosaic from Italica (Seville) that frames the representation of Neptune and his entourage (Blanco Freijeiro - Luzón Nogué 1974: 41-46).



Figure 5
Mosaics from Merida with
pygmies scenes.

In the Western workshops, the Italic influence, or dependence, was a constant until the last productions. Nevertheless, other artistic streams arrived. It is the case of both North African and Eastern trends that became visible at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century AD³. In the case of the Emeritensian mosaics, this is especially true for some Eastern features that display an irrefutable pictorial illusion. The pavement of the villa of 'Las Tiendas' is a clear example of this; it shows a horseman pursuing a feline in a swift race, at full gallop, in the same way that some compositions from Antioch (Levi 1947: 226 pls. LII, LVII; 363 fig. 151 pl. 90; López Monteagudo 1991: 498). An echo of this can be seen in the hunting scenes at the villa of 'La Olmeda', in the Castilian plateau (Palol-Cortés 1974: 82) (Fig. 6).

With regard to the presence of 'African' features in the Emeritensian mosaics, those appear in both hunting and marine scenes. With few exceptions (Fernández-Galiano 1984b: 111) most of the authors considers strong such a North-African influence in the Hispanic mosaics; however, from our point of view, it has been overvalued. Considering the evidence, we believe (Álvarez Martínez 1997: 39-50) that the North-African influence, visible in the late antique period, is clear in the funerary mosaics, but, for the rest, it has come into question. Certainly, some African influences could be recorded, such influences seem to belong to a common root originated in the Italic peninsula. Taking all of this into account, we should think in a cultural *koiné*, more than specific influences, for the Western Mediterranean in the last centuries of the empire (Carandini 1962: 234).

Thanks to the good preservation of several pavements, we know the names of some mosaic makers (mosaicists) that worked in the *colonia Augusta Emerita*. One of them named *Paternos* (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 27 n° 2), a Greek, or Eastern, name; maybe he was a freedman (Lancha 1990: 288; Donderer 1989: A77 pl. 45, 1). Probably, other craftsmen from the East settled in Merida. *Seleucus* and *Anthus* (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 31 n° 9) shared the same origin as well, and, according to Lancha (Lancha 1990: 288-289; Donderer 1989: A83: 105-106 pl. 48) they were itinerant artisans that left proof of their name in the Nile mosaic, together with the name of the town where they worked, *colonia Augusta Emerita* (C.A.E.). Both artisans would have been freedmen as well (Fig. 7).

³ Regarding the Eastern influences in the Hispanic mosaic production see: Fernández Galiano 1984a: 418-420.



Figure 6
Mosaic of the hunter from the villa of "Las Tiendas".

Figure 7
Sign of the craftsmen (mosaic makers) *Seleucus et Anthus*.



Figure 8
Mosaic signed by *Baritto*.

Another craftsman, *Baritto*, seems to have been an slave (Blanco Freijeiro 1978 n° 5: 28-29; Donderer 1989: A50, 86-87 pls. 29, 3, 30). *Baritto* signed an excellent mosaic decorated with marine fauna (Fig. 8). There is another name, *Felix*, in this mosaic. According to Donderer, *Felix* could be another mosaic maker too (Donderer 1989: A50 49, 87).



Figure 9
Sign of the artisan *Annibonius*.

Annius Ponius, who signed the mosaic of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne* in *Naxos* (Fig. 9), is rather famous in the bibliography. His name is still controversial. *Annius Ponius* is the traditional interpretation. Nevertheless, after the clarification of Mayer (Mayer 1996: 101-104; Donderer 1989: A47:84-85), *Annibonius* seems to be more convincing and real. *Annibonius* was, probably, Greek in origin, and, as Lancha has proposed (Lancha 1990: 289), a freedman as well.

Last but not least, *Dexter* was another craftsman that worked in the territory of the *colonia*. He was the author of a modest pavement that decorated one of the rooms of a *villa* found in the village of Puebla de la Calzada (Donderer 1989: A55 89 pl. 33, 1, Lancha 1990: 288; Álvarez Martínez 1995: 211-219).

The variety of iconographic motifs offered by the mosaics of Merida is quite remarkable. It is possible to perceive the fashionable style in each period, as well as both the ideology and the symbolism they also expressed. Now, we will analyze those most relevant, and repeated motifs, in the Emeritensian repertory.

Probably, the theme of *Orpheus* and the animals charmed by the sounds of his *lyre* was one of the most loved topics for that society. In fact, five pavements with such iconography have been found both in the *colonia* and its nearest territory (Álvarez Martínez 1990b: 29-58) (Fig. 10). Other theme usually repeated, probably because of its symbolic meaning, is the representation of the *Seasons* and their annual cycle, which produced welfare (Álvarez Martínez 1976: 453-454, 458) (Fig 11). The *Seasons* used to be represented as female figures (Blanco Freijeiro 1978 n° 9 pls. 14, 16) except by the examples of the so-called 'Cosmic Mosaic', which we will refer later (the *Seasons* are represented by teenagers). It is also different the case of the *villa* of 'Panes Perdidos', near the village of Solana de los Barros. There, the *Season* is an allegoric representation of a winged *Eros* (Álvarez Martínez – Nogales Basarrate 1994-95: 97 pl. 13, 1).

The *Bacchus*' cycle was also one of the favourites compositions along the different periods. Before us appear scenes of the *thiasos*, the *Dionysian* entourage, full of movement and frenzy, with dancing *maenads* and *satires* playing the *siringa*, always presided by the figure of the god (Álvarez Martínez 1990 a n° 16: 94-95). Even if many mosaics reproduce this topic (Blázquez 1984: 69), the most representative Emeritensian mosaic with *Bacchus*' cycle is the one signed by

Figure 10
Emeritensian Mosaic with the
theme of Orpheus.



Annibonius. This mosaic tells the known episode when Bacchus meets Ariadne in the Island of Naxos, once she was abandoned by Theseus (Fig. 12)⁴.

The Egyptomania in the Roman art was a very dilated phenomenon⁵, which arose several times although without the strength of its first moment, immediately after the conquest of Egypt in the 1st century BC. Taking this into account, the Egyptian themes also appear in the Emeritensian mosaics, specially the daily-life scenes of pygmies, such as, for instance, their never-ending disputes with the cranes in the marsh of the Nile, but also fighting against the crocodiles, or transporting goods in their small ships (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: n° 9: 30-32; Álvarez Martínez 1990a: n° 3: 40-41) (Fig. 13).

The Hispanic hobby of hunting is well referred by the Classic sources, and this interest has a correlation in the mosaics and the abundance of representations with hunting character⁶.

In one of the *villae* of the surrounding area of the *colonia*, called 'Las Tiendas', appeared the hunting scenes aforementioned. In one of them, in the middle of a landscape of hills, there is a hunter, probably the landowner of the *fundus*,

⁴ This mosaic has been analyzed many times. Among the most remarkable works, beside the aforementioned of Mayer, stand out: Blanco Freijeiro 1952: 310-316; García y Bellido 1965: 197-207; Kuznetsova-Resende 1997: 31-38.

⁵ About the Nile's themes, there is abundant bibliography that collects both the most singular and representative scenes made in every type of material: mosaic, paintings, sculpture, etc. A rather suitable panorama about this kind of representations related to Egypt in Versluys 2002.

⁶ Among the numerous bibliography related to the hunting representations in the Iberian peninsula, stands out the work of López Monteagudo 1991: 491-512.

who is bravely lancing a wild-boar, after a fierce hand to hand, in the same way that Xenophon wrote in his 'The Art of Hunting' (Álvarez Martínez 1976: n° 7: 452-456) (Fig. 14). Also, in a kind of *paradeisos*, the impulsive figure of a horseman appears right in the moment of lancing a feline, hunted after a swift race (Álvarez Martínez 1976: 451-452). The symbolism of this topic was close related to the exaltation of the *virtus* of that society. This provoked its development; it was repeated in other pavements, for instance in the *villa* of the 'Panes Perdidos' (Álvarez Martínez - Nogales Basarrate 1994-95: 95-96, 100), with a clearly allegoric sense, or in the mosaic discovered in Merida, in 'Calle Holguín' ('Holguin street'), where a hunter named *Marianus* appears with his horse, *Pafius*, proudly posing with his trophy, a dead deer, in the background that was not well made (Álvarez Martínez 1990a: n° 14: 79 ss.) (Fig. 15).



Figure 11
Representation of Autumnus. Mosaic of the villa of "Las Tiendas".



Figure 12
Mosaic with the representation of Bacchus and Ariadne met at Naxos.



Figure 13
Scene of a crane captured by a pygmy in an Emeritensian mosaic.



Figure 14
Mosaic of the “hunting of wild-boar”.
Roman villa of “Las Tiendas”.

The circus games, so popular throughout the empire and with a very special meaning in its last centuries, were quite appreciated in Merida as well⁷.

The pictorial examples that an Emeritensian house offered once (Nogales Basarrate 2000) have been completed with an interesting iconography in which appears both winners horsemen, whose names are respectively *Paulus* and *Marcianus* (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: n° 43: 45-46 pls. 76-79) (Fig. 16).

⁷ An overview about the *ludi romani* in *Augusta Emerita* in Nogales Basarrate 2000. *Espectáculos en Augusta Emerita*. Monografías emeritenses, 5. Badajoz 2000. About the mosaics with motifs of Roman games: J. M. Álvarez Martínez - T. Nogales Basarrate.



Figure 15
Mosaic with the representation
of the *dominus Marianus*.

With regard to the representation of the Mythology, some of them already mentioned, besides a known representation of the 'kidnap of Europe' (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: n° 4: 28 pl. 5), stands out the fragment of a famous scene of the fierce fight of the Corinthian hero Bellerophon against the chimera (Álvarez Martínez 1992: 19-24).

Moreover, we can find the representation of the nine muses coming back again to the mosaic with scenes of the Nile. Its central section shows some mythological features related to the intellectual and philosophical world, which is another important iconographic repertory in the Emeritensian productions: on its surface, divided through the use of a compass, appears, inside a central circle, the image of a poet enclosed by the muses, framed in semicircles, with their characteristic attributes (Blanco Freijeiro 1978: 31) (Fig. 17).

Nonetheless, in this sense, among the Emeritensian mosaics the most important one is the so-called mosaic of 'the seven wise-men'. It was found, together with the pavement with hunting and circus scenes, in the aforementioned house of the 'calle Holguín'. This mosaic shows a meeting of the Greek seven wise-men, all of them identified with their names written in Greek. They has been represented according to the traditional model, seated in a reflexive attitude, thinking about a known episode of the war of Troy: the anger of Achilles (Álvarez Martínez 1988: 99-120)⁸ (Fig. 18).

⁸ Other scholars have shown interesting points of view about this pavement that complete and nuance what has been said before: Quet 1987: 47-55; Lancha 1997: n° 106: 218-223; Olszewski 2000: 37-46.



Figure 16
The horseman *Marcianus*.

The Cosmologic Mosaic

An exceptional case, among the Emeritensian mosaic productions, is the so-called Cosmologic mosaic, which was discovered in the 'Casa del Mitreo' ('House of the Mithraeum'). Very few pieces like this pavement have really awakened such an interest. Due to this, the bibliography about it is so abundant⁹. However, depending the authors, the interpretations are varied.

The high quality of the craftsman can be seen in the composition, which is so elegant and beautiful; it seems to create descend diagonals from the right to the left, keeping the proportions according to the space (Fig. 19).

⁹ Besides the mentioned works of García Sandoval and Blanco Freijeiro, see Álvarez Martínez 1996. Also, the contributions of Picard are rather interesting; see Picard 1975:119-124; Alföldi 1979; Quet 1981; Lancha 1983: 17-68; Musso 1984: 151-190; Blázquez 1986: 89-100; Foucher 1986: 131-140; Fernández Galiano 1989-1990: 173-182; Alföldi Rosenbaum 1994: 255-274.



Figure 17
Emeritensian mosaic with several scenes, some with an intellectual character.



Figure 18
Mosaic of the "seven wise-men".

Above, the group is presided by a triad composed by the Time, *Saeculum*, an his children: the Sky, *Caelum*, and the Chaos, *Chaos*, all of them in seated attitude. The throne where the Sky puts its feet is supported by the shoulders of the Pole. The Titans are together with them, the children of the Sky and the Earth: the Pole, *Polum*, and the Thunder, *Tonitrum*, with a shaft of lightning in its hand. Flanking these figures, appear the Winds *Notus* and *Zephyrus* (Fig. 20), bearing *Nubs* and *Nebula*, personified by two naked young girls with a cloak in their hands. On the right, the figure of another Wind, *Boreas*, can be appreciated, while regarding the fourth one, *Eurus*, only its name is preserved.

Spectacular because of its beauty is the representation of the Sun, *Oriens*, on its brilliant chariot run by white steeds, and represented in the way of the Greek charioteer, with a large tunic. Its forehead offers an halo from which arise the



Figure 20
Detail of the
Cosmologic with
representation of
Nubes and *Notus*.

lightning. On the opposite, *Occasus* appears naked on its back, driving a *biga*. Together with this representation, there is a man, the personification of the Mountains, *Mons*, that holds on its lap an almost slept figure that represents the Snow, *Nix*.

Most of the central part of this picture is lost, although there is a quite convincing restitution proposed by Musso. Here can be seen the Nature, *Natura*, semi-naked, with a cloak and adorned with jewellery. The centre of the mosaic was presided by the figure of *Aion*, *Aeternitas*, partially lost but well analyzed by Alföldi-Rosenbaum. Probably, it hold the Zodiac ring, crossed by the Seasons that passed through it in their slow annual run. Regarding the Seasons, only it is preserved the figure of *Ver* (the tag with its name is lost), *Aestas*, the Summer, represented by a child with a bundle of corn-ears, and, partially, the arm of Autumn, *Autumnus*, that holds grapes.

Below, between the green and blue background, the aquatic personifications are predominant. The big rivers, such as the Nile, *Nilus*, and the Euphrates, *Euphrates*, are represented according to the traditional fluvial iconography. They give way to the central figure, which is unfortunately lost. Nevertheless, its name is preserved, *Portus*, a seaport that was identified by Antonio Blanco as *Portus Ostiensis*. Next to it, other figures personify marine elements, such as Lighthouse, *Pharus*, a young with a torch in its hand, or *Nauigia*, the Navigation, *Copiae*, the Abundance, and the beautiful representation of *Tranquillitas*, the Calm of the Sea that promotes the Navigation. It appears close to the old Ocean, *Occeanus*, with its hair adorned with the characteristics pincers of the crab; Ocean also holds a marine snake in the right hand and its trident on its lap.

Everything is perfect in this composition: the drawn quality, the shades of the Human body, the proportions... the different elements of the Nature, personified by the described figures... Also, all of them identified respectively thanks to the tags written in a good Classic Latin, framed by their own context and with their respective attributes. Everything is an allegory with Hellenistic roots; it is the way of explaining, easily, the natural phenomena. The background is the most beautiful possible, and this beauty is still more evident in the section devoted to the aquatic representations, where the tonality of the sea, sometimes bluish, other greenish, is perfectly captured by means of glass paste *tesselae*.

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Abelterium: Geometric Mosaics from the Villae of Casa da Medusa and Quinta do Pião

Abelterium: Casa da Medusa Villası ve Quinta do Pião'nun Geometrik Mozaikleri

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Abstract

The study of geometric mosaics from Casa da Medusa and Quinta do Pião has made a significant contribution towards understanding both the decorative project of these villae in Abelterium (Alter do Chão) and the Roman presence in this region. Geometric pavements in varying states of preservation were uncovered in several rooms. These are essentially polychrome mosaics, some displaying evidence of Baroque overdoing, consisting of white, ochre, yellow, pink, red, green, blue and grey tesserae, made from limestone, sandstone, marble and eventually from pottery.

Keywords: *Abelterium, villae, Medusa, mosaics, geometric.*

Öz

Casa da Medusa ve Quinta do Pião'dan geometrik desenli mozaikler üzerinde yapılan çalışmalar, Abelterium'daki (Alter do Chão) bu villaların dekoratif projesini ve bu bölgedeki Roma varlığını anlamada önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır. Farklı derecelerde korunmuş olan geometrik desenli mozaikler pek çok odada ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bunlar esasen polikrom mozaikler olup, bazıları Barok etkisini gösteren kireçtaşı, kumtaşı, mermer ve çanak çömlek kırıklarından yapılmış, beyaz, koyu sarı, sarı, pembe, kırmızı, yeşil, mavi ve gri renklerdeki tesseralardan oluşmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Abelterium, villalar, Medusa, mozaik, geometrik.*

1. Introduction

Casa da Medusa and Quinta do Pião are two important *villae* in Roman *Lusitania* (Fig. 1) in which Roman mosaics were identified, which are part of the research project on *Abelterium* (Alter do Chão), undertaken under the scientific coordination of the author.

Whilst it has yet to be confirmed whether Casa da Medusa (Figs. 2-7) was effectively an urban or suburban *villa*, since the boundaries of *Abelterium* are unknown, Quinta do Pião, which lies about 6 km southeast of *Abelterium*, was magnificent and vast, as characteristic of large Imperial *villae*.

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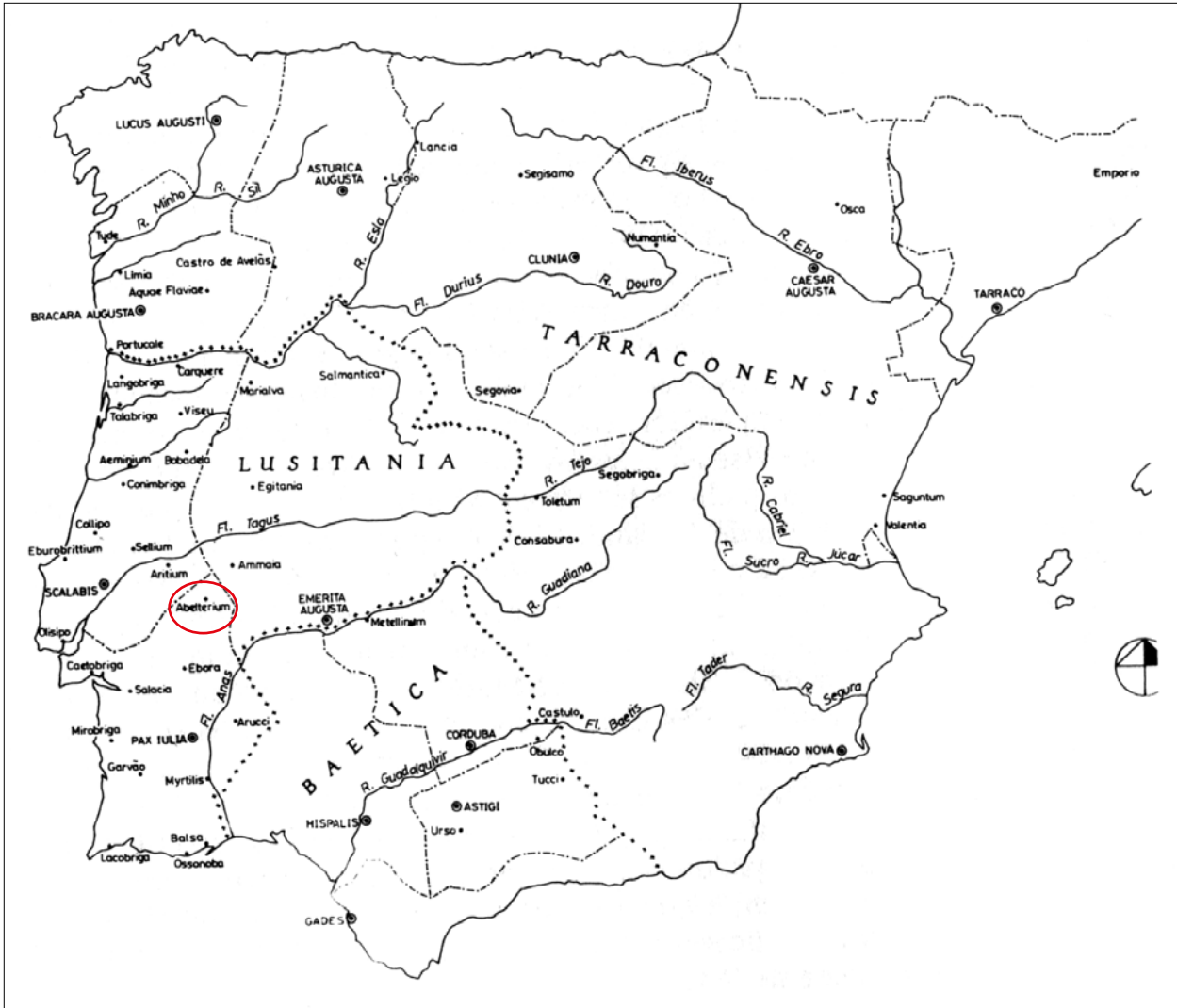


Figure 1
Location of *Abelterium* (Alarcão 1988: 40).

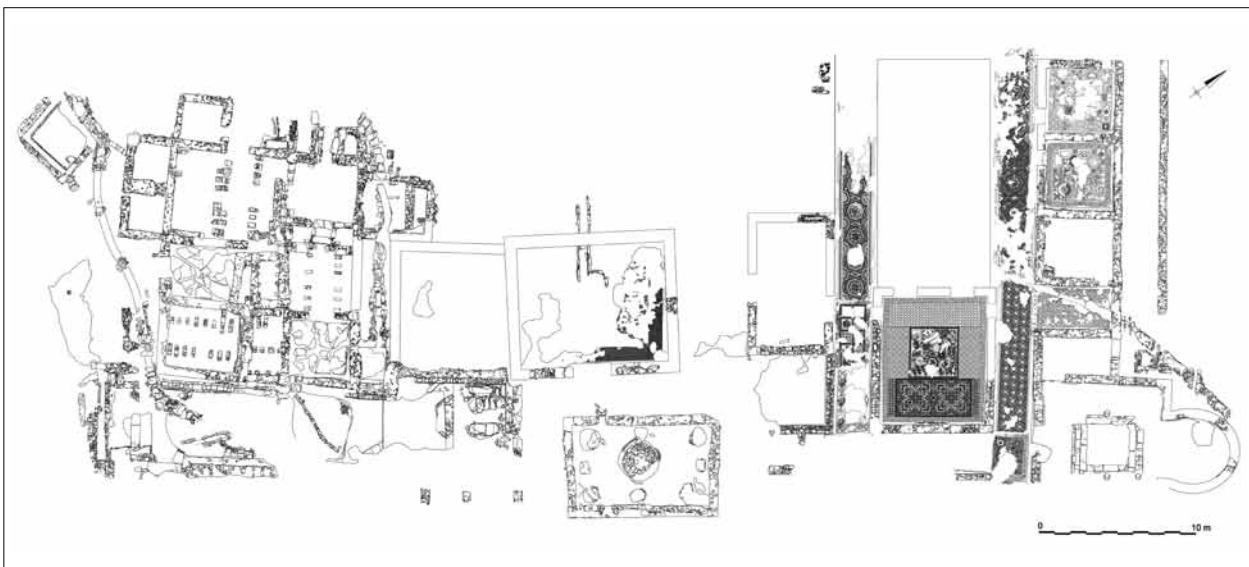


Figure 2
House of the Medusa.

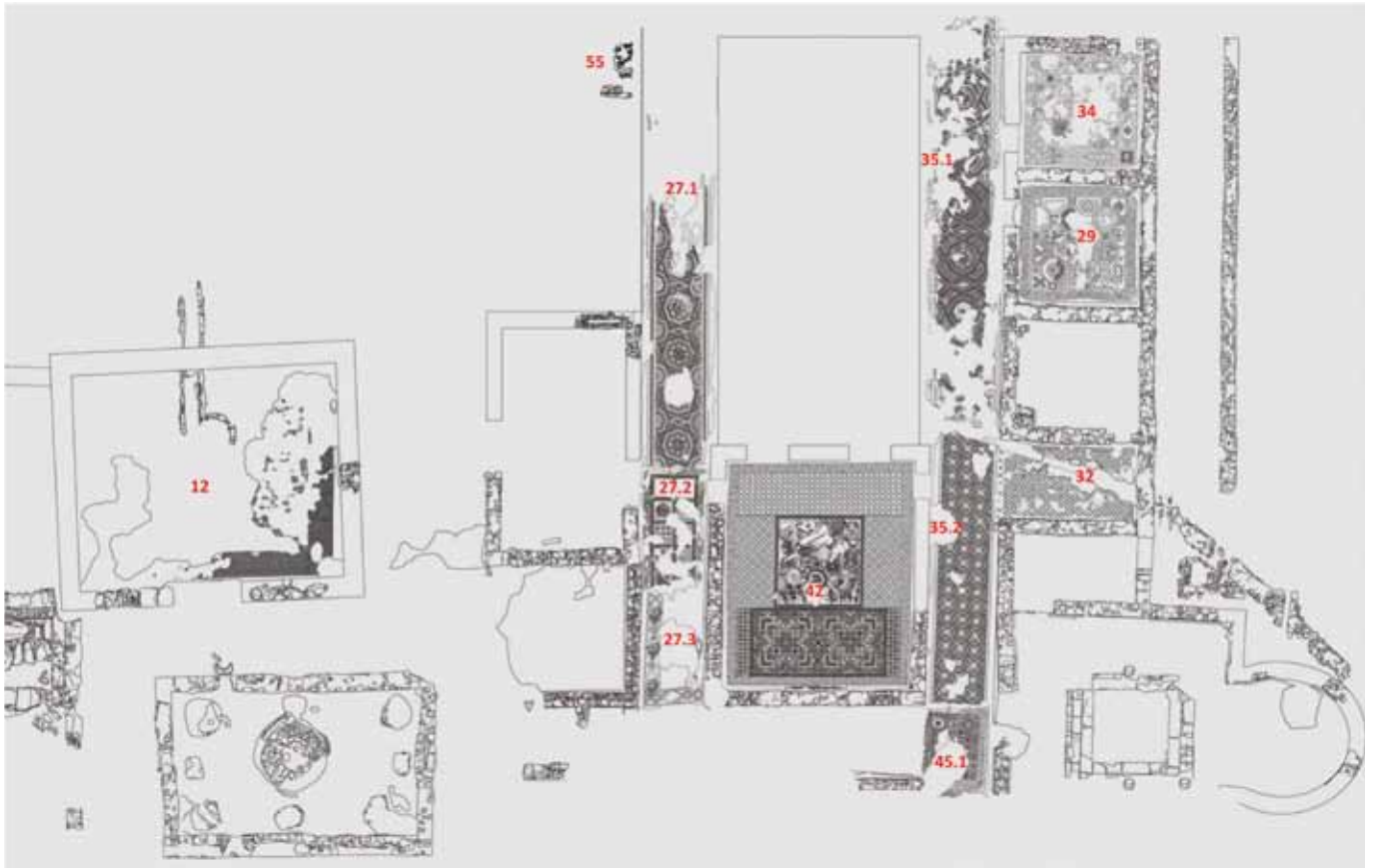


Figure 3
Mosaics of the House
of the Medusa.

Figure 4
House of the Medusa.



Figure 5
House of the Medusa.





Figure 6
House of the Medusa.



Figure 7
House of the Medusa.

2. Casa da Medusa

2.1. Corridors of the *Peristylum*

2.1.1. Corridor 27

Corridor 27 is paved with three rectangular mosaic panels of different lengths, each measuring 2.20 m wide.

The longest *tessellatum* (Fig. 8 – Mosaic 27.1) is framed by a fillet border and a broken meander border, each of these consisting of a single row of blue *tessera*. At the centre, there are several stars formed by two interlaced squares on a white background, touching at two vertices, which consist of simple guilloche outlined in blue, as in the other mosaics uncovered at this house which display this type of guilloche. Horizontal lozenges with truncated octagons on either side are formed at the points of contact between these star shapes. At the centre of one of these octagons (Fig. 9) there is a pelta outlined in blue with a white filling. Another octagon (Fig. 10) has two trifid everted rim chalices, with blue outlines and filled in in yellow and red.

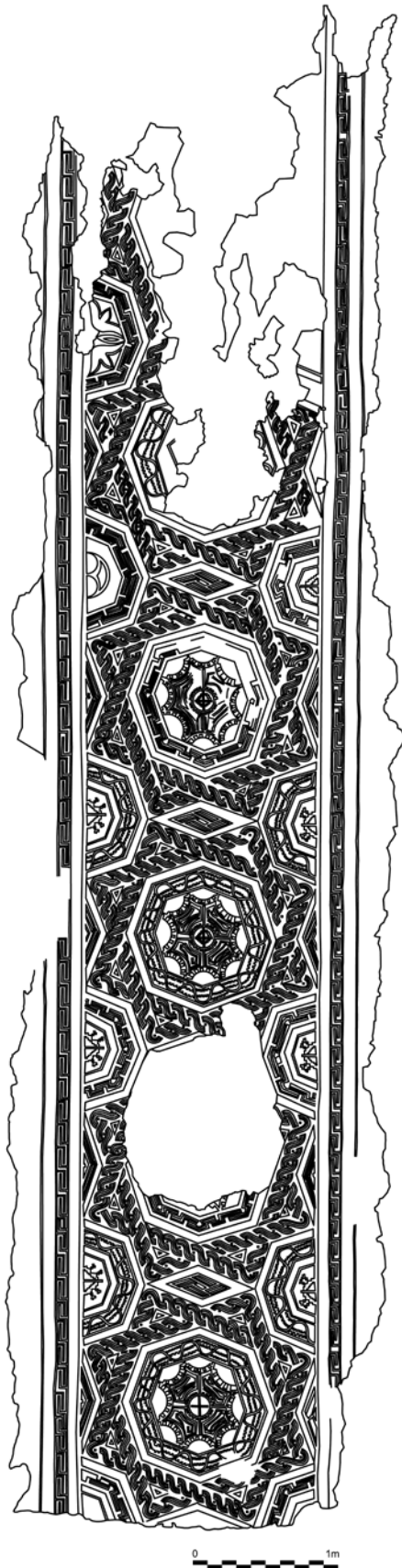


Figure 8
Mosaic 27.1 of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 9
Detail of the mosaic 27.1 of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 10
Detail of the mosaic 27.1 of the House of the Medusa.

At the centre of the star-shaped formation lie concave octagons (Fig. 11), containing rectangular shapes with a cross at the centre. These are set in other regular octagons, which display wave and meander borders alternately.

The *horror vacui* extant in this mosaic and a clear polychrome Baroque overdoing in the intensive filling of the entire panel, using *tesserae* of very homogenous size of five different colours (white, yellow pink, red, blue), suggest that this mosaic was executed in the 3rd-4th century AD.



Figure 11
Detail of the mosaic 27.1
of the House of the Medusa.

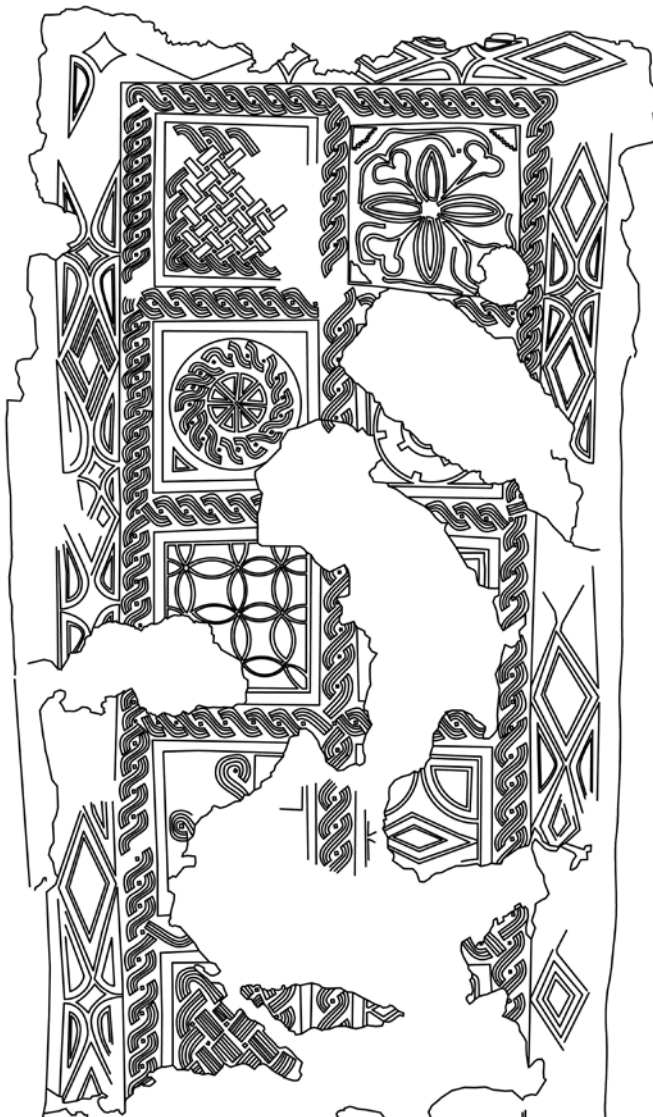


Figure 12
Mosaic 27.2 of the House
of the Medusa.

Identical motifs to these can be found very close to Alter do Chão, more precisely in mosaic n° 10 which paves one of the rooms in the Roman *Villa* of Torre de Palma, in Vaiamonte (Lancha - André 2000: 236-243 pls. LXXXV-LXXXVI).

While the former panel was placed along the Southwest side of the *peristylum* garden, the next two panels, measuring approximately the same size, were placed on the side of the *triclinium* wall.

The second panel (Fig. 12 – Mosaic 27.2), which was executed with the same colours as can be found on the previous panel, is a grid consisting of orthogonal squares (five by two) of simple guilloche, enclosed by a rectangle consisting of a border of crossed bands. These form concave squares, concentric lozenges and hexagons containing lozenges with squares at the centre, placed vertically and horizontally, on a white background. This type of border can also be found in the south of Lusitania, namely in pavements C and I from *Villa* Cardílio (Duran Kremer 2008: 67-69), although with different polychromy and fillings from those uncovered at Casa da Medusa, in Alter do Chão. Other parallels can be found in the mosaic of *cubiculum* 44 of the *villa* of Milreu (Oliveira - Viegas 2011: 724-725, 738).

One of the sequences of the grid contains a multi-strand guilloche: (1); a star consisting of eight blue fillets, surrounded by a single guilloche circular border also with a blue background, set in a square with a white background, with geometric elements on two of the sides (2) (Fig. 13); a composition consisting of circles with four spindles forming concave squares (3) (Fig. 14); a cross with a simple guilloche (4) (Fig. 15); a multi-strand guilloche (5) (Fig. 16). The other sequence contains a floret consisting of eight non-contiguous elements; four of these are fusiform petals with a red filling and four are ivy leaves with a yellow filling and with one or two stems, pointing towards a circle at the centre, in the middle of a two-leaf bouquet (1) (Fig. 17); a circle (2); two horizontal concentric lozenges set in a hexagon with four concave sides, framed by a square which has quadrants on the corners (4) (Fig. 18).



Figure 13
Detail of the mosaic 27.2
of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 14
Detail of the mosaic 27.2 of the
House of the Medusa.



Figure 15
Detail of the mosaic 27.2
of the House of the Medusa.

Figure 16
Detail of the
mosaic 27.2
of the House of
the Medusa.



Figure 18
Detail of the mosaic 27.2
of the House of the Medusa.

Figure 17
Detail of the
mosaic 27.2
of the House of
the Medusa.



Figure 19
Mosaic 27.3 of the House of the Medusa.

Figure 20
Detail of the mosaic 27.3 of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 21
Detail of the mosaic 27.3 of the House of the Medusa.

Some of the motifs represented here, such as the multi-strand guilloche (Oleiro 1992: 55-57 mosaic 1.9 est. 13), can also be found in a panel from the central *peristylum* of the Casa dos Repuxos, in *Conimbriga*, and the composite floret (Oleiro 1992: 37-39 mosaic 1.2 est. 4; 45 mosaic 1.4 ests. 6-9; 48 mosaic 1.6 est. 11; 59 mosaic 1.11 ests. 15-16; 104-109 mosaic 9 est. 37) is also depicted in the Deer Hunt room as well as the *peristylum*. The circles with spindles forming squares described above can also be found in the room of Silenus (Oleiro 1992: 98-103 mosaic 8 est. 36) at *Conimbriga*, although with a distinctive colouring.

The border of the third panel (Figs. 19-21 – Mosaic 27.3) in this corridor, which has been executed in four colours (white, pink, yellow, blue), bears the same motif as displayed on the border of the previous panel, although it also includes circles placed around squares which have crosses at the centre. Inside this border there is a square, a circle containing *peltae* and another circle set in a hexagon, containing other circles.

2.1.2. Corridor 35

Contrary to the corridor on the opposite side, corridor 35 has simply been paved with two rectangular mosaic panels, measuring 2.30 m wide.

The decorative scheme of the first panel (Figs. 22-23 – Mosaic 35.1) in this wing contains crosses consisting of two intertwined *scuta* of simple guilloche, tangent



Figure 23
Detail of the mosaic 35.1 of the House of the Medusa.

at two vertices. The same type of decorative scheme can be found in two wings of the *peristylum* at the *Villa* of Torre de Palma (Lancha - André 2000: 145-156 pls. XLI-XLVIII).

Where the two vertices come into contact, horizontal lozenges are formed which have circles with *chevrons* set in other lozenges. Truncated vertical lozenges with semicircles are placed on either side of these. The star-shaped pattern contains dentilculated concave trapeziums and octagons with a meander border, inside of which there are concave octagons framed by regular octagons, as displayed on the pavement in the opposite wing (27.1).

A more linear decoration is employed in the second panel (Figs. 24-25 – Mosaic 35.2), which contains a composition consisting of tangent four-pointed stars with a square at the centre, forming vertical and horizontal lozenges. The squares are filled in with red rectangles and outlined with a single fillet of blue *tessera* and the stars alternately contain red and yellow triangles. In turn, the lozenges contain other lozenges that are red and yellow in colour. Although this mosaic displays a simplified decorative scheme, using a single shape, the triangle (tip of the star), as its base, its polychrome decoration using four colours (white, yellow, red, blue) is extremely rich when compared to the other mosaics in this house, and it is more open, for example, than panel 27.1, which has a more closed composition.

Lastly, the mosaic is framed by a border consisting of a fillet of blue *tesserae*, followed by a band of five ochre *tesserae*, and then another fillet consisting of two blue *tesserae*. This panel was connected to the wall by a strip of yellow *tesserae*.

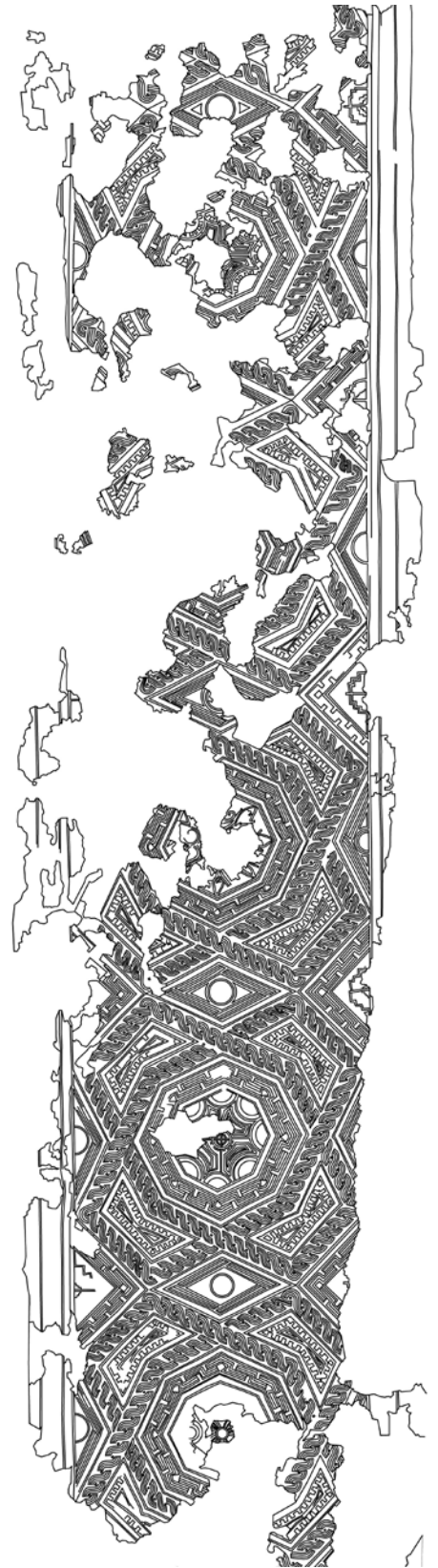


Figure 22
Mosaic 35.1 of the House of the Medusa.

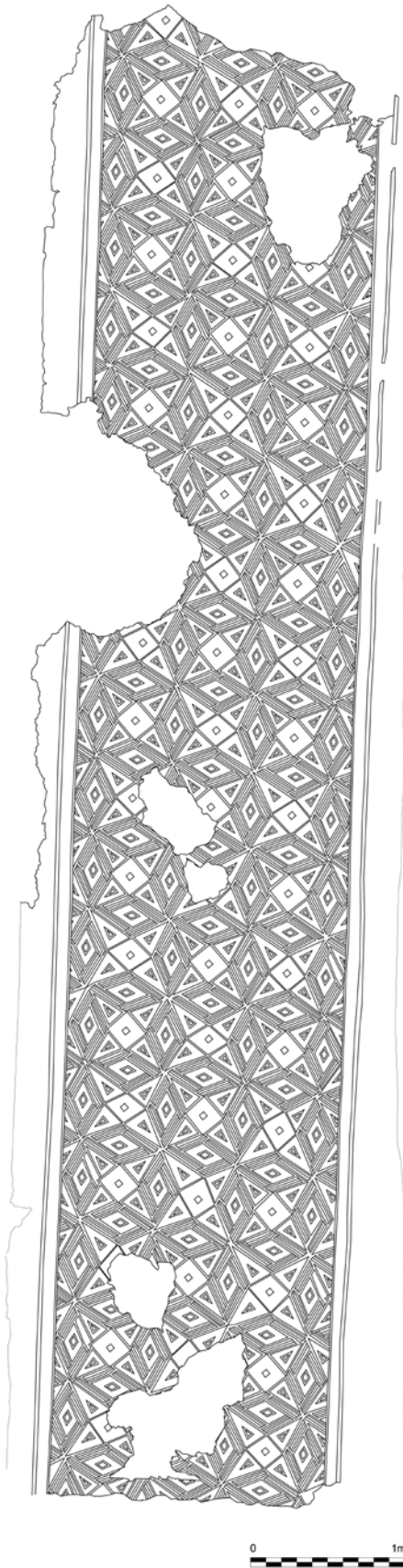


Figure 24
Mosaic 35.2 of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 25
Detail of the mosaic 35.2 of the House of the Medusa.

2.1.3. Corridor 45

Corridor 45, which was partially excavated, contains a rectangular pavement (Figs. 26-27 – Mosaic 45.1) executed in four colours (white, blue, yellow, red), decorated with a rather heterogenous set of motifs, characterised by the alignment (eight by seven) of squares and rectangles, interrupted by octagons and circles. Its outer frame contains secant and tangent semi-circles, forming ogives and scales, made with a double blue fillet on a white background, filled alternately in red and yellow. This was set inside a border formed by a fillet of blue *tesserae*. The same type of motifs as displayed on the frame of this *tessellatum* occur, for example, in mosaic 3 of Rua Arronches Junqueiro (Silva et al. 2011: 305-307), in Setúbal, and in the east wing of the *peristylum* at Milreu (Oliveira - Viegas 2011: 732 e 742 n.º 30), although they are inverted in the latter.

Square shapes outnumber other shapes in this panel, and contain Solomon's knots, concentric circles, concave squares and a quadrilobe with a cross at the centre. The quadrangular and rectangular shapes contain compositions comprising lozenges and triangles. The octagons contain quadrifoliate Solomon's knots, and an octagon with a central square. All these geometric forms are filled with red and yellow *tesserae*. One of the octagons also contains a floret with eight adjacent elements, namely four fusiform petals and four dart-shaped petals, with a circle at the centre. Lastly, the circles have a simple guilloche border with a blue outline, which contains a cross consisting of a blue fillet on a white background.

The Baroque overdoing noted for panel 27.1 is also extant in this mosaic, with a chronology dating from the 3rd century AD onwards.



Figure 26
Mosaic 45.1 of the House
of the Medusa.

Figure 27
Detail of the mosaic 45.1
of the House of the Medusa.

2.2. Rooms

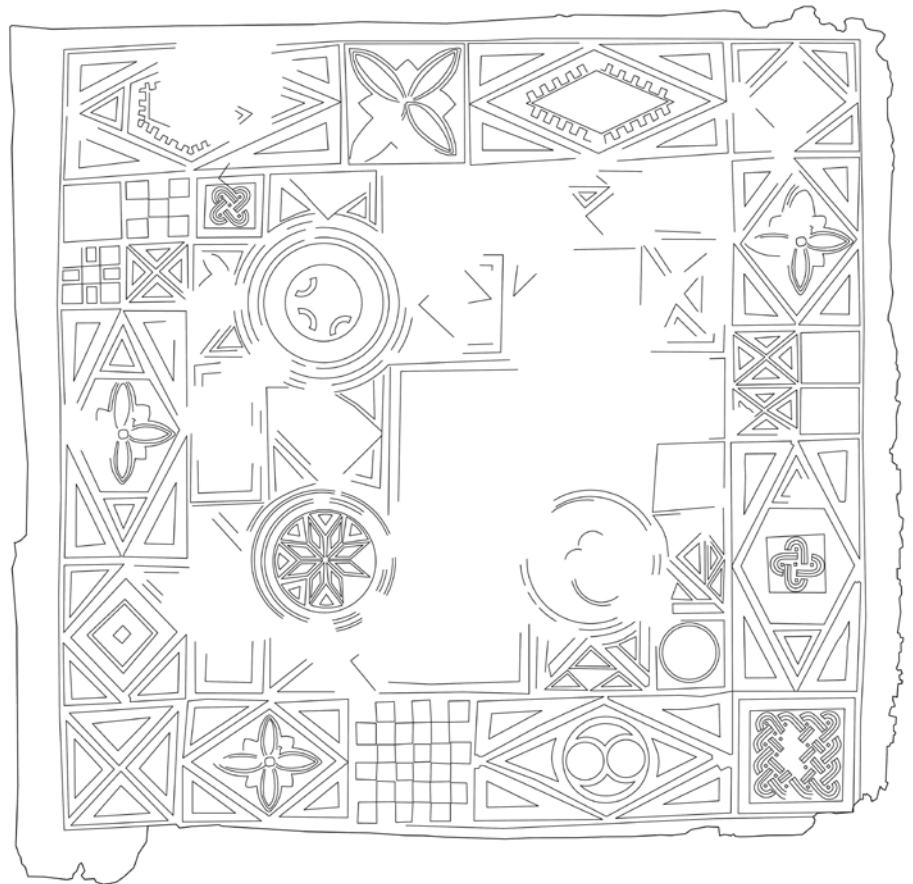
2.2.1. Room 34

Room 34 (Fig. 28 – Mosaic 34) is a quadrangular room located at the top end of the northeast wing, with an internal area measuring around 18 m² (4.40 m x 4.12 m), which has a *tessellatum* with a decorative scheme containing lozenges, squares and rectangles placed around a composition consisting of circles. The lozenges contain Solomon's knots, double pelta motifs, denticulated lozenges and flowers with eight adjacent elements centred on a circle, namely with four fusiform petals and four dart-shaped petals. A denticulated lozenge was also found at the *Villa* of Herdade das Argamassas (Brazuna 2011: 236 fig. 6) in Campo Maior.

Squares with the same type of flowers as above, multi-strand guilloche, a checkerboard pattern, as well as compositions of varied forms have been placed alternately between the lozenges. The centre of the mosaic contains rectangular forms, squares, circles and a Solomon's knot, as well as a series of additional circles which stand out, one of these with an eight-lozenge star, a motif which is also represented in the *triclinium* of the Casa dos Repuxos (Oleiro 1992: 110-116 mosaic 10 ests. 39 e 43).

As in the case of the panel in *cubiculum* 29, this panel has a dense film of calcareous concretions, so that it is difficult to discern clearly the decorative motifs as well as the colour of the *tesserae*. It is only possible to ascertain that white, yellow and red *tesserae* were used.

Figure 28
Mosaic 34 of the House
of the Medusa.



2.2.2. Room 29

The pavement in *cubiculum* 29 (Fig. 29 – Mosaic 29), which also has a quadrangular plan, covering an area of circa 19 m² (4.40 m x 4.33 m), has an outer frame with a decorative scheme that resembles that of panel 45.1.

The panel inside this frame contains a composition consisting of octagons that are sometimes tangent, producing several geometric shapes. Two of these octagons have a simple guilloche border, and one of these has a square at the centre containing a single Solomon's knot. Other octagons contain a rectangle with an astragalus, eventually a quatrefoil shape and a flower consisting of eight non-contiguous elements, namely four fusiform petals and four ivy leaves which have one or two stems, pointing towards a circle placed at the centre. The latter motif was also employed in one of the squares in mosaic 27.2.

The trapeziums contain a square set in a denticulated border, a trilobate motif and *peltae* facing each other. In opposing corners, there are flowers that have a circle at the centre and consist of eight elements, which are adjacent in one case and discontinuous in the other, four with fusiform petals and four with dart-shaped petals. These flowers occur on mosaics 34 and 45.1. Lastly, the squares, which are smaller than the other geometric shapes represented in the pavement, contain circles, Solomon's knots, other squares, one of these being concave, and lozenges.

As observed in the previous pavement, some of the shapes in this pavement are also missing entire lines, suggesting that these mosaics would eventually have been made with ceramic *tesserae*. Despite the degradation of the *tesserae* and the presence of calcareous concretions, the use of at least four colours can be identified, namely white, red, blue and yellow.

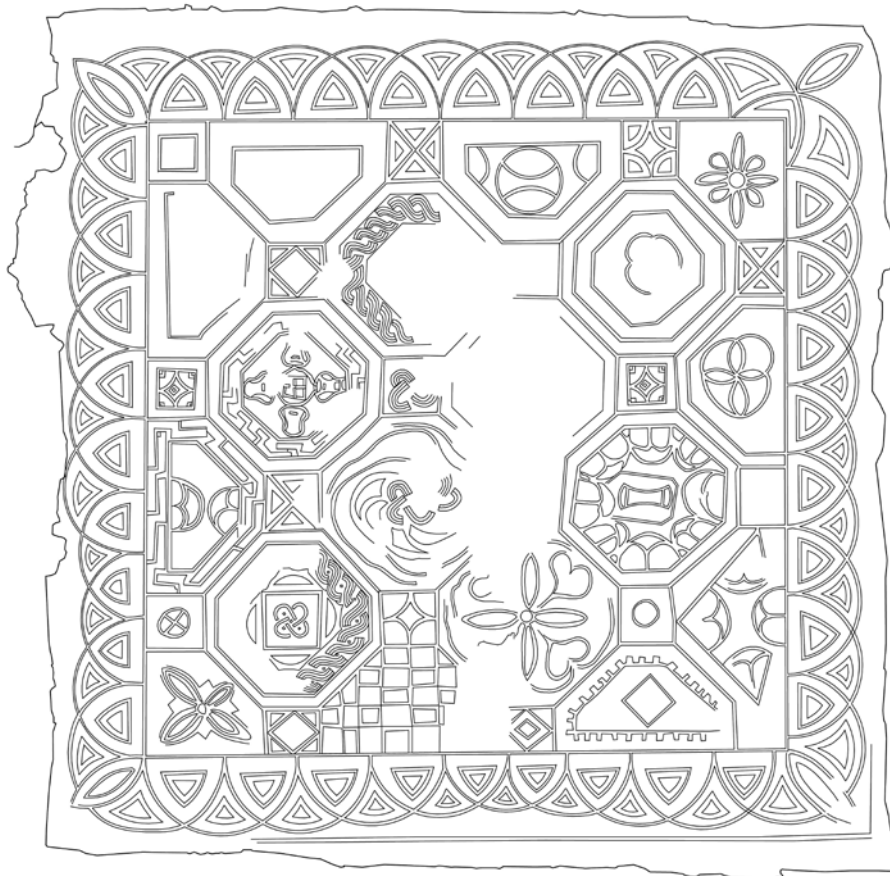


Figure 29
Mosaic 29 of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 30
Mosaic 32 of the House of the Medusa.

2.2.3. Room 32

The vestibule (Figs. 30-31 – Mosaic 32) of *cubiculum* 28 is decorated with an orthogonal pattern consisting of confronted pairs of tangent *peltae*, in alternately upright and recumbent position, executed in three colours (white, blue, grey). They have a dark blue outline and are filled in grey, on a white background. At the entrance, the decorative scheme executed on a white background contains crosses made with a single blue fillet interspersed with small rosettes, also in blue. The remainder of the panel has a denticulated border.

The fact that the *tessellatum* is interrupted on the right side suggests that the original room probably covered the entire area of the annex (31) of the apsed room (37), as the raised *opus signinum* pavement in this room must have been laid over the mosaic. Only future excavation work might confirm this theory. As such, before the architectural restructuring, which may have taken place in the 4th century, this room, which currently has a rectangular plan measuring 13 m² (4.90 m x 2.65 m) and opens onto the corridor of the *peristylum* (35), would have measured approximately twice its current area.

2.2.4. Room 55

In the opposite wing, it is difficult to discern the decorative scheme extant in room 55 (Figs. 32-33 – Mosaic 55) due to the extremely fragmented pavement. However, a composition consisting of circular and quadrangular shapes may be identified. The latter contain Solomon's knots and concave squares. The size of the *tesserae* is extremely homogenous, and four colours were employed, namely white, yellow, red and blue.



Figure 31
Detail of the mosaic 32 of the House of the Medusa.

Figure 32
Detail of the mosaic 55 of the
House of the Medusa.

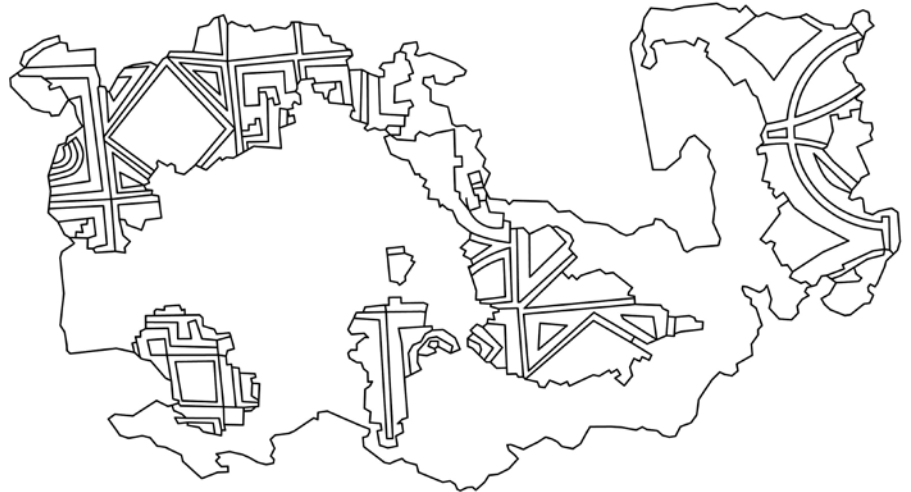


Figure 33
Detail of the mosaic 55 of the
House of the Medusa.



2.3. *Triclinium* (42)

The *tessellatum* that paved this enormous (52,87 m²: 6,60 m x 8,01 m) and monumental performance room (António 2014: 18-19) (Figs. 34-35 – Mosaic 42), includes ten mosaic panels, three in the accesses to the original entrances, four in the T-shaped composition and three in the U-shaped composition. Although the decorative scheme of the *triclinium* stands out mostly due to its striking figurative mosaic (42.7), which corresponds precisely to the vertical trunk of the T of the T+U layout, the horizontal bar of the T is also worthy of note (42.4) due to its intricate and interesting decorative scheme, as well as the meander in perspective.

Six colours (white, ochre, yellow, red, blue and grey) were used in the execution of the geometric panels. The use of several shades provided not only a richer polychromy but also an indisputable aesthetic value.

In terms of their chronology, the dining room panels generally point to a 3rd and 4th century date, which fits perfectly with the date suggested for the figurative scene, namely the first half of the 4th century.

2.3.1. *The Accesses*

Originally, the main entrance for accessing the *triclinium* was located in the middle of wing 45, although there were two narrower secondary doors, for the use of servants, located at the beginning of corridors 27 and 35, that is, at the opposite end of the entrances which were opened at a later date, as shown in Fig. 3.

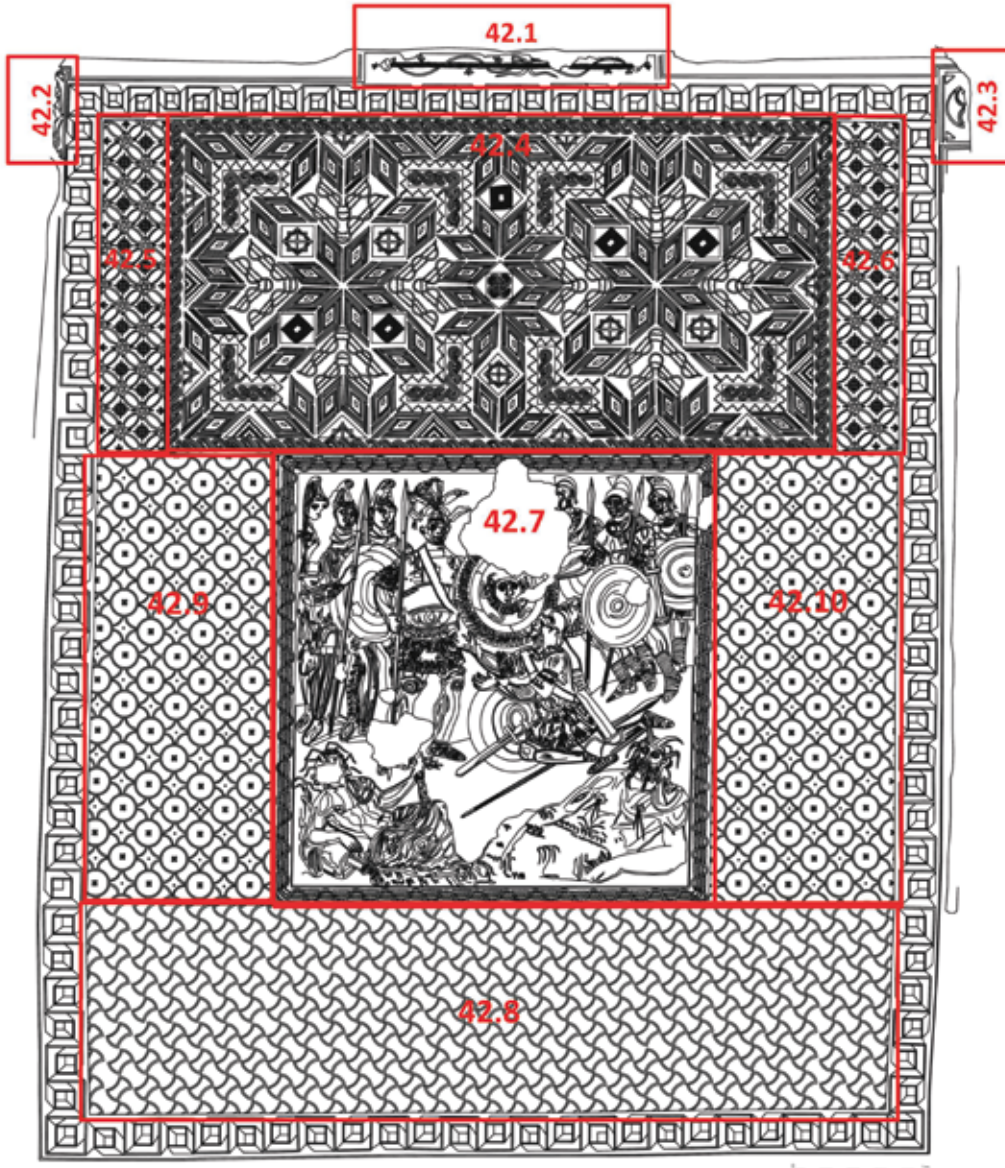


Figure 34
Mosaics of the *triclinium*
of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 35
Triclinium of the House
of the Medusa.



Figure 36
Mosaic 42.1 of the House
of the Medusa.

In order to access the dining room, guests would have crossed panel 42.1 (Fig. 36), which has a representation of the thunderbolt of Zeus, on a white background, contained in a rectangular panel with a double fillet border of blue *tesserae*. This attribute of the most important god of the Greek Pantheon, although centred with the *triclinium* door, is off-centre in relation to the mosaic which covers the entire surface of this room. The thunderbolt was executed with three fillets of *tesserae*, two blue and one grey, and at each end there is a flower made with blue *tesserae* at the base and ochre *tesserae* on the tip. A red strand departs from each tip, alternating with blue and red *chevrons* above and below the bolt. These strands come together at a bow placed off-centre, made with blue and red *tesserae*.

Once again, attention is drawn to parallels between Casa de Medusa and Torre de Palma, since the thunderbolt of Zeus was also identified on a doorsill that connects two rooms at this *villa* located in Vaiamonte (Lancha - André 2000: 225-230 pls. XLI-LXXX). However, while the latter is bichrome and poorly executed, the thunderbolt from Alter do Chão stands out due to its size, careful execution and polychromy (blue, red, grey, ochre). The threshold of the *triclinium* of the Casa dos Repuxos is similarly decorated, although with a plant motif. In this case, this motif was two garlands with laurel leaves, drawn in black and yellow on a white background, without a border (Oleiro 1992: 110-116 mosaic 10 est. 39).

Other panels were uncovered at the secondary entrances, which are also rectangular and have a double fillet border of blue *tesserae*, although they are smaller than the thunderbolt panel. On the panel on the left side (Fig. 37 – Mosaic 42.3) there is a centred blue pelta on a white background, flanked by *chevrons*, while on the opposite side (Fig. 38 – Mosaic 42.2), the mosaic is damaged, so that the



Figure 37
Mosaic 42.3 of the House
of the Medusa.



Figure 38
Mosaic 42.2 of the House
of the Medusa.

motif represented cannot be identified, although it is possible to discern that it would also have been blue on a white background. Beside the latter, the base-board remains around the base of the column that was part of the original door.

Since these panels were found in the interior of the *triclinium* and the original entrances of this room were closed up, it is not known how these mosaics would have been connected to those in each of the respective wings of the *peristylum*. It remains to be seen whether any pavements still lie underneath the walls that have closed up these doorways.

In terms of the entrances that were opened up later, the *triclinium* pavement was connected to the mosaics in the *peristylum* corridors by an *opus signinum* pavement, judging from the remains found in the entrance of wing 27.

2.3.2. *The meander*

The meander (Figs. 34, 37-40) which surrounds the central panels stands out due to its three-dimensionality and polychromy. The walls of this room are connected to the meander by a band of larger ochre *tesserae*, separated by two fillets of single *tessera*, one being light blue and the other white. This meander, delimited by a dark blue double fillet, consists of a denticulated pattern drawn in white and cuboids in perspective also outlined in white. This composition formed two motifs placed alternately, which were created with recourse to lozenges, triangles, trapeziums and squares, employing yellow, ochre, red and two shades of blue.

2.3.3. *T-shaped composition*

The T-shaped composition consists of four panels, three of these corresponding to the horizontal bar and one to the vertical trunk.

The main pavement in the entrance (Fig. 39 – Mosaic 42.4), which corresponds to the largest part of the horizontal bar of the T, has a rectangular plan and is laid out transversally along the shortest side of the room and in association with the original entrances of the *triclinium*. This mosaic contains a very rich and intricate geometric scheme which is surrounded by a simple guilloche border with a blue background. At the centre of this panel, there are two paired compositions consisting of six lozenges, forming a partial star shape. As these compositions



Figure 39
Detail of the mosaic 42.4 of the
House of the Medusa.

touch, this produces an oblique square, which contains another square with a Solomon's knot inside. Above and below these compositions there are truncated eight-pointed stars, touching at two vertices, thereby forming oblique squares, one containing concentric squares and the other an eight-pointed star, which results from two overlapping squares, with a cross at the centre.

At the centre of each of the side sections of this panel, there are eight-lozenged stars flanked by four parallelepiped shapes, containing the same motifs as described above. These are flanked by simple guilloche *chevrons* on a blue background as well as *chevrons* with a double wave band drawn in white, with two types of gradation. Tangent lozenges facing in several directions have been placed around these compositions, forming triangles that contain different motifs.

On either side of the above panel there are two panels of equal size (Fig. 39), characterized by an orthogonal scheme consisting of secant circles made with blue *tesserae*, producing quadrifoliate shapes and concave squares. Where the quadrifoliate shapes touch, circles containing a small white and red floral motif are formed, while the concave squares contain larger flowers, with white, pink, red and blue *tesserae*. The interior of the quadrifoliate shapes is filled alternately in yellow and blue, and contains two parallel fillets consisting of a single row of *tesserae*, placed transversely.

Similarly to Casa de Medusa, two bands of secant circles forming squares also flank the central panel in the horizontal part of the T-shaped composition from the *triclinium* of Casa dos Repuxos (Oleiro 1992: 110-116 mosaic 10 est. 39).

This type of motif can also be found in the mosaic of the Sages (Blázquez Martínez 2005: 731 fig. 7), from *Augusta Emerita*. As previously mentioned, these circles with spindles which form squares have also been uncovered in the room of Silenus (Oleiro 1992: 98-103 mosaic 8 est. 36), in Conimbriga.

Regarding the figurative panel (Figs. 34-35 – Mosaic 42.7), in the scope of the present paper, it is simply important to note that it is framed by a wave band pattern, defined by a fillet of white *tesserae*, with a gradated background, delimited externally by a fillet of blue *tesserae* and internally by a fillet of white *tesserae*.

2.3.4. U-shaped composition

The U-shaped composition consists of three panels, namely mosaics 42.8 to 42.10, characterized, in general, by a simpler and poorer decorative scheme in terms of its polychromy.

The panel which corresponds to the bottom of the U (Fig. 40 – Mosaic 42.8), which is laid out transversally and covers the back end of this room, is decorated with astragalus motifs drawn in white, with an ochre filling. Where these motifs come into contact, larger astragali are formed, which face the opposite direction (crosswise) and are filled with blue *tesserae*.

Flanking the figurative mosaic, the two panels which correspond to the vertical edges of the U (42.9 and Fig. 40 – Mosaic 42.10), are similar in size and their decoration is identical, characterized by an orthogonal scheme consisting of circles and concave squares outlined in white with a blue filling. Where these shapes touch, astragalus motifs are formed, which have an ochre filling and face different directions. It is also worth noting that at the centre of the circles there are crosses consisting of five white *tesserae* and there is a single white *tessera* at the centre of each square. These pavements are separated from the remaining mosaics by a fillet consisting of a single blue *tessera* and from the frame around the entire central mosaic by a fillet consisting of two blue *tesserae*.



Figure 40
Detail of the mosaics 42.8
and 42.10 of the House
of the Medusa.



Figure 41
Detail of the mosaic 12
of the House of the Medusa.

2.4. Baths

The only room (Figs. 41-42 – Mosaic 12) with a mosaic pavement in the bath complex is rather degraded. However, the photograph taken during excavations conducted by Bairrão Oleiro in 1956 (Oleiro 1956: 283-284) (Fig. 43) allows us to make a partial reconstruction of the original geometric motifs.

The frame of the mosaic in this enormous rectangular room, which would eventually have had a *labrum* at the centre (Reis 2014: 22), contains polychrome *chevrons*. One stretch of this mosaic which is laid out along the shortest side of the room breaks up the panel on the longer side of the room. This mosaic has a rich polychromy as five colours are used (white, red, yellow, blue and green). White is the prevailing colour, with marble, limestone and, probably, sandstone *tesserae*.

This frame contained a composition comprising asymmetrical squares decorated with a multi-strand guilloche, of which very little has survived ever since it was discovered.

The multi-strand guilloche can also be found in pavements 27.2 and 34, in the residential area of Casa de Medusa.



Figure 42
Detail of the mosaic 12
of the House of the Medusa.



Figure 43
Detail of the mosaic 12
of the House of the Medusa
(Oleiro 1956: 283-284).

3. Quinta do Pião

3.1. Apse

Four fragments of what remains of the pavement of this enormous room, with an inner area of circa 45m², were found inside an apse which is projected to the Southeast, around which six Late Roman tombs have already been excavated.

One of the fragments (Fig. 44 – Mosaic 1) has geometric motifs set on a white background. The upper part of this mosaic contains a square with a saltire cross, formed by blue squares filled with red squares. The free interstitial spaces are filled with a half guilloche cross in symmetrically opposing colours. This fragment was executed in different shades of red, white, blue and yellow. On the lower part, there is a square which contains a circle with inscribed semicircles, each of these with a spindle filled in blue.

Figure 44
Detail of the mosaic 1
of the *Villa* of Pião.



Figure 45
Detail of the mosaic 2
of the *Villa* of Pião.

On a second fragment (Fig. 45 – Mosaic 2), with a white background, there are two circles which contain a quadrifoliate executed in shades of blue, red, pink and probably white, with four crossing volutes placed between each of the four leaves.

The third fragment of *tesselatum* (Fig. 46 – Mosaic 3) contains geometric motifs executed in blue, red and yellow on a white background. These are outlined by a band consisting of three white *tesserae*, and then a fillet made of two blue *tesserae* and then another band with white *tesserae*.

Lastly, given the poor state of preservation of the fourth fragment of the mosaic (Fig. 47 – Mosaic 4), the exact motifs displayed cannot be identified, although this surely included lozenges and trapeziums, with yellow, blue and white and red, blue and white chords.



Figure 46
Detail of the mosaic 3
of the *Villa* of Pião.



Figure 47
Detail of the mosaic 4
of the *Villa* of Pião.

3.2. Baths

Three patches of the pavement have survived in one of the heated rooms of the baths, which contain floral scrolls made with a single fillet of red *tesserae* with an ivy stem, on a white background, which are also separated by a single fillet of blue *tesserae* and flanked by a double blue fillet followed by a white band. On the right side, there was probably a composition consisting of squares, filled with different geometric motifs, executed in shades of yellow, blue, red and white (Fig. 48).

The remaining fragments, which are small in size and in a poor state of preservation, are decorated with a concentric lozenge with a single blue fillet on a white

Figure 48
Detail of the mosaic 5
of the *Villa* of Pião.



background, which contains an undefined red motif as well as an undefined motif with a single blue and yellow fillet, on a white background.

4. Conclusion

The decorative project of the geometric mosaics from Casa de Medusa and Quinta do Pião is generally characterised by rich polychromy, materials and decorative schemes.

The Baroque overdoing extant in some of the pavements of Casa da Medusa is typical of the Late Imperial period, dated to the 3rd-4th century, a chronology that is coherent with the figurative pavement from the *triclinium*, in which Alexandre the Great is represented, as well as the most emblematic scene from the Battle of Hydaspes. These decorative schemes find parallel in several *villae* and *domus* of *Lusitania*, the province addressed in this paper.

The present study still warrants further detailed research, which will be conducted as soon as the mosaics will have undergone treatment. The latter is essential so that the decorative schemes, the polychromy employed and the materials used as *tesserae* may be examined in greater detail. Future studies will therefore seek to broaden the geographic scope with a view to establishing parallels with other mosaics from different parts of the Empire, as well as understanding the influences that underlie the decorative projects defined by the *dominus*.

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Figurative Elements in Mosaics and Roman Painting at Algarve (Portugal)

Algarve'daki (Portekiz) Mozaikler ve Roma Resimleri Üzerindeki Figüratif Unsurlar

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Abstract

The figurative mosaics with marine fauna at Algarve region, in the south of Portugal, are various and well known, particularly from Roman villa of Milreu. But connected to the sea there are also human representations in the mosaics of the region which, such as the marine themes, are characterized by a strong stylistic link to the Roman art of the North Africa. Recently both figurative themes, animal or human, also arise in parietal painting of the Algarve, specifically in a maritime villa specialized in fish-salting with strong North African links well attested by pottery import profile. This paper aims to explore affinities with both types of artistic representations in the region south of the former province of Lusitania, as well as to see North African links.

Keywords: *Figurative mosaics, marine fauna, mural painting, human motifs.*

Öz

Portekiz'in güneyindeki Algarve Bölgesi'nde deniz canlılarının betimlendiği figüratif mozaikler büyük çeşitlilikte olup, özellikle Milreu'deki Roma villası'ndan tanınmaktadır. Fakat denizle bağlantılı olarak, deniz temalarının işlendiği bölge mozaiklerinde insan tasvirleri de görülmektedir. Bu durum, Kuzey Afrika'nın Roma sanatı ile güçlü bir üslup bağlantısı olduğunu gösterir. Son zamanlarda, Algarve'nin paryetal resimlerinde yer alan hem hayvan hem de insan tasvirlerinin oluşturduğu figürlü konular, özellikle deniz kıyısında bulunan ve kurutulmuş balık ticareti yapan villanın Kuzey Afrika ile güçlü bir bağlantısının olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada, Kuzey Afrika bağlantılarının yanı sıra, eski Lusitania Eyaleti'nin güneyi ile olan bağlantılarının da araştırılması amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Figürlü mozaikler, deniz faunası, duvar resmi, insan betimleri.*

1. The Algarve region and the figurative mosaics

In the Portuguese region of the Algarve, which corresponded to the South of the former province of Lusitania, there are more than 40 sites with Roman mosaics, although most is only known by small fragments or tesserae. Indeed, only about twenty sites have mosaics or fragments with conserved motifs. Most of these floors show geometric or vegetal motifs and only six are elements figured (Fig. 1). These are related to the sea, especially with marine animals. The villa of Milreu is the only place where there are multiple murals panels with these themes. On the others sites the mosaics are floors. The realistic representation and variety of marine fauna allows identifying several local species. All the figured mosaics are late, dating from the end of the second century AD or the beginning of the third AD, when the region of the Algarve had a big economic development associated with fishing and export

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Figure 1
Roman sites at Algarve
(South of Portugal) with figurative art
(referenced in the text).

of fish-salting. In fact, along the coast of the region we can identify some thirty sites directly related to the exploitation of marine resources (Fig. 2). But some of the villas nearby the coast could keep also some establishments linked to the fishing and fish-salting process. It is possible that this has been the case of Milreu and other roman villas, located less than a dozen kilometres from the coast, which complemented the farming income with very lucrative activities connected to the production and export of the fish-salting. These villas, although they were not directly on the coast, would be linked to some seasonal coastal

Figure 2
Roman sites at Algarve
(South of Portugal) with fish-salting units (*cetariae*).

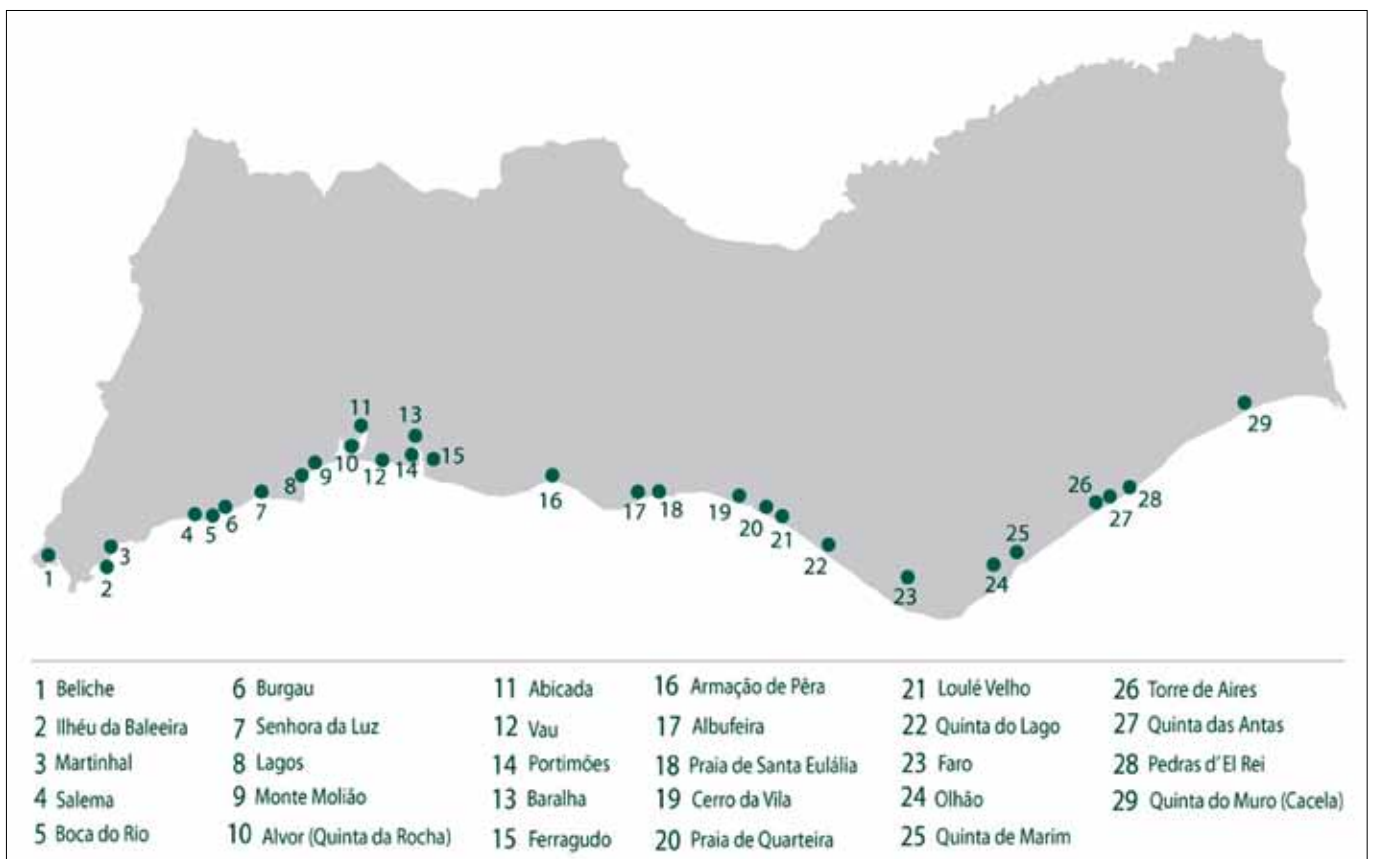




Figure 3
Swordfish in a mosaic of
Montinho das Laranjeiras.



Figure 4
Fish swimming fast in
a mosaic of Pedras d'El Rei.



Figure 5
Fish and octopus in a mosaic
of Torre de Aires
(Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

establishments which are archaeologically marked by *cetariae* (vats), but without being integrated into housing complexes unlike *officinae cetariorum* of the maritime villas. In this territory in the South of the province of Lusitania, where fertile land is scarce but where the sea is exceptionally abundant in fish, the rich elites owners of the inland villas, certainly wanted to participate and invest in the *negotium* of the fish. The importance of marine resources for the local economy, seems to relate to the fact that the only figured motifs of the region are linked to the sea. Though with very different techniques qualities, all the mosaics have struggled for representing marine fauna and realistic live scenes. It's not so much the fish *per se* that represents, but more the diversified and living environment of the ocean, i.e. the nature as a source of resources and prosperity.

2. The marine fauna and human figures in the mosaics

There are several stylistic and technical features used to figure these living marine environments. In the case of the villa of the Montinho das Laranjeiras, located on the right bank of the Guadiana river, that allowed the oceanic navigation to deep inside the territory, we can see a swordfish on the move. To create the sensation of movement it was drawn the head and part of the body of the fish above the line that symbolizes the surface of the water. To create the sensation of moving water, tried to represent it in perspective, putting over the fish some blue lines representing the flow of the river (Fig. 3). This mosaic dates from the 5th century or the 6th century AD, one of the later the region, revealing low technical expertise. However, the concern of the artists to create the sensation of movement is clear and common to the mosaics of other sites. Such is the case of the mosaic of Pedras d'El Rei, a maritime villa associated with a complex of fish preparations (Santos 1972: 307-317; Viegas – Dinis 2010). Here is given a feeling of quick fish movement through its diagonal position in the middle of an octagon, as if the fish dive, and, above all, by a succession of rows under the belly. These lines are wavy, overlapping and sometimes start in the fins creating that feeling of fast moving (Fig. 4).

The figurative elements on the diagonal position or the existence of wavy lines to create the sensation of movement are also present in Torre d' Aires and Cerro da Vila mosaics (Figs. 5-6). In Torre de Aires, the ancient city of Balsa, the tentacles of an Octopus move freely in front of a fish; in Cerro da Vila a cuttlefish with well-designed tentacles moves in the opposite direction to that of three fish and some molluscs. In the mosaic of the Cerro da Vila we can see also a Trident on the head of a fish, a dolphin, implying that the mosaicist wants to represent not only the living nature *tout court*, but its exploitation while economic resource. Here there wasn't need represent the water since it was present. Indeed, this panel of marine fauna occupied a bottom of a tank, probably a fountain or a nymphaeum (Teichner 2008: 343-344), and it was intended to be seen across the water. Such as the mosaic of Torre d' Aires, it is a monochrome Panel. Janine Lancha based on stylistic criteria in presence, which deviate from the Italian tradition, gives it a dating of the 4th century AD (Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 460).

But it is in Villa of Milreu that realism and also the artistic quality, linked to the North African *officinae*, recurrently reaches its highest point at the region. Milreu is one of the most emblematic Roman sites of southern Lusitania, located about 4 miles from the sea although, as we have seen, has likely maritime interests. The figurative motifs of the mosaics from the villa are all of maritime scenes, and the fish are the decorative elements that dominate the semi-public spaces of the villa, such as the peristyle, the baths or on the podium decoration



Figure 6
Marine fauna from the bottom of
a tank on the site of Cerro da Vila
(Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

of the temple. These mosaics can be dated to the 4th century AD, revealing a great technical quality and a huge realism (Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 224-420). This realism allows in a lot of cases clearly identify the species of fish that are represented there, which correspond to a part of the marine fauna of the region. However, the most common and poorest fish, like mackerel or sardines, are not represented. The ichthyological analyses to the remains of fish found in the archaeological record show that either the sardine or mackerel were abundantly fished and constituted most of the exported fish products. But, as today, these small fish were very common and low-price quote, serving for making common products or, according to Columella, food for the most valued species created in *vivaria* (*R.R.* VIII, 17, 11-15). Maybe that's why they have been deprecated by richer and finer fish, with greater economic value, and that fit much better in the language of ostentatious of the Roman villas and their elites. As a space of representation of the power and wealth of the owner that the late Roman villa aims to be, what is represented are mostly marine species known at the tables of the elites who visited the villa, or with a great commercial value.

The different species are always presented in a setting full of life and movement. Each mosaic panel is carefully chosen depending on the compartment where intended to be placed. Also the distribution of fauna in each panel is placed taking into account the position of the spectator. In a panel located on the northeast corner of the peristyle, one of the most notable mosaics at the site, a huge wealth of marine fauna is designed, swimming in multiple directions and with the bellies oriented down or up (Fig. 7). The panel is located in the peristyle at the door of access to one of the richest dependencies throughout the villa. It was, therefore, a central point in the communicational strategy and social representation of the entire residence, in order to be seen by guests to whom it was directed this manifestation of wealth. The goal of such variety was the marine scenery could be seen and also understood by everyone independently of the position of the viewer: for those who circulated in the peristyle, who entered in the reception room or who came out of this room to the peristyle. In this mosaic the arrangement of its elements is distributed according to the architectural context. It is a clear example of how the study of this kind of floors cannot be made without taking into account the architectural space where they belong and for which they were designed.

The huge variety of marine species is not just to fish. Molluscs, clams, stars and sea urchins alternate with fish of various species and sizes. The marine species



Figure 7
Panel of the villa of Milreu representing the marine life that can be seen from various perspectives.

Figure 8 a-b
Details of the previous panel of the villa de Milreu. The realism and variety of marine species are characteristic of mosaics of the Algarve (Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

are designed with great technical quality and realism allowing to recognize easily dolphins, anchovies, gilthead seabream etc. which swim among sea urchins, bivalves, squids and other marine elements (Figs. 8a-b). The dolphin is represented in stylized form although with great technical mastery, such as one of the squids that Janine Lancha ranked as the star of the mosaic (Campos Carrasco et al. 2008: 97). The African influence of the best schools of the Tunisia is well evident. Throughout the painting the water where the fish swim is represented by small lines. The species represented are characteristics of the marine fauna of the region with great economic value. It should be noted, for example, that in the Diocletian edict maximum of Prices (*Edictum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium*), dating from the year AD 301, a hundred oysters cost 100 denarii, and the price for only one good quality marine fish was fixed at 24, while several mackerels or sardines only cost 16 denarii.

These realistic representations in scenarios that contain more idealized representations are also well present on the podium of the temple. Here is repeated the mastery of previous panel with dolphins, seabass, common seabream and





Figure 9
Detail of a panel from the podium of the Temple of Milreu. A common seabream and a sea bass are represented (Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

other species realistically figured among sea urchins and shellfish (Fig. 9). This realism goes so far as to seek respect the colors of the fish, as happens for example with common seabream pictured with salmon-colored pieces (tesserae) that identify clearly the color of this fish. In one of the walls of the podium of the temple is still possible to see a female foot, maybe a nereid; in another wall is represented a boat as that demonstrating that such marine wealth was exploited (Figs. 10a-b); marine centaurs are also present, alluding to the unknown sea where mythological figures live. The different plans aimed at so represent the sea in its different dimensions where the real and the imaginary (or unknown) are present.

These maritime representation scenarios appear also in a pool (*frigidarium*) of the baths. Not having the technical quality of the previous panels, the effort to realism is evident, and the common seabream are also represented with salmon-colored tesserae (Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

In Milreu figurative human motifs are only known in the female foot and on semi human figures of tritons or marine centaurs. But the mosaics in the Algarve have the most beautiful human representations in the mosaic of the Ocean. This is a panel belonging to the ancient city of Ossonoba (Faro) and decorated a floor of a *schola navicularii*, or any *collegium* of people connected to the sea. According to the inscription that has on the side where the door of the room was located, it was paid by 4 elements of that Association (Mantas 1990). For J. Lancha, which dates the mosaic from the late 2nd century or early 3rd century A.D., the 4 donors identified would be probably the magistrates of the city (Lancha 1985; Lancha – Oliveira 2013: 222-223). The large panel has an *emblema* with the head of the ocean and the 4 winds, what approach it of several examples of Tunisia with the same theme (Fig. 11). With great realism and chromatic variety,

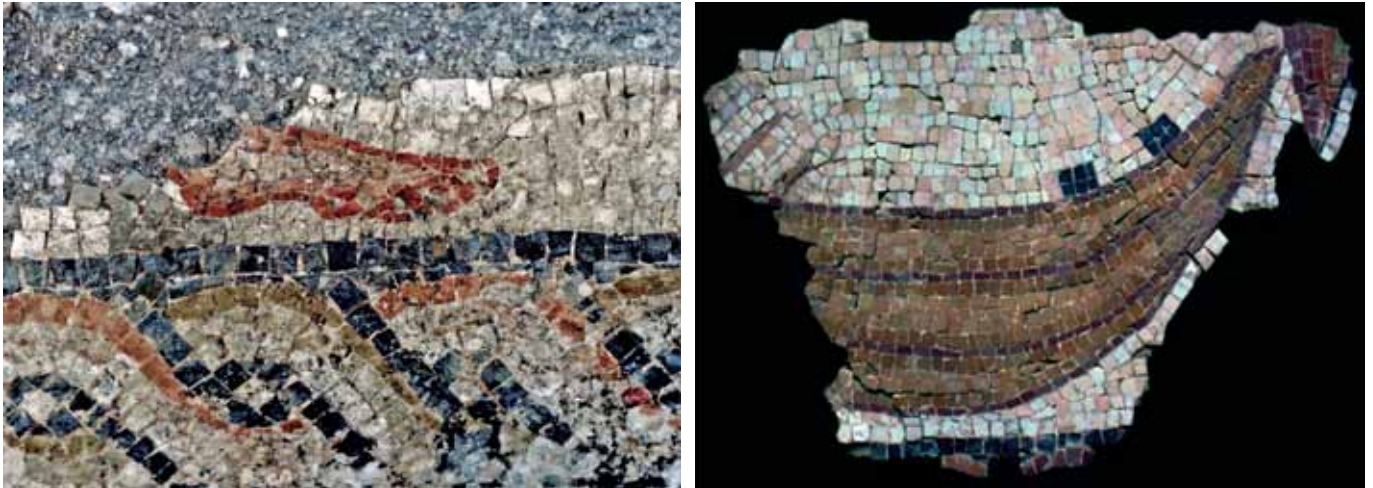


Figure 10 a-b
A female foot and a boat from the podium of the Temple of Milreu.



Figure 11
The *emblem* of the Ocean Mosaic from Faro (Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

achieved through glass tesserae, the mosaic of Faro is the only one with representations of human faces in the Algarve region. The large central figure of the Ocean was surrounded at the corners by the 4 winds of which survive only two winds at the top of the figure. The wind from the left side of the head represents Zephyrus, the West wind (Fig. 12a). The representation of Zephyrus at the left side of the panel is not random because if we take into account the North South orientation of the panel in situ, we note that the Zephyrus head was located on the side where this wind was blowing (the West). The other wind represented is Boreas, the North wind, Zephyr's brother, located on the northeast corner of the



central *emblema* of the Ocean's head (Fig. 12b). On the South side of the panel should be Notus, the South wind, and Eurus, the East wind. Once again, this panel has a strong maritime connotation, although not related to the marine life but with navigation and commercial activities that characterized the port town of Ossonoba (Bernardes 2014).

Figure 12a-b
Zephyrus, the west wind, and
Boreas, the North Wind, of the
Ocean mosaic from Faro
(Lancha – Oliveira 2013).

3. Human and animal representations in mural painting

The human figure is also portrayed by mural painting, specifically on the site of Boca do Rio. The parietal painting, less known in the region than the mosaics, though it is as often as they are, have to be seen as part of the same decorative grammar where was the mosaic floors. Boca do Rio was a maritime villa dedicated almost exclusively to exploration of fish-salting preparations between the 1st and 5th century AD. Like other maritime villas of the region, such as that of Abicada, had a rich seafront accommodation while the *officinae cetariorum* were organized in their backyard. This model of villa, who favored a visual relationship with the ocean, reminds the maritime-villa that Pliny the younger had in *Laurens*, near Rome. According to the description that makes in a letter to Gallo (*Epist.* II, 17), was a single-storey villa, with a long narrow plan featuring a large balcony that was contemplating the sea.

Although there are several mosaic pavements of this villa (Santos 1971: 78-106) they are with geometric or vegetal motifs. But these mosaics were closely articulated with a parietal art which was frequently renewed. This is what occurs in one of the rooms of the villa with stucco painted on the walls that are renewed at least six times between the end of the 2nd century or early 3rd century AD and the first half of the 5th century AD (Bernardes – Medeiros 2016). Throughout this period of more than 200 years the mosaic with geometric motifs remained the same, even if it has been much rebuilt (Fig. 13). The geometric motifs of the mosaic allowed and facilitated, over time, the decorative coherence between the floor and the different pictorial programs of the walls. This constant renewal of the decorative walls of this room was not only to keep in good condition this area connecting the baths to the hall of the residential part of the villa. It was also a

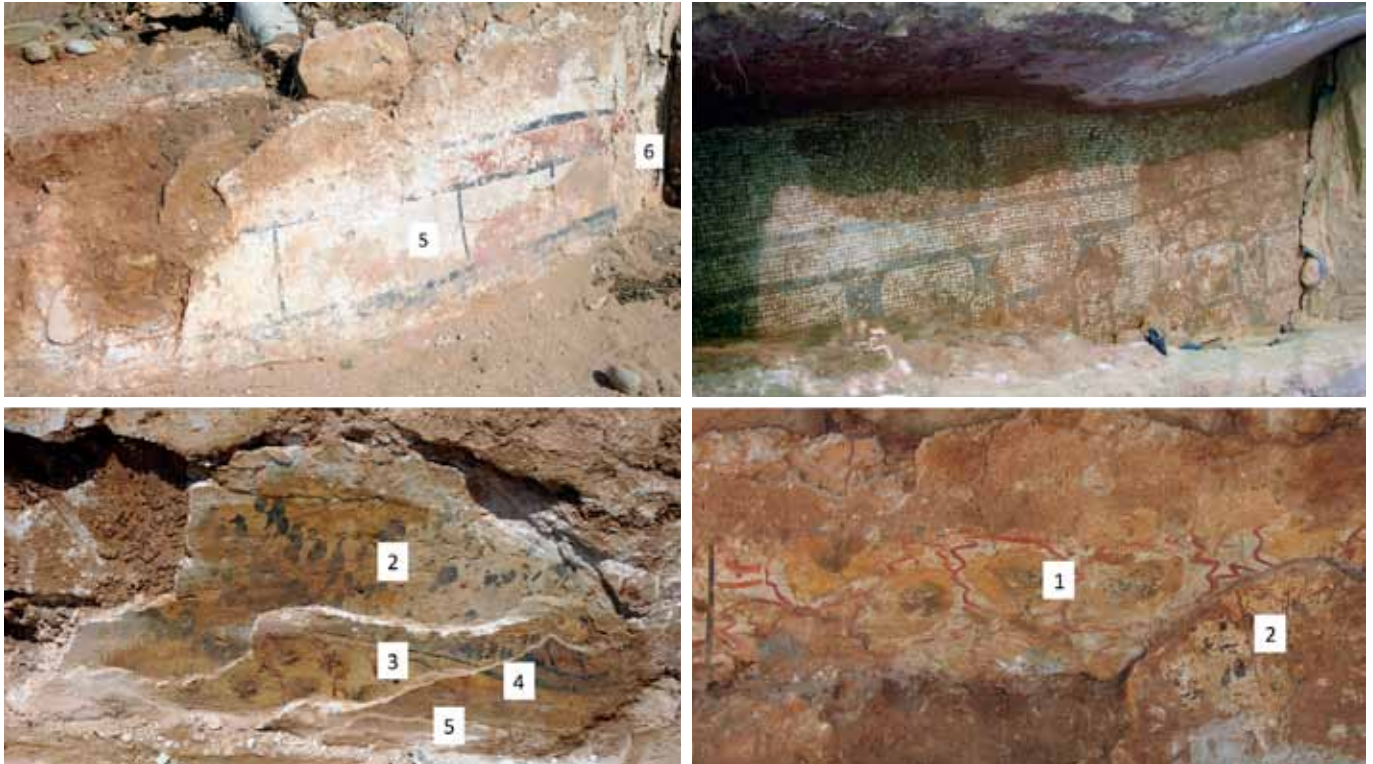
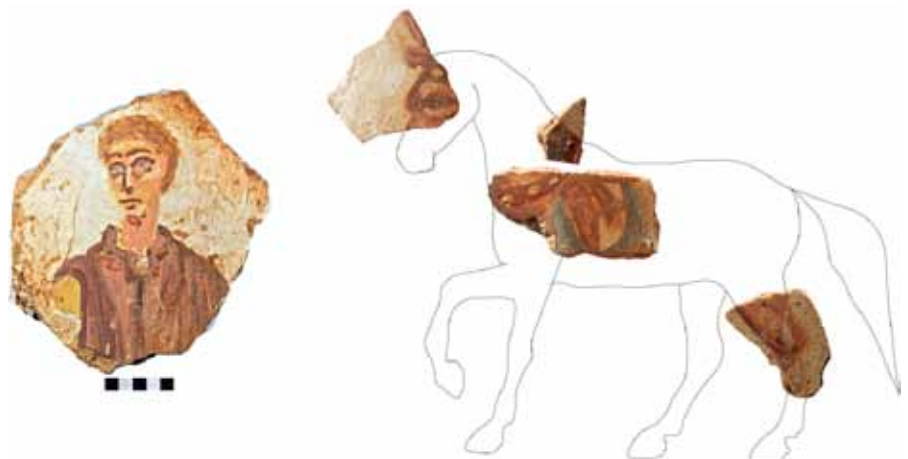


Figure 13
The six overlapping layers of stucco painted in a compartment of Boca do Rio (1- end of the 2nd century/ beginning of the 3rd century AD; 6 - First half of the 5th century AD). The mosaic of this compartment has remained the same for over 200 years.

way to renew and update the different decorative preferences of the *domini*, according to the image that they intended to pass through art in a semi-public area of the house.

At the end of the 4th century AD the walls get figurative themes with human figures and horses. We don't know what scene was pictured here but the theme is inserted in the common trend from the 4th century AD, with scenes from the daily life of the great owners, often portrayed in banquets or hunting scenes. These scenes are very frequent in North African mosaics and they have one of the greatest expressions in Sicilian villa of Piazza Armerina (Pensabene 2014). This theme in the Sicilian mosaic becomes common in late Roman House, from North African influences, mainly from the 4th century AD, extending these influences to the mural painting. In the case of Boca do Rio the fragments retrieved just allow us to distinguish the bust of a servant and the representation of a horse with rich harness (Fig. 14a - 14b). These elements and other fragments of human

Figure 14 a-b
Human figure and a horse of a mural Painting of Boca do Rio (end of the 4th century AD).



figures, refer to the possibility that we're faced the horse of someone of high social status, perhaps the *dominus*, recalling the hunting scenes of the mosaics of Piazza Armerina but also similar scenes in mosaics from Africa or Hispania (Blázquez 1994; Dunbabin 1999: 139-143).

4. Conclusion

We can see that the figurative mosaics of the Algarve have all a strong maritime connotation, which relates directly to the economy of the region. These decorative motifs are realistic, looking through the representation of a wide variety of elements and colors, depict marine life which supported much of the wealth of the region. And if this reality is common to villas, in Ossonoba, the main market town and port of the region, we continue to see in the figurative mosaics the presence of the sea. However, this time it's not the wealth of the sea and the marine fauna that represents, but before the Ocean god and the winds in a clear allusion to the mercantile and shipping activity. It is evident on these figurative mosaics a strong influence of North African artists, what is according with the archaeological reality. In fact, especially from the end of the second century AD, the presence of ceramics and containers of amphorae of the current region of Tunisia is very significant and may represent about 1/3 of the total of the amphorae in Algarve region (Viegas 2011: 561-567). This influence is still present in the painting of the maritime villa of Boca do Rio, where the Roman African ceramics, including the amphorae, are very frequent. In the murals fragments of the site are present human and equine motifs. Despite these fragments do not permit to reconstitute a scene, could correspond to the type of scenes, so frequent from the 4th century AD in the villas, that represent and promote the activity and status of the owner. In the whole region of southern Portugal there is thus a great North African influence either on mosaics or in painting art. This relationship is already well known for ceramics, and results from the frequent maritime voyages between the East and the West, which facilitated the spread of the North Africans models in the Algarve region. These models arrived to the region appear to have been adapted in order to portray the local reality or to serve the likes of local owners.

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Geometric Mosaics from the Courtyard of the Great Bath at Antiochia ad Cragum in Western Rough Cilicia

Batı Dağlık Kilikya Bölgesi Antiochia ad Cragum Kenti Büyük Hamam Yapısı Havuzlu Avlu Mekanı'nın Geometrik Mozaikleri

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Abstract

The original floors of the courtyard and room with apse (frigidarium?), recently uncovered at the Great Bath Complex in Antiochia ad Cragum, one of the better preserved structures of the ancient city located along the Mediterranean coast of western Rough Cilicia, are covered with mosaics. Only a few fragments of the room with apse mosaic have been preserved, but the courtyard mosaic has remained largely intact. These mosaics, consisting of panels and borders, contain a wide variety of geometric motifs. The geometrical patterns seen here have been encountered in Roman mosaics throughout the entire Mediterranean basin from the Middle East to the Iberian Peninsula. However, in terms of motif and technique, the closest similar examples of this third century AD mosaic of the courtyard can be found in Anatolia, including in particular the region of Cilicia.

Keywords: Rough Cilicia, Antiochia ad Cragum, bath, mosaic, geometric.

Öz

Batı Dağlık Kilikya bölgesinin kıyı kenti Antiochia ad Cragum'un en sağlam yapılarından biri olan Büyük Hamam kompleksinin şu ana kadar açılan havuzlu avlu ve apsisli mekan (frigidarium?) bölümlerinin zeminleri mozaik döşemeyle kaplıdır. Apsisli mekan mozaiklerinin çok azı korunabilmiştir, havuzlu avlu mozaikleri ise büyük ölçüde sağlam kalabilmiştir. Panolar ve bordürlerden oluşan bu mozaikler çok çeşitli geometrik repertuara sahiptir. Burada görülen geometrik örüntülerle, Ortadoğu'dan İber Yarımadası'na kadar tüm Akdeniz havzası içindeki Roma dönemi mozaiklerinde karşılaşılır. Bununla birlikte, İS 3. yüzyıla tarihli havuzlu avlu mozaiklerinin hem motif, hem teknik açıdan en yakın benzerlerine başta Kilikya bölgesi olmak üzere Anadolu'da rastlamak mümkündür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dağlık Kilikya, Antiochia ad Cragum, hamam, mozaik, geometrik.

Introduction

Antiochia ad Cragum is located on Turkey's southern shoreline, in the western mountainous parts of Cilicia, also known in Antiquity as Rough Cilicia (Fig. 1). In the late Hellenistic period, it is known to have been the most important haven of pirates until a Roman fleet lead by Pompey the Great defeated them at Korakesion in 67 BC (Hoff et al. 2014a: 66-67). Antiochos IV of Commagene, who reigned in the region from 38 to 42 AD as a client king to the Roman Empire, founded an eponymously-named city here. Later this city became part of the Roman Province of

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Figure 1
Rough Cilicia and
Antiochia ad Cragum.

Cilicia. It is situated on terraces on steep slopes overlooking the Mediterranean Sea (Hoff-Can 2013: 49-50; Can-Hoff 2014: 374-375; Hoff et al. 2015a: 203).

As in many other Roman Cilician cities, numerous mosaics have been found in Antiochia ad Cragum. Its Great Bath complex has attracted attention with an array of geometrical mosaics decorating its floors since its excavation that began in 2012 (Hoff et al. 2014b: 10-12) (Fig. 2). The Great Bath complex is located in the city centre on a wide terrace approximately 336 meters above sea level, amongst other public buildings such as the Colonnaded Street and the Bouleuterion. Of all the buildings in the city, the Great Bath has survived the most intact and the floors of the “Courtyard” and the “Room with Apse (Frigidarium?)” are covered with mosaics. Despite the partial damage, the geometrical designs can be clearly recognised. As yet, other areas of the Bath, including the tepidarium and caldarium, spanning approximately 1500 m² have not been excavated.

The rectangle courtyard, measuring 24.50x14.50 m, is located on the east side of the Bath complex (Hoff et al. 2013a: 158-161; Hoff et al. 2013b: 470-471; Can – Hoff 2014: 379; Hoff et al. 2014a: 71; Hoff et al. 2015a: 212-217) (Fig. 3). Two niches, intended for statues, at a height of 2.20 m on its relatively intact western wall, have been partially preserved. A statue of Asklepios, dedicated by the sons of Sourbios, is mentioned on an inscription found in-situ under one of these niches. There are eight doors that lead to the courtyard from the outside, as well as from the other rooms of the Bath. The swimming pool (natatio) with apsidal ends situated in the centre of the courtyard is 11.53 m long, 4.82 m wide and 1.03 m deep. The inside is surrounded by a single step, while access to the pool is provided by massive single stepping stone blocks on either end. The pool is lined with marble blocks and the floor is paved with limestone pavers and some spolia. It is sloped slightly towards the north. The filling and emptying of the pool was done via lead pipes. Fourteen square-shaped stone bases supported columns carrying the ceiling of the courtyard. Evidence suggests that the wooden columns that rested on these bases were supporting an inclined roof. Excavations inside the pool uncovered numerous terracotta roof tiles. Although the roof covered the four sides of the room, there was an opening in the ceiling above the pool.

Figure 2
Antiochia ad Cragum,
Greath Bath Complex
(right page, top).

Figure 3
Great Bath, courtyard
(right page, bottom).





Figure 4
The layers of the courtyard mosaics.

The entirety of the floor in the courtyard, apart from the pool, was decorated with mosaics. Three drains in the flooring connect to the waste water channel system grid running underneath the floor. The channel also connects with the other parts of the Bath before the waste water is discharged from the building. These channels are covered with big flat stone slabs (Can – Hoff 2014: 380-381; Can et al. 2015: 2-3; Hoff et al. 2015b: 583; Can et al. 2016: 80).

The mosaics covering the courtyard floor have obviously been placed on a robust foundation (Fig. 4). The lowermost, a thick and solid mortar layer, is followed by the statumen, consisting of rough stones of various sizes, placed in an upright position and above the statumen is a rudus layer 6 to 8 cm thick with a relatively coarse mortar. On this sturdy rudus layer it is possible to see the incised lines for the layout of the mosaic panels. Covering these is a nucleus layer with a thickness of approximately 6 cm that consists of a finer mortar composition. On the very top a fine setting-bed fixes the tessellatum. The colours of the tesserae used in the courtyard mosaics are various tones of grey, white, pink, yellow, red and brown. The sizes of the tesserae slightly vary inside and outside the panels and are cut in different shapes according to the design of the mosaic. The dimensions of unevenly cut tesserae range from 1.5 cm³ to 3 cm³ and similarly the average number of tesserae per square-meter also changes, albeit slightly. Counts conducted at several areas in the room showed an average of 20 to 25 tesserae per 10 cm². Therefore, on average one tessera measures approximately 2 cm³. The tesserae of the mosaics on the floors of the north-eastern and north-western small entrances are slightly larger. In these zones, about 15 tesserae of about 2.5 cm³ are counted per 10 cm².

Since the building was used for other purposes after the Bath fell into disuse, the mosaics have been partially damaged. By digging until the bedrock was reached, a glass furnace with a diameter of 3,00 m and a depth of 0.70 m was built at about the middle of the southern wall of the courtyard in Late Antiquity (Can-Hoff 2014: 381; Can et al. 2015: 3; Hoff et al. 2015b: 584). The construction of this furnace damaged the wall as well as the mosaics. Traces of fire observed on the mosaics in this section of the room are a consequence of glass production. Additionally, in Late Antiquity a kiln for amphora production was installed in the southeast corner of the room with apse. Mosaics in the area where this

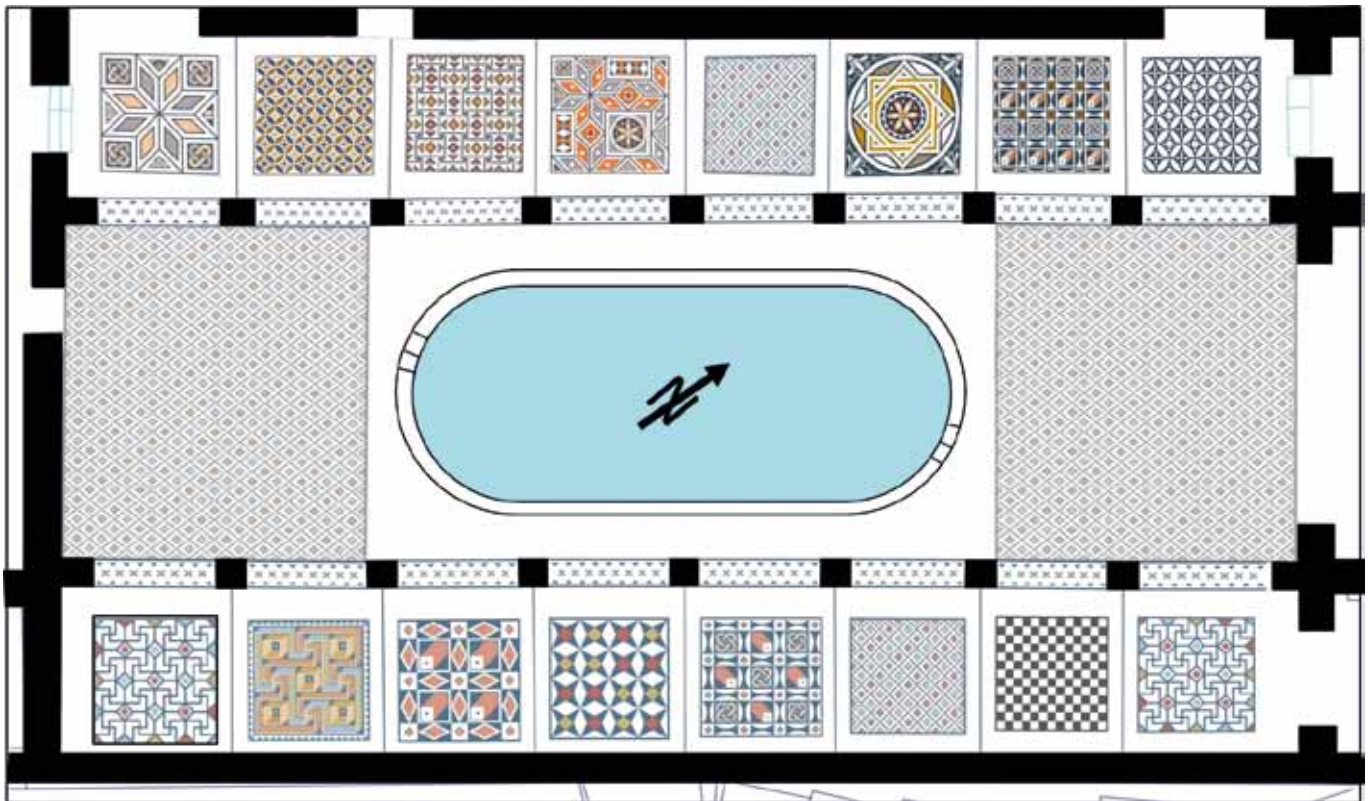


Figure 5
The principal layout of the courtyard mosaics.

circular kiln was discovered show extensive damage and sections which have survived show indications of fire damage. Another cause of damage to the mosaics is vegetation. In time roots caused ripples and swelling and created cavities under the mosaics and even reached the rudus layer in some places.

For now mosaic conservators have carried out provisional restorations. By filling the lacunae with mortar consisting of brick dust, fine sand and lime paste, the tesserae were prevented from deteriorating. Roots, occurring especially on the courtyard mosaics, were removed. At present the mosaics are being protected by geotextile fabric covers and river sand. After excavations at the Bath are concluded, a roof will be installed to protect the site and the mosaics will be restored entirely and open to public view.

The principal layout of the courtyard mosaics consists of borders on a white background surrounding square panels (Fig. 5). Each of the 16 square panels on the east and west sides of the pool measures 2.30x2.30 m and contain very colourful geometrical and stylised floral patterns. Panel E1, the northernmost of the eight panels on the east side of the swimming pool, depicts intricate linear bands forming swastika motifs by their intersections (Dunbabin 1999: 295-340 fig. 300-I) (Fig. 6). The spaces between are decorated with colourful and concentric equilateral lozenge motifs which are also connected to each other via linear bands. A similar layout is known from a mosaic from Antakya-Harbiye where in contrast the lozenges in the spaces are elongated (Çelik 2008: 30-31). The geometric design of Panel E2 consists of light and dark colours in a checkerboard pattern (Fig. 7). This pattern was widely used in early periods (Ovadiah 1980: 129-130; Ling 1998: fig. 82 “Spain, Roman Villa, Ampurias”, fig. 83 “Britain, Roman Villa at Brading”; Salman 2007: 229-230 fig. 168 “Adiyaman Museum”; Houix et al. 2011: fig. 4 “France, A Roman House in Nîmes”; Omari 2011: fig. 7 “Albania, Durrës”; Abraços 2014: figs. 2-3 “Portugal, Archaeology Museum D.



Figure 6
The panel E1.

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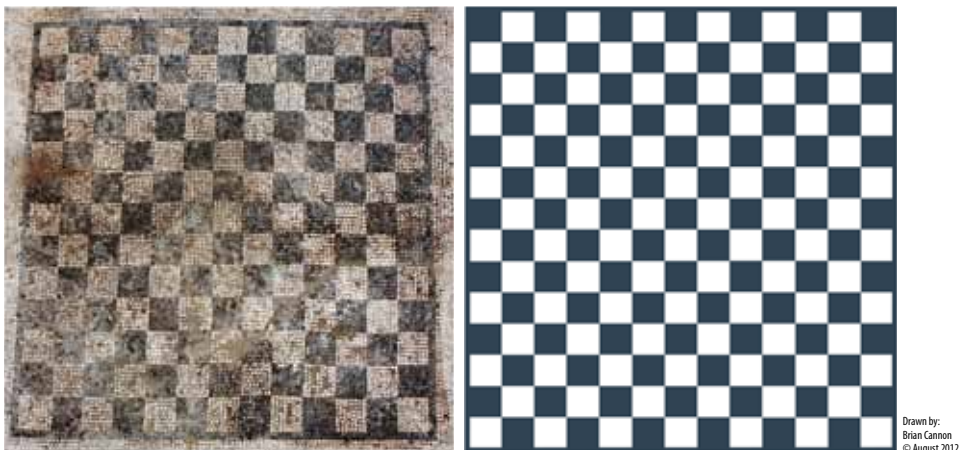


Figure 7
The panel E2.

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Diogo de Sousa”), although examples are also found in Late Antiquity (Pataci 2011: fig. 3 “Paphlagonia Hadrianoupolis, Bath A”). The decoration in Panel E3 contains concentric equilateral diamond shapes lined up in a diagonal fashion (Fig. 8). In Panel E4 we see multicoloured concentric circles and squares (Fig. 9). Inside the larger squares are Solomon’s knot motifs and three-dimensional

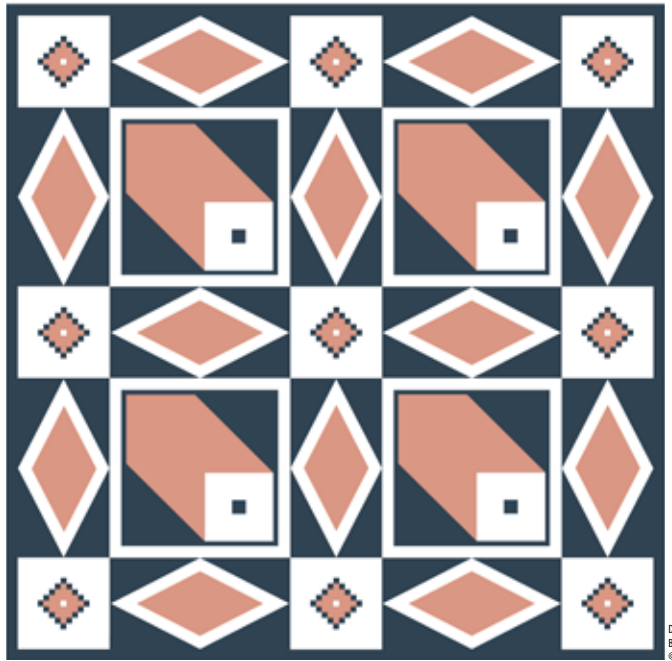
Figure 8
The panel E3.



Figure 9
The panel E4.

Figure 10
The panel E5.

patterns. In the smaller square-shaped spaces in between, we see multicoloured concentric diamonds. Similar patterns are known from mosaics dating to Late Antiquity (Jobst 2011: fig. 44 “Lesbos, Basilica of Skala Eressos”, fig. 45 “Ephesos, Basilica”). Panel E5 depicts four-pointed stars with their tips touching each other (Fig. 10). The centres of these stars form colourful equilateral diamonds. A very similar arrangement can be seen in the design of the Europa mosaic dating to the second century AD from Emerita Augusta in Spain. This motif is also present in mosaics dating to the second and third centuries AD in Cilicia and surrounding regions (Cimok 2000: 50-53 “Antioch, House of Drunken Dionysos”, 178 “Antioch, Narcissus Mosaic, House of Menander”; Tülek 2005: fig. 25.4 “Alanya Museum”, fig. 36.10-11, 14-15 “Silifke”; Ergeç 2006: 54-57 “Zeugma, Roman Bath-Gymnasium Complex”; Salman 2007:



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fig. 76-80 “Sanlurfa Museum”; Önal 2009: fig. 2-3; Pamir 2015: 67 “Antioch, House of Drunken Dionysos”). Panel E6 consists of alternating squares and rectangles (Fig. 11). The rectangles all have the same dimensions and elongated lozenges with white borders, while the squares have two different sizes. The four central larger squares, similar to the elongated lozenges, have white borders and similar to Panel E4, squares with a three-dimensional appearance. Inside the smaller squares, connecting to the larger ones at the corners, are equilateral diamonds. A mosaic closely resembling Panel E6 is known from Antioch on the Orontes dating to the second century AD (Cimok 2000: 69 “Antioch, House of the Red Pavement”). The border of Panel E7 consists of a continuous, dark coloured, stepped triangle pattern (Fig. 12). It frames a labyrinth of meanders, three-dimensional in appearance, forming swastika motifs, a popular

Figure 11
The panel E6.

Figure 12
The panel E7.



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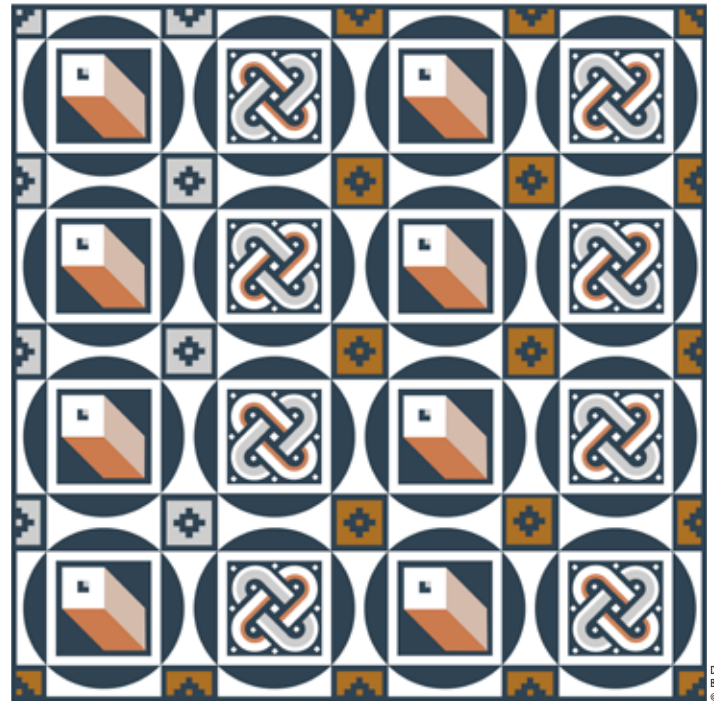


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Figure 13
The panel E8.

Figure 14
The panel W1.

motif in Roman mosaic art (Tülek 2005: fig. 11.18 “Hatay Museum, Oceanus and Tethys Mosaic”, fig. 30.10, 30.12 “Elaiussa Sebaste, Agora”; Ergeç 2006: 66-67 “Zeugma, Villa of Maenad”, 100-107 “Zeugma, Villa of Poseidon”, 212-215 “Zeugma, Achilles Mosaic, Villa of Korintos”; Duran Kremer 2014: figs. 1, 6-7 “Zeugma, Villa of Poseidon”, fig. 9 “Portugal-Rabaçal, Triclinium mosaic of a Roman Villa”). Swastika motifs in Panel E7 are very similar to those in a mosaic pavement in a house in Cilician Anemurium that dates to the first half of the fourth century AD (Campbell 1998: 4-5 pl. 18-19). Panel E8 is located at the southern end of the room and –apart from a small portion of its corner– is almost completely destroyed (Fig. 13). However, from this preserved corner, the mosaic appears to be similar to that in Panel E1.



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The northernmost of the eight mosaic panels to the west of the swimming pool, Panel W1, has a geometric design –similar to W7– consisting of intersecting circles and, in between these as fillers, smaller diamond shapes (Fig. 14). Intersecting circles forming quatrefoils are a very common motif in Cilicia (Campbell 1998: 60). Mosaics with very similar designs are known from Ephesus (Scheibelreiter 2008: figs. 3-4) and from Derecik (Fuchs – Delbarre-Bartschi 2011: fig. 5 “Bursa, Basilica of Derecik, Büyükorhan”), albeit belonging to later periods. In Panel W2 the design resembles Panel E4 on the east side of the pool; it features circles, squares and rectangles, Solomon’s knots and cube motifs (Fig. 15). In Panel W3 the layout is composed of concentric circles and interlocking squares (Fig. 16). Square borders resembling those used in this

Figure 15
The panel W2.

Figure 16
The panel W3.



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Figure 17
The panel W4.

Figure 18
The panel W5.

panel have been encountered at numerous sites, mainly in Cilicia and the Iberian Peninsula, and in many variations (Campbell 1998: 27 pl. 129; Cimok 2000: 234 “Antioch, Soteria Mosaic, Bath of Apolausis”; Décor II: 89 figs. 288a-b; Tülek 2005: figs. 27.69 “Anemurium, The frigidarium of Large Bath”, fig. 36.13 “Antioch”; Ergeç 2006: 172-175 “Zeugma, Ge Mosaic, Villa of Euphrates”; Blazquez 2008: fig. 14 “Spain, Soria, Villa Santervas del Burgo”; Wrench 2012: fig. 5 “Portugal, Conimbriga”; Wrench 2014: fig. 10 “Portugal, Bracara Augusta”; Belis 2016: 43-44 “Antioch, Soteria Mosaic, Bath of Apolausis”) At the centre of this panel we see a stylized rosette-flower design with six multi-coloured leaves. Between the leaves there are single, small diamonds. The rosette is a motif frequently used at the centre of panels of similarly decorated mosaics (Ergeç 2006: 52-53 “Zeugma, Villa of Dionysos”). In the corners of the panel are light coloured palmette and ornamental tendrils on a dark background. These corner elements are also quite common in similar mosaic panels (Cimok 2000: 103 “Antioch, House of the Red Porticos”; Ergeç 2006: 52-53 “Zeugma, Pasiphae and Daidalos Mosaic, Villa of Dionysos”). Panel W4 which is heavily damaged has the same grid motif as Panel E3 (Fig. 17). The middle of the square



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formations contain smaller and colourful diamond elements. Only half of Panel W5 is preserved (Fig. 18). This panel has a geometric design as well; it sets itself apart from the other panels, however, in its lack of symmetry. An eight-pointed star and flower rosettes are the main decorative elements. Compared with other known examples (Kitzinger 1965: figs. 1-3 “Antioch, House of the Worcester Hunt”; Ling 1998: fig. 36 “Seleucia, House of the Drinking Contest”; Dunbabin 1999: fig. 167 “Seleucia, House of the Drinking Contest”; Cimok 2000: 124-125 “Antioch, House of Dionysus and Ariadne”; Parrish 2001: 342 fig. 20 “Kos, The Basilica of Hagios Stephanos”; Tülek 2005: fig. 20.7-8 “Hatay Museum, The Triptych Mosaic”; Ergeç 2006: 90-93 “Zeugma, Villa of Okeanos”, 104-107 “Zeugma, Villa of Dionysos”; Neuenfeldt 2009: 46 fig. 5 “Antioch, House of Dionysus and Ariadne”; Okçu 2009: fig. 1 “Bursa, Yerkapı”; Şen 2009: fig. 18-24 “Allianoi”; Da Silva et al. 2011: figs. 9-10 “Portugal-Setubal, Caetobriga”; Duran Kremer 2011: figs. 9-11 “Portugal, Algarve, The Roman Villa of Abicada”; Romero – Vargas 2011: figs. 5-6 “Spain, Malaga, Antequera, Roman

Figure 19
The panel W6.

Figure 20
The panel W7.



Figure 21
The panel W8.

Villa of Estacion”; Duran Kremer 2012: figs. 7 “Portugal, Cetobriga”, fig. 13 “Portugal, Abicada”, fig. 15 “Portugal, Milreu”; Duran Kremer 2014: figs. 6-7 “Zeugma, Villa of Poseidon”; Can 2015: 87 fig. 7 “Sukhumi/Sebastopolis, The Apodyterium of a Bath”; Pamir 2015: 68 “Antioch, House of Dionysus and Ariadne”), it is clear that this geometric motif was intended as a part of a symmetric and continuous pattern of a border or a larger panel. Yet in W5 its symmetry and integrity have been broken up in order to fit the limited size of the panel. Another damaged panel is Panel W6 (Fig. 19). Just as in E1, dark coloured linear bands run across the panel and intersect, forming a swastika motif. The rectangular spaces between contain colourful diamonds and half-diamonds. A similar pattern –apart from some differing details– can be seen in a border of a mosaic from Antioch on the Orontes dating to the early Byzantine period (Cimok 2000: 122 “Antioch, House of the Buffet Supper”). In Panel W7, we see the same geometrical construction of intersecting circles as in W1 (Fig. 20). The main difference is that the design of W7 is more colourful. The geometric layout and the colour combination of this motif also appears in the fourth century AD in the Seven Sages mosaic in the Villa de las Tiendas near Emerita Augusta, the capital of the province of Lusitania (Blazquez 2008: fig. 20). It is a frequent pattern in second and third century mosaics (Dunbabin 1999: fig. 153 “Augusta Emerita, House of Mithraeum”; Jobst 1999: 574 fig. 138.3 “Ephesos, Terrace House II”; Cimok 2000: 38-39 “Antioch, House of the Evil Eye”; Ergeç 2006: 48-49 “Zeugma, Villa of Dionysos”, 136-139 “Zeugma, Eros and Psyche Mosaic, Villa of Poseidon”; Şahin 2007: 119-120 fig. 32 “Ephesos, Nereid and Triton Mosaic, Terrace House”; Tabanlı 2007: 50, 58 fig. 43, 54 “Ephesos, Terrace House”; Şen 2009: 21-25 fig. 12-16 “Alliano”). In Panel W8, similar to W5, an eight-pointed star is located in the centre (Dunbabin 1999: 341), while Solomon’s knot motifs are placed at the corners (Fig. 21). The star motif was also used in mosaics in Cilicia (Cimok 2000: 120 “Antioch, The Mosaic of Revellers and Hetaerae, House of the Buffet Supper”, 124-125 “Antioch, House of Dionysus and Ariadne”, 192-193 “Antioch, House of the Sun Dial”; Décor II: 98 pl. 296.a “Narlıkuyu”; Tülek 2005: figs. 1.5-7 “Misis Museum, Orpheus Mosaic”, figs. 1.23-25 “Adana Museum”, figs. 1.26 “Apamea, The House of Pilasters”, figs. 34.4 “Narlıkuyu, Bath of Poimenios”; Salman 2009: figs. 1-2



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Figure 22
The large panels.



Figure 23
The borders between the
column bases.

“Antioch, House of the Sun Dial”), Zeugma (Önal 2009: figs. 2-3) and Ionian Metropolis (Öz 2012: figs. 9, 14 “Metropolis, Roman Bath, South Portico of Palaestra”).

In addition to these 16 square mosaic panels, in the large panels at the south and north of the pool concentric diamonds were placed diagonally to create a grid pattern similar to Panels E3 and W4 (Fig. 22). The exact same motif was used in the border of a mosaic depicting Bacchus and Satyr dating to the second and third centuries AD in Byblos, Lebanon (Chehab 1965: 334 fig. 2). It is also

Figure 24
The northwest and northeast
vestibules of the courtyard.



possible to see similar patterns in second to third century floor mosaics from Antioch on the Orontes and Zeugma (Cimok 2000: 54-55 “Antioch, House of Drunken Dionysos”, 62 “Antioch, Comus Mosaic”; Ergeç 2006: 120-123 “Villa of Poseidon”, 150-151 “Villa of Euphrates”, 186-189 “Villa of Zosimos”; Pamir 2015: 73 “Antioch, House of Drunken Dionysos”). The exact same pattern can be found in the Exedra at Anemurium, dated to the second century AD, although the pattern colours are reversed (Campbell 1998: 13-14 pl. 54). The borders between the column bases consist of a simple geometric design of continuous “X” and “V” shapes formed by bluish-grey tesserae on a white background (Fig. 23). A small mosaic, matching the one by the entrance, is located right by the northern threshold of the courtyard. Resembling the patterns between the column bases, this mosaic is also composed of simple geometric motifs on a white background. Half-diamonds decorate the sides while full diamonds are lined along the middle.

It is assumed that the northeast entrance of the courtyard is the main entrance of the Bath complex from the Colonnaded Street. Here, a small vestibule has been built. A similar space can also be seen in the northwest of the courtyard. This symmetrical layout of these entrances is reflected in their floor mosaics, which are both decorated with the same geometric design (Fig. 24). However, these mosaics have been damaged more than the ones inside the courtyard and the dimensions of their tesserae are larger. The main design of these mosaics consists of a wide border made of dark tesserae and equilateral diamonds in the middle, lined up in diagonal rows. This is the same design as the ones seen in the large panels in the north and south of the courtyard pool. The tesserae used here are bluish grey and white in colour.

Conclusion

Since the very first civilisations, mathematics and especially geometry have played an important role structurally as well as aesthetically in architecture and many other aspects of human life. Apart from some exceptions, we observe that throughout architectural history buildings were constructed according to certain rules and principles. Foremost among these are symmetry, proportion and balance. They are consistently essential for architecture and structural engineering.

Nevertheless, the same rules and principles also found use in the purely aesthetic elements of architecture such as geison, frieze, and column. This is especially evident in geometric combinations, as their design is not random and they have clearly been created according to certain symmetry, proportion and balance principles.

In the Great Bath complex of Antiochia ad Cragum we observe a geometric repertoire with many various shape and colour combinations. Examples of this kind of planned layout, consisting of borders and panels, are often found on the floors of large rooms (Dunbabin 1999: 75 fig. 75). The content of each panel also displays the same symmetry and order.

We observe that layouts of geometric mosaic panels are applied discreetly and non-discreetly. The non-discreet designs are continuous and if the panel is enlarged or elongated the core geometric motifs continue without change. But discreet motifs are consistent within themselves. With the Antiochia ad Cragum mosaics we observe the application of both of these practises. While most of the courtyard panels have non-discreet designs, Panel E7 with the three-dimensional swastika meander decoration, the elaborate squares and central six-leaved colourful flower in Panel W3, the eight-pointed star motif recurring in W5 and W8 are the discreet designs. Although some of these are part of a non-discreet extension. That said, geometric patterns in Panels E1, E6, and E8 resemble what is today known as Escher's infinite patterns.

The mosaics at the Great Bath complex of Antiochia ad Cragum possess a geometric repertoire that is consistent with other examples of Cilician mosaics. The geometric patterns seen in the panels on the courtyard floor were widely used from the end of the second century until the fourth century AD. In addition, finds such as coins and pottery uncovered during excavations from 2012 to 2015 indicate how long the building was in use. All data obtained by excavations and comparing other known examples, suggest the courtyard mosaics date to the third century AD (Can – Hoff 2014: 380; Previous studies dated the mosaics around the middle of the 3rd century AD: Tülek 2005: 297-300 figs. 31.1-9). Previous studies dated the mosaics around the middle of the 3rd century AD.

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Rome: Economic Change in the 2nd Century BC - The Context of Mosaic as a Luxury Product

Roma: İÖ 2. yüzyıl'da Ekonomik Değişim - Lüks Bir Ürün Olarak Mozaik Konteksti

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Abstract

To understand the Roman economy in the 2nd century BC is something that is not possible without being aware of the process of how the Mediterranean World fused into a political whole, first under the influence and later under the rule of the Roman State. Constructing the economic history of this period is not possible without considering the globalisation that occurred in the Mediterranean political realm, as well as the major changes in the social and economic spheres taking place in the Italian Peninsula.

This context makes it possible to lay down a relationship between the conquering process and the changes that came about in the field of the land property and land cultivation. A second relationship may be established between the deep changes that occurred in the distribution of urban and rural populations and the consumption structure, the origin of corn supplies and the changes in the economic tissue in general. Further consideration is given to the economic significance of the proceeds coming from the war along with the revenues that Roman ruling officials and economic agents obtained while administering the imperial domain. The appetite for luxury goods that resulted from this process led in particular to the building of wealthy houses where fine mosaic pavements tended to be a common feature.

Keywords: Roman economy, second century BC, economic complexity, state finances, infrastructures, luxury and mosaics.

Öz

İÖ 2. yüzyıl Roma ekonomisini anlamak, politik olarak Akdeniz Dünyası'nın bir bütün halinde önce Roma Devleti'nin etkisi ardından da yönetimi altındaki süreçte nasıl kaynaştığını anlamadan mümkün değildir. Akdeniz siyasi topraklarında, üzerinde yaşanan küreselleşmenin yanı sıra İtalyan Yarımadası'nda yaşanan sosyal ve ekonomik alanlardaki büyük değişiklikler dikkate alınmaksızın, bu dönemin ekonomik tarihinin oluşturulması imkansızdır.

Bu bağlamda, fethetme süreci ile arazi mülkiyeti ve toprak işleme alanındaki değişiklikler arasında bir ilişki kurulması mümkün olmaktadır. İkinci bir ilişki, kentsel ve kırsal nüfus dağılımında meydana gelen derin değişimler ile tüketim yapısı, Mısır tedarikinin kaynağı ve ekonomik dokudaki genel değişiklikler arasında kurulabilmektedir. Roma yöneticileri aracılığıyla gelen savaş gelirlerinin ekonomik önemi ve imparatorluk sahasının yönetimi esnasındaki ekonomik etmenler konusunda da derin bir değerlendirme yapılacaktır. Lüks eşyaya düşünlüğe sebebiyet veren bu durum, kaliteli mozaik döşemelerinin bulunduğu zengin ev yapılarının yaygınlaşmasını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma ekonomisi, İÖ. 2. yüzyıl, ekonomik karmaşıklık, devlet maliyesi, altyapılar, lüks ve mozaikler.

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The age of the Antonines has been regarded as a true golden century, a period in which a complete transformation – in areas such as the environment and the socio-cultural organisation – occurred. In his book of the late twentieth century, *La storia spezzata*, Aldo Schiavone conveys to us something essential from an oration delivered by a young Greek speaker (whom Rostovtseff classifies as a «sophist»), born and educated in Asia Minor, which became famous: Aelius Aristides. This oration was delivered in AD 154 in Rome before the imperial court, likely in the presence of Antoninus himself, and was integrated into the ceremonies of the annual celebration of the Foundation of Rome (Schiavone 2002: 5-17)¹.

What Schiavone has seen of particular interest in the oration of the young Aristides was the accent put on the «faculty for imposing order and transformation evident in the entire Roman civilisation at its height, and its effect on the until then prevailing condition of humanity». But Schiavone draws our attention to the fact that the prospect of Aristides was rooted in a mental horizon shared by an important part of his contemporaries, made up of small city elites that, from Hispania to Asia, the Roman presence had helped to create or promote.

From an economic perspective, the situation described reflects circumstances in which the mentioned city elites – and also of course the elites that had the control of the state – had acquired consumer habits which marked a departure from those behaviours that traditionally defined the structure of the ancient economy such as they were conceived to be by a school of thought centred on Moses Finley and to which he gave expression in his writings². The predominance of an agrarian economy of self-sufficiency would have been at the root of such traditional behaviours and so, according to Finley, it would have been agriculture – and not trade or manufacture – which formed the economic basis of the urban development. This is a conception that presents the ancient city as primordially a centre of consumption, tending to be a parasitical entity, such as Max Weber had stated earlier (Finley 1999: 123-5)³.

It is precisely apropos the disappearance of these consumption habits (yet in a later period, the one that follows the fall of the Roman Empire) that Bryan Ward-Perkins writes about in a chapter entitled «The Disappearance of Comfort» in his emblematic work published in 2005 (Ward-Perkins 2005: 87-122). Based on abundant archaeological evidence, the author recounts an impressive decline of western living standards between the V and the VII century, which affected everybody in society – from peasants to kings – and reached a scale that can be described as the «end of a civilisation». And, even though the purpose of this text is not to identify or describe the consumption habits that made up the comfort of Roman citizens and which disappeared with the fall of the Empire, the how and why of their appearance as well as the time when that occurred are extremely important elements to characterise, and this will be done though only briefly, the economic transformations that have taken place in the second century BC on the Italian peninsula.

In fact, the «economic complexity» – a cherished expression to Ward-Perkins – that characterised the Roman world in the imperial period did not emerge from nowhere and the transitions that occurred in the geographical centre of

¹ See also Rostovtseff 1988: 110-8.

² The fundamental work of Finley is *The Ancient Economy*, first published in 1973.

³ The concept of city of consumption may, according to Jean Andreau, have originated in Sombart, although applied to the modern world.

the Roman political system (precisely the Italian peninsula) were particularly relevant in the period following the Second Punic War. It is in this context that we must ask ourselves, in a first approach, about the high quality pottery items that were used for cooking food, the fine tablewares or the amphorae that were used for the transport and storage of liquids such as olive oil and wine. From the high quality of these items, we can pass to the complexity of the productive and distributive processes underlying them and to a sufficiently broad dissemination in order to be able to infer that the corresponding consumption far exceeded the limits that were assigned to the high status groups of the society. Ward-Perkins goes even further, saying that the Roman world was a society somewhat similar to that in which we currently live, which moved goods on a massive scale, manufactured high-quality containers for such a move and occasionally discarded them on delivery (Ward-Perkins 2005: 92).

The existing sophistication in the field of pottery spilled over into another important area in terms of domestic comfort (reaching also the lower social strata): housing itself, in particular the roofs, which provided practical advantages especially in terms of durability, cost and safety when rain, moisture and fire were considered. The investment in tiles, which was made even for rural facilities such as stables or barns from at least the second century BC, was nevertheless weighty considering that their construction required substantial technical resources (a large oven, much clay and fuel as well as great professional competence) and its transport entailed significant costs (all the greater the more the distance increased) (Ward-Perkins 2005: 95-6).

Ward-Perkins has the view that the complexity revealed by the archaeological record concerning the ceramics industry could also be extendable to the rest of the economy, an essential component of that complexity being the range of infrastructures that went from the road network to the water supply and wastewater disposal, passing through the facilities serving the maritime and inland ports.

Regarding the construction of infrastructures in the period that is the subject of this work (second century BC), the remarkable development of the road network – already before the Second Punic War – must be referred to first. In particular, the case of three roads that took names derived from the magistrates who took the initiative of the corresponding construction: the Via Appia, which originated in 312 BC, the Via Aurelia in 240 BC and the Via Flaminia in 220 BC⁴. However, this development had started many years before, with its most ancient component strongly associated with the river course⁵. This very archaic component was made up of the Via Salaria (linking the Forum Boarium to the Sabin territory), the Via Campana (linking the Forum Boarium to the coastal saltworks) – both connected with the salt trade – and the Via Tiberina. The intermediate component (built later, between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC (Coarelli 1988: 133)⁶), on the other hand, arose in connection with the development of other types of traffic, in particular manufactured products.

⁴ There are also indications that two of the roads - the Clodia and the Amerina - might have been built in the third century BC even though there are opinions that place their construction in the following century (Kay 2014: 10 n. 5).

⁵ Apart from the terrestrial roads, we should consider the waterway constituted by the Tiber itself, which, increasingly integrated into the road system with the development of navigation systems that allowed overcoming the current of the river (Coarelli 1988: 146-8), was also used for log driving from the upstream section of the river (Coarelli 1988: 132).

⁶ This set includes roads that took the locality names of their respective destinations (Via Nomentana, Via Tiburtina, Via Praenestina, Via Labicana, Via Albana, Via Satricana, ...).

The development of the road system in the course of the third century BC cannot be dissociated from the Roman State's efforts to ensure the political control of the Peninsula and, accordingly, cannot be understood without referring to its strategic-military reasons. The abovementioned dates for the beginning of the construction of the Via Appia, the Via Aurelia and the Via Flaminia were usually subsequent to the creation of colonies that followed significant military advances.

The control of the Italian peninsula being almost fully secured by the end of the third century BC, one can easily understand that in the ensuing century the construction of new roads had not as its objective the development of fundamental traffic routes. In fact, what can be inferred from the sources is that the new works have targeted the construction of more or less parallel roads to those existing (or simply their extension), stretches between them or still their paving and the improvement of the corresponding paths.

Still on the construction of infrastructures, aqueducts⁷ and in general the systems based on water use and its disposal after use should be referred to. The first of the aqueducts that served the city of Rome, the *Aqua Appia*, with a length of 16.6 km and a capacity of about 73,000 m³/day, was built in 312 BC at the initiative of the same Censor (Appius Claudius Caecus) who was at the origin of the construction of the Via Appia (and at exactly the same date). The second aqueduct to be constructed (272–269 BC) was the *Anio Vetus*, with a length of 63.6 km and a capacity of about 176 thousand m³/day. In the second century BC two other aqueducts were built, *Aqua Marcia* (144 BC, 91.4 km long and capacity of 187.6 thousand m³/day)⁸ and *Aqua Tepula* (125 BC, 17.7 km long and capacity of 17.8 thousand m³/day). Aqueducts, of course, were significant monuments when the quality of life of the population is considered, not only because they met the daily needs for drinking water but also because water transported was used in economic activity (including industrial), in garden watering, protection against fires⁹, cleaning, the wastewater disposal, the public baths, the spas... But before the aqueducts had been built there were sewers, of which the case of *Cloaca Maxima* in the city of Rome should be emphasised and the construction of which, according to Livy, started about 600 BC and finished, still in monarchy times, as an open channel¹⁰. The channel covering occurred, however, only at the beginning of the second century BC¹¹. The mastery of hydraulic technology, its development and practical application, preceded – it may be confirmed – the time of the founding of the Republic. Such mastery allowed then the drainage of the malarial lowlands and therefore the emergence of large cereal farms¹².

⁷ Before having at its disposal aqueducts, the city of Rome had recourse to other sources of water, including springs and local watercourses, wells and rainwater collected from roofs and stored in diverse receptacles and cisterns.

⁸ According to (Frontin. 1.7), the cost of the aqueduct plus repairs to the *Aqua Appia* and *Anio Vetus*, was 180 million sesterces (equivalent to 45 million denarii or 7,500 talents; to get a sense of the meaning of these values see below note 20), its funding coming, at least partially, from the booty taken at Corinth and Carthage (Frank 1933: 226).

⁹ A fire department existed in Rome since the early days of the Republic, working albeit in a poorly organised way. Only with Augustus in 22 BC, was its organisation significantly improved (Malissard 1994: 49-53).

¹⁰ (Liv. 1.38, 1.56).

¹¹ Concerning the city's sewage system and its dependence on water from aqueducts, including transformations in the centuries II and I BC, see (Malissard 1994: 232-40). With specific regard to the *Cloaca Maxima*, the cost incurred in its recovery and coverage had possibly reached a thousand talents (Dion. Hal. ant. 3.67).

¹² These developments were made possible thanks to the knowledge acquired in contact with Etruscan engineering. The drainage of the malarial plains took place both north (Etruscan area) and south of

With regard to spas and public baths – uses that required large amounts of water, all the greater insofar as the population to cover was wider – it should however be stressed that their development was more significant only in the final period of the Republic and especially in the imperial period. They were hypertrophied establishments, dedicated of course to bathing (motivation for which ranged from purely hygienic needs to physical exercises or to mere pleasure) but also to social practices as diverse as reading, conviviality, commercial and political contact, massage, hair treatment, depilation... The relevance of the baths in the social sphere clearly follows from the importance that members of the elite gave to them when receiving guests for their banquets. It was in fact an occasion for providing such a pleasure to them on arrival in similar conditions to those found in public establishments (Laty 1996: 20-9). It would, however, have been a more common ritual in the imperial period, but its development has probably begun in the second century BC¹³. However, there are no indications that in the city of Rome itself the construction of public baths and thermal facilities had assumed very high levels before the second half of the first century BC.

Regarding other areas in the field of construction, particular attention was given to the temples from the earliest times. The literary sources contain indications about the construction of several of these monuments in the final period of the monarchy and in the first two decades of the fifth century BC (which finds confirmation in the archaeological record), although they are silent regarding the period until the beginning of the following century. From about 380 BC, the construction of temples took on again a significant importance, being always in general associated with military victories (the conquest of Veii, the victory over the Gauls, ...) and the fulfilment of vows that, anticipating their occurrence, had been made by commanders. Other examples occurred in this area in the following centuries but only in the second half of the second century BC were temples built in marble in the city (material imported from Greece, since after the sack of Corinth), works that were directed by one or more Greek architects¹⁴.

the Tiber (the Pontine plain, located in Latium). This evolution had only been possible through the imposition of exhausting, inhumane working conditions. Such conditions, which the workers engaged in the construction of underground channels necessary to the drainage encountered (Liv. 1.38, 1.56), (Dion. Hal. ant. 3.67.5, 4.44.1-3, 4.81.2), and (Plin. nat. 36.106-8); see also (Torelli 2007: 14-5), (Carmo 2010: 49-50, including notes 106-109), (Coarelli 1990: 141-9) and (Malissard 1994: 223-7), were hardly compatible with lesser social inequalities predominating in other periods (before or after).

¹³ Seneca (who lived from 4 BC to AD 65), in one of his letters to Lucilius, refers, not without disdain, to the tiny bathtub in a dark room that existed in Scipio Africanus' *villa* (Sen. epist. 86).

¹⁴ (Cornell 2000: 43-4, 48-9). According to (Kay 2014: 215), the changes that occurred in the course of the second century BC to the detriment of the importance of such constructions and favouring buildings and public spaces of better quality, were due, in the first half of the century, to the higher level of government revenue and, with the approaching end of the century, to the growing importance of the regular collection of taxes in the provinces. Furthermore, the use of external expertise would indeed already have been significant in prior periods (several references can be found in the literary sources concerning the contribution of such skills in the sixth century BC, including the immigration of Greek technicians to Etruria), in particular in what regards the defensive wall (known as «Servian Wall») for the construction of which in the fourth century BC the city had resorted to specialised contractors, probably from Syracuse. This is a remarkable undertaking, not only for its grandeur (it probably took over 30 years to build) and costs but also because the enclosed area (about 426 hectares) seems to confirm existing estimates of the population of the city as not less (Cornell 2000: 45-6) than 50,000 inhabitants (which at the time places Rome on a par with the largest urban settlements in the western Mediterranean). Cornell also refers to some other data which reflect dissimilar population estimates, ranging for example between 90 and 190 thousand in 270 BC, and indicating numbers greater than 200,000 in 200 BC (in Cornell's opinion) and about 375,000 in 120 BC (Peter Brunt). The population of Rome has been the subject of in-depth studies ever since the nineteenth century (the most notable example being, in that century, Karl Julius Beloch). Equally remarkable is the study developed by (Brunt 1971). It is however a difficult undertaking that was later the subject of vast developments, in particular by Elio Lo Cascio, Luuk de Ligt, Walter Scheidel and Bruce Frier. Given the limited nature of this study, it is not possible to develop this matter in greater depth.

The great transformation that Rome experienced from this mid-fourth century BC – which with the extinction of the Latin League, the victories in the Samnite Wars and the final victory over Pyrrhus, led to an almost complete domination of the Italian peninsula about 270 BC – had as a consequence the city gradually becoming a centre of trade, production and consumption. The first signs of this transformation appeared already at the end of the fourth century BC with the development of the Tiber harbour (*Portus*) and of the temple, situated in the Forum Boarium, dedicated to the god of the port: Portunus. The Harbour came to be, around 200 BC, the subject of important developments and extension to the southwest (the port area being «invaded» by warehouses and barns, with more significant expansions at the end of the second century BC, due in particular to the assumption by the Roman State of the responsibility for the grain supply to the city) and the temple (which still exists) was eventually finished, or even rebuilt, about 100 BC (Cornell 2000: 46, 49, 51).¹⁵

Regarding other public buildings – or mere public spaces – the structures created in the Forum Romanum should be mentioned, of which the *Comitium* (the political and commercial centre of the city – extended and refurbished in the second half of the fourth century BC – and the place where the popular assemblies occurred) and several porticoes and *basilicae* (which, taken as a whole have reflected, in the course of the second century BC, a first attempt to introduce a monumental planning and systematic organisation of the urban space) must be highlighted. Concerning the *basilicae*, their original function seems to have been to protect the citizens from sun and rain, but soon other uses emerged, such as the commercial ones and those related with justice (Cornell 2000: 47, 53).

At last, with regard to housing, there is hardly any information on what would be the corresponding facilities in the residential areas, even in the course of the second century BC. From the mid-seventh century BC the clusters of huts until-then-prevailing probably started to be eliminated to the benefit of more sophisticated buildings, presumably made of stone. In the following century, the aristocratic families may have started to have at their disposal big houses, of good quality, having at their centre an *impluvium* surrounded by a large cruciform atrium (including a *tablinum*, the large reception area), which in turn was surrounded by several rooms. This will be true if we assume that the house excavated by Professor Andrea Carandini on the northern side of the Palatine is representative of a larger situation. That house, along with others, subsisted until the end of the third century BC. That could have been the type of house identified in Pompeii (dated as having originated in the third century BC; see below the references about the House of the Faun and the Alexander Mosaic) as being perfectly appropriate to the needs of a wealthy and competitive elite and similar to the one that existed in Rome at the same time. As to the accommodation of the lower classes, nothing is known about the period preceding the Late Republic unless in a story told by (Liv. 21.62) for the year 218 BC¹⁶.

Furthermore, as regards the construction of residential buildings, the rapid upsurge in the city of Rome during the second century BC – derived from the strong population growth – has been considered the main reason that led to fast-moving technological developments, including the increased use of concrete at

¹⁵ With respect to investments in fort facilities see (Kay 2014: 217-8, 220).

¹⁶ (Cornell 2000: 43-4, 47) and (Cornell 1995: 96-9). Concerning the story told by Livy, it concerns a cow that ascended to the third floor of a building in the Forum Boarium, which reveals the existence of multistory housing blocks as early as the third century BC, in principle the same type of hovels that two centuries later are known to constitute the places where mainly the poor were housed.

the beginning of the century which had as a purpose the replacement of technologies more demanding in materials (especially stone) and manpower. Facing techniques of concrete walls had also evolved over the century, to *opus incertum* (use of small irregularly shaped pieces of stone) succeeding *opus quasi reticulatum* and *opus reticulatum* (pyramidal-shaped pieces of stone), which allowed considerably lower costs in materials and labour. Such cost savings proved crucial to enable, in particular, the fast growing building of dwellings for free peasants and slaves who were rushing into the city of Rome¹⁷.

Heavy investment in roads, water supply, buildings and other infrastructure, as well as other high expenditure discussed below, were possible in the second century BC just because the Roman State had pursued the military and political expansion that came from previous centuries. In this context – then centred on the one hand in the Hellenistic east and on the other hand in the Iberian peninsula – an extremely substantial revenue was appropriated. In a first analysis, such revenue resulted from booty captured by the Roman armies at the time of their victories over enemies and from war indemnities imposed on the vanquished (indemnities were generally paid in instalments in the years that followed decisive battles). So, in the 44-year period following the 2nd Punic War (200–157 BC¹⁸), the total from these two sources was a little less than 44 thousand talents, which – the amount of indemnities¹⁹ having represented notwithstanding more than five times the corresponding total of the entire third century BC see (Kay 2014: 38) – was not sufficient to cover the *stipendia* paid to Roman soldiers²⁰. In addition to these two types of income, some other items should be considered, leading to a grand total of about 101.8 thousand talents²¹.

¹⁷ For further discussion, see (Kay 2014: 221) and especially (Wilson 2006: 225-9) and (Coarelli 1977: 9-19). Janet DeLaine greatly develops this theme of the evolution of the costs associated with different construction techniques – including the one using bricks, the development of which took place at a later period (she specifies by cost factor: materials, transport and manpower) – in (DeLaine 2001). DeLaine terms this a «Concrete Revolution» – also called the «Roman Architectural Revolution», a concept also adopted by other authors – albeit in a perspective of a more technical nature (DeLaine 1990).

¹⁸ The setting of this period of 44 years for the study of the Roman State Finances after the 2nd Punic War is made by Tenney Frank. The fixing of the final limit on the period is apparently related to the unavailability of Livy books after 167 BC (which until then was an essential source for assessing the detail of revenue and expenditure) and to the availability of the government cash balance in 157 BC.

¹⁹ According to (Frank 1933: 145). Frank gives his values in denarii, values that here, for reasons of simplicity, are converted into talents (1 talent was equivalent to 6,000 denarii, according to (Crawford 1974: 594), quoted in (Kay 2014: 23). These values do not significantly differ from those presented most recently in (Kay 2014: 21-42 and more specifically, pages 39 and 42), although the latter correspond to a period of 50 years. We have therefore, for those two items of revenue, an annual average of about 1,000 talents. From such an amount (just under 44 thousand talents), 25.4 thousand concern war indemnities and 18.3 the total of the booty (which in any case would include, according to the interpretation of the data from the sources in (Frank 1933: 138, 141), the produce of the exploitation of the Iberian mines until 178 BC; this, however, is an interpretation which receives criticism in (Badian 1972: 32-3), who sees no reason to doubt the nature of the corresponding data provided by Livy, which he identifies as booty and not revenue from the mines; also (Kay 2014: 49-54), looking more into the details, does not see any reason to agree with Frank).

²⁰ According to the calculations made in (Frank 1933: 76), based on (Polyb. 6.39.12), the annual cost with the *stipendia* of a legion (with a standard composition of 4,200 infantry and 300 cavalry) would be about 100 talents/year. However, as the author himself states (Frank 1933: 141-2), from 192 BC the number of soldiers by legion rises to 5,500 (reaching even, in some years, 6,300), which resulted in a more convincing annual average cost per legion with *stipendia* of about 121 talents, considering the 50,000 talents (1,136/year) that Frank estimated for the period of 44 years. It should be noted that, despite the high significance of the war effort in the 44 years considered, that effort was much less intense than in the period of the 2nd Punic War. In the course of 18 years of this war an average of 18.2 legions (calculated from the data contained in (Toynbee 1965: 647)) were employed, whereas in the 44 year period of the first half of the second century BC the equivalent value was only 9.4 (calculated from the data considered by Frank; in (Rich 1983: 292), a value of 8.7 is referred for the period 200-168 BC).

²¹ According to (Frank 1933: 126-41), the author making a synthesis of the revenue detected mainly in

If we consider now the expenditure in the 44-year period, its total reached 92.5 thousand talents²², which means that the balance of accounts was positive, amounting to 9.3 thousand talents.

An important conclusion that it is possible to draw from this data set is that the Roman public finances in this period are overwhelmingly dominated by the war. The total expenditure incurred during the war (78,800 talents, resulting from the addition of items «*Stipendia*», «Food for Allies», «Transport, etc.» and «Navy (war and transport)») constitutes in fact 85.1 % of the total. Revenue derived directly from the war (53.6 thousand talents: «War indemnities», «Booty, etc.» and «*Tributum*») reached 52.7% of the total revenue. But if other revenue deriving indirectly from the war is added – «Revenue of the mines in Hispania from 178 to 157 BC», «Income from *ager publicus* in Italy» and «Provincial tithes on cereal crops in Sicily and Sardinia», which together account for 39.8% – that percentage rises to 92.5%. All this is the difference between an economy by and large dedicated to war and an economy of imperial domination that the latter percentages start to display. And that – as can be seen not only from the analysis of the figures that have just been presented but also from what will be said further on – tends to evolve towards a greater importance of imperial domination, the first set of revenue items decreasing its relative weight and the second increasing it.

Thus, in order to compensate for the loss of a substantial part of the revenue earned in the first half of the second century BC with war indemnities and booty, the Roman State started to count not only on the product of the mining operations but also on the taxes collected in the provinces. The latter gained more importance with the promulgation of the *lex Sempronia de Provincia Asia* in the late 120s²³. This law, attributed to Gaius Gracchus, tribune of the plebs in 123-122 BC, has determined that taxes and customs duties should be collected in the province of Asia using the *censoria locatio* system (the farming of taxes by the censors to private interests, specifically to the publicans). Gracchus also introduced the *lex Sempronia repetundarum* to prevent the Roman magistrates from abusing their position of authority by diverting funds that should be made available to the State treasury. His ultimate objective was to ensure the necessary revenue to meet the costs of the Roman State and thus allow the Roman people to benefit from the profits of the empire. Expenditure on infrastructure and other public works, as already noted above, had gained a greater dimension during the

the literary sources. The first of those other items is the «Revenue of the mines in Hispania from 178 to 157 BC» which was reportedly about 8.3 thousand talents. Next we have the «*Tributum* collected from citizens till 167 BC» (10,000 talents; the *tributum* ceased to be collected on that date to the Roman citizens, that being the moment at which Aemilius Paullus, after his victory over Perseus, brought to Rome a booty equivalent to 5,000 talents), the «Income from *ager publicus* in Italy» (10,500 talents), the «Provincial tithes on cereal crops in Sicily and Sardinia» (the equivalent of 21,700 talents) and a set of «Miscellaneous income» (7,700 talents) of which the customs and the taxes imposed on the Macedonians from 167 BC onwards are highlighted. With the reopening in 158 BC of the gold and silver mines of Macedonia it is of course necessary to take into account this new income (it should be noted that the accounts presented by Tenney Frank go only as far as 157 BC).

²² Further to the 50,000 talents spent with the *stipendia* of the legions, the other items of expenditure considered by Frank in the period 200-157 BC, are «Food for Allies» (10,700 talents), «Transport, etc.» (8,300 talents), «Navy (war and transport)» (9,800 talents), «Public buildings» (3,300 talents), «Reimbursement of *tributum*» (3,800 talents) and «Other expenses» (6,700 talents).

²³ The province of Asia (located in the vast territory of western Anatolia) was created in 132 BC after the death of the King of Pergamum in the previous year and the bequest of his kingdom to the Roman State. In 132-129 BC the Romans were confronted with a revolt led by Aristonicus (who had assumed the title of King of Pergamum). In the ensuing years Rome dedicated itself to organise its new province, the extraction of revenue from it before 124 BC being unlikely. For details, see (Kay 2014: 61-5).

second century BC²⁴ with the emergence of new items that were associated with the agrarian reform – including the settlement of colonies (see below) – and the grain at a subsidised price provided to the plebs²⁵. It was this economic program – a massive public spending program – that Gaius Gracchus confronted, recognising that a broader and more controlled exploitation of the Mediterranean resources by the Roman State was necessary to guarantee a regular flow of funds to the public *aerarium* (weaning it off from dependence on income of an irregular nature as booty and war indemnities). In this context, his attempt to produce a systematic state budget, based largely on the *ensoria locatio*, was innovative, forward-looking (Kay 2014: 59-83, in particular 82-3).

As we have just seen, not only the warrior activity, but also the investment in infrastructure, in buildings and in other public spaces were increasingly financed in the second century BC by resources from territories, and therefore populations, located outside the Italian peninsula. Among the financial resources originated in the Peninsula, the *tributum* – since earlier times intended to cover at least partially the costs of the war – ceased to be levied from 167 BC. On the other side it is doubtful whether the only item of state revenue collected in Italy in the first half of the century – beyond the *tributum* – with significant size (the lease of *ager publicus*), remained subsequently with enough relevance²⁶. On the other hand, the very livelihood of the Italian peoples, in particular that of the city (Rome) which experienced an explosive population growth, had become increasingly dependent on cereal resources produced abroad and of which a significant portion was appropriated by the Roman State in the form of taxes on agricultural production.

If there are no grounds for believing that the majority of farms in the Italian peninsula had ceased to operate under a regime of self-sufficiency, it is not possible, on the other side, to overlook a development that had probably been initiated in the second half of the previous century. It is a development that consisted in the emergence of estates turned toward the creation of surpluses – therefore dependent on sales in the markets, in particular outside the Peninsula itself – and their appropriation in the form of money.

Part of these estates was constituted of medium-sized farms, most of them having as primary objective the production of wine or olive oil. Such estates belonged to the Roman elite – including senators and *equites* – or to the Italian elites and were mostly located in the midwestern region of the Peninsula (Campania and southern Etruria). Except in the case of Sicily, it does not appear that they had spread to the provinces before the end of the second century BC. It was a type of exploitation – considered by Cato in his *De Agricultura* – that counted on a workforce coming mainly from prisoners of war reduced to slavery and aimed, as mentioned, at selling its products on the market. Another type of farm that also produced for the market (but in this case for urban areas in expansion, which leads one to think immediately about areas near Rome and Campania)

²⁴ It is likely that Gaius Gracchus had the perception, or even the desire, that infrastructure expenses – hitherto largely financed by commanders of armies from booty associated with military victories (see in this respect (Frank 1933: 126-38) – tended to be supported by revenue of a regular nature.

²⁵ The *lex frumentaria* enacted in 123 BC by Gaius Gracchus, states that the grain would be sold to the plebs at 6 1/3 asses for one modius (Liv. per. 60). In (Kay 2014: 300) it is assumed that about 40 thousand citizens had benefited from a supply of 5 modii/month at that price (which on average would amount to about half the price in the market) for a long period spanning from 123 to 62 BC. This subsidy would therefore have led to an average yearly funding from the state budget of about 250 talents.

²⁶ According to (Frank 1933: 229), in the period 150-90 BC «the Italian tithe-land was largely disposed of by the Gracchi», which would have meant – if Frank's perspective is correct – that in case it had kept some importance, it would have been only up to about 130 BC.

– and probably where smaller units predominated – was that dedicated to horticultural production, to the creation of chickens and other small animals, to apiculture and to floricultural products. According to Philip Kay, this development due to the expansion of the markets – both the export and the internal (urban) markets – would have been the main determinant of the land demand (hence, the importance attached to its location) (Kay 2014: 166).

The estates held by the Roman elites (besides integrating, certainly in many cases, their ancestral lands) have been – with the development of the conquests or in the sequence of the disturbances during the 2nd Punic War (and in this case such disturbances were particularly strong in Campania and in the territories located in the south of the Peninsula) – expanded or created at the expense of the land that entered the public domain²⁷ (the so-called *ager publicus*: confiscated land to the defeated or to those who had supported Hannibal, «betraying» Rome). That was land the *occupatio* (a regime of land tenure that was not full ownership but entitled the occupier to benefit from the fruits thereof) of which the Roman State allowed when exercised by the mentioned elites or the elites of the allied peoples (and in principle against the payment of a *vectigal* to the *aerarium*). But the condition of growing deracination²⁸ of the free peasants – which took place especially in situations of lengthy absences multiplied by an extension of military service to countless years and without interruptions in the military campaigns that allowed going back home even if only for short periods – meant that, in the decades that followed the 2nd Punic War, the small farms that belonged to the soldiers became the target for the expansion plans of the elites²⁹.

An example of the development of farms of «capitalist» type, turned very likely to sales of wine and olive oil in the domestic and the external markets, has been the one which resulted from the privatisation of the *ager publicus* at the end of the 2nd Punic War as a means of settlement of loans made by citizens in the difficult hours of the war³⁰.

But, if the development of a market-oriented agricultural sector added complexity to the Roman economy and provided high returns to the owners of the estates, two consequences cannot be ignored which led to situations that have come to reveal themselves frankly negative to the lower social strata, to the economy in general and ultimately to the internal political situation of the Roman State. On the one hand is the already mentioned condition of deracination that significantly contributed to the rural exodus of free peasants, above all towards the large city (which however led to a major stimulation of the urban economy, both in terms of market growth and labour availability, particularly with regard to the construction sector). The conditions created by the wars of the second century BC – in which the free rural population, the basis of military recruitment, was unavailable to be hired as salaried labour – led, on the other hand, the landowners to prefer slave labour for fieldwork³¹.

²⁷ This certainly was a high value input, nevertheless not recorded as revenue, as deduced from its absence in the corresponding figures mentioned above and which were given by Tenney Frank.

²⁸ See in particular (Toynbee 1965: 36-105).

²⁹ Before, when the soldiers did service in Italy, it was possible for them to return to their lands during the winter months; but after several years of service overseas, their families were in danger of going into debt, which could lead to their farms being acquired by the creditors (Hopkins 1978: 30).

³⁰ Three such situations have been identified in Livy, the first of which related to 215 BC (Liv. 23.48), the second to 214 BC (Liv. 24.18) and the third to 210 BC (Liv. 26.35-6).

³¹ See in particular (Hopkins 1978: 11-13, 56).

The investment that was made, especially after the 2nd Punic War, by the Roman oligarchs in the agricultural exploitation was intended, as already mentioned above, to commercial purposes. Part of this investment was oriented to the fructiculture and horticulture, etc. (the so-called *pastio villatica*) – this being an area in which predominated smaller units – and intended to the consumption of urban areas nearby the farms. On the other hand, production of wine and olive oil, which were also sold in large quantities in the internal market, came to have a significant outflow into foreign markets, particularly the western provinces. Assessments based on amphorae found in Mediterranean contexts – both on land along the coasts and on sunken ships – lead to the conclusion that exports of one and another product already took place in the course of the third century BC although in amounts much lower than those observed from 150 BC onwards. Exports that took place from 300 to 150 BC, identifiable through the types of amphorae that were used, had been addressed to various regions situated in the Mediterranean context, those directed to Sicily (originated from Campania) assuming some relief in particular after the 2nd Punic War. The wines bound for Gallia Narbonensis (especially after the territory became a Roman province in 121 BC) – besides those, now in continental contexts, for other regions of Gaul and their neighbours (including Germania) as well as for the legions in Numantia (Hispania) – stand out after 150 BC. Some of the destinations – like Britain – suggest potential Atlantic routes. On the other hand, the strong growth of Italian exports coincided with the sharp decline in sales in the western Mediterranean of Rhodian wine. The Italian exports to the Adriatic region seem to have included the wine of Apulia (southeast Italy), as evidenced by the type of amphorae found there (Kay 2014: 141-7).

The production of amphorae, on the other hand, is a strong sign of the importance of other economic sector – ceramics – which, at a first approach, might be termed industry but that, given its relative technical and organisational incipient stage, it is commonly denominated as craft production. This sector was strongly associated with the production of olive oil and especially wine, with the result that the locations of the respective facilities have been fundamentally Etruria, Latium, Campania and the southeast of the Peninsula (Kay 2014: 142). Of course, the existence of the raw materials needed for pottery production was another key factor to such a setup, a factor nevertheless that did not reveal itself as too constricting given its wide distribution in the territory. Particularly significant on the other side, has been the «size» factor concerning the facilities – for which not only technical expertise but also the existence of kilns possibly in common to several workshops were important – which probably explains the production at the same sites of a whole range of ceramic products. Philip Kay refers to the existence of leased potteries set up in land dedicated to vineyards, where the lessor (the landowner) provided the necessary tools, the raw materials and allowances of wine and the lessee provided the manpower; of course in all this the lessee received wages in exchange for delivering large numbers of vessels. This model of «concession contract» seems to have been applied to other areas of manufacturing activity – for example to the textile industry, in particular the cases of wool and dyeing – although it is difficult in all identified cases to place them in the 2nd century BC. It is a model that Kay classifies as «vertically unintegrated» (no integration of the agricultural and livestock estates and the associated undertakings of raw materials and their derivatives) (Kay 2014: 228-9).

Other industries or craft activities – other than those that, because of the referred association to raw materials, were in principle located in rural areas – of course

existed. However, due to the difficulty in finding their artefacts in the archaeological record – as for instance with the case of cloth, leather, wood, metal, basketwork – it is not possible to advance significantly in their qualitative and quantitative characterisation.

In the course of the two centuries of conquests in the East, foreign exports invade Italy or, rather, they «are sucked into Italy by the desire of the conquerors». Behind this process, that received the criticism of some of the contemporaries, is of course, as already mentioned, «the appetite for luxury goods». A phenomenon nevertheless that reveals a social diffusion of luxuries far beyond the elite and that had a crucial role in the construction of social identities in a rapidly changing world. That is to say, behind the Italian imports and eventually the appropriation of eastern production is the social impact of a consumer revolution. According to Wallace-Hadrill, «luxuries and their downward derivatives or ‘sub-luxuries’ played a central role in redefining the social order of the Empire». In fact the elite was not restricted to the Roman political class, it also included the political elites of Italian cities. Already «at a time when they stood outside Roman citizenship, luxury spending was a way of asserting equality of standing, just as ambitious municipal building programs asserted the dignity of the cities themselves» (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 436-8).

It is in this context that the increasing use of mosaics in the floors of private and public buildings should be understood. As expensive luxury items³², mosaics were in fact employed in the wealthiest buildings of, above all, the cities in Campania and around Rome, the regions where the influence of the Greek civilization and the availability of monetary resources coming from the east wars were larger. Actually, the decorative art, of which mosaics constitute an important example, had a significant development in the Hellenistic period, first of all with painting, precisely an essential source of inspiration behind the progress of *opus tessellatum*³³. The imitation of the effects of painting was in fact a characteristic feature of the mosaics in that period and was already present before 211 BC in Morgantina (House of Ganymede), a Sicilian town of the interior (Dunbabin 1999a: 21-22)³⁴. Another item, the Thmuis mosaic, from the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria and probably from the first half of the second century BC, “shows, fully developed, the technique which modern scholars call *vermiculatum*: minuscule fragments of stone, so small that the eye hardly distinguishes them as separate entities... [t]heir use permit[ing] the artist genuinely to rival the effects of painting, assembling his colours as if they were strokes of the brush, and drawing on as wide a palette as that available to the painter” (Dunbabin 1999a: 25-26). It was a domain in which “Italy in the last two centuries BC absorbed the full impact of Hellenistic influence”, that being particularly evident in the case of the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii (probably the best known mosaic to have survived from antiquity, in the opinion of Katherine Dunbabin). It is a mosaic which “shows

³² This connection to opulence is very soon recognized by the elder Cato who attacked pavements as examples of Carthaginian luxury. Some time later in the same century, the satirist Gaius Lucilius was attracted by the meticulous process of fitting the tesserae together, comparing it – in a way not intended as a compliment but rather as a mockery – to the “over-elaborate or artificial diction of an orator” (Dunbabin 1999b: 739-40).

³³ An expression that in Latin refers to mosaics made with *tesserae*, the small near-cubic pieces of stone that were set into mortar.

³⁴ Another example is mentioned in (Dunbabin 1999b: 740), concerning a ship of Hieron of Syracuse (3rd century AC) whose floors were described in a passage of Moschion (quoted by Athenaeus). This passage – Athenaeus (5.206d-209e): «[the ship] had floors of mosaic work, of all kinds of tessellated stone. In this mosaic the whole story of the “Iliad” was depicted right marvellously» – is discussed in (Dunbabin 1994: 26, n. 2).

the decisive battle between Alexander the Great and Darius King of Persia ... [and] ...it is universally acknowledged that it must be a very close copy of a painting made shortly after the actual event". Like other items in the House of the Faun and in other rich houses in Pompeii, this mosaic (or its laying) is dated from the end of the second century BC. Due to the fact that the majority of these fine mosaics were made in the artists' studios before being brought to their final destinations, the question was raised whether they were made in Pompeii itself or imported ready-made from elsewhere. It appears nevertheless likely that artists producing mosaics that present repeated versions of the same scene worked in local workshops (Pompeii and the neighbouring towns) while *emblemata*, in particular, could be articles of commerce coming from cities out of the country³⁵.

With specific regard to the profitability of the investment on estates, many authors tend to put in perspective its ability to lead to high revenues – especially when taking into account the strong wealth inflows that the Roman elite became habituated to in the course of the first half of the second century BC – which could nevertheless be characterised in general as safe. Among the different opinions on the subject, those that argue that investment in rustic properties – and in particular in the development of commercial estates – would have been a privileged way to apply any significant revenue resulting from the wars of that period (beyond the motivations of social prestige that were presupposed in such investment) and should be highlighted. But of course there were other feasible investments that, although possibly less secure, could lead to more significant financial income³⁶.

Such opportunities began to appear more noticeably when, following the unclear position of Rhodes in the conflict mentioned above with Perseus (see note 21), Rome decided, as punishment, to give in 166 BC the control of Delos (an Aegean island that up to then, due to its shrine status, had attracted some trade) to the Athenians (Athens had clearly been on the side of Rome in the Third Macedonian War) and a duty-free status to its port. This resulted in the explosive commercial development of Delos (however associated with a recrudescence of the activity of Cilician pirates, out of control because of a lower activity of the Rhodian patrols on the waterways), its counterpart being, according to Polybius, a fall of 85 % in custom duties collected by Rhodes. Delos then began to be inhabited mainly by traders originating in the regions of western and southern Asia Minor and also from further east and from the Italian peninsula and Sicily. But it was especially after the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC, says Strabo, and with the move to the island of *negotiatores* that operated in that city, that the growth of its trade had become more intense. Situated on the waterway that connected the Italian peninsula to Asia Minor, soon – as is attested by inscriptions found – many *Romaioi* and *Italikoi* settled on the island³⁷. It was the slave trade, fuelled mainly by the Roman wars and the pirate activity, that formed the basis of a significant share of the activity taking place in Delos³⁸. Furthermore, with the enactment of the *lex Sempronia de Provincia Asia*, Delos became also a transit point for Roman magistrates and publicans, traders and bankers who went

³⁵ (Dunbabin 1999a: 38-42). *Emblemata* are central panel mosaics with figure representations, usually executed in *opus vermiculatum*.

³⁶ See what is said about it in (Kay 2014: 151-5).

³⁷ (Strab. 10.5.4); (Green 1997: 473, 491); (Kay 2014: 197-200).

³⁸ The sectors of the Italian and Sicilian economies managed by the Roman oligarchy had become increasingly dependent, according to William Harris, on the inflows of slave labour that occurred after the last phase of the Hannibalic War, inflows that were mainly fuelled by the victories of the armies commanded by that oligarchy (Harris 1979: 81-3).

to and returned from the province. It must be borne in mind however that a very large part of the Romans and Italians established on the island were freedmen and slaves who represented their patrons there (Kay 2014: 200-2).

A good indicator of the increasingly ostentatious spending of the Roman elites is the set of sumptuary laws enacted in the first half of the second century BC³⁹. It was some time afterwards – and leaving in the shadows apparently unimportant expenses such as those the sumptuary laws were targeting – that luxury *villae* such as those prevailing in the Campania region began to multiply. With Delos, a trade in luxury goods developed – purple, incense, myrrh, perfumes, jewellery, linen fabrics, Greek wines – the main actors for which were Syrian and Phoenician traders. Although there are indications that some luxury goods were manufactured on the island itself, their production required in principle imports of oriental raw materials (Kay 2014: 202-6).

A set of circumstances – the intention to punish Rhodes for its dubious position in the war against Perseus, the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, the creation of the province of Asia, the sudden collapse of the Seleucid empire and a favourable geographical position – led to the rapid growth of the commercial importance of Delos⁴⁰. But it cannot be ignored that behind this development was the enormous availability of financial resources concentrated in a relatively limited area close to Rome and whose origins have been mentioned above. This availability was yet more enhanced by the development of credit which – besides being supported by family and friendship connections among individuals who had funds and others who needed them for purely personal purposes or to start or develop a business – came to assume wider proportions and were professionalised through the gradual emergence of financial intermediation. This intermediation⁴¹ had the effect to connect, on the one hand, the individual who had the funds and the entity that acted as a bank of deposits in our days and, on the other hand, that bank and the investor who intended to use the loan obtained in a purchase or more generally in a business⁴². There are indications in the literary sources and in the epigraphical record that allow us to conclude that such intermediation had assumed high levels in the second half of the second century BC, in particular associated with the development of the *emporion* of Delos⁴³. The development of credit, promoting the mobilisation of resources that otherwise would have remained inactive, treasured, thus contributed significantly to the dynamisation of economic activity. A dynamisation indeed that was simply reinforced thereby, since it was inserted in a historical period of strong expansion in the availability of precious metals – as happened at the beginning of the

³⁹ See (Rosivach 2006). The first of these laws was the *lex Orchia* in 181 BC (which introduced restrictions on spending on banquets), then the *lex Fannia*, which in 161 BC sought to strengthen and give consistency to the former, and finally the *lex Didia* (in 143 BC), which extended the restrictions to the whole of Italy.

⁴⁰ A sign of the affluence that this activity brought to the island itself can be seen in the pavements that were concentrated in the rich houses (dated with a high degree of probability between about 130 and 88 BC) where, beyond the normal *opus tessellatum*, the much finer *opus vermiculatum* – which used tesserae less than four millimetres square – could be found. For example the *emblemata* with tiger-rider in the House of Dionysus that “exploits to the full the colouristic possibilities of the technique, with minute tesserae (many less than one millimetre square) in an extraordinarily wide range of colours”. See (Dunbabin 1999a: 30-35).

⁴¹ Intermediation assumed by the *argentarii*, ancestors of the modern banks, the first manifestation of which in Rome (Andreau 1987: 340) took place between 318 and 310 BC with financial techniques seemingly inspired by the *trapezitai* (Cohen 1992: 7-11) of the Greek.

⁴² But the intermediation not only made easier the connection between the available funds and the needs but changed also the nature of the risks involved and increased the overall availability of financial resources available to the economy through the creation of the multiplier effect of the bank credit.

⁴³ See in particular (Kay 2014: 107-28, 211-3).

Hellenistic period, when the conquests of Alexander led to the mobilisation of the treasures held by the Persian lords and by temples, and later, in the sixteenth century, when the huge influx of gold and silver from the “New World” took place – which, by causing a revolution in prices and boosting the global demand, brought greater dynamism and complexity to economic activity.

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Urbs in Rure: Decorative Programmes and Architectural Models in Lusitania's Villae

Kırsal Kentler: Lusitania Villaları'nda Dekoratif Programlar ve Mimari Modeller

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Abstract

One of the most remarkable characteristics in Lusitania's villae is their diversity: Each place embodies a set of contents and symbols, which were carefully defined by their owners. By analysing all the different architectural and iconographic variants, we are trying to understand who these domini were and how the elites conveyed all contents belonging to the bigger picture of the Mediterranean Oikoumene. Landscape, building spaces and plants, the relation between inner and outer environments, iconographic contents, and decorative grammar are analysed in order to be able to understand the way in which the cultural values found in Lusitania's villae were transmitted.

Keywords: Lusitania, Roman villa, decorative programs, Roman mosaics, Roman architecture.

Öz

Lusitania villarındaki en dikkat çekici özelliklerden biri onların çeşitliliğidir: Her yer, sahipleri tarafından özenle tanımlanan içerikler ve sembollerden oluşmaktadır. Farklı mimari ve ikonografik değişkenleri analiz ederek, bu sahiplerin kim olduklarını ve bu seçkinlerin Akdeniz Oikoumene'sinin daha büyük resmine ait tüm içeriği nasıl aktardıklarını anlamaya çalışmaktayız. Lusitania villalarında bulunan kültürel değerlerin nasıl aktarıldığını anlayabilmek için peyzaj, bina alanları ve bitkiler, iç ve dış çevre arasındaki ilişki, ikonografik ve dekoratif sembolik içerik incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lusitania, Roma villası, dekoratif program, Roma mozaikleri, Roma mimarisi.

Previous words

The term *villa* is one of the most used in archaeological bibliography. Out of curiosity, one can simply say that far too little is said about it on that time's epigraphy; however, many Latin authors have been using it either in 'technical' literature or in epistolary references and letters, where, in this case, they are written in the first person.

In order to get to know a *villa*, we are counting on two groups of authors. The first is a heterogeneous group of writers with the purpose of writing treaties with recommendations on the proper management of a farm business in common, which is why they are usually known as the *Latin agronomists*. In spite of the different times in which they have written, there is a common intent: an ideal farming business would have different components - residential (*pars urbana*), transformation, and storage rooms (*pars rustica* and/or *pars fructuaria*), which connect to the surrounding land (the *fundus*) -, for which the owner should follow a set of recommendations in order to profit from

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the whole lot. The villa is, therefore, a working space, which is understood as a whole group that ought to be profitable - so, it is a place for *negotium*. This layout and these purposes have remained for all the different authors, whatever the time in which they have written, and have formed a guideline with a background, as there were authors in Carthage who have written treaties on rural constructions¹.

Another group of authors have also described their domains in accordance with a normally intimate speech that was found in epistolary correspondence and letters. This is a bigger batch, and chronologically more heterogeneous, as it runs from the Ist century BC (Cicero) to the VIth century AD (Venantius Fortunatus). In this case, we are looking at scholars who live in second homes on a seasonal basis, and look for comfort, peace, and quiet in these countryside homes as opposed to the urban stress. Hence, the concept of rural life presented to us is essentially an idyllic and idealised one, for which the emphasis is on *otium*, the leisure time in which a person can enjoy reading, fruition, and writing (that is, *otium litteratum*).

Therefore, there is a big difference between these two blocks of authors: while the *Agronomist* treaty writers exalt the *negotium*, which is the productive component of the countryside, the scholars prefer the *otium*, which is the contemplative fruition that is also provided by the countryside. Does this mean that both groups complete each other and offer a balanced and objective vision of reality? No. This is not true for two reasons: first, both groups belong to the same social

¹ Although they have not reached us, there have been references (Columela, RR I, 1; 13; 18) to works by an author named Mago, who would not have been the only Punic author. Pliny the Elder has reported (Plin.nat. 18, 22) that his treaty on agriculture was translated into Latin as determined by the Senate. One should also remember that Varro quoted almost fifty Greek authors, since there were also countless treaties on agriculture in Greece.

Figure 1
Roman Villa in Horta da Torre
(Fronteira). Orthophotogrammetry
carried out at the end of the 2016
campaign by Carlos Carpetudo
(CromelequeLda. -
<http://www.cromeleque.com>).

reality. Both, treaty writers and scholars, are members of an urban and conservative elite, which does not live permanently in the countryside, but rather travel thereto for writing purposes. Secondly, both have built intentional speeches aiming at the creation of an archetype: in the first case, a *described idealisation*, where the *villa* is proposed; it is a space that *does not really exist*, but which may become a reality if recommendations are followed - for which they have been thoroughly described -, while in the case of the scholars, we have an *idealised description*, that is, places that really exist, but they have been described in accordance with rhetorical declarations common to all (and are often repeated *ipsis verbis*) where these descriptions only intend to emphasise an ideological speech. These letters do not comprise agricultural labour, the effort of work, or the hardships of life in the countryside; only times of leisure, reading, banquets, and welcoming guests. These are places that *really exist*, but they have been based on assumptions that mould their description and which intentionally seek to cause an emotional reaction in the reader.

This is why, if we analyse the texts written by the treaty writers and scholars, we will see repeats in each and every one of them, common narrations, literary formulas, and *topoi*. There are obviously specific elements and differences, but after a careful reading you will quickly identify common suggestions and solutions, or even sentences that almost repeat themselves. As, deep down, each group has a unique purpose, which has remained unchanged over history².

The beginnings, between the structuring of a new landscape and the productive paradigm

Due to the historic process of the Roman conquest of Portugal, the most archaic examples of *villae* are not present, although there is evidence in other regions - such as the Hispanic case, where they feature more strongly in Catalonia. However, there are some relevant cases to be studied in Lusitania, separated into two essential groups.

First, there is the model of the *republican farms*, which are subjected to a broader discussion that goes far beyond this study³. Nevertheless, one should remember the experience of the outskirts of São Cucufate (Vidigueira), where field surveys have enabled us to identify a series of small farms, which, after several archaeological surveys, revealed short activity in the diachrony of occupation, that is, their abandonment two or three generations after their foundation. What reveals to be more interesting for the matter at hand are the dimensions of the involved structures: the case of Boa Vista, a small *villa* with a peristyle 'sans mosaïque, sans stuc, sans marbre (...), des établissements modestes encore, mais de plan spécifiquement romain' (Mantas – Sillières 1990: 165)⁴, or Apariça, where the material collected contrasts with a 'ferme est bien exigüe; c'est la forme la plus simple de la villa linéaire' (Mantas – Sillières 1990: 169)⁵.

In the second case, we have the planimetric examples, which were fossilised in the whole plant, as there were no reconstructions or renovations eliminating these architectonic solutions. One of the most interesting cases is in Torre de

² As I have discussed this subject recently, I shall refer interested readers to Carneiro 2014: 91-102, where you will be able to read a broader approach, or to more recent papers in print.

³ I am referring to the problem of south-west *Castella* and its functionality, among others. Please refer to Fabião 2002.

⁴ Refer to pl. LXXXVII

⁵ Refer to p. LXXXIX, C.

Palma (Monforte), where the *pars urbana* is being gradually extended into a magnificent example of the building's *horizontal stratigraphy*, since the atrium has remained even after the extensions, which were a result of the house with a peristyle and the room with a triple apse⁶. Another interesting situation is in the *villa* of Pisões (Beja), a residence where, after running through a long hallway filled with columns entering the building - possibly filled with gardens surrounded by trees -, you will find a staircase descending towards a perfectly Italian atrium. This space produces a small central *impluvium* decorated with four marble columns. This house still preserves over forty divisions, although none of them seems to indicate any monumentality, a particular ornamental apparatus, or in most cases, functionality⁷. That is, we have a relatively low profile and sober planimetry, which has survived the entire diachrony of occupation of this place (which is rare, as we know that owners tended to regularly carry out works and renovations on their properties).

Unfortunately, we do not have any more examples of occupied *villae* between the Ist and IInd centuries of our Era, either due to later monumentalisation plans, which have erased all evidence of the first stages of the building - as is the case with Quinta das Longas, Elvas⁸ -, or because archaeological research was not directed towards this purpose - recognising the models of occupation of the territory in the beginnings of Roman presence, between the end of the Republic and the Principality of Augustus⁹.

The *villa*, between the *otium* and the *voluptas*

From the late 1st century AD, we can see how each countryside residence came to transform into a place for socialising, which, throughout the Empire, became crucial in forging and cementing social bonds. The *villa* is a stage par excellence for interspersed feasts of theatre and poetry recitals, literary evenings, or coexisting to the sound of music. These are fundamental moments for strengthening friendship bonds and personal solidarity among aristocrats, and in order for this to be the best possible environment, these spaces had to be worked on. Rooms became gradually wider with better acoustics, filled with well-designed architectural solutions, which complement cultural contents intended to be shown. But it is also necessary to find creative elements, possibly somewhat spectacular, where one plays with their senses: the harmonious sound of running water, the false scenarios and *trompe l'oeil*, the play of colours, reflections and solutions for controlling light have been experimented up to their limit over the following centuries. This movement actually started in the Imperial Residences with Tiberius, Nero, and Hadrian, and their emulation and copy by private elites spread these solutions throughout the Empire.

At the same time, still in the early days of the Empire, the spreading of peristyle and breaking down spaces - which were more and more sectorised and designed for specific purposes - allowed for residences to become more malleable from the point of view of architectonic design, where one would find original and

⁶ For example, refer to the plants in Lancha – André 2000.

⁷ In the absence of a comprehensive study on this place, or a synthesis monograph, one should continue to read the results by Ribeiro 1972. It is true that room 30 produces an apse and a central wide tank, but it has small dimensions and seems too eccentric in relation to the entrance atrium. This is often designated as a peristyle, but due to its dimensions and layout, it really is an atrium.

⁸ As an example, please refer to Carvalho – Almeida 2003, in relation to the differences between those designated as *villa* I and *villa* II.

⁹ For examples and comments, see Terrenato 2007.

highly creative solutions. They bear strong regional variations, which are proof of trends based on different prototypes: for example, while the clover-shaped room, or that with a triple apse, is common in the *villae* of Lusitania or Central Plateau, there is only one in a *villa* in Betica, in Fuentedueñas (Ecija).

In the same way, we could see another movement, which would come to its peak in the following centuries: the osmosis between indoor and outdoor areas. On one hand, the *villa* should be in harmony with the surrounding landscape, whether by choosing well where it would be implanted - the well-known search for *ideal landscapes*, either for the *urbs* or private houses -, or by *domesticating* all nature surrounding it (by creating terraces and thresholds; an artificial water mirror; or locations for contemplating the landscape). But on the other hand, experiencing this *otium* and *convivium*, which are essential for strengthening social bonds, may be possible by transposing the socialising spaces to the surrounding nature. Hence, we have the *triclinium aestivalis* structures - the small constructions that stand out in the main building -, where the *dominus* enjoys socialising with his guests, or where he goes to read or write. Pliny the Younger described these places many times, particularly his *villa Laurentina*, where he had a *library* and an *apotheca*, where he enjoyed greater privacy so that he could read and write. The Greek terms we employ, among many others, for each specific area of the house, show us how this entire movement was influenced by the Greek culture.

At the same time, other spaces have become more relevant as they perfectly adapt to the times of *otium* and *convivium*. I am particularly referring to the baths, as the small baths in Augustus' times were replaced with gradually elaborate and sumptuous spaces. The fruition of the baths became more relevant due to their inherent value - as a time to socialise, where you would have greater intimacy for conversations, but also to fulfil medical prescriptions which, particularly after Galen's treaties, recommended greater care in body treatments -, but they were also a complement to the feasting times¹⁰. Hence, baths became more relevant in regard to their planimetric design, and, since then, they became independent from the main building.

Lusitania's *villae*: planning solutions, between the attachment to paradigms and the search for uniqueness

There is a double tension in private residences throughout the Empire: on one hand, each *possessor* is attempting to show the way in which they master cultural archetypes in their architectural and decorative expression, that is, each residence should be fully incorporated into their time's cultural universe. However, there is an obvious temptation to the *unicum*, to show how each house comprises original and absolutely creative solutions, in order to create an unforgettable impact on each visitor.

This real explosion of creativity has resulted in unique solutions¹¹, which combine the monumentality of outdoor spaces with the creation of artificial atmospheres,

¹⁰ Although there are unanswered questions in this passage, according to *Satyricon* (26.10) social groups would relax in a tepid bath in the middle of a feast while the room was being cleaned and prepared for the rest of the meal.

¹¹ '(...) une variété infinie des plans', as defined by Jean-Gérard Gorges (1979: 115), unlike the central European regions where we see more stereotypes, which also lead us to reflect on the way in which construction plans could be organised by architects. For further reflection on this process, please refer to the study by Gorges (2008) where he mentions 'strength and reflections in the rural world of a traditional and thriving Rome' (p. 46, own translation).

the volumes that allow for wide indoor perspectives while contemplating the outdoors, and handling decorative programmes without any breaks on creation and aesthetic standards, which are curiously linked to traditional classic archetypes. This blossoming, unstoppable, and baroque architecture¹² serves the ideals of the time's social and political values, such as the *ars vivendi*, which was organised around the *otium litteratum*, as well as the self-representation scenario of the *dominus* that implies the *adventus* and *pompa processionalis*, which are similar to the late antique imperial codes¹³. As it is evident, these single-power manifestations are more peacefully carried out in the peripheral places that are further away from the powerful quarters.

The visual relationship with the outdoors, according to the *art of contemplation*, which also expresses ownership - the peripheral view over a property reflects the power of the *dominus*, whether it is the factual view over the lands one can see, or the symbolic view over agricultural labourers -, is present in the case of São Cucufate (Vidigueira), where a *cenatio* room might also have existed filled with residually preserved mosaics (Alarcão - Étienne - Mayet 1990)¹⁴. Here in, the actual existence of a spacious gate that runs through the entire central façade serving as a wide visual point of contact with the outdoors reminds us of the countless representations of Tunisian mosaics, where the *villae* bear balconies with columns, which allow for a maximum fruition of this *contemplatio*. The *triclinium* associated with the 'octagonal belvedere', which was probably decorated with a sculptural cycle, in the room where a bump on the floor highlights the 'majesté du lieu', illustrates the way in which these outdoor/indoor visual relations are manipulated, and how imperial prototypes and codes are particularly reflected according to the façade's external monumentality.

Indoor spaces are also filled with solutions, which continue this duality between the landscape and the structure that was built, hence creating artificial environments filled with allegories and cultural content. The use of water as an element, which creates a grand scene, is not surprising in Lusitania, where one can see these prototypes being adopted. We know two rural examples of *stibadia* within the *pars urbana* framework. In the case of the Rabaçal *villa* (Pessoa 2008), we stand before a moving structure, which, similarly to many others in *Hispania*, masters a *triclinium* that comprises the room with a triple apse. The floor was made with polychrome mosaics, which contain the most relevant figures in the entire *villa*, although the two side apses bear *opus signinum*. The existence of five water supply channels below the mosaic covering the central apse had the central area regularly flooded with water¹⁵.

Another example is in the Roman *villa* of Horta da Torre (Fig. 1), which has been undergoing excavation works by the signatory since 2012¹⁶. In this case, we have a *stibadium* built with blocks of stone coated with stucco, which can be found in the centre of an apse that stands out in a quadrangular room, which has not been entirely excavated, but should amount to a total surface of about 90m². This room has been entirely covered in *opus signinum*, a solution that serves as

¹² For a well-known example, see Gallochio 2014.

¹³ In order to be fully in line with these meanings, the work of Sabine MacCormack (1981) remains essential.

¹⁴ cap. V - *L'étage noble* (p. 121-126).

¹⁵ The author introduces two interpretations, where one points towards the existence of 'five resonant cavities' (Pessoa 2008: 151) during musical events, since he does not identify a water drainage system, which according to the first interpretation would fill the *triclinium* space.

¹⁶ Research Project *FRONTAGER* as approved by IGESPAR, and later on, DGPC, with the exclusive logistical and financial support of Fronteira Municipality.

perfect waterproof for the floor, except for a small step, which highlights the apse, with great greyish-white marble slabs outlining it. The water was supplied through quadrangular holes covered in tiles, which allowed for water to pour from the wall behind the *stibadium*, hence forming artificial waterfalls pouring from a hidden tank inside the apse's wall. Thus, the social groups would dine reclining on the *stibadium* with a wall behind them, from which water would be falling and spreading freely all around a great quadrangular room, in the end of which one would see a drainage point. The solution that was found is extremely spectacular and unequivocally parallel to the *triclinium* of the *villa* in Faragola (Volpe 2006) or El Ruedo (Cordoba) (Vaquerizo Gil – Noguera Celdrán 1997), as well as other places with a *stibadium*, thus marking an indispensable role which this element took on in the new socialising ways of Late Antiquity (Morvillez 1996). In refined and representative contexts, water takes on a fundamental role in creating scenarios, which lead to the necessary *amoenitas* for a region with hot summers; however, reflections, the play of colours, or even the relaxing sound of fountains and waterfalls also contribute towards reinforcing the intended environment. The best example in Portugal for the use of this resource in a rural environment is the well-known *nymphaeum* in the *villa* of Quinta das Longas (Elvas) (Carvalho – Almeida 2003), where water combined with the two-colour *opus sectile* floor and the sculpture repertoire, certainly created an impressive atmosphere. Thus, this *otium et contemplatio* ideal was met, with an environment leading to intellectual gratification in socialising, of which authors have left us with plenty of literary descriptions. The spaces built, into which nature is transported, combined with the outdoor landscape, which serves as a frame and complement, are quite evident in Quinta das Longas, where the *nymphaeum* is elevated over the riverside of Ribeira de Chaves, 'where the water takes on a "scenic" role in this architectural construction as a whole' (Carvalho – Almeida 2003: 117; Rodríguez – Carvalho 2008: 311-318).

This means that the purpose of the *dominus* is the search for a harmonious ideal in the fusion between the human world and natural or cosmic order. It is thus no surprise that Orpheus - the mythical figure that embodies this meeting between what is human and what is natural - has had so many representations according to a pantheistic view that focuses on the *dominus*, the real *kosmokrator* of the surrounding environment. Orpheus symbolises this harmony between the human sphere and nature, therefore it is significant for us to find such depictions in mosaics that focus on two regional areas: around *Augusta Emerita* (Alvarez Martinez – Nogales Basarrate 1994) (El Pesquero and La Atalaya) and *Colipo* (Arneiro, or Arnal, and Martim Gil). This aspiration was typical at a time of high spirituality, where the *villae* owners conceived a considerably symbolic domain: their property was no longer a mere productive space for *negotium*, to become the place to celebrate the osmosis between the human order and natural planning in search of full harmony, which is symbolised by Orpheus. We can see this search in other elements: for example, the celebration of life is expressed by the appearance of Bacchus, who is often represented in mosaics, where the Dionysian *thiasos* appears at the same time as the *adventus* celebrating the arrival of the *dominus*. These mosaic representations of Bacchus surrounding *Augusta Emerita* were also emphasised (Alvarez Martinez – Nogales Basarrate 1994), as was the case with the *villae* at El Hinojal or La Cocosa; however, the most symbolic regional case was certainly the set in Torre de Palma (Monforte). In addition to the mosaic representing the triumph of Bacchus in detail, there is a subtle series of inter-textual relationships, which I have highlighted in another place (Carneiro 2014: 343-344 vol. II), where the designation of each horse

depicted on the main panel of the room with a triple apse also takes us to the different stages of the Dionysian cycle, and also reflect the owner's possession of the most subtle cultural loads, which are inherent to the Greek world view. Therefore, in this scenario, the existence of a panel that depicts the muses in the same archaeological space is perfectly natural, since it shows the owner's profound cultural ecumenism, which he also expected his social group to recognise and share.

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The Mosaics of Conimbriga (Prov. Lusitania, Portugal). New Observations on the Activity of their Workshops and on their Decorative Programs

Conimbriga Mozaikleri (Lusitania Eyaleti, Portekiz). Atölyelerin Aktiviteleri ve Dekoratif Programlarıyla İlgili Yeni Gözlemler

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Abstract

With over 100 years of study and dissemination, the mosaics from Conimbriga are an outstanding group of this Roman decorative art in the extreme West of the Empire.

Recent research on the domestic architecture of the town as allowed for those studies to be put in a general perspective and some conclusions drawn on the activity of the local workshops over the span of five centuries (1st BC - IVth AD).

These conclusions respect both to technical and artistic matters, such as the volume of the activity, the public or private nature of the decorated buildings and the style of those mosaics, and to ideological issues, such as the figurative motifs preferred in the decorative programs, where everyday life, heroic cycles and broad mythological themes have an important presence.

Keywords: Conimbriga, Lusitania, Roman mosaic, heroic cycles, Romanization.

Öz

Yüz yılı aşkın bir süredir gerçekleştirilen araştırma ve yayın çalışmaları sayesinde, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun en batısında bulunan Conimbriga mozaiklerinin Roma dekoratif sanatları içerisinde ön plana çıkan bir grubu oluşturdukları anlaşılmıştır. Kasabanın yerel mimarisi üzerine yapılan son araştırmalar, bu çalışmaların genel bir perspektif içinde ele alınmasını ve beş asır boyunca yerel atölye çalışmalarıyla ilgili bazı çıkarımların yapılmasını sağlamaktadır (İÖ 1. - İS IV. yüzyıl). Bu sonuçlar, hem etkinlik hacmi, hem de dekore edilmiş yapıların kamusal veya özel nitelikleri ile bu mozaiklerin tarzı gibi teknik ve sanatsal konulara ve dekoratif programlarda tercih edilen gündelik hayatın, kahramanca döngülerin ve geniş mitolojik temaların yer aldığı figüratif motifler gibi ideolojik meselelere önem vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Conimbriga, Lusitania, Roma mozaiği, kahramanlık hikayeleri, Romanizasyon.

1. Introduction

Conimbriga (prov. Lusitania, currently Condeixa-a-Nova municipality, district of Coimbra, Portugal) is a Roman city of indigenous origin, known since the XVI century and object of excavations and publications since 1890 and,

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since 1930, systematically excavated. These excavations have exposed the site and preserved a major Roman site in the Iberian Peninsula.

Among the various research projects developed in the meantime, reference will here be made to a recent one, which dealt with the systematic study of domestic architecture of the town (Correia 2013: 47-51).

This architecture, although often referenced, particularly because of the preserved mosaics, had never been the subject of systematic treatment. This is a paradoxical situation: the investigation of *Conimbriga* archeology began with the domestic architecture. This is a feature that *Conimbriga* shares with cities such as *Pompeii*, *Herculaneum* and *Ostia*, but not many other archaeological sites in the orb of the empire.

The first four moments of research in the town, namely the small excavations following chance findings in 1873, the first major excavations of 1899, the excavation of the site by the Faculty of Letters in 1930 and the excavations of the DGEMN from 1929 to 1944, all of them exposed - the first two temporarily, the others on the basis of permanent exhibition of the remains - domestic architectural fragments, namely mosaics (DGEMN 1964: *passim*), and none of them public monuments of substance (on the excavations of 1873, Gonçalves 1903: 359-365; for the remaining excavations, DGEMN 1948: 5-29 and Correia 1941: 257-267). The Late Empire city wall, a remarkable public monument itself, was never the subject of thorough investigation, his chronological interpretation was always based on the misunderstanding of its identification with the true limit of the city and its restoration itself was carried without an archaeological investigation worthy of that name (DGEMN 1948: 31 (V) and references on pp. 7-9).

In fact, up to the French-Portuguese excavations started in 1964 (Alarcão - Etienne 1977: 65-84, 135-142, 155-164), the domestic architecture was all that was known of *Conimbriga*, but from that moment onwards this has been relegated to a secondary role in the investigation of the city.

After the French-Portuguese excavations, the archeological research in *Conimbriga* stagnated. In the late seventies and throughout the eighties of the XX century, some small scale interventions were carried out, but none was part of a real research project, and has never been the subject of systematic publication (cf. Correia 2004b: 265-277).

This however, didn't stop the Museum of *Conimbriga* being involved in research, namely of the mosaics, with the first publication of the Portuguese Corpus of Mosaics and the organization of major international congresses on the theme, (ICCM in 1994 and AIEMA in 2005).

However, it was the complete study of the residential buildings known, totally or partially, in the town, that allowed for the mosaics to be understood in their general urban setting, which is the main object of this paper.

2. Problems of chronology

The history of research of the domestic architecture of *Conimbriga* strongly determines the context in which the mosaics can be studied mainly due to a factor: the extent and detail of our knowledge of the chronology of each of the buildings.

The date of construction of a building is not the main thing to study, but the chronological framework of urban development and genetic relationship between the elements that comprise it are an indispensable element in understanding the

underlying social and development of urban dynamics and, to the case in point, of significant trends like the decoration of residences of substance with mosaics. The overview of this issue in *Conimbriga* is not particularly encouraging.

Until 1944, the archaeological excavations carried out in *Conimbriga* had no stratigraphic record of note. As a rule, the excavation was limited to expose the Roman buildings to the height of their pavements (determined by preliminary surveys). The collection of materials, whose rigor is unknown, but appears to have been limited to certain objects deemed curious, systematically neglected the collection of small ceramic fragments, with no provenance per compartment or building. Chronology of these buildings, hence, is unsure.

From 1953 onwards, excavations started to be provided with a process of collecting materials, registering them and their contexts, and conservation in identifiable sets. However, a stratigraphic registration system was not adopted and the difficulty in managing the chronological data is still very significant, for the excavations of this date.

Only from 1962 onwards modern excavation processes were adopted, but no mosaics were found then, which leaves current research in a somewhat dismal situation.

This does not mean, however, that a rigorous approach to the date of mosaics installation in the town cannot be developed, as shall be demonstrated further on.

2.1. The investigation of the domestic architecture of the city and its mosaics

In 2010 the present author concluded the systematic study of domestic architecture of the city, which analyzed in depth the twenty-seven residential buildings known in whole or in part (Correia 2013: 53-175).

This study allowed for a comprehensive approach to mosaics known in the city from the perspective of mosaic art as a technical program associated with residential construction as a whole, but also a renewed look on the ideological expression of the decorative programs. These approaches are published here.

The study of the mosaics of *Conimbriga* can rely on previous information that allow for its division in two main groups: i) the mosaics of the house of the fountains, published in the respective volume of the *Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos de Portugal*; ii) the mosaics kept *in situ* in other buildings of the town. The latter are not systematically studied from a stylistic point of view, which somewhat diminishes the possibility of analyzing them in depth on the first approach to be made (relating to the activity of the workshops) and, on the whole, their mostly geometric character does not allow for deep insights into their ideological expression (the second approach to be made), but this distinction is germane to the very nature of the evidence dealt with here, and one has to proceed with it.

3. The activity of mosaicist's workshops in Conimbriga

The evidence shows that the introduction of Roman decorative arts in *Conimbriga* started in public works, namely the construction of the South baths in its first, Augustan phase. This building uses the two major techniques that will dominate the decoration of *Conimbriga* domestic architecture throughout the period in which it is recognizable: mosaic and painting; mosaic art is the one that gives us a larger sampling in time span and area applied, that allow for a meaningful approach (Oliveira 2008: 183-195).

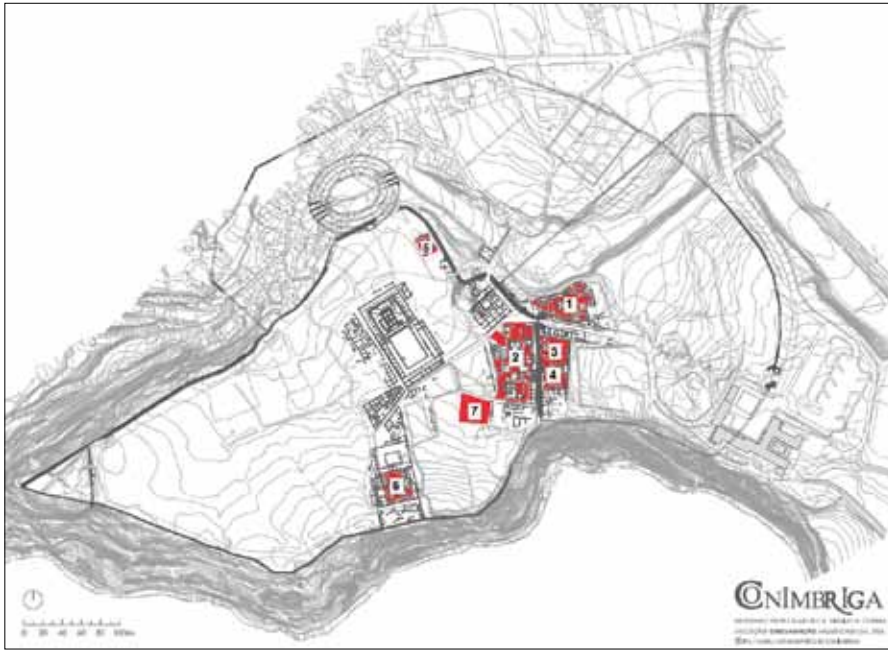


Figure 1
Location of buildings with mosaics in Conimbriga. 1 – House of the fountains, 2 – House attributed to Cantaber, 3 – House of the swastika, 4 – House of the skeletons, 5 – House of the trident and the sword, 6 – Southern baths, 7 – Probable location of the building excavated in 1899.

Six domestic buildings in the city were decorated with mosaics (Fig. 1).

In the house attributed to *Cantaber* about 895 m² of mosaics were applied in the main part of the residence, although much of this mosaic extension is currently reduced to trace remains. In the absence of a thorough study, the references given by J. M. B. Oleiro on several occasions may point out an extended chronology from the beginning of the II century, perhaps even to the last quarter of the I (Oleiro 1986: 115; Oleiro 1994a: 43-44; Oliveira 2005: 48-68). Other mosaics totaling 77 m² correspond to the late-imperial post-wall addition, and should be dated in the second quarter of the IV century.

From another building of which nothing known and can be located only approximately, mosaics were removed in the excavation of 1899. Considering that only 50% was actually recovered, this building would have at least about 58 m² of mosaics installed. The chronology proposal is late Antoninian (Oleiro 1973: 92-154; Oliveira 2005: 84-86.), i.e. mid II century.

In the house of the trident and the sword 48 m² of mosaics are known in the three sequential compartments in the northern part of the house (a *schola*. Cf. Correia 2016) and other 23 m² corresponding to cubiculum mosaic of the south wing (Oliveira 2005: 71-74).

The chronology proposal for these mosaics needs further examination. The chronological proposals for buildings other than the house of the fountains, made by C. Oliveira (2005: *passim*) refer to a communication instrument where the question must be judged insufficiently treated and too simplified and should not be accepted without further examination. Such an examination will not fail to be made in the publication of a second issue of the *Corpus of Roman Mosaics of Portugal* dedicated to *Conimbriga*, when such work is carried out (cf. Correia 2013: 208 n 234).

For the matter at hand the mosaics of the house of the trident and the sword are the least studied of the city, and only from internal comparisons is it possible to propose a chronology. This internal comparison would show they can be stylistically placed between the aforementioned 1899 mosaics and the oldest

mosaics of the house of the fountains; their dating up fall in the second half of the II century.

As for the house of the fountains, the likely overlap of partially surviving decorative programs, or any extensions of the program in the northern area of the house, which seem possible, can at this point be neglected. The extent of mosaics is 673 m² and its chronology goes from the last quarter of the II century to Severan times, mid III century (Oleiro 1992: 168-170).

In the house of skeletons there is a mosaic with 24 m² in the independent unit of the southern part of the house and the rest of the calculation (249 m²) assumes an original complete decoration of the peristyle with mosaics, today completely lost due to post-depositional phenomena associated with the necropolis that overlapped the house. The chronology of the mosaics is the second half of the III century (Oleiro 1986: 117-125; Oleiro 1994a: 44; Oliveira 2005: 43-47).

As for the house of the swastika, all mosaics, a total extent of 454 m², may correspond to a program also dated in the second half of the III century (Oleiro 1986: 117, 125; Oleiro 1994a: 44; Oliveira 2005: 31-41). The evolution of the architecture of the house, as interpreted by J. Alarcão (2010: 47-63) would not support an assignment to a single moment, but this does not alter the present analysis.

This set of data allows a quantified scheme of the chronological distribution of the mosaic workshops activities to be drawn (Fig. 2). This analysis has to be restricted to the activity in the urban center, for what is known of that activity in the surrounding territory is not sufficient for a similar exercise (Pessoa 2005: 363-401).

The single most important fact to be understood from this analysis is the consistency of the level at which the workshops would have been working throughout the II and III centuries, has is demonstrated by the graphic in fig. 3, which distributes the observed extent of mosaic proportionately to their chronology, as

Figure 2
Chronology of mosaic decorations and respective extent (Correia 2013, 211, fig. 100).

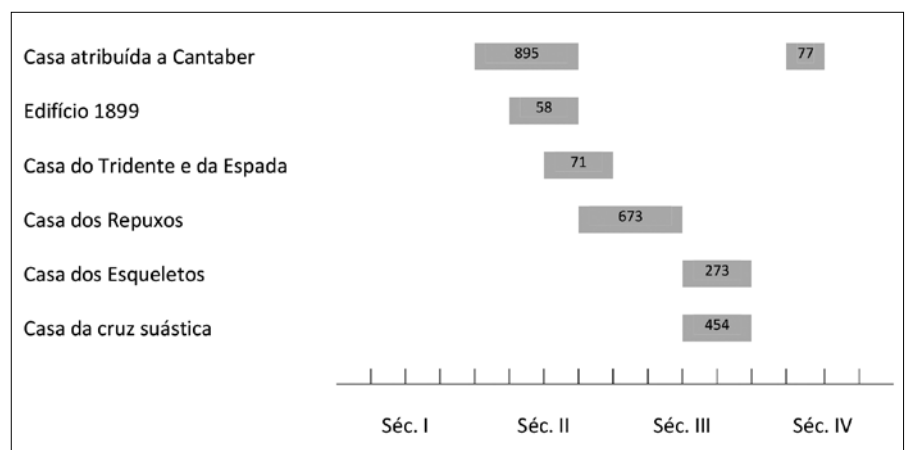
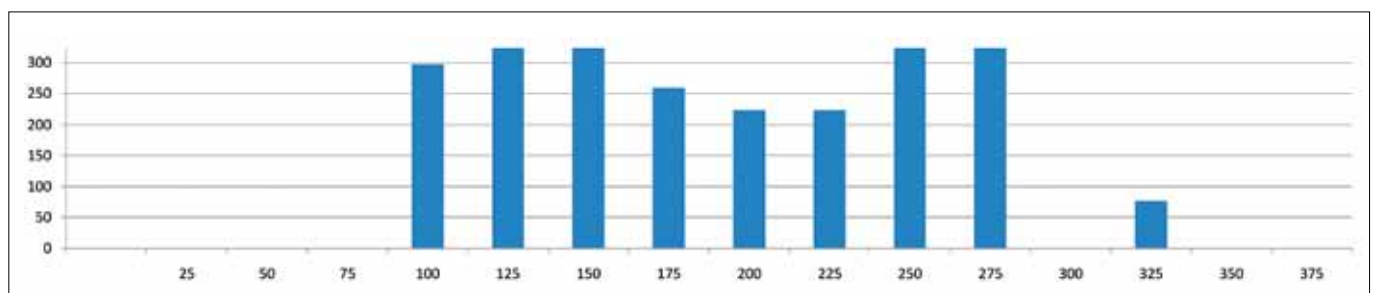


Figure 3
Quarter-century distribution of mosaic workshops in Conimbriga (in m². Correia 2013: 212 fig. 101).



a means to have an approximation to the amount of mosaic work executed, in quarter centuries intervals.

4. Other issues on the activity of mosaicist's workshops in Conimbriga: origins and disappearance

The earliest mosaic of *Conimbriga* is the white monochrome mosaic of the *frigidarium* of the South baths (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, we have only limited evidence for the rest of the mosaic decoration of this building (including of the Flavio-Trajanian phase. Cf. Oliveira 2008: 183-195), but the fragments remaining allow only for an understanding of the expression adopted by the workshops then, and give some support to the stylistic analysis to be made on the later, mainly domestic, musive works. But the reconstruction of the decorative program of the South baths (Oliveira 2005: 77-79; Oliveira 2008: loc. cit.) is insufficient to complete the graph in fig. 3 with the early I century distribution.

The use of mosaic in the first phase of the South bath, even allowing for the modesty of the work, is nevertheless a relevant element for the luxurious character of the building and raises an hypothesis of such a work having echoes of the programs of Agrippa in the province of Lusitania (on the mosaics and the activity of Agrippa vd. for example the references in Lavagne 1983: 259-264).

The use of mosaics during the I century include other examples of which, unfortunately, only meager fragments remain which perhaps carried on without interruption in Flavio-Trajanian programs (these completely lost and impossible to reconstruct in the original extension). There may have existed a situation of dependence of the private works on the availability of an activity primarily occupied by public work through most of the I century.

In this sense, the identification of Flavio-Trajanian construction of the grand South baths as the last great work of civil and public nature in the town (Correia 2004b: 280), wins a special acuity, to the extent that it is possible that from



Figure 4
Plain white mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the augustan phase of the Southern Baths (Photo Danilo Pavone ©Mediaprimer/MMC-DGPC).

there the concentration of building activity in domestic, private works, may have been due, perhaps in equal parts to a socio-ideological mutation that devalued the evergetism as a civic attitude and the fact that *redemptores* and their teams were scarce to simultaneously implement programs in both private and public domains (issue already discussed in Correia 2004b: 280-1).

It is also essential to refer the end of the activity of the mosaic workshops of Conimbriga. This has been placed in the IV century, when evidence of them in the town disappears, and the existence of an itinerant workshop that would have been the responsible for the works of the Rabaçal *uilla* mosaics (Oleiro 1986: 126; Lancha 2004: 92; Pessoa 2005: 391-392) has been proposed as a matter of fact. In light of the evidence presented here, the sudden end of the town's workshops is unlikely and would require more elaborate explanations. On the other hand the recent findings of Santiago da Guarda (Pereira 2008: 171-181), eminently comparable to Rabaçal (Pessoa 1998: 22-40), would indicate that the itinerancy of the supposed workshop would have been greatly reduced, having to deal with decorating not just one but indeed two whole *uillae* in the territory of the *civitas*. In fact the logic seems to impose the explanation that the mosaics of Rabaçal and Santiago da Guarda correspond precisely to the activity of the workshops of mosaicists from Conimbriga who, in the period after the construction of Late-Imperial wall, moved their activity to the rural areas, responding to the new demands of an architecture of prestige required by the property owners actually abandoning the town for their country houses. This would have been done with a new artistic language, which the workshops developed on the basis of their ancestral technical knowledge (earlier on this topic Correia 2004a: 50).

5. The iconographic programs

A single residence in Conimbriga is decorated with mosaics that survived in an extent such as their complexity and iconographic information allows an in-depth analysis of the relationship between the expression of ideological values in architecture and in decoration: it is obviously the house of the fountains. Another residence, the so-called house of *Cantaber*, offers much less preserved evidence (about the lost extension of mosaics: house of *Cantaber* - Correia 2001: plan 3; house of the fountains - Oleiro 1992: est. 75).

There is a very significant post-depositional phenomenon among residences left extramural of the Late-Imperial wall, which were demolished and precisely for that reason retained most of their mosaic floors and those buildings inside the Late-Empire-wall, including the house of *Cantaber*, which, because they were continuously occupied until the Middle Ages, lost many of their mosaics, largely reduced to only marginal traces in most cases.

However, this fact is not enough to blur the assertion that the identification of iconographic programs, and the strictly limited nature of their dispersion, coincide almost exactly with the presence of the elements of greater rarity in the construction of architectural scenarios - indeed the same two residences show the full range of compartments theoretically allocated for activities of rarified intellectual elaboration and provide evidence of decorative programs with high-level erudite references - this allows for the definition of some residential buildings of Conimbriga as houses of exception (on the *Wertbegriffe* associated with aristocratic residences in Conimbriga, Correia 2013: 247-288).

5.1. The mosaic decoration of the house of the fountains

Extensive and minutely studied, the mosaics of the house of the fountains require, however, a comprehensive presentation for the very abundance of dedicated studies incurs in the difficulty of proliferation of interpretative hypotheses. It seems correct to census these interpretations and to explore the background common to all of them. This needs to be integrated in a holistic analysis of the building, in the search for a sociological interpretation, historically informed, about the intentionality of expression of underlying ideological values in the choice of the iconographic program.

The fundamental archaeological problems that the study of the house faces deal with the fact that the house as we know is the product of a remodeling dated to the first half of the II century, which substantially makes use of parts of a previous building. The mosaics date back to between the end of this century and the end of III. The construction of the Late-Imperial wall makes it unlikely any mosaics had been set on the house throughout the IV century.

The adoption of this evolution model of the house, first proposed by J. M. Bairrão Oleiro (1965: 262-263; 1992: 25-26) forces one to doubt some of the proposals made by I. Morand (1996: 207-222, recovered substantially in id., 2005: 13-36; all references will be made to the latter) about the iconographic program. It is especially problematic and disturbing to try to make an assessment, even preliminary, of the impact that the chronological question (mosaics of II-III c. according to Oleiro, but of the IV c. according to I. Morand) has on the credibility of the underlying ideological reconstruction of the iconographic program, because the cultural gap that can be imagined to have existed between pre- and post- constantinian dates could have been significant, even if in provincial context. The issue, requiring a treatment of enormous erudition, is far beyond the limits of the intended exercise on the expression of the iconographic program of the house of the fountains and the jurisdiction of this author. As for the dating of the remodeling of the house in the first half of the III century (López 1990: 200) it must be a misinterpretation of the dating of the mosaics as the date of building refurbishment, an unfortunately recurring lapse.

The quality of successive projects, whether construction or decorative, attests very clearly the investment made in the recurrent interventions on the house, but the very coincidence of all these projects in one building, the respect for pre-existences (natural or constructed), the adaptation of those new interventions to them prior, raises two important suggestions:

- First, the preservation of pre-existences must not be attributed to any economic calculations. Modesty of expenditure must correspond to a deliberate attitude to preserve the main character of space and urban image the house possess; the decision to maintain an imposing urban presence as it happens in the house of the fountains whilst making it suffer a profound renewal of character and morphology, derives necessarily from a choice of deep historical significance for the owner family. This choice is interesting by contrast with the situation of the insula of the aqueduct, a building of the same type and original construction date where a similar decision never occurred, for reasons impossible to determine. In fact, such profound changes in the morphology of the buildings are more typical of public architecture, very well known in Conimbriga thanks to the examples of the Flavian intervention in the forum and the Flavio-Trajanian South baths; it should not be dismissed that an intentional imitation of the public decisions – *aemulatio Caesaris* (Bowman et al. 1996: 524) - for the renewal of private dwellings might have existed. The house of *Cantaber* offers, between its

phases I and II an example of an entire city-block reconstruction that perhaps corresponds to another set of intentions, possibly a material modification of the nature of the urban insula, with parallel examples in Ostia where a secondary construction ward for the forum is transformed into a residential insula encompassing several residences of various types (De Laine 1995: 82-84). The early phase of the house of *Cantaber* is insufficiently known for a rigorous comparative analysis between this building and the house of the fountains, but the urban unity of the area of the *vicus novus* of *Conimbriga* (Correia 2004b: 273-275) is striking and hence striking is the variability of individual histories of the buildings that compose it.

- Secondly, this intention has to be seen in relation with the specific situation of the town in its ability to develop. This certainly was not constrained by shortage of space, because the perimeter of the high-imperial wall provided it with abundance and it is demonstrable that in fact it was never fully occupied. It could, however, be constrained by the shortage of urban space of quality - quality being defined by the social environment perceived by the inhabitants; by location, in a word - which might have determined, for reasons that today cannot be immediately identified by archaeological and topographical methodologies, the natural scope of the *vicus novus* as prestigious.

These suggestions are important to remove the study of iconography and its relationship with the surrounding architectural framework from any a narrow frame of interpretations. This should act as a *caveat* stating that iconography and architecture depend on other ideological spheres, which impinge upon the inner life of the building and simultaneously on other external and extrinsic spheres of influence that affect a particular residence urban environment, of which each construction is a building element.

It is of no importance, within these constraints, to make an especially thorough and in-depth analysis of the supposed meaning of figured myths, or the specific form of its figuration chosen when making decisions about the house decor; intention of the owner and ability of mosaicists must have been present in those decisions in parts perhaps uneven but always decisive, being very important to recognize, in the duration of the execution of the decorative programs, the possibility of changing intentions and decisions, as suggested by J. Lancha (2004: 81).

The choice of location of motifs, however, certainly was intentional. The iconographic motifs are placed in a given architectural framework in focal points: the center of the compartments, the peristyle angles, the center of portico aisles or, better still, the point in the aisle opposite the opening of a major room, centered with the *antae* that delimit it.

This focus is strengthened by the systematic use of the *tondo*, which calls for attention, focusing on a single pitch of summarized information, sometimes reduced to an allegory. But even this simple scheme is availed to multiply the references using the interstitial spaces where the filling motifs have references to the Dionysian cycle through the representation of the *cantharus* and or of elements of the marine *thyasos*, like fish and tridents. This does not preclude the anecdotal use of small out-of-discourse motifs, of apotropaic or merely playful significance by the mosaicist, but the rigor of the original scheme is essential.

In Severan times, the contrast between *tondo* and geometric carpet punctuates *statio* points in the *ambulatio* in the house (to stay in a room, to wait on its threshold *versus* passing through the corridor or along an aisle of the peristyle) in this way responding to formulas, well known from mural paintings, about the distribution of plastic values in Roman domestic architecture.

It is precisely in compartments of longer *statio* that the *tondo* is abandoned: *xenia* in the grand *triclinium*; hunting friezes in the *auriga* room (a *diaeta*) and, in the same room, the diagonal scatter of seasons and figures of nature; the allusion to the *thyasos* in the *exaedra*. Even the great deer hunt, although inscribed in a *tondo*, is cleverly split into two non-orthogonal symmetrical sets, which plastically reproduce a continuous frieze applied to a dome, as perceptively observed by J. Lancha (2004: 86-87).

This plastic feature, however, does not seem to consistently survive the development of the decorative program (or its replacement in isolated episodes of decoration repair?). The remodeling of the central peristyle, particularly in the North wing (but also in the East wing) will forget the precept, but not the intention of multiplying iconographic references, strongly mediated in the most important waiting space in the house: the wing of the peristyle opposite the *cavaedium*; here the prophylactic and apotropaic character of the labyrinth is strengthened (Oleiro 1992: 80; Oleiro 1994b: 273-278), certainly an element of the heroic cycle of Theseus, that in the specific architectural context cannot have failed to reminisce the value of the very ancient symbolic element with deep roots in the pre-Roman art of the West of the Iberian Peninsula. And it is to be noted that, if the interpretation of G. Lopez Monteagudo (1999: 249-266) gives of the representation of the charioteer approaches the original intention of the ordering party, the *Theseus* cycle may have had an unsuspected importance in the iconographic program design.

The importance of specific architectural context is also very eloquently suggested by the possible interpretation of the representation of *Actaeon* in front of the *triclinium* door as a possible *caveat* to the prying eyes of the servants, who should take the fate of reckless hunter as an allegory of their own (Lancha 2004: 82).

The possibility of these reconstructions being true, rather than just believable, is not likely to be tested. They are not, to that extent, scientific hypotheses, although it is arguable that an educated slave could have, on a day, made this association of ideas (but how do you know?). Nevertheless, one can apply them the Italian adage “se non é vero, é benvotato” (on the admissibility of differing interpretations of the same archaeological data Correia 2011: 160-162).

These particular tests do not exempt a broader vision and a comprehensive reading of the sets of figurations. In what regards the house of the fountains the *Corpus* volume (Oleiro 1992: *passim*) will be followed, according to our own analysis (Correia 2003: 121-131; Correia 2013: 303-309); other studies of the house will be referred when opportune (López 1990: 199-232; Durán 1993: s.v.; Lancha 2004: 81-96; Morand 2005: *passim*).

5.2. The themes

Four major iconographic themes can be identified in the mosaic decoration of the house of the fountains: the heroic cycles, hunting, the family self-representation and mythological representations that, for lack of a better expression we'll call of a diffuse nature.

5.2.1. The heroes

The first reference to the mythological / heroic cycles given in the house is the Minotaur in the center of the labyrinth (Fig. 5), an inescapable allusion to *Theseus*, the hero *par excellence* (CMRP 1, Mosaic 1.24. - Oleiro 1992: 80-81;

Figure 5
Labyrinth with the minotaur
in the central perystyle of
the house of the fountains
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).



the other labyrinths in the same aisle are CMRP 1 mosaics, 1.22 - Oleiro 1992: 76-77 - and perhaps incompetently executed, CMRP 1, 1.19 - Oleiro 1992: 71. See also Durán 1993: 171-172).

Were these references present in the original program (a legitimate question for, in its current state, the decoration of this aisle of the peristyle is a repaving of the end of the III century)?

It is possible, but the issue is not important for the analysis of the iconographic program in its final state. The dating of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth Mosaic collected in 1899 excavations (Oleiro 1973: 111-127 n 3; Oliveira 2005: n° 61, 85) in the early II century AD and the similarity of their border representing a city wall with its gates, which has echoes in the mosaics of the house of *Cantaber*, testify on the probable early dating of the model in the town, even if do not prove directly and irrefutably that this model was already present in the decoration of the older decorative program of the mosaics in the house of the fountains.

A simplified depiction of the Labyrinth and the Minotaur unfolds in several representations in the same aisles, in varying degrees of abstraction, where the labyrinth, reduced to decorative motif, may have seen their apotropaic and prophylactic character reinforced (Lopez 1990: 201-202; Oleiro 1992: 77) at the expense of an immediately recognizable allusion to the novelistic aspects of the myth.

Perseus is represented in the southwest corner of the peristyle (CMRP 1, Mosaic 1.1 - Lopez 1990: 203-204; Oleiro 1992: 32-36; Durán 1993: 172-173), oriented

to the regular access (i.e. facing the west aisle). Holding the head of Medusa as the sea monster moves away from the center of the composition, this hero is represented in a framework that emphasizes the achievement, devaluing the darker aspects of its history (the abandonment of *Andromeda*, Oleiro 1992: 36).

This is the epitome of the *sinedoical* nature of mythological representations in *Conimbriga* mosaics, already widely discussed; however, it is interesting to deepen the trope specifically chosen here. It would seem simplistic to reduce to artistic competence (or lack thereof) the formula to mention the whole by the part. Eventually, there was a deliberate attempt to look at the heroic purposes without concern for intermediate episodes (the “collateral damage” in modern military terminology) to which a peculiar iconographic selection should be allocated.

I. Morand (2005: 126-128) proposes to interpret this medallion, and the one with *Bellerophon*, the one with hunter with the hare and the Minotaur as astrological references to the constellations of *Perseus*, *Pegasus*, *Orion* and *Taurus*, respectively, but if “tout se passe comme si, dans la maison aux jets d’eau, on avait voulu faire penser les constellations par certaines associations d’idées au moyen d’images connues dans le répertoire iconographique plus antique non conçues pour représenter des constellations” (cit. Morand 2005: 128) it is clear that would be equivalent to a cipher decoding exercise, the results of which can never be validated against other possible theories, because we cannot conceive one *a priori* test of the theory that can come to validate it, because the figure would only truly be intelligible by its author; if the message recipient was not provided with a decryption key, this would be an exercise of steganography (U. Eco). We reject this proposal on methodological terms.

Bellerophon chasing the chimera was represented in a very incomplete *tondo* at the center of the south wing of the peristyle (CMRP 1, Mosaic 1.3 - Oleiro 1992: 41-44), slightly offset from the exact geometric position but architecturally correct to focus on the axis of the *exaedra*. The possible reconstruction of the missing parts indicate it would represent the chase of the monster, the victory of the hero being understood by allusion (Lopez 1990: 206; Oleiro 1992: 44), another ellipse of the moment less worthy of a glorified mythical narrative (*Bellerophon* overtaken by *hubris* and his fall and death).

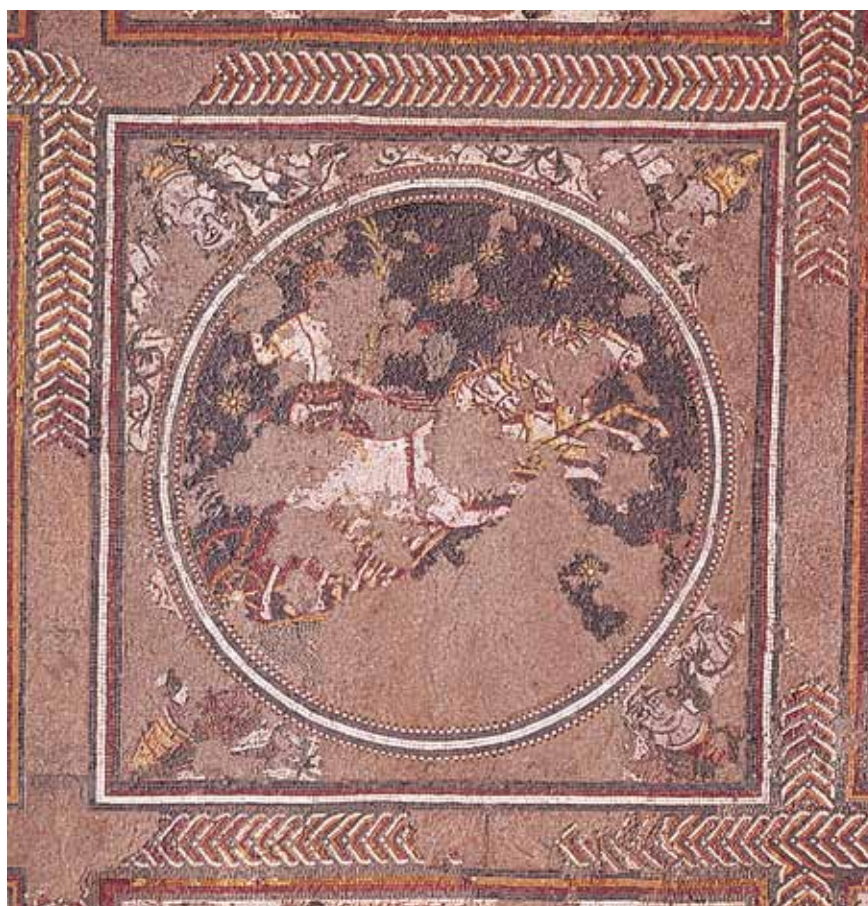
In front of the *oecus-triclinium* in the center of the west wing of the peristyle, *Actaeon* attacked by his dogs was represented (CMRP 1, Mosaic 1.7 - Lopez 1990: 207-209; Oleiro 1992: 49-51), on the point of his transformation into deer, as punishment for his indiscretion, indicated by sprouting horns on his forehead (Fig. 6). Representations of *Actaeon* are rare in mosaics, and this particular reveals poor execution, not conveying the essential *pathos* of the scene (Oleiro 1992: 50-51). In addition to the possible locational interpretations given to the choice of this scene (Lancha 2004: 82), it should be noted that, as with *Perseus* and *Bellerophon*, there is an ellipsis of part of the story (the indiscretion of *Actaeon*); to paraphrase J. M. Bairrão Oleiro “it is a poorly told story” (Oleiro 1992: 36; the original sentence on the *Perseus*, is “for a well-told story the presence of *Andromeda* is indispensable”)

The victorious charioteer (Fig. 7) that runs through the starry sky, depicted in the room attached to the *triclinium* (A34 - 1 CMRP, mosaic 11 - Oleiro 1992: 117-125), may or may not be a heroic figure. G. López Monteagudo (1990: 220-221; 1999: 253-254), proposes identifying the charioteer as a representation of the apotheosis of *Hippolytus*, son of *Theseus*, ascetic hunter, victim of the baleful passion of *Phaedra* and of the rancor of *Aphrodite*, scorned in favor of the

Figure 6
Actaeon attacked by his dogs;
the *tondo* is framed by a
composition of dolphins and
small fish around a trident
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).



Figure 7
The victorious charioteer
from the main *diaeta* of the
house of the fountains
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).



hero devotion to *Artemis*, according to a legend mentioned by Pausanias (II, 32, 1). It may be a representation of *Sol Invictus*; the first proposal in this regard was made F. Camargo e Almeida (1970: 495-507) incomprehensibly discarded by J. Lancha (2004: 90-91) who reaches the same conclusion by other arguments (Lancha 2004: 91-93). The latter author, however, suggests a link of *Sol Invictus* to the imperial cult that may have been very important in a possible socio-political framework of *aemulatio* (conscious or unconscious) of the imperial practices by local elites in the affirmation, with caesarean echoes, of their own *dignitas*. Or it may be the symbolic representation of a victory in the field of sports extrapolated to the life of the *dominus*, carrying in it a huge development of possible interpretations and paraphrases, registered by I. Morand (2005: 133-138) collecting, among others, the earliest contributions of K. Dunbabin (1982: 84-87) towards the identification of the figure with the constellation of *Auriga*.

In any case it is, without the shadow of a doubt, the most discussed representation of all the mosaics of *Conimbriga*. It is also one of the surviving mosaics of the first phase of the decorative program of the house, which probably started in the last quarter of the II century (Oleiro 1992: 125).

5.2.2. The hunt

The grand representation of *venatio* in mosaics of the house of the fountains is undoubtedly the deer hunting scene (Fig. 8) in the central medallion of the *cenatio* that opens to the small private peristyle of the southern part of the house (A29 - 1 CMRP, mosaic 9 - Oleiro 1992: 104 -109). In no case of hunting depiction in the mosaics of the house - where there is always a superabundance of



Figure 8
The deer hunt from the *cenatio*
of the house of the fountains
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).

representation of the environmental details of the surrounding in which the activity takes place - is there anything to confirm the perception of C. Kondoleon (1991: 111) that one can be seeing the representation of public *venationes* in an amphitheater. In abstract, the argument is seductive to the sociopolitical representation of the owner, but the analysis of the mosaic does not support it, and the location of *Conimbriga* in a mildly urbanized region (unlike other examples used by the author) possibly made hunting in nature common and devalued *venatio* in the amphitheater of the local animals represented in mosaics (deer and wild boar).

Framed by a carpet of outstanding decorative richness, and later assisted by a pseudo-architectural treatment of the walls - of a very particular importance in its own standing - only under illusion can one call it a *tondo* (Lancha 2004: 86-87). Although it is striking that the representation owes something to Hadrianic *tondi* from the arc said of Constantine in Rome, it is no less true that the panel from the house of the fountains shows a superlative knowledge of narrative discourse, discursive can one say, well documented in the vault of Centcelles, as observed by J. Lancha (loc. cit.) and by G. Lopez Montegeagudo (1990: 216, about the scenes of the charioteer room to be mentioned later). This narrative discourse in the house of the fountains must be a development, parallel to the one at Centcelles, from a common origin which is not known to us directly.

The other important representation of the hunt is the one deployed in the *predella* surrounding the charioteer (Fig. 9), in the room already mentioned (CMRP 1, mosaic 11 - Oleiro 1992: 117-125). There, without the appearance of the master, all hunting phases are represented (Lancha 2004: 88-90).

Hunting is also represented in the medallion of the southeast corner of the central peristyle (CMRP 1, Mosaic 1.5 - Oleiro 1992: 46-47), in the form of a hunter (obviously a servant) who returns home, accompanied by his dog, carrying its prey, a hare (Fig. 10).

Figure 9
Hunter returning home.
Detail of a predella of the
victorious charioteer mosaic
(Photo Humberto Rendeiro
©MMC-DGPC).





The reference to hunting, in the figure of prey, also appears in small medallions in the main *triclinium* (CMRP 1, mosaic 10 - Oleiro 1992: 110-116), but this reference has been devalued for the one that is thought more evident, the representation of the family and its munificence exposed in the opulence of *xenia* offered to diners, *amici* or *clientes* they were.

5.2.3. The representation of the family

Self-representation of the *familia* appears in the house in discrete forms, but not the least important, particularly because of its location in key points of the decor:

First, the owner was represented with his firstborn in medallions (Fig. 11) in the mosaic of the main *triclinium* (CMRP 1, mosaic 10 - Oleiro 1992: 110-116; the interpretation is the one of J. Lancha 2004: 84-85; *contra* J. M. B. Oleiro 1992: 116). Second, the decorative motifs of the central panel of this room, whilst

Figure 10
Hare hunter and his dog from the
perystyle of the house of the fountains
(Photo Humberto Rendeiro
©MMC-DGPC).

Figure 11
Side medallions with male figures
from the main *triclinium* of the
house of the fountains
(Photo Humberto Rendeiro
©MMC-DGPC).



depicting the *xenia* are also a form of owner's representation. This interpretation of I. Morand (2005: 117-119) does not match exactly the one of J. Lancha (2004: 83) which adds a parallel, the *uilla* del Tellaro, which leads to another



Figure 12
Details of lion and roe from
the main *triclinium* of the
house of the fountains
(Photo Humberto Rendeiro
©MMC-DGPC).

mosaic of *Conimbriga*, the *cubiculum* mosaic of the house of the swastika (B12; Oliveira 2005: n° 23, 39). For G. Lopez Monteagudo (1990: 211) the *xenia* is a motif with Dionysian connotations.

But the fact that these representations, associated with *xenia* although not strictly speaking according to the stereotyped motifs of remains of opulent meals, obviously overlap with the theme of hunting (lion, roe. Fig. 12), tells a lot about the various levels of interpretation permitted (intended?).



Figure 13
 Servant carrying a piglet from
 the northern peristyle of the
 house of the fountains
 (Photo Delfim Ferreira
 ©MMC-DGPC).

A surprising way to represent the family is shown in the presentation of the house servants in daily activities, particularly in the access peristyle to the north wing (CMRP 1, mosaic 15 - Oleiro 1992: 139-140 fig. 13); in the same sense should be interpreted the identification of the servants (by name and by their physical characteristics, see Lopez 1990: 217-218 fig. 14) in the hunting *predellae* of the *Auriga* room (Lancha 2004: 86-89); the hunter with the hare of the west angle of the peristyle has already been mentioned, but must be remembered at this point.

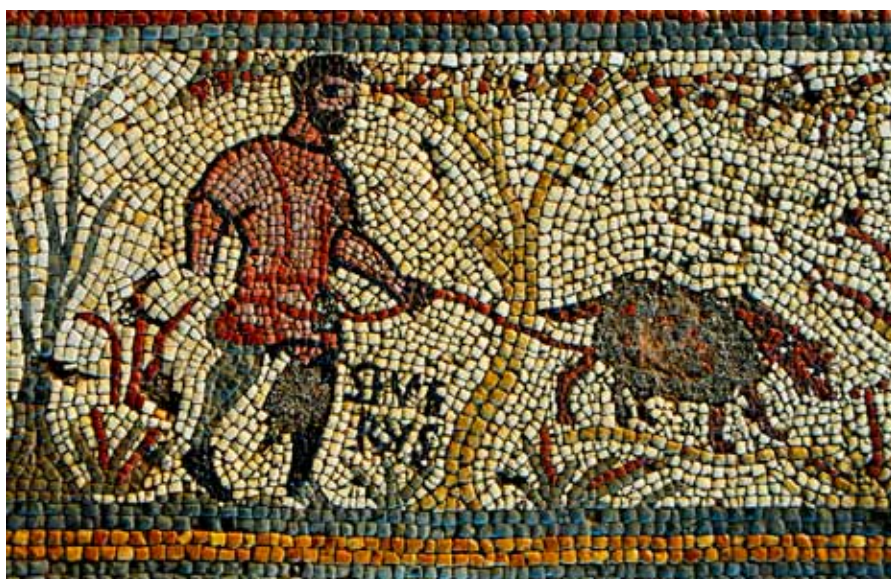


Figure 14
 The servant Severus holds
 a dog by the leech while
 pursuing a boar, from a
 predella of the charioteer
 mosaic (Photo Humberto
 Rendeiro©MMC-DGPC).

5.2.4. *The mythological background*

In the mosaic decoration of the house of the fountains there is a plurality of references to scattered elements of iconography and Hellenistic and Roman mythology, which function as a magma that underlies the most consistently identifiable sets of specific references to individual myths, perhaps an essential line in the ideological discourse intended by the mosaic commissioners, although probably on a speech devoid of an elaborate syntax.

Figure 15
The Silenus mosaic of the
house of the fountains
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).



This hypothesis deserves an appreciation on its own for the semiotic implications that it inevitably has. Preliminarily, it can be established that it must be recognized that these choices in the mosaics were conscious, unless the theogonic references present in them were completely beyond the cultural and ideological luggage of the commissioners and the producers of mosaics, which is not credible against the global set of evidence of literacy, artistic and architectural knowledge and erudition that the residential architecture *Conimbriga* shows.

If the less eloquent character given to these representations was dictated by an actual depreciation in the way these representations were seen, or if we are dealing with the effects of ulterior motives that advised references by ellipses, is an impossible decision in the present state of our knowledge, and it is equally impossible a precise reconstruction of motivations and mental processes present at the time of the decision.

Figure 16
Marine centaur in a vignette
in the center of the *exaedra* of
the house of the fountains
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).



Within this broad semantic category, the main representation is linked to the Dionysian cycle; *Silenus* mounted on a donkey (Fig. 15), one of the main rooms of the private area of the house (A28) *cubiculum vel cenatio*. *Silenus* is led by *Dionysos* himself or by a simple servant. The iconography is ambiguous, but the hypothesis of G. Lopez Monteagudo (1990: 227) that the driver of the animal is a satyr seems less likely.

The marine centaur depicted in the center of the exedra (A25 - 1 CMRP, mosaic 3 - Oleiro 1992: 84-87 fig. 16) has also been interpreted as an allusion to the marine triumph of *Bacchus* (Lopez 1990: 210) and assignable to this mythological cycle are the representations of fish and tridents (CMRP 1, mosaics 1.3, 1.12 and 1.16 - Oleiro 1992: 41-44, 60-61 - 66-67) surrounding the *tondi* of the central peristyle. The opinion of G. Lopez Monteagudo (1990: 230-231) attaches to these symbols an apotropaic character, seeing it as a way to combat *invidus* which is, by contrast, associated to the entire representation of the triumph of *pietas*, in this case the heroics represented in the *tondo*. A third, more general interpretation, unrelated to any particular cycle, but associated with the marine centaur, is the one put forth by Reis – Oliveira (2009: 35).

One also can associate to this cycle the representations of *canthari* with ivies sprouting from them (CMRP 1, mosaic 1:21 - Oleiro 1992: 74-75, in the center of the west wing of the central peristyle, CMRP 1, Mosaic 1.9 - Oleiro 1992: 55-57, in the northeast corner). These representations are arranged axially before the two main entrances to the house from the outside: the first through the main entrance; the second through the underpass from the road on the north side; but the intrinsic value of these interpretations is obviously feeble. *Canthari* are also represented surrounding the deer hunt mosaic (above, CMRP 1, mosaic 9, cf. Lancha 2004: 86). Interestingly, it is also to be recognized that these representations, which belong to later phases of the decorative program, gain importance in later dates, apparently replacing different imagery.



Figure 17
Camel and elephant in a
room of the north part of
the house of the fountains
(Photo Delfim Ferreira
©MMC-DGPC).



Figure 18
The seasons in the corners of the victorious charioteer mosaic:
a) Winter, b) Autumn,
c) Summer, d) Spring
(Photo Humberto Rendeiro
©MMC-DGPC).

The Nilotic motif represented in the center of the camel and elephant room (A35 - 1 CMRP, mosaic 12 - Oleiro 1992: 126-133 fig. 17), can be interpreted as an allusion to the Indian Triumph of *Bacchus* (Lopez 1990: 222). But this figuration can also be associated with the myth of *Orpheus* (Lancha 2004: 81), which is known elsewhere in special areas of residences (cf. Zanker 1993: 203-205).

The Seasons remain to be mentioned (Lopez 1990: 212 fig. 18), represented in corner frames to the charioteer, with the figures carrying vine branches in the interstitial spaces between the seasons and the central *tondo* (Fig. 19). I. Morand (2005: 132-133), associates them to *Aeon* in its sense of “force of life”; J. Lancha (2004: 90) suggests that it is a secondary representation of the seasons; G. Lopez Monteagudo (1990: 218) suggests their identification with the *Horae*, deities dispensing wealth and abundance.

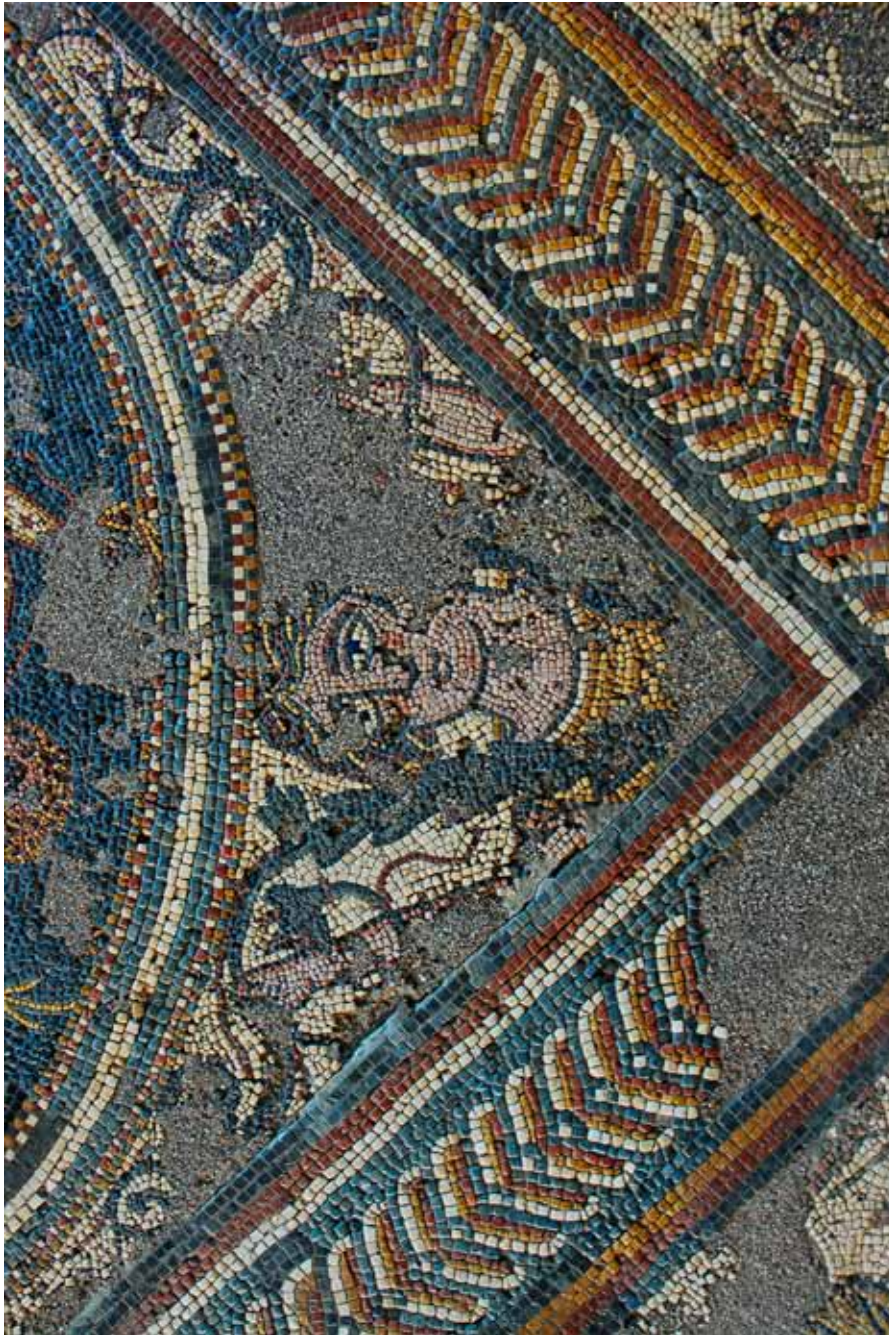


Figure 19
Feminine figure surrounding the
tondo of the victorious charioteer
(Photo Humberto Rendeiro
©MMC-DGPC).

5.3. Readings on the iconographic elements of the house of the fountains

A thorough and in-depth analysis of any supposed meaning of figural myths is notoriously difficult, and the specific form of their figurations, as they were specifically chosen at the time of an order is subject to the divergence of modern interpretations summarized here. Further identifying a motif (if at all possible), exploring meanings (not that they did not exist and have not been adequately exploited by the owners of buildings in their social representation) today seems, ultimately, a futile exercise.

A question needs to be asked: must it be admitted that the variation in modern interpretation is symmetric to the many meanings that these representations may

have had? If one imagines the multiplicity of readings possibly made between the years 200 and 300, when these figurations were available as a coherent whole, and in relation to the surrounding architecture, the answer is certainly: yes.

In modern anthropological research, all the meanings that the Greco-Latin literary tradition unveiled in these mosaics are valid, but none is *true*, because none is the only one valid. In this sense, the current multiple readings mimic possible coeval readings of the mosaics themselves: certain individuals bearing certain characteristics of education see in an icon specific references, perhaps distinct from other individuals of different education and cultural background; these many people, these many sets of erudition – so many references, so many meanings. The original meaning, residing in the *weltanschauung* of the ordering party (which, if we consider the entire life span of the representations, was not always present to settle eventual controversies), maybe was not absolutely conscious, may have never been verbalized or accurately transmitted to others; in any case, we lost it - hermeneutics is of no use here.

However, in decorative programs such as the house of the fountains displays, there is a general intentionality, a semantic field, where the decorative programs move like speech, and it should be possible to make a social and cultural approach to this speech and this semantic field.

This semantic field is erudite: the multiplication of mythological references attests it indisputably. But the scholarship is not academic, there was no intention of presenting a coherent sequence of images, and the way in which mythological references are fragmentarily represented can only be intentional, it must not be the product of any failure either of commissioners or mosaicists.

The three main lines of speech compete in the exaltation of the *dominus* by depicting his *virtus*, represented in hunting (Morand 1994: 252-258), which is a parallel of *pietas* (Lopez 1990: 229) of the hero (another way of *virtus*; Morand 1994: 259-267) represented as a heroic deed, both virtues resulting in the production of terrestrial harmony.

The *dominus* then, is the forbearer, to his own family and society at large, of cosmic order (Morand 2005: 145-146), from its most eminent members, enjoying *otium* in the fulfilled dream of universal harmony (André 1966: 519; Morand 1994: 260), to the most modest, carrying on with their daily activities in the timeless framework of the seasons and abundant nature (Morand 1994: 95-96).

5.4. The location of the decorative program in the architecture

Some particular aspects of the placement of the mosaic decoration in the architecture have already been mentioned, but even from a very limited point of view - from the strict viewpoint of decoration work - understanding the ideology values expressed by the decoration program does not dispense an analysis of how the program, as a whole, relates to the building, also as a whole.

Despite the reservations expressed elsewhere concerning access analysis in buildings (Correia 2013: 247), in this particular subject such analyses can be useful and the final exercise can result instructive.

Such an exercise, which results in three graphic analyzes carried out on the house plan (Figs. 20-22), which are believed to be self-explanatory, immediately gives two conclusions.

The first of these findings goes counter a phenomenological consideration, which is perhaps very common, that the mosaic decoration is invasive of all domestic



Figure 20
Locational distribution of the themes in the decorative program of the house of the fountains (Correia 2013: 305 fig. 136).

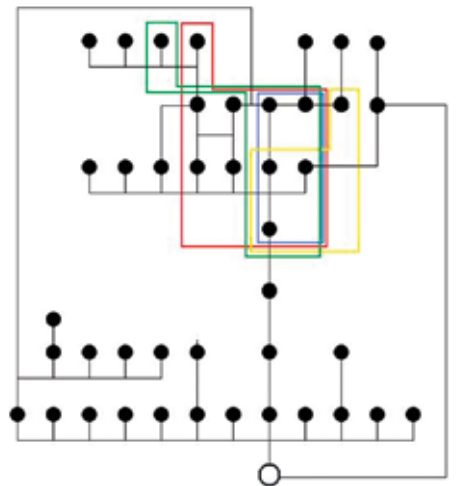
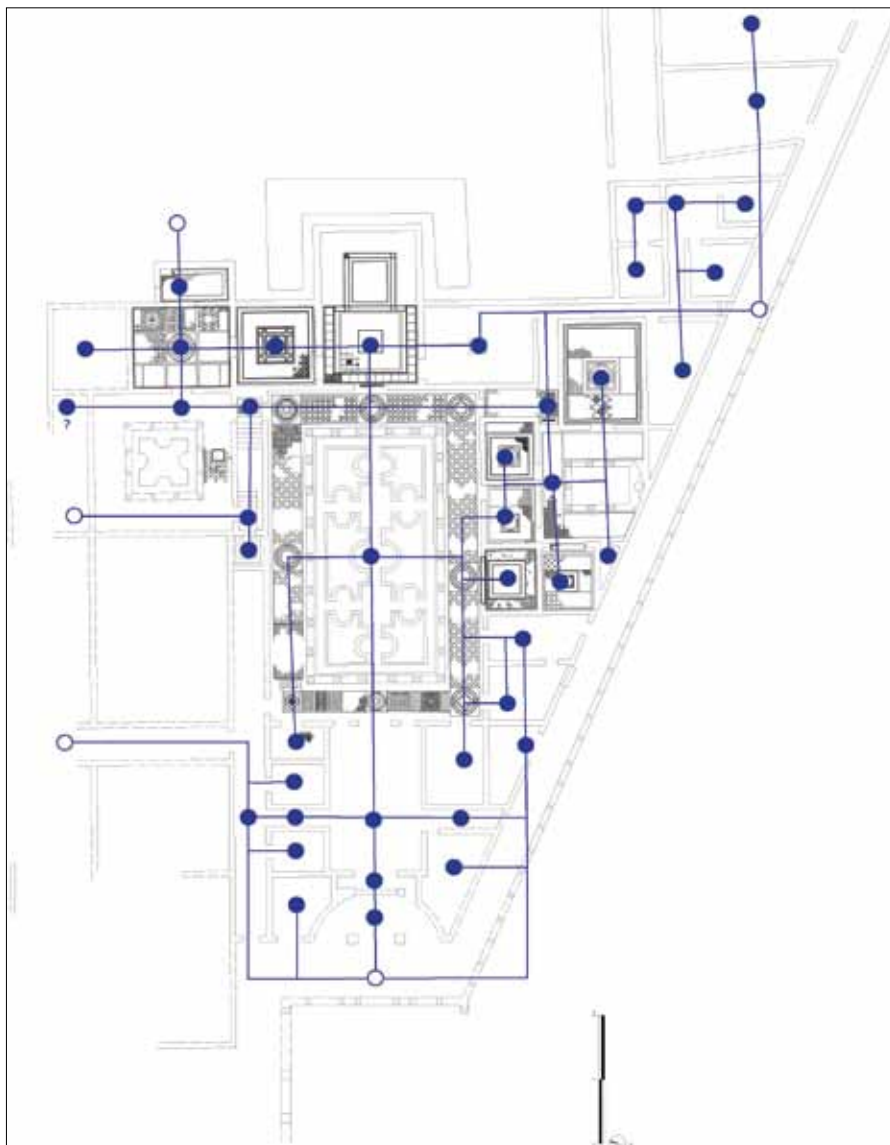


Figure 22
Distribution of figured themes in mosaics superimposed on the access scheme of the house of the fountains (Correia 2013: 307 fig. 138).

Figure 21
Access analysis of the house of the fountains ground plan (Correia 2013: 306 fig. 137).

space. Rather, in particular with regard to figuration, the decoration is restricted to a very deep access zone, hence limited, in the residence.

The second conclusion is that various lines of the speech represented by the figurative decorations are, with respect to its topology, consistent and therefore somewhat redundant to each other.

This paper will come to these points later.

5.5. The mosaic decoration of the House of *Cantaber*

Conservation issues, but also questions of the original decorative program selection, create a very strong contrast between the decorative program of the house of the fountains and what one may reconstitute to have been the decorative program of the house attributed to *Cantaber*. This could be due to a relatively large chronological gap between the installation of these programs in and the other house, which would have allowed the mosaicists workshops of the town to significantly enrich their technique and their language, allowing them to meet the demanding orders from the commissioners of the decor of the house of the fountains in the mid II century in a way that the commissioners of the decoration of the house of *Cantaber*, in the first half of the century, could not expect to be satisfied. But this explanation is insufficient and must be postulated that there was actually a matter of taste underlying the division of styles in the houses, which still leads the decoration of spaces added to the house of *Cantaber* in the IV. century.

Only four iconographic elements survived in the house in a position to be analyzed.

Not included in these four are the decorations of the apsidal room which are part of the IV century addition, since they are manifestly not part of the original program, and this despite the integration of the later decoration in the same taste as the rest of the house, as mentioned above. These decorative elements have been studied by J. Hill (2006: I 169-171) and C. Mourão (2008: 48-50).

Much less studied than the house of the fountains, the very support of iconographic analysis of the house of *Cantaber* decorative program is completely different. The motifs identified are:

- In the private *cenatio* of the house (Oleiro 1973: 76-92 n° 1; C6 - Oliveira 2005: 51 n° 32;) the motif of crossed shields was used as a central element of square medallions that form the border of the mosaic (the central emblem was lost. Fig. 23).

The motif of crossed shields (Oleiro 1973: 83-86), which cannot be interpreted as merely decorative, alludes to the military trophies, popularized mainly from the decoration of Trajan's forum (Leon 1971: *passim*, with references in Ungaro 1994: 410- 412), which combined their sculptural representations with the display of actual coats of arms (Ungaro et al. 2004: 32. On the topic in general: Polito 1995: 110-113; Polito 1998: *passim*) which had a huge success in the provincial art of the west, namely in public buildings, spread in many motifs of unequal complexity, as in Orange (Amy et al. 1962: *passim*), *Clunia* (Acuña Fernández 1974: 213-229), most significantly in *Saepo* (Olvera, Cádiz; Beltrán 1999: 262) and, above all, in Merida (Nogales Basarrate 2007a: 468-471; Nogales Basarrate 2007b: 115-118).

The very incompleteness of the mosaic prevents a more accurate contextualization of the use of this motif, but certainly these echoes of the decoration of great



Figure 23
Crossed shields in the mosaic
from the house of Cantaber
(Photo Danilo Pavone
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public monuments were important in the interpretation of this coeval decoration of a private residence of exception.

- In the aisles of the south peristyle (C24; Oliveira 2005: 59, 64- mosaics nº 42 - C22 and nº 49 - C29) which distributes visitors to the *diaetae* of the house, the motif of the urban wall with gates and towers was used twice in symmetrical position, surrounding a composition of hexagons within a circle (Fig. 24).

The motif of the urban wall is known in *Conimbriga* in another example (Oleiro 1994b: 273-278; Oliveira 2005: 85 nº61), in the most common situation, surrounding a labyrinth (Barral y Altet – Navarro Saéz 1975: 503-522 lam. III). The



Figure 24
 The best preserved pavement of the existing two mosaics depicting a wall with towers and gates, from the Southeast peristyle of the house of Cantaber (Photo Danilo Pavone ©Mediaprimer/MMC-DGPC).

erudite references would not have been lost in this representation in the house of *Cantaber* (Lavagne 1988: 135-147; Hourcade 2002: 136-155, 136 n 24 for these examples), but their duplication and its specific position, marking the access axis from the main entrance of the peristyle off the *hortus*, and in the spaces through which access to the small rooms was preferentially made, must necessarily have been of special value and possibly transmitting a direct message to people accessing spaces, with the semiotics immediately available: the wall with gates



Figure 25
Octagonal composition surrounded
by *canthari*, from the Southeast of
the house of Cantaber
(Photo Danilo Pavone
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and towers is the very wall of *Conimbriga* and the composition of hexagons is an allegory of the city itself.

This opens a perspective of possible meanings for the motif of the wall and its gates in *Conimbriga*: is the labyrinth surrounded by the wall an allegory of the city as *dystopia* (Laurence 1997: 14-18), representing the city as the site of exercise of heroic *virtus*? Did the commissioner of the mosaic of the house of *Cantaber* choose to reduce the possible allegory and make a more direct speech in the representation of the city as a geometric construction (keeping the ideal representation of the exercise site of his *virtus*)?

- In one of *diaetae* (Oliveira 2005: 63, 48 - C28) in this area of the house, the octagonal composition of the central compartment was surrounded by four *canthari* from which ivy branches sprout (Fig. 25).

This motif of Bacchic reminiscences, which has been abundantly mentioned in connection with the house of the fountains, is here represented in a modest and contained form (as all the mosaics of the house) but that is possibly the earliest attestation of the motif in mosaic art in *Conimbriga*.

- On the same floor, but on its margins, some figurative elements were drawn in black on the white background: a trident in front of the door open to the west and a Mogor type labyrinth (Oleiro 1994b: 273-278) and two rosettes along the

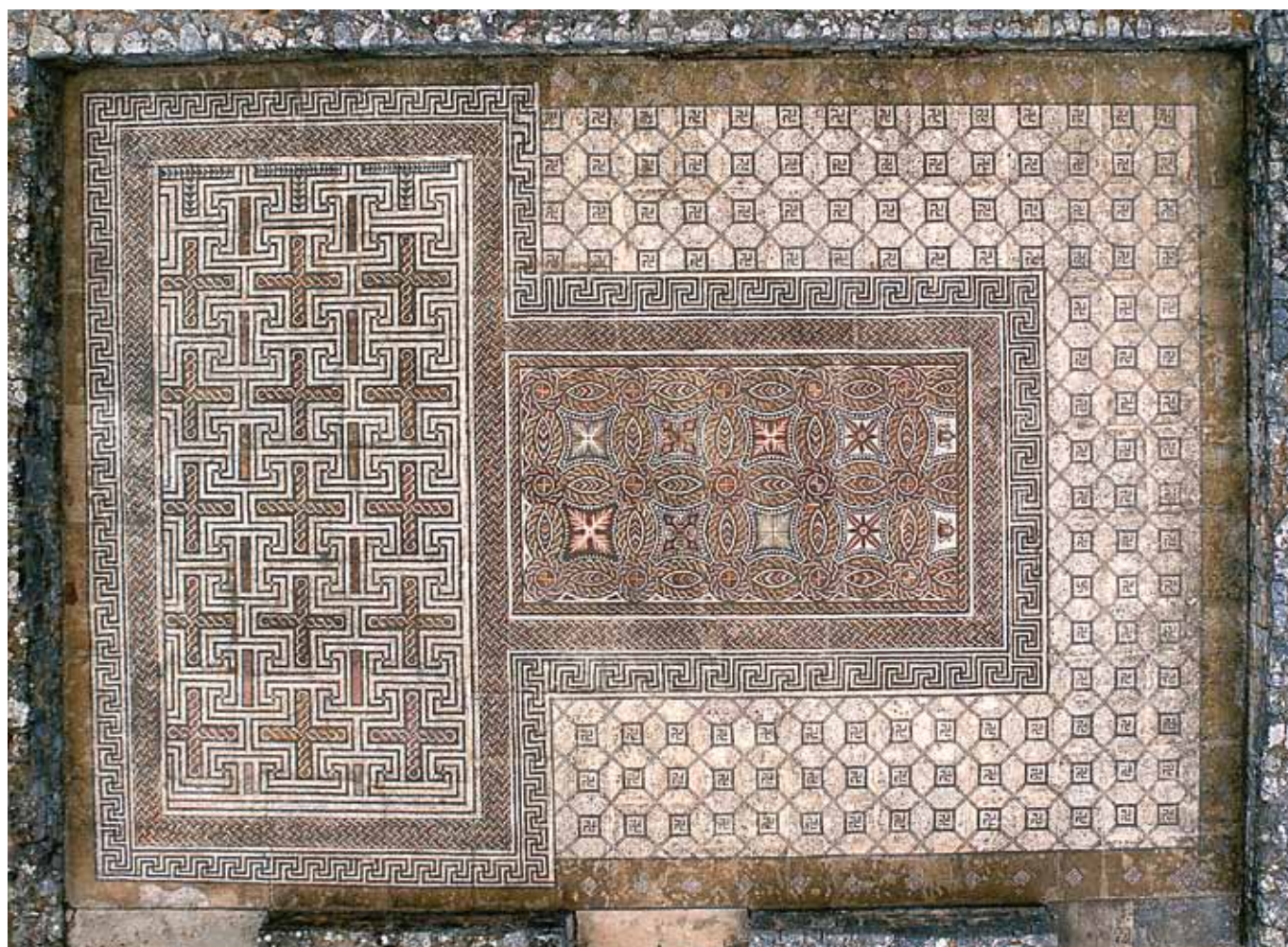
door open to the north. The apotropaic character of these elements (on the value of the trident, see Lopez 1990: 230-23), would have been accorded to them by its very traditional nature and in a special way by its position within the housing architecture and its setting off the mosaic design. This is a reason to accept that the trident represents here a different function from what is recognizable in the house of the trident and the sword; there, the representation associated with the two weapons (Oliveira 2005: 74 n° 56) and the representation of a fishing net as a large decorative motif of an adjoining pavement (Oliveira 2005: 73 n° 55), associates the representation of these objects with gladiatorial games, something the special character of the building relates with the amphitheater (Correia 1994: 329-330; Correia 2016: 349-350).

5.6. Other residences

In the other buildings decorated by mosaics, the *cantharus* is the main motif that singles itself out, and moreover, used in a particular way.

The motif appears in the houses of the swastika (Oliveira 2005: 38 n° 22 - B11. Fig. 26) and in the house of the skeletons (Oliveira 2005: 45 n° 26 - B21. Fig. 27), in both cases it appears in the main *triclinia* without vine branches; in the second example it is associated with shells (Mourão 2008: 44-48), surrounding the representation of what would have been an *opus sectile* of rich stones (Pessoa 2016: 59-83).

Figure 26
The *triclinium* pavement of
the house of the swastika
(Photo Danilo Pavone
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There is a third example in the house of the skeletons (Oliveira 2005: 47 n° 28 - B33A), with ivy branches.

The Bacchic references of the *cantharus* (Lopez 1990: 211), its association with *xenia* (Lancha 2004: 86) and the flowering of ivy as an allegory of abundance of

Figure 27
The *triclinium* pavement of the
house of the skeletons
(Photo Danilo Pavone
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nature (Lopez 1990: 218) were probably always been present in this representation. Its carefully studied position (in the case of the house of the swastika favoring the *locus consularis* and the traditional position of the host), pays tribute to the topological containment of the desired speech of the mosaic decoration.

A final, but provisional, reading

The moral and ideological discourse transmitted by the decorative program of the house of the fountains, was more complex than the simple semiotic exercise of reading an image of known significance. An almost private decorative program, as it turned out, reserved to the *loca propria* of the owners may have often been accompanied by a narrative (something that would not have happened with representations located in *loca communis*, which most likely would have to be decoded unaccompanied by an explanation that the *dominus* would not have failed to provide to his nearest *amici*).

In this line of reasoning it is revealing that the mosaic where all lines of discourse are present, the victorious charioteer mosaic, is located at the most reserved of the rooms, which is the *diaeta*, by definition the *locus proprius* of the *paterfamilias*. This must lead us to a conclusion that seems to underlie unconscious, never clearly verbalized in multiple analyzes the mosaic has already motivated: the charioteer is the actual owner of the house, commissioner of the mosaic, represented as power in triumph over all moral and ideological endeavors the decorative program suggests (a global allusion to the all the aspects of public and private life of the individual and his family), irrespective of cosmological or mythological allusion or narrative that the viewer may wish to make, within the eminently polysemic nature of representation.

In contrast, the whole question of the possible meanings of the house of *Cantaber* deals in incomplete knowledge. If the conservation status was different, some of the elements valued here could have been placed on the margins and other elements, possibly bearing a stronger speech could be called to the fore. But it is nevertheless possible, in contrast to the house of the fountains, to draw some analogies and some differences.

Amongst the differences is a possible substance of the speech. We did not find in the house of *Cantaber* any personalized reference; the allusions are made to war and the *urbs* it defends, to the extent that the *civitas* is *specula urbis* (Le Roux 1995: 97). But nothing more.

Analogies are the reserve of the figurative elements to the *loca propria* of owners, well demonstrated by the great monotony of continuous the geometric pattern of the peristyle mosaics and the multiplication of references (Bacchic and apotropaic) at the area restricted access of the house.

It could then be said that, although it deals with an art that is public in nature by virtue of the very life of the building, that the owners who commissioned the mosaics spoke mostly to themselves.

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Geometric Themes in Villae of the Conventus Pacensis

Conventus Pacensis Villaları'ndaki Geometrik Motifler

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Abstract

The project of drawing up an inventory of Roman mosaics in the territory of present-day Portugal requires, in the first stage, a methodical consultation of as many existing sources of information as possible, both of the current and of the past centuries. In doing so, trends in the compositional grammar and in the iconographic discourse chosen will gradually be outlined, eventually allowing the individualization of local, regional or even itinerant workshops.

In the process of consulting the records of Roman mosaics in Portuguese territory of Lusitania we can identify the existence of geometric mosaics in Roman villae of Alentejo, less known but not less interesting as regards the repertoire of their floors. From some of them - disappeared in the years following their discovery - there is nothing left but the reports of the archaeological campaigns then carried out and one or another photograph or drawing included in them.

Largely in very poor state of conservation, the still existing fragments are, today, testimony of a very own decorative syntax.

Keywords: *Mosaics, inventory, geometric motifs, iconography, mosaic workshop.*

Öz

Günümüzde Portekiz sınırları içerisinde yer alan mozaiklerin envanterlenmesi projesi, ilk olarak mümkün olan en geniş ölçüde hem günümüz hem de geçmiş literatürden metodik destek almayı gerektirmektedir. Bunu yaparken, kompozisyon gramerinde ve seçilen ikonografik yapıdaki eğilimlerle ilgili aşamalı bir genel çerçeveye çizilecek ve bunun sonucunda da yerel, bölgesel veya hatta gezici atölye çalışmalarının ayırt edilebilmesi mümkün olacaktır.

Portekiz'in Lusitania Bölgesi'nde yer alan Roma mozaiklerinin kayıtlarına bakma sürecinde Alentejo Roma villaları'nda bulunan geometrik desenli mozaiklerin tanımlanması mümkün olabilmıştır. Bu taban mozaikleri az bilinmekle birlikte repertuarları açısından oldukça dikkat çekicidirler. Bu mozaiklerin bazılarından bulunmalarını takip eden yıllar içerisinde kaybolan kısımlar olmuş, bazılarından ise geriye, arkeolojik çalışma raporlarında yer alan fotoğrafları ve çizimleri dışında bir şey kalmamıştır.

Büyük ölçüde kötü korunmuş bu mozaiklerin, günümüze ulaşan kısımları kendilerine özgü dekoratif üslubu ifade edebilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Mozaikler, envanter, geometrik motifler, ikonografi, mozaik atölyesi.*

The elaboration of an updated inventory of Roman mosaics in Portuguese territory was, right from the start of the Portuguese-Turkish project “Roman mosaics with geometric motifs to the West and the East of the Mediterranean. A comparative study of the reciprocal influence on the evolution of Roman geometric patterned mosaics in Portugal

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and Turkey “(RoGeMoPorTur)¹, one of the fundamental objectives of the Portuguese team.

Conscious of the difficulties that the non-existence of such an inventory implies for the study of mosaics in general and, more specifically, for the study of Roman mosaics with geometric motifs, it was decided to use the process of bibliographical survey of the Roman mosaics in Portuguese territory and, doing so, contribute to bridge this gap. Parallel to the database common to both countries, an inventory of the Roman Mosaics of Portugal is being prepared, following, with some adaptations, the structure chosen for the Mosaic Corpus of Spain. In it, in mosaic description forms that follow, as far as possible, the informative structure chosen for the Corpus of the Mosaics of Portugal, will briefly be gathered all the information obtained through the analysis of the existing and accessible bibliography².

In a first stage and in the context of the current process of debugging the Bibliography on existing or missing mosaics, we limited ourselves to the *Conventus Pacensis*, more precisely to the present districts of Portalegre, Évora and Beja. In fact, the number of entries in this area of the *conventus pacensis* is so high that we started the survey by analysing the documentation available at the Regional Directorate of Culture of Alentejo, whom we sincerely thank for the support given in this task, allowing access to the folders, accompanying with a smile all our doubts and questions³.

Why *conventus pacensis*?

“In Portugal, the exploitation of landowners seems to be confined to the Alentejo; in fact, it is the only region in the country which, due to its pedological, hydrological and demographic characteristics, lent itself to this type of exploitation”. With these words, Professor Jorge de Alarcão opens chapter V of the “Roman Dominion in Portugal”, to this very day the reference work for those who dedicate themselves to the study of the Roman age in our territory.

The *villae* were originally intended to ensure the existence of the senatorial nobility, who applied their fortune exclusively to large estates. For the production of agricultural products - olive oil, wine and cereals, there were multiple buildings: in addition to the facilities for the cultivation of land - *pars rustica* and *pars fructuaria* - a whole series of divisions were built as a mansion for the daily life of the family of the owner of the land and for reception and representation to the outside. Among others, gardens, water games, *peristyle*, *triclinia*, *nimphea*, embellished the manor house and witnessed - with the visitor - the prosperity and importance of its inhabitants. Especially social contacts between landowners were well cared for: to this effect, the private sphere of the *villae* was also an expression of a spirit of competition among the members of the Roman elite. The *villae* owners often owned several properties in different climatic regions and zones, which they visited according to the seasons. In doing so, they reduced the danger of bad harvests on the one hand, and allowed themselves to enjoy different landscapes and facets of Nature on the other hand.

¹ Multi-annual Archaeological Research Project approved by the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage of Portugal (DGPC).

² The last inventories of Roman mosaics in Portugal were elaborated by Alarcão (1988), by Duran Kremer (1999) and by Abraços (2005). For previous bibliography see Abraços 2005: 183-200.

³ Our special thanks go to all the staff of the DRCAentejo in the person of the Regional Director Ana Paula Amendoira and especially to Gabriela Cabeça, who has always accompanied me, and to the archaeologists and colleagues António Carlos Silva and Rafael Alfenim, whose support was central to this study.

Among the still existing testimonies of this important aspect of Roman everyday life, mosaics are an inexhaustible source of information on this aspect of the Roman culture. The architecture of the *villa*, the number and distribution of the different rooms, the iconographic program chosen for each of them according to their function in the representative universe of the landlord, the decorative syntax of each of them - are just some of the aspects that allow us to define the socio-economic and cultural profile of the *villa* owner with some certainty at any given time.

Moreover, this analysis often makes it possible to identify a possible mosaic workshop, acting at a regional level - or, on the contrary, the passing by of traveling workshops, so common at a time when the movement of people and goods was already a reality. Since the ground in Alentejo is primarily in the hand of landowners, it concentrates in its territory a large number of roman *villae*, more or less well known mainly for their architecture, sculpture and / or in large part figurative mosaics. This is the case of Torre da Palma, Santa Vitória do Ameixial, Casa da Medusa, Pisões, Vila das Longas, etc.

In many other cases, however, apart from a quotation here and there in the mostly local press, the *villae* of this region have fallen into oblivion, partly (or in some cases totally) destroyed. The only remaining information comes down to a few newspaper news, excavation reports and the photographs taken at the time. And that regardless of the fact, that many of these *villae*, due to the findings and the architectural and decorative planning of their rooms and pavements, could have been a determining factor in the study of the different forms of settlement and socio-cultural framework of the region.

At the time, beautiful mosaic floors were found. Unfortunately, however, while the most “beautiful” or “significant”, reproducing figurative scenes, were very carefully taken care of and outlasted in a good state of preservation, mosaics with geometric pattern were only very rarely given the same attention. On the contrary: not being front page news, the data we have today on many of them are very limited. A factor that seriously hinders the comparative study of mosaics with geometric motifs: Since it is not possible, in most cases, to reconstruct the iconographic program of the building or even the room in which the pavement was found, we are limited to analysing only a few aspects of the individualized system of decoration chosen for some rooms of the *villae* of the *conventus pacensis*. Compositional grammar, decorative syntax, polychromy, combination and execution of motifs are elements that, although they have come down to us only in fragments, are nevertheless indicative of the iconographic choice of the owner and of the hands that executed it.

As an example, we can briefly relate the history of an emblematic *villa*, which we had the opportunity to visit in the early 70's, shortly after its discovery.

I. Roman villa of D. Pedro (Herdade de Fonte de Frades, Baleizão)⁴ (Figure 1)

In the course of the agricultural work 1971 the existence of a vast area with archeological remains (Roman walls, fragments of pottery and mosaic) on the surface in a place called D. Pedro, at Herdade de Fonte de Frades (Beja) was noticed and the authorities⁵ were immediately informed of the probable existence

⁴ See Abraços 2005: N°s 171 e 175 -01 a 05.

⁵ At the time, the National Board of Education

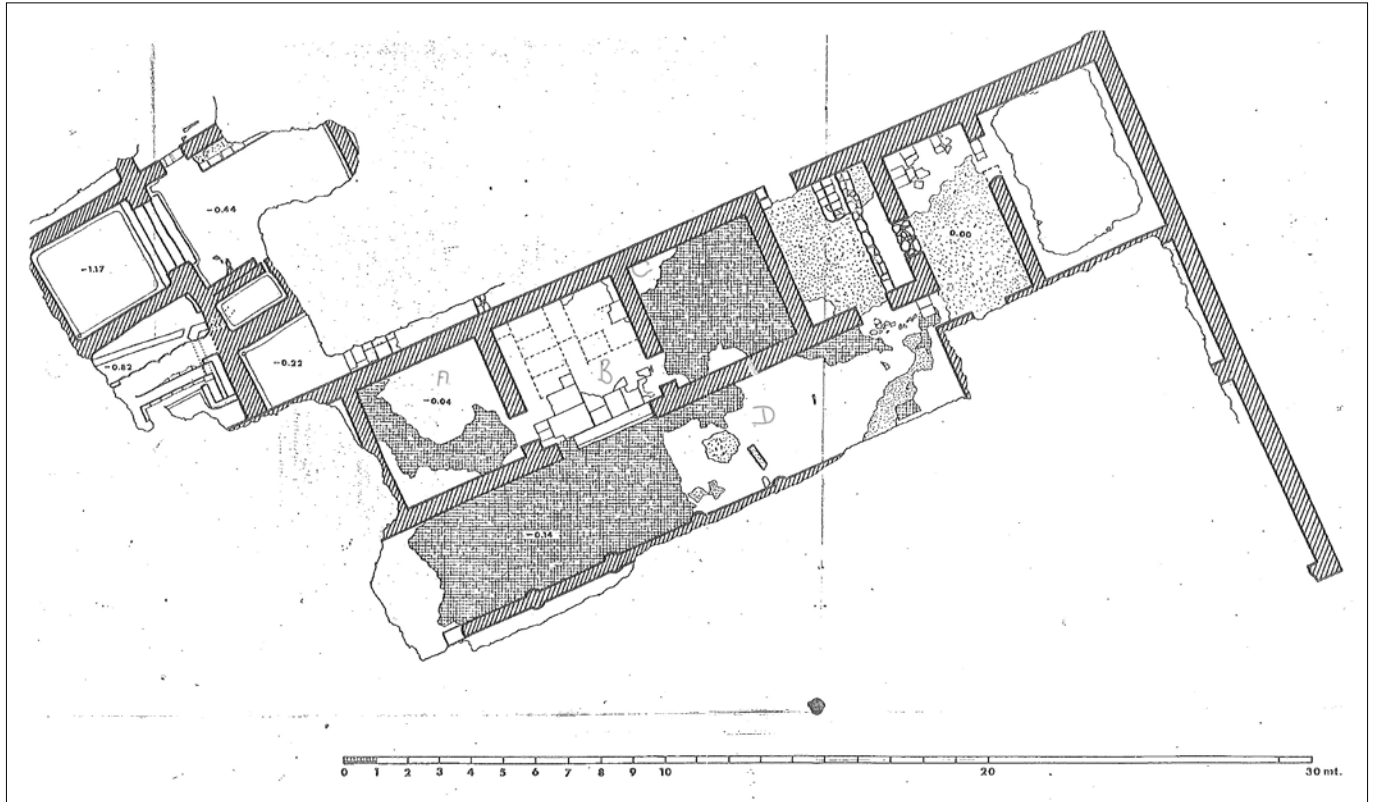


Figure 1
Herdade de Fonte de Frades, Plan.
©DRCA lentejo

of an important Roman station in that place. Unfortunately, as has happened with other archaeological sites in the past, the agricultural exploitation of the fields did not stop and went on destroying the existing archaeological heritage, day after day⁶.

Faced with this situation, an excavation campaign was carried out in 1972⁷, in the course of which six rooms, that flanked a wing of what is supposed to be the peristyle of the *villa*, were discovered⁸, as well as other structures that were only partially “cleaned”.

Among the materials found near the considered area were “a large marble ram” and a “small bronze statuette”⁹, a stone column base, two Roman coins from the 4th century, circular column brick spindles of different diameters (Figs. 2 - 4) etc.

According to the report of the excavation campaign of 1972, twelve mosaic fragments were found, with an average surface of 30 x 25 cm, mostly decorated with

⁶ We will not dwell in detail on the various stages of destruction of this “*villa*”, which is being currently the subject of a detailed study to be published in due course. We refer here only the most important moments in order to situate the mosaics found in time and space.

⁷ The Excavation Campaign was directed by the archaeologists Manuel Maria da Fonseca Andrade Maia and Maria Adelaide de Figueiredo Garcia Pereira. We thank the DRCA in the person of its Regional Director Ana Paula Amendoeira for the authorization to consult and use the information, plans and photographs existing in that DR, both for this archaeological station and for the other mosaics to be dealt with in this paper.

⁸ Since as far as we know, the excavations of this area have not proceeded, it is necessary to consider also the hypothesis of having found a *villa* ordered along a corridor, as happens in the roman *villa* of Pisões, Beja.

⁹ Offered by the owner of the land to the MNA in the person of D. Fernando de Almeida, when he visited the *villa* (letter from R.M. Rosado Fernandes to the President of the National Board of Education of May 10, 1972).

Figure 2
Herdade de Fonte de Frades
©MJ Duran Kremer



Figure 3
Herdade de Fonte de Frades
©MJ Duran Kremer



Figure 4
Herdade de Fonte de Frades.
©MJ Duran Kremer

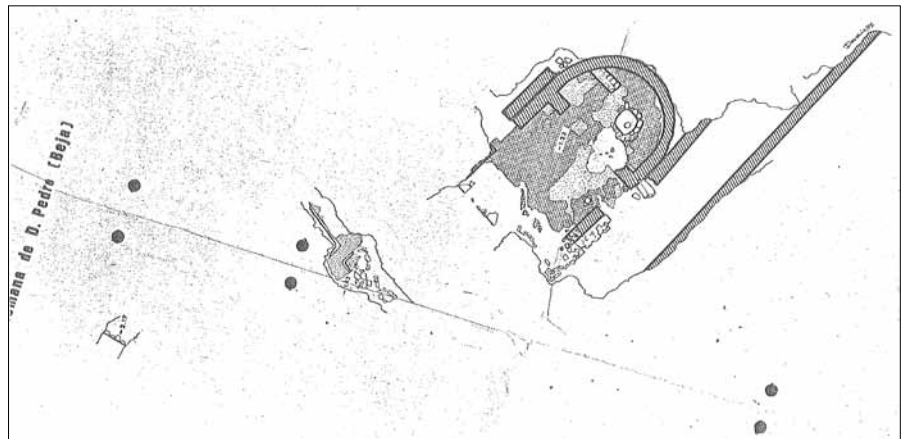


Figure 5
Villa romana de D. Pedro, Plan. ©DRCAIentejo

black and white geometric motifs, and a polychrome one, also decorated with geometric motifs¹⁰.

After this first excavation, the archaeological site fell into oblivion, and the existing structures - among them the mosaics - were completely destroyed¹¹.

Years later, in 1983, farming work in what was then the UCP – Unidade Cooperativa de Produção - “Terra de Catarina” – uncovered structures probably belonging to this *villa*¹² (Fig. 5). An emergency intervention was immediately carried out to assess the value of the findings, and the polychrome floor discovered at the time was described as follows:

“The partially exposed pavement (2 x 1,5 m) is made of *tesserae* and has two distinct parts: on the sides, the white marble and basalt *tesserae* form geometric patterns with floral motifs. And in the center the mosaic is polychrome with several motifs, of which two craters, ornamented with great swastikas stand out

¹⁰ A polychrome figurative mosaic representing dolphins was also found. The poor quality of the photograph at our disposal does not allow us to reproduce it here, but hopefully get a better photograph for the publication of the study of the villa, which is under way.

¹¹ I had the opportunity of confirm this fact when, years later, I visited the Monte de D. Pedro and, together with the farm manager, went to the place where the ruins of the *villa* had existed.

¹² When I visited the ruins in the 70's, the landowner referred to more existing structures at some distance from the *villa* and considered that they could be the roman baths. The partial transformation of large *latifundia* into UCPs, following the Agrarian Reform introduced by the Revolution of 1974, lead to a division of this area into different “farms”, thus giving rise to this “unprecedented archaeological station”. To be confirmed later in the scope of the ongoing study.

(fot.). These motives are framed by simple guilloche, in brick and green marble *tesserae*, giving them a very bright shade. As for the construction, it is formed by two walls of stone and lime, culminating in a vault. The visible height is 1,30 m and the width 0,8 m. In the same place there is an *opus signinum* pavement, fragmented in two parts. The specialists identified these architectural elements as belonging to the *balnearium*, more precisely the *hypocaustum* “¹³ (Fig. 6).

It was the year of 1983.

Then, for various reasons, the ruins returned to oblivion. The mosaics, which had been uncovered, were destroyed: In 1989, it could be seen that the whole area had been puffed up and nothing remained from the mosaics or the walls - except the reports of the excavation I had the opportunity to consult.

Mosaics with geometric patterns

Since it is impossible to analyse all the fragments of mosaic referred to in the 1972 report, we will limit ourselves to analysing only three floors decorated mainly with geometric patterns.

1. Bichrome mosaic - diamonds and four-pointed stars with square centre Octogonsystem IX (Salies 1974: 14 fig.49; Vargas Vázquez 2016: 259 fig. 29) (Fig. 7).



A carpet-type mosaic, bichrome, in white and black *tesserae*, was part of a larger set of two rooms, both with mosaic pavements¹⁴.

The mosaic probably covered the entire floor of the room, and was delimited by a dentilled simple file with dentils 3 tesserae wide (Décor I: pl. 3b) that framed the central composition. As far as we can tell, there was a broad band of white *tesserae*, surmounted by a line of (probably) three black *tesserae* and a band of white *tesserae*¹⁵.

The decorative syntax of the pavement is alternately repetitive: the diamonds formed by the four-pointed stars are filled with small floral elements or small



Figure 6
Villa romana de D. Pedro, Mosaic.
©Câmara Municipal de Beja

Figure 7
Herdade de Fonte de Frades, Mosaic.
©DRCA Alentejo

¹³ Municipal Bulletin (Boletim Municipal 1983: N° 27, p. 5). Our greatest thanks to the Municipality of Beja in the persons of Dr. Tereza Revez and Adelaide Lopes for the support and transfer of photographs and reference material.

¹⁴ The plant at our disposal does not allow us to identify the location of these two mosaics: The second one was already very destroyed during the excavation campaign and it was not possible to identify its decoration.

¹⁵ The photograph at our disposal does not allow a more detailed analysis of the finishing of the composition.

diamonds (in sketch or solids). The squares inscribed on the four stars are equally sketched or solid.

The use of two colours and of the geometric system of ornamentation as an element of the composition introduces movement and a “pseudo singleness” and perspective in the decoration of the mosaic. Probably having its origin in Africa, this scheme is used mainly in mosaics of late antiquity, having reached its peak in the 4th century AD. They are almost always connected to a local mosaic workshop (Salies 1974: 14) and would have spread from the West to the eastern Mediterranean provinces (Salies 1974: 89)¹⁶.

2. Bichrome mosaic - *pelta* (Décor I: pl. 222d).

A black and white tessellated carpet-type surface mosaic covered a square room approximately of 3 x 3 m (Plan, room A): According to the Excavation Campaign Report, this floor would show the same decoration as room C.

Still, according to the Report of the Excavation Campaign (1972), this room would open in the West side to another, with the same dimensions, whose pavement - although quite destroyed - still had a part of its covering of marble stone¹⁷ (Plan, room B).

To the West of this room a door led to room C, also with a mosaic floor, relatively well preserved (Plan, room C).

3. Bi-chrome mosaic - *pelta* (Décor I: pl. 222 variant of d; Vargas Vázquez 2016: 206) (Figure 8).

A black and white tessellated carpet-type surface mosaic covered a square room approximately 3m x 3m (room C) and consisted of a uniformly patterned central carpet in running *pelta* pattern, delimited by a dentilled simple filet with dentils 3 tesserae wide (Décor I: pl. 3b) that framed the central composition. As far as we can see, there was a broad band of white *tesserae*, surmounted by a line of (probably) three black and a band of white *tesserae*.



Figure 8
Herdade de Fonte de Frades,
Mosaic room C.
©DRCAleantejo

¹⁶ “In der spätantiken Mosaikproduktion ist der völlige Stilwandel in der syrischen Fußbodendekoration besonders auffallend ... Die im Westen seit langem bekannten Schemata werden übernommen - vor allem die Oktogonschemata III, IV, VI und IX ... mit geometrischen Mustern dekoriert ..”

¹⁷ Under the quadrant bricks that filled the hole left by the disappearance of the threshold was found a quarter of the 4th century AC.



Figure 9
Villa romana de Pisões, Mosaic.
©MJ Duran Kremer

In this last strip, we can identify at least a cordiform leaves / ivy scroll (Nunes Correia 2005: 175) on the side of the entrance to the room.

The layout of these three rooms, perfectly symmetrical and with a single access (room B) open to what was identified as a wing of the peristyle of the villa is also found in another *villa* of the *conventus pacensis* - the Roman *villa* of Abicada (Duran Kremer 2007: 214-222)¹⁸.

Although the pelt, as a motif, is commonly used mainly in combination with the square, the circle and / or the Solomon's knot, both in surface compositions as well as in individual motifs, it was not frequently used as a single motif in mosaic floors and/ or surface compositions in the roman mosaics of today's Portuguese territory. However, it is also in the *conventus pacensis* that we find two other floors very close to those of room A and C:

- in the Casa da Medusa, Alter-do-Chão¹⁹, bichrome - white and black *tesserae*
- in a composition in *running pelta* pattern covering what was probably a larger room, later divided by a later wall in two different, smaller rooms, one of which was then giving access to the peristyle.

- in the Roman *villa* of Pisões (Fig. 9), in the large corridor (23.60 m) that connects the "entrance" of the villa in the North to the large set of rooms already excavated in this archaeological station. Although in large parts destroyed and with numerous old and modern "repairs", it allows to identify a surface composition in running pelt pattern, originally in the colours white, black and yellow.

Another pavement with this motif as a surface composition but with a more complex chromatic and decorative syntax was found in the Monumental Complex of Santiago da Guarda, both in the small corridor and as pavement of *cubiculae* (Pereira 2011: 849-860).

¹⁸ Unfortunately the failure to continue the excavations and the destruction of the ruins does not make it possible to verify the existence of a possible symmetry in the layout of the rooms similar to that which occurs in at least in two sectors of the Roman *villa* of Abicada.

¹⁹ The mosaics of the Casa da Medusa (Alter do Chão) are an integral part of the doctoral thesis of the colleague (and member of the RoGeMoPorTur team) Jorge António. For this reason – and as we always do with material studied by colleagues - we do not publish photographs of this Roman station.

4. Polychrome mosaic (Figure 10)

Identified in the plan by the letter D, the area excavated and identified as pertaining to the peristyle had a length of 20 m, covered with mosaic: from what can be inferred from the mosaics visible, at least this section of the peristyle (8.20 m) would have a panel-like decorative arrangement. As it is impossible to consult coloured photographs of high quality, we quote the archaeologists responsible for the excavation campaign: “the mosaic is polychrome and in it white, green and yellow *tesserae* are drawn with a *rosacea*, a kind of rose from the winds, a composition formed by lozenges (an eight-pointed star, note by the author) (Fig. 11), and another zone that we can call “carpet”, consisting of a frame of stylized waves that fits a labyrinth, which constitutes the central figure. The whole mosaic has a longitudinal square formed by yellow bands (Maia - Pereira 1972: 4).

Analysed more closely, the composition was probably a flooring arrangement in individual thematic panels, and unique so far in the chosen decorative syntax. Not because the chosen motifs are unusual, on the contrary: both the *sexifolia*²⁰ and the eight-pointed star are usual motifs in Roman architectural decoration²¹, usually integrated in surface composition or, when taken individually, establishing a very complex dialogue between the shape and the image²². In the Roman *villa* of D. Pedro the motifs are used in their simplest expression, having probably resorted to the game of colours in opposition.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the second panel, still partially visible. Contrary to the identification given earlier, we believe that we are facing a meander (probably a bi-chrome one), which constitutes the central image of the panel, framed by a polychrome square (yellow and black bands?), then a simple wave pattern and a new frame that, although following the same decorative scheme of the previous panel, introduces a contrast of colours in its filling.

Figure 10
Herdade de Fonte de Frades,
Mosaic room D.
©DRCAleentejo



Figure 11
Herdade de Fonte de Frades,
room D, detail.
©Casa do Povo de Baleizão

²⁰ In the Roman *villa* of Pisões we find not the *sexifolia* but the *quadrifolia* inscribed in a circle in the composition of room 46, where it stands out for its singleness when compared with the other patterns (Fig.) and in room 1, where it is presented in a composition in black and white.

²¹ For the Architecture / Mosaic relationship see also Alves 2002.

²² This is the case, for example, of the central peristyle of the Casa dos Repuxos (Bairrão Oleiro 1992: Estampas 13-19).

Apart from all the uncertainties associated with the impossibility of being able to personally analyse the pavements in detail, the elements at our disposal allow us to conclude that we would most probably be facing a large Roman *villa* with a very precise and significant decorative syntax. It is interesting to note that the excavated sector, near the peristyle, showed exclusively pavements decorated with geometric motifs, which, in their apparent simplicity, introduced movement - through the theme chosen - and harmony - through the symmetrical repetition of the motif: Rooms A and C. Or resorted to simple patterns - such as geometric themes inscribed in circles without any additional decoration - immediately followed by a “heavy” pattern in its message, as is the case of the meander in a colour contrast.

At the present stage of our work it is certainly premature to advance with interpretations of the “taste” of the landlords in this region of Lusitania in the fourth century²³. There may have been a preference for bi-chrome compositions - or for a minimalist polychromy - and for geometric patterns, a preference that we had already been able to verify in the Roman *villa* of Pisões²⁴, but also found in several other *villae* of this zone of the *conventus* and that allows to identify certain tendencies, if not the hands of workers.

The treatment given to the meander on a floor of Santa Vitória do Ameixial and Monte das Argamassas illustrates this phenomenon well.

The Roman villa of Monte das Argamassas

Located in the district of Portalegre, in a flat area well served by natural watercourses, the Roman *villa* of Monte das Argamassas (now: *villa* da Herdade das Argamassas) is located on private property. Some archaeological interventions have taken place, all of them under the responsibility of the owners of the farm²⁵.

During these interventions, and although it was possible to verify the existence of several mosaic floors, their state of destruction was such that, in most cases, it was decided not to continue the work (Brazuna 2011: 239). However, some of the existing fragments allow a comparative analysis of certain motifs. This is the case with the meander of room 6 (Brazuna 2011: 230) (Fig. 12).

The degree of conservation of the pavement does not allow identifying the decorative order in its entirety. It is true that we are probably dealing with a composition in surface, structured in large tangent squares with different inscribed motifs. At least three of these squares were filled by a linear, polychrome, dentate swastika-meander. The composition as a whole was framed by a bar of three rows of white *tesserae*, followed by a guilloche, a second bar of three rows of white *tesserae* that followed a bi-chrome row of intersecting and tangent semicircles, forming ogives and scales, the colours counter changed, the ogives concentrically striped (Décor I: pl. 49b). The outer cap was then formed by a sequence of black line (two *tesserae*), white band (8 *tesserae*) and again a black line (two

²³ We limit ourselves here to the dates advanced by previous researchers. However, in the scope of the RoGeMoPorTur project, we hope to have access to more written sources and photographs that will allow them to move forward in this field.

²⁴ A bichrome that does not mean a limitation in the muscled repertoire, on the contrary, points to a careful treatment of the geometric scheme used as decoration. The mosaic later discovered in the eighties and considered to belong to the baths of the village testify to the expertise of the workers who executed the mosaic floors.

²⁵ Plan: Brazuna 2011: 235.

Figure 12
Monte das Argamassas, Mosaic.
©DRCAentejo



tesserae). It would probably follow a band of yellow *tesserae*, constituting the end of the pavement up to the wall²⁶.

The decorative syntax of this sector of the pavement is relatively complex, bringing together exclusively geometric individualized motifs, with no apparent interconnection between them²⁷. Of a pronounced polychrome still resorting to only four colours (white, black, red and yellow), witnesses of an iconographic program based on the variety of motifs and polychromy as elements of introduction of movement in the composition.

The bristled swastika-meander is undoubtedly one of these basic elements.

Although this motif has been used with a certain frequency on Roman pavements in the territory of Lusitania²⁸, the use of at least three colours (yellow, red and black) for the construction of the same and the introduction of the “jagged” element in that same line does not have - as far as we know - until now a parallel in Portuguese territory²⁹: the only parallel of which we have knowledge of, is in the Municipality of Estremoz, Parish of Santa Vitória do Ameixial.

The Roman *villa* of Santa Vitória do Ameixial

Despite the knowledge of the existence of ancient ruins since the 18th century, when Father Luis Cardoso referred to them in his Geographical Dictionary as “land of moors”, it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that this *villa* took the front page of the newspapers with the discovery of the so-called Ulysses mosaic in 1915. Internationally known since then thanks to this important

²⁶ The mosaic has been severely destroyed, probably due to agricultural work carried out on the site in previous years. Thus, we hope in a more detailed analysis for the preparation of the Inventory of Roman Mosaics of Portugal underway within the scope of the RoGeMoPorTur project to be able to proceed with a detailed description not only of this mosaic but of other pavements present in this *villa*.

²⁷ The frame of the square in the lower right corner seems to introduce the element “fish” in its decoration: the line of placement of the *tesserae* seems to confirm this interpretation

²⁸ The frame of the square in the lower right corner seems to introduce the element “fish” in its decoration: the line of placement of the *tesserae* seems to confirm this interpretation

²⁹ There are no parallel examples elsewhere in the Roman Empire: however, the research is not yet complete.



Figure 13
Santa Vitória do Ameixial, Mosaic.
©DRCAIentejo

mosaic, discovered by Luís Chaves and raised during the campaigns of 1915/16, consolidated and deposited in the National Museum of Archaeology, where it still remains, this Roman *villa* has been the subject of several interventions of excavation, cleaning and preservation over the years.

An exhaustive analysis of the whole Bibliography related to Saint Vitória do Ameixial would exceed the established objectives. To do so, we shall mainly refer to the reports of the work carried out at that archaeological station in 1970 (Matos 1970) and 1986 (Carrilho - Dias 1986). However, we find it interesting to transcribe here a few insightful passages from the excavations report of 1970.

“It can be considered that all or almost all of the resort and a large part of the urban *villa* have been lost due to the fact that new houses of the village have been constructed on top of the buildings of the zone, taking advantage of the discovered materials.

If we analyse the excavations of Luis Chaves we must recognize that they were very summary. He was asked to lift up the mosaic found in the place and to recognize the buildings so that mosaics or other valuable materials would not remain on the ground, and that is what he actually did “...” (Matos 1970: 2). The works of Chaves, on the other hand, concern only a small part, certainly the richest, but of little extent relative to the total perimeter of the great *villa*” (Matos 1970: 2). “In addition, the excavation of other areas of the station promises to be extremely profitable. The villa has an extension which, as we estimate by far, is ten times greater than the area already excavated encompassing the perimeter of the present village and surpassing it by much” (Matos 1970: 3).

It was during this 1970 excavation campaign that a number of mosaic pavements were discovered in an area not yet excavated, also partly destroyed by the machinery used in agriculture. Among them are two mosaics (peristyle and contiguous room) that, although presenting a different ordering and style of the floor in the *villa* of Herdade das Argamassas, introduces a variant of it (Fig. 13) in the elaboration of the composition.

In both pavements - and as far as we can verify - the swastika-meander is used as a structuring and, at the same time, decorative element. Basically executed in white *tesserae* for the background, and black for the geometric scheme, the

mosaic setter introduced an element of movement, almost of discomfort when he took recourse to the line of hooks for the construction of the meander, aligned alternately in the inner part or on the outside of the baseline of the swastika, sometimes even on both sides.

The decorative syntax of this composition is enhanced by the introduction of a polychrome “separator” between each “swastika”: a square on the tip outlined in black *tesserae* and filled by two triangles in opposite red and yellow colours, separated by a line of black *tesserae* placed on the vertex.

A first analysis of the common characteristics of the pavements of these three *villae* of the *conventus pacensis*, even with all the reservations related to both the poor conservation of the pavements and the different interpretation of the same motifs given in each of them, gives rise to the hypothesis of a possible identification of a regional mosaic workshop. The use of broad polychrome bands (yellow and black?) to delimit the composition, the preference for bi-chrome schemes, the introduction of stylistic elements such as the line of hooks, the use of *pelta* as unique motif in a surface composition, the use of the geometric system as a decoration element, can be considered elements of reference for the identification of a mosaic workshop. The analysis, when possible, of the remaining pavements of these *villae* and the surrounding *villae* may soon - so we hope - allow this identification.

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Reflets de l’Orient sur les Monuments Épigraphiques de la Lusitanie Romaine Occidentale

Batı Roma Lusitania Epigrafik Anıtları Üzerinde Doğu’dan Yansımalar

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Abstract

The Orient Reflected on the Epigraphic Monuments of Western Roman Lusitania

In the Roman epigraphic monuments of the Occidental Lusitania we can see the oriental influence in the adoption of Greek names by the people there mentioned, but this is a cultural influence not the sign of the existence of oriental people in the province. Nevertheless the most relevant relation with the oriental culture is patented at the domain of the religion, especially in the cult of Cybele, as Mother of the Gods. But we can also see the oriental influences in the mosaics.

Keywords: Roman epigraphy, Roman Lusitania, Greek names, Cybele, crinobolium.

Öz

Batı Lusitania’daki Roma Dönemi epigrafik anıtlarında kişilerin Grek adlarının kullanılması gibi doğu etkilerini görmek mümkündür. Fakat bu etki bölgede doğu kökenli insanların var olduğu şeklinde yorumlanmamalıdır. Bu sadece kültürel bir etkileşimin sonucudur. Bununla birlikte konuyla ilgili en belirgin doğu etkisi, özellikle tanrıların anası olan Kybele kültürünün benimsenmesinde görülmektedir. Fakat mozaikler üzerinde de bu doğu etkisinin görülmesi mümkündür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma epigrafisi, Roma Lusitaniyası, Grek adları, Kybele, crinobolium.

Il est vrai – et il ne faut pas l’oublier – que l’Empire Romain était un empire de deux langues : le Latin pour l’Occident et le Grec pour l’Orient. C’est pour cela que les empereurs avaient un *procurator ab epistulis latinis* et un autre *ab epistulis graecis* et, de même, un *procurator bibliotheca latina* et un autre pour la *bibliotheca graeca*.

D’autre part, quand nous parlons des relations entre l’Orient et l’Occident, de quel Orient parlons-nous ? Des produits ou des personnes?

Il est bien connu que la Lusitanie a été notable point de passage entre la Méditerranée et l’Atlantique. Passage de produits et, pour cause, passage des gens. Nous avons, alors, deux points de réflexion : la Lusitanie, carrefour de cultures ; la Lusitanie, inévitable centre d’échanges commerciaux. Les trouvailles archéologiques, surtout dans le domaine de la céramique, peuvent se placer – hélas ! – dans les deux domaines : les scènes de la mythologie ou de la vie quotidienne que décoraient les *skyphoi* et d’autres vases pouvaient bien se poser sur un meuble en tant qu’assez joli bibelot ; l’anneau avec le scarabée égyptien serait-il l’exquis bijou d’une dame...

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Salacia

Alcácer do Sal, la romaine *Salacia*, a été, sans doute, un des endroits – je dirai même, toute une région – où l'influence orientale s'est fait sentir le plus intensivement, force, bien sûr, de son port fluvial, d'accès très commode, bien fréquenté par les bateaux de la Méditerranée depuis les temps préhistoriques.

Une des découvertes plus récentes, due aux fouilles menées au bout para notre toujours regretté ami, João Carlos Lázaro Faria, a été justement la première – et, jusqu'au présent, la seule – *tabella defixionum*, où les divinités invoquées contre le voleur des biens («*eius qui meas sarcinas supstulit, qui me compila- vit de domo Hispani*») sont Cybèle (*Domina Megara Invicta!*) et son fils, Atis («*Domine Attis, te rogo per tuum Nocturnum...*») (Encarnação – Faria 2002). Toute une ambiance de mystère, liée aux croyances héritées du Proche Orient...

Il n'est pas surprenant qu'un affranchi, *Marcus Octavius Theophilus*, dédie une inscription *Isidi Dominae*, à son nom, auquel il a voulu associer celui de sa *domina*, puisque sur l'inscription leur nom est mis *in extenso* : *Octavia Marcella Moderatilla* (CIL II 182). Et on fera bien attention sur la façon comme vient écrit et comment a été choisi le nom de l'esclave, puis affranchi : des résonances grecques y sont bien évidentes dans l'usage de *th* et *ph*, tandis que *theophilus* est celui qui aime les divinités...¹

L'influence de la religion, d'abord.

Après, et je le note déjà tandis que nous sommes à *Salacia*, le retentissement (j'ose le dire) de l'onomastique (on en reparlera plus tard) grecque y est bien évident : nous avons notice d'un *duumvir* et *flamen divorum* de *Salacia* qui avait comme *cognomen Himerus* (IRCP 187), un nom qui est étymologiquement grec – du grec antique ἡμερος, mot qui symbolisait l'appétit sexuel; d'une *Iunia Corinthia*, dont le *cognomen* peut dire qu'elle était ou ses ancêtres étaient originaires de Corinthe (IRCP 193); d'un *M. Sulpicius Zographus*, nom qui peut lui être donné parce qu'il était peintre : ζωγράφος.

L'onomastique

Une onomastique due aux racines grecques qu'on voit pendant tout l'Empire. À la nécropole de Silveirona (Estremoz), on trouve deux fois dans le même texte (IRCP 450) le nom *Tryphon*, qu'on peut mettre en relation avec τρυφή, «sensualité», «volupté», et aussi *Argyrius*, clairement formé à partir de αργυρούς, «argenté». Et on pouvait en multiplier les exemples.

Peut-on se demander qu'est-ce qu'en réalité ça signifie. Et la réponse ne peut être que celle-là : les parents choisissent pour leurs enfants les noms qui leur plaisent.

Quand je suis allé au Brésil pour la première fois, en Septembre 1989, un des candidats à la présidence de la République s'appelait «Eneas» et je me suis demandé comment un nom si classique pouvait être donné à une personne qui apparemment n'avait rien à voir avec l'Antiquité Classique. Et, après, j'ai commencé à me rendre compte que, finalement, bien des gens au Brésil avaient de noms suggérés par l'Antiquité, puisque... cela était fascinant et le peuple voulait bien montrer qu'il avait des racines classiques, européennes (Encarnação 2011).

¹ Sur les noms théophoriques, on peut consulter Parker 2000.

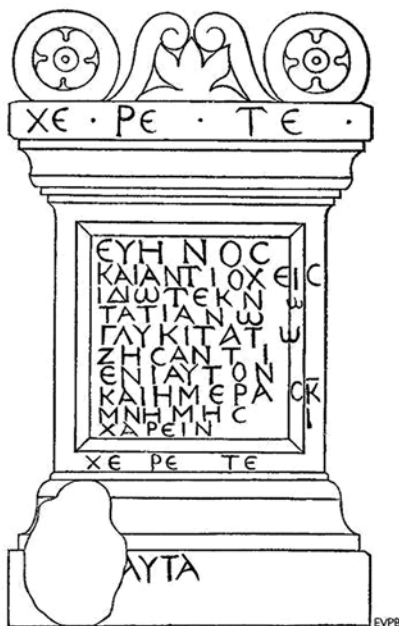


Figure 1
Autel de Balsa, écrit en grec.



Figure 2
Fragment du bas-relief du théâtre romain d'Olisipo, représentant Melpomène.

Curieusement, quand j'étais professeur à l'Université Lusófona à Lisbonne, une université fréquentée par bien d'étudiants venus des anciennes colonies portugaises d'Afrique, j'ai eu comme étudiants des garçons africains qui s'appelaient Allan Kardec, Karl Marx, Lenine, George Washington!...

Au temps des Romains, *Tiberius* voulait dire, à la lettre, celui qui avait été né à côté du Tibre; *Manius*, celui qui était venu au monde le matin...

Tout cela pour démontrer qu'il y a – au moment de l'attribution du nom à l'enfant – toute une ambiance culturelle. C'est vrai qu'on a à voir avec le goût des parents, souvent sans aucune raison spécifique ou consciente, mais le fond culturel y est (Davies 2000).

Alors, on peut se demander vis-à-vis des anthroponymes grecs présents sur les monuments épigraphiques de la Lusitanie : c'est parce que ces familles étaient d'origine orientale ? Ou – sachant que la plupart des noms grecs étaient donnés aux esclaves – étaient tous ces esclaves grecs d'origine ? L'opinion générale va en sens différent : il s'agissait d'une mode, il était 'bien' de donner à un esclave un nom hors commun, souvent lié à la mythologie. Déjà dans le colloque international réalisé à Paris en octobre 1975, Robert Étienne commentait la communication du Prof. Antonio Tovar, remarquant que l'acquisition d'un *cognomen* romain n'était pas la preuve d'une romanisation et, d'autre part, que l'imposition d'un nom grec relevait plutôt d'un phénomène psychologique : il fallait se montrer à la hauteur d'une culture ! Et Robert Étienne pensait inclusive que, parmi les gens qui ont des noms grecs, il y aurait, bien certainement, beaucoup d'indigènes qui avaient été obligés à passer par l'esclavage ou l'auraient même choisi pour monter dans l'échelle sociale (Étienne 1977 : 292).

Les noms grecs étaient, en effet, assez sonnants, quoique plusieurs fois on ne saurait pas très bien comment les écrire, une fois qu'on trouve *Epolita* et *Hyppolitus*, *Throphime* et *Trophimus*; *Helice* et *Elicon*; *Cryseros* et *Chrysero* ; *Holumpus* à la place d'*Olympos*...

Et, dans le cadre de l'attribution de noms grecs aux personnes c'est très curieux de se rendre compte de ce que María José Pena et Joan Carbonell (2006) ont réfléchi à propos de la présence des noms *Io* et *Inachus* dans un poème funéraire de *Pax Iulia* (IRCP 270):

«Tant *Inachus* comme *Io* sont des noms pratiquement inexistantes en Grèce, ce que nous fait penser qu'il s'agit d'un des nombreux noms grecques d'origine mythologique, de dieux et héros, utilisés comme noms d'esclaves à l'époque hellénistique et romaine» (Pena – Carbonell 2006 : 268).

Dans la Lusitanie occidentale on n'a pas trouvé qu'un autel écrit en grec : c'est l'autel de Balsa, à côté de Tavira, vers la mer (Fig. 1). Au chapiteau : XE · PE · TE – salut ! Il s'agit de l'épithète d'un enfant qui s'appelait *Τατιάνας*. Et au théâtre d'*Olisipo*, le bas-relief (Fig. 2) représentant *Melpomene* a été écrit en grec : MELΠΟ[...]. Ici l'intention est bien claire : montrer le cosmopolitisme de la *civitas* et, simultanément, la culture des spectateurs.

Cybèle

Un autre signe de l'influence grecque dans le quotidien de la province ce sont les rituels auxquels les gens donnent significative importance.

En ce qui concerne un des cultes le plus souvent documenté, celui de la mère des dieux, Cybèle, on se rend compte que les rituels venus de l'Orient sont bien présents.

Ainsi, à Estremoz, on a trouvé l'autel qu'*Iulius Maximianus animo libens posuit*. Mais le texte est tout à fait curieux, puisqu'on peut y lire qu'il a dépensé son *peculium* à fin de pouvoir ériger le monument en honneur de la *Mater Deorum*. C'est, d'ailleurs, celle-là l'interprétation que j'ai donné aux sigles y inscrites : «pro h(uius) m(onumenti) n(umini) e(rectionem) peculium» (IRCP 440).

Sur un autel de *Pax Iulia* (IRCP 289 – Fig. 3) on lit que deux *Irinaei*, père et fils, ont été *criobolati*, c'est-à-dire, initiés au culte et purifiés avec le sang d'un agneau. L'autel fête le jour de sa naissance dans la nouvelle religion – *natali suo* – en présence de deux prêtres, qui ont versé sur eux le sang de la victime consacrée.

À *Ossonoba*, l'inscription d'un autre autel (IRCP 1), consacré lui aussi à la Mère des Dieux, nous renseigne que le *sacerdos* qui a intervenu au rite appartenait à la famille *Agria*; et, sur la base de l'autel, on lit CRINOBOLIVM, pour témoigner la pratique de ce rituel, le CRIOBOLIVM, purification du croyant avec le sang d'un agneau et d'un taureau et son entrée dans la communauté religieuse.

À *Pax Iulia*, une plaque, dont le texte est un peu abîmé (IRCP 339), a été dédiée [M(*ithrae*) ?] [vel S(*oli*)] DEO INVICTO par le *sodalitium Bracarorum*, à l'occasion où cette communauté fêtait l'offrande d'un objet de culte (est justement son identification qui est maintenant effacée) et on sait qu'un *magister Artemidorus* y a intervenu. Jaime Alvar Ezquerro pense que c'était souvent à travers des cultes mystérieux que les esclaves obtenaient leur intégration social ; en ce cas de *Pax Iulia*, il suggère, malgré cela, que l'intégration d'*Artemidorus* puisse avoir été obtenue parce qu'il appartenait au *sodalitium Bracarorum* (Alvar Ezquerro 1993: 283). Je n'y vois aucun inconvénient ; mais, au contraire des deux autres inscriptions, ici ne s'agit-il pas de l'entrée au cercle des croyants : *Artemidorus* y est déjà, et les célébrations liturgiques sous l'invocation de Mithra ou du *Sol Invictus* n'étaient plus, à mon avis, qu'un moyen de mieux consolider un groupe qui avait, bien sûr, d'autres intentions sociopolitiques et économiques que seulement les cérémonies religieuses, si on pense, par exemple, que tout cela se passe à *Pax Iulia*, capitale du *conventus*, centre d'une importante région minière...

L'autel d'*Olisipo* CIL II 179 (Fig. 4) peut être vu comme une des démonstrations les plus évidentes du retentissement des cultes orientaux en Lusitanie, ce qui ne nous frappe pas face à l'encadrement du monument : *Olisipo* était, en effet, après *Salacia* ou, si l'on préfère, avec *Salacia*, une cité vraiment cosmopolitique et complètement ouverte aux influences de l'extérieur ; d'autre part, une 'colonie' de commerçants originaires de la Méditerranée bientôt s'y est installée – comme on verra, des siècles plus tard, au temps des Découvertes, à propos des commerçants des fleurissantes républiques de la Péninsule Italique. Dédié à la Mère des Dieux, avec l'expresse intervention des *duumviri* et mentionnant solennellement la date de la dédicace, l'année 108 a. J.-C., étant consules *Marcus Atilius* et *Annius Gallus*, on y voit deux détails bien suggestifs : il y a eu l'intervention d'une *cernophora*, *Flavia Tyche*, et à la désignation habituelle de la déesse (*Mater Deum Magna*) on ajoute des épithètes qui sont la manifestation la plus claire, j'oserai dire, de l'imprégnation du culte dans la vie religieuse de la ville : *Ida* et *Phrygia* ! *Ida*, parce que le mont Ida était sa demeure ; *Phrygia*, parce que c'était celle-là la région de sa naissance. On connaissait bien les rites et la nomenclature ! (Voir Vázquez Hoys 2003: 149-151).



Figure 3
Autel de Pax Iulia avec
mention du criobolium.



Figure 4
Autel d'Olisipo dédié à Cybèle.

En effet, une recherche, si bien que non exhaustive, à ce propos, m'a donné ces résultats :

- À Setif (*Mauretania Caesariensis*), a été érigé et consacré, à un certain moment, *religiosissimum templum* dédié à Cybèle et à son fils Átis – tous les deux désignés *dei omnipotentes et sancti*. Cybèle est *Mater deum Magna* et on a aussi reconstitué, avec vraisemblance, *Phrygia*. On remarquera que cette consécration y est accompagnée *una cum religiosis et dendroforis*, c'est-à-dire, dans le cadre d'une solennelle cérémonie, qui a culminé avec l'érection d'un *simulacrum deae argenteum* (CIL VIII 8457 et 20 343).
- Parmi les célèbres inscriptions de la Cueva Negra de Fortuna, à Murcia, on lit *Phrygia numina*, expression qu'on peut attribuer à Cybèle et à son fils, puisqu'elle est à côté d'une autre bien suggestive, *montis in excelsos*, allusion sûr au mont Ida (cf. AE 2002 849).
- À Clermont-Ferrand (*Gallia Narbonensis*), *taurobolia et criobolia* ont été célébrés *Matri deum Mag[nae] [Idaeae Phryg]iae Palatinae pro salute* de la maison impériale, l'année 255 a. J.-C. (AE 1910 217).
- À Sassoferrato (*Umbria*), une autre inscription nous renseigne que quelqu'un a fait un don – *d(onum) d(edit) – [Matri] deum [Mag(nae) Ide]ae* (AE 1981 319).
- À Carthage (*Africa Proconsularis*), on a trouvé un « autel hexagonal en marbre blanc, brisé en bas, sculpté sur quatre faces : cymbales et flûte suspendues à une guirlande ; guirlande et pommes de pin ; chaîne de feuilles en forme de S, suspendu à une guirlande ; disque suspendu à une guirlande » (c'est-à-dire, un monument vraiment somptueux !...), consacré *Matri deum Magnae Idea[e] et Attini Aug(ustis)* (AE 1987 1001).
- À El Announa (*Thibilis – Numidia*), *Matri deum Magnae Id(a)aeae Popilia M(arci) fil(ia) Maxima taurobolium aram posuit movit fecit* (CIL VIII 5524).

Tous ces exemples – et j'en ai fait question de les citer – prouvent que le monument d'*Olisipo* suit une tradition bien répandue et on peut bien le placer dans le nombre des dédicaces représentatives du culte à cette divinité. On savait bien comment elle se nommait et comment son culte était important !...

Conclusion sur la documentation épigraphique

Quand on parle de l'Orient dans le cadre des documents épigraphiques de la Lusitanie occidentale et on voit qu'il y a des gens avec de noms grecs, on ne pense pas qu'on est en présence de gens venues de l'Orient. Quelques-unes ont été venues, bien sûr. Mais le plus remarquable c'est surtout l'influence culturelle – comme je disais au début à propos des noms inspirés dans l'Antiquité Classique et déjà courants au Brésil. Il y a des modes, des modèles ! Et je serais toujours plus vaniteux si je peux présenter mon esclave nommée *Melpomène* au lieu de l'appeler *Minima*, plus petite qu'elle soit !...

Et ce raisonnement a plus de valeur si nous pensons au domaine de la religion. Le culte aux divinités d'inspiration nettement orientale constitue, sans aucun doute, l'argument le plus fort pour démontrer que la pensée orientale, les rites orientaux ont bientôt pénétré dans le quotidien des Lusitaniens, surtout aux milieux urbains, plus ouverts, d'habitude, on le comprend bien, aux idées venues d'ailleurs.



Figure 5
Détail de la mosaïque des Muses.

Une présence imposante, largement implantée ? Personne ne le pourra affirmer. En tout cas, une présence qui a des manifestations trop précises ; peu nombreuses, mais significatives !

Obligatoire point de passage pour qui, venu de la Méditerranée, demandait l'Atlantique, la Lusitanie occidentale bientôt a accepté les culturelles nouveautés. Et ses monuments épigraphiques romains sont exemples de riches connaissances, laissent transparaître des récits mythologiques et rendent évidents d'anciens lieux sacrés.

L'épigraphie sur les mosaïques et les reflets de l'Orient

Mais notre panorama ne serait-il pas complet si on ne donnait pas une idée, quoique non exhaustive, sur ce que nous pouvons voir comme reflet de l'Orient sur les mosaïques de cette Lusitanie occidentale.

D'abord, les scènes mythologiques et les représentations des divinités. J'en donne tout simplement deux exemples, puisque la superbe mosaïque d'Alter do Chão en est le reflet le plus éloquent de ce «mariage» parfait entre l'Orient et l'Occident. Et d'autres en parleront dans ce volume avec beaucoup de détail. Je me tiens à la *villa* romaine de Torre de Palma (Vaiamonte, Monforte).

D'abord, le frise des neuf muses sous lequel on peut lire SCO[PA A]SPRA TESSELAM LEDERE NOLI. VTERI F(*elix*) : «Tu ne dois pas abîmer la mosaïque avec une balai âpre. Sois heureux !» (IRCP 602). C'est vrai, le texte est bien en latin, mais qu'est-ce qu'on peut dire de la façon comme ces muses sont habillées ? Le style est, tout à fait, oriental ! On dirait même qu'on est en présence de princesses byzantines !... (Fig. 5).

L'autre mosaïque de cette même *villa*, l'orgueil majeur de son propriétaire, est, hors doute, la bien connue mosaïque des chevaux. Leurs noms sont, eux aussi, écrits en latin, mais... voyons un peu leur étymologie. *Lenobatis* n'est que la traduction latine du mot grec ληνοβάτης, qui veut dire «celui qui foule la vendange» – pour montrer sa façon typique de marcher (Fig. 6). *Leneus* est un nom qui vient aussi du grec : ληνάϊος, «celui qui a la couleur du lin» et qui a été un des épithètes du dieu Διώνυσος. À son tour, le cheval à qui on a donné le nom *Pelops* remonte à la légende, selon laquelle *Pelops*, ayant l'aide de Poséidon, qui lui a proportionné un car poussé par des chevaux ailés, a réussi à vaincre une course, victoire qui lui a donné la main de la fille du roi d'Olympie. Et il nous manque encore un, si on laisse de côté *Hiberus*, d'influence clairement hispanique : c'est *Inacus*, Ἰναχος. Lui aussi appartient à la mythologie

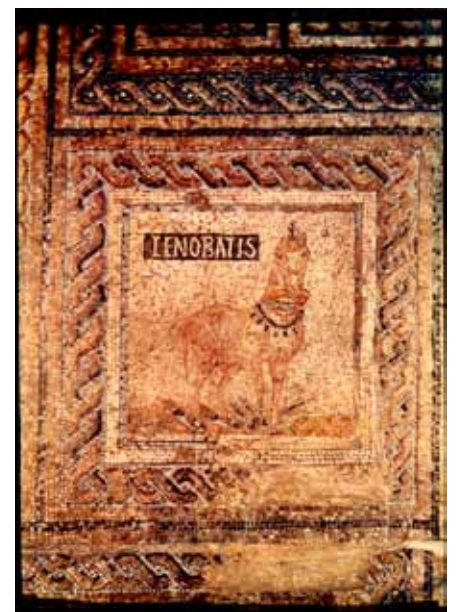


Figure 6
Lenobatis.

grecque : c'est le nom du premier roi d'Argos. Selon la légende, le riche et magnifique *Inachus* a été réduit à la misère, parce que sa fille, Io, a refusé l'amour de Zeus.

Un mariage, alors, qui ne s'est pas accompli, parce qu'il est, en fin de comptes, un mariage mythologique, du domaine de la fiction ; mais ce n'est pas de fiction qu'on parle, quand on démontre la réelle influence de l'Orient vu par la décoration des mosaïques de cette Lusitanie occidentale. C'est, ici, un 'mariage' parfait !

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Mosaic Programmes in Domestic Contexts at Zeugma

Zeugma Konut Kontekstlerinde Mozaik Dekorasyon Programları

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For Zeynep, Ela and Cem

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Abstract

This article reassesses mosaic programmes in domestic contexts and in private spheres in the houses at Zeugma and in some other Greco-Roman cities. The starting point of the argument in the article is a mosaic inscription which was found in a Roman house in Zeugma. The mosaic pavement itself decorates the floor of a chamber decorated with geometric patterns and the inscription in the middle. The inscription is an epithalamium, a wedding song, written for a newly-wedded couple, probably residents of the house, whose names are also partly preserved in the poem. The inscription suggests that the theme and iconography of the mosaics and frescoes in public dining rooms and private rooms in the domestic context are associated with the stories of the gods, goddesses or other well-known couples related to the concept of ideal marriage in mythology and in literature. These marriage-related themes are accompanied by images of Dionysiac domesticity and Bacchic frenzy. This article proposes that many of these mosaics, which are much more permanent than the rest of the decoration, may have been commissioned as part of marriage preparations, perhaps as gifts to the wedded couple. The subjects are chosen according to the intellectual background of the house-dwellers and their milieu, from literary and mythological narratives that are meant to protect the new family's happiness and union, serve as a reminder of marriage and symbolize the perpetuity of the family's progeny and its prosperity.

Keywords: Zeugma, Mosaic, epithalamium, iconography, marriage rites.

Öz

Bu makalede, Zeugma Antik Kentinde ve diğer bazı Greko-Romen merkezlerde özel hayatın geçtiği konutlardaki mozaik dekorasyon programı ele alınmaktadır. Tartışmanın çıkış noktasını ise Zeugma'da bir Roma konutunda ortaya çıkarılmış yazıtlı bir mozaik oluşturmaktadır. Mozaik üzerinde geometrik desenler arasında bir panoda yer alan yazıtta, mozaik'in bulunduğu bu evde yaşamış ve isimleri kısmen yazıtta da korunmuş olan yeni evli bir çift için yazılmış bir evlilik şiiiri, bir epithalamium (gerdek şarkısı) yer alır. Bu yazıt, özel konutlarda yer alan yemek odaları ve mahrem odalardaki mozaik ve duvar resimlerinin konularının, antik dönem edebi metinlerinde ve mitolojide ideal evlilik kavramıyla özdeşleşmiş tanrı, tanrıça veya diğer tanınmış sevgililerin hikayeleriyle bağlantılı olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Bu kavramların resmedilmesinde, özellikle evlilikle bağlantılı Dionysos ve Bakhik ritüel betimlemeler de ana sahneye dahil edilerek vurgulanmaktaydı. Makale, özel hayatın geçtiği konutlarda genel dekorasyonun önemli bir parçası olan ve diğer dekorasyona göre çok daha kalıcı olan bu mozaiklerin birçoğunun evlilik hazırlıkları içinde ısmarlanmış, hatta bazılarının evlilik hediyesi olarak yapılmış olabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Konular genellikle ev yaşayanlarının veya çevresinin entelektüel altyapılarına göre seçilmiş, kurulan yeni ailede mutluluğu ve birlikteliği koruyacak, evliliği hatırlatacak ve ailenin soyunun devamını ve bereketini sembolize edecek edebi ve mitolojik hikayeler ile ilgilidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zeugma, mozaik, epithalamium, ikonografi, evlilik gelenekleri.

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Figure 1
Zeugma, the mosaic inscription.

Recent research on several mosaic pavements at Zeugma revealed that the choice of specific scenes and iconography in some reception rooms in the houses may be associated with wedding preparations in these spaces. To discuss this idea, let me start with a crucial mosaic find as the starting point of my argument¹.

This important mosaic pavement was found in a Roman house complex which was unearthed in the salvage excavations carried out in the eastern residential sector of the city (Early 2003: 55; Aylward 2013: 15)² (Fig. 1). The house is

¹ These ideas were presented first time in 2012 in the Archaeology Seminars in the Ioannou Classics Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies and in the Roman Discussion Forums in 2017 at the University of Oxford and briefly mentioned in previous publications. Görkay 2011: 291; Görkay 2012a: 548-549; Görkay 2012b: 15-16; Görkay 2015: 54, 74, 116, 128, 130, 146, 148. I am grateful for the invitation and for the comments of the audience and especially of three of the organisers, Bert Smith, Maria Stamatopoulou and Andrew Wilson. My thanks also go to those who gave feedback after subsequent presentations, especially Angelos Chaniotis, Katherine Dunbabin and William Slater. Main presentation about this subject was held in the 1st International Meeting *RoGeMoPorTur* in Alter de Chão in Portugal for which I am grateful to Maria de Jesus Duran Kremer and Mustafa Şahin, especially for their invitation and outstanding organisation.

² The House is entered from the east by a gate which connects the house to a NW-SE oriented street. At the south of the entrance, is an adjacent room which probably functioned as a small domestic bath

located at the shoreline of the dam-reservoir and therefore the state of preservation of most of its architectural remains is rather poor. The mosaic pavement decorates the floor of a large rectangular chamber which appears to have been one of the public rooms of the house. The house was burnt down during the Sasanian sack of the city in 252/253 AD. The mosaic has two large geometric patterns with an inscription in the middle. The inscription has five lines and is rather well preserved. The text is an “epithalamium”, a wedding song previously unknown. The poem itself was written in reasonable dactylic hexameters although the last line is pentameter. Despite some lacunae in the mosaic inscription, a good deal of reconstruction was possible thanks to the remaining parts.

The translation of the inscription is³:

*Nymphs and Charites, come hither with dances inside the bridal chamber,
which you have made! Sing the wedding song! Come hither! So that all of us,
[---] sing wedding songs for the joyful events.
[Pro]teas (e.g.) has now married, as his wife, Artem[---], of his own kin,
and may he see her soon mother of good children.*

As part of festival poetry, epithalamia emerged from wedding poetry and were composed for certain wedding occasions, in which unions of mythical and divine characters were allegorically praised with speeches and wedding songs⁴. The epithalamium mosaic, dated to the first half of the third century AD, has a similar formula to some other known epithalamia of the 6th century AD, especially the ones compiled by Dioscorus of Aphrodito⁵, who follows the prescripts recommended in the Treatises of Menander of Laodicea, known as Menander Rhetor⁶. Several of Dioscorus’ poems are epithalamia and they are for real people whose names are generally mentioned in the poem. The genre in the Zeugma epithalamium is also reminiscent of Nonnos’ *Dionysiaca* (Nonnos, *Dion*, 47. 453-469) but the Zeugma epithalamium is much earlier than these examples. It seems to be one of the earliest examples on mosaic and the text is probably derived from Hellenistic poetry, (Verhelst 2017: 37). Generally, in epithalamia, the first lines often begin with mention of Charites, Nymphs and Muses or Gods and Goddesses related to the concept of marriage, as well as romantic couples that are praised for their devoted love and loyalty to each other. As is the case in the Zeugma example, Epithalamia in general possess an exhortation to newlyweds – they contain messages such as: “bring children to the world and provide offspring!”, which is also something in the Treatises of Menander Rhetor⁷. Menander advises elder members of the family to give the following advice to the bridegroom:

chamber. Since the chamber has hypocaust system underneath, the whole house was interpreted as a bath complex in the salvage excavations.

³ The epigraphic evaluation of the inscription will be published in a longer version of this article. Here, I would like to express my special gratitude to Angelos Chaniotis and William Slater who have contributed greatly to the initial transcription and completed the inscription.

⁴ Such as epithalamia for Peleus and Thetis of Catullus, *Cat.* 64.323-381; Theocritus’ Epithalamium for Helen (*Idyl* 18), see Gow 1973: Vol. I, 140-144; Epithalamium for Achilles and Deidameia, which was once ascribed to Bion, see, [Bion] 2, *Bucolici graeci*, (ed. Gow, OCT); for general see, Wheeler 1930: 205-223; Keydell 1962: 927-943; Pavlovskis 1965: 164-177.

⁵ MacCoull 1988: 88-89, H21; 81-84, H24; 86-88, H.25: (dances of the nine Muses); 108-110, H.22, (dancing of the Graces); see also Fournet 1999: 431-442.

⁶ MacCoull 1988: 111, H23; 111, H23; see also Russell – Wilson 1981: VI-VII, “the Epithalamium and Bedroom Speeches”, 135-159.

⁷ Russell – Wilson 1981: 404.27; 407.7-9; 407.15-17; 407.23-24; 408.6-8; 411.15-17; 411.20-21; for Pseudo Dionysius, see Russell – Wilson 1981: 271, “Epithalamios”.

“Young man, we have made the preparations for this marriage, the enormous expenditure, the assembly of the best people, simply because we want you to make a demonstration of the prowess and strength you possess, so that your family and we who are your contemporaries can feel proud of you”, (Russell – Wilson 1981: 404.10-15.)

Two Latin marriage contracts on papyri from Egypt speak about an agreement upon which the bride’s father gives his daughter in marriage “for the sake of producing children”, (Fink 1966: 9–17; Evans-Grubbs 2007: 80; Evans-Grubbs 2010: 84). We do not know whether the installation of the whole mosaic pavement with the poem was part of the marriage agreement, however, what we know is that the kinship of the newlyweds was intentionally underlined in the poem, to emphasize the familial nobility as well as the production of noble offspring⁸. It is also likely that the kinship was highlighted in the poem to make the newlyweds remember their familial affinity in order to sustain the harmony in matrimonial union. Since there is no indication that the inscription was added later, it is obvious that the whole mosaic pavement was laid right before the wedding ceremony as a gift to the couple mentioned in the inscription. The song was composed and probably sung during the wedding of the couple; but by that time, it may have been already inscribed in the mosaic, and become a commemorative epigram of the wedding. It was certainly inscribed at the vestibule or entrance room, that served as a nuptial chamber, but the room probably had later changed its function.

No other epithalamium on mosaic is known to me particularly with such stereotypical content of wishes regarding procreation of offspring and the perpetuation of the family line. An inscription with a similar message, though not epithalamium, is found on the mosaic pavement of a chamber in the so-called “House of the Dionysus Mosaic” in Cyrene in Libya (Venturini 2005: 122, fig. 6, see also Luni et al. 2005: 145-146; Venturini 2006: 508-511, fig. 52; Olszewski 2010: 317 fig.3 pls. 26-27). The mosaic decorates a relatively large chamber and has geometric patterns and a figured panel in the middle depicting Dionysus and Ariadne at Naxos with an inscription above the figures (Olszewski 2010: 318). Clearly visible joining lines at the borders of the panel suggest that the figures and the inscription might have been laid later than the rest of the otherwise geometric mosaic pavement. The inscription above the figures reads:

“εἰς αἰῶνα τὸ γένος Καμπανοῦ, τῆ ματρῶνα Ἐπικρίτα”,

“Long live the descendants of Campanus, for mother Epikrita”⁹.

The scene in the panel is an eternal divine union, which is metaphorically associated through the inscription with the real-life couple, for whom this was made, thus wishing the perpetual progeny. The message of the mosaic seems to be associated with the Dionysiac domesticity and the room was probably decorated for the sake of the domestic bliss of Campanus’ family. The whole mosaic, or just the figural and inscribed panel, might have been laid as a gift for the matrimonial union of Campanus and Epikrita, encouraging them to be a good husband and a good wife with a good future. And of course, the good future meant lots of children.¹⁰

⁸ Plut. De Herod. Malign. 32, 321; Plut. Lac. Apophth. 16 fr, 355; noble birth and breed were also praised in Dioscorus’ epithalamia and encomia, see MacCoull 1988: 63, H6; 81, H24; 96, H.13; 111, H23; 134, H2;

⁹ I am indebted to W. Slater for the refinement of the translation. For “*matrona*” see, Redfield 1982: 182.

¹⁰ I would like to thank W. Slater and C. Roueché for the connection of Dionysiac domesticity.

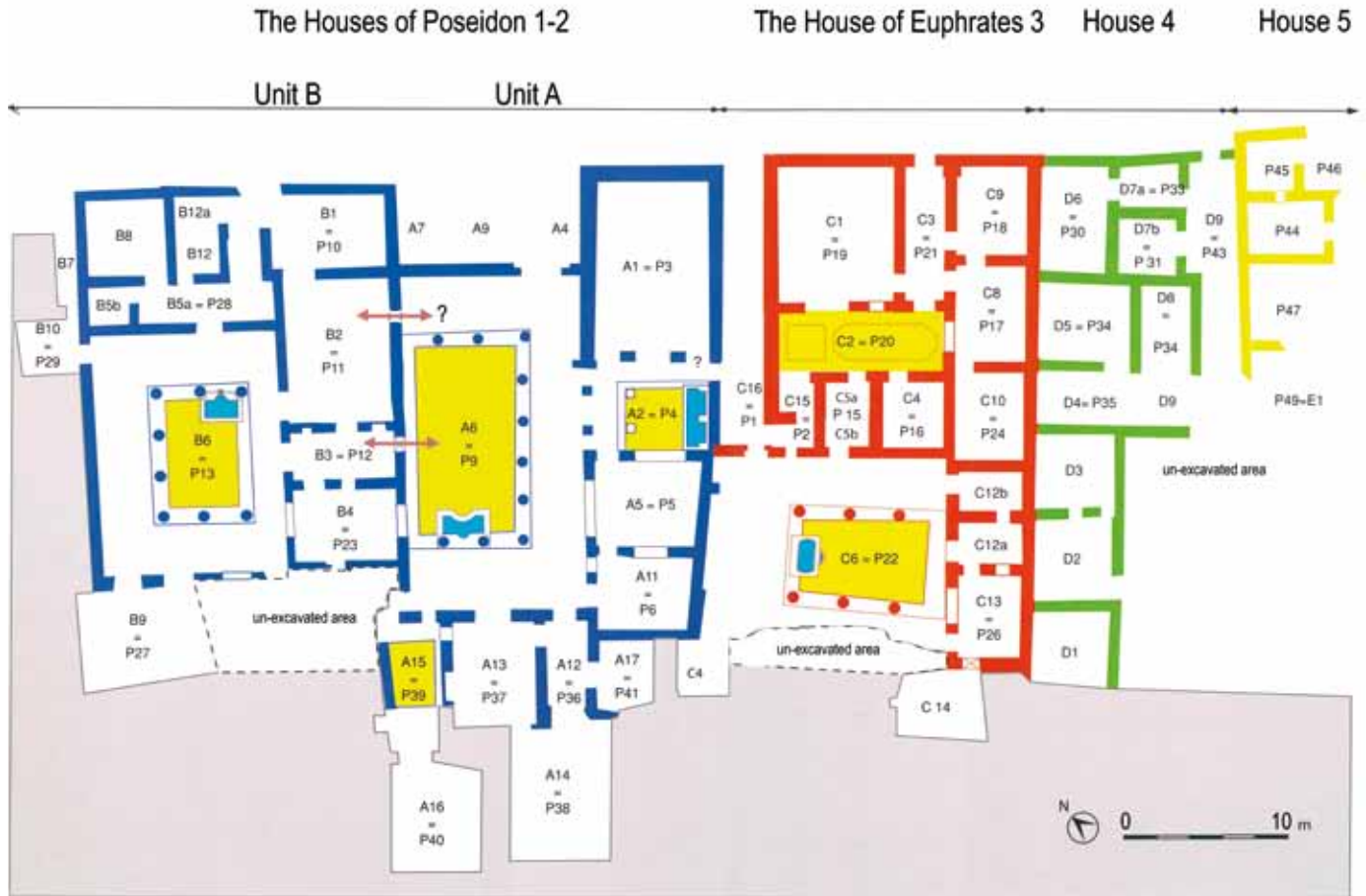


Figure 2
Zeugma, Plan of the Houses of Poseidon and Euphrates, including adjacent houses. (Barbet 2005: pl.E).

Menander also describes the preparations of the bridal chamber before a wedding. He says: “*The city has assembled, it all joins the feast. The alcoves are prepared, such as no one had before. The chamber is adorned with flowers and paintings of all kinds; it is full of the charms of love.*” (Russell – Wilson 1981: 404.17-23).

The room where we find the Zeugma epithalamium was most probably designed as a reception room of the house but was furnished as a bridal chamber for this marriage. If such a highly private and individual text, which evokes private memories and meaningful moments, was put here in this more public space of the house, then perhaps we should consider that other decorated mosaic scenes related to the marriage concept in the reception rooms in other houses could also have been laid for similar occasions (in his *Nymfarum Domus* J-P. Darmon already mentioned such a possibility for the mosaics in the House of Nymphs, see Darmon 1980: 204-227, 242-246; see also Muth 1998: 307-309; Balty 2005: 1307-1315).

Now we can return to the question of what mosaic scenes we have in the houses of Zeugma, which we might associate with this argument. The so-called “House of Poseidon” appears to have consisted of two units designated as unit A and unit B. Unit A and Unit B were designed separately but then they were joined (For the plan of the houses, see Barbet 2005: pl. E, see also Önal 2012: 65-182 plan hors-texte; Abadie-Reynal 2012: 183-237; see also Önal 2013: 12 fig. 2; Two units were joined with an opening in the room P12, B3, see, Barbet 2005: 37-41, see also in the general plan (plan hors texte); Önal 2012: 113-117 fig.110; Önal 2013: 50-51, (room B3)) (Fig. 2).



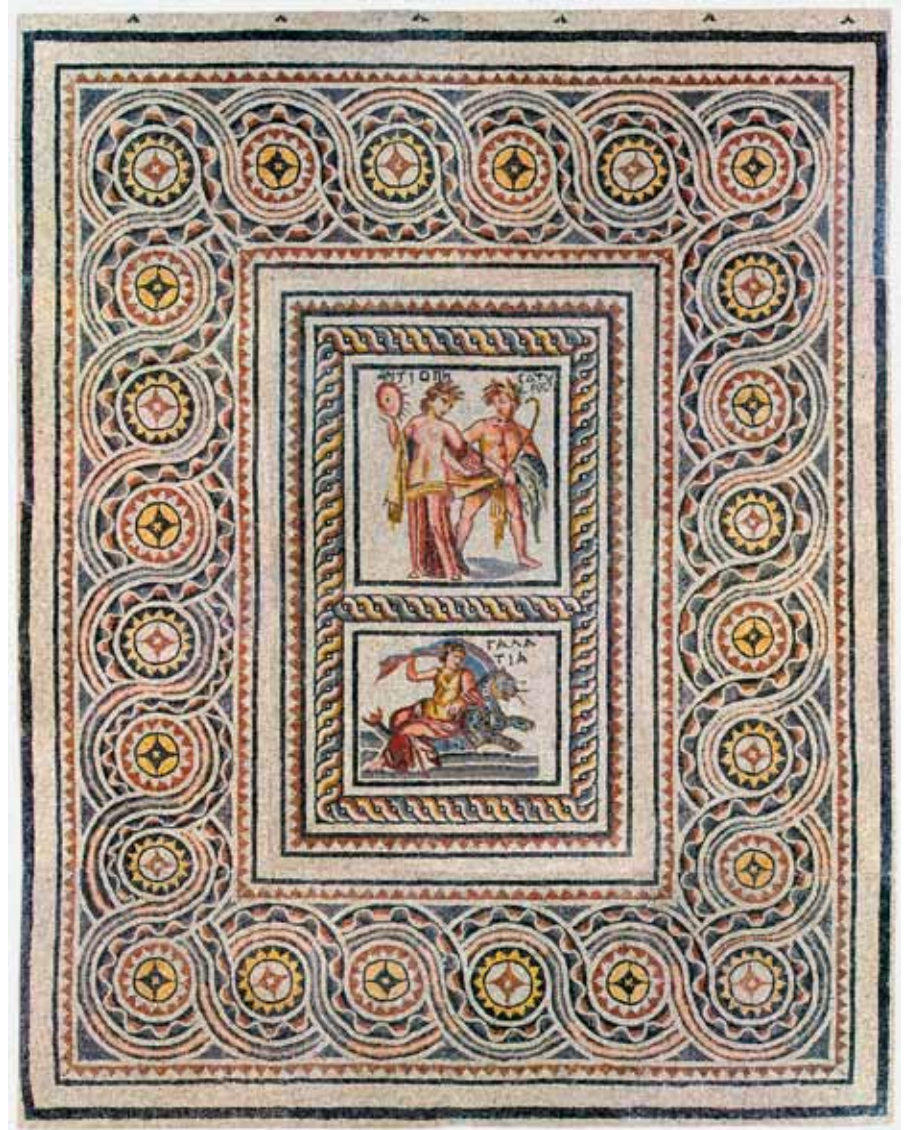
Figure 3
Zeugma, Mosaic of Perseus
and Andromeda.

The date of this integration process is not clear; however, these two units appear to have been separated again after a while, just before the Sassanian sack of the city in 252/253 AD (Aylward 2013: 29-31). The mosaic pavements in the chambers of these houses are diverse, in terms of their subject matter, quality and date of production (Dunbabin 2013: 159-151). In Unit B, figural mosaics decorate three chambers (Önal 2012: 119 fig. 114 pl. 23; Önal 2013: 50 fig. 4). These include two small private reception rooms, and one larger public reception room in the middle. All three rooms are decorated with frescoes as well as mosaics.

In accordance with its function, the main reception room was decorated with frescoes showing figures of servants on the walls, while the mosaic pavement depicts Perseus and Andromeda in its centre (For the frescoes: see Barbet 2005: 25-37 pl. E; for the mosaic, see Önal 2012: 107-116) (Fig. 3). The scene shows the moment when Perseus liberates Andromeda from her chains after he has dispatched the sea-monster Ketos. Perseus assists Andromeda down from the rocky promontory by holding her wrist, in a gesture called “*kheir epi karpoi*” which usually grooms practice when they lead brides to their house. In the scene, Ketos lies dead at Perseus’ feet. Perseus grasps the gorgon’s head by the hair while his sword rests in the crook of the same hand. In the other depictions of the scene in the Greek iconography, Andromeda is represented well dressed and bejewelled, sometimes with a tiara in her coiffed hair, and accompanied by some elegant appendages such as a toilette box and a garland (LIMC Andromeda I,1, (K. Schauenburg), 776-777, nr. 10-11, nr. 13, nr. 15-17 pls. 625-625). However, in the Zeugma scene, she appears with unusual adjuncts, such as a nuptial hydria, for ablution, a shell of Venus and a mirror¹¹, (Darmon 2005: 1287; see also,

¹¹ The mirror was tentatively interpreted as fan by Schauenburg. See, LIMC Supp. 2009, Andromeda I, (K. Schauenburg), 63.15, pl. 34 (add.15), In another depiction of the scene Aphrodite is represented

Figure 4
Zeugma, Mosaic of Antiope,
Satyros, Galatea.



Taylor 2008: 175). As emphasised by Jean Pierre Darmon and Rabun Taylor, the mirror, which stands vertically erected in the scene right beneath the joining hands of the couple should be associated with *dextrarum iunctio* (joining of right hands) of matrimony¹², (Darmon 2005: 1287; Taylor 2008: 175). In Greek art, the bodily domination of the bride by the groom was a common theme. As the groom led her to his house he would somewhat forcibly take his bride by the wrist, not by the hand. The presence of the nuptial hydria, the shell and the mirror in the composition of this specific plot speaks to a strong allegoric reference to matrimonial union.

Two other smaller rooms with mosaic pavement are located at two sides of the main reception room¹³. The southern room functioned most probably as a *gynaikeion* and was decorated with frescoes as well as this mosaic pavement.

with Cepheus, Hermes and perhaps Casiopeia, see *LIMC* Andromeda I no. 8) with is depicted in another symbolic figure which inspired Perseus with love for Andromeda is Eros, who is represented on an Apulian loutrophoros as helping him to defeat the Ketos. Perseus' challenge with Eros is well portrayed in Euripides's play pointed out by Ogden 2008: 77-78, also see, (fr. 136 *TrGF*).

¹² Joining of the right hands can also be interpreted as *Concordia*, a marital harmony.

¹³ Barbet 2005: see general plan of the Houses, (plan hors-texte).

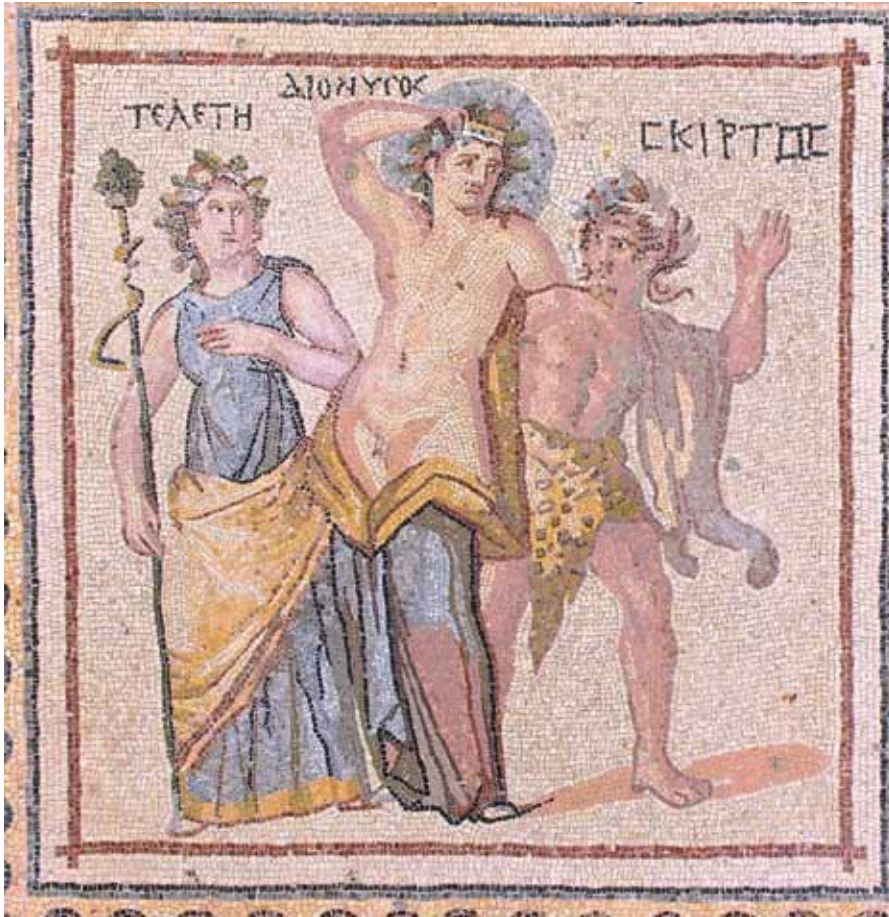


Figure 5
Zeugma, Mosaic of Dionysus,
Skirtos, Telete.

The frescoes of the room probably depict famous Heroines, who are praised for their loyalty and chastity in Greek mythology and literature¹⁴, (Görkay 2015: 35-36; for frescoes, see Barbet 2005: 174-175 fig.112 pl. XIII pl. K, C.) On the floor, a rectangular mosaic pavement consists of two figured panels which were positioned towards the onlookers reclining on the couches. The panels shows Antiope and Zeus in the guise of Satyros at the top, and at the bottom Galatea, one of the daughters of Nereus. In the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, Galatea and her loyal lover Acis were presented as the symbol of power of love that destroys the jealousy of Polyphemos¹⁵. Figures in either panel allude to the idea of strong commitment with divine and passionate love, and possess subtle dramatic elements which would perfectly suit a private space reserved for women (Figs. 4-5). The floor mosaic in the northern room, which is almost the same size as the southern room, depicts Dionysus, Satyros (Skirtos), and Telete, the marriage goddess who accompanies Dionysus as if she was his Maenad wearing a long tunic and a cloak, wreathed with vine leaves and holding a thyrsus, (Ergeç 2006: 132-135; Önal 2013: 79-80; Görkay 2015: 114-115). According to Katherine Dunbabin, this perfectly fits Telete's description in Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*, dressed perhaps a little more elaborately than an ordinary maenad (Dunbabin 2008: 211).

¹⁴ Mural decoration of the rooms reserved for women, i.e. *gynēikeion*, are generally decorated with Heroines from the Greek plays and mythology such as the Heroine figures in the House of Euphrates where only Deidameia and Penelope are recognisable thanks to preserved captions of their names.

¹⁵ Ovid, *Meta.* XIII, 738-897; Polyphemos' or Pan's love for Galatea was subjected to an epithalamium as a symbol of power of love, see Cavero 2008: 39-40 nr.8, P.Lit.Lond. 38 [P.Lond. 3.970] = MP3 1814 = LDAB 5313; In Nonnos' *Dionysiaca* Galatea twangs a marriage dance and sings the marriage verses, for she had learnt well how to sing, being taught by Polyphemos with a shepherd's syrinx. Dion. 43.372-393.



Figure 6
Zeugma, Mosaic of Pasiphaë.

In Unit A of the House of Poseidon, apart from the main public reception room, three small private rooms were paved with mosaics. The main reception room was decorated with a TU form triclinium mosaic whose salutary rectangular panel depicts the dramatic story of Pasiphaë (the scene's association with a theatre play, see Görkay 2015: 98-103; Dunbabin 2016: 102-103) (Fig. 6). This story illustrates the unbridled nature of female passion as described by Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria* and the irresistible power of love that grows with extremes of emotions that captivate her, (Ovid, *Ars*, 1. 289-326). In the panel in the inner part of the room, Dionysus was depicted on his chariot accompanied by a dancing Bacchant. The relationship between wine, celebration and Bacchic frenzy is underlined in Nonnos' *Paraphrasis* (*Par.* 2.12.-20), where un-Bacchic (ἀβάκχευτος) meant lack of wine on the table and joyless atmosphere among the wedding guests, (see Vian 1990: 345; Doroszewski 2014: 288; Doroszewski 2016: 335-336). In the large rectangular panel, right next to Pasiphaë, Himeros (Desire) is included to symbolize the contribution of Aphrodite to the whole incident. This particular vigorous dramatic plot most probably emerged from the tragic play of Euripides known as "Cretans" which is known to us from a papyrus fragment only (Euripides, *Kretes*, Fr.472e K). It is as natural to link the presence of Dionysus in the other panel to the passionate desire of Pasiphaë, as it is to associate wine with love. Other mosaics in the house are found in small rooms and they depict Eros and Telete, The Birth of Aphrodite, and Antiope and Satyros, (see Görkay 2015: 116-117; 106-107; 112-113). These scenes are mostly related to love and desire, which are more suitable for private rooms and may have been intended to contribute to domestic bliss.

In one of these small private rooms, the mosaic pavement depicts the wedding of Eros the god of love, and his bride Telete (Fig. 7). Katherine Dunbabin has made



Figure 7
Zeugma, Mosaic of Eros
and Telete (1).

a great contribution to the interpretation of the iconography and the subtle meaning of the scene, emphasising the scene's relation with marriage and its association with Dionysiac cult and rites, (Dunbabin 2008: 193– 224). Her publication includes an immense compilation of examples related to this issue, but I would like to mention briefly only two examples.

One is also from Zeugma, and the other one is from a private collection. This rather damaged mosaic pavement from Zeugma, probably decorated the floor of a nuptial chamber in a house of the Roman period, (Ergeç 1998: 89 fig.5.12, 5.13; Dunbabin 2008: 213-214 fig.19; Görkay 2015: 146-147) (Fig. 8). The mosaic has the same scene in its panel as the one in the House of Poseidon, except for its border decoration. One important difference is that the central scene on the right is surrounded by the personifications of seasons in the corners, which metaphorically imply the cycles of life, and scenes suggesting fruitfulness and



Figure 8
Zeugma, Mosaic of Eros
and Telete (2).

prosperity¹⁶. An affluent scroll decoration with flowers and fruits frames the Eros-Telete scene in the House of Poseidon, gives more or less the same message. It thus appears that both mosaics have the same visual grammar, as well as the same message pertaining to love, marriage and a prosperous and productive life.

An extraordinary mosaic of Telete and Eros from a private collection in New York, introduced to scholarship by Katherine Dunbabin (see, Dunbabin 2008: 212, 215-216 figs.16-18), has more to tell us on this issue (Fig. 9). Provenance of the mosaic is not known; however, it has enough details to locate its provenance

¹⁶ In the bedroom speech in the Treatises of Menander Rhetor, Menander advises mentioning seasons, their miracles and assistance to fruitfulness, see Russell – Wilson 1981: 408.8-32; 410.18-23; 410.30-411.4.



Figure 9
Mosaic of Telete, Eros and Aphrodite,
New York Private Collection (Dunbabin
2008: 215-216 figs.16-18).

in North Syria. In its present form, it is a longitudinal panel, which is probably from an alcove or from a salutatory emblemata of a *triclinium*. In the mosaic, Charites adorn the bridal chamber with garlands of roses and Telete is depicted as a girl wrapped in a white cloak which veils her head. One of the Graces encourages her towards Eros, who stretches his right hand, as a symbol of marriage proposal, towards her, while he holds a rose in his left hand¹⁷, (Dunbabin 2008: 212, 215-216 figs. 16-17). Beside him, Aphrodite, assisting goddess of marriages¹⁸, crowns Eros with a wreath, proclaiming him the victor of the love contest, as Katherine Dunbabin has already emphasized, (Dunbabin 2008: 212). The iconography in the scene is that of a wedding, where the hesitant bride is introduced to the welcoming bridegroom and is encouraged for the consummation of marriage (Dunbabin 2008: 212). Xenophon of Ephesus, while relating the wedding night of Habrocomes and Anthia, describes Ares as crowned with a wreath like a bridegroom (Xen.Eph.1.8), just as Eros in the scene symbolizing the bride in the New York panel. There are also elements in this scene reminiscent of the exhortations as described in Menander's Rhetor, where he says. "*You may also exhort him by a reference to the beauty of the chamber, which the Graces have adorned, to the beauty of the girl, and to the marriage gods who attend: Aphrodite and Desire will hand her to you, and put her in your hands, that you may produce children like you and like her.*" (Russell – Wilson 1981: 407.3-9).

¹⁷ Similarly, Eros figures in both Eros and Telete mosaics from Zeugma hold rose in their right hand, see Görkay 2015: 117, 147; Roses are particularly associated with Aphrodite, see Bion's Adonis 66, see also Fantuzzi 1985: Reed 1977: in the Treatises of Menander Rhetor, bridegroom is associated with a rose, see Russell – Wilson 1981: 404.7-8, whereas in Sappho rose is associated with girls; see Russell – Wilson 1981: 316, commentary, 404.8.

¹⁸ Russell – Wilson 1981: 400.5; 402.6; 404.25; 407.7; 411,10-15; in Roman Egypt, Aphrodite and Isis Aphrodite statuettes are often mentioned as a part of the *parapherna* (items beyond the dowry), in nine marriage contracts and they are given as present to ensure marital fertility, matrimonial union and domestic bliss, see Burkhalter 1990: 51-60; see also Sanders 1938: 112; Evans-Grubbs 2002: 127 note.103; An epigram (in Theocritus) for a statue of Aphrodite set up Chrysogona, wife of Amphicles, in a domestic shrine, is a good example for the deity's function in domestic bliss, see, Gow 1973: Vol I 246-247 epig.13, for commentary see Gow 1973: Vol II 538; Draped Aphrodite statuettes, holding a crown in her hand and Eros on her shoulder were recently studied by Kropp and classified as "Emesa Type". This type might be associated with the goddess' role in betrothals and marriages and these statuettes were probably product of wedding industry. For the statue see, Kropp 2016: 193-222.

In the background of the scene, *a thalamos*, nuptial chamber, is depicted as separated by curtains¹⁹. The whole composition, as well as the visual language in the scene evokes an allusion to a poem, as if it was a figural epithalamium. If so, the mosaic itself was paved on the floor of a vestibule or an alcove where perhaps even a part of the actual wedding celebration took place and the mosaic itself stayed there as a commemorative picture. Although it seems much smaller, the couch on which Eros is seated was probably representing the ceremonial marriage bed that was usually placed across the door, like a *lectus genialis* in the Latin marriage ceremonies, (for Latin marriage ceremonies, see Johansson 2010: 140-142).

Another important mosaic from Zeugma depicts a couple from a romantic novel, namely Parthenope and Metiochus, (Görkay 2015: 134-135) (Fig. 10). This mosaic was found in a small private reception room which probably was prepared, again, as a nuptial chamber. When the pavement was found in the salvage excavations, the upper parts of Metiochus and Parthenope had already been looted. They resurfaced in 2000 in a private collection in the United States, then they were brought back to Turkey and reinstalled at their original position. The chamber was entered from the west through a double-winged door, (Kennedy – Freeman 1998: 63 fig.4.4) (Fig. 11) and the scene in the emblemata was oriented towards a couch probably prepared for the couple for whose marriage this chamber was decorated, (Görkay 2015: 134).

There is little evidence that the story of Parthenope and Metiochus was known in the pre-Roman Greek world. From the original Greek text only little has survived, primarily in three papyrus fragments and one inscribed ostraca, (Hägg 1991: 17ff; For papyri and ostraca, see Hägg's compilation, Hägg – Utas 2003: 24-75; see also Hägg 2004: 223-277). References to this story in Greek literature of the Roman period and the depiction of scenes from it in mosaics, one in Zeugma and another from Daphne in Antakya, (Levi 1947: Vol.II pl.c; 20; Maehler 1976: 1-20 pl.1), confirm that it continued to be read and appreciated several hundred years after it was composed. Although the great part of the Greek story of Parthenope and Metiochus is lost, we now know the rest of the story, thanks to Tomas Hägg's contribution, from the later Persian verse epic, *Vamiq u Adhra*, *The Virgin and her Lover*, composed by the Ghaznavid court poet 'Unsuri' in the eleventh century AD, (Hägg – Utas 2003: 214ff; Hägg 2004:106). Even though the fate of the couple at the end of the story in the Greek version is obscure, Tomas Hägg believes that they do not come together and Parthenope dies as a virgin, (Hägg – Utas 2003: 249-250; see also Smith 2008: 641), contrary to the happy end in the Persian version, where the lovers reunite and get married. However, the Zeugma piece may speak more about the end of the lost Greek version of the story. Certain plots in the story, as well as the characters, were ideal for stage performances. Lucian of Samosata, best known for his satirical writing in Greek, in his essay "Peri Orkheseos" or in Latin "De Saltatione" of pantomime, mentions that the stories of Parthenope and Metiochus were favoured by pantomime players and danced on stage²⁰. According to Hägg, the Daphne and Zeugma mosaics illustrate certain plots from the novel or possibly

¹⁹ This curtain reminds the passage in Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautes*, where Medea and Jason celebrate their marriage in a cave. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argo*, 4.1155, according to Hunter, "τεινάμεναι ἕανούς εὐώδεις", "by spreading out fragrant cloths", either to seal off the entrance to the cave, thus creating an according *θάλαμος*, or by fashioning a kind of bridal canopy (*παιστος*), Hunter 2015: 238,1155; especially for such awnings, see also Xen. *Eph.* 1.8. 2.

²⁰ Lucian, *De Saltatione*, 2, 54, ed. M.D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera*, Vol.III, Oxford 1980, 26; 43ff; Lucian, *Pseudologista*, 25, ed. M.D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera*, Vol.III, Oxford 1980, 144.



Figure 10a
Zeugma, Mosaic of Metiochus
and Parthenope.



Figure 10b
Zeugma, Mosaic of Metiochus and
Parthenope, new proposal.

from a theatrical adaptation of the story, (Hägg – Utas 2003: 7, 58-61). The figures, neither on the Zeugma piece, nor on the Daphne piece, wear theatrical masks. Although there is some evidence that some theatrical plays were performed without a mask, and Parthenope in the Daphne mosaic appears to make a theatrical gesture, there is no clear indication that the Zeugma mosaic depicts a theatrical performance. Rather, it highlights a particular moment in the story.

ZAP 93: SITE D
 Plan of House (including cisterns)

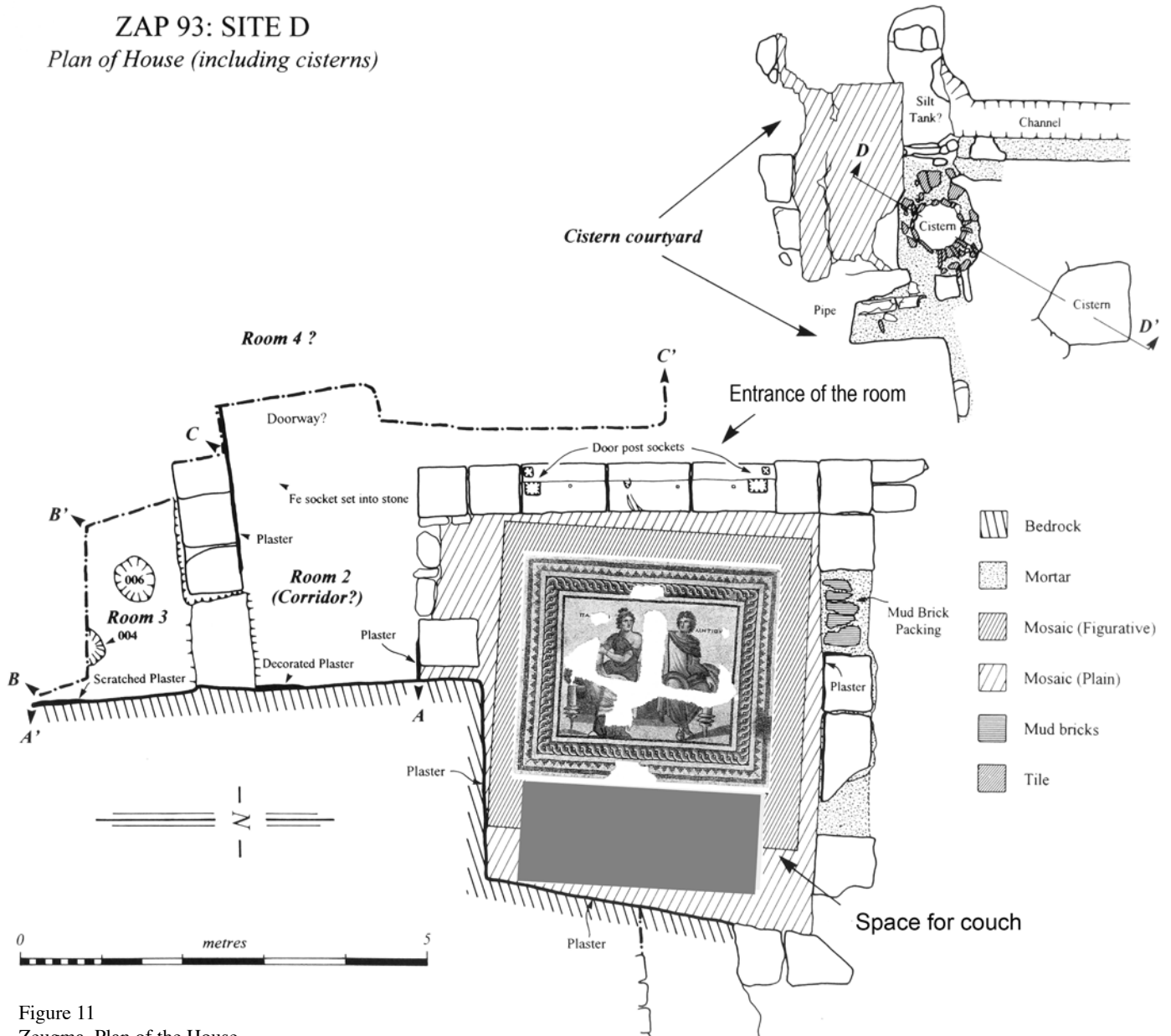


Figure 11
 Zeugma, Plan of the House
 of Metiochus and Parthenope
 (Kennedy – Freeman 1998: 63 fig. 4.4).



Figure 12
 Myrina terracotta, Bridegroom
 and Bride, “Kline Group”
 (Mollard-Besques 1963: pl. 153.d).



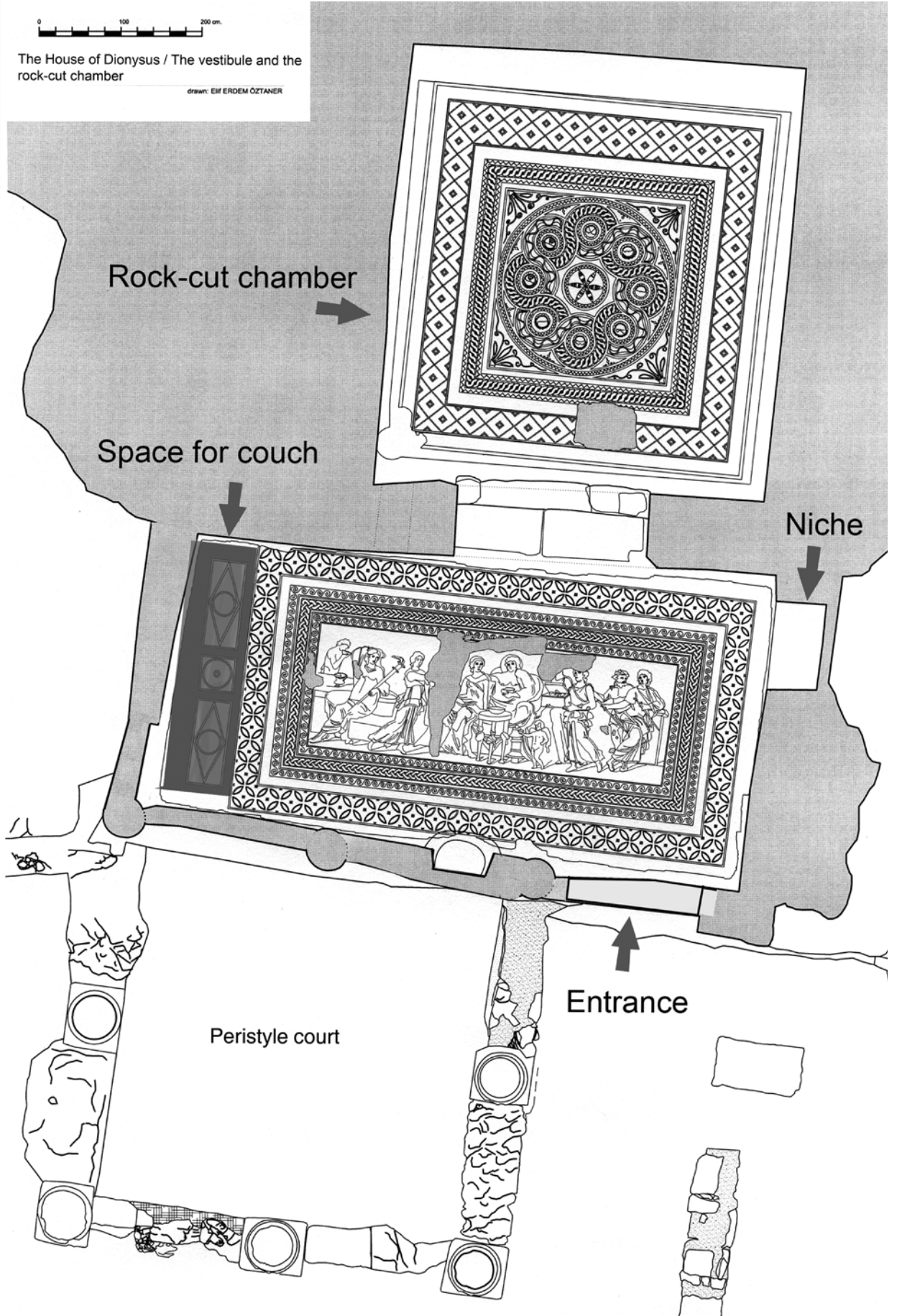
Figure 13
Zeugma, Mosaic of Dionysus
and Ariadne, before looting,
(Ergeç 2006: 47).

So far the plot on the Zeugma piece was considered to be the moment when Parthenope and Metiochus, early in the story, set eyes on each other in the symposium organized by King Polycrates of Samos in his palace, (Maehler 1976: 18-19; Campbell et al. 1998: 124; see also, Hägg 1985: 92-102; Hägg 1991: 18). However, their depiction as seated on the same couch side by side and in an emphatically amorous position makes this interpretation implausible. If one takes a close look at the space reserved for the letters of Parthenope's name, it becomes evident that in the original mosaic, before it was looted and then reinstalled, the couple must originally have been seated much closer to each other. The letters in Parthenope's name would require much more space than the restoration has allowed.

So her original seated position was probably closer to Metiochus as shown in Figure 11b in this article. That apart, the upright posture of the right shoulder of Metiochus as well as the stretched folds on his tunic towards his right shoulder indicate that he has a hand on Parthenope's back, while he gazes at her face. Meanwhile, Parthenope allows her tunic to slip down her arm leaving her left shoulder naked towards Metiochus. Considering the function of the room in which the scene was depicted on its floor, as well as the archaeological evidence, the scene most probably depicts the couples' first physical contact and the final episode of the whole story in the lost Greek version. I believe the scene represents the re-union of the romantic couple on a couch, as it is a highly appropriate scene that would have been preferred for decoration of a bridal chamber, which would then function as a private reception room and cubiculum for the married couple. Such scenes are known from other media in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world, as is shown in a Hellenistic terracotta figurine from Myrina representing a bride and a groom, (Fig. 12), (Mollard-Besques 1963: pl. 153.d, for *kline* group, see pl. 70, 71), which we might surmise was a product of the wedding industry.

In the House of Dionysus in Zeugma, the *vestibule* next to the peristyle was decorated with a mosaic depicting the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne, with servants bringing in wedding presents and musicians celebrating the marriage, (Campbell et al. 1998: 109-117; Campbell 1999: 711-712) (Fig. 13). The theme is very well known to be symbolic of divine marriage and it was the subject of a considerable number of literary works as well as visual depictions on various

Figure 14
Zeugma, Plan of the House of
Dionysus. Courtyard, vestibule
and the rock-cut room.
(right page)



media²¹. The scene represents the *epaulia* stage of the wedding in which the gifts are presented to the couple after *anakaluptêria*²², but here I think the mosaic itself was a gift for a couple that lived in this house²³ (Görkay 2015: 72-74). The mosaic was laid on the floor of the vestibule, which functioned as an alcove or *pastadas* right before entering the rock-cut nuptial chamber, which changed its function later as reception room. It's not unlikely as well that the impact of this highly divine and Hellenistic-style royal wedding scene could have been supplemented with a wedding hymn or nuptial song probably sung as the newlyweds entered the vestibule²⁴. Thus, the whole setting would have given an exhortation and boost to newlyweds before entering the rock-cut nuptial chamber. So, the mosaic would not only function as a salutatory scene for newlyweds, but also would function as a commemorative scene for their entire life. It is more likely that the relatives and acquaintances of the newlyweds had it made as a gift with a great deal of expenditure²⁵. Later, the mosaic could have functioned as a salutatory scene in the room where the couple would entertain their guests. The rectangular panel decorated with geometric patterns at the left edge of the mosaic pavement was probably intentionally designed to leave a space for a couch put here during the wedding (Fig. 14). The couch might have functioned like a *lectus genialis*, since the couch is oriented towards a niche in the wall of the vestibule, which probably functioned like a *lararium*²⁶ where images of the household Gods, as well as ancestral objects had been set up, some of these were found in the excavation²⁷.

I would like to suggest, as a possibility, that some mosaics in other places in Roman Syria may also contain messages to newlyweds. Three mosaics in a Roman house in Shahba-Philippopolis are indeed associated with a marriage programme by Janine Balty, (Balty 1981: 347-429 pl.46.1, 422-425; Balty 1995: 65, 143, 148, 341 pl. IX; for latest article, see Balty 2005: 1307-1315). The first one, on top, shows a newly married couple represented at the banquet, like Dionysus and Ariadne, in a circular composition framed by figures of Victories.

²¹ Dionysus and Ariadne is standard example for marriage, Xen. *Symp.* 9.2ff; Diod. 4.61.5, Catullus 64, 116ff; Russell – Wilson 1981: 400.15; Choricus, *Or.* 6. 12.

²² see Campbell et al. 1998: 115-117; for *anakaluptêria* see, Oakley 1982: 113-118; Redfield 1982: 192; Bérard 1989: 97-103; Oakley – Sinos 1993: 25ff, especially for poetic metaphor and origin of *anakaluptêria*, see Ferrari 2003: 32-35 note 53; According to Pollux, *prospthegterìa* 'gifts of salutation' was an alternative name for the *anakaluptêria* gifts, see, Pollux 3.36.

²³ for former idea, see, Campbell et al. 1998: 109-117; "Since we do not know who owned the house at Zeugma, it must be read in the first instance simply as a wedding scene, perhaps of nostalgic or sentimental import to the owners of the house since the panel is just outside the door to a room which may well have functioned as a bedroom", see also Campbell 1999: 711-712.

²⁴ The scene might be associated with hymn or nuptial song sung during wedding i.e. wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne, to create an allegoric link with Hymenaios.

²⁵ Although Will Wootton's meticulous study gives a good deal of understanding about the labour time for mosaic production, it is still difficult to estimate the approximate cost of a figured mosaic, see Wootton 2015: 261-282. I am indebted to Will Wootton for sharing his ideas with me.

²⁶ In Zeugma, so far only one *lararium* was found in the House of A, which is an adjacent house at the upper level of the House of Dionysus, Görkay 2012: 286; Architectural evidence shows that these two houses were incorporated sometimes before the Sasanian sack of the city in c.252/253 AD (Görkay forthcoming). Two unpublished bronze statuettes of *Lares* and *Genius* which are being kept in Gaziantep Archaeological Museum may indicate the adapted Roman culture or even perhaps presence of Latin residents billeting in houses. As for the function of *Lares* and *Genius* in Roman wedding rituals, see Johansson 2010: 136-147.

²⁷ Excavations carried out by the Gaziantep Archaeological Museum have unearthed bronze objects from the vestibule. Although no information was provided about their exact find spots of these object, most of them were unearthed in the *vestibulum* near the niche. The finds include, bronze statues of an Eros, a Hermes, a Herm and probably an Aphrodite. For the finds, see Başgelen –Ergeç 2000: 20-27; Alagöz 2012: 20-25. These statues might be the part of the dowry presented to the house owners and were set up here for maintaining good luck in the matrimonial life and domestic bliss. See also, footnote 18.



Figure 15
Shahba-Philippopolis,
Mosaic of “*Euteknia*”
(Balty 1995: pl. IX;
Balty 2005: 1307-1315).

The second one, at the bottom, represents the wedding of Thetis and Peleus. It depicts, Balty argues, the newlywed couple transposed into the myth, borrowing the iconographic patterns from the ritual of Roman marriage and emphasizing the importance of offspring.

The third refers to the exhortation to procreation, which, as I mentioned, is customary in epithalamia: the idea is symbolized by the personification of *Euteknia* (“good procreation of children”). *Euteknia* is accompanied here by *Dikaiosynè* (righteousness) and *Philosophia* (evocation of *paideia*) (Fig. 15). Balty associates *Dikaiosynè*, with the specific virtue of high officials and therefore she thinks that the sponsor of the mosaic was a member of the state administration, (Balty 2005: 1315). I think the imagery in the mosaic can be read otherwise. The scene was deliberately chosen to emphasize not only the good virtue that a woman must possess but also her ability in production of offspring as well as having good children²⁸. Since the main figure *Euteknia* is shown as seated in the centre, flanked by personifications of *Dikaiosynè* and *Philosophia*, the message in the scene can be read as: “may you have many lawfully legitimate and well educated children!”

²⁸ For the perception of *euteknia* in antiquity see, Clements of Alexandria (C.150-215 AD) who wrote “The purpose (of marriage) is good breeding of children (*euteknia*)”, Clement of Alexandria, 11,10; see also Liddell – Scott 734, *euteknia*: “having good children, fair children or offspring, the blessing of children, a breed of goodly children”; for *euteknia*, see also Balty 1986: 231-232.

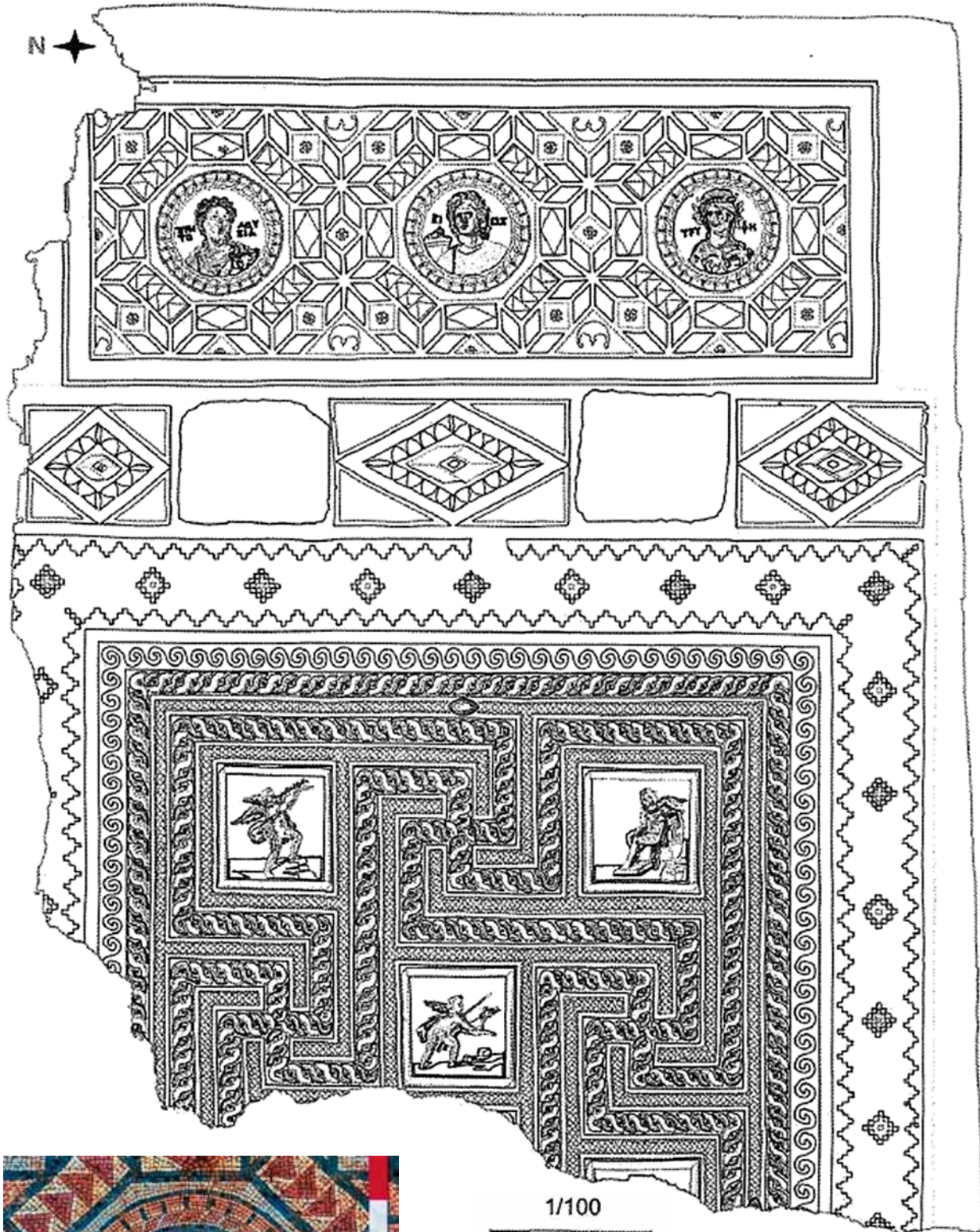


Figure 16a
Olba, Mosaic of Protolousia
(Erten 2016: 83 fig.3 (drawing).

Figure 16b
Olba, Mosaic of Protolousia
(Erten 2016: 85 fig. 8).

A recently found mosaic pavement in Olba, in Mersin, depicts the personifications of *Protolousia*, *Bios* and *Tryphe* in medallions, (Erten 2016: 61-91) (Figs. 16a-b). The chamber in which the mosaic was found, was interpreted to be a part of a roman house, (Erten 2016: 78-79). If it is indeed a domestic space, the personifications may speak more about the intention in choosing such visual concepts. The mosaic itself was designed in two separate main panels in accordance with the plan of the chamber. In the large main square part of the chamber, the floor was paved with geometric patterns, representing Eroses in small square emblematai; whereas in the narrower part of the chamber right behind the pillars, personifications of *Protolousia*, *Bios* and *Tryphe* were depicted with captions, (Erten 2016: 82-83 fig. 2-3). Personifications of *Bios* and *Tryphe* are well known from mosaics in Antioch, however *Protolousia* is entirely new in mosaic iconography, (Erten 2016: 68-69). *Protolousia* is a symbol of the “first bath”, perhaps for the newlyweds for their nuptial ablution (*loutron nymphikon*, see Erten 2016: 68-69), but, I think, most likely it is associated with the first bath of their unborn but expected child²⁹. If it is so, the mosaic may have been paved for the newlyweds by their parents and relatives. This part of the room however, may have been especially designed as a birth chamber, in which the personifications symbolize the good wishes and expectations for the family regarding their offspring. The combination of these personifications would then be significant: *Protolousia*: first bath³⁰, *Bios*: life with full of worldly goods, one’s “subsistence, fortune” as was pointed out by Louis Robert, (Robert 1989: 22 note 39), and it therefore suits with *Tryphe*, i.e., wealth. Together these concepts speak about good wishes to the newlyweds, as in “*may you see the first bath of your child, and his or her prosperous and wealthy life!*”. Cupids in the square panels in the rest of the mosaic were depicted with a lyre and double flute suitable for wedding ceremonies, and one of them is accompanied by one of the dogs of Artemis, who is the chief protector of birth and newly born children.

The existence of several love-themed mosaic scenes in small private rooms within the same house may be explained based on a papyrus document (*PDura 19*) from Dura-Europos, (Saliou 1992: 65-100; Baird 2014: 50-86; see also Welles – Fink – Gilliam 1959: 104-109 nr.19). This document details the distribution of property amongst the sons of a man named Polemocrates. The property being divided consisted of what had been two houses, one of which Polemocrates had purchased, while the other he had acquired when a bigger house was divided between him and his brother, Apollophanes. We learn from the document that these two houses were made property of four brothers, who were the sons of Polemocrates. The four brothers were to live together in one house but in different rooms. The document does not only give an important clue on family structure in Syria, but also provides crucial information that the rooms of a house could be used as separate private accommodation by children of a family,

²⁹ Here I would like to thank Emel Erten for allowing me to use the picture and the drawing of the Protolousia mosaic. The depictions of the First Bath of Dionysus, in the House of Aion, in Nea Paphos and in Sepphoris are a good example for the divine first bath of newly-born child, see, Michaelides 1987: 29 nr.27 pl.22 nr. 27; Talgam – Weiss 2004: 57-61 figs. 43 colour plate, I.B; In his epithalamium for Athanasius, Dioscorus of Aphrodito makes an allegory between a new born baby with Dionysus, see, MacCoull 1988: 86-87 H.25; for the First Bath of Achilles, see, Michaelides 1987: 44 nr.50 pl.31 nr.50. I believe, these scenes symbolize divine first bath for immortality, which, in domestic context, allude a reference to unborn noble offspring and eternal breed of a certain family (probably the newly wedded owner of the house). Depictions of Achilles’s first bath for immortality becomes popular only in the late antiquity, and therefore depiction of *protolousia* as a personification in a private sphere emphasizes its importance.

³⁰ It should also mean something general related to practical good fortune, very like *Euteknia*, rather than anything too specific. I would like to thank W. Salter for his comments and suggestions regarding the personifications.

probably after they got married. Considering this information, we may propose that the small private rooms in the house of Poseidon, Unit A, might have been refurbished as separate private rooms for the sons of the family when they got married, as gifts to the young newlyweds who would live in these rooms as a part of an extended family³¹.

A similar phenomenon perhaps can be traced in the necropoleis of Zeugma where large family graves are located. With portrait statues of deceased family members set up in their vestibules as well as rock-carved bust portraits depicted at their entrances, these graves seem to have been designed to accommodate a large number of members of these crowded families such as the one that lived in the integrated Houses of Poseidon³².

Like today, weddings were one of the most important public occasions and celebrations for families where parents and relatives made abundant preparations with great expenditure (for dowries as well) and invited guests to show off their familial status as well as identity and wealth. Weddings were also unique opportunities to own a new house or to refurbish a house or a compartment for newlyweds³³, sometimes such properties, usually lands, were mentioned as *prophora* in marriage contracts³⁴. An ample amount of ancient literary and historical accounts underline not only the importance of newly made bridal chambers but also new houses and even palaces for matrimonial unions³⁵. Ancient writers indicate that private dinner parties in the houses of the wealthy elites for some occasions such as weddings were also venues for entertainment by musicians, male and female dancers as well as performers of mimes and pantomimes (Jones 1991: 191; Csapo 2010: 86, 173 note. 29, 176). Syria was famous for such mimes and entertainers, who gradually became popular in the Roman world beyond Syria during the eastern campaigns in the imperial period³⁶.

³¹ A “T-U” form *triclinium* in the House of Quintus Calpurnius Eutykhes whose floor paved with the Theonoe-Leukippe and the Achilles in Skyros scenes is a good example for this phenomenon. The large *triclinium* room was transformed into two spaces in different functions, a courtyard and a *loggia*, for the plan see, Önal 2008: 266 fig. 3, the date of this transformation was proposed to be 4th-5th centuries based on coin finds (p.271), however the type of the latterly added fountain suggests a date before 242/243 AD; for papyri evidence for the division of property through inheritance, see *P.Dura 16*, Welles – Fink – Gilliam 1959: nr.16 91-92.

³² The rock-cut *arcosolium hypogeum* grave designated as T91 (K91) in the South necropolis at Zeugma possess more than thirty individual graves, for the plan see, Ergeç 2003: 82, 197 fig. 89.

³³ Several houses and their decoration programmes are associated with marriages and weddings, see for instance, Boscoreale, the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor: Robertson 1955: 62; Simon 1958: 25-26; contrary to this idea, see, Fittschen 1975: 96 ff; for earlier interpretations, see the chapter in Müller 1994a: 23-43, see also appendix II, 139ff; for more clear archaeological evidence for the interpretation of wedding scenes and its connection with Hellenistic Royal weddings, see, Smith 1994: 100-128; Aldobrandini Wedding scene: Müller 1994b: 23-46; chapter III; The Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase: Blanckenhagen – Alexander 1962: 10-12; Anderson 1987: 129 n.8; Mertens 1987a: 103; Mertens 1987b: 38; Blanckenhagen – Alexander 1990: 3; the Villa Farnesina: Beyen 1948: 3-21; Bragantini – de Vos 1982: 23 n. 11; Decoration of the Room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii: Bieber 1928: 306-330; Toynbee 1929: 67-87; Kirk 2000: 11-112.

³⁴ *Prophora* could include land and slaves, Evans-Grubbs 2007: 83; Salomons 2008: 119-130.

³⁵ Pherekydes of Syros: Schibli 1990: Fr.68 165-167, οἰκία πῶλλά τε μεγάλλα was translated as “palace” by West, see, West 1971: 52, with a complex of grand chambers; modified version of Freeman, see, Freeman 1948: 14ff; see also Ferrari 2003: 33-34; Iliad and Odyssey: Iliad. 17.36, θαλάμοιο νέοιο, Odys. 23.192; Thalampoiioi: Sommerstein 2008: 80-83; see also Di Marco 1993: 49-56; Sommerstein 1996: 348; in Theocritus’ Epithalamium for Helen, θάλαμος is often newly built or refurbished for wedding, see Theocritus’ Epithalamium for Helen, Gow 1973: Vol I, 140.1, for commentary, see Gow 1973: Vol. II, 349; Xenophon of Ephesus, the wedding of Habrocomes and Anthia: Xen. Eph. 1.8.2; Story of Medea and Jason: Apollonius of Rhodes, Argo, 4.1155; Menander of Laodicea: Russell – Wilson 1981: 144, “Epithalamium”, 404.18-19; Nonnos, *Dion.* 47.324-326; 47. 453-469.

³⁶ Livy XXXIX.6.8; Cassius Dio, LX, 23 5; Horace, Sat. I, 2, 1-2. S.H.A. Verus 7, 4; 8, 7, 11. (trans. A. Birley)

In Antioch for instance, as well as in Zeugma, mosaic scenes depicting theatrical plots from prominent playwrights of tragedy and comedy were particularly popular. Such scenes are found typically in the *triclinia*, where such performances and recitations often took place as part of after-dinner entertainment. Apart from many such scenes, a large mosaic pavement excavated in 2007 at ancient Daphne, a suburb of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, and published by Katherine Gutzwiller, has more to speak about this issue (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 573-623). The mosaic includes four figured panels representing scenes from comedies by Menander. The panels depict scenes inscribed with the name of the play and the number of the act; *Perikeiromene*, act 1; *Philadelphoi*, act 1; *Synaristosai*, act 1; and *Theophoroumene*, act 3. Gutzwiller's study deals with archaeological, iconographical, and literary aspects to evaluate the contribution of the mosaics to our knowledge of Menander's plays, ancient comic illustration, and the rich cultural life of imperial Antioch (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 573). As conclusion, Gutzwiller states: “*Not just a banal allusion to the famous happy endings of New Comedy, the poet's claim resonates with mosaic scenes from Zeugma and Syria showing Eros marrying Telete (Initiation), which, in Dunbabin's interpretation, represent new, perhaps specifically Eastern ideas, about the benefits derived from the mysteries of marriage. On the divine level, this happy life is represented in numerous depictions of Dionysos and Ariadne, through which the mysteries of marriage are linked to a complex of Bacchic activities, including dining and theater. On the human level, initiation into the blessings of married life could be vicariously experienced through performance of Menander's comedies or visualization of them in illustrations. The new Daphne mosaics present scenes that focus on obstacles to marital bliss, particularly for women; in doing so, they engage the viewer in the play's dramatic tension, to be resolved at the end in happiness for both husbands and their wives*”, (Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012: 618; see also Dunbabin 2016: 65ff)

Although it was popular in the Roman East, admiration for such entertainments and performances in private spheres was not always welcomed in religious context especially in the late antique period. Perhaps because of its popularity in the Roman East, John Chrysostom of Antioch, for instance, constantly warned his flock not to hire mimes and pantomimes into good Christian houses for wedding celebrations, considering their performance “the filth of the theatre”³⁷.

A luxurious country villa at Noheda, near Cuenca in Spain provides a good example of what was meant by John Chrysostom's warnings, (Lledó Sandoval 2010; Valero Tévar 2013: 307-330; Valero Tévar 2015: 439-444; for very recent overall interpretation see, Dunbabin 2016: 11-17). The huge main reception room of the villa has a triconch plan and was paved with extraordinary mosaics around AD 400 – so contemporary with Chrysostom, though at the other end of the Mediterranean. The themes of the long mosaic friezes are concerned broadly with famous couples. The one lateral frieze panel represents depiction of an adultery mime, “the jealous bridegroom”, a well-known comic drama mentioned in sources from the first century B.C. to the 6th century AD, (Dunbabin 2016: 121 notes 55-57) (Fig. 17). The other panels include episodes from the story of Paris and Helen (at the top), including the Judgment of Paris, Helen's portrayal as a bride, the flight of Paris and Helen by boat from Laconia, and their

³⁷ PG 51.212; PG.55.158; PG 62.386; Pope Eusebius warns his bishops not to have stage actors and entertainers during dining, Mansi. 2.426; The canon fifty-four of the Laodicean council of 361 decrees priests attending weddings “*get up and leave!*” before the stage players entered, see Mansi. 2.574; see also Leyerle 2001: 13-41; 67-74; Lada-Richards 2007: 38, 182-183; Webb 2008: 175-176; Csapo 2010: 168ff.



Figure 17
Noheda, Mosaic of
“the Jealous Bridegroom”
(Valero Tévar 2013: 321 fig.15).

disembarkation at Troy with dancing Trojans on hand to welcome them. The middle frieze represents the story of Pelops and Hippodameia. And the bottom panel has a Triumph of Dionysus, in which the god is crowned by Victory and Ariadne and escorted by a cortege of maenads, satyrs, Silenus and pan. Two important aspects of these remarkable new mosaic narratives may be mentioned. First and perhaps most important is the aspect of performance and its novel representation which has been so well studied recently by Katherine Dunbabin, (Dunbabin 2016: 11-17). In the present context, a second aspect may also be highlighted, that of themes and connecting ideas. The mosaic narratives, both those representing mythological stories and those representing staged performance, represent, allude to, and intersect in various ways with themes of different kinds of love-relationship – Helen and Paris, Hippodameia and Pelops, Ariadne and Dionysus, and the bride and jealous bridegroom of the stage performance. The theme of marriage was inscribed into the Noheda mosaic programme in a wide range of iconographic registers³⁸.

In conclusion, although one should not generalize based solely on one epithalamium mosaic inscription, mosaics which depict scenes related to deities or romantic couples associated with marriage or matrimonial union, such as the Wedding of Ariadne and Dionysus, Andromeda and Perseus, Metiochus and Parthenope, Telete and Eros, Aphrodite, Muses or Three Graces, might have been laid on the occasion of marriage, perhaps as wedding gifts by parents and

³⁸ I express my gratitude to Bert Smith for his help in discussing this matter and formulating these ideas.

relatives to give exhortation to newlyweds. Setting up depictions of such divine characters in domestic context with various media, such as mosaics and wall paintings, aimed to create an allegorical link between the newlyweds and divine characters from mythology in order to create an auspicious atmosphere for the couple's union as well as for domestic bliss and fertility. For instance, in the epithalamia of Dioscorus, gracing of a marriage by associating it with a deity is a method used to repel the evil eye and break spells³⁹. Even perhaps, some theatrical depictions on mosaics, such as scenes from comedies or tragedies could be associated with real performances that were staged during these weddings, after which the scenes would allude to memories from these special occasions. I argue that the themes chosen for many of the mosaics were related to the concept of marriage and family, rather than the intellectual or professional interests of the house owners. Although we can't calculate how much they cost, mosaic pavements were arguably an expensive form of decoration, and their permanence (as opposed to textiles and even wall paintings) suggests that the themes were carefully chosen to maintain their meanings throughout a family's future. Although these choices certainly went through an intellectual filter, ultimately, they had to have a profound relationship with the concept of domestic bliss.

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³⁹ MacCoull 2008: 111 H.23, epithalamium for Isakios; apotropaic figures on the mosaics in Antioch might have been put with similar intention to repel evil eye and to protect the union of the family. For these figures, see Levi 1947: Vol II pl. IV, a-c.

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West Meets East: Roman Mosaics of Ionia

Batı Doğu ile Buluşuyor: İonia'nın Roma Mozaikleri

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Abstract

Tradition and innovation were for centuries characteristic elements of the cultural development of Ionia, that landscape of western Anatolia, whose intellectual achievements became groundbreaking for the European continent and beyond. Whereas there are dominant the contacts with Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia in Greek times, with the taking over of the Pergamenian Kingdom by Rome and with the establishment of the proconsular province of Asia (129-126 v. Chr.) new trends were initiated from Italy which are reflected in workmanship and art. Taking charge of pavement-types in the facilities of public and private buildings is one of the phenomena that document the cultural exchange between West and East. New results of archaeological and historical research in recent decades in the urban centers of Ionia provide insight into the sociological related interlacing of Hellenistic and Italo-Roman shapes of technological and decorative design on floor coverings.

In this paper will be discussed in the light of selected examples discovered in different ancient centers of western Anatolia the way of Greek pebble- and tessellated-mosaic to the Italo-Roman floor spaces.

Keywords: Roman Mosaics, Ionia, West Anatolia, opus tessellatum.

Öz

Gelenek ve yenilik, yüzyıllar boyunca İonia'da kültürel gelişimin karakteristik unsurları olmuştur. Anadolu'nun batısında yer alan bu bölgedeki entellektüel başarılar, Avrupa kıtasında ve ötesinde çığır açan bir manzara oluşturmuştur. Yunan çağlarında Mısır, Mezopotamya ve Pers kültürleri ile olan temaslar, Bergama Krallığı'nın Roma egemenliğine geçmesi ve Asya prokonsül bölgesinin kurulmasıyla (İÖ 129-126) işçilik ve sanat alanında kendini gösteren İtalya kökenli yeni eğilimler etkili olmaya başlamıştır. Kamusal ve özel binaların farklı mekanlarındaki döşeme tipleri, Batı ile Doğu arasındaki kültürel değişimi belgeleyen fenomenlerden biridir. İonia kent merkezlerinde son yıllarda gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik ve tarihsel araştırmaların yeni sonuçları, zemin döşemelerinde görülen teknolojik ve dekoratif tasarımlardaki Hellenistik ve İtalik-Roma biçimlerinin sosyolojik olarak birbiri içinde kaynaşması hakkında fikir vermektedir. Bu makalede, Batı Anadolu'nun değişik antik merkezlerinde keşfedilen seçilmiş örnekler ışığında, Yunan opus barbaricum ve opus tessellatum mozaiklerin İtalik-Roma tarzındaki taban döşemelerine kadar giden değişimi tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma mozaikleri, İonia, Batı Anadolu, opus tessellatum.

In his book on Ionia published in 2011, Wolfram Hoepfner (2011) described the cultural landscape along the Aegean coast of Anatolia as the “bridge to the Orient”. This bridging function manifests itself in its oriental feel as much as in its cultural exchange with Italy, begun, at the latest, in the second century BC. The meeting of diverse peoples and cultures has always yielded technical innovation and intellectual progress for the region without endangering the heritage of its own Hellenic tradition. In terms of architecture and the fine arts, the Greek cities of Ionia in archaic times absorbed ideas that developed into previously unknown types of temple building. The copious columns in the major shrines of Ephesus, Didyma and Samos have their roots in monumental temples constructed by Egyptian builders, same as the large Greek sculptures in the 6th century BC drew on the colossal standing and seated

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sculptures of Egypt. Archaic architectural ornaments in Ionia were influenced by Mesopotamia's art. "The Ionians, a nimble, open-minded, clever people of seafarers, were to develop the greatest technical inventions; scientific mathematics and philosophy similarly originated in Ionia. But this is just one side of the Ionian nature. The second one, imagination, resulted from the fertile encounter of these restless seafarers with the ancient and sagacious civilisations of the East, Mesopotamia and Egypt." Since decorative floors are part and parcel of the art of architecture, I will start with the development of these furnishing elements in Ionia and the subsequent province of Asia Proconsularis in the context of its cultural exchange with Italy. Examples taken from various urban centres at the western coast of Anatolia will illustrate how Italian pavement techniques were absorbed.

Ionian mosaic production in pre-Roman times

Ph. Bruneau defined two key criteria for Greek-inspired decorative pavements: "*conservatisme et innovations*" – Hellenic tradition and Italian influences. Let's deal with the conservative aspect first.

Compared with all other Mediterranean countries, mosaic techniques in Anatolia reach back in an unbroken line across many centuries. Indeed, given current archaeological sources Anatolia could be seen as the homeland of mosaic art. The western Mediterranean countries and central Europe do not share this tradition. The only comparable place is Carthage, where the first *signinum* floors appear to have been laid in the 5th century BC. But in what is now Turkey, decorative pavements made of pebbles are known to have been placed already in the 8th century BC. The technique continued unabated throughout the next centuries in places like the palace of Gordion. Such a continuity of pebble mosaics is known to us only from Anatolia, but not from Greece, where (apart from the floor excavated in Tiryns which features stripes of pebbles dating from the 14th century BC - SH III A1) the oldest pebble floors of Olynth, according to research on Greek cities by W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner (1994), date back to the second quarter of the 4th century rather than the late 5th century BC. This was followed by a continuous development of the pebble technique in other Greek cities such as Athens, Corinth, Sikyon or Eretria, until it reached its apex in the Macedonian capital of Pella.

Throughout the entire Greek koine, a joint feature of patterned pavements was their emblematic composition – a central image, typically made up of figures, is surrounded by a multitude of framing borders and friezes made up of geometrical or floral motifs. For E. Kitzinger this type of a centralised architectural composition was a "pseudoemblema", as opposed to a genuine emblema. This decorative image is characterised by a concentric structure with a distinctive central zone – a pattern that was influenced by classical architectural ornaments, especially by elements of the ceiling architecture.

The oldest decorative pavings in Ionia were produced soon after Olynth and Pella, around 300 BC. They are pebble mosaics in Assos, Kyme and Priene, from the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC. A new technique using polygonal pieces mixed with pebbles and cubes demonstrates how Greek artisans liked to experiment and invent new styles. Simultaneously introduced in Egypt and Sicily, the new technique opened up new modes of home decoration. Ionia was a flourishing centre of this technique, as is evidenced from examples dating to the second half of the 3rd century BC in Knidos, Aphrodisias, Erythrai, Klazomenai and Pergamon. A predecessor of the pure tessera mosaic was excavated in the andron

of an early Greek house in Klazomenai: a mixed-technique mosaic, made up mostly of cubes, with the main panel showing Amphitrite riding a hippocamp, and Eros and Psyche depicted in the entrance-field.

Mosaics made solely of tesserae were created in the second half of the 3rd century BC, probably in Greece, Lower Italy, Northern Africa and Egypt simultaneously. The oldest example found in Greece is in a bathhouse in Phthiotic (Thessalian) Thebes and was probably made before 217 BC. The mosaics of Morgantina in Sicily were laid some 30 years earlier.

All these Greek mosaics preserve the composition method practiced with pebbles: a concentric central panel framed by several borders.

Pergamon

In western Anatolia, Pergamon became a centre of tessellate production, its fame irrevocably linked to Sosus, the only mosaic artist whose name was recorded in literature. The pavements decorating shrines, palaces and houses of the upper and lower town are distinguished by their high quality and originality. Rooms A and D of Palace IV hold fragments of a fish mosaic with a frieze of tendrils and the fragments of a polychrome pavement respectively. The two best-known mosaics were laid in Palace V: the Hephaestion mosaic and the so-called parakeet mosaic in the Altar Room. These four floors are singular masterpieces that use cubes of not more than 4–5 mm in length. In ancient Turkey, a sole example of this high-quality technique is the palace mosaic of Constantinople of the Justinian period.

The palace mosaics of Pergamon were created in the second quarter of the 2nd century BC. Their artistic hallmark is the combination of tradition and innovation. The images are characterised by their pronounced naturalism, and were composed in accordance with the traditional arrangement of a central panel surrounded by multiple frames to highlight the centre of the floor: the Hephaestion mosaic has 21 borders enclosing the central panel. The delicate, naturalistic interlacing is interspersed with Erotes and animals, including a grasshopper such as we see in the later mosaics of Zliten and Constantinople. The mosaic in the Pergamon palace features a white piece of parchment bearing the signature of its maker, Hephaestion. Its central panel had three emblemata – valuable works of art on their own which could be transported separately. Gaius Julius Caesar, who refused to forego the art of living even on his expeditions, had mobile mosaics (emblemata) taken along to his command quarters. The so-called parakeet mosaic comprised four genuine inserts, two on either side of an altar or statue base showing a mask of tragedy and comedy respectively, and two in the central panel of which the Alexandrine parakeet has survived.

Antiochia, House of Polyphemos – Ephesos, Upper Agora:

Terracotta-slab of clay

A tessellated pavement of a quality equal to the Palace mosaics was found in the cella of the sanctuary of Hera in Pergamon. Of this, only borders with scalloping (running dog; R 101) and a delicately rendered garland are still extant. Other compositions in the Hellenic-eastern tradition are in the Peristyle House II and in the rooms 37–38 of the House of Attalos, which shows a central panel with a perspective cube pattern in the opus sectile technique and several tessellated borders.

A characteristic of the Greek tessera mosaics in Pergamon is the distinctive naturalism of the images. Pliny the Elder attributes this singular style to Sosus whose masterpiece *asàrotos òikos* (Unswep House), much admired already in Antiquity, has survived only in copies. The copy displayed in the Capitoline Museums in Rome consists of a dining room with space for three couches and a figural centre panel showing doves drinking from a bowl. This scene is again dominated by naturalism that was emulated until late Antiquity. The high quality of Sosus's art is exemplarily shown in the palace mosaics of Pergamon.

The composition method used by the tesserae pavements in Pergamon reflects the Hellenistic mosaics in the East which draw on the older pebble mosaic style where a central panel is framed by a rich zone of multiple borders. Another characteristic of the Hellenistic tesserae technique is the graduation of cubes, which get more delicate from the edge to the centre. Examples of this are found not just in Pergamon but also in pavements of Halikarnassos (Hellenist House), Didyma (northern house on the Sacred Way) and Ephesus (Hillside House 2, Apartment 2, Room SR 25). When figural motifs were not used, geometric patterns could be designed with a perspective effect.

The Greek mosaics in Ionia are comparable only to the decorative pavements on the Island of Delos which was a free harbour and trade centre since 166 BC. Fully 354 pavements of a similar composition have been found on Delos. The settlement, founded by Roman/Italic merchants (*negotiatores*) and tax farmers (*publicani*) in the early 2nd century BC, introduced Italic techniques to the production of pavements. At Anatolia's western coast it was Pergamon which acted as intermediary.

West Meets East. Italic-Roman pavement technologies in Ionia

The Kingdom of Pergamon was taken over by Rome in the structure established by its kings. Following the revolt of Aristonicus (129–126 BC), the proconsul-governed province of Asia was created, one of the largest and wealthiest provinces of the Imperium Romanum. Recent archaeological research has found new evidence regarding the Romanisation of Ionia, through excavations in Pergamon, Ephesus, Milet, Erythrai, Metropolis, Smyrna, Phokaia and other cities (e. g. Sagalassos), which fully confirmed Cicero and Strabo.

Which changes were wrought by Roman settlers when it came to art in general and the laying of pavements in particular?

Initially, mosaic art continued along its traditional ways. As we have seen, tesserae mosaics in Ionia (and in Asia since 129 BC) date back to the first half of the second century BC, with the most exemplary works found in Pergamon. The reason is clear: mosaics are not mobile trading goods but are locally tied elements of architecture – with the exception of the emblemata. When Italic settlers moved in and Roman magistrates assumed political rule in the province of Asia (which included Ionia), new techniques were introduced in the making of pavements which had not been seen before in western Anatolia. These novelties came about by the socio-cultural changes in the cities of Ionia and its rural parts. Italics made up a large part of the population, considering that the Wars of Mithridates killed some 80,000 to 150,000 Romans and Italics in Adramyttion, Ephesus, Pergamon, Tralleis and, particularly, in the Carian sea port of Kaunos. Next to children and women, it was especially tax farmers, agents, merchants, businessmen and money lenders – so-called toga wearers (*tebenophorountes*) – who were favourite targets.

From the 1st century BC, pavement types started to appear in the cities which were without precedent in the eastern Mediterranean. These include *opus signinum* floors, or cube-decorated screeds. Laid as a reddish lime mortar floor of linear rows of white cubic patterns, the technique probably came to Italy via Carthage and was quite common in central and lower Italy. It was most frequently used between 200 and 80 BC, when it practically displaced the traditional Greek-style mosaics. The *opus signinum* technique is clear evidence of the economical character prevailing in Roman construction. Examples of this typically Italic floor in the eastern Mediterranean have so far been found only in Aetolia (Calydon), Macedonia (Mieza), on Delos and in Pergamon. *Signinum* floors in Pergamon were discovered in the House of Attalos (room 38) and the Musala Mezarlik, a peristyle house built by Italic settlers near the amphitheatre in the early imperial period. These apart, no further *signinum* pavements have become known or identified in the province of Asia. It will be necessary to look out for this type of floor when excavations are carried out in Turkey.

Another type of pavement frequently laid in Rome and lower Italy since the end of the 2nd century BC is the so-called *crustae* pavement, which may be identical with the *opus scutulatum*. The technique involves a combination of small, irregularly crushed stone plates and tesserae set in a lime mortar screed. Apart from examples found on Delos, the technique was introduced in the province of Asia as well. A pavement of this type was excavated in the eastern stoa of the agora of Iasos dating to the second half of the 1st century BC. In Ephesus, too, an example of this combination of marble slabs and tesserae was found (Hillside House 1-2 SR 14 and SR 22).

Italic black-and-white mosaics

Excavations in Pergamon, Ephesus, Iasos and Metropolis found that, in addition to the *signinum* floors and *scutulata* pavements, the Roman settlers in the 1st century BC introduced a third, genuinely Italic type of floor covering: the black-and-white mosaic. This type had spread from Italy starting in the second half of the 2nd century BC, mostly in the western Mediterranean, but had also found its way to Ionia.

One of the oldest floors in the black-and-white style was discovered in Room 4 of the so-called Grand Peristyle House in Pergamon. It was made in the mid-1st century BC, pioneering the spread of a new type of mosaic production in western Anatolia, which reduces floor decoration to the contrast of black and white areas using geometrical patterns. Room 4c of the so-called Peristyle House II, also in Pergamon and dating from the period of Augustus (27 BC to 14 AD), offers checkerboard, hourglass and honeycomb patterns in its pavement; all of which were imported from the west. This design of the living rooms points at a fashion resulting from the fusion of the local upper class with the Italics. The local urban aristocracy intentionally emulated western fashions, while Roman settlers encouraged the spread of styles prevalent in Italy. Another significant example of this trend are the palace mosaics of Masada which were laid (in 36-30 BC), in several rooms of the northern palace villa after Herod had visited Rome in 40–39 BC.

But Pergamon and Masada are not the only specimens using the checkerboard-hourglass and honeycomb ornament. In a dwelling in Metropolis near Ephesus, explored by R. Meric, we documented a mosaic floor decorated with very similar elements already back in the 1970s, which was dated, due to the laying

technique used, to the first half of the 1st century AD. The tessellate covers the floor of a corridor, perhaps a peristyle, and consists of four geometrically decorated panels that show the following motifs: orthogonal checkerboard pattern (R 120g) [with squares diagonally across,] honeycomb pattern (R 204a) with small cross stars (Rép. 106') and a central composition made up of white and black [isosceles] triangles (R 341b) with a black cross-shaped flower (Rép. 109) in a white centre. The black-and-white mosaics found in Ephesus and Iasos confirm the dating of the Metropolis mosaic in the early imperial period.

This bond with Rome, combined with the wish to demonstrate a novel taste, was evident in Herod the Great when he furnished his palace in Masada with black-and-white mosaics at the time of Augustus, same as in the citizens who ordered up the *signinum* floors in Delos and Pergamon. These pavements were made by craftsmen who either derived from Italy or who skilfully emulated the technique. *Signinum* floors and black-and-white mosaics can be found only in western Anatolia but not in the south and southeast of Anatolia, or in Syria, where only mosaics of the Hellenist type featuring large-sized figural images were produced. This issue should be considered in any future research on mosaics.

Ephesus – Hillside Houses 1 and 2

The overwhelming majority of floors in the Hillside Houses 1 and 2 of Ephesus are black-and-white mosaics, dated, from the re-examinations in the 1990s following Hermann Vetters' excavations and regardless of stylistic criteria, between the start of the 1st century AD and the early half of the 3rd century AD. The apartments with peristyle courtyards, combined in two insulae on the northern slope of the southern city hill, cover a space of about 8,000 square metres, distributed over artificially built terraces. Backing a northern street front of halls and taverns, Hillside House 1 has six apartments and Hillside House 2 has seven units. The two insulae appear to have been hit by an earthquake in the second quarter of the 3rd century, after which they were repaired and redecorated. Another earthquake occurred in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD which so seriously damaged the two hillside houses that the noble terrace apartments were more or less abandoned. After this disaster, the only repair work to be carried out was at the edges of the insulae.

Contrary to Pergamon, neither mosaics of the Hellenistic decorative type nor *signinum* floors have so far been found in Ephesus. The oldest tessellated pavements were laid in the late Hellenistic predecessors to the two hillside houses. They are fragments of white surfaces without any ornament, placed there in the pre-Christian period. The new insulae, built in the early 1st century AD, featured mostly black-and-white mosaics in each of the 13 peristyle apartments, which represent the Italic type.

Rooms in apartments 1–4 and 6 of Hillside House 2 were furnished with this type of flooring in the early 1st century AD.

Apartment 1 originally had a large banqueting or reception hall (SR1 + SR6), which was used daily by the *patronus* or master of the house to receive his clients on their morning visit (*salutatio matutina*). The mosaic floor consisted of two longish rectangular pattern panels laid in parallel, [sized 6.30 by 1.16 metres in the north and 5.20 by 2.00 metres in the south,] with a repeat pattern of cross-shaped flowers on a white base (R 237) and a checkerboard and hourglass pattern (R 120f), similar to what we have seen in Metropolis. Inbetween, two small squares with a reticulate decoration are inserted, indicating the location of the

pieces of furniture. The hall was reduced in size during the last building phase, i.e. in the mid-3rd century AD, by inserting a wall, while the mosaic floor was retained – a sign of the longevity of tessellated pavements.

At the time or before this large-sized mosaic was placed in peristyle apartment 1, black-and-white mosaic floors were put into almost all the other units of Hillside House 2.

I have already mentioned the mosaic of room SR 25 in Apartment 2. Its centre panel was originally a white base decorated with a red-framed lozenge (R 299c) and, after suffering some damage, repaired using crushed marble slabs. In the space between the lozenge and the edge, a black cross with a white centre (Rép. 106) emphasises the coffer-like structure of the composition. The cube material of the mosaic floor gets more delicate from outside towards the centre, showing a Greek tradition in its manufacturing. The pavement is comparable to two late Hellenistic mosaics in Halikarnassos and Didyma.

Apartment 3 features two black-and-white mosaics that similarly show typical Italic ornaments. The floor of the ambulatory of peristyle courtyard 16b is decorated with a simple black square-grid pattern (R 124a) and centrally placed cross stars (Rép. 106). The older mosaic in room 16a to the south shows the well-known checkerboard-hourglass motif, made from delicate tessera (R 120f). Room 16a was converted into two small rooms (16a west and 16a east) in the first half of the 3rd century AD, which were given new decorated floors with figural panels that show a bust of Dionysus and a Medusa's head.

In the early phase of Hillside House 2 (c. 40 AD), Apartment 6 was fitted with two black-and-white mosaics which follow the Italic tradition: the mosaics in the western and eastern corridor of peristyle courtyard 31a and staircase 36b. The floors of the Ephesus courtyard corridors show a coffer pattern made in opus sectile technique with squares and trapezoids (R 128b). Room 36b was decorated with a repeat checkerboard-hourglass panel (R 120g). The rather careless repair work of crushed marble slabs once again points at the longevity of the mosaic pavements.

Black-and-white mosaics of the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD.

Italic-type mosaics of exclusively geometric black-and-white patterns become increasingly prevalent in the history of the two hillside houses in Ephesus. This means that the residents of these insulae were either Italic or Roman or were Romanised local citizens.

Two rooms (E1–E3) of Apartment 1 in Hillside House 1 were apparently fitted with tessellate pavements during the Flavians. They show very plain patterns on a white ground – a panel with black cross stars and a second panel with grid lines (R 124e).

In the building phases of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the Italic mosaic tradition with its infinite geometric patterns is vividly present in Hillside House 2. There are very few rooms that show a different taste. Four pavements each of Apartment 1 (vaults A and B, SR 14, SR 18) and Apartment 2 (SR 17, SR 19–20, SR 23, SR28) and at least five rooms on the lower level of Apartment 6 (marble hall 31, rooms 31b, 42, 36c, 36e) were fitted with geometric black-and-white mosaics, deliberately continuing in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD the Italic fashion first introduced during the first building phase in the peristyle courtyard. In this manner, the owner of the house, C. Flavius Furius Aptus, being a member

of the urban aristocracy, expressed his cultural ties with Rome and Italy not least through his choice of floor fittings.

From the early 2nd century AD onwards, the knowledge of how to produce figural black-and-white mosaics was exported from Italy to western Anatolia. Two major buildings of this period, the Vedius-gymnasium and the so-called Casa dei Mosaici, excavated in Ephesus and the harbour town of Iasos, indicate how this type was introduced in the black-and-white mosaics of Ionia.

The Vedius-gymnasium featured marine animals in the black-and-white technique on a pavement originally 90 square metres in size. Same as the walls in the apartments of the hillside houses, it reflected the taste of its founder, P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, for the Roman and Italic fashion of the time. At the Casa dei Mosaici of Iasos, the marginal zones of geometrically decorated panels depict animals in the Italic black-and-white technique. This style expresses the intentional reference of its owner, and it can be assumed that craftsmen from Italy were commissioned to produce the black-and-white mosaics in the centres of the province.

As we can see from the pavements in Pergamon, Ephesus and Iasos, personal bonds to Rome and Italy caused homeowners to choose typically Italic floor types. In Pergamon and Ephesus, mosaic floors can be tied to specific names – Attalos, Paulina (?) and C. Vibius Salutaris (Hillside House 2, Apartments 1 and 2). C. Flavius Furius Aptus (Hillside House 2, Apartment 6) and P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus (Vedius-gymnasium). However, since the persons commissioning mosaic floors are typically unknown, details of content and technique need to be assumed from stylistic properties. It is therefore necessary to carefully analyse the composition of tessellated pavements as much as the repertory of images used.

Regional colour modifications of the black-and-white style

The mosaics decorating private and public buildings in the urban centres such as Ephesus, Milet, Pergamon and Smyrna demonstrate that the Italic black-and-white style was not mindlessly copied but was, beginning in the second half of the 2nd century AD, enriched in its geometrical patterns by the addition of colour elements (red, purple, yellow, ochre, green), the inclusion of own regional designs and the retention of traditional Greek types of decoration. Typical examples of this can be found not just in Ephesus, but were also discovered in Milet, Halikarnassos, Iasos and Erythrai. Thus, the peristyle courtyards of Apartments 1-2 and some rooms of Apartments 5-7 at Hillside House 2 in Ephesus featured geometrical patterns adorned by colour elements. The same was found in a pavement excavated in Pygela near Ephesus, whose checkerboard-hourglass composition shows red elements in addition to the black-and-white pattern. This design reflects the traditional Hellenistic-Greek love of polychromy. V. Scheibelreiter (2011) assumes that this could i.a. be due to the proliferation of coloured stones in Ionia.

The Hellenistic tradition of strong colours interspersing geometrical tessellated floors in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD is also maintained in various pavements excavated in Erythrai, to which we will make a final visit. Located vis-à-vis the island of Chios, Erythrai was a traditional centre of mosaic craftsmanship that reached from early Hellenism to the early Byzantine period.

The floors of a villa on the slope down from the theatre and the large peristyle house on the Cennettepe both demonstrate the prevalence of polychrome areas

in geometrical ornamental systems, next to well-known Hellenistic patterns such as sawtooth and excessively large spiral tendrils. The mosaic fragment made up of polygonal tesserae found on the northern side of the Cennettepe below the villa dates the building right back to the 2nd century BC. The pavements laid in Erythrai in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, while using the geometrical structure developed in Italy, still show a limited influence only of western form traditions. The geometrically decorated mosaics of Erythrai are an example of the synergy of Hellenistic-Greek tradition and mosaic innovation from the West. The polychromy penetrating right into small areas of the geometrical patterns clearly indicates the local style of this group of mosaics.

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Les mosaïques de l'Église de Santa Maria do Freixo (Marco de Canaveses, Portugal): Réflexions sur leur rôle dans le contexte de la musivaria tardive dans la vallée du Douro

Santa Maria Do Freixo Kilise Mozaikleri (Marco de Canaveses, Portekiz): Douro Vadisi Geç Musivaria Kontekstinin Anlamı Üzerine Düşünceler

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Abstract

The Mosaics of the Church of Santa Maria Do Freixo (Marco de Canaveses, Portugal): Reflections on Its Meaning in the Context of the Late Musivaria of the Douro Valley

In this paper, we present the polychromatic roman mosaics with a geometric organization and a vegetal decoration discovered during the archaeological excavation that took place in 2001 in Santa Maria do Freixo church (Northern Portugal). After describing the ruins and the mosaics, a brief contextualization (including the formal analysis of the building and of the mosaics and its local and regional geographic context) is given in order to try to understand its social and cultural meanings.

Keywords: Polychromatic, geometric, vegetal, Douro Valley, Late Antiquity.

Öz

Bu çalışmada, 2001 yılında Santa Maria do Freixo Kilisesi'nde (Kuzey Portekiz) gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik kazı sırasında keşfedilen geometrik ve bitkisel süslemeye sahip polikrom Roma mozaikleri sunulmuştur. Arkeolojik kalıntıları ve mozaikleri tanımladıktan sonra, kısa bir kontekst değerlendirmesi (binanın ve mozaiklerin analizi ile yerel ve bölgesel coğrafi kontekst de dahil olmak üzere) yapılacak, sosyal ve kültürel manaları anlaşılmasına çalışılacaktır.

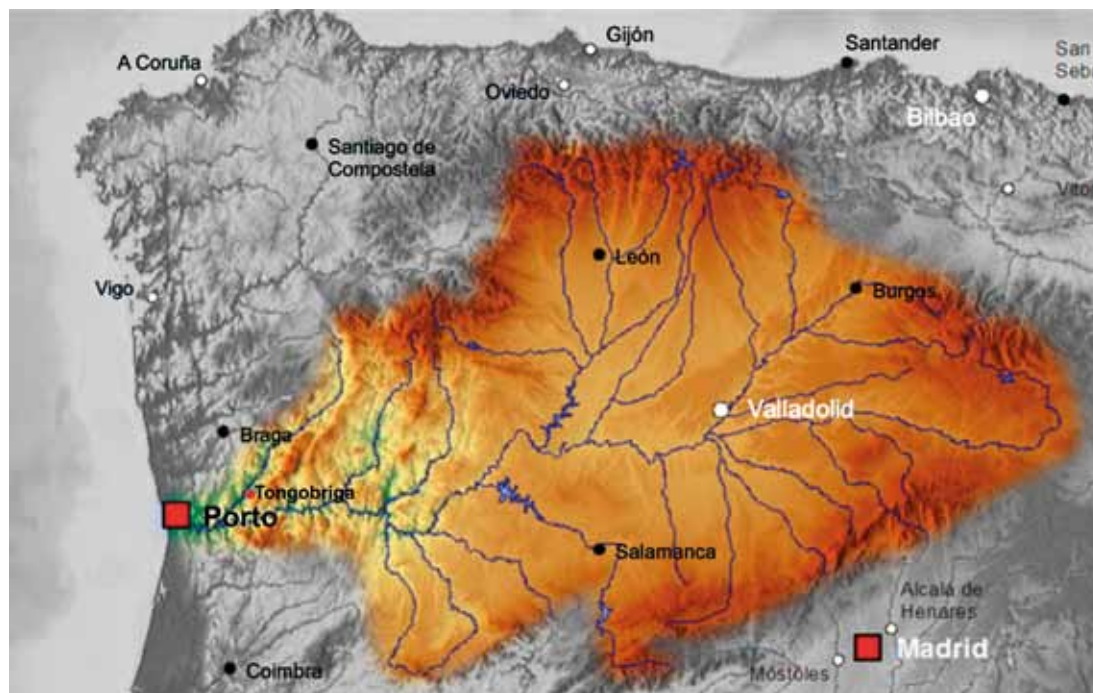
Anahtar Kelimeler: Polikrom, geometrik, bitkisel, Douro Vadisi, Geç Antik.

Les mosaïques ici présentées ont été identifiées pendant l'intervention archéologique réalisée dans le sous-sol de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo (clientèle de Marco, commune de Marco de Canaveses, district de Porto, Nord du Portugal). Il s'agit d'un site archéologique, sous la gestion de la Direção Regional de Cultura do Norte, situé dans le bassin hydrographique du fleuve Douro et dans la vallée d'un de ses affluents, le Tâmega (Fig. 1).

Le local correspond à l'acropole de *Tongobriga*, nom prélatin d'un bourg fortifié qui a connu un fort développement urbain après la fin du 1^{er} siècle après J.-C. comme conséquence de sa promotion à capital de *civitas* (Dias 1997).

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1. Le plan du bâtiment pavé de mosaïque

Il s'agit d'un long bâtiment – beaucoup plus grand que tous ceux qui ont déjà été exhumés dans le périmètre murillé de la *Tongobriga* romaine – qui aurait au moins trois compartiments, pavés en mosaïque, communiquant entre eux et aligné E-W (Fig. 2, A, B - C).

Deux de ces espaces (Fig. 2, espaces A et C) formeraient un rectangle avec la longueur totale de 24,2 m = 110 *palmi* (11 mètres = 50 *palmi* dans l'espace A et 13,2 mètres = 60 *palmi* dans l'espace C) par 8,14 m (7 *palmi*) de largeur.

À l'ouest, il y a aussi un troisième espace pavé de mosaïque (Fig. 2, espace B). Malheureusement, la petite zone qui a été fouillée a été intensivement utilisée

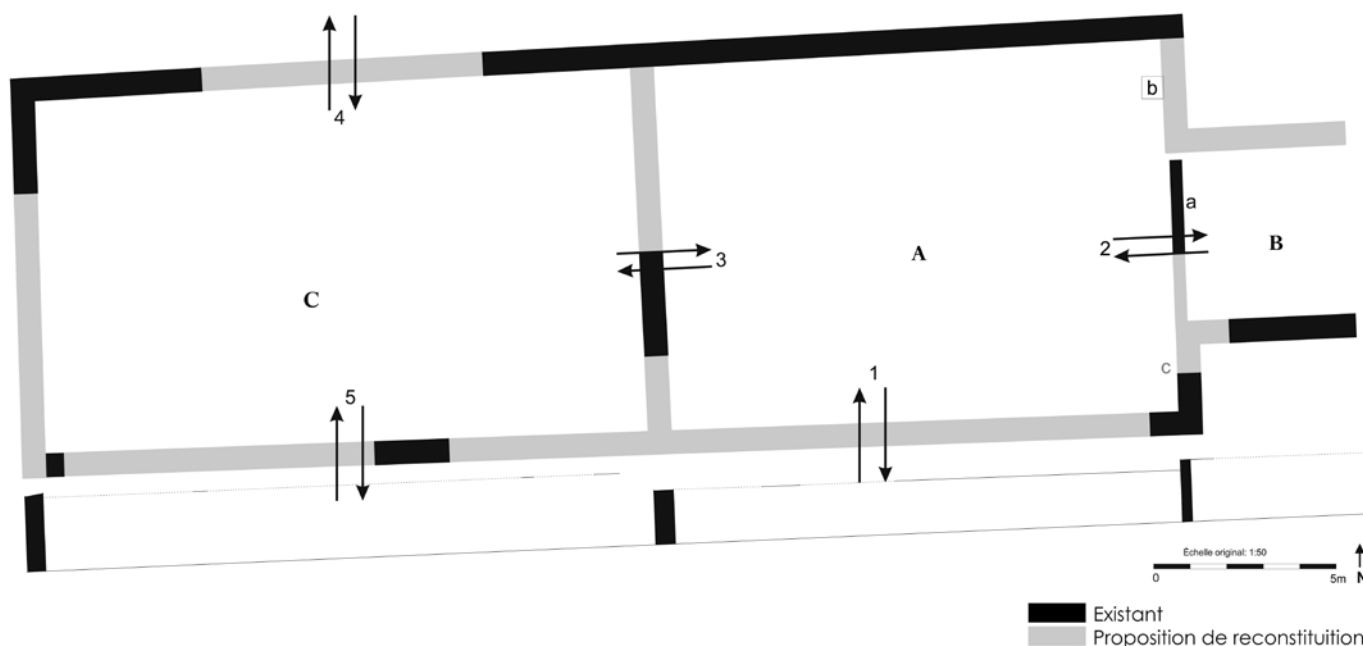


Figure 1
Localisation de *Tongobriga* (Santa Maria do Freixo) dans le nord de la Péninsule Ibérique et Vallée du Douro.

Figure 2
Bâtiment pavé de mosaïques sous l'actuelle église de Santa Maria do Freixo. Compartiments (A, B, C), éléments architectoniques (a, b, c), et accès / axes de circulation (1 à 5).

comme un espace de cimetière, et l'espace de l'autel principal n'était pas sujet à intervention. Nous avons ici sa limite ouest, qui a révélé une remarquable continuité parce qu'elle correspond, encore aujourd'hui, à l'arc triomphal qui marque le passage entre la nef et le chœur de l'église. De ce passage, nous avons encore du seuil original et une grande partie de la base de la paroi où le même était implanté (Fig. 2, a). Nous ne savons pas sa configuration, interne et externe, ainsi que sa profondeur totale. On peut estimer la largeur intérieure minimale à environ 4,5 mètres, ce qui, ajouté à l'épaisseur de ses murs (0,5 m + 0,5 m), fait la moitié de la largeur de l'espace A. En ce qui concerne sa profondeur, cela ne pourrait être jamais moins de 3,9 mètres, attendant à la limite du mur détecté sous la paroi sud du sanctuaire.

2. L'organisation de l'espace intérieur du bâtiment : secteurs fonctionnels et axes de circulation

En absence d'autres éléments architectoniques qui nous permettent d'évaluer cette organisation de son espace intérieur, il est remarquable la présence, *in situ*, d'une pierre de taille quadrangulaire, avec 2 *palmi* (= 44 cm) de largeur qui a servi comme stylobate pour une colonne ou pilastre, proche de l'angle NE de la nef de l'église actuelle (Fig. 2, b), un signe de que le même espace intérieur pourrait être rythmé par une groupe de colonnes dont nous ne pouvons pas déterminer le numéro.

Ce qui est certain c'est que cette base est appuyée à la paroi sur laquelle pose l'arc triomphal actuel et sur laquelle s'appuie le pavement de mosaïque, ce qui ne laisse aucun doute quant à l'utilisation simultanée des deux pavements dans un cadre d'un même programme architectonique.

En ce qui concerne les axes de circulation, rien n'indique que ce bâtiment avait une entrée sur sa façade occidentale, par contraste avec le temple actuel.

Par l'espace qui est maintenant connu comme Largo do Cruzeiro ont auraient accès (Fig. 2, ouverture 1) à l'axe central d'un compartiment (espace A). D'ici, on pouvait avoir accès à l'espace B (Fig. 2, B), situé à l'Est, par un passage perpétué, au fil de toutes ces siècles, par l'arc triomphal de l'église (Fig. 2, ouverture 2). L'accès à l'espace B a impliqué une hausse d'environ 15 cm correspondants à une marche qui se conserve encore *in situ* (Fig. 2, a). On n'a pas détecté des indices d'ouvertures vers l'extérieur de l'espace B, ni dans la paroi nord de l'espace A.

Un autre passage existerait certainement à l'ouest (Fig. 2, ouverture 3), donnant accès à l'espace clos et pavé de mosaïque qui existait où aujourd'hui se trouve le parvis de l'église (Fig. 2, espace C). Si l'on peut confirmer l'existence de ce passage interne, elle gagnerait un écart d'environ 45 cm, l'équivalent a trois marches similaires à ce qui sépare les autres deux compartiments.

Une fois situé sur le parvis de l'ouest de l'église actuelle (Fig. 2, espace C), les inconnues s'aggravent pour plusieurs raisons. C'est, sans aucun doute, un espace qui comprend l'ensemble original et était fermé et couvert. Des fragments de la mosaïque, qui aurait une composition géométrique semblable à l'espace A, le prouvent.

3. Analyse descriptif des mosaïques du parois et l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo

L'élément de patrimoine le plus important de l'ensemble archéologique exhumé au cours de l'intervention archéologique dans le cimetière et l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo est, sans aucun doute, l'ensemble des pavements en mosaïque couvrant, initialement, au moins trois compartiments distincts (Fig. 2, A, B et C).

Pour donner une idée de ce qu'aura été la zone pavée de mosaïque, de ce qui est arrivé à nos jours et ce qui a déjà été exhumé par des fouilles archéologiques (Fig. 3), il suffit d'analyser le tableau suivant (Tableau 1) :

Espace (cfr. Fig. 2)	Aire totale évaluée (m ²)	Fouilles - Aire totale (m ²)	Aire totale de mosaïque préservée (m ²)	Aire totale de mo- saïque préservée % de l'aire totale
A	89,64	62,3	8,89	9,93
B	>17,5	12,4	0,8	
C	107,45	92,2	0,12	0,11
TOTAL	>214,3	166,9	9,81	

Tableau 1
Bâtiment avec des mosaïques.
Aire totale, aire fouillée et aire
de mosaïque préservée.



Figure 3
Panoramique de la nef et sanctuaire
de l'église de Santa Maria do
Freixo au final des fouilles.

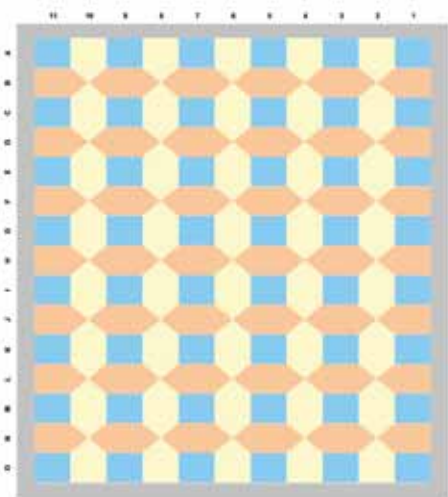
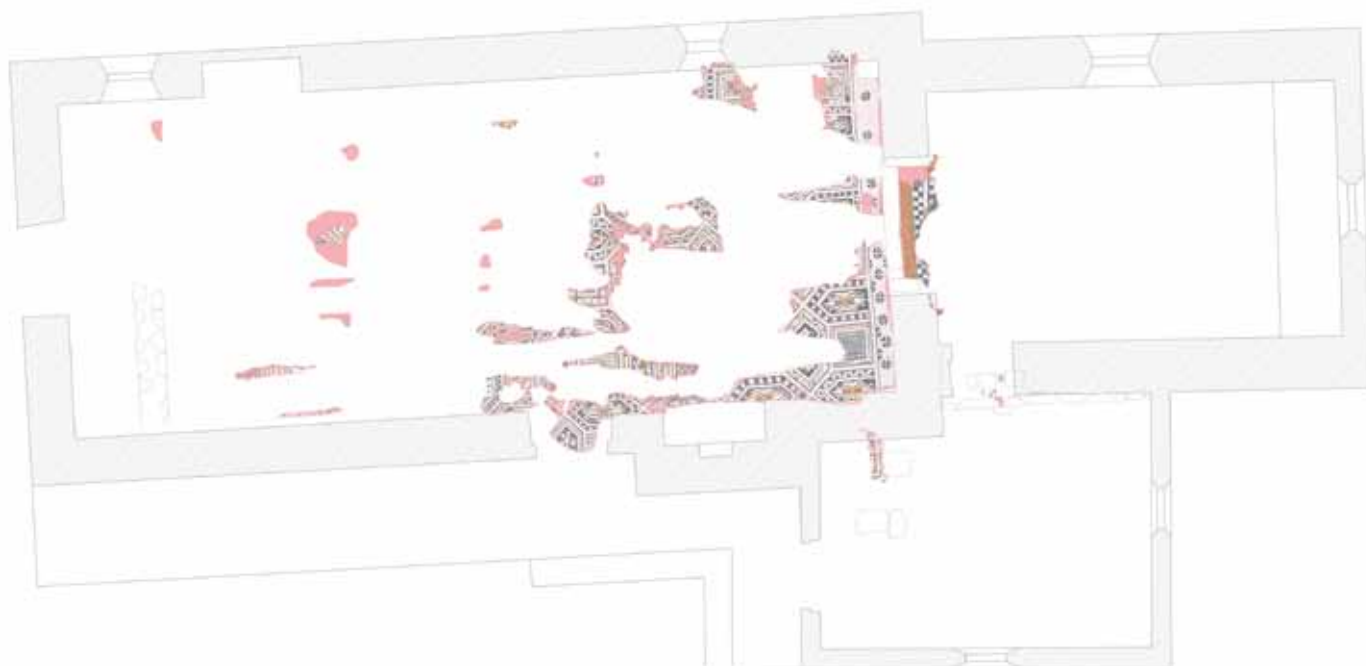


Figure 5
Proposition de reconstitution schématique de la composition orthogonal de la mosaïque de l'espace A.

Figure 4
Plan de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo avec dessin des mosaïques identifiées à la nef, sacristie et sanctuaire (échelle originale du dessin 1 :1).



Comme on peut observer, d'une superficie totale estimée supérieure à 214,5 m², la surface totale de mosaïque dont nous disposons actuellement n'arrive pas aux 10m². Et, si dans le cas de l'espace A les vestiges nous permettent de faire quelques considérations sur la composition, l'organisation et patrons thématiques présents dans la mosaïque B et C est beaucoup plus complexe.

Pour l'analyse formelle des mosaïques on a utilisé les champs descriptifs de la fiche utilisée par Cristina Fernandes de Oliveira pour la publication des mosaïques de la *Villa* romaine de Rio Maior (Oliveira 2003: 35-37), qui, à son tour, repose sur la fiche utilisée pour les mosaïques de Torre de Palma (Lancha - André 2000). Cette même analyse est basée sur le dessin de toutes les parcelles de mosaïque conservée, dont l'original a été réalisé par décalque à l'échelle naturelle sur des feuilles de pvc directement appliquées sur la mosaïque.

L'espace A (Fig. 2, A)

Espace pavé de mosaïques polychromes sur calcaire (Fig. 4). Composition orthogonale avec octogones irréguliers, sécantes et adjacents, qui déterminent carrés et hexagones oblongs (Décor I: pl.169d) (Fig. 5).

Cet espace (Fig. 2, A) correspond à presque la totalité de la nef de l'église actuelle. Dans son axe Nord-Sud il est plus grand que la nef, couvrant une partie de l'allée de l'église (à Nord), le clocher et l'escaliers d'accès respectifs, niveau d'accès à la porte du côté sud de l'église et la sacristie et l'angle NE de la sacristie (à Sud). Ce panneau de mosaïque aurait initialement 50 *palmi* (= 11,00 m) de longueur (Est-Ouest) par 37 *palmi* (=8,14 m.) de largeur (axe Nord-Sud).

Il était possible de documenter la stratigraphie de la chaussée elle-même dans une place où la même avait été coupée par une tombe creusée dans la roche (Fig. 6). Au moins trois strates distinctes ont été délibérément placés pour constituer le fondement sur lequel s'a installé l'*opus tessellatum* (Fig. 7). En ce qui concerne la mince couche de terre noire qui s'étend directement sur l'affleurement granitique, cela peut indiquer que la surface qu'elle couvre existait déjà et



Figure 6
Coin nord-est de la nef de l'église :
détail de la mosaïque coupée par
sépulture excavée en la roche.

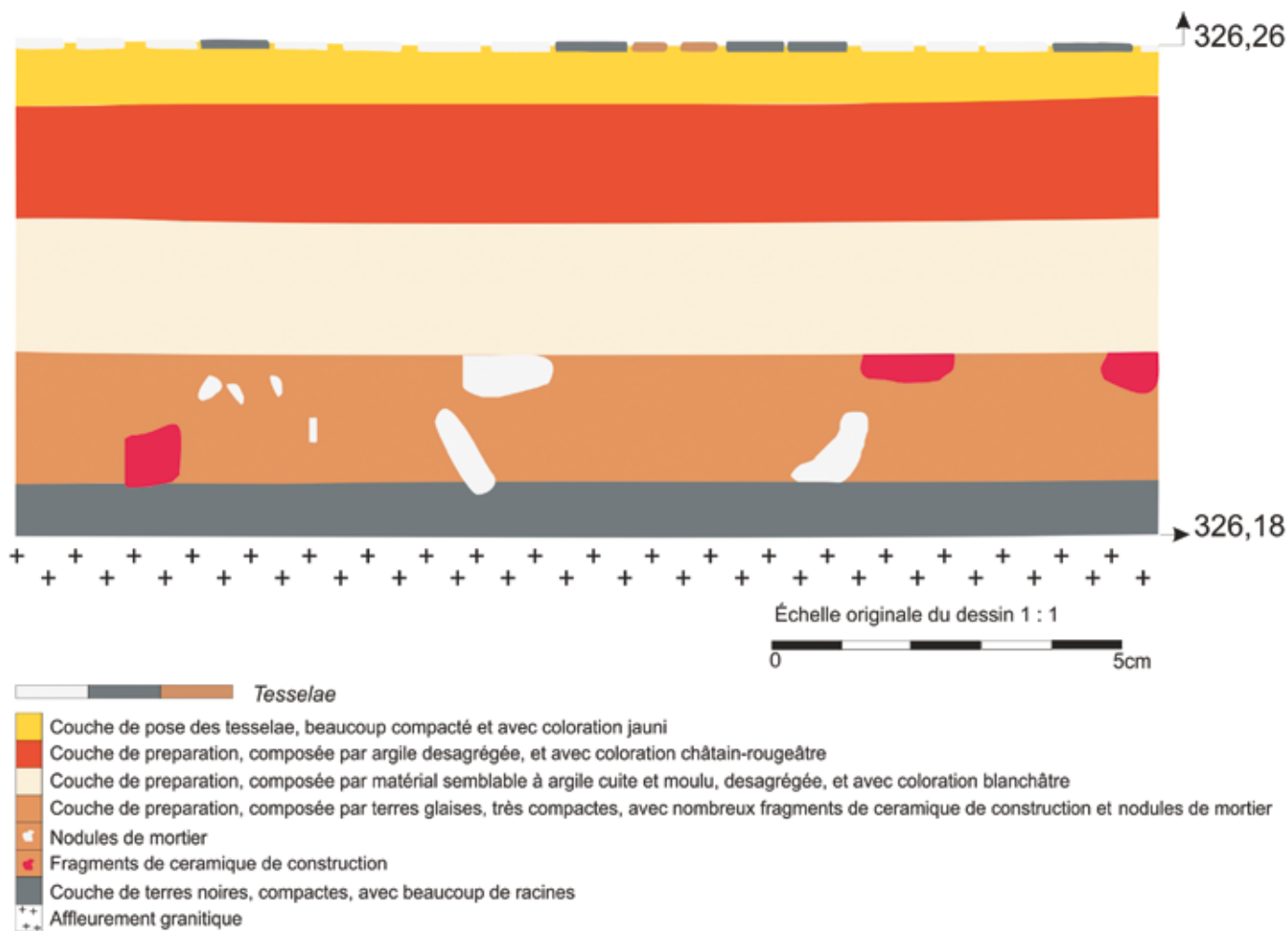


Figure 7
Coup stratigraphique illustrant la technique
de construction de la mosaïque, obtenu à la
nef de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.

ferait partie d'une construction antérieure déjà abandonnée, dont la couverture de végétation existante était brûlée avant de recevoir la mosaïque.

Nous avons identifié des tesselles en cinq couleurs de base avec quelques variantes, qui, selon le tableau de Munsell (Munsell 1992), ont les dénominations suivantes :

Trois nuances de rouge : rouge jaune (5 YR 5/6), rouge pale (7,5 YR 3/3) et rouge (2,5 YR 4/6); jaune-olive (5 Y 6/7); vert olive (5 Y 5/4); blanc (2,5 Y 8/0); gris foncé (7.5 R 4/0). Contrairement aux deux autres espaces, où les tesselles céramiques ont été utilisées, ici ont utilisé seulement des tesselles de calcaire.

De la périphérie vers le centre, ce tableau est composé des éléments suivants :

Bande blanche avec une ligne de fleurs noires en diagonale croisée (Décor I: 30 pl. 4j), pas proches et avec distances irrégulières, majeures dans la moitié nord (44 cm.), plus petits dans la moitié sud (entre 13 et 24 cm.), où la seule ligne de petites fleurs se transforme ponctuellement en double ligne (Fig. 8). De cette bande, nous avons seulement témoignage dans la paroi est et dans le commencement de la paroi sud, en déduisant leur existence aussi au long des parois nord et ouest. Ensuite on trouve une ligne grise foncée simple et une autre blanche et quadruplé.

Au long de la paroi sud il y a une deuxième bande, entourée d'un double filet gris foncé et rempli de blanc dans la réduite superficie visible (Lima 2016a: 112). Dans cette deuxième bande, nous ne savons pas s'il n'y aurait des motifs géométriques ou végétal.

Tout ce cadre fait partie d'une composition orthogonale d'octogones irréguliers, adjacents et sécants, qui déterminent des carrés et des hexagones oblongs. Près des parois, la dernière disposition d'hexagones se transforme en pentagones pour la suppression de l'un des triangles supérieurs, afin d'obtenir une fin linéaire pour l'ensemble, qui se forme par les éléments suivants :

-Est-Ouest, 5 bandes de 1 pentagone + 7 hexagones + 1 pentagone (Fig. 5, colonnes 2, 4, 6, 8 et 10), remplis de motifs végétaux. Perpendiculairement à celles-ci, en direction Nord-Sud, 8 bandes de 1 pentagone + 4 hexagones + 1 pentagone (idem, B, D, F, H, J, L, N, P), remplis de motifs similaires.

Hexagones et pentagones ont un fond gris foncé, entouré de triple filet blanc avec armature qui varie au cas par cas. A l'intérieur ils sont fleuonnés avec une corolle, composites, allongés, avec un bouton central circulaire du quel émergent quatre ensembles d'éléments non contigus : deux éléments, opposés, sont des calices de fleurs de lotus, trifides ; les deux autres, également opposés, pointant vers les sommets de l'hexagone, sont en calice avec des pétales fusiformes et feuilles en crochet (Fig. 9). Apparemment, seulement pour économiser de l'espace, les fleurons qui décorent les hexagones qui forment les bandes N-S sont plus compressés que les perpendiculaires à eux. Cette compression du motif fait que les pétales et les feuilles, dans ces cas (B3, D5, D7 et F3) se fusionnent en un seul élément dès la base au calice, créant deux nouvelles fleurs de lotus.

Les bandes d'hexagones H et J, c'est-à-dire ceux qui marquent l'axe central de l'entrée dans ce compartiment, utilisent différents motifs dans le remplissage des hexagones : en H3 on rencontre un motif inconnu avec une quadruple dentelé sur un côté. En J3, c'est apparemment les restes d'une ramure d'où émane un ensemble de feuilles stylisées peltées (Fig. 10).

Dans presque tous les hexagones et pentagones, il y a toujours de petits éléments détachés inscrits sur le fond noir, en contact ou non avec les extrémités des



Figure 8
Coin sud-est de la nef de l'église
: bande double de petites fleurs en
croix et le principe de la composition
orthogonale.



Figure 9
Bout de la composition qui remplissait
l'espace B, proche de la marche de
passage pour l'espace A. Sanctuaire et nef
de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.

feuilles. Ainsi, A2 révèle une simple croix blanche, bien que l'objectif pourrait être la création de trois croix, dont deux ont abouti seulement à petites figures indéfinies. L'A4 le suggère en comportant trois croix identiques avec une disposition similaire. A6 conserve seulement deux croix identiques mais inscrites sur fond coloré, un jaune et l'autre blanc. A8 ne révèle que deux cercles simples remplis de blanc. En C2 on retrouve encore deux croix simples, blanches, et des traces d'une troisième croix. En G2, trois cercles, deux remplis en jaune et un troisième semblable au bouton central du fleuron, blanc avec érable rouge. G4 reprend les trois croix simples de tesselles blanches.

Figure 10

Détaille de l'axe central du panneau de mosaïque qui couvrait l'espace A. Cet axe correspond à l'actuel accès sud à la nef de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.



En ce qui concerne les cadres de ces figures géométriques, nous avons identifié cinq types différents, avec des variations au niveau du traitement chromatique sur deux d'entre eux: 1) la bande de carrés adjacents avec tesselles 4 x 4, alternés gris foncé et blanche; 2) la double bande détournée de carrés adjacents avec tesselles 4x4, alternés gris foncé et blanc ou jaune et blanc; 3) la bande de double dentelé bordé par filet blanc dans le dentelé à l'intérieur et du fil coloré dans le dentelé extérieur; 4) la bande composée de segments allongés de méandre coloré, alternativement jaune/rouge/vert sur fond blanc, qui se croisent formant sommets intérieurement occupés par des triangles gris foncé; 5) le filet dentelé simple en groupes de quatre tesselles.

Hexagones et pentagones, ensemble, définissent un total de 54 (6 x 9) champs rectangulaires dont nous ne connaissons, total ou partiellement, que 14.

De ces champs, seulement en 9 il est perceptible le motif représenté (A3, A9, C9, E3, G3, G5, G7, I3 et O3). Dans ces 9, nous avons au moins 7 motifs différents. Il y a un motif qui se répète avec certitude (C9/O3) et un autre dont la répétition, bien que possible, n'est pas entièrement sûre, compte tenu de l'état de destruction des deux (G5/G7). Ces sept motifs sont :

En A3: échiquier (Fig. 11), composé de carrés adjacents, tour à tour gris foncé et blanc, avec remplissage très irrégulière et des lacunes. L'échiquier est composé d'un carré avec 20 tesselles par côté, bordé, successivement, par un fil gris foncé simple, un fil blanc simple et un filet dentelé d'éléments irrégulièrement carrés. Le cadre extérieur de cet échiquier est similaire à celle de presque tous les autres champs quadrangulaires.

En A9 : Quadrilobe entrelacée (Blanchard et al. 1973: 25 n.° 61) (Fig. 12). Sur un fond blanc, figure quadrilobée, entrelacée, avec tous les lobes avec remplissage blanc et délimitée par un fil gris foncé. Deux des lobes, opposés, ont aussi un fil rouge - simple sur un côté, double de l'autre. Le quadrilobe est au centre d'un quadrilatère gris foncé, dont les sommets et le centre de chacun de ses côtés ont dessinés des triangles avec trois tesselles par côté, respectivement dans les échecs et en pleine, créant une projection de la figure trilobée pour l'extérieur (Fig. 13). Le cadre de ce champ est identique à celui de I3.



Figure 11
Échiquier (champ quadrangulaire
A3). Nef de l'église de Santa
Maria do Freixo.



Figure 12
Quadrilobe entrelacé
(champ quadrangulaire A9).
Nef de l'église de Santa
Maria do Freixo.

Figure 13

Détaille du coin nord-est de la nef de l'église où s'observe le pavé en mosaïque : gros plan d'une figure quadrilobée, fleuron et bande de petites fleurs en croix, adossant à un socle granitique contemporain de la mosaïque.



Figure 14

Nœud de Salomon (champ quadrangulaire C9). Nef de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.



Figure 15

champ quadrangulaire G5 avec cadre aux ondes. Nef de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.



coloré : dans le cas de crochets allongés, rouges dans un cas, vert dans l'autre; dans le cas du crochet rectangulaire, le fil est jaune. Le cadre extérieur de ce champ est similaire à celui de la plupart des champs rectangulaires.

En G3: Champ qui contient une figure géométrique dont il y en a qu'un lobe ou un crochet, démarqué par une succession de quatre lignes, successivement gris foncé, rouge, blanc et gris foncé encore une fois, tous simples à l'exception du blanc qui est double, autour d'un centre remplis de pièces blanches. Ce figure avance sur le quadrilatère qui l'encadre, et ceci est délimité par un filet simple gris foncé et remplis par deux autres, un jaune, simple, et l'autre blanc, double.

En G5/G7: il est commun à ces deux champs la présence d'une bande de vagues polychromes délinées gris foncé (Fig. 15), qui bordent un carré central. En G5, les vagues des sommets ont un remplissage blanc/rouge tandis que les côtés ont une alternance blanc/jaune et blanc/vert. G7, on a seulement deux vagues à deux sommets, le jeu des couleurs pourrait être le même, mais on peut seulement attester la présence du jaune au début de l'un des ondes latérales. Du champ central carré, rien est observé dans le G7. Mais en G5 s'est conservée une petite partie de celui-ci, délimité du gris foncé et remplis par des lignes diagonales formant les séquences gris/blanc/jaune et gris/blanc/rouge (et encore une fois gris/blanc/jaune ?).

En I3: Dans ce champ, duquel seulement la moitié est conservée, est représentée une figure apparemment quadrilobée dont s'observent trois lobes. Si elle représente la même figure qui apparaît représenté sur l'A9, son orientation est différente et, comme le nœud de Salomon présente en C9, elle a les mêmes lignes simples en diagonale gris foncé sur fond blanc, unissant la figure aux sommets du carré encadrent. Le cadre extérieur de ce champ est identique à ce qui est présent à A9.

En ce qui concerne les cadres des champs carrés, nous avons identifié quatre types différents : 1) est le plus commun, présent dans 8 des 13 champs dans lesquels il était possible de l'identifier (A3, A5, A7, C9, E3, E5, G3 et O3). Dans un carré délimité par un filet gris foncé, deux côtés opposés reçoivent un filet simple jaune ou double et un autre blanc, toujours double. Les deux autres côtés ont la même séquence, remplaçant le jaune par le rouge. Fermant intérieurement

le cadre deux autres filets, un blanc, triple, et un autre gris foncé, simple; 2) est présent dans deux autres domaines (A9 et I3) et se distingue de la précédente en raison du filet blanc, du jaune et du rouge, à triple filet, occupent tour à tour la moitié de chaque côté du carré qui délimite la champ central et le carré a toujours les sommets remplis de gris foncé; 3) est présente dans deux autres champs (G5 et G7): bande de vagues polychromes délinées de gris foncé, déjà décrites; 4) dans le cadre du champ G1 nous avons identifié un type non présent dans les autres champs carrés mais très commun dans les hexagones : la bande composé par des segments allongés de méandre coloré, alternativement jaune/rouge (et probablement aussi vert), sur un fond blanc, qui croisent formant des sommets remplis par des triangles gris foncés.

Espace B (Fig. 2, B)

La très petite zone conservée ne permet pas de reconstruire le thème présent dans ce compartiment. Et étant donné que cet espace n'a pas été entièrement fouillé ni défini, nous pouvons estimer seulement ses dimensions. Leur profondeur ne serait pas moins de 3,9 m. Sa largeur aurait au moins 4,5 m.

Dans la région fouillée, seule une petite partie de la chaussée contre le seuil de passage entre la nef et le sanctuaire, sous l'arc triomphal de l'actuel église, est conservée. Au total, sont conservés seulement environ 8 dm² de pavement en mosaïque.

Au-delà des tesselles blanches et gris foncée, identiques à celles utilisées dans l'espace A, ont été utilisées tesselles d'argile, comme dans le compartiment C.

En s'appuyant au seuil qui a servi de marche pour le passage entre les espaces A et B, il est possible d'observer qu'une bande de tesselles céramiques suivie d'une double bande mixte de carrés adjacents, alternant le gris foncé et le blanc (Fig. 16).

Ce qui s'observe en suite sera déjà le début d'une figure géométrique dont nous ne connaissons pas son remplissage. Aurait un cadre similaire à celle de certains hexagones et pentagones de l'espace A, avec une double bande de carrés adjacents, alternant la gris foncé et le blanc.



Figure 16
Marche entre le Sanctuaire et la nef de
l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.

Espace C (Fig. 2, C)

Un petit fragment semble indiquer un motif semblable à ce qui remplit les hexagones/pentagones de l'espace A, et nous avons mis la possibilité d'être une composition similaire. Aurait la même largeur que l'espace A (37 *palmi* = 8,14 mètres) pour environ 60 *palmi* (13,2 mètres) d'axe E-W.

En plus des tesselles blanches et gris foncées, identiques à celles utilisées dans le compartiment A, ont utilisé des tesselles d'argile, comme dans le compartiment B.

Dans un fragment, s'observe la bande de tesselles en céramique qui, comme l'espace B, marquait la fin de l'extérieur de la composition. Dans un autre fragment, sont seulement visibles 20 tesselles blanches, qui, par sa position relative, pourraient appartenir à une des bandes qui sont observées également en l'espace B. Le fragment identifié au milieu du parvis de l'église, bien que très petit, nous montre clairement ce qui reste d'un fleuron semblable à ces qui remplissent les pentagones et hexagones, qui font partie de la composition présente dans l'espace A.

Si cette hypothèse se confirme, cet espace pouvait étaler une composition orthogonale très similaire à celle observée dans la nef de l'église, en s'adaptant à la plus grande longueur de l'espace disponible. Au total, le compartiment aurait alors, en direction Est-Ouest, 5 bandes avec 1 pentagone + 9 hexagones + 1 pentagone ; perpendiculairement à ceux-ci, en direction nord-sud, 8 bandes de 1 pentagone + 4 hexagones + 1 pentagone.

4. Les mosaïques et son contexte historique et géographique : quelques réflexions

La découverte de mosaïques romaines dans le sous-sol des églises du Nord de Portugal et Galice n'est pas une nouveauté absolue, bien que les exemples connus puissent correspondre à des bâtiments et pavements avec une typologie et chronologie très diverse, soit distinct de ce à *Tongobriga* (Regueras Grande 2013), soit, probablement, très semblables (Fontes 2009).

Les mosaïques découvertes sous l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo ont été l'objet d'une première étude, datée de 2010, publiée en 2012 (Lima 2012) et très récemment publiée à nouveau (Lima 2016b).

Dans cet étude, nous signalons la possibilité d'être en face d'une maison, c'est-à-dire, une *domus* romaine, tardive, mais nous n'oublions pas de signaler les questions que cette interprétation soulève et de faire des suggestions alternatives émergeant de ce qu'on connaissait sur le contexte historique et archéologique du noyau urbain de *Tongobriga* à l'époque de sa construction, qui remonte au Vème siècle.

Ce contexte pointe vers l'existence, dans l'antiquité tardive, au local ou dans les environs, d'un premier temple chrétien, condition *sine qua non* pour *Tongobriga* comme primitive paroisse de la diocèse *portucalensis* dans le siècle suivant (David 1947: 30-40). Cela nous a fait penser sur la possibilité du bâtiment découvert sous l'actuel église avoir été adapté à telles fonctions, même quand nous reconnaissons que son plan – non totalement connu – n'avait pas correspondance avec les modèles connus des édifices destinés à un temple (Lima 2012: 44-46).

Il n'est possible, face aux données actuellement disponibles, démontrer de façon conclusive cette hypothèse, en particulier à cause de l'absence de preuves

irréfutables de la célébration d'actes liturgiques dans l'édifice pavée à mosaïque, soit au niveau du programme architectonique, soit au niveau des matériaux archéologiques. Ce qui nous oblige à pondérer tous les facteurs que on doit tenir en compte pour interpréter les mosaïques et le bâtiment pour lequel elles ont été faites.

Ses facteurs peuvent être groupés en quatre types : l'analyse formelle du plancher; le plan du bâtiment; le contexte local et le contexte régional.

a) Analyse formelle des mosaïques

La composition orthogonale qui organise la mosaïque de *Tongobriga* surgit en des horizons géographiques et chronologiques très différents: dans sa version plus simple et dichromatique, apparaît déjà à Pompéi et remonte aux origines de l'*opus tessellatum* (Oliveira 2010: 399) apparaît en versions plus élaborées, au moins depuis le II^{ème} siècle en mosaïques de contextes d'habitation romaines d'*Hispania* (*idem, ibidem*; Lopez Monteagudo 2002: note 43 et lame 5) et apparaît encore dans les panneaux de Ravenne, datés du milieu du VI^{ème} siècle (R. Fariolli Campanati, *apud* Oliveira 2010: I, 401).

Mais les mosaïques de *Tongobriga* ont clairement des affinités avec le groupe plus tardif de cet ensemble de parallèles, car s'intègrent pleinement dans une, déjà très évoluée, étape d'un processus qui se développe à partir du III^{ème} siècle, au cours duquel les figures géométriques qui remplissent les carrés se diversifie plus et les hexagones ont tendance à augmenter en taille jusqu'à qu'elle soit égale au côté carré, ce qui leur permet de recevoir la décoration (Oliveira 2010: I, 399).

Parmi les éléments décoratifs que les hexagones obtiennent, et qui se considèrent déjà caractéristiques des mosaïques du IV^{ème} siècle et suivants, on compte les fleurons longilignes qui apparaissent à *Tongobriga* déjà très élaborés et avec un traitement chromatique complexe, ce qui suggère une stylisation résultante de la maturation d'un long processus d'évolution.

En ce qui concerne les champs rectangulaires, brandissent des motifs décoratifs aussi très fréquents dans la mosaïque romaine et romaine tardive. S'il y a une caractéristique frappante dans la mosaïque de *Tongobriga*, c'est la diversité des motifs utilisés. On ne peut pas autrement que signaler l'utilisation de la paire quadrilobe/nœud de Salomon, dans des modèles très similaires et inséré dans une composition identique à Milreu (Oliveira 2010: II, estampe III); et encore à São Miguel de Odrinhas (Caetano 2008) un contexte généralement interprété comme tardif.

Peu significative pour nous clarifier le contexte historique et chronologie des mosaïques de *Tongobriga* est aussi la frise de «fleurs en croix», dont l'usage, très rebattue dans la mosaïque romaine pour remplir les bandes de rattachement au mur, ne sert d'indicateur chronologique. Il survient aussi fréquemment à Milreu dans des compositions du IV^{ème} siècle (Oliveira 2010: I, 363) et, bien que dans le cadre de la réutilisation, à la reconstruction de la Basilique de São Martinho de Dume et pourrait avoir appartenu à la période du primitif temple de l'époque suève (Fontes 2009: 187 fig. 5).

b) Plan du bâtiment

Dans l'étude que nous avons publié en 2012, en supposant le caractère tardif des mosaïques de *Tongobriga* et, par ça, les intégrant chronologiquement dans le

contexte des *vici* qui exerçaient le rôle de « paroisses » dans le cadre de l'organisation ecclésiastique du diocèse *portucalensis* dans la période correspondant au royaume suève, nous cherchons des parallèles avec le bâtiment identifié sous l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo entre ceux qui, pour la même époque, étaient déjà connus ailleurs dans le Nord-Ouest. Nous avons constaté que le bâtiment de *Tongobriga* n'était pas semblable à aucun d'eux ni correspondait à aucun des modèles connus de l'architecture religieuse paléochrétienne.

En revanche, la possibilité d'être une *domus* est toujours attractive. Mais la comparaison de ce bâtiment avec les autres exemples locaux de l'architecture domestique trouve un obstacle dans les dimensions de ses compartiments. En effet, sont déjà connus à *Tongobriga* plusieurs exemples de *domus*, dont l'architecture est basée sur des modèles importés qui pourraient servir de référence.

Si l'on tient en compte uniquement les espaces couverts des *domus*, ses *cubicula* ne dépassent jamais, à *Tongobriga*, les 12 - 13 m² d'aire. Même les plus grands compartiments, comme le possible *triclinium* de la « Maison de l'*Impluvium* », arrivent seulement à 19 m².

Admettant la possibilité des espaces découverts, comme l'*atrium* des maisons avec *patio* central, peuvent aussi recevoir pavement de mosaïque et aussi servir comme référence, les grandes zones des *domus* augmentent considérablement, arrivent aux 45 m² dans ce qu'on appelle la « Maison du Puits » ou 32 m² dans la « Maison de l'*Impluvium* ». En tout cas, nous sommes loin des compartiments avec plancher en mosaïque découvertes dans le sous-sol de l'église de Santa Maria, lesquels atteignent des valeurs prochaines ou même le double de quelque autre espace domestique de la *Tongobriga* romaine - respectivement, 89,54m² et 107,45 m².

Ayant ce facteur en compte, lequel suggère se traiter d'un grand bâtiment placé au centre géographique et topographique du noyau urbain murillé, pas comparable, en dimensions, aux restants *domus* à *Tongobriga*, la possibilité d'être un bâtiment érigé par l'élite local avec d'autres fonctions, pas les fonctions d'une simple habitation, gagne force.

c) Contexte local

Plus par le contexte archéologique local – en particulier par les espaces qu'il occupe et les transformations qui a impliqué dans le tissu urbain et sur les bâtiments préexistants - que par parallèles artistiques et architecturales, nous ne pouvons pas dater les mosaïques et l'immeuble auquel elles appartiennent d'une époque antérieure au Vème siècle.

Il a été possible de constater que les matériaux qui se produisent dans le fossé de fondation de la paroi Sud de l'espace central (espace A) de l'édifice pavée de mosaïque pointent un *terminus post quem* pour la construction au début du Vème siècle; et un petit mais significatif verre, recueilli dans une des couches de préparation pour la fixation du même panneau de mosaïque, a une chronologie qui pointe vers le «Bas-Empire ou Haut Moyen Age»¹.

Ce bâtiment est dans le centre du périmètre fortifié qui a toujours constitué l'espace habité de *Tongobriga* (Fig. 17); c'est aussi un lieu topographiquement détaché, avec un grand espace utilitaire qui a fait du « *rossio* » (parvis, place)

¹ L'analyse et la classification chronologique du verre en question se doivent à la Dr. Jeannette U. Smith Nolen.

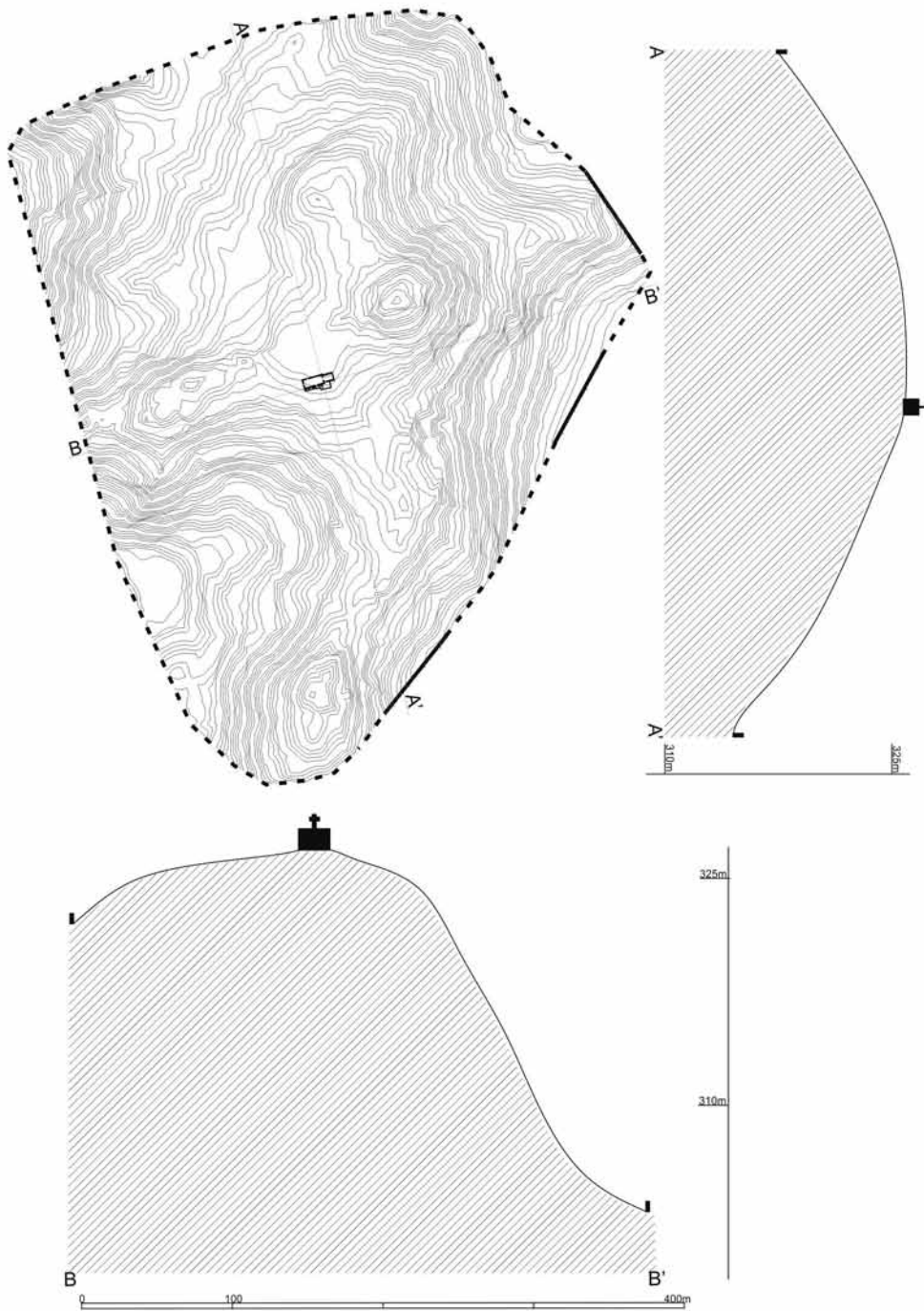


Figure 17
Topographie de l'espace murailé
de Tongobriga avec implantation
de l'église de Santa Maria do
Freixo (plan et profile).

de l'église une zone de choix: voici comment nous pouvons définir en quelques mots, l'environnement de l'église de Santa Maria (Fig. 18).

Les matériaux provenant de contexte stratigraphique fermé, relatives à la dernière fois d'utilisation d'une *domus* (appelée « *Domus* au Sud de l'Église ») partiellement démantelée pour la construction du bâtiment pavé de mosaïque, ne dépassent pas la seconde moitié du IV^{ème} siècle ou la première moitié du V^{ème} siècle et, par ça, ce dernier lui doit être postérieur.

La même chronologie (seconde moitié du IV^{ème} / V^{ème} siècle) pour les tombes plus tardives qui composent la vaste nécropole « dehors les portes » (Dias 1997: 119-126), qui nous indiquent également un *terminus post quem* pour les tombes les plus anciennes identifiées dans l'aire de l'église (Lima 2003). Du point de



Figure 18
Église de Santa Maria do Freixo
(Marco de Canaveses).

vu chronologique, cette question est déterminant, sauf si on pose l'hypothèse de, pendant un période indéterminé de temps, avoir eu une utilisation simultanée d'une nécropole «dehors les portes» et un cimetière à l'intérieur de l'espace habité.

La mise en œuvre de l'immeuble qui se trouve sous l'église de la paroisse de Freixo soulève encore un autre problème : celui de la continuité du tissu urbain qui aura orienté le développement des nouveaux bâtiments à *Tongobriga* au moins depuis le II^{ème} siècle. Ce réseau, dont la mesure standard serait l'*actus quadratus*, fait de l'exact endroit où ce bâtiment se trouve l'intersection des deux axes (*cardus* et *decumanus maximus* ?) (Rocha et al. 2015: 97). Ce qui signifie que l'édification de cet espace comportait un de deux changements structurels : ou une roture avec la stratégie précédente de construction urbaine ou, au moins, la modification de la physionomie dans la zone du noyau central de l'espace habité, ce qui serait conforme à la promotion comme le centre civique du village, au détriment de la zone du *forum*.

Ce phénomène de la cessation de la capacité (et/ou la volonté) d'investissement dans le *forum* est guidé vers la seconde moitié du V^{ème} siècle, ce qui est d'accord avec les autres indicateurs chronologiques que nous avons recueillis.

En bref, la simple analyse formelle de la mise en œuvre du bâtiment identifié sous l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo et aussi l'analyse de sa relation avec les bâtiments environnants, et aussi le changement des stratégies de puissance

qui représente la construction, à cet endroit, d'un bâtiment prestigieux, ouvrage d'une élite locale, remarquent que la mosaïque faire partie d'une intervention urbaine du Vème siècle.

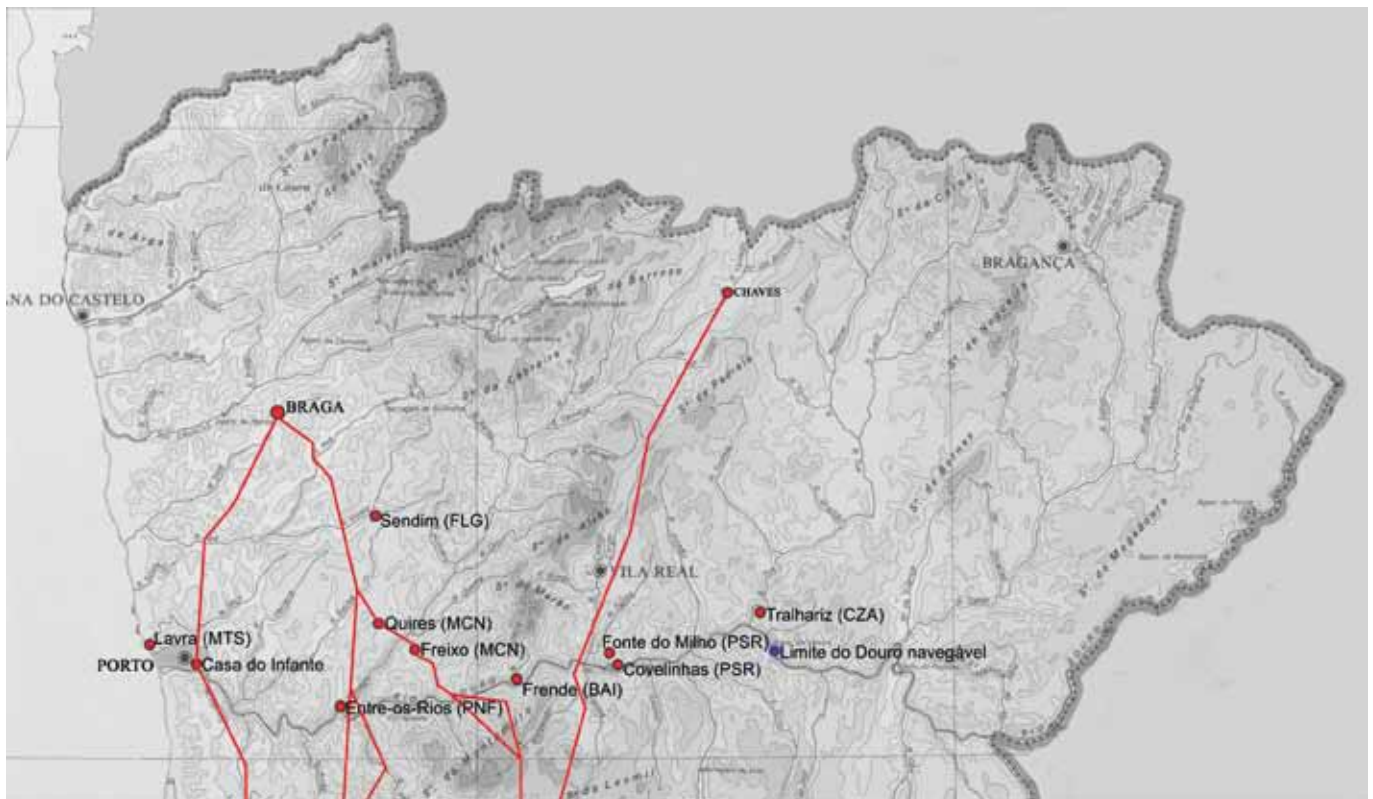
d) Contexte régional

Vème siècle après J.-C. *Conventus bracaraugustanus*, tout près du Douro, la limite méridionale de *Callaecia* et frontière de la province de *Lusitania*. Voici l'espace et le temps dont nous devons situer le contexte de la construction des mosaïques polychromes identifiées dans le sous-sol de l'église de Santa Maria do Freixo.

Comme dans d'autres centres urbains, dans cette région et au-delà, est une période de profondes transformations. La vitalité de la vie urbaine semble rester uniquement dans les villes qui sont promus à siège du diocèse et, en autre échelle, dans les centres urbains secondaires qui seraient transformés en extensions rurales du pouvoir épiscopalien, plus tard appelé sièges des « paroisses suèves ». Dans ces dernières, comme à *Tongobriga*, la construction d'un grand bâtiment revêtu de mosaïque est en contradiction avec la tendance pour la plupart de ces transformations, indicateurs d'un manque de qualité constructive, perte de vitalité économique et désinvestissement dans les bâtiments publics.

Est, en revanche, une époque dont la vallée du Douro, Douro navigable en particulier, est très loin de s'avoir transformé, à la fin de l'Empire, dans une région isolée et économiquement déprimée. Capable, d'après Strabon, d'être navigué par grands navires sur une distance de quasi 800 «stades» (*Geographica*, 3.3.4.) et considéré par Pline-le-Vieux comme «l'un des grands fleuves d'*Hispania*» (*Plin.nat.* 4.112 *apud* Guerra 1995), le fleuve Douro était une voie de pénétration à partir de l'Océan Atlantique et aussi un canal de drainage des produits de l'*hinterland* et de contacts commerciaux et aussi culturels.

Figure 19
Localisation des mosaïques connues dans le cours terminal du Douro (Douro navigable) avec représentation schématique du tracé des principales voies romaines (*Bracara Augusta – Olisippo*, *Bracara Augusta – Emerita Augusta* et *Aquae Flaviae - Vissaium*).



C'est ce contexte géographique qui permet la compréhension des plusieurs vecteurs qui caractérisent le parcours terminal du Douro dans l'Antiquité Tardive, tant sur le plan de la présence de matériaux importés, tant en ce qui concerne les différentes manifestations artistiques qui indiquent une grande ouverture – sociale, économique et culturel – à l'Atlantique, aussi à l'Afrique du Nord et à la Méditerranée Orientale, ouverture qui a été sans doute stimulée par un commerce fluvial florissant, particulièrement active à partir du Vème siècle.

Est le moment où se produisent, dans cette région, les premiers indices, souvent indirects, de la diffusion du christianisme dans les zones rurales. C'est aussi l'époque où les enterrements envahissent l'espace d'habitation, bien qu'il soit encore nécessaire de préciser comment les deux phénomènes s'imbriquent.

Contrairement à ce qui semble réussir dans le Haut-Douro (Cortez 1946) au-delà de la montagne du Marão et du Douro navigable, conformément aux différents matrices de peuplement, les mosaïques du cours terminal de ce fleuve sont principalement associées avec des noyaux de peuplement urbain (*vici* et *civitates*), quelques d'entre eux étaient lieux saillant durant la période du royaume suève (Almeida 1986: 19; Fernandes 1997: 71), possèdent une chronologie généralement tardive (Almeida 1975 : 38; Maciel 1996: 164-166) et présentent des motifs décoratifs de nature géométrique et/ou végétal (Fig. 19).

Sera l'intégration des mosaïques de *Tongobriga* dans ce contexte économique et social et dans l'ensemble des manifestations tardives de survivance des élites hispano-romaines en des agglomérations urbaines secondaires du Vème siècle qu'on doit chercher la compréhension de leur signification.

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The Geometric Themes in the Mosaics of the Religious Complex of Mértola (Portugal)

Mértola Dini Kompleksi (Portekiz) Mozaiklerindeki Geometrik Temalar

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Abstract

The Settlement of Mértola dates from at least the end of the second or early first millennium BC. In the so-called Iron Age, possibly in the third century BC, a walled enclosure with a total length of about 4 kilometres was constructed. This is equivalent to a fortified area of 173 acres. During the period of Roman domination, the city of Mirtylis minted coins and was an important trading port with an important set of structures, such as the forum or the castellum, some private residences and production sites within its walls.

In the late fourth century AD, when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, important civil structures were built in Mértola, such as the tower near the river, and religious facilities such as funeral basilicas and a mausoleum. The sacred area developed on the platform of the old forum where, together with two imposing baptisteries, the mosaic fragments were found.

Despite the scarcity of dating elements for the mosaics in Mértola, it would appear that they belong to the sixth century, a historical period in which the members of the community were buried with their epitaphs written in Greek, possibly because of the influence of tastes and fashions from the Byzantine East. During this and the next century, two important basilicas and a mausoleum were built in the suburbs of the city. On the forum, a set of religious buildings would therefore mark the Christian topography of Mértola.

Keywords: Mosaic, religious complex, Late Antiquity, Mértola, Portugal.

Öz

Mértola yerleşimi, en erken İÖ 2. binyılın sonu veya İÖ 1. binyılın başlarına tarihlenmektedir. Demir Çağı olarak adlandırılan, muhtemelen İÖ 3. yüzyılda, yaklaşık 4 kilometre uzunluğundaki bir sur duvarıyla muhafaza edilmiştir. Bu, 173 dönümlük kuvvetlendirilmiş bir alana eşdeğerdir. Roma egemenliği döneminde Mirtylis şehri sikke basmış ve sur duvarları içinde bazı özel konutlar ve üretim alanları ile forum ya da kastellum gibi önemli yapıların bulunduğu önemli bir ticaret limanı olmuştur. İS 4. yüzyılda, Hıristiyanlık Roma İmparatorluğu'nun resmi dini haline geldiğinde, Mértola'da önemli sivil mimarlık faaliyetleri gerçekleştirilmiştir: Nehrin yakınında bir kule ve cenaze törenleri için kullanılan bir bazilika ve mausoleum gibi dini tesisler inşa edilmiştir. Eski forumun platformunda gelişen ve iki adet ihtişamlı baptisteriumu olan kutsal alanda mozaik kalıntıları tespit edilmiştir. Mértola'daki mozaikler için tarihlendirme unsurlarının kütüğüne karşın bunların 6. yüzyıla ait oldukları düşünülmektedir. Çünkü bu tarihlerde, muhtemelen Doğu Bizans'tan gelen beğeni ve moda etkisi ile toplum üyeleri Grekçe yazılmış epitaphları ile birlikte gömülmüştür. Bu yüzyıl ve sonraki yüzyıl boyunca şehrin banliyölerinde iki önemli mausoleum ve bir bazilika inşa edilmiştir. Forumda bir dizi dini yapı, Mértola'nın Hıristiyan topografyasına işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mozaik, dini kompleks, Geç Antik, Mértola, Portekiz.

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Historical context

The small town of Mértola is located in the south of Portugal, in Alentejo, near the mountain range of the Algarve. The history of the city was always strongly conditioned by two factors that shaped its occupation and its importance over time. First, its strategic location: deployed on top of a hill delimited/ bordered by the Guadiana River to the east, and the Oeiras River to the west, it had excellent natural defence conditions. Second, it was the last navigable point of the Guadiana river: upstream of the village, the geological formation of Pulo do Lobo, with a gap of fourteen meters, prevented the progression of vessels to the north, so that Mértola acquired a fundamental importance as the last port of the river. These factors made it an important commercial warehouse in constant contact with a wide internal territory and the Mediterranean Sea. It was from the port of this city that the gold, silver and copper extracted from the bowels of the Iberian Pyrite belt left for Rome – in particular the minerals from the mines of S. Domingos, located on the left bank of the Guadiana, and Vipasca (Aljustrel), also known as “iron hats”. Of course, not only people arrived at the port, but also the most diverse products and artefacts from all over the Roman Empire.

In Mértola, excavations of the old *forum* were carried out in the late 20th century and the first years of the 21st century, uncovering a baptismal set consisting of two monumental baptismal fonts of more than 4 meters length and 1.2 and 5.8 meters depth, and a porticoed corridor based on the dome of the *cryptoporticus*. A *cryptoporticus* is a semi-buried structure that sustains an artificial platform and consists of a domed galleria, 32 meters in length and with an average width and height of, respectively, 2 and 7 meters. The floor of the porticoed gallery and deambulatory were covered by beautiful mosaics, from which

Figure 1
Mértola and the Guadiana River.



some fragments still remain in situ. These mosaics show several mythological representations, among which are Bellerophon riding Pegasus in order to kill Chimera in the deambulatory of the baptistery, two affronted lions and several hunting scenes with a rider wielding a hawk in the long porticoed hallway (Lopes 2003).

The Mosaics

A fragment of a mosaic representing a turtle had already been discovered in the fortress area at the end of the 19th century in an excavation led by the archaeologist Estácio da Veiga (Veiga 1983). However, it was only at the beginning of the year 2000 that the team of *Campo Arqueológico de Mértola* (CAM), brought to light and treated, a long mosaic pavement where a significant set of decorative panels are noteworthy.

Various mythological representations make up this mosaic collection amongst which the following should be highlighted: firstly, situated in the baptistery of the deambulatory, is Bellerophon riding Pegasus to kill Chimera, then in the long portico corridor, two lions facing each other and various hunting scenes with a knight holding a falcon. When looking for parallels for these representations, we should not leave out a reference to a small chapel near Hergla in Tunisia, where a mosaic was discovered, that also portrayed two lions facing each other and a hunting scene with falconry. This collection was dated as coming from the sixth century (Ghalia 2001: 67).

As to the figure of Bellerophon killing Chimera, this scene had, till now, only been found in the Roman city of Conimbriga, but it is relatively frequent in various places in Spain and Tunisia, where its chronology is also linked to the beginning of the sixth century. According to Bairrão Oleiro, this scene of combat between a knight and a monster is, in a certain way, the iconographic forerunner of Saint George killing the dragon (Oleiro 1992: 41).

The plant motifs represented are floral leaf patterns (these predominate) acanthus and roses. The former seems to have a slight indication of landscape, whilst the latter, in a stylized, repeated fashion, appear in the borders of the mosaic panels. The floral motifs allude to Paradise. Temples and basilicas are adorned with flowers; the mosaics of Rome and Ravenna represent the delights of Paradise (Cirlot 1982: 339).

The geometric motifs such as the cornucopia, Solomon's knot, the circles and the *peltae* are well known in the decorative grammar of the mosaics from the late Roman period and persist in later mosaic representations.

Rather than highlighting the similarities, it is necessary to highlight the differences. The mosaics in Mértola are distinguished by the late Roman mosaic language until now known within Portugal, by the themes and by the fine techniques used, certainly denoting influences not only from North Africa but also the type from Ravenna, influenced by the Byzantine taste.

A closer analysis of the mosaics in the baptismal complex in *Myrtilis*, allows one to realize that due to the form and quality of the *tesserae*, the cutting techniques and the way in which they are placed, the programme of work would have been contemporaneous, following the rules of one and the same project. Not to exclude the possibility of having been the same team of mosaicists, certainly coming from the eastern Mediterranean, who carried out this work. If the lack of parallels makes a secure chronology unfeasible, stratigraphic readings allow one to attribute this work to the first half of the 6th century. In this



Figure 2
The religious complex of Mértola in Late Antiquity.

Figure 3
Panel of lions facing.





Figure 4
Hunting scene with hawk.

period, the city of *Myrtilis* and its traders were in contact with all the ports of the Mediterranean, namely with the Middle East, the origin of several individuals buried in the Paleo-Christian Basilica of Rossio do Carmo and in the recently discovered mausoleum.

The Visitors' Circuit around the castle's fortress in Mértola was inaugurated on 25th March 2009. There is a lot projected in this work that will allow organized visits and correct viewing of the mosaics and baptistery as well as access to the *cryptoporticus*. Furthermore, this intervention has also motivated an *in situ* conservation programme and restoration of the mosaics on the surface. The project now set up to give value to this area, will allow people to walk around and will contribute to the protection of the existing structures.

The Rossio do Carmo Basilica

It was possible to detect the existence of glass and limestone *tesserae* in one of the tombs during the course of the excavations that were carried out in 1990 in the north nave of the Paleo-Christian Basilica in Mértola. In most cases, these were separated from their original setting. Merely a fragment remains attached to the original mortar of the setting. Only a small amount of *tesserae* were found *in situ* in the upper part of a tomb, situated in the north entrance to the basilica. The various glass and limestone *tesserae*, as well as the small fragments found in layers of rubble on the north side of the basilica, leads to the assumption that various tombs of this basilica could have had a mosaic covering (Lopes 2003: 122).

The Mausoleum's Mosaics

The work to upgrade the commercial area in Mértola that took place between March 2008 and February 2009, uncovered an important set of archaeological remains from various periods in the area outside the city walls.

Due to this work, a set of monumental structures embedded in the rocky land were uncovered. They were situated approximately 500 metres to the north of Paleo-Christian Basilica under the present Marques Duque Cinema and Theatre and belonged to the crypt of a mausoleum from Late Antiquity. Some aspects, like the discovery of an ogee arch decorated with a band of Greek crosses dating from the 6th century, indicate that a richly decorated temple of a considerable size would have been built over it.

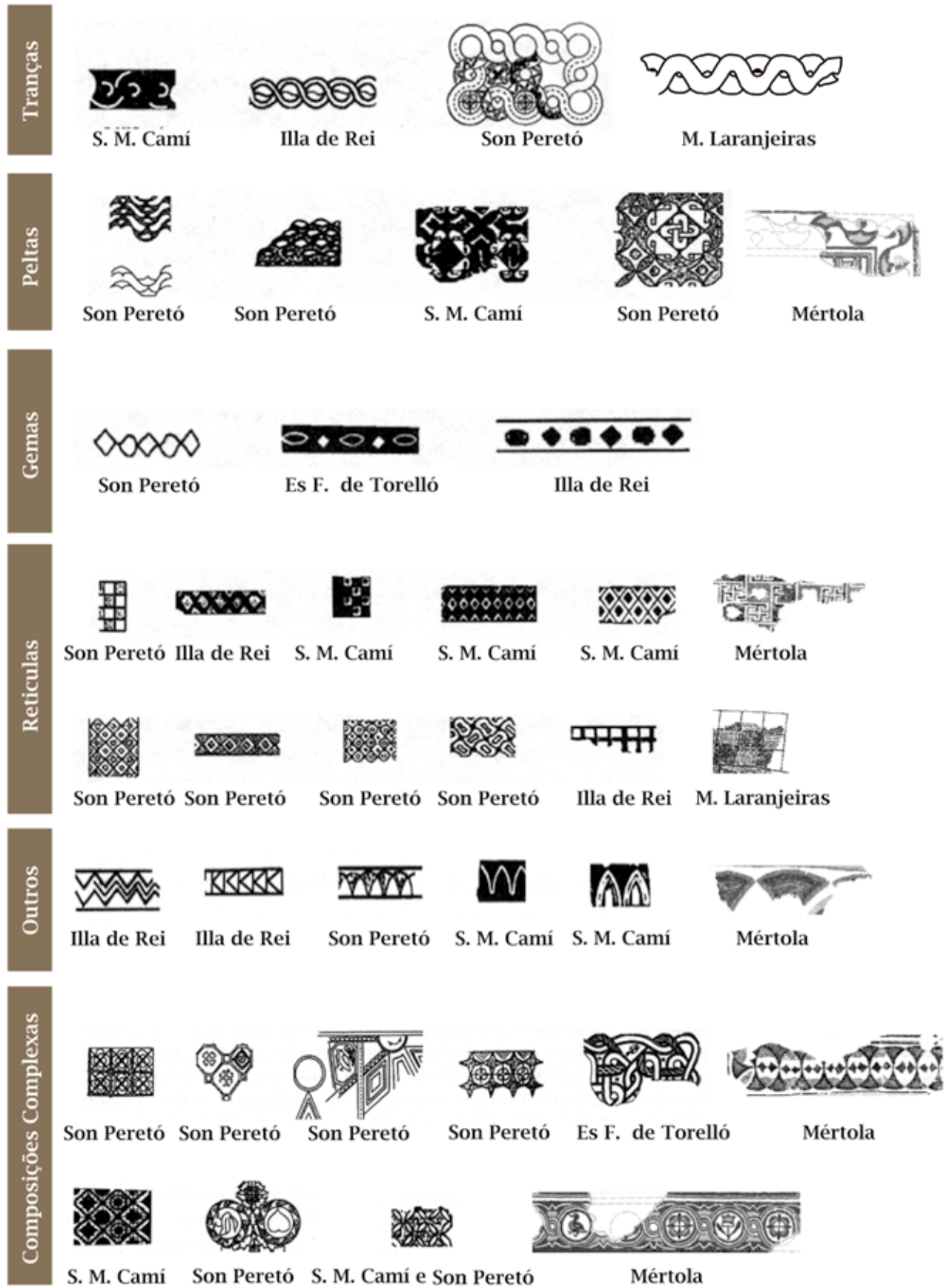
It was only possible to document part of the building, which would have extended from East to West, as it had been badly destroyed by later constructions in both sectors.

The rooms, situated to the east and the south of the crypt on the level of the pavements, had three rectangular tombs, dug out of the rock in an east west direction. An intact tomb has survived. It has an *opus signinum* mortar covering, similar to the burials excavated in the Rossio do Carmo Basilica and in the area of the Marques Duque Cinema and Theatre. We think that we are in the presence of a privileged burial ground due to its size, the treatment given to the covering and the prominence of the place it occupies.

The crypt was finally filled up with materials coming from the funereal area itself (*tegulae, inbrex*, surfaces decorated with polychromatic paintings, small fragments of polychrome mosaics and other construction materials). A considerable



Figure 5
Hunting scene.



Geometric motifs in Hispanic mosaics (adapted from Sánchez Vizcaino, 2009)

Figure 6
Geometric motifs in Mértola.

Figure 7
Geometric motifs in
Hispanic mosaics.



set of tombstones dating from the turn of the 6th century AD is to be highlighted. Three of which are written with Greek letters (Lopes 2014). Information relating to the mosaics is scarce. We can only refer that the tesserae used were of limestone, but we cannot say what the decorative component was.

Conclusion

This mosaic collection includes several mythological representations, among which we should emphasize a Bellerophon riding Pegasus to slay the Chimera at the baptistery deambulatory, and two affronted lions and various hunting scenes with a knight holding a falcon in the long porticoed gallery, (Lopes 2014). We found similar representations in a small chapel near Hergla, in Tunisia, in which a mosaic depicting two affronted lions and a hunting scene with falcons was discovered – a set dated from the sixth century AD (Ghalia 2001: 153).

As regards the representation of Bellerophon, slaying the Chimera, in the Portuguese territory this scene was only known, so far, at the Roman city of Conimbriga, but it is quite common in various places in Spain and Tunisia, where its chronology is also close to the early sixth century. According to Bairrão Oleiro this combat scene between a knight and a monster is, in a way, an iconographic prefiguration of Saint George slaying the dragon. Following a closer analysis of the mosaics found at the *Myrtilis* baptismal compound, we find that the work programme was contemporary and belonged to the same consistent project, judging from the form and quality of the *tesserae*, the cutting technique and the method of application. The same mosaic experts could have done the entire work, certainly from the Eastern Mediterranean. The lack of well-dated parallels makes it impossible to establish a found chronology but the work may be dated from the first half of the sixth century, considering the stratigraphic readings and the stylistic traits. At that time the city of *Myrtilis* and its merchants were in contact with all ports of the Mediterranean, namely the Near East, whence came several persons buried at the Paleo-Christian Basilica of Rossio do Carmo.

Research enabled us to conclude that the mosaics of the baptismal ensemble of *Myrtilis* followed the same working programme, as the layout of the motifs and the placement of the *tesserae* are similar in all of them. Also similar are the size



Figure 8
 Historical topography of Mértola in late Antiquity (1. Mausoleum, 2. Basilica of Rossio do Carmo, 3. Basilica Cineteatro, 4. Religious complex, 5. Baptistry II, 6. Temple before the mosque).

of the tesserae, the chosen colours and the number used for figure composition, as well as the scale of the ensembles. Figures have also been treated similarly and so have the geometric motifs. Plant-like motifs are repeated in the three major groups, namely in the Bellephoron mosaic, in a mosaic found at the Basilica and in the hunting scene. In view of these drivers, we think that the same group of mosaic experts executed all these mosaics. However, the absence of exact well-dated parallels renders a safe dating impossible for the time being. We may find several stylistic influences from mosaic ensembles of Northern Africa and even of the byzantine Eastern Mediterranean, certainly related with the importance of the Mértola's port and its merchants in Late Roman trade routes. According to the available data, the mosaics were executed within a time frame ranging from the late fifth to the early sixth century, matching the heyday of Byzantine influence in Southern Iberia and the Balearic Islands (Gouber 1944; 1945; 1946a and 1994b; and, more recently, Vizcaíno Sánchez 2009).

The themes of these traces fits the decorative grammar of Christian and Byzantine mosaics, as in the turtle case, the hunting scene and the Bellephoron myth, as demonstrated by various analyses and comparisons. These mosaics surely belonged to a temple, of which the most significant elements are baptisteries II, key pieces in the ideological promotion of the new cult and places of reference for the believers and I. More importantly, they stood on top of the *forum* structures, symbols of power in the Roman period, thus symbolically indicating a change of protagonists with regard to local authority. We can look for mosaic parallels in distant Mediterranean locations, but we must remember the examples available at the Balearic Islands, which differ from the Mértola's panels concerning the

technical quality of execution. Although the themes of compared cases share the same decorative grammar, the execution quality of Mértola's mosaics deserves to be stressed. As demonstrated above, certain technical details and decorative elements suggest that they were made by the same team of mosaic craftsmen probably from the Eastern Mediterranean.

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Du concept de *Praeparatio Euangelica* à la christianisation de l'art, notamment dans le choix des sujets iconographiques de la mosaïque romaine

Roma Mozaïği'nin İkonografik Konularının Seçiminde Sanatın Hıristiyanlaştırılması; *Praeparatio Euangelica* Kavramı

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Abstract

From the Concept of Praeparatio Euangelica to the Christianization of Art, Especially in the Choice of Iconographic Subjects of the Roman Mosaic

As the Latin phrase in the above title says, the passage from paganism to Christianity does not arise ex machina, but it is also prepared through the continuous experience of religiosity in pagan contexts. There is a preparation that is said to be evangelical, because little by little and in many ways, the Christian Good News reaches the whole Roman Empire. This is visible in the evolution of classical art, especially in the mosaic, with the best examples, among other significant myths, of Orpheus's story. Hence the importance of new approaches to classical myths, namely in their representation in opus musivum.

Keywords: Roman art, mosaic, "praeparatio euangelica", Paleo-Christian art.

Öz

Yukarıda adı geçen Latince deyim, çok tanrılı dinden Hıristiyanlığa giden yolun "ex machina"dan değil, aynı zamanda çok tanrılı dinlerde süreklilik gösteren dindarlık deneyiminden geçtiğini ifade etmektedir. Evangelist olduğu söylenen bir oluşum küçük küçük ve pek çok yolla Hıristiyan vahiylerini, tüm Roma İmparatorluğu'na ulaştırmaktadır. Bu klasik sanatın evriminde, özellikle en iyi örnekleri mozaik sanatında, diğer anlamlı mitlerin arasında bilhassa Orpheus'un hikayesinde görülebilir. Dolayısıyla klasik mitlere yeni yaklaşımların önemi, yani "opus musivum'da" temsil edilmeleri ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma sanatı, mozaik, "praeparatio euangelica", Paleo-Hıristiyan sanatı.

La quête du chercheur sur la motivation des commanditaires et/ou des artistes de la mosaïque romaine, qui les amenait à reproduire dans les pavements certains thèmes de la mythologie classique ou des scènes du quotidien, débouche sur une autre question: ceux-là étaient-ils ou pas des actants influencés, directement ou indirectement, par les nouvelles propositions philosophiques et idéologiques issues de l'Orient, avec une prééminence grandissante du christianisme?

L'approche de cette question trouve dans la diégèse ou narration des textes, non seulement classiques mais aussi néotestamentaires et patristiques, la principale explication du choix de la thématique iconographique de l'expression de la mosaïque romaine: les sujets traditionnels, parce que vécus au quotidien, sont assumés par la population en général comme significatifs de la *uirtus* humaine ouverte constamment à de nouvelles significations, où convergent signes, symboles et attributs.

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Le christianisme assume progressivement ces signes, symboles et attributs, parce qu'à travers eux, c'est-à-dire à travers l'art, il peut exprimer également son message. Au centre de ce dynamisme se trouve l'acceptation de la représentation formelle que le christianisme fait des mythologies.

Si les mythes gréco-romains peuvent être envisagés comme l'annonce du futur message chrétien, à l'instar d'Eusèbe de Césarée dans son œuvre *Praeparatio Evangelica*, au début du IV^{ème} siècle, nous pourrions en conclure de même au sujet du message apporté par sa représentation iconographique. En effet, l'art paléochrétien est formellement de l'art romain.

Nous sommes devant une nouvelle méthodologie d'étude de sujets de la mosaïque romaine formellement païens, mais dont l'idéologie converge avec les propositions chrétiennes où rejaillit, aussi en Lusitanie, le cas du choix de sujets orphiques. Eusèbe de Césarée, historien et évêque ayant vécu à l'époque de la tolérance à l'égard du christianisme, caractéristique du gouvernement de l'empereur Constantin le Grand, définit ainsi la Bonne Nouvelle chrétienne (*Praep.* 1.1): « L'Évangile est ce qui annonce à tous les hommes la présence des biens célestes et incomparables, prédits autrefois, et qui ont régénéré depuis peu tout le genre humain ».

Selon cet apologiste, dans la ligne indiquée par Clément d'Alexandrie (fin du II^{ème} siècle apr. J.-C.), l'Évangile est proposé aux hommes initialement au sein de la communauté judaïque et ensuite au monde païen des Grecs et des Barbares. Le judaïsme avait déjà transmis à ces derniers ses dogmes essentiels. Platon est indiqué par Eusèbe comme représentatif de l'acceptation des dogmes des Hébreux. L'évêque de Césarée rapporte que ce philosophe grec cite les mêmes exemples bibliques sur les œuvres de Dieu propagées par des allégories telles que l'image du Bon Pasteur (*Praep.* 1.43-52). L'allégorie du Bon Pasteur se rapproche, à son tour, de l'image du chanteur thrace: « Orphée, fils d'Œagre, a été, dit-on, le premier des Égyptiens qui, ayant transporté avec lui les mystères de ce peuple, les a communiqués aux Grecs ». Autrement dit, les Grecs se trouvent à la fois sous l'influence des mystères égyptiens et des allégories hébraïques (*Praep.* 1.6).

L'approche la plus claire, néanmoins, survient quand Socrate et Platon réfléchissent à la Divinité. Eusèbe la caractérise comme la Providence qui préside l'Univers. Si les Grecs reçoivent l'influence des Égyptiens et des Juifs, les premiers chrétiens édifient une *paideia* spécifique développée par les apologistes, en démontrant que les chrétiens sont capables autant d'admirer que de s'insérer dans la philosophie et l'art classiques. C'est surtout à l'époque constantinienne que se manifestent les grands Pères de l'Église qui nous apparaissent comme des apologistes et même comme des représentants du classicisme.

Encore selon Eusèbe (*Praep.* 1.13), Clément d'Alexandrie « prouve par des exemples que ce qu'il y a eu de mieux dit par les Grecs est totalement en harmonie avec les dogmes chrétiens. Les Grecs et les Barbares, qui ont reçu le Verbe du Sauveur avec sincérité et sans dissimulation, ont atteint une philosophie si élevée qu'ils célèbrent et proclament comme Divinité le seul Dieu Très-Haut. Fertilisé par la force divine, le Verbe susmentionné a soustrait au paganisme, comme d'une nuit ténébreuse, les Grecs et les Barbares, pour faire étinceler sur eux le Soleil de l'Intelligence et la Lumière Vive ».

Clément d'Alexandrie est l'auteur chrétien qui rend le mieux compte de cette interaction d'allégories. Dans les *Stromata* 5, 14, il affirme que « nous sommes tous frères, comme enfants d'un seul Dieu, éduqués par un seul Maître ». Dans



Figure 1
Mosaïque orphique de Arnal,
Leiria, Portugal.

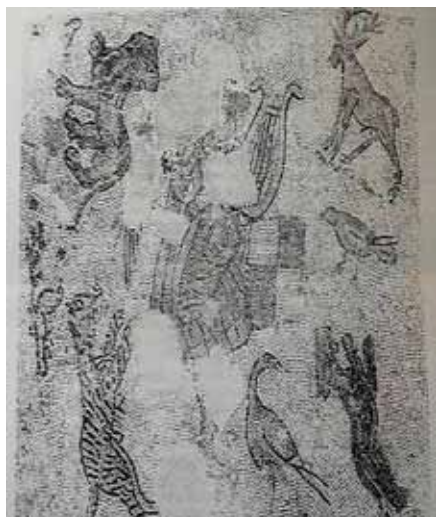


Figure 2
Mosaïque orphique de Martim Gil,
Leiria Portugal.



Figure 3
Mosaïque orphique de Jérusalem,
Museum Archéologique de Topkapi,
Istanbul, Turquie.

l'apparent syncrétisme sous-jacent de ces comportements, où se détache la dimension religieuse de l'art, les mythes, les fables et/ou les allégories apparaissent comme l'entendement culturel et varié d'un Logos, d'un Verbe qui est unique, d'une force divine qui domine le Grand Ciel avec ses Feux, où tout est parfait et embrasse tout ce qui existe, le feu, l'eau et la terre.

Ceci se traduit par l'interaction entre le mythe et le Logos, dans la construction de récits qui révèlent des origines ou des héritages communs par la voie de l'oralité. Ce sont des histoires longues qui, notamment dans l'art de la mosaïque, ne peuvent se limiter aux espaces construits des *uillae*, *domus*, *balnea* et des portiques. On y représente uniquement des aperçus sur le film des récits, en règle générale les plus significatifs à plusieurs niveaux, qui rappellent à l'observateur tout un ensemble d'histoires entendues depuis l'enfance. André Grabar appelle ces aperçus des images-signes. Elles correspondent à un moment du récit que le récepteur connaissait bien, qu'il soit païen, juif ou chrétien. Ainsi, au travers de ces images-signes, les signifiants (les formes) interagissaient avec les signifiés (les contenus) et ainsi se développaient des dialogues, attitudes, modèles et comportements au-delà de l'appel des images.

Le cas d'Orphée est un des meilleurs exemples du dynamisme de la *Praeparatio Euangelica*, du fait qu'il s'agit d'un des mythes originaux du paganisme et du classicisme parvenu à être considéré comme un symbole judaïque, lié aux Psaumes messianiques du roi David et à l'image-signé du Christ Chanteur.

Dans sa précieuse étude de la mosaïque de Blanzky-les-Fismes (Aisne, France), Henri Stern propose le classement des mosaïques orphiques en deux types élargis (Stern 1955: 41-77): type I, où la figure d'Orphée se présente isolée par rapport aux animaux, et type II, où tous apparaissent ensemble – le premier type prédominant en Gaule et en Germanie, le second dans le reste des parties occidentales de l'Empire romain.

Considérons d'abord une mosaïque disparue, la mosaïque de l'Arnal 2 (Maceira, Leiria). Elle s'insère formellement dans le type II de Stern, caractérisée par la présentation d'animaux à l'intérieur d'un grand panneau ou d'un pseudo-*emblemata*. Avant de disparaître quelque part en Angleterre, elle a été dessinée et décrite par J. Martin, dans « *Illustrated London News* » de septembre 1857, 254.

Orphée apparaît dans ce panneau assis sur un rocher, avec une tunique à longues manches, un *pallium* et des sandales. Il porte un bonnet phrygien et joue d'une lyre à sept cordes.

Les huit animaux représentés, dans un espace cruciforme dont Orphée occupe le centre, sont en dessus une panthère, du côté gauche un loup et un sanglier, du côté droit, un cerf et un lièvre ainsi qu'un renard appuyé sur le rocher du héros thrace; en bas prennent place deux daims. Dans les coins du panneau apparaissent les quatre *Horae* ou Saisons. L'espace semi-circulaire annexe à la partie quadrangulaire où était posé le pavement de mosaïque avec la scène orphique, nous rappelle que cette mosaïque décorait un *stibadium*.

La mosaïque orphique de Martim Gil (Marrazes, Leiria) appartient également au type II. Découverte aussi au XIX^{ème} siècle, en 1897, elle était intégrée à une architecture dont les données ont été enregistrées, ce qui a renforcé l'idée selon laquelle les deux mosaïques étaient très proches dans la manière dont elles étaient montées, les deux étant très probablement adaptées à un *stibadium*.

De même, sur cette seconde mosaïque, Orphée nous apparaît habillé à l'orientale, avec un oiseau de paradis posé sur son bras droit, probablement un paon à

longue queue. Du côté gauche, sur le haut du tapis, un lion s'éloigne, en tournant toutefois encore la tête vers la scène orphique. Toujours sur le haut, mais à droite, s'observe un cerf. De chaque côté figure un oiseau et à la base une tigresse, une aigrette et un renard tournoyant, soit huit animaux, à l'instar de la mosaïque de l'Arnal. Celle-ci présente un animal exotique. Celle de Martim Gil, deux. Les autres animaux sont représentatifs de la faune ibérique.

Orphée s'appuie sur un solide en forme de cube qui nous apparaît de face en quatre carrés dessinés par les médianes. C'est sur ce même solide qu'il pose sa lyre ovale aux quatre cordes symboliques. Le nombre d'animaux rappelle l'ogdoade, qui consacre le nombre huit comme parfait et favori du christianisme.

Les connotations paradisiaques sont démontrées avec la représentation de la scène d'Orphée jouant de la lyre à proximité des sources, dans les *diaetae* et les jardins, notamment dans le cadre d'environnements de relaxation thermale et d'architecture domestique, soit dans les *domus*, soit dans les *uillae*, figurée dans les *triclinia* et leurs *stibadia*; dans ce dernier cas, les salles sont en interaction avec les espaces de réunion chrétienne. L'intégration architecturale de ces deux mosaïques orphiques se réalise dans la jonction dynamique des formes quadrangulaire et semi-circulaire, posant la question de l'accroissement de l'utilisation de l'abside dans l'Antiquité tardive, surtout dans les *uillae*.

Le *paradeisos* orphique était idéalisé par l'image-signe d'Orphée inséré dans un paysage et jouant de la lyre, entouré d'animaux sauvages qui s'approchent pacifiquement pour écouter sa musique. Le fait que ces deux mosaïques puissent être païennes ou chrétiennes ou concomitamment être idéalisées dans les différents contextes de l'Antiquité tardive, nous aide à élargir et à approfondir notre compréhension de la signification de l'image d'Orphée et d'autres figures mythologiques. Le phénomène de la christianisation est long, et une réflexion approfondie exige de la pondération aussi dans la projection séculière.

Rien ne prouve que les mosaïques d'Orphée auxquelles nous faisons référence soient chrétiennes ou pas. Elles ne comportent aucune marque démontrant formellement les intentions de leur création, au-delà de l'acceptation du fait que leur expression est pluri-signifiante. En effet, il s'agit d'images qui accompagneront et se développeront en même temps que les propositions chrétiennes issues de la période des persécutions et de l'Edit de Tolérance.

De toute évidence, c'est l'Orphée de Jérusalem qui vient à la rencontre de « l'*interpretatio christiana* » de ces images-signes orphiques qui s'intègrent parfaitement au sein du dynamisme syncrétiste de l'art de l'Antiquité tardive. Sur cette mosaïque, découverte en 1901 et conservée aujourd'hui dans le Musée archéologique de Topkapi à Istanbul, la référence chrétienne est indiscutable du fait que l'image recouvrait le pavement d'une chapelle funéraire chrétienne. C'est aussi une image-signe du point d'arrivée que constitue l'acceptation complète de la signification du mythe par des élites chrétiennes, qui semblent intégrer et récupérer les fantaisies d'autres mythes par le choix de deux personnages fantastiques: le centaure Chiron s'appuyant sur son *pedum* et Pan (qui n'est pas un satyre, mais se trouve en compagnie des satyres), portant la syrinx suspendue à sa poitrine. Ici, le choix des animaux entourant Orphée est singulier: en dessus sont figurés un mouton, un serpent et une mangouste; au centre, à droite, un petit oiseau, puis toujours au centre mais à gauche, un ours et un aigle. Celui-ci porte une croix suspendue à son cou. Au bas du tapis, le centaure Chiron, un nouvel oiseau et un lièvre côtoient Pan. Orphée se présente avec une tenue orientale, percutant de son plectre une lyre à huit cordes. Le petit détail du collier de l'aigle exhibant une croix en pendentif est à souligner, corroborant indubitablement

le contexte chrétien de la mosaïque, datée de l'époque byzantine, du siècle de Justinien (VI^{ème} siècle).

Dans une première conclusion, rappelons le texte de l'auteur de la *Praeparatio Euangelica* applicable à Orphée (30.11) qui dit à Jupiter: « C'est vous qui agitez les vents, couvrez de nuages le théâtre entier du monde, en déchirant le vaste sein de l'air avec les sillons de vos éclairs. Les astres vous doivent l'ordre qui les régit; vos émissaires infatigables entourent votre trône de feu. Ce sont eux qui ont le devoir de régler tout ce qui s'exécute entre les mortels: grâce à vous, le Printemps brille dans un étincellement nouveau au milieu des fleurs pourpres; grâce à vous, l'Hiver parcourt de ses nuages gelés, les régions où il y a peu Bromius distribuait aux bacchantes les fruits qu'il avait reçus ».

L'association des Saisons à Orphée est visible sur la mosaïque de l'Arnal et dans les textes plus ou moins contemporains, permettant de lier les deux mythes: celui des *Horae* et celui d'Orphée. Il existe d'autres associations, comme la relation entre *Horae* et Apollon, cette relation englobant d'autres divinités du temps, comme le rapporte le poète Ovide, dans ses *Métamorphoses*, II, 24-30:

« Phœbé ... se trouvait entouré des Jours, des Mois, des Années, des Siècles et des *Horae*, à des intervalles réguliers. À ses côtés, debout, le jeune Printemps, ceint d'une couronne de fleurs, l'Été dénudé avec une couronne d'épis, l'Automne, sali par les raisins écrasés, et l'Hiver glacial, aux cheveux blancs hirsutes ».

C'est également une autre œuvre d'Eusèbe de Césarée, en hommage à son empereur contemporain Constantin, qui permet de mieux comprendre cette harmonie des *Tempora*, à laquelle ont contribué la musique, le chant et la dynamique apollinienne d'Orphée, annonçant, dans le contexte de la *Praeparatio Euangelica*, le futur triomphe du christianisme. Eusèbe dit à Constantin, au début du IV^{ème} siècle, que « les Grecs chantent dans leurs fables qu'Orphée a apprivoisé autrefois, par ses chansons, les animaux les plus féroces. Ils disent communément, entre eux, qu'un instrument inanimé a eu la force de changer la nature de ces animaux et de transplanter les arbres d'un endroit à l'autre – et que le peuple est trop simple pour croire des histoires aussi incroyables. Le Verbe de Dieu a produit une musique et une harmonie infiniment plus excellentes, en ayant décidé d'apporter un remède salutaire aux maux de l'homme, aussi graves soient-ils. Il a pris en main un instrument que sa sagesse avait inventé, un corps et une âme, et en percutant cet instrument en une performance incomparable, il a enchanté non les bêtes mais les hommes, il a apprivoisé les Grecs et les Barbares » (*Laudes Constantini*, 14).

Dans une seconde conclusion, nous vérifions que le désir de *redemptio* conduit à la recherche de nouveaux cheminements et comportements, pratiquée à l'intérieur de la religion et de la philosophie, en exerçant la *uirtus* afin d'atteindre la victoire et la consécration intérieures, même à travers la croyance dans les *mythoi*. Le christianisme s'impose progressivement par la typologie des valeurs qu'il présente. Son annonce passait par la réflexion sur la signification de l'appel de la *Praeparatio Euangelica* et par le dynamisme de la signification des images-signes divulgués notamment à travers leur représentation sur mosaïque.

Nous avons donné l'exemple fondamental des représentations d'Orphée jouant de la lyre, entouré d'animaux, dans les mosaïques romaines. Nous pouvons également faire référence à des images-signes qui connotent progressivement des aspects significatifs du christianisme, en ayant comme acteurs des personnages de la mythologie traditionnellement classique, tels qu'Apollon, Hercule, Jupiter,

Neptune, Thésée et la représentation du Labyrinthe de Crète, les Saisons, Ulysse et les Sirènes, Bellérophon et la Chimère, Méléagre, Persée et autres dieux et héros déifiés. Ce sont des mythes qui ont été vécus dans une tension symbolique au fil de l'Antiquité. Les auteurs chrétiens de l'époque patristique les appelaient allégories.

Nous avons remarqué que la figuration d'Orphée dans la mosaïque romaine constitue l'exemple le plus représentatif et le plus original de cette réalité. Le Christ est pour les chrétiens du IV^{ème} siècle le nouvel Apollon, mais il ne possède pas autant de représentations qu'Orphée. Et nous pourrions établir d'autres comparaisons.

A cela contribuent la richesse du message, l'amour du héros à l'égard d'Eurydice et la variété énorme des typologies des êtres, objets, paysages, vêtements; y oeuvrent aussi la tenue d'Orphée et ses couleurs, le type de point d'appui du musicien, les typologies de la lyre et son point d'appui, les emplacements où Orphée et les animaux sont en relation ainsi que l'énorme variété d'animaux exotiques et de faunes locales. Enfin, le scénario paradisiaque, qui nous accapare tous, sert de référent pour le passé et l'avenir.

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East versus West in the Iconography of Roman Mosaics: Selected Examples of Shared Themes

Roma Mozaiklerinin İkonografisinde Doğu Batı'ya Karşı: Ortak Konulardan Seçilmiş Örnekler

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Abstract

This article deals with a few different artistic themes represented by mosaicists in both the eastern and western halves of the Roman empire. The themes I discuss are the Triumph of Dionysos and the subject of the hunt, both of which were popular primarily for decorating the main reception room of private homes. Dionysos's triumph evokes worldly happiness and prosperity, and the hunt, of either realistic or mythological type, reflects a popular aristocratic pastime as well as the manly quality of courage in the face of danger, or virtue. In general, the direction of artistic influence flowed from west to east, but in at least one instance, the trend in imagery moved in the opposite direction. It is shown how eastern and western craftsmen developed regional preferences in the ways they depicted the shared themes, partly shaped by local historical and economic circumstances.

Keywords: *Dionysos, triumph, hunt, virtue, Meleager.*

Öz

Bu makale, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun doğu ve batı yarısında mozaik sanatçıları tarafından yansıtılan birkaç sanatsal konu ile ilgilenmektedir. Benim burada ele aldığım öncelikli olarak özel konutların ana giriş odalarının dekorasyonu için yaygın olan Dionysos'un zaferi ve av konularıdır. Dionysos'un zaferi, dünyevi mutluluğu ve refahı anımsatmaktadır. Gerçekçi ya da mitolojik yöntemlerden birine sahip avlama ise yaygın aristokratik eğlencenin yanında, virtue ya da tehlikenin yüzündeki cesaretin erkeğe özgü niteliklerini de yansıtmaktadır. Genel olarak, sanatsal etkinin yönü batıdan doğuya doğru ilerlemektedir. Fakat, en az bir durumda imgelerdeki akım zıt yönde etkilenmiştir. Doğu ve batı zanaatkarlarının, yerel tarihi ve ekonomik durumlar tarafından kısmen şekillenen ortaklaşa konuları resmettiği biçimde, bölgesel tercihlerin nasıl geliştiği gösterilmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: *Dionysos, zafer, av, virtue, Meleager.*

Numerous iconographic themes were represented by mosaicists in both the eastern and western halves of the empire over a period of several centuries**. Some subjects were transmitted from west to east with relatively few changes in the content of the imagery, whereas other themes underwent significant adaptation. One means of transmission was model books which circulated among workshops but are now lost. In other instances, itinerant craftsmen brought their knowledge with them when they traveled abroad to execute commissions.

The Triumph of Dionysos

The first of two themes I wish to consider in this article is the Triumph of Dionysos, a mythological subject of great popularity for decorating primarily private homes in both regions of the empire, specifically, a building's *triclinium*

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Figure 1
Écija, Mosaic with Triumph of
Dionysos. Écija, Museo Histórica
Municipal. Photo courtesy of
Sebastian Vargas Vázquez

or main reception room. At least one other example occurs in a public bath building. Other scholars have analyzed this subject's representation in mosaics¹, and I shall try to clarify the east-west relationship in the imagery, being very selective about the examples discussed. The theme of the wine god's triumphant return from his conquest of India began appearing in Roman mosaics in the 2nd century CE, and it experienced a gradual development, influenced in part by Roman imperial art. In early representations, Dionysos stands alone or with a mythical companion in a centaur-driven chariot, which passes over the land or sea. The entire group occupies a single panel, often placed within a larger pavement that includes other mythological and allegorical individuals. This iconography first appeared in the western empire in both North Africa and Spain and then spread eastward to the Greek world. An early example is found in a large mosaic that decorated the Baths of Trajan at Acholla (Picard 1948: 810-815 fig. 1; Yacoub 1995: 30-33 fig. 5a, 5b) in Tunisia. It shows the chariot group of Dionysos, who holds a wine vessel, and a pair of centaurs in a panel surrounded by a procession of sea-creatures; busts of the seasons also punctuated the design. The god is understood as a cosmocratic figure having universal powers of fertility.

Two Spanish mosaics of the second half of the 2nd century retain the format of a centralized panel with the triumphant Dionysos. In one case, a pavement from Alcolea (Garcia y Bellido 1965: 2-6 fig. 2-13; Tarradell 1969: 95, 97, 230-231

¹ See, e.g., Dunbabin 1971; Fernández-Galiano 1984; Kondoleon 1994: 191-229; López Monteagudo 1998: 191-222; Yacoub 1995: 48-54.

no. 73 fig. on 95; López Monteagudo 1998: 191, 200-202), members of the *thiasos* are shown standing in separate panels around the victorious deity, while heads of wind gods occur in the mosaic's corners. The overall arrangement suggests a Dionysiac procession on land, and the deity's power to bring prosperity is symbolized by large ivy leaves and grape leaves placed in the composition's intervals. The cosmic importance of Dionysos is expressed differently in a fragmentary mosaic from Écija (López Monteagudo 1998: 191-194 pl. 1,1, 1,2; Vargas Vázquez 2014: 25-26 pl. 5), in which Dionysos and his chariot appear in frontal view in a large central medallion, and the god wears a long robe; his wagon is pulled by two pairs of centaurs like a *quadriga* (Fig. 1). Season busts occupy flanking panels, as do Dionysiac masks, and various mythological figures fill other compartments. It is an elaborate scheme focused on the *triumphator*.

When eastern mosaicists of the 2nd century began illustrating the Triumph of Dionysos, they too showed Dionysos and his centaur-guided chariot in frontal view, and they initially preferred to represent these figures in a marine setting. A satyr now accompanies the god in his chariot. In a pavement from Corinth (Weinberg 1960: 114, 117-118 pl. 54, 57,1), it is a pair of sea-panthers that pulls the wagon flanked by centaurs (there also are single Erotes in adjacent panels), whereas a mosaic from Dion (Pandermalis 1997: 56-59, col. photos on 56-57, 59) substitutes hippocamps for panthers. The half-nude Dionysos in the latter pavement holds a *rhyton* in one hand and a *thyrsos* in the other hand, as Silenos, wearing a woolen *chiton*, rides in the chariot beside him. The overall presentation in the Dion mosaic recalls African mosaics depicting the Triumph of Neptune, such as a pavement of Antonine date from La Chebba (Parrish 1984: 201-204 pl. 66b-68; Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1995: 49, 134 fig. 22a-b, 23-24, 90-91; Yacoub 1995: 149-151 fig. 70a-d), discussed in this context by G. López Monteagudo.

A key change in the iconography of Dionysos's Triumph in Roman mosaics occurred in the late 2nd century to early 3rd century, when this subject usually appeared in an expanded format, presenting a procession on land with new types of figures participating. This development clearly shows the influence of sarcophagi of Dionysiac content produced in Rome, as has been previously demonstrated. Of the many Dionysiac sarcophagi inventoried by F. Matz, one of the most impressive is an example kept in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (Matz 1968: 231-233 no. 95 pl. 116-120), and dated by the author to the years 170-180 CE (Fig. 2). The frieze with the Triumph of Dionysos is a riotous, rightward-moving procession that shows the god standing in a chariot at the left end, fully draped in a long robe and with a laurel crown and *thyrsos*; he is accompanied by Victory, in imitation of Roman imperial triumphs. The wagon is pulled by a pair of panthers led by a satyr, and other satyrs and maenads, as well as Silenos and a few more felines join the throng. One maenad gaily strikes a *tympanon*. Also present are exotic animals, elephants and a camel, and one of the former bears a bound Indian captive.

This enriched iconography had a direct impact on mosaics in the west, especially in North Africa and Spain, and also spread eastward with regional adaptations. A fine African example is a pavement from Sousse (Yacoub 1995: 49 fig. 13) in Tunisia dated to the beginning of the 3rd century, in which Dionysos, fully draped and with a crown of bunches of grapes, stands in a chariot drawn by four tigers, as Victory stands beside him holding a palm branch (Fig. 3). Leading the chariot is a satyr, now partly missing, and a dancing maenad strikes a tambourine; a vase-carrying satyr and additional felines also are visible. Surrounding the tableau is a lush grapevine with vintaging Erotes, emphasizing the notion of



Figure 2
Rome, Sarcophagus with
Triumph of Dionysos. Baltimore,
Walters Art Museum.



Figure 3
Sousse, Maison du Virgile, Mosaic
with Triumph of Dionysos. Tunis,
Musée du Bardo.

worldly abundance brought by the god. Another African mosaic of late 3rd-century date from Sétif (Blanchard-Lemée 2005: 294-299 fig. 4-8) in Algeria echoes the Baltimore sarcophagus more fully (Fig. 4). Dionysos and Victory appear at the left end in a chariot drawn by tigers, in this case led by Pan. Further ahead in the cortège appear not only an elephant, but also two bound captives riding on the back of a camel as other, royal prisoners walk alongside. Silenos, fully draped and with a tall staff, precedes this group. A lush acanthus border with inhabited scrolls, appearing on a dark ground, frames the entire scene².

Eastern mosaicists adopted these innovations for representing Dionysos's triumph in varying degrees, adding original features of their own. An abbreviated

² Stylistically, the Sétif mosaic seems related to Syrian pavements, specifically, in the treatment of the acanthus border, showing inhabited scrolls against a black ground; see W. Daszewski's remarks about the Sétif mosaic, Blanchard-Lemée 2005: 301. Although eastern craftsmen may have influenced, or even executed, the Sétif floor, the iconography of the Dionysiac procession is purely western in origin.



Figure 4
Sétif, Mosaic with Triumph
of Dionysos. Djemila,
Musée archéologique.



Figure 5
Zeugma, Mosaic with Triumph
of Dionysos. Gaziantep,
Archaeological Museum.

version of western models is observed in a pavement of the late 2nd to early 3rd century from Zeugma (Önal 2002: 18-21 fig. on 19; Abadie-Reynal – Ergeç 2012: 240-241 fig. 271-272 (upper part); 260-261 (Tapis 4, Tableau 1) fig. 297-299 pl. 47) (Fig. 5). It is almost like a quotation of the central part of the pavement from Sousse (Fig. 3), but with figures' names inscribed in Greek. In the Turkish floor, Dionysos, nimbed, richly draped in a long belted tunic and cloak, and holding a *thyrsos*, stands in a chariot pulled by a pair of tigers, as Nike rides alongside. Here, however, instead of crowning the god, Nike grasps the reins of the wagon, and a maenad labeled *Bacche* dances in front.

Other eastern mosaicists excluded Nike from the triumphal chariot and showed the wine god centrally placed in a procession, with members of his entourage spread out to either side. This can be seen in a pavement from the House of Dionysos at Paphos (Kondoleon 1994: 191-205 fig. 119-120, 126-127, front of book's dustcover), published by C. Kondoleon and also referred to by G. López



Figure 6
Paphos, House of Dionysos,
Mosaic with Triumph of
Dionysos. *In situ*.



Figure 7
Paphos, House of Dionysos,
Mosaic with Triumph of Dionysos,
detail of central group.

Monteagudo (Fig. 6). In a symmetrical arrangement, Dionysos, seen in three-quarter view, sits in his chariot pulled by a pair of leopards and guided by Silenos (who wears a woolen garment), as a satyr with a wine crater tries to enter the vehicle (Fig. 7, detail of the central group). The god is framed by standing satyrs and maenads, in addition to Pan and two bound Indian captives, placed at regular intervals on either side of the chariot. The design appears static rather than moving forward. A horizontal frieze with Dionysos in the middle also occurs in a contemporary mosaic from Antioch (Levi 1947: 93-99, fig. 36-38, pl. XV,c; Cimok 1995: 36-37, fig. on these pages), of which only the center and left half are preserved (Fig. 8). In this case, Dionysos's chariot is seen from the front, as members of the *thiasos*, including Pan, appear on the left. We finally mention a fragmentary mosaic from Sepphoris (Talgam – Weiss 2004: 63-66 fig. 48 col. pl. I,A), of which only the first part of the triumphal procession, inscribed *Pompe*, remains. Here nimbed Dionysos reclines in a chariot pulled by music-playing centaurs, a pose also adopted by the god on some sarcophagi³, and the procession moves leftward.

³ Cf. sarcophagi from the Villa Doria Pamphili and the Villa Savoia in Rome, Matz 1968: 279-280, no. 142, pl. 170,1; no. 146, pl. 171,2; no. 148, pl. 168,1.

In the late antique period of the 4th and 5th centuries, the regional distinctions between eastern and western representations of Dionysos's Triumph become more pronounced. In the west, the previous iconographic developments persist in colorful fashion, as for example, in an early 4th-century mosaic from Torre de Palma (Guardia Pons 1992: 267-270 fig. 118; Lancha – André 2000: 175-179 pls. LXV-LXXII, a), showing a crowded procession of the god's followers, including Pan and a maenad sounding small round cymbals, customary objects of the *thiasos*; Dionysos rides in his chariot on the left accompanied by a satyr. The imagery conveys the uninhibited joy of the celebrants without making specific allusions to religious practice. A much more condensed version of the triumph appears in a 5th-century pavement from Baños de Valdearados⁴, displaying the nude Dionysos and a satyr riding in a chariot drawn by two panthers, as a maenad holding a *flabellum* stands alongside. The naïve, provincial style of the mosaic, emphasizing frontal poses of the figures, is striking.

By contrast, some eastern mosaics introduced novel references to the Dionysiac mysteries, seeming to reflect the continued vitality of the pagan cult in the eastern empire. A new type of Silenos appears, for example, in a pavement at Nea Paphos (Daszewski 1985: 24-27 pl. 3-4 fig. 3, lower left corner) published by W. Daszewski (Fig. 9). We see the bearded and balding Silenos in unfamiliar dress as part of the Triumph of Dionysos, riding a donkey next to the wine god's chariot, pulled by a centaur and centauress with musical instruments (one of them holds a lyre), and preceded by a maenad with a ritualistic object. The Silenos, labeled *Tropheus*, meaning Dionysos's teacher or tutor and foster father, wears close-fitting trousers, shoes, and a short tunic and cloak and has a thoughtful expression like a philosopher. He is an original figure type who has artistic parallels

Figure 8
Antioch, Mosaic with Triumph
of Dionysos, center and left half.
Antakya, Archaeological Museum.



⁴ See Fernández-Galiano 1984: 107-108 fig. 6; Guardia Pons 1992: 121 fig. 39 (lower part), 40.



Figure 9
Nea Paphos, House of Aion,
Mosaic with Triumph of
Dionysos. *In situ*.

in various eastern monuments, such as a 4th-century Coptic textile⁵ representing members of the *thiasos*, including the same type of Silenos (Fig. 10). In this instance, he holds a baton or scourge with a small pouch at the end, apparently an instrument of the mysteries, and he stands framed by an arch. J. Balty identified the same sort of Silenos in a 6th-century mosaic from an aristocratic house at Sarrîn (Balty 1990: 37-44 pl. IX,3 and col pl. C,2) on the Syrian frontier, in which this individual dances with cymbals in the mysteries, alongside a nurse holding a *februum* (Fig. 11, one section of the mosaic). A *cista mystica* appears in the background.



Figure 10
Coptic textile with members
of *thiasos*, detail of Silenos.
Riggisberg, Abegg Stiftung.

Another late antique mosaic from the east makes a clear reference to the Dionysiac mysteries epigraphically rather than visually. It is a pavement from Sheikh-Zuweid (Ovadia et al. 1991, 181-190 pl. 22; 23d; 24; 25a-c) in the Sinai peninsula, dated by A. Ovadia and his colleagues to the mid-4th to mid-5th centuries, of which the latter date is the more likely (Fig. 12). In two superimposed registers, there appears a very full depiction of the Triumph of Dionysos, beginning at the left end of the upper register and continuing to the right end of the lower register. Greek inscriptions identify the participants. In the upper corner appears Dionysos fully draped and seated in a chariot drawn by a pair of centaurs with musical instruments; holding the reins is Eros. Immediately above the winged child is the word *Telete* (Fig. 13), a direct reference to the mysteries also found in some earlier eastern mosaics of Dionysiac content. These include mosaics from Zeugma and an unknown site, from which it passed into a private collection. As explained in a thoughtful article by K. Dunbabin, the word *telete* has associations both with Dionysiac initiation and the ritual of marriage⁶. The rest of the procession in the Sheikh-Zuweid floor includes several satyrs and maenads, as well as Pan, who shakes a pair of *crotala*, Silenos in traditional garb, and the drunken Herakles. The fact that the word *telete* appears in this late pavement may be further evidence of the mysteries' persistent practice in various regions of the eastern empire.



Figure 11
Sarrîn, Mosaic with Dionysiac
thiasos, detail of Silenos. *In situ*.

⁵ Kept in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg. See Willers 1987: 10, 21-22 fig. on far left of wall hanging, and here described as a figure in peasant dress.

⁶ On this point generally, see Dunbabin 2008: 217-221.



Figure 12
Sheikh-Zuweid, House of
Nestor, Mosaic with Triumph of
Dionysos. *In situ*.



Figure 13
Sheikh-Zuweid, Mosaic with
Triumph of Dionysos, detail of
Dionysos and Eros.

In the cosmopolitan capital of Constantinople, however, practice of the Dionysiac religion had been vanquished by Christianity in the 5th century, although Dionysiac imagery remained popular among the educated social elite as part of their classical heritage. That includes representations of the Triumph of Dionysos, as depicted in a fragmentary mosaic from the Psamatia district of Constantinople (Dalgıç 2015), recently published by Ö. Dalgıç and dated to the second half of the 5th century. The pavement, which ornamented a large reception room in a private house, had a circular format with a central medallion showing the god and a now missing figure (thought to be Ariadne) riding in a chariot drawn by four panthers, all seen in frontal view (Fig. 14, a reconstruction drawing by the author). Around the medallion unfolded a frieze of the *thiasos*, its members dancing and making music ecstatically; one observes, for example, a maenad sounding long-handled *crotala*. The most intriguing figure in the procession is a male flutist dressed in contemporary eastern costume of purely secular type that includes a tunic, cloak, and Phrygian cap (Fig. 15). In Dalgıç's view, the presence of this non-mythological figure in a mosaic representing Dionysos's triumph reflects human reenactment of the

thiasos, as a type of theatrical entertainment that took place in private homes (Dalgıç 2015: 47).

In the early 5th century in the west, there occurs one other striking development in mosaic imagery of the Triumph of Dionysos, namely, a reversal in the direction of artistic influence in representing this theme, now flowing from east to west. It occurs in the Dionysos panel ornamenting the *triclinium* of the villa at Noheda (Valero Tévar 2013: 325, 328-329 [Panel D] fig. 19) in Spain, excavated by M. A. Valero Tévar (Fig. 16, center and left half of the mosaic). In eastern fashion, there appears a large frieze of nearly symmetrical design, with Dionysos's chariot appearing in the middle in frontal view, and the *thiasos* extending outward in symmetrical fashion to the left and right. The design recalls earlier mosaics from Paphos (Fig. 6) and Antioch (Fig. 8). At Noheda, the chariot is pulled by two pairs of music-making centaurs. To be sure, the central group has a western antecedent at Écija (Fig. 1), but the design of the frieze as a whole seems eastern-derived. The pavement is a fusion of eastern and western artistic elements, including the identity of the riders in the chariot, respectively,



Figure 14
Constantinople, Mosaic with Dionysiac procession, reconstruction drawing of central medallion (Ö. Dalgıç). Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.



Figure 15
Constantinople, Mosaic with Dionysiac procession, detail of flute player.



Figure 16
Noheda, Mosaic panel with Triumph of Dionysos, detail of center and left half, *In situ*.

Victory on Dionysos's right and a damaged figure thought to be Ariadne on his left. Among the numerous merry-makers in the *thiasos* are torch-bearing satyrs and a sprightly Pan with long-handled *crotala* at the left end, who is paralleled in the pavement from Sheikh-Zuweid (Fig. 12). The Noheda mosaic blends several iconographic strands in representing the Triumph of Dionysos.

The Theme of the Hunt

We turn now to a second popular theme in mosaics of both the eastern and western halves of the empire, namely, the hunt, reflecting a favorite pastime of the aristocratic elite and exemplifying the notion of *virtus*. It was represented most often, like Dionysos's triumph, in the main reception room of private houses or a location nearby. This subject was first closely examined in mosaics by I. Lavin (Lavin 1963) in a groundbreaking article published in 1963. Hunting imagery of the Roman era had many antecedents in Hellenistic Greek art⁷, and it also was influenced by imperial Roman iconography⁸. Eastern and western mosaicists illustrated this subject either in a panel with a single row of figures, a composition in multiple registers, or a centralized design. The theme enjoyed special favor in the middle and later empire.

Hunting imagery in various contexts, both realistic and mythological, conveys the pleasure and exhilaration of the sport as well as the courage and cunning of the hunter. It also is sometimes associated with staged hunts in the amphitheater or *venationes* sponsored by the mosaic patron. The particular emphasis varies from one pavement to another. An early hunting mosaic of western origin is a 3rd-century pavement from El Jem (Yacoub 1995: 251-252 fig. 129) in Tunisia

Figure 17
El Jem, Mosaic of hare hunt.
Tunis, Musée du Bardo.



⁷ Cf., e.g., pebble mosaics of a Lion Hunt and a Stag Hunt from Pella, Ling 1998: 21-23 fig. 12-13, and sculpted hunting reliefs on the Alexander Sarcophagus, Ridgway 1990: 43 pl. 10, 12.

⁸ See, e.g., the Hadrianic hunting reliefs on the Arch of Constantine.



Figure 18
Villa of La Olmeda, Mosaic
with hunting scenes. *In situ*.
Photo courtesy of Fernando
Regueras Grande.

representing a hare hunt on a private estate in three stages (Fig. 17). It begins above with the hunters' departure on horseback and on foot in the upper register, followed by cornering of the prey with hounds in the middle zone, and finally the hunters' pursuit of the hare at full speed in the lower register. The triumphant gesture of the cavalier in the lower left corner, throwing open one arm as he looks out, is a common motif in African pavements and is paralleled on Roman sarcophagi.

In a later mosaic of 4th-century date in the main reception room of the Villa of La Olmeda (Regueras Grande 2013: 96 pl. 61), one observes a tableau of violent big-game hunting composed of several episodes arranged in interlocking registers (Fig. 18). The figures move freely over a white ground punctuated by landscape elements. The hunters are represented on horseback and on foot, and one mounted figure spears a lunging lioness, while nearby a large boar is brought to bay by yelping hounds. The boar's realistic twisting pose, seen in three-quarter view, emphasizes the animal's stubborn, truculent nature. In the upper left, a lion devours an antelope, a type of motif common to hunting mosaics in Spain and North Africa underscoring the ferocity of the chase. The scene also includes vignettes of hunters wounded or endangered in pursuit of their prey, such as a hunter falling backward (in the upper right), and another kneeling to defend himself with a shield against his attacker (in the lower left). The mosaic's bold style of draftsmanship and the abstract, simplified spatial illusion enhance the image's visual impact.

Other, more personalized hunting pavements also show different stages of the hunt in individual registers, such as a hunting party setting out for the chase, depicted in the Mosaic of Lord Julius from Carthage (Parrish 1984: 111-113 no. 9 pl. 15-16), dated to the later 4th century (Fig. 19). We see a *dominus* identified by name and mounted on horseback leading servants and hounds on an expedition, with the figures placed on either side of a fortified villa typical of contemporary design. Seasonal vignettes featuring both the master and his wife fill the pavement's corners, with one of these (autumn, in the lower right corner) showing a letter being delivered to the *dominus*. The entire pavement is a tableau of estate life. In the Small Hunt (Carandini – Ricci – de Vos 1982: 175-188 fig. 90-100 pl. XXIV) of 4th-century date at Piazza Armerina, there is depicted not only a scene of a religious sacrifice to Diana (in the upper zone) preceding the actual hunt, but also a picnic of aristocratic hunters under an awning who are served by attendants, as their horses are tethered to trees (Fig. 20). In another register of the

Figure 19
Carthage, Mosaic of
Lord Julius. Tunis,
Musée du Bardo.



Figure 20
Piazza Armerina,
Mosaic of the Small Hunt.
In situ.





Figure 21
Piazza Armerina,
Mosaic of the Great Hunt,
detail of one section. *In situ*.

mosaic, the capture of stags and a wild boar is portrayed. This narrative of the progress of a hunt is picturesque and socially informative.

A different aspect of the hunt, namely, the capture of wild beasts for games in the amphitheater, is emphasized in other western mosaics. That subject is portrayed on a grand scale in the Great Hunt (Carandini – Ricci – de Vos 1982: 197-230 fig. 106-130 pl. XXVI-XXXI) paving a large corridor preceding the main reception space in the villa at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 21). The section of the frieze shown here depicts numerous hunters, all dressed in leggings and short ornamented tunics (one figure in the lower register also has a cloak), who transport captured animals to a ship and load them on board. One sees a boar carried upside down in a net, a wooden crate with animals inside, ostriches, and an antelope, as well as a wagon drawn by oxen. In the upper left are running gazelles, one of them pounced upon by a wild feline. Hunts of this magnitude presumably took place in North Africa and were a commercial enterprise supervised by the villa owner or an aide, whose portrait appears in another part of mosaic. Indeed, several other African hunting mosaics include the *dominus* of an estate in their imagery, as in a later 4th-century pavement from Djemila (Sintes – Ymouna 2003: 185 fig. on 185) in Algeria, which depicts both types of hunts, for sport and in the games, in condensed fashion (Fig. 22). Above, the landlord on horseback, centrally placed and flanked by a hound and a lioness, slays a wild boar on his *latifundium*, with his villa appearing in the background. A servant with a folded net and trapped hare stands to the left. In the lower part of the mosaic are several large animals, especially felines, which the landlord has supplied to the arena and which are speared by *venatores* with colorful costumes that include a square ornament on the front of the tunic; other animals are led off to one side.

The realistic, genre type of hunting imagery popular in mosaics of Spain, North Africa, and Sicily, of which we have seen a very limited selection, is supplemented by a smaller proportion of mythological hunts, especially those representing Meleager and the Calydonian Boar, Adonis, and the goddess Diana. Meleager, who died tragically in pursuit of his quarry, was considered by some viewers as the ideal hunter. One example is a 4th-century pavement from San Pedro dal Arroyo (Regueras Grande 2013: 85 fig. 52) near Avila in Spain. The nude Meleager, wearing boots and a cloak, charges the boar on foot, thrusting his spear forward in a conventional hunting pose, as his hounds converge on the

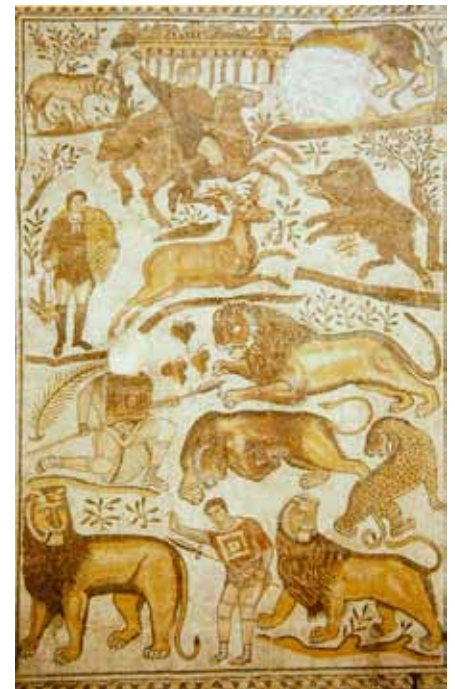


Figure 22
Djemila, Hunting mosaic. Musée
archéologique de Djemila.

Figure 23
Carranque, Villa of
Maternus, Mosaic with
hunt of Adonis. *In situ*.



prey. A Latin inscription, *Storia Meleagri*, identifies the protagonist; in the upper right corner a partially clad woman, presumably Atalante, looks on, as does a second hunter behind Meleager. In a different 4th-century mosaic located in the center of the *oecus* of the Villa of Maternus at Carranque (Fernández-Galiano 2001: 87 fig. on 89), it is the nude Adonis, seen from behind, who appears lunging at a wild boar (Fig. 23). In the upper left appear the deities Venus and Mars, the latter of whom allegedly caused Adonis's death out of jealousy. The inscriptions *Titurus* and *Leander* designate the hunting hounds in the mosaic's lower zone. Finally, we mention Diana, who in a pavement of late 2nd-century date from Utica (Yacoub 1993: 258-259 fig. 189) stands wearing a short tunic and boots as she shoots an arrow at a hind in front of her; it is a gracefully composed scene. Diana also appears alongside Apollo in a 5th-century hunting pavement from Carthage (Dunbabin 1978: 57-58 pl. 35-37), the Mosaic of the Offering of the Crane, in which a sacrifice is made to the divine pair who patronizes and oversees the realistic hunts occurring around them, divided into registers. The central motif with the twin gods resembles the religious sacrifice to Diana in the Small Hunt at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 20).

Many of the innovations made by western mosaicists in representing the hunt theme had a direct influence on eastern craftsmen of the mid- to late empire, creating an international artistic *koine* for this subject. After demonstrating this development with selected examples, we shall mention one other key innovation, compositionally, which originated in the west and foreshadowed important changes in the east. Already in the House of Dionysos at Paphos (Kondoleon 1994: 294 fig. 186-188) of late 2nd to early 3rd- century date, there appear episodes of the *venationes* in panels decorating the building's peristyle. One panel depicts a crouching hunter who wears a long-sleeved tunic and leggings spearing a bull (Fig. 24). Presumably, the mosaic patron sponsored public spectacles of this type. Other eastern pavements of later date show hunting for sport, in the pursuit of small game or large prey. That is true of the superb Great Hunt from the "Triclinos Building" at Apamea (Balty 1977: 104-109 nos. 47-49 fig. on 105, 107, 109), dated to the first quarter of the 5th century and now kept in Brussels (Fig. 25). A series of hunting episodes rises effortlessly in interlocking registers, beginning with a hare hunt below and leading to two animal combats, one of a lion with a fallen stag and the other of a leopard attacking a wild boar.



Figure 24
Paphos, House of Dionysos,
Mosaic with scene of
venationes. *In situ*.



Figure 25
Apamea, Mosaic of the Great
Hunt. Brussels, Musées
royaux d'art et d'histoire.

At the pavement's mid-point, a beautiful seated tiger with its prey turns its head, growling at two inward-facing horseman with spears who race toward it; it is the design's emotional climax. Higher up are more hunting vignettes that depict archers, felines, and a bear. This mosaic forms an impressive counterpart to the pavements from La Olmeda (Fig. 18) and Djemila (Fig. 22), appearing more formally arranged than they and having a central vertical axis.

In eastern mosaics, there also is a strong interest in depicting mythological hunters, among them Amazons, who have a long history of representation in the Greek east⁹. In fact, the same building at Apamea that yielded the Great Hunt also produced a somewhat later mosaic of hunting Amazons (Balty 1977: 114-117 nos. 52-53 fig. on 115, 117) (Fig. 26). Within a horizontal panel, two Amazons are seen riding in a landscape pursuing a leopard and a lion, and they carry spears and pelta-shaped shields. The design has a staccato rhythm so different from western pavements. Far more imposing is a large mosaic of the late 5th or early 6th century in the Villa of the Amazons at ancient Edessa (Karabulut

⁹ See Von Bothmer 1957, discussing representations in a variety of media.

Figure 26
Apamea, Mosaic of Amazons
hunting. Brussels, Musées
royaux d'art et d'histoire.



et al. 2011: 55-68 photos 60-81, front cover of book) (modern Şanlıurfa), which depicts four Amazon queens in a landscape divided into three registers and punctuated by fruit-bearing trees and rocks (Fig. 27). The women energetically attack a variety of wild felines and an ostrich, moving on foot and on horseback and using an ax, spear, long sword, or bow and arrow as weapons. One hunter in the lower right twists in her saddle as she takes a Parthian shot. The names of three of the Amazons are preserved, including Hippolyte, Melanipe (Fig. 28, detail of Melanipe), and Thermodosa (partly obliterated). All of the figures in the mosaic, human and animal, are loosely arranged in symmetrical fashion around a wounded lioness in the center, from which blood pours. The mosaic's lower register contains additional felines and hounds. (Close examination of the pavement's white ground reveals a scale pattern typical of many late mosaics from the east.) Also popular in hunting mosaics from the orient is Artemis, typically represented as an active huntress, as we see in a mosaic carpet from Sarrîn (Balty

Figure 27
Edessa, Villa of the Amazons,
Mosaic of Amazons hunting.
Şanlıurfa, Haleplibahçe
Mosaic Shelter.





Figure 28
Edessa, Mosaic of Amazons
hunting, detail of Melanipe.

1990: 3-5, 24-26 pl. II col. pl. E,2)¹⁰, ornamenting the same building where a Dionysiac pavement mentioned above (Fig. 11) also occurred.

Besides Amazons, the mythological hunts depicted in eastern mosaics also include the heroes Meleager and Atalante, already noted for the west in the 4th century (San Pedro del Arroyo). During that same century the mythical couple were represented in a mosaic from the Constantinian Villa at Antioch, illustrated *infra* in Fig. 33. There Meleager is shown nude. However, in some 5th-century eastern pavements (as noted by J. Balty), Meleager is depicted fully draped in late antique fashion, wearing a long-sleeved tunic and cloak, and riding on horseback as he spears his animal foe. In a mosaic from Apamea (Balty 1977: 118-123 nos. 54-56 fig. on 54-56, - 119, 123, 123; Raeck 1997: 34 abb. 4), the hero even has a Persian cap, and in a pavement from Halikarnassos (Hinks 1933: 127 no. 51,a fig. 147 [Meleager], with a matching panel of Atalante, 129, no. 51,b fig. 147; Raeck 1997: 39 abb. 1-2; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2011: 271), he is identified by name.

One other major contribution of western mosaicists to the repertory of hunting pavements was to create floors of centralized or circular design, affording multiple views of the subject represented rather than having a fixed viewpoint. An early example of the former type, having a circle-in-square arrangement, is a mosaic from Conimbriga (Bairrão Oléiro 1992: 104-109 pl. 38-39) dated to the end of the 2nd to early 3rd century (Fig. 29). Within the central *emblema*, hunters on horseback and their hounds pursue a stag and a doe in a radial arrangement, with trees placed between the figures. The two hunts can be viewed from opposite sides of the panel.

In Roman Gaul, a centralized format for hunting pavements was developed more fully, with an *emblema* of mythological content placed in the middle and framed by realistic hunting episodes on the pavement's four sides; the episodes face in various directions. Our first Gallic example is a mosaic from Villelaure (Lavagne 2000: 311-316 no. 916 pl. CII-CIII; Belis 2016: 23-24 fig. 14), perhaps made in the last quarter of the 2nd century, and its central panel has an image of Diana and

¹⁰ In another panel of the pavement, Meleager and Atalante are represented as lovers seated in a landscape, Balty 1990: 1-12, 54-57 pl. XXIV col. pl. E,3.

Figure 29
 Conimbriga, House of the
 Fountains, Hunting mosaic. *In situ*.
 Photo courtesy of Flickr.com and
 Virgilio Correia.



Figure 30
 Lillebonne, Mosaic of stag hunt. Rouen,
 Musée départemental des Antiquités. Photo
 By Gérard – Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0,
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=37263962>.



Callisto; outward-facing hunts of a lion, stags, and a boar occur along the edges of the field. Diagonally set trees in the corners separate the scenes. Equally impressive is a late 3rd-century hunting pavement from Lillebonne (Darmon 1994: 90-102 no. 885 pls. LXVII-LXXXIX) in northern Gaul, which has a central medallion with a mythical love scene, surrounded by four inward-turned friezes that show successive episodes of a stag hunt (Fig. 30). One of the latter (on the pavement's right side) depicts a sacrifice to the goddess Diana, with several figures in plain dress standing around an altar (Fig. 31, central part of the sacrifice), a scene recalling the religious sacrifice in the Small Hunt at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 20). At Lillebonne, diagonally placed geometric bands divide the hunting vignettes from each other.



Figure 31
Lillebonne, Mosaic of stag hunt,
detail of religious sacrifice. Photo By
Gerard – Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0,
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.
php?cuid=37275496](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?cuid=37275496).



Figure 32
Antioch, Constantinian Villa,
Mosaic with hunting scenes and season
personifications. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

These compositional and iconographic changes had an impact in the east, as we observe in the pavement from the Constantinian Villa (Baratte 1978: 99-118 no. 45 fig. 94-125) at Antioch, now kept in the Louvre (Fig. 32). A series of individual hunting scenes faces outward from a central octagon where there was a pool or fountain, and they are separated by elegant, standing female personifications of the seasons, each framed by plant sprays and carrying the fruits of her time of the year. Of the four hunting episodes, one depicts the nude Meleager and Atalante in a landscape, one the hero charges the boar, lunging forward with his spear lowered; Atalante, who wears a short tunic and boots, attacks a lion with a



Figure 33
Antioch, Constantinian Villa,
Mosaic with hunting scenes,
detail of Meleager and Atalante.



Figure 34
Antioch, Constantinian Villa,
Mosaic with hunting scenes,
detail of religious sacrifice.

bow and arrow (Fig. 33). The other three hunting episodes are of a realistic type, and one includes a religious sacrifice to Artemis (Fig. 34), comparable to what we saw in the stag hunt from Lillebonne (Fig. 31). Finally, the outermost frieze of the Antioch pavement contains bucolic scenes and corner bust figures symbolizing virtues of the mosaic patron. One of the latter is labeled *Euandria* or “Manliness” (Baratte 1978: 99 fig. 98), the equivalent of the Latin *virtus*, and she is shown in the nearest corner of Fig. 32. Thus, in the magnificent mosaic from the Constantinian Villa, the theme of the hunt has several associations, especially with the bounty of the seasons, and it glorifies the patron in an allegorical manner different from the more direct, descriptive imagery of western hunting pavements. In fact, the use of allegorical busts became increasingly common in later mosaics from Antioch, not only those representing the hunt.

In the later 5th and 6th centuries, hunting mosaics of centralized design from Antioch acquired a more simplified format, eliminating frames around the hunting episodes and placing inward-pointing trees in the pavement’s corners, a development anticipated a few centuries earlier at Conimbriga (Fig. 29) and at Villelaure (Belis 2016: fig. 14). In the Mosaic of Megalopsychia (Lassus 1969:



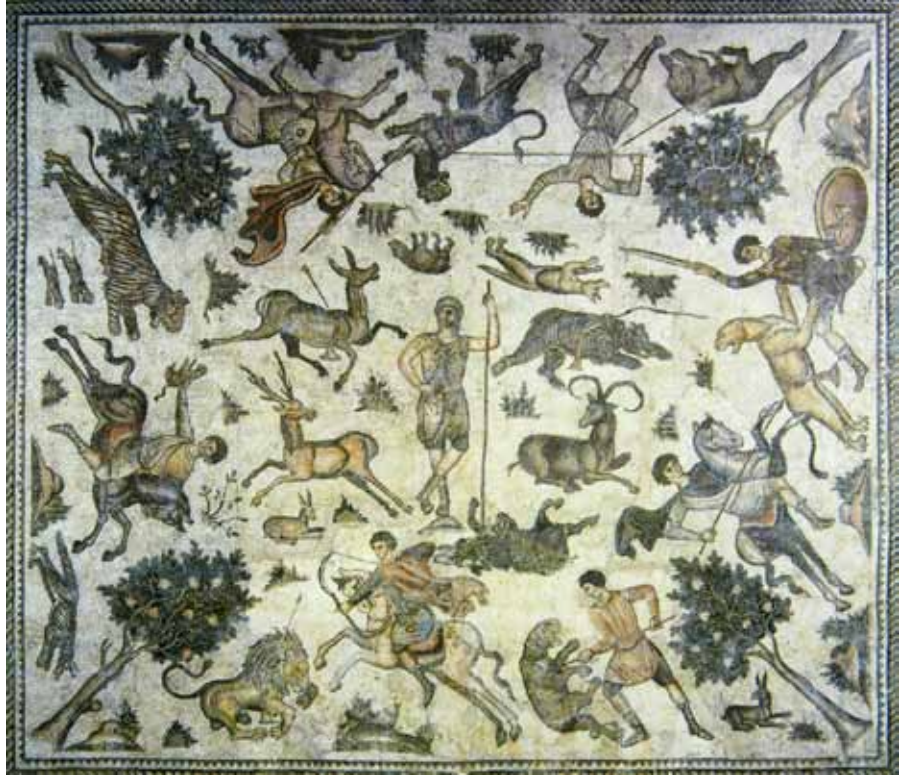
Figure 35
Antioch, Mosaic of Megalopsychia.
Antakya, Archaeological Museum.

139-146 pls. LXIII-LXVI; Dunbabin 1999: 180-183 figs. 194-195; Cimok 2000: 251-274 fig. on these pages) of mid- to later 5th-century date from Antioch, there appears a central female bust with that name who offers a coin and holds a container full of money, and who apparently alludes to the patron's "largeness of mind" or generosity (Fig. 35). Encircling her is a series of animal combats. Further from the center on the mosaic's four sides are outward-facing scenes of hunters on foot spearing rampant beasts such as a lion, a leopard, and a wild boar. The men are identified by mythical names including *Narkissos*, *Adonis*, and *Teresias*, and are separated by trees. J. Lassus suggested that these vignettes refer to *venationes* sponsored by the mosaic owner, whose generosity is represented by the central bust. K. Dunbabin went a step further, claiming that the hunters' costumes are characteristic of the arena. However, their dress contrasts with the clearly identifiable *venatores* in the 6th-century Great Palace Mosaic (Cimok 1997: 14-15 no. 2 fig. on these pages; Jobst et al. 1997: 45 fig. 21-22) from Constantinople, who wear the sleeved tunic, short trousers, and leggings characteristic of hunters in the amphitheater. By contrast, several of the Antioch figures have longer tunics, cloaks, and boots typical of aristocratic hunters in late antiquity (cf. the figure Meleager in a mosaic from Halikarnassos, Hinks 1933: fig. 147). Might not the mythical hunters in the Antioch floor glorify the hunting prowess of the mosaic patron by alluding to literary heroes of the chase? *Megalopsychia* may, as Lassus (Lassus 1969: 139-140) also proposed, refer to the patron's financing of the reconstruction of buildings at Antioch, seen in the pavement's topographical border, which had recently been destroyed by an earthquake.

Just as compelling is the 6th-century Worcester Hunt (Levi 1947: 364-365 fig. 151 pl. LXXXVI,b, CLXX-CLXXIII; Kondoleon 2000: 65 fig. 2; 158-159 fig. 1; 219) from Antioch, which has a circular design like the Mosaic of *Megalopsychia*, with hunters and their prey distributed evenly over an abstract white ground, forming a "carpet style"¹¹ (Fig. 36). In this example, we see

¹¹ On the use of this term, see Lavin 1963: 195.

Figure 36
Antioch, Worcester Hunt.
Worcester Art Museum.



hunters both on horseback and on foot attacking wild animals with spears and bows and arrows; fruit-laden trees occupy the pavement's corners. In the center a hunter in short tunic and leggings stands triumphantly with his legs crossed and one arm akimbo as he spears a dead boar lying at his feet. Doro Levi (Levi 1947: 344) thought the man might be an ideal, princely hunter with Hellenistic antecedents; he has no counterpart in hunting pavements of the Roman west. A circle of animal victims and other creatures surrounds the figure in the Antioch floor. The hunting episodes on the mosaic's perimeter are finely composed and show originality. In a poignant scene of the left side, a hunter on horseback lures a growling tigress from its den by holding out one of its cubs as he races away. On the right side, a leaping panther mauls a fallen hunter and turns its head toward an advancing horseman threatening the animal with a spear. The latter group recalls both a fallen hunter in the mosaic from La Olmeda (Fig. 18) and the motif of a tigress attacked by two horsemen with spears in the Great Hunt from Apamea (Fig. 25).

Conclusion

In this article, we have followed the development of a few artistic themes in mosaics of the east and west, being very selective in our examples and showing how craftsmen adapted these themes in each zone. In the case of Dionysos's triumph, the direction of artistic influence first traveled from west to east, but in late antiquity draftsmen in the orient added new references to the mysteries that seem to reflect the rituals' continued practice in parts of that region. In the 5th century, eastern mosaicists also influenced the design of at least one Spanish pavement, partially reversing earlier trends. As for the theme of the hunt, models initially progressed from west to east, but local preferences soon emerged, with the west favoring bold realism, often personalized. The east, while borrowing

many of the west's innovations, had a greater interest in making mythological and allegorical references in its hunting imagery, while updating figures' dress in some instances. These differences reflect varied historical and economic circumstances in the two geographic zones, as well as the taste of local patrons and the artistic legacy of the past.

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The Roman Mosaics of the Roman Villa in the Monumental Complex of Santiago da Guarda, Municipality of Ansião (Portugal)

Ansião Belediyesi (Portekiz), Santiago da Guarda Anıtsal Kompleksi'ndeki Roma Villası Mozaikleri

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Abstract

Classified as a National Monument in 1978, the Palace of Vasconcelos or manor house of the Counts of Castelo Melhor, important museum centre of Ansião Municipality, is a reference property of the noble houses of the sixteenth century, formed by a fifteenth-century tower and sixteenth-century palace.

The monument is located in Santiago da Guarda parish seat of Ansião municipality, in the district of Leiria, and is currently known as the Monumental Complex of Santiago da Guarda.

The need to recover the set was preceded by an archaeological investigation that confirmed the existence of the ruins of a Late Roman villa in the basement, which stand out roman mosaics which are integrated in the respective rehabilitation project.

Keywords: *Ansião, Santiago da Guarda, Roman villa.*

Öz

1978 yılında ulusal anıt olarak tescil edilen Vasconcelos Sarayı ya da Castelo Melhor Kontlarının Köşkü, Ansião Belediyesi için önemli bir müze merkezi olup 15. yüzyıla ait bir kuleden şekillendirilmiştir ve 16. yüzyılda saray ve malikane yapılarına güzel bir örnek teşkil etmektedir.

Anıt, Santiago da Guarda'daki Ansião Belediyesi'nin papazlık merkezinde, Leiria Bölgesi'nde yer almakta olup günümüzde Santiago da Guarda Anıtsal Kompleksi olarak bilinmektedir.

Kompleksin iyileştirilmesi çalışmalarına arkeolojik olarak temelde bir geç Roma villasının kalıntularına ulaşılmasından sonra gerek duyulmuş olup bu Roma villasının tabanında tespit edilen mozaik döşemeler de iyileştirme çalışmaları kapsamında yer almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Ansião, Santiago da Guarda, Roma villası.*

Context

Classified as a National Monument in 1978 and owned by the Municipality of Ansião since the last decade of the 20th century, the former palace of Vasconcelos or manor house of the Counts of Castelo Melhor, located in Santiago da Guarda parish seat of Ansião county in the district of Leiria, is a reference property of the noble houses of the 16th century, formed by a 15th century tower and 16th century palace.

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The monument was the subject of a rehabilitation process an archaeological intervention took place between 2002 and 2006. This process integrated an archaeological excavation, which took place between 2002 and 2006. In 2012, as part of the redevelopment of its surrounding, it has developed a final campaign of archaeological work.

The Palace of Vasconcelos, an important museum centre of the Municipality of Ansião, currently known as the Monumental Complex of Santiago da Guarda, is open to the public daily.

Archaeological intervention

The archaeological intervention resulted in the definition of the urban area of a late Roman *villa* of 4-5th centuries AD, with 1500 m², where the geomorphological context of the site is according to the descriptions of the Agronomist Roman writer *Columella* for the implementation of a *villa*¹, where were located twenty-one polychromatic roman mosaics which are integrated in the building of the restoration project.

The Roman villa of Santiago of the Guard is integrated in the typology of the Villa-Bloc has a composite plan, identified by Jean-Gérard Gorges (1979: 126-127). Presents itself as a construction consisting of three architectural sets that make up the villa's unity (peristyle; corridor; private wing). This tripartite model is paralleled in the village of Piazza Armerina, in Sicily, and may have its origins in space organization at the Forum of Trajan in Rome (Gorges 1979: 126-127).

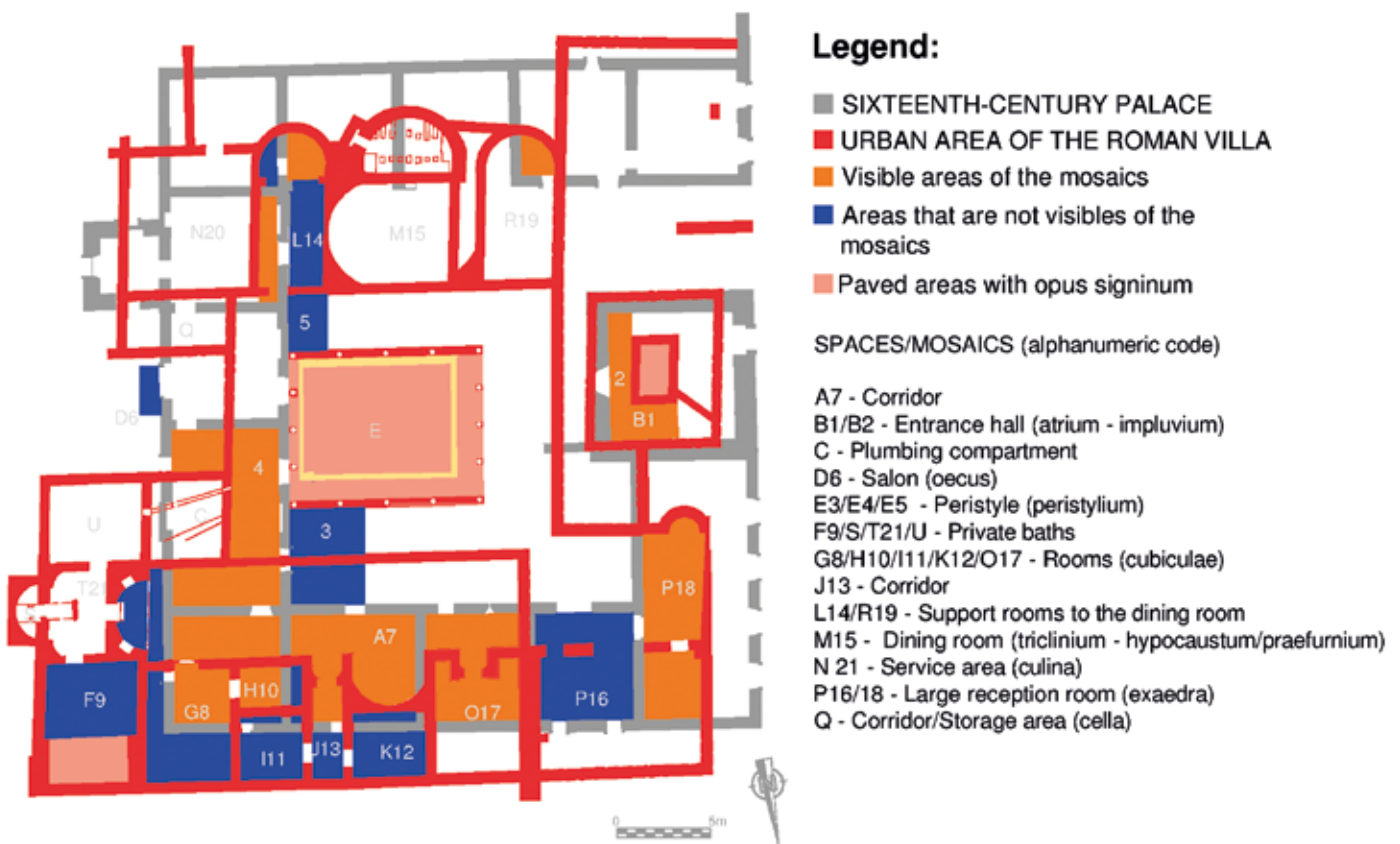


Figure 1
Vasconcelos Palace and the Roman
villa of Santiago da Guarda plans

¹ Columella, *De re rústica*, I, 6,1.

The relationship that exists between the entrance hall and the peristyle gives the villa an extraordinarily urban appearance, reproducing the classic Roman domus (Gorges 1979: 126-127; Gros 2001 II: 336-337) (Fig. 1).

Currently it is possible to observe an area of 168 m² of roman mosaics, a total of 299 m² that were discovered (Fig. 1).

The urban pars of the roman *villa* served as the foundation for the 16th century monument, the palace of Vasconcelos.

Mosaics

Mosaics numbers 1 and 2 (Figure 1)

Location: In situ. Entrance hall; equipped with a rectangular impluvium of the Roman building, this has served as a foundation to the 15th century tower (Fig. 1).

Description: Polychrome mosaics that paved the portico area of the Roman building and the main entrance (lobby).

Both porticos had an identical decorative pattern, it is possible to observe that the areas north and south of the porticos were decorated with linear garlands of laurel leaves and geometric motifs, whereas, in the areas east and west of the porticos were with peltas tangential, from whose lobes form nodes of Solomon.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Dimensions of the floors: North and South 6.30 m x 1,90 m; East and West - 7,50 x 1,90 m.

Mosaics numbers 3, 4 and 5 (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4)

Location: *In situ*. The rectangular peristyle of the Roman building. It was discovered under the courtyard of the 16th century palace.

Description: Polychrome mosaics paving the north, east and south porticos of the peristyle. In the west area there are no traces of the roman mosaic.

The field of the mosaic in the northern portico is framed by a frame with a braid two strands, whereas the central part present a composition circles constructed from interlaced spindles, simultaneously form star four corners, with moldings decorated with chevrons in rainbow and square positioned alternately. Centred in the composition form part of crosses four corners of concave concentric lozenges (Mosaic 3 - Fig. 2).

On the north side of the east portico the decorative field of the mosaic is framed by a braid of two strands, from which and toward the centre, develops an orthogonal composition forming the mosaic field, consists of squares and lozenges adjacent performed in meander swastikas. The spaces next to the boundary are shown by a filled triangle. This panel has a limit to the north and to a lower level, a rectangular mat with a square alignment and concentric lozenges, with the spaces filled with a concentric triangle (Mosaic 4 - Fig. 3).

The central area of the mosaic is decorated with a figurative panel with a medalion, but it is only possible to see one of the corners of the frame that fits and is enrolled in one of the angles an element of floral origin, a chalice (Mosaic 4 - Fig. 3).



Figure 2
Mosaic of the north portico of the peristyle (at left); Mosaic of the long corridor (at right).



Figure 3
Mosaic of the east portico of the peristyle.

Figure 4
Mosaic of the south portico of the peristyle (at left); Mosaic of the support room to triclinium (at right).

A separate pattern in the east and south porticos, is a rectangular band with the blue-black surround, which are inscribed four peltas with internal spirals at each end, interspersed by two lozenges and concentric square (Mosaic 5 - Fig. 4).

In the south portico, the mosaic field is framed by a white band, filled with florets. The frame of the field consists of a triple thread, the blue-black. The field is decorated by a composition of squares and lozenges formed from a braid of two strands (Mosaic 5 - Fig. 4).

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, red, pink, yellow.

Dimensions of the floors: North- 10,40 x 2,50 m; East - 14,00 x 3,00 m; South - 10,40 x 3,00 m; West - 14,00 x 3,00 m.

Mosaic number 6 (Figure 1)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as receiving room modest environment (*oecus*) compared with P space adjoining of the east portico of the peristyle. Only remain two portions of the mosaic, are visible in the east wing of the 16th century palace.

Description: Polychrome mosaic composed by three distinct decorative pattern. A zone with perimeter strip bordering the mosaic at north and is decorated by a wave of peltas with their apex topped by triangular motif.

What should be the border of the floor decorations is formed by a braid of two strands from which, and in the right side of the carpet, is developed several branches forming the mosaic field decorated with a meander of swastikas.

In the centre is a composition decorated with scales, surrounded by outstanding vegetable nature. Enclosing the central motif there is a perimeter band formed by stars four curvilinear convex tips, adjacent wings, with nodes of Solomon and others motifs inscribed in squares convex curved sides and set the bases of the stars points. Finding this range delimited the centre by a braid of two strands.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, red, pink, yellow.

Dimensions of space: undefined x 6,25 m

Mosaic number 7 (Figures 1, 2, 3, 5, 6)

Location: *In situ*. Long corridor, located parallel at north portico of the peristyle. The floor is under the courtyard of the 16th century palace.

Description: Polychrome mosaic with five distinct zones with the following decoration, from east to west: to mark the doorway that is located in the apse that allows access to the private spa sector is found inscribed on the floor a rectangular carpet with a frame formed by a braid of two strands.

Between the carpet and the floor boundary there is a line oblong scales, appearing stopped at the intersection zone with that will. The field is comprised of an orthogonal composition triangles and squares, from which emerge star four corners and geometric figures in perspective (parallelepiped). The perimeter band is filled with florets (Fig. 5).

To separate the apse area from the remaining corridor area, lying on the floor an alignment limestone slabs. It follows to the west a line of oblong scales and meander swastikas formed from braiding two strands, whose intervals are filled by plaited (Figs. 2, 3, 5). Midway through the corridor the pattern of the pavement



Figure 5
Mosaic of the apse of the long corridor.



Figure 6
The long corridor mosaic and
mosaic of the small corridor.

Figure 7
Mosaic of a cubiculum.

decoration will change, marking the transition to a small corridor, whose field is decorated by peltas mills with apex topped by triangular motif (Fig. 6).

At the beginning of the last third of the hall, coinciding with the alignment north / south central area of the peristyle, there are two more distinct areas of decorative pattern.

A patterned area decorates a second apse consists of a medallion with an eight-pointed star, formed from a braid of two strands. Intertwined in the stems is a cable straight edges with eight nodes of Hercules, which are inscribed crosses and fleurs-de-lis (Fig. 6).

In the centre is an octagon which is decorated with a finial, formed from four cups. The frame of the medallion is a composition of adjacent scales. As the field there is a frame composition of chevrons in rainbow colours (Fig. 6).

The other zone distinct decorative pattern is decorated by a quadrangular carpet with blue background, which is inscribed a medallion formed by a composition adjacent bipartite scales (Fig. 6).

The frame the medallion, are registered in each of the four angles carpet, pitchers of which leave two floral motifs (Ivy), from cornucopias. The frame of the field is decorated with geometric figures in perspective (parallelepiped) (Fig. 6).

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow, brown.

Pavement size: 21,60 x 4,90 m

Mosaic number 8 (Figures 1 and 7)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as *cubiculum*, whose pavement is visible in the northeast corner of the sixteenth-century palace. It is located at the northeast corner of the long corridor, with which it communicates through a passage.

Description: Polychrome mosaic decorated with a perimeter track where there is a play of colours, without forming any motif. The access will be found marked on the pavement by a rectangular mat with a composition of broken lines in rainbow. The field of the mosaic is decorated by peltas mills with apex topped by heart-shaped leaves, framed by a frame which is decorated by motif wave.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 6,00 x 4,50 m.



Figure 8
Mosaic of a space thermal sector.

Mosaic number 9 (Figures 1 and 8)

Location: *In situ*, integrated space in the area of the private roman bath building and is paved in *opus tessellatum* and *opus signinum*. Being located outside the 16th century palace, in the northeast corner. All the pavement currently is not visible.

Description: Polychrome mosaic whose field is decorated by an orthogonal composition of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils. The spaces between these elements are filled by nodes of Solomon. The pattern of the field is framed by a border decorated by a braid of two strands.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 4,90 x 3,90 m.

Mosaic number 10 (Figure 1)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as *cubiculum*, whose surface is visible in the northeast corner of the 16th century palace.

At one time this area was become inaccessible, the only access that communicated directly with the space G was enclosed within walls.

Description: Bichromatic mosaic, decorated by an orthogonal composition chess.

Material / colour: Limestone / white and blue-black.

Pavement size: 3,27 x 2,07 m.

Mosaic number 11 (Figure 1)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as *cubiculum*, with development to the exterior of the north of the 16th century palace and therefore, the mosaic is not visible.

Description: Polychrome mosaic with a band where there is a play of colours without forming any motif. The edge of the field is formed by two strands of a braid. The field is decorated by an orthogonal composition formed by floral motifs inscribed in octagons, alternating by cruciform motifs showing motifs intertwined.

Access to space is marked in the mosaic through a rectangle whose field is decorated by linear garland of laurel leaves.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 3,27 x 2,45 m.

Mosaic number 12 (Figure 1)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as *cubiculum*, with development to the north outside exterior of the 16th century palace and therefore, the mosaic is not visible.

Description: Polychrome mosaic decorated by a band with tesserae of various colours where there is no decorative motif. The frame of the field consists of concentric squares. The carpet is completed by peltas mills and nodes of Solomon.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 3,85 x 3,40 m.

Mosaic number 13 (Figures 1 and 9)

Location: *In situ*. It occupies a small corridor of the Roman building that communicates with the long corridor with development under the 16th century palace.

Description: Polychrome mosaic decorated by a perimeter band with motif wave, which simultaneously is the frame of the field, which itself is decorated by an orthogonal composition of adjacent octagons, which are inscribed lozenges, determining square.

To mark the access that communicates with the main corridor is a rectangular mosaic carpet decorated with rainbow chevrons.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 5,30 x 1,60 m.

Mosaic number 14 (Figures 1, 4 and 10)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as a support room to the *triclinium*.

This space is developed under the east and south sides of the 16th century palace.

Description: polychrome mosaic decorated by a perimeter band with tesserae of various colours where there is no decorative motif except, where is the access, where is inscribed a linear composition of lozenges. The frame of the field presents a motif in wave and frames an orthogonal composition formed by peltas, by crosses, squares drawn from two strands braids, which are part florets cross, and lozenges (figure 4).

The area of the apse is decorated with a composition of scales (figure 10).

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 8,25 x 3,40 m.

Mosaic number 15 (Figure 1)

Location: *In situ*. We found only some traces of the *triclinium* mosaic on a pavement built in *opus signinum*. This mosaic was polychrome. The overlap of the two floors can be explained by a reformulation that this Roman building space has undergone a given time. This space is developed in the southeast corner of the courtyard of the 16th century palace (space M).

Dimensions of space: 6,50 x 5,30 m.



Figure 9
Mosaic of the small corridor.



Figure 10
Mosaic of the apse of the support room to triclinium.

Mosaic number 16 (Figures 1 and 12)

Location: *In situ*. Space that should have had a social function, as a reception room of the Roman building (*exedra*). Comes up located at the northwest corner of the peristyle and is visible in the west side of the 16th century palace, where it currently works the reception of visitors.

Description: Polychrome mosaic that occupies one of two areas that space and are separated by a structure where are located three access that defines at the north and south.

The mosaic in question decorates the floor of the north area. To mark the access which lies further west, it is drawn a small rectangular mat formed by an orthogonal composition of concentric squares.

On the west side of the mosaic, between the perimeter band and the edge of the field, it is a second carpet, rectangular and larger, which is part of a composition broken lines in rainbow.

The frame of the field is decorated by a band with two entwined cable straight edges. This appears to frame an orthogonal composition crosses, decorated in the centre with finials, with the stems, inscribed with chevrons in rainbow, and octagons of concave sides, formed from braiding two strands, which are inscribed concentric circles and eight-pointed stars formed by two interlocking squares.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 8,70 x 6,10 m.

Mosaic number 17 (Figures 1 and 11)

Location: *In situ*. Space interpreted as cubiculum abutting the northwest corner of the long corridor with development to the exterior north of the 16th century palace where it is visible.

Description: Polychrome mosaic decorated with a carpet with rainbow chevrons in the access that communicates with the long corridor. This is framed to the south and to the north by a decorative pattern formed by lozenges alignments.

In the southwest and southeast corners of the compartment are two carpets. The first larger, whose field comes decorated with scales. In the other, the field is decorated by an orthogonal composition of squares and concentric rectangles. They are still visible bands of the east side and the west side of mosaic. Both with a composition of rainbow in broken lines.



Figure 11
Mosaic of a cubiculum.



The edge of the field is decorated by a braid of two strands. In the centre is an orthogonal composition with circles and squares drawn from braid two strands, which fall floral motifs. The spaces of the composition are filled with triangles and rectangles with sides concave with plant motifs.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 4,50 x 3,36 m.

Mosaic number 18 (Figures 1, 13 and 14)

Location: *In situ*. Space that should have had a social function, as reception room of the Roman building (*exedra*). This abuts the northwest corner of the peristyle and is visible in the west side of the 16th century palace, where currently works the reception of visitors. Part of the pavement is exposed like a panel.

Description: Polychrome mosaic that occupies one of two areas of that space and are separated by a structure where are located three access. In the mosaic that is located on the south side² there is an apse which is decorated by an orthogonal composition with concentric squares.

² The mosaic was raised from its original location in 2004 and restored in Conímbriga archaeology workshops, currently lying exposed as panel at one of the walls of the space where he currently works the reception of visitors of the Monumental Complex of Santiago of Guarda, close to the original location where it was.

Figure 12
Mosaic of the north area of the space that should have had a social function, as reception room of the Roman building.



Figure 13
Mosaic of the south area of the space that should have had a social function, as reception room of the Roman building.



Figure 14
Mosaic exposed as panel at one of the walls of the space where he currently works the reception of visitors of the Monumental Complex of Santiago of Guarda.

The band of the mosaic is decorated by a colour match, being inscribed along the western edge of the mosaic one lozenges alignment.

As the field frame there is a motif to wave to circumscribe the field. This in turn is decorated by a meander of keys (Meander swastikas drawn in a certain way), by lozenges for peltas with internal spirals at each end and for motifs of vegetable nature, the oak leaf.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Pavement size: 9,15 x 5,60 m.



Figure 15
Mosaic fragment that decorated the
apse of one of the two spaces that
frame the triclinium.

Mosaic number 19 (Figures 1 and 15)

Location: Mosaic fragment that decorate the apse of one space interpreted as another support room to the *triclinium*.

Currently it is exposed in one of the multipurpose rooms of the Monumental Complex of Santiago da Guarda.

The space of the Roman building where originally was found the mosaic develops under the south side and the courtyard of the 16th century palace.

Description: Polychrome mosaic decorated in the field by an orthogonal composition formed from four squares, which are inscribed nodes of Solomon, a circle and lozenges, whereas the pattern of the edge there is a braid of with three strands.

Material / colour: Limestone / white, blue-black, light blue, red, pink, yellow.

Dimensions of space: 7,80 x 3,70 m.

Mosaic number 20 (Figure 1)

Location: A small bichromatic fragment *in situ* of about 10 cm per side, which may be related to a reformulation that the Roman building has undergone a given time. Now this fragment is in the east side of the 16th century palace, in the room that communicates with the chapel (space N).

Mosaic number 21 (Figure 1)

Location: Discovered in 2012, during the redevelopment of the surrounding monument. The mosaic in question is *in situ*, under a contemporary structure of the 16th century palace, demarcating this a space that was paved with irregularly limestones that existed around the residence.

The archaeological investigation had allowed to observe an alignment of a row of tesserae of various colours with about 2 m in length.

The space paved with the coating in question belongs to the private area of the Roman building identified as the thermal bath (space U).

Chronology of mosaic art of the urban area from the Roman *villa* of the Monumental Complex of Santiago da Guarda

The pattern of mosaics from the Roman *villa* of Santiago da Guarda, are similar to the decoration used in the *villae* of the late 4th century, and the early 5th century, in the Iberian Peninsula, where there are several parallels presented by several studies on the theme.

Also in the mosaic art of the Roman *villa* of Santiago da Guarda is present the geometrism main, decorative type of that period, with a great profusion of decorative elements, this is the “*Horror Vacui*” characteristic of the Lower Empire (Blazquez 1993: 48, 66, 120).

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The Mosaics of Roman House in Antandros

Antandros'ta Bulunan Roma Evi Mozaikleri

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Abstract

In this study, it is presented that the mosaic pavements of the Roman House from Antandros. Portico and the three rooms opening to portico is uncovered. However just portico and the biggest room has mosaic pavements.

The pavements are decorated with geometric motifs which are commonly used. Portico is decorated with the mosaic floor is composed of six panels with geometrical design surrounded by this guilloche frame. Whereas the geometric motifs are only on the main panel of the biggest room mosaic which is thought that it must have been used as triclinium, the bordur is designed by floral and figurative motifs. This geometric design of main panel of triclinium is similar to the villa (called Yamaç Ev) which was found in Antandros.

Epecially, the coins were found, on the basement of triclinium, portico and room 2, are of importance on dating the house and its findings. These coins are dated to Valerius Licinianus Licinus (317-320 AD) and Flavius Honorius (395-401 AD). Therefore this Roman house and the mosaics can be dated to the 4th century AD.

Keywords: Roman house, opus tessellatum, geometric motifs, struggle with snake, 4th century AD.

Öz

Çalışmanın konusunu, Antandros'ta bulunan ve "Roma Evi" olarak adlandırılan yapının portico ile triclinium mozaik tabanları oluşturmaktadır.

Portico mozaiği basit giyüş bandıyla çevrili, her birinde farklı geometrik motiflerin yer aldığı altı panelden oluşur. Bu motiflerin genel olarak yaygın kullanıma sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Diğer mekan mozaığının (triclinium) bordürü floral ve figüratif bezemeye sahiptir. Ana panoda kullanılmış olan geometrik desen ise Antandros'ta daha önce bulunmuş "Yamaç Ev" olarak adlandırılan villanın mozaikleri ile benzerlik taşımaktadır.

Özellikle, triclinium, portico ve 2. odanın tabanlarında ele geçen Valerius Licinianus Licinus (MS 317-320) ve Flavius Honorius (MS 395-401) sikkeleri, incelenen mozaiklerin tarihlendirilmesinde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu Roma Evi ve buluntuları MS 4. yüzyıla tarihlenebilmektedir.

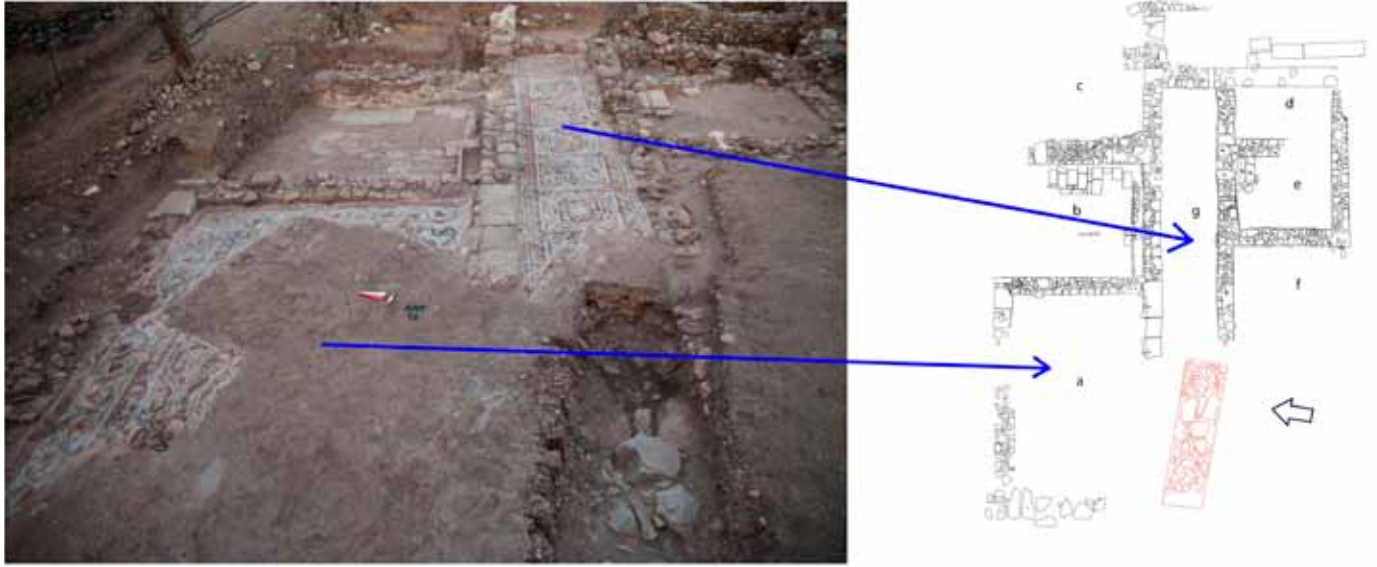
Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma Evi, opus tessellatum, geometrik motifler, yılanla mücadele, MS 4. yüzyıl.

Antandros is situated in the ancient Troas region, the modern day Altınoluk town of Edremit district, Balıkesir province in Turkey. The ancient city is located on the south slopes of the Ida Mountain where the mythological story of the Judgment of Paris, known as the cause of the Trojan War, took place.

Systematic excavations in Antandros have begun in 2001 in light of the results of the survey carried out in 2000. The excavations in Antandros, which have been uninterruptedly going on since 2001, focus on four main

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sectors: the Roman Villa¹, the Necropolis², the City Wall³ and the Settlement drillings⁴.

The structure where the mosaics in subject were discovered was unearthed during the excavations at the city wall. A drilling sized 1.5 x 4 m. was made about 10 m. south of the city wall, which is erected with ashlar with bossage on the interior and exterior surfaces, in order to understand the destruction on the south end of the wall and to track its course. A mosaic pavement was discovered right under the soil surface of this area (Fig. 1). Consequently, the work on the wall was paused to give priority to the unearthing of the structure with the mosaic pavement (Polat et al. 2015: 143-145 resim 10).

The works revealed a 1.73 cm. wide corridor running from east to west covered with a mosaic pavement. The east end of the nearly 8 m. long corridor is in good condition whereas the west end was destroyed by agricultural activities (Fig. 2).

Figure 1
General view and plan
of Roman House:
a) Room 1, b) Room 2,
c) Room 3, d) Room 4,
e) Room 5, f) Room 6?
g) Portico.

¹ The Roman Terrace Villa named in Turkish “Yamaç Ev” with a total of 19 unearthed living spaces was evidently built in the late 3rd - early 4th century AD. The Roman Villa is situated on the terraces on the southwest slopes of the Kaletasi Hill and is one of the most remarkable parts of Antandros.

The floors of the villa are covered with mosaics and opus sectile marbles and its walls are decorated with frescoes while it has a covered area of nearly 1100 m² (one thousand one hundred square meters). The villa has its own toilet and a rather large bath complex. It was ascertained that the villa, which has a developed draining and water supply system, was used into the 6-7th centuries AD with some modifications. A bulletin on the mosaics of the Villa named *Floor Mosaics in the Roman Villa from Antandros* was presented by Seçil Çokoğullu Üney at the XII. Colloquium of the International Association for the Study of Ancient Mosaics held in Venice. Therefore, the mosaics of this Villa will not be included in the current bulletin. However, it is possible to say that there are great similarities between the mosaics of the Yamaç Ev and the mosaics of the building which is the subject of this bulletin.

² The necropolis of Antandros lies about 600 m. west of the Roman Villa and about 30 m. north of the Çanakkale motorway. It lies for at least 250 m. across the 40-50 m. wide shoreline which is bordered with a hill on the north and the sea on the south. The area was continuously used as a necropolis from the late 8th century BC until the 1st century BC.

³ The city wall is dated to the 4th century BC. A nearly 20 m. long part of the wall which is located on the west slopes of the Kaletasi Hill has been unearthed with work done so far. The wall is partly preserved up to six successive rows and was built with rectangular masonry blocks apparently indicating a Hellenistic date by their exterior bossage.

⁴ Settlement drillings: The cultural layers dating back from the Late Roman Period and as early as the 8th century BC were unearthed in the sectors named “Yol Üstü Sector” located right on the north of the Çanakkale motorway which passes over the settlement of Antandros. The uninterrupted cultural layers have moved the establishment date of Antandros to the 8th century BC in accordance with the layers of the necropolis.

Figure 2
General view of
Roman House.



The preserved part of the corridor mosaic consists of 6 separate geometric panels surrounded by a guilloche. Three spaces opening to the corridor were located on the north.

Room 1 (Triclinium)

The westernmost room is the biggest in size. The largest part of this room's west wall, which must have been the *triclinium* of the house, was destroyed by agricultural activities (Fig. 1). The entrance to the room with dimensions 6.70 x 4.00 m. was provided by a door on the southeast, whose threshold is preserved. The mosaic pavement preserved at the east side of the *triclinium*, that had a two winged door, reveals the flamboyance of the room during the ancient



Figure 3
Detail of the border of
triclinium mosaic.

times. A pink band surrounds the outmost part of the mosaic pavement and on the interior a simple blue ivy scroll with red *hederae* on white ground border the east, west and north sides. Although only a small part of the south frieze is preserved it is understood that this area consisted completely of a figurative space with various animal species (Fig. 3). Only a small part of the frieze is preserved on the east side with the depiction of a snake clinging to a plant and the rear body half of a feline. The tree is depicted in a simple way with blue, yellow and brown tesserae and has a short and thin trunk. The snake is s-shaped with a big head and a thin tail. Although it is depicted in front of the tree the real purpose must have been depicting it clinging to the tree. The outmost contour of the snake is black and the interior is made with black and dark brown tesserae. The slickness on the body was emphasized with a line of white tesserae on the underside of the body extending from the mouth to the middle of the body. The eye is formed

Figure 4
Detail of the inner border
and main panel decoration of
triclinium mosaic.



with white tesserae and black tesserae were used for the pupil. The head of the snake approaches the other animal figure which moves with its back facing the tree. The rear body and hind legs of this animal are preserved. It is depicted in a walking position marching forward. It has a thin tail with an uplifted tip. Its contours are black and its body is dark brown. The figures are positioned in the frieze in a direction that enables them to be seen by the observers in the room.

The inner border consists of an undulating interlaced band, forming circles and thorns. The band is symmetrically shaded in blue, white and red (D cor I: 118 pl. 68d).

The main panel of the *triclinium* pavement is decorated with a geometric pattern on white background. This geometric pattern is an outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons intersecting and adjacent on the shorter sides, worked in blue swastika-meanders. The spaces created by the intersecting sides of the meanders are filled with irregular hexagons each in white, red, pink and blue colors placed in order (Fig. 4).

Room 2

To the east of the *triclinium*, otherwise known as Room 1, lies Room 2 with dimensions 4.00 x 3.50 m. and a compacted earthen floor. On the east side of the room this floor is paved with bricks (Fig. 2). Several in situ kitchenware pieces found on the floor induced the thought that this room was used as a cellar. This thought was supported by the discovery of a water channel formed by vertically placed floor bricks which extends across the south wall. Coarse, khorasan plaster detected in places on the east wall are suitable for use as a cellar. Numerous windowpanes found on the southwest corner of the room indicate the existence of a window on the west part of the south wall.



Figure 5
General view of the *portico*.

Room 3

Another room on the north with an entrance from the corridor is named Room 3. The room with approximate dimensions 2.10 x 4 m. has a compacted earthen floor.

Room 4-5

It is understood that on the south side of the *portico* there are three rooms accessed from the *portico* (Fig. 1). The width of the Room 4 on the east is 2.00 m. while the Room 5 is 2.5 m. wide. Both have a compacted earthen floor. These rooms are bordered by a wall on the north side. The same wall borders the *portico* on the south and extends to the west indicating that a sixth room existed at this place.

A door opening which was later closed with a wall was found at the east end of the *portico* with the mosaic pavement. This door opening, which also has a threshold, provided access to a room on the north and a door on the south which was probably the entrance door to the building.

The *portico*

This *portico* which is bordered on both sides by rooms has the best preserved tessellated floor of the house (Fig. 5). The outermost border surrounded by two bands in gray and white consists of a guilloche pattern. The loose simple guilloche is composed of two shaded strands outlined in black; one of them is shaded with red, pink and white, the other is yellow and white. The simple guilloche divides the mosaic pavement into 110 x 100 cm. square panels. Six of these panels are well preserved whereas the west panels are destroyed. Each panel contains patterns consisting of different geometric motifs and is framed by a white border. The patterns are alternately framed by square and circular borders. Floral motifs are used as filling when necessary. White, black, red, pink and yellow are the colors used as in the outermost border.

In the first panel from east to west, the pattern is placed in a white square frame (Fig. 6). The centralized pattern is an octagon containing four contiguous hexagons set around a central poised square and forming lateral squares. A black lozenge-swastika is within the central poised square with its sides extending to the medians and separating the hexagons. A central square is placed within each hexagon and is surrounded by 4 lozenges. The lozenges are alternately red-pink and black-yellow; the central squares are pink and white.

The decoration of the second panel consists of a centralized star of eight lozenges inscribed in a circle and placed in a white square border (Fig. 7). The

Figure 6
The first panel of *portico* mosaic.



Figure 7
The second panel of *portico* mosaic.



Figure 8
The third panel of *portico* mosaic.



lozenges and the circle are outlined in black. The grounds of the lozenges are alternately yellow and white. A second identical lozenge is placed within each lozenge, red in the white ones and white in the yellow ones. On the corners of the square frame are white *hederae* with leaves (Décor II: pl. 50a; a variation of this motif), on pink ground.

The third panel consist of a centralized pattern in a pink square containing a grid of swastika-meander with double returns forming five square compartments (Décor I: 300 pl. 190e). Two of them contain pomegranates; the others comprise red and white triangles (Fig. 8).

The fourth panel contains the centralized pattern of a star of two squares inscribed in a circle and formed around a circle (Fig. 9). The pattern is placed in a square border. The edges of the squares that form the stars have white grounds with bands on their centers. One of the bands is pink in red border, the other one is yellow in black border.

The corners of the squares are tangent to the outer circle border, forming triangles with a convex side between the corners. Each of the triangles is alternately white and yellow. A two colored solomon knot motif is inscribed within a round border at the central space of the star motif. The spandrel-shaped spaces on the corners of the square border are decorated with a variation of the calyx pattern containing spindle-shaped petals on pink ground.

Panel 5 contains a centralized pattern of a star formed by four lozenges alternating with four poised squares tangent on contiguous corners (Fig. 10). The lozenges are decorated with black swastikas on a white ground. The poised squares are white and bear smaller squares in red. The squares are white but the inner ones are red. The maltese cross-like space formed in the center of the pattern is yellow with black outline.

Panel 6 has the centralized pattern of an interlooping square and curvilinear square (Décor II: 49) in a circle with an inscribed compound rosette of eight



Figure 9
The fourth panel of *portico* mosaic.



Figure 10
The fifth panel of *portico* mosaic.

Figure 11
The sixth panel of *portico* mosaic.



adjacent elements, four as inward-pointing *hederae* and four as spindle-shaped petals (Var. of *Décor* II: 66 pl. 267a.). In the center of the rosette, contrary to common use, there is no circle overlapping the petals. The spandrel-shaped spaces on the corners of the white square border are decorated with a floral motif resembling a spindle-shaped petal with volutes (Fig. 11).

Conclusion

The sections of the house which have a mosaic pavement are the *portico* and the *triclinium*. The *portico* mosaic is preserved with at least six of its panels whereas the mosaics of the *triclinium* are in pieces and preserved in limited spaces. Nevertheless the existing information is adequate for revealing the main decorative pattern of the mosaic pavement of the *triclinium*. According to this the largest part of the mosaic pavement decoration of the house had geometric patterns and figurative animal decorations were used in very limited parts.

All of the mosaic pavement was applied on white ground. The other colors used in the *portico* mosaic are black, brown, red, yellow and pink. On the *triclinium* mosaic the colors used are blue, red, brown, black and yellow.

The most important place in Antandros having mosaic pavements is the villa named Yamaç Ev. The largest part of the mosaics of Yamaç Ev also consist of geometric patterns as in the house subject to this bulletin. The figurative spaces are rather limited and their subject are once again animals. The ground is white on all the area. There is also an exact resemblance in the aspect of the used color scale.

The study of the motifs and patterns used for the mosaic decoration of the house reveals similarities with many examples however we cannot mention a one-for-one similarity, at least based on the studies done so far.

The ivy scroll forming the *triclinium* is a border pattern frequently used between the 3rd and 5th centuries from the east to the west of the Roman Empire. The border decoration of the mosaic pavement at the *apodyterium* of the baths in the aforementioned villa in Antandros also consists of an ivy scroll (Fig. 12). However, in the Antandros example the branches look more like acanthus.



Figure 12
Detail of *apodyterium* mosaic of
Yamaç Ev also in Antandros.

Although the ivy scroll bordering the *triclinium* mosaic has no equivalent in style, a border pattern of ivy scrolls is frequently used on mosaic panels with geometric patterns in Aphrodisias. An ivy scroll in the panel of the mosaic on the south room of the tetrapylon house in Aphrodisias this time is not placed on the border (Campbell 1991: pl. 59-60). In this example a lioness and a snake placed opposed to each other (in attack position) are depicted between an ivy scroll arrangement. This panel may consist an example for the elements that were used together (the ivy scroll and a snake with an animal on the south edge) in the border layout in Antandros.

Such examples with the subject of a snake opposed to an animal as in the border of the *triclinium* are not limited to Aphrodisias. An encounter between a snake and a doe (Campbell 1991: 18) is found in Cyrenaica (Campbell 1991: 18; in Apamea (Balty 1977: 143). Although this scene is being associated to Christian myths, the emphasis put on femininity, as in the tiger example from Aphrodisias, was rendered as an *attempt to protect its offsprings which are not depicted on the scene*. An apotropaic effect is suggested for these kinds of scenes based upon depictions of encounters between lions and snakes on amulets associated with names of angels. However, such a symbolic meaning is not suggested for the Aphrodisias example (Campbell 1977: 18). At this point, turning to the example from Antandros, the animal figure against the snake is not fully detectable since it is not well preserved and there is also no chance on commenting on its sex. Moreover, it is not certain that it's in struggle with the snake, as in the other examples. For this reason, it is considered that the present data are not sufficient for the iconographic evaluation of this scene.

The closest example of the undulating interlaced band forming the inner border of the *triclinium* is found on the floor of the room 2 of the villa near Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa) (Tok 2013: 89-91 picture 96). The motifs, compositions and figures used for the mosaics of this villa were compared to examples from regions near the Mediterranean coast between the 4th AD and the beginning of the 6th century AD and the villa was dated to the 5th – beginning of the 6th century AD (Tok 2013: 96-103).

The decorative pattern of the main panel of the *triclinium* (outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons intersecting and adjacent on the shorter sides, worked in blue swastika-meanders) can be found on mosaics of the Roman period dated between the 2nd-4th centuries AD. The closest similar was found in Sardes. The floor mosaic of the Room A found in the gymnasium of Sardes, which according to findings continued to be in use during the 4th-6th centuries AD, is quite similar to the *triclinium* mosaic in its overall design scheme with an ivy scroll motif surrounding the outer border and a pair of undulating interlaced bands, forming circles alternating in size surrounding the inner border (Tok 1994: 33-36 picture 48). This is not the only use of the scheme in Antandros, since it is also used for the decoration of the *apodyterium* section of the bath in the Roman villa.

In the meantime, the geometric scheme with the centralized swastika finds parallels in one of the mosaic panels of the “*portico of the rivers*” in the “House of Porticoes” in Seleucia (Levi 1947: 109-110 fig. 42 pl. XCVIII). This example with red meanders and yellow hexagons with black outlines is dated around the second into the third century based on lamps found in the excavations. Another example is placed in the narthex of the basilica found in Gönen (Jobst 2011: 500, 502 abb. 48). This narthex mosaic is dated to the middle or the second half of the 5th century AD. A similar pattern is also used in Miletos in the first half of the 3rd century AD (Jobst 2011: 502). The same arrangement is found on the Panel no.1 of the Stoa mosaic dated to the second half of the 2nd century in the Odeon of Herodes Atticus in Athens (Waywell 1979: 295 pl. 46 fig. 8).

The decoration scheme adorning the *portico* floor which is divided into panels, each containing a different geometric pattern was used for the design of *portico* mosaics during the Roman period. The Alytarchenstoa mosaic from Ephesos dating to the 4th century AD has a similar pattern in addition to the star of eight lozenges pattern used in the arrangement of the panel (Jobst 1977: abb. 49). Another similarity is the use of the ivy scroll and undulating interlaced band patterns as a border in the way that they were used in the *triclinium* of the Roman house in Antandros. A mosaic panel from Conimbriga (Portugal) is divided into panels as the example from Antandros (Bairão Oleiro 1965: fig. 2). At this point



Figure 13a-b

The coin which helps in dating the house, dates to the period of Valerius Licianus Licinius (317-320 AD).



Figure 14a-b

The coin, which helps in dating the house, dates to the period of Flavius Honorius (395-401 AD).

besides the general design, the use of variations of the star of eight lozenges motif in each panel is another similarity of this panel to the example from Antandros.

It is possible to say that the decoration elements and their variations in the mosaics of the Antandros Roman house have been widely used in the mosaic art of the Roman period. At the same time these examples date between the 2nd and 6th centuries AD providing a wide time range. Therefore, the evaluation of the finds unearthed during the excavations is important for dating of the mosaics of the Roman house of Antandros.

The coins found in the *triclinium*, the *portico* and the floor of the room 2 help in dating the house as well as the floor mosaics. The earliest of these coins dates to the time of Valerius Licinius Licinius (317-320 AD) (RIC VII: ‘9-30 (Antiochia)) (Fig. 13 a, b) and the latest to the time of Flavius Honorius (395-401 AD) (LRBC II: 2581 (Kyzikos) 395-408 AD); RIC X: 68 (Kyzikos) 395-401 AD) (Fig. 14 a, b). Therefore it is clear that the building with the mosaics dates to the 4th century AD. This date also shows that this house was constructed about the same time as the Roman villa in Antandros.

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Mosaics of the Hispanic Meseta Norte: Phases, Officinae, Artistic Taste

Hispanik Meseta Norte'nin Mozaikleri: Evreler, Atölyeler, Sanatsal Yönü

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Abstract

About 400 mosaics are known in the Meseta Norte (today, Comunidad Autónoma of Castilla y León), with chronological variants, most of them of the 4th and 5th centuries; with stylistic variants, geometrical topics in preference to figurative themes; with topographical variants, predominantly rural findings against urban findings; and with technical variants, exceptionally sectilia, only one case of signinum and the rest, tessellati. We know nothing about the mosaic workers, just the signature of one who worked in the Baths of La Olmeda (Palencia): Sil [o]. However, stylistic, morphological, or material concordances allow us to suspect the existence of workshops, which usually operated in regional areas. Surely the former ones were Italic workshops serving people of that origin (opus sectile and opus signinum, Asturica Augusta). Almost two centuries after another officina is documented, known as Clunia-Uxama-Asturica, because it worked in these three cities, and their consequences are still tracked in the late third century in certain domus of the above-mentioned cities. The great mutation of Roman mosaic in the Mesetas occurred in the fourth century with the spectacular display of villas, unparalleled in Hispania. Serving these new customers a large number of workshops was developed, for instance, the designated one as the NO peninsular workshop, which worked in the provinces of León and Zamora; the so-called one as Prado-Almenara workshop, because of its presence in these villas from Valladolid, and also in La Valmuza (Salamanca) where another workshop took part closely linked to some villas from La Mancha. Finally, the Cuevas-Valdanzo workshop, whose taste for the aniconism links these villas of Soria with other more western ones.

Keywords: Meseta Norte, Castilla y León, urban and rural phases, Aniconism, Orientalism.

Öz

Meseta Norte'den (günümüzde Castilla y León - Comunidad Autónoma) kronolojik olarak geniş bir zamana yayılan fakat çoğunluğu 4. ve 5. yüzyıla tarihlenen 400 kadar mozaik bilinmektedir. Bu mozaiklerde; geometrik desenlerin figüratif desenlere tercih edilmesi gibi çeşitli stilistik varyasyonlar, kırsal unsurların kentsel unsurlara göre daha ağırlıkta olması gibi değişik coğrafi özellikler görülmektedir. Teknik olarak da mozaiklerin çeşitlilik gösterdiği söylenebilir; mozaiklerin büyük bir çoğunluğu tessellatum tekniği ile yapılmışken, istisnai olarak sectile ve sadece bir örnekte signinum görülmektedir. Sadece La Olmeda Hamamları'nda (Palencia) çalışan birinin isminin Sil [o] olması dışında mozaik yapımında çalışanlar ve ustalar hakkında bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, üslup, biçim ya da malzeme benzerlikleri, bölge içinde faaliyet gösteren atölye çalışmalarının varlığı konusunu gündeme getirmektedir. Elbette eski atölyeler, İtalic kökenli olup bölgedeki insanlara hizmet ediyordu (opus sectile ve opus signinum, Asturica Augusta). Çalıştığı şehirlerin isimlerine itihafen Clunia-Uxama-Asturica olarak bilinen diğer bir atölyenin belgelenmesinden iki yüzyıl sonra yani 3. yüzyılda bu atölyenin etkileri yukarıda bahsi geçen kentlerin evlerinde hala izlenebilmektedir. Mesetas'taki Roma mozaiklerinde görülen büyük değişim 4. yüzyılda Hispania'da eşi görülmeeyen muhteşem tasvirler aracılığıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Yeni müşterilere hizmet vermek üzere pek çok atölye faaliyet göstermeye başlamıştır. Örneğin

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Leon ve Zamora Bölgeleri'nde çalışan NO olarak isimlendirilen Ada atölyesi ile Valladolid'den ve La Valmuza'daki villalarda yaptığı mozaiklerden tanınan Prado-Almenara Atölyesi ve La Mancha'daki villalardaki işleri ile bilinen bir başka atölye gibi. Son olarak Soria villalarından ve daha batıdaki örneklerden bilinen çalışmalarıyla ve anikonizm tercihiyle bilinen Cuevas-Valdanzo atölyesi gösterilebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Meseta Norte, Castilla y León, kentsel ve kırsal evreler, Anikonizm, Orientalizm.

We are going to speak about the mosaics of the Hispanic Meseta Norte, highlands (700-800 m on average), a bastion well shaped by mountainous edges (The Cantábrica range in the N, the Ibérica range in the E, the Central range in the S, and abrupt peneplains in the W), drained by the Douro river and its tributaries, with marginal aggregate ones in the NW (Sil Basin), in the E and NE (Ebro Basin), and in the S (Tagus Basin). This is an extensive territory (94.222 km²), bigger than Portugal, at the present configured by the Comunidad Autónoma of Castilla y León (Fig.1), with 9 provinces (Ávila, Burgos, León, Palencia, Salamanca, Segovia, Soria, Valladolid and Zamora). In Roman times it was divided in two large *Conventus Iuridicii*: the *Conventus Asturicensis*, capital *Asturica Augusta*, origin of the Kingdom of León, in the W, and the *Conventus Cluniensis*, capital *Clunia*, origin of the County of Castile, in the E. With less remarkable personality, the old territory of the *Vettones* in the SW (provinces of Salamanca, the south of Zamora and the west of Ávila) formed part of the *Conventus Emeritensis*.



Figure 1
Meseta Norte (or Castilla y León) into Iberian Peninsula.

About 400 mosaics¹ are known, with a great territorial asymmetry, because of the origin, technique, theme, and chronology. More than 60% of the exemplars are in the E of the Autonomous Community (provinces of Soria and Burgos), and to a lesser extent, Palencia, in the centre of the Douro Basin, a situation that is, however, rather random. About the origin, the bulk comes from rural deposits (*villae*), and less than 10% from cities, almost all of them from *Asturica*, *Uxama*, and especially *Clunia*. The difference is still greater in technical terms: only one mosaic of *opus signinum* is known, less than 10 mosaics of *opera sectilia*, which should not be confused with simple marmoreal paving stones, and the rest are tessellated. The disparity is similar in theme, and chronological terms: the characteristics which as a whole define the Douro mosaics are their massive aniconism and late dating, as we are going to see later.

Regarding the phases of the mosaic in the Meseta Norte, there are two moments:

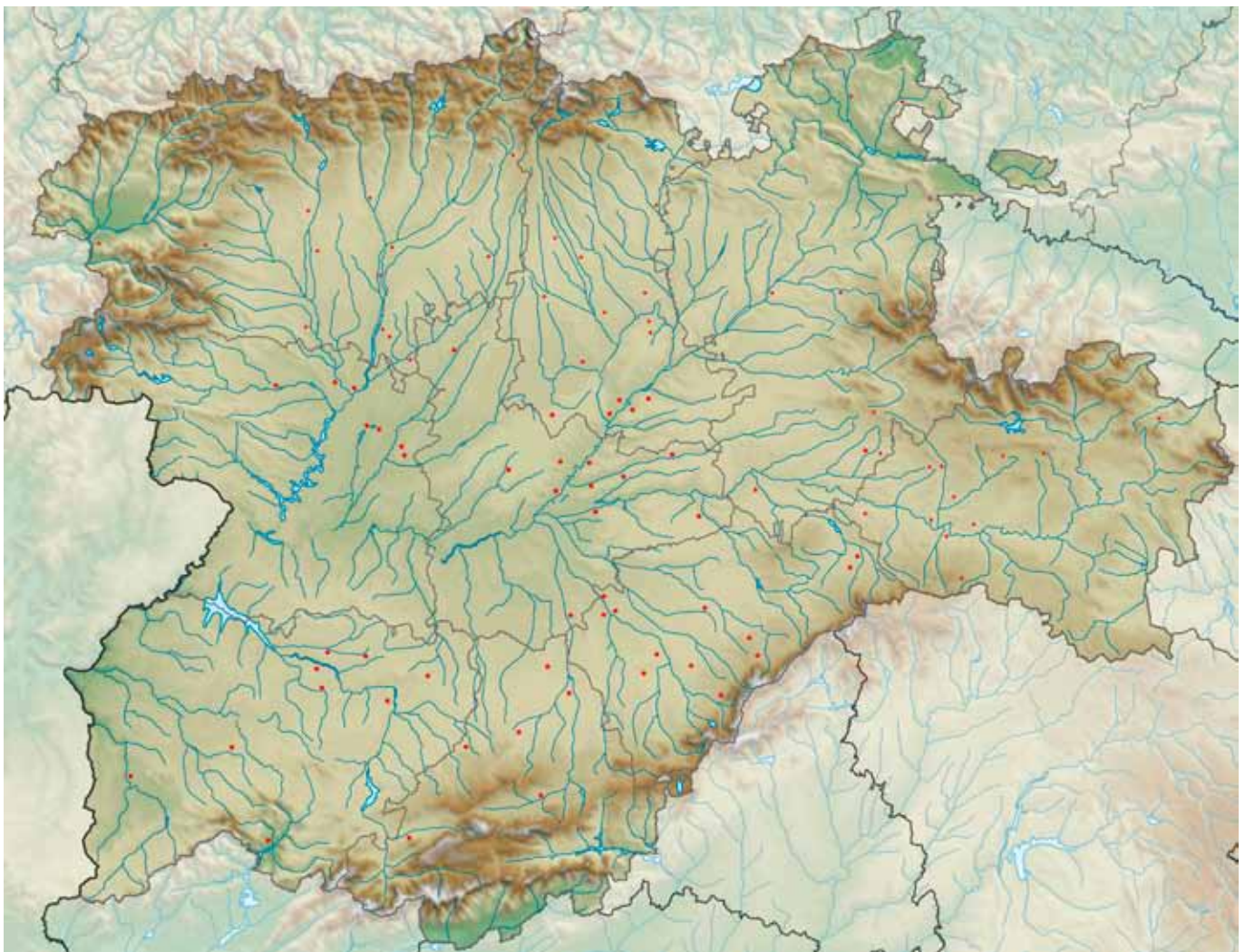
- a first urban phase due to its development mainly in the cities and high-imperial chronology, coinciding with the Roman military occupation, municipalization and domestic reforms of their houses, between the 1st-3rd centuries AD (Fig. 2).
- a second rustic phase that is manifested mainly in the great late antique *villae*, coinciding with the historical experience of the family of Emperor Theodosius, born in *Cauca* (Segovia), in its almost one century of documentation between the 4th and 5th centuries AD (Fig. 3) (Regueras Grande 2007 and 2013).

¹ Many of the pavements have been published in the *Corpus de Mosaicos de España (CME)*: López Monteagudo, Navarro Sáez and Palol Salellas 1998 (Burgos); Neira and Mañanes 1998 (Valladolid); Blázquez *et al.* 1993 (León); Blázquez and Ortego 1983 (Soria); Blázquez *et al.* 1989 (Museo Arqueológico Nacional). Outside the *Corpora*: Regueras Grande and Pérez Olmedo 1997 (Salamanca). Regueras Grande 1990 and 2009 (Zamora). Palol 1963, Pérez González 1987, Cortes Álvarez de Miranda 1996, García Guinea 2000, Regueras Grande 2012, Abásolo 2013 (Palencia). Lucas and Viñas 1977, Regueras Grande 2010 (Segovia). Mariné 1995, Moreda Blanco and Serrano Noriega 2012 (Ávila). There are also some synthesis works: Torres Carro 1990, Regueras Grande 2007 and Regueras Grande 2013.

Figure 2
Main Roman cities of
Meseta Norte.



Figure 3
Dispersion of main Roman
villae in Castilla y León.



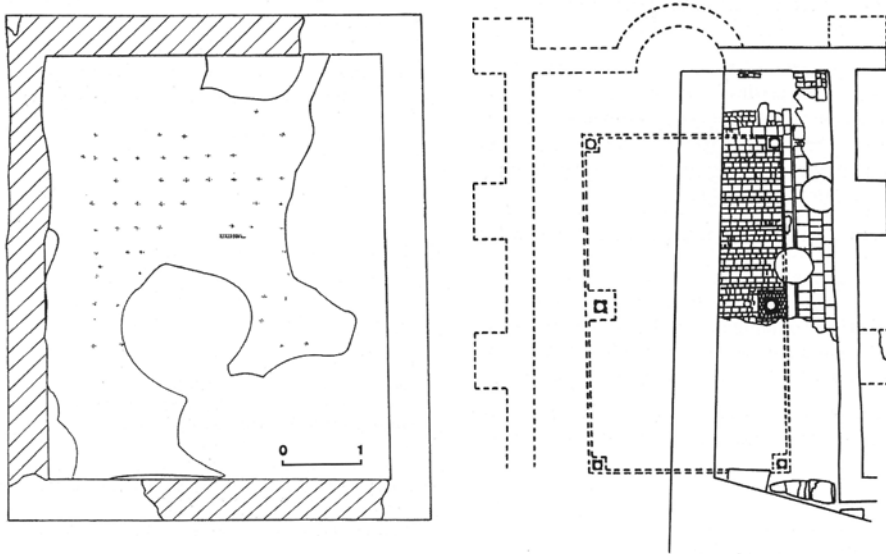


Figure 4
Outline of *opus signinum* from
Asturica Augusta.

Figure 5
Opus sectile of *Aedes Augusti*
from *Asturica Augusta*.

One of the first mosaics of the Douro Basin is a paving of *opus signinum* (Fig. 4) of a *domus* of Astorga (Regueras 2002: 37-11), decorated with bichrome crosses, and it dates in the middle of the 1st century AD, *unicum* because of its geographical location, so the *opera signina* are strictly circumscribed in the E and S of *Hispania*. The appearance of this type of floors is associated with the presence of Italic immigrants, who would try to surround themselves with domestic equipment similar to that of their native environment, and in a second moment with acculturated natives eager to emulate the tastes of the new ruling class.

In *Asturica Augusta* it is also documented the oldest *opus sectile* (Fig. 5) in the region, in Julio-Claudian period, paving the *Aedes Augusti*, political centre of the new capital of the *Conventus*. Luxurious (marble), but austere (bichrome), it derives from a simple Italic model of modular writing, and it is the monumental consecration of the first profits of the gold exploitations begun towards the end of reign of Augustus. Slightly posterior it is another domestic tapestry, superimposed on the aforementioned *opus signinum* during a reform carried out in the middle of the 1st century, and a new *sectile* that upholstered the *frigidarium* of the so-called “*Domus del gran peristilo*”, at the beginning of the 2nd century. Both of them have disappeared.

With no apparent connection with Astorga, two other parietal *sectilia* of the Flavian period are known in *Clunia* (Burgos), a basilica of the forum and a triangular room of the *macellum*, with vegetal themes and vegetal composition (López Monteagudo et al. 1998: 41-85), and another in a *domus* of *Uxama* (Soria) (Blázquez – Ortego 1983: 52-54), dated in the first half of the 2nd century, also with imported marbles.

The *sectile* should have continued to be used, but there was practically no trace until the 4th century in the transept of the *aula trichora* of the *villa* of Rioseco de Soria, and especially in the missing ones of Las Pizarras in the vicinity of *Cauca* (Segovia), where more than 20 kinds of marbles have been registered.

We do not know when the *opus tessellatum* appears in the Douro Basin. If we accepted the dating of his archaeologist, Tiberian epoch, (Argente et al. 1990: 37-42), the first example would be (with intrusions in red and black colour) a large monochromatic mosaic area of the *balneum* of a *domus*, in the N of the *Forum* of *Termes* with strange planimetry, a rectangular central room and other two preserved flanking circular rooms. It has come to be interpreted as an

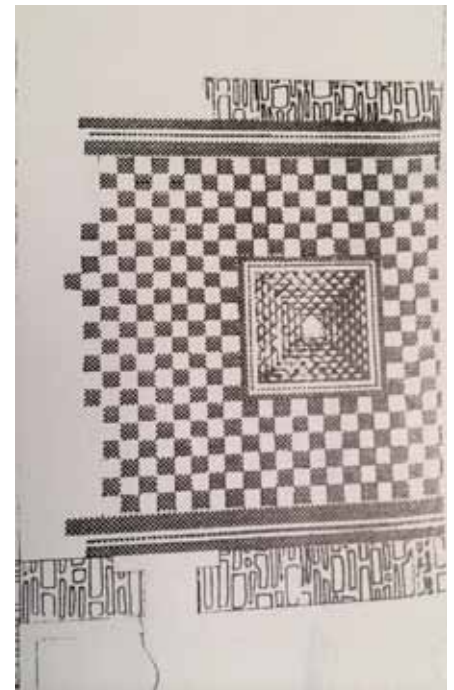


Figure 6
Termas Mayores of *Asturica Augusta*.



Figure 7
Mosaic of the Kraters of *Clunia*.



Figure 8
Mosaic of Quinta Romana of
Uxama.



Figure 9
Mosaic of Casa del oso y los pájaros
of *Asturica Augusta*.

initiatory sauna of Celtiberian tradition. It presents stylistic problems similar to the enormous black & white pavement of Las Molleras in Salinas de Rosío (Burgos), for some people it is of the 1st century, and for others it is late and of equally complicated functional interpretation.

From the end of the 1st century until the 4th century (*Clunia*) several *officinae* work here, in *Uxama*, and in *Asturica*. They maintain until the end the attachment to the Italic tradition in schemes to compass (Fernández Galiano 1980a) and squares of bands, and the taste for the bichromy without renouncing the colour. A first moment is manifested in the work of *officina/officinae* that intervened in the Pequeñas Termas, and Termas de Los Arcos I and Los Arcos II of *Clunia* at the end of the 1st and 2nd centuries, perhaps also in the denominated Casa Basilica of *Uxama* and Termas Mayores of *Asturica* (Fig. 6).

The consolidation of these teams takes place at the end of the 2nd and 3rd centuries with the workshop called *Asturica-Clunia-Uxama*, the most important cities of the territory, united through *Iter 27* of the *Antonine Itinerary* between *Asturica* and *Caesaraugusta*. It is always an *officina* of Italic tradition in its cartons, attachment to the bichrome tradition despite the use of the colour, use of linear scrolls associated with birds and some identical formal and syntactic motifs: kraters, split hexapetals, geometric borders and link of panels. The connections between the mosaic of the kraters of the Casa n° 3 (Fig. 7) and the Casa Triangular of *Clunia*, the mosaics of the Quinta romana of *Uxama* (Fig. 8) and the Casa del Oso y de los Pájaros of *Asturica* are incontestable (Fig. 9). It is possible to establish links between this workshop and some other urban mosaics dated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries: *e. g.* the one that carpeted two *tabernae* near the Foro Flavio de *Termes*, with the theme of scrolls of acanthus populated with little animals, one of these recalls some mosaic of the Calle San Gil de Medinaceli (*Occilis*), where the scrolls of tendrils with pigeons and kraters, and the same meander of swastikas of *Termes* also appear. The presence, on the other hand, and design of the gryphus in one of the decorated bands of the tessellated of *Occilis* we have to relate it with the heraldic bichrome ones of *Uxama*, dated by Balil in the 2nd century, and perhaps with those ones of the Seminario Conciliar of Tarazona (Zaragoza) of the same date.



Figure 10
Mosaic of las Veneras of *Clunia*.
Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid).

At last, the schemes to compass in shape of a shell of segments are reiterated in *Clunia*, especially in the mosaic of the shells of Casa Taracena (Fig. 10) and in the strictest parallel, room no. 1 of the so-called “Basilica” of *Uxama* (Fig. 11) in reduced version and larger scale in the most colourful of the Plaza de San Pedro de Medinaceli. A later variant of this interest in compass (and segments) motifs is found in one of the few *villae* of the Meseta, Villabermudo, in the N



Figure 11
Room no. 1 of Basílica of *Uxama*.

Figure 12
West wing of the peristyle of the
Casa del *opus signinum* from
Asturica Augusta.

of Palencia, their mosaics have been dated in the 3rd century, with parts in the Constantinian period: mosaic of Diana, mosaic of the exedra, and mosaic of the kraters. Curiously it is a suburban *villa*, very close to *Pisoraca*, city of military origin as *Asturica*, the *Legio IIII Macedonica* was stationed there during the Cantabrian wars (Pérez González 1987: *passim*). The contacts between the three cities are not ended with these examples. Twenty years ago I already posed the affinity between the mosaic of the room no. 6 of the Casa Taracena de *Clunia*, and a fragment of mosaic of *Uxama* drawn by Loperráez in the 18th century, with the same scheme: star of rhombuses determining large right squares and small ones with sharp point (AIEMA 367), with similar themes inscribed, which was then used by me to reconstruct vestiges of a pavement of *Asturica* the so-called “Casa del *opus signinum*” (Regueras Grande 2002, mosaic no. 6), one of the main houses of the city that opened to the *cardo maximus*. Fortunately, in April 2016, they were able to confirm his belonging to the west wing of a peristyle (Fig. 12). Some remains of the north wing also appeared, with the possible theme of panels framed by braids of three ropes, all of them maintaining the same attachment to the Italian tradition in the traces, even in the austerity and chromatic continence. The dating, well into the 3rd century, is still the most reasonable.

Another *officina*, with the same formal and chromatic sensitivity, which operated on the same dates, made the mosaics of *Pallantia* (Palencia) and *Segisama* (Sasamón, Burgos), where the *Legio IIII Macedonica* was also settled, *mansio* between *Asturica* and *Burdigala*. Although the old scheme of octagons and crosses is used mainly in late times, with filler of geometric or vegetal motifs, our Castilian tapestries are ordered by mythological images: Gorgona and the Seasons (*Pallantia*) or by a marine character, perhaps Triton (*Segisama*), apart from many other figurative coincidences (birds, marine animals, *fulmina*) (Fig. 13).

What it does look like a very important set, with very classic taste, are the mosaics excavated at the end of the 18th century (Gómez de Somorrostro 1820: 215-225) in Los Mercados (Duratón), a place that today is often identified with the city of *Confloentia*. At least five mosaics are known, three of them were extracted, one of the Medusa, other one of the *Annus* and another of the Grape Harvest, its detailed description reminds us of Bacchus mosaic of *Complutum*. The configuration of this one also resembles that of the Seasons of Paradinas (Segovia) (Fig. 14) (Regueras Grande 2012: 288-293), showing a relationship between the mosaics on one side and the other one of the Central range, lands well connected by a *via* between *Complutum*, Duratón and *Clunia*, known in Islamic era, but surely with a Roman origin. Only the one of *Annus* is conserved, with so many spare parts that Balil considered it a contemporary *pastiche*. Blázquez (Blázquez et al. 1998b: 34) dates it in the 2nd century.

Figure 13
Mosaics of *Pallantia* (left)
and *Segisama* (right).

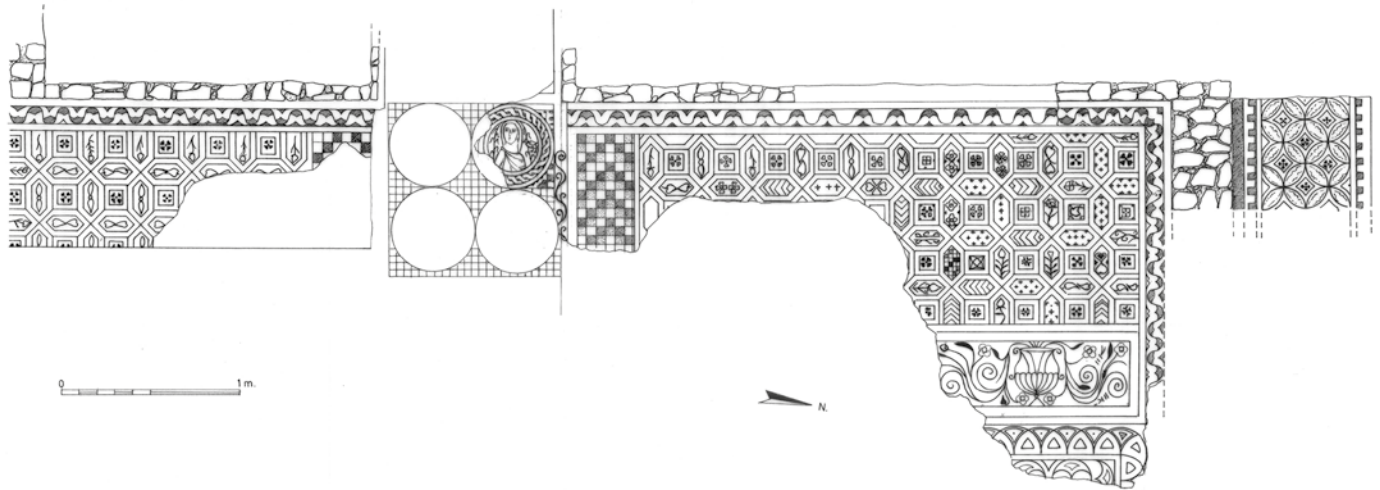
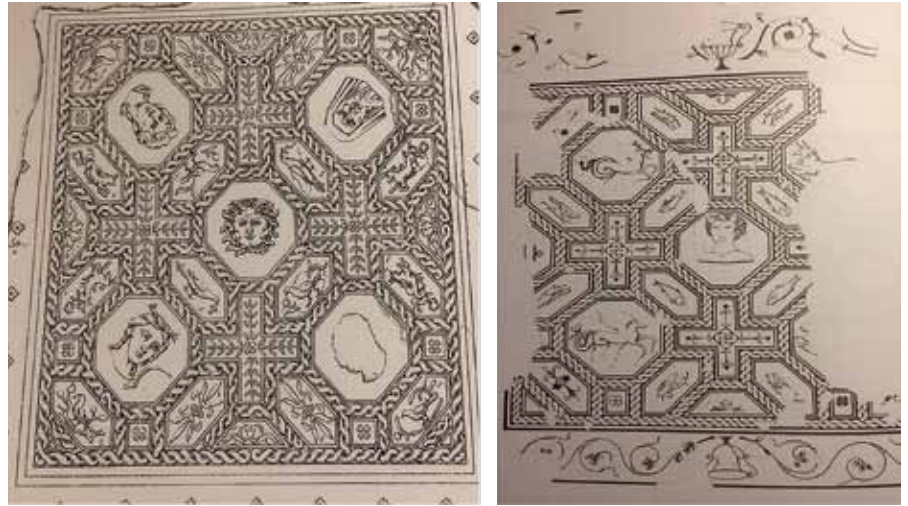


Figure 14
Season mosaic.
Paradinas (Segovia).

Despite the languor of the cities in the 4th century, the mosaic did not disappear, but we know a few examples. In *Clunia*, a coin of Constantine in the *rudus* of the mosaic no. 4 of the Casa de Taracena leaves no doubt about chronological speculation (Fig. 15). In Leon, after almost 35 years of excavations, only a “representation of a sea full of algae and fish” (1884) from the baths under the cathedral is known, but all that remains is only a fragment of a water flower and a *Cypraea* clam, (Fig. 16) of the style of the so-called “NW workshop” (Regueras Grande 2015: 279-304). In Medinaceli, the mosaic of the Plaza Mayor (Borobio - Pascual 1998: 39-45) with its images of the winds and Ceres, seems a variation of the same motifs in the *villa* of Villares de Santervás del Burgo (Soria). Finally, in Segovia, some polychrome mosaic fragments from the Calle Judería (Martínez – Vilches 2015: 82-83) have allowed a recomposition of the scheme based on a mesh of rotating squares with birds and other inscribed geometric motifs, elements that could not be assigned to the 1st and 2nd centuries as their excavators do, rather to a late epoch.

The second phase of the Douro mosaics is developed in the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century coinciding with its generalization in the *villae*. In the Late Roman Empire there was a concentration of property after the changes that took place during the tetrarch period, which resulted in the replacement of the old and frugal high-imperial installations with more pretentious and larger ones. This monumentalisation of the manor house is expressed through an arrogant



Figure 15
Mosaic no. 4 of the Casa
Taracena, *Clunia* (Burgos).

architecture (basilical and apse-shaped *aulae*) as in no other part of *Hispania*, and a luxurious ornamentation, of which only the mosaics are usually left.

We know a little about the owners of our *villae*, although the exceptional archaeological record of contorniates in the *villae* of Quintana del Marco (León) and La Olmeda (Palencia) (Cortes Álvarez de Miranda 1996: 59-78), emphasises their quality of elites. The story of the family of Emperor Theodosius, born in *Cauca* (Segovia), rich landowners from the father Flavio Theodosius until the cousins of his son Honorius, Didymus and Verinianus, who defended the rights of the legitimate monarch against usurpers and barbarians, coincides and documents almost a century, with the display of our *villae* in the 4th and 5th centuries. Unfortunately we lack of epigraphic testimonies on mosaics. An exception in this anonymous landscape could be the case of Cuevas de Soria (Soria) where they wanted to associate the Irrico, family of Celtiberian origin that is buried in the vicinity of the property, with an alleged monogram (Fig. 17) that appears strategically repeated in several mosaics of the house. Another one that dresses one of the panels of the no. 3 carpet of the *villa* of Requejo (Santa Cristina de la Polvorosa, Zamora) is less firm. Due to its location and quality some images are perhaps their portraits: in the border of intertwined cornucopias that involves the Bacchus triumph of Baños de Valdearados (Burgos) there are two central busts, masculine and feminine, that if they were not the owners of the *villa*, it would make little sense (Fig. 18). In La Olmeda, also in a wide heraldic valence



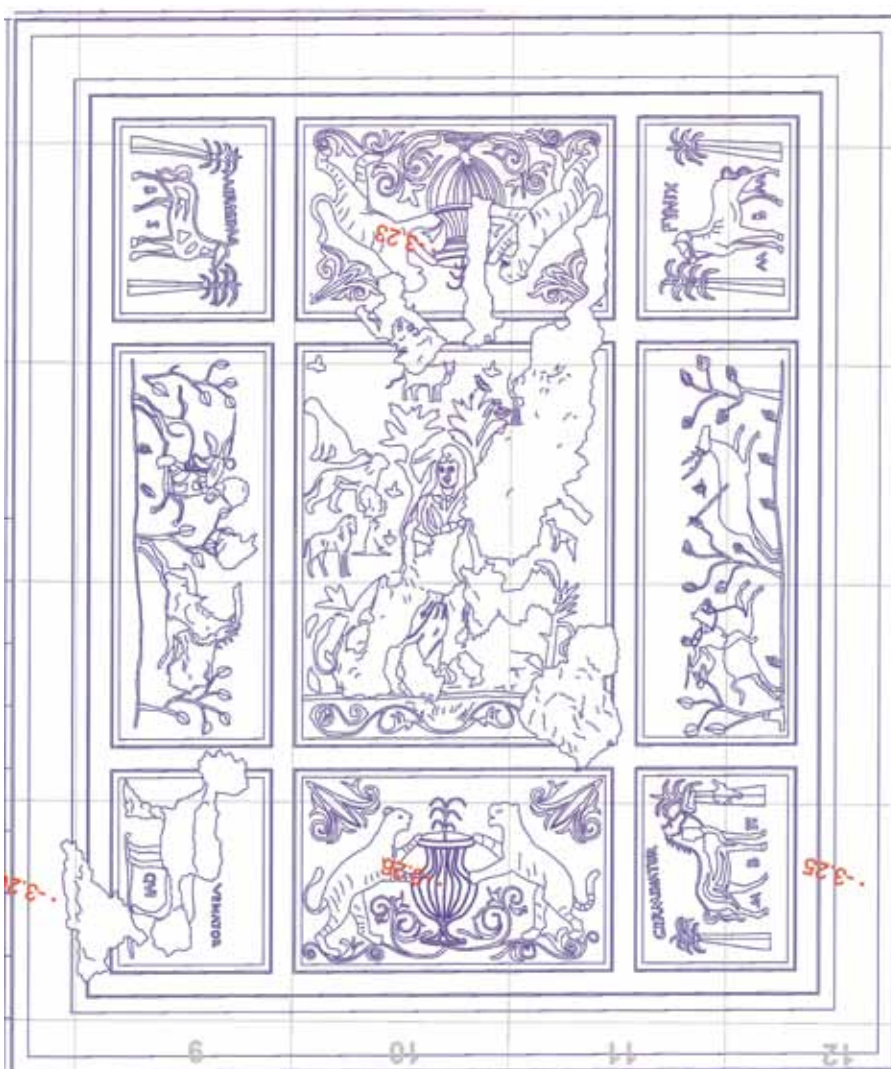
Figure 16
Cathedral Baths, León.

Figure 17
Alleged monogram of the Irrico,
(Cuevas de Soria, Soria).



Figure 18
Domini of the villa of Baños de
Valdearados (Burgos).

Figure 19
Triclinium with the *Orpheus*
Mosaic. Camarzana (Zamora).



of the mosaic of Achilles, 18 male and especially female portraits of different ages are unfolded, undoubtedly the family saga of the *dominus*. It is also probable that some horsemen spearing their prey, such as the one of the threshold of the *triclinium* of Camarzana de Tera (Zamora) (Regueras Grande 2009), the other one disappeared from the *villa* of Campo de Villavidel (León), that one of

the dismounted rider of the *frigidarium* of Dueñas (Palencia) next to his steed, or the other one that accompanies Atalanta and Meleager in Cardeñajimeno (Burgos), all of them could be the effigy of the owners of the mansion represented in one of their favorite activities. Their hunting tastes were well reflected in the mosaics, such as the hunt: Camarzana (Fig. 19), Cardeñajimeno, Campo de Villavidel, *venationes* (La Olmeda), or transFig.d from the myth: Diana the Huntress (Villabermudo –Palencia–, Prado –Valladolid); Bellerophon (Ucero –Soria–, Saelices –Salamanca); Atalanta and Meleager (Cardeñajimeno, San Pedro del Arroyo –Ávila). It is the same passion for the horses, which presides over the main rooms of the house: Aguilafuente (Segovia) (Lucas – Viñas 1977: 245), Camarzana; and they are sometimes transmuted into mythological horses, Pegasus without its wings of Almenara –Valladolid– (Fig. 20), or the *dominus* takes his favorite foal on his golden ring (Quintana del Marco), or his horse presides over the large carpet of its *balneum* (Dueñas) (Palol Salellas 1963: pl. X).



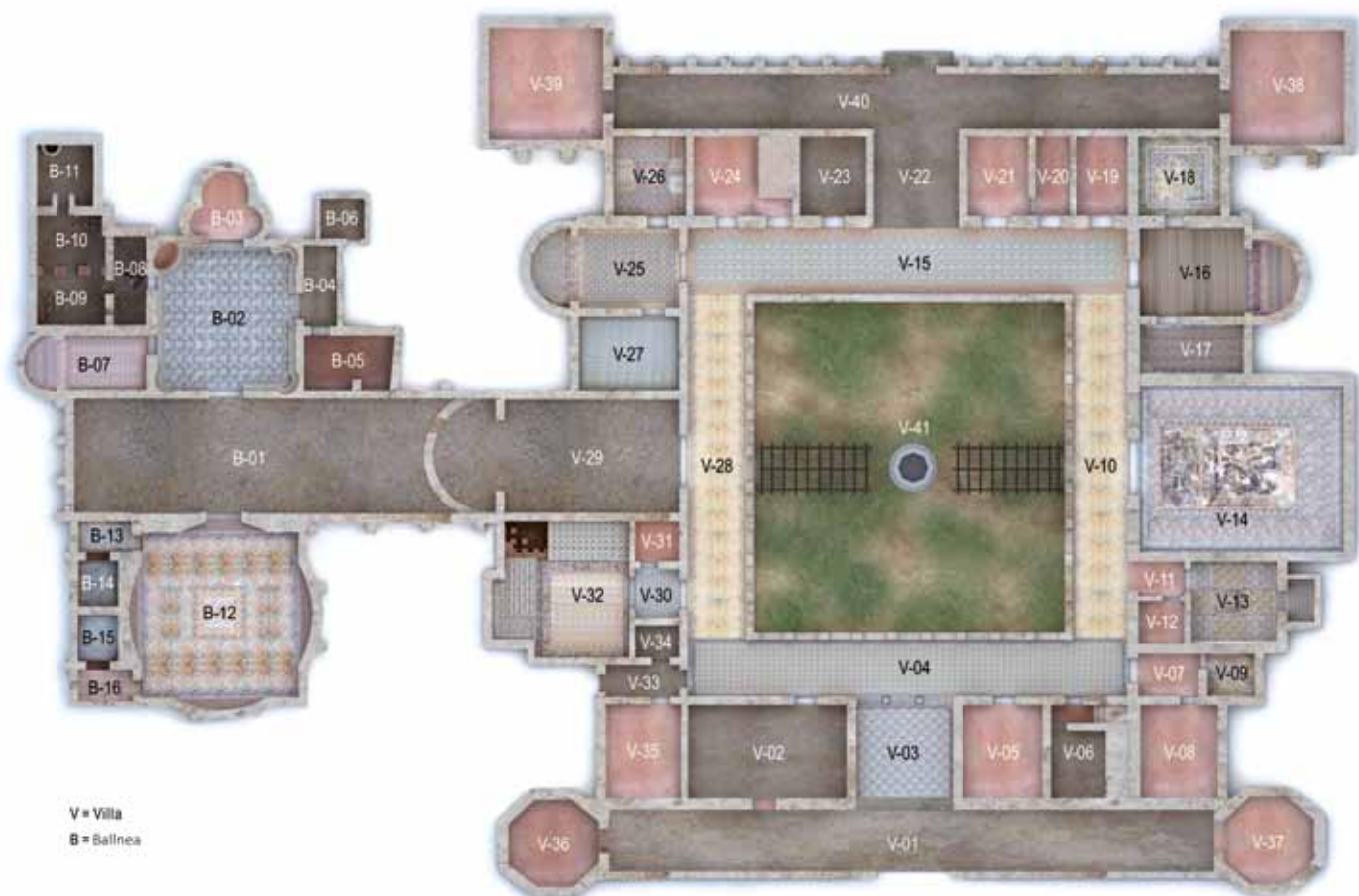
Figure 20
Pegasus and the Nymphs.
 Almenara de Adaja (Valladolid),
 after García Merino and
 Sánchez Simón 2015.

Adjusting now strictly to the mosaics, we do not know what relations could be between the old, high-imperial *officinae* and the new ones that usually work in the Late Roman Empire, but the bonds with the Galician area (NW workshop), Ebro Valley and above all the Meseta Sur (several *officinae*) are well contrasted. The lack of dating by archaeological methods remains a burden to establish a precise evolution during the 4th and 5th centuries, with very imprecise extreme margins.

The aniconism is the main distinctive feature of the late mosaics, not only these ones of the Douro, a taste for the formal complexity and the entanglement, for some geometric compositions with clear textile modulation and variegated chromatic charge that anticipate future styles of Islamic art and pre-Romanesque art, without forgetting its close relationship with the Asturian painting of the 9th and 10th centuries (Schlunk – Berenguer 1957, *passim*) that uses the same cartons, almost always from outside the figurative representation. It would be too easy to reduce it to a purely economic question, a geometric mosaic is undoubtedly cheaper than a figurative one, but it would not be forgivable to link it to a certain Neo-Pythagorean esotericism. In the Meseta, in addition, the reassumption of the old indigenous aniconic traditions should reinforce this tendency that, beyond a passing fashion, expressed the profound changes that a society in transit towards the feudalization experienced.

Except some *villae* (Camarzana de Tera, Quintana del Marco, Quintanilla de la Cueva–Palencia) (García Guinea 2000: 221-301), with good presence of figurative themes, usually only a great mythological pavement presides over an aniconic complex (Almenara, La Olmeda, Cardañajimeno, San Pedro del Arroyo, etc.) (Fig. 21), or all tapestries are geometric (Requejo, Valdanzo–Soria, Cuevas

Figure 21
General plan of La Olmeda with the mosaics. After Abásolo 2013.



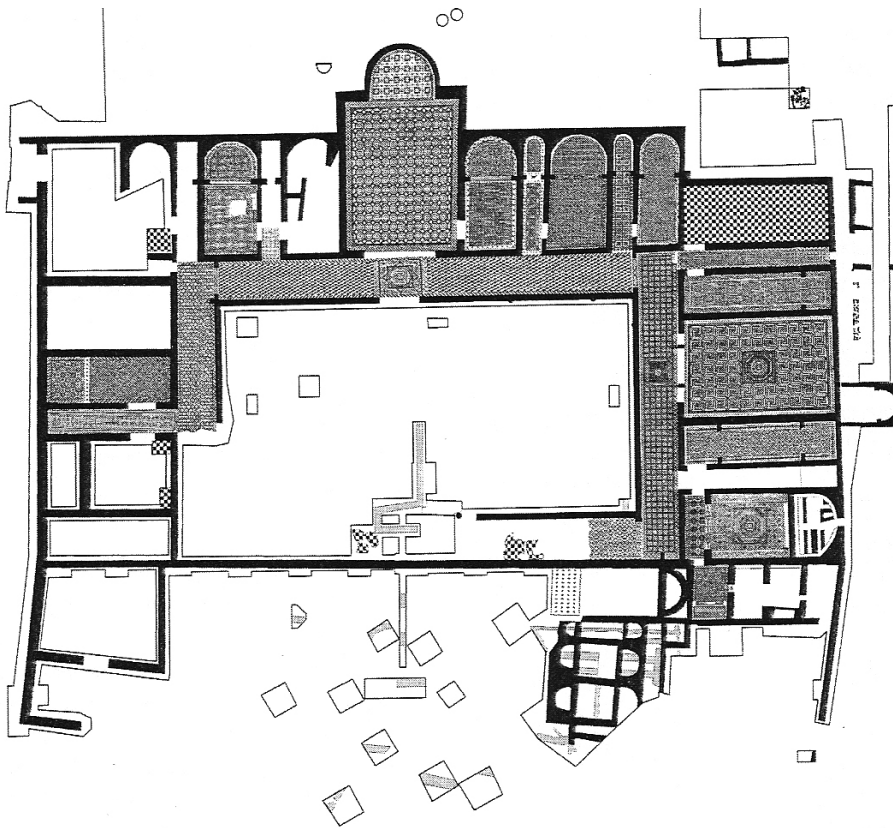


Figure 22a
General plan of Cueva de Soria
(Soria) with the mosaics.
After Sanz Aragonés et al. 2011.

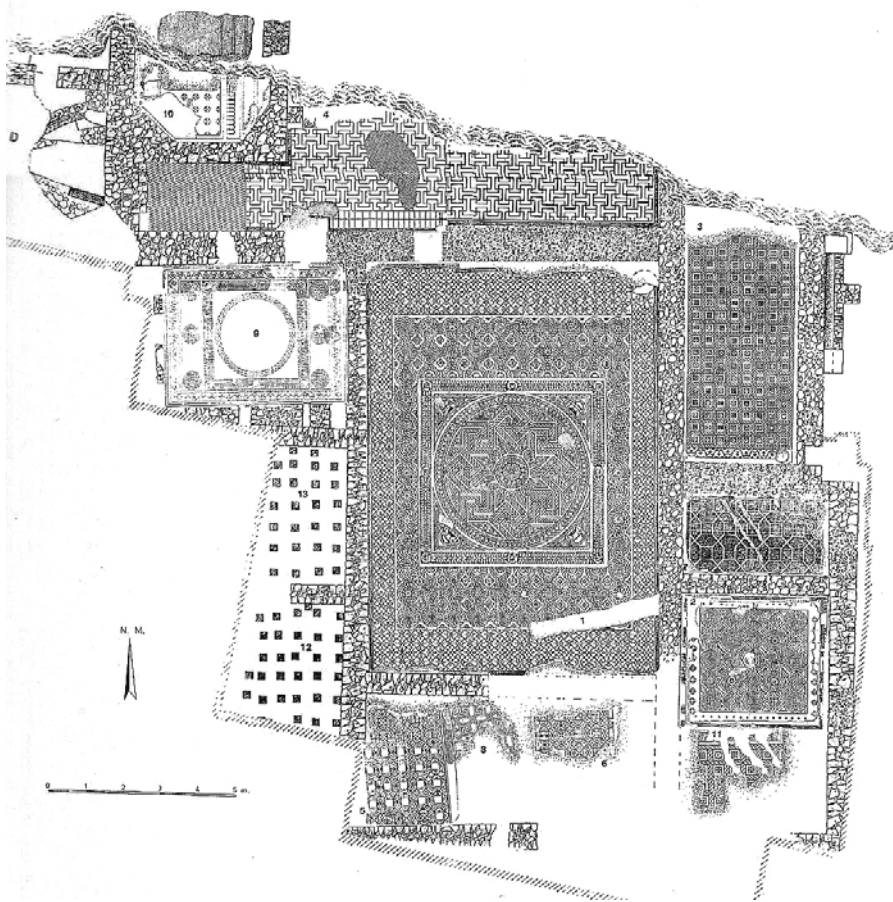


Figure 22b
General Plan of Requejo,
(Santa Cristina de la Polvorosa,
Zamora), with the mosaics.
After Regueras Grande 1990.

Figure 23
 Meleager and the Calydonian boar.
 El Vergel, (San Pedro del Arroyo, Ávila).
 After Moreda – Serrano 2012.



de Soria, etc.) (Fig. 22a-b). The imagery normally illustrates the function of the room: pelagic themes decorate *balnea* (*Oceanos* of Dueñas and Quintanilla de la Cueva, both in Palencia); the most versatile mythological themes, we find them mostly in *oecus* and *triclinia*, sometimes with explanatory epigraphs (*Storia Meleagri* of San Pedro del Arroyo, *Bellerophon in equo Pegaso occidit Chimera*, Ucero, Soria) (Fig. 23); others, bilingual, as the struggle of Glaucus and Diomedes of the *Iliad* in Cabezón de Pisuerga (Valladolid) (Neira – Mañanes 1989: 36-46).

It has been emphasised a lot in orientalism (Fernández Galiano 1984a: 411-430, Blázquez 2008: 7-31). The aniconic taste and the formal and decorative complexity of many of our mosaics (mosaic C de Baños de Valdearados, aula XII of Santervás, mosaic of the pitchers and the kraters of Prado) are even ascribed to it. This orientalism must be placed in the context of the Theodosian period that strongly influenced the late imperial elites of the Meseta. The use of more than 20 different types of marbles, mainly oriental and the use of mother-of-pearl in the *villa* of Las Pizarras (Coca, Segovia), establishes an unquestionable relationship with the E of the Mediterranean sea (such as the mosaics of Noheda –Cuenca–, the *ones* of Carranque–Toledo–, or the mosaic of Las Vegas mausoleum of Pueblanueva –Toledo–, in the Meseta Sur). It seems logical to also assign oriental features to the Latin and Greek epigraphs of the *Iliad* in Cabezón de Pisuerga (Valladolid) with the image of Glaucus and Diomedes, *unicum* in the Roman mosaic art that has served to interpret another one of Rielves (Toledo) known only by an 18th-century watercolour (Fig. 24a and b). However, some style coincidences are less certain, coincidences with the “oriental way” of fan-shaped or “scaly” backgrounds that are recognized in the most sumptuous mosaics with mythological episodes and hunting scenes, always in the second half of the 4th century. Although there are splendid later specimens in Antioch or Constantinople (Imperial Palace) and exceptionally in Utica, Carthage or Colony, their maximum development occurs in the *villae* of the Hispanic Meseta

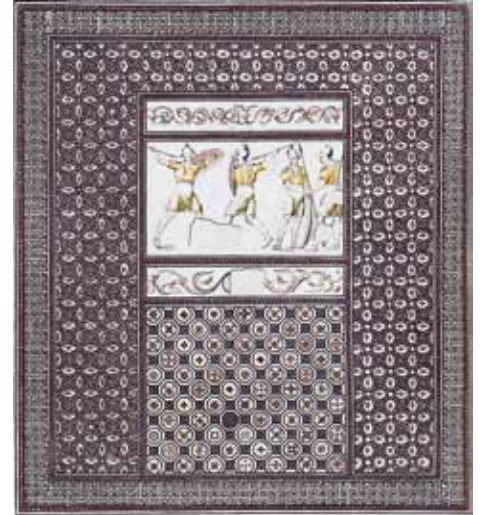


Figure 24a
Glaucus and Diomedes.
(Cabezón de Pisuerga, Valladolid).
After Mañanes.

Figure 24b
Glaucus and Diomedes. Rielves (Toledo).
Watercolour of the XVIII century.

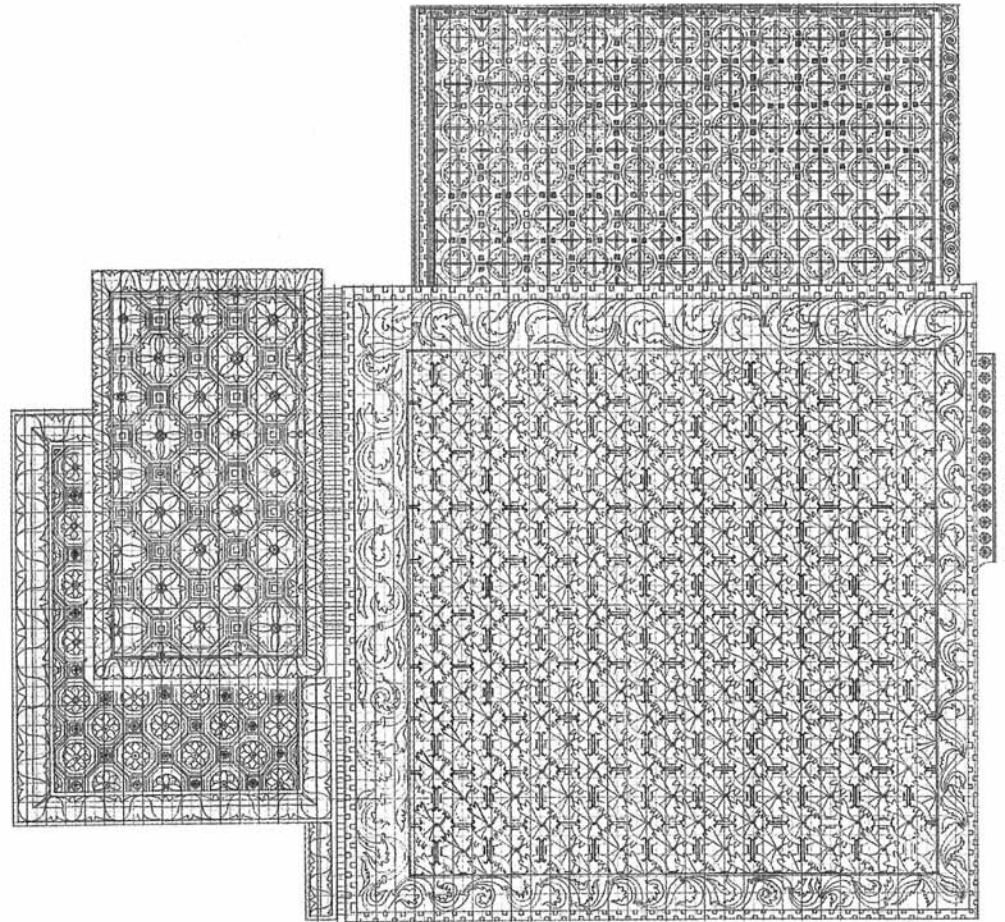
(Camarzana, Cardeñajimeno, La Olmeda, Quintana del Marco, Carranque, Noheda, Cabezón, Almenara, Saelices, etc.) with peripheral finds in *Lusitania* (Torre de Palma –Monforte, Portalegre–, El Hinojal–Las Tiendas, Badajoz–, Rabaçal–Condeixa a Nova, Coimbra–, etc), Ebro Valley (La Malena, Zaragoza) and now also in Lugo (mosaic of Daedalus and Pasiphaë) and the Dionysian *cor-tège* of Coriscada (Meda, Guarda). Other “oriental” features are the populated scrolls on a black background with vegetal Fig.s, “*grutesques*” (Cardeñajimeno, Camarzana), or *putti cacciatori* like that of Quintana del Marco (Fig. 25) and, above all, the representation of allegorical images embodied in the form of female busts: the *Abundantiae* of the workshops of Soria (Santervás, Rioseco, Medinaceli), which extends to the *Iscallis* of the *villa* of Saucedo (Talavera de la Reina, Toledo) at the end of the 5th century.

With regard to the *officinae* that acted in a territory as wide as the Meseta, for more than a century, and about such a large number of mosaics, most of them not properly studied, only approximations, “selective affinities” based in stylistic criteria or in the use of “rare” materials (*variscita*). Without chronological



Figure 25
Putto cacciatore of
Quintana del Marco (León).

Figure 26
Horizontal stratigraphic. Room
no. V-32 of La Olmeda (Palencia).
Courtesy of Diputación de Palencia.



precisions it is very difficult to establish the existence of *officinae*. In any case, it is possible to prove analogies between many of our mosaics and centrifugal relations with the workshops of the peninsular NW and the southern Meseta, which in reality form a single community in the use of schemes, taste and style.

Firstly, La Olmeda is the best excavated and well-known *villa* in the Iberian Peninsula, with mosaics from two floors, and with vertical and horizontal mosaic stratigraphies (Fig. 26). About the 14 known mosaic firms throughout Hispania, only one is registered in Castilla y León, at a corner of the great room with four apses of the baths of La Olmeda (Pedrosa de la Vega, Palencia), a *SIL* [O] (Fig. 27), we do not know if one of the *tessellarii* of the carpet of braids and interlaced garlands; by the way, its design is the richest and the most widespread in the house: external border of *oecus*, the east and west gallery of the peristyle, the room of *balneum* with four apses and *apodyterium*, sealed by a *caementicium* pavement and above another *tessellatum* of octagons, with poor elaboration). If so, presumably at least two other workshops would exist in the *villa*, the one in charge of the figurative ensemble (Fig. 28) and another one of the later simpler mosaics (as the above-mentioned one of octagons). In Carranque it is verified the presence of two *officinae*, with an extension in space and a mosaic complexity less than in La Olmeda. Several tesserae deposits (V-13, V-21, under the south gallery of the peristyle), tesserae and glass cakes—some of them with gold foils—have been documented in the V-35, for mosaics never made or perhaps to cover the irremediable repairs of the house, which would presuppose the existence of a fixed *officina* of the maintenance. In this deposit, it is also known with sufficient precision where they extracted the calcareous material to build their mosaics,

a place in the Cantabrian range between Alar del Rey and Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia), the gray marble of some rooms (V-14 and V-09), from the quarry of Velilla del Río Carrión (Palencia), slightly more than 30 km to the N, and in the *oecus*, some reused marble tesserae come from Espejón (Soria). Underneath this pavement there were many defective pieces and tesserae, a customary circumstance in mosaics of other *villae* (Requejo, Valdanzo). The raising and restoration of all the mosaics of the *villa* allowed to verify the existence of underlying sinopias that outline the main lines of these mosaics; and the documentation of three coins of Constantine (307-337) and his son Constans (337-350) served to establish a *terminus post quem* of the corresponding mosaics. Thanks to these data and to the careful monitoring of the *villa* –which has been continuously excavated since 1968– an absolute chronology of its mosaics can be determined between the second half of the 4th century and the first half of 5th century.

Another similar deposit, with reused tesserae from a 3rd-century pavement, was located in the nearby *villa* de Los Moros (La Serna, Palencia), a procedure, widely documented in *villae*: the Villa de la Estación (Antequera, Málaga), in Betica; those ones of Rio Maior (Santarem) and Rabaçal, to cite two Portuguese examples (Vargas Vázquez – López Monteagudo 2014: 127-142).



Figure 27
SIL[O], perhaps a *tessellarius*
of La Olmeda.



Figure 28
Oecus of La Olmeda.
Mosaic of Achilles in Skyros
and scene of *venationes*.



Figure 29a
Variscite from the *villa* of Quintana del Marco (León).



Figure 29b
Oceanos mosaic from the *frigidarium* of the *villa* of Dueñas (Palencia).

On the basis of a recent multidisciplinary study about materials (Gutiérrez Pérez et al. 2015: 165-181), it has been possible to determine the precise origin (Palazuelos de las Cuevas, Zamora) of variscite, a semiprecious stone whose use in the Late Roman Empire was almost exclusively restricted to the manufacture of *tesserae* (Fig. 29a-b) of the most beautiful mosaics of the Roman *villae*: Possidica of Dueñas (Palencia), Quintana del Marco (León), and although it was not analysed, almost certainly, the ones of Camarzana de Tera (Zamora), all of them already associated by stylistic and iconographic traits in common. This use of an unusual material could imply the existence of an itinerant workshop in these *villae* where it was assumed (Quintana del Marco) that another *officinal* would work, called by M. Torres Prado-Almenara, because of his intervention in these *villae* of Valladolid (Torres Carro 2011: 41-52).

Figure 30a
Mosaic of the peristyle (detail).
La Valmuza (Salamanca).

Figure 30b
Mosaic of Alcázar de San Juan
(Ciudad Real).

Figure 30c
Mosaic of the peristyle (detail).
La Valmuza (Salamanca).

Figure 30d
Mosaic of Alcázar de San Juan
(Ciudad Real).

Figure 30e
Mosaic of the peristyle (detail).
La Valmuza (Salamanca).

This *officina* likes vegetal themes –really scarce in the Meseta– on neutral or dark backgrounds: garlands that start from kraters with segments, flowers of very thin stem in the form of a little bell that leave of the vegetal horn of the scroll associated with rounded fruits. They are subjects and forms that are traced in the *villae* of Prado, Quintana del Marco, Navatejera (León), Cabezón de Pisuerga and also in the N and S arms of the cruciform *aula* of Pegasus of La Valmuza (Salamanca) (Regueras Grande – Pérez Olmedo 1997: 15-40). It is a territory where there is an interest in vegetal weaving in the old descriptions of the mosaics of Cabrillas and Castañeda de Tormes, both in Salamanca). The study of the tapestries of this *villa* of La Valmuza makes it possible to distinguish another *officina* (or group of skilled artisans within the same workshop) who worked in the SE area of the peristyle, and whose schemes and decorative forms are identical (Fig. 30a-e) to the mosaics of Alcázar de San Juan (Ciudad Real). The first *officina* (Prado-Almenara) would intervene mainly in Almenara



de Adaja where, as in La Valmuza, the theme of Pegasus and the Nymphs is also recorded, exclusive iconography of both *villae* inside Hispania, although its composition is different; The second *officina*, in Alcázar de San Juan and other *villae* of the Meseta Sur, for a long time associated with the work of the same itinerant workshop, among them the one of Gárgoles (Guadalajara), in which there is a cruciform *aula*, almost identical to the *aula* of La Valmuza.

This archaeological unit between the Douro Basin and the Tagus Basin, which form part of what we could call the “Theodosian historical nucleus”, can also be seen in the relationship between the mosaics of Segovia (in the Meseta Norte) and the ones of *Complutum* (in the Meseta Sur): that one of the room with the Seasons of Paradinas presents a compositional organization apparently similar to that of Bacchus of *Complutum* whose iconography resounds in the description of Martín Sedeño, at the end of the 18th century, about the disappeared mosaic of the grape harvest of Los Mercados (Duratón). The so-called “red mosaic” of *Complutum* (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid) shows the same chromatic containment and linear treatment as the geometric carpet of the *oecus* of Aguilafuente, in line with aesthetics of the end of the 4th and 5th centuries. Relationships between the two Mesetas that Fernández Galiano wanted to extend to the *villa* of Quintanilla de la Cueva (mosaics of Leda, Bacchus and Cupids). (Fernández Galiano 1984b: 186).

This movement of the *officinae* is also reflected, as we pointed out, in a repertoire of images such as the scenes of the *Iliad* of Cabezón (Valladolid) and Rieves (Toledo), and above all in the busts of allegories that preside some of the most emblematic spaces of the east and west arms of the *aula trichora* of Los Quintanares (Rioseco de Soria, Soria), decorated with a mesh of hexagons and vermiculated central emblems, also with hexagonal form, only preserved the one of the western side with representation of *Abundantia* (or *Fortuna*) carrying plate and cornucopia (Fig. 31); in Santervás del Burgo (Fig. 32), in the middle of the oval room with rich carpet of complex geometric design, with image of *Ceres*, also with cornucopia and *flabellum*, inscribed in a frame of two squares that are crossed diagonally. It is possible that the mosaic B of Baños de Valdearados that carries the same rotating squares in the centre could have housed an allegory like that of Santervás. Also in the mosaic of the Plaza Mayor of Medinaceli (Fig. 33) a mosaic of *triclinium* was documented and its central part was occupied by a standing image of *Ceres/Abundantia* with the cornucopia, surrounded by representations of the winds, being identical in their formal coarseness to that one of Santervás. On the other side of the mountains we know two busts in the *villa* of Saucedo (Toledo): the first of them is of *Iseaius*, who



Figure 31
Feminine bust of
Rioseco de Soria (Soria).

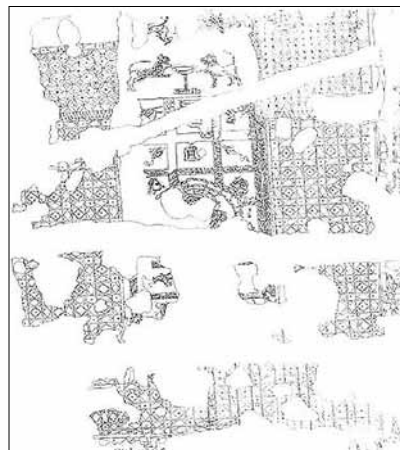


Figure 32
Feminine bust of
Santervás del Burgo (Soria).

Figure 33
Mosaic of the Plaza Mayor
of Medinaceli (Soria),
after Borobio – Pascual 1998.



Figure 34
Iscalis of Saucedo
(Talavera de la Reina, Toledo).

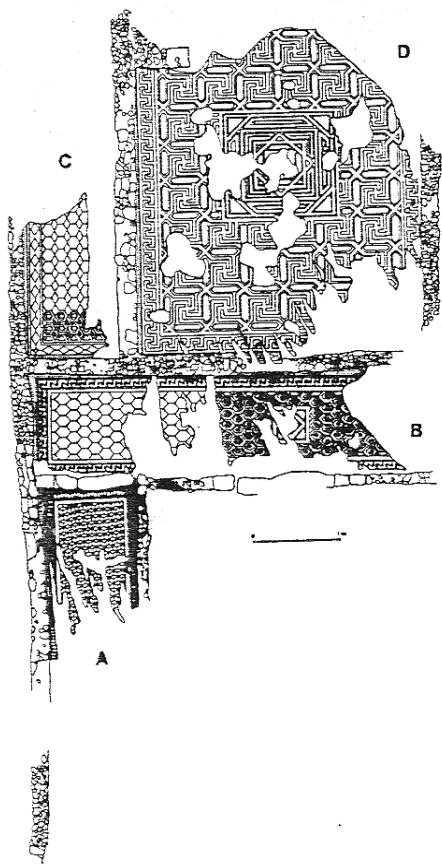


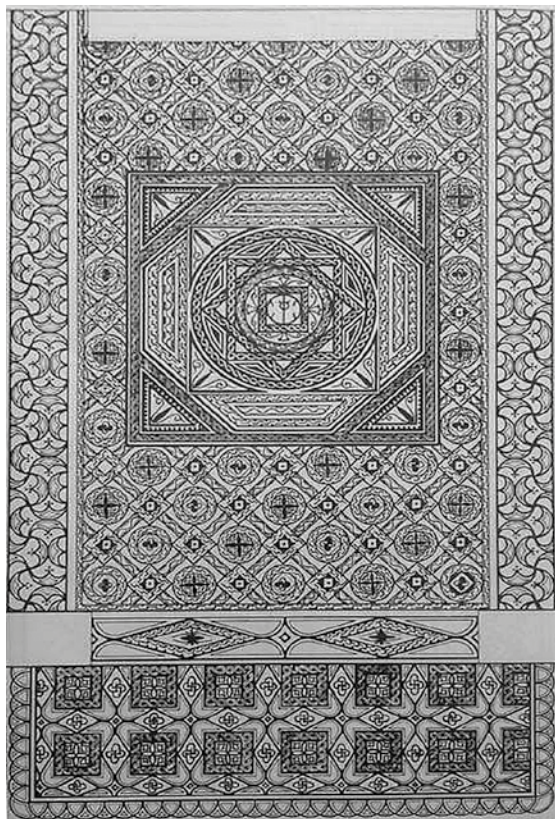
Figure 35
Oecus of Valdanzo (Soria), after Jimeno,
Argente and Gómez 1988-1989.

wears a tunic and a bonnet of Pannonia, inscribed in a *tondo* in a mosaic with the known scheme of squares and circles, and holds cornucopia with the left hand, under which a fish goes, and an apple with the other hand; the second bust is of *Iscalis*, a matron dressed in a robe and mantle, carrying a cornucopia and a globe (Fig. 34), symbols of *Fortuna* or *Tyche*, in the of a Christian basilica at the end of the 5th century, built on the site of an old thermal space. This taste for supplanting mythological compositions by other allegorical or symbolic embodied abstractions is the fashion of the Late Roman Empire, as D. Levi pointed out for the mosaics of Antioch.

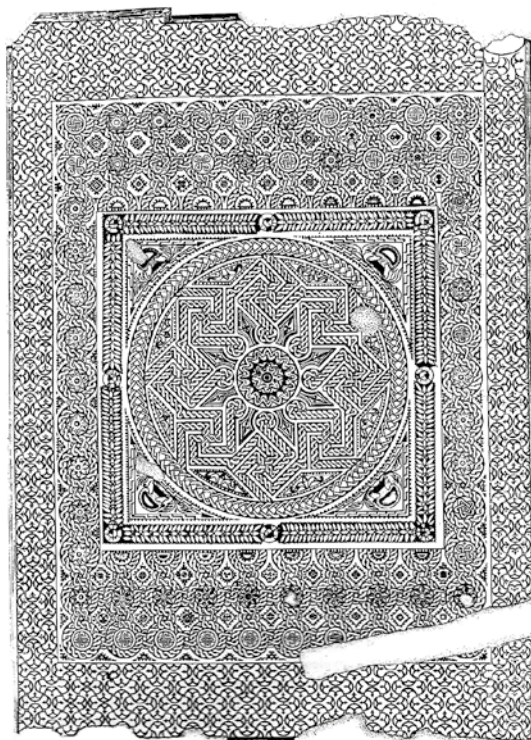
Finally we will refer to a workshop that D. Fernández Galiano called Cuevas-Valdanzo (Fernández Galiano 1980b: 127-137), because of the close affinity between the two *villae* of Soria. They are pavements of great ornamental intensity that take advantage of a simple and universal repertoire of geometric schemes and themes and also of a restricted chromatic palette (four colours). In spite of this they show a great compositional complexity that required preparatory designs and a technical knowledge previously defined by sinopias, or incisions, that guided the execution of the tapestry. A relevant feature of this *officina* is the development of squares, with inscribed circles, or crossed obliquely generating octagons, as emblems on the field of mosaic, markers of the distinction of the room or pointing, at other times, the access to them in the mosaic of the peristyle (Fig. 35). This complex treatment of the geometric themes, with concentric compositions, very overloaded and baroque compositions of textile modulation, turns some of our mosaics into authentic “oriental carpets” *avant la lettre*. Even the aforementioned squares rotated 45 degrees that give rise to an eight-pointed star suggest whether there would be no prophylactic interest in the development of this system, which will then retain all its magical value in the arts of Islam.

Beyond the relationship between the two *villae* (Cuevas-Valdanzo) and others of Soria such as Rioseco, Santervás and Ucero, others of Toledo as Rielves and others of the Ebro Basin, with dozens of geometric mosaics of the same tenor, we must understand the Cuevas-Valdanzo *officina* as a sort of “transverse phenomenon” that affects a good part of the peninsular interior area, especially the Mesetas), with different groups or teams working on common variables. That is, the wording of all these mosaics indicates above all the circulation of a standardised *koiné* that, for different reasons attracted many late Roman owners, being applied with different accents. Perhaps it is no coincidence that there is a close proximity between the centred scheme of the *oecus* of Valdanzo, the *triclinium* to the East of Cuevas, and the great mosaic no. 1 of the *villa* of Requejo, at the other end of the Castilian Meseta (Fig. 36a-b); or between the pool of the *frigidarium* of Requejo and the small bath of the *caldarium* of Cuevas. Nevertheless, although everyone shares this common feeling, for the moment, it is not possible to go further.

Other small *officinae* are detected in smaller areas, such as the one that worked in successive times in Cardañajimeno, at the end of the 4th century and already in the 5th century in Baños de Valdearados, both in the province of Burgos; in Quintanilla de la Cueva and La Olmeda, or the group that intervened in *villae* of Ávila like Magazos, possibly Mancera (Ávila) and especially in San Pedro del Arroyo (Fig. 37a-b). Here we find an old scheme (El Picadero, Écija, in the 2nd century), reformulated in the 4th century in four *villae* of the Meseta: San Pedro del Arroyo, (Ávila), Guijar de Valdevacas (Segovia), Prado (Valladolid) and Villasirga (Palencia), to the extent that it seems work of the same mosaicists (Fig. 38a-d).



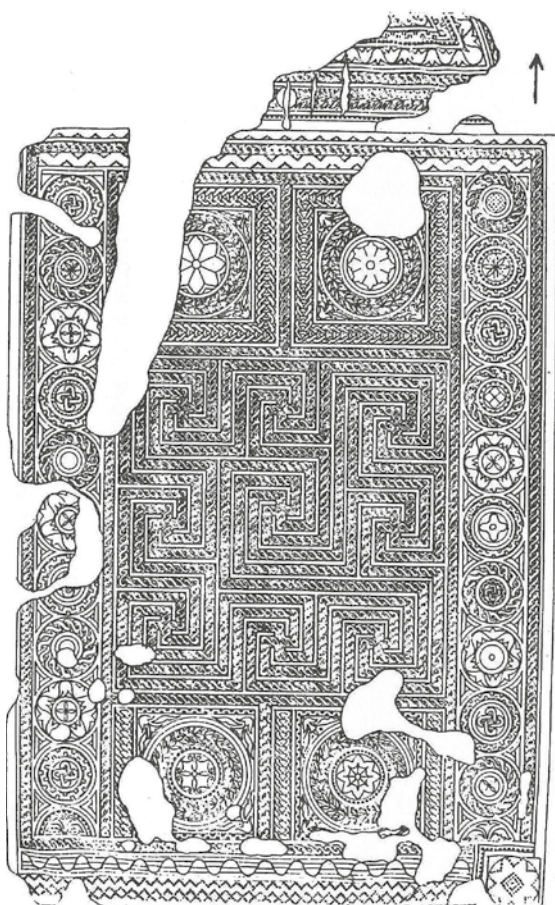
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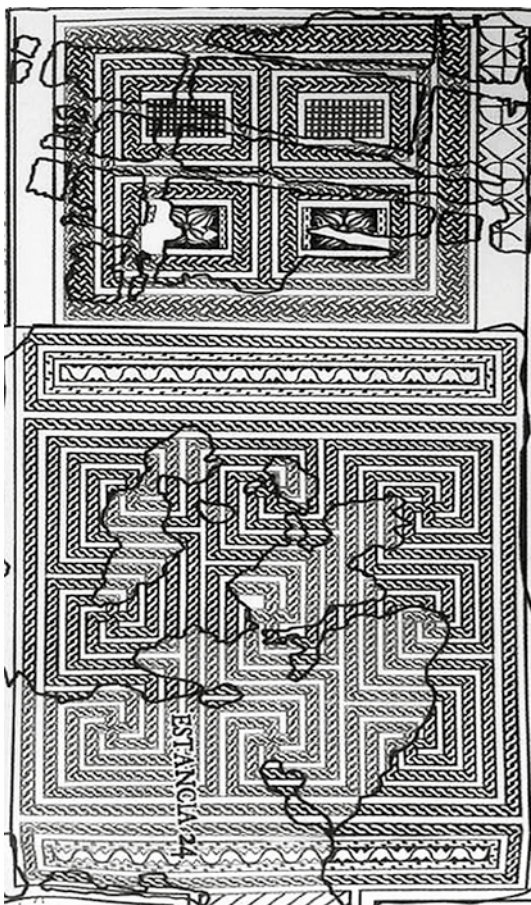
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Figure 36a
Triclinium of Cuevas
de Soria (Soria).

Figure 36b
Mosaic no. 1
of Requejo
(Santa Cristina de la
Polvorosa, Zamora),
after Regueras
Grande 1990.



c



d

Figure 37a
Mosaic of Magazos
(Ávila),
after Museo
de Ávila.

Figure 37b
Mosaic of El Vergel
(San Pedro del
Arroyo, Ávila),
after Moreda –
Serrano 2012.

Figure 38a
Room no. 7. San Pedro del Arroyo
(Ávila), after Moreda – Serrano 2012.

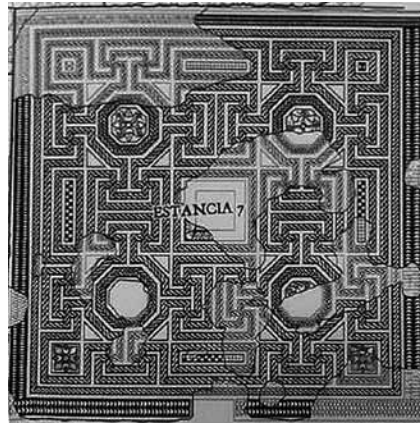


Figure 38b
Mosaic of La Palatina
(Guijar de Valdevacas, Segovia).

Figure 38c
Mosaic of villa de Prado (Valladolid).

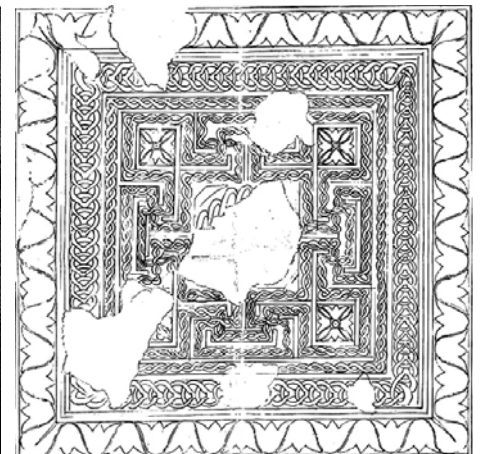
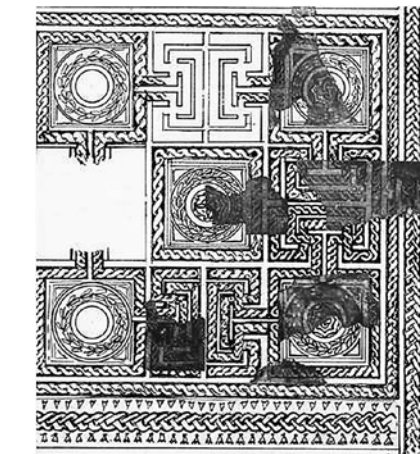


Figure 38d
Mosaic of Villasirga (Palencia).

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A Roman Mosaic Unearthed in Armazéns Sommer (Lisbon). Archaeology and Iconography

Armazéns Sommer'de (Lizbon) Açığa Çıkarılan Roma Mozaığı. Arkeoloji ve İkonografi

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Abstract

Aiming the construction of a new hotel (Hotel Cais de Santarém) using the previous basement of the large storage known as Sommer, located in Rua Cais de Santarém, n°s 40 up to 64, and limited by Rua de São João da Praça northwards and by Travessa de São João da Praça eastwards, in the city of Lisbon, a large amount of archaeological contexts were uncovered that uniquely illustrate the stratification of the city of Lisbon between the Iron Age and the first half of the 20th century. Concerning Roman urban contexts was found a domus with rooms well preserved with painted walls plaster and a pavement covered with mosaic. In this paper the authors will present the monument and further discussions will take place on excavation levels, iconographic and architectural features.

Keywords: *Olisipo, mosaic, Venus, architecture, iconography.*

Öz

Lizbon kentinde, Rua Cais de Santarém'de, 40-64 numaralı parseller arasında, kuzeyde Rua de São João da Praça ve doğuda Travessa de São João da Praça ile sınırlanan alanda, Sommer olarak bilinen eski ve oldukça geniş bir deponun temelleri üzerine inşa edilmesi planlanan Cais de Santarém isimli yeni bir otel çalışmaları esnasında, Demir Çağı'ndan başlayarak 20. yüzyılın ilk yarısına kadar uzanan geniş bir zaman dilimini kapsayan ve Lizbon kentinin zaman içerisindeki gelişimini benzersiz bir şekilde gözler önüne seren arkeolojik tabakalanma tespit edilmiştir. Roma kent konseptine ilişkin olarak iyi korunmuş odalara, boyalı duvar plasterlerine ve mozaik döşemesine sahip bir domus tespit edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, söz konusu yapı tanıtılacak olup, kazı çalışmaları, tabakalanma, mimari ve ikonografik özellikler tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Olisipo, mozaik, Venüs, mimari, ikonografi.*

1. Introduction¹

Two major archaeological campaigns were carried out in the larger old storage house known as Armazéns Sommer under the responsibility of Ana Gomes between 2004 and 2005 (First phase) and one second phase, under the supervision of the Neoépica Lda archaeologists Ricardo Ávila Ribeiro, Nuno Neto, Paulo Rebelo and Miguel Rocha, later on in 2014 and 2015.

The archaeological works, led the team of archaeologists to found in the layers unearthed evidences of a continuous occupation revealing different cultures, ways of living that shaped Lisbon from early seventh century BC to the 20th century AD.

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Figure 1
Location of The Armazéns Sommer
in Lisbon (inside green frame)
(Google Earth).

2. Location

The old building where the Armazéns Sommer is located, at present time, on Rua Cais de Santarém, running from number 40 up to 64, in the parish of Santa Maria Maior in Lisbon, along the right bank of the river Tejo in a distance near 90 m, nowadays.

Settlers, of different archaeological epochs, created platforms of urban occupation adapted to their living and to the conditions in the steep north- south of the hill. In view of the archaeological finds was possible infer, the occupation/ living since the Iron Age. With the assets obtained, from the excavations in these older strata, it was easy to ascertain this kind of strategy used by the former settlers, which prevailed later on in Roman, Medieval times, and even nowadays (Fig. 1).

3. Archaeological Context

In 1997 took place the first archaeological field works which were stopped due to technical reasons. Seven years later (2004) a new archaeological interventions took place for two consecutive years, scientific conducted by Ana Gomes (Gomes 2004; 2005) resulting in a large amount of structures, with special emphasis, to the Roman defensive structures such as: some part of the imperial wall and parts of the late Roman wall, with chronologies of the 1st century AD for the former and, 4th /5th century to the second (Gaspar – Gomes 2007: 693-694). During this phase was discovered on an upper level, a well preserved urban Roman complex, with a slab pavement providing access to a fountain and to a well-cistern.

The last archaeological works were carried out under scientific responsibility of Neoépica Limited uncovered a strong, completed and very complex view of the site, with a large occupational area, crossing different chronological times and with different degrees of occupations and destructions.

Figure 2
Roman domus – excavating
abandonment strata.



A small archaeological survey was carried in the Roman *domus* area, in 2004, with conserved walls, 2.75 m height, with scraps of painted plaster and a mosaic floor decorated with heart shaped motifs and peltas in white and black *tesserae* (Gomes 2004). This was the second Roman mosaic floor unearthed and found in Olisipo *in situ*. In 1991 in an archaeological survey at Rua dos Correiros (Lisbon) had been found the first polychrome geometric mosaic associated, by the archaeologists, with Roman baths, dated by stylistic parallels from the second half of the 3rd AD (Amaro – Caetano 1993-1994; Caetano 2001).

4. Spaces Definition and Archaeological Interpretation

During the archaeological excavation of the *domus* were identified a total number of four different compartments in different grade of decay. For a better understanding of their study and presentation they will be numbered from West to East (Fig. 3).

There is also a strong possibility that the area excavated was a ground level building. The North wall was the limit of compartments 2 and 3 (with number 4 at least on the corner) was built and supported by the geological outcrop.

Compartment 1, was identical built and supported by the geological substratum. Some archaeological vestiges were found and gave a mere suggestion and identification of it. These changes happened due building works that occurred in Late Roman, Medieval and in modern ages.

4.1. Compartment 1

It is a triangular small room, suggesting the use of a small recess, building technique so much in use by the Roman house builders having in mind an extra space for stowage, *latrinae*, or for the *lararium*.

As compartment 2 it was affected by the building, in modern times, of the southward very thick wall. At the western vertical projection were found preserved “islands” of the walls coating made of white plaster without decoration,

Pavement used in this room was made in white compact, not very thick, mortar, over the geological substratum.

4.2. Compartment 2

The functionality of this space and its interpretation will allow us to understand how all compartments were in connection with it due to three main factors: the better grade of conservation, the presence of the Venus mosaic and the painted walls.

Panels disposition inside the mosaic can offer hypotheses for a better study and at some time offer a more detailed analysis aiming a sound interpretation how the space was organized. The entrance to the room was located south, and was trim down when it was built a modern wall this fact was based on a pillar, found during the archaeological works, and aiming to provide the division between compartments 2 and 3 but also as an aperture that enable the entrance to compartment 2. The shattered panel, decorated with “plants and floral motifs” standing, by the pillar, looks as an architectural testimony of the recess and the passage to another room, *atrium* or the corridor, to reach compartment 2. It is likewise important to know how the correlation with compartment 1, as long, as we guess that the access to reach this compartment 2 must be through the “plants and flowers” room. The wall that defines compartments 1 and 2 ends the access with a doorframe. We did not found other entrance to the compartment 1 but in case of a possibility of that existence it would be located southwards. Therefore this simple entrance by the “mosaic room” was certainly due by the dimensions and importance of this little space.

Concerning the mosaic panels, the site of the rectangular decorated mosaic with the mills of peltas at the very end of the room, and the panel of Venus, located near the entrance, acting as an invitation figure to the room’s atmosphere, can be compared with a mosaic from Mérida in Casa del Mítreo known as the Mosaico Cosmológico.

This example shows at the end of the room one rectangular panel with geometric motifs while the cosmological mosaic is located close to the unique entrance enclosed by two longitudinal panels decorated with the repetition of the same geometric motives.

Compartment 2 was a private room with no entrance, because archaeological speaking we did not find any traces of communication facilities with compartment 3, in view of these facts we probably classify the room/compartment as the *tablinum* of this *domus*.

The quality of this mosaic, the decoration complexity, the excellent skills used in the central *emblema*, the small size of *tesserae* and the materials applied, are very strong reasons for we consider the owner, the *dominus*, a man of social and economic power but particularly aware of the importance of the architectural design of the house. We can conclude - A private space, “par excellence”, for business and entertainment at same time.

The access, although in ruin, to the *tablinum*, it would be done through the *atrium* just as it happens in Mérida or by the *peristylum*, that was been affected, by the lowering of the ground in modern ages, it means when the construction of the wall that damaged the southern *domus* structures.

Severe remodelling of this compartment in the 3rd or in the 4th century occurred interfering to its functionality. The changes are highly notorious concerning the

mural paintings using now sober colours and changes in the panels from possible figurative pictures, to geometric models much more easy to paint. These transformations are also evident on the floor level, where an *opus segmentatum* surface, probably, erasing the existent polychromatic and mythological mosaic.

4.3. Compartment 3

We had strong difficulties to understand the functionality of this room as long as it was a compartment paved with a mosaic that no longer exist, however the spatial structuring allows some interpretative analyse. The only way-in, would be through the eastern door that accesses to compartment 4. The division between compartments 3 and 2 was made by a thin wall in *opus latericium* – measuring less than 0,30 m thickness and identified in the collapsed debris of the destruction and abandonment levels (Fig. 2).

In the pavement is clearly marked in all extension with lumps of mortar with the imprints where *lateris* were located as well as imprints on the paintings that covered the North wall. During the excavations it was not found any passage that could link the two spaces. This is a small room with an area of 16 square meters. However we think that it could have been a room with some significance due to the vestiges of *opus tessellatum*, pavement, found. Maybe, it is a *cubiculum* par excellence for private occasions.

4.4. Compartment 4

The excavations were inconclusive in this space as long as we could not found the area involved nor any trace of decoration or any built additional elements but a door that made the separation with compartment 3. We came to the conclusion that it developed eastward to the next building due the fact of being supported by the wall that divide compartments 3 and 4 and by the door.

Figure 3
Roman domus view of painted
plasters and pavement with mosaic.
Indication of the four compartments.



5. The Building Phases

The archaeological works allow us to establish a number of building phases to the *domus* through the identification and overlapping layers on the wall paintings and from the identification of floors or their remains or namely in an extra analyse on compartment 2 and 3. No materials related to the *domus* construction moments were identified, but associated with the moments of destruction and abandonment.

5.1. Phase I – mid 2nd century AD

Strong evidences let us conclude that in this period they started building the *domus*. The Venus mosaic was constructed upon a layer of *opus signinum* directly applied over the outcrop in compartment 2, as well as, the mosaic decorated with phytomorphic motifs located next to the south entrance, with the same decorative motifs. The archaeological levels sequence of the NW corner was disturbed by the opening, of a pit/silo in medieval times – on the side wall of the opening we were able to notice that the mosaic is over a water proof stratum of *opus signinum* directly over the geological crop without any other pavement under it.

In compartment 3, where it was used the same building technique, we just discovered the geometric mosaic. We had found *tesserae* in the outline near the “step”, as well as close the North wall and mainly hundreds of single *tesserae* in deposit [923] finally groups of *tesserae* with geometric decoration. The stone (“step”) alignment belongs to this moment. We could notice very easy that the step is slightly overlapping the mosaic however we are sure that the mosaic does not extend under the “step” and even less under compartment 2’s mosaic. So, we came to the conclusion that there was since the beginning, a differentiation concerning space availability and not an after procedure of space division, idea given by the wall in *opus latericium* that stands there. The main question without any possible answer until now is to know if the existence of the wall is prior to the build the space or if the “step”, visible today, was a mere step allowing the way in between two thresholds. The presence of paint over the imprints of *lateris*



Figure 4
North wall painted plasters

in the division wall led us to think that for a while there was no wall at all, only the “step” that made the separation between the two spaces. However the arrays of the *tesserae* in the Venus mosaic end in the “step” zone let us think that they are against something that no longer exist, we mean the *opus latericium wall*. The original first painting limit of the walls are quite similar concerning these two floors: there were at North and East walls red panels with a marbled veneering plinth that covered both sides of the door and we are sure that the same happened with the western wall of compartment 3, although we did not find *in situ* any mark of this limit. To this same moment must belong the large fragments of panels painted in red Pompeian framed white found among the debris associated to the wall *lateres*. Some very large panels fragments were found over the pavement untouched since their fall proving that the mosaics were part of the initial decoration together with the red panels, with the marbled veneering plinth and with a probable panel figurative due the fact that among the abandonment deposit and near the North wall, we found fragments painted in black and sky blue colors as well as some depicted fragments, although damaged by the Modern palace's courtyard foundations and also in the NW corner by a Medieval pit (Fig. 4).

According to the chronologies pointed out by the mosaic and the paintings, this phase seems to have been executed in the middle of the 2nd century AD.

5.2. Phase II – 3rd or 4th Century

During the 3rd century or maybe in the 4th century AD some grate building alterations took place. When the two compartments were clear from the debris we could notice that the compartment 2 suffered more alterations than compartment 3.

In compartment 2, the mosaic was covered by a layer of white mortar of different thickness (in some zones very thick) and composition, aiming to cover it for a construction of a different pavement. So a new *opus segmentatum* pavement was built. No marble fragments or objects were found *in situ*, during the excavations, however they were quite noticeable, due to different types of marks and imprints in the mortars. In the abandonment levels excavated were found large quantities of little polygonal flakes of different colours and shapes some with white mortar beneath.

In the walls, the figurative motifs, the red panels and the marbled veneering plinth were changed by panels with white background surround by red frames with red and black geometric motifs that happened either in the North wall or in the West wall.

Concerning compartment 3 the only detected alteration, was located in the window area where, during this phase, was built a little wall covered with a plain white plaster. This little wall veiled partially the remnant painting of the pillar. During this phase the mosaic remained unchanged and used until the very last moment of the abandonment of the house.

Summarizing, during this second phase and within compartment 2, the *opus segmentatum* pavement that covered the mosaic will coexist with the geometric panels of the walls, while in compartment 3 the mosaic continues articulated with the red panels.

Phase III – Abandonment and destruction – 4th - 5th centuries.

Archaeological speaking there is a great possibility that the moment for the abandonment and destruction was due to the building of the Late Roman Wall as it was confirmed in some other interventions where the foundations of the wall were found.

The deposit excavated, level of destruction of compartment 2, revealed very compact green clays, building material, namely *lateres* and mortars with some domestic and storage ceramics in small pieces, and a large quantity of wall painted plaster fragments and a huge quantity of broken marble plaques that covered the *opus segmentatum* Venus mosaic in all area.

We found in this deposit, the debris of *lateres* of the dividing wall that collapsed simultaneously.

The deposit of the abandonment of compartment 3 is essentially very alike to the deposit described *supra* however the green clays were less compacted, with large quantities of chalk and mortar, and painted sherds of lesser dimensions (mostly less than 10 cm), also large quantities of single *tesserae* and also groups of two or three and, sometimes large fragments of the mosaic. We assume that the green clay deposit appeared in the compartment 3 was a dumping pit needed for the opening areas to build the foundations of the southern Wall.



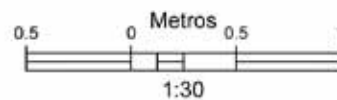
6. The mosaic pavement

The pavement mosaic is rectangular in its form longer by the N-S side and it is surrounded by a pave decorated by a sequence of ivy leaves. A third of the northern *opus*, is filled by the multiplication of eight peltas column (E-W) four times (N-S) suggesting the whirling constant movement of mill having a Solomon knot as central decoration. The central motif is facing south and it is framed by a curve guilloche.

Two fillets one white and a the other black framed a large circle that it is subdivided by a braid of two cables creating a decorative space for seven hexagon with the inner with figurative decoration while the other six around it, are decorated with medallions with different decorations. Four of them are decorated with fleuron with assorted leaves, to obtain a combination to form a six pointed star. The last two medallions have the same decoration - six pointed star by using a geometric technique of joining two equilateral triangles alternating in colour

Figure 5
Mosaic in excavation

Figure 6
Panels in the West room



- one red the other blue. We must highlighted from this decorative composition the central hexagon decorated with the figure of a naked Venus, with her left arm resting in something difficult to define (we guess probably an oar) while with the right hand she lacing/unlacing the sandal on the left foot, sheltered by a great shell (Fig. 8).

Technically speaking the contour and the padding of Venus was made with *tesserae* averaging 20mm. The shell was depicted with *tesserae* of equal dimensions. In the contour and the scallops of the shell were used dark blue *tesserae* alternating with lighter hue colour suggesting the concavities of the scallop (Figs. 7-8).

The Venus mosaic has parallels in Itálica - Spain, in El-Djem - Tunisia, and in Rimini - Italy. For us, the mosaic from Itálica known has “the mosaic from the



Figure 7
Mosaic *emblema*.

house of the planetary” shows a composition that can be compared with the mosaic from Armazéns Sommer due the similarity between the two. Inside a limiting large circle other seven smaller circles, framed by hexagons, decorated with busts of Roman divinities depicting the observable Astros, with naked eye, while Venus is depicted in the *emblema*. Venus or *dies veneris* was the last day of the week, surrounded by the others from left to right (Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter). It is datable from the second half of the second-century AD (Manas Romero 2009: 191-194). Other parallel was found in the House of Africa in Thysdrus El Djem, North Africa with the same chronology and geometric composition although the Roman deities no longer exist being substituted by allegories to the Roman provinces.

When we compare the Mosaic of Venus with the mosaics indicated supra concerning their “pattern” and their “finishing” we considered that it had been done with less detail special regarding the central *emblema*, with the image of Venus and, moreover a poor space organization of the mosaic although the size of the *tesserae* are smaller, average 20 mm and the use of diversified building materials.

As long as it was used only one row of *tesserae* to define the face contours and as well as the body, the trace of the figure is less neat, and there is also a lack of depth and shading effects at same time. However there is a special concerning with the back stage scallop shell where they used a variety of coloured ceramic and vitreous, representing the water element.

Figure 8
Detail of the *emblema* motif.



In Itálica (Spain) the representations of the figures were done with extremely care concerning the face details, the hair and garments, and with great deal of expertise in the use of the light and shade and depth. The same happens with El-Djem mosaic. The human images as well as vegetalistic elements and frames are larger when compared with the *Olisipo* mosaic.

The mosaic located at the Armazéns Sommer, although using a similar decoration programme as the one applied at “*casa del planetário*”, found a proper new esthetical composition different from this Spanish mosaic. Instead of using a same scale to represent the seven stars/deities, six periphery representations were erased and replaced by vegetalistic and geometric medallions a much more easy composition to achieve. However, the Venus *emblema* remains acquiring now a new dynamic. A whole body figure is depicted, reporting to an iconography with ancient roots, dating back to Hellenistic times and prevailing through Classic times. The image of Venus tying/untying, her sandal is well known in all sort of History of Art with a special emphasis in statues and statuettes. One perfect example of a statue of Venus of the 3rd century AD was unearthed in the Roman *villa* at Quinta das Longas in the actual Portuguese territory (Basarrate et al. 2002: 126-128).

Hypothetical speaking we can propose that is no more than one of the oldest epithets of the Deity, The Aphrodite Euploia, of the Good Journey (Rosenzweig 2004: 90) the protector of the Seafarers. This theory is based on the fact that in this representation the goddess lean her left arm on an identified brown element in an oblique position that goes right under the left elbow to the centre of the representation that could be an oar (a Goddess personal attribute that sometimes is present in some statuary). Also in the Roman villa at Quinta da Longas was found a marble fragment possible belonging to a rudder wich was part of the decoration of a destroyed *nymphaeum* (Basarrate et al. 2002: 124). The work of the mosaicist reveals the originality of bringing together in the same program three iconographic episodes related to Venus: (i) her presence in the Planetário mosaic, (ii) the tying/untying the sandal (iii) finally by the scenographic framing related to her birth, the great shell as in exemplified the mosaic of the Birth of

Venus in the Cártama's mosaic in Málaga (San Nicolás Pedraz 1994: 395) thus making this mosaic an unique apology to the multiple faces of the deity.

7. Conclusion

We came to the conclusion how the mosaic pavement, under study, reflects such strong cosmopolitan and stylistic interchanges, between the city of *Olisipo* and the rest of the Roman Empire.

Here the “classical” elements come together as the use of peltas, filiforms with ivy leaves, the use of braids and curved centre guilloche and the application of geometric stars and triangles in the filling of compositional spaces, appear mixed with new southern inputs, based on a program developed on a honeycomb system inscribed within a large circumference. Polychromy (moderate) is common to the whole theme, the use of the two-wire braid as a hexagons defining element, the figuration based in technical and plastic simplicity, represents itself however, expressive by the use of dark lines in the minimalist contours, without recourse to *degradé*. The mosaic pavement from the Antigos Armazéns Sommer due to its high degree of conservation, and by the richness of its decoration will be able to provide some more information for the study of the Roman mosaics in the Iberian Peninsula. An “extra hand” for enduring the construction of the Corpus of the Roman mosaics found in the Western provinces of the Empire.

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Geometric Mosaics of Baetica

Baetica'daki Geometrik Mozaikler

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Abstract

With the present research we present a preview of an ambitious investigative project currently being carried out that pursues the study and analysis of all the geometric mosaics of Roman Baetica, most especially their composition and/or geometric design. Additionally, we offer a general view of the investigative course of action, the method, and the technique among other things, and an overview of the obtained results up to this point. The sheer quantity of floor mosaics obtained from within the territorial borders of ancient roman Baetica and the complexity of this assignment due to the utilized methodology make it so that our research advances rather slowly. Even so, we currently have more than half of the mosaics of Baetica catalogued and analyzed. The study's progress and a rather large portion of the catalogue of geometric designs have been recently published and are available at: Vargas Vázquez 2014, id. 2016.

Throughout this research we hope to demonstrate the importance of the mosaic in the roman province of Baetica as a highly prized and demanded element, in both urban and rural environments. We seek to highlight the geometry of the mosaic expressed in its various and interesting forms, designs and/or compositions that are both simple and complex, and in many cases fruit of a marketed and evident creativity, singularity, and originality.

Keywords: *Baetica, geometric mosaic, geometric design, composition, tesserae.*

Öz

Bu çalışmada, Roma Dönemi kenti Baetica'da bulunan tüm geometrik mozaiklerin, özellikle bunların kompozisyonunun ve geometrik tasarımının incelenmesini ve araştırılmasını yürütmekte olan iddialı bir araştırma projesinin önizlemesi sunulmaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, bu araştırmanın eylem planı, metodu ve tekniği açıklanacak olup, şimdiye değin elde edilen sonuçlarla ilgili genel bir çerçeve çizilecektir. Roma Dönemi Baetica kentinin bölgesel sınırları içerisinde tespit edilen mozaiklerin sayıca çok olması ve uygulanan metodoloji nedeniyle, bu araştırma konusunun girifliliğinden kaynaklanan sebepler nedeniyle çalışma yavaş bir biçimde ilerleme kaydetmektedir. Yine de, Baetica'da yer alan mozaiklerin yarısından çoğu kataloglanmış ve analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın bulunduğu aşama ve çoğunluğu geometrik desenlerden oluşan mozaiklerin kataloğu yakın zamanda yayınlanmıştır (bkz. Vargas Vázquez 2014, id. 2016).

Bu çalışmada, Baetica'nın hem kırsal hem de kentsel alanlarında yer alan, oldukça değerli ve talep edilen bir öge olan Roma Dönemi mozaiklerinin önemi vurgulanacaktır. Bunun yanı sıra, çeşitli ve ilginç formlardaki mozaikler, hem basit hem de karmaşık olarak yapılmış tasarımlar ve/veya kompozisyonlar, pek çok durumda pazarlanmış olan belirgin bir yaratıcılık, bireysellik ve orijinallik gibi konular aydınlığa kavuşturulmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anhtar Kelimeler: *Baetica, geometrik mozaik, geometrik tasarım, kompozisyon, tesserae.*

The Roman *Baetica* is divided administratively into four *conventus iuridici*: *Cordubensis*, *Gaditanus*, *Hispalensis* and *Astigitanus*, whose capitals were *Corduba*, *Gades*, *Hispalis* and *Astigi*. These had similar limits to Andalusia at present although not absolutely exact, because in it there was an important part of South Badajoz too. In addition, some areas of Granada, Jaén and Almería were also outside of this territory. It is certain, in the present state of the investigation that these limits are not as clear as we hoped.

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In any case, it is an undeniable reality that the *Baetica* province was one of most prosperous and rich of The Roman world, due to its enormous economic potentiality and to its wealth derived from many frontiers. It also had to do with certain factors that allowed or made it possible for the increasing economic boom, such as the terrestrial and fluvial wealth, as well as communication channels and potentiality of its earth and waters. With them, agriculture, the cattle industry, mining, quarries, salt, salt conservatives, among others give origin to the birth of an important number of rustic and marine villas. Two products were the determining factors for their economic development in the height of boom of the villas and their decorative programs, especially with respect to the mosaics, oil and wine.

The production and marketing of two basic agricultural products, wine and oil, which together with cereals constituted the agricultural triad of the Mediterranean area; play in the *Baetica* a fundamental and prominent role for their economic development. Classic references speak about the wine of the *Baetica* with the dates extracted by archaeologists, it can be added to the numerous bunches and vineyards and Bacchic scenes represented in mosaics as evidence of farming and the significance of vineyards and wine in the *Baetica* (Vargas Vázquez – López Monteagudo in print). Bacchic scenes like these are extended around the South of the peninsular's geography, which are documented with a special and significant frequency in mosaics from Italica and Córdoba and, in a more reiterated way, in Écija. It can be added to other regions and they do not happen unnoticed in the Roman towns of *Baetica*, where they become a figurative element.

It is obvious, that there is a direct relationship between the Bacchic scenes and the production of wine or culture of the farming vine, mainly if it considers the mystical and religious characters that accompany this type of representation and the idea of the simple taste for this theme¹. In the specific case of Écija it is necessary to add the circumstances of the multiple Bacchic representations that are exhibited in the mosaics and aren't reflected in others, at least with frequency (Vargas Vázquez – López Monteagudo in print).

The same, although to a lesser extent happens with oil, whose plants and allegorical figures are mainly in the mosaics of Córdoba and Écija, is directly related to the production and the export of oil. A subject that has been an objective of numerous and extensive bibliographies by M. Ponsich and most recently by J. Remesal. There isn't any doubt about the wealth generated by the *Baetica* commerce of olive oil, documented in the epigraphy on amphoras, detonated the splendor of these villas and their rich mosaics, a mirror of the prosperity of its proprietors (López Monteagudo 1998: 359-376; López Monteagudo 2007: 470-472; Vargas Vázquez – López Monteagudo in print). The splendor was shown by the luxury and emblazonment, which domus and villas offered, where some proprietors will not repair, as they show the use, between many other elements of prestige, of marble, sculpture and mosaic, that sometimes, as it has been demonstrated in the Roman villa of the Station of Antequera, makes clear use of tesserae covered with affine and a delicate gold layer (Romero Pérez – Vargas Vázquez 2012: 823-828; Vargas Vázquez 2016: 18).

¹ In spite of it, the continued use of Bacchic scenes, in Écija and Italica, and other zones of *Baetica*, it is a fact that is disquieting and invites to the reflection, mainly when some of them include episodes related to the realistic production of the wine, that is to say, the walking on the grape in lagar in mosaics of Italica and of the capital from *Astigi*. They lack, however, half mythological scenes, half realistic scenes, where appear erotes or putti collecting grapes in polychrome and b/w mosaics of the capital of *Lusitania*.

The mosaics of the *Baetica* are therefore the reflection of a widely demanded and consolidated urban product, which are the reflected scope of the wealth of their owners too, as archaeological sites, like Italica, Córdoba, Sevilla, Écija or Carmona among others. These mosaics are a reflection of a widely occupied, organized and well-structured field, where villas act as controllers, articulated and unifying elements of the territory, and where owners let glimpse their power and economic status with elements of prestige like mosaics, especially among third and fifth centuries AD. Although many scattered villas in the Andalusian territory throw earlier chronologies, being in another reality, surviving very extensive chronological arcs (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 318-319).

All this splendor derived from the urban and also rural world, lived by the Roman *Baetica* at different moments throughout the centuries, is partly responsible for the enormous catalogue of mosaics on which at the moment Andalusia counts. This extensive catalogue, however, does not have to suppose more than a minimal part of which it had to contain in its origin.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, our investigation concentrates on the analysis of geometric mosaics in the Roman *Baetica*, especially with the compositions and/or geometrical designs that define these mosaics, and all the nourished and interesting volumes of pavements made up of more than 400 units². For its attainment, one of the essential sections is framed within an applied methodology of study, which indeed consists of the cataloguing of all the mosaics³, which is not an easy task due to the difficulties involved in many cases, access to information and some of the copies.

At the present state of investigation, our catalogue already counts the registry of the mosaics of deposits in Italica, Écija, Sevilla and Carmona, with a volume of more than 270 pavements. Next to these, other urban nuclei of Roman age mosaics have also been provided to our catalogue, though in smaller quantities emphasizing *Ilipa Magna*, *Antikaria* and *Cartima*. In the previous mentioned cases, their pavements are already a part of our catalogue of mosaics. The registry of Córdoba's mosaics, which was the capital of the province, prints a greater difficulty, and also counts on a huge number of mosaics. Many of these remain unpublished and in many cases they are stored in warehouses at the Archaeological Museum of Córdoba. The tracking of these archaeological excavations also demonstrate a great number of mosaics without studying and with difficult accessibility, one reason why the cataloguing of all of them appears to be difficult although not impossible. This, therefore, is one of the pending aims of our work.

Next to the mosaics derived from the urban nuclei of The Roman age, our research also goes after the analysis of villa pavements placed in the geographic limits of *Baetica*. We can assure in the present state of the investigation that all pavements derived from the villas of *Baetica*, discovered until 2015, are registered in our catalogue, forming a nourished group of more than 150 pavements, relocated in 44 different sites⁴.

² There is not an enter, among others, the mosaics of Córdoba, city that surely is going to increase of ample way and important the catalogue of pavements that we are conforming.

³ Our catalogue has the capacity for any type of tessellated pavement, independently of its decoration and therefore not only the geometric mosaics, as well as any type of pavement, with the intention of securing a final image of the types of pavements that occurred in the Roman *Baetica*, the techniques, the styles, the functionalities, etc.

⁴ To those 44 towns is united to them many other where indications of paving with mosaic have not been documented, and will be necessary in the future to add other so many deposits in which the rest of pavements or tesserae evidence that at the time also counted on mosaics (Vargas Vázquez - López Monteagudo 2016; in print). The presence of tesserae in deposits still to excavate and documents by

From all of the above, it follows that the research of the mosaics of *Baetica* shows a complex and interesting heritage that places the province as one of the largest number of Roman mosaics contributed so far. With a clear predominance of the geometric mosaic, especially in the Roman villas.

This circumstance of the presence of a greater number of geometric mosaics has nothing to do with chronological aspects or with a greater probability with economic aspects, since the pavements with figurative representations surely had to be more expensive than geometric ones. Although, that affirmation can not always be applied in a strict way in all of the cases. There it exists the possibility that some proprietors felt a major predilection for geometric mosaics, due to factors tied with trends and fashions imposed at certain moments, or simply a personal preference towards that decorative type. Proprietors who, at the same time preferred figurative elements over other supports such as sculptures or painting murals. A clear example of this could be the villa of El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba), in which all well-known mosaics are especially geometric, mosaics of great beauty, which in some cases exhibit excellent geometric compositions which don't need to envy the figurative representations (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 318-319).

In favour of the enhancement and value of geometry it is not necessary also to forget something extremely important like the complexity and the laboriousness of some compositions, as well as the excellent location that this matter reached in the old world, whose dominion was a faithful reflection of culture and wisdom (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 318). In addition to this, it is a subject of essential knowledge in important areas such as architecture, engineering, surveying, etc., whose compositions were applied to the aesthetic point of view, multiple supports and materials destined to embellish all types of buildings in public and private sectors, and other elements like clothes, weaves, ceramic, jewels, arms, etc. In this way, mosaics, paintings, cornices, friezes, stuccos, reliefs, jewels, ceramics, etc., constituted elements susceptible to be decorated and embellished with simple and, sometimes, complex geometric designs. Geometry constitutes, in this sense a thematic presence within the Roman society, which we sometimes trivialize and consequently deny importance to that it had and also has nowadays (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 31).

It is also interesting to see how geometry sometimes forms an ideal element to frame the different scenes that are to be represented in the mosaic or, as Dra. López Monteagudo has pointed out, to compartmentalize and fragment a given scene or story (Fig. 1). In the case of *Baetica*, one of the most notorious cases, in which geometry interacts masterly with the figurative element, we find it in one of its main and most significant sites, Italica, with beautiful mosaics that show the interest of some owners by geometry, and in which it acquires a fully decisive paper.

Next onto the elaboration of the catalogue. It is essential to have a control of all the *Baetica*' pavements, the strength and perhaps more importantly, of our methodology and our work of investigation. This involves individualizing and analyzing, to draw and classify all present geometric compositions in the studied

archaeological prospections shows the possibility of the existence of mosaics in the same. Zones exist near present Écija and others located in surroundings of course under Guadalquivir, in areas near populations like Dark-brown of River or Palma del Río, among others, where they document an important number of deposits with presence of tesserae that can be demonstrating the existence of great towns, many of probably paved them with mosaics (it see in this sense the prospections realized by M. Ponsich: Ponsich 1974; 1979; 1987; 1991).

Figure 1
The Mosaic of “the love of Zeus”
in Italica (López Monteagudo –
Neira 2010: fig. 24).

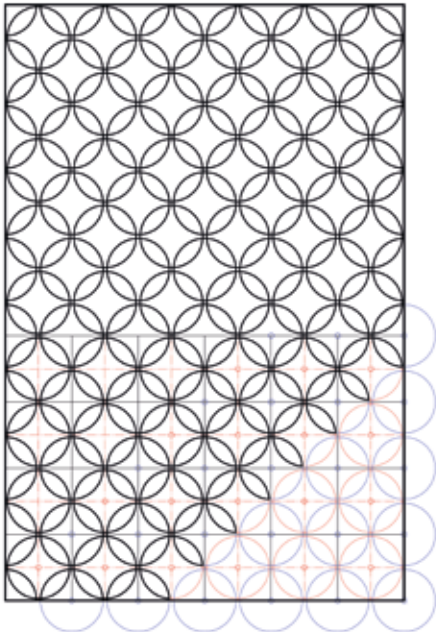


Figure 2
Design by Vargas Vázquez B17A.

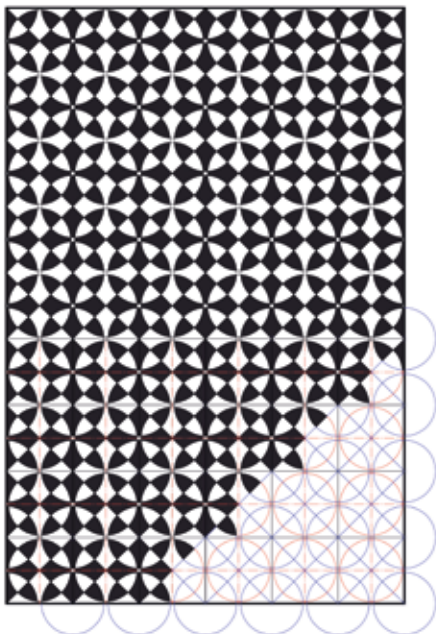


Figure 3
Design by Vargas Vázquez B18A.

pavements, mainly those that appropriately compose and define their fields or carpets of mosaics, and also, all these compositions that are part of borders, constituting figures, simple or composed, which compose the auxiliary decoration of main and secondary spaces in the mosaics⁵.

Throughout the elaboration of our designs we try to build models, developing the drawings from zero and applying precise methods, sometimes simple, in agreement with the circumstances of the time. A method that is providing some interesting results that force us to think and to rethink each one of the models, drawing them all from base up. It is exactly this last act that has allowed us to discover something extremely important which is to verify some of them you need to follow rules very close to their elaboration, or better still, designs that at first do not own a similar appearance, share the same origin and/or initial base in its development. This happens for example with the composition of four-leafed designs (Fig. 2). These are present in a multitude of mosaics from *Baetica* and with our design of four-leafed flowers and crosses with lance form (Fig. 3), extracted from a mosaic in Écija. As it is possible to be verified, in spite of the aesthetic distance that exists between these models, both share a very similar base, arisen from a plot from tangent and drying circumferences. In the case of the second model, the difference with first settles down with the introduction of diagonal lines that cut the petals in two. With regards to colour, this element is essential to fill the model's content and to establish the differences clearly.

⁵ In parallel to the study of the geometric compositions that define the mosaics' fields, we are coming to analyze, to individualize, to classify and to draw all the geometric, simple or complex figures, that they comprise of decorative to help and/or secondary equipment of the mosaics, as well as the geometric compositions that shape their borders.

Once drawings are created in the different designs, the following step of our work consists of classifying and grouping them from purely geometric criteria. In this sense, the units are grouped in a same family according to a same geometric base for their accomplishment or, simply, from the figure or more excellent geometric figures or with greater predominance in the same.

At the moment we have established 12 families of geometric designs (including the compositions with linear elements) from A to L, which pick up the compositions of interlaced ends or embroidery. Group B corresponds to the designs with circular elements, C to those in which the triangular elements predominate. Group D emphasizes the quadrangular elements, F the octagonal ones and G contains designs of crossings of *scuta*. Group H focuses on those which swastikas retain greater prominence, I contains compositions with dodecagons, J with stars with four ends and K with stars of rhombuses⁶.

Within the different conformed design families, some already existing which pick up a nourished and an ample number of compositions, like the ones that reunite the designs with circular or basic circular elements, or others which predominates the quadrangular base or the quadrilateral forms. Following these, although with obvious differences, are the composition groups with octagons, stars of rhombuses and four ends, such as swastikas and hexagonal shapes among others. Next to these, there are less numerous families which do not pick up a concrete model, due to its singularity and its own formal characteristics, as with the composition of interlaced ends (Fig. 4), or the one of crossings of *scuta*. In this last case there are two variants, one is defined with an end in curved stars (Fig. 5), and the other one with the straight ends (Fig. 6). In the case of *Baetica*, it is very peculiar to verify how, nowadays, all the pavements that show this design are under the modality of curved ends, documenting in mosaics of Córdoba, Écija, Antequera and Sevilla, which are different to other nearby zones such as *Lusitania*, in which the second variant abounds.

From the point of view of the scheme in the final configuration of the mosaics, in the *Baetica* we find practically all the modalities, emphasizing in the modular and/or continuous compositions, based on the repletion of a same figure or module (Fig. 2-6). At the same time, we find pavements formed by a centered plot as it shows, for example, in mosaic of the allegory from Écija (Fig. 7).

Sometimes, we find interrupted modular compositions by a large figure that acts as a decorative main field or emblem, as with the Triumph of Bacchus mosaic, carried by centaurs from the Plaza de Santiago of Écija (Fig. 8). The mixture of both types gives a result of mixed configurations that alternate the modular compositions or continuous and centered decorations (Figs. 8-9). Even though it can also be generated within a same mosaic with different centered compositions, or different modular designs, or the mixture between both modalities. These types of mosaics, are sometimes used to pave large spaces, like corridors and galleries, and to define rooms with paving, especially *cubicula* or *triclinia*. In the first case, they are those mosaics which reserve less important fragments to locate a bed; in the second, the mosaics are organized from a scheme like in U or T+U.

Within the mosaics organized into specific geometric patterns, we find those that show the geometric design in a clean, undecorated way (Fig. 10), recharged with geometric or vegetal auxiliary decorations (Fig. 11); or those where the game with colors defines the final result of the composition (Figs. 2-3). At the

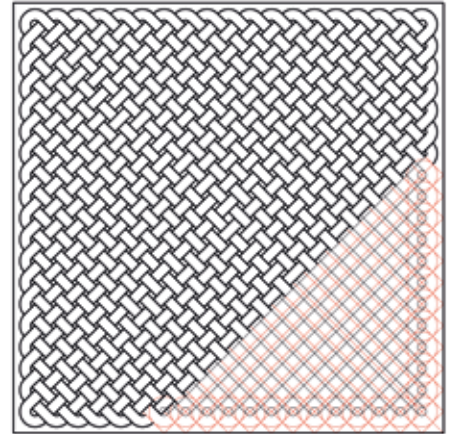


Figure 4
Design by Vargas Vázquez L1.

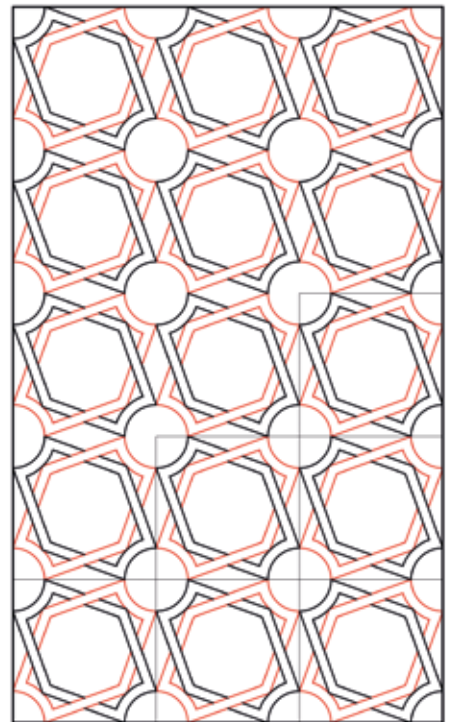


Figure 5
Design by Vargas Vázquez G2.

⁶ Part of the catalogue already made can be seen in Vargas Vázquez 2014, 2016.

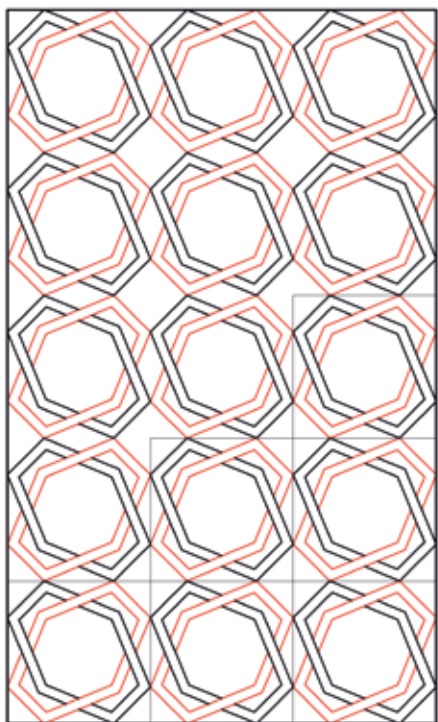


Figure 6
Design by Vargas Vázquez G1.



Figure 7
The mosaic of "the allegory" in Écija.



Figure 8
The mosaic of "the Triumph of Bacchus" in Écija.



Figure 9
The mosaic of the Birth of Venus in
Cártama (Cartama, Málaga), (López
Monteagudo – Neira 2010: fig. 123).

same time, we find units where geometry becomes an ideal frame to distribute the figurative elements (Fig. 12, among others). The geometric compositions with vegetable shapes and other aesthetic resources go with models showing a greater baroque style and wealth, appellants in many areas of the Empire, like North Africa⁷. These are not very common in the *Baetica*, documented in very few units being located (some of the most significant in Italica).

In addition to the previous one, it is necessary to show that the use of geometry does not immediately end with the application of the established basic models. In the Roman *Baetica*, as in other many places of Roman world, we can find some articulated and diverse designs, which we find in our design Vargas-Vázquez E1 (Fig. 13), which in some places are developed in a simple way (Fig. 10), and in others they undergo a process of a very interesting baroque style, when recharging itself in a very special way with decorative elements (Figs. 11 and

⁷ Examples picked up in Germain 1973: 259-274; Balmelle et al. 1990; Ben Abed-Ben Khader et al. 2001; Ben Abed-Ben Kahder 2006; In addition to this, Ovadiah 1980.

Figure 10
Geometric mosaic.
"Casa de los Pájaros" in Italica.



Figure 11
Geometric mosaic.
"Casa de Neptuno" in Italica.





Figure 12
Mosaic with representations
of the planetary deities.
“Casa del Planetario” in Italica,
(López Montegudo – Neira
2010: fig. 205).



Figure 13
Design by Vargas Vázquez E1.

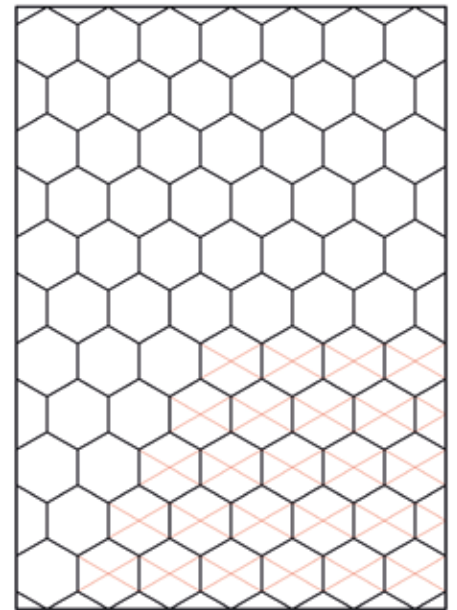


Figure 14
Geometric mosaic, (Carmona, Sevilla).

14). Another unit that previously reunites the set out characteristics is the mosaic of the Planetarium, which gives a turn to the composition of bee honeycomb (Fig. 13), and it enriches in a skillful way when it is framed in a great circle and it is recharged with representations of the planetary deities (Fig. 12). The previous examples from Italica could induce to think that the figurative element becomes to have a great prominence, whose consequences is that geometry is relegated to second place, acting as a simple and mere element of frames. However, the enormous presence of mosaics of this type as an important archaeological site as Italica questions this proposal. It comes to powerfully reinforce the idea that

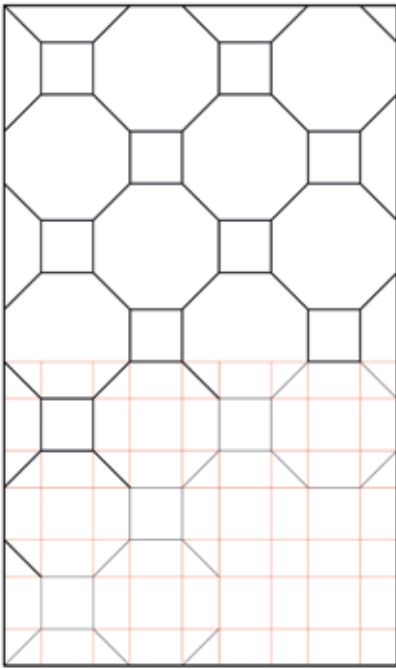


Figure 15
Design by Vargas Vázquez F1,
straight version.

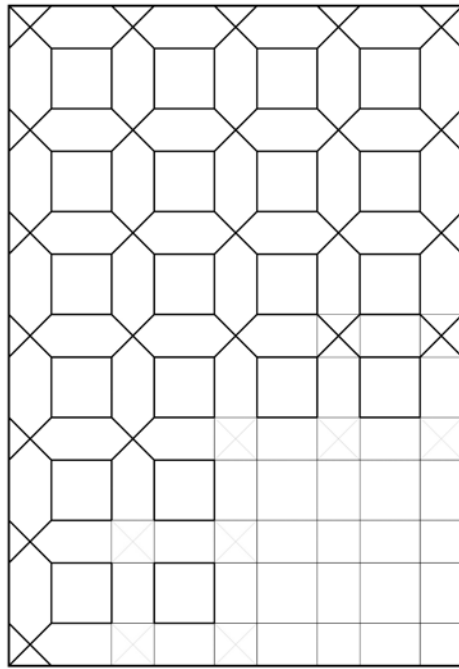


Figure 16
Design by Vargas Vázquez F5,
straight version.

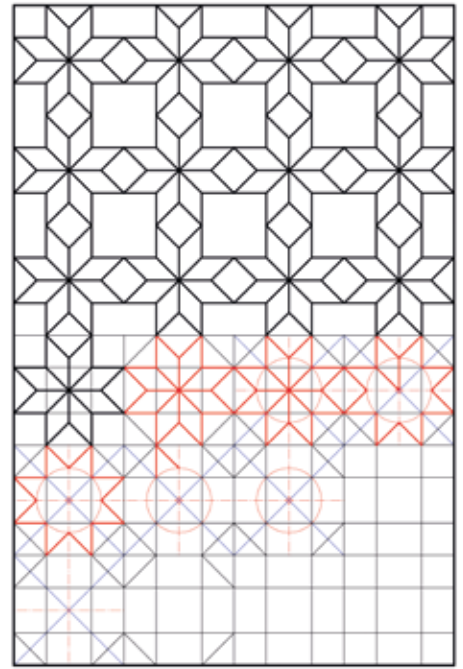


Figure 17
Design by Vargas Vázquez K2.

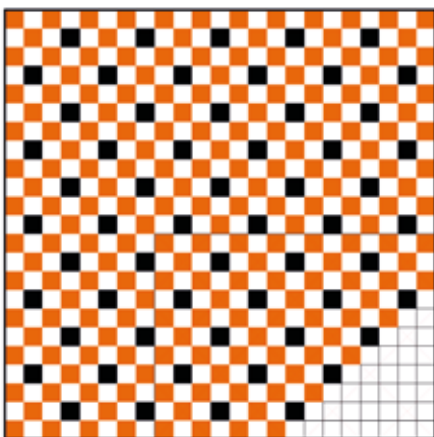


Figure 18
Design by Vargas Vázquez D7.

it is a trend and prevailing fashion, in which we have previously seen, that the geometry is a conjugated skillful way with which the figurative element gives a major relevance and meaning to the pavement. It could be said without any reservation regarding the majority of pavements in Italica. In addition, in other places within the *Baetica* geometry becomes essential and reaches a prominent place, denoting good taste and knowledge by the owners, at the same time as exigency, considering the good results and the correction that the majority of these units shows. This last characteristic saturates and puts in evidence the knowledge and good work of many *Baetica'* factories and the craftsmen, who work in particular in Italica, and in other areas from the *Baetica* too.

Concerning geometric designs used to compose the mosaics from the *Baetica*, the variety is enormous, and our work already includes more than 130 different compositions⁸. The modular compositions are emphasized on the repetition of an identical figure, and within them, the most used in the Roman *Baetica* are those of four-leafs (Fig. 2), the honeycomb or tangent hexagonal composition of bee (Fig. 13), those of tangent octagons (Fig. 15) and tangent and drying octagons (Fig. 16), in their different variants, with or without swastikas, among others. The compositions articulated from stars / rhombuses are also popular in the Roman *Baetica* (Fig. 17), in their multiple variants.

Drawing in simple squares or checkerboard (Fig. 18), is also a highly demanded design in the *Baetica*, as well as the continuous decorations where the swastika is used to define them. This last element, the swastika, deserves a special mention in the mosaics of *Baetica*, being one of the elements more appellent in its pavements, when being presents like an isolated element, comprising of the border decoration in different versions, or when giving sense to the geometric designs that they compose the mosaics' fields, as in the previous case comprising

⁸ To these examples is necessary to add a great number of geometric figures, simple and complex, used as elements of auxiliary or secondary decoration, and an important border repertoire of geometric compositions. All of which comes to demonstrate that geometry is not a secondary nor banal element, on the contrary, it is supposed an element of first order that denotes wealth and provides to the mosaic and added value.

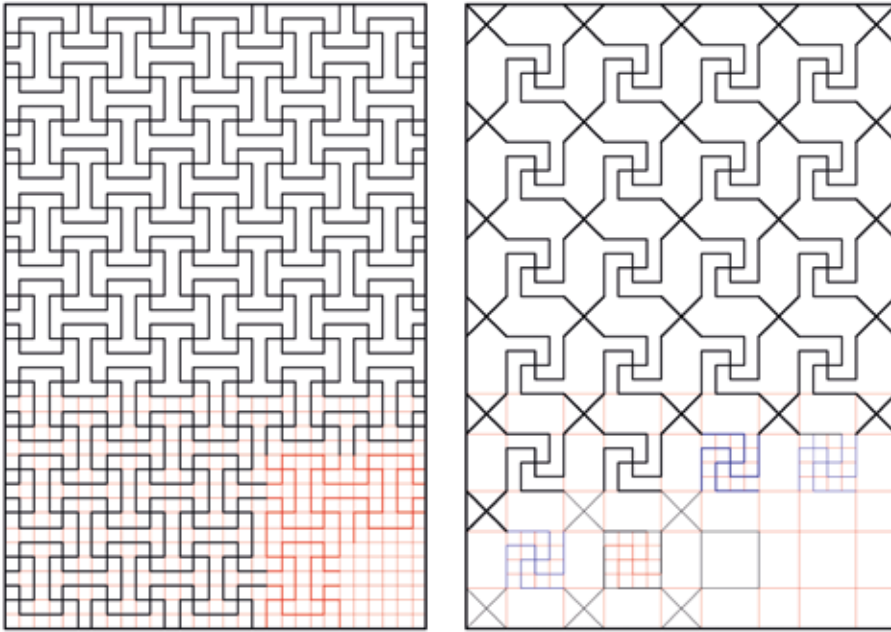


Figure 19
Design by Vargas Vázquez H5
(example of composition
with swastikas).

Figure 20
Design by Vargas Vázquez F6,
straight version.

of different variants. In this last case, we can find it acting as a main element (Fig. 19), or introducing itself in other models to enrich it more (Fig. 20). Like the swastika other figures like buckets, peltae, scales and the salomon knot, among others, constitute common figures in the *Baetica*' mosaics. We find them to comprise of the auxiliary decoration, composing borders or the own mosaics' carpets.

The four-ends star composition, in its different variants, is also documented widely in mosaics of the Roman *Baetica*, as well as the eight-ends star. These are formed by two squares interlaced and turned 45° one with respect to the other. This last figure we can see is again isolated, comprising of the auxiliary decoration, in a centered or modular composition. One of the deposits in which it is most used is Italica.

Within the Roman *Baetica* we also find singular and very interesting compositions and, as with the mosaics of Martos, with a design of garlands and octagons that, in spite of its bad state of conservation denotes an elegant and

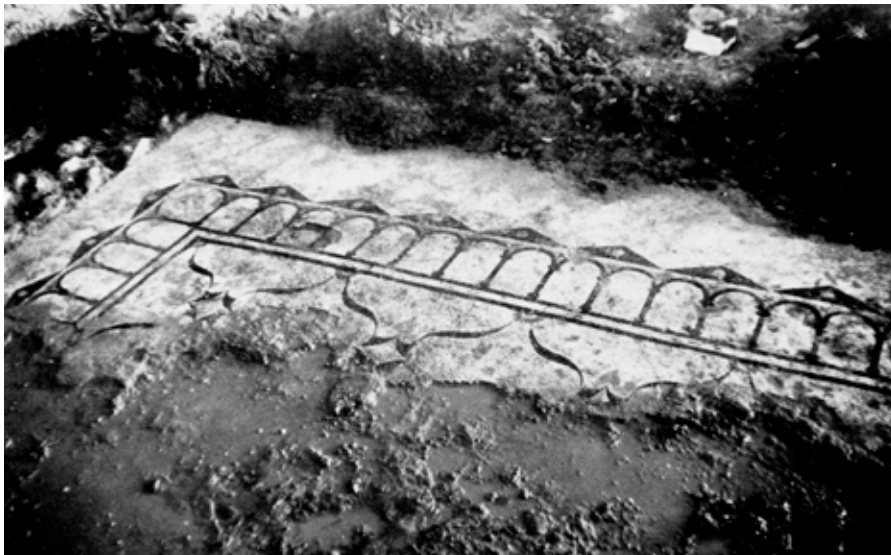


Figure 21
Mosaic of the Roman villa of
Martos (Martos, Córdoba),
(Recio 1971).

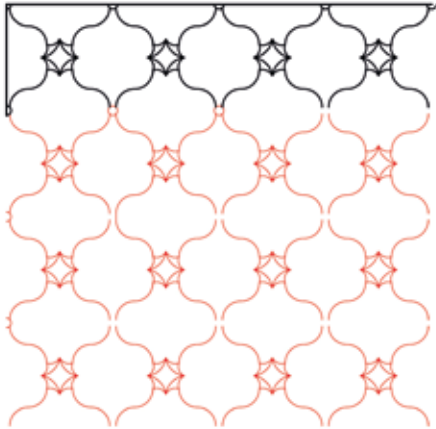


Figure 22
Design by Vargas Vázquez B11.

fine finish (Figs. 21-22); or like that, it shows in the mosaic of the Allegory of Écija (Fig. 7). Although, we don't take into account that this singularity can be temporary and it can change at any time, as happened with the composition of crossings of scuta (Fig. 5 and 6), documented before in a mosaic of Córdoba and that in the last years, this number has increased with two units in Villa de la Estación of Antequera, other two in Écija and one more in Sevilla.

The compositions are frequently centered, whose units are very well-known, for example one of central octagon framed by squared (Fig. 23) or rectangular (Figs. 24-25) geometric designs highly demanded in *Baetica* (López Monteagudo – Neira 2010: 56-58; Vargas Vázquez – López Monteagudo 2014: 134), as in the villa Casa de Mitra in Cabra, Córdoba, changes the octagon by the hexagon in a modular composition of a greater interest (Fig. 26). Hexagonal mosaics, instead of octagon, in modular composition are also documented in Italica, and in compositions centered in the mosaic of the Medusa of the Casa del Planetario (Fig. 27).

Centered and very interesting compositions are also documented in the villa of El Ruedo (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 111-116) and the mosaic of the paves room 5 in the villa of the Torre de Benagalbón (Rincón de la Victoria, Malaga) (Mañas – Vargas Vázquez 2010: 331-333) has a great beauty, developed with great success (Fig. 25).

The rosette of curvilinear triangles also finds certain acceptance in the Roman *Baetica* (Fig. 28), which are documented at present into eight mosaics. In the modality in black and white we have found it in an Italica mosaic, three in Carmona, one in Alcolea del Río, another one in Niebla and one more in Puerto

Figure 23
Geometric mosaic. Roman villa of
"El Ruedo" (Almedinilla, Córdoba).





Figure 24
Mosaic of “the Triumph of Bacchus”.
Roman villa of “La Valenzoneja”
(Alcolea, Córdoba), (Museo
Arqueológico de Córdoba).



Figure 25
Geometric mosaic. Roman villa
of the “Torre de Benagalbón”
(Rincón de la Victoria, Málaga),
(photo courtesy Salado Escaño, J. B.).

Real. The polychrome rosette is documented in Écija and in the Roman villa of Herrera (Vargas Vázquez 2015: 585-596). The rosette of scales (Fig. 29), although to a lesser extent, it is also documented in *Baetica*, a mosaic of the “Plaza de la Encarnación” of Sevilla (López Monteagudo 2016: 40) and another one in



Figure 26
Mosaic of “the Triumph of Bacchus”.
Roman villa of the “Casa de Mitra”
(Cabra, Córdoba).

a Roman Villa El Arca, in Castro del Río, Córdoba (Bretones – Vargas Vázquez 2008: 224-227; Vargas Vázquez 2016: 135-135).

If as we have just seen, the mosaics of *Baetica* exhibit an ample and rich range of geometric designs, this same wealth is documented in its borders, which exhibit an ample range of compositions, with decorative interlaced ends being most common, in its different versions, for example like those of ogive, those of peltae, those of rhombuses with peltae faced two of its vertices, characterize them the most. Of those decorated with lines of contiguous triangles, those of swastikas, in their different variants, etc. Next to them, the border of arcs or arcade requires special attention, which it is documented in multitude of sites, Itálica, Córdoba, Écija and in the Roman villas of El Arca, El Ruedo, Torre de Benagalbón, El Alcaparral and Martos, among others.

Speaking of chronology does not have sense in this work, but now we want to express some considerations that have to do with the subjectivity, pointing many of the granted chronologies in the *Baetica* mosaics, especially those which have settled down following a stylistic method, from the search of parallels whose dating have not been contrast neither are always offered as trustworthy or accurate data. In addition, the great problem considers when the pavements from



Figure 27
Mosaic of the Medusa.
“Casa del Planetario” in Itálica.

geometric elements and their compositions are used to date, which doesn't allow us to obtain accurate data.

Our study has allowed us to verify the enormous difficulties involved in the establishment of chronologies from geometric designs. The ample chronological axis where the majority of the models move, some widely popularized as the design of the four-petals, or a nest of bees or those of swastikas, among others. As well as this the difficulty to establish while concrete sprouting from a determined model, do, against the generalized practice beginning in not few occasions, which the majority of them do not work like chronological markers. Something similar happens with the chromaticism, which generally cannot be used like chronological marker.

The proprietors of the *Baetica* demonstrate a continuous and prolonged use of the mosaic as the ideal decorative element to pave the majority of their appraised rooms and spaces. The mosaic of *opus signinum* with incrustations of tesserae, present at the first moments of *Baetica*, until the middle of first century AC, take steps towards the traditional tessellations, which as we have seen include a great decorative and chromatic variety. This last element, the color, does not have to be taken at any moment as a chronological marker, since the mosaic in black and white, which was in fashion in the second half of the first century B.C. and the beginning of first century AC, especially during the Augusto's age, is also going to exceed those chronological limits in other zones of the Roman world

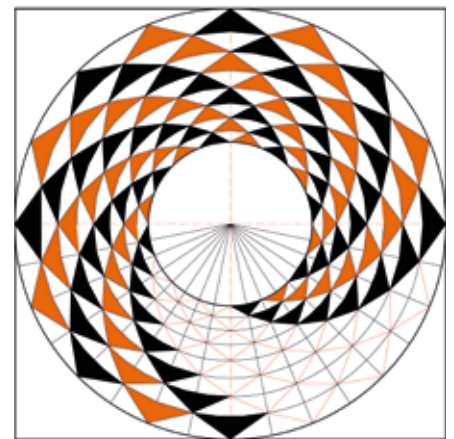


Figure 28
Design by Vargas Vázquez C2.

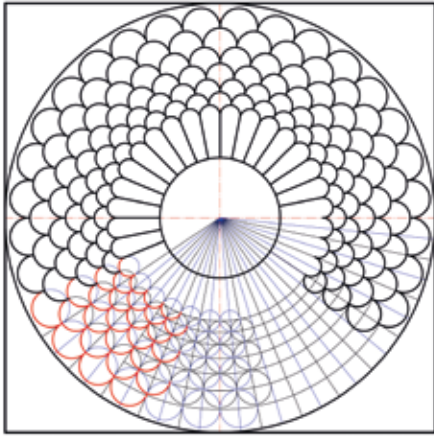


Figure 29
Design by Vargas Vázquez B14.

and in Hispania, as it happens for example in Italica, which are documented in the second century. In the villa of La Estación, we found mosaics in black and white which were dated from the third century, or in the villa of Fuente Álamo, in which they are documented still more at delayed moments. It is very significant, however, the villa of Río Verde in Marbella, whose mosaics could adjust perfectly to those early dates around first middle of first century, even though has been dated later (Mondelo Pardo 1982-83, 173-190; Mondelo Pardo 1984-85: 121-130).

Up to here, the lack of space does not allow us to enter in major depths, as we only wanted to offer some general brush-strokes of our research, whose advances will be offered in future works, and to give a general vision of the importance of the mosaics from the *Baetica*, and within this one of the geometric mosaics. Pavements in which their rich geometric forms also emphasize their rich figurative and floral representation, reflect some tastes and determined fashions, and show that this type of pavement found a great acceptance in the Roman *Baetica* from very early on, being an article very consolidated and demanded within the urban scope but also in the countryside, where many of the owners chose them to pave their villas.

From this work, we have to emphasize on the importance of geometry within the *Baetica* mosaics, because of the enormous range of forms and geometric designs that they exhibit, and its own particularities, generally show an unquestionable and very present reality in Roman mosaics, related to their creativity, the singularity and the originality that their geometric designs denote and declare. A clearly contrasting reality through its geometric models and compositions, result, in many cases, in an intense and deepening revision in the geometric forms, basic and composed, and in their color (Vargas Vázquez 2009: 199-225; Vargas Vázquez 2016: 275).

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The Mosaics of the Roman Villa of São Simão, Penela, Portugal

Penela, Portekiz’de Yer Alan São Simão Roma Villası’ndan Mozaikler

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Abstract

The Roman Villa of São Simão, part of the ancient municipium of Conímbriga, in the province of Lusitania, is located in the area correspondent to the churchyard, public road and lands adjacent to the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace, in São Simão, within the fertile valley of the Dueça River, in the municipality of Penela, district of Coimbra.

The mosaic pavements uncovered in 2001 together with the newly discovered mosaics identified in 2015 and the remaining set of in stucco wall coverings reveal an impressive occupation whose study reinforces and brings new information about the Roman rural rule of this territory.

A preliminary study of the mosaic pavements is presented taking into consideration the decorative motifs depicted, the state of conservation and the interventions made in situ during the archaeological excavation.

Keywords: Mosaic, villa, S. Simão, conservation, excavation.

Öz

São Simão Roma Villası antik dönemde Lusitania Eyaleti’nin Conímbriga Bölgesi’nde yer almakta olup günümüzde Coimbra Bölgesi’nde, Penela Belediyesi sınırları içinde, Dueça Nehrinin verimli vadisinde Zarafet Leydisi Şapeli’ne ve karayoluna çok yakın bir konumda bulunmaktadır.

2001 yılında ortaya çıkarılan mozaik döşemelerin yanı sıra 2015 yılında yeni keşfedilmiş olan mozaikler ve alçı duvar kaplamalarına ait kalıntılar, bu bölgeye Roma döneminde yoğun olarak yerleşildiğini göstermekte ve Roma’nın kırsal bölgelerdeki egemenliği hakkında yeni bilgiler kazandırmaktadır.

Bu ön çalışmada, betimlenen dekoratif motifler, mozaiklerin korunma durumları ve arkeolojik kazı sırasında yapılan in situ önlemler ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Mozaik, villa, S. Simão, koruma, kazı.

Introduction

The Roman *Villa* of São Simão is located in the territory of the ancient municipality of Conímbriga, part of the *Conventus Scalabitanus*, in the province of Lusitania. In the immediate vicinity of this *villa*, it is possible to find the Roman *Villa* of Rabaçal, the Roman *Villa* of Santiago da Guarda and the *civitas* of Conímbriga.

The Roman *Villa* would occupy the valley next to the water line of the Dueça River. The thermal baths and its rustic area, characteristic of this type of agricultural farm (Alarcão 1990a; Alarcão 1988b), have not been located yet. However, there are records of several sites, in the valley, with the presence of both construction ceramic material and common ceramic material of Roman typology which could be agricultural annexes of the *villa’s fundus*.

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The presence of some import material (1 fragment of *Terra Sigillata* from South Gaul and 4 fragments of *Terra Sigillata* from Hispania), dating from the 1st/2nd centuries AD, and two coins dated from Constantine's Reign can point us to the construction of the *villa* within two phases of occupation, one during the High Roman Empire and the other during the Late Roman Empire.

Geographical location of the Archaeological Site

The Roman *Villa* of São Simão is located in the municipality of Penela, situated in the Beira Litoral province, and belongs to the district and diocese of Coimbra. The municipality occupies an area of 132.49 km². It borders, in the north, with the municipalities of Condeixa-a-Nova and Miranda-do-Corvo, in the south, with Ansião, in the west, with Soure and Ansião and, in the east, with Figueiró dos Vinhos, these last three belonging to the district of Leiria. The municipality of Penela is constituted by four parishes - Cumieira, Espinhal, Podentes and the Union of Parishes of São Miguel, Santa Eufémia and Rabaçal (Figs. 1-2).



Historical Background

The occupation of the valley of the Dueça River dates from the proto-historical period to the present time. There are two “castros” (hill forts), one in Tombadouro and the other in Sobral, Union of Parishes of São Miguel, Santa Eufémia and Rabaçal. Their occupation dates back to the final Bronze Age - Iron Age to the Roman Age.

The “castro” of Sobral, a settlement from the Iron Age, with occupation during the Roman period, overlooks the Sabugueira River. A wall of about 3,20 meters is visible together with two doors giving access to it (Arnaut 2009: 90). Here, it was possible to identify a fragment of a fibula - caudal appendage in the shape of a baluster, dating from the 4th century BC - and ceramic material from the Roman period (common ceramics and construction ceramics, kept in the Museum of the Roman *Villa* of Rabaçal).

From the “castro” of Sobral, it is possible to see in a straight line, at a distance of about 3,125 km, the “castro” of Tombadouro or Furadouro, in the parish of Santa

Figure 1
Geographical location of the municipality of Penela and of the archaeological site of São Simão.

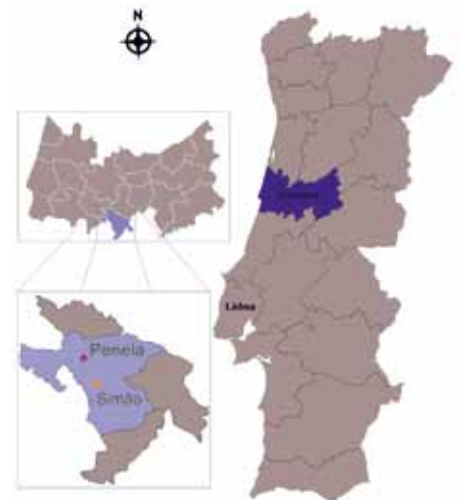
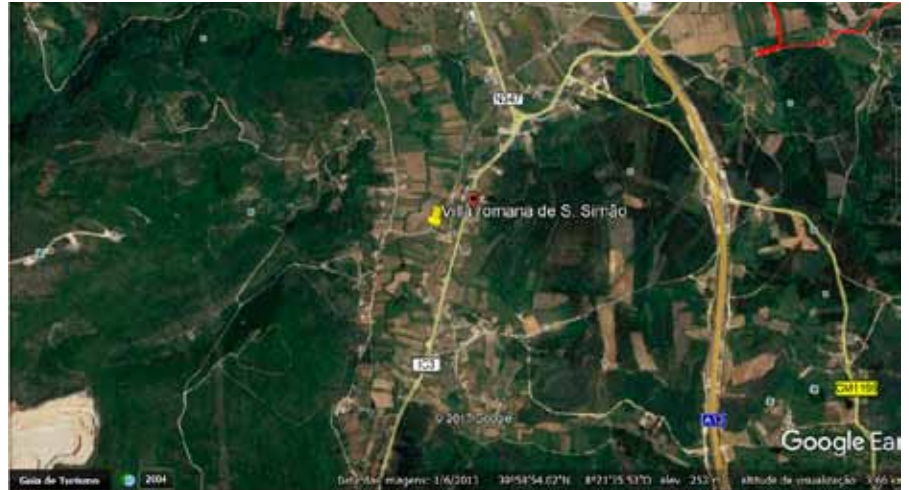


Figure 2
Location of São Simão in chart 1: 25000, no. 263.

Figure 3
Google Earth satellite image.



Eufémia. In this “castro”, it was identified the presence of ceramic material, a stone axe, fragments of bronze and slag dating from the Bronze Age. The site needs a more in-depth archaeological study to assess its diachronic occupation. Both “castros” are situated in the valley of the Dueça River.

In the valley of the Dueça River, there is also the Roman *Villa* of São Simão, next to the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace (Fig. 3). So far, the *Villa*'s name during the Roman period hasn't been ascertained, which led various authors (Alarcão 1988a; Alarcão 1990b), to refer to it as the Roman *Villa* of São Simão. From the various punctual interventions that have been carried out on the site, it is possible to point out a chronology set between the 1st/2nd centuries AD and the 4th century.

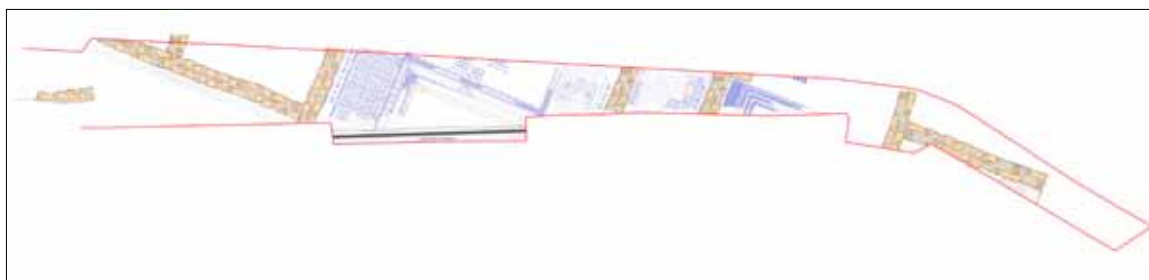
Recently, it was possible to identify some Hispanic TS (*Terra Sigillata*), with high-imperial chronology, bichrome and polychrome mosaics, which stylistically point to distinct phases of occupation, and two 4th century coins. Only a thorough and broader study will be able to provide clarification regarding the diachrony of the site.

There are references to the existence, in the 13th century, of a hermitage at the foot of “mount sheep” (Vez Mount) in São Simão (Arnaut 2009: 94). However, this information has not been confirmed by any archaeological evidence. In the 15th century, there is information regarding a Franciscan convent at the foot of Vez Mount. There are those who locate it in a narrow valley near a water spring and on the banks of a river. This site could be located in São Simão or in Santo António da Ribeira (Gois 2009), where the place name still exists, with the presence of a chapel devoted to Saint Anthony (Santo António).

Research Synopsis

The first news about São Simão appeared in the newspaper “O Século”, in 1901, and reedited, in 1902, in the publication “O Archeologo Português” (Azevedo 1902). Several other authors mentioned it, namely Salvador Dias Arnaut, Miguel Pessoa, Jorge Alarcão, in 1983, 1986 and 1988.

In 2001, during the construction works of a wall to support the Chapel's churchyard, two mosaic pavements decorated with geometric motifs (Pessoa et al. 2001), both polychrome, were uncovered. Of these, only one, along with some archaeological material, was preserved *in situ*. A brief study of these two pavements was presented by Miguel Pessoa (Pessoa 2005).



Again, in 2004, following a request for the construction of sanitary facilities, Roman plumbing and structures were identified (Pessoa – Vicente 2004).

In 2012, the area was once again the subject of archaeological excavations, this time for housing construction purposes. Structures were once again identified and maintained *in situ* (Rodrigues 2012).

In 2015, during the archaeological monitoring of the installation works of sanitation infrastructures in Serradas da Freixiosa - São Simão, several structures and pavements were identified in the public road, which, due to their magnificence and grandeur, led the Municipal Council to seek an alternative to the planned pipeline implementation and propose the site to be researched (Fig. 4).

Associated with the Roman presence, a 15th century necropolis was identified. In the bibliography used, several authors referred to the presence of a hermitage or convent of Saint Francis (São Francisco) at the foot of Viso, Ver or Vez Mount (Vicente et al. 2015).

It is important to highlight that the mosaics identified so far are all geometric (Fig. 5).

Figure 4
Map of the churchyard of the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace with identified structures up to 2015.

Figure 5
Sanitation ditch open in 2015 - Location of mosaic pavements.

Identified structures and mosaics

During the emergency excavation carried out in 2015, several proven Roman structures were identified along with another one that raise the hypothesis of a reoccupation of the site at a later period due to its apparently irregular and somewhat careless construction. We suppose that it is a structure subsequent to the Roman period because of the type of apparatus used, the cut and disablement of the pavement of “mosaic 3” and the total area of the compartment.

In area 1, we identified a structure built with fitted blocks (wall 1), with about 6, 70 m long, in *opus incertum*. In its foundation, we recognized the base built with small stone, in a visible strip, with about 7, 5 cm of grouped stone. The interior floor of this compartment is in *opus Signinum*. The wall (wall 2) that limits the area of *opus Signinum* and the area of “mosaic 3” is 2, 10 cm wide, also corresponding to the width of the ditch.

In the north section, it is possible to see that there is a wall start-up, perpendicular to the wall of the current churchyard of the Chapel. Is it another division of the house, located inside the churchyard?

Area 2 and area 3 correspond to the room with “mosaic 3”. The baseboard has a finishing fringe in *opus Signinum*, with about 6/8 cm of thickness, between the wall and the mosaic. The wall would have had *in stucco* plaster (Alarcão 1994).

In area 3, a somewhat crude apparatus structure (wall 3) was identified, constructed on the pavement of “mosaic 3”. The wall is about 58 cm wide by 1, 90 m long.

In area 4, a corridor was identified, limited by walls 4 and 5, of about 2, 20 m wide. The mosaic pavement (“mosaic 4”) is bichrome and the *tessellatum* has a higher density per dm² than “mosaic 3”.

Would the area with “mosaic 5” correspond to a room? Taking into consideration the visible area, it is not possible to assign it a specific function. An area of about 2, 50 m of mosaic's length, with about 0, 90 m width, is visible.

In area 5, we identified a structure, which we present in the general plan of the site.



Figure 6
Photographic record of “mosaic 1”.

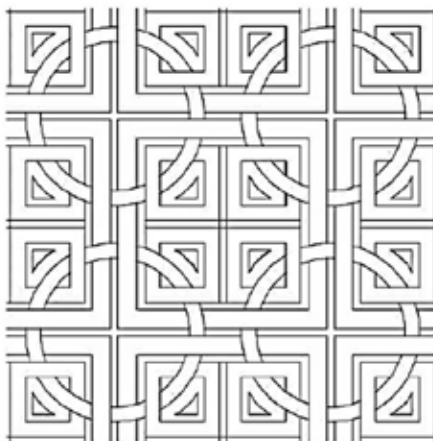


Figure 7
Graphical reconstruction of the pavement
of “mosaic 1”.

Interpretation of the decorative motifs

“Mosaic 1”

The description is made by Miguel Pessoa on the occasion of the construction of the wall, in 2001, and published in the article “Contributo para o estudo dos mosaicos romanos no território das *civitates* de *Aeminium* e de *Conímbriga*, Portugal” in *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2005 (Figs. 6-7).

“This is a mosaic with a reticulated pattern of square bands decorated with guilloché, showing an interpenetration of quadripartite squares, decorated in the center with a cross of interlaced pairs of bands and expanded circles, decorated with either embattled dents or shaded bands as intersection motifs, which determine irregular octagons with four sides concave. Density of about 200 *tesserae* per dm² (Blanchard 1973: n°330; Décor I: pl.168b; Décor II: 40)”.

“Mosaic 2”

It features an undulating ribbon motif in a very precarious state of conservation. Unfortunately, this mosaic pavement disappeared (Décor I: 114 pl. 64b) (Fig. 8).

“Mosaic 3”

Does it suggest the possibility of a *triclinium* room? Due to the dimensions that it presents (width of 8, 70 m) and also due to the layout of the mosaic panels (Fig. 9).



Figure 8
Photographic record of “mosaic 2”.



Figure 9
Photographic record of “mosaic 3”.

According to the presented graphic diagram (Figs. 10, 11), the following description is presented:

Nº 1 and 1a – White fillet with non-continuous oblique squares. These fillets appear to be the lateral limits of the room (Décor I: 31 pl.5a)

Nº 2 – Outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons, adjacent and intersecting on the shorter sides (Décor I: 260 pl.169a). In the center of the octagon, the central square is filled with a lozenge. The interior of the hexagons is filled with bichrome lozenges.

Nº 3a – Polychrome row of tangent semicircles formed of two tangent spindles, forming alternately inverted thorns, the colours counterchanged, with ensconced serrated triangles (Décor I: pl. 93 pl.45g variants);

Nº 3b – Polychrome four strand guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: 123 pl. 73 b, c, d, e);

Nº 3c – Row of countercurved arc with alternating colour (red / yellow) in a frame (Décor I: 99-10 pl. 49 to 51).

Nº 4 – A damaged panel where it is possible to understand that it has a two-strand guilloche (Décor I: 120 pl. 70 h, i, j) in the frame of the central panel and, in the interior, squares filled with other tipped lozenges. It’s polychrome.

Nº 5 – Pattern of spaced swastika-meander with single returns and squares (Décor I: 300 pl.190a).

Measures: length 8, 70 m x width 2, 30 m

Material used: White, black, yellow, red and pink limestone *tesserae*

Density: 59 *tesserae* per dm²

“Mosaic 4”

The area occupied by this mosaic suggests it to be a corridor (Fig. 12).

According to the presented graphic diagram, the following description is presented (Figs. 13, 14):

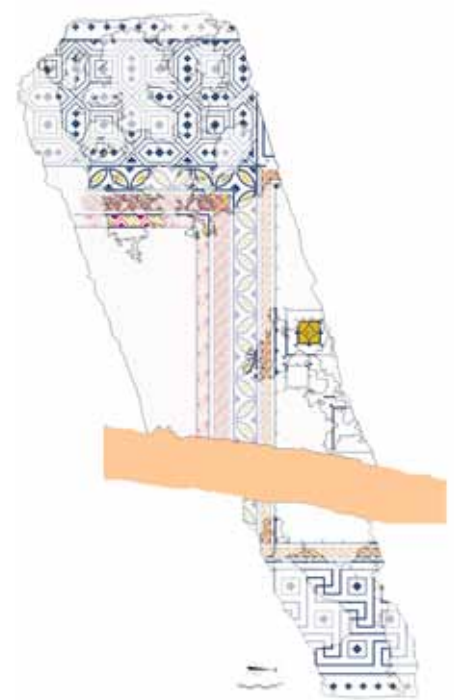


Figure 10
Graphical reconstruction of the pavement of “mosaic 3”.

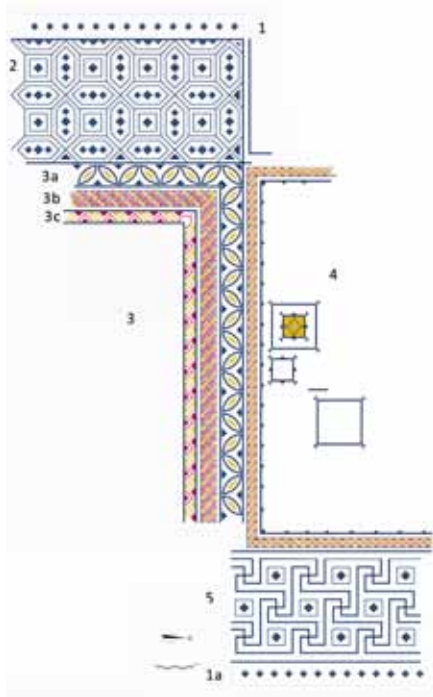


Figure 11
Hypothetical interpretation of the pavement of "mosaic 3".



Figure 12
Photographic record of "mosaic 4".



Figure 13
Graphical reconstruction of the pavement of "mosaic 4".

Nº 1 and 1a – It features a swastika-meander of spaced single-turned swastikas with a square in each space; inside the square, there is a crosslet; on the opposite side of the corridor, the same motif with a variant inside the square: lozenge (Décor I: 81 pl. 38a).

Nº 2 – Central corridor motif: outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons adjacent and intersecting on the shorter sides, forming squares and oblong hexagons (Décor I: 260 pl. 169a). In the centre of the octagon, the central square is filled with a lozenge. The interior of the hexagons is filled with bichrome and polychrome lozenges, of irregular size.

Measures: length 2.50 m x width 1, 50 m

Material used: White, black, yellow and dark pink limestone *tesserae*

Density: 104 *tesserae* per dm²

"Mosaic 5"

At the present time the identification of its function is not possible (Figs.15a-b). It possible to verify that the pavement had already had many restored areas in its time through the rectification of gaps with simpler materials, like *opus Signinum*, confirming this *Villa's* ample diachronic occupation. As a consequence of the restoration works, it would be possible to maintain the use of the compartment regardless of the aesthetic appearance.

According to the presented graphic diagram, we suggest the following description (Figs. 16-17):

Polychrome mosaic: it presents a band of white *tesserae* close to the wall.

Nº 1 – Polychrome intersection or ten-strand guilloche (Décor I: 123 pl. 73f)

Nº 2a – It has alternating bands of polychrome rows of tangent semi-serrated right-angled-Z pattern on a black ground (Décor I: 74 pl. 32h);

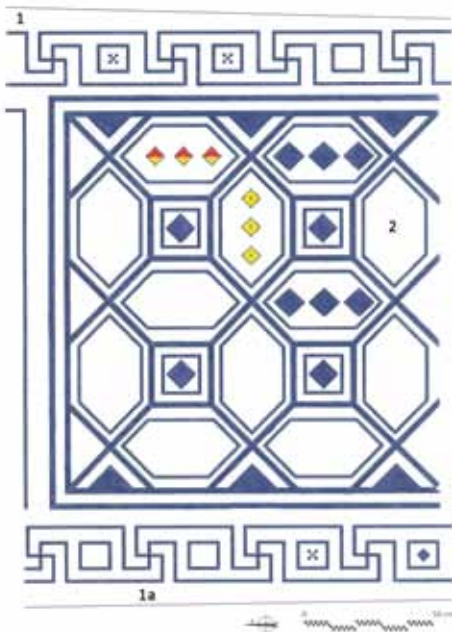
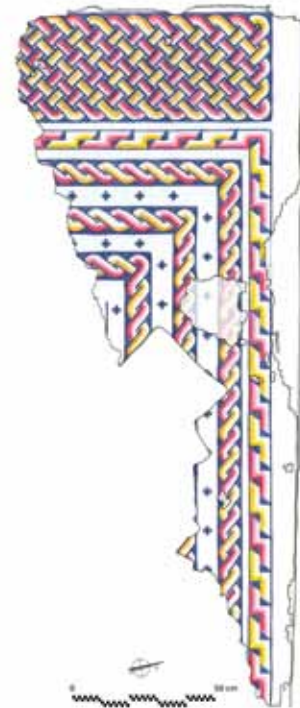


Figure 14
Hypothetical interpretation of the pavement of "mosaic 4".



Nº 2b – Monochrome band with white tesserae (Décor I: 26 pl.1y);

Nº 2c – polychrome band with two-strand guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: 120 pl. 70h,j);

Nº 2d – Black crosslet band on a white ground (Décor I: 30 pl. 4b)

Nº 2e – The centre of this mosaic has a pattern of staggered bands of swastika-meander alternately with double returns and recessed reverse returns in simple guilloche, on a black ground; (Décor I: 294 pl. 87b); it is a variant; on a white ground band with black crosslet. (Décor I: 30 pl. 4b)

Nº 3 – Row of tangents wheels of triangles (forming squares, parallelograms and triangles), it's polychome (Décor I: 68 pl. 29g); it is a variant.

Measures: length 5,10 m x width 4,20 m

Material used: White, black, yellow, red and light pink limestone *tesserae*

Density: 160 *tesserae* per dm²

“Mosaic 6”

According to the presented graphic diagram, we suggest the following description (Figs. 18-20):

Alternating serrated squares, in yellow and blue colour, on a white ground. (Décor I: 181 pl. 113f);

Measures: length 0,73 m x width 0,20 m

Material used: White, yellow and bluish gray limestone *tesserae*

Density: 89 *tesserae* per dm²

State of conservation and intervention methodology

Any cultural asset, both movable and immovable, is exposed to a number of factors and conditions that vary over time and directly affect its conservation.

Figure 15a
Photographic record of “mosaic 5”
found in 2015.

Figure 15b
Photographic record of “mosaic 5”
found in 2016.

Figure 16
Graphical reconstruction of the
pavement of “mosaic 5” found in 2015.

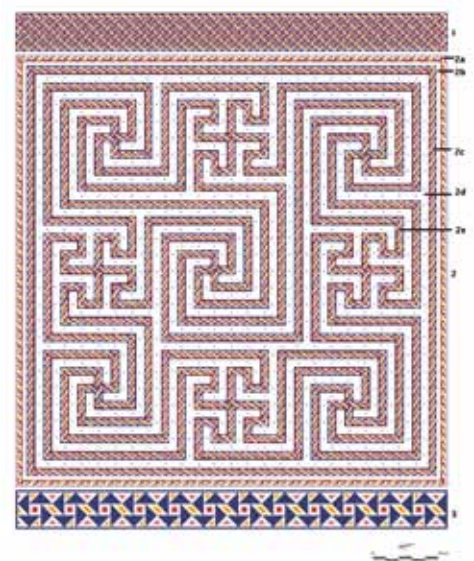


Figure 17
Hypothetical interpretation of the
pavement of “mosaic 5” found in 2016.



Figure 18
Photographic record of "mosaic 6".

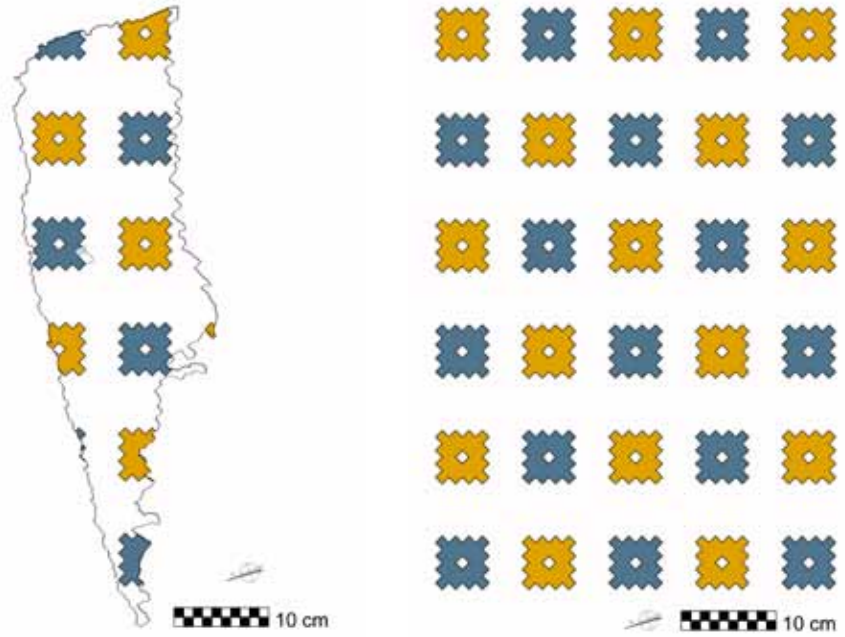
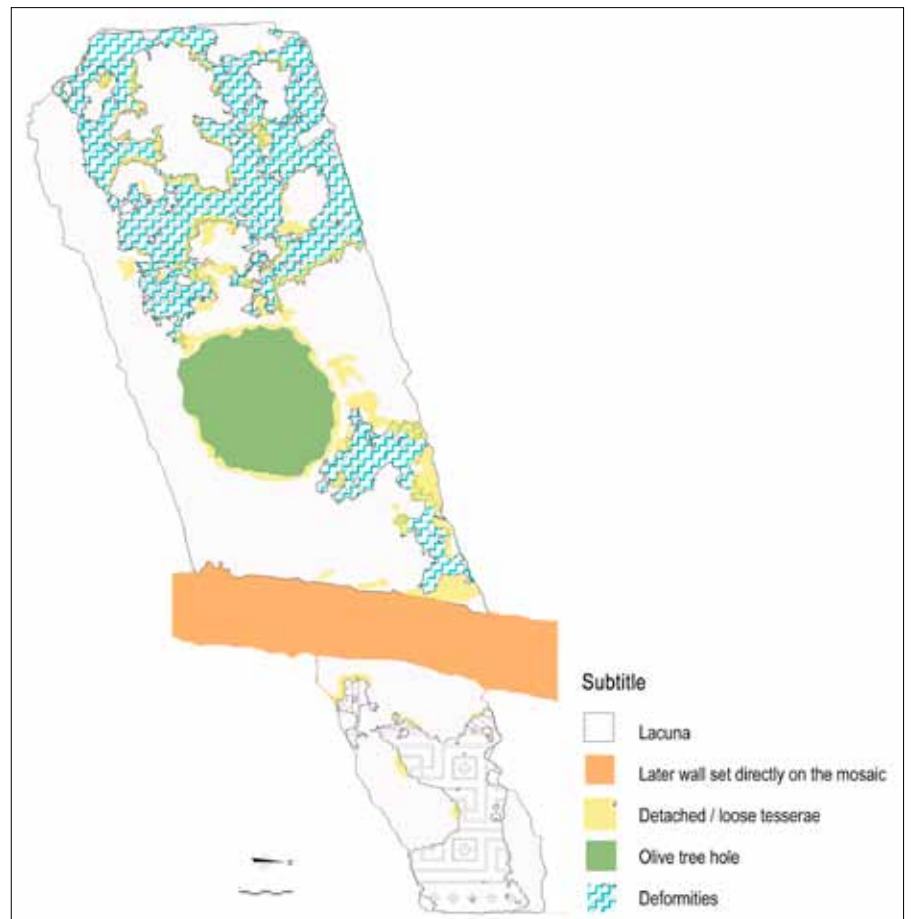


Figure 19
Graphical reconstruction of the pavement of "mosaic 6".

Figure 20
Hypothetical interpretation of the pavement of "mosaic 6".

The process of degradation of a mosaic begins soon after its conception due to its exposure to a series of factors that contribute to a progressive deterioration. Thus, three distinct alteration periods can be considered: during the use of the mosaic, during the period underground, and after its exhumation (Pasías Oviedo 2004).

Figure 21
Mapping of the state of conservation, extension and damages of "mosaic 3".



In Roman time, during the period of use, the mosaic was subject to the continuous wear of the surface of its *tessellatum*, due to the function of pavement that it performed, in addition to the inevitable detachment of *tesserae*, which lead to the occurrence of some gaps.

As it was usual, these gaps were repaired with the available materials, often using *tesserae* to reconstruct the gap without worrying about the colour, the continuity of the decorative motifs or the size of the *tessera*. It served exclusively as a barrier to prevent the decay of the *tessellatum*.

During the burial process itself, it is necessary to consider the fall of walls and roofs, associated with the collapse of the building. The pressure itself of these materials and the successive layers of soil that covered the pavements often caused deformities in the surface of the mosaics.

It is also necessary to consider the reoccupation of the space, in this case, as a 15th century necropolis, which, despite being at a higher ground level, involved earthmoving action that possibly affected the pavements. The same thing happens with some later structures (wall) set directly on the mosaic pavements.

The most recent urbanistic changes are indeed the factor that has had the greatest impact, namely the expansion of the Chapel's churchyard and the planting of olive trees inside it, the construction of the road and the opening of a ditch for water supply purposes. The functioning of the road and the inherent circulation of vehicles imply a constant trepidation that consequently results in several damages.

Also worthy of note is the action of plants, common in farming areas, that with their roots cause serious damage such as *tesserae* detachment, fissures, gaps and deformities, among others. In addition, underground waters and water infiltration, which carry all types of salts and acidic substances, cause chemical damage which will originate processes of disaggregation and crust formation on the surface of the mosaic (Getty Conservation Institute 2003).

Although the environment during the underground period has very specific characteristics such as high relative humidity, absence of light, lack of oxygen, mild temperatures, inner pressure caused by sedimentation, etc., there is a situation of balance and stability of these factors during several centuries. In fact, even when there are changes, these are slow and gradual.

The moment of the discovery and exhumation of the mosaic pavements is certainly the most traumatic moment since there is no gradual process of adaptation but rather an abrupt rupture with the balanced conditions acquired during the long centuries underground.

In addition to the sudden variations of humidity and temperature that occur at this moment, there is also an exposure to wind and sunlight. At this stage, it is important to consider the action of human beings, who become a factor of risk either voluntarily or involuntarily.

Mapping of the state of conservation: characterization and extent of damage

“Mosaic 3”

“Mosaic 3” is in a poor state of conservation (Fig. 21). This pavement presents several deformities (blistering / concavities) and a large number of detached as well as loose *tesserae* (Fig. 22), in addition to several gap areas.

Figure 22
Detail of detached *tesserae* /
loose *tesserae*.



The distance it is from the surface is very short which exposes it to all the trepidation associated with a fully functioning road.

The construction of the ditch for the installation of water pipes, the road construction and the expansion of the Chapel's churchyard have been the factors with the greatest impact on the state of conservation of this pavement.

A great gap area is still visible, resulting from the planting pit of an olive tree that adorned the churchyard.

The identification of a wall built over the mosaic pavement reflects the later occupation of that space and a readaptation of what would seem to be a single compartment in the Roman period and that is now divided into two distinct areas.

“Mosaic 4”

This pavement, possibly a corridor, is in a reasonable state of conservation (Fig. 23). The fact that it is located at a low ground level has protected the pavement when the water ditch and road were built. However, it is possible to see some fissures, large gaps and several black incrustations, possible concretions formed during the deposition and burial process.

A restoration, apparently executed during the Roman time, is visible with the use of larger sized *tesserae*, placed in a distinct orientation and without any regard for the continuity of the decorative motifs represented on the pavement. These aspects lead to the idea that the restoration was done only with the purpose of rectifying a gap and avoiding *tesserae* detachment (Fig. 24).

“Mosaic 5”

In mosaic found in 2015 is possible to observe a pavement in great state of conservation with a reduced number of gaps (Fig. 25). However, despite the precautions during the extraction process of the building materials, directly over the *tessellatum* of this pavement, the involuntary extraction of a fragment occurred which originated the occurrence of a gap.

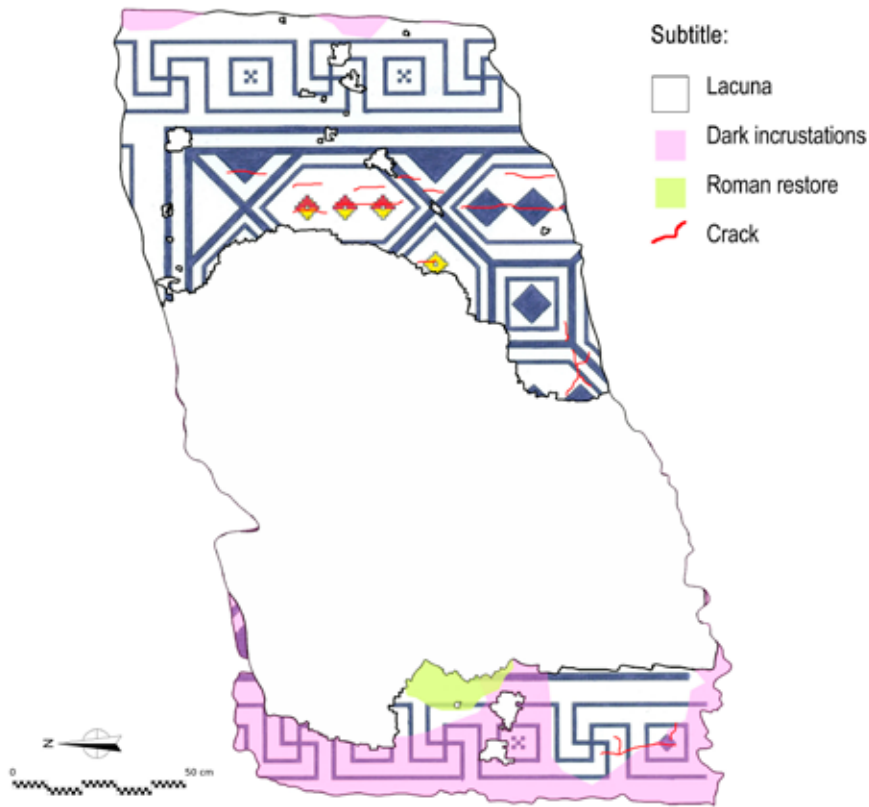


Figure 23
Mapping of the state of conservation, extension and damages of "mosaic 4".



Figure 24
Ancient restoration work done with white *tesserae* placed in a distinct orientation.

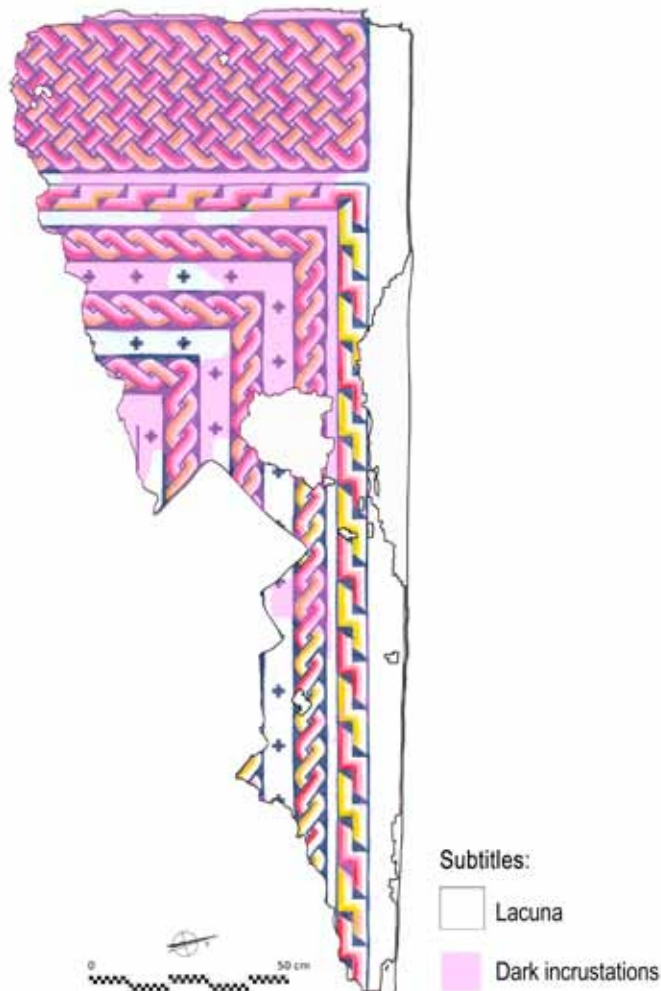


Figure 25
Mapping of the state of conservation, extension and damages of "mosaic 5".

Figure 26
Detail of the black incrustations
on the *tessellatum*.

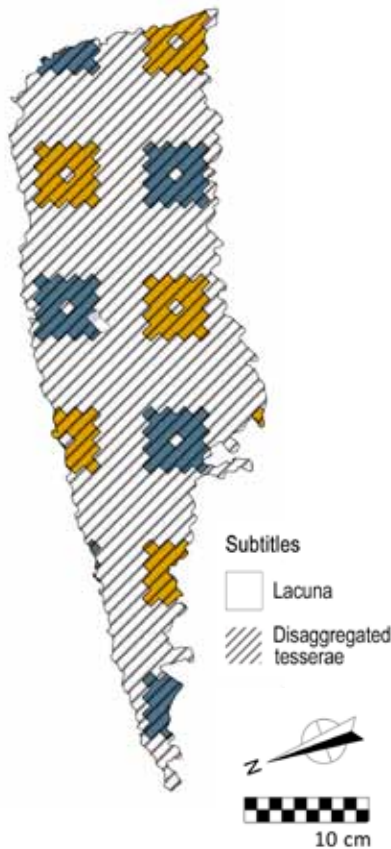
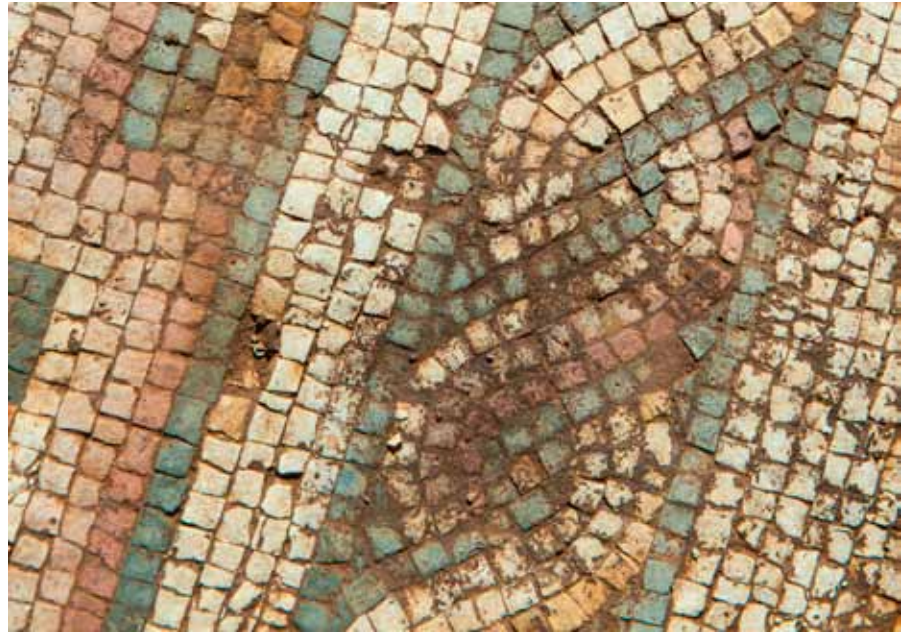


Figure 27
Mapping of the state of
conservation, extension and
damages of “mosaic 6”.

The strong adhesion of the coffer caused the fracture and extraction of a small fragment, which was transported to the laboratory of the Museum of the Roman *villa* of Rabaçal in order to proceed with the appropriate consolidation works and the individualization of the pieces.

The most significant pathology identified in this pavement concerns the black incrustations that cover a large part of the motifs, but which do not interfere with their interpretation (Fig. 26).

“Mosaic 6”

The small fragment of this uncovered pavement revealed a good state of conservation (Fig. 27). However, it should be noted that there is a great disaggregation of the limestone that make up the *tesserae* of this pavement, especially in what regards the yellow *tesserae*, made of marly limestone, with high levels of porosity and more susceptible to both physical and chemical degradation (Fig. 28).

Intervention Methodology

Preventive conservation is a fundamental tool during the intervention phase, minimizing the effects that adverse conditions can cause on the pavements (Brandi 2006). Taking this into consideration, some important measures were immediately taken such as the placement of awnings to cover the area to be excavated in order to avoid the direct incidence of sunlight and consequent increase of temperature and sudden reduction of the implied humidity.

As for the intervention methodology carried out, the main objective, one that has been defended internationally in the last years, is to prioritize the *in situ* conservation of mosaic pavements, through the adoption of a series of necessary measures for its protection and safeguard (ICOMOS 1990).

Regarding the intervention methodologies employed in the field, only preventive interventions were performed, necessary for the careful registration of the pavements (E.C.C.O. 2003). Thus, it was decided to eliminate earthy deposits on the surface through the use of mechanical means and sponges dampened with clean water (Fig. 29).



Figure 28
Detail of *tesserae*
disaggregation.



Figure 29
Surface cleaning of the *tessellatum*.



Figure 30
Limit consolidation of gaps.

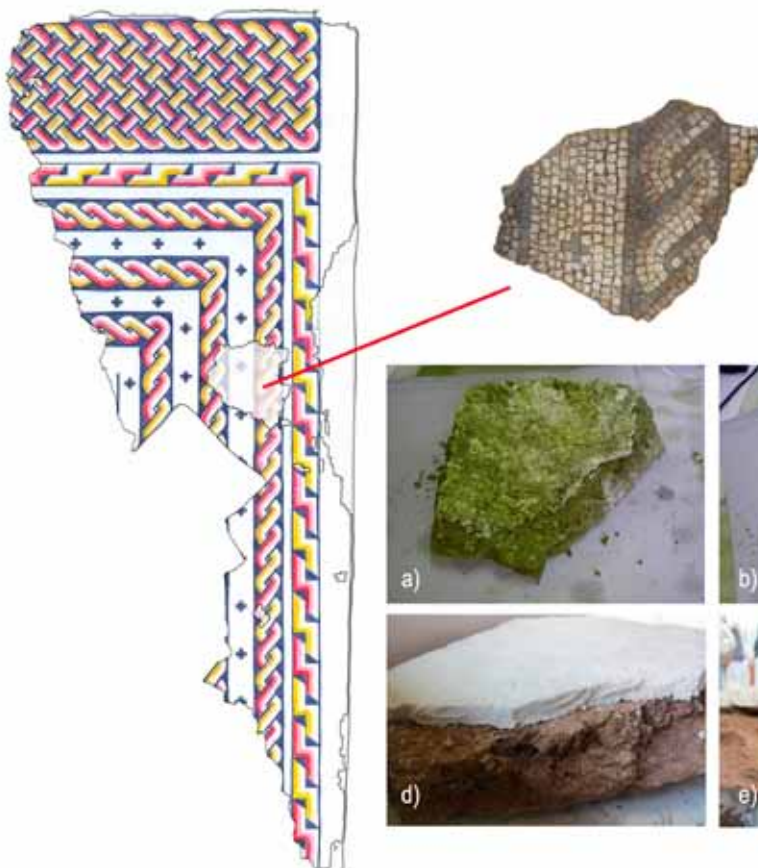


Figure 31
Laboratory intervention methodology (“mosaic 5” fragment) - a) disaggregation of the original support mortars; B) cleaning and removal of soil and deteriorated mortar; C) consolidation of the mortar from the interstices of the *tesserae*; D) reconstitution of the support layer; E) separation of pieces; F) surface cleaning of the *tessellatum*.

Figure 32
Protection of structures and
mosaic pavements.

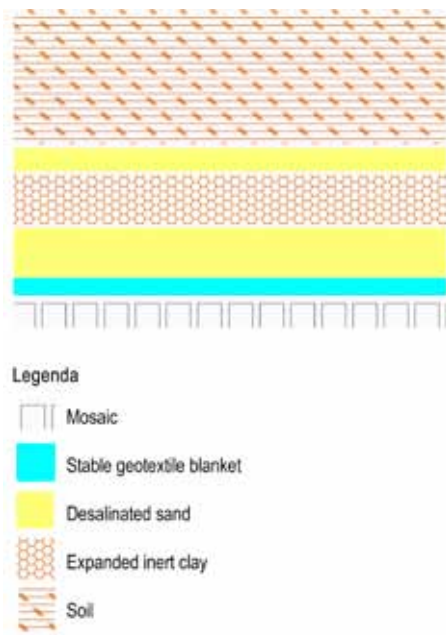


Figure 33
Schematics of applied stratigraphy
for the protection of structures
and mosaic pavements.

Some procedures were occasionally performed to consolidate the limits of the gap areas, with mortar of a similar trace to the original one in order to avoid the decay of the *tessellatum* in these areas and the consequent increase of the gaps (Fig. 30).

In the laboratory, it was necessary to proceed to the cleaning and stabilization of some mosaic fragments, by removing earthy deposits and deteriorated mortars (Fig. 31a-31b), and by consolidating the remaining mortars in the interstices of the *tesserae* (Fig. 31c).

The support layer was reconstituted with a lime-based mortar and the reinforcement of the extremities of the fragments (Fig. 31d). Finally, the *tessellatum* surface of each fragment was cleaned (Figs. 31e, 31f).

Protection and safeguarding of structures and mosaic pavements

Taking into account the principle of *in situ* conservation, future work continuity and the need to restore the use of the road to serve the residents, it was decided to rebury the structures and pavements. However, the improvement of the burial conditions was essential for a good conservation in order to avoid the direct contact with the excavation soil, composed of organic materials and soluble inorganic contaminants.

For that purpose, it was initially decided to cover with an inert and stable geotextile blanket, which provides good contact with the surface of the *tesserae* and prevents the precipitation of salts on the surface of the *tessellatum*, followed by a layer of desalinated sand (20/30 Cm) to prevent contamination, another layer of expanded inert clay (20/30 cm), which to a certain extent absorbs trepidation, and finally a layer of soil.

This way, the direct contact of the mosaic with the burial land is avoided through the creation of a buffer box to prevent the movements and vibrations associated to the road circulation. This will also facilitate the future works of exhumation and cleaning of these pavements (Figs. 32-33).

Conclusion

In an initial approach to the mosaic pavements of the Roman *Villa* of São Simão, it is likely that, in the *pars urbana*, there are two moments of mosaic execution. “mosaic 1”, “mosaic 5” and “mosaic 6” suggest the existence of a team of technically better equipped mosaicists, with greater accuracy level in geometric execution. An emphasis is given to the *tesserae* density of “mosaic 1” and “mosaic 5”, which has an average of 160 to 200 *tesserae* per dm², and which may be of the Late Roman period.

However, “mosaic 3” and “mosaic 4”, simpler in their geometric composition and with a lower density of *tesserae* (59 to 100 *tesserae* per dm²), may be from a period earlier than the Late Roman.

These differences in geometric composition, mosaic chromaticism and *tesserae* density may point to two moments in time or two different workshops. A thorough study is necessary to reach such conclusions.

From this overview, it is possible to understand the urgency of a research project for the area, in which its functional and chronological articulation will be predicted.

The Research Project 2016 - 2019, “The Archaeological Site of São Simão”, approved in 2016, also contemplates the identification of the *pars rustica* (rural area) and the extension of the *Villa*'s *fundus*.

The research project that now begins also has as an ultimate aim the protection of the archaeological site, reducing the urban pressure on the area and its possible musealization.

According to the project's plan / schedule, there is the intention of excavating the Chapel's churchyard, with the objective of identifying the architecture of the *pars urbana* (urban area) and the mosaic pavements that are expected to exist.

In situ conservation of the findings will be a priority. However, all findings will be kept at the Museum of the Roman *Villa* of Rabaçal, where the listing, inventory, study, conservation and restoration works, exhibition and promotion will take place.

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Book Review – Kitap İncelemesi

Roger LING*

A Mosaic Menagerie: Creatures of Land, Sea and Sky in Romano-British Mosaics, Patricia Witts, 266 pages, b/w and colour illustrations, Oxford: BAR British Series 625, 2016, £53.00, ISBN 978-1-4073-1541-6.

One of the more attractive features of mosaic pavements in Roman Britain - as indeed in other parts of the Roman Empire - is the profusion of animals that inhabit the various fields. In her excellent new monograph, Patricia Witts reviews and analyses all known specimens of this “mosaic menagerie”. Her agenda is made clear from the start. “Seemingly overlooked as a subject of serious study, these appealing creatures were more than mere decoration or a convenient way of filling space. They are usually chosen with care and offer insights into the overall iconography of the pavements in which they appear.” I would argue for a more flexible position: sometimes the fauna were highly meaningful (as in pavements showing beasts parading around Orpheus), sometimes they were more generally relevant (as in the marine fauna of mosaics in bath-suites), sometimes they were stock fillers chosen from a decorative repertoire. But this is a matter of opinion, and Witts presents her case persuasively and with exemplary thoroughness.

The nucleus of the study is a catalogue of 140 mosaics in which animals occur (pp. 147-210). Accompanied, wherever possible, by illustrations (often, alas, too small for the relevant details to be deciphered), this catalogue benefits from the completion of the Neal and Cosh corpus *Roman Mosaics of Britain* (2002-2010) in being able to dispense with full descriptions; instead, it merely summarises the part played by animals in each case and provides a bibliography “listing works that concern the animals and / or provide factual information about the mosaic” (here one may question the author’s policy of including even minimal references, since the result is a welter of information through which it is difficult to navigate - some selectivity might have helped the reader).

Following the catalogue comes a series of appendices which break down the material statistically. Appendix 1 lists the different species by the mosaics in which they appear. Appendix 2, conversely, groups the mosaics according to the types of animals represented. Appendix 3 lists examples of wave-pattern borders in animal mosaics (these are significant, Witts believes, because such borders may allude to water and thus connect with depictions of aquatic creatures). Appendix 4 lists Romano-British Orpheus mosaics, and Appendix 5, finally, gives a useful review of the dating evidence for all the 140 mosaics in the data-base.

So much for the raw material. The “meat” of the volume comes in the nine chapters of the main text (pp. 1-146), and particularly the three pairs of chapters which divide the livestock into creatures of the land (quadrupeds and snakes: chapters 2 and 3), creatures of the sea (chapters 4 and 5), and creatures of the air (birds: chapters 6 and 7). In each case the first chapter is devoted to identifying species (where possible), the second to analysing the role and form of the representations - number of depictions; whether alive, dead or injured; gender; setting; associated objects and inscriptions; whether ridden; pose; orientation, etc. And in each case the twin chapters are followed by an excellent section of photographic close-ups of individual creatures, arranged by species. Drawing together the various strands, Chapter 8 compares the creatures of land, sea and sky, focusing *inter alia* on the Orpheus mosaics for which Britain is famed and on what else is notable, unusual or absent in Romano-British animal mosaics; and Chapter 9 discusses the role and meaning of the animals, looking at the iconographical context, the geographical distribution, and the relation between subject-matter and room-function.

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Witts has, over the years, made an enormous contribution to iconographic studies in Romano-British mosaics through a series of articles on individual problems. So far her only work of synthesis has been her popular account *Mosaics in Roman Britain: Stories in Stone* (2005). With the volume under review, however, she breaks new ground. *A Mosaic Menagerie* is a much more substantial achievement: it displays mastery of a range of tools and techniques (not least, species classification); it is admirably consistent in its interpretations; it is commendably cautious in its responses to some of the more esoteric readings that have been suggested by others; and it is scrupulously fair in its presentation of rival views. It also offers numerous neat observations, for example on the regional differences in the treatment of certain subjects (such as the creatures in Orpheus mosaics) and their appropriateness for particular contexts (the dead bird of Winter at Brading may refer to local hunting of wild-fowl in what is a marshy terrain).

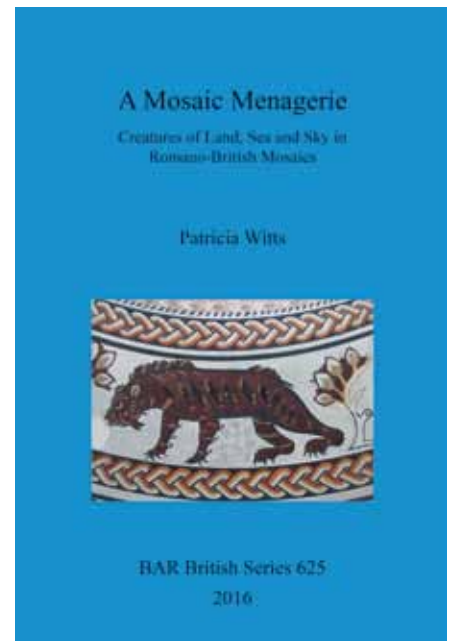
Naturally enough, there are issues on which the reviewer would beg to disagree. One such concerns the Aldborough lion (pp. 132-3). It is difficult to believe that an isolated lion, “peacefully recumbent” under a tree, should be interpreted as the lion of Nemea. Of the comparanda cited, the example at Piazza Armerina is hardly a “close parallel” since it is not recumbent and is in a killing field occupied by the corpses of monsters vanquished by Heracles, whilst the recumbent lion from Cártama is similarly identified by being associated with depictions of the hero’s defeated adversaries. At Aldborough there is no such aid to recognition.

It is also possible to query some of the bases of Witts’ classifications. I find it problematic, for instance, to think of conch-shells used as trumpets, or scallop-shells serving as design-elements in semi-circular fields or quadrants, as representations of marine fauna; after all, the creatures in question are not merely dead but have become divorced from their casings. However, this takes us into the realms of hair-splitting: Witts has had to make certain choices, and, as already stated, she is consistent in her allegiance to these choices.

One slightly more serious lapse of understanding. On p. 6 Witts refers to a comment by the reviewer (“it is rarely possible to compare the themes of wall-paintings and a mosaic pavement in a given room”: see N. Davey and R. Ling, *Wall-Painting in Roman Britain* [1982] 45) as implying a general lack of correspondence between the repertoires of wall-painting and mosaics. This is the result of a misapprehension. The point of my comment was to draw attention to the poor survival rate of wall-plaster and the consequent difficulty of making comparisons with mosaics in the same rooms. In fact, if more wall-paintings had been preserved, we might well have been able to discern a degree of similarity between the subjects favoured by the two media.

All quibbles apart, this is a splendid publication. What is more, it maintains impressive standards of editing. There is a noteworthy dearth of misprints and typing errors, and the multiple citations of the 443 illustrations are invariably accurate. The index, too, is meticulous, remarkably error-free, and a highly useful resource. We must congratulate the author on a *tour de force* and wish her all speed in the production of her projected companion volume on Britain’s mythological mosaics.

‘This review was first published in *Mosaic* (the journal of ASPROM, the Association for the Study and Preservation of Roman Mosaics), Volume 43 (2016), 32-33.’



Guidelines for Authors

This journal is going to be published annually, henceforth. The articles going to be sent must be written according to these guidelines. Thank you for your involvement and attention.

The abbreviations in this journal are based on German Archaeological Institute publication criteria, Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque antique. AIEMA 23.2013, La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine IX and Der Kleine Pauly.

The Editor-in-Chief and the Editorial Board are in charge of the scientific content and writing standards relating to the journal. The JMR is intended to be read by archaeologists, classicists, historians, epigraphers, scientists, heritage management specialists, restorers, conservators, modern mosaic artists and others concerned with mosaics found around the world. In addition to analyses of archaeological data from excavations, surveys and laboratory research, the JMR publishes technical and methodological studies of general significance and reviews articles that appeal to a wide professional readership. The JMR also publishes book reviews, brief articles, etc.

Articles should not be sent simultaneously to the JMR and to another publication. JMR does not accept translations of articles that have already been published elsewhere. Contributors should be aware that the JMR retains the copyright for materials appearing within its pages.

All papers will be subject to a refereeing process, and may be discussed at meetings of scientific committee. Detailed comments from referees are normally forwarded to the author, anonymously, by the Editor and if necessary, the authors may be invited to revise their manuscripts.

The text and photos should be sent in a CD or USB stick with a printed copy of the original text.

Abstract and Keywords

The manuscripts can be written in English, German, French or Turkish. The title of the manuscripts must be written in both original language and Turkish. Two short abstracts (in English and Turkish) must identify the aim and the method of the article and summarize the thesis and conclusions of the article. The abstract must be capable of standing alone and so may contain no text or figure references, no bibliographic citations, and no footnotes.

Five key words must be provided under the line of the abstract. Keywords should be given in English and Turkish.

Writing Standards

The title page of the paper should contain the titles, the author(s) name, the keywords, an abstract and the author(s) address(es) and in a footnote. The text must be in a 12-point typeface of the Times font family and 1,5-spaced throughout, from the first line of the title through to the last line of the figure captions. Margins on both sides and at the top and bottom of each page should measure at least 3 cm.

Footnotes must be at the bottom of the page sequentially. They have to be written single-spaced and 10 points in font family Times.

The digital text should be in a format that can be processed in Microsoft Word. Figures for review purposes should be provided as ".tiff" or ".jpeg" files at a resolution sufficient to retain the information in the illustration: 300 dpi for photographs and 600 dpi for line art is usually suitable. The names for the figure files should begin with the author's last name, e.g., Akurgal_01.tiff, Akurgal_02.tiff, Akurgal_03.tiff, etc.

Dates before Christ (also "before the common era") should be written as "BC" following the actual year (e.g., 255 BC). Historical dates after Christ (in the Common Era) should be written with "AD" preceding the year (e.g., AD 1071); alternatively write "7th century AD"

References and Citations

The bibliography must contain an entry for each work cited in the text and only works cited in the text are to appear in the bibliography.

A reference within the text takes the form of a parenthetical citation. For example, “(Dunbabin 2002: 181-183)”. All quotations must have specific page citations.

The use of “et al.” is restricted to text citations of works for which there are more than three authors. Example: “(Akurgal et al. 1984: 80)”.

An example of a text reference to a figure or table in another published work is “(Akurgal 1996: fig. 5, table 7).” When referring to figures and tables in the present manuscript, use “Figure” and “Table” in the text and captions; in parentheses use “(Fig. 3)” and “(Table 1).” For figures with separate parts, use lower case letters in the text and upper case letters when the reference is enclosed in parentheses. For example, “(Figure 10a)”.

If a manuscript has been accepted for publication, the text citation is “(Jobst in print).” The bibliographic entry should put “in print” where the year would normally appear.

The abbreviation list of “Der Kleine Pauly” should be used for the references of ancient authors. The list is attainable on JMR webpage.

Full citations, including the names of all of the authors, complete titles, and page numbers for articles or chapters, are to appear in a bibliography at the end of the text, alphabetized by the first author’s last name. Include publishers and place of publication for books and monographs. Authors’ names should be given as they appear on the work being cited; avoid reducing first names to initials. The bibliography should be typed as in the following examples.

Article

Barringer 1991 J. M. Barringer, “Europa and the Nereids: Wedding or Funeral?”, *AJA* 95, 657-667.

Book

Dunbabin 1999 K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Unpublished Dissertation or Thesis

De Puma 1969 R. De Puma, *The Roman Fish Mosaic*, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania.

Published Dissertation or Thesis

Reitz 1979 E. J. Reitz, *Spanish and British Subsistence Strategies at St. Augustine, Florida, and Frederica, Georgia, between 1563-1783*, Doktora tezi, University of Florida, Gainesville, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Monograph in a Series

Jobst 1978 W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I, Die Hanghäusern des Embolos*, *Corpus der antiken Mosaiken in der Türkei I*, FiE 8, 1, Vienna.

Article in an Edited Book

Abadie-Reynal 2006 C. Abadie-Reynal, “Roman Domestic Architecture at Zeugma”, R. Ergeç, (ed.), *International Symposium on Zeugma: From Past to Future*. Gaziantep, Gaziantep University Press, 1-6.

Reprints

Cobo 1964 B. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (Orjinal basım yılı 1653) Biblioteca de los Autores Españoles, vols. 91-92, Madrid, Ediciones Atlas.

Figures and Tables

Figures

1. The word “Figure” is used to refer to all photographs, maps, charts, and graphs that accompany an article. Every illustration is to be given a figure number. Every figure must be referred to in the text, and initial references to them must be in numerical sequence (“1, 2, 3,” not “1, 3, 2”).
2. If a map is necessary, Figure 1 should be a map locating the site or study area within its wider geographical context. The JMR has an international readership that needs to be kept in mind when designing Figure 1. Field reports should include at least one photograph that depicts the terrain and environment of the site or study area.
3. A simple graphic scale, when necessary, should appear in the image area of the figures; do not give scales such as “3x” or “1:50.000” in the captions. Should a figure showing artifacts lack a scale in the photograph, writing “The pot on the left is 21 cm tall” in the caption is fine.
4. The list of captions should be typed in upper and lower case letters, double-spaced, all lines justified left, and the word “Figure” should be the first word in each caption. For example,

Figure 1. Map of the Weicker site and environs. Inset shows the location of the site in NW Mexico. Map by Patricia Parker.

Each component in such a figure should be referred to in the text but, as with figures, these may be combined, e.g., “(Fig. 6c-f).”

Tables and Special Fonts

Tables and special fonts should be sent as a printed PDF page separately, because of their original form could be easily distorted.

Book Reviews

Review Preparation

Reviews in the JMR should be max. 2500 words and are expected to be critical and analytical in order to place the book under review in context. Book reviews, normally solicited by the Editor, do not require all of the details of manuscript preparation involved for a research report. Any references should follow the system given below. Footnotes and illustrations should not be used. Books being reviewed should be cited in the manner of the examples given below, followed by the reviewer’s name and full mailing address.

Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World,

K. M. D. Dunbabin, 357 pages, 318 figures, 8 tables, 3 plates, 10 appendices, bibliography, index. Cambridge University Press, 2002. \$40.50 paper. ISBN 0-521-00230-3.

Offprint Policy

The JMR provides the article in “.pdf” format. at no charge to each author.

Yazarlar için Yazım Kuralları

Journal of Mosaic Research yıllık olarak yayınlanan hakemli bir dergidir. Dergiye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilecek olan makaleler aşağıda belirtilen kurallara göre hazırlanmalıdır. İlginiz ve katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Bu dergideki makalelerde kullanılacak olan kısaltmalar Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü yayın kuralları Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaique antique. AIEMA 23.2013, La Mosaique Greco Romaine IX ve Der Kleine Pauly dikkate alınarak yapılmalıdır.

Editör ve yazım kurulu dergiyle ilişkili bilimsel içerik ve yazım kurallarıyla ilgilenir. JMR, arkeologlar, tarihçiler, epigraflar, bilim insanları, kültür mirası yönetimi uzmanları, restoratörler, konservatörler, modern mozaik sanatçıları ve mozaik buluntularıyla ilgilenen kişilere ulaşmayı hedeflemektedir. Kazılar, yüzey araştırmaları ve laboratuvar araştırmalarından elde edilen bilgilere ek olarak JMR bünyesinde, mozaik konusundaki teknik ve metodolojik çalışmalar, kitap eleştirileri gibi konular da yayınlanabilir.

Makaleler JMR dışında bir dergiye eş zamanlı olarak yayınlanmak üzere gönderilmemelidir. Başka bir yerde yayımlanan makalelerin çevirileri JMR'de yayınlanmak üzere kabul edilmez. Yazarlar, JMR'nin içerisinde yer alan materyallerin telif hakkının JMR dergisine ait olduğunu bilmelidirler.

Tüm makaleler hakem değerlendirmesi sürecine tâbi tutulacak, gerektiği takdirde derginin bilim kurulunda ele alınacaktır. Hakemlerden gelecek yorumlar yazarlara iletilir ve gerektiğinde yazarın makalesini tekrar gözden geçirmesi istenir.

Metin ve fotoğraflar, bir CD veya USB bellek içerisinde ve orijinal metnin basılı bir kopyası ile birlikte gönderilmelidir.

Özetler ve Anahtar Kelimeler

Makaleler İngilizce, Almanca, Fransızca ve Türkçe dillerinde yazılabilir. Makalenin başlığı orijinal dilinin yanı sıra Türkçe ve İngilizce dillerinde de olmalıdır. Özet, makalenin amacını, yöntemini, değerlendirme ve sonuç kısmını içermelidir. Makale özeti 200 kelimeyi geçmeyecek şekilde Türkçe ve İngilizce dillerinde yazılmalıdır. Özet bölümü, metin veya figür referansları, alıntı veya dipnot içermemelidir.

Özetin altında beş anahtar kelime yer almalıdır. Anahtar kelimeler Türkçe ve İngilizce hazırlanmalıdır.

Yazım Kuralları

Makalenin ilk sayfası, makale başlıkları, yazar isim(ler)i, özetler, anahtar kelimeler ve dipnot olarak yazarın adresi ve iletişim bilgilerini içermelidir. Metin, Times New Roman fontunda, 12 punto, baştan sona 1,5 satır aralıklı yazılmalıdır. Her iki yandaki kenar boşlukları, üst ve alt kenar boşlukları en az 3 cm olmalıdır.

Dipnotlar sayfa sonunda ardışık olarak yer almalı, Times New Roman fontunda, 10 punto, tek satır aralıklı olarak yazılmalıdır.

Dijital metin Word formatında olmalıdır. Figürler “.tiff” veya “.jpeg” dosyası halinde ve uygun çözünürlükte olmalıdır: Fotoğraflar için 300 dpi ve çizimler için 600 dpi genellikle yeterli olmaktadır. Figür dosyalarının isimleri yazarın soyadı ile başlamalı ve sırasıyla numaralandırılmış olmalıdır. Örnek: Akurgal_01.tiff, Akurgal_02.tiff, Akurgal_03.tiff vb.

İsa'dan önce ve sonraki tarihleri belirtmede “İÖ” ve “İS” ifadeleri kullanılmalıdır.

Referans ve Alıntılar

Metin içerisinde atıf yapılan her bir yayın kaynakçada yer almalıdır. Aynı şekilde sadece metin içerisinde atıf yapılan kaynaklar kaynakça da yer almalıdır.

Metin içinde yapılan atıflar parantez içerisinde kısaltma olarak verilmelidir. Örnek: (Dunbabin 2002: 181-183). Bütün alıntılarda özgün sayfa numaraları belirtilmelidir.

Üç ve daha fazla yazarlı yayınlarda kısaltma olarak “vd.” ifadesi kullanılmalıdır. Örnek: (Akurgal vd. 1984: 80).

Bir yayındaki figür veya çizime yapılan atıflar “(Akurgal 1996: Resim 5, Çizim 1)” şeklinde belirtilmelidir. JMR’ye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen orijinal metin içerisindeki figür ve çizim atıflarında sadece “Resim” ve “Çizim” gibi ifadeler kullanılmalıdır. Örnek: (Resim: 1, Çizim: 3). Bir numara altında birden çok resim olduğu takdirde, resim veya çizim numarasının yanına küçük harf kullanılmalıdır. Örnek: (Resim: 10a)

Yayınlanmak için kabul edilmiş, fakat henüz yayınlanmamış olan bir yayına yapılan atıflarda yazar soyadından sonra “baskıda” ifadesi kullanılmalıdır. Örnek: (Jobst baskıda). Metin içerisindeki kaynakça atıflarında “baskıda” ifadesi normalde yayın yılının bulunduğu yerde olmalıdır.

Antik yazarlara yapılan atıflarda “Der Kleine Pauly” kısaltma listesi dikkate alınmalıdır. Kısaltma listesi JMR web sayfasından edinilebilir.

İlk yazarın soyadı ile kısaltılan yayınlarda yazarların tümünün isimleri, yayın başlıkları, makaleler için sayfa numaraları, kitaplar ve monografiler için yayın yılı ve yayın yerinin yer aldığı atıflar metin sonunda yer alan kaynakçada ayrıntılı olarak belirtilmelidir. Kaynakça aşağıda verilen örneklere göre düzenlenmelidir.

Makale

Barringer 1991 J. M. Barringer, “Europa and the Nereids: Wedding or Funeral?”, *AJA* 95, 657-667.

Kitap

Dunbabin 1999 K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Yayınlanmamış Tezler

De Puma 1969 R. De Puma, *The Roman Fish Mosaic*, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania.

Yayınlanmış Tezler

Reitz 1979 E. J. Reitz, *Spanish and British Subsistence Strategies at St. Augustine, Florida, and Frederica, Georgia, between 1563-1783*, Doktora tezi, University of Florida, Gainesville, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms.

Monografiler

Jobst 1978 W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I, Die Hanghäusern des Embolos, Corpus der antiken Mosaiken in der Türkei I, FiE 8, 1, Vienna*.

Editörlü bir kitaptaki makale

Abadie-Reynal 2006 C. Abadie-Reynal, “Roman Domestic Architecture at Zeugma”, R. Ergeç, (ed.), *International Symposium on Zeugma: From Past to Future*, Gaziantep, Gaziantep University Press, 1-6.

Tekrar basımlar

Cobo 1964 B. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (Orjinal basım yılı 1653) Biblioteca de los Autores Españoles, vols. 91-92, Madrid, Ediciones Atlas.

Resimler ve Tablolar

1. “Resim” ifadesi makalede yer alan bütün fotoğraflar, haritalar, tablolar için kullanılır. Her bir görsel için bir resim numarası verilir. Her resmin metin içerisinde bir karşılığı olmalı ve ilgili atıflar sıralı bir şekilde gitmelidir (“Resim 1, 2, 3,” şeklinde “Resim 1, 3, 2” değil).
2. Eğer bir harita kullanılacaksa, Resim 1 makalenin konusu olan bölgenin veya çalışma alanının coğrafi konumunu belirten harita olmalıdır. Resim 1’in tasarımı yapılırken JMR dergisinin uluslararası bir okuyucu kitlesine sahip olduğu göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Alan raporlarının yer aldığı makalelerde kazı alanı ve çevresini gösteren en az bir fotoğraf yer almalıdır.
3. Resimlerin yanında, gerekli durumlarda bir ölçek kullanılmalıdır. Resim başlığı olarak “3×” ya da “1:50.000” şeklinde ifadeler kullanılmamalıdır. Resim üzerinde bir nesnenin yer aldığı ve ölçek bulunmadığı durumlarda Resim başlığında söz konusu figürün ölçüleri yazılabilir.
4. Resimler Listesi’nde “Resim” kelimesi her başlığın ilk ifadesi olmalıdır.

Resim 1. Bursa Suriçi ve çevresini gösteren harita. “Harita: Nur Deniz Ünsal”.

Resimlerle ilgili ayrıntılar “(Resim: 6c-f)” örneğinde olduğu gibi belirtilebilir. Söz konusu ayrıntıların her birine metin içerisinde atıf olmalıdır.

Tablo ve Özel Fontlu Yazılar

Tablo ve özel font kullanılan yazıların kolaylıkla orijinal düzenleri bozulduğu için her bir tablo veya yazılı metnin, ayrıca “.pdf” formatında basılı bir örneğinin gönderilmesi gerekmektedir.

Kitap Eleştirileri

Eleştirilerin hazırlanması

JMR’de yayımlanacak olan eleştiriler en fazla 2500 kelime olmalı ve eleştiriler başlığı altında yayınlanabilmesi için analitik bir kritiğin yapılması umulmaktadır. Editörden talep edilen araştırma raporu niteliğindeki kitap eleştirilerinde, bir makalenin hazırlanmasındaki tüm detaylara gerek duyulmaz. Referanslarda yukarıda verilen sisteme uyulmalıdır. Dipnot ve resim kullanılmamalıdır. Eleştiri konusu olan kitaplar aşağıda verilen örneğe göre belirtilmelidir. Bu örneği metin yazarının ismi ve mail adresi izlemelidir.

Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World,

K. M. D. Dunbabin, 357 sayfa, 318 resim, 8 tablo, 3 levha, 10 ek, kaynakça, indeks. Cambridge University Press, 2002. \$40.50. ISBN 0-521-00230-3.

Ayrıbasım Gönderimi

JMR her yazara makalesinin bir örneğini “.pdf” formatında göndermeyi taahhüt eder.

Journal of Mosaic Research

